

Abstracts of papers delivered at SMM 2017, Ghent University, arranged alphabetically on authors' names.

Gabriella Addivinola: From the 'Thinking Heart' to the 'Mind in Love': Reconfiguring Identities from the Troubadours to Dante

The change in the representation of love from troubadour poetry to Dante's work is a very interesting example of the increasingly complex ways in which human psychology was understood and portrayed in the Middle Ages. My paper will analyse a set of examples of love poetry taken from both French and Italian sources, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, to point out the shift which occurs in the place where love is experienced: from the heart to the mind.

This kind of reconstruction finds its meaning in the direct influence that the poetry of the troubadours had on the so-called Sicilian School which, in its own turn, made a fundamental contribution to the development of the Tuscan *dolce stil novo*, and was further elaborated by Dante.

I would like to argue that, if in the lyrics of the troubadours the lover is portrayed mainly as an historical being, whose heart is the place where his inner desires and will are expressed, in the poetry of the *dolce stil novo*, and especially in Dante's verses, love is experienced in the mind or the intellect, and this implies a highly complex notion of metaphysical identity. I will therefore point out how the Tuscan poets reinterpret the Biblical tradition through the philosophical contribution of Neoplatonising Aristotelianism: the intellect being understood as infused directly by God bears a strong resemblance and connection with Love represented as the driving force of the Cosmos. The human identity is thus not only theologically but also metaphysically redefined.

Sabahat F. Adil: The Qarawiyyīn Library as an Important Locus for Sociopolitical Activity Under the Saʿdids. (cancelled)

Recently published articles have called attention to the reopening of the Qarawiyyīn Library in Fez, Morocco. Many of these popular articles point to the third-/ninth-century founding of the institution and subsequently leap ahead to modern-day restoration projects, usually skipping over how the library has been shaped and reshaped by historical circumstances in the intervening centuries. In this paper, I will explore the Qarawiyyīn Library during the tenth/sixteenth and eleventh/seventeenth centuries, a time in Morocco's history and Islamic

history more broadly that is often considered to be a period of decline in terms of intellectual activity. The Saʿdid period of Moroccan and North African history is known by many as the time in which the royal library was captured and taken to the Iberian Peninsula. Beyond this undoubtedly important historical event, there was significant intellectual activity in the period that has not been thoroughly investigated, yet deserves further attention because it can enlighten us about 1) the contours of Islamic intellectual life in the tenth/sixteenth and eleventh/seventeenth centuries; and 2) the very important connections between intellectual life and the sociopolitical domain in the development of institutions. For example, the prominent Saʿdid ruler Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (d. 1011/1603) directed resources towards the Qarawiyyīn. These resources came in the form of resources for physical construction and also books, including a copy of the Quran that he endowed to the library. Some questions that must be considered include the following: Why did he do this? What can this tell us about the relationship between the state and intellectual life? Through a consideration of the Qarawiyyīn Library and its development during the Saʿdid period, I will demonstrate how intellectual and sociopolitical concerns were inextricably intertwined in this context and must be taken into account together in considering how they have shaped such brick-and-mortar institutions.

Alzahraa K. Ahmed: Ephemeral Sculpture: Vessels of Memory, Wonder, and (e)Motion in the Medieval Mediterranean.

This paper analyzes a feature common to various kinds of festivities and events throughout the early and medieval Islamic world: the appearance of ephemeral sculpture. Ephemeral sculpture is unexplored terrain in Islamic art history, appearing only in passing in the literature. This lack of attention should not be surprising since, after all, such sculptures are *ephemeral*; they are not stored, archived, or exhibited in museums—institutions that direct our research. However, the memory of these non-archived and unpreserved materials is not ephemeral, having endured and been perpetuated in textual sources since at least the tenth century. Such sources are geographically diverse and stretch chronologically from the Abbasid period, starting in the 8th century, to the Ottoman period. They include travel accounts, juridical texts, and historical chronicles. The nature and priorities of each of these sources is different, resulting in varied textual discussions of ephemeral sculpture, which often activate emotions and are ascribed the characteristics of impermanency, movement, and wonder.

In my paper, I argue that such sources provide a window into the social and cultural life of the medieval Mediterranean. Moreover, they can help us to see how *littérateurs* of the Middle Ages experienced materials around them—not only ephemeral sculpture, but figurative objects more

broadly—and then reflected on these experiences in writing. Finally, I suggest that analysis of these textual sources can help scholars to explore broad contexts critical to understanding the material culture with which they work.

Javier Albarrán Iruela : Narrating Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s Death: Memory Versus Almohads.

The fall of the Almohad caliphate produced a series of ideological reactions that can be followed and perceived through the construction of memory. Numerous examples illustrate this process: the Merinid discursive rejection of the Almohad heritage while the Mamluks were calling them “sultān al-muwaḥiddīn”, the Hafsid political project as heirs of the Muminids, and the use and translation of Ibn Tūmart’s *Murshīda* by the *mudejares and moriscos*. The aim of this paper is to analyze this phenomenon through a close reading of the different narratives of Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s death. The earliest sources that talk about the decease of the North African eminent Maliki jurist and scholar of the twelfth century (his son, Muḥammad b. ‘Iyāḍ, and Ibn Bashkuwāl) do not mention any murder or violent death, a type of controversial and polemical account that will be dominant in the later sources. I will focus on the reasons behind the development of these different narratives and on their various contexts of production as well as on the? relation to the process of delegitimization of the Almohad movement through memory that runs parallel to ‘Iyāḍ’s sanctification phenomenon. This is linked also to the use of memory (and of the Almohad memory heritage) as a legitimizing tool in the construction of an imagined community with an idealized past around Malikism in the Maghreb.

Clara Almagro Vidal: From Muslims to Christians: Perpetuation of Cultural Identity beyond Conversion in *Morisco* Communities in Castile.

The goal for this paper is to analyse material and immaterial elements of identity that found continuity after the mass conversion of Muslim communities that took place in Castile at the beginning of the 16th Century. In order to do so, the former Muslim communities of the lands belonging to the military order of Calatrava will be used as a case study.

Muslim communities in these lands were able to achieve a more lenient process of transition into Christianity after the decree of conversion that forced all Muslims in Castile to be baptised. Thanks to these special measures, the transition into Christianity and into its cultural ways was not enforced as strictly as in other geographic areas of the kingdom of Castile. This allowed for the survival of certain practices and links of solidarity that are reflected in the written records.

My intention is to examine spaces, practices and solidarity links that were important for these communities before the conversion and to how these groups strived to maintain them even after their main identity trait- that of Muslim Religion- was a factor no longer in play. In order to do so, Inquisitorial records will be the main source of information. Despite the implicit slant of Inquisitorial records, they are an invaluable source to perceive the day to day lives of these communities in transition and how old traditions inherited from the Middle Ages coexisted with different degrees of success in their new context.

Luigi Andrea Berto: Imagining Frontiers and Communities in Italy in the Early Middle Ages and at the Beginning of the Third Millennium.

In the last three decades several scholars have emphasized the elements of continuity between the Roman and the post-Roman periods and the ease with which the integration between the newcomers and the locals took place. It has been, however, argued that, like the previous historiographical views, the new ones are also influenced by the political ideas and personal views of these scholars. While acknowledging that this might have happened, some of these authors have claimed that the sophisticated intellectual tools they utilized in their analyses minimized the effect of those influences and allowed them to have a better understanding of the few primary sources available for that period. This paper does not aim to offer a further interpretation of possible influences on those historiographical approaches. Indeed, its goal is to examine a specific example of these new interpretations (a study on the frontiers between the Lombard Kingdom, Venice and Naples in the eighth century) and to analyze how those frontiers were perceived in the early Middle Ages. In this way I wish to compare how the images of the frontiers and of the communities living in those areas were used and, sometimes, abused in that distant past and at the beginning of the third Millennium.

Dotan Arad: Jewish Thoughts on Existence under Islam in the 15th Century.

How Jews in the medieval Islamic world view their place in the Islamic space of those days? Did they feel like outsiders or did they feel at home? Did they feel secure or did they feel threatened? Did they consider their existence in those lands as temporary or permanent? Responding to these questions in full is not feasible; however, I do intend to take a first step in examining these questions.

My paper will focus on Egypt and North Africa in the late Mamluk period. I will present several sources, such as travelogues, responsa, Geniza letters, and investigate, in light of them, the different emotions and views on the Muslims, by different Jews, local and immigrants.

Ivan Armenteros-Martínez: Building an Ideal Community: Slavery and Slaves in Francesc Eiximenis: *Dotzè Llibre del Crestià* (1385-1386).

At the end of the Middle Ages, slavery was a widespread phenomenon throughout the Mediterranean. In southern Western Europe, cities like Venice, Genoa, Majorca, Barcelona and Valencia had important enslaved populations that were part of the idiosyncrasies of their urban communities.

The practice of everyday life in cities that were characterized by economic dynamism and human mobility was reflected in civil and religious discourses. These writings – expressed whether in the form of public ordinances or in the form of essays on the good governance of the community – are of fundamental importance to analyse the theorizing of slavery as a natural and historical fact and its adaptation to the symbolic order of late medieval Christian society. Among these writings stand out the chapters 341-348 of the *Dotzè llibre del crestià*, a treatise on moral Christian life written by the Franciscan friar Francesc Eiximenis between 1385 and 1386.

Going back to the Aristotelian theory of natural slavery in a text full of citations and references to classical authorities, Eiximenis examines the nature of the institution dissecting the possible ways to fall into captivity and the relations that should prevail between masters and slaves. Beyond this theoretical frame, these eight chapters also reflect the contemporary perception the Franciscan friar had of a phenomenon that was common in the entire Mediterranean basin.

The purpose of this paper is, then, to analyse the accommodation of slaves and slavery in the ideal Christian community reflected by Eiximenis in his work, and to contextualise these ideas in the contemporary urban reality of the last quarter of the 14th century.

Arezou Azad: To Be a Woman in Mixed Societies of the Eastern Islamic Caliphate and its Successor Dynasties.

The lands in present-day Afghanistan, before the arrival of Islam, enjoyed a distinct religious mix of Buddhists, Zoroastrians, Christians, Jews, and adherents to local cults who cohabited single spaces. These religiously mixed societies flourished in large urban centres, as well as rural metropolises and small towns. Religious diversity, helped by being situated at a crossroads of the "silk road" trade networks, which doubled as pilgrimage routes, and together with the linguistic and ethnic mix in the region during the transition to Islamic rule in the eastern Islamic caliphate and its Muslim successor dynasties, may account for a particular

conversion pattern: where conversions to Islam happened, these were wrapped in the Murjī'ite dogma that exonerated converts from living like Muslims, being limited to the profession of faith to the exclusion of all acts.

The particular role of women during the first centuries of Islam in Afghanistan has been little understood until now. Personal letters, contracts, deeds, sales receipts, and other documents dated to the early Islamic period provide a refreshingly unfiltered image of women that is devoid of political rhetoric. When read together with historical and biographical narratives, they enhance our knowledge of the status and role of women, who feature *inter alia* as rulers, patrons, mothers, wives, scholars, mystics. I will explore some of the images that emerge of women, their access to power and the strategies they used to maximise it, as well as their socio-political roles in the public and at home.

Christopher D. Bahl: The Circulation of Arabic Grammar Books across the Eastern Mediterranean.

The Eastern Mediterranean was linked to the world of the Western Indian Ocean through networks of trade, pilgrimage and cultural exchange that traversed the Red Sea region during the late medieval period. Empirical evidence from manuscript collections across these regions provides a micro-historical view on connected histories that brought these regions together in a geography of circulating Arabic Islamicate texts. This can be exemplified by the itinerary and academic transactions of the Egyptian scholar Muḥammad Abū Bakr al-Damāmīnī (d. 828/1424). At the beginning of the 15th century he travelled from Egypt via the Hijaz to Yemen and across Gujarat to the Deccan to seek patronage from various Sultans in exchange for the composition of commentaries on Arabic grammar works. By the end of the 15th and throughout the 16th centuries his works are listed in the library catalogues of Ottoman Sultans, in biographical dictionaries of the Mamlūk realm and transcriptions of his Arabic grammar books continued to circulate across Western India, the Red Sea region and the Eastern Mediterranean well into the early modern period. The following paper looks at the appearance of his works across these different loci and media as an interlinked socio-cultural process that provides insights into the workings of Islamicate canonical book cultures. I will argue that the continued transmission of these works over several centuries created a sphere of circulation with the proliferation of cultural practices that centred on the reading of Arabic philological texts. Such academic transactions were conducive to the formation of textual communities who shared the sociabilities of a locally constituted space of learning and, at the same time, were linked in their textual practices to a wider transregional Arabicised cultural realm.

Graham Barrett: Visigothic Letters, Edited.

Abstract: The collection of correspondence known as the *Epistolae Visigothicae* is generally thought to have been put together by a notary at the royal court in Toledo, while its content, mostly diplomatic, has been read as a set of models for future such communications over the course of the seventh century with kingdoms and empires around the Mediterranean. The fact that the collection first surfaces in a manuscript (now lost) assembled by noted forger Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo (1098/1102-30, 1042-43) is well known, but less widely appreciated is that some of the letters were also first published as appendices to the work of pseudo-historians such as Jerónimo Román de la Higuera. This paper will approach the *Visigothic Letters* anew from the perspective of their reason for being: as raw materials for use in forging chronicles, charters, and other historical evidence. Appreciating the ‘message’ of the collection, and thus the particular reimagining of the past which it provides, we need a secure understanding of the motivations behind its assembly, and how it was subsequently employed.

Karen Bauer: The Qur’anic Community of Hearts and Minds.

Almost all accounts, both Muslim and non-Muslim, agree that the Qur’an originally consisted of oral communications aimed at creating and consolidating a community of believers; these utterances were only later collected in written form. Thus it is unsurprising that the text displays all of the components of classical rhetoric: logos (logical persuasion), ethos (a speaker of unimpeachable character), and pathos (emotional persuasion). The first two elements have received some scholarly attention, but the Qur’an’s emotional rhetoric has been almost entirely overlooked in Western scholarship on the text. In this paper I contend that, in common with other scriptural traditions, the main aim of the Qur’an’s emotional rhetoric is to create a radical break from past modes of worship, instilling a sense of belonging in the new community of believers as against a hostile other. This general purpose, however, is achieved in ways specific to the non-linear nature of the Qur’anic discourse. The Bible, for instance, has a much more cohesive narrative thread than the Qur’an; but the lack of narrative cohesion does not diminish the Qur’an’s emotional impact on its audience. The Qur’an’s synoptic nature may actually augment its emotional impact. This paper describes the rhythm of emotional episodes in selected suras, and then examines one emotionally laden trope as it occurs throughout the entire text: that of the open heart, mind, and senses of the believer, as opposed to the closed heart, mind, and senses of the unbeliever.

Lale Behzadi: Emotional Nuances of Distress in al-Tanūkhī's *Kitāb al-faraj ba'd al-shidda* (4th/10th century).

Tales of “Relief after Distress” or “Hardship and Deliverance” form a sub-genre of medieval Arabic literature. In these stories where protagonists are rescued from difficult situations we find remarkably complex textual structures and narrative skills that still await analysis. This paper will analyse the emotions connected with the trying, sometimes life-threatening, conditions the protagonists have to deal with. Fear, anger, sorrow, and sadness are just some examples of the emotional range the reader encounters. It will be asked how these emotions are conveyed, and how they are necessary for the progress of the story. Some further questions would be the following: In what way are these emotions part of the narrative framework? Can we identify a general attitude towards so-called “negative” feelings? To what extent is the reader led to relate to the protagonist’s emotional state and by what means? Do these emotions go beyond the verbal sphere and, if so, how does this happen, since all the narrator has at his disposal are words?

Mehdi Berriah: The Claim of an Islamic Orthodoxy and the Accusation of Heresy: the New and Major Issue of the Mamluks-Ilkhanid Mongols War (13th-14th centuries). (cancelled)

At the beginning of their war during the second half of the 13th century, Mamluks and Ilkhanid Mongols were religiously and ideologically opposed. The seconds, pagans, were considered by the Mamluks as infidels threatening dangerously the Muslim lands whereas for the Mongols, the Mamluk Sultanate was perceived as a rebel state to the Mongol imperialism and must be destroyed.

From Ghazan’s reign and his conversion to Islam, it is interesting to note that although Islam became the common state religion of the both Mamluks and Ilkhanid Mongols, the latter pursued the hostilities with the same intensity. The Mamluk raid on Mârdîn in 698/1299 situated in Ilkhanid territory and the adoption of Islam by Ghazan as the new Ilkhanid state religion, constituted an important turning in the nature of the conflict.

Mamluks and Mongols claimed their legitimacy to be the best Muslim ruler by on one hand putting themselves as the defenders of an Islamic orthodoxy and on other hand, accusing the other side to be heterodox Muslim, heretic (even infidel) who must be fought with all means and at all costs. In this regard, *fatâwâ* (legal opinions), preaches and official declarations from the two camps, legitimated the fight against the “other” whose identity as a Muslim was denied in order to lead a veritable jihad (holy war).

Based on Arabic and Persian sources, this submission proposes on one hand to analyse the reasons that pushed the Mamluks and the Ilkhanid Mongols (after their conversion) to keep perceiving the “other” as an “enemy of Islam” instead of coreligionists. On other hand, it is an attempt to present the way religious and political discourse used in the construction of the “other” during the Mamluk-Ilkhanid Mongol war in the 13th-14th century.

Lyn. A. Blanchfield: The *Arrabbiati* of Late Medieval Florence: Rage and the Creation of Political Identity.

From 1494 to 1498 the Dominican friar, Girolamo Savonarola, dominated the city of Florence. In a city with a long history of factionalism, two factions developed in this period: one which supported the friar, sometimes referred to as the *piagnoni* or “weepers” and the other, which opposed the friar and his loyal followers, known as the *arrabbiati* or “the enraged ones.” The term *arrabbiati* appears in one of Savonarola’s early sermons where he describes and insults his enemies, calling them “enraged” and equating them with mad dogs. He claimed that this had been a Florentine term, yet where and when this term developed as an insult has not been examined sufficiently. At some point the term *arrabbiati* acquired new meanings and became a political moniker to identify a specific faction within Savonarolan and post-Savonarolan Florence.

With the surge of historical investigations of emotions such as rage, its bodily and verbal manifestations, and connections to issues such as gender, class, power, and identity we can begin to unravel the cultural significance and utilization of rage in Savonarolan Florence. How was it used to insult a particular group? How was it appropriated and used to create and solidify a unique political identity? How and why an emotional term was used to insult and to create a political identity is the basis of this paper.

Kevin Blankinship: Al-Ḥusrī al-Qayrawānī and the Thrill of Grief Remembered. (cancelled)

“Ever since I was conquered by delight, nowhere is safe.” This line by medieval North African writer ‘Alī al-Ḥusrī al-Qayrawānī (d. 1095) sums up the ambivalent joy and pain of memory that fills his Arabic works like homesickness filling the heart of a traveler. Traditionally, al-Ḥusrī al-Qayrawānī represents the quintessential poet of loss. Blind from a young age, he made a name for himself with two verse collections each dedicated to a personal tragedy: *Dīwān al-mu‘ashsharāt* (Decets), a group of ten-line strophic poems about his wife’s trysts with her Berber lover, and *Iqtirāḥ al-qarīḥ wa-ijtirāḥ al-jarīḥ* (The Bruised Man’s *Ex tempore* and the

Wounded Man's Art) about the death of his oldest and favorite son. For this reason, the Andalusian scholar Ibn Bassām (d. 1147) says that al-Ḥusrī al-Qayrawānī was “incapable of asking for relief or seeking pleasure.”

But this portrayal is too simplistic. It blots out a fuller picture of even the bitterest memory as in fact a mixture of joy and pain, revealed in the root meaning of a single English word like *nostalgia*, “the agony of longing for home.” So too in the works of al-Ḥusrī al-Qayrawānī. Even the bare fact that he wrote entire collections of poetry on tragic life events suggests some thrill in the retelling. More specifically, his verse on marital infidelity savors the moral superiority of a man done wrong, while the poems about his son's death linger fondly over the innocence of youth. Aside from adding nuance to al-Ḥusrī al-Qayrawānī's meditations of memory and loss, these insights shed light on broader medieval Mediterranean culture by revealing the trend in al-Ḥusrī al-Qayrawānī's era toward subjective, impressionistic genres of Arabic literature like occasional poetry.

Helen Blatherwick: Conquest and Conversion: The Emotional Manipulation of a Narrative Convention in *Sirat Sayf ibn Dhi Yazan*.

Sirat Sayf ibn Dhi Yazan is a late-medieval Egyptian popular epic that tells the story of the conquest and conversion of the realms of human and jinn by its hero, the proto-Islamic, Yemeni, king Sayf ibn Dhi Yazan. The *sira* is not overtly religious in tone, and the conversion by Sayf of all the peoples he encounters seems to be more a literary device that is symbolic of assimilation than an expression of religious fervour. It is, however, a device that plays an integral part in the narrative and which takes several forms: either characters are converted by al-Khidr (the Green Man) immediately before they encounter Sayf, they convert after being befriended by Sayf (who introduces them into the true faith), or they are conquered and offered the choice between conversion or death. Although these tropes themselves seem fairly straightforward, and are indeed often formulaic, there are a number of occasions on which conversions are depicted in the text as highly emotionally charged encounters, during which characters are driven by their emotions to break with narrative conventions and behave in unexpected ways. This paper explores the narrative convention of conversion in *Sirat Sayf*, and the ‘emotional manipulation’ of this convention in a number of specific episodes, in terms of how they relate to the social codes of honour and shame depicted in the text and how they give voice to the tensions surrounding issues of self and other, and communal identity, which constitute the core concerns of the *sira* genre.

Martin Borsek: All the Sons of Sepharad Now Dwelling in this Land: Preserving Jewish Communal Identity in Exile as Documented by the Sephardic Communal Ordinances from Morocco.

The expulsion of Jews from the Iberian peninsula triggered a major wave of migration that had a great impact not only on the Jewish community, but also on the social, economic and cultural history of the whole Mediterranean area. The Jews who were exiled from Spain and Portugal settled around the Mediterranean world. Their communities formed a network of mutually connected centres of Jewish religious and cultural life, enabling the Sephardic émigrés to keep their distinct identity.

In my paper, I will assess the history of communal self-government and everyday life in the Sephardic community in western Maghreb, principally in Fes and other major centres of modern Morocco. I will utilise a corpus of *takkanot ha-kahal* (communal ordinances and bylaws written chiefly in Hebrew) produced by several generations of Sephardic communal leaders in Morocco to examine how the self-perception of the Sephardic Jews in Morocco and their relations within the community and towards the outer world, both Jewish and non-Jewish, developed during the course of two centuries. Among the chief questions I address are the linguistic heritage of the old homeland, apparent in the Judeo-Spanish passages of the texts, the institutional developments of the Sephardic community in Morocco and the development of its relationship to the wider Jewish population of Northern Africa and beyond.

A study of the texts relevant to the everyday administration of the network of émigré Jewish communities in Morocco provides us with an opportunity to learn about how the Jewish newcomers experienced a sense of their own, distinctly Sephardic identity outside of their original home. Such a study has wider connotations for our understanding about the mobility of people and identities over the Mediterranean world at the end of the Middle Ages.

Victòria A. Burguera i Puigserver: Piracy and Privateering – Pirates and Privateers: The Conception of the Collective from Different Discourses in the Late Medieval Western Mediterranean.

Maritime attacks, one of the oldest manifestations of human conflict in history, have been approached from various viewpoints, including privateering and piracy. The distinction between both concepts and both activities dates back to the emergence of the first regulations on these actions, which lead to the appearance of privateering as an exception to the rule, accepting use of piratical practices within the margins of certain limits imposed by the authorities.

Since the advent of the corsair legislation, legally it became clear who fought for who, who regarded friend and who enemy and, above all, who acted lawfully and who did not, according to the penal codes of conduct of the moment. But nevertheless, in practice such activities were difficult to dissociate, for several reasons. After all, they did not stop being the same actions, characterized as legal or illegal depending on the moment or on the people involved, and, therefore, causing the same consequences on victims. It was difficult also because the actual ability to control these activities and ensure the behavior of people acting on behalf of the state was not strong enough.

Thus, in the latest decades of the Middle Ages, there was a distinction between the legal reality, commonly accepted and in force at that time, and the practical reality, that is, manifestations found in institutional documents, where both terms were used synonymously. So my aim in this session is, on the one hand, show a historiographical tour of how different historians have addressed the semantic differences in the concepts of ‘privateering’ and ‘piracy’, and the adjectives ‘pirate’ and ‘privateer’, taking into account the various complexities of definition and, in the other hand, compare these theoretical results with those offered by the documentation of the first half of the fifteenth century. In short, examining how different discourses, theoretical and practical, around these activities and these characters take part in the creation of a collective imagination of a group usually branded with negative or dubious connotations, although they were within a range of accepted behavior.

Gabriela Cerghedean: *Memories of Imagined Spaces: Poetry of Exile from al-Andalus.*

Memory, nostalgia, and the idealized past are at the center of the poetic manifestations in al-Andalus, where between the eleventh and thirteenth century Muslim and Jewish poets produced a literature of exile that glorifies a past built and fashioned according to their imagination. As Ruggles observes, “memory is often more powerful than reality because it engages the imagination: ruins remind us of what was, allowing the mind's recollection to reconstruct the place as it might have been and as it ought to have been” (172). This paper argues that the memories of urban as well as natural spaces are the main contributors in the re-creation and re-affirmation of one’s identity. One remembers that by the 10th century the Umayyad dynasty’s urban model, that was initiated in the previous centuries in Cordoba, became the prototype for the structural, ideological, and architectural frame of their newly-independent Caliphate and all al-Andalus. The city became to represent the absolute ambitions, greatness, and splendor of its Caliph and inhabitants. Unfortunately, not even a century later, due to drastic changes in the political arena, the indisputable role of the city as an image of power will become a new

symbol, that of a site for reflection “on bygone glories”¹. The poems that are examined in this paper demonstrates how in subsequent centuries, each generation of exiled Andalusí poets continues to embrace the topic of re-constructed spaces of a glorious past.

The exiled poets² contrast their desperate present vis a vis their privileged, lavishing, and refined lost world. For example, in the 12th century, Al-Rusafí defines himself as a nostalgic whose self-identity are his memories. In his emotionally-charged verses, he acknowledges that to remember the natural and urban beauty of his city is to pour fresh, cold water on his ablaze soul. For him, to hear the name of his beloved city of Valencia provokes a completely intoxicating sensorial experience. Could it be, asks Al-Rusafí, that the wind has spilled the musk on his way, or has someone pronounced the name of Valencia?³ Suddenly, declares the poet, the desert feels impregnated with a fragrant perfume that makes all horsemen in the caravan feel as if they were drunk.

The paper proposes to examine the function of memory in the construction of re-imagined spaces in the elegies for the lost cities of al-Andalus.

Ann Christys: Remembering the way to Tulaytula/Toledo.

Medieval geographers and others writing in Arabic recorded detailed itineraries of al-Andalus. They showed the Umayyad capital Cordoba sitting like a spider in the centre of a web of roads that linked it to all parts of al-Andalus and beyond. Yet some of these routes, such as the itinerary linking Cordoba with Toledo via Seville, Lisbon and Mérida are not the obvious way from A to B. This paper will focus on the description of al-Andalus in the *Šūrat al-ard* (Description of the World) attributed to Ibn Ḥawqal, who visited al-Andalus in 948. It will compare the itineraries preserved in Ibn Ḥawqal’s geography with the works of his immediate predecessor al-Istakhrī and of al-Idrīsī, who copied from Ibn Ḥawqal but also claimed to have taken the road to Cordoba himself. An attempt will be made to account for the more puzzling features of the itineraries. The works of the three geographers will also be contrasted with sources for al-Andalus that recorded travel in the peninsula from a variety of different

¹ Ruggles, D.F. “Arabic Poetry and Architectural Memory in Al-Andalus”. *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 171-178.

² Ibn Zaydūn, Moseh ibn Ezra, Al-Mu’tamid, Al-Rusafí, Abraham Ibn Ezra Qinah, Ibn Al-Abbar of Valencia, and Abu-l-Baqa de Ronda.

³ “Amigos míos: ¿Qué tiene el desierto/ que está impregnado de perfume? / ¿Qué tienen las cabezas de los hombres de caravana/ que se tambalean como ebrios? / ¿Se ha derramado almizcle en el camino de la brisa/ O es que alguien ha pronunciado el nombre de Valencia? / Amigos míos: Deteneos conmigo y hablemos de ella./ Pues su recuerdo es como frescor del agua/ En las entrañas ardientes (# 45 *Elegía valenciana*).

perspectives. It will be argued that a better understanding of the way that the peninsula's routes were remembered helps to shed light on the centrality of Cordoba in the Umayyad period.

Ceren Çıkmı Sungur: An Emotional and Textual Community of Medieval Anatolia: Holy Warriors of the Early Ottomans

The debates around the foundation of the Ottoman state and the role of *ghaza* (holy war) ideology, in many aspects, are basically an “unfocused historical emotion talk.” My proposed presentation is based on the idea that the “holy” warriors in the early Ottomans’ *ucs* (borders), namely *ghâziyân-ı Rûm*, *alps*, *akıncıs*, *alp-erens* constituted an emotional community with their common interests, values, social and behavioral codes, and symbols derived from pre-Islamic Turkic culture, local Christian culture and Arabo-Persian Islamic *futuwwa* tradition.

The “holy” warriors took inspiration from a literary cycle of Medieval Anatolia, and also gave inspiration to it. They were listeners of the religious-heroic prose narratives such as *Battalnâme*, *Danişmendnâme*, and *Saltuknâme*. Written in between 13th – 15th centuries -a transition period from oral to written literature, from the ancient beliefs to Islam, these emotional narratives are full of highly idealized *topoi* as role models, telling the heroic deeds of their predecessors who fought against Christians and Byzantium. This didactical cycle also inspired the first histories (chronicles) of the Ottomans like Ahmedî's *Dâsitân-ı Tevârih* and Ashiqpashazade's *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*. All these works were written to be read aloud to audiences.

I'd like to present how these narratives regenerated, and in some ways updated the codes, values and rules of being an ideal Muslim and holy warrior; how they aimed to create a common spirit, a sense of belonging, an identity and a self-image through hearing, and how they conveyed the *topoi*, ideals, idealized past to the next generations as a common history, and served to spread the Islamic faith.

Sabrina Corbellini: The Ethics of Reading: Libraries, Books and Dissemination of Knowledge.

The paper aims at discussing the dissemination of textual knowledge, in particular religious knowledge, through the production of books and the creation of semi-private and public libraries. Dissemination of knowledge will be approached as a dynamic process and as the result of practices and actions on the mental, linguistic and societal level and the paper will in particular focus on the ethical aspects of these textual activities, investigating the reasons for copying, distributing and exchanging texts as well and for the creation of specific “places of

knowledge” where (religious) knowledge was made available, shared and discussed in a wide, transnational Mediterranean perspective. Far from being mere repositories for textual information, these places of knowledge will be examined as “spaces of construction, materialization, inscription and social transmission” (following the definition formulated by Christian Jacob in his *Qu’est ce qu’ un lieu de savoir?*) and will be analyzed as manifestations of an important transformation in late medieval society geared at crossing social, political and religious boundaries and at promoting a wider access to information in the Mediterranean world.

Mario Antonio Cossío Olavide: Crossing the Reading Sea. The *Libro de los ejemplos* as a Case of Mediterranean Reading Practices.

Juan Manuel’s *Libro del Conde Lucanor et de Patronio* (*Libro de los ejemplos*, 1335) is the first frame-tale narrative written in a Romance language. The *Libro* is a good example of medieval textuality, constructed with tales originating in different religious and linguistic traditions. Its 50 *exempla* come from Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic and Indian narratives. Far from being a unique case, the composition of the book is representative of a common practice of reading and writing in the Mediterranean that took place across different cultures, religions, and geographical spaces. My presentation will analyse how the selection and transformation of the *exempla* in the *Libro* is a manifestation of the movement of knowledge within the Mediterranean territories. I will centre on the phenomenon of Mediterranean navigation (East to West, crossing from Islamic kingdoms to Christians, and vice versa) present in two *exempla* (tale number 25, which tells of the travels of a French man traveling to Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn’s court, and story number 50, where Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn does the opposite voyage). The travel helps the protagonists to find knowledge and acquire skills that are not available in their places of origin. That, I argue, echoes the general structure of the book, demonstrating the importance of movements of books and narratives in the medieval Mediterranean.

Kristof D’hulster: All over one’s face: Mamluk Honor and the Linguistics of Politeness.

When reading Mamluk sources, it is striking how trivial a role “honour” appears to have played — at least *prima facie* — in the political arena. Indeed, mutiny, rebellion, breaking oaths, etc., hardly seem to have been irreversibly detrimental to one’s *‘izzat* or *nāmūs*, or to have come with any significant or permanent “loss of face”. This is all the more remarkable in light of the fact that, ever since Peristiany’s seminal work, “honour and shame” have been considered ubiquitous throughout the Mediterranean.

While Mamlukologists have worked on “honouring” through Mauss’ian gift giving of honorary robes, on banishment, on punishment etc., it is clear that to date the topic remains grossly understudied. This paper aims at giving “honour” a more prominent place on Mamlukology’s research agenda, and it does so by reading some Mamluk historiographical and prosopographical texts through the lens of Goffman’s linguistics of politeness (constructed around “face” as a sociological concept).

Daniele Dibello: Trying to Define an Emotional State: Notes, Suggestions and Problems Starting from the Case of Venice.

It is perfectly known how during the *Ancien Régime* the State, in most cases personified by an absolute monarch, was used to express and represent itself as a benevolent father, as a figure constantly attentive to the wellness of its subjects (or citizens). Even now a question arises indispensable to the scholar: although it was necessarily characterized by a high degree of formality, can we talk about an “emotional State”? My paper aims to investigate the limits and the potentials of this new historiographical approach to the institutional sources, by considering the example of the Venetian Republic in the Late Middle Ages. In particular, the research will be focused on the serial analysis of the Senate deliberations for a time period between 1330 and 1380, when Venice was fully involved in managing a wide Mediterranean commonwealth. Love (*amor*), friendship (*amicitia*), faith (*fides/fidelitas*), fear (*timor*) are just some of the emotions and perceptions which can be deduced from this kind of sources, especially in reference to their solemn prologues.

Furthermore, after gathering this list of “State emotions”, I am sure it will be more interesting to understand in what issues they were applied (politics, trade, justice, diplomacy) and towards which representatives they referred (subjects, strangers, communities, allies, enemies).

To conclude, my paper will also offer an opportunity to reflect on how all these considerations were determinant for the governance of a Late Medieval State, and how the emotional perspective could be an innovative way to interpret the formal and informal relationship between ruler and ruled.

Saskia Dönitz: Moving between Byzantium and the West: Byzantine Jews in the 14th century

Jewish societies of the medieval Mediterranean are known for their mobility. But it is often difficult to reconstruct historical facts about individual Jews crossing borders and linking

geographical areas. Only when adding information from the intellectual history, the connectivity of Jewish communities around the Mediterranean becomes tangible as a network. This lecture will focus on the cultural profile of a 14th century Jewish scholar from Byzantium, Judah Mosqoni, whose biography and literary corpus reflect the position of the Byzantine Jewish community after the Fourth Crusade (1204) within this scholarly network. Born and educated in Byzantium, he travelled to Egypt and Spain where he settled later. Judah's writings and his literary interest show the rapprochement between Byzantium and the West, in particular in his interest for the Spanish exegete Abraham ibn Ezra. Furthermore, Mosqoni's redaction of the Hebrew paraphrase of Josephus's Jewish War, *Sefer Yosippon*, allows insight into his notion of history and memory and demonstrates the self-conception of the Byzantine Jews (who called themselves also Romaniotes) against the background of their Christian orthodox surrounding. Constituting the most constantly existing minority in Byzantium's multifaceted society, the identity and scholarly tradition of the Romaniotes complete the picture of medieval Jewish history in Europe and mirror the features of the Byzantine Empire, being a hub for cultural transfer and a crossroads of important transmission routes.

Ana Echevarria: Challenging Intercommunity Boundaries: Muslim Women in Christian Spain.

When laws regulating daily business between Christians, Muslims and Jews were issued in Castile in 1412, Muslim women (*moras*) were addressed specifically as much as their male counterparts. Their recognition by Christians responded to a clear sense of how much they contributed to the development of their community, but also to the first stages of Christian life, in their roles as midwives, servants and educators. Despite the scarcity of sources, Mudejar women were also the object of honour in their households and stronghold of values in their own communities. With the expression "mothers who pay for nourishment", female professional expertise and widows who took over their husbands' businesses were acknowledged as trustful members of the Mudejar community despite their gender. On the other hand, heiresses who claimed their rights before Christian justice were substituted by their male relatives, but still strike us with their systematic use of Christian courts –something male heirs hardly ever did. This paper will try to look at the image of Mudejar women from both Christian and Muslim perspectives.

Maribel Fierro: Heraclius in al-Andalus.

Collaboration on the part of the vanquished with the victors including exalting and magnifying them was a path taken by a number of scholars in different periods and regions, among them by the Andalusī scholar Ibn Ḥubaysh (504/1111-584/1188). When Almería was conquered by Alfonso VII of León, Ibn Ḥubaysh told the Christian king that he knew his genealogy back to Heraclius, the Emperor of Constantinople, being granted his freedom as reward. In my paper, the role of Heraclius both in the Muslim and Christian imaginary will be dealt with, as well as the information regarding the presence in al-Andalus of the famous letter sent by the Prophet to Heraclius asking him to convert to Islam. The aim is to recreate the historical and political context in which such information started to circulate in the Islamic West and the motives behind it, as well as the memory and the idealized past that was constructed around this event and this Byzantine emperor in al-Andalus.

Aleksandra Filipović - Francesca Elia: The Shaping of the Idea of the Holy Sepulchre in the Buildings in Ports of Puglia During the Crusades. (cancelled)

In the architectural history studies it has been often assumed that all the centrally planned medieval buildings, including those who had a ‘half-central plan’ were influenced by the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Contemporary sources and reproductions of architectural forms, however, allow us to set up this relationship only with a limited number of buildings. Virtual network with the Christian matrix of the Holy Sepulchre church in Jerusalem present again in places of pilgrimage of some port cities of Puglia. These poles became territorial network spread with a spatial regularity between strategic ports but also in the same ecclesiastical architecture which altered urbanism of the same port cities.¹

These *imitationes* were no longer closely linked to the reproduction of the complex of the Holy Sepulchre architectural organism, as in the Middle Ages, but to a simplified version. These versions aimed to produce more than the building: the emotions felt by pilgrims on entering in it, intellectually connected to the idea of the center of the world and hence circular shape.

The Crusader phenomenon has changed the nature and territorial status that those port cities had previously, articulating new services in relation to land and sea transport routes and new material and symbolic centrality born according to the pilgrims.² This function has assumed in parallel a political and legal significance, using the placement of such a centrality as the Holy Sepulchre, with the imaginary of the center of the world, as one of the main elements of the power strategy.

Miriam Frenkel: The Discourse of Love in Commercial Correspondence from the Cairo Geniza.

The long distance trade and the commercial networks it initiated, around the Mediterranean as well as along the route to India, were some of the most salient features of medieval Jewish life under Islam. In my lecture I intend to present these commercial networks as communities of emotions, and to show that the language of love and devotion was their dominant discourse rather than the contractual language, to which we are so used to in the Western modern society. In commercial correspondence from the Cairo Geniza, partnership is conceived as an “alliance”, or a covenant of love (*brit*, *'ahd*), not as a compelling legal contract. Love and an ardent passion to serve the partner are understood as the cohesive glue and the *raison d'être* of any commercial cooperation. I will argue that the discourse of love, mutual trust and benevolence aimed at overcoming the shortages of written correspondence and at compensating for the loss of face to face contacts. Since many of the commercial partnerships were concluded between kins, I will try to examine the borders of this emotional community and see whether it was confined to family relatives or crossed the familial boundaries.

Yehoshua Frenkel: Books: Forms and Functions

Books serve several functions. One of them is a source of social prestige. The author and the owners gain the respect of fellows, admirers and the general public. This is visible in the history of Mamluk Damascus and Cairo. This social and political role of the book is attested by bookplates (*ex-libris*) [the name the sultanic library (*al-khazana al-sharifa*)] and by ego-documents. Thus, for example, Ibn Hajar incorporates in his chronicle a letter sent to him by one of his students. A slightly different angle is provided by books' titles, which reflect clash of opinions or contain words of appreciation for the hero to whom the text was offered. By providing several case studies the present contribution aims at illuminating these books' functions, arguing that it indicates a stage in the history of the book. It seems evident, towards the closing decades of the sultanate's history, that Mamluk authors expressed a growing confidence in their social position. The composers presented themselves as the pivots of the plots they narrated. Ibn Mibrad, al-Biqā'ī, and Ibn Tulun, to name handful well-known authors, can serve as supporting example to prop this argument. Several Mamluk texts illuminate the hand-book copied in the Mamluk sultanate. The function that books played in the political dynamic is illuminated in the introductory part of books and in the authors' prefaces. From these evidences we can deduce that books were composed or copied in the presence of

rewarded masters, handed over as tokens of admiration or written and presented as an artifact. Namely these copies were not used for the market (sale) or for private use by the producer.

Domenico Matteo Frisone: Perceiving the Enemy: Visions and Against Visions between Angevin and Aragonese.

The Angevine dynasty, reluctant to accept the loss of the island, saw evolving something was started as an ordinary riot in a kingdom that would have continued to threaten more and more closely the reign of Naples. The Aragonese themselves did not hesitate to enforce their reasons such as dynastic continuity, economic interests and, why not, the divine will.

In fact, even though Pope Martin IV excommunicated the Aragonese king also by organizing a crusade to free the world from its threat (but above all to help the counts of Provence, his faithful allies), Bartolomeo de Neocastro, in his *Historia Sicula*, reminds us that the "glorious mother of God" personally intervened to defend the pro-Aragonese town of Messina.

Starting from Saba Malaspina until Raimondo Lullo, it will be not difficult finding many points of view and many issues on which the two dynasties and their respective subjects have reciprocally observed, judged and perhaps even questioned. The "othering perspective", investigated through the eyes of contemporary witnesses, will be a key tool in this paper, which aims to analyze the enemy's vision, but also similarities and contradictions of an evolution, even sentimental, lasting nearly a century. What kind of emotions (hatred, envy, suspicion) do the sources express? Were these practices used against "others" stigmatized or *au contraire* reasonably analyzed? Could the respective perception be useful to enhance their political party? These are just an example of the questions to which I will try to answer, by considering the medieval chronicles contemporary to the historical facts, and diplomatic documents found in Southern Italy and Roman archives

Rodrigo García-Velasco: Serfs, Slaves or Subjects? Revisiting the Question of Jewish and Muslim Serfdom and Slavery during the Twelfth-Century Iberian Reconquest of al-Andalus.

One of the most controversial issues appearing in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century *fueros* in Iberia, and a source of constant focus of scholars' attention, is the question of whether particular groups were under 'tributary status', whether they were 'serfs' or not, whose, and under what conditions. There has been a heavy discussion in recent years on what it meant for the Jews of Spain to be *servi regis*, a clause which famously appears the *fueros* of Cuenca (c.1190) and

Teruel (c.1176). There has been a parallel, lively discussion over the status of the Moorish minorities of Iberia, which are referred to as free and unfree Moors (*moros forros, moros captivos*) throughout the documentation. In the Ebro Valley areas, a further category, that of the Moorish *exarico*, blurs the boundaries even further. Did being an *exarico* imply plain rural serfdom, or was it bound to special taxes and a specific relationship with the rulers and overlords?

Most critically, these different categories of 'servi regis', 'moros forros/captivos', or 'exaricos', have been used to prove the existence of a 'collective identity' of each religious group, that there was something intrinsic about the experience and identity of the Jewish Iberian diaspora, and similarly with the Moorish mudejar communities, from the eleventh through to the early fourteenth centuries. At the same time, many historians have made the blanket assumption that the use of this terminology is related to the experience of these groups as non-Christian minorities, perhaps comparable to that of the *dhimmis* in medieval Islam or the status of Jews in Byzantine legislation. Furthermore, this 'tributary status', it has been argued, must have surely meant that these communities were under the king's direct jurisdiction (or the vaguer notion of 'royal protection').

The aim of this paper therefore is to revisit these questions through a careful, comparative analysis of all mentions in the *fueros*, and contrast with other contemporary charter evidence. Starting from a comparative discussion of the different Mediterranean 'models' defining the status of religious minorities in Iberia (the *dhimmis* of Islam and the treatment of Jews in Byzantium), this paper will then go to argue that the existence of the Jews and Moors was extremely varied – and that therefore assuming the categories as self-explanatory obfuscates the issues at hand. Underneath these nebulous and fairly rhetorical tributary statuses, lay a much less clearly defined reality.

Brendan Goldman: Constructing 'the Enemy' in the Medieval Mediterranean: A Cairo Geniza Study.

How did minority subjects of medieval Mediterranean states perceive the military forces of their own kingdoms and foreign powers? Through a close reading of Geniza letters from twelfth- and thirteenth-century Sicily, Palestine and Spain, this paper presents a series of case studies in which Arabic-speaking Jews used the term "enemy" (Ar. *'adūw*, Heb. *oyev*) to describe specific Christian and Muslim military actors. It contextualizes the evidence from the Geniza documents by comparing it to how contemporary Arabic, Hebrew and Latin literature and chronicles used the term "enemy" in their descriptions of military conflicts.

This study reveals how historical contingency informed the ways minority actors understood the benefits or detriments of having state armies present in their lands.

Camilo Gómez-Rivas: Forging Political Legitimacy for a New Age in al-Andalus and the Far Maghrib.

The appearance of the first large-scale indigenous regime in the Far Maghrib under the Almoravids entailed devising new forms of political legitimation, combining local, regional, and trans-regional elements. These were often contrasting and more effective in certain regions and strata of the empire. The eleventh and twelfth centuries witnessed the emergence of Far Maghribi polities as actors on a trans-regional stage in an unprecedented way, pitting new forces against each other. The Berber character of the first of three imperial dynasties that appeared here contended and combined with Islamic, Andalusī, and western Mediterranean discursive traditions (it's not an accident that they feature in the *Poema del Mio Cid*, as one of two western Mediterranean forces with imperial claims). While the relatively short-lived nature of the Almoravid dynasty points to an ultimately unsuccessful campaign, other indexes point to its foundational significance in the religious and political landscape of the region.

The Almoravids adopted and coopted a series of practices and symbols from the Andalusī tradition of sovereignty and deployed them in novel ways. They set Andalusī groups against each other as they consolidated power over almost all of what had been al-Andalus, a process which had long-lasting effect in the region. This paper explores the complex life of Almoravid formulations and strategies of political legitimacy in the Maghrib, the Mediterranean, and al-Andalus, and argues that certain aspects of these strategies had long-term impact in the Islamic West. These conclusions are substantiated by a reading of key historiographical, literary, and legal texts.

Rachel Goshgarian: The Place of Shaming: Gender and the City in Late Medieval Anatolia.

The late medieval Anatolian city can be imagined as a stage upon which political affiliation and gender were performed routinely. In the 13th and 14th centuries, Anatolian cities were home to peoples speaking a range of languages, engaged in myriad faith practices, and belonging to distinct, but inter-connected, homosocial associations. These associations included religious and mystical orders as well as confraternities whose members were engaged in crafts, trade, the physical protection of their cities, and nightly eating and merry-making in their clubhouses. The codes of these confraternities insist upon the gendered nature of their mission. And, in

many respects, aim to prescribe maleness to participants. It should come as no surprise that, in some cases, punishment for misbehavior is a cross-dressing, shaming ritual in which the guilty “brother” is guided through the city, his transvestitism on stage for all to witness. This presentation will ask questions about gender and shame in the context of the fluid social spaces that existed in late medieval Anatolian cities. And will attempt to uncover the ways in which the “in-betweenness” that seems to have permeated cultural, religious, and social life during this time period might have lent itself to experimentation with definitions of maleness and femaleness by carefully reading texts composed in Armenian, Persian, and Turkish.

Inbar Graiver: "I Think" vs. "the Thought Tells Me": What Grammar Teaches Us about the Monastic self. (cancelled)

A shared assumption in the eastern theological tradition is that man's real self is manifested in the mind (νοῦς), created in the image of God. The tendency to view the mind as the locus of human identity is reflected in the demonological psychology developed by the Egyptian Desert Fathers and their followers, whose main focus is on the demons' effect on the human mind *via* thoughts (λογισμοί). In view of the importance of the mind and the central role accorded to thoughts in early monastic spirituality, this paper aims to consider the language of thinking—the ways in which this state or activity is "semanticized" or construed in language—preserved in the literary evidence of the eastern monastic tradition in late antiquity. While there is a large cross-linguistic variability in the ways of talking about thinking, "think" appears to be a universal linguistic concept. Linguistic interpretations of this basic human activity, therefore, can lend an important insight into early monastic perceptions of the self and how these were formed and employed.

How did late antique monks speak about thinking? Surprisingly, they did not use the common Greek grammatical forms expressing "I think" (e.g., οἶμαι, νομίζω, λογίζομαι, ἐνθῶμέομαι, νοέω, φρονέω). Instead, the most common formulation is "the thought tells me" (ὁ λογισμὸς λέγει/εἰπέ μοι). Additional ways of representing thinking and feeling use the same basic pattern. The paper examines the implications of this unique linguistic interpretation of thinking for our understanding of early monastic conceptions of the self. Drawing on modern theories in linguistics, I argue that this linguistic construction was not simply a convenient or expressive way to talk about mental processes, but a way of bringing about a profound shift in understanding of the self as distinct from one's thoughts, in the service of contemplation.

Jennifer Grayson: The ‘Politics of Powerlessness’: Trans-Mediterranean Jewish Diasporic Epistolary Networks in the Buyid Period, 945-1030. (cancelled)

In this paper, I consider how the breakdown of centralized political power in Iraq after 945 impacted Jewish political organization and communal networks in Iraq and across the Mediterranean. For both Muslims and Jews, the Buyid period (945-1030) represented something of a crisis of political ideals. In the absence of concrete confessional and political borders, the exchange of letters took on an increased significance for Arabic-speaking political elites. Maurice Pomerantz argues that, for Arabic-speaking Muslim elites, letters aspired to reconstitute an idealized past, a world order governed according to Islamic principles and just authority. I argue that epistolary rhetoric served a similar purpose for Arabic-speaking Jews. Jewish elites in Baghdad, who were trained in the art of Arabic letter-writing, developed a unique scribal and epistolary tradition based on a fusion of Abbasid/Buyid chancery practices and traditional Jewish rhetoric. Even as they were more integrated into Buyid political culture than ever before, Rabbinic Jewish leaders in Iraq emphasized that their relationship with their co-religionists in the Mediterranean transcended the individual patron-client relations that saturated the surrounding Islamic society.

Pauline Guéna: The Efficiency of Emotions: Defining the Venetian Community in Late Medieval Constantinople.

Resort to feelings in the field of politics have often been looked at as a mere rhetorical device, at the hands of the rulers. Nonetheless, emotions have proved to be an important part of the self-identification rhetoric of communities, when the distinction between rulers and ruled is more blurred. My paper will examine the Venetian community living in the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the fifteenth century. Although strongly hierarchical, this community's definition was constantly moving, giving way to an ongoing discourse on who was really in and out. I will be looking in particular at new Venetian subjects, that is to say formerly Latin, Greek or sometimes Jewish Ottoman subjects changing jurisdiction to become part of the Venetian community. The Ottoman government being by far more powerful than the Byzantine one had been, Venetian consuls could not continue extending liberally their jurisdiction over local subjects in order to enhance their fiscal income, as easily as their predecessors had done in the past. Therefore, the legal margin they could play on became thinner, when at the same time the advent of a Muslim overlord allowed them to resort to the religious arguments far more often.

I will first define the types of emotions mentioned, before trying to place them in the context of a highly standardized dialogue between Venetian consular authorities and subjects. I will then question whether the emotions mentioned were liable to have an actual effect on the new subjects' self-perception, or more generally self-definition. If emotions were an efficient tool, one might wonder whose tool it was.

Christopher Heath: Family Honour: Political Authority in Ninth-century Capua.

Erchempert's (*fl.c.*840-890) *Historia Langobardorum de gentium Beneventanorum* is a vital commentary on the ninth-century Italian south. As a narrative which depicts and tries to understand the complicated and chaotic geo-political conditions of the *Mezzogiorno*, which then stood at the point of contact of inter-connected but not inter-related social and political communities, an analysis of Erchempert's work can reveal more than a litany of conflict and violence. One of the important strands of his material is the development of Capua as an independent entity and, at the same time the control and power exercised by the comital family of Landulf I (840-3) up to the period when Atenulf I (887-910) acquired familial supremacy. This paper will analyse the impact of family loyalties (if such existed) and family honour upon the actions, activities and authority of the family of Landulf in the context of conflict and violence between Lombards (Benevento, Salerno and Capua), Greeks (Napoli and Byzantium) and Muslims (Bari, Taranto and Sicily) using Erchempert's *Historia*. By doing so, it will demonstrate the modalities of political protagonists but will also reveal the responses of Erchempert to his ninth-century world and the role of family and honour.

Andy Hilken: Imagining the Other: Ethnography in Syriac Literature. (cancelled)

The (sub)genre *par excellence* to respond to historical encounters with other peoples and communities, and to define the other – and one's self in the process – is that of ethnography. This paper offers a survey of Syriac ethnographical narratives, starting with the *Treatise on the Four Cardinal Points*, written by the sixth-century historian and astrologer Andronicus the Wise. Indebted to biblical and classical ethnographical imagery, Andronicus imagines the inhabitants of the four quarters of the Earth, largely on the basis of fictitious information. In spite of the appearance of some of the same tropes in the much more recent *Chronicle* of the Syriac Orthodox patriarch Michael the Great (1126-1199), there seems to be an evolution towards more realistic descriptions, largely due to the familiarity with and closer proximity of the authors to the peoples in question: Turks, Mongols and Franks. Where Michael's description of the history and customs of the (Seljuq) Turks is a mixture of historically accurate, biblical and mythological information, the portrayal of the Mongols and their laws and customs

by the maphrian Gregory Abu 'l-Faraj Bar 'Ebroyo (1226-1286) is detailed and fairly trustworthy, due to his close encounters with this people from an early age onwards. Simultaneously however, must also be recognized the Syriac tendency – as late as the thirteenth century, following a tradition from the Christian Greek historiographical tradition, after Hippolytus of Rome (d. 235), to categorize peoples as descendants of the sons of Noah in order to explain the contemporary world and its geopolitics.

Konrad Hirschler: The Materiality of Inter-Religious Manuscript Reuse.

Producing medieval manuscripts regularly entailed reusing existing documents and manuscripts as title-pages, book bindings and sewing guards. This second life of manuscripts has often been sidelined and seen as merely opportunistic recycling in times when access to writing material was restricted. While such opportunistic motives do play a role this paper explores to what extent manuscript reuse was underlain by a more complex cultural logic. It takes the case study of medieval Damascus where we observe a particularly intensive period of manuscript reuse in the 13th and 14th centuries in order to produce Arabic manuscripts. Among the reused material were Arabic legal documents and treatises; Latin liturgical books, bibles and sermons; Old French Chanson de Geste; Syriac bibles; Hebrew Tosefta; Greek sermons and Armenian liturgies.

The question thus arises who opted for manuscript reuse in these specific instances, from where the discarded manuscripts and documents were sourced and for what purposes they were built into the new manuscripts? The case of the Latin and Old French material is particularly intriguing as it is set within the context of Frankish text production and circulation during the 12th and 13th centuries.

Margriet Hoogvliet: The French "Midi" as a Hub in the International and Interreligious Trade of Christian Religious Books in the Vernaculars (15th-16th centuries).

The Rhône valley and the French Midi were important links in the medieval and early modern travel network. Being part of the *Via Francigena* this area functioned as an intermediary connecting the Mediterranean with northern Europe. The French Midi can also be qualified as cosmopolitan and multicultural, as it housed considerable communities of Italian merchants and bankers, at least equally large communities of Middle Dutch and German-speaking merchants and artisans from the northern areas, Jewish communities, including *conversos* that had recently fled from the Iberian peninsula, and, incidentally, Arab merchants. The towns of Lyon, Montpellier and Marseille constituted important commercial, intellectual and travel hubs

connecting north-western Europe with the wider Mediterranean cultures (including Jewish, Muslim, and Eastern-Orthodox cultures).

The printing presses in Lyon, and to a lesser extent those in Toulouse, were working for the international and Europe-wide book market and an important part of its book production in the vernaculars reached northern France, the southern Low Countries, and the French Midi itself. In my paper I intend to analyse both the Europe-wide dissemination and the targeted local audiences of the printing presses. Some of the vernacular religious texts printed in the Midi seem to have targeted converted or to be converted Jewish readers as well. Another important aspect is the important leaning towards Calvinism both in the Midi and in the southern Low Countries, which was also reflected in the production and dissemination of religious books, most notably in Lyon and Geneva.

Kati Ihnat: Martyrs go North: Liturgical Commemoration of Andalusī Saints in Early Medieval Northern Iberia.

Keen interest in the so-called martyrs of Al-Andalus has led modern historians to uncover much of the historical and religious context in which ‘new’ saints were made in early medieval Iberia. But what exactly did people think they were commemorating when they adopted these saints, sought out their relics and dedicated churches to them? Looking especially at the cult of Pelagius, a boy ‘martyred’ in Córdoba in the early tenth century, I explore the evidence for the saint’s cult, which was adopted at a number of institutions in the Northern kingdoms of the Peninsula in the centuries that followed. While the *Passiones* that describe Pelagius’ life and death are well-known, less work has been done on the surviving liturgical texts that commemorated the young saint. In this talk, I analyse the chants and readings, seeking to understand from the few surviving manuscripts containing the Old Hispanic office and mass for Pelagius what these liturgical texts communicate about the saint, their liturgical and hagiographical models, and how they interact with the *Passiones*. Understanding the saintly identity constructed in the liturgy thus allows new insights into the appeal of the martyr saint north of the Andalusī border, in the context of ‘Reconquista’ ideology but also of female spirituality and monastic culture.

Milana Iliushina: The Anger of Mamluks: Individual and Community Levels.

On the first day of *‘Īd al-Fiṭr*, 906/1501 the Mamluk sultan al-‘Ādil Ṭūmānbāy was overthrown. The Mamluks had been hunting for him for 42 days before they finally caught and

beheaded him. The next sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī sent a special squad to protect the funeral. He was afraid that the angry Mamluks could assault and burn the dead body.

Anger is commonly associated with violence. It can affect the rationality of decision-making, and at the political level it can give an impulse to armed conflicts and wars. Communities can be manipulated through aggravating emotions and evoking public anger, which leads to clashes and protests. This paper focuses on the cases of anger outbursts in Mamluk society, especially during the Circassian period (1382-1517), which was to a large extent marked by factional struggles and political instability. What caused Mamluks' anger at individual and community levels? How serious were its outcomes? This paper examines the descriptions and mentions of anger as an emotional background for actions and decisions of individuals and groups in diverse sources. Biographical dictionaries and chronicles of the Mamluk period contain some relative information. Besides those, of great interest for this study are poetic and epistolary works, among them three rajaz-poems written by Shams al-Dīn al-Bā'ūnī (d. 1466) and his nephew, Muhammad al-Bā'ūnī (d.1505), that offer short and, sometimes, aphoristic comments on Mamluks and their rulers.

Nikolas Jaspert Mobility, Mediation and Transculturation in the Medieval Mediterranean: Migrating Mercenaries and the Challenges of Mixing.

Mobility lies at the heart of transculturation, because the basic notion of transculturality is change by contact. There is thus an intrinsic relation between mobility and transculturation which calls for outlining the field of mobility more precisely. The first part of the paper will be devoted to such an attempt.

Before this backdrop the second part of the paper will present a case study. For it will focus on a particular form of motion, namely migration, and on specific border crossers:

Mercenaries. Men who fought and killed others for money might not appear to be the best case for transcultural flows; neither are they the most typical example for Mediterranean mobility. Precisely because of this however, medieval mercenaries are arguably a rewarding, though generally overlooked object of research. I will present and discuss cases of Christian stipendiaries from the Iberian kingdoms who were employed at Muslim courts in the Late Middle Ages. These mercenaries active in North Africa are particularly striking examples for a societal group that not only traversed the Mediterranean, but also crossed political and religious borders despite being dedicated to discord and conflict by profession. In different ways and under particular circumstances, they could even act as brokers. At first sight, such warriors of the 13th to 15th centuries appear to highlight the basic axiom of transcultural

studies: societies were and are in a constant flux of entangled dynamics that transcend supposedly clear-cut boundaries. However, a critical evaluation of this concept's potential and shortcomings necessarily needs to take opposition to transculturation into account. Put in general terms: Transculturation is not necessarily uncontested or even harmonious.

Therefore, in the third part of the paper I would like to single out two issues that acquired a certain degree of urgency from the 12th century onwards: apostasy and mixing. The discussions about these subjects amongst Christian scholars will be exemplified by analysing a series of treaties of the 14th century dealing with ways to recover Palestine for Latin Christianity. The two cases discussed in this paper – migrating mercenaries and the challenges of mixing in the Medieval Mediterranean – therefor illustrate both the dynamics of brokerage and mobility as well as the criticism such processes triggered.

Pol Junyent Molins: On-Board Communities: Social Groups, Motivations and On-Board Life Regulation of the Royal Fleet against Djerba (1429-1432).

The reign of Alfons the Magnanimous (1416-1458) is an exceptional laboratory for the social study of war. Its recurrence and the different areas where the armies were mobilized are a unique setting for observation. And it is even more outstanding thanks to the vast amount of documentation preserved, which allows us to study the period in a much wider way. Alfons ascended to the throne of the Crown of Aragon after his father's death in 1416, when Alfons was twenty. Fascinated by Mediterranean politics, he gave new energies to the Mediterranean expansion.

The aim of this paper would be to approach the human component of the medieval Catalano-aragonese armadas studying the particular case of the Royal fleet organised by King Alfons the Magnanimous in 1432 against the Tunisian island of Djerba.

Often the motivation and relationship between the sea and the men who participated in such expeditions were very diverse, heterogeneous or even non-existent. The armada became somehow an exchange between social groups, sometimes forced, of different influences – economic, social, political, cultural- of different social status, communities of diverse territories and Kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon and, finally, between seafarers and landmen.

Iliana Kandzha: Otto III and Italian Saints: Emotions of Royal Repentance as Bonds for Communities.

Ritual of penance was expected to be enacted in a specific emotional state of the repentant, such as crying, humbleness and inner remorse. However, in the case of ruler's penance, some scholars tend to recognize possible political motives behind the staged emotions, while others explain royal repentance as an individual exaltation, especially in the case of Emperor Otto III (996-1002), famous for his religious devotion. Medieval historiographers, too, not only described royal tears and repentance in their narratives, but often employed ruler's emotional state in order to represent values of the community they belonged.

In 999, after Otto's Second Italian Campaign, the emperor went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St Michael in Monte Gargano, during which he visited two ascetics, Nilus (910-1005) and Romuald (951-1025), and repented in front of them. These two events are described in the Lives of the holy men: *The Life of Nilus the Younger*, founder of Italo-Greek monasticism of the Basilian order, was written in Greek right after his death in the monastery of Grottaferrata; the other text, *the Life of Saint Romuald*, devoted to the famous Italian hermit, was written around 1040 by Peter Damian (1007-1072), one of the most important figures in the reform movement of the eleventh century. Both hagiographers employed the image of the crying barefoot repentant emperor, who was blamed for his unjust behavior. Nilus' and Romuald's administrative and sacral role in the penance of Otto III was compared by their hagiographers to the one of Nathan reproaching King David for his sins; and with this subtle comparison they manifested the moral authority of the holy men and their followers over secular power.

In this paper I will analyze how emperor's repentance was perceived and explained by the mentioned narrators, what role it played in the whole economy of the Saints' Lives. Moreover, I will draw particular attention to the circumstances of remembering this event for both Italo-Greek and Camaldolese monastic circles, while the memory of the king's penance became an important part of developing community's identity as positioned against the imperial power, the Pope or previous monastic traditions.

Marion Katz Holmes: Jealousy and Shame in the Service of Honor in Mamluk-Era Texts.

While words directly designating masculine honor may be thinly distributed in Mamluk-era sources, I argue in this paper that the concept of *ghayra* (jealousy) – which is far more salient in the sources -- often effectively performs the same function. Indeed, the intimate connection between the concepts of honor and jealousy has been extensively studied by scholars of US history, who have documented how antebellum Northerners came to stigmatize Southerners' preservation of an expansive association between jealousy and personal or familial honor.

While the word *ghayra* most directly designates sexual or romantic possessiveness, its broader semantic range encompasses the zealous defense of other prerogatives, both human and divine. Thus, appropriate *ghayra* is understood as the affective motivation for a pious man's efforts to protect the modesty of his wife or daughter as well as of God's commandments and the social order more generally. Deficient *ghayra* is associated the morally inferior otherness of Others such as pre-Islamic Arabs and European Christians. Masculine *ghayra* has its correlative in feminine *ḥayā'*, the feeling of anticipatory shame that inhibits sinful or immodest actions. This paper examines how these two emotions function to undergird normative gender relations in the work of the fourteenth-century scholars Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīya and Ibn al-Hājj.

Abigail Krasner Balbale: Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd Ibn Mardanīsh's Imagined Genealogies.

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sa'd ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Mardanīsh (r. 543 AH/1147 CE-567 AH/1172 CE), known in most later sources as Ibn Mardanīsh, was the most successful independent Muslim ruler in the time of the Almohads. He ruled nearly half of al-Andalus from his capital of Murcia, and with the help of Christian allies, repelled the Almohads for twenty-five years. Ibn Mardanīsh presented himself as the loyal defender of the Abbasid caliphate in the west, and turned his court into a center of commerce and cultural production in opposition to the austere norms of the Almohads. Yet debates about Ibn Mardanīsh's name and genealogy, among medieval and modern scholars alike, reveal anxieties about identity and religion in the changing political context of the twelfth-century Iberian Peninsula. According to different sources, Ibn Mardanīsh claimed descent from the Yemeni tribe of al-Judhām or the Arabian clan of Tujīb, although these *nisbahs* could also indicate the origin of a *mawlā* or patron who sponsored Ibn Mardanīsh's ancestor's conversion. In fact, later Arabic sources are unequivocal in asserting Ibn Mardanīsh's patrilineal descent from a Christian, and some even suggest that his alliances with Christians may be due to his Christian ancestry. While Ibn Mardanīsh referred to himself as Muḥammad ibn Sa'd, later chroniclers' choice to call him by the distinctive name of his ancestor served to emphasize his non-Arab roots. The thirteenth-century biographical scholar Ibn Khallikān argued *mardanīsh* was derived from the Romance word for human excrement, and the stink of his association with Christians has persisted through modern scholarship. Ibn Mardanīsh's conflicting genealogies reflect attempts to legitimate or undermine his authority, and, among later scholars, to make sense of his long-standing alliances with Christians in a period increasingly marked by interreligious conflict.

Christian Lange: Shame on you! Public parading as punishment under the Mamluks.

This presentation considers punitive rituals of public shaming (*tashhir*) in the Mamluk period. *Tashhir* was a widespread and much-feared punishment in the history of premodern Islamic societies. Ordinarily, it consisted in parading offenders, sitting backwards on a donkey or a cow, through the city's streets, as well as ridiculing and humiliating them by other means (clothing in rags, marking the body with black paint, shaving the beard, throwing impure items and insults at the condemned, and more). The Mamluk authorities were very keen to implement rituals of *tashhir*, which chimes with the recent observation of a historian of the Mamluk penal regime that a certain "banalisation" of punitive violence took place under the Mamluks (Martel-Thoumian 2012: 243). The chronicles, at any rate, report dozens of cases; shaming is also one of the most frequently mentioned punishments in the *Arabian Nights*. In the Mamluk-era legal literature, the legal grounds for implementing *tashhir* seem to be conceived more broadly than in previous centuries, while warnings against particularly honour-destroying elements of the punishment (such as face-blackening) seem tempered and overall less commonly voiced. This contribution examines the writings of two Hanafi jurists of the late Mamluk and early Ottoman periods, Ibn al-Humam (d. 1457 CE) and Ibn Nujaym (d. 1563 CE). Ibn Nujaym is of particular interest, as he dedicated a separate epistle to the question of *tashhir*, while also dealing with it in his great legal commentary, *al-Bahr al-ra'iq*.

Ana Paula Leite Rodrigues: Frontier Communities and Institutions in Medieval Northern Iberia (12th-14th Centuries).

The purpose of this paper is to reveal the main lines, aims and initial approaches of the postdoctoral research project, which I am developing at the University of Santiago, entitled "The Portuguese-Galician-Castilian Frontier in the Middle Ages (1143-1325). Communities and Institutions in Contact Lands". The paper will focus on two main questions regarding the northern frontier between Portugal and Castille, more specifically the frontier between the north of Portugal and the south Galicia and the one between the north east regions of Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro (Portugal) and the eastern borderlands of current provinces of León, Zamora and Salamanca.

On one hand, frontier communities and institutions will be analysed from their own perspective: Which kind of economic, social or cultural ties bonded those men and women who lived in borderlands? Which were the main frontier institutions, how important were their cross-border holdings and how did they manage it? Which were the main characteristics of the seigniorial power exerted in these areas by such cross-border institutions?

On the other hand, it will be considered as well how royal authorities of both kingdoms of Portugal and Castile perceived these frontier communities and, especially, how were they used in order to serve royal power's interests. During the chronological period in question, diplomatic and even military conflicts took place between Portugal and Castile, being these frontier zones the most affected ones. Likewise, from middle twelfth century until the end of thirteenth century, Portuguese territorial policy was greatly focused on keeping its autonomy towards Castile and enlarging its territory, which made borderlands protagonist regions once again.

All in all, based on a specific frontier area, the aim of this paper is to reflect on the ways borderlands were perceived and understood by those who lived, owned and ruled these regions.

Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo: 'Public' and 'Private' Emotions in King James I of Aragon's *Llibre dels Fets*.

Through the analysis of the *Llibre dels fets (Book of Deeds)* – the first chronicle-autobiography attributed to a Western European Christian King, James I of Aragon (r. 1213-76) – this paper will examine how memories of experienced emotions and the rhetoric of emotional restraint were deployed to shape the image of a righteous political and military leader, while also promoting norms of communal behaviour aimed at preserving social cohesion. This text is particularly significant for a number of reasons. First, the narrated events are presented through royal eyes and they are frequently explained or justified as dictated by individual or collective emotional impulses and reactions. Second, the differences between emotional values and emotional experiences are made explicit throughout the text. Whilst being deeply influenced by religious and juridical norms, the *Llibre dels fets* is also enlightening as a pioneering example of history-writing aimed at preserving individual and collective memory, including memories of emotions. Finally, this paper will also question whether and to what extent specific emotions and their public display were regarded as legitimate across different groups; therefore defining a communal emotional dimension of identity which had the potential to go beyond social, ethnic and religious boundaries.

Micol Long: Creating a Community Through Love and Learning: Social Integration in High Medieval Monastic Communities.

In a period characterized by increased mobility across Europe, from Italy to Spain and to Germany, even monks (who swore an oath of stability) could move from one religious establishment to another. This led various monastic authors to reflect on the process which

transformed a newcomer into a full member of a certain religious community. While past scholarship on this subject has often focused on the formal aspects of the acquisition of membership, this paper aims to highlight the important role played by informal social interactions and by emotions in this process.

This will be achieved by studying the references to relationships established and entertained in certain community. Letters are a very useful source for this, because monks and nuns used them to keep in touch with friends from their former communities, as well as with members of their own community while they were away, and often referred to the way in which such bonds had been forged. The compared analysis of these accounts allows us to reconstruct widespread ideas of what was perceived as a successful transition from the condition of newcomer to that of a full member. To interpret this, some notions developed in the social sciences, such as the concept of community of practice, will be used. In addition, the analysis of the vocabulary and the rhetorical figures used in the accounts provides insight into the way in which the process of integration in a community was perceived by the actors involved, as an intensely emotional reshaping of one's identity.

The integration of an individual in a new monastery emerges a largely informal learning process, where newcomers, through their interactions with the members, gradually acquired a shared set of knowledge, values, habits and behavioral patterns, which one day they could, in turn, teach other newcomers.

Edoardo Manarini: How Many Times Did the Church Burn: The Response of Nonantola's Monastic Community to the Magyars in the Early Xth-Century.

The *Catalogum abbatum Nonantulensium* is a source of great importance for the history of the monks of S. Silvestro of Nonantola. The text we read today had been composed in the XIth-century, but thought as merely a list of abbots it had been most probably written considering other older texts dating back since the monastery's foundation. In particular, the entries on early Xth- century abbots are enriched with historical information about the difficult situation the abbey went through due to the raids of the Magyars.

The efforts of abbot Leopardus described as rebuildder and re-founder of the church as well as the monastic community are really striking. But how could he be successful? Which kind of relations could he use? And how, or on what, did he put together the community once again? This paper will examine the archival documentation of the period in the light of the story narrated by the *Catalogum*, trying to elucidate the patterns followed by the author (or the authors) in writing the abbey's memories. Effectively, a close analysis of the composition

shows some contradictions not much stressed before. They seem useful in order to understand on the one hand historical facts that took place in those turbulent decades, and on the other hand which memories the community chose to be at the base of the re-foundation of Nonantola's monastery.

Vicky Manolopoulou: From Sin to Salvation: Attuning to the Emotional Communities in Constantinople.

Emotional responses manifest themselves as individual acts, however, they are also inherently social and communal. Emotions have attracted scholarly interest across the humanities⁴ but have only recently started to be tentatively discussed in Byzantine studies. Even though scholars are interested in various aspects of experience, memory, senses, and emotion⁵, they tend to focus on textual analysis and art.⁶ The relationship between emotions in Byzantium and landscape is thus an under-explored topic that merits further study. How do people engage with their landscape during ritual? What is the relationship between emotion, memory and landscape? How does the landscape affect people's attunement to emotional communities?⁷ In this paper, to answer these questions, I am going to use religious processions in tenth-century Constantinople as a case-study. I will focus on emotions and states of 'being' that relate with the progression from sin to salvation (e.g embarrassment, realisation of sin, *lupe*, *metanoia*, hope, joy). The main aim is to reveal how people accessed social memory and engaged with their city and its past through experiencing their landscape during religious processions.

Marta Manso Rubio: The Muslim Other: Lights and Shadows in the Depiction of a Collective in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon.

In the analysis of relationships between Christianity and Islam during the Middle Ages, absolute and perpetual enmity have traditionally been seen as the natural and legal state of affairs between both cultures and religions, even though their actual proximity across the

⁴ Plamper, J., 2012. *The history of emotions: an introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁵ Nesbitt, C. and Jackson, M., 2013. *Experiencing Byzantium*. 44th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Newcastle Durham 2011. UK: Ashgate.

⁶ Maguire, H., 1977. The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 31, 123–174.; Hinterberger, M., 2010. Emotions in Byzantium. In: L. James, ed. *A Companion to Byzantium*. UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 123–134.

⁷ Rosenwein (2006. *Emotional communities in the early Middle Ages*. Cornell University Press) convincingly argues that people belong to 'emotional communities' where emotional norms are expressed and commonly understood.

Mediterranean basin and, particularly, in Medieval Iberia, necessarily implied different sorts of contacts, whether desired or not. In Late Medieval Crown of Aragon, official discourses, built from religious, legal or political perspectives, portrayed Muslim communities within and beyond its borders as enemies, as the Other to be fought, both physically and intellectually. This was the *raison d'être* of several chronicles, statutory codes or Christian-Muslim polemics, among other theoretical discourses. However, a deep-oriented research on documentary evidences reveals a wider panorama yet to be properly understood. The aim of this paper is, therefore, to examine the given political and religious construct of natural and perpetual enmity in relation to documentary evidence in order to seek, in the first place, the foundations of the conceptions and categories used to represent the Muslim Other. Secondly, it will attempt to decipher how the official discourse was put in service of the interests of power and shaped the perception of Otherness. And finally, it will analyse the discourse and the different conveyed conceptions and categories in light of actual practices drawn from documentary records.

Alejandro Martínez Giralt: Beyond Pure Domination. Building Communal Identities in Catalan Baronial Lands During the Late Middle Ages.

That the increasing fiscal pressure of monarchs facilitated the emergence of local identities in Late Medieval Catalonia is commonly accepted, particularly in respect to urban soil. However, there is comparatively much less knowledge of the chances of this happening in those Catalan estates under baronial lordship.

A mere glance at sources issued by public notaries subjected to the authority of those high nobles reveals that, at least in some cases, local communities evolved similarly to their royal counterparts, thus developing legal personalities that preserved their communal traits and made them capable of defending themselves against abuse or limiting further seigneurial demands.

In these baronial contexts, local communal identities and their legal personalities appear to have adopted a public discourse that not only exposed a clear, respectful, and therefore cautious recognition of the reality of power relationships, but also tell us much about negotiation processes that initially are not expected from feudal nobility. Yet those identities arose of an acknowledgement that the future of noble lordship in such an age of crisis would depend mainly on fostering acceptancy by granting privileges. In return, barons may even have relied on this strategy to obtain immediate political and military support when necessary.

The estates of the viscounts of Cabrera (one of the more powerful and long-lasting lineages of the Medieval Catalan high nobility) provide us with some instances of this kind. In this sense,

the aim of this paper is to show when and how communal identities began to emerge in the Cabrera states; in which manner they used discourse to ensure that their otherwise evolving legal personalities were respected; and, finally, how their building strengthened bonds between viscounts and subjects to the extent of creating a true belief in the legitimacy of defending the former against whatever foe, even the king himself.

Alexander Marx: Imagining the Holy Land on the Eve of the Third Crusade: Creating Community beyond Geographical Borders. (cancelled)

This paper intends to discuss a feature with which my PhD-thesis is concerned; that is, the imagination and construction of the Holy Land with its different spatial categories in the Latin West. In my PhD-thesis, I analyse sermons and treatises, which have been written in order to mobilise the Third Crusade (1187-89). These texts were written by well-trained Cistercians and Paris Masters like, for example, Peter of Blois or Alan of Lille. Looking into these texts, one can see that those preachers built their notions about the Holy Land on the bible and its exegesis. One particular notion is that of the *Corpus Christi*, which conceives of the Christians as the parts of Christ's body (*membra Christi*). In the context of the Third Crusade, this idea is associated with different spatial categories in the Near East like the Temple or Jerusalem. Accordingly, the Christians are tied to the Holy Land. Following this logic, they are obliged to act in its defence as well as to understand the events there as a threat to their community and their salvation. We see thus how those spatial categories serve as vehicles to create community and obligations beyond actually perceived borders, while the structures of these ideas are based on particular biblical motifs and theological conceptions. This paper intends thus to demonstrate how those preachers created certain notions and expectations about the Holy Land and its meaning for the Christian community. These notions again built on exegesis, were distributed by sermons, and might eventually have motivated people to depart on the dangerous, burdensome journey of the crusade.

Mohamed Maslouh: The Representation of the Reign of the Mamluk Sultan al-'Ashraf Sayf al-Dīn Qāyṭbāy in Late Mamluk Historiography.

My paper will discuss the representation of the reign of the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Sayf al-Din Qaytbay (r. 872-902 AH) in late Mamluk historiography. This paper will contend that there are two main historical trends that can be traced in the works of late Mamluk historians such as Ibn Taghribirdi al-Sayrafi, al-Sakhawi, al-Suyuti, and Ibn Iyas. The first trend is championed by Ibn Taghribirdi who portrayed the early years of Qaytbay's reign in a negative manner,

while the second one can be clearly seen in the works of al-Sayrafi and Ibn Iyas where Qaytbay's deeds, performance of power, and political order were highly regarded.

My paper will also argue that Ibn Taghribirdi's views represent a continuum of the early 15th century historiographical trend which it imagined the social and political orders of early Mamluk Sultans as the ideal example of the "Mamluk State" and, consequently, perceived the reign of Qaytbay as a deviation from the ideal. However, my paper will show that Ibn Iyas had fundamentally different imagination of the Mamluk Sultanate. For instance, in Ibn Iyas's comparison between the decay of Egypt under the Ottoman rule and its "glorious past", the reign of Qaytbay was constantly recalled and imagined as the ideal social and political orders which have been ruined by the new rulers.

Anthony Minnema: A *Taifa* in Exile: The Survival of the Banu Hud in the Twelfth Century and Beyond.

In 1110, the last member of the Banu Hud to rule over the *taifa* of Zaragoza, Imad al-Dawla, abandoned the city to the Almoravids in the face of political intrigue within the city. He continued to fight against the Almoravids from his stronghold in Rueda, even allying with the Aragonese king, but he never returned to power in Zaragoza and died in exile. Despite losing their kingdom, the Banu Hud remained a powerful family with considerable resources at their disposal, and the prestige of this once-royal family and their determination to oust the Almoravids frequently won them support from Andalusī magnates. When the Almoravid regime collapsed in the 1140s, Imad al-Dawla's son, Sayf al-Dawla, rose to power among the rebels in the Levante and assumed the title of caliph, striking coins with his regnal name of al-Mustansir. The efforts of these members of the Banu Hud, even in defeat, elevated their status and the family became a potent symbol of Andalusī solidarity and resistance in the struggle to create an independent Muslim kingdom in Iberia. The next century saw successive generations of leaders claiming ancestry from the Banu Hud who rallied support for their cause with varying levels of success. This paper outlines the careers of key members of the Banu Hud and explores how they maintained claims to royal power in al-Andalus in a period when historians believed the politics of *taifa* kingdoms to be characterized by shallow populism and cultural fragmentation. It examines the coins, correspondence, and records surrounding their regimes to demonstrate how the Banu Hud crafted a political platform that spoke directly to Andalusī traditions and religious sensibilities. This project endeavors to open up new discussions regarding later *taifas*, their leadership, and Andalusī culture.

Laura Miquel Milian: Constructing Communities in Times of War Through Public Discourse: Barcelona 1462-1472.

Since the death of Alfons IV the Magnanimous in 1458 and the beginning of the reign of his brother and successor, Joan II, Catalonia underwent a situation of unrest. This led to the outbreak of a civil war in 1462 that lasted ten years, being the leaders of the two sides the king and Catalonia's main representative institution, the Diputació del General. The second defended that Joan was not Catalonia's rightful monarch and since the very beginning of the conflict started looking for a new one elsewhere, who from that moment on was considered the one and true king. On the Diputació's side was especially important the paper played by Catalonia's main city, Barcelona, where these years were remarkably problematic. Allegiances were not clear, and those considered to be on the side of Joan II were named traitors and public enemies and, therefore, condemned to lose everything, even their lives. Barcelona's council carried out during the war an extremely violent politics against those so called traitors, which frequently consisted on remarking the evident differences between the ones considered loyal to the land and those who, according to them, acted towards its destruction. This paper is precisely focused on the kind of discourse used by the Council to define not only enemies, but also, always in stark contrast, themselves. This way, the Council managed to build through its words two opposite and irreconcilable communities that included all of Catalonia's people.

Megan Moore: The Affective Valences of Love in the Medieval Mediterranean

In medieval Europe, elite love was, I argue, a quintessentially Mediterranean emotion. Moreover, love was, I argue, not only grounded in the dynamics of privilege made possible through the trade and conquest networks of the sea in the medieval era, but also in the affective culture established on its shores in the Classical era. Here, I seek to untangle the relation between love and death in medieval culture, a relationship that I claim is predicated on motifs cemented by elite models of emotional expression and regulation inaugurated by the Ancient Greeks. In this paper, I propose to trace affective lineages backwards from John of Mandeville's travels – and the famous example of necrophilia made incarnate in the serpentine apparitions in the Satalia episode – to explore how medieval privilege and emotion are co-constructed through references to Mediterranean models of feeling. I explore the expression of love as death in texts as varied as Mandeville's Travels, Ancient Greek novels such as Daphnis & Chloë, The Iliad, and contemporary medieval Greek romances such as Belthandros

& Chrysandza to explore how the thematization of love in western medieval affective culture draws on a long tradition of suffering that is particularly Mediterranean.

Although I will only obliquely explore the theoretical underpinnings of the readings I develop more deeply in my monograph-in-progress, *The Erotics of Death*, work by scholars such as Georges Bataille (*Erotisme*), Simon Gaunt (*Death and Love in Medieval Culture*) and William Reddy (*The Making of Romantic Love*) all serve to inform my framing of elite medieval love as inherently tied to a particularly Mediterranean erotics of death.

Carolina Obradors-Suazo: Witness, Emotions and Citizenship in Late Medieval Barcelona.

This paper will examine the potential of fifteenth-century Barcelona to shed new light on the dynamics and meanings of medieval citizenship. While a long tradition of studies has certainly analysed the role of citizenship in urban life, the Catalan City emerges as a historiographical opportunity to highlight more strongly the complex uses and understandings of civic status at the end of the Middle Ages. The relevance of the Barcelonese case lies on the fact that its rich sources – and most importantly its long set of citizenship reports, the *Informacions de la Ciutadania*, allow the historian to retrace the very diverse negotiations (institutional, fiscal, social) that conditioned the making of the citizen, as well as the links between the norm and the practice of citizenship. Thus, citizenship emerges as a polyhedral phenomenon that went much beyond the traditional image of a fiscal individual privilege that ensured commercial benefits and/or political office while binding citizens to the communal needs of the civic community. Based on reputation, citizenship was in Barcelona a broad measure of belonging, a primary pact of acceptance that was established within the social fabrics of the city and subsequently sanctioned by the municipal authorities.

I have previously studied this Barcelonese model of citizenship in detail, using mainly the *Informacions* to create citizens' profiles and reflect on the experiences of citizenship in the streets of Barcelona. While this was done by studying candidates to the citizenship charter, this paper will now give form to the large community of witnesses that testified in the citizenship reports. In so doing, I aim at going beyond the experiences that created citizens and focus on the sentiments that conditioned their public recognition (trust, empathy, obligation, solidarity, indifference); measuring in so doing the weight of the emotions on which the civic community was daily sustained.

Francesca Petrizzio: For love of His Brother: In search of an Emotional History of the Hauteville Family.

The Hautevilles were the most successful of the Normans who conquered Southern Italy, rising in two generations from landless knighthood to the rule of the whole of the Mezzogiorno and Antioch. In my research on their behaviour as a family in both peace and war, I have often encountered them performing actions that appear to be laden with emotional significance, and which taken together make a powerful case for the Hautevilles not only as a deeply interconnected political network and natural warband, but also as an emotional community bound by ties that went beyond pragmatic necessity and sometimes seem to have existed in spite of it. In this paper I will explore the methodological challenges of reconstructing such a history. I will outline the difficulties of working with scattered documentary evidence, the often wholesale destruction of material sources, and the modes of enquiry of more traditional scholarship on the topic. In the chronicles they patronised, the funerary monuments they endowed, and in the policies of forgiveness and reparation they enacted through time, the Hautevilles appear constantly to have sought not just to strengthen and widen their institutional power and landholdings, but also to uphold, protect and support a coherent and emotional idea of themselves as a family. They appear to have defined family not just through the practicalities of conquest and rule, but also as an identity and a sense of mutual belonging and duties even in the face of betrayal. This paper aims to both make a case for such a history, highlight the difficulties in its pursuit, and flag up areas of further inquiry for the future.

Pedro Picoito: Lisbon's Mozarabs as an Imagined Community.

When Afonso Henriques, the first sovereign of the newborn Iberian kingdom of Portugal, conquered Lisbon in 1147, the town had a huge population of Muslims, but mostly of Mozarabs, i.e., Christians living under the rule of Islam. This community had its own rituals, its own parishes and, some historians argue, even its own beliefs about controversial matters of theology. So, the main religious and cultural concern of the new powers, after the conquest, will be to romanize the Mozarabs, denying them the “politics of recognition” (in Charles Taylor’s words) that Muslims were able to obtain, and imposing them the Roman liturgy and the “Gregorian reform” that were, at this point, one of the most distinctive ideological features of the Iberian Reconquest. Not being imagined as totally Christians by the northern conquerors, but also not being one of the non-Christian minorities (Muslims and Jews) protected by the crown, their social and religious status was ambiguous. This paper studies the strategies of acculturation of the Mozarabic community of Lisbon by the Roman-catholic rulers, such as the

appropriation of traditional sacred places and cults and the replacement of local elites, as well as the strategies of resistance of the Mozarabs themselves.

Efthymia Priki: Erotic Encounters and the ‘Exotic’ Image of Constantinople in Chrétien de Troyes’ *Cligès* and in *Partenopeu de Blois*. (cancelled)

This paper will be concerned with two fictional depictions of cultural contact and exchange between East and West, examining the emotional tensions arising from such instances and what these tensions might reveal about the cultural perceptions of the Byzantine East in the medieval West. In Chrétien’s *Cligès*, the young male protagonist is the rightful heir to the throne of Constantinople that has been usurped by his uncle Alis, and strives to win both his kingdom and his beloved Fenice, his uncle’s wife, with the help of King Arthur. In *Partenopeu de Blois*, the young male protagonist is mysteriously led from France to the seemingly magical city of Constantinople by the empress Melior, and has an experience similar to the myth of Cupid and Psyche. After several adventures, the couple is married and Partenopeu becomes the ruler of Constantinople. These two twelfth-century Old French romances present us with two different representations of the same historical city, Constantinople, but in both cases the city is characterized by its otherness; to the writers and to the audience of these romances, Constantinople is a foreign place. In this paper, I will explore the extent to which and the ways that the authors of the two texts construct the image of Constantinople as foreign and/or ‘exotic’ and, most importantly, I will examine the narrative function of such constructs and their effect on the erotic discourse in the texts and on the emotional development of the male protagonists.

Fadi Ragheb: Remembering the Crusades: Excavating the Memory of Salāḥ al-Dīn and the Franks in Muslim Pilgrimage Texts and Travelogue Literature from the Mamlūk and Ottoman Period.

The memory of the Crusades in Islamic history has been a topic of debate within modern scholarship. For so long, historians have argued that the memory of the Crusades, and especially that of Salāḥ al-Dīn, was forgotten in the Islamic Middle East during the Mamlūk and Ottoman period, only for it to be revived much later during the 19th century (Gabrieli, 1964, 1969; Hillenbrand, 1999; Riley-Smith, 2003, 2008; Hawting, 2005). However, recent research has begun to question this thesis. For example, M. El-Moctar compared the memory of Salāḥ al-Dīn’s reign in medieval Sunni and Shī‘ī sources (El-Moctar, 2012), while Diana Abouali has shown how Salāḥ al-Dīn’s legacy was evident in several Muslim sources from the Ottoman period (Abouali, 2011). This paper will attempt to advance these recent findings by providing

new evidence from hitherto untapped Mamlūk and Ottoman Arabic sources, such as Muslim pilgrimage texts and travelogue literature on Jerusalem, whose authors demonstrate clear familiarity with the reign of Salāḥ al-Dīn as they visited and recorded their pilgrimage and travels to the Holy Land. For example, there are several unexamined *Faḍā'il al-Quds* (Merits of Jerusalem) pilgrimage texts from the Mamlūk period that record the memory of Salāḥ al-Dīn, his encounter with the Franks, and his contribution to Bayt al-Maḳdis. These sources include Tāj al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī's *al-Rawḍ al-mugharras fī faḍā'il al-Bayt al-Muḳaddas* and Muḥammad ibn Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suyyūṭī's *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣā bi-faḍā'il al-Masjid al-Aḳṣā*. The study will also extend the analysis to the Ottoman period by surveying several pilgrimage texts and travelogue works that also reference Salāḥ al-Dīn and the Crusades, such as, among others, Muṣṭafā As'ad al-Luḳaymī's pilgrimage text *Laṭā'if uns al-jalīl fī taḥā'if al-Quds wa al-Khalīl*, his travelogue *Tahdhīb Mawāniḥ al-uns bi-riḥlatī li-Wādī al-Quds*, and the travelogue of the famous 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥaḍra al-unsīyya fī al-riḥla al-quḍsiyya*. By analyzing these pilgrimage texts and travelogue works on Jerusalem, this paper will further advance recent research on the topic and provide new evidence for the persisting memory of Salāḥ al-Dīn and the Crusades in the Islamic world during the Mamlūk and Ottoman period.

Albert Reixach Sala: Investing in Communal Symbols in Times of Financial Readjustments: The Case of Late Medieval Catalan Towns.

This paper proposal deals with the investment in communal symbols in Late Medieval Catalonia. During a period traditionally considered of economic depression like most parts of Europe, not few local governments made important efforts to build town halls and provide them with decorative furniture, as well as to embellish the emblems of the magistrates and their dresses.

Recent research describes the financial revolution that the Crown of Aragon underwent during the second half of the fourteenth century. It also highlights the economic, social and institutional effects of the consolidation of public debt and concomitant tax devices. By contrast, evidences concerning civic buildings and other similar elements tend to be dispersed in local bibliography, if not in unpublished documents.

This way, it aims to retrace the chronological sequence of these investments including different cases, such as, Barcelona, Girona, Tortosa or Manresa. It especially focuses on comparing it with regard to the fiscal and financial cycles experienced along the principality of Catalonia and by each town. In this respect, the moments when municipal councils made the decision of spending important amounts of money in the mentioned items will be analyzed according to

their level of indebtedness and what these expenses represented within the global expenditures. In addition, certain political junctures will be taken into consideration.

To sum up, seeing that several authors have put forward the hypotheses that tax demands and economic difficulties many local governments suffered from mid- fourteenth century to the end of fifteenth strengthened collective ties and social identities, it examines if the care of communal symbols could be a sign of this process.

Grabiela Rojas Molina: *Oltramare, ultra gente?* Rhetorical Strategies for the Representation of One's Community.

On the 22th of July, 1501, Pietro Tiepolo, Potestas et Capitaneus of Bar, reported that Stephano Prodi, a local aristocrat, brought this community to a regrettable state: Tiepolo describes a ruined land, deserted and forsaken by God, and makes sure to stress the division between Venetians and them, the local people. However, for the judges and members of the commune of Bar, Pietro Bembo, the newly appointed governor was responsible for the chaos since he had not taken proper care of the security of the city. For the signers of this communication, their difficulties mean an ignominy to Venice. Such are some of the concerns that arose in the official correspondence—that is, in the *comissiones* and *relationes*—that were sent back and forth between these two cities. Instead of going into legal and institutional interpretations, my paper will highlight rhetorical devices and the language of ideological divisions between patricians of Venice and patricians of Kotor that were actively exploited since at least the late Middle Ages. Moreover, I present the mechanisms by which the writers of these communications attempted to emotionally engage the Council of Ten in their representations of chaos on the one hand, and common destiny on the other. The primary focus, then, will be the agency of these letters in dictating Senate decisions and shaping the imaginary about the community of Bar.

Elisha Russ-Fishbane: Caring for the Aged in Medieval Jewish Society: The Cairo Geniza Evidence.

Old men and women played a pivotal role in Jewish societies of the medieval Mediterranean, yet their experiences and challenges have yet to merit the requisite attention of historians. My paper, part of a larger effort to focus attention on aging in medieval Jewish communities of the Mediterranean Basin, will concentrate on the familial and emotional ties on which the old were directly dependent as well as the evident fragility of this system. Geniza documents depict a cultural model of filial duty, familiar from a range of Jewish literary sources, according to

which older men and women chiefly relied upon their children or extended family for support and sometimes subsistence in their later years. One consequence of the expectation that families shoulder the burden of care was that no communal institutions existed to formally step into the breach. All the same, the community did play an active, though more informal, role. As Geniza documents attest, families occasionally fell short of their duties, at times due to neglect or as a result of inadequate resources. I shall explore three main mechanisms by which the old (or their families) turned to their communities for support when the filial bonds came undone or proved insufficient: formal appeal, public welfare, or hired help. Concrete examples of these mechanisms, each quite distinct from the others, provides critical clues toward a historical reconstruction of elder care in the medieval Jewish Mediterranean.

Roser Salicrú i Lluç: Categorising Slaves, Facing New Realities: Taxonomies as a Tool for Social Order in the Western Mediterranean.

Until the mid-fourteenth century, slaves in the major cities of the Western Mediterranean were chiefly Muslims who had been captured in the frontiers with Islam. From that moment onwards, the continuous arrival of Eurasian and Eastern Mediterranean slaves forced Christian societies to face a new reality.

Describing this new reality, sources began to establish taxonomies and classify slaves in apparently homogeneous groups. These categorizations were determined by classical variables such as age and sex, as well as by origin and provenance, these being descriptors that intersected with religious, ethnic and racial categories.

The collective labeling of slaves can be approached as a controlling and subjecting tool of the Christian society that subjugated slaves' individual identity. However, sources sometimes blur this compartmentation, and slaves became a homogeneous mass, a uniform whole, which could easily be damned and criticized.

Nevertheless, after the forced and radical break that the fall in slavery implied for individuals, only other slaves from a similar origin and condition could become a point of reference and of initial support.

Therefore, these categories, which referred to the shared cultural, religious or geographical roots of slaves, were also useful to enhance their own internal solidarities, replacing then their lost original bonds.

Relying on the rich set of sources that have been conserved, the paper will analyze the attribution of these categories and their use both as a tool for social subjection and as a possible self-reference tool for collective cohesion among slaves.

Aurora Salvatierra: When the ‘Enemies’ are at Home: Contempt and Hatred in a Medieval Hebrew Satire (13th c.).

Yehudah ibn Shabbetai, a twelfth-thirteenth-century Jewish author, is primarily known for *Minḥat Yehudah sone ha-nasim* (*The Offering of Yehudah the Misogynist*), his most important contribution to the field of literature. But his ‘minor’ works also include some extremely interesting texts. Such is the case of his satire *Dibre ha-’alah we-ha-nidduy* (*The Writ of Excommunication*), a piece almost unknown to this day. The work, which consists of rhymed prose with interspersed poems, is a unique and original literary piece for its time in both form and content. In it, the author parodies and ridicules five prominent members of Saragossa community (in northern Spain) who the author accuses of, among other things, burning one of his books. Through his harsh words, Yehudah ibn Shabbetai exposes what he considers the most degrading defects and behaviours exhibited by these men and in doing so, he maps out a representation of the negative social codes inherent in the expression of repudiation and contempt. As his audience is made up of members of his own community, he is able to subvert the cultural elements of his group to more intensely show his rejection.

Aleksandar Z. Savić: *Loca Sancta, Communitas Sacra: A Mediterranean Perspective on Constructing Identity in Medieval Serbia.*

Although the actual centres of power and spheres of political influence of medieval Serbia were based, for the most part, in the central Balkans, elites whose task was to shape its ideological foundations drew extensively on the universal Orthodox tradition embodied in the sacred landscape of the Eastern Mediterranean: most notably Mt Athos, Palestine and Mt Sinai. In the formative period of the Nemanjić state (late 12th – second half of the 14th century), these parts were „discovered“ by St Sava (ca. 1175 – 1236), a prince of the ruling dynasty and the first archbishop of the Serbian Church. The narrative of his travels and exploits across the Mediterranean represents the bedrock for a specific sort of ideologically motivated *imaginaire* – apart from being a framework for his own spiritual fulfillment, Sava’s longing for the holy places provides a wider context for understanding the strategies of promoting an official religious identity of medieval Serbs. From his *vita prima*, commissioned by the highest echelons of power in mid-13th century Serbia, we learn that Sava’s endeavours were in fact

undertaken with the intention of introducing his flock to the great community of Orthodox faithful – a community whose confines went far beyond the young, relatively small state in Southeastern Europe. Alongside the formation of lay and ecclesiastical structures of the Nemanjić realm, it was pivotal to construct a halo of sanctity for the people themselves. This was accomplished in great measure through the realisation of the „chosen people“ (New Israel) paradigm: the ties with the major hearths of Christianity in the East gave rise to a new sacred community, established by Sava’s concrete actions (e.g. foundation of endowments) but also by more implicit means, inasmuch as the actual peregrinations of the *pastor* tread a symbolic path to salvation for each and every soul in his care.

Vera-Simone Schulz: Genoa, the Cocharelli Codex, and the Global Trecento Trans-Mediterranean Dynamics in a Fourteenth-Century Treatise of the Vices.

The *Cocharelli Codex*, commonly ascribed to Genoa and to the early fourteenth-century, comprises a unique set of miniatures which – by means of complex artistic configurations – negotiate both the Ligurian port city itself as well as the Mediterranean and regions beyond. The aim of this paper is twofold: on the one hand, it seeks to shed new light on the *Cocharelli Codex* in the context of Warburg’s concept of ‘image vehicles’ moving across borders, in this case, artistic and transmedial ones between the Islamic world and Italy. On the other hand, it will reassess notions of a wider fourteenth-century ‘before European hegemony’, a term coined by Janet Abu-Lughod, with regard to the arts. The paper will explore artistic strategies of ‘selfing’ and ‘othering’, and emotional and communal dimensions to identity expressed in the miniatures, and it will discuss why diverse worldviews and other social schemata were presented and sounded out by the artist in a treatise on the seven deadly sins.

Jan Shaw: “Emotion, Memory, and Reconfiguring the Past: Guy of Lusignan in Cilician Armenia and in the Romance of *Melusine*”.

The fourteenth-century French romance *Melusine* includes four episodes of four sons who go out into the world looking for adventure. Two of these episodes are crusade-like journeys to the eastern Mediterranean that are loosely based on the historical presence of the Lusignan family in Cyprus and Cilician Armenia. This family had been a powerful presence in the region for more than 200 years, but their influence was waning when the romance first appeared in France in 1393, the same year that the last reigning Cilician Armenian king died in exile in Paris. The English version of *Melusine* appeared just over 100 years later. While the English

version follows the French narrative closely as a whole, the Cilician episode is treated differently. Both differ in significant ways from the historical circumstances.

This paper considers the political context of the ascension of Guy of Lusignan to the Cilician Armenian crown and his subsequent assassination, and how his history was rewritten in the French and English romance narratives. It examines the representation of emotions, both in the form of outward expression and internalized experience, and how emotions operate in these romances to reimagine racial and religious difference, creating an idealized past of unified community. This paper argues that invoking emotion is a key manoeuvre in the rescripting of the relationship between the Frankish crusader kings and their subject peoples. It also demonstrates that the French and English romances come to very different conclusions about the nature of that relationship.

Roman Shliakhtin: Roman Loyalty, Christian Faith, Persian Roots: Cultural Broker John Axouch in Byzantine Rhetoric and Sigillography. (cancelled)

John Axouch (fl. 1090-c. 1150) was the most prominent foreign courtier of the twelfth-century Byzantine Empire. Starting his rise from the position of a Persian captive, he became a confidant of John II Komnenos (r. 1118-1143). The emperor appointed John Axouch to the position of *mezas domestikos*, commander-in-chief of the Byzantine army. A surviving seal represents Axouch as a loyal servant of Komnenoi. In the seal, the former captive did not mention his foreign surname. His correspondent Nikephoros Basilakes addressed Axouch in his letter as “Lord John”. Only 40 years after the death of the powerful general, Niketas Choniates labeled John Axouch as a person of Persian origin. In a rare praise to an Eastern foreigner, Niketas Choniates mentioned that while being foreigner by birth, Axouch was a benevolent man and a talented general. Another writer, Nikolaos Mesarites, also pointed to the “Persian” origin of John Axouch.

Why did Axouch not mention his foreign name on his seal? To answer this question, the paper traces the origin of Axouch to late eleventh-century Seljuk Nicaea. The contextualization of the term “Persian” allows us to suspect that John Axouch was a son of a Christian lady and a Seljuk emir. Reaching the peak of his power at Byzantine court, John Axouch consciously decided to avoid the declaration of his “Turkish” connections. This intention to distance himself from his Persian roots and the later awareness of Niketas Choniates about those roots demonstrate the ambiguous status that cultural brokers had in twelfth-century Byzantium. This paves the way for further comparison of cultural brokers in Komnenian Byzantium with their many counterparts in other regions of the twelfth-century Mediterranean.

Uriel Simonsohn: Between Family and Community: Images of Early Female Converts to Islam in Biographic Dictionaries.

Conversion to Islam in the late antique and medieval Islamic periods bore the potential of instigating family dramas of significant magnitude. For some, a shift in religious affiliation entailed serious dilemmas between biological and emotional sentiments to former coreligionist kinsfolk on the one hand, and spiritual and communal commitments to the new religion on the other. It was a tension between family and community, between allegiances of blood and of code.

Accordingly, communal leaderships, both Muslim and non-Muslim, sought to either cut off family ties between converts and their non-Muslim kin, or take advantage of these ties in order to draw additional converts (or bring lost sheep back into the fold, pending on communal outlook). It is in this context that female converts to Islam played a central role. As wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters, these women did not only face the burden of severing ties with their families, but also held the opportunity of drawing others along with them.

A literary representation of these challenges and opportunities can be found in hundreds of biographic entries dedicated to the first female supporters of Muhammad that were put into writing as of the late eighth century. In this paper I will consider a selection of these biographies in order to discuss the delicate position of female converts between family and community in the early and medieval Islamic periods.

Hélène Sirantoine: The Emperor and His Muslims: Andalusí Identity through Christian Eyes under the Reign of Alfonso VII (1126:1157).

Did Christian Spaniards acknowledge the Andalusí community's legitimate existence? Certainly the author of the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, written ca 1147-49 to celebrate the glorious deeds of the *Imperator totius Hispaniae* Alfonso VII (1126-1157), would have answered in the affirmative. In this text, if Muslims are collectively a group to oppose, the chronicler also took particular care not to assimilate the Berber Almoravids and later Almohads whom Alfonso fought continually, and the Muslim community of al-Andalus that these invaders also antagonized in their efforts to take over al-Andalus. To this end, the author resorted to an innovative reappropriation of the Biblical terminology traditionally used to designate Muslims, something that Modern scholars since Ron Barkai have noticed. What has been less examined, however, is how this differentiation also resulted in the creation of a Christian-fashioned identity for the Andalusí community, based on a sense of belonging to the

Hispanic territory and expressed in the nostalgia of an idealized pre-Berber invasion past. Besides, more analysis enables us to see that this Andalusí identity had a larger resonance in the itinerary of Alfonso VII. First, it is not only a historiographical construct: the reign of Alfonso VII also saw the first diplomatic occurrences of the Latinized term *indeluci* in the records produced by the chancery. Second, a closer attention to Alfonso's political agenda shows how the assertion of an Andalusí identity contributed to the specificities of the imperial ideology which supported the king's power. This paper explores how the discursive strategies of the written productions emanating from Alfonso VII's curial environment shaped the Andalusí identity. It argues that Alfonso's chancery staff and official historiographer strategically used this identity to further support their king's imperial claims.

Darren M. Smith: From Crusade to Courtly Love: The Islamic Mediterranean in the Burgundian Imagination (1419-1483).

The Islamic Mediterranean occupied an important place in the Burgundian imagination of the fifteenth century. Duke Philip the Good (1396–1467) built a Mediterranean fleet, Burgundian travellers visited (and wrote about) Tunis, Alexandria, and the Levant, while those same regions became the backdrop for a prose *romance* commissioned by Louis of Bruges and other key figures at the ducal court. Examining a series of travel accounts and associated illuminations, this paper argues that the Burgundian vision of the Islamic Mediterranean reflected not only shifting Christian–Muslim territorial frontiers, but also more ambiguous and porous frontiers in terms of the self and the Muslim Other. The paper focuses on four accounts of travellers to the Islamic East: Guillebert de Lannoy, Bertrandon de la Broquière (who set out from Ghent), Jean de Wavrin, and Anselm Adorno. The paper will also consider the *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies*, a prose romance about a knight from Hainaut who served the Cairo sultan and married his daughter, together with the rich illumination work found in Louis of Bruges' manuscript copy of the *romance*. While Burgundian cleric Jean Germain never travelled to the Mediterranean, his anxieties about ambiguous and porous frontiers between the Christian self and Muslim Other made the region a significant concern in his work. A discussion of his works, including the *Mappemonde Spirituelle*, will contribute to the analysis. While scholars position several of these sources within the framework of Burgundy's interest in crusade, this paper examines them within broader Burgundian imaginings of the Islamic Mediterranean world.

Zvi Stampfer: Imaginary Communities and Identities as Reflected in the 11th Century Andalusian Judaeo-Arabic Codices.

Reading the Judaeo-Arabic and Aramaic sources of Medieval Andalusia reveal a colourful picture which shows the struggles of identity among the Jewish minority, caught between imagined traditions and invented memories. It seems that the local Jewish Iberian scholars were more familiar with Islamic law and its *Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, than they were with the traditional Jewish legal sources. The Jewish Andalusian elite tried to handle this situation by strengthening the Jewish minority tradition through judicial works that spoke the same language and followed the same way of thinking as the surrounding Muslim legal culture. This attempt at a syncretistic judicial culture was tackled by a new leading scholar, an immigrant from North Africa, who claimed to restore the imagined past glory of Jewish jurisprudence. In this paper, I will present some of the remaining legal codices from the Cairo and Yemenite Genizot, and will try to reconstruct the story of the clash between pragmatic Andalusian law-makers and Jewish traditionalists through these sources.

Esther Tello Hernández: Self-Definition Against the Other: The Problem of the Ecclesiastical Fiscal Contribution in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon.

The aim of the present paper is to approach the study of the discourse of the Church about its own contribution to royal fiscal demands in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon. There is no doubt that the attitude of local communities facing tax, and the definition of their fiscal exemptions as well, were determinant elements of the shaping of collective identities. And, in this sense, the ecclesiastical contribution/exemption issue is fundamental to comprehend this process, as the historiography has widely highlighted.

In this case, the purpose is to emphasize the arguments and the language employed to justify the ecclesiastical fiscal contribution in the fourteenth century Crown of Aragon, particularly that oriented towards territorial defense and the preservation of the Mediterranean domains. Moreover, this proposal seeks to observe the position of the Church on the fiscal demands of the monarchy, especially in times of great financial needs. With regards to cities, it is intended specifically to show how their rulers tried to extend the fiscal pressure (and on occasion accomplished it) and, thus, to erode the theoretical ecclesiastical exemption. In parallel with this, the aim is to point out that the Church attempted to harmonize its necessary contribution to fiscal demands with the preservation of the typical liberties of the group.

As a result of this dialectic comes the examined discourse, which is essential for us to understand not only the ecclesiastical singularity (otherwise heterogeneous), but also the

progressive shape of the idea of fiscal citizenship. And the thing is, that, in the same way as the rest of the speeches on this panel will show, rhetoric and symbols built in face of the other contributed to the strengthening of collective bonds and a sense of belonging to a community.

Galina Tirnanic: Shame and Fear in the Streets of Constantinople.

This paper explores how Byzantine citizens imagined the physical pain of others and how that imagination led to different emotional responses. In particular, I investigate responses to public punishments in the city of Constantinople during which spectators were implicitly asked to contemplate both the physical and emotional pain experienced by the condemned. Eyewitnesses could rely on their senses to attest to the visual, audio and olfactory experiences of others with a great deal of certainty, but they had to imagine the physical and emotional pain of tortured and mutilated bodies. While punishment often produced feelings of terror and shame in the punished, it was meant to produce fear in the observers that would deter them from committing crimes.

Crimes were defined by the imperial authority and public punishment had the power of marking people with crimes they never committed. Humiliated bodies were displayed in the major public spaces of the city and dragged through the streets, showcasing the legal power of the emperor. Depending on their allegiances, spectators perceived the condemned as criminals or martyrs, heretics or pious citizens, usurpers or just rulers, and, as a consequence, they either enjoyed the vengeance or experienced the emotions of pity and empathy. By considering instances of corporal punishment such as lashing, burning and blinding, from a variety of visual and textual sources, to which different groups responded with different emotions, I explore how public punishment in Byzantium both threatened and reinforced communities. I will focus on the times of unrest, when heresy could be perceived as piety, usurpation as justice, and revolts as either brave or destructive, and when the public humiliation and “othering” of those who opposed legal authority produced emotional unity in the supporters of ostracized groups.

Katharina Tugend: How it Feels to Be without the Significant Other: Writing about Absence and Craving in a Late Medieval Marriage.

*“When you’re not here, nothing that I eat pleases me, because it is not done the way I like. (...) If you were here, I would feel much better.”*¹ Thus writes Francesco Di Marco Datini (ca. 1335-1410) in his first letter to his wife Margherita (1360-1423). The couple maintained a long-distance relationship in two separate and decentralized households: one in Florence, the other

in Prato. Most of the time, their letters, written between 1384 and 1410, were their only bond. This correspondence offers a unique inside view into the private and the social framework of a late medieval marriage. Through their letters, the childless couple was not only managing the households but also legitimized its relationship in the eyes of the community. Moreover, both Francesco and his wife used the letters to communicate to each other their bodily sensations as well as their feelings, thus allowing for exceptional insights into the privacy of a medieval marriage. As an example, this quote of Margherita demonstrates her frustration over her separation: „*My main concern is to ensure you remain in good health, (...). This is why I cannot wait to be there, so you will be able to live more happily. So I will come.*”²

My paper will focus on the writing about emotions of absence and craving. Datini’s correspondence, which here is understood as a system of communication in the sense of Luhmann, exemplifies renaissance discourses about marital relationships.

1 Datini, Francesco di Marco (1990): *Le Lettere di Francesco Datini alla Moglie Margherita (1385-1410)*. Prato, P. 33, Letter 1: „*Se voi non ci siete tosto, no mangio chosa che mi piace, e non sono le chose a mio modo e lle schodelle non belle. Se foste qua pure istarei troppo meglio: sarà tosto, se piace a Dio.*“

2 Datini, Margherita (2012): *Letters to Francesco Datini*. Toronto: Iter Inc., P. 37, Letter 5.

Gowaart Van Den Bossche: Governing the Emotions: The Construction of Emotion and Ideal Rule by Bahā’ I-Dīn Ibn Shaddād and Jean Sire de Joinville.

The biographies of Salāḥ al-Dīn (r. 1174-1193) by Bahā’ I-Dīn Ibn Shaddād (d. 1234) and of Louis IX (r. 1226-1277) by Jean Sire de Joinville (d. 1317) are in some respects remarkably similar. One anecdote in particular stands out: both authors depict a ruler crying excessively for the death of a relative upon which the author rebukes the sultan/king for this inappropriate display of “passion”. This paper will argue that this particular anecdote can best be understood as resulting from a conception of ideal rulership shared by both authors. This conception probably originated in the mirrors for princes genre common in both the Islamic world and Europe, and deeply influenced our authors in the ways they constructed their narratives of rulership. As a general assessment of the relation between mirrors for princes and the two biographies would be too extensive to cover, this paper will take the two specific anecdotes and the field of emotional representation as a basis to explore and compare the influence of advice literature on these two authors. What did it mean to Joinville and Ibn Shaddād when

they described their subjects as (excessively) sad, angry or joyful, and what were they trying to communicate to their audience(s)? I will explore these questions by linking Barbara Rosenwein's concept of emotional communities to contemporary discussions of "passions" and "virtues" as reflected in a number of mirrors-for-princes.

Naïm Vanthieghem: Taxation in the Fatimid period. Insights from the Geniza Arabic Documents.

"Until very recently the only information we had about taxation in the Fatimid period relied on literary sources. Claude Cahen took great advantage of what he could find in the important medieval works of Ibn Mammâtî and Makhzûmî. Though he was very much interested in Arabic documents he didn't take into account this kind material in his study. The project 'Documents and Institutions in the Medieval Middle East' (director: Marina Rustow) in which I have been involved last year, allowed me to discover many Arabic documents related to taxation in the Geniza collections. In my paper, I will present these unpublished documents that shed light on the taxation processes and I will try to show how they contribute to our knowledge of Fatimid taxation".

Blanca Villuendas Sabaté: The Transcultural Language of Dreams: the Oneirocritic Production in the Cairo Geniza.

Dream symbolisms are attested as a matter of scholarly interest since the first lists of dream omnia were codified in Mesopotamia during the second millennium BC. Following the trends of other omnia registers, these lists adopted a methodological canon that can be observed in later books of dream interpretation: the omnia are organised generally in thematic fields, and their interpretations are provided in individual entries according to the repetitive formula: "If someone sees x, y will happen", where the protasis states the case and the apodosis the prognostication. Moreover, the ways of interpretation attested (mainly based on wordplay, analogy and antonymy), also seem to result from that early convention.

In the medieval Near East, Jews and Muslims agreed in considering visionary dreams a portion of revelation. Therefore, dream interpretation was a subject embraced by scholars working both on the exegesis of the Scriptures and the orally transmitted precepts. This is without doubts the case of Ibn Qutaybah, the author of the earliest Islamic Dream Book preserved, as well as author of a large and well-credited commentary on the Quran. And it is also what the presence of a Dream Book in the Talmud suggests, in addition to the several attributions, whose authenticity is still under discussion, of that sort of compositions to religious experts such as

Ibn Sīrīn, in the case of Islam, and the two Gaonim, Hai ben Šerira and Sa'adiah ben Yosef, in the case of Judaism.

This presentation is based on the only known examples of medieval dream books in Judeo-Arabic, a group of nearly ninety fragments from the Cairo Geniza collections. During my edition and research on them, several dream books were identified. They include examples of different religious authorship. In particular, the talk will focus on the concomitances among the compositions preserved in order to provide new examples that demonstrate the ecumenical and transcultural character of this lore.

Esther-Miriam Wagner: Women's Woes and Writing Practice: The Sociolinguistics of Gender in Medieval Cairo Genizah Sources.

Men and women are said to have different ways of communicating. A convincing number of empirical studies demonstrate these differences, in particular in countries where there are substantial social and economic differences between men and women. Gender specific differences present themselves not only in oral conversation but also in the writing of male and female authors.

The Cairo Genizah contains a sizeable number of letters, which were written or dictated by women during the classical, i.e. medieval, Genizah period. This paper aims at presenting sociolinguistic peculiarities in the language used in this correspondence. The investigation will follow two different strands: first, we will examine how the linguistic style of individual scribes differs when they write for men or women respectively. Secondly, linguistic features in letters written or dictated by women will be presented, and compared to data derived from linguistic corpora of men's correspondence.

It will be surmised that letters written for or by women show an unusual amount of colloquial or substandard forms compared with male letters of the same time period, and which is directly related to sociolinguistic phenomena associated with women's writing.

Rose Walker: Artistic Inspiration in Romanesque art c. 1100.

Art historians often talk about copying, sources or models, but this paper aims to focus on a more emotional aspect of that process: artistic inspiration.

Many Romanesque works of art, from detailed work on capitals to large tympana or cloister spaces evoke emotional responses today, and reception studies have considered how they might have affected pilgrims or other worshippers at the time. Less time has been spent in recent years on the process of creating these works of art, on the meaning extracted through the

application of expertise and imagination, or on the ways in which skilled artists may have been inspired by objects shown to them.

This paper will consider possible meeting points between Andalusian-trained craftsmen in Northern Spain and Southern France and their artistic peers from the North, along with churchmen who may have facilitated or directed the process. It will set these meeting points beside textual examples that encapsulate or problematize the mysteries and enchantment of creation. Questions of conversion may be useful in this context, but they may also be beside the main point.

Through this analysis, I will attempt to bolster the idea of cross-cultural artistic collaboration at this period and emphasise the importance of objects of inspiration.

Gion Wallmeyer: *Historia Magistra Vitae*? The Function of History in 13th and 14th Century Crusade-Planning

In May 1291, the city of Acre was captured by the Egyptian Sultan Al-Ashraf Khalil. After the fall of their once-great capital the remaining crusader states collapsed rapidly, and by the end of the same year every single crusader stronghold on the Levant had succumbed to the Mamluk rule. While for many historians this series of events had put an end to the age of crusading, contemporary Christian rulers refused to accept the loss of their Holy Land and quickly began to plan its recovery. Historical narratives played a significant role in these military schemes, since most of the written evidence from the sessions devoted to crusade planning includes accounts of past crusades as well as the history of the Mongols or Islam. However, the use of history for the purpose of crusade-planning was by no means limited to scholars: Even military leaders like the Grandmaster of the Hospitallers, Foulques de Villaret, incorporated historical accounts into their crusade proposals.

What function did these memories of past events have in respect to the planning of future crusades? Historians of the crusades have often argued that these historical accounts were brought forward as exempla to guide the actions of future crusaders. While this might be true in a few cases, I will advance the thesis that most of these historical accounts served two other purposes: (1) As an emotional argument for the possibility or impossibility of future crusades and (2) as a moral argument for the legitimacy of the crusaders' claims to the possession of the Holy Land. I will argue for these two points based on royal and papal registers as well as the so-called "de recuperatione treatises", both of which provide rich insight into 13th and 14th century crusade planning.

Hope Williard: Letters from a Poet to a Queen.

This paper studies the transmission of the poems and verse epistles composed by Venantius Fortunatus, a sixth-century poet, for a Merovingian royal nun, Radegund, in order to investigate the extent to which the poet and the queen formed an emotional community. Born in northern Italy, Fortunatus arrived in Merovingian Gaul in the mid-560s, and spent his life and career writing for members of the Merovingian elite, composing eleven books of poetry, a verse epic about the life of Saint Martin, and at least six saints' lives. Fifty-five of the poet's 249 poems were written for Radegund and the monastic community she founded, but over half of them are preserved outside of the eleven-book collection, in a set of poems which their first editor, Friedrich Leo, called an 'Appendix'. Long thought to be preserved in only one manuscript, Paris BnF lat. 13048, this paper shows that an additional copy of the Appendix material survived in Trier until the early modern period, and argues that our image of the emotional community portrayed in these letters changes when the scattered nature of their transmission is taken into account.

Myriam Wissa: Emotions, the Mind, and Their Stories: Coptic and Syriac Narratives on the Last Revolt of the *Bahmurites* in Medieval Islamic Egypt.

In 831 Muslims and Copts alike led a major uprising against the oppressive Arab administration. This rebellion, triggered by heavy taxation, was aggressively put down by the 'Abbasid rulers in most of Egypt excluding the Bashmuric region in the northern delta, where the Copts heavily resisted for a long period. This conflict revolved around temporal and spiritual powers and was the religious-political issue of the time.

This paper explores what the Coptic and Syriac literary sources have to tell us about this rebellion and its violent aftermath which in turn resulted in massive conversion to Islam across Egypt. It reconsiders what the authors of the Coptic *History of the Patriarchs* and the Syriac *Chronicle* valued in the history that they retold. Its focus is the emotions expressed in the two historical narratives. It asks how were emotions expressed and communicated? In what ways was the Bashmuric community perceived and understood? It examines the implicit or explicitly expressed terminology of emotions, which has commanded remarkably little serious attention in the narratives. It concludes with a reflection on the challenges that non-Muslim literary sources raise, in connection to Christian perceptions of themselves as 'the others from within' in a medieval Islamic Mediterranean society

Jamie Wood: Due Process or No Process? Documenting Deposed Bishops in Late Antique Iberia.

This paper compares the efforts that were made to lay down procedures for the election, and occasional deposition, of bishops in late antique *Hispania* with evidence for how such processes worked out in practice and were subsequently remembered. Normative texts, such as Church council rulings, will be juxtaposed with a range of narrative sources, such as hagiographies and histories, and particular attention will be paid to unpicking the actual process of disputation, resolution, and appeal. The public and performative nature of episcopal elections and depositions is clear, and often this is underpinned by a ritual element. Yet on occasions textual evidence plays an important role in such cases; in other instances written interventions were made by outsiders, while in still other cases the written record was later (re)shaped to suit the perspective of one party to the dispute. A failure of due process could also form the basis for subsequent appeals, moulding memories of disputes over the episcopal office and their outcomes, and thus of the records with which we work.

Mustafa Altuğ Yayla: Tracing Book Collecting Interests of a Naqshbandi/Ahrari Disciple in Early Modern Ottoman Anatolia: The Lamii Çelebi of Bursa (d. 1532) Case.

Although there are very rich textual sources coming from the early modern Ottoman Anatolia, it is very hard to find a source that mentions to personal library of a sufi and shows us one's book collecting interests. However, thanks to İsmail Erünsal, today we know that some people from the early modern Ottoman Anatolia left us certain sources that demonstrate us their book collecting interests. Then, Lamii Çelebi's (d. 1532) "heritage records" (terekeleri) are these kinds of sources. In these sources, it is easy to understand what kinds of books are collected by Lamii Çelebi and furthermore determining what are the names of the books is also possible. Consequently, by using these sources, in this paper, I would like to show that what were the general features of Lamii Çelebi's, namely a Naqshbandi sufi's, book collecting interests in the early modern Ottoman realm. I would like thus to discuss what kinds of books were interesting for a Naqshbandi person in that time to construct his Naqshbandi communal textual culture in the early modern Ottoman Anatolia.

Stephanie Yep: Feeling Rules: In the Presence and Remembrance of Muhammad.

The management of emotions has emerged as a significant area of inquiry among scholars coming from a vast range of fields and disciplines who argue that emotions can be provoked *externally* (e.g., through someone else's rhetoric) and *internally* (e.g., through an individual's

efforts to *feel* or *not* feel a certain way based upon perceived societal expectations). This paper examines the broader question: precisely how are emotions mediated or taught, and to what end?

The genre of prophetic biography in twelfth-century al-Andalus offers a fruitful lens for approaching this inquiry as historians have identified the uniquely pedagogical style of historical narrative in al-Andalus during this period. Using resources from the history of emotions, sociology, and memory studies, I examine descriptions of emotional practices within Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ Ibn Mūsā’s (d. 1149) famous biography of the Prophet Muḥammad, *Kitāb al-Shifā’ bi-Ta’rīf Huqūq al-Muṣṭafā* (Book of Healing by the Recognition of the Rights of the Chosen One). This work stands out from earlier biographies because, in speaking directly to his audience, Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ identifies the crucial relationship between author and reader and, consequently, highlights the text’s pedagogical purpose. I argue that a central concern of Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ is to establish parameters for appropriate expressions of emotions (i.e., “feeling rules”) *between* men as reflected in accounts of the Companions’ idealized emotional practices when in Muḥammad’s presence. As a judge of Ceuta and Granada, Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ legitimates this discourse by weaving in legal injunctions, directing readers to the rewards of proper emotional conduct in this life and the hereafter. Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ also identifies emotional practices that are deemed appropriate when *remembering* the Prophet (such as spontaneous weeping) for those generations coming after Muḥammad’s death. Here, I draw upon resources within memory studies to theorize affective dimensions in the practice of remembering.

Joachim Yeshaya: My Soul is Drunk with Wine of Grief’: Body and Soul Terminology and Emotional Language in the Hebrew Elegiac Poetry by Joseph ben Tanhum Yerushalmi.

This paper is concerned with the elegiac poetry by Joseph ben Tanhum Yerushalmi, examining the distribution of expressions of « body » and « soul » and the use of emotion words in Hebrew compositions written in the wake of a death in his own or his patron’s family. Yerushalmi (b. 1262) lived in Egypt in early Mamluk times, in the latter half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries and is generally considered to be the most talented Jewish poet of the Mamluk period. Already as a young poet, he enjoyed the patronage of the *Ra’īs al-Yahūd* (“Head of the Jews”) David ben Abraham Maimonides, a grandson of the famous philosopher and physician Moses Maimonides. As a sort of house poet, Yerushalmi composed several of his poems on the occasion of cheerful or tragic life events occurring in the family of David Maimonides. The analysis of emotional language and words for parts of the body and the soul

in Yerushalmi's elegies will take into account elements of Jewish communal identity and established literary conventions while also considering the inadequacy of language, i.e., the challenge (or, some would argue, mission impossible) faced by poets when having to express complex feelings through words.

Limor Yungman: Reading into the Dish: The Diffusion of Cookbooks in the Medieval Middle East. (cancelled)

As books, cookbooks are unique in their content: they include practical *savoir-faire* that is strongly tied to concrete cooking and eating practices. The proposed paper will probe into the question of the diffusion of cookbooks as spaces of knowledge-sharing and as connecting thread between Muslim elites. In medieval times as much as today cookbooks create spaces of interconnection between societies, religions, and classes. They could also be seen as bridging between the edges of the Middle East through its power centers, eventually connecting elites through time and space. Written cookbooks influenced on the development of the *haute cuisine* and its spreading to other elites in various places around the Middle East, and on its further dissemination to the lower classes, impacting on taste, eating habits and cooking techniques. The main methodology for researching the history of cookbooks is examining medieval cookbooks as historical documents together with other historical texts such as *Kitāb al-Fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadīm. This method compares recipes through time and their adjustment to local society, in ingredients and taste. One of the most significant indicator to the spreading of cookbooks between the fourth/tenth to ninth/fifteenth centuries is found in the recipes. Similarities in structure and content, sometimes the exact same formulation of a recipe in books from different places and different periods, is a sign for the diffusion and assimilation of cookbooks and culinary knowledge around the Middle East, from Baghdad in the East to al-Andalus in the West. Examining the circulation of cookery books will enable a better understanding of their functionality in the caliphal space as aide-memoire as well as a commodity.

Evgeny Zelenev: Emotions in the Sultan Barquq's Diplomacy (1382 – 1389, 1390 – 1399): On the Materials of the Political Correspondence.

By the end of the 14th century Karaman became significant in defense of the northern Syrian borders of the Mamluk Empire, being the buffer area between the Mamluk sultanates and the Ottomans. During the second half of the 14th century – the first half of the 15th century Karaman remained the main rival of the Ottomans in this region. While the Ottoman sultan Bayezid

conducted warfare in the Balkans, 'Alā al-Dīn and Qādī Burhān al-Dīn siding with other emirs, organized a new coalition against the Ottomans. The 'Alā al-Dīn 'Alī's attempts to raise the Turk emirs of Asia Minor against Bayezid were mentioned in the manuscripts.

The correspondence between the Mamluk sultan Barquq and Karaman emir 'Alā al-Dīn 'Alī' refers precisely to this period. There are 13 letters written by the sultan Barquq addressed to the emir 'Alā al-Dīn 'Alī' at our disposal. They exist as a part of the anonymous volume of letters and documents '*Zuhrat al-Nāzirīn wa Nuzhat al-Nādirīn*', compiled in the 14th century, which is currently stored at the Leiden manuscript collection. The correspondence presents vivid examples of the power of the 'diplomatic language' to express such emotions as interest, anxiety, fear, rage, sorrow and other basic emotions that underlie any feelings.

Emotions play the role of 'concealed triggers' of political and diplomatic actions: they appear in the texts of official documentation, personal and official correspondence to the extent that fulfills a purpose of an author. However, when compare the correspondence on the same subject matter written by hands of different personalities, it cannot but catch the eye that the emotions and feelings are not only expressed deliberately, but also unwillingly. For instance, the strive to conceal genuine emotions, desire to delude the addressee, to put him under a moral pressure by using 'soft power', and even deceive him cunningly. The similar features might be observed in the content comparison of the correspondence between the sultan Barquq and two rival rulers – the emir 'Alā al-Dīn 'Alī' and the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I.

Josef Ženka: The Last Granadan Copyist Muḥammad al-Wādī Āshī (FL. 1515).

When Tilimsānī scholar Aḥmad al-Maqqarī (1578-1632) started to write his *Azhār al-Riyād fi akhbār al-qādi 'Iyād* he researched major libraries of his native city. There he found a unique source to the last decades of Andalusī history: annotated manuscripts written by some Muḥammad al-Wādī Āshī. This Granadan exile belonged to a great number of scholars who had left Granada after its surrender in January 1492. In 2013, I was able to identify a first manuscript handwritten by him. Since then I discovered several of his manuscripts, written either in Granada or Tilimsān, or in both, in libraries of Spain, Morocco, The Netherlands or Saudi Arabia. Likewise, some Arabic documents of Nasrid Granada could be now attributed to this scholar. The present paper will be a first attempt to grasp the personality of Muḥammad al-Wādī Āshī, the last Granadan copyist. I will argue that he very much helped to preserve the scholarly memory of Granada in Tilimsān while with his manuscripts and notes created an instrument to help recreate later the identity of al-Andalus of the last half of the 15th century.

Oded Zinger: Between Right and Mercy: Emotions and Social Ties in Women's Letters from the Cairo Geniza.

The women who left us their letters in the Cairo Geniza did not write to express their inner world. Whether in private letters to family members or in formal petitions to communal officials, women usually had a letter written on their behalf in order to obtain a concrete goal from other people. In this paper I will examine such letters for how women express what they want. Was it through a language of rights (“I deserve this”), debt (“you owe this to me”) or emotion (“take pity upon me”)? The primary form of capital for Jewish women in medieval Egypt was social rather than cultural and therefore I will ask what was the basis upon which women utilized their social relationships when making requests or demands. Was it based on past or future reciprocity or on inherent relationship such as kinship or religious solidarity? Is there a correlation between the desired goal, type of claim, social status and the relationship evoked? Finally, I hope explore making such claims and requests not only as a way of “cashing in” on given relationships but also as constituting them and preforming them.

Giulia Zornetta: Monastic Border Communities in Southern Italy. A competition for Identity and Authority between Lombards and Carolingians?

After the fall of the Lombard Kingdom in 774, Charlemagne did not complete the military conquest of the Italian peninsula: the Duchy of Benevento was left under the control of Arechis, who as self-proclaimed princeps gentis Langobardorum continued to rule almost independently. Two of the most prestigious abbeys of Lombard Southern Italy – Montecassino and S. Vincenzo-al-Volturno – stood near the border with the territories now under Carolingian authority and started to be influenced by the recent political situation. Both these monastic communities gradually changed their self-perception and sources of prestige, shifting from the Lombard past to Carolingian authority. Clearly, this was not a linear process and Lombard memory and influence remained strong in both cases, especially at S. Vincenzo-al-Volturno, which was founded by members of the Beneventan aristocracy and still connected to them.

First, I analyse the Carolingian ‘colonisation’ of these abbeys through diplomas and Frankish monastic presence during the VIIIth and IXth century. Is it possible to see a strategy to penetrate and influence these prestigious abbey and Lombard society through them? Did it succeed? Secondly, I discuss the papal inquiry into Poto, abbot of S. Vincenzo-al-Volturno, who was accused of refusing to pray for Charlemagne. This case study allows me to focus on the consequences of the Carolingian influence in terms of identity, imagination and emotions in these monastic communities