MIGRATION HISTORIES OF THE MEDIEVAL AFROEURASIAN TRANSITION ZONE

ASPECTS OF MOBILITY BETWEEN AFRICA, ASIA AND EUROPE, 300–1500 C.E.

EDITED BY
JOHANNES PREISER-KAPELLER,
LUCIAN REINFANDT & YANNIS STOURAITIS

Migration Histories of the Medieval Afroeurasian Transition Zone

Studies in Global Social History

Studies in Global Migration History

Editor

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Migration History of the Afro-Eurasian Transition Zone, c. 300–1500: An Introduction (with a Chronological Table of Selected Events of Political and Migration History)

Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Lucian Reinfandt and Yannis Stouraitis

When the process of compilation of this volume started in 2014, migration was without doubt already a "hot" topic. Yet, it were only the events of 2015,[1] which put migration on top of the discussion about the Euro and the economic crisis in the agenda of politicians, the wider public and the media. In this heated debate, the events of past migrations have been employed in a biased manner as arguments against a new "Völkerwanderung" destined to disintegrate Europe as it did with the (Western) Roman Empire. Thus, the present volume could be seen, among other things, also as an effort to provide a corrective to such oversimplifying recourses to the ancient and medieval period.[2] It should be noted, however, that it was planned and drafted before the events.

The volume emerged from a series of papers given at the European Social Science History Conference in Vienna in April 2014 in two sessions on "Early Medieval Migrations" organized by Professors Dirk Hoerder and Johannes Koder. Their aim was to integrate the migration history of the medieval period into the wider discourse of migration studies and to include recent research. The three editors have added contributions by specialists for other periods and regions in order to cover as wide an area and a spectrum of forms of migration as possible. Still, it was not possible to cover all regions, periods and migration movements with the same weight; as one of the anonymous reviewers properly pointed out, the "work's centre of gravity is (…) between the Eastern Mediterranean region and the Tigris/Euphrates", with Africa not included in a similar way as Asia or Europe. Therefore, the following sections of the introduction aim first to provide some methodological considerations and then

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1 Now even on Wikipedia called the "European migrant crisis", cf. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_migrant_crisis. For a short overview, see Luft, *Die Flüchtlingskrise*.

2 Cf. also Pohl, *Die Völkerwanderung*.

to contextualise the individual chapters within an overview on the wider migration history of the "Afro-Eurasian Transition Zone" during the centuries between 300 and 1500 A.D., in Western European historiographical tradition called the "medieval" ones.[3]

1   Medieval Migration History and its Study

Migration can been defined as permanent or long-term dislocation of the place of residence, both by individuals and by groups of any size.[4] Earlier research on the medieval period focused on the upper end of this scale, such as the assumed mass migration of peoples during the "Völkerwanderung" of the 4th–6th centuries A.D. and its impact on the Late Roman Empire and its territorial and "cultural" integrity.[5] This approach found its basis in the Latin and Greek historiography of late antiquity, which actually described a "landslide" of "barbarians" affecting the Imperium Romanum, especially starting with the "arrival" of the Huns in 375.[6] This culminated in a first shocking defeat of the Roman imperial army at Adrianople (modern-day Edirne in Turkey) in 378.[7] However, scholars of the 18th–20th centuries were equally interested in these migrating peoples as potential founding fathers of various "modern" nation-states such as France or Germany. These efforts in historiographical "nation-building" spread from Western Europe into Eastern Europe and beyond, creating similar discourses onto other early medieval migrations such as the one of the Slavs (in the 6th–9th centuries) or of the Magyars/Hungarians (in the 9th–10th centuries).[8] Written evidence was increasingly enriched with archaeological findings, which, however, were also primarily interpreted within the framework of ancient and medieval historiography, trying to identify ethnic groups named in the sources with specific material cultures. Thereby, it was attempted to trace migration routes back beyond the horizon of the Latin and Greek sources to Scandinavia, Eastern Europe, Central Asia or – in the case of the Huns – even to East Asia, where connections were sought with ethnic labels

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3   On the issue of periodization, see now Le Goff, *Faut-il vraiment découper l'histoire en tranches?*
4   Harzig/Hoerder, *Migration History*.
5   Demandt, *Der Fall Roms*, pp. 467–490; Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*, pp. 10–25; Aberth, *Contesting the Middle Ages*, pp. 1–34.
6   Cited after Stickler, *Hunnen*, p. 47.
7   Stickler, *Die Hunnen*, p. 49.
8   Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages*, pp. 28–38.

from Chinese sources (such as the "Xiongnu", for the first time by Joseph de Guignes in 1756).[9]

   These attempts at grand linear narratives, aiming at "histories of origin" of modern-day peoples and their entitlements to "nation-hood" within specific geographical borders, obscured the actual complexity of archaeological and written evidence and its inconsistencies and obstreperousness against simple interpretations. When the massacres of World War II at least partly de-legitimised the nationalist history writing of the previous decades, more nuanced interpretative models gained currency. It became evident that there is almost never a one-to-one equivalence of archaeological findings and historiography, and that the latter implied a high flexibility of ethnic identities. Ethnic labels as well as individuals and groups could move from one social formation to another, and some groups not only became visible for the first time in Roman, Persian or Chinese historiography but they actually took shape on the frontiers of these imperial spheres or even on their soil. Assumptions on a fixed composition and ethnicity of these "peoples" over centuries, symbolised through colourful balls or arrows moving across maps in historical atlases, were thus rejected. Migration as such was identified as decisive for group and identity formation. Furthermore, the settlement of these groups on new territories and their interaction with long-established populations and elites were now interpreted less as the results of conquest and subjugation but of negotiations and processes of accommodation and assimilation. As Walter Pohl has summed up: "Unfortunately, we do not know much about the ethnic identities beyond the borders of the empire. (…) It is not a people (…) who wandered, but various groups that re-formed themselves after multiple breaks, and which in doing so attached themselves to (ethnic) traditions. (…) The struggles for power in the Empire required large groups whose success strengthened their ethnic cohesion".[10] Similar models have then been adopted from the Late Roman case for other migration processes of the period, from 4th–7th century China to the Arab conquest of the 7th–8th centuries or the Seljuq invasion into Byzantine Anatolia in the 11th century.[11]

   The earlier research focus on early medieval phenomena of mass migration has been complemented with an attention on the mobility of smaller groups or even individuals and its potential impact on cultural change.[12] Migrations

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9   Kim, *The Huns*; Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*, pp. 10–15; Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages*, pp. 21–28.

10   Pohl, *Die Völkerwanderung*, pp. 20–39; Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations, pp.* 15–19.

11   Lewis, *China between Empires*; Tannous, *The Making of the Medieval Middle East*; Beihammer, *Byzantium and the Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia*.

12   Borgolte, "Einführung", pp. 17–18.

could be seasonal or circular and across smaller ranges, both in "sedentary" and in "nomadic" societies, such as cases of transhumance or recurrent labour migration. "Trade diasporas" have become a special field of research. These refer to "communities of merchants living in interconnected networks among strangers", such as the Sogdians between Iran and China in the 4th–9th centuries, and diasporas in general, such as Jewish or Armenian communities or other ethnic/religious minorities.[13] The impact of individual travellers such as missionaries (as in the prominent cases of Christian Irish monks migrating to mainland Europe in the 6th to 8th centuries) or members of elites (cases of marriages to foreign courts, for instance) equally has to be taken into consideration.[14]

Already in the 1880s, E.G. Ravenstein classified mobile individuals by distance and time into local migrants, short-journey migrants, long-journey migrants, migrants by stages and temporary migrants. His "Laws of Migration" identified economic factors as main causes of migration within a framework of "push and pull", where socio-economic or political conditions in the place of origin motivate mobility while the character of these conditions in the place of destination attracts mobility. Of course, this framework underwent several modifications since then, but core concepts are still applied today, especially within economic theories of mobility.[15]

A "global perspective" on mobility was developed based on the "World-System Theory" as established by Immanuel Wallerstein and as adapted by Janet Abu-Lughod for the "late medieval World System". A "world system" is characterised by a differentiation between highly developed core areas, less developed peripheries and semi-peripheries in between, connected via "labour supply systems", within which mobility takes place. Especially for "core centres" such as Venice, attracting work force from nearby and far away "peripheries" across the Eastern Mediterranean, the value of such an approach can be illustrated for the late medieval period (see especially the chapter of Charalampos Gasparis).[16]

Such a macro-perspective, however, pays little attention to the agency of individuals, while recent research on migration has very much focused on the

13   Cohen, *Global Diasporas*.
14   Padberg, *Christianisierung im Mittelalter*; Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, pp. 59–91.
15   Cf. Hahn, *Historische Migrationsforschung*, pp. 27, 30–32, and Schwenken, *Globale Migration*, pp. 70–73, with further references.
16   Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony*; Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, pp. 28–30; Schwenken, *Globale Migration*, pp. 82–97. For a world-system approach to earlier periods, see Beaujard, *Les mondes de l'ocean indien*.

interplay between "structure" and individual "agency". These concepts have been described by Robert A. McLeman as follows: "The terms structure and agency are inherently linked, but their precise definitions can vary according to the context in which they are used. In simplest terms, agency refers to the degree of freedom an individual has in choosing his or her actions, while structure refers to the societal norms, obligations, and institutions that shape and set limits on the individual's actions".[17] Structure and agency are also core concepts within the "systems approach" towards migration phenomena as developed recently.[18] It focuses on the interplay between socio-economic, political and spatial structures both in the "society of departure"[19] and in the "receiving societies",[20] which very much defined the scope of action and the actual agency of individuals and groups. Equally, it highlights the significance of social networks established and/or used by individuals to effect mobility as well as integration within the socio-economic framework in the places of destination (for such an approach see the chapter of Johannes Preiser-Kapeller).[21] Moreover, Charles Tilly analysed the relevance of "solidarity networks" which "provide a setting for life at the destination, a basis for solidarity and mutual aid as well as for division and conflict" for the mobility of individuals. He emphasised, however, the potentially constraining effects of such networks through which "members of immigrant groups often exploited one another as they would not have dared to exploit the native-born"; he also made clear that "every inclusion also constitutes an exclusion".[22] On the whole, migration systems have been defined as "a set of delicately balanced social and economic processes that emerged gradually over many years" in order to allow for "population movements" that had a "characteristic form, and over time (...) acquired relatively stable structure and a well-defined geographic organization" following "predictable paths".[23] Among the examples discussed in the present volume, especially the various imperial formations (Roman/Byzantine, Sasanian, Arab, Mongol, Venetian, etc.) could be identified as migration systems. For their expansion and maintenance of imperial rule across Afro-Eurasia, they depended on the

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17   McLeman, *Climate and Human Migration*, p. 27.

18   Harzig/Hoerder, *Migration History*, pp. 78–114; Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, pp. 15–21; Hahn, *Historische Migrationsforschung*, pp. 21–36; Schwenken, *Globale Migration*, pp. 87–91.

19   Harzig/Hoerder, *Migration History*, pp. 92–98.

20   Harzig/Hoerder, *Migration History*, pp. 102–110.

21   Harzig/Hoerder, *Migration History*, pp. 78–80.

22   Tilly, "Transplanted Networks", pp. 90 and 92; Hahn, *Historische Migrationsforschung*, p. 29.

23   Cited after Schwenken, *Globale Migration*, p. 89.

"occupational" mobility and migration of elites, troops and other populations at large, established enduring axes of mobility within their sphere of influence and thus have been described as "regimes of entanglements".[24]

To what extent such theoretical approaches in general can be applied on the periods and regions under consideration in the present volume of course depends on the amount and character of source evidence.[25] Across all centuries, we have to deal with "the disadvantages of scanty information and virtual non-existence of worthwhile statistics", as one of the anonymous reviewers pointed out. We are of course informed best on individuals of an elite background, "cosmopolitan nobles and their households", as Dirk Hoerder has called them, but sometimes we also encounter "itinerant administrators" and other office holders or military commanders in the service of one of the empires or polities dealt with in the following pages. The same is true for "pilgrims and clerics", not least because of the often close connection of religious function and "writtenness". The later was also relevant for "merchants and traders" who were mobile as "economically informed actors", although with some exceptions – such as the Cairo Genizah documents starting already in the late 9th century – the bulk of our evidence in this regard comes from the 13th–15th centuries. During this period, we sometimes encounter individual representatives (and individual agency) of the "rural people, labourers and servants", while before that time they are often aggregated under ethnic or socio-economic umbrella terms in the sources, and their mobility is frequently described as coerced by the state or forced due to warfare or other catastrophes. The extreme form of forced mobility is of course slavery, which will also feature prominently in some of the chapters of the present volume. Nevertheless, Dirk Hoerder has suggested keeping at least at the back of one's mind the probably often-considerable degree of "agency" of individuals within non-elite strata of societies also in those cases when it does not become visible in our sources.[26] The longitudinal perspective on more than a millennium of migration history in the present volume should therefore also help to explore possibilities for individual agencies when comparing different periods and regions within the so-called "Middle Ages".

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24   Schuppert, *Verflochtene Staatlichkeit*.
25   On this issue, see also Baker/Takeyuki, *Migration and Disruptions*.
26   Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, pp. 59–91.

2   An Overview of Migration History in the Afro-Eurasian Transition Zone (4th–15th Century)

Already the original selection of papers had focused on what we called "Afro-Eurasian Transition Zone", the vast area between the Arctic Sea and the Indian Ocean, and the Mediterranean and Central Asia, where the three continents of the "Old World" meet. The high density of overlapping routes (of commerce, pilgrimage or other forms of mobility), of imperial as well as religious and cultural spheres, made it a most promising area for the exploration of past migration.[27] In what follows, we will present a short chronological overview of the history of these migration processes from the 4th to the 15th century A.D., addressed to non-specialist readers in particular.[28] Such a macro-perspective of necessity prioritises larger-scale migration movements and often resorts to the (especially ethnic) "umbrella terms", which often hide the actual complexity of the emergence, composition and cohesion of these groups, as discussed above. Nevertheless, the following pages allow for a glimpse at the multiplicity of mobilities across various spatial ranges within the selected period and area and provide a historical embedding of the chapters in this volume.

The two centuries after the year 375 A.D. (the "arrival" of the Huns in Eastern Europe) have been identified as the period of "Barbarian invasions" into the Roman sphere. It transformed the Western Roman Empire into a mosaic of "Germanic" kingdoms from Anglo-Saxon England via the Frankish Merovingian realms and the Visigoths in Spain to the Ostrogoths in Italy and the Vandals in North Africa.[29] The latter two polities, however, were "re-conquered" in the 530s to 550s by the Eastern Roman Empire, which continued the imperial tradition from Constantinople, the "New Rome". Yet, large parts of Italy were again lost after 568 to the invasion of the Lombards, which was interpreted as the "last" of the Germanic migrations of Late Antiquity.[30] Around the same time (and originally as allies of the Lombards), the Avars established themselves as heirs of the 5th century Steppe Empire of the Huns in the Carpathian Basin. Their arrival in the steppes to the north of the Black Sea in 557, however, indicates more far-reaching political upheavals beyond Europe. Most probably (although this identification is still contested), a core element of the people

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27   See also Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*; Kulke, *Das europäische Mittelalter*.
28   For a systematic survey, see also Borgolte, *Migrationen im Mittelalter*. Very useful (with many illustrative maps) are equally Cunliffe, *By Steppe, Desert, and Ocean*, and Cunliffe, *On the Ocean*.
29   Pohl, *Die Völkerwanderung*.
30   Christie, *The Lombards*.

now emerging as the Avars was constituted by groups of the Rouran, whose empire in the steppes north of China had been crashed in 552 by a new alliance of tribes under the leadership of the Gök-Turks.[31] The Turks in turn achieved dominance in the vast areas between China and the Caspian Sea, allying themselves with the Persian Empire of the Sasanians in 560 in order to conquer the realms of the Hephthalites, the last empire of the so-called "Iranian Huns". These various groups had migrated into the regions between Iran, Central Asia and India since the mid-4th century and had troubled the neighbouring Sasanians and the Gupta Empire in Northern India, whose collapse around 500 was accelerated by invasions of the "Hunas".[32]

In the west, the Sasanian Empire was competing with the Roman Empire across the Afro-Eurasian transition zone from the Caucasus via the Middle East to South Arabia and East Africa, also through proxy wars between regional powers allied with the one or the other imperial centre. One of these conflict zones emerged between the Kingdom of Aksum in modern-day Ethiopia and Eritrea and the Kingdom of Himyar in modern-day Yemen, especially after the former became Christianised and therefore got into closer contact with Constantinople from the 330s onwards. As George Hatke, however, demonstrates in his chapter, already the previous centuries had been characterised by intensive mobility across the Red Sea, in particular with groups from Aksum migrating to Southwest Arabia and intervening into the wars between the competing polities of the region before Himyar achieved hegemony. Warfare and migration got especially intensive again in the 6th century, with Himyar becoming a client state of Aksum for some time before Sasanian Persia intervened with an army around 570 – an intervention which led to the settlement of Iranian troops and workers in that area.[33]

The two predominant empires of Western Afro-Eurasia, (Eastern) Rome and (Sasanian) Persia mutually undermined their power with long and devastating wars (especially in the years 571–590 and 602–628) before they were shattered by the newly emerged community ("umma") of Islam. Under its banner, the now unified Arab tribes occupied the richest Roman provinces in Syria, Palestine and Egypt between 632 and 642 and conquered the Persian Empire up to Central Asia in its entirety by 652. These campaigns included also large-scale movements of people into the new territories (see below).

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31   Pohl, *The Avars*; Pohl, *Die Völkerwanderung*.

32   Ferrier, *L'Inde des Gupta*, pp. 180–206; Kulke/Rothermund, *Geschichte Indiens*, pp. 120–122; Baumer, *The Age of the Silk Road*, pp. 94–96; Alram, *Das Antlitz des Fremden*, pp. 89–96; Rezakhani, *ReOrienting the Sasanians*, pp. 97–99, 104–124; Schmiedchen, "Indien", pp. 67–69.

33   See also Hatke, *Aksum and Nubia*; Avanzini, *By Land and by Sea*; Power, *The Red Sea from Byzantium to the Caliphate*; Beaujard, *Les mondes de l'ocean indien* I, pp. 506–524.

Moreover, in the European provinces of Eastern Rome, since the 6th century, groups of Slavs had migrated across the entire Balkans as well as into eastern Central Europe. This process intensified with the establishment of Avar power in the Carpathian Basin after 568 (see above), which additionally weakened Constantinople's control over the Danube frontier.[34] Johannes Koder discusses in his chapter the Slavic immigration in the Balkans as "the most relevant population movement for the present ethnic composition of south eastern Europe", extending to the southernmost parts of the Peloponnesian peninsula. Koder mostly follows a "traditional" approach based on written and onomastic evidence, which has been used to favour an interpretation of large-scale Slavic migration into the Balkans since the second half of the 6th century. In contrast, Florin Curta provides a more critical analysis of the current state of debate of migrations in the archaeology of Eastern and Southeastern Europe during the Early Middle Ages, which casts doubt on the thesis that Slavic migrations across the Danube took place at large already in the 6th century.[35] Most problematic in his view is the relation between written and archaeological sources and their attempted combination in unsuitable models.[36] This also extends to a field, which has become even more prominent in the last years: the use of ancient DNA and other natural scientific indicators.[37] Therefore, the chapters of Koder and Curta can be read as illustrative case studies for these possible tensions between historiography and archaeology.

The situation on the Balkans was further complicated for Byzantium with the establishment of the polity of the Bulgars. Some of the steppe formations under this name making up a (short-living) empire north of the Black Sea from ca. 680 onwards occupied territories at both banks of the Lower Danube to the north of the Balkan Mountains, integrating Slavic groups into their realm.[38] Since the 660s (after the collapse of the Western Turkic Khanate), the steppes to the north of the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea were dominated by a federation of various ethnic groups under the hegemony of the Khazars, whose political centre was first located to the northeast of the Caucasus in modern-day

34   Pohl, *The Avars*; Kardaras, *Byzantium and the Avars*; Gandila, *Cultural Encounters*; Hardt, "Slawen", pp. 171–180.

35   Cf. also Curta, *The Making of the Slavs*.

36   On this issue, see also Härke, "Archaeologists and Migrations"; Burmeister, "Archaeology and Migration".

37   See also Bösl, *Doing Ancient DNA*; Feuchter, "Über die Herausforderung der Geschichtswissenschaft durch die Genetik"; Pohl, *The Genetic Challenge to Medieval History and Archaeology*. For a popular introduction into this research see now Krause, *Die Reise unserer Gene*.

38   Ziemann, *Vom Wandervolk zur Großmacht*.

Dagestan and since the 730s at the lower Volga river (with the until today un-located capital of Itil).[39]

One factor intensifying these various crises in the late 6th and 7th century may have been climate change. The "Late Antique Little Ice Age" between 536 and 660 brought about significantly cooler and more adverse climatic conditions across Afro-Eurasia. These also promoted the outbreak and diffusion of a major global plague epidemic that returned in waves between 542 and 750 especially in the west of Afro-Eurasia and possibly led to demographic depression in various areas.[40] Around the time when the plague disappeared, an Arab army and Chinese troops of the Tang dynasty clashed in the Battle of Talas (in modern-day Kyrgyzstan) in July 751, thus also symbolising the new geopolitical framework of Afro-Eurasia of the 8th–9th centuries.[41]

The expansion and maintenance of imperial rule across Afro-Eurasia included the "occupational" mobility and migration of elites at large.[42] The rapid expansion of the caliphate from the Mediterranean to North Africa and Spain as well as to Iran, Central Asia and the borders of India in the 7th and 8th centuries, for instance, was accompanied by large migrations of elites and their followers from the Arabian Peninsula to these areas, which also allowed for the spatial diffusion of Islam. The new arrivals did not represent a homogeneous mass, but consisted of different, even competing groups, mostly linked by tribal loyalties, who by no means always acted according to central planning.[43] The Islamic expansion set also other ethnic groups in motion, such as the Berbers from North Africa who played a decisive role in the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula in 711 where they settled alongside the Arabs.[44] The new Abbasid dynasty in the mid-8th century found supporters among regional elites in Eastern Iran and Central Asia. In the following century, several members of these groups migrated in waves as retinues of the Abbasids to Iraq and their newly founded capital of Baghdad in 762 as well as into other regions of the Caliphate.[45] For the case of Iranians in 9th century Egypt, Lucian Reinfandt

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39   Golden/Ben-Shammai/Róna-Tas, *The World of the Khazars*; Zhivkov, *Khazaria*.

40   Büntgen et al., "Cooling and societal change during the Late Antique Little Ice Age";
      McCormick et al., "Climate Change during and after the Roman Empire".

41   See also Preiser-Kapeller, *Jenseits von Rom und Karl dem Großen*, pp. 38–62.

42   See also Schuppert, *Verflochtene Staatlichkeit*.

43   Orthmann, *Stamm und Macht*; Preiser-Kapeller, "Complex Processes of Migration"; Berger, "Muslimische Welt", pp. 131–135.

44   Marboe, *Von Burgos nach Cuzco*, pp. 57–70; Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome*, pp. 338–341; Sénac, *Charlemagne et Mahomet*, pp. 113–127; di Branco/Wolf, "Berber und Araber im Maghreb und Europa", pp. 149–159.

45   Preiser-Kapeller, "Complex Processes of Migration"; Preiser-Kapeller, *Jenseits von Rom und Karl dem Großen*. For the westernmost extent of this migration, see now Dold-Ghadar, *Pers-Andalus*.

demonstrates how even the migration of smaller groups of administrative elites could affect local conditions and "adjacent social milieus" in the area of destination. In addition, Myriam Wissa deals with Islamic Egypt, using the Christian-Egyptian's revolt of 831/832 as case study for the interaction between "indigenous" population and "newcomers" after the Arab conquest. These migrations from Central Asia, however, also had an involuntary aspect. Lutz Berger surveys the case of military slavery in the medieval Islamic world up to the 13th century. He demonstrates that "far from being an extraordinary institution", it was "just one instance of military work being left to people from the margin (socially or geographically) of a society"; during the period under consideration, especially the northern peripheries of the Islamic World from Central Asia to Caucasia served as sources of "mamlūks".[46]

Yet, besides the military sector, slave trade mobilized at large individuals and communities across western Afro-Eurasia. Slavic-speaking groups from Eastern and Southeastern Europe now became an important "source" of unfree labour from the 7th century onwards. Latin texts called these groups "slavi", Greek ones "sklaviniai" and Arabic authors "saqaliba". The modern word "slave" derives most likely from these terms. The Slavs became the victims of military campaigns and slave hunts by the Frankish kingdom, the Italian maritime cities, the Bulgarian Empire, Byzantium, the Vikings, and the Khazars, as well as by competing Slavic neighbours who sold prisoners to traders from these realms. Trade routes ran in the west from the Frankish Kingdom and Italy to Spain and North Africa, in the eastern Mediterranean from the Balkans to Egypt and Syria, in the Caucasus from the Khazar Empire to Armenia and Mesopotamia and across Central Asia from Eastern Europe to eastern Iran and to Iraq. This trade over the centuries probably "mobilized" tens of thousands of people against their will over long distances, given the number of Arab silver coins partly traded in return for slaves to Eastern and Northern Europe.[47] Another main source of slaves was (East) Africa, whose coastal cities since the 9th century in general became focal points of mercantile and missionary activity from the Islamic world, leading to the emergence of the later so-called "Swahili". In a similar way, Islamic mobility also affected the kingdoms of West Africa to the south of the Sahara.[48] The slaves becoming one of the commodities

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46   See also Gordon, *The Breaking of a Thousand Swords*.

47   Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, pp. 59–76; McCormick, "New Light on the Dark Ages"; Lombard, *Blütezeit des Islam*, pp. 198–202; Hardt, "Slawen", pp. 177–180; Schiel, "Sklaven", pp. 255–256; Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, pp. 40–42.

48   Middleton, *World of Swahili*; Horton/Middleton, *The Swahili*; Hawkes/Wynne-Jones, "India in Africa"; Beaujard, *Les mondes de l'ocean indien* I, pp. 101–126. On medieval Muslim merchant communities across the Indian Ocean, see also now Beaujard, *Les mondes de l'ocean indien* II, pp. 48–71; Prange, *Monsoon Islam*, and Chaffee, *The Muslim merchants of*

exchanged in these newly emerging networks were called "Zanj" in the Arabic sources (the origin of the term is unclear). In various texts, they are described as esteemed workers, especially in agriculture, but also characterized with "racist" prejudice.[49] The growing number of Zanj can be derived from their mobilization in the context of various uprisings from the later 7th century onwards. In the 9th century, many slaves from Africa worked in southern Iraq and neighbouring Khuzestan (now southwest Iran) in agriculture, especially on sugar cane plantations, or in the drainage of larger wetlands. These swamps also served as a refuge for rebels, robbers and religious deviants, and from this combination emerged a major uprising of the Zanj, who even established their own state in the years 869 to 883, contributing to the further destabilization of Abbasid rule and thus the transformation of the geo-political world order of the 7th–9th centuries.[50]

   Youval Rotman in his chapter examines how the Byzantines resorted to "forced migration and slavery", which "were (…) two sides of the same coin". He equally demonstrates how shifting religious borders became decisive for the (re)location of areas of provenance of slaves. The Byzantine Empire, in turn, attracted the movement of Syrian and Palestinian populations from these regions after the Arab conquest of the 630s–640s, as Panagiotis Theodoropoulos surveys in his chapter in comparison with other migrations within the Caliphate.[51] A similar pattern of migration can be equally observed for the Armenians, who had contributed especially to the military work force of the Eastern Roman Empire already before the Arab conquest, as Johannes Preiser-Kapeller explores in his chapter. Besides elite and military mobility, also (deliberate, coerced and forced) migrations of Armenians at large as well as commercial, occupational and religious mobility can be observed between the 5th and the 11th century.[52] For the same period, Yannis Stouraitis establishes in his chapter

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      Premodern China. For Muslim migrations across the Sahara, cf. Bechhaus-Gerst, "Afrika"; Fauvelle, *Das Goldene Rhinozeros*, pp. 60–90; Fauvelle, *L'Afrique ancienne*; Gomez, *African Dominion*.

49   Popovic, *The Revolt of African Slaves in Iraq*, pp. 14–22; Power, *The Red Sea*, pp. 92–95, 141–143; Heers, *Les négriers en terres d'islam*, pp. 27–33; Lombard, *Blütezeit des Islam*, pp. 202–204; Schiel, "Sklaven", pp. 253–255.

50   Popovic, *The Revolt of African Slaves*, pp. 22–23, 33–43; Heers, *Les négriers en terres d'islam*, pp. 231–240; Lombard, *Blütezeit des Islam*, pp. 33–34, 160–162.

51   Cf. also now Tannous, *The Making of the Medieval Middle East*.

52   The chapter also discusses the problem of earlier research identifying individuals as "Armenian" even generations after the migration of their forefathers and –mothers despite clear indications of their assimilation into the Byzantine elite, a phenomenon recently called by Anthony Kaldellis "The Armenian fallacy", cf. Kaldellis, *Romanland*, pp. 155–195.

a typology of forced migration of groups in the geopolitical sphere of the East Roman Empire, which was mainly a consequence of war or state coercion, and he seeks to scrutinize the conditions and realities of such movements for their participants.[53]

With the Varangians, a new group of migrants arrived in Byzantium in various capacities (merchants, mercenaries, but also looters) from the early 9th century onwards. They came from Scandinavia via the rivers of Eastern Europe and the Black Sea to the Bosporus. Together with Slavic groups, they founded the princedom(s) of the "Rus" in Eastern Europe that were Christianised from Constantinople after 988.[54] Alongside new steppe groups, emerging in the sources as "Magyars" (in Byzantine Greek texts actually first called "Tourkoi") and as "Pechenegs" (in Byzantine Greek "Patzinakitai") and migrating along the north of the Black Sea from East to West, the Varangians contributed to a de-stabilisation of the Khazar Empire as well (whose elite in the early 9th century converted to Judaism, probably under the influence of itinerant Jewish merchants as described in Arab sources under the term *ar-Rādhāniyya*). The Khazar Empire eventually collapsed due to attacks by the Rus in the 960s. By that time, the Magyars had established themselves in the Carpathian Basin (since the 890s) and the Pechenegs to the north of the Black Sea.[55] In his introductory essay, Dirk Hoerder discusses various facets and motives of mobility between Scandinavia, Eastern Europe and Byzantium from the 9th to the 15th century such as "migration", "travel", "commerce", or "cultural transfer". His methodological considerations on the enduring effects of human mobility in the long term as well as on the short-term dynamics of the networks and spatial axes of migration set the tone for the entire volume.

After the crisis of the 7th–8th century, the Byzantine Empire recovered economically, demographically and finally also territorially in the 9th–11th century. This process attracted also merchants from the growing Italian cities of Amalfi, Venice, Genoa and Pisa in increasing numbers[56] as well as migrants of Syrian and Armenian backgrounds. On the other hand, Syriac- and Armenian-speaking population became subjects of Constantinople with the expansion in

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53   On populations transfers in the Byzantine Empire, see also Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*.

54   Scheel, *Skandinavien und Byzanz*; Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe*.

55   Zhivkov, *Khazaria*; Bowlus, *The Battle of Lechfeld*; Pálóczi-Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians*; Róna-Tas, *Hungarians and Europe*; Spinei, *The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads*; Gil, "The Radhanite Merchants".

56   See for instance Skinner, *Medieval Amalfi*; Lilie, *Handel und Politik*.

the East from the 960s to the 1060s, as did Slavic-speaking people after the conquest of the Bulgarian Empire in the Balkans between the 970s and 1020s.[57] The enlarged Byzantine Empire of the 11th century became more exposed to new large-scale migration movements, which turned into invasions of Byzantine territories.[58] The remaining provinces in Southern Italy were lost to the Normans by 1071. These had originally moved as mercenaries from Normandy to the region and between 1061 and 1091, they conquered Arab-ruled Sicily which had become the target of migration from the Islamic world since the 9th century. The emerging Norman Kingdom remained a threat for Byzantine territories to the east of the Adriatic until the late 12th century.[59] North of the Black Sea, the nomadic confederacy of the Pechenegs disintegrated due to the advance of the Oghuz and then Cumans (or Kipchaks) which in turn mobilised Pecheneg groups against the Byzantine Danube frontier. Some of these came to an agreement with Constantinople and were settled on imperial soil (or did the same in the Kingdom of Hungary).[60] The greatest threat for the Byzantine core provinces in Asia Minor, however, emerged from the East with the migration of new Turkish groups. They, partly under the leadership of the Seljuq dynasty, had been able to take over control over the former provinces of the Abbasid Caliphate in Central Asia and Eastern Iran since 1040 before capturing Baghdad itself in 1055.[61] The decisive moment for their advance into Anatolia is traditionally connected with the defeat of the Byzantine army at Manzikert in summer 1071. As Alexander Beihammer demonstrates in his chapter, however, the Byzantine frontier organisation had already been weakened long before that, whereas conflicts within the Byzantine elite after 1071 allowed for the establishment of various not only Turkish, but also Norman and Armenian power structures. In any case, Beihammer's critical review of the sources highlights the actual complex dynamics of the "loss of Anatolia", which cannot be described as one coherent process of Turkish "Landnahme".[62] The resulting vulnerable situation of Byzantium contributed to the mobilisation of thousands of warriors and other migrants in Western Europe in the context of the

57   Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*; Preiser-Kapeller, "Byzantinische Geschichte, 1025–1204".

58   Kaldellis, *Streams of Gold, Rivers of Blood*.

59   Theotokis, *The Norman Campaigns*.

60   Meško, "Pecheneg groups in the Balkans", with further literature; Pálóczi-Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians*; Spinei, *The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads*.

61   Peacock, *The Great Seljuk Empire*. For possible climatic factors in these migrations from the steppe cf. Ellenblum, *The Collapse of the Eastern Mediterranean*, and (for a more critical view) Preiser-Kapeller, "A Collapse of the Eastern Mediterranean?".

62   See also Beihammer, *Byzantium and the Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia*.

Crusading movement, initiated by the Papacy in 1095. From the beginning, Constantinople viewed the arrivals from the West as potential allies but also as a threat, especially due to the participation of the Normans from Southern Italy in the First Crusade. This first "armed pilgrimage" was conducive for the Byzantine recovery of territories in the western and southern coastline of Asia Minor, but the breach of agreement between the Byzantine emperor and the Crusaders resulted in the latter establishing a series of independent princedoms along the Levantine coast after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. The so-called Crusader States attracted the merchants of the Italian cities and settlers from Western Europe. They followed a similar pattern of "conquest and colonisation", as Robert Bartlett has called it, along the fringes of "Latin Europe" from the Iberian Peninsula to the Elbe (including the "German" settlement in Central and Eastern Europe) and from Ireland to Sicily between the 11th and 13th century. In contrast, Muslim populations from these regions were forced to abandon them and migrate to other parts of the Islamic world.[63] Overall, the 12th century was characterised by a significant increase of "Latin" presence in former and current Byzantine territories and the Eastern Mediterranean. Domestic political turmoil, alongside a series of military campaigns which either caused damage to Byzantine territories (for instance the Third Crusade, 1189/1190) or were aimed at conquering them (for instance the Norman conquest of Thessaloniki, 1185), resulted in "anti-Latin" assaults especially in Constantinople in 1170 and 1182. Against this background, inner-dynastic conflicts in 1203 caused the diversion of the Fourth Crusade towards Constantinople, which ended with the conquest and looting of the city by the Venetians and the Crusaders in April 1204.[64]

The year 1204 (despite the Byzantine "re-conquest" of Constantinople in 1261) marked the end of the politically united and centralized East Roman world. The same period saw the end of the (competing) Islamic Caliphates of the Abbasids (with the Mongol conquest of Baghdad in 1258) and the Fatimids in Egypt and Syria (with the downfall of the dynasty in Cairo in 1171). Instead, the Mongol expansion during the 13th century resulted in the establishment of the new large-scale imperial formations of the Golden Horde in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, and the Ilkhanids in Iran, Iraq and Anatolia. The complete conquest of all core regions of the Eastern Islamic World by the Ilkhanids was prevented by the Mamlūk Sultanate. The latter was a regime of warrior-slaves mostly stemming from the Black Sea and the Caucasus regions, who

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63   Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*; Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*; Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*; Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, pp. 45–48.
64   Preiser-Kapeller, "Byzantinische Geschichte, 1025–1204".

took over power in Egypt and Syria in 1250/1252. The increased influx of these slaves into Egypt in the decades before Ayyubid rule was partly caused by the turmoil created in their regions of origins (especially the areas of the Kipchaks) due to the Mongol invasions. Cuman/Kipchak groups also settled in Hungary as well as in the Balkans and in (at that time still Byzantine) Western Asia Minor after agreements with the rulers of these areas in the 1230s and 1240s. Some of them, as other speakers of Turkish languages before and after, were even integrated into the Byzantine elite through baptism.[65]

Thus, even before their more permanent conquests in the Middle East and Eastern Europe, the campaigns of Genghis Khan and his successors provoked large-scale movements of displaced populations and troops within these areas. A telling example is the last Shāh of the Khwārazm-Empire in Eastern Iran and Central Asia, Jalāl al-Dīn, who after his defeat against the Mongols in 1221 plagued the Middle East and Caucasia with the remains of his original retinue and new followers in the search for a new realm until his death in 1231. The Ayyubid Sultan of Egypt, who used them to reconquer Jerusalem from the Crusaders in 1244, later hired parts of his troops. Around that time, the Mongols had already conquered larger parts of Eastern Europe and advanced into the core provinces of the former Abbasid Caliphate, where they captured Baghdad in 1258.[66] Besides the displacements caused by their wars, the Mongols like other empires before them resorted to the relocation of troops recruited in the conquered areas and the resettlement of population at large, which acquired a new "trans-Eurasian" dimension due the immense extent of their realm. Thousands of soldiers from Russia and the Alans, who had lived north of the Caucasus and of the Black Sea, took part in the Mongol conquest of China and served in the armies of the Yuan dynasty there until the end of Mongol rule in 1368. In addition, Russian peasants and skilled workers from Eastern Europe (including German miners from Transylvania, for instance) were transferred into the Steppes of Central Asia.[67] In the other direction, thousands of Oirats warriors with the families from the upper Yenissei region (together with Chinese artillerymen) took part in the Mongol conquest of Persia and Iraq and settled their. In 1296, reportedly 10,000 of them defected to the Mamlūks in the aftermath of domestic struggles in the Ilkhanate. They were settled as a welcome reinforcement at the Mediterranean coast of the Palestinian province. As Thomas T. Allsen summed up, the Mongol rulers as "herders of human beings" brought

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65   Korobeinikov, "A broken mirror"; Halperin, "The Kipchak connection"; Loiseau, *Les Mamelouks*; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*; Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks*.

66   Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World*; Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*.

67   Reichert, *Begegnungen mit China*.

"East Asian colonists to the west to repair the damage caused by their own military operations, while European and Muslim colonists were taken east as human booty to produce specialty industrial and agricultural goods", thus initiating a new "Völkerwanderung" of the 13th–14th centuries.[68]

At the fringes of the Mongol empires, however, large areas of Eastern Europe, Asia Minor and the Balkans were characterised by political fragmentation. At the same time, especially the Venetians and Genoese integrated the cities of the Eastern Mediterranean as hubs and nodes into their commercial networks and into the Mediterranean subsystem of the late medieval "World System".[69] This contributed to the emergence of a multitude of overlapping zones of power and commerce as well as of various religious, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. Between the 13th and the 15th century, "no other region of Europe or the Mediterranean became a cynosure of so many ethnicities in such a small place".[70] The Eastern Mediterranean was the stage of intensive contacts between Mongols, Byzantines, Armenians, Turks, Persians and Arabs, Slavonic-, Albanian- and Vlach-speaking people, "Latins" or "Franks", and a large number of further ethnicities, members of which were of course also mobile across political borders;[71] moreover, between Orthodox, Oriental and Western Christian Churches as well as Islam (in its various denominations) and (within the Mongol Sphere) also Buddhism.[72] During that period, the first groups of people later known as "Gypsies" also appear in the records of Southeastern Europe, whom modern research since the 18th century tentatively has tried to connect with various groups originating in India.[73] Beyond traditional supra-regional contacts of members of medieval religious elites and nobilities which always had crossed borders within and beyond cultural-religious frontiers,[74] the increase in the number of contact zones, especially on the basis

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68   Allsen, "Population Movements in Mongol Eurasia"; Beaujard, *Les mondes de l'ocean indien* II, pp. 145–159. On the consequences of Mongol conquest see also the contributions in Krämer/Schmidt/Singer, *Historicing the "Beyond"*. For an illustrative individual female life story during this period, see Eastmond, *Tamta's World*.

69   Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony*; Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade*, pp. 1–12; Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, 28–30.

70   Epstein, *Purity Lost*, pp. 110–111.

71   For some examples, cf. the contributions in Balard/Ducellier, *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes*, and Malamut/Ouerfelli, *Les échanges en Méditerranée médiévale*.

72   Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony*; Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade*, pp. 1–12; Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, pp. 28–30.

73   Fraser, *The Gypsies*.

74   Cf. Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, pp. 60–62; Preiser-Kapeller, "Networks of border zones", and for the example of the Seljuq-Byzantine border in Anatolia Yıldız, "Reconceptualizing the Seljuk-Cilician Frontier", and Yıldız, "Manuel Komnenos Mavrozomes".

of commerce, opened paths to border-crossing also for non-aristocratic members of society.[75] Commercial interests and occupational mobility contributed to the establishment of a "middle ground" beyond religious or ethnic antagonisms. As Kate Fleet stated in her study of Genoese and Ottoman trade: "money largely formed the basis of the relationship between the Genoese and the Turks and this, rather than any religious scruple, dictated relations".[76] One illustrative aspect of these relations, also pertaining to labour mobility, is the use of eastern-style textiles in Europe and of western-style textiles in the Islamic world.[77] "Networks of affinities" were created based on profession and know how, for instance. One most impressive result of entangled phenomena in this regard is the emergence of the *Lingua franca* of Mediterranean seafaring in the late medieval and early modern period.[78] The possibilities for (both deliberate and forced) migration that emerged in the Aegean imperial sphere of Venice after the Fourth Crusade in 1204, which involved individuals and groups of various ethno-linguistic, religious and cultural backgrounds with different chances of (upwards) social mobility, are analysed in the chapter of Charalampos Gasparis. He also demonstrates what kind of information on motives and modes of mobility can be retrieved from the more detailed (especially documentary) source evidence for this period, which we lack for earlier centuries (see also the discussion above).[79]

The medieval "World System" emerging from the Mongol expansion, however, also created the pre-conditions for its demise; the increased connectivity and mobility across Afro-Eurasia allowed for the diffusion of the plague epidemic of the Black Death from East and Central Asia into Western Eurasia in the 1340s, with all its devastating effects. Even before the outbreak of the epidemic, political instability and internecine wars had contributed to the decline of the Mongol imperial formations and their eventual downfall or fragmentation.[80] The epidemic of the Black Death also motivated another wave of pogroms against the Jews. This intensified the already on-going shift of the core

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75   See now Preiser-Kapeller/Mitsiou, "Mercantile and religious mobility".

76   Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade*, p. 141. For examples of labour mobility in this period, see Mitsiou/Preiser-Kapeller, "Moving Hands".

77   Flood, *Objects of Translation*, pp. 11, 61–85; Wardwell, "Panni Tartarici"; Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza*; Jacoby, "Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction"; Burns, *Sea of Silk*.

78   Kahane/Kahane/Tietze, *The Lingua Franca of the Levant*; Makris, *Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Schiffahrt*, pp. 112–117.

79   On migration into the city of Venice itself, see Ravid, "Venice and its Minorities".

80   Campbell, *The Great Transition*; Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*; Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World*; Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*; Aberth, *Contesting the Middle Ages*, pp. 243–315.

areas of Jewish settlement of the so-called Ashkenazim from Western and Central Europe – where there had been a significant growth in the number of Jewish communities between the 10th and the 13th century – to Eastern Central and Eastern Europe in the 14th–15th century. These regions finally became the homelands of the majority of all Jewish population until the *Shoa* during World War II.[81]

The 14th century saw equally the rise of a new imperial project with the establishment of the Ottoman dynasty, originally one of several Turkish groups who had started to conquer and migrate into Byzantine territories in Western Asia Minor due to Mongol pressure from the East since the second half of the 13th century.[82] From 1352 onwards, Ottoman armies expanded into Southeastern Europe. Some of the indigenous nobilities resisted but others joined the Ottoman elite, which remained open for various ethnic and religious backgrounds. In addition, non-Muslim populations were integrated into the service of the Ottoman state since the 1360s by force via the so-called *devşirme*, the collection of Christian boys from conquered territories as tax who were converted to Islam and later served as Janissaries in the army or administration.[83] By 1400, the Ottomans had become the pre-dominant power in Southeastern Europe and Anatolia and already laid siege to Constantinople. The city was only saved by a last outbreak of Mongol expansionism under Timur Leng. From his basis in Samarkand, he afflicted since the 1360s large parts of Central Asia, Eastern Europe, India, Iran, Iraq and Anatolia, where he defeated the Ottomans near Ankara in 1402. Timur's military campaigns caused large-scale displacements of populations across the entire region from Eastern Europe to India and from Central Asia to the Aegean.[84] The Ottomans, however, were able to re-establish their empire, to conquer Constantinople in 1453, and within in the next 100 years to integrate all territories from the Black Sea to Egypt and from Northwest Iran to Algeria into a new Islamic Empire. This provided the framework for a new chapter of intensified migration and mobility (including the immigration of many Jews expulsed from Spain in 1492) which is beyond the scope of the present volume.[85]

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81   Toch, *The economic history of European Jews*; Ben-Sasson, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, pp. 687–701; Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, pp. 42–44; Aberth, *Contesting the Middle Ages*, pp. 101–140.

82   Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*.

83   Werner, *Die Geburt einer Großmacht*; Barkey, *Empire of Difference*; Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*; Imber, *The Ottoman Empire*.

84   Nagel, *Timur der Eroberer*.

85   Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, pp. 108–117; Faroqhi, *Travel and Artisans in the Ottoman Empire*; Bossong, *Die Sepharden*.

Despite the impressive number of forced or voluntary migrations described in the papers of this volume, we have to be aware that many extensive population movements remained below the "radar" of state authorities or the interest of official historiography.[86] As an example, we may mention the long-distance migrating movements of nomadic groups who appear in various combinations and with different names in the records of neighbouring empires, such as the Chinese, then disappear from them and eventually re-appear in new composition and with new names, for instance in Roman historiography. The exact connections between these "peoples", such as the Xiongnu and the Huns in the 4th century or the Rouran and the Avars in the 6th century, as well as the "pre-history" of the Magyars before they "emerged" in Byzantine and Latin sources in the late 9th century, remain unclear. A further example of "hidden" migrations are the movements of Bantu-speaking groups across most of Sub-Saharan Africa in the first millennia B.C.E and A.D.[87] Yet, as one of the anonymous reviewers pointed out, we have to reckon not only "with the possibility of sizable movements occurring without being mentioned in our literary sources". On the other hand, "there is the possibility of migrations recorded in medieval sources which did not actually occur!" For the latter case, one may reference the medieval "stories of origin" of peoples (in Latin "origo gentis"). They were often composed centuries after the "arrival" of groups in their "predetermined homelands" and traced their emergence and migrations across long distances many centuries back to biblical or "mythical" times, when totem animals such as a hind led the Huns or later the Bulgars across the Sea of Azov, for instance. Earlier research has attempted to "extract" remnants of the "actual" events and to draw these supposed routes of migration on maps. For present-day scholars, these texts hint rather at the significance of (actual or imagined) migrations for identity-constructions now and then.[88]

3   Conclusion

All papers in this volume point to the heterogeneity and complexity of the phenomenon of migration. They thus caution against simplistic approaches to migration processes in pre-modern times, which tend to draw moving blocks of people on historical maps (as, for instance, in the case of the "Völkerwanderung")

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86   See also Borgolte, "Migrationen im Mittelalter. Ein Überblick".

87   Eggert, "The Bantu Problem"; Bechhaus-Gerst, "Afrika"; Fauvelle, *Das Goldene Rhinozeros*, pp. 60–90; Fauvelle, *L'Afrique ancienne*.

88   Plassmann, *Origo gentis*.

with allegedly distinct homogenous collective identities such as "Slavs", "Muslims" etc. (even though we have unavoidably made use of such conventional "umbrella terms" in the historical outline above).

Against this background, the present volume hopes to contribute to and to motivate further research in the field of migration history beyond the modern era, by focussing on the medieval period and redirecting attention from Western Europe and the Atlantic towards the core transition zone between Africa, Asia and Europe. Moreover, it argues for an intensive and critical dialogue, in terms of both topics as well as methods, between historians, archaeologists, sociologists and natural scientists. Our aim was to avoid a recurrence of simplistic models, which only differ in the technical refinement of the underlying analytical tools or the novelty of terminology from earlier misconceptions.

TABLE 1.1   Chronological table of selected events of political and migration history

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
300	303 Start of persecution of Christians under Diocletian	226 Foundation of the Sasanian empire in Iran and the Iraq on a more centralized basis than the preceding Parthian Empire	241 Sasanians annex the Kingdom of the Hatrans; 270–330 Rise of the Kingdom of Himyar in Southwestern Arabia
	313 Toleration of Christianity in the Roman Empire (Edict of Milan)	311 Conquest of the Chinese capital Luoyang by troops of the Xiongnu, collapse of imperial rule in the north of China	Between 200 and 500 migration of Austronesian groups from Southeast Asia to Madagascar
		309–379 Reign of Great King Shapur II in Sasanian Persia, frequent wars with the Roman Empire	
	330 Inauguration of Constantinople as (one) capital of the Roman Empire	320–335 Reign of Chandragupta I, rise of the Gupta dynasty in North India	330 Advance of troops of the Kingdom of Aksum (modern-day Ethiopia and Eritrea) into Nubia (modern-day Sudan)

TABLE 1.1   Chronological table of selected events of political and migration history (*cont.*)

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
			340 Conversion of King Ezana of Aksum to Christianity, establishment of ecclesiastical contacts with Roman Egypt
		350 Migration of the so-called "Iranian Huns" into Western Central Asia, establishment of the Kidarites as first dynasty, wars with the Sasanian Persian Empire	
		359–363 War between Rome and Sasanian Persia	
	375 Migration of the Huns into Eastern Europe north of the Caucasus and Black Sea, attacks on the Alans and the Goths	370 Sasanian Persia looses control over Bactria to the Kidarites	370–375 revolt of Firmus in North Africa against the Roman Emperor Valentinian I
	378 Defeat of the Roman Emperor Valens against Gothic troops in the Battle of Adrianople; 382 Emperor Theodosius I makes Thervingian Goths settle as foederati in Thrace along the Danube	386–534 Northern Wei dynasty, patrons of Buddhism in north China; 390 Replacement of the Kidarite dynasty by the Alkhonites of the "Iranian Huns"	
	388 and 394 Hunnic troops in the service of the Roman Emperor Theodosius I; after his death 395	395–398 Hunnic invasions across the Caucasus into Roman and Sasanian Persian territories	398 Defeat of Gildo's revolt in North Africa

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
	rules of his sons Honorius in the West and Arcadius in the East (in Constantinople)		
400	404/405 and 408 Hunnic raids into Roman territories south of the Danube	399–420 Reign of the Sasanian Great King Yazdegerd I, good relations with the Roman Empire	
	410 Plunder of Rome by the troops of the Visigothic King Alaric	413/415 Death of Chandragupta II, apex of the power of the Gupta in North India	
	422–434 Reign of Ruga over the Huns, exerting of tributes from the Roman Empire	421–422 War between Rome and Sasanian Persia	429–439 Migration of the Vandals into North Africa, establishment of their kingdom
	434–453 Reign of Attila over the Huns, exerting of increasing tributes from the Roman Empire	439–442 War between Rome and Sasanian Persia	430 Augustine dies during the siege of Hippo by the Vandals
	454 Collapse of the Hunnic Empire after the death of Attila (in 453)	450–451 Rebellion in Armenia against Sasanian rule	
	455 Plunder of Rome by the Vandals	460 First reference to a westwards advance of the "Avars", which causes further migrations of Sabirs and Oghurs towards the Black Sea Steppes	468 Failure of a large-scale Roman offensive against the Vandals

TABLE 1.1   Chronological table of selected events of political and migration history (*cont.*)

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
	476 Deposition of the last Western Roman Emperor in Italy by the Germanic general Odoacer	458–528 Migrations of "Hunas" into Northern India, contributing to the fragmentation of the Gupta Empire	
	488 Migration of the Ostrogoths from the Balkans into Italy under King Theodoric	484 Defeat of the Sasanian Great King Peroz I against the Hephthalites ("White Huns") in the Battle of Herat	
		499 Great King Kavadh I returns on the Sasanian throne with support of the Hephthalites	
500		502–506 War between Rome and Sasanian Persia	500 Bantu speaking groups, who have migrated across entire Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1500 year before, reach modern-day South Africa
		485–531 In the reign of Great King Kavadh, Zoroastrianism and the Sasanian aristocracy are torn by Mazdak's attempted "egalitarian reform"	520–525 Reign of King Yusuf As'ar Yath'ar in Himyar, who converts to Judaism
	Ca. 520 First migrations of Slavic groups towards the Roman Danube border	526–532 War between Rome and Sasanian Persia	523–525 Invasion of troops from Aksum in the Kingdom of Himyar; 524 martyrdom of Christians of Najran

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
	535 Start of the (Eastern) Roman campaigns for the conquest of Italy from the Ostrogoths (until 552/553); 537 Dedication of Hagia Sophia	540–562 War between Rome and Sasanian Persia	533–534 Conquest of the Vandal Kingdom in North Africa by (Eastern) Roman troops
	541/542 Outbreak of the so-called Justinianic Plague	541/542 Outbreak of the so-called Justinianic Plague	541/542 Outbreak of the so-called Justinianic Plague
	557 Arrival of the Avars north of the Caucasus	552 Collapse of the Rouran Empire in Mongolia, establishment of the Gök Turkic Empire across the Asian Steppes	Ca. 550 Final break of the Ma'rib dam in the Yemen, symbolizing the decline of the south Arabian agricultural society and the predominance of pagan Bedouin patterns in the Arabian peninsula; after 550 Christianisation of the Kingdoms of Makuria, Nobatia and Alwa in Nubia
	568 Establishment of the Avar Khanate in the Carpathian Basin; Lombard migration into Italy	560 Alliance between Sasanian and Turks, collapse of the Hephthalite Empire	Before 570 Aksumites control Himyar and attempt to invade Mecca
	582 Avar conquest of the important Roman frontier fortress of Sirmium	571–590 War between Sasanian Persia and Rome, which allies with the Turks in Central Asia	570 Sasanians occupy the Yemen, expelling the Aksumites, migrations from Iran into Southwest Arabia

TABLE 1.1   Chronological table of selected events of political and migration history (*cont.*)

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
	586 Attack of Slavic groups on Thessalonike	588/589 Unification of China by Emperor Wendi of the Sui Dynasty	580 Ghassanids, Byzantine-sponsored Arabs, burn Hirah, capital of Sasanid-sponsored Lakhmid Arab kingdom in the Iraq desert
	590–602 Campaigns of the (Eastern) Romans against the Avars; they end with a rebellion of the army against Emperor Maurice in 602	590–610 Rise of the Armenian general Smbat Bagratuni at the court of the Sasanian Great King Xusro II	582 Ghassanids dismissed from Byzantine service; 594 Conversion of the Lakhmids to Christianity
600	590–604 Gregory the Great, pope at Rome (still under imperial rule from Constantinople)	602–628 War between Rome and Sasanian Persia	611 Day of Dhu Qar: an Arab tribal group defeats a Sasanian force near Hirah in the Iraq desert
	615/616 and 617/618 Attacks of Slavic and Avar groups on Thessalonike	614 Conquest of Jerusalem by Sasanian Persian troops	616/619–630 Occupation of Egypt by Sasanian Persian troops
	626 Avar siege of Constantinople	622–628 Heraclius invades the Sasanian realm via the Armenian highlands	622 Migration of Muhammad and his followers from Mecca to Medina (the Hijra)
		629 Heraclius restores the True Cross to Jerusalem; 630 Conquest of the Eastern Turkic Khanate in the Mongol Steppes by troops of the Chinese Tang Dynasty	632 Integration of Himyar into the emerging Arab Islamic Empire; Muhammad's "farewell" pilgrimage, Musaylimah appears as prophet in Yamanah in central Arabia; Muhammad's death

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
	649–650 Arabs raid Cyprus	632–652 Arab conquest of Syria, Palestine and Egypt from Rome and of Sasanian Persia; the last Sasanian princes find refuge at the Chinese court	641/642 Arab conquest of Egypt; migrations from the Arabic peninsula into Egypt and other newly conquered regions; 646 Byzantines briefly recapture Alexandria
	658 Campaign of Emperor Konstans II against Slavic groups on the Balkans	657–659 Chinese conquest of the Western Turkic Khanate in Central Asia	652 Failed Arab expedition into Nubia; peace treaty between the Arabs and the Kingdom of Makura in Nubia
	Ca. 660 Emergence of the Khazar Empire, collapse of the Great Bulgarian Empire north of the Black Sea; 667–669 Arab naval attacks on Constantinople	Ca. 660 Emergence of the Khazar Empire north of the Black and Caspian Sea	656–661 First Civil War (fitnah) in the Islamic Empire
	677 Siege of Thessa-lonike by Slavic groups	670–690 Expansion of the Tibetan Empire into Central Asia at the cost of Chinese influence	Uqba ibn Nafi' conquers Northwest Africa; 670 foundation of Kairouan
	680 Migration of parts of the Bulgars to the Lower Danube, establishment of the Bulgar Khanate	685 First Khazar raids into the Arab provinces south of the Caucasus	After 680 Relocation of the political centre from Aksum to the city of Kubar; 680–692 Second Civil War (fitnah) in the Islamic Empire
	695 Exile of Emperor Justinian II in the Khazar Empire	693 Defeat of Emperor Justinian II against the Arabs at Sebastoupolis in Asia Minor	697–698 Arab conquest of Carthage and further conquests in North Africa

TABLE 1.1   Chronological table of selected events of political and migration history (*cont.*)

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
700	705 Emperor Justinian II returns to the throne in Constantinople with the help of the Bulgars	706/707 Artisans sent from the Byzantine Empire work at the building of the Great Mosque in Medina	700 Embassy from Ethiopia to Patriarch Simon I of Alexandria
	717/718 Arab siege of Constantinople; Bulgar help for the Byzantines	702–715 Establishment of Arab rule in Western Central Asia (Transoxania) and in Northwestern India (Sind)	711 Arab invasion of the Visigothic Kingdom on the Iberian Peninsula from North Africa; migrations of Arabs and Berbers
	720–729 Pilgrimage of Willibald from England to Rome, Jerusalem and Constantinople	720–737 Several successful campaigns of the Khazars against the Arab provinces south of the Caucasus	725 Uprising of Christian communities in Egypt against Arab rule and taxation
	732 Battle of Tours and Poitiers of Frankish troops against Arab troops coming from the Iberian Peninsula	737 Defeat of the Khazars against the Arabs, relocation of the centre of power to the Lower Volga	732–742 Arab attacks on the Kingdom of Makura in Nubia
	747/748 Last great outbreak of the "Justinianic Plague" in the Byzantine Empire	747–750 Third Civil War (fitnah) in the Islamic Empire, overthrow of the Caliphal dynasty of the Umayyads by the Abbasids, migration of their followers from Khurāsān to the western regions of the Caliphate	740–742 Berber rebellion in North Africa; 744 Baghawata Berber dynasty established at the Atlantic coast
	751 Conquest of Byzantine Ravenna by the Lombards; 756 Spain independent		750 Advance of troops from Makura up to the city of Fustat in Arab Egypt

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
	from the Abbasid caliphate under an Umayyad prince		
	756–775 Several successful campaigns of Emperor Constantine v against the Bulgars	762 Foundation of Baghdad by the new Caliphal dynasty of the Abbasids	757 Midrarid dynasty (from Miknasa Berbers) established in Sijilmasa (modern Morocco)
	777 Baptism of the Bulgar Khan Telerig after his flight to Constantinople		775 Temporal disruption of the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea at the order of Caliph al-Mansūr
		785 Negotiations between the Chinese Tang Dynasty and the Abbasid Caliph on an alliance against Tibet	788–974 Shiite Idrisids independent, establish their capital at Fez
	792 Byzantine defeat against the Bulgars at Markellai	786–803 Rise of the (originally Buddhist) family of the Barmakids from Balkh in Afghanistan at the court of Caliph Hārūn ar-Rašīd	Since the late 8th century increasing trade and migration between the Islamic world and East Africa, transfer of Islam and emergence of the Swahili culture
800	802 Collapse of the Avar Empire after attacks by Frankish forces under Charlemagne	Ca. 800 Conversion of the elite of the Khazar Empire to Judaism	800–909 Reign of the Aghlabids as de facto independent governors for the caliphs in North Africa, launch attacks on Sicily, southern Italy; Islamization of Ifriqiyah (modern Tunisia)

TABLE 1.1   Chronological table of selected events of political and migration history (*cont.*)

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
	811 Defeat of the Byzantine Emperor Nikephoros I against the Bulgars under Khan Krum	811–813 Fourth Civil War (fitnah) in the Islamic Empire; 813–833 Reign of Caliph al-Ma'mūn, arrival of new retainers from Eastern Iran and Central Asia in Baghdad and the western regions of the Caliphate, including warrior slaves (mamlūks) especially of Turkic origin	800 Trade contacts between Arab ruled North Africa and the Ghana Empire; migrations and transfer of Islam across the Sahara
	822 Military support of the Bulgars for Emperor Michael II against the rebel army of Thomas the Slav	824/827 Conquest of Crete by Arab emigrants from Spain, who had spent some years in Alexandria in Egypt before	827 Beginning of the Arab conquest of and migration into Sicily from North Africa
	839 First reference to the arrival of Varangian Rus from Scandinavia in Constantinople	834 Defection of several thousand Khurramites (adherents of a religious rebel movement in Azerbaijan) from the Caliphate to the Byzantine Empire	831/832 Christian revolt in Arab Egypt
	847–871 Arab troops occupy the city of Bari in Southern Italy	847–861 Reign of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil; after his murder by Turkic guard troops in the new capital of Sāmarrā' increasing political fragmentation of the Arab Empire	847–997 Reign of the Yu'firid Dynasty in parts of Yemen
	863 Mission of Cyril and Method to Great Moravia in the	869 to 883 Rebellion of the Zanj (slaves from Africa) in Abbasid Iraq	868–905 Reign of the Tulunids, a dynasty of Turkic origin, as de

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
	Danube region; 864 Baptism of the Bulgar Khan Boris with the Byzantine Emperor Michael III as god-father		facto independent governors in Egypt
	878 Baptism of princes of the Serbs	872 Resettlement of members of the Paulician sect from Asia Minor to the Balkans after their defeat against Byzantine troops	
	881/882 Unification of the Rus princedoms in Novgorod and in Kiev by Oleg	874 Rise of the Iranian dynasty of the Samanids in Central Asia	
	896–900 Migration of the Magyars (Hungarians) into the Carpathian Basin under pressure from the Pechenegs	893–895 War of the Samanids against the Oghuz, who in turn attack the Pechenegs together with the Khazars; Pecheneg migrations towards the west, there exerting pressure on the Magyars	896 Emergence of the Sultanate of Showa as first Muslim state in Ethiopia
900	904 Arab raiders conquer Thessalonike	890–1001 Shiite Hamdanids in Aleppo, patronize famous Muslim poets, philosophers and scientists; Samanids become virtually independent in Transoxania, develop important administrative practices, patronize important Muslim poets, philosophers and scientists	909 Establishment of a Shiite Caliphate of the Fatimids in North Africa

TABLE 1.1   Chronological table of selected events of political and migration history (*cont.*)

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
	907–955 Wide-ranging raids of the Magyars into Central and Western Europe and Italy	907 Collapse of the Tang Dynasty in China	914–915 First attempt of the Fatimids to conquer Egypt
	927 Recognition of the imperial title of the Bulgarian Tsar and of the establishment of a Bulgarian Patriarchate by the Byzantine Emperor	922 Journey of Ibn Fadlan from Baghdad to the Bulgars at the Volga, who have accepted Islam	919–921 Second attempt of the Fatimids to conquer Egypt
		929–991 The Shiite Hamdanids rule from Mosul; 936 Migration of parts of the Arab tribe of the Banu Habib to Byzantine territory	939–969 Reign of the Ikhshidids, a dynasty of Turkic origin, as de facto independent governors in Egypt, expand into Syria
	948 Baptism of the Hungarian Prince Bulscu in Constantinople	945 The Shiite Iranian dynasty of the Buyids becomes protector of the Abbasid Caliphs in Baghdad	
	955 Baptism of the Princess Olga of Kiev in Constantinople	Ca. 950 Seljuk Turks move into the Bukhara area and adopt Islam	
	963–965 Conquest of the Khazar cities of Sarkel and of Itil by Prince Sviatoslav of Kiev, collapse of the Khazar Empire	966–1045 Successive annexation of various Armenian princedoms and kingdoms by the Byzantine Empire, at the same time Armenian and also Syrian migrations into Byzantine Central and Eastern Anatolia	969 The Fatimids conquer Egypt and found Cairo as their new capital; relocation of their retinue of Arabs, Berbers and military slaves of Slavic and African origin to Egypt

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
	970–997 Reign of Géza, establishment of the dynasty of the Arpads in Hungary	977–997 Rise of the Turkish dynasty of the Ghaznavids in Eastern Iran and Western Central Asia	975 Foundation of the port city of Kilwa Kisiwani in Tanzania by Muslim merchants from Shiraz in Iran
	988 Baptism of Great Prince Vladimir of Kiev, Christianisation of the Rus from Constantinople; the Rus mercenaries sent to Constantinople become the Varangian Guard	988 Peace treaty between the Byzantine Empire and the Fatimid Caliph, demarcation of spheres of influence in Syria; reference to the name of the Fatimid Caliph in the mosque in Constantinople	
		992–1124 Qarakhanids in Transoxania and Eastern Turkestan; 997–1030 Mahmud of Ghaznah, expands into India, Khurāsān, and Transoxania	996–1021 Reign of the Fatimid Caliph al-Hākim in Egypt and Palestine, constraints for Christians and Jews
1000		1001 Renewed peace treaty between the Byzantine Empire and the Fatimid Caliph; Hamdanids in Syria collapse; Samanids in Transoxania collapse and their domains are divided between Mahmud of Ghaznah and the Qarakhanids	Ca. 1000–1270 Rule of the Zagwe dynasty in northern Ethiopia
	1014–1018 Byzantine conquest of the Bulgarian Empire		1017/18 Caliphate of Córdoba (Islamic Iberia along with a part of North Africa) collapses

TABLE 1.1   Chronological table of selected events of political and migration history (*cont.*)

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
		1027 Renewed peace treaty between the Byzantine Empire and the Fatimid Caliph	
	1030/1042 Emergence of the first princedoms of immigrant mercenaries from Normandy in Southern Italy	1036–1040 Conquest of the Eastern Iranian Province of Khorasan from the Ghaznavids by Turkish groups under command of the Seljuk dynasty	1031 End of Umayyad rule over Spain
	1048–1053 Migration of Pecheneg groups into the Byzantine Empire due to inner conflicts and pressure from the Oghuz and Cumans	1041/1042 Last raids of Varangians from Scandinavia into the Caspian Sea region	1047–1138 Reign of the Shiite Sulaihid Dynasty in parts of Yemen
	1055 Settlement of Pecheneg groups in Hungary	1055 Capture of Baghdad from the Buyids by the Seljuks	1046 Emergence of the Berber movement of the Almoravids in Western North Africa, expansion into the Iberian Peninsula and across the Sahara; 1050 migrations ("invasion") of Banu Hilal Bedouins into North Africa
	1064 Raids of the Oghuz from the Steppes into the Byzantine Balkans	1064 Seljuk conquest of the Armenian capital of Ani (since 1045 under Byzantine control)	1060 Almoravids found Marrakesh
	1071 Loss of Bari as last Byzantine outpost in Southern Italy to the Normans	1071 Defeat of the Byzantines against the Seljuks in the Battle of Manzikert;	1074 Badr al-Ǧamālī, a general of Armenian origin, becomes vizier and de facto-ruler in

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
		Turkish migrations into Anatolia	Fatimid Egypt (until his death in 1094); migrations of Armenians to Egypt
	1081–1085 Norman attacks from Southern Italy on the Byzantine Balkans, which are repelled with the help of Venice, which receives trade privileges in the Byzantine Empire; 1085 Toledo falls to Reconquista Christian forces	1072–1085 Establishment of an Armenian princedom in Cilicia after the collapse of Byzantine power in the region	1086 The Almoravids under Yusuf ibn Tashfin defeat an army of the Castilian king Alfonso VI in the battle of Sagrajas (Zallaqa)
	1090 Saint Mark's Cathedral built at Venice; 1091 Completion of the Norman conquest of Arab Sicily	Movement of the Nizari assassins formed; 1092 Death of the Seljuk Sultan Malik Shah, weakening of the central power	1094–1121 al-Afḍal Šāhanšāh, son of Badr al-Ǧamālī, rules as vizier in Fatimid Egypt
1100	1091 Byzantine victory against the Pechenegs in the Battle of Levounion	1096–1099 First Crusade, establishment of four Frankish states in the Levant, migrations from Western Europe	1100 The documents in the Genizah of the Ben Ezra-Synagogue in Cairo hint at wide-ranging trade networks of the Jewish community between North Africa, the Red Sea and India in the 11th and 12th centuries
	1111 Trade privileges for the city of Pisa in the Byzantine Empire	After 1096 Establishment of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum in central Anatolia	1107 Formation of the Almohad sect in North Africa

TABLE 1.1   Chronological table of selected events of political and migration history (*cont.*)

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
	1122 Decisive victory of the Byzantine Emperor John II Komnenos against the Pechenegs	1118 Migration of reportedly 40,000 families of the Cumans across the Caucasus into Georgia	1118 Crusader attack on Egypt
	1125 Permanent political fragmentation of the realm of the Rus after the death of Vladimir II Monomakh	1125–1141 Establishment of the Empire of the Kara Khitai in Central Asia after their emigration from Manchuria due to their defeat against the Jurchen/Jin	1130–1269 Almohads in North Africa and (until 1212) in Spain
	1147–1149 Norman attacks from Southern Italy on Byzantine Greece	1144 Conquest of the Crusader princedom of Edessa by Imad ad-Din Zengi; 1147–1149 Second Crusade	1147 Collapse of the Empire of the Almoravids, rise of the Almohads
	1154 Death of Roger II of Sicily, patron of Islamic learning; 1155 Trade privileges for the city of Genoa in the Byzantine Empire	1157 Fragmentation of the Seljuk Empire in Iran after the death of Sultan Ahmad Sanjar	1163–1184 The Almohad Abu Ya'qub Yusuf unifies most parts of Spain under his rule
			1168/1169 Joint Byzantine-Crusader attack on Fatimid Egypt
	1171 Temporal eviction of the Venetians from the Byzantine Empire	1176 Byzantine defeat against the Seljuks of Anatolia at Myriokephalon	1171 Replacement of the Fatimid dynasty in Egypt by the Ayyubids (Sultan Saladin, of Kurdish origin)

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
	1185 Norman conquest of Thessalonike; rebellion in Bulgaria against Byzantine rule and foundation of the Second Bulgarian Empire	1187 Sultan Saladin defeats the Crusaders at Hattin and conquers Jerusalem; 1189–1192 Third Crusade	1173–1228 Reign of a branch of the Ayyubid Dynasty in Yemen
	1195 Byzantine embassy to the Scandinavian kingdoms in order to hire soldiers for the Varangian Guard	1190 Ghurids take Delhi; Khwarazm Shahs expand their power over western Central Asia	1196–1549 Marinids in Morocco
1200	1204 Fourth Crusade, conquest of Constantinople and establishment of a "Latin Empire" and further Crusader states in Greece	1205–1211 Seljuk expansion in Anatolia towards the Black Sea and the Mediterranean	1200 Rise of the Kingdom of Mali in Western Africa, first pilgrimage of a prince of the Mandinke to Mecca
	1204/1210 Venice secures the possession of the island of Crete and further colonies in the Aegean, migrations from Venice and other parts of Italy	1206 Proclamation of Temujin as Genghis Khan of the Mongols; the following Mongol conquests cause wide-ranging movements of troops, refugees, deportees and migrants across Eurasia	1218–1221 Fifth Crusade, attack on Egypt and temporal occupation of the city of Damiette
	1223 Victory of a Mongol army over Russian and Cuman troops in the Battle of Kalka	1221–1231 Devastating campaigns of the Sultan Jalal al-Din of Khwārazm in Western Iran, Caucasia and Mesopotamia after his defeat against the Mongols	1228–1454 Reign of the Rasulid Dynasty in Yemen

TABLE 1.1   Chronological table of selected events of political and migration history (*cont.*)

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
	1237–1240 Mongol conquest of the Russian princedoms; 1230–1492 Nasrids rule from Granada in the remaining Islamic territories in the Iberian Peninsula	1237/1241 Cuman refugees from the Mongols are settled by Emperor John III Vatatzes in Byzantine Asia Minor	
	1241 Mongol invasions of Poland and of Hungary	1243 Defeat of the Seljuks in Anatolia by the Mongols at Kösedağ	1249–1254, Seventh Crusade of King Louis IX of France, attack on Egypt
	1254 Foundation of the City of Sarai at the Volga as capital of the Mongol Khanate in Eastern Europe ("Golden Horde")	1258 Mongol conquest of Baghdad; establishment of the Mongol Ilkhanate in Iran, Iraq and Southern Caucasia	1250/1252 Takeover of power in Egypt by the Mamluks (warrior slaves, mostly from the Western Eurasian steppes)
	1261 Conquest of Constantinople by troops of the Byzantine "exile state" of Nicaea; establishment of a Genoese colony in Galata	1260 Defeat of the Mongols by the Mamluks at Ain Jalut in Palestine	1269 End of the Almohad dynasty in North Africa
	1270 Establishment of a Genoese colony in Kaffa on the Crimea	1267–1279 Mongol conquest of Southern China under Kublai Khan; migrations from across Central and Western Asia into China	1270 Eighth Crusade of King Louis IX of France, attack on Tunis
	1274–1282 Short lived Union of Churches between Rome and Constantinople	1271–1294 Marco Polo in the Mongol Empire of Kublai Khan	1270–1285, Reign of Yekuno Amlak, founder of the Solomonic dynasty in Ethiopia; diplomatic contacts with Mamluk Egypt

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
	1294–1302 War between the Byzantine Empire and Venice	1291 Fall of Acre as last outpost of the Crusaders at the mainland Levantine coast to the Mamluks; 1296 Defections of thousands of Oirat warriors and their families (originally coming from Southern Siberia) from the Ilkhan Empire to the Mamluk Sultanate	1285 Emergence of the Sultanate of Ifat in Ethiopia
1300	1302 Migration of followers of the defeated Khan Nogai after a civil war in the Golden Horde to Byzantium	1302 First defeat of the Byzantines against the Ottomans at Bapheus; refugees from the conquered areas in Western Asia Minor come to Constantinople	1306 Embassy of King Wedem Arad of Ethiopia to the Papacy
	1311 First relocation of the see of the Metropolitan of Russia from Kiev to Moscow	1307/1318 Establishment of Catholic bishoprics in the Mongol capitals in China (Beijing) and Persia (Sultaniyya)	1310–1333 Apex of the Sultanate of Kilwa Kisiwani in Tanzania in the reign of al-Hasan ibn Sulaiman, who is also visited by the traveller Ibn Battuta
	1321–1328 Civil war in the Byzantine Empire	1326 Ottoman conquest of the Byzantine city of Bursa (Prusa) in Northwest Asia Minor	1312 Mamluk invasion of the Nubian Kingdom of Makuria, a Muslim member of the royal dynasty is put on the throne
	1327 Acknowledgement of Prince Ivan I of Moscow as Grand Prince of Russia by the Golden Horde	1331 Ottoman conquest of the Byzantine city of Nikaia (Iznik) in Northwest Asia Minor	1324 Pilgrimage of King Mansa Musa I of Mali from West Africa to Mecca

TABLE 1.1   Chronological table of selected events of political and migration history (*cont.*)

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
	1340 Expansion of the Kingdom of Poland and of the Grand Duke of Lithuania into Western Russian regions	1335 Fragmentation of the Mongol Ilkhanate after the death of Abū Saʿīd	
	1352 Ottoman capture of the fortress of Tzympe, start of their expansion into the Balkans	1346 Outbreak of the Plague epidemic of the "Black Death" across Western Afro-Eurasia	1346 Outbreak of the Plague epidemic of the "Black Death" across Western Afro-Eurasia
	1362 Ottoman conquest of the Byzantine city of Adrianople (Edirne)	1368 Overthrow of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty in China by the Ming	1365 Attack of a Crusader army from Cyprus on Alexandria in Egypt
	1371 Ottoman victory over an alliance of Serbian princes in the Battle at the river Maritza	1370–1405 Establishment of a new Mongol Empire in western Central Asia and Iran by Timur Leng	
	1389 Ottoman victory over an alliance of Christian princes in the Battle of Kosovo Polje	1381–1392 Ottoman conquest of most of the competing Turkish Emirates in Western Asia Minor	1382 Establishment of the Burji dynasty in the Mamluk Sultanate
	1395–1402 First Ottoman siege of Constantinople	1390–1399 Devastating campaigns of Timur Leng into India and against the Golden Horde	
1400	1402–1413 Civil war in the Ottoman Empire	1402 Ottoman defeat against Timur Leng in the Battle of Ankara	
	1410 Death of the famous Byzantine Icon painter Theophanes in Russia		1415 Emergence of the Adal Sultanate at the Horn of Africa

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
	1422 Second Ottoman siege of Constantinople		1415 Conquest of Ceuta in North Africa by Portugal
	1423–1432 First war between the Ottomans and Venice		1434 Portuguese seafarers reach Cape Bojador in West Africa
	1444 Defeat of King Vladislav III of Hungary and Poland against the Ottomans in the Battle of Varna	1447 Ultimate collapse of Timurid rule in Iran, rise of the Turkish federation of the Qara Qoyunlu	
	1453 The Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II conquers Constantinople		1456 Portuguese seafarers reach Cap Verde islands
	1460 Conquest of the Peloponnese by the Ottomans	1467 Defeat of the Qara Qoyunlu by the Aq Qoyunlu under Uzun Hasan	1465–1492 Rise of the Empire of Songhay in Western Africa under the rule of Sonni Ali
	1475 Conquest of the last Genoese colonies on the Crimea by an alliance of the Khanate of the Crimea and the Ottomans		
			1482 The Portuguese reach the mouth of the river Congo
	1492 Expulsion of Jews from Spain, many find refuge in the Ottoman Empire	Formation of several Muslim petty states in India; 1498 Vasco da Gama lands in Calicut	1487/1488 The Portuguese Bartolomeu Dias reaches the Cape of Good Hope
1500		1501–1507 Overthrow of the Aq Qoyunlu by the Shiite Safavid dynasty in Iran	1500 Collapse of the Christian Nubian Kingdom

TABLE 1.1   Chronological table of selected events of political and migration history (*cont.*)

Time	Eastern- and Southeastern Europe	Central and Western Asia	North and East Africa and (South) Arabia
		1509–1511 Revolts under the leadership of Shiite clergymen and dervishes in Ottoman Anatolia	1516/1517 Ottoman conquest of the Mamluk Sultanate in Syrian and Egypt
	1526 Ottoman defeat of the army of the Kingdom of Hungary in the Battle of Mohács		

Acknowledgement

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Introductory Essay: Migration—Travel—Commerce—Cultural Transfer. The Complex Connections Byzantium-Kiev-Novgorod-Varangian Lands, 6–14th Century

Dirk Hoerder

Dealing with Varangian-Rus'/Kievan and Byzantine interactions in Europe's so-called "Middle Ages" involves several macro-regions: the East Roman realm, the Iranian as well as the Mesopotamian and Egyptian realms, and the distant Scandinavian one. Scholarship has been hampered by terminological problems: The East Roman inhabitants—"Rhomaioi", "Rhom", or "Rum"—were misnamed "Byzantines" almost a century after the Empire's demise by the Augsburg humanist Hieronymus Wolf (1516–1580). His reference to the Greek settlement Byzantion rather than to Constantinople, the Roman Empire's continuity, and Orthodox Christianity was meant to reduce East Roman culture to an "in-between" and elevate Western Christianity and the Carolingian reinvention of western Rome as sole successor to "Rome" whether Empire or city or St. Peter's Christianity.[1]

The still unified Roman Empire—through armed conquest—had established rule or held sway in the Anatolian-Eastern/ Mediterranean-West Asian region but could not annex the Iranian realm once conquered by Alexander ["the Great"] and "Hellenized" as much as the Macedonians were "Persianized". When, from the 3rd to the 6th century, "Rome", whether empire, federation of provinces, or region of connected urban centers, came apart as circum-Mediterranean and trans-alpine polity, the eastern half continued as a politically unified but territorially expanding or shrinking realm with Constantinople as capital. It was thus not a "Byzantine" *successor* state to a dissolved empire.

To the north of Constantinople and Anatolia, the vast region from the Black to the Baltic Sea was an arena of migration and of settlement of Baltic-, Finno-Ugric, and Slavic-speaking peoples. Highly mobile groups from further

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1   I am grateful to Lewis Siegelbaum and Leslie Page Moch for a critical reading of an earlier version of this essay and to Johannes Preiser-Kapeller and Claudia Rapp as well as Jonathan Shepard for intense comments and references to further literature. Greek- and Russian-language research has not been accessible to me.

east, some from as far as the northern border of Imperial China, transmigrated or settled for several generations. These, popular memory and historians' "master narratives" labeled "Asiatic hors*emen*". They included women and children, often were of poly-ethnic background, but were subsumed by contemporary designations under singularizing labels: "Huns", "Mongols", "Tatars", or in an earlier phase "Scythians". From Scandinavia, the multiple local societies of "Norsemen" and women with high shipbuilding and seafaring skills reached out. The mobile cultural groups did pose massive threats to entire settled populations, to communities, and to individual families in the steppe macro-region, in Byzantium, and in Western Europe. Whether on the move or establishing temporary and, in the case of the "Mongols", century-long rule, from the (East) Roman perspective they were neighbors/ aggressors/ passers-by.[2]

In this essay, I first outline the southward Scandinavia-Black Sea/ Central Asia connections along river routes; second, turn to the multi-facetted migrations and cultural exchanges between East Rome and the Varangian-Rus' principalities; and finally summarize the transcontinental connectivity of the many Norsemen and -women. In conclusion, I will assess the specific character of these mass, cultural elite, and military labor migrations.

1   The Early "Varangian"—Black Sea Connections

Population development in the macro-region between Baltic and Black seas had involved the slow, land-bound dispersion of cultural groups from Mazuria in the north to the Lower Danube in the south. While 19th-century ethno-centric historians had placed the origin of "proto-Slavic groups" in wetlands and lowlands of the Pripyat-River, Bug, and Dnepr, recent research emphasizes a "Byzantine authors-making-the-Slavs" process: 6th-century chroniclers viewed the Empire's northern neighbors as two groups of enemies labelled "Sclavenes" and "Antes". Their many cultures expanded westward via the Danubian plains to the East Alpine foothills in mid-6th century, a common Slavic may have been the *lingua franca*.[3] In the north at this time, Scandinavian, Finno-Ugrian and Baltic peoples began to explore the water routes—sea, lakes, and the

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2   Kennedy, *Mongols, Huns and Vikings*.

3   The Kievan monks' "Primary Chronicle" (1113) described the migrations based on Slavic chronicles, native legends, Norse sagas, Arab texts, Byzantine historiography, and treaties between the Kievan Rus' and Byzantium: Primary Chronicle, transl. Cross/Sherbowitz-Wetzor. Cf. also Curta, *The Making of the Slavs*; Curta, "The Making of the Slavs: Ethnogenesis Revisited"; Koder, "Anmerkungen zum Slawen-Namen in byzantinischen Quellen", 333–346.

seemingly endless southward-flowing rivers—to the Caspian and Black seas to settle and trade with merchants from the Iranian and Central Asian region.[4] Again parallel in time, steppe cultural groups moved westward: Huns (5th century), Avars (6th century), Bulgarians (7th century), Magyars (9th century), and Pechenegs/ Patzniaks (late 9th century). In addition, the (Western) Turkish Khaganate from Central Asia to the Crimea (from mid-6th century), the rule of the Khazars as its successors north of the Caucasus (from mid-7th century) and the Cuman-Kipchak federation—perhaps (partly) Nestorian Christian—from the 11th century played important roles. Then the Mongols (12th–13th century) established their transcontinental realm. These flexible "cultural groups" rather than "peoples" with essentialist identities were both agents of destruction and of state building. They posed threats, first to the eastern Orthodox Christian Roman Empire, from about 800 to Latin Christian Western Europe, and from the late 12th century to the Kievan and other Rus'-landish principalities, as well as to the Iranian and Islamic spheres. The transcontinental *pax mongolica* of the 13th and 14th centuries permitted resumption of trading connections.[5]

From among the many migrations, those of the cultures of proto-Slavic (5th–8th century) and of Scandinavian languages were central to the emergence of the Kievan Principality with whom the Constantinopolitan Empire would interact. Scandinavia's and Jutland's naturally limited agriculturally usable land, given population increases, forced people to emigrate, and long coasts, resulting in seafaring expertise, made this possible. From economic micro-regions and meso-regional realms of rule, men and women migrated eastbound via the Baltic Sea's Gulf of Finland and via the Narva, Neva, and Daugava (or Western Dvina) rivers to lakes Peipus, Ladoga, and Ilmen; westward via the North Sea to the (British) isles settled by Angles and Saxons and to what would be called "Normandy"; and southward onward to Sicily, Constantinople, and the cities of Syria and Palestine (in Christian naming the "Holy Land").[6] Later historians named these circum- and transcontinental

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4   Franklin/Shepard, *The Emergence of the Rus*, on the northbound migrations of cultural groups from the Caucasian Mountain range (pp. 71–80), on trading places along the Donetsk River where Chinese goods from the Tang-period have been excavated (p. 83) and on migrants from the Baltic island of Åland at the middle Dnepr in the 10th century (p. 125). Cf. also Kappeler, *Russland als Vielvölkerreich*, pp. 9–24; Preiser-Kapeller, *Jenseits von Rom und Karl dem Großen*, pp. 164–165.

5   Pickhan, "Von der Kiever Rus zum Moskauer Reich", pp. 113–137, esp. p. 114; Golden, *Central Asia in World History*, pp. 77–79, 83–84, 93.

6   Musset, "L'aristocratie normande au XIᵉ siècle", pp. 71–96; Walker, *The Normans in Britain*. The courts of the Sicilian rulers, esp. of the Norman King Roger II (1103–1154) and the Hohenstaufen Frederick II (1212–1250), were centers of intercultural and inter-religious exchange, cf. Houben, *Roger II. von Sizilien*.

waterborne migrants according to perceived roles: (1) state-building Normans (and, analytically important, Nor-women), (2) Vikings as raiders and/ or long-distance traders, and (3) Varangians as aggressive power-imposing settlers and traders. Many moved in stages, francophone Normans from Normandy, for example, to the "Holy Land". Thus, like the "Sclavenes", the men and women from the northern cultures were labeled according to the perceptions and discourses of chroniclers from the societies in which they arrived/ which they aggressed.

The 7th-century Scandinavian-origin traders who would come into contact with East Rome settled in populated regions and, mixing over generations with women and men of Slavic culture, formed the Novgorodian, Kievan, and later Muscovite principalities. They came from distinct regional cultures, among them military-style armed and predominantly male "Swedes" from Uppland and Östergötland and trade-oriented families from the isle of Gotland, and mixed with Baltic and Finno-Ugric settlers. They established settlements where trade goods had to be reloaded onto river boats, Staraia Ladoga at Lake Ladoga and Gorodishche at Lake Ilmen, and connected southward across lakes, rivers, and portages, first, as long-distance-merchants via the Volga and the Caspian Sea to Persian and Arab merchants and, second, along the Dnepr to Slavic settlements and, finally to the Black Sea and Constantinople.[7]

At the Volga route's southern end, the Nordic merchants traded with Arab and Iranian ones traveling the (later so-called) Silk Roads (plural!) from China, Central Asia, India, and elsewhere. Recently Islamized traders, settled Arabs in the frontier regions as well Turkish military manpower and soldiers provided key support for the foundation of the Abbasid Caliphate in 749/750 A.D., which formed a stable frame for exchange. After the transfer of the capital from Damascus to Baghdad (founded in 762), a new and wealthy elite created demand for luxury goods from the north. Merchants of the Choresm oases-region at the southern shore of the Aral Sea and of Tashkent, Bukhara, and Samarkand south of the Caspian Sea distributed northern "exotic" products, in the 8th century via Khazar middlemen or families and in the 10th century via Bulgarian ones. Merchants in Novgorod, Gotland, and Birka (Lake Malaren), in turn, traded southern Arabian, Persian, and Byzantine (Roman or Greek) "exotic" products. This Volga trade route never became a migration pathway.[8]

In contrast, the second route along the Dnepr involved migration and settlement and would become the major axis between the north and Byzantium. From Lake Ladoga, Novgorod and Pskov Varangians migrated southward and,

7   Cunliffe, *Europe between the Oceans*, pp. 12, 263, provides maps of the trans-European migratory space.
8   Preiser-Kapeller, *Jenseits von Rom und Karl dem Großen*, pp. 164–166, 235–237.

according to late 9th-century sources, established rule over the settled East Slavic-speaking families. They founded (or selected) Kiev as capital possibly at the site of a Khazar Jewish community.[9] The many-cultured settlements along the Dnepr linked to southeastern cultural groups in a process of changing from Old Turkic-Mongolian and Jewish beliefs to Christian and Muslim ones. The arrival of Northerner newcomers-intruders, as is frequently the case when mainly men migrate, involved violence. The cost of the imposition of rule had to be borne by those subjugated and the new order disrupted the residents' societal arrangements. Slavic enslaved men had to build dugout boats facilitating the rulers' mobility; women became sex objects, concubines, or wives, gave birth to, and raised culturally mixed children. Hierarchies between the in-migrating and, since the 6th century, settled East Slavic peoples and the arriving Rus' are difficult to evaluate: did the migrants from the north establish themselves as an *overlay* or were they *subversive* to the residents' ways of life? Was the comparatively small number of Nordic people absorbed as is suggested by their acceptance of the Slavic language? Alternatively, did they deeply change the culture of the resident families as suggested by patterns of trade?[10]

The Varangians, possibly a name for traders with shared liability, were also called "Rus" (Slavic), "Rūs" (Arabic), and "Rhōs" (Greek) which may refer to one of the regions of origin, *RoÞer* or *RoÞin* at the Swedish Baltic coast.[11] In a linguistically-connotatively-conceptually confusing turn, this name was increasingly used for the new mixed population and, finally, as "Russians" for the East Slavic-speaking *métis*-descendants of both ethno-cultural groups in the pre-Muscovite "land of the Rus", Rus'-landish, *Ruskaia zemlia*. Rus-land or "Russia" refers to the state emerging in the 14th and 15th centuries with Moscow as its center. Better than dichotomous juxtapositions of peoples, concepts of hierarchical *fusion* or *métissage* help understand the development of new societies: processes of exchange, acculturation, merging rather than essentialist folk (or national) identities.

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9   On a possible Khazarian pre-history of Kiev, see essays in Golden/Ben-Shammai/Róna-Tas, *The World of the Khazars*.

10   A founding legend invented later has three brothers arrive—add: with their families and dependents—allegedly invited by resident strife-torn cultural groups to reestablish order. The oldest, Rurik, gave name to the "Rurikid" dynasty. Folk tales and master narratives sometimes merge into founding myths legitimizing rule. In many such stories *young* brothers—an age group wanting to separate from parents—depart from hearth and home. Such migrants' ascribed names often became the designation of the new upper strata and, by extension, of "peoples", cf. Jones, *A History of the Vikings*, pp. 244–246. Geary, *The Myth of Nations*.

11   Benedikz, *The Varangians of Byzantium*, pp. 1–7.

In addition, in the 8th and 9th centuries "'home' was itself a movable and uncertain affair for the inhabitants of the river valleys and the depths of the forests alike—part hunter-gathers, part fishermen and part agriculturists". While spiritual connections to ancestors encouraged immobility around burial grounds, dearth, hunger, and increasing population provided constant stimuli for further mobility. Settlements along the rivers were "places of co-residence of diverse ethnic groups (including Finno-Ugrian and Baltic ones) over a protracted period".[12] Strife internal to one of the co-resident groups could involve further mobility and mixing. Prince Vladimir of Kiev (r. 980–1015) had lived as a refugee in Sweden, returned with Varangian soldiers, and settled the Turk-language Torki and Berendei as border guards at the southern limits of his realm. The competitors for his succession mobilized mercenary men: Saxons and Hungarians, Slovenes and Varangians, men from the steppes and the Caucasus. They marched across vast distances, were left by the wayside or demobilized somewhere, left families behind or formed new ones. His son Jaroslav (r. 1019–1054) married his children into Norwegian, French, Hungarian, Polish, and German noble families. Historians' emphasis on the territoriality of rule has obscured such military, commercial and cultural interaction.[13]

2   Spiritual and Material Interactions between East Rome and Kiev

From the perspective of *Rhom* elites culture and competition emerged from Persia, Syria, and Egypt. The often mobile realms of the steppes and woodlands north of the Black Sea were also of interest as threatening, as potential allies, or as neighbors to be informed by diplomatic mission when a new emperor ascended the throne.[14] When more than five centuries after the Roman Empire's shift to the east but only about two centuries after the Varangians' arrival at Lake Ladoga a fighting force of some 5,000 of the latter appeared before Constantinople in 860, distant some 2,000 km from Novgorod as the crow flies, contacts intensified.[15] Their aggressive mobility in quest of booty made the

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12   Franklin/Shepard, *Emergence of the Rus*, quote pp. 6, 6–27; Jones, *A History of the Vikings*, pp. 241–268; Waßenhoven, *Skandinavier unterwegs in Europa*.

13   Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe: Kievan Rus' in the Medieval World*.

14   Dölger, *Regesten*, nrs. 13, 41, 63, 183, 263, 302a, 438a and 458, lists embassies to the Turkish Khaganate in the 6th century and to the Khazars from the 7th to the 9th century. See contributions to Smythe, *Strangers to Themselves*, and Di Cosmo/Maas, *Empires and Exchanges*, pp. 1–15, 70–83.

15   Jones, *A History of the Vikings*, pp. 259–260; Androshchuk, *Vikings in the East*; Holmquist/Minaeva, *Scandinavia and the Balkans*; Scheel, *Skandinavien und Byzanz*.

men from the north strange as well as curiosity-arousing objects for Constanti-nople's chroniclers: dramatic events, in contrast to everyday ways of life, enter historic narratives.

The high level of literacy among East Roman elites—poly-ethnically com-posed of Greeks, in-migrating Romans, Armenians, Syrians, Slavs, Turks, Bul-garians, Vlachs, Alans, Magyars, and Georgians—and resulting texts provide views of "the Others" whether called Varangians, Rhōs, or Tauroskythians. Such naming involves *bordering* and *fixing* in place. It disguises the continuous composing and re-composing, the transitoriness of cultural groups. The Byz-antine chroniclers backgrounded the south-to-north perspective, of interest here, by an overriding east-west narrative structure and, like their Arabian, Scandinavian, and Ruslandic counterparts, never focused on common people and their mobilities. This east-west axis, still current in Euro-centric historiog-raphy, dates to the ancient Mediterranean world: Herodotus had described the conflict between the Achaemenid Persian Empire (est. 6th century B.C.E) and the Greek states in this perspective.[16] Later antiquity-worshipping historians elevated his perspective to status of paradigm. Other perspectives, to Egypt in the south and Kiev in the north, received less attention or were deliberately avoided.

When the Rus' army appeared, the Emperor, preoccupied with border wars and on his way eastward with thousands of soldiers, requested negotiations but, prudently, also reversed the direction of his marching men. Unexpected by *Rhomaioi* and Rus' alike the looming clash—a "bumping into each other" in which the agents/ players like billiard balls might bounce into many direc-tions—became the beginning of intensive interactions with the Dnepr as axis: merchants' travels; migration of Church personnel; diplomatic voyages of Ki-evan rulers and princesses with their retinues to Constantinople; marriage mi-gration of imperial princesses to Kiev in the frame of power policies; forced migrations of enslaved men and women; migration of under-employed Varan-gian-Rus' to the southern military segment of the labor market.[17] In "master" narratives, warfaring large-distance movements often became a story's core. Such master-induced narratives were subservient to a master's power. Along

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16   Herodotus did discuss the Scyths and their ways.

17   Wyrozumski, "La géographie des migrations en Europe centrale et orientale du Moyen Âge au début des temps modernes", pp. 191–198; Bibikov/Kabuzan/Nazarov, "Ethno-Demographic Changes in the Region of Northern Pontos-Southern Russia-Ukraine", pp. 271–297; Scheel, *Skandinavien und Byzanz*.

the Dnepr, many migrations were peaceful, intended to find sustainable ways of life. Chroniclers designated the geographic Dnepr-axis functionally as the "route from the Varangians to the Byzantines", migration and trade became markers for conceptualizing space.[18]

2.1　*Christianity: Clerical Personnel and Craftsmen*

Shortly after the first clashing-negotiating contact the brothers and monks Cyril and Method traveled-migrated in 862 or 863 northwestward. To reach out to the (future) faithful they decided in the planning phase of their mission to "the Slavs" with consent of the Patriarch to end the Orthodox liturgy-Greek language oneness by creating a "new vernacular". Based on southern Slavic they created the "Glagolitic" script with future macro-regional impact as Old Church Slavonic and as basis for the (later developed "Cyrillic") script of most modern East Slavic languages. Orthodox Kievan Christians could thus celebrate the liturgy in their own language while the Western Carolingian Empire's Christians had to follow the Rome-centered Latin version.[19] While establishment of Kievan society had involved armed migration of considerable numbers of Varangians, this macro-regional linguistic innovation with popularizing intent was achieved by a mere two intellectual migrants.

Cyril and Method moved about but, rather than being labeled *vagrants*, were respected, received accommodation and sustenance, and founded churches. *Itinerancy* of the powerful and the influential from one center of mission to another, between monasteries, or from castle to castle and palace to palace, has never been categorized together with the job- and alms-seeking mobility of the weak. When, as cultural representative of the emperor, Method reached the distant Moravian and Pannonian state (modern Czech and Slovak territories), he entered spaces over whose inhabitants the Patriarch's competitors, the bishops of the West Roman Church claimed rule. To safeguard their "rights" to the tithe-paying populations, the Western clerics ordered his arrest. If successful, his mission would have redirected common people's tithes to eastern Orthodox clerics. The Pope, who around 870 had assigned Method the

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18　Franklin/Shepard, *Emergence of the Rus*, pp. 39–80, 183–204. Conflictual relations ended after the Rus' unsuccessful attack of 1043.

19　The Latin translations of the liturgy from the Greek had only been established in the 3rd and 4th centuries and their "canonization" was to buttress the power of the bishop/ pope in Rome. Only the Reformation of 1517 introduced "vernacular" languages into Western Christianity.

role of bishop for the Pannonian Slavs, later ordered his release; as yet, the schism was not complete.[20]

Northward along the Dnepr, the "Christianization" project established the East Roman emperors', Basil I (867–886) in particular, hegemony over the expanding religious institutions and preachers, over time "the Bulgars", another many-cultured group, adopted Christianity. About a century later, perhaps in 946 or, probably in 955 or 957, Princess Olga of Kiev, the widow of Prince Igor and regent for their son, traveled to Constantinople to be baptized.[21] Around 988, the Kievan Prince Vladimir assessed his options. He allegedly informed himself about the Latin Christian and Jewish (Khazar) faiths, then followed Olga's example. Internally this implied that his subjects became Christian-Orthodox; externally he improved his negotiating position vis-à-vis Byzantium; for the emperors "the sphere of influence was enlarged to an extent undreamed of". The new Kievan Metropolitan was subordinate to the Patriarchate of Constantinople and, up to mid-12th century, always was a *Rhomaios* (or Byzantine) migrant.[22] "The cultural development of Russia was to be under the aegis of Byzantium" for two centuries; East Roman elites conceptualized a pan-European "Commonwealth", even a universal Empire of Christ.[23]

The religious-political developments initiated migrations: the Kievan Church needed personnel, required churches to be built, icons to be painted. After Vladimir I conquered Cherson in 988, captured books, icons, and liturgical objects served as models for Rus' craftsmen. "Travelling objects", diplomatic gifts in particular, had also been inspirations for reflection, copying, adapting. Byzantine architects, artisans in the building trades, painters specialized in icons and frescoes, and mosaicists migrated to Kiev and as far as Novgorod.[24] Two

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20   Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs*, pp. 73–193; Hannick, "Die Byzantinischen Missionen", pp. 279–359.

21   Acceptance of the Christian faith first by a woman who then induces men in her family—husband or brothers—to follow is a trope in Christian chroniclers' and narrators' writings. Among scholars, time and place of Olga's baptism are still controversial, cf. Kresten, *"Staatsempfänge" im Kaiserpalast*, and Tinnefeld, "Zum Stand der Olga-Diskussion".

22   In general: Poppe, "The Original Status of the Old-Russian Church".

23   Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, quotes pp. 304–305; Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*; Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth*.

24   Prinzing, "Zum Austausch diplomatischer Geschenke zwischen Byzanz und seinen Nachbarn in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa", 139–171. Angermann/Friedland, *Novgorod. Markt und Kontor der Hanse*; Seibt/Bosdorf/Grütter, *Transit Brügge—Novgorod*; Gormin/Yarosh, *Novgorod. Art Treasures and Architectural Monuments 11th–18th Centuries*, pp. 5–23, discuss "overseas merchants", Byzantine and Serbian painters and travelers, Armenian motifs. Novgorod was linked by trade with the Baltic, with Kiev and Constantinople, with Smolensk in western Russia, the littoral of the White Sea, and the Transuralian regions, as well as with the Arabian states. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*.

specialized labor market segments emerged: spiritual jobs for clergymen, who probably came with families since priests could marry, and jobs for producers of material utensils and symbols of the new religion. While architects-artists-artisans came by themselves or in small groups, ranking clerical personnel travelled with retinues of servants and staff. Within a year after Vladimir's baptism, in-migrating architects following Byzantine designs built the Desjatinnaja or "Tithe" Church in Kiev. In the larger cities, this first cross-in-square masonry edifice became the model for replacing the customary wooden churches. From the early 11th century, masonry building culminated in the erection, from 1037 onwards, of the "new Kiev" of Prince Jaroslav complete with a "Golden Gate" copied from a triumphal arch in Constantinople.

The successful architects, painters, and mosaicists did not attract large numbers of *Rhomaioi* specialists. Rather they trained local craftsmen who translated the Byzantine architectural-artistic language. In some cases, they had to learn basic new production methods. Experienced as carpenters building wooden churches, they had to learn to make bricks and edifices out of them. Such training of residents avoided job-competition with migrants and, since the construction enterprises for stone-churches remained local, so did profits. Did close contacts emerge between in-migrating "Greek" men and the residents, especially women? The sources recorded neither the lives of immigrant workers nor those of the artistic masters.

The *métissage* of imported and local languages of form, color, and symbols appears in the impressive early-12th-century churches of the Novgorodian St. Anthony and St. George monasteries: a Russianizing of Byzantine architectural vocabulary. Frescoes in the churches of Novgorod the Mirožskij Monastery (c.1156) of Pskov indicate to which degree visual techniques and iconographic patterns were either transmitted by migrating painters or adapted from pattern books. Illuminated manuscripts—of which the Ostromir Gospel (1057) and the *izbornik* (theological compendium) of Svjatoslav (1073) are the best examples—also testify to cultural adaptation. The variation of Byzantine conventions by the 12th century assumed distinct local expression in "schools" of style. The products of so-called "minor" arts of decorative sculpture and carving (jewelry, metal objects, ritual utensils, liturgical vessels) also combined Byzantine models, local codes of coloring, and Slavic folklore. Hand-drawn pattern books were exchanged between regions and passed on to subsequent generations. Russian literary writing, too, adapted Byzantine Greek-language texts and in-migrating metropolitans influenced the Old Russian literature. It remained narrowly religious in scope, authors attempted to adhere to Byzantine traditions. In-migrating priests and producers of religious art, however, also kept some of their exclusiveness and prevented residents' access to these

labor markets: It took some two hundred years before the explanatory texts in icons of saints, mosaics, or frescoes changed from Greek to Slavic lettering and language. Thus *Rhomaioi* "white collar workers", priests, teachers, translators, remained in demand for long though Rus' "blue collar workers" had learned the imported language of symbol and form and had mastered the techniques.[25]

This trans-lation—building cultural bridges—required, on the one hand, remaining as close to the original as possible and, on the other, as close to the new audience as necessary for easy understanding. The constructed difference between "metropolitan" Byzantine and "primitive" Russian art and the hierarchies of imperial-peripheral, central-marginal, capital city-provincial require reassessment. The concept of "first peoples" and "*arts premiers*", rather than mere "local expression", incorporates traditional cultural expression of resident peoples with less complex structures of societal organization but complex codes of meaning and expression. Only through a share-and-change premise may metropolitan-imported and resident-established cultures be studied at par.[26] The resident "consumers of religious art" or "the faithful interpreting new symbolism" were not to be deterred by overly foreign, even alien, elements of form and expression. This has methodological and theoretical consequences for scholarship: contacts involve many levels of societies and codes of expression.

2.2   *Commerce: Merchant Mobility and Transport Workers*

Varangian-Rus' princes had repeatedly expressed their interest in the wealth of Constantinople through military attacks.[27] However, as laid down in *De administratio imperio* (948–952) by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, for the emperors diplomacy, far more cost-effective than warfare, was the preferred countermove: they turned the sequence of aggressions into a sequence of treaties. Treaties of 907 (perhaps an informal agreement) and 911 regulated trade relations: travels of merchants (in this case not merchant *families*) with permission of a temporary, limited period of stay at the destination. The treaty of 944 or

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25   Kazhdan et al., *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 3, pp. 1820–1822 (s.v. "Rus, Art and Architecture", and "Rus, Literature of"); Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur*; Franklin, *Writing, Society and Culture in Early Rus*.

26   Musin, "Archeology of Urban Sites".

27   Sequence of attacks: 907; the 941 surprise landing on the Bithynian coast laid waste the Asiatic shore of the Bosporus but was halted by the Byzantine fleet's use of "Greek fire"; a fleet commanded by Prince Igor appeared on the Danube in 943; Byzantine campaign against Prince Svjatoslav with whom the Bulgars allied themselves in 971; strained relations in 1043 and surprise attack by a Rus' fleet: the "problem" was solved by a marriage alliance, cf. Jones, *A History of the Vikings*, pp. 259–265.

945 confirmed these regulations but contained clauses more favorable to the Byzantines.[28] For example, the price for slaves—young men and women captured in warfare—was reduced by half. Did the most important suppliers, the Cumans, who ruled the steppes since the end of the 11th century, make up for their loss by delivering more enslaved human beings?

The merchants from Kiev, Černigov, Perejaslavl' and other cities, whose right of residence was limited to Constantinople's suburbs outside the wall, could enter the city only unarmed and in groups of no more than fifty—indicating the presence of considerable numbers. According to the treaty of 944/945, they were to be supplied with free provisions for up to one month and with support for their return voyage, presumably in fall either by boat upstream or perhaps by caravan. Protocols of protection for commerce and trade were common in the Europe of this time since the territorially fixed dynastic states' economies required the capabilities of mobile merchants for exchange relations. The Mediterranean equivalent to such protocols was hostels, which provided accommodation for merchants, pack animals and wares—*pandocheion*, *funduq-fundicum-fondaco*, *khân*. In Constantinople one 12th-century building for about one hundred men seems to have been reserved for western merchants, other regulations assigned Syrian merchants to specific quarters.[29] The East Roman government's third treaty, 944/45, with Rus', in addition to princes and "boiars", was signed on the merchants' side, by fewer men with Scandinavian names. Does this indicate acculturation, Slavicization, or changed internal Kievan power relations?

Once the Kievan princes, from conviction or utilitarian considerations, accepted Christianity and with the increasing usage of the Slavic language, trading connections in the transit region between Lake Ladoga and the Mediterranean changed. Constantinopolitan merchants began to offer material item with religious meaning: cult objects like icons, liturgical silver utensils, luxury products for court, metropolitan, and upper strata, glass, amphora with wine and oil, and tesserae (colored pieces of ceramics and terracotta) for mosaics. Merchants from the Kievan economy—from mid-9th to mid-12th century the macro-region's most powerful principality—exported bees wax, honey, timber, furs, and as intermediaries Cuman-captured slaves and Baltic amber. Warfare, in one case of a Kievan army of 20,000 with about 400 boats to rob rather than trade, such mobile merchants could sit out. With the aggressors repulsed

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28   Ferluga, "Der byzantinische Handel nach Norden im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert", pp. 616–642, and Hellmann, "Die Handelsverträge des 10. Jahrhunderts zwischen Kiev und Byzanz", pp. 643–666.

29   Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World*, pp. 12, 64–65, 147–157.

trade continued. Byzantine merchants sailed to Crimean ports but did not travel northward up the Dnepr. Chronicles list the multiplicity of cultural groups in these ports and surrounding regions. In the 13th century, the ports would enter an "Italian" period, the connection via the Silk Roads to (then Mongol controlled) Central Asia, Iran, and China continued.[30]

Constantinople's location and the networks of Byzantine, Arab, Syrian, western, and Kievan merchants around the year 1000 made it the most important exchange node of this segment of global—as yet tri-continental—commerce. The literati's depictions of the Varangian-Rus' changed from "alien" and "dangerous" to Christian practices and information about the populations and their customs. Ensconced in Christian discourse, they remained silent about merchants of different, Jewish faith. Along the Volga, gravestones prove their presence. A Jewish community existed in Constantinople and in Khazaria the top strata had converted to Judaism in the (late) 8th century. This poly-ethnic, Turk-speaking, multi-religious polity ruled the region north of the Black and Caspian seas in the 9th and 10th centuries and thus controlled the routes connecting the western part of the Silk Roads with the Kievan and Byzantine worlds. Arab traders travelled these routes as well as northern fur traders whose marketing of furs became a core element of the Kievan, Novgorodian, and Muscovite economies: Scandinavian as well as Siberian macro-regions of supply connected with regions of demand from Constantinople to Rome and Paris.[31]

Commerce over long distances involved merchants "on the Greek run" and, perhaps, small traders. Along the Dnepr route, their numbers remained limited, though from about 900 to the 1450s perhaps larger than the number of clerics and related artisans. However, transport of goods, manning and maneuvering of the ships, and personal service for merchants required considerable staffs who became part of the cultural exchanges. At anchor points and hostels the support workers, men and women, "managed" encounters in this contact zone. Though stationary in place, they mentally and physically interacted with strangers and strange customs. Whether any of the merchants settled and acculturated at either end of the annual trajectory or along the routes at a stopover point, we do not know.

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30   Albrecht, *Quellen zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Krim*; Karagianni, "Networks of medieval city-ports on the Black Sea".

31   Preiser-Kapeller, "Das 'jüdische' Khanat". On northbound Arab travelers and on Arab geographers' knowledge see *Ibn Fadlān*, transl. Lunde/Stone. For the fur trade, see Martin, *Treasure of the Land of Darkness*.

In addition to the south-north/ north-south connections between *Rhomaioi* and Rus' eastward routes extended into the steppes and as far as China. The Crimean ports became the nodes of exchange. To the west, the Danube and land routes connected Constantinople to northern Italy, the "Frankish" realm and its successor *regnae*. An association of merchants of Jewish faith connected "Frankland" and the Chinese Empire through trans-hemispheric overland routes and the Mediterranean-Indian-Southeast Asian seas. In his famous *Book of Roads and Kingdoms* (885) the Arab postmaster Ibn Khordadbeh described the "al-Radhaniyya" merchants. Multilingual—Greek, Arabic and Persian, "Frankish" and "Andalusian", as well as Slavic—they exported from the west and elsewhere eunuchs, slave boys and girls, and swords; from the north furs; from textile manufacturing centers brocades; and from the east silks, spices, and aromatics, incense in particular. Constantinople was one of their nodes.[32]

2.3 *Forced Migrations: Slaves*

In the East Roman Empire, slaves were born of slave mothers of many cultures or became enslaved through self-sale or kidnapping. Enslaving of military and civilian other-cultured captives was part of warfaring armies, of pirates, and of the trans-European and -Mediterranean trade. Captives came from Slavic lands, from the steppes, from or via the Franks' lands, and Arabia. Given East Rome's almost constant state-of-war and both Arab and Carolingian wars of expansion, supply was unlimited.[33] From the Carolingian realm in the 8th/9th century to the Cuman realm of the 12th/13th century and from Muslim Iberia to Syria, warfare and raiding were closely entwined. Byzantine raiders captured slaves from Aegean and Mediterranean islands and the shores of the Adriatic. Among European powers warfare had to pay for itself and thus soldiers were paid in slaves or from the proceeds of their sale. When Emperor Justinian II (r. 685–695, 705–711) captured Cherson in the early 8th century, he ordered all inhabitants to be killed but the soldiers refused—they needed to sell them for their wages. Whole populations of captured cities were sold or transported into imperial slavery. Annual payments of tribute might involve consignments of gold, slaves, and horses. Around 960, after victories in Crete, Cilicia, and Aleppo, Constantinople was said to be full of slaves.[34]

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32   Preiser-Kapeller, *Jenseits von Rom und Karl dem Großen*, pp. 170–172. Cf. also Drauschke, *Zwischen Handel und Geschenk*; Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*.

33   The reverse, sale of captured Byzantine soldiers into slavery outside the Empire, is beyond the scope of this essay as is the return migration and cultural impact of enslaved East Romans when ransomed.

34   Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World*.

The major transit ways were Dnepr, Don River to Sea of Azov, or Don-Volga route via Itil and the Caspian Sea for captives of Russian Slavic and steppe group cultures; men and women from Western Slav and Saxon groups came via Raffelstetten, for instance, in Bavaria either along the Danube or across the Alps and Venice; Bulgars came from the steppes and Balkans; again others came via Frankland and its Mediterranean ports. Slaves included Christians, who according to the Latin Church were not to be sold to Muslim buyers: The sellers therefore used Jewish merchants as intermediaries. Again, others, of Islamic faith, came from the Arab world. Depending on their skills and the interests of owners, slaves in East Rome worked as unskilled laborers, skilled artisans, scribes, or in the domestic sphere. They could become foremen or shop managers. Imperial slaves provided the labor for public works and mining. Enslaved artisans from cities with a reputation for high quality production might be transported to imperial workshops or be sold to private entrepreneurs and continue in their skills as gold embroiderers, coppersmiths, armed guards, notaries (*notarios*), overseers. Thus, in terms of cultural origin, skills, and position slaves formed an essential and sizeable part of the Byzantine cultural fabric.[35]

2.4   *Marriage Migration among the Nobility*

Few in number but influential in terms of cultural exchange women's marriage migrations were part of the European nobility's strategies to forge alliances or strengthen existing ones, to acquire territories or establish friendly relations with competing-cooperating families. This trans-European mobility included the Kievan and, later, the Muscovite courts as well as Byzantium's ruling families. Women might also act as cultural mediators on their own as indicated by Princess Olga. Empress Irene (r. 775–802) and Charlemagne entertained a marriage project for a daughter and a son. Prince Vladimir, when supporting Emperor Basil II during an internal uprising, received the promise to wed the emperor's sister, "purple born" Anna.[36] Her voyage—like those of other noble brides—involved large retinues. Male and female retainers and servants would

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35   Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World*, esp. pp. 57–130; McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 729–777. For particular trades see Gordon, *The Breaking of a Thousand Swords*; Skirda, *La traite des slaves*.

36   Designation for sons and daughters of the Byzantine imperial couples referred to birth in the Porphyra, a room paneled with Egyptian purple porphyry. To work imported stone artisans in the building trades like jewelers working precious stones from afar had to acquire the skills. They might be trained, in the case of porphyry, by in-migrating Egyptian craftsmen or undertake an apprenticeship migration to Egypt. Cf. for instance Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. and transl. Macrides/Munitiz/Angelov, p. 27.

stay in the employment of the bride (rarely: groom) and might form an enclave at the receiving court. The marriage of "Holy (West) Roman" Emperor Otto II with Theophanu, niece of the Byzantine Emperor, in 972, provoked anti-foreigner sentiments among some top-level German-speakers.[37]

When maritime trade routes shifted—but were not interrupted—with the presence of Arab-Muslim fleets from the 7th century; when the Latin Churches "crusading" warfare resulted in tensions and cooperations from the 11th century; and when Byzantium faced the power of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily (est. 1130), marriage migration increasingly included the western Mediterranean World. Emperor Manuel I (r. 1143–1180)—whose mother was the daughter of the royal Hungarian Arpad and Swabian couple—married the sister-in-law of German Hohenstaufen King Conrad III, Bertha of Sulzbach. The rationale, an alliance for a crusade and to fight the Norman King, Roger II, of Sicily, came to naught. Roger II seized Corfu as well as Corinth and Thebes in 1147. In these wealthiest cities of the Greek segment of Byzantium and core locations of the empire's silk industries, originating centuries earlier from trading connections to China, artisans produced for courts—brides and grooms. The Norman King "kidnapped" silk weavers who, after forced economic migration, developed Palermo's recently established silk industry. The ancestors of Roger and his warriors, like the Varangians along the Dnepr, had come from Scandinavia but lived in Normandy.[38]

Another kind of involuntary elite mobility was migration of hostages as part of early medieval family politics and diplomacy. "Hostages", like delegates, were cultural mediators rather than pawns. When Peter, Tsar of Bulgaria (929–69), in a post-war diplomatic exchange married the Emperor's granddaughter Maria Eirene Lakapene, sons born from this union had to live at the court in Constantinople. Such men and women, when returning "home" after cultural immersion, could become particularly valued mediators between court cultures. Ambassadors, too, could represent one side and easily take a role on the other side; they were intermediaries valued for their skills rather than "loyalists" of one of the contracting parties. Bi- or many-cultured capabilities were valued, several papal delegates to Byzantium later became popes themselves. Mobility was high, travels manifold in the Roman-Byzantine realm and the Mediterranean World.[39]

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37   Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*. For a systematic survey of Byzantine diplomatic marriages in the 6th–12th century see Panagopoulou, *Οι διπλωματικοί γάμοι στο Βυζάντιο*, and for the especially prominent case of Theophanu see Panagopoulou, *Θεοφανώ. Η Βυζαντινή αυτοκράτειρα* .

38   Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, pp. 381–394.

39   Kosto, *Hostages in the Middle Ages*.

3   Trans-European Routes to East Rome's Military Labor Market

Migration of soldiers was, from ancient times, part of migrations to wage work but, until recently, has not often been studied as such. Surplus men from rural regions had to out-migrate and, in times of endless wars between dynasties over territorial possessions or within dynastic families over succession, jobs were plentiful. Germanic groups for instance had served as Roman soldiers since the time of the Principate and continued to do so during the Late Roman and Byzantine period. Other men had been recruited within the Empire, since the 7th century reorganized into military "themes".[40]

By the 10th century, the civil government—in strong competition with the military aristocracy—had converted conscripted men into a self-sustaining peasant-soldiery at the borders. As settled border guard, they could no longer be recruited into mobile fighting units and the armies consisted of recruited men from the *foederati*, mercenaries. Many came with wives and children, formed families with women from the train, or found partners from among local women. Already in the 9th century, the military following of one rebel against the emperor, "Thomas, the Slav", consisted—in addition to Byzantines—of "Hagarenes, Egyptians, Indians, Persians, Assyrians, Armenians, Chaldeans, Iberians, Zechs, and Kabirs", as well as "Slavs, Huns, Vandals, Getes, Manichees, Lazes, and Alans". 10th-century mercenaries included Frankish and other West European men, Armenians, Bulgarians, Turks, or came from conquered populations like Pecheneg men with their families.[41] From the 10th century, the commercial treaties with Kievan rulers provided options for southbound military migrants. The Varangian-Rus' gained the right to participate in campaigns as soldiers and sailors, probably as whole units. Sending off unruly young men eager to fight to foreign armies was a strategy of rulers to rid their realm of internally disruptive elements: involuntary "export" or self-decided migration to prove manly fighting spirit.[42] In the campaign against Muslim Arabs on Crete in 911 some 700 men were Varangian-Rus' and their seafaring expertise induced sailors from port cities in Dalmatia to join East Roman fleets. During the 987–989 revolt of leading members of the landed military elite, Basil II (r. 976–1025) called for help on the Kievan Prince who sent some 6,000

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40   Kühn, *Die Byzantinische Armee im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*; Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World*.

41   Scharf, *Foederati*; Preiser-Kapeller, "Central Peripheries".

42   Examples include a Japanese Shogun's dispatch of an army against Korea in 1592 or the service of surplus sons of the gentry in Britain's colonial armies and administrations.

men.[43] This unit, originally from Sweden, had helped Vladimir to regain his throne, and, the goal achieved, the men needed a task as well as wages.[44] After quelling the revolt, the Scandinavian men remained in the Emperor's service as, some authors argued, Varangian Družina or Palace Guard; others dispute the organized character before the late 11th century.

These Norsemen's migrations assumed a transcontinental dimension when the soldier-migrants spread word of job opportunities to their home communities and the diaspora. Men came (1) transcontinentally via Russia's south-flowing rivers; (2) seaborne via settlements along the coasts of the North Sea and (3) via Sicily, Byzantium, and what Roman and Eastern Christianity called the "Holy Land". (4) Some crossed the western part of the continent and came via the Provence (France) or via the "southern" Italy- or Rome-route. From the 11th century, Anglo-Saxons and Danes came from England and were sometimes called "refugees" from the restructuring of society after the Norman conquest of 1066. In this case, notables with families also came—according to contemporary counting in several hundred ships. Later, members of the Varangian Guard recited their good wishes in front of the emperor in the palace of Constantinople in English ("enklinisti").[45] Often generically called "Normans" by historians,[46] the soldiers came from a wide diaspora and were named "Frankoi" or "Keltoi" by contemporaries.[47] Mention of Constantinople in Icelandic sagas demonstrates that the northwest-trans-European-and-Mediterranean connections entered popular memory.[48]

Whether Byzantine's popular memory about these or other soldiers was a positive one remains an open question. The "Norman" mercenaries quelled a revolt around 1040 and poly-ethnic units, whether strategically stationed or

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43   Whether these troops came with "train", i.e. with women and children and service personnel, is not clear from the sources.

44   Benedikz, *Varangians of Byzantium*, pp. 32–53. An example for high mobility was the later Norwegian King Harold (1047–66) who had had to flee to Kiev, lived in Constantinople 1034–1043, fought in Sicily, then returned to Norway (ibid. pp. 54–102, for other travelers, pp. 193–222).

45   Vasiliev, "The Opening Stages of the Anglo-Saxon Immigration to Byzantium", 247–258; Ciggaar, "L'émigration anglaise à Byzance après 1066", 301–342; Shepard, "The English and Byzantium: A Study of Their Role in the Byzantine Army in the Later Eleventh Century", 53–92; Pappas, "English Refugees in the Byzantine Armed Forces": For the use of "English" language cf. Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. and transl. Macrides/Munitiz/Angelov, pp. 154–155, and Scheel, *Skandinavien und Byzanz*, p. 883 (B118).

46   Men from the north might also be designated as "Russians", cf. Kühn, *Byzantinische Armee*, p. 213 and *passim*.

47   A voluminous older literature, often concerned with men's "heroic deeds", has exploited this topic. Dawkins, "The Later History of the Varangian Guard", 39–46.

48   Scheel, *Skandinavien und Byzanz*, with a systematic survey of Scandinavian sources.

marching across vast spaces, had to feed themselves, their horses and pack animals, and possibly their families. For human food and animal fodder they or specific foraging units had to "extract surplus wealth" from villages along the routes. These families may not have agreed with the assumption that they were parting with "surplus".[49] By the 11th century, military service had been replaced by war tax levies. Imperial soldiery in general and Norman elite troops in particular contributed to a complex "us" and "them" imagery in which neither "us" nor "them" was of one culture.

4   **Changing Relations: Steppe Peoples, Crusaders, the Rise of Moscow, the Coming of the Turks**

From mid-11th century onwards ethno-cultural groups of the steppes moved into the lands of the Rus' and, while East Rome's territory contracted before the advancing Seljuq Turk-speaking groups, the Russian principalities in the 13th century came under Mongol rule. This pressure from the east combined with the attractions of the west changed Russian rulers' politics and diplomacy from the north-south to an east-west orientation. From the perspective of the Byzantine Empire socio-political distance to the Russian principalities also increased since the steppe groups' advance into the east-west corridor north of the Black Sea increased risk and cost of traversing the region. In the 10th and 11th century the imperial authorities negotiated and cooperated with mobile and aggressive "nomads" like the Pechenegs, Uzes, and Cumans, in order to keep the Magyars as well as the Bulgars at a distance. "Imperial" policies betrayed weakness: To settle the Pechenegs, Byzantium had to buy off the leaders with presents and with imperial titles. In the 12th century, the Kiev rulers kept the riverways to the Black Sea and Byzantium open by using Turkic steppe-nomad groups like the Berendei as border securing personnel. The 12th-century Komnenes rulers revitalized recruitment of native-born troops and employed many Frankish, Turkish and other warriors.[50]

In the Mediterranean southwest, the Normans from Sicily curtailed the reach of Byzantium's trading and imperial fleets. The worst threat, however, came from the Latin Christians. As crusaders—under the lead of Constantinople's main and powerful competitor Venice, in the process of expanding from city-state to regional empire—they attacked and sacked the city in 1204. From this destruction and mass flight—the number of inhabitants shrank

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49   Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society*, pp. 4, 284–292.

50   Curta, *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages*.

from about maybe 400,000 to 35,000—Constantinople would never recover and the epithet "Latin" became the Byzantine equivalent of "Tatar" in Muscovy or "Hun" in Frankish lands.[51]

In consequence of the combined external threats, the burden of the cost of defense especially after the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261 became almost unbearable for the population. The empire's soldiery, like the marauding-migrating-adventuring crusader masses, consisted of "foreigners", men alone, with families or partners, with large trains providing services. In addition to the—sometimes separately listed—Varangian and Russian men, Pecheneg and Cuman men as well as Turk-speaking men from among the threatening eastern neighbors came, and, from the equally threatening West crusading vagrants of Italian, French, German, and English languages. Furthermore: from the Balkans Hungarian and Bulgarian men, from the Caucasian Mountains Abkhaz and Alan men, and from the southeast Arab men. Some of those serving—and their cultural groups or segments of them—acculturated.[52]

Immediately after wresting rule from the western crusader powers and the reestablishment of the Byzantine state, the emperor in 1262 forged diplomatic and commercial ties with the eastern Golden Horde, thus benefitting from the *pax mongolica*' options for east-west trade. The Jochid rulers were overlords of the north-eastern principalities including Moscow. Viewed in this context, the move of the Metropolitan from Kiev to Moscow may have reflected a Byzantine strategy rather than a disengagement with the Patriarch in Constantinople.[53]

During the 14th-century step-by-step recovery of the several Russian principalities from the rule of the "Tatars" led to an ascent of Muscovy. Its ruler's massive building program attracted new migrant artists, architects, and craftsmen who imported the most recent trends in Constantinopolitan painting as far as monasteries and secular urban residences in northeastern Russia. Once again, the sources recorded but few names—with the exception of "Theophanes, the Greek" who, having gained renown by painting churches in Constantinople and Galata, by decorating stone churches in Chalcedon (Bithynia) and Kaffa (Crimea), arrived in Novgorod and Nižnij Novgorod in the 1370s, moved to Moscow in 1395, and seems to have stayed there till 1405. Like his 11th- and 12th-century predecessors, he worked with indigenous craftsmen and he co-authored a book of models for the training of Russian artists fusing

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51 Cf. Mitsiou, "Feinde, Freunde, Konkurrenten".

52 Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, pp. 114–121, mislabeled acculturation as "Hellenization". A Byzantine army of 1259, according to one source, for instance consisted of 1,500 Hungarian and 300 German mercenaries, a cavalry of 2,000 Cumans, 1,500 Turks, 600 Serbians, an unspecified number of Bulgarians, and Greek archers.

53 Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*.

Byzantine (court) and Russian (folk) styles. He influenced the icon painting of Andrej Rublev (c.1360–1430), who in a dialogue between internal and external forms of visual expression "combined delicate and highly refined Palaiologan artistic techniques and sophisticated theological concepts with the strong linear traditions seen in Novgorodian painting".[54] At the same time and depending on the security of the route, Russian pilgrims still traveled in considerable numbers to Constantinople. Some settled, others continued, if means permitted, to Jerusalem, describing themselves as *xenos*, wanderer or outsider, to the distant but relevant shrines.[55]

Post-crusader Constantinople, once as first "new" Rome the destination of migrant nobles from (old) Rome in Italy, became an emigration region more than a millennium later when the Ottomans conquered the city in 1453.[56] While parts of the elite stayed and cooperated with the new rulers, Orthodox faithful and priests with their families as well as secular families and individuals, provided they had the means, departed the newly Islamic realm. The majority of these elite migrants headed to Italian cities and powerful Venice.[57] Often referred to as scholars, the migrants included impoverished members of Constantinople's upper strata, who earned their living as teachers of Greek in wealthy Roman families. For those selecting the old south-north axis, now to Moscow,[58] Novgorod, and Kiev, Islamic "push" was supplemented by Muscovite "pull" since, at the beginning of the 14th century, Metropolitan Peter (1308–1326) had transferred his residence to Moscow and had set in motion an internal migration of clerical personnel. By the century's end, Grand Prince Vasily (Basil) I of Moscow (r. 1389–1425) had rejected the supremacy of the Byzantine emperors though not of the Patriarch. In a further step, Prince Ivan III (r. 1462–1505), having secured power in the interior and adjacent principalities,[59] married the niece of the last Emperor of Byzantium, Sofia (Zoë) Palaiologos, to

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54   Kazhdan et al., *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 3, p. 2064 (s.v. "Theophanes 'the Greek'").

55   Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople*.

56   During the political and religious power struggles, Emperor John VIII Palaiologos, at the Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1438/39, accepted the preeminence of the Roman Pope in vain hope of support against the approaching "Turks". After this "sell-out" the Metropolitan in Moscow could no longer defend the authority of Constantinople's Patriarch, cf. Preiser-Kapeller, "Das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel und die russischen Kirchen".

57   Harris, *Greek Emigres in the West*.

58   The label "Third Rom" seems to have been a widespread misconstruction. Ostrowski, "'Moscow the Third Rom' as Historical Ghost", pp. 170–179.

59   Conquest of Novgorod (1471/1478), Tver (1485), and Lithuania (1492/1501) involved forced migrations: expulsion of Novgorod's Hanseatic (German-language) merchants and deportation of the resident upper classes to Central Russia. In general, Crummey, *The Formation of Muscovy*; Ostrowski, *Muscovy and the Mongols*.

secure his claim as successor of the East Roman emperor and his standing among Europe's monarchs. He assumed the title of "Tsar" in 1478.[60] Changed power relation brought new private north-south connections: Russian nobles sent funds to restore Christian churches in Constantinople including the Hagia Sophia, in bad repair since the Latin-Frankish soldiers' and clerics' pillaging. For the refugees-emigrants, acceptance of Tsar's and Metropolitan's new roles increased options for office-holding in Muscovy.

With Byzantium gone, the tsars began a west-east and south-east process of incorporating foreign experts to limit the power of the Boyar families distinguished neither by training nor by capabilities. From the south, where Constantinople no longer played a role, craftsmen, artists, and architects came from many Mediterranean, especially Italian, societies. They rebuilt the Moscow citadel, transforming it into the Kremlin as fortified palace.[61] From the west, mostly from German-language regions, experts came and filled military and administrative positions or, as merchants, expanded the early 14th-and 15th-century commercial contacts between Kiev and Nuremberg to other exchange nodes, intensified trade with the fur-producing Siberian spaces as well as southward.[62] In the Ottoman realm, sultans introduced different—yet in some cases similar—processes of migration and transcultural state-building: Non-ethnic elites and ranking Greek as well as Christian *devşirme* administrators prevented ethno-Turkish overlordship just as German-background administrators reduced Russian nobles' power. Both states transported populations to wherever needed to further economic development.[63] Rather than "western" merchants as in the case of Muscovy, the Ottoman rulers called Sephardic Jewish families expelled from the Iberian Catholic societies for their human capital and commercial networks. Constantinople, now Istanbul, continued to attract migrants, but different ones.[64]

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60 In Byzantium the Hellenized term "Kaisar" (Caesar)—tsar—was used for designated successors, the emperors were called "Basileus" or "Augustus", cf. Guilland, "Le césar".

61 Among the migrants from Italy were Pietro Antoni Solari, Antonio Gislardi, Marco Ruffo, Aristotile Fioravanti—several of them recruited by the Venetian ambassador upon request of Ivan III. Ruffo's name was Russianized as Mark Frjasin ("Mark Foreigner" or, perhaps, "the Frank"). The migrants introduced Italian Renaissance styles, partly Byzantine, in fact, through westward fleeing priests, intellectuals, architects, craftsmen and others, cf. Hurst, *Italians and the New Byzantium.*

62 Kappeler, *Rußlands erste Nationalitäten*; Alef, "Das Erlöschen des *Abzugsrechts* der Moskauer *Bojaren*", 7–74.

63 Sunderland, "Catherine's Dilemma: Resettlement and Power in Russia 1500s–1914", and Kessler, "Measuring Migration in Russia: a Perspective of Empire, 1500–1900".

64 Faroqhi, *Travel and Artisans in the Ottoman Empire.*

5   Conclusion: Migration and Agency

Those arriving in Byzantium departed from, transited through, and arrived in specific local and micro-regional expressions or manifestations of complex societies characterized by economic structure, level of urbanization, demographic characteristics, social hierarchies, legal and political structures and processes, systems of education and training, ethno-cultural composition, religion or religions, previous migratory experiences and patterns. Contrary to everyday language usage, neither did generic *Rhomaioi* or Byzantines nor "the Russians" or "the Normans" migrate. No one, whether princess, merchant, or commoner, departed from one unitary Byzantine state or arrived in one monolithic Russia. Architects came from cities, Constantinople in particular and migrated to cities where investments in churches, monasteries, secular building permitted successful sale of their capabilities: Kiev at first, Novgorod and Moscow later. Migration history needs to be explicit about the sociology and human geography of migrant decision-making.

Each and every process of migration—as individual, in families, in groups—required agency: a decision to migrate or not to migrate within the context of discourses and practices of mobility in local, regional, and statewide contexts; evaluation of obstacles and options along the route; acquisition of funds for the trip (and a calculation of the loss of income while on the road or river rather than at a workplace); knowledge of routes; anchor points (earlier migrants) at the destination. In the case of migration under constraints, the powerful— like princesses moving in marriage migrations concocted between political dynasties—could carry their material cultural baggage and bring retainers with them. In forced migrations like those of enslaved men and women whether sold by Steppe or Frankish traders, the commodified "objects" had to find ways to survive, make life acceptable, perhaps even worthwhile. Those deprived of their liberty were socialized (young) adults, not passivized workers or culturally empty vessels. At their involuntary destination they, too, provided cultural input. Self-willed and forced men and women depart from a specific location with a local socialization and move to a specific destination characterized by local-regional societal structures and, ideally, with kin, acquaintances, or fellow craftsmen as connecting persons. Migration is trans-local in the frame of (trans-) regional economic and social options in the larger frame of trans-state or inter-national legal-political structures. Analytically, migration is trans-*cultural* rather than trans*national* within or between local societies or larger states, trans*state*.[65]

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65   Hoerder, "Nützliche Subjekte", 7–34; Harzig/Hoerder/Gabaccia, *What is Migration History?*; Hoerder, "From Migrants to Ethnics", pp. 211–262. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

Migration and cultural transfer are inextricably entwined. Analysis of migration is analysis of trans-lation with an over-coming or conquest of distance and with trans-position of ways of expression. Migrants and residents cooperated while transforming Christian teachings, rites, frescoes, and church architecture into a symbolism accessible to both sides. Thus, migration research is also the study of arts and economics. The production and materiality of artifacts are as processual as migrants' lives. Since migrants cannot leave any personal accounts or other sources, material evidence become paramount to the understanding of trajectories: patterns of weaving, use of building materials, creation of icons, frescoes and other objects. Analysis of cultural *métissage*, as in the Constantinople-Kiev connection, connects humans' spatial mobility and cultural-material exchange relations. While art historians may be content with analyzing art-ifacts and philologists with texts, such "signs" provide no more than the starting point for the study of cultures-on-the-move: Who migrated, who accomplished the exchange (and fusion) over space? Arab-Islamic coins or Abbasid silver-*dirhams* in graves of Scandinavian nobles like Jewish gravestones at trading points along the river routes provide important if circumstantial evidence about migrants. The frescoes in Novgorodian churches indicate that in-migrant and local artists communicated as well as the types of fusion they achieved. Byzantine jewelry and liturgical vessels, traded to Kiev, inspired local craftsmen to produce "imitations" which, in their way, were genuine local expressions. "In Byzantine style" is a statement about distant, highly refined art producers or art-isans; about the status of the jewelry's or tool's owners; about processes of exchange rather than mere migration.

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PART 1

Migration in Eastern and Southeastern Europe, 6th–10th Century

∵

On the Slavic Immigration in the Byzantine Balkans

Johannes Koder

The Balkans have a complex ethnic and linguistic structure owing to migrations from the North which took place in waves of varying intensity and changed the regions demographic character from the antiquity onwards, when it was inhabited by Illyrian and Greek tribes.[1] The Slavic immigration from the late 6th century onwards was the most important for the present ethnic composition of the populations in southeastern Europe. It has been a matter of great debate since Jacob Philipp Fallmerayer (1790–1861) published his notorious thesis, stating that "not the slightest drop of undiluted Hellenic blood flows in the veins of the Christian population of present-day Greece".[2]

Already since the 12th century Byzantine historians like Nikephoros Bryennios (12th century), George Pachymeres (13th century), Nikephoros Gregoras (14th century), Michael Kritoboulos and especially Laonikos Chalkokondyles (15th century) discussed the ethnic identities of the medieval Balkan populations and their alledged Illyrian origin. They used the ethnonyms *Albanoi, Akarnanoi, Bosnoi, Bulgaroi, Dalmatai, Illyrioi, Makedones, Mysoi, Sarmatai, Skythai, Thrakes, Thessaloi* and *Triballoi*.[3] The collective names of the Slavs,

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1 The indigenous Illyrian tribes and their territories are first mentioned by Hekataios of Miletos (d. ca. 476 B.C.), fragments 86, 97, 100, 119, 172.

2 Fallmerayer, *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea*, p. III (Vorrede): "Das Geschlecht der Hellenen ist in Europa ausgerottet. Schönheit der Körper, Sonnenflug des Geistes, Ebenmaß und Einfalt der Sitte, Kunst, Rennbahn, Stadt, Dorf, Säulenpracht und Tempel, ja sogar der Name ist von der Oberfläche des griechischen Kontinents verschwunden … auch nicht ein Tropfen echten und ungemischten Hellenenblutes in den Adern der christlichen Bevölkerung des heutigen Griechenlands fließet" (The race of the Hellenes has been wiped out in Europe. Physical beauty, intellectual brilliance, innate harmony and simplicity, art, competition, city, village, the splendour of column and temple—indeed, even the name has disappeared from the surface of the Greek continent …. Not the slightest drop of undiluted Hellenic blood flows in the veins of the Christian population of present-day Greece). This thesis was questioned already by Miklosich, *Die slavischen Elemente* – Gerhard Neweklowsky (Klagenfurt / Vienna) kindly drew my attention to this valuable early study. For a well-balanced assessment see now Schreiner, "An den Anfängen"; for bibliographical information: Grünbart, *Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer*.

3 Koder, "Illyrikon und Illyrios".

namely *Sklaboi, Sthlaboi, Sthlabenoi, Sklabenoi, Antai, Ouenedai* etc.[4] which are well documented in the early medieval sources, are missing from this list, probably because they were not in use in the later centuries.

In the present, the mainstream view is that Slavic tribes had their first contacts with the eastern Roman empire in the mid-6th century at the latest, during the reign of the Byzantine emperor Justinian I (527–565) and that their first major phase of immigration to south-eastern Europe began a few years after this emperor's death.[5] Moreover, their place of origin is considered to have been in the north – Heinrich Kunstmann's theory that the Balkans were the original homeland of the Slavic tribes and that they migrated from there to the north has been dismissed.[6]

Our information about the Slavic immigration and integration[7] is based in part on written sources: hagiographical texts, for example the *Miracula Sancti Demetrii* and the *Vita of Nikon Metanoeite*, historians beginning with Jordanes and Procopius, chronicles, especially the *Chronicle of Monemvasia*,[8] and imperial handbooks, like Ps.-Mauricius' *Strategikon* or the *Taktika*, which are ascribed to the emperor Leo VI the so-called Wise, and finally the works of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the *De thematibus*, and mainly the *De administrando imperio*, a *Vademecum* for his son Romanus. Furthermore, archaeological remains and toponyms or placenames enable us to reconstruct the immigration of the Slavic settlers.[9]

The Byzantine territories in the Balkans have clear boundaries to the west, south and east, namely the Adriatic, Ionian, Aegean and Black Sea. To the north, the lower valleys of Sava and Danube mark the administrative and political frontier in the early Byzantine period, with Sirmium (Srmska Mitrovica), the capital of Illyricum, being its northernmost fortified city. The linguistic separation between Greek and Latin runs, according to the evidence of late

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4 Not *Slaboi*, because Greek phonotactic does not allow σλ- in initial position: Brugmann/Delbrück, *Grundriß*, p. 749–750. For the collective names see Weiss, *Das Ethnikon Sklabenoi*; Koder, "Anmerkungen zum Slaven-Namen".

5 For a critical approach to this mainstream view, see the chapter by Florin Curta in this volume.

6 Kunstmann, *Die Slaven*, but see Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*, pp. 175–208 (arguing on the tribal names); Curta, *The Making of the Slavs*; Koder, "Anmerkungen zum Slaven-Namen".

7 Useful overviews: Ivanov, "Byzantium and the Slavs"; Pahlitzsch, "Byzanz", pp. 94–97; Hardt, "Slawen", pp. 171–174; Izdebski, "The Slavs' political institutions"; Nystazopulu-Pelekidu, *Βυζάντιο και Σλάβοι*; Nystazopulu-Pelekidu, *Σλαβικές εγκαταστάσεις*.

8 Kislinger, *Regionalgeschichte*; Anagnostakis/Kaldellis, "The Textual Sources" (with a reference to Pausanias as a source for Arethas of Kaisareia); see also Kresten, "Zur Echtheit des *sigillion*"; Koder, "Arethas".

9 The sources will be discussed below.

antique inscriptions, along a virtual line extending from Dyrrachion (Durres) – Skopia – Serdika (Sofia) – Nikopolis (Weliko Tarnowo) to the estuaries of the Danube;[10] it is too narrow.

Similar to the migration and settlement of the so-called "Protobulgarians", the first organized groups of "southern" Slavs reached the Balkans at different places along the Danube frontier about the year 574. The first wave moved under the military and political rule of the Avars who captured Sirmium (Srmska Mitrovica), Singidunum (Belgrade) and Viminacium (Kostulac) in the year 582.[11]

The anonymous text of a short prayer, written on a roof-tile during the siege of Sirmium, illustrates the desperate situation in the city which had been the capital of the Praetorian prefecture of Illyricum from 318 until its occupation by the Huns in 441 and again from 567 onwards. The prayer reads: "Oh Lord, help [the town and halt the Avar and protect the *Romania* and the scribe. Amen".[12] This short sgraffito in written in the vernacular demonstrates vividly how evident the leading role of the Avars during the first phase of the Slavic immigration must have been that the contemporary eyewitnes mentioned only them, even if in reality they crossed along with the Slavs.[13] One explanation for the latter's subordination to the Avars may be that their political structure, which Procopius described with the term *demokratia*,[14] impeded coordinated military resistance against the enemy.

After the capture of Sirmium, the Byzantines reacted to the new status quo by transferring not only the centers of administration to the south, but also the worship of the warrior-saint Demetrius from Sirmium to Thessalonica.[15] His two early collections of "miracles" are important sources for the early history of the Slavs in the Balkans.[16] They are dated before 620 and after 680, respectively, and were written during and after the process of political separation from the Avars of those Slavic tribes who after 582 migrated southwards. They

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10   Gerov, "Die lateinisch-griechische Sprachgrenze".

11   Pohl, *Die Awaren*, pp. 58–76.

12   † [Staurogramm] κ(υρι)ε βοητι της πολ¹/ λεος κε ρυξον τον αβα²/ ριν³/ κε πυλαξον την ρω⁴/ μανιαν⁵/ κε τον γρ⁶/ αψαν⁷/ τα⁸/ ἀμη⁹/ ν †¹⁰/, Noll, "Ein Ziegel", 145–148. – Probably the piece is authentic; see Koder, "Anmerkungen zum Awaren-Sgraffito",

13   Pohl, *Die Awaren*, pp. 99–121.

14   Prokopios, *Bella* 7.14.22: Σκλαβηνοί τε καὶ Ἄνται, οὐκ ἄρχονται πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἑνός, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ ἐκ παλαιοῦ βιοτεύουσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀεὶ τά τε ξύμφορα καὶ τὰ δύσκολα ἐς κοινὸν ἄγεται.

15   Bauer, *Eine Stadt und ihr Patron*, pp. 235–281.

16   *Miracula Demetrii*, see Koder, "Anmerkungen zu den Miracula".

reached Macedonia where some tribes settled in the immediate neighbourhood of Thessalonica, whilst others made their way to Thessaly and Epirus.

According to the first two tales of the second collection of the miracles, some of these tribes with their leader Chatzon revolted around the year 615.[17] The tales maintain that they devastated not only the neighbouring provinces of Thessaly and Epirus, but "all" of Greece, the islands and even parts of western Asia Minor – probably an exaggeration. When Chatzon decided to lay siege on Thessalonica itself, he invited the Avars to join him who accepted the call. It goes without saying that Saint Demetrius saved his city, though only after a siege of 33 days.[18] Howecer, it is interesting that in the first two decades of the 7th century – that is, before the unssuccessful attack against Constantinople by the cooperating armies of Persians and Avars in 626 – these tribes were already independent from the Avars (whose political center was in distant Pannonia), even though they still recognized their political supremacy. Only after 626, as a result of their defeat at Constantinople, the prestige and influence of the Avar leaders declined in the east.

At this time, the Slavic tribes continued their infiltration in Greece. They settled in southern Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly, and reached even at the southernmost parts of the Peloponnesian peninsula. Although in some regions the indigenous inhabitants were expelled by force, the settlement of the Slavs in the central and southern parts of Albania, in Macedonia and in Greece did not meet considerable resistance.[19] This may be explained in part with the low level of Byzantine military presence in the mainland and the western areas of the peninsula, because the imperial armies were concentrated along the eastern coastline and the islands of the Aegean and the Ionian Sea. However, an important reason for this quasi effortless immigration was the significant demographic decline of the indigenous population, which had been caused by the so-called Justinianic plague, the pandemic pestilence that spread across the eastern Mediterranean in consecutive waves from the year 541 until the mid-8th century.

The second source of information is archaeology. Remains of monuments and nearly all kinds of small findings allow for the partial reconstruction of settlement history on the local level. Furthermore, it seems that the Slavs introduced more resistant types of cereals, for example millet,[20] as well as new or modified agricultural tools which were better suited for the mountainous

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17   *Miracula Demetrii*, §§ 193–214.
18   Pohl, *Die Awaren*, pp. 102–105.
19   Pohl, *Die Awaren*, pp. 107–112.
20   Millet (*kenchros*) is mentioned in Maurikios, *Strategikon* 11.4 and in Leo VI, *Taktika* 18.99.

landscape of the mainland. This has been interpreted as evidence of their swift settlement as sedentary farmers in the newly occupied regions.[21] For certain groups of small findings, in particular pottery findings, their Slavic or Avaro-Slavic origin is a matter of debate not only due to the refinement of archaeological research methods, but also for reasons of national politics related to the national histories and identities of the Balkan region, to which I referred in the beginning of my paper. This applies to the Peloponnese, for example, where we have some 300 sites with thousands of findings between the 4th to the 8th century, the exact date and interpretation of which is still disputed.[22]

A valuable group of sources are the already mentioned toponyms the semantic typology of which offers information about the landscapes the Slavs were confronted with: e.g. *balta, baltos* (marsh, moor), *ezeros, nezeros* (lake), *Goritsa* (mountain peak), *Kamenikos* (stony peak), *lanka, lankadi* (ravine), *Zagora* (behind the mountain or woods). Furthermore, they also serve as a possible indicator for the proportion between the new settlers and the indigenous population. Even though it is a difficult or even an impossible task to reconstruct the regional Slavic microtoponyms in medieval Greece, at least the Slavic names of *settlements* have been documented insofar as they have survived or have existed in the last two centuries *in situ*. Our knowledge relies often on travelogues, on early modern times descriptions of Greece, and on maps which were produced soon after the foundation of the modern Greek state, that is, before the policy of Hellenization of non-hellenic toponyms was systematically implemented.[23] The book of Max Vasmer represents a landmark in this regard, whereas the recently published etymological lexicon of Greek toponyms by Charalampos Symeonides is of extraordinary importance as well.[24] The research on Slavic placenames in the Byzantine Balkans, especially in Greece, owes much to the research of Jordan Zaimov, Demetrios

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21   See Henning, "Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung der Landwirtschaft"; Henning, *Südosteuropa zwischen Antike und Mittelalter*; Henning, "Eisenverarbeitungswerkstätten".

22   See Avramea, *Le Péloponnèse*, pp. 163–203 and map; Lampropoulou/Anagnostakis/Konti/Panopoulou, "Συμβολή"; see also the discussion in Kislinger, *Regionalgeschichte*, pp. 72–101; Anagnostakis, "Η χειροποίητη κεραμική".

23   The most important is the French military map: *Carte de la Grèce redigée et gravée au dépôt de la guerre d'après la triangulation et les levés exécutés par les officiers du corps d'état majeur à l'echelle de 1:200.000*, Paris ²1852; see also H. Kiepert/J. Kokides, *General-Karte des Königreiches Griechenland im Maße 1:300.000*, Vienna 1885, and the *Sonderausgabe VII and X*, 1940, 1:100.000 (German Wehrmacht), relying on Greek state maps produced in the 30s of the 20th c.

24   Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland*; Symeonides, *Ετυμολογικό Λεξικό*.

Georgacas, Phaidon Malingoudis, François Brunet, Gottfried Schramm, and Peter Soustal.[25]

Loans from the common Slavic language are often attested in the Greek-speaking parts of the Balkans during the Byzantine and the post-Byzantine period.[26] For the purpose of the current paper, the etymology of Slavic toponyms and settlement names are of particular interest, insofar as their archaic character may testify to an early colonization.[27] Significant are names, in which the Slavic nasal vowels *ę und *ǫ appear in Greek as εν/εμ and ον/ομ respectively[28] (e.g. *Englenoba, Longos, Mesolongi*); furthermore, names that did not undergo the metathesis of liquid consonants (e.g. *Balta, Gardiki, Gabroba, Kapernikion*), a development which may probably be dated before the 9th century, or the vowel shift *a > o* (e.g. *Arachova, Dragoboutzista, Kalovo, Prablaka*) before the 10th century.[29]

The number and density of Slavic names of settlements in central and southern Greece allow for an approximate reconstruction of Slavic immigration and settlement patterns.[30] The following maps rely on Max Vasmer's compendium.[31] The first map (Map 3.1) shows the number of settlements with Slavic names per ninth of a quadrangle (which corresponds in these latitudes to about 1,000 km²). The number of Slavic toponyms per quadrangle varies between zero and 14 in the plains and along the coasts of Greece, and between 20 and 35 in the mountainous landscapes, with one extreme value of 50 in the region of the southern Pindos (in Epirus).

The comparison with the number of modern settlements, taken from the directory of municipalities of the National Statistic Service of Greece, does not

25   Zaimov, *Zaselvane na bălgarskite Slavjani*; Georgacas, *Place names*; Malingoudis, *Studien zu den slavischen Ortsnamen*; Malingoudis, *Σλάβοι στη Μεσαιωνική Ελλάδα*; Schramm, *Eroberer und Eingesessene*; Schramm, *Ortsnamen und Lehnwörter*; Soustal, "Überlegungen zur Rolle der Toponyme"; ibid, "Place names", both with more bibliography. Helpful is also Skach, *Die Lautgeschichte des frühen Slavischen*.

26   See Skach, *Die Lautgeschichte des frühen Slavischen*, esp. the results pp. 261–265 and 276; see also Holzer, *Historische Grammatik des Kroatischen*, both with further bibliography.
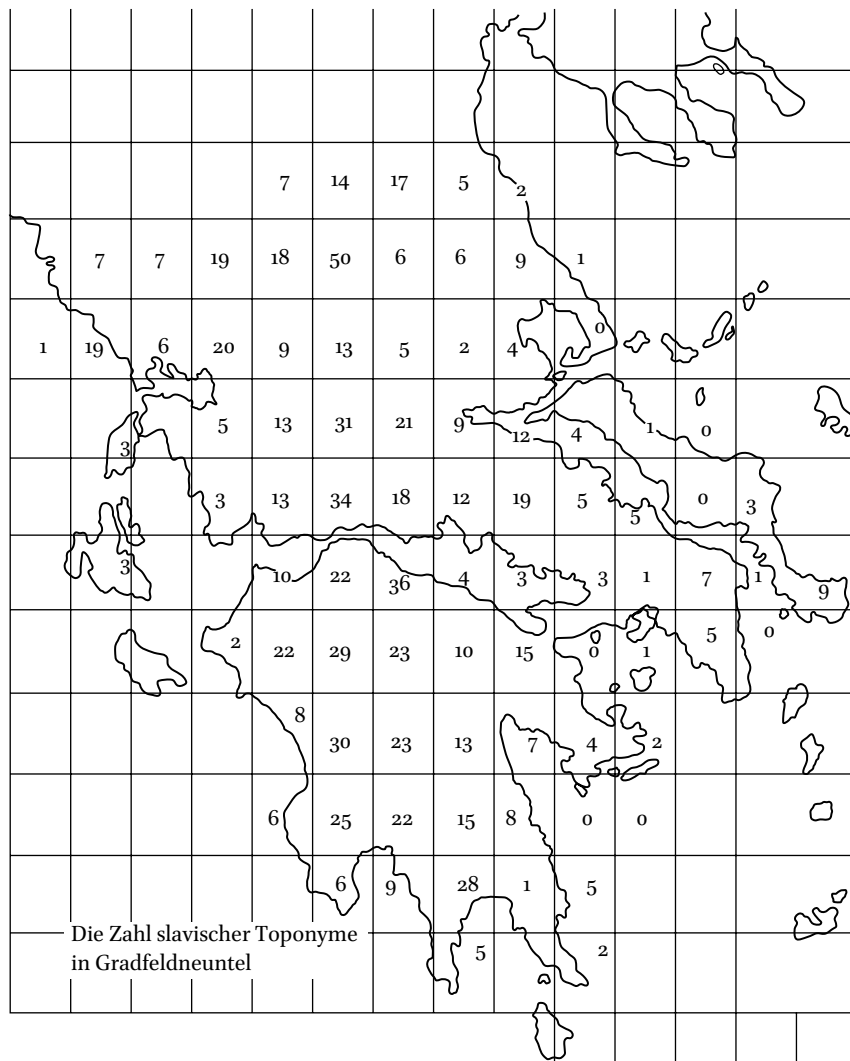
27   Shevelov, *A Prehistory of Slavic*; Brunet, "Sur l'hellénisation des toponymes slaves"; Carlton, *Introduction to the phonological history*; Holzer, "Die Einheitlichkeit des Slavischen".

28   I owe this information to Gerhard Neweklowsky (Klagenfurt/Vienna).

29   Examples may be found in Brunet, "Hellénisation"; Symeonides, *Ετυμολογιό λεξικό* (see esp. pp. 101–107 and the indexes of Slavic toponyms, pp. 1891–1926); Vasmer, *Slaven in Griechenland* (Wortregister, pp. 331–50).

30   See Koder. "Zur Frage der slavischen Siedlungsgebiete"; ibid., "Προβλήματα".

31   Vasmer, *Slawen in Griechenland*; see also Henrich, "Einige slawische Siedlungsnamen". Lefort, "Toponymie et anthroponymie"; Koder, "Zur Frage der slavischen Siedlungsgebiete".

		7	14	17	5	2		
7	7	19	18	50	6	6	9	1
1	19	6	20	9	13	5	2	4

Die Zahl slavischer Toponyme in Gradfeldneuntel

MAP 3.1   Number of Slavic settlement names per ca. 1000 km² in central and southern Greece
MAP CREATED BY J. KODER, 2001

change that picture.[32] It makes the contrasts even clearer. The second map (Map 3.2) shows the percentage of Slavic settlements in the total number of settlements in the mid-20th century.

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32   *Λεξικόν των δήμων, κοινοτήτων και οικισμών της Ελλάδος*, ed. Εθνική Στατιστική Υπηρεσία της Ελλάδος, Athens 1963.
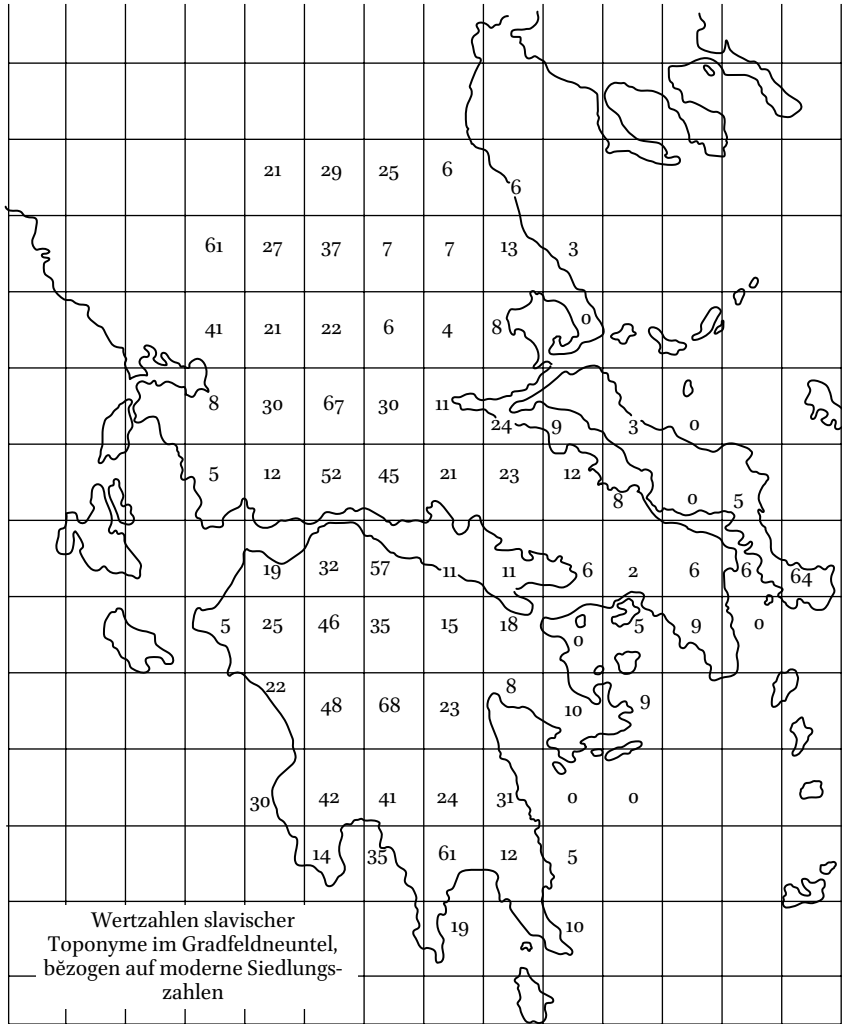
MAP 3.2   Relation in % of the Slavic and the total of modern settlement names in central
           and southern Greece
           MAP CREATED BY J. KODER, 2001

From the toponymic patterns, it can be deduced that the early medieval Slavic
settlement in the major parts of Greece took mainly place in the inland, often
along the mountain ranges.[33] The Slavs proceeded to the south from both
sides of the Pindos mountain range and the mountains in Aitoloakarnania

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33   For the development of the Byzantine reconquista of territories occupied by the Slavs and
      their integration see Chrysos, "Settlements of Slavs", with bibliography.

(Panaitolikon, Arakynthos, Xeromera). They crossed the gulf of Corinth at its narrow western part – not at the Isthmos, since the fort and the city of Corinth were always under Byzantine military control – and they proceeded to settle on the mountain massifs of the Peloponnese (Panachaikon, Erymanthos, Minthe, Lykaion, Mainalon, Ithome, Taygetos, Parthenion, Parnon) as far as the Maina peninsula.

In the Aegean coastal areas, the density of Slavic settlements is significantly lower, especially in the plains of Attica and Boeotia and on the island of Euboea. In this context, it should be noted that the Boeotian urban center of Thebes was the capital of Byzantine administration in the medieval province Hellas, with the nearby coastal city of Euripos (ancient Chalkis) functioning as its military harbour.

On the other hand, the northern and northwestern Greek regions, Macedonia and Epirus vetus, demonstrate an overall high density of Slavic toponyms in the plains and even on the coastlines. This corresponds with the information of the written sources, as shown, for example, from the toponymic evidence for the Chalkidike peninsula and the adjacent part of eastern Macedonia,[34] for which a study on the linguistic development of the toponyms was published some thirty years ago.[35] The fact that, apart from the names of (former) Slavic monasteries, old Slavic placenames are also found in the peninsula of Mount Athos to the south of Hierissos is an additional argument for an early immigration before the 9th century, when the foundations of large Athonitic monasteries began.[36]

The majority of early Slavic settlements consisted of villages which in the course of the peninsula's reconquest by the Byzantines were subordinated to a Byzantine fortified town which functioned as administrative, ecclesiastic, and economic center. A good example is the Dropuli valley in Epirus in southern Albania (Map 3.3): Along the river Drino, three centers of agriculture and market existed during the Roman and the early Byzantine period: *Antigoneia*, *Hadrianupolis* and a Roman military camp, whose remains nowadays have the place-name *Palokastra* ("ancient fortification"). The Slavs replaced these abandoned centers with more than forty small villages on the mountain slopes at both sides on the level of the water horizon. The modern regional capital Gjirokastra (Argyrokastron) was founded only after the reconquest of the area by Emperor Basil II (976–1025) as the valley's fortified urban center.[37]

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34   See the map in Lefort, "Toponymie et anthroponymie", fig. 1.
35   Brunet, "Hellénisation".
36   Soustal, "Zur Präsenz der Slawen".
37   Soustal, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*, pp. 50–54; Koder, "Προβλήματα".
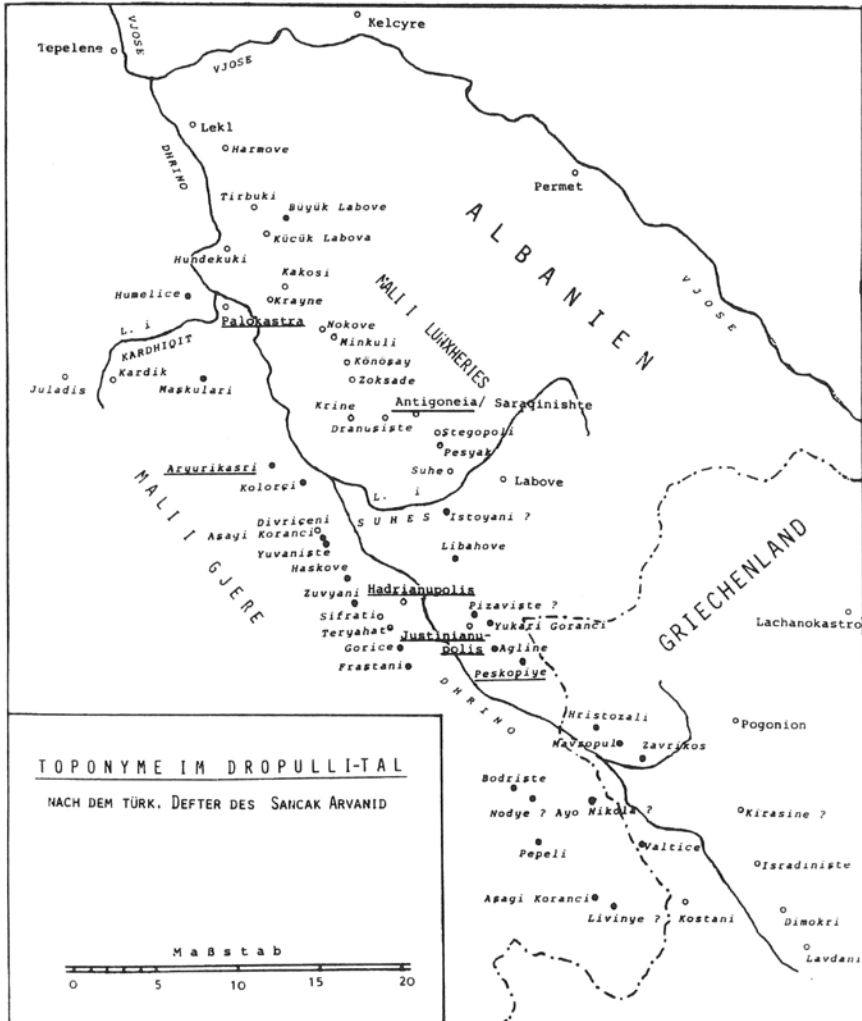
MAP 3.3   Toponyms in Dropulli
            MAP CREATED BY J. KODER, 2001

Slavic villages in close proximity to, or even as suburbs of, Byzantine cities are documented often in written sources only after the 8th century, although they probably existed much earlier. Interesting examples are two central towns, the harbour city of Patras in northwestern Peloponnese and Sparta in the center of the peninsula.

During the reign of the Emperor Nicephorus I (802–811), the city of Patras survived the attacks of an Arab fleet and of Slavic tribes, who settled in its

hinterland after having expelled the local population.[38] According to a religious tradition, the city's patron saint, apostle Andrew, saved it from the attackers, acquiring the role of an *hypermachos strategos* (defending general) for Patras, like St Demetrius for Thessalonica and the Mother of God for Constantinople.[39] As a thanksgiving offering to St Andrew for his miraculous help, the emperor devoted the Slavic tribes and their land in the region of Patras to the saint's metropolitan church.[40] In view of this historical background, it is not surprising that around Patras and in its hinterland more than 80 Slavic toponyms are documented.

The testament (*diatheke*) of the holy monk Nikon Metanoeite (ca. 930–ca. 1000) is a valuable source for the city of Sparta.[41] It reports on the miracles performed by the saint in favour of Lakedaimona, the name of Sparta in the 10th century. Greeks and Jews lived in the city, with the saint odrering that the latter had to be expelled, whereas the Slavs had settled in close proximity to it in a separate village named *Sklabochori* (Slavic village). It is not clear whether these were subordinate to the bishop of Lakedaimona.[42] Around Sparta and in its mountainous hinterland, far away from the coast, more than 100 Slavic toponyms are documented.

On the other hand, the eastern coastal regions were obviously much less overrun by Slavic invaders. Two cities there provide proof of Byzantine continuity: Corinth remained unborken under Byzantine authority, as already mentioned above. Hence, in its hinterland only 15 Slavic toponyms are documented. Moreover, the harbour-city of Monemvasia (a name meaning "only one entrance") points to the reaction of the Byzantine government to the immigration, for it was founded as a byzantine stronghold on a rock island close to the southeastern coast at the end of the 6th century.[43] Consequently, only eight Slavic toponyms are documented in its hinterland, whereas in nearby Messenian Mani (Μεσσηνιακή Μάνη, also Ἔξω Μάνη), which is only a part of the peninsula, more than 200 Slavic fieldnames existed.[44]

After the immigration and settlement of the Slavic tribes, the level of their political organization remained generally low. This made it easier for the

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38   Kislinger, *Regionalgeschichte*, pp. 42–53.

39   Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *DAI* 49, l. 25–38.

40   Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *DAI* 49, esp. l. 50–59; Kresten, "Zur Echtheit des *sigillion*".

41   A short annex to his biography, ed. Lampsides, *Ο εκ Πόντου Ὅσιος Νίκων ο Μετανοείτε*, pp. 251–256.

42   *Notitiae episcopatuum*, Not. 7.550, 9.411, 10.493, s. also p. 499b.

43   Kislinger, *Regionalgeschichte*, pp. 29–37; Schreiner, "Note sur la fondation de Monemvasie".

44   Malingoudis, *Studien zu den slavischen Ortsnamen*.

Byzantines to regain control over parts of Macedonia and Epirus and most of the territories to the south by the late-8th and early-9th centuries. Obviously, the majority of the Slavic population was not expelled, but stayed as a sedentary rural population (whereas the Romance-speaking Vlachs remained semi-nomadic livestock breeders). Fortified harbour cities, like Thessalonica, Euripos, Corinth, Patras, and Monemvasia, played an important role in the process of reconquest. They served as nuclei for the later installation of the administrative system of the so-called *themata*, a type of provinces with combined military and civilian administration.[45] The Melingues, a tribe in the mountain ranges of Taygetos and Oitylos in the Peloponnese, were distinguishable by their language from the local Greeks and maintained a semi-autonomous regional status until the 15th century.[46] This probably applies to other tribes as well in remoted parts of southern Greece.

How did the integration of the Slavic population into the Byzantine state work? Information comes from the military manual *Taktika* of emperor Leo VI who describes, how his father, Emperor Basil I (867–886), brought about the political and religious integration of Slavic tribes in the 60s of the 9th century. According to Leo, this was a process cosisting of three intertwined actions:[47]

First, he persuaded the Slavs to abandon their traditional customs (*archaia ethe*) and "made them Greek" (grecicised them). I understand the latter measure as a process of adaptation of the immigrants to the usages and manners of conduct of the Greek-speaking population living in Greece, Epirus, and Macedonia. Practically, I think, this included also a basic knowledge of the Greek language. The Emperor Leo did not use the verb *hellenize* on purpose because this term would point to a higher education and bore still connotations of paganism.[48]

The emperor's second action was to integrate them into the political and military structures of the Byzantine administration by gaving them *archontes* (rulers, chieftains) according to the Roman model. This often included the

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45   Stavridou-Zafraka, "Slav Invasions".

46   Bon, *La Morée franque*, pp. 498, 505; Ahrweiler-Glykatzi, "Une inscription méconnue"; Malingoudis, *Studien zu slavischen Ortsnamen*, p. 20.

47   Leon VI., *Taktika* 18.95 (l. 453–460): Ταῦτα δὲ [τὰ ἔθνη] ὁ ἡμέτερος ἐν θείᾳ τῇ λήξει γενόμενος πατὴρ καὶ ῾Ρωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ Βασίλειος τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐθῶν ἔπεισε μεταστῆναι, καὶ, γραικώσας, καὶ ἄρχουσι κατὰ τὸν ῾Ρωμαϊκὸν τύπον ὑποτάξας, καὶ βαπτίσματι τιμήσας, τῆς τε δουλείας ἠλευθέρωσε τῶν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ στρατεύεσθαι κατὰ τῶν ῾Ρωμαίοις πολεμούντων ἐθνῶν ἐξεπαίδευσεν, οὕτω πως ἐπιμελῶς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διακείμενος, διὸ καὶ ἀμερίμνους ῾Ρωμαίους ἐκ τῆς πολλάκις Σκλάβων γενομένης ἀνταρσίας ἐποίησεν, πολλὰς ὑπ᾽ ὀχλήσεις καὶ πολέμους τοῖς πάλαι χρόνοις ὑπομείναντας,. Cf. Haldon, *A critical commentary on the Taktika*, p. 350.

48   Koder, "Anmerkungen zu γραικόω".

conversion to Christian faith ("He graced them with baptism"). This is a good example showcasing the well-known close connection of politics and mission in Byzantium.[49]

As a third step, he enrolled them into the Byzantine armies and trained them to fight against all enemies of the empire, which may have included other Slavic tribes as well. The final sentence of the excerpt not only praises the late emperor's policies, but confirms that former problems or difficulties caused by Slavic revolts against the empire were now solved.

Although Leo claims that his father employed this policy of pacification and political integration, Leo's son, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, states that Slavic tribal *archontes* (chieftains) authorized by the Byzantines already existed since the 8th century: These *archontes* are mentioned several times in the eight chapters (Chapter 29–36) of his treatise *De administrando imperio*, which are devoted to the Slavs. Constantine uses once the term *sklabarchontes,* obviously meaning "Slave-chieftain".[50]

There is no doubt that Constantine had read his father's *Taktika*, especially the chapters on the Slavs, where he found Leo's *hapax legomenon* verb γραικόω ("grecisize"), because in the chapter on the Peloponnese in his other treatise, the *De thematibus*, he created and used two times the corresponding verb σθλαβόω ("slavicize"), another *hapax legomenon.*[51]

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49   See Beck, *Christliche Mission und politische Propaganda*; Engelhardt, *Mission und Politik*; Hannick, "Die byzantinischen Missionen"; Brandes, "Taufe und soziale Inklusion". On the christianization of the Slavs, see Waldmüller, *Die ersten Begegnungen der Slawen*; Dvorník, *Byzantine missions*, pp. 1–48 and 230–258.

50   Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *DAI* 29, l.106–115, 113: σκλαβάρχοντες. Cf. Koder, "Zu den Archontes der Slaven".

51   The first mention is in the context of the epidemic plague in the mid-8th century: "all the country was slavicized and became barbaric"; a few lines later he quotes a "well-known satirical iambic vers Γαρασδοειδὴς ὄψις ἐσθλαβωμένη ('*sly slavicized visage*')". This last quotation, a satirical verse which is ascribed to the grammarian Euphemios, demonstrates not only an aversion to a certain person, but also that Constantine's feeling about the Slavs were not unreservedly positive. Cf. the Greek text in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus* 6.31–42: ... Ὕστερον δὲ πάλιν, τῶν Μακεδόνων ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἡττηθέντων, πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς τε καὶ ἡ Πελοπόννησος ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων σαγήνην ἐγένετο, ὥστε δούλους ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων γενέσθαι. Ἐσθλαβώθη δὲ πᾶσα ἡ χώρα καὶ γέγονε βάρβαρος, ὅτε ὁ λοιμικὸς θάνατος πᾶσαν ἐβόσκετο τὴν οἰκουμένην, ὁπηνίκα Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ τῆς κοπρίας ἐπώνυμος, τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων διεῖπεν ἀρχῆς, ὥστε τινὰ τῶν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου μέγα φρονοῦντα ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ εὐγενείᾳ, ἵνα μὴ λέγω δυσγενείᾳ, Εὐφήμιον ἐκεῖνον τὸν περιβόητον γραμματικὸν ἀποσκῶψαι εἰς αὐτὸν τουτοῒ τὸ θρυλούμενον ἰαμβεῖον· "Γαρασδοειδὴς ὄψις ἐσθλαβωμένη". Ἦν δὲ οὗτος Νικήτας, ὁ κηδεύσας ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ Σοφίᾳ Χριστοφόρον τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ καλοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως; for γαρασδοειδὴς see Trapp, *Lexikon*, p. 309a. According to the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (11.1.2014) these are the only testimonies for the verb σθλαβόω / σκλαβόω (in the late Byzantine period always with the

The above described policy of integration was employed with remarkable flexibility within and beyond the Byzantine political boundaries in the Balkans. It influenced and helped shape the new Slavic states and the so-called *Sklabiniai* (the Slavic territories *inside* the state) as well.[52]

A special case were the Bulgarians who already in 681 achieved their territorial and political independence from Byzantium.[53] A treaty between the Emperor Michael III (842–867) and the Tsar Boris-Michael, his godson, in 864 set in motion their conversion, as a top-down Christianization process. On this occasion, the policy described by Leo VI was modified insofar as the Bulgarians were not "grecizised", but kept their own language in the liturgy and in all ecclesiastical matters. This practice would be in use for all the subsequent orthodox missionary activities in Slavic lands outside the borders of the Byzantine empire.

The Byzantine policy in Bulgaria facilitated the ethnic mingling of Thraco-Macedonians and Slavs with the "Protobulgarians" who had the role of the ruling class in the first Bulgarian state.[54] Perhaps, the Paulician and Bogomil movements, which spread in Bulgaria since the late 9th and the mid-10th century, respectively, should be understood – independently from their religious implications – as a political opposition against an approach to a Roman and orthodox Christian identity.[55] Furthermore, it was not by chance that the Bulgarian rulers adopted the fundamentals of "Roman" political ideology. Consequently, their Tsar Symeon (893–927) tried to usurp the privileges, which the Byzantines had inherited, and even the imperial throne itlself in Constantinople – a unique incident before the Crusades. It was only after Symeon's death that his son and successor, Tsar Peter I (927–969), renewed peaceful relations with Byzantuim in 927. In response to that, Emperor Romanos I Lakapenos (920–944) hounored the Bulgarian ambassador in Constantinople with the high rank of *patrikios* which provided him with the privilege to seat next to the emperor at his table.[56] It is understandable that Constantine Porphyrogenitus, not a friend

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sense of "making / being slave"); see, also, Anagnostakis/Kaldellis, "Sources for the Peloponnese", 130.

52 Vgl. Koder, "Sklavinien".

53 Hannick, "Die byzantinischen Missionen"; Koder, "Nationwerdung"; Koder, "Bulgarische und byzantinische Identität", with further bibliography.

54 This procedure did not include the Vlachs, though they had close relations to the Bulgarians.

55 Lemerle, *L'histoire des Pauliciens*; Manselli, "Bogomilen" (with bibliography); Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria*, pp. 45–58.

56 See the – angry – description of the bishop Liudprand on the occasion of his visit to Constantinople as ambassador of Otto the Great (June, 4–October, 2, 968), when he had only the 15th position, after the *Bulgarorum nuntium, Ungarico more tonsum, aenea catena cinctum*, Liudprand, *Legatio*, Chapter 11, 13 und 19.

of Lakapenos, disliked the Bulgarians, calling them "the God-hated Bulgarian nation"[57] and "always vain boasters".[58]

In concluding, it is evident that all measures and activities, aimed at the integration and subordination of the Slavs and the Bulgarians – and other peoples as well as – to the political and religious sphere of Constantinople, were in principle undertaken by the Byzantine emperors,[59] even though some patriarchs tried to claim an exclusive right to the organization of missionary activity for the Church – Patriarch Photios (858–867, 878–886) being the most prominent case among them.[60] The aforementioned political practices of integration were successful due to their flexibility and apparent liberality which gave the relevant ethnic groups or states and their leaders the impression that, even after their submission to the Byzantine system of political and ecclesiastical authority, they were free to make their own decisions and that they would maintain their collective identity.

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57 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus*, Europe 1, p. 25: τὸ θεομίσητον τῶν Βουλγάρων ἔθνος.

58 Theophanes Continuatus, 12, l. 13: Οἱ δὲ Βούλγαροι ἀεί πως οἰηματίαι καὶ καυχηματίαι τυγχάνοντες; cf. Anagnostakis/Kaldellis, "Sources for the Peloponnese", 132.

59 See Fögen, "Das politische Denken der Byzantiner", pp. 59–67.

60 See his *Eisagoge*, § 3.2, "On the Patriarch": … τοὺς ἀπίστους διὰ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ περιφανεστάτης καὶ θαυμασίας αὐτοῦ πράξεως ἐκπλήττων μιμητὰς ποιῆσαι τῆς πίστεως.

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Migrations in the Archaeology of Eastern and Southeastern Europe in the Early Middle Ages (Some Comments on the Current State of Research)

Florin Curta

Historians of the modern era have recently turned Eastern Europe into a *vagina nationum*: the greatest mass migration and even the "making of the free world" are directly related to Eastern Europe.[1] Historians studying Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages disagree. They doubt that migration could explain even changes taking place in the region. Walter Goffart sees no reason for Germanic tribes residing in the vastness of Ukraine to emigrate: "if really land hungry, they might have satisfied their needs right where they were".[2] According to Guy Halsall, the archaeological record pertaining to East Central Europe in the 3rd century does "not support the idea of a substantial migration".[3] Instead, one can envision communication lines along the principal trade routes.[4] The idea that the Goths migrated out of northern Europe to the fringes of the Empire rests "mainly on the evidence of a single ancient source, the *Getica* of Jordanes, around which complicated structures of scholarly hypothesis have been built".[5] One could argue in principle that the Sântana de Mureş-Černjachov culture came into being "because of a migration out of the Wielbark regions, but one might equally argue that it was an indigenous development of local Pontic, Carpic, and Dacian cultures".[6]

Peter Heather, however, is skeptical about skepticism. To him, there can be no doubt that the Wielbark people morphed into the Sântana de Mureş-Černjachov people, who became Goths in the course of a century-long migration across Eastern Europe, from the Baltic to the Black Sea.[7] Similarly, the

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1 Zahra, *Great Departure*. *Vagina nationum*: Jordanes, *Getica* 25, ed. Mommsen, p. 60, lines 5–6.

2 Goffart, *Barbarian Tides*, p. 29.

3 Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*, p. 133.

4 Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*, p. 421.

5 Kulikowski, *Rome's Gothic Wars*, p. 41.

6 Kulikowski, *Rome's Gothic Wars*, p. 67.

7 Heather, *Goths*, p. 43.

Slavic migration is traceable by means of a "'thin' ribbon of Korchak sites". The Slavs "spread into the power vacuum created by Przeworsk culture collapse in the late fifth or the earlier 6th century".[8] The lack of archaeological evidence in support of such a model of early medieval migration is gleefully dismissed: "the range of evidence available for the nature and scale of Slavic migration flows bears not the remotest resemblance to anything you might consider an ideal data set; but this is all part of the fun of early medieval history".[9] With his mind set on fun activities, Heather offers an analogy for the migration process that he envisioned: "billiard balls rolling around the green baize table. Something might make the balls roll from one part of the table to another—overpopulation at the point of departure was the usual suspect—but any one ball was straightforwardly the same ball in a different place when the movement had finished".[10]

Goffart and Kulikowski are right to point out that a text-hindered archaeology will never effectively contribute to the debate surrounding migration. Heather is also right about the use of anthropological models of migration to understand early medieval migrations: mobility is not a modern phenomenon and "cultural mobility is a key constituent element of human life in virtually all periods" of history.[11] However, none of them is either aware of the existence in Eastern Europe of a large body of literature on early medieval migrations, or indeed familiar with the abundant archaeological literature pertaining to it. For example, Peter Heather's billiard analogy shows ignorance of, and is in direct contradiction with László Vajda's 40-year old study of "chain migration". Vajda has demonstrated that the idea of billiard-like, chain migrations was directly borrowed from Herodotus. This idea was the result of a deductive-rationalistic mode of thinking epitomized by classical mechanics, with its emphasis on point particles.[12] In other words, the description in historical sources of movements of population as billiard balls is nothing but a metaphor (and a

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8   Heather, *Empires and Barbarians*, pp. 410–411. See also ibid., p. 437: "Slavic migration generated the recolonization of the lands left empty by Germanic migrants of the *Völkerwanderung* era".

9   Heather, *Empires and Barbarians*, p. 427.

10   Heather, *Empires and Barbarians*, p. 11.

11   Dommelen, "Movins on", p. 480.

12   Vajda, "Zur Frage", p. 35. Vajda reacted against the use of "chain migration" in ethnology and sociology, for which see, for example, Macdonald/Macdonald, "Chain migration". The concept is still used by some historians in Eastern Europe, who, like Heather, ignore Vajda's work (e.g., Pylypchuk, "Predystoriia vengrov").

way to display knowledge of the classics), not a description of what has actually happened. Similarly, Peter Heather's pondering whether the wave of advance model fits the Slavic migration obviously ignores Evžen Neustupný's remarks on the migrations as infiltrations.[13] According to the Czech archaeologist, the migration of the Slavs "could have taken the most varied forms including colonization, expansion, invasion, and infiltration either at the same time or in some sort of sequence".[14] No participant in the current debate surrounding migrations seems to be aware of the discussions on this topic that took place in 1970s and 1980s in Soviet archaeology. Soviet archaeologist traced migrations in Eastern Europe to the historical dialectics of modes of production, and, drawing on Marxist theory, conceptualized them from theoretical platforms such as economic primitivism, environmentalism, and imperialism.[15] Migration was described in rich conceptual terms, even though models of historical migrations did not really fit the archaeological evidence. Lev Klein's recent survey of those discussions is also a plea: migrations, according to him, can be recognized archaeologically and even distinguished in their different manifestations—migration of an entire population, migration of a specific group, or forced movement of population (deportation).[16]

Such optimism is also responsible for the recent enthusiasm on display in the application of bioarchaeology for tracking migrations in Eastern Europe. Molecular anthropology, for example, has the ability to distinguish similarities in the noncoding regions of the genome, which can reflect shared ancestry and/or the exchange of genes via the movement of individuals between populations. Some scholars compare contemporaneous populations from different geographic regions. If similarity is detected, then they draw the necessary conclusion that those populations share ancestry, which in turn may imply migration. Such was the idea behind a recent study of paternal genetic lineages, looking for the subclade R1b-M73 in several modern populations—the Kazakh, the Karakalpak, and the Bashkir Kipchaks. Their common ancestors are believed to have been the medieval Cumans.[17] Other scholars choose to compare

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13   Heather, *Empires and Barbarians*, p. 422. Nonetheless, Heather's "Slavic spread" is a copy of Lucien Musset's "avance slave". See Musset, *Les invasions*, pp. 87–92; Heather, *Empires and Barbarians*, pp. 419–420.

14   Neustupný, "Prehistoric migrations", p. 287. For Neustupný's ideas, see Kuna, "Intransigent archaeology"; Kristiansen/Šmejda/Turek, "Evžen Neustupný".

15   Frachetti, "Migration concepts", p. 198.

16   Klein, "Migraciia", p. 67. For Klein's ideas, see Leach, *Russian Perspective*.

17   Volkov, "K voprosu o migraciiakh". The attribution of the subclade to Cuman ancestry is based on its distribution, which is believed to coincide with the territory that the Cumans controlled between the 9th and the 13th centuries (ibid., p. 302 fig. 4).

populations that inhabited the same geographic region at different points in time. In this case, similarity reflects genetic continuity, while differences betray immigration, or even population replacement.[18] Mitochondrial genome sequences thus show a continuity of several maternal lineages in Central Europe from the Bronze and Iron Ages. That excludes the possibility that in Late Antiquity, the northern areas of Central Europe were depopulated through the emigration of the Goths, only to be repopulated by Slavic immigrants in the 6th century.[19] The comparison of contemporaneous, Slavic-speaking populations in Eastern Europe, however, led to a radically different conclusion: only migration could explain the genetic similarity between populations in the Balkans and in East Central Europe.[20]

Biogeochemical techniques have also been used for the identification of first-generation immigrants. Biogeochemical values are compared for dental and skeletal elements that formed at different times over an individual's lifetime. If those values are different for dental and skeletal elements, then the individual in question must have moved from one geologic or environmental zone to another during his or her lifetime.[21] The strontium isotope analysis of 13 out of 49 skeletons from the Viking-age cemetery in Bodzia (Poland) has revealed that only one individual was of local origin. Although the analysis could not point to the origin of the "foreigners", "the archaeological context implicate Kievan Rus' very strongly, and the isotopic evidence from strontium fits that interpretation".[22] Similar conclusions have resulted from the isotope analysis

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18   Bolnick, "Continuity and change", pp. 265–266.

19   Mielnik-Sikorska et al., "The history of the Slavs".

20   Malyarchuk et al., "Mitochondrial DNA variability". It is of course impossible to date that migration, which could may very well have taken place long before the Middle Ages. For a similar conclusion based on non-recombining Y chromosome from 25 extant populations of Europe and the Middle East, see Šlaus et al., "Craniometric relationships", p. 441.

21   Tütken/Knipper/Alt, "Mobilität und Migration"; Schweissing, "Archäologische Fragen"; Knudson, "Identifying archaeological human migration", p. 232. The underlying idea of such techniques of analysis is that, during an individual's life development, strontium substitutes for calcium in hydroxyapatite, the mineral component of enamel and bone. Enamel (on the permanent teeth) is formed in early childhood and does not change through life. It is also the hardest tissue in the skeleton and therefore resistant to decay and diagenesis. The ratio of the radiogenic isotope of strontium, ^{87}Sr, and one stable isotope of strontium, ^{86}Sr, found in the teeth and in the bones reflect the $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ found in plants, animals, and water that the individual in question consumed during his or her lifetime. That in turn reflects the isotope ratios found in the soil and bedrock of the specific region in which the individual lived. If the isotopic ratios of the place of burial are different from those of the enamel, then the individual in question must be a migrant, who changed residence during his or her lifetime.

22   Price/Frei, "Isotopic proveniencing", pp. 457–458 and 462.

of tooth enamel from skeletal material found in the 6th-century cemeteries of Lužice and Holubice (Czech Republic). There were many immigrants among those buried in those cemeteries, each one of which was in use over three successive generations.[23] Sometimes, however, the strontium isotope analysis may produce different results. Only five out 17 skeletons in the 5th- to 9th-century cemetery located to the south from the late Roman fort in Keszthely-Fenékpuszta (Hungary) were of immigrants, but they were all buried in exactly the same manner and style as the locals.[24]

Southeastern Europe is perhaps the only part of the Continent in which migrations have been concocted out of thin air, against all evidence produced by archaeology. The presumed ancestors of the Albanians, the Bessi, are said to have lived in the lands on both sides of the present-day Bulgarian-Serbian and Bulgarian-Macedonian borders. At some point during the first half of the 9th century, they were pushed out of their ancestral lands by the Byzantine-Bulgar wars, and they moved to the west, where they became Albanians.[25] While there is plenty of evidence for an out-migration of Albanians in the 14th century, primarily because of the profound transformations taking place in the tribal society, and the concomitant rise of the Albanian aristocracy, there is absolutely no archaeological evidence of a 9th-century migration from western Bulgaria to Albania—of Bessi, proto-Albanians, or of anyone else.[26] Romanians are also said to have come to the present-day territory of their country in waves over several centuries, some as late as the 13th or 14th centuries.[27] This has often been regarded as a form of return migration, since the Latin-speaking population of the province of Dacia was also believed to have migrated to the Balkan Peninsula after the abandonment of the province in the late 3rd century. The migration out of Dacia supposedly took place in the early 7th century, when the Danube frontier of the Empire presumably collapsed under the pressure of the Avars and Slavs. Place names of Latin origin, the existence of Vlach communities in the Balkans, as well as the close relations between their dialects and the Romanian language have all been treated as sufficient evidence for the later migration of Romanians back to the same

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23   Tejral, "K současnému stavu", p. 59.
24   Heinrich-Tamáska/Schweissing, "Strontiumisotopen- und Radiokarbonuntersuchungen", pp. 466–467. No more than a quarter of the entire population buried in Keszthely-Fenékpuszta is made up of "foreigners".
25   Schramm, *Anfänge,* pp. 149–156.
26   Ducellier , "Les Albanais".
27   Friedwagner, "Über die Sprache und Heimat", p. 692; Darkó, "Die Übersiedlung der Walachen"; Stadtmüller 1950, 207 with 205 map 12.

lands abandoned by their ancestors in the early 7th century.[28] There are serious problems with such interpretations of the primarily linguistic evidence, not the least of which is the inability to date any phonetic and/or linguistic changes with sufficient precision for the historical reconstruction. More recent archaeological research has painted a very bleak picture of the Balkans in the 7th century, one of largely uninhabited areas in the center of the Peninsula, precisely those areas to which the immigrants from present-day Romania is said to have moved after the collapse of the Danube frontier.[29]

Moreover, early medieval migrations to and from the Balkans are well documented, but none of them fits the idea of a Romanian migration to Romania. For example, the fifth miracle in Book II of the *Miracles of St. Demetrius* contains the story of the Sermesianoi—the descendants of prisoners that the Avars had taken from the Balkan provinces in the early 7th century, and had then moved forcefully to Pannonia, in the area of Sirmium (hence their name). After 60 years, during which they were ruled by their own chieftains, the Sermesianoi rose in rebellion against the Avars, and migrated across the Danube back into the Balkans.[30] In the early 9th century, after Krum's successful campaigns in Thrace, between 10,000 and 20,000 prisoners of war are said to have been forcefully moved to "Bulgaria beyond the Danube", which was most likely located in southern Romania. Much like the Sermesianoi, those prisoners had their own leaders. With the assistance of the Byzantine fleet on the Danube, after spending 40 or 50 years in "Bulgaria beyond the Danube", the Adrianopolitans rose in rebellion against the Bulgars, and migrated back to their homeland inside the Empire.[31]

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28   Schramm, *Eroberer und Eingesessene*, pp. 131–140. Stanev, "Migraciiata ot Trakiia", pp. 214–217 believes that the Vlachs of Epirus, Thessaly, southern Macedonia, and Albania migrated to northern Bulgaria under the pressure of the Normans at the end of the 11th century and in the early 12th century.

29   Curta, "The beginning of the Middle Ages".

30   *Miracles of St. Demetrius* II 5, in Lemerle, *Les plus anciens*, pp. 286–288; Pillon, "L'exode des Sermésiens", pp. 104–105. Werner, *Der Schatzfund von Vrap*, and "Der Schatz eines awarischen Kagans" has unsuccessfully tried to link this migration to the hoard of silver vessels and belt fittings from Vrap (Albania). For the hoard, see now Garam, "The Vrap treasure" and Piguet-Panayotova, "The gold and silver vessels".

31   Scriptor incertus, ed. Iadevaia, pp. 54–55; Tăpkova-Zaimova, "Migrations frontalières", pp. 126–127. For "Bulgaria beyond the Danube" and its administrative organization, see Brătianu, "Bulgaria de dincolo de Dunăre"; Tăpkova-Zaimova, "Roliata i administrativnata organizaciia". Several cemeteries in Walachia, the stronghold in Slon, and a number of hoards of iron implements and weapons have been linked to "Bulgaria beyond the Danube" (Fiedler, "Bulgars in the Lower Danube region", pp. 155–156; Ciupercă, "Some observations"; Canache/Curta, "Depozite de unelte şi arme medievale timpurii").

With no such accounts at their disposal, archaeologists have long debated the origins of the 4th- to 7th-century archaeological culture in the Samara Bend known as Imen'kovo, after the eponymous site at the confluence of the Volga and the Kama rivers.[32] According to Galina Matveeva, that culture originated in the Zarubyntsi culture of western Ukraine (3rd century B.C. to 1st century A.D.).[33] Her critics pointed out that in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, migrations were usually from the east to the west, not the other way around. Others notes that 400 years separated the end of the Zarubyntsi from the beginning of the Imen'kovo culture. Nonetheless, the idea of a western origin of the Imen'kovo culture was the orthodoxy during the first decade of the 21st century, even though the exact identity of the migrants (or, later, of the bearers of the Imen'kovo culture) remained a matter of dispute. Valentin Sedov believed that the origins of the Imen'kovo culture must be sought in the Sântana de Mureş-Chernyakhov culture, which was at that same time at the center of the debate surrounding the early history of the Goths. The Imen'kovo people later migrated to Left-Bank Ukraine, where they laid the foundations of the Volintsevo culture of the 8th- to the 10th-century Slavs on the northern border of Khazaria.[34] Others denied any derivation of the Imen'kovo from the Sântana de Mureş-Chernyakhov culture, since the origins of the former predate the Hunnic invasion, which, according to Sedov, has triggered the eastward migration of the Sântana de Mureş-Chernyakhov people to the Samara Bend. That the Imen'kovo culture in that region of the Middle Volga was the result of a migration is therefore not a conclusion drawn from the archaeological evidence, but an idea based on the assumption that only migration can explain cultural changes. Recent studies, without rejecting the possibility of short-distance population movements, suggest however that the Imen'kovo culture is the result not of migration from western Ukraine, but of cultural mestizaje, for it appears to be a combination of elements that appear in other cultures of the Kama and Volga region.[35] Nor can a case be made for the lands

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32   Bogachev, "Problemy etnokul'turnogo vzaimodeistviia", pp. 108–110.

33   Matveeva, "O proiskhozhdenii". See also Matveeva, "K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii pogrebenii s trupopolozheniiami"; Matveeva, *Srednee Povolzh'e*, pp. 65–74.

34   Sedov, *Slaviane*, p. 315. Fodor, "K voprosu ob etnicheskoi prinadlezhnosti", p. 106 has rightly noted that the idea has first been put forward by Aleksandr Smirnov (Smirnov, "Nekotorye spornye voprosy").

35   Viazov/Stashenkov, "Kul'turno-khronologicheskie gruppy", p. 49. Although Viazov, "O proiskhozhdenii pakhotnykh orudii" still derives Imen'kovo plowshares from Sântana de Mureş-Chernyakhov prototypes, Viazov, "O proiskhozhdenii toporov" argues that axes found on Imen'kovo sites derive from prototypes in the Kama region. To be sure, Leonid Viazov does not draw any conclusions about migration from his studies of tools and weapons, respectively.

in the Samara Bend region being emptied in the mid-7th century, because of the migration of the Imen'kovo people to the Middle Dnieper. Recent excavations on sites located at the foot of the Zhiguli Mountains (e.g., Osh-Pando-Ner') have produced materials dated to the first half of the 8th century representing a mixture of cultural traditions, one of which is clearly Imen'kovo. In the words of a Russian archaeologist commenting on those finds, "this is not migration, but acculturation".[36]

Elsewhere, the fundamental assumption is that a migration must have taken place, if settlements and cemeteries appear suddenly in a region that has previously been sparsely populated. For example, a vacuum of population is postulated in order to explain the migration that led to the rise of the 5th- to early 7th-century archaeological group known as Elbląg in the Lower Vistula region of northern Poland. During the 5th century, the Wielbark population is believed to have moved to the south. In the early 6th century the lands that had thus been vacated were occupied by immigrants from the Sambian Peninsula (Samland) and Natangia, in what is now the Kaliningrad *oblast'* of Russia. This wave of Baltic-speaking newcomers supposedly moved along the Vistula Lagoon and populated its entire southern shore, from the Pasłęka all the way to the Lower Vistula.[37] Where no assumptions can be made about a vacuum of population, migration is identified archaeologically through the sudden appearance in a given region of dress accessories without any local traditions or parallels. For example, only a few types of Viking-age female dress accessories found in Finland and the Baltic countries are known that have parallels in Scandinavia, and they usually appear singly and in graves which are in all other respects typically local. By contrast, in northwestern Russia, practically all types of Scandinavian female dress accessories are represented, and they appear in typically Scandinavian combinations in the graves, which also conform in other respects (e.g., burial rite) in a remarkable way to the Scandinavian culture. While artifacts of Scandinavian origin related to religion or magic, such as Thor's hammer rings, are practically absent from Finland and the Baltic countries, they are numerous in Russia. This polarized distribution of artifacts has therefore been interpreted as evidence of a large immigration of whole families from Scandinavia to Russia. The migration must have been sufficiently

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36   Rastoropov, "Voprosy etnokul'turnoi istorii", pp. 46–47.

37   Okulicz, "Osadnictwo ziem pruskich", pp. 32 and 31 pl. III; Nowakowski, "Zmierzch dawnych czasów", p. 278. By contrast, the neighboring Olsztyn group in Mazuria (northeastern Poland) is believed to be the result of a late 5th- or early 6th-century "return migration" from the region of the Middle Danube (Nowakowski, "Die Olsztyn-Gruppe", pp. 175 and 177; 176 fig. 5).

strong for those distinctive features to be preserved over a couple of generations.[38]

Although mentioned in written sources, the migrations of the Sermesianoi and the Adrianopolitans mentioned above have no archaeological correlates. The same is true for the migration of the Croats. In his *De administrando imperio*, Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913–959) had the Croats arriving to Dalmatia "to claim the protection of the emperor of the Romans Heraclius".[39] Where did they come from? "The Croats who now live in the region of Dalmatia are descended from the unbaptized Croats, also called 'white', who live beyond Turkey [Hungary] and next to Francia".[40] According to Emperor Constantine, the migrants came to Dalmatia under the leadership of five brothers (Kloukas, Lobelos, Kosentzis, Mouchlo, and Chrobatos) and two sisters (Touga and Bouga) and conquered the land from the Avars. Generations of historians have taken the story at face value, and many archaeologists are still looking for evidence to confirm it.[41] Recently, however, it has been noted that Emperor Constantine's account is an adaptation of a story found in Herodotus (IV 33.3): "the Croatian migration did not take place, but… Constantine Porphyrogenitus created it relying on the literary models traditionally applied to described the *Landnahme* of Scythian Barbarians".[42] Moreover, there is no archaeological evidence of a new population arriving in Dalmatia in the early 7th century. On the contrary, the region seems to have experienced a dramatic

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38   Jansson, "Warfare, trade or colonization?", pp. 26–27. For iron torcs with Thor's hammers in Eastern Europe, see Novikova, "Iron neck-rings". Such rings have also been found in Poland, especially in Pomerania, see Gardeła, *Scandinavian Amulets* and "Amulety skandynawskie". In Pomerania, the sudden change of burial rites from cremation to inhumation is attributed to a Scandinavian immigration (Sikora, "Akulturacja, wymuszona chrystianizacja czy migracja?").

39   Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* 31, ed. Moravcsik/Jenkins, pp. 146 and 147. The Croats settled down in Dalmatia "by mandate of Heraclius" (ibid., pp. 148 and 149) .

40   Constantine Porphyrogentius, *De administrando imperio* 31, ed. Moravcsik/ Jenkins, pp. 146 and 147. See also, ibid., 30, pp. 142 and 143: "But the Croats at that time were dwelling beyond Bavaria, where the Belocroats are now".

41   See Hauptmann, "Dolazak Hrvata"; Antoljak, "Hrvati u Karantaniji"; and Kardaras, "The settlement of the Croats and the Serbs". For a good historiographic survey, see Dzino, *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat*, pp. 99–117. According to Jarak, "Zapažanja o grobljima", since no drastic changes in earring typology took place in Croatia between the 8th and the 9th centuries, one has to admit that the Croats came to Dalmatia in the 7th century, as indicated in the *De administrando imperio*.

42   Borri, "White Croatia", p. 231. For Emperor Constantine's political motivations of making Emperor Heraclius invite the Croats to Dalmatia, see Dzino, "Pričam ti priču", pp. 159–160.

population decline during the first half of the 7th century, with only coastal towns surviving. The earliest burial assemblages that have been attributed to the Croats cannot be dated before the year 700.[43]

A somewhat different situation concerns the migration of the Pechenegs. Their movement across the Eurasian steppe is believed to have been triggered by the rising power of the Qarluqs and the attacks of the Oghuz. The Pechenegs then crossed the Volga and the Don, and invaded the lands north of the Black Sea inhabited by the Magyars.[44] The archaeological correlates of that migration reconstructed by historians on the basis of a mixture of historical and linguistic arguments are hard to find, for none of the so-called nomadic graves in the steppe lands can be securely attributed to the Pechenegs alone. There is incontrovertible evidence of their migration across the Danube into the Balkan provinces of the Byzantine Empire. In 1046, a Pecheneg chieftain named Kegen fled from a rival together 20,000 fellow tribesmen across the Danube and took shelter on a "little island in the river", not far from Dristra (nowadays, Silistra, in northern Bulgaria). The Pechenegs received "three of the fortresses standing on the banks of the Danube and many hectares", and Kegen was "inscribed among the friends and allies of the Romans".[45] Kegen converted to Christianity, and was then given the supreme command of the troops from Paristrion, Thrace, and Bulgaria. That this is no literary construction is clearly demonstrated by his seal found in Silistra, the inscription of which reads "Lord, have mercy upon the *magistros* John Kegen, the *archon* of Patzinakia".[46]

Despite clear evidence from the written sources, the archaeological correlates of the Pecheneg migration to the Balkans are elusive. Archaeologists have linked the destruction of settlements in the northern Balkans to the Pechenegs raids, but the evidence of a Pecheneg settlement is circumstantial. Various categories of artifacts have been attributed to them, from clay kettles and hand-made pottery to leaf-shaped pendants with open-work ornament, horseman-shaped amulets, jingle bells, appliques and bridle mounts, arrowheads, and

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43 For the archaeology of the late 6th and early 7th century in the territory of present-day Croatia and Slovenia, see Curta, "The early Slavs in the northern and eastern Adriatic region", pp. 321–322; Dzino, *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat*, pp. 121–128.

44 Zimonyi, "A besenyők nyugatra". In a belated reply to László Vajda, Fodor, "Ecology and migrations", p. 80 regards the Pecheneg migration across the Volga, the Don, and the Dnieper rivers as the best example of a "chain migration".

45 Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 456, transl. Wortley, p. 428. For this episode see Curta, "The image and archaeology", pp. 153–154.

46 Iordanov, "Sceau d'archonte" and "Pechati". For Kegen's title of *magister*, see Dudek, "Pieczęć magistra Jana Kegena". For Patzinakia as the region of the theme of Paradouna-von in what is now northeastern Bulgaria, see Madgearu, "The periphery", p. 51.

stirrups. However, no warrior graves have so far been found, despite the over-whelming evidence in the sources of devastation and plundering done by groups of armed men. Moreover, the ethnic identification of clay kettles and leaf-shaped pendants as Pechenegs is highly problematic.[47] While the archae-ological visibility of the Pechenegs in the lands north of the Danube is associ-ated with burials in prehistoric mounds, there are no 11th-century graves in burial mounds in Bulgaria. Burials with the skull and legs of a horse deposited next to the human skeleton, which many regard as typical for the steppe no-mads, are also very rare.[48] The detailed examination of the cemetery excavated in Odărci—the largest 11th-century cemetery in northern Bulgaria—shows no traditions common to the community burying their dead there and to those in the lands north of the Black Sea and the Lower Danube.[49] A general tendency towards the adoption of the Christian burial, including coffin-like structures associated with stone-lined graves as well as burial in and around cemetery chapels, seem to have been associated with the reinterpretation of a number of traits that are not prominent in the archaeological record of the East Euro-pean steppe lands—trepanation, charcoal in the grave pit, and bridle mounts recycled as dress accessories. The absence from the region of any signs of mili-tary posturing so typical for burial in prehistoric barrows north of the river Danube is simply the other side of the same coin. There is, in other words, no direct archaeological correlate of the migration of the Pechenegs. Elements of the archaeological evidence from large cemeteries, such as Odărci (the chro-nology of which coincides in time with the events known from written sourc-es), which could be regarded as reflections of the traditions of the steppe, "may well have been 'quotes' designed to give a 'Pecheneg look' to a regional identity at a time of considerable political and social turmoil" and in an area in which the Pechenegs of Paristrion were a leading political group.[50]

In three cases concerning migrations into the Carpathian Basin, the archae-ological evidence backs the conclusions drawn from the written sources. Em-peror Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus knew that the Magyars (whom he called "Turks") "had of old their dwelling next to Khazaria, in the place called Lebedia". Defeated by the Pechenegs, the Magyars "split into two parts. One part went eastwards and settled in the region of Persia, and they to this day are

47   Curta, "The image and archaeology", pp. 159–162 and 168–170; Fiedler, "Zur Suche", pp. 271–279.
48   For an isolated burial with the head and legs of a horse deposited on the left side of a hu-man skeleton, which was recently found in Plovdiv and attributed to the Pechenegs, see Ivanov, "Novi danni", pp. 406 and 405 fig. 6.
49   Curta, "The image and archaeology", pp. 170–178.
50   Curta, "The image and archaeology", p. 181.

called by the ancient denomination of the Turks 'Sabartoi asphaloi'; but the other part ... settled in the western region, in places called Atelkouzou, in which places the nation of the Pechenegs now lives".[51] The Pechenegs had in fact expelled the Magyars from their abodes, and the latter "came and settled in the land which they now dwell in", i.e., Hungary.[52] The account of the continuous migration of the Magyars from east to west, modeled after that of the Chosen People, has been traditionally taken at face value by many historians, and only recently, some commentators of Emperor Constantine's work have pointed out the obviously literary construction of that account.[53] In many respects, therefore, the problem of the Magyar migration as depicted in the written sources is not different from that of the Croat migration. However, Hungarian archaeologists have been able to isolate a number of artifacts clearly associated with the first generation of Magyars in the Carpathian Basin, primarily based on analogies with finds in Eastern Europe. For example, the belt set from Karancslapujtő has analogies on sites in Mordvinia (the present-day Mordovian Republic), while the horse gear in the female burial in Szakony has parallels in Belymer, Tankeevka and Borshevo—all sites in the Middle Volga region.[54] Most analogies point to sites associated with the late 8th- to mid-9th-century Karaiakupovo culture: burial construction, orientation and position of the body inside the burial pit, burial goods associated with male and female

51   Constantine Porphyrogentius, *De administrando imperio* 38, ed. Moravcsik/Jenkins, pp. 170–173. Most historians have traditionally taken the story about the Sabartoi asphaloi at face value, e.g., Ducellier, "Les sources byzantines", p. 53. For recent doubts, see Bata, "The Turks" and Bubenok, "Savarty-asfaly".

52   Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* 39, ed. Moravcsik/Jenkins, pp. 176–177. Emperor Constantine mentions Trajan's bridge over the Danube (now at Drobeta-Turnu Severin, in southwestern Romania), Belgrade, Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica, in northern Serbia), and "great Moravia" in relation to the lands in which the Magyars have settled.

53   For the continuous migration of the Magyars, see Barna, "A magyarok útjáról"; Fodor, *In Search of a New Homeland*; Váczy, "The Byzantine emperor"; Róna-Tas, "The migration of the Hungarians", pp. 246–248; Tóth, *Levediától a Kárpát-medencéig*; Múcska, "Migracja i etnogeneza". For the historioghraphy of the Magyar ethnogenesis and migration, see Ovchinnikova/Gyóni, *Protovengry*. For cracks in the traditional interpretation of Emperor Constantine's account, see Szabados, "A legyőzött magyarok ming hódítók?" Archaeologists have also clung onto the "serial migration model" created on the basis of *De administrando imperio*, with different archaeological cultures corresponding to various stages of the migration, and each one of those stages being responsible for some key change in the Magyar culture and language. See the critical remarks of Sindbæk, "A Magyar occurrence", p. 153.

54   Mesterházy, "Die Landnahme der Ungarn", pp. 28–31. *Contra*: Vavruš, "Prvá maďarská generácia", p. 186. For the finds from Karancslapujtő and Szakony, see Dienes, *Die Ungarn*, fig. 16 and "A karancslapujtő honfoglalás kori őv".

graves (especially mortuary masks), the deposition of horse remains (skull and limbs).[55] In other words, the archaeological evidence points to the appearance in the 10th century of a new, coherent culture in the Carpathian Basin, which is different from those of the previous period. This culture has been described as "a wide, homogeneous unit, with contacts reaching to the steppe lands in Eastern Europe and beyond", even though some of its features seem to have developed locally. The beginnings of the new culture coincide in time with the immigration of the Magyars known from the written sources.[56]

Three centuries earlier, a similarly new and coherent culture has made its appearance in the Carpathian Basin. New burial customs and artifact types, for which there is no analogy in the whole of Europe, have been associated with the immigration of the Avars, as reconstructed based on the information in Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards* that was written more than 150 years after the events.[57] István Bóna believed that the only analogies for pits with cremated remains of horse gear (including stirrups) and, occasionally, weapons (lance heads) were in Central Asia, while Sassanian influences were reflected in such categories of artifacts as weapons, dress accessories, as well as gold- or silverware.[58] "Nomadic" belt sets, swords with long blades, bow reinforcement plates, remains of quivers, and many other artifacts were equally regarded as new for the picture of European archaeology. However, only rarely can contemporary parallels for the earliest artifact-categories associated with the earliest Avars be found outside the Carpathian Basin.[59] Apple-shaped, cast stirrups with elongated suspension loops and flat treat slightly bent inwards are typical for the earliest assemblages associated with the Avar immigration, and are the earliest European stirrups known so far. However, there are no parallels for those artifacts on any site in Eurasia that may be dated prior to the migration of the Avars.[60] Nonetheless, the population that buried its dead in

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55   Gołębiowska-Tobiasz, "The Hungarians", pp. 41–42.

56   Langó, "Archaeological research", p. 181.

57   Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards* I 27 and II 7, ed. Waitz, pp. 80 and 89. Despite efforts to reassess the *History of the Lombards* as a literary work, Paul the Deacon's account of the Avar migration has been remarkably resistant to historical criticism, particularly the idea that the Lombards bestowed their "own abode, that is, Pannonia" upon the Avars. Pohl, *Die Awaren*, pp. 50–51 takes the account at face value, even though he recognizes "legendary" elements in the story of how Cunimund, the king of the Gepids, was defeated and killed in war with the Lombards and their Avar allies.

58   Bóna, "Die Geschichte der Awaren", pp. 443–444.

59   Bálint, *Die Archäologie der Steppe*, p. 149; Bálint, "Probleme", p. 214. Attempts to identify Central Asian Avars by means of physical anthropology bore no fruits (Tóth, "Észak-dunántul avarkori népességének").

60   La Salvia, "La diffusione della staffa"; Curta, "The earliest Avar-age stirrups".

cemeteries located to the east from the Middle Tisza river migrated there from the steppe lands in southern Ukraine, as indicated by the typical graves with tunnel-shaped shafts that have no parallels in the Carpathian Basin.[61] Two of the men buried in the 7th century in the Komárom-Shipyard cemetery (Slovakia) were accompanied in death by spears, the shafts of which were made of black mulberry, a species of tree that did not exist in the Carpathian Basin during the early Middle Ages, but was widely spread in Central and Eastern Asia.[62] During the 6th century, the area between the Danube and the Tisza in what is today Hungary, was only sparsely inhabited, and may well have played the role of a "no man's land" between the Lombard and Gepid territories. It is only after ca. 600 that this area was densely inhabited, as indicated by a number of new cemeteries that came into being along the Tisza and north of present-day Kecskemét.[63] There can therefore be no doubts about the migration of the Avars into the Carpathian Basin, even though it was probably not a single event and did not involve only one group of population, or even a cohesive ethnic group.[64]

Paul the Deacon, the only author directly referring to the migration of the Avars into the Carpathian Basin, did so in the context of his account of the migration of the Lombards from that region, across the Alps, to Italy.[65] Many scholars still regard the movement of the Lombard to Italy as "spectacular", a "migration avalanche". Unlike other migrations, that of the Lombards is treated as a "total migration", in that it was not just a group, but also the entire population that moved out from the Carpathian Basin into the Italian

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61 Lőrinczy, "Kelet-európai steppe népesség"; Türk, "O novykh rezul'tatakh". For a slightly different argument, see Gulyás, "Újabb adatok". For an anthropological study of the immigrants, see Fóthi/Lőrinczy/Marcsik, "Arkheologicheskie i antropologicheskie sviazi".

62 Trugly, "Komárom-Hajógyár", p. 209.

63 Balogh, "A Duna-Tisza köze", pp. 59–64. For an "explosion" of sites in the whole Carpathian Basin shortly after the year 600, see also Szenpéteri, "Was die Verbreitungskarten erzählen…", pp. 334 with fig. 7.1.

64 A fierce debate surrounds István Bóna's idea that the change in archaeological culture, which he dated ca. 675, was to be explained in terms of another migration of Turkic elements from the steppe lands in Central and Inner Asia (Bóna, "Die Geschichte der Awaren", pp. 455–456). This idea was embraced by others who pointed to new cemeteries being opened at different locations during the last quarter of the 7th century (Tomka, "Die Frage"). For a thorough critique of Bóna's theory, see Bálint, "Der Beginn der Mittelawarenzeit". The debate has been fueled by nationalist concerns deriving from Gyula László's idea that the new immigrants were speakers of a Ugric language, which made the Hungarians native to the Carpathian Basin about two centuries before the Magyar migration to that area. See László, "A kettős honfoglalásrol"; Kristó, "Nyelv és etnikum"; Madaras, "Az Alföldi avarság"; Magyar, "A honfoglalás (kettős honfoglalás) legújabb"; Olajos, "De la théorie"; Fodor, "A 'kettős honfoglalás'".

65 Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards* II 8, ed. Waitz, p. 90.

Peninsula.[66] While the mass character of the Lombard migration to Italy has been recently questioned, no one seems to doubt it. A strategy for acquiring a better social position, the migration of the Lombards from the lands now in southern Hungary has been associated with grave robbing, itself a phenomenon interpreted as a sign of abandonment of the old settlements.[67] Historians have also not questioned the movement of the Lombards from the lands to the north into those to the south of the river Danube. Although none of the phases (and corresponding stops) of that migration, as related in the *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, is confirmed by any other sources, that version of the Lombard migration is taken for granted.[68] Jaroslav Tejral has long insisted upon the distinction between various cultural horizons in the archaeology of the 4th to 6th centuries in the Czech lands and Moravia; the last horizon represents the arrival of a new group of people from the lands along the Elbe river—the Lombards of the *Origo gentis*.[69] The results of the isotope analysis of tooth enamel from skeletal materials from two 6th-century cemeteries in Moravia (Lužice and Holubice) seem to confirm the idea of a migration taking place shortly before the year 500.[70] The migration of the Lombards to the lands south of the river Danube now within Hungary has also received much attention from archaeologists. The first phase (ca. 510 to ca. 535) is believed to be associated with relatively small cemeteries (80–90 graves) in use for a couple of generations. Such cemeteries were not fundamentally different from much larger ones of the previous, pre-Pannonian phase in Austria or Moravia. However, graves of males in such cemeteries have produced a greater quantity and variety of weapons. During the second phase (535–550), new cemeteries appear in southern Pannonia, that were considerably smaller (40–50 graves), because they were in use only for a very short period of time. Those cemeteries typically include "archaic" material of Moravian provenance, such as handmade pottery of the Elbe type, often associated with urn cremations. The last phase (550–568) is supposedly identifiable by means of comparison with the earliest finds in Italy.[71] The existence of short-distance movements of population

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66   Borgolte, "Eine langobardische 'Wanderlawine'", pp. 293–295, blames Walter Pohl for the propagation of such myths.

67   Barbiera, *Changing Lands*, p. 146. See Freeden, "Wer stört Gräber?".

68   *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, ed. Waitz, pp. 1–6. For the traditional interpretation of the migration of the Lombards to Pannonia, see Borovszky, "A langobardok vándorlása"; Jarnut, *Geschichte*, p. 19; Bystrický, *Sťahovanie národov*, pp. 81–105. For a critique of that approach, see Pohl, "Migration und Ethnogenese", p. 1.

69   Tejral, "Zur Unterscheidung".

70   Tejral, "K současnému stavu", p. 59.

71   Vida, "Aufgaben und Perspektiven", p. 346; Keresztes, "Fegyveres langobardok", p. 481. See also Vida, "La ricerca". The distinction between the three phases of the Lombard migration

across Transdanubia (the lands to the south and west of the river Danube, now in Hungary and Austria) during the 6th century is also confirmed by the results of the stable isotope analysis of tooth enamel from the skeletal material of the newly excavated cemetery in Szólád, which came into existence during the second phase of the Lombard migration. Two thirds of those buried in that cemetery were not of local origin. Children have been buried in that cemetery, who had been born elsewhere, most likely in northern Transdanubia, during the first third of the 6th century. There were also local children, but not adults, in the Szólád cemetery. This seems to point to a relatively short period during which the cemetery was in use, perhaps no more than a generation.[72] The underlying assumption is, of course, that those abandoning the cemetery in Szólád moved to Italy.

Without skeletal material from large cemeteries and no written sources to describe the migration of the Slavs in explicit terms, archaeologists and historians alike have embraced an outdated model ultimately inspired by research in linguistics. Many of them still stubbornly stick to that, even though the evidence accumulated over the last few decades clearly points to a completely different interpretation.[73] To be sure there is only one medieval author that specifically mentioned Slavs ("who are also called Avars") moving from their lands "on the far side of the river Danube" to the Balkans and establishing themselves in Salona (near present-day Split, in Croatia). Moreover, that late source is, again, Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. His story looks more like an attempt to explain the particular situation of Salona and of the former province of Dalmatia.[74] At any rate, there is no indication of a Slavic migration from the lands north of the Danube into Dalmatia either before or during the reign of Emperor Heraclius, whose name is associated to the "story of the province of Dalmatia".[75] No 6th-century author mentions the migration of the Slavs to the Danube, or their movement across that river in order to set-

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into the lands south of the river Danube goes back to István Bóna (Vida, "Die Langobarden", pp. 75–76).

72   Peters et al. "Schmelztiegel Balaton?", p. 354. For Szólád, see Freeden/Vida, "Ausgrabung".

73   Biermann, "Kommentar", pp. 339–340 and 344 even compares the Slavs with the Bantu, both with migrations identified linguistically. For a *mise-au-point*, see Curta, "The early Slavs in Bohemia", pp. 728–729 and 736–737.

74   Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* 29, ed. Moravcsik/Jenkins, pp. 122–125. In the following Chapter (30), those putting to the sword the city of Salona and making themselves masters of "all the country of Dalmatia" are Avars, not Slavs (ibid., pp. 142–143). For the sources and interpretation of the story, see Dzino, *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat*, pp. 111–112.

75   Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* 29, ed. Moravcsik/Jenkins, pp. 124–125; Žiković, *De conversione*, pp. 103, 106, and 109; Curta, "The early Slavs in the

tle permanently in the Balkan provinces of the early Byzantine Empire, or anywhere else in Europe.[76] Attempts to delineate a migration of the Slavs based on place names currently in use in East Central and Eastern Europe have produced dubious results.[77]

Archaeologists have turned to pottery as an indicator of both Slavic ethnicity and migration. The handmade pottery of the so-called Prague type has become the hallmark of the culture believed to be the contrast agent allowing the archaeological visibility of the Slavic population movements. Since the Slavs are "represented" by the Prague culture, the study of the migration of the Slavs was the study of how that culture expanded across large parts of eastern and southeastern Europe between the 6th and the 8th centuries.[78] Various phases of the migration are thus based on the presence of the earliest phases of the Prague-type pottery in particular territories.[79] There are serious problems with such an interpretation of the archaeological evidence. First, to this day, the handmade pottery of Prague type lacks a clear definition and typology. It is not even clear whether such a type truly existed. Nor is it known where and when it may have originated and how it may have spread over a vast area, from the

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northern and eastern Adriatic region", p. 322. For a more traditional take on those issues, see the contribution of Koder in the present volume.

76 For a contrary, but utterly wrong opinion, see Fusek, "Drevnee slavianskoe naselenie", p. 153.

77 Udolph, "Die Landnahme der Ostslaven", pp. 334 map 1, and 335 map 2. Place names have also been used, with similarly dubious results, to claim a movement of the Slavs in the contrary direction, from the Danube to the lands in East Central and Eastern Europe (Kunstmann, "Wie die Slovenen an den Ilmensee kamen" and "Waren die ersten Přemysliden Balkanslaven?", p. 42). Responsible for this migration from south to north are supposedly the Avars or the Bulgars. The idea of a Slavic migration from south to north enjoys increasing popularity among Russian and Ukrainian archaeologists (Prykhodniuk, "Osnovni pidsumky", pp. 18–19; Kuz'min, "O vremeni"; Kazanski, "Les Slaves", pp. 27–30; Sedov, "O rasselenii dunaiskikh slavian" and "Migraciia dunaiskikh slavian"; Shcheglova, "Volny rasprostraneniia veshchei", pp. 60–61; Iushkova, "North-western Russia", p. 149). For the historiography of the problem, see Koneckii, "Slavianskaia kolonizaciia".

78 Machinskii, "Migraciia slavian", pp. 31–37; Měřínský, *České země*, pp. 46 and 57–59; Biermann, "Kommentar", p. 399. For the migration of the Slavs as a migration of *multiple* archaeological cultures, see Pleterski, *Etnogeneza Slovanov*, p. 34 fig. 7. Kobyliński, "The Slavs", p. 531 believes that sunken-floored buildings are a better contrast agent for tracing the migration of the Slavs; Sedov, "Venedy-slaviane" prefers the so-called "Slavic" bow fibulae.

79 Gavritukhin, "Nachalo", pp. 73–74 and 78–82. The idea of tracking the migration of the Slavs by means of a study of the chronology of cultural changes over a vast area and a longer period of time has been first put forward by Godłowski, "Die Frage" (reprinted in Godłowski, *Frühe Slawen*, pp. 85–122).

Pripet marshes to Bohemia and Greece.[80] Second, there is still no firm chronology of the ceramic assemblages attributed to the Prague culture. For example, it is believed that the Slavs reached eastern Mecklenburg in the late 5th or early 6th century, at the same time as they entered Silesia, eastern Brandenburg, and the northeastern part of the Carpathian Basin. They were in Moldavia during the first half of the 6th century, and their expansion into the Balkans started after the middle of that century. Soon after that, they also reached Bohemia.[81]

However, German archaeologists believe that the bearers of the Prague culture who reached northern Germany came from Bohemia and Moravia, which means that their immigration could not have taken place before the middle of the 6th century. As a matter of fact, no archaeological assemblage attributed to the Slavs either in northern Germany or in northern Poland may be dated earlier than ca. 700.[82] Conversely, the archaeological assemblages attributed to the Slavs (Sclavenes) in southern and eastern Romania are earlier than any in central Ukraine, the Middle Dnieper region, or any other part of Eastern Europe.[83] While it is true that during the second half of the 6th and the first half of the 7th century, the number of settlements increased considerably in eastern Romania, in contrast to the situation of the previous two centuries, the increase is not necessarily the result of migration. It may instead reflect the itinerary agriculture and the pastoralist activities of the local population.[84] There are to date no indications of an expansion of the Prague culture into the Balkans before 600 and very few indications after that of any archaeological evidence that could be attributed to the Slavs.[85] Meanwhile, none of the archaeological assemblages associated with the so-called Prague culture in Bohemia and Moravia may be dated before 600.[86]

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80   Curta, "The Prague type" (reprinted in Curta, *Text, Context*, pp. 87–130). The notion of a "Prague type" of pottery was first introduced by Borkovský, *Staroslovanská keramika*, but various attempts at formal description and analysis have so far failed to isolate *the* Prague type.

81   Gavritukhin, "Nachalo", p. 84.

82   Brather, *Archäologie*, p. 59; Dulinicz, "Najstarsza faza" and *Frühe Slawen*, pp. 275–287. According to Brather, "Einwanderergruppe oder Regionalentwicklung?", p. 343, the migration of the Slavs into northern Poland and Germany is archaeologically invisible.

83   Curta, *Making of the Slavs*, pp. 335–338.

84   Teodor, "Evoluţia demografică", p. 275 (compared to the number of settlements dated between the 5th and the 6th century, the number of those dated between ca. 550 and ca. 650 rose by 55 to 60 percent). The link between itinerary agriculture and the appearance of new settlements is best illustrated by the excavations in Dulceanca (southern Romania), for which see Curta, *Making of the Slavs*, pp. 276 and 308.

85   Curta, "The beginning of the Middle Ages", pp. 196–197.

86   Curta, "Utváření Slovanů", pp. 681–682. Most radiocarbon dates now available for sites in Bohemia and Moravia are late, despite occasional claims to the contrary (Profantová/

One of the most egregious problems with the current model of the Slavic migration is that it is not at all clear where it started. There is in fact no agreement as to the exact location of the primitive homeland of the Slavs, if there ever was one. The idea of tracing the origin of the Slavs to the Zarubyntsi culture dated between the 3rd century B.C. and the first century A.D. is that a gap of about 200 years separates it from the Kiev culture (dated between the 3rd and the 4th century A.D.), which is also attributed to the Slavs.[87] Furthermore, another century separates the Kiev culture from the earliest assemblages attributed to the Prague culture. It remains unclear where did the (prehistoric) Slavs go after the first century, and whence they could return, two centuries later, to the same region from which their ancestors had left. The obvious cultural discontinuity in the region of the presumed homeland raises serious doubts about any attempts to write the history of the Slavic migration on such a basis. There is simply no evidence of the material remains of the Zarubyntsi, Kiev, or even Prague culture in the southern and southwestern direction of the presumed migration of the Slavs towards the Danube frontier of the Roman Empire.

Moreover, there is no agreement regarding the possible reasons for which the presumed migration happened in the first place. While Peter Heather made the Slavs fill the "power vacuum created by Przeworsk culture collapse" in the late 5th or early 6th century, the Russian archaeologist Valentin Sedov treated the Slavs as bearers of the Przeworsk culture, and wrote of their 5th-century migration to the north and to the northeast, as far as the lakes Ilmen and Peipus.[88] Why did the Slavs move out of their primitive homeland? Some authors blame the combined effects of the Hunnic invasion and climate change, with temperatures much lower than in the previous 2,000 years, which

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Bureš, "Bedeutende frühe slawische Siedlungen", p. 191; Profantová, "Slaviane", pp. 100 and 102). When multiple radiocarbon dates contradict her theory of an early Slavic culture in Bohemia, Naďa Profantová finds excuses: "The migration hypothesis cannot be tested with the help of the natural sciences" (Profantová, "Cultural discontinuity", p. 260).

87 Furas'ev, "Fenomen"; Pleterski, "Etnogeneza Slavena", pp. 15 fig. 3; 20. For a rebuttal, see Curta, "Four questions", pp. 290–293.

88 Sedov, "Nachalo" and "Sever Vostochno-Evropeiskoi ravniny", pp. 17–18. The Slavs presumably looked for good lands for agriculture, and Minasian, "Problema slavianskogo zaseleniia" has even defined a set of agricultural implements as typical for the Slavic agriculture of the 6th century. The appearance of that set in any given region was then treated as evidence of a Slavic migration. For critical remarks about those theories, see Tvauri, "Migrants or natives?" pp. 26–27. Others believe that a Slavic presence in the Novgorod lands cannot be dated before the mid-9th century (Kuz'min/Mikhailova, "Novye materialy", pp. 143 and 146).

made living conditions in the forest zone of Eastern Europe particularly bad.[89] The out-migration was the result of an ecological crisis, the main reasons for which were podsolization (caused by slash-and-burn form of agriculture) and epizootics (itself caused by the depletion of soils of basic metals, especially cobalt).[90] To others, no assumption of demographic pressure, external forces, or ecological catastrophe is needed to explain the southward migration of the Slavs. Instead, a "simple under-pressure mechanism" must be favored: the Slavs were attracted to the Balkans because that region had been depleted by Justinian's plague. In fact, the migration was supported by the Empire, which exploited the Slavs as easily accessible work force that the imperial government needed after the demographic collapse of the Balkans.[91] Still others think that the Slavic migration was "a response to inequalities of wealth and development and, in that respect, is very similar to modern migrations". The Slavs were simply poor, and migration became "a well-entrenched strategy among many Slavic populations", which kept on moving. For the Slavs, migration was a means of carrying on traditional lifestyles, "including a very small scale of social organization". Their extended familial settlements spread across Central Europe simply because of population growth. "They may have lacked circuses, togas, Latin poetry, and central heating, but the Slavs were as successful in imposing a new social order across central and Eastern Europe as the Romans had been to the west and south".[92]

Even with such elucubrations, the lack of archaeological evidence to support them makes it increasingly difficult to maintain the idea of the Slavs as a population expanding physically and rapidly over large areas of Eastern and East Central Europe, colonizing "vacant" places, and carrying their culture with them.[93] Migrationism in this particular case is associated with a stubborn refusal to abandon a model of historical development fashioned by linguists primarily on the basis of the family tree of languages, which located the Slavic homeland in the epicenter of the modern distribution of Slavic languages. New

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89   Sedov, "Proiskhozhdenie slavian", pp. 57–58, and "Osnovnye voprosy", p. 435. The warming
      of the climate supposedly triggers migration as well (Oleinikov, "Kul'tura dlinnykh kur-
      ganov", p. 173).

90   Shevchenko, "Ekologicheskii krizis" and *v zone slavianskogo etnogeneza*, pp. 139–142, 143,
      149–151, and 199: the "cobalt deficiency" led to an ecological catastrophe, which led to
      migration.

91   Sołtysiak, "The plague endemic", p. 361.

92   Heather, *Empires and Barbarians*, pp. 446–447. The Slavs from "Dulcinea" (probably a cor-
      rupted form of Dulceanca, the name of an archaeological site in southern Romania) mi-
      grated into the Roman Empire. In Heather's Don Quixotesque version of early Slavic his-
      tory, social change starts in El Toboso.

93   Urbańczyk, "Foreign leaders", p. 263.

approaches to the spread of (Common) Slavic inspired by sociolinguistics had absolutely no impact on the archaeological and historical research on the early Slavs.[94] Equally neglected by both archaeologists and historians remains the idea that instead of migration of Slavs, one should speak of the "expansion of Slavicism, as the expansion of a cultural model", which was adopted by the inhabitants of various parts of Eastern Europe together with the Slavic language and associated patterns of material culture.[95]

Several conclusions may be drawn from this survey of the current state of research on migrations in early medieval Eastern Europe. First, migration is still conceptualized as "invasion" or a "large-scale population movement". There is yet no sign of the theoretical impact of the recent resurgence of scholarly interest in migration, which has been inspired by concerns with connectivity, colonial studies, postcolonial perspectives, and entangled situations.[96] Nor is there any concern with migration as a "multi-layered process". Equally absent is any preoccupation with small-scale migrations that may reflect border shifts or moving population centers among seasonally transhumant groups. Environmentalist arguments have been particularly popular because they could fill out Marxist studies of economically primitive societies.[97] Archaeologists in Eastern Europe understand migration as a one-way residential relocation to a different "environment", but they rely on general notions of the process to explain the chronological and geographic distributions of tools, ceramics, metallurgy, human biological traits, and language, and ethnicity. Migration, in other words, was used an explanatory device, and was itself only

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94   See Nichols, "The linguistic geography"; Holzer, "Proto-Slavic"; Boček *Pravoslovanština* 2014. For an attempt at integrating the sociolinguistic approach with the historical and archaeological evidence, see Curta, "The Slavic *lingua franca*".

95   Urbańczyk, "Obcy wśród", pp. 70–71; "Foreign leaders", p. 263.

96   Dommelen, "Moving on", p. 480. For migration and connectivity, see Carson/Hung, "Semiconductor theory in migration".

97   Frachetti, "Migration concepts", p. 199: although the Soviet cultural-ecological approach was especially strong in the 1970s with Lev Gumilev and the integration of geological and paleoclimate research across the Soviet Union, the subtle tenor of environmentalism and primitivism survived and even flourished in post-Soviet Russia. It is important to note the accompanying lack of interest in what Carr, "A unified middle-range theory" has called "low visibility style". Archaeologists working on the Middle Ages in Eastern Europe still have to link their research questions concerning migration to their conspicuous interest in technological styles ("ways of doing things", *chaînes opératoires*). See Burmeister, "Archaeology and migration", p. 542; Cabana/Clark, "Migration in anthropology", p. 5; Clark, "Disappearance and diaspora", pp. 86–87 and 91. For the interest in technological styles in Eastern Europe, see Indruszewski, "Technological aspects"; Szenthe, "Technological history"; Fazioli, "Rethinking ethnicity"; Herold, "Technological traditions"; Zav'ialov/Terekhova, "Three-fold welding technology".

rarely the subject of archaeological investigation. At the beginning of the 21st century, surrounded by the highly visible consequences of large-scale migrations, archaeologists in Eastern Europe struggle with the dissonance between the ever-increasing archaeological evidence and the complexity of the motivations for which people choose to migration, and the way they choose to do it.

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PART 2

Migrations and Mobility into and within the Byzantine World

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Migrating in the Medieval East Roman World, ca. 600–1204

Yannis Stouraitis

The movement of groups in the Byzantine world can be distinguished between two basic types: first, movement from outside-in the empire; second, movement within the – at any time – current boundaries of the Constantinopolitan emperor's political authority. This distinction is important insofar as the first type of movement – usually in form of invasion or penetration of foreign peoples in imperial lands – was mainly responsible for the extensive rearrangement of its geopolitical boundaries within which the second type took place. The disintegration of the empire's western parts due to the migration of the Germanic peoples in the 5th century was the event that set in motion the configuration of the medieval image of the East Roman Empire by establishing the perception in the eastern parts of the Mediterranean that there could be only one Roman community in the world, that within the boundaries of authority of the Roman emperor of Constantinople.[1]

From that time on, the epicentre of the Roman world shifted toward the East. The geopolitical sphere of the imperial state of Constantinople included the broader areas that were roughly circumscribed by the Italian peninsula in the west, the regions of Mesopotamia and the Caucasus in the east, the North-African shores in the south, and the Danube in the north.[2] The Slavic settlements in the Balkans and the conquest of the eastern provinces by the Muslims between the late-6th and the late-7th century were the two major developments that caused a further contraction of east Roman political boundaries, thus creating a discrepancy between the latter and the boundaries of the Christian commonwealth that had been established in the east in the course of late antiquity.[3]

This new geopolitical status quo created new conditions regarding the movement of people and groups within the Empire. From a legal-political viewpoint, internal migration needs to be identified with movement within

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1 Stouraitis, "Reinventing Roman Ethnicity", p. 72.
2 Haldon, *The Palgrave Atlas of Byzantine History*, pp. 22–67.
3 Fowden, *Empire to commonwealth*.

the –at any time current– boundaries of the imperial office's enforceable political, military, and economic authority. With respect to that, the fact that large parts of formerly Roman territories and Christian-Roman subjects were left outside the limits of this authority after the mid-7th century while maintaining – especially in the case of the Chalcedonian Christians – ideological bonds with the imperial power of Constantinople,[4] calls for a more flexible approach to the phenomenon of movement in the cultural context of the eastern Christian-Roman Oecumene. As we shall see below, if the Islamic conquest left a large part of Christian populations of various doctrines outside the contracted limits of imperial authority, these populations functioned eventually as a pool from which the imperial power of Constantinople could draw human resources from outside its current borders and resettle them on territory under its authority. This kind of movement had indeed very little to do with migration of culturally foreign populations into the empire, since the migrants' Christian identity hardly made them more foreign in their new region of settlement than any other group of Christians that migrated from one part of imperial territory to another by order of the imperial government or by their own initiative.

Departing from such a flexible approach to the movement of groups within and from outside-in the at any time current imperial boundaries after the 7th century, I will use as a starting point for my analysis the generic typological distinction between *involuntary* and *voluntary* migration.[5] The main criteria to distinguish movement of groups will be: (1) whether their long-term or permanent change of residence was forced by another actor or impelled by some natural factor, or (2) whether it took place due to the individual initiative and interests of the group. Diagram 5.1 represents an effort to schematize relevant ideal types.

Based on this analytical framework, the focus of the current paper will be on the different types of *involuntary* movement of groups in the geopolitical sphere of the imperial state of Constantinople in the period between c.600 and 1204. As one may deduce from the diagram, involuntary migration consists of many different subtypes. In the Byzantine case, given the status of our sources, the major bulk of the information concerns migration of smaller or larger groups of people, which was forced upon the migrating subjects by *war* or *state coercion*. Warfare mainly caused two types of movement: first, deportation of populations that were taken captive by enemy forces and were either sold as slaves or resettled within the enemy's administrative borders, either for a longer period of time or permanently. Second, flight of populations from their

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4   Haldon, *The Empire that would not die*, pp. 79–119.
5   Oliver-Smith/Hansen, "Involuntary migration and resettlement: causes and contexts".

TYPES OF MIGRATION					
INVOLUNTARY				**VOLUNTARY**	
impelled or forced movement					
NATURAL CATASTROPHE	STATE COERCION		WAR	EDUCATIONAL	PROFESSIONAL
				PILGRIMAGE	ECONOMIC
	Military	Religious	Deportation	Refugees	
	Political	Economic/ Demographic	Military	Economic	
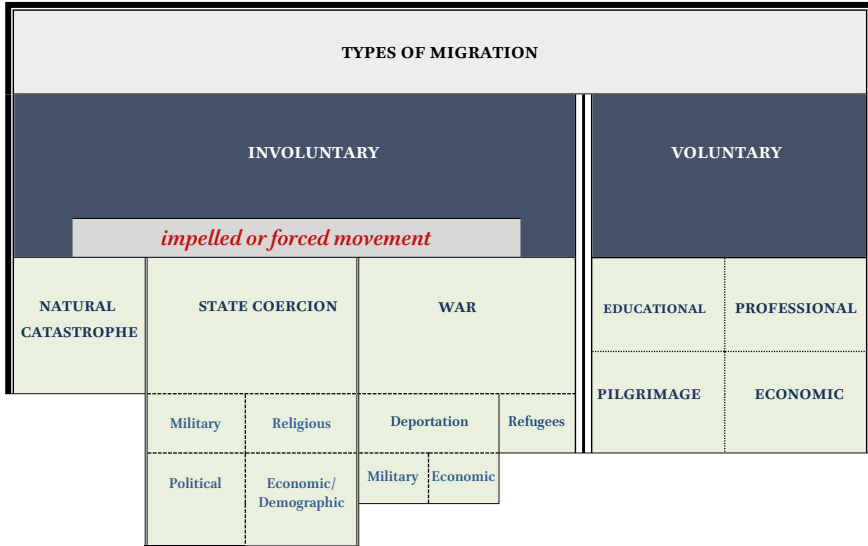
DIAGRAM 5.1   Categorisation of the types of migration and their causes discussed in Byzantine sources

homelands in order to seek refuge (for a longer period of time or permanently) in areas not affected by enemy raids or conquest. State coerced migration, on the other hand, refers to the initiative of the imperial government to resettle subject populations within the boundaries of the empire in order to meet various needs and problems of demographic, economic and/or military character as well as for the purpose of enhancing cultural-religious homogeneity in certain regions.

The here suggested ideal subtypes of forced migration by the state should not be approached as mutually exclusive, since one type may very well include elements of all the others. Moreover, this kind of migration also concerns coercive actions in neighbouring states that forced parts of their subject populations to seek refuge in Byzantine territory. Besides war and state coercion a less documented but equally important subtype of impelled movement was the one caused by natural phenomena, such as plague, draught, flood etc. that occasionally forced groups of people to abandon their home places in search of better conditions of subsistence.

Given that forced migration has probably been the most studied aspect of movement within the medieval East Roman Empire, especially for the period between the seventh and the mid-9th century,[6] my aim here is to take a closer look at the development of the phenomenon in the period under scrutiny in

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6 Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*; Charanis, "The Transfer of Population as a Policy in the Byzantine Empire", *passim*.

order to discern various patterns and their ideological, political-economic, military and cultural connotations.

1   Refugees of War

The 7th century admittedly represents a period of extensive transformation of the Roman Empire of Constantinople, the main trigger of which was the invasion and settlement of foreign peoples on imperial soil. After the end of Justinian I's reign, whose expansionary wars had re-established for the last time the Roman dominion around the shores of the Mediterranean, the Empire received serious blows in the West, the most important being the invasion of the Lombards in Italy from 568 onwards. By the beginning of the 7th century, the imperial power had once again been deprived of large parts of the Italian peninsula that had come under Lombard rule, its authority being confined to the regions of Ravenna, Apulia and Calabria, and Sicily. In the East, the short-term occupation of Roman provinces by the Persians, which Heraclius was able to reverse in the late 620s, prepared the ground for the first phase of the early Islamic expansion under the Rashidun Caliphs between 632 and 661.[7]

The loss of territories to the Slavs in the Balkan Peninsula as well as the loss of the eastern provinces due to the consecutive Persian and Arab conquests unavoidably led to a large number of people becoming refugees. These people left the conquered areas in the face of the enemies' advance in order to resettle in other parts of the contracted territory that had remained under imperial authority.[8] The sources rarely offer detailed or, for that matter, reliable information about the numbers of people that relocated or about the attitude of different social groups. Nonetheless, the existing evidence indicates that the imperial elite of service, the clergy and the monastic communities, as well as the army represent those social groups whose members were the first to abandon the areas that fell under Persian and later under Muslim rule.

For instance, the major Byzantine defeats from the Arabs on the battlefield were followed by the withdrawal of the eastern armies in Asia Minor, the remaining parts of which were resettled within Byzantine Anatolia. This set in motion the emergence of a new military organization by the early-8th century, which was based on large territorialized military commands, the so-called

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7   Haldon, *Byzantium in the seventh century*, pp. 32–56; idem, *The Empire that would not die*; Kaegi, *Byzantium and the early Islamic Conquests*.

8   On the Slavic settlement, cf. the chapters of Johannes Koder and Florin Curta in this volume; on the eastern provinces cf. the chapter of Panagiotis Theodoropoulos.

strategiai.[9] Moreover, it is reported that one of Emperor Heraclius' actions against the Muslim advance was to evacuate the populations of the areas between Antioch and Tarsus leaving a no-man's-land behind.[10] The imperial power was, also, capable of organizing the evacuation of people from cities under siege when these had access to the sea, as the case of the inhabitants of the besieged city of Tripolis on the Syriac coastline demonstrates. In the year 645, these dispatched letters to emperor Constans II asking him to send a fleet that would help them flee the city in case that no military reinforcements could be sent from the imperial centre to relieve them from Muslim pressure. Indeed, the emperor reacted to the request and an imperial fleet evacuated those that wanted to leave the city, relocating them to an unknown safer place within the empire.[11]

The interior of Asia Minor and Cyprus seem to have been the main areas that received the bulk of the refugees from the conquered provinces in the east. The Muslim conquerors of the eastern regions usually proceeded with a common pattern toward the indigenous population. The inhabitants of Byzantine cities that surrendered were given the choice to remain as subjects of the Muslims paying the poll tax or to seek refuge to Byzantine territory if they so wished.[12] In some cases, populations that had fled their hometown in the face of the Muslim advance were later able to make an agreement with the conquerors and return, as the case of the Syrian city of Laodikeia demonstrates.[13]

In the Balkans, the Slavic settlement created a fairly different situation. The actual portion of territory that various Slavic tribes occupied remains a debated issue among scholars. The dominant view is that up to the mid-7th century Constantinople gradually lost administrative control over the largest part of the peninsula, with the Slavs occupying the mainland as far south as the Peloponnese and leaving only small strips of territory, mainly on the eastern Greek coastline, alongside some important urban centres such as Thessaloniki in the north or Athens in the south under Byzantine authority. The result of this was that large parts of the indigenous population abandoned their homelands and migrated in two main directions: The one was southern Italy; a movement concerning mainly the inhabitants of the western parts of the Balkan peninsula, in particular of western Greece. The other direction was towards those strips of

9   Brubaker/Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, pp. 726–728.
10   Kaegi, *Heraclius*, pp. 244–245.
11   Al-Baladuri, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, p. 128.
12   Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*, p. 55. Similar practices were employed by the Byzantines during their reconquest of the east in the tenth century, see Leon Diakonos, *Historia*, ed. Hase, pp. 60, 161.
13   Hitti, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, p. 135.

land and in particular those urban centres on the eastern coastline of Greece as well as towards the islands of the Aegean.

The so-called chronicle of Monemvasia – despite its debated credibility[14]– provides plausible indications about the potential locations of resettlement of the indigenous population of medieval Greece as a result of the Avar and Slavic incursions. According to its author:

> (the Avars) subjugated all of Thessaly Epirus, Attica and Euboea. They made an incursion also in the conquered it by war, and, destroying and driving out the noble and nations settled in it themselves. Those among the former escaping from their blood-stained hands dispersed them-selves here and there. The city of Patras emigrated to the territory of Rhe-gium in Calabria; the Argives to the island called Orobe; and the Corinthi-ans to the island called Aegina. The Lakones too abandoned their native soil at that time. Some sailed to the island of Sicily and are still there in a place called Demena, call themselves Demenitae instead of Lacedae-monitae, and preserve their own Laconian dialect. Others found an inac-cessible place by the seashore, built there a strong city which they called Monemvasia because there was only one way for those entering, and settled in it with their own bishop. Those who belonged to the tenders of herds and to the rustics of the country settled in the rugged places locat-ed along there and have been lately called Tzakonitae.[15]

For the inhabitants of Patras at the northwestern corner of the Peloponnese sailing towards Byzantine Calabria in the southern part of the Italian penin-sula seems like the easiest way to flee the Slavic influx. Their relocation there seems to be verified by a commentary in one of the writings of Arethas, bishop of Caesarea, in the early-10th century. Arethas states that a number of those migrants' offspring returned from south Italy to their (and his own) homeland, Patras, at the beginning of the 9th century.[16] The inhabitants of Laconia, an area in southeastern Peloponnese, are also presented to have sailed to Sicily. The information that another part founded the naturally protected fortress-town of Monemvasia at the southeastern shore of the peninsula has been shown to be inaccurate, since the site already existed before the Slavic inroads.[17]

14   Charanis, "The Chronicle of Monemvasia", 141–166.

15   *Chronicle of Monemvasia*, ed. Dujcev, pp. 12–16. Engl. trans. in Charanis, "The Chronicle of Monemvasia", 148.

16   Anagnostakis/Kaldellis, "The textual sources of the Peloponnese", 105–115; Charanis, "The Chronicle of Monemvasia", 152.

17   Haldon, *Byzantium in the seventh century*, p. 44, n. 10.

Nonetheless, this report could be considered as an indication for migration of shorter distance within the same region from a less safe homeland to a new one that was better defensible and inaccessible to the invaders. This is verified by another report about the inhabitants of Corinth who seem to have sailed to the island of Aegina in the Saronic Gulf in order to put the sea between them and the invaders. The conquest of Sicily by the Arabs in the 9th century triggered a similar phenomenon of regional migration of Byzantine populations from the island to Calabria but also towards Greece, where imperial authority had been rehabilitated for the most part.[18]

Short or longer distance migration was more often than not the result of an area becoming repeatedly a victim of enemy raids. The frontier zone that emerged between the empire and the caliphate in the course of the 7th century was subject to yearly raids up to the 10th century. Local populations were often obliged to abandon their homes and seek for a safer place of residence in the interior. A typical example is the reported mass withdrawal of local populations from the border areas with the Caliphate in 716/7 in the face of a large Muslim invasion that culminated in the second Arab siege of Constantinople.[19]

Arab naval warfare, which often acquired the form of piracy against the islands and the coastal areas of the Aegean Sea, was another reason for populations in these areas to decide to abandon their homelands in search of a safer place. The life of St Luke of Steiris provides an interesting insight into this kind of movement. According to his biographer, the ancestors of the saint originated from the island of Aegina, which they, along with the rest of its inhabitants, were forced to abandon due to the continuous raids of the Muslims. They migrated to various regions such as Attica, the Peloponnese, and Boeotia, probably in the reign of Basil I (867–886). The saint's family arrived at a place called Chrysos at the gulf of Itea, wherefrom they were once again forced to leave due to an Arab naval raid. Finally, they settled in a nearby location, called Kastorion.[20]

If this type of forced migration within the borders of the empire should be considered typical for the most part of the period between the 7th and the 10th centuries, the next large wave of refugees due to warfare seems to have taken place during the Seljuk occupation of large parts of Asia Minor in the late-11th century. The nature of the advance and settlement of Seljuks and Turkomans in Asia Minor did not have a similar sweeping character as the Islamic conquest

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18   McCormick, "The Imperial Edge", p. 33.

19   *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*, p. 62.

20   *Life of St Loukas of Steiris*, ed. Sophianos, p. 4.

of the eastern provinces some centuries earlier, since the newcomers seem to have interpenetrated imperial structures and to have established various new principalities in Anatolia in interaction with the local element or next to it.[21] The sources provide little specific information on groups of refugees from the areas that came under Turkish control after the 1170s. One rather finds typical reports on the devastating effects of Turkish raids and the occupation of urban sites throughout the long 12th century. Once again it seems that the main social groups that opted for migration in the course of the Turkish settlement where the landed aristocracy and the clergy.[22]

Bearing this in mind, statements such as the one by Odo of Deuil who as a participant in the Second Crusade reported in the mid-12th century that the Turks had driven the indigenous population out of the largest part of Asia Minor need to be approached with caution.[23] A mass withdrawal of Roman populations from central and eastern Anatolia can hardly be testified. Moreover, the population of cities in western Anatolia that were ruined by Turkish raids seems to have opted for short distance migration towards safer places in adjacent regions which, of course, may have included those islands of the Aegean close to the coast of Asia Minor. With regard to the devastation caused to the cities of the coastline between Smyrna and Attaleia by the Turks during the reign of Alexios I, Anna Komnene reports that the emperor sought to revive the ruined cities and bring back their emigrated inhabitants.[24] Moreover, during the campaign of Alexios Komnenos against Ikonion in central Anatolia in 1116 many of the Christians that lived under the Turks found an opportunity to follow the emperor's army and seek refuge in imperial territory.[25] Choniates provides some insight into short distance migration when he reports on the surrender of the besieged city of Dadibra (today Safranbolu in north-central Anatolia) to the Turks in the year 1196. The author states that the city inhabitants were forced by the new masters to migrate to other provinces and cities, whereas some of them built wooden huts near their native city with the permission of the Turks and sustained the yoke of slavery because they could not bear to stay away from their cherished homeland.[26]

The sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 was the culminating event of this period and was marked by the migration of a large number of the imperial city's inhabitants. Choniates as an eyewitness and a victim of these

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21   Beihammer, *Byzantium and the Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia*, pp. 169–304.

22   Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, pp. 194–229.

23   Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. Berry, pp. 86–69.

24   Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, XIV 1, 2, ed. Reinsch/Kambylis, pp. 424–425.

25   Ibid. XV 7, 1–2 ed. Reinsch/Kambylis, p. 481.

26   Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, p. 475.

events provides evidence of that movement when he describes how he with his family followed a group of Constantinopolitans consisting of members of the clergy including the patriarch, high-ranking officials, and commoners. These decided to depart from the conquered city five days after its fall out of fear for the plundering conquerors. The procession broke out on foot and moved towards the nearby town of Selymbria.[27] From the account, we may conclude that Choniates' family settled there for about two years before returning in June 1206 to Constantinople wherefrom they departed once again after sixth months for Nicaea.[28] Their relocation to the city that had come under the control of Theodoros Laskaris who created a new imperial court there was obviously related to Choniates' need to reclaim his higher social status and position, which he had lost after the sack of the imperial city. However, he hardly received the attention he expected as his embittered narration of the fate of his family demonstrates.[29]

2   Deportation and Resettlement of Populations by Enemy Forces

If warfare was responsible for large waves of refugees from the empire's lost territories as well as from regions constantly affected by enemy raids, it was also the cause of another type of forced migration, namely the deportation of populations by enemy forces. Enemy attacks on imperial soil or Byzantine campaigns beyond the imperial frontier were more often than not related with the capture and forced relocation of considerable numbers of people. The deportation of the inhabitants of large towns or smaller settlements under the threat of arms could be of two types: The first type was enslavement resulting from women, children as well as surviving soldiers being captured, brought to and sold on the slave market. This led to their relocation –often for a life time– from their home place to foreign territories.[30] The second type refers to the resettlement of groups of people as freemen from their region into enemy territory, where this population was settled and incorporated into local life and state structures.

The capture and deportation of the inhabitants of Byzantine cities, villages, and smaller settlements was a recurrent result of Muslim raiding into imperial

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27   Ibid., p. 593, cf. also p. 612 about elite members fleeing the city with emperor Alexios III who sought refuge to Larissa in central Greece.

28   Ibid., p. 635.

29   Simpson, *Niketas Choniates*, pp. 22–23.

30   On slavery in the eastern Mediterranean, see the chapter of Youval Rotman in this book.

territory in the period between the mid-7th and the 10th century. A main goal of such raiding activity was the accumulation of plunder and the capture of prisoners of war which was quite profitable, since these were sold on the slave market earning their sellers a great deal of money. There are numerus reports in the sources about Muslim armies that invaded Byzantine territory and were able to withdraw with great booty among which where captive civilians.[31] A characteristic case of forced removal of populations through captivity and enslavement from both sides represent the events of the years 837–838. The Byzantine army of emperor Theophilos conducted a campaign on Muslim soil in the course of which it captured and destroyed the cities of Aramosata and Sozopetra taking one thousand prisoners that were transferred into the empire.[32] In the following year, Caliph al-Mu'tasim retaliated by capturing the city of Amorion, the birthplace of the empire's reigning dynasty. The Muslims slaughtered the largest part of the city's defenders and the largest part of the civilians, mainly women and children, was taken captive. Al-Tabari reports how a slave market was organized in situ and many of the captives were sold to slave traders that carried them away.[33] Those not sold, among whom were the high-ranking officials of the Byzantine army and local notables, were transferred into the caliphate where they were kept as prisoners.

If such forced migration often led to the permanent resettlement of the captives, sometimes these could be given the chance to return to their homelands after several years through an arranged exchange of war prisoners between the empire and the caliphate.[34] Seven years after the events of Amorion an exchange of prisoners of war was organized between the two powers. According to the Arab sources, the caliph al-Wathiq had to buy off the freedom of many Byzantine prisoners of war that had been sold as slaves in the caliphate in order to use them to match the number of Muslim prisoners that the Byzantines offered for the exchange.[35] A similar return of Roman prisoners of war that had been deported from Sicily by the Muslims and had spent some years in North Africa is reported by Leo the Deacon in the reign of Nikephoros II Phokas

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31   For the 7th and 8th centuries, see Lilie, *Die Byzantinische Reaktion*, pp. 57–195, esp. 194–195; for the 11th and 12th see the references in Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, pp. 174–175.

32   Bosworth, *The History of al-Tabari, vol. XXXII*, p. 93; cf. Codoñer, *The Emperor Theophilos and the East*, pp. 264–278.

33   Bosworth, *The History of al-Tabari, vol. XXXII*, pp. 116–117.

34   On such exchanges, see Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, pp. 33–39.

35   *The History of al-Tabari, vol. XXIV*, transl. Kraemer, pp. 39–40; Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography*, ed. and trans. Budge, p. 140.

(963–969).[36] Byzantine military activity also led to the liberation of Roman subjects that had been dragged away from their homes as captives. In the reign of Michael IV, the Byzantine commander Leon Opos campaigned in Sicily and managed to cross back to Byzantine southern Italy with fifteen thousand Roman prisoners whom he dispersed to their homes.[37]

Besides imprisonment and enslavement, the deportation of populations by enemy forces could often have the form of resettlement and integration of the deported groups into the enemy state's structures. From the 7th century onwards, the Byzantine imperial power was very keen to follow this practice for various reasons such as dealing with demographic decline and strengthening its productive population and armed forces. Constans II was the first to conduct a campaign against the *sklaviniai* (territories under Slavic control) in the regions of Macedonia und Thrace in 658, in which he took a large number of captives that he resettled in Asia Minor, obviously as a new productive and taxpaying group of Roman subjects.[38] Justinian II was the next emperor to campaign against Bulgars and Slavs in 688. He subjugated a large number of those and transplanted them to Bithynia in north-western Asia Minor, where they were given land to settle and part of them was enrolled into the imperial army as a separate military corps.[39]

In the 8th century, Constantine V conducted similar forced transfers of populations from the frontier zone with the caliphate to the empire's European territory in Thrace. In 746, the imperial army campaigned against Germanikeia (Maras) in northern Syria. After the city's surrender, the emperor organized the transfer of the city's mainly Monophysite population to Thrace.[40] Similarly, predominately Monophysite populations from Melitene und Theodosioupolis were transplanted by the same emperor to Thrace in 756 and 771.[41] In the latter case, the sources record the large number of 150,000 people. The emperor's son and successor Leo IV (775–780) conducted another transfer of Syriac Jacobites and Armenians to the same region. The imperial power's main goal with these movements seems to have been to strengthen demographically the region, which stood between the imperial city and the Bulgar territories. At the same time, it sought to deprive of large numbers of productive population those

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36   Leo Diakonos, *Historia*, ed. Hase, pp. 76–77.

37   Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 401.

38   Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*, pp. 209–211.

39   Ibid., pp. 220–223; Charanis, "The transfer of populations", p. 143.

40   Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, p. 422; Nikephoros, *Short History*, ed. Mango, p. 62; Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*, pp. 179–180.

41   Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*, pp. 184–185, 192.

areas in the eastern frontier zone, which the Byzantine army could not control.

The practice of deporting heretical Christian populations from territories under Muslim rule and resettling them into the empire raises the issue of the role of Christian identity in such transfers. Obviously, doctrinal and ethno-cultural differences did not pose a serious obstacle for the resettlement of those populations in the empire's territorial core and their integration into the political body of imperial subjects. On the other hand, a shared Chalcedonian Christian identity made the deportation and resettlement of populations between different political entities easier, as the wars between the Bulgars and the Byzantines in the Balkans after the formers' Christianization demonstrate. Tsar Samuel conquered the city of Larissa in the early years of his war against Emperor Basil II when the emperor was still occupied with the rebellion of his general Bardas Skleros (976–979). The Bulgar leader transferred the city's population along with the relics of its patron St Achillios to Bulgar territory, where he recruited the men into his army and used them in his war against the Romans.[42] Skylitzes reports that towards the end of the war Basil II liberated Roman populations that had been deported by the Bulgars and had been settled in the cities of Pelagonia, Prespa, and Ohrid.[43]

The Byzantines employed similar practices of deportation on the Balkan front. During the same war, Basil II conquered the fortress of Serbia in 1001 and had its inhabitants transferred to an unknown place, installing a Roman guard in the city. Furthermore, he invaded Thessaly and retook many fortresses before moving to besiege and conquer the strong fortress of Bodena (present-day Edessa) in northern Greece. The Bulgar inhabitants of all these fortresses were relocated to Boleron close to the Byzantine military base of Mosynopolis.[44] After the conquest of the city of Moglena all men that could bear arms were resettled by the emperor to the region of Vaspurakan in the East.[45] These practices of deportation were related with issues of military security and aimed at keeping newly subjugated populations quiescent by detaching them from their homelands.

The use of deported groups to strengthen demographically, economically, and militarily the imperial realm is testified in the 12th century as well. John II Komnenos (1118–1143) made a number of captives in his campaign against the

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42 Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 330.

43 Ibid., pp. 363.

44 Ibid., pp. 344–345. The same practice took place again in 1014 when the emperor had to conquer the city anew, which in the meantime had passed to Bulgar hands again, ibid. p. 352.

45 Ibid. p. 352.

Serbs in 1123 and resettled them in Asia Minor where he gave them land, making them taxpaying subjects of the empire that were enrolled in his army.[46] Similar deportations tool place in the opposite direction, that is, towards the lands of the empire's enemies. Choniates reports on a raid of the Turkish ruler of Ikonion Kaykushraw in 1198 when he captured the inhabitants of the cities of Karia and Tantalos along the Meander. These were resettled in the region of Philomelion.[47]

3   State-Coerced Resettlement of Populations

Besides migration as a consequence of military activity in the geopolitical sphere of the empire, the imperial state of Constantinople undertook planned relocations of subject populations within its own boundaries throughout this period. Such relocations mostly had a coercive character and were intended to satisfy various needs: demographic, economic, and military. Two basic types of relocation can be discerned here: the first concerns the relocation of populations that were already imperial subjects and the second groups outside the imperial realm that came in agreement with the imperial power that organized their settlement on imperial soil.

The first type of relocation points to the –by medieval standards– highly centralized function of the Byzantine state. The imperial government's ability to coercively resettle large numbers of its subjects within the borders of its authority was based on its monopoly of control over superior military power. In the period under scrutiny, emperor Justinian II was the first to organize the relocation of Roman subjects from the island of Cyprus to the regions of Cyzicus in Hellespont and of southwestern Asia Minor in 691. The main motive behind this forced transfer was the need of the imperial power to reduce the tributary population of those parts of Cyprus that had come under Arab economic control within the framework of the –much-debated– condominium of the two powers over the island. It seems to have been part of a larger plan of forced removals of groups organized by this emperor for military and demographic reasons (e.g. Slavs, Mardaites).[48] The sources provide a nuanced approach to the character of the migration. Theophanes, for instance, highlights its coercive aspects whereas other sources point to its liberating character

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46   Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, p. 16.

47   Ibid., p. 594.

48   Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*, pp. 308–317.

from Muslim yoke.[49] Military reasons seem to have led Emperor Tiberios III Apsimar to organize the return of the Cypriots to their homeland seven years later.[50]

The next major transfer of imperial subjects took place in the reign of Constantine V and the reasons were purely demographic. The large number of human losses as a result of the last wave of the plague that had broken out in 744/5 and had lasted up to 748 caused the extensive depopulation of the imperial capital. The relocated populations came mainly from the regions of Greece and the Aegean islands, but perhaps also from eastern Asia Minor, whereas it remains debated whether the emperor's action took place right after the waning of the plague in 748 or in the year 755 when his military campaigns on the eastern front were marked by the forced transfer of Syrians and Armenians to Thrace.[51] Nevertheless, the ethno-cultural and doctrinal identities of the populations that were resettled in Constantinople to revive demographically the imperial capital may have been mixed, consisting of Greek-speaking Chalcedonian Christians, and Monophysite Armenians and Syrians.

One of the most studied transfers of imperial subjects in the empire took place in the reign of emperor Nikephoros I (802–811). The imperial power transplanted an unknown but obviously considerable number of its subjects from Asia Minor to Greece. The first action took place in 806/7 and was of lesser scale, while the second and larger transfer occurred in 809. The organized character of this transfer is demonstrated by the fact that the affected population, which in its majority must have consisted of Greek-speaking Chalcedonian Christians, was forced to abandon its homelands by selling their properties and was relocated to those Slavicized areas of Greece that had recently come under imperial authority again.[52] The emperor's goal was to strengthen the Greek-speaking Chalcedonian element in those newly reconquered areas that were dominated by Slavs. Moreover, it seems to have been related to a major administrative reform, namely the foundation of the notorious theme-system. As has been shown, contrary to the traditional views of scholarship the division of the empire in administrative units called *themata*, in which a general undertook both military and civil authority, began in this emperor's reign.[53] The relocation must, therefore, have involved a large number of families that had a military background and seems to have been

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49   Ibid. p. 309.
50   Ibid., p. 316.
51   Ibid, pp. 318–322.
52   Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, p. 486; Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*, pp. 331–360.
53   Haldon, "A context for two 'evil deeds'", pp. 245–266.

primarily intended to re-establish the imperial state's authority in the Balkans in military-political terms.

A similar case in which the main aim was to re-establish Roman military-political authority along with an effort of re-Romanization of the affected areas is the relocation of groups of imperial subjects, consisting of Armenians and *Rhomaioi* (that is, Greek-speaking Chalcedonian Christians), to Crete in 961 after the reconquest of the island by general Nikephoros Phokas.[54] The imperial power obviously aimed at strengthening the Christian element on the island that had been under Muslim rule since the 820s. The relocated families must have been given lands in order to strengthen the local productive population and thus, also, secure tax revenues from the island, as well as to provide new resources of local recruitment for its defence. That this state-sponsored process of re-Romanization mainly concerned the re-Christianization of the island's population is also demonstrated by the missionary activity of monks that were sent to the island to Christianize its islamicized inhabitants.[55]

As already argued above, in spite of the official attitude of the imperial state according to which Roman subjects should be orthodox (i.e. Chalcedonian) Christians, the imperial power did not hesitate to resettle groups of heretics into the empire's territorial core when demographic and military needs were to be met. The Paulicians represent another good point in case in this regard. These were a dissident group of imperial subjects of heretic doctrine that had created an autonomous principality in eastern Asia Minor in the mid-9th century before being militarily subjugated by Emperor Basil I (867–886). In the 10th century, emperor John I Tzimiskes decided to resettle a large number of those Paulicians from the East to Thrace. There, they were given lands and inhabited fortresses in the context of the emperor's plan to reorganize the defence of the area in the face of the inroads of nomadic peoples, mainly the Pechenegs.[56]

Besides these organized removals of ethno-culturally and doctrinally diverse groups of Roman subjects, the imperial power of Constantinople controlled and directed the migration and settlement on imperial soil of various groups of people that came from the periphery or from outside the current imperial borders. One of the more prominent resettlements of such a group is that of the so-called Mardaites. The latter are generally considered to have

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54   Leon Diakonos, *Historia*, ed. Hase, p. 28.

55   *The Life of Saint Nikon*, text, translation and commentary by D.F. Sullivan, Brookline, MA 1987, pp. 83–87.

56   Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 286; cf. Lilie, "Zur Stellung von ethnischen und religiösen Minderheiten in Byzanz", pp. 312–315.

been a group of Monophysite Christians that enjoyed an autonomous status in the region of the Amanus Mountains in the Caliphate and were resettled to southern Asia Minor as a result of a peace treaty between Emperor Justinian II and the Caliph Abd al-Malik in 685.[57]

Theophanes the Confessor who is well-known for his bias towards Justinian II describes this resettlement as a grave political mistake because it deprived Byzantium of a competent military ally on the eastern frontier.[58] According to a recent theory, however, the 12,000 Mardaites that came from the Caliphate may have been Byzantine deserters that had been settled in the areas of northern Syria, around Antioch and Cyrrhus, by the Muslims and were returned to the empire after the peace treaty.[59] This means that their resettlement in the naval theme of Kibyrrhaiotai as oarsmen may have related to the fact that they had some previous military experience. Given that service in the navy was not popular among recruits, it may have represented a suitable way of reintegrating deserters into the imperial army in a disciplinary manner.

In the reign of Emperor Constantine V, it is reported that a large number of Slavs fled the Bulgar kingdom due to the change of regime there and sought refuge in the empire. Whether the Byzantine emperor encouraged this movement remains unclear, but he certainly received the Slavic population and organized its resettlement in Bithynia. The number of the refugees mentioned in the sources is very large (208,000 people) and has been a subject of debate, with more scholars tending to accept its credibility due to the fact that it is not a round number.[60] If this comes any close to the true number of people that migrated, that makes it certainly one of the most spectacular peaceful relocations of this period, which must have decisively altered the character of the area of Bithynia in demographic and ethno-cultural terms.

Reasons of military concern urged the East Roman imperial power to accept and organize the settlement within its own territories of large military groups that fled the Caliphate in times of crisis. These were usually integrated into the imperial army, thus strengthening its ranks. Prominent examples are the case of the Khurramites, a contingent of 14,000 men that fled the Caliphate with their leader Nasr in 833. The reason for their migration was their participation in the failed rebellion of the Persian Babak against the Abbasids. Nasr and his men were given shelter by Emperor Theophilos who enrolled them into the

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57 Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*, pp. 138–158.
58 Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, p. 363.
59 Woods, "Corruption and Mistranslation".
60 Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*, pp. 83–88.

empire's eastern forces as a *tourma* of the Armeniakon army.[61] A similar case represented the Banu Habib tribe in the late-10th century, the members of which fled from the region of Nisibis in Mesopotamia to the empire sometime after the fall of the emirate of Melitene in 934, probably in 941. Emperor Romanos I organized their settlement and integration into army structures in the eastern provinces through their Christianization. The 12,000 men were divided in various units and were used to garrison new themes on the eastern frontier.[62]

Settlements of outsiders as new imperial subjects were organized due to different reasons in the later period as well. The culmination of the empire's expansionary activity in the early-11th century involved the annexation of Armenian territories in the East. This caused the relocation into imperial territory of large groups of Armenians, mainly magnates with their large retinues. The latter were either motivated or forced to exchange Byzantine control over their lands with lands for settlement in Asia Minor and high-ranking imperial offices and titles. Prominent cases are that of the King of Vaspurakan, Senkerim-Yovhannes Arcruni, who migrated with all his followers in 1021/22 in Cappadocia, where he settled and became an imperial general with the title of patrician. His son also received the same office and titles. The same migrating route took the King of Ani Gagik II Bagratuni in 1044/45 and the King of Vanand or Kars Gagik-Abas in 1065/65. These and many others were settled in eastern Asia Minor with their retinues acquiring control of cities and imperial titles.[63]

The incursions of the Pechenegs into the empire from the mid-11th century onwards were related to a new kind of migration. In the course of these conflicts, the imperial power was often willing to come to terms with the invaders who often represented not plain armies but whole groups of people with elders, wives and children following the warriors. For instance, Emperor Constantine IX offered lands for settlement across the Danube to a group of 20,000 Pechenegs that fled to the empire under the leadership of Kegen in 1045 when the latter failed to challenge the authority of the Pecheneg leader Tyrakh. When Tyrakh attacked Byzantine territory and was defeated the emperor decided to settle the subjugated invaders on lands in the region between Sofia and Nish.[64] These actions were aimed at injecting those areas with a new

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61   Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival*, pp. 282–283, 297–305, 312–325.

62   Treadgold, *Byzantium and Its Army*, p. 111.

63   Garsoian, "The Problem of Armenian Integration into the Byzantine Empire", pp. 109–113. On Armenian mobility, cf. the chapter of Johannes Preiser-Kapeller in this volume.

64   Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025–1204*, p. 15.

productive and taxpaying population whence the imperial power could recruit soldiers for its armies. Indeed, in 1048 the emperor raised a force of 15,000 among the new settlers and sent them to the eastern front to fight the Seljuks. This policy did not prove successful, however, since the Pechenegs mutinied and returned to the Balkans where they started an uprising against the imperial power that resulted in them becoming autonomous in the areas of their settlement.[65]

Later in the reign of Emperor Constantine X Doukas (1059–1067) groups of Ouzes and Pechenegs were given lands in Macedonia, thus being fully integrated into provincial society and state structures, whereas Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) also took advantage of his great victory at the battle of Levounion in 1091 against a large Pecheneg army that had invaded Byzantine territory in order to settle the invaders on Byzantine soil. According to the chronicler Zonaras, the Pechenegs were given land for settlement with their families and animals in the region of the province of Moglena. A part of them was enrolled in the Byzantine army, forming a distinct unit.[66]

4   Conditions and Realities of Migration

Byzantine sources provide a lot of information on the movement of peoples and groups within the empire but they are usually less informative when it comes to the actual conditions of migrating, that is, the means by which people were relocated, the difficulties encountered in the course of the movement as well as the processes of integration of groups of migrants in their new areas of settlement. In the majority of cases, we find just a simple reference to the event of the relocation from one place to the other without any further information about how this took place or how it was experienced by the people involved in it. However, one may combine the little relevant evidence from many different reports in an effort to come closer to the reality of forced or impelled migration in the medieval East Roman Empire.

To begin with, the sources often do not provide numbers for the people that moved and when they do, their accuracy cannot be taken for granted. One may argue that the numbers given for military contingents that migrated may be closer to reality, since in this case we may assume that the receiving state had an interest to register the exact number of people involved. On the other hand, the number of refugees from war zones is impossible to estimate. Moreover,

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65   Ibid. pp. 15–17.
66   Zonaras, *Epitome*, ed. Dindorf, vol. III, pp. 740–741.

the modes of travel for the migrating groups are not always specified but can be assumed. For instance, when Nikephoros I ordered the relocation of a large number of Roman subjects from their homes in western Anatolia to Greece we can be pretty certain that such a relocation took place by land and sea, since the people involved obviously needed to reach a port on the western coast of Asia Minor where they could be boarded on ships that carried them to Greece.

According to Theophanes the Confessor, the relocation had a forced character since the migrating population was unhappy about the perspective of abandoning its homelands.[67] Whether the author's statement reflects the truth or it is a mere product of his bias towards emperor Nikephoros I cannot be said with certainty. It seems plausible, though, that the people involved in the transfer had good reasons not to be fond of the idea of abandoning their homes and selling their properties in order to relocate to a distant and unknown region.[68] This raises the issue of the role of the imperial state's military power in coercing subject populations to undertake internal migration. Even though the sources do not explicitly mention the activity of the army in this case, it is difficult to imagine how such an enterprise could have taken place without the active role of military forces and the implicit threat of exercising violence against those that would refuse to follow the orders of the imperial centre.

The complexity and difficulty of such a task is obvious and we can get an idea of that by drawing information from other cases. For instance, the deportation of large numbers of Armenians and Syrians under Constantine V in the mid-8th century certainly took place under the supervision of the military units that were involved in the emperor's campaigns in those areas. In this case, the army was responsible for both forcing the mentioned populations to leave their homelands as well as for their safe transfer to Thrace. The fact that due to the internal situation in the caliphate the danger of a Muslim force tracking the convoy on its way into Byzantine territory was very low facilitated the dangerous enterprise of moving such a large number of people by land for such a large distance. An approximate estimation shows that for the population of Melitene to be relocated to Thrace in the area of Adrianoupolis, for instance, a journey by land would take more than 44 days in summer time, according to the regular pace of movement of an army. The shortest itinerary

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67   Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, p. 486.
68   In Byzantine conception people coming from another region as well as from abroad were regarded as *ksenoi* or *eksōtikoi* (strangers, foreigners) – a notion obviously related to the fact that local identity was the strongest, cf. Ahrweiler, "Byzantine Concepts of the Foreigner", p. 2.

being through Sebasteia, Tabia, Ancyra, Nicaea, Nicomedia, Constantinople, Perinthus and finally Adrianoupolis.[69]

The report of Anna Komnena on the deportation of populations from the region of Philomelion in central Anatolia in the early 12th century offers an insight into the difficulties of a long-distance move of a large number of civilians accompanied by army forces. Emperor Alexios withdrew from Philomelion taking a large number of war prisoners as well as parts of the local Christian population with him. The latter willingly sought to emigrate by taking advantage of the imperial army's presence.[70] The author describes how the convoy was safely organized by the army in terms of following the rules of a military formation so that the soldiers were able to defend the civilians against harassing Turkish forces. Moreover, she reports that the tempo of the march was much slower than usual due to the fact that this was not a purely military force on the move anymore due to the presence of women and children as well as of pregnant and sick that needed special help or rest. As a result, there were people who lost their lives on the way.[71] Despite the report's literary character with the biblical motif of Moses lurking behind Alexios' image as an ideal emperor that guided his people to liberty, this certainly entails a true core regarding the dangers that the relocation of a large number of civilians under such circumstances brought with it.

These dangers are made evident in the reports of other authors. For instance, in the case of the forced migration of the Cypriots to Cyzicus under Justinian II Theophanes states that a number of the migrants drowned in the sea due to bad weather.[72] Moreover, it goes without saying that forced migration in the form of deportation of enslaved populations by enemy forces entailed the greatest of dangers and difficulties for the people that were carried away from their homeland, either for a longer period of time or permanently. The most informative text in this respect is the narration of John Kameniates about his own experience as a member of the population of Thessaloniki that was captured by the Arabs in 904 and was carried by sea to Tripolis in Syria and from there to Tarsus in Cilicia.[73] The author reports on his fate as a long-time war prisoner, his separation from his wife and children that had managed to escape slavery, as well as on the death of his father in Tripoli where they had

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69   The estimation was made according to the ORBIS Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World.
70   Anna Komnene, XV 4, 9, ed. Reinsch/Kambylis, p. 470.
71   Ibid. XV 7, 1–2 ed. Reinsch/Kambylis, p. 473.
72   Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, p. 365.
73   On the text and the debate regarding its authenticity, see Frendo/Fotiou, *John Kaminiates*, pp. xxxvii–xxxix.

been transported together.[74] Moreover, he refers to the sufferings of the prisoners whose main hope was to become part of a prisoners exchange between the empire and the caliphate in order to return home, with many of them being doomed to die of illness while in captivity.[75]

If the main fate of prisoners of war was slavery or death due to the hardships they had to endure, forced migration of groups within the boundaries of the empire was also not less adventurous or hazardous. The life of St Luke of Steiris provides a relevant insight. The saint's ancestors not only had to migrate twice because of the raids of the Muslims but they were also not received well in the final place of their resettlement, the village Kastorion. According to the biographer of the saint, the locals were hostile towards the newcomers and tried to displace them. This motivated the grandfather of the saint to travel to Constantinople, where he managed to receive a hearing from the emperor who granted him imperial letters that ordained the division of lands in the village between the newcomers and the locals.[76] Choniates is also explicit in his report regarding the bad treatment of his family and all other refugees from Constantinople by the population of the area of Selymbria where they resettled after the sack of the city in April 1204. According to the author, the locals taunted the Constantinopolitan refugees and instead of showing solidarity and support to them as Roman compatriots, they were rejoicing in their sufferings while taking advantage of the situation in order to buy at very low prices what the refuges had to offer for sale.[77]

In spite of the hardships of relocation, refugees as well as deported populations were more often than not able to grow roots in their new areas of settlement. A good example are the Paulicians who were transferred to Thrace from the East under Emperor John I Tzimiskes (969–976) in the 10th century. More than one century later in the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), the sources testify to the existence of a thriving Paulician community in Thrace, which the emperor decided to persecute for religious reasons. Nonetheless, it is evident that these migrants had not only been able to maintain their heretical beliefs in their new region of settlement for over a century, but were also fully integrated as a distinct ethno-religious group into provincial and state structures as a landowning and taxpaying subject population, wherefrom the imperial power drew recruits for its armies.[78]

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74   John Cameniates, *De expugnatione Thessalonicae*, ed. Böhlig, pp. 73, 10–11 and 78, 7.
75   Ibid. 78, 8–9.
76   *Life of St Luke*, ed. Sophianos, p. 6.
77   Choniates, *Historia*, ed. van Dieten, pp. 593–594.
78   Anna Komnena, *Alexias*, IV 4,3 and VI 2, ed. Reinsch/Kambylis, pp. 127, 170–171.

Skylitzes provides a relevant insight concerning prisoners of war that had been relocated during the long-drawn conflict between Samuel and Emperor Basil II. After taking control over the areas of Pelagonia, Prespa, and Ohrid at the core of Samuel's kingdom, the emperor allowed those Roman and Armenian soldiers that had been settled there as captives of the Bulgars and wished to remain to do so.[79] Choniates also reports on the good treatment of Roman captives by the Turkish ruler Kaykushraw in 1198. The latter deported a large number of Romans (5,000 according to Choniates) from cities of the Meander valley and resettled them to Philomelion. There, they were given fertile lands which they were allowed to cultivate free of taxation for a certain period of time. According to the author, this humane attitude of the Turkish ruler towards the deported Roman populations made them forget their homelands, whereas it motivated other Romans to migrate to this area as well.[80]

The successful integration of migrants into their new area of settlement becomes better evident through some well-known cases of certain individuals. The life of St Antony the Younger is a case in point, since the saint was actually a migrant who relocated along with a group of other Christians from the Caliphate (Palestine) to imperial territory in the region of Attaleia (southwestern Anatolia) in the early-9th century.[81] The reasons that motivated those Christians to migrate are not made clear in the text, but Antony's biography provides an excellent insight into how migrants, especially those that were Chalcedonian Christians and had a knowledge of Greek, could swiftly become full members of the Byzantine society and advance socially. After his resettlement, Antony managed to network with the local powerful who intervened for his ordainment as sub-governor of the theme *Kibyrrhaioton* by Emperor Michael II.[82]

Foreign groups that were not Chalcedonian Christians or native Greek-speakers also had fair chances for integration and social advancement. For non-Christian groups baptism was the main means of swift social integration, as demonstrated by the reference of Attaleiates to groups of Ouzes and Pechenegs who were settled on imperial soil. Members of these groups had eventually the opportunity to receive high-ranking titles and enter court elite under Emperor Constantine X.[83] The Armenian magnates that migrated to eastern Anatolia from the late-11th century onwards, also represent indicative cases of

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79   Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 363.
80   Choniates, Historia, ed. van Dieten, pp. 494–495.
81   *Life of St Antony the Younger*, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, p. 193.
82   Ibid. p. 194.
83   Attaliates, *Historia*, ed. Perez-Martinez, p. 66.

non-Chalcedonian and non-Greek-speaking Christians that were able to become part of imperial provincial society, with their prominent members making careers in the empire's provincial administration. These groups were able to maintain their distinct religious and cultural identities in their new area of settlement while acquiring a full-blown status of Roman imperial subjects.[84]

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84   Garsoian, "The Problem of Armenian Integration into the Byzantine Empire", pp. 110–112.

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Patterns of Turkish Migration and Expansion in Byzantine Asia Minor in the 11th and 12th Centuries

Alexander Beihammer

The historical evolution of medieval Anatolia in the centuries between the decay of Byzantine rule and the Ottoman conquest is closely linked with intricate processes of migration, cross-cultural encounter, and ethnic change. The area in question includes what the Byzantines with a very generic terms used to label ἡ ἑῴα or ἡ ἀνατολή, i.e., "the East".[1] After various expansionist stages that culminated in the reign of Basil II (976–1025) the empire's eastern provinces stretched from the western coastland of Asia Minor as far as northern Syria, the Upper Euphrates region, and the Armenian highlands. At first, the political, cultural, and ethnic transformation of this area began as a fortuitous side effect of the rise of the Great Seljuk Empire in the central lands of Islam. A ruling clan claiming descent from a common ancestor called Seljuk and superficially Islamized nomadic warriors, who drew their origin from the Turkic Oghuz tribes dwelling in the steppe lands of Transoxania, formed the driving force of this new empire. In the 1040s, Turkmen hosts made their first raids into the region south of the Anti-Taurus range and invaded the Armenian highlands between the Araxes (Aras) and the Arsanias (Murat) Rivers. Soon it turned out that the Taurus Mountains, which for centuries had formed a natural barrier between Christian-Roman and Muslim territories, had become permeable.[2]

In what follows I shall present a survey of salient patterns of expansion, migration, and settlement, which Turkish warriors and migrants evinced from the time of their first appearance in the eastern borderland until the emergence of Turkish-Muslim domains in Anatolia. In this context, it is important

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1 See, for example, Anna Komnene, *Alexias* 3.9.3, ed. Reinsch, p. 110; Michael Attaleiates, *History*, ed. Pérez Martin, p. 70.

2 For the Oghuz Turks, Turkmens (or Turcoman or Türkmen = Islamized Oghuz Turks), and the early Seljuk migrations, see Peacock, *Seljuk Empire*, pp. 22–32, with numerous bibliographical references. In this article, "Turkmen" designates Turkish nomadic groups whereas "Seljuk" refers to the synonymous clan or dynasty. The classical study on Turkish nomads in Asia Minor from a Byzantinist's vantage point is Vryonis, "Nomadization", pp. 41–71, but see now Beihammer, *Byzantium and the Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia*.

to examine the correlations and reciprocities between the political and social characteristics of these incoming groups and the internal situation of Byzantine Asia Minor before and during the Turkish expansion. The latter aspect is closely related to the notion of the 11th-century crisis, which modern historians have frequently used as an explicatory model for the rapid collapse of the Byzantine central government and military power in the decades after Emperor Basil II's death in 1025.[3]

The Turks penetrating Asia Minor were far from being a clearly defined and homogeneous ethnic group. In their efforts to construe an unbroken continuity between the Oghuz tribes of Central Asia and the conquerors of Anatolia, modern Turkish historians highlight the persistence of tribal structures, ethnic characteristics, and behavioral patterns originating from Turkic nomadic and pastoralist traditions. Reports of Muslim authors referring to belligerent groups wandering about the Iranian provinces between Khurāsān and Azerbaijan along with their womenfolk, baggage trains, and livestock can be used in support of these views.[4] Likewise, the Seljuk dynastic tradition draws the image of a noble family descending from the Oghuz Kınık tribe and moving with its herds and retinues between summer and winter quarters in central Transoxania.[5] Additional evidence for the Turks' overwhelmingly nomadic character is provided by the reports of Christian authors.[6] Their statements, however, represent only segments of the whole picture, and there are many descriptions pointing to more intricate realities. Between the 1040s and 1070s, the sources mention numerous names of Turkish chieftains conducting raids and attacks in various provinces of Byzantine Asia Minor and adjacent Muslim regions. These groups are described either as independently operating units, such as the followers of Arslān b. Saljūq in the 1030s and 1040s and the warriors of Hārūn b. Khān, Atsız b. Uwaq, Qaralū/Qurlū, Shuklī, and the sons of Qutlumush in the 1060s/1070s,[7] or as subunits subject to the supreme command of

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3 For the validity of this explicatory model, see the articles collected in Vlyssidou, *The Empire in Crisis* (*?*), as well as Preiser-Kapeller, "A Collapse of the Eastern Mediterranean".

4 Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 6, p. 39, trans. Richards *Annals*, p. 15. For further evidence regarding the presence of women and children during Turkmen campaigns, see Peacock, *Seljūq History*, pp. 83–84.

5 Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpurī/Rashīd al-Dīn, *Saljūq-nama*, ed. Ateş, p. 5, trans. Luther, *History*, p. 29.

6 See, for instance, John Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, Const. Mon. 9–10, 12–15, ed. Thurn, pp. 442–447, 448–454; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 14.1–5, ed. Chabot, vol. 3, pp. 149–157; for a broader treatment of this subject, see Beihammer, "Ethnogenese", 589–614.

7 For the groups recognizing the leadership of Arslān b. Saljūq, see Turan, *Selçuklular Târihi*, pp. 119–121; for Hārūn b. Khān, Atsız b. Uwaq, and Shuklī, see Sevim, *Suriye*, pp. 35–47 (Hanoğlu Harun), pp. 49–54 (Kurlu et-Türkî), pp. 63–84 (Uvakoğlu Atsız), pp. 66–71 (Şöklü); for the sons of Qutlumush, see Sevim/Merçil, *Selçuklu Devletleri*, pp. 426–428.

the Seljuk clan, such as the hosts of Samūkh in the late 1050s or of Afshīn in the 1070s.[8] Warlords like a brother of the sultan called Aspan Salarios (= *isfahsālār*) or the *sālār* of Khurāsān seem to have been granted titles related to military posts in Persian cities and provinces.[9] This shows that already in the first decades of Seljuk rule the assimilation of Turkish chiefs to the Iranian military class was well underway.

Claude Cahen proposed a classification based on the commanders' proximity to the Seljuk sultan,[10] but this would presuppose the existence of a generally accepted central power, something that was hardly the case before the reign of Sultan Malikshāh (1072–1092).[11] The Seljuk Empire throughout its existence was characterized by incessant rebellions and intra-dynastic conflicts, in which Turkmen chiefs and other military men turned from loyal followers into dangerous rebels and vice versa.[12] Many scholars ascribe these phenomena to the rise of the emirs, a group of military commanders of disparate origin, who gained power and influence as a result of the consolidation of administrative structures and hierarchical concepts at the Seljuk court. Another factor was the transformation of the Seljuk military forces, which increasingly drew on slave soldiers (*mamlūks*) in lieu of Turkmen nomadic warriors.[13] Modern attempts to sharply distinguish between a traditional Turkmen aristocracy and a new military elite, however, obfuscates the fact that the boundaries between the various socio-ethnic groups included in the Seljuk army were always extremely blurred. The behavioral patterns of early Turkmen chieftains and later Seljuk emirs, who were appointed as governors and *iqṭāʿ* ("land grant") holders in the provinces, evince numerous commonalities and continuities. A strong tendency towards a particularization and regionalization of power structures seems to lie at the very heart of the Seljuk expansionist movement and could only partly be curtailed by centralizing attempts on the part of the sultanate.

A characteristic feature of these powerful warlords, be they independent Turkmen chiefs or Seljuk emirs, was their endeavor to effectively interact with the indigenous population and the local elites. The invaders did not confine themselves to raiding and pillaging but aimed at a much broader range of

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8   For this person, see Sevim, *Ünlü Selçuklu Komutanları*, pp. 18–32 (Bekçioğlu Emîr Afşin).

9   John Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, Const. Mon. 14, ed. Thurn, p. 453, lines 76–77: Ἄσπαν Σαλάριος ὁ τοῦ Ἀβραμίου ἑτεροθαλὴς ἀδελφός; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle* 2.15, trans. Dostourian, p. 97: Slar Khorasan.

10   Cahen, "Première Pénétration", pp. 12–13.

11   Peacock, *Seljuk Empire*, pp. 58–71.

12   For details through the various stages of Seljuk history, see Peacock, *Seljuk Empire*, pp. 50–53, 72–80, 95–100, 107–114.

13   Peacock, *Seljuk Empire*, pp. 72–73, 217–235.

activities by interfering with power struggles, forging coalitions and bonds of marriage with local rulers, and acquiring new sources of income through the extortion of tributes, the exploitation of landed estates, and the release of high-ranking captives. We find numerous examples for these behaviors among the Turks in the Anti-Taurus region, the Armenian highlands, as well as central and western Asia Minor.[14] It made no difference whether the indigenous aristocracy was Christian or Muslim. Alliances of this kind were usually short-lived and served specific goals so as to support competing groups against their adversaries. Not surprisingly, these coalitions also affected the composition of certain military groups. The available evidence is scarce, but it seems that successful campaigns frequently caused local elements to join powerful Turkish warrior groups permanently. In this way, Turkish nomads merged with Persian, Arab, and Kurdish groups in western Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Azerbaijan.[15] As regards the Byzantine territories, from early on we have information referring to coalitions with Franks, Armenians, and Greeks.[16] We may assume that as time went by this process altered the ethnic composition of these groups. The core of Turkish soldiers was gradually supplemented by newly arriving people of different origin. Another factor fostering this development was the presence of captives, who partly assimilated to the Turks. This phenomenon can also be observed reversely with respect to Turkish prisoners who were integrated in the Byzantine cultural environment and the imperial court. We know of Byzantine commanders, who as a result of their captivity were well acquainted

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14   For raids in western Iran and the first attacks on Byzantine-held territories of Armenia in the years 1038–1044, see Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 6, pp. 38–46, trans. Richards, *Annals*, pp. 13–25. For the activities of the chieftain Samukh in the region between Vaspurakan and the Halys (Kızılırmak) Valley in the years 1055–1059, see John Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, Mich. Geron 3–4, ed. Thurn, pp. 484–486; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle* 2.12, trans. Dostourian, p. 95; for the coalitions of Hārūn b. Khān with the Marwānid emirs of Aleppo, see Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, ed. Sevim, pp. 100–101; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. Zakkar, pp. 250–256; for Turkish groups roaming about central and western Asia Minor during the 1070s, see Michael Attaleiates, *History*, ed. Pérez Martin, pp. 140–142, 143–145, 147; Nikephoros Bryennios, *History* 2.7–9, 17–18, 21, 23–26 ed. Gautier, pp. 154–159, 178–181, 186–189, 190–193, 195–201. For the Qutlumush Turks during the period 1077–1081, see Michael Attaleiates, *History*, ed. Pérez Martin, pp. 155–199, esp. 158, 173–174, 191–193; Nikephoros Bryennios, *History* 3.16–17, 4.2, ed. Gautier, pp. 240–241, 242–243, 259; for the revolt of Nikephoros Melissenos and his coalition with the Turks, see Nikephoros Bryennios, *History* 4.31–33, ed. Gautier, pp. 300–303.

15   Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 6, pp. 38, 40–42, trans. Richards, *Annals*, pp. 13, 16–19 (Turkmen warriors in the employ of the Rawwādid ruler of Tabriz); pp. 40–41, trans. Richards, *Annals*, pp. 16–17 (bonds of marriage between the family of ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla b. Kākūya of Hamadhān and the Turkmen chief Göktash).

16   For coalitions with Franks and Greeks see the examples cited in note 14.

with the customs and language of the Turks.[17] Conversely, there were some high-ranking officers of Turkish descent who reached supreme positions in the Byzantine army. A case in point was the *grand primikerios* Tatikios, who played an important role in numerous campaigns in the Balkans and Asia Minor throughout the reign of Emperor Alexios I (1081–1118).[18] Even more renowned was John Axouch, who had been taken prisoner after the capitulation of Nicaea in 1097 and held the rank of *megas domestikos*, i.e., commander of the eastern and western armies, during the entire the reign of John II (1118–1143) and in the early years of Manuel I (1143–1180).[19]

Modern nationalistic concepts obfuscate the intricacies of these relations by focusing on binary oppositions, such as thriving Greek-Orthodox communities vs. unruly nomads, who formed a deadly menace to townspeople and peasants, or powerful conquerors in search of a new homeland vs. decadent local groups.[20] Explanations linking the motives of Turkish migration and expansion in Anatolia with the customs and needs of nomadic modes of living, such as climatic fluctuations, the suitability of landscapes, ample opportunities for winter and summer pastures, etc.,[21] are certainly illuminating with respect to the initial stage in which groups of non-sedentary pastoralists arrived and adapted to the geographical conditions of the Armenian highland and the Anatolian plateau. Yet it is noteworthy that our primary sources rarely refer to these aspects. This lack of information should not be ascribed to the limited scope of outside observers or the distorting effect of literary conventions. The available narratives simply concentrate on those aspects, which determined the ways in which sedentary groups perceived and interacted with nomads and which preconditioned the transition to more permanent forms of settlement and rule. Frequently mentioned phenomena are raiding activities aiming at the accumulation of wealth, military services offered to local potentates, the infiltration of ruling elites, and the forging of coalitions, which opened the way to the acquisition of land and resources. In this way, Turkmen chieftains increased their manpower, developed links with the sedentary communities, and established rudimentary forms of political authority, which under favorable circumstances could result in the creation of lordships based on agreements with the indigenous population.

17   Anna Komnene, *Alexias* 11.2.9, ed. Reinsch, p. 328 (Rodomeros spent a long time in Turkish captivity).

18   Brand, "Turkish Element", pp. 3–4.

19   Brand, "Turkish Element", pp. 4–6.

20   See, for instance, Vryonis, *Decline*, pp. 1–85; Turan, *Türkiye*, pp. 1–21; for the background of this discussion, see Beihammer, Byzantium and the Emergence of Muslim Turkish Anatolia, pp. 6–16.

21   Peacock, *Seljūq History*, pp. 47–71, 128–163; Peacock, *Seljuk Empire*, pp. 22–39.

What were the political concepts, ideological incentives, and conquest strategies that created cohesion, a sense of solidarity, and a common identity among these Turkish warriors? Apparently, there was a strong influence of the Seljuk elite in Iran and Iraq, which under the leadership of Ṭughril Beg and his successors gradually developed a dynastic and imperial ideology drawing on Iranian models of kingship, the title of sultan inherited from the Ghaznavid tradition, and claims to a leading position in the Muslim world as protectors of Sunni Islam legitimated by the authority of the Abbasid caliphate.[22] These ideas undoubtedly underscored conquests and other political ambitions in the central lands of Islam. Turkish chiefs who maintained ties of allegiance with the Seljuk clan imported some of these concepts into the Byzantine-Armenian regions of Asia Minor while carving out their bases of power. The historical memory reflected in later chronicles evokes the notion of cities and territories assigned by the sultan and the caliph to outstanding Turkish emirs.[23] There are also references to concepts of Muslim jihad, which first appear in reports on campaigns led by Seljuk sultans against the Byzantines and later on with respect to Turkish emirs fighting the crusaders.[24] These features are employed as legitimizing strategies, which retrospectively link the nascent Turkish-Muslim lordships of Anatolia with the traditions and institutions of the Muslim central lands and Seljuk dynastic concepts. They hardly reflect the historical realities of the conquest period. What seems to have been a decisive impetus from the outset, however, was the successful leadership of powerful chiefs, who often gave their names as identifiers to the groups under their command. The frequent mentions of their names in the available narratives indicate the importance of these warlords as leading figures who created cohesion, attracted newcomers, and determined the course of action of their soldiers and followers.[25] At a later stage, they were linked with ideological elements related

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22   Peacock, *Seljuk Empire*, pp. 39–52.

23   Zahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpurī/Rashīd al-Dīn, *Saljūq-nama*, ed. Ateş, pp. 28–29, trans. Luther, *History*, p. 29.

24   Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 6, p. 139, trans. Richards, *Annals*, p. 67 (report on the Seljuk campaign of 1048, which refers to the Seljuk troops as "Muslims" [*muslimūn*] and describes Constantinople as being almost in the reach of the Seljuk invaders); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 6, pp. 448–449; Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Dimashq*, ed. Amedroz, pp. 146–147 (Emir Suqmān b. Artuq is presented as fighting against the crusaders).

25   Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 6, pp. 38–39, trans. Richards, *Annals*, pp. 13–15: The Iraqi Oghuz (a group of Turkish warriors related to western Iran) are defined as "the followers of Arslān b. Saljūq al-Turkī"; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 6, pp. 39, 40, 43, trans. Richards, *Annals*, pp. 15, 17, 18, 20: Kūktāsh (Göktaş), Būqā (Boğa), Qizil (Kızıl), Yaghmur (Yağmur), a sister's son (*ibn ukht*) of Yaghmur, Nāṣoghlī (Nasoğlı), Dānā and Manṣūr b. Ghuzzoghlī are mentioned as chiefs of Turkmen warrior groups. A similar tendency can be observed in the Byzantine sources: see, for instance, Michael Attaleiates, *History*, ed. Pérez Martín, pp. 71–72

to Seljuk dynastic traditions and Sunni Islam. In this way, the principalities created by them were embedded in the traditional concepts of Muslim sovereignty.

Reliable Information regarding the size of these groups is extremely scarce. A group of the Iraqi Oghuz is said to have amounted to 2,000 tents, which would mean a total number of 8–10,000 people including women and children.[26] Other reports speak about 3,000 and 5,000 warriors in Armenia and western Iran respectively,[27] while the figures regarding the soldiers under the command of Hārūn b. Khān in northern Syria range between 500 and 1,000.[28] Highly exaggerated are the numbers mentioned with respect to the troops involved in large-scale campaigns of the Seljuk sultans in Armenia, Caucasia, and the Euphrates region.[29] Since most reports refer to military operations, we hardly hear anything about the families accompanying the warriors. We may assume that non-combatant family members stayed with the warriors as soon as the latter acquired fortified camps and permanent strongholds. This happened first in the Diyār Bakr province, in the late 1050s in the Armenian highlands, and from the 1060s onwards in regions of Syria and Palestine.[30] In the rural areas of western and central Anatolia, more permanent forms of Turkish presence are attested to from the mid-1070s onwards.[31] The gradual disintegration of Byzantine administrative and military structures, which was caused in various parts of Asia Minor by a series of power struggles among competing factions of the Byzantine aristocracy from 1057 onwards, allowed local lords, army units,[32] and foreign mercenary groups to gain a high degree of independence from the central government in Constantinople and brought about a breakdown of alliances with Muslim emirs in the borderlands. In this situation, Turkish hosts were able to maintain lines of communication with their compatriots in the frontier zones and the Muslim regions and new groups of Turkmen migrants along with their livestock and families invaded Byzantine territories almost unhindered. Again, it remains unclear to what degree these

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       (Amertikes), p. 191 (the sons of Qutlumush); John Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, Mich. Geron 3, ed.
       Thurn, p. 484.
26   Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 6, p. 38, trans. Richards, *Annals*, p. 13.
27   Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 6, p. 39, trans. Richards, *Annals*, p. 15.
28   Ibn al-Adīm, *Zubda*, ed. Zakkar, p. 250.
29   John Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, Konst. Mon. 10, 13, ed. Thurn, p. 447, 449.
30   Turan, *Selçuklular Târihi*, pp. 129–131 (Armenian highlands); Sevim, *Suriye*, pp. 35–47
       (Syria).
31   Turan, *Türkiye*, pp. 36–44 (central and western Anatolia).
32   For a general overview of this period, see Angold, *Byzantine Empire*, pp. 44–48; for the
       Byzantine aristocracy in Asia Minor, see Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, pp. 337–357.

people were still primarily preoccupied with stockbreeding and transhumance or were already acquainted with farming and sedentary modes of living. We may assume that the divides between the two types increasingly blurred and that the Turks, while subjugating the local population and occupying urban centers, quickly adapted to their new environment. This is well attested, for instance, in the case of the Turkish bands of Atsız and Shuqlī, who around 1070 began to carve out their lordships in Syria and Palestine.[33] In Asia Minor, the Turks needed more time to take hold of urban centers, but the overall instability enabled them to accumulate wealth from rural areas and to infiltrate the existing power structures. Undoubtedly, the turmoil in Asia Minor brought about a great deal of ransacking and pillaging, but there were no clear-cut frontiers or warring parties. Turkish warriors stood in the employ of both Byzantine rebels and the imperial government, while the Greek, Armenian, or Syrian population in towns and the countryside endured raids, sought the protection of Turkish chieftains, or forged alliances with them. Sections of the indigenous population certainly fell victim to these hostilities or fled to safer regions, but the majority kept on living in their hometowns and villages.[34]

How did the Turks hold sway over the rural areas in Asia Minor and how did they manage to seize towns? The scholarly literature frequently refers to large devastated zones that had been abandoned by their former Byzantine lords and thus could be easily seized and populated by Turkish newcomers.[35] Certain narratives evoke images of a massive influx of settlers, who within a short period brought about radical changes to the ethnic and demographic composition.[36] This is partly supported by descriptions of Byzantine authors, who speak about a total collapse of the imperial administration, the decay and withdrawal of military units, fatal mistakes committed by the central government, and incidents of inexcusable negligence.[37] Armenian authors, too, refer to pitiless massacres and destructions of apocalyptic dimensions caused by the Turkish raids,[38] while Muslim authors describe stunning amounts of booty

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33   Sevim, *Suriye*, pp. 64–69.

34   For examples, see the sources cited above, n. 14.

35   Turan, *Türkiye*, pp. 37–55; Vryonis, *Decline*, pp. 80–96, 143–168; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, pp. 64–72; Peacock, *Seljūq History*, pp. 149–157.

36   See, for instance, Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle* 2.73, trans. Dostourian, pp. 143–144; Turan, *Türkiye*, pp. 39–40.

37   Michael Attaleiates, *History*, ed. Pérez Martin, pp. 34–35, 59–62, 70–73, 77–119 (detailed account of Romanos IV's three campaigns, which ended with the defeat of Manzikert); John Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, Konst. Mon. 12–14, ed. Thurn, pp. 448–454.

38   Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle* 1.88, 92, 2.3, 8, 12, 15, trans. Dostourian, pp. 74, 76–77, 86–88, 92–93, 94–96, 97–98.

and captives seized by the invaders.[39] Taken at face value, all these accounts give the impression of disruptive events with fatal consequences for all preexisting structures, but we should bear in mind that they focus on specific conflict situations and are informed by the intentions and vantage points of their authors.[40] Accordingly, they highlight military successes, barbarian menaces, or the idea of divine wrath, or they utter acerbic critique of opposing factions or undesired incumbents of the imperial throne.

A number of studies are devoted to the emergence of Turkish toponyms in Asia Minor, but except for a handful of instances in which geographic names can be related to personalities and sacred sites of the conquest period, the bulk of the known material concerning Turkmen tribes, topographic particularities, or nomadic customs is derived from later *waqf* (pious foundation) documents or Ottoman tax registers and reflects data of the 15th and 16th centuries.[41] All surviving monuments, artifacts, and archaeological evidence indicating Turkish-Muslim presence in Anatolia postdate the mid-12th century, when the firm establishment of Turkish domains in the urban centers of the central and eastern highlands was well underway.[42] Hence, the only way to reconstruct the dynamics of expansion is to carefully examine the available narratives by taking into account prevailing perceptions and intentions and by comparing data from Anatolia with those garnered from the Muslim central lands. Arabic sources refer to activities of Turkish warriors, the reactions of the local lords, and the interactions between the two sides in much more detail than Byzantine and Eastern Christian sources. Hence, certain gaps of information can, with the necessary caution, filled in with material from other regions.

From a methodological point of view, it is important to sharply distinguish between military activities, on the one hand, and aspects of permanent settlement and territorial rule, on the other. Raids and attacks certainly had a negative impact on the regions affected by them, ranging from limited devastation to a total destruction of social and economic structures.[43] Yet they do not necessarily imply that the invaders from the outset aimed at the acquisition of territories. In fact, Turkish groups who were roaming about Byzantine territories initially evinced no ambitions whatsoever to permanently occupy towns or provinces. They were content with increasing their income from booty,

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39   Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 6, p. 139, trans. Richards, *Annals*, p. 67.
40   For details, see Beihammer, "Feindbilder", pp. 48–98.
41   Kafali, "Turkification of Anatolia", pp. 401–417.
42   See the relevant articles in Peker/Bilici (eds.), *Selçukluları ve Beylikler Dönemi Uygarlığı*, vol. 2.
43   For possible environmental historical evidence, see Preiser-Kapeller, "A Collapse of the Eastern Mediterranean".

tributes, taxes, and military coalitions. The Turks' transition from rural to urban presence was not a sudden and violent act but a gradual process resulting from successful interaction and shared objectives between indigenous groups and immigrants.

As regards the various stages of Turkish expansion in Asia Minor, the scholarly bibliography places much emphasis on the early Seljuk campaigns and, above all, the battle of Manzikert in 1071 as decisive events sparking off the Turkification of Asia Minor.[44] There is some truth in that, but a closer look at the sources reveals realities that are more intricate. The Seljuk campaigns in the Armenian highlands between the Araxes (Aras Nehri), the Arsanias (Murat Nehri), and the Lykos (Çoruh Nehri) Valleys, in Transcaucasia, and, later on, along the southern flank of the borderland as far as Aleppo did not result in substantial territorial gains or in a massive influx of Turkish warriors into Asia Minor. What these operations actually brought about was a breakdown of the imperial government's coalitions with Muslim emirs in the frontier region, a dismantlement of the Byzantine defensive structures along the main invasion routes over the Anti-Taurus, the Amanus Mountains, and the Arsanias Valley between the Upper Euphrates and Lake Van.[45] This, in turn, enabled independent bands of warriors to extend their raiding activities during the 1050s and 1060s from the Lykos Valley in the Pontus region to Cappadocia and facilitated the further intrusion of Turks into the Diyār Bakr province and northern Syria.[46] The Byzantine *themata* and *katepanata/doukata* in the east, which had come into being as a result of the Byzantine conquests in the time between the mid-tenth and the early 11th century, turned into a permeable transit region marked by extremely volatile political conditions and the inability of superregional powers to impose centralizing forms of control.[47]

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44   Turan, *Selçuklular Târihi*, pp. 112–131, 150–157; For a new interpretation of various aspects, see Peacock, *Seljūq History*, pp. 128–151; for Manzikert and its implications, see Hillenbrand, *Turkish Myth*.

45   For this network and its gradual breakdown as a result of the Seljuk expansion, see Beihammer, "Muslim Rulers", pp. 157–177.

46   Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle* 2.8, trans. Dostourian, pp. 92–93; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 15.1, trans. Chabot, vol. 3, pp. 158–160: attack on Melitene in the fall of 1057; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle* 2.21, trans. Dostourian, pp. 94–96: attack on Sebasteia in August 1059; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle* 2.15, trans. Dostourian, pp. 97–98: attacks on the strongholds of Bagin, Erkne, and Tulkhum in the Anti-Taurus range northwest of Amid; Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, ed. Sevim, pp. 100–101: Turkmen warriors were invited by the local governor to come to Āmid in 1062/1063; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle* 2.27–29, trans. Dostourian, pp. 107–109: Turkish attacks from the Diyār Bakr province on the ducate of Edessa in 1065/1066.

47   For the details of this process, see Leveniotis, *Πολιτική Κατάρρευση*.

First invasions into central Anatolia as far as Konya in Lycaonia and the upper Maeander Valley occurred in the years 1068/69, but the advance towards the northwestern fringes of the Anatolian plateau in Phrygia and Galatia and thence along the Sangarios (Sakarya Nehri) Valley as far as Bithynia did not take place before the years 1073–1075.[48] In these years, towns were devastated from time to time but not yet permanently occupied. The Turkish presence remained restricted to rural areas close to river valleys and sections of the Anatolian road system. Turks entered towns only on certain occasions with the consent of the local rulers for trade, negotiations, or the bestowal of gifts.[49] Yet their intrusion into the regional structures had become more pressing. Contemporary accounts indicate a high degree of control exerted by Turkish warrior groups over certain areas close to urban centers or sensitive points of the local road system.[50] This, in turn, suggests the existence of camps in suitable pasture regions as well as rudimentary military structures that afforded protection to their tribesmen and supported the surveillance and exploitation of larger territorial units. Nevertheless, contrarily to what later sources retrospectively claim in their attempt to establish links of legitimacy with the Great Seljuk sultanate,[51] there is still no evidence for the emergence of proper lordships founded by Turkish emirs in those years.

The period between 1080/81–1097/98 witnessed the establishment of Turkish chieftains in towns of Phrygia and Bithynia as well as in places situated in the coastal areas of western Anatolia, such as Kyzikos (near Ercek), Smyrna, and Ephesos (Selçuk). Unfortunately, the details of this process are only insufficiently known due to a gap in Byzantine historiography between about 1080, where Michael Attaleiates stops his account, and the Komnenian eulogists of Alexios I's reign, Nikephoros Bryennios and his wife Anna Komnene, who

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48   Michael Attaleiates, *History*, ed. Pérez Martin, pp. 100–101: Turkish advance as far as Konya in 1069; ibidem, pp. 105–106: attack on Chonai in the Upper Meander Valley in 1070; inscription fragments attest to fortification works in southern Phrygia in about 1070: Foss and Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications*, pp. 139–140; Nikephoros Bryennios, *History* 2.7–8, ed. Gautier, pp. 154–157: first mention of Turks roaming the region of Ankara; Michael Attaleiates, *History*, ed. Pérez Martin, p. 140; Nikephoros Bryennios, *History* 2.18, ed. Gautier, pp. 178–179: Turks controlled the area of the Sophon Mountain (Sabanca Dağı) in western Bithynia in about 1074–1075.

49   Michael Attaleiates, *History*, ed. Pérez Martin, pp. 198–199: Nikephoros III Botaneiates granted audience to his Turkish allies in order to reward them for their services.

50   Michael Attaleiates, *History*, ed. Pérez Martin, pp. 99–100: Due to Turkish pressure, detachments of the imperial army evacuate the region of Khanzit and retreat to Keltzene. Ibidem, p. 193: Turks control the access routes to the city of Nicaea.

51   See the sources quoted above, n. 23–24.

wrote in the 1130/40s.[52] Bryennios differs in many respects from Attaleiates in his account of Anatolian affairs during the 1070s and adds numerous accurate observations, but his narrative stops before the outbreak of the Komnenian-Doukas coup in early 1081.[53] Consequently, the decisive transition period between the fall of Nikephoros III and the consolidation of Alexios I's regime is only scarcely documented. In particular, it is hardly possible to elucidate the strong impact this event must have had on the power relations between Byzantine aristocrats and Turkish warrior groups in Anatolia. Projecting experiences of her own time back to the expansion period, Anna Komnene depicts the Turks as independent local lords, who were already firmly established in many urban centers of western Anatolia. The incessant revolts of the late 1070s and the fierce infighting among the leading aristocratic clans up to 1081 seem to have created a power vacuum, in which the Turks swiftly intruded. Yet the details of this process can hardly be reconstructed and many regions remain in the dark. We hear of Byzantine rebels handing over their towns to Turkish warriors in exchange for military support, as was the case with Nikephoros Melissenos in late 1080,[54] or of proper conquests, as is mentioned with respect to Kyzikos, Smyrna, Konya, and Taxara (Aksaray).[55] It is highly improbable though that the Turks at that time would have possessed the necessary equipment and fighting technique to conduct sieges. We may assume that in most cases takeovers resulted from agreements between Turkish chiefs and the local aristocrats. The detailed account of Anna Komnene yields plenty of useful information about the Bithynian city of Nicaea. Sulaymān b. Qutlumush and his warriors seem to have taken hold of the city in early 1081, whereas the settlement of women and children, the appointment of a local governor, and the establishment of a proper residence occurred after Kılıç Arslān I's takeover in

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52   Karpozilos, *Ιστορικοί*, vol. 3, pp. 357–370, 397–425; Neville, Anna Komnene, pp. 4–5.

53   For the author and his work, see Karpozilos, *Ιστορικοί*, vol. 3, pp. 357–370; Neville, Heroes and Romans.

54   Nikephoros Bryennios*, History* 4.31, ed. Gautier, pp. 300–303. Melissenos seems to have gathered supporters primarily from the western fringes of the Anatolian plateau in the provinces of Phrygia and Galatia and used the city of Dorylaion as his main stronghold.

55   Anna Komnene, *Alexias* 2.3.1, ed. Reinsch, p. 60 (Kyzikos in about 1080); ibidem 6.13.1, ed. Reinsch, p. 197, mentions a certain Elchanes as lord of Kyzikos and Apollonias; ibidem 7.8.7, ed. Reinsch, p. 225 mentions the rise of Tzachas, who had achieved the rank of *protonobelissimos* at the court of Nikephoros III but lost his position after Alexios I's takeover and became lord of Smyrna in about 1081/1082. Konya and other towns of Lycaonia are hardly mentioned in Byzantine sources after the attack of 1069. The Muslim tradition speaks about a conquest of Konya and Taxara: Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 6, p. 293, trans. Richards, *Annals*, p. 216; *Tārīkh-i Āl-i Saljūq*, ed. F. N. Uzluk, p. 36 and pp. 23–24 (Turkish translation).

1093.[56] We may assume that the Turks followed similar patterns in other cities and areas. Initially they seem to have been content with establishing small garrisons, which gradually attracted families and other groups of settlers. In the course of time, this brought about an increase and diversification of Turkish elements permeating the social fabric of Anatolian urban settlements. This also implies the creation of a Turkish residence area or district within the walled town, including the erection of mosques or the adoption of pre-existing sacred spaces. The changes of urban spaces resulting from the establishment of Turkish elites and Muslim institutions can be studied more systematically from the second half of the 12th century onwards, i.e., the time from which the oldest monuments of Seljuk art in Anatolia survive. Nevertheless, the garrison-like character of the earliest Turkish settlements is still recognizable in the spatial setting of the earliest architectural monuments, which are mainly concentrated on citadel hills and frequently built in or near sacred areas of the pre-existing Christian substrate, thus visualizing military predominance in conjunction with a local memorial culture of sacredness. The best-known example certainly is the Alaeddin Mosque of Konya (1155), which along with the tomb of Kılıç Arslan II was erected on the city's acropolis near the now destroyed Byzantine church of Hagios Amphilochios.[57] Likewise, the oldest surviving mosque of Ankara dating from 1178 was constructed just below the peak of the citadel hill, overlooking the whole town and the surrounding steppe land of the Anatolian plateau.[58]

In the 1080s and 1090s, in western, central, and parts of eastern Anatolia between the Halys (Kızılırmak) basin and the Armenian highlands, Turkish emirs began to develop rudimentary structures of independent lordships. Pieces of evidence are scarce and unevenly distributed, but taken together they reveal a number of recurring patterns that contributed to the transformation of Turkmen raiders into potentates and state builders. Generally speaking, there is a clearly recognizable divide between the Turks in western Anatolia, who were exposed to strong political and ideological influences of their Byzantine cultural environment and the imperial government, and the Turks farther east, who were attached to the Great Seljuk sultanate and other political powers in Azerbaijan and western Iran. Among the most crucial factors fostering the crystallization of state-like entities in western Anatolia we may mark out: (1) alliances with the Byzantine government and local aristocrats; (2) treaties between Turkish chiefs and the imperial government providing for a

56   Anna Komnene, *Alexias* 6.12.8, ed. Reinsch, p. 197.

57   Redford, "Alaeddin mosque reconsidered", 54–74; Tekinalp, "Palace Churches", pp. 154–160.

58   Çam/Ersay, Ankara Muhyiddin Mesud (Alâeddin Camii)nin İlk Şekli, pp. 9–42.

recognition of certain privileges, territorial rights, or spheres of influence;[59] (3) diplomatic contacts between the two sides accompanied by tributes, gifts, and the bestowal of court titles strengthening the ideological ties with the Byzantine ruling elite;[60] (4) political coalitions between Turkish lords, which were partly consolidated by intermarriages;[61] (5) successful forms of accommodation and collaboration with the indigenous population;[62] (6) firm control over land, agricultural produce, taxes, and other resources in towns and rural areas.[63] At first, nascent lordships consisted of a number of strongholds along with a highly fluctuating radius of influence stretching over the surrounding areas. Yet there were still no clearly defined territorial or administrative units. The creation of extended realms being under the sway of Turkish emirs resulted from an intricate process, which lasted several decades and was contingent upon changing political constellations in Anatolia in the time before and after the First Crusade as well as upon the balance of power among competing Byzantine, Frankish, Armenian, and Turkish lords. At the same time, the consolidation and expansion of these new domains was closely related to a strengthening of the internal cohesion between the new Turkish ruling elite and the indigenous Christian population. To this end, the Turks offered incentives for local groups to stay and keep on pursuing their professions and economic activities. These included temporary tax exemptions, the protection of their subjects' lives, property rights, and religious freedoms, effective forms of communication and interaction in administrative and judicial matters, and mechanisms providing a sense of lawfulness and legitimacy by combining

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59   Anna Komnene, *Alexias* 3.11.4–5, ed. Reinsch, p. 116 (treaty between Alexios I and Sulaymāb b. Qutlumush in 1081), ibidem 6.10.8–9, ed. Reinsch, pp. 191–192 (treaty between Alexios I and Apelchasem of Nicaea); ibidem 9.3.4, ed. Reinsch, p. 265 (renewal of the treaty with Qilij Arslān after the assassination of the Emir of Smyrna Tzachas).

60   Anna Komnene, *Alexias* 6.10.8–9, ed. Reinsch, pp. 191–192 (amusements, rich gifts, and the title of *sebastos* for Apelchasem during his sojourn in Constantinople); ibidem 6.12.8, ed. Reinsch, p. 197 (embassy to Poulchases in Nicaea with rich gifts); ibidem 9.3.2, ed. Reinsch, p. 264 (letter by Alexios I to Kılıç Arslān I stirring him up against the Emir of Smyrna Tzachas).

61   Anna Komnene, *Alexias* 9.3.2 and 4, ed. Reinsch, p. 264, 265 (Qilij Arslān is married to a daughter of the Emir of Smyrna Tzachas in 1093).

62   Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 6, p. 293, trans. Richards, *Annals*, p. 218; Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, ed. Sevim, p. 229 (Sulaymān granted amnesty to the people of Antioch, allowed them to repair damaged buildings and protected their property rights).

63   Anna Komnene 6.12.8, ed. Reinsch, p. 197 (appointment by Kılıç Arslān of a supreme governor in Nicaea called the *archisatrapes* Mouchoumet).

newly imported Muslim and pre-existing Byzantine practices and concepts of political authority.[64]

The First Crusade (1096–1099) brought about a sudden and violent rupture in this development. The hosts of armed pilgrims arriving from France and Italy constituted not only a strong military force that enabled the Byzantines to regain large parts of western Asia Minor and wiped the Turks out of Cilicia and the regions of Antioch and Edessa. They also initiated a new and unexpected migration movement that channeled large numbers of Europeans through Asia Minor to the crusader states in Palestine, northern Syria, and Upper Mesopotamia. The crossing of Anatolia by crusading armies caused an unprecedented scale of devastation that resulted from acts of warfare and the scorched earth strategy applied by the Turks, on the one hand, as well as from the crusaders' enormous demand for supplies and foodstuff, on the other.[65] It can be safely assumed that in the years 1096–1101 parts of Bithynia and Paphlagonia as far as Amaseia (Amasya) and Merzifon, western Phrygia and Pisidia between Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and Lake Eğridir, sections of the Anatolian highlands in Galatia and the southern parts of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, as well as parts of Cilicia and the region around Antioch suffered serious damages in their agricultural zones and economic structures. At the same time, the Byzantine central government extended its sway over substantial parts of western Asia Minor and the southern coastland as far as Seleukeia (Silifke). Those Turks who refused to submit to Byzantine rule managed to gain new footholds in Lycaonia, Cappadocia, and the regions east of the Halys River.[66] The towns of Polybotos (Bolvadin) and Philomelion (Akşehir) near the Sultandağları Mountains formed the easternmost points of advance for the Byzantine army and henceforth became nodes in a newly emerging frontier and contact zone where Byzantine and Turkish spheres of influence overlapped.[67]

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64   Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, ed. Sevim, 217 (Sulaymān b. Qutlumush appoints a judge from Tripoli in the city of Tarsus); Anna Komnene, *Alexias* 11.8.2, ed. Reinsch, p. 346 (the Greek inhabitants of a town near Amaseia act as autonomously amidst a Turkish-held region); William of Tyre, *Chronicle* 5.11, ed. Huygens, 285–286 (relations between the people of Antioch and their Turkish overlords in the time before and during the siege by the crusaders of 1098).

65   For a recent summary of the current state of knowledge about the crossing of Anatolia by the First Crusade and ensuing crusading hosts, see Asbridge, *Crusades*, pp. 41–61; for the Byzantine involvement, see Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, pp. 28–41; for the so-called Lombard crusade in 1101 and its implications on the situation in Anatolia, see Gate, "The Crusade of 1101", pp. 343–367.

66   Turan, *Türkiye*, pp. 98–108.

67   Turan, *Türkiye*, pp. 103–104; Demirkent, *Sultan I. Kılıç Arslan*, pp. 32–33.

The events of 1101 made plain that the Turks on the Anatolian plateau were able to recover from the setbacks of 1097–1098 and to put up effective resistance against invading crusading hosts. Since their first arrival in the 1070s, the Turks had become increasingly familiar with the geography and population of central Anatolia. After their retreat in 1098, they were forced to develop a defensive strategy in order to survive. This prompted them to forge alliances and to increase their control over towns, strongholds, and road networks. One may say that the challenges posed by the First Crusade accelerated the sedentarization and consolidation of the Turks in central Anatolia. Indicative of this profound change is that during the Second Crusade in 1147 both the French and the German contingents failed to fight their way through Turkish-held territories.[68] It was not before the Third Crusade in 1190 that another crusading host, the German army of Frederick I Barbarossa, managed to cross the territories subject to the sultanate of Konya.[69] They even seized and ransacked the Seljuk capital during their advance, but this was in a time of fierce infighting among Kılıç Arslan II's sons just a few years before the old sultan's death. It is also noteworthy that after 1101 Kılıç Arslan I was on a friendly footing with the Byzantine emperor and even lent him military support against the Norman invasion of Bohemond in 1107.[70] At the same time, Kılıç Arslan I turned his entire attention to his ambitions to extend his sway from the recently acquired city of Melitene and the Euphrates region to the Diyār Bakr province and northern Iraq as far as Mosul.[71] In May 1107, he paid with his life for his far-reaching plans and the surviving members of his family were thrown into a new crisis.[72] As a result, the western frontier zone in Anatolia enjoyed a significant respite and could further solidify.

In the years 1109–1116, new waves of Turkish invasions occurred in Bithynia, Mysia, and the western river valleys in the provinces of Lydia and Caria, but Emperor Alexios I successfully warded off these threats by establishing a chain of fortified strongholds and by developing an effective defensive strategy.[73] In this way, he managed to restore centralized control over parts of western and southern Asia Minor. The imperial government blocked new Turkish advances and migration movements from the fringes of the Anatolian plateau towards the western coastland. A peace treaty with the Seljuk lord of Konya, Shāhinshāh,

68   Lilie, *Crusader States*, pp. 145–163.

69   Eickhoff, *Friedrich Barbarossa*, pp. 37–78.

70   Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 6, p. 471.

71   Demirkent, *I. Kılıç Arslan*, pp. 52–58.

72   Demirkent, *I. Kılıç Arslan*, pp. 58–59.

73   Our only source for these events is Anna Komnene, *Alexias* 14.1.1–7, 14.3.1–8, 14.5.3–7, 15.1.3–15.6.5, ed. Reinsch, pp. 424–427, 434–438, 443–448, 462–478.

in 1116 put a halt to these large-scale invasions.[74] Intra-dynastic rivalries among the sons of Kılıç Arslan I distracted the Turks of Konya from further pursuing their expansionist efforts. This brought about a further stabilization of the Turkish-Byzantine frontier zone between the Sangarios Valley and the Sultandağları Mountains. It was only in the early years of Emperor Manuel I that we hear of new Turkish raids in Bithynia and the Kaystros Valley.[75] Again, nothing indicates the existence of a clear-cut boundary. The staging area of Byzantine troops conducting campaigns in the east was situated at a far distance from the conflict area near Lopadion (Ulubat) in the Rhyndakos Valley, and the emperor concentrated on the fortification of strongholds near the Sangarios River, such as Malagina and Pithekas.[76] Places situated within the conflict zone obviously changed hands from time to time, but nobody was able to exert permanent control over them. When Manuel I in 1146 successfully proceeded from Akroinon (Afyonkarahisar) to Philomelion (Akşehir), he seized the town but was not able to keep it. Hence, he burned it down and transferred the remnants of the Greek population to Bithynia.[77] In this campaign, the Byzantine troops also fought battles further east and advanced as far as Konya, but a siege was considered impossible. The imperial troops retreated via Lake Pousgouse (Beyşehir Gölü) to the eastern extremities of the Maeander Valley.[78] First signs of an actual process of Turkification in this area are the Turkish toponyms *Andrachman* and *Tzibrelitzemani* as mentioned in the account of John Kinnamos with respect to places east of Philomelion.[79] It must remain uncertain whether these names were already in use during the 1140s, but they certainly predate the 1180s.

The central section of the Maeander Valley and regions of Caria and Pisidia further south as far as the hinterland of Attaleia were also exposed to a more or less constant influx of Turkish groups. Fortified places, such as Laodikeia (near Denizli) and Sozopolis (Uluborlu), and smaller fortresses in Pisidia seem to have been seized by Turkish emirs already in the last years of Alexios I's reign after 1116 and thus constituted targets of John II's campaigns in 1119.[80] The Turkish presence in these outposts was apparently confined to movements of pastoralist nomads and small bands of warriors under the command of

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74   Anna Komnene, *Alexias* 15.6.3–5, ed. Reinsch, pp. 477–478.
75   John Kinnamos, *Epitome* 2.5, ed. Meineke, pp. 38–39, trans. Brand, *Deeds*, pp. 38–39.
76   John Kinnamos, *Epitome* 2.4–5, ed. Meineke, p. 37 (Malagina), p. 38 (Pithekas), trans. Brand, *Deeds*, pp. 37, 38.
77   John Kinnamos, *Epitome* 2.5, ed. Meineke, pp. 40–41, trans. Brand, *Deeds*, pp. 40–41.
78   John Kinnamos, *Epitome* 2.5–6, ed. Meineke, pp. 41–46, trans. Brand, *Deeds*, pp. 42–44.
79   John Kinnamos, *Epitome* 2.5, 7, ed. Meineke, pp. 42, 47, trans. Brand, *Deeds*, pp. 41, 44.
80   John Kinnamos, *Epitome* 1.2, ed. Meineke, pp. 5–6, trans. Brand, *Deeds*, pp. 14–15.

autonomous chiefs. There is no evidence suggesting any effective control exerted by the sultanate of Konya over them. When Emperor Manuel I in 1146 camped with his troops near the springs of the Maeander River, the Byzantine soldiers are said to have considered this region in the vicinity of Apameia (Dinar) as being far from hostile territory. Yet they were suddenly ambushed by a considerable number of Turkish troops.[81] This indicates that the Byzantines hardly controlled the region in question and failed to maintain any reliable defensive structures or a network of scouts and informants there. The same applies to the region of Lake Pousgouse (Beyşehir Gölü) farther east, which on the occasion of John II's campaign in 1142 is described as being of great importance for the emperor because of its proximity to Konya.[82] The close relations between the local Christians and the Turkish subjects of the sultanate, however, formed a serious obstacle for the emperor's attempts to gain access to the lake. This incident illustrates another noteworthy aspect of the social changes resulting from expansionist movements and shifting borderlands. The indigenous local population, which came to be attached to the newly emerging ethnic and political entities, swiftly switched allegiance. The nearby Muslim-Turkish authorities replaced the remote imperial center of Constantinople as primary point of reference for the people living in the borderlands.

In the southern coastland a network of ports between Attaleia (Antalya) and Seleukeia (Silifke) as well as the island of Cyprus as an advanced outpost in short distance of the northern Syrian shores secured a strong Byzantine naval presence in the area between Lycia and the Gulf of Alexandretta.[83] Archaeological evidence bears witness to Komnenian building activities in the towns of the Lycian coastland, whereas in adjacent Pamphylia the port of Side seems to have been deserted because of Turkish pressure and to be replaced by Kalon Oros (Alanya) as new regional center.[84] There are traces of nomadic activity in the mountainous regions north of the coastland, as ceramic finds in Sagalassos (Ağlasun) seem to indicate.[85]

It is difficult to assess the extent of Byzantine control over the Pontus region, but the overall impression on the basis of the available information is that after 1086 the coastland east of Sinope remained in the hands of independent

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81   John Kinnamos, *Epitome* 2.9, ed. Meineke, pp. 59–63, trans. Brand, *Deeds*, pp. 53–56.

82   John Kinnamos, *Epitome* 1.10, ed. Meineke, p. 22, trans. Brand, *Deeds*, p. 26.

83   Lounghis, *Byzantium in the Eastern Mediterranean*, pp. 31–38.

84   Foss, "Lycian Coast", pp. 1–51; Hellenkemper/Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien*, vol. 2, pp. 587–594, s.v. Kalon Oros.

85   Vionis et al., "Byzantine Pottery Assemblage", pp. 459–460.

Byzantine and Turkish local lords.[86] The region of Trebizond at times was threatened by Seljuk governors based in the Armenian provinces, while in the 1130s it was mainly the Dānishmand emirate in Cappadocia, which exerted control over Neokaisareia (Niksar) in the Lykos Valley and beyond the Halys River as far as Gangra (Çankırı) and Kastamonu.[87] Attempts of the Byzantine army to take possession of these places either failed completely or did not bring lasting results. The tomb of Karatekin, a legendary Turkish hero, who in the epical accounts of the Danişmend-name appears as the first Muslim conqueror of Çankırı and other towns of Paphlagonia, is a figurehead for the establishment of a Muslim tradition in the region.[88] This monument situated in the castle of Çankırı dates back to the second half of the 12th century and thus belongs to the earliest surviving architectural remains of Turkish provenance in central Asia Minor. The fact that the aforementioned mosques of Konya (1155) and Ankara (1178) date from about the same period clearly indicates that the central Anatolian towns in Paphlagonia, Galatia, and Lycaonia east of the Byzantine-Turkish borderland began to acquire a new character as permanent dwellings of Muslim-Turkish elites from the mid-12th century onwards. At that time both the sultanate of Konya and the Dānishmand emirate had already developed into considerable supra-regional powers covering vast areas as far as the Upper Euphrates River. The transformation of urban centers and the consolidation of political powers were closely intertwined.

The development in western and central Asia Minor during the second half of the 12th century is marked by a further expansion and solidification of political and administrative structures established by the Turkish domains, on the one hand, and by a gradual weakening of the Byzantine defense system especially after the disaster of Myriokephalon in 1176, on the other.[89] In addition, the troublesome years after 1180 brought a breakdown of pre-existing bonds of cohesion among Byzantine aristocratic clans and an overall dismemberment of the provincial administration.[90] These phenomena did not cause any fundamental shifts in the frontier zone but certainly increased the instability and insecurity of living conditions for both sedentary people and Turkish nomads and thus favored new displacements. The Turks resumed their raids and incursions into Bithynia, Mysia, western Phrygia, as well as the Kaystros

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86   Important information can be found in descriptions of the so-called Lombard crusade, a
      contingent of which advanced in 1101 as far as Merzifon: Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hiero-
      solimitana* 8.5–21, ed. Edington, pp. 592–615.
87   Anna Komnene, *Alexias* 11.6.6, ed. Reinsch, p. 340; Turan, *Türkiye*, pp. 132–136, 167–172.
88   Çakmakoğlu, "Çankırı Fatihi", pp. 63–84.
89   Lilie, "Myriokephalon", pp. 257–275.
90   Lilie, "Des Kaisers Macht", pp. 9–120.

and Maeander Valleys. In the 1180s and 1190s, the situation was exacerbated by a series of local uprisings aiming at the establishment of autonomous lordships of Byzantine aristocratic clans, as happened in the Bithynian towns of Nicaea and Prusa (Bursa) under the leadership of the Angeloi family (1184) and in Philadelpheia (Alaşehir) under Theodore Mangaphas (1188).[91] In these cases, Turkish warrior groups became involved in intra-Byzantine conflicts as auxiliary forces supporting local rebels. Mangaphas, in particular, developed an extensive raiding activity in the Maeander Valley.[92] Other rebels, such as a number of Pseudo-Alexioi, i.e., persons pretending to be the murdered son of Emperor Manuel, Alexios II, and Michael, the *doux* of Mylassa, strengthened their fighting force by mustering Turkish troops with the consent of the lords of Ankara and Konya.[93] In so doing, they formed a serious threat for the peasantry in the borderland of Ankara and the Maeander region. These new forms of cross-border alliances exhibit an unprecedented level of collaboration between Byzantine and Turkish local lords for the purpose of establishing some extent of regional authority and gaining wealth at the expense of the local population. Unruly Turkish nomads roaming about the countryside were involved in these activities as the rebels' allies but they cannot be regarded as the driving force underlying the increase of violence in the borderlands after 1180.[94] Apparently, the raids were made possible by the progressive inability of the central government and its representatives to exert effective control over the peripheries. Seditious movements related to disturbances in the center-periphery relations fostered the mingling of warrior groups in the borderlands and had disastrous results for the population living within the radius of action of these rebels, irrespective of their ethnic or religious identity.

The Byzantine campaigns of the 1130s and 1140s failed to bring lasting results in terms of territorial gains or to change the balance of power in Anatolia. In the decades after the Second Crusade, the imperial government concentrated on forging more peaceful relations with the Turkish neighbors and on fortifying their strongholds in western Asia Minor. In the region of Chliara (Kırkağaç), Pergamon (Bergama), and Adramyttion (Edremit) in western Mysia, Emperor Manuel I took effective protective measures by transferring the local population from widely dispersed unprotected villages to newly fortified places, the

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91   Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, no. 157, p. 115, no. 168, p. 123, and pp. 427–440; Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, pp. 55–57.

92   Niketas Choniates, *History*, ed. van Dieten, pp. 400–401.

93   Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, no. 169–170, pp. 123–124, no. 182, p. 130, no. 187, p. 132, no. 190, p. 134; Niketas Choniates, *History*, ed. van Dieten, pp. 420–422, 461–463, 494–495, 529.

94   Vryonis, "Nomadization", pp. 46–47, 49–50.

so-called *Neokastra*.[95] In addition, Manuel restored the ruined fortresses of Dorylaion (Eskişehir) and Siblia/Subleon (near modern Evciler).[96] Both strongholds were situated in highly sensitive areas of the Byzantine defensive system, the former on the main road leading from the fringes of the Turkish-held regions of Phrygia to Bithynia and the latter in the Upper Maeander Valley at a short distance from Apameia. The Byzantine defeat of 1176 did not cause a total collapse of the Byzantine military system in Asia Minor, but it certainly signaled a turn for the worse in that the emperor was compelled to abandon these strongholds and parts of the Maeander region as far as Tralleis (Aydın) were once again devastated by invasions from the sultanate of Konya.[97] The territorial gains, which the Turks achieved in the years after 1176, were limited but included places of high strategic significance. Due to a garbled passage in the manuscripts of Niketas Choniates' chronicle, it remains unclear whether Dorylaion actually fell into Turkish hands.[98] In 1182 Kılıç Arslan II was able to drastically increase his pressure on Byzantine territories in Phrygia and Pisidia by seizing Sozopolis (Uluborlu) and Kotyaion (Kütahya).[99] The Turks even advanced to the southern coastland of Pamphylia and, in the course of a long siege, caused heavy damages to Attaleia and its surroundings. In 1190, the crusader army of Frederick Barbarossa was still able to seize and burn down Philomelion (Akşehir), but a few years later in about 1196 the town seems to have been under firm Turkish control.[100] Overall, in the time span between 1176 and 1196 the Turks of Konya gained a number of advanced strongholds granting them access to the road system in the central and the southern section of the western frontier zone. Moreover, for the first time they were able to attack the empire's main port in the coastland of Lycia and Pamphylia, which in 1216 would eventually surrender to the Seljuk sultan.[101]

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95   Niketas Choniates, *History*, ed. van Dieten, p. 150.

96   Niketas Choniates, *History*, ed. van Dieten, pp. 176–177.

97   Niketas Choniates, *History*, ed. van Dieten, pp. 189, 192. Apart from Tralleis, the report explicitly mentions Antioch of Phrygia, Louma, and Pentacheir as targets of Turkish raids. The latter two toponyms cannot be identified, see Belke/Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, pp. 185–188, s.v. Antiocheia (near modern Yalvaç), p. 329, s.v. Lunda, pp. 357–358, s.v. Pentadaktylos (Beşparmak Dağı northwest of Lake Acı).

98   Niketas Choniates, *History*, ed. van Dieten, pp. 520 (some manuscripts list Dorylaion among the Pontic cities which Qilij Arslān II granted to his son Masud).

99   Niketas Choniates, *History*, ed. van Dieten, p. 262; Belke/Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, pp. 312–316, s.v. Kotyaion, pp. 387–388, s.v. Sozopolis (east of Apameia).

100   Niketas Choniates, *History*, ed. van Dieten, pp. 413, 495; Belke/Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, pp. 359–361, s.v. Philomelion.

101   Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, pp. 120–121; Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, pp. 81–91.

The gradual disintegration of the Byzantine central government in the years after Manuel I's death in 1180 in conjunction with the concomitant disintegration of administrative structures and regional insurrections in the provinces of Asia Minor created a vacuum of power that could be easily filled by potentates of the adjacent Turkish-held regions. The sultan of Konya and other local emirs quickly came to form the only powers to guarantee some extent of stability and security in the region. Unsurprisingly, this situation prompted indigenous groups to relocate to areas, where they enjoyed more protection and tax privileges. Niketas Choniates mentions a large group of 5,000 captives, who at the sultan's behest were transferred from towns of the Maeander Valley to Philomelion, where they were granted land, fields, grain, and a five-year tax exemption.[102] This population transfer apparently aimed at an improvement of the agricultural productivity of the region, something that was highly attractive for other Byzantine subjects as well, who voluntarily set forth to join their compatriots in Philomelion.

Another form of mobility, which in the late 12th century becomes increasingly palpable, results from overland trade between Constantinople and Konya. Niketas Choniates relates an episode referring to precious horses that had been sent by the Ayyubid sultan of Egypt along with an embassy to Constantinople but were intercepted by the authorities in Konya.[103] In response to Sultan Kaykhusrau's offense, Emperor Alexios III reportedly imprisoned all merchants from Konya and confiscated their belongings. This account affords us only an isolated glimpse, yet it points to the existence of a well-established trading network between Byzantine and Turkish merchants, which must have been based on safe travel conditions and facilities supporting the transport of people and goods along the routes connecting Byzantine and Turkish-held regions between Constantinople and the western Anatolian plateau. We may assume that the people involved in these activities deployed various forms of collaboration and abided by mutual undertakings. The oldest surviving example of such agreements is the Cypriot-Seljuk treaty of 1216, which regulated the seaborne trade between the island and the southern coastland.[104] Earlier evidence for Byzantine-Seljuk trade is hardly available, but from the 11th century onwards, the sources mention large amounts of gifts granted to high-ranking Turkish dignitaries and fugitive potentates who sought sanctuary in the imperial city.[105] This shows that Turkish elites from early on became familiar with

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102   Niketas Choniates, *History*, ed. van Dieten, pp. 494–495.
103   Niketas Choniates, *History*, ed. van Dieten, pp. 493–494.
104   *Griechische Briefe*, ed. Beihammer, no. 20, pp. 171–172, no. 83, pp. 212–213.
105   For examples, see Beihammer, "Defection", pp. 597–651.

and held in esteem all sorts of luxury goods of Byzantine origin. When Konya in the early 12th century gradually became the Seljuk court's main residence, the city must have attracted new economic activities and population groups and thus turned into a hub for trade between Byzantine territories, the Anatolian plateau, and the Muslim lands beyond the Euphrates.[106] Moreover, the nearby Byzantine-Turkish contact zone certainly encouraged commercial exchange, as is attested by the reports about the tight links between the Greeks at Lake Pousgouse and Konya in 1142.[107]

The influx of Turkish nomads and other ethnic groups from the Muslim central lands as well as the gradual emergence of Muslim-Turkish domains on Byzantine soil between the 1040s and the end of the 12th century set into motion a profound process of social and political transformation. With the incoming migrants, nomadism and pastoralism became predominant modes of living in parts of the Armenian highlands and the Anatolian plateau. Yet it would be inaccurate to assume that it was these nomads who were the bearers of change in Asia Minor by supplanting Byzantine civilization with a Muslim-Turkish culture, as is frequently implied by the secondary bibliography. A comparison of the available primary reports demonstrates that practices of expansion and intrusion observable in Syria, Upper Mesopotamia, and western Iran were also transplanted to Asia Minor. This is to say that sections of the Turkish warrior elite, who took hold of larger territorial units and urban centers, swiftly switched from nomadism to sedentary forms of rule and adapted to the pre-existing social environment. Newcomers mingled with indigenous groups at various levels and, in many instances, a mutual process of integration can be observed. Greek, Armenian, and Syrian Christians forged contacts with Muslim-Turkish officials and merchants and, conversely, many Turks adopted Byzantine cultural habits and ideological expressions or became members of the Byzantine elites. Changing center-periphery relations and the disintegration of Byzantine central rule in the years 1057–1081 fostered the regionalization of political structures so that powerful local factors ousted the influence of the imperial center. A re-stabilization of central control in western Asia Minor and the coastlands under the Komnenian emperors between the First Crusade and 1180 was followed by a new dismemberment of imperial administration in the last quarter of the 12th century. This led to increasing activities of local warrior groups, which included Turkish nomads, troops subject to the sultanate of Konya, and Byzantine rebels. Again, it is hardly possible to recognize clear-cut boundaries between sedentary and nomadic or Christian and

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106   Niketas Choniates, *History*, ed. van Dieten, p. 528.

107   Niketas Choniates, *History*, ed. van Dieten, p. 37.

Muslim groups. It seems more appropriate to talk about local coalitions of marginalized groups, which frequently assumed the character of Byzantine-Turkish alliances. Byzantine administrative and political structures were not destroyed but lost their links with the elite of Constantinople so as to be integrated into the regional structures of central Anatolia. The events of 1204 and the rise of the sultanate of Rum in the first half of 13th century created a new equilibrium in Asia Minor, in which the new center of Konya replaced Constantinople as focal point of administrative, social, and political structures in Anatolia.

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Migration and Ethnicity in the Venetian Territories of the Eastern Mediterranean (13th to 15th Century)

Charalambos Gasparis

Human geographic mobility is a diachronic phenomenon, the goal of which is the security and/or betterment of life for those on the move.[1] Following the major migrations in Europe in the early Middle Ages, those of the late medieval period were less massive and decisive, and stemmed from different causes. The group or individual population movements in the period and place under examination here may be assigned to two large categories: (a) movements owed to violence (e.g. wars, political persecutions, or natural phenomena and diseases), which aimed primarily to seek security in a new place, and (b) those owed to living conditions and the economic environment, which aimed at improving migrants' living conditions. While there is geographic mobility in both cases, that in the first category could be characterized in contemporary terms as "refugee movement" and as more or less massive, while that in the second may be characterized as "migration", and is normally by individuals.

Refugees leave their home voluntarily or involuntarily due to life-threatening political or military violence. The migrant, also compelled by specific (normally, economic) circumstances, voluntarily leaves his home in search of better living conditions and life prospects. However, those who move to further improve and enrich themselves, even though their living conditions are not as bad, are also characterized as migrants. One category of displaced persons included by contemporary scholars among migrants were prisoners of war and slaves

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1 The earlier belief that people in the Middle Ages did not easily migrate of their own accord has now been refuted by many studies and books on migration in medieval Europe. The 11th to 13th centuries, during which intensified transport on land as well as the major growth of maritime travel significantly favored human migration, were decisive for this phenomenon. See indicatively Kleinschmid, *People on the move. Attitudes toward and perception of migration in medieval and modern Europe*, with copious bibliography. For a summary of migration in the Italian peninsula, see Barbero, *Le migrazioni medievali*. For internal migration during the Late Middle Ages and its role in economic growth, particularly that of cities, see Goddard, *Lordship and medieval urbanization*, esp. the chapter *Patterns of migration 1250–1299*, pp. 137–155.

forced to abandon their homes unwillingly under threat of force, and who in most cases never returned to them. In both general categories of displaced persons (refugees, migrants), migration may be by group or individual, though density is the main criterion for whether one speaks of a significant refugee or migration phenomenon or not in a specific time period and geographic area. In addition to the usual political and economic reasons, there is also migration because of chance. This is the case of those who migrated temporarily to another place for various professional or personal reasons, and for various reasons ultimately up and permanently established in their new home.

Obviously, migration also involves the concept of "distance" from the place the migrant was leaving. As the time required to move from the old to the new place of residence increased, so did the sense of permanent abandonment or problematic return, therefore making it possible to speak of migration. This time is the result of many factors: the distance itself, technical means, geophysical characteristics, and political and economic conditions in a greater region at a specific time. Finally, we should note the important factor of the sea, which defines the idea of the "Mediterranean" as a historical place, and which has always linked the regions bordering its waters, facilitating all kinds of human movement.

As regards direction, movement could involve leaving the political territory in which the person lived (emigration), or a change of location within the same territory (immigration). In any case, the return of travelers to their original place of residence was possible under some conditions, though it was often difficult in the historical environment to which we refer. For methodological reasons we will retain the classification into forced and/or violent migration— voluntary migration, despite the fact that apart from certain cases, the reasons for migration cannot be distinguished with certainty, but rather are implied. Besides, displacement could be a result of life threatening (refugee) and economic conditions (migrant) at the same time. Therefore, having defined the concept of immigrant and of refugee, the study of the migration or refugee phenomenon proves particularly complex, since one must consider the many parameters which define it and which are connected with the time, place, and identity of the individuals involved.

The three centuries encompassed by this study are bookmarked by two crucial events in the history of the Eastern Mediterranean: the fall of Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, first to the Crusaders (1204) and then two and a half centuries later to the Ottomans (1453). Both led either immediately or over time to chain reactions, first at the political and later at the social and economic levels. Many wars, political and economic conditions, as well as other, social and even natural phenomena triggered group as well as individual migration in this large region.

From this standpoint, each of the three centuries had its own characteristics. In the 13th century, political and economic changes greatly altered the human landscape of the Eastern Mediterranean. The Fourth Crusade and the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders at the dawn of the century was a catalyst for these changes. One of the big winners in this era at the political and economic levels was Venice. The end of this century also signified the final dissolution of the last bastions of the Crusaders in the Near East after three centuries of continuous presence there. The fall of Acre in Syria (1291) was another major milestone of the era.

The 14th century, although more politically stable for the same region, experienced significant wars with Venice as protagonist as well as a deadly epidemic which split the century in half, so that today we speak of the periods before and after the Black Death (1348). Parallel to this, the Ottomans made clear both their intentions and their momentum, chiefly towards the Byzantine Empire but towards the region's other states as well.

The 15th century is considered a landmark for European and Mediterranean history. The Renaissance began to blossom in Italy and the first seeds were sown for the new way of thinking which would lead to what we conventionally call the end of the Middle Ages. In the middle of the century, the Fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans was a watershed, which gradually turned the Eastern Mediterranean into an Ottoman lake in subsequent centuries. For Venice, the 15th century signified the apogee of its commercial and economic-political power. At the end of the 15th century, the discovery of America forever changed the sense of the world and gradually Venice's longstanding economic and political power.

Amid these major political, social, economic, and cultural developments and their consequences, also less significant (though not unrelated) events decisively influenced people's lives in the Eastern Mediterranean. Political changes, economic decline and growth, and of course wars were major factors in exacerbating collective and individual human mobility, whether migration or refugee. All three factors were present during the era and in the region under examination here.

The political space to which we are confining ourselves here was formed during the late medieval period. Venice as a city-state was boosted politically and financially in the early 13th century as the result of the Fourth Crusade, though strong foundations had already been laid in preceding centuries. During the three centuries under examination, the Venetian territory in the Eastern Mediterranean was consolidated, enlarged, and strengthened. The "maritime state" of Venice, however, was dispersed in space and time, and for this reason it is difficult to examine comprehensively, particularly to record generalized phenomena, since each acquisition was differently influenced by its

respective political circumstances. Venice's first territories (colonies), that is those under its direct control, were Crete (1211–1669), Methone, and Korone (1209–1500, both on the Peloponnese). During the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century, Kythera was ceded by Venice to the Venier family. In 1363, it passed to direct Venetian rule, under which it continued until 1797. In Euboea, Venetian presence long remained limited, confined to the city of Negroponte (nowadays Chalcis) and certain other points throughout the 13th and greater part of the 14th century, with the entire island coming under Venetian rule between 1390 and 1470. In the Peloponnese, in addition to Methone and Korone Venice acquired Nauplion (1389–1540) and Argos (1394–1463); in Central Greece, it acquired Naupactus (1407–1499); in the Ionian area it acquired Corfu (1386–1797), and in Macedonia it very briefly acquired Thessaloniki (1423–1430). Despite simultaneous losses, the Venetian state was strengthened in the second half of the 15th century by the acquisition of Monemvasia in the Peloponnese (1460–1540), Cyprus (1489–1571), Zakynthos (1484–1797), and Cephalonia (1500–1797). We may also situate within the Venetian sphere of influence (and not the Venetian territory) the Aegean islands, which were held by families or individuals of Venetian origin; from time to time, one or another of these islands came under the city's direct control. Irrespective of whether Venice controlled them or not, it considered them an area favorable to it, despite occasional disputes with island rulers.

As a major European political and economic powerhouse, Venice opened its territories for the reception of refugees and migrants. On the one hand, this was because it provided relative security in a difficult and dangerous period, and on the other, because it maintained a stable and explicit "immigration policy" aimed at drawing people to its possessions. This inevitably resulted in its becoming a pole of attraction for those who decided to migrate, whether of their own volition (migrants) or by reason of violence (refugees).

The period between the 13th and 15th century in the Eastern Mediterranean is primarily characterized by migration and less by refugees, although both phenomena are often difficult to distinguish on the basis of their qualitative characteristics, mainly due to the lack of relevant information. Thus, a few instances of forced, *en masse* and organized migration of population groups clearly fit the refugee phenomenon, while all the others—less massive movements and more of individuals, which comprise the overwhelming majority of cases, belong to the category of migration.

As in the modern era, so for the Middle Ages one may speak of *external* and *internal* migrants within the context of a state. However, living and mobility conditions in the Middle Ages may easily define as "internal" migration movement across a much smaller distance than that which would define the

corresponding phenomenon today. For example, movement with the goal of permanent or temporary settlement during the 13th and 14th centuries from one village to another within a relatively large island such as Crete or Euboea, or a mainland area like the Peloponnese, could be characterized as migration. In most cases, migrants could not easily remain in contact with the environment, which they had abandoned. This gives the following classification: (1) migration from other states to Venetian territories; (2) migration between scattered Venetian territories; (3) migration within a given Venetian territory, and (4) migration from Venetian territories to non-Venetian ones.

For the phenomenon of migration in the complex society of Venetian possessions in the Eastern Mediterranean during the late Middle Ages, one must take into account multiple features of migrants, whether individuals or groups. These characteristics are connected not only with the reasons for migration, but also with the prospects for each person in the reception area and the possibility of them being integrated into local society. These are: (1) origin and citizenship (Venetian, Latin, Greek, other); (2) religion (Catholic, Orthodox, Muslim, other); (3) personal and social status (nobleman, freeman, dependent, slave, prisoner of war, cleric etc.), and (4) other characteristics such as the aim of migration (temporary or permanent settlement), personal financial situation (wealthy or poor), and personal qualifications (professionally specialized or unskilled).

All the above components of a person's identity played an important role in the manner of reception and integration of migrants in a Venetian possession. Thus, if the prospective immigrant was familiar with the socioeconomic conditions in Venetian possessions and possible prospects these held out to him, his identity could be a motive for, or, conversely, a deterrent to migration. However, the causes and needs that led to migration were—and remain—stronger than any possible prospects in reception areas.

Among the basic parameters, which one must also consider with regard to our topic, is the "immigration policy" of Venice itself, which was wholly favorable to receiving refugees and attracting immigrants. This policy was clear and targeted: boosting population, increasing the numbers of the workforce, and strengthening defense in its possessions. To this end, it offered powerful, primarily economic incentives to prospective immigrants to its colonies.

There were some cases of population groups unwelcome in Venetian possessions, each for a different reason. As a rule, those deemed unwelcome were Orthodox hierarchs and monks, and Genoese. On Crete, the former were considered as early as the 13th century to be instigators of revolts against Venetian rule and in favor of the Byzantine emperor, and for this reason were seen as undesirable migrants. The spread of even a small number of monks on the

island during the early decades of the 14th century worried Venice. In 1334 it took a special decision in accordance with which the Cretan authorities were obliged (using all possible discretion) to expel all Orthodox monks who had arrived as refugees on the island and were inciting locals against Latin Catholics. In the future, authorities were not to permit entry to any monks.[2] In later eras, all monks or church hierarchs who received entry and residence permits in Crete for a shorter or longer duration were under surveillance. Should any suspicious activity be found, they were deported immediately. On the other hand, the Genoese represented a rival power, which could potentially undermine key sectors of Venetian activity in their territories. For this reason, and despite the fact that a small number of Genoese merchants were always active in Venetian domains, the request by the Genoese families of Chios who had arrived in Methone in 1455 to settle there and enjoy the privileges of Venetian citizens found Venice diametrically opposed, and the city ordered their immediate expulsion.[3]

Local economic conditions, always in combination with political ones, played an important role in the flow of immigrants to Venetian possessions. A stable political environment with a developed economy or prospects for growth was always an ideal destination. Thus, in all Venetian territories these conditions were less favorable in the 13th than in the 14th century, which in turn lagged behind in relation to those offered in the 15th century. More specifically, if we take as a typical example Crete, Venice's largest and most important possession in the Eastern Mediterranean, we can easily recognize all the above-mentioned factors. The 13th century inaugurated new economic prospects for the island, but at the same time, the political environment was unfavorable. The slow conquest of the entire island over the course of around half a century, in conjunction with the constant and long-lasting revolts by local landowners against their new ruler made migration to the island more difficult, though it by no means prevented it. On the contrary, despite occasional disruptions Crete's more stable political environment and continuous economic growth during the 14th and 15th centuries created an ideal migrant destination. Something similar may easily be observed for other Venetian territories as well.

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2 According to the decision of the Venetian Senate: *Caloieri qui aliunde sunt profugi et in dictam nostram insulam advenerunt, malam doctrinam et voluntatem contra latinos in suis figmentis et hortationibus seminarunt…* (Thiriet, *Sénat*, vol. 1, no. 41; Theotokes, *Θεσπίσματα*, vol. 2/1, p. 142 no. 31).

3 As was characteristically noted, Venice found this request exceptionally "odd", and for this reason rejected it: Thiriet, *Sénat*, vol. 3, no. 3006.

Another parameter, which formed part of the identity of immigrants and affected their movement was professional specialization, which was a significant determinant of where immigrants went. For example, an unskilled farm worker who wanted —and was to a certain extent compelled— to continue farming could in actuality move almost exclusively to Crete and Euboea, where there were good (if not certain) prospects for finding land and settling in a village. Both small and large traders could easily settle even in the smaller Venetian possessions of Methone and Korone. Both these Peloponnesian ports, which formed important stopovers on commercial maritime routes, offered many opportunities in commerce and shipping. The islands of the Aegean, small and as a rule barren but strategically situated, were also poles of attraction for small traders who could look forward to play a vital role in regional commerce. There is no doubt that in the end, some of Venice's possessions like Crete and perhaps to a lesser degree Euboea had all the features to make them an attractive destination for migrants and refugees in relation to the city-state's other territories.

The ethnic categories migrating during this period in the area we are considering may be distinguished into three main groups: (1) Greeks, (2) Latins, and (3) various others. Of these, the Latins could be characterized primarily as immigrants in search of "better opportunities" and only partly as refugees, while the Greeks and others equally as immigrants and refugees. The third group, which included persons from other geographical regions with diverse ethnic characteristics, normally included slaves, refugees and prisoners of war forced to leave their place of residence.

Generally speaking, we observe migration flows of both Greeks and Latins to all the Venetian possessions with greater or lesser intensity and greater or lesser participation of each of the two groups, depending on era and place. Recording this phenomenon is not always easy in relation to either individual places or periods. Crete is the most favored from the standpoint of sources, followed in order by Methone, Korone, Euboea and the Aegean islands. The 13th century is certainly less favored with available information, while sources gradually increase for the next two centuries. As a rule information is indirect, although there are some direct references to both migration and refugee movements. We also have important information on Venice's policy regarding the reception or attraction of immigrants. However, this policy forms part of historical circumstances and trends, and ultimately we do not know whether it produced substantive results.

Although it was much smaller, the opposite movement—migration from Venetian possessions, specifically from regions like Crete which were a premier reception site for immigrants—to other, non-Venetian regions occurred

for a variety of reasons. These were normally (a) professional, for example to larger economic centers in the Byzantine Empire and Italy, or places offering specific prospects, or (b) related with a conviction to exile outside Venetian territory as a whole, with avoiding punishment following an illegal act, or finally due to debts.[4]

1   War Refugees and Migrants

Over the course of the three centuries under consideration, small and large-scale migrations are observed in the Eastern Mediterranean, which could be characterized as refugee movements, given that they were the result of warfare or conquests.

In Crete, ongoing and frequently lengthy revolts by local Byzantine lords during the 13th century and the first decades of the 14th led to group migrations both within and beyond the island. These were composed either of Greek landowners who challenged the new regime and rebelled against Venice, or of dependent farmers who followed and supported the rebels in return for their freedom, or even of newly-arrived Venetian feudal landlords. The case of Greek landowners who migrated involved only those who had been defeated and were forced to abandon the island. Of the revolts in the 13th century, only two (those of 1213 and 1272–78) failed to achieve their goal, with the result that small groups of local Greek families who had sided with the rebels abandoned Crete willingly or unwillingly for other destinations. The accord of 1213 between the duke of Crete and the "rebel" Marco Sanudo provided the opportunity for twenty Greek lords to leave the island along with Sanudo "of their own volition and without force".[5] In contrast, following the end of the revolt of the Chortatzis family in 1278, a group of Greek lords who had contributed to the revolt was compelled to leave Crete, and we know that they ended up in Byzantine Asia Minor.[6]

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4   As a large city and major port, Constantinople continued to attract merchants until the 15th century both from the West and from the former lands of the Byzantine Empire now under Venetian rule. These included Crete, since it offered significant financial opportunities. A typical example is that of the Cretan traders Nikolaos and Georgios Polos, who in the 15th century left Crete and settled in Byzantine Constantinople. See Ganchou, "La *fraterna societas* des Crétois Nikolaos et Géôrgios Pôlos (Polo)".

5   According to the document containing the agreement: ...*et XX arcontes de insula cretensi, et debeant habere potestatem exire de insula cum suis bonis de voluntate ipsorum, et non violenter*... (Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol. 2, p. 163). We do not know if in fact these twenty Greek lords left Crete, or where they ended up (assuming they did leave).

6   Zachariadou, "Cortazzi and not Corsari".

The 13th-century revolts as a rule caused temporary—though occasionally, permanent—migrations of groups or individuals within Crete. For the dependent farmers, these revolts provided the chance to obtain their freedom. Thus at the first opportunity they abandoned the land and their master and followed the rebels. The normally successful outcome of revolts and subsequent treaties between the rebels and the Venetian authorities sometimes resulted in the freeing of these dependent peasants and therefore, the chance to settle where they wished. At other times, it resulted in their forced return to their place of origin and their master. These same revolts also resulted in the migration of Venetian as well as Greek feudal lords, who were forced to abandon their lands and place of residence either because the rebels controlled these or because their land was granted to the rebels in the final agreement.[7] Another serious effect of the Cretan revolts was the compulsory abandonment and desolation of large areas that encompass many villages. In those areas, revolutionary movements were a usual phenomenon. This preventive measure by the Venetian authorities of Crete had as a result the displacement of a large number of local peasants.[8]

At the end of the 13th century, the fall of Acre in Syria (1291), the last bastion of the western Crusaders in the region to the Mamluks led to a mass exodus of "Westerners" from the city, including the Venetian community. Some, perhaps many Venetians established there found refuge in the Venetian territories of the Eastern Mediterranean or in Byzantine port cities where Venetian communities existed.[9] The presence of refugees from Acre is documented in Crete during the 14th century. Some continued their commercial or other urban activities in the developing island, while others acquired property and became landowners, though perhaps without entirely abandoning commercial activity.[10]

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7   For example, during the last revolt by Greek landowners against Venice in 1342, the Venetian Senate confronted the problem of Greek landowners who remaining faithful to Venice had fled for reasons of safety to Chania, where according to the related document they had no place to live (*de facto Grecorum qui se reduxerunt Caneam ad fidelitatem dominii et non habent unde vivant*). The authorities asked the local rector to provide assistance (*Venezia-Senato*, vol. 7, no. 503, p. 255, no. 504 pp. 256–257).

8   About the measure of the compulsive desolation and the desolated areas in Crete see Gaspares, *Φυσικό και αγροτικό τοπίο*, pp. 30–33.

9   Most of the refugees from Acre fled to Cyprus, primarily to Famagusta. See Jacoby, "Refugees from Acre in Famagusta around 1300"; Edbury, "Reflections on the Mamluk destruction of Acre".

10   In 1304, *dama Margarita olim de Suria nunc habitatrix Candide* sold one of her slaves to Matteo Campanario (*Pietro Pizolo*, no. 815). In 1315, Rugiero Contarini, who declared himself a *specialis* by profession and former resident of Acre now resident in Crete, received

The unstable political situation and changes in sovereigns even during the first half of the 14th century on the Greek mainland resulted in migrations by individuals of Western origin. This was the case after the conquest of Thebes by the Catalans (1311), which brought about the departure of its Latin residents for the Venetian territories in Euboea.[11]

One of the earliest and lengthiest refugee migrations was that of the Armenians. The occupation of Armenia first by the Byzantines (1045) and subsequently by the Seljuks (1064) inaugurated a large migratory wave by its inhabitants, which continued unabated in ensuing centuries (12th–15th). This migration also resulted in the founding of the kingdom of Lesser Armenia in Cilicia in southeast Asia Minor (1198). Another emigration probably ensued after the conquest of Lesser Armenia by the Mamluks in 1375. In Venetian Crete, an Armenian presence is already attested in the late 13th century, though we do not know exactly whence they had come, that is, directly from regions around the Black Sea, or from Lesser Armenia, with which Crete maintained trade relations. In any event, the fact that an Armenian "quarter" is attested on the outskirts of Candia in 1271 indicates that their numbers were noteworthy, and that the migration was in all likelihood relatively *en masse*.[12] This is further confirmed not only by persons bearing the characteristic nickname (the) "Armenian", but also by names of villages and other micro-toponyms related to Armenians, which are attested since the first decades of the 14th century at various points in Crete.[13] Indeed, one cannot exclude the arrival of Armenians

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from the duke of Crete a fief in the Chania region equivalent to one *serventaria* (*Catasticum Chanee*, no. 44).

11   In 1340, Nicoletto Tibertino, a resident of Negroponte (Chalcis, Euboea), requested of the Venetian Senate the renewal of the *cittadinanza* which his father Domenico had received from Venice, and which he had lost upon leaving Thebes after it was taken by the Catalans (*Venezia-Senato*, vol. 6, no. 155).

12   In 1271, the Orthodox priest *Minna Arminiensis* in a notarial act declared he was a resident of the "Armenian village" in the suburb of Candia (*Pietro Scardon*, no. 196). We have no further details, but the information is clear and probably refers to a refugee settlement on the outskirts of the suburb of the Cretan capital. In 1304, thirty-three years later, land was rented in the village of Armenochorio (i.e. village of Armenians) (*Pietro Pizolo*, no. 923). Since the village is referred to as public (*casale comunis*), this means it was near Candia, and it may be the same one referred to in the 1271 document.

13   See for example villeins with the following names: *Niketas Armenis Sivriteo* and *Armenopoulos* (ASV = Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Duca di Candia*, b. 19, q. 11, fol. 52r). On Crete the following locations are also recorded in the 14th century: the village Armenoi in the district of Chania (1314) (*Catasticum Chanee*, no. 16), the site Armenokampos (1322) and Armenochorio in the region of Kisamos (1332) (ibid., no. 69, 118).

on Crete even in the 12th century or earlier, when the island was still part of the Byzantine Empire.[14]

A second wave of Armenian emigration, which has left clearer traces, is recorded for the second half of the 14th century. According to available documents, this time the Armenians came from the Black Sea, probably due to the Mongol conquest of Kaffa (nowadays Feodosia, Crimea) (1346), where a significant number of Armenians had previously found refuge. Their desire to flee to Venetian-controlled regions met with a positive response, since Venice demonstrated a particular interest in these people. In 1363, the Venetian Senate notified the Cretan authorities of its decision, and encouraged them to accept Armenians in both Crete and Methone to boost their populations.[15] We do not know whether the Armenians who had requested acceptance actually reached Crete or Methone, as their continuous documented presence on Crete does not assist us in determining precisely when they arrived. Furthermore, a few years before this decision (1361), it is attested that Armenians had "recently" arrived in Candia who were settled in the city's suburb (*burgo*), perhaps in the already-existing Armenian quarter, where they had actually been harassed by locals, and an assault on an Armenian had already been noted.[16]

Armenian interest in finding refuge within the secure environment of Venetian-ruled regions continued, and thus in 1414 another group of around 80 families who were living in the Venetian quarter of Trebizond, as well as in Sebasteia (Sivas) and "Turkey" due to the imminent Ottoman threat requested permission to settle on Crete. The Venetian Senate once again granted the request, this time however proposing that they settle not only in Crete but also in Euboea.[17] While this migration probably took place, once again we do not know whether they all ended up on Crete or were distributed between the two Venetian islands. In short, Armenian refugee flows to Venetian possessions in the Greek region were continuous from the 13th to early 15th century. While they probably found refuge in various Venetian territories, the sources allow us

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14   Armenian troops took part in the Byzantine re-conquest of Crete from the Arabs in 961 and some were also settles on the island afterwards, see Garsoïan, "The Problem of Armenian Integration into the Byzantine Empire", pp. 56 and 63.

15   Topping, "Armenian and Greek Refugees in Crete and the Aegean World". In addition to interest by Venice, an interest was shown in 1365 by the Knights of Rhodes in settling Armenian refugees on the island of Kos. They also counted on receiving around 50 of the families already on the island of Mytilene. See Topping, "Armenian and Greek refugees in Crete and the Aegean World", pp. 373–374.

16   ASV, *Duca di Candia*, b. 15, fols. 82v–83r.

17   ASV, *Senato Misti*, reg. 50, fol. 75v. Sathas, *Documents inédits*, vol. 3, p. 30; Topping, "Armenian and Greek refugees in Crete and the Aegean World", pp. 366–367.

to speak with confidence of a significant presence only on Crete, where most likely the largest number settled.

The migration of the inhabitants of Tenedos is a special case, since this was the result of a war, which ended with diplomatic agreement. According to the Peace of Torino (1381) between Venice and Genoa, the island of Tenedos was to be abandoned. In practice, this meant that not only the soldiers billeted there would leave, but also its residents, whose houses would be destroyed. According to a decision of the Venetian Senate, the Tenedans would be transferred at Venetian expense to three of its possessions, namely Crete, Euboea, and Kythera, where they would be compensated with land and homes comparable to those they had lost in their homeland. The transport operation was carried out during the final months of 1383 and early 1384. Most of the immigrants chose Crete, with fewer choosing Euboea, while presumably in the end no one was transferred to Kythera. On Euboea, they were settled near Karystos, which was controlled by Venice. There, however, conditions were not ideal, which resulted in Venice itself proposing their transfer to sites near the capital of Negroponte or to Crete, presuming the Tenedans themselves wished this. It is certain that some of them ultimately left Euboea on their own accord and fled to the Duchy of Athens or nearby islands like Tinos. In contrast, it appears that on Crete things went better for those who ended up there from the beginning. To avoid creating a cohesive community within the colony, the Tenedans were scattered throughout the entire island, where most of them received land in fertile regions. It is estimated that 1.200 Tenedans were transported to Crete and Euboea. During the 1390s around 400–500 returned to Tenedos, and during the early decades of the 15th century the island gradually regained most of its population.[18]

In the late 14th and the first half of the 15th century especially, the Ottoman advance in the Balkans and the peninsula of Greece in particular was the leading cause of forced population movements, as the result of either conquest or continuous destructive attacks. Those displaced went in search of safe—or at least, safer—regions, primarily in Venetian possessions, although these too were suffering from Turkish attacks. However, the political, economic, and military might of Venice, which was then steadily rising, created a sense of security in populations confronting the Turkish threat. For the Greek populations of conquered or threatened regions, the Venetian possessions in the

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18   Thiriet, "A propos des personnes 'deplacées' au XIVe siècle", pp. 521–530 and especially pp. 526–529.

Greek region constituted a refuge where they found not only a safe but also a familiar environment (Greek language, Orthodox religion).[19]

In the 15th century, the Turks had become the sole powerful enemy to Venice and its territories in the Greek region. Turkish raids, whether by the army in mainland regions, by its central fleet, or by small pirate fleets supported by the sultan in the islands and coastal zones undermined Venetian possessions, causing material damage and above all, human casualties. This situation triggered migrations even within Venice's own possessions, that is both from vulnerable possessions to other, safer ones as well as from weak points in specific possessions to more secure ones within the same dominion. In the late 14th century, for example, the residents of Argos were suffering Turkish invasions. In 1397, the Turks abducted residents of the city and the countryside, and in 1399, the authorities found that many residents had abandoned the city due to Turkish attacks. These individuals found refuge in neighboring regions like the Despotate of Morea, the Duchy of Athens, and the *castellania* of Corinth. The Venetian Senate normally offered financial incentives to persuade them to return home.[20]

The Mongols' advance in Asia Minor after the battle of Ankara (1402) formed a brief parenthesis in the Ottomans' forward movement. This caused small, temporary migrations by Turkish populations due to fear of the new enemy. Thus, a significant number of prosperous Turks from the Emirates of Aydin and Menteshe crossed over to the nearly deserted island of Samos, where they sought permission to settle under Venetian protection. Venice acceded to their request and gave the relevant orders to the duke of Crete to take appropriate actions. We do not know exactly how events unfolded, but it is likely that after the definitive elimination of the Mongol threat a few years later, the Turkish refugees on Samos returned to their homeland.[21]

Upon the Mongols' retreat and recovery by the Ottomans, attacks at various points in mainland and island Greece began again, triggering population movements by all classes to safer regions. In 1412, for example, the Marquis of Bodonitsa asked the Euboean authorities to see to the return of the villeins in his territory, which had fled to the island because of Turkish attacks.[22] Although the Venetian Senate granted his request, it is not certain whether these villeins

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19   For the migration of Greek populations towards the Venetian regions due to the Turkish advance see Vacalopoulos, "The flight of the inhabitants of Greece to the Aegean islands, Crete and Mane".

20   Thiriet, *Sénat*, vol. 1, no. 967; Jacoby, "Peasant mobility", p. 535; Koumanoude, "Η κατάσταση του αγροτικού πληθυσμού του Άργους", pp. 130–133.

21   *Ducali e lettere ricevute*, no. 40. See also Zachariadou, *Trade and crusade*, pp. 81–82.

22   Thiriet, *Sénat*, vol. 2, no. 1451.

ever returned to their homeland, given that Bodonitsa fell into Ottoman hands two years later (1414).

The Fall of Constantinople (1453) was a catalytic political event. The Turks, having now achieved their main objective—the dissolution of the diminished Byzantine Empire, advanced unimpeded into the Greek peninsula. Venice did not abandon its established policy of receiving refugees and immigrants into its possessions, not only for economic reasons as in the past, but also now for reasons related to the security of its maritime state. Refugees would increase population in its territories and among other things form a recruitment source for operating the galleys and maintaining the defensive system. Within this framework, and of its own initiative Venice urged local authorities in its territories to attract population and ethnic groups under pressure from the Ottomans, for example the Albanians dispersed at many points on the mainland.[23] In the past, mercenaries had come from this ethnic group, and later they were permanent residents prepared for military service. In 1398, the *podestà* of Nauplion informed the Venetian authorities that he had already settled Albanians and "others" outside Argos, granting them state lands for cultivation with the aim of reinforcing local defense with their arms and horses. The same official requested approval for others to settle under the same conditions, and the Venetian Senate approved his request.[24] The Venetian authorities tried to apply the same tactics during the following decades in other regions: in Euboea (1402) and in even more difficult and threatening circumstances in Methone and Korone (1455). In both cases, Venice asked local officials to attract "wandering" Albanians, who would be used as soldiers to defend these ports.[25]

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23   There are however exceptions to Venice's normal stance towards refugees and migrants, since in some cases there was an issue of political equilibrium. During the first half of the 15th century, as the Ottomans advanced towards Epirus, Albanian populations belonging to all social classes fled to Venetian Corfu. Venice did not officially favor this move, given that it was unwilling to disturb its good relations with the region's Ottomans. At the same time, it did not actually compel these populations to leave Corfu. See Asonitis, "The regimen of Corphoy and the Albanians", pp. 289–290.

24   *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca*, no. 200; Koumanoude, "Η κατάσταση του αγροτικού πληθυσμού", pp. 131–132.

25   In 1402, the Venetian Senate informed the *Bailo* of Euboea that all those Albanians and "others" dwelling on the opposite mainland, who desired, could settle in the vicinity of Negroponte, receiving state lands and exempted from any form of drudgery (Thiriet, *Sénat*, vol. 2, no. 1051). Similarly, in 1455 following the request of the castellans of Korone and Methone, Venice gave permission to the settlement of all the Albanians desirous of doing so in the two Venetian possessions, with the explicitly-stated object of their being employed for the defense of the two cities (Thiriet, *Sénat*, vol. 3, no. 2987). On the Albanian element in Methone and Korone see Major, "Étrangers et minorités ethniques en Messenie vénitienne", pp. 361–381 and especially pp. 363–365.

The rivalry between the Ottoman Empire and Venice, with the Venetian possessions as the main stakes, entered a new phase in the second half of the 15th century with the outbreak of a series of lengthy wars between the two states. During this period, two of the so-called Ottoman-Venetian wars were waged, namely the first (1463–1479) and second (1499–1503) out of a total of seven over the course of a century and a half. The result of these two wars was a loss of territories, including such important ones of Euboea (during the first war) and Methone-Korone (during the second). Residents of these regions were displaced to the nearest still-remaining Venetian holdings or to Venice itself.[26] However, during the intervals preceding or following these wars Venetian possessions suffered severe attacks which also caused minor or major population displacements within the borders of possessions and even beyond. For example, ongoing Turkish attacks on Crete as early as the 14th century intensified during the 15th, as was to be expected, especially during its second half. The most vulnerable region was the administrative district of Siteia in the northeastern part of the island. In continuing reports by the Venetian authorities during the first Ottoman-Venetian war it is noted that the region and its residents were in straitened circumstances financially, resulting in their leaving it permanently or temporarily for safer regions like that of the island's capital Candia and other fortified sites.[27] In addition, the Turkish siege of Lesbos in the same year (1462) prompted a small exit of 150 residents from the island, who took refuge with the Venetian fleet; some of them at least were transported to Crete.[28]

2   Prisoners of War and Slaves

The population movements discussed above were forced by dint of war, but they were also voluntary to some extent. On the contrary, captivity and slavery,

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26   Doumerc, "Les vénitiens confrontés au retour des rapatriés".

27   A related document of 1462 notes that: ...*magna pars villanorum, tam ascriptium quam liberorum, derelictis villis Scithie, se suasque familias traduxerunt et in districtu et in burgis Candide...* (Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 474). A similar document of 1471 records the desertion of villages in the same region: *Cum sit quod cavalarie districtus Sitie a principio huius belli sint graviter percusse a Teucris hostibus nostris, ita quod multe ville sint depredate, et multe totaliter destructe et dishabitate...* (Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 520).

28   In 1478, Ioannis from Mytilene was appointed a salaried surgeon in the city of Rethymnon. In the document of his appointment, we read: ...*tempore obisidionis Mithilini non solum confugit ad classem nostrum cum personis CLta, relictis nonnullis eius filiis in minibus illius Teucri cum multis aliis...* (Noiret, *Documents inédits*, p. 541).

resulting from either war or abduction, while also forced, entailed involuntary displacements. Such individuals were transported and sold in regions normally distant from their homeland, so that flight was difficult and daunting. Continual Venetian-Turkish rivalry in the Eastern Mediterranean resulted in the periodic transfer of Turkish prisoners of war to Venetian possessions. These individuals were taken prisoner both during wars as well as during skirmishes with pirate ships or flotillas. There is not much information available on Turkish prisoners of war, especially regarding their exact fates. With the exception of some who were probably exchanged or returned within the framework of some agreement, the rest ended up as slaves. Venice was already taking measures related to the fate of Turkish prisoners in its possessions during the 14th century. In 1341, the Venetian Senate decided that Turkish prisoners of war henceforth transported to Crete could not remain on the island more than six months, and when evacuated they were to be sent perforce to the West.[29] From the same document, it would appear that prisoners of war were sold or given to private individuals—in other words, they now became slaves. Accordingly, in case the owners of Turkish captives already on the island desired to transport them, they were obliged to send them only to the West. Venice did not dare to increase the number of Turkish prisoners and their concentration within a possession, probably because there was always the fear of their passing along information should they manage to escape. Of course, there were also cases in which Turkish prisoners still in the hands of the state were used as work force for public works. In 1357, the Venetian Senate, despite the relevant ban noted above, gave permission to the Cretan authorities to keep as many Turkish prisoners on the island as they deemed necessary to employ on building projects then being carried out in the port of Candia.[30]

Modern scholars consider slavery to be "conflict migration", and as such, it presupposes force and compulsion.[31] It is also considered a form of forced labor migration from regions with abundant work force to those in need of it.[32]

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29 *Venezia-Senato*, vol. 6, no. 441. Despite the measures taken by the authorities, the number of Turkish slaves in Crete continued to increase, because according to Venice some of them were sold as Greeks. That is why a new severe ban was issued in 1363 (Theotokes, *Θεσπίσματα*, vol. 2/2, p. 110).

30 *Venezia-Senato*, vol. 15, no. 60.

31 On slavery from medieval times to the 19th century, with full bibliography, see Brettell/ Hollifield (eds), *Migration theory. Talking across disciplines*; Lovejoy, *Transformations in slavery. A history of slavery in Africa*; Meissner/Mücke/Weber, *Schwarzes Amerika: Eine Geschichte der Sklaverei*; Patterson, *Slavery and social death. A comparative study.*

32 From this standpoint, the Venetian Senate's 1393 decision by which the Venetian authorities provided a 3.000 Cretan *yperpera* subsidy to traders to transport slaves under the age of fifty to the island of Crete is representative (Thiriet, *Sénat*, vol. 1, no. 828). The lack of

The active involvement of Venetian merchants in the flourishing slave trade resulted in many slaves arriving in Venetian territories. There they were sold either to locals and remained in the region, or to traders for transport and sale elsewhere. There is a great deal of information on the presence of slaves in Venetian possessions. Many remained there permanently, mostly in cities and to a lesser extent in the countryside. Yet, a fair number were also set free at some point during their life, either through purchase or the last will of their master.

In sales contracts for slaves, their ethnic origin (*natio* or *genus*) is usually noted, which offers us interesting evidence about the composition of this group. According to information provided by contracts from Crete, a major slave trade center and a place which also absorbed slaves, their ethnic origins (in descending order) were: Bulgarians, Greeks, Tatars, Russians, Circassians, Albanians, Serbs, Vlachs, Saracens, Turks, Hungarians, Mongols and Alans. The first three groups, i.e., Bulgarians, Greeks, and Tatars, were by far the most numerous.[33] Slaves are also divided into two major categories: (1) Orthodox Christians and (2) all other non-Christians, who were always baptized by their masters as either Orthodox or Catholic. In any case, all slaves, regardless of ethnic or religious identity, were necessarily absorbed by the environment where they remained permanently.

Greek slaves, whose place of origin is usually more specifically noted, came from many regions in the Greek area, primarily the islands and coastal regions.[34] A number of them who arrived and remained in Venetian possessions due to the relatively small distance from their place of origin were found by their relatives, purchased, and returned back to their homeland. The rest continued their lives in their new homeland. In contrast, all the non-Greek slaves, who came from regions far more distant, remained permanently where their masters lived.

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labor hands in the island was the main reason because of which the slaves were imported.

33 Verlinden, *L'esclavage*, pp. 802–884 and especially p. 870; Moschonas, "Η αγορά των δούλων". About the slaves of Slavic origin see Charalampakes, *Σλάβοι στην Κρήτη*, pp. 37–46.

34 From the evidence of sales contracts for slaves, it may be seen that often, the place of origin of Greek slaves is not identical with their place of descent, but with that where they were sold. A typical example is the large number of slaves listed as coming from Samos, in an era in which the island was nearly deserted of permanent residents. There is no question that a small slave trading center had sprung up on the island. For this reason, "place of origin" (particularly of Greek slaves) should always be viewed with reservations.

3   Immigrants Due to Plagues

A special factor in this era, which resulted in the displacement of some popula-
tion groups, was the outbreak of lethal contagious diseases. Both the great
plague of 1348, known as the Black Death, which caused enormous demo-
graphic problems, as well as plagues of lesser extent and duration which oc-
casionally erupted in many regions compelled individuals and small groups of
both urban and rural populations to leave their homes to save their lives. Some
probably returned to their homes after the plague had ended, in contrast to
others who may never have returned. As regards Venetian territories, migra-
tion was bi-directional: from these possessions to other regions, and from oth-
er regions to Venetian possessions. At the same time, migration within a pos-
session was important, chiefly from unhealthy cities to the countryside. If
migration was within a possession, then there was no great problem. In con-
trast, leaving a possession for that of another ruler represented a significant
loss for Venice. In either case, the Venetian authorities were interested in the
return of these individuals to their original residence, since permanent depar-
ture created demographic deficits and by extension, a loss of work force. In
1457, the Venetian Senate pointed out that many villeins had left Methone due
to a plague, while in 1459 the Euboean authorities asked that Venice permit the
return of the Jews who had fled to Constantinople due to a plague.[35] Other rul-
ers whose own subjects had found refuge in Venetian possessions were equally
interested. In 1357, Venice granted the request of the prince of Achaea for the
return of the villeins who had fled to Venetian Methone and Korone during the
time of the Black Death.[36] At the same time, sizable human losses due to
plagues compelled Venetian authorities to offer significant financial incentives
to all those who would be transported for settlement in their territories. These
incentives doubtless attracted immigrants, although it is not always easy to
document this or of course, to estimate the numbers involved.

4   Economic Migrants

The last large category of migrants were economic ones, who can be divided
into two broad categories: (1) wealthy migrants in search of "even better op-
portunities" to enrich themselves (betterment migration) and (2) poor mi-
grants simply in search of "opportunities" for a better life in relation to the

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35   Thiriet, *Sénat*, vol. 3, nos. 3036, 3088.
36   *Venezia-Senato*, vol. 15, no. 154. See also Jacoby, "Peasant mobility", p. 533.

harsh conditions under which they were already living. In departing from their place of residence for another, members of both categories assumed the risk of failure, though of course each started from an entirely different base and with wholly different prospects, related to their existing financial prospects, ethnic origins, and of course personal status (freedom or lack thereof).

The earliest organized movement of persons, who could be characterized as affluent, was the colonization mission from Venice to Crete. This migration encompassed the first half of the 13th century in three group undertakings (1211, 1222, 1253) with a total of 249 participants who acquired land—in other words, they formed the local feudal class—with the overwhelming majority remained permanently on the island. We do not know if they were accompanied by other family members upon initial arrival, but it is certain that subsequently, wives, prospective wives, or migrants' children came to Crete. These individuals not only conquered Crete *de facto*, but also formed the core around which the Venetian, and in some extent Italian, ethnic element developed on the island through continuous individual arrivals throughout the rest of the 13th and the 14th century. In the other Venetian possessions of this age, there was no comparable organized Venetian movement of people, only individual migrations, which in some cases were systematic and substantially supported Venetian domination.[37]

All the Latin traders and investors who arrived in Venetian dominions and settled there permanently, or at least for long periods, belong to the same category, that of affluent immigrants. Most were Venetian, but their numbers included other Italians, such as Genoese and Florentines, and Catalans. All became established in the urban area of port cities like those of Crete, Methone and Korone, Negroponte and Nauplion, or in the countryside when their investments involved agricultural production.[38] Some Westerners even settled on the small islands of the Aegean Sea, becoming active in small-medium commerce in the region; they did not hesitate to change their place of residence

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37   The first attempt of an organized settlement of Venetian colonists in the new possessions was in 1207, when the island of Corfu was granted by Venice to ten Venetian noblemen for its occupation and exploitation (Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden,* vol. 2, pp. 54–59). We do not know whether these ten Venetians ever arrived on Corfu, since the island passed to the Byzantines a few years later. In Euboea, the Venetians granted incentives in the 13th and especially the 14th century to Venetians, other Italians, and even Franks from the middle and upper economic classes to settle in the Venetian quarter of Negroponte, thus strengthening the Venetian presence and serving its long-term plans for full control of the island (See Jacoby, "Demographic Euboea", pp. 140–148).

38   Jacoby, "Migrations familiales et stratégies commerciales vénitiennes"; Idem, "The migration of merchants and craftsmen"; Stöckly, "Tentatives de migration individuelle dans les territoires sous domination vénitienne".

for the further expansion of their activities.[39] These immigrants were easily integrated into the new political, social, and economic environment of the Venetian possessions and contributed to boosting trade and the urban economy generally.

An intermediary category of immigrants was that composed of specific professionals in high demand in Venetian territories for their specialist knowledge. These professionals were either entirely lacking, or their level of specialization was superior to that of those already active in the possessions. They came from Venice or other regions in the Italian peninsula, and even from Constantinople and other large cities of the Byzantine Empire. As a rule, they ended up in large territories like Crete or Euboea, or busy ports like Methone and Korone. They included physicians, blacksmiths (mainly horseshoes makers), doctors for horses (*marescalcus*), engineers, weavers and many others, depending on circumstances and the needs in each territory. They were drawn either by high salaries if they were to be hired by the state or feudal lords, by prospects for assured work on public projects, or by employment in the private sector.[40] A special category of professionals who emigrated were scribes coming from large urban centers in the Byzantine Empire. Their flow to Venetian dominions, especially Crete, increased during the 15th century, particularly after the Fall of Constantinople. Distinguished scribes organized important local workshops for copying and producing manuscripts in a period when both local as well as Italian/European interest had begun to grow rapidly.

Diverse categories of individuals (from the West, the Byzantine Empire, or even from another Venetian possession) who ended up in a Venetian possession either purposely or randomly for professional or personal reasons could also be included among migrants. Among them were mercenaries, sailors, candidates for a post in the local bureaucracy, and even prospective brides from Venice or Italy. While most arrived in Venetian territories with the goal of

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39   This for example was the case of the Catalan George, who must have settled in the island of Astypalaia around the mid-13th century. He developed trading activity in the region, chiefly between Astypalaia and Crete, which was continued by his sons. One of them, Frangoulis, settled permanently in Candia, boosting his trading activity. Frangoulis's son Andreas acquired land in Crete and joined the middle stratum of the local feudal class. See Gaspares, "Ένας Καταλανός από την Αστυπάλαια".

40   In 1375, the Venetian Senate gave permission to the local governments of Crete, Euboea, Methone, and Korone to grant ten-year tax exemptions to master weavers (*magistri artis zanullotorum*) who would go and settle in these regions (Thiriet, *Sénat*, vol. 1, no. 555). In the same year, master builders and stonemasons (*magistri lapidicide*) were sent from Venice to work on projects involving the walls and other public buildings with a yearly salary and an allowance of grain (ibid., no. 559).

making money and eventually returning to their homeland, there were some who ultimately remained as permanent residents.[41]

A sizable and very interesting category of economic migrants to Venetian possessions was poor unskilled individuals looking for better chances of survival. Normally they were Greeks coming from various places, including the Byzantine Empire, Frankish-ruled regions, and even other Venetian possessions and islands belonging to a Venetian ruler. However, while there was no issue of personal status for Latin immigrants since they were in the position of "freemen" and were the masters of their fate, the same did not hold true for Greek immigrants. Upon entering a Venetian possession, the latter were obliged to declare their arrival and provide their personal information to avoid circulating illegally. The main purpose of this declaration was to identify dependent individuals who were recorded in special lists as "foreign villeins" (*villani forinseci/forenses*) and were at the state's disposal. Freemen could move about as they wished and choose whether to settle in the city or countryside. In contrast, all villeins were sent to the countryside as farm laborers on fiefs belonging to the state or private individuals.[42]

The identification of migrants in this category in the sources available today is normally done based on the surname they themselves declared, which indicates their place of origin. Cases in which they declared their surname as well as their previous place of residence are less common. The significant presence of such migrants in the countryside is also partly a result of available evidence. Most freemen who remained in cities as members of the lower working classes became lost in the crowd, normally leaving no traces in the written sources.[43]

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41   A rather common phenomenon shown primarily by sources from Crete was the marriage of mercenary soldiers to local women, resulting in their remaining permanently in the place where they were serving. Such marriages were forbidden by Venice for defence reasons and normally led to the soldier's dismissal, as revealed by a related decision by the Venetian Senate in 1371 for Crete (*Venezia-Senato*, vol. 20, no. 672). This decision did not anticipate the phenomenon; it simply noted it and imposed some prohibitions. In 1391, on the other hand, Venice in promoting resettlement decided to grant tax exemptions to all the seamen (*marinarii*) who decided to settle permanently in villages near Korone (Thiriet, *Sénat*, vol. 1, no. 816). See also cases of migration for profession or personal reasons from one Venetian territory to another in Gaspares, "Κρήτη-Μεθώνη: ένα συνηθισμένο ταξίδι κατά τον 14ο αιώνα".

42   See Gaspares, *Η γη και οι αγρότες*, pp. 70–72; Gaspares, "Οι ξένοι του χωριού".

43   However, sometimes there is information about such individuals. In 1320, for example, rooms owned by the Orthodox church of Christ in Candia were rented out to various persons, many of them from the Aegean islands as is revealed by their names: *Georgius Rodhio* (i.e. from the island of Rhodes), *Leo Naxioti* (i.e. from the island of Naxos), *Nichiforus de Stimpalia* (i.e. from the island of Astypalaia), *Costa Amurgino* (i.e. from the island of Amorgos), *Sidorus de Chio* (i.e. from the island of Chios) (*Κατάστιχο εκκλησιών και*

In contrast, many of both the migrant freemen as well as villeins who ended up in the countryside left their traces in various sources connected with land ownership and cultivation, as well as with trade in agricultural products.

Most of the evidence confirming the migration of the lower social classes comes from Crete, thanks to sources surviving from the early 13th century. Even prior to the Venetians' arrival, the island was a place where migrants primarily coming from small neighboring barren islands in the southern Aegean ended up and became absorbed into the countryside as farmers. In the surviving land registries, villeins were recorded in the first half of the 13th century with names indicating their origin from regions outside Crete, and some may even have arrived there as early as the late 12th century.[44] Certainly, such a migratory trend towards the new Venetian colonies increased during the 13th century due to political instability in the Aegean and wider Byzantine Empire. This trend continued unabated during both the 14th and 15th centuries, not only to Crete but also to Euboea, Methone and Korone, and even to less-favored regions, e.g. Kythera due to specific incentives they provided.[45] This was owed among other things to Venice's consistent policy of attracting immigrants to its possessions, as well as to the better living conditions they offered.

Dependent status, whether of villein or slave, excluded movement without the permission or initiative of the individual's master. Abandoning one's place of residence and land with the main goal of obtaining freedom and better living conditions automatically made an individual a fugitive whom his master could pursue. However, being sought out and probably punished did not

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μοναστηριών του Κοινού, no. 141.I). It cannot be ruled out that such complexes of rooms were usually rented out to migrants and transients arriving in the Cretan capital.

44 For example, in the land registry of the *sestiere* of Dorsoduro in Crete the following villeins were registered: *Petrus Carpathi* (i.e. from the island of Karpathos) and *Constantinus Nixioti* (i.e. from the island of Naxos) (1234); *Leo Carpathio* (i.e. from the island of Karpathos), *Leo Malvasiotis* (i.e. from the city of Monemvasia), and *Manuel Totradi Mothoneo* (i.e. from the city of Methone) (1259), and many others whose names indicate that they came from outside Crete (*Catasticum Dorsoduri*, nos. 42, 205, 243, 255, 945). The baptismal name *Xenos* (i.e. foreigner) is no accident, nor is the surname *Exomeritis* (i.e. coming from outside), which we frequently encounter in the Cretan countryside. For surnames as indicators of place of origin and migration see indicatively: Peter McClure, "Patterns of Migration in the Late Middle Ages"; Konte, "Τα εθνικά οικογενειακά ονόματα στην Κρήτη κατά τη βενετοκρατία"; Barke, "Migration in medieval Northumberland: The evidence of surnames".

45 In the 14th century, for example, the Venier family invited freemen or freed villeins to be transported from Crete to Kythera, where they were offered farming land. It appears that some actually responded, perhaps because they were already living under bad conditions or even because they hoped to find better conditions in a new place. See Koumanoude, "Illi de ca Venier", p. 137; Tsiknakes, "Από την Κρήτη στα Κύθηρα. Η οικογένεια Κασιμάτη".

prevent the flight of villeins and slaves, and the phenomenon, even if never engaged in on a wide scale, occurred regularly and was naturally exacerbated by specific causes. Examples of the latter were the 13th-century revolts on Crete, excessive debts entailing the risk of imprisonment, and even insecurity in the region where they lived due to pirate raids or other hostile incursions. The initiative to seek them out belonged to their masters, though the Venetian authorities periodically issued relevant decrees to discourage the phenomenon or offered incentives for their return. The problem when small groups of villeins fled to one Venetian territory from another or to a Venetian territory from a foreign hegemony was more complex. The actions of the authorities in such instances normally followed the typical procedure, i.e. recognizing that the villeins were obliged to return home. For example, in 1356 the Euboean authorities requested the Cretan authorities to "facilitate" (in reality, to order) the villeins who had fled there in returning to their homes.[46] In this case, the fact that the Venetians had major interests in Euboea shortly before the island's inclusion in Venice's maritime state made immediate acceptance of the request easier.[47] Comparable requests by other rulers were also granted, but in some cases, the Venetian authorities imposed certain conditions such as the villeins' safety, chiefly from Turkish attacks, which were also frequently a cause of migration. In 1391, Venice accepted unconditionally the request by the Despot of Mystras for the return of the villeins who had fled to the Venetian possessions of Nauplion and Argos.[48] During the 1350s, the flight of villeins from the independent hegemonies of the Aegean islands to Crete, which was safer, was the result of Turkish attacks. Venice accepted their masters' request for the villeins' return, but in each case set as a condition the guarantee of their safety from the Turks.[49] This precondition, in combination with the fact that the

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46   Thiriet, *Sénat*, vol. 1, no. 284.

47   The case of the villeins who fled from Kythera to Crete in the 14th century was similar. In 1384, the service responsible for overseeing state villeins in Crete discovered that many villeins who had been recorded as "foreign" and had passed into public jurisdiction came from the fiefdoms of the Venier family on Kythera. Now that these fiefs had come into the possession of the Venetian state, the Cretan authorities wanted to send them back to Kythera to augment the island's rural population. See Koumanoude, "Illi de ca Venier", p. 135 note 34.

48   Thiriet, *Sénat*, vol. 1, no. 800.

49   When in 1358 the Duke of the Aegean Sea asked the Duke of Crete to return his territory's villeins, who had fled to Crete, the Venetian authorities ordered the latter to refuse. Their argument was that these villeins had fled to Crete due to Turkish attacks, and that if they expelled them they would prefer to flee to the Turks rather than return to their former home (*Venezia-Senato*, vol. 15, no. 354). In 1361, a similar request was addressed to the Cretan authorities by John and Thomas Ghisi, the rulers of the island of Amorgos. Venice

authorities would not evict any villeins, but would permit the departure of those wishing it concealed Venice's desire to keep farm laborers within its possessions.

On the other hand, villeins could migrate and settle in another region at their master's initiative, even if they themselves did not want to move. Such migrations occurred not only within but also between territories, due either to the joint interests of their owners in two different places or to political circumstances. In 1336, for example, the nobleman Marino Barozzi asked Venice to continue to hold the rights to his villeins, who had fled the island of Santorini (when it came into the possession of the Sanudo family) and had settled in Crete.[50] After Tinos and Mykonos were subsumed under Venetian sovereignty, the local Venetian rector abandoned his seat and settled in the island of Astypalaia, which was also Venetian during this period, followed by many villeins from both islands. In 1413, the Venetian Senate decided that all these villeins had to return to the islands they had left within a month, and simultaneously forbade any similar relocation of villeins from one island to another in future. To demonstrate that he was obeying the generally accepted rule, the rector explicitly forbade reception of villeins from other possessions in both islands.[51] After receiving permission from the authorities, the Venier family also carried out the transfer of villeins from its fiefs in Crete to ones it owned in Kythera.

Pronounced mobility (refugee or migration) of persons from all social classes and economic strata to and between Venetian territories resulted in the emergence of mixed societies dominated by the Greek and subsequently, the Venetian ethnic element, although other ethnic groups were not insignificant.[52] While in daily life this comingling of ethnic groups created no problems,

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allowed the return of their villeins though without compelling them to do so, and on condition that their safety—once again, against the Turks—would be guaranteed (Thiriet, *Sénat*, vol. 1, no. 379; Theotokes, *Θεσπίσματα*, vol. 2/2, pp. 90–91; Koumanoude, "Για ένα κομμάτι γης", p. 72; Saint-Guillain, "Amorgos au xive siècle", pp. 114–115).

50   *Venezia-Senato*, vol. 4, no. 568.

51   Thiriet, *Sénat*, vol. 2, no. 1483.

52   One of the most important ethnic elements in the Venetian territories was Jews, about which however there is no evidence of significant mass migration during the era and territory under consideration. Concerning ethnic elements in Venetian territories and the identities of their inhabitants see Herrin/Saint-Guillain (eds.), *Identities and allegiances*, especially the study of S. McKee, "Sailing from Byzantium: Byzantines and Greeks in the Venetian world", pp. 291–300. See also Christ et al. (eds.), *Union in separation. Diasporic groups and identities in the eastern Mediterranean (1100–1800)*, and especially the studies: G. Saint-Guillain, "Venetian archival documents and the prosopography of the thirteenth-century Byzantine world: Tracing individuals through the archives of a diaspora", pp. 37–80; A. Osipian, "Practices of integration and segregation: Armenian trading Diasporas in

differences between ethnic elements remained in key areas, including political rights and inclusion in specific upper-class strata. In possessions under long-standing and continuous Venetian sovereignty, there emerged together with others a "mixed" identity, the chief feature of which was locality. With the exception of the indigenous Greek element, which preserved nearly intact its identity given that it had not moved, over the course of generations the Venetian element, which also largely preserved its language and religion, together with a consciousness of its ancestry, gradually became identified with the place. The other populations, with different characteristics became comingled with local societies without leaving any traces in the sources, which does not help us to determine whether they retained some of the characteristics of their place of origin or were assimilated.

In conclusion, during the final centuries of the middle Ages, the Venetian possessions in the Eastern Mediterranean served as a reception place for both refugees and migrants due to the security and economic prospects they offered. Displaced persons (migrants), whether in groups or as individuals, came from various regions in the Eastern Mediterranean, from different social and economic strata, and displayed a variety of ethnic characteristics, although the Greek and Venetian elements remained dominant. Migration in the other direction, from one Venetian territory to another or even to Venice itself, as well as leaving a Venetian possession for a region outside Venetian territory is also observed, though to a lesser extent.

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PART 3

Migration in Early Islamic Societies

∵

Iranians in 9th Century Egypt

Lucian Reinfandt

The Islamic caliphate was an empire of migration, and one is tempted to ask whether migration was indeed the backbone of Islam. The *hijra* (lit. "migration") of the prophet Muhammad in 622 A.D. from Mecca to Medina became the blueprint for all later migration.[1] During the Arab conquests of the 7th and early 8th centuries, Arab tribes migrated and settled in all parts of the new empire as a military and political elite separated by religion from non-Muslim population majorities.[2] Another phenomenon was a long-distance trade with networks of traders traveling over the Silk Road and the Indian Ocean, the proverbial Sindbad being but a representative for many real ones.[3] Thirdly, there was a zest for learning in Islamic culture, which is summarized by a famous saying of the prophet Muhammad ("seek knowledge even as far as China!").[4] Migration between the urban intellectual centres of North Africa and the Middle East was a prevalent phenomenon during the whole era of pre-modern Islam, and celebrities such as Ibn Khaldun of Ibn Battuta (both 14th century) are only two examples out of many. Finally, there is the obligation for every Muslim to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina at least once in a lifetime, which caused the regular movement of many pilgrims on an annual basis through all parts of the Muslim world.[5]

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1 A variant understanding of the word *hijra* in the sense of "conversion to Islam", as is used by e.g. Lapidus, "Evolution of Muslim Urban Society", p. 27, is discussed in Crone, "First-Century Concept of *Hiǧra*". – The citation of papyrus editions is following the convention of the *ISAP Checklist of Arabic Documents* https://www.naher-osten.lmu.de/isapchecklist [accessed 6 January 2020], but see also the list of papyrological sources at the end of this chapter. Dates of events are given according to the Christian era. Dates of papyrus documents are given both according to the Hijra and the Christian calendar (e.g. 3rd/9th century).

2 For general information on Arab tribal migration in the time of conquests see Ashtor, *Social and Economic History*, pp. 10–12; Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, *passim*; Berger, "Medieval Era Migrations", pp. 2254–2256. According to to the 9th century historian al-Kindī, no less than 3000 families of the Arab tribe of Qays were transferred to Egypt under the rule of Hishām in 109/727; cf. Gottschalk, "Dīwān", p. 327. About a possible understanding of the settlement of Arabs in the course of the conquests as a move of colonisation see Crone, "Post-Colonialism".

3 Ashtor, *Social and Economic History*.

4 Ashtor, "Mouvement migratoire", p. 194 n. 69.

5 About early pilgrimage in Islam see now Sijpesteijn, "An Early Umayyad Papyrus Invitation".

One has to distinguish between a temporary and a permanent form of migration, however. Both kinds had differing consequences for migrants and host societies alike.[6] Another distinction should be about the question whether regional movement was politically or militarily motivated, or whether it was in search of labour. While the former was a trigger of phenomena such as the Arab conquests during the 7th and 8th centuries, or the Turkish domination of the empire during the 9th and 10th centuries, the latter was a cause of more smooth forms of migration, such as that of administrators with a Persian or Iranian background, such as Khurāsānians or Central Asians who moved from east to west through the lands of Islam.

In the following will be shown the role of a transregional elite of administrators with an eastern, and possibly Iranian, background during the 9th century A.D. and with a particular emphasis on aspects of their social and geographic mobility. Such a moving elite was created not only by the military and the religious establishment, but also by investing landowners and networks of long-distance merchants. Their participation in governance and administration is essential for understanding the intricate workings of the early Islamic Empire and how the caliphal administration controlled and integrated diverse regions and populations while securing the interests of the empire at large. It would be of crucial interest to see how an eastern transregional elite with a specific administrative expertise interacted with the local population and how they balanced their relationships with other regional elites in Egypt, on the one hand, and central caliphal authorities on the other. It would also be of importance to ask whether a shift from one imperial elite (Arab, Khurāsānian, Central Asian, and others) to another was a sign of failure or rather an improvement in terms of stability and efficiency of rule, and which existing networks and emerging institutions helped elites to connect the empire and its diverse regions in terms of tribal affiliation, family policies, clientelism, and strategic appointments.

Arabic papyri from Egypt display an eastern cultural influence on a local society along the Nile during the 9th and 10th centuries. They may even witness a physical presence of humans belonging to an administrative elite of Iranian origin in Egypt as well. This presence was not restricted to the urban centre of al-Fustat but may be traced along the find places in the Egyptian hinterland and thus give a profile of settlement unattainable by other sources. There is an occasional mentioning of individuals in the papyri with Persian

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6 Still today migrants from Egypt who live in Europe would distinguish between *safar* (meaning "travel", i.e. the temporary residence) and *hijra* (meaning "migration", i.e. the permanent residence and the "leaving behind" of a previous life). I am grateful to Lea Müller-Funk (Amsterdam) for this information.

(and Turkish) personal names. Some of them were located in the offices of high-level administration in al-Fustat, but others were from more regional centres.[7] Moreover, the language of official papyri from Egypt show changes in the administrative terminology in this province of the caliphate which may have been caused by a presence of officials with an Iranian background on more local levels of administration already in pre-Tulunid Egypt, i.e. before the early 9th century. And finally yet importantly, the mentioning of a few luxury goods with a non-Egyptian but seemingly eastern provenance in papyri may be taken as evidence for a presence of communities of an eastern, and possibly Iranian, origin inside Egypt.

1 Migration during the Abbasid Caliphate

The subject of migration in the pre-modern Islamic lands seems understudied and has only recently gained attention as an analytical concept. This is of course a response to the fact that the present age has become a world of migration and scholars themselves have turned into a society of migrants more than ever before. Prior to this, the phenomenon has not found much interest, nor has the word migration itself appeared in titles of older literature.[8]

While the Arab conquests of the 7th and 8th centuries had been a movement of Arabian tribes from their core regions on the Arabian Peninsula and the Fertile Crescent into Asia and North Africa, the 9th century witnessed a swing back of easterners to the west. Notably a military elite of Turkish origin made its way to western lands of the caliphate and took leading military and political positions there, including Syria and Egypt.[9] At about the same time, Iranian-born administrators followed the trend and settled in Syria and Egypt. This happened, partly at least, in the wake of a political collapse of central government in Iraq especially during the 860s A.D. anarchy of Samarra that brought

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7   The search for names is not without pitfalls: Karabacek, *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. Führer durch die Ausstellung*, p. 182 had read in a Vienna papyrus now published as P.RagibPressoir = Chrest.Khoury I 65 (PERF 698) a Persian name Shahrzār, but Rāġib, "Contrat d'affermage", and after him Khoury, *Chrestomathie*, p. 121 have convincingly corrected the reading to the non-Persian name Nimrān instead. For the westernmost extent of Persian migrations in the Islamic world, see now Dold-Ghadar, *Pers-Andalus*.

8   Few possible exceptions are Ashtor, "Mouvement migratoire"; Berger, "Medieval Era Migrations"; Lapidus, "Evolution of Muslim Urban Society"; idem, *Islamic Societies*; Naqvi, "Islam and Migration"; Netton, *Golden Roads*.

9   Berger, "Medieval Era Migrations", p. 2257 speaks of "migrant soldiers". See also the chapter by Lutz Berger in this volume.

occupational insecurity and physical turmoil for many.[10] From narrative sources we learn that, once in Egypt, they occupied central posts of administration there.[11] Families of specialists such as the al-Mādharāʾī, the Ibn Bistam, the Banū Māhujīr and the Banū al-Furāt families managed to keep their influence on the local society in Egypt for generations.[12] The long-term consequences of this trend found their way into Islamicate collective memory that holds that culture comes from the east, and administrators have to be of Persian origin.

Arabic literary sources, such as chronicles and collections of biographies but also administrative manuals, mention the presence of considerable numbers of "Persian" administrators already in 9th century Egypt.[13] They also mention theologians and other intellectuals who came to Egypt as entourage of high administrative officials.[14] From slightly later documents from the Cairo Genizah is known that high military men also brought to Egypt their entourage of courtesans and counsellors and that the latter took high posts in the administration of Egypt themselves. The new elites attracted still others in the hope for money and employment, and literary sources mention more common entourage, such as workers and domestics, who came to Egypt as well.[15]

We are not informed, however, about numbers or circumstances of the latter phenomenon, and whether they brought their own families and peers along. In addition, the question is whether the more common immigrants

10   Ashtor, "Mouvement migratoire", p. 194; Brett, "Egypt", p. 567.

11   The heads of the Umayyad chancery of Egypt were of Mesopotamian background, e.g. the cases of Ibn Abdkan and Isḥāq b. Nuṣayr (cf. for both Hassan, "Les Tulunides", pp. 280–283). The important 9th century chronicler of Egypt, Ibn ad-Dāya, was of Mesopotamian background as well; cf. Hassan, *Les Tulunides*, p. 11, citing Guest, "Relations Between Persia and Egypt", pp. 170–171.

12   The al-Mādharāʾī family is attested in the papyrus CPR III 184 = P.Cair.Arab. 33. Among the families the Banū al-Furāt eventually became the most influential one in Egypt, see Ashtor, "Mouvement migratoire", pp. 190–191; Brett, "Egypt", p. 567. About the Mādharāʾī and Banū Māhujīr families see Hassan, *Les Tulunides*, pp. 284–287 and Gottschalk, "Māḏarāʾiyyūn", *passim*.

13   The pioneer study is Guest, "Relations Between Persia and Egypt", which has been completed by Yarshater, "Persian Presence". Both are monumental compilations of all information obtainable from literary sources about Persian migrants to Egypt during the 9th century but do not sufficiently take into consideration the actual social processes that stood behind their migration. The important recent study by Berger, "Muslim Era Migrations", on the other hand, provides an abundance of details about Arab and Turkic military migration and the role of slavery during the 8th and 9th centuries but passes over the migration of civil administrators, which shows very well the lack of sources scholars have to face when working about this subject.

14   Ashtor, "Mouvement migratoire", p. 192.

15   Ashtor, "Mouvement migratoire", p. 190.

stayed in urban centres like Fustat or Alexandria or settled in villages as well, and how the local population reacted to newcomers. Arabic literary sources focus on the provincial centre of al-Fustat, however, and remain silent on the situation outside the capital. They follow an elite-based view and confine a majority of examples to higher levels of society. In addition, they depict events in an episodic manner, and it is difficult to say how representative the information is for the general situation. Documentary sources, on the other hand, are rare. The enormous potential of an archaeology of early Islam is still in its beginnings.[16] The important Judaeo-Arabic documents on paper from the Cairo Genizah archive, on the other hand, had not been produced before the 10th century and thus tend to be too late for the present purpose.[17] Arabic papyri from 9th century Egypt, however, have a special value for tracing migration flows, since they have been found outside urban centres and from among less high-ranking milieus of society.

Arabic papyri from 9th century Egypt in fact feature inventions that had come into use in more eastern parts of the caliphal empire already about a century earlier. These concerned a general change from papyrus to paper as support of writing;[18] the establishment of a script that was significantly more cursive than previous forms of writing;[19] formulaic changes in documents;[20] but also the introduction of Arabic numeral letters and a specific Persian calendar.[21] It is of course possible that documents from Egypt followed a general trend of their time; but one cannot rule out the possibility that the new features were introduced by clerks of eastern origin working in Egyptian chanceries.

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16   Cf. Guérin/Al-Na'imi, "Territory and Settlement Patterns" with exemplary research about settlement patterns in 9th century Qatar.

17   Ashtor, "Mouvement migratoire", who has made use of biographical collections and documents from the Cairo Geniza alike. Main findings are repeated in Ashtor, *Social and Economic History*, pp. 149 and 170.

18   Paper was a Chinese invention that found its way first into eastern Muslim lands in the mid-8th century but came into use in more western lands such as Syria and Egypt not before the 9th and 10th centuries. See Youssef-Grob, "Earliest Paper Documents" about the oldest Arabic documents on paper from Egypt.

19   Paragrapher Khan, *Arabic Documents*, pp. 28–29 with examples of Arabic documents from 8th century Khurasan.

20   Reinfandt, "Empireness", p. 286. An example of the new formulary in the papyri is CPR XXI 74 = PERF 884.

21   Early attestations of Arabic numeral letters in the documents are CPR XXII 15; P.Prag. Arab. Beilage II = P.World p. 136; P. Vind.inv. A.P. 1255 = PERF 830 (unpublished); P. Vind. inv. A.Ch. 11 = PERF 927 (unpublished). For the introduction and use of Arabic numeral letters see Abbott, "Arabic Numerals"; Irani, "Arabic Numeral Forms"; Kunitzsch, "Transmission of Hindu-Arabic Numerals"; Levi della Vida, "Appunti e questi".

2   Textual Evidence for a Presence of Transregional Elites in 9th Century Egypt

Arabic papyri provide evidence in three different ways. First, the appearance of Persian or Turkish personal names in the documents allows locating a factual presence of individuals in the region and may give some information about their professional occupation and social role. Secondly, the use of administrative terminology different from local habits in the papyri may reflect the presence of newcomers in middle and lower levels of administration and in more peripheral parts of Egypt. Thirdly, the mentioning of luxury goods with a specific non-Egyptian background in the papyri may testify some cultural impact from outside.

2.1   *Onomastics*

Personal names of Persian origin begin to appear in Egyptian papyri during the earlier 9th century. Members of the financial administration but also traders and administrators of agricultural domains in rural centres like the Faiyum, al-Bahnasā (Oxyrhynchus), and al-Ushmūnayn (Hermopolis) have apparently Persian names, such as Salmān and Rastān.[22] Others were marking their origin from more eastern parts of the caliphal empire by a *nisba* (geographical designation) in their name such as *al-khurasānī* ("the one from al-Khurāsān").[23] Suggestive is also the use of Persian personal names in a writing exercise from the 9th century.[24] From the early 10th century at the latest is attested a permanent settlement of persons with Persian names who seem to have had become members of the local Egyptian society.[25] Similarly, persons with Turkic names

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22   Traders with possible Persian names are mentioned in papyri from 3rd/9th century Faiyum, al-Bahnasā, and al-Ushmūnayn: P.Marchands v/1 1 (Salmān); 2 (Rastān or Raysān); 7 (Salmān ibn Dāwūd); 11 (Salmān); 12 (Rastān or Raysān); P.Cair.Arab. 94 (Aḥmad ibn Salmān); iv 234 (Salmān ibn al-Mufaḍḍal); 243 (Salmān); v 383 (Ḥamūd ibn Salmān).

23   Cf. the example of an Abū l-Ḥasan al-Khurasānī and his brother Abū al-Layth al-Khurasānī, both mentioned in a papyrus from 3rd/9th century Faiyum (P.Berl.Arab. i 15r). I am grateful to Petra Sijpesteijn (Leiden) for having drawn my attention to this particular document.

24   P.Vind.inv. A.P. 3004 = perf 786 (unpublished). Josef von Karabacek for his part even suggested a specific Persianized grammatical construction in another Arabic papyrus: P.Vind.inv. A.P. 3800 = perf 785 (unpublished).

25   One of them was the tax-official Yālawayh who was working in the southern Egyptian provincial centre of al-Ushmūnayn during the year 291/903–04 (P.GrohmannUrkunden 12). A similar case seems to have been another tax-official, a certain Abū l-Faḍl Hibatallāh b. al-Muhtadī billāh, who was in office in the Egyptian periphery during 297/909–10 (P.GrohmannGrundsteuerquittung). From 293/905–06 is mentioned a certain Ismāʿīl (or Yishmāʿēl) ibn Fatḥ as tax-official in the Faiyum, his patronym perhaps pointing to a

appear in Egyptian papyri as early as the year 172–73/789.[26] The first Turkish governor of Egypt, al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbdallāh, is mentioned in a papyrus from 242/856.[27] Other individuals with a Turkic background, however, are attested in 9th century documents as well.[28] There are also attestations to people from southern Mesopotamia in the papyri.[29]

Moreover, there are other indicators used in combination with personal names that may have marked an origin from outside Egypt. This is the case with epithets such as *naṣrānī*, *ʿajamī*, or *fārisī*. The epithet *an-naṣrānī* ("the Christian") was uncommon among 9th century Christian Egyptians who would have preferred *an-nabaṭī* ("the indigene") instead, while a Christian from Syria and Anatolia would have been called *ar-rūmī* ("the one from Byzantium"). The epithet *an-naṣrānī*, on the other hand, may have been an indicator for a more eastern origin of a person.[30] The name affix *al-ʿajamī* ("the non-Arab")

Persian or Turkish father, whereas the personal name Yishmāʿēl (as may be read from the document) would suggest his Jewish background (CPR XXI 74).

26   A certain Bakīsh (or Tikīsh/Tégish) freedman of Ṭulayb ibn Abī Ṣāʾim is mentioned who sold an amount of wheat for the price of one gold dinar to a woman named ʿAqīla bint Yūsuf (CPR XXVI 16 = PERF 617). Josef von Karabacek in his day considered it the earliest attestation to a person of Turkish descent in Arabic papyri from Egypt (Karabacek, *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. Führer durch die Ausstellung*, p. 159). The provenance of the papyrus is unclear but has most probably been found in the Faiyum, Ihnās (Heracleopolis), or al-Ushmānayn (Hermopolis). The mentioning of the first Turkish governor of Egypt, al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbdallāh, is much later, on the other hand: P.GrohmannAperçu p. 27 = P.World p. 119 (PERF 763) from 242/856.

27   P.GrohmannAperçu p. 27 = P.World p. 119.

28   P.Vind.inv. A.P. 9014 = PERF 855 unpublished (Bughā); CPR XXI 77 with emendations in Diem, "Philologisches", p. 99 (Aḥmad ibn Abī al-Lawḥ ibn Sīmā); P.Prag.Arab. 40, Faiyum (Takin); P.Prag.Arab. Beilage 1, al-Ushmūnayn (Sankar?). Both P.GrohmannUrkunden 2 from 328–33/939–44 and the unpublished P.Vind.inv. A.Ch. 7816 mention a Turkic ruler (*ʾamīr*) from the later Egyptian local Ikhshīdid dynasty (Abū l-Muẓaffar al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭuqaj/Ṭughj/Thogaj). The content of P.Harrauer 61 is dealing with agricultural domains in Egypt that were in the possession of a caliph's mother and a Turkish chief armourer; see Frantz-Murphy, "Record of Tax", p. 246.

29   P.Vind.inv. A.P. 8744R = PERF 671 unpublished is mentioning members of the family of the governor of Ahwāz possessing large estates in the Faiyum but is ambiguous as to whether these family members actually resided inside Egypt. CPR XVI 19 has a female slave of apparently eastern European, or Slavic, origin (*khādim ṣaqlabiyya*) from the market in al-Fustat.

30   Cf. the example of Mūsā an-Naṣrānī who is mentioned in an Egyptian papyrus from as early as the 2nd/8th century and in the context of ships belonging to long-distance traders (P.Khalili I 7 = P.Khalili II 4 with unclear provenance). Later evidence is Qīriqah(?) ibn Thiyudur ibn Samawīl an-Naṣrānī (P.AbbottMarriageContracts 2 = Chrest.Khoury I 15, Aswan, 378/989); Isiṭōrās ibn Bīyisa at-Tinnīsī (i.e., from the city of Tinnīs in the Nile Delta) an-Naṣrānī (P.Cair.Arab. 68, al-Ushmūnayn, 459/1067); Abū as-Sarī ibn Hiliya ibn

is commonly used for Iranians in Arabic literary sources but is rarely found in papyri and in the latter case always designating a Coptic or Nubian background.[31] The epithet *al-fārisī* ("the one from Persian"), on the other hand, is conspicuously absent in papyri.[32] Likewise absent in the papyri are name affixes designating an origin from regions or large cities in the eastern lands of Islam, such as al-Farghānī or al-Wāsiṭī, that appear in Arabic literary sources.[33] Relatively common in 9th century papyri, however, are Persian names with the specific ending *-wayh* (as is the case in Sībawayh or Dāshway). The majority seems to have belonged to higher officials residing in the provincial centre of al-Fustat, but at least one example of a simple taxpayer having such a name is preserved from al-Ushmūnayn.[34] Although small in number, the evidence points to a presence, and perhaps even settlement, of Iranians in Egypt outside al-Fustat already from the earlier 9th century on.

2.2 *Administrative Terminology*

In the course of the 9th century, Arabic papyri display a reform in the use of administrative terminology. Older terms were making way for equivalents from the Persian language in the technical language of administration in Egypt. An example is the Persian word *daftar* ("register, account book") as a substitute for the older equivalents *ṭabl* and *sijill*, which were Arabized loan words from the Greek.[35] Another example is the Persian word *dihqān* ("village headman") in preference to the older *māzūt* or *ṣāḥib al-qarya*.[36]

Rafraʾīl an-Naṣrānī (P.Cair.Arab. 54 = P.World p. 203, Faiyum, 448/1056); Sāra bint Qulta *al-qazzāz* ("the silk-mercer") an-Naṣrāniyya (P.Cair.Arab. 69, al-Ushmūnayn, 459/1066–67); Yuḥannis ibn Buqtur ibn Yuḥannis an-Naṣrānī (P.AbbottMarriageContracts 1 = Chrest. Khoury I 10, Aswan, 336/948); Qulta ibn Kayl ibn Jurayj an-Naṣrānī *al-qazzāz* (P.Cair.Arab. 65, al-Ushmūnayn, 441/1050).

31   P.RagibPressoir = Chrest.Khoury I 65; P.RagibColombine; P.Terminkauf 1; P.Marchands I 7; 8; P.David-WeillContrat; P.Cair.Arab. 89; 96 = P.World p. 208 = Chrest.Khoury I 61; P.Cair. Arab. 97; 369. For the use of *ʿajam* to denote either slaves from Nubia or the Coptic language, cf. P.Vente 6; P.Frantz-MurphyComparison I 1; 2; P.FahmiTaaqud 9. See also Cooperson, "Arabs and Iranians" about the often misleading meaning of this epithet.

32   Evidence for a use of *al-fārisī* denoting administrators of a Persian background in literary sources is given in Ashtor, "Mouvement migratoire", p. 189.

33   Attestations from literary sources for officials in Egypt with such names are collected in Ashtor, "Mouvement migratoire", p. 189.

34   P.Cair.Arab. 173 (Khumārawayh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn); P.Cair.Arab. 247 (Tamīm ibn Jubbawayh/Ḥabbawayh/Ḥannawayh); P.GrohmannUrkunden 12 clay seal, al-Ushmūnayn (Yalawayh); P.Prag.Arab. Beilage 1, al-Ushmūnayn (ʾ...swayh).

35   Frantz-Murphy, "Corpus and Context", p. 222. For attestations in the papyri cf. P.Cair.Arab. 285; 309; 419; P.GrohmannUrkunden 9.

36   Lev, "Coptic Rebellions", p. 332.

The substitution of an established terminology by new words from the Persian language is also evident in the case of the word for "tax-collector". This was an official central to the demands of caliphal administration but in the same time very close to the local tax-paying population. In papyri from the 9th century, the older term *quṣṭāl* is gradually substituted by the term *jahbadh*.[37]

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37   The following papyri mention *quṣṭāl*s: P.GrohmannQorra-Brief (Faiyum, 90/709, Qusta/
      Kostas); P.World p. 130 = P.DiemAphrodito p. 261 (Kawm Ishqawh, 91/710, Buṭrus/Petros
      Jirja/Georgios); P.Cair.Arab. 285 (2nd–3rd/8th–9th century, Ibīmak/Abīmak/Epimak);
      P.GrohmannUrkunden 8 (al-Ushmūnayn, 223/838, Isḥāq/Isaak ibn Simʿūn/Shimon);
      P.Steuerquittungen 4 (al-Ushmūnayn, 227/841–42, [Ibrāh?]īm); P.Cair.Arab. 181 with
      emendations in Diem, "Philologisches", pp. 62–63 (al-Ushmūnayn, 233/847–48, Mīnā/
      Menas ibn Ibrāhīm); CPR XXI 41 with emendations in Diem, "Philologisches", p. 76
      (al-Ushmūnayn, 224/839, Mīnā/Menas [ibn Ibrāhīm?]); CPR XXI 42 with emendations
      in Diem, "Philologisches", pp. 76–77 (al-Ushmūnayn, 225/840, Mīnā/Menas [ibn Ibrāhīm?]);
      P.Cair.Arab. 261 (al-Ushmūnayn?, 3rd/9th century, Mīnā/Menas [ibn Ibrāhīm?]);
      P.GrohmannUrkunden 13 (al-Ushmūnayn, 241/855, ʿĪsā ibn ʿAlī); P.Philad.Arab. 11 (255/
      868–69, ʿĪsā ibn ʿAlī); P.GrohmannProbleme 11 (244/858–59, Qūrīl/Kyrillos ibn ʿĪsā);
      P.GrohmannProbleme 16 (248/862, Qūrīl/Kyrillos [ibn ʿĪsā?]); P.GrohmannProbleme 11
      (244/858–59, Ibrāhīm ibn Mīnā/Menas); P.Cair.Arab. 198 (246/860, Dāwūd); P.Cair.Arab.
      184 (249/863–64, N.N. ibn Apaheu); CPR XXI 55 (248/862) and CPR XXI 57 (251/865) and
      P.Steuerquittungen 5 (252/866) and CPR XXI 58 (253/867) and CPR XXI 59 (253/867)
      and CPR XXI 65 with emendations in Diem, "Philologisches", pp. 91–93 (264/878) and
      P.GrohmannUrkunden 14 (265/878) and P.Vind.inv. A.P. 3498 unpublished (270/883–84)
      (all from al-Ushmūnayn; Andūna/Antonius ibn Qūrīl, perhaps identical with the tax of-
      ficial Andūna mentioned in CPR XVI 6 from the 3rd/9th century); CPR XXI 56 = P.Berl.
      Arab. I 6 (al-Ushmūnayn, 259/872–73, Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar); P.Cair.Arab. 185 (261/875)
      and P.Vind.inv. A.P. 3498 unpublished (270/883–84) and P.Vind.inv. A.P. 11234 (PERF 676)
      unpublished (3rd/9th century) (all from al-Ushmūnayn; Baqām/Pachom ibn Buqṭur/
      Viktor, probably identical with the *quṣṭāl* Baqām mentioned in P.Cair.Arab. 421 from
      al-Ushmūnayn, 3rd/9th century and in CPR XVI 21 from the 3rd/9th century and perhaps
      the brother of the *quṣṭāl* Isṭifān/Stephanos ibn Buqṭur/Viktor mentioned in P.Prag.Arab.
      14 from 261/874–75); P.Cair.Arab. 196 (Faiyum, 262/875, ʿAlī ibn Sulaymān); P.Philad.
      Arab. 12 (al-Ushmūnayn, 275/889, Ḍimād b. Ziyād); P.GrohmannUrkunden 11 (287/900,
      Yuḥannis/Ioannes ibn Kayl/Chael); P.GrohmannUrkunden 12 (al-Ushmūnayn, 291/903–
      04, Shanūda/Senouthios); P.Giss.Arab. 2 (Madinat al-Fayyūm, 3rd/9th century, Bisbinūda/
      Pespnute); P.Hamb.Arab. II 12 (al-Bahnasā?, 3rd/9th century, Aḥmad, probably identi-
      cal with the *quṣṭāl* Aḥmad ibn Jarīr in P.Cair.Arab. 277 from the 3rd/9th century); CPR
      XVI 19 (3rd/9th century, Yaʿqūb); P.Prag.Arab. 26 (Mūsā ibn Ayyūb). –– Other papyri
      mention the *jahbadh*: P.GrohmannProbleme 14 (249/863, Sahl ibn Dāwūd); P.Harrauer
      61 (Faiyum, 253/867, Aḥmad ibn ʿĪsā ibn Manṣūr; Isrāʾīl/Israel ibn Mūsā/Moses; Kayl/
      Chael; Sulaymān/Salomo ibn Zakariyāʾ/Zacharias); P.Steuerquittungen 6 (Faiyum,
      257/870–71, Abū Buqṭur/Viktor ibn Thiyudūr/Theodoros); CPR XXI 70 with emenda-
      tions in Diem, "Philologisches", pp. 94–95 (Faiyum, 286/899–900, Sawirus/Severos
      ibn Jirja/Jurayj/Georgios); P.Cair.Arab. 189 (287/900, Apaheu ibn Māʿa); P.Ryl.Arab. II 3
      (al-Ushmūnayn?, 292?/904–05, Menas/Minyā/Mīnā ibn Shanūda/Senouthios); P.Cair.
      Arab. 190 (293/906, Menas/Minyā/Mīnā ibn Shanūda/Senouthios); P.DietrichTopkapi 2

The loan word *qusṭāl* had been borrowed from Greek ζυγοστάτης and had the meaning of "tax-collector".[38] The word *jahbadh*, on the other hand, was of Persian origin and had the meaning of "paymaster".[39] Arabic administrative manuals and papyri give the impression that both terms were used indiscriminately for the same field of duties.[40] The emergence of the Persian term *jahbadh* in

(al-Ushmūnayn, 294/906–07, Menas/Minyā/Mīnā ibn Shanūda/Senouthios, apparently identical with the *jahbadh* Mīnā ibn Shanūda mentioned in P.Vind.inv. A.P. 12916 (PERF 893) unpublished from 301/913–14); P.Cair.Arab. 190 (293/906, Sawīrus ibn Zakariyyā); P.Ryl.Arab. II 2 (al-Ushmūnayn?, 295/907–08, Niqla/Nicholas ibn Andūna/Antonios); P.Cair.Arab. 278 (al-Ushmūnayn, 3rd/9th century, Isṭifān/Stephanos ibn Jurayj/Georgios); P.Cair.Arab. 43 (al-Ushmūnayn?, 306/918, Ḥamdān ibn ʿUmar ibn Muhājir); P.Cair. Arab. 193 (314/926, Yuḥannis ibn Mīnā); P.Cair.Arab. 19 (318/930) and P.Cair.Arab. VII 446 (319/931, Marqūra/Merkure ibn Mīnā, probably identical with the *jahbadh* Abū Jamīl Marqūra ibn Mīnā mentioned in P.Cair.Arab. 199 from 347/958); P.Steuerquittungen 28 (Faiyum or al-Ushmūnayn, 311–99/923–1008, Jurayj ibn Marqūra); P.Cair.Arab. 194 (al-Ushmūnayn, 405/1015, Baqām/Pachom ibn Shanūda); P.KarabacekPapier 5 with emendations in Diem, "Philologisches", p. 58 (427/1036); P.Prag.Arab. 47 (al-Ushmūnayn, 440/1048–49) and P.Prag.Arab. 48 (Faiyum, 447/1055, Abū al-ʿAlāʾ); P.Prag.Arab. 48 (Faiyum, 447/1055, Yāsir); P.Prag.Arab. 48 (Faiyum, 447/1055) and P.Prag.Arab. 49 (al-Ushmūnayn, 449/1057, Jirja ibn Isiṭūrus); P.Prag.Arab. 48 (Faiyum, 447/1055, Marqūra); P.Prag.Arab. 49 (al-Ushmūnayn, 449/1057, Ṣubḥ ibn ʿAbdalmasīḥ); P.Prag.Arab. 49 (al-Ushmūnayn, 449/1057, Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿImrān); P.Ryl.inv. Arabic Add. no. 351 unpublished (al-Ushmūnayn, 292/904) and P.Cair.Arab. 290 (3rd/9th century) and P.Hamb.Arab. II 14 (Edfu?, 3rd/9th century) and P.Cair.Arab. 280 (342/953–54) and P.Ryl.Arab. I, II 2.

38   The same term also appears in variants, such as *qusṭāl*, *jusṭāl*, *qusṭār*, as for example the unnamed *jusṭāl* in P.BeckerNPAF 3 = P.Cair.Arab. 149 (Kawm Ishqawh, 90–96/709–14). For a differing explanation of this term as being derived not from Greek ζυγοστάτης but either from αὐγουστάλιος or κυαίστωρ, see however Dietrich, "Arabische Briefe", p. 79.

39   Frantz-Murphy, "Arabic Agricultural Leases", pp. 121–123, and idem, "Corpus and Context", p. 222 is translating *qusṭāl* as "receiver" and *jahbadh* as "cashier". For the meaning of *jahbadh* see Dietrich, *Arabische Briefe*, p. 87 with reference to research literature. According to Dietrich, *Arabische Briefe*, p. 66 and Grohmann, "Beamtenstab", p. 132 *jahbadh*s in the 9th century mostly had a Christian background.

40   Under the Abbasid caliphate, the *qusṭāl* was part of the office of the financial director (ʿāmil) of an administrative district (*kūra*) and appears in the documents as an issuer of tax-quittances; see Dietrich, *Arabische Briefe*, p. 80. Morimoto, *Fiscal Administration of Egypt*, pp. 214–215 and 243 understands both terms as being synonymous, the Persian term *jahbadh* having emerged during the earlier Abbasid era and gradually coming to supersede the term *qusṭāl*. Grohmann, "Verwaltungstermini", p. 279 remarks that the administrative manual of Ibn Mammātī (6th/12th century) describes the tasks of the *jahbadh* as identical to those of the *qusṭāl*. Dietrich, *Arabische Briefe*, p. 66, on the other hand, does not commit himself to whether the term *jahbadh* entirely substituted the term *qusṭāl* in the documents. According to Grohmann, "Beamtenstab", 127 and 132 *qusṭāl*s took the tax-money that had been collected from (Christian) local heads of districts (pagarchs), and weighed and rated them. Similarly, they collected the taxes paid in grain and forwarded them to the state granaries. In return, they were responsible for the assignment of tax payments to administrative districts. Insofar Grohmann understood the *qusṭāl*s, at

Arabic papyri from the 9th century may have been a consequence of an Iranisation of the administration of Egypt in this era, be it either in terms of documents or real persons.

Arabic literary sources explicitly state that "ethnic Persians had come to dominate Egypt's agrarian fiscal administration by the mid-9th century".[41] Persian administrators of this kind were primarily holding high-ranking positions in the central administration in al-Fustat, to be sure, but the appearance of the term *jahbadh* in papyri may reveal their presence in the Egyptian periphery as well. According to the evidence in datable documents, there was a temporary parallel use of both terms during the second half of the 9th century, the latest attestation of the older term *qusṭāl* being from 919 A.D. and the earliest attestation of the younger term *jahbadh* being from 863 A.D.[42] It seems as if a new generation of specialists entered the middle-level administration in the Egyptian province that had until then been reserved for elites of a more local background.

From the documents, we get the impression that *jahbadh*s first appeared in the Faiyum and only afterwards made an advance to the more southern district city of al-Ushmūnayn (Hermopolis).[43] Such a gradual spread from north to south would have been no surprise but indeed to be expected. More surprising is the fact that *jahbadh*s, as can be concluded from the documents, were by their majority Coptic Christians, as had been the *qusṭāl*s before.[44] There seems to have been a continuity of Christians on the middle level of administration

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least for the Umayyad period (661–750), as being superior to the local pagarchs, while Foss, "Egypt under Muʿāwiya", p. 12 maintains that the *qusṭāl*s were subordinate to the pagarchs. There is reason, however, to follow the latter opinion on the basis of P.BeckerN-PAF 3 = P.Cair.Arab. 149 and P.World p. 130 = P.DiemAphrodito p. 261. For an explanation of the meaning of *jahbadh* on the basis of Mesopotamian sources, see Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, pp. 158–160; Cahen, "Quelques problèmes économiques".

41 Frantz-Murphy, "Corpus and Context", p. 222 with relevant references.

42 The latest attestation of a *qusṭāl* is P.Vind.inv. A.P. 13986 (PERF 896) unpublished (306/918–19); see Grohmann, "Verwaltungstermini", p. 278. The earliest evidence for *jahbadh* is P.GrohmannProbleme 14 (249/863).

43 G. Frantz-Murphy was the first to mention the fact that *jahbadh*s are only attested in documents from al-Ushmūnayn and the Faiyum. Cf. Frantz-Murphy, "Record of Tax", p. 247.

44 Examples for *qusṭāl*s with a Muslim background are ʿĪsā ibn ʿAlī in al-Ushmūnayn in 855 and 869; Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar in al-Ushmūnayn in 872; ʿAlī ibn Sulaymān in the Faiyum in 875; Ḍimād b. Ziyād in al-Ushmūnayn in 889; Aḥmad ibn Jarīr in al-Bahnasā; moreover a certain Yaʿqūb and a Mūsā ibn Ayyūb, both with unclear provenance and time. Examples for *jahbadh*s with a Muslim background are Sahl ibn Dāwūd in 863; Aḥmad ibn ʿĪsā ibn Manṣūr in the Faiyum in 867; Ḥamdān ibn ʿUmar ibn Muhājir in al-Ushmūnayn in 918; Abū al-ʿAlāʾ in both al-Ushmūnayn in 1049 and the Faiyum in 1055; Yāsir in the Faiyum in 1055; Ṣubḥ ibn ʿAbdalmasīḥ and Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿImrān in al-Ushmūnayn in 1057. The fact that

during the 9th century. This is all the more remarkable since the caliphal empire had had reorganised its provincial administration a century earlier by a replacement of non-Muslim local elites by Arab Muslims in Egypt. It seems that during the 9th century, the process of Arabisation was reversed and the personnel on the middle level of administration adapted by the needs of a new Iranian-born elite in Egypt in quest of reliable allies among the local population.

2.3   *Luxury Goods*

There are a few attestations of luxury textiles from eastern lands of Islam in 9th century Arabic papyri from Egypt. All are from 9th century Faiyum.[45] As can be concluded from the names used, these textiles were of a specific Persian style. They were too prestigious and high-cost to serve a rural market in Egypt but presumably met the needs of an Iranian population living and working in Egypt. Especially when based outside the provincial capital of al-Fustat these specialists of administration and their entourage were feeling culturally alien and at the same time may have been in demand of symbols of a social distinction from a more established local population.

The same applies to food products. While Egyptian apples were proverbial for their low quality, those from Syria and Iranian lands were purportedly sweet and juicy.[46] Apples of a distinguished quality appear in Egyptian papyri

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both *qusṭāl*s and *jahbadh*s were by their majority Christians has already been suggested by Dietrich, *Arabische Briefe*, p. 66 and Grohmann, "Beamtenstab", p. 132.

45   P.Vind.inv. A.P. 2112; 5583; 5584 (all unpublished). Another unpublished papyrus, P.Vind. inv. A.P. 15045 (PERF 642) mentions the arrival of 40 trading ships from Syrian Antiochia bringing different kinds of consumer goods to Egypt. Both P.GrohmannProbleme 3r and P.Vind.inv. A.P. 11416v (unpublished) mention perfume and drinking glasses of a possible non-Egyptian production. For other products with a possible luxury background see P.GrohmannWirtsch. 16; P.Vind.inv. A.P. 7718r (unpublished). Another unpublished papyrus, P.Vind.inv. A.Ch. 3637 (PERF 975) from the 4th/10th century, contains Persian designations such as *jafneh* (platter, dish) and *tābūt* (coffin, wooden box). P.Vind.inv. A.Ch. 7333 (PERF 1190) from the 4th–5th/10th–11th century (unpublished) contains products made of silk and perhaps of a Persian background.

46   See both Dietrich, "Tuffāḥ", p. 587 and Müller-Wodarg, "Landwirtschaft", p. 71 for the superior quality of eastern apples. The comprehensive study by Watson, *Agricultural Innovation*, on the other hand does not mention apples at all. The Arabic world for apple (*tuffāḥ*) is derived from Hebrew *tappūḥ* and Old Egyptian *dpḥ*; see Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, p. 628. Felix Dahn's popular novel *Ein Kampf um Rom* (Leipzig 1877), here p. 44 is but one example of how the trope of "Persian apples" has eventually found its way into 19th century *Professorenliteratur*.

from the 9th century.[47] They did not replace the local products but were traded for a specific clientele that had an interest in social distinction and that had the material means to consume luxury products. Both food and clothing had an eye-catching effect on the surrounding society and served an ostensive marker of exclusivity and distance. The more sophisticated the distinction, the stronger it was an indicator for social stratification and the presence of new elites.[48] In the case under consideration an affinity of eastern, Iranian culture may have been put on display that served a social capital in an Egyptian environment outside of al-Fustat.

Horses (*ḥiṣān*; *haǧīn*) and their breeding was also an important issue that begins to appear in papyri from 9th century Egypt. Turks and Khurāsānians fought on horseback, whereas the Egyptian military (*maghāriba*) formed part of the infantry.[49] Contingents of foot soldiers from Egypt belonged to the caliphal army and were as such committed to other regions of the empire, such as Iraq and the Ǧazīra (northern Mesopotamia).[50] In Caesarea, Jaffa, Ramla, and Yahweh-Yam a specific kind of Egyptian pottery has been found that was unsuitable as a container for transporting foodstuff or other goods but was in use for food preparation in a specific Egyptian way.[51] These so-called *Egyptian coarse ware basins* (ECWB) give reason to the fact that foot soldiers from Egypt (*maghāriba*) had also permanently settled in Palestine.[52] Such pottery may hint at a more permanent settlement of Egyptian wives, children and all kind of entourage as well as civilian merchants alongside Egyptian warriors in Palestine during the 9th century.[53] While Egyptian soldiers settled in Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia, "Iranians" and Turks on the other hand were sent to Egypt and permanently settled there from the earlier 9th century on.[54] Their

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47   P.Vind.inv. A.P. 1029; 8031 = PERF 805; 8992; 11186 = PERF 873 (all unpublished); P.Berl.inv. 15150; P.Cair.Arab. 427; P.Heid.Arab. II 55; P.Khalili I 17 = P.Khalili II 74; P.Marchands II 24; P.Prag.Arab. 78.

48   Van der Veen, "When is Food a Luxury", p. 408. I am indebted to Hagit Nol (Hamburg) for having drawn my attention to this article.

49   Kennedy, *Armies of the Caliphs*, p. 126 with reference to the 9th century Arabic historian aṭ-Ṭabarī (*Ta'rikh ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk*).

50   Kennedy, *Armies of the Caliphs*, p. 125.

51   Taxel/Fantalkin, "Egyptian Coarse Ware", p. 94. I am indebted to Hagit Nol (Hamburg) for having drawn my attention to this article.

52   Vroom, *Medieval and Post-Medieval Ceramics*, p. 74.

53   Taxel/Fantalkin, "Egyptian Coarse Ware", pp. 95–96 and ibid., n. 66 and 67.

54   Kennedy, *Armies of the Caliphs*, p. 126. Numbers were quite high: When the caliph sent troops to Egypt in 214/829–30 to quell a local tax revolt, he sent 4000 Turkish soldiers. On the other hand the caliphal army stationed in Samarra comprised a rather large contingent of Egyptians consisting of 2000 *maghāriba* (next to 5000 Turks and Ferghanians). Kennedy (ibid.) speculates that the men captured during these raids may well have been

need of horses is documented by a group of eight deeds of sales of horses (*ḥağīn*) edited by Youssef Ragheb and dated by him to the later 9th century.[55]

Turkish personal names become more common in Egyptian papyri from the slightly later Umayyad period (868–905).[56] From this evidence alone, it is not easy to conclude about their exact settlement in Egypt, but their presence in principle is a fact. Arabic literary sources mention that the Abbasid imperial centre in Samarra and Baghdad lost control over large areas in Syria, Palestine, Egypt and northern Iran after the civil war following the death of Harun ar-Rashid (809–27). For their reconquest a new army was built that was made up of Turkish soldiers but contained also important contingents from the Iranian principalities of Transoxania. In this new army, there was no room for recruits from Iraq, the Ğazīra (northern Mesopotamia), Syria, Palestine, and the Arabian Peninsula. Except for the Egyptian foot soldiers (*maghāriba*), all the troops came from Iran or from beyond the borders of the Muslim world.[57] It is understood that the caliphal army in Egypt was dominated by a strong Central Asian contingent as well.

3   Migration and State Building: A View from the Province

Arabic literary sources draw a picture of a noteworthy migration of administrative personnel from eastern lands of Islam to Egypt during the 9th century. Egyptian documents on papyrus from a local production seem to corroborate the scenario, albeit based on a few indicators, namely personal names, administrative terms and the mentioning of specific goods. Iranians took key positions in the high administration of al-Fustat, but others settled in district centres such as the Faiyum or al-Ushmūnayn in Middle Egypt. They were either administrators of agricultural domains in the caliphal possession or traders, but in both cases they must have brought their families and peers along.

It remains unclear from the sources how the local population in Egypt reacted to the developments. One can also only guess about what held translocal families together over long distances and what were the sets of values shared among migrants and between newcomers and host societies. In addition, the role of space in migration is important and not least all the kinds of ambiguity

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the *maghāriba* that are recorded in later years as fighting in the ranks of the caliphal army in other parts of the empire.

55   P.Vente 16–23, with purchasers having Turkish names such as Muḥammad ibn Bulghāq, ʿAlī ibn Bulghāq. Cf. also Vanthieghem, "Maquignon", p. 289.

56   Rāġib, *Actes de vente d'esclaves*, p. 47.

57   Kennedy, *Armies of the Caliphs*, pp. 118–119.

and in-betweenness that is connected to migration. It should be possible, however, to say something about the motives of migration and about the consequences of this trend in a larger imperial perspective. The matter is framed by two events on the macro-level of 9th century history. One is the Abbasid reconquest of Egypt after the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn during the 820s. The other one is the takeover of Egypt under Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn half a century later. During this period, Egypt had an essential role for guaranteeing imperial coherence due to its resources and its strategic role as a link between North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean.[58]

The control of Egypt was not possible without a cooperation of local elites. It had, on the other hand, to be managed by agents loyal to the caliphal centre in Samarra and Baghdad as well. A new generation of administrators with an Iranian background met this demand, being a type of household officials devoid of local bonds but loyal to the imperial centre. First taking over high positions in al-Fustat as delegates of imperial control, they gradually gave way to a local elite (families) of landowners and office holders. These latter got a more and more aristocratic appearance similar to former non-Muslim (Coptic) local elites and therefore had to be filled up with new personnel from the caliphal household. The continuous arrival of new personnel prevented tendencies of a local self-awareness and the grip to power by local aristocracies of whatever ethnic groups. Still Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, in his alleged move towards political independence from the caliphate, had to balance between the supra-regional interests of empire and the power of local notables and resources. The outcome was a "politics of deference".[59] In other words, his was a strategical option for compromise: all his local Egyptian management notwithstanding he remained a loyal governor of the caliph. Even his intent of moving the seat of the caliph from Samarra to Fustat was in the end a commitment to imperial legacy rather than pragmatic regionalism.[60]

Egyptian papyri also show that a first generation of Iranian-born administrative elites had arrived in Egypt already before the tumultuous 860s A.D. and others continued to do so long after. The migration affected host societies and was a key factor for provincial politics of the empire. The staffing of the financial administration of Egypt with experts from eastern lands took place at the same time when the civil administration was taken over by members of the Turkish military elite. In an effort to maintain the control over Egypt's agricultural revenues, the caliphal imperial centre appointed Iranians on key positions

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58   See for political events Kennedy, "Egypt as a Province of the Caliphate"; Brett, "Egypt".
59   Gordon, "Politics of Deference", p. 229.
60   Gordon, "Politics of Deference", p. 244.

both in the offices of al-Fustat and as overseers of caliphal estates in the coun-
tryside. The latter settled in large agricultural centres such as the Faiyum and
al-Ushmūnayn, while the core-business of tax-collection on the ground level
remained in the hand of Coptic Egyptians. These proved to be trustful allies,
and the continuous Coptic tax-revolts of the 8th and early 9th centuries now
ended.[61] The renewed social influence of Coptic elites found its expression in a
renaissance of the Coptic language in Egyptian papyri from the 9th and 10th
centuries. It was also the mainspring for a new local Egyptian identity that is
reflected in the blooming genre of local histories from Egypt from the 9th cen-
tury on.[62]

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61   For alleged Coptic tax-revolts during the years A.D. 725, 739, 749, 752, 767, 783, 810, 819, 829,
      831–832 as well as the rebellion of Arabs in 866 A.D. see Lev, "Coptic Rebellions".

62   For local histories of 9th and 10th century Egypt (especially Ibn ʿAbdalḥakam, but also
      al-Kindī, al-Balawī, and Ibn ad-Dāya) in their function as documents of a specific local
      consciousness, see Haarmann, "Regional Sentiment"; Sijpesteijn, "Building an Egyptian
      Identity"; and especially Kennedy, "Egypt as a Province". Local reactions on migrations
      from Iraq itself, in this case Turkish military slaves, find their expression also in al-Jāḥiz'
      famous *Epistle of the Turks* (9th century); see Hutchins, *Nine Essays of al-Jahiz*, pp. 175–218
      (in English); Pellat, *Arabische Geisteswelt*, pp. 148–158 (in German). Another effect of the
      Persian immigration to more western lands of the caliphate was a local increase in Islami-
      sation. This is at least evident from the case of Egypt where the immigration of Persian
      and Turkish elites (and their entourage) resulted in a growth of the Muslim sector of soci-
      ety; see Brett, "Egypt", p. 556.

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The Last Revolt of Bashmūr (831 A.D.) in Coptic and Syriac Historiography

Myriam Wissa

In 831 A.D., parts of the Muslim and Coptic population in Egypt undertook a major uprising against Abbasid domination and against an oppressive caliphal tax regime in the provinces. The rebellion was aggressively put down by the Abbasid governor in most of Egypt with the exception of the region of Bashmūr. Here, in the northern Nile Delta, Copts were to continue to heavily resisting central rule for a long period. The conflict had revolved around temporal and spiritual powers and was the religious-political issue of the time.

Earlier studies devoted to the events have invariably dealt with the onerous Abbasid tax regime as a main reason for the rebellion, which in its aftermath resulted in sizeable conversions to Islam in all of Egypt. In the following, I will focus on another aspect, which is the role of arbitration by the Coptic and Syriac patriarchs, Yūsāb I and Dionysius, in the handling of the conflict. My object of study is the processes of conciliation and the post-conflict outcome (forced migration, deportations and displacements?) as depicted in the Coptic and Syriac narratives of two central historiographical works, the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* on the one hand, and the *History of Dionysius of Tell Mahre* on the other.[1]

1   Coptic and Syriac Historiography: A Note on the Sources

Historical accounts written in Coptic or Syriac contribute important details on the situation of individuals, non-Muslims (*dhimmī*s) and Muslims alike, under caliphal rule. In contrast to a more dominant Arabic historiography, however Christian sources consist only of a scanty corpus since they were cultivated by monks, deacons and bishops, and were merely ecclesiastically and religiously

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1 This article is part of a broader research, see M. Wissa, *The Last Revolt of Bashmur, 831–832 A.D.: Event, Narrative, and Transformation in the Medieval Delta* (in preparation). I owe a debt of gratitude to Sebastian Brock (Oxford) and Dorothea Weltecke (Frankfurt am Main) for their feedback on the Syriac sources.

prompted. This literature is a combination of historical, religious, sociographic and ethnographic studies including such subjects as topography, religious institutions (churches and monasteries), economic, cultural and social life along with political groups from within and without. How do these works offer an insight into the historical events and their outcome? Indeed Coptic and Syriac chroniclers adopted a theocentric view of the devastating events such as famine and persecutions. This should not undermine the importance of historicism and context in Christian literature that can contribute to our understanding of the situation of non-Muslims (dhimmīs) under 9th century Muslim rule.[2]

1.1   *The Coptic Tradition:* History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria

The *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, which is not known in the "primitive" authorial recension edition but is available in a "vulgate" version, was transmitted in a considerable number of manuscripts scattered throughout libraries and archives in both Europe and Egypt.[3] The *History of the Patriarchs* had originally been compiled and translated from Coptic sources into Arabic by the Alexandrian notable Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Mufarrij (c. 1025–1100).[4] Mawhūb had utilised five Coptic historical texts, with the exception of the first one all others are now lost: (1) the so-called *History of the Church* in Sahidic Coptic, covering the early period from 60 to 451;[5] (2) another chronicle written by an early 8th century writer with the name George the Archdeacon which must have covered the period from 412 to approximately 700; (3) a third chronicle written by a monk called John, from the middle of the 8th century; (4) a fourth chronicle that had been written by another monk called John, during the years 865–866; (5) and finally a fifth chronicle written by Mikhail, bishop of Tinnīs, in 1051 or 1058. Alongside these five main Coptic source texts, Mawhūb

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2   Debié, *L'écriture de l'histoire*, p. 147 supports this evidence: "Les sources chrétiennes donnent ainsi une image 'de terrain' des relations entre le pouvoir central et celui des provinces".

3   The first part of the primitive recension of the *History of the Patriarchs* was identified by C. Brockelmann and has been edited separately by Ch. Seybold in 1912. The second and third parts were identified by Den Heijer, "L'Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie". On a new conceptualisation of the transmission and the dichotomy between a primitive edition and a "vulgate" version, see Pillette, "L'Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie".

4   Den Heijer, *Mawhub ibn Manṣur*; idem, "History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria". The Arabic text produced by Mawhūb using the earlier versions is arranged in a series of sixty five Coptic patriarchs' biographies.

5   The first part of this *History of the Church* relies on Eusebius of Caesarea's Greek *Historia Ecclesiastica*. The second part is an original composition produced entirely in a Coptic milieu and attributed to an unknown author called Menas who may have had been a monk at the monastery of Saint Shenoute in Sohag.

had occasionally resorted to additional sources.[6] The inside story of the Bashmūric rebellion is reported in the Coptic *Chronicle of John* II (767–880),[7] the author of *Lives* 47–55 of the *History of the Patriarchs*.[8] John makes it clear that the material coverage of the events in 9th century Egypt stands to provide a literary-historical information on local Abbasid history. His, John's, writing strategy on the unrest that hit Egypt from below in the last years of the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (ruled 786–809) provides a good insight into the context of the early Abbasid caliphate.

1.2   *The Syriac Tradition:* History of Dionysius of Tell Mahre

Syriac historiographical tradition, on the other hand, had produced some vibrant chroniclers such as Jacob of Edessa (684–687/88), Dionysius of Tell Mahre (818–845), Michael I (1166–1199), and the *maphrian* Bar ʿEbroyo (1264–1286). Dionysius wrote a history of the period between 582 and 842 in two parts: a *Church history*, which most likely came first; and a *World history*, making sixteen books in all. His work almost entirely being lost (with the exemption of a single folio page[9]), it can only partly be reconstructed from material common to later chronicles. Extant fragments of his work can be found in the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian.[10] Even more significant is the anonymous *Chronicle of 1234*, which also contains some of the material known from Michael the Syrian.[11] The *Chronicle of 1234* retains the narrative structure of the original but remains the principal source for the *History of Dionysius of Tell Mahre*.[12] Dionysius tells the story of the uprising in eloquent words, highlighting his social status, his good relationship with the Abbasid caliph, and the wickedness of local governors as well as his role as a mediator.[13]

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6   An outline of Mawhūb's additional sources is given in Heijer, *Mawhub ibn Manṣur*, pp. 3–7; 117–156.

7   While evidence for author's name is not decisive, it has become standard in den Heijer, *Mawhub ibn Manṣur* to refer to this author as "John II". Swanson, *Coptic Papacy*, p. 27, on the other hand, chose to call him "John the Writer".

8   Evetts, *History of the Patriarchs*.

9   Vatican, BAV, vat. Syr. 144.

10   The fragments are published in Brooks, *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

11   Cf. Chabot, *Chronicon*, pp. 16–20 (the pagination of the Syriac text is given in the margins of the translation).

12   For a critical analysis of the chronicles of Michael the Syrian, the anonymous *Chronicle of 1234*, and Bar ʿEbroyo see Weltecke, "A Renaissance in Historiography". For Dionysius' history and reconstitution see Palmer, *Seventh Century*, pp. 85–221. Abramowski, *Dionysius von Tellmahre*, pp. 130–144 has edited and translated these fragments. See also Witakowski, *Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius*, *passim*.

13   This is discussed at length in Wissa, "Yusab of Alexandria". See also Debié, *L'écriture de l'histoire,* 2015, pp. 148–149. About the story of the uprising see Debié, *L'écriture de l'histoire*,

2   The Land of Bashmūr

As has been previously mentioned, a growing body of literature offers accounts of events from non-Arab Islamic perspective. Of particular interest are the social revolts that spread in the early caliphate, namely the Kharijite ("extremist") rebellions, the Abbasid revolution, and Alid uprisings. These revolts were prompted by religious and military-political motivations. Under the Umayyads, several rebellions were triggered by heavy taxation incumbent upon *dhimmis.*

During the first decades of their rule (i.e. the second half of the 8th century A.D.), the Abbasids, who had periodically supported revolts against the government of Umayyad Cordoba, faced serious problems in Baghdad later in the 9th century A.D. Indeed, they could no longer indulge in operations to destabilise the Umayyads. This internal tension raised doubts about the survival of a centralized Abbasid government. The turning point came under the reign of the Abbasid caliph al-Maʾmūn (ruled 813–833). Well prior to his arrival in Baghdad, al-Maʾmūn's main concerns had been the suppression of internal rebellion and the reassertion of control over provinces such as Qom, Yemen, Syria and Egypt which continued to rebel.[14] This process turned out to be less than successful.

Ethnic Arab governors ruled Egypt as a province until the middle of the 9th century. These governors were appointed by firstly the Umayyad and later by the Abbasid caliphs.[15] During more than two hundred years of Arab-Islamic rule there was a high turnover of governors whose involvement in Egypt was mostly exploitative by nature. Income was generated from both.[16] Over years, the fiscal burden increased incrementally to reach a breaking point and by the mid-8th century wholesale dissatisfaction with Muslim tax officers increased as evidenced by papyri.[17] The Coptic patriarchs steadily lost authority to administer the affairs of the Church and people. Some accounts clearly depict

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p. 148. The Syriac narrative of the Bashmūric revolt in 9th century Egypt is to be found in the *Chronicle of 1234*, pp. 266–267; Michael the Syrian XII, 16, pp. 522–524; Michael the Syrian XII, 17, p. 527.

14   Rebellions in the early Abbasid period are discussed in *Abou El Fadl, Rebellion and Violence, pp. 76; 85–87.* See also Kennedy, "Egypt as a Province", pp. 79–83.

15   For the beginnings of Umayyad rule, see *Foss,* "Egypt under Muʿāwiya".

16   Frantz-Murphy, *Arabic Agricultural Leases*; idem, "Economics of State Formation"; Sijpesteijn, "The Arab Conquest"; idem, "Profit Following Responsibility"; idem, "Landholding Patterns", especially p. 130 n. 49 for the Muslim tax officers.

17   For a discussion of the value of the Arabic documentary material for research on Coptic and Arab Egypt, see among other authors Reinfandt, "Arabic Papyrology". See also Reinfandt, "Administrative Papyri".

plunder by tax officers and local governors alike.[18] Such grievance was motivated by the desire for self-enrichment but also the need to finance the Arab-Byzantine wars at the northern borders of the caliphate. Inevitably between 725 and 832 both Copts and Muslims revolted repeatedly and on a number of occasions, but all revolts were speedily suppressed.

The *History of the Patriarchs* describes Bashmūr as swampy marshes of narrow sandy banks with thickets and reeds. In pharaonic times, the country of the *Ḥꜣw Nbwt* extended eastward to Lake Burullus across the Northern Delta. The land was a wet jungle of trees, reeds and papyrus where fishermen, hunters, shepherds and cattle pastoralists lived.[19] Wild boar, antelopes, gazelles, varieties of deer, ibex, countless numbers of birds, fish, crocodiles and hippopotami thrived in this wild environment. Evidence from the Ancient Egyptian Old, Middle and New Kingdom tomb paintings suggest that hunting in the marshes included fowling, fishing and possibly the killing of hippopotami.[20] Textual evidence from the early pharaonic times until the Pharaoh Apries (589–570 B.C.E.) refers to the *Ḥꜣw Nbwt* as a ruthless population arriving by sea and settling in the coastal banks of the Delta.[21] During the Greco-Roman period, the *Ḥꜣw Nbwt* came to be known as *Bukoloi*, an aggressive population of herdsmen of cows, and their lands being given the Greek name of Elearchia. To Elearchia corresponds the Coptic Picharôt and the Arabic al-Bashrūd, both denoting a large area of wetland and marshes extending to the east of Rosetta where the Bashmūrites were living in their boats or among the reeds which

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18 For a Coptic account of this see Evetts, *History of the Patriarchs*, p. 486. Documentary sources for the practice of collecting taxes under Muslim rule are discussed in Trombley, "Documentary Background". An example for Abbasid taxation practice is recorded in the seven Arabic tax receipts of a Christian tax payer from Madīnat al-Fayyūm in the late 9th century A.D.; see Reinfandt/Vanthieghem, "Archives fiscales".

19 Butzer, "Delta".

20 For the Old Kingdom, see Montet, *Scènes de la vie privée*. As for the Middle and New Kingdoms, depictions of hunting and fishing in the marshes of the Delta are recurrent themes in the Middle and Upper Egypt's necropoleis. For the New Kingdom Theban tombs of Menna, Nakht and Rekhmira see Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-rꜥ*, pl. lxxxii.

21 For a more detailed insight into the *Ḥꜣw Nbwt* see Wissa, "Yusab of Alexandria". An example in Coptic for the ancient Egyptian word *Ḥꜣw* in the term *Ḥꜣw Nbwt*, meaning "near by", comes from the *Coptic manuscripts in* the John Rylands collection, which Crum also translated in his Coptic Dictionary as "beyond"; see Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, p. 735 and, for the Coptic manuscripts, *Crum*/Crawford, Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts, p. 48. On the term *Nbwt*, which was non-ethnic, cf. Dussaud, "Les Haou-Nebout", 175–177; Vercoutter, "Les Haou-Nebout".

covered the marshy banks, selling papyrus or fishing.[22] This wilderness provided natural protection from invasions for several centuries.[23]

3   The Uprising

By 831 A.D., the Copts in the marshlands of Bashmūr were the only insurgents.[24] Whilst uprisings spread in Bashmūr, the Abbasid caliph al-Maʾmūn had dispatched an army led by the Persian-Muslim leader al-Afshīn to quash the revolts.[25] Later on, he sought the mediation of the Coptic patriarch Yūsāb I and his Syrian counterpart Dionysius of Tell Mahre.[26] In the end, the social revolt had achieved little, and the Bashmūrites were heavily defeated.[27] Their villages and churches were burnt and their people crushed.[28]

An aftermath of this violent event was the first wave of mass conversions to Islam.[29] In Egypt, conversion to Islam had been a long and complex process,

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22   Hogarth, "Three Delta Nomes", p. 13, s.v. *Picharôt = Elearchia*; Carrez-Maratray, *Paralia* with a detailed study of the toponym of Elearchia; Maspero/Wiet, *Matériaux*, s.v. *al-Bachrud* and its Coptic equivalent *Picharôt*. On the Arabic toponym of al-Bashrūd cf. Cooper, *Medieval Nile*; Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten*, s.v. *Bashrud*. For the marshy nature of the terrain and the bellicose nature of its herdsmen-inhabitants, see Tagher, *Christians in Muslim Egypt*, p. 81; Gabra, "Revolts of the Bashmuric Copts", p. 114. In view of the alphabetic nature of *Dialect G*, "Bashmūric" or "Manṣūric", which reflects a reduced version of the Coptic alphabet with remarkable absence of the majority of the Coptic uncials, it is highly likely that these Bashmūrites were exposed to both Coptic and Greek cultural and linguistic influences. See Kasser, "L'idiome de Bashmour"; idem, "Prolégomènes", pp. 102–103; Kasser/Shisha-Halevy, "Dialect G". See also Kasser, "KATʾASPE ASPE", p. 41.

23   "Bashmuric Revolts", p. 350: "The Bashmuric region was the only part of Egypt where the Arabic authorities could not apply their policy of settling Arabic tribes among the native population to prevent revolts".

24   The 9th century Egyptian Muslim historian al-Kindī in his *Kitāb al-Wulāt wa-kitāb al-quḍāt* mentions the Arab and Coptic rebellion of Jumādā I 216/June-July 831; see Guest, Governors and Judges of Egypt, pp. 189–192. On this rebellion see also Mikhail, From Byzantine to Islamic Egypt, pp. 75–76; Gabra, "Revolts of the Bashmuric Copts"; Megally, "Bashmuric Revolts"; Quatremère, *Recherches critiques*.

25   Evetts, *History of the Patriarchs*, pp. 487–488.

26   Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, pp. 76–77.

27   Al-Kindī in his 9th century *Kitāb al-Wulāt wa-kitāb al-quḍāt* claims that "al-Maʾmūn went to Bashrūd and ordered Afshīn to execute captured Copts and to sell children and women into slavery. He left a long trail of blood behind him, leaving the country after 49 days"; cf. Guest, *Governors and Judges of Egypt*, pp. 189–192.

28   Evetts, *History of the Patriarchs*, p. 494.

29   On the Islamisation of Egypt see Lapidus, "Conversion of Egypt", pp. 257 and 260; Mikhail, *From Byzantine to Islamic Egypt*, pp. 68–70; Décobert, "Sur l'arabisation"; Bulliet, *Conversion*; Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, pp. 81–148; Dennet, *Conversion*,

but the 9th century events and the last Bashmūric revolt turned things upside down. Often enough the *jizya* is considered to have been the main factor for conversion to Islam by many Copts. There were more reasons, however, one being a general ostracization of the Coptic Church in that era.[30] Another one was a spread of Muʿtazili teaching (the official caliphal Muslim dogma) in Egypt that had a strong push back effect on local Christian teaching.[31]

4   Death, Destruction and Displacement: Abbasid Handling of the Last Bashmūric Rebellion

In their stories, literary choices of both their Coptic and Syriac authors can be spotted. Narrative mediation in the Coptic and Syriac historiographical traditions is introduced as a supplemental approach to more conventional efforts at transforming the conflict: it carries with it a certain perspective and methodology. The first tripartite negotiations are well documented as showing words of peace and destruction. Here, from historiography, it is possible to evaluate the *lexicon* in which politics and religion have a common history. By considering some of the similarities between the two patriarchs, who emerged as promoters of conciliation we shall see the deployment of this idea as best understood by a conservative response to Muslim intimidation of the Bashmūrites in the Syriac account. The language usage and other elements of the Coptic narrative in the *History of the Patriarchs* show dialectical variants and a different strategy from the Syriac chronicle.

There is a tendency in the *History of the Patriarchs* to underline the obedience of the Coptic Church's hierarchy to its Muslim rulers.[32] Thus the description of the caliph al-Maʾmūn, the image of a caliphal authority in John's text, serves religious and political purposes.[33] Equally, the rhetoric of al-Maʾmūn

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   pp. 85–88 and 115; Frantz-Murphy, "Conversion". On conversion specifically during the Abbasid period see Brett, "Population and Conversion"; Lev, "Coptic Rebellions".

30 Together with the Syriac and Armenian churches, the Coptic Church was viewed as a non-Chalcedonian *Miaphysite* (sometimes wrongly mistakenly referred to as *Monophysite*) church.

31 Swanson, *Coptic Papacy*, p. 38.

32 Evetts, *History of the Patriarchs*, pp. 487–506.

33 Evetts, *History of the Patriarchs*, p. 488: "When the father patriarch, Abba Joseph, learnt that al-Maʾmūn had arrived, and in his company the patriarch of Antioch, he gathered the bishops together and journeyed to Fusṭāṭ–Miṣr, to salute the caliph according to the respect which is due to princes". Swanson, *Coptic Papacy*, p. 10 explains that the encounter and verbal exchanges between the Coptic Patriarch (as the church authority) and the caliph (here as the supreme civil authority) later became part of the story of the Egyptian church.

functions as a means to indicate the patriarchal legitimate authority. In subsequent excerpts, John issued an illustration of the Bashmūrites that reveals empirical evidence. He considers the causes and offers his own opinion on a number of matters with an axe to grind and a message to send, and he provides an extended description of how the Bashmūrites break from both the church and Abbasid administration. The contested patriarchal authority alienated the Bashmūrites from both their civil and religious leaders. John shows how patriarch Yūsāb I interacted with his community as a medium of religious ideology and power and how his call to the insurgents remained unanswered. Yūsāb emphasised his various forms of rhetoric, using his spiritual leadership as a tool to achieve conciliation. Through his correspondences Yūsāb even quoted passages of the Holy Scriptures with allusions to St Paul. Whilst Yūsāb's terminology in relation to the vocabulary for "peace" is not explicit, his reasoning is evident in his view, destruction is the antithesis to pacification. There can be nothing in-between. Thus, the author of the *History of the Patriarchs* presents the violent consequences, such as death, deportation, and enslavement, of the Bashmūrites' disobedience.[34]

5   Consequences: Forced Migration, Deportation, and Enslavement

The Syriac chronicle *History of Dionysius of Tell Mahre* has some similarities with its Coptic counterpart in depicting the Syriac patriarch's good relations with the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn. The Syriac author Dionysius' style and narrative are authoritative. This can be explained by the fact that the Syriac writer had not been captivated by the rebellion, providing him with the freedom to develop an assertive discourse. Information about events, the psychology and conditions of the Bashmūrite community is encoded in Dionysius' diction and is enriched by its associations with a form of verbalisation and a mode of expression.

No doubt, Dionysius did strive for vividness in his narrative. He initiates the reader into a dynamic story by using the first-person plural "We", because he was a member of a group himself and thus a direct witness and participant. This is in contrast to John II, the Coptic author who tells the story of the patriarch Yūsāb I and the Bashmūrites. Meanwhile the Bashmūric episode in Dionysius account is slightly different.[35] The story contains additional information, for example, how the Abbasid army seized a Coptic woman and tried to

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34   Evetts, *History of the Patriarchs*, pp. 488–489; 494.

35   In Dionysius' account *Faḍl ordered Dionysius to go with Yūsāb to the Bashmūrites*.

ravage her.[36] Dionysius' phraseology and rhetoric in respect of conciliation are explicit: he uses the word "peace" in opposition to "war". He also gives an account of a violent aftermath of the events. In contrast to the Coptic account, the Syriac narrative provides additional information on the fate of surviving Bashmūrites, describing how prisoners among the Bashmūrites were subsequently deported to Iraq and thereat enslaved as a consequence of their rebellion.[37]

6   Conclusion

In 1940, Rudolf Abramowski provided a first analysis of the Syriac chronicle *History of Dionysius of Tell Mahre*. Half a century later, in 1987, Witold Witakowski presented another historiographical study of Dionysius' history by sketching the origins of the genre he pursued. He analysed the author's historiographical organisation: short chronicle scheme, chronologically arranged date lemmata, with material from sources of non-chronicle character. In 1993, eventually, Andrew Palmer advanced a new interpretation of Syriac historiography and contributed to a rehabilitation of Dionysius as a trustworthy historical source.[38] The episode of Bashmūr, however, goes unmentioned in any of these three studies. The historiographical tradition of the last revolt of Bashmūr, as reflected in the accounts of John II and Dionysius respectively, is meant to emphasize the strategic role that the church had in the early Islamic state. Christian leaders appealed historiography as a means for hewing out their own destiny.

The rebellion of Bashmūr represents a singular and tragic moment in the memory of Egypt. The Bashmūrite natural propensity for rebellion against any ruling elite, as is highlighted earlier in this chapter, is a prominent theme. Their implication as inveterate troublemakers is acknowledged in the Coptic narrative. The Syriac source, in contrast, highlights that the Bashmūrites dared to stir, and not to fight against the rulers; only as a supplicant for the fiscal burden, they approached the Muslim administrators begging for conciliation. The Abbasids for their mass deportation took drastic measures. Viewing in its entirety the tale of the Bashmūric woe in the Coptic and in the Syriac narratives becomes an interesting case study, irrespectively of the incomplete account of

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36   Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien,* pp. 76–78.

37   Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, pp. 82–84.

38   Abramowski, *Dionysius von Tellmahre*; Witakowski, *Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius*; Palmer, *Seventh Century*. The question of intertextuality, the reliability of the information, and the problems of copying are thoroughly discussed in Weltecke, *Beschreibung der Zeiten*; Debié, *L'écriture de l'histoire*.

deportation. The literary challenge was to create a monolithic "Bashmūr" from two source materials where raw brutality, pillage, forced migration, enslavement, and more significantly, death were common practice.

An intertwining sequence of events in the last Bashmūric rebellion provides us with a view of Coptic–Muslim relations in early Islamic Egypt, which prominently features society with sectarian fiscal politics. This steered Egypt to social fragmentation, financial ruin and revolts which may have prompted the displacement and enslavement of the population of Bashmūr. Because of this particular pressure, the response of Yūsāb I, the Coptic patriarch, contrasted sharply with the efforts of Dionysius to mediate the escalation of the situation. The Bashmūrites cast their actions as a defence of Coptic Christians from the vehicle of Arabisation and Islamisation. The discourse around "peace", which is not directly explicit in Yūsāb's vocabulary, shaped the development of a chronic resistance whereas the Syriac patriarch Dionysius had made claim to this language. Yūsāb exhorts from destruction while Dionysius, as one of the three actors, is at the heart of the story of peace and war.

Recent developments in the Middle East have generated a renewed concern for conciliation and stability. The last rebellion of Bashmūr, its possible solutions of peace and reconciliation, and ultimately its consequences associated with displacements in 9th century Egypt may serve a standard of comparison. Indeed, current uprisings in the Middle East are echoed in Medieval Islam. The 9th century A.D. marks a turning point in the history of revolts with more resonance today.

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The Migration of Syrian and Palestinian Populations in the 7th Century: Movement of Individuals and Groups in the Mediterranean

Panagiotis Theodoropoulos

In 602, the Byzantine emperor Maurice was dethroned and executed in a military coup, leading to the takeover of Phokas. In response to that, the Sasanian Great King Khosrow II (590–628), who had been helped by Maurice in 591 to regain his throne from the usurper Bahram, launched a war of retribution against Byzantium. In 604 taking advantage of the revolt of the patrikios Narses against Phokas, he captured the city of Dara. By 609, the Persians had completed the conquest of Byzantine Mesopotamia with the capitulation of Edessa.[1] A year earlier, in 608, the Exarch of Carthage Herakleios the Elder rose in revolt against Phokas. His nephew Niketas campaigned against Egypt while his son, also named Herakleios, led a fleet against Constantinople. Herakleios managed to enter the city and kill Phokas. He was crowned emperor on October 5, 610.[2]

Ironically, three days later on October 8, 610, Antioch, the greatest city of the Orient, surrendered to the Persians who took full advantage of the Byzantine civil strife.[3] A week later Apameia, another great city in North Syria, came to terms with the Persians. Emesa fell in 611. Despite two Byzantine counter attacks, one led by Niketas in 611 and another led by Herakleios himself in 613, the Persian advance seemed unstoppable. Damascus surrendered in 613 and a year later Caesarea and all other coastal towns of Palestine fell as well. However, undoubtedly the most shocking event of the Persian conquest was the brutal capture of the Holy city, Jerusalem, in 614. The population of Jerusalem was slaughtered and many of its historical buildings were extensively damaged.[4] In 615, the Persian menace reached Asia Minor, with the Sasanian army reaching as deep as Chalcedon. The Persian army invaded Egypt in 616/7; its

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1   Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a World Crisi*s, p. 68.
2   Kaegi, *Heraclius*, p. 50.
3   Foss, "The Persians in the Roman Near East", pp. 151–152.
4   Ibid., pp. 152–153.

conquest was completed with the capture of Alexandria in 619.[5] Within 17 years from the beginning of the war, the Byzantines had lost almost all of their Eastern provinces.

While the Sasanian army advanced into Byzantine territory, many of the inhabitants of these provinces fled their cities and towns in order to save their lives and escape the Persian yoke. The life of St. John the Almsgiver, patriarch of Alexandria (610–619), attests the arrival of numerous refugees in Egypt due to the Persian advance. "*At that time the Persian armies invaded and laid waste the whole country of the Syrians and the inhabitants of all the towns there came in great numbers with bishops and other clergy and governors and sought refuge in Alexandria*".[6] Their number appears to have been considerable and caused food shortage as well as overcrowding which the Patriarch tried to solve by importing grain from Sicily and constructing hostels respectively.[7] Besides distributing food to the refugees, the Church also provided financial aid to the clergy that had fled there.[8] Another indication of their great number is the fact that throughout the Life of St. John, refugees appear as the constant background of Alexandria's everyday life.

Many of the refugees who appear in the sources are connected with Palestine. In the Life of John the Almsgiver, one finds a mention to the bishop of Tiberias who took refuge there along with his family.[9] Additionally, John Moschos fled Alexandria when he was informed of the Persian sack of Jerusalem by refugees who came to Egypt.[10] The arrival of Palestinian refugees in Egypt cannot be surprising, given the geographical proximity of these two regions.

However, there is mention of people coming to Egypt from even farther away. The 7th century chronicle of James of Edessa (written around 692) records that "*the Bishops of the eastern region took flight to Egypt, and the monks and many people went with them to escape from the Persian advance*."[11] This might indicate the destination of the first group of refugees who fled Mesopotamia in 604 according to the almost contemporary chronicle of Thomas the

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5   Ibid., p. 153.

6   Anonymous, *Life of John the Almsgiver*, trans. Dawes, p. 202.

7   Leontios of Neapolis, *Life of John the Almsgiver*, ed. Festugière, pp. 350–351 and 357–359; For a discussion of this food shortage: Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence*, pp. 344–345.

8   Anonymous, *Life of John the Almsgiver*, trans. Festugière, p. 324; Leontios of Neapolis, *Life of John the Almsgiver*, ed. Festugière, pp. 350–351.

9   Anonymous, *Life of John the Almsgiver*, trans. Festugière, p. 327.

10   Booth, *Crisis of Empire*, p. 98.

11   James of Edessa, *Chronicle*, trans. Palmer, p. 38.

priest composed around 640.[12] These people were mostly Chalcedonians, since the Persians openly discriminated against them in favor of the Monophysites.[13] This means that Chalcedonians from other parts of Syria might have fled to Egypt too.

Nevertheless, Egypt soon ceased to be a safe haven, since the Sasanian forces began the region's conquest in 616/7. The refugees from Syria and Palestine were once again on the run, this time accompanied by some of the people who had aided them until that point. Unfortunately, no extant source describes the fate of the main bulk of refugees, as is the case of the Life of John the Almsgiver. The available evidence, though, suggests that they moved westwards towards Carthage, whereas some of them crossed the sea arriving in Sicily and even Rome. Cyprus too was a refuge for those who could afford fleeing aboard ships.

Some of the few recorded escape routes are those of the Patriarch John, the governor of Alexandria and cousin of Herakleios Niketas, a general named Isaac and the famous monks John Moschos and Sophronios who were possibly accompanied by Maximos the Confessor and other monks. Shortly before the fall of Alexandria, they all moved to Cyprus.[14] The general was murdered there under obscure circumstances and the patriarch died of natural causes.[15] Niketas probably continued to Constantinople, whereas Moschos and the other monks sailed to Carthage via the islands of the Aegean.[16] There is, however, a possibility that these monks also traveled to Constantinople only to realize that the city was facing a serious food shortage and the imminent threat of the Persians.[17] When the monks arrived in Carthage, they established a monastic community possibly under the patronage of the eparch of Africa, George, who was a Syrian from Apameia.[18] It seems that an important number of clerics and monks arrived in North Africa founding new monastic communities. They appear to have remained there even after the end of the war, since communities of Alexandrian nuns and other Syrian, Palestinian and Egyptian clerics and

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12   Thomas the Priest, *Chronicle*, trans. Palmer, p. 16.

13   See below.

14   For Moschos, Sophronios and Maximos: Booth, *Crisis of Empire*, p. 100 and pp. 142–150. For John the Almsgiver, Isaac and Niketas: Anonymous, *Life of John the Almsgiver*, trans. Festugière, p. 328; Leontios of Neapolis, *Life of John the Almsgiver*, ed. Festugière, pp. 402–403.

15   Anonymous, *Life of John the Almsgiver*, trans. Festugière, pp. 328–329.

16   Booth, *Crisis of Empire*, pp. 98–110.

17   Ibid., pp. 109–110.

18   John Moschos, Spiritual Meadow, *PG* 87:3, p. 3080D.

monks are mentioned as living there in the letters of Maximos the Confessor who certainly resided in North Africa in the late 630s.[19]

After North Africa Moschos, Sophronios and other Palestinian monks traveled to Italy and Rome in particular.[20] Their presence in the eternal city was to have long-lasting effects, since they established a link between the Papacy and Palestinian-Syrian monastic communities, which reached its peak with the anti-monothelete synod of 649.[21] Either at the same time or a little earlier a group of Cilician monks founded one of the first "Greek" monasteries in Rome at a place called Aquae Salviae.[22] They probably kept very close bonds with Palestine, since it was to this Roman community that Palestinian monks brought one of their most sacred relics, the head of St. Anastasios the Persian along with a manuscript written by the hand of Modestos, Patriarch of Jerusalem and previously abbot of the monastery of St. Theodosios.[23] Among the people who arrived in Rome at this period there was probably a certain Theodore who was a bishop from Palestine together with his son, also named Theodore. The latter would become the first of a series of Oriental Popes (642–752) and the instigator of the Lateran council of 649.[24]

In 627/8, Herakleios accomplished the unthinkable. He formed an alliance with the powerful Turkic Khaganate and led a Byzantine army to the heart of the Persian state where he defeated the armies of Khosrow. The war was over by 628 when Khosrow was overthrown and murdered by his own son. The Persians agreed to vacate all conquered provinces re-establishing the borders that had existed during the reign of Maurice.[25] However, peace would not last long. In 629, the Arabs launched their first organized attack against Byzantine territory, but were defeated near the village of Mu'tah on the east side of the Jordan

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19   For the presence of Syrian and Alexandrian monastic communities in North Africa: Maximos the Confessor, Letter 12, *PG* 91, p. 460C. For the presence of Palestinian monks who were related to the circle of Moschos and Sophronios in North Africa: Booth, *Crisis of Empire*, p. 257.

20   Booth, *Crisis of Empire*, p. 111.

21   The synod was convened by the Palestinian Pope Theodore, whereas Maximos the Confessor and his monastic circle contributed enormously to the council with their selection of patristic texts or florilegia. The council was originally conducted in Greek and later its acts were translated into Latin: Ekonomou, *The Greek Popes*, pp. 235–240; Jankowiak, "Essai d'histoire", pp. 246–252.

22   Booth, *Crisis of Empire*, p. 111. For a later date of the foundation of the monastery, but still in the first half of the 7th century: Sansterre, *Les Moines Grecs*, pp. 13–17.

23   Flusin, *St. Anastase*, vol. II p. 356.

24   Liber Pontificalis, ed. Duchene, p. 331; PBE s. v. Theodoros 49.

25   For an extensive discussion of these events: Kaegi, *Heraclius*, pp. 156–185.

River.[26] In 634, however, they managed to inflict a decisive defeat on imperial forces at the battle of Ajnadayn, which left Palestine at the mercy of the Arabs.[27] Between 634 and 636, the two sides fought a number of skirmishes with the Arabs being victorious. Important Byzantine cities such as Bostra, Damascus, Emesa (Homs) and Tiberias were captured by the Arabs along with numerous others cities and towns.[28] In 636 Herakleios mustered substantial forces in order to repel the invaders. However, when the two armies met near the river Yarmuk, the imperial forces were crushed, and withdrew from Syria for more than three centuries.[29] The fate of the eastern provinces had been sealed. By 638 Antioch and Jerusalem had surrendered to the Arabs, Caesarea fell in 640 and Alexandria along with the whole province of Egypt in 642.[30]

Arab and Syrian chronicles provide evidence for the migration caused by the Arab conquest. It needs to be emphasized that it is not always clear when our sources refer to the retreat of soldiers or the flight of citizens. It is highly possible, though, that even when only troops are mentioned, a number of civilians followed their retreat. Moreover, there is evidence that Byzantine garrison soldiers dwelled with their families in the cities they protected which means that a number of civilians was de facto attached to the army.[31] The citizens of Damascus were among the first to be recorded fleeing their hometown. Al-Baladhuri mentions that after the capitulation of the city "*a great number of its inhabitants fled to Herakleios who was then at Antioch, leaving many vacant dwellings behind that were later occupied by the Muslims.*[32]" The citizens of the coastal cities of Sidon, Arca (Irkah), Byblos (Jubail), and Beirut (Bierut) are recorded to have left their towns too.[33]

From the same work, we are informed that, while under siege, Tripoli was evacuated by an imperial fleet.[34] A similar report comes from Michael the Syrian regarding Caesarea. He mentions that part of the 7,000 defenders of the city fled on ships.[35] The citizens of Emesa (Hims) are also, albeit implicitly, reported to have left their city, since an Arab commander distributed to Arab

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26   Kaegi, *Early Islamic Conquest*, pp. 71–74
27   Ibid. pp. 98–101.
28   Moshe, *History of Palestine*, pp. 43–45.
29   For an extensive discussion of the battle of Yarmuk: Kaegi, *Early Islamic Conquest*, pp. 119–145.
30   Ibid., p. 146.
31   Ibid., p. 95.
32   Al-Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, trans. Hitti, p. 189.
33   Ibid., p. 194.
34   Ibid., p. 194.
35   Michael the Syrian, Chronicle, trans. Chabot, p. 431.

Muslims the houses and land of those who had fled.[36] Romans from littoral towns, such as Baldah, Jabalah (Gabala/Jableh) and Antartus (Tartus) also deserted their cities ahead of the arrival of the Arab army.[37] When the city of Antioch capitulated, its inhabitants were given the choice either to stay and pay the poll tax or to leave, which is what some of them did.[38] The same goes for the inhabitants of Barbalissos, who in their majority chose to leave for the Empire.[39] Moreover, Herakleios is said to have vacated Cilicia, in an attempt to form a no man's land between Syria and Asia Minor, transferring the entire population elsewhere.[40] The fact that the Cilician city of Mopsuestia was totally abandoned adds plausibility to this information.[41]

Archeological evidence suggests that after the Arab conquest certain areas were depopulated, possibly because a considerable portion of its population fled. Caesarea is a telling example, for its urban surface reduced by eighty per cent in the second half of the 7th century, which the archeologists link with a significant wave of migration during the Arab conquest.[42] As we have seen, a portion of the city's population had been transferred away by a Byzantine fleet, which might indicate the effectiveness of the aforementioned naval undertaking. The fact that Caesarea appears as a normally functioning city in the life of St. Anastasios the Persian (627) indicates that the deterioration of the city started under the initial phase of the Arab dominion.[43] In fact, the entire littoral of the Levant seems to have been severely depopulated due to the departure of its inhabitants and perhaps the activity of the Byzantine navy.[44]

Although in Palestine a relatively smooth continuity of urban life and activity seems to have been the case, some Syrian cities were considerably reduced in size.[45] It should be mentioned that scholars have shown that changes of urban life such as the decrease of public space and city surface was a long-term Mediterranean evolution.[46] However, the reduction of urban surface in some Syrian cities exceeds the normal pattern, which can be linked to the flight of

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36   Al-Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, trans. Hitti, p. 201.
37   Ibid., p. 204.
38   Ibid., p. 227.
39   Ibid., pp. 331–332.
40   Ibid., p. 253.
41   Ibid., pp. 255–256.
42   Avni, *The Byzantine-Islamic Transition*, pp. 42–49.
43   Foss, "The Persians in the Roman Near East", pp. 159–63.
44   Kennedy, "Syrian Elites", pp. 189–191. Haldon, "Citizens of Ancient Lineage", p. 95.
45   For the continuous prosperity of Palestinian cities: Avni, *The Byzantine-Islamic Transition*, pp. 71–93 (for Tiberias); pp. 113–127 (for Jerusalem).
46   Kennedy, "From Polis to Madina", pp. 3–27. For a thorough introduction to views on urban change in Palestine, see Avni, *The Byzantine-Islamic Transition*, pp. 13–23.

large sections of their population. Antioch and Apameia, two major cities of Syria, were reduced considerably in size never to recover their 6th century glory. Although their decline had already begun in the 6th century and it was closely connected to warfare with the Persians, the Arab conquest might have triggered a further deterioration of their condition.[47] Archeological evidence from Apameia indicates that changes of urban life patterns commenced in the mid-7th century, which could be interpreted as a result of the Arab conquest and the departure of a part of its population.[48] Moreover, both cities demonstrate evidence for the flight of Syrian aristocracy. A luxurious villa in Antioch was abandoned at the beginning of the 7th century, whereas the majestic mansions of Apameia fell in disuse in the course of the 7th century with some of them being abandoned precisely during the Arab conquest.[49] Moreover, excavations near Apameia have shown a considerable deterioration of rural settlements in the mid-7th century. Furthermore, a specific site was completely and systematically abandoned by its inhabitants probably during the first half of the 7th century.[50] One can argue given the plethora of evidence for deterioration of settlements and urban change from the mid-7th century, that the evacuation of the site took place during the Arab invasion rather than during the Persian one.[51]

Several factors make the migration of Syrians and Palestinians from the Persian invasion different from their migration during the Arab conquest. Firstly, the refugees followed different routes. The Persian conquest of the Middle East caused a migration wave towards Egypt, North Africa and Italy, whereas the refugees of the Arab conquest fled northwards towards Asia Minor. A possible explanation is that the Persians invaded Syria from the North East conquering Antioch and Apameia; thus, blocking the way to Asia Minor. Then the Persians invaded Palestine from the North leaving Egypt as the only possible destination. Moreover, Asia Minor had become a battlefield since 611 and it continued to be one almost until the end of the war. Therefore, the only safe destination for those fleeing the Persians was the western provinces of the Empire.

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47   Foss, "Syria in Transition", pp. 90–97 and p. 264 (for Antioch); pp. 205–217 (for Apamea).

48   Ibid. p. 209.

49   For the fate of the mansions of Apamea: Foss, "Syria in Transition", pp. 218–225, especially p. 119 for the mansions abandoned after the Byzantine re-occupation of Syria in the 630s. For Byzantine elites fleeing Syria after the Arab conquest: Kennedy, "From Polis to Madina", pp. 23–24.

50   Foss, "Syria in Transition", pp. 227–229.

51   See below for further supporting arguments of this view.

On the contrary, the Arabs launched their attack from the South East invading Palestine first where they defeated the Byzantines near Jerusalem and at Yarmuk, which is located east of the Sea of Galilee. The Arabs then chased the retreating Byzantine forces invading Syria from the South completing its conquest with the capture of Antioch. Although Jerusalem fell three years after the decisive battle of Ajnadayn, its inhabitants could not flee to Egypt as they had done two decades earlier, for the countryside was controlled by the Arabs blocking the available escape routes.[52] Thus, it seems that during the Arab conquest the only route of escape was northwards.

Another major difference was the involvement of the Byzantine state in the migration crisis. During the Persian invasion, the Byzantine state was in disorder, because of continuous civil strife. Even after the end of the civil war (610) the continuous military disasters and the immediate Avar and Persian threat to Constantinople (626), rendered the state unable to deal with the migration problem. On the contrary, it seems that in these difficult moments the state took measures that could be seen as acting against the refugees, since a novel of Herakleios from 617 aimed at restricting food distribution by the Church of Constantinople in order to secure enough supplies for the city.[53] Similarly, in Egypt it was the Patriarch, John, who tried to accommodate the refugees, while the governor, Niketas, envisaged covering the needs of the state with Church funds like Herakleios had done in Constantinople.[54]

During the Arab conquest of the Levant, however, the Byzantine state played a crucial role at channeling refugees to the Empire. As shown above, many Byzantine citizens fled towards Herakleios who, when he realized that the war had been lost, carried out a careful evacuation of Syria, as the case of Baldah, Gabala (Jableh) and Antartus (Tartus) indicates, since these cities were tactically evacuated after the loss of Emesa.[55] Moreover, the Empire carried out two expensive naval expeditions in order to evacuate Caesarea in Palestine and Tripoli in Phoenicia. Herakleios also withdrew both troops and civilians from Cilicia to such an extent that the region and its greatest city, Tarsus, were left almost uninhabited as later sources indicate.[56] These examples show that the state had both the means and the will to relocate to its soil as many people as possible.[57]

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52   Kaegi, *Early Islamic Conquest*, p. 100.

53   Booth, *Crisis of Empire*, pp. 109–110.

54   Ibid., 109.

55   Al-Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, trans. Hitti, p. 204.

56   Bosworth, "The City of Tarsus", pp. 270–271.

57   The Byzantines aimed at depriving the areas that would fall into Arab hands from man power. For parallels from the 7th and 8th centuries: Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*, pp. 162–163.

Most importantly, the Persian conquest seems to have been considerably more violent and brutal. Although recent scholarship tries to emphasize patterns of continuity within the conquered provinces, it appears that the conquest, especially at its initial phase, caused havoc, anxiety and insecurity.[58] There were certain Persian policies that must have spread waves of fear to the souls of the citizens of the remaining Byzantine provinces. Firstly, they brutally slaughtered the population of and pillaged the cities that resisted. The best-known examples are the cities of Dara, Jerusalem and Alexandria. Archeological evidence, apart from confirming the massacre in Jerusalem, revealed a layer of destruction at Pella dated to the time of the Persian invasion.[59]

Secondly, they systematically attacked monasteries and massacred monastic communities and individual monks. In Palestine, several monasteries fell victims of the Persian wrath including the well-known monastery of Mar Saba where the invaders killed forty-four monks.[60] The monastery of Choziba was also attacked with some of its monks being killed or taken captives.[61] A worse fate befell upon the monastery of St. Martyrios, which was completely abandoned after a Persian raid.[62] Equally brutal was the raid at the monastery of St. John the Baptist where the attackers massacred both monks from the monastery and civilians who had fled there. Their bodies, numbering from 300 to 400, had been exposed for several days to the elements, until they were buried in a mass grave by the survivors of the attack.[63]

Similarly, the Persians ravaged numerous monasteries in Egypt. The monasteries of Pelusium were ferociously attacked, whereas monks from the area of Nikiu were persecuted and killed.[64] Those who survived hid themselves in the desert and other inaccessible areas. Near Alexandria, the Persians killed monks and destroyed several monasteries, which were never to recover from the

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58   For a revised view of the destructiveness of the Persian conquest and also a discussion of previous scholarship: Avni, *The Byzantine-Islamic Transition*, pp. 302–311.

59   For the slaughter in Dara: Sebeos, *History*, trans. Thomson, p. 58. For the massacre in Jerusalem: Antiochos Strategos, *Sack of Jerusalem*, trans. Conybeare, pp. 505–515. For the events in Alexandria: Foss, "The Persians in the Roman Near East", p. 165. Archaeological evidence for destruction in Jerusalem: Avni, "The Persian Conquest of Jerusalem", pp. 36–40. Archaeological evidence for destruction in Pella: Avni, *The Byzantine-Islamic Transition*, p. 217.

60   Flusin, *St. Anastase*, vol. II, pp. 177–180; Antiochos Letter to Eustathios, *PG* 89, col. 1421–1428.

61   Antony of Choziba, *Life of George of Choziba*, ed. House, pp. 129–130.

62   Flusin, *St. Anastase*, vol. II, p. 21 and especially footnote 30.

63   Zias, "Death and Disease in Ancient Palestine", pp. 150–152.

64   *History of the Coptic Patriarchs*, ed. Evetts, p. 486; Abu Salih, *Churches and Monasteries*, trans. Evvets, pp. 167–168.

catastrophe.[65] Moreover, the historical Monastery of St. Menas and the settlement surrounding it were burnt and temporarily abandoned providing us with another incident of Persian anti-monastic violence.[66]

Thirdly, the Persians did not hesitate to deport the entire population of a city and even use its inhabitants as slaves. Jerusalem stands again as a great example. Those who survived the slaughter were gathered in improvised camps and some of them were deported to Persia in order to work in construction.[67] Forced labor is also attested in the Life of St. Anastasios the Persian at Caesarea.[68] Captivity was the fate for the survivors of the castle Erginay and 33 villages around it in Mesopotamia.[69] In Armenia, the citizens of the important city of Karin were forcibly moved to Ahmatan, whereas many of the inhabitants of Edessa were deported to Persia.[70]

Lastly, a Persian policy that had probably caused great upheaval was the persecution of the Chalcedonians. The chronicle of 1234 records that "*When Khosrow conquered Mesopotamia and expelled the Romans from it he ordered at the same time the Chalcedonian bishops to be expelled from their churches and those churches to be given to the Jacobites*".[71] Similar accounts are provided by other primary sources such as the chronicle of James of Edessa, Michael the Syrian and others.[72] It is evident that during the Persian occupation numerous Churches and dioceses were delivered to non-Chalcedonians. In Antioch, the patriarchal see was occupied by the Monophysite Patriarch Athanasios who in 616 traveled to Egypt to achieve union of the Churches with the homodoxous Patriarch of Alexandria.[73] The above-mentioned factors must have caused the departure of a great number of citizens, especially of the Chalcedonian Byzantine aristocracy.[74]

On the other hand, the Arab conquest seems to have been less destructive and disruptive. No major city bears marks of destruction.[75] Apparently, important urban centers such as Damascus, Emesa, Jerusalem and Antioch

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65   *History of the Coptic Patriarchs*, ed. Evetts, p. 485.

66   Foss, "The Persians in the Roman Near East", p. 165.

67   Antiochos Strategos, *Sack of Jerusalem*, trans. Conybeare, pp. 507–510.

68   Flusin, *St. Anastase*, vol. I, p. 63.

69   Sebeos, *History*, trans. Thomson, p. 60.

70   For Karim: Sebeos, *History*, trans. Thomson, p. 64. For Edessa: *Chronicle up to 1234*, trans. Palmer, pp. 134–135.

71   *Chronicle up to 1234*, trans. Palmer, p. 125.

72   James of Edessa, *Chronicle*, trans. Palmer, p. 38; Michael the Syrian, Chronicle, trans. Chabot, p. 379.

73   *History of the Coptic Patriarchs*, ed. Evetts, pp. 480–482.

74   Foss, "The Persians in the Roman Near East", p. 165.

75   Avni, *The Byzantine-Islamic Transition*, pp. 311–317.

capitulated avoiding bloodshed and securing their existing way of life.[76] Additionally, apart from some sporadic incidents, like the raid that killed the brother of Thomas the priest and his fellow monks, there is no evidence for systematic violence against religious institutions.[77] Furthermore, the Arab conquest was completed at an unprecedented speed. Within three years, Syria and Palestine were under Arab control, whereas the Persians had needed twelve years of warfare to achieve it. The fast completion of the conquest meant that there was less time for the inhabitants to react. The fact that only five hoards of coins dating to the Arab conquest were found in contrast to the eighteen hoards dating to the Persian one seems to reinforce this thesis. It also implies a relatively smoother transition from one regime to another than what it had been the case twenty years earlier during the Persian conquest.[78] Moreover, the conquerors did not have enough time to involve themselves in provincial administration and life. Most of Syrian and Palestinian cities remained predominately Christian, whereas in the countryside there was very little Muslim presence for the greater part of the 7th century.[79] Provincial administration retained its Byzantine structures and its Byzantine personnel as papyrological evidence from Egypt show.[80]

Additionally, the Arabs respected the existing ecclesiastical status quo at the time of the conquest. That gave advantage to the Chalcedonians who were the most dominant Christian group in the Byzantine Empire. It could not be summarized in a better way than in the following extract from the chronicle of 1234:

> The cathedral churches, which had been unjustly confiscated from our people by Herakleios and given to his co-religionaries, the Chalcedonians, have continued to languish in their possession until the present day. For at the time when they were conquered and made subject to the Arabs the cities agreed to terms of surrender, under which each confession had assigned to it those temples which were found in its possession.

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76   For the capitulation of major cities: Al-Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, trans. Hitti, pp. 186–193 (Damascus), pp. 200–201 (Emesa), pp. 113–114 (Jerusalem), pp. 226–227 (Antioch). For archeological evidence for the absent of destruction during the Arab conquest of Syria: Foss, "Syria in Transition", p. 264.

77   Thomas the priest, *Chronicle*, trans. Palmer, p. 16.

78   Avni, *The Byzantine-Islamic Transition*, p. 324.

79   For evidence for the Christian population in Jerusalem: Avni, *The Byzantine-Islamic Transition*, pp. 113–127. For cities and the countryside of Syria: Foss, "Syria in Transition", p. 236 and p. 258.

80   Papaconstantinou, "Administrating the Early Islamic Empire", pp. 61–63.

> In this way the Orthodox were robbed of the Great Church of Edessa and that of Harran; and this process continued throughout the west, as far as Jerusalem.[81]

Moreover, in the first decades of Arab rule Chalcedonians held the most prominent positions in state administration, at least those destined for non-Muslims.[82] They sometimes appear to have used their power and influence against other Christian groups continuing in many respects an ecclesiastical situation familiar from the Byzantine era.[83] Thus, it could be argued that the Chalcedonians of the early Islamic state had fewer reasons to flee than a few decades earlier under the Persians.

Overall, the relatively smooth transition from Byzantine to Arab rule must have created an environment of security and stability inviting local populations to remain in place. On the other hand, the Byzantine state seems to have implemented a methodical withdrawal of troops and citizens from the conquered areas relocating them in the remaining realms of the Empire. Scholars have shown that the location of the 7th century *strategiai* in Asia Minor indicates that the withdrawal from the Levant to Asia Minor was carefully planned, since the armies were placed in areas of sufficient fiscal capacity for the maintenance of the troops.[84]

1   Population Management Policies

In the previous part I argued that the Byzantine state was actively involved in the migration caused by the Arab conquest of the East, and that the Arabs caused less destruction than the Persians did, producing an environment of relevant security, which could allow life to continue as before. In fact, it seems that the two states competed for the populations of Syria and other regions of the Eastern Mediterranean. They both implemented a variety of population management policies in order to populate their cities and provinces in a period when wars and repetitive waves of plague had decreased the population of the region to a considerable extent.[85] Population management was essential

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81   *Chronicle of 1234*, trans. Palmer, p. 141.
82   Mikhail, *From Byzantine to Islamic Egypt*, p. 39.
83   Ibid., pp. 39–40.
84   Haldon, *Byzantium*, p. 227; Hendy, "East and West", p. 1353.
85   For population decrease in connection to plague in the 6th and 7th centuries: Stathako-poulos, *Famine and Pestilence*, pp. 163–169.

for the maintenance of tax revenue, since the economy of both states was predominately agricultural and based on manpower.[86]

The most telling evidence for the existence of a population management policy is the case of population transfers, which was a practice used by both the Byzantines and the Arabs. As such, I understand all transfers of population within the borders of a state, which could be either state-motivated or occurred under state coercion. Already from the first decades after the Arab conquest, the Caliphate used this practice extensively. Mu'āwiya populated the coastal areas of Syria with Persians and some Arab tribes after their conquest; he used the same practice in the case of Antioch as well.[87] He also followed a similar policy after the fall of Tripoli, which he *made a dwelling- place for a large body of Jews*".[88] In the case of the region of Balis, Mu'āwiya covered the demographic gap, which had been created by the departure of its inhabitants for the Byzantine Empire, with desert tribes and Arab tribes that had been newly converted to Islam.[89]

At the other side of the border, Constans II transferred Slavs from the Balkans to Asia Minor,[90] whereas Justinian II transplanted some decades later Slavs to the area of the Opsikion, as well as people from South East Asia Minor to Thrace, among whom was the family of the future emperor Leo III.[91] Leo III's son, Constantine V, tried to increase the population of Constantinople, which had suffered severely from an outbreak of plague, by moving to the city people from the Aegean islands, the region of Hellas and other southern regions.[92] A similar way to cope with the depopulation caused by a wave of plague was followed in the Caliphate, where ar-Rashid tried to attract new dwellers by distributing gifts and privileges.[93] One more example of repopulation of a deserted city is the case of Mopsuestia. The Caliph transferred not only Arab fighters to the city but also Persians, Slavs and Christians.[94]

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86   Hendy, "East and West", p. 1308.

87   Al-Baladhury, Kitab Futuh al-Buldan, trans. Hitti, p.180 and p. 227.

88   Ibid. p. 195.

89   Ibid. p. 232.

90   Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*, p. 211.

91   Theophanes, *Chronicle*, ed. Mango, p. 508 and p. 542. The transfer of Slavs aspired to strengthen militarily the Empire against the Arabs, whereas the transfer of people from Germanikeia to Thrace aimed at preventing these people from falling into Arab hands after the loss of the province. Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*, pp. 221–223 and pp. 161–162.

92   Ibid. p. 593. Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*, pp. 318–328.

93   Al-Baladhury, Kitab Futuh al-Buldan, trans. Hitti, p. 244.

94   Ibid. p. 256.

Another indicator of the importance of manpower at the time is the eagerness with which the two states tried to attract certain peoples to live within their borders. The most important cases were these of the Ghassanids and the Mardaites. The Ghassanids who were a group of Arab peoples allied to Byzantium through their leading elites, the Jafnids, appear to have struck an agreement with Herakleios, which secured their retreat to imperial soil in case they were defeated at the battle of Yarmuk.[95] The Muslims, though, immediately after their victory were involved in negotiations with the Ghassanids aiming at convincing them to choose the Caliphate over the Empire. The first round of negotiations ended with the departure of an important number of Ghassanids, 30,000 according to the sources, for the Empire, for Caliph Umar did not grant them their request to keep their religion and yet be taxed like Muslims. In 643, according to Al-Baladhuri, Umar sent an official to offer better terms to the Ghassanids asking them to return to the Caliphate's territory. This offer included the satisfaction of their initial appeal for exemption from the kharāj.[96] However, the Ghassanids rejected the offer and decided to remain in Byzantine Anatolia.

The other important ethnic group was the Mardaites, whom the Arabs called al-Jarajimah.[97] They were Christians living in Northern Syria enjoying an autonomous status.[98] In 674, they revolted against the Arabs after a series of Byzantine victories and the arrival of Byzantine elite troops in Syria. Their joined military action resulted in a treaty favorable for Byzantium, which, however, included the withdrawal of the Mardaites from Arab territory. Thus under Justinian II's orders a large number of Mardaites, 12,000 according to Theophanes, left Syria for the Empire in 686.[99] Although there is no mention of how and where these people were accommodated, later sources attest the presence of large communities of Mardaites in Attaleia and Southern Asia Minor in general, in Nikopolis in Epirus, the Peloponnese and Kephalonia.[100] The remaining Mardaites continued to be a source of problems for the Caliphate until

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95   Ibid. p. 207. For a thorough discussion about the problems of defining the Ghassanids: Fisher, Between Empires, pp. 1–14.

96   Al-Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, trans. Hitti, 209.

97   Moosa, "Mardaites", p. 608.

98   Al-Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, trans. Hitti, p. 246.

99   Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. Mango p. 507; Howard-Johnston, "Mardaites", p. 35 estimates that the figure given by Theophanes (12,000) does not include children and women, thus the total number of Mardaites who left Syria must have been considerably larger.

100 Howard-Johnston, "Mardaites", p. 35; For a detailed analysis of the movement of Mardaites within the Empire, see Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*, pp. 148–158.

Caliph Al-Walid campaigned against them in 707.[101] The Arabs concluded a treaty with them offering the option of either remaining under Arab control or leaving for the Empire. To those who chose to remain the Arabs offered the choice to settle wherever they wanted in Syria. They also promised to provide every family with 8 dinars and a fixed portion of certain goods. Moreover, the Mardaites would have the right to be dressed and taxed like Muslims, without being asked to change their religion. Despite these terms, nonetheless, the leader of the Mardaites together with a body of men chose the path to the Empire.[102]

One can easily observe the similarities of the way these two peoples were treated. Both the Ghassanids and the Mardaites were offered equally favorable terms in order to remain in and serve the Caliphate. Unlike other Christian populations, they were given the privilege to be taxed like Muslims, while keeping their faith. This fact demonstrates the importance of these tribes for the Arab state, and the intensity of its efforts to win them over to their side. At the same time, one can suppose that the Byzantines followed a similar policy of distributing privileges, since both the Ghassanids and the Mardaites chose to move to and serve the Empire. Moreover, both cases show that Byzantium had the ability to receive and settle populations, making it possible that earlier migrations had been dealt with in the same way. As seen above, these people appear concentrated in specific areas, which is difficult to be explained as resulting from private initiative. Thus, one can argue that they were allocated in pre-selected places that could be the pattern of accommodating Syrians during the Arab conquest.

Forced population transfer through raids or campaigns in enemy territory was a common tactic for both the Byzantine Empire and the Islamic state. At first glance, the majority of the sources speak about the enslavement of the captured population, without giving prominence to the role of these raids as parts of a population-management policy. However, there are several mentions, which shed new light in this matter, rendering possible to approach other sources critically and to read between the lines. During the major campaign of Caliph Sulaymān ibn Abd al-Malik against the Empire, which ended with the siege of Constantinople in 717/8, the Arabs after capturing Pergamon and Sardis transferred back to Syria the Syrians who had been living there.[103]

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101   Al-Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, trans. Hitti, p. 249.

102   Ibid. p. 249.

103   *Chronicle up to 819*, trans. Palmer, p. 80 "*capturing two cities, Sardis and Pergamum, as well as other fortresses. They killed many and took many captive. As for the Syrians who had been exiled there, he set them free in safety.*"

In fact, the author of the chronicle uses the phrase "*set them free in safety*" which makes it more than clear that these people were not enslaved by the Arabs, neither had been in captivity before; since the author describes them as exiles, not as prisoners or captives.[104]

In the same manner, Constantine V taking advantage of the instability in the Caliphate, where a civil war was raging, attacked Germanikeia in 744 and after capturing it he took back to the Empire along with his maternal relatives many Syrians, whom he placed in Thrace.[105] In 750 he campaigned anew against the Caliphate capturing the cities of Theodosioupolis and Melitene.[106] Thereafter, he transferred their population to Thrace as well.[107] I would include into the same framework the naval raid carried out by the Byzantines in 718/19, which reduced Laodicea and seized its population.[108] The Arab source claims that the inhabitants were taken prisoners, but the information specifying that the Caliph paid ransom only for the Muslim prisoners might mean that there were Christians as well who did not return to the Caliphate. In fact, a few lines earlier in the same text the author describes how the people of Laodicea capitulated and remained in their city. Thus, a great part of the population was certainly Christian, which means that the purpose of the naval raid was partly to relocate Christian populations from the Caliphate to the Empire.

The island of Cyprus, which often changed hands between the Byzantines and the Arabs in the 7th century, experienced almost all types of population management tactics. When Muʿāwiya invaded Cyprus for a second time in 654, he transferred a large number of men to the island, where he built a city and several mosques. He distributed land to his soldiers, who were meant to stay there permanently. Consequently, they must have brought their families with them, which means that the population, which arrived in Cyprus must have been significant. Later, though, Al-Walid withdrew them probably as part of the treaty that he had concluded with Justinian II in 686.[109] A few years later, with all probability before the resumption of warfare in 692, both sides

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104   Palmer, *West Syrian Chronicles*, p. 84 argues that these Syrians had been exiled there by one of the Byzantine emperors, because of their religious beliefs.

105   Theophanes, *Chronicle*, ed. Mango, p. 584.

106   Ibid. p. 590.

107   Ibid. p. 593.This population transfer was multipurpose, since it strengthened the Empire against the Bulgars, it removed valuable manpower from the Caliphate and repopulated areas which had suffered from plague. Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*, pp. 189–190 and p. 320.

108   Al-Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, trans. Hitti, p. 204.

109   Theophanes, *Chronicle*, ed. Mango, p. 506 mentions that the two states would share the revenue of Cyprus, Armenia and Iberia. Al-Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, trans. Hitti, pp. 236–237, reports the withdrawal of the Arabs from the island.

removed local population from the island that was later returned though.[110] The Cypriots, who went to the Byzantine Empire, were re-located in a settlement built by the orders of the emperor Justinian II in the area of Hellespont and named after him.

Cyprus might reflect the realities of other regions of the Mediterranean for which unfortunately the sources are less forthcoming. The military expedition of Muʿāwiya against Cyprus and the transfer of large numbers of new dwellers could be a parallel to the Italian expedition of Constans and his stay in Sicily, as I will discuss later. Moreover, the way the Cypriots were settled in the Empire might suggest how the Syrian refugees had been handled, even if there is not any mention of such settlements in the sources.[111]

2   Places of Settlement and Patterns of Migration

Syrian and Palestinian immigrants could be found in various provinces of the Empire, from Rome in the West to the borders of the Empire with the Caliphate in the East. As seen above, Syrian populations were located in Asia Minor, where Caliph Sulaymān ibn Abd al-Malik found them after capturing Pergamon and Sardis.[112] One can argue that as in the case of the Mardaites and the Ghassanids, Syrians were allocated by the state in specific regions after their migration. Most probably many refugees settled in Constantinople, where it seems that there was knowledge of Syriac in the late 7th century.[113] The capital also attracted the fleeing Syrian elites who rose to high offices both in the civic and ecclesiastical administration. Some characteristic examples of high-ranking Syrians in the civil administration include the logothetes of the genikon, George,[114] and the count of the Opsikion Isoes.[115] Syrians with a distinguished career in the clergy are undoubtedly Patriarch Anastasios,[116] who replaced

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110   For the Byzantine side: Theophanes, *Chronicle*, ed. Mango, pp. 509–510. For the Arab side: Al-Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, trans. Hitti, p. 238. Ditten believes that the return of Cypriots to their island was possibly the result of an agreement between the two sides. Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*, p. 315.

111   Haldon, "Citizens of Ancient Lineage", p. 99.

112   *Chronicle up to 819*, trans. Palmer, p. 80.

113   Haldon, "Citizens of Ancient Lineage", p. 99.

114   Theophanes, *Chronicle*, ed. Mango, p. 528; Haldon, "Citizens of Ancient Lineage", p. 96; Auzepy, "Le Rôle des Émigrés Orientaux", p. 480; PBE s. v. Georgios 3.

115   Theophanes, *Chronicle*, ed. Mango, p. 552; Haldon, "Citizens of Ancient Lineage", p. 95; Auzepy, "Le Rôle des Émigrés Orientaux", p. 481; PBE s. v. Isoes 1.

116   Haldon, "Citizens of Ancient Lineage", p. 95; PBE s. v. Anastasios 3.

Germanos in 730, and Andrew the hymnographer, Bishop of Gortyna.[117] More-over, a prominent Syrian refugee was Kallinikos from Helioupolis, the inventor of the Greek fire (circa 672), which contributed considerably to the war effort against the Arabs.[118]

More evident is the existence of Syrian populations in the western part of the Empire, especially in Sicily and Rome. As seen above, the West had already attracted Syro-palestinian migrants since the 620s. In the late 7th and early 8th centuries, many of the pontiffs were of Syrian origin, namely John v (685–686) who came from the province of Antioch,[119] Sergios (687–701) also from Antioch,[120] Sisinnios (708),[121] Constantine (708–715)[122] and Gregory III (731–741).[123] As already mentioned, there was also a pope of Palestinian origin, namely Theodore (642–649). Moreover, in 7th-century Rome there were at least four "Greek" monasteries, founded by eastern immigrants. The first two oriental houses were the Cilician monastery of St. Anastasius ad Aquas Salvias and the monastery of Renati founded in the first half of the 7th century; where-as the monastery of St. Saba, which was also called Cella Nova, was founded later by the fellow-monks of Maximos the Confessor, who arrived in Rome in 646.[124] There was also a Syrian monastery called Boetiana, which was founded in the third quarter of the 7th century and was dissolved by Pope Donus (676–678) on charges of heresy.[125]

At the same time, the city witnessed the arrival of the cult of numerous eastern saints highly venerated in Syria and Palestine as well as religious prac-tices of the East. Eastern saints such as Theodore Stratelates and Anastasios the Persian were introduced in the Roman calendar along with the Palestinian cult of the beheading of St. John the Baptist.[126] Finally, a change in local an-throponyms also indicates an influx of eastern population, since in the second

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117   Auzepy, "Le Rôle des Émigrés Orientaux", pp. 489–490; PBE s. v. Andreas 3.

118   Theophanes, *Chronicle*, ed. Mango, p. 494; Auzepy, "Le Rôle des Émigrés Orientaux", p. 486; PBE s. v. Kallinikos 1.

119   *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, p. 366 "*Iohennes, natione Syrus, de provintia Antiochia, ex patre Cyriaco*"; PBE s. v. Ioannes 31.

120   Liber Pontificalis, ed. Duchesne, p. 371 "*Sergius, natione Syrus, Antiochiae regionis, ortus ex patre Tiberio in Panormo Siciliae*"; PBE s. v. Sergios 30.

121   *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, p. 388 "*Sisinnius, natione Syrus, patre Iohanne*"; PBE s. v. Sisinnios 35.

122   *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, p. 389 "*Constantinus, natione Syrus, ex patre Iohanne*"; PBE s. v. Constantinos 136.

123   *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, p. 415 "*Gregorius, natione Syrus, ex patre Iohanne*"; PBE s. v. Gregorios 7.

124   Sansterre, *Les Moines Grecs*, pp. 11–17; Sansterre, "Le Monachisme Byzantin a Rome", p. 704.

125   *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, p. 348.

126   Ekonomou, *The Greek Popes*, p. 254.

half of the 7th century a considerable portion of the Roman clergy appear to bear eastern names, which had never been popular in Rome before.[127]

Despite the scarcity of the sources, which provide only indirect evidence, it seems that in Sicily there were numerous communities of Syro-palestinian immigrants. After an Arab raid on the island, probably after the murder of Constans II in 668, the captives chose to disembark in Damascus, which might be a hint that they were Syrians.[128] In 681 Theophanes, a monk from the Syracusan monastery of Baias, became patriarch of Antioch replacing the excommunicated Makarios.[129] This fact implies strong links between the monastery and Syria.

Additionally, scholars such as McCormick, Sansterre and Prigent have pointed to links between Sicily and Syria-Palestine. McCormick highlights that Sicily followed for centuries the liturgical tradition of Syria and Palestine, which can be attested by the liturgical manuscripts that survived. There is a striking difference between the traditions of Sicily and Apulia, which followed the tradition of Constantinople. He dates the tradition of Sicily in the 7th century and he links it with the migration of easterners.[130] Sansterre notes that even up to the 9th century there were close relations between the monks of Sicily and those of Jerusalem.[131] He also adds that the Greek hymnographic tradition of Italy shares many attributes with the tradition of the Holy city.[132] On the other hand, Prigent stresses the fact that Syrian sources are well informed about events in Sicily and sometimes they are the only sources about them. For instance the revolt of John, son of Mzez, against Constantine IV, is attested only in the chronicle of Michael the Syrian.[133] Moreover, there is evidence that the Arab coinage in North Syria and upper Mesopotamia before the reform of Abd al-Malik followed as a model the folleis of Constantine IV that were minted in Sicily.[134] Finally, he has traced links between silk production in Sicily and the arrival of Syrian immigrants in the island in the 7th century.[135]

127   Llewellyn, "The Names of the Roman Clergy", pp. 360–366.

128   Theophanes, Chronicle, ed. Mango, p. 487; Sansterre, *Les Moines Grecs*, p. 18.

129   *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, pp. 351–354.

130   Mc Cormick, "The Imperial Edge", pp. 37–38.

131   Sansterre, *Les Moines Grecs*, p. 18.

132   Sansterre, *Les Moines Grecs*, p. 18.

133   Michael the Syrian, Chronicle, trans. Chabot, p. 455; Prigent, "La Sicile de Constant II", p. 179.

134   Prigent, "La Sicile de Constant II", p. 180.

135   Prigent, "La Siberia dell'Impero", p. 42. A similar phenomenon occurred in Thrace where the Syrian and Armenian populations transferred by Constantine V were responsible for the development of carpet production in the region: Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*, pp. 189–190.

Examining this evidence carefully, one can note differences in the pattern that Palestinians and Syrians appear in the West. The presence of Palestinians is more evident in the first half of the 7th century, and has a predominately monastic character. I have already mentioned Pope Theodore and his father, John Moschos and Sophronios, Maximos the Confessor and his circle of Palestinian monks who founded St. Saba in Rome; the monasteries of Renati and St. Anastasius that were founded in the first half of the 7th century and had strong bonds with Palestine. Moreover, the evidence for links between Sicily and Palestine is also of monastic nature. A possible explanation for this phenomenon is the Persian violence against clerics and monasteries. The apparently systematic persecution of monks and clerics contributed to an enhanced presence of Palestinian monks in the West.

As for the Syrians, their presence becomes more evident in the second half of the 7th century. The evidence suggests the existence of a large community of Syrians both in Rome and Sicily, and that this community comprised of laymen as well as clergymen. As already seen, there is an indication for Syrian silk workers in Sicily, whereas the incident with the Syrians captured in Sicily renders highly possible that large numbers of Syrians resided on the island. Tiverios, the father of Pope Sergios who dwelled in Palermo is perhaps an example of the presence of Syrian elites on the island.[136] In Rome between 685 and 741 five out of nine popes were of Syrian origin, which speaks for a Syrian community in the city. The Syrian monastery of Boetiana founded between 650 and 676 is another case of Syrians arriving in Rome in the second half of the 7th century. Furthermore, the increase in the same period of the popularity of names traditionally associated with Syria in Rome, such as Georgios, Sisinnios and Sergios, might also be an indication for the existence of a strong Syrian community in the West.[137]

If the interpretation of the evidence is correct then one can assume that there was a relatively large-scale migration of Syrians, along with other Greek-speaking easterners to the West which became more evident in the second half of the 7th century. On the other hand, the main migration of Palestinians to the West occurred in the first half of the 7th century. Moreover, the migration of Palestinians seems to have been a small-scale movement, whereas the Syrians appear to have arrived in larger numbers. Before I suggest a possible model of migration to the West, I would like to discuss briefly the migration patterns of different social classes hoping that it will add plausibility to my argument.

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136   Haldon, "Citizens of Ancient Lineage", pp. 92–94.
137   Llewellyn, "The Names of the Roman Clergy", pp. 360–366, especially pp. 360–361.

Looking thoroughly into the sources, one can discern two different patterns of migration or reaction to foreign invasions in general. On the one hand ordinary people appear to have had limited means of fleeing as well as short horizons. They concentrated on escaping the invading troops rather than going to a specific pre-decided place. They tended to migrate in neighboring provinces, to flee to fortified cities or to hide in mountain caves and other inaccessible areas.

During the Persian invasion some of the monks of the monastery of Choziba decided to flee to the desert of Arabia, whereas the rest, among whom St. George of Choziba hid in caves and among reeds.[138] The survivors of the attack on the monastery of Mar Saba sought refuge at an abandoned monastery close to Jerusalem, whereas the people of the city hid in cisterns and caves in order to escape the menace of the Persians who had breached the walls.[139] In Egypt St. Pisentius along with one of his disciples found refuge at an ancient tomb full of mummies.[140] Some decades later people in Cyprus fled to mountainous caves in order to survive the Arab invasion.[141] Other Cypriots rushed to the fortified city of Lapethos, which the Arabs besieged.[142] A similar account comes from Palestine where the citizens of unfortified villages sought safety at the walls of Jerusalem.[143] Regarding migration to neighboring provinces, I have already mentioned the migration of Palestinians and other populations from the Middle East to Egypt during the Persian invasion. According to some accounts, large parts of the population of entire cities moved to a nearby area during the Arab conquest only to return after their safety was guaranteed. A telling example is the case of Laodicea whose citizens temporarily fled to a neighboring place called al-Yusaiyid, and the population of Aleppo, which according to one version of the fall of the city had gone to the region of Antioch until they came to terms with the Arabs and returned to their city.[144]

On the other hand, the most privileged social classes followed different patterns of movement and migration. It is apparent that people of high social and economic standing followed different routes of escape. In contrast with common people who fled on foot, Byzantine elites could flee aboard ships. This gave them the ability to migrate to distant provinces or the capital itself

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138   Antony of Choziba, *Life of St. George of Choziba*, ed. Smedt et al., p. 129.
139   For the monks of Mar Saba monastery: Flusin, *St. Anastase* II, pp. 177–180. For Jerusalem: Antiochos Strategos, *Sack of Jerusalem*, trans. Conybeare, p. 506.
140   Moses of Coptos, *Life of St. Pisentius*, ed. Amélineau, pp. 137–151.
141   *Chronicle of 1234*, trans. Palmer, p. 176.
142   Ibid. p. 176.
143   Booth, *Crisis of Empire*, p. 98.
144   Al-Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, trans. Hitti, p. 203 and p. 226.

without risking falling into enemy hands on the way. It will suffice to recall the examples of John the Almsgiver, Moschos, Sophronios, and Niketas who fled on ships from Alexandria ahead of the Persian advance. Similarly, when the city was about to fall into Arab hands the patriarch of Alexandria, Kyros, along with the governor of the province left the city boarded on a ship.[145]

A further confirmation of this assumption comes from *the Chronicle of 1234* whose author describes the second invasion of the Arabs in Cyprus and claimed that only the rich could afford fleeing on ships. Moreover, modern scholarship has shown that it was mostly wealthy, upper class individuals who could afford overseas traveling. Crossing the Mediterranean was rather expensive even in time of peace, as McCormick has shown in his important work *The Origins of European Economy*; this would have made it impossible for common people to afford such a journey.[146]

It seems that the only way large numbers of citizens could cross the sea was under imperial subsidy. It is worth recalling the cases of Tripoli in Phoenicia and Caesarea in Palestine, which were evacuated by imperial fleets, and were the only instances were a considerable number of people was transferred by ships during the Arab conquest of the East. Cyprus too, as already mentioned, is another example of transferring overseas populations with imperial sponsorship. Thus, one can argue that the presence of large Syrian communities in the West is to be partially attributed to a similar practice, which can be connected to the Italian campaign of Constans II.

In 662, Constans began his Italian campaign probably aiming at stabilizing the West, which had already witnessed two rebellions since the beginning of his reign, and was under the direct threat of the Lombards and the Arabs.[147] After wintering in Athens, he disembarked in Taranto in 663 engaging the Lombards with considerable success. He concluded a peace treaty with terms favorable to Byzantium. Thereafter, he marched through Naples to Rome where he spent twelve days and was received by the Pope and the people of the eternal city. After this short stay, he moved to Syracuse where he established his headquarters. The emperor in all likelihood aspired to use Sicily as a base against the Arabs who threatened North Africa, and the Lombards who menaced the remaining Italian possessions of the Empire. He also wanted to re-establish order in his rebellious western provinces.

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145   *Chronicle of 1234*, trans. Palmer, p. 160.
146   McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 224–227; Sansterre also believes that the poor had limited resources, and that they could not migrate overseas: Sansterre, *Les Moines Grecs*, p. 17.
147   Zuckerman, "Learning from the Enemy", p. 80.

It is evident that Constans had planned a long-term stay in Sicily from the fact that while still at Constantinople he wanted to take his family with him, but he was stopped by the people of the city.[148] A Syriac source records that the emperor exhorted the aristocrats of his retinue to acquire cattle, fields and houses in Sicily, which is another indication that the duration of the campaign had been designed to be longer than usual.[149] In this sense, such an action would be parallel to the transfer of Arabs to Cyprus under Muʿāwiya, which I have already mentioned, or the transfer of Pontians, Armenians and Slavs to South Italy under Basil I (867–886) and Leo VI (886–912) during the re-conquest of the region and the establishment of the theme of Longobardia.[150] Moreover, Constans might have transferred populations to the West in order to increase the military capacity of the province, as both Justinian II and Constantine V later did in the East to enhance the defense of the capital.[151] Thus, it is possible that Constans along with his numerous troops brought civilians to Italy and Sicily, among whom there must have been a considerable Syrian element.

Given the instability of the region, it is plausible that Constans might have wanted to transfer populations loyal to the crown and its religious policies.[152] It is worth mentioning that both rebellions used doctrine rhetoric opposing the monothelete policy of the Heraklian dynasty.[153] I believe one should see under this light the foundation of the Syrian monastery of Boetiana in Rome which was later dissolved as heretical. Constans might have brought with him adherents of Monotheletism some of whom were Syrians. Syrian support to Monotheletism became apparent during the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680/1) where the only high-ranking clergyman supporting Monotheletism was Makarios, the patriarch of Antioch.[154] The fact that he resided permanently in Antioch, implies that his opinion mirrored the beliefs of a significant part of the people of his province. It is noteworthy that the clergy of Syria rejected the

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148   Theophanes, *Chronicle*, ed. Mango, p. 486.

149   *Chronicle of 1234*, trans. Palmer, p. 187.

150   *Βυζαντινά Στρατεύματα στην Δύση*, p. 306 and pp. 329–330.

151   Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*, pp. 162, 189, 221–223 and 313.

152   It has been suggested that Constantine V implemented a similar policy by removing population from the troublesome and pro-iconophile province of Hellas and placing them in Constantinople where he could control them. Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*, pp. 326–327.

153   Jankowiak, *Essai d'histoire*, pp. 228–231 and pp. 277–280.

154   PBE s. v. Makarios 1.

acts of the Council, which proclaimed Dyotheletism, remaining faithful to Monotheletism for several decades.[155]

3   Conclusion

The migration of Syrians and Palestinians in the 7th century is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, which spanned several decades. Its first phase started with the Persian invasion of the Levant, which caused a migration wave towards Egypt, North Africa and Italy. The Persians used considerable violence against monastic institutions and clerics, which had as a result the migration of large numbers of such men to the West. As shown, their presence in Sicily and Rome left deep traces and exerted tremendous influence on papal affairs. The second phase of this phenomenon began with the Arab conquest of the East, which caused a migration wave towards Asia Minor and Constantinople. As I have argued, the Arab conquest was less disruptive, and the Arabs made an effort not to alter patterns of life in the conquered areas. At the same time, the Byzantine state conducted a careful withdrawal from Syria and the Mediterranean coast channeling considerable numbers of civilians to the remaining parts of the Empire. Thus, the migration during the Arab conquest seems more like a retreat than a desperate flight. Moreover, the Byzantines implemented a variety of strategies to enhance the demographics of their remaining provinces. That brought Byzantium in competition with the Caliphate, which also tried in a similar way to attract people to its soil for contiguous purposes. I have stressed the importance of population transfers as part of a general population management policy followed by both states, and I have suggested that Constans might have taken Eastern populations to his Italian campaign, which could have contributed to the strong presence of Syrians in both Rome and Sicily. As seen, it was impossible for common people to migrate overseas unless under imperial subsidy.

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*Diasporas and Migrations across the Medieval
Afroeurasian Transition Zone*

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The Aksumites in South Arabia: An African Diaspora of Late Antiquity

George Hatke

1   Introduction

Much has been written over the years about foreign, specifically western, colonialism in sub-Saharan Africa, as well as about the foreign peoples, western and non-western alike, who have settled in sub-Saharan Africa during the modern period. However, although many large-scale states rose and fell in sub-Saharan Africa throughout pre-colonial times, the history of African imperial expansion into non-African lands is to a large degree the history of Egyptian invasions of Syria-Palestine during Pharaonic and Ptolemaic times, Carthaginian (effectively Phoenician) expansion into Sicily and Spain in the second half of the first millennium B.C.E, and the Almoravid and Almohad invasions of the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages. However, none of this history involved sub-Saharan Africans to any appreciable degree. Yet during Late Antiquity,[1] Aksum, a sub-Saharan African kingdom based in the northern Ethiopian highlands, invaded its neighbors across the Red Sea on several occasions. Aksum, named after its capital city, was during this time an active participant in the long-distance sea trade linking the Mediterranean with India via the Red Sea. It was a literate kingdom with a tradition of monumental art and architecture and already a long history of contact with South Arabia. The history of Aksumite expansion into, and settlement in, South Arabia can be divided into two main periods. The first lasts from the late 2nd to the late 3rd century

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1   Although there is disagreement among scholars as to the chronological limits of "Late Antiquity"—itself a modern concept—the term is, for the purposes of the present study, used to refer to the period from ca. 200 A.D. until the fall of the Umayyad Dynasty in 750. It should be noted that the period within which the Ethiopian kingdom of Aksum held sway only partially overlaps with the timeframe for Late Antiquity adopted here, while the period within which Aksum was active in South Arabia began sometime before 200 and ended nearly two centuries before 750.

A.D.[2] and witnessed Aksum's entry into direct contact, for better or worse, with the South Arabian kingdoms of Sabaʾ and Ḥimyar. The second began around the turn of the 6th century and is characterized by the appointment of local vassal kings, brought to power through military invasions, to rule Ḥimyar on Aksum's behalf. Although the period of direct Aksumite rule of Ḥimyar ended sometime between 531 and 540, Ethiopians of Aksumite origin maintained an importance presence in South Arabia. Only with the conquest of South Arabia by the Sāsānid Persians ca. 570 was Ethiopian rule brought to an end.

In addition to their military and political activities in South Arabia, the Aksumites were also active in the region as merchants. Of such commercial activities South Arabian inscriptions have nothing to say, though it must be stressed that direct references to commerce are relatively rare in such inscriptions during all periods. As we shall see,[3] ceramic evidence from Qāniʾ, located on the southern coast of Yemen, indicates an Aksumite presence there. Apart from Qāniʾ, however, archaeology has until now brought to light little data pertaining to the Aksumite presence in South Arabia at large. Even Ẓafār, the capital of Ḥimyar and a town at which the Aksumites are known to have established a significant presence, has yielded no more than a single potsherd of (possible) Aksumite origin.[4]

Before proceeding, a few words about the terms used for the Aksumites and their settlements in South Arabia are in order. Inscriptions in the Sabaic language, left by both Sabaeans and Ḥimyarites, refer to the African subjects of Aksum as either "Aksumites" $ʾks^1m^n$ (*$ʾAksūm^{ān}$) or as "Ethiopians" $ʾhbs^2n$ (*$ʾAḥbū\underline{sh}^{ān}$), $Ḥbs^2n$ (*$Ḥaba\underline{sh}^{ān}$), and $Ḥbs^2t^n$ (*$Ḥaba\underline{sh}at^{ān}$). The nisba $Ḥbs^2y$ (*$Ḥaba\underline{sh}ī$) "Ethiopian" is also attested.[5] It is likely that the former ethnonym designates specifically the Geʿez-speaking inhabitants of the city of Aksum and its environs, while the latter refers to the various other groups dwelling in the northern highlands of Ethiopia who were subject to Aksum. In addition, armed divisions of Aksumites are designated in Sabaic by the term $ʾḥzb$ (*$ʾaḥzāb$), which is derived from Geʿez $ḥazb$ "people, tribe, crowd, nation" but is attested in Sabaic only in the plural form (cf. Geʿez pl. $ʾaḥzāb$). The singular form is, however, used in a 6th century Syriac text, the *Letter of Pseudo-Simeon of Bēth Ar<u>sh</u>am*, which in one instance seems to refer to the Aksumite residents in South Arabia as $ḥezbā$.[6] A number of Sabaic inscriptions allude to the

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2   Except where otherwise noted, all dates mentioned henceforth refer to years of the Common Era (A.D.).

3   See §4.

4   Yule, *Late Antique Arabia*, pp. 104; 105.

5   Ja 576+Ja 577/28 (Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions*, pp. 77; 78–79 [line 12]).

6   Shahid, *Martyrs*, p. iii (Syriac text).

settlements established by the Aksumites in South Arabia, specifically in the Tihāma region, as ʾṣdⁿ (ʾaṣādᵃⁿ).[7] Like ʾḥzb, this term is also attested exclusively in the plural form in Sabaic and is derived from Geʿez (ʿaṣad "village, farm, enclosed area, field"; pl. ʾaṣād). To date, these Aksumite settlements are known only from Sabaic inscriptions and might well have been of an ephemeral nature—perhaps camps, or at most small villages, rather than towns. If and when it becomes possible once more to conduct research in Yemen, archaeological surveys of the Tihāma may well locate such settlements. In Syriac sources, Aksumites are generally referred to as Kūšāyē (sg. Kūšāyā), literally "Kushites",[8] a term derived from the Hebrew name for the Nubians (Kūšîm < Egyptian Kȝš), but at times as Hendwāyē (sg. Hendwāyā), literally "Indian", the latter a very fluid term that occasionally designates South Arabians, in addition to people from India proper. Greek sources, though at times referring to the Aksumites as Ἀξωμιτῶν, more commonly calls them simply Αἰθιοπῶν "Ethiopians". The latter ethnonym, like Syriac Kūšāyē, referred originally to the Nubians but was adopted by the Aksumites in the mid-4th century as the equivalent of Geʿez Ḥabaśat (> Sabaic Ḥbs²t)[9] and is used for the first time by the ecclesiastical historian Philostorgius (d. 433) as a generic term for the Aksumites.[10] Finally, medieval Arabic authors designate the Aksumites by the generic term for Ethiopians, al-Ḥabasha, less commonly al-Sūdān "the blacks". A few such authors knew of a town or region called Aksūm or Akhshūm—the latter form reflecting the Tigrinya pronunciation[11]—and were even vaguely aware of its ancient past[12] but, while Aksūm is attested as a personal name in Arabic sources,[13] the Aksumites are never referred to as such in Arabic.

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7   For an extended discussion of such settlements, see Shitomi, "Note".

8   Only once in Syriac literature, in the *Ecclesiastical History* of John of Ephesus (d. 586/8), are the Aksumites referred to as ʾAksīmīṭōn, a calque on Greek Ἀξωμιτῶν (Hatke, *Aksum and Nubia*, p. 161 [n. 681]). Since the relevant passage deals with a group of Aksumite visitors to the Nubian kingdom of Alodia, it has no bearing on the present discussion.

9   Hatke, *Aksum and Nubia*, p. 52.

10   Murray, "Review: East of Suez", p. 80.

11   Hayajneh, "Abessinisches", p. 505.

12   The Egyptian historian Aḥmad bin ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442) and the 16th-century Yemeni scholar Shihāb al-Dīn bin ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿArabfaqīh are both aware that Aksum was an ancient city (Hayajneh, "Abessinisches", pp. 502–503; ʿArabfaqīh, *Tuḥfat al-zamān*, ed. Shaltūt, p. 322), while Muḥammad bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Azraqī (d. ca. 865) mentions "the land of Aksūm" (*bilād Aksūm*) as the place where the Ethiopian king resided (al-Azraqī, *Akhbār makka*, ed. al-Ṣāliḥ Malḥas, p. 137).

13   E.g. al-Aksūm bin Aswad bin Yāsir in the genealogy of the South Arabian tribe of Dhū-Manākh preserved by al-Ḥasan bin Aḥmad al-Hamdānī (d. 950s) in his *Kitāb al-Iklīl* (Müller, "Aksum", p. 220).

2   Historical Background: Pre-Aksumite and Early Aksumite Times

The African and Arabian sides of the Red Sea have been in contact since pre-history. One of the most significant long-term results of this contact was the diffusion of Semitic speech from South Arabia to the Horn of Africa. Attempting to determine a precise date for this development is all but impossible and, since the diffusion of Semitic speech was undoubtedly a long process, inappropriate. Whatever the case, a turning point in relations between the two sides of the Red Sea came in the first half of the first millennium B.C. when South Arabia, in particular the kingdom of Sabaʾ, began exerting a significant cultural impact on northern Ethiopia, one aspect of which was the use of the Sabaic language and the South Arabian *musnad* script in inscriptions. That a pre-Sabaean Semitic language or group of languages already existed in Ethiopia at this time is evident from the lexical and morphological idiosyncrasies which occur in Sabaic inscriptions from Ethiopia but are absent in the ancient inscriptions from South Arabia.[14] Likewise, the Ethiopian branch of Semitic, which includes such languages as Geʿez, Amharic, Tigrinya, and Tigre, is characterized by numerous morphological features not attested in any of the written languages of ancient South Arabia, which strongly suggests that an older form of Semitic was introduced to the Horn of Africa well before the first millennium B.C.

The Sabaic inscriptions that have come to light in northern Ethiopia preserve the names of several kings who reigned during the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. What their polity was called is unknown, and while scholars have long assumed that this early Ethiopian kingdom was called Diʿmat, this name, while attested in some Sabaic inscriptions from Ethiopia, does not occur in all of the attested royal titles. The same corpus of inscriptions indicates that several South Arabian deities were worshipped in Ethiopia during this period, namely ʾIlmuquh, ʿAthtar, Hawbas, and Dhāt-Ḥimāyim, together with such local deities as Yāfiʿum, Naraw, ʿAybas, Shayḫān, and Ṣādiqān. From these inscriptions, we also learn of the presence in Ethiopia of a community of South Arabian expatriates hailing from the Sabaean capital of Mārib and from the town of Ḥadaqān, the capital of the small kingdom of Samʿī based in the Yemeni highlands. A number of these resident South Arabians bear the title of *grby*, which translates as "stonemason" but which also designates a cadre of specialist who at times, at least in South Arabia, occupied ministerial positions at the royal court.[15] In Ethiopia, such individuals were effectively agents of

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14   Robin in Robin/de Maigret, "Grand Temple", pp. 784–787; Kropp, "Sabäisch", p. 333.
15   Maraqten, "Inschrift aus Mārib", p. 244.

South Arabian cultural influence. Although one might assume the presence of a parallel community of Ethiopians in South Arabia, no trace of such a community survives in the archaeological or epigraphic record in the first half of the first millennium B.C.

In the second half of the 1st millennium B.C., northern Ethiopia entered an obscure period during which the South Arabian cultural influence gradually diminished. Although it is impossible to discern any semblance of a coherent history during this period, it is likely that the region became divided between several small-scale polities. The picture becomes clearer when Aksum emerged as the dominant polity sometime around the turn of the Common Era, a development that led to a revival—indeed an expansion—of Ethiopian contact with the outside world. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, a Greek text dating from the mid-1st century which served as a guide for merchants conducting business in the Red Sea and the western Indian Ocean, describes the Aksumite town of Adulis, located near the Red Sea coast in what is now Eritrea, as a bustling center of trade at which ivory, tortoise shell, and rhinoceros horn were exchanged for cloth, garments, tools, weapons, and iron from places as far afield as the Roman Empire and northwestern India.[16] According to the *Periplus*, the Aksumite king of the time was literate in Greek,[17] and indeed Greek continued to be used in royal inscriptions, side by side with Geʿez, down to the 4th century. Thus, far from being barbarian marauders, the Aksumites who intervened militarily—and at times settled—in South Arabia hailed from an affluent, cosmopolitan kingdom that engaged in long-distance trade. Material evidence of this affluence survives in the form of large-scale elite residences and tombs at Aksum,[18] as well as archaeological and numismatic evidence for trade with the Roman Empire and India.[19]

3   The Aksumite Presence in South Arabia, ca. 170–270

Although Aksumite merchants were undoubtedly present in South Arabia from at least the 1st century, it is not until the second half of the 2nd century that the Aksumites make an appearance in South Arabian inscriptions. They entered the South Arabian political arena during a period of intense warfare between the kingdoms of Sabaʾ, Ḥimyar, Qatabān, and Ḥaḍramawt. Of these,

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16   Casson, *Periplus*, §6.2.23–§6.3.4.
17   Casson, *Periplus*, §5.2.16–22.
18   Phillipson, *Foundations*, pp. 90; 124–125; 139–157.
19   Phillipson, *Foundations*, pp. 49–50; 197–200.

Qatabān was the first to collapse, its territories in the southwest having been gradually annexed by Ḥimyar until the deathblow was finally dealt by Ḥaḍramawt ca. 150–160. In the 220s, however, the western part of Ḥaḍramawt was attacked by Sabaʾ. Although a Ḥaḍramī regime managed to survive, Sabaʾ and Ḥimyar were the only South Arabian polities with which the Aksumites are known to have had direct relations. Throughout the 3rd century, down to the eventual conquest of Sabaʾ by Ḥimyar ca. 275, the Aksumites allied themselves alternately with one or other of these two polities depending on the political climate of the time,[20] all the while seeking to establish a sphere of influence in the Tihāma region, the "wild west" of South Arabia, referred to in Sabaic inscriptions by the name Sahrat[ān]. A poor and relatively peripheral region, much of the Tihāma, apart from Red Sea ports in the south like al-Mukhāʾ (controlled by Ḥimyar), lay beyond the direct rule of either Sabaʾ or Ḥimyar. As late as the first half of the 4th century, the Ḥimyarites, despite having by then overcome all remaining pockets of resistance in Ḥaḍramawt,[21] were obliged to undertake military operations against the Tihāma.[22] Here, too, the Aksumites established alliances with local tribes like ʿAkk[um] and Dhū-Sahrat[im], often acting in concert with these groups against Sabaʾ or Ḥimyar.

Exactly why the Aksumites chose to involve themselves in the political affairs of South Arabia at the time they did is not a question that can be easily answered. There are, however, indications that the Romans established some sort of sphere of influence in South Arabia at the end of the 1st century B.C.E, and even posted troops there.[23] From two Latin inscriptions in the Farasān Archipelago, one dating from ca. 120, the other from 143–144, it is known that a Roman legionary detachment was stationed there during the 2nd century, most likely to protect shipping lanes against pirates.[24] What exactly happened after the mid-2nd century is not clear, owing to lack of evidence. Not long after the record of the Roman presence in the southern Red Sea falls silent, we find the earliest known reference to the Aksumites in South Arabia in Robin-Umm Laylā 1, a Sabaic inscription dating from ca. 160–190.[25] By this time, so the inscription tells us, the Aksumites already penetrated the Yemeni highlands and had started threatening the local tribes, who in response formed an alliance for mutual protection. If it is true that the Romans withdrew their military forces

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20   Still useful as a summary of Aksumite activities in South Arabia during the 3rd century is
        Robin, "Intervention abyssine".
21   Robin, "Ḥimyar au ive siècle".
22   ʿAbadān 1/5.24–7 (Müller, *Sabäische Inschriften*, pp. 51; 52).
23   Speidel, "Almaqah".
24   Speidel, "Außerhalb des Reiches".
25   Robin-Umm Laylā 1/1–6 (Robin, "Sabaʾ et la Khawlān", p. 18).

from South Arabia after the mid-2nd century, the Aksumites might have sought to take advantage of the situation by seeking to establish a sphere of influence of their own in the region. What Robin-Umm Laylā 1 does not explain is how the Aksumites had gotten this far this early. One would assume that they could only have reached the Yemeni highlands having already established some base on the Red Sea coast, though it is not clear whether any significant number of Aksumites had settled permanently in South Arabia at this time. The earliest epigraphic evidence to that effect appears in the mid-3rd century.

3.1   Sabaean Relations with Aksum under ʾĪlsharaḥ Yaḥḍub and Yaʾzil Bayyin

A number of important Sabaic inscriptions documenting the Aksumite conflict with Sabaʾ date from the coregency of the Sabaean king ʾĪlsharaḥ Yaḥḍub and his brother Yaʾzil Bayyin (r. ca. 245–260). Of these, several allude to Aksumite settlements in the Tihāma region (ʾṣd). The relevant inscriptions all come from the Sabaean capital of Mārib.

3.1.1   Ir 69

One of the inscriptions in question, Ir 69, was dedicated at the Barʾān Temple by three officers of the royal brothers, Wahabʾawwāᵐ Yiʾdhaf, and Khadhwat and Karibʿathat ʾAsʿad. According to the text:

> ḍbʾ mrʾy-hmw ʾls²rḥ Yḥḍb w-ʾḫy-hw Yʾzl Byn mlky S¹bʾ w-Ḏ-Rydn b-ʿly ʾṣd Ḥbs²t w-Ḏ-S¹hrtᵐ w-wkb-hmw b-wsₜt S¹hrtⁿ b-ʾkdn ʿrⁿ ḏ-Wḥdt.[26]
>
> Their two lords, ʾĪlsharaḥ Yaḥḍub and his brother Yaʾzil Bayyin, the two kings of Sabaʾ and Ḏhū-Raydān, waged war against the villages of the Ethiopians and Ḏhū-Saharatiᵐ, and they came upon them in the middle of Sahratāⁿ in the foothills of the mountain of Waḥdat.

A few lines later in the same inscription, we read that:

> s¹bʾ w-ḍbʾ mrʾ-hmw ʾls²rḥ Yḥḍb mlk S¹bʾ w-Ḏ-Rydn drᵐ tntᵐ ʿdy S¹hrtᵐ b-ʿly ʾṣd Ḥbs²t w-Ḏ-S¹hrtᵐ w-s²wʿ-hw ḫms¹-hw ḫms¹ S¹bʾ w-ḏ-bn ʾqwl w-ʾs²ʿb Ḥmyrᵐ w-wkbw ʾṣd-hmw b-Mqrfᵐ b-s¹flt ʾrḍ ʿkᵐ.[27]
>
> Their lord, ʾĪlsharaḥ Yaḥḍub, king of Sabaʾ and Ḏhū-Raydān, campaigned and waged war a second time against the villages of the Ethiopians and

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26   Ir 69/20–24 (Bron, "Nouvelle inscription sabéenne", pp. 79; 80).

27   Ir 69/27–32 (Bron, ibid.).

<u>Dh</u>ū-Sahrat^{im}, and his main army division, the army division of Saba', and some of (those armed divisions) of the tribal leaders and tribes of Ḥimyar^{um} served under him, and they came upon their villages in Maqraf^{um} on the plain of the land of ʿAkk^{um}.

Two points are worthy of note here. One is that no distinction is made between the villages inhabited by the Ethiopians (*Ḥbs²t*) and those inhabited by the indigenous Tihāma tribe of <u>Dh</u>ū-Sahrat^{im}. Whether this means that both groups inhabited the same settlements is difficult to say for lack of further details, though the fact that the term used for village is of Geʿez derivation suggests that those settlements designated as *ʾṣd* were established by the Aksumites, even if they came in time to attract indigenous peoples. Significantly, when the origins of the inhabitants of the *ʾṣd* are given, Ethiopians are invariably among said inhabitants, and in fact Ja 574, another inscription, which we shall examine in greater detail shortly,[28] links one group of *ʾṣd* exclusively with the Ethiopians, with no reference to tribes from the Tihāma. Contrasted with villages of this type are settlements designated *qr*, *ʾdwr*, and *ʾdyr* in Sabaic. Although such settlements, as we shall see below, are at times associated with Aksumites *together with* local tribes, the terms used to designate them, while absent from Geʿez, are attested in Arabic, e.g. *qarya* "village" and *dār* "territory, domain". Perhaps, then, those settlements designated *qr*, *ʾdwr*, or *ʾdyr* were villages established by the indigenous peoples of the Tihāma at which Aksumites later took up residence.

3.1.2   Ja 575

The attack on the Ethiopians at the mountain of Waḥdat is documented another inscription, Ja 575, dedicated at the ʾAwwā^m Temple by several members of the tribe of Su<u>kh</u>aym^{um}, the names of whom are not preserved. In this inscription, we are told that:

wrdw S¹hrtⁿ b-ʿly ʾṣd dllw l-hmw w-h<u>d</u>rw hmt ʾṣdⁿ bn kfl ʿrⁿ Wḥdt w-ẓ'nw l-bḥrⁿ w-hdrk-hmw b-ʾtr-hmw w-ḥrbw h[mt ... ... h]mt ʾḥbs²ⁿ w-ʿk^m w-<u>d</u>-kwn kwn-hmw <u>D</u>-S¹hrt^m mwtbt^m bʿd ʾwld-hmw w-qny-hmw w-y'ttmw w-tqdmn w-rt<u>d</u>ḫn b-ʿm hmt ʾḥbs²ⁿ w-[... ... w-ʾ]wld-hmw w-ʾnt-hmw f-hrgw w-s¹byw w-bn-hw f-t'wlw w-ḥrbw b-ʿyn^m w-hʿn l-<u>d</u>-mḫr^m b-ʿly-hmw <u>d</u>-s¹ʾr bn hmt ʾḥbs²ⁿ w-ʿk^m w-<u>d</u>-s¹tṣrw b[n ... ...]ʾwm b-ḥs¹m w-hrg w-hs¹ḥtn ʿnt hmt ʾḥbs²ⁿ w-ʿk^m w-kl <u>d</u>-kwn kwn-hmw bn <u>d</u>-s²ʿb <u>D</u>-S¹hrt^m.[29]

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28   §3.1.3.
29   Ja 575/4–7 (Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions*, p. 64).

They (i.e. members of Sukhaym^um) descended upon Sahrat^ān, against the villages about which they had been informed. And they threatened those villages from the flank of the mountain of Waḥdat. And they shifted their position to the seacoast and followed them (i.e. the enemy) by their tracks. And they made war on th[ose ... ... th]ose Ethiopians and ʿAkk^um and those who supported them among Dhū-Sahrat^im, the sedentary folk, after their children and their possessions. And they regrouped and fought and did battle with those Ethiopians and [... ... And] their children and their wives were killed or taken prisoner. And from there they returned. And they made war at ʿAyn^um and those who remained of those Ethiopians and ʿAkk^um and those who had sought help fr[om ... ...] mounted an attack against them on the following day [...] with a decisive defeat and a killing and a routing of a contingent of those Ethiopians and ʿAkk^um and all those who supported them among Dhū-Sahrat^im.

Although Ja 575 provides a few details not given in Ir 69, it sheds no light on the question of Aksumite settlement patterns in South Arabia. Once again, the Aksumites are said to have operated in concert with the local tribes of ʿAkk^um and Dhū-Sahrat^im. Perhaps significantly, each time the coalition is mentioned, the lists of its constituent elements are invariably headed by the Ethiopians (*ʾḥbs²ⁿ*), while Dhū-Sahrat^im—and even then, so it appears, only some of them—merely provided support of an undisclosed nature. This suggests that the resistance movement in the Tihāma was led by the Aksumites, perhaps attracted to the region because local tribes had sought out their aid in the struggle against the Sabaean state. In the 6th century, disenfranchised elements in South Arabian society would again seek military aid from Aksum,[30] and while they were prompted to do so by primarily religious—rather than political—factors, it is not implausible that, already in the 3rd century, marginalized groups in the Tihāma saw in Aksum a powerful ally. One final point connected with the portion of text presented above that bears mentioning are the references to women and children among those groups whom the Sabaeans attacked. Despite the lacunae in the inscription and the somewhat ambiguous wording of what text survives, it is likely that the women and children in question were affiliated with all three groups in the coalition, rather than with the Aksumites alone. Insofar as the Aksumites are concerned, two scenarios are possible. One is that the Aksumite soldiers brought their families with them, in which case it would seem that they planned to settle permanently in the Tihāma. Alternatively, such soldiers might have married local women—a not implausible scenario if, as suggested above, Aksumites and local tribal groups

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30   On this, see §5.1.

occupied the same settlements. In fact, both the relocation of Ethiopian families and marriage with local women are likely to have occurred.

3.1.3   Ja 574

Another relevant inscription from the ʾAwwāᵐ Temple, Ja 574, is dedicated by ʾĪlsharaḥ Yaḥḍub and his brother Yaʾzil Bayyin themselves and claims that the Sabaean god ʾĪlmuquh intervened in Sabaean military operations against the Aksumites.

> ḥmr w-hws²ʿn ʿbd-hw ʾls²rḥ Yḥḍb mlk S¹bʾ w-Ḏ-Rydn b-nqm ʾḥbs²n w-Ḏ-S¹hrtᵐ b-ḥrbt ḥrbw b-qr-hmw b-s¹rⁿ ḏ-S¹hm w-bʿd-hw f-yḍbʾ ʾls²rḥ Yḥḍb mlk S¹bʾ w-Ḏ-Rydn w-b-ʿm-hw ḏ-bn ḥms¹-hw w-ʾqwl-hw b-ʿly ʾḥzb Ḥbs²t w-ʾṣd-hmw ʿdy ʾgnw s¹rⁿ S³rdd w-yḥrbw hmt ʾḥbs²n w-Ḏ-S¹hrtᵐ b-kdnⁿ ḏ-Wdftⁿ w-Wdyfⁿ w-frs²t Lqḥ w-ḥrbw b-hmyt ʾkdnⁿ ḥms¹t w-s²ry ʾdwrᵐ bn ʾdwr ʾks¹mⁿ w-Gmdⁿ w-ʿkᵐ w-ḏ-bn ʾdwr Ḏ-S¹hrtᵐ.[31]
>
> He (i.e. ʾĪlmuquh) bestowed upon and granted to his servant ʾĪlsharaḥ Yaḥḍub, King of Sabaʾ and Ḏhū-Raydān, the punishment of the Ethiopians and Ḏhū-Sahratim in a battle which they waged in their village(s) in the valley of Sihām. And after that, ʾĪlsharaḥ Yaḥḍub, King of Sabaʾ and Ḏhū-Raydān, and with him some of his main army and his tribal leaders, waged war against the armed bands of the Ethiopians and their villages, up to the cultivated area of the valley of Śurdud. And they made war on those Ethiopians and Ḏhū-Sahratim at the hill of Wadfatᵃⁿ and (at) Wadayf ᵃⁿ and (at) the cultivated field of Liqaḥ. And in those hills they made war on twenty-five villages among the villages of the Aksumites and Gumdᵃⁿ and ʿAkkᵘᵐ, and some of the villages of Ḏhū-Sahratim.

As with those villages designated *ʾṣd* in Ir 69 and Ja 575, the villages referred to as *ʾdwr* are associated with Ethiopians, here designated specifically as Aksumites (*ʾks¹mⁿ*), as well as with local tribes. In this instance a new group, Gumdᵃⁿ, joins the ranks with the by now familiar ʿAkkᵘᵐ and Ḏhū-Sahratim. Nothing is said of the families of the Aksumites, however, though Gumdᵃⁿ is said to have sent a delegation to Ṣanʿāʾ—at that time a secondary capital of Sabaʾ—where they gave their children as hostages (*whbw ʾwld-hmw ʾwṯqᵐ*).[32]

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31   Ja 574/3–8 (Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions*, p. 60).

32   Ja 574/10–11 (Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions*, pp. 60–61).

3.2   *Ḥimyarite Conflict with Aksum*

Our final text that refers to Aksumite settlement in the Tihāma, MAFRAY-al-Miʿsāl 5, is a Sabaic inscription from al-Miʿsāl in southwestern Yemen, dating from the reign of the Ḥimyarite king Yāsirᵘᵐ Yuhanʿim (ca. 265–287). Dedicated in honor of the sun-goddess ʿĀliyat by a military leader named Ḥaẓiyyᵃ̄ⁿ ʾAwkan, the inscription documents a military conflict that affected Aksum at the highest level.

> wqh-hmw mrʾ-hmw Ys¹rᵐ Yhnʿm mlk S¹bʾ w-D̲-Rydn b-ywm ʿdyw mlky Ḥbs²t Dtwns¹ w-Zqrns¹ w-D̲-Mʿfrᵐ w-ḥms¹ Ḥbs²t ʿdy ʾrḍ Ḥmyrᵐ w-hs²rʿw ws³ʿ-hmw b-tḥt D̲-Ṣhbᵐ d̲-b-s¹rⁿ Ḫbn w-ts³bbw w-tndfw b-ʿm-hmw t̲lt̲ ʾwrḫᵐ d̲-rtʿw ḥrtᵐ ʾbrn ḥrtᵐ f-s²rgw b-s¹rⁿ Bnʾ w-ts³ʿw b-ʿm-hmw b-tḥt Byt d̲-ʾrtʿ w-ts¹bṭw b-ʿm-hmw w-s¹bṭw-hmw ʿdy hʿdyw-hmw ḥrt-hmw b-s¹ḥtᵐ w-qlmw d̲-ḫb bn mqtwt w-ʾrgl mlkⁿ w-mns³rtⁿ d̲-b-ʿm-hmw.[33]

> Their lord, Yāsirᵘᵐ Yuhanʿim, King of Sabaʾ and D̲hū-Raydān, commanded them on the day when the two kings of the Ethiopians, Datwanas and Zaqarnas and D̲hū-Maʿāfirᵘᵐ and the main army of the Ethiopians advanced into the land of Ḥimyarᵘᵐ and they prepared to fight them below D̲hū-Ṣuḥabⁱᵐ, which is in the valley of D̲hubān.[34] And they engaged, and exchanged arrow-fire, with them for three months, (during) which they set up one camp against the other. Then they gathered in the valley of Banaʾ and they (i.e. the Ḥimyarites) engaged in battle with them below Bayt D̲hū-ʾArtaʿ and fought with them and beat them back until they caused them to fall back to their camp with a routing. And they cut off those who had acted unjustly against the lieutenants and infantry of the king and the vanguard that was with them.

That this was a major conflict is evident from the fact that two Aksumite kings, most likely coregents, got involved.[35] As before, the Aksumites allied themselves with D̲hū-Maʿāfirⁱᵐ. Once the Ḥimyarites overcame this combined force, they pursued what remained of the Aksumite force, together with several local tribes that stood in their way.

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33   MAFRAY-al-Miʿsāl 5/9–11 (Müller, *Sabäische Inschriften*, pp. 29–30).

34   This can be identified with Wādī D̲hubān, located to the east of Ẓafār.

35   The vocalization of the names Datwanas and Zaqarnas is hypothetical. That the individuals bearing this name were indeed reigning monarchs rather than simply the sons of kings is evident from the fact that other Sabaic inscriptions specifically designate other individuals as sons of the Aksumite king (*wld ngs²yⁿ*). For attestations of this phrase, see Ja 576+Ja 577/19.22 (Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions*, pp. 77; 78 [line 3]); Ja 631/21 (Jamme, ibid., pp. 132; 133).

tʿbdw w-hbrrn b-ʿly bʿbʿt ʾhbs²ⁿ w-ʿly s²ʿbⁿ ʿrybⁿ w-s²ʿbⁿ Ḥbrⁿ w-s²ʿbⁿ
Yhgmn w-wḍʿ-hmw w-hs¹bʿn w-ʾwlw kl ʾqdm-hmw w-ʾwtq-hmw w-ʾwlw
s³dʿn-hmw w-mdd-hmw w-s²ʿbⁿ Yhgmn f-ʿdyw b-ḫyl-hmw w-ʿdyw w-hbʿln
w-dhr kl mṣnʿ-hmw ḫms¹ mṣnʿmⁿ w-kl ʾlwd-hmw w-bnt-hmw w-ʾqny-hmw
w-ʾṣd-hmw.[36]

> They brought to submission and went forth against the roaming bands
> of Ethiopians and the tribe of ʿArībᵃⁿ and the tribe of Ḥubrᵃⁿ and the tribe
> of Yuhgamin, and they humiliated them and forced their capitulation.
> And they brought back all of their leaders and hostages. And they brought
> back their comrades-in-arms and their military aids and (members of)
> the tribe of Yuhagmin. Then they advanced and plundered and burned
> all of their forts—five forts (in total)—and (seized) all of their sons and
> their daughters and their possessions and their villages.

As with the other inscriptions which we have examined thus far, it is not pos-
sible to determine what portion of those taken captive were Aksumites. Judg-
ing from the reference to ʾṣd, however, it is likely that the Aksumites were rep-
resented among the prisoners-of-war. That children were taken captive
indicates that some of the Aksumites had started families in South Arabia,
whether with Ethiopian spouses who might have accompanied them to their
new home or with local women. MAFRAY-al-Miʿsāl 5, it should also be noted,
contains the last known 3rd-century reference to the Aksumite presence in
South Arabia. Although Ḥimyar maintained relations with Aksum during the
4th century, as we shall see shortly,[37] it is not until the early 6th century that we
again find allusions in Sabaic inscriptions to Aksumite settlement in South
Arabia. This suggests that Yāsirᵘᵐ Yuhanʿim was the ruler who succeeded in
expelling the Aksumites from South Arabia.

3.3 *Aksumites in Peripheral Areas of South Arabia*

Although the epigraphic material analyzed thus far indicates Aksumite settle-
ment only in the Tihāma during the 3rd century, there are hints of an Aksumite
presence in other, more peripheral, parts of South Arabia during the same
period.

3.3.1 Ja 576+Ja 577

One indication of this is a passage in Ja 576+Ja 577, a Sabaic inscription on two
blocks of stone from the ʾAwwāᵐ Temple at Mārib. Like most of the Sabaic
inscriptions treated above, it, too, dates from the coregency of ʾĪlsharaḥ Yaḥḍub

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36   MAFRAY-al-Miʿsāl 5/12–13 (Müller, *Sabäische Inschriften*, p. 30).

37   See §4.

and Yaʾzil Bayyin and, in fact, was dedicated by the two kings themselves. At one point, we are told that the people of Najrān, an oasis located north of the Yemeni highlands, had rebelled against Sabaʾ and made common cause with the Aksumites. The latter had even appointed a governor over the town, supported by an armed contingent.

> ys¹mʿw k-nblw hmw ʾgrn b-ʿbr ʾḥzb Ḥbs²t l-hʿnn ʿqb ngs²yⁿ b-hgrⁿ Ngrn w-s²ʿbⁿ Ngrn w-hmw f-nẓrw mwʿd ʾgrn l-tẓryn b-ʿbr ʾmrʾ-hmw ʾmlk S¹bʾ w-hḫw-hw b-mwʿd-hmw l-nṣr ʿnt ʾḥbs²ⁿ.³⁸
>
> They (i.e. Sabaeans) had heard that those Najrānīs had sent a mission to the armed bands of the Ethiopians to aid the *nagāśī*'s governor in the town of Najrān and the tribe of Najrān. And they were aware of the (Ethiopians') promise to the Najrānīs to guarantee protection against their lords, the kings of Sabaʾ, but they thwarted it through (their knowledge of) their (i.e. the Najrānīs') promise to help the contingent of the Ethiopians.

There is much in this passage that remains obscure. If, however, one accepts the interpretation presented here, it would seem that the Aksumites had taken on the Najrānīs as vassals, hence the appointment of a governor who administered the town on behalf of the Aksumite king himself, but that the Sabaeans managed to intervene and reassert control. That this is what happened is evident a few lines later, where we read:

> w-ʿqb-hmw Ḥbs²yⁿ S¹bqlᵐ s¹[... ...h]w w-ʾs¹d hbʾs¹w w-hs²tʾw qs¹dtⁿ f-nblw b-ʿm-hw w-whbw bny-hmw w-bnt-hmw ʾwṭqᵐ w-ḥmlw ʿdy hgrⁿ Ẓrbⁿ ʿqb wqh mrʾ-hmw mlkⁿ ʾls²rḥ Yḥḍb l-ʿqb b-hyt hgrn Ẓrbⁿ w-s¹ry-hw Ngrn.³⁹
>
> And as for their Ethiopian governor, Sabqalᵘᵐ [... ...h]is [...]. And those who had acted wrongfully and had staged the rebellion sent a mission with him and they gave their sons and their daughters as hostages. And they admitted into the town of Ẓirbᵃⁿ a governor whom their lord, the king ʾIlsharaḥ Yaḥḍub, commanded to govern in that town of Ẓirbᵃⁿ and their two valleys of Najrān.

Here the name of the Ethiopian governor is given, though the nature of his involvement in the events surrounding the reassertion of Sabaean control remain obscure, owing to the lacuna in the text. Regarding the place-names

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38   Ja 576+Ja 577/26 (Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions*, p, 77 [line 10]).
39   Ja 576+Ja 577/28–29 (Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions*, p. 77 [lines 12–13]).

mentioned in the text, the town of Ẓirbᵃⁿ is most likely to be identified with the site of al-Ukhdūd,[40] located not far from the town of Najrān. The latter had given its name to the valley in which both towns were located. In view of the presence of an Ethiopian governor and an armed force of Ethiopians at Najrān, it is clear that the oasis had a community of Aksumite expatriates during the mid-3rd century. That Sabqalᵘᵐ is referred to as "the *nagāśī*'s governor" (*ʿqb ngs²yⁿ*) *nagāśī* being the title for king in Geʿez indicates that this community was essentially there to maintain Aksumite control, albeit in the guise of aiding the Najrānīs against the Sabaeans. How long the Aksumite occupation of Najrān lasted is hard to say, though there is nothing in Ja 576+Ja 577 to suggest a timeframe of more than at most a few years. Those said to have "acted wrongfully and had staged the rebellion" (*hbʾs¹w w-hs²tʾw qs¹dtⁿ*) were probably the Najrānīs. The Aksumites gave aid to the effort and even occupied Najrān, but since they were not Sabaean subjects, they cannot be said to have rebelled against Sabaʾ, only to have supported those who did. As a result, it is likely that the sons and daughters who were handed over as hostages were the children of local Najrānīs, not Aksumites, though the possibility that at least some of these children were the offspring of local women by Aksumite troops cannot be dismissed.

3.3.2 Geʿez Graffiti from the Grotto of Ḥōq (Soqoṭrā)

To date, the only trace that the Aksumites themselves have left of their presence in South Arabia comes not from the mainland but from the island of Soqoṭrā. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* refers to the island as Dioskouridēs (Διοσκουρίδης), a name probably derived from a putative *D-S³krd* (**Dhū-Sakūrid*),[41] and reports that it was a colony of the kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt and was populated by a mixture of Arabs (i.e. South Arabians), Indians, and Greeks who had gone there to trade.[42] This statement is confirmed by the discovery of Roman, Ḥaḍramī and Indian pottery on Soqoṭrā.[43] Although the *Periplus* says nothing about an Aksumite presence on the island, a Belgian team of speleologists exploring the grotto of Ḥōq at the northern end of Soqoṭrā between December 2000 and January 2001 came across a series of inscriptions and graffiti in not only Palmyrene, Ancient South Arabian, Sanskrit, and Middle Indic, but also Geʿez. Given the timeframe for the corpus, it is clear that the Geʿez graffiti are of Aksumite date. To be sure, only six Geʿez graffiti can be confidently identified, together with two that are probably Geʿez and three that could be either

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40   Schiettecatte, "Najrān", pp. 28–29.

41   Robin 2012: 445.

42   Casson, *Periplus*, §30.10.9–11.

43   Biedermann, *Soqotra*, p. 33.

Geʿez or Ancient South Arabian.[44] Needless to say, this is not a significant number, particularly when compared to the 193 Indian graffiti and inscriptions, which make up the majority of the corpus. Nevertheless, it does indicate that Aksumites were present on Soqoṭrā. To focus just on the six definitively Geʿez graffiti, three appear to be of Christian origin and shall be treated below,[45] while the other three may well date from an earlier period, most probably the 3rd century, when Aksumite influence on mainland South Arabia was at its height. However, as we shall see in the following section, there is evidence of continued Aksumite commerce with South Arabia during the 4th century, in which case Aksumite visits to Soqoṭrā at that time are also conceivable. Of the three pre-Christian graffiti, two consist of what are probably names: ʾArtaḥ (ʾrtḥ)[46] and Səmūr/Samr (Sm[r]).[47] The other reads [ʾ]ḥfʿygns[ʾ]t[ś],[48] of which no sense can be made. Although the *Periplus* alludes to foreign settlers on Soqoṭrā, there is no hard evidence that the individuals—whatever their origin—who left written records of their visits to Ḥōq were permanent residents, and it is likely that this applies to the Aksumites as well. It remains unknown what relationship the Aksumite visitors to the island had with other foreigners, as well as with the indigenous inhabitants.

4 Aksumite Relations with South Arabia in the 4th Century

Following the withdrawal of Aksumite military forces from South Arabia after ca. 270, the kings of Aksum, in particular Ousanas (r. ca. 310–330) and his brother and successor ʿĒzānā (r. ca. 330–370), continued to lay claim to South Arabia in their royal titles, which designate as vassals of Aksum both Ḥimyar and the by now defunct kingdom of Sabaʾ, as well as their respective capitals of Ẓafār and Mārib. The latter are alluded to by the names of their respective royal palaces: Raydān at Ẓafār and Salḥīn at Mārib. These claims of dominion over South Arabia are political fictions through and through,[49] but nevertheless indicate that the memory of past Aksumite occupation of South Arabia retained a certain degree of ideological importance for the kings of Aksum.

It must be emphasized, however, that the cessation of Aksumite occupation in South Arabia in no way implies a cutting of ties between Aksum and Ḥimyar,

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44 Robin, "Sudarabiques et Aksūmite", p. 439.

45 See §5.4.4.

46 Graffito 2:20 (Robin in Strauch, "Catalogue", pp. 48–49).

47 Graffito 2:31 (Robin in Strauch, "Catalogue", p. 60).

48 Graffito 2:30 (Robin in Strauch, "Catalogue", p. 59).

49 Hatke, *Aksum and Nubia*, pp. 68–69 [n. 276].

by now the unquestioned superpower in South Arabia. For one thing, Ḥimyar maintained diplomatic ties with Aksum during the 4th century, as we learn from a Sabaic inscription from Mārib (Ir 28) documenting a diplomatic mission to Aksum dispatched by the Ḥimyarite king Karibʾīl Watar Yuhanʿim (r. ca. 312–316) under the leadership of one S̲h̲araḥʿat̲h̲at ʾAs̲h̲waʿ D̲h̲ū-Ḥubāb. The Aksumites responded with a mission of their own, led by two diplomats named ʾAḥēqᵘᵐ (ʾḥ[y]qᵐ) and Zalnas (Zlnsˡ) respectively.[50] Archaeology also yields evidence of Aksumite contact with Ḥimyar during the 4th century. For this, we turn to Qāniʾ, a port founded by the kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt towards the 1st century B.C.E some 100 km southwest of al-Mukallā. After the fall of Ḥaḍramawt, Qāniʾ continued to serve as South Arabia's chief important outlet to the Indian Ocean. Towards the end of the so-called Middle Period (BA-II), Aksumite ceramics appear for the first time at the site.[51] Since the Middle Period at Qāniʾ has been dated to the 2nd to 5th century, the appearance of such ceramics can be dated to sometime not earlier than the 4th century. Sherds similar to, and possibly to be identified with, Red Aksumite Ware and Gray and Black Aksumite Ware have been also been found at Qāniʾ.[52]

5   Aksumite Relations with South Arabia in the 6th Century

The 6th century witnessed a renewal of Aksumite military intervention in South Arabia. Yet the nature of this intervention differed considerably from that of Aksumite intervention during the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Whereas in earlier centuries the Aksumites had for the most part occupied relatively peripheral regions in South Arabia and had formed alliances with such regional powers as were deemed political useful, their intervention in the early 6th century was far more organized and systematic and was driven by a much clearer agenda. This second period of intervention in South Arabia is characterized by a policy of appointing sympathetic Christian members of the local elite to rule Ḥimyar on behalf of Aksum, supported by Aksumite troops and a cadre of Aksumite officials. Ostensibly, Aksum's intervention in the early 6th century

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50   Ir 28 (al-Iryānī, *Fī Taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, p. 147). In his transcription of the inscription, al-Iryānī divides the text into two sections but does not indicate the divisions between the lines of text as they would have appeared in the original inscription. As with the names of Kings Datwanas and Zaqarnas in MAFRAY-al-Miʿsāl 5, the vocalization of the names of the Aksumite diplomats is hypothetical. For a discussion of their names, see Müller, "Abessinier", pp. 163–164.

51   Sedov, "Stratigraphy and Development", p. 375.

52   Sedov, "Synagogue", p. 107 (Fig. 46/442, 444–445), 110.

was prompted by the persecution of Christians—specifically Christians of the Miaphysite sect to which the Aksumites belonged[53]—by Jewish Ḥimyarites. While it might well have been the case that the Aksumites simply used this bout of persecution as a pretext for establishing a sphere of political influence in South Arabia, the evidence from the Geʿez records left by the Aksumites— not to mention the Syriac and Greek sources that document South Arabian affairs in the 6th century—present this period of Aksumite intervention in unabashedly religious terms.[54]

5.1 *Historical Background*

While some details remain obscure, the general course of events in 6th-century South Arabia is reasonably clear. During the reign of the Ḥimyarite king Marthadʾīlān Yanūf (r. ca. 500–518?), the Aksumites seem to have established a diplomatic presence at the Ḥimyarite capital of Ẓafār.[55] Although some scholars have gone so far as to posit that Marthadʾīlān Yanūf was actually brought to power by the Aksumites,[56] the extant documentation for his reign does not yield any concrete data bearing on the manner in which he came to the throne.[57] If the presence of Aksumite diplomats at Ẓafār indicates amicable relations between Aksum and Ḥimyar—whatever the religion of king Marthadʾīlān Yanūf might have been—this state of affairs seems not to have lasted for long, for at some point during the second decade of the 6th century a systematic persecution of South Arabia's Christian community was initiated. In response to this persecution, the Aksumite king Kālēb (r. ca. 510–540) dispatched a punitive campaign to South Arabian under the command of a Ḥimyarite named Ḥayyān ca. 518.[58] In the process, the Aksumites brought to

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53   Nestorians, the other major Christian sect represented in South Arabia, appear to have not only been left alone during the persecutions, but are even charged in Miaphysite sources with having acted as collaborators with Ḥimyarite Jews in the persecutions (Arzhanov, "Zeugnisse").

54   For a detailed discussion, see Hatke, *Africans in Arabia Felix*. Although the corpus of 6th-century Geʿez inscriptions found in Yemen (Hatke, ibid., pp. 355–384; Müller, "Äthiopische Inschriftenfragmente", passim) implies the presence of Aksumites in Ḥimyar, they have been omitted from the present study on the grounds that, in terms of their actual content, they yield little or no information about Aksumite settlement in South Arabia.

55   See §4.

56   Robin, "Ḥimyar et Israël", pp. 871; 873.

57   That Marthadʾīlān Yanūf did not come to power through royal succession is evident from the fact that he never bears a patronym, as all Ḥimyarite rulers born of a king were in the habit of doing.

58   Moberg, *Book of the Himyarites*, p. 3b (Syriac text). This individual's name appears in the form *Ḥywnʾ* in the Syriac text. He is most likely to be identified with the *Ḥyn* who, according to Kālēb's victory inscription from Aksum, RIÉth 191/35 (Drewes/Schneider,

power a Ḥimyarite Christian named Maʿdīkarib Yaʿfur. Although this king managed to establish a degree of stability in South Arabia and embarked on a campaign of military expansion into Central and North Arabia that took Ḥimyarite troops as far as central Mesopotamia,[59] his reign was brought to an abrupt end ca. 522, when the Ḥimyarite Jewish rebel Yūsuf ʾAsʾar Yaṯʾar declared himself king and reinitiated the persecution of South Arabia's Christians. The first target in Yūsuf's campaign was the Aksumite community in Ẓafār, after which the Christians of the Tihāma were attacked.[60] Then, after the Tihāma was fortified as a precaution against Aksumite incursions, Najrān was besieged and its Christian inhabitants were given the choice of converting to Judaism or the sword. When most of Najrān's Christians refused to recant their faith, they were slaughtered en masse by Yūsuf's forces. In response to these aggressions, Kālēb invaded South Arabia once more in 525, this time leading the invasion force in person. Following his defeat of Yūsuf, Kālēb set about restoring those churches that had been destroyed in the conflict and welcoming back within the fold those Christians who had converted to Judaism under duress, after which he placed another South Arabian Christian, Sumūyafaʿ ʾAshwaʿ, on the Ḥimyarite throne.

However, as before, the reign of this Aksumite vassal was not to last long, for at some point between 531 and 540 a new potentate came to power—not a Ḥimyarite Jew this time but in fact a Christian Ethiopian general in the Aksumite army named ʾAbrəhā, who had come to South Arabia during the invasion in 525 and had stayed on, rising through the ranks until he seized power and declared himself an autonomous king of Ḥimyar. After two punitive campaigns sent by Kālēb failed to remove ʾAbrəhā from power, Aksum begrudgingly accepted his rule over Ḥimyar on condition that he paid tribute.[61] While there is no indication as to how long he maintained his end of the bargain, ʾAbrəhā maintained diplomatic relations with Aksum, as well as with the Romans and the Sāsānids, as well as with the Ghassānids and the Lakhmids, who were clients of the Romans and Sāsānids respectively.[62] Like Maʿdīkarib Yaʿfur, ʾAbrəhā undertook a program of military expansion in the Arabian Peninsula, and managed to extend Ḥimyar's sphere of political influence as far as the oasis of al-Hufūf in East Arabia and the frontier of the Roman Empire in the

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"Inscriptions guèzes", p. 273) had been sent by the king to Ḥimyar with the Aksumite army. For a detailed discussion of Ḥayyān's identity, see Hatke, *Africans in Arabia Felix*, pp. 124–137.

59   Robin, "Royaume hujride", pp. 686–691.

60   See below.

61   Procopius, *History of the Wars*, trans. Dewing, §1.20.8.

62   CIH 541/87–92 (Müller, *Sabäische Inschriften*, p. 115).

north.[63] Yet under the brief, ineffectual reigns of his sons Yaksūm (r. ca. 560–565) and Masrūq (r. ca. 565–570) this pan-Arabian empire quickly crumbled, and South Arabia was itself conquered by the Sāsānids in the 570s.[64]

5.2 *Gar antichità 9 d*

Our first text pertaining to the Aksumite presence in 6th-century South Arabia is the Sabaic inscription Gar antichità 9 d. Originally erected at the Ḥimyarite capital of Ẓafār, it was moved at some point to Bayt al-Ashwāl, where it was reused in the structure of a modern house. The text reads as follows:

> [1].[b-rdʾ w-]b-ḥmd Rḥmn^n bʿl s^{1}my^n w-b-[2].[nṣr] mrʾ-hmw mlk^n Mrt̲dʾl^n Ynwf [3].S^{2}gʿ w-bny-hw Wdfh w-ʾṣbḥh tn[4].blt^n brʾw w-hqs^{2}bn w-t̲wbn [5].byt-hmw Ws^{2}bʿ^n bn mwt̲r-hw ʿd[6].y tfrʿ-hw w-qs^{2}bw b-hw mbhʾt^m b-m[7].nhmt^m w-mwgl^m b-zkt Rḥmn^n wrḥ-h[8].w D̲-Mʿn d̲-l-ts^{1}ʿt ʿs^{2}r w-s^{1}t̲ mʾt^m.[65]

> [1].[With the aid of, and] with praise to, Raḥmān^{ān}, Lord of Heaven, and with [2].[the help] of their lord, King Mart̲adʾīl^{ān} Yanūf:[66] [3].S̲hegāʿ and his sons Wadfā and ʾAṣbeḥā, the am[4].bassadors, built, completed, and renovated [5].their house of Was̲hbaʿ^{ān} from its foundations to [6].its roof, and finished off therein the entrance with polished ma[7].sonry and alabaster, by the grace of Raḥmān^{ān}; the month [8].of D̲hū-Maʿūn of 619 (of the Ḥimyarite Era=March 509).

Since the dedicants of this inscription are described as "ambassadors" (*tnblt*), it is clear that they had come from abroad.[67] Müller identifies their names as Ethiopian,[68] in which case we can assume that they came from Aksum.

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63 Robin/Ṭayrān, "Soixante-dix ans".

64 See §6.

65 Müller, *Sabäische Inschriften*, p. 92.

66 Here, the use of "lord" (*mrʾ*) in reference to Mart̲hadʾīl^{ān} Yanūf should be understood as a term of respect rather than an expression of political submission. This is paralleled elsewhere in the South Arabian epigraphic corpus by instances in which foreigners dedicating an inscription will invoke the local ruler as "lord". Thus in RES 2999, a Minaic inscription from Barāqish (ancient Yathill), the dedicant, Yishraḥʾīl bin ʾAlbāʾ, himself a Minaean, invokes the names of the Minaean king Waqahʾīl Yit̲haʿ and his son and coregent ʾĪlyafaʿ Yis̲hūr, as well as the name of the Qatabānian king S̲hahr Yagill Yuhargib, referring to all three as "lord" (Robin, "Royaume de Maʿīn", pp. 180–181). Similarly, Ja 931, a Ḥaḍramitic inscription from al-ʿUqla (ancient ʾAnwād^{um}) dedicated by a group of foreign envoys hailing from Palmyra, Chaldaea, and India, invokes the Ḥaḍramī king ʾĪliʿazz Yaluṭ, referring to him as "their lord" (*mrʾ-s^{1}m*) (Jamme, *al-ʿUqlah Texts*, pp. 44–45).

67 For the sake of comparison, it bears mentioning that the Sāsānid diplomatic mission which ʾAbrəhā had received in the 540s is referred to as *tnblt mlk Frs^1* "the ambassadors of the king of Persia" in CIH 541/89–90 (Müller, *Sabäische Inschriften*, p. 115).

68 Müller, "Abessinier", pp. 163–164.

Although a number of Sabaic inscriptions dating from the 5th and 6th centuries were dedicated by family groups,[69] nothing is said about the extended family (or families) of S̲h̲egā' and his sons. It can hardly be doubted, however, that the residence which they built at Ẓafār was intended to accommodate wives and children as well.

5.3   *The Aksumite Invasion of 518*

The period between Mart̲h̲ad'īlān Yanūf's reign and the Aksumites' appointment of Ma'dīkarib Ya'fur as king of Ḥimyar remains obscure, though if the Syriac *Book of the Ḥimyarites* is to be believed, it witnessed the persecution of South Arabia's Christian community by Ḥimyarite Jews. Documentation for the Aksumite invasion of South Arabia in 518, which brought Ma'dīkarib Ya'fur to power, is similarly scant. The chapters that dealt with this invasion in the *Book of the Ḥimyarites* are missing from the sole extant manuscript of the text and our knowledge that they existed at all is based solely on the surviving table of contents, while RIÉth 191, a Ge'ez inscription from Aksum dating from the reign of Kālēb, preserves only a very laconic mention of the invasion and says nothing of the settlement of Aksumites in South Arabia, nor even of the Aksumites' having brought Ma'dīkarib Ya'fur to power.[70] Rather, it is in the far more abundant and detailed documentation of the Aksumite invasion of 525 that we find references to the presence of Aksumites in South Arabia at the time when Yūsuf seized power. It can be safely assumed that most members of this community settled in South Arabia following the invasion of 518. They included a military contingent, presumably acting as an armed guard for Ma'dīkarib Ya'fur, as well as religious leaders and no doubt administrators as well. From the number of Aksumite casualties of Yūsuf's agressions, as recorded in Syriac and Sabaic sources, it is even possible to gain a rough idea of the size of the Aksumite community of Ẓafār.

5.4   *The Aksumite Community in South Arabia in the Early 520s*

The *Martyrium Arethae*, a 6th-century Greek text documenting Yūsuf's persecution of South Arabian Christians, is, while useful in many regards, not

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69   These include inscriptions dedicated by men with their wives and children (Gar nuove iscrizioni 4; Ibrahim al-Hudayd 1; RES 5094); by a man with his wife, sons, and daughters (ZM 5+8+10); by a man with his brothers, his wife, and his children (RES 4109); and by a man with his mother, wife, and children, together with all of the members of his household (CIH 543). For the full text of these inscriptions, see the Corpus of Late Sabaic Inscriptions in the University of Pisa's *Digital Archive for the Study of Pre-Islamic Arabian Inscriptions* (http://dasi.humnet.unipi.it/).

70   RIÉth 191/34–6 (Drewes/Schneider, "Inscriptions guèzes", p. 273).

particularly helpful in terms of data on South Arabia's Aksumite community, as it states only that Yūsuf's forces killed all the men left by Kālēb in South Arabia, without furnishing any details.[71] Instead, Syriac and Sabaic sources provide most of the information on the Aksumite presence in South Arabia following the invasion of 518. It is to these sources that we now turn.

5.4.1   Simeon of Bēth Aršham

To begin with the Syriac sources, the Miaphysite bishop Simeon of Bēth Aršham (d. 540s) preserves a letter sent to the Lakhmid ruler al-Mundhir III (r. 503/5–554) from Yūsuf himself in the autumn of 523. In it, the Ḥimyarite king states that the attack on the Aksumites residing in South Arabia constituted the first stage in his anti-Christian campaign.

> W-qadmāyat l-kūllhōn Kūšāyē da-šbīqīn (h)waw b-atran d-nāṭrīn (h)waw ʿittā hāy d-sabbar(w) (h)waw l-hōn da-bnaw b-atran eštakhet d-ešaggeš w-elbūk ennōn w-qeṭlet l-kūllhōn d-hāwīn (h)waw māṭēn wa-tmānēn gabrē bnay qyāmā w-ʿālmāyē. Hāy dēn ʿīdathōn badtāh bēt knūštā dīlan.[72]
>
> First I was able to throw into disorder and seize all those Ethiopians who remained in our country, who were guarding that church which they had published abroad that they had built in our country, and I killed them all, 280 men—monks and laymen. That church of theirs I converted into a synagogue for us.

Based on this passage, we can conclude that the Aksumite invasion of South Arabia in 518 was aimed at more than bringing the Christian Ḥimyarite Maʿdīkarib Yaʿfur to power, for the construction of a church in Ḥimyar[73] and presence there of Aksumite monks (*gabrē bnay qyāmā*) indicates an effort to promote Christianity in the country. As for the resident Aksumite laymen (*ʿālmāyē*), it is likely that this group included an armed contingent as well as administrators and advisers to Maʿdīkarib Yaʿfur. Although the text states that the monks and laymen together numbered 280, it is quite possible that this number does not take into account the wives and children of the laymen, who

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71   *Martyrium Arethae* §3.11–12.

72   Simeon of Bēth Aršham, *Lettera*, ed. and trans. Guidi, p. 2 (Syriac text).

73   The church alluded to in this passage might be the structure which Kālēb claims in RIÉth 191/35 to have built in Ḥimyar (Drewes/Schneider, "Inscriptions guèzes", p. 273), though this is by no means certain. As we shall see below (§5.4.3), there was at least one other church associated with, and possibly built by, the Aksumites at the port of al-Mukhāʾ during this period.

are more likely to have been taken prisoner than killed. The *Book of the Ḥimyarites* and the *Letter of Pseudo-Simeon of Bēth Arsham* provide additional data, giving Abābūt as the name of the leader of the local Ethiopian community.[74] Müller identifies this name with Old Amharic Abbabūt or Abbabat, a name which survives in Modern Amharic in the form Abbabačč.[75] Although Yūsuf's letter does not specify where this massacre took place, the *Letter of Pseudo-Simeon of Bēth Arsham* notes that Abābūt was the archbishop of the Ethiopians (*rīšā dh-qaššīšē Kūšāyē*) in Ẓafār (*Ṭaypar*)[76] and states that three hundred men (*tlāṯmā garē*;[77] "three hundred warriors" *tlāṯmā ʿaḇday qrāḇā*, according to the *Book of the Ḥimyarites*[78]) accompanied him when he went forth to meet Yūsuf in person.

5.4.2 Ry 508

Further information on Yūsuf's attack on the Aksumites took place in Ẓafār is provided by Ry 508, a Sabaic inscription from the site of ʿān-Halkān 1 in the Jabal Kawkab region of southwestern Saudi Arabia, dating from June 523 (Dhū-Qiyāẓān in Year 633 of the Ḥimyarite Era). In this inscription we read:

> Qyl^n S²rḥ'l Yqbl bn S²rḥb'l Ykml bnw Yz'n w-Gdn^m w-Ḥb^m w-Ns¹ʾn w-Ġb'
> ts¹ṭrw b-dn ms¹nd^n d-s²mw b-s¹b't^m 'wd-h k-hm ʿm mr'-hmw mlk^n Ys¹f
> 's¹r ʿly 'ḥbs²^n b-Ẓfr w-dhrw qls¹^n w-wrd mlk^n 's²ʿr^n w-dky-hw b-gys²^m
> w-ḥrb Mḫw^n w-hrg ⁴.kl ḥwr-hw w-dhr qls¹^n.[79]
>
> The tribal leader Sharaḥ'īl Yaqbul bin Shuraḥbi'īl Yakmul of the Banū Yazan and the Gadan^{um} and Ḥabb^{um} and Nasī^{ān} and Ghuba' wrote in this inscription, which they set up during the campaign against the Ethiopians in Ẓafār with which they were charged, when they were with their lord, the King Yūsuf 'Asʾar. And they burned the church and the king came down to the 'Ashʿar (tribe) and sent him (i.e. Sharaḥ'īl Yaqbul) with a detachment and he made war on Mukhāw^{ān} and he killed all of its inhabitants and he burned the church.

From this portion of the inscription we learn that the attack on the Aksumites in Ẓafār was followed by an attack on southwestern Yemen, targeting the port of al-Mukhāʾ (Sabaic *Mḫw^n *Mukhāw^{ān}*). Of the enemy forces, some 13,000 are

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74 Moberg, *Book of the Ḥimyarites*, p. 7a (Syriac text); Shahid, *Martyrs*, pp. iii–iv (Syriac text).
75 Müller, "Abessinier", p. 164.
76 Shahid, *Martyrs*, pp. iii–iv (Syriac text).
77 Shahid, *Martyrs*, ibid.
78 Moberg, *Book of the Ḥimyarites*, p. 7a–b (Syriac text).
79 Ry 508/1–4 (Müller, *Sabäische Inschriften*, p. 98).

said to have been slain and 9500 taken prisoner,[80] though the inscription says nothing about how many of these enemies were Aksumite.

5.4.3   Ry 507

For further information on Yūsuf's military campaigns and the manner in which they affected the Aksumite community of South Arabia, we turn to Ry 507 from Biʾr Ḥimā, also located in southwestern Saudi Arabia and dating from July 523 (Dhū-Madhraʾān in Year 633 of the Ḥimyarite Era), which presents certain details relating to the activities of Yūsuf's forces not included in Ry 508:

> [4].dhrw qlsˡⁿ w-hrgw ʾḥbs²ⁿ b-Ẓfr w-k-w[rd mlkⁿ ʾs²ʿrⁿ ....]ḍh Rʿwᵐ [...] w-hrg-h[m]w t̲lt̲ mʾtᵐ [......]mw w-kl-d̲ky b-ʿ[l]y [ʾs²ʿr]ⁿ [5].w-mṣnʿ S²mr w-Rkbⁿ w-Rmʿ w-M[ḫwⁿ ...]bnḥ[...]ny w-mtw b-ʾs²ʿr[ⁿ] w-[dh]rw qlsˡⁿ w-hrgw w-ġ[n]mw [ʾḥbs²ⁿ] b-Mḫwⁿ b-[ḫw]r-hw Frs¹nytᵐ.[81]
>
> [4].they burned the church and killed the Ethiopians in Ẓafār, and when the king ca[me down in force upon the ʾAshʿarān ....] Raʿwᵘᵐ [...] and he killed 300 of them [...]. And when he sent (an expedition) against [ʾAshʿar]ān [5].and the fortresses of Shamīr[82] and Rimaʿ[83] and Mukhāwān ... ...] and they died in ʾAshʿar[ān]; and they [bur]ned the church and killed and plundered [the Ethiopians] in Mukhāwān, together with its (other) [inhab]itants, the Farasān.[84]

Of particular interest here is the allusion to 300 enemy casualties. Although the identity of this enemy is obscured by the lacunae in the text, the number given here is close enough to the 280 Ethiopian monks and laymen whom Yūsuf boasts of killing in the letter quoted by Simeon of Bēth Arsham to suggest that they were Aksumites. Ry 507 is also of importance for the history of the Aksumite diaspora in South Arabia as it indicates that, in addition to Ẓafār, the Aksumites had by the early 6th century established a presence at the port of al-Mukhāʾ, and that the town had a church, possibly built by the Aksumites. That al-Mukhāʾ attracted Aksumite settlers is undoubtedly due to the port's location on the Red Sea, which made it an ideal center for trade with Africa, as

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80   Ry 508/5 (Müller, *Sabäische Inschriften*, p. 98).

81   Müller, *Sabäische Inschriften*, pp. 103–104.

82   Present-day Shamīr in the Yemeni Tihāma.

83   Rimaʿ is regarded by al-Hamdānī as part of the territory of the ʿAkk tribe (al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat jazīrat al-ʿarab*, ed. al-Ḥawālī, p. 107).

84   This tribe appears to have given its name to the Farasān Islands, located off the southern Red Sea coast of Saudi Arabia.

indeed it was since at least the 1st century.[85] It is likely that many of the Aksumite residents of al-Muk͟hāʾ were merchants, as most of those resident at Qāniʾ are likely to have been. Since, however, Qāniʾ seems never to have been targeted by Yūsuf's campaigns, nor to have been directly affected by Kālēb's campaigns in South Arabia, its Aksumite community never merits mention in written sources. If ceramic evidence is any indication, the Aksumite community at Qāniʾ would seem to have passed its prime by the 6th century.

5.5   *Other Aksumite Communities in 6th-Century South Arabia*

Thus far, we have seen that there were Aksumite communities at both Z̤afār and al-Muk͟hāʾ during the early 6th century. What about elsewhere in South Arabia? As in the 3rd century, there is evidence of an Aksumite presence at Najrān as well as on Soqoṭrā. The *Book of the Ḥimyarites* states that there was at least one Ethiopian deacon (*mšamšānā*) named Yōnan in residence at Najrān.[86] He and several other foreign clergymen—two priests from the Lak͟hmid capital of al-Ḥīra in south-central Mesopotamia, a priest and a deacon of Roman origin, and a priest of Persian origin—are said to have been interrogated by Yūsuf during his occupation of Najrān.[87] What happened in the immediate aftermath of this interrogation is not clear, for an entire leaf is missing from the manuscript. When the text resumes, we find Yūsuf announcing that these foreign clergymen were to be burned alive like the other Christians of Najrān.[88] At this point there follows another large lacuna in the text, and it is not until the beginning of the following chapter that the text can be reconstructed, though by then the narrative has moved on to the unrelated issue of a woman martyr named *Ṭrwybʾ* (=Z̤arwība?). Textual lacunae aside, it is likely that Yōnan was martyred together with his fellow clergymen. Whether other Aksumites resided in Najrān at this time, as they appear to have during the mid-3rd century,[89] is not clear from what survives of the *Book of the Ḥimyarites*.

That the Aksumites maintained ties with Soqoṭrā during the 6th century is evident from the account of Cosmas Indicopleustes, a merchant who, during his visit to Ethiopia ca. 518 met Greek-speaking merchants from Soqoṭrā.[90]

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85   According to the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (Casson, *Periplus*, §16.6.8-13), the merchants of Mouza, the name by which the anonymous author designates al-Muk͟hāʾ, conducted commerce with the port of Rhapta, located somewhere on the coast of what is now Tanzania.

86   Moberg, *Book of the Ḥimyarites*, p. 14b (Syriac text).

87   Moberg, *Book of the Ḥimyarites*, ibid.

88   Moberg, *Book of the Ḥimyarites*, p. 15a.

89   See §3.3.1.

90   Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographie chrétienne*, ed. and trans. Wolska-Conus, §3.65.12–13.

That Aksumites, in turn, traveled to Soqoṭrā is evident from three Geʿez graffiti from the grotto at Ḥōq, which, according to Robin, are probably of Christian origin and of 6th-century date.[91] The first of these (2:25) reads ṣḥ[f] Bḍʿ "He has written: Blessed!",[92] the second (2:27) Bḍ[ʾ] ṣḥ[f] "'Blessed!' he has written",[93] the third (2:34) ṣḥf Bṣʿ "He has written: Blessed!".[94] Robin draws attention to parallel phrases in Geʿez literature in hagiographies of the Aksumite-period saint Lībānōs, according to which the saint had written the Beatitudes in the country of Degsā (hallawa ṣəḥīfō Bəḍuʿān ḫaba mədra Dəgsā).[95] As with the Geʿez graffiti from earlier periods that have become known at Ḥōq,[96] however, these three graffiti constitute a rather dubious foundation on which to base the hypothesis of a permanent Aksumite colony on Soqoṭrā. While Christianity is known to have established a presence on the island by the 6th century,[97] the fact that Soqoṭrī Christians adhered to the Nestorian Church, as opposed to the Miaphysite Church to which the Aksumites belonged,[98] suggests that the Aksumites had little influence on the island. Indeed, it is not even clear whether, following the invasions of Ḥimyar in 518 and 525, the Aksumite sphere of influence even encompassed Soqoṭrā.

91   Robin, "Sudarabiques et Aksūmite", p. 440.

92   Robin in Strauch, "Catalogue", pp. 54–55.

93   Robin in Strauch, "Catalogue", p. 57.

94   Robin in Strauch, "Catalogue", p. 64.

95   Robin in Strauch, "Catalogue", p. 55.

96   See §3.3.2.

97   In his description of Soqoṭrā, Cosmas Indicopleustes, Topographie chrétienne, ed. and trans. Wolska-Conus, § 3.65.6–13, alludes to the presence on the island of clerics ordained in Persia, i.e. the Sāsānid Empire, and a multitude of Christians. Such a community can only have formed over a period of several decades, if not generations, in which case the origins of Soqoṭrī Christianity would date back to at least the 5th century.

98   On the history of Soqoṭrī Christianity, see Beckingham, "Some Notes", passim; Biedermann, Soqotra, pp. 39–63. Although the chronicler João de Barros (d. 1570) claims that the Christians of Soqoṭrā belonged to the same sect of Christianity as the Ethiopians, i.e. Miaphysite Christianity (Beckingham, "Some Notes", p. 174), this idea is likely to have arisen from a lack of awareness on the part of his informants of the doctrinal nuances of eastern Christianity. Of de Barros' statement that Soqoṭrī Christians chanted in "Chaldaean" (caldeu), Beckingham (ibid., p. 180 [n. 5]) states that "[t]his would normally mean Syriac, but the word is sometimes used by the Portuguese for Geʿez". Since, however, the Ethiopian Church is not known to have exerted its influence on Soqoṭrā during any period, it is highly unlikely that the indigenous Christians of the island knew Geʿez. The "Chaldaean" in which they chanted is therefore likely to have been either Syriac—regardless of whether or not the locals still understood it—or even, perhaps, the Soqoṭrī language, which the Portuguese categorized as "Chaldaean" for the sake of convenience. That a significant language barrier separated the Portuguese from the indigenous Soqoṭrīs should not be forgotten.

5.6 *The Ethiopian Community under ʾAbrǝhā*

With the reign of ʾAbrǝhā (ca. 531/5–560) we come to the final period of the history of the Aksumite diaspora in South Arabia. Where this period differs from those that preceded it is that now the Aksumites residing in South Arabia were the subjects of a regime that had effectively cast off the yoke of Aksumite rule. In fact, it is by no means clear to what extent—if at all—the members of this diaspora continued to self-identify as Aksumite once ʾAbrǝhā had achieved independence from Aksum. For this period, we are primarily dependent on Sabaic inscriptions dating from his reign as well as early medieval Arabic sources, together with a brief summary of his reign supplied by the Roman historian Procopius (d. 554). That Arabic sources show particular interest in ʾAbrǝhā is due primarily to the Islamic tradition of his having led an ill-fated campaign to destroy Mecca's Kaʿba shrine.[99] Our concern here, however, shall be with the way in which the documentation for ʾAbrǝhā's reign presents the Ethiopian community in South Arabia at the time.

5.6.1 Sabaic References: CIH 541

Only once, in his famous inscription from the dam at Mārib, CIH 541, does Sabaic documentation from ʾAbrǝhā's reign allude to Aksum, and then only indirectly, in connection with the reception of a diplomatic delegation from the *nagāśī*, i.e. the Aksumite king ($mḥs^2kt\ ngs^2y^n$).[100] When the Ethiopian followers of ʾAbrǝhā are mentioned elsewhere in the same inscription, they are referred to as "Ethiopians" ($Ḥbs^2t$ or $ʾḥbs^{2n}$) rather than as "Aksumites" ($ʾks^1m^n$). Thus in one passage, ʾAbrǝhā's armed forces are said to have been comprised of both "Ethiopians and Ḥimyarites by the thousands" ($Ḥbs^2t\ [w-]Ḥmyr^m\ b-ʾlf^m$).[101] Ethiopians and Ḥimyarites are paired in another passage recording their participation in repair work at the Mārib dam. The passage in question states that, when a plague ($ḏll$) struck the region and caused deaths among the tribes, ʾAbrǝhā "dismissed them, his Ethiopians and his Ḥimyarites" ($ḏnw\ l-hmw\ l-ʾḥbs^2-hmw\ w-ʾḥmr-hmw$), until the plague subsided.[102] Apart from ʾAbrǝhā himself, the dam inscription also refers to four other Ethiopians by name. The first was one Gerā Ḏhū-Zabānir (*Grh Ḏ-Zbnr*),[103] whose name

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99 al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, vol. 2, pp. 936–945. Traditions about ʾAbrǝhā's campaign against Mecca are based on *Sūrat al-Fīl* "The Chapter of the Elephant", the 105th chapter of the Qurʾān, though that text, which consists of only five verses, contains no mention of ʾAbrǝhā, the Kaʿba, or Mecca.

100 CIH 541/88 (Müller, *Sabäische Inschriften*, p. 115).

101 CIH 541/25–6 (Müller, *Sabäische Inschriften*, p. 112).

102 CIH 541/74–5 (Müller, *Sabäische Inschriften*, p. 114).

103 CIH 541/19 (Müller, *Sabäische Inschriften*, p. 111).

Müller associates with the masculine personal and tribal name of Gerā, attested in Tigre.[104] This Gerā, so CIH 541 informs us, had been sent by ʾAbrəhā to suppress a rebellion in the region of Mashriqān, located in southern Yemen between the Yemeni highlands and the Ḥaḍramawt, only to be killed himself by the rebels.[105] Two other Ethiopians are reported to have served as governors (ḥlyf) during ʾAbrəhā's reign, one named Waṭṭā (Wṭḥ) and the other ʿAwīdā (ʿwdh).[106] Although Müller identifies both as Ethiopian by origin, the inscription states that they were affiliated with Gadanum,[107] a Sabaean tribe which probably had its homeland in the area around Mārib but also had members at Ṣanʿāʾ, Jiḥāna, and Najrān, as well as in Wādī al-Jawf.[108] It is possible that Waṭṭā and ʿAwīdā were associated with Gadanum because they exercised some form of political authority over this tribe or, alternatively, because they had been clients of the tribe—in the same way, perhaps, that non-Arab converts to Islam became clients (mawālī) of Arab tribes during the early Islamic period.[109] Another Ethiopian affiliated with a South Arabian tribe—and the fourth Ethiopian besides ʾAbrəhā to be mentioned by name in CIH 541—was one of ʾAbrəhā's own sons, referred to in the inscription as ʾAksūm Dhū-Maʿāhir (ʾbrh D̲-Mʿhr), who headed some sort of entourage (ʾlmtm) that accompanied ʾAbrəhā to Mārib.[110] This individual is undoubtedly the Yaksūm identified in Arabic sources as a son and successor of ʾAbrəhā, the Arabic form of his name perhaps deriving from Amharic *Ya-Aksūm "He of Aksum".[111] Maʿāhir, with which he was affiliated, was a Ḥimyarite princely lineage based 150–200 km southeast of Ṣanʿāʾ. Once again, the nature of this affiliation is not entirely clear.

Among the Ethiopians mentioned in CIH 541 there would no doubt have been those who, like ʾAbrəhā, had arrived in Ḥimyar with the Aksumite invasion of 525, if not before. Others might have been among the two armed forces which, according to Procopius,[112] Kālēb had sent to Ḥimyar in a vain effort to remove ʾAbrəhā from power. Unfortunately, neither the extant Sabaic sources nor Procopius give us any sense of the size of the Ethiopian community in

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104   Müller, "Abessinier", p. 167.
105   CIH 541/19–20 (Müller, Sabäische Inschriften, p. 111).
106   CIH 541/36–7 (Müller, Sabäische Inschriften, p. 112).
107   Müller, "Abessinier", p. 167.
108   Robin, "Matériaux", p. 160.
109   Crone, Slaves on Horses, pp. 49–57 and passim.
110   CIH 541/82–83 (Müller, Sabäische Inschriften, p. 115).
111   Cf. Amharic Yāmlāk (< *ya + Amlāk), "he of God", and Yāmrōt (< *ya + amrōt) "he of love/pleasure". Worthy of note in this regard is a 10th-century Coptic text in which the Queen of Sheba is called Iesaba, a name which Vycichl ("Amharisme") derives from the Amharic *ya-Sabā "she of Sheba".
112   Procopius, History of the Wars, trans. Dewing, §1.20.2.

South Arabia during ʾAbrəhāʾs time. As we have seen, there were some 300 Aksumites who had settled at Ẓafār alone in the aftermath of the invasion of 518. Although most of these are likely to have been killed by the forces of Yūsuf ʾAsʾar Yaṯʾar, the number of Aksumites residing in South Arabia would undoubtedly have been replenished because of the invasion led by Kālēb in 525. When one considers as well the deserters from the two subsequent invasions sent by Kālēb, it is likely that several thousand Ethiopians resided in South Arabia in ʾAbrəhāʾs day.

5.6.2   Arabic References: al-Ṭabarī

Turning to the Arabic sources, the most detailed—if perhaps apocryphal— account of ʾAbrəhāʾs coming to power is preserved by Muḥammad bin Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 923) and is based on a tradition related by Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq (d. 767?). According to this account, ʾAbrəhā seized power as a result of a single-combat encounter with one Aryāṭ, a general in the Aksumite army who remained in authority in South Arabia for several years after what was apparently the invasion of 525. Aryāṭ was rather treacherously put to death by a slave of ʾAbrəhāʾs named ʿAtwada, after which "the army of Aryāṭ flocked to ʾAbrəhā and all of the Ethiopians in Yemen gathered together (around him)" (*inṣarafa jund Aryāṭ ilā Abraha fa-jtamaʿat il-Ḥabaṧa bil-Yaman*).[113] Aryāṭ, it should be noted in passing, is known solely from Arabic sources.[114] It is possible that the story of his demise preserves some vague memory of ʾAbrəhāʾs overthrow of Sumūyafaʿ ʾAṧwaʿ, an individual who is otherwise unknown to Arabic tradition. Alternatively, it is possible that Aryāṭ was the leader of one of the two punitive campaigns, which Kālēb had sent against ʾAbrəhā, according to Procopius, but that, with the passage of time, he came to be associated in Arabic tradition with the invasion of 525. The account of Hiṧām bin Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 819), also preserved by al-Ṭabarī, follows more or less the same narrative, but gives a different name to ʾAbrəhāʾs slave, which in the extant manuscripts of al-Ṭabarī appears in the form *ʾrnjdh* or *ʾrbjdh*, the vocalization of which is uncertain.[115]

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113   al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, vol. 2, p. 932.

114   ʿAlī bin al-Ḥusayn al-Masʿūdī (d. 956) gives the full name of Aryāṭ as Aryāṭ bin Aṣḥama (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, ed. Dāġhir, vol. 2, p. 52). It is possible, though, that the Aṣḥama element was borrowed from Arabic traditions about the 7th-century Ethiopian king al-Aṣḥama, who supposedly granted asylum to the Muslims when the latter were faced with persecution by the pagan Quraysh. Accounts of al-Aṣḥama may preserved memory of the seventh-century Aksumite king ʾƎlla-Ṣaḥām (Fiaccadori, "Ǝllä Ṣäḥam").

115   al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, vol. 2, p. 931.

6 The End of Ethiopian Rule

Whatever the origins or historicity of the story of the clash between ʾAbrəhā and Aryāṭ, the regime which ʾAbrəhā established in South Arabia was not to last for long. According to Arabic sources, it was brought to an end through the combined efforts of disenfranchised Ḥimyarites and their Sāsānid allies ca. 570. Once again, al-Ṭabarī, drawing on earlier sources, preserves the most detailed account. Citing Ibn Isḥāq and Hishām bin Muḥammad, al-Ṭabarī states that a Ḥimyarite nobleman named Sayf bin Dhī Yazan appealed to Kisrā, i.e. the Sāsānid emperor Khusraw Anushiruvān (r. 531–579), for aid in expelling the Ethiopians from his country. Eventually, the emperor sent an invasion force to South Arabia under the command of one Wahriz,[116] which succeeded in killing Masrūq and bringing Sayf to power.[117] Once in power, Sayf launched what amounted to an all-out slaughter of South Arabia's Ethiopian population.

> ʿAdā ʿalā l-Ḥabasha fa-jaʿala yaqtuluhā wa-yabquru l-nisāʾahā ʿammā fī buṭūnihā idhā afnāhā illā baqāyā dhalīla qalīla fa-ttakhadhahum khawalan.[118]
>
> He attacked the Ethiopians and began to kill them and ripped out (the fetuses) which their women had in their bellies, until he had annihilated all but a few wretched remnants of them, whom he seized as slaves.

It was not long, however, before a few of these slaves rose up and killed Sayf. Angered by the assassination of his client, Kisrā dispatched Wahriz once more to South Arabia. This time, the punishment meted out to what remained of the Ethiopian community was harsher still.

> Ammarahu an lā yatruk bil-Yaman aswada wa-lā walad ʿArabiyyatin min aswad illā qatalahu ṣaghīran aw kabīran wa-lā yadaʿ rajulan jaʿdan qaṭaṭan qad sharika fīhi l-Sūdān.[119]
>
> He (i.e. Kisrā) commanded him not to leave in Yemen a black or the child of an Arab woman by a black without killing him, young or old; nor to let live a single curly- or crispy-haired man with whom the blacks had been involved.

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116   Wahriz is in fact a title rather than a personal name (Potts, "Sasanian Relationship", p. 207).

117   al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, vol. 2, pp. 945–957.

118   al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, vol. 2, p. 957.

119   Ibid.

It would appear from this passage that there was a certain degree of inter-marriage between Ethiopians and local South Arabian women during the 6th century. Whether the women alluded to in connection with the slaughter un-leashed by Sayf were also the South Arabian spouses (or concubines) of resi-dent Ethiopians or were themselves of Ethiopian extraction is not clear.

As a caveat, it must be stressed that the Arabic accounts of the fall of the Ethiopian regime in Ḥimyar undoubtedly contain a large amount of spurious material, as a result of the passage of time between the events they describe and the time when they were written down, coupled with the introduction of hyperbolic and legendary elements. Nevertheless, the Sāsānid invasion—and eventual conquest—of Ḥimyar was an event known to late 6th-century Ro-man historians. This development is treated, if only briefly, by the late 6th-century historians John of Epiphania[120] and Theophanes of Byzantium.[121] Al-though neither author has anything to say about the fate of South Arabia's Ethiopian community in the aftermath of the Sāsānid takeover, it is striking that the Arabic accounts of the Muslim wars of conquest in the 7th and early 8th centuries say nothing about the participation of South Arabia-based Ethio-pian troops. This is despite the well-documented participation of indigenous South Arabian tribes in these wars,[122] including groups like Mahra,[123] which had been relatively unimportant in the context of late pre-Islamic history. Al-though it is not impossible that some Ethiopians were subsumed anonymously within the ranks of South Arabian tribes, one would not expect such a scenario had they constituted a large community which cohered as a self-contained block, as the Ethiopians had in South Arabia during the 3rd and 6th centuries. Likewise, while the Meccan tribe of Quraysh is known to have traded with South Arabia,[124] contact with the Ethiopians does not seem to have taken place in the context of trade with South Arabia.[125] More likely, Qurashī mer-chants encountered Ethiopians either in the course of visits to Ethiopia itself,[126] or through transactions with Ethiopians who had traveled to Mecca.[127]

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120   Theophylact Simocatta, *History*, trans. Whitby/Whitby, p. 85 (iii.9.3–6).

121   Photius, *Bibliothèque*, ed. and trans. Henry, vol. 1, p. 78 (64.15–17).

122   Al-Medej, *Yemeni Relations*, pp. 110–139; Smith, "Yemenite History".

123   Hence the settlement of Mahra tribes in the conquered provinces following the Muslim invasions (al-Medej, *Yemeni Relations*, pp. 162; 165; 166).

124   Crone, *Meccan Trade*, pp. 120–124; 141–144; 149; 150; 152; 163.

125   Crone, *Meccan Trade*, pp. 126–128.

126   Crone, *Meccan Trade*, pp. 124–129. The nature of Meccan trade with Ethiopia is unclear, not least because, in contrast to other regions with which Mecca traded in late pre-Islamic times, Arabic sources fail to mention any place-names within Ethiopia (ibid., p. 125).

127   Crone, *Meccan Trade*, pp. 125–126.

The most plausible conclusion, then, is that South Arabia's Ethiopian population was indeed drastically reduced in number following the overthrow of the regime established by ʾAbrəhā in the 570s, whether through slaughter of the sort described in Arabic sources, by a mass exodus of Ethiopians from the region, or, most probably, by a combination of both factors.

7   Conclusion

Sabaic inscriptions, supplemented by Syriac, Greek, and Arabic texts, provide a record of Aksumite Ethiopian contact with, and settlement in, South Arabia from the late 2nd century down to the mid-sixth. To be sure, there are some noteworthy gaps in this textual record. Thus, only one relevant text, the Sabaic inscription Ir 28, dates from the 4th century, and even this inscription documents diplomatic relations between Aksum and Ḥimyar rather than Aksumite settlement in Ḥimyar. As for the textual record for the 5th century, this remains completely silent on the issue of either a possible Aksumite presence in South Arabia or Ḥimyarite relations with Aksum at that time. The most abundant and detailed documentation of the Aksumite community in South Arabia dates from the 6th century.

It must be stressed that the textual data on which this study is largely based represents what must have been only a portion of the Aksumite expatriate community in South Arabia during late pre-Islamic times. Not surprisingly, those Aksumites who warranted mention by name in the textual sources were almost entirely of elite status, including such individuals as community or religious leaders, governors, ambassadors, and kings. Ceramics from Qāniʾ supplement this record by providing evidence of the (at least seasonal) presence of Aksumite merchants in South Arabia, a group not represented in textual sources. As in medieval and modern Yemen, there would undoubtedly have been Ethiopian slaves and laborers in late pre-Islamic South Arabia though, for obvious reasons, such low-status individuals are absent from both the textual and, so far as we can tell, the archaeological record—barring the case of ʾAbrəhā's slave ʿAtwada, who might never have existed.

Despite the incompleteness of the extant data, it can be confidently stated that no country is known to have maintained relations with South Arabia over as long a stretch of time as Ethiopia. This is hardly surprising, given the close geographical proximity of Ethiopia and South Arabia. As observed at the beginning of this study, Aksum was the only sub-Saharan state known to have expanded outside Africa at any point in history. The record of its activities in South Arabia are equally unique in that they provide the only extensive corpus

of written material documenting the presence of sub-Saharan Africans in the pre-Islamic Near East.[128]

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128 One could add, of course, the references to Africans, specifically Ethiopians, in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, though such references tend on the whole to be made only in passing, and there is at times some doubt as to how authentically pre-Islamic this corpus is. Similarly, although early Islamic sources in Arabic allude to the Ethiopian presence in the Ḥijāz in pre-Islamic times, such sources post-date the events they describe by several centuries, in contrast to the Sabaic, Greek, and Syriac sources treated in this study, which are either contemporary with the events they describe or post-date such events by at most a few decades. It should also be noted that, although the Aksumite community of South Arabia is the only African diaspora community in the ancient Near East of which we can meaningfully speak, Graeco-Roman texts and art have left a fairly substantial documentation of a sub-Saharan African presence in the Mediterranean world in Classical Antiquity (Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity*). The main difference there, however, is that sub-Saharan Africans were never in a position of political power in the Mediterranean, as the Aksumites were in South Arabia.

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CHAPTER 12

Aristocrats, Mercenaries, Clergymen and Refugees: Deliberate and Forced Mobility of Armenians in the Early Medieval Mediterranean (6th to 11th Century A.D.)

Johannes Preiser-Kapeller

1   Introduction

Armenian mobility in the early Middle Ages has found some attention in the scholarly community. This is especially true for the migration of individuals and groups towards the Byzantine Empire. A considerable amount of this research has focused on the carriers and histories of individual aristocrats or noble families of Armenian origin. The obviously significant share of these in the Byzantine elite has even led to formulations such as Byzantium being a "Greco-Armenian Empire".[1] While, as expected, evidence for the elite stratum is relatively dense, larger scale migration of members of the lower aristocracy ("azat", within the ranking system of Armenian nobility, see below) or non-aristocrats ("anazat") can also be traced with regard to the overall movement of groups within the entire Byzantine sphere. In contrast to the nobility, however, the life stories and strategies of individuals of these backgrounds very rarely can be reconstructed based on our evidence. In all cases, the actual significance of an "Armenian" identity for individuals and groups identified as "Armenian" by contemporary sources or modern day scholarship (on the basis of

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1   Charanis, "Armenians in the Byzantine Empire", passim; Charanis, "Transfer of population"; Toumanoff, "Caucasia and Byzantium", pp. 131–133; Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*, pp. 124–127, 134–135; Haldon, "Late Roman Senatorial Elite", pp. 213–215; Whitby, "Recruitment", pp. 87–90, 99–101, 106–110; Isaac, "Army in the Late Roman East", pp. 132–135; Garsoïan, "Problem"; Brousselle, "L'integration des Arméniens", pp. 43–54; Redgate, *Armenians*, pp. 236–241; Settipani, *Continuité des élites*, passim; Dédéyan, *Histoire*, pp. 300–304, 311–317. Relatively reliable in this regard seems the calculation in Kazhdan/Ronchey, *L'aristocrazia*, pp. 333–338, according to which 5–7 % of the "civilian" nobility and 25–26 % of the "military" families in 11th–12th century Byzantium had a "Caucasian" (= Armenian or Georgian) background.

onomastic material, for instance[2]) respectively the changeability of elements of identity (language, religious affiliation, naming practices) has found less attention in comparison with efforts to trace the "Armenian element" in Byzantium. Similar observations can be made with regard to scholarship on Armenian mobility into the spheres of the "Eastern" empire of Sasanian Persia and later the Arab Caliphate respectively the Islamic states; especially the change of the religious affiliation and the emergence of "Muslim Armenians" has caused some debate with regard to their qualification as "real" Armenians. For the Byzantine case, the magisterial article by Nina Garsoïan on "The Problem of Armenian integration into the Byzantine Empire" (1998) has not only summed up earlier research, but has also highlighted the complexities and dynamics of identity and of spatial as well as "cultural" mobility.[3] Regarding the Islamic World the three volumes by Seta B. Dadoyan, who already had written an important study on Armenians in the Fatimid Empire, equally have produced new insights into similar phenomena.[4]

On this basis, also an attempt to adapt recent approaches from migration history on the early medieval mobility of Armenians is possible. Within the field, the "Armenian diaspora" of course has found attention, but this is especially true for its development since the early modern period;[5] one has to mention here also the monograph by Sebouh Aslanian on the global trading diaspora of the Armenians of New Julfa in Persia in the 17th century.[6] Yet, as we will demonstrate in this paper, concepts developed by historians of migration in the last decades can be also be implemented effectively for earlier periods. Useful are of course also categories of a more traditional typology of migration such as duration, distance or scale (in terms of numbers of individuals) of mobility. However, in order to illustrate the actual complexity of mobilities and identity constructions as outlined by Garsoïan or Dadoyan, a "systems approach" towards migration phenomena seems promising.[7] Therefore, we

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2 Cf. also Settipani, *Continuité des élites*, pp. 488–491, on "typical" names of various families of the Armenian aristocracy.

3 Garsoïan, "Problem". Most recently, Kaldellis, *Romanland*, pp. 155–195, has (legitimately) discussed what he calls the "Armenian fallacy", that is the tendency in scholarship to identify individual member of the Byzantine elite as "Armenian" even several generations after the immigration of their ancestors and their integration into the Eastern Roman polity with regard to language, religion and identity. For a similar case regarding the Abbasid Caliphate see now Preiser-Kapeller, "'Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Armanī".

4 Dadoyan, *The Fatimid Armenians*; Dadoyan, *The Armenians*, Vol. I and II.

5 Cf. for instance Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, pp. 174–177.

6 Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean*.

7 Harzig/Hoerder, *Migration History*, pp. 78–114; Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, pp. 15–21; Hahn, *Historische Migrationsforschung*, pp. 21–36.

survey material on the interplay between socio-economic, political and spatial structures both in the "society of departure"[8] and in the "receiving societies",[9] which very much defined the scope of action, and the actual agency of individuals and groups. Equally, we will try to identify networks established and/or used by individuals to effect mobility as well as integration within the social framework in the places of destination; yet, these networks could also work as constraining factors.[10] The character of evidence from our period of course does not allow for a systematic quantitative survey on a large sample, but enables us to accumulate "micro-histories" of individuals and smaller groups across the centuries, which may provide inferences on general trends and mechanisms.[11] In the following, we will (mostly based on Armenian, Greek and Latin sources) focus on Armenian migration towards the Byzantine Empire, while we have dealt with Armenian mobility towards the imperial spheres in the east (Sasanian Persia, the Caliphate) as well as with migration movements into early medieval Armenia in another study.[12]

2 The Society of Departure: Early Medieval Armenia between Empires

2.1 *Geopolitical and Socio-Political Parameters*

For migration as spatial phenomenon, geographical parameters of course very much matter. Since the 1st century B.C., the Armenian highlands constituted the peripheries of competing empires and a centre of confrontations between them; this position also influenced attitudes of observers from imperial elites towards them. Already Tacitus called the Armenians *"ambigua gens"*,[13] situated between the Roman and Iranian great powers and sustaining political and cultural connections to both sides (see Map 12.1). This "ambiguity" became even stronger when the Armenians started to adopt Christianity since the beginning of the 4th century A.D. and (also in the eyes of the Iranian imperial centre) strengthened their ties to the new Christian *Imperium Romanum* of Constantine the Great and his successors.[14] At the same time, the traditional

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8   Harzig/Hoerder, *Migration History*, pp. 92–98.

9   Harzig/Hoerder, *Migration History*, pp. 102–110.

10   Harzig/Hoerder, *Migration History*, pp. 78–80.

11   Gylfi Magnússon/Szijárto, *What is Microhistory*.

12   Preiser-Kapeller, "Complex processes of migration". Cf. also now Preiser-Kapeller, "'Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Armanī".

13   Tacitus, Annales II 56, 1, ed. Koestermann.

14   Cf. Seibt, "Der historische Hintergrund".

social structure with its powerful aristocratic houses, which was very similar to that of ancient Iran,[15] remained strong.[16] The struggle over Armenia at last lead to the partition of the country between Rome and the Sasanians in 387 A.D. (see Map 12.1) and the abolishment of the Armenian kingship over the next decades. In contrast to the European *barbaricum*,[17] the invention of the Armenian alphabet at the beginning of the 5th century initiated the emergence of a rich indigenous literature, which includes several important historiographical works. These texts provide us with a valuable view on three empires (Rome-Byzantium, Persia and, since the 7th century, the Arab Caliphate) from the perspective of individuals which lived on the edge of these powers. As I was able to show in earlier studies, especially the image of the Byzantine empire in the Armenian historiography of the period moved between admiration of an Christian Empire, its power and civilisation, and – after the divergence of theological interpretations in the mainstreams of Byzantine and Armenian Christianity had become obvious since the late 6th century – contempt for an heretic power of oppression, often in coalition with other enemies of Armenia.[18] In an often-quoted passage of the history attributed to Sebēos (7th century) we encounter a very grim interpretation of the policy of the neighbouring empires (and the mobility they forced upon the military of the country) vis-à-vis Armenia:

> At that time [around the year 591] the king of the Greeks (*t'agawor Yunac'*), Maurice, ordered a letter of accusation (*gir ambastanut'iwn*) to be written to the Persian king [Xusrō II] concerning all the Armenian princes and their troops: "They are a perverse and disobedient race," he said: "they are between us and cause trouble. Now come, I shall gather mine and send them to Thrace; you gather yours and order them to be taken to the east. If they die, our enemies die; if they kill, they kill our enemies; but we shall live in peace. For if they remain in their own land, we shall have no rest." They both agreed.[19]

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15   Rubin, "Nobility", esp. pp. 240–248.
16   Redgate, "Myth and Reality"; Garsoïan, *Interregnum*, esp. pp. viii-ix, also on the various "Armenias" existing in Late Antiquity; cf. also Garsoïan, "Armenia in the fourth century".
17   Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*.
18   Preiser-Kapeller, "Between New Jerusalem". Cf. also Garsoïan, "Armenien".
19   Sebēos 15, ed. Abgaryan, p. 86, transl. Thomson/Howard-Johnston, I, p. 31. Garsoïan, "Marzpanate", p. 109; Preiser-Kapeller, "Kaysr", pp. 190–191; Thomson, "Armenia", p. 169; Dölger, *Regesten*, nr. 108*; Garsoïan, *Interregnum*, pp. 4–5.

At the same time, Armenian historians were very well aware that especially the internal framework of political power allowed Byzantium, Persia or the Caliphate to exert their influence within the country or even to divide it into spheres of interest. Neither during the time of monarchic rule before 390/428 and after 884/885 (when the noble houses of Bagratuni and of Arcruni succeeded in the restoration of – again competing – monarchies[20]) nor during the period of direct imperial suzerainty over Armenia's nobility, the fragmentation of the country's political structures (again also promoted by the geographical fragmentation of the Armenian highlands) allowed for the formation of a regional power centre which could compete with the empires on its borders.[21]

Armenian society, as far as we are able to reconstruct especially based on the indigenous texts, was divided along the line "noble" (*azat*) – "not noble" (*anazat*; including artisans, peasants and merchants). The nobility was dominated by several dozens of houses (*tun*) of magnates (the *naχarark*ʿ), who based their power on their hereditary landed property worked by *anazat*, the number of their armed retainers from the lower aristocracy and their hereditary offices and positions of honours, which followed an elaborate ranking system, at the royal court.[22] Within this framework, sources describe a constant struggle among the great houses for power and prestige, already in the period of Arsacid monarchy and even more afterwards. And already before the end of the kingdom (in 428 A.D.), the material and symbolic distinctions bestowed by superior external imperial powers (such as the emperor or the Great King) could become essential for the manifestation of rank and power within the Armenian aristocracy, even more so afterwards. Therefore, exterior powers usually would find a faction within the nobility prepared, at least for some time, to support their efforts for control over the Armenian highlands.[23] A description of the ideal state of *miabanutʿiwn* (unity, concord) among the aristocracy is given in the history of Tʿovma Arcruni (10th century), together with the insinuation of the decline of this unity and its consequences:

> For the Armenian princes with their hosts of knights and troops were still living in unison and harmony and concord, though in secret they had suspicions of treachery. However, when discord began to insinuate itself within that unity, they grace of the divine power departed and withdrew.

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20   Garsoïan, "Independent Kingdoms".
21   Preiser-Kapeller, "Kaysr", pp. 200–201.
22   Cf. esp. Adontz/Garsoïan, *Armenia*; Redgate, *Armenians*; Garsoïan, "The Aršakuni Dynasty".
23   Adontz/Garsoïan, *Armenia*; Garsoïan, "Marzpanate".

Concerted plans were disregarded in combat and in other matters affecting the administration of the country. (...) They sent letters and messengers to the Caliph secretly from each other.[24]

Discord (or *anmiabanut'iwn*) is a far more prominent motif in Armenian historiography;[25] it is the main reason of the failure of common actions against imperial powers.[26] It also describes the state that prevailed in Armenia on the eve of the first Arab invasion.[27] Yet *anmiabanut'iwn* did not only restrict the chances of collective action of the Armenian aristocracy, but also the stability of foreign domination; just as the Armenian kings, also the representatives installed by the imperial overlords were not able to enforce universal allegiance to the suzerain. Therefore, the structure of the Armenian society also allowed for a certain degree of flexibility in relations with the great powers. As Nina Garsoïan has stated: "...the strength and permanence of the *tun* forged a social structure capable of surviving even in moments of political eclipse and the decentralized character of the society diminished its chances of total annexation."[28] This "decentralized character" permitted the adaptation to the separation between various rulers and spheres of interest of the neighbouring empires and the existence of multiple layers of authority and loyalty.[29] Thus, one member of the Mamikonean clan (the most prominent *tun* in this period) could lead a rebellion in Persian Armenia in 450/451, whereas a relative served as imperial general in Roman Armenia; forming "trans-local families" therefore could be one strategy for noble houses to maintain power.[30] Individual noblemen and clans could gain a variety of options, and even the aristocracy at large could achieve a certain degree of autonomy for the country's affairs if equilibrium between the neighbouring great powers or a momentary power vacuum would allow it. However, the number of options declined as soon as one

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24   T'ovma Arcruni, *Patmut'iwn* III, 1, ed. Patkanean, transl. Thomson, pp. 189–190.

25   Thomson/Howard-Johnston, *Sebeos* I, p. 21, n. 154; Preiser-Kapeller, "Kaysr", p. 200.

26   Sebēos c. 11, 16 and 20, ed. Abgaryan, pp. 78, 13–14, 87, 26 and 92, 22–24, tranls. Thomson/Howard-Johnston, *Sebeos* I, pp. 21, 32 and 39; Preiser-Kapeller, "Kaysr", pp. 200–201.

27   Sebēos c. 41, ed. Abgaryan, p. 134, 1, transl. Thomson/Howard-Johnston, *Sebeos* I, p. 94.

28   Garsoïan, "The Aršakuni Dynasty", p. 79; cf. also Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 147–259 (on the various aristocratic families); Whittow, *Making of Byzantium*, pp. 201–203; Pohl, *Staat und Herrschaft* (on the concepts of state and statehood under such circumstances).

29   Cf. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, pp. 125–126, for this phenomenon; see also Garsoïan, "Armenia in the fourth Century"; Preiser-Kapeller, "Kaysr", p. 201; Thomson, "Armenia", pp. 156–160 and 171–172; Greenwood, "Armenian Neighbours", pp. 333–336; cf. also Hewsen, *Atlas*, map 63.

30   Ełišē IV, ed. Tēr-Minasean, p. 93, transl. Thomson, p. 145. On the issue of "trans-local families" see also Harzig/Hoerder, *Migration History*, pp. 123–126.

imperial power achieved predominance in the region; then, individually or at large, the aristocracy sometimes had to choose between collaboration, resistance, or emigration.

2.2   *Deliberate and Forced Noble Mobility*[31]

Within this framework, noble mobility towards the neighbouring imperial spheres became an essential element of the strategies of individuals and of aristocratic houses. As Tim Greenwood has stated, recurring motives in the depiction of the deeds of Armenian aristocrats in our period are "the service to an external authority, the titles and material rewards available to the individual princes and instances of direct contact between Emperor and client."[32] As I demonstrated in an earlier study, for the "greatest nobles," their rank within the Armenian aristocracy became manifest due to its recognition by the Emperor, the Great King or the Caliph, performed in personal encounters either during imperial campaigns in Armenia or in most cases during receptions in the imperial capital. Especially Armenian sources emphasise that noblemen were permitted to stay near the monarch and dine with him and received material rewards from his hands. As within the court societies in Constantinople, Ctesiphon or Baghdad, "the public display of proximity to an Emperor mattered."[33]

Noble mobility towards one of the imperial spheres could become long lasting or permanent if service for and integration into the elite of an empire seemed very attractive and/or if the alternative of remaining in Armenia respectively a part of Armenia under suzerainty of another imperial power was less inviting. This was especially the case when aristocrats or entire noble houses had compromised themselves in the eyes of local imperial authorities by participating in attempts to remove foreign suzerainty, often provoked by efforts of the imperial centre to enforce stronger political and economic control (Roman Armenia in the period of Justinian, Arab Armenia in the 8th and 9th century) or religious conformity (Persian Armenian in the 5th century, Byzantine Armenia in the 6th and 7th century). Under changing circumstances, aristocrats were also willing to cross borders several times.[34]

Also measures of the imperial suzerain to enforce mobility by ordering the relocation of noblemen and their armed retinues to other theatres of war could motivate individuals to evade them by crossing borders. After the

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31   For noble mobility in the Western Middle Ages, cf. Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, pp. 60–62.

32   Greenwood, "Sebeos", p. 355.

33   Preiser-Kapeller, "erdumn, ucht, carayut′iwn"; Kelly, *Later Roman Empire*, p. 26; cf. also Elias, *Die höfische Gesellschaft*, pp. 145–161; Magdalino, "Court Society", p. 216.

34   Preiser-Kapeller, "erdumn, ucht, carayut′iwn".

restoration of Xusro II on the Sasanian throne with the help of Emperor Maurice, Byzantium in 591 gained suzerainty over most of former Persarmenia up to a line near the capital of Dvin (see Map 12.1).[35] The emperor, eager to recover control over the Balkans in the face of the advance of the Avars and Slavs,[36] transferred many troops from the East to Thrace and equally tried to recruit soldiers among the Armenians. Various aristocrats, convinced by means of promises and presents or of force, marched with their troops to Constantinople, presented themselves to the emperor, and then fought against his enemies. However, some nobles reacted with rebellion and, after its failure, with flight into the Persian Empire.[37] In the history attributed to Sebēos we find, as we have seen, an Armenian interpretation of the empire's policy in the form of the letter allegedly written by Maurice to Xusro II (see above). Sebēos also informs us that in the year 602 the Emperor ordered the resettlement of 30,000 households from Armenia in Thrace, but this plan was not executed because of Maurice's overthrow.[38]

Thus, while honourable and lucrative service to the Emperor abroad earned praise in the Armenian historiography, measures to enforce stronger imperial control and mobility were interpreted as plans to destroy the socio-political framework of the country. Limitations both to the presence of imperial authority (especially armed forces) as well as to the spatial range of mobility in imperial service were also core conditions under which the Armenian nobility at large under the leadership of Tʻēodoros, lord of the house of Ṙštunikʻ, exchanged Byzantine suzerainty for the Caliph's one in 653:

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35   On this important treaty cf. Theophylact Simocatta V, 15, 2, ed. de Boor/Wirth, p. 216, 10–13 and IV, 13, 24, ed. de Boor/Wirth, p. 177, 23–27, transl. Schreiner, p. 302, n. 590; Sebēos c. 12, ed. Abgaryan, p. 84, 24–33, transl. Thomson/Howard-Johnston, *Sebeos* I, pp. 28–29 and II, p. 171; Narratio de rebus Armeniae § 94, ed. Garitte, p. 39, 235–237 and pp. 236–237; Tʻovma Arcruni, Patmutʻiwn II, 3, ed. Patkanean, p. 148; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 28–37; Christensen, *Iran*, p. 445; Grousset, *Arménie*, pp. 249 and 251–253; Goubert, *Byzance*, pp. 167–170 and 290–302; Adontz/Garsoïan, *Armenia*, pp. 179–182; Laurent/Canard, *Arménie*, pp. 40–41; Garsoïan, "Marzpanate", pp. 108–109; Beihammer, *Nachrichten*, pp. 22–23 (n. 14); Garsoïan, *Grand schisme*, pp. 264–267; Redgate, *Armenians*, p. 157; Greatrex/Lieu, *Eastern Frontier*, pp. 172–174 and 294, n. 54; Greenwood, "Sebeos", p. 335 (with n. 51); Preiser-Kapeller, "Magister Militum", pp. 349–350; Thomson, "Armenia", p. 169; Greenwood, "Armenian Neighbours", p. 337; Dölger, *Regesten*, nr. 104; cf. esp. Hewsen, *Atlas*, map 69.

36   Cf. the papers by Johannes Koder and Florin Curta in the present volume.

37   Cf. also Greenwood, "Armenian Neighbours", pp. 337–338.

38   Sebēos c. 30, ed. Abgaryan, p. 105, 28–33, transl. Thomson/Howard-Johnston, *Sebeos* I, p. 56 and II, pp. 190–191; Grousset, *Arménie*, pp. 264–265; Goubert, *Byzance*, pp. 209–210; Charanis, "Transfer of population", p. 142; Ditten, *Ethnische Verschiebungen*, pp. 134–135; Garsoïan, "Marzpanate", pp. 109–110; Greatrex/Lieu, *Eastern Frontier*, pp. 178–179; Preiser-Kapeller, "Kaysr", p. 195; Dölger, *Regesten*, nr. 137.

> Now the prince of Ismael spoke with them and said: "Let this be the pact of treaty between me and you for as many years as you may wish. I shall not take tribute from you for a three-year period. Then you will pay (tribute) with an oath, as much as you may wish. You will keep in your country 15,000 cavalry, and provide sustenance from your country; and I shall reckon it in the royal tax. I shall not request cavalry for Syria; but wherever else I command they shall be ready for duty. I shall not send amirs to (your) fortresses, nor an Arab army – neither many, nor even down to a single cavalryman. An enemy shall not enter Armenia; and if the Romans attack you I shall send you troops in support, as many as you may wish. I swear by the great God that I shall not be false."[39]

Yet, as we learn later, also the Arab authorities enforced mobility on a considerable number of aristocrats and their families in order to guarantee their allegiance in the form of hostages. When the Armenian nobility in 656 decided to return to Byzantine suzerainty, this proved fatal for most of these individuals, while it had the desired effect on some of the aristocrats who abstained from changing the sides:

> Then when the king of Ismael [= *the Caliph*] saw that the Armenians had withdrawn from submission to them, they put to the sword all the hostages whom they had brought from that land, about 1,775 people. A few were left, in number about 22, who had not happened to be at that spot; they alone survived. But Mušeł, lord of the Mamikoneankʿ (...), because he had four sons among the hostages with the Ismaelites, was therefore unable to withdraw from their service.[40]

Until the beginning of the 8th century, the Armenian nobility, reacting to changes in the balance of power between the Caliphate and Byzantium, switched sides several times before the Arabs achieved more permanent dominion in the Armenian highlands. The relatively beneficial conditions of the

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39 Sebēos c 48, ed. Abgaryan, p. 164, 27–33, transl. Thomson/Howard-Johnston, *Sebeos* I, pp. 135–136; cf. also Łewond c. 4, ed. Ezean, p. 14, transl. Arzoumanian, pp. 53–54; Garsoïan, "Arab Invasion", pp. 121–122; Dadoyan, *The Armenians* I, pp. 56–57.

40 Sebēos c. 52, ed. Abgaryan, p. 175, 9–12, transl. Thomson/Howard-Johnston, *Sebeos* I, p. 153 and II, pp. 282–284; Grousset, *Arménie*, p. 304; Laurent/Canard, *Arménie*, pp. 126–127, 242 and 402; Garsoïan, "Arab Invasion", p. 122; Redgate, *Armenians*, p. 168; Preiser-Kapeller, "Magister Militum", p. 359; idem, "Hrovartak", pp. 302, 311; Greenwood, "Armenian Neighbours", pp. 342–343; Dölger, *Regesten*, nr. 228a. On this phenomenon see in general Kosto, *Hostages*.

treaty of 653 were replaced by a more strict regime with garrisons especially in the strategically important frontier regions to Byzantium and an Arab governor (*ostikan*) residing in the country and enforcing regular tax payments. As in most cases, different factions of the Armenia nobility reacted differently: while a group around the until then leading house of Mamikonean tried several times to remove Arab rule with violence, especially the increasingly important family of the Bagratuni followed a policy of collaboration with the Arab authorities.[41] These put down all rebellions by force and executed or deported unruly individuals, often into far away regions of the Caliphate (such as Yemen).[42]

Under such circumstances, migration into the Byzantine Empire was again an option. The historian Łewond reports for the year 788 such a larger scale movement:

> Left without property and food, naked and barefoot, (the inhabitants of Armenia) were exposed to the horrors of famine. They left their country and fled to the Greek territory to seek refuge. The mass of the population, over twelve thousand men, women, and children, as we were told, migrated from their land under the leadership of Šapuh from the house of Amatunik', Hamam his son, and other Armenian nobles with their cavalry. (…) As they crossed the river [*Akampsis*], the Greek Emperor Constantine [VI] was immediately notified. He called them unto him and gave the nobles and their cavalry high honours. (The Emperor) accommodated the bulk of the lower class people on good fertile lands.[43]

In the period under consideration, refugees were welcome, even in high numbers, if they could provide valuable manpower for military and economic purposes.

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41   Cf. also Greenwood, "Armenian neighbours".

42   Łewond c. 21, ed. Ezean, p. 112, transl. Arzoumanian, p. 113; Garsoïan, "Arab Invasion", p. 129. The removal or extinction of several noble families created also opportunities for immigrating (or also converted) Muslim elites to create regional power bases within historical Armenia, cf. Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates*; Dadoyan, *The Armenians* 1, pp. 87–90; Preiser-Kapeller, "Complex processes of migration". On interaction and cultural exchange between Christian Armenian and Muslim elites cf. also Jones*, Between Islam and Byzantium*; Preiser-Kapeller, "Complex processes of migration".

43   Łewond c. 42, ed. Ezean, pp. 168–169, transl. Arzoumanian, p. 149; Greenwood, "Armenian Neighbours", p. 348; Redgate, "Myth and Reality", p. 291, also on the further development of this community.

2.3 *Byzantium as (not so) Desirable Destination*

Besides the prospect to find more beneficial conditions for living or of simply avoiding acts of revenge by irritated imperial authorities, Byzantium as Christian polity was regarded an empire of different quality in comparison with Persia or the Caliphate. The 8th century historian Movsēs Xorenac'i interprets the decision of King Aršak as well as his retainers to opt for Roman suzerainty in 387 along these lines (but highlighting also the significance of kinship ties):

> So Aršak left the native kingdom of his fathers, Ayrarat, and all the part of the Persian sector, and went to rule over the western regions of our country, in the Greek sector (*i bažnin Yunacʻ*), not only because of his mother who was in the imperial capital (*i kayserakan kʻałakʻēn*), but because he thought that it was better to rule over a smaller region and serve a Christian king than to control most (of the country) and submit to the yoke of heathens. The princes of Šapuh's sector followed him with their wives and sons, abandoning each one's possessions and villages and estates.[44]

A similar interpretation Łewond provides when describing the deliberate emigration of Armenians from the environs of Theodosioupolis (Erzurum) on the occasion of an imperial campaign in the region in the 750s (accompanied also by the deportation of Muslim population into the Empire):

> (…) the king of the Greeks [*Constantine* V] moved from his imperial portals with a massive multitude of followers and arrived at the city called Theodosioupolis in the region of Karin. (…) Furthermore, he took the city troops and the local Saracens, along with their families, to the land of the Greeks. Many of the inhabitants of the same districts asked the king to allow them to follow him, in order to be relieved of the heavy yoke of servitude to the Arabs. Having secured permission from (Emperor Constantine V), the inhabitants of the Armenian districts prepared themselves, packed their belongings and moved, placing their trust in the power of the dominical cross and in the glory of the King. They separated themselves (from the rest), left their homeland, and went to the country of the pious king.[45]

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44   Movsēs Xorenac'i III, 42, ed. Abełean/Yarut'iwnean, transl. Thomson, p. 304.

45   Łewond c. 29, ed. Ezean, p. 129, transl. Arzoumanian, pp. 123–124; Charanis, "Transfer", p. 144; Garsoïan, "Problem", p. 57.

Yet, as already mentioned, doctrinal differences between Byzantine and Armenian Orthodoxy since the later 6th century led to an alienation between the two churches, accompanied by attempts of imperial authorities to enforce conformity with Constantinople during periods of Byzantine pre-dominance in the Armenian highlands in the 6th and 7th century.[46] Afterwards, Byzantium could also be regarded as shelter of heresy and staying there could threaten the true faith of Armenian Christians.[47] Katholikos Yovhannēs Drasχanakertc'i at the beginning of the 10th century for instance explained why he decided not to follow an invitation of the emperor to Constantinople (in contrast to the Armenian king):

> I decided not to go, thinking that there might be people who might look askance at my going there, and assume that I sought communion with the Chalcedonians. It was for this reason that I did not wish to go, lest I might scandalize the minds of the weak.[48]

Therefore, we also find in the same work of Łewond, who describes the decision of the Armenians near Theodosioupolis to move to Byzantium by placing their trust into the Christian faith of its emperor, a different interpretation of the option to emigrate to the Empire in a later episode shortly before a revolt of the nobility against the Arabs in 774/775:

> Ašot son of Prince Sahak from the house of the Bagratids, did not take part in this dangerous enterprise, because he was full of wisdom and prudence. On the contrary, he kept counselling the rest to abandon the perilous enterprise (…) and think of their own security as well as that of their families. He told them: "(…) Even the Roman Empire was unable to raise its hand against this dragon (= the Arabs), and it still continues to tremble before it and has not dared to act against the dominical command. (…) you will be forced to flee from your land with your entire households (…) and live under the foreign yoke of the king of the Greeks.[49]

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46 Cf. in general on this the magisterial study of Garsoïan, *Grand schism*; Mahé, "Die armenische Kirche".

47 Preiser-Kapeller, "Between New Jerusalem".

48 Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i 55, § 7, ed. Zagareišvili, transl. Maksoudian, p. 198.

49 Łewond c. 34, ed. Ezean, pp. 142–143, transl. Arzoumanian, p. 132; Garsoïan, "Arab Invasion", p. 131.

2.4   *Ecclesiastical and Learned Mobility*

Besides doctrinal issues, the Christianisation of the Roman Empire and of Armenia brought about also a new framework for mobility via the emergence of channels of ecclesiastical authority, pilgrimage and education.

From the beginning of the establishment of an Armenian ecclesiastical hierarchy in the 4th century onwards, its representatives were closely connected with neighbouring churches and church provinces. Until the end of the 4th century, the Senior Bishop (later "Katholikos") of Armenia was ordained by the metropolitan of Caesarea in Cappadocia. Armenian hierarchs took part in the ecclesiastical councils of the 4th and 5th centuries in Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon. The Armenian clergy communicated also with ecclesiastics in Syria and Mesopotamia, in Georgia and Caucasian Albania and in Persia. These exchanges on doctrine and praxis of faith intensified in the period of Christological disputes between the 5th and the 7th century, when the Armenian church ultimately repudiated both the teaching of Nestorius (whose theological position became most prominent in Persia) and of the Council of Chalcedon (the dogma of the Byzantine and later also of the Georgian Church) and sided with the mono/miaphysite Churches of Egypt and Syria. Many of these communications have been collected in the so-called "Book of letters" (Girk' T'łt'oc').[50] From these letters and other sources we learn however that despite the rift between the churches in the 6th and 7th century and the Arab conquest of Armenia, contacts with the Byzantine church did not break down in the 8th and 9th centuries (letter of Patriarch Germanos I to Bishop Daniel of Siwnik' [ca. 720, see below], exchange of letters with Patriarch Photios [between 862 and 886, see below]). Equally, the picture of a united anti-Chalcedonian Christianity produced in the Armenian historiography does not withstand closer inspection as does the image of a united Armenian monarchy. The number of Armenian clergymen and laymen, who (and not only under Byzantine pressure) also in the 7th and 8th century and later on had sympathies for the Chalcedonian creed was not insignificant.[51]

Clerics and monks found also their way to Palestine before and after the Arab conquest, where we encounter a vivid Armenian community in and around Jerusalem; we also possess several Armenian mosaic inscriptions from the 5th to 7th century, which are among the oldest epigraphic testimonies in

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50   Cf. for an overview on these issues and all sources Garsoïan, *Grand schism*.

51   See most recently Garsoïan, *Interregnum*, pp. 55–104 (with references), and Garsoïan, "Problem", pp. 104–109 (especially on the so-called Cat'/Tzatoi, Armenian-speaking Chalcedonian communities, who somehow suffered from rejection both by the Armenian and the Byzantine-Greek Orthodoxy, see also Todt/Vest, *Syria*, p. 456). Cf. also Redgate, "Myth and Reality".

Armenian language at all.[52] A text attributed to a Vardapet Anastas and dated
to the 7th–10th century lists (for sure exaggerating) 70 churches and monaster-
ies, which had been build or bought by Armenians in Jerusalem between the
4th and 7th century.[53] At least several churches are mentioned in the exchange
of letters between Modestos, the head of the Armenian community in at this
time Persian-ruled Jerusalem, and Katholikos Komitas in Armenia from the
year 617, included in the history attributed to Sebēos.[54] In his answer to Modes-
tos, the Katholikos also explains the motivation and spiritual value of the pil-
grimage to Jerusalem and beyond:

> But know this, O beloved brother, no little consolation was conveyed to
> our people by the coming and going of those journeys. First, because they
> forgot all the troubles and sadness of this country. Secondly, because they
> cleansed their sins through repentance, fasts and mercy, through sleep-
> less and unresting travelling by day and night. Thirdly, because they bap-
> tized their bodies in the water of holiness, in the fiery currents of the
> Jordan, whence the divine grace flowed to all the universe.[55]

As Komitas equally wrote, Armenian pilgrims and monks found their way to
the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai. This is also documented by Arme-
nian inscriptions and Armenian manuscripts[56] as well as hagiographic sourc-
es: in the *Narrationes de patribus Sinaïtis* we find for the 7th century an Arme-
nian *monachos* named Elissaios who saw a vision of fire above the altar almost
every night.[57] In addition, later, the *Narrationes* mention a group of not less
than 800 Armenians, who, together with a large number of Arabs, became wit-
nesses of a fire vision on Mt. Sinai.[58] However, Armenian clergymen travelled

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52   Greenwood, "Armenian inscriptions", pp. 89–91; Vaux, "Linguistic manifestations".
53   The Armenian Pilgrim Guide, transl. in: Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, pp. 16–17, 166–168.
      Cf. also McCormick, *Charlemagne´s Survey*, pp. 57–59, 96–98. On the actual monumental
      evidence as well as for a systematic survey of evidence for Armenian presence from the
      5th to the 11th century see now Tchekhanovets, *The Caucasian Archaeology of the Holy
      Land*.
54   Sebēos c. 35–36, ed. Abgaryan, pp. 116–121, transl. Thomson/Howard-Johnston, *Sebeos* 1,
      pp. 70–76.
55   Sebēos c. 36, ed. Abgaryan, p.119, transl. Thomson/Howard-Johnston, *Sebeos* 1, p. 74.
56   Cf. Vaux, "Linguistic manifestations". See also Stone, "The Greek Background", pp. 194–
      202; Redgate, "Myth and Reality", p. 285.
57   *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr. 1508; Narrationes de patribus
      Sinaïtis cap. XXXVII, ed. Nau, p. 81.
58   *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr. 10204; Narrationes de patribus
      Sinaïtis cap. XXXVIII, ed. Nau, pp. 81–82.

even beyond the Arab and the Byzantine sphere to Italy and even to France and Central Europe, where we find their traces in Latin sources, as Ralph-Johannes Lilie has demonstrated, for instance.[59] Thus, the geographical range of Armenian ecclesiastical mobility is comparable with the aristocratic one.

In addition, learning in Armenian Church was strongly influenced by both Greek and Syriac Christianity, whose centres of education could be found in the Roman Empire. The establishment of such educational links was attributed by the 5th century historian Agatʻangełos already to the first Christian king of Armenia Trdat III in the early 4th century, who allegedly had founded schools in order to teach pupils in Syriac (*yAsori dprutʻiwn*) as well as in Greek (*i Hellen*).[60] Soon after Mesrob Maštocʻ at the beginning of the 5th century had developed an alphabet for the Armenian language, a large-scale translation activity from Syriac and from Greek started, which also influenced the linguistic development of Armenian literature. Scholarship speaks of a "Hellenising school" especially in the 6th century.[61] Still for Movsēs Xorenacʻi in the 8th century, "*Greece (was) the mother or nurse of all sciences*".[62] Armenians had studied at places of education in the Roman Empire already in the 4th century. Ammianus Marcellinus mentions that one of his schoolmates in Antioch in the 330s/340s was the princely heir of the Satrap of Corduene (in Southern Armenia), held as hostage in Syria.[63] Another one of the Armenian Satraps in this region was Thomas, who in the early 6th century was educated "in the wisdom of the Greeks" in Berytus and Antioch.[64]

The desire for Christian education intensified scholarly mobility. Koriwn, disciple and biographer of Mesrob Maštocʻ, in the early 5th century and the historian Łazar Pʻarpecʻi in the late 5th century studied in Constantinople, which the latter praises as source of "*flows of wisdom (…). Prominent scholars from all parts of the Greek Empire hurry to go there*".[65] The famous 7th century

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59 Lilie, "Sonderbare Heilige".

60 Agathangelos (armen.) § 840, ed. ed. Thomson, p. 374.

61 On the development of the Armenian alphabet now see the contributions in Seibt/Preiser-Kapeller, *The Creation of the Caucasian Alphabets*. On the "Hellenising School" see Terian, "The Hellenizing School", pp. 175–186; Weitenberg, "Linguistic continuity", pp. 447–458.

62 Movsēs Xorenacʻi I, 2, ed. Abełean/Yarutʻiwnean, transl. Thomson, p. 68; Terian, "Xorenacʻi and Eastern Historiography", pp. 101–141; Thomson, "Constantinople in Early Armenian Literature", pp. 20–34; Preiser-Kapeller, "Between New Jerusalem", pp. 65–66.

63 Ammianus Marcellinus 18, 6, 20, ed. Seyfarth; Treadgold, *Early Byzantine Historians,* p. 52.

64 *The Prosopography of the later Roman Empire* III s. v. Thomas, p. 17, with further references.

65 Koriwn § 46, § 136–140, ed. ed. Akinean; Łazar Pʻarpecʻi 3, ed. Tēr Mkrtčʻean/Malχaseancʻ, p. 4, transl. Thomson, p. 37; Preiser-Kapeller, "Between New Jerusalem", pp. 66–67.

scholar Anania of Širak reports in his so-called "autobiography" about his educational journey to Theodosioupolis and Trebizond in the 630s, where he studied especially mathematics with a teacher named Tychikos, who in turn under the Emperors Tiberius and Maurice had served in the Byzantine Army in Armenia, where he had learned the Armenian language, before his studies had led him to Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome and Constantinople (see Map 12.3).[66]

2.5   *Non-Elite Mobility and Borderlands*

Therefore, we encounter a multitude of voices regarding mobility and migration in the Armenian sources, often within the same text. However, as indicated above, we are (besides pilgrims, who also may have come from a non-elite stratum of society) mostly informed about (military, ecclesiastical or educational) elite mobility and elite considerations.

One example for the mobility of an artisan from Armenia to Byzantium is Trdat, architect and mason, who according to the Armenian historian Stephen of Taron travelled to Constantinople and was entrusted with the restoration of the Hagia Sophia, which had been damaged by an earthquake in October 989. However, to our disappointment, his accomplishment found no echo in the Byzantine sources, which mention the damage and reconstruction of the Hagia Sophia, but not Trdat. At the same time, we learn from Stephen of Taron that Trdat was the architect of the church of the Armenian Katholikos in Argina and of the Cathedral of Ani for King Smbat II Bagratuni; we can therefore assume that he was closely connected with the Armenian elite.[67]

Nevertheless, as we have seen, in many cases aristocrats moving across borders were accompanied by their retainers, both noble and not noble, and sometimes their families. Bringing with him valuable manpower of course strengthened also the position of a nobleman in his negotiations with the authorities of his destination.[68] Even more, imperial authorities relied on these networks of allegiance when attempting to mobilise larger numbers of soldiers or settlers for their purposes. Again, the period of Byzantine control over most of Armenia under Emperor Maurice between 590 and 602 provides an illustrating example:

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66   Cf. Greenwood, "Reassessment". See also Hewsen, "Science in Seventh-Century Armenia".

67   *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr. 28370; Stephen of Taron III, cap. 11 and 27, ed. Malχasean, transl. Greenwood, pp. 239 and 289.

68   For an example of the re-location of non-elite population within Armenia by Katholikos Nersēs III "the Builder" (641–661), whose re-settled peasants on newly cultivated land, cf. Garsoïan, *Interregnum*, p. 38 (with references).

> He (Emperor Maurice) further commanded all the cavalry from Armenia to assemble, and the chief nobles, (and those) who were experienced and capable of standing firm and fighting in battle in the line of spearmen. He also ordered other forces to be brought from the land of Armenia in great numbers, all of them willing and of elite stature, to be formed into battalions and that, equipped with arms, they should all cross to the land of Thrace against the enemy, and Mušeł Mamikonean as their general.[69]

On another occasion during the reign for Maurice we learn that these ties of allegiance between noble commander and retainers could also work to the detriment of imperial interests, since they enabled them to follow own interests also after having moved into the imperial sphere. In this episode, the Emperor has to use considerable diplomatic and material resources to separate the mass of soldiers from their aristocratic leader:

> At that time, another command came from the Emperor to seek out again and find from Armenia elite armed cavalry, 2,000 in number, and put them under two reliable men, and to despatch them in great haste. They sought out and chose 2,000 armed men and put these 2,000 under two reliable men: 1,000 to Sahak Mamikonean und 1,000 under the command of Smbat Bagratuni, son of Manuēl. (...) Sahak set out, brought his force to the palace, and presented himself to the king. But when Smbat reached Xałtik', he baulked, because his force had become frightened en route, not wishing to go to that place (= Thrace) in compliance with the king's request. The king was informed of these events. Then through letters (*hrovartaks*) and trustworthy messengers he promised with an oath to send him back promptly to his own country with great honour. He also promised great rewards and gifts to the troops, and in this way he cajoled them into reconciliation. They proceeded in unity and presented themselves to the king. The king fully equipped the troops and despatched them to the borders of Thrace; Smbat he sent in great honour back to the land of his own people with many gifts.[70]

69　Sebēos c. 18, ed. Abgaryan, p. 90, 16–22, transl. Thomson/Howard-Johnston, *Sebeos* I, p. 36, and II, pp. 176 and 178; Garsoïan, "Marzpanate", p. 109; Preiser-Kapeller, "Kaysr", pp. 193–194; Dölger, *Regesten*, nr. 108b.

70　Sebēos c. 20, ed. Abgaryan, p. 91, 32–34, transl. Thomson/Howard-Johnston, *Sebeos* I, p. 38; Dölger, *Regesten*, nr. 89a and b.

Yet, non-noble mobility was possible without or against the wishes of impe-
rial authorities, especially since borders in this period were no "iron curtains",
often not even clearly defined. This was also true for the Roman-Persian border
in the 6th century as described by Procopius in his book on buildings:

> On the way from Kitharizon to Theodosioupolis and the other Armenia
> lies a region called Chorzane; it extends over a march of three days and it
> is not separated from Persia by a lake, a river or mountains, which would
> impede the crossing of a pass but the borders of the two merge. Because
> of this the inhabitants, whether subjects of the Romans or of the Per-
> sians, do not fear one another or suspect mutual attacks but even engage
> in intermarriage, hold common markets for their daily needs and run
> their farms together. Whenever the military commanders on each side
> lead an army against the other because their rulers instructed them to do
> so they find their neighbours unguarded. The densely populated settle-
> ments are very close to each other and from old times there were no
> mounds anywhere.[71]

Emperor Justinian later tried to secure and control the frontier in this region by
the construction of a fortress, since Persian armies had criss-crossed the area
relatively unimpededly in an earlier war.

Especially where more densely settled areas met, there was also a higher
frequency of cross-border interaction and of possible diffusion of information,
against the wishes of official authorities. Deserted or sparsely settled areas on
the contrast may have constituted obstacles for the dispersion of informa-
tion.[72] The military handbook attributed to Emperor Maurice ("Strategikon")
from the period around 600 advises marching through less settled areas in or-
der to conceal the movement of troops, but only for smaller scale armies.[73]
Supplying larger numbers of troops from less densely settled and less cultivat-
ed areas would have caused severe logistic problems. According to this logic,
along the Byzantine-Arab frontier in the 7th and 8th century there emerged a
zone of deserted and depopulated no-man´s-land, which should impede the
advance of larger armies, especially of the Arabs towards Byzantine territory.
A Syrian Chronicle from the year 775 describes the formation of this zone on
the occasion of an Arab assault in 716/717:

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71   Procopius, *De aedificiis* III, 3, 3, 9–12, ed. Dewing. Dignas/Winter, *Rome and Persia*, p. 208.
72   Cf. Lee, *Information and Frontier*; Austin/Rankov, *Exploratio*.
73   Maurice, Strategicon, I, 9, ed. Dennis, pp. 106–107.

> When a great and innumerable army of Arabs gathered and surged for-
> wards to invade Roman territory, all the regions of Asia and Cappadocia
> fled from them, as did the whole area from the sea and by the Black
> Mountain and Lebanon as far as Melitene and by the river Arsanias [Mu-
> rat Nehri] as far as Inner Armenia [the region of Theodosioupolis/Er-
> zurum]. All this territory had been graced by the habitations of a numer-
> ous population and thickly planted with vineyards and every kind of
> gorgeous tree; but since that time it has been deserted and these regions
> have not been resettled.[74]

In fact, these areas did not remain unpopulated, but served as zone of transfer
and refuge for several groups who wished to evade political or religious au-
thorities. One of these was the dualistic sect of the Paulicians, which (accord-
ing to their own tradition) emerged in 6th century Armenia and appeared in
the eastern frontier provinces of Byzantium since the 7th century; in the face
of persecutions by the state, they migrated into this "space between". Finally
since the middle of the 9th century they even created their own polity around
the fortress of Tephrike (today Divriği in Eastern Turkey) and fought the Byzan-
tines as allies of the Emir of Melitene until their defeat in 871/872. Paulician
groups, which included significant elements of Armenian origin, then in the
9th and 10th century were deported to the Balkans.[75] Byzantium on the con-
trast tolerated and even encouraged the settlement of Armenian aristocrats
with their retinue in these territories. This process intensified since the early
10th century and contributed to the restoration of settlement and administra-
tive structures when Byzantium re-expanded into the East; the newly estab-
lished, relatively small military districts then were subsumed under the termi-
nus "*mikra armenika themata*".[76]

From there, benefiting from the fragmentation of political power in Caliph-
ate since the 9th century, Byzantine suzerainty expanded again over most of

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74   Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234, ed. Chabot, pp. 156–157; transl. Palmer, *The Seventh
     Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*, p. 62. Cf. also Haldon/Kennedy, "Frontier"; Ter-
     Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates*, pp. 22–25; Dédéyan, *Histoire*, pp. 230–231; Eger, *The Is-
     lamic-Byzantine Frontier*.

75   Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy*; Ludwig, "Wer hat was in welcher Absicht wie geschrieben";
     Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates,* pp. 22–25; Redgate, *Armenians*, pp. 193–195; Dédéy-
     an, *Histoire*, pp. 304–305; Dadoyan, *Armenians* I, pp. 91–107.

76   Charanis, "Armenians in the Byzantine Empire", passim; Haldon/Kennedy, "Frontier";
     Seibt, "Armenika themata", pp. 134–141; Dédéyan, "Reconquête territorial et immigration
     arménienne"; Dadoyan, *The Armenians* I, pp. 124–128. On migration of Armenians into
     Syria cf. Dadoyan, *The Armenians* II, pp. 10–20; Todt/Vest, *Syria*, pp. 360–361, 423, 456–457,
     and esp. Dédéyan, "Le rôle des Arméniens".

Armenia in the second half of the 10th and first half of the 11th century. One after the other of the princedoms and kingdoms, which had emerged since the 9th century, was turned into a province and its elites compensated with titles and possessions in the interior of Anatolia. These annexations in many cases were also accompanied by larger scale migrations of population into Byzantine Asia Minor, as the Continuator of T'ovma Arcruni describes for the case of the Kingdom of Vaspurakan (around Lake Van) in the year 1022:

> They [the Byzantines] gave them gifts, appointed them at the royal court, gave them great cities in exchange for their cities and in return for their castles, impregnable fortresses and provinces, villages, estates, and holy hermitages. So the Artsrunik', descendants of Hayk [and] Senek'erim, exchanged their ancestral homes in the year 470 of the Armenian era, and moved into Greek territory with fourteen thousand men, not including women and children, passing under the yoke of servitude to the Romans. Likewise the Bagratid Gagik, son of King Yovhannes, also exchanged his ancestral [lands] in the year 490 of the same era, and went to Roman territory.[77]

In the case of Vaspurakan at least the demographic impact of these migrations described in the sources can also be checked against other evidence: an actual dramatic demographic decline in the region can be detected both in core drill data from Lake Van (using the sedimentation of charcoal as proxy for human activity) as well as in the rapid decline of building activity from the 10th century, the apex of Arcruni power, to the 11th century.[78] The political and religious tensions emerging from this large scale migration of Armenians into central Asia Minor in the 11th century and its longer term significance for the emerging of another Armenian polity in Cilicia have been studied in detail elsewhere and would deserve at least a paper of their own;[79] I therefore close this section and continue with a more detailed inspection of the mobility and networks of several mobile Armenians.

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77 T'ovma Arcruni cont. IV, 12, transl. Thomson, pp. 370–371. See also Seibt, "Die Eingliederung von Vaspurakan"; Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt*, pp. 138–141; Charanis, "Transfer of population", p. 147.

78 See Preiser-Kapeller, "A Collapse of the Eastern Mediterranean".

79 Garsoïan, "Problem", esp. pp. 76–82, 111–124; Cheynet, "Les Arméniens", pp. 67–78; idem, *Pouvoir et contestations*, passim; Seibt, "Stärken und Schwächen", pp. 331–347; Lebeniotes, *Η πολιτική κατάρρευση*, and esp. Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*.

3   Mobilities and Networks

Recent works of migration history have highlighted the significance of social networks and of the "multiplexity" of ties of ethnic or regional affiliation, of kinships, of politics or of economy between individuals, groups and organisations, which make up complex "migration systems".[80] While our evidence does not allow us to reconstruct such webs with equal detail as for the modern period, we are able to detect and map various categories of ties for individuals, which may hint at the general complexity of connections which made Armenian mobility possible.

3.1   Networks of Nobility and the "military labour market" of Byzantium

The work of Procopius is a rich source for Armenian noble mobility across the Roman-Persian frontier and within the empire for the 6th century.[81] Such an episode from the time around 530 illustrates several possible channels for the initiation and negotiation of mobility:

> At about the same time Narses and Aratius who at the beginning of this war, as I have stated above, had an encounter with Sittas and Belisarius in the land of the Persarmenians,[82] came together with their mother as deserters to the Romans; and the Emperor's steward, Narses, received them (for he too happened to be a Persarmenian by birth), and he presented them with a large sum of money. When this came to the knowledge of Isaac, their youngest brother, he secretly opened negotiations with the Romans, and delivered over to them the fortress of Bolum, which lies very near the limits of Theodosioupolis. For he directed that soldiers should be concealed somewhere in the vicinity, and he received them into the fort by night, opening stealthily one small gate for them. Thus he too came to Byzantium.[83]

The defection of the three brothers (who may have been members of the otherwise well-known noble house of Kamsarakan) was facilitated through the connection to an Armenian already well-established in the Byzantine elite, the famous eunuch Narses.[84] It was additionally motivated by material rewards. In

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80   On this term cf. Harzig/Hoerder, *Migration History*, p. 87.

81   Preiser-Kapeller, "erdumn, ucht, carayut´iwn". Cf. also Börm, *Prokop und die Perser*.

82   Cf. Procopius, Bella I, 12, 21–23, ed. Dewing I, p. 101.

83   Procopius, Bella I, 15, 31, ed. Dewing I, p. 139.

84   Cf. *The Prosopography of the later Roman Empire* III s. v. Narses I, pp. 912–928, with further references.

addition, the movement of some members of the clan across the borders of course established a trans-local kinship network, which could be used by others. Procopius allows us also to trace the further carriers of Narses, Aratius and Isaac in the military service of Justinian, which led them sometimes together, sometimes far apart from each other across the entire empire from Armenia to Palestine and Southern Egypt and to Italy and the Balkans (see Map 12.2). However, their story also highlights the dangers of imperial service, since all three of them ultimately fell fighting for Byzantium: Narses in 543 after the battle of Anglon in Persarmenia, Isaak in 546 in Italy as prisoner of war of the Goths and Aratios in 552 fighting in Illyricum.[85] Under these auspices, the decision of a group of noblemen faced with the imperial desire to transfer them to the Balkans in the period of Maurice *"to extricate themselves from service to the king of the Greeks (…), so that they too would not be obliged to die in the regions of Thrace, but could live or die for their own country"*[86] becomes comprehensible.

The term which Armenian historians used to describe the relationship of allegiance and patronage between the Emperor or the Great King and the individual aristocrats is *caṙayut'iwn*. This is the same term, which describes the allegiance of the Armenian princes to their king in earlier times.[87] In that way, the Emperor took the place of the Armenian king in this relationship. For the aristocrat, *caṙayut'iwn* included the obligation for military service to his lord (*tēr*). However, this relationship also included mutual commitments, which according to the Armenian tradition were sealed through a reciprocal oath (*uχt, erdumn*). Because of this oath, one side took upon itself the duties of lordship and protection, and the other those of faithful service and obedience.[88] The new fiduciary relation was also manifested in ritual and material ways; the new retainer was honoured in a ceremonial reception at the court in Constantinople and received valuable presents.[89] One example of such a very mobile nobleman described in the history attributed to Sebēos is Atat Xoṙxoṙuni, who crossed the border into or out of the empire several times. He started his career

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85 *The Prosopography of the later Roman Empire* III s. v. Aratius, pp. 103–104, s. v. Isaaces 1, p. 718, s. v. Narses 2, pp. 928–929, with sources and further references.

86 Sebēos c. 20, ed. Abgaryan, p. 92, transl. Thomson/Howard-Johnston, *Sebeos* I, p. 39.

87 Cf. Sebēos c. 15 and 16, ed. Abgaryan, pp. 87, 2 and 88, 18 and 25, transl. Thomson/Howard-Johnston, *Sebeos* I, pp. 32–33 and II, p. 330 (s. v. submission – tsaṙayut'iwn); Adontz/Garsoïan, *Armenia*, pp. 349 and 516, n. 49; Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk', transl. Garsoïan, p. 518 (s. v.).

88 Adontz/Garsoïan, *Armenia*, pp. 349, 355 and 520, n. 67; Garsoïan, "The Aršakuni Dynasty", p. 78; Preiser-Kapeller, "Central Peripheries".

89 Preiser-Kapeller, "erdumn, ucht, carayut'iwn"; see for instance Sebēos c. 16 and 30, ed. Abgaryan, pp. 88, 33–35 and 104, 22–27, transl. Thomson/Howard-Johnston, *Sebeos* I, pp. 34 and 55–56 and II, p. 189.

as participant in a conspiracy against Persian rule in Eastern Armenia around the year 590; when this attempted rebellion failed, he crossed the border to Byzantium. There Emperor Maurikios received him with honours in Constantinople and gave him a command in the army fighting the Avars on the Balkans. Nevertheless, on his way to the troops, Atat Xoṙxoṙuni decided against joining this fight and fled across the Black Sea and Asia Minor back to Persian territory, where Great King Xusrō II received him friendly. Yet, after some years in Persian services, Atat Xoṙxoṙuni planned to defect to Byzantium once again; this time, his intention was detected and Xusrō II had him executed.[90]

The motivations behind such movements could be different – some aristocrats hoped for certain benefits, others would have no other choice. The initiative for a change in the *caṙayut'iwn* could come from the respective nobleman as well as from an imperial authority trying to persuade a retainer of the opposing great power to defect.[91] Imperial authorities of course were anxious to impede such noble mobility when working against their interest. One instrument to do so was the demand of hostages, as did the Caliphate after its first agreement on suzerainty over Armenia with the nobility at large; nevertheless, a majority of the aristocracy defected to the emperor in 656 (see above). While it was impossible to stop such a mass defection without an equally massive use of force, individuals intending to cross borders could be impeded to do so when detected early enough – as in the case of Gurgēn Arcruni in 856, whose correspondence with the Byzantine emperor became known to Arab authorities, who had him arrested.[92] In the peace treaty of 562, Byzantium and Persia agreed that "*those who in time of peace (between the two empires) defected, or rather fled, from one to the other shall not be received, but every means shall be used to place them, even against their will, in the hands of those from whom they have fled.*"[93] Yet, already soon afterwards, the temptation to weaken the competing empire by depriving it of important clients was too strong for both signatories.

The persisting importance of ties of kinship and ethnic affiliation in this regard is also documented for late periods; according to the 11th century Arab

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90 Sebēos c. 30, ed. Abgaryan, pp. 104–105, transl. Thomson/Howard-Johnston, *Sebeos* I, p. 55.

91 For the material gains from imperial service which surely enhanced its attractiveness cf. also Oikonomides, "Title and Income", pp. 202–206.

92 Tʿovma Arcruni, *Patmutʿiwn* III, 13, ed. Patkanean, transl. Thomson, p. 267; Greenwood, "Photius", 130–32, and idem, "Armenian Neighbours", p. 351; Preiser-Kapeller, "erdumn, ucht, carayutʿiwn", pp. 160–161; Dölger, *Regesten*, nr. 453.

93 Menander Protector, fr. 6, 1, ed. Blockley; Güterbock, *Byzanz und Persien*, pp. 81–92; Greatrex/Lieu, *Eastern Frontier*, pp. 132–133 (translation); Dignas/Winter, *Rome and Persia*, p. 142 (translation).

Melkite historian Yaḥyā of Antioch, the conquest of the Arab fortress of Rhabaine in Northern Syria in 980 was brought about by a female Armenian slave in the fortress, who got in contact with her relatives in the Byzantine Army and helped them to cross the walls and to occupy the citadel.[94]

However, as we have indicated above in the case of the rebellion of Smbat Bagratuni and his troops against Emperor Maurice, the same networks of kinship and ethnic affiliation, which had supported noble mobility in the interest of the empire, could also be effective against them. One illustrative example comes again from Procopius in the shape of Artabanes, scion of the Armenian royal house of the Arsacids (see Map 12.2). He first appears in the year 538/539 in the region of Armenia interior, controlled by the Romans; there the descendants of the last Arsacid king still had considerable possessions and traditional tax privileges.[95] When these prerogatives were abolished and Armenia interior turned into a province by Emperor Justinian, the Armenian nobility stood up in an armed rebellion, which the *magister militum* Sittas was ordered to quell.[96] Among these rebels was also Artabanes, who first excelled himself by murdering the imperial governor Akakios and then by killing Sittas in hand-to-hand combat.[97] Yet, the imperial forces proved insurmountable, so that Artabanes and his clan had to flee to the Persian Empire, where contacts already had been established with Great King Xusrō I. Nevertheless, before 545, he and many noblemen returned to Roman soil, bowed to the Emperor and joined the imperial army; one can assume that the conditions for the imperial pardon had been negotiated in advance, although we receive no information on this. Together with his brother Ioannes, his cousin Gregorios and other troops of Armenian origin, Artabanes in 545/546 was sent to recently conquered North Africa. There they soon found themselves involved in the rebellion of the *magister militum* Guntharis (a commander of Germanic origin), who seized power

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94   Cf. *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 22695, and Todt/Vest, *Syria*, p. 1624 (with sources); Dölger, *Regesten*, nr 766c.

95   Cf. Güterbock, "Römisch-Armenien", pp. 12–20; Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 133–134; Blockley, "Division"; Greatrex, "Partition"; Greatrex/Lieu, *Eastern Frontier*, pp. 28–30; Preiser-Kapeller, *Verwaltungsgeschichte*, pp. 45–48; Thomson, "Armenia", pp. 157–159; Settipani, *Continuité des élites* 111–113; Ayvazyan, *Armenian Military*; cf. also Hewsen, *Atlas*, maps 65 and 66.

96   Cf. also Procopius, Bella II, 3, 35–36, ed. Dewing, p. 281.

97   Procopius, Bella II, 3, 25–26, ed. Dewing. Cf. Adontz/Garsoïan, *Armenia*, pp. 142–164, 32*– 34* and 37*–38*; Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 174–175, 196–197; Garsoïan, "Marzpanate"; Redgate, *Armenians*, pp. 155–156; Lounghis/Blysidu/Lampakes, *Regesten*, nr. 1078 and 1108; Preiser-Kapeller, *Verwaltungsgeschichte*, pp. 59–63; Preiser-Kapeller, "Magister Militum"; Preiser-Kapeller, "erdumn, ucht, carayutʿiwn", pp. 151–154, and Ayvazyan, *Armenian Military*.

in Carthage and declared himself independent from Constantinople. Artabanes with his troops joined Guntharis after having received some guarantees, but secretly plotted his assassination together with his relatives and the imperial official Athanasius.[98] The plan succeeded in 546 and Artabanes was appointed *magister militum per Africam* by the emperor. Soon he returned to Constantinople according to his own wishes, where he planned to marry Praeiecta, a niece of Justinian, whom he had got to know in Africa after Guntharis had killed her first husband Areobindus. Thereby, he would have joined the imperial clan and could have hoped for even higher honours, after he had already received the consulate. According to Procopius, Artabanes even dreamed about obtaining the imperial crown (*basileia*). Yet, these hopes were balked when an earlier wife of Artabanes appeared in the capital und effected with the support of Empress Theodora that he received her back into his household. Frustrated, Artabanes let himself roped in into a conspiracy by his relative Arsakes together with another Armenian, Chanaranges, who intended to replace Justinian with his cousin Germanus.[99] The conspiracy was detected, yet Artabanes was not severely punished by Justinian; instead, already in 550 he was appointed *magister militum per Thracias* and sent first to Sicily and then to Northern Italy, where he served under the command of another prominent Armenian, the eunuch Narses. After 554, we lose his track in the sources.

The life story of the noble migrant Artabanes as depicted by Procopius for mere 15 years demonstrates remarkable dynamics of Armenian noble mobility, both spatial and social, within 6th century Byzantium. On the one side, we observe a stunningly rapid integration into the imperial Roman elite and almost into the imperial family itself; on the other hand, Artabanes in the most crucial and dangerous moments of his career – the rebellion against Roman rule in Armenia interior, the plot to murder Guntharis and the conspiracy against Justinian – relies on networks established by kinship and common Armenian origin (see 12.1 and 12.2).

Artabanes is not a single case for Byzantium in this regard – and similar observations can be made for other Armenian noblemen who made their career in the Persian Empire after having defected from the Roman side such as Smbat Bagratuni, whom we have already encountered above with his rebellious troops in the time of Emperor Maurice. After leading another rebellion in Roman Armenia, deportation to Constantinople and (similarly to Artabanes) military service for the emperor in Africa, he defected to Persia and within a

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98   Procopius, Bella IV, 27, 11–19, ed. Dewing.

99   Procopius, Bella VII, 32, esp. 7, ed. Dewing IV, pp. 420–437, esp. 422–423; cf. also Meier, *Das andere Zeitalter Justinians*, pp. 261–262, on this conspiracy.

few years achieved a most honoured position at the court of the Sasanian Great King Xusrō II, who awarded him with the title "Xosrov Šum" (Xusrō's joy). In addition, Smbat relied on an already existing network of Armenian noblemen and their retinues in the service of the Sasanians.[100] The ability of the same Armenian noblemen "to fit in" both a the courts in Constantinople and in Ctesiphon was based on these networks, but also on an "aristocratic koine", a language of ritual exchange mutually understandable across borders in order to establish and maintain ties of patronage and loyalty in the wide area from Byzantium to Central Asia. We also have cues that the Christian nobility in the Caucasus region considered itself part of a more far-reaching noble tradition: in his history of the Armenians, Movsēs Xorenacʻi reports the stories of origin of 50 of the most important noble houses, which I systematically surveyed. More than 50 % related themselves (or were related by Xorenacʻi) to the eponymous ancestor of the Armenians Hayk respectively to other "autochthonous" ancestors. However, a large number of families traced themselves back to royal or significant noble houses of neighbouring countries such as Georgia, Caucasian Albania, Mesopotamia or – most prominently – Persia. Connections to even more remote regions were created with ancient Israel respectively Canaan, Bulgaria or even the royal house of China.[101] Therefore, mobility and trans-local connections were deeply integrated into the traditions of the Armenian nobility.

The military "labour market" of Byzantium provided opportunities for aristocrats and non-aristocrats also in the centuries after the Arab expansion.[102] Around 750 Kūšān al-Armanī, commander in Arab services in the region of Armenia IV, defected to Byzantium and was made *strategos* by Emperor Constantine V. He conquered and plundered Theodosioupolis (Erzurum); many of the captured Armenians were settled in Cappadocia. Together with some of them, Kūšān returned into the Arab sphere some years later, which again demonstrates the double-edged validity of ties of ethnic affiliation.[103]

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100 Preiser-Kapeller, "erdumn, ucht, carayutʻiwn"; Preiser-Kapeller, "Vom Bosporus zum Ararat". On Smbat Bagratuni now see also Pourshariati, *Decline and Fall*, pp. 136–140, 275, 297–298, 303; Settipani, *Continuité des élites*, pp. 331–333.

101 Cf. Preiser-Kapeller, "Vom Bosporus zum Ararat"; Preiser-Kapeller, "Central Peripheries". See also the royal Armenian, Arsacid parentage claimed for Emperor Basil I (867–886) in the biography created by his grandson Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos and adopted also in later historiography: Theophanes Continuatus, c. 2–3, ed. Ševčenko, pp. 10–19, esp. c. 3, lns. 23–24, ed. Ševčenko, p. 18.

102 Cf. also Garsoïan, "Problem", p. 64: "the Armenian career par excellence was that of military service".

103 *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 4169, with further references.

Despite such defections, Byzantium in the 8th century employed Armenian noblemen in leading commanding positions on a significant scale; as Theophanes informs us for the year 778, during a successful campaign of the thematic armies of Anatolia against Germanikeia under the supreme command of Michael Lachanodrakon, the army of the *thema* Anatolikon was commanded by Artabasdos (maybe Artawazd Mamikonean, who left Armenia after a rebellion in 771), the Opsikion by Gregorios *tou Mousoulakiou* (maybe also a Mamikonean, son of Mušeł) and the Boukellarion by Tatzates (Tačat Anjevac'i, who had defected to Byzantium around 750, but in 782 returned to Armenia, where he became presiding prince in Arab services and died in 785 in battle against the Khazars).[104]

Desired qualities for military men were of course strength and bravery. Theophylaktos Abastaktos, a soldier of Armenian origin, saved the life of Basil I in a battle against the Paulicians and received a position in the service of the Emperor. Theophylaktos became father of the future Emperor Romanos I Lakapenos.[105] Early in the reign of Basil I´s son Leon VI (886–912) an Armenian nobleman Azatos or Azotos with the telling nickname "Makrocheir" ("with big hands", "with long arms") came to Constantinople with his retinue. His impressive stature prompted the emperor to make Makrocheir *exarchos* of the guard regiment of the Exkoubites. In 896, Azotos fell in the battle of Boulgarophygon against the Bulgarians.[106]

In the retinue of Azotos was also Melias (Arm. Mleh), who survived the Battle of Bulgarophygon and returned to Armenia. However, around 904 he most probably was again in Byzantine services and fought together with Eustathios Argyros in the East. Shortly afterwards, both of them fell from favour. In 907/908, Melias together with four other Armenian noblemen, Ismael and the three brothers Baasakios, Krikorikes and Pazunes, was in exile at the court of the Emir of Melitene, but returned to the Byzantine Empire via the intermediation of Eustathios Argyros, who had regained imperial favour before. All five Armenians then received commands at the Eastern frontier. Leon VI made Melias *tourmarches* of Euphrateia, ta Trypia and "*eremia*", the deserted nomans-land at the frontier. Between 909 and 912 Melias fortified and resettled the town of Lykandos together with his Armenian retinue, and used it as basis for further operations against the Arabs. In 917 Melias together with his retinue

104   Theophanes, ed. de Boor, p. 451, 12–27; see also for Artabasdos *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 640, for Gregorios tu Musulakiu nr 2407; for Tatzates nr 7241, for Michael Lachanodrakon nr 5027. See also Łewond c. 39, ed. Ezean, p. 159, transl. Arzoumanian, p. 143, and Tritle, "Flight".

105   *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 28180, with further references.

106   *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr. 20643, with further references.

again fought the Bulgarians on the Balkans, where the Battle at the Acheloos ended with another Byzantine defeat. He then executed further campaigns at the Eastern border; his greatest success was the conquest of Melitene in 934 together with Ioannes Kourkouas, equally of Armenian origin.[107] These campaigns and migrations marked also the beginning of the emergence of the above-mentioned *mikra armenika themata*. At the same time, they illustrate the impact of network mechanisms similar to those we have inspected for the earlier period.

3.2   *Networks of Learning and Commerce*

Some information on non-military networks across borders in the 7th century we obtain from two texts of the already mentioned Armenian scholar Anania of Širak. In one, he describes how he as young student in the 630s, dissatisfied with the quality of education in his homeland, set out for Byzantium to find an adequate instructor. He first travelled to Theodosioupolis/Karin (Erzurum) and the in the province of Armenia quarta (the region around Martyroupolis/today Silvan), where he studied with a scholar named Kʻristosatur, who could not satisfy his appetite for knowledge. Therefore, Anania intended to move to Constantinople, but on the way near Trebizond, he encountered another group of Armenian students, who (after a maritime voyage to Sinop) were on their way home. They recommended to him a professor of mathematics named Tychikos, who lived in Trebizond. Tychikos had served in the Byzantine Army in Armenia, where he had learned the Armenian language, before his studies had led him to Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome and Constantinople. With him, Anania now studied for several years before returning to Armenia. In another short text, Ananias describes the journey of a kinsman to Balḫ in modern-day Afghanistan, where he purchased a very valuable pearl, which he then profitably sold piece for piece to several business partners on his way back to native Širak (a rare evidence for Armenian commerce in this period, see also below on the range of Armenian mobility).[108]

If we visualise the connections outlined in Anania´s biographical narratives, we detect a multiplex, relatively complex network of ties of education, commerce, kinship, authority and patronage (see Fig. 12.3). The backbone of Anania´s longer account is of course the network of education, consisting of

107   Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperii* 50, 139–148, ed. Moravcsik, pp. 238–240; Dédéyan, "Mleh le Grand". Cf. also; *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 20723 (Baasakios), 21828 (Eusthatios Argyros), 22917 (Ioannes Kurkuas), 23566 (Ismael), 24198 (Krikorikes), 25041 (Melias), 26400 (Pazunes).

108   Greenwood, "Reassessment", also with English translations of all relevant texts.

ties between teachers and disciples. The wide connections integrated in the life story of a man who himself actually never travelled far beyond the borders of his homeland become also visible if we look at the spatial structure of the narratives (see Map 12.3).

The existence of such connections also after the Arab expansion is documented for Stepʿannos of Siwnikʿ, who between 713 and 717 travelled to Constantinople in order to "learn the Greek and the Latin language" and to study in the library of the Hagia Sophia. He translated several theological works (Dionysios Areopagites, Gregory of Nyssa) into Armenian, also with the support of a courtier of Armenian origin, the *hypatos* and *kenarios* David.[109] Furthermore, Stepʿannos became involved in theological debates with Patriarch Germanos I, who handed over to him a letter to the Armenian Church. Afterwards he also travelled to Rome (and allegedly to Athens) before returning to Armenia, where he became bishop of Siwnik.[110] His itinerary is most instructive for the possibilities still existing for mobile scholars in the early 8th century. But places of (Greek) education also still existed within the new Arab sphere of power Armenia was now part of; between 656 and 661, a Dawitʿ from Taron translated some works of Basil of Caesarea in Damascus on the order of Prince Hamazasp Mamikonean, as we are informed in the colophon of manuscript from the Matenadaran in Erewan. We may also assume the existence of a larger Armenian colony in the city that at this time became the centre of the Umayyad Caliphate.[111] Both Stepʿannos and Dawitʿ also document an overlap between connections of learning and aristocratic networks towards and within the centres of imperial power, which opened important channels for their mobility.

4 Receiving Societies: "Armenian" Communities in the Byzantine Sphere

As we have demonstrated, service in the Byzantine Empire could provide many opportunities for material and symbolic rewards; even newcomers could be integrated into the military and court elite relatively fast. The significant share of individuals and families of Armenian background in the Byzantine elite highlighted in earlier scholarship illustrates the mobile Armenians′ ability and

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109   For him, see; *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 1250; Seibt, "Κηνάριος", pp. 369–80.

110   Thomson, "Constantinople in Early Armenian Literature", pp. 34–36; *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr. 6989; Seibt, "Κηνάριος".

111   Matenadaran ms nr 822.

the Byzantine society′s capability for integration. Nina Garsoïan in 1998 provided a magisterial synthesis on "The Problem of Armenian Integration into the Byzantine Empire";[112] this gives us the freedom to concentrate on some selected aspects of special interest within the framework of migration history, documented by various sample cases.

4.1   *Linguistic Aspects*

Language, of course, played a significant role for the ability to "fit into" Byzantine society in all social contexts.[113] While, as we have seen, many of the leading aristocrats may have spoken Greek already before their moving into the Empire or even had studied in one of the Greek institutions of learning,[114] such skills cannot be assumed for all migrants, especially of non-elite backgrounds, but also for noblemen.[115] Procopius tells the sorry fate of one Gilakios during the Gothic wars in Italy:

> Now there was (…) a certain Gilakios of the Armenian race (*Armenios genos*), commander of a small force of Armenians. This Gilakios did not know how to speak either Greek or Latin or Gothic or any other language except Armenian alone. When some of the Goths happened upon this man, they enquired who he might be. For they were quite averse to killing every man who came in their way, lest they be compelled to destroy each other in fighting at night, as might easily happen. But he was able to make them no answer except indeed that he was Gilakios, a general (*Gilakios strategos*); for his title which he had received from the emperor he had heard many times and so had been able to learn it by heart. The barbarians, accordingly, perceiving by this that he was an enemy, made him a prisoner for the moment, but not long afterwards put the man to death.[116]

While bilingualism may not always have been live saving, being fluent not only in Greek, but also in Armenian was of advantage also in the service of the

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112   Garsoïan, "Problem".

113   Garsoïan, "Problem", pp. 101–103. See also Vaux, "Linguistic manifestations".

114   Cf. also Greenwoord, "Corpus", and Vaux, "Linguistic manifestations", on testimonies of Greek language skills in medieval Armenia.

115   A most interesting testimony of an Armenian trying to learn Greek is a papyrus containing Greek in Armenian script, now in the Bibliothéque Nationale in Paris (inventory number BnF Arm 332); it can be dated only roughly between the 5th and 7th cent., cf. Clackson, "A Greek Papyrus in Armenian Script"; idem, "New Readings".

116   Procopius, *Bella* VII, 26, 24–27, ed. Dewing, pp. 384–386; *The Prosopography of the later Roman Empire* III, s. v. Gilacius.

emperor, especially in his diplomatic dealings with Armenia. One *hermeneutes* sent on three diplomatic missions to the princedom of Taron in Western Armenia by Emperor Romanos I Lakapenos (himself of an Armenian background, as we have seen) was the *protospatharios* Krinites, who in turn may have stemmed from an Armenian family (a Prokopios Krinites commanded a unit of Armenians against the Bulgarians in 894; if the *hermeneutes* was a descendant, maintaining Armenian language skills had proven beneficial for this family).[117] A counterpart to Krinites from the Armenian side may have been Theodoros, *hermeneutes* of the Armenians in the negotiations of the princes of Taron with Emperor Leon VI, ca. 898–900.[118]

But also other individuals made their Armenian linguistic background visible; around 1000, a Mχit'ar together with a Philippos used a bilingual seal, which had a Greek inscription on one side ("Lord help me Machitarios and Philip") and an Armenian one on the other side ("Of me, servant [of God], Mχit'ar, and of Philip"). Most probably, it was a private seal, maybe of two business partners; but the purpose of its bilingualism remains unclear.[119] A clear statement was the sponsoring of an evangeliary in Armenian language by one Yovhannēs, *protospatharios* and *proximos* of the *doux* Theodorokanos, which according to the colophon was finished by the writer (and probably monk) Kirakos in the year 1007 in Adrianople in Thrace. It also contains a miniature of the donator, but with a later Greek inscription, which identified a *dishypatos* Photeinos as donator, while the original Armenian scripture had been erased.[120]

4.2   *Religious Aspects – Saints and Heretics*[121]

This evangeliary of course also raises the questions of the religious affiliation of Armenian migrants respectively the change of affiliation. Byzantine and Armenian Orthodoxy trod different theological paths especially since the 6th century, a process that reached a first climax around 700. From the Byzantine

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117   Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperii* 43, ed. Moravcsik, pp. 135–140, 169–179; *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 24200. See also s. v. Prokopios Krinites (*Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 26760): and Kurtikios (*Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 24215); Garsoïan, "Problem", p. 101; Martin-Hisard, "Constantinople".

118   *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 27644; Martin-Hisard, "Constantinople".

119   Coulie/Nesbitt, "A Bilingual Rarity", pp. 121–123; *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 25473 and 26662; Vaux, "Linguistic manifestations".

120   *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 28486 and 23701, with further references; see also Vaux, "Linguistic manifestations".

121   On Byzantine-Armenian polemics in general cf. Garsoïan, "Problem", pp. 66–82.

side, testimony to this are several canons against Armenian ecclesiastical practices proclaimed by the Council in Trullo (Quinisextum) in 692.[122] Beyond all doctrinal issues, these regulations very much intervened into customary practices both of Armenian clerics and of laymen when living under Byzantine authority.[123] Even more, Canon 72 of the Trullanum declared: "*An orthodox man is not permitted to marry a heretical woman, nor an orthodox woman to be joined to a heretical man. But if anything of this kind appear to have been done by any* [we require them] *to consider the marriage null, and that the marriage be dissolved.*"[124] By that time, followers of the mainstream of the Armenian Church had clearly qualified as heretics, while in the time of Justinian the (planned) marriage between the Armenian Artabanes and the emperor´s niece (see above) still would not have aroused any canonical issues. From 700 onwards, on the contrast, any intention to intermarry with the Byzantine elite at least in theory would have necessitated a formal acceptance of Orthodoxy.[125]

Another question of course was the general tolerance of Armenian non-Chalcedonian communities and especially clerics on Byzantine soil. Armenian sources report two episodes of downright persecution of Armenian clergymen for the 10th century: in the 930s in the time of the Armenian King Abas I, "*vast numbers of monks were expelled from Roman territory for the sake of orthodoxy. Coming to our land, they built many monasteries: first Kamrjajor, then the monastery called Horomosin – as if they had come from the regions of the Romans- and Dpravank'. It is said that the* [monastery] *of the Holy Mother of God of Sanahin was built by them*". It remains unclear if this persecution was commanded by the imperial centre or had a more local character; the information that one of the communities, who fled and founded the Kamrjajor-Monastery, came from Egrisi (Western Georgia), the periphery of the Byzantine-Orthodox sphere, suggests the later variant.[126]

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122   Concilium Quinisextum, ed. Ohme, pp. 220–224, 248–250, 286 and esp. pp. 64–80 on the background to these canons; in particular relevant are Canon 32 (against the used of unmixed wine by the Armenians in the liturgy), Canon 33 (against the Armenian custom to ordain only descendants of priestly families as priests), Canon 56 (against the eating of cheese and eggs on Saturdays and Sundays during lent), and Canon 99 (against the custom to cook meat and distribute it among the priests and worshipers on certain festive days).

123   On this period cf. also Nichanian, "Byzantine Emperor Philippikos-Vardanes".

124   Concilium Quinisextum, ed. Ohme, pp. 262–264.

125   Garsoïan, "Problem", pp. 86 and 95.

126   Vardan Arewelc'i c. 46, ed., p. 88, transl. Thomson, p. 188; *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 20006, 28465, 28466.

Clearly from local initiative of a Byzantine Metropolitan arose a further persecution of non-Chalcedonian clergymen in the city of Sebasteia in Cappadocia in 986:

> (…) and the Metropolitan of Sebasteia started to disquiet the Armenian people because of their faith. And since he had the power in his hands, he started to plague the priests because of their faith; and he also ordered to bring the protopresbyter of the city of Sebasteia in iron chains to the court of the emperor. And they killed the protopresbyter Gabriel after they had tortured him in the dungeon (…). This happened in the year 436 of the [Armenian] Era [= March 25th 986 – March 24th 987]. And besides other priests also the two [Armenian] bishops of Sebasteia and Larissa, Sion and Yovhannēs, due to the intrigues of the same Metropolitan accepted the Council of Chalcedon and seceded themselves from the unity with the Armenians. And since then they prohibited the call to prayer of the Armenians in the city of Sebasteia until the time when Emperor Basil [II] came to the east.[127]

This imperial intervention in favour of the Armenian Church took place in the year 1000/1001, when Basil II on his campaign to secure the territories of the deceased prince David of Tao passed through Sebasteia. It also lets the story about the martyrdom of the priest Gabriel in Constantinople ring hollow, since the integration of Armenians and Armenian territories was one of the main aims of imperial politics in this period.[128]

There was also a considerable share of pro-Chalcedonian Armenians during and after the period of alienation in the 6th–7th centuries. Others would have opted for Chalcedon in order to achieve better integration into the Byzantine elite after having moved to the empire. In any case, an Armenian background was not a priori an impediment to count as "pious man" even in the eyes of the most rigorous defenders of Byzantine Orthodoxy. One case in support is Arsaber, until 808 Patrikios and *Kouaistor* (the highest judicial official) under Emperor Nikephoros I (a position which equally suggests a sound background in Greek education); his daughter Theodora married the later Emperor Leon V "the Armenian" (in this case, the byname was clearly used to indicate heresy).

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127 Stephen of Taron III, cap. 20, ed. Malχasean, transl. Greenwood, p. 252. Cf. also *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 22031 (Gabriel), nr 27091 (Siōn) and nr 28464 (Yōhannēs).

128 Stephan von Taron III, cap. 43, ed. Malχasean, transl. Greenwood, p. 308. Cf. also *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 30574; Garsoïan, "Problem", pp. 70–71, 85–86; Todt/Vest, *Syria*, p. 423 (on the popularity of Basil II in other Armenian sources).

Theodoros Stoudites, leading figure of the venerators of the icons during the second period of Iconoclasm, mentions Arsaber between 821 and 824 in a letter to Theodora as a pious man (indicating Orthodoxy and pro-Icon sympathies).[129] Another "pious" aristocrat of possible Armenian background was Konstantinos Lips; under Emperor Leon VI, he served in several embassies to Armenia. His daughter was about to marry Apoganem, the brother of prince Grigor I of Taron, who died before the marriage ceremony. In 907 Lips founded the (of course Byzantine Orthodox) monastery in Constantinople named after him, which was consecrated with the emperor present.[130]

Even to sainthood rose Mary the Younger (of Bizye); according to her Vita, her father was a powerful man in *Megale Armenia* and at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Basil I (867–886) came to Constantinople, where also Mary was born in ca. 875. Around 888 she married a *droungarios* Nikephoros, whom she got to know on the domain of her brother-in-law Bardas Bratzes (equally of Armenian background) in Mesene in Thrace. She had four sons, Orestes, Bardanes as well as the twins Baanes and Stephanos (so two children received Greek and two Armenian names). Her husband received a command in Bizye after he had distinguished himself in the war against the Bulgarians. After a pious life and plagued by her husband, Maria died in 902.[131]

Another "Armenian" Byzantine saint was Ioseph, who had already lived as eremite on Mt. Athos when St. Euthymios the Younger arrived there in ca. 859. Ioseph continued his ascetic life as companion of Euthymios and was ordained as priest before he died in ca. 870. His corpse did not decay and segregated Myron chrism.[132] While the presence of a large number of monks from Georgia (where the church had separated itself from the Armenians at the beginning of the 7th century and had joined the Chalcedonian camp) on Mt. Athos especially since the foundation of the Monastery of Iviron ("of the Iberians = Georgians") in ca. 980 is well-known, also the Armenian background of some Athonite monks is documented.[133] One of these, a Theoktistos, signed a charter of 1035 in Armenian letters ("I have signed with my own hand, Theoktistos") right below the Greek subscription of Theoktistos, Abbot of the Esphigmenou-monastery and also Protos of Mt. Athos (1015-ca. 1040). This had led Hr.

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129   Theodoros Stoudites, Letters, ed. Fatouros, p. 538; *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 600.

130   *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 23815, with further references.

131   Laiou, "The Life of St. Mary the Younger"; *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 24910, nr 27066. On naming practices see also Garsoïan, "Problem", pp. 96–99.

132   *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr. 23511, with further references.

133   On Georgian monasticism in Byzantium since the 9th century cf. Martin-Hisard, "L'Athos", pp. 239–248, and also Tchoidze, *Ἕνας Γεωργιανός προσκυνητής*.

Bartikian to the assumption that this Abbot Theoktistos himself had signed a second time in Armenian and therefore was of Armenian background – a hypothesis not accepted by the main editors of this volume of the charters of the Megiste Laura. At least we encounter here a Chalcedonian Athonite monk writing Armenian.[134]

Even two Patriarchs of Constantinople in our period of consideration were (probably) of Armenian background. A clear case is the last Iconoclastic Patriarch Ioannes VII Grammatikos (837–843), whose father Pankratios was of noble Armenian origin (Ioannes´ brother had the more "typical" name Arsaber).[135] The other candidate is Patriarch Photios himself (858–867/878–886). Son of Sergios and Eirene, both steadfast venerators of icon even in the face of imperial persecution, and brother of Tarasios, Konstantinos, Theodoros and Sergios (so no "Armenian" names in the family anymore), Photios in two letters to Ašot I Bagratuni in 878/879 (one preserved only in Armenian translation) called himself of "related blood" with the Armenian king. This has been interpreted at as least consciousness of (and in this case, deliberate allusion to) an Armenian background. In any case, also the (numerous) opponents of Photios have used his "foreign blood" and looks as argumentum ad hominem; one source, for instance, called him *Chazaroprosopos* ("Khazar-Face").[136]

That also "Armenian" could be used as indicator for a both foreign and heterodox background in pejorative intention is clear for instance in the case of Emperor Leon V (813–820), "the Armenian", also called "Amalekites". Born as son of a Bardas, he rose to the imperial throne after a military career; he had four sons Basileios, Gregorios, Theodosios and the oldest Symbatios (the Armenian name "Smbat"), who was renamed "Constantine" on the occasion of his crowning as co-emperor. While this may indicate an effort to "fit in" by abandoning too obvious signs of "Armenian" identity, Leon´s initiative to revitalise Iconoclasm earned him enduring bad press in Byzantine historiography, including his bynames.[137]

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134 Actes de Lavra, Nr. 29, l. 20, ed. Lemerle/Guillou/Svoronos, p. 374; *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 28057.

135 Cf. *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 3199, 602 and 5862, with further references.

136 Dorfmann-Lazarev, *Arméniens*; Shirinian, "Armenian Elites", with full references (also on the "Armenian" origin of Emperor Basil I, for whom was claimed an Arsacid, royal Armenian parentage, see also above); Greenwood, "Photius"; *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 6253, 6665, 1450, 8623, 4442, 7237, 3999, 7700 and 6672, with further references.

137 Turner, "Leo V"; *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 4244, with further references.

This possible double meaning of Armenian as both "foreign" and "non-orthodox" is also evident from the Georgian Vita Ioannis et Euthymii hiberica, who mentions a certain Gvirpel (maybe a malapropism of *kyr Bel*), who was the financial official of a Georgian prince and became monk in the Iviron-Monastery on Mt. Athos, after he had converted to Orthodoxy and was re-baptized *cum Armenius esse,* as we read in the Latin translation of the text.[138]

4.3   *Language, Religion and Identity in Bari, 990*

Again, all these samples more or less pertain to the elite stratum of society. One of the rare examples for the interplay between non-elite individuals of Armenian and other backgrounds on Byzantine soil constitutes a charter produced in Bari in Southern Italy in the late 10th century.[139] Larger number of Armenian troops served in Byzantine Italy from the 6th century onwards.[140] We find them especially in the centre of Byzantine rule in Ravenna. A *magister militum* Bahan served there in 599 and was mentioned as "glorious filius noster" in a letter of Pope Gregory the Great.[141] A Paulacis, son of Stephanus and *miles numeri Arminiorum* (an "Armenian" regiment stationed there) was a donor to the church of Ravenna in November 639.[142] Moreover, for the same period between 625 and 644 an *Exarchos* of Armenian background named Isaak is documented in a Greek-Latin inscription in San Vitale.[143]

From the end of the 9th century onwards, we also have information on the settlement of Armenians in (recently) re-conquered areas of Southern Italy.[144] The document of interest was written in 990 by the Latin *clericus* Caloiohannes from Bari, who explained: his father Dumnellus had bought several pieces of property some years before in the plain of Celia near Bari from the Armenian women Bartisky, daughter of Moiseo Pascike and wife of the Armenian Corcus. After the death of Dumnellus Caloiohannes inherited this property, but lost the charter on the land sales. One of these pieces of land was (wrongfully) sold to the *clericus* Mele, son of the Armenian *presbyterus* Simagon. Iohannes, son

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138   Vita beati patris nostri Iohannis atque Euthymii, transl. Peeters, p. 50, ln. 12; *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 22534. On the re-baptism of Armenians see also Garsoïan, "Problem", pp. 72–73.

139   On this region and Byzantine Italy in general see also McCormick, "The Imperial Edge".

140   Cf. also Mutafian, "L´immigration arménienne en Italie"; Zekiyan, "Le Colonie Armene", esp. pp. 813–847.

141   PLRE III s. v. Bahan; Greg., Ep. IX 99.

142   Zekiyan, Le Colonie Armene 814–815; PLRE III s. v. Paulacis (Marini, P. Dip. 95).

143   Zekiyan, Le Colonie Armene 815 (with citation of the inscription); PLRE III A, s. v. Isaacius 8 (with further references); Garsoïan, Problem 97.

144   Dédéyan, "Le stratège Symbatikios"; cf. also Garsoïan, "Problem", pp. 56–57, with further references; *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 27443.

of Mele, sold a part of this piece to Cricori, the son of the Armenian Achanus. Caloiohannes now successfully demanded the return of the property from Iohannes, but agreed to allow Cricori the further cultivation of the land he had bought due to his poverty. For the confirmation of this agreement, Iohannes presented as *mediator* another Cricori, son of the Armenian Petrosi. The charter was signed by five witnesses, among these Leo, who signed in Greek, the *sacerdos* Husep, who subscribed in Armenian, and three further individuals (Andrea *presbiter*, Falcus *presbiter* and Iohannes), who subscribed in Latin.[145] A visualisation of the social network emerging from the information in this documents (see Fig. 12.4) clearly demonstrates that despite a considerable amount of commercial and legal interaction between various ethnic backgrounds (indicated in the text by ethnonyms and/or languages of subscription) we encounter members of an "Armenian" colony acting within a predominantly Armenian milieu, where people have "Armenian" names, write (and speak) Armenian (although at least some of them were bi- or even trilingual up to a certain degree in order to execute the commercial and legal deals with their "Latin" and "Greek" neighbours) and attend (or work as) "Armenian" priests (of unspecified denomination). According to the document, the Armenian community in Bari was present there at least in the second generation, but maybe even longer (since the late 9th century?). It is therefore hard to estimate the actual timespan of "co-habitation" of these groups, which antedated the range of interaction (and non-interaction), documented in our text. Intermarriage, not deducible from the charter of 990, can be at least assumed for another *clericus armenus* in Bari named Moseses, who before 1009 had built a Church of St. George in Bari. He died before October 1011, when his widow Archontissa (a "Greek" name) made a contract with his son Andreas (from his first wife) on the heritage. Her relative, the *ek prosopou* Silvester, supported Archontissa. The charter was produced by the clergymen and *notarius* Bisantius and subscribed by four witnesses: the *archidiaconus* Madelmus, the clergyman Romualdus, Amatos, and another Romualdus, son of the *protospatharius* Pardus. Here, the heritage of the Armenian priest is negotiated within a predominantly "Greek-Latin" milieu.[146] These relatively detailed views on the interactions between different ethnicities in the Byzantine province within the

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145   Codice diplomatico barese IV, Nr. 4, ed. Nitti Di Vito, pp. 8–10. Cf. also Achanus (*Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 20092), Cricori (nr 21354), Iohannes (nr 23493), Caloiohannes (nr 21223), Bartisky (nr 20834), Moiseo Pascike (nr 25415), Corcus (nr 21348), Mele (nr 25031), Simagon (nr 27078), Iohannes (nr 23493), Cricori (nr 21355), Petrosi (nr 26550), Leo (nr 24305), Husep (nr 22644).

146   Codice diplomatico barese IV, nr 9 and 11, ed. Nitti Di Vito, pp. 18 and 21–24; *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 25429, 20549, 20392, 27076.

non-elite stratum of society (although the clergymen and *notarii* definitely constituted leading figures of their local communities) are sporadic and therefore even more tantalising with regard to the modification or confirmation of linguistic, onomastic and religious aspects of identity. We also do not get any information on the possible pressure towards doctrinal conformity, for instance, from the side of state authorities.

4.4   *Byzantium, Armenians and Armenian Mobility at Large*

Beyond possible religious antagonisms mentioned also above, the already discussed case of Artabanes Arsakides had illustrated the possible tensions between the desire to integrate into the Byzantine elite and the imperial pull towards conformity on an individual level. The background to the rebellion amidst which we first encounter Artabanes in the sources demonstrates similar tensions between the imperial regime and Armenian communities at large. As mentioned above, within the Western Armenian territories which came under Roman suzerainty under the conditions of agreements with the Sasanians in the 4th century (see Map 12.1), the Arsacids and other noble families enjoyed several privileges and some agree of autonomy, especially in the South-western regions, which where under the rule of indigenous princes called "Satraps" in the sources (see also above for two of these princes studying in Antioch and Berytus). After more than a century of special status, Emperor Justinian I decided to bring about a full integration of these territories into the military and provincial framework of the Empire. The Satrapies and Armenia interior (the homeland of Artabanes) were put under the control of a *magister militum per Armeniam*. A few years later, all these areas together with two already existing Armenian provinces were organised into four new provinces (Armenia I–IV) and the autonomy of the Satraps and noble houses was abolished.[147] Even more, a new tax regime and the Roman law system were introduced; in an edict "Concerning the order of inheritance among the Armenians" (*De Armeniorum successione*, 535) and in the Novella XXI (*De Armeniis ut ipsi per omnia sequantur romanorum leges*, 536), Emperor Justinian tried to apply the Roman law on the whole of Roman Armenia, "*desiring that the land of the Armenians should prosper altogether and should differ in no way from our realm.*"[148] Also within the new military and administrative framework, individuals of Armenian background played as significant role; this very much

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147   Adontz/Garsoïan, *Armenia*, pp. 134 (translation) and 35* (Greek text).

148   Adontz/Garsoïan, *Armenia*, pp. 142–164, 32*–34* and 37*–38* (Greek texts of the two laws); Güterbock, "Römisch-Armenien", pp. 43–58; Lounghis/Blysidu/Lampakis, *Regesten*, nr. 1078 and 1108; Dédéyan, *Histoire*, pp. 196–197; Thomson, "Armenia", pp. 167–168.

made sense from an imperial point of view, as also Malalas indicates concerning the new *magister militum per Armeniam* Sittas, who "*enrolled indigenous scriniarii and made them his own military scriniarii in accord with an imperial rescript, having requested the Emperor to enrol natives since they knew the regions of Armenia.*"[149] In addition, the first governors of Armenia interior as province were recruited among the Armenian aristocracy, as Procopius tells us, but not from the long-established houses, but from noblemen who recently had defected from the Persian side.[150] The promotion of these "newcomers", together with the other imperial measures, incited the representatives of the "autochthonous" Armenian nobility to violent resistance. The insurgents also made contact with the Sasanian Great King Xusrō I, to whom they also escaped after the failure of their rebellion, and complained against Justinian.[151] The example of the Satrapies and Armenia interior demonstrates what imperial pressure towards conformity and control could imply for the traditional framework of noble power in Armenia: the gradual reduction of autonomy, the installation of military and administrative structures, the displacement of the noble families from the region and their (attempted) integration into the empire's elite were the crucial steps of the integration of Western Armenia into the empire as a province.[152] This modus operandi was applied by the empire also in following centuries vis-à-vis the noble houses of Armenia if the empire had the opportunity to win the upper hand in the struggle for the control of the country for a longer time, as it did in the late 10th/early 11th century.

Imperial authorities were not only anxious to impose control on individuals and population within their borders, but also on their mobility within and beyond. We have already mentioned above the contractual clause of the Byzantine-Persian peace treaty of 562 regarding the limitation of defections by the imperial powers, which would have pertained especially also to Armenians, as the earlier experiences in the period of Justinian had taught. Another interesting example of imperial legislation in this regard is a rescript of Emperor

149   John Malalas 18, 10, ed. Thurn, p. 359, 12–14; Greatrex/Lieu, *Eastern Frontier*, p. 84; Preiser-Kapeller, "Magister Militum", p. 349.

150   Procopius, Bella II, 3, 1–6, ed. Dewing I, pp. 270–271; *The Prosopography of the later Roman Empire* III, s. v. Acacius 1, pp. 8–9.

151   Procopius, Bella II, 3, 38–40, ed. Dewing I, pp. 280–281; on the accusation of being a ruthless revolutionary, which Procopius expresses against Justinian on several occasions, cf. Meier, *Das andere Zeitalter Justinians*, pp. 198–199.

152   Cf. also Faroqhi, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 75: "Only after a certain lapse of time were the sons of former dynasts-turned-Ottoman-dignitaries appointed to serve in faraway provinces, while the territories held by their fathers or grandfathers were integrated into the Ottoman imperial structure, and now administered by people with no previous links to the localities concerned."

Nikephoros II Phokas from the year 964 to an anonymous official, maybe the commander of the region of Lykandos (a region re-settled by the Armenians under Melias 50 years before, see above). This official had informed the emperor about several problems in this region, especially also on the habit of Armenian possessors of military estates to leave their property frequently without permission for longer periods. Nikephoros II Phokas ordered that property left by Armenian soldier should become property of the state already after three years (and not after 30 years as in other cases) and could be distributed among refugees or other soldiers anew after this period in order to "teach" the Armenians that they not had the freedom to leave and settle somewhere else and to return according to their own wishes, since otherwise "*all the Armenian thematic armies*" would dissolve.[153] Once Armenian groups had migrated to Byzantium, the empire of course wanted to maintain its military and agricultural work force; even more than individual acts of defection, unauthorised mobility on a larger scale threatened the very existence of the newly established defence perimeter at the frontier.

At the same time, from a modern point of view it may seem surprising that even an absence of three years was tolerable by the authorities. Nevertheless, such relatively high limits for the absence of individuals before their property rights or other aspects of their legal status underwent a modification we also encounter in the Armenian ecclesiastical legislation. They therefore allow some inferences on the extension of (deliberate or forced) mobility at large. The Armenian Church was especially concerned with the preservation of bonds of matrimony in the case of a longer-term absence of one of the spouses. According regulations were made at a Council in the capital of Dvin in 648, after the first period of Arab incursions in the country, which had brought about larger scale displacement of people. These canons then remained valid over the centuries and were also included in the important Law code of Mχit'ar Goš from the late 12th century. According to these regulations, one was allowed to remarry after seven years, if the other spouse had been taken captive and her or his whereabouts remained unknown. While this rule regarding forced mobility pertained to both gender, the same seven-years period was applied in cases where one spouse deliberately left home (for commerce or other purposes) and was reported death. Yet, this canon acts on the assumption that only the man would undertake such a journey, while the wife would remain behind (and would be allowed to take another husband after seven years).

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153   Svoronos, *Les novelles*, nr. 9, pp. 170–173, esp. 170, lns. 1–11; McGeer, *The Land Legislation*, pp. 87–89; Dölger, *Regesten*, nr 720. See also *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*, nr 31466, and Garsoïan, "Problem", p. 63.

Finally, the regulation would also be effective if the wife found out that her husband had taken another wife in his place of destination; after seven years she would be free to marry again (one wonders if the wife of Artabanes bothered to come to Constantinople in order to claim her marital rights in advance of the elapse of a similar deadline, see above).[154] The continuous validity of these canons once more documents the significance of both forced and deliberate mobility in early medieval Armenian society, but also the possible dissolving effects of mobility on social ties established in the society of origin.

5 Conclusion

The various types of "Armenian" mobility we encounter in our sources hint at different frameworks of "networks" and "infrastructures", which permitted, but also somehow channelled mobility. The mobility of aristocrats took place within networks of allegiance, kinship and ethnic affiliation, which had been established between Armenia and the courts and administrative as well as military elites of the neighbouring great powers. The (both structural and imaginary) connections between ecclesiastical institutions, monasteries and places of veneration and education are reflected in the mobility of clergymen, pilgrims and scholars. Networks of commerce were based on the routes between places of production and markets, but also on relations of exchange and trust. The re-location of thousands of soldiers or the resettlement of ten thousands of refugees or deportees finally made highest demands on state infrastructures of transport, supply and distribution, then also of administrative control and taxation. These various networks were entangled; aristocrats or clergymen travelled along mercantile routes or on commercial ships, private and public transport of commodities and individuals were closely connected;[155] Armenian mobility at large was often one effect of the traditional connections of allegiance within a society dominated by the aristocracy – when retainers followed their lord into the armed services of an empire or fled with him across the border.

We also observe not only a "multiplexity" of networks, but also of combinations of elements of "Armenian" identity (intertwined between self-definitions and attributions by others) with regard to language (the bilingual seal of Machitarios and Philippos), naming (the twins Baanes and Stephanos of

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154   Mxit'ar Goš, *Dastanagirkʻ*, transl. Thomson, pp. 132 (ch. 8), 136–137 (ch. 14) and 249–250 (ch. 206), with references for the older canons. See also Mardirossian, *Le livre des canons*.

155   On trade networks, cf. also Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia*.

MAP 12.1   The Roman-Persian border in Armenia and Northern Mesopotamia, 387 and 591 A.D.
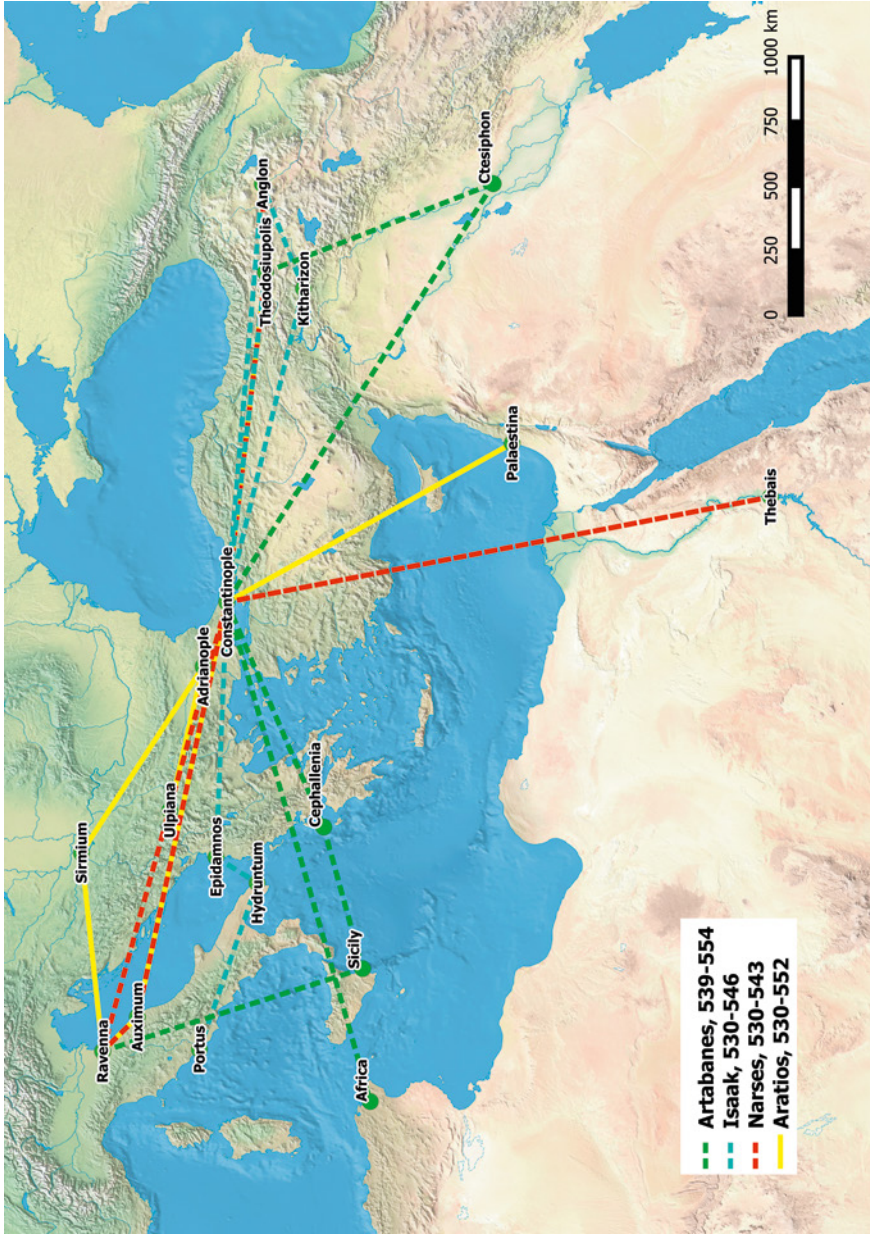
MAP 12.2   The itineraries of Artabanes Arsakides and the three brothers Narses, Aratios and Isaak in the military service of Emperor Justinian (and beyond), 530–554 A.D.

MAP CREATED BY J. PREISER-KAPELLER, 2018
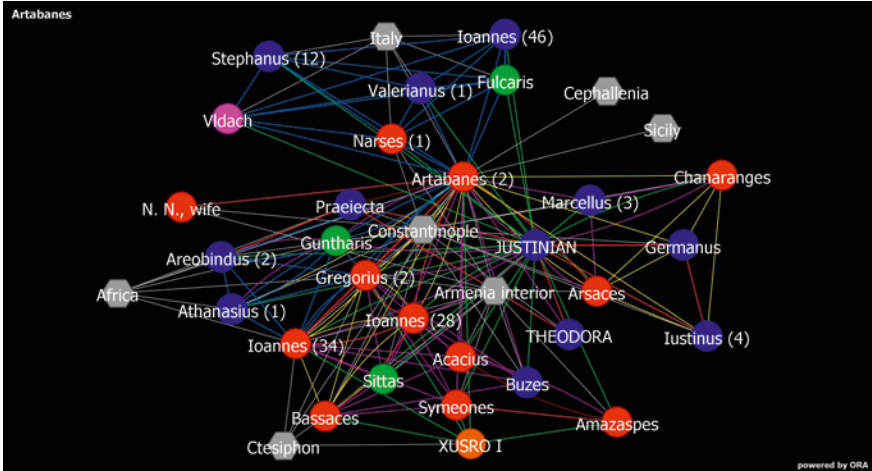
FIGURE 12.1 The social networks of Artabanes Arsakides as documented in Procopius (red nodes: Armenians, blue nodes: Roman, green nodes: Germanic origin, orange: Persians, grey nodes: localities; red links: kinship, green links: allegiance and patronage, blue links: joint military service, purple links: conflicts, yellow links: conspiracies, grey links: temporary presence at locality)
GRAPH CREATED BY J. PREISER-KAPELLER, 2018
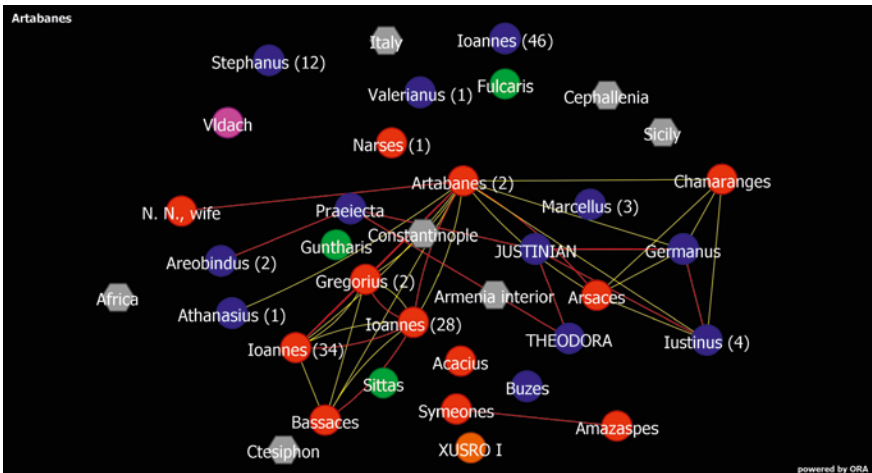
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GRAPH CREATED BY J. PREISER-KAPELLER, 2018
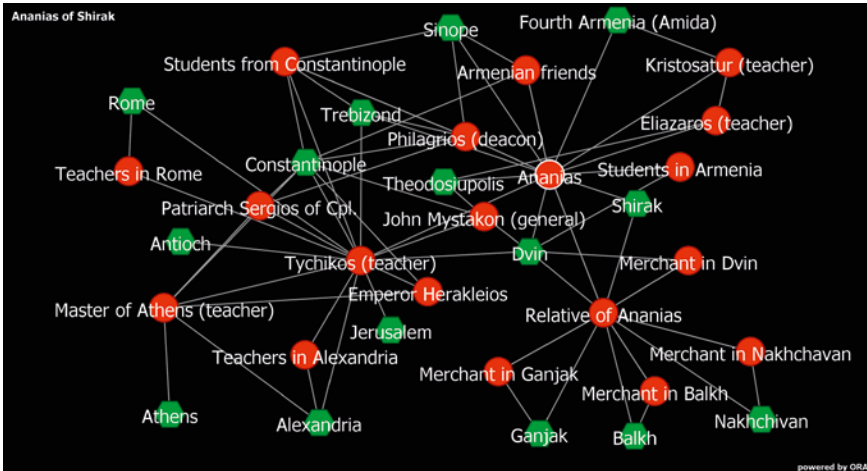
FIGURE 12.3   The connections between individuals (red) and localities (green) as document-
                ed in the biographical narratives of Ananias of Širak, 7th cent.
                GRAPH CREATED BY J. PREISER-KAPELLER, 2018
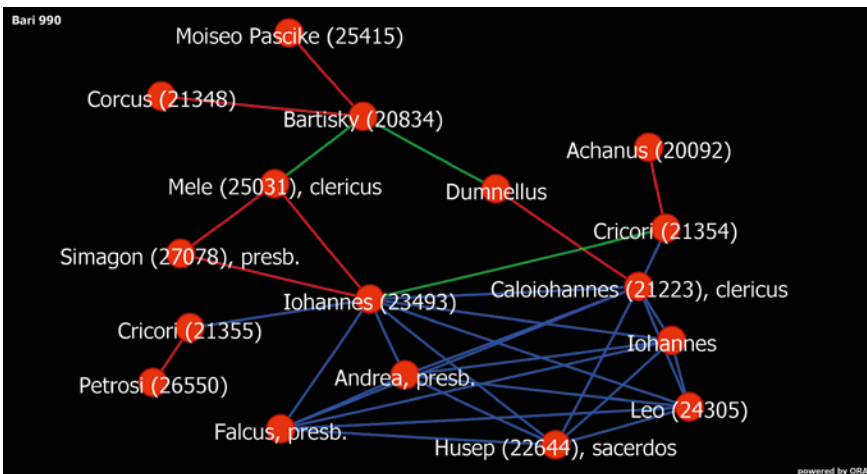
FIGURE 12.4   The social network emerging from a charter in Bari (Southern Italy), 990 (red
                links: kinship, green links: commercial interaction, blue links: juridical
                interaction)
                GRAPH CREATED BY J. PREISER-KAPELLER, 2018

St. Mary of Bizye) or religion (non-Chalcedonian monks ejected from the "Ro-
man Empire" founding a monastery called of "the Romans" in the realm of the
Bagratuni), highlighting the inextricableness of spatial and cultural mobility.[156]

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156   Cf. Greenblatt, *Cultural Mobility*.

"Armenian mobility" was equally both a chance and a challenge for the neighbouring great powers, who tried to attract, but also to control Armenian mobility, to profit from, but also to limit the strength of ties of allegiance and ethnic affiliation, who wished for individuals with bilingual skills, but also of unquestionable loyalty (and, in the case of Byzantium, religious conformity). Several "microhistories" also uncover the tension between "Armenian-ness" attributed by contemporary sources (also in pejorative intention) or modern scholarship (maybe only on the basis of a "typical" Armenian name) and the actual relevance of such attributions for the identity and personal agency of an individual.[157] The Armenian case thus provides especially rich material for a migration history of the medieval Afro-Eurasian transition zone.

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157   The "Armenian" identity of Patriarch Photios beyond its usage in a diplomatic letter being one prominent case example, see above. For another case of the 9th century, cf. also Preiser-Kapeller, "'Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Armanī".

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Forced Mobility and Slavery

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Migration and Enslavement: A Medieval Model

Youval Rotman

At the beginning of the third millennium sociologist Stephen Castles has called for "a sociological argument that points to the significance of forced migration in contemporary society and in current processes of change".[1] Castles' words have since become a landmark for scholars and activists interested in and working on migration and forced migration.[2] Five years prior to the publication of Castles' article, the *Refugee Participation Network – RPN – newsletter* changed its name and format and became the *Forced Migration Review.* Published since 1998 by the Refugee Studies Centre in the Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford, it was launched in order to "contribute to improving policy and practice for people affected by forced migration; provide a forum for the voices of displaced people; be a bridge between research and practice; raise awareness of lesser-known (or little covered) displacement crises; and promote knowledge of, and respect for, legal and quasi-legal instruments relating to refugees, IDPs and stateless people".[3]

Although the *FMR* preceded Castles article's publication by five years, its foundation can be considered as a response to the same need for a conceptual framework in the study of what has become over the last two decades the largest movement of people today. This is evident in particular in view of the premises that Castles has laid out in connecting forms of forced migration to the new economic system of globalization as well as to the socio-political framework of transnationalism. The large movement of people around the world today, and in particular from South to North, is therefore linked to, and is perceived as a product of the radical socioeconomic and political changes of our time.

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1 Castles, "Towards a Sociology of Forced Migration and Social Transformation", 13–34.
2 O'Connell Davidson, "Troubling freedom: migration, debt, and modern slavery", 1–20: Turton, "Conceptualising forced migration"(https://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/publications/working-paper-series/wp12-conceptualising-forced-migration-2003.pdf, retrieved on 22/4/2017). See in particular Stepputat/Nyberg Sørensen, "Sociology of Forced Migration".
3 http://www.fmreview.org/index.html, retrieved on 1/5/2017.

The fact that forced migration is perceived and understood in relation to globalization and transnationalism makes it resemble very much another contemporary global social phenomenon: modern slavery. This term has become prevalent in modern political and human rights discourse in englobing extreme forms of human exploitation, forced labor, human trafficking and human bondage. According to the ILO's 2012 report nearly 21 million people were found victims of forced labor around the world that year: 11.4 million women and girls and 9.5 million men and boys.[4] 19 million victims are exploited by private individuals or enterprises, and over 2 million by states or rebel groups. Of those exploited by individuals or enterprises, 4.5 million are victims of forced sexual exploitation.[5] Domestic work, agriculture, construction, manufacturing and entertainment are among the sectors most concerned.

In 1999 sociologist and economist Kevin Bales has published a first of its kind monograph: *Disposable People: New Slavery in Global Economy*.[6] On over 300 pages divided into seven chapters Bales offers a first-hand analysis of the operations of five slave-based businesses: prostitution in Thailand, selling of water in Mauritania, production of charcoal in Brazil, general agriculture in India, and brickmaking in Pakistan. Bales have analyzed all five cases from an economic and sociologic perspective and revealed them as products of particular social structures and juridical conditions. All cases refer to people who were not illegally enslaved, were not victims of illegal kidnapping or human trafficking, and were not forced to labor against the law. The forms of exploitation used in all cases were legal and did not require change of residency of the exploited persons. They were products of the way the juridical and socioeconomic systems in their particular countries functioned. However, Bales was not satisfied in an overview of such phenomena, but contextualized them in the framework of globalized economy. This context is what makes people disposable, i.e. exploited in slavery-like manner, which severely restricts their freedom. The restriction of freedom of people as a means to exploit, merchandize and profit from their labor is perceived here as a cardinal criterion that constitutes *de facto* slavery. One of the main elements in the situation of these people as disposable is the restrictions of mobility, their freedom of movement.

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4   "ILO Global Estimate of Forced Labour: Results and methodology" (http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/forced-labour/policy-areas/statistics/lang--en/index.html, retrieved on 13/6/2016).

5   Compare to the higher estimates of the "Global Slavery Index" (http://www.globalslaveryindex.org/ retrieved on 13/6/2016), according to which the number of victims of modern slavery is more than twice as high: 45.8 million. The reason for this difference is the fact that the "Global Slavery Index" uses the terminology of slavery in regards to contemporary forms of exploitation much more freely than the ILO. See Rotman, "Comparing Slavery".

6   Bales, *Disposable People.*

Whether we call them slaves or not, they are bound to their exploiters by juridical and economic constrains, and are certainly not free to change their position. In fact, the very form of their exploitation depends on this incapacity. *A priori*, this situation of human bondage is very different from the situation of migrants who are forced to leave their homeland. However, here too the situation and the restrictions that it entails on the individual are dependent on economic and political conditions of the globalized economic system that enables and encourages merchandizing of humans. This economic transnational framework is precisely what turns the conceptualization of such forms of exploitation from human bondage to modern slavery. Both "disposable people" and "displaced people" therefore seem to be victims of a global economic system, which determines their personal condition by limiting their rights of movement. Both those who are prevented from moving and changing their situation, and those who are prevented from staying in their homeland and continuing with their life, are forced into a life of precarious socioeconomic and civil status in which their labor and themselves can be merchandized. We can ask whether the uncertainty in the socioeconomic situation for most people in today's world is not the cause of uncertainties of residency and settlement for both displaced people and disposable people. The question is in what way these two social situations are connected.

The overlapping area between forced migration and modern slavery is recognized and referred to in modern scholarship. In their description of what constitutes forced migration, David A. Martin, T. Alexander Aleinikoff, Hiroshi Motomura and Maryellen Fullerton define the different types of forced migrants. Along with refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced persons, development-induced displacees, environmental and disaster displaced, smuggled people, we also find trafficked people "who are moved by deception or coercion for the purposes of exploitation. The profit in trafficking people comes not from their movement, but from the sale of their sexual services or labour in the country where they work. The trafficked persons may be physically prevented from leaving, or be bound by debt or threat or violence to themselves or their family in their country of origin".[7] However, trafficked people are not the only migrants whose civil status and freedom are restricted. The restrictions of freedom and rights of migrant workers have been the subject of recent studies, which emphasized the extreme forms of their social dependency and exploitation. Daromir Rudnyckyj, for example, shows how what he calls "servile status" becomes essential in the training of migrant workers in both

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7   Martin/Aleinikoff/Motomura/Fullerton, *Forced Migration*, pp. 10–11.

their socioeconomic position in their state of origin and their state of destination.[8] Even if we do not accept his definition of "servile status" as a socioeconomic condition, we still need to acknowledge the fact that social submission is a significant part of migrant workers' position. Adriana Kemp and Rebeca Raijman have recently showed how state's regulations play a decisive role in establishing private mechanisms of dependency and exploitation.[9] In both cases, however, the people in question are not forced migrants, but migrant workers who seem to have immigrated out of their "free will". The fact that these workers are foreigners makes it particularly easy to manipulate their juridical situation, since they are not citizens in the society of destination. This however does not entail their definitions as "modern slaves", but it certainly challenges the perception that sees trafficked people as a sub-category of modern slaves in the rapidly growing group of forced migrants today.

More and more scholars propose to examine the relation between slavery and forced migration in different directions other than in cases of human trafficking. Lotte Pelckmans, for example, shows how the institution of slavery still determines patterns of mobility and migration in modern Africa.[10] The same is also true in regards to the juridical heritage of Atlantic slaveries: Shannon Clancy, for example, has shown how juridical conventions dated to the American slavery institution, still play an important role and condition the way immigrants are treated today.[11] In fact, the Atlantic slavery is in itself considered as a phenomenon of migration.[12] Such studies do not intend to change the historical perspective of Atlantic slavery, but to develop along them a new perspective in which slavery will take its place also in the history of migration to the Americas. Such a perspective links together two distinct phenomena of human movement: forced migration and human trafficking through the study of slavery.

The Atlantic slavery is by far best and most appallingly documented phenomenon of forced migration in world's history. Between the 15th and the 19th centuries, over 13 million Africans were forcibly removed from Africa and

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8   Rudnyckyj, "Technologies of Servitude".

9   Kemp/Raijman, "Bringing in State Regulations". About the employer-employee bound see also: Depatie-Pelletier, *Judicial Review*.

10   Pelckmans, "Dependent Mobility"; cf. Botte, "Les habits neufs de l'esclavage"; Idem, *Esclavages et abolitions en terres d'Islam*. Idem (ed.), *L'ombre portée de l'esclavage*.

11   Clancy, "Immigration and Modern Slavery".

12   Magee, "Slavery as Immigration?".

shipped to the Americas. Of these 11 million reached the Americas.[13] The objective of the Atlantic slave trade was the exploitation of Africans as slaves. The rationale was economic, and the human trafficking on such a large scale together with forced migration of Africans in and out of Africa, were all means to attain these objectives. Although the Atlantic slave trade is a part of the long and painful history of slavery, it may and should be regarded as exceptional for its scale, documentation and management.[14] This was above all an appallingly planned and managed economic enterprise targeted at producing a profit from the new world's lands. In this respect, the Atlantic slaveries were all *ex-nihilo* creations. They served one global economic agenda for which slavery, human trafficking and forced migration proved to be complementary means. If we compare this to today's phenomena of modern slavery and forced migration, we will have difficulties to identify an intentionally-programmed economic framework at their basis. This is also the reason why scholars are struggling to find a coherent definition and common criteria that will enable to link together different and *a-priori* unrelated phenomena of human exploitation.[15] In addition, this is also, why Castles' article from 2003 is still very much relevant. The main questions that scholars of forced migration are concerned with are therefore: first, what could be the main argument that points to the significance of forced migration? And second, in what way is this related to the question of slavery?

I propose to address these questions by focusing on another period of history in which they played an important role: the Byzantine medieval world. Slavery, human trafficking and forced migration have proved to be significant in sustaining and maintaining a transnational economic and political system in that period. In what follows, I would like to examine how.

1   Slavery in a Medieval World

The institution of slavery is considered in modern scholarship as an integral part of the economic and social life of the Roman Empire, a part that played a

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13   Eltis, *The Rise of Slavery*.

14   See Pétré-Grenouilleau, *Les traits négrières*, who has shown that this was a part of a much bigger global forced movement of Africans to the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean as well as within the African continent. Cf. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*.

15   *Quirk/Vigenswaran, Slavery, Migration and Contemporary Bondage in Africa.*

decisive role in the Roman and late Roman economic expansion.[16] Although the late Roman world has known several crises in the 5th–7th centuries, slavery did not disappear from the regions of the Roman Empire, nor do we have evidence for its decline. On the contrary, recent studies have revealed it as an integral part of early medieval societies, especially in the Mediterranean regions of the Roman Empire.[17] Whether in Gothic Italy, Carolingian Europe, Byzantium or the Caliphates, slavery continued to play a role in the social life despite other coexisting forms of social dependency. Continuity and change characterize the different juridical definitions of slavery and its social conditions in all these medieval societies, successors of the Roman civilization. These definitions developed out of more ancient (Roman and non-Roman) juridical definitions of ownership of human beings. In Byzantium, in particular the juridical institution of slavery was a direct offshoot of Roman slavery and continued to concern, and extensively, the imperial legislator.[18] Whether we can refer to a common institution of "medieval slavery" is a question, which depends on our perspective.[19] In what follows, I would like to reconstruct a common context for such a discussion, in which the different institutions of slavery in the medieval world can be connected. Their nexus will prove to be forced migration on a transnational scale.

Enslavement occurs from birth or later in life. A person can be enslaved by force, or even sell himself or his children into slavery. The Roman authority of a juridical personhood included the freedom over the person's life and death, and the authority of the *pater familias* included the life and death of his children.[20] In late antiquity, however, this authority of a person over his and his children's lives was severely restricted.[21] Imperial legislation tried more and more to fight the phenomenon of parents exposing and selling their children as well as the act of selling oneself, and allowed it only in cases of severe

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16   Andreau/Descat, *The Slave in Greece and Rome*; Bradley, *Slavery and Society at Rome*: Harper, *Slavery in the late Roman World*.

17   Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity:* Rotman, *Byzantine* Slavery; Rio, *Slavery After* Rome; Rio, "Freedom and Unfreedom"; MacMaster, *Slavery in the Early Middle* Ages; Rāgib, *Actes de vente d'esclaves*; Gordon, *Slavery in the Arab* World; McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy,* pp. 733–777. Perry, *The Daily Life of Slaves.* But see for a different view Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*.

18   Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, pp. 189–195.

19   Rotman, "Forms of Slavery".

20   Ville "Selling a Freeborn Child"; Harper, *Slavery in the late Roman World,* pp. 391–423: Westbrook, "Vitae Necisque Potestas"; Thomas, "Vitae necisque potestas. Le père, la cité, la mort".

21   *Codex Justinianus*, ed. Krüger, p. 179 (IV.43 dated to 294), forbade such an act. Melluso, *La schiavitù nell'età giustinianean*, p. 33 and following; Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World,* p. 392 and following.

economic crises and natural calamities.[22] The act of selling oneself was abolished by Leo VI.[23]

Slavery by birth, however, was another matter. This was prevalent in Greco-Roman societies, and present also in Byzantium, the Caliphate and Latin Europe. In Byzantium, a house-born slave was known as *oikogenēs*, just like in antiquity. However, while this term is frequent in Greco-Roman sources, it becomes rare in Byzantine sources.[24] One way to look at it would be to see this as a sign of decline in the use of slaves in Byzantine society. However, an analysis of testaments of Byzantine slaves owners from Asia Minor, Egypt, Greece and Southern Italy shows that it was a common custom to free the slaves, including the house-born, in order to introduce them as socioeconomic dependent freedman.[25] This is also evident from the attention payed by the Byzantine legislator to marriage of Christian slaves and the way in which it affected their status, as well as to marriages of mixed status between freemen and slaves.[26] Freedmen were not free to go their own way, but were dependent on their former owner's family. As we shall see below this dependency worked in both ways, since the household's economic preservation and expansion in both Byzantium and the Caliphate depended on the ability to integrate dependent persons as household members

In contrast to the clear-cut juridical demarcation between slave and free person in Byzantium and the Caliphate, the laws and juridical records of the Latin West suggest an amalgam of statuses of social dependency of peasants that also included slaves. Carolingian capitularies which were analyzed by Alice Rio reveal the blurred line between status of slaves and dependent peasants through the ambiguous meaning that the Latin terms *servus*, *servitium*, *servitus* (originally "slave", and "slavery" in Roman Latin) acquired in the early medieval period.[27] This corresponded with the fact that these statuses became mixed

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22 *Codex Theodosianu*, ed. Mommsen, pp. 182–183 (IV.8.6 dated to 323); *Leges Novellae ad Theodosianum,* ed. Meyer, pp. 138–140 (*Novellae Valientinaini* number 33); Holman *The Hungry Are Dying*, p. 69 (n. 23). For the juridical aspect see: Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery*, pp. 420–422; Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht*, p. 60. On the practice in late antiquity see: Basilii Magni*, "Homilia II: In Psalmum XIV"*, PG 29:277; Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity*, p. 71.

23 Les Novelles de Léon le Sage, eds. Noailles/Dain, no. 59.

24 Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, pp. 184–186. Les Novelles de Léon le Sage, eds. Noailles/Dain, no. 59.

25 See Lemerle, "Le Testament d'Eustathios Boïlas"; Robinson, *Cartulary of the Greek Monastery, pp. 150-157 (doc. IV–53), 179–184 (doc. X–59), 190–194 (doc. XII–61*); Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, pp. 123–128.

26 *Die Novellen des Kaiserin Eirene*, ed. Burgmann, p. 26. *Les Novelles de Léon le Sage*, eds. Noailles/Dain, nos. 100–101. *Novellae et Aureae Bullae imperatorum post Justinianum, coll. iv, nov. 35* in Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, vol. 1, pp. 401–407; Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, pp. 141–143.

27 Rio, "Freedom and Unfreedom in Early Medieval Francia".

through marriage, and reflected the absence of a clear juridical borderline between free and unfree. Slavery in the early medieval West seems to be dependent on hereditary status in contrast to the medieval East and South. These differences in the socioeconomic and juridical statuses of slaves in medieval societies corresponded with different socioeconomic structures of the private household, but it also affected and was affected by the transnational dynamics of medieval slavery.

2   The Transnational Nexus of Medieval Human Trafficking

In contrast to slave breading and the selling of oneself or one's children into slavery, the two other sources of slaves, namely war and commerce are omnipresent in Greek, Latin, Arabic and Church Slavonic sources.[28] War had been a major generator of slavery in ancient times, and continued to be prevalent in late antiquity. While in Roman antiquity continuous internal wars, revolts and strives supplied captives to the Roman slave market, as well as convicts reduced to slavery (*servi poenae*), the medieval captives were mainly foreigners.[29]

The geopolitical map of the Romano-Byzantine Empire was radically transformed in the 7th century with the loss to the Umayyad Caliphate of all of the Byzantine provinces in Asia and Africa (Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia and North Africa) except from Asia Minor. The continuous wars between Byzantium and the Caliphate affected the entire geopolitical constellation of the Eastern Mediterranean up until the arrival of the Crusades. Thanks to the exchanges of prisoners of war between the two states, the wars between Byzantium and the Caliphate did not become a major source of slaves to either side.[30] The introduction of this new international custom affected greatly the slave trade since prisoners of war were not sold automatically into slavery, but were held by the state in order to be used in a prospective exchange of captives.[31] In addition, a new Mediterranean market developed in the central

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28   See n. 17 above.

29   Burdon, "Slavery as Punishment".

30   Campagnolo-Pothitou, "Les échanges de prisonniers"; Kolia-Dermitzaki, "Some Remarks on the Fate of Prisoners"; Rotman, "Byzance face à l'Islam arabe VIIe–Xe siècles".

31   *Leges militares* (*version B*), Ch. 48, ed. Korzenszky, in Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, vol. 2, p. 89. Note that Leo VI's *Tactica* specifies that captives can be sold as slaves. In case of a prospective exchange of prisoners, the captives should be kept for such a use: *The Taktika of Leo VI*, ed. Dennis, pp. 384–386 (const. 16.8–9). For the same in the Balkans see Beševliev, *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften*, p. 190 (no. 41). Two famous Muslim captives held in

Middle Ages for the ransoming of captives, and raids and kidnapping on civil population became prevalent.[32] This had major consequences on the international trade, which, in contrast to antiquity, became the major means to supply the demand for slaves in both Byzantium and the Caliphate.[33] The slave markets in the major cities of the Caliphate and Byzantium are well attested,[34] as well as the circulation of slaves into and within the empire.[35]

Medieval descriptions of historians, geographers, voyagers as well as correspondences, fiscal and political treaties, along with archaeological findings, complete the picture and give substantial evidence for the large forced movement of people as slaves to the Muslim world from Africa, the Eurasia Steppe and the Caucasus. The slave trade from the Caucasus to the late Roman Empire is documented for the 4th and 6th centuries.[36] However, it is only in the 9th century when we begin to have evidence on far-reaching transnational scale of human trafficking that connected the different medieval economies.

In his book *The Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900*, Michael McCormick attributed a cardinal role to the international slave market as a key element in the transfer of goods, people and money between the North and the South Mediterranean littorals. In these commercial dynamics, Eastern Europe proved to be a major source of slaves for Mediterranean societies, and for Byzantium and the Caliphate in particular.

Constantinople are Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā and Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī who write his poems, *al-Rūmiyyāt* in the Byzantine prison: *Le Diwan d'Abū Firās al-Hamdānī*, ed. Sami Dahan. See Simeonova, "In the Depths of Tenth-Century Byzantine Ceremonial".

32 Rotman, "Captif ou esclave ? La compétition pour le marché d'esclaves en Méditerrané médiévale".

33 Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, p. 201. See also Canard, "Les sources arabes de l'histoire byzantine"; Rāġīb, "Les esclaves publics aux premiers siècles de l'Islam".

34 *Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, II 64: in *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Preger, p. 185. Al-Tabarī *Tarikh al-rusul wal-muluk*, ed. de Goeje, 3:1353 narrates how in 845 the number of Byzantine captives held by the Caliphate was inferior to the number of Muslim prisoners offered for ransom by Byzantium. The caliph al-Wāthiq ordered the purchase of Byzantine slaves in Baghdad and Raqqa in order to have the right number or people to ransom the Muslims captives.

35 Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. De Boor, vol. 1, pp. 486–487. Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World*, pp. 68–70.

36 The Caucasus was a source of importation of castrated boys: Ammian, XVI, 7, 4–6. Claud., *In Eutropium*, I, 98ff; 230ff; 335. Procopius Caesariensis, *De bello Persico*, ed. Haury, Leipzig 1962, Ch. 15. For the Southern late antique slave trade see: Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographie chrétienne*, ed. Wolska-Conus, II.29–30. Seals discovered in seven Byzantine provinces of Asia Minor and dated to the end of the 7th century, attest to a major sale of Slavic slaves (*andrapoda sklabōn*) conducted by George the Kommerkiarios under Justinian II: Bendall, "Slaves or Soldiers"; Oikonomides, "Silk Trade and Production in Byzantium"; Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy*, pp. 630–634.

The competition between these two markets and the way in which it affected and was affected by international politics was a subject of another recent study, which examined the slave trade within the large political context of Byzantium as revealed in its international treaties.[37] The international medieval slave trade proves to be a decisive factor in the economic and foreign policy of Byzantium. In fact, much more than in antiquity and late antiquity, the medieval sources and documents reveal an international human trafficking in the medieval Eurasia context. The movement of people, which was the result of this economic-political dynamics, was not yet studied as a transnational forced migration. If the medieval international slave trade had an economic-political rationale, the question still remains how it affected the people who found themselves uprooted and trafficked in order to fill in the demand for human merchandize in the South. In order to examine them as forced migrants we should examine who were they, the routes in which they were trafficked, the conditions and means of their uprooting, and the question of their integration into the societies which imported them. If we keep the Atlantic slave trade as a point of comparison, although exceptional for its scale, documentation and management, we can nevertheless investigate the conditions that make forced transnational migration and slavery a single phenomenon in other periods and societies.

3   The Routes and the People

Our earliest medieval source of a transnational human trafficking is the Persian geographer Ibn Khurradādhbih (c. 820–912). In his *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik* – the book of itineraries and kingdoms – from the mid-9th century he gives a detailed description of al-Rādhāniyya.[38] These were Jewish merchants who traded in arms, pearls, fabrics, furs, spices and young slaves of both sexes (Arabic: *djawārī, ghilmān*), among them eunuchs (Arabic: *khadam*). The description of Ibn Khurradādhbih has been the subject of much scholarship.[39]

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37   Rotman, "Byzantium and the International Slave Trade".
38   Ibn Khordādhbeh, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik*, ed. de Goeje, p. 153 (129) and following.
39   Assaf, "Slavery and the Slave-Trade among the Jews during the Middle Ages (from the Jewish sources)"; Gil, "The Radhanite Merchants and the Land of Radhan"; Ashtor, "Aperçus sur les Radhanites"; Idem, "Gli Ebrei nel commercio mediterraneo nell'alto medioevo"; Gieysztor, "Les juifs et leurs activités économiques en Europe orientale"; Verlinden, "Les Radaniya: Intermédiaires commerciaux entre les mondes Germano-Slave et Gréco-Arabe"; McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 688–695; Holo, *Byzantine Jewry in the Mediterranean Economy*, pp. 9294; Kulik, "Jews and the Language of Eastern Slavs".

The historians who dealt with it have tried to contextualize the Radhaniyya in the framework of the Jewish trafficking in slaves in the central Middle Ages, while others have questioned their very existence.[40] Ibn Khurradādhbih describes four itineraries, across lands, seas and rivers:[41] (1) The first itinerary led the Radhaniyya from Firandja, across the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, and on to Sind, India and China, from where they imported spices. (2) The second itinerary started also from Firandja, and led them to Sind, India and China, but this time through Antioch, the Euphrates, Baghdad and the Persian Gulf. (3) The third itinerary was a land route that passed through North Africa to Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Iraq. (4) The fourth itinerary led them through the land of the Slavs (*al-sakāliba*), and across the Khazar kingdom and the Caspian Sea to Transoxiana. This fourth itinerary of human trafficking joins the account of Ibn Fadlān of his 10th-century expedition to the Bulgars of the Volga, here with no relation at all to the Radhaniyya (or any other Jewish merchants for that matter).[42] Other sources, of European origin, give more information about the trans-European itineraries that connected to those described by Ibn Khurradādhbih, such as the tolls on the Danube at Raffelstätten, the itineraries on the Rhône, and in Italy. All these European itineraries ran from Northeast to South-West.[43] Fluvial and maritime routes in Eastern Europe, the Balkans and the Black Sea, were all used to lead local inhabitants to the Byzantine markets, which were regulated from Constantinople.[44] I have argued elsewhere for a competition between the Byzantine and the Caliphal markets that conditioned the itineraries of the traffickers, and showed how it led Byzantium to construct an international policy around the concessions given to foreign slave traders.[45] I would like to focus here on the very nature of this human merchandize. Who were these people, and whether we can indeed refer to them as forced migrants?

The sources of the North-South itineraries described above were Eastern Europe and the Caucasus. Indeed Bulgars, Rus'/Varangians and Khazar merchants played a cardinal role in connecting this source to the trans-European

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40   See Cahen, "Y a-t-il eu des Radhanites ?"; Toch, *The Economic History of European Jews*, pp. 196–200.

41   Eng. trans. Charles Pellat, "al-Rādhāniyya".

42   Ibn Fadlān, trans. Canard, p. 71 and following.

43   McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 553–557. For a map of these itineraries see: Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, pp. 60–61; https://networks.h-net.org/medieval-human-trafficking-map-and-data-dr-youval-rotman (retrieved on 19/1/2020).

44   Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery..., op. cit.,* pp. 68–76. Ferluga, "Der byzantinische Handel auf der Balkanhalbinsel vom VII. bis zum Anfang des XIII. Jahrhunderts".

45   Rotman, "Byzantium and the International Slave Trade".

itineraries leading to the Mediterranean and Near Eastern markets.[46] The fact that Eastern Europe became such a major source for slaves corresponds with the terminology of slavery. In Byzantium the term "Slav" (Greek: *sklavos*), joined another Greek term, "Scythian" (Greek: *skuthēs*) to designate the origin of the slaves referring to a geopolitical origin: Eastern Europe and the Caucasus.[47] This is also the case as far as the Arabic sources are concerned which refer to *sakāliba* as the local population of these regions. Ibn Fadlān use it to designate the Bulgar of the Volga, Ibn Khurradādhbih notes that the Rus' are a specie (*djins*) of *sakāliba*, while in al-Andalus the same term designated European/White slaves.[48] Modern scholarship no longer refers to the *sakāliba* exclusively as Slavs, but also includes in it Scandinavians and Finno-Ugrians along with various population of Eastern-Northern Europe, mainly based on the *sakāliba*'s customs as described by the Arabic Geographers.[49] As McCormick has shown, the circulation of human merchandise was conditioned also by the fact that the peoples of central and Eastern Europe did not mint coins before the 10th century.[50] This explains the demand of these regions for Byzantine, Arab and Samanid gold coins, which were found in the north, up to the Baltic Sea, and to the east, up to the Oka River, a tributary of the Volga.[51] These lands figure as important medieval sources for slaves.[52]

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46   McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 738–754; Sorlin, "Voies commerciales, villes et peuplement", in particular pp. 338–339. Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery,* p. 71.

47   Köpstein, "Zum Bedeutungswandel von sclavus"; Kahane/Kahane, "Notes on the linguistic history of 'sclavus'"; Patlagean, "Nommer les Russes en Grec, 1081–1294"; Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, p. 187.

48   Ibn Fadlān; Ibn Khordādhbeh, *Kitāb*, p. 154; Guichard/Meouak, "al-Ṣaḵāliba", 872–881.

49   Watson, "Ibn al-Athīr's Accounts of the Rūs: A Commentary and Translation".

50   McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy,* pp. 343–384.

51   See Kazanski, Nercessian, Zuckerman, *Les Centres proto-urbains russes,* and especially the following: Nosov, "Rjurikovo, Gorodišce et Novgorod", pp. 148, 152; Sedyh, "Timerevo – un centre proto-urbain sur la grande voie de la Volga", pp. 175–178; Puškina, "Les trouvailles monétaires de Gnezdovo: un marqueur des relations commerciales", pp. 215–224; Ivakin, "Kiev aux viiie–xe siècles", pp. 231–232; Noonan, "The Impact of the Islamic Trade upon Urbanization in the Rus' Lands: the Tenth and the Early Eleventh Centuries", pp. 379–393; Esperonnier, "Les échanges commerciaux entre le monde musulman et les pays slaves d'après les sources musulmanes médiévales".

52   Rotman, "Byzantium and the International Slave Trade"*;* Sorlin, "Voies commerciales"; Sorlin, "Les Traités de Byzance avec la Russie au xe siècle"; *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, ed. Hazzard Cross/Sherbowitz-Wetzor, pp. 68, 75, 86.

4   The Means

What did this human trafficking look like is difficult to assert. In his description of the people of Eastern Europe, Ibn Rustah mentions twice the Sakāliba as a source of slaves. Both the Rus' and the *Madjghariyya* ("Magyars") raid them, traffic them and sell them as slaves, the first in *Khazran* (Khazar land) and *Bulkar* (Bulgar land), and the second in Kerch on the way to Byzantium.[53] We can maybe extrapolate from such descriptions as well as from hoards of foreign gold coins that local population was kidnapped and trafficked by slave traders and sold out to traders by local chiefs.[54] Such raids were also practiced in the Balkans on passengers traveling on both land and river.[55] Indeed iron chains and shackles used by slave traders were found in Eastern Europe.[56] Byzantium and the Rus' paid special attention to put in their treaties clauses to protect themselves from being the victims of such slave traders by mutual agreements to ransom each other if found on the slave market.[57] These measures did not weaken the use of slaves, but they did orient these societies to look for other sources for slaves. Particularly prevalent in the Eastern Mediterranean was piracy.

Piracy is a very effective way for procuring slaves. This was, of course, not a new Mediterranean phenomenon. However, it put on a new form during the central medieval period in the Eastern Mediterranean regions. It became mostly disturbing for the Byzantine population starting from 826 when an Arab force occupied the island of Crete. Until 961–963 when Nikephoros II Phokas regained it, it was used as a basis for maritime raids on littoral Byzantine population.[58] The target was not a military victory, but the Byzantine population itself which was kidnapped, enslaved and then sold in Arab markets.[59] This was also the strategy of the Arab infantry in Asia Minor – raids into Byzantine hinterland that resulted in selling the local population. Two famous

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53   Ibn Rosteh, Kitāb al-A'lāk an-Nafīsa VII, ed. de Goeje, pp. 142–145.

54   See n. 51 above.

55   *Vita Blasii Amoriensis* in *AASS* Nov. 4, pp. 657–659. *Zhitie Nauma* in *Kirillo-metodiesvskoj*, ed. Florja/Tarilov/Ivanov, pp. 286–288.

56   Henning, "Gefangenfesseln im slavischen Siedlungsraum"; McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 741–752; Sophoulis, *Byzantium and Bulgaria*, p. 181, n. 58, who cites *Nicolaus capitulis 106 ad Bulgarorum consulta respondet*, in MGH, Epp. VI, *Epist. Karolini Aevi* IV, pars. II, fasc. 1, pp. 568–600.

57   *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, p. 68; 75. Sorlin, "Les Traités de Byzance avec la Russie au xe siècle", pp. 458–459.

58   Christides, *The conquest of Crete*, pp. 81–83.

59   Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, pp. 47–56.

examples are the sack of the city of Heraclea in Asia Minor in 802/3 or 806 and of Thessalonica in 904.[60] Arab piracy threatened the Greek islands, Sicily, Southern Italy, the Peloponnese and the littoral of Greece and Asia Minor.[61] The Byzantine strategic response in those regions was sometimes the evacuation of the local population.[62] The Byzantines, however, were not only victims, but also exerted military attacks in order to procure slaves.[63] In fact, this was a common practice in both the Mediterranean and Eastern Europe. Behind this dynamics we find a combination of two conditions: the dependence of the medieval socioeconomic expansion on slavery (see *infra*), and the fact that the Mediterranean markets depended on importation of foreign slaves. A decisive factor was the role religion played in the definition of who was considered as an outsider, a foreigner, and could be legitimately enslaved.

5   Foreign Forced Migrants

The new political definition of the state as a religious community in both the Caliphate and Byzantium affected the definition of the borderline between slave and free person. Medieval laws defined the free status of members of their respective religious communities as a permanent "civil status". This meant that a free Muslim, for example, could not lose his de jure status as a free person within the Caliphate, and likewise for a free Christian in Byzantium.[64] The religious identification that maintained the free status of the member of a religious community left the enslavement of foreigners as the only source of slaves and provided the rationale for a transnational forced migration. This constituted raids and piracy as popular means of human trafficking. Prohibitions on selling co-religionists to slave traders and international conventions on redeeming co-religionists were aimed at limiting commercial trafficking in

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60   Canard, "La prise d'Héraclée". John Cameniates, *De expugnatione Thessalonicae*, ed. Böhlig. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes,* vol. 2/1, pp. 166–168; Christides, *The conquest of Crete,* pp. 159–161.

61   *Hagios Nikolaos*, ed. Anrich, pp. 151–197 (*Methodii Economium*, Ch. 42–43, *Thaumata tria* Ch. 8ff). *Les Récits édifiants de Paul*, ed. John Wortley, Paris 1987, Ch. 8. *Vita di Sant'Elia il giovane*, ed. Rossi Taibbi.

62   *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris*, eds. Connor/Connor. *Vita S. Theoctistae*, in AASS Nov. 4 pp. 224–233. *Vie de sainte Athanasie d'Égine*, in Halkin, *Six inédits d'hagiographie byzantine*, pp. 179–181.

63   Ibn Ḥāwkal, *Kitāb Sūrat al-ard,* ed. de Goeje, p. 205. AASS Nov. 4, pp. 46–48.

64   Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, Ch. 2.

local inhabitants, but left of course open the importation of infidel foreigners, i.e. religious outsiders, as slaves. In fact, these were two sides of the same phenomenon of medieval slavery. This is evident from the attempts of Christian rulers and writers to limit the trade in Christians.[65] The main problem that they faced was the fact that Christians sold Christians to non-Christian slave traders. The Byzantine legislator tried to fight this by asserting the freedom of Christian Bulgars kidnapped and traded into Byzantium.[66] Although these measures to fight the trade in Christians were not always successful, they created a special rationale for the transnational slave trade, which favored importation of pagans.[67] The major sources of slavery in the central Middle Ages were the Slavic and Bulgar population and the people from the steppe. For the Caliphate's markets, Africans from the Sub-Sahara completed the demand for non-Muslim slaves.

Importation is a maybe a too sterile term to designate the fact that what the human merchandize itself experienced was the violence of abduction, forced migration, and enslavement. These people were kidnapped either from their homes or on their way, and were sold to slave traders who led them in transnational roads.[68] This was precisely what gave raids and piracy the importance it held in the Middle Age as a form of human trafficking that connected the Balkans, Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Eurasia steppe in a global commercial nexus. The only objective was to sell these people for their remunerating value far away from their home country. Some could be indeed ransomed by their family. However, unlike the victims of the early Modern corsairs, the ransom of the kidnapped population in the medieval Mediterranean, except from cases of very notorious captives, was never more than the price of a slave. The ransom market was completely dependent on the slave market.[69]

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65   *Agobardi Lugdunensis Opera omnia*, ed. van Acker, pp. 189–195 (no. 11). MGH *SRG, Epistolae*, vol. 8. *Codex Carolinus*, pp. 584–585 (no. 59). Tafel/Thomas, *Urkunden* vol.1, p. 3 (no. 3); 5 (no. 7).

66   See, n. 70 below.

67   For the repetitions of these measures in the later period see Pahlitzsch, "Slavery and the Slave Trade in Byzantium in the Palaeologan Period", who nevertheless stressed that these measures were not successful since Byzantines still participated in the transnational slave trade of Christians.

68   See n. 52 and n. 53 above.

69   Cf. Kaiser, *Le Commerce des Captifs; idem, Friction profitable.* Fontenay, "L'esclavage en Méditerranée occidentale au XVIIᵉ siècle"; *Idem*, "*Corsaires de la foi ou rentiers du sol ? Les chevaliers de Malte dans le «°corso°» méditerranéen au XVIIᵉ siècle*".

The fact that both Christians and Muslims were restricted in the trafficking of their co-religionists, oriented the slave traders and pirates to look for victims among their religious rivals and the pagans. If Christians, Muslim and Jews established networks to ransom their coreligionists, this was not the case in regards to the pagan population. The process of the Christianization of Eastern Europe oriented the slave trade further and further away to the East, and the same rationale conditioned the sub-Sahara's slave trade. The Novella of Alexius Komnenos from 1095 is a perfect example of the way Bulgars could no longer be enslaved in Byzantine raids when considered free born and Christians.[70] The same also applied to the Rus' once they became Christians, as is stipulated in the treaties that they signed with Byzantium.[71] This is how the demand for slaves and the conditions of whoever could be enslaved were linked and determined forced migration from outside the realm of Christianity to Byzantium, and outside the realm of Islam to the Caliphate. The question is what happened to these forced migrants once trafficked, enslaved and sold in Mediterranean societies. How were the enslaved migrants treated and were they integrated?

6   The Question of Integration

The two famous anthropological theories about integration of slaves in African societies proposed to look at slavery as a means of social integration of foreigners on the continuum of kinship (Suzanna Miers and Igor Kopytoff), or as a means to obtain power in opposition to system of kinship (Claude Meillasoux).[72] If we ignore the insistence on a single sociological model to explain the existence of slavery, we can acknowledge instead that medieval societies imported slaves to serve a variety of socioeconomic roles, and that the main importance of slavery was this variety.

Whether slaves continued to be used in agriculture is a matter of debate, and depends on the interpretation of the medieval evidence. The Zanj were bands of enslaved Africans imported by the Abbasids to Iraq, which found an

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70 Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, vol. 1, pp. 401–407. In this period the Bulgars are Christians. The second part of the same Novella concerns Christian marriage of slaves, and can indicates to the fact that the enslaved Bulgars were considered as Christians. See Köpstein, "Zur Novelle des Alexios Komnenos".

71 Sorlin, "Les Traités… de Byzance avec la Russie au xe siècle", pp. 313–360; 447–475 (pp. 458–459).

72 Miers/Kopytoff, *Slavery in* Africa; Meillasoux, *Anthropologie de l'esclavage.*

opportunity to escape the miserable conditions in which they were put, preparing the marshy ground of lower Mesopotamia for cultivation. Their revolts (689–690, 694, 869–883) under the leadership of Ali ben Muhammad are well-documented thanks to the historian al-Tabarī.[73] This is a unique case of substantial evidence surviving on the role that imported enslaved Africans played in Abbasid agriculture.[74] The evidence from Byzantium and the Latin west for the same period, though scanty, points clearly to the rural use of slaves in these regions, always alongside peasants of free status: dependent tenants, landowners, or hired workers.[75]

In urban manufacture, the use of slaves as agents and guild members raised the socio-economic position of the household. The *Book of the Prefect* of the 10th century clearly reveals the special role that slaves played in the urban economy as agents of economic expansion thanks to their special juridical status.[76] Genizah documents from the 11th–12th centuries attest to a similar use of slaves as agents by Jewish traders.[77] The special status of the slave offered a reliable agent whose personal condition depended on his financial success as a family household member. The fact that slaves were foreigners and had no possible social and economic ties other than in their new household only increased this dependency. Sunni law gave sons the status of their fathers and made it particularly useful for a male slave owner to enlarge his household through the sons of his female slaves.[78] Polygamy and multi-concubinage, both customary in Muslim societies, proved advantageous for the expansion of the household especially under the Abbasids.[79] In such ways slavery served as a means of expansion of the family and the family socioeconomic unit. In Byzantium, the term "my people" (*hoi anthrōpoi mou*) became a mark of social status and comprised all male persons under the influence of a single master.[80] Manumission perpetuated the social dependency of both slaves and their

73 *The History of al-Tabari Vol. 36*, trans. Waines. For the slave trade from East Africa see: Martin, "Medieval East Africa".

74 See Franz, "Slavery in Islam: Legal Norms and Social Practice". See Gordon, "Preliminary remarks on slaves and slave labor".

75 Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, pp. 107–120. Rotman, "Formes de la non-liberté". Rio, *Slavery After Roman, op. cit.*

76 Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, pp. 95–102.

77 Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, pp. 130–133; vol. 3, pp. 330–332. *Idem,* "Slaves and Slave girls". *Idem*, Friedman, *India traders of the middle ages*, pp. 454–456.

78 Brunschvig, "*'Abd*", 1:27. Gordon, *Slavery in the Arab World*, pp. 46–48.

79 Gordon, "Unhappy Offspring?".

80 Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery,* pp. 105–107.

descendants within the family, while integrating them into the socio-economic structure of the household at all social levels.[81] A different aspect of this was the use of slaves and freedmen in both Byzantine and Arab societies in militia forces and as bodyguards in both private and public sectors.[82] *Sakāliba* slaves were used and even formed the Fatimid administration.[83] In any of their destinations these foreigners were converted by their owners as a form of both submission and integration. In fact, there was no difference between the two: integration was attained through submission and vice versa.

The most characteristic example of the versatile nature of medieval slavery is to be found in the military function of slaves in the Arab world. The Mamluks, literally the "owned", were imported as boys from the Eurasian steppe and the Caucasus to form the military elite of the Muslim political leaders. Known as brave, they were trained in special military schools, converted to Islam, and manumitted. They could marry, but could not pass on their position to their sons. The entire institution of the Mamluks was based on the perpetual importation of enslaved boys, often of Turkish origin from Northeast, detached from their family and country, in order to generate the continuation of this military elite institution. Undoubtedly this use of forced migrant foreigners to form particular parts of the elite in medieval societies, was marginal in comparison to other destines in which trafficked human beings found themselves. This was a very different destiny than the one of the Zanj, to take one example. The Mamluks and the Zanj had nothing in common except for the fact that both were enslaved forced migrants. In particular the first were emancipated while the second were not. This reveals the main importance of slavery in this period: it could be employed in extremely varied ways precisely because the enslaved were forced migrants. Both Miers' and Kopytoff's model from the one hand, and Meillasoux's model on the other hand, were employed by the same society. In Byzantium, too, slaves were used on a continuum with kinship to enlarge the private household and its financial situation as freedmen. But, they were also used to enlarge the power of the household owner in opposition to kinship. Both uses were not contradictory, and depended on a common condition: these human beings were owned foreigners. Only forced migration ensured this condition.

81   Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery,* pp. 123–128. Franz, "Slavery in Islam".

82   Franz, "Slavery in Islam"; *Peira*, 42.17. Cecaumeno, *Raccomandazioni e consigli di un galantuomo*, ; Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, vol. 1, pp. 401–407.

83   Jiwa, "From Slaves to Supporters"; Ayalon, *Islam and the abode of war.*

7 **Conclusions**

It is impossible to estimate the numbers of men, women and children who were enslaved, trafficked and forced to a life away from their country, people and family in the Middle Ages. Unlike the Atlantic slave trade, we have little concrete numerical evidence before the early modern period. However, societies which had the means to acquire foreigners, did so, and on a large scale, primarily to use these people in different economic forms and social strata. Indeed, forced migration and slavery prove to be in the Middle Ages two sides of the same coin. Slavery depended on forced migration in order to provide means of socioeconomic expansion, while forced migration depended on the slave markets and the demand for slaves. The special feature of this dynamics was the religious element, which oriented these activities further and further away towards the pagans of Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, the Steppe the African South, while using transnational itineraries that spread throughout Central and Southern Europe, Mesopotamia, the trans-Sahara and the Mediterranean. Religion played an important role in the social and cultural integration of these migrants, since they were converted to the religion of their owners whether Christian, Muslim or Jewish as a means of social inclusion.

If we would like to draw some conclusions regarding the connection between forced migration and slavery, we need to look for the conditions which combined to generate a forced movement of people on a large scale in the medieval world. Firstly, we see that economic medieval expansion of the private as well as the public sectors depended on slavery. Secondly, social submission went together with integration of outsiders with no socioeconomic ties. Thirdly, the special religious aspect of the medieval Mediterranean world constituted religious outsiders as the most apt for expanding the household. All this encouraged human trafficking on a transnational scale.

It is a truism that society that depends on foreigners for its socioeconomic dynamics will encourage the reception of migrants. It is also clear that slavery and other extreme forms of social dependency are particularly encouraged by societies in which labor is a commodity. However, the transnational nexus of slavery in the medieval Mediterranean was aimed not so much towards the exploitation of the labor of forced migrants, but towards their integration into society in versatile ways. Foreign enslaved persons proved to be the most versatile. Slavery ensured their dependency as forced migrants while transnational forced migration ensured that their integration into the social fabric as freedmen would not disrupt the perpetuation of slavery. The fact that the demand for human merchandize came from the wealthiest medieval societies was used by the people of Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Europe in

order to profit from the trade of human merchandise, which for them was an abundant commodity. Forced migration was oriented in view of an economic disparity between wealthy economies which depended on the integration of migrants as slaves to increase their wealth, and much less developed economies for which human trafficking was the main means to acquire wealth.

An increasing interest in the situation of forced migrants today leads us to acknowledge the international economic framework of transnational movements of people. The analysis of the nexus of forced migration and slavery in the Middle Ages shows that human trafficking and transnational slavery were possible because they linked different transnational socioeconomic rationales.

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Mamluks in Abbasid Society

Lutz Berger

1 Introduction

Slave soldiers existed in many societies, already in the ancient Mediterranean world, but also in the age of European imperialism. Nonetheless, it is fair to say that there were few places, if at all, where the enslavement of foreigners was as important for recruiting elite soldiers as in the premodern Islamic world. Nor did slave soldiers anywhere else become as influential politically. The best-known premodern Muslim polity based primarily on an elite of slave soldiers was the Mamluk Sultanate in Egypt. However, the Mamluk army of Egypt was by no means the only nor the earliest slave army in the Muslim world. The aim of the present paper is to present the reader with a short survey of what we know about the origins of Muslim slave armies in the early Abbasid period and with some ideas on their impact on the societies in question.[1]

The history of these armies has been subject to some debate among scholars ever since the late 1960s. Among the first studies were Ayalon's who saw the functioning of slave armies of the Abbasids very much through the eyes of an expert on the late medieval Mamluk institution in Egypt (by projecting later facts back into early Abbasid times).[2] The same holds true for Töllner's 1971 dissertation.[3] In the mid-1970s, Shaban in his revisionist *tour de force* of early Islamic history doubted that something like slave soldiers existed at all in Abbasid times. In his view, when the sources spoke of slavery it was just a metaphor for the fidelity of high-ranking soldiers towards their master, the caliph.[4] Pipes and Crone in the late 1970s did not follow Shaban's ideas. In their opinion, the armies of the 9th-century caliphs consisted primarily of foreign slaves, be it, as Pipes argues, because the Muslims were not willing to serve in the army anymore, be it, as Crone contends, that the rulers of the Islamic world

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1   I have omitted the mentioning of authors of primary sources and have restricted myself on the citation of secondary literature in Western languages instead. An important research tool on all questions pertaining to medieval slavery in Europe and the Middle East is http://med-slavery.uni-trier.de/ (accessed 17 August 2018).

2   Ayalon, "Military Reforms"; Ayalon, "Preliminary Remarks"; Amitai, "The Rise and Fall".

3   Töllner, *Türkische Garden*.

4   Shaban, *Islamic History*.

wanted to be independent of their Muslim constituency.[5] As it seems today, most of the arguments brought forward in these debates have their validity but at the same time need to be nuanced. This is possible not least because lately scholars did not focus only on what happened at the caliph's court in Baghdad or Samarra, or on Turkish and other Central Asian troops there. Some, like Bacharach and Lev, took a deeper interest in the Western provinces of the caliphate and the role of African soldiers.[6] Paul, a specialist on Central Asia, insisted that whatever the role and nature of slave armies might have been, we should not underrate the continuing presence of free, indigenous soldiers in the armies of the caliphs.[7] De la Vaissière provided us with invaluable insights in the Central Asian world whence so many of the elite soldiers of the Abbasids stemmed and helped us to a better understanding of the origins of the Mamluk phenomenon at the Abbasid court.[8] Thanks to him, the problem that once puzzled Shaban of whether or not the Turkish soldiers of 9th-century Iraq were slaves now seems finally solved.[9]

2   The Politics of Slave Soldiers

The migration of military elites into the Abbasid Empire has to be put into the setting of the political history of the time.[10] The Abbasids took power in 750 as leaders of the revolution that put an end to the Umayyad dynasty. Their supporters were a motley crew of elite groups, both Arabs and converts to Islam, from the Eastern half of the Empire, mostly from Khorasan. They expected the new dynasty to bring justice where they perceived injustice, but most of all they expected to participate in the spoils of victory. The core of the revolutionary troops, the so-called *abnāʾ al-dawla*, "sons of the revolution", remained in Iraq as the mainstay of the new government. They received decent allowances from the tax income of the Empire, especially Iraq, which was at the time by far the richest of the provinces of the Abbasid realm. The Abbasids held fast to it as well as to the provinces in the East as far as Central Asia and to the West as far as Egypt. What lay further off in the West, by contrast, was not really worthwhile keeping, given the logistical possibilities of the period. Therefore, the

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5   Pipes, *Slave Soldiers*; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*; Crone, "Early Islamic World".
6   Bacharach, "African Military Slaves"; Lev, "David Ayalon".
7   Paul, *The State and the Military*.
8   De la Vaissière, *Samarcande et Samarra*.
9   See below, n. 11.
10   Cobb, "Empire in Syria"; El-Hibri, "Empire in Iraq"; Bonner, "Waning of Empire"; Sourdel, *L'État impérial*.

Abbasids let al-Andalus and what is now Morocco go their own ways. Both provinces had up to that time been rather more costly to keep than to lose. Ifrīqiyā, i.e. Tunisia and its borderlands, was given to loyal supporters in return for a yearly tribute. The relative stability of the first century of Abbasid rule, the fact that there was no breaking away of further provinces, was due to the cultural and political unity of the imperial administrative and military elite. There was a good deal of elite circulation in the Abbasid Empire back and forth within the Empire, and for most keeping contact with the financially and culturally rich imperial centre in Iraq was more attractive than trying to break away. In Ifrīqiyā, as we have seen, as well as in the East, especially in Central Asia, a large degree of local autonomy made belonging to the Empire a burden that was not too heavy to bear.

Things started to change with a civil war that was caused by the disunity of the caliph Hārūn al-Rāshīd's sons after the former's death in 809. One of the brothers, al-Amīn, had been created caliph in his father's place, the other, al-Maʾmūn, was supposed to be his successor, and in the meantime had been appointed governor of Khorasan. This arrangement, all the precautions their father had taken notwithstanding, proved to be a fragile one. Things came to a head when al-Maʾmūn, supported by al-Ṭāhir, the commander of his troops and a leading representative of the Khorasanian Arabs, marched on Baghdad. The majority of the *abnāʾ* supported the rightful caliph, but were defeated by al-Maʾmūn's troops. As in 750 Easterners now took over power in the centre of the caliphate. A large part of al-Ṭāhirs Khorasanian soldiers stayed in Baghdad after the successful takeover, while he himself became governor of the East under the new dispensation. Al-Maʾmūn and, later on, his brother and ultimate successor al-Muʿtaṣim had to see how they could counterbalance the power of their over-mighty subject at the very centre of their Empire with troops loyal to themselves. Among others, they brought in Central Asian troops for the purpose. The nature of these has long been subject to debate and it is only thanks to the painstaking and meticulous work of de la Vaissière that we understand the changes in the recruitment of military personnel more clearly.[11]

According to him, the social structures of Transoxania had remained surprisingly stable after the Muslim conquest. Under the overlordship of the caliph and his representative, small principalities and their landed warrior aristocracy continued to dominate the region. Within these principalities, princes gathered around themselves bands of loyal retainers. Such bands of warrior nobles were recruited into the Abbasid army especially from the times

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11   De la Vaissière, *Samarcande et Samarra*.

of al-Maʾmūn onwards. Some of these bands of warriors entered into Abbasid military service on their own accord, others had been transferred to Iraq as captives. Confronted with Ṭāhirid regiments of this type that had helped al-Maʾmūn to win the throne, al-Muʿtaṣim chose to bring in troops of this origin. All of them were free or at least freed once in the service of the caliph. Just like the elite retainers of Central Asian princes, they were seen and probably saw themselves as the personal servants of the caliph. The idea of servanthood was more an expression of special loyalty than of legal status, though. To avoid conflict with both the population of Baghdad and the regiments of the Ṭāhirids, the caliph settled his new militia of about 8,000 men in a palace city of his own: Samarra. Nevertheless, it was not only Turks who were quartered there. Among others, Arabs from Egypt, the so-called *Maghāriba*, also found their place in the new capital and became allies of the Turks.[12] A part at least of these *Maghāriba* had been enslaved as consequence of rebellions in Egypt, but others seem to have been free.[13] In all, as it seems, around 20,000 troops or even a little more were stationed in the new capital.[14] The troops of the Ṭāhirids stayed behind in Baghdad. To keep his new soldiers isolated, and maybe also to retain supposed racial traits such as good horsemanship, al-Muʿtaṣim brought in Turkish slave women for them with whom they had children who then were also integrated into the army. Relatively little is known about the training and career of slave soldiers. Those who had been brought into the Islamic world as prisoners of war needed little military training. At any rate, we do not have any concrete information about how such training took place in Samarra. Only at the end of the 9th century do we hear of reviews of Turkish troops by the caliph who then would assign each of these horsemen to a certain rank and pay according to his respective performance.[15]

The hope that these newly recruited soldiers would give the caliphs a secure base on which their authority could rest durably soon turned out to be an illusion. The Central Asian army ate up a great part of the Empire's revenues and was not willing to give up that privileged position. Overall, the payment of the army was the most important item on the caliphs' budget and difficulties in providing the money needed were one of the root causes of political instability from the mid-9th century right through to the Būyid takeover in 945. In the end, the new Central Asian armies were in no way cheaper than the ancient

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12   Talbi, "Maghāriba"; Kennedy, *Armies of the Caliphs*, pp. 119–120.

13   De la Vaissière, *Samarcande et Samarra*.

14   All these figures are very approximate. See Kennedy, *Armies of the Caliphs*, pp. 126–127 and in particular de la Vaissière, *Samarcande et Samarra*, pp. 238–239 for a discussion of numbers.

15   Kennedy, *Armies of the Caliphs*, pp. 157–158.

Muslim militia, the *djund*, or other types of mercenaries. As it was not always easy for the government to provide ready cash for the Turkish troops, their demands led to the development of the oriental version of a fief, the *iqṭāʿ*. Thereby the civil administration gave up the right to collect the taxes of a defined district, the *iqṭāʿ*, for the benefit of an officer of the army. Although in theory this did not mean that these officers became owners of the land, there was a tendency for officers being given these *iqṭāʿ*s to keep them throughout their lives and even to leave them to their heirs. The system started in the region around Samarra but soon was extended to other parts of Iraq and of what is now Iran.[16] Obviously, not all soldiers were paid by being granted such a fief. Those that were not depended on money handed out to them by their commanders or on stipends from the central treasury. The *iqṭāʿ* and other forms of conditional ownership of land or, mostly, of the land's tax income remained a central feature of the social system of the Muslim world through to the 19th century.

By the midst of the 9th century, al-Muʿtaṣim's Turkish militia had become so powerful that the caliph al-Mutawakkil, the son of al-Muʿtaṣim, started to think of getting rid of it. When he attempted to confiscate the fiefs of one of his Turkish commanders, he was killed by the latter's soldiers in collusion with his heir apparent, who seems to have had fallen from grace.[17] The murder of the caliph opened a period of anarchy in Samarra and Baghdad when different factions within the military vied for influence and control, setting up and toppling caliphs as they went. Apart from the Central Asian Turks who loom so large in our sources, the old troops of the Ṭāhirids in Baghdad and the so-called *maghāriba* already mentioned joined the fray. Furthermore, there were African infantrymen, the *shākiriyya* (free guard troops of Eastern Iranian or Central Asian origin) and finally what was left over of the ancient *djund* and the *abnāʾ*. All these groups now fought over power and influence in a never-ending merry-go-round of caliphs being set up and toppled. The crisis was compounded by the *zandj*, East African slaves who had to work in the salt swamps in the South of Iraq. They started a rebellion in protest against their dire living conditions. This rebellion laid waste much of the agricultural core of the Empire.[18]

This period of chaos ended when under the caliph al-Muʿtamid (ruled 870–892) the caliph's brother and regent al-Muwaffaq created a new elite corps of Central Asian slave soldiers and regained control over the situation. This time these soldiers were real slaves. Unlike before, now new recruits were regularly

16   Gordon, "Turkish Military Elite"; Cahen, "L'évolution de l'iqtâ"; Lambton, "Eqtāʿ".

17   Kennedy, *Armies of the Caliphs*, pp. 137–138.

18   Apart from the literature given in note 10 above, see Kennedy, "Decline and Fall".

bought and trained so as to prevent the formation of entrenched vested interests.[19] Al-Muwaffaq succeeded to bind this new troop to his person and thereby had the instrument with which he could both subdue the warring factions of the army and the rebellious *zandj*.

Eventually though, the infighting of military and bureaucratic groups over the dwindling resources of the imperial centre resumed. This was finally yet importantly the result of the crisis of Iraqi agriculture. Much of the complicated system of desalination and irrigation had been destroyed by years of warfare. With Iraq impoverished and the provinces breaking away and not transferring great sums of money anymore to the centre, there was not enough money left in the treasury to satisfy everybody. The caliph al-Muqtadir (908–932), unlike the Abbasids of the late 9th century, did never lead his army in person and was not able to create a bond with his slave soldiers. In the end, the Turkish military had the upper hand, and after the murder of al-Muqtadir the leader of the slave army was appointed commander in chief and the new caliph virtually ceded most of his executive power to him. This military dictatorship was not to last long.[20] In the year 945, bands of mercenaries from Daylam in what is now northern Iran marched on Baghdad under the leadership of the Būyid family. The Būyids forced the caliph to appoint themselves commanders of all caliphal troops and controlled both Iraq and much of present Iran for the better part of the next hundred years.

Already by the end of the 9th century, the chaos in the centre had led to a loss of caliphal control over many of the more peripheral regions of the Empire. Local governors now did not look to the centre in Iraq anymore, they rather tried to set up independent polities. The East had long been under the sway of the Ṭāhirids who had kept an eye on developments in Iraq and even had kept their own troops recruited not to a large degree from the social elite of the province. During the 9th century the Central Asian regions of the Islamic world that had before been composed of relatively small local principalities paying allegiance to Baghdad came under the rule of the Sāmānid family who managed not only to subdue the whole of the Transoxanian and large parts of the Eastern Iranian world, but also at the end of the 9th century had more or less a monopoly for supplying the caliph with the slave soldiers he so desperately needed. The Sāmānids would not only export slave soldiers to the West; they also constituted their own armies of Turkish slaves. When the original base of their military, the rural aristocracy of the region, disaffected because of their declining influence, lost their interest in the continuance of

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19   De la Vaissière, *Samarcande et Samarra*, pp. 267–268.
20   Kennedy, "Military".

Sāmānid rule around the year 1000, they finally lost power to the descendants of one of their slave generals, the so-called Ghaznavid dynasty.[21]

In the far West, a scion of the Umayyad dynasty had founded an emirate on the Iberian Peninsula. The armies of al-Andalus consisted of different competing networks based on ethnic and tribal bonds. This led to instability that the Umayyads sought to overcome by recruiting slave soldiers imported from Central Europe. Numbering 14,000 they were an important prop of the Andalusi caliphate's power, serving both in the military and in the administration, during the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (ruled 912–961). At his death, some of them made an unsuccessful attempt to seize power. However, this was not the end of their influence, factions of them and other segments within the elite took part in a general scramble for the spoils after the breakdown of central authority in the first decades of the 11th century.[22]

Ibrāhīm ibn Aghlab (800–812), the founder of the dynasty of semi-independent governors of Ifrīqiyā, seems to have been the first ruler in the Muslim world to set up an army of slaves, long before his overlords at Baghdad and Samarra. He thereby freed himself from dependency of the *djund*, the *Ifrīqian* militia. A complete army corps made up of 5,000 slaves was settled in a quarter of their own in the Aghlabid capital of al-ʿAbbāsiyya. A few decades later Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, the ʿAbbasid governor of Egypt, who had himself been a slave, founded his own slave army there to secure his power over Egypt. The existence of slave regiments had by the 10th century become the rule within the realms of the Muslim world. The Fāṭimids who pretended to be descendants of the prophet with a better claim to the caliphate than the Abbasids were another example. At the beginning, they founded their military might in the Maghreb on the support of the Kutāma Berbers. Having gained control over Ifrīqiyā at the beginning of the 10th century, they recruited troops of slaves. They continued this practice after they had transferred the seat of their caliphate to Egypt in the 960s. In the Fāṭimid Empire as elsewhere, in periods of crisis regiments of different origins started fighting against each other in alliance with factions at court.[23]

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21   Paul, *The State and the Military*.

22   Golden, "Ṣaḳāliba". For a critique of the view that Central European *ṣaqāliba* served as soldiers see Kenaro, "Slave Elites" who claims that the *ṣaqāliba* proper served as palace officials and not as soldiers. Those who were called *ṣaqāliba* but served as soldiers were of different origin.

23   Lev, "David Ayalon".

3   Origins of Military Slaves

Slave troops, as we have seen, came from where they could easily be provided, that is from neighbouring regions to which the respective ruler had military or commercial access. All peoples around the Muslim world (more or less all peoples anywhere) had groups within their societies that had military traditions. Therefore, it does not make great sense to think about some groups being preferred because they belonged to what European imperialists of the 19th century labelled "martial races". As it was, many recruits came at a rather young age anyway and, apart from the case of the first decades at Samarra, the better part of their military training took place within the Muslim realm(s). Nonetheless, there were certain ethnic prejudices and stereotypes that to some degree were derived from learned traditions (see below), but to some degree might have had a foundation in real conditions. Turks were mostly used as horsemen and it may well be that these Central Asians had indeed normally mastered riding at a very young age before being sold into slavery. Sub-Saharan Africans, by contrast, were normally used as infantry. Again, horses being rare in their country of origin one could not presuppose any anterior experience of horsemanship, while they might have been used to walking long distances.

In the case of the Abbasid caliphs, the greatest number of slave soldiers came from Central Asia. Most of them will have been speakers of Turkish languages, but taking into account the imbricated nature of Central Asian ethnicities, it may well be that some whom we (perhaps even their contemporaries) conceptualize as Turks spoke other Iranian or Altaian languages. These Turks were in part prisoners of war and as such came to the Muslim lands as already fully-fledged soldiers. Such people, as we have seen, often have had a rather high standing in their society of origin. Others had come into the possession of their Muslim masters as young children as war booty or tribute. In these cases, we cannot be as sure concerning the standing of these persons before their enslavement, nor did it probably play a big role.[24] In the North, war against the Khazars, the great trading Empire around the Caspian Sea, might have provided further human resources. It seems that in times of peace the Khazar elites, for the most part Turkish-speaking and of Jewish religion, were also willing to sell heathen subjects into slavery.[25] The Khazars were at some distance from the caliphs' seat of power in Iraq. Since the caliphs had lost direct control of most outlying provinces at the end of the 9th century, they became dependant on having governors loyal to them in Central Asian frontier regions to

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24   All this is intensively discussed in De la Vaissière, *Samarcande et Samarra*.
25   Golden, "Khazar Turkic Ghulâms".

provide them with the slaves they needed for their armies. The North East, where the Sāmānids were always willing to help, was the most important source for military manpower left to the caliphs.

The ever more visible prevalence of Turkish troops in Abbasid service was not a question of principle but rather of necessity. During the 9th century, the Abbasids had been quite willing to use slave regiments of Africans. The Muslim rulers of Egypt, first the semi-independent governors of the Abbasids, then even more the rival caliphal dynasty of the Fāṭimids, probably did not have a very strong interest in providing the caliph with fighters. By consequence, after the mid-9th century it will have become increasingly difficult for the caliphs to get African soldiers from the Nile region and countries further to the West. East Africans had been recruited during the 9th century and even later, but, as it seems, this practice slowly petered out after people of that origin had been responsible for the rebellion of the plantation slaves that laid waste Iraq in the late 9th century.[26] As has been said, Africans served mostly as infantry. Another important group within the caliphal armies had been the already mentioned *Maghāriba*, i.e. Westerners, Muslim Arabs from Egypt. These could of cause not be easily replaced, as the enslavement of Muslims had become more and more of a taboo. Therefore, at the end of the day the caliphs had no other resources for military slaves than what came to them from the Northeast. This gave the Muslim rulers of that region some advantage over the centre. On the other hand, it meant that after the *abnā'*, the *shākiriyya*[27] and other non-Turkish groups of slave soldiers had disappeared, the idea of putting one group of soldiers against the other became difficult a game for the caliphs.

As had been said, in other regions of the Middle East, for reasons of geography, Turks did not play the same role as for the caliphs and the Sāmānids. This did not mean that slave soldiers were of no importance there; only the countries they stemmed from differed. In Umayyad Spain, it was the regions to the North that provided slave troops that helped the dynasty in the 9th century to become more independent from the different segments of Andalusian society. These slave soldiers, some of them Eunuchs, were commonly called *Saqāliba*, Slavs. If all of them were indeed of Central European origin remains a moot point. Sources sometimes speak a bit confusingly about them and other peoples, both from the Iberian Peninsula and from Carolingian Europe. As it seems, though, the majority of these troops were imported by slave traders who had acquired them from the (Eastern) Franks who during the times were leading wars against the Slav populations in the Elbe region. As is well known,

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26   Bacharach, "African Military Slaves".

27   On these De la Vaissière, *Samarcande et Samarra* and Kennedy, *Armies of the Caliphs*.

Verdun in France was a leading centre of this trade (and the castration of future eunuchs). Another major place where Eunuchs were castrated and traded was Lucena in Spain. Many of the traders were Jews who had the contacts and the language skills to successfully perform this kind of transcultural transactions.[28]

The first dynasty to seek the support of slave troops had been the Aghlabid governors of North Africa. Ifrīqiyā was home to a large population of sub-Saharan slaves working in the region's agriculture.[29] As there were intensive trading contacts across the Sahara to provide the region with ever-new generations of slaves it was no far-fetched idea to use these contacts to create a slave militia. Slave trading across the Sahara was in the hands of Berber groups who ironically had themselves fallen prey to Muslim slave raiding in the first century of Islam. Some of these Berber groups had rebelled against their treatment by their Arab masters and established independent polities in what is now Algeria.[30]

Sub-Saharan Africa was not the only source of military slaves for the Aghlabids. Raiding and more regular warfare on sea also provided them with slaves from the northern shores of the Mediterranean who could be put to military use. Another source were Italian traders who delivered Central and Eastern Europeans.[31]

The Fāṭimid successors of the Aghlabids in North Africa had first build their power on the support of free groups of Kutāma Berbers. Rather soon, they took over the military recruitment policies of their predecessors. Both before and after the transfer of their capital city to Egypt they counted to a large degree on African slave troops. In Egypt they found a local tradition of African slave soldiers going back to the semi-independent Abbasid governor Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, but these Africans were probably of Nilotic rather than West African origin. Apart from these, called *sūdān*, blacks, there were also black slave troops from East Africa, called *zandj*. Besides, the Fāṭimids also had *ṣaqāliba* in their service. By contrast to the *ṣaqāliba* in al-Andalus these came, as it seems, rather from Eastern Europe by way of the Crimea or by way of Italy. From the mid-9th century onwards, officers of Slavonic origin played a leading role in the Fāṭimid

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28   Golden, "Ṣaḳāliba"; Verlinden, "Les Radaniya". The role of European Jews has lately been questioned in Toch, "Jews and Commerce".

29   Lev, "David Ayalon".

30   Berger, *Entstehung des Islam*, pp. 216–217. There is in fact an abundance of information available on how trade was transacted south of the Sahara and what groups of peoples were sold as slaves or who served as middlemen providing the Berber traders with what they wanted. See e.g. relevant chapters in Lane/MacDonald, *Slavery in Africa*.

31   Golden, "Ṣaḳāliba".

state. Djawhar, the military commander that conquered Egypt for them, e.g. was of Slavonic extraction.[32] There were also Turkish and Persian soldiers who presumably were not slave troops but free. They were trying to wrest power from the hands of the Africans during the difficult period of al-Muntaṣir's reign (1036–1094). The African slave infantry remained the mainstay of Fāṭimid power. It was these troops that Saladin had to fight against in his effort to gain control of Egypt in the 1160s. After their defeat, African slave troops never again played a similar role in Egyptian affairs.[33] The future belonged to slave soldiers of Turkish and Circassian extraction.

4 Race and Slavery[34]

As it seems, most Turkish or Central Asian slave soldiers in Iraq, at least in the 9th century, insofar as they had been slaves at all, were liberated at some point rather early in their career. They were called *mawālī*, clients, not slaves anymore. Others, it seems, kept their slave status. However, in a way the legal status of a person was not always the most important factor determining the social position of a person in medieval Muslim societies. Slave soldiers became part of the institutions of government and their social position was a result of their proximity to the seats of power. The influence and standing of the caliphs' slave soldiers was not liked by large parts of the population in the capitals of medieval Muslim polities. This had something to do with the foreignness of these troops. While some of their leaders became perfectly conversant in the intricacies of Muslim-Arab culture, the majority of the rank and file certainly remained strangers to most of the language and world of the societies they were supposed to protect. By consequence, envy of the slave armies' position could easily be expressed in ethnic terms. It is no wonder that foreign soldiers who lorded it over the general population and more and more even the caliph himself were disparaged for their lack of Arabness. They were kept purposely in isolation from the locals.

Racial stereotypes and prejudices were readily available for people of any origin. The Turks were held to be warlike and honest but at the same time seen as primitive and violent. The cold climate of their country of origin was thought

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32 Golden, "Ṣaḳāliba".

33 Lev, "David Ayalon"; Bacharach, "African Military Slaves".

34 On race-thinking still Lewis, *Race and Slavery* and the literature given in Berger, *Gesellschaft und Individuum*, pp. 146–147.

to have made them fat and sexually rather disinterested.[35] They were at times compared to riding apes. Racialist images in the medieval Muslim world came partly from classical tradition,[36] partly they were created *ad hoc* in the Islamic world as when Slavonic peoples were held to be similar to dogs. This idea was obviously inspired by their Arabic name, *ṣaqāliba*, that came from Persian *sag*, dog.[37]

Racial slurs were current not only at the expense of the Turks, but also of sub-Saharan Africans. African slave soldiers were distinguished from others by being called *ʿabīd*, a particularly negative word for slaves.[38] On account of a presupposed racial inferiority, even highest-ranking people of African origins could be subject to slander. One of the most famous instances of this were the verses the great poet al-Mutanabbī wrote at the expense of Kāfūr, the castrated former slave who had risen to become ruler of Egypt in the 10th century.[39] On the other hand, supposed ethnic features could be a matter of praise, as in the 9th-century author al-Djāḥiẓ' essays on the virtues of both the Turks and the Africans. Both ways, ethnicity was an important way of constituting social order and conceptualising conflicts. This held true not only for the original inhabitants of the Middle East, but also among the slave troops themselves. They were, as we have seen, grouped following ethnic lines and often fought out conflicts among themselves accordingly.

However, all this does not mean that race-thinking as such was a major cause of strife in the societies in question. Of course, Turkish regiments of cavalry would fight against black infantry soldiers to defend their interests. Of course, once you had fallen out with an important person, you would mock him on account of his origins as al-Mutanabbī did with Kāfūr. Nevertheless, neither the Turkish regiments nor al-Mutanabbī had a conflict with their respective counterparts just because they were black. Conflict was not caused by ethnical or racial prejudice. Rather, once there was conflict, people would stick to whosoever was part of their group. Regiments being formed along ethnic lines; it was self-evident that people of the same origin had common interests. At the same time, it was only logical that in this situation people would use racial stereotypes as well as anything else at hand to have the better of their respective enemies. Political correctness certainly was no feature of pre-modern Muslim society.

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35   Bosworth, "Turks".
36   On the foregoing and the Arab literary tradition on Turks from Abbasid times to the Ottoman period more generally Berger, *Gesellschaft und Individuum*, pp. 146–147.
37   Golden, "Ṣaḳāliba".
38   Golden, "Ṣaḳāliba".
39   Lewis, *Race and Slavery*, pp. 59–60. See also Bacharach, "African Military Slaves".

5   **Why Mamluks? The Origins and Function of a Medieval Muslim Institution**

Slave soldiers existed in many civilisations from Antiquity until the petering out of slavery at the end of the 19th century.[40] This is not surprising. Slaves were a weak social group and in many societies being a soldier was not a station of high prestige. Furthermore, not all societies bind military service and citizenship together in the way the classical Greece and Rome, the early Islam, and the European 19th century did. In our own days, the abolition of conscription made the army again a place for marginalized social groups. The same had already held true in the late Roman Empire where the armies were formed more and more by people who had only lately entered the Roman world. Slavery in modern society is regularly conceptualized along the lines of American race-based plantation slavery. This makes the idea of arming a totally subdued, even dehumanized group seem a strange idea (although even West Indian slaves could be armed at times)[41]. If we see slavery not in these stark terms but simply as one form of marginal or subordinate position that people could have in society, we might put the question differently: Under which conditions did the leading social groups of medieval societies stop doing military service and were replaced by people from the margins, both socially and geographically? Military slavery then is only a particular case of recruitment of marginal people.

Ayalon put forward that a lack of manpower was the root cause of the employment of slave soldiers.[42] Pipes in a way followed the same path. With conversion of large sectors of the population in Iran, the Muslims did not feel threatened anymore, *djihād* had ceased to be successful and revolutions had brought disillusioning results. By consequence, Muslims were less and less interested to participate in public affairs after the beginning of the 9th century.[43]

Crone also argued that Muslim rulers lacked legitimacy in the eyes of the elite of their Muslim subjects. The Abbasids had tried to found their rule on an alliance with the elites of Khorasan, who happened to have a strong military tradition. Once this alliance was broken in the crisis of the civil war at the

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40   Crone, "Early Islamic World".
41   Pipes, *Slave Soldiers*, pp. 39–40.
42   Ayalon, "Military Reforms".
43   Pipes, *Slave Soldiers*, pp. 181–182.

beginning of the 9th century, they had to look elsewhere. To create a militia with personal ties to the caliph seemed the only solution.[44]

Rulers of the Islamic world of the 10th century could never be sure that their legitimacy was not called into question. Hence, the idea to have troops with special loyalty to their persons must have been attractive. What is more, units of different origins and of differing dates of recruitment could be put one against the other so as to create a complicated web with the ruler as the final arbiter in all conflicts between factions. Creating a slave army as did the Aghlabids by inventing the Muslim slave militia at the beginning of the 9th century gave rulers a new and important means of keeping the upper hand in the difficult game of army and court politics.

In the Abbasid case, another point seems to have been of importance. While at the beginning of the conquests infantry played a decisive role in warfare, by the 9th/10th century the importance of cavalry was increasing.[45] Who could be called to serve in a mounted militia? Only rich landowners could afford to pay for their mount and serve and had learned how to use a horse right from childhood. In medieval Western Europe, the increasing importance of cavalry led to the formation of feudal society where in the end only mounted soldier-landowners were really free. In the Muslim world, things were different. The conquests had settled the new Arab-Muslim masters in cities. They did not live on their own landed property but on stipends payed by the government. After a few decades, they had become less than enthusiastic soldiers. War was not as profitable as during the first years of the conquests and life in the metropolises of the Muslim world was more amenable than campaigning in foreign parts. Service to religion for many did not consist in armed engagement anymore but in scholarship. The complicated business of learning how to fight effectively on horseback was not part of the cultural heritage of these Muslim communities. This was different in Eastern Iran and Central Asia. Here there still existed significant numbers of a Muslim (convert or otherwise) landed aristocracy who had the means to serve as cavalry and for whom this was an important part of their cultural tradition. As we have seen in the beginning, the caliphs tried to attach to themselves noble groups of this origin and it was only when they proved unreliable that they took to importing them as slaves. Coincidentally, in the East as well the Sāmānids at first relied on their landed aristocracy for having a mounted army. Such a takeover did not happen quickly. Normally, fidelity was one of the assets of creating the quasi-familiar bond of slave soldier and master. The master's position was further strengthened if he had the possibility

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44   Crone, "Early Islamic World".

45   Kennedy, *Armies of the Caliphs*, pp. 172–173.

to shower his favours on other clients and networks as well. However, loyalty could also be produced by other means: in particular, the troops' belief in the religious legitimacy of the ruler. The continued existence of the Abbasid caliphate after 945 had much to do with this fact. However, this legitimacy was rather effaced and could not be turned into massive coercive power. Things were different with the kind of intensive religious charisma that helped the Fāṭimids to gain the military support of the Kutāma Berbers.[46] Only when this charisma faded did the dynasty come to rely more heavily on what by now had become the traditional system of slave troops. Last but not least, group solidarity of geographically marginal, often nomadic groups, the medieval sociologist Ibn Khaldūn's famous *ʿaṣabiyya*, remained a central source of military power. A great number of Muslim Empires during the course of the Middle Ages relied on just that.[47]

This being so, it is an error to assume that slave armies had become the only source of military power in the Muslim Middle East after the 10th century. The Mamluk Empire in Egypt remained exceptional. Rulers had a whole range of resources on which to base their power. Nonetheless, those instruments of power, different from what was the rule in the Western Early and High Middle Ages, nearly never stemmed from the elites of their society. Neither slaves nor nomadic tribes had a high standing as long as they had not become the instrument of the ruler's might. Those with high standing, scholars and traders, could make their voice heard by literature and religion, but they had lost any coercive force.

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46 These, in their way, had been nearly as marginal to *Ifrīqian* society up to that point as African slaves.

47 The role of marginal groups for empire building has been stressed by Martinez-Gros, *Brève histoire*.

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General Maps
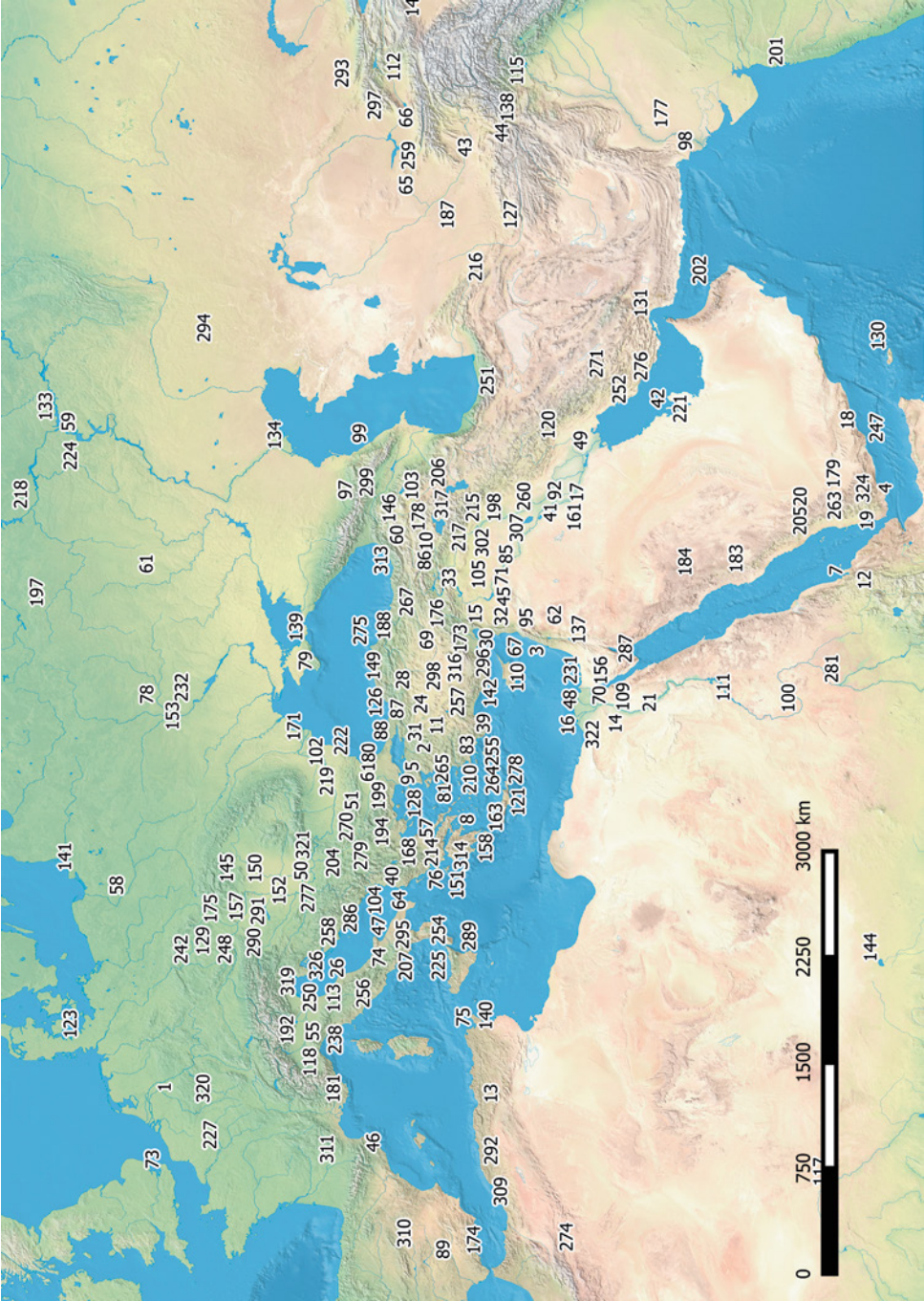
MAP 15.1　　Places mentioned in the papers of the volume (for the numbers see the list of places displayed on map 15.1.)
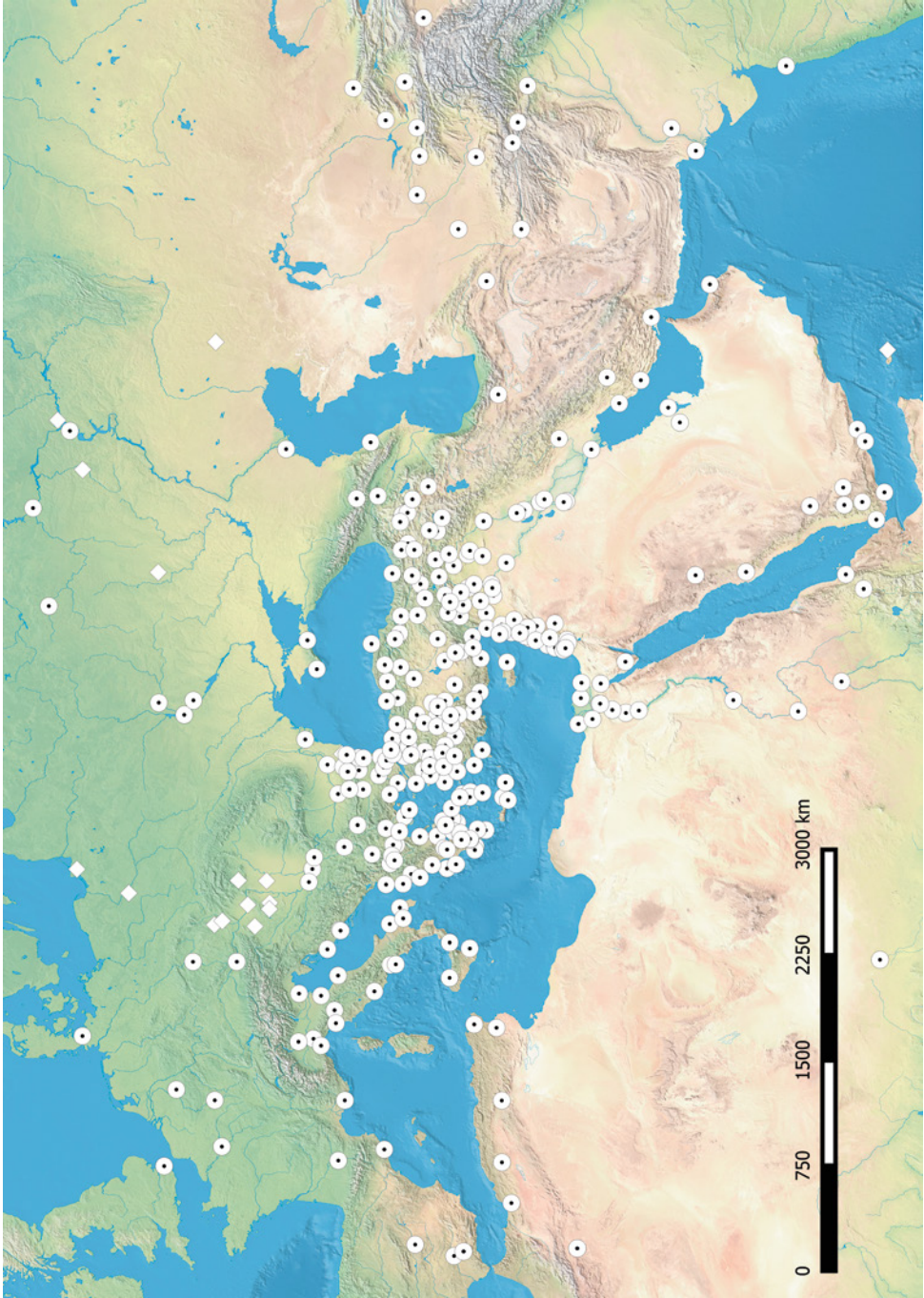
MAP: J. PREISER-KAPELLER, 2019
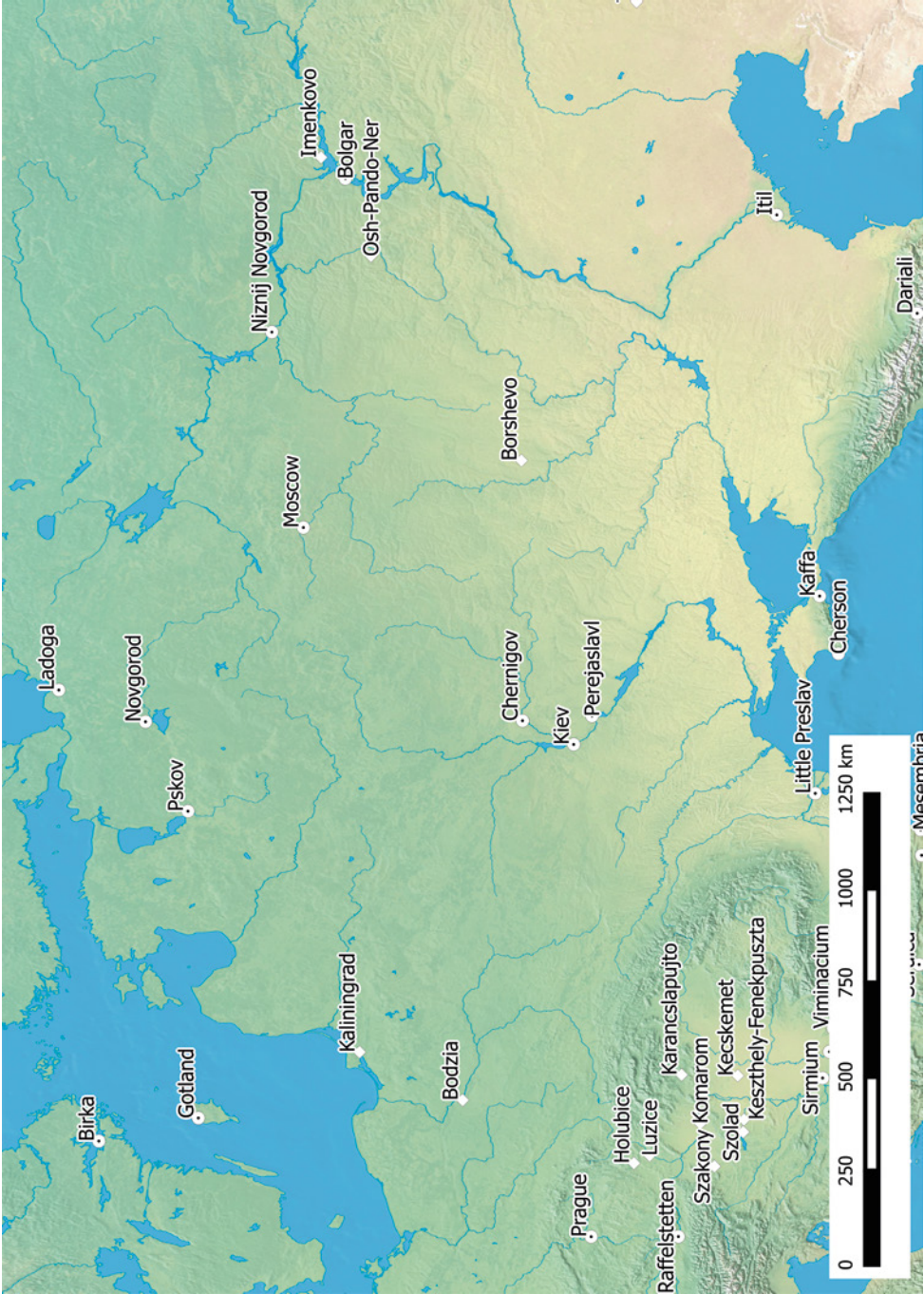
MAP 15.3   Eastern Europe: cities (circles) and archaeological sites (diamonds) mentioned in the papers of the volume

MAP: J. PREISER-KAPELLER, 2019
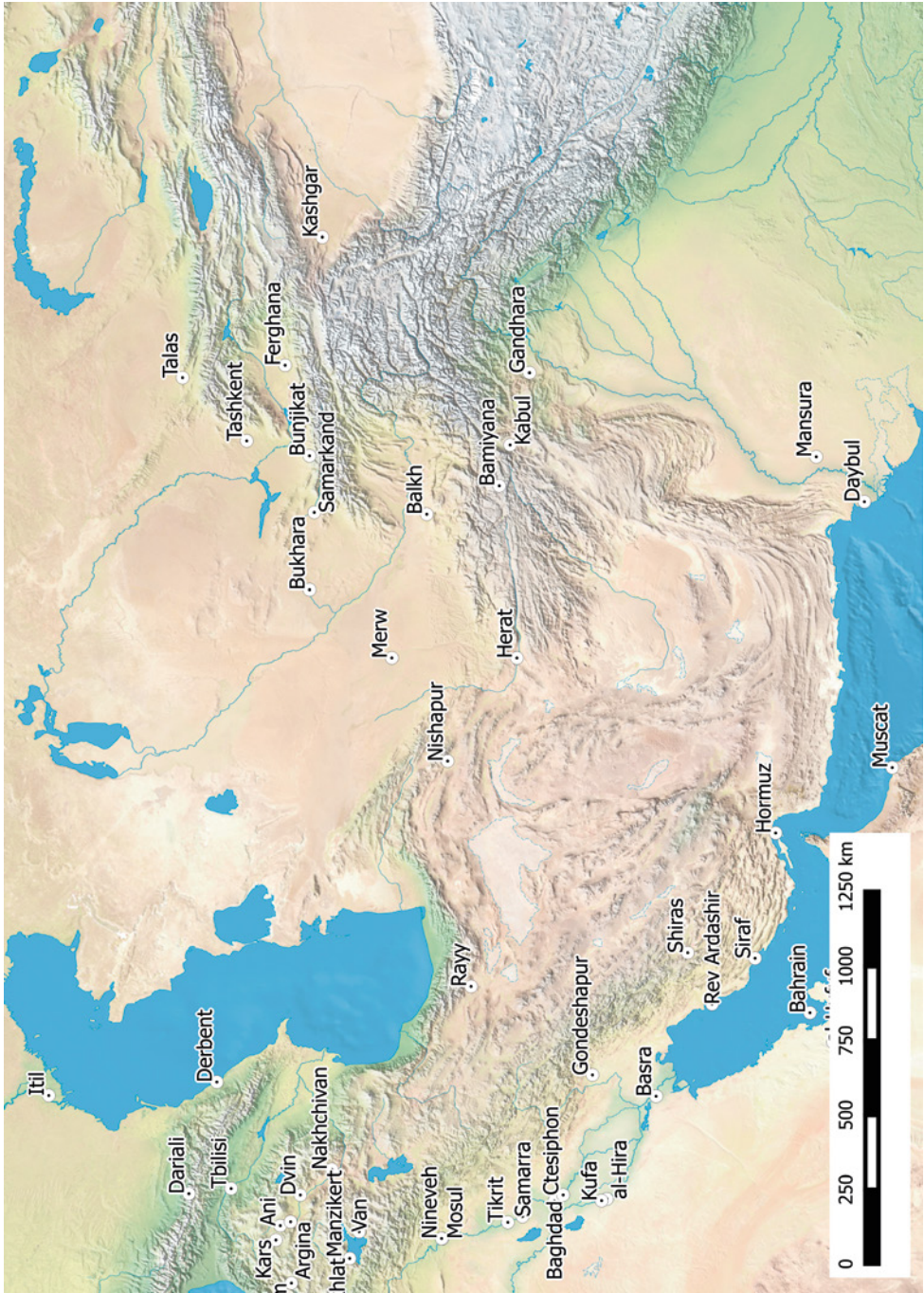
MAP 15.4　Central Asia and Iran: cities (circles) and archaeological sites (diamonds) mentioned in the papers of the volume

MAP: J. PREISER-KAPELLER, 2019
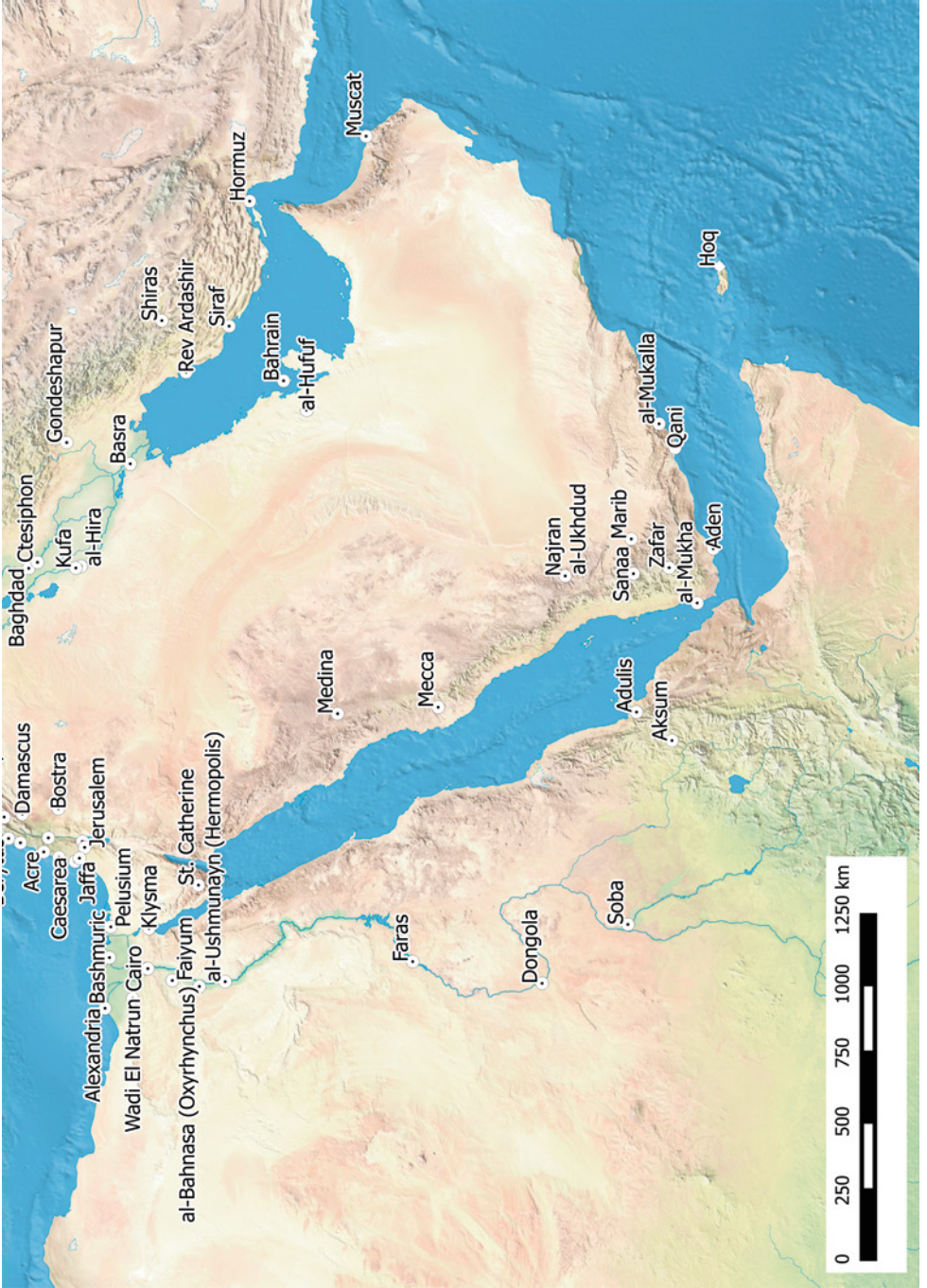
MAP 15.5 East Africa and Arabia: cities (circles) and archaeological sites (diamonds) mentioned in the papers of the volume

MAP: J. PREISER-KAPELLER, 2019
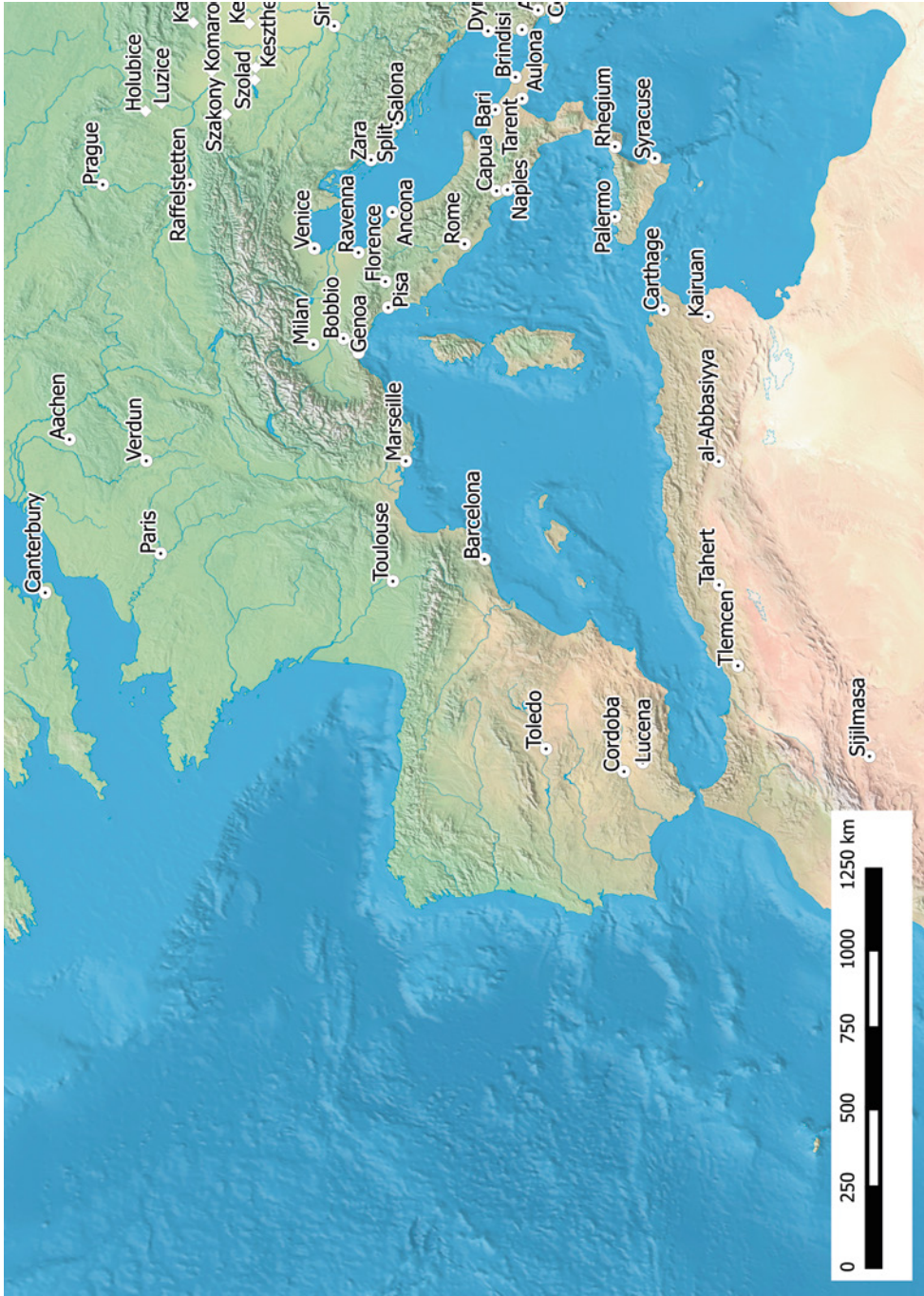
MAP 15.6   Western Mediterranean and Western Europe: cities (circles) and archaeological sites (diamonds) mentioned in the papers of the volume

MAP: J. PREISER-KAPELLER, 2019
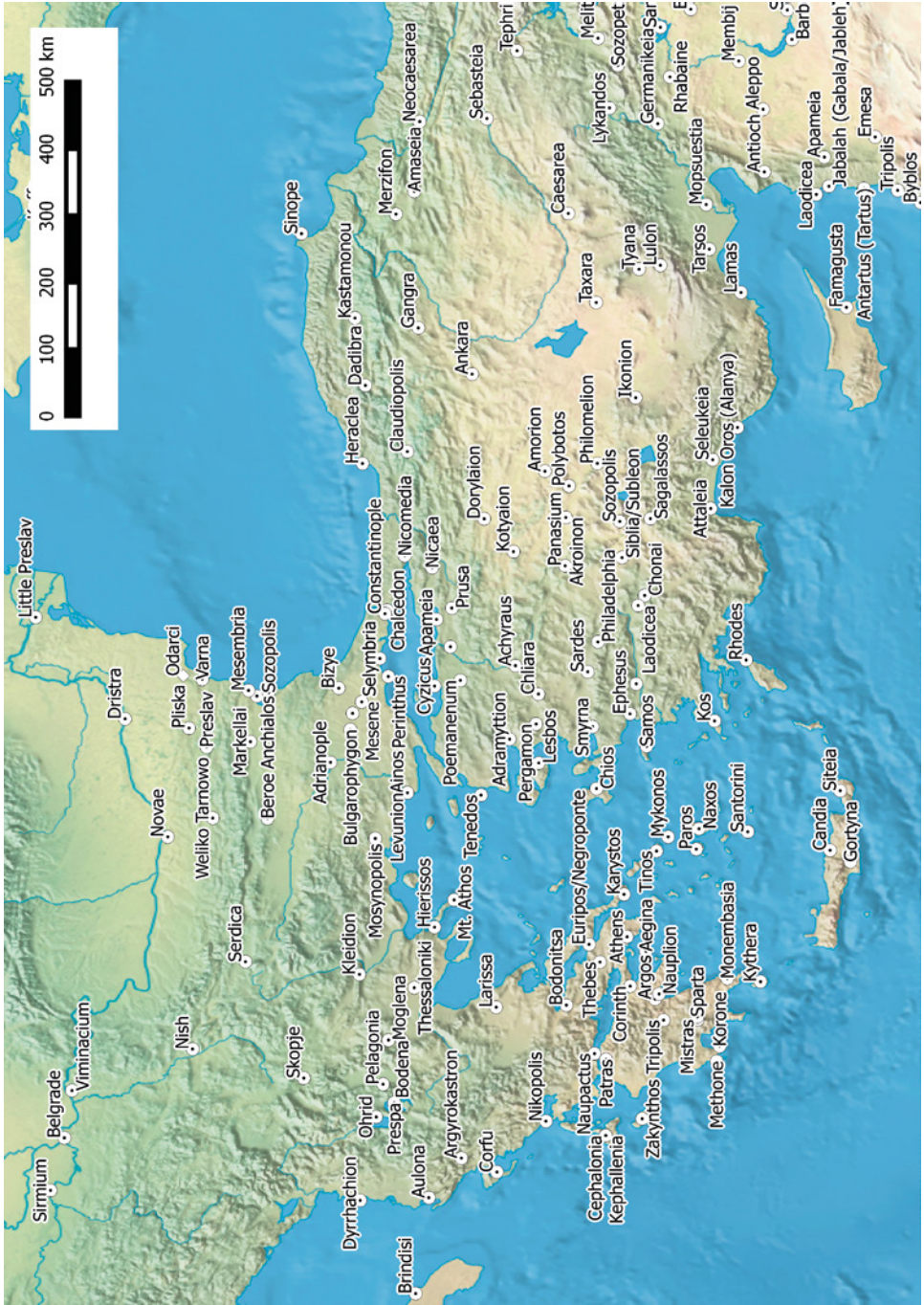
MAP 15.7   Southeastern Europe and Asia Minor: cities (circles) and archaeological sites (diamonds) mentioned in the papers of the volume

MAP: J. PREISER-KAPELLER, 2019
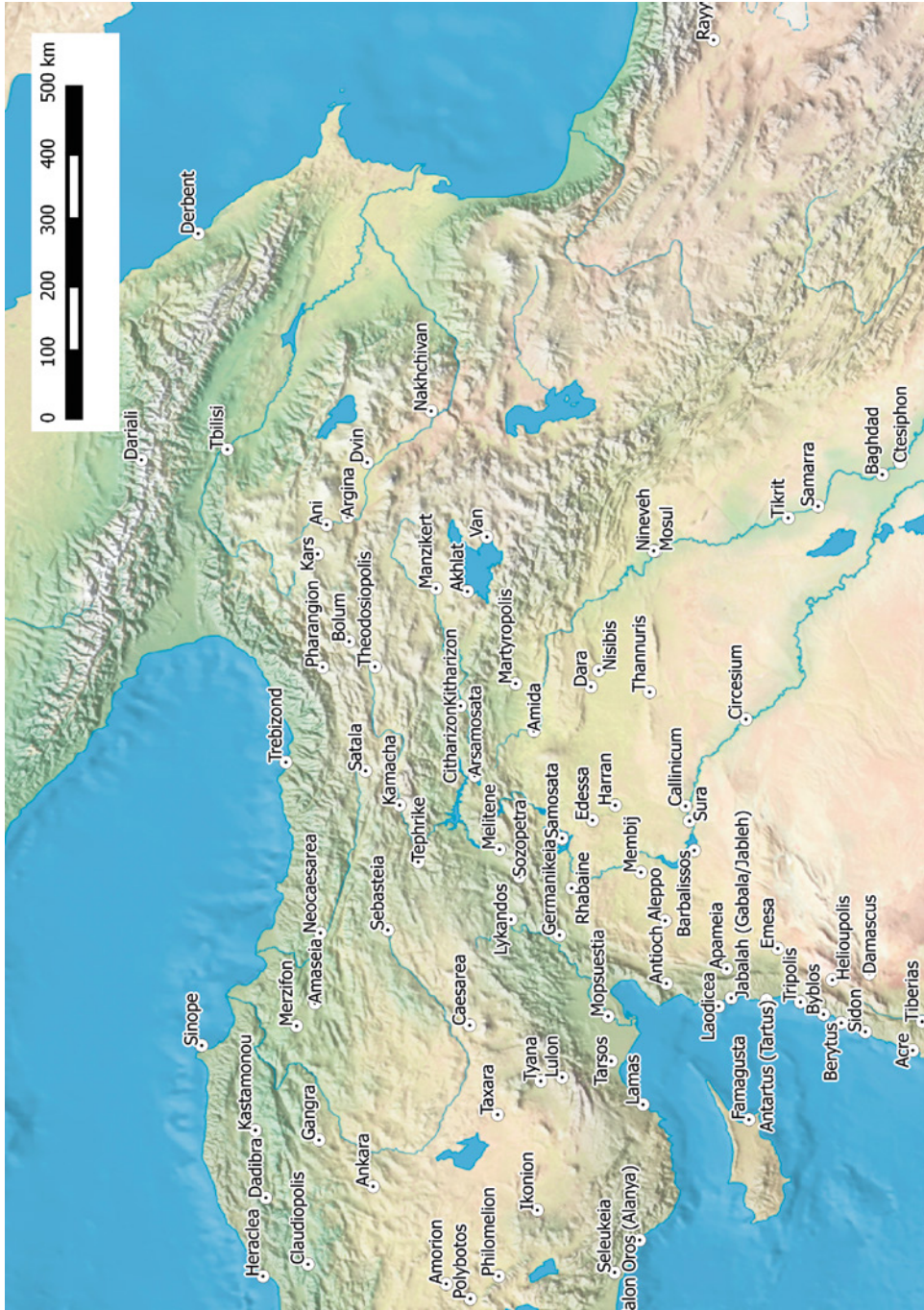
MAP 15.8   Caucasus, Western Iran, Mesopotamia and Syria: cities (circles) and archaeological sites (diamonds) mentioned in the papers of the
volume

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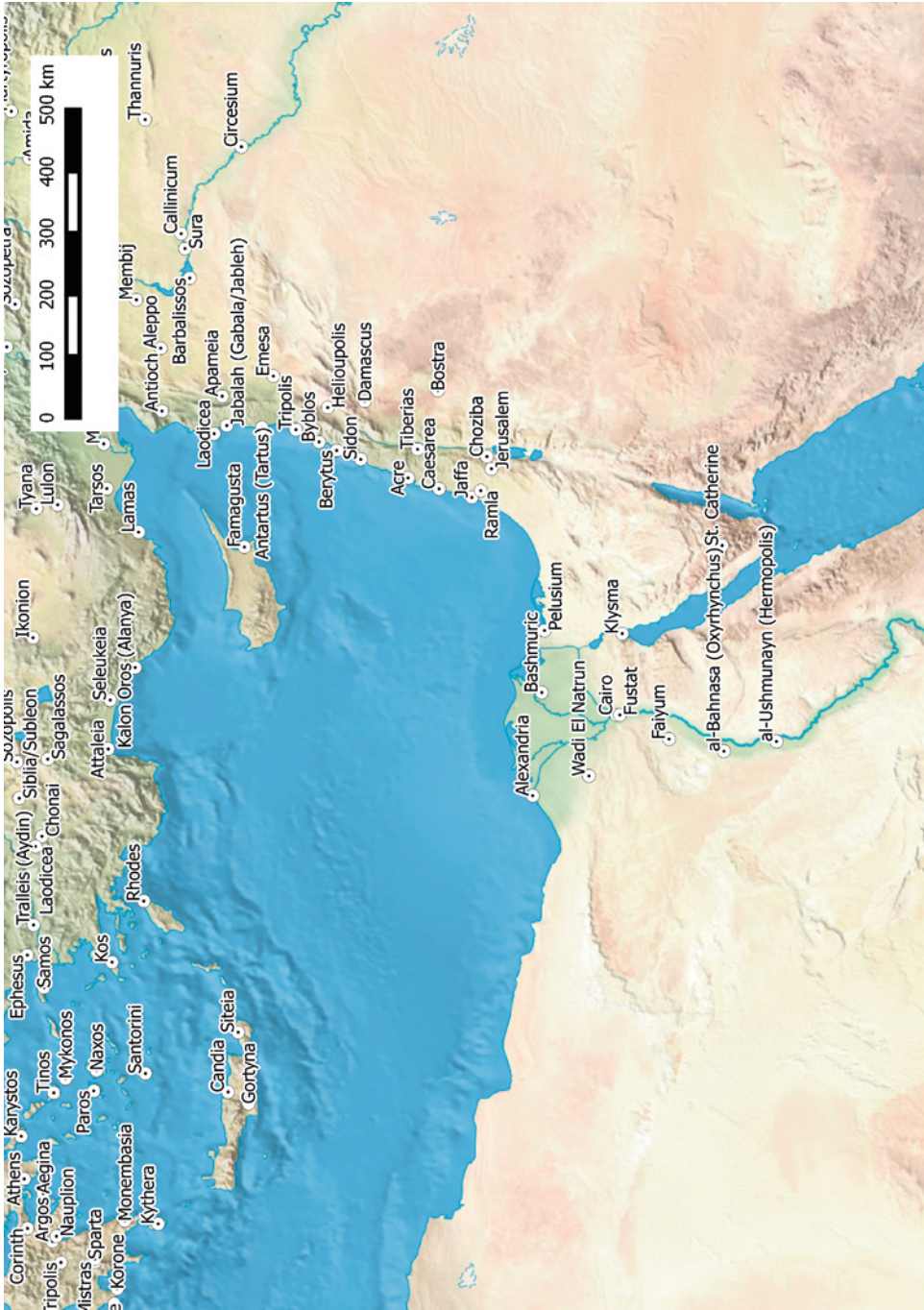
MAP 15.9   Egypt and Levant: cities (circles) and archaeological sites (diamonds) mentioned in the papers of the volume

MAP: J. PREISER-KAPELLER, 2019

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Index of Persons and Names

Index of Subjects

Geographical Index

List of Places Displayed on Map 15.1. and their Geographical Coordinates

Number	Name	Latitude	Longitude
1	Aachen	50.776667	6.083611
2	Achyraus	39.3925	28.131111
3	Acre	32.921111	35.068611
4	Aden	12.8	45.033611
5	Adramyttion	39.465833	26.9375
6	Adrianople	41.674444	26.560833
7	Adulis	15.25	39.666667
8	Aegina	37.734722	23.493056
9	Ainos	40.733333	26.066667
10	Akhlat	38.752778	42.494444
11	Akroinon	38.757222	30.538611
12	Aksum	14.1213	38.7285
13	al-Abbasiyya	35.397222	5.365833
14	al-Bahnasa (Oxyrhynchus)	28.531	30.647
15	Aleppo	36.216667	37.166667
16	Alexandria	31.2135	29.927661
17	al-Hira	31.883333	44.45
18	al-Mukalla	14.533333	49.133333
19	al-Mukha	13.316667	43.25
20	al-Ukhdud	17.477496	44.179310
21	al-Ushmunayn (Hermopolis)	27.781389	30.803889
22	Amaseia	40.65	35.833056
23	Amida	37.910833	40.236667
24	Amorion	39.020439	31.289144
25	Anchialos	42.56	27.636667
26	Ancona	43.616667	13.516667
27	Ani	40.5075	43.572778
28	Ankara	39.933333	32.866667
29	Antartus (Tartus)	34.883333	35.883333
30	Antioch	36.2	36.15
31	Apameia	40.375278	28.882222
32	Apameia	35.41	36.39

Number	Name	Latitude	Longitude
33	Arsamosata	38.6609	39.5109
34	Argina	40.25	43.7
35	Argos	37.616667	22.716667
36	Argyrokastron	40.066667	20.133333
37	Arkadiupolis	41.405556	27.356944
38	Athens	37.977778	23.727778
39	Attaleia	36.9	30.683333
40	Aulona	40.470556	19.490833
41	Baghdad	33.333333	44.383333
42	Bahrain	26.0675	50.551111
43	Balkh	36.758056	66.898889
44	Bamiyana	34.82564	67.83302
45	Barbalissos	35.8366	38.3026
46	Barcelona	41.4	2.166667
47	Bari	41.133333	16.866667
48	Bashmuric	31.088333	31.596944
49	Basra	30.5	47.816667
50	Belgrade	44.820556	20.462222
51	Beroe	42.433333	25.65
52	Berytus	33.886944	35.513056
53	Birka	59.334722	17.543056
54	Bizye	41.573611	27.765278
55	Bobbio	44.766667	9.383333
56	Bodena	40.8	22.05
57	Bodonitsa	38.75	22.616667
58	Bodzia	52.705278	18.885833
59	Bolgar	54.966667	49.033333
60	Bolum	40.229185	41.683978
61	Borshevo	51.520893	39.806392
62	Bostra	32.516667	36.483333
63	Bulgarophygon	41.4325	27.093056
64	Brindisi	40.633333	17.933333
65	Bukhara	39.77371	64.42280
66	Bunjikat	39.774472	68.809278
67	Byblos	34.123611	35.651111

Number	Name	Latitude	Longitude
68	Caesarea	32.5	34.891667
69	Caesarea	38.725	35.475
70	Cairo	30.05	31.233333
71	Callinicum	35.949444	39.020278
72	Candia	35.333333	25.133333
73	Canterbury	51.278333	1.0775
74	Capua	41.1	14.216667
75	Carthage	36.853056	10.323056
76	Cephalonia	38.25	20.5
77	Chalcedon	40.983333	29.033333
78	Chernigov	51.5	31.3
79	Cherson	44.611389	33.491944
80	Chibuene	-22.033333	35.325
81	Chios	38.368333	26.133889
82	Chliara	39.103889	27.67
83	Chonai	37.751972	29.270444
84	Choziba	31.844444	35.414167
85	Circesium	35.156758	40.425739
86	Citharizon	38.839058	40.641398
87	Claudiopolis	40.734722	31.6075
88	Constantinople	41.009167	28.975833
89	Cordoba	37.8868	-4.7787
90	Corfu	39.624444	19.907778
91	Corinth	37.936944	22.927222
92	Ctesiphon	33.093611	44.580833
93	Cyzicus	40.399836	27.799873
94	Dadibra	41.249389	32.6832
95	Damascus	33.509722	36.309167
96	Dara	37.179167	40.951389
97	Dariali	42.744617	44.622389
98	Daybul	24.45	67.31
99	Derbent	42.066667	48.283333
100	Dongola	18.216667	30.75
101	Dorylaion	39.783333	30.516667
102	Dristra	44.116667	27.266667

Number	Name	Latitude	Longitude
103	Dvin	40.004686	44.579167
104	Dyrrhachion	41.313056	19.446944
105	Edessa	37.158333	38.791667
106	Emesa	34.733333	36.716667
107	Ephesus	37.939722	27.348611
108	Euripos/Negroponte	38.461667	23.603889
109	Faiyum	29.308374	30.844105
110	Famagusta	35.116667	33.95
111	Faras	22.2	31.466667
112	Ferghana	40.386389	71.786389
113	Florence	43.783333	11.25
114	Fustat	30	31.233333
115	Gandhara	34.011667	71.538889
116	Gangra	40.6	33.616667
117	Gao	16.266667	-0.05
118	Genoa	44.416667	8.933333
119	Germanikeia	37.583333	36.933333
120	Gondeshapur	32.283333	48.516667
121	Gortyna	35.062627	24.94681
122	Gotland	57.634722	18.299167
123	Haithabu	54.491111	9.565278
124	Harran	36.864444	39.032778
125	Helioupolis	34.006336	36.207322
126	Heraclea	41.284722	31.414722
127	Herat	34.35	62.183333
128	Hierissos	40.4	23.883333
129	Holubice	49.173889	16.818056
130	Hoq	12.6016980	54.3049969
131	Hormuz	27.066667	56.45
132	Ikonion	37.866667	32.483333
133	Imenkovo	55.423926	49.727791
134	Itil	46.025556	47.840556

Number	Name	Latitude	Longitude
135	Jabalah (Gabala/Jableh)	35.35	35.916667
136	Jaffa	32.052222	34.753056
137	Jerusalem	31.783333	35.216667
138	Kabul	34.533333	69.166667
139	Kaffa	45.048889	35.379167
140	Kairuan	35.677182	10.101148
141	Kaliningrad	54.700278	20.453056
142	Kalon Oros (Alanya)	36.55	32
143	Kamacha	39.602778	39.035556
144	Kanem	13.083333	14.55
145	Karancslapujto	48.15	19.716667
146	Kars	40.616667	43.1
147	Karystos	38.016667	24.416667
148	Kashgar	39.45	75.983333
149	Kastamonou	41.376389	33.776389
150	Kecskemet	46.906111	19.689722
151	Kephallenia	38.25	20.5
152	Keszthely-Fenekpuszta	46.766667	18.25
153	Kiev	50.45	30.523333
154	Kitharizon	38.839058	40.641398
155	Kleidion	41.322222	23.116667
156	Klysma	29.966667	32.55
157	Komarom	47.740278	18.124444
158	Korone	36.783333	21.95
159	Kos	36.85	27.233333
160	Kotyaion	39.416667	29.983333
161	Kufa	32.029722	44.394722
162	Kumbi Saleh	15.76549	-7.96869
163	Kythera	36.25	23
164	Ladoga	59.997222	32.298056
165	Lamas	36.505648	34.191778
166	Laodicea	37.835833	29.1075
167	Laodicea	35.516667	35.783333
168	Larissa	39.633333	22.583333

Number	Name	Latitude	Longitude
169	Lesbos	39.1	26.55
170	Levunion	40.733333	26.066667
171	Little Preslav	45.15	28.916667
172	Lopadion	40.202915	28.43737
173	Lulon	37.55	34.633333
174	Lucena	37.4	-4.483333
175	Luzice	48.839167	17.070556
176	Lykandos	38.201389	37.188333
177	Mansura	25.881111	68.776944
178	Manzikert	39.147778	42.544167
179	Marib	15.416667	45.35
180	Markellai	42.637633	26.896522
181	Marseille	43.296667	5.376389
182	Martyropolis	38.142222	41.001389
183	Mecca	21.4225	39.826111
184	Medina	24.469	39.6139
185	Melitene	38.348611	38.319444
186	Membij	36.533333	37.95
187	Merw	37.664167	62.184722
188	Merzifon	40.875	35.463333
189	Mesembria	42.66	27.728611
190	Mesene	41.294195	27.542021
191	Methone	36.821667	21.706944
192	Milan	45.4625	9.186389
193	Mistras	37.066667	22.383333
194	Moglena	40.966667	22.05
195	Monembasia	36.683333	23.05
196	Mopsuestia	36.95778	35.619478
197	Moscow	55.75	37.616667
198	Mosul	36.343	43.149
199	Mosynopolis	41.128611	25.325278
200	Mt. Athos	40.157222	24.326389
201	Mumbai	18.966667	72.833333
202	Muscat	23.614167	58.590833
203	Mykonos	37.45	25.35

Number	Name	Latitude	Longitude
204	Nish	43.324444	21.905
205	Najran	17.491667	44.132222
206	Nakhchivan	39.208889	45.412222
207	Naples	40.833333	14.25
208	Naupactus	38.393889	21.830556
209	Nauplion	37.566667	22.8
210	Naxos	37.05	25.483333
211	Neocaesarea	40.583333	36.966667
212	Nicaea	40.429167	29.721111
213	Nicomedia	40.766667	29.916667
214	Nikopolis	39.008333	20.733611
215	Nineveh	36.366667	43.15
216	Nishapur	36.206667	58.804167
217	Nisibis	37.078611	41.218056
218	Niznij Novgorod	56.326944	44.0075
219	Novae	43.616667	25.35
220	Novgorod	58.55	31.266667
221	al-Hufuf	25.383333	49.583333
222	Odarci	43.4333	27.9667
223	Ohrid	41.116944	20.801667
224	Osh-Pando-Ner	54.483615	46.502917
225	Palermo	38.116667	13.366667
226	Panasium	38.765879	29.753273
227	Paris	48.856667	2.351667
228	Paros	37.085945	25.150811
229	Patras	38.246389	21.735
230	Pelagonia	41.033333	21.333333
231	Pelusium	31.05	32.6
232	Perejaslavl	50.066111	31.454444
233	Pergamon	39.13269	27.183899
234	Perinthus	40.969722	27.955278
235	Pharangion	40.556589	41.26869
236	Philadelphia	38.35	28.516667

Number	Name	Latitude	Longitude
237	Philomelion	38.3575	31.416389
238	Pisa	43.716667	10.4
239	Pliska	43.366667	27.116667
240	Poemanenum	40.07897	27.892299
241	Polybotos	38.716667	31.05
242	Prague	50.083333	14.416667
243	Preslav	43.158611	26.809444
244	Prespa	40.897222	21.032222
245	Prusa	40.186111	29.066667
246	Pskov	57.816667	28.333333
247	Qani	14.025	48.341944
248	Raffelstetten	48.22034	14.42001
249	Ramla	31.929722	34.862778
250	Ravenna	44.416667	12.2
251	Rayy	35.583333	51.416667
252	Rev Ardashir	28.911919	50.836721
253	Rhabaine	37.427054	37.692332
254	Rhegium	38.111389	15.661944
255	Rhodes	36.437578	28.223189
256	Rome	41.883333	12.483333
257	Sagalassos	37.678056	30.519444
258	Salona	43.539722	16.483056
259	Samarkand	39.654167	66.959722
260	Samarra	34.197222	43.872222
261	Samos	37.727778	26.823056
262	Samosata	37.55	38.5
263	Sanaa	15.348333	44.206389
264	Santorini	36.416667	25.433333
265	Sardes	38.479277	28.031702
266	Satala	40.026111	39.590556
267	Sebasteia	39.75	37.016667
268	Seleukeia	36.873725	31.475553
269	Selymbria	41.073056	28.247222
270	Serdica	42.697222	23.323333
271	Shiras	29.608056	52.524722

Number	Name	Latitude	Longitude
272	Siblia/Subleon	38.041389	29.886111
273	Sidon	33.5625	35.369722
274	Sijilmasa	31.28	-4.28
275	Sinope	42.025	35.147222
276	Siraf	27.666667	52.3425
277	Sirmium	44.979722	19.609722
278	Siteia	35.2	26.1
279	Skopje	41.996944	21.433056
280	Smyrna	38.418611	27.139167
281	Soba	15.523972	32.680944
282	Sozopetra	38.095833	37.879167
283	Sozopolis	42.419444	27.694444
284	Sozopolis	38.0706	30.4732
285	Sparta	37.073333	22.429722
286	Split	43.5	16.433333
287	St. Catherine	28.555833	33.975556
288	Sura	35.898806	38.779719
289	Syracuse	37.083333	15.283333
290	Szakony	47.426	16.71471
291	Szolad	46.785189	17.842481
292	Tahert	35.388056	1.322778
293	Talas	42.89709	71.37817
294	Tankeevka	49.1185693	54.8202336
295	Tarent	40.466667	17.233333
296	Tarsos	36.916667	34.895556
297	Tashkent	41.333333	69.3
298	Taxara	38.371667	34.028889
299	Tbilisi	41.716667	44.791667
300	Tenedos	39.821944	26.028889
301	Tephrike	39.372222	38.116667
302	Thannuris	36.42025	40.86591
303	Thebes	38.323889	23.317222
304	Theodosiopolis	39.909722	41.275556
305	Thessaloniki	40.65	22.9
306	Tiberias	32.793056	35.532222
307	Tikrit	34.594722	43.681389
308	Tinos	37.6	25.12

Number	Name	Latitude	Longitude
309	Tlemcen	34.883056	−1.319444
310	Toledo	39.866667	−4.033333
311	Toulouse	43.604444	1.441944
312	Tralleis (Aydin)	37.859993	27.835472
313	Trebizond	41.006389	39.730556
314	Tripolis	37.508333	22.375
315	Tripolis	34.433333	35.85
316	Tyana	37.823445	34.570473
317	Van	38.508333	43.375
318	Varna	43.210278	27.909722
319	Venice	45.4375	12.335833
320	Verdun	49.159722	5.382778
321	Viminacium	44.732778	21.230556
322	Wadi El Natrun	30.43195	30.246878
323	Weliko Tarnowo	43.085833	25.655556
324	Zafar	14.213898	44.402874
325	Zakynthos	37.783333	20.772222
326	Zara	44.120253	15.230656