

CENTER FOR EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES  
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL GRADUATE CONFERENCE

**IDEOLOGY, KNOWLEDGE, AND SOCIETY  
IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN**



CONFERENCE BOOKLET

Central European University  
Budapest  
June 4-6, 2015

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# P R O G R A M

June 4, 2015

12:30-13:15 Registration at CEU Oktogon

13:15-13:30 Welcoming Remarks, Popper Room

Prof. Volker Menze (Central European University)

Nirvana Silnović (Central European University)

## SESSION 1 13:30-15:30

### **Commentary and Contest in Later Ancient Philosophy**

Chair: István Bodnár (Central European University)

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Şahan Evren (King's College London): Late Antique Reception of Aristotle's *Meteorology*

Tonguç Seferoğlu (King's College London): The Influence of Socio-Political Context on Doing Philosophy: Damascius and Olympiodorus on Plato's *Phaedo*

Laura Viidebaum (University of Cambridge): Dio on Philosophy (orr. 70 and 71)

Claudio Garcia-Ehrenfeld (King's College London): The Comic Side of Lucian's *Hermotimus*

*Coffee break 15:30-16:00*

## SESSION 2 16:00-17:30

### **Religious Wisdom and Theological Learning in the Early Christian World**

Chair: György Geréby (Central European University)

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Dmitry Biriukov (Università degli studi di Padova): Physical Paradigms in the Christological Controversies in Byzantium

Francesco Celia (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam): On the Passability and Impassability of God – A Third-Century Christian Reply to a Philosophical Objection

Andra Juganaru (Central European University): Ascetic Women and Learning in the Fourth-century Roman Empire

*Coffee break 17:30-18:00*

**George Karamanolis** (Institut für Philosophie, Universität Wien)

*New Wine in Old Bottles: Christians on the Origins and the Nature of Language*

Chair: Georgina White (Princeton University)

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The question of the origins and the nature of language is one of the oldest philosophical set of issues. Plato is apparently the first ancient philosopher to deal systematically with them. In the *Cratylus* we find two rival theories about the nature of words or 'names' and their correctness, one of Hermogenes according to which they are conventional and one of Cratylus according to which they reflect the nature of things. The two theories, conventionalism and naturalism, remain influential in antiquity; they have an impact on later relevant theories, of Aristotle, the Stoics and the Epicureans, but they experience a strong revival in the 4th century in the argument between Christians on the nature of Christian God. Christians had in interest in the nature of language also before the 4th century -Origen, for instance, argues against linguistic conventionalism (*Against Celsus* I.25, V.45). In the 4th century, though, we notice a considerable rise of interest in the nature of linguistic items when Eunomius, a partisan of Arian theology, argues that names reveal how things are and that differences in substance is made clear by differences in names. Eunomius aims to establish that names such as 'Father' and 'Son' reveal substantial differences indicative of distinct substances, Father and Son. Basil and Gregory reply that such names reveal distinct properties, not distinct substances, and at any rate, they maintain, names are conventions, human creations, that reflect how we conceptualize things, not how things are. Gregory explicitly accuses Eunomius of adhering to Cratylus' linguistic naturalism that leads him to make inferences about reality from the evidence of names. The main part of my talk will focus on the argument about language between Eunomius on the one hand and Basil and Gregory on the other.

After studying at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Freie Universität Berlin, King's College London and UC Berkeley, Prof. Karamanolis received a DPhil from the University of Oxford where he was supervised by Prof. Michael Frede. Before taking up his position as Assistenzprofessor für Antike Philosophie in Vienna, he was an assistant professor of ancient philosophy at the University of Crete. He has published extensively in the field of ancient philosophy from the time of Plato up to Late Antiquity, including the widely recognized monographs *Plato and Aristotle in Agreement? Platonists on Aristotle from Antiochus to Porphyry* (OUP, 2006) and *The Philosophy of Early Christianity* (Acumen, 2013).

**June 5, 2015**

**SESSION 3 09:00-11:00**

**Textual Transmissions, Comparisons, and Influences**

Chair: István Perczel (Central European University)

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Marton Ribary (University of Manchester): Legal Forms as the Archimedean Point of Comparing 6<sup>th</sup> century CE Rabbinic and Roman Law

Mari Mamyán (Yerevan State University): Some Remarks on the Apocryphal Legends the “Covenant” and the “Cherograph”

Khadeega M’Gafar (American University of Cairo): The Transmission of Virtue Ethics from Greek into Arabic: a Case Study of Miskawayh’s *Treatise on Ethics*

Iuliana Soficaru (University of Bucharest): Travelling Physicians in Late Antiquity: Alexander of Tralles and the Pursuit of Health

*Coffee break 11:00-11:30*

**SESSION 4 11:30-13:30**

**Material Culture in Context**

Chair: Nirvana Silnović (Central European University)

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Valentina de Pasca (Università degli Studi di Milano): Byzantine Repertoire Resulting from the Study of Earrings Discovered in Italian Early Medieval Necropolis

Maria Alessia Rossi (The Courtauld Institute of Art): Christ’s Miracles: Artistic and Cultural Exchange Between the Byzantine Empire and the Serbian Kingdom

Özge Yıldız (Koç University): A Seat for the Ruler and the Politics of Vision: The *Hünkâr Kasrı* of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque (1609-1616) and the *Kathisma* of the Byzantine Great Palace (330-1081)

Bilge Ar (Istanbul Technical University): Byzantine and European War Machines, Arms and Armor in the Ottoman Arsenal

*Lunch break 13:30-15:00*

SESSION 5 15:00-17:30

**'Byzantine Matters'**

Chair: Niels Gaul (Central European University)

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Ivana Lemcool (University of Belgrade): Byzantium and the Transmission of Astrological Learning During the Middle Ages

Panagiotis Manafis (Universiteit Gent): History through Fragments: The 'Patriographic' Part of the Parisinus suppl. gr. 607a

Sandro Nikolaishvili (Central European University): Visual and Verbal Rhetoric: Legitimizing Bagratid Kings in Medieval Georgia

Kalle Knaapi (University of Turku): Defining and Re-Defining Byzantine Drama: The Case of Theodore Prodromos' *Katomyomakhia*

Lorenzo Maria Ciolfi (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales): Reconsidering Byzantine Imperial Sainthood

*Coffee break 17:30-18:00*

KEYNOTE LECTURE 18:00-19:30

**Judith Herrin** (King's College London)

*Mathematics, Theology and Icons: Three Elements of Byzantine Diplomacy*

Chair: Ivan Marić (Central European University)

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This paper links scientific, ecclesiastical and art historical aspects of Byzantine culture to show how they were used in diplomatic contexts, especially those associated with the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-39). In tracing their adaptation, it examines both imitators and innovators, as well as drawing attention to the significance of translators, who made texts available beyond their original linguistic circles. Many translations of Greek mathematics into Arabic reflect the intellectual curiosity and innovation of the Muslim world, yet it was the patient copying by Byzantine scribes that provided seventeenth century Europe with some of the most challenging theorems. During the fifteenth century negotiations for the union of the churches, Byzantine scholars made the writings of St Thomas Aquinas available in Greek for the first time, and their western counterparts created Latin versions of Greek commentaries on theological texts. And although Byzantine icons had often performed the role of ambassadors for the church of Constantinople, one particular type came to symbolize the union of Ferrara-Florence, while fifteenth century Italian collectors developed a novel appreciation of this art form.

Judith Herrin is Professor Emerita and Constantine Leventis Senior Research Fellow attached to the Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London. Previously she held the Stanley J. Seeger Chair of Byzantine History at Princeton University. Her major books include *The Formation of Christendom* (1987); *Byzantium. The surprising life of a medieval empire* (2003), which has been translated into 10 languages, and most recently two volumes of collected essays, *Margins and Metropolis. Power across the Byzantine Empire* and *Unrivalled Influence. Women and Authority in Byzantium* (both Princeton University Press 2013). Her current research is devoted to the city of Ravenna, the link between Byzantium and the West during late antiquity and its role in European history.

**June 6, 2015**

**SESSION 6 09:00-11:00**

**Frontiers, Spaces, and Identities**

Chair: Judith Herrin (King's College London)

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William Guast (University of Oxford): His Master's Voice: Romanity and Resistance in Greek Declamation

Anna Adashinskaya (Central European University): Knowledge on Identities: Multilingual Dedicatory Inscriptions from the Byzantine Commonwealth

Stefan Trajković Filipović (University of Belgrade): Negotiating the Other, Devising a Strategy: Bayezid I and Holy Places in the *Life of Despot Stefan Lazarević*

Zachary Foster (Princeton University): Was Jerusalem Part of Palestine? The Forgotten City of Ramla, 800-1830s

*Coffee break 11:00-11:30*

**SESSION 7 11:30-13:30**

**Perception as a Source of Knowledge in Historiographical Traditions**

Chair: Tijana Krstić (Central European University)

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Lucas McMahon (Central European University): Towards an Understanding of Guerilla Warfare Tactics in Byzantium: Shifting Frontiers, Shifting Peoples

Valentina Covaci (Universiteit van Amsterdam): Contentious Encounters: Western and Eastern Christians in Fifteenth-century Jerusalem

Görkem Özizmirli (Boston College): Fear of İbşir Mustafa Pasha in Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatnâme*: A Political Crisis in the Seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire and Its Representation in First-person Narrative

Peter Hill (University of Oxford): Was the Ottoman Empire a 'Despotism'? A Nineteenth-century Egyptian-European Defence

*Lunch break 13:30-15:00*

**SESSION 8 15:00-17:00**

**Construction and Circulation of Knowledge**  
Chair: Helen Pfeifer (University of Cambridge)

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Simon Hartmann (Ruhr-Universität Bochum): Trust in the Ottoman Arch-enemy? The Struggle of Islamophobia and Islamophilia for Public Opinion in the Holy Roman Empire After the Fall of Constantinople (1453)

Ayşe Baltacıoğlu-Brammer (Ohio State University): Shifting Identities in the Early Modern Mediterranean: An Examination of Muslim Rinnegati in the Roman Inquisition, 1542-1766

Daria Kovaleva (Harvard University): The Arabian Nights between Coffeehouse and Oriental Miscellany: Re-Defining the Notion of "Translation" in the Eastern Mediterranean Contact Zone

Ahmet Bilaloğlu (Central European University): The Experience of an Ottoman Ambassador in France in an Age of Transformation: The Case of Yirmisekiz-zade Mehmed Said Efendi (d. 1761)

*Coffee break 17:00-17:30*

**KEYNOTE LECTURE 18:00-19:30**

**Helen Pfeifer** (University of Cambridge)

*Continuity in an Islamic Society: The View from the Ottoman Salon*

Chair: H. Evren Sünnetçioğlu (Central European University)

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Although history is often understood as the study of continuity and change, recent practitioners of the discipline have tended to focus on the latter. And yet, pre- and early modern societies worked hard to establish the continuities that lent stability to an unpredictable world. This paper examines the Ottoman salon (Ar. *majlis*, Tur. *meclis*) in the context of the broader Islamic intellectual tradition. It shows how the rules and practices passed down with the *majlis* served the Ottomans well, and how elites adjusted the institution to meet their changing needs. Uniting ideas and practice, the salon offers the ideal laboratory for examining why Muslims valued continuity, and when and how they broke with it.



Helen Pfeifer is a Lecturer in Early Ottoman History at the University of Cambridge. She completed her PhD at Princeton University in 2014. Her current book project focuses on sociability, the circulation of culture and the management of human diversity in sixteenth-century Ottoman lands; she has just published an article based on this research in the spring 2015 issue of *The International Journal of Middle East Studies*. Pfeifer is also interested in broader histories of early modern contact and encounter, especially as pursued through collaborative research.

### Concluding Remarks

Prof. Niels Gaul (Central European University)

21:00 Dinner for Speakers

Trófea Grill Restaurant, Király utca 30–32, VI. District

## A B S T R A C T S

**Anna Adashinskaya**  
(Central European University)

*Knowledge on Identities: Multilingual Dedicatory Inscriptions from the Byzantine Commonwealth (12<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> Century)*

Despite the fact that, in the majority of cases, multilingualism was not on the agenda of the post-iconoclast period, the peripheries of the Empire had multiple encounters with other cultures (Arabic, Slavic, Latin), bilingualism becoming thus the everyday strategy for such cases. The present paper will address the rare instances of bi- or trilingual dedicatory inscriptions preserved in several churches and marking the Byzantines' moments of encountering and co-habiting with the "others".

Byzantine dedicatory inscriptions had usually rather standard content which offered briefly information about the church/object, its date, patron, and historical context. Simultaneously, they were tools of communication between viewers and founders/donors, becoming thus an individual's tool (one of the few possible) to make a public statement. Written on behalf of a patron, the inscriptions expressed his/her/their religious beliefs, hopes, status, political convictions, and at the same time showed implicitly the patron's wealth and social importance. On the other side of the communication act, this information affected the beholder; thus the inscriptions could either display affinity, unanimity, and respect to reader's identity, or, oppositely, could oppress and intimidate him through the founder's authority, power, and wealth.

Such a communication was made by means of writing, which could transmit a message to a certain audience, either in a low or high-brow style, and in one or several languages. My paper will address those inscriptions which are written in more than one language:

- Greek and Arabic inscriptions on Moses and Elijah icons in Sinai made by Stephen (c. 1100);
- Georgian and Greek epigrams on the festival icons of Ioannes Tohabi, Sinai (12<sup>th</sup> c.);
- Latin, Greek, and Arabic inscriptions of horologium from Palazzo dei Normanni in Palermo made in 1142 by Roger II
- Latin and Greek inscriptions in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (1167-9) mentioning the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Komnenos and King of Jerusalem Amalric;
- Armenian and Slavic inscription of Vitovnica Monastery in Serbia (1217);
- Slavic and Greek inscriptions in St. Archangel Gabriel Church of Lesnovo Monastery (1341-7), ordered by Despot Jovan Oliver;
- Greek, Latin, and Slavic inscriptions of St. John Vladimir Church (1381) in Elbasan, built by the Albanian nobleman Carlo Thopia;
- Greek and Georgian inscription of Tsalendjikha cathedral (1384-96), painted by Manuel Eugenikos and commissioned by Vamek Dadiani;
- Greek and Latin inscriptions in the Basilica of Santa Caterina in Galatina (1391), built by the Principe of Taranto, Raimondo del Balzo-Orsini, for the Franciscans.

By examining these cases, I will try to answer to several questions. Firstly, I will look at the reasons behind the use of several languages, whether it was a necessity or an option; was it aimed for different members of a multilingual community, caused by the donors' preferences, or, maybe, explained by political circumstances. Secondly, I will address the differences in content between the inscriptions of the same monument, trying to explain what had caused them and what were their consequences. Finally, for some cases, I will be able show how the inscriptions manipulated beholders and affected their spatial strategies when approaching and within the church.

**Bilge Ar**  
(Istanbul Technical University)

*Byzantine and European War Machines, Arms, and Armor in the Ottoman Arsenal*

Soon after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks, Mehmed II started to use the Byzantine building stock for the spacial needs of the newly forming Turko-Islamic capital. When Topkapi Palace was constructed, 6th century Byzantine church; Hagia Eirene was enclosed within its garden walls. Byzantine war machines taken from the fallen army were deposited here and the church building was transformed into an armory depot. Along with the contemporary weapons used by the Janissaries and later the reformed Ottoman army; spoils of war such as European arms and armor from Crusader armies, keys of conquered cities and diplomatic military gifts of swords and armor from Mamluk and other Islamic states were housed here as a private collection of the Sultan. As a military building inside the palace walls, Hagia Eirene was guarded at all times. The symbolic connotations of the military collections inside were used as an expression of power reminding the public of the conquered places, beaten armies and the power of the Ottoman army. Although very limited visitors were allowed inside, public knowledge of the ingredients of this well guarded building created an even more powerful imagery of the Ottoman civilizations domination over Byzantine civilization and European opponents. The building had been expanded in 1726, taking the name Daru'l-esliha (House of Weapons), having the valuable material in it reorganized into an observable collection resembling a "cabinet of curiosities". A throne room was constructed in it for the Sultan to enjoy his collections during his visits. The military collection was valued with a far more specific importance that even when the Ottoman empire was declining and selling many precious material and jewellery from the palace treasures the military collection was left mainly untouched despite the eager buyer candidates from all around the world. This paper aims to bring out the meanings attributed to these military collections by the Ottoman state and their importance as an expression of power.

**Ayşe Baltacıoğlu-Brammer**  
(Ohio State University)

*Shifting Identities in Early Modern Mediterranean:  
An Examination of Muslim Rinnegati in the Roman Inquisition,  
1542-1766*

When Pope Paul III issued the Bull *Licet Ab Inito*, in 21 July 1542, he established the Italian Inquisition, with its main task being to guarantee the supremacy of the Catholic belief in Italy, which was being challenged by the Protestant “hereticism.” Italian Protestantism, throughout the sixteenth century, however, was not a common phenomenon. Ultimately within a few decades, the focus of the Inquisition expanded to include the Muslims as their new targets. Even though Islam were not considered as a source of heresy, and according to the bull, non-baptized Muslims were not subjected to the Inquisition; in practice, however, hundreds of them were interrogated and/or experienced the Inquisition within different circumstances.

I argue that Muslims/Turcos constituted a significant part in the Roman Inquisition and the religious agenda dictated by the inquisitory authorities concerning how to approach to the Muslims/*Turcos* was closely associated with social and economic considerations, location of the autonomous tribunal, as well as the nature of the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and a certain Italian city-state. In other words, while religious doctrines played a significant role in determining the nature of the relationships between the Inquisition and its targets, geographical location of the certain inquisitory tribune, relationships of the political authority with the Ottomans, and Ottoman central authority’s geo-political and financial legitimacy in the region determined inquisition’s intensity towards its Muslim/*Turco* subjects.

Research done for this project found that Muslims, or as more commonly called the *Turcos*, of the Inquisition went through the inquisitory era in three different situations: I- As Christians, who had converted to Islam, willingly or unwillingly and wanted to “clear their names” through reconverting to Christianity before the Inquisitors, II- As Muslim Italians or Europeans, in general, who were denounced by their neighbors, family members or were captured by Italian pirates, and III- As Ottoman subjects, who converted to Christianity through different institutions established during the Inquisition.

**Ahmet Bilaloğlu**  
(Central European University)

*The Experience of an Ottoman Ambassador in France in an Age of Transformation:  
The Case of Yirmisekiz-zade Mehmed Said Efendi (d. 1761)*

This paper aims at interpreting the intellectual and diplomatic involvements of an extraordinary Ottoman statesman, Yirmisekiz-zâde Mehmed Said (d. 1761), within the larger framework of trans-imperial networks of knowledge production, technology transfer and cross-cultural diplomacy. Mehmed Said’s long career, which started as a minor officer in the Correspondence Office of the Grand Vizier (*sadâret mektûbî kalemi*) in the 1710s and peaked during his grand

vizierate in 1755, spanned the reigns of three Ottoman sultans: Ahmed III (r. 1703-30), Mahmud I (r. 1730-54) and Osman III (r. 1754-7). In the meantime, he occupied several scribal posts and served as the Ottoman ambassador to Russia and Sweden in 1732 and France in 1741. After 1720 when he served in his father Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi's ambassadorial mission to France as his *kethüdâ* (personal secretary), Mehmed Said became an active promoter of innovations in the Ottoman capital such as the introduction of the printing press and the unsuccessful attempt of establishing a scientific academy. Existing literature has long pinpointed him and his intellectual and cultural imports, especially from France, as the epitome of Ottoman westernization. In contrast to this outdated historiographical approach which reduces the Ottomans' adoption of several novel technological, scientific, architectural and military innovations in the early eighteenth century to a modernization-cum-westernization ideology, I approach Mehmed Said's travels of learning as a concrete example of the Ottomans' conscious agenda of importing European technology and ideals with a pragmatic and resourceful eye in order to suit their distinctive needs. In the light of Ottoman and French primary sources, this paper specifically attempts (i) to emphasize the multifaceted, on-going and reciprocal nature of cultural mediation as an important element in the diplomatic relations between France and the Ottoman Empire in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century; (ii) to highlight how Mehmed Said and the other members of his diplomatic and intellectual network operated as the members of multiple social formations; (iii) and to analyse how they managed to interact across linguistic, religious and political lines (or boundaries) that they co-shaped and were in turn shaped by. This scheme helps me avoid approaching Mehmed Said and other intermediaries as positioned "in-between" a priori distinct societies; instead, I prefer to focus on these individuals' abilities to foreground specific knowledge (generally scientific and medical knowledge in Mehmed Said's case), privileges or commitments to further their interests through their dual residence and/or extended sojourns in multiple locales. The contemporary fashion in France for *turquerie*, which was re-invigorated after Mehmed Said's embassy in France in 1741, supports my interpretation from the French side. It proves that the West was not adverse to enjoy its own cross-cultural borrowings from the East and that a common set of courtly values and customs accelerated an extensive cultural transfer across the Eurasian continent in the form of shared intellectual traditions, rituals of sociability and appreciation of material culture as an expression of Eurasian elite culture.

**Dmitry Biriukov**

(Università degli studi di Padova)

*Physical Paradigms in the Christological Controversies in Byzantium*

It will be shown in my report that within the controversy between Chalcedonians and Monophysites representatives of each of the warring movements used opposite physical paradigms in order to substantiate and elucidate their Christological views. These were paradigms of understanding of the mixing of physical bodies. The Chalcedonian authors (Theodoret of Cyrus, Leontius of Byzantium, Leontius of Jerusalem, John of Damascus) followed a Stoic philosophical paradigm of mixing of physical bodies. This paradigm

suggested that there is a mode of existence in physical reality, wherein two bodies assume qualities of each other and therefore constitute a unity. However, each of these bodies maintains its own identity; that is, both of the mixed bodies keep their own essence. Accordingly, the concept of this mode of existence in physical reality was used by the Chalcedonian authors to illustrate a way of uniting the two natures in Christ after the incarnation. In contrast, the Monophysite authors (Sergey Grammar, John Philoponus) used a paradigm which traced back to the opponents of the Stoic account of a mixing – Aristotle, Peripatetics and Plotinus. In their own doctrine of mixing, these authors did not assume that mixed bodies may constitute a unity while maintaining their own natures. This correlated with a polemical attitude of Christology by the Monophysite authors, who insisted on the impossibility that Christ after the incarnation would be both the two and the one, i. e. would possess two natures and one hypostasis. Thus the Monophysites, defending a Christological doctrine opposite to the Chalcedonian, based their arguments on a physical paradigm opposite to the Stoic concept of mixing which the Chalcedonians relied on. In this way, the natural philosophical polemics between the Stoic and Peripatetic/Neo-Platonic traditions had a rebirth in Byzantine Christological debates. Finally, one must take into account that the Monophysite John Philoponus and the Chalcedonian John Damascene had formal schooling. This would, obviously, entail a study of natural philosophy. Bearing in mind this education, each of these authors touched upon the topic of mixing of physical bodies outside of the Christological issues. In doing so, each elaborated an understanding of mixing that corresponded to their respective Christological positions. From this, I put the question whether we can say that both the Chalcedonian and Monophysite Christologies imply a certain physical worldview, and whether this worldview can be at least one reason for choosing a particular Christology by the ancient authors.

**Francesco Celia**

(Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

*On Passability and Impassability of God: A Third Century Christian Reply to a Philosophical Objection*

Among the writings ascribed to Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neocaesarea in Pontus, there is a dialogue, preserved in Syriac translation, entitled *To Theopompus: on the passability and impassibility of God*. Although its attribution has been contested, there is no doubt that this work is from third century, thereby being the first Christian treatise entirely dedicated to this issue. The treatise reports Gregory's reply to a certain Theopompus questioning the concept of a suffering God, that is, how can we say that God, who is impassible by nature, can suffer from human passions? If God wished to suffer, claims Theopompus, his will would contradict his nature. Theopompus uses the common notion in Greek philosophy of the impassibility of God to raise an objection to one of the fundamental beliefs of the Christians.

The *To Theopompus* provides a very rare apologetic attempt at giving a rational explanation of how to conceive a God that has suffered while remaining impassible with no references to the normative authority of the Scriptures. Gregory rejects the value of the limitation of God's will according to

Theopompus. Then, after having accepted the common idea of the excellence of the divine nature and activity, Gregory argues that God's passions are proof of his impassibility, inasmuch as "He, in his impassibility, made the passions suffer". In this paper I will illustrate how Gregory constructed his defense of God's impassible "coming to human passions" on the argument of God's superiority, also when applied to physical and ethical observations. Gregory assimilated the Greek notion of the impassibility of God's essence to highlight the transcendence of His nature (physics) and the excellence of His pedagogical and soteriological activity towards humanity (ethics). In this sense, the *To Theopompus* represents a significant case study of a Christian attempt to accommodate religious beliefs with common philosophical expectations.

**Lorenzo M. Ciolfi**

(École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris)

*Reconsidering Byzantine Imperial Sainthood*

Imperial sainthood is of course one aspects of Byzantine kingship that has generated heated debate among historians. Nevertheless, certain questions remain unanswered: Did imperial sainthood really exist? And, if so, how did it manifest itself?

John III Vatatzes (1222-1254) is the only other Byzantine emperor, besides Constantine the Great (306-337), still venerated by the Orthodox Church. Through the efforts of the local Metropolitan, the Nicene emperor is celebrated in the *Vatatzeia* festival in the Thracian city of Didymoteicho, his hometown, where in 2010 a church was dedicated to him. Considered by some a πατήρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ("father of the Greeks"), he is present today in Greek political and cultural debate, as is demonstrated by the allusions to his return in the form of the legendary petrified emperor.

Likely due to the confusion around the idea of Byzantine imperial sainthood, modern scholars generally accept this exceptional attribute of Vatatzes' reception. To quote one of the most distinguished works on the topic, G. Dagron's *Empereur et prêtre* (1996): «it was not until the age of the Palaiologoi that an emperor, John III Vatatzes, son-in-law of Theodore Laskaris, came close to official recognition as a saint by reason of his virtues and, above all, his charity».

Nevertheless, the problem deserves some reconsideration. In this paper I will start with an analysis of Constantine's case and the role of other imperial figures in the Constantinopolitan *Synaxarium* and then I will move through an analysis of some neglected texts on Vatatzes, paying particular attention to his Βίοι.

Still a long way from answering definitively the questions from which we started, the new conclusions gathered, though, can contribute to determine a new starting point for a broader scholarly debate on kingship and imperial sainthood in Byzantium.

**Valentina Covaci**  
(Universiteit van Amsterdam)

*Contentious Encounters:  
Western and Eastern Christians in Fifteenth-Century Jerusalem*

In 1333 the queen and king of Naples, Robert of Anjou and Sancha, bought the right of a presence at the holy sites of Palestine for the Franciscan friars and endowed them with their own Jerusalem house- the Franciscan Convent of Mount Zion, at the Cenacle. Two bulls issued by pope Clement in 1342, *Gratias agimus* and *Nuper carissime*, laid the legal grounds for the Franciscan presence in the Holy Land, with the friars as the only authorized Western Christian presence at the holy sites, and a mission to guide and accommodate Western pilgrims to Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

This arrangement resulted in an uneasy cohabitation of Eastern and Western Christians at the most significant shrines of their faith, especially in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Although this forced “sharing of the sacred” was not new to the Jerusalem church, having it precedents in the Crusader period, the status of Western Christians had been dramatically changed, from lords of the city into a tolerated presence. However, forced to coexist at the holy sites and in a country where they were clearly in a minority offered the friars with the opportunity to register and comment not only on the customs of the obvious “other”, the Muslim, but also on those of the similar “other”, the Eastern Christian. In this paper I intend to talk about these uneasy interactions between Eastern and Western Christianity, from the perspective of the Franciscan friars. I will be looking at fifteenth century accounts left by friars who lived and served in the Holy Land for many years, coming to know the land and its inhabitants, and I will be focusing on how this coexistence impacted the knowledge of Western Christians about their Eastern counterparts.

**Şahan Evren**  
(King’s College London)

*Late Antique Reception of Aristotle’s Meteorology*

The fact that Aristotle's *Meteorology* received commentaries in Late Antiquity (as opposed to today) by Alexander of Aphrodisias (partially extant), Philoponus (partially extant) and Olympiodorus (almost intact), attests to the importance of the work in Late Ancient conception of nature. These commentaries are important not only because the *Meteorology* is one of the least studied works of Aristotle in our day. More importantly, this is for Aristotle a challenging area of natural philosophy, because it is here that we encounter how his cosmology, as laid out in his *Physics*, *On the Heavens*, and *On Coming-to-Be and Perishing*, is at work in and explanatory for more complex and less regular (though still natural) phenomena. Whether the *Meteorology* is a culminating work that ties various aspects of Aristotle's physical thinking together or whether it is written merely in order to fill a gap that would otherwise be there in his overall natural explanation is a crucial one that will have important bearings, I assume, on evaluating Aristotle's project of natural inquiry.



To study the Late Ancient reception of the *Meteorology*, I look at Philoponus's commentary. In particular, I ask how Philoponus incorporates Aristotle's causal qualification of the two realms of nature in the *Meteorology*, the sublunar and the supralunar, into his general rejection of Aristotelian cosmology and physics. The place this commentary occupies with respect to Philoponus' *oeuvre* is a question that is worthy of attention. Whereas the rejection of the *aither* in his other commentaries on Aristotle and his dismissal of the Aristotelian and Proclean views on the eternity of the world display his unease with the Aristotelian worldview, we have a less critical Philoponus in the initial chapters of his commentary on the *Meteorology*. This, I argue, could be partly because Aristotle here builds a more solid relation between the sublunar and the supralunar worlds, implying a rejection of their ultimate separation.

In the end, I aim (i) to obtain a better understanding of the Aristotelian conception of nature and scientific explanation, contributing to the study of one of the least studied texts of Aristotle; (ii) to develop insights into the hermeneutics of interpreting Aristotelian texts on nature in Platonism by studying the dialectics of the debate in late ancient world; as well as (iii) to contribute to the study of the ancient and medieval science of meteorology whose importance is usually underestimated in the histories of ancient science.

**Zachary J. Foster**  
(Princeton University)

*Was Jerusalem Part of Palestine?  
The Forgotten City of Ramla, 800-1830s*

When the Muslims conquered the Levant from the Byzantines they changed the meaning of Palestine. They preserved its erstwhile sense as a region but turned Palestine into the city of Ramla. From the 9th through the early 19th century, Muslim exegetes, Jewish and Christian geographers and European and Arab travelers all explained that Ramla and Palestine were the same place. Others thought Palestine was a small region based around Ramla, one that did *not* include Jerusalem.

Why? Ramla was the political, geographic and economic center of the District of Palestine during the Umayyad and Abbasid periods and it lied at the crossroads of every major trading route in the region. Recall, as well, that the 7th century Umayyad Caliph, Sulayman Abd al-Malik (d. 717), moved the seat of his throne from Damascus to Ramla. The ruler of one of the most powerful empires in the world resided in Ramla in the 8th century.

How did Muslims transform a Byzantine region into an Arab city? Most historians today regard cities and regions as distinct ideas rather than two poles of a spectrum. But to the Arab conquerors cities and regions were amorphous ideas. Jordan referred to its capital Tiberias, at least in the early Islamic period, Sham referred to Damascus (and still does), Egypt referred to Cairo (and still does) and Palestine referred to Ramla. The Arabic word *balad* and its plural, *bilad*, denoted both cities and regions. These words ambiguously corresponded to cities plus the towns, villages, agricultural lands and mountains that surrounded them. Cities themselves were also explicitly defined as lands, such as the land of Damascus or the Land of Nablus, or as part of their physical

landscapes, such as Mount Nablus or Mount Hebron. And so Byzantine names were filtered through Arab understandings of space, and Palestine became the city of Ramla.

**Khadeega M'Gafar**  
(American University of Cairo)

*Transmission of Virtue Ethics from Greek into Arabic: A Case Study of Miskawayh's  
Treatise on Rthics*

By the end of the third century Islam which is the tenth century A.D., the whole Greek heritage was fully translated into Arabic almost through Syriac language mediation. After the Greek knowledge had been made available in Arabic, Arab scholars started to study Greek thought and then to adapt it to their own time, place and concerns. Although Muslim Scholars engaged with the Greek knowledge as it is, they added their own genuine elements of thinking that was mainly drawn from the specific Islamic scriptures. In this light, my paper would focus on the transmission of one type of Greek knowledge, which is Ethics, into Arabic and trace its course until the fourth century in Islam when it was read, studied and adapted by a Muslim scholar named "*Miskawayh*" (325-421 A.H. / 936-1030 A.D.) Indeed, *Miskawayh* is a perfect case study of knowledge transmission between Greeks, Persians and Arabs in Eastern Mediterranean for the fact that he had a wide range of culture and deep education in three main lines: in Islamic knowledge, early and late Greek thought and Persian culture. In addition to his multicultural formation, he produced extensively in metaphysics, Ethics and history.

In my paper, I will explore how his treatise on Ethics "the Refinement of Character" had been synthesized from diverse sources that belong to different lines of thought. That is, how the treatise had been woven from platonic, Aristotalian, neo-platonic and Islamic elements. Moreover, I will explore how *Miskawayh* incorporated his genuine elements of thought in a text synthesized from diverse heterogeneous sources. Finally, I will investigate how the treatise itself had been accommodated and adapted in the new context of Islamic civilization and for new purposes and goals in the time after *Miskawayh*.

**Claudio García-Ehrenfeld**  
(King's College London)

*The Comic Side of Lucian's Hermotimus*

This paper explores the question of whether Lucian's *Hermotimus* or *about the Philosophical Sects* is a comic dialogue about philosophy or philosophy in the mode of a comic dialogue.

In this dialogue, using the Sceptic modes of Agrippa, Lycinus persuades his friend Hermotimus to abandon the impossible hopes of achieving εὐδαιμονία and to live like anybody else.

The *Hermotimus* has captured the attention of scholars because of its Platonic and Sceptic content. To some, the *Hermotimus* contains a sincere invitation on Lucian's part to live like anybody else. But this implies not only that Lycinus is

Lucian's spokesman, but also that Lucian would have written the dialogue once he had become better acquainted with philosophy.

Nevertheless, paying attention to the less explored comic side of the *Hermotimus* will show that not only Lucian can attribute philosophical value to comedy, but also that in the *Hermotimus* we might have an example of how philosophical discussions and contradictions can have an intrinsic comic value. Lycinus' proposal of living like anybody might not be as sincere as it might look. In the *Hermotimus*, like in other dialogues, using a self-subversive strategy, Lucian might be laughing at the absurdity of all human endeavour as seen from the perspective of the fool and the wise.

For authors of the second century, who were uncertain about the value of satire, the κυνικός τρόπος and the serio-comic were closely related with Old Comedy. Therefore, while some have thought that the *Hermotimus* is a dialogue that should be separated from the more cynic type of Lucian's dialogues, and in particular from the *Fisherman* and the *Twice Indicted*, I argue that the *Hermotimus* is an example of Lucian's mixture of comic discourses which challenge the authority that philosophy has of being a carrier of truth.

**William Guast**  
(University of Oxford)

*His master's Voice: Romanity and Resistance in Greek Declamation*

Spawforth's recent *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution* (2012) presents a bold and sophisticated vision of cultural exchange between Greek and Roman identities in the imperial period, in which Rome Romanized the ideology of Hellenism. By focusing to the exclusion of all else on select high points in Greek history (above all the Persian wars), Rome was able both to appropriate for the legitimization of its own power and at the same time 'make safe' the legendary but distant martial and civilizing achievements of Greece; this Romanized or indeed 're-hellenized' Hellenism was then taken up strategically by Greek elites, and subsequently trickled down through Greek provincial society.

Spawforth sees evidence for this process in particular in Greek declamation, the genre of imaginary speeches that flourished in the Greek east throughout the imperial period: this genre's notorious obsession with classical history and in particular with the Persian wars, Spawforth argues, should be seen as a symptom of efforts by Greek elites to accommodate themselves to the wishes of the ruling power. Yet such an account gives too much space to ancient sources that critique and satirise declamation, and too little to the texts of the declamations themselves, which in fact allude only relatively rarely to the martial achievements of Old Greece. In reality, Greek declamation's real obsession seems to be with the rather less glorious narrative of how Greece slowly succumbed to Macedonian power. I argue that this figure of Macedon in Greek declamation – powerful, morally ambiguous, civilized yet not Greek – can figure Roman power: accordingly, the continual reperformance of Greek resistance to Macedon in declamation – the very medium that Spawforth alleges promoted Rome's preferred sort of Hellenism – represented in some real sense resistance to Rome, and as such, constituted a very shrewd 'stealing back' of Greek identity by the Greeks using their master's tools.

**Simon Hartmann**  
(Ruhr-Universität Bochum)

*Trust in the Ottoman Arch-enemy?  
The Struggle of Islamophobia and Islamophilia for Public Opinion in the Holy  
Roman Empire After the Fall of Constantinople (1453)*

Due to the current discussions in European countries about in what way Islam and Muslims belong to their societies, the medieval roots of this debate are of greater interest than ever. European Islamophobia has indeed a long tradition since Mehmet II conquered Constantinople and the West developed an antagonistic concept of Europe. Build on the Latin faith and cultural superiority this perception of the Ottomans became dominant in the Renaissance.

This paper will focus on three avant-garde authors who challenged the official ideology and met the Ottomans with Islamophilia rather panic. Applying a sociological model of the mechanism of “public opinion” and the “spiral of silence” developed by Noelle-Neumann, this paper will argue that these authors were not less than knights in a battle for public opinion. Hence, the paper examines, how they described the sultans, how they assessed Ottoman warfare, and in what way they weighed the cultural difference.

The analysis shows how the originally laudatory travelogue by the smith Jörg von Nürnberg was completely overhauled in the sense of public ideology when further editions were published. The famous missionary letter by pope Pius II to Mehmet II indicates that even a pope was unable to ignore public opinion as he indeed turned the European topos upside down but refrained to publish his letter. In the Carnival play by the poet Hans Rosenblut, a strange side by side of benevolence and Islamophobia was only possible because the special context of Carnival allowed a quasi-open offence against public opinion.

First of all, this paper assembles opinion pieces displaying an early form of Islamophilia, which prior research has so far neglected or yet missed to describe in a systematic manner. Furthermore, it shows that concepts from non-historical research – which is essentially where the model of “public opinion” originates – can grant enlightening insights into the history of medieval conflicts.

**Peter Hill**  
(University of Oxford)

*Was the Ottoman Empire a 'Despotism'?  
A Nineteenth-Century Egyptian-European Defence*

The European opinions and theories which classed the Ottoman Empire, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries especially, as an 'Oriental' or 'Asiatic despotism', are relatively well known. Less studied, however, are the theories of those who opposed this view, in both Europe and the Ottoman lands, and by so doing relativised the sharp opposition between Christian, constitutional or liberal Europe, and the Muslim, Asiatic, 'despotic' East. This paper examines a particularly interesting case of interaction between European and Arab Muslim 'pro-Ottoman' writers. In 1258 AH (1842/3 AD), the Egyptian Khalifa Maḥmūd, a pupil of the famous traveller and translator Rifā'a al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, translated the

Scottish Enlightenment historian William Robertson's *A View of the Progress of Society in Europe* (1769), from the French. In a note to this work, Robertson stated his view that the Ottoman Empire was 'purely Asiatic' and 'a despotism'. In response to this, Khalifa wrote a long appendix, defending the Empire against the imputation of despotism and offering proofs of limitations of the Sultan's power, the central role of the divan, and the quasi-constitutional role of religion as a curb on the ruler. Most of these proofs were drawn from the works of European defenders of the Ottoman state, mainly an 1825 work by Alfio Grassi, a Sicilian officer in the French army who had lived at Istanbul. As Khalifa, like al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, was working for the administration of the Egyptian Khedive Mehmet Ali, his defence is an example of a provincial, Egyptian defence of the Empire against European aspersions. Yet as his argument was based largely on European sources, it also provides an example of a contestation of European claims by use of an alternative, pro-Ottoman *European* tradition, rather than a local, Ottoman or Muslim one. It thus calls into question both the monolithic character of European 'orientalist' discourse about the Empire, and the notion that all 'eastern' adoptions of European intellectual traditions entailed a submission to European authority.

**Andra Jugunaru**  
(Central European University)

*Ascetic Women and Learning in the Fourth-Century Roman Empire*

Fourth-century ascetic women connected their spiritual lives either to their households, or to sacred places encountered during their travels. The "pious household" was a *didaskaleion*, where women became "vessels" of learning, receiving both spiritual and secular formations. Travels had also a formative role, enriching their spirituality. The accounts about Macrina and Melania the Elder, two outstanding monastic leaders of fourth century, describe their complex learning, and at the same time a certain tension between stability and traveling.

In *The Life of Macrina*, her brother, Gregory of Nyssa, stresses that in her childhood, Macrina learnt "childish lessons," although her mother tried to prevent her from fragments of Classical authors that could have disturbed her soul. After she consecrated her life to Christ, Macrina became a "teacher" of "philosophy," the ideal Christian existence. During a profound dialogue with Gregory, recorded in *On the Soul and the Resurrection*, Macrina answers to all the intriguing interior questions about death that had arisen through a mixture of Classical philosophical education and Christian belief. She constantly refers to Epicureans and Stoic ideas and uses Platonic terminology, integrating all of them into the Christian perceptions about afterlife.

In *Historia Lausiaca*, Palladius describes Melania the Elder as "learned and loving literature ... perusing every writing of the ancient commentators, including 3,000,000 lines of Origen and 2,500,000 lines of Gregory, Stephen, Pierius, Basil, and other standard writers." After she joined the monks of Egypt, she associated herself with Tyrannius Rufinus, who became a translator of Origen's works thanks to Melania's commissions. Melania founded a monastery with Rufinus on the Mount of Olives, and sponsored him to continue the translations of Origen's

writings into Latin. She corresponded with Augustine of Hippo and engaged in theological controversies on the Holy Spirit.

How were secular and spiritual education of these monastic women interweaved? How these learned women influence and shape 'orthodoxy' and 'heterodoxy'? These are the main questions that this paper aims to answer, by exploring the written surviving testimonies about them.

**Kalle Knaapi**  
(University of Turku)

*Defining and Re-Defining Byzantine Drama:  
The Case of Theodore Prodromos' Katomyomakhia*

Theatre was a significant part of culture in Antiquity and in the Medieval Western Europe. Contrastingly, theatre in the Byzantine Empire has traditionally been regarded as insignificant or nonexistent. This view bases mostly on the lack of sources. However, we do have multiple Byzantine texts that look deceptively like dramatic scripts. These texts are dated mostly to the Komnenian Era, and have not been traditionally studied as scripts of performed dramas, but instead mostly as poems, closet dramas, and parodies. I focus on one of these texts; on the 12<sup>th</sup> century text titled *Katomyomakhia* by Theodore Prodromos.

More specifically, I discuss how various scholarly expectations, categorizations, and understandings from Byzantium to the current day have shaped the cultural niche of the text, and subsequently, what is expected from the text today. I have chosen to talk about four different aspects of this tradition. Firstly, two historical shifts are discussed. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the text was understood to be a poem. From the 1950's, it started to be discussed as drama. The second shift concerns performance. The raise of performative theory in the later decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century together with the grown interest in Byzantine literature led scholars to discuss performative aspects of numerous texts, *Katomyomakhia* included. Thirdly, I discuss how the text connects to the concept of parody. Finally, I speak about how the previously mentioned issues combine to create the current cultural niche of expectations for *Katomyomakhia*. The key find of the research, then, is the re-definition of the Horizon of Expectations.

The discussion is part of a wider scholarly movement that studies Byzantine literature from a multitude of angles, and pays notable attention to previously neglect complexities regarding the texts and their reception.

**Daria Kovaleva**  
(Harvard University)

*The Arabian Nights between Coffeehouse and Oriental Miscellany:  
Re-Defining the Notion of "Translation" in the Eastern Mediterranean Contact Zone*

*The Arabian Nights* as a cultural artifact dates back to the French translation published by Antoine Galland in 1704 that subsequently inspired many imitations and resulted in creation of a new literary genre, the "oriental tale." Taking several versions of the love romance *The Tale of Ni'ma and Nu'am* that

belongs to the corpus of the *Arabian Nights* as a point of departure, the paper tracks its convoluted yet representative manuscript history from eighteenth- and nineteenth century Paris to seventeenth-century Eastern Mediterranean contact zone (Constantinople and Cairo) and connects the flourishing coffeehouse culture of the early modern Ottoman domains with the provision of source material for “oriental tales.” Exploring within the same cultural context the compilation of an Ottoman Turkish manuscript devoted to “wonderful and remarkable occurrences” in the traditions of polite literature (by Süheylî, ca. 1620-30s), an Arabic manuscript of the *Thousand and One Nights* (Maillet MS, ca. 2nd half of the seventeenth century), the Ottoman Turkish translation of the *Nights* by an obscure Beyanî (ca. 1636) and Antoine Galland’s experience in the seventeenth century Ottoman Middle East (ca. 1670-80s, that brought the phenomenon of the *Arabian Nights* into existence) the paper problematizes the very notion of “translation.” While inquiring into the mechanisms of a related creative operation, so-called “adaptation,” as applied to crafting of the “oriental tale,” the paper aims at challenging the scholarly orthodoxy on the issue of translation of the *Arabian Nights* in general by drawing attention to the broader dynamics within Eastern Mediterranean contact zone.

**Ivana Lemcool**  
(University of Belgrade)

*Byzantium and the Transmission of Astrological Learning During the Middle Ages*

In modern historiography, the role of Byzantium in the history of astrology has mostly been confined to that of a repository of classical learning preserved in Greek sources that later found their way to Arabic East, and eventually to Latin West. Since there is very few evidence to the contrary, it is generally maintained that the knowledge contained in those sources remained for the most part unknown to Western scholars, until it became available in Arabic translations. Immediate contact and cultural exchange between the two main parts of Christendom, however scarce during the Early Middle Ages, were not entirely lacking, and neither was interest in astrological matters, yet medieval West did not become acquainted with the major works of ancient astrology until the twelfth century, and even then mostly through Arabic sources. Ideological implications have been noted in both promotion and proscription of astrological learning in Byzantine Empire and in Western Europe in the Middle Ages; however, their far-reaching effects have not been studied in a mutual context. Alongside those ideological factors pertinent to the study of astrology in the two societies, in this paper I also aim to present circumstances and conditions that shaped intercultural and interreligious relations and that, in my opinion, dictated the course of transmission of astrological texts to a great extent. Considering that astrology played an important, albeit not yet fully recognized part in the medieval culture, and that it provided an impetus for further developments in science and education, elucidating the role of Byzantium in the processes relating to dissemination of astrological lore would be highly beneficial for Byzantine studies and for the history of astrology, as well as for the history of science.

**Mari Mamyan**  
(Yerevan State University)

*Some Remarks on the Apocryphal Legends the “Covenant” and the “Cherograph”*

This paper deals with the apocryphal legend of “the Covenant” that according to the Armenian “Gospel of the Infancy” the Magi-kings and particularly Persian king Melk'on brought to new-born Jesus Christ. The connections of this legend with the God's “Cheirograph”(ceirovgrafon), which can be found in Armenian “Adam literature” will be discussed here as well. These two apocryphal writings were introduced into Armenia at the end of the 6th century by the East-Syriac Christians from Mesopotamia and were reworked by Armenian editors. Above-mentioned writings have always been found in the lists containing apocryphal books and in spite of being considered as heretical, they were very popular and have been copied for centuries.

The following features of these legends will be discussed in more details: a) this “Cheirograph” in question or *promissory note* is a sequence of another so-called “Cheirograph” or contract with Satan signed by Adam, which has its peculiarities in Armenian apocrypha, b) it is only in the Armenian documents that Adam receives a book written (and, according to some versions, also sealed) by God himself, which he later gives to Seth, c) affinities of the 'Lord's Infancy Gospel' with the mentioned document and the mission of the Magi-kings as inheritors of 'the Covenant', which they had held from their ancestors, d) direct connection between Adam's sin and the birth and life of Christ described in this document, e) reflection of both these two legends in Medieval Armenian iconography and literature.

**Panagiotis Manafis**  
(Universiteit Gent)

*History through Fragments:  
The ‘Patriographic’ Part of the Parisinus suppl. gr. 607a.*

The tenth-century codex Parisinus suppl. gr. 607a belongs to the so-called genre of ‘Sylloges of excerpts’ as defined by Odorico (1990). Its first part contains an abridged version of the anonymous work Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai, with numerous omissions and simplifications. Whereas, the text of the Parastaseis is preserved only in an eleventh century manuscript, the Parisinus. gr. 1336, the original work can be dated to the eighth century and belongs to the genre of texts known as “patria” containing a wealth of information about Constantinople and its history.

The aim of the present paper is to identify the perception of such knowledge in a tenth century collection of historical excerpts. Two main aspects will be explored in this study: 1. the working process of the author and his criteria for selecting texts and 2. the role played by the social and political environment in shaping this selection.

Firstly, I intend to study the method applied by the anonymous author in compiling the codex Parisinus suppl. gr 607a. Four steps and procedures can be identified: reading, excerpting, rephrasing and composition. This allows us to see



how parts of an entire work were isolated, selected and incorporated into the codex Parisinus, the degree of the literary imitation, the omissions and additions and the mode of their integration in the collection.

I also attempt to establish the factors for the selection of texts, which can be traced back to contemporary interests in interpreting the public statuary of Constantinople and the personal interest in the subject matter on the part of the author.

Secondly, I explore the extent to which ideology, contemporary attitudes and preoccupations influence the transmission of knowledge to the succeeding ages. I examine the impact of the tenth century post-imperial ideology and dominant Macedonian dynastic propaganda on the portrayals of emperors. The codex Parisinus reveals the attempts by the compiler to undermine the image of Justinian and other members of his royal dynasty, such as Justinian II, and this under the 'pressure' of the dominating imperial policy of his own age, which did not look at the age of Justinian as a model to follow.

**Lucas McMahon**  
(Central European University)

*Towards an Understanding of Guerrilla Warfare Tactics in Byzantium:  
Shifting Frontiers, Shifting Peoples*

Although revisions are being made to the idea, the established historiography sees Byzantium as engaging in limited warfare along its eastern frontier following the withdrawal of military forces from Syria in the 630s. The source material for Byzantine-Islamic warfare for the following several centuries is, however, deeply problematic and very limited. This has led to the use of a tenth-century military manual (*De Velitatione*, or 'On Skirmishing') attributed to the emperor Nikephoros II Phokas (r. 963-969) for understanding how the east was defended during the "dark centuries". Recent scholarship, notably by Eric McGeer, Gilbert Dagron, and Catherine Holmes has studied the manual as a piece that belongs to the tenth century.

However, the surviving manuscripts of the manual are all eleventh century. Throughout the eleventh century the sort of tactics described in *De Velitatione* can be found, which include matters such as shadowing an enemy force, attacking when small groups break off from a larger raiding force, and the use of forts to closely observe the movement of the enemy. What is particularly curious about this is that many of the attestations of this type of warfare during the eleventh century are carried out by foreign mercenaries in Byzantine service, as well as in the Balkans, whereas the context of *De Velitatione* is clearly the east. This paper would explore more closely the use of these tactics in the eleventh century by examining who was leading the mercenary contingents and how closely they were associated with leaders schooled in the Byzantine tradition. Underlying this is the transfer of an idea from the classical world: the juxtaposition of a foreign "barbarian" for the purpose of political or moral imperatives in a text. More specifically, this paper will examine the role of Latins, Turks, and Pechenegs in Byzantine armies during this time and whether they were influenced by Byzantine military doctrine, as well as how they are to viewed through the obscuring mirror of moralization.

**Sandro Nikolaishvili**  
(Central European University)

*Visual and Verbal Rhetoric: Legitimizing Bagratid Kings in Medieval Georgia*

The paper aims to discuss the construction and representation of royal power in medieval Georgia from 1027 to 1089 (Kings Bagrat IV and Giorgi II). Since Byzantine Empire dominated political and cultural spheres of Caucasus in this period, the paper will be based on comparative analyzes. I will discuss the way Bagratid royal family attempted to establish close ties with the imperial court and built their authority through the association with the imperial power. I will uncover the patterns of use of Byzantine symbols and language of power by the Bagratid kings in their attempts to forge their prestige in Georgia as well as in Caucasus. The paper will focus the following issues: 1) The ideological aspects of King Bagrat IV's (r.1027–1072) and Giorgi II's (r.1072–1089) silver coinage; 2) Byzantine court dignities of Georgian kings through the epigraphic inscriptions; 3) The creation of the dynastic historiography and invention of the Bagratid family's sacred, Biblical origin.

**Görkem Özizmirli**  
(Boston College)

*Fear of İbşir Mustafa Pasha in Evliya Çelebi's Seyahatnâme:  
A Political Crisis in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire and Its  
Representation in First-person Narrative*

This study explores the most fearsome figure in seventeenth-century Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi's *Book of Travels (Seyahatnâme)*, seventeenth-century Ottoman pasha İbşir Mustafa Pasha (İbşir Pasha). In order to understand why the pasha was the most fearsome figure in Evliya's account, I compare his stories in the *Seyahatnâme* with contemporaneous chronicles such as *Târih-i Nâ'ima*, *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyi'-Nâmesi*, *İsâ-zâde Târîhi*, *Târih-i Gilmânî*, *Solak-zâde Tarihi*. Through an analysis of these narratives of fear, the aims of this paper are twofold: first, I will discuss the changing political aims of İbşir Mustafa Pasha and his rebellion, articulating them within theoretical debates on early modern state. Second, I will discuss Evliya Çelebi's political opinions and his views on the political positions of different actors at a time of revolt and transformation in the seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire. Thus, I suggest the value of first-person narrative as source for history, which I hope will encourage more scholars in other fields to examine history through first-person narratives. My research has shown that Evliya Çelebi's choices in his depiction of fear were not shaped solely by his patronage relations and career path. When we consider the motivations of early modern individuals' actions, we often tend to see them only within their career and patronage networks. However, the shifts in Evliya Çelebi's use of the word "fear" in the case of İbşir Mustafa Pasha show that his personal interests and political views, which may not have been entirely defined by the positions of his patrons, also shaped his interpretations of seventeenth-century Ottoman politics.

Evliya Çelebi's narratives of fear concerning İbşir Pasha also allow us to observe different actors' political positions, and provide a fruitful ground to ask different research questions about the seventeenth century rebellion. I argue that İbşir Pasha tried to reproduce central control that would restore legitimacy to a state which, at this time, was in the process of transformation. His tension with the 'centre' could not be read through the tension between local and central powers. Rather than attempting to gain independence from the centre, he marched *to* the centre with an aim to transform the political and social order.

**Valentina De Pasca**  
(Università degli Studi di Milano)

*Byzantine Repertoire Resulting From the Study of Earrings Discovered in Italian  
Early Medieval Necropolis*

The primary role attributed to precious objects emerges in a relevant way studying grave goods brought to light in Gothic and Lombard Italian Early Medieval cemeteries. To date attention has been concentrated mainly on barbarian elements which characterised jewels and other precious items found in the tombs. Unfortunately this kind of research has shown several limits: it does not take into account the Byzantine element.

To emphasize and evidence the cultural exchanges attested from the art of the migration period we will put emphasis on the study of a specific class of artefacts: earrings. This paper aims at showing, through the study of several pairs of luxury earrings discovered in different Italian funerary contexts, how elements of barbarian art blend with typological and stylistic features typical of the art of the East Mediterranean.

An example which outlines the influence of Byzantine models in Lombard jewellery production is a pair of gold earrings with triangular pendant plate and gold and amethyst drops brought to light in the cemetery of Castel Trosino (grave S). If the shape of the jewels recall Gothic and barbaric models similar to the earrings discovered in the Domagnano Treasure, their fine creation had a more classical prototype as attested by the wide use of granulated wires. This example demonstrates a sort of inspiration given by Byzantine models which circulated throughout Medieval Europe. This way permitted neighbouring cultures to adopt fashions from the Byzantine repertoire.

**Marton Ribary**  
(University of Manchester)

*Legal Forms as the Archimedean Point of Comparing 6th Century CE Rabbinic and  
Roman Law*

Texts and practices of neighbouring peoples are often related to each other in the hope of finding thematic similarities which indicate an otherwise undocumented cultural exchange. The evidence is usually indirect and vague, and the meeting points are only visible from the vantage point of the modern comparatist who assumes that neighbours *must* have influenced each other in one way or another. In the discipline of legal history, the comparatist often

imposes the modern framework of legal fields onto ancient texts in order to enforce a common denominator. The examination of two structurally as well as thematically similar texts from the Talmud Yerushalmi (ca. mid-6th century CE) and the Institutes of Justinian (533 CE) suggests that despite their proximity in time, place and theme, Rabbinic and Roman legal learning did not penetrate each other to any meaningful extent. However, by selecting an appropriately abstract angle, the comparison of two wildly different texts becomes an illuminating exercise. In this spirit, the paper proposes to concentrate on *how* the law was expressed instead of *what* the law was. That is, by moving away from the comparative study of *legal matter* to the parallel investigation of *legal forms*, the textual, legal and socio-historical characteristics of the Yerushalmi and the Institutes can play the role of the *explanans* instead of the *explanandum*. They explain instead of begging explanation. The paper focuses on the introductory passage of the law of damages in tractate Bava Qama of the Talmud Yerushalmi (yBQ 1:1, 2a-b) and the introductory passage of the law of obligations in Justinian's Institutes (J.3.13 and J.4.1). By using the example of definitions and lists, the paper demonstrates how a form-based approach could justify the comparison of 6th century CE Rabbinic and Roman law and the construction of explanatory models for their similarities and differences.

**Maria Alessia Rossi**  
(The Courtauld Institute of Art)

*Christ's Miracles: Artistic and Cultural Exchange Between the Byzantine Empire  
and the Serbian Kingdom*

At the end of the thirteenth century, the Serbian Kingdom emerged onto the political scene of the eastern Mediterranean, initially as an enemy of the Byzantine Empire and later, from 1299 onwards, as one of its main allies, securing solid ties with the latter. Although scholars have acknowledged this shared history, few attempts have been made to investigate it comparatively; instead, it has been frequently categorised exclusively as expression of Byzantine power or Serbian identity. The topic of my research aims also to challenge disciplinary boundaries, especially those concerning the complex relationship between word and image.

This paper will address the relationship between the Byzantine Empire and the Serbian Kingdom by means of artistic interactions and cultural transmissions, suggesting a greater fluidity between the two. I will firstly investigate the abrupt proliferation of episodes depicting miracles performed by Christ -rarely found before the thirteenth century in monumental depictions. Secondly, I will examine the increase of ecclesiastical *operae* relating to the miraculous. Specifically, I will draw a parallel between Christ's Miracle Cycle in St Nikita near Čučer and in St Catherine in Thessaloniki, and pair both to contemporary liturgical homilies and accounts of miracles.

The comparative framework proposed by this paper aims to create a link between territories and media. By overcoming fixed boundaries, both geographical and disciplinary, it will be possible to investigate how Christ's miracles and the knowledge of the miraculous, were transmitted, exchanged and

altered, in order to convey different meanings and functions in Byzantium and the Serbian Kingdom.

**Tonguç Seferoğlu**  
(King's College London)

*The Influence of Socio-Political Context on Doing Philosophy:  
Damascius and Olympiodorus on Plato's Phaedo*

The commentaries of Damascius and Olympiodorus on Plato's eschatological dialogue, namely the *Phaedo* whose subject matter is death and the immortality of the soul, are peculiar not only because they contain valuable reports about some preceding commentaries now lost. In addition, these works are significant source books which mirror the last days of the pagan philosophical tradition, and they are important on their own right at least for one historico-philosophical reason.

This reason is that a comparative analysis of these two commentaries can reveal 'to what extent cultural circumstances alter philosophical positions' and 'how they affect the attitude of relatively likeminded philosophers towards the same text and similar questions'.

Olympiodorus, on the one hand, was lecturing at Alexandria where Christians were politically dominant. Taking care not to go against the Christian authorities, Olympiodorus did not focus heavily on neo-Platonic ontological scheme, and its strong ties with Greek paganism; his commentary on the *Phaedo*, which actually consists of lecture notes, concentrates rather on the dramatic aspects of the dialogue and lays emphasis to the wisdom of classical Greece.

On the other hand, there was a relatively liberal environment at Athens, where Damascius was the last scholarch of the Academy. This liberty, as I contend, had allowed Damascius to take a more hostile stance against Christianity in favour of pagan culture. In addition, paying no heed to Christian enmity, he did not hesitate to focus on the neo-Platonic ontological principles as well as the relationship between pagan hieratic practices and philosophical knowledge.

In this respect, I will try to show how a target audience and sociological factors among others have influenced tutoring of Damascius and Olympiodorus. To do this, I will examine the relevant parts of their commentaries on the *Phaedo* and spell out the similarities and differences regarding style and reasoning. By doing this, I hope to illustrate that cultural circumstances that a philosopher lives in influence her philosophical practice, yet philosophy can still flourish even in hostile environments.

**Iuliana Soficaru**  
(University of Bucharest)

*Travelling Physicians in Late Antiquity:  
Alexander of Tralles and the Pursuit of Health*

Late Antique physicians compiled and combined early medical material with their personal experience as practitioners. Alexander of Tralles, a sixth-century medical compiler, was famous for several reasons: his family, his therapeutic handbook for the use of doctors, and for his extensive travelling. In this paper I will explore the role of travelling in the medical education acquired by Late Antique physicians. I argue that travelling was more than a way of following a tradition started before him and continued long after him, but also a form of acquiring new medical skills, of practicing, and of introducing new treatments or unknown substances, essentially, a means of sharing and transmitting medical knowledge. I will investigate the possible patterns of medical travelling in Late Antiquity and the relevance of specific places for the medical debate and for Alexander of Tralles' professional education. The mapping of transmission routes of new medical information, by tracing the main destinations reached by travelling doctors, could reveal patterns of transmitting medical knowledge in the Mediterranean medical landscape of the sixth century.

**Stefan Trajković Filipović**  
(University of Belgrade)

*Negotiating the Other, Devising a Strategy:  
Bayezid I and Holy Places in the Life of Despot Stefan Lazarević*

The rule of the Serbian prince/despot Stefan Lazarević (1389-1427) is characterized by a specific „in between“ standing in the context of Ottoman presence in the Balkans and relations with Hungary. Stefan Lazarević „sends his army to help the ones in the east against the ones in the west, but himself goes to the ones in the west for every counseling.“ These are the words of Constantine the Philosopher, author of the *Life of Despot Stefan Lazarević* (1431) - text designed to celebrate Stefan as a remarkable Christian ruler. This paper concerns with the narrative analysis of the *Life*. I approach two main issues, researching how this specific literary work accommodated and translated the Muslim “otherness” into narrative’s ideological agenda, and how it selectively interpreted the actual socio-political situation in terms of legitimizing one's position.

First I deal with the relation between Stefan and the Ottoman ruler Bayezid I (1389-1402). Bayezid played a significant role in Serbia's political life and is present as an important character in the *Life*. However, Constantine notices that some might question why he dedicates such attention to a Muslim ruler in a story of a remarkable Christian and thus develops several strategies in order to justify his presence. Thus, Bayezid stands as a tutor, giving advices to Stefan on the art of rulership, regarding him as his „beloved son“ and assumes the role of a biblical prophet, foretelling the events following his death, thus outlining the narrative of the rest of the *Life*. Second, I analyze the way in which Constantine

constructs the geography of Serbian land and cities. Describing the land as the Garden of Eden and referring to the *translatio Hierosolymi* concept when describing the city of Belgrade, Constantine creates relevant holy places. I observe these as heterotopias that have potential of modifying the “game-rules” of socio-political power relations, allowing Constantine to elevate Serbia's existence to a divine/celestial level, thus providing it with a more favorable strategic position within the harsh political power relations, and to legitimize the “in between” position, as far as the Life is concerned. All this allows us to approach the Life not only as a testimony of contemporary political developments, but also as a place of insecurities, cultural negotiations and constructing relevant knowledge that addresses the turbulent fifteenth-century in the Balkans and provides a relevant ideological interpretation.

**Laura Viidebaum**  
(University of Cambridge)

*Dio on Philosophy (orr. 70 and 71)*

Dio Chrysostom poses a *crux* for classicists: while writing during an extremely productive and interesting period of antiquity (late first early second century CE), his works are difficult to classify and hard to take seriously. In his speeches, Dio refers to himself as a philosopher, but at the same time takes cue from a variety of philosophical doctrines prevalent at the time, and engages in imperial politics in a way that appears to undermine his philosophical commitments. He is surely an eclectic, but the question remains whether he should be considered a *philosophical eclectic*.

Scholarship on this question is divided: while some modern scholars are happy to characterise Dio as a ‘moral philosopher’ (e.g. Whitmarsh 2001), he is mostly ignored by philosophers and denied a place in the history of philosophy. This paper aims to zoom in to Dio’s engagement with philosophy through a closer focus on his two speeches that have received far less attention in the scholarship than they deserve: speech 70 titled ‘On philosophy’ and 71 ‘On the philosopher’. In these two works, Dio explores the boundaries of what he considers to be philosophical pursuits and the way in which doing philosophy is distinct from any other *techne*. By trying to establish Dio’s philosophical affiliations, this paper eventually argues that what lies at the core of Dio’s understanding of philosophy is essentially Sokratic ethics, and that it is primarily Dio’s fascination for Sokrates which motivates Dio’s engagement with Stoicism and Cynicism.

**Özge Yıldız**  
(Koç University)

*A Seat for the Ruler and the Politics of Vision:  
The Hünkâr Kasrı of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque (1609-1616) and the Kathisma of  
the Byzantine Great Palace (330-1081)*

The ancient Hippodrome/Atmeydanı in Istanbul offered an arena for public ceremonials in the service of imperial image-making and legitimation for both Byzantine emperors and Ottoman sultans. The Sultan Ahmed Mosque—which

was built on the upper terrace of the Great Palace, neighboring the Hippodrome—was constructed in a period of political, religio-political and social transformation. The mosque demonstrates several architectural novelties such as the first royal pavilion (*hünkâr kasrı*) attached to a sultanic mosque. This *hünkâr kasrı* was built at a time when seeing and being seen by the public became an ever-growing concern for the Ottoman sultans. In addition to the symbolic significance of occupying the area of the Byzantine Palace, the relationship between the Sultan Ahmed Mosque and its royal pavilion show several parallels to the relationship between the Byzantine Great Palace and its imperial box (*kathisma*) in terms of the visual politics including royal ceremonies and the ruler's presence in the public.

This paper uses the Hippodrome/Atmeydanı in Istanbul as a vantage point to discuss how the Ottoman sultans and Byzantine emperors shared similar visual politics in propagating their imperial power. A comparative analysis of the *hünkâr kasrı* of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque and the *kathisma* of the Byzantine Great Place will serve as a case-study to trace the specific political and social functions of these royal structures.



## **C O N T A C T S**

### Members of Organizing Committee:

Ivan Marić	+ 36 70 574 1579
Nirvana Silnović	+ 385 99 445 0606
H. Evren Sünnetçioğlu	+ 36 70 344 54 68
Máté Veres	+ 36 30 290 06 44

### Academic Coordinator of the Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies:

Sona Grigoryan	+ 36 30 259 21 75
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