Inter-cultural Transmission of Intellectual Traditions in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period

A comparative perspective

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Abstract book

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Session Ia: REVIVING OF ANCIENT MOTIVES AND LITERARY DEVICES

Weronika Sygowska-Pietrzyk (Warsaw): Flavio Biondo's "Roma instaurata" as an example of transmission of ancient texts and the spread of Renaissance writing in fifteenth and sixteenth century Europe

„Roma instaurata" is a famous treatise on Roman topography, written in 1446 by the Italian humanist Flavio Biondo. Despite its small size, comprising only three books, the treaty contains a rich collection of citations from ancient and medieval texts. Biondo selected many passages describing buildings of ancient Rome, demonstrating his vast knowledge of ancient writings. This is the first quality that distinguishes "Roma instaurata" from other works concerning Roman monuments. The second is that Biondo describes not only existing ruins, which could be seen in his own day, but he also tries to reconstruct the appearance of ancient buildings.

„Roma instaurata" became very popular in the early modern period: Manuscripts of the text are dispersed throughout Europe – from Sweden to Italy, Hungary to Spain and Great Britain. Around the same time, printed editions of the treatise appeared throughout the continent. An *Editio princeps* made in Rome in 1471 was followed in 1481 by edition from Venice. Next were two editions from Venice (1503, 1510) and one from Torino (1527). Finally, there are the Basler editions from the Officina Frobeniana – produced in 1531 and 1559, respectively. In addition, as early as 1542, a *volgarizzamento* of „Roma instaurata" was written by Lucio Fauno and reprinted in 1543, 1548, 1549 and 1558. Those frequent and numerous copies of the treatise provide the best testimony of the popularity of the work in the century after it was written. It took another century for another similar guide to the *Urbs Aeterna* to appear. The Stages and directions of this treatise's spread are worth of studying.

The treatise, though small, represents an example of ancient textual transmission. That said, despite spreading across Europe in different manuscript and printed forms, it remained in the original Latin language. Therefore, it is perhaps better to regard this as a form of intratemporal than intercultural transmission.

Flavio Biondo. Roma Instaurata. Censimento dei manoscritti:
http://www.isime.it/attivita08/biondo_pdf/romainstaurata_2006.shtml

A. Raffarin-Dupuis (2005), *Rome restaurée*. Vol. I (Paris).

P. Kristeller (1963–1997), *Iter Italicum: A Finding List of Uncatalogued Or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries*. Vol. I–VI (Leiden).

Katarzyna Bożeńska (Warsaw): The art of travelling and exploration of cultural "otherness" in early modern Europe

"The further you go, the more you shall see and know" says the famous 16th- and 17th-century travel literature's sententious saying, which is not only a sign of an increasing travel activity in this period, but also a sign of an evolutionary change of the idea of travel and of the creation of a new, modern image of a traveler. It is not about a medieval hooded pilgrim, nor about a scholar on the academic peregrination with a well-defined program of the systematic university studies; now it is a *traveler* powered by his own intellectual curiosity, looking forward to *read the world*. According to the humanistic doctrine, the whole earth is a school of continuous learning and self-improvement (*mundus liber*). No longer does mobility only serve to reach a university in order to stay there for a long period of studies in one place but, on the contrary, mobility becomes the final consummation and completion of prior studies. Thus, a new humanistic vision of travel emerged, which was rooted in the Renaissance empiricism, even though it obviously maintained its primary educational character. Its purpose is no more purely educational, but rather *cognitive*, and it soon became a very popular and at the same time very controversial alternative form of education.

However, "to travel well is to question well" or, in other words, travelling has to be learnt, so that the pedagogical ideal "of increasing the intellectual profit of contemporary enthusiasm for travel" could be fulfilled. According to Justin Stagl, the academic year 1568/69 in Basel was the symbolic beginning of the last third of the 16th which was characterised by the emergence of *ars apodemica* as a clear intent to convert the practical activity into art, namely art of travelling.

The late 16th- and 17th-century advisory writings on travel were deeply rooted in the humanistic inclination for rational planning of all human activities. They reveal, therefore, a clear intent to propose an ideal *methodus apodemica* for the contemporary practice of travelling across Europe. Even if it initially emerged only in the north European protestant universities on the margins of the humanistic area, it was soon emulated in many other cultural centers, reflecting the cosmopolitan spirit of the *republique des lettres* of early modern Europe. The question at this point is: if the systematic methodizing of the forms of travel is certainly a valid way of observing the world in a certain, definite way, it could also be seen at the same time as a contemporary codification of intercultural relations.

Consequently, I would like to study the early modern advisory writings on travel as guidelines for anthropological exploration of cultural "otherness" in early modern Europe and to analyze the meaning(s) and significance of multidimensional contact with the "other" for the process through which an individual reached maturity (with *coral* as its metaphor in the apodemic literature). I will examine this issue with reference to the idea of a life-long learning popular among the humanistic educational writers. In particular, I will focus on various texts circulating in the 17th-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Since these early modern travel treatises made extensive use of ancient literature and literary motives in order to create texts designed for very practical purposes, they offer an interesting example of the transmission and reworking of ancient intellectual traditions.

Piotr Kołodziejczyk (Warsaw): Monsters without form. The possible similarities in Aristotle's theory of monsters and the monstrous child in The King of Tars

The goal of the paper is to discuss possible similarities between particular ancient and medieval descriptions of monstrosity. *The King of Tars* - a Middle English chivalry romance, offers a description of monstrosity that most scholars consider to be a result of miscegenation (mixing of different races, ethnic groups and such, through marriage or procreation). *The King of Tars* tells a story of a Christian princess who, for the benefit of her people, married a sultan. As a result, a monstrous child was born, with an extraordinary, frightening shape. Some authors note that such portrayal of monstrosity had a specific didactic purpose, and would serve as an argument against interreligious marriage. Such notions are often made with an addition to how Christians would describe foreign cultures and religions, such as Muslims, as showing animal (mostly canine) and monstrous features. The religious and cultural purpose of monstrosity is widely known among scholars, and already has received some degree of interest. It's the matter of features that still remains vague. The same rule applies here. The appearance of a monstrous birth in *The King of Tars* has already been studied and received a brief commentary (see reference). That said, it remains in the aspect of purpose and particular features attributed to cultures and religions foreign to Christian culture. In *The King of Tars* the monstrous child has no features, indeed, its very constitution is based on its lack of features. Its monstrous appeal lies in the lack of shape or distinctive features that constitute a human being. That leads us to a question: how are we to comment on particular features as being attributed to a purpose or a certain approach towards different cultures and religions, when we remain ignorant, concerning the very appearance of this monstrosity?

What I'd like to do in my paper is to show a parallel style of thinking, not concerning the purpose of monstrosity but the very question of its constitution. This line if inquiry will help us see **how** a monster is created, not why. In order to do so, we will refer to the most probable source for ancient teratology, that is the notions made by Aristotle, included in *De generatione animalium*. In effect, I will introduce a new way of portraying monstrosity, that is, one in which monsters are not described as strictly fabricated models with mixed features, completely forged for certain purposes, but as medical phenomenon, with their unique, frightening and astonishing features explained by way of Aristotelian philosophy (especially the notions on form and matter, and the nature of seed). This approach towards monstrosity is based on a dual perspective of monstrous descriptions, clearly visible in several situations (i. e. the famous *Deuttung der Czwo*, a pamphlet by Luther and Melanchton published in 1523). This perspective shows two possible ways of creating and describing monsters in early texts, as mentioned above. As I will argue, it is a question of myth versus reality, and while their purpose may be mutual, the mechanisms of description and definition are different. This difference between the aforementioned mechanisms, may not only explain the peculiarity behind how monsters originate, but also point at a very interesting turn in the history of medicine. Ancient descriptions of embryology and teratology are often denied credibility. The speculative inquiry in the matters of the development of the fetus, and congenital anomalies (the very subject of teratology), would often be situated next to tales of mythological creatures. The case of Aristotle shows, that an intellectual approach towards cases of teratology proved insightful, and would sketch the very basics of teratology, as we see it now. In order to show the impact of Aristotelian thought I will analyze the description of a monstrous birth from *The King of Tars* as a possible example of an Aristotelian model, and try to evaluate its relevance and accuracy. Eventually I will try to answer the question, whether ancient Aristotelian teratology had a genuine impact on the portrayal of monstrosity in *The King of Tars* and as a result, on one of the ideas behind monstrosity, that would be present in the Middle Ages. Through my analysis I will try to show that the historical study of the mechanisms of monstrosity's constitution is as relevant as the study of its purposes.

Due to the fact, that this paper is strictly based on the analysis of historical and philosophical sources, I would like to suggest the following sources:

Aristotle, *De generatione animalium,* IV, 3–4.

The King of Tars, NLS Adv MS 19.2.1, ff.7ra–13vb.

A. Czarnowus (2008), "Stille as ston", oriental deformity in The King of Tars', *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 44, 463–474.

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J. Crawford (2005), *Marvelous Protestantism: monstrous births in post-Reformation England* (London).

J. Sheehan, M. Sosna (1991), *The boundaries of humanity, humans, animals, machines* (Berkeley).

Michał Czerenkiewicz (Warsaw): The prescriptions of waging war in view of the history and literary tradition according to Simon Starowolski (ca 1588-1656)

This paper aims to explore the rules of warfare as exemplified by the literary output of Simon Starowolski (ca 1588-1656), especially in his work *Eight books on the instructions of military art* (*Institutorum rei militaris libri VIII*, first ed. Cracow 1639). As an heir of the ancient and Renaissance traditions, Starowolski wrote in his several works (in Polish as well as in Latin) about the military service of certain famous representatives of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth nobility. His *Sarmatian Warriors* (*Sarmatiae bellatores*, first ed. Köln 1631) was a collection of enthusiastic biographies of monarchs, magnates, and soldiers who belonged to the *Sarmatia*. By combining ethnogenetic myth with current public affairs Starowolski was among the first authors to encourage the implementation of ancient and medieval traditions into the daily lives of noblemen.

The work that deals with military service is the *Institutorum rei militaris libri VIII*. Although it admits that it is better to have a certain peace than doubtful victory in war, the author concentrates on the theme of just war. This is a defensive war which is waged in the name of some upright cause. After describing military conflict in general Starowolski turns to the duties and qualities of a good commander. According to him, the officer in command should be experienced, and thanks to his knowledge, bravery, eagerness, and – to a lesser extent, good luck, should carry the day. His assistants help him in this task, and together, they can realize their goals when they observe discipline. In addition to the personal qualities of the commander, victory also depends on the natural qualities of the terrain; indeed, a separate chapter deals with naval battles. Starowolski allows for deceptions during war, but not forms of deceit. Another chapter concerns the siege and defense of the cities. In the last one this early modern author consider the doubtful questions on military service.

Starowolski takes up themes from the works of ancient authors such as Frontinus, and Flavius Vegetius Renatus, and later developed by others theoreticians. Although some rules given in the Starowolski's work may seem to be quite obvious, all of them contain practical points of reference, as well as more lighthearted information (about Sarmatian soldiers and leading figures of the ancient world) designed to provide entertainment. The Roman commanders are invoked

both as an examples and warnings for contemporaries. Apart from the references to the Greek and Roman culture there are also discussions of the early modern period and contemporary affairs. Starowolski knew quite well the foundations of Justus Lipsius' political and military thought, and the influence of this Belgian humanist may be observed in his work. Among other modern authors there are also insights from Machiavelli. The aim is practical one: to give trusted advice to military men.

In the work of 1639 there is the dedication to the young John Zamoyski, called "Sobiepan" ("Self-Commander"), the grandson of great Grand Crown Hetman. A leading man of the Renaissance in Poland, Zamość was an exemplary statesman. The ideal commander is thought to perfectly know the rules of military service thanks to his ancient predecessors.

Starowolski became acquainted with military matters not only by reading books on ancient and modern wars, but also through his own service as a secretary of the hetman to John Carol Chodkiewicz.

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I. Lewandowski, ed. (1991), *S. Starowolski. Wybór z pism* (Wrocław).

F. Bielak (1957), 'Działalność naukowa Szymona Starowolskiego', *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej*. Vol. V, part 1. (Warsaw).

K. Olejnik (1976), *Rozwój polskiej myśli wojskowej do końca XVII wieku* (Poznań).

J. Sikorski (2001), *Polskie piśmiennictwo wojskowe od XV do XX wieku* (Warsaw).

I. Szlesiński (1985), *Słownictwo wojskowe w wybranych tekstach literackich i historycznych XVII wieku* (Wrocław).

Barbara Grondkowska (Lublin): Patristics and Exegesis: the Presence of the Church Fathers in the Sixteenth-Century Sermons

Sola Scriptura was one of the main ideas of the Reformation. The reform movement let every Christian to read and interpret the Bible according to their own reason. The hierarchical Church stoped to be a possessor of the Revelation, one part of which – the Tradition – was removed. The return to the Bible questioned the whole process of the formation of the Christian orthodoxy expressed in the patristic tradition. As a consequence, the achievements of the church fathers for the Christian theology were doubted.

However, the 16th century was the time of the peak development of humanism. The Christian antiquity was regarded full of advantages. It combined the beauty of a classical form and the biblical message. First critical editions of the rhetoricaly trained church fathers were very

successful. The leaders of the Reformation were also humanists and they appreciated works of Augustine, Jerome, and Tertullian.

However, the doctrine of *sola Scriptura* caused a problem. The reformers had no reason to refer to the church fathers, at least according to the Catholic polemicists, such as Jakub Wujek. This Jesuit was educated in Vienna and Rome and became known as Polish Jerome – the translator of the Bible into Polish. He is considered to be one of the most brilliant Polish scholars in the 16th century. Apart from his didactic and administrative commitment Wujek spent his life doing academic work and writing. His sermons reached broad audience (illiterate too). He is the author of two collections of sermons in the form of a postil (*Postylla katoliczna* and *Postylla mniejsza*).

In a letter with *Postylla mniejsza* dedicated to the Polish king Sigismund III Vasa Wujek placed a discourse about the meaning of patristics in the exegesis (of course, from the Catholic point of view). His first argument says that a supernatural origin of the Scripture requires a supernatural interpretation, beyond the competence of an individual. The right to interpretation of the Scripture is given not to every person individually, but to the Church. Wujek claims that even the church fathers themselves referred to their predecessors when they explained the Bible.

Jakub Wujek described the Protestants' opinion about the tradition of the Church. He accused them of rejection of the writings of the church fathers due to their human origin, even though the followers of the Reformation were also human. Wujek's argumentation has a polemical nature, and therefore it presents the Protestant point of view in much simplified manner. Indeed, some Protestant writers, such as Martin Chemnitz, blamed the church fathers for errors and even advised to eliminate these texts, which were "less than helpful." On the other hand, many reformers highly valued patristic writings, although they considered their credibility relying not on the authority *a priori*, but on the conformity to the Scripture.

The church fathers are therefore the basis of Wujek's biblical exegesis. They guarantee the truth of theological contents of his sermons. On the other hand, patristic plots also have a philological character. A rhymed inscription by Stanislaw Grochowski at the beginning of *Postylla katoliczna* contains *topos* of a bee. As a bee produces honey from flowers, by analogy Wujek creates his sermons from "the Scripture and the Doctors." His work is full of quotations from writings of the church fathers, who are mentioned in the introduction. A long list of sources is divided into ancient and modern writers. Among tchem there are not only the most popular early Christian writers (both Latin and Greek), such as Augustine, Jerome and John Chrysostom, but also

lesser-known authors, for example, Amphilochius of Iconium or Eusebius of Emesa. Probably Wujek did not read the original works of all sixty mentioned fathers. In fact, at least some quotations come from a *florilegium* or from another author.

Both Jakub Wujek's postils are an example of how vivid the presence of the church fathers was in the 16th-century sermons. The interest in patristics was characteristic for dogmatic discourse, both Catholic and Protestant. However, Catholic authors had the advantage of being able to give theological significance to their patristic reminiscences, referring to the authority of the Magisterium of the Church.

A. Bober (1983), 'Wujek jako tłumacz świętego Augustyna', *Vox Patrum* 5, 409–417.

M. Kuran (2007), *Retoryka jako narzędzie perswazji w postyllografii polskiej XVI wieku (na przykładzie "Postylli katolicznej" Jakuba Wujka)* (Łódź) .

D. C. Steinmetz (1999), *Die Patristik in der Bibelexegese des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden).

G. Frank, Th. Leinkauf, M. Wried (2006), *Die Patristik in der Frühen Neuzeit: die Relektüre der Kirchenväter in den Wissenschaften des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt).

I. Backus (1997), *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West* (Leiden).

J. Wujek (1584), *Postilla catholica, to jest kazania na każdą niedzielę i na każde święto przez cały rok*. Vol. I–III (Krakow).

J. Wujek (1579–1580), *Postylla katolicka mniejsza, to jest krótkie kazania, albo wykłady świętych Ewangelii na każdą niedzielę i na każde święto*. Vol. I–II (Poznań).

Session Ib: LITERATURE/LEARNING AND IDENTITY

Emilio Bonfiglio (Geneva): The Language and the Topics of the Armenian Fathers in the Golden Age of Armenian Literature: the Case of John Mandakuni

The Christianization of Armenia started at the beginning of the 4th century thanks to the evangelization activity of Saint Gregory the Illuminator and the conversion of the Armenian king Trdat. It is only in the 5th century, however, that the evangelization of the Armenian nation actually faced an important turning point with the creation of the Armenian alphabet through the joint efforts of Mesrop Mashtots and the Catholicos Sahak. With the new script made available to the Armenians, a literature written in Armenian language officially began. Next to the translation of the Bible, Armenian renderings of Greek and Syriac Fathers soon started to be produced, and already by the 5th century Armenians began to write their own works of historiography and several exegetical commentaries. In addition to this, an original homiletic literature also began to be

composed. The corpus of homilies of John Mandakuni (late 5th century) represents a unique starting point for exploring this domain of research which remains little known to this day.

In this paper I intend to analyse two homilies of John Mandakuni which deal with (i) the dangers of shows and theatres (*contra theatra*) and (ii) the sins of sexual nature (homosexuality and bestiality). John Mandakuni is considered one of the most important Armenian writers of the 5th century, the so-called "Golden Age" of Armenian literature. Very little information is available on John's life and work, and all that is known is that he served as Catholikos of all the Armenians (that is the head of the Armenian Church) sometime between 478 and 490. From John's long pastoral and ecclesiastical career, all that remains is a corpus of 26 homilies written in a pure classical Armenian. Each homily addresses a particular topic on which John elaborates by making use of Biblical quotations and Patristic themes derived from Greek and Syriac Fathers.

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the aforementioned homilies in order determine to what extent the text of John Mandakuni can be considered to reflect the socio-historical reality of 5th century Armenia, or, to the contrary, should be regarded as a rhetorical *tour de force* reflecting the topics and themes of a different epoch and culture, namely those found in 4th and 5th century Greek patristic works (chiefly those of Saint John Chrysostom). Beginning with the homily against sins of sexual nature, I shall explore the rhetorical features of the language employed by John Mandakuni and compare his argumentation with that used in his homily against the shows and theatres. In comparing the vocabulary and topics used by Mandakuni with that used by Chrysostom in his attack against theatres and games, I hope to explore whether the homilies of John Mandakuni can actually be considered to refer to a concrete reality – namely actual theatrical practises in 5th-c. Armenia – or to Greek themes and objects that were unknown to John Mandakuni's audience and did not exist at all in 5th-c. Armenia. Having established this, I hope to offer a reassessment of the homily on sexual sins, putting forward a new hypothesis on the nature of John Mandakuni's homiletic corpus, his audience, and the time of its composition.

Evina Steinova (The Hague): Reception of the ancient systems of reference in Early Middle Ages

Early medieval manuscripts abound with minute symbols in their margins. Such signs fall into a wider category of *marginalia* - together with glosses, marginal commentaries and annotations -, but unlike these, they are "textless" and thus cannot be read for comprehension. The message encoded in this manner is often lost to us together with those who encoded it. Yet we posses

testimonies, medieval and older, that may throw light on the origins and nature of this medieval practice.

In this respect, it is significant that the signs that occur in medieval margins resemble strongly the signs that were used in older periods and places, such as Hellenistic Alexandria and in Classical Rome, and can be found in the fragments of ancient papyri. Medieval sources, such as Isidore's *De Notis* in the first book of *Etymologiae* and the *Anecdoton Parisinum*, a sign list in Paris lat. 7530, further claim that the signs they list go back to the Roman grammarians (Valerius Probus, who worked on Virgil, Horace and Lucretius) and the Alexandrians (Aristarchos, who worked on Homer). This was the line of thought that was elaborated by the scholars in the 19th century, who wished to see the Ancients as the first philologists, emending and commenting upon canonical texts by means of marginal signs. Yet, the new material discoveries in the 20th century and a thorough re-examination of the theory made clear, that there are rather large differences between the medieval and pre-medieval signposts, even if they have the same graphic form. The Greek and Latin signposts were used exclusively for philological annotation of classical poetry and were conceived as a personal tool for the scholars, deployed into their private copies of texts and, at best, shared with their inner circle of apprentices. Moreover, the presupposed editions and commentaries of the ancient scholars disappeared in a wisp of smoke, as it became evident that their *hypomnemata* and *notae* were, rather, private notes, to be treated casually, or might have had only an oral form. The medieval signposts represent, in contrast, a much more vivid, flexible and firmly-established phenomenon, that approaches our modern practices of handling texts. They occur in texts irrespectively of the nature of the content, classical as well as medieval, poetry or prose, literary or non-literary, and serve a wide array of functions, from criticizing ideologies and interpretations, through indicating corrupted passages and places in need of emendation, to providing an exit-point for further extraction or querying of information. Furthermore, they were employed by whole communities and might have been even consciously, and *en masse*, taught at school. It is noteworthy, that it is only in the early Middle Ages, in both the Greek- and Latin-speaking worlds, that they are assigned names and materialize in sign lists and scholia. While there is certainly a grain of truth in the lists of Isidore and in the *Anecdoton Parisinum*, such as their Greek background, the association with historical figures is "mythological", or perhaps "mythopoeic", rather than real. By all indications, the lists represent an amalgamation of sources that cannot be older than Late Antiquity and were fueled by pre-extant mythology of ancient

scholars, such as Suetonian and Servian Valerius Probus, and the Alexandrians as captured by the early medieval Greek scholia.

The two sets of practices - medieval signposting and classical annotating - share some important similarities, which, however, may derive from the general nature of the manuscript culture, e.g. their graphematic form and position in the margin. In general, they arose from distinct contexts and needs and thus cannot be seen as directly related. The Carolingians, rather, (re-)invented their own practice, framed into a particular manuscript context (parchment codices, punctuated and divided script, and relatively legible Caroline minuscule, as opposed to papyrus rolls, *scriptio continua*, and classical scripts with their low readability) and responding to their aspirations, such as accumulation of knowledge on an unprecedented scale. As a part of this programme, the Alexandrian/Roman tradition was seized and incorporated into the vibrant, emerging medieval scholarly culture, blending with those traditions with which it had no relation. As a result, the Alexandrian philological markers occurred side by side with signposts stemming from other traditions (Tironian shorthand) or invented intuitively in the Carolingian period (crosses, slashes, dot-signs).

Munich, BSB Clm 6357

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N. G. Wilson (2007), 'Scholiasts and Commentators', *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 47:1, 39–70.

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Boris Todorov (Sofia): The universal chronicles in Church Slavic: the implications of availability

For the sake of classification, students of medieval Church Slavonic literature have divided the comprehensive accounts of universal history–from the Creation to some particular point in more recent historical time–into three major genres. One is the *chronicle* proper, inevitably translated from a Byzantine Greek original: a sweeping overview recounting the early days of mankind, yet smoothly developing into a politically-minded narration of the history of Jews, Romans, and the Byzantine Empire. There were two periods of intensive translation of universal chronicles: the tenth century when George Synkellos, John Malalas and possibly George Hamartolos were made available in Preslav, Bulgaria; alongside the fourteenth, when Hamartolos again, along with John Zonaras, Symeon the Logothete and Constantine Manasses, appeared in Slavic in different locations in the Balkans: Turnovo, the Serbian lands and/or the Athonite monasteries. (In between stands the plausible case of Hamartolos actually being translated in eleventh-century Kiev.) The second genre is the *khronograf*: a compilation of short historical notices taken from the Old Testament or from those chronicles already available in Slavic, which recreates more or less successfully the vision of time unfolding. Even if hypothesizing Preslav origins of the genre, we observe it in the Rus and Muscovite lands where it grows in importance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Finally, the third genre, widely available throughout the East Slavic lands, was *paleia*: a detailed recounting of the Old Testament with still unattributed

exegetical comments pointing to the correspondences between Old and New Testament events. The *Interpreted Paleia (Tolkovaia paleia)* enjoyed similarly wide manuscript transmission as the books of the Octateuch.

The study of the three genres has proceeded along diverging lines with the latter two being, until recently, of interest only to nineteenth-century Russian scholars who pondered the significance of Byzantine chronicles as sources for Kievan and Muscovite historiography, while more recently scholars have been drawn to them for their historico-philosophical qualities. The divergence of genres may be explained with the differing goals that Rus and Muscovite, or Serbian and Bulgarian, compilers and translators pursued over the fourteenth and later centuries: *khronografs* helped construct a historical narrative focused on the place of Orthodox Rus in a linear eschatological process, for which world history was just a prelude. Conversely, the reappearing taste of southern Slavs for universal chronicles proper may have expressed their self-perspective as part of a living Roman-Byzantine historical and virtual space.

This paper suggests that any geopolitical interpretation of the nature and function of historical narratives, more or less clearly exegetical, is a modern construct. Regardless of the political and ideological claims of Muscovite or Serbian princes, and of the associations such claims might bear on twentieth-century imperialism and nationalism, medieval universal histories fitted the discursive framework of Christian didactics and epideictics and belonged first and foremost to the secluded space of the monastic cell. Chronicles, *khronografs* and *paleias* were part of the reading culture of Eastern Orthodox monks. They all served the same main purpose: to reaffirm the conviction of the pious Christian that events in history are simultaneously the fruit and portents of God's will for mankind. Reading history is contemplating the unfolding of the timeless Creator's will in time.

The divergence in historiographical traditions not so much expresses ideological claims by worldly powers or social élites, as it betrays the poor transmission of texts between the two major zones of Slavia Orthodoxa. East Slavic coenobitic foundations had practically no access to Greek works and perpetually re-circulated the same limited pool of texts in efforts to make sense of history: ultimately, they developed their own *khronograf* tradition which stood apart from the original historiography of Rus cities. At the opposite end, South Slavs had no access to these Rus and Muscovite compilations and could not partake in the creative and speculative processes taking place in the north: the only strategy available was to dig deep in the riches of Greek written

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Lilly Stammler (Sofia): St. Maximos Kausokalybites and the 14th century peripatetic asceticism

St. Maximos Kausokalybites (c. 1270/80 – 13 Jan. c. 1365/75) was a hermit observing the most uncompromising form of asceticism. Clothed in rags and barefoot, he lived as a recluse in the most inaccessible areas of Athos on the mountain slopes high above the sea. His special practice was that when he had settled in a simple hut and it became known, he would set it on fire and move elsewhere. Hence, he gained the nickname 'kausokalybites' (the hut-burner)

The importance of St. Maximos Kausokalybites for the 14th century spirituality is attested by the fact that he merited no less than four hagiographic compositions written by four of his contemporaries or near-contemporaries. The author of the oldest *Life*, Niphon, was a fellow-anchorite who knew St. Maximos personally. The second account was written also by an Athonite monk, the higoumenos of Vatopedi monastery Theophanes. Two further biographies of the saint, by the influential intellectuals Makarios Makres and Ioannikios Kochylas, appeared in the 15th century.

St. Maximos acquired his fame already during his lifetime. His biographers recall that even before he had settled on Mount Athos he was honoured as a holy man at the Imperial Palace of Constantinople. As a hermit he received a number of distinguished visitors, for example St. Gregory of Sinai, the Emperors John V Palaiologos and John VI Kantakouzenos, and Kallistos I, the Patriarch of Constantinople. However, the influence of St. Maximos Kausokalybites' *Lives* on the intellectual traditions of the 14th century has never been properly studied.

The focus of the present paper is on the literary representation of the extreme nomadic way of life of the saint. First, the different accounts of St. Maximos' wanderings are compared to

one another and a "map" of his travels is drawn followed by a brief examination of the employed old models for wandering holy men. Second, the literary image of St. Maximos' peripatetic asceticism is set against the background of the 14th century intellectual traditions on the Balkans. The spiritual characteristics of the period as well as the *Lives* of other holy men, contemporaries of St. Maximos, are considered. St. Gregory of Sinai, St. Theodosius of Târnovo, and St. Romylos of Vidin were prominent figures whose biographies were also marked by intensive travelling. Although they belonged to different intellectual centres on the Balkans, they shared similar religious views, traversed the same lands, and orbited around a specific type of spaces. Thus, their personalities, motives for movement, and trajectories are reviewed with St. Maximos' model in mind in search for reoccurring patterns of travel and comparable preferences of places and spaces in the 14th and 15th century *Lives of saints*. The paper does not give an exhaustive analysis of the literary influences engaging the network of 14th century biographers of wandering holy men. However, it aims to indicate to what extent the extreme existence of St. Maximos was unique and to trace at least partially the place of the saint's *Lives* within the then contemporary literary tradition of peripatetic asceticism.

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Session IIa: CONTEXTS OF RECEPTION OF PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS: MEDIEVAL MIDDLE EAST

Benjamin de Lee (Oregon): Aristotle in Arabic and Greek: Inter-religious debate and the Revival of Aristotelianism in the ninth-century eastern Mediterranean

This paper will demonstrate the role of polemical literature in reviving Aristotelian logic and philosophy in the ninth-century eastern Mediterranean, across linguistic (Greek, Syriac, and Arabic), religious (Christian and Islam), and cultural lines. Through a comparative method and focusing on a few specific examples and exchanges, I will demonstrate how different competing ideologies prompted different groups to use an ever more specific Aristotelian method that avoided appeals to revelation (scriptures). Although scholars like Dmitri Gutas want to credit the Arab translation movement as reviving an interest in Aristotle in the early medieval eastern Mediterranean, it has been clearly demonstrated by Lemerle that Aristotelian philosophy had survived in the early Byzantine Empire and through the iconoclastic period. Gutas and Lemerle represent two approaches that may be labeled exclusivist. Such scholarship has tended to view the eastern Mediterranean as clearly divided along linguistic, religious, and political lines, while the reality is that these lines were often blurred and there was significant exchange across these frontiers. I will briefly survey how the iconoclastic controversy prompted a greater reliance on Aristotle and the use of Aristotelian terminology and logic in theology.

This paper uses examples from both Islamic and Christian theology to demonstrate how the revival of Aristotelian logic in the eastern Mediterranean in the ninth century occurred across

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linguistic and religious lines. In particular, this paper focuses on a particular exchange to demonstrate how religious polemic could lead to an inter-penetration of ideas and mutual stimulation of Aristotelian methodology in religious debate. The specific texts that I will examine will be the exchange of letters between Niketas Byzantios and an un-named Muslim intellectual from the caliphal court in Baghdad. These texts will be compared with earlier disputational literature to demonstrate the shift towards syllogistic method that occurred in this period. Earlier texts like John of Damascus, Theodore Abu Qurrah, and disputational literature from the iconoclast controversy demonstrate that Christianity never lost is use of Greek philosophy, as demonstrated by Lemerle, but the encounter with Islam led to a renewed focus on Aristotelian philosophy. Finally, I will conclude by briefly considering how the works of Theodore Abu Qurrah, a Christian Arab, may have played a role in facilitating this exchange and how the legacy of Aristotelianism in both Byzantium and the 'Abbasid caliphate may have led to intra-religious conflict in the tenth and eleventh centuries. While this survey is broad, it focuses on a few examples to demonstrate a pattern with specific areas for more detailed research and exploration.

Anna Izdebska (Warsaw): The career of the Pythagorean Golden Verses among the Arabs

Although the ancient authors attributed the *Golden Verses* – a Greek Pythagorean poem – to Pythagoras himself, this text was probably created much later than the 6th c. BC (scholars are not unanimous regarding its date and authorship). The poem was quite popular in Late Antiquity, quoted by numerous authors and commented by some of them. We know, for example, about the commentary of Hierocles of Alexandria, which is preserved in entirely in Greek. Also Iamblichus commented on a part of the poem in his *Protrepticus*. Besides this, there are also two commentaries preserved only in Arabic, one of which, attributed to Proclus, is probably a real translation of the Greek original.

At the very beginning of the Arabic translation movement the *Golden Verses* (known in Arabic as the *Golden Epistle/s* or the *Golden Exhortation/s of Pythagoras*) were translated by someone from the milieu of Hunayn Ibn Ishaq, or perhaps even by someone who was active earlier than this great translator. The earliest attestation of the translation is Hunayn's *Ādāb al-falāsifa* and most of the later authors probably got it from this source. This translation is rather bad and unfaithful. The translator skipped over some verses which contain more complicated grammatical constructions, difficult vocabulary or specific Greek or Pythagorean philosophical terms. In principle, he seems to have wanted to offer his Arabic readers a fully understandable

text, which would also be interesting for them. It was mainly the ethical content of the poem, its popular ethics, which he wanted to transmit, not the nuances of the Pythagorean philosophical theories.

One sentence (unknown to the Greek tradition) accompanying the *Golden Verses* in most of the Arabic works says that the verses were called golden because Galen, who used to repeat it every day, ordered to write it in gold to demonstrate his respect towards the work. This sentence, repeated by the Arabs, harmonizes very well with the huge popularity the poem gained among them. It occurs in sections concerning Pythagoras in many Arabic histories of philosophy and gnomologies. In some of them there is only this text and nothing else. One can find its fragments also in the *Epistles* of the Iḫwān aṣ-Ṣafā and some other works. The entire text of the poem occurs also in some unedited manuscripts.

The popularity of the *Golden Verses* in Arabic tradition is evident not only in this frequency of Arabic authors' quotations of the text, but also in commentaries on this poem which are preserved in Arabic. Two commentaries are preserved, one attributed to Proclus and the other to Iamblichus. As for the Proclus', it is probably a real translation of a late antique, Neo-Platonist text. However, on the other hand, another text, edited by Hans Daiber, is considered a translation of a work by Iamblichus, and seems not to be a translation of any Greek commentary at all. Most probably it consists of glosses of an Arabic author to the Arabic translation of the *Golden Verses*. Perhaps, a translation, a summary, or a selection from a work of Iamblichus in Arabic once existed (there are some suggestions pointing at a commentary of Iamblichus concerning the *Golden Verses* in some Arabic sources), but it is not this text which is preserved. Furthermore it is also probable that one Arabic author himself wrote a commentary to the *Golden Verses*. In the list of the works of Aḥmad Ibn aṭ-Tayyib as-Saraḫsī, a student of Al-Kindi, given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (in his history of philosophers and physicians) there is a title *Kitāb fī waṣāyā Fīṯāġūras* (*The book of the Exhortation of the Pythagoras*).

To conclude, the Pythagorean *Golden Verses* were very popular in the Medieval Arabic world. This popularity was probably rooted in the gnomological form of its ethical prescriptions, in its imperative and easy, universal content, especially via its changed, popularized Arabic version. As a result, it certainly had a strong impact on the general image of Pythagoras and the Pythagoreanism in the Medieval Arabic world. It is thus worth seeing how exactly it influenced this

image and what its role in the transmission of the Greek Pythagoreanism in the Arabic culture actually was.

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Jakub Sypiański (Paris): The Arabs and the scientific renaissance in Constantinople in the first half of 9th century

The beginning of the ninth century and especially the reign of Theophilus (829-842) witnessed a sudden reappearance of scientific activity in Constantinople, for the first time in two centuries. It is a movement distinct and different from the literary renaissance of the second half of the same century, in which Photius was the leading figure. It coincides chronologically and thematically with the intense cultural activity occurring in Baghdad, known as the Graeco-Arabic translation movement. It is visible mainly in material evidence (we posses a famous and mysterious series of scientific and philosophical manuscripts from this period known as "la collection philosophique") as well as in anecdotal accounts about scientific activity of John the Grammarian and Leo the Mathematician.

The potential connection between this scientific renaissance and the simultaneous adoption of ancient Greek science and philosophy in Baghdad has been a subject of debate for many years, stirred by general cultural prejudices as well as the particular passions of modern scholars.

Although one should be cautious when trying to perform a precise interpretation of the sources that concern this topic (which are scarce and often highly involved in the paradigm of intercultural prejudices, visions of the "Other", and auto-construction of identities), if we reassemble all the indices we see that there appears to have taken place in this period a genuine interaction between Muslims and Byzantines in the field of science.

The above-mentioned appearance of scientific manuscripts in Byzantium provides a first clue. The content of "la collection philosophiqe" (Ptolemee, Euclides, Theo of Alexandria, Aristotle and many other ancient treatises) is almost identical with the intellectual interests of Baghdadi Graeco-Arabic translations and quite different from the intellectual activities in Constantinople in any other period. The Byzantine sources do not give us any hint as to who was responsible for this production of knowledge. What demonstrates the probability of interactions between the two circles are the Arabic sources, which mention several scientific missions sent to the Byzantine capital, precisely with the objective of buying scientific and philosophical manuscripts and bringing them to the caliphate in order to be translated. One such mission was that led by al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ, Ibn al-Baṭrīq and Salman, the supervisor of Bayt al-Ḥikma, under the caliph al-Ma'mun.

Second, we have the testimonies of Byzantine literary sources which provide some anecdotal information about the scientific renaissance in Constantinople. Although it is difficult to interpret these, they seem to indicate some contact with the Arab world, sometimes indirect.

The three main figures of this scientific movement in Byzantium were the emperor Theophilus, the iconoclastic patriarch John the Grammarian – who was reputed to have scientific, even occult interests – and finally, Leo the Mathematician, a figure with a much fuller profile in the sources and commonly acknowledged to be a great scholar in his time. Surprisingly, all three seem to have had some relation with the Arabs.

First, Theophilus himself seem to have been interested in the Arabs more than previous emperors (perhaps with the exception of Leo V). One should be cautious in viewing these claims of arabophilia or fascination with Arabic culture (as often modern historians tend to do), as they may have been religiously-motivated (to prove the validity of the doctrine of iconoclasm). However the picture provided by the sources is quite clear, attributing to him a series of interactions with the Arabs. The construction of an outwardly Arabic-inspired palace in the Bryas quarter of Constantinople, the installation of the spectacular automat – similar to those that could be found in Baghdad, meant to impress the visitors to the imperial palace of Magnaura – along with the splendid embassy that he send to Baghdad, all signaled a wider change in diplomatic treatment of the Arabs, who seem not to have been regarded as barbarians in this period, not as "dwellers of the tents" (as stated in Byzantine sources since around the 4th century), but as a culturally respected nation, worthy of equal treatment and even deserving of intellectual and scientific rivalry.

In this, the Emperor Theophilus may have been influenced by his childhood master and political right-hand, John the Grammarian. Most importantly it was John that he sent on this famous embassy to the caliphate, during which he showed such prowess that Byzantines sources praise him, breaking with their usual custom of demonizing the iconoclastic patriarch. In addition, the accusations of the Byzantine historiography can serve as to brighten up the scientific revival in Constantinople. They brand John as an occultist who – forgetting iconodule prejudices against him for a moment – had a keen interest in astronomy/astrology.

The sources give a much more positive image to Leo the Grammarian, a second famous scholar of the reign of Theophilus and of his son Michial II (842-867). Among his many achievements, they praise him as an intellectual so great that the caliph himself tried to lure him

to come to Baghdad. Importantly, we learn that this invitation prompted Theophilus to finally recognize Leo's talent, to pull him out of obscurity and to install him at the head of the new "university" which he created in Constantinople. This episode is of paramount importance, as the Byzantine sources rarely acknowledges foreign cultural power. It is also the focal point of my reflection in my paper and a key source of evidence for drawing connections between the Arabs and the scientific activity occurring in Constantinople at this time.

It can be argued that the sources which I use are posterior to the events they describe and transpose a state of Arabo-Byzantine relations and Constantinopolitan attitudes towards Muslims from the 10th century back into the ninth. However, the sheer number of these telling episodes, which place a series of scientific activities and contacts with the Arabs to the reign of Theophilus, is significant, and moreover there is some independent information which corroborate the thesis of scientific renaissance occurring in the beginning of the 9th century, as opposed to the end. These come from physical evidence provided by manuscripts of this period, as well as accounts of Arabic sources. The latter inform us, for example, about the Arabic scientific missions to Baghdad, as well as the caliph al-Ma'mun's acquisition of Greek manuscripts from a Byzantine emperor.

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Eliza Karczyńska (Poznań): 'Resigned Reason' − Ancient Heritage and the Formation of Arab Reason. A Critical Survey of al-Jabri Thought

This paper aims to study the influence of the ancient heritage on the formation of „Arab Reason". According to al-Jabri, who invented this term, there were three epistemological systems in the early period of the Arab-Islamic history: system of Explication (*bayan*), system of Gnosticism (*irfan*) and system of Demonstration (*burhan*). System of Gnosticism originated in Eastern and Hermetical thought and was based upon inner revelation and insight as an epistemological method. Al-Jabri argues that this system was contradictory to Arab Rational Reason and was based on three assesments: 1) asserting the possibility of the knowledge of God through contemplating the universe and its system; 2) asserting the oneness of God; 3) asserting belief in prophecy, implying communication with God, and consequently with the (absolute) truth. Al-Jabri distinguished three origins of Resigned Reason: 1) the beliefs of the Magians and Manicheans and their offshoots; 2) the doctrinal schools of the Sabians; 3) the doctrinal schools of the philosophers. In this paper I will try to show these ancient influences on the Arab thought. Moreover, I will also show how the system of Demonstration was used in the service of the system of Gnosticism. That was the case of Ibn Sina and al-Ghazali.

Paolo Lucca (Venice): Free Will and Determinism in Eznik of Kołb

Eznik of Kołb's *Refutation of the Sects* (mid-5th century) includes an attack on Chaldean astrology and astral fatalism (§§ 212-230), part of which, according to C.J.F. Dowsett, could have as its source Gregory of Nyssa's *Contra fatum*. In his defense of free will directed against those who believed that evil had an existence *in se et per se*, the Armenian writer in effect resorts to the Carneadian argument of the *nómima barbariká* (i.e., the «customs of the nations»), an idea also employed by Gregory of Nyssa. Nevertheless, Eznik's treatise, whose most important source against dualism is Methodius of Olympus' *De autexusio*, in this passage shows similarities not only

to Gregory's work, but also to a number of other writings directed against dualistic and deterministic theories such, for example, the Bardesanic *Liber legum regionum*, Alexander of Aphrodisias' *De fato*, and Diodore of Tarsus' *Contra fatum*. Refusing an intellectual and rational soul to the Sun, the Moon, and other heavenly bodies, and denying their influence on human actions, Eznik strongly affirms the superiority of human free will. Fate doesn't exist, and evil is not a creature: every action could be evil or good, depending on intentions, context, and moral behaviors. Through a comparison with John Mandakuni's XXVI homily (an Armenian text dating to the late 5th century which deals with divination), this paper aims to determine if Eznik's treatise, «untypical of early Armenian literature», broached this subject in the belief that astrology and astrologers were still a real danger for Armenian Christianity, even after more than a century from the conversion, or simply as an exercise of philosophical speculation or a mere play of rhetoric. In light of this, the paper will analyze Eznik's vocabulary and argumentations on Chaldean astrology and free will in order to determine their direct and indirect sources, with special regard to the influence of the authors of the school of Edessa over over Eznik. The paper will also pay special attention to possible relations between Eznik's refutation of astrology and the demarcation of the domains of freedom, nature, and fate shown by the *Liber legum regionum*.

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Session IIb: CONTEXTS OF RECEPTION OF PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS: RENAISSANCE & THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

Anna Kowalcze-Pawlak (Cracow): Living the Lives of Witches: Aristotle, Revenge and Female Nature

English Renaissance culture abounds in disputes on women that would take various forms of medical and theological treatises as well as works of literature. The aim of this paper is to trace the influence of Aristotle's thought on the early modern approach to female nature on the one hand, and to revenge on the other, and to see where they intersect. The depature point for this study will be the analysis of Francis Bacon's famous division into "public" and "private" revenge that corresponds to the Aristotelian view of both revenge and emotion which is thought to cause it, i.e. anger. The main idea I would like to put forward is that Bacon's statement *"vindictive*

persons live the life of witches; who as they are mischievous, so end they infortunate" is ingrained in the Aristotelian gender paradigm, in which a woman is deemed a "malformed male" prone to excessive passion and therefore unable to seek out "public" (male) revenge. "Private" venageance motivated by excessive anger and grief is therefore judged to be effeminate and monstrous. This gendering of revenge must be seen as one of the predominant sources of the paradoxical and problematic portrayal of both female and male avengers on the Renaissance stage. They are caught into the trap of uneasy (Aristotelian) regulation of their passions: to stray away from the golden mean of moderate anger and "public" revenge is to become a "malformed man", a monster of the first kind.

Johannes Thon (Halle-Wittenberg): The Transmission of Islamic language conceptions to Christian hebraists by Jewish Hebrew grammarians

The emergence of Hebrew grammar has to be understood in the context of Islamic scientific culture. This culture was based on the reception of classic Graeco-Roman traditions of grammar and language philosophy. These ancient influences played a major role in the dispute on the appropriate reading of the Quran. As it is well known, Jewish grammarians of Hebrew learned from their Muslim-Arab rationalist colleagues and adopted not only parts of their conceptions of languag but also their hermeneutic methods for understanding the holy text. The traditional topos of the Holy Language is elaborated in the famous discussion: If God gave Adam (or taught him) this language, or if only the ability to speak was given by God. References are made to the same story in Quran and Bible, though with two different forms. The purity of this first language is endangered by the decline of it in the mouth of every day speakers.

The process of the canonization of the *Masoretic* text of the Hebrew Bible – which insisted on very small details of the orthography – concluded with the development of a sophisticated system of vocalisation in the 10th century, comparable and probably influenced by the fixation of vocalization in the Quran.

In the time of the Renaissance and the Reformation, Jewish Hebrew Grammarians (like David Qimhi's *Mikhlol*) were the main sources for Christian Hebraism – a connection that became a major liability for their acceptance within their own confessional communities. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to connect the edges of this developement and explore ideas and conceptions of language that passed from Muslim and Hebrew Grammarians into Christian theology.

The status of Hebrew language played a central role in the emerging dogmatic systems of the Christian church. In his *Clavis Scripturae Sacrae*, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, who wrote the work while still professor of Hebrew language at the University in Wittenberg, before he became an important agent of Lutheran orthodoxy, argued for the concept of Hebrew as a Holy language: According to him, Hebrew was the language of God which he gave to Adam to reveal him in this language the Holy Scripture. Although Flacius denied listening to Jewish authorities (while citing explicitly Ibn Ezra's *Sefer Sahot*) he obviously adopted motifs from the prefaces of the Hebrew Grammarians. Flacius is said to be the first who developed the Lutheran orthodox variant of the dogma of verbal inspiration, which insists on the truth and accuracy even of the vocalisation of the Hebrew text.

While Jewish understandings of Torah are dominated by the dynamic dichotomy between oral and written law, Lutheran theologians were forced to derive every linguistic detail of the text verbatim from the divine author. Therefore, the motif of God teaching Adam the language can be seen as a topos in Flacius' work which relies on what was originally a Quranic story, while at the same time, showing structural similarities to the discussions on the divine character of the Quran and its language.

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Ada Łobożewicz (Warsaw): Transmission of Western Hermetic Tradition to Poland in the XVIth and XVIIth century

In my paper I would like to look into the channels and mediums which transmitted the Western Hermetic Tradition to the Old Polish Culture. The Western Hermetic Tradition – a set of philosophical and religious beliefs based on pseudoepigraphical writings attributed to Hermes Trismegistos – was, after centuries of oblivion, reintroduced to the Western culture by Marsilio Ficino and the circle of Florentian Platonic Academy. The Hermetic ideas managed to reach Poland even before the rediscovered texts of *Corpus Hermeticum* were published in print and soon

became widely discussed. They must have found favourable conditions in the intellectual circles of the Old Polish scientifc and clerical elite. However, ideas attributed to Trismegistos were popular not only among the intellectuals. In the 15th and 16th centuries some traces of Hermetic mindset can also be found in mass culture, namely in popular almanachs and agronomic handbooks. Moreover, many woodcut illustrations that can be interpreted as Hermetic and were continuously circulated in print. I would like to investigate the conditions and circumstances of the occurance of Hermeticism in the Old Polish Culture, along with the variations that the Polish interpreters implied upon acquaintance of those ideas. Not only was the Hermetic Tradition largely employed in theological disputes, but also used as justifcation for prophecies and superstitions. I will also briefly mention the ambiguous standpoint of the Roman Catholic Church towards Hermeticism.

Mykhaylo Yakubovych (Ostroh): Reception of ibn Sina in Early Modern Ottoman Philosophy: Case of al-Aqkirmani

There is considerable controversy among scholars regarding the early modern period of Islamic Philosophy. For some, philosophy fell victim to a wider political and social crisis in Muslim lands. These, in turn, led to what may be called "the crisis of intellect." In general, this crisis spread throughout the whole Islamic World. According to others, however, including A. Allawi and R. Bulliet, this crisis is being rooted in some features of Islamic culture. Another kind of approach to this issue was developed by Khaled el-Rouayheb.

There is one Ottoman scholar of the early modern period who is particularly neglected, whose heritage includes not only "transmitted", but "rational" sciences as well. He is Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Aqkirmānī (d. 1760), who was born in Akkerman (now Belhorod-Dnistrovs'kyi, Ukraine) and lived in Kafa (now Feodosia, Ukraine) before moving to Istanbul, Izmir, Cairo, and, finally, Mecca. Among the unedited corpus of al-Aqkirmānī's works dedicated to philosophical theology, one is extremely interesting due to its association with the influence of Ibn Sīnā and his followers. The work is entitled '*Iqd al-Lālī fī bayān 'ilmihi ta'ālā bi-ghayr al-mutanāhī* ("The pearl necklace in explaining that knowledge of the Highest who is not limited") and studied by al-Aqkirmānī's twentieth-century biographer Ismail Pasha. This work is preserved in at least in three copies in the Süleymaniye Library (Süleymaniye Library, 297412), King Saud University Library (KSUL, '*Iqd al-Lālī fī 'ilmahu ta'ālā bi-ghayr al-mutanāhī*, 2301, ff. 1-20.), and al-Qasimiyah Library (Al-Qasimiyyah Library, '*Iqd al-Lālī fī bayān 'ilmahu ta'ālā bi-ghayr al-mutanāhī*, 437). Using the well-preserved copy of '*Iqd al-Lālī* from Riyadh as primary source, my study will the influence of ibn Sīnā and his commentators on al-Aqkirmānī through the '*Iqd al-Lālī.* Our aim is to show how al-

Aqkirmānī tried to reinterpret not only "branches" of transmitted and rational sciences (as did many of his contemporaries), but also some more fundamental questions, related to various aspects of Ibn Sīnā's philosophy. This will show his important role in the transmission of knowledge from the Persian traditions of *kalām* (Ibn Sina, al-Razi, al-Tusi) and through the Turkish lands to the Crimean Khanate.

Al-Aqkirmānī interest in Ibn Sīnā is obvious. Firstly, all the mentioned scholars (particularly al-Ṭūsī, al-Kātibī and al-Ījī) were influenced by Ibn Sīnā's onthology and some other fields of his philosophy. Using this heritage, al-Aqkirmānī took the *Ishārāt* of Ibn Sīnā as a starting point for his discussion, seeing all later authors in the context of Ibn Sīnā's philosophy. Secondly, he prefers those ideas, which are explained in the works of Ibn Sīnā (divine knowledge as *ijmālī*, its relation to time etc.). Only these teachings, along with his belief in the eternity of the soul, play a role in the basic presuppositions of the *'Iqd*. Thirdly, Ibn Sīnā along with his commentators was regarded as a unified and generally non-contradictory school, which could explain the principles of belief correctly. It can be said that Al-Aqkirmānī viewed ibn Sīnā as a writer who summarized the Islamic intellectual tradition as a whole. These meaningful influences of this great philosopher can be observed in other extant works of al-Aqkrmānī as well.

The outstanding achievements and personality of al-Aqkirmānī require further study. Even though it is unique in the early Ottoman period, the *'Iqd,* written under the influence of Ibn Sīnā and his followers, demonstrates the popularity of the rational method at its time. This challenges the traditional stereotype of the early Ottoman period as a "Dark Age" of philosophical theology in Islamic culture, an idea that remains popular in some academic circles.

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Session III: PHILOSOPHICAL DIALOGUE BETWEEN MEMBERS OF DIFFERENT CULTURES

Tobias Winnerling (Düsseldorf): Stuck between the logics. Jesuits' and Buddhists' East Asian debates in the 16th century

As the Jesuits began to expand their mission fields to East Asia from the 1550s onwards, they often and quite deliberately found themselves engaged in theological disputes with local Buddhists, foremost in Japan, and later in China, too. In these debates they relied – in the footsteps of St. Thomas Aquinas and others – on the conformity of Christianity with every man's natural understanding, regarding it as a religion of reason.

Like Aquinas in *De ente et essentia* they defined man as an *animal rationale*; this directly led them to emphasize logic, as logical thinking was the direct expression of the rational soul that constituted man's essential distinctive trait. The individual mind was taken as an instantiation of the god-given universal rationality of man and thus both defined and limited in the nature of its operations. As Benito Pereira SJ (1535–1610) explained in 1562: „Man is really rational, thus the rational soul is his essential formative principle", and following Aristoteles' *De generatione Animalium* and Aquinas theories,' he then demonstrated the inseparability of mind and corporeal man: would man not be master of his mind, he could not be held responsible for his actions good or bad, and so could not sin. Such thinking lead to the implicit postulate that all man reasoned – and could be jugded – following the same principles. The Christian truth was true because the mind was constructed with it as its model. Henrique Henriquez SJ wrote in 1600 that knowledge of God followed from necessary mental operations, stemming from the form of reason itself. Yet the propositions held by the Jesuit's dialogue partners in East Asia were, not very surprisingly, very difficult. In a Buddhist perspective, *Citta* – meaning consciousness – is defined as a series of discontinuing moments that follow each other but can not be used to construe a continuous entity such as a subject; this is but a common deception of the mind itself. Moreover, as material processes, mental processes are essentially unreal, without a corresponding necessarily existing entity underlying them. The proposition of a thinking subject using a distinct faculty of rationality and the dialectial logic stemming from this proposition are thus nothing but a game of the self-deluded mind. The Zen-Master Dōgen (1200 – 1253) formulated that on return from China in 1227: "The transcending of „common" and „holy" that is known of old uses the power of silence (*Zazen*) (...). The *Kōan* of the raised finger, of stepping beyond the tip of the pole, of the needle and the hammer, as the tools of enlightenment such as fan, fist, stick and being shouted at, – those are not comprehended by the distinctive mind." The „distinctive mind", two-valued logic, is

here characterised as a deficient thought pattern, unable to attain enlightenment. This was not confined to Zen Buddhism alone. Shingon Buddhists argued in the same vein: „Then, the Shingon school divided Buddhism at large into the two teachings of the exoteric teaching (*kenkyō* 顕教, aiming at enlightenment by means of words and logic) and the esoteric teaching (*mikkyō* 密教 , which preaches enlightenment not through words and logic, but by mystic experiences), and only acknowledged the latter as true."

Thus the Jesuits experienced great frustration when their Buddhist opponents would concede the validity of any of their arguments in discussion but refuse to draw (from a Jesuit perspective) what seemed like the necessary conclusion: the need for conversion to Christianity. The Jesuits could find no solution to this problem other than to lay the blame on the devil whom they said invalidated their dialogue partner's facilities of reason and understanding. The Buddhists in return could only explain the Jesuit's stubbornness to themselves with a defective use of reasoning, with not having attained the level of enlightenment were dualistic logic is transcended. This is not entirely new; Paul Rule wrote in 1972: "When Ricci debated with the monk San-hui in Nanking in 1599, there was a head-on collision between the monk's idealist epistemology and Ricci's Aristotelian realism, between Buddhist monism and Christian theism. Their philosophical presuppositions were so far apart that there was no possibility of fruitful debate." Yet the topic has not been extensively covered because those who wrote about it mainly took the Jesuit side in conforming and re-validating their forms of logical reasoning as modern, good and true and discarding those of their opponents.

I want to try to come to an understanding what were the basic logical incompatibilities that made understanding difficult (as sketched above), and why they were never questioned. From this point, I want to ask the larger question of the relativity of structures of logical thinking as such, and if and how this problem can be addressed in historical enquiries.

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Michał Choptiany (Cracow): Ioannes Broscius and calendars. Chronology in the service of irenicism and proselytism

The intellectual achievements of Ioannes Broscius (Jan Brożek, 1585–1652) are fairly well-studied: his research in the field of geometry and algebra has been explored in several studies, along with his involvement in anti-Jesuit polemics, his role as the first biographer of Copernicus, his research into the history of science and culture, and his reading strategies and scholarly and scientific workshop. Despite this rich bibliography, a few areas of his public and academic activity have been overlooked or disregarded by historians. One such areas is Broscius's interest in chronology and synchronization of the Catholic and Orthodox Christian calendars, as well as his involvement in the Roman Catholic political plans related to the Uniate Church.

The 1640 brochure entitled *The Old Calendar* (*Kalendarz stary*) written by Kasjan Sakowicz (ca. 1578–1647), a Uniate priest and theologian, opened a new front in the theological and political dispute between the members of the Catholic and Orthodox churches, earning its author widespread condemnation from Uniate hierarchs. Sakowicz's agenda was to bring the Uniates back to the Roman church and one means of achieving this goal was to convince them to reform their calendar – namely to accept the Gregorian calendar as the only method of counting time. Sakowicz found a supporter in Broscius, who has been commissioned by the Catholic hierarchs to prepare a brochure on the Gregorian calendar. *The First Apology of the Roman Catholic Calendar* (*Apologia pierwsza kalendarza rzymskiego powszechnego*) was published by Broscius in 1641 and constituted a brief yet multi-faceted and well-written voice in this debate. Broscius, as a great, however eccentric erudite, theologian, mathematician, and astronomer used all his knowledge to support Sakowicz's argument. In both, *The First Apology* and its sequel, *The Second Apology* (*Apologia wtóra*, 1641), the Kraków scholar developed a highly rhetorical line of argument which built upon astronomical and mathematical proofs, common sense knowledge, as well as scriptural and theological argumentation.

Thanks to these brief texts, the Passover was situated once again in the midst of religious, academic, and political controversy – a controversy which had stoked the interest and enthusiasm of such intellectual giants as Joseph Julius Scaliger, Gilbert Génébrard, Johan Heinrich Alsted, and Athanasius Kircher. Although he did not play in the same intellectual league as these men, Broscius took advantage of these discussions while preparing his statement regarding the Uniates.

This paper is aimed at outlining the main strands of the discussion and types of arguments used by both Broscius and Sakowicz. It will be also attempt to reconstruct the debate between traditions of Western and Eastern Christianity, the political and religious aspects of this clash, and the tension between irenicism and proselytism epitomized by the calendar and two chronological traditions.

I. Broscius (1641), *Apologia pierwsza Kalendarza Rzymskiego powszechnego* [...] *do zacnego narodu ruskiego na pokazanie słuszności wywodów o Kalendarza Starego błędach podanych od Wielebnego Ojca Kassiana Sakowica* (Krakow).

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Anna Kołos (Poznań): Skepticism as the intellectual attitude towards faith and reason in 17th century Poland. A comparative study of literature in reference to Western philosophy

It is widely agreed in contemporary research that the skeptical tradition in philosophy and intellectual history, which dates back to Greek antiquity, has had an essential impact on early-

modern European culture. From the 1960's on, owing to research by Richard Popkin and Charles Schmitt among others, that the rediscovery of pyrrhonism in Renaissance has strongly influenced Christian thought in western Europe. Meanwhile, in the eastern parts of the continent, there was not the same intense interest in European skepticism. There is no research on this question, nor any awareness of the indispensability of the matter to European culture, as no important works on the topic are present in the humanities. Light has been shed solely on the historical tradition of Greek skepticism from Pyrrho to Sextus Empiricus, but hardly anything about the role it played in Christianity or how it provoked transformations of contemporary ideas.

In rough outline, I would argue that the rediscovery of Sextus Empiricus's work in early Renaissance provoked a wider clash between reason and faith, reflected in the idea of disunity between Athens and Jerusalem, a notion shared by European thinkers from Tertulian to Lev Shestov. On the one hand, skepticism as an attitude of doubting appeared as an emergent and powerful threat to Christianity, but on the other hand, it could have turned out to be a terrific intellectual tool, subservient to devaluation of rationality deprived of religious foundation. Numbers of Christian thinkers, beginning with Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, successfully appreciated the latter possibility given by the raise of skeptical concern in Europe and evoked a cultural phenomenon known as *fideism*.

Hence it needs to be stressed that both in terms of common intellectual history and in inter-cultural reception, the force of skepticism in early modern history is still a blank spot on the map of Polish academic life's research issues.

My contribution to this field will be a novel attempt to investigate skeptical ideas in 17th century Polish literature in reference to the Western philosophy. Among the key European thinkers of the 16th and 17th century belong Juan Luis Vives, Michel de Montaigne, Francisco Sanches, Francis Bacon, Pierre Charron, Pierre Bayle, Rene Descartes and Blaise Pascal. The transmission of ideas between the West and the East not necessarily had to be confined to the exact relations of sending and receiving certain concepts, but it also occurred at the same time owing to the general, supranational configuration of values and images in culture. Assuming that no firm isolation in interrelations between intellectual positions concerning skepticism may have been given in the mentioned period, it is needed to take a closer look at the works by Polish men of letters.

Due to obvious time restrictions of the papers I would like to focus on two writers belonging to different streams of the skeptical tradition. The first is Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski, who was close to Michel de Montaigne and French *libertins érudits*. The latter is Stanisław Witwicki, a Catholic bishop, whose treatise on happiness and vanity reflects the crucial clash between faith and reason in early modern Europe.

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Session IV: TRANSMISSION OF LEGAL IDEAS

Adam Izdebski (Warsaw): Transmission versus adaptation in the Byzantine *Farmer's Law* (*Nomos Georgikos*)

The Byzantine *Farmer's Law* is a very strange legal text. Its structure is very simple – it contains over a hundred of short regulations regarding village life, especially property matters. A large majority of them is very general, i.e. it can apply to any cultural or economic context of an ancient or medieval village; moreover, almost all of these regulations have clear roots in late antique legislation (first of all, the Justinianic codification). Although there exists one (questionable) reference to the "Farmer's Law" in a 9th c. Byzantine source (a letter of the bishop Ignatios the Deacon), the first manuscripts containing the text of the *Farmer's Law* come from the late 10th and 11th c., from two different places: southern Italy and Constantinople. Surprisingly, the versions of the text they give are substantially different as well. The textual versions given by both these manuscripts are followed by many others, however, in total there seems to have been at least a few separate manuscript traditions of this text, not to mention its Slavonic versions. One

may observe a relatively large number of interpolations (such as the title of the text, entire regulations or headings inserted within the text) and modifications of particular regulations.

A good example of such changes is cap. 18 of the *Nomos,* which allows other farmers to harvest or cultivate a field if its owner had left a village permanently. However, in three manuscripts belonging to the southern Italian group (Gr. I, manuscripts BDF according to Medvedev's edition) this regulation refers to vineyards (ἀμπελῶνα), whereas in all other versions of the text – to a field (ἀγρὸν). Importantly, these are two of the three oldest southern Italian manuscripts (B, "written in "the end of the 10th-beginning of the 11th c." and D, copied at the end of the 11th c.), plus one twelfth-century manuscript. The other eight southern-Italian manuscripts contain the dominant version (ἀγρὸν), although later in the same regulation five of them give τὸν οἶνον (wine) instead of τὸ οἶον οὖν ("whatever it would be"). Interestingly, although the oldest layers in southern Italian tradition seem to be consequent in its efforts to focus cap. 18 on wine and vineyards rather than generally on agricultural fields, they are not so consequent in other regulations which could also be reworked in this way. It seems that the change from a field to vineyards was important only in the context of cap. 18, allowing – under certain conditions – farmers living in a village to take over abandoned agricultural land. Given the fact that this group of manuscripts can be considered to be one of the oldest manuscript traditions, it is indeed difficult to explain this textual difference. Why some copyists (or an earlier "local" editor who produced the text copied by the three manuscripts) deemed it more useful to mention vineyards rather than fields as an agricultural property which might be abandoned and then could be harvested by other farmers? Perhaps, this alteration was made in the areas where the vineyards were much more important to rural populations than any fields and making this regulation directly applicable to vine plantations made more sense in settling local disputes. The importance of the vineyards might have resulted either from their greater number – then there were simply more problems which had to be settled; or from their value which in a particular area could be much higher than the value of the cultivable fields. Interestingly, the late 10th and 11th c. was the period of the expansion of the vine cultivation in southern Italy. New arrangement of the legal relations between the landlords or the patrons and the peasants encouraged the plantation of the vines which yielded highly attractive cash crops. The expansion of the vineyards in the southern Italian landscape is also visible in the way the field measurements were made at this time.

Another example of such meaningful differences can be found in cap. 81, quite often used as the key evidence of the existence of autonomous rural communities recognised by law in early

medieval Byzantium. According to this regulation, if a "common place" (τόπον κοινὸν) had been used by one of the villagers to build a mill, others could reclaim this place and share the profits. The problem is that it is not clear who was meant to be capable of reclaiming this place – the manuscripts disagree in this respect. There are at least three extant versions of the key phrase, of which two are particularly interesting:

(1) οἱ τοῦ χωρίου κοινῇ καταβοῶσι τὸν τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου κύριον (ACΔt) "**villagers** cry out **jointly** against the owner of the workshop"

(3) ἡ τοῦ χωρίου κοινότης καταβοῶσι τὸν τοῦ ἐργαστηερίου κύριον (DEHIJKMPUZΓ ghijtmr) "**the community of the village** cries out jointly against the owner of the workshop"

Whereas the second version seems to be the less important one, the manuscript traditions of the first and the third versions require closer analysis. The manuscripts containing the third version are not homogeneous: EJKPUZ belong to the southern Italian tradition, I is a late represant of the Constantinople group, while the rest of the codices could not be classified into any of Medvedev's 9 groups. On the contrary, all of the manuscripts which contain the first version belong the Constantinople group (and only one manuscript from this group gives a different reading). A (ГИМ, Греч. 318) could be dated to the late 11th c. C (Barberinus gr. 578, 11th c.) was written in a sumptuous way ("Perlschrift") and until the 16th c. it was kept in the library of St Catherine's Monastery at Mt Sinai. Like A, it does not include any imperial legislation (except for a short excerpt from the *Basilika*, promulgated by Leo VI) and most of its content is actually identical with A. For this reason, Medvedev hypothesised that both manuscripts derive from a lost 9th c. manuscript containing non-imperial legal texts: first of all, the Church canons, but also the *Farmer's Law*. It is highly probable that all these manuscripts represent a textual tradition which was present in some church offices of the capital in the 9th-11th c.. Therefore, it seems rather likely that one of the early medieval version of the *Farmer's Law* used in the regions closely connected with Constantinople (Bithynia? Paphlagonia?) did not mention a rural community, but simply villagers acting together (as the first version should be translated "villagers cry out jointly against the owner of the workshop", cf. Medvedev's "селяне станут сообща обвинять хозяина мельницы"). Obviously, it would be interesting to speculate on the reason of the presence of κοινότης in the manuscripts of the third version. However, as this group of manuscripts is far from being coherent, there are at least two possible explanations. The first explanation was proposed by Medvedev in the critical apparatus: this version was simply easier ("facilior sane, sed

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eo ipso suspecta lectio? Solvere non possum, in textum tamen recipere dubitavi"). The second one, valid at least as regards some of the third version manuscripts (the "isolated" ones rather than those of the southern Italian tradition), would point out at the presence of this term in the legislation of the Macedonian emperors (10th-11th c.) where it is often used for referring to a village. Perhaps it was used much more frequently in the 11th-12th c., for which the collective tax responsibility of a village is firmly attested. Obviously, this version of the text might have been already in use in the early medieval period, or the introduction of the village community into the Farmer's Law is related to the development of the legal notion of a rural community in Western Europe – including Italy – in the 10th-11th c.

Thus, there exists no obvious *Urtext*, the *Farmer's Law* seems to have been a 'living' text (in a way similar to many middle Byzantine apocrypha) which – despite its very general character making it attractive for different socio-economic backgrounds – actually adapted itself to local conditions in the process of transmission. As the examples analysed above demonstrate, thanks to the excellent Russian critical edition of 1984 it is possible to trace these various ways of transmission and adaptation, linking textual versions with local conditions of a particular region at a given century. The aim of this paper is to analyse the complex textual history of the Farmer's Law and its various contexts, thus studying the process of transmission of a legal text of a very practical nature.

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Natalia Ivanusa (Giessen): An Example of Legal Transmission: Magdeburg Law in the Cities in Lesser Poland

This paper addresses the issue of the Magdeburg Law. Called later municipal law, the Magdeburg Law originated from the Holy German Empire and was spread far beyond the German borders. The Magdeburg Law was an outcome of a combination of economical, political and geographical conditions. Its origins took place at the time when the social and economical development of cities needed a special form of law in order to deal with new life circumstances. A vast number of cities were founded following the example of the city of Magdeburg. By implementing the Magdeburg Law in those cities local rulers granted their townspeople a privileged right of self-government. Having started as a short charter about concession of the trade rights for Magdeburg, the Magdeburg Law was developed into a complex system of legal codes and their interpretations across Europe. Thus, the Magdeburg Law spread across Germany, Bohemia, Poland and the territories of the Teutonic order till the Baltic region, Belarus, reached central Ukraine and, presumably, Moldavia. The Magdeburg Law and its variations existed during seven centuries from, at least, the 12th century until the first half of the 19th century. Its significance lies in the transfer of legal categories from Western Europe to Eastern. Furthermore, the bringing of the Magdeburg Law into accord with the local legal norms gave rise to new unique forms of law in the cities (e.g. Polish city law, *ius municipale Polonicum*). Moreover, close connections between the cities which shared the Magdeburg Law established the permanent exchange of ideas, the transmission of cultural values, ways of thinking, knowledge and attitudes. On the basis of a selection of normative sources as well as documents of judicial decisions and practices, questions to be addressed include: How can the opposition between the Magdeburg Law in Polish cities and the original Polish law be addressed? What influence did the legal transmission have on the cultural exchange?

Maria Joanna Filipiak (Göttingen): Romanization of legal practice in Polish cities of the 16th century on the example of Bartlomiej Groicki

In this presentation I would like to show how the pan-European phenomenon of the reception of Roman law took place in Polish cities founded on the principles of German law. I would like to emphasize that the reception of Roman law should be considered in two ways – first, the practical, whereby Roman legal rules were adopted by new users on their own, and second, the theoretical, as reflecting interest in the intellectual background of legal rules. Both aspects can be observed in the legal practice of Polish cities.

Roman law came to Polish cities founded on German law by means of glosses and modernizations of primary legal sources, as well as through the exchange of experiences with the German so-called *mother cities*. It played a subsidiary role – it was to be used when there was no solution to a given case in German law. Its usage presented large difficulties to its users: Tthe court clerks were mostly not scholars and they were unable to understand or use Roman law, which was written in Latin. What is more, the lack of orientation in *regula iuris* often caused problems in using the correct regulation.

The solution to this problem and making the city law understandable for all its users were the main aim of Bartlomiej Groicki. This jurist of Cracow wrote six works, which he intended to be kinds of manuals for the users of law. He translated legal rules most commonly used in the legal practice of cities and complemented them with his own commentaries, explanations and comparisons to other legal systems. Although his work is mostly concentrated on German law, he also dedicated a lot of attention to the Roman legal legacy.

In his first two works, the Roman law appears primarily as glosses, learned commentaries to legal rules. Groicki treats them equally with the rules themselves, so they often play the role of background of legal solutions.

The most significant is his usage of Roman law in the last part of his second work, *Porzadek sadow I spraw miejskich w Koronie Polskiej [The order of city courts and their cases in the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland]* and in the third one, *Postepek sadow okolo karania na gardle [The court procedure in capital punishment].* In the first one Groicki recalls the work of the Dutch jurist Joos de Damhouder *Praxis rerum criminalium*, whereas the second one is a revised, condensed translation of the penal constitution of the German emperor Carl the 5th, commonly known as *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina,* adapted to the requirements of Polish cities. Both

sources are considered signs of practical reception of Roman law in Western Europe and, as they were adopted only a few years after their appearance, they prove Groicki's interest in "news" from the European legal market.

Lastly, Groicki wrote *Tytuly prawa magdeburskiego [The titles of Magdeburg Law]* – a work, in which he complements and explains some legal institutions, which appeared in his previous books. In this work he recalls not only the books of other European learned jurists, but its content proves his independent analysis and interpretation of *Corpus Iuris Civilis* itself, which he used for his explanations.

Groicki's activity both as a scholar and active court clerk proves that Roman law frequently appeared in the legal practice of Polish cities founded on German law. This is further proved by the importance of Groicki's publications in everyday practice of the courts, where they were used as manuals.

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Session V: THE ROLE OF INTERCULTURAL TRANSMISSION IN THE FORMATION OF CULTURAL/RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

Filip Doroszewski (Warsaw): Christianizing Dionysus: some remarks on the cultural unity of Late Antique Egypt

Late Antiquity has often been seen as a battleground of clearly defined religious groups, such as pagans, Jews and Christians. From this perspective, late-antique culture appears as a number of parallel and yet largely separate traditions sharing only certain common elements. This paper seeks to address the issue from an opposite perspective. By examining the occurrence of Dionysiac imagery in Late Antique Egypt, it strives to demonstrate that in the culture of the time, unity took precedence over diversity.

From the beginning of Ptolemaic rule up to Late Antiquity the figure of Dionysus was omnipresent in Egyptian culture. As far as literature is concerned, one of the most striking examples of this ubiquity is the poetry of Nonnus of Panopolis, an epic poet of the 5th century AD. His seemingly contradictory works, *Dionysiaca*, a vast mythological epic depicting the adventures of god Dionysus, and *Paraphrase of St. John's Gospel*, a hexameter poem glorifying the deeds of Jesus, share Dionysiac terminology and imagery and make the figures of Dionysus and Christ resemble each other. This gave rise to a long debate on the religious identity of the poet and on the source of his inspiration. These issues, however, have been approached mostly in terms of the pagan/Christian dichotomy which fails to do justice to the complexity of late-antique culture.

The aim of the present paper is to show that Nonnus' use of Dionysiac imagery is neither an expression of the poet's devotion to the cult of Dionysus nor his mere adherence to the long tradition of classical (i.e. mythological) poetry. Rather, it should be associated with the community of language and ideas shared by the poet and his contemporaries. Jesus and Dionysus, both closely connected to the symbolism of the vine and wine, as well as to death and regeneration, are both born of divine father and a mortal mother, and both assumed into heaven. As a result, they were

naturally coupled in the late-antique imagination and either name could, at least metaphorically, evoke the other upon its appearance. This phenomenon, however, cannot be fully understood without further contextualization. That is why the paper examines the written sources as well as the archeological evidence from late-antique Egypt in order to show the extent to which Dionysiac imagery was pervasive in everyday life in this period.

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Marijana Vuković (Budapest): Uncovering the Original Language of Early Christian Martyrdoms among Inter-culturally Transmitted Textual Versions

The premise of Elizabeth Castelli that "the memory work done by early Christians on the historical experience of persecution and martyrdom was a form of culture making" is a fantastic introduction to the subject of this paper. The representations of martyrdom (including the martyrdom narratives) participated in the culture-making process. Martyrdom narratives as artifacts of memory work came to represent early Christian culture in the making. Their vast inter-cultural transmission in the early Christianity and the Middle Ages left its mark on versions of texts in various languages, used among different Christian communities throughout the ancient world. The narratives granted coherence of Christian communities, dependant on the memory of the early Christians, written down in texts.

Martyrdom narratives appear already in the 2nd century CE. Many examples among them demonstrate versions of the same text in both Greek and Latin, but also in many Oriental Christian languages. Depending on the date of the translations, the versions of the texts in different languages reveal the different phases of textual *metaphrasis*. I argue in this paper that the original language of an early Christian text is possible to uncover (where it is otherwise unknown) through

the comparative analysis of preserved textual variants in different languages. Comparison of the narrative structures of the textual versions in different languages reveals later augmentations of the texts and developments of new topical sections, the additions which were otherwise not unusual in hagiography.

The paper will consider one of the early Christian martyrdom narratives, the *Martyrdom of Irenaeus of Sirmium*. This narrative is dedicated to the early Christian martyr, Irenaeus, who died in the persecutions of the emperor Diocletian in 304 CE. The narrative is preserved in five languages, Latin, Greek, Old Church Slavonic, Armenian and Georgian. The texts in the first three languages will be analyzed in this paper.

The question of the original language of this text remains unresolved. Several scholars have argued that the Latin version was the original. However, Simonetti (1955) suggested that the original language of the text was Greek, although it must have been lost. Other scholars mostly refuted his ideas. However, the previous scholarly work on this question engaged only Greek and Latin texts, while the existence of the Old Church Slavonic, Armenian and Georgian translations remained unstudied.

A study of this kind has also been thwarted by the differing availability of the information on the existence of hagiographical texts. The hagiographies in Greek and Latin are available in the *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina* and the *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca*. The Armenian texts are recorded in the *Bibliotheca hagiographica Orientalis*, while this reference work completely omits the Georgian hagiographical texts and translations. Finally, the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balkano-Slavica* was published in Sofia only in 2008, when the Slavonic hagiographical corpus became known to the wider audience.

This paper will argue against Latin as the original language of the text. It will argue for the Greek version as a medium through which other Christian communities took over the text. Additionally, the paper will display the crucial role of the Old Church Slavonic text in determining the original version and the original language of the *Martyrdom*.

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Olga Grinchenko (Oxford): Calendrical features of the Byzantine Pasltika and Asmatika and their transmission into Slavonic liturgical books

Liturgical books have always been a very important source not merely for examining the history of the church services and the linguistic features of a particular period, but also for investigating the links between different Christian countries and their cultures. Those books intended for chanting at the service are most interesting with regard to the representation of liturgical texts, types of notation and remarks on the order of office, all collected in one source.

A substantial number of Slavonic liturgical manuscripts have come down to us. Among them there are six *Slavonic Kontakaria* dated from the late eleventh to thirteenth centuries. The Medieval Kontakarion is a liturgical book representing a particular genre of hymnographic texts – *kontakia*. However, it seems that the Kontakarion was the book of a choir leader at a large cathedral. These books were used in Rus' up to the time of the Tatar invasion, and vanished afterwards. Each contains a compendium of highly melismatic chants for the different services – the kontakia for the fixed liturgical year, *Triodion*, *Pentecostarion*, *Oktoechos* and some miscellaneous ordinary chants. The hymns are notated with a special type of medieval musical signs – neumes – which still remain undeciphered.

Because of the complex structure and uncertain origins of the Slavonic Kontakaria, these manuscripts are extremely interesting sources for the history of liturgical and musical traditions, public worship and culture of Rus'.

Although the Kontakaria do not fully conform to any extant Byzantine source in terms of their content and musical notation, a certain connection with the Greek original is undoubted. It is logical to assume that some Early Byzantine source served as an archetype for the creation of the Kontakarian neumatic and liturgical traditions. Unfortunately, this source has not been preserved or has not yet been found. However there are two Byzantine liturgical books – *Asmatika* and *Psaltika* dated from the 10th–14th century – which are to be considered the closest Byzantine analogue and possible prototype of the Slavonic Kontakaria. For example, both Byzantine and

Slavonic sources maintain the same neumatic system, and the Russian melody belongs to the same mode as the melody of the same text in the Byzantine source (this is a general rule). The Byzantine Psaltika and Asmatika were also used at elaborate cathedral services and reflected liturgical practices of the Typikon of the Great Church.

In my paper I will focus on the calendrical features, feasts and commemoration of saints contained in the Slavonic Kontakaria and in two complimentary Byzantine liturgical books, the Psaltikon and the Asmatikon. Each manuscript contains a unique set of hymns arranged in the order of the liturgical year. At the first glance, the contents of the extant Slavonic manuscripts show their direct succession to the Byzantine sources. However, a closer look reveals a great deal of various peculiarities and discrepancies not only between the two different traditions but also between the manuscripts of the same liturgical practice.

A comparative analysis of the contents of both Byzantine and Slavonic sources will allow us to shed some light on the means of transmission of the Byzantine liturgical practice to Rus' and extend our knowledge on the formation of the Slavonic liturgical tradition.

Session VI: INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE'S ROLE IN THE FORMATION OF CULTURAL AND POLITICAL IDENTITY

Paweł Figurski (Warsaw): *Epistola dedicatoria Mathildis Suevae* (sent ca. 1025) – intercultural transmission of idea of christianization between Piasts and nobles of the German Reich

Codex Mathildis, a gift of the princess Mathilda of Lothringen for Mieszko II, king of Poland, provides among the most important evidence of intercultural transmission of religious and political traditions between the German *Reich* and the Piast's kingdom, which at that time, had already entered the European stage.

The manuscript consist of:

- a liturgical sequence (*Ad celebres rex caelice*) devoted to archangel Michael;
- Mathilda's letter to Mieszko, a document resembles a *speculum regis*;
- a dedicatory miniature depicting Mathilda transferring the codex to king Mieszko;
- a liturgical treatise falsely attributed to Alcuin (*Liber officiorum*), which describes how Roman liturgy should be celebrated during the year.

In my contribution, I will try to analyze the passage from the letter of Mathilda to Mieszko II, in which she writes that Bolesław the Brave, father of the addresser, "forced ferocious and barbaric peoples to participate in the Holy Mass" (*Nam quos sancti praedicatores corrigere non poterant uerbo ille insecutus est ferro, compellens ad caenam dominicam barbaras ac ferocissimas nationes*). This sentence reflects the rhetorical phrase of *compelle intrare* which recalls the Augustinian theory of religious coercion. This rhetoric, however, influenced the religious and political culture about year 1000. Brun of Querfurt, who was murdered in 1009 during a mission to pagan Prussia, wrote just before his death a letter to German king Henry II. This letter was sent from Poland. In this epistle, Brun attempted to convince the German ruler to force the pagan Slavic tribes to convert to the Christian faith (*hos tales propter christianismum glorioso certamine debellare, quod est iubente evangelio compelle intrare*). Brun, however, did not use the phrase (*compellens ad caenam dominicam*) in his letter, which is highly atypical, since Mathilda stressed the sacrament of the Eucharist as the main criterion for Christianization.

My aim is to explain why Mathilda associated two sacraments – baptism and Eucharist – when she spoke about mission to the pagans. This association, although obvious in theology, was not very common in literature about missions written in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Participation in the sacrament of the Eucharist was reserved for already Christianized peoples, but not offered for pagans. The possible answer to this question comes from the liturgical celebration of baptism which usually took place on Paschal Vigil or during Pentecost. After baptism, catechumens participated in the Eucharist and received Holy Communion. The connection between liturgy of baptism and orations for ruler, pronounced during the Paschal Vigil, reflect the possible inspiration of Mathilda, when she wrote the sentence *Nam quos sancti praedicatores corrigere non poterant uerbo ille insecutus est ferro, compellens ad caenam dominicam barbaras ac ferocissimas nations*.

Vitaliy Shchepanskiy (Ostroh): Intercultural religious relations of Ukraine and Scandinavia in the 10th–12th century

In the 9th–11th centuries Ukraine, while being a part of Kievan Rus, acquired a specific religious status. It became a Christian country but at the same time Ukraine kept autochthonal pagan culture. The most active propagators of Christianity in Ukraine were the nobles and merchants. This was due to the fact that they were the only ones who had the means of transportation to reach countries where Christian religion and culture were dominant, including Byzantium or European Christian states. In the 9th–11th centuries the main elite in Kiev,

Cherhnihov, Shestovets and Koresten were Scandinavians. The roots of the princely family of Kievan Rus began with Scandinavian and Swedish yarl Rurik, who became the prince of Novgorod. Not surprisingly, the early Christians were Scandinavians, the troops of Rurik, which settled on the territory of Ukraine and namely in Kiiv. Askold and Dir, warriors from Rurik troops, captured Kiev and went to Byzantium, where they were baptized. When they returned to Kiev they tried to introduce Christian religion in Ukraine but were killed. In the same way Princess Olga, who also had Scandinavian roots, was baptized at Byzantium. The Orthodox Church believes that Ukrainian Prince Vladimir Svyatoslavich (978–1015) who baptized Kievan Rus had a great influence on Thorvald Traveler, as well as on the King Olav Tryuhhvason. Allegedly, Thorvald became Orthodox because of Prince Vladimir.

The modern version of "The Life of Saint Prince Vladimir" says: "Under the influence of the Holy Prince (Vladimir) were also baptized some famous foreigners such as Norwegian konung (King) Olav Tryuhhvason († 1000), who lived several years in Kiev, the famous Thorvald Traveler, the founder of the monastery of St. John the Baptist on the Dnieper, and others." Also an interesting example of inter-religious dialogue between Ukraine and Scandinavia was an event described in the "Tale of Bygone Years", namely the murder of Feodor Theodore and his son John in the 10th century. After a successful campaign of Baltic tribes against Prince Vladimir the army decided to bring a human sacrifice in honor of the victory. The choice fell on Christian-Scandinavians, who at that time was living in Kiev. Although this story is almost mythical. there are two sources in Old Icelandic about the trip of Thorvald Traveler: *Þorvalds þáttr víðforla* (*"Strand of Thorvald Wanderer"*) and *Kristni saga* (*"The Saga about Baptism"*). The information about the murder of Feodor Theodore and his son John can only be found in the sources of the 15th century that are considered the census earlier chronicles. Martyrdom of Scandinavians and Thorvald Traveler's missionary activity had only a slight political and religious influence. Nevertheless, it was a catalyst for the conversion to Christianity of many Ukrainians. Accordingly, first unofficial, at the time, Christian martyrs, who received death by religious motives in Ukraine were Scandinavians.

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Karolina Wiśniewska (Warsaw): 'Turcken puechlein' in the Circuit of Intercultural Transmission of the pre-Mohács Habsburg Monarchy

One of the ways of exploring cultural transmission in the early modern era is by turning attention toward communication and its various media. Among them, *Flugschriften* were effective agents of early modern public media. They disseminated numerous copies of *Turkische-* or *Gesprächbuchlein*, a literary form which reached the peak of its popularity in the pre-Mohács period, mainly in the years 1520-1526 in the Habsburg Monarchy. During this time, they served as the efficient medium of the Reformation's struggle for recognition and for rationalization of the progress of Ottoman campaigns.

The use of expressive language, often close to colloquial speech, along with suggestive descriptions enabled these writings to play an important role in evoking cultural images and creating clichés of Latin Christian, Orthodox and Muslim peoples. The anti-Ottoman stance of these documents, especially intense during the time of the so-called Turkish wars, was strongly imprinted on the political and religious debate of the time. The 'Turkish threat' challenged thinking about the cultural landscape of Europe and at the same time became one of the *Denkformen* of pre-modern society under the Habsburg Monarchy.

This cultural thinking about Turks in the Habsburg Empire in the pre-Mohacs period was based on certain ethnographical, empirical and theoretical knowledge, which compiled information from numerous *Turcica*. Oral and written reports from war theaters, the actual places of the intercultural meetings, played an important role in the transmission of knowledge about the Muslim invaders. In the '*Turcken puechlein*', a pragmatic book on foreign politics and piety, it is the Hungarian and the Croatian man whose voice serves as the authoritative source of information about the Ottoman Empire. Also, the role of the spoken testimony in 'Turcken puechlein' is hard to overstate.

'Turcken puechlein' is a significant case of an influential voice calling for the mobilization of Christian armies in the face of Ottoman victories in North Africa and southern Europe. Written in German in the form of a fictional dialogue between a Turk, a Hungarian, a Gypsy and German hermit, and taking place in Belgrade, it gives a brief description of the political and cultural moods of the time, and proposes twenty one steps that could help overcome Ottoman power.

The importance of the text, marked among others by the number of editions published in 1522 and reissued five years later, has been already stressed by András Balogh. His edition of the German text is based on the Wittenberg edition of 1527 and is accompanied by the Hungarian translation of 'Turcken puechlein'. Given that he was interested more in the text itself than in the printing, Balogh did not pay much attention to the medium of transmitting the fictional dialogue, nor the producers, manufacturers and consumers of the *Flugschrift*. Therefore, one of the objectives of my paper is to turn attention to the printed medium as an effective and quickly-spread means of disseminating opinions shared in the oral communication and a valuable tool of intercultural transmission.

The presentation is divided into two parts. The first is concerned with the communication situation in 'Turcken puechlein'. Thus, it investigates the question of authorship (anonymity and authority of the storyteller), the dialogic narrative and the main characters of 'Turcken puechlein'. I also plan to touch on the communication process based on the language (regional variants of *Frühneuhochdeutsch*), intercultural messages (characteristic of nations, information on Turks etc.) and finally the medium (*Flugschrift*), which was a bearer of the intercultural message. In the second part, referring to the case of 'Turcken puechlein', I aim to propose a basic model for understanding the intercultural transmission circuit established by the manufacturing, distribution and consumption of the print. The continuously evolving circulation linking sequences of actors - author and printers, sellers and readers - can elucidate the role of the *Flugschriften* in the transmission of intercultural knowledge within the sixteenth century Habsburg Monarchy.

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Anna Horeczy (Warsaw): Venice as the model of the *respublica mixta* in Polish political thought of the 16th and 17th century

The Republic of Venice as a model of the perfect *respublica mixta* (a concept deriving from the Aristotelian distinction among political systems) appeared in Polish political thought in the sixteenth century. References to Venice were connected with such questions such as liberty, relations between the ruler and his citizens, and the best approaches to electoral government. This intercultural transmission of the *respublica mixta* was unidirectional. Polish political thinkers focused on Venice because the city was thought to preserve the traditions of the legal system of the Lacedemonian Republic and the Roman Republic.

The Polish nobility pointed to the similarities between certain Polish and Venetian political institutions: the king and the doge (both elected and bound by the law), the Polish Sejm and the Great Council of Venice – the supreme legislative body. The admiration for Venice was connected with the conviction that a balanced system of rules guaranteed the stability of the state and the freedom of the citizens. It was this freedom that made the Venetian legal system so attractive to the Polish nobility.

The model of Venice as the *respublica mixta* appeared in Polish political thought when the Polish legal system was concluding its development and at a time of vigorous political debate about the so-called Executionist movement in the second half of the sixteenth century. Venice was referred to by such political writers as Marcin Kromer, Łukasz Górnicki, Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, Stanisław Orzechowski, Andrzej Wolan and Wawrzyniec Goślicki. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Paweł Palczowski wrote a treaty solely devoted to the Republic of Venice. Venice was also mentioned in the political debate in the Sejm, especially in the orations against the king Sigismund III Vasa, who was accused of intending to establish an absolute monarchy.

The model of the Republic of Venice enjoyed great popularity among the Polish nobility at the time of the Zebrzydowski's Rebellion (1606-1608). Subsequently, however, the popularity of the Venetian legal system in Polish political thought seems to have decreased. Venetian institutions were mentioned only sporadically in the orations in the Sejm, in circulars, travel accounts and diaries. The next Polish political treaty referring to the Venetian legal system was written by Stanisław Dunin Karwicki as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century (1705-1707). This could have been, firstly, due to the weakening of Venetian power and, secondly, to the

slackening of political debate and willingness to reform the Polish legal system in the seventeenth century.

References to Venice as the *respublica mixta* in Polish political thought can be divided into three groups. Firstly, there were political thinkers who only noticed the similarity between the Polish and Venetian legal system; secondly, there were those who proposed some reforms following the example of Venice. Some of the latter thinkers, such as Łukasz Górnicki, wanted to adapt Venetian solutions to the Polish reality. Finally, there were also those who regarded the Venetian Republic as an unsuitable model to follow. Piotr Skarga, for instance, suggested that Poland should not follow the Venetian legal system because it was impossible to implement the laws of the city-republic in a country as large as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He also argued that Venice should not be regarded as a mixed state but rather as an aristocratic republic because most decisions were taken by a political elite.

A similar admiration for Venice as a model of the perfect *respublica mixt*a can be found in other European countries such as the Dutch Republic of the seventeenth century. It seems that Polish political thinkers remained strongly influenced by the image of Venice created by the Venetian political writers and chroniclers, above all by the work of Gasparino Contarini *De magistratibus et republica venetorum* (1543). Polish political thinkers, however, elaborated and adapted Venetian solutions to the reality of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

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Natalia Zientek (Warsaw): Seventeenth-century diaries as evidence of intercultural relations

The beginning of the early modern period in Western Europe was a boom time for travel writing. It attracted great interest among many readers, as evidenced by a large number of editions of various works such as journals of travels and travel books about foreign countries. Polish historians of literature call a seventeenth century the "age of memoirs". Unfortunately, most of them were not available to a wider range of readers for a long time, because of their handwritten character, and even now there is a lack of modern, critical editions, which might reveal their invaluable literary and historical value. The age of manuscripts was also when Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth citizens begin to travel on a massive scale: they went to study abroad, pursue commercial interests overseas, take part in political missions, and go on pilgrimages to holy places. At that time, the Republic led many wars, which also meant that crowds of nobles were leaving their farms and went forth on foreign voyages. They had the opportunity to learn about different cultures, traditions, and meet the representatives of other nations. Until the mid-seventeenth century in Poland, when xenophobia had not yet reached its zenith, a traveller was very well regarded in society, since he carried with him benefits to the public and educated broad-minded citizens. To be well regarded in his homeland, the traveller could not bring and implement the foreign "frills" such as frivolous approach to life of the French or the coarse traditions of Moscow.

There was a tendency to describe their travels for the benefit of the Polish king's subjects, so that others may benefit from the traveller's experience, including the closest family and friends within the manor, for example. With time, rough narratives of a journey took on a more descriptive quality. The interest in language, history, cosmography had already appeared in the sixteenth century, and resulted in a mass willingness to leave the homeland and explore the unknown lands during the age of memoirs. As knowledge of foreign countries spread through schools or parishes and collided with local perceptions, this often led to surprise, disappointment and even indignation among Poles at the otherness of the encountered things and events. This sense of shock left its mark in various works of memoirs - diaries, journals, etc. They are a wonderful testimonies to cross-cultural contacts and interactions in seventeenth-century Europe. By reading these works, we can at least partially understand the functioning of our native culture

at that time, and also learn how other cultures were perceived by their representatives, what they were fascinated, puzzled or worried by. This is what I intend to show by analysing fragments of selected works of Polish diarists, focusing mainly on Polish-Russian relations during the Time of the Troubles and Dymitriads.

In my paper I also hope to raise the issue of stereotypes, in particular, the concept of "foreigness," or the process of perception, evaluation and assimilation of the elements of another culture. The above-mentioned case of Poland and Russia is particularly interesting in this respect. For many centuries, much animosity has accrued between the two countries, with great part of them rooted in stereotypes. Their development and strengthening was repeatedly the subject of research for scientists from different fields of science. I would like to look at it from the perspective that emerges from the works of memoirs created at a time when relations between Poland and Russia were extremely strained. Was the influence of stereotypes significant and did it have a measurable impact on the perception of other nations? Or was it marginal? Alternately, did direct encounters with "the other" help stereotypes disappear? Which elements of everyday, political and artistic life were of the greatest importance? Which of them deserved contempt, and which were meant to be used only at home? What about religious differences? Did they remain in the background or did they continue to dominate? And most important for us today - how much of our ancestors' heritage continues to shape us today? These and other questions I will try to answer in my paper.

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Piotr Chmiel (Warsaw): Tutti scismatici, tutti corrotti. The perception of Georgia and of the Georgians in regard to their confession according to the letters produced by Italian missionaries and travelers (Pietro Avitabile, Cristoforo Castelli, Pietro della Valle) of the 17th century

The aim of this paper is to analyze the image and the perception of a new missionary territory which became the Georgian principalities in the 17th century. Papal interests on the political situation's development in the Eastern Meditterranean basin as well as some promissing accounts presented by great travellers of that time (such as a Roman writer and an amateur composer Pietro della Valle) caused a creation of a quite significant missionary movement directed towards Georgia. Starting from 1626 the Italian Theatines monks began to betake to the „land of ancient Colchide". Their letters, mainly preserved in the Archive of the Theatines as well as in the Archive of the Propaganda Fide, both situated in Rome, constitute an indispensible source for studying the perception of Georgia and its inhabitants in the Latin Christians' eyes of the Early Modern period.

The paper will concentrate on the two monks: a Palermitan Cristoforo Castelli, arrived in Georgia in 1632 and active in four missionary posts across the country; as well as on Pietro Avitabile, the real founder of the Theatine missions in Georgia, who served there for a decade (1628–1638). Both missionaries left interesting testimonies (in case of Castelli including also sketches) documenting the history of respective missions and the monks' relations with the local population. These documents are particularly useful for reconstruction of the confessional relations within the Georgian principalities, including the mutual perception of Latin missionaries and Orthodox as well as the role of Islam and islamized Georgian elite. In the paper there will be presented main themes returning in the letters: the differences in the religious practice between the Georgians and the Latin monks, their relations with the Georgian clergy, the presumed „Greek error" and its presence in the local faith and cult. According to the sources, the idealized Georgia, land of the ancient Christendom, become quite a difficult place for the activity of the Western newcomers. Altought treated amicably by the population, the missionaries had to face hostile attitude of the Orthodox clergy, their changing perception by the local rulers and quite harsh

conditions of life, challenging the monks' vocation. The sources shed also light on relations between the Georgian princes and Islamic monarchs, being interpreted by the monks in a way not very congruent with the local context (e.g. categories of renegades, martyrdom, ecc.). It seem that for the missionaries the Georgian rulers are at the same time representants of the Safavid empire as well as victims of the Persian power. An interesting example of the local situation's entangled perception may be in this context the case of Elene Artabaghi: a Georgian noblewoman and spiritual daughter of Castelli who married the Persian Shah. For the misionary she is in the same time a quasi-martyr who had to renounce the Christian faith and a *sultana*: a wife of a powerful king, favorable to the missionaries, who may be eventually converted to Catholicism. The attractiveness of a reach and exotic Muslim land, being a potential territory of future missions, created a great (an probably not combatted) temptation for Castelli himself.

The analysis of the letters in question may explain how the Georgians were perceived and defined by the Italian newcomers: as „equal brothers in love for Christ" (quotation from a Georgian monarch's letter), schismatics, renegades, persons to be converted or even belonging to another category, connecting all of those above mentioned.

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