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FRONTIERS IN QUESTION
Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700

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PREFACE

A new book on frontiers in history needs little justification. Frontiers are such a common and significant human phenomenon that there will always be room for a collection of regional studies which permit comparisons and contrasts between different frontiers to be made. Hence, given the vastness of this field of inquiry, the present volume confines itself to three aims. The first is to consider what makes a frontier explicitly a 'frontier'. This problem has received much attention from political scientists and geographers but rather less from historians, who, more often than not and with some justification, have regarded each frontier as unique and so have eschewed generalisation. Secondly, it is apparent that many frontiers do not simply 'exist' but are deemed to be 'frontiers' by their inhabitants, their rulers, or by later historians. Consequently this book also considers the different ways in which contemporaries and historians imagine frontiers, as well as the ways in which the frontier inhabitants' views of their environment differed from the understandings of the princes or governments who sought to control them. The third aim of this collection is to extend the geographical scope of comparison between political frontiers in history (as opposed to frontiers of settlement). Hence, as well as familiar frontiers in Western Europe, this book also includes examples from as far away as Mesopotamia and China, making hitherto untried comparisons possible.

Two further observations should be made here. Firstly, the use of the term 'frontier' in this work requires some explanation. The various meanings of the English word do not correspond exactly to terms in other languages, and in English the term can mean several different things; the two main ways in which historians use the term and its cognates are set out in the introduction. Hence the keen-eyed reader will notice a certain amount of latitude in the use of 'frontier' between the essays in this book; but by and large it is used for a major political division or zone of interaction. A North American audience in particular may find this confusing, since the European authors in this work

often use 'frontier' to mean what a North American might be happier calling a 'boundary'. On the other hand, 'boundary' is both too specific, since it implies linear definition, and perhaps too belittling, since in British English it usually refers to a minor demarcation, such as a county or parliamentary constituency, rather than a major division. 'Border' is a more general term than 'frontier', as it ranges from the edge of a garden lawn to an international division, but it is too specific in character since it is primarily political or administrative. Both 'boundary' and 'border' imply division but they do not imply interaction in the way 'frontier' can. An alternative historical term, 'march', is too rooted in premodern history and, although sometimes used to denote a linear division in the Middle Ages, is likely to suggest a zone to a modern reader, whether or not this is appropriate in context. Hence 'frontier' is the only term that conveys adequately the many ways, both physical and imagined, in which societies separate themselves from and interact with one another.

The second observation concerns the timespan of this volume. It is implicit in this book that the modern state is capable of pervasive intrusion and control which was not possible before the rise of the nineteenth-century nation states. The subjects of the essays here are culled from the millennium preceding that epoch-making development: in other words, from the periods customarily known in the historiography of Europe as 'medieval' and 'early modern'. However, the geographical span of this book renders the usual European periodisation unsatisfactory, and consequently we have employed the word 'premodern' as a general term for the centuries covered in this book.

This book has come about with the help of a number of people. The articles concerning Spain, North China, Normandy, the Mediterranean, and the Ottomans were originally given as papers at a conference entitled *The Frontier in Question*, held at the University of Essex in April 1995: we are grateful to its organiser, Professor Hugh Brogan, for encouraging us to publish the premodern papers as a book, and also for allowing us to adapt the conference title for it. We have also received helpful advice and comments from Jonathan Steinberg, the members of the Department of History at the University of Sheffield, and Matthew Innes (DJP), and from Nicola di Cosmo, Marilynn Larew, Ruth Mostern, and contributors to H-ASIA and int-boundaries (NLS). Simon Winder and Jonathan Reeve of the Macmillan Press guided us through the difficulties of coediting a multi-author work and Penny Simmons

through the copy-editing. The invention of e-mail made editorial collaboration unimaginably easier. The research for our contributions was carried out at Selwyn College and Trinity Hall, Cambridge (DJP), and the University of Durham (NLS), and the editorial work at the University of Sheffield (DJP) and St John's College, Oxford (NLS): the editors would like to thank all these academic institutions for their support, both moral and financial. Several maps are reproduced with the kind permission of the following publishers: 4.1, 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3, Cambridge University Press; 7.1 and 7.2, Oxford University Press. The cover illustration is reproduced with the kind permission of the University Library, Uppsala, Sweden. Finally, Daniel Power wishes to express his gratitude to his family and to Clare for their undying patience. Naomi Standen wishes to thank Mike for reading and commenting on endless drafts and for generally putting up with the trials of living with an academic. The first editorial meeting for this volume took place in hospital (unexpectedly!), a fortnight before the birth of Naomi's son Sam, who has thus been around for as long as we have been compiling this volume. Naomi therefore dedicates her portion of the book to him.

DJP/NLS
September 1997

ABBREVIATIONS

ANS	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies (Proceedings of the Battle Conference)</i> [the date given is the date of the conference, not of publication]
AOASH	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
AS	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
BMFEA	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities</i>
BMQ	<i>British Museum Quarterly</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
BTTK	<i>Belleten: Türk Tarih Kurumu</i>
BÜD	<i>Bogaz-ıci Üniversitesi Dergisi – Beşeri Bilimler</i>
Cal. IPM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</i>
CFHB	<i>Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae</i>
CFYG	<i>Cefu yuangui</i>
CHC	<i>Cambridge History of China</i>
CSHB	<i>Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae</i>
DAI	<i>De Administrando Imperio</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
EI	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , ed. A. J. Wensinck et al., 4 vols and supplement, Leiden 1913–38
EI, new edn	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , new edn, ed. H. A. R. Gibb, Leiden 1953–
HI	<i>Humaniora Islamica</i>
HJAS	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
HUS	<i>Harvard Ukrainian Studies</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JAS	<i>Journal of Asian Studies</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JW	<i>Jiu Wudai shi [Old History of the Five Dynasties]</i>
LM6	<i>Lietuvos Metrika (1528–1547) 6-oji teismų bylų knyga (Kopija–xvi a. pabaiga)</i> , ed. S. Lazutka et al., Vilnius 1995
LM7	<i>Lietuvos Metrika knyga nr. 564 (1553–1567). Viešųjų reikalų knyga 7</i> , ed. A. Baliulis, Vilnius 1996

<i>LP Hen. VIII</i>	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Reign of Henry VIII</i>
<i>LS</i>	<i>Liao shi [Liao History]</i>
<i>MFS</i>	<i>Medieval Frontier Societies</i> , ed. R. Bartlett and A. MacKay, Oxford 1989
<i>MGH SS</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores</i>
<i>MSOS</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen</i>
<i>NH</i>	<i>Northern History</i>
<i>NLM AOM</i>	National library of Malta, Archives of the Order of St John
<i>NLM LIB</i>	National Library of Malta, Library MSS
<i>OsmAr</i>	<i>Osmanlı Araştırmaları – The Journal of Ottoman Studies</i>
<i>PVL</i>	<i>Povest' Vremennykh Let</i>
<i>QTW</i>	<i>Quan Tang wen [Collected Prose of the Tang]</i>
<i>REI</i>	<i>Révue des Études Islamiques</i>
<i>Rise</i>	P. Wittek, <i>The Rise of the Ottoman Empire</i> , London 1938
<i>SCIV</i>	<i>Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie</i>
<i>SRP</i>	<i>Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum</i> , ed. F. Hirsch, M. Töppen, and E. Strehlke, 5 vols, Leipzig 1861–74, repr. Frankfurt-am-Main 1965
<i>TJ</i>	<i>Zizhi tongjian [Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government]</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
<i>XW</i>	<i>Xin Wudai shi [New History of the Five Dynasties]</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

GLOSSARY

<i>akra</i>	Greek: 'the end', 'extremity', or 'limit'.
<i>alp</i>	Turkish: (in pre-Islamic Turkish societies) individuals noted for their heroic deeds and military valour. Cf. <i>ghāzī</i> (q.v.).
<i>Amt</i>	German: an administrative unit.
<i>baba</i>	Turkish: literally, 'father', 'head of a religious order'. Mendicant religious/dervish leader amongst the Islamicised Turkoman tribes of Anatolia and elsewhere.
<i>ban</i>	Old French (Latin: <i>bannum</i>): various forms of coercive power in medieval Western Europe; specifically, the control of blood-justice, military service, mills, and so on, which from the eleventh century were normally the prerogatives of castellans.
<i>barīd</i>	Arabic: Mamluk postal system based on horse relays.
<i>beg/bey</i>	Turkish: title (of Chinese origin) applied to a ruler. In Turco-Islamic usage synonymous with emir (q.v.).
<i>beglik/beylik</i>	Turkish: the territory under the control of a bey (q.v.). See emirate.
Boiar	Slavonic: (in Eastern Europe) a nobleman.
book	(To compile) a list of dependants for whose conduct the headsmen or chief accepts responsibility.
<i>boullotes</i>	Greek: imperial officer, stationed in Constantinople where he regulated trade in controlled goods.
castelry	(Latin: <i>castellaria</i> , <i>castellania</i>). The area under the jurisdiction of a castle, normally its immediate surrounds.

Catholicus	Latin: title used to denote the spiritual leader of some Eastern Churches. Used here for the head of the Armenian church.
Central Plains	Chinese: <i>zhongyuan</i> 中原. Region of China proper (q.v.) between the Yellow and Yangzi (Yangtze) rivers. Traditional heartlands of Chinese civilisation.
China proper	Conventionally stretching from the Great Wall in the north to Hong Kong and Hainan islands in the south, excluding much of the present-day People's Republic: chiefly Yunnan, Tibet, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, and Manchuria (see Map 3.1).
Cilicia	Region in southern Anatolia, northwest of where the Syrian coast meets the coast of Anatolia. During time of Crusades and Mamluk-Mongol war, inhabited by Armenians who set up kingdom referred to as Lesser Armenia (see Map 6.1).
commandery	A convent belonging to a military religious order, and hence its basic unit of territorial and economic organisation.
<i>dār al-‘ahd</i>	Arabic: literally, ‘abode of the pact or covenant’. In Muslim legal texts it refers to territories whose inhabitants are mainly Christians, Jews, or Zoroastrians who have agreed a treaty with the Muslims.
<i>dār al-ḥarb</i>	Arabic: literally, ‘the abode of war’. The territories of the infidels, against whom Muslim rulers should enforce the Holy War (<i>jihād</i> , q.v.).
<i>dār al-Islam</i>	Arabic: literally, the ‘abode of Islam’. The territories where Muslim laws and practices are enforced.
<i>darb</i>	Arabic: pl. <i>durūb</i> . Frontier; more specifically frontier regions of Arab states in Asia Minor, and between the Byzantine Empire and the Caliphate in the mountainous areas of the Tarsus.
dervish	Perso-Turkish: member of an Islamic mendi-

- cant Sūfi order; a wandering religious enthusiast, generally with heterodox religious tendencies.
- dynastic histories Chinese: *zhengshi* 正史. Official histories compiled for each Chinese dynasty by its successor as a legitimating act, using contemporary records and preliminary histories compiled during the life of the dynasty.
- ehl-i ḥudūa* Turco-Persian. Inhabitants of a Muslim border region, particularly those charged with its defence.
- emic Anthropological concept: the methodological approach which tries to describe a given human phenomenon by using the same categories which are implied within that phenomenon. See M. Harris, *Cultural Materialism: the struggle for a science of culture*, New York 1979, 32ff.
- emir* Turkish: from Arabic *amīr*, 'one who commands'. A local or regional ruler (of a principality or of a larger, but less than imperial, entity).
- emirate Territory under the control of an emir. In the Ottoman/Anatolian context best translated as 'principality'.
- encellulement* French: the disintegration of political power into tiny units, normally based around castles, in eleventh-century France.
- eschatia* Greek: 'the furthest part' or 'a remote spot'.
- Escorial taktikon* Greek: a precedence list, or list of imperial ranks and offices that pertained shortly after 976, and which would have been used to arrange the seating plan at an imperial banquet.
- Five Dynasties Chinese: *Wudai* 五代. Series of short-lived dynasties controlling part or all of north China from 907 to 960. Later Liang: 907–23, Later Tang: 923–36, Later Jin: 936–47, (Liao interregnum 947), Later Han: 947–50, Later Zhou: 951–60.

<i>ghazā</i>	Arabic: in Islam, war for the faith against unbelievers, carried out by <i>ghāzīs</i> (q.v.).
<i>ghāzī</i>	Arabic: a Muslim who fights for the faith on the frontiers of Islam.
Golden Horde	Mongol state north of the Black Sea (see Map 6.1).
Hebei 河北	Chinese: literally, 'north of the (Yellow) River'. Region of northeast China between the Yellow River and Manchuria, including a large area north of the Great Wall (see Maps 3.2 and 3.3).
<i>Heerkönig</i>	German: literally, 'army king'. Leader of an early medieval European warband or tribal grouping, invested with sacral qualities of kingship as ruler of the state formed around such a group. Applied by analogy to comparable figures in Turco-Islamic history.
<i>horos, horia, horisma</i> <i>īlkhān</i>	Greek: 'boundary' or 'border'. Arabic and Persian < Mongolian or Turkish: title of the Mongol ruler in Iran; often translated as 'subject <i>khān</i> ' (q.v.).
imperial China	Period of Chinese history from the 'first unification' by Qin Shihuang to the republican revolution: 221 BC to AD 1911.
Jazīra	The area between the upper Euphrates and the Tigris, today comprising northern Iraq, northeastern Syria, and southeastern Turkey (see Map 6.2).
<i>jihād</i>	Arabic: the duty of a Muslim ruler to fight the unbelievers; in Islamic jurisprudence, the carrying-on of Holy War for the faith (cf. <i>ghazā</i>).
kerne	In Ireland and Scotland, a lightly armed foot-soldier.
<i>khān</i>	Mongolian and Turkish: Mongol ruler.
<i>Kleinkrieg</i>	German: ongoing petty warfare and skirmishing, specifically by local border forces on the frontiers of the Ottoman empire, particularly against the Habsburgs in Hungary, in the absence of a major cam-

	paigned by the central state forces of either side.
<i>kleisurai</i>	Greek: (in Byzantine use) the frontiers against the Muslims in Asia Minor. Military commanders in charge of these regions were called <i>kleisuraxai</i> .
<i>kommerkiarios</i>	Greek: imperial officer, monitored trade and extracted the sales tax (<i>kommerkion</i>) levied on all goods traded within the empire.
<i>langue</i>	French: literally, 'tongue' or 'language'. Regional organisation of the houses and estates of the Knights Hospitaller.
<i>langue d'oc</i>	French: the Romance language formerly spoken across most of southern France and still used in some districts there; also known today as Occitan or (less accurately) as Provençal (see Map 5.1).
<i>langue d'oïl</i>	French: the Romance language of northern France, also known as Old French, from which modern French is descended (see Map 5.1).
<i>latifundia</i>	Latin: large rural landholdings usually, in medieval Europe, under feudal tenure. Sometimes used by present-day Ottoman historians as a synonym for <i>wakf</i> (q.v.).
Lesser Armenia	See Cilicia.
<i>limes</i>	Latin: pl. <i>limites</i> . Usually a concept of a frontier as a strongly fortified, defensive line, based upon traditional, and now largely discredited, views of the Roman frontier. The various meanings of the term are numerous and complex. See the article by B. Isaac, cited in bibliography.
<i>mamlūk</i>	Arabic: 'owned'. A military slave.
Mamluk Sultanate	State established in Egypt and Syria, 1250–1517, by officers of <i>mamluk</i> origin (see Map 6.1).
<i>Militärgrenze</i>	German: 'military frontier'. The system of military colonisation and defence in depth developed from the sixteenth century by the

	Habsburgs, particularly on the Croatian-Hungarian frontier with the Ottomans.
<i>mixobarbaros</i>	Greek: 'half-barbarian'. Generally a (partially) Hellenised non-Greek living within the <i>oikoumene</i> (q.v.).
<i>Mozarab</i>	Arabic: 'half-Arab'. A Christian under Islamic rule since the fall of the Visigothic kingdom.
<i>mutatāwwi'a</i>	Arabic: volunteers who join Muslim campaigns against the infidels for the sake of practising Holy War.
<i>notarios</i>	Greek: imperial officer, a notary.
<i>oikoumene</i>	Greek: 'the inhabited world'. Used by Ancient Greeks to designate their own 'civilised' lands, and by Byzantines to designate their empire.
<i>Ordenstaat</i>	German: the state created on the southern shores of the Baltic by the Teutonic Order. After 1525, the heart of the Duchy of Prussia.
<i>pagus</i>	Latin: pl. <i>pagi</i> . A county in the Carolingian empire, later used more loosely for a district (hence French <i>pays</i> , country).
<i>patrikios</i>	Greek: imperial rank, very esteemed in the late tenth century.
<i>Pays du Droit Coutumier</i>	French: the area of pre-Revolutionary northern and central France where provincial customary law was used (see Map 5.1).
<i>Pays du Droit Écrit</i>	French: the area of pre-Revolutionary southern France where law was based upon 'written' (that is, Roman) law (see Map 5.1).
<i>philotimiai</i>	Greek: 'honour' or 'credit'. In this case an annual payment made to frontier communities from Constantinople.
<i>presidio</i>	Spanish: a fortified settlement, especially an outpost on the frontier with Islam.
<i>qaraghul</i>	Mongolian > Arabic <i>qarawul</i> : Mongol road or border patrols.
<i>qāsid</i>	Arabic: pl. <i>quṣṣād</i> . Envoy; more specifically Mamluk intelligence agents.
<i>Qipchaq</i>	Turkish tribes living in the steppe north of the Black Sea; also applied as the name of this steppe.

<i>Reconquista</i>	Spanish: the long-term process of Christians fighting Muslims in medieval Spain in order to regain the territories lost after the Arab conquest of 711.
<i>refugium</i>	Latin: 'refuge'. Applied to specific areas of Inner and Central Asia which served as the command centre and residence for the rulers of successive nomadic steppe empires.
<i>reive</i>	Northern English and Scots dialect: to go on a raid for plunder (hence 'reiver').
<i>renovatio imperii</i>	Latin: 'renewal of empire'. Applied by analogy to the later seventeenth-century attempts at military and administrative reform and imperial renewal by Ottoman grand viziers of the Köprülü ministerial family.
<i>repoblación</i>	Spanish: the occupation by Christian immigrants of lands formerly deserted, or inhabited by conquered Muslim populations.
<i>Rhomaïos</i>	Greek: 'Roman', as a Byzantine would have styled himself.
<i>ribāt</i>	Arabic: a garrisoned fortification whose occupiers devote themselves to the Holy War and to pious practices.
<i>Rûm</i>	Turkish: from the Arabic <i>bilād al-Rûm</i> , 'the lands of the Romans' = Byzantine Anatolia. After the Turkish conquest applied mainly to those parts of Anatolia forming part of the so-called Seljuq Sultanate of Rûm (1077–1308) (see Map 6.1).
<i>Rumeli</i>	Turkish: literally, 'the lands (<i>el</i>) of the Romans' = Byzantine Romania. In Ottoman usage referred to the lands of southeastern Europe brought successively under their rule from the mid fourteenth to the early sixteenth century (see Maps 9.1 and 10.1).
<i>Sejm</i>	Polish (Lithuanian: <i>seimas</i>). Parliament, council.
<i>serhadd al-mansûra</i>	Perso-Arabic: 'the ever-victorious frontier'. A topos used by the Ottomans in relation to the outer limits of their state.

<i>sharī'a</i>	Arabic: Islamic law.
<i>Shuowen</i> 說文	Chinese etymological dictionary dating from the first century AD.
<i>starosta</i>	Polish: literally, 'elder'. Senior administrator of Polish and Lithuanian provinces.
<i>strategos</i>	Greek: Imperial officer, a provincial military commander.
surnames	Clan-like landowning families, especially in the far north of England, fourteenth to sixteenth centuries.
<i>synoros</i>	Greek: 'bordering on'.
<i>termasi</i>	Greek: 'edge' or 'end', in the plural means 'boundaries'.
<i>thagr</i>	Arabic: pl. <i>thugūr</i> . In a general sense can mean the whole area separating the <i>dār al-Islam</i> (q.v.) from the <i>dār al-harb</i> (q.v.). In a more restricted sense can also be applied to a particular outpost in the frontier, like <i>thagr Sargusta</i> .
<i>tivun</i>	Latinised Slavonic (Latin: <i>tivunus</i> ; Lithuanian: <i>tijūnas</i> ; Polish: <i>ciwun</i> ; Russian: <i>tiun</i>). Junior provincial administrator.
Turcomans	Muslim Turkish nomads in the Middle East.
<i>tutejszy</i>	Polish: from <i>tutaj</i> , literally, 'here'. Self-definition of local population.
<i>uj</i>	Turkish (Modern Turkish: <i>uc</i>). The limit or furthest extent of a thing. By extension, a frontier zone or marchland, especially Ottoman-Christian borders in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Analogous with Arabic <i>thagr</i> (q.v.).
<i>uj-begi</i>	Turkish (Modern Turkish: <i>uc-beyi</i>). The usually semi-autonomous ruler (<i>beg</i> , <i>bey</i> , (q.v.)) of a frontier zone; a marcher lord.
<i>ulemā</i>	Arabic: pl. of <i>ālim</i> . One versed in Islamic law.
<i>Visitatio Liminum</i>	Latin: formal visits by Roman Catholic bishops to Rome, instituted by Pope Sixtus V in 1585.
<i>wāfidiyya</i>	Arabic: refugees from the Ilkhanate to the Mamluk Sultanate.

wakf/wuqūf

Arabic (Turkish: *wakıf*). In Islamic law, pious endowments devoted in perpetuity to the assistance of the needy, the maintenance of mosques, or the funding of the Holy War.

yasa

Turkish < Mongolian *jasagh*. Command, decree or law. Also applied to the law code attributed to Chinggis Khan.

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