Society for the Medieval Mediterranean
Seventh Biennial Conference

Image of late medieval Candia adapted from Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. St. Peter 32, fol. 19v/20r. (https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/pageview/3853546)

Interruptions and Disruptions in the Medieval Mediterranean, 400 – 1500

Department of History and Archaeology,
University of Crete, Rethymnon
11 – 15 July 2022

Programme

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY
School of Philosophy, University of Crete

Society for the Medieval Mediterranean

FORTH
INSTITUTE FOR MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES

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I. Committees

Coordination

- Professor Eleni Sakellariou, University of Crete
- Dr Aristea Gratsea, University of Crete - Institute for Mediterranean Studies/FORTH

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- Professor Vicky Foskolou, University of Crete
- Professor Demetres Kyritses, University of Crete
- Professor Roxani Margariti, Emory University
- Professor Thanassis Mailis, University of Crete
- Professor Kostas Moustakas, University of Crete
- Professor Eleni Sakellariou, University of Crete
- Professor Giannis Theodorakopoulos, University of Crete
- Professor Christina Tsigonaki, University of Crete

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- Professor Thanassis Mailis, University of Crete
- Professor Kostas Moustakas, University of Crete
- Professor Christina Tsigonaki, University of Crete
- Dr Aristea Gratsea, University of Crete – IMS/FORTH
- Vangelis Magiopoulos, University of Crete
- Stefano De Vita, University of Crete - Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II"

SMM Executive Board

- Professor Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo (University of Lincoln), President
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- Dr Christopher Heath (University of Lincoln), Book Reviews Editor

II. Interruptions and Disruptions in the Medieval Mediterranean, 400-1500

In response to the abrupt and largely unforeseen way in which the Covid-19 pandemic has thrown our world and everyday life into uncertainty since early 2020, the theme of the 7th International Conference of the Society for the Medieval Mediterranean (SMM) is *Interruptions and Disruptions*. Scholars are invited to explore and challenge meanings and experiences of interruptions and to reflect upon whether and to what extent interruptions prompted change or acted as 'turning points' in the medieval Mediterranean.

The aim is to examine the theme of interruptions from different disciplinary perspectives, including History, Archaeology, Literature, Linguistics, Art History, Religious Studies/Theology, and any other disciplines focusing on the medieval Mediterranean. We anticipate that the research papers of the Conference will apply, through the analysis of diverse types of sources, innovative approaches and stimulate debates to reflect upon individual and collective perceptions and experiences of interruptions.

The following list of possible topics of discussion is indicative:

- Crisis and recovery
- Epidemics and natural catastrophes
- War, invasion, conquest
- Dynastic change
- Social unrest and rebellion
- Disruption of social, religious and/or cultural systems
- Political interruptions
- Material evidence of interruptions
- Integration and segregation
- Geographical interruptions: insularity, land and sea, mountain and plain
- Displacement and mobility

- Lived experience of interruptions
- Interruptions and historiography
- Apocalypticism

III. Keynote Speakers

Andy Merrills, University of Leicester

"The Spaces in Between: Metaphor and Methodology in the Study of Early Medieval North Africa".

Historians and archaeologists of the early medieval world commonly compare their work to a jigsaw puzzle, albeit one in which most of the pieces are missing and the box art has been irreparably damaged. The challenge (and joy) in this scholarship is thus founded on inferring broader patterns from small pockets of evidence, and making connections between seemingly disparate pieces of information. In this paper, I consider the gaps that are frequently occluded by this approach, particularly in the study of early medieval North Africa (roughly 400 – 700 CE). Looking particularly at the political and religious history of the 'Moorish' world, I suggest that different metaphors may be more useful for appreciating the 'unknown unknowns' within this world.

Nükhet Varlik, Rutgers University – Newark

"Rethinking the Pandemics of the Medieval Mediterranean: Disruption and Resilience".

The medieval Mediterranean experienced a series of epidemic and endemic diseases, among which were the two most disruptive pandemics of plague of the premodern world, i.e., the Justinianic Plague and the Black Death, each initiating the new disease regimes of the first and the second pandemics of plague respectively. Both series of epidemics left a deep imprint in Mediterranean societies, transforming them irreversibly. But how do we study such epidemic episodes of the past? Where is our attention focused and what are our blind spots? And how to we rethink the legacy of past pandemics? In this present age of pandemics, it is critical to rethink how we write that history. With a conviction that the past helps us to understand the present and the present should help us to rethink the past, I turn to past plagues and the legacy they left behind.

In this presentation, I will take stock of the lasting legacies of past plagues because they continue to shape the way we think about new pandemics. First, I will

stress that the reflexive discussion of past pandemics as short-term cataclysmic events must be replaced by a broader, more realistic vision that recognizes that pandemics are long-term processes. This can be only achieved by adopting a longer, multi-century timescale that facilitates detecting the ebb and flow of diseases over the *longue durée*. Then, I will emphasize that we need to shift our focus beyond epidemic episodes of disruption to better understand how past societies learned to live with diseases and the processes by which they developed the means of resilience in facing them. In both cases, the medieval Mediterranean serves as an excellent case in point with a rich repository of historical experiences. Against this backdrop, I will then turn to the lasting legacies of past plagues and address persistent problems, such as European exceptionalism, triumphalism, and epidemiological orientalism that are not only ubiquitous in the historical scholarship, but also staples of public opinion about pandemics, past and present.

IV. Conference Venue

Department of History and Archaeology, University of Crete, Rethymnon

Established in 1973, the University of Crete is a young public educational institution committed to excellence in research and teaching. The seat of the University is the Gallos Campus in Rethymnon, where the Faculties of Letters, Education, Social, Economic & Political Sciences are located. The Voutes Campus in Heraklion is home to the Faculty of Sciences & Technology and the Faculty of Medicine, as well as a number of affiliated research-oriented infrastructures and facilities. Currently, the University has about 20,000 registered undergraduate and postgraduate students. They are educated by an outward-looking academic faculty of around 450 members, supported by adjunct lecturers, post-doctoral researchers, laboratory staff and instructors, as well as around 300 technical and administrative staff.

The international orientation of the University is reflected in its track record of collaborations with many of the leading research and educational institutions in Europe and worldwide, as well as active promotion of mobility and exchange programmes. Research and research training at all levels benefits also from the *de facto* regional cluster of research institutions i.e. the Foundation for Research and Technology-Hellas (FORTH), the Hellenic Centre for Marine Research (HCMR), the University General Hospital (PagNi) as well as the other HEIs in Crete.

Located on the island of Crete, a site rich in ancient and modern Mediterranean cultures, the University offers a vibrant social and intellectual environment for research and education. As such, whether your contact with the University is brief or long-term, we trust it will be rewarding.

The Department of History and Archaeology operates as an autonomous department in the Faculty of Letters since the academic year 1983-1984, committed to quality undergraduate and postgraduate teaching and cutting-edge research in history, archaeology and art history. The Department has proudly built on the legacy of its founding members, comprising eminent historians, archaeologists and art historians, such as Nikos Svoronos, Vasilis Kremmydas, Nikos Chatzinikolaou and many others. The Department consists of four sections: Ancient and Medieval History, Modern History, Archaeology and Art History, and Oriental and African Studies.
Recently, the Departmental research programmes were integrated in the Centre for Research and Studies (C.R.S.) in Humanities, Social Sciences and Pedagogics of the

University of Crete. C.R.S.'s mission is to promote research in the Humanities and Social Sciences and to operate research projects on behalf of third parties.

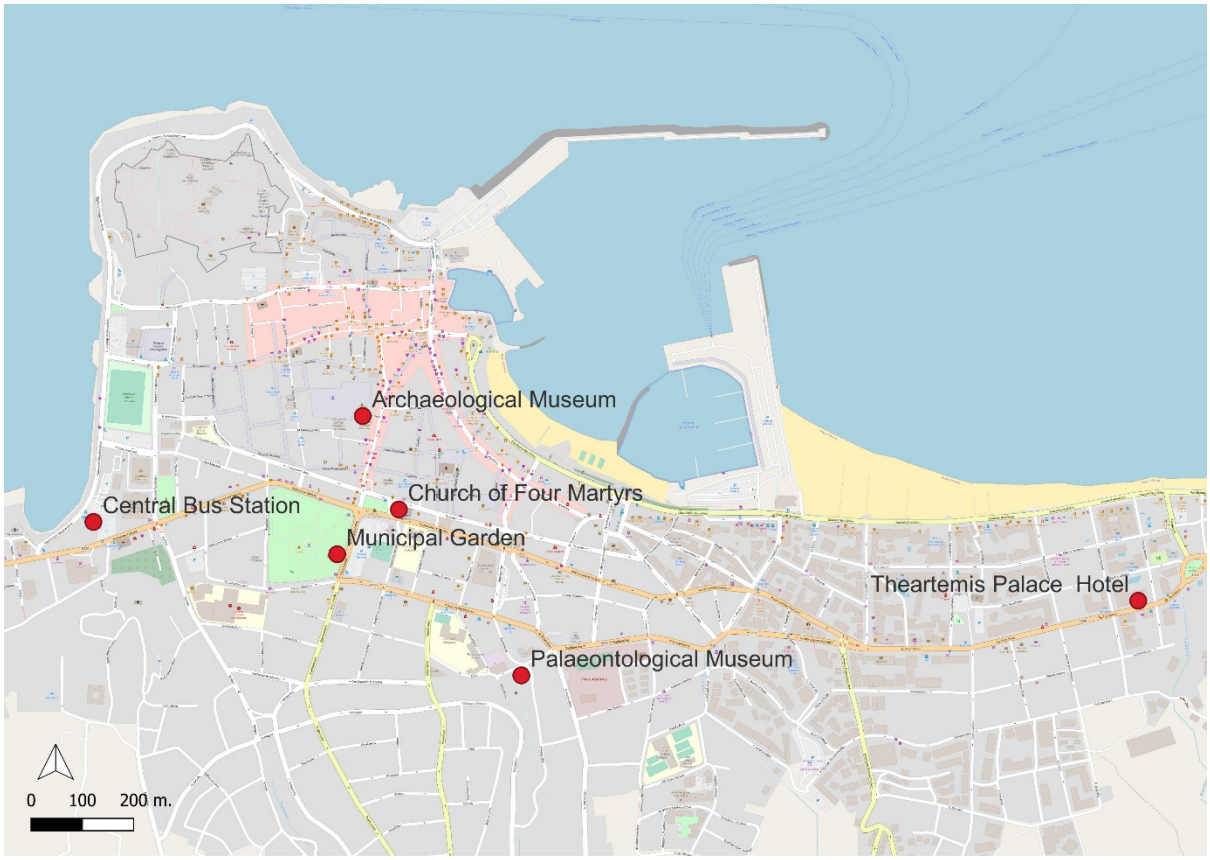
Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS) – Foundation for Research and Technology – Hellas (FORTH)

The Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS) – based in Rethymno, Crete – was founded in 1985 and is one of the 9 Institutes of the Foundation for Research and Technology — Hellas (FORTH), the leading research institution in Greece. IMS's purpose is to promote research in the humanities and social sciences, as well as the application of science and technology on cultural heritage and the environment. It is distinguished for its research in history and culture and is the only research or university institution in the country to have been awarded four ERC Grants (2016, 2017, 2018, 2019) in the humanities in Greece.

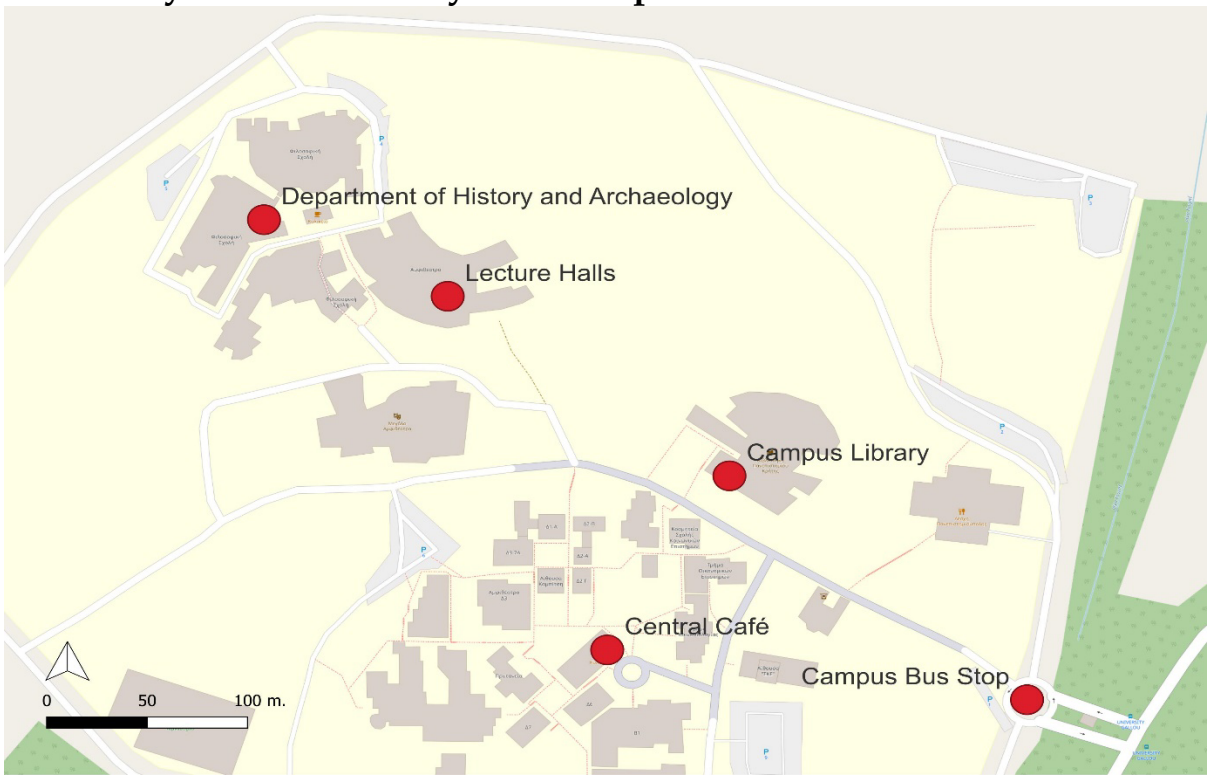
The IMS research programmes focus on the history and culture of Greece and other countries of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea in various historical periods, from prehistory to modern times. To date, its research focuses on three research axes, 1) Mediterranean History, 2) Mediterranean culture, 3) Geoinformatics technology for Culture and Environment, and is undertaken by ten teams of researchers based in the Institution's research sections, centres, and labs.

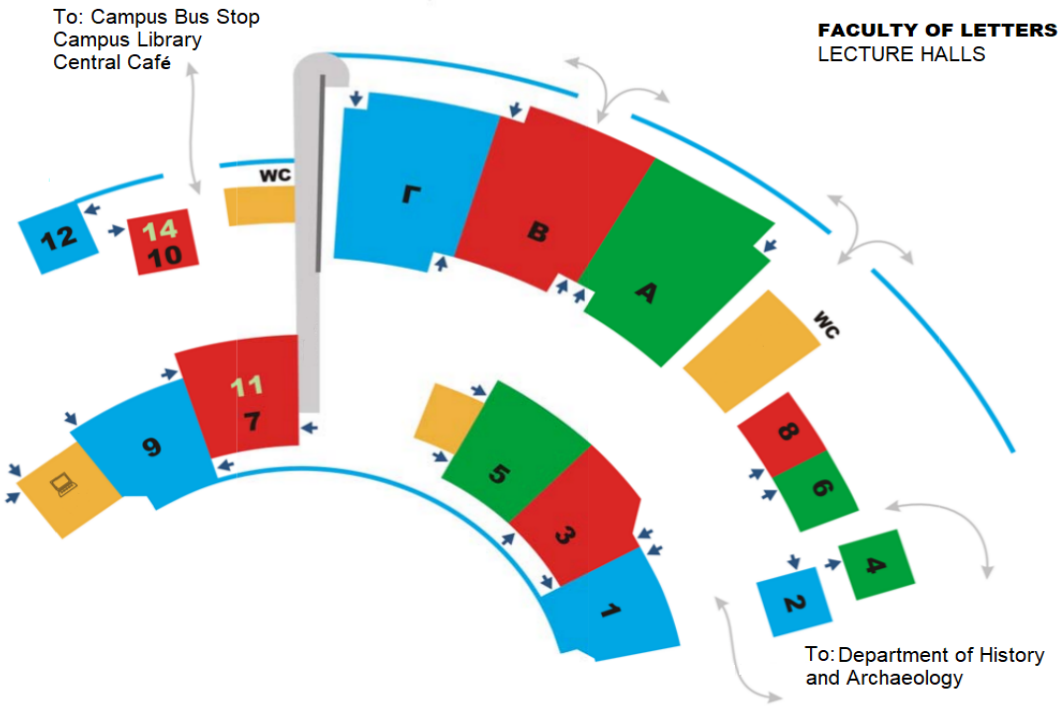
V. Maps

Rethymno



University of Crete – Rethymno Campus





VI. Conference Programme

Programme at a glance

Monday 11 July		Tuesday 12 July		Wednesday 13 July		Thursday 14 July		Friday 15 July
12:15-13:30	Registration and Conference Opening	9:30-11:00	Panel Sessions	9:30-11:00	Panel Sessions	10:00-11:30	Panel Sessions	Day Excursion to Heraklion, Museums and hinterland, 8:30-18:00
13:30-14:45	Roundtable	11:00-11:30	Coffee Break	11:00-11:30	Coffee Break	11:30-12:00	Coffee Break	
14:45-15:15	Coffee Break	11:30-13:00	Panel Sessions	11:30-13:00	Panel Sessions	12:00-12:30	Closure	
15:15-16:45	Panel Sessions	13:00-14:30	Lunch	13:00-14:30	Lunch	15:00-20:00	Visit to Etz Hayyim and Chania	
16:45-17:00	Break	14:30-16:00	Panel Sessions	14:30-16:00	Panel Sessions			
17:00-18:30	Keynote Lecture	16:00-16:30	Coffee Break	17:00-18:00	SMM AGM			
				18:00-19:30	Keynote Lecture			
18:30	Reception	16:30-18:00	Panel Sessions	20:00	Conference Dinner			

Monday 11 July

Registration
12:15 – 13:00

Opening Session
13:00 – 13:30

Roundtable:
Interruptions and Disruptions
in the Medieval Mediterranean, 400 – 1500
Organizer: The Society for the Medieval Mediterranean
Chair: Jan Vandeburie
Speakers: Mike Carr, Christopher Heath, Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo, Jessica Tearney-Pearce, Nicky Tsougarakis, Esther-Miriam Wagner, Jamie Wood
Lecture Hall B
13:30 – 14:45

Coffee Break
14:45 – 15:15

Session 1
15:15 – 16:45

Panel 1.1
Rebuilding Rome's *Mare Nostrum*: Monetary Zones in Medieval Mediterranean Trade
Organizer: James Todesca, Georgia Southern University
Chair: Jamie Wood, University of Lincoln
Lecture Room 1

Alan M. Stahl, Princeton University:
The Making of the Early Medieval Monetary Zones.

James Todesca, Georgia Southern University:
Maintaining the *Pax morabitinia*: The Crown of León and the Second Crusade.

Sarah Kampbell, Independent Scholar:
Money in Transition: Imitation Venetian Ducats as Regional Currency.

Panel 1.2
Chair: Jan Vandeburie, University of Leicester
Lecture Room 3

Samantha Cloud, Saint Louis University:
The Chansonnier du Roi & Leonardo da Veroli: French Angevin Interruption in Achaea & the decline of the Latin Peloponnese.

Clio Takas, Harvard University:
Do Cry for Me Constantinople: Constantinopolitan Identity and Laments for the Fall of the City.

Netta Amir, Hebrew University of Jerusalem:
Continuity and obstruction along the streets of Mamluk Jerusalem.

16:45 – 17:00
Break

Keynote Lecture
17:00 – 18:30

Andy Merrills (Leicester University):
The Spaces in Between: Metaphor and Methodology in the study of Early Medieval North Africa.

Lecture Hall B

Historians and archaeologists of the early medieval world commonly compare their work to a jigsaw puzzle, albeit one in which most of the pieces are missing and the box art has been irreparably damaged. The challenge (and joy) in this scholarship is

thus founded on inferring broader patterns from small pockets of evidence, and making connections between seemingly disparate pieces of information. In this paper, I consider the gaps that are frequently occluded by this approach, particularly in the study of early medieval North Africa (roughly 400 – 700 CE). Looking particularly at the political and religious history of the 'Moorish' world, I suggest that different metaphors may be more useful for appreciating the 'unknown unknowns' within this world.

Reception
18:30 – 19:30

Tuesday 12 July

Session 2
9:30 – 11:00

Panel 2.1
Travelling in the Eastern Mediterranean, ca. 1300-1500: Politics, Agency and Production of Historical Knowledge and Space I: The Traveller Self
Organizers: Eleni Tounta, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and Nikolaos Chrissis, Democritus University of Thrace
Chair: Eleni Tounta, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki
Lecture Room 1

Nicola Carotenuto, University of Oxford:
What struck travellers who ventured in the Eastern Mediterranean in the fourteenth century?

Karl Lysén, Stockholm University:
Niccolò da Poggibonsi and Felix Faber in Jerusalem: Positionings of the Self in the sacred space, and through the religious Other.

Jacques Paviot, Université Paris-Est Créteil (UPEC):
Pero Tafur in the Eastern Mediterrrean, 1437-1438.

Panel 2.2
At the Crossroads of Change: Interruptions and Disruptions in the Texts and Traditions of Catalonia and Septimania I
Organizer: Ekaterina Novokhatko, FOVOG – Research Centre for Comparative History of Religious Orders, Dresden
Chair: Ekaterina Novokhatko, FOVOG – Research Centre for Comparative History of Religious Orders, Dresden
Lecture Room 3

Isaac Lampurlanés i Farré, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institut für Mittelalterforschung (IMAFO), Vienna:

Disruption in the Tradition of Carolingian Clergymen's Writings: The Case of Luculentius.

Patrick S. Marschner, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institut für Mittelalterforschung (IMAFO), Vienna:
Interruptions in Historiographical Texts in 11th- and 12th-Century Codices of Southern France and Catalonia.

Clara Renedo i Mirambell, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona:
Continuity and Disruption in an Unknown Version of the "Vita S. Helenae" Preserved at the Cathedral of Barcelona (Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Còdex 107).

Panel 2.3
Disruption in the Dynamics of Religious Minorities
Organisers: Clara Almagro, UNED & Ana Echevarría, UNED
Chair: José Manuel Rodríguez García, UNED
Lecture Room 5

Ana Echevarría, UNED – Madrid:
Christians in Al-Andalus: Subjects of the Caliph or Subjects of the Kings?

Clara Almagro Vidal, UNED – Madrid:
After the Conquest: Disruption and Continuity among Muslims under the Rule of Military Orders in the Medieval Iberian Peninsula.

Anna Rich-Abad, University of Nottingham:
From Jews to Conversos: The Riots of 1391 in Barcelona and their Effects in the Economic and Artisanal Activities of the Jewish Community.

Panel 2.4
Social Unrest and Rebellion as Reflected in the Judeo-Arabic Medieval Sources
Organiser: Zvi Stampfer, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Chair: Esther Miriam Wagner, Woolf Institute & University of Cambridge
Lecture Room 9

Oded Zinger, Hebrew University of Jerusalem:
"See the Controversy these People did!" Violence, Politics and Law in a Communal Dispute from the Cairo Geniza.

Zvi Stampfer, Hebrew University of Jerusalem:
Rebellion, Local Militia and Governmental Army: Ethical and Judicial Dilemma in the Judeo-Arabic Sources.

Uriel Simonsohn, University of Haifa:
Precarious Gatekeepers – Female Power and Religious Conflict in Medieval Islamic Literature.

Coffee Break
11:00 – 11:30

Session 3
11:30 – 13:00

Panel 3.1
Travelling in the Eastern Mediterranean, ca. 1300-1500: Politics, Agency and Production of Historical Knowledge and Space II: Travellers, Space and Proto-Orientalism
Organizers: Eleni Tounta, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and Nikolaos Chrissis, Democritus University of Thrace
Chair: Nikolaos Chrissis, Democritus University of Thrace
Lecture Room 1

Loïc Chollet, University of Fribourg, Switzerland:
French crusading and the shaping of Eastern Mediterranean.

Eleni Tounta, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki:
Ethnographic discourse and Florentine identities: Crete as cultural space in Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *Descriptio insulae Cretae.*

Malika Dekkiche, University of Antwerp:
Telling and Creating the East: The case of Cyprus during the late medieval period.

Panel 3.2
At the Crossroads of Change: Interruptions and Disruptions in the Texts and Traditions of Catalonia and Septimania II
Organizer: Ekaterina Novokhatko, FOVOG – Research Centre for Comparative History of Religious Orders, Dresden
Chair: Isaac Lampurlanés i Farré, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institut für Mittelalterforschung (IMAFO), Vienna
Lecture Room 3

Matthias M. Tischler, ICREA/Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona:
From Interruption to Disruption: How Carolingian Political Culture Changed the North-east Parts of the Iberian Peninsula from the Ninth Century Onwards.

Ekaterina Novokhatko, FOVOG – Research Centre for Comparative History of Religious Orders, Dresden:
The Phenomenon of Deliberate Interruption? Religious congregations in Catalonia-Septimania in the 12th Century.

Eulàlia Vernet i Pons, Universitat de Barcelona, Departament de Filologia clàssica, romànica i semítica:
Disruption in the Medieval Jewish Community of Barcelona: The Hebrew and Catalan Textual Witnesses on the Riot of 1391 and its Historical Consequences.

Panel 3.3
The Role of Notaries in the territories of the Crown of Aragon in a Period of Political Transitions (13th-15th centuries)
Organiser: Gemma T. Colesanti, ISPC-CNR, Naples
Chair: Francesco Paolo Tocco, University of Messina
Lecture Room 5

Gemma T. Colesanti, ISPC-CNR Naples – Vera Schwarz-Ricci, ISCP-CNR, Naples:
The role of Benevento's notaries between the Papal State and the Kingdom of Naples.

Luciana Petracca, University of Salento:
Offices, Officials and Notaries in the Principality of Taranto during the transition from the Orsini family to the Aragonese Dynasty.

Daniel Piñol Alabart, University of Barcelona:
Monarchy and Notaries in the Crown of Aragon: Two Institutions in Development (13th century).

Panel 3.4
Chair: Jessica Tearney-Pearce, University of Cambridge
Lecture Room 9

José Manuel Rodríguez Garcia, Facultad de Geografia e Historia, UNED:
Crusade Discontinuity in the Iberian-North African Front, 1249-1309.

Betty Binysh, University of Cardiff:
Truces as Chances to Change Direction and Reset Relationships: 1192 Treaty of Jaffa.

Lunch
13:00 – 14:30

Session 4
14:30 – 16:00

Panel 4.1
Travelling in the Eastern Mediterranean, ca. 1300-1500: Politics, Agency and Production of Historical Knowledge and Space III: Merchant and Pilgrim Routes and the Experience of Travelling
Organizers: Eleni Tounta, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and Nikolaos Chrissis, Democritus University of Thrace
Chair: Eleni Sakellariou, University of Crete
Lecture Room 1

In memory of Ruthy Gertwagen

Ourania Perdiki, University of Cyprus:
Terra christianorum ultima: Pilgrims, pilgrimage sites and maritime routes in Cyprus during the late Middle Ages.

Mike Carr, University of Edinburgh:
Pilgrims, Pilgrim Licences and Eastern Mediterranean Trade.

Marie-Adélaïde Nielen, Archives nationales de France / Université Paris Nanterre:
Jean de Tournai, pilgrim, traveler, writer.

Panel 4.2
Chair: Christina Tsigonaki, University of Crete
Lecture Room 3

Palmira Krleža – Filip Lovrić, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb:
Continuity and Abandonment on Islands of Quarnero and Northern Dalmatia from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages.

Vesna Lalošević, Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, Zagreb – Kristina Džin, Hrvatsko društvo za proučavanje antičkih mozaika (HDPAM):
Istrian Peninsula in crisis: Examples of interrupted continuity of life from Ager Polensis.

Maja Perić, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences:
Sailing against the wind. How weather conditions influenced the journey of medieval pilgrims in the Eastern Adriatic.

Panel 4.3
Broken Balances: Circulation and Redistribution of Fiscal Resources in Medieval Southern Italy (9th – 15th centuries) - PRIN Research Project "Fiscal Estate in Medieval Italy: Continuity and Change (9th – 12th Centuries)"
Organiser: Giulia Zornetta, Università Roma Tre
Chair: Roberto Delle Donne, Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II"
Lecture Room 9

Giulia Zornetta, Università Roma Tre:
The Long Memory of Fiscal Properties: Public Officials and Monastic Reconstructions in Lombard Southern Italy.

Victor Rivera Magos (Università di Foggia):
Distribution and Control of Fiscal Resources in the Early Angevin Age: the Case of Capitanata between Fragility and Resistance.

Davide Morra, Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II":
"What the Dissolution and Misery of Wars Introduce": the Lost Unity of the Fiscal Patrimony in the Fifteenth-Century Kingdom of Naples.

Panel 4.4
From Silva to Mons: the Development of Pastoralism in Late Antiquity Iberia
Organiser: Nerea Fernández Cadenas, University of León
Chair: Jamie Wood, University of Lincoln
Lecture Room 5

Pablo López Gómez, University of León:
Archaeology at Livestock Sites.

Raquel Ezquerro Jiménez, University of León:
Grazing Uses in the Post-Roman Horizon in the Iberian Peninsula: an Approach from the Written Record.

Nerea Fernández Cadenas, University of León:
Post-Roman Numerical Slates: a Silvopastoral Technology?

Break
16:00 – 16:30

Session 5
16:30 – 18:00

Panel 5.1
Crisis, Recovery, Integration and Segregation in Southern Italy: Confraternities and Hospitals in the Urban Contexts (13th-15th centuries)
Sponsored by the NotMed Project (University of Barcelona)
Organiser: Salvatore Marino, University of Barcelona
Chair: Eleni Sakellariou, University of Crete
Lecture Room 9

Stefano D'Ovidio, University of Naples "Federico II":
Hospitals and Urban Space in Late Medieval Naples (13th-15th centuries).

Salvatore Marino, University of Barcelona:
Spaces of Integration and Segregation: Confraternities and Hospitals in Abruzzo (14th century).

Daniela Santoro, Università degli Studi di Palermo:
Crisis and Recovery in Palermo: Hospitals and Assistance at the Turn of the Black Death.

Panel 5.2
Movements and Interruptions in the Mediterranean World (1200-1500) I – People and Concepts
Organisers: Alessandro Silvestri, CAIMMed, IMF-CSIC Barcelona, Victòria A. Burguera-Puigserver, CAIMMed, IMF-CSIC Barcelona
Chair: Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo, University of Lincoln
Lecture Room 1

Ivan Armenteros Martínez, CAIMMed, IMF-CSIC Barcelona:
Rethinking the Meaning of "Segregation" and "Marginality" in the Study of Slavery in Late-Medieval Western Mediterranean.

Roser Salicrú i Lluch, CAIMMed, IMF-CSIC Barcelona:
How Captivity Disrupted Individual Lives: Lived Experiences of Interruption in the Medieval Mediterranean.

Victòria A. Burguera-Puigserver, CAIMMed, IMF-CSIC Barcelona:
The Interruption of Captivity: Development of Municipal Ransoming Institutions in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon.

Carolina Obradors-Suazo, Independent Scholar:
From Jews to Converts and Citizens: Disruption, Uncertainty and Citizenship in Late Medieval Barcelona.

Panel 5.3
Imperialism and Interruption in the Byzantine World
Organiser: Phoebe Irene Georgiadi, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens
Chair: Daniel Reynolds, University of Birmingham
Lecture Room 3

Konstantinos Karatolios, University of Crete:
From Basil I to Leo VI: The Illiterate and the Scholar.

Phoebe Irene Georgiadi, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens:
From Michael VIII to Andronikos II: The First Two Palaiologoi's Different Approaches towards the Church.

Daniel Reynolds, Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, University of Birmingham:
Byzantium Interrupted: Byzantine archaeology and border frontiers in British Mandate Palestine.

Panel 5.4
Chair: Christopher Heath, University of Lincoln
Lecture Room 5

Nausheen Hoosein, University of York:
Displacement and Mobility in medieval Iberia: The Case of the Caliphal Capitals.

Oscar Perdomo, Freie Universität Berlin:
The spread of the cult of Ildefonsus of Toledo and the reinterpretation of his treatise De viginate Mariae in the Mediterranean (8th to 10th centuries).

Tadeáš Vala, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, University of Pardubice, and Department of Political Studies – African Studies, University of Hradec Králové:
Jihad by the Sword as a reaction to the Reconquista and the Crusades: a Comparison of the Situation in the Middle East and the Iberian Peninsula in the 11th-13th centuries.

Wednesday 13 July

Session 6
9:30 – 11:00

Panel 6.1
Byzantium Disrupted? Reinterpreting 'Crisis' in the Byzantine World through new Perspectives, Scales, Places and Chronologies
Organiser: Youyoung Jung, EHESS, CéSor (Paris)
Chair: Youyoung Jung, EHESS, CéSor (Paris)
Lecture Room 1

Marine Tesson, Université Paris-Créteil, CRHEC:
The Storming of Naples of Belissarius' soldiers according to Procopius of Caesarea: the military story mirroring the urban and social crises of Late Antiquity.

Youyoung Jung, EHESS, CéSor (Paris):
Socio-economic Dynamics of Byzantine Urban Space in Urban Literature (10th – 13th century).

Guillaume Bidaut, EHESS, L'agrégation d'histoire:
The River Strymon as Mirror of Crisis, Reconfiguration and Resilience in Byzantine-Ottoman Transition (14th-15th century).

Panel 6.2
The Impact of Crusading Conflict at the Turn of the Thirteenth Century
Organiser: Alun Williams, University of Exeter and Gregory Lippiatt, University of Exeter
Chair: Jan Vandeburie, University of Leicester
Lecture Room 3

Alexander Mallett, Waseda University:
Imad al-Din al-Isfahani's Account of the Battle of Hattin: Typology as a Strategy of Legitimisation in Medieval Islamic Narratives.

Gregory Lippiatt, University of Exeter:
The Limits of Persecution: Jews and the Albigensian Crusade.

Alun Williams, University of Exeter:
Las Navas de Tolosa: False Dawn, Lost Decade or the Consummation of Christian Victory?

Panel 6.3
Movements and Interruptions in the Mediterranean World (1200-1500) II – People and War
Organisers: Alessandro Silvestri, CAIMMed, IMF-CSIC Barcelona, Victòria A. Burguera-Puigserver, CAIMMed, IMF-CSIC Barcelona
Chair: Ana María Echevarría Arsuaga, UNED
Lecture Room 5

Enrico Basso, Università degli Studi di Torino:
Becoming a King: Brancaleone Doria and the Struggle for Power in Sardinia at the beginning of the Fourteenth Century.

Roberta Morosini, Wake Forest University:
Ruling Candia with Poetry: Paolino Veneto's *De Regimine Rectoris* and a new Idea of Global Citizenship.

Alessandro Silvestri, IMF-CSIC:
An Interrupted War? The Crown of Aragon, the first War for Naples, and its Continuation in the 1420s.

Alessandro Rizzo, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich:
Reassessing the "Spaces of the Parties" in Mamluk-European Diplomacy through an Analysis of the Chancery Sources.

Panel 6.4
Normalizing a Society: Constraints, Expulsions and Cancellations in the Kingdom of Sicily (13th-14th centuries)
Organiser: Francesco Paolo Tocco, University of Messina
Chair: Eleni Sakellariou, University of Crete
Lecture Room 9

Gemma T. Colesanti, ISPC-CNR, Naples:
Women's Monastic Communities in the Kingdom of Sicily and the "Normalization" of the IV Council of the Lateran.

Amalia Galdi, University of Salerno:
Southern Jewish Communities between Inclusion and Subjection (13th-14th centuries).

Francesco Paolo Tocco, University of Messina:
Control, Submission, Deletion: Islamic Communities in the Kingdom of Sicily from Frederick II to Charles II.

Coffee Break
11:00 – 11:30

Session 7
11:30 – 13:00

Panel 7.1
Travelling in the Eastern Mediterranean, ca. 1300-1500: Politics, Agency and Production of Historical Knowledge and Space IV: Travelling and Local Identities
Organizers: Eleni Tounta, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and Nikolaos Chrissis, Democritus University of Thrace
Chair: Nicky Tsougarakis, University of Crete
Lecture Room 9

Simon Phillips, University of Cyprus:
Island-Hopping Hospitallers in the South-East Aegean, 1309-1522: A contribution to the making of a Dodecanese identity?

Alessandro Flavio Dumitrașcu, Institute for Sout East European Studies, Romanian Academy:
Traveling through 'Velachia-Bassa' in the second half of XVth century.

Sebastian Kolditz, Heidelberg University:
From Ferrara to the Holy Land: Mediterranean Perceptions in two Travel Accounts from the First Half of the 15th Century.

Panel 7.2
Looking for Trouble I: Civil Unrest and the Coherence of the Broad Mediterranean
Organiser: Jakob Riemenschneider, Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altorientalistik
Chair: Giulia Zornetta, Università Roma Tre
Lecture Room 1

Jakob Riemenschneider, Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck:
Framing Civil Unrest then and now.

Salvatore Liccardo, Austrian Academy of Sciences:
Urban Masses and Civil Unrest in Late Antique *Metropoleis.*

Marta Szada, University of Torun:
Feature, not a Bug? Violence of Lay Crowds and Clerical Promotions in the Late Antique West.

Panel 7.3
Aspects of Continuity, Questions of Disruption: A Wider Approach to the Early Medieval Period
Organiser: Nikolaos E. Michail, Université Lumière Lyon 2 – National and Kapodistrian University of Athens
Chair: Christina Tsigonaki, University of Crete
Lecture Room 3

Nikolaos E. Michail, Université Lumière Lyon 2 – National and Kapodistrian University of Athens:
Continuity through Change: Repairs in the Roman Agora at Delphi.

Paschalis Makrogiannelis, University of Durham – Ephorate of Antiquities, Rethymnon:
Private Facilities over Former Public Buildings: Making the Most out of the Ruins?

Georgia Giannaki, Université Lumière Lyon 2 – National and Kapodistrian University of Athens:
Early Byzantine Glazed Pottery: Tracing the Missing Link Between the Late Roman and Medieval Glazed Ware.

Panel 7.4
Chair: Thanassis Mailis
Lecture Room 5

Maria Elena Aureli, Pisa University:
(Dis)connectivities of an insular outpost in the West: Sardinia in the upper-Tyrrhenian context, 7th-9th century).

Colette Manciero, University of Salerno:
Times of changings. New reflections on the Festòs Plain from Late Antiquity to the Venetian period.

Eugenia Dialoupi, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens:
The interruption of the Early Byzantine city of Edessa: The evidence from the reuse of commercial amphorae from the archaeological site of Edessa.

Lunch
13:00 – 14:30

Session 8
14:30 – 16:00

Panel 8.1
Travelling in the Eastern Mediterranean, ca. 1300-1500: Politics, Agency and Production of Historical Knowledge and Space V: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Historical Memory
Organizers: Eleni Tounta, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and Nikolaos Chrissis, Democritus University of Thrace
Chair: Jacques Paviot, Université Paris-Est Créteil (UPEC)
Lecture Room 1

Nikolaos G. Chrissis, Democritus University of Thrace:
Propagating the East: Memory, space, and the "Oriental" others in the works of Marino Sanudo Torsello and Philippe de Mézières.

Nicky Tsougarakis, University of Crete:
Remembering and misremembering the crusades on the late-medieval Jerusalem pilgrimage.

Lilli Hölzlhammer, Uppsala University:
Mapping the Greek other in a sea of Turkish danger in Felix Fabri's *Evagatorium* (1486) and *Die Sionpilger* (1492).

Panel 8.2
Looking for Trouble II: Reading Disorder Orderly
Organiser: Jakob Riemenschneider, Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altorientalistik
Chair: Jakob Riemenschneider, Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck
Lecture Room 3

Martin Bauer, University of Innsbruck:
Popular Uprising between Photios and Late Antique Historiography.

Veronika Egetenmeyr, University of Rostock:
Peaceful Monks and *Milites Christi:* Disorder and Disputes in the Writings of the Community of Lérins.

Mateusz Fafinski, Free University of Berlin:
A Restless City: Textual Images of Civil Unrest in Late Antiquity.

Panel 8.3
Mobility and Communication between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic at the End of the Middle Ages
Organiser: Inazio Conde Mendoza, Universidad de Cantabria
Chair: Roser Salicrú i Lluch, IMF-CSIC Barcelona
Discussant: José Damián González Arce, Universidad de Murcia
Lecture Room 5

Francesco Guidi Bruscoli, University of Florence:
From the Mediterranean to the North Sea: Italian Merchants in England in the Late Middle Ages.

Inazio Conde Mendoza, Universidad de Cantabria:
Basque Skippers on the Route to Pisa (15th – 16th centuries).

Jesús Á. Solórzano Telechea, Universidad de Cantabria:
From the Mediterranean to the Labrador Peninsula (and beyond): trade, fisheries and privateering of the Cantabrian Ports (1452-1552).

Panel 8.4
Chair: Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo, University of Lincoln
Lecture Room 9

Luigi Andrea Berto, Western Michigan University:
Narrating the effects of the clashes between Christians and Muslims in early medieval southern Italy.

Stefano De Vita, University of Naples "Federico II":
Constantine V and the Neapolitan Iconoclasm.

Joana Gomes, Institute of Philosophy – University of Porto:
Writing against Disruption: Storytelling as a form of continuity in medieval Iberian Historiography.

Break
16:00 – 17:00

SMM AGM
17:00 – 18:00
Institute of Mediterranean Studies (IMF) –
Foundation of Research and Technology (FORTH)

Keynote Lecture
18:00 – 19:30
Institute of Mediterranean Studies (IMF) –
Foundation of Research and Technology (FORTH)

Nükhet Varlik, Rutgers University – Newark
"Rethinking the Pandemics of the Medieval Mediterranean: Disruption and Resilience"

The medieval Mediterranean experienced a series of epidemic and endemic diseases, among which were the two most disruptive pandemics of plague of the premodern

world, i.e., the Justinianic Plague and the Black Death, each initiating the new disease regimes of the first and the second pandemics of plague respectively. Both series of epidemics left a deep imprint in Mediterranean societies, transforming them irreversibly. But how do we study such epidemic episodes of the past? Where is our attention focused and what are our blind spots? And how to we rethink the legacy of past pandemics? In this present age of pandemics, it is critical to rethink how we write that history. With a conviction that the past helps us to understand the present and the present should help us to rethink the past, I turn to past plagues and the legacy they left behind.

In this presentation, I will take stock of the lasting legacies of past plagues because they continue to shape the way we think about new pandemics. First, I will stress that the reflexive discussion of past pandemics as short-term cataclysmic events must be replaced by a broader, more realistic vision that recognizes that pandemics are long-term processes. This can be only achieved by adopting a longer, multi-century timescale that facilitates detecting the ebb and flow of diseases over the *longue durée*. Then, I will emphasize that we need to shift our focus beyond epidemic episodes of disruption to better understand how past societies learned to live with diseases and the processes by which they developed the means of resilience in facing them. In both cases, the medieval Mediterranean serves as an excellent case in point with a rich repository of historical experiences. Against this backdrop, I will then turn to the lasting legacies of past plagues and address persistent problems, such as European exceptionalism, triumphalism, and epidemiological orientalism that are not only ubiquitous in the historical scholarship, but also staples of public opinion about pandemics, past and present.

Conference Dinner
20:00

Thursday 14 July

Session 9
10:00 – 11:30

Panel 9.1
West meets East: The Mediterranean Cult of Saints in Early Medieval Iberia
Organizer: Kati Ihnat, Radboud University Nijmegen
Chair: Jamie Wood, University of Lincoln
Lecture Room 1

Kati Ihnat, Radboud University Nijmegen:
Debating – and celebrating – the saints' cults in Visigothic Iberia.

Melanie Shaffer, Radboud University Nijmegen:
Singing with sounds of the East: the Greek Chants of the Old Hispanic Liturgy.

Cathrien Hoijinck, Radboud University Nijmegen:
"Every time a star cluster disappears in the West, its opposite rises in the East": Eastern traditions in the Cordoban Calendar.

Panel 9.2
Chair: Eleni Sakellariou
Lecture Room 9

Aristea Gratsea, University of Crete:
"*Maximum damnun et detrimentum…*"; The consequences of the fall of Constantinople in the trade activities of Venetian Crete.

Niccolò Zennaro, University of Antwerp:
«*non ve poso dir seno rie novelle*». The mercantile future and the crisis in late medieval Venice.

Juho Wilskman, University of Helsinki:
Venetian Military Institutions in *Romania* Compared.

Panel 9.3
Antagonism and Coexistence in Romanía during the Fifteenth Century
Organizer: Dikaios Panteleakis, University of Crete
Chair: Kostas Moustakas, University of Crete
Lecture Room 3

Christina Mardavani, University of Crete:
Diplomacy in the wake of disaster: the case of Byzantium and the Ottomans after the Battle of Ankara.

Dikaios Panteleakis, University of Crete:
A city under siege: Thessalonica (1422-1430).

Husamettin Simsir, University of Notre Dame, Indiana:
Administration of the Ottoman Land Tenure System in Northern Greece in the Mid-Fifteenth Century.

Ioannis Bantouvas, University of Crete:
Aspects of Mehmed the Conqueror's architectural and repopulation policy in Constantinople.

Panel 9.4
Chair: Demetres Kyritses, University of Crete
Lecture Room 5

Evangelos Magiopoulos, University of Crete:
The Muslims of Lucera in the Hohenstaufen – Angevin rivalry in the 1260s.

Katey Kiltzanidou, Democritus University of Thrace:
Representation of female donors to churches of the late Byzantine period in the region of Macedonia.

Polymnia Synodinou, University of Crete:
"Emotional" worries: the depiction of sinners in Byzantine Art as a field of social disruptions (11th- 16th century).

Coffee Break
11:30 – 12:00

Closure
12:00 – 12:30
Lecture Hall B

Optional Activity I
15:00 – 20:00

Visit to the Etz-Hayyim Synagogue and Research Centre at Chania, presentation by Anja Zuckmantel, Director;
Visit to Byzantine and Venetian Chania. Our guide will be Thanassis Mailis, Assistant Professor of Byzantine Archaeology at the Department of History and Archaeology, University of Crete.

Friday 15 July

Optional Activity II
8:30 – 18:00

Day excursion to Heraklion and its hinterland. It includes:

- Visit to the Archaeological Museum
- Visit to the Historical Museum of Crete
- A walk through the Byzantine, Venetian and Ottoman monuments of the city
- Lunch at a seaside restaurant
- Visit to the 10th-century castle of Emperor Nikephoros Phokas

VII. Abstracts of Panels and Papers

Monday 11 July

Session 1
15:15 – 16:45

Panel 1.1
Rebuilding Rome's *Mare Nostrum*: Monetary Zones in Medieval Mediterranean Trade
Organizer: James Todesca, Georgia Southern University
Chair: Jamie Wood, University of Lincoln
Lecture Room 1

The decline of the Roman economy between 400 and 750 is manifest in the surviving coinage. While Constantinople continued to strike the gold *solidus*, the emerging Frankish kingdom in the West gradually ceased minting gold in favour of the lighter-weight silver *denarius*. The Umayyad caliphs of Damascus meanwhile introduced the gold dinar, to compete against the *solidus*, as well as the silver dirham, a coin derived from Persian tradition. As the years progressed, emerging polities around the Mediterranean, both Christian and Muslim, issued many versions of these basic prototypes. Rather than relying on one universally accepted coin like the solidus, adept merchants needed to be familiar with a variety of coins in both silver and gold. Which coin merchants paid out or accepted depended largely on where and with whom they were trading. Synthesizing both numismatic and diplomatic evidence, these three papers examine the emergence of "monetary zones" in the medieval Mediterranean and how they facilitated trade. These zones were one way merchants overcame the fragmentation of the old imperial monetary system and rebuilt a long-distance trade whose velocity eventually surpassed that of Rome.

Alan M. Stahl, Princeton University:
The Making of the Early Medieval Monetary Zones.

The monetary world of Late Antiquity was divided almost completely between two zones – the Mediterranean Pax Romana with mainly gold and bronze coins and the

Persian Sasanian Empire with a coinage almost entirely of silver drachms. Economic, political, and religious changes in the fifth through seventh centuries brought a transformation of the two zones of minting and circulation into three: in the Islamic world, a truly tri-metallic system of denominations, in the Byzantine Empire, a continuation of mainly gold and bronze denominations, and in Europe a move from mainly gold-based circulation in the sixth century to silver-based thereafter.

These three zones – silver in the West, gold and bronze in the Eastern Mediterranean, and a trimetallic currency in Western Asia – would persist from the eighth through the eleventh century. The development of these zones of minting and circulation will be illustrated with distribution maps from the newly released FLAME (flame.princeton.edu) Minting and Circulation modules.

James Todesca, Georgia Southern University:
Maintaining the *Pax morabitinia*: The Crown of León and the Second Crusade.

The Almoravid gold dinar, first minted c.1058, arrived at an opportune time. Constantinople's solidus and the Abbasid dinar had faltered leaving the Fatimid dinar the most respected coin in the eastern Mediterranean. In the west, the Almoravid dinar, or *morabetino*, circulated readily between Spain, Tunisia and Sicily prompting Abulafia to label the first half of the twelfth century the era of the *pax morabitinia*. So prevalent was the coin that the kings of Castile and León began issuing *morabetinos* with Latin legends after the last of the Almoravid lords died in 1172. But these imitations were not the first attempt to maintain the *morabetino*. This paper examines Alfonso VII of León's decision to strike *morabetinos* starting in 1146/47 probably in connection with the Genoese attack on Almeria. Such a decision points to a remarkable sensitivity to the money market at the height of the *pax morabitinia*.

Sarah Kampbell, Independent Scholar:
Money in Transition: Imitation Venetian Ducats as Regional Currency.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Venetian ducat dominated commercial exchange in the Aegean, spurring a flurry in the production of imitation ducats. Surviving texts reveal that these imitations were not simply created by clandestine counterfeiters lurking in the shadows; instead, the official mints of several Anatolian beyliks produced these coins over many years. The prevalence of imitations becomes clear as *ducati turchi* appear in merchant manuals, often with a city of origin and the purity of the metal. I argue that these imitation ducats were shadow currencies in the eastern Mediterranean. Produced by official mints but not identifying them, these coinages had known intrinsic values and were recognized and accepted in local, regional, and international trade.

Panel 1.2
Chair: Jan Vandeburie, University of Leicester
Lecture Room 3

Samantha Cloud, Saint Louis University:
The Chansonnier du Roi & Leonardo da Veroli: French Angevin Interruption in Achaea & the decline of the Latin Peloponnese.

The *Chansonnier du Roi*, a songbook compiled in the mid-thirteenth century for William Villehardouin, prince of Achaea (r. 1246-1278), memorializes the chivalric culture that migrated out of Northern France to Frankish Greece as a consequence of the Fourth Crusade. But by the end of the century, the *Chansonnier* found itself in Italy, in the possession of Charles of Anjou (King of Sicily, r. 1265-1285). The transmission of this manuscript signalled the abatement of the Latin Peloponnese and reflected the dynastic transfer of sovereignty over Achaea between the Villehardouins and Angevins, which began in 1267, at the signing of the treaties of Viterbo. Similarly, we witness the ebb of the Latin Peloponnese by tracing the administrative career of Leonardo da Veroli (d. 1281). Leonardo likely began his career in Italy as a legal official for the Hohenstaufens, before transferring to the Principality of Achaea as a chief judicial figure and secretary. By 1275, he found himself back in Italy, installed at the Angevin court as "Chancellor of the principality of Achaea." Like the *Chansonnier*, Leonardo's later career illuminates for scholars a period of decline in the Latin Principality of Achaea, when the administrative functions of the principality gradually moved to Naples.

Clio Takas, Harvard University:
Do Cry For Me, Constantinople: Constantinopolitan Identity & Laments for the Fall of the City.

When Niketas Choniates was forced out of Constantinople following the imperial City's fall in 1204, he "went forth weeping […] casting lamentations like seeds". Building on the important research on laments for the fall of cities carried out by Eleni Kefala and Andromache Karanika, this paper explores the ways in which Constantinopolitans worked to establish the continuity of Constantinopolitan identity, transplanting it (and themselves) elsewhere in the face of the City's multiple falls. In *The Conquered* (2020), Kefala focuses on lament as a vehicle for expressing collective trauma and argues that the vision of Constantinopolitan-ness the laments preserve travels temporally through their transgenerational performance. Conversely, by examining tropes in Byzantine travel literature alongside city laments, this paper focuses on the lament's role in producing and maintaining a spatial, rather than temporal, continuity between Constantinopolitans and their fallen capital, disseminating the City's '*Byzantis*' beyond its geographical boundaries.

Netta Amir, Hebrew University of Jerusalem:
Continuity and obstruction along the streets of Mamluk Jerusalem.

The Mamluk period in Jerusalem marked a fragile and formative episode in the history of the Latin Christian devotional sphere; beginning not long after the final fall of Frankish rule in 1244, when the Latins lost their status in the churches and their right to settle in the city, and culminating with the installation of a new and rich pilgrimage circuit. In the course of this long period Jerusalem's Christian holy spaces were to be found anew by Latin-Christians under changing conditions and ongoing negotiations over the Latin-Christians' right to worship in the main shrines and in light of changing perceptions of Jerusalem's holy topography and the configuration of the pilgrimage experience within it. To date, the academic discourse on the rehabilitation of the Latins' devotional sphere during this period focused on the said negotiations and their implications for the Latins' rights of worship and ownership. A substantial number of sources led scholars to the notion that worship rights within the main churches, and the settlement on Mount Zion, stood at the centre of the Latins' efforts to rehabilitate Jerusalem as a pilgrimage destination at the time. In the proposed lecture, I explore this realignment while diverting the attention from the churches to the city's streets and their close surroundings. As I will show, the streets of Jerusalem were a substantial arena for the Latin-Christians in their efforts to re-establish the pilgrimage practice in the city.

Tuesday 12 July

Session 2
9:30 – 11:00

Panel 2.1
Travelling in the Eastern Mediterranean, ca. 1300-1500: Politics, Agency and Production of Historical Knowledge and Space I: The Traveller Self
Organizers: Eleni Tounta, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and Nikolaos Chrissis, Democritus University of Thrace
Chair: Eleni Tounta, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki
Lecture Room 1

Since the 11th century remarkable people flows, from Latin, Byzantine, Jewish and Muslim cultural circles, continuously shaped and reshaped the political, social, and cultural landscape of the Eastern Mediterranean. Their travels, for political, military, economic, religious, or intellectual purposes, established contacts but also produced knowledge about both the travelers and the visited people and places, thus contributing to the negotiation of identities and alterities. The panel sessions will focus on the period ca. 1300 to ca. 1500 which witnessed both the continuity of the contacts between the aforementioned worlds, as well as important changes, such as the Mamluk and the Ottoman expansion and the Renaissance movement, which caused interruptions and disruptions in cultural encounters in the Eastern Mediterranean. Our interest is in the production of historical knowledge and space through the interaction of politics and agency. The focus will be mainly on narrative texts which record the experience of travel (in the broader sense, including pilgrimage, trade, crusading, etc.) and relate the encounters with the Other in foreign places, while also illuminating the travellers' perception of the past. We also aim to discuss the use of modern analytical concepts, such as "global Middle Ages" and "proto-orientalism".

Nicola Carotenuto, University of Oxford:
What struck travellers who ventured in the Eastern Mediterranean in the fourteenth century?

My paper aims to explore what caused a sense of surprise in the fourteenth century. I will explore different aspects of Christian and Islamic travel accounts, namely how they deal with religion and the experience of travelling itself, and how they describe cities and foreign commodities. This will provide a unique insight into the perception of alterity in the Late Middle Ages – as what surprised a medieval traveller illuminates both the perception of the 'other' and the culture from which this sense of awe derives. I will use an interdisciplinary approach, spanning the perception of artistic objects to the forms of devotion, to highlight how the Eastern Mediterranean was a crucial crossing point, and the epicentre of the encounters with the unknown. Travel accounts will be examined from a double perspective, namely exploring how they describe otherness (making or not an effort to understanding it), and what they can tell us about the culture of the writers.

Karl Lysén, Stockholm University:
Niccolò da Poggibonsi and Felix Faber in Jerusalem: Positionings of the Self in the sacred space, and through the religious Other.

Both the Franciscan Niccolò da Poggibonsi and the Dominican Felix Faber journeyed to the Holy Land at the end of the Middle Ages. Niccolò between 1345—1350, and Felix twice, in 1480 and 1483—84. Despite staying for several years in Jerusalem, Niccolò's travel account is relatively brief compared to Felix's extensive text. They are,

however, describing the same holy sites in the city and giving details about their encounters with its inhabitants. This paper aims to initially investigate whether it is possible to diachronically compare how these two authors are positioning themselves in relation to the sacred spaces and the many religious groups in Jerusalem. The subject touches on themes such as identity formation, material culture, and the issue of whether the Self can be seen despite the limits and rules of the genre. It is part of an ongoing dissertation project.

Jacques Paviot, Université Paris-Est Créteil (UPEC):
Pero Tafur in the Eastern Mediterrrean, 1437-1438.

The Castilian Pero Tafur composed in the 1450s an account of his travels in Western Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean in the years 1436-1439. He had been a pilgrim to the Holy Land, a traveller to Rhodes, Chios, Constantinople, Adrianople, the Black Sea, Cyprus, and an ambassador to Egypt. After discussing issues raised by Tafur's dating of the events (e.g. his meeting with John VIII Palaiologos), the paper will focus on the people, i.e. Byzantine emperors and empresses, the king of Cyprus, Ottoman and Mamluk sultans etc., and places, such as landscapes, towns, monuments, churches and monasteries, visited by Tafur. In this way the paper will study the travel narrative which Tafur shaped deploying both facts and fictions, yet always hiding his own personality.

Panel 2.2
At the Crossroads of Change: Interruptions and Disruptions in the Texts and Traditions of Catalonia and Septimania I
Organizer: Ekaterina Novokhatko, FOVOG – Research Centre for Comparative History of Religious Orders, Dresden
Chair: Ekaterina Novokhatko, FOVOG – Research Centre for Comparative History of Religious Orders, Dresden
Lecture Room 3

This panel of two sessions embraces six research projects studying political, cultural, and religious traditions in the Catalano-Septimanian region from the 9th up to the 14th centuries. Making use of various sources from across the period, region, and genres, each of these papers analyses processes of disruption and interruption as crucial factors that triggered deep changes in the region. The Catalano-Septimanian region existed at the crossroads of various cultural and religious traditions inherited from the past, whilst accumulating, implementing, and absorbing newer developments in society that informed and shaped local and regional experiences. Forged in this evolving interreligious and multicultural environment, the extant texts, as well as the political and religious institutions that created them, experienced the

disruption of inherited traditions and witnessed, however aware or unknowingly, broader interruptions within extended historical processes. The six papers presented in these two sessions reflect these different experiences. The first session discusses the phenomena of interruption and disruption in textual culture focusing on various genres of sources: liturgical (the homiliary of Luculentius), historiographical (chronicle adaptations of Bede) and hagiographical (the Vita S. Helenae). The second session offers an understanding of interruption and disruption in a broader sense, as factors that influenced the politico-cultural and religious landscape in Catalonia, the development of evolving religious congregations and the complicated story of Jewish culture in Catalonia.

Isaac Lampurlanés i Farré, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institut für Mittelalterforschung (IMAFO), Vienna:
Disruption in the Tradition of Carolingian Clergymen's Writings: The Case of Luculentius.

Once the Carolingian empire established the so-called Spanish March, its cultural and religious influences were spread across Catalonia. However, the Carolingians faced the particular context of the region and therefore adapted their programme of cultural and religious renovatio. In this aspect, Luculentius, alleged author of a very popular homiliary in Catalonia, is an excellent example of this cultural phenomenon, because he mainly relies on Carolingian writings, but these are often interrupted by including new text and interpretations. In this paper I will aim at showing some examples in which Luculentius expanded the text of his Carolingian sources, such as Smaragdus of St Mihiel or Haymo of Auxerre, thus reflecting his target audience in Catalonia, which was particularly concerned with religious otherness and heretics.

Patrick S. Marschner, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institut für Mittelalterforschung (IMAFO), Vienna:
Interruptions in Historiographical Texts in 11th- and 12th-Century Codices of Southern France and Catalonia.

Several historiographical codices from the 11th and 12th centuries, containing Carolingian universal historical texts, seem to be witnesses of their compiler's practices of taking textual passages apart and re-ordering them in a different manner, while partially adding further material to it. This interruption and re-arrangement of "original" texts could be offering indicators of several similarities between different codices that show partially the same strategies of picking specific historiographical passages from authoritative intellectuals like Bede and including them into their universal histories. This presentation compares the content of four 11th- and 12th-century historiographical codices – all based on Bede concerning their depiction of universal history, all re-arranging the display of history individually and all having more in common than their basis in Bede's work.

Clara Renedo i Mirambell, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona:
Continuity and Disruption in an Unknown Version of the "Vita S. Helenae" Preserved at the Cathedral of Barcelona (Barcelona, Arxiu Capitular, Còdex 107).

St Helena, mother of the Emperor Constantine I, is a key figure in the history of Christianity, as she was very early associated with the legend of the finding of the True Cross in Jerusalem. This paper focuses on a previously unknown version of the Vita S. Helenae that is preserved in a 14th-century legendary from the Cathedral of Barcelona. It aims to study how this text places itself into the continuity of the legend of St Helena, but also how, by merging different traditions and incorporating some innovations, it produces a disruption in order to create a whole renewed 3 story. It will also explore the possible connections of the text with the Cathedral of Barcelona, which is dedicated to the Holy Cross.

Panel 2.3
Disruption in the Dynamics of Religious Minorities
Organisers: Clara Almagro, UNED & Ana Echevarría, UNED
Chair: José Manuel Rodríguez García, UNED
Lecture Room 5

This session will explore the significance of political change and violence in the development or decay of religious minorities. We have chosen a range of periods of disruption –the dismantling of the caliphate in al-Andalus in the 11th century, the great conquests of Andalusia and Valencia in the 13th century- which challenged the usual *status quo* of religious minorities by changing frontiers, breaking social ties, and readjusting their negotiated status. A comparative analysis with other minority communities which were subject to similar challenges will provide insights into the issue of general turning points or original developments.

Ana Echevarría, UNED – Madrid:
Christians in Al-Andalus: Subjects of the Caliph or Subjects of the Kings?

The disruption of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordoba and the subsequent fight between this dynasty and the Hammudites provoked the division of al-Andalus and the establishment of a new order in which internal provincial frontiers became actual borders. The situation of Christians living under Muslim rule changed drastically, as the support of the caliphs waned, and new allegiances to the Taifa kings had to be negotiated. This paper will look into the instances of change and mobility that the unsafe political situation brought to this minority. The legal and social adjustments that were required will also be analysed. Finally, the situation of Christian minorities in North Africa and Sicily will be used to consider whether this particular period was

a real turning point in the Mediterranean communities or just a "local" phenomenon affecting the Iberian Peninsula.

Clara Almagro Vidal, UNED – Madrid:
After the Conquest: Disruption and Continuity among Muslims under the Rule of Military Orders in the Medieval Iberian Peninsula.

Muslims in the medieval Iberian Peninsula necessarily experienced disruptions in their ways of living after the territorial advances of Christian conquests. Muslims adapted or were forced to conform in many ways to fit within new structures, to answer to new demands, and to please their new lords. Although many aspects of their everyday life would remain unchanged for a long time, especially among big communities, or those physically apart from Christian neighbours and centres of power, transformations were inescapable.

Focusing on Muslims under the rule of Military Orders, the goal of this paper is to probe some aspects where these continuities and disruptions can be detected in the Christian sources, and reflect on whether and in which ways these tensions, and the resulting dynamics, contributed to the creation of differentiating features.

Anna Rich-Abad, University of Nottingham:
From Jews to Conversos: The Riots of 1391 in Barcelona and their Effects in the Economic and Artisanal Activities of the Jewish Community.

In 1391, a series of riots and antisemitic violence spread from the south to the north of Iberia. The attackers targeted Jewish communities everywhere in the kingdom of Castille and in the Crown of Aragon and caused death, mass conversions and the ultimate disappearance of several communities. One of these was that of Barcelona, that saw its Aljama terminated in 1401. This paper focuses on the effects of these attacks in the economic dynamics of the Jewish community of Barcelona, particularly regarding artisanal professions such as coral cutting and silk weaving, which had traditionally been specialisms among the Jews of the city. The paper evaluates the contrast between the physical damage and trauma caused to the Jewish community during the attacks of 1391 with the survival of these professional dedications among conversos, and their further assimilation in the economic life of the city of Barcelona.

Panel 2.4
Social Unrest and Rebellion as Reflected in the Judeo-Arabic Medieval Sources
Organiser: Zvi Stampfer, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Chair: Esther Miriam, Woolf Institute & University of Cambridge
Lecture Room 9

Oded Zinger, Hebrew University of Jerusalem:
"See the Controversy these People did!" Violence, Politics and Law in a Communal Dispute from the Cairo Geniza.

This paper will examine and publish for the first time a long and complex legal document from the Cairo Geniza describing a brawl that broke out between a Jewish communal leader and a seller of sesame oil. On the one hand, violence between members of the Jewish community was a serious challenge to communal cohesion and current leadership. On the other hand, it offered an opportunity for communal leadership to intervene and perform its peace restoring role. Yet, violence was only the outward manifestation of deeper tensions.

Zvi Stampfer, Hebrew University of Jerusalem:
Rebellion, Local Militia and Governmental Army: Ethical and Judicial Dilemma in the Judeo-Arabic Sources.

Wars, invasions, conquests, rebellions, and other historical events are alluded to in Medieval Judeo-Arabic works, some are brought 'by the way' and some are brought to discuss ethical and judicial dilemmas. We will present and discuss some of these sources.

Uriel Simonsohn, University of Haifa:
Precarious Gatekeepers – Female Power and Religious Conflict in Medieval Islamic Literature.

Considered in their didactic context, the legendary motifs in stories about Muslim female protagonists speak of the anxieties of religious authorities about the religious integrity of their communities. At the same time, they serve to highlight some of the contingent features of female power and its significance for advancing religious agendas. In this talk I focus on Islamic literary case studies in order to extract perceptions and expectations of female conduct in moments of religious conflict. Religious conflict is considered here as a form of disruption, whereby apostasy, intermarriage, and the adoption of non-Muslim practices posed a challenge to Islamic communal boundaries. To that end, I turn to consider literary works of diverse genres and religious backgrounds that present women as possessing the means to retain their religious identity and to safeguard that of their children, spouses, and siblings.

Session 3
11:30 – 13:00

Panel 3.1
Travelling in the Eastern Mediterranean, ca. 1300-1500: Politics, Agency and Production of Historical Knowledge and Space II: Travellers, Space and Proto-Orientalism
Organizers: Eleni Tounta, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and Nikolaos Chrissis, Democritus University of Thrace
Chair: Nikolaos Chrissis, Democritus University of Thrace
Lecture Room 1

Loïc Chollet, University of Fribourg, Switzerland:
French crusading and the shaping of Eastern Mediterranean.

Since the beginning of the 14th century, French noblemen in search of honour sailed toward the Eastern Mediterranean to fight against the "Saracens". They took part in coastal raids and sea battles where they encountered Muslim Turks and Mamluks, but also Greek Orthodox Christians and Catholics. At the same time, they consciously followed the steps of Homeric heroes, who were highly praised in the literature of the time. While at odds with local customs and religious diversity, the crusaders showed interest in the places they were visiting. The aim of this paper is to explore the representations of the Eastern Mediterranean through a selection of French narrative sources. In many chronicles, the world stretching from Constantinople to Cyprus appears as a showplace for heroism, inhabited by ambivalent peoples and rulers, where ancient history is still alive. Thus, one may perceive a discourse shift from chivalric ethos to what may be called "proto-orientalism".

Eleni Tounta, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki:
Ethnographic discourse and Florentine identities: Crete as cultural space in Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *Descriptio insulae Cretae.*

In comparison with his *Liber insularum archipelagi*, Buondelmonti's description of Crete provides abundant ethnographic material, which evidences the author's self-fashioning as direct observer of both the Cretan people and environment. In this way, an ethnographic discourse is produced which is inextricably linked to Buondelmonti's antiquarian and historical inquiries. The paper seeks to interpret the cultural space of Crete as produced by this ethnographic discourse, in relation with the shaping of Buondelmonti's and his Florentine circle's identities. Thus, the paper is intended as a contribution to the study of the early Italian Renaissance ethnographic discourses and their impact on the formation of Western attitudes towards the Eastern Mediterranean region.

Malika Dekkiche, University of Antwerp:
Telling and Creating the East: The case of Cyprus during the late medieval period.

The East as a concept has often been taken as granted and, as such, transposed to various periods. Since Edward Said's seminal study on Orientalism, many have attempted to deconstruct the various meanings attached to this "imagined geography." This, however, has too often been done while denying the East itself its own definition. In this paper, I would like to analyse the case of Cyprus during the 15th century as described by Mamluk geographic and administrative sources (Cyprus then recognized Mamluk nominal rule) and as experienced by the French traveller Bertrandon de La Broquière. How was Cyprus's contested identity illustrated in those accounts, and how were its "Eastern" attributes – if any – created, perceived and communicated to both a Muslim and Christian audience?

Panel 3.2
At the Crossroads of Change: Interruptions and Disruptions in the Texts and Traditions of Catalonia and Septimania II
Organizer: Ekaterina Novokhatko, FOVOG – Research Centre for Comparative History of Religious Orders, Dresden
Chair: Isaac Lampurlanés i Farré, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institut für Mittelalterforschung (IMAFO), Vienna
Lecture Room 3

Matthias M. Tischler, ICREA/Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona:
From Interruption to Disruption: How Carolingian Political Culture Changed the North-east Parts of the Iberian Peninsula from the Ninth Century Onwards.

This paper will give a comprehensive overview of how the political collapse of the Visigothic kingdom after the Muslim conquest of the Iberian and southern Gaulish world changed not only the socio-political and religious, but also the cultural agenda of south-western Europe between the eighth and eleventh centuries. After the Frankish-Carolingian "reconquest" of the north-eastern parts of the Visigothic world, i.e. Septimania and the so-called "Spanish March", a new socio-political constellation of powers between Gallia and Hispania and a new Church organisation, the ecclesia Narbonensis, became established. The talk will show how early medieval Catalonia's double-face orientation towards the old Hispanic-Visigothic cultural traditions and the new Romano-Frankish knowledge transfer has decisively shaped the political, religious, and cultural physiognomy of this emerging middle ground. My paper will tell the story of a political and cultural interruption which finally led to the political and social disruption on both sides and the formation of a new hybrid society of religious, legal, and political institutions of its own.

Ekaterina Novokhatko, FOVOG – Research Centre for Comparative History of Religious Orders, Dresden:
The Phenomenon of Deliberate Interruption? Religious congregations in Catalonia-Septimania in the 12th Century.

The late eleventh/twelfth centuries saw changes in medieval Western European religious spirituality with the blossoming of new religious congregations and religious orders. The region embracing southern France and the north-eastern part of the Iberian Peninsula is known for the expansion of large, developing religious networks, such as Benedictine congregations under St Victor de Marseille, regular canons from Avignon and new Cistercian communities. In my paper, I focus on those religious institutions in this region which stopped following the Benedictine rule (for monks) and Aachen rule (for canons) and turned to a new form of religious life (e.g. to Cistercians as Fontfroide Abbey or to Augustinian canons as Santa Maria d'Urgell or Sant Pere d'Àger). My paper aims at exploring to what extent this official 'interruption' of religious tradition may have influenced the shaping of new spiritualities of these religious institutions, their book culture and liturgical practices.

Eulàlia Vernet i Pons, Universitat de Barcelona, Departament de Filologia clàssica, romànica i semítica:
Disruption in the Medieval Jewish Community of Barcelona: The Hebrew and Catalan Textual Witnesses on the Riot of 1391 and its Historical Consequences.

This paper aims to analyse the textual witnesses on the riot of 1391 against the Jewish community of Barcelona in order to discern their historical consequences. On this tragic event, which marked the end of the ancient Jewish community of the city, two contemporary historical sources have survived: on one hand, the Hebrew letter that Hasday Cresques sent to the Jewish community of Avignon on this riot of 1391, and on the other the Manual de novells ardits or Dietari del Antich Consell Barceloní, a Catalan source written by the Consell de Cent of Barcelona, the municipal government. This last riot against the Jewish community of Barcelona caused a definitive disruption regarding the uninterrupted transmission of a millennial culture of wisdom from generation to generation. With figures such as Abraham bar Ḥiya, Isaac ben Roben or Solomon ben Adret, all their scientific, kabbalistic and rabbinic wisdom disappeared from the city forever, on August 5 and 7, 1391, when its Jewish quarter and its old community was completely destroyed: in fact, King Martí l'Humà forbade in 1401 the re-establishment of any Jewish community in the city and in 1424, Alfons IV confirmed this prohibition in perpetuity.

Panel 3.3
The Role of Notaries in the territories of the Crown of Aragon in a Period of Political Transitions (13th-15th centuries)
Organiser: Gemma T. Colesanti, ISPC-CNR, Naples
Chair: Francesco Paolo Tocco, University of Messina
Lecture Room 5

The panel aims at proposing three papers that take into account the abundant notarial documentation of some territories of the Crown of Aragon. The physiognomy of each case study is very precise and concerns the role that notaries played both in transitional political and social scenarios such as those of Benevento and the principality of Taranto in the 15th century, and also in relation to the changes brought about by the evolution of the Catalan-Aragonese monarchy.

Gemma T. Colesanti, ISPC-CNR Naples – Vera Schwarz-Ricci, ISCP-CNR, Naples:
The role of Benevento's notaries between the Papal State and the Kingdom of Naples.

The aim of this paper is to present some emblematic cases of notaries operating in a complex political and social context such as that of the city of Benevento between the 14th and 15th centuries. In fact, the city, a papal enclave within the Kingdom, is perhaps one of the few places in southern Italy to preserve extensive notarial documentation that has made it possible to frame and investigate the various roles of notaries during the periods of transition of the city between the Papal States and the Kingdom of Naples.

Luciana Petracca, University of Salento:
Offices, Officials and Notaries in the Principality of Taranto during the transition from the Orsini family to the Aragonese Dynasty.

Starting from the available documentation, mainly coming from the Archives of the Prince of Taranto (now part of the archival collection of the Regia Camera della Sommaria of the State Archives of Naples), the present contribution aims at retracing the careers of Orsinian officials after Giovanni Antonio Orsini del Balzo died in November 1463. The death of the powerful lord and the following devolution of the Principality to the Aragonese Crown brought about a series of transformations not only in the judicial and institutional organization of the territory, but also in its administrative structure, feudal geography and social fabric. In the paper speech, particular attention will be devoted to the administrative careers, which usually required notary skills, to the criteria for selecting officials serving first the prince, then the king, and to their social origins, in an attempt to highlight elements of inconsistency and breaking points throughout such a delicate phase of transition.

Daniel Piñol Alabart, University of Barcelona:
Monarchy and Notaries in the Crown of Aragon: Two Institutions in Development (13th century).

This paper analyses the processes of consolidation of royal power and the establishment of public notary office in the kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon in the 13th century. One of the consequences of the recovery of Roman law is indeed the growing role of the monarchy as an institution, manifested above all in the figure of King Jaume I. Another consequence was the progressive establishment of the notary in all the territories of the Crown of Aragon. The convergence of the two institutions in the 13th century occurred with the progressive control exercised by the king over the public notary. First, with the appointments of secular public notaries, some of them to work in institutions under the direct control of the monarch; and secondly, with the legislation which regulates the institution and the notary's function. It is therefore a time of development of the two institutions which laid the groundwork for a definitive consolidation of both in the following century. In this way, we are compelled to reach the first third of the 14th century to find some laws that show the definitive control of the monarch over the public notary.

Panel 3.4
Chair: Jessica Tearney-Pearce, University of Cambridge
Lecture Room 9

José Manuel Rodríguez Garcia, Facultad de Geografia e Historia, UNED:
Crusade Discontinuity in the Iberian-North African Front, 1249-1309.

The aim of this paper is to find out whether the triumph, on the one hand, of the crusades against Valencia and Seville, and on the other, the failure at Acre, meant a change of mentality or a disruption towards the consideration of the possible North African front as a new crusader front and to what extent it affected relations with the Nasrid and North African powers. To this end, we will rely on both chronicles and documentary sources, both Christian and Muslim, corresponding to the main protagonists involved, with special reference to the possible interrelation of the different Crusader fronts around the Mediterranean between the mid-13th and early 14th centuries.

Betty Binysh, University of Cardiff:
Truces as Chances to Change Direction and Reset Relationships: 1192 Treaty of Jaffa.

This paper examines truces between the Muslim rulers of Egypt and Syria and the Crusaders and Franks of the Latin East during the thirteenth century. Both Saladin

and Richard's chroniclers portrayed the truce that ended the Third Crusade as a temporary interruption, and that military Jihad and crusade would resume when it expired. Yet, this interruption allowed a complete reset of the relationship between Saladin's successors and the local Latin Christian rulers. These Muslim rulers actively avoided provoking a resumption of war or a crusade from the West. They even made alliances and truces whose meaning had changed from an 'interruption in the fighting' to an 'attempt to establish a modus vivendi'. This paper uses the Arabic sources of Ibn Wasil, Sibt ibn alJawsi and Ibn al-Athir to examine the turning point afforded by the 1192 Truce of Jaffa.

Session 4
14:30 – 16:00

Panel 4.1
Travelling in the Eastern Mediterranean, ca. 1300-1500: Politics, Agency and Production of Historical Knowledge and Space III: Merchant and Pilgrim Routes and the Experience of Travelling
Organizers: Eleni Tounta, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and Nikolaos Chrissis, Democritus University of Thrace
Chair: Eleni Sakellariou, University of Crete
Lecture Room 1

In memory of Ruthy Gertwagen

Ourania Perdiki, University of Cyprus:
Terra christianorum ultima: Pilgrims, pilgrimage sites and maritime routes in Cyprus during the late Middle Ages.

Cyprus acquired special importance, particularly from the thirteenth century onwards, on the Mediterranean pilgrimage network. Described by contemporary pilgrims as *Terra christianorum ultima*, the island constituted the last Christian land in the south-eastern Mediterranean on the way to the Holy Land. Moreover, it was an ideal base for controlling the transit trade between Europe, Asia and North Africa. The travellers who stopped in Cyprus, usually for fifteen to twenty days, visited different sites, monasteries and pilgrimages sites, depending on their diverse interests and capabilities. Taking an interdisciplinary approach, using both pilgrims' records and archaeological data, this paper will show how Cyprus's extensive maritime

interconnectivity interacted with and contributed to the development of pilgrimage on the island during the late Middle Ages. In this period, several pilgrimage sites associated with the maritime itineraries were developed, reflecting the diversity of the travellers who came to the island.

Mike Carr, University of Edinburgh:
Pilgrims, Pilgrim Licences and Eastern Mediterranean Trade.

The Latin Christian states of the Mediterranean generated huge revenues from trade with the Muslim polities of the Levant, especially the Mamluks of Egypt and Greater Syria. Despite the extensive literature on Christian-Muslim trade, the actual experiences of Latin merchants in the Eastern Mediterranean are not particularly well known, largely due to the lop-sidedness of the sources: trade records, treaties and merchant handbooks give extensive information about commodities, destinations, shipping, etc., but they rarely talk about how trade was conducted on the ground in the Levant. However, travel narratives can help to flesh this out by providing detailed information about the experience of travelling in Muslim lands. Although most travel writers were not merchants themselves, this paper will use their accounts to reconstruct some of the less well-known aspects of Latin trade in the East and thus shed light on the mercantile interactions between Christians and Muslims in the Mediterranean.

Marie-Adélaïde Nielen, Archives nationales de France / Université Paris Nanterre:
Jean de Tournai, pilgrim, traveller, writer.

A merchant from Valenciennes, Jean de Tournai, from the bourgeois and merchant elite of the city, made a pilgrimage to Rome and Jerusalem in 1488 and 1489. He left us an eventful account of his travels, rich in information on the regions he crossed and the men he met. His text, lively and precise, written day by day in the first person, is as much a travelogue as a pilgrimage story. Full of picturesque descriptions, it also abounds in personal remarks which show the multiplicity of the author's centres of interest and reflect the rise of individualism that characterized this pre-humanist era, at the end of the 15th century. It therefore gives a particularly good account of the new political and economic power struggles that arose following the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in this world at the end of the Middle Ages.

Panel 4.2
Chair: Christina Tsigonaki, University of Crete
Lecture Room 3

Palmira Krleža – Filip Lovrić, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb:
Continuity and Abandonment on Islands of Quarnero and Northern Dalmatia from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages.

The paper explores the problem of continuity and discontinuity of settlements and other forms of space usage of the islands of Quarnero and Northern Dalmatia regions in the Eastern Adriatic. This area presents an interesting material for the study of development of Roman based infrastructure throughout Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages, because of multiple patterns of Roman era space use and subsequent landscape transformations. The goal is to identify main factors that shaped the changes of space use, or to see if such patterns exist at all. In turn, the selected area will be put in context of general historical tides of this turbulent period (the political break of Western Roman Empire, Byzantine-Gothic wars, Avaro-Slavic intrusions, migrations etc.). The paper will take in consideration archaeological remains, topographical aspects and written historical sources. Of the hindmost, of special note is the XXIX chapter of De Administrando Imperio by Constantine VII Porphyrogenites - a historical source of great value for understanding of islands of Eastern Adriatic in Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages, but also a one whose words don't always seem to correspond to the archaeological reality.

Vesna Lalošević, Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, Zagreb – Kristina Džin, Hrvatsko društvo za proučavanje antičkih mozaika (HDPAM):
Istrian Peninsula in crisis: Examples of interrupted continuity of life from Ager Polensis.

Istrian peninsula after a period of intense rise and prosperity in the 6-7th century faced stagnation that resulted in the collapse of Byzantine rule and falling under Frankish rule in the early 9th century and became an Markgraviate of Istria that fell into a deep crisis. The previous administrative system has been broken, social classes have changed, the traditional centuries old orientation of the population towards marine resources and maritime trade with the Eastern Mediterranean is disappearing. The Istrian area faced the challenges of the of Slavs and penetration Croats from the east, and centuries of incursions by Neretvans who plundered coastal settlements and the nearby hinterland. The open support of the Patriarch of Aquileia and the Counts of Gorica was not well received, and the behavior of seniors - bishops and noble families led to extermination.

On the example of several sites Vižula, Aran, Azan, Beller, and Turtilian located in a historically defined territory called *Ager Polensis* will be shown how it was from ancient times to the 14th century. The tradition has disappeared, the breadth of contact has narrowed, and the religious system has been completely transformed. Based on scarce and often stereotypical written sources and current archaeological findings with increasingly abundant literature, it will once again consider how these sites have

survived despite ongoing war, plague, famine, climate change and changes in economic fundamentals. The work will try to illuminate another segment of the historical space from the fragments of historical sources and look at human existence in these five localities.

Maja Perić, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences:
Sailing against the wind. How weather conditions influenced the journey of medieval pilgrims in the Eastern Adriatic.

Travelling to the Holy Land as a medieval pilgrim was not an obvious thing to do. Apart from the many preparations that had to be made beforehand, the traveller could encounter many unexpected situations during the journey up to the destination, which could extremely hinder or interrupt the pilgrim's journey. Most pilgrims coming from western Europe often chose the same popular route that took them from Venice by galley via the eastern Adriatic coast and the various Dalmatian towns, beyond Corfu to Jaffa. Although the route from Venice was in many cases considered "the most efficient" and "least dangerous", this was not always the case. Especially the extreme weather conditions were a factor to be reckoned with by many pilgrims. Most of the travel accounts that have come down to us from these travellers, therefore, often testify to long interruptions due to extreme winds and the danger of shipwreck during their crossing of the Adriatic coast. This study will look at the weather conditions in this part of the Mediterranean and how they affected the pilgrims' journey. What did the pilgrims experience during their journey on the Adriatic coast in terms of weather and climate? How did they react? In what way did the weather conditions interrupt their journey? What decisions were made? How were solutions sought or interruptions avoided? Were the same problems encountered again and again, or were there other situations? What happened to the continuation of the journey, what influence did these interruptions have on the weather? Particular use will be made of travel journals from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, because from that period there was a boost of travellers who ventured to the Holy Land. The travel accounts studied come mainly from Flemish, Dutch and French travellers who went away from home for months at a time for religious reasons.

Since no one has ever looked specifically at the weather conditions and their influence on the journeys of medieval pilgrims, this perspective is new and may inspire many other researchers who are currently studying the popular travelogue themes.

Panel 4.3
Broken Balances: Circulation and Redistribution of Fiscal Resources in Medieval Southern Italy (9th – 15th centuries) - PRIN Research Project "Fiscal Estate in Medieval Italy: Continuity and Change (9th – 12th Centuries)"
Organiser: Giulia Zornetta, Università Roma Tre
Chair: Roberto Delle Donne, Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II"
Lecture Room 9

The grand narrative on fiscal history of Western Europe usually focuses on both the typologies of taxation and the transformations in the structure of fiscal assets, i.e., on the quantitative and qualitative transformations that the income configuration underwent from the end of the Roman Empire to the Modern State. However, these studies paid less attention to an equally essential aspect of fiscal history: how the circulation of public resources evolved in the long term, shaping political and social balances via wealth redistribution. This panel analyses some issues and shifts over the long term regarding both fiscal properties and tax assets. By considering three moments of political and/or institutional discontinuity in Southern Italy during the medieval period, it identifies who were the subjects who could aspire to fiscal resources, on what conditions these were accessible and what kind of conflicts could arise from their reallocation. It also raises issues on how these resources could be at the centre of public authorities' goals and strategies.

Giulia Zornetta, Università Roma Tre:
The Long Memory of Fiscal Properties: Public Officials and Monastic Reconstructions in Lombard Southern Italy.

During the 9th and 10th centuries, Southern Italy was repeatedly attacked by Islamic militias, which also led to the destruction of two of the most important abbeys in the area: San Vincenzo al Volturno (881) and San Benedetto di Montecassino (883). Both monastic communities moved to other places protected by the Lombard princes of Capua-Benevento, and only returned to their original location in the middle of the 10th century. At this point, the abbots had to deal with the loss of most of their archives and that of a part of their landed properties, which was in some cases held by public officials. This paper analyses two aspects: the reconstruction of the monastic heritage by means of princely concessions and the claims made by public officials on the basis of the fiscal memory of the land.

Victor Rivera Magos (Università di Foggia):
Distribution and Control of Fiscal Resources in the Early Angevin Age: the Case of Capitanata between Fragility and Resistance.

When the Anjou arrived in Southern Italy (1266), both the political and financial scenario began to change. Historiography has long focused on the arrival of both the transalpine nobility, who followed Charles I, and the Tuscan financial companies, that assumed a leading role in managing the Crown's tax assets by the end of the 13th century. During the reign of Frederik II, in the Apulian Capitanata there were many fiscal assets, especially cereal farms and salt pans located in Canne, Salpi and Manfredonia. This paper analyses the role of the Florentine companies in this area and the quick process by which they achieved the monopoly over some fiscal assets. It also considers the conflicts between these companies and the local societies, that used to benefit of such fiscal resources.

Davide Morra, Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II":
"What the Dissolution and Misery of Wars Introduce": the Lost Unity of the Fiscal Patrimony in the Fifteenth-Century Kingdom of Naples.

Amidst the 15th century, the new Aragonese kings of Naples reorganized the institutional structures of the Kingdom after decades of dynastic wars. Even in their boldest reforms, they always referred to the good order of the ancient time, that of the Kingdom's constitutions. Both jurists and royal edicts linked the upheaval of such an order to recent wars, which had severe consequences over the integrity of the fiscal patrimony. This was a problem that the King and his advisors had to face to protect the prosperity of the realm. This paper discusses the political reality behind the ideal perspective of lost unity. It considers the variety of subjects actually entitled to enjoy fiscal resources, and analyses how the Crown artfully insisted on discontinuity.

Panel 4.4
From Silva to Mons: the Development of Pastoralism in Late Antiquity Iberia
Organiser: Nerea Fernández Cadenas, University of León
Chair: Jamie Wood, University of Lincoln
Lecture Room 5

After the Western Roman Empire was disjointed, several processes occurred that will shape the society of the 5th to 7th century. Traditionally, researchers have been focused on three scales of analysis in order to study these new realities. First, the role of political dynamics such as the implantation of the Suebi and Visigothic kingdoms. Second, social research has been focused on the power structure and its hierarchical organization with the composition of a dependent peasantry subordinate to large landowners. Third, researchers have been made about the study of economic changes in order to reveal processes as the decentralization of production or the formation of local markets. In recent years, the development of agrarian archaeology has provided new data about other transformations such as the emergence of the pastoral phenomenon, as well as the fundamental role played by local communities in the

management of their own resources. Activities in mountain areas in which anthropic presence was barely documented in the Roman period, began to play a fundamental role in the socio-economic dynamics of rural populations. The main objective of this panel is to analyse the causes and consequences of the development of silvopastoral phenomenon from the 5th to 7th centuries. To reach this aim, an interdisciplinary dialogue has been established between archaeological and historical information by the comparison of the data obtained from the archaeological interventions, as well as those derived from textual sources and written and numerical slates.

Pablo López Gómez, University of León:
Archaeology at Livestock Sites.

The emergence of Agrarian Archaeology in the Iberian Peninsula has granted new channels of research in spaces and activities which traditionally have been considered marginal or peripheral. Parcels, irrigation systems, cultivation terraces, and seasonal cattle settlements become central elements of new processes that give social complexity to little-documented activities such as cattle stockbreeding between the 5th and 7th centuries. The data provided by new archaeological contexts, zooarchaeological studies, and paleoenvironmental analysis, allow us to discern a change in the management models and use of livestock areas. This process is specifically notable in mountain areas where there is a greater pastoral specialization associated with the transhumant practices of the valley.

Raquel Ezquerro Jiménez, University of León:
Grazing Uses in the Post-Roman Horizon in the Iberian Peninsula: an Approach from the Written Record.

The development of grazing uses is a phenomenon widely documented in recent archaeological and palynological studies undertaken in mountain areas in the Iberian Peninsula from the end of the 5th to the 7th century. In general, to obtain a deep understanding of this horizon, we will focus on the expressive capacity of the texts, a register which shows a perspective of how this process was perceived by coevals and, ultimately, to set lines of dialogue with documented materiality. For this purpose, it will be combined a wide range of sources from judicial text, such as the Liber Iudiriciorum and legal formulas, to the recently discovered documents of Asán, or even hagiographic text, like the narrations of Fructuoso de Braga and Valerio del Bierzo. A corpus of information that aims to access the mountain as a space for social action, elucidate the actors involved in their dynamics, and even the power scales interested in them.

Nerea Fernández Cadenas, University of León:
Post-Roman Numerical Slates: a Silvopastoral Technology?

Post- Roman Numerical slates can be defined as a piece of slate bearing the following numerical signs "I", "X" and "V" in different combinations. One of the liveliest historiographical debates concerns the purpose for which these devices could have been created. Most of them appear in rural settlements in the mountainous area of the Central System where pastoral activity has been very deep since the 5th century. The present study examines the role that could have played the development of pastoralism in the genesis of this accounting system by undertaking an archaeological, historical and environmental analysis of the archaeological sites in which numerical slates have been found.

Session 5
16:30 – 18:00

Panel 5.1
Crisis, Recovery, Integration and Segregation in Southern Italy: Confraternities and Hospitals in the Urban Contexts (13th-15th centuries)
Sponsored by the NotMed Project (University of Barcelona)
Organiser: Salvatore Marino, University of Barcelona
Chair: Eleni Sakellariou, University of Crete
Lecture Room 9

This panel focuses on radical changes that occurred in the welfare system of three distinctive areas in the Kingdom of Sicily – Naples, Palermo and Abruzzo – during the late Middle Ages, seen as a response to continuous moments of interruption. Political and dynastic changes, economic crises, epidemics, earthquakes and other natural catastrophes had a strong impact on their social structure and urban development during the 13th to 15th centuries. How did the ruling elites and other civic actors govern and orient these transformations? To what extent did their response result in permanent actions that lasted beyond emergency? Basing on written and visual sources, the three papers of this panel will examine from different perspectives the formation of a new welfare system in Southern Italian cities during the late medieval period, and investigate the role played by lay confraternities and hospitals in creating spaces of integration/segregation in case of epidemic outbreaks, economic and social crises.

Stefano D'Ovidio, University of Naples "Federico II":
Hospitals and Urban Space in Late Medieval Naples (13th-15th centuries).

During the 13th century, Naples underwent great political, social, and economical changes. A semi-independent Byzantine enclave until the 12th century, the city was put at the centre of international relationships, first with the Norman conquest in 1139, then with the Angevin takeover in 1266, when it became capital city of the Kingdom. The change of regime and increased prestige produced a considerable growth in population and a sometimes-chaotic urban expansion. How did the city authorities respond to these changes in terms of welfare and social cohesion? This paper will provide a general introduction on the several newly founded charitable institutions attested in Naples between the 13th and the 15th centuries, with special attention to the hospitals of S. Eligio and the Annunziata. Basing on textual and material evidence, the paper will discuss their interaction with the urban space and society, as well as their institutional, architectural and artistic features.

Salvatore Marino, University of Barcelona:
Spaces of Integration and Segregation: Confraternities and Hospitals in Abruzzo (14th century).

In the late Middle Ages, confraternities were protagonists in the foundation and administration of hospitals for the poor, the sick, and children. Their versatility and polyvalence in terms of social services allowed each fraternity to provide aid to one or more categories of needy people in the city. Using notarial sources, architectural and iconographic evidence, this paper aims to highlight the role of the fraternities and hospitals, respectively, as a space of integration and segregation, during the periods of epidemic, economic and social crisis. The geographical area that will be analysed is Abruzzo, which in the 14th and 15th centuries experienced continuous moments of interruption (epidemics, earthquakes, crises), but also of recovery, both economic and social. In this respect, the paper aims to demonstrate how confraternities constituted one of the vehicles of civic consciousness, based on sincere feelings of solidarity and social protection towards the poorest and neediest.

Daniela Santoro, Università degli Studi di Palermo:
Crisis and Recovery in Palermo: Hospitals and Assistance at the Turn of the Black Death.

In the 13th and 14th centuries the spread of a spirituality influenced by the Mendicant orders had stimulated new forms of piety and more extensive confraternal activity. In accordance with a trend observed in Europe, in the 15th Palermo reformed its own welfare system, and the small charitable institutions were aggregated into a new large urban hospital: destined, thanks also to the ideas spread by Leon Battista Alberti, to take on a central and identifiable role, as demonstrated by the beauty of the building chosen by the city as the hospital's headquarters, Palazzo Sclafani, and the extraordinary fresco dedicated to the *Triumph of Death* that adorned the hospital courtyard. Using notarial sources, the paper aims to analyse the radical change that

took place in the city's hospital and care system, also because of the need to manage the new emergencies caused by the spread of the Black Death.

Panel 5.2
Movements and Interruptions in the Mediterranean World (1200-1500) I – People and Concepts
Organisers: Alessandro Silvestri, CAIMMed, IMF-CSIC Barcelona, Victòria A. Burguera-Puigserver, CAIMMed, IMF-CSIC Barcelona
Chair: Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo, University of Lincoln
Lecture Room 1

Through focusing on the Western Mediterranean of the later Middle Ages, this panel discusses the different factors of disruption that marked various societies and communities of the period. In particular, this session's papers examine the circumstances that produced the change and interruption of a specific status, as well as how societies and communities adapted to new environments. In particular, the first paper focuses on the use of terms such as "segregation" and "marginalisation" in the context on the Western Mediterranean; the following two papers analyse the "double" interruption that marked the life of both Muslim and Christian captives, namely the beginning and the end of their captivity; finally, the last paper examines how Jewish converts practiced their citizenship and to what extent they adapted to their new status in late-medieval Barcelona.

Ivan Armenteros Martínez, CAIMMed, IMF-CSIC Barcelona:
Rethinking the Meaning of "Segregation" and "Marginality" in the Study of Slavery in Late-Medieval Western Mediterranean.

In studies devoted to slavery in the late medieval Mediterranean, it is not unusual to find the labels 'marginality' or 'segregation' (and its opposed "integration") to refer to enslaved people. In fact, it is not surprising that some medieval history manuals, as well as some general reference works pay little attention to the presence of slave population in Mediterranean urban communities. Nevertheless, late medieval societies had an especially diverse human geography, largely as a consequence of slavery. In fact, analysing these societies without taking into account the slave population or, in the best-case scenario, describing the slave population as 'marginalized' or 'segregated' (somehow socially disconnected from the rest of the population) inevitably leads to an impoverished interpretation of the past. Thus, this paper aims to rethink the use of the concepts 'segregation' and 'marginality' applied to the field of social history and, more specifically, to slavery history.

Roser Salicrú i Lluch, CAIMMed, IMF-CSIC Barcelona:
How Captivity Disrupted Individual Lives: Lived Experiences of Interruption in the Medieval Mediterranean.

In the medieval Mediterranean, individual trajectories of captivated men, women and children offer a huge variety of lived experiences. Their microhistories are a powerful sample to show how captivity disrupted their lives, and how they had to try to acclimatize to their new life circumstances. Deprived of their freedom, without social and family ties, in a different language, cultural, religious, social, and economic environment, they had no choice but to try to adapt, in order to survive. The paper will analyse a selection of examples both of successful and failed attempts to overcome the adversity of their lived experiences of interruption.

Victòria A. Burguera-Puigserver, CAIMMed, IMF-CSIC Barcelona:
The Interruption of Captivity: Development of Municipal Ransoming Institutions in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon.

Captivity is one of those "negative concepts" that crucially marked the relationships between the Christian and the Islamic lands in the Medieval Mediterranean, with both those areas developing different strategies and means to rescue their captives and free them from slavery. In particular, scholarship unveiled how these procedures worked among Christian polities, attentively discussing the intervention of single intermediaries or the establishment of ad hoc institutions to redeem captives. This kind of institutions, it should be noted, emerged at the urban level only in those territories which were under the constant threat of raids against their peoples, such as – in the Crown of Aragon – the city of Valencia (14th century) and the island of Majorca (15th century). Examples such as these demonstrate that the emergence of municipal institutions to redeem captives was not just a feature of the early modern age, when the volume of captives significantly increased, but also marked the later Middle Ages. This paper aims to investigate how these municipal institutions operated in practice and who were the people they hoped to redeem, also offering a comparison between the Valencian and Majorcan case studies.

Carolina Obradors-Suazo, Independent Scholar:
From Jews to Converts and Citizens: Disruption, Uncertainty and Citizenship in Late Medieval Barcelona.

Natives and strangers coexisted in medieval cities, building belonging in variegated ways. As recently synthesized by Miri Rubin, the medieval city grew combining neighbourliness and mutual awareness of differences. This was, however, a fragile equation that was severely challenged throughout the fourteenth century, when successive crisis and the impact of the Black Death put a strain on the social bounds that made urban bodies. In such contexts, stronger policies and practices of distinction

were progressively introduced in urban daily life. This was particularly relevant for Jews. As active members of the community, Jews had been able to reach certain forms of citizenship but had to live under increasing threats of violence in Christian societies that sought economic growth while claiming for purification. This paper explores the experiences of urban survival endured by Jews and Converts in a late medieval Mediterranean city. It will first consider forms of Jewish citizenship in fourteenth century Barcelona. With this as a background, the paper will then identify the community of converts that emerged in that city after the disruptive attacks against the Jewish quarter in 1391. In so doing, I aim at understanding how converts found their own and distinctive ways of practicing citizenship, combining integration and dissimulation to recreate their bounds of belonging with the urban body.

Panel 5.3
Imperialism and Interruption in the Byzantine World
Organiser: Phoebe Irene Georgiadi, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens
Chair: Daniel Reynolds, University of Birmingham
Lecture Room 3

The Byzantine Empire was the most enduring political entity of the pre-modern Mediterranean. Nonetheless, its continuity and endurance was punctuated by multiple interruptions across its 1,200-year history and as a historical memory; whether cultural, political and geographical.

This panel explores a number of intersecting topics relating to the theme of interruption and imperial rule in Byzantium. The first paper explores a cultural interruption related to two emperors', Basil I (867-886) and Leo VI (886-912), education, focusing on the fact that although the former was illiterate, he had his son educated by the greatest scholar of their time, patriarch Photios.

The second paper examines the political disruptions which marked the reigns of Michael VIII (1261-1282) and Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282-1328). In particular, it explores their different approaches towards the church and Andronikos' effort to reverse his father's decisions.

The final paper explores how the geo-political disruption provoked by the construction of the Suez Canal, has had more enduring historiographical legacies in the study of imperial rule in Byzantine Palestine. Examining evidence from the Negev, it explores how the idea of the desert as an interruption between the civilised Byzantines and the hostile Bedouin, was used by the British as a model for their own territorial ambitions and the creation of its imperial borders.

Konstantinos Karatolios, University of Crete:
From Basil I to Leo VI: The Illiterate and the Scholar.

Basil I was illiterate, at least until the time he became an emperor. Having spent his youth in a rural area and being raised by peasants, although not of the lowest status, had sealed his fate concerning education, despite the fact that he did not lack in dexterity, cleverness and ambition. And while a non-educated Byzantine emperor was not something that was happening for the first time, this can be regarded as an exception rather than the rule.

And yet his successor, Leo VI, was considered to be wise, a scholar with his own literary production, having been educated by the greatest scholar of his time, patriarch Photios.

This undoubtedly marked a change that affected the government of the empire. This paper will examine how Basil acquired his skills having not been formally educated, and what led him to educate Leo VI to the extent of him becoming a scholar.

Phoebe Irene Georgiadi, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens:
From Michael VIII to Andronikos II: The First Two Palaiologoi's Different Approaches towards the Church.

As part of strengthening relations with the West, Michael VIII Palaiologos accepted the union of the Byzantine and Roman churches. The people and the clergy in Constantinople disagreed, leading to an anti-unionist schism in the empire. Another schism during this emperor's reign was caused between the official church and the supporters of the patriarch Arsenios when Michael was excommunicated by him and consequently deposed him.

Michael's successor, Andronikos II, inherited a decentralised state in political, social, economic and ecclesiastical decay. Contrary to his father, he was more compromising and tried to heal both the schisms, starting with formally repudiating the Union (although he had previously agreed to it) right after he acceded to the throne, and subsequently negotiating with the Arsenites.

This paper attempts to briefly examine Michael's and Andronikos' ecclesiastical policies and the latter's effort to reverse his father's decisions, thus marking a notable political interruption in the Byzantine empire's history.

Daniel Reynolds, Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, University of Birmingham:
Byzantium Interrupted: Byzantine archaeology and border frontiers in British Mandate Palestine.

This paper will examine the reception of Byzantium in Ottoman and British Mandate Palestine between 1869 and 1948. Focussing on single case study in the Negev Desert, the paper will examine how the political interruptions and geopolitical realignment driven by the construction of the Suez Canal (1869), generated a renewed interest in Byzantine archaeology as a model for British governance and colonial rule in Ottoman and Mandate Palestine. In particular, it will examine how the Negev Desert was

subsequently conceptualised as a historical 'Byzantine' frontier and cultural interruption: characterised by antagonistic segregation between the settled lands of Byzantium and the nomadic world of the Bedouin. Finally, it will turn to the evidence from the Byzantine period to determine whether the human and geographical interruptions inherent in the historiography of the Negev Desert 'frontier', have any basis in how people in Byzantium both used and conceptualised this region in the sixth and seventh centuries.

Panel 5.4
Chair: Christopher Heath, University of Lincoln
Lecture Room 5

Nausheen Hoosein, University of York:
Displacement and Mobility in medieval Iberia: The Case of the Caliphal Capitals.

Despite its brief tenure as caliphal capital, Madinat al-Zahra is perhaps the most emblematic palatial construction of tenth-century Umayyad Spain. The rectangular-plan city was composed of three terraced platforms and was built as a fortified administrative and ceremonial headquarters. In the eleventh century, following the collapse of Umayyad rule, Madinat al-Zahra was sacked and burned, a mere seventy-four years after its establishment. Nevertheless, its ruins provoked acute interest in Andalusi court style and for centuries after its demise, the palatial complex was plundered for its sumptuous marble fragments and reusable building materials. Some 150 kilometres west of Madinat al-Zahra and almost two centuries after its demise, the Berber Almohads would designate Seville as their Iberian capital and construct the Alcázar, royal residence, as well as the minaret-tower, popularly known as La Giralda today. Despite the significant lapse in time and space, these two dynasties, the Umayyads (r. 756-1031) and the Almohads (r.1130-1269), and their respective constructions, Madinat al-Zahra and La Giralda, are connected materially and metaphorically through the displacement and mobility of caliphal-era capitals, from the former to the latter. The questions I will ask are: why would the twelfth-century Almohads choose to loot and later transport relatively heavy Andalusi marble from the ruins of al-Zahra to their Sevillian sites? What meanings - triumphant, practical or rhetorical - can we uncover in the displacement and mobility of Andalusi capitals? With this paper, I plan to extend the idea of plunder, displacement and material mobility in the medieval Mediterranean, while contextualising La Giralda and the Alcázar as paradigmatic examples of Almohad reuse of Andalusi spolia.

Oscar Perdomo, Freie Universität Berlin:
The spread of the cult of Ildefonsus of Toledo and the reinterpretation of his treatise De viginate Mariae in the Mediterranean (8th to 10th centuries).

De virginitate Santae Mariae written by the Visigothic father Ildefonsus of Toledo (607-667 AD) presented the virginity of Mary as a matter of Christological defence against alleged Jewish thinkers in 7th-century Hispania. Although De virginitate was not an outstanding treatise, the cult towards Ildefonsus spread from the 9th century to different areas of the Mediterranean and involved regions as distant as Ethiopia and Iceland in the 14th century. The early circulation of the treatise in Gaul and Hispania helps to understand the beginning of miraculous stories written and complemented in different cultures of the medieval Mediterranean, as much as they were translated into languages like Arabic, Geez, and Old Norman French. The cult of Ildefonsus outside the Iberian Peninsula prompted the existence of storytellers, monastic networks and several forms of religiosity boosting the reinterpretation of Visigothic fears towards the Jewish minorities and the reflection on the Jewish origins of Mary.

Tadeáš Vala, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, University of Pardubice, and Department of Political Studies – African Studies, University of Hradec Králové:

Jihad by the Sword as a reaction to the Reconquista and the Crusades: a Comparison of the Situation in the Middle East and the Iberian Peninsula in the 11th-13th centuries.

From the second half of the 11th century, interreligious relationships between Muslims and Christians began to undergo dramatic changes and turbulent dynamics. Political and power changes had a direct impact on Christians and Muslims of different denominations and on Jewish communities in many Mediterranean territories. The Christian Reconquista of the Muslim Al-Andalus and especially the conquest of the city of Toledo by the Castilians of Alfonso VI in 1085 was a severe shock to Christian-Muslim relations in the Iberian Peninsula and its immediate consequences were felt until the 13th century. The invasion of the Middle East by Western Christian Crusaders and the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 caused even greater outrage among Muslims. The subsequent emergence of the Crusader states marked nearly two hundred years of political and religious disruption in the Middle East. Both of these processes, taking place on opposite sides of the Mediterranean, subsequently led to the mobilization of Muslim resistance and calls for jihad by the sword (also) against the Western Christians. This Islamic phenomenon - armed jihad - was awakened after a period of hibernation both in the Muslim West (Maghreb and Al-Andalus) and East (Mashriq and Anatolia), with the aim of correcting conditions in Muslim lands (dar al-islam), and was intended to serve as a means of stopping the territorial expansion of Western Christians, or their ultimate expulsion from these areas.

The contribution will focus on the different situations that prevailed in the Iberian Peninsula and the Middle East due to the action of the Reconquista and the Crusades. Furthermore, it will look at the different reactions that these Western-

Christian ventures provoked in Islamic countries and the different conceptions of armed jihad applied in the West and East Mediterranean. What interruptions and disruptions have occurred in the field of interreligious relationships as a result of the Reconquista and the Crusades? What impact has the Islamic response of jihad by the sword in the Iberian Peninsula and the Middle East had on religious coexistence?

Wednesday 13 July

Session 6
9:30 – 11:00

Panel 6.1
Byzantium Disrupted? Reinterpreting 'Crisis' in the Byzantine World through new Perspectives, Scales, Places and Chronologies
Organiser: Youyoung Jung, EHESS, CéSor (Paris)
Chair: Youyoung Jung, EHESS, CéSor (Paris)
Lecture Room 1

The history of the Byzantine Empire is a dramatic chronology of longevity between crisis and recovery. From its birth to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Byzantine world encountered various types of interruptions and disruptions, but also recovered and survived by alternating between destruction and reconstruction. This session mainly seeks to explore the geographical and cultural variety of the Byzantine world as captured through the lens of interruptions and disruptions. It is organized around three case studies highlighting three major moments and types of disruption spanning the entire chronological span of the Byzantine world. These case studies each use different methodological tools and perspectives (individual, urban, regional, environmental) in order to open new interdisciplinary and theoretical possibilities between research fields.

Marine Tesson, Université Paris-Créteil, CRHEC:
The Storming of Naples of Belissarius' soldiers according to Procopius of Caesarea: the military story mirroring the urban and social crises of Late Antiquity.

In October 536, the Byzantine general Belisarius, leader of the Byzantine reconquest of Italy ordered by Justinian, besieged the city of Naples, in southern Italy, held by the Ostrogoths. Belisarius fails to take the city by force and must therefore use ruse: a contingent of four hundred of his soldiers enters the city by taking the now dry aqueduct, the previous water cut for the inhabitants of the city having not resulted in their surrender. The attackers will only be able to leave it on an uncovered part, in an abandoned but central urban space, where only a woman marginalized by her poverty lives. From the story of Procopius, this communication aims to question the rupture of the previous urban fabric, the marginalization of the lonely inhabitant of the city with which the soldiers are confronted first, in the light of a limited military crisis.

Youyoung Jung, EHESS, CéSor (Paris):
Socio-economic Dynamics of Byzantine Urban Space in Urban Literature (10th – 13th century).

Throughout its history, the Byzantine Empire was confronted with a multiplicity of crises. Both internal and external crises affected the Empire repeatedly, yet it survived and evolved by recovering each time. Crisis acted both as a peril and as chance for transformation. Based on particular historical processes which created the distinctive characteristics of urban spaces in the Byzantine world, this communication addresses the dynamics and evolution of urban spaces in the Byzantine world as reciprocal results of crisis and interruptions, based on descriptions and fragments in literature. It will try to recreate the urban spaces of the Medieval Byzantine world between interruption and recovery, on the basis of literary sources informed by the experience of authors, in order to make an interpretation of evolution in urban space. It is mainly centered on the capital city, Constantinople, from its crisis in the Iconoclastic period, through its Middle Byzantine resurgence, to the fall of the city to the Latin crusaders, but will also examine other important Byzantine cities, notably Thessalonica, the second capital, as captured through the experience of interruption and recovery at the hands of Muslim pirates, so as to provide a comparative reading to the period

Guillaume Bidaut, EHESS, L'agrégation d'histoire:
The River Strymon as Mirror of Crisis, Reconfiguration and Resilience in Byzantine-Ottoman Transition (14th-15th century).

This contribution examines and questions whether the long Byzantine-Ottoman transition truly takes the form of a social, economic and environmental 'crisis' in the lower Strymon river valley (Bulgaria and Greece), as suggested for other regions of the Byzantine world, using the river itself as analytical tool and data source. The Strymon acts as witness to multiple systemic disruptions (political, commercial, demographic, social, land use) taking place across distinct but overlapping timeframes. Examination of spatial patterns and environmental data reinterprets these disruptions as part of a wide-scale social reconfiguration rather than crisis or

collapse, resulting in an intensification and increased complexity of existing structures. Comparison with the divergent trajectory of the neighbouring region of Halkidiki shows higher structural resilience of the Strymon river valley. This contribution reviews possible factors and identifies ecological diversity of the Strymon river basin as one explanation for higher internal connectivity, integration and stability of social and economic systems. Finally, it is examined how social resilience and economic growth are coupled in the Strymon river valley with anthropic pressure and environmental stress, demonstrating that environmental and social systems and crises can be connected but asynchronous.

Panel 6.2
The Impact of Crusading Conflict at the Turn of the Thirteenth Century
Organiser: Alun Williams, University of Exeter and Gregory Lippiatt, University of Exeter
Chair: Jan Vandeburie, University of Leicester
Lecture Room 3

This panel addresses events in the late twelfth- and early thirteenth- centuries in three theatres of crusading conflict in the medieval Mediterranean: the Battle of Hattin (1187), the effects of the Albigensian Crusade on the Jewish population of the French Midi (1208-29) and the success of the Spanish Christian coalition against the Almohad Muslim dynasty at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212). Each paper seeks to extend and challenge existing perspectives and assumptions. First, Dr Mallett considers how Imal al-Din al-Isfahani's account of the battle used earlier Islamic history to eulogise the memory of Saladin and present an alternative view of the conflict. In the paper on the Albigensian Crusade, Dr Lippiatt challenges conventional understanding of the way the Jewish community suffered because of the persecution of other heretics. In the paper on the Battle of Las Navas, Dr Williams discusses the notion that as well as a hiatus in the Christian quest for supremacy, it was also an event that frames the conflict and draws together the successes and failures of earlier battles. The panel will therefore challenge understanding and deepen awareness of crusading conflict in the Mediterranean around the dawn of the thirteenth century.

Alexander Mallett, Waseda University:
Imad al-Din al-Isfahani's Account of the Battle of Hattin: Typology as a Strategy of Legitimisation in Medieval Islamic Narratives.

The Battle of Hattin was one of the most significant events in the whole period of the Crusades, as Saladin's armies crushed the forces of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and paved the way for the sultan to recapture for Islam almost all the Frankish territory in the Levant. Yet, while much ink has been spilled on both the battle itself and its

consequences, modern scholarship has paid very little attention to the presentation of the battle in the Arabic source material. This paper will examine Imad al-Din al-Isfahani's account of the battle, and will suggest that the writer deliberately used an advanced typological toolkit in order to bring to the minds of his Muslim audience events from the earliest days of Islam as part of his wider attempts to praise the (by then deceased) sultan and criticise those Muslims who had failed to support him.

Gregory Lippiatt, University of Exeter:
The Limits of Persecution: Jews and the Albigensian Crusade.

The link between crusading and anti-Jewish violence is well documented and goes back to the very beginning of the movement in attacks on the Rhineland Jewry during the First Crusade. Crucially, however, there has been no dedicated study of the effect of the Albigensian Crusade (1208–1229) on the substantial and sophisticated Jewish population of the French Midi. Most references to this subject assume the detrimental impact of the crusade on southern Jews based upon its anti-heretical purpose and the later policies of the Capetians. This paper will argue that the early crusade before royal involvement did not in fact signal a substantial change in the position of meridional Jews, and that the Montfortine regime was even seen by some Jews as fulfilling the protective role traditionally performed by Christian princes in the region. Finally, it will explore the reasons behind this contrast between crusader attitudes towards heretics and Jews.

Alun Williams, University of Exeter:
Las Navas de Tolosa: False Dawn, Lost Decade or the Consummation of Christian Victory?

The principal thirteenth-century Hispano-Latin narratives of the 1212 Battle of Navas de Tolosa suggest what victory may have meant to the Castilian Christians. Yet all three accounts were written around 1230 and this paper considers how the battle may have been perceived at the time. The battle between a Christian coalition and the Almohads was both a watershed and part of a pattern that included earlier Christian victories, Toledo in 1085 and Almería in 1147; both were followed by periods of retraction, loss and dynastic disruption. Early Christian successes preceded Toledo and Almería, and gave grounds for optimism but it was Las Navas that augured an eventual Christian sweep through al-Andalus. So, Toledo and Las Navas may be seen as framing the critical period of conflict between Muslim Iberia and the Christian kingdoms and our understanding earlier conflicts offers an insight into the thirteenth-century struggle for Christian supremacy.

Panel 6.3
Movements and Interruptions in the Mediterranean World (1200-1500) II – People and War
Organisers: Alessandro Silvestri, CAIMMed, IMF-CSIC Barcelona, Victòria A. Burguera-Puigserver, CAIMMed, IMF-CSIC Barcelona
Chair: Ana María Echevarría Arsuaga, UNED
Lecture Room 5

From the straits of Gibraltar to the Levantine Sea, the late-medieval Mediterranean world was characterised by a continuous series of wars and invasions, in turn marked by sudden accelerations and unexpected interruptions. This complex and frequently changing political environment also affected the government of territories, with rulers seeking for new strategies and tools for strengthening their authority over their subjects and conducting their foreign policies against external powers. The papers of this session explore these and other questions by focusing on a set of specific examples in both the Western and the Eastern Mediterranean, and with a particular stress on single rulers or on groups of people who dealt with the problem of exercising rule. On the one hand, whether Paper A analyses how Brancaleone I Doria operated – also ideologically – to be recognised as a legitimate ruler in Sardinia, Paper B explores how and to what extent Marino Badoaro, the "Rettore" of the duchy of Crete, exploited poetry as a means to rule a foreign city. On the other hand, while paper C illustrates how Alfonso the Magnanimous continued the war for Naples along the 1420s thanks to a various group of people at his service, Paper D focuses on the chancery environment of the Mamluk Sultanate, as a crucial organ for defining the boundaries between Mamluk and Christian's territories.

Enrico Basso, Università degli Studi di Torino:
Becoming a King: Brancaleone Doria and the Struggle for Power in Sardinia at the beginning of the Fourteenth Century.

Following the death of Adelasia, in 1259, the direct descent of the ruling House of the Giudicato of Torres extinguished. The subsequent dissolution of political structures paved the way for the competing ambitions of three rising powers: the neighbouring Giudicato of Arborea, the Common of Sassari, and the Sardinian-Ligurian clan of the Doria, which had family ties with the ancient rulers. Over the next seventy years, Brancaleone I Doria promoted with unshakable constancy a policy of personal affirmation, aimed at making him recognized as the only legitimate heir of the judicates. This talk will analyse the way through which the dominus of continental origin tried to root, even symbolically, its power in the indigenous society of Sardinia and the long-term political consequences of the actions he developed to this purpose.

Roberta Morosini, Wake Forest University:
Ruling Candia with Poetry: Paolino Veneto's *De Regimine Rectoris* and a new Idea of Global Citizenship.

In 1314 the Franciscan historian Paolino Veneto writes De regimine rectoris. This treatise is the first speculum principis that is not written in Latin but in Venetian dialect. It is dedicated to Marino Badoaro, the "Rettore" of the duchy of Crete (1313-1315) that became a Venetian possession in 1204 with the name of Candia. The treatise aims at the education of the "Rettore" of Candia to be a good governor of the island, by means of a repertory of readings that put at the centre of his education the core values brought about by ancient poetry. This paper explores how poetry according to the Franciscan historian can be useful to rule a foreign city, with a different cultures and different values. Also, being the duchy of Candia the most strategic for the Stato da Màr in the East, examines what idea of domination, government, and citizenship the Franciscan Paolino conveys in the light of inclusivity and diversity within a pan-Mediterranean perspective.

Alessandro Silvestri, IMF-CSIC:
An Interrupted War? The Crown of Aragon, the first War for Naples, and its Continuation in the 1420s.

In 1421, Queen Joanna II of Naples (1414-35) named King Alfonso V of Aragon (1416-58) as her son and heir against the Papal candidate Duke Louis III of Anjou (1417-34). The following war lasted until 1423, when Louis obtained the Queen's support, and Alfonso set sail for Barcelona due to the increasing tensions in the Iberian Peninsula. As broadly accepted by scholarship, therefore, the war for the conquest of Naples stopped for a decade. But did these events actually interrupt the war? This paper suggests that – by relying on a group of trustworthy officers and merchants – King Alfonso continued the war against the Angevin through the Kingdom of Sicily. Archival sources clearly attest that in the 1420s the island constantly supplied the Catalan-Aragonese fleet and army in Italy thanks to continuous movement of people, monies, and supplies across the Tyrrhenian Sea. Rather than stopping, the war for Naples thus continued with frequent interruptions and restarts, taking the shape of a naval guerrilla warfare.

Alessandro Rizzo, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich:
Reassessing the "Spaces of the Parties" in Mamluk-European Diplomacy through an Analysis of the Chancery Sources.

For a long time, scholarship has illustrated the representation of territoriality in the diplomatic relations between the Mamluk Sultanate (1250-1517) and the Christian powers with the traditional paradigm "abode of Islam/abode of war". In so doing, several authors have described peace as just a temporary suspension of the "natural"

state of war. The historiographical narrative of the diyār (abodes) has recently been "interrupted" and questioned by scholars who have examined different kinds of sources, but barely investigating chancery documents. When we look at Mamluk diplomatic sources, references to diyār on religious grounds are rare. The territories of the sultanate and the Christian powers are often defined by other kinds of categories. Focusing on chancery sources, my paper examines how "space" and consequently the boundaries between the Mamluks and the Christian states were geographically and symbolically interpreted and described. This approach will help us to understand according to which criteria the sultanate represented and legitimised its relations with non-Muslim states.

Panel 6.4
Normalizing a Society: Constraints, Expulsions and Cancellations in the Kingdom of Sicily (13th-14th centuries)
Organiser: Francesco Paolo Tocco, University of Messina
Chair: Eleni Sakellariou, University of Crete
Lecture Room 9

During the course of the XIII century, the society of Kingdom of Sicily is subjected to a series of radical transformations which will cause it to become increasingly more homogenous than the previous century. This phenomenon may be considered a form of social normalization whose price is the constraining or, in some extreme cases, the eradication of several social components. One of the key aspects of this normalization is the religious sphere, where we have at play several forces of inclusion and exclusion, both in the Catholic, Jewish and Islamic social groups. At the end of the century, the kingdom's society will appear more simplified when compared to its beginning, as it will have been subjected to a process of constraint in the name of the consolidation of the religious and the monarchic powers. However, this strengthening will present itself through different paths in the two kingdoms of Sicily generated by the crisis of the Sicilian Vespers.

Gemma T. Colesanti, ISPC-CNR, Naples:
Women's Monastic Communities in the Kingdom of Sicily and the "Normalization" of the IV Council of the Lateran.

The paper aims to propose the different practices that the female monastic communities active in some cities of the Kingdom (Naples, Benevento and Palermo) implemented in response to the constitutions of the IV Lateran Council. In fact, this papal legislation not only limited the possibility for new communities to adopt or propose new rules, it also limited the power of the bishops with respect to women's

monasteries and opened the way to the subsequent reforms that Boniface VIII led to the definitive application of strict enclosure for all women's religious orders.

Amalia Galdi, University of Salerno:
Southern Jewish Communities between Inclusion and Subjection (13th-14th centuries).

The arrival of the Angevins in southern Italy introduced some elements of discontinuity with the previous Swabian administration, but there was also a progressive deterioration in the life of the Jewish communities in the Kingdom. Particularly active during the rule of Charles II, the Dominican inquisitors launched intense campaigns for the conversion of the Jews (1290-1294), who were less and less able to resist the pressure, also due to a general decrease in their material conditions. The forced conversions, which resulted in the loss of traces - in the documentation - of part of the Jewish population, who took Christian names, constituted a real break with the past, since until then they had been active in the main centres of Southern Italy for several centuries and had enjoyed relative tranquillity, devoting themselves above all to craft and commercial activities.
In this paper the condition of the Jews in the Kingdom will be discussed, starting from the campaigns of forced conversion, and their history will be followed, focusing on some urban centres, until the following century: it will be shown how, on the one hand, they were the protagonists of progressive phenomena of marginalisation and constant fiscal pressure, on the other hand they maintained a constant status of economic resource for the monarchy, which oscillated - not without ambiguity - between attitudes of benevolence and oppression.

Francesco Paolo Tocco, University of Messina:
Control, Submission, Deletion: Islamic Communities in the Kingdom of Sicily from Frederick II to Charles II.

The history of the Sicilian Muslims constitutes a well-known social and cultural "normalization" of the Kingdom of Sicily. Marginalized from the rest of the Sicilian society from the ending of XII century, they barricaded themselves in some natural strongholds, then conquered and depopulated by Frederick II. Their extermination was motivated by authoritarian reasons: they were social outcasts that did not observe the rules produced by the King. The survivors, deported to Lucera, constituted selected corps in Frederick II's and Manfred's armies. After the Angevin conquest of the kingdom they represented an intolerable religious anomaly and were exterminated by Charles II.

The path of normalization, therefore, started with the removal of social dissent and then moved to the elimination of religious anomalies: this contribution aims at shedding light upon this process.

Session 7
11:30 – 13:00

Panel 7.1
Travelling in the Eastern Mediterranean, ca. 1300-1500: Politics, Agency and Production of Historical Knowledge and Space IV: Travelling and Local Identities
Organizers: Eleni Tounta, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and Nikolaos Chrissis, Democritus University of Thrace
Chair: Nicky Tsougarakis, University of Crete
Lecture Room 9

Simon Phillips, University of Cyprus:
Island-Hopping Hospitallers in the South-East Aegean, 1309-1522: A contribution to the making of a Dodecanese identity?

After the Hospitaller's conquest of Rhodes in 1309, they proceeded to establish a sphere of influence in the south-east Aegean. The maintenance of this area required travel by sea. This paper takes a diachronic approach to ascertain the nature of the various interactions between the islands, such as for trade and military matters, as related in the Hospitallers' archives, while also attempting to uncover the administrative structure created for their island possessions, which roughly equate to the modern Dodecanese region. The term 'Dodecanese' existed long before the Hospitallers' arrival, but to what extent did they help shape the administrative structure of this group of islands? Furthermore, this paper will consider a number of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century journals that elaborate on the perception of Rhodes as a travel destination in itself, as well as a port on route to the Holy Land, as the Hospitallers tried to edge into the lucrative pilgrim trade.

Alessandro Flavio Dumitrașcu, Institute for Sout East European Studies, Romanian Academy:
Traveling through 'Velachia-Bassa' in the second half of XVth century.

In the 1460s, the Genoese Gregorio de Reza travelled from Genoa to Caffa in the Black Sea, which was perceived as the extension of the Great Sea, to assume the colony's consulate. Instead of the traditional sea-route, he went by land, avoiding the Straits, which had become unsafe after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, and crossing "Velachia-Bassa" (Moldavia). The journey there was marked by diplomatic courtesy, but on his return through the same route, both him and his retinue were arrested and forcibly brought, with great shame, to the Moldavian court. These two travels shed

light not only on the diplomatic habits on the two sides, but also on a whole network of individuals in the Romanian Principality. Yet, the fact that the Genoese just began to distinguish between the two "Wallachias" illustrates the big impact distance had on mentalities in this period.

Sebastian Kolditz, Heidelberg University:
From Ferrara to the Holy Land: Mediterranean Perceptions in two Travel Accounts from the First Half of the 15th Century.

In contrast to German princes and counts, members of the Italian nobility did not figure prominently in the ranks of late medieval pilgrims to the Holy Land whose travels have been documented by members of their retinue. One notable exception, however, concerns the Ferrarese ruling family of the Este. Both the extremely brief journey to Jerusalem undertaken by margrave Nicolo III in 1413, and the exceptionally long-lasting journey his illegitimate son Meliaduse d'Este undertook in 1440-1441 were documented in detail. Both texts have recently been edited but seldom studied so far, although they contain singular information including visits to Cyprus and the Mamluk empire. In this paper the two texts will be analysed in a comparative manner. Taking into account the specific conditions of each journey, we will refer to various aspects of the perception of the Eastern Mediterranean, including maritime/terrestrial spaces and cultural encounters. Special attention will be paid to the insular travel stages.

Panel 7.2
Looking for Trouble I: Civil Unrest and the Coherence of the Broad Mediterranean
Organiser: Jakob Riemenschneider, Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altorientalistik
Chair: Giulia Zornetta, Università Roma Tre
Lecture Room 1

In Late Antiquity, we observe civil unrest at the crossroads between traditionalised rhetoric and changing societal settings. This means that both form and function of popular action are difficult to assess. The papers in this session aim to contextualise civil unrest from Egypt to Spain, showcasing regional characteristics as well as overarching trends. Salvatore Liccardo will demonstrate the logic of the depiction of active urban masses, navigating between age-old stereotypes and genre-related myopia. Sam Barber will then look at the functionality of one specific urban space. His analysis of palace architecture is based on the observation that imperial exposure works reciprocally: emperors made themselves prominent in the city, but they also attracted public dissent. Marta Szada will close the session with an argument that lay crowds were both a factor and a resource in contested dioceses when it came to

appointing a new bishop. Involving the crowd turned out to be hard to control and could lead to new actors and a change in the game. Together, the papers in this session analyse civil unrest as both a resource and a force with common characteristics across the Mediterranean and propose a platform of comparative interpretation.

Jakob Riemenschneider, Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck:
Framing Civil Unrest then and now.

This paper will lay the groundwork for the following sessions. It will first of all assess the methodological problems of comparative analyses of civil unrest in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. These go beyond questions of definition (which alone are not straightforward to answer). Considering the rifts in Late Roman society and the seemingly ever-intensifying divisions between different groups of interest, we must be wary of the different outlooks on what civil society was supposed to mean and encompass. This concerns, for example, monks and nuns, who were often set apart, and very much integrated into urban contexts. Both their ascribed behaviour, and their self-descriptions warrant special attention. Yet, the subject overall should also be historically contextualised in the longue-durée. Between the *staseis* of classical and Hellenistic poleis, and the self-assured citizenry of high medieval towns, urban crowds of our period still await their master-narrative, their particular framing. Some preliminary thoughts in this direction should be possible.

Salvatore Liccardo, Austrian Academy of Sciences:
Urban Masses and Civil Unrest in Late Antique *Metropoleis.*

The attitude towards urban masses cultivated by the intellectual elite of Late Antiquity was mostly paternalistic and belittling. The extant sources often depict the common people of the major urban centres of the Mediterranean Sea as unruly and vulgar. Mobs can riot at any time and for the most trivial of the causes. Even though this consideration of urban masses was widespread and the disruptive plebeians became a stereotypical item of the contemporary ethnography, it is possible to find some dissenting opinions or, at least, more nuanced depictions. By focusing on geographical and historiographical texts dating to the 4th and 5th century, this paper will highlight instances of mass behaviour in two Mediterranean *metropoleis* (Alexandria and Carthage). The select descriptions will reveal a more balanced judgment of popular insurgencies and their wider cultural and religious meanings.

Marta Szada, University of Torun:
Feature, not a Bug? Violence of Lay Crowds and Clerical Promotions in the Late Antique West.

Instances of lay congregations deciding bishop elections or priestly ordinations were relatively common in the late antique church. In this paper, I will argue that they can

be interpreted both as expressions of the non-elite autonomy and as features of political manipulation by high-ranking actors. Using selected examples from Africa, Gaul, and Spain from the fourth and fifth centuries, I will show that the clergy often accepted popular interventions, even when they were acts of violence. I will argue that this was because they saw them as part of the process of consensus-building and also because they could rely on popular voice to diffuse responsibility for controversial decisions. However, their control over the mobilized communities was limited and they could not prevent the emergence of an informal leadership that could exert pressure from below.

Panel 7.3
Aspects of Continuity, Questions of Disruption: A Wider Approach to the Early Medieval Period
Organiser: Nikolaos E. Michail, Université Lumière Lyon 2 – National and Kapodistrian University of Athens
Chair: Christina Tsigonaki, University of Crete
Lecture Room 3

Transition and transformation, continuity and change, decline and renaissance are only some of the terms used when referring to different aspects of life and society in the Early Medieval period. Situated between the 'glorious' ancient past and the 'obscured' Middle Ages, the period in question is certainly a complex era, difficult to define through a single point of view. The papers presented in this session have the ambition to treat the questions of continuity and disruption through three different approaches, each corresponding to a distinct area of interest. During the era in question, these concepts obtain a rather nuanced character, depending on various factors such as tradition, locality, particular needs or specific conditions and circumstances.

On that base, the first paper discusses the subject of repair works in the Early Byzantine city of Delphi, as means of understanding the dynamics of change and continuity in the public space. The second explores the transformations of private space in Late Roman Corinthia and the interaction between the urban development and the social environment. Finally, the third one focuses on the production of the Early Byzantine glazed pottery, reconsidering the evolution of the technique from the Roman to Byzantine times.

Nikolaos E. Michail, Université Lumière Lyon 2 – National and Kapodistrian University of Athens:
Continuity through Change: Repairs in the Roman Agora at Delphi.

From the invasions of the 3rd to the destructive earthquakes of the 4th or the 6th c. AD, many Greek cities found themselves in need of extensive repair works in order to restore the function and character of their public space. Focusing on the case of the so-called Roman Agora, the paper explores the character, the principles and the methods used in the repair of an important public building of the Early Byzantine city of Delphi. Through the analyses of the architectural remains, it aims to identify the priorities and the extension of the repairing activity which, in turn, indicates the extension of the catastrophe occurred during the second half of the 4th c. AD. Interpreting the choices made by the architects responsible for the repair, we explore how the notions of continuity and change in the public space are reflected upon the construction and repair activity of the Early Byzantine period.

Paschalis Makrogiannelis, University of Durham – Ephorate of Antiquities, Rethymnon:
Private Facilities over Former Public Buildings: Making the Most out of the Ruins?

An intriguing and yet somewhat confusing aspect of the Early Mediaeval urban and rural topography is the frequent presence of private facilities within the premises of former public buildings. This paper aims to map the phenomenon in Late Roman and Early Byzantine Corinthia, and to explore how the private encroachments evolved through time from the 4th c. AD until the early 7th c. AD. The aim is twofold. First, to question which were the major motives behind these 'intrusions', how the resulted outcomes compare among each other, and how they relate with the changing urban fabric. Second, to explore how the city authorities might have perceived these attitudes, and whether they battled, tolerated, or even supported them. During the process, the issue of 'continuity versus discontinuity' of the urban fabric 3 will be explored, and possible links will be traced among the new building habits, the changing priorities, and the accepted social norms of the era.

Georgia Giannaki, Université Lumière Lyon 2 – National and Kapodistrian University of Athens:
Early Byzantine Glazed Pottery: Tracing the Missing Link Between the Late Roman and Medieval Glazed Ware.

The Early Byzantine glazed ware is a class of pottery often difficult to be identified and dated. Although the glazing technique was known and widely used since the Roman era, it appears as if there is an evolutionary gap from the Late Roman to Medieval glazed ware. Until now, the Byzantine glazing technique is thought to have emerged during the 7th c. AD, leading, as a result, the various glazed findings to be dated from the 7th c. AD onwards. However, over the past few decades, pottery of this kind has been unearthed in many archaeological sites in Northern Greece and in Bulgaria in contexts dating as early as the 5th and 6th c. AD. The aim of this paper is to shed light on the evolution of this technique from the Roman to the Byzantine times,

during which its greatest spread is attested, and to explore its role as a missing link in the evolution from the Late Roman to Medieval glazed ware.

Panel 7.4
Chair: Thanassis Mailis
Lecture Room 5

Maria Elena Aureli, Pisa University:
(Dis)connectivities of an insular outpost in the West: Sardinia in the upper-Tyrrhenian context, 7th-9th century).

The paper will consider the specific case of the allegedly peripherical island of Sardinia during the centuries of transition between Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages. Re-examining the strategic role of "fault line" played by this liminal insular space among the new, different powers competing in the Western Mediterranean, transformations in the patterns of mobility and communications to and from Sardinia will be investigated, according also to the most recent historiographical perspectives and the increased evidence offered by the archaeological research. From the belonging to the "Byzantine web" to the interrelations with Lombard and Carolingian polities, along with the repeated conquest attempts by Muslim forces, the Sardinian and upper-Tyrrhenian context chosen as observation point allows to evaluate how shifts of Mediterranean connectivity affect and transform local societies but also have an important impact on the developments of European history.

Colette Manciero, University of Salerno:
Times of changings. New reflections on the Festòs Plain from Late Antiquity to the Venetian period.

The history of Crete is defined by several moments of interruption and disruption, which determine its historical and social development. The transition from the 4th to the 5th century is one of them. It marks an important turning point for Messara and for the whole island, due both to the changed political conditions in the Eastern Roman Empire and to the earthquake of 365 A.D., which has been widely recorded by archaeology throughout the island. It also traditionally marks the end of antiquity, giving the definitive start to the historical moment known as Late Antiquity or the Early Byzantine period (5th - 9th centuries).

This contribution, taken from my doctoral thesis, which is still in progress, aims to provide an overview of the settlement and the socio-economic changes in the region of Western Messara in the long historical period comprising Late Antiquity and Early Byzantine period, the Middle Byzantine and the Venetian period from the privileged viewpoint of the Festòs site. The area, widely known in the archaeological literature

and extensively investigated since the 19th century, has always been the focus of studies for the Minoan phases and is currently undervalued for the medieval period, which marks the definitive ruralisation of the plain. The new data collected during the latest survey and study activities, promoted by the Festòs Project (University of Salerno, University of Rome 'La Sapienza' - Italian Archaeological School of Athens), allow us to introduce new reflections on the forms of occupation of territory in post antiquity, characterised by both continuity and repeated phenomena of discontinuity and functional changes compared to previous periods. The investigation focused, especially, on the area between the hills of Christòs Effendi, the 'Acropoli Mediana' and the Palace, and the plain below, extending southwest of the ancient Palace and currently partly occupied by the present-day village of Agios Ioannis. The ceramic material from the survey and the stratigraphic interventions carried out from 2007 to the present day are still a point of attention, as they also allow new reflections to be made on the socio-economic dynamics of the Festòs area compared to the rest of Messara and the island of Crete in the long period between the end of Roman times and the early Venetian period (5th-15th centuries).

Eugenia Dialoupi, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens:
The interruption of the Early Byzantine city of Edessa: The evidence from the reuse of commercial amphorae from the archaeological site of Edessa.

During the early Byzantine period, the city of Edessa is a thriving city with products arriving from almost all the well-known production centers of the Mediterranean. These commercial relations are evident in the different types of Late Roman/ Early Byzantine amphorae derived from all across the Mediterranean, but mainly from the eastern part of the Byzantine Empire. The crucial geographical position of the city, as a transit centre on the Via Egnatia and one of the important crossing stations undoubtedly contributed to the socio-economic development and the commercial connections of Edessa.

The interruption of the Early Byzantine city of Edessa begins between 562 AD and the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century AD according to archaeological data. Justinian's 16 nummi found in the destruction layer on the floor of the 3rd area west of the main road are a terminus post quem for the destruction of the area. In addition, the confirmed reuse of the Late Roman / Early Byzantine amphorae LRA1, LRA4, Samian cistern type, "spatheia" was inextricably linked with infant burials in amphorae that took place in the last phases of habitation of the city of Edessa. The infant pot burials are solid archaeological evidence for the difficulties that the city experienced at the end of the early Byzantine period (such as natural catastrophes, invasion and epidemics).

It is probable that the areas that received the infant pot burials were not re-inhabited, with the exception of only a few areas on either side of the main road as storage, (such as the 3rd area west with the gathering of tiles in the centre and perimeter of the area which were found stacked and separated with diligence) or as a

workshop. The city did not cease to be active throughout the early Byzantine period until its final abandonment, at the beginning of the 7th century, by its inhabitants, which by then became inevitable.

Session 8
14:30 – 16:00

Panel 8.1
Travelling in the Eastern Mediterranean, ca. 1300-1500: Politics, Agency and Production of Historical Knowledge and Space V: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Historical Memory
Organizers: Eleni Tounta, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and Nikolaos Chrissis, Democritus University of Thrace
Chair: Jacques Paviot, Université Paris-Est Créteil (UPEC)
Lecture Room 1

Nikolaos G. Chrissis, Democritus University of Thrace:
Propagating the East: Memory, space, and the "Oriental" others in the works of Marino Sanudo Torsello and Philippe de Mézières.

Marino Sanudo Torsello (c.1270-1343) and Philippe de Mézières (c.1327-1405) both had extensive personal knowledge of the Eastern Mediterranean, having travelled widely across it, and they both dedicated a large part of their life and energy in promoting the crusade to Western powers. They thus had a particular status as "intermediaries" between East and West, while their works were crucial in transmitting information and shaping perceptions. This paper will examine how the two authors fashion the image of the East. For example, to what extent is there an emphasis on the common "Oriental" otherness of the lands and people there by comparison to the works' Western audience? Another question is how the memory of past crusading activity is deployed to promote the authors' message. Finally, there is an important comparative aspect: what differences, if any, can be attributed to the changing political circumstances (primarily the growth of Turkish power) or to the authors' different socio-cultural backgrounds?

Nicky Tsougarakis, University of Crete:
Remembering and misremembering the crusades on the late-medieval Jerusalem pilgrimage.

Travellers to the Holy Land in the late Middle Ages were confronted by numerous reminders of the region's crusading past. This paper examines how travellers to Jerusalem in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries remembered and made sense of this crusading past and attempts to trace some of their main sources of information on crusading history. In doing so, the paper pays particular attention to the conspicuous absence of certain crusading expeditions (e.g. Second and Fourth Crusades) from the historical accounts provided by late medieval pilgrims and attempts to explain these lapses in historical memory. Finally, the paper also examines references made by late medieval pilgrims to the crusading expeditions of their own time and considers whether these writers saw those expeditions as part of the crusading movement. In doing so the paper hopes to offer some insights into how medieval people understood and defined crusading.

Lilli Hölzlhammer, Uppsala University:
Mapping the Greek other in a sea of Turkish danger in Felix Fabri's *Evagatorium* (1486) and *Die Sionpilger* (1492).

After Felix Fabri publishes his two pilgrimages to Jerusalem in the *Evagatorium* he retells his experiences as "spiritual pilgrimage" for German nuns who could not physically travel. Although Fabri's perception of the foreign have been researched, an analysis of how he turns his experiences into prayer guidelines is still missing. This paper asks therefore why certain images of the Greek and Turkish other are transferred from the *Evagatorium* into *Die Sionpilger* as well as where they are mapped in the Mediterranean. The examination demonstrates that the more ambiguous depictions in the *Evagatorium* that are differentiated through personal experience turn into negative, stereotypical images of Greek and Turkish people in *Die Sionpilger*. This becomes possible by re-imagining the unexperienced pilgrim-narrator as a guide for spiritual pilgrims through a sea of heathen danger. Accordingly, unexpected foreign threats turn into anticipated obstacles that can be pointed out on a map of the Mediterranean.

Panel 8.2
Looking for Trouble II: Reading Disorder Orderly
Organiser: Jakob Riemenschneider, Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altorientalistik
Chair: Jakob Riemenschneider, Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck
Lecture Room 3

Civil Unrest is a common feature Late Antique discourse. Yet, both the mechanics of talking about unrest, and the politics of framing unrest, are seldom part of the historical analysis. This session is designed to tackle the issue from three different

angles, and in three different genres. Through the excerpts and summaries of Photius, Martin Bauer will approach the problems with late antique fragmentary historians. He will analyse depictions of civic uprisings and demonstrate the narrative distortions that the patriarch brought to his sources. Veronika Egetenmeyr's reading of monastic literature and epistolography will shed light on the language of discontent in the important network of Lérins, and the social context of literature that is often considered paradigmatic for the monastic movement in Gaul. Mateusz Fafinski is looking at conciliar acts and the popular politics of orthodoxy in the fifth century. Especially important here is the intersection of urbanism and rhetoric, and its effect in a text meant to impress a synodal crowd. Together, these papers demonstrate that civil unrest is never a one-dimensional phenomenon. Late antique and early medieval authors were very able to use unrest as a category and manage their readers' impressions, be it in Latin or Greek, secular, or ecclesiastical circles.

Martin Bauer, University of Innsbruck:
Popular Uprising between Photios and Late Antique Historiography.

In his portrayal of Eusebius' Life of Constantine (cod. 127), Photius criticises the work's lack of accuracy and clearness in describing quarrels, seditions and civil unrest. While this can be explained by Eusebius' panegyric focus, it also demonstrates the patriarch's interest in violent controversies and their narration – especially when a religious or dogmatic background is involved. In my paper, I want to analyse the depiction of civil unrest in contemporary narrative sources and in Photius' Bibliotheke using as main examples the Histories of Flavius Josephus, Procopius, Olympiodorus, Malchus, and Candidus. The insights provided by comparing the extant texts of Procopius and Flavius Josephus with Photius' summary can help us to interpret the narratives of sedition in lost works such as the Histories of Olympiodorus, Malchus, and Candidus, for which Photius is our main source.

Veronika Egetenmeyr, University of Rostock:
Peaceful Monks and *Milites Christi:* Disorder and Disputes in the Writings of the Community of Lérins.

The life of the monks on the monastic islands of Lérins was characterised by *otium* – yet it was often followed by a life in *negotium*: many men entered the islands as senators and left as bishops. Rather than a place of refuge, Lérins was a religious hotbed of knowledge to prepare its inhabitants for secular struggles and the politics of the church. This paper will address how prominent figures of Lérins, like Hilarius of Arles, Eucherius of Lyon, or Salvian of Marseille, reacted to the turbulence of their own time in their writings. An analysis of the ways in which these authors presented conflicts and weaponized their words will demonstrate how these allegedly peaceful monks of Lerinum fought their disputes and faced disorder. It will also showcase the

development of the Christian language of strife change from the fourth to the fifth century.

Mateusz Fafinski, Free University of Berlin:
A Restless City: Textual Images of Civil Unrest in Late Antiquity.

In April 449, at the behest of the synod in Ephesos, Flavius Chaereas the governor of Osroene had to fulfil a rather difficult job. He was sent to Edessa to conduct an inquiry into the fate of Ibas, bishop of the said city. His report laid in front of the synod is a fascinating literary image of a city on the threshold of a riot. Acclamations mix with calls for exile and death. Staged expressions of orthodoxy and imperial allegiance with genuine calls for change. We meet in it not only the clerics but also various urban institutions, like monasteries and schools. This paper will attempt to reconstruct the image of Edessa in a state of agitation and how it was put into text and read by both imperial and ecclesiastical authorities. It will also problematise how such a textual representation influences our perception of late antique urbanism and authority.

Panel 8.3
Mobility and Communication between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic at the End of the Middle Ages
Organiser: Inazio Conde Mendoza, Universidad de Cantabria
Chair: Roser Salicrú i Lluch, IMF-CSIC Barcelona
Discussant: José Damián González Arce, Universidad de Murcia
Lecture Room 5

The aim of this panel is to show the research about the communication, information, and mobility of goods and people between the Western Mediterranean (Italian city-states and Crown of Aragon) and the North Atlantic (England, Flanders, and Labrador Peninsula). The speakers have worked with the main historical sources of Italian, Valencian, Catalan, Castilian, Flemish, and English archives and will focus on the routes of communication that linked different economic and power spaces between the second half of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century. During that period, the main political powers (Castile, Aragon, Florence, England) competed for the control of this major economic area in order to consolidate its own hegemony.

Chaired by Roser Salicrú i Lluch (Institució Milá i Fontanals, CSIC), the session is composed of 3 speakers that will analyse this major maritime space and its ports. Firstly, Francesco Guidi-Bruscoli (University of Florence) will examine the communication and mobility between England and Italy; Inazio Conde (University of Cantabria) will analyse the role of Basque skippers in the route from the Iberian Peninsula and the Atlantic Ocean to Pisa. Finally, Jesús Á. Solórzano-Telechea

(university of Cantabria) will show the role of the Cantabrian Ports linking an enormous maritime area from Barbery to Labrador Peninsula.

Francesco Guidi Bruscoli, University of Florence:
From the Mediterranean to the North Sea: Italian Merchants in England in the Late Middle Ages.

Historians have devoted much attention to the Italian communities of late-medieval England because even if they were a small community in numerical terms, they were indeed a visible presence. English merchants and other compatriots showed at times a certain level of dislike towards the Italians, who were accused of drawing wealth away from England. Sometimes this feeling degenerated into violence, but Italians could generally carry out their trade without too many problems. This paper will look at less explored aspects of the relations between the two communities, by using in particular Italian sources (letters, journals, account-books) and will also explore the self-perception of the Italians as a group abroad: how did the Italians relate to each other and to the local community, how they perceived themselves as individuals and households, and the maintenance of their cultural identity.

Inazio Conde Mendoza, Universidad de Cantabria:
Basque Skippers on the Route to Pisa (15th – 16th centuries).

The port of Livorno experienced a remarkable vitality during the last decades of the 15th century and the first decades of the 16th, due to the proximity of Florence and the political and economic relationship held between Florence and Pisa. Among many other geographical origins of the seafarers, the Basque skippers are, regarding the arrivals to the port, the most numerous. This can be explained by the fact that they played a significant role in the shipping of merchandise like wool, fish and cochineal from the Western Mediterranean and the Atlantic to the north of Italy. Our main goal here is to examine their navigation routes from the Atlantic and the Iberian Peninsula to the port of Livorno through the account books of the Salviati Family of Pisa, which will highlight the mobility of the fleet from the Cantabrian Seaports of Castile in this specific scenario and the links with other regions.

Jesús Á. Solórzano Telechea, Universidad de Cantabria:
From the Mediterranean to the Labrador Peninsula (and beyond): trade, fisheries and privateering of the Cantabrian Ports (1452-1552).

Historiography has often focused only on Spanish expansion through Central and South America, but before this continent was officially discovered in 1492, the sailors of northern Iberian Peninsula knew the richness of North American maritime waters and created the first links between the old continent and the new ones.

This paper will reflect on the three dimensions on which the ports of the Cantabrian ports were projected between the autumn of the Middle Ages and the spring of modern times: trade, the economic use of the waters and, the political control of the Northern Atlantic and the Mediterranean routes. On one hand, in the fifteenth century, the process of creating the ports of the Cantabrian Sea had been completed and its commercial dimension had been consolidated as an engine of the expansion of the Castilian economy in the large economic areas of the North Sea, especially with Flanders, and Western Mediterranean. On the other hand, the zenith of Spanish expansion across the Atlantic came with the discovery of America, but before it was officially discovered, the sailors of the Cantabrian Coast had already approached Labrador Peninsula carried by whaling and, since the late fifteenth century, by cod fishing for the Mediterranean markets. A third dimension on which the dwellers of the Cantabrian ports were projected on seas was the privateering and pirate activities. The medieval privateering, which had been practiced since the fourteenth century on the coasts of Atlantic and Mediterranean Europe, spreading from Barbary to America, mixing the economic interests of the people of the Cantabrian ports with the politics of the Spanish Crown. In this way, Spanish interests were not only the control of the commercial maritime routes between America, the North Sea and, the Mediterranean, but also the exploitation of the fishing maritime waters in relation to the whaling of Newfoundland, the cod in the Labrador Sea and the black slavery in African coast.

Panel 8.4
Chair: Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo, University of Lincoln
Lecture Room 9

Luigi Andrea Berto, Western Michigan University:
Narrating the effects of the clashes between Christians and Muslims in early medieval southern Italy.

In the ninth and tenth centuries**,** the Muslims were the dominant power in the Mediterranean and, at the news of their arrival, the Christians, unable to face them, fled to safer areas or into well protected cities and castles. Because of these incursions, several monks left Sicily for Calabria and, when the followers of Islam began to raid that region, then moved farther north. The inhabitants of several Italian towns ran away to the woods or to the mountains because their towns were indefensible. Also in this period, the fear of losing the precious relics of the saints to these raiders induced secular and ecclesiastical authorities to move them into the cities. For example, they moved those of Saint Augustine (from Sardinia to Pavia), Saint Bartholomew (from Lipari to Benevento), and Saint Severinus (from Castro Lucullano to Naples). This paper aims to examine how the effects of the clashes between Christians and Muslims were narrated in early medieval southern Italy.

Stefano De Vita, University of Naples "Federico II":
Constantine V and the Neapolitan Iconoclasm.

During the Eight Century the events following the Iconoclasm of Leo III and Constantine V reverberated over Italy and therefore also over the Dukedom of Naples, which was still formally part of the Empire. In particular an incomplete legend that narrates the killing of a dragon by Constantine V, written in the *Cod. Vat. Lat. 5007,* also known as *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, has often been used as evidence to prove the existence of a so-called Neapolitan Iconoclasm. Considering the most recent developments of the research about the iconoclasm phenomenon in its entirety (Humphreys), this paper aims to conduct a textual analysis of the legend, while keeping in mind its context and trying to provide an interpretation of the events.

Joana Gomes, Institute of Philosophy – University of Porto:
Writing against Disruption: Storytelling as a form of continuity in medieval Iberian Historiography.

The study of legendary tales in medieval historiography has consisted mainly of attempts by scholars at distinguishing "fact" from "fiction", as well as the examination of their links to oral literature. This presentation will focus on two "legendary" tales in which women have a prominent role: the "Leyenda de la Condesa Traidora" and the "Leyenda del rey don Rodrigo", approaching them from a different angle. Beginning with the study of the transmission and the variation of these legends across historiographical traditions (Arabic, Latin, and Vulgar), I will argue that historical writing emerges from the need to create a discursive continuity over a fragmented reality, and that legends where women are protagonist are used as a literary device employed by historians to counter the effects of a specific type of disruption, namely the interruption of genealogical succession, and - as a consequence thereof - the end an emergence of certain polities in the medieval Iberian world.

Thursday 14 July

Session 9
10:00 – 11:30

Panel 9.1
West meets East: The Mediterranean Cult of Saints in Early Medieval Iberia
Organizer: Kati Ihnat, Radboud University Nijmegen
Chair: Jamie Wood, University of Lincoln
Lecture Room 1

There has been a growing tendency to view early medieval Iberia more as a region inscribed in wider Mediterranean networks (economic, religious and cultural) and less as an isolated outpost of Europe. In this panel, we explore Iberia's connectivity to the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean specifically through the cult of saints. Tracing intellectual and devotional trends, this panel will examine the potential for exchange between Iberia and the East (broadly defined) through the development of both ideas about saints and practices of veneration – e.g. the importation of Eastern saints, texts about them, and customs surrounding them. We will examine this question over the *longue durée*, covering the transition of Visigothic Iberia in the sixth and seventh centuries into Islamic Al-Andalus and the northern Christian kingdoms in the eighth through eleventh centuries. This interdisciplinary panel – including studies of music, Arabic and Latin texts, and epigraphy – will therefore allow us to evaluate not only the degree to which Iberia participated in Mediterranean-wide religious and cultural trends, but what disruptive (or transformative) effect the Arab conquest had on these trends within the Peninsula itself.

This panel is sponsored by the NWO project, 'Making a martyr in medieval Iberia (589-1080)' hosted at the Radboud University Nijmegen

Kati Ihnat, Radboud University Nijmegen:
Debating – and celebrating – the saints' cults in Visigothic Iberia.

A recent study of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* has highlighted that even in the sixth century, lingering doubts about the veneration of saints remained, particularly in Byzantine intellectual circles. To what extent was Visigothic Iberia party to these

debates? How might these debates have manifested in actual devotional behaviour? This paper will, on the one hand, trace the intellectual context for the cult of saints in sixth- and seventh-century Iberia, considering the theoretical writings of Isidore of Seville, Taio of Zaragoza, Eugenius II of Toledo and other high-profile writers to evaluate whether they were writing in dialogue with ideas circulating in the East. The possibility of intellectual exchange will then be juxtaposed with the question of devotional influence, through examination of Eastern saints adopted in the Visigothic liturgy and visible in epigraphy. The general aim is to evaluate the extent to which we can consider sixth- and seventh-century Iberia as integrated in wider Mediterranean ideas and practices around the cult of saints.

Melanie Shaffer, Radboud University Nijmegen:
Singing with sounds of the East: the Greek Chants of the Old Hispanic Liturgy.

In Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies,* he praises Greek saying, "Greek is considered more illustrious than the other nations' languages, for it is more sonorous than Latin." Among the chants of the Old Hispanic liturgy, practiced on the Iberian Peninsula from at least the 8th-11th centuries, one curiously finds a handful of chants in Greek—the *graeci*--that perhaps exemplify these values of Greek in a latinate Iberian context. Often the *graeci* are rough translations of Latin-texted chants that precede them, also closely repeating their melodies. Intriguingly, the sanctoral *graeci* appear only in liturgies of distinctively Iberian saints. This paper will explore how the addition of Greek might have shaped the liturgical experience—whether sonically or symbolically crafting the image of a saint or particular day—and what the comparison of musical notation between Latin and Greek chants can tell us about the way medieval Iberians understood language and melody.

Cathrien Hoijinck, **Radboud University Nijmegen:**
"Every time a star cluster disappears in the West, its opposite rises in the East": Eastern traditions in the Cordoban Calendar.

The Cordoban Calendar (961), written in Arabic, is famous for its curious composition: an astrometeorological treatise of Arabo-Islamic tradition, combined with an Old-Hispanic calendar. In this paper, I will look at traces of Eastern Christianity in the calendar part of the text, in particular those pointing to Byzantine, Coptic and Syriac traditions. While the Cordoban Calendar follows the Spanish Era, the Julian months, and the Old-Hispanic liturgy, it also presents the corresponding Syriac and Coptic months, as well as some Syriac and Coptic rituals on feast days. Further, the entries in the calendar for feasts of saints whose lives were prominent in the Eastern Christian tradition, such as Thomas, will be evaluated. In this paper, I will investigate the exchange between Eastern and Andalusi Christian communities and the possible channels through which this knowledge travelled to the Iberian Peninsula.

Panel 9.2
Chair: Eleni Sakellariou
Lecture Room 9

Aristea Gratsea, University of Crete:
"*Maximum damnun et detrimentum…*"; The consequences of the fall of Constantinople in the trade activities of Venetian Crete.

The aim of this paper is to examine the consequences of fall of Constantinople in the shipping and trade activities of Venetian Crete. While interruptions in trade and shipping in times of war are to be expected, the study examines the extent of the economic and commercial impact of the fall of Constantinople on Cretan trade and the changes, if any, in the mercantile practice and trade routes. In addition, the focus is on the Cretan individuals who participated in the trade activities with the purpose of assessing if the Ottoman conquest of the city acted as a "turning point" to their activities. The research is based on archival evidence of the Venetian Archives and specifically on Archives of the Duke of Crete (*Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Duca di Candia*), on the Cretan notaries (A*rchivio di Stato di Venezia, Notai di Candia*) and on the Archives of the Senate (*Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato Mar*).

Niccolò Zennaro, University of Antwerp:
«*non ve poso dir seno rie novelle*». The mercantile future and the crisis in late medieval Venice.

The paper will define how medieval Italian merchants used their experience and network information to build future expectations to foresee, overcome and evade crises. It will establish whether the upheavals caused changes in mercantile mentality, more precisely in its conception of the future and the way of thinking about it. For this reason, I will analyse the correspondence written by Paris Soranzo, a Venetian merchant and patrician, who experienced first-hand the multiple disruptions faced by Venice between the late 14th and early 15th centuries. The research will show how he perceived and reacted to the epidemic shock of 1400, the conflicts arising in Italy and along the Levant sea route, affected by Turkish expansion and Tamerlane's conquests in the Middle East.

Juho Wilskman, University of Helsinki:
Venetian Military Institutions in *Romania* Compared.

After the Fourth Crusade Venetians had to establish military institutions in their new territories. They did it in a unique way, not really following neither the established practices of the Mother City nor local ones. The main model was the prevalent "Latin military culture", which emphasized the role of fief-holding cavalrymen. The

Venetian territories nevertheless largely lacked large fief holders, which had consequences for castle building. Their fief-holding infantrymen were a rare phenomenon. Venice was more hesitant than, for example, the Crusader states to accept Greeks in their military and this had adverse consequences in the form of rebellion. Town militias were an essential part of the military in Italy and traits of those can be identified in Candia but it did not gain similar importance. The role of Greeks grew, particularly when it became difficult to recruit Latins for military duties.

Panel 9.3
Antagonism and Coexistence in Romanía during the Fifteenth Century
Organizer: Dikaios Panteleakis, University of Crete
Chair: Kostas Moustakas, University of Crete
Lecture Room 3

The 15th c. was an era of transition and transformation for the region of Romanía. During this time, it witnessed a series of transformative events, as the Byzantine Empire was losing its last strongholds around the Aegean while the Ottoman Sultanate and the Venetian Republic solidified their possessions in the region.

Our purpose it to discuss how the interaction among those three powers led to the disruption of the political and social landscape of the aforementioned area.

To illustrate these changes, we will focus on four representative examples from the fields of military, political and social history. The first deals with the Byzantine-Turkish diplomacy at the beginning of the 15th c. The second is about the social and religious reality of Thessalonica under the Venetian rulership. The third announcement examines the administration of the Ottoman land tenure system in Northern Greece. To conclude, in order to properly conceptualize our topic, we will discuss the case of Constantinople under Mehmed II and how his decrees changed the old Byzantine capital.

Christina Mardavani, University of Crete:
Diplomacy in the wake of disaster: the case of Byzantium and the Ottomans after the Battle of Ankara.

The main aim of this study is to explore the diplomacy of the Byzantine Empire with and concerning the Ottomans, through the turbulent years from the Battle of Ankara in 1402 to the reign of Sultan Murad II in 1422. The arrival and victory of Timur in Ankara changed dramatically the status quo that the steady rise of the Ottomans has created in Minor Asia, and its effects rippled through both sides of the Aegean. In a stroke of luck, where the Byzantines used to be Ottoman vassals, they suddenly found themselves dealing with a dynasty facing the threat of extinction. My purpose is to examine how the constantly shifting political environment of the era informed the

byzantine diplomatic policies with their Ottoman neighbours. Special focus will be given to the harbouring of possible claimants to the Osmanli throne as Byzantium's preferred bargaining chip during those decades. The study will present the changing dynamics over two periods; the first will cover the entirety of the Ottoman Interregnum and Byzantium's involvement in it, while the second will navigate the diplomacy between the two powers during the entirety of Sultan Mehmed I's reign and his son Murad's ascension to the throne. To achieve this, I plan to rely on contemporary written sources like chronicles, official documents and archaeological finds, such as coins, in the cases they are available.

Dikaios Panteleakis, University of Crete:
A city under siege: Thessalonica (1422-1430).

In 1423, under threat from the Ottoman Sultanate, the byzantine city of Thessalonica chose to accept the overlordship and protection of the Venetian Republic. For the next seven years the city withstood one of the harshest sieges that it ever faced, all the while the war between Venice and the Ottoman Sultanate raged in the Northern Aegean Sea. During the siege, Venice had to face the Ottoman navy in the Aegean, the sultan's armies outside the city walls and the discontent of the people inside the city. Due to the continuous blockade, the majority of the citizens of Thessalonica gradually lost their confidence and became distrustful towards the Venetian Republic· their relationship deteriorated to the point that the Venetian authorities feared that they might be betrayed by the populace of the city.

The aim of this announcement will be the reconstruction of the power relations and the conditions of the citizens inside the besieged city. Did the Venetians abide by the agreed conditions of the treaty of 1423, under which Thessalonica came under their rule? Did they cooperate or antagonize with the Orthodox clergy? How did the local populace view the Italian sovereignty? Were the Greeks in support of the Venetian regime or were they in favour of surrendering the city to the Ottomans? These will be the issues that I will try to examine, by relying on the contemporary written sources.

Husamettin Simsir, University of Notre Dame, Indiana:
Administration of the Ottoman Land Tenure System in Northern Greece in the Mid-Fifteenth Century.

"Karye-i Evladluca: Bu köy mezkur Istefan içün Tirbavi Hisarından azık uğurlayıp Bogi kafire satdı diyü subaşı iğlam itdiğü, sebebden oğlu Turalibey'e bi vech-i misak virdiler. Fi evahiri zilkade sene 854, der Edirne."

"The Village of Evladluca: Since the police superintendent reported that this abovementioned Stephan has stolen provisions from the fortress of Tirbavi, selling it an infidel by the name of Bogi, this village had been granted to his son Turalibey by

contracts. (This record is made) In the last days of the month of Zilkade, year 854 (1450), in the city of Edirne." (BOA. MAD. 525, 24 folio)

The passage above is taken from a fifteen-century Ottoman cadastral record, "MAD 525", which provides plenty of information about the structure of villages, dwellings, household heads (adult males and widows), ethnicity/religion, and land use in Northern Greece in the 1440s and 1450s. Although it is a unique primary source, giving invaluable details regarding the establishment of the Ottoman administrative authority in the region, no attempt has been made to transliterate it to Modern Turkish. Also, there is no contemporary academic undertaking that directly focuses on this record, a situation that partially stems from the decreasing importance of the "defterology" in the Ottoman studies after the transliteration of several important fifteenth-century cadastral records in the Ottoman Balkans (*Hicri 835 Tarihli Suret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid*, ed. Halil İnalcık, Ankara: TTK, 1987, 10). In this light, this study will concentrate on the structure of the Ottoman land tenure system in Northern Greece, giving special attention to the conditions for dismissal of the Ottoman timariots/landholders. This is quite important for several reasons. First, it shows the extent of the administrative power that the Ottoman state structure had exercised in such frontier provinces which were previously regarded as the frontier lords' areas of political activity. The frontier lords were semi-independent political entities who spearheaded the Muslim expansion in the Balkans in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. However, towards the mid-late 1400, as a result of the augmenting centralization and bureaucratization process in the Ottoman Balkans, we began seeing a decline in their importance in the regional politics in the Balkans. "MAD 525" in this way further detail this phenomenon since it shows how the state managed to establish its absolute control over the landed estates, having altered the timar holders at regular intervals. Second, we still do not have sufficient information concerning the reasons behind the dismissal of the Ottoman landholders. It was conventionally argued that the sack of the Ottoman landholders had stemmed from several established reasons including leaving their farmlands barren and unsown for a couple of years. However, "MAD 525" indicates that the practice in the field was much more complex compared to that. This study will argue that the dismissal of the Ottoman timar holders ranged from a variety of reasons ranging from being accused of theft to suffering from certain diseases such as leprosy.

Ioannis Bantouvas, University of Crete:

Aspects of Mehmed the Conqueror's architectural and repopulation policy in Constantinople.

The main aim of this study is to present the policy of Mehmed II in regards to the construction programme which he applied, the methods of settlement and at the same time the ethnic-religious groups which were targeted by those. The period which I will study is that of Mehmed's reign (1451-1481). However, in order to properly conceptualize this topic, it will be necessary to examine some sources of the sixteenth

century as the "Ecthesis Chronica". In the first part of this presentation, I will analyze the main targets of Mehmed's architectural plan and simultaneously which byzantine buildings chose to destroy, to reuse as they were used before and at the same time which monuments' character chose to change (the church of Saint Sophia for example). Also, the buildings which were erected under the authority of the sultan will be taken into serious consideration like the "Topkapi" palace. As a result of my first analysis, I will proceed by focusing on the changes which were inflicted by that scheme and the disputes which rose among the Ottomans. The second part of my study will be dedicated to the different methods of repopulating the new capital and how this affected the character of the city itself. More specifically, I will present and analyze which groups were moved to Constantinople by their own will or by force, where they were settled, the status which the obtained in their new social milieu and what disputes emerged because of the aforementioned facts. In the end, some light will be shed in the social and political circumstances under which the sultan carried out his project parallel to the ideological aspects which can be found in the sources.

Panel 9.4
Chair: Demetres Kyritses, University of Crete
Lecture Room 5

Evangelos Magiopoulos, University of Crete:
The Muslims of Lucera in the Hohenstaufen – Angevin rivalry in the 1260s.

In the 1260s Southern Italy experienced a series of conflicts between two rival dynasties, the Angevins and the Hohenstaufen, who fought for control of the Kingdom of Sicily. This paper will examine the role of the Muslims of Lucera, who became an easy target for papal propaganda due to their support for the Hohenstaufen. Of particular interest is the comparison of the attitudes of Clement IV and Charles of Anjou towards the Muslims versus their stance against their Christian adversaries. An examination of contemporary sources can yield valuable information about the reactions to non-Christians and illustrate aspects of the Guelph – Ghibelline rivalry in Italy during the second part of the 13th century.

Katey Kiltzanidou, Democritus University of Thrace:
Representation of female donors to churches of the late Byzantine period in the region of Macedonia.

The study of female donations in the churches of the late Byzantine period could be used to reveal how the women and their families perceived their position in the family, social and political life of their time, their possibilities, abilities, mentality,

desires and fears. At the same time, the study contributes to gender studies and the history of an area.

The aim of this announcement is the presentation of female donors' portraits that were made in the wider region of Macedonia in a period of constant wars between the Byzantines, Latins, Bulgarians, Serbs, Albanians and Ottoman Turks. The study and grouping of the portraits will follow the state administration of the area in which they were made, because the politics of each medieval power differed in terms of dealing with the citizens with varying effects in all its aspects of life, and therefore also in art. In the analysis of the female depictions we will focus on the historical data, the date of the foundation of the churches, we attempt do research whether the women were the founders of the ecclesiastical institution or later donors, the use of the ecclesiastical foundations, their architecture, the place of the portraits and their exact dating. We will also be concerned with the holy figure (if any) next to which is depicted the portrait of the female donor, her its overall appearance, namely the costume, the jewellery, distinctions, attitude, the dedicatory inscription that accompanies her (if saved) and language. The portraits of women known from historical sources will be examined on the basis of their biography. Naturally, female presences cannot be researched isolated from the other donors. Thus, we are also considered male portraits, but always in relation with the female donor. At the same time, we seek the relationship and the roles of each woman with the depicted persons and the way in which they are displayed. Comparisons with portraits of other regions will be limited and indicative.

Polymnia Synodinou, University of Crete:

"Emotional" worries: the depiction of sinners in Byzantine Art as a field of social disruptions (11th- 16th century).

This presentation will discuss the depiction of emotions in Byzantine art, especially the images of sinners. The depiction of sins corresponds to grave changes, disruptions, and problems of the society which has chosen and produced them for the iconographical programme of its churches, and it is possible to add to the theme of material evidence of disruptions. We will try to trace the outset of them and their evolution through case studies—examples of categories from different churches of the Medieval Mediterranean: thieves, witches, renunciation of theological duties, prostitution, etc. These specific portraitures of the Second Advent illustrate and convey social, cultural, theological, and lay fears and reflect local worries through the emotions of sinners and viewers.

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