

Wittgenstein-Prize Project
“Mobility, Microstructures and Personal Agency”

International Medieval Congress in Leeds 2020
(6-9 July 2019)

“Moving Byzantium IV” Sessions

Abstracts

Papers are allocated 15 minutes, followed by 30-minute discussion at the end of each session.

Sponsor: The Wittgenstein-Award Project of Prof. Claudia Rapp (University of Vienna/Austrian Academy of Sciences) “Moving Byzantium: Mobility, Microstructures & Personal Agency” funded by the Austrian National Research Foundation (FWF)

The project “Moving Byzantium” highlights the role of Byzantium as a global culture and analyses the internal flexibility of Byzantine society. It aims to contribute to a re-evaluation of a society and culture that has traditionally been depicted as stiff, rigid, and encumbered by its own tradition. This will be achieved by the exploration of issues of mobility, microstructures, and personal agency.

1. Session 511 Tuesday 07 July – 09.00-10.30:

Moving Byzantium, I: Frontiers on the Move across Sea and Land

Organiser: Claudia Rapp (University of Vienna / Austrian Academy of Sciences)

This session focuses on processes of migration and exchange across external and internal borders of the Byzantine Empire between the 7th and the 13th century, integrating written sources in various languages as well as material evidence and digital methods.

Introduction – Moderator: Claudia Rapp (Leader, Moving Byzantium Project, University of Vienna / Austrian Academy of Sciences)

Johannes Preiser-Kapeller (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

Liquid Frontier. The Maritime Border and Contact Zone between the Byzantine Empire and the Fatimid Caliphate before the Period of the Crusades (10th-11th Centuries CE)

Between 969 CE and the advance of the Seljuks and the Crusaders in the second half of the 11th century, the Shi'ite Caliphate of the Fatimid Dynasty was the most powerful and important imperial counterpart of the Byzantine Empire in

the Mediterranean and the Islamic world. Relations in the wide ranging border and contact zones between the two empires from Sicily across the Central and Eastern Mediterranean to Cyprus and the Levant were not only characterised by military confrontation, but also intensive diplomatic and mercantile exchange. Recently, important textual (such as the Cairo Genizah documents) and archaeological evidence (such as the 11th century Serçe Limanı Shipwreck from Southwestern Turkey) have been augmented with new findings. These include both material artefacts (e.g., Byzantine coin hoards from the coasts of modern-day Israel) as well as written sources (such as the 11th century “*Book of Curiosities*” [in Arabic “*Kitāb Gharā’ib al-funūn wa-mulah al-‘uyūn*”], acquired by the Bodleian Library in Oxford in June 2002 and edited and translated in 2014).

Based on this rich evidence, our paper demonstrates the density and range of exchanges across the Byzantine-Fatimid frontier, as manifested in the mobility of individuals, objects or ideas (e.g., the predominantly Greek navigational terminology used in the “*Book of Curiosities*”). For this purpose, it combines traditional source analysis with new digital tools such as a GIS-based network model of the information of ports and routes from the “*Book of Curiosities*”. This will also allow exploring the remarkable resilience of these maritime networks during the severe crisis both Byzantium and the Fatimids underwent in the late 11th century, which resulted in major territorial losses to the Seljuks in Asia Minor and in Syria and Palestine, respectively. In both cases, the continuity of connections across the sea also contributed to the survival of the imperial regimes, thus relativizing recent scenarios of a 11th century “*Collapse of the Eastern Mediterranean*” (Ronnie Ellenblum, Cambridge 2012).

Despite the significance of these political, cultural and economic entanglements, scholarship still often interrelates growing commercial dynamics in the high medieval Eastern Mediterranean with the increased activities of Venetians, Genoese and other Italian merchants as well as the arrival of the Crusaders from the last decades of the 11th century onwards. Therefore, in the last section of our paper we will demonstrate how “*Western*” economic agents had to submit to existing institutional and infrastructural frameworks in order to get access to the large imperial spheres of the Byzantines and the Fatimids as pre-condition for their later prominent presence in these regions.

In general, the paper thus contributes to a relocation of the Byzantine Empire and the Fatimid Caliphate from a “colonialized”, passive position to the core of the socio-economic dynamics of the medieval Mediterranean as intertwined actors before the so-called “*Rise of the West*”.

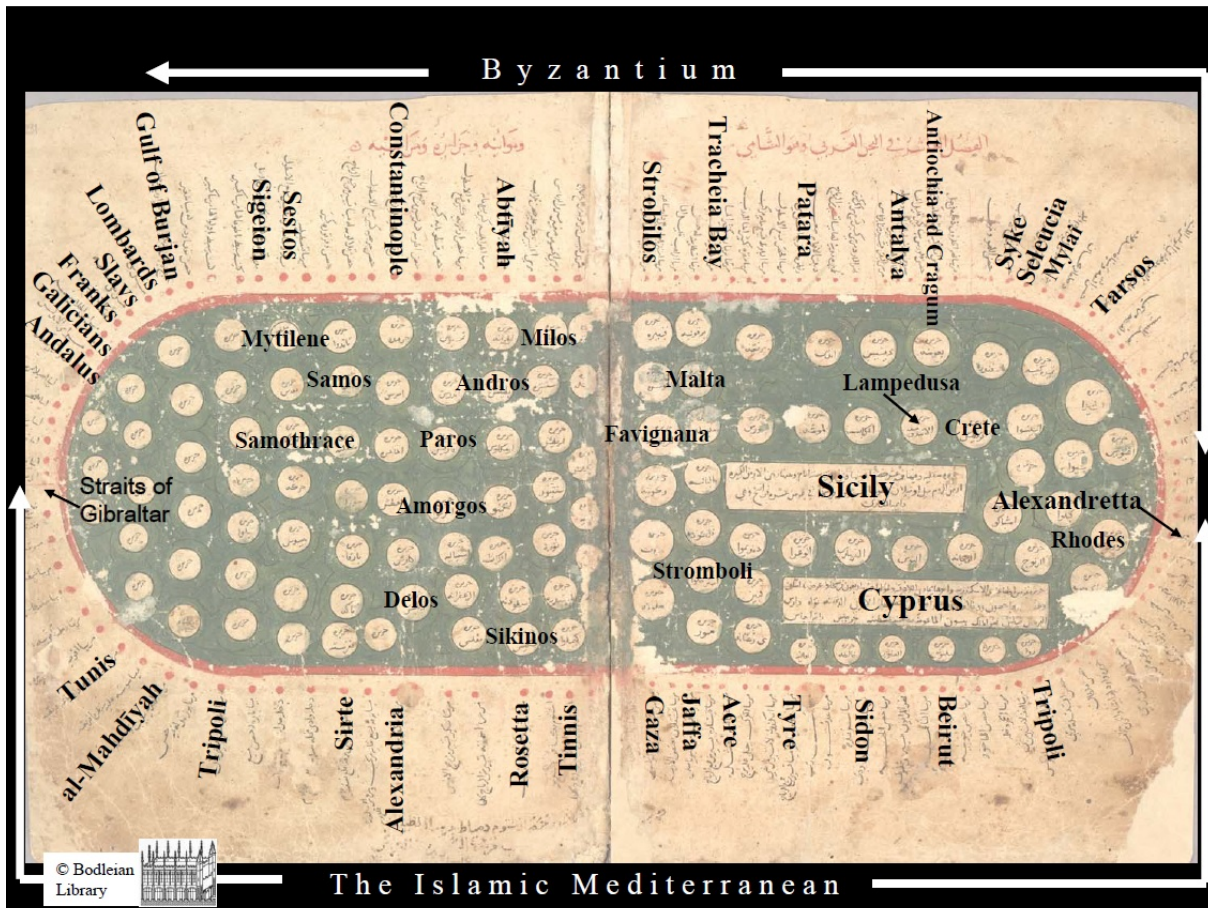


Fig.: Diagram of the Mediterranean Sea from the Arabic “Book of Curiosities” (Egypt, ca. 1020-1050 CE; cf. Y. Rapoport – E. Savage-Smith, *Lost Maps of the Caliphs. Drawing the World in Eleventh-Century Cairo*, Oxford 2018).

Maciej Czyż (University of Wrocław)

The Migrations at the Byzantine-Arab Frontier in the 10th and 11th Centuries

The aim of this paper which is the yet unpublished part of my PhD thesis at the Oriental Studies Faculty of the University of Warsaw, 2016, is to provide information about the migrations that accompanied the Byzantine re-conquest of Arab Cilicia and northern Syria, as well as, to a lesser extent, Armenia. This includes the flight of the previous population as well as the influx of various new groups to the aforementioned territories, including proper Byzantines, Armenians (who are of lesser interest to the paper as there are already several works concerning their migrations), Christians from the Muslim lands (both Jacobites, about whose migration a paper by G. Dagron already exists, and other denominations), Muslim converts to Christianity, Muslims, Druzes, etc. Mass movements and individual cases will be mentioned, aside from the individual cases of Byzantines escaping to Muslim lands (such as the examples of Bardas Skleros or the Doukai), as these are usually commonly known among Byzantine scholars and there appears no need to discuss them. The primary sources used are mostly Arab ones, and include Al-Anṭākī, Kamāl ad-Dīn (Ibn al-‘Adīm), Ibn al-

Atir, Al-Maqrīzī (*Itti ‘āz al-Hunafā’* and *Al-Ḥiṭaṭ*), Ar-Rūdrāwarī, Al-Muqaddasī (also, to a smaller extent, Ibn Ḥawqal, Ibn Buṭlān, ‘Amr Ibn Mattā), Bar Hebraeus, Michael the Syrian, Michael of Tinnīs, Matthew of Edessa, Aristakes, Leo the Deacon, Skylitzes, Constantine Porphurogenitus (different works), and, to a small degree, Theophanes Continuatus.

Christos G. Makrypoulias (Independent Scholar, Athens)

Crossing the Internal Borders: Garrisons, Reinforcements, and Mobility in the Byzantine Army

The creation of the Byzantine thematic system in the seventh century is thought to have created a sedentary military force designed mainly for local defense against Arab raids in Anatolia and the preservation of remaining imperial territories in the Balkans. The organization of these supposedly “part-time militia” troops into expeditionary forces capable of not only intercepting large raiding armies, but also of carrying the fight across state borders into enemy territory is considered one of the long-term achievements of Byzantine military commanders. Indeed, modern researchers seem to focus almost exclusively on these efforts, which ultimately led to the recapture of vast tracts of formerly Byzantine lands by the end of the tenth century. However, apart from these large-scale troop movements, one may glimpse in the sources of the period a different kind of military mobility: the more or less temporary dispatch of units from one region of Byzantium’s interior to another, to serve either as garrison troops or as reinforcements in response to a local crisis. The aim of this paper is to sift through all available evidence that might shed light on the movement of Byzantine troops within the empire and to study — as far as the sources will allow — the various aspects of this lesser-known practice (composition of troops, reasons behind such strategic dispositions, distance between a unit’s original station and new garrison post etc.).

Francesco Dall’Aglia (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia)

Border Identities: Local Magnates on the Byzantine-Bulgarian Frontier, 1195-1215

The new state, however, showed a certain frailty in its internal organization. Apparently, the Asenid clan was litigious and the power of the ruling group was often challenged by its junior members and/or collateral relatives. This led not only to open rebellions, sometimes resulting in the death of the ruling tsar, but also to the creation of a surprisingly high number of ‘border principalities’ led by minor members of the clan, dissatisfied with the balance of power and willing to carve for themselves an independent polity on the mountainous border, exploiting the hostility between the kingdom of Bulgaria and the Byzantine (or Latin) empire and offering their loyalty on a case-by-case basis to the contender who seemed more willing to grant them the greatest advantage.

While the long-term political aspirations of those magnates were different, the most important point was survival: this forced them to side, more often than

not, with Constantinople. Yet, judging from what the sources report, they never forgot their ethnic allegiance and never tried to 'become Byzantines', simply putting themselves at the service of the empire – even when it would have been the wisest choice.

Given their ultimate fate, it may be tempting to look at those micro-principalities as failed states: yet, their short-lived existence is an excellent case-study to understand the process of ethnic and state formation on a border region dividing two apparently irreconcilable worlds, and the way in which conflicting personal, 'national' and strategic agendas shaped the actors involved, sometimes far beyond their original intentions.

2. Session 611 Tuesday 07 July - 11.15-12.45

Moving Byzantium, II: Trade and Arts on the Move across Borders and Routes

Organiser: Claudia Rapp

In this session, the mobility of material culture due to commercial and artistic exchange as well as movements of merchants, artisans and ideas are explored across the entire Byzantine Millennium within the Mediterranean and beyond, all the way to East Africa.

Moderator: Grigori Simeonov (University of Vienna)

Božana Maletić & Matteo Pola (Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, Sapienza Università di Roma)

Cultural Mobility in Adulis (Eritrea): New Data on Marble Trade and Architectural Models

The port city of *Adulis* standing on the Red Sea shores, in present-day Eritrea, represents an interesting example of the influences of the Byzantine world outside its borders.

The city had an extremely important Late Antique phase that reflected its wealth and the status of its citizens at that time. In particular, in line with the well-known conversion to Christianity of the Axumite kingdom, the urban structures included various churches which have been found during the archaeological excavations. These buildings, from the perspective of architectural forms and decorations, present important points of contact with Byzantium. Furthermore, these aspects confirm the connections between this city and the Empire, already well known from the historical sources.

From 2018 the Pontifical Institute of Christian Archeology is in charge of the excavation of the largest church of *Adulis*, discovered by a British expedition during the mid-nineteenth century. This excavation recovered interesting finds in Proconnesian marble, as the fragments of presbyterial slabs with incised crosses, now preserved in the British Museum, that represents, with other examples discovered in other churches of the city, the most geographically distant evidence found so far, outside the Mediterranean basin of this type of artefacts.

The recent excavations of the Pontifical Institute of Christian Archeology allow a clearer determination of the church planimetry, which betrays typical Syriac models. Furthermore, numerous new marble fragments have been found, that expand considerably our knowledge of the entity of maritime trade of these artefacts along the southern Red Sea route to the Horn of Africa. These elements merge peculiarly with a strong local substrate that influences architecture and decorative solutions. The new data, therefore, allows a resumption of the interpretative proposals made so far on the trade of marble materials from the Mediterranean basin, as well as a profound reflection on the reception of Byzantine models by the Axumite culture.

Katerina Ragkou (Philipps-Universität Marburg)

Mobility of Commodities and Communities: The Trade System of the Eastern Mediterranean in the Age of the Crusades (Late 11th to Mid-14th Century)

The starting point of this research is the late 11th century and its terminus the mid-14th century. This timeframe includes profound changes in the organization and character of the communities living along the shores of the eastern Mediterranean. During the 11th and 12th centuries they witnessed the growth and the political collapse of the Byzantine Empire due to the capture of its capital Constantinople by the armies of the Fourth Crusade in 1204, which led to establishment of various Byzantine successors states and Latin polities in its lands. The dissolution of the Byzantine Empire and its consequences marked a societal and economic upheaval in the wider Eastern Mediterranean. Despite the ongoing conflicts between the various states the seaborne trade was intensified and all of them depended on each other economically, while they used their unique resources to increase their own wealth.

The aim of this paper is to analyze the trade system of the Eastern Mediterranean in various scales and how it was affected by the continuing political-territorial changes. This research is based on excavation records, survey data and written sources. Its primary focus is on Byzantium and its relationship with the Italian maritime powers and the Frankish States before and after 1204. For the pan-Eastern Mediterranean perspective the distribution of tableware pottery is investigated. The dynamics of a regional economy within these developments is given with the analysis of the industrialized sector and agricultural production of the Peloponnese, which was in the center of the

maritime routes between East and West. Interestingly, after 1204 the Peloponnese was divided into three distinct political entities the Frankish Principality of Achaia, the Venetian colonies of Modon and Coron and the Byzantine lands in the southeast, thus it encompasses all three different political authorities.

Ioanna Christoforaki (Research Centre for Byzantine & Post-Byzantine Art, Academy of Athens)

Beyond the Borders of Byzantium: Artistic Mobility in the Eastern Mediterranean after the Fourth Crusade

The term ‘border’ usually evokes the notions of boundaries and limits, of restricted space and controlled contact. Borders, however, are neither stable nor static: they are there to be crossed, violated, and even attacked; they are permeable, fluid, and mobile. In contrast, this paper aims to examine the patterns and mechanisms of artistic mobility across the borders of the eastern Mediterranean after the Fourth Crusade.

Soon after 1204, the paths of cultural exchange became immensely dynamic and culturally diverse. A variety of people (such as merchants, crusaders, settlers, refugees, itinerant builders and artists) along with a multitude of objects (including icons, illuminated manuscripts, devotional artefacts, and model books) circulated widely around the Mediterranean, which functioned as a contact zone, a space where two cultures, the Byzantine and the Latin, met, clashed and grappled with each other.

From the thirteenth century onwards, Venetian Crete, Hospitaller Rhodes, and Lusignan Cyprus lie beyond the material borders of Byzantium but offer a unique paradigm of artistic mobility along the medieval Mediterranean. With the cultural epicentre of Constantinople temporarily gone and the arrival of the Latin rulers, new networks were established in the Mediterranean basin which facilitated a vibrant artistic interchange between the East and the West and resulted in a rich confluence of cultural ideals.

In seeking to trace the practicalities of artistic mobility in each one of these recently established Latin polities, this paper will examine the various means of exchange through two main catalysts: people and objects. By delving into textual evidence referring to artists’ travels and settlements, combined with the survey of unpublished or little known visual material in the form of church decoration and funerary monuments, it will attempt to offer a more nuanced understanding of the exchange of styles, forms and ideals in a comparative framework across the eastern Mediterranean.

3. Session 711 Tuesday 07 July - 14.15-15.45

Moving Byzantium, III: Writing on the Move across Genres and Materials

Organisers: Claudia Rapp and Giulia Rossetto (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

This session focuses on reflections of mobility in written evidence from epigraphy, historiography, and poetry from the Byzantine world and the Christian East between Late Antiquity and the 13th century, integrating archaeology and philological analysis.

Moderator: Ilias Nesseris (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

Yana Tchekhanovets (Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem)

Caucasian Christians and the Church of Jerusalem: An Archaeological Perspective

Since the fifth century C.E., monks and pilgrims of Caucasian origin – Georgians and Armenians, - played an active role in the multi-ethnic community of the Holy Land, and established their own monastic centers, churches and scriptoria. Their place in the Palestinian monastic life and in the pilgrimage movement to the Holy Land is attested in numerous historical sources. Caucasian monks and pilgrims settled in the proximity of the holy places side by side with their brothers in faith from Greece, Cyprus, Rome, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Armenia, Syria, Arabia and Africa. The great majority of the monks of Palestine spoke and prayed in Greek, the exceptions were a few early Armenian and Georgian monasteries where, according to historical sources, the monks celebrated the liturgy in their own language. Nevertheless, most of the Caucasian monks were merely residents in a large, multi-ethnic, Greek-speaking, Orthodox community, at least in the initial stage.

However, the picture given by the sources is incomplete, and limited both chronologically and geographically. Therefore, it is important to examine the interrelations of the Caucasian communities with the Church of the Holy Land through analysis of archaeological remains: architectural characteristics of the structures associated with the Armenians and Georgians; material culture and burials, the most important identity markers that can be studied archaeologically; and finally, the epigraphic data, demonstrating the linguistic preferences.

Evidently, the archaeological record reflects the multiple identities — civic, ethnic, cultural and religious — adopted by the Armenian and Georgian monks of Palestine: they were Caucasians, but chose to live in the Byzantine Empire; they were foreigners as far as the local Christians were concerned, but represent the Church of Jerusalem, “the dwellers of this Holy Land” for visitors and pilgrims.

Arkadiy Avdokhin (National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow)

Epigraphic Habit and Migration across Early Byzantium: Seventh-Century Apse Inscriptions in Santa Maria Antiqua Between Rome and Egypt

Santa Maria Antiqua is well-known as a monument on the crossroads of cultures and artistic traditions between early Byzantium and Rome. Serving the needs of the pro-Byzantine Greek-speaking community, the Roman church was a point a productive exchange and hybridization between various architectural, devotional, and artistic traditions. I will argue that the epigraphic programme of Santa Maria Antiqua's apse should also be seen as a product of translation of east Byzantine 'epigraphic habit'. I will suggest that the movement of forced migrants from east Byzantium (Egypt and Palestine) in the wake of the Arab conquest brought along particular patterns of the use of liturgical 'inscribed space' to Rome.

John Chrysostom, Leo, Gregory Nazianzen, and Basil of Caesarea are depicted as holding scrolls with extracts from the acts of the Lateran Council (AD 649) in the apse. In contrast to the conventional reading of the inscriptions as a potent statement which pope Martin was allegedly making through the medium of publicly visible epigraphy that would reinforce his doctrinal and political clash with the Constantinopolitan (miathelete) emperors, I will argue that the inscribed doctrinal texts were not instances of monumental epigraphy engaged in a dialogue with Roman audiences. Placed within the barely visible altar space, and presenting conceptual difficulty to common viewers, the theologically dense dipinti were much rather the kind of concealed devotional epigraphy that was flourishing in Egyptian and Palestinian monastic spaces.

I will suggest that the apse inscriptions from the culturally, linguistically, politically and doctrinally diverse monument of Santa Maria Antiqua vividly attest to the movement of ideas, religious and artistic practices in early Byzantium, as Egyptian and Palestinian Christians were seeking refuge in western regions carrying their cultural and ideological habits with them.

Roman Shliakhtin (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz)

Sultan on the Move: Sulaymān ibn Qutlamish in the Byzantine Rhetoric of the 11th-12th Centuries

The Seljuk prince Sulaymān ibn Qutlamish (a. 1075-1086) was the main leader of the Seljuk Turks in Bithynia in the era preceding the First Crusade. Widely considered as the founder of the sultanate of Rum, for his Byzantine contemporaries, Sulaiman was a migrant troubletwister, whose status changed in time and space.

The paper investigates the evolution of the image of Sulaymān ibn Qutlamish in Byzantine narrative sources of the eleventh-twelfth centuries. In *Historia* of Michael Attaleiates, Sulaiman is a formidable ally of Nikephoros III Botaneiates. For Skylitzes Continuatus Sulaymān is a subject of an analytical report, prepared for elite around Alexios I Komnenos. In the *Historical Material* of Nikephoros Bryennios, the Seljuk prince is an enemy who exploited Byzantine weaknesses. For Anna Komnene, Sulaymān was a chief opponent of Alexios I

Kommenos, who struggled with Great Seljuks and committed suicide. “A wretched man perished wretchedly,” - notes Anna upon his death.

The paper focuses on the spatial aspect of Sulaymān’s image. All Byzantine authors describe him as an extremely mobile ruler, who was able to travel from Nicaea to Antioch in time of twelve nights. The mobility of Sulaymān was a threat to Byzantium. In the eleventh century, Byzantine literati reported on the origins and actual status of this active threat to Byzantine sovereignty. In the twelfth century, the mobility of Sulaymān was a threat that Byzantine literati had to counter with stability of their protagonists. The persistent presence of Sulaymān in Byzantine rhetoric demonstrates the significance of the challenge that Seljuk migration presented for Byzantine discourse. This migration stimulated the discussion of mobility *inside* the twelfth-century Byzantium, that continued long after Sulaymān was dead.

Krystina Kubina (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

Moving Identity Through Poetry in the 13th-Century Byzantine World

Poetry was an integral part of cultural life in Byzantium. It was read and discussed in literary circles, inscribed on objects and buildings, and performed at ceremonies. In this way, it was used as a means of self-fashioning by those who wrote, read and commissioned it. On the other hand, poetry contributed to the formation and maintenance of a group identity by addressing a limited number of people who shared the same cultural tastes and ideological values.

The 13th century was a period of great change for Byzantium marked by the loss of unity within the empire. People and power, after 1204 in particular, moved away from Constantinople to various other places such as Nicaea, Epirus and Trebizond, where they founded new political entities competing over political and social supremacy. The texts, literary traditions and manuscripts that they valued travelled with them. In other places like Cyprus, Westerners obtained political power, while in the (Byzantine) Greek community Byzantine literary culture abided. Being Byzantine from the 13th century onwards did not mean to belong to the Byzantine (Palaiologan) empire, but to relate to a specific cultural and ideological tradition.

My paper will explore how poetry was used as an identity marker in an unstable time by looking at some understudied texts from Nicaea, Salento and Cyprus. The paper will reveal how poetry propagandised legitimate imperial power, how it was used to strengthen and defend orthodoxy against the Westerners and how authors created a picture of the (righteous) Byzantine and the (wicked) ‘other’ in their poems. Moving away from Constantinople as the centre of interest, I will focus on how poems both mirrored the social and cultural conditions under which they were produced and how they participated in shaping the Byzantine identity. In this sense, poetry was a vehicle to transfer power and culture to new places and contexts.

4. Session 811 Tuesday 07 July - 16.30-18.00

Moving Byzantium, IV: Identities on the Move across Gender and Language

Organisers: Claudia Rapp and Paraskevi Sykopetritou (University of Vienna/Austrian Academy of Sciences)

In this session, mobility not only between places and spaces, but also between identities and languages across social borders, is highlighted on the basis of written evidence and oral traditions, with a special focus on women in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine world.

Moderator: Christodoulos Papavarnavas (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

Ekaterini Mitsiou (Austrian Academy of Sciences)

Women and Violence in Late Byzantium: Between Gender Constructions and Social Borders

There are various publications on crime and punishment, as well as on the position of women in Byzantium. However, there is a desideratum in modern scholarship to study women, crime and violence as a separate theme of gender studies in order to detect patterns of actions when women are involved in or when they are the victims of violent behaviour.

The present paper aims at presenting and analysing violent acts by and against women in the last centuries of Byzantium. Based on cases attested in the written sources from the 13th to the 15th centuries, the paper draws from criminology and sociology on female violence. The paper also draws from Byzantine law, which emphasises regulation and punishment. A primary goal of the paper is to understand the gender components of female criminality and violence against women as indicators of social borders and trespassing of social norms.

Zoltán Szegvári (University of Szeged)

Cultural Exchange between Latins and Greeks Represented in Late Byzantine Epistolography

As cultures continuously interact with each other, the transmission of cultural goods is a necessary phenomenon. However, members of the cultures involved in particular cases may perceive it in radically different ways, regarding it as a process of enrichment, or as corruption.

Late Byzantine society had a contradictional relationship with the Catholic, or with their term, Latin, world. It involved war, economic conflict, religious and cultural enmity on the first hand and common military actions, mutually beneficial

economic cooperation, the experience of common Christian beliefs and learning from each other on the other hand. Most naturally, individual Byzantines themselves formed opinions on these events, based upon their own attitudes and experiences.

My paper deals with the representation of cultural exchanges in a genre of Byzantine literature, that is, epistolography. The analyzed letters are selected from major extant Late Byzantine letter-collections, while the focus is on the type of cultural exchange in question, the evaluation of it by the author and the devices the author uses to represent it. In my analysis, I rely on the anthropological model of Fredrik Barth and Thomas Hylland Eriksen, which underlines that the self-definition of a culture is not only about the cultural goods it possesses, but even so about the boundaries it draws between other cultures and itself. The selected letters provide important and interesting details on how certain authors constructed the image of different types of cultural exchange with the ‘Latins’, and where did they draw the boundaries of their own culture.

Elias Petrou (Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, University of California, Irvine)

Moving from Constantinople to Venice: The Case of Manuel II's Illegitimate Daughter Zampia Palaiologina Doria and her Descendants

Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos was the father of the two last Byzantine rulers, John VIII and Constantine XI Palaiologos. Both of them died without leaving any descendants behind and the continuation of Palaiologos' family was inherited to their siblings – Theodoros II Palaiologos, Andronikos Palaiologos, Demetrios Palaiologos, and Thomas Palaiologos. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, they were scattered at various courts in Constantinople, Cyprus, Rome, Russia serving various political purposes due to the importance of their name.

However, one branch of the imperial family left Constantinople for Italy decades before the sack of the city. Manuel II's illegitimate daughter Isabella (Zampia) was his first born child and she, along with her daughters, played a significant role in the Emperor's external policy at the beginning of the 15th century. At the same time, the arrival of the Italian humanists in Constantinople in order to study the Greek language and culture crossed paths with the illegitimate imperial family. The marriage of the Italian humanist Francesco Filelfo with Zampia Palaiologina Doria's granddaughter, Theodora Chrysololina, had as a result the relocation of the family to Venice, after the completion of Filelfo's studies in the capital. Nevertheless, Filelfo's family maintained a close relationship with Constantinople and the imperial institutions there.

The paper attempts to chart the family tree of Zampia Palaiologina Doria until the middle of the 15th century and the final establishment of Filelfo's family to the West. Who was Zampia's mother and how Manuel II treated his illegitimate child? Who were her daughters and how Francesco Filelfo was involved? What was their connection with the imperial Institutions? The presentation will focus

on philological sources of contemporary scholars along with paleographical evidences of various manuscripts.

Francesco G. Giannachi (Università del Salento)

Danielis's Travels and Legacy: Literary Invention and Historical Truth with Particular Regard to Some Recently Found Evidence in Southern Italian Griko Literature

The historical accounts (Skylitzes, Theophanes continuatus) about the rich widow from Patras named Danielis and her relationships with the first emperor of the Macedonian dynasty Basil I have been interpreted by the modern historians as an amplification of the historical events and, moreover, an attempt to model the story of Danielis and Emperor Basil I on that of the Queen of Sheba or on an episode of the Ps. Kallisthenes' *Alexander Romance*. Therefore some historical data can be considered as truth, in particular the fact the Basil's son, Leo, became Danielis' heir. I focus on the legacy of hundreds of slaves to the Emperor as recorded by Theophanes Continuatus; the slaves were sent to colonize part of the *Thema tis Longovardias*. I have searched in the Greek speaking area of Apulia any linguistic evidence that can recall the historical data we read in the Byzantine historians and, moreover, I made some field researches in the orally transmitted literature of the *Griko* people in order to find any trace of the Danielis' story. I found some possible references in the novels firstly edited in the last recent years but only a not yet published novel, *O cunto me ti chira ce tu ria* (*The novel about the widow and the king*) I was able to transcribe, seems to be directly connected to some historical events concerning the widow Danielis and the Byzantine emperor Basili I. After a brief overview on the historical accounts concerning the widow Danielis, I will read and comment the piece of *Griko* orally transmitted novel and, then, speak about the possible connections with the real historical events.

Concluding Discussion and Remarks

For further information about the project and updates on future events, visit our website: <http://rapp.univie.ac.at/>