Muslim Sardinia in Mediterranean Context

Francesca Lai
Post-Doc Scholar - Dipartimento di Scienze Archeologiche e Storico-Artistiche
Università degli Studi di Cagliari

Abstract
During the Seventh and the Eighth century A.D., a new cultural and political presence began to expand in the Mediterranean. The Muslim Empire extended his influence to many lands, from the Middle East to the West, then continues in North Africa and ended its march in Europe. Sometimes, the transitions between different ages entail a complex analysis of facts and historical dynamics. If a study concerning the Late Antiquity and the Dark Age, is geographically limited (e.g. only to the West or to the East Mediterranean sea) or is restricted to an analysis of only one of cultural aspects (e.g. Christians Romanized or Muslim World), it is known that it is highly influenced by fields of sectorial studies: the final result is a lack of a far-reaching perspective. In addition, many ideal barriers between East and West do not correspond with historic reality: they belong to preconceived and stereotyped categories. On the other side, the course of history shows that interactions between cultures are the main instrument for the development of Countries and communities. Following the common history, we can observe as insular areas from Western Mediterranean bring a rich research field. Sardinia, for example, was a part of geographical environment of the new Muslim Empire. At the beginning, Arabs tried to expand their territory: when this action failed, they created bases in the island, especially where major cities and harbours were located. New settlements constituted a useful bridge for commercial trades and migration fluxes with North Africa. The Arabs were interested in occupancy of other insular areas (Malta, Sicilia, Pantelleria, Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes). In this case, evidences connected to Arab and Muslim culture, should be included in a 'pan-Mediterranean' context that would include West and East in a common history.

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Introduction

The aim of this paper is to find out the thread of history that connects some Mediterranean areas in a common destiny. The chronological focus of this communication is the rise of the Arabs and the constitution of its Empire. In fact, this event changed the balance of the Mediterranean thalassocracy. The Muslims carried out strategic actions: sometimes doing a conquest and an occupation strictu sensu, sometimes constitute reprisals, limited by a territorial expansion. The characters and boundaries of this fragmented history are not clearly defined, although recently they have acquired its own dignity: in any case, it means to discuss about of a very complex period, characterized by a plurality of political entities, ranging from the almost eternal Byzantine Empire to the nascent Muslim Empire, already deeply split in the Eighth Century inside. Following the idea of the famous historian Fernand Braudel (1998), when people consider Mediterranean people should keep his historical role, recognizing the existence of more Mediterranean seas. However, each Mediterranean contributes to build up a common history. The same people who live in the Mediterranean are, in fact, united by common interests and a common desire to connect and relate one each other: in this context, is not far away our reality, more strictly modern and cybernetic. In fact, the first requirement is to establish relationships, bringing a common sense of belonging.

Detaching from traditional historiography, I would contribute with an overview of the situation in the Middle Ages, when occurred the expansion of the Arabs and the beginning of new balance of power in the Mediterranean. The element that is the connection of this thesis is insularity. The islands were used by the Arabs as a basis for their proposed expansion of its Empire. In fact, the aim was to gain control of the harbours and sea, especially in a first step, aiming to a possible extension to the closer areas.

Such as Sardinia, also the other islands of the Mediterranean attended the landing of the Arabs in their coasts. We will examine these events in detail, proposing to extract common elements into different contexts, useful to draw conclusions about the conditions of employment (and possible appropriation) of the Arab peregrine community in the different islands.

West Mediterranean

Malta The traditional date of the Muslim conquest of Malta is 870, with the landing of Ibn Khadadsha and the appropriation of Aghlabides. The lack of information about Islamic Malta has long been discussed. The void of history does not follow the numerous evidences about the contact with the Arabs on the island, like the language or a significant presence of Arabic toponyms. In fact, Michele Amari wrote:

We know little or nothing about Arabic age of Malta.

1From this analysis, the island of Sicily will be excluded. In fact, it was administratively integrated into the Fatimid and Aglabide kingdoms and later constituted an independent emirate. As a part of the emirate of Cordoba, Balearic Islands escaped to the dynamic of intermittent employment that characterize the island territories analyzed, therefore not will consider into this study.

2For a general study for Malta in Medieval Ages, before 16th A.D. see Luttrell ed. (1975).

3This was the report of the historian: ‘There remains no tradition of rule of the Arabs with regard to institutions and laws: only the language and place names of villages and announced that here, if this nation did not stay long, certainly there have been many relations’. Candido (1988, p. 144).

4Certainly, the progress of studies and research make this sentences less pessimist then Michele Amari, in his correspondence with Maltese scholar
It is noteworthy the conquest of the island was supported by the Emir of Sicily. This event explains how the history of Malta after the Arab presence was strictly linked at the major Italian island. A funerary epigraph in the Museum of Malta, known as Sciara inscription, gives evidences of the presence of a member of the Ḥudayl Arab tribe, like the same family group known in Pantelleria5. According to Al Idrīsī6 (translation by Amari):

One hundred miles from Pantelleria, straight to the east, lies the island of Gandosc (Gozzo), that has a safe harbour. From Gandosc to a small island, that names Camuna, or Comuna (lacking the number of miles): east of this is Malita, big island provided of a safe harbour that opens to the east (Sciark, o Marsa Sciark, that is Marsa Scialuk, the harbour of east). In this island there is a city. It is rich in pastures, sheeps, fruits and honey. The terminal point of Sicely closer to Malta is named Ak..r..nta and the distance from this part is 80 miles.

Another writer, geograph and astronomer, Kazwīnī, was the author, in the 13th A.D. of ‘Aṭhār-el-bilād’. In this book, he describes the episode of the fight between the Islamic people of Malta and the Byzantines7:

Malta, island close to Spain, has cities, villages, trees and fruits. The Rūm attacked after 440 (1048 A.D.). During this battle, they offered an agreement provided that the islanders give them the material and women. The ability of Muslims in Malta in the production of clocks and hourglasses, told the same Kazwīnī, is a reference to the relations with Sicily. We know about the construction of an hourglass in Palermo wanted by the King Roger II. A trilingual inscription (Latin, Greek and Arabic) commemorated this event: today the epigraph is located in the Norman Palace, near the Palatine Chapel. In the same occasion, Kazwīnī reported that a poet, who named Ibn Ramādān, composed some verses in which he told about his island. This composition was built hoping to obtain the grace by the Norman Prince Roger and to be repatriated.

Then, after the Muslims got together and did a census, found that the number of slaves exceeded that of the free, but they told the slaves: Fight with us and if you will win you will be free and things will be yours; but if you will stay below the enemy, we will be killed together. Once the Rūm arrived on the battlefield, the Maltese (slaves) attacked them as one man and, with the help of God, separated them and made great slaughter among them. After this event, the slaves and free men were united and grew in power so that the Rūm they never attacked more.

Al Ḥawqāl (10th) and Al Ḥīmyārī (14th) describe Malta like a desert region, and the second writer specified that the island was inhabited by Byzantines8.

Francesco Crispi. The review of this materials is provided by Candido (1988, p. 138). Hereafter we quote the words of Amari in English translation.

5The Maltese inscription, founded in the region of Gozzo is dated on 569/1154 A.D.: Amari (1971, p. 218, XXXII) and remember a women, Majmūna. The second one, which the provenience is Pantelleria, is referred by a man, Alī, of the same tribe. The epitaph was bought by Sicilians and now is in the museum of Palermo: Amari (1971, p. 230)


7Translation from the text edited only in Arabic and comments in Candido (1988, p. 159).

8Luttrel 1987, p. 138. This implies, in the opinion of Brincat (1995, p. 32) that at the time of writing the island was still Muslim.

9The inscription of Majmūna, the same mentioned short before, is one of the best preserved find of Arab period (Trump 1993, p. 154).
North African productions\textsuperscript{10}. The Arabs settlement in the island came after a large empty space documentary. In fact, recent anthropic indicators and evidence building in Tag Silt site is linked to the presence of the Christian monks, that represents one of few evidence before the arrive of Muslims.

Some archaeological finds from Xara, in Medinas region, are dated on the end of 10th and the beginning of 11th A.D. Moreover, two amphorae can be attribute of a North African production; consequently it is possible to argue an importation from Islamic areas, corresponding to the actual Tunisia. In addition, a seal mentioning Niketas, drungarius and archontes of Malta, was founded in Tunis. This find proves that the island should become an important crossroad in West Mediterranean between Byzantines and Arabs\textsuperscript{11}.

The influence of the language and the Arabic writing is one of the major indicators of the Muslim presence in the island. The Arab influence could be extended until thirteenth Century, since the island was conquered by the Normans: in fact, the language seems to have been deeply established also after the conquest by Normans and today also there are still significant traces in the spoken language and place’s names.

\textit{Pantelleria (Cossura)} As a result of its proximity to the African coast, likely the island was used by the Arabs to flee the advancing Muslim. According the geograph Al Bakri\textsuperscript{12}:

‘At the time of the invasion of North Africa by Abd-Allah ibn Sad ibn Sarh, the Rûm Cherik gathered in the peninsula (Cape Bon), directed to Iqilibiya and the places nearby. After being signed, they went to Cossura, an island between Sicily and Africa that was, at that time, inhabited’. Cossyra/Corcyra was in fact the Latin name, whose memory persists even in the Arab sources. Abulfeda, geographer, describes it:

‘At the entrance to the Gulf is the island of Cousera, located in front of Sicely\textsuperscript{13}.

According to Michele Amari, Pantelleria had been an organization even more detailed than Malta. He says in fact:

‘I was surprised that some of the thirteenth century Arab geographers talked about the Muslim inhabitants of Pantelleria under the Christian domination and its own laws, but makes no mention of the same case in Malta. This proves that at that time Pantelleria was populated and much richer.’

\textit{Sardinia} In Sardinia, the first campaigns date back to the beginning of the 8th A.D. It is still uncertain the attribution of the raid of 703 A.D. because of the controversial identification of the name Salsalah/Silsilah, that the interpretation of Michele Amari\textsuperscript{14} attributed to the island of Sardinia. In spite of this argument, in more recent times the interpretation seems to be not supported by the feedback of the sources, as Giovanna Stasolla rightly pointed out\textsuperscript{15}. The incursions were repeated from 707 to 710 A.D. under the Umayyad general, Mûsa ibn Nusayr: the island was attacked and the cities were looted. For several years, the Arabs will not re off the Sardinian coast until 735, when ‘Ubayd Alläh ibn al-Habhab landed on the island again. This military action was repeated in 737, then in 752 the expedition was led by Abd al-Rahman al

\textsuperscript{10}Trump (1993, p. 23).
\textsuperscript{11}A focus of the archaeology of Malta: Bruno Cutafor (2002, p. 113).
\textsuperscript{12}Translation of Al Bakrî from De Slane (1965, p. 97).
\textsuperscript{13}Géographie d’Abulféda (1848, p. 176).
\textsuperscript{14}Amari (1880/1981, pp. 273-274).
\textsuperscript{15}Stasolla (2002, p. 80; p. 87).
Fihrî, a direct descendant of the master now raised to the glory of holiness: Uqba, the author of an important campaign of conquest in North Africa. Ibn Idhari reports that, from this moment:

the island was never molested by Muslims and Christians could live peacefully.

The Pseudo Methodius source refers about Muslim raids in the city of Olbia: the author described as a city overlooking Rome, shortly after the mid-seventh century (662-663 A.D.)\textsuperscript{16}. According to the version of Pseudo-Methodius, the expedition left Gighthis in the Gulf of Gabès, in Tunisia, just south of the Roman Tacape. At this time the organization of the coastal territory of the future Ifrîqiya was not completed, as happened in Egypt. In fact, as a result of the arrangement of the Egyptian fleet in the arsenals were organized the raids in the eastern part of Mediterranean against Cyprus and Rhodes. The years around the 660 A.D. was characterized by the expedition of the Arab general Uqba in Byzacium and Proconsularis. The itinerary of Uqba seems to have been in the internal part of this regions, avoiding the costal regions. This was a strategy that suggested running through sure routes, already known in the previous campaigns (Ibn Sa’d, Muhawiya).

It is not unlikely that, according to prior chronology attributed to the efforts of the Arab fleet sent from Alexandria, the city of Olbia can be identified with that of Lycia in Asia Minor. The region concerned, however, the arrival of the Arabs in their mid-VII century AD. This location would be in line with contemporary events and politics linked to the epic Battle of the Masts of 655 A.D., occurred just off the coast of Lycia.

In addition to written sources, the presence of Muslims living in Sardinia thanks to ar-

\textsuperscript{16}As proposed by Kaegi (2000) and Kaegi (2001).

chaeological and other material evidence (inscriptions, coins, seals), concentrated mostly in coastal areas or immediately neighbouring (Cagliari, Assemini, maybe Quartucciu near Piscina Nuxedda, Cabras in Capo San Marco, Porto Torres, Olbia/Fausania\textsuperscript{17}. This could be understood to imply the establishment of Muslim communities, although an important component could be considered migration movements and contacts from Andalusian Spain\textsuperscript{18}.

\textbf{East Mediterranean}

\textbf{Crete and the Aegean seas} The occupation of Crete dates from the 9th A.D., although some Muslim raids happened in 7th and 8th too\textsuperscript{19}. According to the Arabic sources (Al Baladhuri, Yaqtî, Al Ṭabarî, Al Kindî) and Eastern Christian sources (George Hamartolos and a continuation of his work, the hagiograph Symeon the Metaphrast then Genesius and Michael the Syrian) the chronology of the first conquest of Crete fluctuates between 821-823 and 830 A.D.\textsuperscript{20}. The writers link the event with the initiative of a group of rebel conquerors from Spain (emirate of Al-Andalus). They were captured and kidnapped in Alexandria, from which, once released, they turned to the island\textsuperscript{21}. Anyway, this is a version from a part

\textsuperscript{16}As proposed by Kaegi (2000) and Kaegi (2001).

\textsuperscript{17}It is known as harbour. Certainly it was used by the Arabs after VII A.D. according Amucano (2007), as recently has been pointed out by Spanu (2008, p. 357-358).

\textsuperscript{18}On archaeological evidence relating to the Arabs in Sardinia: Pinna (2010). On the Arab presence in Sardinia, seen against the Tyrrhenian and Italy: Del Lungo (2000).

\textsuperscript{19}Christides (1984, pp. 88-89).

\textsuperscript{20}Christides (1984, pp. 85-86) divided the sources by year into three categories: group I, 821-823; group II, 825-826; group III, 828-830; group IV, 827-828; group V, 829-845.

\textsuperscript{21}Brooks (1913, pp. 431-432); Setton (1954, p. 311); Miles (1964, p. 5).
of Arabic sources whereas Byzantine version include a different account: Andalusians could came from Spain directed in Aegean, and most probably in Crete and only in a second moment they stop in Egypt, laying over, before, in North Africa\textsuperscript{22}.

As far as Christides is concerned (1984, p. 86), the luck of Arabs was a consequence of a crisis in Byzantine Empire, related to the revolt of Thomas the Slave, that allowed an operating space in Aegean seas: after this event probably the raids were repeated, which explains different dates attribute to the island conquest by literature.

Once established in a part of the island, the Arabs could attack other islands and to extend control over the surrounding area.

Relations between Byzantium and the Arabs are documented by an episode of 879 A.D. when Niketas Ooryphas, drungarius, send a fleet against the Arabs of Crete, which at that time were operating around the coast of the Peloponnese and Gulf of Corinth\textsuperscript{23}. Shortly before, in 861, a fleet of sixty African vessels invaded southern Italy and took prisoners and also Kephalonia Zakynthos. In this context there is subsequent action by the Byzantine commander Niketas Ooryphas, under the reign of Basil I\textsuperscript{24}.

The material evidence shows the presence of Arabs around the Gulf of Crete Nauplia. Thus, even in the writings of St. Peter of Argos lifes (927 A.D.), we read about the continuous attacks of the Arabs from Crete, who harass the costs of Argolid and Arcadia, as well as around the southern Peloponnese. Byzantine sources report that a fleet of 30 galleys, Uthman, the Emir of Tarsus (Cilicia), attacked the fortress of Khalkis, and was defeated. According to Miles (1964) the Arabs never attacked the island and they

\textsuperscript{22}Christides (1984, p. 83).
\textsuperscript{23}Corinth is mentioned with reference to the Hosios Lukas monastery: Miles (1964, p. 5).
\textsuperscript{24}Gibb (1958, p. 312).

were still, indeed, the island of Euboea. In 904 Naxos, Paros and other islands of the Cyclades had been visited by the Arabs, coming back from the sack of Thessalonica; other pilage were at Samos and Lemnos, while the attack failed to Proconneso in the Sea of Marmora failed. Shortly before, in the western Aegean coast, they made a raid to Mount Athos and the islands situated in front of it: in 866 the Arabs seem to have established a semi-permanent base on the island of Neon, in Chalkidiiki.

After the conquest of Crete, around 827-829, a Byzantine fleet was defeated not far from the island of Thasos. After this action probably it was done the sack of Mount Athos, whereas it remains uncertain the Arab occupation of Athens between 896 and 902.

In this context, Crete was always the logistics center for Muslims attacks in Aegean seas. There was any forced conversion to Islam in spite of comments of many modern scholars. Nevertheless the Islamization of the inhabitants had been reserved only for pagans and not covers all the people.

Christians and Jewish were respected, although a small part of these became slaves. In addition, archaeological evidences, like the church of Saint Titos in Gortyna, that never was destroyed, shows the atmosphere of tolerance between different religions. Moreover, the small church of San Nicholas, built at the end of 8th and the beginning of 9th, during the Arab occupation, is a sign of integration with Christian population, if they didnt destroy the religious public buildings, but rather they continue to operate in these areas. Despite this, there are few information about the Cretan hierarchy. This fact do not implies the disappearance of the Christian bishops: in fact some names are known\textsuperscript{25}.

The Muslim occupation was concentrated on the south of Crete: Chandax (al-

\textsuperscript{25}Christides (1984, pp. 110-113).
Khandaq) was established as capital of Emirate. However, this city will not keep a lot of news, despite the amount of information provided by the Byzantine sources about attacks of the Agareni on the Aegean Sea. The emirate continued his life for at least a century, as the family tree traced by Miles (1964).

The coinage shows the existence of an independent political Center, economic strengths and commercial power. Therefore the presence of silver coins and gold, not only copper, testifies the presence of a cash flow not only aimed at small trades\textsuperscript{26}. On the other hand, Gortyna held the role of the Byzantine capital in the period of Arab conquest.

Several place's names (such as Sarakina, tou Sarakinou) remain to witness the presence of Arab and treasures collected after the Byzantine conquest (961 A.D. by the Byzantine emperor Nikephoros Phocas), and dispersed by the merchants in the same period of the Crusades testify to the prosperity of Arabic\textsuperscript{27} Crete.

The archaeological materials and inscriptions, both found in Athens and in the peninsula of Halkidiki, dated around the ninth-tenth century, as evidenced by Miles (1964), makes the idea of extending the sphere of Arab influence in the Aegean and Greece and the presence of permanent colonies of Arab Muslims, like, perhaps, of craftsmen and merchants living in Athens. A large presence of stylistic motifs inspired by the calligraphy (kufic) and Islamic art in general, show even better, the scope of Arab influence in these regions.

Cyprus. The island was conquered under the Umayyad Caliphate, after the defeat of the naval battle that took place involved the Byzantines against the Arab enemy, immediately after the capture of Constantinople. The Programme of raids was repeated\textsuperscript{28}. According to Al Tabari and Theophanes, in 648, the general Muhawiya Abdallah b. Qays attacked Cyprus; the Arabs landed in Constantia/Salamis. An inscription of 649 A.D., recently discovered in Soloi, confirms this Arab expedition\textsuperscript{29}. A second raid was in 653-654 A.D., just before the crucial Battle of the Masts (Dhāt al-Ṣawari) of 654-655 that opened for the Arabs important passages in the Eastern Mediterranean. It is noteworthy that the second time the landed was again in Constantia/Salamis. Otherwise archaeological analysis shows a renewal of an adjoined building of the Christian basilica in 655 A.D., burned few years before. The occupancy extended to the city of Kition, which was not conquered in first attack. Furthermore also Amathus was conquered, but continued its life and was not abandoned after the first raid. As far as archaeologists reported, the same happened also to the city of Salamis/Constantia, although the cities that received the heaviest treatment by the Arabs were Paphos and Laphitos.

In addition, the presence of findings demonstrates that imports of pottery continue since 9th A.D. from Constantinople. A part of inhabitants moved to inlands, but this reaction does not correspond to a creation of new rural settlements. However, the city of Nicosia, in the interior part of the island, gained the rule of the major populated centre in this period, although the Muslim administrative center was established in Paphos. According to the Arabic sources, especially Al Baladhurī, this city was populated by Arab immigrants established there, alongside of the locals inhabitants\textsuperscript{31}. The cenotaph of Hala Sultan Tekke in Larnaka is a

\textsuperscript{26}Miles (1964, p. 14)
\textsuperscript{27}Miles (1964, p. 17).
\textsuperscript{28}Gibb (1958, p. 222). For the Islamic period in Cyprus see recent work of Christides (2006).
\textsuperscript{29}Christides (2006, p. 11)
\textsuperscript{31}Concerning Paphos, the Arab policy of immigration does not correspond to a massive escape of previous population. Christides (2006, pp. 29-30).
sign of devotion to the early saints of Islam at the time of this raids. An important mark of the Arab presence was the treaty concluded by Arabs and Byzantine to definite sphere of influence. According to recent study of Christides (2006), there was not a repartition of duties and competence one each other, but a general law, allowing them live in the same land. The concept of ‘condominia’ or no-man’s land, which produces a lot of confusion in the past historiography, could not be applied in this case: Cyprus, like the other tributary independent states, was not protected by the Moslem state against aggression by third powers, but it acquired security from attacks on the part of Moslem state.

In fact, the treaty stipulated between Justinian II and Abd Al Malik was for a limited time, not indefinitely: according to Costantinus Porphyrogogenitus, the Arabs received taxes, but they do not have under possession the island.

Rhodes This island was another goal of the Arabs. According Boswort (1996, p. 157), the first Muslim raid seems to go back to 653, under the patronage of the caliph Uthman and the governor of Egypt Muhawiya. The indirect accounts offered by Arab historians (Baladhuri, al-Ṭabarī) are a transmission of the events chronologically closer to them, describe a prosperous Rhodes, fruitful and fertile, until, at the time of Muhawiya, was granted to the Arabs landed in Rhodes, to remain there for seven years. During this period, the settlers built fortresses to protect themselves from possible attacks and incursions of the enemy Byzantine. At the end of seven years, the governor succeeded Muhawiya, Yazid I ordered the newly-built fortresses to be destroyed and the settlers evacuated: this fact is placed by al-Ṭabarī in 673 A.D. is probable to assume, however, that the occupation had to be extended for well over seven years, since only in 674 the Arabs would have attacked an island near Istanbul, called Arwād and probably identifiable by a recent reading, with the islet of Arados. It remains only an impression, not supported by other data, the fact that the Arab occupation there was at least until the eighth century, when the Byzantine sources of Theophanes and Constantine Porphyrogenitus tell the story about the sale of the Colossus of Rhodes to the merchants Jews of Edessa was pure invention (Conrad 1992).

Conclusions

A common Mediterranean: an overview In spite of different approaches of the Arabs is important to focus on the problem of the islamization in these areas. Basically, as far as I am concerned, the approach of this fragmented history contributes to write a common view of the Mediterranean.

Although military actions in the Mediterranean island were carry out in different times, there is a common goal pursued by the Arabs. This is the opportunity to expand its presence with their culture and religion. The people who embraced the Muslim Empire take definitely an advantage. They fixed stable centres, sometimes planting artisan workshops and establishing a network of local and overseas businesses. These actions made secure the Arab presence in strategic areas of the Mediterranean. In spite of the belief provided by popular imagination

32For the legend of Um Harām who arrive with her husband Ubāda ibn al-Ṣāmit during the expedition of 649 A. D. see Christides (2006, pp. 61-63).

33For related bibliography and critical review see Boswort (1996, p. 159).
and sometimes supported by the historiography, these actions had not the characteristic of savage races. The presence of coins, as in Cyprus and Sardinia, testify to the economic vitality, but also with the presence of an administrative or cultural structure, often cohabiting with different administrative contexts (e.g. the Byzantines and then held in Sardinia, or in some part of Byzantine Crete). Urbanisation is another indicator of the Arab presence in the insular territories. The creation of new cities, often conveyed by the Greek or Latin experience, according to Carver (1996), constitutes an element of transition from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages. Moreover, it suggests that not existed any breakdown between Muslim and Christian world.

This field represent a part of a complex analysis: it shows as the Mediterranean, between the Seventh and the Tenth/Eleventh A.D. was closely connected (see attached table Arab presence in Mediterranean Islands). Certainly these contacts were aimed to a strategic employment of the lands. The attempt was to integrate the new territories, such as shows the episode of the Cretan settlers, and the desire to create stable communities in the Mediterranean. In this direction should therefore be integrated a reading of the historical data, archaeology and material culture for the understanding of a common Mediterranean history.

**Bibliography**


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Note: 34. It is difficult to talk about a state or nation in these periods.


And presence in Mediterranean Islands