

Society for the Medieval Mediterranean Conference
9th July to 12th July 2009

Merchants, Mercenaries and Missionaries: The Society and
Culture of the Medieval Mediterranean, c. 500-1500

Abstracts of Individual and Panel Papers



Christians and Muslims in combat (from *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, No 181, El Escorial Library)

Aspects of Slavery in 16th-Century Notarial Deeds

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Privateering was a legitimate war, authorised either by a formal declaration of war or by letters of *marque*, passports, commission or instructions issued by the ruling authority. From its very first few days in Malta, the Order of St. John of Jerusalem of Rhodes and of Malta, continued to live up to its Rhodian corsairing tradition, and retained its engagement in the Levant with “Christ’s Militia” sailing *per omnes partes barbarie orientis* (in the Levant). Malta’s geographical proximity to infidel territory augured well for the continuation of the “Eternal Holy War” by the corsairs.

The island’s prominent role in corsairing activities and the facilities it offered to fit out ships for the *corso* made it a rendezvous for adventurers who came from various parts of the Mediterranean. One of the primary objectives of all corsairs was the capture of slaves. Since co-religionists could only rarely be sold as slaves, the capture of rival religionists helped to promote the character of the *guerre de course* (commerce raiding) as a primarily inter-religious struggle. According to Braudel, Leghorn and Malta were Christendom’s Algiers with their “*bagnos*, their slave markets and their sordid transactions.” Notarial deeds held at the Notarial Archives of Valletta, Malta, have lent themselves splendidly to serve as a mirror on various transactions dealing with the sale, ransom and manumission of slaves in Malta during the mid-sixteenth century.

Imperial Policies and Christian Missionaries
in the Early Byzantine Foreign Encounter

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Scholars of Byzantium have presented the power of Byzantine imperialism as seductive and surreptitious, subtle in its means, but always set on a course of expansion. Usually basing their conclusions on select subject populations, they have assumed that the Byzantines inevitably, as if by default, intended to add indigenous populations to their empire. In return, the indigenous populations presumably responded with ready acceptance or various forms of resistance, which, in many cases, was supposedly voluntary conversion. That the motivations and even the effects of the Byzantines' political and religious actions could have been something else is rarely considered, missing possible relationships or ways of thinking that mattered to them in a historically specific and culturally distinct way. Did the Byzantines actually seek to assimilate and alter native cultures, in what situations, and to what extent? Did they want to "globalise" culture, defining it the Byzantine way alone?

This paper will offer some comparative observations on the Byzantine conversion in the context of imperial policies and intents. It will focus on the conversion of the Caucasus, Nubia, and medieval Bulgaria to outline the specific imperial involvement, or lack thereof, in culturally disparate regions as to illustrate the labyrinthine ways in which Byzantine missionaries transmitted their Christianity abroad, across and away from the Mediterranean.

Mediterranean Echoes of Jews and the Muslim Conquests

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Reports of Jews as collaborators are found in narratives that describe the seventh and eighth-century Muslim conquests of the Near East and Spain. First appearing in Arabic sources, but later in Latin and European vernaculars, their historical reliability has been widely accepted. Yet, lack of corroboration for these reports, the lateness of the attestations, and the ubiquity of Jews as theological and historical signifiers in Christian and Muslim writing suggest that they are unreliable. When the historical circumstances of the narrative sources are identified, the function of Jews in administrative, theological, and cultural contexts within the narratives is identifiable.

The development of narrative tropes of Jews as collaborators originates in the early seventh century, when there is evidence for Jews as participants in Byzantine communal violence and in control of Jerusalem immediately following the Persian occupation of Syria-Palestine in 614. The retribution of the emperor Heraclius was expressed in the ill-understood forced conversion of Jews in the 630s. Per David Olster, a few decades later, when Byzantine and other eastern Christian writers sought a way to discuss Byzantine losses to the Muslims, Jews were symbolically blamed. Echoes of this blame made their way to Visigothic Spain in advance of the Muslim conquest and became the basis for reports in Arabic sources of Jewish collaboration with the armies of Ṭāriq and Mūsā. Centuries later, as historically self-conscious Iberian Christians grappled with the past, these stories were taken up and given a new life.

In highlighting the symbolic value of Jews in both Christian and Muslim worldviews, this paper speaks to common theological components of Western monotheism by which Jews could function as historically significant players and to the Mediterranean environment in which Jewish political activism could be conceived and believed.

Literacy in Early Medieval Spain: The Evidence of the Visigothic Slate Texts

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This paper analyses the slate texts of Visigothic Spain to reconstruct ground-level literate practice amongst the laity of the northern Meseta region. An overview of the archaeological context will confirm that they are primarily lay sources, and that a lack of trading contact with the Mediterranean is key to explaining the use of this unusual writing medium. The balance of the paper then discusses two groups of slate texts, administrative and educational, indicative of widespread, everyday lay literacy. We shall see that the administrative slates were not taxation records written by state agents, but day-to-day jottings made by locals during the collection and calculation of estate rents; and comparison with Roman examples reveals this to be continuity of Roman practice despite the collapse of the imperial presence in Spain. Next, the educational slates will be shown to represent a teaching curriculum, from which palaeographical and textual evidence suggests a surprisingly large number of people benefitted. Finally, the writings of the hermit Valerius of the Bierzo will be used to suggest how education could have taken place in this remote region in the absence of any known school structures. In conclusion, it will be noted that the widespread, everyday lay literacy evident on the northern Meseta was not tied to institutions but to individual choices based on utility and habit, rendering questionable the common assumption that the political and economic changes attendant upon the collapse of the Roman state should be predictive of lower lay literacy in the early Middle Ages.

Do not Touch Me, for You are a Pagan: A Case of Interfaith Marriage
from 11th-century León

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Despite the longstanding concern of the religious authorities of the Christian, Jewish and Muslim communities of Medieval Iberia to prevent, or in some cases regulate, sexual relations between members of different faiths, cross-border marriage alliances between Muslim lords and Christian princesses seem to have been a relatively frequent feature of peninsular diplomacy prior to the twelfth century. However, our sources have precious little to tell us about the circumstances that gave rise to such alliances. One exception is provided by the early twelfth-century *Chronicle of the Kings of León*, penned by Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo, which makes reference to the marriage that was arranged between the Infanta (Princess) Teresa, sister of Alfonso V of León (999-1032), and an unnamed Muslim king of Toledo. This paper will discuss the phenomenon of interfaith marriage in Iberia, the political context in which the betrothal of Princess Teresa may have taken place, and the wider significance of Bishop Pelayo's account for his Christian audience.

Men, Money, Motivation and Mercenaries during the Crusading Era
c. 1100 to c. 1300

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Crusading was a spiritually inspired activity yet, like all warfare, its practitioners needed large amounts of money to support their operations. Men and animals had to be fed and watered, on land and at sea, as they travelled long distances, far from their native lands and sources of revenue. This requirement produced an insatiable desire for pay and booty for their upkeep. The demands of long drawn-out sieges increased these pressures exponentially. Furthermore, participants, especially specialists in siege and naval warfare could command high fees for their service. Once established in the Holy Land, the cost of constructing and maintaining fortifications and of garrisoning them was also significant. Although rulers could draw upon customary obligations to raise forces, paid men also played a large role. The concepts of crusading and mercenary service might seem opposed, but in fact they operated hand in glove. This paper will demonstrate that money and its acquisition was at the heart of the crusading experience. It will also place the crusaders within the context of the established military structures of the Levant – Byzantine and Muslim – especially the regiments of the great cities: Cairo, Baghdad and Constantinople, and the more recent arrivals such as Turkmen horse archers upon whose service the Arab elites came to depend. Paid men were crucial to the conduct of warfare even in the context of religious warfare on both sides.

Shipping for the *qāḍī* (judge): The Case of Ibn Abī ‘Aqīl, *qāḍī* of Tyre, and his Ships

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During the second half of the eleventh century, the historical sources put forward the multifaceted figure of Ibn Abī ‘Aqīl. He first appears as the *qāḍī* (judge) of Tyre, a city under Fāṭimid rule since 359/970. Several texts, particularly some Genizah letters, show a different facet of this Sunnī judge, who was head of the city for nearly 40 years, and in particular made Tyre independent of Egyptian dominion for almost 20 years. The security of the port, its walls, and especially its economic prosperity were already noted by all the tenth century’s geographers. Tyre’s economic wealth was strengthened by Fāṭimid policy in the Mediterranean, and Ibn Abī ‘Aqīl seems to have taken advantage of this situation. The commercial letters provide information regarding the *qāḍī*’s vessels (*marākib al-qāḍī*), boats sailing for the account of this Muslim judge who appears as an important actor in Mediterranean maritime trade. This trade had major hubs at Fustāṭ-Cairo and Alexandria, in Fāṭimid Egypt. Beyond the type of goods transported, journeys, and types of ships used, these letters allow a better understanding of a maritime and commercial network in action, highlighting the various actors in this trade, among the most important of them at this time. These actors range from the shipowner, Ibn Abī ‘Aqīl, the Muslim judge, to the Jewish merchant authors of letters who rented the services of *qāḍī*’s ships.

Trading Places: The Movement of Material Culture in the Medieval Mediterranean

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In recent years, the potential of material culture to enrich our understanding of trade and exchange in the Medieval Mediterranean has begun to be realised. In this region, amongst others, commodities which moved between communities, both at short or long distance, provide physical testimony to economic exchange. Historians studying the Mediterranean have, for some time, used medieval texts as a basis to understand that exchange of goods. Previously, material culture has been used to merely illustrate those texts but increasingly researchers are recognising the potential of artefacts, particularly those found in the archaeological record, to provide an alternative perspective on the medieval economy. This is because historical sources often focus on the extraordinary and exotic, rather than the routine or common place. In contrast, the material culture recovered during archaeological excavations includes imported objects used on a regular basis by past consumers. Although clearly biased in favour of inorganic artefact, archaeology can, thus, further our understanding of the movement of objects too mundane to merit mention in medieval accounts of trade and exchange in the Mediterranean.

This session seeks papers detailing recent archaeological research in the Medieval Mediterranean, or surrounding areas, that develops our, historically based, understanding of trade and exchange through the study of material culture.

“A Horrible and Dreadful Shipwreck”: The Fateful Voyage of the
Venetian Merchant Piero Quirino (1431)

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In April 1431, the Venetian merchant Piero Quirino departed from Candia on board his *cocca*, a square-rigged round ship, to trade with Flanders. After sailing past the Strait of Gibraltar, Quirino encountered strong winds and ocean currents, which threw his ship off course, causing it to become wrecked at Sørland (Lofoten Archipelago, Norway), where the survivors lived for about one year. A detailed description of this “horrible and dreadful shipwreck” is recorded in two different accounts, one by Quirino himself (Vatican Library, Ms. Vat. Lat. 5256, folios 42-55v) and the other by two officers of the ship, Cristoforo Fioravante and Nicolò di Michiel (Marciana Library, Ms. VII, 368).

Remarkably, this event is documented in the world map of 1459 – considered one of the greatest achievements of medieval cartography – by the Venetian monk Fra Mauro and by the geographer G.B. Ramusio, who, in 1550, published for the first time the accounts in his *Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*. The study of the two voyage accounts by later scholars, however, has been confined to their geographical and ethnographical aspects; important issues concerning medieval Mediterranean seafaring, trade, and seamanship has completely neglected.

By presenting several iconographical sources Venice and Northern Italy, as well as Venetian shipbuilding manuscripts, such as *The Notebook of Zorzi Trombetta from Modon* (1444-1450) and *The Book of Michael of Rhodes* (1436), a reconstruction of the physical aspects of Quirino’s *cocca*, its outfitting and rigging, as well as the historical, economical, and geographical contexts for the venture will be attempted.

Islam and Eastern Christianity in Late Medieval Pilgrims' Guidebooks: some Examples
from the Franciscan Convent of Mount Sion

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The Holy Land was described not just in the accounts of the pilgrims who visited the most sacred land of Christianity, but also in several *Descriptiones* conceived as guidebooks for clerics and pilgrims. From the 14th century onwards many of these guidebooks are clearly linked to the Franciscan Custody of Holy Land. These compilations often include texts on customs and religious beliefs of the peoples of Near East and treatises consecrated to theological debates. I will focus in particular on an unpublished and anonymous text from the late 14th century, probably redacted by a Franciscan of the Mount Sion monastery. One of the aims of the compiler seems to have been to prepare the reader to meet unorthodox practices and beliefs, emphasising the contrast between Latin Christianity and Eastern Christianity or Islam. We will see how this seems to have been one of the aims of other descriptions of the Holy Land as well.

“*Conveniencia*” or “The Convenience Principle”:
The Mechanics of Ethno-Religious Diversity in the Medieval Mediterranean

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One of the defining characteristics of the Medieval Mediterranean was ethno-religious diversity. However, it was not simply a zone of Christian-Muslim-Jewish interaction, but one in which a multiplicity of ethnic and sectarian communities of each faith cohabited and engaged in a range of relationships, parasitical, predatory and symbiotic. Cultural dissemination, acculturation and self-identification took place across a variety of vectors; communal and cultural lines were frequently blurred. Ethno-religious diversity manifested itself in spontaneous relationships and was reinforced (and undermined) in varying degrees by religious and secular law in both Christian and Muslim lands. Politically and economically powerful interests sometimes protected, sometimes persecuted minorities, and popular sentiment could swing rapidly between fraternisation and violence. Quotidian interaction at times promoted integration, but both majority and minority communities were wary of cultural ambiguity and tended to favour segregation. While it may be true that Islamic law mitigated towards diversity and Christianity was essentially chauvinistic, ethno-religious accommodation and persecution was characteristic of both ecumenical zones.

In the mid-20th century Americo Castro described ethno-religious interaction in Iberia as *convivencia*, a term which has generated both support and opposition in the scholarly community since, and which has become a catch-phrase for medieval diversity. Yet, while recently scholars have debated the nature of *convivencia* and its viability as a concept, few have proposed coherent alternatives. The present paper proposes a model which may be able to account for the variety of ethno-religious interaction including change across time and place. “*Conveniencia*” or “The Convenience Principle” is an attempt to propose a coherent explanatory model of socio-religious diversity in the pre-Modern Mediterranean.

“Fear God; Fear the *būghāz*”: The Nile-Mediterranean Interface and Medieval Egyptian Navigation

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The demise of the Canopic and Pelusiac branches of the Nile Delta in the 9th-10th centuries AD left the Delta with only two major branches – the Dumyāṭ (Damietta) and Rashīd (Rosetta) – debouching directly into the Mediterranean Sea. Navigational conditions at the mouths (sing. *būghāz*) of these remaining branches were treacherous. The encounter of river and sea brought about a clash of fluvial and marine currents, wave fields and winds, all in an environment of perennially shifting sandbanks. The result was a navigational tumult that threatened shipping, and indeed often wrecked vessels, as a broad spread of historical and traveller accounts attest.

These problematic conditions had a formative effect on the navigational landscape of the Nile-Mediterranean interface. On the western fringe of the Delta, Alexandria remained the port *par excellence* of Egypt. Not only did the city have a superior maritime port, but its connection with the Nile hinterlands via the seasonal and state-maintained Alexandria Canal, as well as via Lakes Abū Qīr and Idkū, allowed vessels to avoid the hazards of the Rashīd mouth. The treacherous mouth also meant that the eponymous city of Rashīd failed to gain prominence as a port until the Alexandria canal fell out of use in the Ottoman period. In the eastern Delta, similar conditions at the Dumyāṭ branch prompted navigators to take an alternative route to the sea via Tinnīs, an island city in modern Lake Manzalah that connected to the Dumyāt branch through the physically smaller Tinnīs branch, and which linked to the sea through relatively calmer lake mouths. It was only in response to Crusader attack that Tinnīs yielded to Dumyāṭ as the premier port of the eastern Delta. This paper brings together historical, archaeological, meteorological and hydrological data to offer a new understanding of the navigational context of Egypt’s medieval Mediterranean ports.

Unity Across a Frontier: Mediterranean Trade and the Norman Conquest of Sicily

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Many scholars of the medieval Mediterranean have viewed Sicily as a firm boundary or frontier between Islam and Christianity. After two and a half centuries of Muslim administration on Sicily (256/827-452/1061), Christian Normans subjugated the cities of the island over the period from 452/1061 to 483/1091. This “Norman conquest” of Sicily transformed the Mediterranean system and altered existing networks of communication between the island and the Islamic world. According to the conventional view, this conquest realigned Sicily away from Muslim North Africa and toward Christian Europe, thus entirely breaking the unity of the central Mediterranean.

I argue, to the contrary, that the creation of this religio-political boundary did not consequently create an economic boundary in the Mediterranean. During the thirty-year period of the Christian conquest of Sicily, trade between Sicilian ports and those in Muslim North Africa continued, although it was often delayed and hassled due to warfare. Letters from the Cairo Genizah that can be dated specifically to the conquest period demonstrate the frequency with which merchant ships crossed the Mediterranean, even under hostile conditions. Islamic legal evidence from North Africa also reveals continuing trade between that region and Sicily, despite its illegality according to Islamic law. This paper will show that the cultural and political boundary created by the Norman conquest was permeable in regard to economic matters; the Norman rulers in fact promoted further economic exchange with Muslim North Africa, thus preserving many aspects of central Mediterranean unity.

Learned Travellers of al-Andalus Confronting Latin Aggression in the Mediterranean
(11th–13th Century)

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It is often in terms of “emigration”, sometimes voluntary, but most of the time otherwise, that the travels of Andalusī litterateurs in other Islamic countries between the 11th and the 13th century are presented. The *rihla*, the traditional way to think about travel, made by the ‘*ulamā*’ of al-Andalus to the East in order to study with the oriental masters, would have changed by then. Not being considered any more as indispensable to be recognised as a religious authority, this travel would be an attitude of flight in front of the Christian headway in the Iberian Peninsula. This catastrophic vision is inseparable from an historiographical perspective according to which the Andalusīs would have been little sensitive to the ideology of *jihād*.

The paradox is that specialists of the Muslim East have emphasised the pioneering and crucial role of the Andalusī travellers in terms of Muslim reactions to the Latin offensive in East. It is the link between *rihla* and *jihād* that we analyse in this communication, by resorting essentially to two types of sources, the bibliographic literature and the narratives of travel. We shall analyse the practices of *jihād* carried out by the travellers and how they articulated with those of *rihla* on the practical and ideological perspectives. We shall try to see how and why the Andalusīs conceived of the *rihla* as an answer to Latin aggression in the Mediterranean Sea.

Classical Carpet Tradition in the East, the Middle, and the West: A Tripartite View of
Later 15th-century Developments.

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In this talk, I will examine three separate areas that have been proposed as sources of the 15th century "Carpet Design Revolution," and their role in the birth of new carpet design traditions that constitute wellsprings of subsequent "classical" carpet design traditions in Anatolia, Azerbaijan, and Khurasan. The problem will be examined from the point of view of art history - the history of carpet design - and that of the regional economies - the economic circumstances that favoured innovation in carpet design, production, and marketing in the late 15th century.

Arts of Crusade; Arts of Ambivalence: Christians, Jews and Muslims in the Arts of the
Medieval Mediterranean

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The texts of the Crusader era can provide us with a picture of a world divided into separate, hostile religious factions. The conscious agenda of public arts would seem to support that view, and yet, as we look deeper into works of art and architecture, they can serve to remind us of societies in which day to day life did not meet the strict polarisation demanded of political and military ideology. In fact, very public works of European architecture from the 12th and 13th centuries can reveal, not just the official position of religious triumph, but evidence of shared culture, common society, and a far more ambivalent relationship between Christians, Jews and Muslims than crusader rhetoric suggests.

For the Redemption of Captives - The Trinitarians and Islam: an Episode in Muslim-Christian Relations in the Medieval Mediterranean

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At the end of 1198, Pope Innocent III approved the Rule of the Trinitarian Order. While many of its stipulations reflected the norms of the time for regulating religious life in common, it is remarkable for the fact that the principle focus of the Order's activity is to be the ransom and redemption of captives, specifically Christian captives of non-believers. To this end, one third of all the income of the Order was to be set apart for the work of ransom.

Throughout his reign, Innocent III devoted much of his energy to promoting the Crusader movement, despite the disastrous Fourth Crusade, but nevertheless he had the breadth of vision to recognise and encourage a religious endeavour whose practice with regard to the religious other was in marked contrast to that of military orders such as the Templars and Hospitallers. The Trinitarians did indeed wear the Cross of Christ, but in a distinctive two colour form. Unlike the warrior-monks of the military Orders, they went among the enemies of Christianity unarmed, and mounted not on a horse, the powerful steed of chivalric might, but on a humble ass, which rendered even escape from danger impossible.

The Order quickly experienced a period of rapid expansion, and while the demands of the Primitive Rule would soon be mitigated, and it was principally the coastal foundations of the Order that took direct part in ransom activity, this remained, nevertheless, its primary charisma. With the collapse of the Crusader project and the gradual success of the Iberian *Reconquista*, the increasing numbers of Christian prisoners captured by the pirates and privateers of the north African coast would become the main focus of Trinitarian ransoming activity, and would see the establishment by the Order of a number of hospitals for the care of prisoners in Algiers and Tunis. While the number of prisoners ransomed is not known, the proposed figures of 46,000 to 90,000, although substantial, represent only a small percentage of those Europeans held captive in North Africa. It can be argued, however, that while the Trinitarians were not directly engaged in missionary activity, their mission of redemption to the poor, undertaken at their own expense, and at no small personal risk, truly witnessed the values of self-giving sacrifice which stand at the very heart of the Christian tradition.

More Light on Early Animal Carpets

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Speaking in Washington in 1999, I dared to update Richard Ettinghausen's 1959 article "New Light on Early Animal Carpets". In this paper I will attempt further to en-large on the subject, starting with the earliest knotted-pile carpets from the 6th century BC. I will include a few Bactrian carpets from the 3rd century BC to the 3rd century AD, and other examples through the Islamic period, with images of all the animal carpets discovered in Tibet in the 1960s, whose patterns were only known to Ettinghausen from depictions in Oriental and Western paintings. I will conclude with the demise of the art in the middle of the 15th century.

- Ettinghausen, Richard, 'New Light on Early Animal Carpets', in *Aus der Welt der Islamischen Kunst* (Berlin: Mann, 1959), pp. 93–116.

Material Worlds: the Shared Cultures of Southern Italy and its Neighbours
(10th - 12th century).

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The relationships between southern Italy and central Mediterranean neighbours have been well explored in terms of trade, but less so in their cultural contexts. This paper examines cultural exchange, or at least similarities, in the customs and traditions in this zone by comparing evidence for material culture in southern Italy, namely textiles and vestimentary systems, with evidence from its Greek-speaking neighbours in Byzantium and those from the Judeo-Arabic world in Egypt. This comparison has resulted in unexpected, and hitherto unacknowledged, similarities between these societies. My evidence for material culture in this period derives primarily from inventories of goods found in the rich collections of charters from the south-eastern province of Apulia; and these will be examined against sources from the Cairo Genizah and a smaller body of evidence, mainly wills, from Byzantium. This will reveal how identifying objects and their descriptions can unravel both hidden correlations, and subtle variations, in cultural meaning and function. These shared cultures, it will be argued, place southern Italy and its neighbours in a more compelling historical context than that simply evidenced by the search for commercial or political connections.

The Crisis of the Christian Church in Muslim Cordoba: an Outside View

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Eulogius' mid-9th century *ecclesia destituta*, with its persecution and its martyrs has, in the absence of other substantial documentary sources, dominated the history of Christianity in Muslim Spain, and defined the prevailing image of Andalusí Christians as an oppressed minority. Eulogius' claims, and those of his associate, Paul Albar, regarding Arabicisation, have informed widespread assumptions of early mass conversion to Islam, despite scattered indications to the contrary. A significant part of Eulogius' martyrology is falsified or suspicious, however: around a third of his *passiones* contain material that had been reworked from other sources neither Cordoban nor contemporary, or so little detail as to appear purposefully vague. There are only a handful of contemporary or near-contemporary Latin works – from the Frankish and northern Iberian kingdoms – that deal with the themes of Christians living in al-Andalus or with martyrdom in Islamic Córdoba, and none of them corroborate Eulogius' image of the Christian experience in al-Andalus. Aimoin, writing of his brothers Usuard and Odilard's relic-seeking journey to Córdoba during the so-called "Cordoban Martyr Movement", presents the only contemporary account but is just as problematic as the Cordoban accounts. In light of this, Eulogius' reliability and importance must be re-evaluated.

Vandals in al-Andalus? Questions of Identity, Language and Religion

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Most accounts of the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 711 agree that some of those Berbers who constituted the invading forces, broke away from the army, and settled in diverse areas. Why are there no reports of disturbances among the indigenous rural communities as a consequence? Is it reasonable to assume that almost immediate assimilation occurred? Could this assimilation have been aided by the knowledge of a mutually shared common language? It can be argued that a substantial sector of the invading forces comprised descendants of those Vandals who had crossed into North Africa with Geiseric in 429 AD. They would have been Latin-speaking, and therefore able to converse with their counterparts in the Iberian Peninsula. The question of the religion of the new settlers is debated. Again, it can be argued that they remained largely unaffected by the governance of al-Andalus for approximately two centuries, and that during that period, among the rural communities as a whole, there is no discernible knowledge of the Arabic language and no conversion to Islam. Was Christianity a common factor? This is conceivable, but the lack of any appreciable evidence, including archaeology, would appear to indicate that adherence to revealed religion was not among the priorities of those rural indigenous communities that form the subject of this paper.

The Mediterranean and the Origins of the European Economy 600-900

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When did the economies of medieval Europe really begin to grow? What role, if any, can be ascribed to the Mediterranean region in that growth? The most famous and widely debated answers to those questions were given long ago by Henri Pirenne in *Mohammed and Charlemagne*. For Pirenne, growth began in the Carolingian age, and its spur was the severing of long-distance trade in the Mediterranean by Islamic pirates. The centre of economic gravity consequently shifted from the southern Mediterranean northwards. More modern interpretations, amounting to a later twentieth-century consensus, have placed the decisive period of growth well after the Carolingians, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and they have not explained it in such emphatically Mediterranean terms. In recent years, however, several powerful overviews of the Mediterranean and its economies in the periods of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages (roughly 400–900) invite us to return to Pirenne’s perspective, but with the advantage of a wealth of new textual and archaeological data, and to reopen the question of how much northern Europe owed to the Mediterranean between the Roman and the Carolingian empires. This lecture will critically appraise recent discussions of both the Mediterranean ‘supply side’ of the early medieval economy (focusing on the work of Michael McCormick) and the intra-European “demand side” (the work of Chris Wickham). It will conclude by suggesting that the two contrasting interpretations can be bridged, and the role of the Mediterranean newly defined, by looking at the export of agricultural techniques and technologies from the Mediterranean to northern Europe – notably the bipartite manor and the water mill.

Ottoman Rugs in the Protestant Churches of Transylvania

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The Ottoman carpets of “classical” age which have survived in Transylvania are the most important heritage of Turkish art in Eastern Europe, a region which for centuries was part of the Ottoman Empire. Actually more than 380 very rare Turkish carpets can be found in the Protestant churches in Transylvania. They date from the second half of the 15th century to the second half of the 18th century, a period when the Ottoman textile production was at its highest. This is also the largest ensemble of such exceptionally well preserved rugs existing in the world.

The very presence of these carpets, often prayer rugs, which survived mostly in the Lutheran Evangelical Churches of the German minority (who were also called Saxons) in Transylvania, and who lived alongside Romanian Orthodox and Hungarian communities, is an interesting, complex and unique cultural phenomenon. Attempts to explain the presence of so many Ottoman Turkish rugs in the Lutheran Churches of the Saxon community in Transylvania have often resulted in theories that range from the incomplete to the eccentric.

The presentation will discuss some of the main facts which led to the accumulation and preservation of Ottoman carpets in considerable numbers in Transylvania:

- a) few historical facts about Transylvania in the 16th century;
- b) trade and the arrival of the Ottoman rugs in Transylvania;
- c) the role of the Ottoman rugs in the Protestant, Orthodox, Catholic Churches of Transylvania.

The Composition of I.33: the Influence of “Islamic” Art on Medieval European Individual Combat.

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Royal Armouries Manuscript I.33, henceforth *I.33*, is an illustrated sword and buckler fencing treatise dating to *ca.* 1300 and as such is the oldest recognised surviving European work on personal combat. Despite this it is regarded as problematic with most authorities regarding the illustrations as being overly conventionalised and thereby producing depictions that are too stilted to have been of use in real combat or in teaching the techniques of the same. However, recent experimental work (Jones, forthcoming) expanding a paper given at the 2008 Nottingham Disease and Disability conference has revealed that these postures may not in fact be artistic conventions but rather be the result of attempting to teach fighting techniques to what would now be called the disabled. In this current paper I examine the similarities between aspects of the artistic composition of *I.33* and the artistic conventions of the Late Antique Near East which offer closer parallels to the depictions in *I.33* than does any Northern European artistic style with the possible exception of that of the Vendel Period. In particular this paper concentrates on two aspects: firstly how Sassanian canons are perpetuated in the “Islamic” tradition and secondly the probability that this was picked up and transmitted to Europe by the religious knightly Orders while in Outremer either as an artistic convention or more likely as actual practical techniques to extend the effective service of “disabled” combatants.

The Prophecy of an Old and Venerable Man: Imagining Reconquest in Medieval Portugal

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The writings of 12th-century Portuguese authors can reveal quite distinctive attitudes toward both the Visigothic past and the presence of Islam in the Iberian Peninsula. It is possible to trace in these writings a gradual development through what might be called a “proto-reconquest” phase into a more politically convenient form of religiously inspired militancy. Over time, legalistic appeals to the natural justice of reclaiming lost ancestral rights were superseded by an eclectic mix of pragmatism and crusading ideology. While on one level this gradual shift appears to reflect closer links between Western Iberia and the Latin Christian world, there were also clear advantages to the ambitious rulers of Portugal in adopting the rhetoric of crusade.

The Sources of Tin and the Ceramics of the Medieval Mediterranean

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Tin was a vital ingredient in the new opaque ceramic glazes developed by potters in 9th century Iraq, glazes which reached Islamic Spain by the turn of the 10th century. It was the addition of tin oxide to an otherwise transparent lead glaze which made the glaze opaque. This opaque glaze covered the underlying earthenware clay with a white base, onto which the potters could paint their decorative motifs with more vibrant colours than ever before.

The tin glaze technique reached its height in 14th century Paterna, a town 5km outside of Valencia in eastern Spain, where *mudéjar* potters began to make tin glazed ceramics on a scale which was unprecedented in the medieval Mediterranean. Unlike the more luxury, one-off nature of tin glazed decorated ceramics made during the *caliphal* and *taifa* periods of Islamic ruled Spain, these Muslim potters working under newly conquered Christian rulers produced large quantities of rather roughly potted tableware decorated with copper green and manganese brown. Similar developments in glazing occurred more or less contemporaneously in Teruel, southern France and in Italy as the tin glaze technique took off around the Mediterranean.

I argue that one factor which had a great influence on this expansion of tin glaze ceramics was the greatly increased availability of tin from the southwest of England at the beginning of the medieval period. This new, reliable and abundant source of tin allowed the potters to cover more of their pottery with a thick, generous coating of tin glaze. I have examined documentary and archaeological sources that demonstrate the importance of this new trade in Cornish tin for the ceramics industry of the medieval Mediterranean, highlighting the impact of the trade and exchange of commodities on the development of material culture.

Less Common Turkish Rug Designs in 15th-16th-century Paintings

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Most people are familiar with the principal early Turkish rugs named after the renaissance painters who showed them in some of their paintings: the large- and small-pattern Holbeins, the Lottos and others. These designs have been thought to form the bedrock of Turkish production in the 15th and 16th centuries but in the last twenty years or so many so-called “village rugs” have come to notice which do not fall into familiar categories and so are more difficult to place and date. It has been thought that paintings would not be useful in this regard but in fact there are representations of unusual rugs which previously have been overlooked since they did not correspond to known types. This talk will present some examples of field and border designs which can thus be dated back earlier than had formerly been supposed.

In Subsidium: the Declining Contribution of German Noble Families to the Defence of
the Latin East, 1227-1291

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This paper will explore the dramatic decline in the number of German crusading expeditions to the Mediterranean in the thirteenth century. It will examine the reasons behind this trend with particular reference to the political evolution of the German Empire and the growing demands of the Baltic and Eastern European frontiers. The implications of this diversion will be considered with reference to its effect upon the continued survival of the Latin settlements in the Levant and the shifting political sphere of influence of the German Emperors.

Riccoldo Da Monte di Croce: A Dominican Friar between Eastern and Western
Christendom and *Dār al-Islām*

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Brother Riccoldo Da Monte di Croce is a well-known member of the Order of Preachers - Dominican historians like to mention him when discussing the relations between the Christian East and West and with regard to the history of the Muslim-Christian encounter. In recent decades we have witnessed an *aggiornamento* in Riccoldian studies (Mandonnet, Loenertz, Dondaine, Panella and Mérigoux) mainly due to the appearance of nearly his entire corpus in particular *Contra Legem Sarracenorum*. In 1228, at the age of 45, this brother of the Order of Preachers set out for the Middle East, when according to some, it was somewhat late to start studying Arabic. However, he must have overcome this obstacle quickly since in the death notice for his *conventus* we read that he became *peritus* in the Arabic Language within his Order. Riccoldo had sought permission to respond to the appeals which Pope Nicolas IV and the Master of the Order of Preachers, Munio de Zamora, had made on behalf of Eastern Christendom and the Holy Land. In the *Liber Peregrinationis* Riccoldo narrates his itinerary from his arrival in Acre to Baghdad. His account is not that of an explorer describing a landscape, but of a theologian-apostle concerned with the spiritual and doctrinal contexts which he encounters. Riccoldo witnessed events which traumatised him, which explains many of his judgements on the prospective nature of the Christian-Muslim encounter and on Islam. Riccoldo's theological thought on Islam have been very influential, for example, it provided a distinctive canon for Reformation thought and for modern thinkers.

Ships and Shipbuilding in Venetian-ruled Corfu in the First Half of 16th century

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The study of commercial activities in the port of Corfu during the first half of 16th century allows us to distinguish between two main categories of trade:

- a. the local trading activities between Corfu and the opposite coasts, whereby Corfiots imported various goods in order to meet their daily needs, and
- b. the regional (Adriatic, Ionian Islands) and Mediterranean (from eastern Mediterranean until Malta) trade, where the main protagonists were merchant seamen from Corfu and other Greeks, subjects of Venice or of the Ottoman Empire.

The differentiation between local and regional trade is reflected in the types of ships used in Corfu too, as we can see from their different technical features which were corresponding to the transport of special goods along fixed routes.

The main object of the present paper, which is based mostly on notarial records of the archives of Corfu and Venice, is to examine questions related to: the types of ships of Corfu at the end of 15th and the first half of 16th century, their technical features and capabilities (capacity, crews etc.), as well as the potential of the Corfiot merchant fleet and the shipbuilding activities in the island and the wider region.

Marks of Culture and Faith: the Travelling of Symbolic Patterns through Artefacts

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Amidst the patterns found in elitist and utilitarian artefacts produced in al-Andalus, as well as in the *mudejār* arts - braided borders, stepped triangles, stylised palmettes, double 8/knot of Infinity, waves, flower of four petals on a square, stylised acanthus, lion within a dotted circle, square with circles in the corners, borders in waves, the “Tree of Life” – I shall be focusing on three of them:

1 - flower of four petals on a square, used in Coptic Egypt and in the mosaics of Umayyad monument of the Dome of the Rock; in “carpet pages” of the Qur’ān; in Córdoba and Madīnat al-Zahrā’ mosques; in Andalusian silks; in *mudéjar* carved leather of Portuguese earliest upholstery;

2 - absorbed by early Islamic art from the Latin-Greek heritage, the acanthus has a centuries-old recreation lineage, being shown as stylised leaves of segments and circles in al-Andalus and in Iberian *mudéjar* art;

3 - the square with circles in the corners - used in 9th-10th-century pottery of Nishapur, in 12th-century Islamic pottery of Mértola and in a coin found in Lisbon, in *mudéjar* Spanish bookbinding, and in Iberian southern plains shepherds’ and country folk art – is also found as part of a castle with towers in the corners, in several archaeological sites in the Middle East.

These patterns can lead us into a study practical uses and aesthetics. This can reveal a broad understanding of design and symbols connected to faith, identity and culture, which are a significant part of our heritage.

Byzantium and Umayyad Spain: Diplomacy, Cultural Exchange and Surveillance in the
reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (945 – 959)

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From the beginning of the personal reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, embassies were exchanged between Byzantium and the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III in Córdoba. The significance of these embassies has never been fully explored; diplomatic contacts between the two powers having been often dismissed as “an attribute of office” for the Caliph. Although the substantive diplomatic discussions have not been transmitted in our sources, detailed descriptions exist of the elaborate ceremonies at Córdoba for the reception of the Byzantine envoys and of the precious gifts that were presented to the Caliph. While the ceremonies mirrored those detailed in the Byzantine *Book of Ceremonies* for the reception of foreign embassies in Constantinople, the diplomatic gifts of manuscripts by Dioscorides and Orosius as well as decorative materials and craftsmen for the construction of the Madīnat al-Zahrā’ demonstrate the importance of the relations for Byzantium. This was no formal impulse to continue with tradition. Constantine and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān not only had a common enemy in the Fāṭimids - who harassed Byzantine possessions in Italy and had captured all of the Umayyad North African territories except for Ceuta and Tangiers – but also a common interest in Crete, whose corsairs were supported by Spain. Furthermore, Constantinople and Cordoba were two ends of an itinerary of diplomatic visits which included Ottonian Saxony and the Kingdom of Italy and provided opportunities for surveillance in the Mediterranean for both maritime powers. Byzantino-Umayyad relations thus have to be examined in the context of the cultural and ceremonial exchange and the Mediterranean rivalry that characterised the mid-tenth century.

Routes and Navigation in the Early Medieval Mediterranean through the Pilgrims' Sources

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Horden and Purcell have contrasted the idea of an immobile society between Antiquity and the Middle Ages, stating that: "Among the manifestations of religious mobility in the Medieval Mediterranean, pilgrimage was pre-eminent".

Almost all Jerusalem pilgrims travelled by sea, at least until 11th century; a new overland route was forged. Some of the women pilgrims of the Late Empire chose to cross the Mediterranean Sea even if Paolino from Nola spoke about the *odiosam fluctuandi nauseam* and Jerome said: *multi casus opprimunt navigantes*. In the 5th century, the Piacenza Pilgrim went from Constantinople to Syria passing by Cyprus. The first narrative of a Christian pilgrim after the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem relates about the bishop Arculf, who travelled by sea from Alexandria to Constantinople. Willibald, an Anglo Saxon monk of the 8th century, made a long trip in the Mediterranean from Gaeta to Palestine, landing in Naples, Sicily, Peloponnese, Anatolian coast and Cyprus. In the 9th century Bernard the Wise took a ship of Muslim merchants leading him from Taranto to Alexandria, from which he went to Jerusalem. Adomnan and Hugeburc attested the importance of Tyrrhenian coast in the routes of pilgrimage while Bernard seems to prove the passage to the Adriatic side. In fact the ports of Apulia will be used by the Crusaders in the 11th-12th century.

The pilgrims' sources allow us to verify the duration of the sailing season. On a perspective of *longue durée* a useful comparison should be made with the documentation of merchants' activities (J.Pryor, A. Udovitch). Moreover, the hagiographic sources about Holy Land pilgrimage reflect a Mediterranean mobility which is a separate a literary topic.

Iberian Ceramics found in Scandinavian Medieval and Post-Medieval Archaeological Contexts

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Archaeological material from the Iberian Peninsula, which was transported to Scandinavia during the medieval and post-medieval periods, has been a neglected area of study for many years by the local archaeologists and historians. To date, only very few articles on fragments of Iberian ceramics have been published, and examination of these fragments has in general been carried out within a Scandinavian context. This paper will present the results of an on-going research project that has led to the identification of several different types of imported ceramics in Scandinavia, including significant quantities of coarse ware vessels. A few written sources mention the trade of Iberian foodstuffs to Scandinavia but, currently, no reference of luxury ceramics has been identified. Luxury types identified include lustreware, predominantly from Málaga and Valencia, along with a few examples of Portuguese faience. Not surprisingly, these finds are associated with high status contexts, specifically those connected with the upper echelons of medieval and post-medieval society. Strikingly, the majority of these sherds has been found at locations associated with the Hanseatic League and should, therefore, be seen in connection with their network in Northern Europe.

Sailing along the Eastern Adriatic Coast in the 15th century
according to Pilgrims' Travel Journals

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The travel journals of European pilgrims to the Holy Land from the fifteenth century are exceptionally valuable yet still poorly researched sources for the study of the historical, political, geographical and cultural aspects of the Croatian Adriatic coast at that time. Of particular interest is the journey itself along the eastern Adriatic coast: the sailing routes of Venetian passenger galleys, harbours, supplies, conditions and problems of the voyage, passengers' accommodations, and their daily routine aboard the galley.

In this paper, my primary sources are travel journals of the German pilgrims Felix Fabri (from 1484) and Konrad von Grünemberg (from 1486), and of the Italian pilgrim Pietro Cosola, from 1494.

Crossing the Alboran Sea from the 8th to the 10th Centuries between the Iberian Peninsula and the Maghrib: An “Ecosystem” in the Mediterranean of the High Middle Ages?

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In the wake of the P. Horden and N. Purcell’s book (*The Corrupting Sea*) on the medieval Mediterranean, studies of the early centuries have come back into the field of research, especially in terms of economic matters, which have been neglected for a long time. However, until this day, Islamic world history is less advanced than Latin and Byzantine studies, particularly for the earlier centuries. The works of David Abulafia, especially about the “Bacini” ceramics of Pisa, concern the period after the tenth century. Despite the limited information on this region given by late Arab sources (not before the tenth century and mostly after), the Alboran Sea and its surroundings, from the Strait of Gibraltar to the coast of Valencia and the Balearic Islands, are seen as an important link between Maghreb and al-Andalus with regards to the Arab conquest. If testimonies are partial and relate only to political or military affairs, there is no lack of evidence for the existence of regular contact between the two shores.

In those conditions, we might ask, in the context of the Mediterranean crisis (8th to the 10th century), whether the coastal region was not what the two authors of *The Corrupting Sea* defined as one of those ecological areas where people on both sides of the sea found themselves linked not only by Islam, master of both sides, but also by economic and maritime interests around the basin, easily crossed in two days, both in winter as well as summer or spring?

Religious Frontiers and Overlapping Cultural Borders: The Power of Personal and Political Exchanges in the Works of Alfonso X of Castile (1252-1284)

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The Mediterranean was, and still is, a symbol of homogenised diversity, where arts, languages, religions, policies and ideas converged by coexisting, borrowing from - or indeed opposing - each other. Medieval Iberia also emblematically represents such coexistence, being the social, political and cultural stage on which different religious groups, in particular Muslims, Christians and Jews, interacted. After presenting briefly the much-debated idea of *convivencia* (or coexistence) experienced in the Peninsula between these groups, in this paper I will focus on the typologies of relationships that governed individuals from different ethnic and religious backgrounds and through which their connections were possible. In particular I will discuss the fragile borders which sometimes existed between personal and political relationships, presenting an “alternative” perspective on how Christian powers viewed, considered and interacted with Muslim rulers and, in a different way, with Muslim subjects. My analysis will take particular account of the works produced in the scriptorium of Alfonso X of Castile (1252-1284), renowned for his personal love of arts and sciences, most of which are indebted to the Near Eastern tradition.

The Maritime History of Dalmatia: Evidence from the Medieval Shipwrecks

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The complex maritime history of Dalmatia during the centuries after the fall of the Western Roman Empire is related to its particular geographical and therefore strategic features appreciated by various political powers of the time. The arrival of the population of Slavic origin during the sixth and the seventh centuries caused many troubles to the Byzantine Empire and permanently changed the ethnic image of the Dalmatian coast. The rise of the maritime Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) presents the most interesting phenomenon in the area, providing important evidence for the history of Mediterranean seafaring.

Although the underwater archaeological evidence from the Middle Ages is pretty scarce in comparison with that of other historical periods, it still presents a valuable source of nautical information. The two boats from Nin identified as *condurae* mentioned by the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus comprise of a partly rescued cargo of glass material of oriental provenance at the island of Mljet, with some evidence of the Byzantine amphorae cargos as well as isolated finds of Saracen clay lamps together present the most significant Medieval underwater archaeological records along the Croatian coast.

The written evidence of the time provides information about many events that ended up with sinking of one or more ships while the description of the voyage of Pope Alexander III from Vieste to Venice in 1177 along the Eastern Adriatic coast traces one of the well known and frequently used sea routes.

St Francis of Assisi and Islam: Theological and Historical Perspectives on a Christian-Muslim Encounter

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In 1219 an encounter took place between a Christian from Italy, Francis of Assisi, and the Islamic Sultan of Egypt, Malik al-Kāmil. This meeting took place at Damietta in northern Egypt during the progress of the Fifth Crusade. Francis and a few of his companions came unarmed into the camp of the Sultan. Over a period of perhaps three weeks, religious dialogue took place between Francis and Al-Kāmil, after which time the Sultan had Francis escorted safely back to the Christian camp.

There are no detailed historical records of what actually occurred during this encounter. Historically the meeting has been depicted in various lights. Following more recent research, however, we can now discern from the writings of Francis after his return from Egypt that the meeting had a deep religious impact upon him. What is evidenced is a change in attitude towards the Muslim world, something akin to a religious “conversion”, and this was to have a deep impact upon Francis in the latter years of his life.

It can be said that both Francis and Al-Kāmil experienced through their encounter what the Christian theologian Bernard Lonergan has called a ‘conversion to the transcendent’. The historical encounter between Francis and the Sultan witnesses to the fact that through a shared religious conversion to the transcendent, it is possible for members of different religious faiths to arrive at a common vision of universal peace and reconciliation.

The Advent of the Science of Music in the Golden Age of Muslim Civilisation

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This paper links the rapid urbanisation of the Arab conquerors following the advent of Islam with the need to create sciences with what I will call the “Great Musical Tradition.” This tradition is characterised by a subtle organisation of melody and rhythm in which the vocal component is pre-eminent over the instrumental and is based on the skill of individual artists who were often to combine composition and performance.

The Great Musical Tradition was well established by the time of Umayyad rule and reached its high point under the ‘Abbāsids. By this time it had become a skilful fusion of the tradition itself and the vernacular “Arab little tradition” which in effect comprised a new art, the importance of which could be characterised by the following features: the increasingly prominent place of music among other areas of knowledge; its central place as a means of expression and communication; its effect on the created world, individuals, society and the order of the universe and the fact that its exponents belonged largely to other areas of learning. Traditionally, text and its meaning had tended to predominate and the musical component was subordinated.

The scope of the material in the writings on music is both encyclopaedic and specialised. The encyclopaedic and literary works are primarily conceived along the line of the *adab* literature, a term that embodies various meanings which will be explored. The humanistic concept of *adab* was at first strictly national, but the contact with foreign cultures widened the content of *adab* as Arab *humanitas* now encompassed a knowledge of those sections of the non-Arab (Indian, Iranian Hellenistic literatures) and the treatment of Arabic music theory as the subject of intellectual discourse began with the process of translation of non-Arab texts, mainly Greek treatises on music. This epoch, known as the Golden Age of Muslim civilisation, was described by scholars as the Renaissance because of its humanist and universalistic approach, wherein all cultural arenas blossomed. One of the major ideas dominating this approach was the pursuit of knowledge is the path of human perfection and happiness. The science of music as conceived under the influence of the Greeks underwent considerable transformation.

Widespread Conversion of 7th-century Christians to Islam shows Christological
Confusion of the Former and Theological Accommodation of the Latter:
A Practicum of Harmony Today

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Centuries of hegemonic/territorial wars in the Levant had weakened Byzantine/Roman empires prior to Islam. Factions had bloodily rallied around competing scriptures (e.g., Gnostic) and Christologies. Arian (and other) Christians unforgivably disrupted the social/political order. Hence, Christians (and Jews!) welcomed a *Pax Islamica* that ended persecution from Roman co-religionists. Within 100 years of Muḥammad's death (11/632), descendants of those martyred in Jesus' name in Roman arenas had widely and willingly embraced Islam. These Christians saw no apostasy in embracing a religion honouring Jesus as prophet; a religion whose Qur'ān tells the virgin-birth story of, and titles one chapter after, Jesus' mother Mary.

Islam forbade sectarian wars ("do not go beyond religion", inscribed on the Dome of the Rock, 691) based on hermeneutics or philosophical inference (Nicaea, Chalcedon). For those choosing not to convert, Muslim genius created Dhimmitude. Far from "clashing", Muslims are to consult Christians and Jews about the exegesis/hermeneutics of their scriptures (which Islam accepts having "the light of Allāh", despite erroneous human accretions).

This paper includes a tested methodology of hermeneutics and epistemology applicable in rigorous academia as well as in less formal interfaith dialogue.

Cultural Confusion, Crisis and Conversion in Medieval al-Andalus

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In Spain, the idea of al-Andalus as an almost prelapsarian world in which Christians, Muslims and Jews lived peacefully together, collaborating in scientific research and creating artistic masterpieces is a dearly cherished myth. It is cherished for excellent reasons: it puts an acceptable face on what was in fact an extremely fraught and violent period of history and it gives hope for the future. If the three faiths could live together in harmony in al-Andalus, surely they can do so again today. A myth, of course, can be a powerful and useful tool, even if it is not true, but still it seems interesting to try to examine the real situation, not at the High Table level, but in the street, among the *Daily Mail* readers, rather than readers of *The Guardian*.

An interesting example of this is provided by the Martyrs of Córdoba, a group of ordinary Christians, who in the mid-ninth century felt – not without reason – that their way of life was being eroded by political and cultural forces that they could not control and decided that the only way they rouse their co-religionists to act against cultural assimilation was by seeking martyrdom. The reactions both of other Christians and of the Muslim authorities are interesting, as were the long-term effects.

Three centuries later, this and other efforts at regaining ethnic, cultural and religious identity were to lead Ibn Rushd, known to the West as Averroes and faced with the external danger of the Reconquest, to advocate the deportation of all remaining Christians from al-Andalus, since by definition they were treacherous and in a crisis would always support their co-religionists rather than be loyal to the State. The pattern was to be repeated in mirror image in 1492 and beyond.

Reconquest and *Convivencia* in the *Libro de los doze sabios*:
the Spectre of the Shadow King

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The *libro de los doze sabios* – at least the original version – was written at the court of King Fernando III of Castile-Leon (1217-1252). It belongs to the genre of the mirror for princes, but most critics have insisted on the pragmatic and secular overtones of the work, which place it outside the mainstream of the genre. One might say that whereas most Christian mirrors warn their princely readers not to become tyrants, i.e. rulers who abuse their power and transgress the prescriptions of divine and human law, the *Libro de los doze sabios* concerns itself with the spectre of the *roi fainéant* or shadow king, the prince whose lack of power and ineffective rule cause anarchy and disorder in the kingdom.

The paper tries to explain the extraordinary character of the work by studying it against two seemingly contradictory backgrounds: the Reconquest, which produced in the Iberian Peninsula a type of kingship labelled as *frontier kingship*, and the *convivencia*, the cultural and intellectual interchange between the Muslim and Christian communities of Spain. Both paradoxically reached their climax during the thirteenth century. The *Libro de los doze sabios* is the product of this development.

The Square “fighting march” of the Crusaders at the Battle of Ascalon (1099) – Its Origins and Suitability for the Middle East Warfare of the late 11th Century

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On the 12th August 1099 the Latin knights and infantrymen of the First Crusade left Jerusalem to meet the Fāṭimid army of the grand vizier Al-Afḍal which, at that time, had invaded Judaea had encamped close to Ascalon. We have no idea about the size of the Arab army which clashed with the Latins but we estimate it to be around 20,000 strong, both infantry and cavalry, while the Crusaders would have brought to the field some 2,000-4,000 cavalry and several thousand foot soldiers. According to the chronicler Raymond of Agiles, the Crusaders divided their forces into nine small divisions of both cavalry and infantry and marched to meet the Fāṭimids three divisions abreast, probably fearful that they might be attacked and surrounded, so that each time there would be three divisions to face an enemy attack. This “fighting march” that was adopted in 1099 can be seen in contrast with the battle array of the Crusaders before the battle of Doryleum in 1097 or Antioch in 1098.

In this paper I will examine the origin of this particular battle array through the writings of Vegetius and the Byzantine Emperors Leo VI and Nicephoros Phocas, along with any possible influence from Turkish or central Asian military thinking. Also, after a comparison of the Fāṭimid and Seljuk armies of the last quarter of the eleventh century, I will analyse how effective this marching formation would have been against these two significantly different enemies of the Crusaders in the Holy Land? After Ascalon, do we have any other examples of the use of this formation?

From Genoa to Constantinople The First Mission of the Order of Preachers

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As a reaction to growing social and religious unrest in thirteenth century West Europe, alternative movements are seen in the Church. As influenced from monastery and heretic sects, they bring a new breadth to Western Church with their distinctive structure. They are the mendicant orders who call anybody in the Middle Ages' new progressing cities. They combine poverty and mission and try to transmit the spiritual effects of this way of life to the world as the popes' ambassadors. They join apostolic activities with intellectual studies and travel to Armenia, Iran, India, Mongolia, Java, Borneo and Tibet.

Dominicans, one of these orders, travel to the Muslim countries of Spain, North Africa and the Levant. Following different strategies from Franciscans, they learn about the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, discuss with Islamic scholars and preach to the people especially in Aragon. They learn the native languages and make contact with Jews and Muslims either as apologists or missionaries. Ottoman archives reveal their activities in Mosul, Jerusalem, Aleppo and Beirut. This topic will focus on Constantinople.

Between 1204-1261, the Dominicans came to Constantinople via the Société des Frères Voyageurs and found the St. Paul and Dominic church on a cemetery in Pera where the Genovese were concentrated. After the conquest, the church was converted to a mosque and was used for people who migrated from Spain. There was an established myth that the church had been built by Arabs. Joining the Genovese colony, other Dominicans came from Crimea and established churches in Bakırköy and Yedikule.

A well known Ottoman scholar, Katip Çelebi, could view Istanbul from Mediterranean. From the Mediterranean, that was the most vibrant region in the world, Dominicans came to Constantinople for a period of their mission. In this paper we will discuss the presence and settlement of the Dominicans in the Ottoman capital.

Cultural Appropriation in Medieval Mediterranean Architecture

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This paper addresses the question of so-called cross-cultural encounters in medieval Mediterranean architecture and focuses on the examples of Norman Palermo, Umayyad Córdoba and Mamlūk Cairo. These cities -at these particular historical junctures- are generally considered by modern historians to be places in which the Christian and Islamic cultures of the medieval Mediterranean came together in significant new ways. The unique buildings of these cities, such as the Norman Palatine Chapel, the Umayyad Mosque of Córdoba and the Mamlūk Madrasa of Qalāwūn, are often characterised as expressions of a calculated fusion of Islamic and Christian architectural elements. This assumption prompts one to ask the critical questions that this paper attempts to address: To what degree is it accurate to perceive architectural borrowings between the Islamic and Christian worlds as “cultural encounters”? To what extent does this architecture embody a conscious pattern of cultural appropriation?

The El Niño Southern Oscillation (ENSO) and Nile flood: Some Points of Conjunction between Climatological Events and Interregional Economic and Political Relations in the Mediterranean, *ca.* 629-1200

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El Niño Southern Oscillation (ENSO) has a direct effect on the intensity of the monsoon rains that feed lake Tana and other sources of the Nile flood. In years of the ENSO, the warm seas and winds that produce monsoon rains in the western Indian Ocean abate, sometimes causing catastrophic drought in the hinterlands of the Horn of Africa. In these years the Nile failed to water all the arable lands of Egypt, producing shortfalls in wheat, barley and other comestibles, reducing the tax income of the successive Byzantine, caliphal, Ṭulūnid, Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid administrations *ca.* 629-1200. The measurements of Cairo Nilometer survive in detail from 621 to the end of the period under consideration. The evidence of these readings and the literary sources have been synthesised to understand the history of the Nile as a hydrological unit, but less had been said about the impact that low Nile floods and on the price of wheat had on Mediterranean politics. I propose to consider a series of annual clusters when the Nile flood was deficient and seek to discover correlations with otherwise implausible political events. Among the multi-annual clusters to be considered will be 687-696, 832-34, 841-42, 851-52, 963-67 and 1200. Among the historical situations to be considered will be substantial population migrations, tax rebellions, and regime weakness and collapse, particularly in Egypt. In addition, documents, mainly dated papyri will be reviewed to see if there were characteristic legal transactions in these years in areas such as animal husbandry, agriculture and servicing debt.

The Changing Hierarchy in Maghrebi Ports from the 12th to the 15th century:
A Response to the *Conjuncture*?

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At the beginning of the 12th century the main points of the Maghrebi port network were in place, and show a rather significant density of cities. These can be considered, at different levels, as poles or relay points for the maritime trade, and as points of contact between Mediterranean networks and the hinterland. However, some of them develop more than others, a phenomenon which I will try to understand by analysing the evolutionary factors whereby some of these ports replace others in the context of the modifications of the Mediterranean and Maghrebi trade networks, but also through modifications in the political balance. Thus the rise – or on the contrary the decline – of certain ports seem the result of complex phenomena, sometimes related to local or regional political circumstances, but also to diplomatic relations between the Christian and Muslim States of the western Mediterranean, and even to the situation in the eastern Mediterranean. But more than that, it is the evolution of economic conditions and methods of trade that makes it possible to understand changes in the hierarchy of Maghrebi ports and their place in Mediterranean trade. Finally, these ports, integrated from the 12th century onward into a unified economic area, were sensitive to modifications of the global economic situation in the Mediterranean, and more particularly on European shores. It is what will be analysed with some examples of ports of varying importance.

The Development of the Lateen Sail in the Mediterranean

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The importance of maritime connectivity in the medieval Mediterranean has been highlighted by a number of scholars. This standpoint implicitly acknowledges the importance of maritime technology in facilitating such connectivity. A detailed understanding of the use and development of the ships and boats that permitted trans-Mediterranean trade, exchange and cultural interaction during the medieval is still often lacking. The lateen sail provided the main form of propulsion to Mediterranean sail powered ships for the majority of the medieval period. However, the origins, development and potential performance of such an integral piece of maritime technology has, until recently remained poorly understood.

A series of clear iconographic depictions now outline the basic chronology surrounding this important example of maritime technological change. It is now possible to characterise the main rigging components of the Mediterranean lateen rig from the late-antique period onwards and to draw conclusions regarding the level of continuity between the rigging of ships in that period and the following medieval period. Comparative investigation into the lateen sail and the Mediterranean square-sail allows a more developed appreciation of the performance of either rig, relative to one another, to be developed. This has allowed new theories to be proposed which explain the invention and adoption of the lateen sail in the Mediterranean and provide a developed context for its use in the medieval period.

Representations of the Enemy: Biblically Derived Derivations of Muslims
in *Reconquista* Chronicles

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The purpose of this paper is to explore the range of descriptions employed by Christians of the Muslim enemy in the chronicles of León-Castile during the period of the Christian Reconquest of Spain, principally from the 11th-13th centuries but also incorporating earlier depictions (for example, in the ninth century Asturian Chronicles) and relating these briefly to those of others perceived to be the enemies of the Catholic creed, including Jews and Arians. The ways in which biblical allusion and rhetoric were deployed will be examined in terms of language, specific references and the extent to which such literary devices might be perceived as having been adapted and honed to suit changing circumstances. The parallels between the genealogical origins and religious faith of the enemies of the Hebrews and their supposed descendents who conquered Christian Spain will also be explored. In order to examine the way the view of the Muslim enemy evolved, contrast will also be made with the invective used by Christians in al-Andalus to describe their Muslim rulers (most notably by Paul Alvarus and Eulogius in ninth century Córdoba) and the ways in which the enemy was to be depicted in the triumphalism of later biblically inspired epics such as the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* and *The Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile*.

Finally, attention will be paid to the way in which the Muslims were seen as just instruments of God's wrath, suggesting that they were used, as the enemies of the Children of Israel had been, to punish and purge his chosen people.