

Society for the Medieval Mediterranean 6th Biennial Conference
In Memory of Simon Barton

Movement and Mobility in the Medieval Mediterranean (6th – 15th Centuries)

Programme

Institut d'Estudis Catalans (IEC)

Barcelona, 8th – 11th July 2019



Institut
d'Estudis
Catalans



Society for the
Medieval Mediterranean



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I. Movement and Mobility in the Medieval Mediterranean

The medieval Mediterranean was not a static maritime space. In recent years, studies have focused on Mediterranean dynamics, connections, encounters and entanglements. What approaches do researches from History, Literature, Archaeology, Philology and other disciplines adopt to better understand the complexity of the medieval Mediterranean? How and to what extent did multiple agents, phenomena and factors interact to shape and intertwine the multidimensional spheres of the Mediterranean? We welcome papers from all disciplines that study movement and mobility from different perspectives in and across the medieval Mediterranean and its extensions, both physical and imagined. This theme invites a variety of lines of inquiry, a number of which are suggested below.



Topics of the conference could include, but are by no means limited to:

- Multicultural contacts, transculturation and assimilation in the medieval Mediterranean
- Medieval Mediterranean crossings
- Circulation of political, religious and cultural ideas
- Circulation of people and commodities
- Major and minor, forced and voluntary migrations
- Pilgrimage and religious mobility
- Diplomacy and its agents Commerce and its agents
- Military expeditions and coastal defence
- Naval technology and navigation
- Medieval Mediterranean geostrategy
- Geographical explorations
- Links between the Mediterranean and connected seas (Atlantic, Black Sea, Red Sea)...

Keynote Speakers

Petra M. Sijpesteijn, Leiden University

Global Networks: Mobility and Exchange in the Mediterranean (600-1000)



The establishment of the Muslim Empire in the mid-seventh century C.E. on the south-eastern shores of the Mediterranean was long considered to have precipitated a break in trans-Mediterranean contacts, with Western Europe, the Levant and North Africa each going their separate ways. Archaeological and historical research has shown that movement between the European and African/Levantine littorals did continue to take place for commercial, political (diplomatic and military), religious and scientific reasons. Nevertheless, there are clear ups and downs observable in the intensity and frequency of contacts due to developments in the Mediterranean itself, but also far beyond in Northern Europe, Arabia, Persia and even South Asia.

This paper will examine movements across the Mediterranean in the centuries just before and following the establishment of the Muslim Empire. I will present evidence for material and intellectual exchange and examine how connectivity intensified and diminished in relation to political developments in the region and beyond. The focus will be on the south-east “upwards,” looking at the Sasanian,

Byzantine and Islamic Empires and their interaction with the northern and western parts of the Mediterranean, using material evidence and globalisation theories. The Iberian Peninsula and Southern Italy, which were for a period also part of the Islamic Empire, will also be brought into the discussion as representing a unique and important instance of trans-regional integration. By doing so it will become clear that trajectories of mobility in the early Islamic Mediterranean are not determined by religious-political fault lines, but continue long-established patterns of trade, migration and cultural exchange.

Amy G. Remensnyder, Brown University

The Restless Mediterranean, a Sea in Motion



“The waters of the sea are more rude, sonorous, and wondrous in their elevations than other waters,” wrote the travel-mad fifteenth-century Dominican friar Felix Fabri, who had spent long months aboard ships in the Mediterranean. Taking his observation seriously opens a new approach to Mediterranean mobility. As salt water has been historicized, it has often been reduced to a surface across which ships move to connect terrestrial points, a featureless if unruly substance in the service of human mobility. Yet the sea itself is a

living environment in ceaseless motion—wind and wave, tempest and tide, the sway of fishes and the play of light, the pull of currents and the drift of seaweed. Medieval Muslim, Christian, and Jewish seafarers in the Mediterranean recognized that the sea was never still. Its multiple mobilities shaped their maritime movements, voluntary and involuntary, sometimes with disastrous results of shipwreck and stranding. Muslims, Christians and Jews responded with legends, cultural artefacts and religious practices in which the dance of mobile and immobile created a shared Mediterranean maritime supernatural. This talk explores the new seas of history that await the scholar who understands the restless mobile Mediterranean not just as a stage for history, but also as an active participant in it.

II. Conference venue

Institut d'Estudis Catalans (IEC)

The *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* (Institute for Catalan Studies, IEC), founded in 1907 by Enric Prat de la Riba, is an academic institution whose main goals are high-level scientific research and promotion of knowledge.

The IEC is composed of Sections that work co-ordinately, yet independently from each other. Currently there are five: Historical-Archaeological Section (1907); Philological Section (1911); Biological Sciences Section (1988); Science and Technology Section (1988); Philosophy and Social Sciences Section (1968).

The IEC is a full member of the International Academic Union (IAU) since 1922. The IAU is an organisation of national academies from more than 60 countries and several international academies, whose goal is to foster international cooperation in the different fields of scientific activity and research. The headquarters of the UAI are in Brussels.

One of the IEC's main tasks is to codify and standardise the Catalan language. The IEC promotes and carries out research through

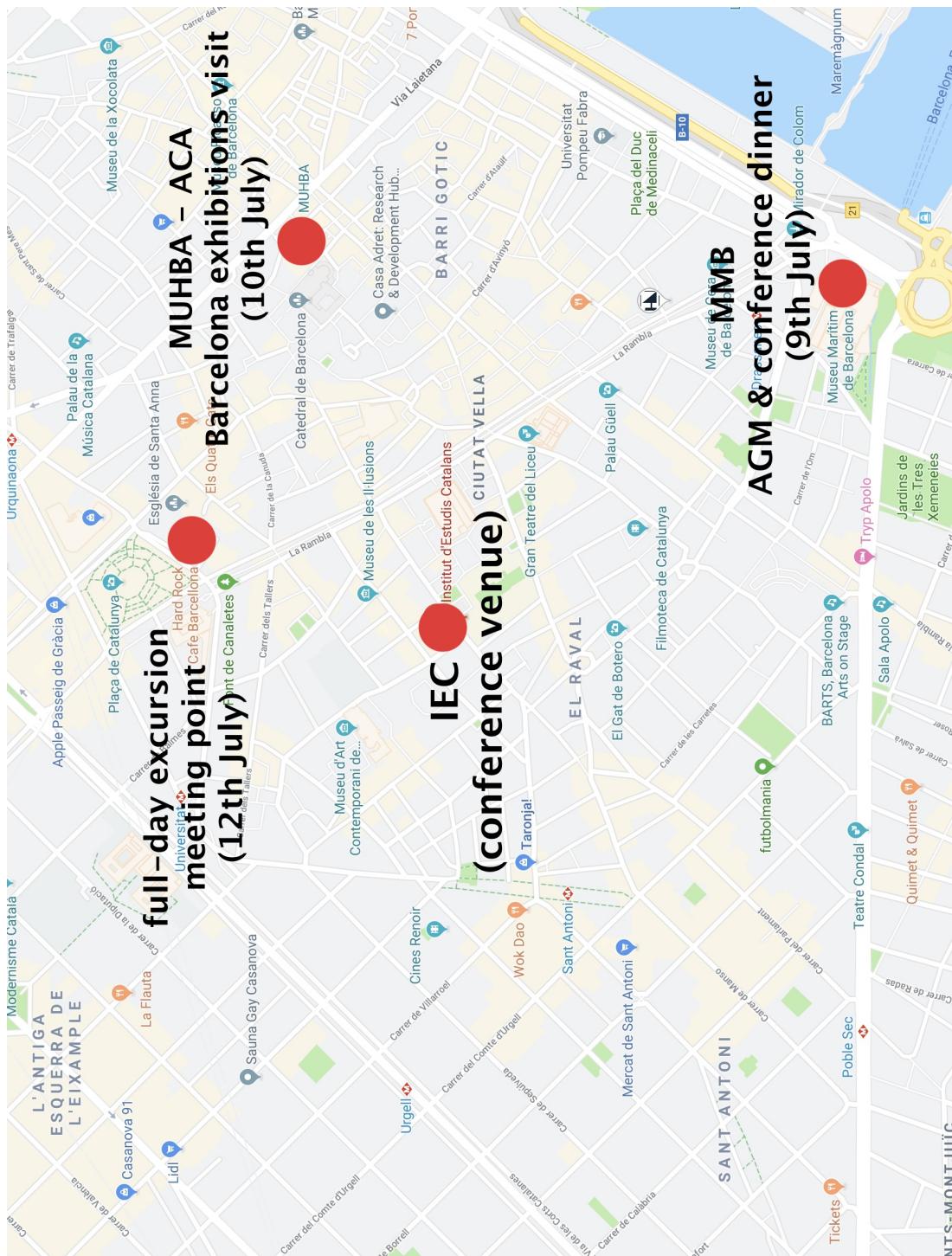
projects, centres and activities, either on its own or jointly with other institutions and research groups.

The Casa de Convalescència, the headquarters of the IEC

The *Casa de Convalescència* (Convalescent Home) is a 17th century building located near the Rambla. It is part of the large health complex comprising the former *Hospital de la Santa Creu* –now the Library of Catalonia– and the School of Surgery (today the Royal Academy of Medicine of Catalonia).



Its architecture is almost wholly classical, with a few concessions to the baroque. The Centre of Contemporary Culture of Barcelona, the Museum of Contemporary Art of Barcelon, and several faculties of the University of Barcelona and Ramon Llull University are also found in the vicinity of the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans*.



IEC - Carrer del Carme, 47 08001 Barcelona

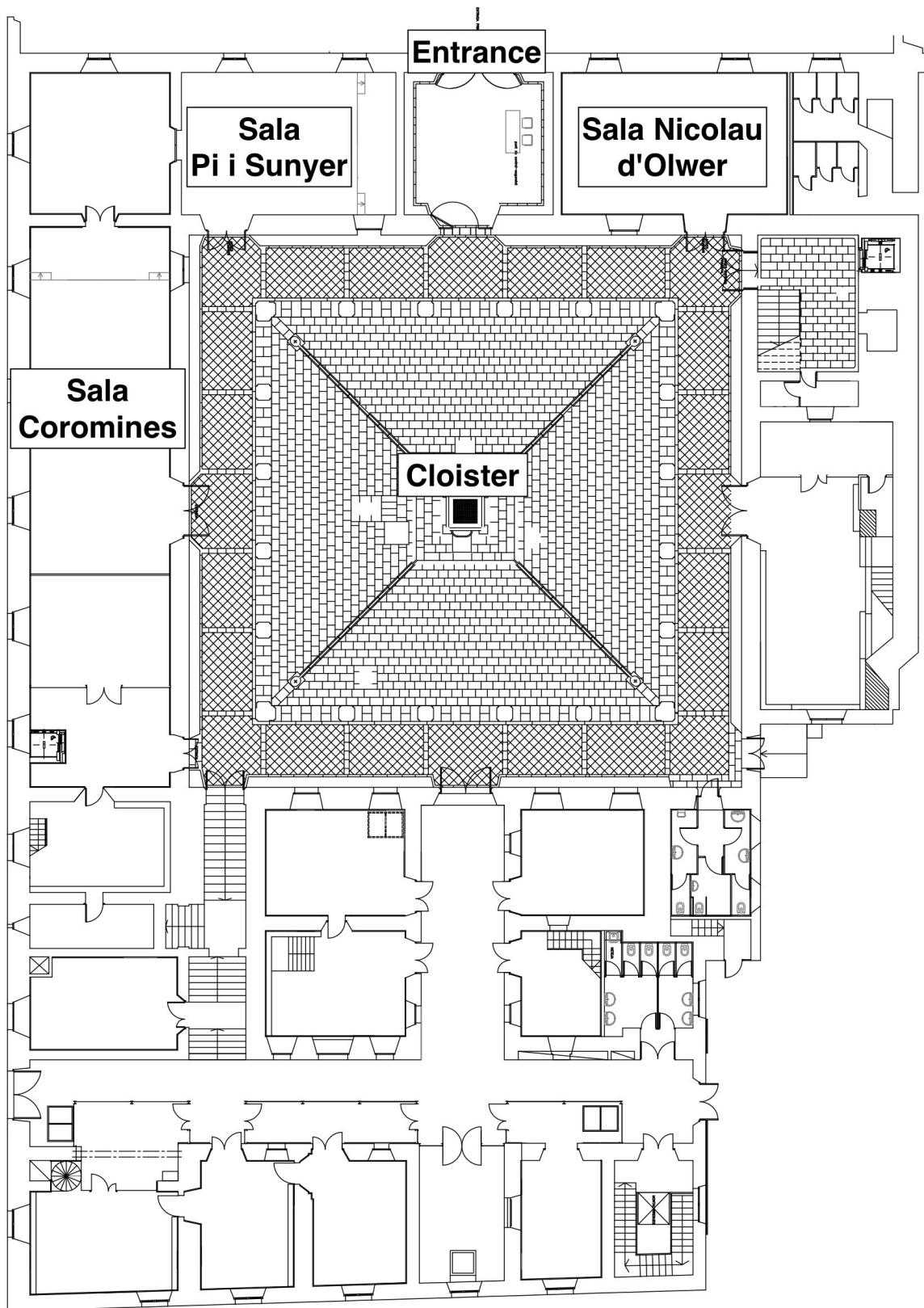
MUHBA / ACA – Plaça de Rei, s/n 08002 Barcelona

MMB / Norai Restaurant - Avinguda de les Drassanes, s/n 08001 Barcelona

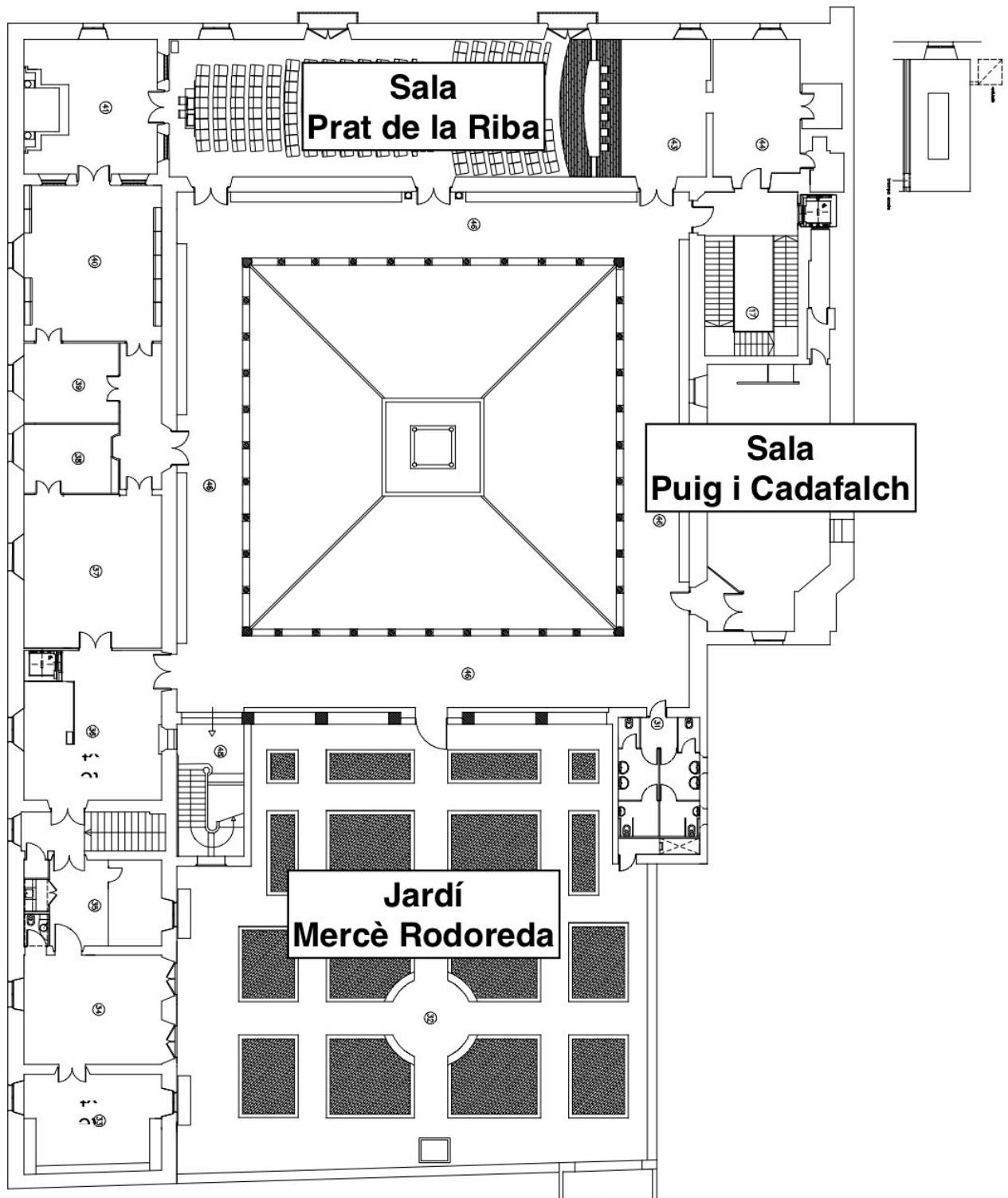
M Underground: Catalunya, Liceu , Drassanes (Line 3), Sant Antoni, (Line 2), Plaça Universitat, Catalunya (Line 1).

Bus: Line 120.

Ground floor



First floor



III. Registration Information and Programme Summary

Official registration desk: Monday (13h00 - 17h00), Tuesday (8h30 - 13h00) and Wednesday (8h30 - 11h00), at the entrance of the IEC.

	Monday 8 th	Tuesday 9 th	Wednesday 10 th	Thursday 11 th	Friday 12 th
	9h00 10h30	S2 - panels 5-6-7-8-9	9h00 10h30	S6 - panels 23-24-25-26-27	9h00 10h30
	10h30 11h00	Coffee break	10h30 11h00	Coffee break	10h30 11h00
13h00	Registration opens	11h00 12h30	S3 - panels 10-11-12-13-14	11h00 12h30	S9 - panels 37-38-39-40-41
14h15 14h30	Opening session	12h30 14h00	Posters/ Lunchtime	12h30 14h00	Special Session in Honour of Simon Barton
14h30 14h45	SMM's Book and Journal Prizes	14h00 15h30	S4 - panels 15-16-17-18	14h00 15h30	Full day excursion to medieval Girona, Sant Pere de Rodès medieval monastery, fishing and touristic village of el Port de la Selva (from 8h30 to 21h00)
14h45 15h00	Break				
15h00 16h30	Keynote: Petra M. Sijpesteijn	15h30 16h00	Coffee break	15h30 16h00	
16h30 17h00	Coffee break	16h00 17h30	S5 - panels 19-20-21-22	16h00 17h30	Closing Session
17h00 18h30	S1 - panels 1-2-3-4	18h15 20h15	AGM (MMB)	18h00	Visit to 'Medieval Barcelona' and '700 years of the ACA' exhibitions
18h30 19h30	Reception	20h30	Conference dinner (MMB)		

IV. Programme

Monday 8th of July

14h15 – 14h30

Opening Session

14h30 – 14h45

SMM's Book and Journal Prizes

14h45 – 15h00

Break

15h00 – 16h30

Keynote

Petra M. Sijpesteijn (Leiden University):

Global Networks: Mobility and Exchange in the Mediterranean (600-1000)

Chair: Esther-Miriam Wagner (University of Cambridge)

Sala Prat de la Riba

The establishment of the Muslim Empire in the mid-seventh century C.E. on the south-eastern shores of the Mediterranean was long considered to have precipitated a break in trans-Mediterranean contacts, with Western Europe, the Levant and North Africa each going their separate ways. Archaeological and historical research has shown that movement between the European and African/Levantine littorals did continue to take place for commercial, political (diplomatic and military), religious and scientific reasons. Nevertheless, there are clear ups and downs observable in the intensity and frequency of contacts due to developments in the Mediterranean itself, but also far beyond in Northern Europe, Arabia, Persia and even South Asia.

This paper will examine movements across the Mediterranean in the centuries just before and following the establishment of the Muslim Empire. I will present evidence for material and intellectual exchange and examine how connectivity intensified and diminished in relation to political developments in the region and beyond. The focus will be on the south-east “upwards,” looking at the Sasanian, Byzantine and Islamic Empires and their interaction with the northern and western parts of the Mediterranean, using material evidence and globalisation theories. The Iberian Peninsula and Southern Italy, which were for a period also part of the Islamic Empire, will also be brought into the discussion as representing a unique and important instance of trans-regional integration. By doing so it will become clear that trajectories of mobility in the early Islamic Mediterranean are not determined by religious-political fault lines, but continue long-established patterns of trade, migration and cultural exchange.

16h30 – 17h00

Coffee break

Session 1: 17h00 – 18h30

Panel 1: Muslims in the Mediterranean: Coexistence and Conflict

Chair: Eulàlia Vernet i Pons (ICREA - Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

Sala Nicolau d'Olwer

Inês Lourinho (University of Lisbon):

Pilgrim in Mecca or Warrior in al-Andalus? Jihad as a Concept of Variable Geometry at the Disposal of the Almoravid Empire.

In 1126, the year that the Muslim polymath known as Averroes was born, his grandfather the grand qadi of Cordoba issued a fatwa declaring that the people of al-Andalus and the Maghreb, who were living under the Almoravid rule, were exempted from making the Hijrah, an obligation of every Muslim. According to Ibn Rushd, individuals would risk their lives and property, and therefore the pilgrimage was reprehensible. Instead, they should opt for the jihad, whose merits were countless. Ibn Rushd was not alone. Other jurists enunciated legal advices containing similar ideas during the same chronology.

Instability and conflicts were part of everyday life in the Mediterranean basin, and risks were certainly real – the jurists were not wrong when stressing the hazards of a travel to the holy places of Islam. However, if the jihad is also an obligation of every Muslim, its true meaning is not entirely clear, and the interpretations are understandably numerous. Looking at the political context can provide us with safer explanations regarding Ibn Rushd's and his fellow jurists' behaviour.

Between 1118 and 1120, Muhammad Ibn Tumart, the founder of the Almohad movement, proclaimed his status as a mahdi, that is the messiah prophesied by God to rule at the end of time, and tried to overthrow the power of Marrakech. The several war campaigns against the Almoravids in the Maghreb created opportunities to the Iberian Christian princes, who could attack the Andalusi territory without a solid opposition. From 1125 to 1126, king Alonso of Aragon, the “Battler”, led a campaign which unveiled the fragility of the Almoravid defences.

The Berbers from the Sahara, who had been able to establish an empire linking the territories between the rivers Senegal and Niger, in the Sahel, and the river Tagus, in the Iberian Peninsula, had their armies in several war stages. The recruitment of warriors was therefore concern, and the jurists provided Marrakech with legal justification. The Almoravid emirs, who affirmed their political position by standing out as mujahidun and defenders of the Muslim community, were recasting the concept of jihad, which was now also an individual obligation.

This paper will observe and compare several Muslim sources (works of reference such as al-Ghazzali's *Ihya Ulum ad-Din*, pieces of jurisprudence and chronicles) with the purpose of understanding how the Almoravids used the concept of jihad to accommodate their political interests.

Xavier Ballestín (DHUNA - Universitat de Barcelona):

Unbound Seafaring, Unrestrained Freedom: the Activity of Andalusi Seafarers in the Western Mediterranean Basin between the Ninth and Tenth Centuries A.D.

This paper is focused on the activities of Andalusian seafarers, known as *al-baḥriyyūn min abl al-Andalus* -, in the Western Mediterranean basin during the IXth and Xth centuries, which are closely interwoven with piracy, trade, raiding, and eventual settlement in Tenes – *Tanas* (262 A.H./875-876 A.D.)- and Oran – *Wabrān* (290 A.H./901-902 A.D.) - in the Maghrib shore, in the area around Pechina - *Bajāna* (271-276 A.H./884-889-90 A.D.)- in the south-eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula, and, last but not least, the coastal outpost of La Garde Freinet – *Farakhsīnīt/Jabal al-Qilāl* (888-894/975 A.D.) - in southern Francia. In this geographical and chronological framework, a set of four issues, with a conclusion, will be addressed.

The first matter is to address the seafaring abilities and the technical condition of their ships, a task where the available data, archaeological and pictorial, even being scarce and very sketchy, allows to build an image of their shipping.

The second matter is to ascertain which was the relationship and common grounds between the seafarers that landed and settled in the places mentioned above. Ethnic backgrounds, religious affiliations, and concerted action will receive pride of place when dealing with them.

The third matter to be addressed is the relationship of those seafarers, that is, *al-baḥriyyūn min abl al-Andalus*, with the communities that traded with them or accepted them as new settlers, as it happened in Tenes, Pechina, and Oran, or in areas, like La Garde Freinet, where they landed and managed to settle amidst the prevalent turmoil in post Carolingian Provence.

The fourth matter to be concerned with is their relationship with the Islamic polities in the Western Mediterranean Basin. The preaching of the *ismā’īlī da’wa* by Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Šī‘ī, which ended with the proclamation of ‘Abd Allāh alMahdī as the first Fātimid *imām* in Sijilmāsa (909 A.D.), and the crisis brought upon the Andalusi Umayyads by the *fīna* of ‘Umar ibn Hafṣūn, both took place when the settling activity of the seafarers was at their peak. In fact, when Umayyads and Fātimids succeeded in strengthening their authorities nothing more is to be found about the *baḥriyyūn* in Arabic sources, notwithstanding the embassy sent the Emperor Otto to Córdoba in 942 for asking the Caliph ‘Abd alRahmān III to put a stop on La Garde Freinet’ Andalusian seafarers preying on shipping and sea lanes.

**Luciano Gallinari (CNR - Istituto di Storia dell’Europa Mediterranea):
Sardinia and the Muslims (7th-11th Centuries): Reflections on Sources and Historiography of this Contrasting Relationship.**

The paper proposes a reinterpretation of relations between Sardinia and the Muslim world during the early Middle Ages, as a case study. Starting from the observation that to date there is no convincing evidence of Muslim settlements in Sardinia in the period under consideration, the ability of the island to resist the numerous raids that affected it over the centuries will be highlighted. There will be also a focus on the possible role of Muslims in the origin of the *Giudicati*, the four typical island polities originated by the disappearance of the former Archonate of Sardinia.

At the same time, a reflection will be proposed on the historiographic use of the sources known up to now, in order to highlight how, at a methodological level, the application of some interpretative schemes has occurred, which responded better to scholars’ interpretative needs, conscious or unconscious, rather than to the data provided by the sources themselves.

Panel 2: People from the North Conquering the South. Catalan Knights and Peasants in Muslim Lands: Lower Ebro Valley and Balearic Islands (12th and 13th Centuries)

Organiser & Chair: Núria Pacheco Catalán (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
Sala Pi i Sunyer

Mobility in the Iberian Peninsula during Middle Ages is closely related to conquest and colonization processes, which gradually, between eleventh to fifteenth centuries, lead to the destruction of al-Andalus and its substitution by a new Christian and feudal society. In the current territory of Catalonia, these undertakings were led by the Count of Barcelona itself with the cooperation of the high nobility families, such the Montcada, the Bell-lloc, the Castellet, the Castellvell and so on, accompanied by its vassals. They were linked by feudovassallatic ties and joined the conquests in order to obtain booty and wealth. Besides high nobility, several *milites* contributed to the conquests as well. They were mainly castellans, knights and younger sons from medium nobility who seek a new beginning by founding secondary familiar branches. Antoni Virgili, Nil Rider and Antoni Ferrer will present several cases related to this reality.

However, once the settlers were established in the frontier land, his daily life was defined by versatility and joining no matter what activity as long as it provided incomes and wealth, even though they not always succeeded. In many cases these activities included the organization of campaigns against Saracens with the aim to obtain booty: livestock, people and any kind of goods. Documentation provides several references to rides, armors and captives. The communication of Núria Pacheco deals with this topic from the study of specific cases in Baix Ebre.

Antoni Virgili (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona), Nil Rider (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona):

Berenguer de Fonollar: a Landlord from Baix Llobregat in the Conquest of Tortosa (1148-1149).

The aim of this communication is to deepen into the personal knowledge, the family ties and the heritage environment of Berenguer de Fonollar, who made his verbal will in order to join the host that was being prepared to conquer Tortosa (*cupiens ire in exercitu 2 Tortuose*). It should have been around the month of May of 1148 when he did so, since the document was sworn six months after the death of the testator, and it is recorded that he died seven months after having expressed his last wills without having modified them. He assigned his military equipment, the horse and the weapons to the Militia of the Temple, recently implanted in the Catalan counties favored by the sympathies of the counts and other members of the aristocracy. Although the name of two brothers, Pedro and Ponç, is known, we ignore their order of age. This circumstance could be determining in order to understand the reasons that prompted him to enrol the troops that would assault Tortosa. He had a wife, Ermessenda, and two daughters, to whom he leaves his goods, honors and houses in Baix Llobregat, especially in Sant Boi. That of Berenguer de Fonollar is a quite interesting case given that it shows the profile of certain armed landlords who did not refuse any kind of activity in order to increase their wealth, being war one of the most lucrative ones, even though the high risk it involved. Actually, Berenguer could not accomplish his dream of accumulating lands and assets beyond his original cradle. He did not even see the surrender of the city of Tortosa, on December 31, 1148, since he should have died during the siege of the Suda. We ignore the cause of death, but it cannot be discarded that it would have been as a result of the fighting, given the violence managed during the operations.

Núria Pacheco Catalán (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona):
A War-oriented Society: Tortosa after the Christian Conquest.

During the twelfth century the Catalan conquests experienced a great boost. Between 1105 (Balaguer) and 1153 (Miravet) all the territory known as Catalunya Nova was conquered; besides, during this period the ultimate colonization of Camp de Tarragona started. The conquest of Tortosa by Count Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona in 1148 was one of the major achievements of the process. These military campaigns must be included in the context of the Second Crusade, backed by Pope Eugene III.

Although the capitulation charter seemed to promote the permanence of indigenous population, in practical terms the Muslim population was expelled nearly *en masse* and replaced by Christian colonists from the north. The possessions of the former inhabitants were distributed among the colonists by means of a mechanism known as *repartimiento*. The *repartimiento* can be considered a two-fold tool: on the one hand, it compensated those who had taken part in the conquest of the city; on the other it was a key instrument to consolidate Christian control over the territory, as the new settlers were compelled to stay in their properties.

Therefore, the arrival of settlers ensured the military conquest and made it irreversible. The settlers came mostly from Catalunya Vella counties, but also Aragonese, Anglo-Norman, Genoese and Occitan people can be identified among them. Documentation points that these settlers did not cultivate the land by itself, but they managed its exploitation and collected the incomes. Conquerors had acquired a new role of settlers, but that fact did not invalidate their former military activities.

We face a colonizing society but also a war-oriented society. For decades, Tortosa became the frontier with al-Andalus and the thought of improving by means of booty, so easy to achieve given the proximity of victims, was even more attractive than that of remaining and cultivating the lands received thanks to the conquest. Documentation provides references related to armors, captives, expeditions in Saracen lands and so on. The aim of this communication is to deepen in this kind of mentions related to Occitan people in Tortosa in order to have a better understanding of this intrinsic aspect of feudal society.

Antoni Ferrer Abárzuza (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona):
Hundred Years after, still about Catalan Conquerors. The Case of Guillem de Montpalau (1248).

After being seriously wounded, Guillem de Montpalau feared for his life and wrote his will at the village of Vic on November the 3rd, 1248. This document, preserved in Vic, at the Arxiu de la Cúria Fumada, together with other secondary records that mention him, allow us to characterize this person and to know details of his role as conqueror of the Balearic Islands. According to his testament, his goods were distributed in Catalonia and on the islands of Ibiza and Formentera. In case the worst happened, he disposed that his corpse had to be buried in the house of the Templar knights in Barcelona; for this reason Templars were the beneficiaries of his horse and saddle. Other weapons, both offensive and defensive, were assigned to other persons. Then, Montpalau was a knight himself. Most probably he was born in Vic, and it is sure he had two daughters with his wife called Berenguera, who, at that time, was expecting a third son or daughter. Montpalau had lands in Ibiza because he participated in the conquest of the island as a member of the Guillem de Montgrí's host in 1235. That time, Montgrí was the elected Archbishop of Tarragona and the main promotor of that conquest. The will that we are analyzing enumerates his properties: buildings, money, weapons, rights over salt and wine, animals, and a few

saracen captives. The conquest of Ibiza was recent then and, as the will itself recognizes, it was barely consolidated. If the muslims recovered the island, his daughter Agnes would miss her heritage, and in this case, Caterina, the heir of his goods in Catalonia, would have to compensate her sister with a sum of money. The will mentions the names of other conquerors of Ibiza. We have notice of a few of them thanks to other documents and this information allows us to know the nets of friendship and interests that lay between those adventurers. Montpalau and his comrades fought against the Muslim knights, footmen, peasants, men and women, young and old men, in Ibiza the summer of 1235. Maybe they had done it themselves in Majorca on 1229, and others, not yet hundred years before, in Tortosa and Lleida. This paper contributes, accordingly to the intention of the panel, to study the detail of the conquest's processes.

Panel 3: Notarial Activity in Medieval Hospitals. Circulation of Models and Practices in the Western Mediterranean

Organisers: Mireia Comas-Via (IRCVM - Universitat de Barcelona), Salvatore Marino (IRCVM - Universitat de Barcelona) / SCRIBA Project (RecerCaixa)

Chair: Blanca Garí de Aguilera (IRCVM - Universitat de Barcelona)

Sala Coromines

The acts drawn up by notaries employed by the hospitals are a repository of sources of signal importance for the social and economic history. Therefore, the aim of this panel is to highlight the central role played by the notaries in the process of creation and development of hospital memory.

The three case studies we have chosen (Barcelona, Naples, and Perpignan) seem to demonstrate that the process of hospital 'bureaucratization' developed during the Fifteenth century, in the historical context of the European Hospital Reform. It generated a process of concentration, rationalization, and specialization of hospital management and care services. From a documentary point of view, this historical institutional process is fully reflected in the notarial documentation.

Salvatore Marino (IRCVM - Universitat de Barcelona):

The Role of Notaries in the Hospitals of Barcelona and Naples. A Comparative Study about the Childhood Documentation.

The paper will focus on the documentation drawn up by notaries employed by the hospitals in Barcelona and Naples in the Late Middle Ages. Specifically, I will deal with the notarial deeds concerning the role played by hospitals as educational community and 'spiritual family' of the abandoned children and their inclusion, integration, and mobility into labour market.

Jaume Marcé (IRCVM - Universitat de Barcelona):

Charity and Notarial Activity. Wealth Management Documentation in the Hospital of the Holy Cross in Barcelona.

This paper aims to know how the Hospital of the Holy Cross of Barcelona managed its wealth during the fifteenth century. For this reason, I will mainly focus on the notarial documentation produced by the notary of the institution, to offer an analysis about the properties the centre had. After, I will compare its particular model of wealth government with other particular management cases in Mediterranean hospitals, such as Valencia, Mallorca and Naples.

Mireia Comas-Via (IRCVM - Universitat de Barcelona):

Notarial Activity in the Hospital of Perpignan at the End of the Middle Ages.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the notarial activity performed by the notaries linked to the hospital of Saint John of Perpignan. More precisely, I will focus my study on the activity of the notary Pere Vilarnau, which took place at the end of the Middle Ages. This period corresponds to the years of the first extant books that registered the admission of patients to the hospital. Contrasting them with the notarial documents, we will be able to understand the way in which this institution was administered, as well as the role played by the notary, and also obtain a picture of the people who were attended to there.

Panel 4: New Approaches to the Internal and External Ecclesiastical Mobility

Chair: Eileen P. McKiernan González (Berea College)

Sala Puig i Cadafalch

Mariarosaria Salerno (University of Calabria):

'Movement' in the Economy and Property of the Hospitallers in Italy.

Individual and collective mobility is a fascinating topic of historical research, and with regard to the military orders there are still aspects of mobility that need to be explored. A comparative scholarly naval history of the Hospital and the Temple has yet to be written, as well as the mobility of the orders' western officials also needs further comparative and transregional studies in order to comprehend the mechanisms of the orders' western networks.

Instead of the *stabilitas loci* of the traditional monasticism, it seems that one of the most charismatic features of the military Orders is the capacity for action, which was also the ability to move. My paper focuses on the implications that the mobility has had in property management and, more generally, in the economic life of the Hospitallers in Southern Italy, to understand what the mobility has to do with the survival and maintenance of the Order itself over the time, contrary to the case of the Templars.

Starting from the observation of the inner life of the Hospital, also the funding system implied mobility. The dominance of French knights in the Order, who had a western administrative center in Languedoc; the transfer of the papacy to Avignon, and the frequent interference of the pope in the internal affairs of the Hospital; the appointment of some of the masters in the West, some of the meetings of the General Chapters held in the West, were further opportunities for high dignitaries, Masters first of all, to move from the West to the Convent or vice versa. Even some high dignitaries through mobility solved wealth issues.

In addition to money transfers, and to the mobility of the dignitaries of the Hospital, sources document the export of goods, foodstuffs in the first place, and then weapons and horses controlled or directly conducted by the Hospitallers to support their brothers in the East. The frequent transfer of reinforcements, and especially of supplies, across the Mediterranean induced the Hospitallers to purchase ships or commission their construction.

The settlement of the Hospitallers in Rhodes certainly provided to the island a not indifferent economic growth. The Rodian ports, in fact, were the perfect basis for the international market. Trade took place between merchants from all over the Mediterranean. One of the most continuous uses of its ships by the Hospital is in the fight against piracy and trade with the infidels.

In the fifteenth and even more in the sixteenth century, after their settlement in Malta, it seemed that Hospitallers used their ships more to protect the seas and perform the papal will than to trade directly. No doubt the fleet of the Hospitallers availed to the economic fortunes of Malta.

Xavier Costa Badia (IRCVM - Universitat de Barcelona):

'Monasteria in litori maris': New Approaches to the Early Medieval Cloisters Founded on the Catalan Coastline during the 9th-10th Centuries.

When people think about early medieval cloisters, particularly in mountainous areas like the Carolingian Catalan counties, they usually imagine foundations in isolated and narrow valleys; places where the monks could live in solitude and silence. However, when we map and study the location of all the monasteries founded during the 9th and 10th centuries in the north-east of the Iberian Peninsula, we can see that this picture is far from the truth. This is not only because the countryside was more populated than the historiography thought, but also because there were lots of monasteries in many other places, such as cities or coastal areas.

The aim of my presentation would be to analyse this cloisters founded near the Mediterranean coastline, which so far have not been studied as parts of the same phenomenon. In this regard, I would work to identify all the case studies and collect the archaeological and written sources about them to point their background, the different phases of their foundational processes and their later evolution. I am sure that only this exercise will allow us to understand better why the sea and the coastline, with all their advantages, but also with their risks, were so attractive to the early medieval monastic communities. At the same time, however, I am also interested in mapping, using Geographic Information Systems (GIS), all the estates of these coastal cloisters and comparing the results with the monasteries established in the inlands to discover if they have different economic interests or strategies to assure their survival.

In short, I propose a holistic study of the monasteries founded near the sea in the Catalan counties during the 9th -10th centuries to minimize the difference of knowledge that exists between them and the cloisters established in other areas. Likewise, it could be an interesting opportunity to think about why the Mediterranean was so attractive for monks to build their houses on the coastline.

Catarina Fernandes Barreira (IEM/FCSH, Universidade Nova de Lisboa):

Mobility among Cistercians: Portuguese Abbots in the Order's General Chapters.

Characteristically, the Cistercian order required its members to attend the General Chapters, which functioned as a means to impart regulation and discipline. A selection of sources, foremost of which the registers of the Cistercian chapters general (the "Statuta Capitulorum"), will clarify which abbots represented the Portuguese monasteries, and how frequently. The paper will also debate the questions they brought forward and how the legislation emanated from the chapters was assimilated in Portugal, namely in the mother foundation, the monastery of Alcobaça.

18h30 – 19h30

Reception

(sponsored by Taylor & Francis)

Tuesday 9th of July

Session 2: 9h00 – 10h30

Panel 5: New Perspectives in Research on Texts from the Iberian Peninsula: Editions and Studies (I)

Organisers: Alexander Fidora (ICREA - Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona); Matthias M. Tischler (ICREA - Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

Chair: Matthias M. Tischler (ICREA - Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

Sala Puig i Cadafalch

The panel presents new research from six projects which focus on authors and texts from the medieval Mediterranean. Mobility and movement play a key role in all six projects, which are based in Barcelona and Vienna. Thus, authors like John of Monzón – a Valencian who taught in Paris – are prime examples of scholarly mobility during the Middle Ages. Another understudied author, Pontius Carbonell, moved between different cultural and religious traditions drawing strongly on Jewish exegesis from Rashi and Maimonides. The Latin translation of Maimonides' chief work, the *Guide of the Perplexed*, is studied by yet another paper, which calls attention to the transmission of texts and ideas between different languages. Some texts in this panel were written in frontier-societies, such as Luculentius' Homiliary and the martyrologies, which faced particular challenges as to the inclusion of specific cultural and religious traditions. Still other texts deal with the movement of objects, e.g. the Arca Santa. The six papers are arranged in two sessions, the first of which is devoted to philosophical and theological texts, while the second addresses historical and religious writing.

Alexander Fidora/Isaac Lampurlanés (ICREA - Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona):

John of Monzón on Sea Battles and Future Contingents.

John of Monzón O.P., born in 1340, is well known for his role in the controversy over the Immaculate Conception between the Dominicans and the University of Paris. However, the philosophical and theological oeuvre of this Parisian master from Valencia remains largely inedited and, as a consequence, understudied. This paper presents John's commentary on Aristotle's *De interpretatione*, whose edition we prepare. In order to outline salient aspects of his approach, we shall focus on John's interpretation of chapter 9, in which Aristotle claims that propositions about future contingents, such as "Tomorrow there will be a sea battle" are neither true nor false. This was a very debated issue during the Middle Ages, as it seemed to enter in direct conflict with divine foreknowledge. John's position will be compared to other accounts such as that of Boethius and Thomas Aquinas, reconstructing the history of a philosophical problem across time and space.

Ulisse Cecini (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona):

Pontius Carbonell and the Circulation of Ideas in Biblical Exegesis.

In the years 1318–1335 the Franciscan Pontius Carbonell composed the – hitherto inedited – first complete commentary of the Bible from medieval Iberia and a treatise about the End of Times and the coming of the Antichrist, provoking the admiration of the cultural elites of his time and beyond. While recollecting the entire Western exegetical tradition, Pontius' commentary also includes Jewish authors like the commentator Rashi and the philosopher Maimonides. Moreover, it harmonises biblical exegesis from the Franciscan and the Dominican Orders, which previously used to circulate separately and in competition with each other. In this way, it furthers the circulation of ideas and their systematisation, while making the Biblical commentary a space for the entanglement of different religious traditions. The paper will present significant examples of these features from newly edited material from Pontius' works.

Óscar de la Cruz (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona):

The Latin Maimonides: Approaching the Unpublished 'Liber de Parabola' (in Spanish).

Regarding the Latin versions of the works of Maimonides, in addition to the complete translation of the *Guide of the Perplexed* (in Latin *Dux neutrorum*), one single manuscript from the thirteenth century (Paris, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, Ms. lat. 601) transmits an independent translation of Book III known as the *Liber de parabola*, which is preceded by an extensive excursus on the interpretation of sacred texts. This paper offers a preliminary assessment of the features that characterise the *Parabola* and of its significance in the cultural context of the thirteenth century.

Panel 6: Mobility beyond Stereotypes: the Sedentary/Mobile Dichotomy Reconsidered (I): Mobile Economies

Organiser: Eleni Sakellariou (University of Crete)

Chair: Enrico Basso (Università degli Studi di Torino)

Sala Coromines

People on the move have been compared and contrasted with the people of sedentary societies, often, though not always, being held up as an example of the Other. Authors have emphasized their different customs and habits, at times describing them as intruders or invaders. Constant movement certainly subverted the norms of settled society. Mobility, however, was so pervasive in the medieval Mediterranean (as elsewhere), that it is worth exploring its diverse aspects while trying to avoid conventional stereotypes at the same time. 'Nomads', for example, are often approached with negative implications, while other groups which engaged in activities that required mobility, such as 'merchants' or 'administrators', are not given the same label.

Even in contemporary scholarship, this dichotomy is still stark. The model of a stereotypically static medieval world of discrete units in which nobody (except specific mobile groups) went anywhere, is tacitly accepted. But are sedentary societies immobile? Does it make sense to study specific groups, such as merchants, pilgrims, soldiers, bureaucrats, minorities, immigrants, journeymen, pastoralists, labourers, university lecturers, as exceptional in a background of immobility? Is the movement of at least some of these groups better placed in the category of "Brownian motion" (to use Marc Bloch's expression)? To what extent were all these groups and the many types of mobility they represent essential for the functioning of Mediterranean economies, production, trade, politics, institutions, society, religious practice?

These questions will be explored on the testing ground of the areas of the northern Mediterranean, with special attention to late medieval Italy. We propose to address them in

two twin panels. The first panel will focus on the apparent dipole between mobility and its absence in the economy. Taking as case studies the Balearic Islands, Sardinia and Venetian Crete, Angela Orlandi, Pinuccia F. Simbula and Aristea Gratsea will discuss how networks of centres of a higher and a lower order became more integrated in the late Middle Ages, arguing that both long-distance and smaller scale mobility were important for the constant flow of people, vessels and merchandise across the Mediterranean. Eleni Sakellariou will consider forms of mobility in the southern Italian rural economy and society, spanning from transhumance, the use of waged labour and the networks of regional trade in rural products.

The second panel will discuss aspects of social mobility, and the impact of politics on it, in late medieval Italy. Enrico Basso turns his attention to a group of political exiles, the “extrinseci” in the Genoese Civil War. Francesco P. Tocco, on the other hand, reflects upon the acculturation between conquerors and conquered, taking as an example the Catalan expedition to Sicily in 1392 and the interaction between Catalans and Sicilians in the fifteenth century. Finally, Gemma Colesanti considers ‘donne mobili’, or women’s mobility in southern Italy between the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries.

Angela Orlandi (Università degli Studi di Firenze) - Pinuccia F. Simbula (Università degli Studi di Sassari):

Between the Balearic Islands and Sardinia: a System of Maritime Networks.

In this paper we will try to identify the patterns of relations and connections between smaller and larger Mediterranean ports by comparing two island realities, the Balearics and Sardinia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. An attempt will be made to trace the circuits around which the routes and interactions with large commercial nodes were centred, highlighting the complexity of the exchange networks, the different functions, the system of collection and distribution of goods. Moreover, in the different segments of these systems, the goods, the operators, the structure of the fleet and the consistency of the traffic will be highlighted. The objective is to capture in a dynamic framework the articulations between major and minor networks, observing through the two cases examined (the two case studies) the flexibility and the ability to remodel itineraries and trade routes over the short and medium term, in response to market demand or certain economic choices.

Eleni Sakellariou (University of Crete):

Mobility in Rural Southern Italy?

The predominantly rural character of late medieval Southern Italy goes a long way in explaining its reputation as an immobile society. A closer look reveals that, although parts of southern Italian rural communities inhabited the same locality for long periods of time, other groups were mobile. Their mobility, or perhaps better, itinerancy, followed the periodicity of the natural cycles of agriculture and its range was mostly regional, although cross-border variants were not unusual. This paper will focus on three types of such mobility: the movement of pastoralists in the system of sheep transhumance; the movement of waged labourers in rural exploitations of cereal farming, which becomes sufficiently documented for the first time in the fifteenth century; the movement of producers and merchants to periodic markets, which became the nodes of gathering and redistribution of raw materials and other consumer goods. The aim is to reflect upon the recent debate on the encounter between two distinct historiographical approaches – the sedentariness paradigm and the re-evaluation of the multiple forms and scales of mobility

and how this related to, and fluctuated in, space – and to appreciate the strengths and shortcomings of both methodologies.

Aristea St. Gratsea (University of Crete):

Maritime Activity at the Port of Candia in the Fifteenth Century.

This paper is based on a study of the Quaderni di Candia of the National Archives of Venice. The examination of the available files revealed evidence regarding the commerce of Cretan products and especially wine in the Mediterranean and in the Levant, the types and the routes of the ships, the name of the sopracomiti and patroni, and the connection of the port with other bigger and smaller Mediterranean ports. The main focus of this research is to examine the importance of the port of Candia, as a node of distribution of local products and as a port of transit, in the 15th century, which by many is considered the “golden age of commerce and shipping of the Venetian Republic”.

Panel 7: Movement and Mobility in Uncertain Times: Changing Perspectives in the Mediterranean (I). - Movement or Stasis after Rome?

Organisers: Christopher Heath (Manchester Metropolitan University); Edoardo Manarini (Università di Bologna)

Chair: Edoardo Manarini (Università di Bologna)

Sala Prat de la Riba

These three panels interrogate the reality of movement and mobility in the Middle Ages adopting a *longue durée* perspective. Considering both a wide range of source material and immediate contexts, the panels are designed to allow discussion between and across both chronological and geographical boundaries but at the same time permit detailed consideration of specific localities and contexts. How did individuals on the ground perceive and understand movement in the Mediterranean world? What does this tell us about the responses of both societies and individuals to those who moved through and between the spheres of a multidimensional Mediterranean? These are the key questions which these three panels will approach and discuss.

Christopher Heath (Manchester Metropolitan University):

Fugitives, Runaway Slaves and Strangers in Lombard Law.

Lombard laws were issued between 643 and 755. They comprise *in toto* an invaluable normative source for the Lombard kingdom and society in the VIIth and VIIIth-centuries. Commentators have concentrated upon the witness that the laws comprise for the ability of Lombard kings to rule, control and influence society. This paper, however, will consider how Lombard society perceived those who moved through and across the kingdom, both illicitly and legally. What does this tell us about the perceptual universe of Early Medieval Societies generally? How did the Lombard kingdom, sited at a crucial contact zone in the central Mediterranean, respond to movement and mobility? In addressing these issues this paper will argue that the Lombard kingdom was subject to greater interconnectivity between the Atlantic world of Francia and the Mediterranean cultures of the East.

Clemens Gantner (Institut fuer Mittelalterforschung, Oesterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften):

'Ad utriusque imperii unitatem'? Anastasius Bibliothecarius as Broker between Two Cultures and Three Courts in the Ninth Century.

The citation stems from a letter by Anastasius to Pope Hadrian II, sent in 869, *en route* back from a diplomatic mission to the eastern empire he had undertaken in the name of Emperor Louis II ('of Italy'), but during which he had also represented the pope as ad-hoc part of the Roman delegation at the fourth council of Constantinople. This mission illustrates, why Anastasius, notorious former anti-pope and member of a largely disgraced family from Rome, was still one of the most important figures in ninth-century Italy: There was simply no one around who could compete with his language skills, political ability and general learning. In interesting times, both in Rome and in the whole of Italy, Anastasius prevailed as sought-after teacher, translator, diplomatic envoy and author of theological and political texts. In the contribution to the panel, I will briefly analyse Anastasius role as cultural broker on the payroll of both the emperor and the papacy between the 850s and the 870s.

Ecaterina Lung (University of Bucharest):

Barbarian Envoys Going to Byzantium in the Early Middle Ages.

We intend to use for our analysis mainly the Byzantine narrative sources from the VIth century, because this period represents a turning point in the military and political situation of the Byzantine Empire and most of that we know about it derives from chronicles and histories. The sources for studying barbarian embassies could be not only chronicles and histories but also fragments of official diplomatic reports, as those written by Priscus, Zemarchos, and Nonnossus. We can also use some Latin sources which presents to us the diplomatic relationships between the barbarian successor kingdoms in the West and Byzantium.

The character of our sources, which are fragmentary and often note only the most important embassies, or offer insights into the so called 'kinship diplomacy' (marriages, baptism, adoptions in arms, etc.) poses a methodological problem. We will not try to offer another reconstruction of the byzantine diplomacy which has been for long time an object for the historical research, its efficiency being considered one of the explanations for the so long survival of the Empire. From those fragmentary sources we will try to study the barbarian embassies sent to Constantinople or to Byzantine generals on the battlefield in order to understand what problems were linked with the distances they had to cover in order to have theirs missions done. How would the cultural differences between them and the Byzantines work in the diplomatic field? Also, we will be interested in seeing if there is a possibility of deciphering a barbarian point of view regarding the relations with the Byzantine Empire, at the beginning of the Middle Ages, when the narrative sources that are available to us have a Byzantine origin, or, if they originated in the West, they are profoundly influenced by Roman and Roman-Byzantine traditions.

Panel 8: Perceptions and Representations of Power in the Medieval Mediterranean

Chair: Antonio M. Zaldívar (California State University San Marcos)

Sala Pi i Sunyer

Photeine V. Perra (University of the Peleponnese); Yannis Stoyas (KIKPE Numismatic Collection - Athens, University of the Peloponnese):

Women and Power in the South-eastern Mediterranean, 13th-15th Centuries: A Historical Overview Reflected through the Numismatic Evidence.

The present paper attempts to present a particular aspect of Medieval Mediterranean History, concerning the role of women in the political scene and how this is reflected through the numismatic evidence. It is an attested fact that in the period between the 13th and the 15th century women apart from their traditional role as wives and mothers acquired also the status of a ruler. The question that arises is what kind of leadership they had and under which circumstances they took over power.

In this paper we shall present specific case studies of women in power, in the Latin East, including Latin Greece, Cyprus and the Crusader states. Each case has a special interest from the numismatic point of view, reflecting in this way the historical circumstances under which these women became rulers. It is also of great importance to understand their influence and perception of their power, in order to reconstruct the image of female authority in the Latin East in general. Such are the cases of Marguerite of Sidon in the Holy Land, Helena Angelina, Dame of Karytaina in Southern Greece (Morea) and Queen Charlotte de Lusignan in Cyprus. As a whole we will examine seven case studies as well as the respective coin issues that can possibly lead us in drawing very interesting conclusions.

The numismatic evidence shall be examined with the assistance of primary written sources in an attempt to understand –provided that they confirm each other–; if there is a “silence” of the sources concerning specific political parameters or they can enlighten us on “reading” the archaeological/numismatic testimony in the right way. Thus we can have a picture on how women fared and acted in the Medieval Mediterranean, what kind of influence they exercised (if they exercised any) and how they perceived the authority given to them.

Galina Tirnanic (Oakland University):

Venetian Twin Columns in the Mediterranean Context: From Gibraltar to Constantinople.

Two granite columns supporting the statues of Saint Theodore and the lion of Saint Mark stand close to the edge of the Piazzetta di San Marco in Venice, where the land meets the sea and where medieval Venice met the world. According to the Venetian tradition first noted by Marin Sanuto in his *Vitae Ducum Venetorum* (1493), the two monolithic granite columns were brought from “Greece or Constantinople” in 1172, during the first year of the reign of Doge Sebastiano Ziani, although scholars have accepted a more likely later date of 1268. Venetians adorned the columns with Veneto-Byzantine capitals bearing cross decorations, and sculpted bases representing craftsmen of Venice, reinforcing the idea of Venetian community. The ensemble of the columns was given further Venetian attributes with the addition of the bronze statue of St. Mark’s lion and the stone statue of St. Theodore, both protector saints of Venice. Although a symbol of Venice, the bronze lion itself came from a distant location in the East, possibly via Constantinople, and was refashioned into St. Mark’s emblem by the addition of wings and a book. Similarly, St. Theodore consists of a Hellenistic head and a Roman torso, while the rest was fashioned in 13th century Venice.

The two-column monument consists of multiple parts, brought to Venice from different places and manufactured at different times out of a variety of materials, but the final result is a unified whole functioning as a symbolic gateway to the city. Prominent monument in its own right, the ensemble has received relatively sparse attention from art historians. Scholars have investigated individual elements, such as the bronze lion, the hybrid statue of St. Theodore, the carvings on the bases of the columns, or the granite

shafts themselves, but the significance of the monument as more than the sum of its parts is still elusive. Placed at the edge of the sea but at the same time in the heart of the city, the columns were used as a backdrop for a variety of religious and civic ceremonies over the centuries. Imbued with an aura of liminality, they marked the threshold between Venice and the rest of the world, between ceremony and everyday life, and in some instances between this world and the next.

The purpose of this paper is to look outward, allowing the two columns to connect Venice to other locations in the Mediterranean. On the one hand, I trace the mobility of the materials, such as the Byzantine origins of the heavy column shafts as structural components in the church of Polyeuktos in Constantinople, through their gradual transformation into a coherent monument of Venetian self-representation. In addition to exploring the mobility of individual physical elements, I also explore the mobility of ideas and the shared Mediterranean visuality by considering the inspiration for the dual columns in the port cities of Brindisi (still extant) and Constantinople (depicted on the 15th c. Buondelmonti map), as well as in the idea of the Pillars of Hercules at the Straits of Gibraltar illustrated as double columns on medieval maps, such as the 11th c. Cottonian map and the 14th c. Map Of The World in Ranulph Higden's *Polychromicon*. I also consider the impact of the Venetian columns in the cities under the dominion of the Venetian Republic, such as Vicenza, with its unusual repetition of double columns, and Feltre, with the more usual single column supporting St. Mark's lion. In other words, I investigate how the material and visual elements lost or preserved their original meanings and how those transformed meanings contributed to the effects of the whole, both in its own setting and in its intertextual connections with comparable monuments in other medieval cities and locations.

Avital Heyman (Yaakov Agam Museum of Art - Rishon LeZion):

The Two "Jerusalems": the Itinerary of the Crusader Pilgrim in the Time of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem.

A special place was bestowed on the penitential expression of pilgrimage in the Crusader formation of Jerusalem. The two "Jerusalens", the heavenly and the terrestrial, were united in the path of the pilgrim. Queen Melisende (reigned 1131-1153) served as the cultural agent of this procedure. Promoting and possibly "designing" public space and prime monuments of the holy city, the monumental circuit became the arena of performing Latin cult. The buildings under discussion included the penitential scene of the *Deësis*. The most important holy place in my analysis of the pilgrim's itinerary is the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, whose biform façade established penitential modes of worship for each door. Its two different lintels adds a thematic axis to public ritual. The liturgical reading of the iconography of the Christological left lintel versus the obscene scenario of the right lintel suggests the liturgical calendar of the Holy Week and Lent respectively. Furthermore, the *Deësis* scene (now destroyed) appeared in the newly built Chapel of Calvary, which, in fact, is the ultimate location for penitence. The Breviary of the Holy Sepulcher sheds light on these solemnities. The repetition of the *Deësis* scene in other churches of Crusader Jerusalem, built and decorated under the patronage of Queen Melisende, shows a liturgical consistency, which reveals the political and theological ideology of the queen. The *Deësis* fresco from the royal Abbey of the Tomb of Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (now in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem) implies for the processional itinerary to the Valley of Judgment, where Crusader pilgrims could have met their eschatological expectations in a penitential footpath towards redemption. The Cartulary of Jehoshaphat provides evidence for this concept. The *Deësis* of Abu-Ghosh (one of the Crusader Emmaus), alongside the scene of the *Anastasis* and other Christological and Marian scenes, puts an explicit emphasis on the

penitential purport of Crusader pilgrimage. The *Deēsis* of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (Chapel of St. Helen) links the idea of the Incarnation with that of the Resurrection. Christmas and Easter were solemnly celebrated in Bethlehem and Jerusalem respectively. Yet the Assumption of the Virgin on August 15 was obviously feted in the Abbey of Jehoshaphat. Thus, the topography of the newly embellished holy sites followed the penitential aspirations of the devoted queen on the one hand, and on the other hand, those of the Jerusalemite residents.

Panel 9: Portuguese Notables in the Sphere of Later Medieval Italy

Organiser: Tiago Viúla de Faria (IEM/FCSH, Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

Chair: Maria João Branco (IEM/FCSH, Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

Sala Nicolau d'Olwer

Historically, at the state level, Italo-Portuguese relations attained their greatest heights possibly in 1862 with the marriage of Maria Pia of Savoy to King Luís I. However, the depth of links cannot be measured through grand events alone. Care should also be taken as only much later did 'Italy' become something other than a patchwork of scattered – though typically self-sustaining – polities. Indeed, entities such as Venice, Florence, Pisa, or Genoa feature prominently in the economic, financial and even social and political life of the Kingdom of Portugal from early on. For one, the presence of Italian merchants can be detected in Silves, Lisbon and Porto from as early as the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries onwards. Some of the larger coastal towns thus became interconnecting dots in a string of maritime avenues linking together the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, the southern and the northern markets – and necessarily their peoples. Rights and franchises had to be negotiated and involvement progressed in many levels. By the fourteenth century the citizens of some of the Italian cities enjoyed lifelong privileges in Lisbon and a Genoese seaman was appointed admiral of the Portuguese royal navy – the first of several Italians to hold this post.

We know significantly less about Portugal-to-Italy mobility, but the consistency and long history of connections do reveal the presence of Portuguese in the Italian Peninsula and its sphere (cultural, political and economic). This panel throws light on the texture and involvedness of such connections by concentrating on three well documented figures, all of whom Portuguese and active in this Mediterranean, Italian, context throughout their late-medieval careers: Lourenço Rodrigues accumulated bishoprics in his native Portugal while developing a career in the Roman curia (established in Avignon) in parallel; another clergyman, Gomes Eanes, was a personal advisor to Duarte I of Portugal and simultaneously his agent and abbot of one of the great florentine abbeys; and Afonso Eanes (a correspondent of Abbot Gomes Eanes), a merchant from Porto with interests along Portugal and the Western Mediterranean, most notably north Italy.

Mário Farelo (IEM/FCSH, Universidade Nova de Lisboa):

Between the King's Diplomacy and the Pope's Service. The Presence of Lourenço Rodrigues/Lourenço Martins de Barbudo in the Papal Curia in the mid-Fourteenth Century.

The figure of D. Lourenço Rodrigues, also known as Lourenço Martins de Barbudo, is well known to recent medieval Portuguese historiography. A bishop of three Portuguese dioceses during the first half of the fourteenth century (Guarda, Coimbra and Lisbon), his foray into the papal curia in Avignon is much less known. This paper highlights the role played by the continued presence at Avignon in the bishop's career. The

existing documentary evidence, in fact, justifies a new approach to the organization of Lourenço's networks of relations and his institutional cursus in the service of both the Church and the Crown.

Tiago Viúla de Faria (IEM/FCSH, Universidade Nova de Lisboa):

The Correspondents of Gomes Eanes, Portuguese abbot of 'Santa Maria' in Florence (1415- 1463).

The matters and occupations of Gomes Eanes, a Portuguese magnate in fifteenth-century Florence, are well attested by a corpus of some 550 letters received during his residency of over thirty years in what was arguably the most important hotbed of Humanism and the renaissance. Besides, as a political, economic and cultural centre Florence proved to be a hub for collecting, swapping and spreading information. From his position as the abbot of the *Badia Fiorentina*, a Benedictine foundation, he also played a role as member of the Portuguese royal council. Among the *faits divers* dealt with in the letters, there is outstanding information on aspects such as cultural habits, aristocratic (and Church) patronage, and diplomatic brokerage. This paper, however, will bring to focus the mesh of people who corresponded with Gomes Eanes – split between fellow Portuguese at the curia, travellers and passers-by in Florence, and especially members of the Portugal-based elites; besides local 'Italians'. It hopes to shed light on the fabric of personal connections of a Florence resident who, to all intents and purposes, was foreign to the Mediterranean.

Paulo Catarino Lopes (IEM/FCSH, Universidade Nova de Lisboa):

Travel, Representation and Identity in the 15th Century. The Case of Afonso Eanes, a Portuguese Royal Agent, in Italy.

The set of thirty letters received in Florence by the Portuguese abbot Gomes Eanes, sent by his fellow countryman Afonso Eanes are a good example of the typical combination of trading actions, public office and unofficial diplomatic activity that was the mark of the agents of the Portuguese kings in the later medieval period. In addition to being a notable example of the circulation of political, commercial and cultural ideas in the late medieval Mediterranean, this set of letters contains precious traces of perceptions, mental representations, and identity constructions. This paper intends to identify in such sources the way in which Afonso Eanes conceived Italy and, consequently, contributed to the Portuguese-Italian dialogue in the 15th century.

10h30 – 11h00

Coffee break

Session 3: 11h00 – 12h30

**Panel 10: New Perspectives in Research on Texts from the Iberian Peninsula:
Editions and Studies (II)**

Organisers: Alexander Fidora (ICREA - Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona); Matthias M.

Tischler (ICREA - Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

Chair: Alexander Fidora (ICREA - Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

Sala Puig i Cadafalch

**Matthias M. Tischler/Eulàlia Vernet i Pons (ICREA - Universitat Autònoma de
Barcelona):**

Preaching Christ from a Transcultural Standpoint: The Homiliary of Luculentius, The Oldest Indigenous Work of Carolingian Text Culture in Early Medieval Catalonia (ca. 900).

In the twenty-first century, the chance to re-discover, edit and study a quasi-unknown and disregarded Latin text from the early Middle Ages is absolutely rare. The Homiliary of Luculentius offers such a rare opportunity and all indicators at present favour our hypothesis that this important source, known at present only from selected fragments, is a rarity in the proper sense: it is obviously the earliest indigenous Latin monument of early medieval Catalonia, the north-eastern part of the Iberian Peninsula dominated by the Carolingians and their culture. Our paper presents this work, its sources and the religious, social and political contexts of the monastic author and his knowledge network. The specific features of this work show how patristic and Carolingian text cultures were transferred to and used in an Iberian transcultural frontier society under construction in order to meet the many (inter)religious and cultural challenges this still underrated periphery of Charlemagne's Empire was confronted with.

Ekaterina Novokhatko (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona):

Changing Religious Ideals? Circulation of New Religious Feasts in Catalonia from the Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries.

The analysis of seven martyrologies of Catalan origin from the tenth to the twelfth centuries shows the multiple additions of new saints' cults. Brought together for the first time, the Catalan martyrologies, fragments of hagiographic lives and the calendars provide a broad scope for comparative analysis as well as for textual edition. The present work aims at analysing three types of religious feasts that were added to the Catalan martyrologies and then became popular in the Post-Carolingian period in the Mediterranean World: the feast of the Archangel Michael on 8 May, the feast of St. Alexius on 17 July and the feast of the Passio Imaginis Domini on 9 November. The paper argues that these added feasts received extended celebration from the tenth century onwards, and that they were engendered and circulated primarily in the Mediterranean space, between Italy, Southern France and Catalonia. Understanding the ways in which they formed the basis of the particular religious consciousness characteristic of pre-Romanesque times remains a fundamental objective.

Patrick S. Marschner (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna):
The Transfer of the Arca Santa in a Broader Historiographical Context.

Generally, the movement of a religious object, as for instance the case of the famous Arca Santa, is symbolically charged. Furthermore, a description of such a geographical shift could offer symbolic meanings, too. In twelfth-century Christian-Iberian historical writing, the moving of the Arca Santa was depicted in a specific biblical manner. Even though the object itself already refers to biblical stories, its description and the story of its transfer as to be found in the *Historia Silense* or the *Liber Testamentorum* also contain Bible allusions and occasionally Bible quotes. What specific role was allocated to the Arca Santa in these texts? How could one interpret the story of the Arca Santa in the context of twelfth-century Christian-Iberian historical writing? Furthermore, how does this historiographical depiction of a sacred object fit in the grand narrative of Christian-Iberian historical writing after the fall of the Visigothic kingdom? The story of the Arca Santa can be embedded in a general biblical-typological understanding of Iberian history from the eighth to the twelfth centuries, interpreting the Bible as foretelling the 'own' history.

Panel 11: Mobility beyond Stereotypes: the Sedentary/Mobile Dichotomy Reconsidered (II): Aspects of Social Mobility and the Impact of Politics

Organiser: Eleni Sakellariou (University of Crete)

Chair: David Igual Luis (University of Castilla - La Mancha)

Sala Coromines

Enrico Basso (Università degli Studi di Torino):
A Society in Exile: the 'Extrinseci' in the Genoese Civil War.

The question of exiles in the context of the late medieval Italian internecine wars has traditionally been perceived as a phenomenon affecting an elite of political leaders and a relatively small number of their supporters. The analysis of the case of the *extrinseci* during the long Genoese civil war of 1317-1331 shows that this interpretation needs to be rectified. The fortunate survival of an abundant number of notarial acts drawn up by Genoese notaries who had followed the Ghibelline exiles to their headquarters in Savona allows us to analyse in depth this group, which is surprisingly complex and socially stratified. The "commune of Genoa in exile" established in those years was therefore much more than a simple group of disgruntled aristocrats and their radical followers, but it interested an entire society that left its city for political reasons.

Gemma T. Colesanti (ISEM-CNR):
The Mobility of Women in Mediterranean Cities.

The considerations that I propose in this intervention stem from the reflection on a very studied subject such as mobility and migratory phenomena in medieval times observed since the 70s not only in a quantitative perspective but above all in a qualitative and economic dimension. For the late Middle Ages, historiography has necessarily carried out a detailed analysis of groups, even small, identified not only on a geographical basis, but also in relation to their work or their technical or cultural skills. The Kingdoms of the Crown present themselves - both within them and in relation to Europe and the Mediterranean - as an area of departure and arrival of migratory flows, movements of categories and

individuals and it is in this situation that will be explored the role of women with particular attention to Sicily, Campania and Catalonia.

Francesco P. Tocco (Università degli Studi di Messina):

From Expedition to Acculturation: the Sicilian-Catalan Relationships during the Fifteenth Century.

In 1392 Martin of Montblanch and his son, named after him and called “The Young”, undertook the expedition to conquer Sicily in the name of Mary, daughter of the last Sicilian King, Frederick IV, and wife of Martin the Young. This military expedition reinforced the process of inclusion of Catalans in the island started from the Vespers. After a forceful and problematic beginning, heavily obstructed by Sicilians, during the fifteenth century the Catalan infiltration produced a more effective acculturation and harmony, in fields that range from the composition of the élites, to Religion, to Architecture. The paper intends to analyse the landmarks and manners of this process that left a substantial mark in Island’s history.

Panel 12: Movement and Mobility in Uncertain Times: Changing Perspectives in the Mediterranean (II). - Celestial Mobilities: Monks, Relics and Devotion

Organisers: Christopher Heath (Manchester Metropolitan University); Edoardo Manarini (Università di Bologna)

Chair: Christopher Heath (Manchester Metropolitan University)

Sala Prat de la Riba

Andra Juganaru (Aristotle University in Thessaloniki):

‘Eager to Go to the Desert’: Ambiguous Views on Ascetic Women’s Holy Travels in Late Antiquity.

When the superior of a nunnery asked Gregory of Nyssa about pilgrimages to Jerusalem, the bishop answered that nuns should rather ‘quit the body to be with the Lord than quit Cappadocia to be in Palestine’. In a letter addressed to Melania the Elder and Rufinus concerning the wish of the nuns from their monastery on the Mount of Olives to travel to Egypt, Evagrius of Pontus was similarly entirely dismissive. In contrast, Jerome praised his spiritual daughters, Paula and Eustochium, not only for having been ‘eager to go to the desert’, but also for having travelled from Rome to the holy places in Palestine, and for having visited the monks of Cyprus and Nitria. Jerome also invited Marcella, another famous Roman ascetic lady, to embark on travel towards Jerusalem. In the same period, Egeria, an aristocratic nun from Aquitaine, was soulfully writing for the sisters of her monastic community impressions from her pilgrimage to the Holy Land and Egypt. She was confessing that, as she was stopping during her trip, she encountered clerics who offered her blessed gifts and encouraged her to continue the journey to holy places.

Why did late antique male spiritual guides have such an ambiguous attitude towards ascetic women seeking to travel to holy places? This is the main question that I would like to explore in the present paper. I would suggest that one explanation is related to the problem of authority. From the written sources which have survived, it seems that the Church Fathers were more favourable to pilgrimages for nuns whom they were directly supervising in their spiritual quest. On the other hand, the fervent promotion of the holy places and invitations to travel towards them answered critiques and polemics in which the Fathers were involved.

Edoardo Manarini (Università di Bologna):

St. Sylvester's Relics from Rome to Nonantola: Itineraries of 'corpora sacra' between Devotion and Identity in 8th-10th Century Italy.

Pope Sylvester I (314-335) became a great figure in political history of early medieval Italy. His relationship with Constantine I (306-337), the first Christian emperor, played a significant role in assessing his ideological prominence. Declared a saint of the early Roman church, his relics were treasured and became a point of quiet competition. On the one hand, Roman popes venerated his corpse in the monastery of St Stephen and Sylvester, founded by pope Paul I around 760 inside the Holy City; on the other hand, the Lombard King Aistulf and his brother-in-law Anselm claimed to have brought Sylvester's relics north, in order to have them buried in Anselm's new-founded monastery in Nonantola, in the Po valley.

Scholars seem to have left this major issue aside while investigating the relationship between Lombard elite society and Roman Popes in the 8th century. The aim of my paper is then to consider timing, procedures and narrations of the *translatio* of St Sylvester in order to evaluate political and ideological involvements of this 'holy' movement on Nonantola's side.

Giulia Zornetta (Università di Padova):

Dead Men Overboard: the Mobility of Relics from the Muslim World to Italy between 8th and 9th Centuries.

In 725 Liutprand, King of the Lombards, moved the relics of St. Augustine from Sardinia to Pavia and buried them in one of the most important churches of the capital city, San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. The *translatio* of St. Augustine's body was conceived as a seminal operation for the representation of public authority in early medieval Italy. Between the VIIIth- and IXth century many kings, dukes and counts promoted the collection of relics in cathedrals and/or urban foundations both to centralise their power and to increase their prestige.

This paper takes into account two extremely peculiar translations of saints' body: the *furta sacra* of St. Mark (from Alexandria, Egypt to Venezia, 828) and St. Bartholomew (from the island of Lipari to Benevento, 838). Both the hagiographical texts narrate the transport of the relics from the Islamic world to the Italian peninsula by boat. They are also both related to a conscious and ambitious plan to strengthen the local public authorities. This paper aims first, to compare the political strategies which supported the mobility of these important relics in the Mediterranean context and secondly it analyses the image of Muslims in the hagiographical texts.

Panel 13: Muslim-Christian Confrontation and Cultural Exchanges in the Western Mediterranean

Chair: Xavier Ballestín (DHUNA - Universitat de Barcelona)
Sala Nicolau d'Olwer

Adday Hernández López (CCHS-CSIC):

Mobility and Exchange between al-Andalus and the Maghreb: the Andalusi Jurists during the Almoravid and the Almohad Periods.

The *Prosopografía de los Ulemas de al-Andalus* (PUA) is a database created at the Escuela de Estudios Árabes in Granada under the direction of M. L. Avila that contains information about more than 11000 ‘*ulamā*’ of al-Andalus extracted from bio-bibliographical dictionaries. It has been consulted in order to extract data about the activities of the Andalusī jurists and the extent to which their professional activities – especially when connected with positions for which they were named by the ruler such as that of judge – entailed mobility throughout their lives. The professional mobility of the ‘*ulamā*’ and their success in getting appointments seems to have depended mainly on their insertion into social networks and their fame among the other ‘*ulamā*’, as it happened elsewhere in the Islamic world. But compared to what happened in the Eastern Islamic world, Andalusī institutional structures were relatively stable (for example, there was an almost complete absence of the *madrasa*), so that professionalization of the ‘*ulamā*’ in al-Andalus had its own distinct character. Horizontal, vertical and spatial mobility will be examined in relation to the Andalusī jurists.

Some jurists occupied positions in the other side of the Straits (*al-`idwa*) during the times in which al-Andalus was part of the Berber North African empires, but was mobility promoted by certain types of rulers? Or was it just the result of the gradual professionalization of the legal career? Did mobility involve changes in the legal positions? Answers will be provided to these and other questions.

Hadas Hirsch (Oranim Academic College):

Circulation of Fashions: Deciphering the Role of Foreign Influences in the Creation of Muslim Dress According to Medieval Jurisprudence.

Dress is aimed at concealing and revealing the body, protecting it and manifesting religious, political and social declarations. In board terms, dress is a mute testimony and a manifestation, its language is complicated and contradictory at the same time. The spread of the Muslim empire and its conquests accelerate processes of inter-cultural influences and exchanges that exposed Muslims to a new world of dress and adornment. The demand for varied clothing on one hand and the cosmopolitan nature of the empire enabled the trickling of garments that were unknown to Muslims or unaccepted.

The sources for this research is Medieval Muslim jurisprudence that was composed by jurists of different schools of law. This literature is aimed at matching the often abstract law to the community’s needs, aspirations, changes and developments. It serves as a mechanism of creating norms but at the same time, these norms reflect the tension between contradicting tendencies and plural interrogations. The fact that Muslim life are depend on jurisprudence as Islam is a law based religion, gives the legal discussion a monopoly over rulings regarding personal appearance and in particular dress.

This juristic discourse reflects the origins of foreign influences on Muslim dress from across the Mediterranean as well as inter cultural relationships that create a build in tension between authenticity and imitation. The jurists’ mission was to define what is considered appropriate dress and what should be prohibited. They developed a mechanism for adoption and rejection according to criteria that suggest a scale from totally rejected garments, then the accepted and tolerable and at the end the most recommended garments. The jurists’ creative solution, namely, a division of garments to the three mentioned groups, enables them to tolerate some while others were excluded, condemned and forbade. Actually, these definitions create the boundaries between Muslims and others and establish the principals of proper Muslim dress as part of defining a separated self-identity that will manifest itself by clothing.

Joel Pattison (University of California, Berkeley):

"The Year of Genoa": Violence, Opportunism, and Memory at Ceuta, 1234-1235.

This paper offers a new interpretation of the Genoese siege of Ceuta in 1235 CE and its aftermath. Historians have offered sharply divergent versions of the obscure events that culminated in the naval siege of Ceuta by a Genoese fleet. The episode has been viewed as a punitive expedition to crush an independent Maghrebi city-state, a manifestation of crusading fervor, or an attempt at territorial conquest pre-figuring later Portuguese and Castilian attacks on Maghrebi port cities. The aftermath, and especially the resulting "maona", has been taken to prefigure subsequent Genoese profit-making corporations in the Eastern Mediterranean. Adding to the confusion is the obscure identity of many of the actors: such as the so-called *Calcurini* (Crusaders or Catalan mercenaries?) and of the local "tribes" summoned by the city's leader, al-Yanashti- either a Berber prince or an Andalusian refugee, depending on who one asks.

In this paper, I present material taken from my upcoming dissertation on Geno-Maghreb trade in the thirteenth century. By reading Moroccan chronicle evidence from Ibn 'Idhari and Ibn Abi Zar' alongside the Genoese Annals and notarial documents, and by integrating recent scholarship on Christian mercenary activities in the straits of Gibraltar, a more complex picture emerges. In the context of struggles for power among claimants to the Almohad leadership, the elites of Ceuta attempted to maintain their political autonomy, while their Genoese trading partners were keen to preserve their trading rights and privileges, no matter who was in control of the city. The story is one of repeated failed attempts at diplomacy, of an active and highly mobile Genoese community in the Maghreb and al-Andalus, and of subsequent myth-making designed to integrate a complex series of events into a pre-existing narrative of confrontation between Islam and Christianity.

Paul E. Chevedden (University of Texas at Austin):

Hiding in Plain Sight: El Cid's 1098 Charter of Endowment for the Valencia Cathedral.

This paper will attempt to understand the endowment charter issued by Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar (El Cid) in 1098 to the cathedral of Valencia and its bishop, Jerome of Périgord, on its own terms, not according to modern constructs, such as the Spanish *reconquista* or the Crusades, as conventionally understood. Both *reconquista* and Crusade separate what is linked together in the 1098 charter. And these modern frameworks pay no heed to the actually interpretive framework employed in the document itself by which the events of the eleventh century were perceived and understood. The 1098 charter has indeed been hiding in plain sight precisely because it does not fit the conception of history that scholars have advanced to understand the events of the eleventh century. This paper will bring the 1098 charter out of hiding by explaining the specific form for experiencing time upon which this document is based.

Panel 14: Social Frontiers and Minorities: Presences and Absences

Chair: Filomena Barros (CIDEHUS - Universidade de Évora)

Sala Pi i Sunyer

Graham Barrett (University of Lincoln):

Across the Frontier in Portugal, León and Catalonia.

The frontier between Christian and Muslim Iberia in the early Middle Ages was closed in theory but open in practice. From narrative accounts in chronicles and charters we can see that it was permeable to diplomatic exchange as well as military action, while in literature and the arts mutual cultural influence is apparent if unacknowledged. What this paper aims to do is to approach the frontier from a new direction: to recover something of the perception of it – the mentality of the frontier – from the lived experience of contact and conflict between Christians and Muslims as documented in four case studies from either side of the year 1000.

If we look at two charters of sale from Lorvão, we find Muslims embedded in the landscape of southern Portugal, selling property to a Christian monastery. What stands out is the lack of any frontier; transaction took place beneath a range of silent accommodations by each group. And if we look at two court cases from Lorvão and Lleida on the far side of the Peninsula, we find Muslim rule accepted as a simple fact, implicitly accorded legitimacy; its presence is the frame for the resolution of disputes. Yet if we look instead at two charters of donation from León, we find the frontier speaking louder in the language of gift, and more destructively; the coming of the Muslims to Iberia is accorded pride of place in preambles, explaining atypical actions taken out of necessity rather than intention. And if we look at two testaments from Catalonia, we find a paradox: testators travelling to al-Andalus on commercial expeditions, which presuppose open frontiers and some security, but setting their affairs in order even so. The act of donation imposes a discursive framework of a present and problematic frontier.

What this points to is how people thought. We can track the relative incidence of donations and sales over the early Middle Ages, and the fluctuations are notable. If donation and sale each had a distinct ‘discourse of the frontier’, broadly negative and positive, then as one or the other transaction became more or less common over time, different visions of the frontier were cycled back into the popular mentality as the charters which recorded them were read out, performed by the scribe, at moments of use. Whatever else we think they thought of the frontier, the changing discourse of the documentation needs to be part of the story.

Eileen P. McKiernan González (Berea College):

On Absences: The Erasure Black Women in the ‘*Cantigas de Santa María* (Biblioteca de El Escorial MS T.I.1)’.

The Escorial *Cantigas de Santa María*, a lavishly illuminated 13th century miracle cycle, produced at the court of Alfonso X, includes songs of praise and miracle stories of the Virgin’s intervention. Many of these are traditional miracles, but many come from the time period of Alfonso’s rule. Of the 420 miracles and songs of praise, 42 include Muslims and 23 Jews. The representations of both communities falls squarely into anti-Semitic rhetorical formats. Miracles depict scenes of conversion and punishment to those who would do harm to the Eucharist, Marian images, and churches, as well as Christian peoples. Scholarship has focused on the representation of the Jewish community in particular, but does delve into the varied Muslim representation. Muslims are also further represented in times of war as leaders, victims, persecutors, and as community members of a multi-faith community. Within these representations, Muslim men appear of two broad variants, light skinned turbaned figures with long robes (indistinguishable beyond these markers) and dark skinned, curly haired figures with shorter robes. The caricaturing of the faces of dark skinned Muslim figures, rounder heads, fuller red lips, etc., fall into the “Ethiopian” stereotypes of the era. Both of these peoples appear in armies (as leaders, infantrymen, sailors, and cavalry), and as servants. Muslim women, like Jewish women, are not distinguishable to a great degree by clothing or physiognomy. Sara Lipton has considered

the lack of distinction between Christian and Muslim woman as correlating to theological and anti-Semitic constructs that demonize the Jewish man, and present the Jewish woman as pliable and convertible. Isabel de Barros Dias has considered transgressive behaviors of woman, particularly sexual transgressions; her focus is interestingly on Christian woman. By and large Jewish and Muslim women appear as wives and mothers, compliant with their husbands, defiant only in conversion with the exception of Cantiga 107 where a Jewish woman is condemned to be thrown off a cliff – her transgression is unnamed. Dark skinned women are not present in the *Cantigas*. The only image that exists is of the tempting serpent in the Florentine *Cantigas* (*Biblioteca Nazionale MS b.r.20*). This image has been extensively analyzed by Pamela Patton, looking at the complex and varied approach to the “Ethiopian” woman type in manuscript illumination. This paper will consider the complete erasure of black female bodies in the representation of a multifaith and multiracial communities in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.

Isidro J. Rivera (The University of Kansas):

Mapping Race in the ‘Historia de la linda Melosina’ (Toulouse, 1478).

The *Historia de la linda Melosina* bears the distinction of being the first Castilian translation of Jean d’Arras’s *Mélusine*, a narrative set in the era of the Third Crusade. Written to support the proprietary claims to Lusignan by Jean de Berry, the narrative draws on legends, supernatural lore, chronicles, and earlier chivalric romance models to construct a foundational history of the House of Lusignan. The text, like its eponymous heroine, weaves these elements into an intriguing tale of the dynastic fortunes and territorial acquisitions of the House of Lusignan. At another level, the *roman* examines the nature of political power in the context of dynastic ambitions. The *Historia* reframes the fictional battles against Saracen forces in the eastern Mediterranean and effects a racialized discourse through selective replacement of the term “Saracens” with “Moros” which resonates with the war against the sultanate of Granada.

The use of “Moros” to describe Saracens reflects the muddled terminologies used to describe Near Eastern and North African Muslims in Western European border communities. The manipulation of these racial categories suggests a distinctive mapping of race in the text and casts Islam as menacing, alien, and in need of social domination. This paper will examine the translation strategies used to map race and study the political discourses of medieval Iberia and Castile’s specific relationship with the Islamicate.

While at first glance, the *Roman de Mélusine* may seem unrelated to the realities of fifteenthcentury Iberia, Jean d’Arras’s narrative has resonance with the experiences and aspirations of Castile and Aragon at this point in history. The translation’s publication in 1489 coincides with crucial moments in the campaign against the Nasrid sultanate. The Crowns are concluding the exhaustive campaign at Baza (1483-89) and are beginning the preparations for the assault on Granada, which will fulfil their dynastic aspirations to control the last stronghold of Islamic Iberia. This activity would absorb the Crowns’ energies for the next two years and resulted in the development of new imperial structures. The military campaigns narrated in the *Historia* serve as models for waging successful warfare against the Islamacate. The military campaigns in the *roman* provide a vehicle for the exploration of imperial expansions and for mapping the racial factors that define the relationship with the Islamic territories.

Ofer Ashwal (Religious Comprehensive High School, Rosh Ha'ayin):

Analysis of the Negotiations for the Release of Jewish Captives in Pre-Modern Period.

My current research is Analysis of the Negotiations for the release of Jewish Captives in Pro-modern period. [1200-1800]. The research is related to both geographically the historical time where the struggle between Christianity and Islam took place.

In spite the fact that Scholarly literature has considerably dealt with the phenomena of Jewish captives in the pre-modern period, my research contributed other aspects such as the following examples: the extent of Jewish captives in contrast to Gentile captives; a comparison of Jews held by Christian captors as opposed Jews held by Moslems; how societies and organizations dealing with the release of captives conducted themselves and the negotiations; financial resources of these societies and their ties with various communities concerning the rescue of captives; the custom of Jewish communities to ransom Jewish captives in almost any situation, relying upon lenient interpretations of rabbinic regulations limiting or at times prohibiting the ransom of captives; freeing Jews through diplomacy, legal moves, or sheer bribery; and most essential, an analysis of the negotiations both theoretically and practically.

Mediterranean sea served as a clash of cultures and religions, especially between the three religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The research asked to examine the interactions between Christian and Muslim captors and Jewish captives or their representatives who negotiated with the captors.

The research also examined the religious and social perceptions of Muslims and Christians related to captivity of people, and the duty for their ransom as well. In addition I try to find out if there were any changes about these perceptions in pursuance of the negotiations for the release of captives on both sides. All that was in order to understand their basic attitude before they negotiated.

It is important to note that the phenomenon of captivity influence in the Mediterranean on: mobility, trade and economy, as well as the lives of many residents of Christian society, Muslim and Jewish. However, there was also a positive aspect to the phenomenon of captivity because captives were used as agents of culture and knowledge from society to society.

The database which my research is based on, includes: fees, passenger literature, recommendation letters, chronicles, manuscripts, responsa literature, Regulations, communities books (mainly from Italy). Through this material I tried to trace the various elements that influenced the negotiations and their results. [Such as: Tactics, venue of the negotiation, gender, information, different types of negotiators, different types of captives and prisoners, communities' acts which bypass the need to negotiate, the ransom amount which paid for the release of Jewish captives, etc. In some of the cases, the communities have decided against releasing the captives, in those cases, I try to find the reasons which led to this critical decision.

My research relates to a number of Jewish European communities, such as the communities from France, Spain, Italy and Greece. Venice had a company which dealt with the release of Jewish captives. This company had relationships with other European communities like Amsterdam's community.

In addition, Muslims Corsairs, especially from Algeria, attacked ships from Spain, France and England and kidnapped Jews and non-jews as well. The Corsairs also used to raid the coastal cities and kidnap people, for example: The raids on Sicily

Malta was a central of slaves' prisoners and captives market where prisoners and captives were brought there to negotiate their ransom. In many cases, the negotiation was dealt between the agent of Venice company, and between the Knights of Malta. Hence, my research deals with Jewish communities from the southern part of Europe which had to deal with the phenomenon of captivity.

12h30 – 13h00

Posters

Cloister

María Viu Fandos, Sandra de la Torre Gonzalo (Universidad de Zaragoza):

'Per a mercadegar en Aragó y en Ytàlia y en Venècia': Visualising Inland Trade Networks from the Late-medieval Crown of Aragon.

Through this poster we want to present the reconstitution of a part of trade and social networks of a fifteenth-century firm settled in Barcelona (DEL TREPPO, 1972) in order to offer an example for comparison (BOUTE, 2002). To do so, we assume the analytical framework suggested by the *DynCoopNet Project* (PINTO, 2013) and apply it to the data gathered from notarial records and varia commercial documentation (accounts, merchant letters).

Based on the data collected (DE LA TORRE, 2016; VIU, 2016) we are in position to define more precisely business organisation that allowed the companies headed by Joan de Torralba in the period 1430-1437 to intervene from Flanders and the Dalmatian coast. However, we are here interested in the presence of these transnational merchants in inland markets in Aragon with the aim of determining their actual influence in local and regional institutions, providing guidelines for production and consumption, controlling prices, and restricting commercial and fiscal public policies (CASADO, 2010; ORLANDI, 2014). Geographical visualisation will help us to show the impact on developing regions of cooperation networks among merchants which interests and operations surpass the ongoing state-formation process (PÉREZ, 2016).

Lastly, we would draw attention on the role played before the First Global Age by the Iberian Peninsula as a space of encounters, where Mediterranean and Atlantic trade networks met.

Roberta Mentesana (Universitat de Barcelona), J. Buxeda (Universitat de Barcelona), V. Kilikoglou (Institute of Nanoscience and Nanotechnology, N.C.S.R. "Demokritos", Athens), A. Hein (Institute of Nanoscience and Nanotechnology, N.C.S.R. "Demokritos", Athens), M. Madrid (Universitat de Barcelona):

Local Potters and Itinerant Ideas? Sugar Pot Manufacture and Circulation in Medieval Europe.

Sugar production and consumption followed the Islamic expansion in the western Mediterranean and had a huge impact in European social, cultural and economic development since medieval times. The introduction of sugar cultivation entailed knowledge transfer and new technological requirements, such as the manufacture of sugar pots, used for the crystallization of the sugar, which require specific design, thermal and mechanical properties. The manufacture of these vessels was introduced in different areas of the Mediterranean as part of the 'sugar production package', but little is known whether these vessels were imported or produced locally, whether itinerant potters brought with them the know-how or local ceramists adapted their tradition to produce such specialised vessels.

The SpotEu project, funded under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie actions, explores the development and impact of sugar production in western Europe through the study of sugar pot manufacture from an interdisciplinary perspective, integrating archaeological and

historical research with material science and material culture approaches. This poster will introduce the project and show first archaeological and analytical results, focusing on discussing what they mean in terms of circulation of technological knowledge, people, ceramics and sugar in Medieval Europe.

Pere Poy (Universitat de Barcelona):

The ‘*Bíblia del segle XIV*’ as a Space for the Cultural Exchanges in the Late Medieval Mediterranean. The Example of the Translation of Joshua.

In the area of Romance philology, *Bíblia del segle XIV* is currently the name used to refer to the Catalan translation of the Sacred Scripture, which is prepared in the 14th century and is preserved in various codices of the 15th century. Between 1890 and 2001, different researchers —such as Samuel Berger, Josep Perarnau and Armand Puig— theorize about its physiognomy and, in particular, about the composition of its textual base and about the vicissitudes of its manuscript transmission.

In 2004 and 2011, the publication of the transcripts, critical editions and analysis of the versions of Exodus, Leviticus, 1Kings and 2Kings begins to allow the characterization of the *Bíblia del segle XIV* with empirical evidences. Among other things, it certifies that the translation of the Old Testament is the result of the confluence and reaction of different cultural contributions. In fact, talking about the *Bíblia del segle XIV* means talking about this scriptural version of the 14th century and, moreover, about its relationship with the rest of Catalan scriptural versions of the 14th century, about its relationship with the rest of Romance scriptural versions of the low-medieval period, about its copy with amendments in the 14th and 15th centuries, about its dependence on the Gallic Vulgate —and, especially, on the Languedocian Vulgate—and about its interaction with the Hebrew Bible and the activity of Jews and Judaizings.

Linked to a doctoral research at the University of Barcelona, as well as to the research project *Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum* of the Biblical Association of Catalonia, this poster contributes to discovering the Romance biblical magma —and, ultimately, the cultural exchanges in the western Mediterranean during the low-medieval period— through the examination of the translation of Joshua in the *Bíblia del segle XIV*.

13h00 – 14h00

Lunchtime

Session 4: 14h00 – 15h30

Panel 15: Voyages and Cultural Interaction throughout the Mediterranean

Chair: Laura Miquel Milian (IMF-CSIC, Barcelona)

Sala Nicolau d'Olwer

Francesca Petrizzo (Leverhulme Study Abroad Scholar, Università di Roma 2 Tor Vergata):

Invisible Voyages: Mediterranean Migrations and Hauteville Family Ties.

This paper sets out to investigate the network of cross-Mediterranean voyages that knit together the vast holdings of the Hauteville family in the eleventh and twelfth century, and the way clan influence and family connections were maintained despite and because of such journeys. The most prominent of the Norman kins which conquered the South, the Hautevilles rose in two generations from landlessness to the rule of Southern Italy, Sicily and Syria. The Hautevilles spread across the Mediterranean basin between the eleventh and twelfth centuries through war, conquest, marriages and pilgrimages, creating and maintaining numerous junior branches and family offshoots away from their home grounds. The ability and willingness to travel, return, and keep in close contact across wide distances characterised the creation and upkeep of the Hauteville network, weaving a net of unspoken Mediterranean voyages which do not always leave traces in the documentary record, but whose results indelibly alter policy-making and polity-creation. This paper sets out to chart and examine such voyages, reconstructing them from charters, chronicles, material and artistic evidence, and framing them as an integral part of a carefully construed and long-maintained sense of family history, family identity, and family interest. The paper will tackle voyages of war, with the settlement of conquered land or the return of beaten forces; the voyages of women who travelled to marry and didn't return; voyages of exile; pilgrimages; and the voyages of dead bodies. Through this extensive examination of Hauteville voyages, the paper will thus deliver the dynamic picture of one particularly successful kin group's expansion across the Mediterranean, and the way that the use and overcoming of space and distance both supported and hindered its rise.

Ermioni Karachaliou (Hellenic American University):

The Man of Sorrows: An example of Cultural Interaction in the Medieval Mediterranean.

The *Imago Pietatis* is a portrait of piety, the passion portrait of Jesus as conceived by the artists of the medieval period.¹ The Man of Sorrows, as it is known in Western art or the Akra Tapeinosis in Eastern art (Isaiah 53:8), expresses the greatest paradox of the Christian faith; the God who died as a man joining life and death. The image symbolically represents Christ in a state between the Crucifixion and Resurrection.² Among the artists of the end of the fourteenth century discussed in Belting's book "The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages", it was considered the most pious subject they could paint.³

Western and Eastern religious iconography are considered and studied as two separate artistic fields. Indeed, apart from the themes, techniques and hierarchy moreover, the didactic purposes and approach to the faithful followed different paths. However, certain images have affected both dogmas and acquired a prominent position in the ecclesiastical norm. One of the most successful examples which overlapped the traditional classification in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and illustrated the integration of the two cultures is the "Imago Pietatis" or the "Man of Sorrows". The image of the dead Christ standing naked in his sarcophagus appeared for the first time in the twelfth century in the Greek peninsula. It was one of the latest images added to the Byzantine repertoire before it was transmitted to the West.

This paper aims to focus on the origins of the *Imago Pietatis*, its ancestors, the paths it followed until gaining its standard form and the influences between the Eastern and Western prototypes. The comparison will include case studies from regions in the

¹ H Belting, *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of the Early Paintings of the Passion*, trans. M. Bartusis & R. Meyer] Aristide D. Caratzas, New York, 1990, pp. 1-2.

² D Pallas, *Die Passion und die Bestattung Christi in Byzanz: Der Ritus-Das Bild*, Institut für Byzantinistik und

² D Pallas, *Die Passion und die Bestattung Christi in Byzanz: Der Ritus-Das Bild*, Institut für Byzantinistik und neugriechische Philologie der Universität, Munich, 1965, p. 197.

³ Belting, *Image*, p. 131.

Mediterranean where the two dogmas co-existed after the creation of the Latin Empire in 1204, forming a boundary for artistic innovation. Certain examples will be presented to justify the adaptation of elements from Eastern hagiography, but also how the Eastern type evolved under the Western production.

Michael Hammer (San Francisco State University):

A Sacred Commodity: The Pilgrimage of the Marqués of Tarifa and Juan del Encina.

Shortly after he turned 50, Juan del Encina found himself at a crossroads. A prolific poet and playwright, Encina, in his own words, had lived a sensual life, so to make himself right with God, he became a priest and undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1519. For much of the journey he traveled in the company of Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera, the Marqués of Tarifa. Both men wrote about their experiences, Encina in his 1,700-line “*Viaje a Jersusalén*” and the Marqués in his *Viaje de Jerusalem*. This paper will explore how these accounts represent pilgrims and the function of pilgrimage in the 16th -century Mediterranean.

Although they traveled together, in many ways their accounts are quite different. The Marqués writes in straightforward prose, offering a daily record of leagues traveled and sights seen. But he is a nobleman on a grand tour, and it becomes apparent that he sees himself as a consumer who has paid for a specific experience, and in many ways what he experiences falls short of expectations. However, he is keenly aware of distance and takes the measure of many of the holy places so that he can recreate the stations of the cross in Sevilla on his return home. On the other hand, if the Marqués paints himself as a flustered, often unsatisfied consumer, Encina tells of his transformation from a worldly man to one who wants to give himself over to God. Indeed, the highlight of his pilgrimage is when he celebrates his first mass in the Holy City. He, too, notices that the Holy Land does not always meet with his expectations but uses the descriptive power of his poetry to elevate it back to mythic levels. Almost in defiance of the mundane, unremarkable land around him, Encina insists on singing its praises as the land that produced the Savior. Encina and the Marqués rarely make comments that reveal their inner thoughts, but each in his own way manages to reveal something about the powerful hold Jerusalem has on the imagination.

Both men go to Jerusalem to experience sanctity, but each experiences the sacred in distinct ways and ultimately to distinct ends. While Encina takes on holy orders and goes to Jerusalem to mark an end-of-life transition, the Marqués is on a package tour. The same journey, undertaken at the same time, is simultaneously a commodity and communion.

Panel 16: Military Representations in Medieval Narratives

Chair: Matthew Bennett (FSA – FRHistS)

Sala Pi i Sunyer

Esther Dorado-Ladera (Cardiff University):

Royalty at Medieval Military Camps. Temporary Architectures of Power in the Four Grand Catalan Chronicles (1208-1387).

The four Grand Catalan Chronicles were written during the 13th and the 14th century, and they are one of the best historiographical collections in medieval Europe. Unlike the annals produced in other European courts at the time, most of the facts related in these chronicles are contemporary with their authors. In fact, two of them are considered the only autobiographies by medieval monarchs.

These works describe the major events occurred during the different reigns of the period, but also include amusing anecdotes, personal reflections and depictions of everyday life. In these narrations, the authors refer to the journeys made by monarchs during military campaigns and for other purposes. Sometimes, they even specify their itinerary, form of transport, accommodation, meals, and other details about daily life during these travels.

This paper will analyse the lodgings of queens and kings during military campaigns, as well as the alternative means for displaying power used in these situations. In spite of the temporary condition of royal accommodation or even the lack of a proper building. It was essential that the monarchs held ceremonies of homage and fealty, peace negotiations, royal councils and other activities.

Fundamental aspects such as the different sorts of lodgings, their characteristics, and the preference as to which type to use according to the circumstances will be examined. The relevance of personal experience of space in the autobiographical texts will also be discussed in comparison to the casual references in the non first-hand accounts.

It will be argued that lodgings and army camps were actively developed during the period, to the point of influencing the dynamics of occupation of newly conquered cities and the appropriation rituals performed by the conquerors.

Davide Esposito (Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II"):
Crusade as Pilgrimage in the 'Chanson de Jérusalem'.

My intervention will focus on the representation of the first crusade as a pilgrimage in the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, *chanson de geste* of the late twelfth century that narrates the conquest of the Holy City by the Crusaders in 1099.

The peculiarity of the *Chanson de Jérusalem* is the characterization of French warriors as pilgrims, warrior monks who practice fasting and chastity. The work presents numerous pauses from the description of the war action to illustrate the continuous vigils and prayers of the Crusaders. The influence of the *De Laude Novae Militiae* by Bernard of Clarivaux leads to the birth of a cavalry inspired by the moderation of the costumes.

The lack of a real sole protagonist in the work means that the protagonist is the Holy City itself, with the presence of what Alexandre Winkler called "tropism of Jerusalem", an attraction of the knights towards the Holy Sepulcher.

In this context the knights suffer the same suffering suffered by the pilgrims according to the chronicles of the First Crusade. The author tells in detail the consequences of the unfavorable weather conditions in the Middle East.

The protagonists are fragile, humble and modest men, that openly complain about what they are experiencing. The journey of pilgrimage makes the author depict the Crusade not as a war, but as a path of *Imitatio Christi*. The suffering of the knights-pilgrims has a precise ideological meaning, especially in the case of the so-called *chétijs*, whose events recalls the hagiographic texts of late Latin antiquity. The pilgrimage that the Crusaders are experiencing is the ideal pilgrimage, because they replicate the last phases of the life of the incarnate God, repeating his movements and sufferings, which therefore have the objective of bringing the crusaders closer to Christ.

The presence of the theme of *Imitatio Christi* in the work is further emphasized by the analogies between the time of the crusade and the time of the Passion. The places of the Holy City evoke continual references to the events of Christ in the minds of men of a world dominated by Christian thought.

In this perspective also the marginal elements of the crusader contingent, the cannibal Christians called Tafurs, are exalted by the "egalitarian" ideology of the work: anyone can take the cross, leave for Jerusalem and, dying for God, obtain Paradise.

Veronica Orazi (Università degli Studi di Torino):

Narrative Techniques and Aims of the Discourse on Military Expeditions and Coastal Defence in Ramon Muntaner's *Crònica* (1328).

Ramon Muntaner's *Crònica* (1328) is one of the *Quatre Grans Cròniques* (13th-14th c.), four masterpieces of the historiographic production of the Middle Ages.

The author is not a professional writer and during his life composes only one work. Indeed, he is rather a captain, a diplomat, a governor, a man who lives very close to the Crown. His personal experience of war (both as a soldier and a strategist) is witnessed in his Chronicle, according to two different narrative mechanisms: the technologization and the literarization of the events that he describes.

Muntaner narrates military expeditions as well as episodes of coastal defence, such as the Crusade against the Crown of Aragon (1283-1285), the expedition of the Catalan Company to the East (1303-1308), the conquest of Djerba and the Kerkennah Islands (1309-1314), the campaign of Sardinia and Corsica (1323-1324).

The defense during the Crusade against the Crown of Aragon (§§ 119-140), for example, concretizes the author's peculiar dichotomy technologization-literarization of history, emphasizes a perfect military strategy and the final victory; whereas the narration of expansion through the Mediterranean is developed both in the conquest of Djerba and the Kerkennah Islands (§§ 248-255) and in the campaign of Sardinia and Corsica (§§ 271-298), but from two different points of view: Muntaner doesn't participate in the latter (which is based on the documentation that the admiral Carrós sent to the King) and criticizes the fact that the army didn't follow his strategical suggestions; on the contrary, the former offers an absolutely uncommon case of self-celebration in the Chronicle, which is possible because of its relative relevance if compared with other epochal events related in work. Finally, the expedition of the Catalan Company to the East (§§ 199-244) sketches a moving and effective synthesis of all these features and undoubtedly represents one of the highest moments of the whole *Crònica*.

Moreover, also the peculiar aim of every episode is essential: it can concerne the celebration of the Crown and the Kings of Aragon, the political propaganda even through the instrumentalization of Providentialism, the will to present the branches of the royal family from a unitary perspective, concealing tentions and oppositions.

The proposal synthetizes the results of the research on all these key elements which characterize Ramon Muntaner's *Crònica*.

Panel 17: Movement and Mobility in Uncertain Times: Changing Perspectives in the Mediterranean (III). - Hardening the Boundaries or Expanding the Horizons in the Long Twelfth-Century?

Organisers: Christopher Heath (Manchester Metropolitan University); Edoardo Manarini (Università di Bologna)

Chair: Giulia Zornetta (Università di Padova)

Sala Prat de la Riba

Jason Roche (Manchester Metropolitan University):

Modelling the Movement of the First Crusade: from Nikaia to the Battle of 'Dorylaion' (1097).

The logistical infrastructures which evolved in different parts of the pre-modern world to support, maintain and move armies between places named and identified in the literary record remain largely contested because scholarly hypotheses cannot be tested and proved reliable. By uniquely pairing an agent-based computer simulation with archaeological field surveys and extensive historical analyses, this research project will create computer models that set working parameters on the size of armies and the distances travelled by those armies within which existing hypotheses and new ideas on movement of the First Crusade in Turkey (1097) can be tested. The ground-breaking, multi-disciplinary approach deployed in this project will represent a significant step forward in the combination of traditional and cutting-edge archaeological and historical research within the field of military logistics.

Enrico Veneziani (University of St Andrews):

'Ubi papa ibi Roma' or 'ubi Roma ibi papa'? Mobility in Honorius II's Papacy (1124-30).

Almost every pontificate after Gregory VII until the end of the twelfth century faced major difficulties in controlling and residing in Rome because of the presence of imperial (anti)popes and the growing power of the Roman commune. Therefore, each of these papacies was characterised by a high level of mobility – which ultimately resulted in the creation of the formula *ubi papa ibi Roma* in the mid thirteenth century.

There was however a significant exception to that, the papacy of Honorius II (1124-1130), who was able to spend most of his reign in the *Urbs*. My paper will consider which factors allowed this pope to behave differently from his predecessors-successors. The study will be based on a close reading of the extant sources - particularly chronicles - with a special focus on context and authors. Challenging the historiographical model of a *Nene Reform* which saw Honorius's pontificate as a prelude to the 1130 schism and the formation of the parties which would support Innocent II and Anacletus II, I will argue that the pope enjoyed a wide consent among Roman families. I shall point out which strategies Honorius adopted to maintain and control Rome and which consequences and benefits this entailed for his papacy. Finally, particular attention will be given to the instruments the pope resorted when in need of making his voice being heard in the whole Church.

Fabrizio de Falco (Università di Bologna):

Where the Long Way Ends. The Descriptions of the Mediterranean Sea and Holy Land and the Criticism of Crusading at the Court of Henry II of England (1154-1184).

Norman kings and lords participated enthusiastically in the first crusades. The coming back of the crusaders and the foundation of the Latin Kingdoms stimulated a literary vision of the East characterised by the themes of chivalric romance and supernatural tales. The large-scale diffusion of the *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* of William of Tyre (b.1183), the history of Alexander the Great and *The journey of Charlemagne to Jerusalem and Constantinople* (c. 1140), are just some examples of the success of the crusading themes in twelfth-century.

The Anglo-Norman court of Henry II was a renowned centre of cultural production, influenced by both the chivalrous and vernacular literature and the Latin culture of the universities and characterised for a particular taste in supernatural thematic. Through literary production the courtiers promoted their personal aims and their careers into the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the kingdom.

Henry II Plantagenet was king of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, count of Maine and Anjou, and extended his influence from Scotland to the Pyrenees. He

was the nephew of Fulk V of Anjou, first crusader king of Jerusalem. Different delegations went to him asking support for a new crusade, as the patriarch of Jerusalem Eraclius did in 1184. The English king delayed his entering in the Crusade and the English kingdom joined the Crusade only after his death, in the person of his son Richard the LionHeart.

In my paper, I will analyse two Latin works written by two courtiers of Henry II: Gerald of Wales' *Topographia Hibernica* (c. 1186-1210) and Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium* (c. 1170-1200). I will examine the two works in order to show how the authors created a negative description of the East by the use of supernatural thematic and some first-hand gossips related to the Holy Land and the Mediterranean sea. The negative description of the East will be set in the context of Henry II lack of interest in the crusade in order to enlight how the two authors used the criticism of crusading to promote their personal purposes.

Panel 18: Italian Artists and Art in the Late Medieval Mediterranean

Chair: Juan Vicente García Marsilla (Universitat de València)

Sala Puig i Cadafalch

Caterina Fioravanti (Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa):

The Waterways of Sculpture. A Florentine in the Crown of Aragon during the First Half of 15th Century.

The objective of this proposal is to explain the artistic run of 'Giuliano Fiorentino', that has represented a real myth for the history of the art, intrigued since the first years of the 20th Century about this compound.

Even though the name evokes the florentin origin, the first searches about this mysterious artist emerged on the other side of the Mediterranean: inside the cathedral of Valencia. Here are preserved twelve reliefs in alabaster, representing *Histories of the Old and the New Testament*, realized between 1418 and 1424 from the one who the documents of the Libro de Obra remember as «Juliá lo Florentí».

Already in 1899 the careful eye of Carl Justi guessed the strong bond among the valencian *Histories* and those of the North Door of the Florentine Baptistry, so also stimulating the following studies to seek the identity of their author among the collaborators of Lorenzo Ghiberti.

The presence of different assistants of the Florentine master that answered to the name of Giuliano has caused in the time a notable confusion and just recently has been identified certainty the name of «Juliá lo Florentí» with that of the florentine *lastrinolo* Giuliano di Nofri di Romolo, active also in the cathedral of Saint Eulalia in Barcelona from 1431 to 1435 (where he did a baptismal font and worked also in the cloister).

The searches have allowed to reconstruct the origin of the Romoli family, among the most famous stonecarvers in Florence between 14th and 15th Century, thanks to the action of the father and above all of the brother of Giuliano, Andrea di Nofri di Romolo. Their role in the Florentine political scene and their powerful friendships they did the fortune of the family and probably also played a conclusive role in the arrival of Giuliano in Spain.

Charlene Vella (University of Malta):

From Messina to Venice: Antonello da Messina's Nephews in Bellini's Bottega.

The oeuvre of Sicily's Renaissance master Antonello da Messina (c.1430-79) has been well researched. Also well known is the fact that he left his home and workshop in

Messina between 1475 and 1476 for Venice where he produced several paintings. What is less known perhaps is that Antonello's painter son and heir, Jacobello (c.1454 ? - c.1490 ?), and two of Antonello's painter nephews, Antonio (c.1466-7 - c.1535?) and Pietro de Saliba (doc. 1497-1501) were similarly in Venice.

Jacobello and the Salibas must have followed Antonello's footsteps to Venice where they were active as painters, and that while there, the Saliba brothers also had a close connection to the other great master: Giovanni Bellini. Their presence in Venice is not documented but indirectly proven by the presence of works of art extant in the city or clearly reliant on Venetian prototypes. The Saliba brothers were the sons of Antonello's sister, whose name has not come down to us, and the *intagliatore* Giovanni de Saliba, who were married in 1461. The Salibas' move to Venice may have been precipitated either by the plague outbreak of the early 1480s in southern Italy, or by the commercial opportunities that arose in the aftermath of Antonello's death, or both.

On Antonio de Saliba's return to Messina, now destroyed yet partly published documentary evidence and surviving paintings from several towns in Eastern Sicily, Calabria and Malta, suggest his popularity until the end of his career in the mid-1530s. Lack of documentary evidence is a result of the catastrophic 1908 earthquake and maremoto that struck Messina destroying much of its archives and works of art.

Thanks to his familial ties to the great Antonello and his experience in Giovanni Bellini's workshop, Antonio enjoyed such great success on his return to Messina. These two factors must have elevated his popularity among his southern European patrons. Thanks to Antonio de Saliba, therefore, Antonello's memory lived on in the altarpieces he produced albeit archaically, and a Venetian and particularly bellinesque element permeated the southernmost regions of late 15th- and early 16th-century Europe. The paper will show how Antonio de Saliba tried to reconcile his patrons' demands and the memory of Antonello da Messina with his experience of late 15th-century Venetian Renaissance art.

David Lucidi (Università degli Studi di Genova):

Florentine Artists in the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century: Masters and Works along the Main Trade Routes of the Western Mediterranean.

The research investigates the close artistic relationships between the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon and the most important Italian centers, with a particular focus on Florence, triggered during the first half of the fifteenth century. The attention si focused on a group of florentine sculptors and painters, as the brothers Dello, Niccolò and Sansone Delli or Giuliano di Nofri, who traveling – between 1430 and 1470 – along the merchant routes of the western Mediterranean, with the protection of the spanish kings, and worked in Barcelona, Salamanca, Valencia, Àvila and Seville, ferrying the most up-to-date trends in Italian late-Gothic culture and the new Florentine humanistic language in the main artistic builidng site of the time. It will be analyze also the reflections that these experiences produced on the iberian figurative culture, until then almost exclusively open to the cultural contributions from Flanders, Burgundy and England. The impact of italian artistic language will be analyzed not only from the purely artistic point of view, but also by the circulation of ideas and figurative models.

The arrival of Dello Delli in Spain in the fourth decade of fifteenth century marks the beginning of this study; in 1440 ca. he receives by the bishop don Sancho, cousin of the king of Castile, the commission for the decoration of the main chapel of the Old Cathedral that included a big “retablo” with Histories of Jesus and the Virgen and some frescos on the side walls. The large “retablo” is an intricate puzzle of hands by different artists of different countries who worked under the guidance of the italian master, trying to emulate his style. Around 1442 arrived in Spain Niccolò, brother of Dello, who took the leading of

the site and in the 1445 appeared also Sansone, the youngest brother. In the following years the three brothers were involved in the major artistic enterprises of the kingdoms: Dello painted a big canvas with the “Higueruela Battle” for the castle of Segovia; Niccolò worked in the Cathedral of Valencia and Sansone became the most important painter in Avila where designed the whole decoration of the Cathedral. Next to them emerge the interesting personalities of local artists such as Padro the Toledo, Nicolas Gomez, Pedro de Salamanca and Garcia del Barco that contribute to define the Spanish cultural panorama of the period.

15h30 – 16h00

Coffee break

Session 5: 16h00 – 17h30

Panel 19: Language, Writing and Discourse in Medieval Literature

Chair: Veronica Orazi (Università degli Studi di Torino)

Sala Pi i Sunyer

Adriano Duque (Villanova University):

African Paths: Dangerous Journey to Christian Spain.

Writing sometime around 843, the Spanish priest Eulogius told how a priest from the monastery of Mar Sabas who was versed in Latin (but not Greek) had left his monastery in order to collect alms from monasteries in northern Africa but. Having arrived in Carthage, the local bishop encouraged him to move on to France via Córdoba, and thus avoid the dangerous of Africa. The absence of clear truth suggests that the motif of dangerous Africa was used as a powerful trope of religious truth, probing diverse hagiographic accounts for construction of a communal identity, insider and outsider status, and the establishment and recognition of religious orthodoxy. For Eulogius, the trope of dangerous Africa reflected the religious trauma that orthodox Christians suffered by the hand of Roman, Muslim or even Heretic authorities, and pointed out to the hermeneutical complexities involved in theological claims of religious orthodoxy inside the Christian communities of Córdoba.

My paper explores how the motif of dangerous Africa emerged as a functional motif, linked to notions of orthodoxy and religious righteousness. My principal purpose in this article is to examine a large unified body of rituals which provide an orderly sequence of analogues between hagiographic stories and present the motif of dangerous Africa as an adaptation of previous hagiographic material. Drawing on the work of authors like Margarita Vallejo and Talal Asad's, my paper aims to understand the representation of Africa as a dangerous place, and how it allowed Eulogius of Córdoba to present Córdoba as the new repository of Christian orthodoxy. To do this, I will first discuss the representation of Africa in late Antique hagiographic material; I will then move to discuss the importance of Monk George's linguistic abilities in the context of Christian religious disputes. Finally, I will discuss how the idea of dangerous Africa constituted an essential

tool to evangelize the Christians of Córdoba and favor a *translatio religionis* from the see of Carthage to the city of Córdoba.

Hervin Fernández-Aceves (The British School at Rome):

Moving from Byzantine to Latin: a Comparative Proposal for the Study of the Sardinian ‘*Condaghes*’.

Byzantine Sardinia emerged from its ‘dark age’ history, the island’s fortunes appear to have been reversed and its four independent ‘kingdoms’ (*giudicati*) developed as unique polities in the western medieval Mediterranean. Nonetheless, still little is known of the island’s socio-political dynamics during this period of apparent autonomy, except that they were unusual and precocious. It is notorious, despite the uncertainty, that Sardinia’s rulers developed their own local expression of control: the production of the earliest vernacular chancery documents in Europe. What is the range of this unique documentary legacy, and how does it compare to cartulary-writing in other areas of southern Italy? A unique corpus of Sardinian ‘*cartularies*’, known as *condaghes*, survive in Sardinian vernacular, Latin and even Spanish. They date from between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries and provide a rich and relatively unexplored source with which to reconstruct social dynamics. Only recently have critical editions of the *condaghes* been published. These compilations appear to have fulfilled a similar function as those produced in other areas of Byzantine influence in southern Italy, even though their structure is evidently different. This suggestion demands a further exploration of similar parallel cases, mostly concerning similar chartularies of both Byzantine origin and Latin-Vernacular tradition that are found in other liminal areas of contemporary southern Italy – such as the Calabrian *brevion* of Reggio and the very extensive cartulary of St Elias of Carbone, and the Abruzzese chronicle-chartularies of Carpineto and Casauria. The content and mechanisms of these diplomatic instruments provide an invaluable platform upon which to conduct a closer examination of the common cultural background of, and the administrative similarities between, the different chartulary traditions in Sardinia, Calabria and the Abruzzo. I argue here that a trans-regional comparative study will be a fundamental step towards understanding the nature and scope of the *condaghes* and will provide a rich context with which to use and analyse the Sardinian diplomatic sources.

Elena de la Cruz Vergari (Universitat Rovira i Virgili):

A Medieval Mixed Scripta in the Holy Land.

Several manuscripts in Romance and with connections to the Holy Land present language features that suggest the coexistence of various language communities.

A clear example is the manuscript of the Knights Templar preserved in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon, Manuscript Collection, Varia, 9.

Our linguistic analysis will present the major characteristics of the writing of this manuscript testimony which displays features of French, Occitan and Catalan, among other medieval languages.

Panel 20: Women, Trade, and the Limits of Mobility in the Crown of Aragon

Organiser: Abigail Agresta (Queen’s University)

Chair: Mireia Comas-Via (IRCVM - Universitat de Barcelona)

Sala Coromines

This session explores how business related to trade and patrimony set women on the move in the medieval Crown of Aragon, as well as the real and varied limits to their mobility. In a commercial society defined in large part by movement, these papers highlight those who found their ability to travel partly circumscribed. In two papers, we encounter Jewish and Christian women participating in trade, buying and selling their goods or labor, or entering in family patrimonial affairs, while in the third paper women are themselves bought and sold. All three deal with women who, voluntarily or not, entered into the medieval marketplace, moved from place to place, and faced barriers to movement. Many of the women studied in these papers were at a disadvantage, on account of class, religion, free status, or some combination of the three, while all were disadvantaged relative to men on the basis of their gender. These identities constrained, but did not preclude, their participation in the commercial world of the medieval Mediterranean. In reconstructing the ambivalent experiences of traveling women in the Crown of Aragon, this session seeks to add nuance to the traditional account of Mediterranean mobility.

Sarah Ifft Decker (Indiana University Bloomington):

Have Work, Will Travel? Jewish and Christian Women's Mobility in Catalonia, 1250-1350.

In 1322, Sibil la de Ginestos, daughter of Arnau de Ginestos of Sant Esteve de Palautordera, agreed to work for the next two years as the servant of Bernat de Palauders, a citizen of Barcelona, in his pottery workshop. This labor position required her to move from her small, rural hometown to the much larger city of Barcelona, leaving behind family and friends. The same year, in the smaller city of Vic, Reina, widow of Astrug Caravida, a prominent member of the city's Jewish community, appointed an agent to collect debts owed to her by several individuals living outside the city. Reina was an especially successful moneylender, and hardly had issues collecting on debts—but traveling outside the city for work was beyond her normal activities. This paper will explore the different kinds of labor mobility—or lack thereof—of Christian and Jewish women in Catalonia from 1250 to 1350. Although Christian women, especially lower-status women, could more easily travel to pursue labor opportunities than Jewish women. While Christian women still faced certain restrictions, evidence from notarial registers demonstrates that they traveled to take positions as domestic servants and apprentices, to sell or collect rent on real estate holdings, and to sell goods. In contrast, while Jewish women occasionally relocated for marriage, they almost never traveled on business. I will argue that the difference stems in large part from Jewish efforts to resist acculturation—which they did in part by maintain a set of practices that severely limited women's social and economic rights.

Anna Rich-Abad (University of Nottingham):

Mobility and Agency: Jewish Women in 14th Century Barcelona.

This paper examines the geographic connections of the Jewish women of Barcelona in the late 14th C. through the abundant notarial records of the city. These documents refer to credit, trade and industry, sales and family affairs including marriage contracts, dowries, cessions and inheritances. In combination with innovative methods of network analysis, the notarial records allow us to visualize these women's territorial connections and networks with individuals, Jews and Christians alike.

Most of the transactions contained in the Barcelona notaries reveal an image of Jewish female immobility, and territorial restraint. Only a limited number of affairs referring to dowries and inheritances allow us to perceive the extension of networks beyond the immediate hinterland of Barcelona, to different communities in Catalonia -

usually within the same taxation district as Barcelona, although occasionally they can extend to the broader context of the territories of the Crown of Aragon and beyond.

The study of the notarial records reveals social and personal attitudes to travel for Jewish women within the Call of Barcelona in comparison with Jewish men and with their Christian neighbours. They demonstrate a clear link between mobility and the status of these women's families, establishing their connections and their ability to manage remote properties and assets. Jewish women may move to marry outside their communities, particularly women pertaining to the elites, but they rarely travel again, and social and personal constrictions explain common practices and strategies such as the resource to professional attorneys and delegation in relatives to represent them in business, management of affairs, and litigations for the recovery of dowries or inheritance rights.

Abigail Agresta (Queen's University):

'Bring[ing] the Disease into the House': Enslaved Women, Mobility, and Plague in Late Medieval Valencia.

This paper uses documentary evidence of the sales of two enslaved women in Valencia to examine changing understandings of the movement of plague in the later fifteenth century. Although scholars have shown that slavery became more common in Iberia after the demographic catastrophe of the Black Death, the relationship between plague prevention and the slave trade has received little attention in studies of slavery, and still less in studies of medicine. In the late fifteenth century, however, authorities tasked with plague prevention became increasingly focused on contagion: how the plague moved in the bodies and belongings of human beings. This growing focus on the human body as a vehicle for plague led to the creation of a new set of bureaucratic technologies designed to contain the plague, track its spread, and certify its absence. Inevitably, these measures interacted with efforts to move enslaved people around the Crown of Aragon. Thus while in 1450 Caterina was sold at full price from a plague-stricken household, by 1507 Hieronima required a certificate of health to be taken from Valencia to Mallorca. Key to both of these sales was the women's status as Valencians and therefore relative 'insiders,' quarantine measures at this time were designed as much to exclude foreigners as to isolate the sick.

Panel 21: Exchange, Distribution and Consumption of Goods in the Mediterranean

Chair: Carolina Obradors-Suazo (LaMOP, Université Paris 1-Panthéon Sorbonne, Chercheuse Associée)

Sala Nicolau d'Olwer

Elizabeth Comuzzi (University of California):

The Movement of Mediterranean Products into Inland Markets: The Example of Italian Woad in Puigcerdà 1300-1360.

The considerable scholarly interest in the medieval Mediterranean over the course of the last few decades has meant that the dense network of commercial networks that brought merchants and goods across the late medieval Mediterranean Sea have been well studied. It remains largely unclear, however, to what extent Mediterranean commodities moved into inland hinterland regions, and how the trade bringing such goods to inland markets was conducted. My paper, tentatively titled "The Movement of Mediterranean Products into Inland Markets: The Example of Italian Woad in Puigcerdà 1300-1360", will examine these questions by discussing the trade of Tuscan dyestuffs in Puigcerdà in the

fourteenth century. During the first half of the fourteenth century Italian traders from Florence, Arezzo and Città di Castello brought Tuscan woad and other dyestuffs deep into the Pyrenees, to be sold in Puigcerdà, a town some 100 km from the nearest Mediterranean port. These merchants appear at a modest, but steady rate throughout the first half of the fourteenth century, with several of them eventually identified as permanent residents of Puigcerdà. As I will show, in this case the movement of these traders and goods into inland markets was mediated through a central hub in the coastal city of Perpignan. A high percentage of the Italian merchants who traded in Puigcerdà were identified as inhabitants of Perpignan, suggesting that various mercantile companies seeking to trade dyestuffs in the region had founded a permanent base in Perpignan. Operating from this base, individual merchants could travel into inland hinterland regions to sell products. Others might be stationed permanently in satellite towns set further inland from the central hub, such as Puigcerdà to conduct trade in that region, or from which they could reach even further markets. This example also suggests that Italian merchants often continued to control the sale of woad and other dyestuffs relatively far into hinterland markets, frequently selling woad directly to cloth dyers in Puigcerdà, without relying on local Catalan merchants as intermediaries. This paper will shed light not only on the extent to which Mediterranean trade extended into hinterland regions during the later middle ages, but will also offer insight into the means through which they did so.

Aina Palarea (European University Institute):

Consuming Goods from across the Sea: the Consumption of Manufactures Goods in the First Half of the Fifteenth-Century (the Case of Catalonia).

The study of international trade has always generated a lot of interest among scholars. As a result, our knowledge on this academic field has exponentially increased since the second half of the twentieth century. However, researchers have paid little attention to the study of commerce from a consumption perspective. Historians working on latter periods have pointed out the significance of consumption as an autonomous force of economic change. Based on their studies, the present paper will explore the consumption of foreign manufactured goods found in Catalan households in the first half of the fifteenth-century. Silken hats and towels from Dalmatia, bottles and lanterns made of Damascene glass, woolen cloths from Florence, Genovese crossbows and knives, glassed clocks and furniture from Venice, cloths from Cyprus or Pisan swords and chests. These were some of the commodities that were listed in Catalan post-mortem inventories.

While we have a general idea of what type of products were traded due to previous studies of notarial contracts, institutional documentation and private correspondence; there are few studies on how these goods were distributed. For this reason, the present paper will analyze the geographical and social scope of these foreign manufactured goods. A discussion on its accessibility will raise the questions, such as to what extent historians can identify foreign goods with luxurious goods. In order to better understand the nature of such goods, the present talk will analyze probate inventories and private correspondence that will shed light over the motives underneath the acquisition of such goods and the development of a taste to display and use them.

All the research will be historically contextualized within its social and economic reality. From the thirteenth century onwards, the Crown of Aragon experienced an increase of its regional production which was partially exported to other areas of the Europe and the Mediterranean. The commercial expansion of Catalonia was possible due to the support of the monarchy and the municipal governments that promoted the regional production of agricultural and manufactured goods for exportation with protectionist measures. Therefore, the investigation should be understood within the debate of the role

of imports and whether they hindered the development of regional production. From an economic perspective, it will also lead to a reflection on the technological capacity of European societies to emulate exported commodities and to find or create new goods that could easily be exchanged.

Finally, the present paper will also engage with the recent research on material culture studies which centers its analysis to the material goods found in galleries and museums and archeological sites. The combination of material and documented evidence will provide better evidence of the quality of foreign goods and how they were different from the Catalan production.

Jesús Ángel Solórzano Telechea (Universidad de Cantabria):

From the Mediterranean to the Atlantic: The Role of the Town-ports of Northern Iberia in the Connection of the European Economy in Later Middle Ages.

The Iberian Peninsula enjoyed a strategic geographic position on the long-distance routes between the Mediterranean and Atlantic Europe from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, and on the expansion routes over the Atlantic Ocean. However, until the thirteenth century, the development of these maritime routes remained very modest, basically driven by maritime pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela and the fleets of Crusaders from northern Europe who circumnavigated the Peninsula on their way to the new Christian kingdoms of the Mediterranean Levant between 1096 and 1270.

From the thirteenth century onward, a shift unfolded from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic owing to political, economic and technological factors, thence granting the Atlantic façade a strategic position of the highest order within medieval commercial exchanges. The economy of the area evolved around three large hubs of growth: the Northern Cantabrian area, Lisbon to the West and Seville to the South.

Urban historiography has granted priority to the study of these large ports over the smaller ones. However, investigations on maritime commerce, navigation, and port societies have proven the valuable role played by small and medium-sized ports within the “network” and have led to a correction of the myopic approach of macroeconomic studies. The foundation by royal decree of some fifty port towns between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries lay the structural foundations for the development of maritime routes along the Cantabrian coastline. In this sense, Cantabrian ports constitute a subset of the urban system of the Crown of Castile and its relations with the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, based on diverse factors such as geographic conditions, the political-administrative dynamics, infrastructures, and economic and particularly commercial relationships, all of which will be the object of this paper.

Panel 22: Medieval Tarragona: New People in Old Places

Organisers: Lawrence J. McCrank (Professor and Dean Emeritus, Chicago State University), Maria Bonet Donato (Universitat Rovira i Virgili)

Chair: Antoni Virgili (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

Sala Puig i Cadafalch

While places such as ancient cities on the Mediterranean shores are stationary, people in them are not. Major migrations made their impression on the Roman capital of Hispania Citerior which underwent transformations from Tarraco to its successor Romano-Visigothic Tarracona, conquered Tarrakūna as a Muslim outpost, retaken Terrachona, and finally late medieval Tarragona – new cities amidst the monumental ruins of the Roman Empire. This panel discusses the archaeological changes in the upper part

of the city, once the Roman ceremonial and governmental quarter to what the remaining habitation when the residential city was abandoned; how cultural elements from its former self meddled with the values of new peoples to inculcate Roman values nonetheless; and how the past was celebrated in a new monument, the medieval cathedral in the middle of the old temple square. As generations of migrants resettled at Tarragona, many new to Hispania and without backgrounds in local or regional history, or the culture they would adopt, they were taught by their surroundings, the mix of residents and newcomers, and lasting values.

Meritxell Pérez Martínez (INSAF; Universitat Rovira i Virgili):
Tarraco, the Roman Provincial Capital after the Empire.

Empire left a deep and long-lasting impression in the territories of Roman Hispania with visible effects at all levels of human development as new peoples entered Hispania as successors to the old Roman regime. Even when it ceased to play a major political role in the West, the idea of the Empire continued to shape political, social and cultural structures. This contribution explores the process of developing and reshaping this imperial heritage by studying the political structures that followed in early medieval Hispania, particularly through evidence provided by *Tarraco*. It and the other Roman provincial capitals of Hispania continued to be centres of power, cities with political and ecclesiastical importance where a strong concept of *civilitas* survived among its inhabitants, both successive generations from late-Romans and as passed along to newcomers who embraced this legacy. How this happened in a former capital is analysed, and how such heritage was transformed and adapted by over time when influenced by myriad historical changes. This post-Empire Romanization and sense of a Roman identity would survive as a major feature in the character of this Mediterranean city and play an important part in its survival as different peoples came into the city and its territory.

Joan Josep Menchon Bes (Ajuntament de Tarragona):
Tarragona Repeopled (c. XII-XIX): A Medieval City in a Roman Urban Ruin.

Presented here is an archaeological vision of the transformation of the highest part of Tarragona from when it was the Roman ceremonial centre for the Capital which became the self-contained Visigothic city itself, a walled residential town lasting through the Middle Ages until it began to expand again. This view through the 14th c. will trace the various stages of its urban evolution based on archaeology markers collated with information from written diplomas, showing the contraction in usage, space and major transformations, defences, and places of power and social mingling as its inhabitants changed and they changed the city in which they lived.

Esther Lozano López (UNED/Universitat de Barcelona - ENTI), Marta Serrano Coll (Universitat Rovira i Virgili):
A New Cathedral for a City Renewed: Celebrating Tarraco's Past and Tarragona's Future.

By the end of the 12thc. the cathedral of Tarragona was turned into one of the great ecclesiastical symbols in the artistic panorama of the western Mediterranean, built by new colonists resettled by then who took pride in their refounded city. As new citizens they brought with them political, religious and cultural ideas which became visible through that splendid monument. It seems impossible to understand the development of the next century without taking into account the diplomatic relations of the archbishops, the military expeditions in which they participated to Mallorca, Valencia, etc., the robust

multicultural urban milieu of the revived city and its surroundings, re-opened trade, and continued movement of peoples to and through it to newly annexed lands. Such considerations make possible better understanding of the cathedral beyond its locality as a bulwark in the larger medieval context. Its situation, topographics, and dimensions made it a paradigm of power signalling a coming of age, with a complex array and high quality in the visual discourse and sculptures that reveal the highest level of late-Romanesque creativity. Combining the Roman inheritance and Apostolic character of ancient Tarraco which were celebrated, it attested the See's intellectual and artistic accomplishments, commemorated a lost heritage reclaimed for its new citizens, and inspired them for a bright future in an era of restoration of an ancient city newly recreated.

18h15 – 20h15
SMM's Annual General Meeting (AGM)
MMB's Auditori

20h30
Optional activity:
Conference dinner (Norai Restaurant – MMB)

Wednesday 10th of July

Session 6: 9h00 – 10h30

Panel 23: Geographical and Social Mobility within the Royal Households and Administration in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon

Organiser: Albert Reixach Sala (Institut de Recerca Història - Centre de Recerca d'Història Rural, University of Girona)

Chair: Sandra de la Torre Gonzalo (University of the Basque Country)
Sala Puig i Cadafalch

This panel will weave together three different viewpoints about mobility linked to royal households and other political structures of the monarchy in a powerful entity in the Mediterranean basin at the end of the Middle Ages, the Crown of Aragon between the mid-14th century and the beginning of the 16th century. Recent studies have improved our understanding of the composition and functioning of royal households and courts. However, more analysis of social dynamics shaping these institutions, as well as their connections with the general administration of the Crown and other institutions such as Parliaments, are needed. Actually, the important amount of unpublished sources pending to be examined allow us to focus on several issues not fully explored by scholarly literature on Late Medieval Crown of Aragon, in particular, and Iberian kingdoms, in general. Papers integrating this panel deal with two of them: the geographical and social mobility linked to

royal households and government. In order to examine these mechanisms, our contributions focus on different periods from the reign of Peter the Ceremonious (1336-1387) to that of Ferdinand II (1468-1516), which means, among other changes, a progressive expansion of the territories under control of the kings of Aragon. In parallel, they consist of three different case studies. However, all of them, employing common methodologies (mainly prosopography), try to identify individuals and collectives involved with the aforementioned institutions, as well as to describe their characteristics, as a first step for the analyses proposed. To sum up, this panel aims to draw attention to a complex phenomenon such mobility, both geographical (connected with itinerant courts, but not only that) and social (in spite of traditional views attached to the idea of medieval society as a strict society of orders). In this respect, some issues they address are the importance of being member of royal households and courts in a process of upward mobility, the role played by these groups with regard to effective control of dispersed domains and the effects of their attitudes on political stability of each kingdom. Finally, in a general sense, it attempts to answer to what extent the different territories composing the Crown of Aragon during the 14th-15th centuries, among other Mediterranean political powers, provided fertile ground for mobility.

Cristina M. García García (University of Zaragoza):

The Mobility of Political Elites of the Crown of Aragon in the Late 14th Century (1387-1396): The Royal Household and the Royal Administration.

This paper proposal focuses on the mobility of the political society of the Crown of Aragon during the late 14th Century, in particular, during the reign of Juan I (1387-1396). The end of this reign has been considered a key moment, as in 1396, right before the death of Juan I, a high number of the members of his household were involved in a massive trial. Among other crimes, they were charged with deliberately giving bad advice to the king, impoverishing the finances of the monarchy and corrupting the Justice system. The reason why we have chosen the reign of Juan I is because the year of 1396 closed a period of stress between the members of the royal household and the representatives of the kingdoms, who had expressed their dissatisfaction with the courtiers in the Parliament of 1383-1384, and all this allow us to identify the reign of Juan I as a period of crisis inside the political society of the Crown.

Thus, the point of this proposal is to define the social mobility between the royal household and the royal administration of the Crown of Aragon, that is, positions like *bailía* or *gobernación* among others, in that period of crisis. In order to achieve these objectives, this paper focuses on a varied group of individuals from the royal household of Juan I through the study of three main areas of power in the late middle ages: the royal household, the royal administration and the Parliaments. In addition, it will consider both the influence of king's patronage and the political role that these individuals played in politics through their participation in the Parliaments.

The analysis of the mobility and connections among royal household and other structures of the monarchy government will help us to define, on the one hand, whether the presence in the royal entourage leaded to political benefits or if it was the presence in the institutions of the kingdoms what favoured the access to the royal household. On the other hand, the aim is to measure to what extent did the social mobility and the royal patronage influence the origin of the struggles that took place in the late 14th Century among the members of the political society. To that end, it will examine not only individual careers, but as well as part of a lineage strategies.

Albert Reixach Sala (Institut de Recerca Història - Centre de Recerca d'Història Rural, University of Girona):

Between the Crown and Local Communities: Non-noble Members of Royal Households and Administration from North-eastern Catalonia (mid-14th - mid-15th centuries).

This paper proposal deals with non-noble people serving at the households of the royal family, as well as judicial, bureaucratic and financial instances of royal administration in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon. Excluding members of the military order (*braç*) and clerics, it will consider a wide range of profiles from opulent citizens and merchants to jurists, lawyers, notaries, doctors in medicine and practitioners, so people with university training or specific professional skills.

First of all, it aims to detect common patterns in their origins or social background, as well as in their careers. In this sense, it will pay attention to possible causes for their nomination as members of the king, queen or princes' households, or concerning their election to be part of chancery or treasury staff, or to act as legal consultants for different departments. During their initial steps and also later, it will take into account familiar relationships and complementary ties that contributed to their social capital. Similarly, it will consider to what extent these individuals integrated close circles preserving their power or how their services to the Crown could fuel upward mobility, for example, resulting in access to nobility. Moreover, it will try to explore the way, throughout their period of activity, they interacted between their native places or communities of origin and the inner circles of royal administration.

This paper proposal will focus on the collective born in the city of Girona or other small towns and localities, especially under royal jurisdiction, of its region in northeastern Catalonia. From a chronological viewpoint, it will center on the second half of the kingdom of Peter the Ceremonious (1336-1387) and those of his sons Jean I (1387-1396) and Martin I (1396-1410), as well as the beginning of the Trastámaras dynasty when the Crown expanded their domains and important changes can be presumed within its staff.

Germán Gamero Igea (University of Valladolid):

Urban Elites in Ferdinand II of Aragon Retinue. A Case study from Castile.

How to govern a territory without being the legitimate sovereign and with no possibilities of having a large army to control all the country? Collaboration with the local elites and driving their improvement were two of the main strategies of Ferdinand II of Aragón (1468-1516) in Castile. He assumed the unusual position of a king-consort (firstly) and king-father (afterwards). Thanks to that, his Court is a great example of how royal entourage could be a perfect scene for political communication and for geographical and social mobility.

To better understand this process, this proposal will be focused on the Castilian city of Ávila and its diocese as a study-case. There are several reasons for choosing Ávila as a case study. It was an area that traditionally linked to the monarchy and to the royal entourage (especially two small towns, Madrigal and Arévalo). Even more, in the Castilian civil war of the fifteenth century, Ávila defended Isabella's (Ferdinand's wife) candidature to the throne. Before that, this city supported his stepbrother (prince Alfonso de Trastámaras) in this conflict. On the other hand, it is also true that Ávila never assumed the role of a capital-city (such as, Sevilla, Segovia, Valladolid, or Toledo). Ávila is, therefore, an example of how the common towns dialogue with the monarchy, but, its particular politicization in this period will help us obtain a greater amount of news.

However, my dissertation will not focus on a regional or quantitative approach. It will assume a qualitative perspective at least in two different ways. First of all, Ávila will be

an example of how (all) non-natural subjects could be included in a royal entourage. Regarding to that, it will analyze if there were differences between court offices in this process. Even more, this paper will consider some questions about these courtiers: would they be able to promote in the royal retinue? How were they organized? On the other hand, it will be necessary to explain if royal reward reverted into the courtier's origin places. In other words, this paper will examine if there was a correspondence between the royal graces and the original places of the courtiers. Regarding to this point, my dissertation will explore if non-natural courtiers developed an administrative career in the royal administration or if they just came back to their houses after living some years in the Court. Combining both local and royal sources this paper will explore the aforementioned phenomena.

Panel 24: Movement, Mobility and Mediterranean Culture

Organisers: Brian A. Catlos (University of Colorado Boulder)

Chair: Brian A. Catlos (University of Colorado Boulder)

Sala Prat de la Riba

The medieval Mediterranean was a dynamic zone of cultural contact, exchange, and innovation, the nexus between Europe, Africa, and Asia, and between the Byzantine, Latin, and Islamic worlds. In recent years, some scholars have written in terms of “Mediterranean culture” — a set of common traits, practices, beliefs, and aesthetics shared by the various peoples around its shores; other scholars, however, have rejected this notion in favor of the Mediterranean as a region defined not by any single religious, linguistic, or institutional culture. The three papers in this panel approach the question of Mediterranean culture and the role played by inter- and intraregional exchange from three distinct, but complimentary approaches. Dana Katz examines the palace-gardens of the Norman kings of Sicily as exemplars of a culture that bridges the Islamicate and Latin Mediterranean. María Marcos Cobaleda demonstrates, through the case of Almoravid art and architecture, how GIS technology can be applied to the trace artistic influences in the medieval Mediterranean. Finally, Uri Shacher shows how a Judeo-Middle High German travel text fits into the tradition of Mediterranean epic and travelogue. Together these three papers illuminate the notion of medieval Mediterranean culture, and demonstrate through the lens of distinct methodological and disciplinary approaches how this culture can be discerned.

Dana Katz (Hebrew University):

Mobility and Exchange in the Satellite Residences of the Royal Parklands in Norman Sicily.

The royal park palaces that surrounded the Norman capital of Palermo were born out of Mediterranean exchange. At these sites, itinerant poets from across *dar al-Islam* composed and presumably performed texts, of which several remain extant, carved in stone and stucco that once adorned their façades. Sophisticated hydraulic and passive air cooling technologies were implemented for the royal palaces. Built entirely in an Islamic mode, these secular sites unequivocally demonstrated an architecture of power shared across the Mediterranean. Despite the apparent mobility of builders, artisans, and architectural ideas, the local Muslim population of Sicily became increasingly marginalized over the course of the twelfth century. The paper will also explore a further scale of exchange, from the interregional to the intraregional, and how this came to play in the parkland architecture of the Norman kings of Sicily.

María Marcos Cobaleda (Universidad de Málaga):

Common Points of the Medieval Mediterranean Culture: An Approach from the Application of the Geographical Information Systems (GIS) to the Study of the Artistic Exchanges.

The aim of this paper is to present the results of the ArtMedGIS Project. The main objective of this Project is to evaluate the artistic exchanges in the Mediterranean during the late Middle Ages through the Geographical Information Systems (GIS) in order to assess some common points of the medieval Mediterranean culture. The starting point has been the selection of certain elements of the Islamic art, developed by the Almoravids in the 12th century, which can be related to other Mediterranean artistic manifestations due to commercial, political and cultural relations. In this context, the objectives of the project are: to measure the presence of these elements in the main artistic manifestations of the Islamic and Christian Mediterranean countries in the late Middle Ages; to apply the new method based on the GIS to the Art History research; to assess the relation of religion and power with the artistic productions; and to review the concepts of centre and peripheries regarding the artistic production in the Mediterranean context. Beyond the geographical distribution, the use of the GIS has allowed to analyse different phenomena linked to the artistic exchanges and the development of the Mediterranean culture.

Uri Shachar (Ben-Gurion University):

The Travel of Cultures in Late Medieval Mediterranean Epics.

The sole copy of *Dukus Horant*, an epic in Judeo-Middle High German, was discovered in the Cairo Genizah in the late nineteenth century. While the literary tradition from which this work grows is central European, material evidence shows conclusively that the codex was manufactured in the East. The manuscript inscribes the flight of a German speaking Jewish community to Jerusalem in the wake of the Black Death riots, but at the same time it thematizes the travel of culture and language across the Mediterranean. The story, in other words, chronicles the eastbound travel of the song that its protagonist is imagined to perform, but it also traces the passage of the conditions that made the reading of the codex intelligible in the Levant. A courtly epic in Hebrew script that was copied onto paper in the eastern Mediterranean disrupts the kind of territorial assumptions that still inform much of the scholarship on pre-modern literature. By reading *Dukus Horant* alongside other contemporaneous epics such as *Sirat Baybars*, *Sirat Sayf ibn dhi Yakzan*, and *Melusine*, this talk seeks to reevaluate the hermeneutical work of the Mediterranean in producing self-reflective narratives that topicalize the fabrication and travel of medieval idioms.

Panel 25: Moving and Settling in a Mediterranean City: Scales of Mobility in Acre, Constantinople and Barcelona (12th-15th centuries)

Organisers: F. Özden Mercan (European University Institute), Carolina Obradors-Suazo (LaMOP, Université Paris 1-Panthéon Sorbonne, Chercheuse Associée)

Chair: Victòria A. Burguera i Puigserver (Universitat de les Illes Balears / IMF-CSIC, Barcelona)

Sala Coromines

Carolina Obradors-Suazo (LaMOP, Université Paris 1-Panthéon Sorbonne, Chercheuse Associée):

Moving to Settle. Neighbours, Memory and Belonging in Fifteenth-Century Barcelona (1400-1440).

This paper examines how internal mobility within the city participated in the creation of urban belonging in the Late Middle Ages. Barcelona, for which a long and detailed set of citizenship interrogations has been conserved, provides an ideal laboratory for such an analysis. A powerful commercial and industrial centre, Barcelona attracted merchants from Catalonia and beyond and entertained dynamic artisanal and mercantile networks, the scope of which went well beyond the walls of the city to reach other Mediterranean markets. Belonging to the urban community was weaved within these networks through the public display of a large range of practices that shaped the figure of the good citizen – stable residence, marriage, fiscal contribution or presence in public festivities among the most relevant ones. Yet, the richness of the witnessing provided by the citizenship reports shows that there were many ways of interpreting and practicing citizenship, in a city where belonging was mostly determined by good will and reputation. In this paper, I will focus on the meanings of internal mobility, evaluating the extent to which foreign and native citizens built their belonging by settling roots through time in a diversity of urban spaces. More specifically, I will follow and present a sample of twenty cases that refer to individuals who chose former neighbours as witnesses when applying for a citizenship charter. Those former neighbours still remembered the candidates and were in a position to state not only that they were citizens but that they had been behaving as such for some time. Retracing the ability to create a memory of one's own belonging, the paper goes deep into the spatial meanings of citizenship, while showing how to consider the diverse scales of mobility (to the city but also within it, physical as well as social) helps to shed new light on the complexities of social organisation in medieval urban communities.

Antonio Musarra (Sapienza Università di Roma):

An Uneasy Coexistence: The Genoese, Pisans and Venetians in Thirteenth-Century Acre.

The presence of Italians, in particular the Genoese, Venetians and Pisans in Acre during the thirteenth century was for a long time a reason for destabilization in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Having their own districts and their own jurisdiction, the Italian communities had frequent disputes and conflicts with each other, which could hardly be resolved by the authorities in Acre. The Genoese, Pisan and Venetian consuls and bailiffs did their utmost to reaffirm the rights deriving from the privileges obtained during the previous century and to collect the rental income from the buildings located in their neighbourhoods in order to give report to their home country regarding the economic development of the settlements. The analysis of the surviving documentation, kept mainly in the archives of Genoa and Venice, allows us to assess the legal status of their settlements and to observe how the Italian presence forced the other powers in Acre such as the local Church and the military orders to face not only the arrival from the West of pilgrims and crusaders but also of quarrelsome merchants aiming to make war with each other.

F. Özden Mercan (European University Institute):

Becoming Part of the Urban Fabric: The Genoese Community in Byzantine/Ottoman Constantinople (14th - 15th Centuries).

The presence of Italian communities in Constantinople dates back to the late eleventh century when the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I gave certain privileges and concessions to the Genoese and the Venetians. Trade was one of the primary reasons for the Italians to migrate and settle in the Byzantine capital Constantinople, a city that embodied a diversity of cultures, ideas, religions, people and goods. This paper will specifically focus on the Genoese community in Constantinople and examine the dynamics

that regulated their relations with first Byzantine and later Ottoman administrations from the fourteenth to the late fifteenth centuries. Establishing a semi-autonomous rule in Pera/Constantinople during the late Byzantine period, the Genoese became important settlers of the imperial city connecting it with the Black Sea and the Mediterranean through their trading networks and colonies. Although the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453 changed the status of the Genoese community, most of the Genoese families continued to stay in this city and adapted themselves to the newly emerging conditions.

By analyzing the contemporary chronicles, Genoese notarial sources, and Ottoman documents, this paper intends to dwell on the experiences of the Genoese under the Byzantine and Ottoman rules and examine how they handled co-existing with a society of differing faith, language and culture. It will also discuss how the Genoese sought to keep their commercial interests and maintain their order in the vibrant and cosmopolitan setting of Ottoman Constantinople.

Panel 26: Diplomatic Strategies in the 15th Century Western Mediterranean

Chair: Francesco P. Tocco (Università degli Studi di Messina)

Sala Nicolau d'Olwer

Andrea Pergola (Università degli Studi di Cagliari):

Movement... of Paper. The Correspondence of Sardinia in the *Cartas Reales* of Alfonso the Magnanimous.

As part of the Ph.D. in History, Cultural Heritage and International Studies (University of Cagliari - Department of Literature, Languages and Cultural Heritage) a research project is currently underway concerning the *Cartas reales* of Alfonso the Magnanimous concerning Sardinia.

The project, located within a greater collaboration between the Department and the Institute of History of Mediterranean Europe of the National Research Council (ISEM-CNR), aims to recover and edit of the documentation produced and / or received from the Catalan chancery concerning the Island and today preserved in the Archives of the Crown of Aragon of Barcelona. The Magnanimous series (a real collection created ad hoc by Próspero de Bofarull in the nineteenth century), while presenting many difficulties for research given its heterogeneous character, can open, due to this peculiarity, different paths of investigation.

In this regard, the trend inherent in the studies on mobility in the late medieval Mediterranean certainly plays a significant role. Through the analysis of this documentation, in fact, the "Sardinian-Iberian" Mediterranean, and therefore Sardinia itself, appear as a rich stage on which people, goods and ideas move. It is the case of officials sent to counter the rampant illegality or pirates in search of new assets to be raided or, again, the impossibility for men and women to reach or leave the island due to hostile political manoeuvres.

The intervention will therefore analyse some exemplary cases of movement and mobility - also denied - through the sometimes informal words of the Sardinian protagonists of Alfonso the Magnanimous. The documents -and their analysis- will provide information on the political, economic and juridical aspects of the period but, even more interestingly, also on a purely human level; words that express fear, envy, pain, and anger thus making the protagonists of an era, that of the maximum splendour of the Crown of Aragon, "three-dimensional".

Laura Miquel Milian (IMF-CSIC, Barcelona):

Writing to the Right People: the Letters Sent by Barcelona during the Catalan Civil War.

Between 1462 and 1472 Catalonia lived its most hectic period during the 15th century: the conflict against its king, John II of Aragon, which is historically known as the Catalan Civil War. During those years Barcelona's City Council was one of the institutions which led the way of the rebels, and this was a huge responsibility. However, the main city of Catalonia was kind of used to that: Barcelona was seen as the mother of all other Catalan cities, and its commands were closely listened to.

In the Historical Archive of the City of Barcelona (ACHB) are preserved all the letters that the Council sent and received during those years.⁴ This paper will focus on the first ones, the ones actually written by the representatives of the city. These missives were addressed to a number of different people and institutions, from the powerful king of France to the small town of Molins de Rei. Barcelona's network was by then quite vast, and in times of war the Council did not doubt to use it as often as it was necessary. Because the receivers of the letters were frequently far away, sometimes bringing them by foot or horse was not an option. In those cases the Mediterranean served as the space through which communication was carried out with such places as Naples, Mallorca, Marseille or even Rome.

The main goal of the paper is to analyze all those letters sent by Barcelona during the aforesaid period of time in order to acquire some information which up until now has somehow been neglected: how Barcelona, a Mediterranean city, used its privileged location next to the sea as an advantage in order to contact with other cities and preeminent people during the war against John II, and what benefits obtained from that.

Luís Miguel Duarte (Universidade do Porto):

The King of Naples, Alfonso V, the Portuguese Princess and the rude German Emperor.

In the 1452, some Italian cities were the centre of Europe. The emperor Frederic III was to meet, in Sienna, his bride, the Portuguese princess Eleanor, sister of the King of Portugal Afonso V. The marriage had already been contracted in Lisbon. In Sienna, it was to the bishop, Eneas Silvio Piccolomini (himself a future pope), to introduce the future spouses. From there, the couple travelled to Rome, where Frederic expected to be crowned Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire by the pope. This was what really mattered to the German King; the wedding was clearly secondary. Luxurious celebrations in Lisbon – but no Germans to watch them; modest celebrations in Sienna. Some pomp and circumstance in Rome, though the Pope had little strength and he emperor little time. The most magnificent celebrations took place, surprisingly or not, in Naples, where the King of Aragon, also named Alfonso V, displayed both his wealth and his power.

We have some extraordinary letters from a Portuguese noble who accompanied the princess to Italy to his King. If we give credit to these quite extraordinary letters, the Portuguese embassies (two, in fact) made quite an impression in Siena but mostly in Rome. The Germans, however, are described like real savages, and the emperor someone rude and

⁴ The vast epistolary network of Barcelona's City Council was the subject of a study written by Vicent Baydal. Because of the wide span of years he covered, from the period of the Catalan Civil War he only analysed the records belonging to 1462 and 1463 (BAYDAL SALA, Vicent, "La xarxa epistolar del Consell municipal de Barcelona, 1433-1550", <https://digital.csic.es/handle/10261/67558>).

capable of discussing petty prices with some Florentine merchants. The Portuguese historiography has quite poor works about this event. We never tried to see Frederic's political situation and point of view, neither the Pope's. But above all, we never understood that the real wedding maker and, perhaps, the Emperor maker, was the influent and powerful King of Naples. He wanted to find an important wife not to the princess of Portugal, to the sister of the Portuguese King, but to his niece, daughter of the later Eleanor, queen of Portugal and one of the celebrated "Infantes de Aragón". This paper tries to summarize al this problems, and to present the almost unknown but very curious "letters from Italia".

Panel 27: Boundary Crossers and Boundary Creators in the Medieval Mediterranean

Organiser: Jessica Tearney-Pearce (University of Cambridge)

Chair: Pol Junyent Molins (IMF-CSIC, Barcelona)

Sala Pi i Sunyer

The papers in this panel are connected by a link to religious, cultural, and political boundaries, or the absence thereof, in a maritime context in the medieval Mediterranean. The papers recognise that these boundaries could be real or imagined, natural or constructed. All address the logistical plausibility of the existence of maritime boundaries in this temporal and spatial context, as well as how historians can identify where they lay, if indeed they existed at all.

Jessica Tearney-Pearce (University of Cambridge):

Turning the Sea into a Church: Maritime Devotion in the Medieval Mediterranean.

At the turn of the fifth century, John Chrysostom, the Archbishop of Constantinople, instructed his parishioners to observe the feast day of Saint Phocas by attending the maritime procession of this patron saint of sailors and 'turn the sea into a church'.

Instances of taking saints to sea continued to occur in the Mediterranean in later centuries and remain common to this day. Relatedly, metaphorical literary and pictorial imagery of and allusions to the Church as a ship survive in significant quantities from earliest Christian literature, and this was a well-worn and much used metaphor in the high middle ages too. But, evidence for altars, devotional objects, and practices aboard suggest that actual medieval Mediterranean mariners also considered it important to adorn and fashion real ships – and, in slightly different ways, the sea – with objects, imagery, and practices connected to devotion. Does this suggest that those who went to sea in the medieval Mediterranean sought to make ships into churches? And, for them, could the sea really be a church?

Although the Church was regularly imagined as a ship, it has been argued that a real ship at sea was 'outside' the Church or 'extra-diocesan'. That this was universally true is disputable, and, even so, practical religious behaviours enacted to secure divine favour were still conducted there. Misbehaviour and impiety aboard could invite divine punishment of the worst kind for someone at sea: the permanent loss of physical bodies to the watery depths. Also, in these communal spaces, individual transgression could potentially result in danger for all, and this is sometimes evident in how seafarers understood their connection to and shared responsibility with their shipmates.

This paper will consider these concepts and questions with a particular eye to potential distinctions drawn between those regularly at sea and those travelling only sporadically.

Mike Carr (University of Edinburgh):

Creating Boundaries: The Papacy and Latin Commerce with the Anatolian Turks in the Fourteenth Century.

The fourteenth century was a pivotal period in the relations between the Latin Mediterranean powers and the Anatolian Turks. At the turn of the century, contacts were relatively peaceful and many of the Latin commercial states, especially the Venetians and Genoese, traded extensively with the Turkish *beyliks* occupying the Aegean coast of Asia Minor. However, as the century progressed, and the *beyliks* began to expand into Frankish territories in Greece and the Aegean, western attitudes towards the Turks began to change. The papacy and the Latin Mediterranean powers eventually launched crusades against the *beyliks*, including the Ottomans, who emerged as the preeminent Turkish power in the second-half of the century. One crucial component of papal crusading strategy was the implementation of a commercial embargo against the *beyliks*, which forbade Latin merchants from trading with the Turks.

Although some scholars, notably Elizabeth Zachariadou and Kate Fleet, have written extensively about Venetian and Genoese commercial relations with the Turks, comparatively little attention has been given to the role of the papacy and of the trade embargo on contacts between the two groups. Although it is often assumed that most merchants ignored the embargo, recent studies (e.g. by Stefan Stantchev, Damien Coulon and Georg Christ) have shown that the embargo had a very real impact on the commercial practices of Latin merchants and on wider perceptions of Latin Christians towards the Islamic powers of the Mediterranean. Moreover, archival material from the papacy offers fresh insights into the complexities of exchange on the ground in the Aegean and Anatolia which are not found in material from the merchant republics alone. By analysing the mechanics of the embargo against the Turks – and the creation of boundaries which it represented – this paper aims to clarify the role of western Anatolia in the commercial world of the Latin Mediterranean powers in the fourteenth century and also to ascertain the full impact which these interactions had on western attitudes towards the Turks and vice versa.

Alasdair Grant (University of Edinburgh):

Still ‘in capite mundi’? Cyprus and the Crusade in a Probably Spurious Letter of 1441.

The manuscript Vatican, BAV Lat. 10688 contains a range of texts on the crusades and crusading theory. Among them is an unpublished letter (ff. 111v-112r), apparently hitherto entirely unnoticed by scholars. The text claims to have been written in 1441 to King John II of Cyprus by a Christian hermit in Jerusalem, originally in Arabic, and later translated into Latin. The text's objective was to compel John to levy a small navy to recoup territories conquered by the Turks (*sic*). The text is enormously critical of John, noting his 'extreme impotence' following the Mamlūk conquest of 1426 that resulted in the captivity in Cairo of his father, Janus, alongside many of his subjects. It emphasizes Cyprus' particular position as a Christian bridgehead surrounded by hostile Islamic powers, and prophesies by 1446 the complete captivity and forced apostasy of the island's population by the Mamlūks, should John fail in his Christian duties.

The provenance of this letter may not be as it purports. The extensive use of passive participles with verbal force is unlikely to reflect an Arabic prototype, while the use

of the northern Italian demotic word *sacomanum* (here Latinized; 'plunder') invites suspicion. A possible solution, on historical and philological grounds, is that this letter was a Genoese forgery. By 1441, Lusignan relations with the Republic had broken down; the crown was heavily in debt to the Genoese, and, in that same year, a Catalan fleet attempted a failed attack on the Genoese-controlled city of Famagusta. This letter constitutes a propagandist appeal to Lusignan crusading sensibilities, erecting strong psychological boundaries between Christianity and Islam. Such propaganda could have been a sophisticated attempt to secure the Genoese foothold in Cyprus: redoubling Lusignan naval and military efforts against the Turks and Mamlūks could have protected vulnerable Famagusta by proxy.

10h30 – 11h00

Coffee break

Session 7: 11h00 – 12h30

Panel 28: Opposing Byzantium. Warfare and Geostrategy

Organiser & Chair: Şerban Marin (National Archives of Romania / Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica, Venice)

Sala Pi i Sunyer

Dimitrios Sidiropoulos (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki):

Anatomy of a Disaster: The Failed Byzantine Expedition against the Emirate of Crete (949 AD) and the Naval Power of the Empire in the mid-10th Century.

In the middle of the tenth century the situation in the Mediterranean was now clear about the Byzantine Empire. Sicily was finally lost, and accepting this fact forced Constantinople to turn its attention to the only possible goal that could overturn the unfavorable conditions in the Eastern Mediterranean and bring the State back to its former strength: the Emirate of Crete, a Muslim state created in the middle of the 9th century, was a fearsome adversary, whose forces had been ravaging the coasts and islands of the empire for about a century. Reconquest of the island would restore the safety of maritime transport in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean, giving a boost to the sea trade that has suffered greatly.

The reign of Emperor Romanos I led to a recovery of the Byzantine navy. Thus, the campaign of 949 against Crete could lead to a comfortable victory of the imperial forces. New types of ships, better crews and a series of preparations could guarantee success where others had failed in the past, such as admiral Himerios in 911.

This abstract aims at the critical examination of the naval power of the Byzantine Empire in the mid-10th century AD and give a new approach to the forces that took part in the 949 campaign, emphasizing on the naval units, critically reviewing all the available sources, attempting to shed light on the last great failure of the Byzantines against Crete just a few years before the island's reconquest by Nikephoros Phokas.

Georgios Theotokis (Boğazici University, İstanbul):

Transcultural Warfare in Byzantium in the Eleventh Century.

I wish to apply Stephen Morillo's typology of transcultural wars in Europe and its periphery to the Balkan and Anatolian territories of the Byzantine Empire in the 11th century, to identify and develop a specific model of transcultural warfare that would include the central Anatolian plateau, the areas to the north and south of the Taurus and Anti-Taurus mountain ranges, the northern Black Sea coast, the regions of Bithynia, Phrygia and Lycaonia, and the Balkan territories of the empire south of the Morava and the Danube. As the Anatolian Peninsula became a theatre of intense cultural interaction between the Byzantines and the incoming Turks and Latins, successive Byzantine governments were facing grave external threats in the Balkans from the Bulgars, the Patzinaks, the Cumans and the Italian-Normans.

Hence, I wish to examine how far can we say that the 11th century signifies a great preponderance of intercultural warfare in the region. It is a central tenet of this analysis that the cultural boundaries that define transcultural conflict in the Balkans and Anatolia are under a constant process of contested construction, and that the centuries that mark this period are delineated by mutual acculturation and transformation of regular intercultural warfare into either *intra-* or *sub-* cultural warfare.

Alexandru Madgearu (Institute for Political Studies of Defence and Military History, Bucharest):

The Rebellion of the People of Larissa against the Central Power (1066).

The rebellion of Larissa reflected the interests of the entire city community, regardless ethnic origin (Greeks, Vlachs, Bulgarians), fighting against the tax increases decided by Constantine X. It was the first revolt based on a city, not on a province, when the urban archontes defended the interests of their cities against the abuses of the imperial power. The events evolved toward an usurpation of the imperial power, supported by the local armed forces commanded by Niculitzas, and in possible cooperation with Romanos Diogenes, the duke of Serdica, and with Robert Guiscard. The rebels intended to take control of Via Egnatia and to advance toward Thessaloniki.

Şerban Marin (National Archives of Romania & Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica, Venice):

Protecting and Opposing Byzantium. The Venetian Case in the 9th -12th Centuries.

The paper approaches the manner in which the military contact between Venice and Byzantium was represented in a number of more than 250 Venetian chronicles covering the period between the beginnings of the 9th century and the war in 1171-1172. These chronicles are preserved either in manuscript (215)⁵ or – in much smaller number (22) – edited. It is about chronicles written in the period between the 13th and the 18th centuries, so that they are rather secondary sources. However, they express very well the viewpoint of the Venetian society on certain events in the past.

The paper deals with both the co-operation between the two political entities – meaning the protection offered by the Venetian fleet to the Byzantines against the Saracens and especially the Normans – and the confrontation between them, culminating with the war during Doge Vitale Michiel II and Emperor Manuel I Comnenus. Either co-operation

⁵ Located at Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (126), the library of Museo Civico Correr (69), the library of Querini-Stampalia Foundation (5), Archivio di Stato di Venezia (4), all of them in Venice, and Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (11).

or adversity, the relationship is reflected by the quantity of the Venetian fleet engaged in these actions and also its structure.

The result is that, taking into consideration the Venetian fleet's composition participating in all these events, the mobilization of the Venetians seems to take place a larger extent in the cases supposing the confrontation with Byzantium than in those that supposed the assistance given to them. The same conclusion results from the doges' personal participation in the wars against Byzantium (Domenico Michiel in 1125 and Vitale Michiel II in 1172), while in the cases of military co-operations the Venetian fleets are commanded by various other captains.

Panel 29: Iberian Connectivity: Travels, Expulsions, and Cultural Production in the Mediterranean

Organiser: Núria Silleras-Fernández (University of Colorado Boulder)

Chair: Brian A. Catlos (University of Colorado Boulder)

Sala Prat de la Riba

This panel will address Iberia and the Mediterranean by focusing on connectivity, travelling, expulsion of religious minorities, diaspora and cultural production and exchange. All the papers are closely connected. They are all set in the fifteenth century and cover all the Iberian Kingdoms. They also focus on the Trastámaras dynasty, which through inheritance, marriage, and conquest reshaped Iberia and had an important impact in the Western Mediterranean (for instance, in the Kingdom of Naples). This panel will contribute to creating a complete picture of how the Trastámaras reshaped Iberian and Mediterranean history in the fifteenth century.

Núria Silleras-Fernández (University of Colorado Boulder):

Urgell vs. Trastámaras: Dynastic Change and Cultural Production in a Mediterranean Framework.

In 1412 Fernando de Antequera was elected King of the Crown of Aragon at the “Compromiso de Caspe,” signaling the end of the Catalan Dynasty that had ruled Catalonia since the ninth century and the Crown of Aragon since its creation in the twelfth century. Thus, from 1412, a single dynasty was ruling the two most important realms of the Iberian Peninsula, the Crown of Aragon and Castile. The two crowns were further entwined when, as a consequence of the endogamic marriage strategies of the period, the two branches of the Trastámaras family united in 1469 with the marriage of Fernando of Aragon and Isabel of Castile.

My paper will study the early period of Trastámaras rule in the Crown of Aragon and its Mediterranean principalities: Fernando de Antequera (r. 1412–16) and his two sons and successors, Alfons V (r. 1416–58) and Joan II (r. 1458–79), and their queens. I will discuss an anonymous text, *La fi del Comte d’Urgell* (The End of the Count of Urgell) that considered Jaume d’Urgell the legitimate ruler of Aragon, and Fernando de Antequera and his successors mere usurpers. I will address how these Castilian rulers were seen in Catalonia and how they acculturated to their new kingdoms in the Crown of Aragon and Naples (institutions, customs, and cultural practices), and more in particular I will analyze the role that Catalan language played in this period (1412–1516), and how it contributed to their dynastic legitimization.

Rebeca Orellana Capriles (University of Colorado Boulder):

A Case of Mobility: The Incessant Travels of Dom Pedro de Portugal.

Pedro of Portugal's life (1429-1466), the famous Portuguese aristocrat who became King of Catalonia (1463-1466) poses as an excellent case study from an interdisciplinary approach, and through a Pan-Iberian and Mediterranean perspective. This paper will showcase the many ways in which Pedro focused on establishing himself as a model in literature and politics. Specifically, his works serve as an example of how Mediterranean literary models were re-worked and appropriated into the original genre of Sentimental fiction.

First, I will study the specific objects that are linked to dom Pedro in context: his works, portrait, and letters, in order to give account of them as an exemplary manifestation of self-fashioning. Second, I will analyze the performative aspect of the construction of his image in through the texts, also through the lens of material culture. It is important to note that his work's thematization of violence and conflict clash with the image of a patron of the Arts that he crafted while in Catalonia. King Pedro focused on performing as the ideal courtier while finding many financial hardships and military defeats. It is this negotiation of identity that I believe is important to underscore: that of a struggling nobleman in military conflict who worked on leaving his print on the city that was presented to him.

Lastly, close analysis of his letters and his wish to be buried in Santa María del Mar provide us with insight into his love with the city of Barcelona, as well as for the public's appreciation of him at the time of his demise.

Michelle M. Hamilton (University of Minnesota, Twin Cities):
Hostile Histories: The Catholic Monarchs in Jewish and Muslim Histories.

The expulsion of the Jews and the conquest of Granada in the fifteenth-century are hailed by Iberian chroniclers such as Andrés Bernáldez as among the defining achievements of the Catholic Monarchs. However, among diasporic communities in the Mediterranean (*moriscos* in Tunisia and *conversos* in Crete/Ottoman Empire) alternative narratives offer a different image of both the historical events and of the Catholic monarchs. Eliyahu Capsali creates a complex narrative in which both monarchs are compared to biblical oppressors, but also tells of how the monarchs' conquest of Muslim Granada was contingent upon the expulsion of the Jews—the latter offered by the monarchs as an offering to (a false) God. For Capsali, Isabel is a major figure—an agent of evil who will stop at nothing to fulfill her desires, but for the Muslim chronicler, al-Makarri, who tells of the fall of Granada and the expulsion of the Moriscos, she is eclipsed by her husband, Ferdinand of Aragón, whom he repeatedly depicts as an infidel Christian king, sometimes even the King of Castile—eliminating Isabel entirely from the narrative.

Theresa Earenfight (Seattle University):
An 'Infanta' Travels: Catalina of Aragon, 1485–1506.

From her birth in 1485 until 1501 when she left Spain for England to marry Prince Arthur Tudor, *infanta* Catalina was on the road, travelling with her siblings and her mother (and sometimes father). This paper travels with Catalina to Medina del Campo, Alcalá de Henares, and Granada (and places in between). Isabel and Fernando's children were part of the royal processions that solidified their political authority, showed off their children as key to the future of the realm, and gave the children an important education in rulership. This paper focuses on the domestic and private royal household, the cradle, literally and figurally, for Catalina's Spanish identity and was key to her education on monarchy and queenship.

My sources include royal household accounts, evidence from material culture, and chronicles. The household accounts of Isabel's treasurer, Gonzalo de Baeza, and give vivid details of the daily life of traveling—records of salaries for household attendants, the detailed costs of clothing, the expenses incurred when moving Catalina from place to place. The material culture sources focus on four objects: a portrait, a lusterware bowl, a fragment of blackwork embroidery, and a pair of shoes (*chopines*). These objects are linked directly to her. Chronicles provide the necessary view of the interplay of personality at court. Taken together, these sources reveal that Catalina brought to England not only tangible objects in her baggage, but also an array of Spanish cosmopolitan customs and viewpoints that complicate notions of nation and identity.

Panel 30: Commodities with Denomination of Origin in the Medieval Mediterranean

Organiser: Juan Vicente García Marsilla (Universitat de València)

Chair: Lledó Ruiz Domingo (Universitat de València)

Sala Puig i Cadafalch

In Mediterranean cities it is easy to find imported goods that were clearly associated with a specific origin. They appear in the inventories of the houses of other places as a stamp of distinction for them. But at the same time, its long-distance trade caused contradictory effects on the markets of the Mediterranean: on the one hand it is common to see how local artisans tried to stop their importation, especially when it came into competition with local productions. On the other hand, the imitation of these prestigious products was tried with more or less success. Even, the cities manufacturing these goods with "denomination of origin" often veiled to maintain the quality of these products-star of its export, and all this generated a series of interesting dynamics around the exclusivity of the products and the degree of need to impose protectionist barriers, which would be very interesting to deal with through various observatories distributed throughout the western Mediterranean in the 14th and 15th centuries. In this session these type of commodities will be seen from three different points of view. The first one, exposed by Daniel L. Smail, from Harvard University, aims to analyse the reality of inventories of two important cities that produced commodities of great quality, like Lucca and Marseille, but which are two well connected to the Mediterranean commercial links, to see the complex reality of the domestic interiors in these cities. Meanwhile, The paper of Giuseppe Seche, from Cagliari University, is going to analyse the role of an important merchant family, that fo the Messi, from Sardinia, in the circulation of this goods, in an important crossroad in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea as was this island. Lately, the contribution of Miquel Faus Ph D Student at the University of Valencia will study the effects of the specialization of these high quality items on new professions, in this case the weapon makers from Valencia.

Daniel L. Smail (Harvard University):

Commodities with an Origin. A Study of Imported Domestic Pieces in Inventories of Provence and Tuscany.

In the medieval documentation of Mediterranean cities, it is easy to find imported goods that were clearly associated with a specific origin. The armours of Milan, the silk of Lucca, the chests of Barcelona or the Valencian ceramics, just to give some examples, appear in the inventories of homes of other places as a stamp of distinction for them. But at the same time, its long-distance trade caused contradictory effects on the markets of the Mediterranean: on the one hand it is common to see how local artisans trying to stop their importation, especially when it came into competition with local productions; On the other

hand, the imitation of these prestigious products was tried with more or less success. Even, the cities of origin of these goods with "denomination of origin" often veiled to maintain the quality of these products-star of its export, and all this generated a series of interesting dynamics around the exclusivity of the products and the degree of need to impose protectionist barriers.

Here, our proposal deals with a comparison between two important regional observatories: Tuscany and Provence, where many notarial or judicial inventories have been preserved. Through this kind of sources and comparative analysis can be done and a circumference could be drawn that contained the different zones of origin of the goods that appear in the houses, and even, try to observe up to what social levels these merchandises with denomination of origin could arrive, in direct relation with their price and with their networks distribution and sale. The inventories of Lucca and Marseille can be the perfect examples for this kind of studies that focused the view on the material culture of commerce.

Giuseppe Seche (Università di Cagliari):

Networks and Products in a Mercantile Mediterranean Marketplace. Sardinia and the Commodities Imported by the Dessì Family.

This paper analyses the role of the Dessì family, Mediterranean merchants in the Sardinia of XV century. The family was part of a profitable trading circuit based on the exporting of the island's farm and food products (chiefly cheese and pasta) and the importing of articles and semi-processed goods that the Sardinian market demanded and absorbed.

The study is based on the discovery of a series of commercial papers sent to Cagliari and addressed to Antoni and Arnau Dessì. Their business is based on export of the typical products of the agricultural and pastoral economy: cheese and pasta, goods in demand on both Iberian and Italian tables, wheat, hams, wine, and horses, in addition to wool and hides destined for Valencian manufacturing. As regards imports, the documentation records ceramics, rice, needles, spices, dyes, perfumes, cloth and ready-made. It appears that the Dessì family is an element of a system of connections could function as facilitators, collectors, and distributors of goods, and their function could become the decisive factor for the success of any business dealing. Representatives of those dozens of merchants operating between Cagliari and the others city of the Corona de Aragón in the second half of the fifteenth century, the Dessì were part of a profitable trading circuit based on the exporting of the island's farm and food products and the importing of articles and semi-processed goods that the Sardinian market demanded and absorbed.

In plying this steady trade with the merchants of the Corona de Aragón, the Dessì depend on a network of people, '*bon amichs*', who guaranteed their collaboration and assistance.

In the network was that of the merchants operating, the kingdom's officials and the family members scattered throughout the different Iberian cities.

Miquel Faus Faus (Universitat de València):

'In Valencia me fecit', Weapons Manufacturing in Medieval Valencia.

During the late middle ages weapons were part of the daily life of the population, not only for knights, but also for peasants and artisans In the Crown of Aragon people had the legal obligation to keep them in order to participate in the defense of the community and the kingdom. This situation caused the birth of a skilled group of artisans dedicated to

the production of these items. In fact, swordsmiths and armorers were present in the kingdom of Valencia since it was created. With centuries this industry grew into a powerful guild that had more than fifty workers just in the capital.

The study of the manufacture of weaponry can provide us with more information on the medieval economy in such topics as: production, competition, second-hand market... But in the particular case of Valencia we have discovered that this business met the needs of the international market, especially in Castile. Through a particular set of sources, ranging from literary writings to customs records, we can understand the value given to valencian swords and pieces of armour abroad during the XV.

Juan Vicente García Marsilla (Universitat de València): The Case of 'Barcelona Chests'. New Commodities, Imitations and Protectionism in the Medieval Crown of Aragon.

During the last two centuries of the Middle Ages every port in the Northwest coast of the Mediterranean Sea could see as some wooden chests made to contain clothes, and decorated with carved or painted images, arrived from the city of Barcelona. For everybody this kind of furniture were "Barcelona chests" although probably not all have been made in this city. In places such as Mallorca, Valencia or Palermo, these boxes abounded and had become a piece of furniture with a designation of origin. Soon, however, the development of wood crafts in these other cities led to the manufacture of imitations that came into conflict with those imported boxes. Then disputes began to prevent the real boxes of Barcelona from reaching their ports, which will be the subject of this communication.

Panel 31: Movement, Power and Knowledge: Don Juan Manuel Reads the Mediterranean

Organiser: Anita Savo (Colby College)

Chair: Michael Hammer (San Francisco State University)

Sala Nicolau d'Olwer

In Juan Manuel's works, movement across Iberia and around the Mediterranean is associated with wise characters that use their knowledge as a strategy to acquire and maintain power. His fictional characters –such as Saladin and the Dean of Santiago in the *Conde Lucanor*, the preacher Julio in the *Libro de los estados*, and the squire in the *Libro del cavallero et del escudero*– attain knowledge and wisdom only by embracing movement, embarking on long journeys in search of social, intellectual or moral improvement. He also values translation as a way to facilitate the transmission of ideas, praising his uncle, King Alfonso X, for disseminating Mediterranean knowledge about sacred texts, history, hunting and many other subjects throughout Castile. In Juan Manuel's worldview, the mere ability to travel safely from one place to another was a sign of political and social dominance: the author boasts to his young son Fernando in the *Libro infinito* that the boy has no social equal in all of Spain, since he can travel safely from Navarra to Granada spending each night in a fortified property owned by his father.

At the core of Juan Manuel's writings, then, is the circulation of people and ideas in the Mediterranean, especially ideas about kingship, wisdom, and power. Moreover, while Juan Manuel in many ways continues Alfonso's enterprise of translating and adapting Mediterranean knowledge, his works afford a singular perspective about mobility in the medieval Mediterranean: they are presented as part of the unified worldview of Don Juan, in contrast to the more collaborative authorship of the corpus associated with his uncle. In the panel's first essay, Juan Manuel's *Conde Lucanor* places Islamic models of kingship alongside Christian ones, indicating the circulation of political ideas and ideals across space

and time. In the second essay, contemporary uses of *exempla* and allegory are used to explore the magical space of the impossible journey of the Dean of Santiago in *enxiemplo* 11 of the *Conde Lucanor* in order to argue that Juan Manuel's tale inspired a new reading practice for medieval readers based in imaginary fiction. The third essay explores women's access to mobility in fourteenth-century Castile, especially as portrayed in Juan Manuel's works.

Mario Cossío Olavide (University of Minnesota):

The Caliph and the King Teach the Count. The Representation of al-Hakam al-Mustanṣir and al-Mu'tamid in 'Conde Lucanor'.

Some scholars have argued that Muslims characters are negatively portrayed in *Conde Lucanor* (= CL), embodying a maurophile discourse that attempts to delegitimize the Andalusī past and the persistence of the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada in 14th-century Iberia –reflecting a somehow simplistic and essentialized vision of the *Reconquista* ideology. Contrary to this notion, Juan Manuel actually often depicts Christian emperors and kings as figures of negative and disorderly behaviour in the *enxiemlos*, while Muslim caliphs, kings and sultans are presented as positive leaders whose virtues and morals help the author construct an idealized model of kingship. In this presentation I examine how Juan Manuel adapts Andalusī historical chronicles and folkloric traditions in *enxiemlos* 30 and 41, stories centered around king al-Mu'tamid of Seville and al-Hakam al-Mustanṣir, in order to offer his readers exemplary –although hyperbolic– models of how a good king should behave towards his subjects. I suggest that this exercise of cultural *translato*, from al-Andalus to Castile, serves a political purpose: to criticize the inefficient politics and actions of a weak king, Alfonso XI of Castile.

Robey Clark Patrick (Independent Scholar):

Traveling to (Un)Imaginable Destinations Without Moving and Living a Lifetime in a Second: The Cross-Roads of Juan Manuel's Framing Tricks and Magical Tales in 'Conde Lucanor'.

Juan Manuel, and his masterpiece the *Conde Lucanor*, has long sat at a crossroads of Hispanic literature. Traditional and innovative, his work is read both as the proto-literary fiction and as the culmination of a medieval literary practice that was particularly rich in Castile during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries - that of the framed-tale. Sitting at this crossing with Juan Manuel, this magical space of "between" and "nowhere", this presentation will focus on his creation of a space of fantasy in *enxiemplo* 11 from the collection, "*De lo que aconteció a un deán de Santiago con don Illán, el gran maestro que moraba en Toledo*", in order to argue that the tension between conflicting realities in the imaginative space contributed to the creation of new reading practices for his audience. By examining the different practices of framing *exempla* in medieval Castilian works and the literary production of allegory in Europe and the Mediterranean, the presentation will argue that Juan Manuel's use of magic in the *enxiemlo* breaks away from these traditions of *exempla* and allegory in order to offer his reader an alternative reading practice that is truly novel: imaginative fiction.

Anita Savo (Colby College):

It's a Man's World: Women and Movement in Juan Manuel's Works.

In the cosmos of the *Conde Lucanor* and in Juan Manuel's opus more generally, movement and mobility are associated with knowledge, wisdom, and power. Men travel far

and wide in search of knowledge, or to disseminate the knowledge they have acquired over a long career. Unsurprisingly, women's movement in Juan Manuel's works is restricted to local and domestic spaces. However, noble women gain access to the prestige of mobility in other ways, most notably through intelligence, literacy, and the manipulation of men. The *Conde Lucanor*, *Libro de los estados*, and *Libro de las tres razones* all consider how women of different social status acquire knowledge from the outside world, exert influence across space, and instigate movement in men, frequently without leaving the confines of their home. Since Juan Manuel's writings aim to educate the nobility in a language accessible to both men and women, these literary portrayals can function as suggested strategies for navigating a patriarchal society. By exploring the range of ways in which Juan Manuel's female characters approach and achieve movement, this essay will continue to complicate debates about misogynist and profeminine attitudes in his works.

Panel 32: Across the Mediterranean: Seafaring and Labour

Chair: Mike Carr (University of Edinburgh)
Sala Coromines

Antonio Musarra (Sapienza Università di Roma):

Economic Migrants or Commuters? Multi-Ethnicity on Venetian, Genoese and Catalan Galleys, 1350-1500.

In March 1382, the *Sant'Antonio* galley was on the verge of leaving the port of Genoa bound for the eastern Mediterranean. The boat was specifically equipped for commerce but, in addition to the many merchants, the ship carried two ambassadors on a diplomatica mission to Alexandria in Egypt. This was a habitual practice of the Genoese commune, which to have not a permanent public fleet. The government hired one or more galleys as needed and ambassadors regularly paid the price for passage. In this case, the travel is documented through the writings of Iacopo di Compagnono, the scribe in charge of the ship's log. These provide substantial information on the galley's equipment and repairs before departure, including the purchase of rigging and ropes, military equipment, food and beverages, along with notices on the route and the salaries paid to the crew. Such a description provides a window onto the crew's ethnic and regional origins, which varied considerably. Most appear to come from the Genoese *terraferma* or the wider Genoese trading 'empire': 38 from Genoa, 36 from the Levante Riviera, 16 from the Ponente Riviera, 19 from the Ligurian Apennines, 29 from the Black Sea (mainly Caffa), 15 from Pera, the Genoese colony beside Constantinople, 5 from the island of Chios, 4 from Bonifacio in Corsica, 2 from Cyprus, 2 from Sicily. Other provenances included Asti, Cordoba, Mallorca, Padua, Parma, Trapani, Trebizon, Simisso and Zara, thus portraying a truly 'Mediterranean composite' crew, all gathered from the docks of Genoa. Was this an ordinary dynamic or did the *Sant'Antonio* galley represent an isolated example of composite multi-ethnicity? My paper aims to analyze some of the medieval logbooks of Genoese, Venetian and Catalan galleys, focusing on the ethnic origin of the ship's personnel. The interest in this socioprofessional category has often been subordinated to that for the mainland artisans and merchants. The study of maritime labor is not just a necessary integration, but an opportunity to put forward innovative hypotheses on the organization and conditions of work. The presence of different ethnic groups on board can be interpreted as an early form of globalization, which was, however, carefully controlled by the government authorities.

Pol Junyent Molins (IMF-CSIC, Barcelona):

Fleet Management and Naval Warfare. Geographic Origin and Onboard Life Regulations of the Royal Catalan-Aragonese Fleets against the Kingdom of Tunis (1430-1435).

The recurrence of war and the different areas where the armies were mobilised make the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous an outstanding laboratory for the social study of war. Furthermore, it is even more excellent thanks to the vast amount of documentation preserved, which allows us to study the period in a much more comprehensive way.

This paper would aim to be an approach the human component of the medieval Aragonese fleets analysing the particular case of the Royal fleet organised by King Alfons the Magnanimous in 1432 against de 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 landsmen.

In this sense, we will focus on the study of the geographical and social origin of the crews of the Armada. Specifically, to the men who served in the four Royal ships and the Royal galley of the fleet. First of all, we will identify the centres of enlistment, and we will focus on the recruitment system. Secondly, we can note the nationalities so recorded, and comment on the patterns of service of the foreigner and identify if there was a government policy towards the service of crews of non Catalano-Aragonese origin, and the consequent attempts to record nationality on the enrolment books.

Marcel Pujol i Hamelink (Escola Superior de Conservació i Restauració de Béns Culturals de Catalunya):

Animals Embarked on Catalan Ships and Galleys in the Late Middle Ages: as Stowaways, as Crew, as Food and as Cargo.

The archaeologist and historian Keith Muckelroy stated that there were three different ways to study a shipwreck. First of all, as a machine, if we focus on the structural remains of the ship as it is considered an aquatic means of transport. Secondly, if we draw attention to its contents (cargo, weapons or fishnets), it can be studied as a trade ship, a war ship or a fish boat because of its specific function. And thirdly, taking into consideration that a ship is a place where people live and work, it can be studied by looking into the objects which belonged to the crew and passengers.

The aim of our research is to study the life of the animals embarked on Catalan ships and galleys in the Late Middle Ages. There was a large number of different types of animals: rats, considered as stowaways; cats, which were considered part of the crew; horses, always being part of the cargo and chickens and hens, which were used to feed the crew, among others.

We have relied on written documents (archival and literary) when writing this study, as we consider them to be the most important and reliable source of information for this matter. From the archival sources we could get information about the royal ships and fleets, most of them sent to conquer the islands of Majorca, Sicily and Sardinia. These records are kept in the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (Archive of the Crown of Aragon, Barcelona), in the sections called Cancelleria and Reial Patrimoni. From the literary sources,

we have to take point out in the first place the four Great Chronicles, and also we cannot forget the Book of the Consulate of the Sea. And finally we have been studying the iconographical sources -mainly the quantity and quality of gothic altarpieces- and the archaeological sources –shipwrecks-.

12h30 – 13h00

Posters

Cloister

María Viu Fandos, Sandra de la Torre Gonzalo (Universidad de Zaragoza):

'Per a mercadegar en Aragó y en Ytàlia y en Venècia': Visualising Inland Trade Networks from the Late-medieval Crown of Aragon.

Through this poster we want to present the reconstitution of a part of trade and social networks of a fifteenth-century firm settled in Barcelona (DEL TREPPO, 1972) in order to offer an example for comparison (BOUTE, 2002). To do so, we assume the analytical framework suggested by the *DynCoopNet Project* (PINTO, 2013) and apply it to the data gathered from notarial records and varia commercial documentation (accounts, merchant letters).

Based on the data collected (DE LA TORRE, 2016; VIU, 2016) we are in position to define more precisely business organisation that allowed the companies headed by Joan de Torralba in the period 1430-1437 to intervene from Flanders and the Dalmatian coast. However, we are here interested in the presence of these transnational merchants in inland markets in Aragon with the aim of determining their actual influence in local and regional institutions, providing guidelines for production and consumption, controlling prices, and restricting commercial and fiscal public policies(CASADO, 2010; ORLANDI, 2014). Geographical visualisation will help us to show the impact on developing regions of cooperation networks among merchants which interests and operations surpass the ongoing state-formation process (PÉREZ, 2016).

Lastly, we would draw attention on the role played before the First Global Age by the Iberian Peninsula as a space of encounters, where Mediterranean and Atlantic trade networks met.

Roberta Mentesana (Universitat de Barcelona), J. Buxeda (Universitat de Barcelona), V. Kilikoglou (Institute of Nanoscience and Nanotechnology, N.C.S.R. "Demokritos", Athens), A. Hein (Institute of Nanoscience and Nanotechnology, N.C.S.R. "Demokritos", Athens), M. Madrid (Universitat de Barcelona):

Local Potters and Itinerant Ideas? Sugar Pot Manufacture and Circulation in Medieval Europe.

Sugar production and consumption followed the Islamic expansion in the western Mediterranean and had a huge impact in European social, cultural and economic development since medieval times. The introduction of sugar cultivation entailed knowledge transfer and new technological requirements, such as the manufacture of sugar pots, used for the crystallization of the sugar, which require specific design, thermal and mechanical properties. The manufacture of these vessels was introduced in different areas of the Mediterranean as part of the 'sugar production package', but little is known whether these vessels were imported or produced locally, whether itinerant potters brought with them the know-how or local ceramists adapted their tradition to produce such specialised vessels.

The SpotEu project, funded under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie actions, explores the development and impact of sugar production in western Europe through the study of

sugar pot manufacture from an interdisciplinary perspective, integrating archaeological and historical research with material science and material culture approaches. This poster will introduce the project and show first archaeological and analytical results, focusing on discussing what they mean in terms of circulation of technological knowledge, people, ceramics and sugar in Medieval Europe.

Pere Poy (Universitat de Barcelona):

The ‘*Bíblia del segle XIV*’ as a Space for the Cultural Exchanges in the Late Medieval Mediterranean. The Example of the Translation of Joshua.

In the area of Romance philology, *Bíblia del segle XIV* is currently the name used to refer to the Catalan translation of the Sacred Scripture, which is prepared in the 14th century and is preserved in various codices of the 15th century. Between 1890 and 2001, different researchers —such as Samuel Berger, Josep Perarnau and Armand Puig— theorize about its physiognomy and, in particular, about the composition of its textual base and about the vicissitudes of its manuscript transmission.

In 2004 and 2011, the publication of the transcripts, critical editions and analysis of the versions of Exodus, Leviticus, 1Kings and 2Kings begins to allow the characterization of the *Bíblia del segle XIV* with empirical evidences. Among other things, it certifies that the translation of the Old Testament is the result of the confluence and reaction of different cultural contributions. In fact, talking about the *Bíblia del segle XIV* means talking about this scriptural version of the 14th century and, moreover, about its relationship with the rest of Catalan scriptural versions of the 14th century, about its relationship with the rest of Romance scriptural versions of the low-medieval period, about its copy with amendments in the 14th and 15th centuries, about its dependence on the Gallic Vulgate —and, especially, on the Languedocian Vulgate—and about its interaction with the Hebrew Bible and the activity of Jews and Judaizings.

Linked to a doctoral research at the University of Barcelona, as well as to the research project *Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum* of the Biblical Association of Catalonia, this poster contributes to discovering the Romance biblical magma —and, ultimately, the cultural exchanges in the western Mediterranean during the low-medieval period— through the examination of the translation of Joshua in the *Bíblia del segle XIV*.

13h00 – 14h00

Lunchtime

14h00 – 15h30

Keynote

Amy G. Remensnyder (Brown University):

The Restless Mediterranean, a Sea in Motion

Chair: Roser Salicrú i Lluch (IMF-CSIC, IEC, Barcelona)

Sala Prat de la Riba

“The waters of the sea are more rude, sonorous, and wondrous in their elevations than other waters,” wrote the travel-mad fifteenth-century Dominican friar Felix Fabri, who had spent long months aboard ships in the Mediterranean. Taking his observation

seriously opens a new approach to Mediterranean mobility. As salt water has been historicized, it has often been reduced to a surface across which ships move to connect terrestrial points, a featureless if unruly substance in the service of human mobility. Yet the sea itself is a living environment in ceaseless motion—wind and wave, tempest and tide, the sway of fishes and the play of light, the pull of currents and the drift of seaweed. Medieval Muslim, Christian, and Jewish seafarers in the Mediterranean recognized that the sea was never still. Its multiple mobilities shaped their maritime movements, voluntary and involuntary, sometimes with disastrous results of shipwreck and stranding. Muslims, Christians and Jews responded with legends, cultural artefacts and religious practices in which the dance of mobile and immobile created a shared Mediterranean maritime supernatural. This talk explores the new seas of history that await the scholar who understands the restless mobile Mediterranean not just as a stage for history, but also as an active participant in it.

15h30 – 16h00

Coffee break

Session 8: 16h00 – 17h30

Panel 33: Muslims on the Move: Physical Mobility of Free Muslims in the Medieval Iberian Peninsula

Organiser: Clara Almagro Vidal (Goethe Universität Frankfurt-am-Main)

Chair: Roser Salicrú i Lluch (IMF-CSIC, IEC, Barcelona)

Sala Prat de la Riba

The aim of this session is to explore the physical mobility of Free Muslims in the Christian Kingdoms in the Medieval Iberian Peninsula, with a focus on migration and resettlement of individual and groups. The three papers that comprise this session all deal with the migration and resettlement of Muslims, exploring the circumstances, conditions, and consequences thereof.

This is an important topic for understanding Muslim presence in Christian Kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages, as it is a measure of the limitations imposed to these populations, their perceived value, and their willingness to live under Christian rule, among other facets.

Ana Echevarría (UNED, Madrid):

The Mobility of Muslim Minorities in the Iberian Peninsula.

One of the effects of religious violence is migration, either spontaneous or ruled by the conquerors. But migration needs a number of adjustments and requires a management of the minority which is moved from war scenery to a safer place – safer for the victors, or for the minority itself. This paper will present a number of cases of migration of Mudejars in the Iberian Peninsula, some of them short-scale migration, others, long-range movements; some, helped by a safe-conduct or law code, others spontaneous. It will

analyse rights and regulations developed for these particular communities, and the basis of negotiation of new boundaries with the majority society.

Filomena Barros (CIDEHUS - Universidade de Évora):

How do we move? Muslim Mobility in Medieval Portugal.

The mobility of Muslim Population in the Portuguese kingdom comprises different facets: internal mobility between different population centers; external mobility, with the immigration and emigration from and to Castile, Aragon and Northern Africa. In the last instance, a forced immigration takes place from 1415 onwards (coinciding with the beginning of the Portuguese expansion in Morocco), affecting Muslim captives brought from these territories. Their integration entailed a concerted effort by the Portuguese Muslim free communities (*comunas*). This paper therefore proposes the analysis of the various types of mobility that, from the point of view of Muslims, intersect in the Portuguese kingdom.

Clara Almagro Vidal (Goethe Universität Frankfurt-am-Main):

Regulating Displacements? The Settlement of Muslims in the Lands of Military Orders in the Medieval Iberian Peninsula.

That Muslims lived under the rule of Military Orders in the Medieval Iberian Peninsula is beyond any doubt. How that situation came to be, however, is still in need of further analysis and the subject of a lively debate. In this line, the goal of this paper is to examine what we know and what can be inferred of the processes through which Muslims remained, were displaced, or were attracted to settle in these lands. In order to do so, so-called charters of population, as well as other records issued by military orders that include Muslims and their displacement will be examined, in order to estimate motivations behind this instruments and the desired (or unexpected) effects that they had: spatial binding, attraction, or expulsion of free Muslims.

Panel 34: On Formal and Informal Diplomatic Perambulations: Three Case Studies on the Circulation and Roles of Diplomatic Agents. Portugal 12th -14th Centuries

Organiser: Maria João Branco (IEM/FCSH, Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

Chair: Tiago Viúla de Faria (IEM/FCSH, Universidade Nova de Lisboa)

Sala Nicolau d'Olwer

This panel aims at exploring the results of recent approaches to Diplomatic Relations in the Middle Ages, taking as its observation laboratory the reality of Portugal in the major debates of its time, and within the Iberian context, from the 12th to the 14th century. The Iberian Peninsula of those centuries was a reality in the making, and the network of relations established between all the contenders gambling in this permanently changing checkerboard of relationships is very interesting and rich. Newly created policies, had to establish a relationship with their neighbours, who, in turn, were also trying to establish themselves as respected and consolidated kingdoms. In such process, the relationship with the Papacy played a major role, as did the one with the other Christian and non-Christian policies, León-Castille, Aragón, Islam as well as small scale rulers who were often as relevant as the “big contenders”. This session is based on three case studies which intend to look at different times and scales of such realities, sampling the papal diplomacy of the 12th century in Portugal, the relationship between D. Denis and Aragon at

a critical moment, and the role of papal *nuntii* as mediators in the Portuguese civil war of 1319-1324. We will try and give a significant sample of the circulation of men, ideas and models for the period under scrutiny.

Maria João Branco (IEM/FCSH, Universidade Nova de Lisboa):
The Role of Papal Judges Delegate as ‘Diplomats’ in Portugal: Profiling the Men and their Networks (1180-1227).

In Portugal, the evidence on the work of judges delegate working as members of the long arm of papal diplomacy, by ways of delegating powers doesn’t seriously start before the beginning of the 1180s. But from then onwards its growth is exponential, and the number, quantity and quality of the men chosen to either arbitrate or to give sentence on specific cases is very considerable.

This paper analyses the evidence from the middle of the 12th century up to the end of the pontificate of Honorius III, and it aims at discerning the hidden logic in the nomination of some men rather than others, as well as to define what seems to be the purpose and effectiveness in choosing them according to certain criteria and for some specific cases. It also aims to discuss their role as non-formal agents of papal diplomacy and to confront that with the “portuguese” rationale behind certain nominations. A noticeable coherence in the clusters of men chosen for the task shows a considerable stability in the nomination of always the same men, either for the same cases or for cases related to certain topics. Was it a preference in the Roman Curia, the requests of the plaintiffs, a preference for certain people, for certain Religious Orders, like the Cistercians, for the familiarity of certain people with the type of case, with one specific case, or simply of the judges with each other? This is what this paper will try to assess for the case of Portugal, for the period between roughly mid-12th century to 1227.

Isabel Barros Dias (IELT/IEM, Universidade Aberta):
One Embassy, Two Points of View: King Denis of Portugal as Mediator in Aragon.

Pedro Afonso, count of Barcelos (1287-1354) was an illegitimate son of King Denis of Portugal who is accepted as the author of *Crónica de 1344*, the first comprehensive Portuguese chronicle. King Denis (1261-1325 – King: 1279-1325), who was married to Elizabeth (1271-1336), daughter of Peter III of Aragon, was called upon to act as mediator in the negotiations that opposed James II of Aragon, Elizabeth’s brother, to Ferdinand IV of Castile (Treaty of Torrellas). Young Pedro Afonso seems to have accompanied his father and stepmother in this embassy that took place in 1304, being credited as the author of a vivid description of it, although the passage only survives in the reworking of *Crónica de 1344*. The purpose of this paper is to examine the Portuguese report of the embassy as opposed to Aragonese descriptions in order to highlight possible divergences of views.

Diana Martins (IEM/FCSH, Universidade Nova de Lisboa):
The Pope Intervening: the Role of Papal ‘Nuntii’ during the Portuguese Civil War between King Denis and his Son Afonso (1319-1324).

In 1319 a civil war broke off in Portugal. With the support of some of the Iberian kings, some of the ecclesiastics and a part of the nobility, the infant and heir to the Portuguese throne, Afonso, rebelled against the king. The growth of Denis’ power in the wider European context, the king’s direct interference on political matters concerning other western kingdoms, and his avowed predilection for his bastard, and his growing hostility towards members of the Church and the nobility, determined the action of his

son and dictated the form that the rebellion of the infant against his father was to take, between 1319-1324.

This paper aims to focus on the role that the Pope, as represented by his ambassadors in Portugal, tried to play in the resolution of this conflict. Based on documentation of both the Portuguese and the Vatican archives, we will try to analyze their roles, and the ways in which the Pope's envoys tried to act/ acted as real mediators of the conflict.

Panel 35: Mediterranean Policies: Cultural and Religious Exchanges in the Exercise of Power

Chair: Theresa Earenfight (Seattle University)

Sala Pi i Sunyer

Blai Server (Universitat de València):

Counselling the Prince at Both Shores of the Mediterranean: Ramon Llull's Case (13th-14th Centuries).

Probably, Ramon Llull (1232-1315 / 1316) is one of the historical figures who have best embodied the condition of the Mediterranean Sea as a space of contact between cultures and societies, as well as circulation and spreading of ideas. Born in Mallorca under the Catalan-Aragonese rule, he devoted most of his life to achieving a triple objective: the conversion of the infidels to Christianity, the writing of a book –the best in the world– against their errors, and obtaining the support of the pope and the secular princes for the foundation of missionaries' schools. For this, he devised a system of relations between basic simple concepts that allowed to explain the meaning of all visible and invisible things and demonstrated the intrinsic superiority of the Christian faith; system he called *Art*.

Thus, provided with this system, he travelled through Christianity trying, on the one hand, to disseminate it, and on the other, to obtain the patronage and sponsorship of the ecclesiastical and secular powers to his great evangelizing project. Moreover, he travelled all around the Mediterranean, including Northern Africa (Tunisia in 1293 and 1314-1315, and Bougie in 1307), to prove his system's utility.

Despite his main aspiration was essentially religious, Llull was fully aware of the centrality and scope of political power within the society of his time, which led him to take it into account in his vast written production, in which he proposed theoretical models for its exercise, always based on his *Art*. Among the many works he composed in this regard, we will focus on, on the one hand, his *Liber de consilio* (1304), and on the other, his *Ars consilii* (1315). Although the first one was composed for all the rulers in general –that is, for the Christian ones– the second one was dedicated by Llull to the Muslim ruler of Tunisia. Consequently, their comparative analysis should allow us to know how Llull applied his system to the specific question of advising the prince, to check whether or not he adapted his discourse according to its recipient, to examine what were the points of contact and divergence between European political literature on advice and its Arab counterpart, and, in short, to approach the circulation of political ideas in the western Mediterranean in the 13th and 14th centuries. All this is what we intend to do in the paper that we propose here.

Lledó Ruiz Domingo (Universitat de València):

Protecting the Crown, Defending the Mediterranean: Queen's Agency and Mediterranean Policy of the Crown of Aragon during the Late Middle Ages.

During the Late Middle Ages, the Mediterranean expansion was a priority for the monarchs of the Crown of Aragon, devoting diplomatic efforts, economic resources and human capital to their control and subsequent defence. The monarchy promoted a policy for domination, expansion and interrelation with the rest of the political spaces and entities of the Mediterranean that resulted in several and important conflicts. But the monarch was not alone in his governmental action, since the members of the royal family could adopt more active positions, especially in moments of conflict. In our paper, we will analyse the queens' role on the Mediterranean policy as the general lieutenants of their husbands during the fourteenth and fifteenth century, paying special attention to their agency and contribution to the successful fulfilment on the defence of the Crown's coasts and the king's military actions.

Rachel Goshgarian (Lafayette College):

Bodilessness, Placelessness and the Arm of St. Thecla.

The 12th-century cathedral in the coastal city of Tarragona is dedicated to St. Thecla (the Elder). St. Thecla, a second-century virgin-companion of the Apostle Paul, has fulfilled the role of patron saint of the city of Tarragona since the late 11th century, when the city was re-conquered by the County of Barcelona. The high altar (dating to the 14th century) and the main alter-piece of the cathedral (constructed in the 15th century) both include a series of panels dedicated to portraying the life of St. Thecla that culminates in the miraculous discovery of her right arm by the King of Armenia. In the early 14th century, King Jaume II of Aragon (1267-1327) sent ambassadors to Cilician Armenia (where St. Thecla had died in the 2nd century A.D. at Seleucia [modern Silifke]) to request a relic of the patron saint of Tarragona. And the kings of Armenia willingly sent the arm of St. Thecla back to King Jaume in 1320. It sits in Tarragona's main cathedral today. With this project, I attempt to understand the allure of St. Thecla and the enthusiasm for her cult during the 14th century, 12 centuries after her death. At the same time, I try to show how a diplomatic rapport was established and developed across the Mediterranean between Armenia and Aragon such that it might culminate in the gifting of an extremely valuable relic. I posit that the nature of Thecla's hagiography – that of a transvestite female traveller – and her translation or transition from Greek and Syriac traditions into an Armenian one provided her character with the sort of placelessness and malleability – yet, still, with a close tie to the Apostle Paul – that made her an ideal saint for diplomatic and religious exchange between the weakened and insecure Kingdom of Armenia and the Kingdom of Aragon.

Panel 36: Migration and integration in the Medieval Mediterranean

Chair: Pere Verdés Pijuan (IMF-CSIC, Barcelona)

Sala Coromines

Laure-Hélène Gouffran (CNRS, Aix-Marseille Université):

Catalans and Spaniards in Marseille in the 15th Century. Integration beyond People's Mobilities?

The special relationship between the Angevin Provence and the Crown of Aragon during the Middle Ages provides an interesting framework in order to study human circulations and mobilities. The 14th and 15th centuries are characterized by many crisis opposing these kingdoms. The changes in the political and economic context influenced the relationships between the immigrants and their host countries.

This question takes on a particular dimension in the context of urban areas, which are subject to ongoing litigations between the private and public sectors. Indeed, during these struggles, maritime attacks played an important role. Conflicts, which emerged at the Royal, municipal or individual level directly influenced interpersonal relationships. It also altered the perception of the "other" that is to say here the foreigner belonging to another "Nation". This is particularly visible in Provence after the psychological trauma caused by the plundering of the city in November 1423 by the troops of Alfonso of Aragon.

From this Provençal observatory, I will outline the general framework of the temporary and permanent presence of Catalans and Spaniards in Marseille during the 15th century. Then, I will examine the career of innkeeper Pierre Barreira "*yspanum, civem et habitatorem dicta civitatis*". By his profession and his connected activities (broker, slave trader, foreigner's agent...), he appears to be a relay for the movements of people and goods. But Inkeepers are also a symbolic interface between foreigners and Marseille's Citizens. Finally, the case of Pierre Barreira will lead me to expose the inquiry that was initiated against him by the "*curia inquisitorum*". In 1424, he was indeed suspected to have encouraged the Catalans pillage of the port. The trial, which question the notion of citizenship in the Middle Ages, also allow us to examine the effective integration of the Catalan and Spaniards foreigners in Marseille's society.

Vannina Marchi van Cauwelaert (University of Corsica):

Mobilities in a Mediterranean Island: Corsica as a Case Study (13th-15th Centuries).

This communication aims to study mobilities through an insular point of view with the example of Corsica, one of the biggest Mediterranean islands with Sardinia and Sicily. Its history, linked to that of the Italian peninsula allows to put light on both the connectivity of the insular Mediterranean society (HORDEN and PURCELL) and the question of the medieval colonisation (BALARD and DUCELLIER). First we will show that the medieval Corsican society is characterised by a high level of internal mobility which allows a prompt flow of men, goods and information. This important mobility, in part linked to the practice of the transhumance, denies the often associated image with this «island-mountain» of a landlocked region with difficulties of communications. The study of the Genoese archives reveals, on the contrary, the prompt flow of information from one region to another which is one of the causes of the frequent revolts against Genoa. From the 13th century, the hinterland of the island is connected to the Mediterranean sea by two genoese ports: Bonifacio (1195) in the South; Calvi (1268) in the North. In a second part, we will focus on the mobilities between the island and the other parts of the western Mediterranean, studying the insular emigration: professional mobility (slaves, servants, soldiers); mobilities linked to the diplomatic relations (ambassadors); the specific case of the political exiles after the victory of Genoa against the Corsican Lords. Finally, in the last part, we will study the mobilities towards the island, describing the migrations between the Italian Peninsula and Corsica: professionals migrations linked to the Genoese domination (officials, architects, painters); religious mobilities (bishops, franciscans).

Alessandra Cioppi (ISEM-CNR):

Iberian Movement and Mobility between the 12th and 15th Centuries. Sardinia, a Land of Migrants in the Medieval Mediterranean.

Sardinia, placed in the center of the Mediterranean Sea, which is the meeting point of three continents, has seen the constant presence of migratory flows since prehistoric times. Through the use of Italian and Spanish documentary sources, this essay reconstructs the

pattern and type of migration flows from the Iberian Peninsula, which affected the island in a constant and consistent way between the 12th and 15th centuries. This approach does not limit the vision of the migration problem during the medieval time, but tries to deepen the phenomena of internal and external mobility of the population and the intense movement of people, ideas and merchandise that have profoundly marked the different territorial and urban conditions in the island. The study reflects on the different sizes and types of Iberian migrations in Sardinia and emphasizes the distinction between the first migration, which consists of those who migrated in Sardinia to participate to the military conquest of the island with the Infante Alfonso from the Crown of Aragon, and those who came with a second diaspora to take part effectively in its occupation and domination of the island.

18h00

Optional activity:

*Visit to 'Medieval Barcelona' and '700 years of the ACA' exhibitions
(with catering dinner)*

Thursday 11th of July

Session 9: 9h00 – 10h30

Panel 37: Monasticism in the Mediterranean. Circulation and Creation of Objects, Models and Networks

Organiser: Núria Jornet (IRCVM - Universitat de Barcelona)

Chair: Ana Echevarría (UNED, Madrid)

Sala Prat de la Riba

The three papers proposed in this panel are part of a common project entitled: *Monastic Landscapes. Representations and Virtualisations of Medieval Spiritual and Material Realities in the Western Mediterranean (6th-16th centuries)*. On the basis of a digital approach, this project aims to generate different models for the study of the mobility and circulation of objects, ideas, and people in the creation of the monastic landscapes of the western Mediterranean throughout the Middle Ages. In this panel we want to present three specific models related to (1) the genesis of medieval monasticism, (2) the 'philo-mendicant' task of spiritual promotion carried out by queens, and (3) the monastic topography of the cities of the Mediterranean.

Marta Sancho i Planas (IRCVM - Universitat de Barcelona):

From the Mediterranean Coast to the Pyrenees Mountains: Movement of Goods, Ideas and Persons in the Genesis of the Western Monasticism (the Case of 'Els Altimiris').

After the disintegration of the Roman Empire, much of the population linked to cities, seek alternatives in not controlled environments for the new emerging elites. In our case related with visigothic power.

Organized in communities, often monastic, endowed with knowledge from classical culture and stimulated by the need to survive, they create a new adaptive model. The mountain offers them vegetal, animal and mineral resources to meet their basic needs, allowing the development of a silvo-pastoral economy. Church gives them the organizational model and religion the ideological base. The western monastic movement has been influenced by oriental thinking and inspired by the eastern monastic forms. These ideologies travel through the Mediterranean together with products and persons.

We try to show the archaeological traces that we find in the archaeological site of Els Altimiris that evidence these contacts with the Mediterranean Sea: architectural structures and monastic spaces, ceramic productions and foods.

This archaeological site is situated in Montsec range, long away to the three most important bishoprics, -Ilerda, Osca and Urgellum- and close to the transhumance routes that linked the Mediterranean coast and the flat lands with the Pyrenees. The port of Tarragona was the gateway of ideas, persons and products through the Mediterranean Sea.

Blanca Garí (IRCVM - Universitat de Barcelona):

'Philo-mendicant' Queenship in the Western Mediterranean: Mapping Networks of Monastic Promotion.

Over the last few years, the research focused on the different aspects of the power exercised by queens has become more important. One of these aspects is the promotion and foundation of monastic and conventional communities, which conveys the queen's power in several different ways. Topics such as devotional practices, spirituality, and the construction of memory and the creation of synchronic and diachronic communication networks are examples of this. Current research, both on the power of queens and on medieval monasticism, calls for an in-depth study of some of these networks.

The present paper analyses those networks in the territories of the western Mediterranean, looking for connections and synergies regarding the 'philo-mendicant' phenomenon. Following the studies of female monasticism, spiritual promotion and networks, initiated some years ago by the Claustra project, we think that today it is possible to 'deep map' the relationship between the communities of Poor Clares and Dominican nuns and the queens who were their benefactors, seeking to propose new interpretive keys.

Maria Soler (IRCVM - Universitat de Barcelona); Gemma T. Colesanti (ISEM-CNR):

Mediterranean Cities and Monastic Topography: Transfer and Interaction between Models.

On the basis of the experience gained through the Claustra and Spiritual Landscapes projects, we present one step further in our study of the impact of the monastic phenomenon in medieval cities. The construction of a monastery within or near the city led to a series of urban dynamics that have often become fossilised in the topography of our cities and are traceable through cartographic analysis techniques with GIS.

The studies carried out on the implantation model of the convents of Poor Clares in Catalan cities and towns, as well as the results of the analysis of the spiritual landscape of the city of Naples, provide us with a solid methodological framework that we believe can be applied to other Mediterranean cities. For each monastic centre located in the studied cities, we will record its specific geographical position (X and Y coordinates) in order to

represent and analyse the data through GIS. To do so, we will make use of both point georeferencing techniques and advanced 3D logarithmic analysis tools, which will allow us to go beyond the visual analysis of the data and to obtain suggestive interpretive models.

Our aim is to study the impact of these spirituality centres on the construction of the urban landscape. In this way we will detect the existence of implantation models (inside and outside the walled enclosure, both near and far from the entrance gates and main communication routes) and will analyse the role of monasteries in the development of new urban areas and in the consolidation of older quarters. The study of the spiritual landscape of cities such as Naples and Barcelona will enable a comparative analysis between orders, chronologies, and implantation models. As a result, we will be able to explore the existence of similarities and differences between models, as well as the processes of transfer and interaction that may have occurred between them.

Panel 38: Encounters between East and West: Ideas and Material Culture

Chair: Clara Almagro Vidal (Goethe Universität Frankfurt-am-Main)

Sala Nicolau d'Olwer

Hee Sook Lee-Niinioja (Independent Scholar):

A Combined Tangible-Intangible Medieval Encounters between East and West in the Mediterranean Sea.

Medieval Venice testifies its architectural beauty and medieval encounters between East and West. The city's architecture is a blend of new Gothic forms, Veneto-Byzantine and Islamic motifs. Similarities between different visual cultures were interwoven into the fabric of medieval Venice to generate a significant architectural tradition. Exchanges with the Islamic world (Mamluk, Ilkhanid) inspired an artistic expression, creating the city's merchant culture.

Although Venetian travellers' long sea and land voyages could break the continuous link, they made foreign objects distinct and reminiscent in memories, organising-understanding through emotions. Consequently, Venetians' common memories were shared and brought home.

Why so? Because medieval Venetians' mind, Islam was a living creed that claimed the territory of the Holy Land and shared saints, beliefs and holy places, worshipping side by side beyond religious-boundary negotiations. Venice's trade position of linking the Adriatic Sea to the Mediterranean influenced the city's progress. Activities of war, crusades, piracy, diplomatic exchanges and voyages of exploration contributed to this, encouraging architectural programs to protect Venetian trade and to define the city's identity. Islamic motifs were meant to be recognized among the Venetian public.

A question arises.

Cambridge Dictionaries defines 'encounter' as "a meeting, especially one that happens by chance". Then, how about the Christian-Muslim encounters in Venetian Gothic-Islamic lozenge patterns, ogee arches and pinnacles? By chance or intention? It seems God's plan to reveal His divine message to His people, while empowering them to appreciate architectural splendour. If so, how can anyone associate these motifs with mystical-religious thought, regardless of different faiths? Architecture and its ornamentation should respect the culture from which they have developed.

My paper discusses the medieval movements and encounters between the Mediterranean Venice and the near-far territories by comparing architectural ornamentation. It is a combined tangible-intangible cultural heritage approach to them with a semiotic interpretation including observations.

Sabina Madgearu (Colegiul National Mihai Eminescu Bucaresti - University of Bucharest):

A View across the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean from the Perspective of French Illuminators of Historiographical Works.

This paper departs from and refracts my research related to castles in French illuminations of the Late Middle Ages. Geographically, I chose to confine this study to the Eastern Mediterranean whereas thematically it will examine the following:

1. Urban confines of the medieval Eastern Mediterranean (cities such as Limassol, Nicosia, Tunis, Damietta, Acre, Jerusalem, Jaffa) which deals with the main ports used in the late Middle Ages and how they outlined the Eastern Mediterranean
2. Travellers across the Mediterranean (pilgrims, soldiers, iconic figures be they saints or kings, knights) – the people that shaped the medieval Eastern Mediterranean and its history are instrumental to identifying perceptions of this part of the sea; the purposes for which they ventured in Eastern Mediterranean may have been common to that age, however their travel routes may have differed and so did the landscape they created
3. Means of transport across the Mediterranean (ships that ferried voyagers to the orient): the galley was the most ordinary but also the most important of the ships that crossed the medieval Eastern Mediterranean and it was a vehicle that conveyed not only people and weaponry but also and more importantly, ideas about religion, war, art and architecture, literature and also history writing etc.

Speaking of history writing, mention needs to be made that the primary sources of my study will be illuminations in manuscripts produced in France from the late thirteenth to late fifteenth centuries. These illuminations are part of the contemporary historiography (histories, chronicles). Given this supporting material the resulting temporal framework seems to be that of the late Middle Ages; however, it applies solely to the primary sources for the object of study proper may make reference to other ages since medieval historiography made current use of exempla embodied by ancient histories inserted in the tale of contemporary events.

James Todesca (Georgia Southern University):

‘Morabetinos’, ‘Mazmudinas’ and ‘Millareses’: Christian Imitations of Muslim Coins in Mediterranean Trade.

In 1267, Jamie I (1213-76) of Aragón-Catalonia arrested a “notorious” group of counterfeiters who were copying his gold coin as well as the gold coin of Castile. Ironically both the Aragonese and Castilian coins were themselves imitations of Muslim dinars. In the early-twelfth century, the Berber Almoravids had struck high-quality gold dinars in Iberia and the Maghreb. These became known as *morabetinos* in Latin sources. As the Almoravids in time gave way to their rivals, the Almohads, the crown of Castile preserved the *morabetino* by striking its own version. By the mid-thirteenth century, however, James of Aragón chose to copy the new Almohad light-weight dinar, called the *mazmudina* by Latin merchants. That James discovered a ring of forgers risking their lives to strike illicit Castilian *morabetinos* and Aragonese *mazmudinas* demonstrates that neither coin was a novelty item. Both were in high demand. At the same time, James granted at least five licenses throughout his realm to produce imitation Almohad silver dirhams, colloquially

called *millareses*. He estimated that by 1269 his mint master in Montpellier alone had converted over 54,000 marks of silver into *millareses*. Minting imitations of Muslim gold and silver was clearly a profitable business.

Numismatists have long known of the Christian *morabetino*, *mazmudina*, and *millares*, but historians have failed to fully recognize their economic significance. Incorporating numismatic and diplomatic evidence this paper explores the role these three pieces played in the complex trade of the Mediterranean from c.1172 until the fall of Acre in 1291. Before the advent of the Latin-style *florin* and *ducat* of Florence and Venice, these pseudo-Muslim coins facilitated exchanges, both commercial and cultural, between southern Europe, North Africa and the Latin East. For example, as Louis IX (1226-1270) prepared for Crusade in 1244, he purchases almost 4,000 Castilian *morabetinos*, along with *mazmudinas* and silver ingots. When he died on his second, ill-fated Crusade to Tunisia in 1270, his brother Charles demanded an indemnity from the emir of Tunisia in *millareses* and gold. All three coins became trusted, international currencies that fueled the revival of Mediterranean trade in the later Middle Ages.

Panel 39: Power and Discourse: Diplomacy and Travelogue Accounts in the Mediterranean

Chair: Marta Manso Rubio (Universitat de Barcelona / IMF-CSIC, Barcelona)
Sala Coromines

Alessandro Rizzo (IMF-CSIC, Barcelona):

Strategies of Dialogue between the Mamluk Sultanate and the Crown of Aragon.

In the last years, the relationships between the Crown of Aragon and the Mamluk Sultanate have been object of works that mostly focused on the commercial aspects of the exchange. On the other hand, the previous studies concerning diplomacy rarely provided a diplomatic analysis of the sources. Furthermore, these works often contain inaccuracies that have compromised the interpretation of the real nature of the documents. These misunderstandings have been also influenced by the fact that historians who dealt with the agreements concluded between the Mamluks and the European states have often related the management of the diplomatic interchange to the traditional Islamic division of the world in *dār al-Islām* (house of Islam), *dār al-harb* (house of war) and *dār al-‘ahd* (house of the covenant). Only recently, scholars have reinterpreted this paradigm, calling into question concepts as “peace treaty” or “*jihād*”.

Taking into account these new perspectives, my paper aims to define - by the analysis of some concrete cases - the instruments and the diplomatic modalities through which the agreements between Cairo and the Crown of Aragon were concluded.

Ahmed Sheir (Philipps Universität Marburg - CNMS):

Between Mythology and Diplomacy: The Impact of Prester John Legend on the Latin-Muslim conflict during the Crusades, c.1218 to c.1250.

During the Fifth Crusades (1218-1221), rumors circulated that Prester John or his descendant King David was on route to support the Crusader army surround the Egyptian city Damietta. From the banks of Damietta, massive propaganda about Prester John was circulated and associated with the figure of the Mongol ruler Genghis Khan (603-623/1206-1227). This paper examines the development of Prester John Legend over both time and space; how it was received in the fact of a Christian savior and the reality of Genghis Khan during the Fifth Crusade and up to the seventh crusade. Moreover, it seeks

to evaluate the Muslims initial reaction for the promotion of Prester John and the Mongols' progression into the Levant. It also aims to examine the influence of Prester John Legend on the peace negotiations between the Latin Christians and Muslims, to clarify the degree to which this legend played an actual role in changing the course of the Diplomatic-peaceful talks commenced from the Ayyubids side.

During the sixth crusade, Fredrick II established intimate-diplomatic relations with the Ayyubid Sultan. Consequently, this article strives to evaluate the perception of Prester John during this time; whether the Mongols advance against Western Europe had changed the image of such Legendary King in the Crusaders' eyes. At the same time, how the Muslims saw the Mongols advance in the Muslims' lands and to what extent they realized the Crusaders' perception of Prester John in the figure of the Mongol Khan. Was there a reaction from both Fredrick II and Ayyubids toward that legend? Moreover, why. Eventually, this paper would discuss the Papacy-European missionaries to the Mongols, looking for an alliance and search for Prester John among the mass Mongol lands. Consequently, this study would conclude to clarify the impact of such legend on the course of peace, diplomacy and so the conflict from the fifth crusade to the end of the seventh crusade.

Hannah Cole (Queen Mary - University of London):

The Female Travelling Companions of Felix Fabri: Female Mobility in the Medieval Mediterranean through the Eyes of the Travelogue Accounts.

This paper will present the accounts of women's travel offered by the renowned writer on travel to the Holy Land, Felix Fabri (1441-1502). His writings, and those of other travellers, form part of the source-base for my PhD on female mobility in the Mediterranean, and offer valuable insights as well as raising interesting methodological questions which I shall highlight.

This paper forms part of my on-going PhD dissertation which examines the conditions and contexts of women's journeys across the Mediterranean, both voluntary and forced, from a variety of perspectives, including narrative sources as discussed in my paper, as well as Italian notarial and maritime records, Balkan administrative records, and the Mamluk *Haram as-Sharif* records.

When comprehensively examining the primary sources on women's travel in the Medieval Mediterranean, we find that women are scattered throughout the texts. Although rarely the subject, and much of the time invisible, when they do emerge, sometimes incidentally, they reveal that their presence was not unusual. Indeed, the presence of women travellers is often assumed, and only mentioned when it becomes extraordinary. The texts reveal much that is of interest with regard to the conditions and contexts of travel, including expected behaviours and differences between the male and female experience. Fabri mentions twelve women in his pilgrimage groups, including six 'ancient ladies', noble-ranking women, and female kin of the ship's crew, as well as other female travellers, such as a prostitute and a Muslim woman who travelled in the safety of Fabri's convoy. His account, along with those of other travelogue authors such as Bertrandon de la Brocquière, Arnold von Harff, Margery Kempe and Ibn Jubayr, allow us to explore the identity of women travellers, their motivations, the attitudes of their fellow travellers to their presence, and the practicalities of their journeys.

Panel 40: Knowledge and Expertise Networks in the Mediterranean Scenario

Chair: Aina Palarea (European University Institute)

Sala Pi i Sunyer

Francesca Masiero (University College London):

The Mobility of Teachers and the Circulation of Knowledge from Venice to the Mediterranean (1350-1445).

My paper presents how humanist teachers active in Venice and the Veneto between 1350 and 1445 moved across several cities controlled by the Republic of Venice in the Mediterranean and exported their pedagogical methods, curricula and text books beyond the schools they run.

The first section of this paper explores the shared curriculum adopted by teachers in the Veneto, Puglia and Cyprus developed by two influential *magistri artis grammaticae*, namely Guarino Guarini (1374-1460) and Vittorino da Feltre (1378-1446). It shows how these pedagogues contributed to bridge the cultural gap between the north of Italy and a few urban centres in the Mediterranean by conveying a set of theoretical and technical skills designed to enhance business and trade via a holistic pedagogical approach.

The second section investigates to what extent teachers from the Veneto were influenced by Greek teachers in their daily teaching practice. It analyses how Venetian *magistri* designed their lessons according to the pedagogical models adopted in Athens and in minor nearby centres in order to revive the study of history, philosophy and rhetoric in Latin and vernacular schools. It also outlines what manuals and reading books they selected to convey the content of the lessons they planned and how they presented them to students of different backgrounds.

The third section explains how itinerant teachers from the Veneto managed to export their teaching methods and manuals beyond regional borders and the impact of their educational practices on the political apparatus of the urban centres controlled by the *Serenissima* in the Mediterranean. In particular, it outlines how these itinerant *magistri*, once they moved to a new city, actively collaborated with the local authorities in order to establish strategic political and cultural connections between Venice and the Eastern world.

Pablo José Alcover Cateura (ODELA - Universitat de Barcelona):

The Expansion Process of the 'Mostassaferia' in the Crown of Aragon in 14th and 15th Centuries.

The aim of this paper is to provide a global and accurate vision of the expansion of the *mostassaferia*'s institution over the territories of the Crown of Aragon during Late Middle Ages. This work is part of my current PhD project, which is included in the PhD programme of Mediaeval Cultures of the University of Barcelona. Given that this subject is wide, the objective is to do a focus approach, consisted into study through maps (Google Earth) the expansion of *mostassaferia* (the magistracy of the *mostassaferia*) in kingdoms (Kingdom of Valence, Majorca, Sardinia), principalities (Principality of Catalonia) and counties (County of Roussillon and Cerdanya), that were part of the Crown of Aragon from thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.

Maik-Jens Springmann (University of Copenhagen):

The Ships of the Crusaders. The Exchange of Nautical Expertise between the Mediterranean and the Baltic in Medieval Time.

The time of the crusades (1095-1291) can be considered to be one of the biggest “take offs” in the medieval times with widespread influences all over Europe (Stromer v, 1999: 2). Apart from the periods of the Great Discoveries in the Early Modern period and the industrial revolution in the 19th c., this epoch can be considered as a time period of great cultural and economic exchange, connecting the Orient with the Occident and Europe. Exchange has always been related to and connected with transport: in those times travelling by land and journeys by sea. As much as we know about the land expeditions, especially from interpretations of the written sources, such as Friedrich Barbarossa’s travelling (1189-92) from Regensburg, via Belgrade, the Bosphorus to the Kingdom of Armenia, the journeys by sea have not been much in the scientific focus so far, because written records about this journeys are very limited. Therefore our concentration should be also focused on the rare iconographic evidences.

The maritime transactions of the crusaders from northern Europe to the Mediterranean, respectly from some harbour towns on the north sea and even from the Baltic to Accre (Akko) via interstations can be understood as a big, presumably even the biggest transport effort in medieval history. The paper focussing on the rare written evidences as well as on the iconography.

Panel 41: Diplomatic Strategies and Instruments in the Exercise of Power

Chair: Albert Reixach Sala (Institut de Recerca Història - Centre de Recerca d’Història Rural, University of Girona)

Sala Puig i Cadafalch

Antonio M. Zaldívar (California State University San Marcos):

Language as a Diplomatic Instrument in the Correspondence between the Aragonese and Majorcan Royal Chanceries, 1341-1349.

Latin functioned as the sole language of record in the Aragonese royal chancery until the mid-thirteenth century, when documents began to appear written in the realms’ romance languages: Catalan and Aragonese. Unlike their Iberian counterparts, the kings of Aragon did not abandon Latin writing entirely in the course of the thirteenth century. Latin continued to serve as the high-prestige language in the Crown of Aragon well into the early-modern period. The consequences and implications of language choice in the fourteenth-century Aragonese royal chancery remain understudied. This essay intends to begin filling that gap by examining the diplomatic correspondence between King Peter IV of Aragon (III of Catalonia, 1336-87) and his vassal King James III of Majorca (r. 1324-49) during their feudal confrontation. Close examination of these exchanges using theoretical frameworks from linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics suggests that Peter, James, and their respective agents utilized language choice strategically to advance their political interests. By doing so, they were adopting a century-old policy started by James I and his rebellious vassals in the second half of the thirteenth century (as I show in an article titled “James I and Codeswitching Diplomacy”). But attitudes towards vernacular writing and lordship had changed much since then. My paper offers a nuanced case study on the relationship between power and language in the late-medieval Crown of Aragon in the late Middle Ages. It sheds light specifically on what drove these kings to appropriate language choice as a weapon, what these motivations reveal about chancing mentalities and language ideologies on the eve of modernity, and how codeswitching continued to figure in

governing practices. The essay in turn contributes to a deeper understanding of the struggle between an increasing central authority and a declining feudal aristocracy in the late-medieval western Mediterranean.

Scott Moynihan (Pembroke College, University of Oxford):

Presenting Diplomacy as Victory: The Crusade Letters of Frederick II and Richard of Cornwall.

This paper analyses how peace treaties between crusaders and Muslims were presented in letters sent to the West by crusade leaders. The focus is on the treaties concluded in 1229 by Frederick II and in 1241 by Richard of Cornwall. The main sources examined are the letters sent by the leaders themselves to the West which were meant for circulation, as well as other letters sent from the East by both supporters and opponents of these treaties. Frederick and Richard chose to present the circumstances and reasoning behind their treaties in differing ways, and this allows for an analysis of the justifications (practical, theological, etc) which crusaders provided in order to explain their peaceful, rather than violent, interactions with Muslims, how the context of crusade and expectations of crusaders affected their approach to negotiations, and how (or if) diplomacy across religious boundaries was perceived as inherently different from the same practice amongst Christian rulers. The well-known letter to Pope Gregory IX written by Gerold, the Patriarch of Jerusalem and a staunch opponent of Frederick's treaty, in 1229 also provides a useful reference regarding which aspects of crusader diplomacy in particular were most open to criticism, and therefore required further justification. Finally, an overview of thirteenth century chronicle sources reveals whether the justifications provided by Frederick and Richard were accepted by their contemporaries in the West. While Frederick's 1229 treaty has received considerable attention in modern historiography, the broader question of how diplomacy between crusaders and Muslims was viewed and understood more generally has yet to be examined. This work develops further the general surveys of Christian-Muslim diplomacy at the time of the crusades by Yvonne Friedman, but with a greater emphasis on the political and theological ideology which was deployed in support or opposition to such diplomatic encounters. It forms a part of my wider doctoral thesis which examines how diplomacy between crusaders and Muslims was integrated in, or seen as contradictory, to contemporary crusading ideologies.

Alicia Hernández Robles (Universidad de Murcia):

Hospitality and Control in the Arab-Islamic Institution of the 'Funduq'.

By *funduq* (plural *fanādiq*) is usually understood the institution, of Arab-Islamic origin, which served as an inn, warehouse and, later, as a place for wholesale trade, to merchants and travelers of any origin and religion in territories under Islamic rule. Chronologically we found it in the Medieval Mediterranean from the 8th to the 13th century, and in the Iberian Peninsula from the 10th century.

Since the end of the 12th century, the Islamic control of the Mediterranean dissolved due to the political and economic apogee of the Christian kingdoms in Europe and the *fanādiq* lead to the creation of *alhóndigas* or *fondaci*. That is, the adaptation of this kind of buildings by different European groups for its use beyond Islamic cities. The importance acquired by the *fanādiq* for the development of commercial transactions resulted in new functions that were added to the original functioning of this institution. Taking into account the role of these buildings in the Andalusian cities, the main objective is to determine the functioning of the *fanādiq*, in general, in the medieval trade and, more specifically, when these buildings were used as places of reception and control, at the same

time, of merchants, travellers and commodities. To achieve this objective, al-Andalus will be taken as a case study and, through an interdisciplinary methodology, documentary and archaeological sources will be analysed.

In addition to lodging and storage, local governments made use of these buildings as a diplomatic instrument, for tax collection or to control foreigners arriving in a city. These new uses of these buildings will allow to understand the progressive specialization that was produced in the *funduq* institution and in the new forms that were created from the same constructive and functional scheme. Therefore, the study of the institution of the *funduq* in al-Andalus will provide a better understanding of the medieval society, politics and economy as well as the functioning of the Andalusian cities.

10h30 – 11h00

Coffee break

11h00 – 12h30

Special Session in Honour of Simon Barton

New Directions in Medieval Iberian Studies: Simon Barton's Scholarly Legacy

Organiser & Chair: Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo (University of Lincoln, Co-President of the Society for the Medieval Mediterranean)

Sala Prat de la Riba

Therese Martin (IH-CCHS, CSIC-Madrid):

Once and Future Queen: Urraca Redux (1109/2019).

Remembered as a wanton woman and despoiler of churches, Queen Urraca of León-Castilla has recently been attracting renewed scholarly interest after being all but erased by early modern historians. The eldest daughter and heir of King Alfonso VI, Urraca reigned in her own right for seventeen years (1109-1126) and struggled for supremacy against the kingdom of her estranged second husband, Alfonso I of Aragón, but her ambition to rule as empress of all Hispania was cut short by death in childbirth at age forty-five. In this paper, the abundant art-historical sources are discussed together with the textual evidence, asking how the things we see square with the words we read. This allows us to address larger ideas that are universally present in the ways history as a whole has been studied, including which types of evidence are valued and which are downplayed. I argue that objects and buildings open a window onto Urraca's aspirations. Her portrait in the cartulary known as the Tumbo A from the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, made just a few years after her death, invests Urraca with the insignia of rulership—throne, scepter, and crown—symbols otherwise accorded only to kings. Her coinage also emphasizes her status of sovereign. In one example minted in Toledo, the legend styles her RE, an abbreviation for either REGINA or REX, while on a Leonese coin she is titled REXA, which must be understood as female king. Another remarkable coin type from León represents the queen enthroned and bearing a scepter. As a ruler at the intersection of gender, power, and sexuality in medieval Iberia, Urraca's reign fits neatly with themes that were central to the research of Simon Barton.

Teresa Witcombe (University of Bristol):

'Reconquista' and Crusade in Thirteenth-Century Burgos.

Teresa Tinsley (University of Exeter):

Reframing the ‘Reconquista’. Hernando de Baeza’s Slant on the Conquest of Granada.

How would you have made sense of the conquest of Granada if you were a third or fourth generation *converso*, whose family had been decimated by the Inquisition? And how would you interpret the extinction of Islamic political power in the peninsula if you had been an interpreter, a negotiator, a cross-border mediator and a friend of the emir himself? What hopes would you have for the future? What fears of how things might turn out?

This was Hernando de Baeza, whose life and work I researched under Simon Barton’s guidance. His brief account gives us an insight into another way in which the obliteration of the Muslim kingdom of Granada might have been conceived, had it not been swamped by the weight of the Catholic monarch’s nation-building propaganda and their resort to medieval notions of the divine mission of Castile in recovering land supposedly snatched from their Gothic ancestors nearly eight centuries previously.

12h30 – 12h45

Closing Session

Sala Prat de la Riba

Friday 12th of July

Optional activity:

**Full day excursion to medieval Girona, Sant Pere de Rodes medieval
monastery, fishing and touristic village of el Port de la Selva**

Meeting point: Hard Rock Café Plaça Catalunya

8h30

Departure from Barcelona (Plaça de Catalunya, in front of Hard Rock Café)

9h45

Arrival at Girona and beginning of the guided visit of the cathedral, museum
and Romanesque monument of Sant Pere de Galligants, Jewish quarter and
Jewish museum (tickets included)

12h30

Free time around Plaça de la Independència

13h00

Departure from Girona

14h00

Lunch in Peralada

16h00

Visit to the monastery of Sant Pere de Rodes (ticket included)

18h00

Free time in el Port de la Selva (with the possibility of swimming at the beach
and seeing the arrival of fishing boats)

19h00

Departure from Port de la Selva to Barcelona (approximate arrival at 21h00)

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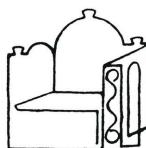
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