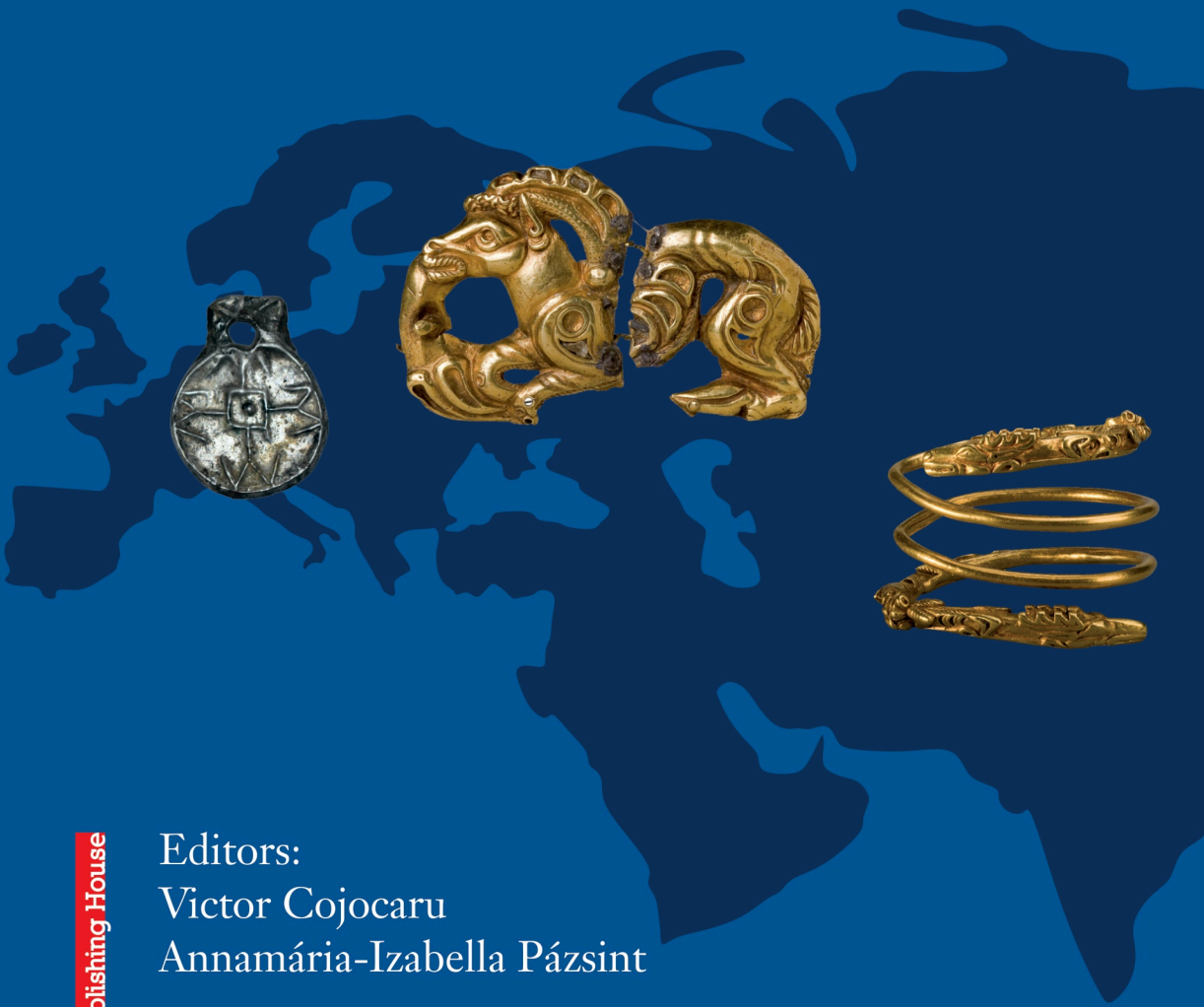
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Migration and Identity in Eurasia:

From Ancient Times to the Middle Ages



Editors:
Victor Cojocaru
Annamária-Izabella Pázsint

Mega Publishing House

MIGRATION AND IDENTITY IN EURASIA:
FROM ANCIENT TIMES TO THE MIDDLE AGES

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Preface

The volume 'Migration and Identity in Eurasia' brings to the forefront two topical concepts in European historiography and beyond. In terms of the Antiquity and Early Middle Ages, emphasis lay (in recent decades) on the impact of mobility and migration in the Greek and Roman world,[1] migration narratives, experiences and structures,[2] migration and integration,[3] networks, connectivity, and cultural interactions,[4] politics of honour and civic identity in the Hellenistic and Roman world,[5] as well as on the archaeological study of migration (concepts, methods, results,[6] scholarly traditions and political ideology – especially in the case of those territories under political debate among various modern countries).[7] The requested space limits impedes us to further discuss these or other aspects here,[8] however, chronologically and geographically, the ancient times and the Middle Ages provide a wide range of approaches for the study of the 'foreigner'/'migrant' and different patterns of inclusion and exclusion. As such, above-mentioned research aspects may also be relevant for issues surfacing, under different forms, in the current development of society, be it with reference to socio-economic, political or cultural aspects.

Moreover, the concepts of 'migration' and 'identity' were the basis of a research project involving several Romanian institutions.[9] The international conference *Migrations and Identity in European History: Communities,*

[1] Moatti 2004; Olshausen – Sauer 2014; Lo Cascio – Tacoma 2017.

[2] Olshausen – Sonnabend 2006; Schunka – Olshausen 2010; Wiedemann [et al.] 2017.

[3] See, for instance, Meller [et al.] 2017.

[4] Braund 2005; Cojocaru 2005; Cojocaru – Schuler 2014; Cojocaru [et al.] 2014; Mack 2015; Kozlovskaya 2017.

[5] Ma 2013; Heller – van Nijf 2017.

[6] See, for instance, Burmeister 2000; Molodin – Hansen 2019.

[7] In the latter, argumentation was generally built on historical grounds, ancient and early medieval events being included in the narrative of the modern nation building. Note, for instance, A. Dobos's excellent overview (with bibliography), in this volume.

[8] Such as the intense discussion in recent decades about 'archaeology and ethnicity', see, for instance, Brather 2004; Ulf 2009.

[9] 'Migration and Identity in the Romanian Cultural Space' (PN-III-P1-1.2-PCCDI-2017-0116), coordinated between 2018 and 2021 by the Romanian Academy in Iași. For more information

Connections, Conflicts was held in Iasi[10] on September 26-28, 2019, within this project, with the financial support of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. The symposium works were carried out in accordance with three thematic panels, subsequently published in three volumes. Hence, the subtitle of the first volume – 'From Ancient Times to the Middle Ages'.[11]

The 'Migration and Identity in Eurasia' thematic panel brought together 19 scholars from seven countries,[12] ready to discuss a wide range of the latest advances in the study of migrations and identity in Eurasia from Ancient Times to the Middle Ages, with a focus on scholarly traditions, literary evidence and archaeology. All papers addressed current debates about texts, epigraphy, numismatics, iconography, as well as archaeological finds and ongoing international projects. They provided opportunities to share views, new methods and frameworks for future research. Concurrently, this panel was in line with latest efforts to bridge the large gap between the scholarly traditions of the West and East in order to absorb, interpret and integrate the constant flow of new information about the Great Hungarian Plain – Black Sea – Central Asia regions with adjacent territories into mainstream western classical scholarship.

Out of the 15 papers (some co-authored) presented within the 'Migration and Identity in Eurasia' thematic panel, eight have been included in this volume;[13] four more (by D. Braund, M. Treister, A. Dobos, and S. G. Bocharov) were added, being very suitable contributions to the subjects of migration and identity. The subsequent collection of papers has

about this research project, see https://miro.acadiasi.ro/home/. More relevant research results have been the subject of a collective volume, see Solomon [et al.] 2019.

[10] This conference was specifically conceived and held as a Humboldt Kolleg and followed a multidisciplinary and comprehensive approach, especially with respect to migration processes within European history, discussing them from various historical, archaeological, geographical, linguistic, legal, anthropological, sociological, political science and cultural studies views.

[11] For the second volume, see Cuşco [et al.] 2021. The third volume will include the papers presented in the 'Social Mobility and Identity in Today's World' thematic panel.

[12] Germany, Romania, the Republic of Moldova, Russia, Spain, Turkey and Uzbekistan. The United Kingdom should now be added to these, given David Baund's contribution to the volume.

[13] To provide a clearer idea of the issues discussed in the 'Migration and Identity in Eurasia' thematic panel, let us recall here also the papers not sent for publication: *The Late Bronze Age Mega-Fort in Sântana and the Mycenaean World* (F. Gogâltan [et al.]); *Greeks and Their Neighbours in the Asian Part of the Bosporan Kingdom: The Colonization Aspect* (D. Zhuravlev); *The Griffin Motif in the Scythian Weapons. Migration of an Idea* (D. Topal); *Greek Intellectuals in Rome in the 2nd Century BC* (V. Kashcheev); *Migration von West nach Ost. Die Archäologie der Mobilität in der jüngeren vorrömischen Eisenzeit: Beispiel Poieneşti-Lukaševka-Kultur* (V. Iarmulschi); *A Prosopographical Approach to the Nomads of the West Eurasian Steppes* (A. Alemany Vilamajó); *Agriculture Between Crisis and Stability: The Reason of the Mobility in the East of the Carpathians Territories During the Early Middle Ages* (G. Bilavschi).

been structured based mainly on chronological criteria. Their content may be easily explored through the abstracts available in both languages of the conference – English and German. In what follows, we intend to provide a more systematic overview of these studies.

David Braund addresses specifically the awkward interplay between mythical tales of migration and ancient Greek attempts to locate the peoples of their world in appropriate history. The author sets out a vision – rooted largely in Herodotus and Strabo – of what we may call a 'Thracian Black Sea'. By combining different kinds of ideas and evidence (on the origins of peoples, on the Amazons, and through archaeological and historical inferences), most of the coast of the Black Sea can be claimed, in one way or another, as Thracian. An important aspect of ethnicity has a great importance in all this, namely that ethnicity need not be understood reductively: that is, possession of one ethnicity or identity need not exclude another. Identity and ethnicity may be multiple, with all the flexibility and elasticity that such polycentric thinking brings. At its simplest level, Colchians might be Egyptians, but they remained Colchians too, and might have other ethnic or group identities besides.

Marta Oller Guzmán focuses on pity, fear and envy as human feelings in the framework of Greek colonization. Based on a detailed analysis of the literary evidence, the author concludes there may be little doubt that much of the Greek settlement in new worlds, far from home, was conducted in a climate of fear and anxiety, not only in a spirit of desperation, profit-seeking or adventure. New terrains, new climates and new peoples with new customs had to be negotiated by Greek traders and settlers who were the products of traditional and rooted societies.

The overall aim of Victor Cojocaru was to bring together the evidence provided by honorary decrees touching on development of identities (civic identity, regional identity, Greek or non-Greek identity) in the Black Sea poleis. Which identity is displayed and how it is expressed depends on the context of its occurrence: a festival, a commemorative anniversary, a meeting of the assembly, a religious celebration, an internal conflict, an external threat, a diplomatic mission, and so on. The civic identity in the Black Sea area is closely linked to the memory of the Ionian or Dorian origin, but also permanently confronted with the Barbarians in the hinterland as foreigners from outside.

Mustafa H. Sayar's goal is to reconsider the question of the ancient practice of mass deportation in the Mediterranean world, by assessing its legal and social consequences throughout the entire ancient period. For cultural history, one of the important consequences of migration during the Greek and Roman antiquity is the establishment of new multilingualism, without any further external borders. Another important

consequence of migration, through deportations and mass enslavement, is the spread of monotheistic religions in Anatolia and other landscapes of the Mediterranean region. Integration and acculturation, with their different dimensions, are the results of migration.

Mikhail Treister focuses on the most revealing examples in order to prove that analysis of the archaeological materials does not give any reason to suggest the distribution of artefacts of Southern Siberian (Transbaikal) origin in the nomad burials of Asian Sarmatia. Overall, there is every reason to suggest that some group(s) of nomads migrated from Central Asia to the steppes of the Lower Volga region, possibly involved in the events associated with the fall of the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom. The number of migrants was not significant, which is consistent with the observations of other scholars based on the analysis of funeral rites. For the time in question, there are only rare examples of objects brought from the West to the East (probably also through the Eurasian steppes). However, it is not necessary to consider their distribution and that of the objects of Eastern origin in the West as a reflection of economic ties along the Silk Road.

Alpár Dobos offers a short (but rather substantial) overview of how the concept of migrations and the image of the migratory peoples and the local population evolved in the archaeology referring to Transylvania in the Migration Period and the Early Middle Ages. At the same time, the author outlines the shortcomings caused by the lack of a theoretical and methodological background on the topic. With varying intensity, political ideology left an imprint on how migration and the so-called migratory peoples were conceptualized throughout the history of research. The constant struggle for historical legitimacy regarding Transylvania led to parallel national narratives of the Romanian and Hungarian historiographies. After the fall of the communist regime, this situation became more relaxed and the possibility of a dialogue less influenced by nationalism became viable.

Rada Varga and Annamária-Izabella Pázsint discuss the topic of labour migration in ancient times by addressing the Roman Empire's case, and by focusing on craftsmen, who illustrate a dual type of epigraphic identity construction: the explicit listing of profession and origin mark on the same monument. Owing to the specificities of their profession, the craftsmen seem to illustrate very well the concept of labour migration. However, the authors are aware of certain variables and conditions: firstly, when considering epigraphic and archaeological evidence on craftsmen, they distinguish between mobility of their goods and migration of the professionals themselves; secondly, they underline that some craftsmen might have only experienced short time mobility; thirdly, examples at hand might not be all examples of labour migration, as the craftsmen might have experienced migration for different other personal reasons

unknown to us, thus ending up to practice their skills in different places from those of origin.

Lucian Munteanu, Ștefan Honcu and Dan Aparaschivei present the coin finds from the 2nd-4th century AD settlement of Schineni (Bacău County). The fact that they were found in clear, well-dated archaeological contexts contributes to the understanding of the chronology of Roman coin finds in this part of the Barbaricum. The imperial *denarii* arrived in Western Moldavia in already formed hoards likely since the first half of the 2nd century AD. Starting with this early period, the local population reworked and ascribed them new functions, different from those held within the Empire. Hence, from a numismatic point of view, the Schineni site is representative for the isolated coin finds in Western Moldavia. It best emphasizes the specific monetary identity of this 'barbarian' territory, located in the vicinity of the limes, but separated from the Empire by the natural barrier of the Carpathian Mountains.

Lavinia Grumeza presents ten inhumation graves, attributed to the Sarmatian culture, discovered at the Mitoc-Malu Galben site, in northern Romania. Only six of these have been previously published. By revisiting the topic, the author provides an overview of the cemetery and completes the previously published studies with photographs of the grave goods and further information on rituals. Four unpublished graves, discovered in 1986 and 1987, were also included in the paper. Therefore, it is currently possible to draw up an overview of the cemetery, to exhaustively discuss the grave goods, funerary rituals and propose a narrow dating of the finds: from the second part of the 2nd to mid-3rd century AD.

Gleb V. Kubarev briefly discusses existing data on the origin of the European Avars and their migration. Only a comprehensive use of all sources and natural scientific methods can shed light on their presumptive connection with the Inner Asian Rourans and the dating issue of certain artefact classes or specific burial complexes from Eastern Europe and Inner Asia. Hence the proposed discussion has the following structure, focusing on: 1) Historical (written) evidence; 2) Archaeological sources; 3) Anthropological and genetic data; 4) Radiocarbon and dendrochronological dating of the monuments pertaining to comparable archaeological cultures; 5) Linguistic data; 6) Climatic and other natural science research. Based on this variety of sources, the author supports the hypothesis of the Inner Asian origin of the European Avars and their identification with the Rourans.

Dilnoza Duturaeva aims to link trade and commodity exchange with the migration of peoples and cultures between Europe and Asia using Baltic amber as a case study, and examines the trade routes used to transfer amber from Europe to Central Asia and on to China in the pre-modern

period, combining both material and written sources. From the Han to the Tang periods in China, amber was known mainly as a commodity from the Southern territories and the Mediterranean region. Amber was not a common trade commodity in China during this period and was presented mainly as a diplomatic gift, or so one may assume based on Chinese official accounts. The situation changed during the Northern Song period from the 10th to 12th century in China, when amber became an important part of the Chinese culture and has remained so until the present day.

Sergei G. Bocharov addresses the period between 1223 and 1320, when the Crimean Peninsula was included in the Mongol influence sphere and when Crimea's place within the administrative system of the Golden Horde was established. If earlier this territory formed an integral part of the Byzantine Empire, later, from mid-13th century on, the historical vector of the peninsula changed dramatically and the area was involved in a broader sense in the Eastern civilization area. Hence the identities and their manifestation in the culture of the Crimean Peninsula were influenced by the 'Byzantine', the 'Latin' (Genoese) and the Eastern (Golden Horde, Islamic) agents of growth.

* * *

Hopefully, this volume reflects furthermore a tradition of fruitful collaboration between the Romanian Academy in Iaşi and many academic institutions from Romania and abroad. This time, cooperation with the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung/Foundation and the Deutsches Kulturzentrum Iaşi (without whose funding and support the conference would have been impossible) proved to be a priority.

As Editors of the present volume, we would like to express our deepest gratitude to all of the authors for their efficient cooperation during the editorial process (in pandemic times) as well as to our colleagues within the editorial board of the book series 'Pontica et Mediterranea', involved as reviewers and language editors. We would also like to acknowledge the assistance of Gabriela Balica (Cluj-Napoca) who proofread the English texts and Dr. Ulrike Peter (Berlin) who proofread the German abstracts. With Dr. Flavius Solomon (Iaşi) we collaborated closely both during different organization stages of the 'Migrations and Identity in European History' conference and during the editing of its proceedings. Last, but not least, we would like to warmly acknowledge yet again the collegial and very efficient collaboration with the Mega Publishing House.

March 2021 Victor Cojocaru and Annamária-Izabella Pázsint

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Mass Deportation as Migration Practice in Antiquity

Mustafa H. Sayar

The ancient practice of mass deportation in the Mediterranean world is generally mentioned by scholars when describing other historical events;[1] as such, there is no study that would comprehensively examine this practice by assessing its legal and social consequences throughout the entire ancient period.

Mass deportation may be accomplished either by persuaded submission or physical force.[2] In Antiquity, there were no prisoner exchanges, unconditional releases or releases in return for ransom subsequent to displacements; these happened without the consent of the displaced persons, due to the winning party's right to dispose of them as they saw fit.[3]

The beginning of the urbanization process in the Mediterranean world during the 1st millennium BC, believed to represent the basis of civilisation, meant occupation of lands in fertile regions by shepherds and scoundrels, who considered these as their own property, and abduction of women from other tribes. The legend of the abduction of the Sabine women is important in this context because of its connection to the establishment of the city of Rome in 753 BC.[4]

In Antiquity, there are countless examples of war prisoners' killing practices or civilian slaughters, as well as the killing of all men and women and children selling as slaves in order to consolidate sovereignty and power display.[5]

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[1] See, for instance, Briant 1996: 521–523 (cf. Briant 2002: 505–507).

[2] For compulsory mass deportation practices in Antiquity and Late Antiquity, see Kehne 2002.

[3] Kehne 2009: 81f.

[4] Liv. 1.9-13.

[5] Volkmann 1990: 7–14; 119–122.

A war law termed *ius belli* was valid for the practices of mass deportation and enslavement in Antiquity. Accordingly, those forced away from their homes were resettled in a new location. They would acquire the citizenship of the city-state in respective region or settle nearby in order to amalgamate with the local population.[6] Another kind of mass deportation concerns the local population of the settlement where the exiles were taken to, who would be relocated in the newly vacated area.[7]

According to the available written sources, the earliest mass migration events were recorded in Ancient Egypt,[8] and the regions under the rule of the Hittites and the Urartians, in Babylon and the Assyrian empire.

The focus of the great political and military conflict between the Assyrian empire and the Kingdom of Egypt was the Levant (Bilad-al-Sham – Damascus) and especially, Palestine. In the period between 734 and 721 BC the elite of the Kingdom of Israel was deported in three stages to northern Mesopotamia.[9] The deported Jews were settled in the upper Habora/Habur and in the Gozan district, east of Carrhae/Harran.[10] At that time, the Jewish Kingdom favoured the Kingdom of Egypt. The Assyrian king Sennaherip attacked the Jews in 701 BC and attempted to firstly suppress them, probably because they were weaker than the Egyptians.[11] The army of the Assyrian king began to plunder and destroyed the temple, slew part of the population, took the rest as prisoners, then exiled them to the Assyrian country; in the aftermath of these events, the northern Jewish Kingdom disappeared, while the people continued to live as slaves elsewhere.[12]

The King of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar II, besieged Jerusalem because the Jews refused to pay tribute in 598/7, which resulted in the Babylonian Exile/Captivity, after a long but successful siege of the city.[13] As such, the population of Jerusalem was exiled to Babylon.[14] After 10 years, Jerusalem was conquered again and in 587 BC the remaining population was exiled to Babylon once again.[15] The exile period officially ended with the conquest of Babylon by the Persians in 538 BC. Cyrus the Great, the King of Persia (Fig. 1), allowed the Jews to return to Palestine.[16]

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[6] E.g. Aigina (431 BC); Samos (404/403 BC); Methone (354 BC) – see Kehne 2006: 236f.
[7] See, for instance, Ellis 1969.
[8] Gundlach 1994: 10–12.
[9] Schall 2002: 31f.
[10] Bringmann 2005: 19.
[11] Veenhof 2001: 267.
[12] Oded 1979: 43, 46, 68.
[13] Veenhof 2001: 280f.
[14] Schall 2002: 32f.
[15] Veenhof 2001: 281; Schall 2002: 133 f.; Bringmann 2005: 20.
[16] Briant 1996: 55, 58, 82 (cf. Briant 2002: 45, 48, 71).

Historians agree[17] there were several exiles due to uprisings in Palestine, that not all Jews were forced to leave their homeland and that some of the Jews chose to stay in Babylon after the exile was over, thus establishing the first Jewish diaspora. The first exile took place in 597 BC, when King Yekhanya was deposed and exiled together with his family, court officials and thousands of workers. This exile lasted for 60 years. Those who claim that the exile started in 586 BC believe it occurred after Jerusalem was burned down and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar II and that the exile lasted for 48 years. 515 BC is the year when the Temple in Jerusalem was rebuilt.[18]

The southern Kingdom of Judah endured for a long time, but at some point, the Assyrians tried to overthrow the Kingdom of Judah because they refused to pay tribute to the Assyrian king. In 586 BC, the Temple in Jerusalem was destroyed and many Jews were captured. In 538 BC, Jews returned to Palestine upon the permission of the Persian king Cyrus.[19]

Sources recording the 1st millennium historical events in the Mediterranean region mention that the Eretrians of the island of Euboea were exiled in 490 BC.[20] Although many cities such as Miletus, Priene, Magnesia and Phocaea were destroyed in retaliation for the Western Anatolian city states' rebellion, started against the Persians in 499 BC and suppressed in 495,[21] there is no information confirming their inhabitants were collectively exiled (Fig. 2). Darius planned a population exchange by moving the Phoenicians to Ionia and the Ionians to Phoenicia.[22] Herodotus reports that the men of Miletus were killed and the women and children were sold as slaves and exiled to the Tigris region.[23] Herodotus further reports that the inhabitants of Eretria first gathered on another island and then they were sent to the city of Susa in the Med region.[24] Darius, the great king of Persia, exiled the Eretrians to the Arderikka region, which lay 210 Stadia, approximately 37 km, from Susa. Herodotus mentions that the Eretrians were still there in the second half of the 5th century BC and still spoke their language.[25] This event is later reported by Strabo.[26] The sophist Philostratos accounted that Apollonios of Tyana also visited the Eretrians in Arderikka. In the

[17] Nissen 2012: 137f.
[18] Veenhof 2001: 293f.
[19] Cook 1985: 285f.
[20] Hdt. 6.19; see also Kulesza 1994: 221f.; Olshausen 1995.
[21] Hdt. 6.1-32; Briant 1996: 158–168 (cf. Briant 2002: 146–156).
[22] Hdt. 6.3.
[23] Hdt. 6.19 & 22; Fischer 2013: 103.
[24] Hdt. 6.119.1-3; Briant 1996: 743 (cf. Briant 2002: 722).
[25] D.S. 17.110.5; Briant 1996: 743 (cf. Briant 2002: 733).
[26] Str. 11.11.4.

same work on the life of Apollonios, Philostratos mentions that 780 Eretrians were forced to go into exile and 410 of them reached Arderikka.[27] According to Diodoros, Alexander arrived in 325 BC in the Diyala region, where he met people from Boiotia. They were deported after Xerxes' campaign.[28]

In 364 BC, the Orchomenos settlement in Boiotia was destroyed and while the men living there were killed, the women and children were sold as slaves.[29]

In 352 BC, the Athenian commander Hares slew the young men of Sestos and enslaved the rest of the population.[30]

Philip II forced 10.000 residents of the Illyrian city of Sarnus to migrate to the underpopulated areas of Macedonia.[31] When Philip II captured the city of Potidaia in 356 BC, he enslaved its residents.[32] In 349 BC, he enslaved and sold the residents of Stageira after having captured the city.[33] In 348 BC, he sold 10.000 Olynthians as slaves.[34] Alexandros captured the city of Thebes in 335 BC and enslaved the people of the city.[35]

In 335 BC, Parmenion, one of Alexander's generals, sold the inhabitants of the Gryneion city, located in the south of Aiolis, as slaves.[36] In 332 BC, Alexandros enslaved the people of Tyros, a city located on the Lebanese coast, after a seven-months' siege. It is believed that the number of individuals sold as slaves is around 30.000.[37] The population of the settlements seized in the Gaza region was sold.[38]

Alexandros, who captured Persepolis, the capital of the Persian Empire, in 330 BC, allowed his soldiers to kill all men and take all women as spoils of war while they plundered the city.[39] In 322 BC, when the Cilician satrap Balakros was killed while fighting in the Isauria and Laranda (Karaman) regions, Perdikkas decided to kill the men of the cities in this region and sell the remaining population as slaves.[40] Isaurians, on the other hand, defended their city until the last moment and then set themselves on fire in order to avoid capture. In 321/20 BC, Eumenes placed his commanders

[27] Philostr. *VA* 24-30 (cf. Jones 2005).
[28] D.S. 17.110.3; Olshausen 1995: 38.
[29] D.S. 15.79.3f.; Paus. 9.15.3.
[30] D.S. 16.34.3.
[31] Polyaen. 4.2.12.
[32] D.S. 16.8.5.
[33] Plu. *Alex*. 7.3.
[34] D.S. 17.14.1.4.
[35] D.S. 17.14.1.4.
[36] D.S. 17.7.9.
[37] Arr. 2.24.5.
[38] Arr. 2.27; 3.25.7.
[39] D.S. 17.70.6.
[40] D.S. 18.22; Volkmann 1990: 63f.

(who demanded money from him) in several fortified settlements from the Phrygian region, where the previous inhabitants were enslaved.[41] Ptolemy I, who founded the kingdom named after him in Egypt, seized the city of Marion in Cyprus and forced its inhabitants to settle the city of Paphos.[42] The same king seized the city of Mallos in the Cilicia region and sold its population as war spoil.[43]

The Macedonian king Philip V seized the city of Kios (Gemlik) in 202 BC and sold its inhabitants as slaves.[44] In 201 BC, Philip told the inhabitants of Prinassos (Caria) that he would spare their lives and grant them freedom if they left the city.[45] It is not known what exactly happened in 200 BC to the city of Abydos in the Dardanelles, when it was seized by Philip. However, we do know that the men chose to kill their wives and children first and then commit suicide not to be sold as slaves.[46]

One of the largest mass enslaving cases in the history of ancient Anatolia occurred in 189 BC, during the Roman commander's Cn. Manlius Vulso campaign against the Galatians. After being defeated by the Roman army, 40.000 of the Galatians who fled to the foothills of Olympos (Uludağ) were captured, and Vulso, who could not take these prisoners with him, sold them to those who lived in the vicinity.[47]

In 190 BC, the Roman praetor Aemilius Regillus, whose attempt to capture the city of Phocaea (Foça) failed, tried to persuade the people to surrender. He assured them that they would not be treated as hostiles. However, the soldiers stated that the inhabitants of Phocaea were never friends of Rome and demanded they should be punished. The soldiers who entered the city started to plunder it. Regillus protected the people by using his authority. He took the soldiers out of the city and gave the city back to its inhabitants.[48] As seen in this instance, mass enslavement and exile happened upon the intent of the commander or king at the head of the armed force taking hold of a city or region.

In 83 BC, King Tigranes captured Cilicia Pedias (Çukurova) and remained there for 14 years.[49] Tigranes deported the inhabitants of the

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[41] Plu. *Eum*. 8.9f.
[42] D.S. 19.79.4.
[43] D.S. 19.79.6.
[44] Plb. 15.22.1f., 15.23.9f., 18.3.12, 18.4.7f.; Str. 12.4.3; Walbank 1967: 476; Kleu 2015: 106.
[45] Plb. 16.11.5f.; for the siege of Prinassos, see Polyaen. 4.18.1; for the military operations of Philipp V. on Rhodian Peraia, see Liv. 33.18.1f. & 20; cf. Kleu 2015: 133.
[46] Plb. 16.30.1-34.1, 16.34.8; Liv. 31.17.1-18.8; cf. Volkmann 1990: 64f.; Kleu 2015: 140.
[47] Liv. 38.45. On the legal status of the captives in the Roman period, see Ziegler 1998: 45–66.
[48] Liv. 37.32.
[49] App. *Syr*. 48 & 70.

region's cities to his capital Tigranokerta, near Silvan.[50] In 69 BC, he was captured by the Roman commander Lucullus at Tigranokerta, and as a result, the people of Cilicia were able to return home.[51] Strabo particularly speaks of the Mazaka (Kayseri) inhabitants, a city which in connection with this incident.[52]

Livy, writing on the founding history of Rome in the 1st century AD, reports in his fifth volume that approximately 55.000 Gaul and Samnite war prisoners were sold as slaves during the 3rd Samnite war in Italy between 298 and 290 BC. The sources record that in 216 BC, the Romans lost 70.000 people in the battle of Cannae, while another 10.000 Romans were captured by the Carthaginians.

In general, Romans resorted to collective enslavement practices depending on how threatened they felt. If the threat was strong, the number of those enslaved was also high. Another practice which draws attention in terms of economy and politics was the choice for prisoners' release for ransom, before being sold on slave markets.[53] Thus, the captives could collectively gain their freedom without being sold and dispersed to different places on the slave market, while the victorious party would thus earn the same money amount that they would earn on the slave markets, in a shorter amount of time.

* * *

For cultural history, one of the important consequences of migration during the Greek and Roman antiquity is the establishment of new multilingualism, without any further external borders.[54] As soon as a place is deserted, as a consequence of migration, differences intensify thus leading to linguistic confrontation. The linguistic difference is deposited within a population. Another important consequence of migration, through deportations and mass enslavement, is the spread of monotheistic religions in Anatolia[55] and other landscapes of the Mediterranean region. Integration and acculturation, with their different dimensions, are the results of migration.[56] In the evaluation of the research results, new terminology is used instead of migration, respectively population shift. The terms population

[50] App. *Mith*. 67.
[51] Plu. *Luc*. 21.4; 26.1; 29.3.5; Str. 11.14.15; 12.2.9; D.C. 36.2.3.
[52] Str. 12.2.8.
[53] Prachner 1995.
[54] Hdt. 6.119.1-3; D.S. 17.110.5; Olshausen 1995: 38f.
[55] For transportation and settlements of Jews in western Asia Minor by Antiochus III, see Trebilco 1991: 5–7.
[56] Sonnabend 2010: 35.

shift or population exchange could enable a new perspective, in the analysis of previous research results.

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Abstract: In ancient times, there was no legal definition of deportation as a reason for migration. The only description of deportation as punishment in Roman law was *deportatio in insulam*. There was no uniform political terminology recognized by international law. The implementation of deportations in antiquity correlates with the exercise of power. A new terminology has been proposed to replace migration by deportation. The terms population shift or population exchange are new descriptions for interpreting migration movements. For the cultural history of the Near Eastern and Mediterranean world, an important consequence of migration, through deportations and mass enslavement, was the spread of the monotheistic religions in other landscapes of the Mediterranean region and the emergence of multilingual societies, thereby creating integration and acculturation which had different dimensions.

Zusammenfassung: In der Antike gab es keine rechtliche Definition der Abschiebung als Grund für die Migration. Die einzige Beschreibung für die Abschiebung als Strafe im römischen Recht war *deportatio in insulam*. Es gab aber keine einheitliche Terminologie, die völkerrechtlich anerkannt war. Die Durchführung von Deportationen in der Antike korrelierte mit der Machtausübung. Es wurde eine neue Terminologie vorgeschlagen: Das Wort Migration sollte durch Deportation ersetzt werden. Die Begriffe Bevölkerungsverschiebung oder Bevölkerungsaustausch sind neue Beschreibungen für die Interpretation der Migrationsbewegungen. Für

die Kulturgeschichte der nahöstlichen und mediterraneren Welt war eine wichtige Folge der Migration durch Deportationen oder durch Massenversklavungen die Ausbreitung der monotheistischen Religionen in anderen Landschaften des Mittelmeerraumes und die Entstehung mehrsprachiger Gesellschaften wodurch Integration und Akkulturation in unterschiedlichen Dimensionen entstanden.

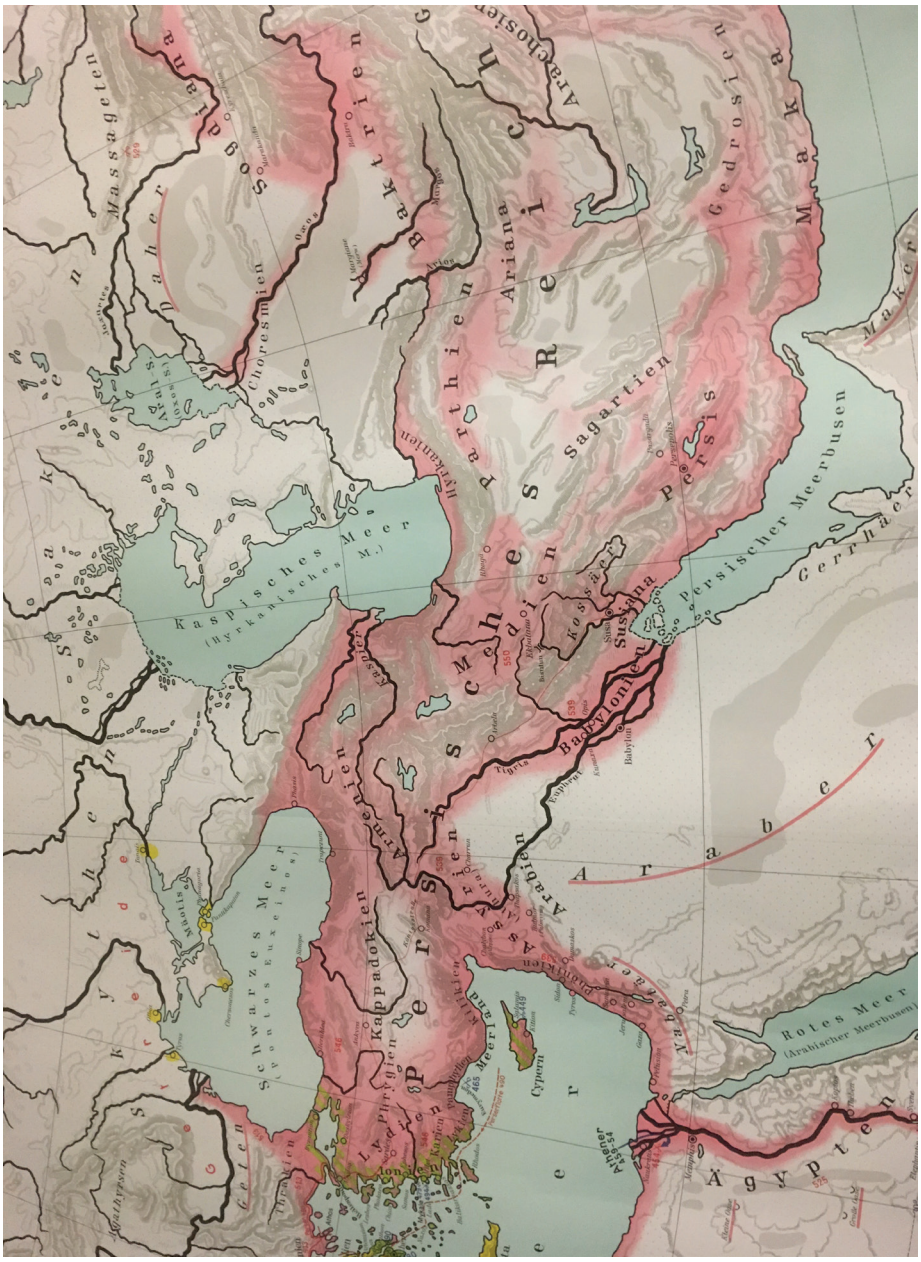


Fig. 1. Map of the Persian Empire (6th-4th centuries BC).

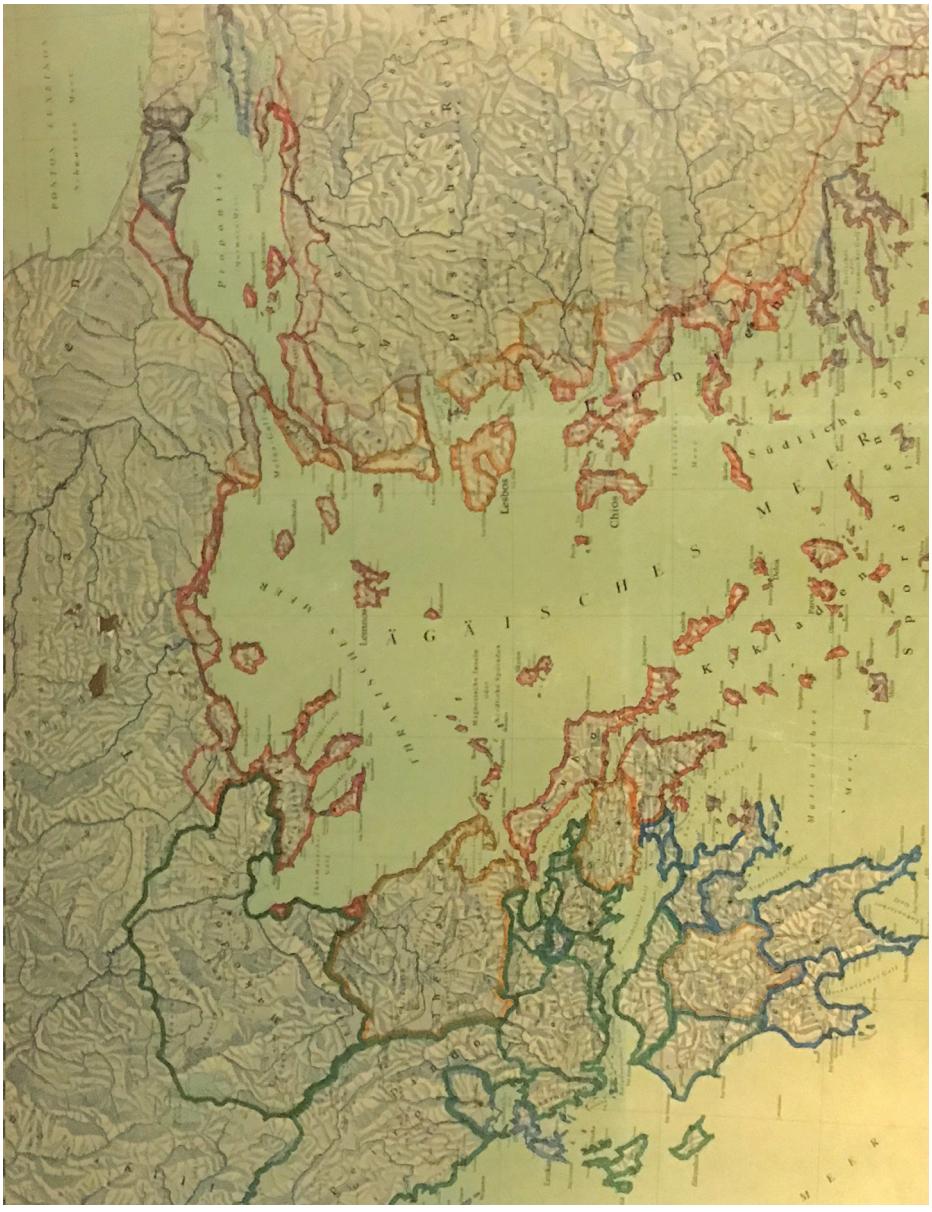


Fig. 2. Map of the Western Asia Minor and the Aegean world (6th-4th centuries BC).