

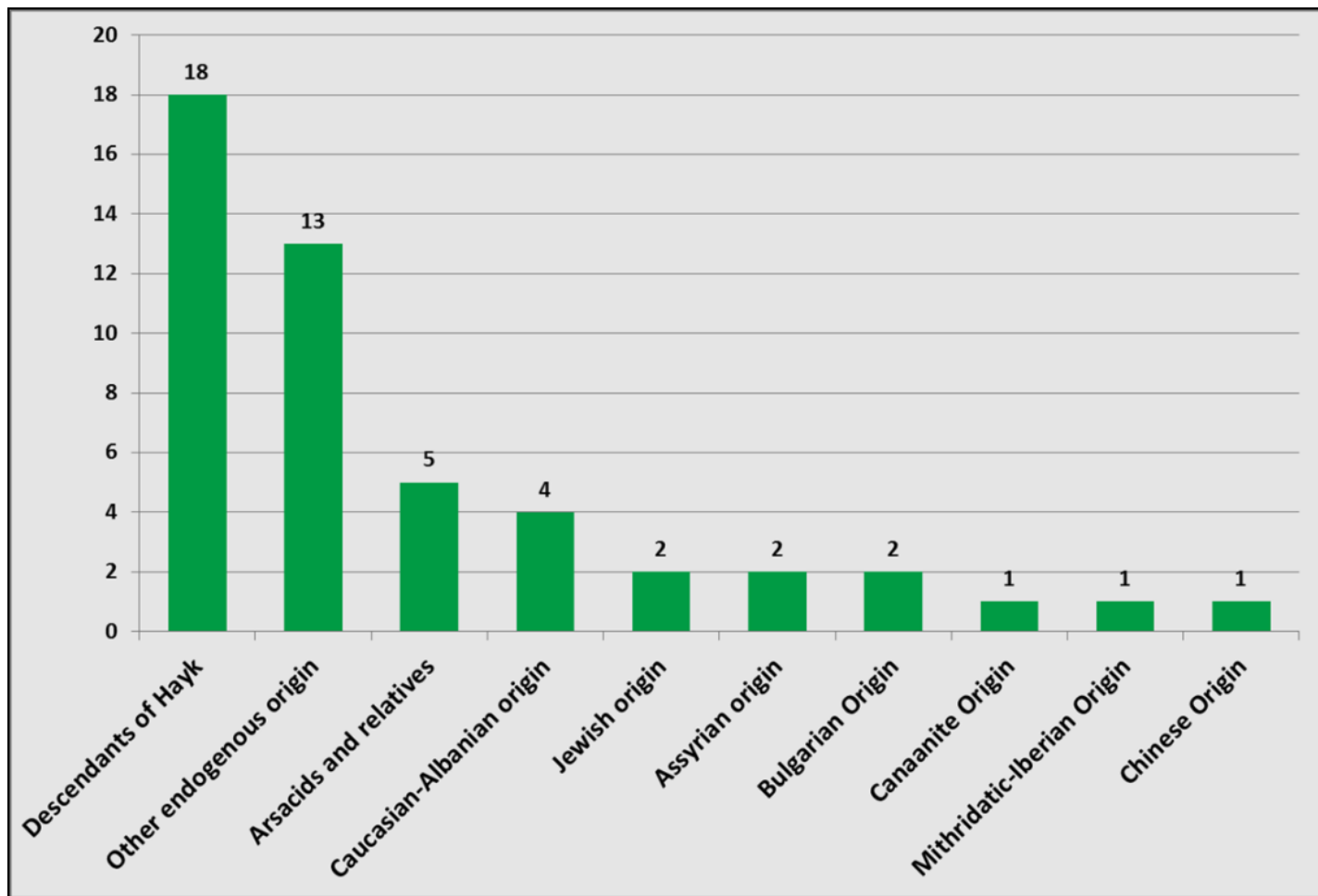
A satellite map of the Middle East and surrounding regions, including parts of Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. A network of red lines connects numerous green dots, which are primarily located in the Levant, Mesopotamia, and Persia, with some extending to the Mediterranean coast and the Red Sea. The lines radiate from a central cluster in the Levant, indicating a well-connected domain.

Well-connected domains: Armenian mobility and networks before, within and beyond the Early Islamic Empire, 500-900 CE

*The Early Islamic Empire at Work - The View from the Regions
toward the Center, Hamburg, 18. 11. 2015*

Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Austrian Academy of Sciences

Noble identities: the origins of 50 aristocratic houses of Armenia as reported in the historical work of Movsēs Xorenac'i (5th/8th cent. CE)



Outline of the talk

- **Armenia as central periphery between empires, 400-900 CE**
- **Mobile elites from and to Armenia and imperial „regimes of mobility“**
- **The mobility of objects: coins, gifts, trade and tribute**
- **Mobile scholars across frontiers**
- **Conclusion – dimensions and impacts of mobility**

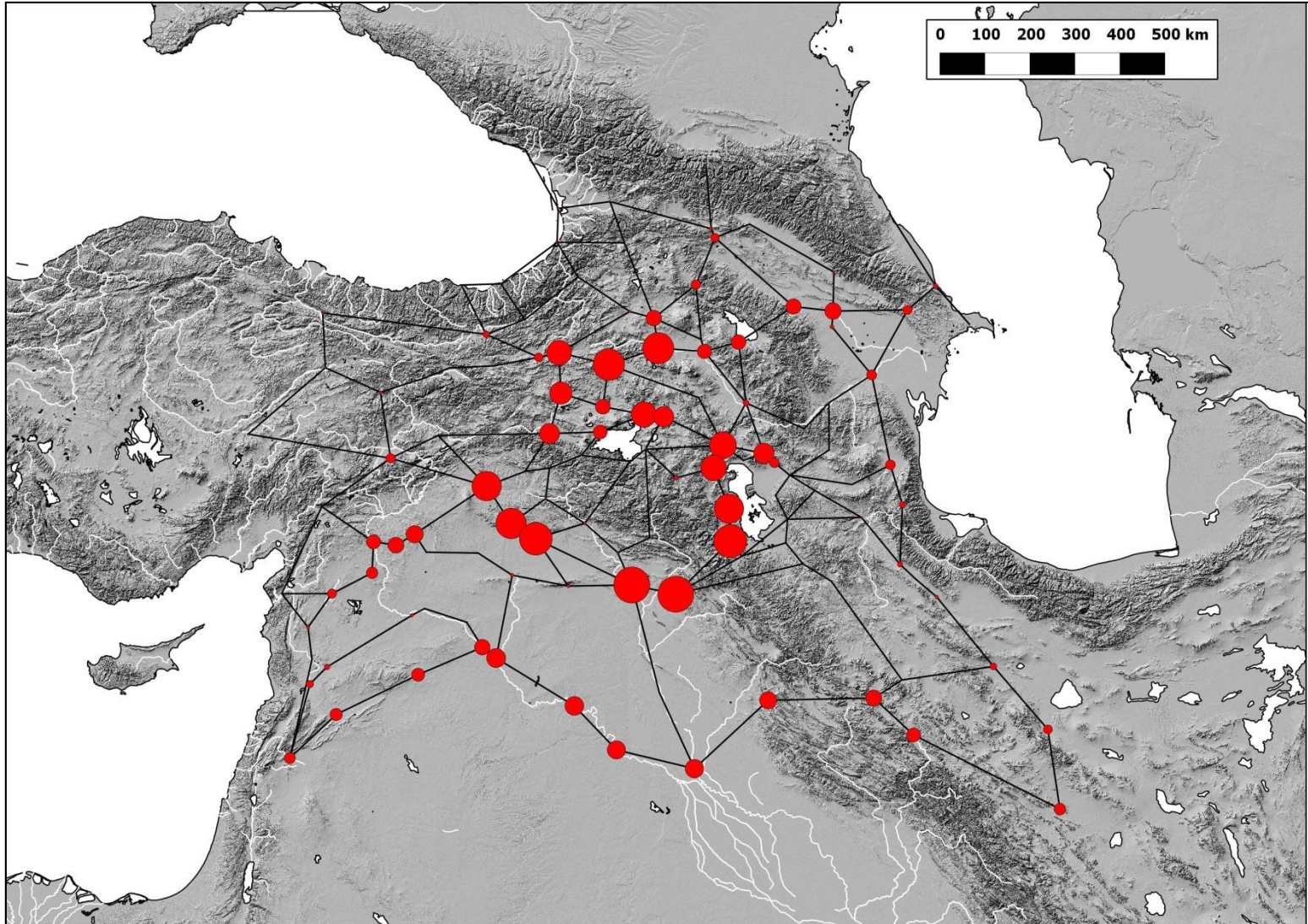
The „central periphery“ of Byzantium, Persia and the Caliphate: Armenia, Lazika, Iberia und Caucasian Albania



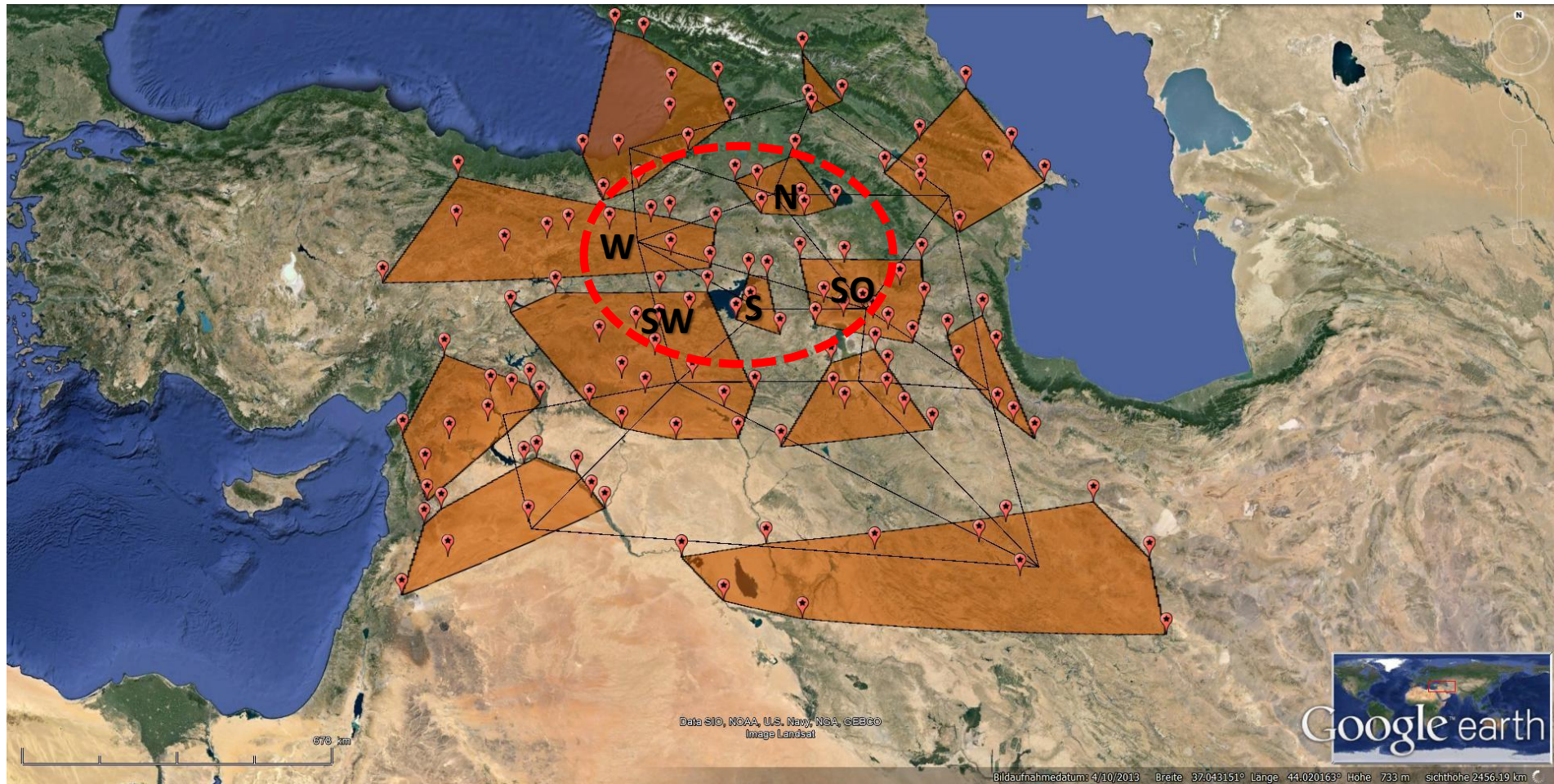
Fragmented landscapes, delicate ecologies, strategically important routes



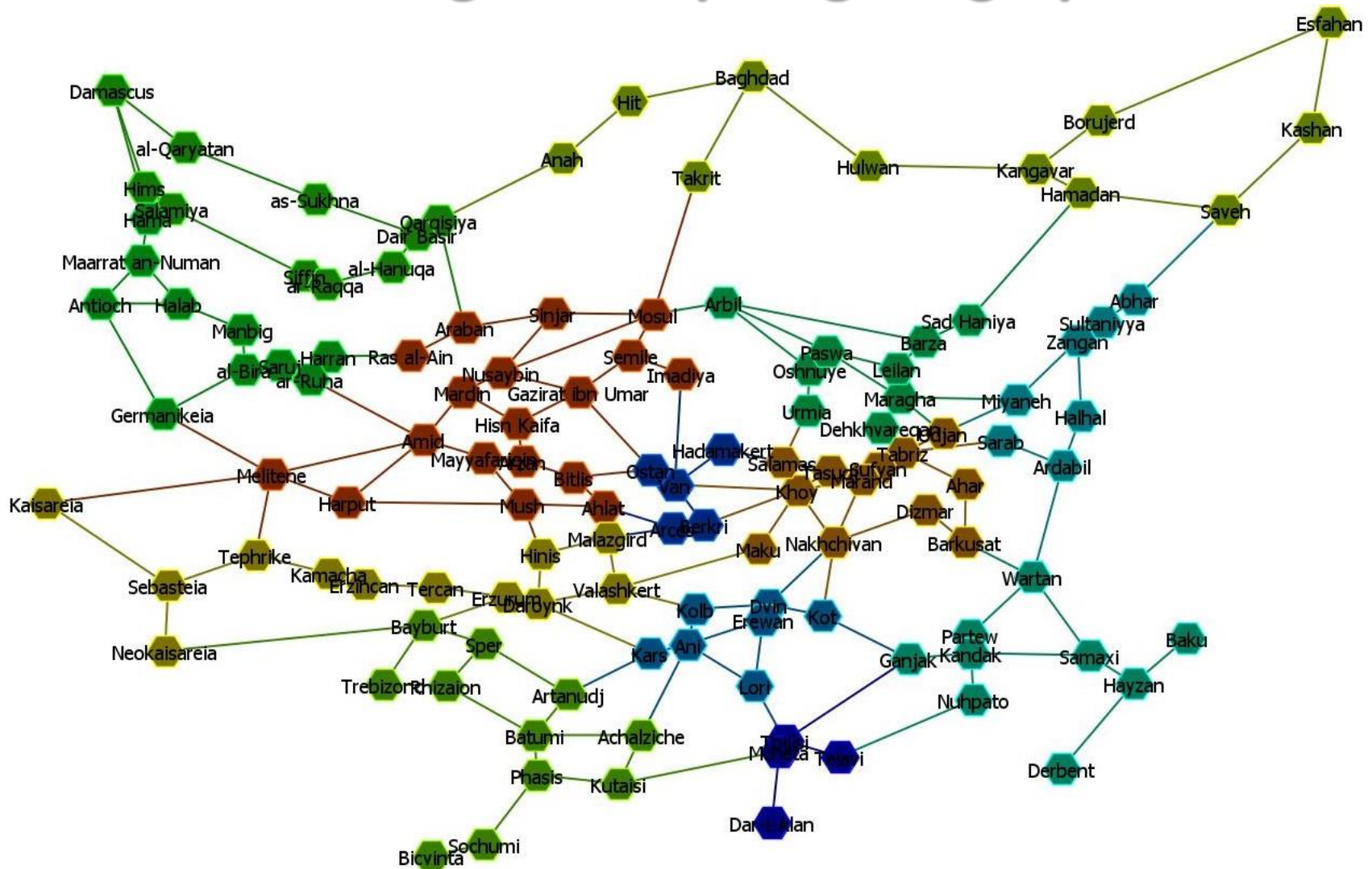
A weighted network model of routes (integrating pre-modern data on travel times)



Connectivity and the identification of clusters and regions



Connectivity and the identification of clusters and regions: topological graph



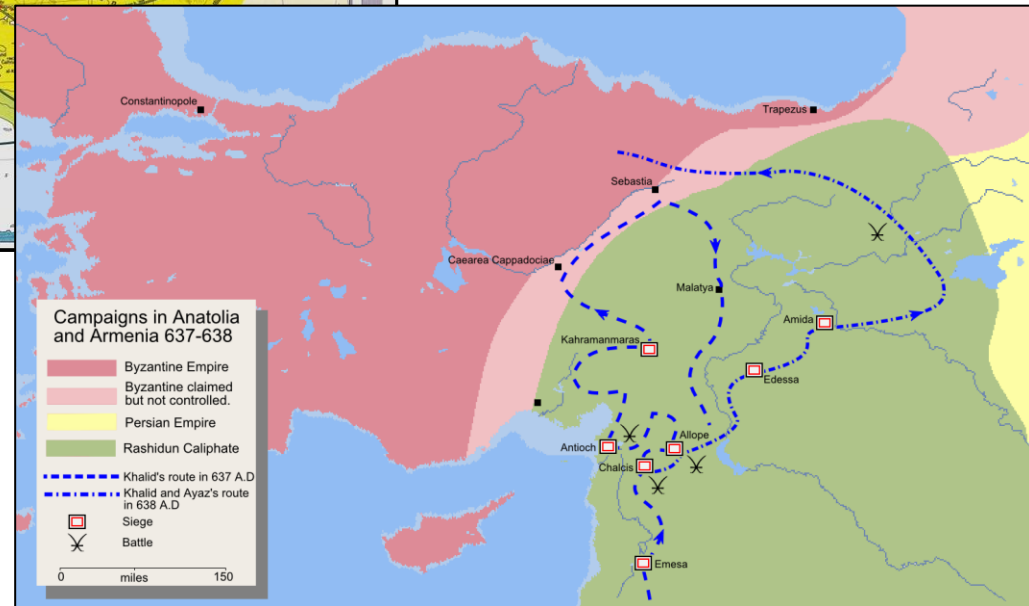
The houses of the Armenian aristocracy (*naḫarark'*) and the fragmentation of power

63. The Armenian Principalities in the Fourth Century



The divisions of Armenia between Rome and Persia (387, 591 and 630 CE) and the end of the Arsacid monarchy



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The temporary weakness of the great powers, the Armenian nobility and the „Prince [išḫan] of Armenia“, 630-700



Greenwood,
Inscriptions

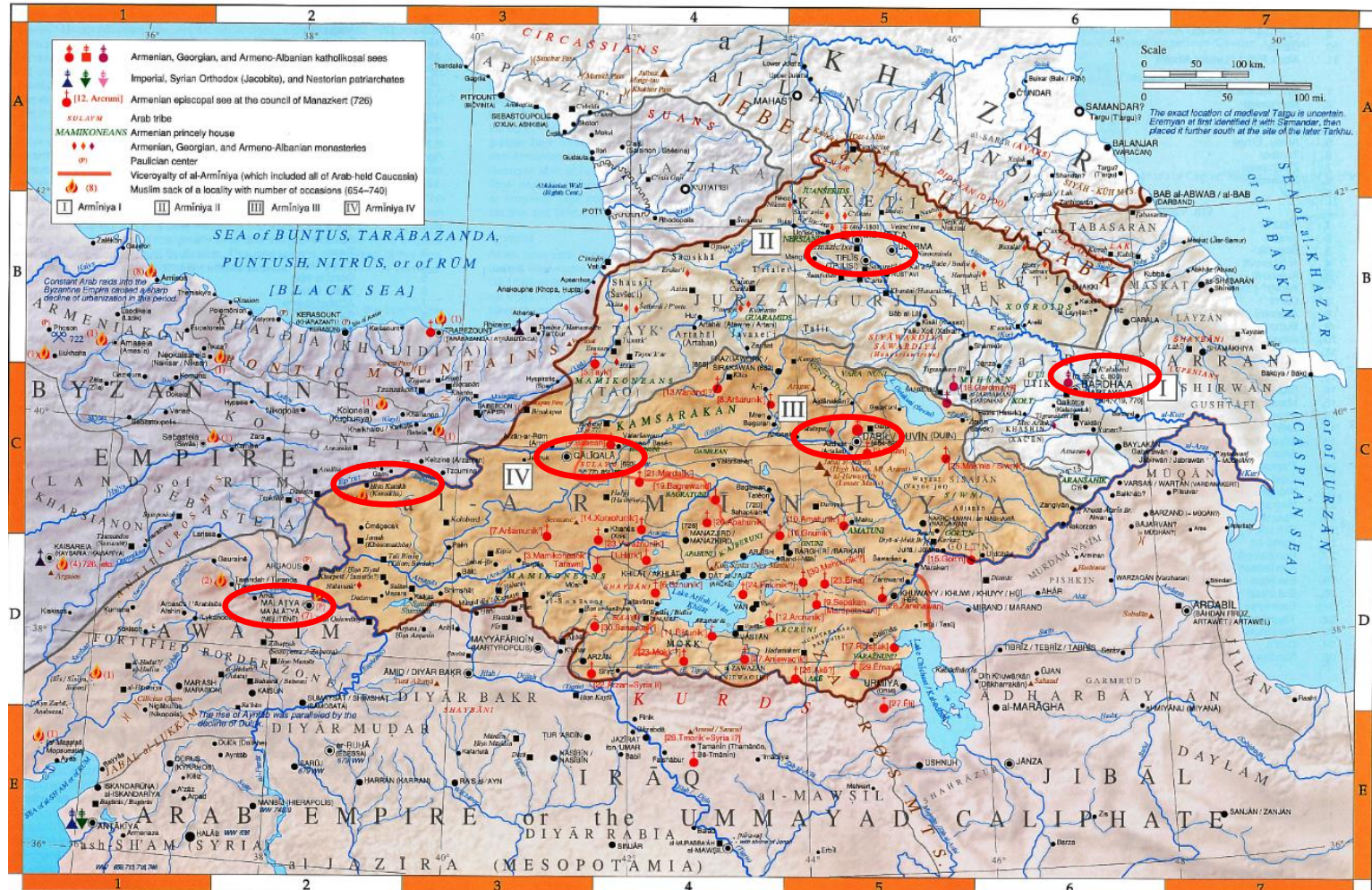
1. [—] որդի Հերակլի բարեջաշտող, Թագաւորի ֆիւմնոթե[ւն] [—] [Ա]մենագով, ՊԱՏԻԿԻ ԿՈՒՐԱՊԱՂԱ[Տ]Ի [Ե]Ւ ՍՊԱՐԱ[ՊԵ]
2. [Տ]Ի ՀԱՅ[ՈՅ] ԵՒ ԱՍՈՐԻՈՅ ԵՒ ՅԵՊԻՍԿՈՊՈՍՈՒԹԵԱՆ[.] ՄԻ[.]Ս. [—] [Թ]ԵՆՈՎՓԻՂՈՍԻ ԵՒ Ի ՏԱՆՈՒՏԵՐՈՒԹԵԱՆ ՆԵՐՍԵ[ՀԻ]
3. [ՇԻՐԱ]ԿԱՅ ԵՒ ԱՇԱՐԱՐՆԵԱՅ ՏԵԱՌՆ ՇԻՐԱՆԵԱՒ ՍՈՐԲ ԵԿԵՂԵՅ[ԻՍ Ի ԲԱՐԵԹԱԼՍ]ՈՒԹԻՒՆ ԿԱՄՍԱՐԱԿԱՆԵԱՅ ԵՒ ՄՐԵՆՈՅ ԵՒ ԱՍԵՐ[...]

[—] of the victorious king Heraclius, in the office of prince [—] of the all-praiseworthy *patrik*, *kourapatat*, and *sparapet* [of Armenia] and Syria and in the office of bishop of [—] [T'e]ov'itos and in the office of *tanutēr* of Nerseh lord of [Šira]k and Ašarunik', this holy church was built [for the intercession] of the Kamsarakank' and Mren and Aser [. . .]



The stabilisation of Arab predominance and the establishment of *al-Armīniya* (*ostikan* in Dvin), ca. 700 CE

78. The Arab Domination: The Ummayyad Period, 654–750



The emergence of the Byzantine-Arab Frontier (*al-ṭuḡūr*)

“When a great and innumerable army of Arabs gathered and surged forwards 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 [Murat Nehri] as far as Inner Armenia [the region of Theodosiupolis/Erzurum]. All this territory had been graced by the habitations of a numerous 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.”

J.-B. Chabot, *Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (CSCO 109). Louvain 1937 (reprint 1965), 156–157; *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*, introd., transl. and annotated by A. Palmer. Including two seventh-century Syriac Apocalyptic Texts, introd., transl. and annotated by S. Brock with added Annotation and an historical Introduction by R. Hoyland. Liverpool 1993, 62.



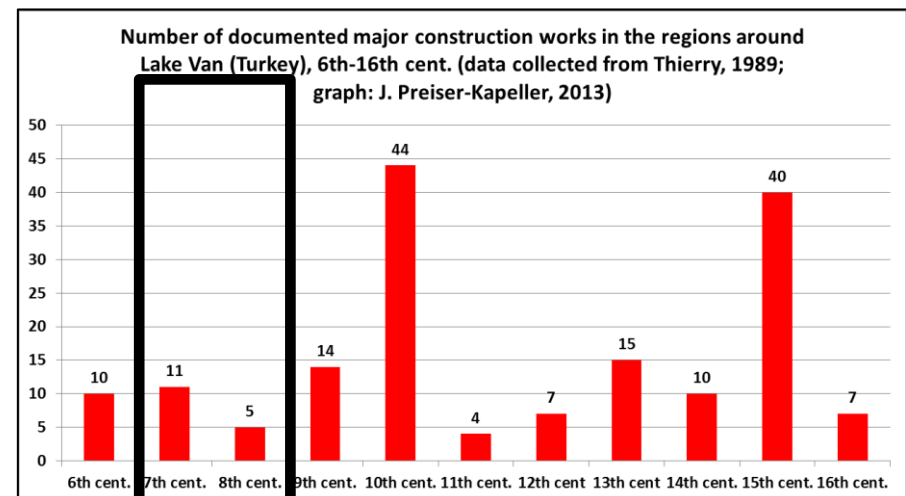
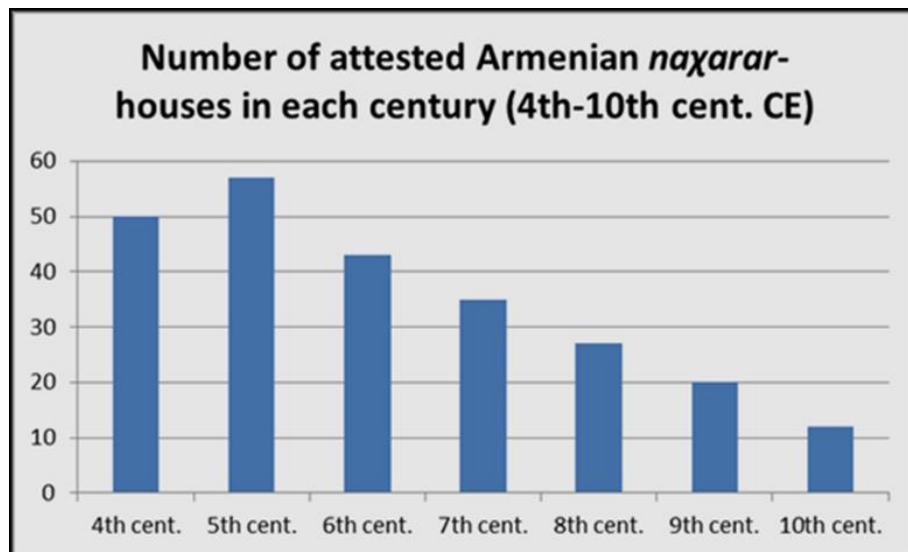
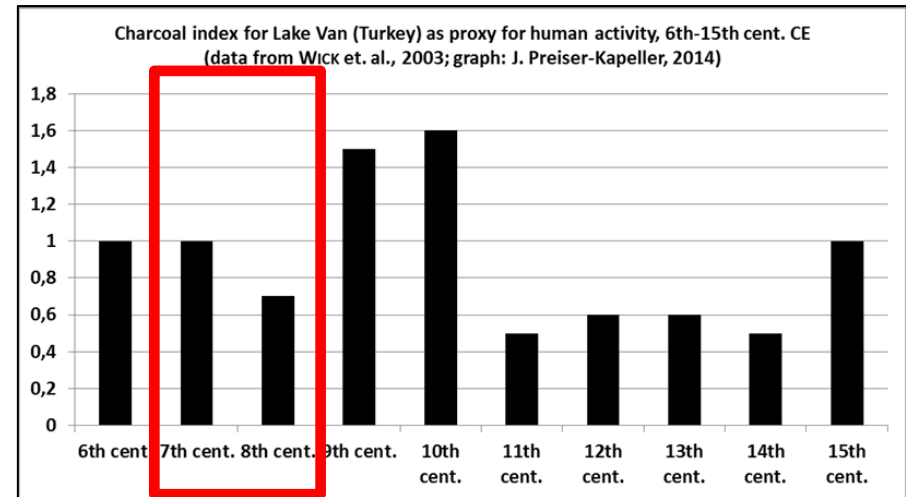
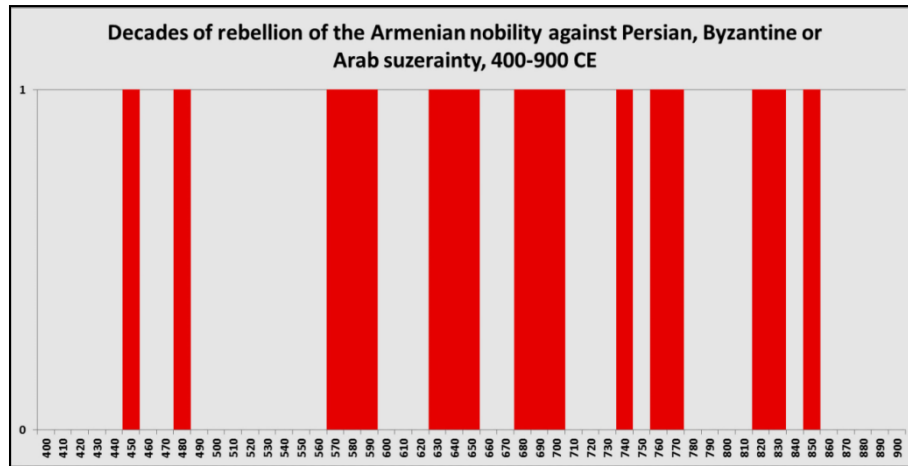
The wars with the Khazars in the 7th and 8th cent. CE



*"(...) paid tribute to
three nations — the
Khazars, the Arabs
and the Romans."*

**Movsēs Kałankatuac'i III,
12: 311 (Arak'elyan; tr.
Dowsett, 202)**

The 8th century as period of socio-economic and environmental crisis and the change from Umayyad to Abbasid rule



The establishment of **Muslim potentates** in various regions and cities of Armīniya (Dvin, Naḫčavan, Goṭ'n, Theodosiupolis-Karin, Xlat', Arčēš, Berkri, Manazkert, also in Tbilisi and especially in Adarbayan); the emergence of **new Christian (Armenian, Georgian) centres of power**



Growing independence among the *baṭrīq* of Armenia in the early 9th century

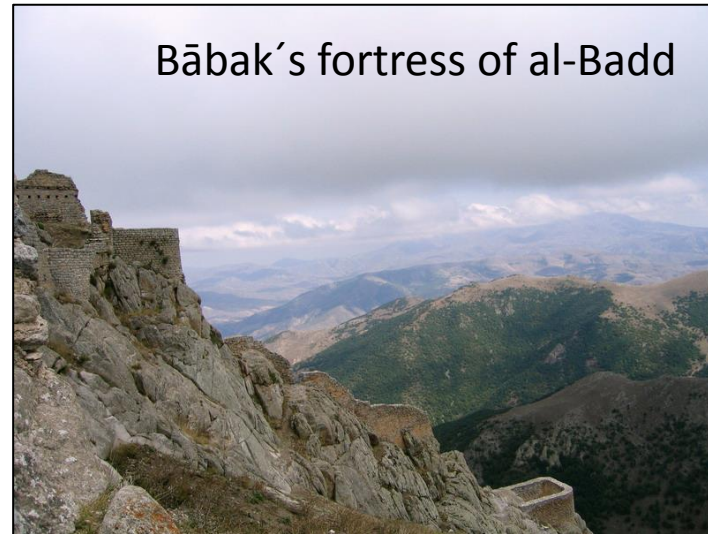
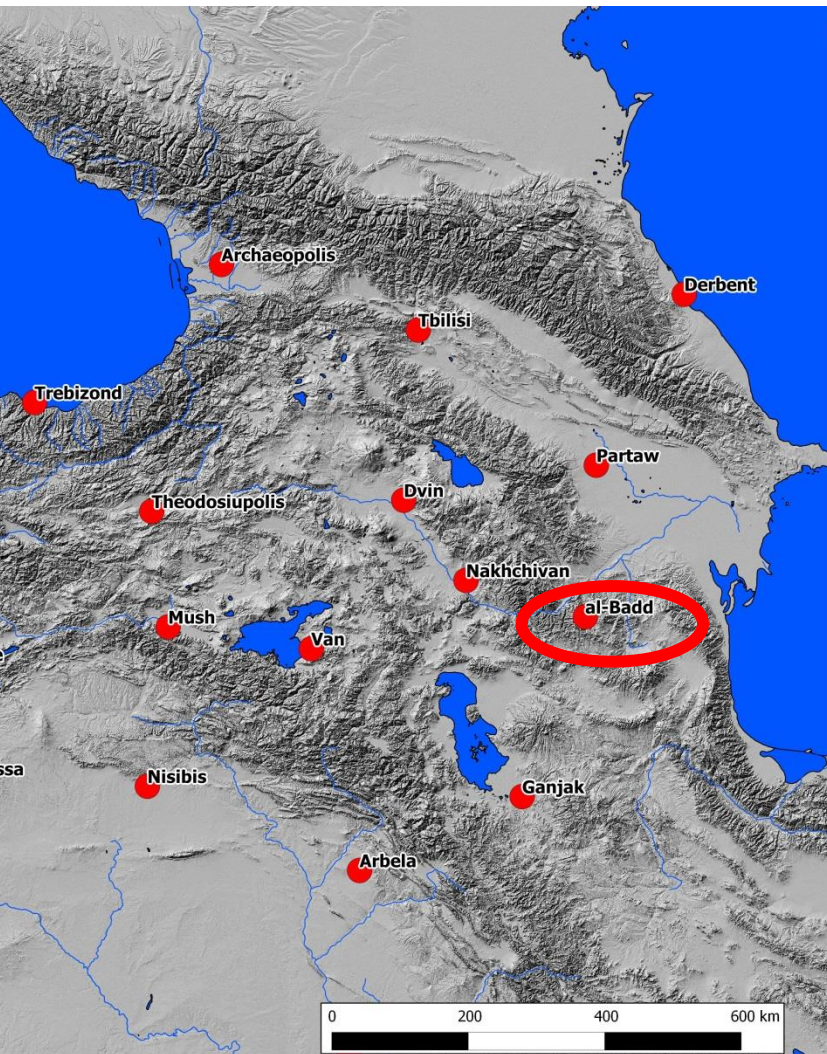
“The Armenian patricians (baṭrīq) did not cease to hold their lands as usual, each trying to protect his own region; and whenever a ‘āmīl (tax collector) came to the frontier they would coax him; and if they found in him purity and severity, as well as force and equipment, they would give the kharāj and render submission, otherwise they would deem him weak and look down upon him.”

Al-Baladhuri IV: 330 (transl. Hitti)

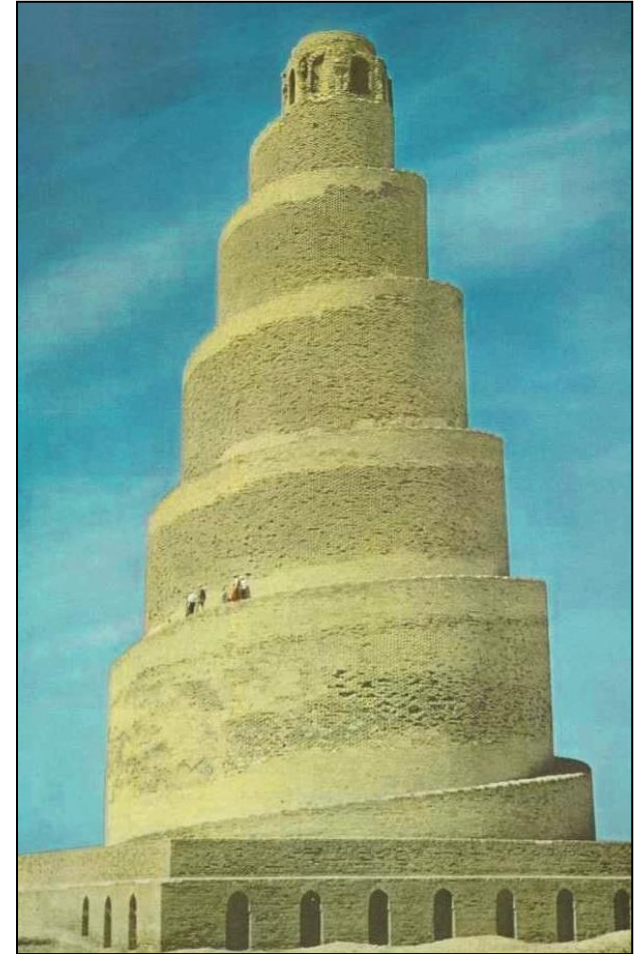


Ashot Bagratuni, Prince of Iberia (813-830 CE), donating the Church of Bana in Tao(Tayk) 18

The Khurramites and the rebellion of Bābak, 816-837



al-Mutawakkil (847-861), Bughā al-Kabir (852-855) and the last large scale intervention of the centre into al-Armīniya: the Armenian princes in Samarra until 861



The *mamluk* 'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī (d. 863-864) as governor in Egypt, Syria and Armīniya and the emergence of Bagratuni kingship (884/885)

Subsequently, a governor named 'All Armani was sent to Armenia; he set Asot [Bagratuni] as presiding prince of Armenia in accordance with the orders of the caliph, and investing him with many robes as well as royal insignia, entrusted him with the taxes of Armenia and all the royal tribute. Thus, he became first and foremost among the Armenian naxarars, all of whom made treaties with him, as if with a true scion of royalty.

(Yovh. Drasx. 27, § 10–12)



Sevanavank-Monastery, founded 874 CE

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Aristocratic mobility, networks of kinship and compatriots and the appeal of the empires: the Byzantine Emperor as source of honours and gifts

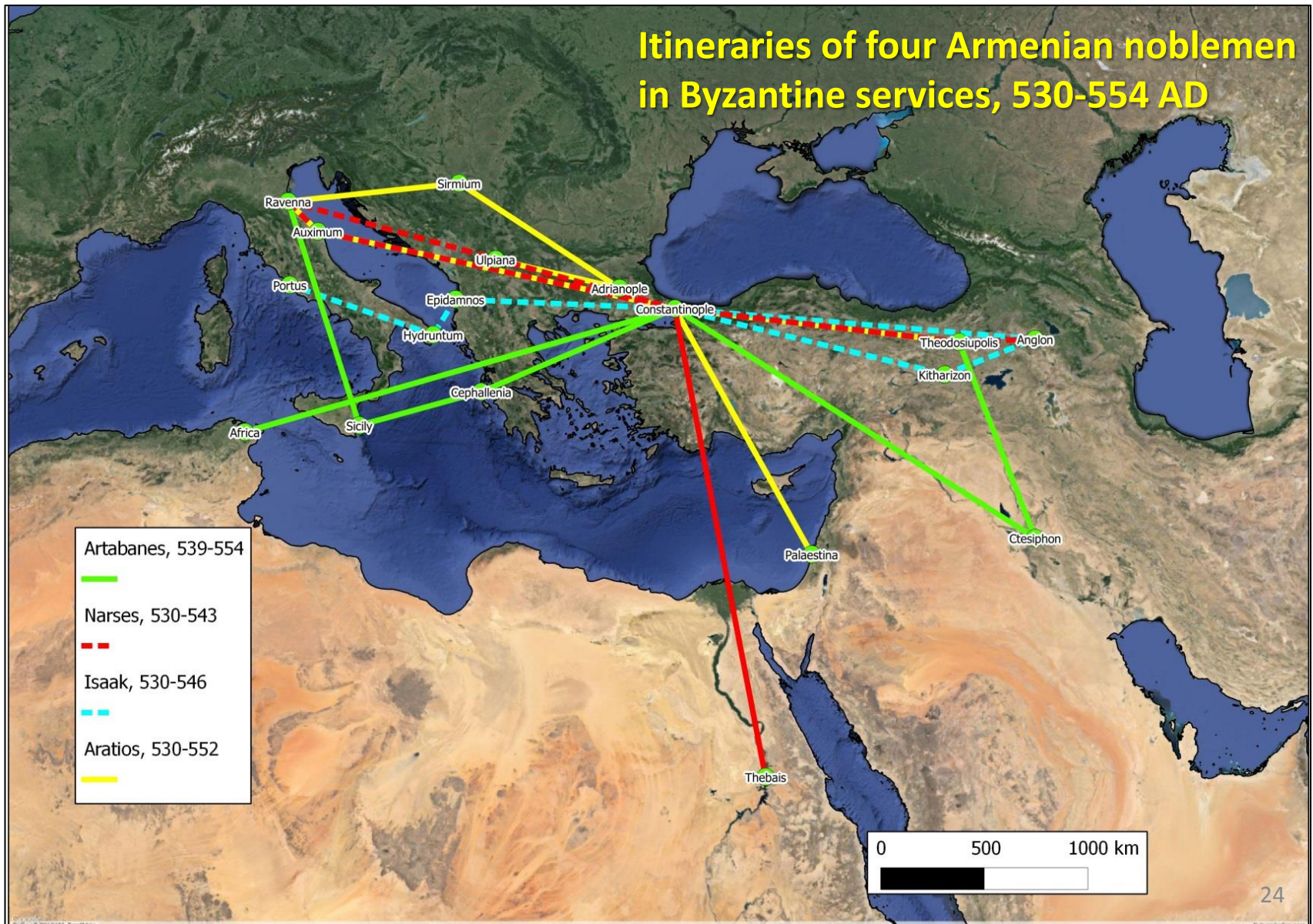
At about the same time Narses and Aratius who at the beginning of this war, as I have stated above, had an encounter with Sittas and Belisarius in the land of the Persarmenians, came together with their mother as deserters to the Romans; and the Emperor's steward, Narses, received them (for he too happened 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 Theodosiupolis. 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

Proc., Bella I, 15, 31: I, 139 (Dewing 139)



Armenian noble mobility and the imperial „regime of mobility“ in the 6th century

Itineraries of four Armenian noblemen in Byzantine services, 530-554 AD



Long term entanglements: Paulacis, son of Stephanus and *miles numeri Arminiorum* in Ravenna, 639 CE/ *Ioannes Armenus, dux de Tigisi*, and his church in Thamugadi, 641/646 CE



The enduring impact of “regimes of mobility”: long distance routes to the West, South and East described in the Armenian Itinerary (Młonač‘ap‘k), ca. 700 CE



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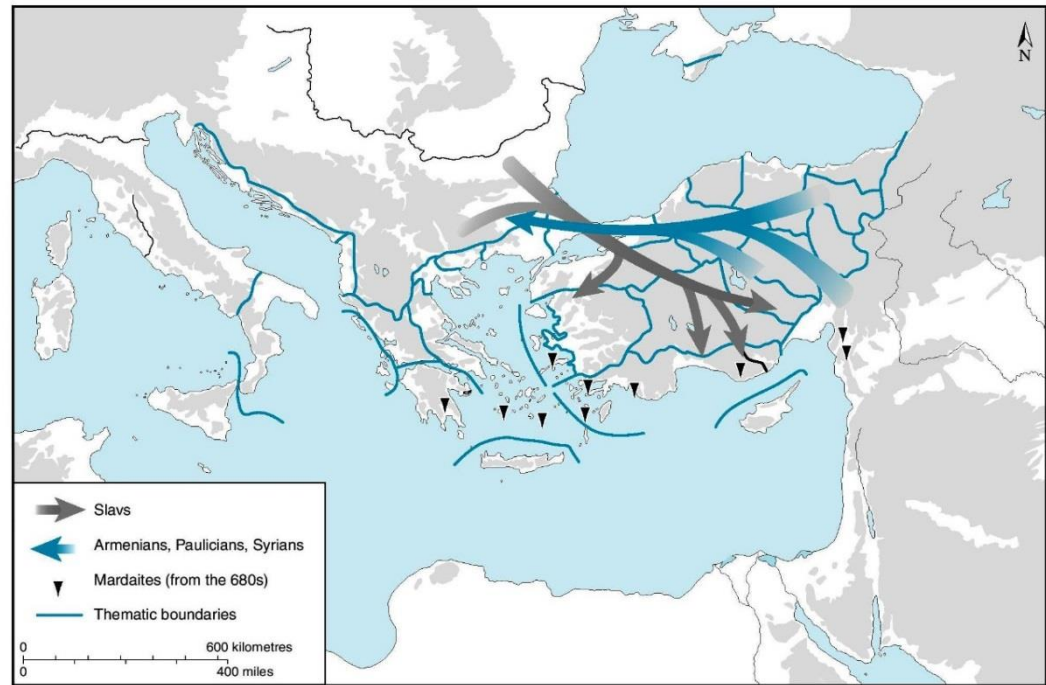
Imperial regimes of forced and confined mobility

- *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. Sebēos 15: 86 (Abgaryan; tr. Thomson and Howard-Johnston, Sebeos I, 31)*
- *Peace treaty of 562: “**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.**” Men. Prot., fr. 6, 1 (Blockley)*

Armenian refugees and Byzantine deportations from the frontier

(...) the king of the Greeks [Constantine V] moved from his imperial portals with a massive multitude of followers and arrived at the city called Theodosiupolis 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 (ark'ay). They separated themselves (from the rest), left their homeland, and went to the country of the pious king.

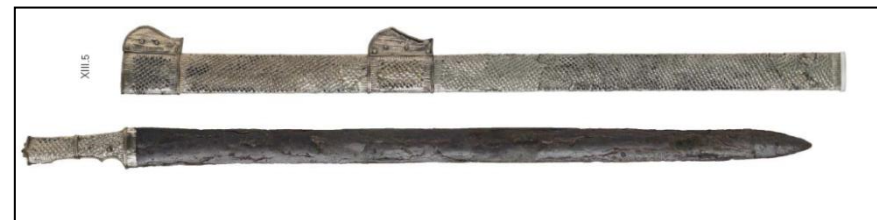
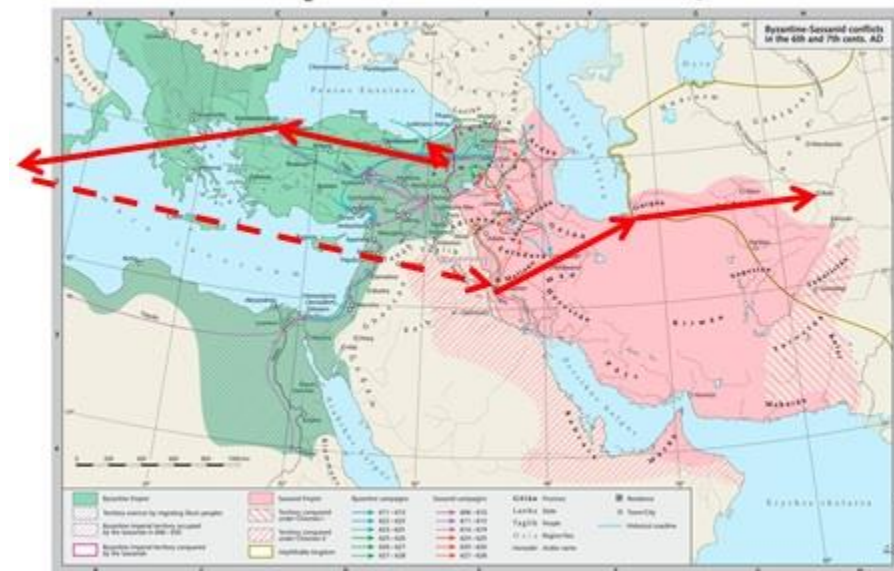
Łewond c. 29: 129.



The Sasanian Great King as source of honours and gifts: Smbat Bagratuni “Xosrov Šum” (Xusrō’s joy), 590-616 CE, from Armenia to Constantinople to Africa to Ctesiphon to Balḥ

It happened at that time that Smbat Bagratuni became pleasing in the eyes of King Khosrov. He gave him the marzpanate of the land of Vrkan, made him prince over all that region, and favoured him even more with honours and authority. He heaped gold and silver on him, and robed him in expensive and splendid garments. He gave him the belt and sword that had belonged to his own father Ormizd. He put under his control Persian and Armenian troops, and ordered him to go to the land of his appointment.

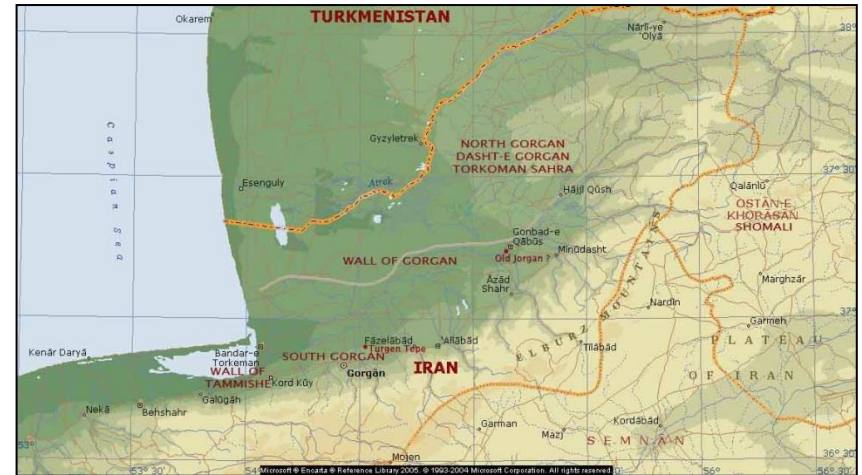
Sebēos c. 24: 96 (Abgaryan; tr. Thomson and Howard-Johnston, Sebeos I, 43–44)



Smbat Bagratuni, *marzpan* of Vrkan, meets descendants of Armenian deportees in Central Asia, ca. 600

“There was in that country a community deported from Armenia and settled on the edge of the great desert which extends from T'urk'astan and Delhastan. They had forgotten their own language, lost the use of writing, and lacked the priestly order. There was also there a group of Kodrik' who had been taken captive with our own men; and furthermore not a few from the Greek empire and from the region of Syria. The community of Kodrik' were infidels. But over the Christians there shone a great light. They were confirmed in the faith and learned to write and speak their language. A certain presbyter among them who was named Abel was appointed to priestly rank in that land.”

(Sebēos c.24: 97 Abgaryan; tr. Thomson and Howard-Johnston, Sebeos I, 4)



The Great Wall of Gurgān, 5th-7th cent.



Forced mobility into the Arab sphere

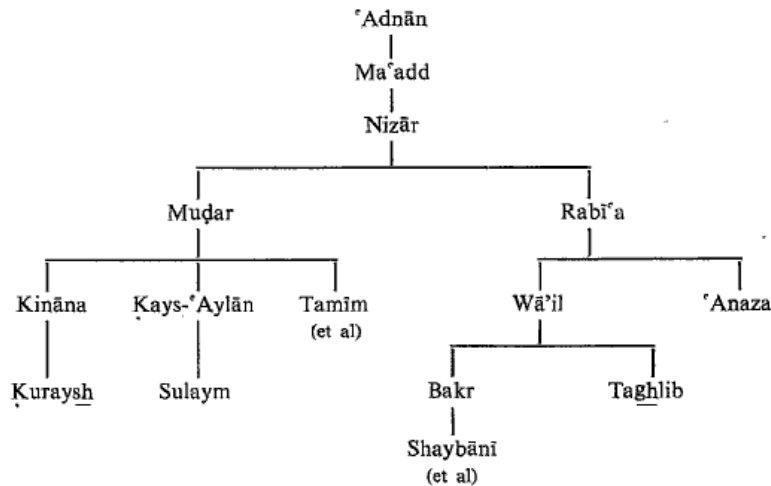
- *Then when the king of Ismael [= the Caliph] saw that the Armenians had withdrawn from submission to them, they put to the sword all the hostages whom they had brought from that land, about 1,775 people. A few were left, in number about 22, who had not happened to be at that spot; they alone survived. But Mušet, lord of the Mamikoneank' (...), because he had four sons among the hostages with the Ismaelites, was therefore unable to withdraw from their service. Sebēos c. 52: 175, 9–12 (Abgaryan; tr. Thomson and Howard-Johnston, Sebeos I, 153)*
- *Then he [the Muslim governor] put the great Sahak [III, Katholikos] in fetters and sent him to Damascus. Along with him he also sent the prince of Armenia, Smbat [Bagratuni], son of Smbat. (Yovh. Drasx. 20, tr. Maksoudian 107)*
- *(Merwan) ordered their immediate arrest and sent Grigor and David, who were from the house of the Mamikonean, to the Caliph of the Ismaelites. He also wrote an accusation against them, stating that they were opponents of Ašot and agitators in his realm. (The Caliph) ordered them to be taken to a desert place called Eman (= Yemen) and to be kept there in prison for the rest of their lives. Lewond c. 21: 112 (Ezean; tr. Arzoumanian, 113)*

The Caliph as source of honours and gifts

The king of the south (= the Caliph) gladly rose from his sleep at sunrise before his customary hour and received the prince of the east (= Prince Juanšēr of Albania) with a friendly greeting, being greatly pleased at his arrival. He was received with a perfect welcome, and to no one of the governors of the country were such royal honours accorded (by the Caliph), especially when he had savoured his intelligence and reason; for though lords and leaders of many lands were there in his service, in none of them had he such sure confidence as in Juanšēr, on whom, and on those with him, he bestowed very great gifts. After this the prince of the east asked to be allowed to take his leave in peace, and the ruler of the south set his seal to a treaty of sincere and perpetual friendship and gave him his right hand, although it had never been the custom of the proud lord of the earth to give it to any other foreigner. When these things had been accomplished, he was sent on his way with high honours from the universal court, and he arrived in the province of Ayrarat where he was received by the brave Grigor of the Mamikonean family and all the nobles. Movsēs Kałankatuac'i II, 27: 195 (Arak'elyan; tr. Dowsett, 126)

Arab mobility from Northern Mesopotamia into Western and Southern Armenia (Lake Van)/Yazid b. Usayd al-Sulami (ca. 752-780), Yusuf b. Rashid al-Sulami and the *Kaysikk'*

APPENDIX 11—THE ARAB TRIBES (NORTHERN GROUP)¹



¹ These traditional genealogies preserved in literary sources are not rejected by scholars. A third group is also mentioned in addition to the Northern and Southern ones. These are the lost tribes which are sometimes attached to the Southern group. [Cf. G. Rentz, «Djazīrat al-ʿArab», *EI*², pp. 543-546].

Harun ar-Rašid appointed Yusuf b. Rashid al-Sulami as ostikan (...). He transplanted a mass of Nizari to this land, and [until then] the Yemenites had formed a majority in Arminiya, but in the days of Yusuf, the Nizari increased in number (...).

al-Yaʿqūbī (transl. Ter-Ghewondyan 31).



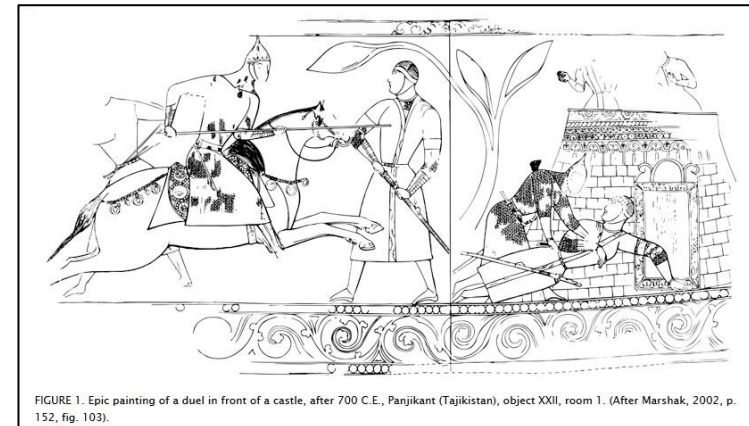
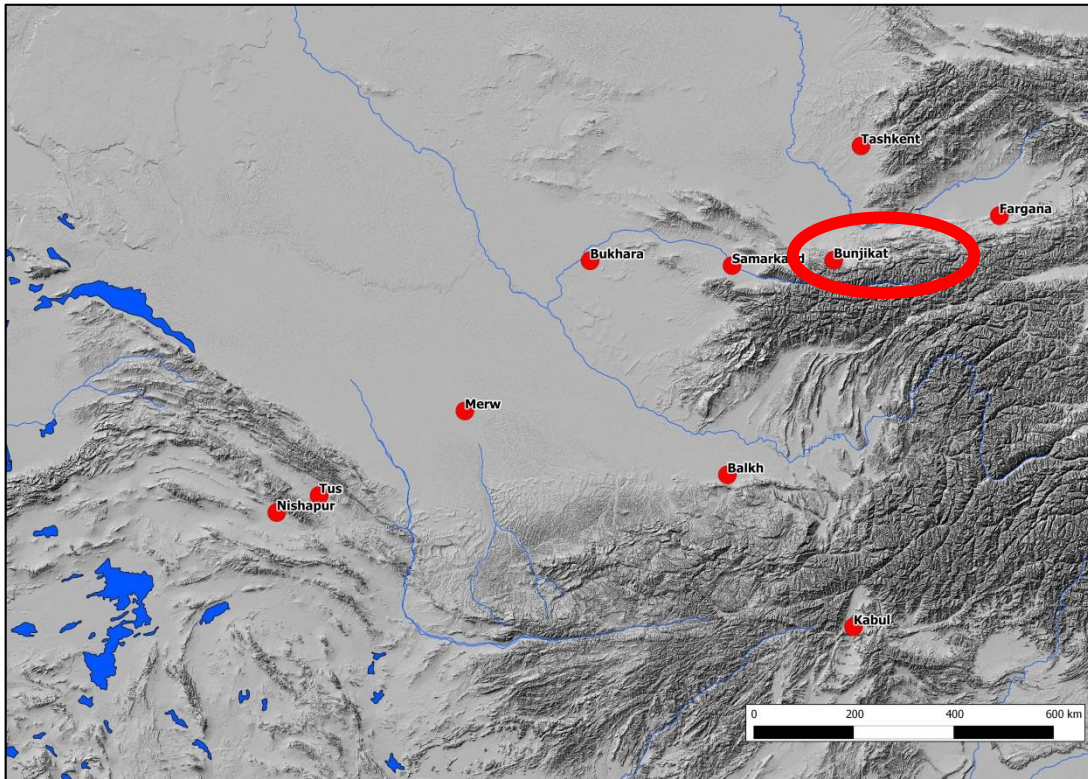
The Bakr and Shaybani in Northern Mesopotamia, Armenia and Shirwan (Shīrwān Shāh, since 801/861-1027)

Then Harun ar-Rašid named Yazid ibn Mazyad ibn Za'ida al-Shaybani, and he brought from every side so many of the Rab'ia that they now form a majority, and he controlled the land so strictly that no one dared to move in it. After him came Abd al-Kabir ibn Abd al-Hamid (....) whose home was Harran. He came with a multitude of men from Diyar Mudar, stayed only four months and left.

al-Ya'qūbī (transl. Ter-Ghewondyan 31).



al-Ma'mūn, al-Mu'taṣim, Ḥaydar ibn Kāwūs Afshīn from Ustrushana and the rebellion of Bābak, 819-837



Sogdian wallpaintings of horse warriors from Bunjikat and Panjikant (8th cent.)

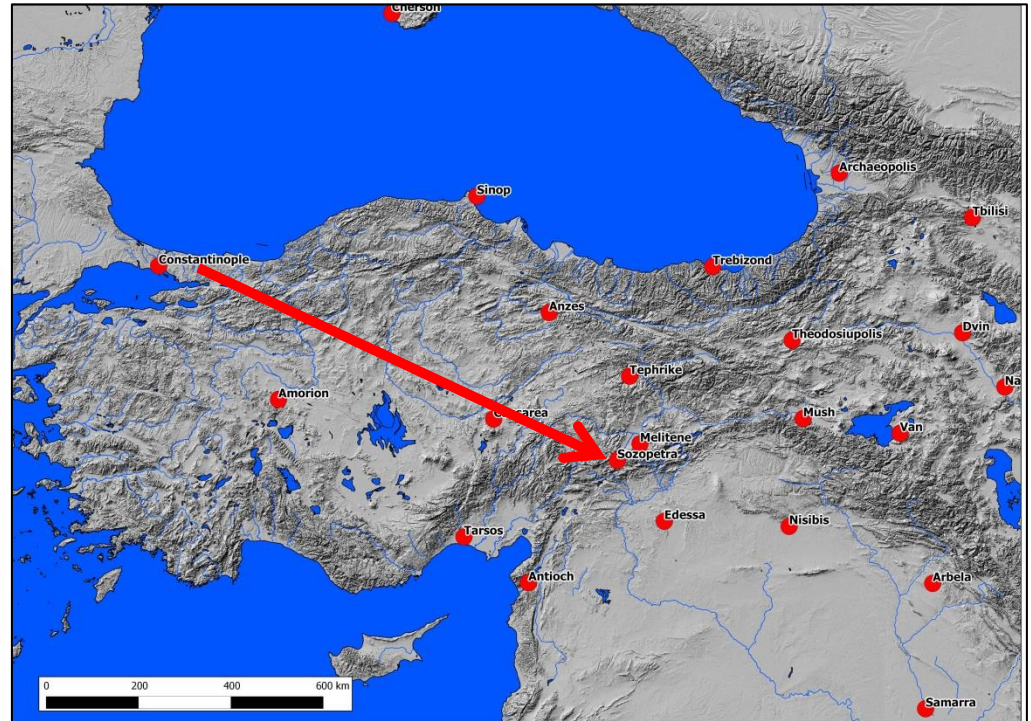
The Khurramites under Nasr in the service of Emperor Theophilos and the campaign of 837



Figure 1 Seal of Nasr/Nasir, as *τουρμάρχης τῶν φοιδερμάτων*, Zacos and Veglery (1972) vol. I.3, 1760, numbers 3148a and b (present whereabouts unknown)

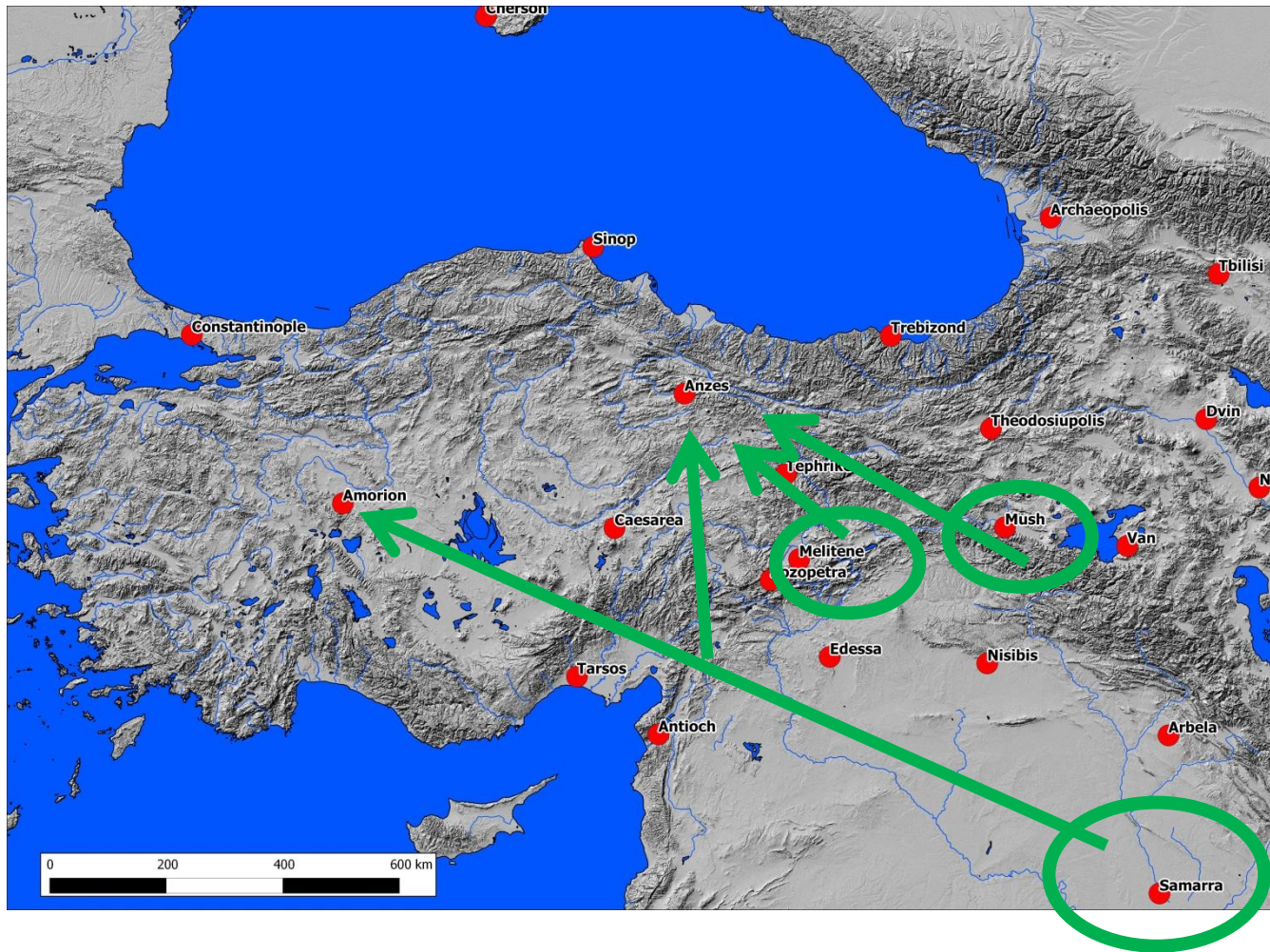


Figure 4 Follis with triumphant Theophilos, holding labarum with cross in right hand, globe cruciger in left hand. Found in the Lower City Enclosure of Amorion, 2006. Courtesy of the Amorion Excavations Project.

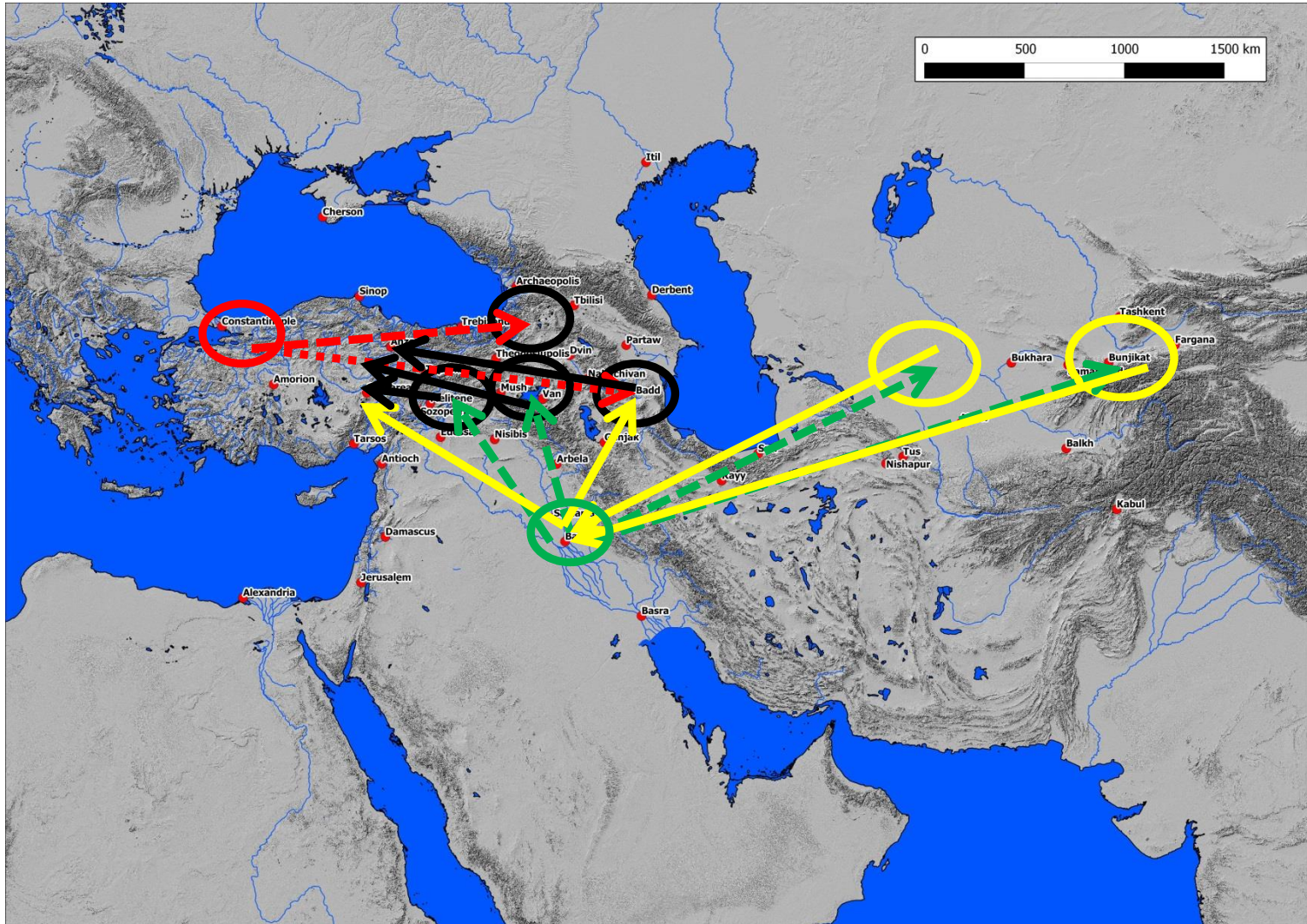


From: Juan Signes Codoner, *The Emperor Theophilos and the East, 829-842*. Ashgate 2014.

**Caliph al-Mu'taṣim and his retinue on the campaign in 838
(Ḥaydar ibn Kāwūs Afshīn, Abū Ja'far Ashinās,
Emir 'Umar al-Aqta of Melitene, Bagarat Bagratuni of Taron)**



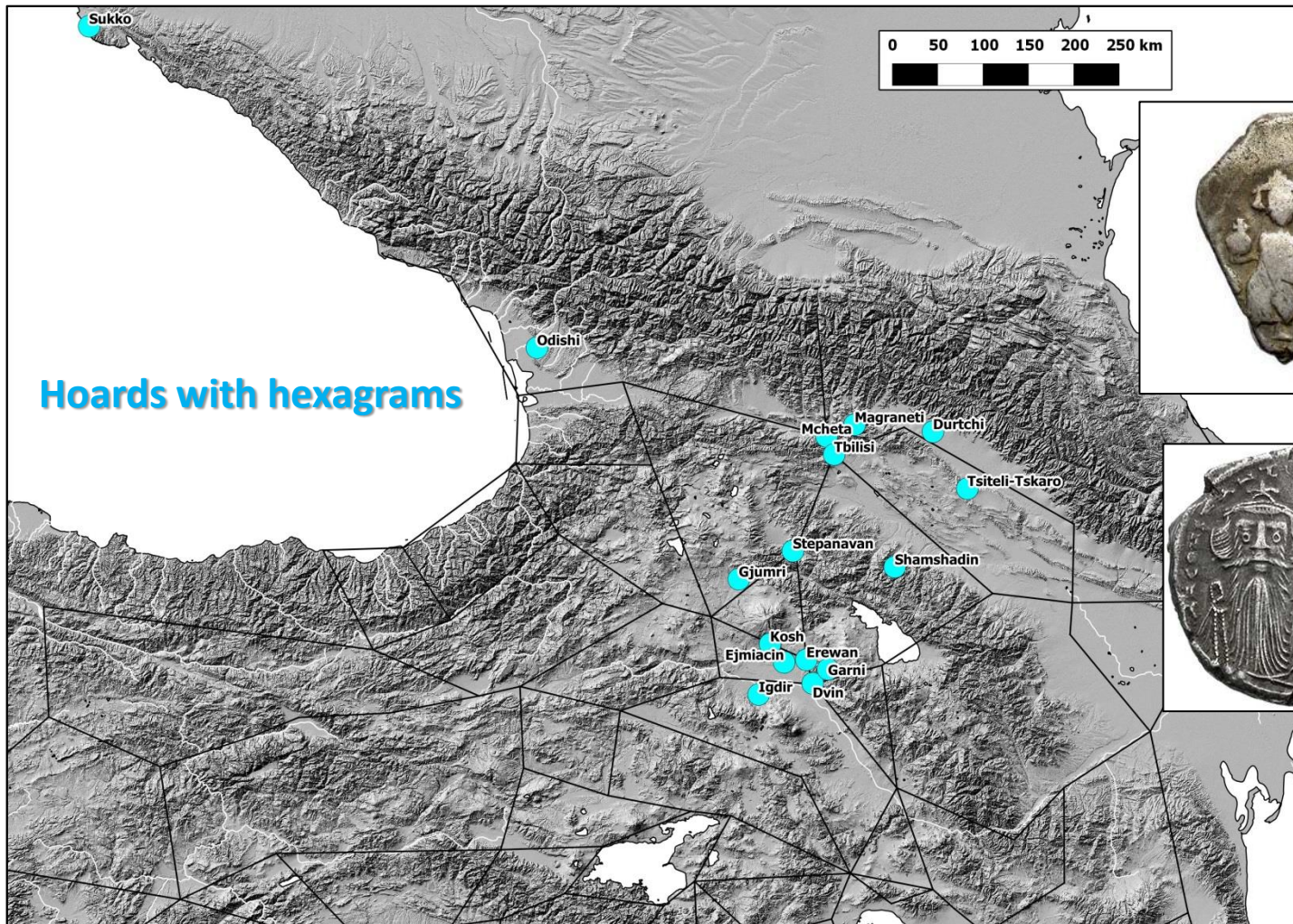
Competing and overlapping networks and mobile elites between frontiers



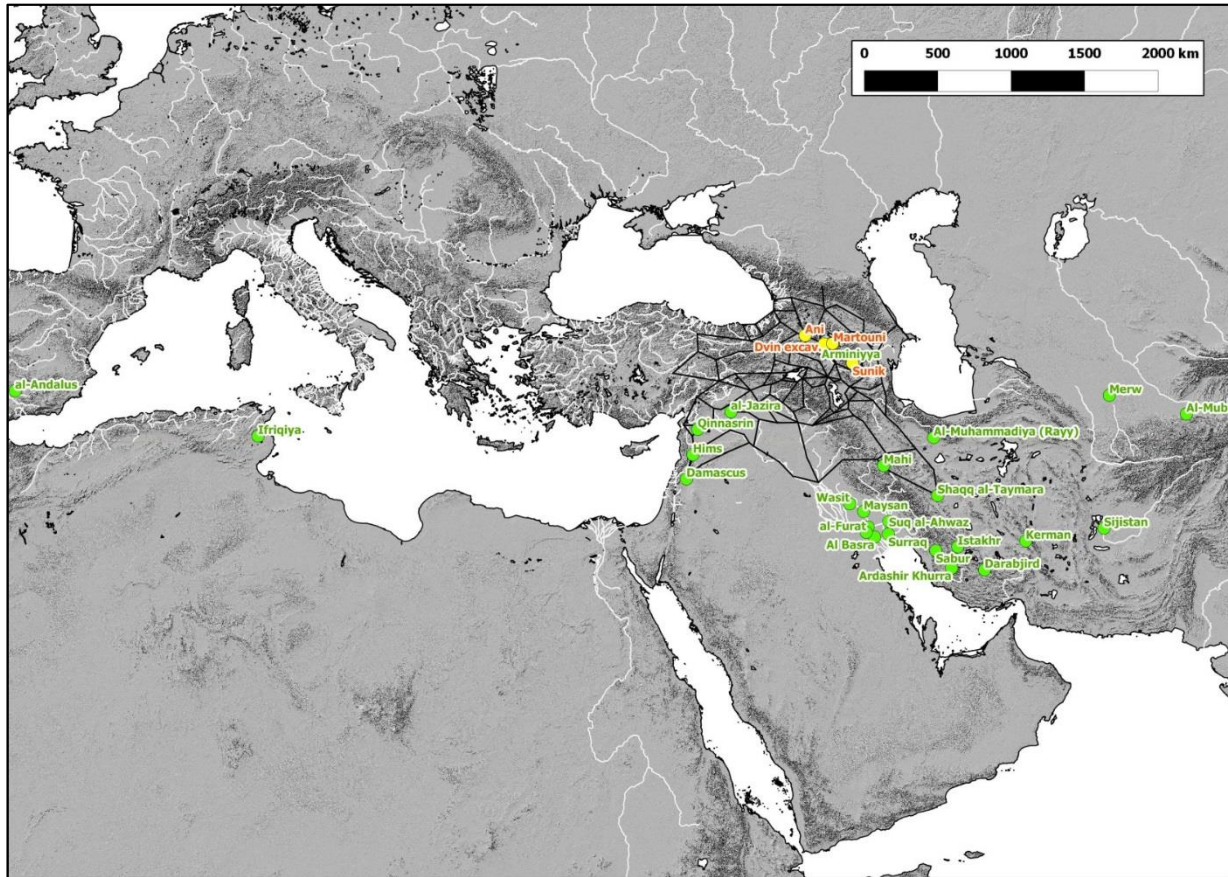
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Attracting clients in the Caucasus region: the hexagram coins of Herakleios and Konstans II, 615-659 CE

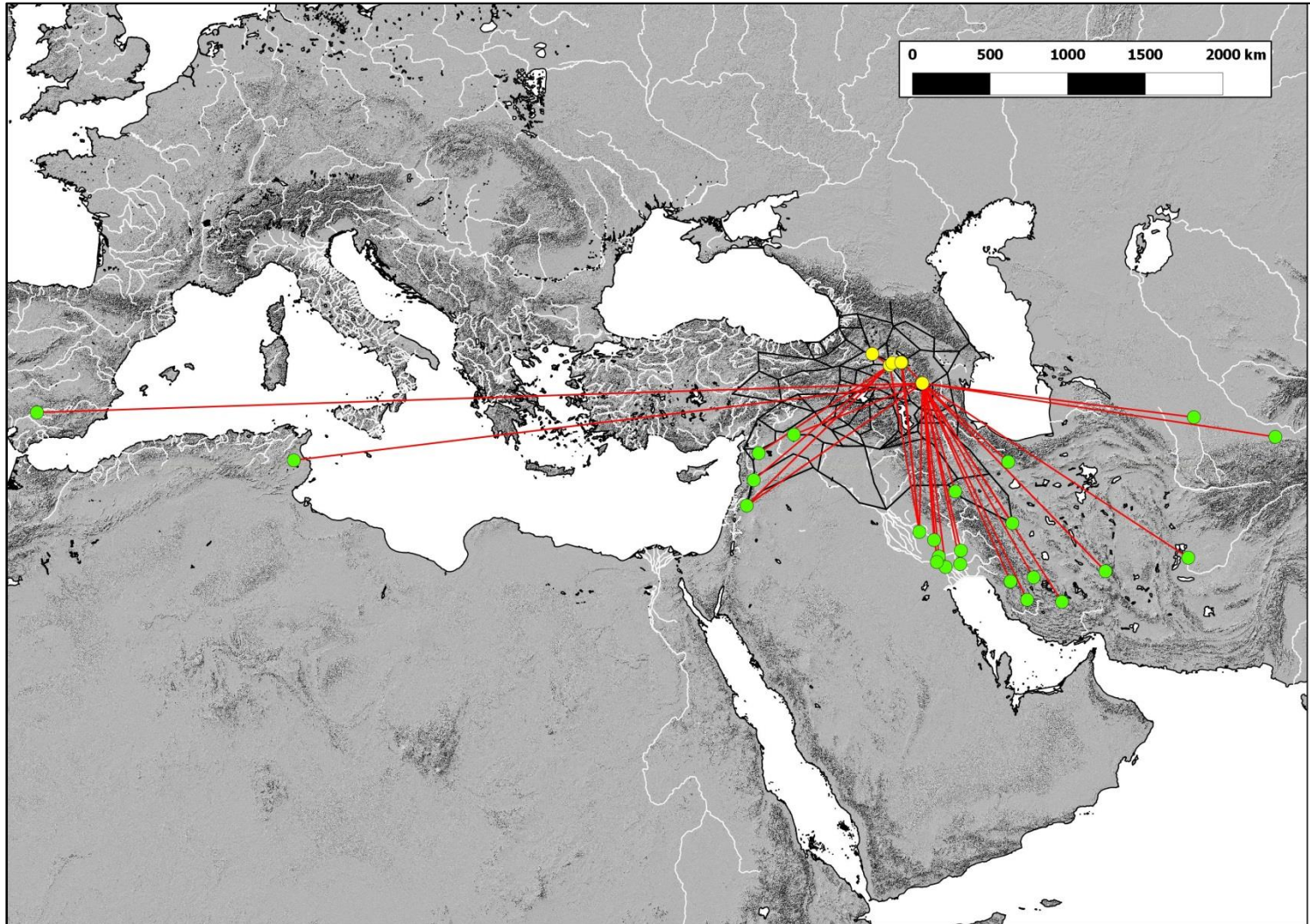


Arab **mints** and **hoards** in Armenia in the Umayyad period (700-750): paying the Armenian noble cavalry (100,000 dirhems per year)

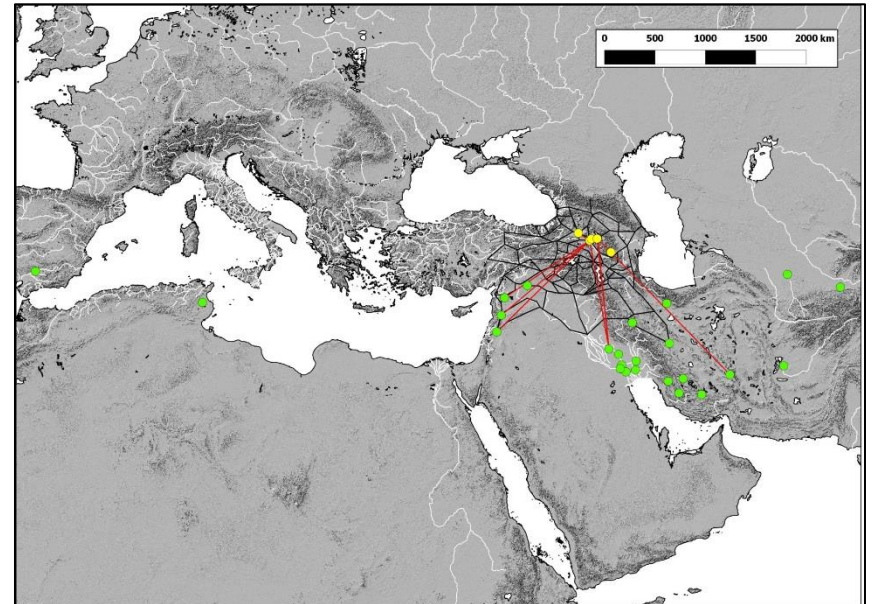
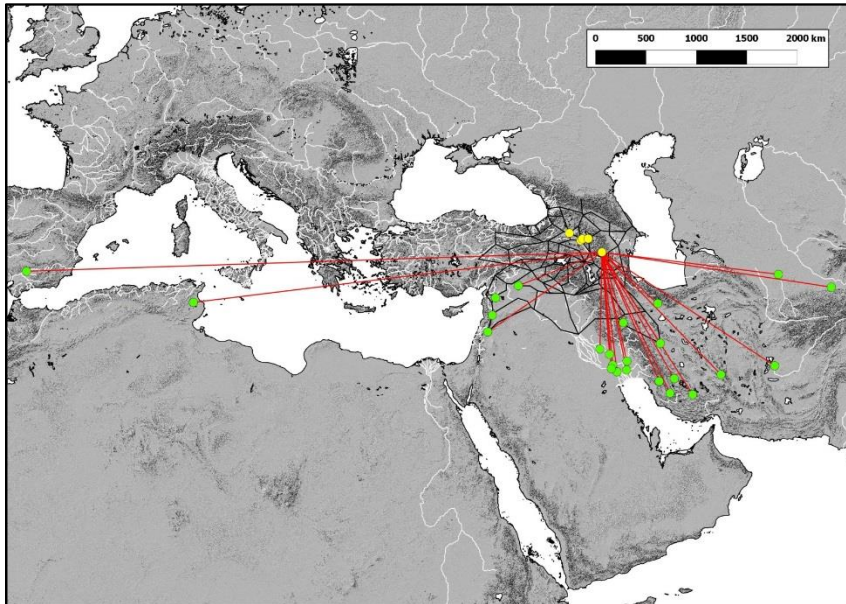


Khatchatur Mousheghian ; Anahit Mousheghian ; Cecile Bresc ; Georges Depeyrot ; François Gurne, History and coin finds in Armenia (*Collection Moneta*), 2000-2003

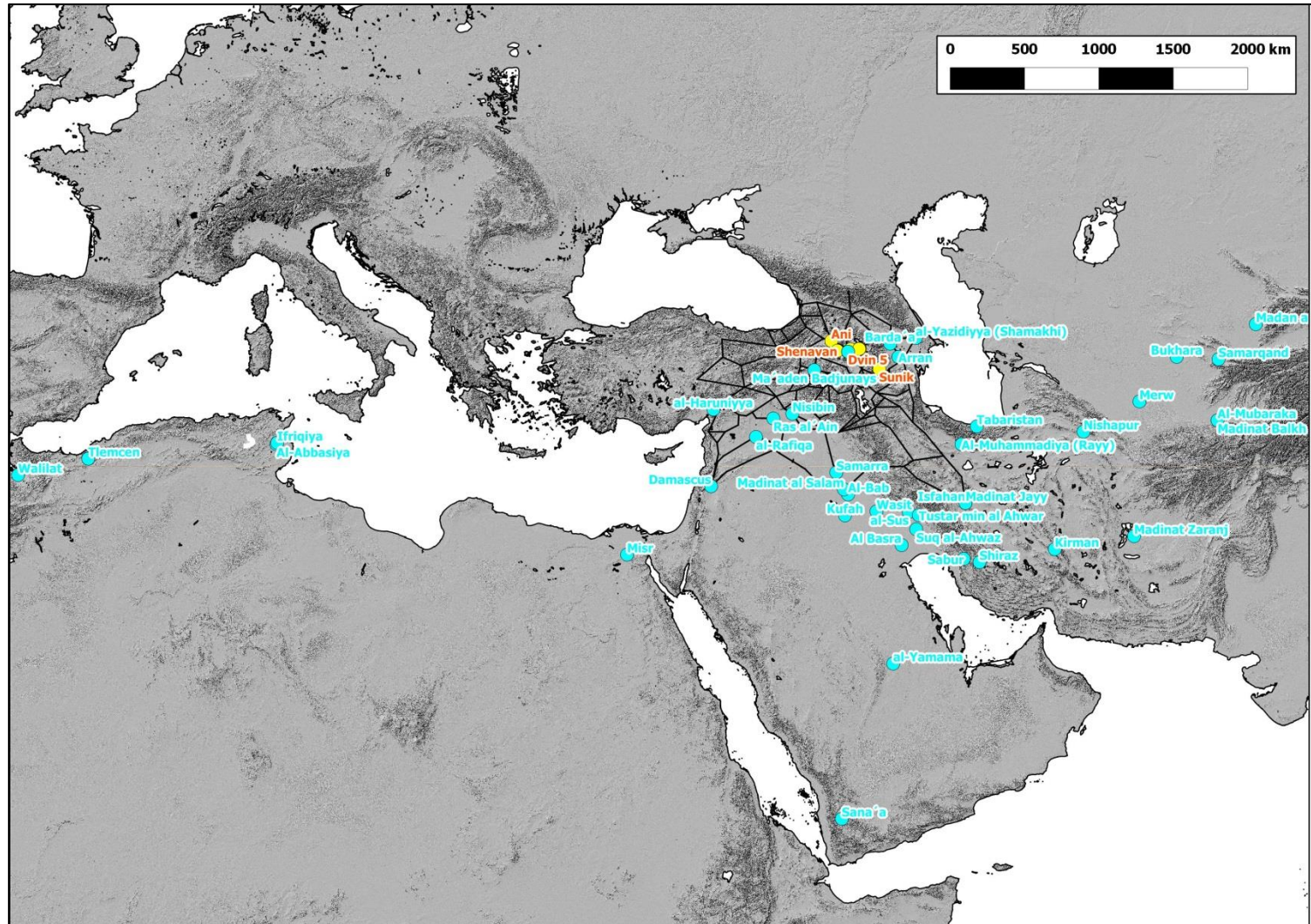
Arab **mints** and **hoards** in Armenia in the Umayyad period (700-750)



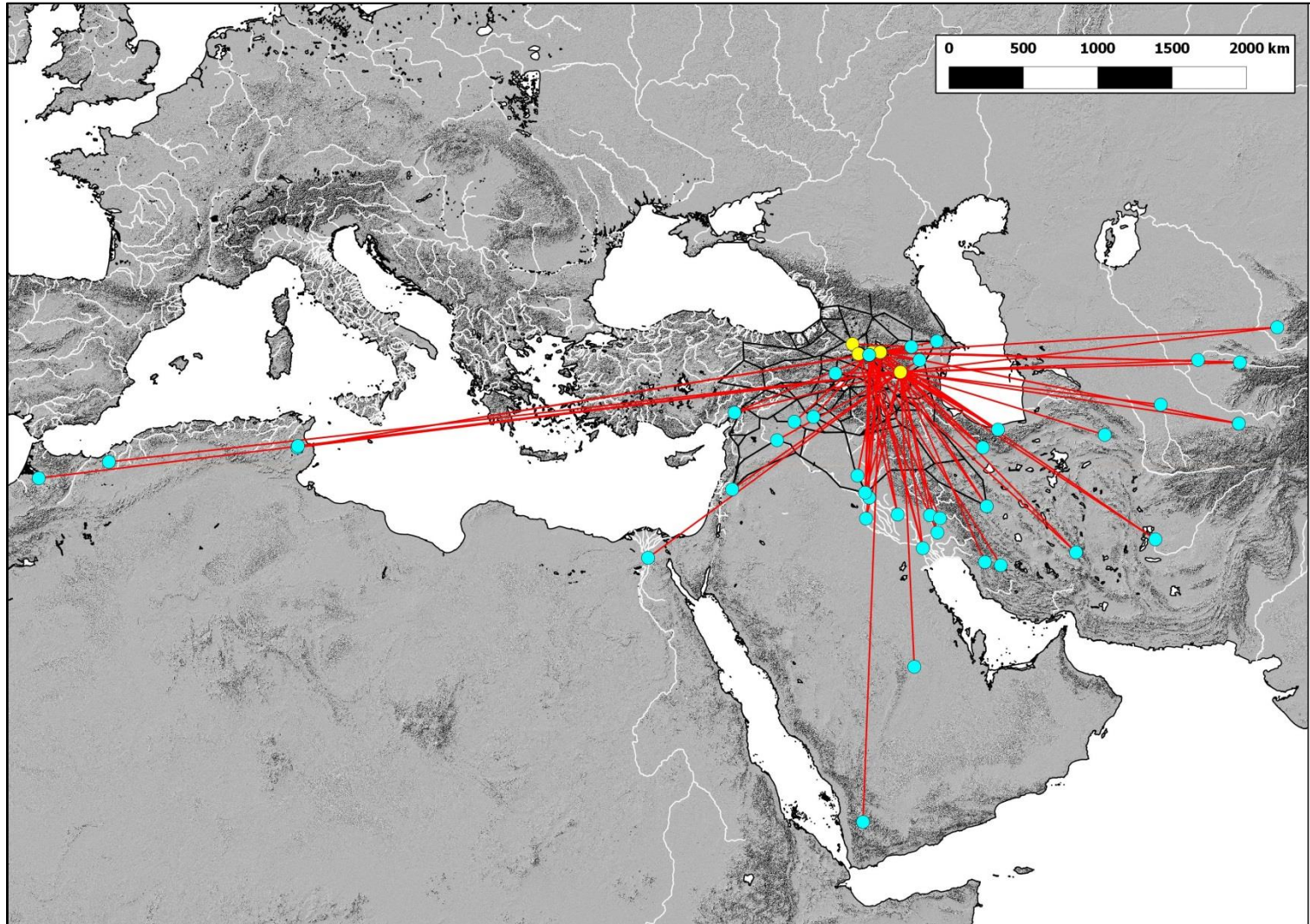
Arab **mints** and **hoards** in Armenia in the Umayyad period: the hoard of Sunik in Siwnik'



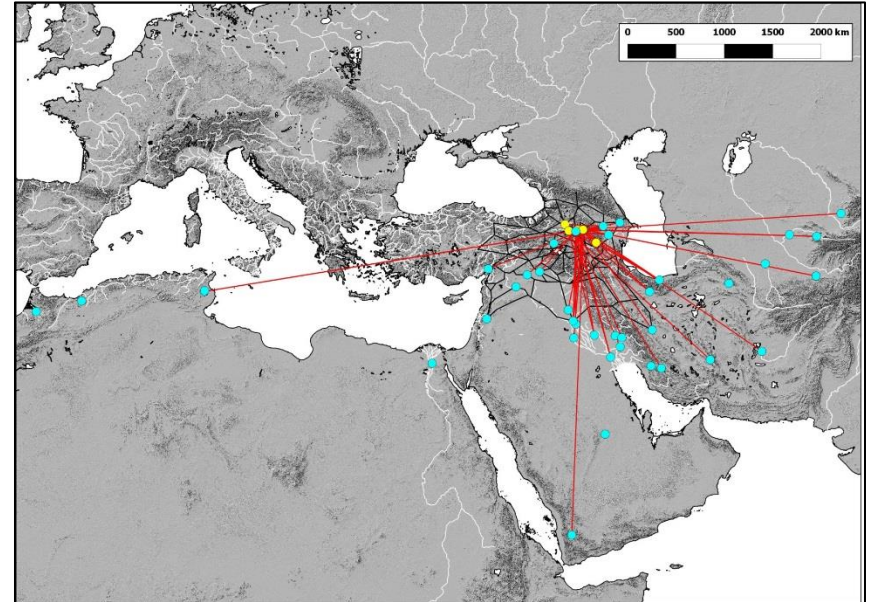
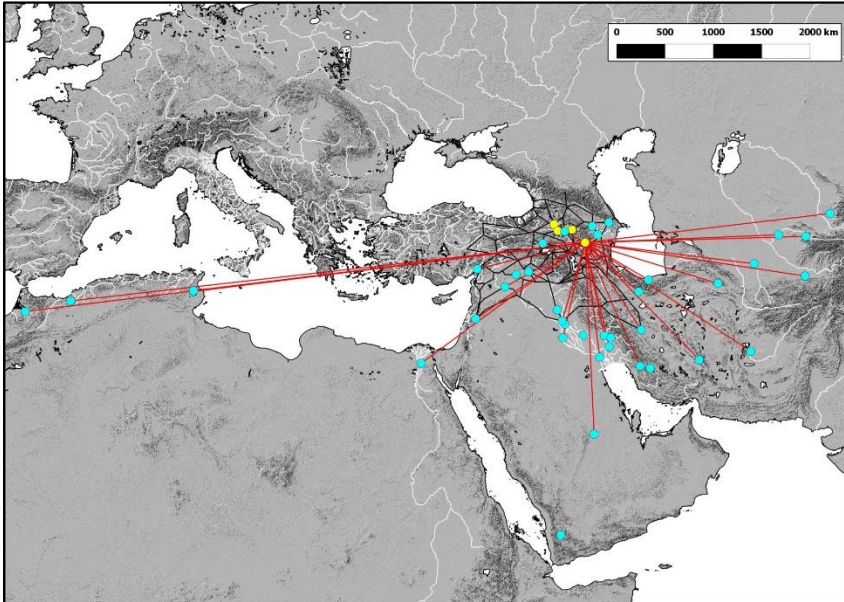
Arab **mints** and **hoards** in Armenia in the Abbasid period (750-900)



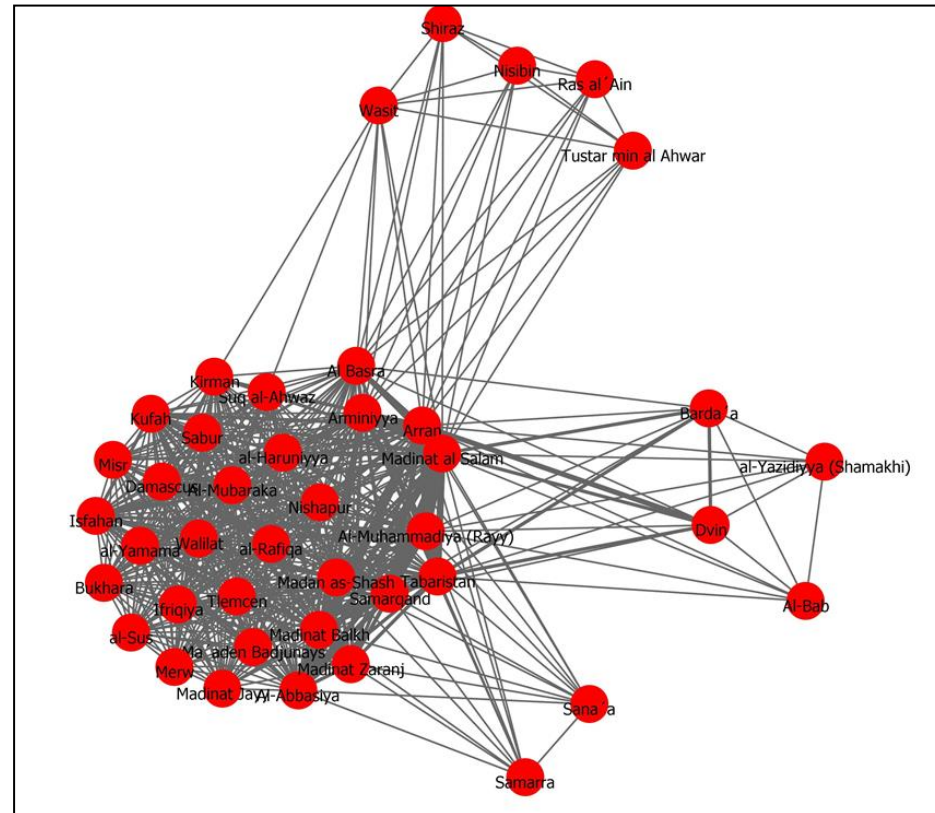
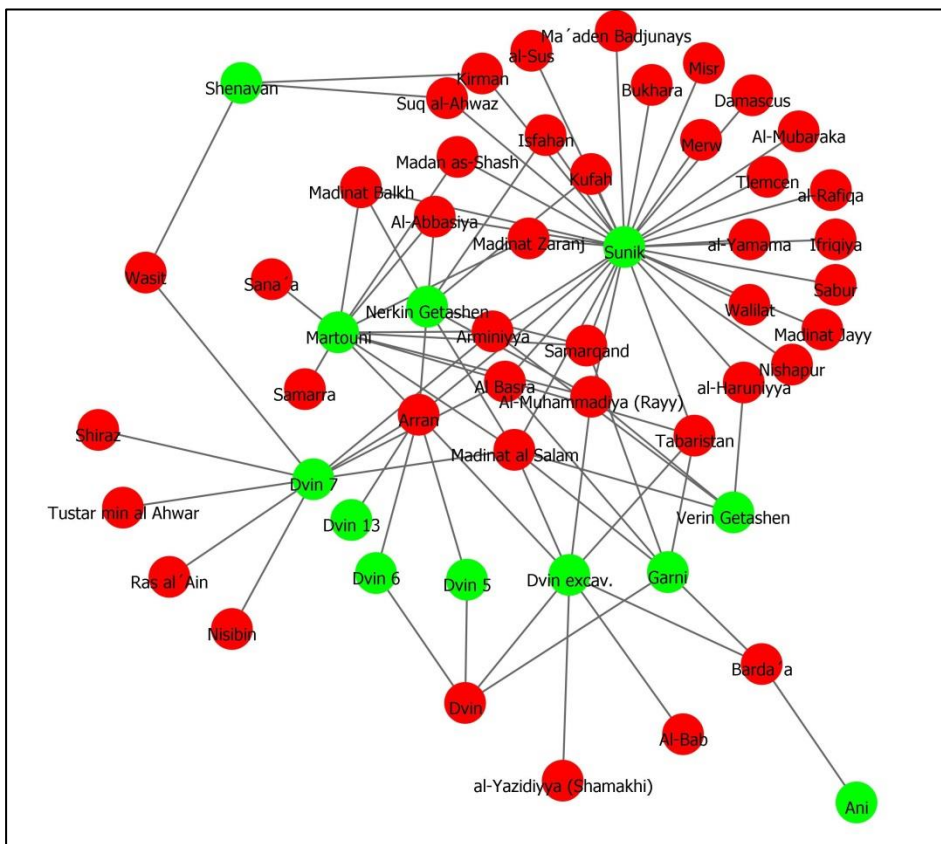
Arab **mints** and **hoards** in Armenia in the Abbasid period (750-900)



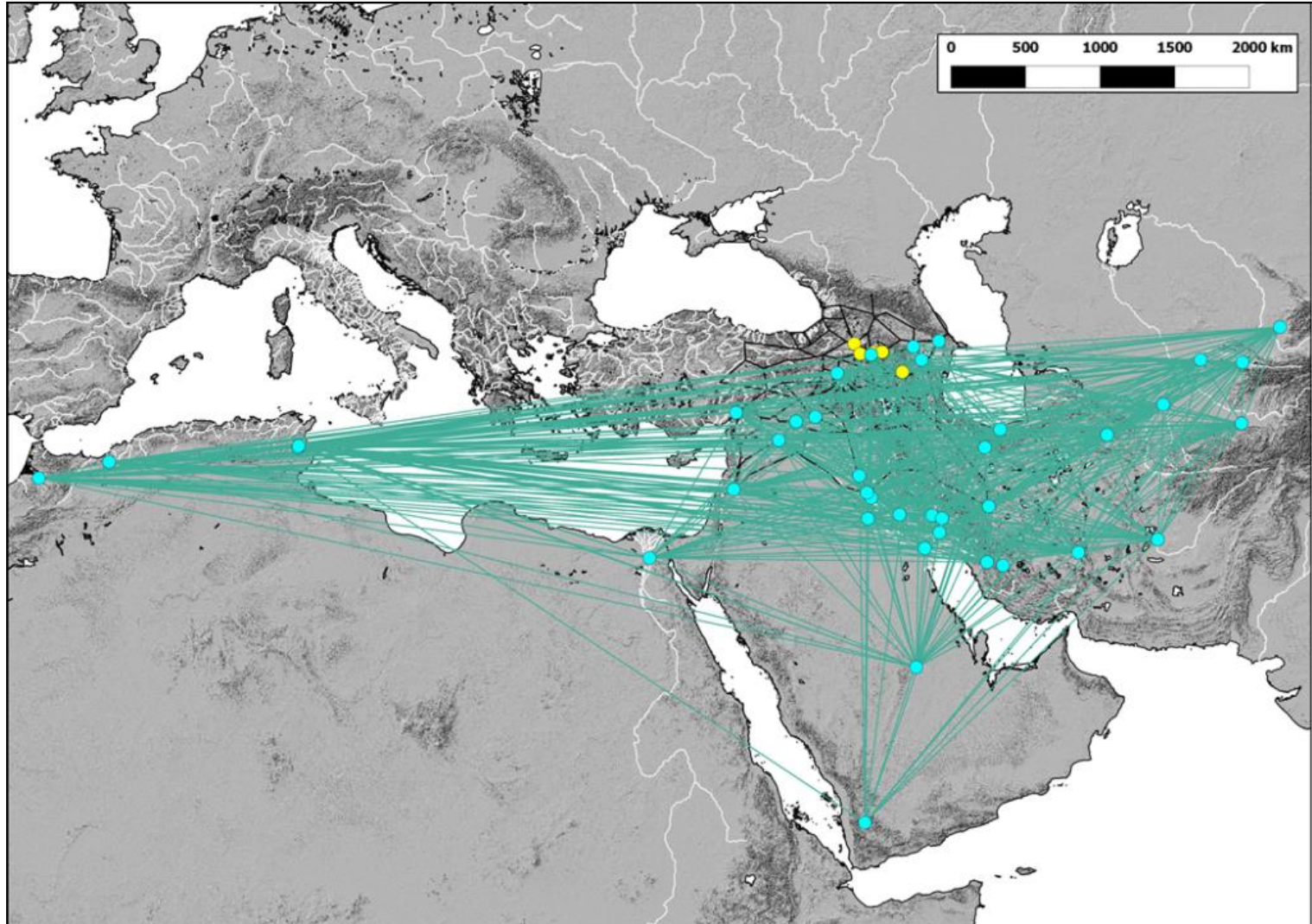
Arab **mints** and **hoards** in Armenia in the Abbasid period: the hoard of Sunik in Siwnik'



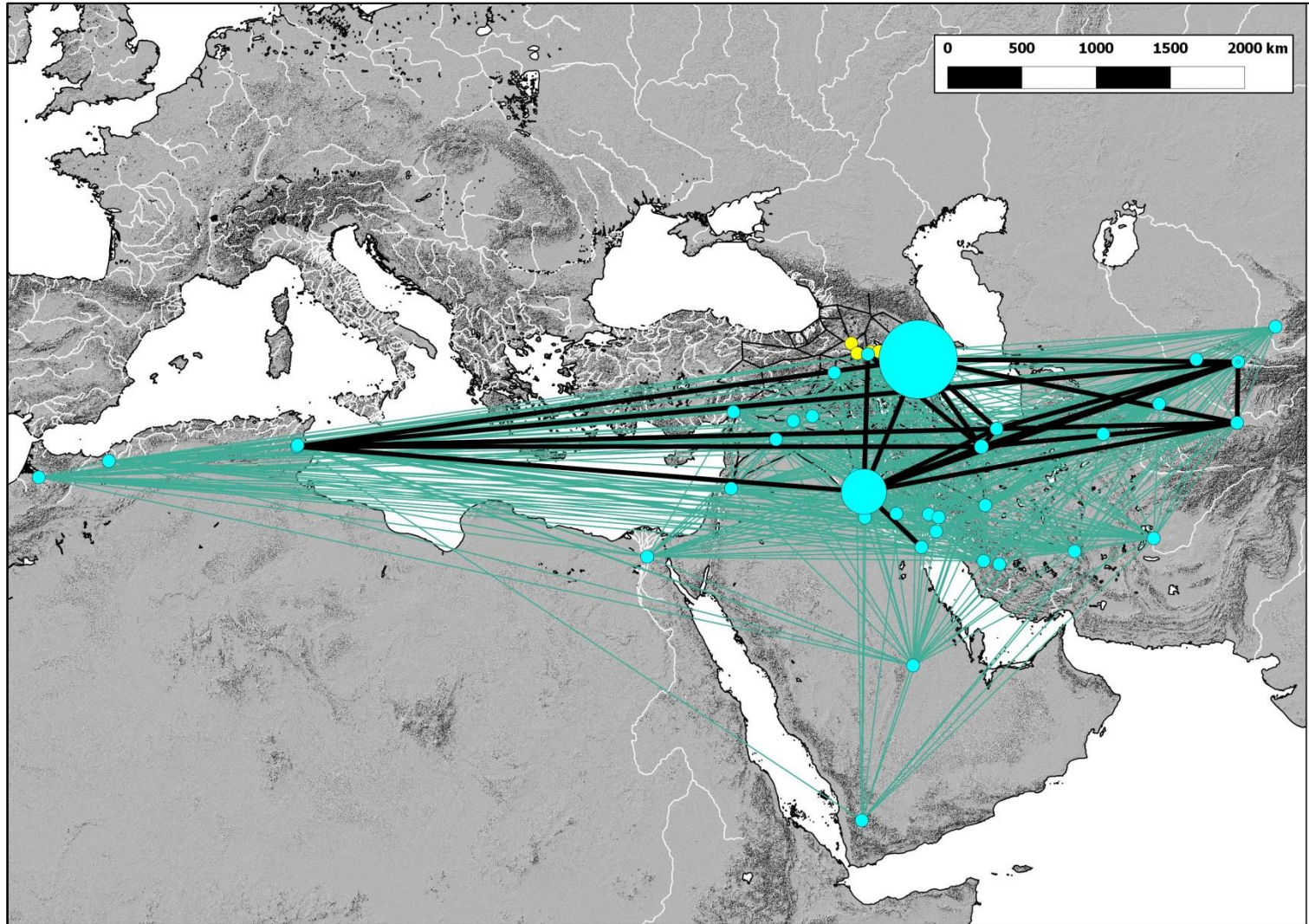
An affiliation network model on the basis of the co-occurrence of **mints** in **hoards**



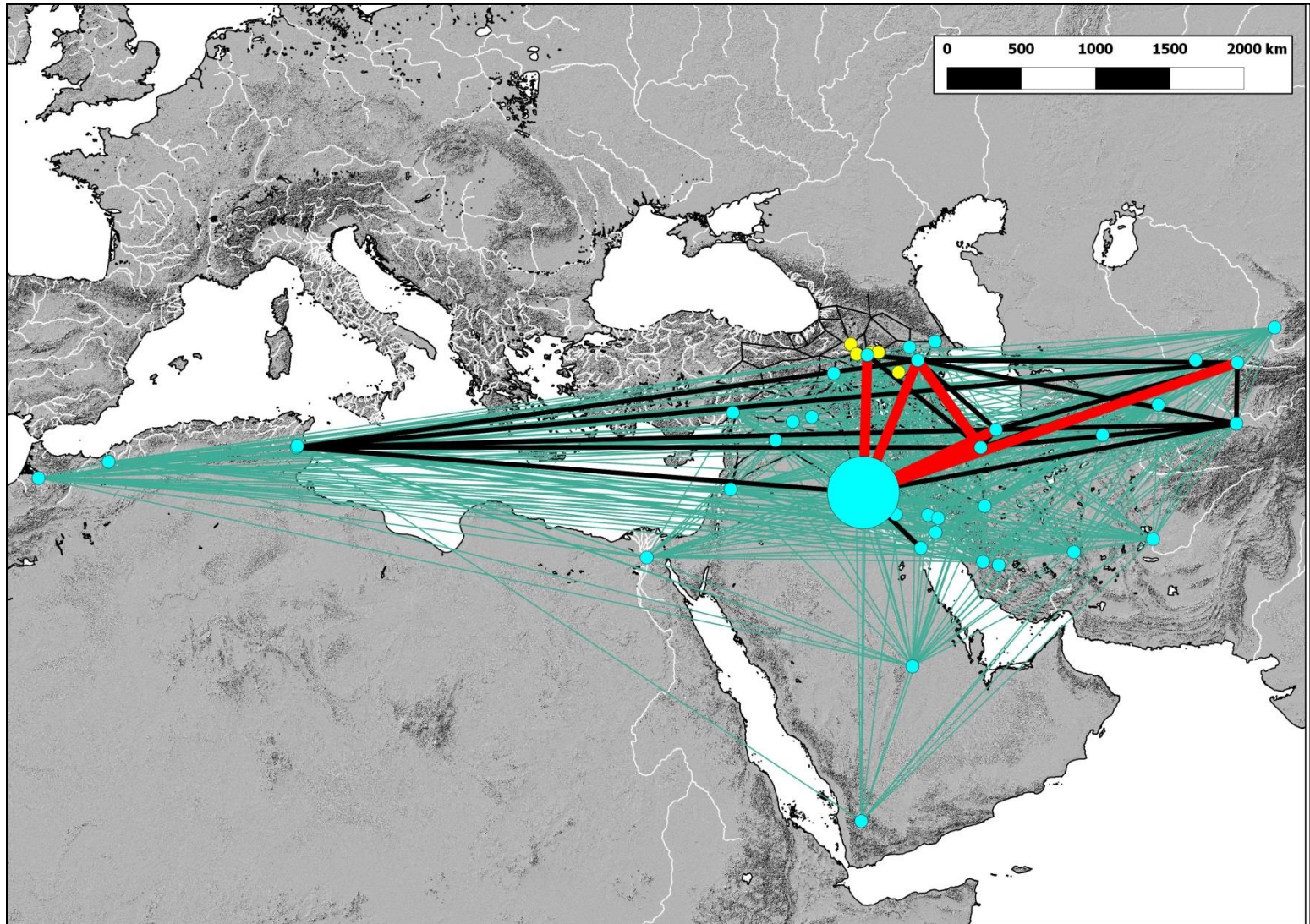
A weighted network model on the basis of the co-occurrence of **mints** in **hoards**



A weighted network model on the basis of the co-occurrence of **mints** in **hoards** (≥ 3)

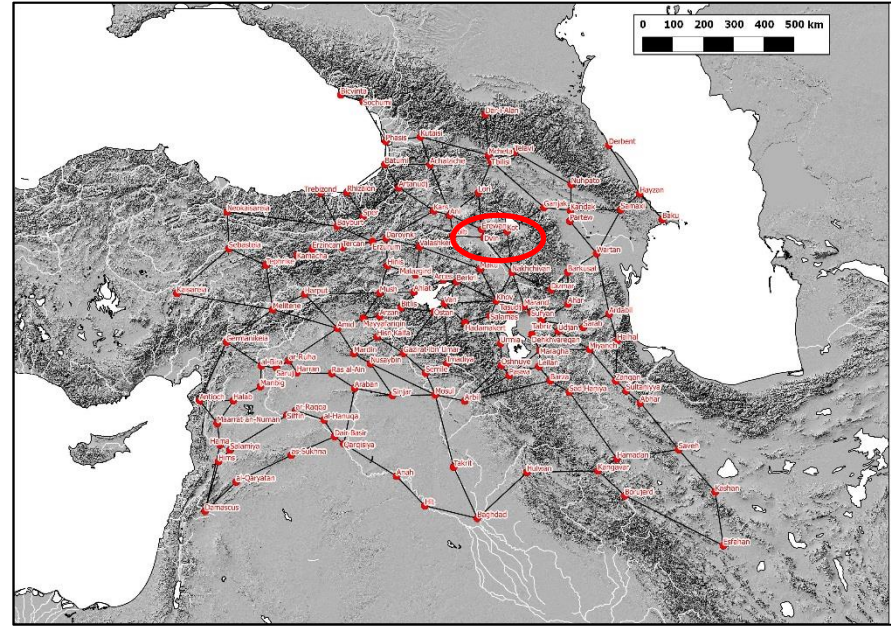


A weighted network model on the basis of the co-occurrence of **mints** in **hoards** (≥ 4)



Dvin as „international“ place of trade and the „silk road“

„Now Doubios is a land excellent in every respect, and especially blessed with a healthy climate and abundance of good water; and from Theodosiopolis [Erzurum] it is removed a journey of eight days. In that region there are plains suitable for riding, and many very populous villages are situated in very close proximity to one another, and numerous merchants conduct their business in them. For from India and the neighbouring regions of Iberia [Eastern Georgia] and from practically all the nations of Persia and some of those under Roman sway they bring in merchandise and carry on their dealings with each other there.“ (Procopius, De Bello Persico 2,25,3-4)



“cum magno syrici intexti pondere”
Gregory of Tours IV, 40: 173
(ed. Krusch – Levison)

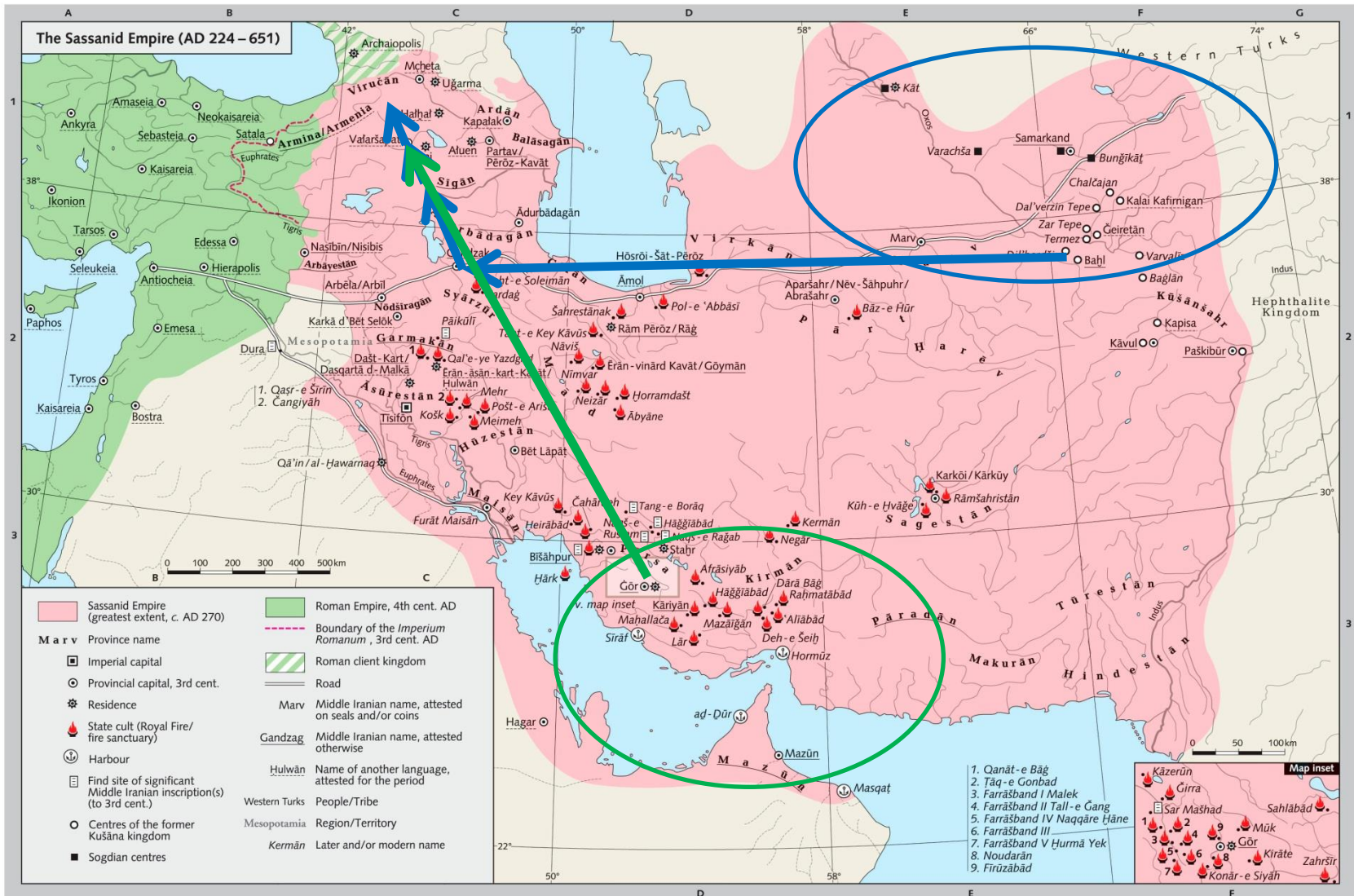
Anania Širakac'i and the pearl from Balḥ (7th cent.)

Problem 2. One man from my relatives was summoned to Bahl and found a valuable pearl¹³⁰. Returning home, he reached Ganjak¹³¹ and sold half of the pearl for fifty drams per grain¹³². And coming to Naxčavan, he sold a quarter of the pearl for seventy drams per grain. And arriving in Dvin he sold one twelfth of the pearl for 50 drams per grain; and when he came to us in Širak, he had left 24 grains of this pearl. Now, work out from that which remains [228] how many [grains] was the pearl and how many drams the value of the pearl?

T. Greenwood, A Reassessment of the Life and
mathematical Problems of Anania Širakac'i.
Revue des Études Arméniennes, N. S. 33 (2011)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70
71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90
91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100

Elite mobility and mercantile entanglements in the (post)Sasanian sphere (Central Asia and Ardashir-Xvarrah/Firuzābād)



The Geography of Ananias of Širak (Ašxarhac'oyc') and the geographic horizon of the (late) 7th cent.

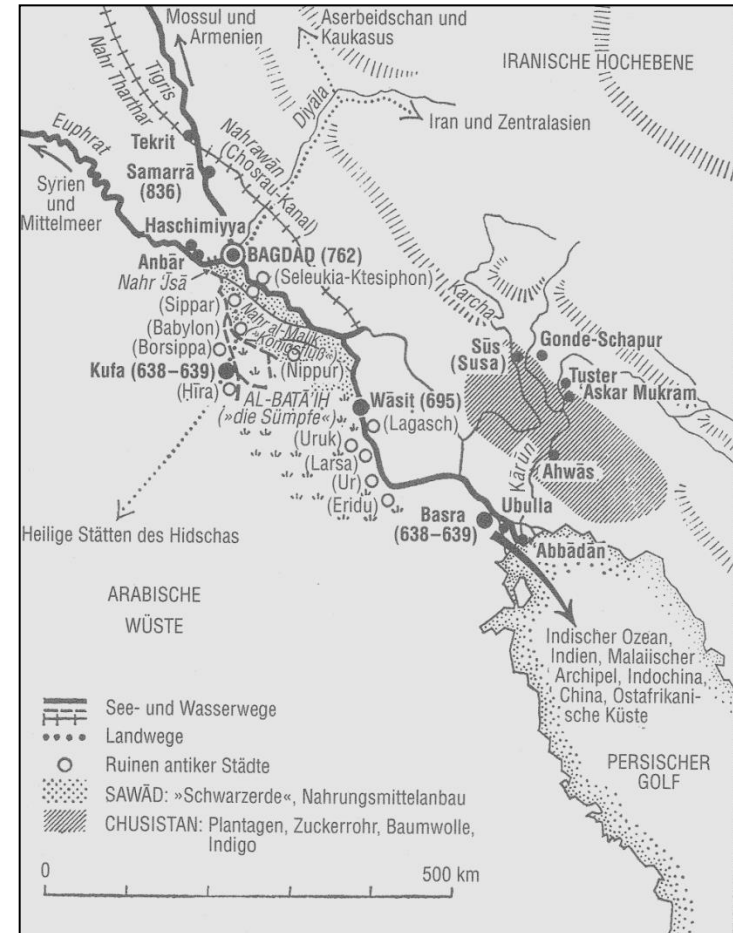


The trade of Dvin in the Arab period

- *„Dabil [Dvin] is greater than Ardabil. The city served as the capital of Armīniya and in it is the palace of the governor just as the palace of the governor of Arran is in Bardhaʿa (...). There is a wall around Dabil. Here are many Christians, and the main mosque is next to the church. In this town are made woollen garments and rugs, cushions, seats, laces and other items of Armenian manufacture. From them is also obtained the dye named „kirmiz“ and cloth is dyed with it. (...) In addition to this I learned that many silken cloths are manufactured there.“* **al-Iṣṭaḥrī (transl. Manandian)**
- *„From Dabil are exported goat-hair textiles and woolens such as, for example, rugs, pillows, cushions, saddle blankets, laces for trousers and other textiles of the same type which are of Armenian manufacture and dyed with kirmiz. This is a red dye for goat-hair textiles and for wool. It is obtained from a worm (...). They also produce there patterned silks of which many similar are found in the Roman Empire, although they are imported from Armenia. (...) These tapestries are not equalled in any part of the universe in any fashion or in any technique.“* **Muḥammad Abu l-Qāsim b. Ḥauqal II, 335-336**

The connection towards the imperial centre in the South: textiles, qirmiz, wheat, fish, horses, mules, wood and metals (trade and tribute: „to fill the mouth of the dragon“)

- „[The site of Baghdad] is an Island between the Tigris and Euphrates (...) and a waterfront for the world. Everything that comes on the Tigris from Wasit, al-Basrah, al-Ahwaz, Faris, Uman, al-Yamamah, al-Bahrayn and the neighboring places, can got up to it and anchor at it. In the same way whatever is carried on boats on the Tigris from Mosul, Diyar Rabi'ah, Azerbaijan and **Armenia**, and whatever is carried on boats on the Euphrates from Diyar Mudar, al-Raqqah, Syria, the Frontier, Egypt and al-Maghrib can come to this terminus and unload here. It can also be a meeting place for the people of al-Jibal and Isfahan and Kur and Khurasan.“
- al-Ya'qūbī, Kitāb al-Buldān 237 (transl. Hourani)



mercury, iron, lead, copper, salt, salpeter, arsenic

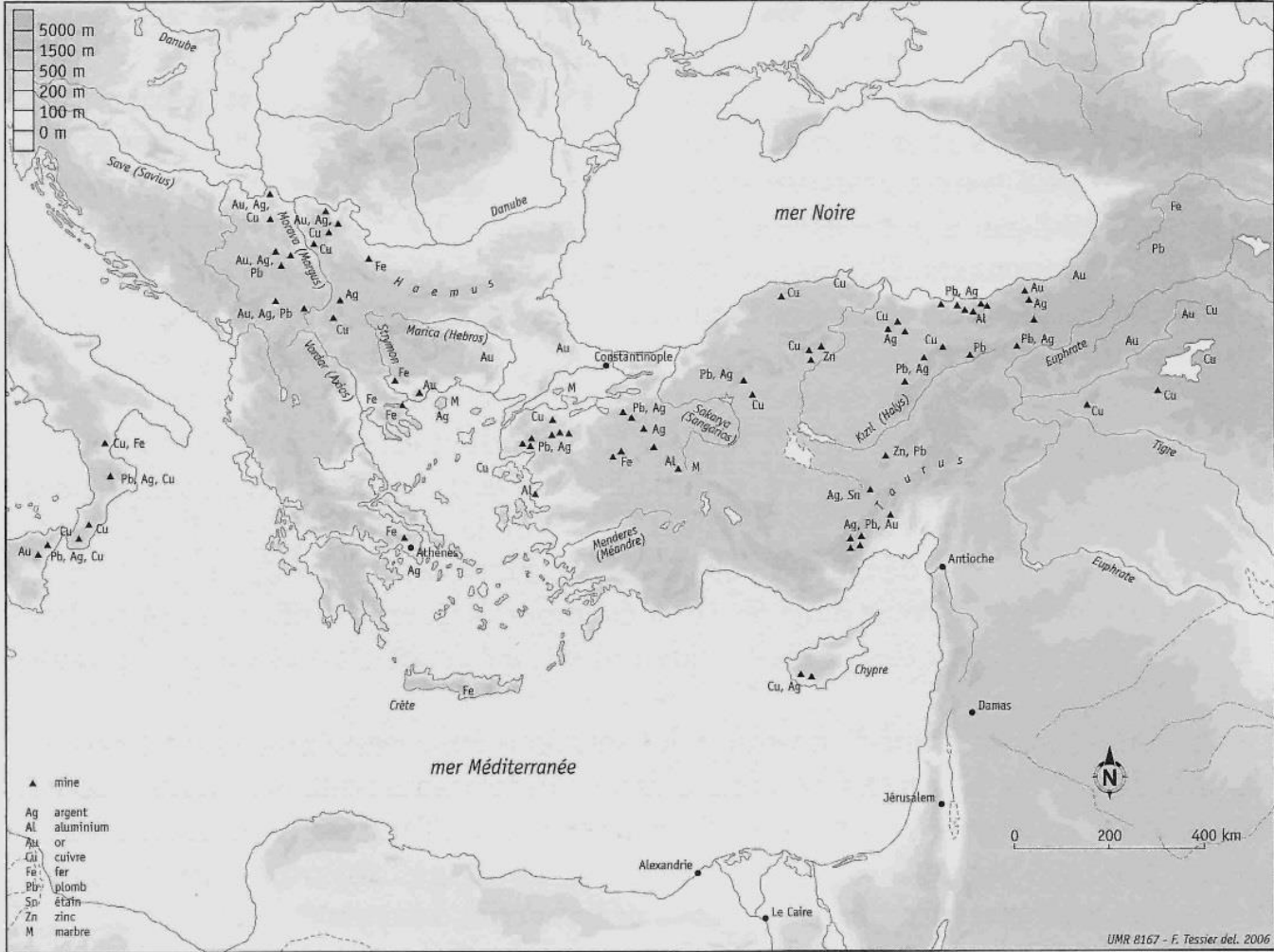
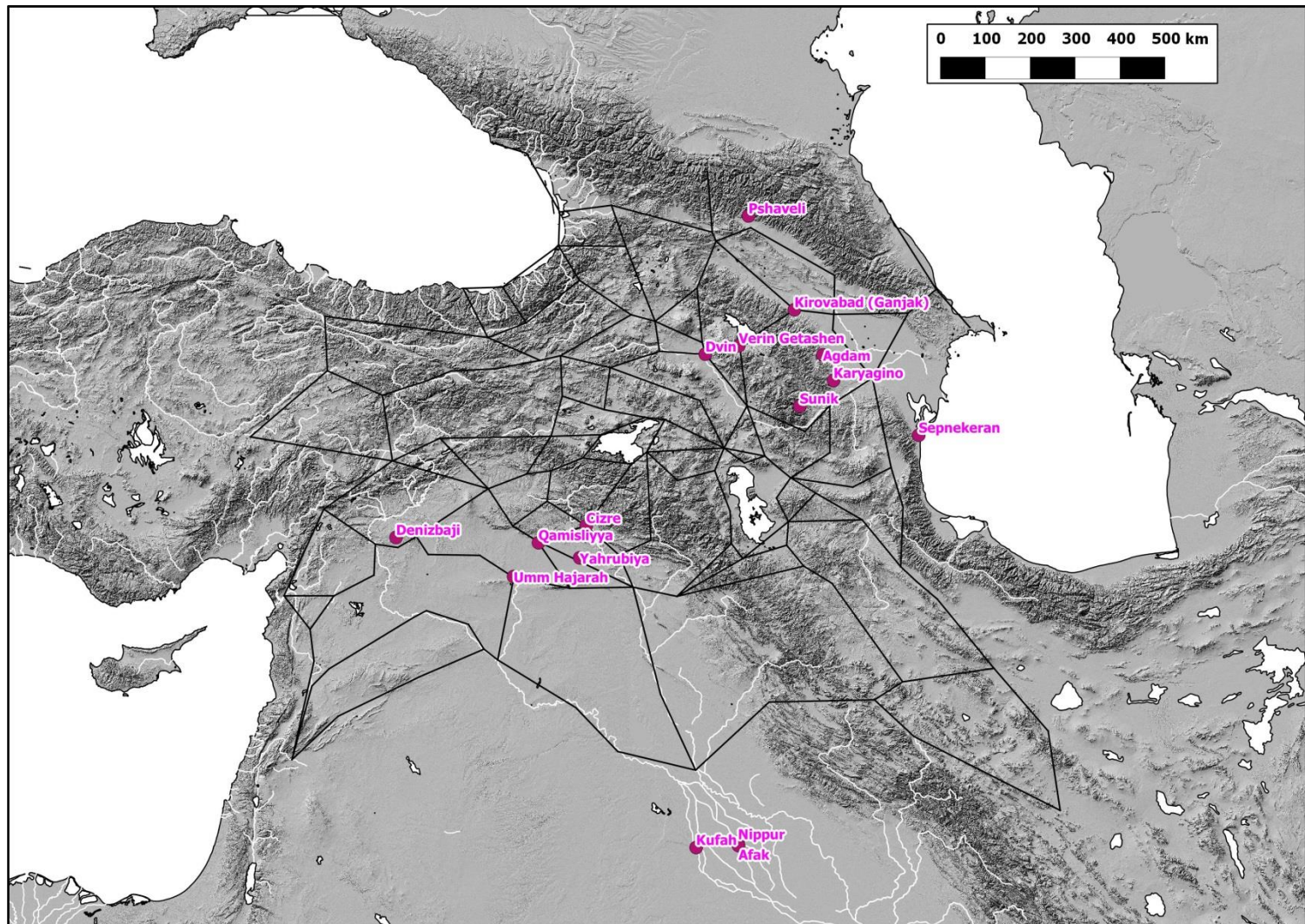


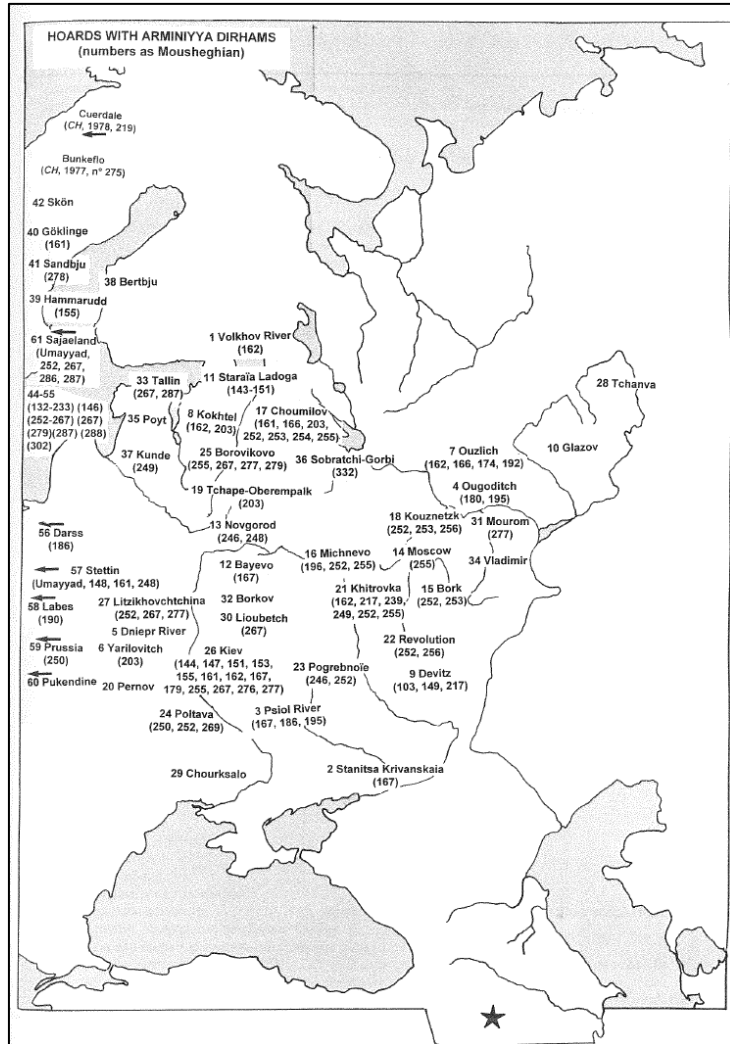
Figure 38 – Les mines du monde byzantin (d'après Laiou, Morrisson, 2007 carte 4).

The mint of Armīniya and the trade of Dvin



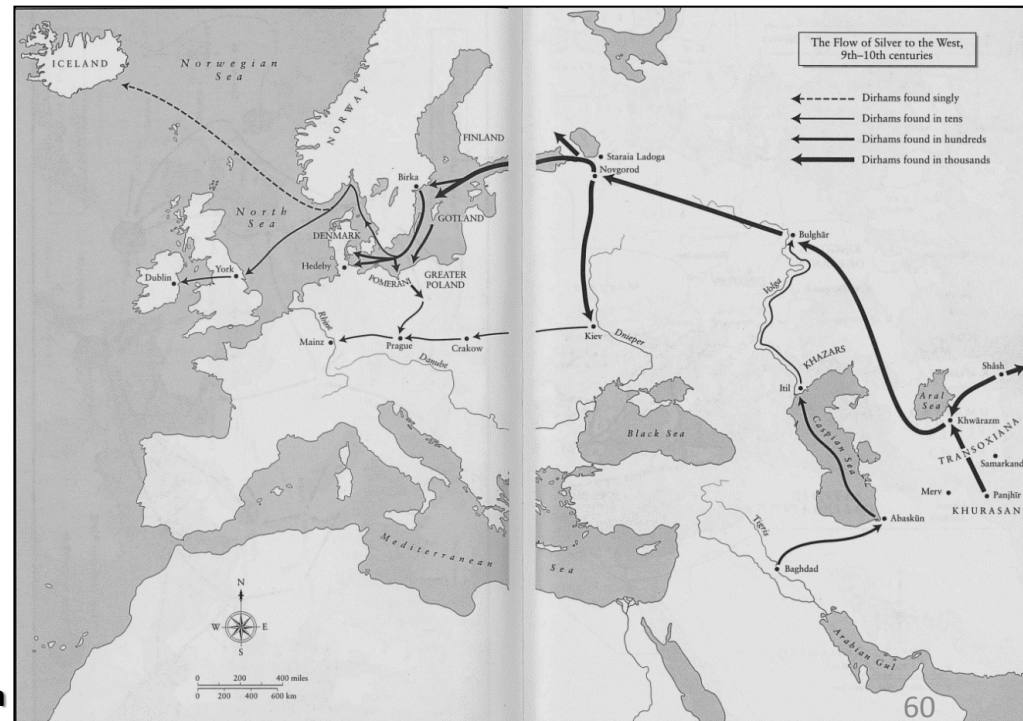
Aram R. Vardanyan, *Islamic coins struck in historic Armenia*. Erewan 2011.

The mint of Armīniya and the trade with Eastern and Northern Europe



The Khazars and their neighbours dress in long coats and tunics. They make no clothing themselves. It is importe from the regions of Gurgān, Tabaristan, Armenia, Azerbaijan and the Roman Empire.

al-Iṣṭahrī (transl. Lunde - Stone)

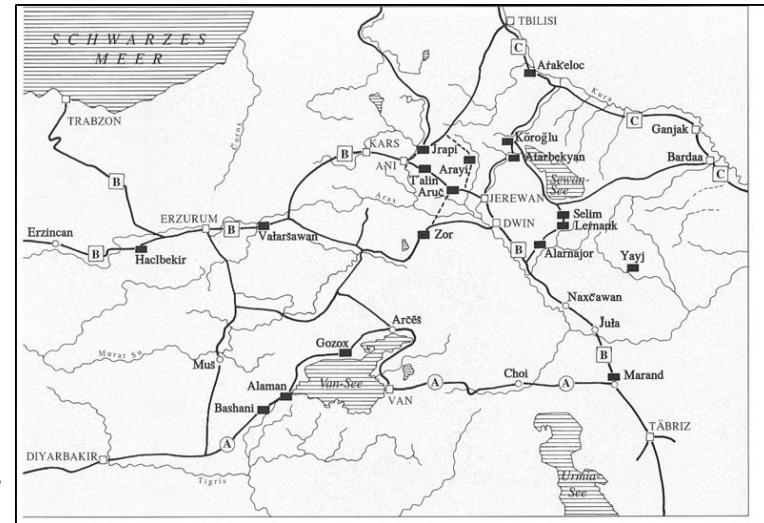


Khatchatur Mousheghian ; Anahit Mousheghian ; Cecile Bresc ; Georges Depeyrot ; François Gurne, History and coin finds in Armenia (*Collection Moneta*), 2000-2003

Armenia as intermediary between the Islamic sphere and Byzantium

*“As soon as king Smbat realized the wicked schemes of Afshīn, he immediately mobilized his forces as well as the multitude of the naḫarars’ contingents, altogether thirty thousand brave warriors and skilled soldiers, and he marched as far as the district of Rotokk’ near Atrpatakan in order to confront the foe. But before he reached the enemy link, he sent an envoy to Afshīn with the (following) message: “Why are you coming upon us in anger for no reason? If it is because of the alliance I have made with the Emperor, this was for your benefit also. (I thought that) I might obtain with ease those items that you yourself and the Caliph needed from the land of the Greeks, and present you with noteworthy garments, ornaments and vessels for your own use. **Likewise, I wished to clear the way for merchants of your faith, so that they might have access to their land, and enrich your treasury with the riches of the Greeks**” (...) Then, mounting upon fiery steeds, they set out to meet each other, and exchanged many royal gifts and presents, and after this Afshīn returned to Atrpatakan”*

Yovh. Drasx. 31, § 1–2 (tr. Maksoudian, 138)



Outline of the talk

- **Armenia as central periphery between empires, 400-900 CE**
- **Mobile elites from and to Armenia and imperial „regimes of mobility“**
- **The mobility of objects: coins, gifts, trade and tribute**
- **Mobile scholars across frontiers**
- **Conclusion – dimensions and impacts of mobility**

The Christianisation of Armenia in the 4th cent. CE and a new „regime“ of pious and learned mobility

“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 sleepless and unresting travelling by day and night. Thirdly, because they baptized their bodies in the water of holiness, in the fiery currents of the Jordan, whence the divine grace flowed to all the universe. For in the desire of their heart [the pilgrims] travelled around Mount Sinai, which in the times of Moses was close to God, [repeating] friend to friend the prophetic saying: 'Come let us go up to the mountain of the Lord and to the house of the God of Jacob.'”

- **Katholikos Komitas to Bishop Modestos of Jerusalem, 617 CE (Sebēos c. 36: 119 [Abgaryan]; tr. Thomson and Howard-Johnston, Sebeos I, 74)**

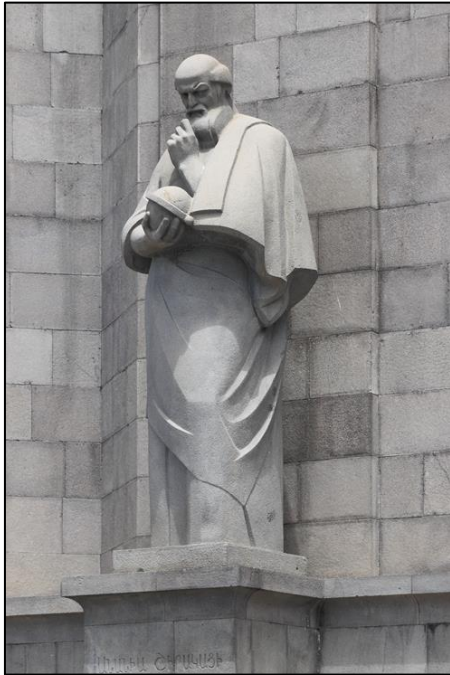


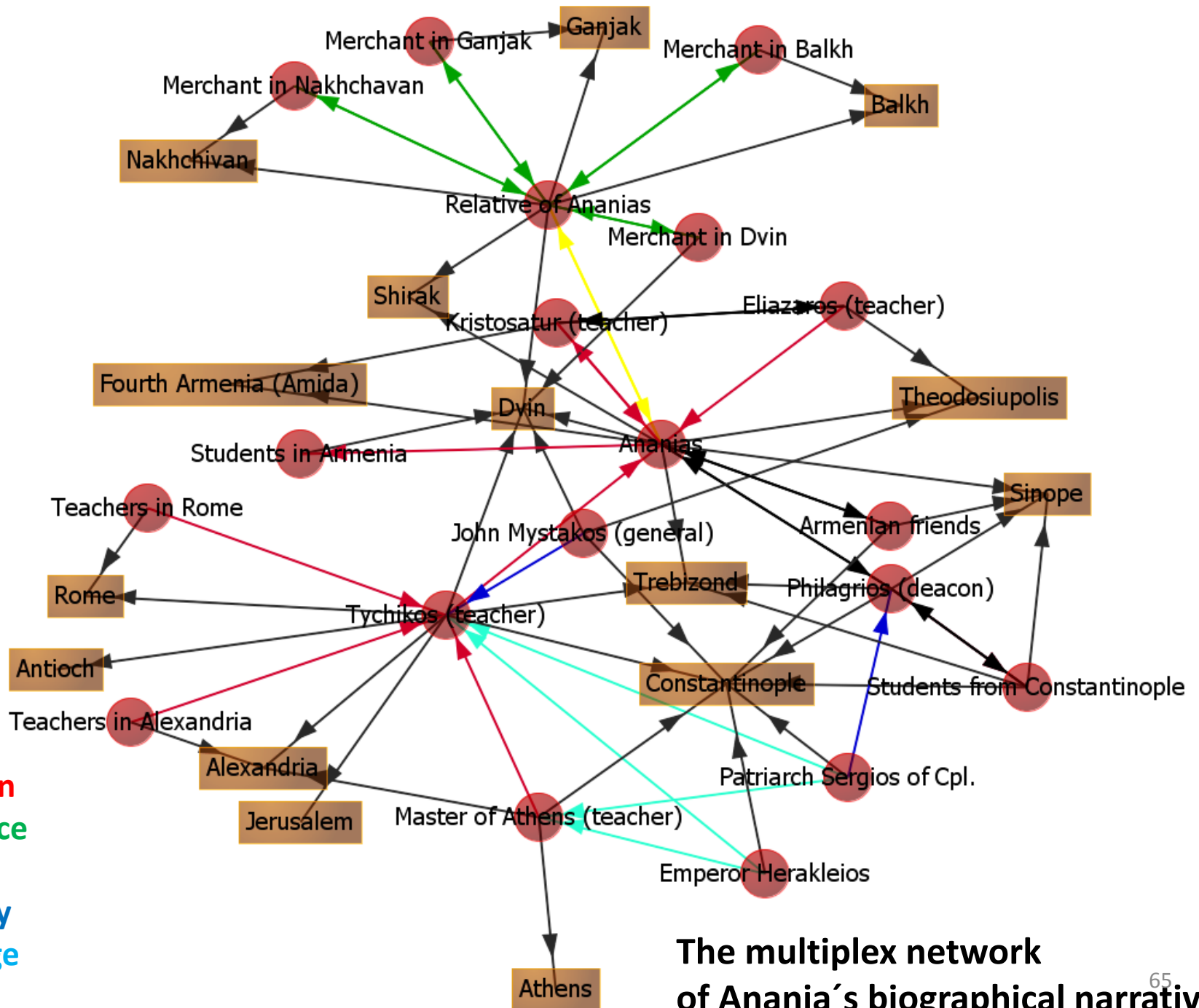
1. ԵՍ
2. ԵԻՍԱԽ ԵՂԵՑ Ա
3. ԲԻՆ ԶՅԱԼԻՆՈՒԹԻՄ
4. ՈՐ ՄՏԱԽԷՔ Ի ՏՈՒՆՈ ՉԻՄ
5. ԵԻ ԶԵՂԲԱՆՔ ԽՐ ԶՂՈՒ
6. ԿԱՍ ՅԻՇԵՑԷՔ Ի
7. Ք(ԲԻՍՏ)ՈՒ

I Ewstat' elder made this mosaic. Whoever enters this house, remember to Christ me and my brother Lukas

Armenian Mosaic-Inscription in Jerusalem, 7th cent. CE

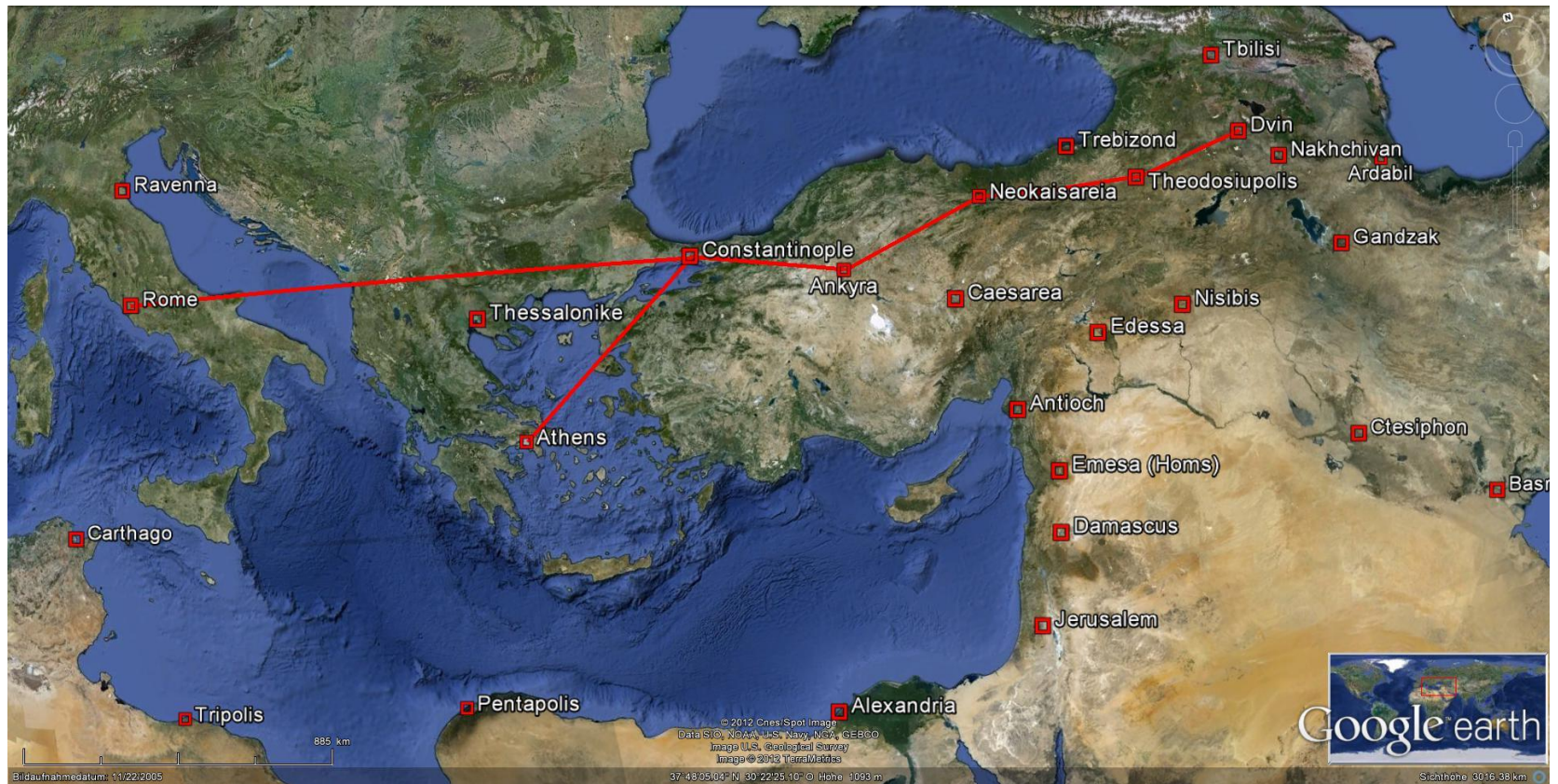
A mobile scholar: Ananias of Širak (ca. 610-685)



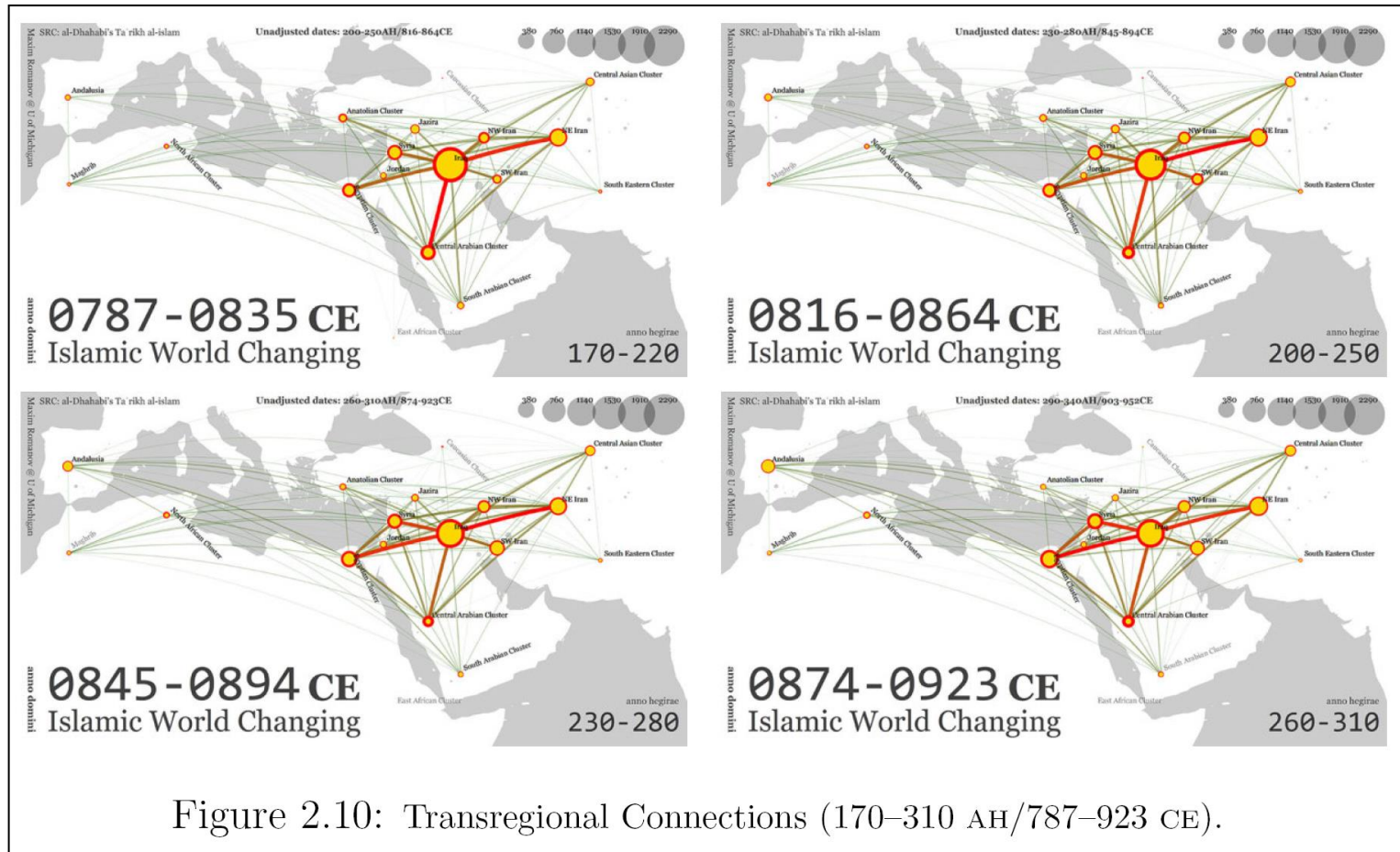


**The multiplex network
of Anania's biographical narratives**

The travel of Step'annos of Siwnik', ca. 713-720

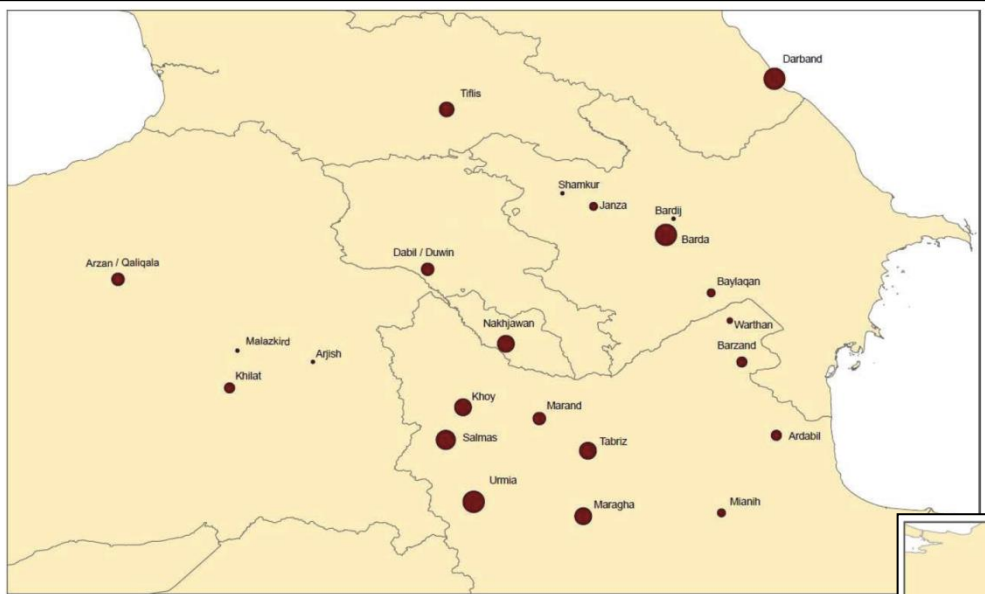


The new regime of learned mobility in the Islamic lands

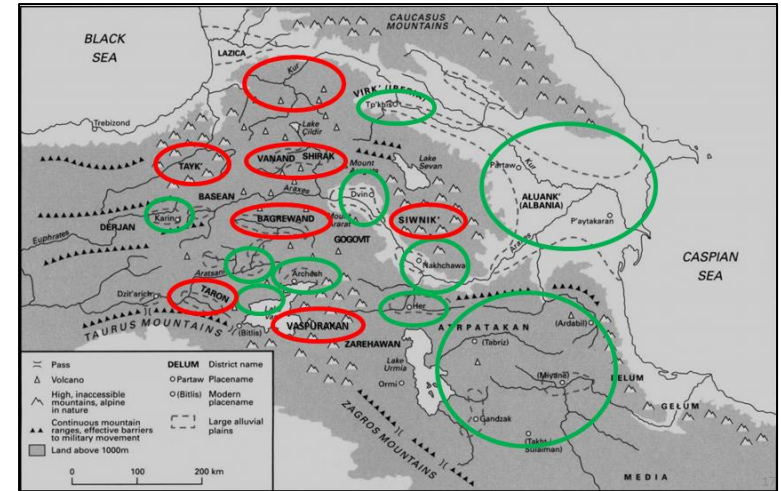


Maxim Romanov, *Computational Reading of Arabic Biographical Collections with Special Reference to Preaching in the Sunni World (661-1300 CE)*. Dissertation, Univ. of Michigan 2013

Alison Vacca, Nisbas of the North: Muslims from Armenia, Caucasian Albania, and Azerbaijan in Arabic Biographical Dictionaries (4th-7th centuries AH). *Arabica* 62 (2015) 521-550 (144 men): Christian “Armenia” – Muslim “Azerbaijan”



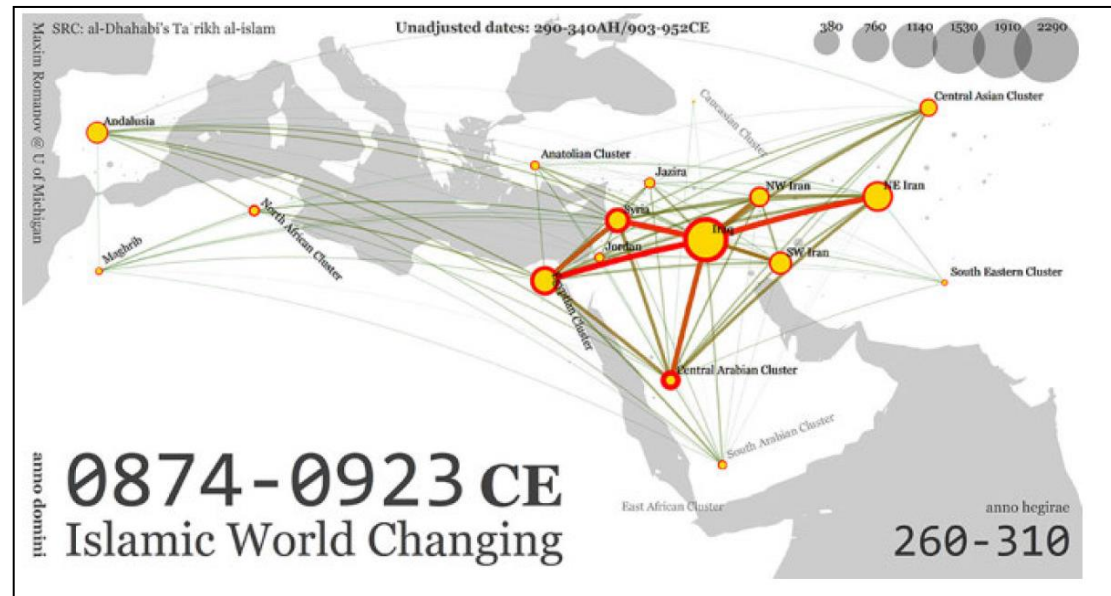
MAP 1 *The appearance of nisbas related to the North weighted by popularity*



MAP 2 *Travel destinations mentioned in biographical entries of Muslims from Armenia, Caucasian Albania, and Azerbaijan by popularity.*

The mobility of Abū 'Alī Ismā'īl b. al-Qāsim b. 'Aydūn *al-Qālī*

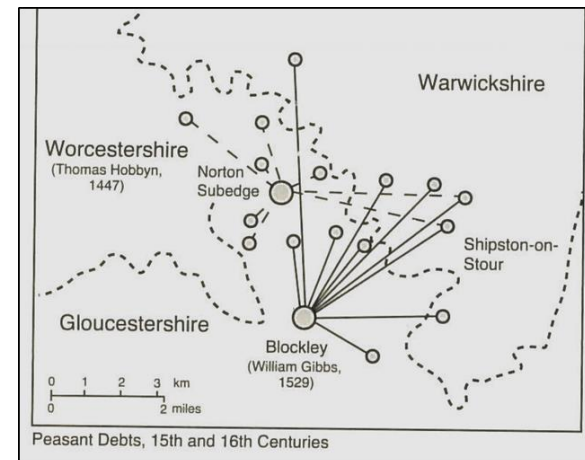
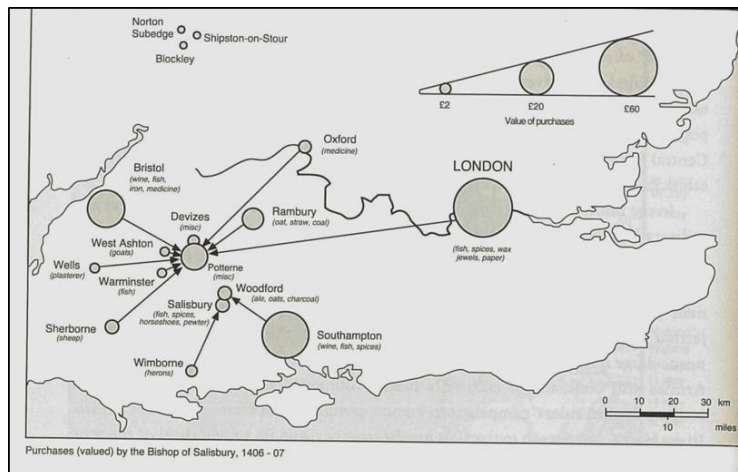
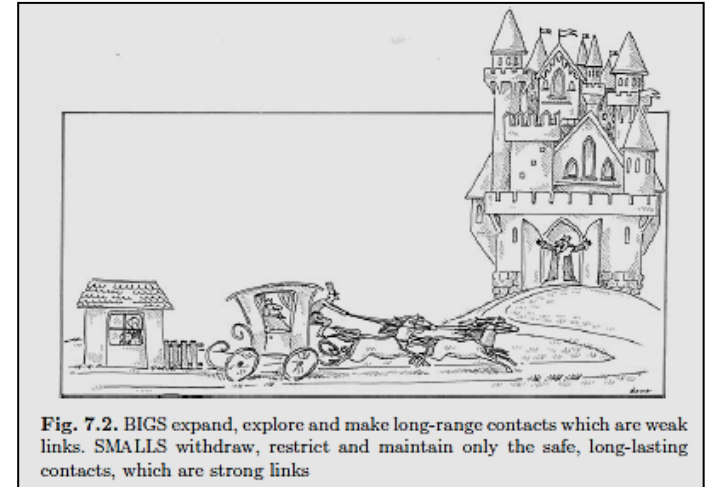
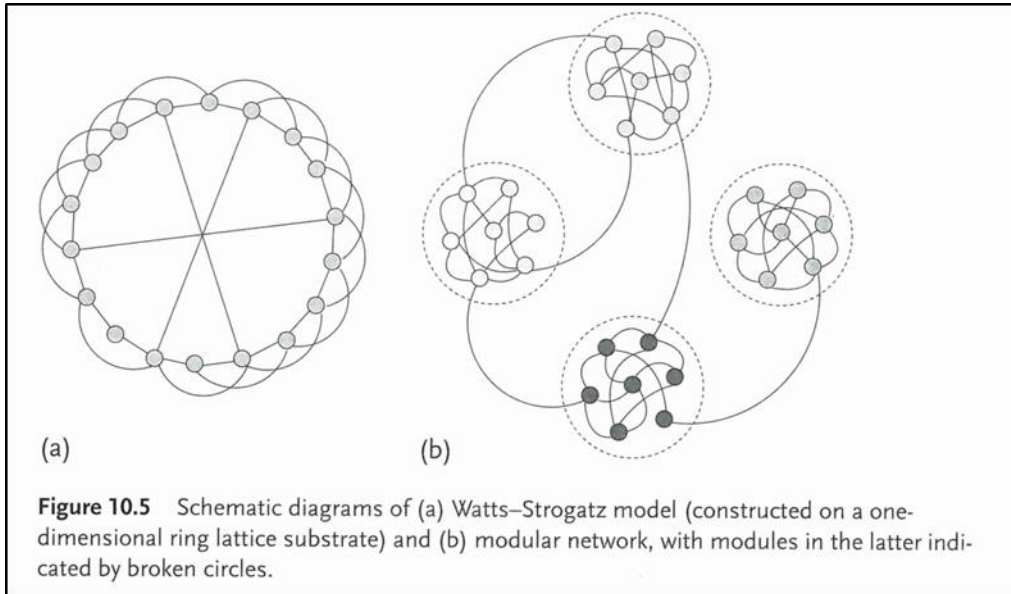
- born in Manāzğird (Manzikert) in 288/900-901.
- 303/915-916 traveled to Baghdad with a troop of 'ulamā' returning from ġihād in Qālīqalā (Erzurum).
- Travel through the Islamic world.
- died in 356/966-967 in Cordoba.



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Networks, space and distance, strong ties, weak ties and the range of connections



Objects of high values, individuals from political and religious elites – early medieval entanglements as superficial “top end phenomena”?
(the “lateral” and “vertical” dimension of “globalisation”,
cf. C. A. BAYLY, *The Birth of the Modern World*. Oxford 2004)



“It does not require so very dense a communications network for one region to influence another in its material culture – a single princess can do it (as with Theophano and the court culture of late 10th-century Germany), or a single artisan or group of artisans moving to a different region (...). It certainly does not require commercial ex-change for regions to interconnect at the level of their material culture.”

Wickham, *The Mediterranean around 800*, 161 and 165

“Regimes of mobility” in medieval Armenian society: the canons of the council in Dvin in 648 CE

*Chapter 8*⁴⁰⁶

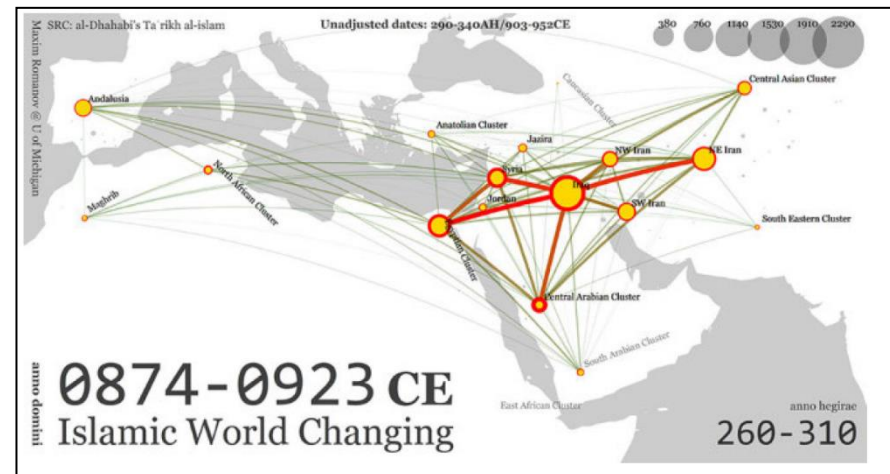
Concerning the statutes for a husband and wife who are taken captive

If she is delivered into captivity from her husband's house, she should be ransomed by her husband alone; and if from the house of her parents, by them both, when she may be there without the consent of her husband.⁴⁰⁷ Let this be the statute for that case. As for the time for remaining faithful, let it be that of the canons.⁴⁰⁸ If he does not find her before seven years have passed, let him take another wife with the consent of the parents of the wife taken captive, and let him return the possessions that were given in dowry. Let it be the same for a man taken captive, that the wife can marry again in accordance with the stipulated time.

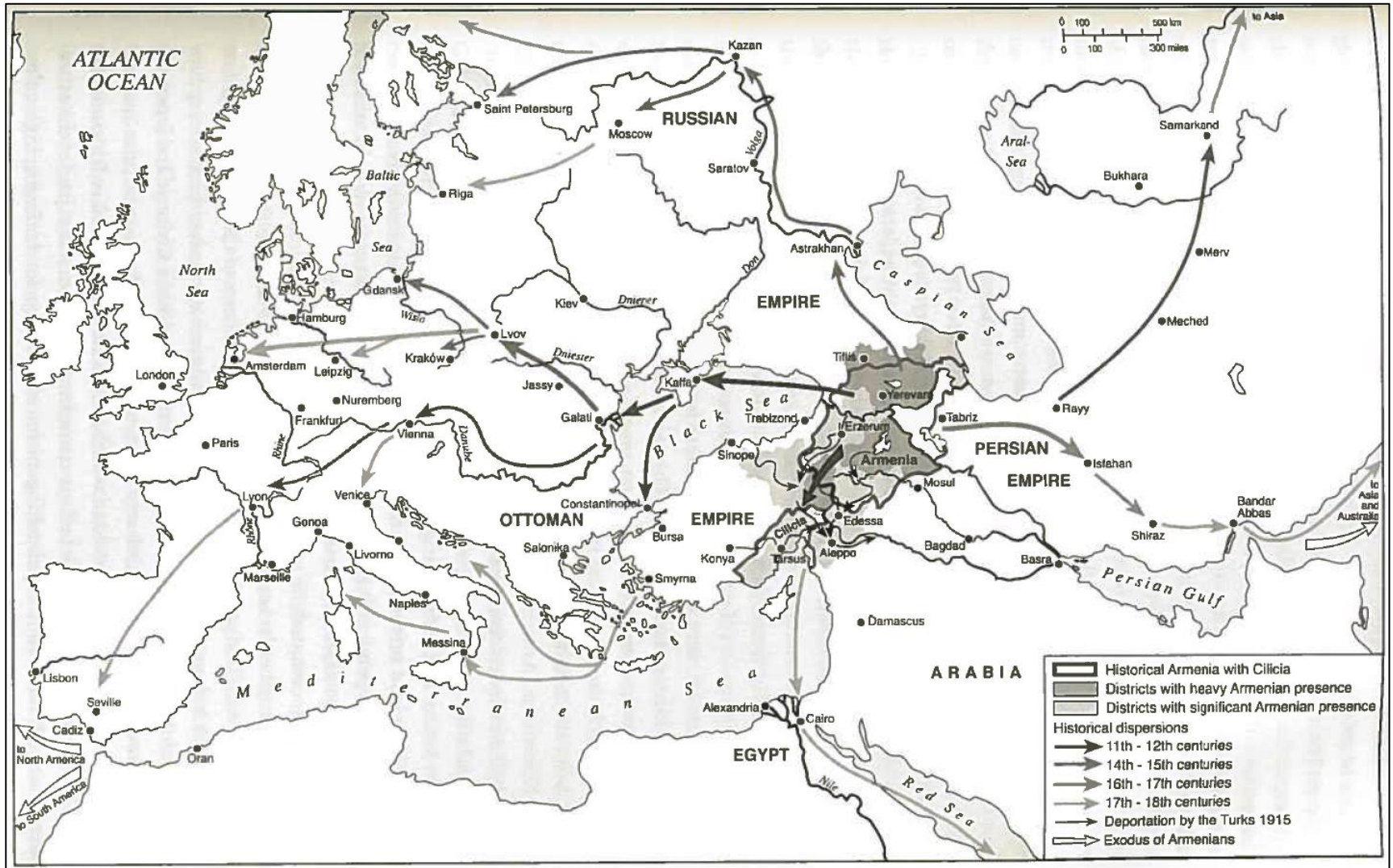
Armenia as *tuḡūr* (cleft, opening) within enduring imperial „regimes of entanglements“

“As a regime of entanglements can be conceived network structures in which certain structural and habitual circumstances – principles, rules, standards and mutual expectations – allow for the establishment of long term linkages. In addition to religious and missionary societies also imperial formations (Roman Empire, Ottoman Empire, Mughal Empire) are examples of regimes of entanglements where religions and ethnicities, as well as certain functionaries interact.”

(Mulsow – Rübke 2013, p. 17; cited after Schuppert 2014 [in German])



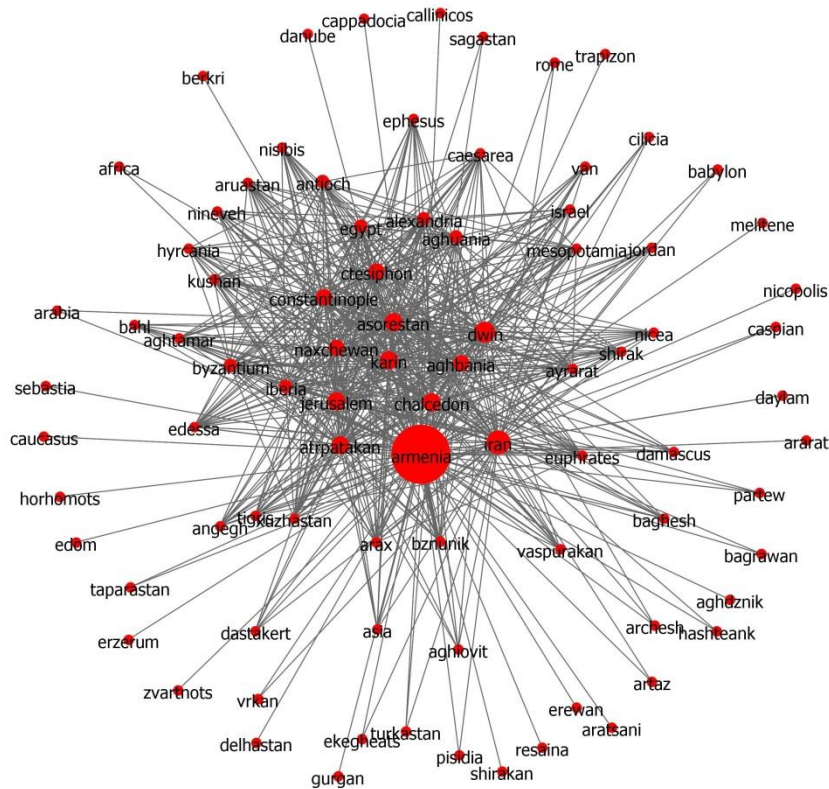
The emergence of the Armenian Diaspora



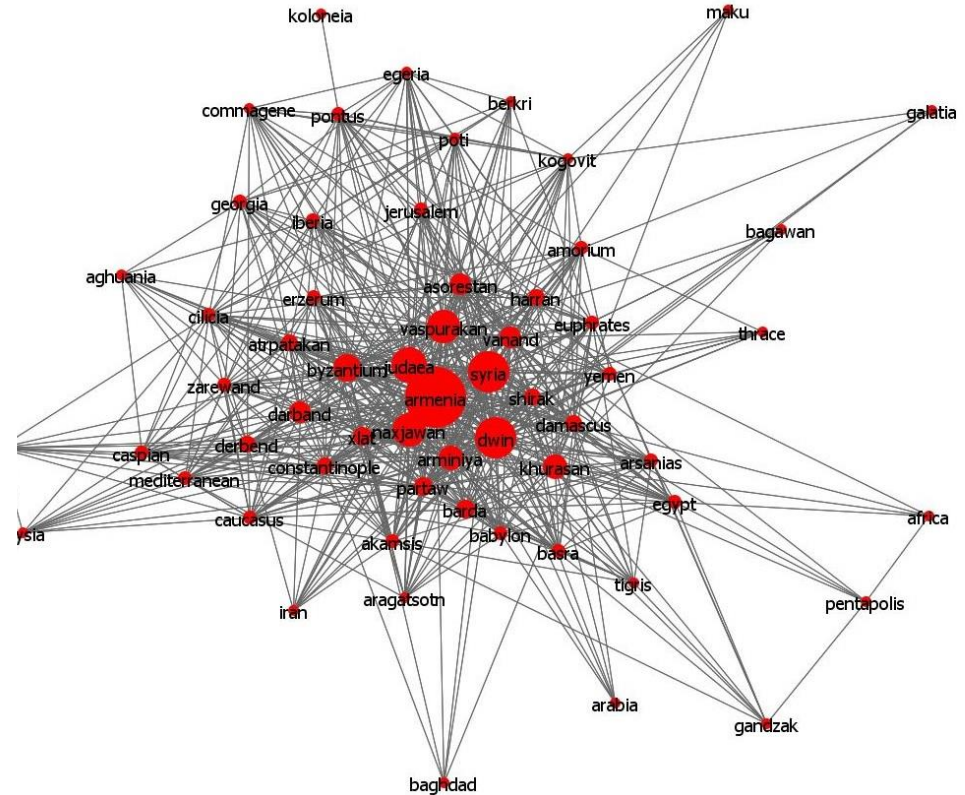
Semantic networks and mental mapping in the Histories of Sebēos (5th cent. to ca. 660 CE) and of ʿIwond (ca. 640 to 788 CE): place names frequencies



Semantic networks and mental mapping in the Histories of Sebēos (5th cent. to ca. 660 CE) and of Łewond (ca. 640 to 788 CE): degree centrality (number of links)



Sebēos



Łewond

Digitising Patterns of Power (DPP): Peripheral Mountains in the Medieval World

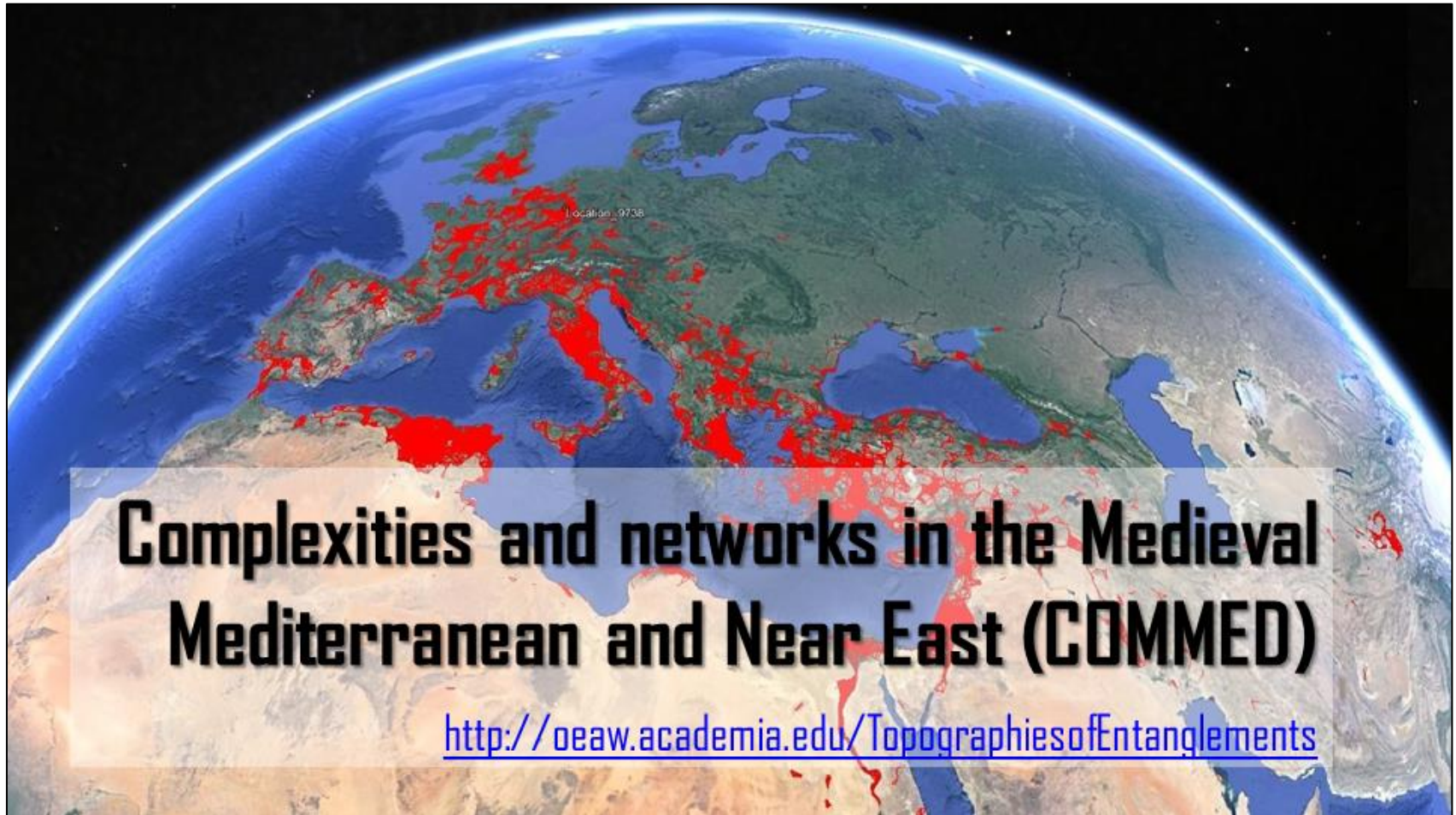


Digitising Patterns of Power (DPP) -
Peripheral Mountains in the Medieval World
funded at the Austrian Academy of Sciences,
2015-2018 (€ 780,000)
PI: Mihailo Popović, Division for Byzantine
Research/Institute for Medieval Research



<http://dpp.oeaw.ac.at/>

Thank you very much for your attention!



Complexities and networks in the Medieval Mediterranean and Near East (COMMED)

<http://oeaw.academia.edu/TopographiesofEntanglements>

<http://oeaw.academia.edu/JohannesPreiserKapeller>

<http://oeaw.academia.edu/TopographiesofEntanglements>