Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History

Volume 3 (1050-1200)

Edited by **David Thomas**

and Alex Mallett

With

Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala

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BRILL

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History of Christian-Muslim Relations

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front cover illustration: This shows a detail from the mosaic surround of the *mihrab* in the Great Mosque at Cordova, known as La Mezquita. Completed in the tenth century, this work was carried out for the Muslim rulers of al-Andalus by Christian craftsman from Constantinople.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Christians and Muslims have been involved in exchanges over matters of faith and morality since the founding of Islam. Attitudes between the faiths today are deeply coloured by the legacy of past encounters, and often preserve centuries-old negative views.

The History of Christian-Muslim Relations, Texts and Studies presents the surviving record of past encounters in authoritative, fully introduced text editions and annotated translations, and also monograph and collected studies. It illustrates the development in mutual perceptions as these are contained in surviving Christian and Muslim writings, and makes available the arguments and rhetorical strategies that, for good or for ill, have left their mark on attitudes today. The series casts light on a history marked by intellectual creativity and occasional breakthroughs in communication, although, on the whole beset by misunderstanding and misrepresentation. By making this history better known, the series seeks to contribute to improved recognition between Christians and Muslims in the future.

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FOREWORD

David Thomas

Christian-Muslim Relations, a Bibliographical History 3 (*CMR* 3) is the third volume of a general history of relations between Christians and Muslims as this is recorded in written sources. Volume 1 covers the years 600 to 900, volume 2 carries the history from 900 to 1050, this volume continues from 1050 to 1200, and volume 4 takes it further from 1200 to 1500. It is hoped to continue the history through the five hundred years from 1500 to 2000 in further volumes in the series. This and the other volumes up to 1500 cover the geographical area of what can loosely be called the extended Mediterranean basin, while later volumes will follow Muslims and Christians through all parts of the world as they have recorded their attitudes about one another and their mutual encounters in a multitude of new circumstances.

The intention of this project is to include within its scope documented accounts of all the known works written by Christians and Muslims about one another and against one another. These accounts are designed to provide a starting point for scholarly investigation into the works and their authors, and into whatever relationships exist between them, paving the way for a full and detailed history of Christian-Muslim relations and all the currents and influences comprised within it. Of course, it is more than a single individual or group could accomplish, and the project leaders have drawn upon the expertise of the wider scholarly community, which has been readily and generously given, and have been assisted by leading authorities in bringing together entries that reflect the latest scholarship, and in some instances take it forward. Naturally, this scholarship does not stand still, and so updates on details of the entries are invited, together with additions and corrections where, despite all best efforts, there are omissions and mistakes.

In this volume, like its predecessor and the others that are planned, a series of essays cover works that are of main importance to Christian-Muslim relations but do not fit easily into the format adopted for entries on individual works. While the topics covered in these essays include information of fundamental importance for the attitudes of Muslims and Christians towards one another, the individual

elements of which they are made up – scattered mentions in historical and geographical works, single clauses in treaties and commercial agreements, and isolated legal statements amid large bodies of rulings and regulations – each presents one tiny part of a picture that only becomes more complete and comprehensible when they are all brought together. The introductory essay surveys relative between the faiths in the whole period 900-1200 – it was written before the decision was made to divide the entries for this period into two volumes, and it also appears in *CMR* 2.

Following these essays come the entries that make up the bulk of the work. Something should be said about the principles that have been used to determine what has and has not been included in the bibliographical history. As is mentioned above, the basic criterion was that a work is written substantially about or against the other faith, or contains significant information or judgements that cast light on attitudes of one faith towards the other. Thus, by their very nature apologetic and polemical works are included, while, with some notable exceptions, large historical and geographical works are usually not, even though they may refer to the other in passing. Only works that contribute in a major way towards building the picture of the one as seen by the other and of attitudes between them are included.

This principle criterion is easily applicable in many cases, but it proves difficult in a significant minority of instances. An inclusive approach has therefore been adopted, especially with respect to works that may contain only small though insightful details or only appear to touch obliquely on relations, and also to works that are no longer extant and whose contents can only be inferred from a title or a reference by a later author. It is possible that future discoveries will either confirm these decisions or show that they have been too broad.

Another criterion that should be explained is that inclusion of a work was decided according to the date of its author's death, not according to the date when it appeared. This is because many works from this period have no indication of a date, though it has led to evident anomalies at either end, where authors are mainly or almost entirely active in one century but have died at the beginning of the next. If this seems arbitrary, it is balanced by the consideration that any other criterion would also involve decisions that might easily be challenged.

Each entry is divided into two main parts. The first is concerned with the author, and it contains basic biographical details, an account of his main intellectual activities and writings, the main primary sources of

information about him, and the latest works by present day scholars on him and his intellectual involvements and achievements. Without aiming to be exhaustive, this section contains sufficient information for readers to pursue further details about the author and his general activities.

The second part of the entry is concerned with the works of the author that are specifically devoted to the other faith. And here completeness is the aim. This part is sub-divided according to the number of the author's works included. In each sub-division a work is named and dated (where possible), and then in two important sections its contents are described and its significance in the history of Christian-Muslim relations is appraised. There follow sections on the manuscript witnesses of the work (where a recent edition or study provides an authoritative list of these, this is cited instead of a complete list being given), published editions and translations, and lastly studies. It is intended that these will be completely up to date at the time of going to press.

With this coverage, *CMR* 3 should provide sufficient information to enable a work to be identified, its importance appreciated, and its earliest witnesses and studies on it located. Each work is also placed as far as is possible in the historical progression of relations between the faiths, allowing it to be seen in the context of other works from the same time. Thus, a work written in Greek may be found next to a work written in Syriac, which may be followed by a Muslim Arabic work, which in turn will be followed by a Latin or Georgian work. This arrangement makes it possible to discern some sort of development in dealings between the faiths. Of course, proximity between works in the bibliography is definitely not an indication of any necessary direct relationship between them, let alone influence (though this may sometimes be deducible). What it does provide is a gauge of relations between the faiths in any stretch of time. But it must always be considered only a rough guide, and its limitations should be particularly borne in mind in the case of anonymous works or works by little-known authors which can only be allocated to a general period, and even more in the case of works whose dating is debated and disputed.

The composition of this history has been undertaken by many individual contributors, who readily and often enthusiastically accepted the invitations of the project leaders. The project was led by Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala (Iberian Arabic texts), Johannes Pahlitzsch (Greek texts), Alex Mallett (Research Fellow and minor languages), Mark

Swanson (Christian Arabic texts), Herman Teule (Syriac texts), David Thomas (Director, and Muslim Arabic texts), and John Tolan (Latin texts). Particular advice was given by a group of close colleagues, and in addition Carol Rowe gave practical help in the form of careful copy editing, while the staff editors at Brill gave constant encouragement. The project team are deeply indebted to everyone who has contributed in one way or another.

The project was funded by a grant made by the Arts and Humanities Research Council of Great Britain, which is acknowledged with gratitude.

As has been said, strenuous efforts have been made to ensure the information given in each entry is both accurate and complete, though it would be not only presumptuous but also unrealistic to claim that these efforts have succeeded entirely and in every instance. Details (hopefully only minor) must have been overlooked, new works will have come to light, new editions, translations and studies will have appeared, and new datings agreed. Corrections, additions and updates are therefore invited; these will be incorporated into the on-line version of *CMR* 3 and into further editions. Details of these should be sent to David Thomas, at cmr@brill.nl.

ABBREVIATIONS

BHG
        Bibliotheca Hagiogphica Graeca

'Bibliographie'
        R. Caspar et al., 'Bibliographie du dialogue islamo-chrétien', *Islamochristiana* 1 (1975) 124-81; 2 (1976) 187-249; 3 (1977) 255-86; 4 (1978) 247-67; 5 (1979) 299-317; 6 (1980) 259-99; 7 (1981) 299-307; 10 (1984) 273-92; 13 (1987) 173-80; 15 (1989) 169-74

Biblioteca de al-Andalus
        J. Lirola and J.M. Puerta (eds), *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, Almería, 2004-6

BL
        British Library

BNF
        Bibliothèque nationale de France

Brockelmann, *GAL*
        C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, 2 vols and 3 supplements, Leiden, 1937-49

BSOAS
        Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

BZ
        Byzantinische Zeitschrift

CE
        A.S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic encyclopedia*, 8 vols, New York, 1991

CSCO
        Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium

DOP
        Dumbarton Oaks Papers

EI2
        Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed.

EI3
        Encyclopaedia of Islam, 3rd ed.

EIr
        Encyclopaedia Iranica

Enciclopedia de al-Andalus

> *Enciclopedia de al-Andalus. Diccionario de autores y obras andalusíes*, ed. J.L. Delgado and J.M. Puerta Vílchez, Granada, 2002-

EQ

> *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*

Graf

> G. Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire*, Vatican City, 1934

Graf, *GCAL*

> G. Graf, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, 5 vols, Vatican City, 1944-53

Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*

> *Wafayāt al-aʿyān wa-anbāʾ abnāʾ al-zamān*, ed. I. ʿAbbas, 8 vols, Beirut, 1968-72

JAOS

> *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

JSAI

> *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*

JSS

> *Journal of Semitic Studies*

Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans*

> B. Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans en Irak. Attitudes nestoriennes vis-à-vis de l'Islam*, Paris, 1994

MGH

> *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*

MIDEO

> *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire*

MW

> *Muslim World*

Nasrallah, *HMLEM*

> J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du movement littéraire dans l'église melchite du Ve au XXe siècle. Contribution à l'étude de la littérature arabe chrétienne,* Louvain, 1979-, *volume iii.1: 969-1250* (*HMLEM* iii.1)

OC

> *Oriens Christianus*

OCP

> *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*

ODB
> A. Kazhdan et al. (eds), *The Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*, New York, 1991

Pd'O
> *Parole de l'Orient*

PG
> *Patrologia Graeca*

PL
> *Patrologia Latina*

PO
> *Patrologia Orientalis*

Al-Qifṭī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*
> Al-Qifṭī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. A. Müller and J. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903

RHC Occ.
> *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, Paris, 1844-95

RHC Or.
> *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens orientaux*, Paris, 1872-1906

Sbath, *Fihris*
> P. Sbath, *Al-fihris (catalogue de manuscrits arabes)*, Cairo, 1938-40

Sezgin, *GAS*
> F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 13 vols to date, Leiden, 1967-

Simaika
> M. Simaika Pasha, *Fahāris al-makhṭūṭāt al-qibṭiyya wa-l-ʿarabiyya*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1939-42

Tolan, *Saracens*
> J. Tolan, *Saracens. Islam in the medieval European imagination*, New York, 2002

Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*
> J. Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael. Muslims through European eyes in the middle ages*, Gainesville FL, 2008

Vat
> Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Introduction

John Tolan

The articles collected in these two volumes, *CMR* 2 and *CMR* 3, deal with Christian-Muslim relations during the period 900-1200. By the beginning of this period, the Abbasid caliphate was firmly ensconced as the major power of a large region stretching from the Hindu Kush to the Atlantic. Within the caliphate lived large communities of Christians and significant (though smaller) communities of Jews and Zoroastrians. By 900, the status of *dhimmī* attributed to these minority communities was well established in law and custom, as we have seen in volume 1. A multitude of Christian churches flourished under the rule of the caliphs: East Syrians (or Nestorians), Melkites, Copts, Armenians, West Syrians (or Jacobites), Mozarab Catholics, to name just a few.

In the capital itself, the Nestorians enjoyed a privileged position. Many of their lay members still had official positions in the administration. Under the Caliph al-Muqtadir, the Nestorian patriarch was even appointed as the sole representative of all Christian communities in Baghdad (at the cost of the Melkites and the West Syrians.).[1]

It is of course impossible to generalize about the fates of *dhimmī* communities across this huge territory over the course of three centuries. Answers to the most fundamental questions remain tentative. When, for example, do Muslims become a numerical majority in these societies? No hard demographic evidence exists to tell us when Muslims passed from being a minority to a majority, but educated guesses are around 825 for Iran, 900 for Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, the mid-10th century for Iberia.[2]

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[1] For an introduction to this community, see H. Teule, *Les Assyro-chaldéens*, Turnhout, 2008.

[2] These are the estimates of R. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period. An essay in quantitative history*, Cambridge, MA, 1979, pp. 44, 82, 97, 109. Other scholars have questioned Bulliet's figures; for an overview of this debate, see M. Morony, 'The age of conversions: A reassessment,' in M. Gervers and R. Bikhazi (eds), *Conversion and continuity. Indigenous Christian communities in Islamic lands, eighth to eighteenth centuries*, Toronto, 1990, 135-50. For the debate concerning the rate of conversion to Islam in Spain, see Bulliet, *Conversion*, pp. 44, 50-51; D. Wassertein, *The*

Thus while for most of the period covered in *CMR* 1, Christians remained a numerical majority in Muslim-ruled societies, by the period covered in this volume they were becoming a minority – although they remained a quite significant one in most areas.

Effective control over this enormous territory had always been uneven, to say the least. At its edges, what could be hoped for at best was theoretical recognition of caliphal authority. Yet even this was, in the period that concerns us, rapidly to come to an end. In 909, the Ismāʿīlī Shīʿī leader Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh (ʿUbayd Allāh) al-Mahdī bi-llāh took the title of Caliph, establishing the Fatimid caliphate in Ifrīqiya (roughly what is now Tunisia). The Fatimids conquered Egypt in 969 and named their new capital 'the Victorious' (al-Qāhira, Cairo); the Fatimids were a major power in the Middle East for the next two centuries. The Fatimids took advantage of Egypt's position at the crossroads of international commercial routes that linked it with the Mediterranean and with the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. Egyptian merchants, both Muslim and *dhimmī*, prospered, as is clearly seen, for example, in the thousands of letters, contracts and other commercial documents contained in the Cairo Genizah.[3]

Two Christian churches existed in Egypt, each with its own patriarch, its own liturgy and its own hierarchy: the miaphysite Coptic Church and the diaphysite Melkite Church. Christians, Jews and Sunnī Muslims faced persecution under the reign of the Caliph al-Ḥākim (996-1021), who ordered the destruction of many synagogues and churches (including the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem in 1009). Yet this was exceptional: on the whole Jewish and Christian communities flourished in Fatimid Egypt. Their merchants in general paid the same import duties as Muslim merchants; they were simply required to carry an attestation that they had paid the annual *jizya*. This is not to deny the burden that the *jizya* and other taxes and fines sometimes represented to the *dhimmī* communities. The preserved biographies of the Coptic Orthodox patriarchs during the period treated in this volume, for example, give much space to the financial challenges that these patriarchs faced, and periodic increases in the

rise and fall of the party Kings. Politics and society in Islamic Spain, 1002-1086, Princeton NJ, 1985, pp. 168, 237-38; Morony, 'Age of conversions,' p. 136; M. de Epalza, 'Mozarabs. An emblematic Christian minority in al-Andalus,' in S.K. Jayyusi (ed.), *The legacy of Muslim Spain*, Leiden, pp. 149-70.

    [3] S. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society. The Jewish communities of the Arab world as portrayed in the documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols, Berkeley, 1966-88.

jizya could serve as a spur to conversion. And the situation of *dhimmī*s became more precarious in the chaotic final decades of Fatimid rule. When Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) abolished the Fatimid caliphate in 1171, he tried to impose a higher tax rate on non-Muslim merchants, but was soon convinced not to do so.[4]

Spain (and at times parts of the Maghreb) had been controlled, since the mid-8th century, by the descendants of the former Umayyad caliphs. In 929, the Cordoban emir, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, took the title of Caliph: the Umayyad caliphate dominated the Iberian Peninsula and was the principal maritime power in the western Mediterranean until the early 11th century, when it imploded in succession struggles and gave way to a series of petty emirates (known to historians as 'taifa kingdoms'). While the life of Christian communities is less well-documented than for earlier or later periods, large Christian communities continued to exist in many of the *taifas*. Apart from the immigration and deportation suffered by some Christians, most significant for the Christian communities living under Muslim rule in al-Andalus was their deep degree of Arabicization in the urban context, whereas in the rural environment they spoke Romance. The role played by the Eastern Christians who immigrated to al-Andalus was significant for the Christian communities from both the ideological and the textual viewpoints, as is evident from the settlements of Byzantine monks in the Ebro valley, and from Palestinian monks who arrived in al-Andalus in the 9th century, as well as from the Peninsular Christians who travelled in eastern lands or those who eventually settled there, among whom there were probably some Nestorians.[5]

Meanwhile, the Eastern Roman (or Byzantine) Empire in the 10th century embarked on a military expansion both in the northwest (against the Bulgars) and in the east against Arabs. Nicephorus Phocas captured Crete in 961 and conquered much of Syria and Mesopotamia between 964 and 969; his successor John I Tzimisces (969-76) pursued these conquests. In general, the Muslims in the conquered territory were reduced to slavery and sold throughout the empire, while Christians (both miaphysite Syrian Christians and Greek Orthodox) were settled in the conquered areas. Thus few free

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[4] Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, i, pp. 344-45; see Swanson, *The Coptic papacy in Islamic Egypt*, chs 4 and 5.

[5] Cf. J.P. Monferrer Sala, 'A Nestorian Arabic Pentateuch used in Western Islamic Lands', in D. Thomas (ed.), *The Bible in Arab Christianity*, Leiden, 2007, 351-68.

Muslims lived in Byzantine territory: most were slaves, captives, or temporary visitors (merchants or diplomats).

Abbasid suzerainty was thus threatened from three directions: by heirs to the Umayyads in Andalus, by Shī'ī Fatimids in Egypt, and by a renascent Byzantine military power. Yet the expansion of Byzantines and Fatimids, in the late 10th and 11th centuries, was confronted by another emerging power: the Seljuk Turks. The conversion of large numbers of Turks and their integration into the Iranian-Arab heartlands of the Muslim world had begun in the 9th century. The Seljuks in the 11th century established a political empire that at its height stretched from the high plateaus of Afghanistan to the Aegean shores of Anatolia. The Sunnī Seljuks, who recognized the spiritual authority of the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad, were frequently in conflict with the Fatimids, notably in Syria/Palestine, and with the Byzantines in Syria, Mesopotamia and Anatolia. In 1071, Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan delivered a heavy blow to the Byzantines at the battle of Manzikert, where he defeated and captured Emperor Romanus Diogenes. Alp Arslan's successor, Malik Shāh (1072-92), ruled an empire stretching from the Aegean to what is now Afghanistan; the Seljuks took much of Syria and Palestine from the Fatimids. Yet after Malik Shāh's death in 1092, several of his *atabegs* asserted their power locally and fought with each other.

The Seljuk presence in eastern Anatolia affected of course the life of the local Eastern and Oriental Christians. Echoes of this can be found in the Chronicles of the West-Syrian Patriarch Michael the Syrian (d. 1195), who tells about the destruction of churches and the loss of church property due to 'Turkish' attacks, but is also proud of his personal contacts with the Sultan Qilij Arslan II.[6]

In 1098-99, another player erupted onto the stage of eastern Mediterranean political and military affairs: the *Ifranj*, as the Arab authors called them, the 'Franks', i.e. the European troops of the First Crusade. Launched by Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont in 1095, the crusade mobilized thousands of Europeans who converged on Constantinople by land and sea between November 1096 and April 1097, then marched across Anatolia, fighting the Rum Seljuks, and besieged Antioch, which they captured in June 1098. The following year they marched to Jerusalem, which they took on 15 July 1099, massacring

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[6] J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, Paris, 1910, e.g. iii, pp. 373, 390-95.

many of the inhabitants. The crusaders established a series of polities in Jerusalem, Antioch, Edessa, and Tripoli. In these territories, the new European Christian princes ruled over a mix of Muslim, Jewish, Eastern Christian and Latin Christian subjects.

The late 11th and 12th centuries also witnessed Christian European conquest of Muslim territories in Sicily, Spain and (for a fleeting few decades) North Africa. Sicily had by the year 1000 split into a series of rival emirates. The Normans of southern Italy intervened in Sicilian politics first, in 1060, as allies of various emirs in their struggles against their neighbors, but eventually asserting their suzerainty over the entire island; their conquest culminated in the capture of Palermo in 1091. The Norman counts (and subsequently kings) of Sicily ruled over a mixed population of Muslims, Greek Christians, Jews and Latin Christians (including immigrants from the Italian mainland over the course of the 12th century). Andalusian traveler Ibn Jubayr, who spent four months on the island in 1185, paints a complex picture of Christian-Muslim interactions: he praises King William II's attitude of respect for his Muslim subjects and deference to Muslim scholars and advisors. In many of the towns (Cefalu, Termini, Alcamo, Trapani), Ibn Jubayr met Muslims and describes their communities: their mosques, markets, houses. Traveling between Termini and Palermo he came to Qaṣr Ṣaʿd, built in Muslim times and inhabited by pious Muslim ascetics from throughout the island and beyond. At its summit was 'one of the finest mosques in the world'.[7]

Ibn Jubayr spent the night there and delighted in hearing the call to prayer, which he had not heard for many weeks. Yet he also describes the frequent humiliations suffered by Muslims and the pressures to convert. Sicily's Norman kings struck coins bearing text in Greek, Latin and Arabic. Roger II minted gold *tarins* which bear, on one side, a cross with the Greek legend: IC XC NIKA, 'Jesus Christ conquers'; the other side has an Arabic inscription bearing the place of mint (Palermo) and the king's *laqab* (honorary name): *al-Muʿtazz bi-llāh*, 'he who finds his force and his glory in God'. On the ceiling of his palatine chapel is an image of the king presented as an Arab potentate, sitting cross-legged, cup in hand, flanked by servants who fan him. This same King Roger II had a coronation mantle on which

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[7] Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, ed. W. Wright and M.J. de Goeje, *The travels of Ibn Jubayr edited from a Manuscript in the University Library of Leyde*, Leiden, 1907 (repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1994); trans. R. Broadhurst, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, London, 1952, pp. 345-46.

was represented, on each side of a central palm tree, a lion (symbol of royal power) devouring a camel; the Arabic inscription celebrates the martial virtues of the king.[8]

At the same time as the Normans asserted their domination over Sicily, the Christian kingdoms of northern Spain put increasing pressure on the *taifas* of Andalus. The emirs of the *taifas* in many cases paid hefty tributes (*parias*) to keep the peace with their northern neighbors (just as the Christian kings had once made similar payments to the Cordoban caliphs). Alliances between the many small principalities, it is true, often crossed confessional lines, yet it was the ascendant northern Christians who increasingly had the upper hand, and who expanded their territories by conquering Toledo (Alfonso VI of Castile and León in 1085), Saragossa (Alfonso I of Aragon in 1110) and other territories. The fate of the conquered Muslims in these territories was varied, depending on a variety of circumstances, not least on the stipulations of negotiated surrender treaties. In 12th-century Aragon, for example, Muslim residents were expelled from some areas but in others remained to work the lands for their new Christian lords, and continued to enjoy the right not only to practice their religion, but also to participate in the local economy, buying and selling land and its produce.[9]

This wave of conquest was checked by the rise of a new regional power, the Murābiṭūn (or Almoravids), a Berber dynasty that extended its dominion over much of northwestern Africa in the mid-11th century. At the behest of several *taifa* emirs, Murabit Emir Yūsuf ibn Tashfīn led his troops into Spain and crushed the forces of Alfonso VI at Zallaqa (or Sagrajas) in 1086, reversing the tide of expansion of Castile-León; the Almoravids annexed Andalus into their growing empire. The new Almoravid elite looked down on the Andalusian Muslims who, during the *taifa* period, not only had submitted to *parias* and made alliances with Christian rulers, but at home had fought amongst themselves and promoted *dhimmī*s to prominent positions in their courts. Almoravid *mufti*s and *faqīh*s railed against dissolute Andalusians: 12th-century *mufti* Ibn ʿAbdūn suggested having boats police the Guadalquivir in Seville to prevent Muslims

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[8] See P. Guichard and D. Menjot (eds), *Pays d'Islam et monde latin, Xe-XIIIe siècles: textes et documents*, Lyons, 2000, pp. 100-3.

[9] C. Stalls, *Possessing the land. Aragon's expansion into Islam's Ebro frontier under Alfonso the Battler, 1104-1134*, Leiden, 1995.

from sneaking across the river at night to drink wine in the Christian quarter.[10]

Almoravid rule brought in new restrictive legislation against *dhimmī*s, some of whom subsequently emigrated to the east or to the Christian kingdoms of the North. In the 12th century, a new Berber dynasty, the Muwaḥḥidūn (or Almohads) arose in the Atlas mountains: their leader ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (1130-63) took the title of caliph and conquered large territories including Andalus and northern Africa from Morocco to Libya. The Almohads put increased pressures on *dhimmī*s, leading to widespread emigration and conversion.

Hence the political, social and economic situation of religious minorities differed widely over the three centuries covered in this volume, making impossible any facile generalizations about 'Muslim' or 'Christian' attitudes towards religious minorities or towards relations with members of other religions. Even within a society, be it Almoravid Seville, Fatimid Cairo or Norman Palermo, attitudes varied widely and could change radically. On the whole, the Muslim legal framework that instituted a protected but inferior status for *dhimmī* was firmly established by the beginning of our period and continued to be respected in most Muslim-ruled areas. By contrast, at the beginning of our period few Muslims lived in Christian-ruled areas. In the late 11th and 12th centuries, the conquests of Latin Christian rulers in Syria/Palestine, Sicily and the Iberian peninsula brought significant Muslim communities under Latin Christian rule. While treatment of these communities and the legal status accorded to them varied, in many cases they were given the status previously reserved to Jews: as a protected but clearly inferior religious community.[11]

The writers whose works are discussed in these two volumes had very different points of view, depending on their diverse situations: close collaborators with kings or sultans, members of minority religious communities who often resented their inferior social status, observers who feared conquest by a powerful 'infidel' neighbor, etc. Feelings of military, political or social superiority (or inferiority) color many of the texts studied here.

The context in which we need to place the authors and texts discussed in these volumes is of course not simply political and military:

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[10] Ibn ʿAbdūn, *Traité de Hisba*, trans. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane au début du XIIᵉ siècle. Le traité d'Ibn Abdun sur la vie urbaine et les corps de métiers*, Paris, 1947.

[11] J. Powell (ed.), *Muslims under Latin rule, 1100-1300*, Princeton NJ, 1990.

commercial, cultural, and intellectual exchanges between Christians, Muslims (and of course Jews) were constant and deep, and had a profound impact on medieval societies. Here, too, feelings of inferiority or superiority (intellectual, linguistic, cultural, economic) shaped portrayals of adherents of rival religions.

International commerce had a significant effect on virtually all medieval Christian and Muslim societies. Egyptian merchants, for example, Muslim, Jewish and Christian, were active from India to Portugal and Morocco. The abundant documents from the Geniza archives show that they bought and sold a wide variety of products: foodstuffs (grain, oil, wine, dried fruits), medicinal supplies, perfume, leather, cloth (both raw and woven: cotton, linen, wool), finished products (glass, jewelry, etc.) and spices (one of the mainstays of long-distance trade). While in the early part of our period, long-distance trade in the Mediterranean was dominated by Egyptian and Byzantine merchants, Italians gradually came to play an important (and, by the end of our period, preponderant) role. Merchants from Amalfi, who had become close allies of the Fatimids, assisted them in their conquest of Egypt and gained commercial privileges there. In the following centuries, it was the maritime republics of Venice, Genoa and Pisa that increasingly dominated Mediterranean trade. The representatives of these cities signed treaties of peace and commerce with Muslim rulers, through which they obtained trading privileges and favourable tariff rates, and often secured (in the various North African or Near Eastern ports) *funduqs*: these institutions, a veritable home away from home, contained warehouses, lodgings, chapels, and taverns. It is largely because of these Italian traders that, by 1200, one could buy Phocaean alum or East Indian pepper in Bruges, or in Damascus purchase cloth made of English wool and woven on Flemish looms. This trade modified diets and lifestyles: Europeans discovered oranges, bananas, rice, sugar, pepper and numerous spices, as well as silk and henna. European exports to the Arab world were essentially raw products (iron, wood) but also woollen cloth. One should not of course exaggerate the volume of goods exchanged: only a small minority of the European elite could, in the Middle Ages, eat sugar and spices and dress in silk. Yet this gradual transformation of eating and dress habits would of course grow stronger in the following centuries.

On the merchants' ships travelled a wide variety of voyagers: crusaders, mercenaries and pilgrims (Muslims on their way to Mecca,

Christians on their way to Rome or Jerusalem). They also carried captives and slaves. Indeed, the borders were often thin between commerce, piracy and naval war: naval raids against enemy ships or hostile coasts were common and lucrative: captives could be ransomed or sold into slavery. Arab, Byzantine and Italian merchants made a lucrative business out of taking captives for ransom and buying and selling slaves.

The continual coming and going of ships and merchants, slaves, refugees and mercenaries, brought in its wake a melting pot of ideas, habits and customs. In the areas of the arts, architecture, in scientific and philosophical learning, in the theory and practice of glass-blowing, pharmacy, pottery, etc., techniques and ideas crisscrossed the Mediterranean in all directions. Let us look at several telling examples from architecture. Monk and chronicler Amatus of Montecassino tells that when (in the last quarter of the 11th century) his abbot wanted new mosaics for his monastery, he brought Greek and Arab artists from Constantinople and Alexandria; it was no doubt the merchants of Amalfi who brought these artists to Italy.[12]

In 12th-century Pisa, Andalusian and Maghribi pottery is all the rage; plates and bowls are even incorporated into the façades of the city's churches as decoration.[13]

In the Romanesque churches of southern France in the 11th and 12th centuries, one finds Arab architectural forms (polylobe or horseshoe arches) and techniques (polychrome stone, ceramics). Even the qurʾanic text seen in mosques becomes a source of inspiration: carved into the stone of various churches are mock inscriptions in kufesque: an imitation of Arab letters as a purely decorative element. At times one finds real Arabic inscriptions, showing no doubt the presence of Arab artists from Spain. On the doors of the cathedral of Le Puy, one can read *mā shāʾ Allāh*, 'God wills it'.[14]

In the areas of science and philosophy, Latin Europe in 900 lagged far beyond the Arab world. It has often been said that as the Abbasid caliphs made Baghdad into the new world capital of science and

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[12] Amato di Montecassino, *L'Ystoire de li Normant*, ed. F Barthomaeis, Rome, 1935, 175.

[13] J. Tolan, 'Sarrasins et *Ifranj*. Rivalités, émulations et convergences', in H. Laurens, G. Veinstein and J. Tolan (eds), *L'Europe et l'Islam. Quinze siècles d'histoire*, Paris 2009, 17-115, pp. 100-3.

[14] V. Goss, 'Western architecture and the world of Islam in the twelfth century', in V. Goss and C. Bornstein (eds), *The meeting of two worlds. Cultural exchange between East and West during the period of the Crusades*, Kalamazoo MI, 1986, 361-75.

philosophy, Charlemagne and his successors were studiously apply-
ing themselves to learning how to write their names. Very few of the
major scientific works of Greek antiquity were available in Latin trans-
lation in 900, yet they were virtually all available in Arabic: Galen and
Hippocrates in medicine, Euclid in geometry, Ptolemy in astronomy,
and of course Aristotle. Let us briefly look at the example of medicine.
In 987, when Ibn al-Nadīm composed his *Fihrist*, a *catalogue raisonné*
of scientific and philosophical works in Arabic, he listed 430 medical
texts, of which 174 had been translated from other languages (Persian,
Sanskrit, Syriac and especially Greek). For the whole medieval period,
there were roughly one thousand Arabic texts of medicine.[15]

While Hippocrates and Galen provided the theoretical base
for Arabic medicine, the medical science continued to advance
through the incorporation of other traditions and through observa-
tion and practice. We see this, for example in the work of Abū Bakr
Muḥammad al-Rāzī (d. 925 or 935), 61 of whose 184 works dealt with
medicine.[16]

Al-Rāzī affirms that he surpasses the ancients, since he has mas-
tered the knowledge that they have accumulated over the centuries
and to which he has added the fruits of his own experience and learn-
ing. Thus, when he describes various sicknesses, he relates informa-
tion gleaned from the texts of his predecessors, and then offers his
own analyses based in part on clinical experience, which he uses to
confirm or refute the ideas of his predecessors. Hence, when he finds
Galen's ideas erroneous (on scar tissue, for example), he refutes them
methodically.

In the area of medical theory, one of the most influential texts of
the Middle Ages was the *Canon* of Ibn Sīnā (980-1037; Avicenna to
the Europeans), which, once translated into Latin in 12th-century
Spain, became the standard medical textbook in European universi-
ties for centuries.[17]

Before the 11th century, knowledge of Greek and Arabic medicine
in Latin Europe was almost nonexistent. In 11th-century Italy Con-
stantine the African, an immigrant from Ifrīqiya to southern Italy,

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[15] Jacquart et Micheau, *La médecine arabe et l'occident médiéval*, pp. 13-14, 229.
[16] Jacquart et Micheau, *La médecine arabe et l'occident médiéval*, pp. 7-68; L. Good-
man, art. 'al-Rāzī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā', *EI2*.
[17] Jacquart et Micheau, *La médecine arabe et l'occident médiéval*, pp. 74-85; N. Sir-
aisi, *Avicenna in Renaissance Italy. The Canon and medical teaching in Italian universi-
ties after 1500*, Princeton NJ, 1987.

composed a number of Latin treatises on medicine based on Arabic originals. But the most important translations of medical works were made in Toledo, under the direction of Gerard of Cremona, between 1145 and 1187: ten texts of Galen, one of Hippocrates, and ten texts of Arab medical writers, including three by al-Rāzī and the *Canon* of Ibn Sīnā. While these translations represent only a small part of Arabic medical learning, they encompass the fundamental texts, and they revolutionized the teaching and practice of medicine in Europe. What is true of medicine is essentially true of other sciences, such as geometry, mathematics and astronomy. In philosophy, Gerard and his team translated a number of texts by Aristotle; these, along with commentaries by Moses Maimonides and Ibn Rushd (Averroes), made a profound impact on the curriculum of European universities, including in theology.

This intellectual exchange of course colors mutual perceptions of Christians, Muslims and Jews. Some Latin writers did not hesitate to express their admiration for Arabs *(Arabes)* and their erudition at the same time as they dismissed as a crude heresy the 'sect of the Saracens' *(Sarraceni)*. Twelfth-century author Petrus Alfonsi (q.v.), for example, denounces Muḥammad as a false prophet and a fraud in his *Dialogi contra Iudaeos* (1110); yet his *Disciplina clericalis* is full of praise for the wisdom of the Arabs.[18]

In the mid-12th century, translator Hermann of Carinthia, in his scientific tract *De essentiis (On the elements)*, indulges in anti-Muslim polemics: he says that the 'Hagarenes' *(Agareni)* affirm that Jesus is 'Roh Alla wa Kalimatu', yet refuse to acknowledge him as God. He uses astrological arguments to prove the superiority of Christianity: Muḥammad's violence and lechery are results of the nefarious influence of the planets Mars and Venus; Arab astrologer Abū Maʿshar supposedly acknowledged that ancient astrologers Hermes and Astalius both foresaw Christ's Virgin birth.[19]

Hermann is a prominent translator of astrological texts in mid-12th century Spain; he is also part of the team of translators recruited by Peter of Cluny to translate Arabic texts on Islam. These passages of his *De essentiis* show how, in an intellectual landscape dominated by Arabic science, Latin Christians sought arguments to bolster their faith and affirm its rationality.

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[18] J. Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and his medieval readers*, Gainsville FL, 1993.
[19] Hermann of Carinthia, *De essentiis*, ed. and trans. C. Burnett, Leiden, 1982, pp. 80-82, 167-69.

In the Middle Ages, as today, Christians' and Muslims' mutual perceptions depended on a wide variety of factors, and for pre-modern periods, of course, we must rely almost entirely on written sources to apprehend them. The nature of these sources, their diverse textual traditions, their projected audiences, all of these factors determine, at least to a certain extent, how adherents of rival faiths are presented. It therefore seems important, after this general introduction to the two volumes, to present introductory essays on specific genres of medieval texts that deal with Christian-Muslim relations. In volume 1, we presented essays on Christians in the Qur'an, in Islamic exegesis, in the Sīra of Muḥammad, in Hadith, and in early and classical Sunnī law, as well as essays on Muslims in Christian canon law. In the companion volume (*CMR* 2), we have essays on Muslim regard for Christians and Christianity (by David Thomas), and Christian-Muslim diplomatic relations (by Nicholas Drocourt). In this volume (*CMR* 3) we have essays on crusade chronicles (by Marcus Bull), Christians in early and classical Shīʿī law (by David Freidenreich) and on Muslims in western canon law 1000-1500 (by David Freidenreich).

Suggestions for further reading

J. Brockopp (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Muhammad*, Cambridge, 2009

O. Constable, *Housing the stranger in the Mediterranean world. Lodging, trade, and travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 2003

F. Fattal, *Le Statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam*, Beirut, 1958, 1995²

Y. Friedman, *Encounter between enemies. Captivity and ransom in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem*, Leiden, 2002

M. Gervers and R. Bikhazi (eds), *Conversion and continuity. Indigenous Christian communities in Islamic lands, eighth to eighteenth centuries*, Toronto, 1990

S. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society. The Jewish communities of the Arab world as portrayed in the documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols, Berkeley, 1966-88

C. Hillenbrand, *The Crusades. Islamic perspectives*, Edinburgh, 1999

R. Hillenbrand, *Islamic architecture. Form, function and meaning*, Edinburgh, 1994, 2000²

P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The corrupting sea. A study of Mediterranean history*, Oxford, 2000

S. Jayyusi (ed.), *The legacy of Muslim Spain*, Leiden, 1992

B. Z. Kedar, *Crusade and mission. European approaches toward the Muslims*, Princeton NJ, 1984

A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine dans le monde musulman jusqu'au XIᵉ siècle*, 4 vols, Paris, 1967-88

C. Petry and M. W. Daly, *The Cambridge history of Egypt, vol 1: Islamic Egypt, 640-1517*, Cambridge, 1998

J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the idea of Crusading*, Philadelphia, 1986

E. Rotter, *Abendland und Sarazenen. Das okzidentale Araberbild und seine Entstehung im Frühmittelalter*, Berlin, 1986

H. Santiago Otero (ed.), *Diálogo filosófico-religioso entre cristianismo, judaísmo, e islamismo durante la edad media en la península ibérica*, Turnhout, 1994

M. Swanson, *The Coptic papacy in Islamic Egypt*, Cairo, 2010

H. Teule, *Christianity in Iraq, a historical introduction. Perspectives for the future* (forthcoming)

H. Touati, *Islam et voyage au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 2000 (*Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages*, Chicago, 2010)

The Western narratives of the First Crusade

Marcus Bull

The templates for western European historical writing themed around the crusades were established by the exceptional outpouring of historiographical material in the wake of the First Crusade (1095-1101). Modern historians of the First Crusade have at their disposal a greater range and depth of narrative source material than that available for any series of events or processes of comparable duration in ancient or medieval history.[1]

The accounts of the campaigns of Alexander the Great are perhaps the most directly analogous corpus, but the texts that survive today are far removed in space and time from the now lost accounts by certain of Alexander's companions, whereas the morphology of textual composition, transmission, and adaptation, from so-called 'eyewitness' accounts to retellings aspiring to literary and conceptual sophistication, is far more securely evidenced in the First Crusade historiographical tradition. Indeed, the shock of the new that informed many contemporaries' responses to the First Crusade, first its ideologically innovative message and then its accomplishments in the field, mapped onto and subtended an unprecedented flowering of historical writing in the first three decades of the 12th century. This burst of historiographical creativity tends to be overlooked in general surveys of western European historiographical culture, on the assumption that crusading and by extension its manifestations in texts were *sui generis*.[2]

A strong desideratum of future research on the First Crusade histories must be to integrate them more fully within those movements

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[1] For an excellent overview of the narrative histories of the First Crusade, see R. Hiestand, 'Il cronista medievale e il suo pubblico. Alcune osservazioni in margine alla storiografia delle crociate', *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell' Università di Napoli* 27 (1984-85), 207-27. See also S.B. Edgington, 'The First Crusade. Reviewing the evidence', in J.P. Phillips (ed.), *The First Crusade. Origins and impact*, Manchester, 1997, 55-77; J. Flori, *Chroniquers et propagandistes. Introduction critique aux sources de la première croisade*, Geneva, 2010.

[2] Typical in this regard is B. Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiévale*, Paris, 1980.

of elite culture that fall under the general heading 'The 12th-century Renaissance'.

The greater part of the historiographical effort that was stimulated by the First Crusade was directed towards the telling of the story of the crusade in Latin prose, in some instances complemented by verse sequences interspersed within a predominantly prose delivery. As resources for modern historical research, the Latin prose account has assumed the status of the preferred, naturalized medium in which 12th-century literate culture chose to narrativize the crusade. The fact that this medium did indeed become a widespread vehicle for telling the story of the crusade, which can now seem obvious and somehow inevitable, is not without interest for our understanding of the memory of the First Crusade as a cultural property. But there is a corresponding danger of undervaluing ways of communicating and fixing the memory of the crusade in forms other than Latin prose. For example the verse retelling of the events of part of the crusade by Gilo of Paris and an anonymous continuator around the second decade of the 12th century, the *Historia vie Hierosolimitane*, can easily be sidelined as a merely 'literary' exercise in mimicking classical poetics.[3]

But in fact this work was participating fully in the wider circulation and reworking of texts that characterized western Europe's reception of the crusade as a write-able commodity in the first decades of the 12th century, and it was accordingly part of that broader historiographical enterprise.

In fact, the Latin prose tellings of the crusade that dominate the surviving record misrepresent the overall picture, for two principal reasons. First, in a largely illiterate society much of the communicative loading of memories of the First Crusade must have been oral. The forms in which stories were conveyed orally are largely lost to us, and are only fitfully and imprecisely glimpsed in their impacts on the written record. Much of the accretion of detail that attached itself to crusade texts as they were succesively copied and recopied seems to have been the work of scribes attuned to memories preserved within aristocratic family networks. In the forms in which the texts permit us to glimpse them, these memories appear to have been second-order, encapsulated stories that could attach themselves to a master narrative without significantly changing its overall plot architecture.

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[3] Gilo of Paris and a second, anonymous author, *Historie vie Hierosolimitane,* ed. and trans. C.W. Grocock and J.E. Siberry, Oxford, 1997.

The result is micro-episodic vignettes of conspicuous achievement, often overlaid with epic or folkloric motifs such as visually arresting feats in battle or encounters with wild animals in remote places. It so happens that the written accounts of the crusade offered themselves as 'hosts' for this sort of atomistic memory, but it would be rash to conclude that all orally-communicated recollections of the crusade assumed this discrete capsule-like form. The modern editor of Albert of Aachen's lengthy telling of the First Crusade, which occupies the first half of his very long *Historia Ierosolimitana*, suggests that Albert, who did not himself take part in the crusade, largely stitched together his narrative from the reported memories of returning crusaders: if this were so, it would point not only to Albert's skill as a synthesizer of multiple narratives of doubtless uneven quality and credibility, but to crusaders' ability to formulate and communicate complex narrative memories of their experiences.[4]

It is also likely that more extended and narratively complex tellings of the whole crusade, or at least of substantial portions of it, emerged from the adaptation of its emplotment possibilities and cast of characters to pre-existing forms of narrative performance, that is recitation or singing, in ways familiar to the study of oral epic since the foundational work of Milman Parry and Albert Lord on south Slav bardic culture.[5]

This takes us into the second qualification of the apparent predominance of Latin prose as the vehicle for narrating the First Crusade, which is the emergence of vernacular tellings. Here the picture is fragmentary but suggestive. The fullest and earliest account in Old French, the *Chanson d'Antioche* (q.v.), survives as a late 12th-century reworking, by Graindor of Douai, of what is claimed was an original composed by a participant in the crusade, Richard the Pilgrim.[6]

Robert Cook is certainly correct to argue that scholars have too readily supposed that the later reworking can be peeled away to retrieve the aboriginal text: such an approach both underestimates Graindor's personal inventiveness and creativity, and bypasses the

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[4] Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and trans. S.B. Edgington, Oxford, 2007, pp. xxvi-xxviii.

[5] See A.B. Lord, *The singer of tales*, 2nd ed., rev. S. Mitchell and G. Nagy, Cambridge MA, 2000.

[6] *La chanson d'Antioche*, ed. S. Duparc-Quioc, 2 vols, Paris, 1976-78.

enormous changes that the *chanson de geste* had undergone as a literary form in the intervening 80-odd years.[7]

At the time of the First Crusade, indeed, the *chanson* was not a written form as such, whereas by the late 12th century it manifested itself as increasingly lengthy and elaborate texts substantially removed from a point of origin in captured oral performance. On the other hand, the bigger point is that the crusade was the subject of extended vernacular tellings within living memory of events, as confirmed by the composition in the Limousin no later than the 1130s of an Occitan version of the Antioch song, the *Canso d'Antioca*, which now only survives in fragmentary form and as embedded within a late 13th-century Castilian compilation of texts about the First Crusade, the *Gran conquista de Ultramar*.[8]

The foundational body of material within the Latin textual corpus takes the form of what are usually, but unhelpfully, labelled the 'eyewitness accounts'.[9]

These are three in number: the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* ('Deeds of the Franks and of others going to Jerusalem') (q.v.) by an unnamed author and probably completed in the first few months after the crusaders' capture of Jerusalem in July 1099 and their defeat of an Egyptian counter-offensive at Ascalon in August;[10] the history of the expedition written c.1101/2 by Raymond of Aguilers (q.v.), a cleric in the entourage of one of the principal secular leaders of the crusade, Count Raymond IV of Toulouse;[11] and the account begun in 1101 by the northern French cleric Fulcher of Chartres (q.v.), which in time expanded into a history of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem up to 1127.[12]

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[7] R.F. Cook, *'Chanson d'Antioche', chanson de geste. Le cycle de la croisade est-il épique?*, Amsterdam, 1980.

[8] See *The Canso d'Antioca. An Occitan epic chronicle of the First Crusade*, ed. and trans. C. Sweetenham and L.M. Paterson, Aldershot, 2003.

[9] See M.G. Bull, *Eyewitness and narrative. The narratology of the* Gesta Francorum, forthcoming.

[10] *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. R.M.T. Hill, London, 1962. A new edition by M.G. Bull in the Oxford Medieval Texts series is forthcoming.

[11] *Le "Liber" de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. J.H. Hill and L.L. Hill, Paris, 1969.

[12] *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg, 1913. Alone among the eyewitness texts, Fulcher's history has been the subject of a detailed, monograph-length study to date: see V. Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres. Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung des ersten Kreuzzuges*, Düsseldorf, 1990.

A fourth text sometimes included among the eyewitness accounts, a history of the crusade attributed to a Poitevin priest and former crusader named Peter Tudebode (q.v.), is substantially a reworking of a now-lost recension of the *Gesta Francorum*; though not without interest for the ways in which crusade texts could be appropriated to create an interweaving of public 'master' narrative and personal reminiscence, this text is better categorized as one instance of the widespread process of retelling the *Gesta Francorum*, the principal route by which more polished and elaborate narratives of the crusade were made available to an educated, largely monastic, readership.[13]

Of the three eywitness accounts, the *Gesta Francorum* has tended to enjoy a certain pride of place, in part because Raymond of Aguilers and Fulcher of Chartres can be shown to have drawn upon it for portions of their own works, whereas any antecedents that the author of the *Gesta Francorum* may have used are no longer extant.[14]

This and the fact that the text is anonymous – and probably was so at source – help to create the impression that the text offers particularly unmediated and direct access to the experience of the crusade on the ground, a belief mistakenly bolstered by the implausible but tenacious idea that the author was a simple knight serving on crusade under the southern Italian Norman lord Bohemond of Taranto.

Historians have perhaps paid insufficient attention to the reductive acceptations of the term 'eyewitness accounts'. The result is frequent misinterpretation of these texts, and not only because they all contain many details that could not have been perceived directly by their authors. The label also underplays the narratological ambition and substantive complexity within the texts. They represented the first extended written narratives of a military campaign attempted since Antiquity. Indeed, their closest analogues are Xenophon's *Anabasis* and Caesar's *De bello Gallico*, as well as the account of Alexander's campaigns by Curtius Rufus. None of these texts, however, acted as a direct model for these earliest recountings of the course of the First Crusade, which explains in part these texts' eclectic generic register,

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[13] Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia de Hiersolymitano Itinere*, ed. J.H. Hill and L.L. Hill, 1977. For helpful discussion see J. Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum*, and who was Peter Tudebode?', *Revue Mabillon* 77 (2005) 178-204, pp. 188-89.

[14] See J. France, 'The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* of Peter Tudebode. An analysis of the textual relationship between primary sources for the First Crusade', in J. France and W.G. Zajac (eds), *The crusades and their sources. Essays presented to Bernard Hamilton*, Aldershot UK, 1998, 39-69.

which shades between campaign narrative, the *res gestae* of individual crusade leaders, epic, pilgrimage account, vision literature, and hagiography, with admixtures of sermonizing and humorous anecdote.

As is well known, the *Gesta Francorum* was the basis of three detailed retellings of the crusade by northern French monks: Guibert of Nogent (q.v.) (who also made some use of Fulcher of Chartres' text); Robert, a monk of Saint-Rémi, Reims (q.v.); and Baldric, abbot of Bourgueil and subsequently archbishop of Dol, who was a noted poet and the most well-connected literary figureof the three.[15]

Ever since an influential paper by August Krey in 1928, what amounts to a crusade historiography myth of origins has gained widespread acceptance. According to this version of events, these three writers came by copies of the *Gesta Francorum* because it was brought from the Latin East and circulated in western Europe, principally France, in 1105-6 as part of Bohemond of Taranto's 'propaganda' campaign for a projected new crusade expedition.[16]

This represents a too narrowly instrumentalist vision of the dynamics of textual reception and manuscript circulation in this period; manuscripts of the *Gesta Francorum* most probably reached the West by various routes over a number of years. The posture of the three authors towards their source text was not that of propagandists creating a more effective propaganda instrument, but was more literary in intent, drawing much of its inspiration from the common practice of rewriting and improving hagiographical texts that failed to meet current stylistic and substantive expectations. Just as hagiographers rewriting a saint's *Life* would typically declare their trust in the truth value of their models, so Robert, Guibert, and Baldric expressed their faith in the basic factual accuracy of the *Gesta Francorum* and reinscribed its plot structure in their own tellings. The effect of this was to normalize the basic plot of the *Gesta Francorum*'s account as a form of default version of the events of the crusade – especially so in that Robert's text came to enjoy a very wide manuscript circulation, while recent research into the manuscript

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[15] Robert the Monk, 'Historia Iherosolimitana', *RHC Occ.*, iii, 717-882; Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Turnhout, 1996; Baldric of Bourgueil, 'Historia Jerosolimitana', *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, ed. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 5 vols, Paris, 1844-95, iv, 1-111.

[16] A.C. Krey, 'A neglected passage in the *Gesta* and its bearing on the literature of the First Crusade', in L.J. Paetow (ed.), *The crusades and other historical essays presented to D.C. Munro by his former students*, New York, 1928, 57-78.

witnesses to Baldric's history suggests that it also enjoyed a wider dissemination than hitherto suspected.[17]

Further retellings accentuated this pattern: the *Gesta Francorum* was drawn upon in the 1110s by Ralph of Caen (q.v.) in his *Gesta Tancredi*, an account of the deeds of Bohemond's cousin and crusade companion, Tancred;[18] the *Gesta Francorum* was also the basis of an underrated retelling of the story of the First Crusade, the *Historia belli sacri*, composed at Montecassino around 1130;[19]

Robert's history was used by Gilo of Paris (the suggestion that they used a now-lost common source is not convincing);[20] and Baldric's text was adapted by Orderic Vitalis (q.v.) in the 1130s as the basis of the extended account of the crusade that he included within his *Historia ecclesiastica*.[21]

In a similar vein, Orderic's contemporary William of Malmesbury (q.v.) drew upon Fulcher of Chartres for his substantial account of the First Crusade and the first years of the Latin East. It is noteworthy that William inserted this telling into a longer work, the *Gesta regum Anglorum*, which was specifically devoted to the history of the kings of England; his willingness to break his work's thematic unity to accommodate a history of the crusade is an indication of the importance that was attached to this event as an historiographical quantity in the first third of the 12th century.[22]

Two figures stand outside the *Gesta Francorum*-based tradition most visibly. One is the German abbot Ekkehard of Aura, who included a fairly short but thoughtful account of the crusade, conventionally known as the *Hierosolymita*, within a larger chronicle framework.[23]

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[17] See S. Biddlecombe, 'A critical edition of Baldric of Bourgueil's *Historia Ierosolimitana*', Bristol, 2010 (Diss. University of Bristol).

[18] *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen. A history of the Normans on the First Crusade*, trans. B.S. Bachrach and D.S. Bachrach, Aldershot, 2005.

[19] 'Historia belli sacri', *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, ed. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 5 vols, Paris, 1844-95, iii, 165-229.

[20] Cf. *Historia vie Hierosolimitane*, lviii-lx.

[21] Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols, Oxford, 1969-80, v, 28-188.

[22] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols, Oxford, 1998-99, i, 592-706.

[23] See *Frutolfi et Ekkehardi Chronica necnon Anonymi Chronica Imperatorum*, ed. F.-J. Schmale and I. Schmale-Ott, Darmstadt, 1972; Ekkehard of Aura, 'Hierosolymita', *RHC Occ.*, v, 1-40.

The second, and from an historiographical point of view far more significant, is Albert of Aachen. Perhaps beginning to write as early as c.1102, Albert created what proved to be the single longest account of the crusade in the first six books (of 12) of his *Historia Ierosolimitana* – indeed, the longest unified narrative account of a single episode or process to be written since Antiquity. Like Fulcher of Chartres, Albert subsequently, around 1120, expanded his crusade history into an account of the first two decades of the Latin East. The recent appearance of Susan Edgington's edition of the *Historia Ierosolimitana* has highlighted how much more research needs to be done into Albert's methods of accumulating material and writing it up: the old idea that he was working from a now-lost history of the crusade written from a Lotharingian perspective is no longer in favor. But if Albert had no substantial guide-texts and exemplars, the implication would be that it was a remarkable exercise in the gathering and marshalling of 'oral history' *avant le mot*.

Within this wide-ranging and diverse corpus of historiographical texts, attitudes towards the First Crusade's Muslim opponents and victims are generally homeogeneous, although there are important inflections and emphases introduced by individual authors.[24]

It is important to stress that for the most part these attitudes were not articulated within discrete discursive spaces directed towards some form of proto-ethnographic or comparative-religious reflection. It follows that the ideas and images that attached to the crusaders' enemies in the authors' imaginaries were not meant to be comprehensive or even internally consistent. They emerge in a singulative fashion as they serve the interests of the plot dynamic and the deployment of reality effects within the moment-by-moment creation of the texts' storyworlds. This plot-centred driver of attitudes requires emphasis. Although an aggregate of various ideas and images as articulated or implied in the texts can be turned into some sort of composite view of the crusaders', or the crusade historians', attitudes towards Muslims, those attitudes were most probably more complex, nuanced, and even contested than could be communicated within the discursive

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[24] See J.V. Tolan, 'Muslims as pagan idolaters in chronicles of the First Crusade', in D.R. Blanks and M. Frassetto (eds), *Western views of Islam in medieval and early modern Europe*, Basingstoke, 1999, 97-117. Cf. R.M.T. Hill, 'The Christian view of the Muslims at the time of the First Crusade', in P.M. Holt (ed.), *The eastern Mediterranean lands in the period of the crusades*, Warminster, 1977, 1-8.

parameters created by the narrative idioms and plot architectures of the texts that express them.

The most notable exception to this pattern is Guibert of Nogent, whose history of the crusade is prefaced by, *inter alia*, remarks on the origins and nature of Islam (a word, incidentally, that no crusade historian of this period had at his disposal). But for all of Guibert's awareness, however inaccurate, of the pertinence of some understanding of the religious beliefs of the crusaders' opponents, it is useful to recall that he was the most 'eccentric' of the second-generation historians of the crusade, a relative marginality demonstrated by the substantially fewer number of surviving manuscripts of his *Dei gesta per Francos* compared to those of Robert's and Baldric's competitor histories. The limited circulation of Guibert's text suggests that a sustained and historically grounded engagement with the history and culture of the Muslim world was not considered by contemporaries to be a necessary or even desirable element of a complete and effective narrativization of the First Crusade.

A passage in the *Gesta Francorum* helps to demonstrate the limitations of the crusade texts' ethnographic or cultural gaze. In what at first glance seems to be one of the text's more reflective moments, the author follows his telling of the battle of Dorylaeum, which took place on 1 July 1097, with the comment that it was claimed, by the Turks specifically, that they and the Franks shared a common ancestry.[25]

What might appear to be a precious piece of folk anthropology in fact recalls a long textual tradition, traceable back to Fredegar (q.v.) in the 7th century, recording a variant of the Frankish descent myth, according to which a break-away group of the Trojan refugees who were the Franks' forbears became known as the *Torci*.[26]

Even in what seems a moment of campfire rumor-mongering, therefore, the basis of the comment is essentially intertextual, not observational. As the comments of the *Gesta Francorum* reveal, one of the principal drivers for judgements on Muslims in the crusade narratives was the extent to which they were perceived as strong or weak opponents. The texts generally differentiate between the Turks and

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[25] *Gesta Francorum*, 21.

[26] See M.G. Bull, 'Overlapping and competing identities on the Frankish First Crusade', in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade. Actes du colloque universitaire international de Clermont-Ferrand, 23-25 juin 1995*, Rome, 1997, 195-211, pp. 206-7.

the Arabs/'Saracens'. The former's skills in mounted warfare, albeit in a form unfamiliar to Europeans, probably predisposed the crusade's knightly elites – and by extension the historians, who tended to identify with this group rather than with the lower social levels represented on the crusade – to map their identity and values onto the Turks as a group. Albert of Aachen is unusual in the extent to which he demonstrates an awareness of the Turks' pre-crusade nomadic history and their impact upon the settled Muslim and Christian civilizations that they encountered. Likewise, although the negotiations that the leaders of the First Crusade conducted with the Fatimids of Egypt, or 'Babylon' as the texts label it, alerted the historians of the crusade to some of the political fault lines that ran underneath the crusaders' programme of conquest in Syria and Palestine, this did not generally extend into a sustained treatment of the divisions between Sunnī and Shī'ī Islam. As always, immediate plot needs tended to dictate whatever discriminations between different Muslim populations were attempted. In this context, it is important to note that the First Crusade narratives' enumerations of the composite peoples of the Muslim world that confronted the crusaders – typically as arrayed in battle formations before a clash of arms – tend to be brief and more or less realistic from a historical and ethnographic point of view: there is a prounounced contrast with the long, heavily distorted, and exoticizing lists of enemy peoples that appear in *chansons de geste* from the Oxford *Roland* onwards. But this relatively 'sober' enumeration should not necessarily be read as evidence of more accurate knowledge or fuller understanding of the Muslim world, simply as a convention of genre. Where the crusade narratives do come closer to the discursive substance of *chansons* is in their general image of Muslims as idolators and gentiles – though there are exceptions, notably Albert of Aachen and Guibert of Nogent. Overall, the crusade was not constructed as a clash of monotheistic faiths, but as an asymmetrical battle between the revelation of truth and its denial by paganistic polytheists that in many respects replayed the postures of Christianity to late Roman religion and to the paganism of the peoples that it converted in the early medieval period. Once again, one is reminded of the importance of textual models and traditions over immediate experience for the cultural schemata that informed the handling of the Muslims in the crusade narratives. Thus, for example, attempts to explain away the texts' insistence on the polytheistic, idol-worshipping quality of Islam as a misunderstanding of the multiple forms in which the Prophet is

invoked[27] do no more than vainly explain away what cannot in fact be rationalized as a mistake. In short, the constructions of Muslims, the Muslim world, and Islam to be found in the narrative histories of the crusade are the consequences of emplotment strategies and the play of sometimes chronologically and geographically remote intertextual influences.

[27] See Hill, 'Christian view', 5.

Christians in early and classical Shīʿī law

David M. Freidenreich

Most Western research into Islamic law governing Christians and other non-Muslims focuses on Sunnī sources. This is to be expected, as Sunnīs have always comprised the vast majority of Muslims. Shīʿī treatments of this subject, however, differ in some significant ways from those of their Sunnī counterparts and therefore merit attention in their own right. Studies that do address the status of non-Muslims in Shīʿī law focus primarily on modern sources, specifically those that have shaped the lives of Jews and Christians in Iran; of particular note is Daniel Tsadik's 'The legal status of religious minorities: Imāmī Shīʿī law and Iran's constitutional revolution'.[1] Indeed, relatively little scholarly attention has been paid to the legal status of non-Muslims in Shīʿī works from before 1501, the year in which the Safavid dynasty that imposed Imāmī Shīʿism in Iran rose to power. As a result, the medieval evolution of distinctly Shīʿī norms regarding Christians and other non-Muslims remains poorly understood. The present essay offers an initial foray into this largely uncharted territory; I hope to produce a more comprehensive study of the legal status of non-Muslims in early and classical Shīʿī law in the coming years.

Islamic law is based not only on the Qurʾan but also and especially on the *sunna*, the practice of Muḥammad and those closest to him as reported in thousands of Hadiths. Sunnīs and Shīʿīs ascribe legitimacy to different collections of Hadiths, stemming from different early Islamic authorities. Shīʿīs – properly speaking, the *Shīʿat ʿAlī*, partisans of ʿAlī – believe that authority to guide the Islamic community after the Prophet's death rests in the hands of his descendants through his cousin and son-in-law ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 660); these descendants are known as the Imāms. Shīʿī Hadith collections and works of law consequently preserve the statements and practices of Muḥammad and the Imāms, whereas Sunnīs turn instead to Hadiths

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associated with Muḥammad and Muslims who lived during or shortly
after his lifetime. The three major groups of Shīʿīs – the Zaydīs, the
Ismāʿīlīs, and the Imāmīs – differ regarding the true chain of Imāms;
legal scholars within each group orient themselves toward the teach-
ings transmitted within their own particular community. This essay
focuses primarily on legal texts from the Imāmī community, the larg-
est of the Shīʿī groups. It also cites statements by the foremost Ismāʿīlī
legal authority, al-Nuʿmān ibn Muḥammad (al-Qāḍī, d. 974); Zaydī
sources receive only minimal and insufficient attention.[2]

   Sunnīs and Shīʿīs differ not only with respect to their conceptions
of authority and the substance of their Hadith literature, but also with
respect to numerous aspects of practical law. Laws relating to Chris-
tians (and Jews) are among those over which Sunnīs and Shīʿīs dis-
agree. These differences reflect a fundamental disparity with regard
to the ways in which Sunnīs and Shīʿīs classify non-Muslims. Sunnīs
perceive Christians both as *dhimmī*s, protected non-Muslims granted
second-class citizenship under Muslim rule, and as Scripturists (Peo-
ple of the Book), adherents of a religion based on a divinely revealed
scripture. Shīʿīs, in contrast, define Christians as *dhimmī*s and as
*kāfir*s, unbelievers whose religion is not acceptable before God. Laws
that treat Christians and other non-Muslims as *dhimmī*s may be clas-
sified as 'imposed' laws: they place obligations and restrictions upon
non-Muslims. The laws that treat Christians as either Scripturists or
*kāfir*s, in contrast, tend to be 'reflexive laws', whose regulations apply
primarily to Muslims themselves.[3]

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[2] The original research underlying this essay focused primarily on the following
works: al-Nuʿmān ibn Muḥammad (d. 974), *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, ed. A.A. Asghar Fyzee,
2 vols, Cairo, 1951 (Qom, 1965/66); Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī
(d. 991/92), *Al-Muqniʿ*, Qom, 1994/95; idem, *Al-hidāya fī l-ʿuṣūl wa-l-furūʿ*, Qom,
1997; Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Mufīd (d. 1032), *Al-muqniʿa*, Qom, 1994/95; ʿAlī
ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 1044), *Al-intiṣār*, Qom, 1994; Muḥammad ibn
al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (1066/67), *Al-nihāya fī mujarrad al-fiqh wa-l-fatāwā*, Beirut, 1980;
Jaʿfar ibn al-Ḥasan al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī (d. 1277), *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām fī masāʾil al-ḥalāl
wa-l-ḥarām*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ʿAlī Baqqāl, 2nd ed., 4 vols, Qom, 1988;
Muḥammad ibn Makkī l-ʿĀmilī (d. 1384), *Al-durūs al-sharʿiyya fī fiqh al-Imāmiyya*,
2nd. ed., 3 vols, Qom, 1996/97; idem, *Dhikrā l-Shīʿa fī aḥkām al-sharʿiyya*, 4 vols,
Qom, 1998; idem, *Ghāyat al-murād fī sharḥ nukat al-irshād*, 4 vols, Qom, 1993/94).
I accessed these and many other works by means of the *Noor digital library – Jāmiʿ
fiqh ahl al-bayt*, version 1.2, Qom, 2006). Citations below refer to representative texts
and are not comprehensive. On the history of Imāmī Shīʿī law, see H. Modarressi, *An
introduction to Shīʿī law. A bibliographical study*, London, 1984.
   [3] On the distinction between imposed law and reflexive law, see D. Freidenreich,

The present essay treats in turn the Shīʿī classification of Christians as *dhimmī*s and as *kāfir*s. It devotes particular attention to the evolutionary process through which Scripturists came to be equated with other unbelievers in Shīʿī normative thought. Its analysis indicates, unsurprisingly, that imposed laws seek to create a society that makes manifest the supremacy of Islam and its adherents over all other religions and their adherents. Perhaps more surprising, however, is the conclusion drawn with respect to reflexive laws, those that treat Christians as *kāfir*s. The primary thrust of these laws is not to emphasize the difference between Muslims and non-Muslims, a task already accomplished through imposed laws. Rather, reflexive laws relating to non-Muslims function as a means of emphasizing the difference between Shīʿīs, who recognize that Christians are unbelievers, and Sunnīs, whose failure to do so sufficiently points toward deeper flaws in Sunnī beliefs and practices.

Christians as *dhimmī*s

The conception of Christians as both *ahl al-dhimma*, 'people subject to the guarantee of protection', and *kāfir*s is evident throughout the *Muqniʿa* of Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Mufīd (d. 1032), an early systematic treatise of Imāmī law. Its discussion of the *jizya*, the special tax imposed upon *dhimmī*s in accordance with Q 9:29, tellingly begins as follows: 'The *jizya* is incumbent upon all adult male Scripturist unbelievers (*kuffār ahl al-kitāb*)29…'. Al-Mufīd proceeds to define these unbelievers as Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians. His student, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifa, d. 1066/67), clarifies that Zoroastrians are not in fact People of the Book, but their legal status is nevertheless equivalent to the status of Jews and Christians.[4]

Shīʿī authorities hold that the *jizya* may be imposed either as a poll tax or a land tax and that it lacks a fixed, consistent or maximum amount; this variability, some explain, heightens the humiliating

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'Muslims in canon law, 650-1000', *CMR* 1, p. 85. On the application of these terms to Sunnī laws regarding non-Muslims, see idem, 'Christians in early and classical Sunnī law', *CMR* 1, pp. 99-114.

[4] Al-Mufīd, *Al-muqniʿa*, pp. 269-70; al-Ṭūsī, *Al-nihāya*, p. 193; see also al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*, i, pp. 298-300. According to al-Mufīd, Zoroastrians are treated as equivalent to Jews and Christians because they once possessed a scripture.

nature of the tax.[5] Conversion to Islam at any time prior to paying the *jizya* exempts the convert from his obligations; this exemption both makes manifest the nature of the *jizya* as a means of degrading those who pointedly decline to become Muslims and incentivizes acceptance of the true faith. Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians who pay the *jizya* and adhere to the laws of their respective religions are to be protected from death, enslavement and despoliation. Those who refuse to submit to Islam or the tax, or who convert to a religion other than Islam, are to be killed, their children enslaved, and their property seized.[6]

Later Shī'ī authorities, including Ja'far ibn al-Ḥasan al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī (d. 1277) and Muḥammad ibn Makkī al-'Āmilī (al-Shahīd al-Awwal, d. 1384), address a variety of other requirements imposed upon *dhimmī*s.[7] As they have been granted security by the Muslims, they may not fight against Muslims or aid non-Muslim enemies. *Dhimmī*s are also forbidden from harming Muslims through such acts as adultery with Muslim women, sodomy with Muslim boys, theft, and assistance to foreign spies. They may not publicly engage in behaviors permitted by their own religion yet forbidden under Islam, such as the consumption of pork or wine; *dhimmī* males are also forbidden from marrying women deemed by Islamic law as unfit marriage partners (*muḥrimāt*). *Dhimmī*s who blaspheme the Prophet are subject to the death penalty.[8] *Dhimmī*s may not purchase copies of the Qur'an and have no right to enter mosques or the Ḥijāz region. They may neither establish new houses of worship nor beat the wooden clappers of their churches (*nāqūs*, the local equivalent of church bells) in public proclamation of Christian worship. *Dhimmī*s are also forbidden from constructing buildings taller than those of Muslims, lest architecture imply the superiority of a religion other than Islam.[9]

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[5] In addition to the sources cited in the previous note, see also Tsadik, 'Legal status', pp. 397-99, who summarizes the discussion of *jizya* in a 19th-century Imāmī treatise.

[6] Al-Ṭūsī, *Al-nihāya*, pp. 291-92, 539-40.

[7] Al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, *Sharā'i' al-Islām*, i, pp. 300-6; al-'Āmilī, *Ghāyat al-murād*, i, pp. 469, 497-99. Tsadik, 'Legal status', pp. 397-403, summarizes a 19th-century commentary on this portion of al-Muḥaqqiq's work.

[8] On this regulation, see also al-Murtaḍā, *Al-intiṣār*, pp. 480-85, who charges that Sunnīs are unduly lenient toward blaspheming *dhimmī*s.

[9] Al-'Āmilī, *Ghāyat al-murād*, i, p. 497, specifies that if a *dhimmī* purchases a tall house from a Muslim, he need not lower it but may not restore it to its original height should the building suffer damage.

The principle that the supremacy of Islam over all other religions must be manifest in society underpins a series of laws that privilege Muslims in financial matters.[10] Muslim co-owners and neighbors may exercise the right of first refusal (*shufʿa*) when a piece of property is offered for sale; Jews and Christians may exercise this right only when the seller is a co-religionist, but they have no such right when a Muslim is involved.[11] Non-Muslims are also ineligible to receive any inheritance from Muslim relatives. If a deceased non-Muslim has a close Muslim relative, moreover, that relative supersedes all non-Muslim heirs; thus, a Muslim nephew receives the entirety of a Christian's estate, while the deceased's Christian son receives no share of the inheritance. Submission to Islam before distribution of the estate constitutes an effective means of preserving or increasing one's share of the inheritance, a further incentive to convert. These rules reflect an application of the qurʾanic dictum, 'God will never allow unbelievers to triumph over believers' (Q 4:141). Shīʿī law, however, recognizes the binding nature of legally valid bequests, in keeping with the qurʾanic injunction against changing a will (Q 2:181). Consequently, a Muslim may bequeath a portion of his estate to a Christian. A Muslim may also give alms to a Christian, even a stranger, and may establish an endowment (*waqf*) whose beneficiaries include unbelieving relatives; such an endowment may not, however, be designated in support of a synagogue, church, Zoroastrian fire-temple, or the like.[12]

*Dhimmī*s must accept the rulings of Muslim judges (*aḥkām al-Muslimīn*) and are subject to a number of inequities in the

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[10] Interestingly, this principle does not prevent Shīʿīs from turning to non-Muslim doctors for medical treatment; comparable behavior is forbidden in other religious traditions out of concern for the power dynamic inherent in the doctor-patient relationship. As the Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq explains, 'healing is in God's hands'. See al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, ii, p. 144, §501.

[11] Al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, ii, p. 92, §289; al-ʿĀmilī, *Al-durūs al-sharʿiyya*, iii, p. 358. Al-Ṭūsī, *Al-nihāya*, p. 429, considers all forms of financial partnership between Muslims and non-Muslims to be reprehensible, but he does not forbid such partnerships.

[12] Al-ʿĀmilī, *Al-durūs al-sharʿiyya*, ii, pp. 345-46 (inheritance), ii, pp. 307-8 (bequests). On inheritance, see also al-Mufīd, *Al-muqniʿa*, pp. 700-3; on bequests, see also al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, ii, p. 321, §1312. On alms, see al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, i, p. 267 (referring to *zakāt al-fiṭr*); al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*, i, p. 306 (referring to *ṣadaqa*). On endowments, see al-Ṭūsī, *Al-nihāya*, p. 594. On all of these subjects, see further Tsadik, 'Legal status', pp. 389-92. A Muslim may elect to manumit his Christian slave, but it is preferable to free a Muslim slave; see al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, ii, p. 303, §1137.

administration of justice.[13] If a *dhimmī* brings suit in a Muslim court against a co-religionist on a matter permitted under his law, the defendant must consent to being judged in accordance with the terms of Islamic law. If a *dhimmī* is charged with behavior forbidden both by his own religion and by Islam, the Muslim judge may apply either set of legal norms.[14] Thus, a judge may impose the qurʾanically mandated *ḥadd* penalties on Christians who engage in illicit sexual intercourse with co-religionists, or he may choose to remand the guilty parties to Christian courts.[15] Jews and Christians who drink wine in public in Muslim towns are subject to the same *ḥadd* penalty as Muslims.[16] Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Bābawayh (or Ibn Bābūya, d. 991/92) states that a Christian who slanders a Muslim is to receive both the *ḥadd*-mandated flogging for slander, and additional flogging for violating the sanctity of Islam.[17]

The families of non-Muslims murdered by Muslims are in most cases barred from killing the Muslim murderer in retaliation, a right granted to the families of Muslim murder victims. Only if the murderer is a habitual killer of non-Muslims may the victim's family opt to kill him; they must, however, pay to the murderer's family the difference between the blood-money (*diya*) owed for killing a Muslim and that owed for the killing of a non-Muslim.[18] Shīʿī authorities uniformly rule that the blood-money payable to the family of a murdered Jewish, Christian or Zoroastrian free male is only 800 dirhams, a small fraction of the amount payable to the relatives of a free male Muslim. (Women, both Muslim and non-Muslim alike, are valued at half the amount of comparable men.) ʿAli ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 1044) highlights this ruling as a point of difference between Shīʿīs and Sunnīs, many of whom hold that the blood-money for murdered Christians is one third, one half, or even the same as the amount payable to relatives of a murdered Muslim.[19]

Shīʿī statements regarding the legal status of Christians as *dhimmī*s are generally similar to those found in Sunnī sources and serve the

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[13] See further Tsadik, 'Legal status', pp. 392-94.
[14] See the references in n. 7.
[15] Al-Ṭūsī, *Al-nihāya*, p. 696.
[16] Al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, ii, p. 464, §1647.
[17] Ibn Bābawayh, *Al-hidāya*, p. 293.
[18] Al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, ii, p. 410, §1428; al-ʿĀmilī, *Ghāyat al-murād*, iv, pp. 345-46.
[19] Al-Murtaḍā, *Al-intiṣār*, pp. 545-47; on Sunnī opinions regarding the blood-money of non-Muslims, see n. 22.

same function: to render non-Muslims socially and legally inferior to Muslims.[20] The practical differences between Sunnī and Shīʿī *dhimmī* laws, moreover, are generally no greater than the differences of opinion among the various Sunnī schools of law. Implicit in the equation of Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians, however, is an important underlying distinction between Sunnī and Shīʿī systems of classifying non-Muslims. Sunnīs ascribe an elevated status among non-Muslims to Jews and Christians on account of their reverence for an authentic scripture.[21] Thus, for example, Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs hold that the blood-money for a murdered Scripturist is 4,000 or 6,000 dirhams, while that of a murdered Zoroastrian is only 800 dirhams. (The blood-money for a murdered Muslim, according to Sunnī authorities, is 12,000 dirhams.)[22]

Shīʿī authorities, in contrast, emphasize that Jews and Christians are unbelievers irrespective of their scriptures. The Shīʿī equation of Christians with Zoroastrians, to the detriment of the former, is especially evident in reflexive laws, those that restrict Shīʿīs in their interactions with non-Muslims.

Christians as *kāfir*s

Classical sources of Shīʿī law (roughly, those dating from the 11th through 19th centuries) consistently hold that non-Muslims are impure, in accordance with Q 9:28: 'Truly, the polytheists (*mushrikūn*) are impure.'[23] More specifically, these sources ascribe impurity to all non-Muslims, including Christians and Jews. They regard this impurity as stemming from the false beliefs about God which non-Muslims espouse, beliefs that render even Jews and Christians 'unbelievers' (*kāfir*s) equivalent to polytheists. As such, this state of impurity is

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[20] Some Sunnī norms, such as the requirement that *dhimmī*s wear distinctive clothing, are apparently absent from pre-Safavid Shīʿī sources, though many of them appear in later Shīʿī sources; see Tsadik, 'Legal status', pp. 402-3.

[21] See Freidenreich, 'Christians in early and classical Sunnī law', pp. 109-14.

[22] See Y. Friedmann, *Tolerance and coercion in Islam. Interfaith relations in the Muslim tradition*, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 47-50.

[23] For example, al-ʿĀmilī, *Dhikrā l-Shīʿa*, i, pp. 115-16, lists unbelievers as the tenth of ten distinct types of impurity; al-ʿĀmilī regards the unbelief of Jews and Christians to be self-evident, iv, p. 102. On the impurity of non-Muslims in modern and early modern Shīʿī literature, as well as in medieval Sunnī sources, see Z. Maghen, 'Strangers and brothers. The ritual status of unbelievers in Islamic jurisprudence', *Medieval Encounters* 12 (2006) 173-223. See also Tsadik, 'Legal status', pp. 381-85.

effectively intrinsic to non-Muslims: it can only be rectified through conversion, an act that transforms a non-Muslim into a Muslim.[24] Classical authorities, moreover, regard non-Muslim impurity as communicable through the medium of moisture. The sweat of a non-Muslim, for example, imparts impurity to the non-Muslim's clothing.[25] Similarly, moist foodstuffs touched by non-Muslims become impure, as do people and objects touched by a wet non-Muslim. The highly contagious nature of non-Muslim impurity as depicted in classical sources prompted Shīʿī authorities to develop elaborate restrictions that Shīʿīs must observe in order to safeguard their own purity and that of their possessions.[26]

Pre-classical Shīʿī sources, in contrast, display a lack of consensus regarding each of the three core attributes of the classical notion of non-Muslim impurity: its universality, its communicability, and its relationship to unbelief. These sources are also distinct from their classical successors in that they do not employ Q 9:28 as a proof-text.[27] Various early authorities distinguish People of the Book from

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[24] The power of the act of conversion itself to render a non-Muslim pure is implicit in al-Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*, 10 vols, Najaf, 1962, i, p. 224. A deceased non-Muslim cannot be purified, so it is not appropriate for a Muslim to either administer purificatory ablutions to such a person's corpse or offer prayers on her behalf. Muslims are also not allowed to let non-Muslims administer the purificatory ablutions to the corpse of a Muslim. See al-ʿĀmilī, *Dhikrā l-Shīʿa*, i, pp. 325-26.

[25] Early and classical authorities differ over whether one may pray while wearing a garment worn by a Jew or Christian. Al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, i, p. 177, holds that the garment must first be washed to cleanse it of the unbeliever's sweat, whereas al-ʿĀmilī, *Dhikrā l-Shīʿa*, iii, p. 62, holds that washing is only necessary if one knows that the garment is soiled by an impure substance. Sunnī and Shīʿī authorities alike regard sweat, saliva and the remains of liquid from which a person has drunk – collectively called *suʾr* – as possessing the same purity status as a person associated with them; see Z. Maghen, 'Close encounters. Some preliminary observations on the transmission of impurity in early Sunnī jurisprudence', *Islamic Law and Society* 6 (1999) 348-92, especially pp. 359-65.

[26] To cite an example already addressed in some pre-classical sources: because water touched by an unbeliever becomes impure, a believer must perform his purificatory ablutions before an unbeliever makes use of the water and must purify vessels that have contained water associated with unbelievers. See, among others, *Masāʾil ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar*, Qom, 1988/89, pp. 170-71; al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, i, p. 113; al-Ṭūsī, *Al-nihāya*, p. 5; al-ʿĀmilī, *Dhikrā l-Shīʿa*, i, p. 119. Many modern authorities have transformed these reflexive laws, incumbent upon Shīʿīs, into imposed laws that restrict the behavior of non-Muslims; some, for example, have prohibited unbelievers from going outside on a rainy day, lest their impurity contaminate Muslims or their property. See Maghen, 'Strangers and brothers', pp. 188-89.

[27] See D. Freidenreich, 'The implications of unbelief. Tracing the emergence of distinctively Shīʿī notions regarding the food and impurity of non-Muslims', *Islamic Law and Society* 18 (2010) (forthcoming).

other non-Muslims, and regard only the latter as a source of impurity.[28] Some evidently do not regard the impurity of non-Muslims to be communicable, as they permit Muslims to consume various moist foodstuffs touched by non-Muslims.[29] Many early authorities, moreover, hold that the impurity of non-Muslims stems not from their improper beliefs but rather from improper behaviors, such as the consumption of wine and pork. According to some of these authorities, non-Muslims can purify themselves through the performance of the proper ritual ablutions, even while retaining their original faith.[30]

Early Shīʿī statements about the impurity of non-Muslims reflect a spectrum of opinions similar in its diversity to those found in early Sunnī works. Classical Sunnī authorities, however, generally downplay the practical ramifications of non-Muslim impurity, while from the early 11th century onward Shīʿī authorities make a point of doing the opposite. It may not be coincidental that one of the earliest articulations of the classical Shīʿī conception of non-Muslim impurity (and the first citation of Q 9:28 in this context) appears in al-Murtaḍā's *Intiṣār*, a polemical treatise that asserts the superiority of Shīʿī over Sunnī legal norms.[31] Sunnīs, according to Shīʿīs, fail to acknowledge the full implications of Christian and Jewish unbelief, a failure that carries significant consequences with respect to the purity status of Sunnīs and thus the efficacy of their worship. Shīʿīs also raise another concern about Sunnī prayer, charging that Sunnī worshippers improperly mimic Christian or Jewish practices by, for example, saying *ʿamīn* after the recitation of the *Fātiḥa*.[32]

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[28] For example, the *Majmūʿ al-fiqh*, associated with Zayd ibn ʿAlī (d. 740), consistently distinguishes Jews and Christians from Zoroastrians and polytheists, and associates impurity solely with the latter group of non-Muslims. See E. Griffini (ed.), *'Corpus Iuris' di Zaid ibn ʿAli*, Milan, 1919, p. 13, §55.

[29] This position is attested as late as the early 11th century: al-Mufīd, who holds that Jews and Christians are impure (*Al-muqniʿa*, p. 65), explains the permission of 'the food of those who were given the Book' in Q 5:5 as referring to 'breads and nourishing grains' (*Al-muqniʿa*, p. 580) or 'their grains and dairy products' (*Taḥrīm dhabaʾiḥ ahl al-kitāb*, Qom, 1992, p. 26), foodstuffs whose preparation involves contact with moist ingredients.

[30] See, for example, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Barqī, *Al-maḥāsin*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, Tehran, 1951, pp. 453-54, §§372, pp. 375-78.

[31] Al-Murtaḍā, *Al-intiṣār*, pp. 88-89. Bibliography on Sunnī attitudes toward non-Muslim impurity appears in Freidenreich, 'Christians in early and classical Sunnī law', *CMR* 1, p. 109.

[32] Al-Mufīd, *Al-muqniʿa*, pp. 104-5; see also al-ʿĀmilī, *Dhikrā l-Shīʿa*, iii, pp. 345, 348.

The evolutionary trends that we observed in Shīʿī discourse about non-Muslim impurity – toward treating all non-Muslims alike, toward restricting access to foodstuffs associated with non-Muslims, and toward the justification of these restrictions by appeal to the false beliefs of non-Muslims – are especially apparent in statements that address the status of animal slaughter performed by non-Muslims.[33] These statements are also commonly accompanied by anti-Sunnī polemic. Sunnī authorities consistently distinguish between Scripturists and other non-Muslims with respect to animal slaughter, in keeping with the qurʾanic dictum, 'the food of those who were given the Book is permitted to you' (Q 5:5). Sunnīs regard the permissibility of meat prepared by Jewish and Christian butchers as an important manifestation of the affinity between those who revere the Qurʾan and those who revere previous authentic scriptures.[34] Shīʿīs, as we have begun to see, come to view the affinity between Sunnīs and Scripturists in a rather different light.

Works of Shīʿī law from the 8ᵗʰ and 9ᵗʰ centuries contain statements about animal slaughter performed by non-Muslims that parallel those of Sunnī authorities: these statements distinguish Jews and Christians from other non-Muslims and allow Muslims to consume meat prepared by Scripturist butchers.[35] Works from the 9ᵗʰ and 10ᵗʰ centuries, in contrast, assert that Jews and Christians are no different from other non-Muslims in this respect. Some statements found in works from this era permit meat prepared by any non-Muslim butcher who properly invokes God's name, while others prohibit all such meat on the grounds that non-Muslims fail to invoke God properly.[36] Beginning at about the turn of the 11ᵗʰ century with al-Mufīd, Shīʿī authorities coalesce around the more restrictive of these positions. Whereas earlier authorities focus on the behavior of non-Muslim butchers (do they perform the invocation of God properly?), al-Mufīd emphasizes

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[33] On this subject, see Freidenreich, 'Implications of unbelief'; see also D. Freidenreich, *Foreigners and their food. Constructing otherness in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic law*, Berkeley CA, 2011 (forthcoming), ch. 11.

[34] Bibliography on Sunnī attitudes toward the food of non-Muslims appears in Freidenreich, 'Christians in early and classical Sunnī law', p. 111.

[35] See, for example, *Majmūʿ al-fiqh*, pp. 141-42, §526.

[36] Permissive authorities include al-Nuʿmān, *Al-iqtiṣār*, Beirut, 1996, p. 78; Ibn Bābawayh, *Al-muqniʿ*, p. 417. Restrictive authorities include several Zaydī figures; see, for example, Muʾayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn, *Al-tajrīd fī fiqh al-imāmayn al-aʿẓamayn al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm wa-ḥafīẓuhu l-Imām al-Hādī Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn*, Amman, 2002, p. 341.

their beliefs: non-Muslims, he asserts, are incapable of invoking God properly because they lack proper understanding of God. In a treatise entitled *The prohibition of ritual slaughter performed by People of the Book*, al-Mufīd explains that the falsehood of Christian and Jewish theology is manifest in Christian Trinitarianism and in the fact that Christians and Jews fail to abstain from wine and to acknowledge the authenticity of Muḥammad's prophethood.[37]

Shīʿī polemicists portray the fact that Sunnīs condone Jewish and Christian acts of animal slaughter as evidence that Sunnīs are not truly faithful to the proper teachings of Islam.[38] In the course of his discussion about Jewish and Christian meat, al-Mufīd takes the opportunity to condemn Sunnīs for their refusal to acknowledge that such meat is prohibited. He characterizes Sunnīs as evil and tyrannical people wont to persecute pious Shīʿīs, who abstain from meat prepared by Scripturists in contravention of 'the consensus of those who are hostile to the Imāms' (*jamāʿat al-nāṣibiyya*).[39] Consensus that contradicts the truth revealed by the Imāms, al-Mufīd implies, is devoid of value.

Sunnīs grant Christians and Jews an elevated status among non-Muslims on account of their reverence for an authentic scripture. Shīʿīs, however, maintain that even reverence for the Qurʾan is insufficient: true knowledge of God and the divine will is accessible only through the esoteric teachings revealed to the Imāms.[40] Thus, al-Murtaḍā faults Sunnīs for their flawed interpretation of Q 5:5 which, he explains, must refer solely to natural foodstuffs that are not

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[37] Al-Mufīd, *Taḥrīm dhabāʾiḥ ahl al-kitāb*, p. 24; see also *Al-muqniʿa*, pp. 579–81. Al-Murtaḍā, *Al-intiṣār*, pp. 421-22, asserts that God has always forbidden humankind from consuming wine and that Sunnīs, who understand this prohibition to be a new development with the rise of Islam, ascribe undue weight to the false teachings of Jews and Christians on this subject.

[38] For a powerful early example of such polemic, see Abū Muḥammad al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān, *Al-īḍāḥ*, Tehran, 1972, pp. 207-9.

[39] Al-Mufīd, *Taḥrīm*, pp. 31-32. This characterization of Sunnīs enables al-Mufīd to explain Hadiths that permit consumption of meat prepared by Jews and Christians as referring to situations that require dissimulation (*taqiyya*) in the face of danger.

[40] Indeed, a Hadith reports that a Christian marvelled at the knowledge displayed by Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 765) – 'By God! He is the most knowledgeable among humans, the most knowledgeable among all that God has created!' – when the Imām informed his followers that Christian butchers invoke Christ rather than God. Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī, *Furūʿ al-kāfī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar al-Ghaffārī, 8 vols, Beirut, 1985, vi, p. 241, §15. The notion that Christian butchers invoke Christ rather than God, widely attested in Sunnī as well as Shīʿī sources, is uncorroborated in medieval Christian sources.

susceptible to contracting the impurity inherent in Jews and Chris-
tians.[41] This interpretation becomes standard within classical Shī'ī
codes of law, codes that also prohibit eating meat prepared by ʿnāṣibīsʾ,
the term Shī'īs use to refer to Muslims who are hostile to the Imāms,
namely Sunnīs.[42] Indeed, Shī'ī authorities regularly apply to nāṣibīs the
same laws they apply with respect to non-Muslims. In some marginal
cases, Shī'īs even accord Christians a slightly elevated status in com-
parison with nāṣibīs. Two such cases involve marriage to a Christian
woman and the employment of a Christian wet nurse.

 Shī'ī discourse about the permissibility of marriage to non-
Muslims displays the same evolutionary trends we have observed
in discourse about impurity and acts of ritual slaughter. Early Shī'ī
authorities, such as Zayd ibn ʿAlī (d. 740), agree with their Sunnī
counterparts that Muslim men may marry Jewish and Christian
women but not Zoroastrian or polytheist women. This distinction
accords with qurʾanic statements that prohibit marrying a polythe-
ist or unbeliever (Q 2:221, 60:10) yet permit marriage to ʿproper
women among those who were given the Book before youʾ (Q 5:5).[43]
Ibn Bābawayh, writing in the 10th century, condemns marriage to
Jewish and Christian women as disgraceful but deems such mar-
riage permissible nevertheless, while marriage to a nāṣibī woman is
forbidden.[44] Al-Mufīd and his successors prohibit marrying Scriptur-
ists, Zoroastrians and nāṣibīs alike on account of their false beliefs, in
accordance with Q 2:221 and 60:10.[45] These Shī'ī authorities do not,
however, entirely reject the distinction between Scripturists and other

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[41] Al-Murtaḍā, Al-intiṣār, p. 409.

[42] See, for example, al-Ṭūsī, Al-nihāya, p. 582; al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, Sharāʾiʿ
al-Islām, iii, p. 159. On laws regarding nāṣibīs, see E. Kohlberg, ʿNon-Imāmī Muslims
in Imāmī fiqhʾ, JSAI 6 (1985) 99-105 (repr. in idem, Belief and law in Imāmī Shī'ism,
Aldershot UK, 1991).

[43] Majmūʿ al-fiqh, p. 201, §733; marriage to Arab Christian women, however, is for-
bidden on the grounds that such women are not really Christian. See also Aḥmad ibn
ʿĪsā (d. 861/62), Raʾb al-ṣadʿ. Amālī Aḥmad ibn ʿĪsā, ed. ʿA. al-Ṣanʿānī, 3 vols, Beirut,
1990, ii, p. 1604. Bibliography on Sunnī attitudes toward the marriage with non-Mus-
lims appears in Freidenreich, ʿChristians in early and classical Sunnī lawʾ, p. 111.

[44] Ibn Bābawayh (Al-muqniʿ, pp. 307-8) requires Muslim husbands to forbid their
Jewish or Christian wives from consuming wine or pork and limits such husbands
to two Scripturist wives, in contrast to up to four Muslim wives. He forbids marriage
to Zoroastrians; sexual intercourse with one's Zoroastrian slave is permitted but the
master may not claim paternity of the resulting offspring. These opinions are also
associated with Muḥammad ibn Bābawayh's father, ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn; see Risālatān
majmūʿatān min fatāwā l-ʿalamayn, Qom, 1986, pp. 111-12.

[45] Al-Murtaḍā, Al-intiṣār, pp. 279-80, explains that Q 5:5 refers solely to converts
from Judaism or Christianity, refuting Sunnī opinions to the contrary.

non-Muslims, perhaps because this distinction appears both in the Qurʾan and in a significant number of Shīʿī Hadiths.

Al-Mufīd declares that ʿMarriage to unbelieving women is forbidden on account of their unbelief, regardless of whether they are idolaters, Zoroastrians, Jews or Christians.... Marriage to a *nāṣibī* woman known to bear enmity toward the family of the Prophet [the Imāms], peace be upon them, is prohibited in accordance with the prohibition of marriage to those like her in their unbelief and error.ʾ[46] Al-Mufīd, however, permits taking a Jew or Christian as a concubine, even though he prohibits entering into such a relationship with a Zoroastrian, an idolater or a *nāṣibī*.[47] Al-Ṭūsī, a student of al-Mufīd, crystallizes the classical Shīʿī position regarding marriage. In what seems to be an effort to reconcile conflicting Hadiths, al-Ṭūsī clarifies that permanent marriage (ʿaqd) with a Jewish or Christian woman is forbidden but that one may take such a woman in a temporary marriage (*mutʿa*) or as a concubine, arrangements that are less common and less honorable than permanent marriages.[48] Al-Ṭūsī deems temporary marriage and concubinage involving Zoroastrian women to be permissible but reprehensible. Marriage to Sunnīs hostile to the Imāms is forbidden.[49] The marginally elevated status of Scripturists over other non-Muslims and also over *nāṣibī*s is also apparent in Shīʿī laws governing wet nurses. Such women ought to be pious Muslims, but in cases of necessity a Jewish or Christian wet nurse is preferable to

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[46] Al-Mufīd, *Al-muqniʿa*, pp. 500-1. Al-Mufīd's qualification regarding *nāṣibī* women is commonplace: Muslims are presumed to hold no opinion or a favorable opinion of the Imāms unless there is evidence to the contrary.

[47] Al-Mufīd, *Al-muqniʿa*, pp. 508, 545.

[48] When a non-Muslim man converts to Islam, he may remain married to his Jewish, Christian or Zoroastrian wife; when a non-Muslim woman converts, the couple must be separated and the marriage is annulled if the husband fails to convert before the conclusion of his wife's waiting period (ʿidda). Al-Ṭūsī stipulates that Muslim husbands must forbid their non-Muslim wives from consuming pork or wine or violating Islamic law in other ways (*Al-nihāya*, pp. 457-58). Elsewhere, al-Ṭūsī makes clear that a marriage between a Muslim and a Scripturist is equivalent in its imbalanced nature to that of a free Muslim and a Muslim slave (*Al-nihāya*, pp. 483, 523). The child of a mixed marriage is a Muslim, but al-ʿĀmilī (*Dhikrā l-Shīʿa*, ii, p. 9) clarifies that the fetus itself is not yet a Muslim: if a Christian woman impregnated by a Muslim man should die, the fetus should be buried with the woman rather than in a cemetery for Muslims.

[49] Al-Ṭūsī, *Al-nihāya*, pp. 457-58, 490. *Al-nihāya* does not address temporary marriage to a *nāṣibī* woman; such behavior is forbidden by al-ʿĀmilī, *Ghāyat al-murād*, iii, p. 77).

a Zoroastrian wet nurse; *nāṣibī* women may not be employed as wet nurses.[50]

The slight differences between laws regarding Scripturists and *nāṣibī*s do not reflect a modicum of respect toward Jews and Christians on the part of Shīʿī jurists. Rather, Shīʿīs ascribe the lowest possible status to *nāṣibī*s, a status that in some cases renders Sunnīs inferior to Scripturists. Indeed, it seems that Shīʿī insistence upon treating Jews and Christians as unbelievers is primarily intended to convey a message regarding Sunnīs: failure to accept God's designated authority figures, the Prophet and the Imāms, is tantamount to idolatry itself. The fact that Jews and Christians revere an authentic scripture is thus irrelevant. Because Sunnīs use reflexive laws governing foodstuffs and marriage as a means of expressing the affinity between Muslims and People of the Book, classical Shīʿī authorities are able to employ discourse about the same laws to express the sharp discontinuity not only between Muslims and Scripturists but also between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs. Christians and Jews, one might say, are pawns caught in the intra-Islamic crossfire.

Muslims in Western canon law, 1000-1500

David M. Freidenreich

Collections of Latin canon law published from the late 12th through late 15th centuries regularly include a section titled 'On Jews and Saracens and their [Christian] servants' (*De Iudaeis et Sarracenis et eorum servis*).[1] This title is revealing in several respects. First, it reflects the fact that Roman Catholic canonists active during this period perceived this subject matter as a discrete topic and possessed a significant number of normative statements about it. We should not take this fact for granted: Gratian's *Decretum*, the foundational text of classical canon law compiled c. 1140, contains a sub-section devoted to Jews but devotes no systematic attention to Muslims; indeed, references to 'Saracens' in this sizeable collection are few and far between.[2] Later collections also incorporate canons related to Muslims under a variety of headings, but the presence of a section devoted to Jews and Saracens serves as an important focal point for medieval analysis of the status of these non-Christians within canon law. Second, this title reflects the fact that canonists are principally interested in Jews and

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[1] On the use of this title in 12th- and 13th-century collections, see P. Herde, 'Christians and Saracens at the time of the crusades. Some comments of contemporary canonists', in *Studien zur Papst- und Reichsgeschichte, zur Geschichte des Mittelmeerraumes und zum kanonischen Recht im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart, 2002, pp. 56-57; this essay is a revised version of a work initially published in *Studia Gratiana* 12 (1967) 359-76. The *Constitutiones Clementinae*, published by Pope John XXII in 1317, employs the same title, even though the only canon found in this section relates exclusively to Saracens (Clem. 5.2.un). The 15th-century collection *Extravagantes communes* employs the title *De Iudaeis*, even though this section contains a canon that specifically addresses Saracens (Extrav. commun. 5.2.1). On medieval collections of canon law and the forms of citation used in this essay to refer to their contents, see J.A. Brundage, *Medieval canon law,* London, 1995, pp. 190-202.

[2] Only four canons in the *Decretum*, all cited below, refer explicitly to Saracens; four additional canons that refer to 'pagans' may well have Saracens in mind. These eight canons (out of a total of nearly 4,000) appear in five different sections of the *Decretum*. All but one date from the 8th and 9th centuries; these canons receive more sustained treatment in D. Freidenreich, 'Muslims in canon law, 650-1000', *CMR*1, 83-98. Canons regarding Jews appear in C. 28 q. 1, which addresses the subject of marriage involving infidels; the absence of canons regarding Saracens in this section of the *Decretum* is striking.

Saracens as they stand in relationship to Christians. A major objective of canons addressing Jews and Saracens is to ensure that Christians do not find themselves in any way subservient to non-Christians, although we shall see that Western canon law regarding Muslims advances a variety of other objectives as well. Third, this title reflects the common practice among Western canonists of placing Jews and Saracens in the same category. Given the unique place of the Jews within Christian theology and early medieval canon law, this development is arguably the most surprising feature in the history of medieval canon law regarding Muslims. Tension between the equation of Saracens with Jews and the insistence upon a distinction between these communities of non-Christians animates much of the legal discourse about Muslims in medieval Western Europe.[3]

Bernard of Pavia, originator of the title *De Iudaeis et Sarracenis*,[4] also authored the explanation of the term 'Saracens' that became commonplace among canonists: Saracens, who accept neither the Old nor the New Testament, named themselves after Abraham's wife, Sarah, even though they are in fact descended from his maidservant, Hagar, and should therefore properly be called 'Hagarenes' (*Agarenos*). Despite the awareness of some earlier authorities that Saracens are monotheists – Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073-85), writing to a Muslim ruler, emphasizes that both parties 'believe in and acknowledge the one God, albeit in different ways'[5] – Bernard uses the terms *Sarraceni* and *pagani* interchangeably, apparently because he accepts the classic Christian notion that non-Christians must be either Jewish or pagan.[6] Thus, even as Bernard links Jews and Saracens – and, as we

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[3] The history of canon law in the Eastern Churches is unrelated to that of the Western tradition; an essay on 'Muslims in Eastern canon law, 1000-1500', is scheduled to appear in the *CMR* volume covering the period 1200-1500.

[4] Title 5.5 of Bernard's *Breviarium extravagantium*, also known as the *Compilatio prima*, published between 1188 and 1192; see E. Friedberg (ed.), *Quinque compilationes antiquae*, 1882 (repr. Graz, 1956), p. 55.

[5] E. Caspar (ed.), *Das Register Gregors VII., MGH Epistolae*, 2 vols, 1920 (repr. Munich, 1978), i, p. 288 (JL 4996, written in June 1076). The recipient of this letter was al-Nāṣir ibn ʿAlennās (d. 1088/89), a Berber ruler in North Africa. Gregory's statement did not enter the canon law tradition; had it done so, the development of Western canon law regarding Muslims would have been quite different.

[6] Bernard of Pavia, *Summa decretalium* (published c. 1191-98), ed. E.A.T. Laspeyres, 1860 (repr. Graz, 1956), 5.5.2, p. 210; Bernard uses the term *paganis* instead of *Sarracenis* in 5.5.4-5 and 5.6.1, pp. 211-13. Immediately following his definition of Saracens, Bernard classifies Samaritans, who accept the Five Books of Moses but reject the prophets, as a subset of the Saracens because John 4:9 makes clear that Samaritans are not Jews; they must, therefore, be Saracens/pagans. On Bernard's title, his equation

shall see, applies to the latter many of the laws governing the former –
he defines the two communities as fundamentally different.

The equation of Saracens and pagans is commonplace within
medieval Christian legal discourse.[7] Azo of Bologna (d. c. 1230), in
his commentary on the Code of Justinian, declares explicitly that
Saracens, 'who worship and venerate countless gods, goddesses, and
demons', are pagans and are therefore subject to the edicts of Roman
law forbidding idolatry.[8] Hostiensis (d. 1271) repeats Azo's words and
makes a point of warning Christian missionaries not to consume food
that Saracens have sacrificed to their idols.[9] Even though many con-
temporaneous theologians display a more accurate understanding of
Islam, medieval canonists seem to have been unable or unwilling to
reconsider the traditional presumption that non-Christian gentiles are
idolaters. This commitment to the traditional approach to classifying
humanity makes the conjoined subject heading 'On Jews and Sara-
cens' all the more intriguing.

The present essay surveys references to Muslims within the nor-
mative literature of the Catholic Church: statements of popes incor-
porated into legal collections[10] and canons of ecumenical and local

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of Saracens and pagans, and the impact of Bernard's definition of Saracens, see B.Z.
Kedar, '*De iudeis et sarracenis.* On the categorization of Muslims in medieval canon
law', in R.I. Castillo Lara (ed.), *Studia in honorem eminentissimi cardinalis Alphonsi
M. Stickler*, Rome, 1992, 207-13 (repr. in his *Franks in the Levant, 11th to 14th centu-
ries,* Aldershot UK, 1993). The anonymous author of the *Summa Elegantius (Colonien-
sis)*, written c. 1169, also employs the terms 'pagan' and 'Saracen' as synonyms: see, for
example, *Summa 'Elegantius in iure diuino' seu Coloniensis* 7.66, ed. G. Fransen and
S. Kuttner, 4 vols, Vatican City, 1978, ii, p. 189.

   [7] See E. Bussi, 'La condizione giuridica dei musulmani ne diritto canonico', *Rivista
di Storia del Diritto Italiano* 8 (1935) 259-63.

   [8] Azo of Bologna (d. 1230), *Summa aurea* on Code 1.11, Lyons, 1557, 5r; see Kedar,
'De iudeis et sarracenis', p. 210.

   [9] Hostiensis (Henry of Susa), *Summa aurea*, Venice, 1574 (repr. Turin, 1963), 5.6,
cols 1524-25; see D.M. Freidenreich, 'Sharing meals with non-Christians in canon law
commentaries, circa 1160-1260. A case study in legal development', *Medieval Encoun-
ters* 14 (2008) 41-77, pp. 70, 75-77. On the conceptions of Islam expressed by ecclesi-
astical authorities, see further H. Gilles, 'Législation et doctrine canoniques sur les
Sarasins', in *Islam et Chrétiens du Midi (XIIᵉ-XIVᵉ s.)* (*Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 18), Tou-
louse, 1983 , pp. 197-99. On the equation of Saracens with pagans in European litera-
ture, see Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 105-34.

   [10] The primary collections of medieval canon law – the *Decretum*, *Decretales*, *Sex-
tum*, Clementines, *Extravagantes Joannes*, and *Extravagantes communes* – are found
in E. Friedberg (ed.), *Corpus iuris canonici*, Leipzig, 1879-81 (repr. Graz, 1959). Can-
ons in the 'five early collections' not incorporated into the *Decretales* may be found
in E. Friedberg (ed.), *Quinque compilationes antiquae*, Leipzig, 1882 (repr. Graz,
1956). The notes below indicate the number assigned to each cited papal statement in
P. Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, ed. S. Loewenfeld et al., 2nd ed., 1885 (repr.

councils,[11] along with scholarly commentaries and treatises.[12] Canon law, as Christian religious law is called, was one of several legal systems simultaneously operative within medieval Europe. Civil authorities established and enforced their own legal systems, built on the foundations of Roman law and local custom; the relationship between canonical and civil norms regarding Saracens depends on a variety of local political factors.[13] Jewish and Islamic communities in Europe,

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Graz, 1956) (siglum: JL), or A. Potthast, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, 1874 (repr. Graz, 1957). I have not attempted comprehensive coverage of papal statements that do not appear in legal collections, as this literature is vast. Reference to some of these statements may be found in the entries for individual popes. See also Bussi, 'Condizione giuridica dei musulmani', pp. 490-94, and S. Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, 8 vols, Toronto, 1988-91, whose index (s.v. 'Moslems') indicates that over 5% of the papal documents through 1503 included in this anthology referred to Saracens as well as Jews. Of particular value on this subject is J. Muldoon, 'The Avignon papacy and the frontiers of Christendom. The evidence of Vatican Register 62', *Archivium historiae pontificiae* 17 (1979) 125-95 (repr. in his *Canon law, the expansion of Europe, and world order,* Aldershot UK, 1998). Vatican Register 62, a collection of 14th-century papal decretals regarding the frontiers of Christianity, contains a sizeable number of texts related to Muslims.

[11] The texts of canons from ecumenical councils, along with an English translation, may be found in G. Alberigo et al. (eds), *Decrees of the ecumenical councils*, trans. N.P. Tanner, London, 1990. Canons from local councils appear in various sources of varying quality; I provide reference to the most convenient or most critical edition with which I am familiar. These editions include: A. García y García, 'Jews and Muslims in the canon law of the Iberian Peninsula in the late medieval and early modern period', *Jewish History* 3 (1988) 41-50; S. Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth century. A study of their relations during the years 1198-1254, based on the papal letters and the conciliar decrees of the period*, Philadelphia PA, 1933; M. Guallar Pérez (ed.), *Los concilios Tarraconenses celebrados en Lérida*, Lérida, 1975; A. Linder (ed.), *The Jews in the legal sources of the early Middle Ages,* Detroit MI, 1997; G.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Florence, 1759; J.O. Molina (ed.), *Sínodo de la Diócesis de Cartagena (1475)*, Murcia, 2002; J. Tejada y Ramiro (ed.), *Coleccion de cánones y de todos los concilios de la Iglesia de España y de America*, 7 vols, Madrid, 1859-63. C.J. Hefele and H. Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, Paris, 1907 (repr. Hildesheim, 1973), is an invaluable finding aid.

[12] This research has been aided by the use of text-searchable electronic versions of canon law sources prepared by the author of this essay and by E. Reno III. Downloadable files of works in the public domain are available through the Medieval Canon Law Virtual Library, http://web.colby.edu/canonlaw.

[13] Studies that devote significant attention to civil laws regarding Saracens include D. Abulafia, 'The servitude of Jews and Muslims in the medieval Mediterranean. Origins and diffusion', *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Moyen Age* 112 (2000) 687-714; N. Berend, *At the gate of Christendom. Jews, Muslims and 'pagans' in medieval Hungary, c. 1000-c. 1300*, New York, 2001; J. Boswell, *The royal treasure. Muslim communities under the Crown of Aragon in the fourteenth century*, New Haven CT, 1977; R.I. Burns, *Islam under the crusaders. Colonial survival in the thirteenth-century Kingdom of Valencia*, Princeton NJ, 1973; M. Nader, 'Urban Muslims, Latin laws, and legal institutions in the Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Medieval Encounters* 13 (2007) 243-70; and J.M. Powell (ed.), *Muslims under Latin rule, 1100-1300*, Princeton NJ, 1990, especially

moreover, employed their own laws for internal purposes. Indeed, as John Boswell observes, 'References to Jews and Muslims in medieval documents always refer to peoples not of differing religions, but of different laws, and this concept of legal identity was shared by the minorities themselves.'[14] We should not forget the distinction between Jewish and Islamic law on the one hand and, on the other, 'Jewry' and 'Saracen' law, namely Christian laws related to Jews and Muslims respectively. This essay devotes particular attention to assessing the relationship between Saracen law and Jewry law.

Saracens as more threatening than Jews

The eventual near-equation of Saracen law and Jewry law is especially surprising because the only statement in Gratian's *Decretum* that addresses both Saracens and Jews emphasizes the disparity in the ways Christians ought to relate to members of these distinct communities. 'There is in fact a difference between the position of the Jews and that of the Saracens. We legitimately wage war against the last-mentioned, who persecute the Christians and expel them from their cities and their own settlements; the afore-named, on the other hand, are willing to serve.'[15] This statement by Pope Alexander II (r. 1061-73) – known as *Dispar*, the opening word of the extract found in the *Decretum* – plays a prominent role in discussions among canonists about the threatening Saracen who may justly be attacked and even, according to some authorities, persecuted.[16] Numerous canons in the *Decretum* and the *Liber extravagantium* (or *Decretales*) of Pope Gregory IX (r. 1229-41) paint pictures of Saracens in violent and deeply threatening hues. Gratian preserves statements that recall the Saracen

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the essays by B. Kedar on the Frankish Levant and J.F. O'Callaghan on Castile and Portugal.

[14] Boswell, *Royal treasure*, p. 131; Boswell proceeds to observe that the theoretical right of Muslims in Aragon to be judged in accordance with Islamic law was often not honored in practice.

[15] C. 23 q. 8 c. 11 (Ivo, *Panormia*, 8.29); trans. Herde, 'Christians and Saracens', p. 58, who proceeds to survey medieval interpretations of this canon. A complete version of this letter to Spanish or, perhaps, French bishops (JL 4528, dated 1063), which reproaches Christians engaged in the reconquest of Spain for attacking local Jewish communities, appears in the *Decretum* of Ivo of Chartres, 13.114 (*PL* 161, col. 824); Simonsohn, *Apostolic See*, i, 35-36, provides a full text and bibliography.

[16] The summary rubric introducing this canon in the *Decretum* reads 'We ought not persecute Jews, but rather Saracens'.

invasion of Spain, Provence and Burgundy in the 7th and 8th centuries and their sack of Rome in 846.[17] Within the *Decretales*, Pope Alexander III (r. 1159-81) addresses a case involving Saracens in Sicily who are wont to rape or murder Christian women and children.[18] Pope Celestine III, in a decretal written in 1193, prohibits Saracens who conspire with Christian women to murder their husbands from marrying the widows after these Saracens convert to Christianity. Celestine rules, however, that marriage between a Christian widow and the recently converted Saracen who killed her husband in battle is binding, even if the woman did not realize that she was marrying her late husband's killer.[19] The spectre of Saracens also hovers over the ruling of Pope Lucius III (r. 1181-85) that a woman may not remarry without certainty regarding her first husband's death.[20] Canonical sources never portray Jews as similarly threatening.

Christians may not support Saracen belligerence by selling arms, iron, ships, wood for helmets, or other items that might support Saracen war efforts. Christians are also forbidden from serving on Saracen pirate ships or teaching Saracens how to construct their own naval vessels. Prohibitions against such activity recur frequently in canonical sources. The Third Lateran Council (1179), among the first to address this subject, declares not only that Christians who violate this prohibition are to be excommunicated, but also that churches in maritime towns should publicly identify these excommunicants on a regular basis, that civil authorities should confiscate their possessions,

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[17] D. 56 c. 10; C. 23 q. 8 c. 7 (see also C. 23 q. 8 d. p. c. 20). See also Oviedo (1050), c. 6 (Linder, *Jews in the legal sources*, pp. 557-58), which lists attack by Saracens among the small number of grounds justifying Christian travel on the Sabbath.

[18] X 5.17.4 (JL 14044, 1 Comp. 5.14.3). Alexander, responding in 1167 to a query from the archbishop of Palermo, who has been given jurisdiction over such Saracens, instructs that ecclesiastical authorities may only levy monetary or moderate corporal punishments and ought to refer serious crimes that warrant capital punishment or permanent bodily injury to the civil authorities.

[19] X 3.33.1 (JL 17649, 2 Comp. 3.20.2); Celestine rules similarly regarding a Saracen widow who converts and inadvertently marries the Christian soldier who killed her first husband. On this canon, see B.Z. Kedar, 'Muslim conversion in canon law', in S. Kuttner and K. Pennington (eds), *Proceedings of the sixth international congress of medieval canon law, Berkeley, 1980*, Vatican City, 1985, 324-26 (repr. in his *Franks in the Levant*).

[20] X 4.21.2, a decretal addressed 'to all Christians found in Saracen captivity' (JL 15211, 1 Comp. 4.22.3). See also Raymond of Peñafort (d. 1275), *Summa de matrimonio* 13.4, ed. J. Ochoa and L. Diez, Rome, 1978, col. 960, who refers to men who go off to battle against the Saracens and are never heard from again.

and that captured violators become the slaves of their captors.[21] The Ordinary Gloss to this canon as it appears in the *Decretales* calls for capital punishment for Christians who sell arms to Saracens.[22] Pope Clement III (r. 1188-91) extended this prohibition to cover all commerce with Saracens[23] and declared that this prohibition continues to apply during periods of truce. Commentators explain that a truce is merely a temporary cessation of hostilities, because peace with Saracens is impossible. Christians may, however, exchange money or goods with Saracens for the purpose of redeeming captives.[24] The sale

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[21] 3 Lateran, c. 24 (Alberigo 223; 1 Comp. 5.5.6, X 5.6.6); the interpretations offered by early commentators on this canon are summarized by Herde, 'Christians and Saracens', pp. 63-64. As Gilles observes ('Legislation et doctrine canoniques', p. 196), this canon was incorporated into the civil law codes of Castile and the Kingdom of Jerusalem; Gilles also discusses the application to Saracens of Roman law regarding the sale of arms to barbarians. Similar canons were promulgated at the Council of Narbonne (1195, c. 2; Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews*, pp. 298-99), the Fourth Lateran Council (1215, in c. 71 [Alberigo, *Decrees*, pp. 269-70]; X 5.6.17), and at the Spanish councils of Lerida (1229, c. 35; Guallar Pérez, *Los concilios Tarraconenses*, p. 238), Valladolid (1322, c. 22; Tejada y Ramiro, *Coleccion de cánones*, iii, pp. 501-2), Toledo (1324, c. 8; Tejada y Ramiro, *Coleccion de cánones*, iii, p. 525), and Cartagena (1475, c. 8; Molina, *Sínodo de la Diócesis de Cartagena*, p. 156). Pope John XXII, in 1317, reiterated this prohibition with specific reference to the Saracens of Granada (Extrav. Joann. 8.un); see also Extrav. commun. 5.2.1, by Pope Clement V (r. 1305-14). See also the decretals of Alexander III (JL 14351-52) found in *Collectio Lipsiensis* 55.6-7 (Friedberg, *Quinque compilationes antiquae*, p. 204). A reference to the prohibition against arming Saracens, absent from Gratian's *Decretum*, already appears in the *Summa Parisiensis* (D. 45 c. 3), which was published c. 1160, well before Alexander III convened the Third Lateran Council; see T.P. McLaughlin (ed.), *The Summa Parisiensis on the Decretum Gratiani,* Toronto, 1952, p. 40. Raymond of Peñafort and Pope Innocent IV list the sale of arms to Saracens among 17 grounds for excommunication (both provide the same list): Raymond, *Summa de paenitentia* 3.33.10, ed. J. Ochoa and L. Diez, Rome, 1976, cols 746-50; Innocent IV, *Apparatus in quinque libros Decretalium*, on X 5.39.1, Frankfurt, 1570 (repr. Frankfurt, 1968), p. 546r-v. The importance of this subject is also manifest in Raymond's *Responsiones ad dubitabilia circa communicationem Christianorum cum Sarracenis*, which addresses 40 questions about Christian-Saracen relations: nearly half of these questions relate to trade. This work is published in the Ochoa and Diez edition of *Summa de matrimonio*, cols 1023-36; see also J.V. Tolan, 'Taking Gratian to Africa. Raymond de Penyafort's legal advice to the Dominicans and Franciscans in Tunis (1234)', in A.A. Husain and K.E. Fleming (eds), *A faithful sea. The religious cultures of the Mediterranean, 1200-1700*, Oxford, 2007, 47-63.

[22] Glos. Ord. to X 5.6.6, s.v. *ferrum*; Vincentius Hispanus, cited by Herde (see previous note), similarly asserts that Christians who teach Saracens how to build ships are subject to capital punishment.

[23] X 5.6.12 (JL 16634, 2 Comp. 5.4.6).

[24] X 5.6.11 (JL 16619, 2 Comp. 5.4.5). On this canon and its interpretive tradition, see Herde, 'Christians and Saracens', pp. 65-66; see also Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de iure canonico* 2.38.2, ed. J. Ochoa and L. Diez, Rome, 1975, col. 212.

of Christian slaves to Saracens is, of course, illegal; violators are sub-
ject to excommunication.[25]

The subject of Christians captured by Saracens receives atten-
tion from a variety of authorities. Pope Stephen V, writing in 887/88,
permits Christians mutilated by their pagan captors to become
priests and excuses Christians who commit murder while in Saracen
captivity.[26] Raymond of Peñafort (d. 1275) similarly excuses Christians
who steal from Saracens in order to purchase their own freedom, and
he permits kidnapping Christians for the purpose of liberating them
from Saracen captivity and the resultant danger of practicing idola-
try or circumcision.[27] Huguccio, writing in the 1180s, declares that
the universal law of nations forbids Saracens from selling Christian
prisoners of war into slavery, because their war against Christians
is not a just war. Christians, in contrast, may sell Saracen prisoners
of war into slavery, because their battle against the Saracens is legiti-
mate; Huguccio cites as proof *Dispar*, the canon with which we began.
Interestingly, Huguccio entertains the possibility of a Christian war
of aggression in which justice would lie with the Saracens and in
which they alone could legitimately sell their prisoners of war into
slavery.[28]

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[25] Lerida (1229) cc. 35-36 (Guallar Pérez, *Los concilios Tarraconenses*, p. 238); Val-
ladolid (1322) c. 24 (Tejada y Ramiro, *Coleccion de cánones*, iii, p. 502). Precedent for
the prohibition against selling Christian slaves to pagans is found in the biography of
Pope Zacharias (r. 741-52), who redeemed Christians destined for sale to pagans at
the hands of Venetian merchants; an extract of this biography, taken from the *Liber
pontificalis*, appears as 1 Comp. 5.5.2. On this canon and its reception by early 13th-cen-
tury canonists, see Herde, 'Christians and Saracens', pp. 61-62. See also Freidenreich,
'Muslims in canon law', n. 47 in *CMR* 1. Friars in Tunis enquired about the practice of
handing over Christian servants to Muslim creditors as collateral; Pope Gregory IX's
response, as communicated by Raymond of Peñafort, is that the person who does so
commits a mortal sin but is not subject to excommunication. Raymond, *Responsiones
ad dubitabilia* §8 (cols 1026-27); see also Tolan, 'Taking Gratian to Africa', pp. 56-57.

[26] Mutilation: D. 55 c. 11 (JL 3447); murder: D. 50 c. 38 (JL 3433). D 50 c. 36, a canon
from the Council of Lerida (524, c. 1), addresses the status of captive clerics who com-
mit murder; some authorities exempt such an act from the category of homicide, but
Stephen of Tournai, in his comment on this canon, asserts that this interpretation
only applies to to clerics captured by Saracens: *Summa*, ed. J.F. von Schulte, Giessen,
1891 (repr. Aalen, 1965), p. 73.

[27] Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia* 2.6.11, cols 535-36. Raymond hesi-
tates, however, to permit the kidnapping of Christians justly held by Saracens dur-
ing a period of truce when there is no imminent danger of the Christians falling into
mortal sin. Elsewhere, he declares that plundering Saracen goods during a truce con-
stitutes an act of theft and is prohibited by canon law (2.5.18, cols 488-89).

[28] Huguccio, *Summa decretorum* on D. 1 c. 9, ed. O. Přerovský, Vatican City, 2006,
p. 49. The earlier *Summa Elegantius (Coloniensis)*, in contrast, declares that Christian

Alexander II, the author of *Dispar*, is not the only authority to declare that war waged by Christians against Saracens is legitimate, and Huguccio is not the only commentator to limit the scope of such a declaration. Various early 13ᵗʰ century commentaries on *Dispar* stipulate that such war is only legitimate in response to Saracen aggression or for the purpose of reclaiming formerly Christian territories.[29] Commentators on the canon of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) that calls for the Fifth Crusade were also careful to provide both justification for and restraints upon its 'ardent desire to liberate the Holy Land from infidel hands'.[30] Vincentius Hispanus (d. 1248), for example, explains that Jesus' declaration that God will take the kingdom of God away from the Jews in favor of the Christians (Mt 21:43) applies to all infidels who lay claim to the Holy Land. Vincentius, however, rejects the arguments of those who use this verse to justify Christian expropriation of all infidel possessions. This right, Vincentius asserts, applies only to actions against heretics, against whom the Church may employ material as well as spiritual forms of coercion. Just as Christians may not impose their faith upon Jews or Saracens, they may not seize the property of Jews or Saracens either. Christians may only reclaim territories from which Christians were expelled by Saracens, in keeping with the canon *Dispar*.[31]

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wars of defense against pagan attackers, such as the Saracens, are justified while all pagan war against Christians is unjust; see 12*.10 (iii, pp. 217-18).

[29] These commentaries include the *Glossa Palatina*, *Ius naturale* of Alanus Anglicanus, and *Ecce vicit leo*, all cited and discussed by Herde, 'Christians and Saracens', pp. 59-60.

[30] 4 Lateran, c. 71 (Alberigo, *Decrees*, pp. 267-71); this canon is repeated verbatim in some editions of the proceedings of the First Council of Lyons (1245; Alberigo, *Decrees*, pp. 297-301). Other canons that call for crusades were promulgated at the Council of Clermont (1095; see R. Somerville, *The councils of Urban II* [Amsterdam, 1972]), the First Lateran Council (1123, c. 10; Alberigo, *Decrees*, pp. 191-92), and the Second Council of Lyons (1274, c. 1; Alberigo, *Decrees*, pp. 309-14). On canon law regarding the crusades, see J.A. Brundage, *Medieval canon law and the crusader*, Madison WI, 1969.

[31] Vincentius Hispanus, *Apparatus in Concilium quartum Lateranense* on c. 71, s.v., *ad manibus*, in A. García y García (ed.), *Constitutiones Concilii quarti Lateranensis una cum Commentariis glossatorum*, Vatican City, 1981, p. 380. See also Johannes Teutonicus, *Apparatus* on c. 71, s.v. *Ad liberandam* (p. 268). Both of these commentaries were written shortly after the Fourth Lateran Council. Laurentius Hispanus (fl. early 13ᵗʰ c.) also holds that Christians have no right to seize Saracen territories that never belonged to Christians if the Saracens do not attack Christians; see Guido de Baysio (Archediaconus), *Rosarium* on C. 23 q. 7 c. 2, Lyons, 1559 (repr. Frankfurt, 2008), p. 309r.

Pope Innocent IV, in his commentary on the *Decretales* (published c. 1245), offers a highly influential statement regarding the justification of Christian attacks on Saracens or other infidels and the limits of such just wars. In addition to his arguments for the legitimacy of the crusade to the Holy Land, which rest on the fact that Christians once possessed this land and retain legal title to sovereignty over it, Innocent addresses the circumstances in which popes may legitimately send Christian armies into other infidel territories. In doing so, Innocent IV treats Saracens as paradigmatic of all who dwell beyond the reach of Christianity and Christian rule.[32] The pope, Innocent declares, is ultimately responsible to Christ for the souls of all human beings, Christian or otherwise. For that reason, the pope has an obligation to ensure that non-Christians obey natural law and to enable non-Christians to learn the truth of Christianity so that they may freely choose to accept or reject Christ. (As evidence for papal jurisdiction over all humanity, Innocent IV cites approvingly recent efforts on the part of the Church to censure and burn the Talmud as standing in violation of Old Testament law, which Jews must obey.) If infidel rulers fail to enforce natural law or refuse to allow Christian missionary activity in their territories, popes may justly authorize the use of force in support of their efforts to carry out the papacy's God-given responsibilities. Innocent emphasizes, however, that infidels and Christians alike possess the right to private property and self-government and that popes may not act in contravention of these rights beyond the degree necessary to fulfil papal responsibilities.[33]

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[32] Innocent IV is not the first to do so; Huguccio, writing c. 1180, treats Saracens as emblematic of those who do not accept and therefore are not bound by Roman law (*Summa decretorum* on D. 1 c. 12, s.v. *ius Quiritum* [ed. Přerovský, Vatican City, 2006, p. 56]). Innocent's logic is ultimately applied to the Tatars, the Lithuanians, and the inhabitants of the Canary Islands and the New World, among other non-Muslims; in addition to the sources cited in the following note, see J. Muldoon, 'Papal responsibility for the infidel. Another look at Alexander VI's *Inter ceatera*', *Catholic Historical Review* 64 (1978) 168-84 (repr. in Muldoon, *Canon law*).

[33] Innocent IV, *Apparatus in quinque libros Decretalium*, on X 3.34.8, Frankfurt 1570 (repr. Frankfurt, 1968), pp. 429v-430v. A detailed explanation of this text appears in J. Muldoon, *Popes, lawyers, and infidels. The Church and the non-Christian world, 1250-1550*, Philadelphia PA, 1979, pp. 6-15; Muldoon proceeds to document the interpretation and application of Innocent's ideas through the 15th century. An edition of part of Innocent's comment appears in B.Z. Kedar, *Crusade and mission. European approaches toward the Muslims*, Princeton NJ, 1984, p. 217; see also Kedar's discussion on pp. 159-61. Extracts of this comment also appear in J.A. Brundage, 'Holy war and the medieval lawyers', in T.P. Murphy (ed.), *The holy war*, Columbus OH, 1976, 99-140, pp. 136-38, nn. 143, 151-55. For a similar argument, see Giovanni da Legnano, *Tractatus de bello, de reprehesaliis et de duello*, ed. T.E. Holland, Oxford, 1917, pp. 91-93

Various canonists offer more expansive justifications for war against Saracens and other infidels. Hostiensis holds that infidels have no rights to property and self-government: because Christ has dominion over the entire earth, he and his vicars, the popes, have the right to deprive infidels of their possessions and sovereignty in favor of Christians.[34] Hostiensis takes for granted that crusades may be preached against Saracens and heretics alike.[35] Similarly, Oldradus de Ponte (d. c. 1337) argues that it is always legitimate for Christians to wage war against Saracens because the latter, as heirs to Ishmael's belligerent legacy, always attack Christians or await the opportunity to do so. Even if Saracens were to desire true peace, Oldradus states, Christians would still be justified in fighting to regain sovereignty over Spain, 'the homeland of which we were violently despoiled'.[36] Oldradus proceeds to assert by means of biblical proof-texts that Christ has been praised throughout the earth and, thus, that Christians may justly reclaim all territories.[37] He depicts Saracens as 'beasts deprived of reason' who are subject to the dominion of the Church on account of their animalistic nature and the universal sovereignty of Christ and his vicar, the pope. Oldradus further supports these unusually broad claims by reference to the biblical passage that places Hagar (the Saracens) at the mercy of Sarah (the Church) as a slave who may justly be beaten, expelled and deprived of property.[38] Elsewhere, Oldradus holds that Christian rulers have the right to expel their Jewish and Saracen subjects but ought not to do so without cause.[39]

(trans., pp. 232-33); for a summary and comparison with Innocent's argument, see Muldoon, *Popes, lawyers and infidels*, pp. 21-23.

[34] Hostiensis, *In tertium Decretalium librum Commentaria [Lectura]* on X 3.34.8, Venice, 1581 (repr. Turin, 1965), pp. 128r–129r, summarized by Muldoon, *Popes, lawyers, and infidels*, pp. 15-17, and Brundage, 'Holy war', p. 122 (extracts in pp. 137-38, nn. 144, 156-57).

[35] Hostiensis, *Summa aurea* on X 3.34, §19 (col. 1141); the relevant passage is quoted in Brundage, 'Holy war', p. 139, n. 170.

[36] The Second Lateran Council (1139), in passing, equates the conquest of Jerusalem and the conquest of Spain (c. 18 [Alberigo, *Decrees*, p. 201]; C. 23 q. 8 c. 32); Oldradus seizes upon this passage to demonstrate the importance of the latter.

[37] Oldradus is not the first to endorse such a claim which, according to Herde ('Christians and Saracens', p. 60), satisfied few canonists.

[38] Oldradus de Ponte, Consilium 72, in N. Zacour, *Jews and Saracens in the Consilia of Oldradus de Ponte*, Toronto, 1990, pp. 80-82 (Latin), 47-53 (English; the cited passages follow Zacour's translation). On this text, see also Muldoon, *Popes, lawyers, and infidels*, pp. 18-21.

[39] Oldradus, Consilia 87 and 264, in Zacour, *Jews and Saracens*, pp. 83-84, 86-89 (Latin), 54-58, 62-67 (English); see also Zacour's discussion of these consilia, pp. 26-30.

Though they differ over the details, all canonists regard military efforts to reclaim Spain and the Holy Land from the Saracens as legitimate and, indeed holy: 'war that was not merely justifiable but justifying and spiritually beneficial to those who participated', in the words of James A. Brundage.[40] The most significant of these spiritual benefits took the form of a commutation of penance or remission of temporal punishment for sin bestowed upon Christian soldiers fighting in such wars. Because wars against Saracens are just, ecclesiastical and civil authorities alike have the right to levy special taxes to support these efforts.[41] The prohibition against usury does not apply to loans that Christians extend to those with whom war is justified, including Saracens.[42] Without precedent, ecclesiastical authorities took active if indirect roles in the prosecution of war with the Saracens; a small number of canonists even suggest that stringent norms forbidding clerics from taking up arms may be relaxed in such contexts.[43] Especially deadly weapons such as the crossbow, forbidden for use against Christians, may be employed in battle against 'pagans and those who persecute

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[40] Brundage, 'Holy war', p. 100; Brundage addresses attitudes toward the legitimacy of wars against Saracens on pp. 120-22. On these spiritual benefits in general and those associated with the 'crusade indulgence' in particular, see Brundage, *Medieval canon law and the crusader*, pp. 139-58.

[41] Raymond, *Summa de paenitentia* 1.14.4, col. 408 (ecclesiastical authorities); 2.5.13 and 2.5.15, cols 478-83 (civil authorities). See further D. Nirenberg, 'Christendom and Islam', in M. Rubin and W. Simons (eds), *Christianity in Western Europe, c. 1100-c. 1500* (*Cambridge History of Christianity* 4), Cambridge, 2009, 149-69, pp. 157-58. In 2.5.14, Raymond states that Saracen authorities may justly assess taxes or tolls on Christians travelling in Saracen lands during times of truce, provided that the Saracen government ensures the safety of those Christians.

[42] C. 14 q. 4 c. 12, which Rufinus applies specifically to Saracens and heretics (ed. H. Singer, Paderborn, 1902 [repr. Aalen, 1963], p. 342). See also Bernard of Pavia, *Summa decretalium* 5.15.5 (p. 235) and 5.5.4 (p. 211) who, in 5.5.4, also authorizes civil authorities to impose heavy financial penalties on subject Saracens, citing C. 23 q. 6 c. 4. On this canon, see also Guido de Baysio, *Rosarium* (p. 308v). Alexander III, however, stipulates that Christians may not lend money at usurious rates of interest to Christians who seek to ransom co-religionists held in Saracen captivity (JL 14042, 1 Comp. 5.15.5, X 5.19.4). On the subject of usury, see also the *Summa* of Sicardus of Cremona on C. 23 q. 8 c. 11, quoted and discussed by Herde, 'Christians and Saracens', p. 60.

[43] See Brundage, 'Holy war', pp. 111-12, and, in greater detail, R. Castillo Lara, *Coaccion ecclesiastica y sacro Romano imperio*, Turin, 1956, pp. 74-105. Rufinus, in his *Summa decretorum* (published 1164), speaks caustically about those who allow certain types of clerics to bear arms, yet even he grants an exception to those who fight pagans on the orders of a superior (C. 23 q. 8 s.v. *De episcopis vero,* ed. H. Singer, 1902 [repr. Aalen, 1963], p. 412).

adherents of our faith'; the latter phrase may allude specifically to Saracens, as depicted in *Dispar*.[44]

The canons we have surveyed thus far address Saracens whose belligerent behavior conforms to the depiction offered in *Dispar*, behavior that differs significantly from that associated with Jews. Commentators on this canon itself, however, interpret Alexander II's statement as conditional: if Saracens persecute Christians, Christians may legitimately wage war against them, but Saracens who are docile like the Jews are to be treated in the same manner as the Jews. The *Ius naturale* of Alanus Anglicanus (second recension, 1205) supports this argument by reference to a law from the Code of Justinian prohibiting Christians from disturbing peaceful Jews or pagans.[45] Similarly, the anonymous author of *Summa Permissio quaedam* asserts that there is no difference between Jews and Saracens as such: Christians should wage war against any non-Christian who persecutes and expels Christians, but not against those who are peaceful.[46] The Ordinary Gloss to the *Decretum* makes the same point, even as it distinguishes Saracens from Jews: 'it is clear that if Saracens do not persecute Christians, we may not attack them and, indeed, are permitted to partake of their meals.' This permission, we shall see, applies to pagans but not to Jews.[47]

Saracens as equivalent to Jews

Canonists utilize legal literature regarding Saracens who dwell beyond the reach of Christian rule as the basis for legal discourse regarding Christian relations with other infidel peoples and rulers; this discourse, in turn, contributes to the emergence of European

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[44] Raymond, *Summa de paenitentia* 2.4.1, col. 641; Goffredus de Trano, *Summa super titulis Decretalium* on X 5.15.1 (Lyons, 1519 [repr. Aalen, 1968], p. 191r). Both are cited and discussed in Brundage, 'Holy war', pp. 115, 133, n. 113.

[45] Alanus, *Ius naturale* on C. 23 q. 8 c. 11, citing Code 1.11.6; these texts are quoted and discussed by Herde, 'Christians and Saracens', p. 58. See also Gilles, 'Legislation et doctrine canoniques', pp. 200-1.

[46] See Herde, 'Christians and Saracens', p. 60. Innocent IV similarly distinguishes between belligerent and submissive Saracens; see *Apparatus* on X 3.42.3 (p. 456r in the Frankfurt 1570 ed., which identifies this as c. 4).

[47] Glos. ord. on C. 23 q. 8 c. 11, s.v. *persecuntur*; this comment, which proceeds to cite Code 1.11.6, was authored by Johannes Teutonicus (c. 1215). Elsewhere, however, Johannes prohibits commensality with Jews and Saracens alike; see n. 99.

international law.[48] In contrast, with respect to Saracens who dwell within the lands of Western Christendom, canonists turn instead to established Jewry law, treating subject Muslims as equivalent to subject Jews in nearly all respects.[49] They do so not only because Muslims and Jews alike are not Christians, but also because canonists perceived Saracens themselves to have embraced aspects of Judaism.

Canon law and late antique Roman law alike prohibit Jews and other non-Christians from owning Christian slaves. Canonical sources also forbid Christians from accepting employment as domestic servants or wetnurses in Jewish households and from living with Jews.[50] These prohibitions reflect not only beliefs regarding Christian inferiority to Jews, but also concerns about the possibility that close relationships between Christians and their Jewish employers might result in the Christians' conversion to Judaism. Beginning with the Third Lateran Council of 1179, various authorities apply these prohibitions to Jews and Saracens alike.[51]

At about the same time, Huguccio discusses and dismisses a possible distinction between Jewish and Saracen slave-owners. Because

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[48] See Muldoon, *Popes, lawyers, and infidels*.

[49] On this phenomenon, see also Bussi, 'Condizione giuridica dei musulmani', pp. 466-69. Linder, *Jews in the legal sources*, provides a comprehensive collection of Latin canon law regarding the Jews through 1100.

[50] On laws regarding Jewish slaves and servants, see W. Pakter, *Medieval canon law and the Jews*, Ebelsbach, 1988, pp. 84-140. A statement of Roman law forbidding non-Christian possession of Christian slaves may be found at Code 1.10.1.

[51] The Third Lateran Council (c. 26 [Alberigo, *Decrees*, pp. 223-24], 1 Comp. 5.5.5, X 5.6.5) prohibits the employment by Jews and Saracens of Christian servants or wetnurses and excommunicates Christians who live with such foreigners. Alanus and Tancred, commenting on 1 Comp. 5.5.5, exempt missionaries from the prohibition against condominium; see Herde, 'Christians and Saracens', p. 62. The prohibition against domestic servants is reiterated at the Council of Montpellier (1195, c. 9; Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews*, pp. 298-99). The Councils of Tarragona (1239, c. 4; Tejada y Ramiro, *Coleccion de cánones*, iii, p. 368) and Salamanca (1335, c. 12; Tejada y Ramiro, *Coleccion de cánones*, iii, p. 575) reiterate the prohibition against wetnurses; canon 4 from Tarragona and c. 1 of the Council of Avila (1481; García y García, 'Jews and Muslims', p. 45) prohibit living with Jews and Saracens. The Council of Palencia (1388, c. 5; Tejada y Ramiro. *Coleccion de cánones*, iii, pp. 617-18) goes further and requires Jews and Saracens to live in a separate quarter of town from Christians, enshrining common practice in canon law. See further Boswell, *Royal treasure*, pp. 64-72; Burns, *Islam under the crusaders*, pp. 142-54; J.F. O'Callaghan, 'The Mudejars of Castile and Portugal in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', in J.M. Powell (ed.), *Muslims under Latin rule, 1100-1300*, Princeton NJ, 1990, 11-56, pp. 32-34. Innocent III (Potthast, *Regesta pontificum*, 2565, 3 Comp. 5.3.un) compares Jews and Saracens in a decretal that forbids Christians to serve as wet nurses in Jewish households but does not apply that prohibition to Saracens' houses; no reference to Saracens appears in the extract found in the *Decretales* (X. 5.6.13).

Paul (or the author of the Pastoral Letters) instructs Christian slaves to submit even to unbelieving masters (1 Tim 6:1), there are grounds for ruling that a pagan born into slavery to a pagan master should remain in slavery even after converting to Christianity. Huguccio accepts this logic in principle but rules that, today, one can find no teaching that servitude to pagans is different from servitude to Jews, for nearly all contemporary pagans judaize: they are circumcised, they distinguish among foods, and they imitate other Jewish rituals. There ought not be any legal difference between them.[52]

According to Huguccio, contemporary 'pagans' – clearly a reference to Muslims – have embraced 'Jewish' practices such as circumcision and adherence to quasi-biblical food restrictions, and for that reason no longer constitute a distinct subset of humanity for normative purposes. Just as a Jew may never own a Christian, even if that slave was born into slavery as a pagan, a Saracen may never do so either. The application to Saracens of all Jewry law regarding Christian slaves becomes normative among canonists.[53] Medieval authorities also apply to Saracens other aspects of Jewry law that seek to prevent Jews from exercising power over Christians or developing unduly intimate relationships with Christians. Thus, for example, the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) reaffirms a 6th-century canon forbidding the appointment of Jews to public office and proceeds to extend that prohibition to 'pagans' as well.[54] Canonists similarly apply to Saracens long-standing restrictions on the rights of Jews in court cases involving Christians.[55] The prohibition against Christian use of Jewish doctors is also

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[52] Huguccio, *Summa decretorum*, D. 54 c. 13, d. a. v. *Hoc tunc*; the Latin of this passage is reproduced in Pakter, *Medieval canon law and the Jews*, p. 119, n. 109. Similarly, Tancred (d. c. 1236) justifies the application to Saracens of the prohibition against living with Jews by observing that Saracens 'judaize'; see Tancred's comment to 1 Comp. 5.5.5 (3 Lateran, c. 26) as cited in Herde, 'Christians and Saracens', p. 62, n. 44.

[53] See Glos. ord, D. 54 c. 13, d. a. v. *Hoc tunc*; Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia* 1.4.6 (cols 314-15). Bernard of Pavia, *Summa decretalium* 5.5.5 (p. 212), also makes no distinction between Jewish and 'pagan' slave-owners in his discussion of '*Iudaeis et Sarracenis*', albeit without considering the grounds on which such a distinction might be made.

[54] 4 Lateran, c. 69 (Alberigo, *Decrees*, pp. 266-67; 4 Comp. 5.4.2, X 5.6.16). See also Montpelier (1195), c. 9 (Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews*, pp. 298-99); X 5.6.18 (a decretal of Gregory IX, Potthast, *Regesta pontificum*, 9673); Valladolid (1322) c. 22 (Tejada y Ramiro, *Coleccion de cánones*, iii, p. 500). These sources all refer explicitly to Saracens. On the controversy surrounding Jews and Saracens holding public office in Hungary, see Berend, *At the gate of Christendom*, pp. 85-86.

[55] On these restrictions, see Pakter, *Medieval canon law and the Jews*, pp. 155-220. Tancred asserts that infidels are not entitled to testify in court against Christians, despite the presumption of such testimony in earlier sources; see Herde, 'Christians

extended to Saracen physicians; the Council of Salamanca (1335) explains this prohibition by observing that Jews and Saracens seek to kill Christians.[56] The canon in the *Decretum* that forbids the use of Jewish doctors also prohibits Christians from going to the public baths alongside Jews and from consuming Jewish unleavened bread (understood by Western Christian authorities as a reference to all Jewish food); canonists apply these prohibitions to Saracens as well.[57] Medieval authorities not only extend the longstanding prohibition against sexual intercourse between Christians and Jews to apply to Christian-Saracen relations,[58] but also craft a new regulation designed to prevent such intercourse: Jews and Saracens alike must dress in a manner distinct from their Christian neighbors.[59]

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and Saracens', p. 63, n. 49, and see also Gilles, 'Legislation et doctrine canoniques', p. 207, n. 81. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia* 1.9.8 (col. 370), allows Christians to accept Jewish or Saracen oaths but forbids Christians from employing these forms when uttering their own oaths. Whereas Jewish and Saracen defendants formerly had the right to demand that co-religionists testify against them, Clement V decreed that the testimony of Christians alone was also sufficient to secure a conviction (Clem. 2.8.1)

[56] Salamanca (1335), c. 12 (Tejada y Ramiro, *Coleccion de cánones*, iii, p. 575); see also Valladolid (1322), c. 22 (Tejada y Ramiro, *Coleccion de cánones*, iii, p. 501).

[57] C. 28 q. 1 c. 13. On the application of this canon to Saracens, see Bernard of Pavia, *Summa decretalium* 5.5.4 (p. 211), and Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de Paenitentia* 1.4.3 (col. 311); the former seems to extend to Saracens the rules about Jewish doctors and Jews in public office as well. On the interpretation within the Latin Christian tradition of this canon's prohibition of unleavened bread, see Freidenreich, 'Sharing meals'. The Council of Cartagena (1475, cc. 86-87; Molina, *Sínodo de la Diócesis de Cartagena*, pp. 155-56) prohibits both the purchase of meat prepared by Jews or Saracens and the facilitation of such activity. On issues associated with meat prepared by Jews, see D. Freidenreich, *Foreigners and their food. Constructing otherness in Jewish, Christian and Islamic law*, Berkeley CA, forthcoming 2011, ch. 12.

[58] Numerous canons forbid intercourse or marriage between Christians and Jews; in the *Decretum* alone, see C. 28 q. 1 cc. 10, 15, 17. On this subject, see J.A. Brundage, 'Intermarriage between Christians and Jews in medieval canon law', *Jewish History* 3 (1988) 25-40. The earliest specific reference to a prohibition against intercourse between Christians and Saracens with which I am familiar appears in the canons of the Council of Nablus (1120, cc. 12-15; c. 16 is the earliest canonical source for the requirement that Saracens wear different clothing from Christians). On the canons of this council, including an edition, see B.Z. Kedar, 'On the origins of the earliest laws of Frankish Jerusalem. The canons of the Council of Nablus, 1120', *Speculum* 74 (1999) 310-35 (repr. in his *Franks, Muslims and Oriental Christians in the Latin Levant. Studies in frontier acculturation,* Aldershot UK, 2006). Other canons forbidding intercourse between Christians and Saracens include Lerida (1173), c. 1 (Guallar Pérez, *Los concilios Tarraconenses*, p. 222), and the canons cited in the following note.

[59] The most influential canon on this subject is that of the Fourth Lateran Council (c. 68 [Alberigo, *Decrees*, p. 266], Comp. 4, 5.4.1, X 5.6.15); on the earliest such canon, see the previous note. On X 5.6.15, see Bussi, 'Condizione giuridica dei musulmani', pp. 465-66. Additional canons regulating Jewish and Saracen clothing include

Bernard of Pavia seems to apply to Saracens the long-standing rules that allow Jews the freedom to worship in accordance with their own rite and that protect existing synagogues from destruction, but forbid Jews from constructing new synagogues. Raymond of Peña-fort, who expands upon this section of Bernard's work, makes clear that these rules apply specifically to Jews but fails to address the status of Islamic worship or mosques.[60] The Council of Vienne's prohibitions against loud invocations of 'Machometus' and against public pilgrimage to the shrine of a Saracen saint parallel similar restrictions against displays of Jewish worship that might offend Christian passers-by.[61] Sources from the early Middle Ages forbid Jews from appearing in public at Easter-time lest their presence provoke their Christian neighbors; the Fourth Lateran Council applies this prohibition to Jews and Saracens alike.[62] On similar grounds, the Council of Compostella forbids Jews and Saracens to live alongside churches or cemeteries.[63] Clerics gathered at the Councils of Valladolid (1322) and Avila (1481) prohibit Jews and Saracens from being present in church during the mass and, objecting to the common Christian practice of compelling Jews and Saracens to assume humiliating roles in Christian holiday

Tarragona (1239), c. 4 (Tejada y Ramiro, *Coleccion de cánones*, iii, p. 367), and Avila (1481), c. 5 (García y García, 'Jews and Muslims', pp. 47-48). On the application of the requirement for distinctive clothing in Aragon, see Boswell, *Royal treasure*, pp. 330-32. On the efforts of papal legates to impose this requirement upon Jews and Muslims in Hungary, including excerpts from the Synod of Buda (1279), see N. Berend, 'Medieval patterns of social exclusion and integration. The regulation of non-Christian clothing in thirteenth-century Hungary', *Revue Mabillon* n.s. 8 (69) (1997) 155-76; Berend also offers a general survey of Christian efforts to regulate the dress of non-Christians.

[60] Bernard of Pavia, *Summa decretalium* 5.5.4 (pp. 211-12); Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia* (1.4.3, col. 311).

[61] Vienne (1311-12), c. 25 (Alberigo, *Decrees*, p. 380; Clem. 5.2.un). At least one commentator, however, interpreted this canon as a prohibition against all Islamic worship, public or private: Jesselin de Cassagnes (d. 1334/5), paraphrased in Gilles, 'Legislation et doctrine canoniques', p. 204. On this canon and its ordinary gloss, see Bussi, 'Condizione giuridica dei musulmani', pp. 479-88. Even restrictions on worship in public contravene the surrender terms offered to Muslim communities in Spain by their Christian conquerors. Many civil authorities there sought to evade or ignore the demands of clerics regarding this subject but ultimately capitulated. See Boswell, *Royal treasure*, pp. 261-67; Burns, *Islam under the crusaders*, pp. 187-92. See also M.T. Ferrer i Mallol, *Els sarraïns de la corona catalano-aragonesa en el segle XIV: segregació i discriminació*, Barcelona, 1987, pp. 87-95, summarized in R.I. Burns, 'Muslims in the thirteenth-century realms of Aragon. Interaction and reaction', in J.M. Powell (ed.), *Muslims under Latin rule, 1100-1300*, Princeton NJ, 1990, 57-102, p. 95. I am unaware of canonical legislation that addresses the legality of confiscating mosques and converting them to other uses, a common occurrence in Christian Spain.

[62] 4 Lateran, c. 68 (Alberigo, *Decrees*, p. 266; 4 Comp. 5.4.1, X 5.6.15).

[63] Salamanca (1335), c. 12 (Tejada y Ramiro, *Coleccion de cánones*, iii, p. 575).

parades, insist that non-Christians may not participate in such events in any capacity.[64]

Although Jews and Saracens are emphatically not members of the Church, they are nevertheless obligated to pay tithes to the Church; the purpose of this requirement, according to Joseph O'Callaghan, was to prevent Christian land-owners from using Jewish or Saracen tenants as a tax shelter.[65] The imposition of this tithe on Jews apparently originates in a decretal of Alexander III (r. 1059–81).[66] By the turn of the 13th century, however, this rule was understood to apply to Saracens as well: in 1205, for example, Innocent III scolded the king of Castile for refusing to compel his Jewish and Saracen subjects to pay the tithe.[67] Later popes instead authorized clerics themselves to force non-Christians to pay the tithe.[68] This and other canonical regulations governing the behavior of Jews and Saracens, canonists observe, constitute exceptions to the general rule that canon law does not apply to non-Christians.[69] Clerical officials obviously cannot impose

[64] Valladolid, c. 22 (Tejada y Ramiro, *Coleccion de cánones*, iii, p. 499); Avila, cc. 4, 6 (García y García, 'Jews and Muslims', pp. 47-48).

[65] This interpretation is supported by 4 Lateran, c. 53 (Alberigo, *Decrees*, p. 259; X 3.30.32), which requires landlords who assign lands to Christians exempt from the tithe to make good on the revenue lost to the church. Innocent IV, *Super decretalibus* on X. 3.30.32, applies this canon to Jewish and Saracen tenants.

[66] X 3.30.16 (JL 13975, 1 Comp. 3.26.28). The requirement that Jews pay the tithe is reiterated in 4 Lateran (1215), c. 67 (4 Comp. 5.7.3, X 5.19.18).

[67] Potthast, *Regesta pontificum*, 2487, cited and translated in Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews*, pp. 112-13; for an edition and bibliography, see Simonsohn, *Apostolic See*, i, pp. 85-86. On the imposition of the tithe upon Muslims in Spain, see O'Callaghan, 'Mudejars of Castile and Portugal', pp. 44-45; O'Callaghan reports that Innocent III ruled in 1199 that Moors who acquired land from Christians must pay the tithe. Numerous Spanish church councils reiterated the obligation of Jews and Saracens alike to pay the tithe, including Valladolid (1228), c. 8 (Tejada y Ramiro, *Coleccion de cánones*, iii, p. 327); Lerida (1229), c. 15 (Guallar Perez, *Los concilios Tarraconenses*, p. 233); Lerida (1293), c. 3 (Guallar Perez, *Los concilios Tarraconenses*, pp. 240-41), which addresses Saracens alone; Avila (1384), in T. Sobrino Chomón, 'Constituciones sinodales Abulenses de 1384', *Hispania Sacra* 15 (1962) 453-67, p. 462.

[68] See the decretal of Gregory IX to the bishop of Baeza (1233) and that of Innocent IV to the dean of the church of Toledo (1245), in Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews*, pp. 194-95, 286-87; editions of these texts with bibliography appear in Simonsohn, *Apostolic See*, i, pp. 140, 202-3.

[69] Canonists commenting on 1 Comp. 5.5.5 or X 5.6.5, including Ricardus Anglicus (see Herde, 'Christians and Saracens', pp. 62-63) and the Ordinary Gloss to the *Decretales* (s.v. *permittantur*), compile lists of these exceptions; see also Hostiensis, *Summa aurea*, Lib. 5, *De Iudaeis et Sarracenis*, §§ 4-7 (cols 1519-22). These lists of canons that apply to non-Christians consist primarily of canons originally applicable to Jews alone; their compilers do not specify whether they believe that these canons in fact apply to all non-Christians. The Ordinary Gloss (on X. 4.19.8, s.v. *constitutionibus*) also holds that Christian authorities may indirectly impose upon non-Christian

spiritual punishments such as excommunication upon Jews or Saracens; for both legal and practical reasons, such officials are generally unable to impose material punishments directly upon non-Christians either. Over the 12th and 13th centuries, however, these officials begin to impose upon Christians a boycott against disobedient non-Christians and, as in the case of Innocent III's letter, apply pressure upon secular rulers and judges to enforce the Church's edicts.[70]

Oldradus de Ponte justifies the imposition of church tithes on Saracens, even those who work land they have occupied since before the Reconquista, by comparing the tithe to the tribute owed to a proprietor, in this case God. Oldradus asserts that violation of this obligation, even by a non-Christian, constitutes an offense subject to ecclesiastical jurisdiction; he also instructs church officials to punish Christian landlords who provide recalcitrant Saracens with lands to work. Oldradus observes that tribute to the secular king does not absolve the Saracen of the responsibility to pay the tithe, and that 'Saracen' land in the Mediterranean region is in fact 'Christian' land subject to divine law, both for historical reasons and because the land is currently ruled by Christians.[71] Oldradus is not the only Christian authority to claim that the right of subject Saracens to their own property is mediated through Christian institutions. David Abulafia has shown that secular authorities extended to Saracens the status of *servi regiae camerae* (imprecisely: 'serfs of the royal treasury') that originally applied specifically to subject populations of Jews; some ecclesiastical authorities do the same.[72] Ecclesiastical authorities devote considerable attention to the conversion of Saracens and the regulations governing such converts. After all, as Johannes Teutonicus observes, the

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subjects certain norms absent from Jewish and Saracen laws, such as limitations on Jewish money-lending and on Saracen polygamy. On this final comment, see J. Muldoon, 'Missionaries and the marriages of infidels. The case of the Mongol mission', *The Jurist* 35 (1975) 125-41, p. 131.

[70] On the development of claims for canonical jurisdiction over individual Jews, see Pakter, *Medieval canon law and the Jews*, pp. 40-69. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia* 1.4.4 (col. 312), apparently understands this jurisdiction to apply equally to Saracens; see also the following note. On the roles of secular authorities in enforcing canonical norms applicable to Saracens, see Gilles, 'Legislation et doctrine canoniques', p. 204.

[71] Oldradus, Consilium 91, in Zacour, *Jews and Saracens*, pp. 85 (Latin), 59-61 (English). Oldradus here applies to Saracens a canon that allows ecclesiastical courts to try Jews for certain offenses against the church (X 5.6.14).

[72] Abulafia, 'Servitude of Jews and Muslims'. Among canonists who endorsed the application of this status to Saracens was Pierre d'Estaing (d. 1377), in his commentary on Clem. 5.2.un; see Gilles, 'Legislation et doctrine canoniques', p. 205.

biblical injunction to love one's neighbor applies to Jewish and Saracen neighbors as well (albeit only 'according to the individual's station').[73] Canonists once again draw upon established Jewry law when discussing conversion of the Saracens, most notably in their insistence that conversion must result from a voluntary choice and not from compulsion.[74] Benjamin Z. Kedar observes, however, that medieval canonists express increasing tolerance toward the use of coercion to encourage the conversion of Saracens and Jews alike.[75] Numerous councils decree that baptized Jews or Saracens should not suffer a loss of their possessions or their inheritance on account of their conversion which, after all, ought to improve their status; one stipulates that poor converts are eligible to receive support from the church's charitable activities.[76] Baptism may be performed by anyone, a point Innocent IV illustrates with the example of baptism performed by an infidel Saracen.[77]

We have observed above that Innocent IV regards missionary activity to Saracens and other infidels as a fundamental obligation of the Church and deems obstruction of such activity to be a *casus*

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[73] Glos. ord., D. 2 de pen., c. 5, s.v. *participes*; cited and translated in Brundage, 'Intermarriage', p. 26.

[74] Interpreters who explicitly apply to Saracens the classic legal statements opposing forced conversion of the Jews include the author of the *Summa Parisiensis* on D. 45 c. 3 (p. 40); Bernard of Pavia, *Summa decretalium* 5.5.3 (pp. 210-11); Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia* 1.4.2 (cols 309-10). See also Innocent IV, *Apparatus*, and Johannes de Ancona, *Summa iuris canonici*, both on 3.34.8. Johannes' opinion is reprinted and discussed by Kedar; see the citation in the following note. Raymond, however, advises Christians in North Africa who care for Muslim infants to baptize the children surreptitiously, so that the souls of those children who happen to die before reaching the age of discretion may ascend to heaven (*Responsiones ad dubitabilia* §9, col. 1027; see Tolan, 'Taking Gratian to Africa', p. 59).

[75] Kedar, 'Muslim conversion in canon law', pp. 328-30. Kedar cites Alanus, *Ius naturale* on C. 23 q. 4 d.p.c. 36, as unusual in his opinion that Christian authorities may deprive obstinate Saracens of their property and subject them to corporal punishment as a means of facilitating their voluntary conversion to Christianity, but he observes that Bernard of Pavia and Raymond of Peñafort (see previous note) implicitly condone such activity too. Also unusual is the opinion expressed by Pierre d'Estaing in his commentary on Clem. 5.2.un, paraphrased in Gilles, 'Legislation et doctrine canoniques', p. 205: because Jews and Saracens are 'slaves' of Christian rulers, they have no rights over their children and for that reason Christian rulers may seize and baptize Jewish and Saracen children.

[76] 3 Lateran (1179), c. 26 (Alberigo, *decrees*, p. 224; 1 Comp. 5.5.5, X 5.6.5); Montpellier (1195), cc. 10–11 (Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews*, pp. 298-99); Peñafiel (1302), c. 10 (Tejada y Ramiro, *Coleccion de cánones*, iii, p. 441); Tarragona (1307), c. 1 (Tejada y Ramiro, *Coleccion de cánones*, vi, p. 63). Support for poor converts: Valladolid (1322), c. 22 (Tejada y Ramiro, *Coleccion de cánones*, iii, pp. 500-1).

[77] Innocent IV, *Apparatus*, on X 3.42.1 (labelled c. 2 in Frankfurt 1570 ed., p. 555v).

belli.[78] Christians must similarly allow their Saracen slaves to convert to Christianity. Popes, councils and canonists seek to overcome resistance on the part of slaveholders not only by threatening excommunication, but also by stipulating that such converts remain slaves, even in regions where Christian slavery is not customary.[79] Innocent IV also holds that churches must provide clerics who can minister to Saracen converts in their own language.[80]

Marriages contracted by Saracens before their conversion raise a number of thorny questions for canonists. May a baptized Saracen remain married to a spouse to whom he is too closely related according to canon law, such as a first cousin? Yes, according to popes Clement and Innocent III. May such a Saracen remain married to a spouse who refuses to accept baptism but wishes to remain with her newly Christian husband? Yes, lest the wife persuade her husband

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[78] Innocent IV, *Apparatus*, on X 3.34.8. See also the bull *Cum hora undecima*, originally issued by Gregory IX in 1235 and reissued in a revised form by Innocent IV in 1245 and, in that form, by many subsequent popes. On this bull, which refers first and foremost to missionary activity in Saracen lands, see Muldoon, 'Avignon papacy', pp. 143-46. Innocent discourages belligerence toward Saracens if their conversion might be secured by other means: *Apparatus* on X. 3.42.3 (p. 456r in the Frankfurt 1570 ed., which identifies this as c. 4).

[79] Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia* 1.4.7 (col. 316), commends the Catalonian custom of not holding Christian slaves (a custom also evident in the Kingdom of Jerusalem), but he does not require Christian masters to free converted slaves. Pope Gregory IX, in contrast, explicitly declares that non-Christian slaves owned by Christian masters remain slaves after baptism. This opinion underlies the works of Goffredus Tranensis, *Summa super titulis Decretalium*, 1519 (repr. Aalen, 1968), 5.4.8 (p. 206v) and Hostiensis, *Summa aurea, Lib. 5, De servis Judaeorum et Saracenorum* § 5 (col. 1528). Its influence may also be seen in the work of various regional councils. The Council of Tarragona (1329, c. 24; Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, xxv, p. 846) stipulates that Saracen slaves seeking to convert must prove their sincerity and remain in their servile condition after their conversion. (Tejada y Ramiro provides only the summary rubric of this canon; many of the canons promulgated in 1329 were first promulgated at earlier councils of Tarragona, but I have been unable to find this canon elsewhere in Tejada y Ramiro's collection.) Odo of Châteauroux's Statute of Jaffa (1253, text in Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, xxvi, pp. 317-18), echoed by a 1298 synod of Nicosia (text in Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, xxvi, p. 350), excommunicates masters who prevent their slaves from converting. See Kedar, *Crusade and mission*, pp. 76-78, 146-51; editions of Gregory IX's letters on this subject appear on pp. 212-15. See also R.I. Burns, 'Journey from Islam. Incipient cultural transition in the conquered Kingdom of Valencia (1240-1280)', *Speculum* 35 (1960) 337-56, pp. 342-45.

[80] Innocent IV, *Apparatus*, on X 1.31.14 (4 Lateran, c. 9; Alberigo, *Decrees*, p. 239). The Councils of Valladolid (1322, c. 22; Tejada y Ramiro, *Coleccion de cánones*, iii, p. 501) and Cartagena (1475, c. 90; Molina, *Sínodo de la Diócesis de Cartagena*, p. 157) require those who minister to Jewish and Saracen converts to secure specific authorization before doing so.

to renounce his conversion so as not to lose her. May such a Saracen remarry if his spouse refuses to remain with him, gives offense to Christianity, or seeks to seduce her husband into mortal sin? Yes again, despite the Church's principled opposition to serial monogamy; popes draw here on 1 Cor 7:15.[81] May a polygamous Saracen retain all of the wives he married before his conversion? No: polygamy, according to Innocent, contravenes the laws of nature incumbent upon all of humanity, and for that reason only the Saracen's first wife is legally married to him.[82]

Conversion from Christianity to Islam is completely unacceptable. The subject never appears in the *Decretum* and, within the *Decretals*, appears solely in a rhetorical context: a woman fed up with her husband's unwillingness to honor their pact of celibacy says that she would rather become a Saracen than live with him.[83] Friars in Tunis, in contrast, pose a question regarding actual converts to Islam: may Christian relatives continue to associate with them? Raymond of Peñafort, reporting the reply of Pope Gregory IX, answers in the affirmative. He stipulates, however, that such communication should be intended to lead the converts back to the Christian fold or should result from necessity, such as the need to obtain food from the

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[81] All three questions are addressed by both Clement (JL 16595, 2 Comp. 3.20.1) and Innocent III (Potthast, *Regesta pontificum*, 1325; 3 Comp. 4.14.2). The *Decretales* includes only Innocent's decretal, most of which appears as X 4.19.8; a statement in this decretal on the legitimacy of children born to consanguineous converts appears as X 4.17.15. Clement, responding to questions from Spain, addresses Jewish and Saracen converts simultaneously; Innocent III, responding to questions from the titular bishop of Tiberias, refers only to presumably Islamic 'pagans'. Innocent also addresses these issues in X 4.14.4 (3 Comp. 4.10.1; Potthast, *Regesta pontificum*, 507) and X 4.19.7 (3 Comp. 4.14.1; Potthast, *Regesta pontificum*, 684). Another case involving the conversion of a married Saracen is addressed by Celestine III in X 3.33.1 (whose other contents are discussed at n. 19 above): a married Christian who abandons both his wife and Christianity may, if that wife is deceased, retain the second wife he took as an infidel when he returns to the Christian fold. On all of these canons and the opinions of their interpreters, see Kedar, 'Muslim conversion in canon law', pp. 321-26. For a detailed analysis of Innocent's opinions within the context of the interpretive tradition, see Muldoon, 'Missionaries and the marriages of infidels'. M. Verbaarschot, 'De iuridica natura impedimenti consanguinitatis', *Ephemerides theologicae Lovaniensis* 30 (1954) 697-739, places the first two cited canons within the broader context of legal discourse about consanguineous marriage.

[82] X 4.19.7–8; see the previous note. Innocent regards acts of polygamy depicted in the Old Testament as divinely authorized exceptions to this universal rule.

[83] 3 Comp. 2.15.10, X 2.24.24; this reference appears in a decretal of Innocent III to the archbishop of Tarragona dated 1203, Potthast, *Regesta pontificum*, 1946. See Kedar, 'Muslim conversion in canon law', p. 330.

converts. Similarly, a Christian whose spouse 'falls into heresy' may remain married so long as the Christian is not at risk of insulting God or being dragged into mortal sin.[84] These scenarios, of course, could never unfold in Christian Europe, where ecclesiastical and civil authorities would instead pressure the converts directly, even to the point of imposing capital punishment upon those who refuse to submit once more to the authority of the Church.

The adoption by Christians of Saracen practices constitutes a more widespread concern. A Hungarian council calls for the expulsion of Saracens who, after their conversion, revert to their ancestral law by performing circumcision.[85] Raymond of Peñafort warns that Christians living under Saracen rule who venerate 'Mahumatus' or their shrine 'Almeadi', or who behave in public as Saracens and in private as Christians, are apostates if they do so out of a desire to revere God but merely commit a mortal sin if they do so out of fear.[86] Various Spanish councils prohibit Christians from attending either Jewish or Saracen weddings or funerals; the Council of Cartagena explains that this prohibition is intended to prevent simple-minded Christians from being led into unbelief.[87] Commentators hold that clerics who bequeath a portion of their inheritance to Jewish or Saracen relatives are subject to anathema, even *post mortem*; this rule is derived from a canon that refers to pagan relatives.[88]

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[84] Raymond of Peñafort, *Responsiones ad dubitabilia* §§10–11 (cols 1027-28); see Tolan, 'Taking Gratian to Africa', pp. 58-59.

[85] Council of Szabolcs (1092), c. 9; see J.M. Bak, G. Bónis and J.R. Sweeney (trans), *The laws of the medieval kingdom of Hungary 1000–1301*, 2nd revised ed., Idyllwild CA, 1999, p. 55.

[86] Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia* 1.7.7 (cols 334-35). Raymond, *Responsiones ad dubitabilia* §16 (col. 1030), also accommodates fear of Saracens by allowing the pre-dawn performance of mass for nervous Christians living in Islamic lands; see Tolan, 'Taking Gratian to Africa', pp. 57-58.

[87] Valladolid (1322), c. 22 (Tejada y Ramiro, *Coleccion de cánones*, iii, p. 400); Cartagena (1475), c. 89 (Molina, *Sínodo de la Diócesis de Cartagena*, p. 157); Avila (1481), c. 2 (García y García, 'Jews and Muslims', p. 46).

[88] Bernard of Pavia, *Summa decretalium*, 5.4.4 (p. 211), and Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia* 1.4.3 (col. 311), both base this rule on a canon promulgated in Carthage in 401 (1 Comp. 5.6.8, X 5.7.5). The Council of Avila (1481, c. 7; García y García, 'Jews and Muslims', pp. 48-49) extends this prohibition to all Christians.

Should not Saracens be less objectionable than Jews?

Oldradus de Ponte offers a revealing response to the question of whether a Jew should be punished for converting to the religion of the Saracens. He begins his response by saying that no punishment is warranted because Judaism and Islam are equivalent: 'If each is in a state of damnation it does not matter to which sect he belongs because there is no distinction between equivalents.'[89] This notion of equivalence evidently underlies the application to Saracens of Jewry law. Oldradus, however, proceeds to sound a different note: 'the Saracen sect is not as bad as that of the Jews', as attested by the fact that Jesus (Mt 11:24) and Ezekiel (Ezek 16:51) condemn the Jews as worse even than the gentiles of Sodom.[90] 'One ought not be punished, therefore, for choosing the path of lesser evil.'

The notion that Jews occupy a unique position at the nadir of human society and morality, while Islam constitutes a 'lesser evil', is commonplace in sources from the first millennium of Christianity. This concept is submerged in normative discourse, which equates Jews and Saracens, but it resurfaces in Oldradus' responsum and, even more forcefully, in a responsum by the Spanish canonist Alfonso de Madrigal (d. 1455), which forbids conversion from Islam to Judaism. Alfonso argues that those who choose a false religion are more contemptible than those who happen to be born into such a religion and that the choice of a religion other than Christianity constitutes a forbidden act of blasphemy against Christianity. After mounting arguments that explicitly apply both to Jews who convert to Islam and to Saracens who convert to Judaism, Alfonso proceeds to demonstrate that Judaism is inferior to Islam. He supports this assertion both with arguments

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[89] Oldradus de Ponte, Consilium 51, in Zacour, *Jews and Saracens*, pp. 77 (Latin), 42-43 (English); cited translations are by Zacour. On this consilium, see also W. Stalls, 'Jewish conversion to Islam. The perspective of a *quaestio*', *Revista Española de Teología* 43 (1983) 235-51. Oldradus further observes that both Judaism and Islam are tolerated, that the Church does not concern itself with external matters, and that freedom of choice allows Jews to opt either for the truth of Christianity or the error of other faiths. An edict promulgated by James I of Aragon in conjunction with the so-called Council of Tarragona of 1233, in contrast, prohibits conversion from Islam to Judaism or vice versa (Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews*, pp. 324-25, who labels this c. 22; Tejada y Ramiro, *Coleccion de cánones*, iii, p. 366, c. 19).

[90] Oldradus draws here on Augustine, *De baptismo* 6.86 (C. 1. q. 1 c. 37); for a similar opinion by Agobard of Lyons that juxtaposes Jews and Saracens, see Freidenreich, 'Muslims in canon law', p. 97 in *CMR* 1. Oldradus also observes that the Good Friday liturgy includes a genuflection on behalf of the pagans, but not one for the Jews.

ascribed to Oldradus and Ludovicus Pontanus (d. 1439) and with his own argument regarding the Jews' murder of Jesus. David Nirenberg summarizes Alfonso's argument as follows: 'how can we allow Muslims, who did not participate in the killing of the Lord, to be brought by the Jews into this status?'[91]

Given the unique status that Christian theology assigns to Jews, why do so many legal authorities equate Jews and Saracens? Convenience is surely a significant factor: Jewry law offers tradition-minded canonists a ready set of precedents that may be applied to new populations of subject non-Christians.[92] Many canonists, moreover, evidently perceived the differences between Jews and Saracens to be irrelevant.[93] The evolution of canonical discourse about the permissibility of sharing meals with non-Christians offers an additional answer: Saracens themselves, according to medieval canonists, behave like Jews and therefore subject themselves to laws originally intended for Jews alone.[94]

Early commentators on the *Decretum*, including Rufinus (writing c. 1164), observe that canons found in this work prohibit commensality with Jews, but permit sharing meals with other non-Christians. 'That prohibition is made specifically regarding Jews', Rufinus explains, 'because through the abuse of scripture they subvert faith

[91] D. Nirenberg, 'Love between Muslim and Jew in medieval Spain. A triangular affair', in H.J. Hames (ed.), *Jews, Muslims and Christians in and around the Crown of Aragon. Essays in honour of Professor Elena Lourie*, Leiden, 2004, 149. Nirenberg, who provides an extensive summary of Alfonso's unpublished treatise, notes that he has been unable to identify the opinion of Ludovicus to which Alfonso refers. It is striking that, in Nirenberg's words, Alfonso cites as 'opprobria reserved for the Jews as marks of the servitude they incurred through deicide' many of the Jewry law regulations that had long been applied to Jews and Saracens alike. These include the requirement for distinctive clothing, segregation during Holy Week, and the bans against owning Christian slaves, employing Christian wetnurses, receiving bequests from Christians, and holding public office.

[92] This factor is highlighted by Abulafia, 'Servitude of Jews and Muslims', p. 705.

[93] See D. Nirenberg, 'Christendom and Islam', in M. Rubin and W. Simons (eds), *Christianity in Western Europe, c. 1100-c. 1500* (*Cambridge History of Christianity* 4), Cambridge, 2009, 149-69, p. 153.

[94] For a more in-depth treatment of the material summarized in the following paragraphs, see Freidenreich, 'Sharing meals'; I place this subject in broader perspective in *Foreigners and their food*. Zacour, *Jews and Saracens*, pp. 16-22, points to a different perceived similarity between Jews and Saracens to explain their equivalent legal status, namely the rhetorical association of both communities with the biblical figure of Hagar. This suggestion, based on Oldradus' use of Hagar rhetoric, seems to be of limited value as a means of explaining canon law regarding Muslims more broadly. Legal authorities only rarely allude to Hagar and many of those who do so, including Bernard of Pavia and his successors, contrast the Hagarene ancestry of the Saracens with the Judahite ancestry of the Jews.

in Christ in several ways and condemn the food of Christians. Gentiles, however, are not like this, and therefore we are not prohibited from going to their table.'[95] Bernard of Pavia – who, we have seen, equates Saracens and pagans – applies Rufinus' logic to the distinction between Jews and Saracens, permitting commensality with the latter even as he applies a variety of other Jewry laws to Saracens. According to Bernard, Saracens are less capable than Jews of subverting Christian faith.[96] Huguccio, however, argues that this distinction no longer applies. 'Nearly all Saracens at the present judaize because they are circumcised and distinguish among foods in accordance with Jewish practices. I say, accordingly, that one ought to abstain from the food of such pagans – that is, those who distinguish among foods – just as from the food of Jews.'[97] Because Saracens behave like Jews, Huguccio argues, the same laws ought to apply to both; we observed Huguccio's use of this logic with reference to Saracen owners of Christian slaves above.

The anonymous author of *Ecce vicit leo* (second recension, 1210) objects to Huguccio's logic. 'The reason for this prohibition [of commensality] is that Jews have the Law and by means of it they are able more easily to lead back the hearts of the simple to their dread [rites] if they share meals with them.' Moreover, there ought to be a distinction between commensality with Jews and commensality with gentiles because 'association with [Jews] is more distasteful than with gentiles'.[98] *Ecce vicit leo* espouses the classical notion that Jews are inferior to

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[95] Rufinus, *Summa decretorum*, p. 317. The canon on which Rufinus comments, C. 11 q. 3 c. 24, a translation of John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Hebrews* 25.3-4, permits commensality with pagans but not with Christian sinners. C. 23 q. 4 c. 17 (an epitome of Augustine's *Sermon* 351.10 taken from the Ordinary Gloss to 1 Cor 5.10, 12) encourages such shared meals as a means of missionizing. The prohibition against commensality with Jews appears in C. 28 q. 1 c. 14 (Agde [506], c. 40).

[96] Bernard of Pavia, *Summa decretalium* 5.5.4 (p. 211). See also *Summa Elegantius (Coloniensis)* 7.66 (ii, p. 189), which cites the permissibility of eating with 'pagans' to demonstrate the ways in which excommunicants are inferior to 'Saracens'.

[97] Huguccio, *Summa decretorum* on C. 11 q. 3 c. 24, cited and translated in Freidenreich, 'Sharing meals', pp. 59-60.

[98] *Ecce vicit leo* on C. 11 q. 3 c. 24 and C. 28 q. 1 c. 14; see Freidenreich, 'Sharing meals', p. 62. Page 54 of that article provides further examples of arguments that possession of the Old Testament makes Jews especially threatening to Christians. Huguccio himself, interestingly, makes precisely this argument when explaining why converts to Christianity must divorce Jewish spouses who refuse to convert but need not divorce gentile spouses (*Summa decretorum* on C. 28 q. 1 d.p.c. 10, s.v. *Verum hoc*; this passage is reproduced in Pakter, *Medieval canon law and the Jews*, p. 279, n. 133). This passage, however, was evidently composed before Huguccio learned about the 'judaizing' behaviors of the Saracens, because it advocates for the very

other non-Christians, Saracens included, and holds that canon law ought to make manifest this distinction. This canonist's opinion, however, fails to sway his colleagues: nearly all other 13th-century authorities equate the status of Jews and Saracens with respect to the commensality prohibition. Because these canonists conflate Saracens and pagans, this prohibition also comes to apply to all non-Christians – even those encountered during the Baltic crusades.[99]

Huguccio and his successors justify the equation of Jews and Saracens as a necessary response to the 'judaizing' practices of the Saracens. Christian authorities, fearful of the blurring of boundaries between their own tradition and Judaism, perceived Saracens as having succumbed to the pernicious influence of the Jews, thus forfeiting the distinctive legal status to which they would otherwise be entitled. If Saracens – and, by the faulty logic of ivory tower canonists, all pagans – now behave like Jews, and Judaism is now commonly regarded as a form of heresy,[100] then traditional distinctions between different types of non-orthodox Christians are no longer signficant.[101] This conceptual shift toward a binary classification of humanity is manifest in the famous bull of Pope Boniface VIII, *Unam sanctam*, which declares that there is no salvation outside the Church of Rome.[102] As Oldradus observes, if all non-Christians are in a state of damnation, no normative distinction among equivalents is necessary.

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distinction between Jewish slaveholders and gentile slaveholders that Huguccio rejects in the comment cited at n. 52.

[99] See the *Glossa Palatina*, Johannes Teutonicus, and the Ordinary Gloss on C. 28 q. 1 c. 14; Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de paenitentia* 1.4.3 (col. 310); Geoffrey of Trani, Innocent IV, and the Ordinary Gloss on X 5.6.10; Hostiensis, *Summa aurea*, Lib. 5, *De Sarracenis*, s.v. *qualiter erga ipsos* (cols 1524-25). Canonists interpreted Pope Clement III's decretal permitting commensality to missionaries on the Baltic Crusade (JL 16578, 2 Comp. 5.4.4, X 5.6.10) as an exception to the general rule against commensality with pagans who 'judaize' first articulated by Huguccio. For further details, see Freidenreich, 'Sharing meals', pp. 62-70. The Council of Avila (1481, Tit. 7, c. 3) also forbids commensality with Jews and Saracens alike. I am aware of only one source permitting commensality with Saracens that post-dates *Ecce vicit leo*: Johannes Teutonicus' anomalous gloss on *Dispar* (reproduced in the Ordinary Gloss), discussed above at n. 47.

[100] See J. Cohen, *The friars and the Jews. The evolution of medieval anti-Judaism*, Ithaca NY, 1982.

[101] Muldoon, 'Avignon papacy', p. 149, similarly observes that the 14th-century papacy perceived no differences between infidels and schismatics, to the detriment of the Church's missionary efforts.

[102] Extrav. commun. 1.8.1, Potthast, *Regesta pontificum*, 25189. On the impact of this text on papal missions to foreign non-Christians, including Saracens, see Muldoon, 'Avignon papacy'.

Theologically motivated anti-Judaism, however, continues to prompt canonists such as Oldradus, Alfonso and the author of *Ecce vicit leo* to insist upon the relative superiority of Saracens to Jews.[103] Latin canon law regarding Muslims thus reveals the tensions inherent in Christian conceptions regarding Saracens and their place within the broader framework of non-Christians.

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[103] This relative superiority also manifests itself in civil laws from Spain: while many laws treat Saracens and Jews alike, others fall more harshly upon the Jews. See E. Lourie, 'Anatomy of ambivalence. Muslims under the Crown of Aragon in the late thirteenth century', in idem, *Crusade and colonisation. Muslims, Christians and Jews in medieval Aragon*, Aldershot UK, 1990, 51-69. See also Nirenberg ('Love between Muslim and Jew'), who proposes that the increased significance of theological considerations accounts for a shift in the 15th century away from treating Jews and Saracens as legally equivalent.

Works on Christian-Muslim relations

1050-1200

The Chronicle of Seʿert

Taʾrīkh al-Sīʿird

DATE Before 1023
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION
This work is a universal history. It is divided into two parts, the first
narrating the events of the years 251 to 422, and the second dealing
with the period 484 up to 650, at which point the MS containing this
part breaks off. The remainder of the *Chronicle* may have followed
events up to the 11ᵗʰ century. The author, who is anonymous, was evi-
dently a Nestorian priest who must have finished writing before the
year 1023 (see Youssif, *Chroniqueurs*, p. 280).

The *Chronicle* is based on a number of early sources, such as the
lost ecclesiastical histories of Daniel ibn Maryam (7ᵗʰ century), Elias,
Bishop of Merw (7ᵗʰ century), and Bar Sahdē (7ᵗʰ century), and also
employs other Syriac and Arabic sources, such as the chronicles of
Theodore bar Kōnī (7ᵗʰ century) and works of Qusṭā ibn Lūqā (q.v.),
among others.

SIGNIFICANCE
The *Chronicle* is valuable for the information it preserves from early
works that have not survived. It also mentions the conditions of Chris-
tian communities in the first decades of Muslim rule in the mid-7ᵗʰ
century. It provides information about the religious practices of non-
Muslims in this period, and it also preserves a 'letter of protection'
from Muḥammad to the Christians of Najrān, as well as a text of the
Pact of ʿUmar (q.v.).

MANUSCRIPTS
MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 6653, 184 fols (13ᵗʰ century; second part, text
incomplete at beginning and end)
MS Seʿert (Kurdistan), Bishop's Residence – 128 (14ᵗʰ century; first
part)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS
First part:
A. Scher (ed.), *Histoire nestorienne (Chronique de Séert)*, in *PO* 4,
Paris, 1908, pp. 213-313 (French trans. J. Périer)

A. Scher (ed.), *Histoire nestorienne (Chronique de Séert)*, in *PO* 5, Paris, 1910, pp. 217-344 (French trans. P. Dib)

Second part:

A. Scher (ed.), *Histoire nestorienne (Chronique de Séert)*, in *PO* 7, Paris, 1911, pp. 97-203 (French trans. A. Scher)

A. Scher (ed.), *Histoire nestorienne (Chronique de Séert)*, in *PO* 13, Paris, 1919, pp. 437-639 (French trans. A. Scher and R. Griveau)

E. Sachau, 'Die Christianisierungslegende von Merw', in *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde und Sprachwissenschaft*, Giessen, 1918, 40-409 (partial German trans.)

STUDIES

E.I. Youssif, *Les chroniqueurs syriaques*, Paris, 2002, p. 279-344

G. Anawati, *Al-Masīḥiyya wa-l-ḥaḍāra al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo, 1992, p. 316

L. Sako, 'Les sources de la chronique de Seert', *Pd'O* 14 (1987) 155-66

W. Macomber, 'Further precisions concerning the Mosul manuscript of the Chronicle of Seert', *OC* 55 (1971) 210-13

R. Degen, 'Zwei Miszellen zur Chronik von Se'ert', *OC* 54 (1970) 76-95

J.-M. Fiey, 'Table des noms propres de la seconde partie de la Chronique de Seert', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 42 (1966) 201-18

G. Troupeau, 'Note sur les manuscrits de Séert conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris', in *Cinquantenaire de l'École des langues orientales anciennes*, Paris, 1964, 207-8

G. Graf, 'Apocryphe Schutzbriefe Muhammeds für die Christen', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 43 (1923) 1-14

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 195-96

A. Scher (ed.), 'Chronique de Séert', in *PO* 4, pp. 215-16

A. Scher, *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés dans la bibliothèque épiscopale de Séert, avec notes bibliographiques*, Mosul, 1905, no. 128

Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala

Al-Bīrūnī

Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī
al-Khwārazmī

DATE OF BIRTH   September 973
PLACE OF BIRTH   Kāth, Khwārazm
DATE OF DEATH   1048
PLACE OF DEATH   Ghazna

BIOGRAPHY

In the history of science, al-Bīrūnī is nowadays regarded as the most prolific and original Muslim mind of the Middle Ages. A fervent admirer of the Greeks, whose heritage came down to him via the late Antique Alexandrian school, and of the indefatigable activities of the Christian translators in Baghdad in the 9th century, he nevertheless enriched this heritage by new methods and original ideas in the fields of astronomy, mathematics and geodesy. Remarkable too is his broad interest in all subjects of learning, including his knowledge of non-Muslim religions, especially the various Christian denominations, about which he shows a great degree of impartiality and even sympathy, though without giving up his Muslim convictions. The relevant statements are scattered through many of his works, while one special tract about the Christian feasts and fasts is now lost. The chronology of his writings can be followed in the biography established by Pavel G. Bulgakov.

Al-Bīrūnī was born in Kāth, the capital of Khwārazm, on the banks of the Amū-Daryā River, south of the Aral Sea. Although of humble origin – he even claims ignorance of his father's identity – he was fortunate enough to find his first teacher in the eminent Khwārazmian mathematician and astronomer, Abū Naṣr Manṣūr ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿIrāq, who was a prince of the ruling family of the Khwārazm Shahs.

From 995 to 997, he was in Rayy, near present-day Tehran, where he took part in the observations carried out by the eminent astronomer Abū Maḥmūd al-Khujandī, using a huge sextant. Back in Kāth for two years, in 997 he calculated the distance between his town and Baghdad in collaboration with another older colleague, Abū l-Wafāʾ

Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Buzjānī, by measuring in these two places the different times of the beginning of a lunar eclipse.

While still in his home town, he entered into correspondence with the young Ibn Sīnā, who even then was revered in Bukhārā as a great expert in all fields of learning. Al-Bīrūnī doubted some tenets of Aristotle's natural philosophy, which Ibn Sīnā felt obliged to defend, e.g. the absolute lightness of air and fire, the possibility of one element being transformed into another, the non-existence of a vacuum and of atoms, and the immutability of the heavenly spheres as an argument for the eternity of the world. Al-Bīrūnī even ventures the idea that our cosmos may not be the only one of its kind, and he accuses Ibn Sīnā, who denies this, of trying to limit God's omnipotence (one might compare this academic conflict with the case of Giordano Bruno). It is possibly this sceptical attitude towards the predominant Peripatetic and Neoplatonic mainstream in Islamic philosophy that earned him the nickname al-Bīrūnī, after the Bīrūniyyūn, the Arabic form of the philosophical sect of the Pyrrhonists. The dispute between the two young scholars also touches upon the Christian thinker John Philoponus, whom Ibn Sīnā regards as a hypocrite, while al-Bīrūnī defends his integrity and his belief in the biblical notion of creation.

In about 997 or 998, al-Bīrūnī went to Gurgān, the ancient Hyrcania, south-east of the Caspian Sea, to work at the court of the Sultan Qābūs ibn Wushmagīr, who was renowned as a Maecenas of poets and scholars. Here he stayed until 1003-4. It was to the sultan that he dedicated his first great work, *Al-āthār al-bāqiya ʿan al-qurūn al-khāliya* ('Lasting vestiges of bygone generations', commonly known as 'The chronology of ancient nations'). It deals with the eras of various peoples and religions and their astronomical and mathematical foundations, among them the church year of the Nestorians and the Melkites. He gives the biblical background of the fasts and feasts with remarkable objectivity, though the date of the creation of the world he finds impossible to determine because of the differences between the three Old Testament versions: the Jewish, the Samaritan and the Septuagint (pp. 20-21). Against Buddhist contentions that the variations in human language and body shape exclude the existence of a common ancestor for the whole human race, he explains the varieties as being the result of differences in dwelling places and their air and water, a clear allusion to the Hippocratic work *De aere, aquis, locis* (Fück, p. 74).

From the now extinct sect of the pagan Sabians in Ḥarrān, the biblical Haran, he quotes a legend about Abraham, in which the patriarch appears in an unfavorable light. Al-Bīrūnī sees this as the malevolent invention of a Christian polemicist. In this context, he mentions the Christian apologist ʿAbd al-Masīḥ ibn Isḥāq al-Kindī, who accuses the Sabians of carrying out human sacrifices in the past (pp. 204-5). From the New Testament, he quotes the two different genealogies of Jesus in Matthew and Luke, and the attempts to harmonize them (pp. 22-23). The Nestorians put the Annunciation to Mary on 1 December, and must therefore claim that her pregnancy miraculously lasted only 25 days (pp. 309-10). Christ's baptism gives him the opportunity to describe at length the contemporary rite in Byzantium (p. 293). In the reports on the Passion, he notes the differing times in the day of the crucifixion, according to John and the Synoptic Gospels. Despite his Muslim convictions, he abstains from adducing the denial of Christ's crucifixion in Q 4:157-58. But, oddly enough, he remains silent about the role of the Romans: Pilate appears as the leader (*qāʾid*) of the Jews (Fück, pp. 93-94). Al-Bīrūnī further censures superstitious excesses in the Christians' veneration of the cross, when they claim to find a cross-shaped figure in the constellation of the Dolphin or in the wood of the Paeonia tree, which, when it is cut, reveals markings that resemble a cross (pp. 296-97). In connection with Easter, he mentions the Holy Fire in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and, making use of a number of reports, describes what used to happen before the church was destroyed on the orders of the Fatimid Caliph al-Ḥākim, and how the Muslim population of Jerusalem took part in the ceremony as well as the Christians. He does not dismiss it as a fraud, but tries to find equally wondrous phenomena elsewhere (Fück, pp. 94-95).

Al-Bīrūnī knows of three Christian denominations (p. 288). The Nestorians acknowledged as their authority Nestorius, who urged his followers to think rationally about their creed (p. 309). The Melkites were present even in Khwārazm (p. 288), but at the time when he wrote the 'Chronology' he had not managed to meet any of the Jacobites in order to gather information about their beliefs (p. 315). He also mentions the Arians, and finds that they were nearer to Islam (p. 288).

In 1008, al-Bīrūnī returned to his own country, where the residence of the Khwārazm Shahs had been transferred to the new capital Jurjāniyya. Here he met his old teacher, Abū Naṣr Manṣūr ibn ʿAlī ibn

ʿIrāq, and also Ibn Sīnā, who had fled from Bukhārā after the down-fall of the Sāmānid dynasty there. He also formed close friendships with two Nestorian colleagues. Abū Sahl ʿĪsā ibn Yaḥyā al-Masīḥī, who came from Gurgān and had studied in Baghdad, was a physician and polymath. One of his writings bears the title *Kitāb iẓhār ḥikmat Allāh taʿālā fī khalq al-insān* ('Demonstration of God's wisdom in the physique of man'), this in full congruence with Muslim belief. He dedicated 12 of his other tracts to al-Bīrūnī. The other Christian friend was the physician and philosopher Abū l-Khayr al-Ḥasan ibn Suwār al-Khammār, who was born in Baghdad, and was active as a translator from Syriac into Arabic. Al-Bīrūnī quotes him often. One story told by his pupil, Ibn Hindū, in his *Miftāḥ al-ṭibb wa-minhāj al-ṭullāb* ('The key to medicine and the course of students') illustrates the self-confident behavior of Christian intellectuals at this time. One pious Muslim incited the people against Abū l-Khayr and even wrote a book about the futility of Galenic medicine, but when this man fell ill with a severe headache and asked Abū l-Khayr for a remedy, he advised him to put the book under his head and trust to a cure from God (p. 16).

This fruitful academic life was terminated in 1018, when Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna occupied Jurjāniyya, and the leading intelligentsia, among them al-Bīrūnī and Abū l-Khayr ibn al-Khammār (q.v.), were summoned or even deported to his residence in Afghanistan, if they were not among those who managed to flee beforehand, like Ibn Sīnā and Abū Sahl ʿĪsā ibn Yaḥyā. Al-Bīrūnī was able to continue his activities, and between 1018 and 1025 he wrote his 'Geodesy', with the Arabic title *Kitāb taḥdīd nihāyāt al-amākin li-taṣḥīḥ masāfāt al-masākin* ('On establishing the boundaries of places to confirm distances between settlements'). In order to determine the *qibla* correctly, it was necessary to have a clear idea of the spherical shape of the earth, something that not all theologians were inclined to accept. Al-Bīrūnī reports in this book an incident that had occurred about a century earlier in Baghdad, when the Muʿtazilī Abū Hāshim al-Jubbāʾī (q.v.) boasted before a learned assembly that he had torn out pages from a book of Aristotle where this was to be read, whereupon the Syrian Aristotelian philosopher and translator, Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus, ridiculed him openly before the assembly. The way in which the story came down to al-Bīrūnī is easy to reconstruct, because Abū l-Khayr ibn al-Khammār had been a pupil of the Baghdad Jacobite philosopher Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī (q.v.), who in turn had studied with Abū Bishr.

Maḥmūd of Ghazna led several military excursions into the Punjab, where he plundered the Hindu temples, and brought back much gold and slaves. Al-Bīrūnī, who had to accompany him, took the opportunity to study the creeds and customs of the Hindus, and even tried to learn Sanskrit and to meet Indian astronomers. He wrote his observations down in a magnificent work entitled *Kitāb fī taḥqīq mā li-l-Hind min maqūla maqbūla min al-ʿaql aw mardhūla* ('Verification of what from the Indians is acceptable to the mind and what is not'), commonly called simply 'India'. His attempt to penetrate mentally into a totally foreign culture is unique in all the literature of the Middle Ages, though it was also carried on in close parallel with the imperialist undertakings of a Muslim power to subjugate the country. Al-Bīrūnī complains about the idolatry and superstition of the Hindu masses and the narrow-mindedness of the intellectuals who shun dispute about their religion. He sees no other salvation for 'the innate perversity of their nature' than conversion to Islam (p. 91). In order to understand the foreign culture, he compares it with phenomena he knows better. Thus, he compares Hindu religion and mythology with the state of the Greeks before the introduction of Christianity (pp. 12-13), though with the difference that the latter had true philosophers, which the Indians do not. Reminiscences of the Bible are also present. He detects traces of polytheism in the Old Testament (p. 18), and he finds the ethics incumbent on the caste of the Brahmans similar to those of the Christians, 'but the people of this world are not all philosophers. Most of them are ignorant and erring, who cannot be kept on the straight road save by the sword and the whip. And, indeed, ever since Constantine the victorious became a Christian, both sword and whip have ever been employed, for without them it would be impossible to rule' (p. 280). In this book he also quotes John Philoponus' *Refutation of Proclus* (pp. 17, 111, 114).

In about 1030, al-Bīrūnī wrote for a woman named Rayḥāna, who like him came from Khwārazm, the *Kitāb al-tafhīm li-awāʾil ṣināʿat al-tanjīm* ('Instruction in the elements of the art of astrology'). Here he deals again with the Nestorian church year, but more succinctly than in the 'Chronology'. To his mention of a feast called *Māshūsh* he adds the remark: 'This is one of the impudent statements made by people ignorant about the Christians to the effect that *Māshūsh* is a night when men and women meet together to seek Jesus, when promiscuous intercourse takes place as chance determines in the dark. We take refuge in God from offending the sect of the Christians,

whose disposition, in spite of their false doctrine, is eminently distin-
guished by modesty, uprightness and kindness to all' (§ 300).

To Maḥmūd's son and successor Masʿūd (r. 1030-40) he dedicated
the so-called *Masʿūdic Canon*, a voluminous handbook of astronomy.
Here he deals again with the fasts and feasts of the Christians and
the death of Jesus at the hands of the Jews, and reveals a knowledge
of Christian historians such as Eusebius of Caesarea, Theophilus
of Edessa, and others who still await identification (pp. 169-71 and
227-53).

Although al-Bīrūnī was no physician, in his last great work he
dealt with *materia medica*, but in a strictly philological manner. The
strange title of the *Kitāb al-ṣaydana fī l-ṭibb* ('The pharmacy for medi-
cine') probably means that medicine itself needs a remedy, namely
against the chaos of the many names of the substances used in ther-
apy and diet. In 1,116 articles he equates about 4,500 names in 27
languages. Among the few marginal remarks on Christian matters
appears one report about the relaxed small talk between a Byzantine
emperor and an ambassador sent by the Caliph al-Manṣūr. It shows
that the Muslims at this time were able to relish a good joke even
when it was made at their expense, otherwise it would not have been
written down.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tadhkira fī l-irshād ilā ṣawm al-Naṣārā wa-l-aʿyād, 'Note of guidance about the fasts and feasts of the Christians'

DATE   Unknown; before 1048
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION
The work has not survived, and the title is only known from al-Bīrūnī's own bibliography, which he attached to the list of the works of al-Rāzī; see al-Bīrūnī, *Risāla fī fihrist kutub Muḥammad ibn Zakariyāʾ al-Rāzī*, ed. M. Mohaghegh, Tehran, 1985, p. 32, no. 53.

SIGNIFICANCE
It can be assumed that the contents did not significantly add to the information contained in the *Chronology* and the *Masʿūdic Canon*.

MANUSCRIPTS   —
EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —
STUDIES   —

Gotthard Strohmaier

Vincentius

Binjinsiyus, Vincentius the Priest

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; fl. 1048-50
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Vincentius was a Christian priest who worked in al-Andalus under a number of powerful ecclesiastical patrons. As a canonist, he was a member of the Mozarabic intellectual elite. The few details known about his life come from the work he compiled for a certain bishop, ‘Abd al-Malik (possibly of Seville). According to this, he travelled around several dioceses translating, copying and collating books of canons, under the authority of various bishops. He was in charge of a team of jurists, scribes and translators who worked over the codex of canon law for more than three years in the mid-11th century.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Qawānīn, 'Canon laws'

DATE   Approximately 1048-50
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This collection of canon laws is a parallel compilation to the Latin
canon laws of the Visigothic church in the Iberian Peninsula from
600 to 700. It is divided into ten books (*maṣāḥif*) containing canons
selected from an index, known as the *Excerpta*, appropriate to the
needs of Christians living under Muslim rule. The structure of each
canon mirrors that of the Muslim tradition: first the source (*isnād*),
then the body of the canon (*matn*).

The contents of the collection range from issues about ecclesiasti-
cal organization (Books 1-3) to internal aspects of ritual and liturgy
(Books 4-6). The qualities and exercise of power by rulers are dis-
cussed in Book 7. Questions more directly related to faith are the sub-
ject of Book 8, while Books 9 and 10 deal with heretics and idolaters.
The first four books are the longest and most detailed.

Several features of the work show that the Andalusī Christian
community had become assimilated into the Arab culture in which it
lived. These range from matters of language, such as the translation
of ecclesiastical and liturgical terms from Latin and Romance into
Arabic, to social matters, such as the incorporation of Islamic legal
concepts into canons concerned with communal living.

SIGNIFICANCE

The collection of *Canon laws* gives vivid information about the pro-
cess of assimilation of Christians to Islam in al-Andalus. It provides
key information on the influence of Islamic law on *dhimmī*s and the
ways in which social interaction conditioned their development and
their interactions with their Muslim rulers.

MANUSCRIPTS

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EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —

STUDIES

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Ana Echevarria

Michael of Damrū

Khāʾīl / Mīkhāʾīl al-Damrāwī, bishop of Tinnīs

DATE OF BIRTH   Shortly after 1000
PLACE OF BIRTH   Damrū, Egypt
DATE OF DEATH   Between 1051 and 1086
PLACE OF DEATH   Perhaps in or near Tinnīs, Egypt

BIOGRAPHY

The author of the principal source for *Lives* 56-65 (covering the years 880-1046) in *Siyar al-bīʿa al-muqaddasa*, 'Biographies of the holy Church' (commonly known as *The history of the patriarchs of Alexandria*) was one Khāʾīl or Mīkhāʾīl al-Damrāwī (Michael of Damrū). In the course of his biographies, Michael shares snippets of information about himself with his readers. For example, he was a child at a time when his father was abused for being a Christian, apparently during the persecution under the Caliph al-Ḥākim (r. 996-1021; difficulties for Christians reached a climax around 1012-13); it was during that difficult time that the young Michael was befriended and taught by the pious layman Buqayra. He was ordained deacon by Zacharias, the 64th patriarch (1004-32), priest by Shenoute II, the 65th patriarch (1032-46), and bishop of Tinnīs by Christodoulos, the 66th patriarch (1046-77). He served Patriarch Shenoute II as scribe (despite his disapproval of that patriarch's simoniacal practices), and was part of the delegation that in 1048/9 traveled to Malaṭiyya (Melitene) to deliver Patriarch Christodoulos' synodical letter to his Syrian Orthodox counterpart, Patriarch John of Antioch.

Bishop Michael was concerned to preserve and transmit the heritage of the Coptic Orthodox Church. When he could find no biographies of the patriarchs beyond that of Shenoute I, the 55th patriarch (859-80), he composed – in Coptic – the *Lives* of the next ten patriarchs, completing the task in 1051. In addition, we know from a colophon of a manuscript of the *Canons* attributed to Patriarch Athanasius of Alexandria that Bishop Michael not only copied out that text, but did the editorial work of subdividing it into 107 paragraphs.

We do not know when Bishop Michael died. No bishop from Tinnīs is recorded as being present at a synod in 1078; a list of Coptic bishops

from the year 1086, however, records one Ṣamūʾīl (Samuel) as bishop of Tinnīs. One might imagine that Bishop Michael was infirm in 1078 and died soon afterwards – but this is no more than a guess.

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Title unknown, source of 'The history of the patriarchs of Alexandria, *Lives* 56-65'

DATE   Completed 20 May 1051
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Coptic

DESCRIPTION

The Coptic text of the *Lives* of the 56th-65th patriarchs by Michael of Damrū was among the sources found in the late 11th century by the Alexandrian deacon Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Mufarrij (q.v.) and his collaborators as part of their project of compiling an Arabic-language history of the Coptic Orthodox patriarchs (see den Heijer, *Mawhūb*); the copy of Bishop Michael's text was found at the Monastery of St Macarius. No fragment of the original Coptic has been preserved, so we know the author's work only as it was translated (by Abū Ḥabīb Mīkhāʾīl ibn Badīr al-Damanhūrī) and edited (by Mawhūb, whose editorial hand is evident; see den Heijer, *Mawhūb*, pp. 207-13).

The period treated by Bishop Michael was one of great political change in Egypt, as one regime succeeded another before the establishment, in 969, of Fatimid rule. In spite of change, a constant function of the patriarch was to serve as a point of financial transfer between the Coptic community and the ruling authorities; a recurring theme of Bishop Michael's narrative has to do with the ability or inability of patriarchs to manage the finances of the church without resorting to simony (the sale of ecclesial offices). Bishop Michael is sometimes astonishingly frank in his assessments of the ten patriarchs he treats, who range from the exceptionally saintly to very worldly (see Swanson, *The Coptic papacy*, ch. 4, 'Saints and sinners'); in his narrative, members of the laity not infrequently outshine the patriarchs in sanctity.

Three of Bishop Michael's biographies stand out in importance for the history of Christian-Muslim relations in Egypt: that of Patriarch Afrahām ibn Zurʿa, the 62nd patriarch (975-78), introduces the reader to the great theologian-apologist Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (q.v.) and relates the well-known story of the miracle of the moving of the Muqaṭṭam mountain; that of Patriarch Philotheus, the 63rd patriarch (979-1003), is largely devoted to the conversion and life of Būlus/al-Wādiḥ ibn Rajāʾ (q.v.); while that of Patriarch Zacharias, the 64th patriarch (1004-32), provides a Coptic Orthodox witness to the persecution under the Fatimid Caliph al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh.

SIGNIFICANCE

The collection of *Lives* composed by Michael of Damrū, bishop of Tinnīs, and preserved (in edited Arabic translation) in *The history of the patriarchs* is an important source for our knowledge of the history of the Coptic Orthodox Church and of Christian-Muslim relations in Egypt for the years 880-1046 – and especially for the early Fatimid period.

MANUSCRIPTS

See den Heijer, *Mawhūb*, pp. 18-27. For Bishop Michael's contribution, *Lives* 56-65, we might mention the following MSS, which represent the two different recensions of the work:

> MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 303 (14th century; contains *Lives* 49-65, unpublished witness to the 'primitive' recension)

> MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – Hist. 1 (b) (Simaika 94, Graf 134) (13th-14th century; 'Vulgate' recension, served as base manuscript for the edition of *Lives* 56-65 by Atiya, ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, and Burmester)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

> Atiya, ʿAbd al-Masīḥ and Khs.-Burmester (eds), *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, ii, pt. ii (edition of the 'Vulgate' recension of *Lives* 56-65 from MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – Hist. 1 (b), with English trans.)

STUDIES

For the identification of Bishop Michael's contribution to *The history of the patriarchs of Alexandria*, see:

> Den Heijer, 'Réflexions sur la composition de l'*Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie*', pp. 112-13

> Den Heijer, *Mawhūb*, pp. 8, 97-98, 102-3, 149-54, 207-13

> Johnson, 'Further remarks on the Arabic history of the patriarchs of Alexandria', p. 110

Studies that deal directly with Bishop Michael's contribution to *The history of the patriarchs of Alexandria*, with attention to its historical value and to hagiographical/apologetic elements in the text, include:

> M.N. Swanson, 'Sainthood achieved. Coptic Patriarch Zacharias according to *The history of the patriarchs*', in A. Papaconstantinou, M. Debié, and H. Kennedy (eds), *Writing 'true stories'. Historians and hagiographers in the late-antique and medieval Near East*, Turnhout, 2010, 219-30

M.N. Swanson, *The Coptic papacy in Islamic Egypt*, Cairo, 2010, ch. 4

J. den Heijer, 'Apologetic elements in copto-arabic historiography. The life of Afrāhām ibn Zurʿah, 62nd patriarch of Alexandria', in S.K. Samir and J.S. Nielen (eds), *Christian Arabic apologetics during the Abbasid period (750-1258)*, Leiden, 1994, pp. 192-202

J. den Heijer, 'Mīḫāʾīl évêque de Tinnīs et sa contribution à l'Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie', *Pd'O* 16 (1990-1991) 179-88 (examines the value of Michael's history as a source for the reign of the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim)

M. Martin, 'Une lecture de l'Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie', *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 35 (1985) 15-36, pp. 22-25

The section of *The history of the patriarchs of Alexandria* for which Bishop Michael is the major source is regularly used by those who study the history of Egypt during the period he covered, 880-1046 (which, of course, includes the early Fatimid period). A few examples, apart from those mentioned above and from general histories of the Coptic Orthodox Church, include:

J. den Heijer, 'Les patriarches coptes d'origine syrienne', in R. Ebied and H. Teule (eds), *Studies on the Christian Arabic heritage*, Leuven, 2004, 45-63, pp. 49-57 (on Patriarch Afrahām ibn Zurʿa)

M.S.A. Mikhail, *Egypt from late antiquity to early Islam. Copts, Melkites, and Muslims shaping a new society*, Los Angeles, 2004 (Diss., University of California, Los Angeles)

M.J. Saleh, *Government relations with the Coptic community in Egypt during the Fāṭimid period (358-567 A.H./969-1171 C.E.)*, Chicago, 1995 (Diss. University of Chicago)

Y. Lev, 'Persecutions and conversion to Islam in eleventh-century Egypt', *Asian and African Studies* (Israel) 22 (1988) 73-91 (on the persecutions of al-Ḥākim)

J. van Ess, *Chiliastische Erwartungen und die Versuchung der Göttlichkeit. Der Kalif al-Ḥākim (386-411 H.)*, Heidelberg, 1977 (see p. 6 for comments on Bishop Michael's contribution)

B. May, *Die Religionspolitik der ägyptischen Fatimiden, 969-1171*, Hamburg, 1975 (Diss. Universität Hamburg)

Mark N. Swanson

ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī

Abū l-Fatḥ ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn
ʿAbdallāh al-muṭrān al-Anṭākī

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; probably about 1000
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown; probably Antioch
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; after 1052 (remained active as a
  translator and theologian until the early 1050s)
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown; probably Antioch

BIOGRAPHY

The 11th-century Arab Orthodox (Melkite) translator and theologian
ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī is one of the most prolific contribu-
tors to the (unfortunately hitherto insufficiently studied) Antiochene
Graeco-Arabic translation movement of Christian works, especially
of Greek patristic authors. Little is known for certain about his life.
From his full name as given in manuscripts – *al-shammās ʿAbdallāh*
ibn al-Faḍl ibn ʿAbdallāh al-muṭrān al-Anṭākī – it can be deduced that
he was a deacon (*shammās*) in the church of Antioch and a grandson
of a metropolitan bishop, whose name was also ʿAbdallāh.

Marginal notes in his *Garden* (*Kitāb al-rawḍa*) refer to his teachers
in Greek and Arabic literature: Simʿān al-ʾymsyqn (?) ibn al-Sabnakhī
(?) and a certain Abū l-ʿAlāʾ respectively. The former name has so far
defied interpretation. The latter can be identified, with a high degree of
certainty, with the famous blind poet Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (973-1057)
(q.v.), who, according to Ibn al-Qifṭī and others, visited Antioch in his
youth. If Ibn al-Faḍl had studied with al-Maʿarrī on that occasion, this
would push his year of birth well back into the 10th century, meaning
that he remained active until a very old age. It is perhaps more likely
that Ibn al-Faḍl paid a visit to Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān (or Baghdad) at
a later date and met the celebrity poet there. With al-Maʿarrī, Ibn
al-Faḍl studied Arabic grammar and lexicography, specifically Ibn
al-Sikkīt's manual *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq*.

It is possible that Ibn al-Faḍl visited Baghdad. At the very least, it
seems certain that he had close ties to the Baghdad philosophical cir-
cles. His warm comment, in ch. 65 of *Benefit*, on the Nestorian philos-
opher and theologian Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 1043 in Baghdad),

after the latter's death, makes one suspect that Ibn al-Faḍl might have known him in person. (It is perhaps significant that, according to the Muslim historian Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Ibn al-Ṭayyib himself was a native of Antioch.)

We also know of Ibn al-Faḍl's contacts with Christian intellectuals and church officials, who, in several cases, commissioned from him translations and theological works. Thus, Ibn al-Faḍl's *Exposition of the Orthodox faith* (*Sharḥ al-amāna al-mustaqīma*) was commissioned by John, bishop of Manbij (Hierapolis or Mabbug in northern Syria), the translation of the Psalms by a certain Abū Zakariyyā ibn Salāma (though MS New Haven, Beinecke Library – 349, fol. 181v gives two names: Zakhariyyā and Yūḥannā ibn Salāma), and the translation of Isaac of Nineveh (made from an earlier Greek version produced at Mar Saba in the 9th century) by a certain Nikephoros (Nīkūfūr) Abū l-Naṣr ibn Buṭrus al-Qubuqlīs (i.e. the *koyboukleisios*, or chamberlain of the patriarch of Antioch). Unfortunately, nothing can be ascertained about these individuals.

Seventeenth and 18th-century Arab Orthodox authors, such as the patriarch of Antioch, Makarios III ibn al-Zaʿīm (patriarch 1647-72) and the historian Mikhail Breik (d. 1782), as well as numerous manuscripts from that period, treat Ibn al-Faḍl as a Christian saint, for his outstanding contribution to the life of the Church as translator and theologian.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl, *Kitāb al-rawḍa*, MS Cairo, Franciscan Center of Christian Oriental Studies – 116, ch. 36, fol. 49r / p. 92, and ch. 43, fols 56v-57r / pp. 107-8
S. Noble and A. Treiger, 'Christian Arabic theology in Byzantine Antioch. ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī and his *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*', *Le Muséon* 124 (2011) forthcoming (includes critical edition and trans. of the *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*)
G. Graf, 'Die Widerlegung der Astrologen in philosophischer Betrachtungsweise', *Orientalia*, new series 6 (1937) 337-46 (edition and German trans. of Ibn al-Faḍl's *Radd ʿalā l-munajjimīn*)
P. Sbath, *Vingt traités philosophiques et apologétiques d'auteurs arabes chrétiens du IXe au XIVe siècle*, Cairo, 1929, pp. 131-48 (edition of Ibn al-Faḍl's *Treatise useful for the soul*)

Makāriyūs ibn al-Zaʿīm, *Kitāb al-naḥla*, preface (unpublished, cited in Nas-rallah, *HMLEM* iii.1, pp. 191-92, n. 1)

Makāriyūs ibn al-Zaʿīm, *Al-sinaksār al-Anṭākī*, MS British Museum – add. 9965, fol. 46r (cited in Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.1, p. 192, n. 1; the edition of the *Sinaksār* by M. Abraṣ and M. Jabbūr, Jounieh, 2010, does not contain the passage)

Mīkhāʾīl Burayk (Breik), *Al-ḥaqāʾiq al-wafiyya fī tārīkh baṭāriqat al-kanīsa l-Anṭākiyya*, ed. N. Taqī l-Dīn Qāʾidbēh, Beirut, 2006, pp. 124-25 (argues erroneously that Ibn al-Faḍl died in 1052 and puts him, also erroneously, in the time of the Patriarch John the Oxite)

Secondary

Noble and Treiger, 'Christian Arabic theology in Byzantine Antioch'

S. Noble, 'The doctrine of God's unity according to ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī (fl. ca. 1050)', to appear in *Pd'O* 36 (2011)

P. Féghali, "ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī et le commentaire de l'Évangile de Saint Jean', *Pd'O* 34 (2009) 95-111

M. Rashed, 'La classification des lignes simples selon Proclus et sa transmis-sion au monde islamique', in C. d'Ancona and G. Serra (eds), *Aristotele e Alessandro di Afrodisia nella tradizione araba*, Padua, 2002, 257-79, pp. 274-79 (on Basil the Lesser as a source for Ibn al-Faḍl's *Treatise useful for the soul*)

K.A. Panchenko, art. "Abdallakh ibn al'-Fadl antiokhijskij', in *Pravoslavnaja Èntsiklopedija* (online: http://www.pravenc.ru/text/62438.html)

A. Drint, 'An Arabic version of John Chrysostom's commentary on Genesis', in H.L. Vanstiphout et al. (eds), *All those nations. Cultural encounters within and with the Near East*, Groningen, 1999, 43-49

M. van Esbroeck, art. "Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl', in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd ed.

M. Tilly, art. "Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl', in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchen-lexikon* (online: http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/i/ibn_al_f.shtml)

R. Haddad, *La Trinité divine chez les théologiens arabes 750-1050*, Paris, 1985, see index

Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.1, pp. 191-229, 387-88, 404

J. Nasrallah, 'Abdallah ibn al-Faḍl (XIe siècle)', *POC* 33 (1983) 143-59

[S.]K. Samir, "Abdallâh b. al-Faḍl, Abû l-Fatḥ…al-Anṭâkî', in 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976) 201-42, pp. 210-14; plus an addendum in *Islamochristiana* 5 (1979) 306

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 52-64 (and see index in *GCAL* v, p. 2)

G. Graf, 'Christlich-arabisches', *Theologische Quartalschrift* 95 (1913) 161-92, pp. 186-92

C. Bacha, 'S. Jean Chrysostome dans la littérature arabe', in *Chrysostomika. Studi e ricerche intorno a S. Giovanni Crisostomo*, Rome, 1908, 173-87 (refers to ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl as 'Théodule')

C. Bacha and L. Cheikho, 'ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī', *Al-Mashriq* 9 (1906) 886-90, 944-53

G. Graf, *Die christlich-arabische Literatur bis zur fränkischen Zeit (Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts). Eine literaturhistorische Skizze*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1905, pp. 68-71

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-manfaʿa, 'Benefit'

DATE   Between 1043-52
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION
Benefit is ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's major work. It spans 50 folios in MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 541, and consists of 75 chapters, of which seven and a half (chs 28-31, 71-72, second half of 74, and 75) seem to be lost (though the oldest manuscript, MS Khenchara, Dayr al-Shuwayr – 56, still needs to be consulted). The book is a theological, philosophical, and scientific encyclopedia, drawn from a variety of Greek and Arabic sources (the latter both Muslim and Christian). Its date is determined by the fact that it mentions the Nestorian philosopher and theologian Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 1043) as deceased and that it is cited in Ibn al-Faḍl's other work *Kitāb bahjat al-muʾmin* ('Joy of the believer'), dated 1052.

The contents of the book are as follows. Chs 1-9 deal with Trinitarian theology. Here Ibn al-Faḍl develops his original theory that God is a secondary (universal), rather than a primary (individual) substance and that He is one 'like a species', under which three individuals (the three hypostases of the Trinity) are subsumed. Chs 10-27 deal with the natural sciences. Ch. 14, for instance, draws on Philoponus' argument about the createdness of the heavenly sphere; ch. 15 includes definitions of various psychological, physiological, ethical, and mathematical concepts, and chs. 16-22 focus on meteorology and atmospheric phenomena and draw extensively on Aristotle's *Meteorology* and *De caelo et mundo*.

The lost chs 28-31 included, to judge from the table of contents, 'useful arguments of non-Christian philosophers' (*al-barrāniyyīn*), a

discussion of the immortality of the soul, drawn from Plato's *Phaedo*, an excerpt from St Basil on the intellect, and opinions of the philosophers on the Creator and the first originated being (*al-mubdaʿ al-awwal*, the first intellect). The latter might have been drawn from the *Doxography of Pseudo-Ammonius*, with which Ibn al-Faḍl was probably familiar (Noble and Treiger, 'Christian Arabic theology in Byzantine Antioch', notes to ch. 2 of the translation).

Chs 32-48 constitute a long apologetic and polemical section where rival Christian and Muslim views concerning God and Christ are systematically refuted. Chs 32-33 present 'testimonies' (*shahādāt*) to the Trinity and the coming of Christ, drawn from the Torah, the Prophets, and the Sabians (i.e. pagan authors) (ch. 32 also includes anti-Islamic polemic – see below). Ch. 34 defends Chalcedonian Christology against Jacobites and Nestorians. Chs 35 and 37 present Ibn al-Faḍl's polemic against the philosophical notion, current among Muslim philosophers, that God is 'pure being' (*al-huwa al-maḥḍ*) devoid of properties. Chs 39-48 are devoted to a defense of the Trinitarian view, popular among Arab Christians, that identifies the Son and the Holy Spirit with God's reason (*nuṭq*) and life (*ḥayāt*) respectively.

Finally, chs 49-75 deal with a miscellany of issues: theodicy (chs 49-50), psychology (chs 51-63, drawn largely from Nemesius of Emesa's *De natura hominis*, and also chs 67-69), logic, philosophy, and the sciences (chs 65-66, the latter of which is a summary of al-Fārābī's *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*), ethics (chs 70 and 74, based on the *Sentences of Sextus* and the biblical adage 'fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom' respectively), rhetoric (chs 71-72, both now lost), physiognomy (ch. 73), and arithmetic (ch. 75, lost).

Chs 32 and 64 are particularly important for our purposes as they include explicit polemic against Islam. The anti-Islamic section of ch. 32 begins with qurʾanic 'testimonies' to the hypostases of the Trinity and, more generally, to the truth of Christianity, drawn from the *Apology of al-Kindī* (q.v.). (These testimonies are repeated at the end of ch. 64, where an explicit reference to the *Apology of al-Kindī* is provided.) There follow Abū Rāʾiṭa al-Takrītī's *Demonstration of the truth of Christianity* (q.v.) and a section from ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī's *Kitāb al-burhān* (q.v.), both cited without attribution. Ibn al-Faḍl then turns to an imaginary philosophical opponent (*mutafalsif*), presumably a Muslim, and challenges him to find in the 'fables of the ancient philosophers' anything nobler than the commandment of Christ to love one's neighbor as oneself. Ibn al-Faḍl argues that this commandment

is superior to worldly philosophy and is the path to becoming similar to God and thus to becoming a true philosopher (*faylasūf ʿalā l-taḥqīq*, an expression implicitly contrasted with the pejorative *mutafalsif*).

In ch. 64, which is heavily indebted to the *Apology of al-Kindī*, a number of polemical arguments against Islam are deployed. They address the Muslim opponent in the second person and seek to identify contradictions between qurʾanic verses, or contradictions between actual Muslim beliefs and the Qurʾan. For example, while Muslims call Christians idolaters (*mushrikūn*), the Qurʾan argues that 'a nation among the people of the book' is righteous (Q 3:113-14); these, according to Ibn al-Faḍl, are the Christians. It is worth pointing out that in some of his other works – e.g. *Joy of the believer* and *Challenges and responses*, discussed below – Ibn al-Faḍl takes the complementary apologetic approach, responding to some of the questions about the inconsistencies in the Gospels that were frequently asked by Muslim polemicists.

Ch. 64 also ridicules Muslim eschatological expectations of sexual gratification in Paradise, on the grounds that Muslim women will be grieved to see their husbands cheating on them with the *houris*. Ibn al-Faḍl ascribes to the Qurʾan the view that 'killing grants access to Paradise' (cf. Q 9:111), and condemns this idea as immoral. He also implicitly argues that the Qurʾan cannot be a divinely given scripture, because God would never command anything immoral.

Finally, several Qurʾan-based arguments are advanced in support of the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. In these arguments, the Qurʾan is co-opted rather than attacked. Thus, for instance, the qurʾanic verse, 'God wishes to establish the truth with His word' (Q 8:7, though the qurʾanic text has 'words' in the plural) is taken to refer to Christ, God's eternal Word. The anti-Christian verse 'If God wanted to have a son, He would have chosen whomever He willed among His creations' (Q 39:4) is ingeniously turned around and cited in support of the possibility that God *could* will to have a Son and that He actually chose such a creature, for another qurʾanic verse helpfully declares that God 'chose you [Mary] over all women' as the vehicle of Christ's birth (Q 3:42). On the authority of these qurʾanic verses, Ibn al-Faḍl concludes that even the messenger of Islam ('your messenger', *rasūluka*) did not deny the Incarnation; and he adds, 'it is truly astonishing therefore that you deny it'.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of Ibn al-Faḍl's *Benefit* is threefold. First, it is remarkable how freely he uses Muslim philosophical material: his entire ch. 66 is derived from al-Fārābī, ch. 73 cites Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, and the lost ch. 31 (not 32, as in the table of contents) was possibly based on the *Doxography of Pseudo-Ammonius*. This is an indication of surprisingly deep ties between Christian Arab intellectuals, living in Antioch under Byzantine rule, and Muslim philosophical circles. The biographical information on the personal connection between Ibn al-Faḍl and al-Maʿarrī, presented above, points in the same direction.

Second, Ibn al-Faḍl skilfully deploys an array of classical polemical arguments against Islam, drawn from earlier Christian Arab apologists: the *Apology of al-Kindī*, Abū Rāʾiṭa al-Takrītī, and ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī, among others. Both Abū Rāʾiṭa and ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī are cited without attribution, possibly because they come from rival Christian groups.

Third, and most importantly, many of Ibn al-Faḍl's philosophical and theological views are implicitly formulated so as to contradict rival Muslim claims. Thus, he insists, for instance, that God is a substance (Muslim philosophers and theologians systematically denied this) and that God is not merely 'pure being' devoid of properties, as many Muslim philosophers maintained. Both these points were important for his philosophical defense of the doctrine of the Trinity: if God is to be a Trinity, He must be a substance (the Arabic *jawhar*, 'substance', renders the Patristic Greek term *ousia*, which was central to Trinitarian theology), and He must have properties, because it is the properties that help distinguish between the three hypostases of the Trinity. Ibn al-Faḍl's theology thus involves relentless and sophisticated, if often covert, 'philosophical polemic' against Islam – and as such, it is a synthesis and a culmination of philosophical engagement with Islam on the part of Christian Arab thinkers of the preceding centuries.

MANUSCRIPTS

Nine complete (except the missing chapters) manuscripts of this work are known to be extant:

> MS Khenchara, Dayr al-Shuwayr – 56 (shelfmark) / 166 (Nasrallah's catalogue), pp. 94-241 (1488 [*not* 1531 as in Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.1, 224])

MS St Petersburg, Oriental Institute – B1219 (formerly Collection of Gregory IV – 17), fols 64v-208v (1652; presumed to be an autograph of Paul of Aleppo)

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 541, pp. 42-140 / fols 22v-71v (1663; a very accurate and reliable manuscript)

MS Cairo, Franciscan Center of Christian Oriental Studies – 116, fols 116r-223v / pp. 226-441 (1755)

MS Moscow, State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) – 53 (1785)

MS Zaḥla, Bibliothèque ʿĪsā Iskandar al-Maʿlūf – 1, pp. 51-170 (1799)

MS Joun, Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ – 173, pp. 347-441 / fols 173v-220r (18th century)

MS Damascus, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – 229 (current shelf-mark) / 1637 (old shelfmark), pp. 58-276 (1851; features a 'fake' ch. 75, in reality a chronological note about generations from Adam to Christ)

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 542, pp. 1-265 / fols 2r-134v (19th century; ch. 24 is missing, chs 58-60 and two smaller sections are copied out of order at the end)

The following manuscripts contain select chapters:

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 549, pp. 476-624 / fols 239v-313v (1654; includes chs 32-34, 47, 49-63, 65-70 under the title *Shahādāt ʿalā majīʾ al-Masīḥ*)

MS Denver, Denver Public Library, Lansing Collection – Ar. 3, pp. 196-274 (1725; includes chs 32-34, 47, 49-63, 65-70 under the title *Shahādāt ʿalā majīʾ al-Masīḥ*, probably a copy of the preceding one)

MS Damascus, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – 221 (current shelf-mark) / 1646 (old shelfmark), pp. 283-316 (1763; includes chs 15, 32-34)

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 503, fols 38v-39r (18th century; includes ch. 50)

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 689, pp. 209-33 (19th century; includes chs 32-34, 8, 46-47)

MS Beirut, College of the Three Hierarchs – 15 (19th century; includes only the table of contents, the rest of the work is truncated)

The following manuscripts are currently inaccessible:

MS Aleppo – Sbath 1324, no. 20, 8 pages (1773; included ch. 32, under the title *Shahādāt ʿalā majīʾ al-Masīḥ*; not in the Fondation Salem and presumably lost)

MS Aleppo, Collection of Greek Catholic priest Mīkhāʾīl Shaḥḥūd (Sbath, *Fihris* i, 49, no. 376; included the entire work)

MS Aleppo, Collection of the widow of Greek Catholic merchant Sālim Sālim (Sbath, *Fihris* i, 50, no. 386; included ch. 32 and possibly other chapters of the *Shahādāt* complex, under the title *Shahādāt ʿalā majīʾ al-Masīḥ*)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

R. Rached, 'Les notions de *rûḥ* (esprit) et de *nafs* (âme) chez ʿAbd Allâh Ibn al-Faḍl al-Ḥakîm al-Anṭakî, théologien melchite du XIᵉ siècle', in G. Gobillot and M.-T. Urvoy (eds), *L'Orient chrétien dans l'empire musulman. Hommage au professeur Gérard Troupeau*, Paris, 2005, 165-97, pp. 179-90 (French trans. of chs 11, 51-52, and 67-69)

M. Rashed, 'The problem of the composition of the heavens (529-1610). A new fragment of Philoponus and its readers', in P. Adamson et al. (eds), *Philosophy, science and exegesis in Greek, Arabic and Latin commentaries*, 2 vols, London, 2004, ii, 35-58, pp. 38, 58 (edition and English trans. of ch. 14)

Al-Niʿma, n.s. 17 (March 1952) 29-30 (edition of one of the chapters; not seen)

G. Graf, 'Psychologische Definitionen aus dem *Großen Buche des Nutzens* von ʿAbdallâh ibn al-Faḍl (11 Jahrh.)', in *Studien zur Geschichte der Philosophie. Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstage Clemens Baeumker*, Münster, 1913, 55-77 (repr. in G. Graf, *Christlicher Orient und schwäbische Heimat. Kleine Schriften*, Beirut, 2005, 481-502; includes a German trans. of chs 10-13, 52-63, 67-68)

L. Cheikho, *Chrestomathia Arabica cum lexico variisque notis*, Pars II, Beirut, 1911, pp. 275-77 (partial edition of ch. 1; Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 60 and Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.1, pp. 226-27 mistake this for a section of another treatise of Ibn al-Faḍl)

A critical edition and an English translation are in preparation by Samuel Noble and the present writer.

STUDIES

S. Noble and A. Treiger, 'Christian Arabic theology in Byzantine Antioch. ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī and his *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*', *Le Muséon* 124 (2011) forthcoming (discusses the *Benefit* in connection with Ibn al-Faḍl's other work *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*)

S. Noble, 'The doctrine of God's unity according to ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī (fl. ca. 1050)', to appear in *Pd'O* 36 (2011)

S. Keating, 'Abū Rāʾiṭa l-Takrītī', *CMR* 1, p. 578

Rached, 'Les notions de *rûḥ* (esprit) et de *nafs* (âme) chez ʿAbd Allâh Ibn al-Faḍl al-Ḥakîm al-Anṭakî'

[S.]K. Samir, 'Liberté religieuse et propagation de la foi chez les théologiens arabes chrétiens du IXᵉ siècle et en Islam', in *Witness of faith in life and worship*, Jerusalem, 1981, 93-164, p. 98 (on Ibn al-Faḍl's use of Abū Rāʾiṭa al-Takrītī)

Graf, 'Psychologische Definitionen aus dem *Großen Buche des Nutzens*'

Kalām fī l-thālūth al-muqaddas, 'Discourse on the Holy Trinity'; *Kalām fī l-lāhūt*, 'Theological discourse', 'The little book of benefit'

DATE   After 1043
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Discourse on the Holy Trinity* (often called *Theological discourse* or, erroneously, the *Little book of benefit*) is ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's concise treatise on Trinitarian theology and Christology in 14 chapters. It spans five folios in MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 541. The date of the treatise is determined by the fact that it cites *Benefit*, written after 1043.

The *Discourse on the Holy Trinity* deals with some of the same issues discussed in the theological sections of *Benefit*, though more concisely and with some additional material. The few additions include, for instance, an explanation that the word 'God' (*theos / Allāh*) is not an actual name (for God is indefinable and therefore unnamable), but a substantial attribute. Various etymologies of the word 'God' in

Greek and in Arabic (*theos / Allāh*) are discussed (ch. 1; the Greek etymology is also discussed in his *Exposition of the orthodox faith*, Lessons 2 and 5).

Chs 8 and 10 mention an unidentified polemicist (called 'adversary', *muʿānid*, or 'opponent', *khaṣm*), presumably a Muslim, who attacks Christian Christological and Trinitarian views. In both cases, words of the opponent are cited (including his rhetorical address to the Christians: *yā maʿshar al-Naṣārā*) and subsequently rebutted. The polemical argument in ch. 8 runs as follows: since Christ is composed of two substances (*jawharayn*), a divine and a human, only both substances together can be called Christ. Therefore, what do Christians mean when they say that Christ was crucified? If only the human substance was crucified, then crucifixion happened to something other than Christ. Alternatively, if both substances are said to be crucified, Christians are guilty of ascribing suffering to the divine nature. Ibn al-Faḍl responds that it is legitimate to say 'Christ was crucified' even though crucifixion did not affect the divine substance, just as it is legitimate to say 'a man was killed' even though the killing did not affect the man's soul, but only his body. He clarifies that this is an instance of synecdoche, and cites a few passages from Homer to illustrate this figure of speech.

The polemicist's objection in ch. 10 concerns Trinitarian theology. If each of the three hypostases is a distinct substance, he argues, then Christians must either concede that they believe in three divine substances (and hence in three gods) or refrain from speaking about three hypostases. Ibn al-Faḍl resorts to an analogy to respond to this objection: just as, if one says that there is an astrologer whose name is Bakr, a grammarian whose name is Bakr, and a land-surveyor whose name is Bakr, it does not follow that there are three Bakrs, so also, if one says that the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God, it does not follow that there are three gods. Virtually the same polemical objection is raised in Ibn al-Faḍl's work *Challenges and responses* (Challenge 3, discussed below). There, too, Ibn al-Faḍl employs an analogy to respond to it, though a different one: the classical Patristic analogy of the sun, its heat, and its rays, which, like the three hypostases of the Trinity, are distinct, yet are one in essence.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Discourse on the Holy Trinity* presents Ibn al-Faḍl's mature exposition of Trinitarian theology and Christology. Though much of the

material is reworked from his earlier and much more extensive treatise *Benefit*, the *Discourse on the Holy Trinity* presents some additional material, including citations from and responses to a hitherto unidentified Muslim polemicist.

MANUSCRIPTS

Eleven manuscripts of this treatise are known to be extant, the oldest of which is MS St Petersburg, Oriental Institute – B1219 (dated 1652, and presumed to be an autograph of Paul of Aleppo). A twelfth manuscript, reported in Sbath's *Fihris*, is currently inaccessible.

For a description of all the known manuscripts of the work, see Noble and Treiger, 'Christian Arabic theology in Byzantine Antioch', forthcoming.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

S. Noble and A. Treiger, 'Christian Arabic theology in Byzantine Antioch. ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī and his *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*', *Le Muséon* 124 (2011) forthcoming (includes a critical edition, based on eight manuscripts, and an annotated English trans.)

STUDIES

Noble and Treiger, 'Christian Arabic theology in Byzantine Antioch'

Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.1, pp. 226-27

[S.]K. Samir, 'ʿAbdallâh b. al-Faḍl, Abû l-Fatḥ … al-Anṭâkî', in 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976) 201-42, p. 211

Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 60

Kitāb al-rawḍa, 'The garden'

DATE   Translated from Greek into Arabic after 1043
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Greek

DESCRIPTION

This is an anonymous Greek work, translated into Arabic and commented upon by ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl.

In the majority of studies devoted to Ibn al-Faḍl, *The garden* is treated as if it were Ibn al-Faḍl's independent work. Only one author, Michel van Esbroeck, has recognized that it is an integral Arabic translation of the Byzantine *florilegium Loci communes* (in the version

MaxI, dated, according to Ihm, between 650 and the 10th century).
This *florilegium* belongs to the category of the 'sacro-profane' *flori-*
legia, called so because each chapter cites first the sacred authorities
(scripture and the Church Fathers) and then sayings of (or attributed
to) ancient Greek authors, including Thales, Pythagoras, Solon, Eurip-
ides, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Diogenes,
Philo, Apollonius, Epicurus, Menander, and numerous others.

In MS Cairo, Franciscan Center of Christian Oriental Studies – 116,
the Arabic translation includes 71 chapters and spans 87 folios. Its
date is determined by the fact that Ibn al-Faḍl's comment in ch. 34
cites *Benefit*, written after 1043; thus 1043 must be the *terminus post*
quem for *The garden* as well.

Interspersed within the translation is Ibn al-Faḍl's commentary
(*sharḥ*), dealing mostly with difficult Arabic words and expressions
(which he deliberately uses and subsequently glosses) and includ-
ing references to numerous Arabic grammatical and lexicographical
works. These references require careful study. As already noted, in
his commentary Ibn al-Faḍl also refers to his teachers in Greek and
Arabic literature, the latter of whom is no less a celebrity than the
famous poet Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (q.v.).

SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of this Byzantine *florilegium* bears witness
to the little known fact that, independently of the Baghdad Graeco-
Arabic translation movement, there was yet another attempt in 11th-
century Antioch to translate into Arabic some of the ancient Greek
heritage. Through this means, Arab Christians gained access to other-
wise inaccessible Greek material. That this material proved extremely
popular is indicated by the great number of the preserved manuscripts
of *The garden*. Most importantly for the Arab Christian audience, this
ancient Greek material was set in parallel with the Christian scrip-
tures and the Church Fathers, thus providing a comprehensive and
well-balanced guide to ethical life. In its Arabic form, *The garden* is
a unique example of a Christian Arabic *adab* treatise, similar to, and
possibly consciously emulating and rivaling, Muslim *adab* works.

Ibn al-Faḍl's frequent and extraordinarily erudite grammatical and
lexicographical notes make one think that the work was also designed
to instruct Arab Christian readers in Arabic grammar, possibly to
counter Muslim accusations that Christians were unable to write cor-
rect Arabic.

MANUSCRIPTS

Eleven manuscripts of this work are known to exist:

MS Sinai – Ar. 66, fols 260r-375v (1266)

MS Vat – Ar. 111, fols 99r-160r (14ᵗʰ century; beginning of the intro-duction missing)

MS Sharfeh – Ar. 8/10, No. 7 (1600)

MS Damascus, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – 269 (current shelf-mark) / 1706 (old shelfmark), no. 2 (1723; includes chs 9-17)

MS Cairo, Franciscan Center of Christian Oriental Studies – 116, fols 3r-83v / pp. V-171 (1755)

MS Moscow, State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) – 53 (1785), pp. 2-165

MS Zaḥla, Bibliothèque ʿĪsā Iskandar al-Maʿlūf – 1, pp. 240-321 (1799)

MS St Petersburg, Oriental Institute – B1225 (formerly Collection of Gregory IV – 26), fols 1v-79r (not 94v, as in Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.1, 226; the manuscript has no date, possibly 18ᵗʰ century)

MS Joun, Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ – 173, pp. 218-289 (18ᵗʰ century)

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 545 (1851)

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 544 (1881; a late copy of the Sharfeh manuscript)

The following manuscript is currently inaccessible:

MS Aleppo, Collection of Greek Catholic priest Dimitri Nasrallah (Sbath, *Fihris* i, 49, no. 375; according to Sbath, this manuscript contained 91 chapters, which is highly improbable)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Rached, 'Les notions de *rûḥ* (esprit) et de *nafs* (âme) chez ʿAbd Allâh Ibn al-Faḍl al-Ḥakîm al-Anṭakî', pp. 178-79 (French trans. of ch. 53)

S. Ihm, *Ps.-Maximus Confessor, Erste kritische Edition des sacro-profanen Florilegiums Loci communes*, Stuttgart, 2001 (critical edition of the Greek original; makes a brief reference to Arabic 'translations' on p. cv, with reference to van Esbroeck's article, although the Arabic translation is not taken into account in the edition)

É. Sargologos, *Florilège sacro-profane du Pseudo-Maxime. Introduc-tion, texte critique, notes et tables*, Ermoupoli, 2001 (another edi-tion of the Greek original; not seen)

M. van Esbroeck, 'Les sentences morales des philosophes grecs dans les traditions orientales', in M. Pavan and U. Cozzoli (eds), *L'eredità classica nelle lingue orientale*, Florence, 1986, 11-23, pp. 15-16 (edition and French trans. of Ibn al-Faḍl's introduction)

Cheikho, *Chrestomathia Arabica cum lexico variisque notis*, 247-49 (abbreviated edition of ch. 56, based on MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 544 or 545, pp. 135-38)

STUDIES

Van Esbroeck, 'Les sentences morales des philosophes grecs dans les traditions orientales'

Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.1, pp. 225-26 (argues, erroneously, that Ibn al-Faḍl himself originally composed the work in Greek)

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 63-64

Kitāb bahjat al-muʾmin yataḍammanu masāʾil sharʿiyya wa-mawḍūʿāt falsafiyya, 'Joy of the believer, incorporating religious issues and philosophical topics', 'Joy of the believer'

DATE   1052
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Joy of the believer is extant in two recensions, which differ substantially in content, though not in approach. Recension A spans 193 folios in MS St Petersburg, Oriental Institute – B1226. Preceded by a beautiful introduction in rhymed prose (*sajʿ*), it includes 365 questions and answers, divided into four 'centuries' (the fourth being shorter) to be read a question a day over the course of the year. The first century includes mostly questions on theology and natural sciences, some of which focus on the account of creation in Genesis (with borrowings from Basil's *Hexaëmeron*, which Ibn al-Faḍl translated in its entirety from Greek in the same year, 1052). The second century is drawn wholly from Pseudo-Caesarius' (Theodore Ascidas'?) *Erotapokriseis*, also translated from Greek by Ibn al-Faḍl himself. The selections from Pseudo-Caesarius include, incidentally, Pseudo-Caesarius' quotations from Bardaisan's *Book of the laws of the countries* – a unique case of an Arabic transmission of sections of this work. The third century is

defined as based on the Gospel (*injīliyya*). Though most of the questions indeed have to do with the Gospel, some touch on other issues, such as Christian liturgy (Questions III.82-91, e.g. the reason for praying towards the East and the use of the priest's stole, *baṭrashīl*) and the afterlife (Questions III.93-96). The last 65 questions also deal with the Gospel.

Recension B is only extant, as far as is currently known, in the unique 13ᵗʰ-century MS Vat – Ar. 164, where it spans 229 folios. According to Graf, it can be divided into the following six sections: first (fols 1r-86r), a selection of 111 questions and answers drawn from the collection of 365 questions and answers (i.e. from Recension A); second (fols 86v-101v), a selection of sayings of Isaac of Nineveh (presumably in Ibn al-Faḍl's own translation from a 9ᵗʰ-century Greek version) and a series of questions and answers on the life of Christ; third (fols 102r-181r), interpretations of the Psalms (cited in Ibn al-Faḍl's own translation), some of which are Ibn al-Faḍl's own, while others are drawn from the Church Fathers – there follows a miscellany of questions on anthropological, physical, ethical, and theological matters; fourth (fols 181r-195v), a selection of excerpts from John of Damascus on the two natures of Christ; fifth (fols 195v-214v), a selection from commentators of the Old Testament on the creation of angels, the world, and humans and on the Trinity; and finally the sixth section (fols 215r-229v) contains citations from several theologians. A preliminary examination of the manuscript has shown that, contrary to Graf's observation, only one theologian is cited, and this seems to be Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī.

According to Bonifatius Kotter, who relied on Graf's unpublished study 'Arabische Übersetzungen von Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos', Ibn al-Faḍl incorporated chs 1 (partially), 2, 13, 14, 21, and 23 of John of Damascus' *Fount of knowledge* (possibly in Antonios' Arabic translation) into *Joy of the believer*. Presumably, this refers to Recension B of this work.

Both recensions and the relationship between them deserve careful study. It should be noted that some manuscripts of Recension A (notably MS Oxford, Bodleian – Marsh 408 / Ar. chr. Nicoll 22; MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 112; and the two MSS Brummana, Collection of Īlīyā Karam – 1 and 2) contain, after *Joy of the believer*, material that has parallels in Recension B. Another important task is to compare the book with Ibn al-Faḍl's other works of questions

and answers: *Challenges and responses on the Trinity and the Incarnation* (discussed below), and *Concise questions and answers about the Gospel based on St John Chrysostom*. Some material appears in two or even in all three of these works (e.g. the question of why the Holy Spirit descended upon Christ at baptism in the form of a dove rather than another animal appears in the *Joy of the believer*, Question IV.27; in the *Challenges and responses*, Challenge 9; and in *Concise questions and answers*, Question 33 [MS Cairo, Franciscan Center of Christian Oriental Studies – 116, fol. 112r / p. 218]).

SIGNIFICANCE

Joy of the believer seems to be primarily an educational manual which aims to provide Arabic-speaking Orthodox Christians with useful information on their faith. It also has an important apologetic dimension, providing handy answers to possible objections to Christianity (Sepmeijer, 'The book of *Splendor of the believer*', pp. 119-20). Specifically, it explains those passages in the Gospels that stress Christ's human nature and the distinction between Christ and the Father – precisely the passages that had been co-opted by Muslim polemicists attempting to show that Christ was a mere human being and was not God or the Son of God. Several questions in the fourth section of Recension A aim to resolve apparent discrepancies between the Gospel narratives (e.g. that Joseph's father is called Jacob in Matthew 1:15-16 and Eli in Luke 3:23), possibly in an attempt to counter the Muslim allegation that, because of the disagreements in the four Gospels, they must be corrupt versions of the presumed original *Injīl*. It is also worth mentioning that Question I.4 (translated by I. Dick) specifically mentions Muslims among the religious communities that believe in one God.

MANUSCRIPTS

Recension A is preserved in the following manuscripts:

MS Oxford, Bodleian – Marsh 408 (Ar. chr. Nicoll 22), no. 1 (1622/3)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 112 (Simaika 238, Graf 638), fols 1r-148v (1622/3; microfilmed by BYU: Roll A-27, Item 7)

MS Aleppo, Greek Catholic Archdiocese – 37 (1643)

MS Damascus, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – 269 (current shelf-mark) / 1706 (old shelfmark), no. 1 (1723)

MS Damascus, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – 28 (18th century)

MS St Petersburg, Oriental Institute – B1226 (formerly Collection of Gregory IV – 28) (1851)

Recension B is extant in the unique manuscript:

MS Vat – Ar. 164 (13th century)

Several manuscripts contain only the translation of Pseudo-Caesarius:

MS Brummana, Collection of Īlīyā Karam (Greek Orthodox Metropolitan of Mount Lebanon) – 1, no. 3 (1624 [from a *Vorlage* of 1192]; presumably the manuscript is to be found in the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Mount Lebanon in Brummana)

MS Vat – Sbath 45 (1663)

MS Damascus, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – 197 (current shelfmark) / 1582 (old shelfmark), no. 2 (1770)

MS Cairo, Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate – Theol. 119 (Simaika 464, Graf 619B), fols 211r-233r (18th century; microfilmed by BYU: Roll A-28, Item 3)

MS Brummana, Collection of Īlīyā Karam (Greek Orthodox Metropolitan of Mount Lebanon) – 2, pp. 1-147 (before 1854; presumably the manuscript is to be found in the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Mount Lebanon in Brummana)

MS Birmingham, University Library – Mingana Ar. chr. 38 (shelfmark) / 50 (catalogue), fols 3r-32r (1884; incomplete, breaks off with Question II.50)

MS Oxford, Bodleian – Ar. chr. Nicoll 28 (only the first four questions, 8 folios)

The following manuscripts are currently inaccessible:

MS Aleppo, Collection of Greek Catholic priest Constantine Khuḍarī (Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 49, no. 374; contained the entire work)

MS Aleppo, Collection of Syrian Catholic priest George Shalḥat (Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 53, no. 408; contained Pseudo-Caesarius)

MS Aleppo, Collection of Syrian Catholic priest Jibrāʾīl Shukayr (Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 53, no. 408; contained Pseudo-Caesarius)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

I. Dick, *Melkites. Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics of the Patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem*, Boston, 2004, pp. 92-95 (English trans. of Questions I.4, III.1-2, 4, 6, based on an earlier French version of the book, Turnhout, 1994, which included French trans. of the same sections)

STUDIES

I. Perczel, 'Finding a place for the *Erotapokriseis* of Pseudo-Caesarius. A new document of sixth-century Palestinian Origenism', *Aram* 18-19 (2006-7) 49-83 (tentatively identifies Pseudo-Caesarius as Theodore Ascidas; does not mention the Arabic version)

F. Sepmeijer, 'The book of *Splendor of the believer* by ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl', *Pd'O* 16 (1990-91) 115-20 (based on the Oxford manuscript)

Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.1, pp. 221-23

B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, 5 vols, Berlin, 1981, iv, p. 87

G. Graf, 'Arabische Übersetzungen von Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos', pp. 14-17 (unpublished article, written c. 1950, a typewritten copy of which is preserved in Benediktinerabtei Scheyern, Germany; not seen)

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 60-62

Sharḥ al-amāna l-mustaqīma wa-ibānat ghalaṭ al-yaʿāqiba wa-l-nasṭūr ʿalā sabīl al-ījāz, 'Exposition of the Orthodox faith and concise clarification of the error of the Jacobites and the Nestorians', 'Exposition of the Orthodox faith'

DATE   Unknown, but probably late in Ibn al-Faḍl's life
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Exposition of the Orthodox faith* is a dogmatic treatise with extensive polemic against the Jacobites and the Nestorians. Originally written in Greek, it was then translated by the author into Arabic at the request of John, bishop of Manbij (Hierapolis) and Dulūk (Doliche), who also, it seems, provided financial support for the endeavor. Wannous argues plausibly that the work was written in Ibn al-Faḍl's old age, as the phrase 'I resolved to lay out my creed before leaving the sensory world for the dwelling place of souls' seems to indicate. The work spans 68 folios in its oldest copy, MS St Petersburg, Oriental Institute – B1220.

The treatise is divided into seven 'lessons' (*taʿālīm*), dealing with the following subjects: 1. definitions of technical terms required for correct belief (nature, substance, will, actuality, potentiality, hypostasis, etc.); 2. the Trinity; 3. the Incarnation; 4. sayings of the Fathers concerning Christ; 5. divine names (following Gregory of Nazianzus' *Oration 30*, the names are divided into names of power and names of divine economy, the latter being of two types: involving and not involving Incarnation); 6. polemic against the Jacobites (seven arguments of the Jacobites are cited and refuted; there follow two separate sections devoted to a refutation of monothelitism and monoenergism); and 7. polemic against the Nestorians (15 arguments of the Nestorians are cited and refuted). Numerous Church Fathers are cited throughout this work, including Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, Ephrem the Syrian, and Dionysius the Areopagite. In the anti-monothelite section Ibn al-Faḍl also refers to the definitions of the Sixth Ecumenical Council.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Exposition of the Orthodox faith* is Ibn al-Faḍl's theological masterpiece, which presents a skilful synthesis of the Patristic tradition. Though much of the polemic in this treatise is directed against rival Christian groups – the Jacobites and the Nestorians – some arguments may be directed against the Muslims. This seems to be the case with three arguments put in the mouth of an unnamed 'questioner' (*sāʾil*) in the fourth 'lesson' of the treatise. The first argument inquires why it is that the Son alone became incarnate, but not the Father or the Holy Spirit. The second questions why Christ needed to be 'sanctified' by the Father (John 10:36), if he was equal to the Father to begin with in substance and dignity. And the third argument questions why it is, if the Father and the Son have the same will and the same activity, that when the Father begot the Son, the Son did not do the same and also beget a son. Though the exact source of these arguments is unknown, it seems likely that they are Muslim in provenance. The first argument in particular was frequently raised by Muslim polemicists as early as Abū ʿĪsā l-Warrāq's *Against the Incarnation* (ed. and trans. D. Thomas, §§ 152-53). The possibility that Ibn al-Faḍl was familiar with Abū ʿĪsā l-Warrāq's polemical treatise is intriguing and deserves to be explored.

MANUSCRIPTS

Nine manuscripts of the work are known to be extant:

MS St Petersburg, Oriental Institute – B1220 (formerly Collection of Gregory IV – 18), fols 1v-68v (1642; autograph of Paul of Aleppo)

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 549, pp. 345-475 (1654)

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 541, pp. 142-187 (1663; does not include refutation of the Monophysites)

MS Vat – Ar. 560, fols 80v-130r (17th century)

MS Denver, Denver Public Library, Lansing Collection – Ar. 3, pp. 131-96 (1725; probably a copy of MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 549)

MS Moscow, State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) – 53, pp. 458-533 (1785)

MS Zaḥla, Bibliothèque ʿĪsā Iskandar al-Maʿlūf – 1, pp. 174-229 (1799)

MS St Petersburg, Oriental Institute – B1218 (formerly Collection of Gregory IV – 16), fols 75v-114r (18th century)

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 543 (19th century)

The following manuscript is currently inaccessible:

MS Aleppo, Collection of the heirs of the Greek Orthodox dignitary Constantine Anṭākī (Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 50, no. 379)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

An edition and a German translation are forthcoming in Ramy Wannous' doctoral dissertation ʿ*Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī. Darlegung des rechten Glaubens* (Philipps-Universität Marburg).

STUDIES

R. Wannous, "Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl, *Exposition of the Orthodox faith*', *Pd'O* 32 (2007) 259-69

Masāʾil wa-ajwiba ḥawl al-tathlīth wa-l-ittiḥād, 'Challenges and responses on the Trinity and the [hypostatic] Union'

DATE   Unknown
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Challenges and responses is Ibn al-Faḍl's collection of questions and answers on details of Christian belief and practice, as well as on several scriptural passages. It has parallels (and sometimes verbatim correspondences) with his other works, notably the *Discourse on the Holy Trinity, Joy of the believer*, and *Concise questions and answers about the Gospel based on St John Chrysostom*. In its present, truncated form, *Challenges and responses* spans 33 folios in the unicum manuscript and includes 80 'challenges' (*masāʾil*), put in the mouth of an unnamed 'opponent' (*khaṣm*) and beginning with the words 'the opponent might say' (*qāla l-khaṣm*). Ibn al-Faḍl's response (*jawāb*) follows each challenge.

Some of the challenges are theological in nature (e.g. what is hypostasis? why are there exactly three hypostases and not more? what is nature? etc.). Others inquire about or call into question specific details of the Gospel narrative (e.g. why did Moses and Elijah stand beside Christ during the Transfiguration? if Christ's divinity was never separate from his humanity, why did Christ cry on the cross 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me'? etc.).

Only a very small portion of the challenges seem to be of Muslim provenance. One interesting example is Challenge 76. Here the opponent asks why it is that Christians who have neglected their fasting duties do not attempt to make up for it at a later date. The obvious background to this challenge is the qurʾanic injunction to make up for days of fasting during the month of Ramaḍān that one has missed on account of illness or travel (Q 2:184-85). Ibn al-Faḍl's response is that if one missed fasting on account of illness, one is forgiven. If, however, one was able to fast but did not, one is expected to repent of this sin and not to commit it again for the rest of one's life, rather than 'make up' for it by fasting an equal number of days and then sin again.

It is unlikely that the 80 challenges all come from a particular anti-Christian polemical work. It is more likely that Ibn al-Faḍl is presenting a list of possible objections that have been or could be directed at Christianity, and instructs his Christian audience how to respond to them. *Challenges and responses* is thus a manual of apologetics that allows Christian apologists to have the necessary answers to possible objections at their fingertips.

SIGNIFICANCE

Challenges and responses is an important example of Arab Christian apologetics. Though not specifically focused on Christian-Muslim polemic, it nevertheless provides some answers to possible Muslim objections to Christianity. On a more general level, it paints a vivid picture of the kinds of questions that a Christian apologist in Byzantine Antioch could see himself face in encounters with non-Christian critics and of the kinds of approaches that he would take in responding to such questions. This work was read by later Christian Arab authors, as evidenced by a quotation of Challenge 71 in the 13th-century Copto-Arabic author al-Asʿad Hibatallāh ibn al-ʿAssāl's *Treatise on the soul*.

MANUSCRIPTS

    MS Vat – Ar. 111, fols 66r-98v (14th century; seems to be truncated at the end)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —

STUDIES   —

Kitāb al-maṣābīḥ, 'The book of lamps'

DATE   Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Virtually nothing is known at present about the *Book of lamps*. Graf and Nasrallah merely state that it deals with dogmatic theology and ethics. Asad Rustum calls the *Book of lamps* Ibn al-Faḍl's 'most important work', which contains 'words of the wisemen, the prophets, and the holy apostles'. According to him, Ibn al-Faḍl 'divided it neatly into sections and gave numerous examples from the scriptures and the sayings of the philosophers'. Joseph Zaytun has recently indicated that in the last chapter of this work, entitled 'Divine love' (*al-maḥabba l-ilāhiyya*), Ibn al-Faḍl cites a poem (*muwashshaḥa*) of the Arab Orthodox poet and bishop Sulaymān al-Ghazzī (fl. 1010) (q.v.), although without naming the latter. A final piece of information can be extracted from the fact that the periodical *Al-Niʿma*, published in the 1950s and 60s by the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Damascus,

printed a few short excerpts from the *Book of lamps*, one of which dealt with prayer.

SIGNIFICANCE

In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to speculate about the significance of this work for Christian-Muslim relations. To judge from the fact that it deals with dogmatic theology and ethics and cites both scripture and philosophical works, it would seem that it has affinities with Ibn al-Faḍl's other works, including *Benefit*, *The garden*, and *Joy of the believer*. Some of the same subjects – including polemic against Islam – may be treated from a different angle in the *Book of lamps*, thus supplementing the picture obtained from the rest of Ibn al-Faḍl's oeuvre. A careful study of this work is an important desideratum.

MANUSCRIPTS

The only sure witness to Ibn al-Faḍl's *Book of lamps* is:

> MS Damascus, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – 269 (current shelf-mark) / 1706 (old shelfmark), no. 4 (1723; C. Bacha and L. Cheikho, ''Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī', *Al-Mashriq* 9 (1906) 886-90, 944-53, p. 946 mention, on the authority of the Patriarch of Antioch Gregory IV Ḥaddād, that this manuscript is incomplete)

Nasrallah (*HMLEM* iii.1, p. 227) adds two more manuscripts, both of which contain an anonymous theological treatise entitled *Kitāb al-maṣābīḥ*: MS Vat – Ar. 122 (1580) and MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 211 (1581), fols 64v-113v. Based on the commonality of the title, and apparently without seeing either of the two manuscripts, Nasrallah judged that this must be Ibn al-Faḍl's treatise.

The present author has been able to see a very poor and virtually unreadable digital copy of the Vatican manuscript. The text seems to originate from the Syriac tradition, as evidenced by such transcriptions as *Īshūʿ* (Jesus) and *al-salīḥ Fūlūs* (the apostle Paul), instead of *Yasūʿ* and *al-rasūl Būlus*, common among the Melkites in general and in Ibn al-Faḍl in particular. (This cannot be due merely to a copyist's preference, as the copyist of the Vatican manuscript is the Tunisian convert from Islam, Domenico Sirleto, a pupil at the Collegium Neophytorum in Rome, who would have been unlikely to opt for Syriac-influenced spelling.) Besides, there is no trace of quotations from the philosophers, which, according to Asad Rustum, formed part of Ibn

al-Faḍl's *Kitāb al-maṣābīḥ*. Hence it is unlikely that the text preserved in the Vatican manuscript was authored by Ibn al-Faḍl. This is confirmed by S.K. Samir, who has examined the Vatican manuscript (see his review of Nasrallah's *HMLEM* iii.1, p. 461). The Paris manuscript, to judge from G. Troupeau's brief description of it in *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, Paris, 1972, i, p. 180, seems to have certain textual affinities with the Vatican manuscript (with which it is of virtually the same date), and if that is the case, it too would contain a text different from Ibn al-Faḍl's work. A closer examination of the Paris manuscript is required to resolve the issue completely.

The following manuscript is presently inaccessible:

MS Aleppo, Collection of Greek Catholic merchant Jirjī Maẓlūm (Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 50, no. 378)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Al-Niʿma, Sept. 1961, p. 26; Oct. 1961, p. 27; Feb. 1962, pp. 31-32 (edition of several short excerpts; not seen)

S.K. Samir has an unpublished edition of this work – see his review of Nasrallah's *HMLEM* iii.1 in *OCP* 51 (1985) 460-68, p. 461

STUDIES

J. Zaytun, 'Aʿlām urthūdhuksīyūn. Al-muṭrān al-shāʿir Sulaymān al-Ghazzī', online publication (http://church-history.info), 2009, p. 9

A. Rustum, *Kanīsat madīnat Allāh Anṭākiyā al-ʿuẓmā*, 3 vols, Jounieh, 1988, ii, pp. 222-23

S.K. Samir, review of Nasrallah's *HMLEM* iii.1 in *OCP* (1985) 460-68, p. 461

Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.1, p. 227

Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 64

Alexander Treiger

Al-Maʿarrī

Abū l-ʿAlāʾ Aḥmad ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn
Sulaymān al-Maʿarrī

DATE OF BIRTH   973
PLACE OF BIRTH   Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, northern Syria
DATE OF DEATH   1058
PLACE OF DEATH   Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān

BIOGRAPHY

A. Abel, 'La "Réfutation d'un Agarène" de Barthélémy d'Édesse', *Studia Islamica* 37 (1973) 5-26, p. 25, mentions in passing that al-Maʿarrī wrote a work called *Risālat al-Masīḥiyya*, which he dedicated to one of his correspondents, the Būyid vizier Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī l-Maghribī (d. 1027). He does not cite a source for this information, and this title does not appear in lists of al-Maʿarrī's known works.

Al-Maʿarrī was one of the most famous poets of the Abbasid era, and known as something of a religious skeptic. Blinded as a child through illness, he received his first education in Maʿarra and Aleppo, and achieved a considerable reputation as a poet. After his father's death in 1008 he travelled to Baghdad, but within a few years he returned to Maʿarra when he found he could not make a living.

He remained in Maʿarra for the rest of his life, and came to be looked on as a celebrity in the town, known for his simplicity and asceticism; he never married. He accepted pupils, and received visitors who were attracted by his reputation as a poet, and he also maintained correspondence with a variety of people, including local political figures, among whom was the vizier Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī l-Maghribī (d. 1027), and Ismāʿīlī missionaries.

Al-Maʿarrī expresses exasperation with forms of institutional religion in a number of places, most notably the collection entitled *Luzūm mā lā yalzam*, 'Obligation to what is not obligatory'. He professes belief in God, but shows little regard for revealed teachings and the forms of faith built upon them, and he frequently betrays a desire for complete annihilation when he dies. He felt particularly sensitive to the suffering of animals, and in his *Risālat al-ghufrān*, 'Letter on

forgiveness', he pursues the idea that animals, as well as humans, will be rewarded in the hereafter for the suffering they bore in earthly life. This letter traces a journey through paradise and hell, and has been linked by Asín Palacios with Dante's *Commedia* as a possible influence.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The compilation of biographical notices on al-Maʿarrī by Yūsuf al-Badīʿī (d. 1663), *Awj al-taḥarrī ʿan ḥaythiyyat Abi l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī*, Damascus, 1944, is a convenient source of the poet's biography. It includes accounts by the following early authorities: al-Thaʿālibī, *Tatimmat al-yatīma*; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*; al-Bākharzī, *Dumyat al-qaṣr wa-ʿuṣrat ahl al-ʿaṣr*; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*; Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāḥ ʿalā anbāh al-nuḥāh*; Yāqūt, *Muʿjām al-ʿudabāʾ*; Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām*; and Ibn Kathīr, *Al-bidāya wa l-nihāya*.

Secondary

S. Ḥakīm, *Abū l-ʿAlāʾ l-Maʿarrī, bayna baḥr al-shiʿr wa-yābisat al-nās*, Beirut, 2003

M.Ṭ. Himṣī, *Abū l-ʿAlāʾ l-Maʿarrī. Malāmiḥ ḥayātihi wa-adabih*, Damascus, 1999

M. Saleh, ʿAbū ʾl-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī. Bibliographie critique', *Bulletin des Études Orientales* 22 (1969), 133-204; 23 (1970) 197-309

A.K. Germanus, ʿAbū ʾl-Alā al-Maarrī in the light of new investigations', *ʿArshi presentation volume*, New Delhi, 1965, 59-72

M. Asín Palacios, *La escatología Musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, Madrid, 1919

D.S Margoliouth, *The letters of Abu ʾl-Alā of Maʾarrat al-Num-an*, Oxford, 1898

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Risālat al-Masīḥiyya, ʿLetter on Christianity'

DATE   Before 1057

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The only reference to the existence of this work is given by Abel, ʿLa "Réfutation d'un Agarène" de Barthélémy d'Édesse', who mentions its title, and says that al-Maʿarrī dedicated it to the Būyid vizier Abū

l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī l-Maghribī (d. 1027), with whom Elias of Nisibis (d. 1049) held a series of seven discussions. Abel does not cite a source.

Apart from this single reference, the letter is unknown. It is not included in the lists of al-Maʿarrī's works compiled by Saleh, 'Bibliographie critique' (1970), pp. 275-79, and Ḥimṣī, *Abūl-ʿAlāʾ l-Maʿarrī*, pp. 33-43, nor is it mentioned in the surviving letters addressed by al-Maʿarrī to the vizier (Margoliouth, *Letters of Abu'l-Alā*, nos I, II, XXI). It does not appear to be mentioned by other authors on al-Maʿarrī, either ancient or modern.

If the letter was ever written, one might speculate on the basis of al-Maʿarrī's sentiments about religion that it criticized Christian beliefs and the hopes placed upon them, preferring a more sober and somber attitude towards life and human destiny.

SIGNIFICANCE

The letter might have reflected the view that Christianity, like other religious traditions, was contrary to reason and the reality of human experience. It may have provided a unique opinion about the futility of Christian beliefs.

MANUSCRIPTS   —
EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —
STUDIES   —

David Thomas

Al-Ḥumaydī

Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Naṣr Futūḥ al-Azdī
l-Ḥumaydī l-Ẓāhirī

DATE OF BIRTH   Before 1029
PLACE OF BIRTH   Al-Bulayda, Majorca
DATE OF DEATH   17 December 1095
PLACE OF DEATH   Baghdad

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Ḥumaydī was born on the island of Majorca, and began his educa-
tion when he was only five years old. Among his teachers were Abū
l-Qāsim Aṣbagh, who taught him in 1035-36, Abū Zayd al-Qayrawānī,
who taught him his famous *Risāla* and the *Mukhtaṣar al-Mudawwana*
('The abridgement of the *Mudawwana*'), and Ibn Ḥazm, who became
his close friend.

During the period of his education, al-Ḥumaydī travelled widely in
al-Andalus, to towns such as Seville, Almería and Valencia. Perhaps
the most important event of his life was the pilgrimage to Mecca he
made in 1056-57, which he was probably led to undertake as a result of
the strong pressure he experienced in Majorca because of his involve-
ment with Ẓāhirism. In the Middle East, he visited Cairo, Damascus,
Baghdad, al-Wāsiṭ and other cities in order to pursue his education.

Al-Ḥumaydī is described as a poet, jurist and Hadith expert, but
his reputation rests upon his biographical dictionary, *Jadhwat al-
muqtabis* ('A firebrand for the seeker of illumination'). In all, he wrote
27 books, on aspects of Islam, social life and literature (see Rosselló
Bordoy, 'Al-Ḥumaydī', pp. 266ff.).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis fī taʾrīkh rijāl al-Andalus*, ed. I. al-Abyārī,
    2 vols, Cairo, 1989, i, p. 161
Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, 4 vols, Beirut, 1958, iv, pp. 1218-22
Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Kitāb al-ṣila*, ed. I. al-Abyārī, 2 vols, Cairo, 1989, ii, p. 818
Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, iv, pp. 282-84

Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, ed. I. al-Abyārī, Cairo, 1989, p. 277

Ibn Saʿīd, *Al-mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib*, ed. S. Ḍayf, 2 vols, Cairo, 1964, ii, pp. 467-68

Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, 8 vols, Beirut, 1968, ii, pp. 112-15

Secondary

G. Roselló Bordoy, art. ʿAl-Ḥumaydī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh', in *Diccionario de Autores y Obras Andalusíes*, Granada, i, 2002

A. Huici Miranda, art. 'Al-Ḥumaydī', in *EI2*

M. Penelas, 'Textos biográficos andalusíes. Sus ediciones', *Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus* 8 (1997) 53-92

A. López, 'Un nuevo manuscrito de la *Ŷaḏwat al-muqtabis* de al-Ḥumaydī', *Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus* 2 (1988) 299-306

E. Térés, 'Enseñanzas de Ibn Ḥazm en la "Ŷaḏwat al-muqtabis" de al-Ḥumaydī', *Al-Andalus* 29 (1964) 147-78

M. Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba y su historia crítica de las ideas religiosas*, 5 vols, Madrid, 1927-32, i, pp. 291-93

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Jadhwat al-muqtabis fī taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus, 'A firebrand for the seeker of illumination about the history of the scholars of al-Andalus'; *Jadhwat al-muqtabis*, 'A firebrand for the seeker of illumination'

DATE   After 1056-57

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Jadhwat al-muqtabis is a biographical dictionary of rulers, scholars and poets of al-Andalus. It includes an historical introduction to al-Andalus from the Muslim conquest up to 1145-46.

According to the accounts of its composition, al-Ḥumaydī wrote it from memory alone. He himself says in the introduction that he wrote at the request of some of his Baghdad friends to report about scholars and rulers of al-Andalus. The work can be divided into two main sections, the first dedicated to the Muslim conquest of al-Andalus and including the Umayyad emirate, and the second devoted

to biographies, which can be further divided into nine smaller sections containing a total of 987 biographies.

Apart from the terminology used for Christians (for instance *al-Rūm* in biographies 365, 499, 534, 596, 603, 615, 688, 697, 510, 534 and 688), the most important information regarding the relationship between Muslims and Christians is found in the accounts of al-Ḥumaydī's journey through the Middle East. The author describes his experience of attending debating sessions (*majālis*) between followers of different creeds and religions, among them Muslims (Sunnīs and Ẓāhirīs), Christians and others, at which religious representatives debated on a basis of equality.

SIGNIFICANCE

The term al-Ḥumaydī commonly uses in the *Jadhwa* for Christians from outside the area of Muslim rule is not *Naṣārā* but *Rūm* (see nos 365, 499, 510, 534, 596, 603, 615, 688, 697). It clearly means 'Christians' rather than 'Byzantines', and he employs it both for enemies with whom Muslims clash in battle and also more widely, for example in references to kings of the Christians.

Al-Ḥumaydī is startled by the debating sessions (*majālis*) he attended during his journey, because he finds people of different faiths all participating on an equal footing (see Griffith, *Church in the shadow of the mosque*, pp. 63-64, in which al-Ḥumaydī relates the experience of the 10th century visitor Abū ʿUmar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Saʿdī).

MANUSCRIPTS
    MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – 464 (undated)
EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS
    Jadhwat al-muqtabis fī taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus, ed. M.B. ʿAwwād, Tunis, 2008
    Jadhwat al-muqtabis fī taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus, ed. ʿA. al-Suwayfī Rūḥiyya, Beirut, 1997
    Jadhwat al-muqtabis fī taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus, ed. I. al-Abyārī, 2 vols, Cairo, 1966
    Jadhwat al-muqtabis fī taʾrīkh dhikr wulāt al-Andalus, ed. M. ibn Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī, Cairo, 1952
STUDIES
    S. Griffith, *The church in the shadow of the mosque. Christians and Muslims in the world of Islam*, Princeton NJ, 2008

J.J. Hernández, 'Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr en la Ŷaḏwa de al-Ḥumaydī', *Estu-dios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus* 6 (1994) 217-47

Penelas, 'Textos biográficos andalusíes. Sus ediciones'

López, 'Un nuevo manuscrito de la Ŷaḏwat al-muqtabis'

Térés, 'Enseñanzas de Ibn Ḥazm en la "Ŷaḏwat al-muqtabis" de al-Ḥumaydī'

Rachid El Hour

Al-Juwaynī

Abū l-Maʿālī ʿAbd al-Malik ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn
Yūsuf al-Juwāynī, Imām al-Ḥaramayn

DATE OF BIRTH   17 February 1028
PLACE OF BIRTH   Bushtanikān near Nīshāpūr
DATE OF DEATH   20 August 1085
PLACE OF DEATH   Bushtanikān

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Juwaynī studied under his own father, and when the latter died in 1046-47 he took his place as teacher. But he was forced to leave Nīshāpūr after a few years to escape the Seljuk vizier's hostility towards Shāfiʿīs and Ashʿarīs. For 15 years between about 1048 and 1063 he moved from place to place, including Baghdad and four years in Mecca and Medina, which gained him his title of Imām al-Ḥaramayn.

He returned to Nīshāpūr in 1063 at the invitation of the new vizier, Niẓām al-Mulk, who favoured Ashʿarīs, and was given an official position as teacher of Shafiʿī *fiqh* for the rest of his life. Among his students in this latter period was the great Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (q.v.), who would presumably have attended the discussions held by his master on theology, and also known about his Ṣūfī sympathies.

Among al-Juwaynī's theological works, the *Shāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn* ('The complete book on the principles of religion'), which does not survive intact, was his major composition. While he was engaged in this, he also completed the *Kitāb al-irshād ilā qawāṭiʿ al-adilla fī uṣūl al-iʿtiqād* ('A guide to the conclusive proofs for the principles of belief'). This shorter version of his theological views contains a brief refutation of the two main Christian doctrines of the Trinity, based on the argument that God cannot be a substance, and Incarnation (*El-Irchad par Imam el-Harameïn*, ed. and trans. J.-D. Luciani, Paris, 1938, text pp. 27-30, trans. pp. 52-56; trans. Walker and Eissa, *A guide to conclusive proofs*, pp. 28-30). It forms part of the introductory exposition in the work on the nature of God, and appears to be very close to or even a summary of the arguments brought together by al-Bāqillānī in his *Tamhīd* (q.v.). It has the character of a confident statement that

opposing views about the being of God are wrong, forming part of a wider demonstration that the Islamic doctrine is correct.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī*, ed. Ḥ. al-Qudsī, Damascus, 1928-29, pp. 278-85

Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya l-kubrā*, ed. M.M. al-Ṭanāḥī and ʿA. al-Ḥilw, 8 vols [Cairo], 1964-68, v, pp. 165-222

Secondary

M.M. Saflo, *Al-Juwayni's thought and methodology, with a translation and commentary on* Lumaʿ al-adillah, Berlin, 2000, pp. 8-55

P.E. Walker and M.S. Eissa (trans.), *A guide to conclusive proofs for the principles of belief. Imām al-Haramayn al-Juwaynī*, Reading UK, 2000, pp. xx-xxxii

T. Nagel, *The history of Islamic theology. From Muhammad to the present*, Princeton NJ, 2000 (trans. of Nagel, *Geschichte der islamischen Theologie*, Munich, 1994), pp. 164-68

C. Gilliot, Quand la théologie s'allie à l'histoire. Triomphe et échec du rationalisme musulman à travers l'œuvre d'al-Ǧuwaynī', *Arabica* 39 (1992) 241-60

M. Allard, *Le problème des attributs divins dans la doctrine d'al-Ashʿarī et de ses premiers grands disciples*, Beirut, 1965, pp. 372-404

G. Hourani, 'Juwaynī's criticisms of Muʿtazilite ethics', *MW* 65 (1975) 161-73

F.H. Maḥmūd (ed.), *Lumaʿ al-adilla fī qawāʿid ʿaqāʾid ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamāʿa*, Cairo, 1965, pp. 42-49 (introduction)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Shifāʾ al-ghalīl fī bayān mā waqaʿa fī l-Tawrāt wa-l-Injīl min al-tabdīl, 'Assuaging thirst in explanation of the alterations that have occurred in the Torah and Gospel'

DATE   Unknown, probably in the years before 1058
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Shifāʾ* itself gives no hint about the circumstances of its composition, though M. Allard suggests that a likely place would have been

Baghdad, where debates between Muslims, Jews and Christians were frequent, and that the date would have been sometime between 1048, when al-Juwaynī probably arrived in Baghdad (Walker and Eissa, *A guide to conclusive proofs*, p. xxiii, narrow this down to 1055), and 1058, when he left for the Ḥijāz.

While not a long work, only 22 pages in Allard's edition, the *Shifāʾ* is significant for what it proves about the corruption of Jewish and Christian scriptures. Al-Juwaynī explains his argument at the outset: the Qurʾan states that Muḥammad is foretold in the Torah and Gospel though these texts themselves do not mention this, and so he will prove that alteration to the originals was both possible and actual.

Regarding the Torah, he shows that Moses' original text could possibly have been altered by Ezra for personal gain at the time of the restoration of Jerusalem, and demonstrates that it was actually altered by comparing the lists of the descendants of Adam given in Genesis according to the versions held by the Jews and the Christians (the Hebrew and Septuagint texts). Then, regarding the Gospel, he argues that the original may possibly have been altered during the period when it circulated before being written down, and demonstrates from a number of differences between Gospel accounts of the same fact or story that it was actually altered.

Al-Juwaynī does not pursue the matter beyond this point, and concludes his demonstration with hints that this alteration must have been carried out deliberately.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Shifāʾ* is one of the few Muslim works from the early centuries that investigates the issue of textual alteration in any detail, as opposed to stating it as a principle. In the acquaintance with actual biblical texts displayed, it compares with Ibn Ḥazm's (q.v.) *Fiṣal*, and it makes its points with the same cogency and greater economy. It shows that al-Juwaynī had access to the Bible and either studied it closely himself or was able to rely upon willing assistance to do this.

The fact that he thought he should try to resolve this issue of textual alteration suggests that it was keenly debated at this time and that maybe Muslims felt thrown on the defensive.

MANUSCRIPTS

See M. Allard, *Textes apologétiques de Ǧuwainī (m. 478/1085)*, Beirut, 1968, pp. 7-9

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

J.-M. Gaudeul, *Encounters and clashes. Islam and Christianity in history*, 2 vols, Rome, 1990, ii, pp 288-94 (selected texts from Allard and trans.)

Shifāʾ al-ghalīl fī bayān mā waqaʿa fī l-Tawrāt wa-l-Injīl min al-tabdīl, ed. A.Ḥ. al-Saqqā, Cairo, 1979

Allard, *Textes apologétiques de Ǧuwainī*, pp. 38-83 (edition and French trans.)

STUDIES

D. Thomas, 'The Bible and the kalām', in D. Thomas (ed.), *The Bible in Arab Christianity*, Leiden, 2007, 175-91, pp. 186-91

Gaudeul, *Encounters and clashes*, i, pp. 92-94

Allard, *Textes apologétiques de Ǧuwainī*, pp. 11-37

Kitāb al-Shāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn, 'The complete book on the principles of religion'

DATE   Uncertain; before 1085, and possibly after 1063

DESCRIPTION

Al-Shāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn is presented as an exposition of al-Bāqillānī's (q.v.) commentary on al-Ashʿarī's (q.v.) *Kitāb al-lumaʿ*, though its relationship with its predecessors, and particularly the *Lumaʿ*, is loose. It is, in fact, a systematic theology in its own right, one of the fullest known from the Ashʿarī school. Its date is not known, though it must pre-date the *Irshād*, which is a summary of it. Allard, *Attributs divins*, pp. 379-80, dates it to al-Juwaynī's later years after his return to Nīshāpūr in 1063, when he was able to devote himself entirely to study. Its popularity after al-Juwaynī's death is attested by the number of abridgements that were made of it (see R.M. Frank, *Al-Ghazālī and the Ashʿarite school*, Durham NC, 1994, pp. 1-2).

The work has not survived in full. Al-Nashshār's edition contains the epistemological introduction and arguments for the existence and oneness of God (see also the description of contents in L. Gardet and G. Anawati, *Introduction à la theologie musulmane*, Paris, 1948, pp. 181-84). Like other such treatises by al-Ashʿarī and fellow Muslim theologians, alongside presentations of the author's own teachings this includes refutations of views held by both Muslim and non-Muslim

opponents. Among these, the refutation of Christianity is one of the most prominent, occupying nearly 40 of the edition's total 700 pages. It comes at the end of a series of refutations of Muslim doctrines that challenge the strict oneness of God or ascribe human qualities to him, and it is evidently intended to demonstrate that Christian teachings distort the truth about God's true nature in the same way as the others.

The refutation begins with arguments against the major Christian doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, detailing objections to the claim that God is substance and hypostases, and questioning the mode in which the divine and human natures in Christ united (pp. 570-91). It goes on to question the bases of the Christian claims that Christ was divine, referring to his miracles and to Christian appeals to Q 4:171, that Jesus was God's word cast into Mary, and other Qur'an verses (pp. 591-95), and then it analyses the different positions of the main Christian sects on the relationship between the divine substance and hypostases, and on the mode of the Incarnation (pp. 595-604), and the implications derived from this (pp. 605-7). It ends with a short series of interpretations of Gospel verses that are used to support the doctrine of the divinity of Christ (pp. 607-8).

In a number of places al-Juwaynī appeals to al-Bāqillānī (e.g. pp. 570, 586, 606, where the earlier theologian is called the *Qāḍī*), so it is no surprise that with regard to its general outline and contents this refutation reflects the equivalent arguments in al-Bāqillānī's *Tamhīd*. But it is by no means a slavish borrowing; its arguments have directness and incisiveness, and add a number of original elements, not least the polemical interpretation of verses from the Bible and Qur'an on which the Christian opponents appear to rely.

SIGNIFICANCE

The inclusion of this refutation within a compendium of Islamic theology continues a long-standing tradition in which the exposure of weaknesses in Christian doctrines highlights the solidarity and consistency of their Islamic alternatives. The whole assemblage of Christian belief and spirituality is pared down to two main forms of the rival doctrine of God, and the exposure of the weaknesses in these is used to prove that the Islamic conception of monotheism is the only possible rational form.

The relatively brief treatment of major elements of Christianity, employing many methods and arguments familiar from earlier

times, suggests that there was probably little, if any, ongoing debate between representatives of the faiths. This judgement might seem to need modification in the light of what appear to be fresh and original discussions of Gospel verses, but even that element need not indicate that al-Juwaynī did any more than consult earlier Muslim works in which they could have been present.

In sum, this refutation in the *Shāmil* shows that while Christian beliefs could not be totally ignored if a complete account of Islamic doctrines was to be given, it did not present a real threat by articulating fresh claims that seriously called Islamic beliefs into question.

MANUSCRIPTS

 MS Istanbul, Köprülü Library – 826 (1213)

 MS Tehran, University Central Library – 350 (date unknown)

 MS Cairo, Dār al-kutub al-Miṣriyya – ʿIlm al-kalām 1290 (photographic copy of Köprülü 826)

EDITIONS

 Ed. ʿA.M. ʿUmar, Beirut, 1999

 Ed. R.M. Frank, Tehran, 1981

 Ed. A.S. al-Nashshār, Alexandria, 1969

 Ed. A. Klopfer, Cairo, 1963 (partial edition)

STUDIES

 Allard, *Attributs divins*, pp. 380-82

David Thomas

Al-Yabrūdī

Abū l-Faraj Jiwarjīs ibn Yūḥannā ibn Sahl ibn
Ibrāhīm al-Yabrūdī

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; late 10th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Yabrūd (Syria)
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; perhaps around 1050-60
PLACE OF DEATH   Damascus

BIOGRAPHY

The Syrian Jacobite al-Yabrūdī was an expert in medicine. Born in humble circumstances in Yabrūd, he moved to Damascus to study. He travelled to Baghdad to increase his medical knowledge under the Nestorian Ibn al-Ṭayyib (q.v.), and he also studied other sciences such as logic. Finally, he returned to Damascus, where he stayed until his death. He was buried in the 'Church of the Jacobites' (*Kanīsat al-muṣallaba*, according to Nasrallah, 'Abū l-Faraǧ', p. 14), which was close to the Christian quarter of Bāb Tūmā.

Al-Yabrūdī composed a number of medical inquiries and works, including (according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa), a treatise 'That [mature] chickens are colder than chicks' (an issue that played a role in the famous controversy between Ibn Buṭlān and Ibn Riḍwān; see Conrad, and Schacht and Meyerhof). He also concerned himself with specifically Christian writings. In addition to the apologetic works listed below, we know that, around 1009, he commissioned and copied out for himself a translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* (see Treiger, 'The Arabic version'), and that in 1022 he was adding glosses to the Arabic translation of the New Testament epistles and Acts that Bishr ibn al-Sirrī of Damascus had made from a Syriac original (MS Sinai Arabic 151).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. N. Riḍā, Beirut, 1965, pp. 610-13
Al-Qifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 1903, p. 245

Secondary

A. Treiger, 'New evidence on the Arabic versions of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*', *Le Muséon* 118 (2005) 219-40, pp. 229-37

S. Brock, 'A neglected witness to the East Syriac New Testament commentary traditions: Sinai, Arabic MS 151', in R. Ebied and H. Teule (eds), *Studies on the Christian Arabic heritage*, Leuven, 2004, 205-15, p. 206

L. Conrad, 'Ibn Buṭlān in *Bilād al-Shām*. The career of a travelling Christian physician', in D. Thomas (ed.), *Syrian Christians under Islam. The first thousand years*, Leiden, 2001, 131-57, pp. 139-41

G. Anawati, *Al-Masīḥiyya wa-l-ḥaḍāra al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo, 1992², pp. 341-42

J. Nasrallah, 'Abū l-Faraǧ al-Yabrūdī médecin chrétien de Damas (Xᵉ-XIᵉ s.)', *Arabica* 23 (1976) 13-22

A. Charfi, K. Samir and A.-T. Khoury, 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976) 240-42 addendum in *Islamochristiana* 5 (1979) p. 306

T. Bianquis, 'Notables ou malandrins d'origine rurale à Damas à l'époque fatimide', *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 26 (1973) 185-207, pp. 202-7

I.A. Barsoum, *The scattered pearls. A history of Syriac literature and sciences*, trans. M. Moosa, Piscataway NJ, 2003², p. 188

Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 284

J. Schacht and M. Meyerhof, *The medico-philosophical controversy between Ibn Buṭlān of Baghdad and Ibn Riḍwān of Cairo. A contribution to the history of Greek learning among the Arabs*, Cairo, 1937, pp. 28-33 (Arabic text), pp. 66-69 (trans.), and passim

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Maqāla fī l-tawḥīd wa-l-tathlīth, 'Treatise on the Unity of God and the Trinity'

DATE   first half of the 11ᵗʰ century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work is not extant, and is known only from P. Sbath, *Fihris*, Supplément, p. 32. Its title suggests that it was probably a polemical comparison between the Muslim and Christian perceptions of God.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is not possible to comment on this.

MANUSCRIPT   Inaccessible MS once in a private collection in Aleppo; see Sbath, *Fihris*, Supplément, p. 32

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —

STUDIES   —

Maqāla fī l-radd ʿalā l-Muslimīn, Treatise in refutation of the Muslims'

DATE   First half of the 11th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION
The work is not extant, and is known only from Sbath, *Fihris*, Supplément, p. 32.

SIGNIFICANCE
It is not possible to comment on the significance of this work.

MANUSCRIPTS   Inaccessible MS once in a private collection in
    Aleppo; see Sbath, *Fihris*, Supplément, p. 32
EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —
STUDIES   —

Maqāla fī ṣiḥḥat al-diyāna al-Naṣrāniyya, 'Treatise on the soundness of the Christian religion'

DATE   First half of 11th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION
The work is not extant, and is known only from Sbath, *Fihris*, Supplément, p. 32. Its title suggests the possibility that it contained some comparison between Christianity and other religions, including Islam.

SIGNIFICANCE
It is not possible to comment on the significance of the work.

MANUSCRIPTS
    Inaccessible MS once in a private collection in Aleppo; see Sbath,
    Fihris, Supplément, p. 32.
EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —
STUDIES   —

Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala

Muṭrān Dāʾūd

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; presumably early 11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown; maybe Lebanon
DATE OF DEATH   After 1059
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown; presumably some Maronite
    center

BIOGRAPHY

We know nothing about a Maronite metropolitan bishop named
David who, according to the introduction of the work presented
below, received a letter in 1058-59 from a monk and priest named
Joseph, who asked him to make a translation from Syriac into Arabic
of a book entitled *Kitāb al-kamāl*, attributed to 'the holy Father' (*al-ab
al-qiddīs*). David's role in the production of the Arabic text that fol-
lows this introduction is not entirely clear; certainly, the section on
the Trinity and Incarnation is *not* a translation from Syriac, but to a
considerable extent a compilation of materials composed in Arabic,
as will be seen below.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
For the *Kitāb al-kamāl*, see below.

Secondary   —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-kamāl, 'The book of perfection'

DATE   About 1059
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION
In much of the manuscript tradition, *Kitāb al-kamāl* is transmitted
together with a Maronite *Nomocanon*, and it was the ensemble that
was published in 1935 by P. Fahed under the (misleading) title *Kitāb
al-hudā*. However, a succession of scholars (Graf, Jubayr, Samir) have

realized that *Kitāb al-kamāl* is an independent work that provides a summary of Christian belief and practice. It is clearly divided (as Samir has shown, 'L'exposé', pp. 259-61, 'Kitāb al-hudā', p. 214, and 'Dâwûd le Métropolite', pp. 216-17) into four parts and 13 chapters:

Introduction (ch. 1)
Part I: Faith (Trinity and Incarnation, ch. 2)
Part II: Prayer (chs 3-9)
Part III: Fasting (ch. 10)
Part IV: Tithes and alms (chs 11-13a)
Conclusion (ch. 13b)

As Samir has pointed out ('Dâwûd le Métropolite', p. 216), the very structure of the work is of interest for the history of Christian-Muslim relations, as it mirrors the 'pillars' of Islamic practice, only pilgrimage being left out. And in particular chapters, the author draws on the Arabic-language theological library of his time: for his apologetic presentation of the Trinity he draws from Iliyyā of Nisibis (d. 1046 [q.v.]; see Samir, 'L'exposé'), while in the section on Christology he lightly edits a chapter from the *Kitāb al-ittiḥād* of ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 1043 [q.v.]; see Samir, 'Bibliographie.... Addenda et corrigenda', pp. 301-2).

SIGNIFICANCE

Kitāb al-kamāl is significant as a presentation of Christian faith and practice that was accepted and transmitted within the Maronite community, but that leans on apologetically-motivated presentations of Christian doctrine developed by East Syrian ('Nestorian') theologians, and that in its very structure reflects an Islamic presentation of fundamental religious practices.

MANUSCRIPTS

See Samir, 'L'exposé', pp. 261-62, for a list of 12 MSS. The MSS selected by Samir for his edition (of part of ch. 2) are:

MS Vat – Syr. 133 (1402; *karshūnī*)
MS Kuraym, Couvent des Missionnaires Libanais – 31a (1550; *karshūnī*)
MS Paris, BNF – Syr. 223 (16th century; *karshūnī*)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Saad Youssef, '*La Trinité et l'Incarnation dans le Kitāb al-Hudā. Texte édité, traduit et commenté*', Rome, 1977 (Diss. Pontificia Università Lateranense; not seen)

[S.]K. Samir, 'L'exposé sur la Trinité du Kitāb al-Kamāl. Edition critique', *Pd'O* 6 (1975) 257-79 (repr. in S.K. Samir, *Foi et culture en Irak au XIe siècle. Elie de Nisibe et l'Islam*, Aldershot UK, 1996, no. VIII; critical edition of a passage from Part I, on the Trinity)

E. Khoury, 'Les canons sur l'Eucharistie dans "Kitab al-Huda"', *Melto* 2 (1966) 251-71; 'Les sacrements de l'initiation chrétienne dans Kitāb al-Hudā', *Melto* 3 (1967) 309-23; 'Canons sur la prière dans *Kitāb al-Huda*', *Melto* 4 (1968) 45-57 (taken together, these three articles reproduce most of Part II, on Prayer, from Faheḍ's edition, with French trans.)

P. Fahed, *Kitāb al-hudā ou Livre de la direction. Code Maronite du haut moyen age. Traduction du syriaque en arabe par l'évêque Maronite David l'an 1059*, Aleppo, 1935, pp. 16-164 (edition on the basis of MS Vat. Syr. 133)

STUDIES

[S.]K. Samir, in 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 5 (1979) 301-3 (on ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Kitāb al-ittiḥād*, ch. 11, partially reproduced in *Kitāb al-kamāl*, ch. 2)

Youssef, 'La Trinité et l'Incarnation dans le Kitāb al-Hudā'

[S.]K. Samir, 'Dâwûd le Métropolite', in 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976) 201-42, pp. 216-17

[S.]K. Samir, 'Kitāb al-Hudā, Kitāb al-Kamāl et Kitāb an-Nāmūs', *OCP* 42 (1976) 207-17

Samir, 'L'exposé sur la Trinité du Kitāb al-Kamāl'

A. Joubeir, *Kitāb al-Huda. Essai*, Jounieh, 1974 (not seen)

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 94-98 (with earlier bibliography, p. 98)

G. Graf, 'Der maronitische Nomokanon "Buch der rechten Leitung"', *OC* 33 [= 3. series, 11] (1936) 212-32

Fahed, *Kitāb al-hudā*

Mark N. Swanson

ʿAlī ibn Riḍwān

Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Riḍwān ibn ʿAlī ibn Jaʿfar al-Miṣrī

DATE OF BIRTH   998
PLACE OF BIRTH   Cairo
DATE OF DEATH   1061 or later in the 1060s
PLACE OF DEATH   Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

ʿAlī ibn Riḍwān gave extensive details about his life and character in an autobiography, which was used by Ibn Abī ʿUṣaybiʿa. He was born into a poor family and, because he could not afford teachers, he taught himself about medicine from books. Despite this disadvantageous start, his reputation grew and he attracted a following of students. He was appointed physician to the caliph and was given the position of chief medical authority in the Fatimid state. He was jealous of his position and learning, and was known for his attacks on predecessors and contemporaries who took different views from his own. This has been attributed to his deep-seated insecurity about his origins and education.

Among the many medical works that Ibn Abī ʿUṣaybiʿa lists for Ibn Riḍwān, including diatribes against the physicians Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (d. 873) and his own contemporary Ibn Buṭlān (who sought his patronage), both Christians and from Baghdad, there are some of a more theological and philosophical nature. These include the *Maqāla fī ḥudūth al-ʿālam*, 'Treatise on the contingency of the world' and *Maqāla fī tawḥīd al-falāsifa wa-ʿibādatihim*, 'Treatise on the monotheism and devotion of the philosophers'. Such works show Ibn Riḍwān's interest in religious matters and a certain defensiveness about the orthodoxy of those who advocated Greek learning, among whom he counted himself.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Al-Qifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, pp. 443-44

Ibn Abī ʿUṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. N. Riḍā, Beirut (s.d.), pp. 561-67

Ibn al-ʿIbrī, *Taʾrīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, ed. A. Ṣāliḥānī, Beirut, 1890, pp, 331-34

Secondary

M.Ḥ. Nashshār, *ʿAlī ibn Riḍwān wa-falsafatuhu al-naqdiyya*, Cairo, 2006

L. Conrad, 'Ibn Buṭlān in *Bilād al-Shām*: the career of a travelling Christian physician', in D. Thomas (ed.), *Syrian Christians under Islam*, Leiden, 2001, 131-57, pp. 139-42

J. Seymore, *The life of Ibn Ridwan and his commentary on Ptolemy's 'Tetra-biblos'*, New York, 2001 (Diss. Columbia University)

F. Sezgin (ed.), *ʿAlī ibn Riḍwān (d. c. 453/1061) and al-Mukhtār ibn Buṭlān (d. 458/1066). Texts and studies*, Frankfurt am Main, 1996

L. Conrad, 'Scholarship and social context. A medical case from the eleventh-century Near East', in D. Bates (ed.), *Knowledge and the scholarly medical traditions*, Cambridge, 1995, 84-100

M. Dols and A. Gamal (eds and trans), *Medieval Islamic medicine. Ibn Riḍwān's treatise 'On the prevention of bodily ills in Egypt'*, Berkeley CA, 1984, pp. 54-66

J. Schacht and M. Meyerhof (eds and trans), *The medico-philosophical controversy between Ibn Butlan of Baghdad and Ibn Ridwan of Cairo. A contribution to the history of Greek learning among the Arabs*, Cairo, 1937, pp. 33-51

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Maqāla fī l-radd ʿalā Afrāʾīm wa-Ibn Zurʿa fī l-ikhtilāf fī l-milal, 'Treatise in refutation of Ephraim and Ibn Zurʿa concerning the difference between religions'

DATE   Unknown; before about 1060
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work is lost and is known only from the list of Ibn Riḍwān's works in Ibn Abī ʿUṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, p. 566. It was written against two of Ibn Riḍwān's contemporaries, the Jewish doctor, Afrāʾīm ibn al-Zaffān, who was his own pupil in Cairo (*ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, pp. 567-68), and the Baghdad Jacobite doctor, Abū ʿAlī ʿĪsā ibn Zurʿa (d. 1008) (q.v.), whose reputation and works he presumably knew. It is

impossible to say definitely why he directed his attack at these particular individuals, though their medical expertise and religious affiliations must clearly be part of the explanation. The starting point may have been a response by Afrāʾīm to anti-Jewish arguments written by Ibn Zurʿa, to which ʿAlī in turn replied.

From its title, the work could have been a mainly theoretical discussion about the reasons for the diversity among religious communities. It is also likely to have contained some examination and refutation of the claims of Judaism and Christianity, maybe in terms of the supersession of both faiths by Islam.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work perhaps points to the continuing problem that followers of all three faiths faced in explaining how other faiths could be allowed to exist alongside theirs by a God whom they believed favored their own.

MANUSCRIPTS   —
EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —
STUDIES   —

Maqāla fī baʿth nubuwwa Muḥammad min al-Tawrāt wa-l-falsafa, 'Treatise on the dispatch of the prophetic mission of Muḥammad from the Torah and philosophy'

DATE   Unknown; before about 1060
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work is lost, and is known only from Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿaʾs list of ʿAlīʾs works (*ʿUyūn al-anbaʾ*, p. 567). Its title indicates that it was an apology for the prophethood of Muḥammad, and thus an example of *dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* works, though with the particular feature of philosophical arguments in addition to the traditional biblical prooftexts. Since the latter came only from the Torah, it is likely that the treatise was directed mainly at Jewish opponents, possibly ʿAlīʾs student Afrāʾīm or his friend Yahūdā ibn Saʿāda, to whom he addressed two other works.

SIGNIFICANCE

The treatise continues the well-established tradition of works to prove the prophetic status of Muḥammad, though it stands out from other known examples in including proofs not only from scripture, but also from the philosophical tradition. It cannot be ruled out that the latter made use of ideas promoted by such philosophers as al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, that prophets were geniuses who taught in narrative and pictorial forms. In making transcendent truths accessible to the inexpert, they functioned as necessary elements in the divine plan.

MANUSCRIPTS   —
EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —
STUDIES   —

David Thomas

Ibn Ḥazm

Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Saʿīd ibn Ḥazm

DATE OF BIRTH   994
PLACE OF BIRTH   Cordova
DATE OF DEATH   1064
PLACE OF DEATH   Manta Līsham (Niebla, Huelva)

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn Ḥazm of Cordova, one of the best-known authors of al-Andalus, was famous as a theologian, philosopher, and jurist. He was probably descended from a Christian convert to Islam, and could trace his genealogy back to a Persian *mawlā* of Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān. His father was vizier at the Umayyad court under the royal chamberlain al-Manṣūr ibn Abī ʿĀmir (d. 1002) and his son al-Muẓaffar (d. 1008). He died when Ibn Ḥazm was 18 years old, during the political turmoil of the time.

As the son of an important official in the Umayyad court, Ibn Ḥazm was educated by leading scholars. In time, he followed his father in the service of the caliphs, and when he was 30 years old he became vizier to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān V (r. 1023-24). He experienced a succession of failures and successes in political life, including imprisonment. When the Umayyad caliphate fell in 1031, he retired from the public sphere and devoted himself to study and scholarship.

Ibn Ḥazm became the head of the literalist Ẓāhirī theological school around the year 1034, following the death of his master Ibn Muflit. He was one of the best known scholars of this school, whose exegetical methods brought him into violent disagreement with the most venerable Mālikī jurists. Efforts were made to silence him, and he was compelled to keep out of the way of the authorities. He died in seclusion in 1064.

Ibn Ḥazm's most valuable work, and one of the most important religious works of Islam, is the *Kitāb al-fiṣal fī l-milal wa-l-ahwāʾ wa-l-niḥal* ('Judgement regarding the confessions, inclinations and sects'). Well-known among his other works are his *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus* ('Epistle on the excellence of al-Andalus') and *Naqṭ al-ʿarūs*

('The bride's freckle'). *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* ('The ring of the dove'), his early work on love, is justly admired for its psychological and social comments.

A much shorter predecessor of the *Kitāb al-fiṣal* is *Al-uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ* ('Principles and derivations'), a tract that anticipates the later work in outlook but contains passages that are not found in it (see Adang, 'Some hitherto neglected biblical material', pp. 17-18). Among these are quotations from the Old and New Testaments in support of the prophethood of Muḥammad, which are borrowed from Ibn Qutayba's (q.v.) lost *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa* (*Al-uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ*, ed. M.A. al-ʿIrāqī et al., 2 vols, Cairo, 1978, pp. 187-95; Beirut, 1984², pp. 49-54). Ibn Ḥazm argues that, despite other biblical passages being corrupt, these have been preserved by God to provide a testimony for Muslims against the other religions. As Adang observes, it is maybe not surprising that these are missing from the *Kitāb al-fiṣal*, given Ibn Ḥazm's intention there to destroy any credibility of the scriptures of Judaism and Christianity.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Kitāb iẓhār tabdīl al-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā
li-l-Tawrāt wa-l-Injīl wa-bayān tanāquḍ mā
bi-aydīhim min dhālika min mā lā yaḥtamil
al-taʾwīl*, 'An exposure of the Jews and Christians'
alteration to the Torah and Gospel, and a
demonstration of the contradiction in what they
possess of this that will not permit metaphorical
interpretation'

DATE   Unknown; before 1064
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION
This work no longer exists independently. It is generally thought to
have been incorporated into the *Fiṣal* (though see Pulcini, *Exegesis*,
pp. 10-11, n. 8 for arguments against) where it provides detailed dem-
onstrations of textual differences between the Gospels and between
them and the Torah (*Fiṣal* ii, pp. 2-81).

SIGNIFICANCE
The work is an eloquent illustration of Ibn Ḥazm's passionate concern
for the truth of his own faith, expressed in detailed arguments that
in the terms they are set are extremely difficult to rebut. It displays
unique knowledge of Christian scripture for a Muslim of the time,
and unparalleled dexterity in using it to prove his point.

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David Thomas

Kitāb al-fiṣal fī l-milal wa-l-ahwāʾ wa-l-niḥal, 'Judgement regarding the confessions, inclinations and sects'

DATE   Unknown; before 1064
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Ibn Ḥazm's *Kitāb al-fiṣal* is a work of Islamic theology, and has a structure that bears some resemblance to systematic theological works from about the same time, such as al-Bāqillānī's *Kitāb al-tamhīd* (q.v.) and ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *Mughnī* (q.v.). It also shares the same characteristic of refuting views held both outside and within Islam that oppose the particular theological points it makes. Where it differs from these works is in the much greater emphasis it places on these opposing groups and refutations of them.

The work contains two main attacks on Christianity. The first occurs in the course of the argument that there is only one God (ed. 1899-1903, i, pp. 48-63), and focuses on the Trinity and the different Christologies of the sects. Here, some of Ibn Ḥazm's logical arguments against what he regards as the enormity of Christian claims are close to those of other polemicists in earlier times. But his other main attack is original, and demonstrates knowledge of Christianity that is rarely paralleled among Muslims of the time. This is against Christian scripture, and in particular the Gospels (ed. 1899-1903, ii, pp. 2-81, though see also the wide-ranging arguments against the scriptures of the Jews, Christians and others, i, pp. 98-223). It contains a

number of analyses of differing accounts in the synoptic Gospels of the same incident involving Jesus, and painstakingly identifies discrepancies and small disagreements. These analyses reveal that Ibn Ḥazm undertook a minutely close reading of the texts, much more so than any Muslim – and many Christians – from the pre-modern period (the single exception possibly being al-Ghazālī, or the author of the *Radd al-jamīl* (q.v.) that is attributed to him). This dismemberment of the Gospel texts gives vivid substantiation to his contention that they have been corrupted throughout and are beyond salvaging, a view that gives greater intensity to what he has already implied with qualifications in his earlier *Al-uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ*.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Kitāb al-fiṣal* shows some continuity with trends in anti-Christian polemic argumentation from the eastern empire. But it also shows startling originality in its reading of the New Testament books, and its aggressive proof that they cannot be authentic because they repeatedly disagree with one another. This attention to detail singles out Ibn Ḥazm as possibly the most adamant proponent of the view that it was the actual text of Christian scripture that had been corrupted, rather than that it was wrongly interpreted by Christians, and that what it said about Jesus and early Christian history could not therefore be relied upon.

MANUSCRIPTS

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  ZDMG 32 (1878) 341-87

Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala

Unknown title; *Radd ʿalā risālat malik al-Rūm*, 'Refutation of the Byzantine emperor's letter'

DATE   Unknown; before 1064
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

In 966 an anonymous Christian author wrote a polemical *qaṣīda* in
Arabic on behalf of the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas to the Caliph
al-Muṭīʿ (see *CMR* 2, 'The representative of Nicephorus Phocas'). In
this poem he recounted recent Byzantine victories against the Arabs,

threatened that the Byzantines would overrun other parts of the Abbasid empire, and predicted the overthrow of Islam and universal triumph of Christianity. In the very same year, the Muslim jurist al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī replied with an equally blunt *qaṣīda* (see *CMR* 2, 'Al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī') in which he not only praised the superiority of Islam over Christianity but also protested at the ignoble conduct of the Byzantines in victory.

This was a good century before Ibn Ḥazm composed his own reply to the emperor's letter. His reason for writing is not known, and he was far removed from the scene both in time and distance. He may have been spurred by news of victories by Byzantines or Muslims nearer his own time, though he may equally have written out of personal pique when he first became aware of the Christian poem.

His reply in its surviving form comprises 137 verses, and it employs the same *ṭawīl* meter as al-Shāshī's poem and follows a similar structure (though there is no indication that Ibn Ḥazm knew of this earlier work; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii, p. 184, confirms that he did not). After an introduction (vv. 1-9), it lists lands conquered by the Muslims, and emphasises their intention to defend what they hold and to extend the faith of Islam (vv. 10-99). Then it contrasts the teachings of Christianity and Islam (vv. 100-35), referring to traditional Muslim accusations of Christian doctrinal incoherence and scriptural corruption – 'How dare you brag of a Trinitarian faith?/ So removed from reason, so out of place./ Worshipping a being who has a worshipping face!/ Woe to you! Where is your sanity and brain?/ Your gospels are tampered with in every place./ And in them, words of truth are often slain' (Hermes, 'Byzantines', p. 56) – and to the prophethood of Muḥammad. It closes with a brief comment on the comparative merits of this and the Christian poem (vv. 136-37).

SIGNIFICANCE

The poem illustrates the resentment that Christian boasting could stir up among Muslims, and the points of irritation that could be calculated to provoke reactions. Unlike al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī's reply, Ibn Ḥazm's attained a reputation in later times: Ibn Kathir called it 'the unmatched and triumphant Islamic masterpiece' (*Al-bidaya wa-l-nihaya*, Beirut, 1982, p. 260; cited in Hermes, 'Byzantines', p. 52).

MANUSCRIPTS   —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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David Thomas

Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī

Abū l-Qāsim Ṣāʿid ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān
al-Taghlibī al-Andalusī

DATE OF BIRTH   1029
PLACE OF BIRTH   Almería
DATE OF DEATH   1070
PLACE OF DEATH   Toledo

BIOGRAPHY

Ṣāʿid ibn Aḥmad al-Andalusī was born in Almería and received his first education there. His family later settled in Cordova, where he continued his studies. Ibn Bashkuwāl says that he was a pupil of Ibn Ḥazm, and the two men certainly knew each other. In 1046, he went to Toledo for further study under such reputed teachers as Ibn Khamīs, al-Waqqāshī and al-Tujībī. He studied hadith, theology, logic, philosophy, medicine, astronomy and mathematics, and became known as a scholar of jurisprudence, astronomy and history. In 1068, he was appointed *qāḍī* in Toledo by the ruler Yaḥyā al-Maʾmūn Dhī Dhū l-Nūn.

Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī's best known and only surviving work is his *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, 'Generations of the nations', which he wrote in about 1068. This short though influential history is an account of the knowledge found among the various nations from antiquity to the present. It is structured according to the *isnād* principle that true philosophical knowledge was reliably transmitted from nation to nation, and thus has the authority of continuity.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Maqālāt ahl al-milal wa-l-niḥal, 'Doctrines of communities and sects'

DATE   Before about 1068
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work is lost and is only known from a single reference in the *Ṭabaqāt al-umam* (ed. H. Bū ʿAlwān, Beirut, 1985, p. 54, listing one MS reading as *Al-muʾallaf fī maqālāt ahl al-milal wa-l-niḥal*, 'The collection on the doctrines of communities and sects'), which leaves unclear whether this was the title of the work or a description of it. For obvious reasons, Blachère, p. 11, suggests that it may have been a work like Ibn Ḥazm's *Kitāb al-fiṣal fī l-milal wa-l-aḥwāʾ wa-l-niḥal*, a survey of the religious beliefs and philosophical teachings of the time, together with arguments against them.

Al-Andalusī's reference in the *Ṭabaqāt al-umam* is to what the *Maqālāt* says about religions of India, the Brahmins and Sabians. This raises the likelihood that, if the work was an encyclopaedic account, it also described Christian teachings and criticized them.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work exemplifies the continuing interest among Muslims in the religious beliefs and teachings of non-Muslims that is exhibited in works known from the Abbasid caliphate as early as the beginning of the 9th century. These were often descriptive, but they ranged the faiths according to the principle of monotheism, either explicitly or implicitly, with Islam or a form of Muslim teaching as its full embodiment. This work may have been similar though, if it resembled Ibn Ḥazm's *Fiṣal*, it would have been overtly polemical.

MANUSCRIPTS   —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —

STUDIES   —

Jawāmīʿ akhbār al-umam min al-ʿArab wa-l-ʿajam, 'Compilations of reports on Arab and foreign nations'

DATE   Before about 1068

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work is also lost and is only known from two references in al-Andalusī's *Ṭabaqāt al-umam* about its accounts of ancient Persian dynasties (ed. Bū ʿAlwān, p. 60) and the migration of pre-Islamic Arab tribes north from the Arabian peninsula (p. 125). It was evidently a descriptive work, maybe a history of pre-Islamic times. There is a possibility that it included accounts of Christian communities, or of Christian beliefs among the groups it described.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work may have been mainly antiquarian in character, portraying the ancestry of Muslims who had come to al-Andalus. If so, its references to Christians and Christianity would have been mainly incidental.

MANUSCRIPTS —
EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —
STUDIES —

David Thomas

Yūḥannā Yūshaʿ ibn Shūshān

Yoḥannōn Ishoʿ bar Shūshān

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; possibly early 11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   6 (or 27) November 1072
PLACE OF DEATH   Amida (Diyarbakir)

BIOGRAPHY

Yuhannā was *sunkellos* (secretary) and pupil of the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch John IX (d. 1057). After the latter's death, he was elected patriarch by the bishops belonging to the Maphrianate, i.e. the eastern territories of the West Syrian Church (roughly modern Iraq and Iran). This election was not recognized by the bishops of the western dioceses, who formed the majority, and they elected Athanasius Ḥayē. When Athanasius' partisans decided to bring this matter to the attention of the Muslim rulers, Yuḥannā abdicated and retired into solitude. After Athanasius' death in 1063, he was re-elected as patriarch and recognized by the entire episcopate as John X.

Yuḥannā is the author of several theological, canonical and liturgical works in Syriac, among them four metrical compositions on the destruction of Malaṭya by the Turks, and one refutation of Islam in Arabic (see below). He was also active as scribe and redactor of the works of Ephrem and 'Mar Isaac' (of Antioch). On account of persecutions by the Byzantines against the members of his church, he mostly stayed in territories under Muslim domination, such as Ḥarrān, Maypherqaṭ, and Amid.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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Secondary
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Risāla fī l-tawḥīd wa-l-tathlīth, raddan ʿalā l-Muslimīn, 'Treatise on the [divine] Unity and Trinity, in refutation of the Muslims'

DATE   Second half of the 10th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION
Beyond what can be gathered from the title, nothing is known about the contents of this work.

SIGNIFICANCE
It is not possible to say what the significance of the work was.

MANUSCRIPTS
MS Aleppo, Rizqallāh Farrā Collection (inaccessible MS in private collection; see Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 36, no. 259)
EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —
STUDIES   —

Herman G.B. Teule

Ibn Jazla

Abū ʿAlī Yaḥyā ibn ʿĪsā ibn ʿAlī ibn Jazla

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Baghdad
DATE OF DEATH June 1100
PLACE OF DEATH Baghdad

BIOGRAPHY

Like a number of other individuals in similar circumstances, Ibn Jazla was a Christian doctor practicing in Islamic society who converted to Islam and then wrote a refutation of his former faith. In this he followed the well-known ʿAlī l-Ṭabarī (q.v.) in the 9ᵗʰ century, and preceded Naṣr ibn Yaḥyā (q.v.) in the 12ᵗʰ century.

Ibn Jazla was a student of the Abbasid court physician Ṣāʿid ibn Hibat Allāh, and also of the Muʿtazilī Abū ʿAlī ibn al-Walīd, under whose influence he made his conversion on 11 February 1074, presumably as a relatively young man, since he lived for another 26 years. As secretary to the Ḥanafī *qāḍī* of Baghdad, he held a public position, and he clearly had close connections with the court, because he dedicated a number of his writings to the Caliph al-Muqtadī (r. 1075-94).

Ibn Jazla was the author of influential medical works, one of which, the *Taqwīm al-abdān fī tadbīr al-insān*, was translated into Latin (in the West he was known as Ben Gesla, among other names). In addition to his refutation of Christianity, he also made an abridgement of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Risāla fī l-radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā, 'Letter of refutation against the Christians'

DATE   Unknown, but soon after 1074
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The letter is lost. According to a description given by Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, v, p. 310), who says he had read it and thought it an excellent work, the letter contained praise of Islam and criticism of both Christianity and Judaism. In particular, it presented evidence for the truth of Islam, and predictions from the Torah and Gospel for the sending of Muḥammad, which Jews and Christians hid and refused to bring to light.

Arguments of this kind, apparently based on both reason and scripture, are found in a succession of works from the 9ᵗʰ century onwards. If Ibn Khallikān is correct when he says that Ibn Jazla's teacher Abū ʿAlī ibn al-Walīd repeatedly showed him clear evidence of the rightness of Islam, then the Muʿtazilī would have been employing what was recognized as a traditional collection of proofs, which Ibn Jazla then repeated in his recantation of his old faith.

Ibn Abī ʿUṣaybiʿa and Ibn Khallikān both mention a letter that Ibn Jazla sent to a certain Elias the priest. The former says simply that Ibn Jazla composed a refutation of Christianity and sent it to Elias (*wa-allafa risāla fī l-radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā wa-kataba bi-hā ilā Iliyyā al-qass*, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, p. 343), and, in a different place from his summary of the contents of the *Radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā*, the latter lists a letter which Ibn Jazla wrote to this priest when he converted (*risāla katabahā ilā Iliyyā al-qass lammā aslama*, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, p. 310). While what they say could be taken to indicate two separate compositions, they read more naturally as referring to one, and suggest a situation similar to what happened in the 10ᵗʰ century when al-Ḥasan ibn Ayyūb (q.v.) converted to Islam and wrote to his brother to explain his reasons

and commend his new faith. The identity of Elias cannot be known, though the famous Elias of Nisibis can be ruled out because he had died soon after 1049, a good 20 years before Ibn Jazla's conversion.

Given the likely circumstances of its composition, it is not implausible to think of the letter being written soon after Ibn Jazla converted in 1074.

SIGNIFICANCE

The letter shows that, by the 11th century, there was a recognized Muslim tradition of rational and scriptural proofs against Christianity, and also that arguments derived from biblical books continued to circulate widely in the Islamic world centuries after such early compilations of proof texts as ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī's *Kitāb al-dīn wa-l-dawla* (c. 855) had appeared. It also shows that Christians who moved in predominantly Islamic circles appear to have lacked their own hermeneutical approaches to the Bible, and were thus open to interpretations suggested by Muslims.

MANUSCRIPTS —
EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —
STUDIES —

David Thomas

Michael Psellus

Michael Psellos

DATE OF BIRTH   1018
PLACE OF BIRTH   Constantinople
DATE OF DEATH   After 1081
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The life of Michael Psellus is well known as more than 1,000 of his works have survived, among them over 500 letters. His public life makes him a leading member of 11th-century Byzantine culture. Since many of his writings contain autobiographical material, it is possible to extrapolate an outline of his career.

After receiving an extremely good classical education, in 1034 Psellus entered imperial service as a notary under the young Emperor Michael IV Paphlagon, and he seems to have concentrated on his literary skills as well as his work as notary. After being promoted to *protoasekretēs*, Psellus found himself in the imperial palace when the Emperor Michael V was blinded and deposed in 1042. From this moment, his career turned predominantly to culture and especially to philosophy, to the extent that he was nominated 'head of the philosophers' (*hypatos tōn philosophōn*) by the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus in 1047.

Following a complex situation at court, Psellus finally retired to a monastery in Bithynia on the death of the emperor in 1055, but was shortly afterwards recalled to the imperial palace, where he remained as an advisor under Isaac I Comnenus and the Doucas dynasty (1059-79). During this last phase, Psellus composed the *Chronographia*, one of the most brilliant, enlightening and impressive works of Byzantine historiography. It is a memoir describing the characters of the emperors and empresses known to him personally, and casts a different light on the people he had praised in encomia or written to in personal letters.

Psellus personally promoted the Byzantine interest in Neo-Platonism and especially Proclus, and was responsible for the transmission of the so-called Chaldean Oracles. Thus his interests are

substantially inward looking and he rarely shows interest in the out-
side world. However, he does refer to the fact that he has spoken to
foreigners and found that there was no philosophy outside the empire
(*Chronographia* 6.37). At first, this might seem a superficial remark,
but he must have known Symeon Seth, who was probably proficient
in Arabic and was in Cairo on an embassy in 1059 (when he witnessed
an eclipse). Moreover, Psellus must have been in contact with the
Armenian Grigor Magistros (q.v.), Byzantine governor of Vaspurakan
(around Lake Van) who wrote to neighboring emirs.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Apokriseis synoptikai kai exēgēseis pros erōtēseis diaphorous kai aporias grapheisai pros ton basilea kyron Michaēl ton Doukan, 'Synoptic answers and explanations to various questions and difficulties written for the Emperor Lord Michael Doucas', 'De omnifaria doctrina'

DATE   Between 1059 and 1078; possibly 1071

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Greek

DESCRIPTION

This is a collection of short chapters dealing with various subjects, mostly philosophical, and presented to the Emperor Michael VII Doucas (r. 1071-79) either before his accession, when Psellus was his tutor, or during his reign. Among these, Appendix iv deals with two answers from Psellus to a Muslim who raises two questions concerning doubts about the value of Christian theology: Why did the Incarnation take place, and Why did Christ not save himself in a manner worthy of God?

Psellus' reply is original inasmuch as it points out that these questions are shared by both Muslims and pagan Greeks, and therefore implies that the answers given to the ancient Greeks are valid for Muslims as well. These are, that the Incarnation grants grace to humankind, and that Christ's crucifixion and resurrection offer humankind a cure from death, since it was a man who defeated death.

These two answers are not original, though they are reformulated by Psellus in such a way as to employ theological terminology dating from after the 7th century and combined with passages from ancient Greek poetry. The strategy of combining theological interpretation with pagan culture is typical of Psellus' philosophical and theological thought.

SIGNIFICANCE

This text, which appears to be addressed to someone who is actually a Muslim (p. 107, l. 53), is the only one in which Psellus deals directly with Muslim questions about Christian theology. This raises the question of whether it reflects a dispute that took place in Constantinople itself, or is a written exchange with a correspondent elsewhere.

The tone is less conciliatory than that of the letter to Malik Shāh (see below). This may simply be out of respect for the sultan and disrespect for someone on a lower social level, or it may indicate different times. Thus, the treatise may be from a period before the death of Alp Arslan in 1072, though it must be after the accession of the Doucas dynasty in 1059.

MANUSCRIPTS

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Letter to Malik Shāh

DATE   About 1074
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Greek

DESCRIPTION

This letter was written by Psellus for the Byzantine Emperor Michael VII to the Seljuk Sultan Malik Shāh (r. 1072-92). It praises the sultan,

remarks on his tolerance towards his Christian subjects, and lists the proofs of the validity of Christianity. The text invites Malik Shāh to convert to Christianity, but this may represent a formality of Byzantine diplomacy when writing to Islamic leaders.

SIGNIFICANCE

The letter is central to the understanding of official relations between the Byzantines and Seljuks after the battle of Manzikert in 1071, and after the death of Malik Shāh's predecessor Alp Arslan in 1072.

MANUSCRIPTS

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Gautier, 'Lettre au sultan Malik-shah', pp. 73-79

Frederick Lauritzen

Gregory the Cellarer

Grēgorios ho kellaritēs, Gregorius monachus,
Gregory the Monk, Gregory the Galesiote

DATE OF BIRTH   After 967
PLACE OF BIRTH   Constantinople
DATE OF DEATH   Between 1058 and 1100
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown, probably Mt Galesion near
        Ephesus

BIOGRAPHY

Almost nothing is known about Gregory, except what he reveals about himself in the *Vita* he wrote. Born in Constantinople and generally well educated, he was a younger disciple of Lazarus, and became a monk at the Resurrection Monastery at Galesion sometime after 1030. He served as *trapezopios* and then later cellarer of the monastery. It is not clear whether he remained in this position until the end of Lazarus' life, but it appears likely.

After Lazarus' death he remained a key figure at the monastery, and may have been responsible for the survival of the community at Galesion. He wrote the *Life of Lazarus* sometime after 1057, which appears to be the main (if not sole) source of information we have about him. As he does not seem to have been much younger than Lazarus, he probably died before 1100.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Bios kai politeia kai askēsis tou hosiou patros hēmon kai thaumatourgou Lazarou tou en tō Galēsiō, 'The life, conduct, and ascetic practice of our blessed father Lazarus the miracle worker of Mt Galesion', 'Life of Lazarus of Galesion'

DATE   Between 1058 and about 1075
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Greek

DESCRIPTION

The *Vita* of Lazarus is extant in two manuscripts; Delehaye's edition of the text, based on the earlier of these, is 80 pages long.

Lazarus was a saint of the 11th century who gained fame for his ascetic life as a Stylite, or 'pillar saint', on Mt Galesion near Ephesus in Asia Minor. There is no debate among scholars regarding authenticity, although there remains some question over the date of Lazarus' birth, being put as early as 966/67, and as late as 980/81. However, Greenfield has argued well that the former is the more likely.

No more than three short sections in the lengthy work deal with Christian-Muslim relations, and these are fewer than two pages each. Persecution of Christians and conversion to Islam both receive brief attention.

A number of events in the *Vita* offer information regarding interaction between Christians and Muslims, and the perceptions of Christians toward converts to Islam. The first event demonstrates the apparent close proximity in which Christians and Muslims lived, including monks in some of the monasteries of Palestine. While staying at St Euthymius Monastery in the last decade of the 10th century, Lazarus observed that some Arab women and children came to the monks and spoke to them when they went out to gather food. This witnesses both to the apparent knowledge of Arabic among the monks of the monasteries, and to the regular contact Christians had with Muslims in at least some places in Palestine (*The Life of Lazaros*, pp. 97-99).

Shortly following this, the *Vita* tells us that Lazarus witnessed the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem (1009), during which the caliph (or more probably his representative) had

the cross on the top of the church pulled down, before ordering its
full destruction. Lazarus and his disciples fled the Holy Land due to
the general persecution Muslims were making of Christians at this
time. The persecution is said to have resulted in the death and con-
version to Islam of many Christians, both monks and laymen (*The life
of Lazaros*, pp. 101-4).

As they flee, the party meet a former monk who had been Lazarus'
fellow *kanonarches* at St Savas, but had now converted to Islam. Lazarus
encourages him to repent and return to Christianity. The convert
replies that he would be killed for doing this, but would be pleased
to return to Christ if Lazarus could get the local emir to grant per-
mission for Lazarus and his disciples to take him with them. Lazarus
succeeds in acquiring this permission on the condition that they do
it at night, and out of the sight of the other Saracens. However, on
their journey Lazarus and his disciples awaken to discover that the
brother has left them to return to Islam. The brothers' reaction to this
return is one of remorse, but interestingly they attribute his return to
Islam solely to his lack of faith in Christ, and to a falling into despair,
rather than to any attraction Islam as a faith might hold for the man.
He is compared to Judas, insofar as he appeared to experience regret
without repentance. No mention of either Islam or the faith of the
Saracens is made (*The life of Lazaros*, pp. 103-5).

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of the *Vita* to Christian-Muslim relations is only
incidental, as Muslims rarely appear in the text, which is instead con-
cerned with the life of a Christian holy man.

Historically, it offers an eye-witness account of the destruction of
the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, and of a period of persecution in
Christian-Muslim history. However, it appears to confuse some of the
details surrounding the destruction, and thus is of limited use (see the
The Life of Lazaros, pp. 101-4, and notes).

The life does provide some limited evidence for the conversion
both of Christians to Islam, and Muslims to Christianity. In the for-
mer, Christians appear to attribute conversion to Islam as a phenom-
enon resulting from despair and a lack of faith in Christianity, rather
than any attraction to Islam (see above). In the latter case, a scene
from the end of the life depicts an Arab who had recently been bap-
tized by the Metropolitan of Ephesus, and who went up to see Lazarus
on top of his column on Mt Galesion.

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Peter Schadler

Ibn Ḥayyān

Abū Marwān Ḥayyān ibn Khalaf ibn Ḥusayn ibn
Ḥayyān al-Qurṭubī

DATE OF BIRTH   987-88
PLACE OF BIRTH   Cordova
DATE OF DEATH   1076
PLACE OF DEATH   Cordova

BIOGRAPHY

Few details about the life of Ibn Ḥayyān are known. His father was
a secretary in the time of the vizier al-Manṣūr (d. 1002), and was
known as an expert in mathematics and geometry (*al-misāḥa*). Thus,
Ibn Ḥayyān would have grown up in a cultivated environment and
received a thorough education. He saw the fall of the Umayyad caliph-
ate of Cordova in 1031 and under their successors, the Jahwarids, he
gained the position of secretary for official exhibits (*kātib al-inshāʾ*),
after which he was in charge of the police (*ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*). He died
in 1076, and was buried in the Arrabal cemetery in Cordova.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-muqtabis fī taʾrīkh rijāl al-Andalus, part of *Al-taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, 'The gleaner, on the history of the people of al-Andalus', part of 'The great history'

DATE   Probably after 1058-59

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Muqtabis* is undoubtedly a primary source for reconstructing
the history of al-Andalus between the end of the 8th and the end of

the 10th centuries. As a supporter of the Umayyads, Ibn Ḥayyān was sharply critical of the fall of this dynasty, the break-up of centralized power, the civil war and lands given over to violence. However, he knew how to adapt himself to the new situation in which he found himself, and he soon gained esteem among his contemporaries for his *Al-taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, and above all for the *Muqtabis*, a part of the larger work arranged as a chronicle of the history of al-Andalus up to his own time. Its various parts are conventionally numbered according to their chronological order.

The *Muqtabis* brings together many different types of information, culled from a host of earlier sources. These range from stories of the Umayyad emirs and caliphs, diplomatic relations with the Christian kingdoms, and the political situation in the Maghreb, to accounts of wars and military campaigns, and details about al-Andalus and its people, cities, and society. As its title suggests, it was a compilation of earlier sources, and perhaps a work of imitation.

SIGNIFICANCE

One of the most significant features of the *Muqtabis* is the great precision with which Ibn Ḥayyān describes events. It contains a great deal of information of all sorts concerning relations between Christians and Muslims: social history, military relations between the Christian kingdoms and the Umayyad caliphate of Cordova, diplomacy, and so forth. It provides details of enormous interest for the Christian kingdoms and their involvement with al-Andalus under the emirs and the caliphs. The *Muqtabis* tells about the tangled succession of Alfonso III; the campaigns of Ordoño II and Sancho Garcés against Najera (918), Muez (920) and Pamplona (924); the surrender of Saragossa to the first caliph in 937; and the campaigns of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir against Leon in 938. In addition, it provides such details as place-names in Christian areas and identifications of Christian personal names. Above all, it is a source of great accuracy for relations between the Christian world and Islam, such as the maritime raids on Fraxinetum (the Christian enclave of Provence) and the establishment of commercial relations between al-Andalus and Amalfi. There is also a reference to the Eastern Christian *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* (q.v.).

The *Muqtabis* also gives details of the difficulties experienced by *dhimmī*s under Muslim rule. There is the case of a Jew in Seville in 1070 who insulted Islam and sparked off a public outcry and a near

riot. Christians are called infidels (*kuffār*), as well as enemies of God (*aʿdā Allāh*) and polytheists (*mushrikūn*).

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Al-matīn, part of *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, 'The strong', part of 'The great history'

DATE   Mid-11th century; before 1076
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work survives only in quotations from other authors, such as Ibn Bassām, who used it extensively, Ibn al-Abbār and Ibn Saʿīd. The work was mainly compiled from oral sources that reflect the rich experience of the author, and show he witnessed the events he records. It told the histories of the taifa kingdoms and was not unlike the *Kitāb al-muqtabis* in structure, though probably less rigid and systematic.

SIGNIFICANCE

Al-matīn contained interesting though scanty information about relations between Muslims and Christians in al-Andalus and the Iberian Peninsula. Although we do not know the exact period to which it refers, it offers an extensive account of the political and social circumstances of the civil war (*fitna*). The surviving fragments constitute a broad, detailed chronicle of al-Andalus during the convulsed period in which the Umayyad state collapsed and the taifa kingdoms arose. Most important are the details it gives about the Christian kingdoms,

and about the political, social and religious status of *dhimmī*s in al-Andalus.

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EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —

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ʿA. Jamāl al-Dīn, ʿAbū Marwān Ibn Ḥayyān. Amīr muʾarrikhī al-Andalusʾ, *Awrāq* 2 (1979) 19-28

Mohamed Meouak

Al-Bājī

Abū l-Walīd Sulaymān ibn Khalaf ibn Saʿd al-Tujībī
l-Bājī l-Qurṭubī l-Dhahabī

DATE OF BIRTH   28 May 1013
PLACE OF BIRTH   Badajoz
DATE OF DEATH   21 December 1081
PLACE OF DEATH   Almería

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Bājī was one of the most important scholars of al-Andalus, a jurist, theologian and poet. As a jurist, he may be considered as one of the renovators of Andalusī Mālikism in the 11th century.

Both his parents came from families of legal experts. He himself spent 13 years travelling in the East, where he came to know the foremost scholars of his time. When he returned to al-Andalus, he became known for his legal and theological knowledge and for his writings, and he was sought by many, including rulers of the day, at several of whose courts he worked as special ambassador and counsellor, as well as judge. He appears to have established a special relationship with the king of Saragossa, al-Muqtadir bi-llāh, for whom he wrote his famous reply to the letter of the 'Monk of France' (q.v.).

Al-Bājī championed the Mālikī *madhhab* and, thanks to his learning, placed it on a sound intellectual footing. His reputation was such that he was chosen as the champion of Mālikī principles in debate against the formidable Ibn Ḥazm (q.v.), whom he was able to defeat.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Jawāb al-qāḍī Abū l-Walīd al-Bājī ilā risālat rāhib Faransā ilā al-Muslimīn, 'The Qāḍī Abū l-Walīd al-Bājī's reply to the Monk of France's letter to the Muslims'

DATE   Uncertain; before 1081
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION
Although its title says that this was a letter sent by an anonymous Monk of France to al-Muqtadir, king of Saragossa, and al-Bājī's reply, it is more likely to have been entirely composed by al-Bājī himself in the form of a written dialogue or exchange of correspondence. While the monk's letter is short and straightforward, al-Bājī's reply is a more elaborate theological treatise.

In the letter, the monk invites al-Muqtadir to convert to Christianity, referring to a previous embassy sent to his kingdom. He offers the king eternal salvation, and explains the divine nature and mission of Christ.

Al-Bājī is critical of these claims, and shows indignation at the monk's assumption that Muslims would allow impossibilities and

accept 'what is the extreme of absurdity'. He rejects the Trinity and the divinity of Christ, asserting that he was no more than a prophet, and, with the help of the Qurʾan, denies that he was crucified. He goes on to complain about the monk's incorrect use of language and concepts, his contradictory arguments and incompetence, and the feebleness of his claim about earlier ambassadors coming to Saragossa. He repeatedly insists that, in contrast to Christian theologians with their disagreements, Muslim theologians are superior, with greater clarity of expression and systematic argumentation.

Finally, al-Bājī presents Islamic teachings about the power and mercy of God, the mission of Muḥammad and his message in the Qurʾan. He also refers to the discrepancies and contradictions in the four Gospels, which are multiple accounts, as opposed to the consistency and coherence of the single text of the Qurʾan.

SIGNIFICANCE

Al-Bājī covers the main topics of Muslim anti-Christian works, such as the Trinity, corruption of scripture and defense of Muḥammad. His reply shows that, by the 11th century, Muslims in the West had already developed lines of argument against Christianity. While this reply is not the earliest example, it shows the extent of Muslim knowledge of Christianity: they evidently knew Arabic translations of the Gospels.

Even if the letter from the 'Monk of France' (which might refer to Catalonia) was never actually written by a Christian author, there was knowledge of Arabic and Muslim texts in Europe at this time and the correspondence therefore reflects plausible contacts and likely exchanges that may or may not have taken place.

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Amalia Zomeño

Al-ʿUdhrī

Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn ʿUmar ibn Anas al-ʿUdhrī ibn al-Dalāʾī

DATE OF BIRTH 4 September 1003
PLACE OF BIRTH Almería
DATE OF DEATH December 1085
PLACE OF DEATH Almería

BIOGRAPHY

Born in Almería on 4 September, 1003, al-ʿUdhrī derived his family name from the south Arabian tribe of ʿUdhra, a part of which settled in the village of Dalías (Dalāya) near Almería after the Arab conquest.

At the age of 13 he travelled to Mecca, where he stayed almost ten years attending lessons in Hadith and Islamic law given by both local scholars and those who went there on pilgrimage. One of these was Abū Dharr al-Harāwī (d. 1044), from whom he learned the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.

On his return to al-Andalus, he became known as a traditionist and jurisconsult, rather than a geographer. He lived for a time in Cordova, where he studied under and also taught Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064) (q.v.) and Abū ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 1070). One of al-ʿUdhrī's pupils was al-Ḥumaydī (d. 1095) (q.v.), who wrote the first biography of him. In 1062 at the latest he was back in his birthplace, and he died there in December 1085.

Al-ʿUdhrī is said to have written a number of books, some of them during his stay in Mecca, but apart from his *Tarṣīʿ al-akhbār* and a *Fahrasa* (list of his teachers and the works he learned through them), only two titles are known, *Kitāb aʿlām al-nubuwwa* ('The signs of prophethood') and *Kitāb iqtiḍāḍ abkār awāʾil al-akhbār* ('Deflowering the virgins of the earliest reports').

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tarṣīʿ al-akhbār wa-tanwīʿ al-āthār wa-l-bustān fī gharāʾib al-buldān wa-l-masālik ilā jamīʿ al-mamālik, Niẓām al-marjān fī l-masālik wa-l-mamālik, Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik al-sharqiyya wa-kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik al-gharbiyya, 'The adornment of reports and classification of monuments and gardens on the wonders of lands and the routes to all kingdoms'

DATE   Between 1066 and 1085
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Tarṣīʿ al-akhbār* is partially preserved in a codex made up of
48 folios, which, according to its editor al-Ahwānī, represents no
more than a tenth of the whole book (*Nuṣūṣ ʿan al-Andalus*, p. *alif*).
Al-Ahwānī suggests that the extant copy was written by the author
himself, so it must date from the 11th century (*Nuṣūṣ ʿan al-Andalus*,
p. *wāw*).

Apart from six folios concerning Egypt and Syria, the extant frag-
ments all deal with al-Andalus. Belonging to the genre *al-masālik
wa-l-mamālik*, the *Tarṣīʿ al-akhbār* includes geographical descriptions
of the Andalusī *kuwar* ('administrative divisions'), roads, *aqālīm* ('dis-
tricts') and the taxes paid to the central government, in addition to a
great amount of historical material concerning each division. It gives
considerable attention to relations with the Christian kingdoms in the
north and also the Carolingian empire, and it includes a number of
marvellous stories, some of them of Christian origin.

Lost fragments of the *Tarṣīʿ al-akhbār* are preserved in later works
such as al-Qazwīnī's *Āthār al-bilād*, al-Ḥimyarī's *Al-rawḍ al-miʿṭār*,
and the anonymous *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus*. They mostly concern
the Iberian Peninsula, but also other areas such as Sicily, Cyprus
and the land of the Franks. Molina notes that al-Qazwīnī, al-Ḥimyarī
and the *Dhikr* at times offer a common version which is more detailed
than that given in the *Tarṣīʿ al-akhbār*, which has led him to hypoth-
esize that al-ʿUdhrī composed a second, longer version by adding
extra details and notes (Molina, 'Las dos versiones de la Geografía de
al-ʿUḏrī').

SIGNIFICANCE

In addition to its geographical descriptions, the *Tarṣīʿ al-akhbār* con-
tains much valuable historical information concerning contacts, both
peaceful and hostile, between Muslims and their northern Christian
neighbors. These include reports on relations between the governors
of the Upper March with the Carolingians and the Navarrese between
the 8th and the 10th centuries; incursions of Ibn Rumāḥis, commander
of the Umayyad fleet, into the county of Barcelona and the south-
ern land of the Franks in the 10th century; and Almanzor's campaigns
against northern Christians in the 11th century. A number of military

expeditions ended with the *amān* being granted to the Christians, who could convert to Islam or remain in their faith as long as they paid the *jizya*. There are also a few reports about social interaction, such as references to intermarriage.

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Mayte Penelas

Gregory VII

Pope Gregory VII, Hildebrand

DATE OF BIRTH   About 1020-25
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown, possibly Sovana in southern
     Tuscany
DATE OF DEATH   May 25 1085
PLACE OF DEATH   Salerno

BIOGRAPHY

Hildebrand's family background and early life remain obscure. He was of modest origins but did not grow up in destitution. He later claimed that, as a child, he had been schooled at Rome. His education was completed in the Lateran palace with boys from leading Roman families and he most probably became a monk in his adolescence. He entered the papal service and was the chaplain of Pope Gregory VI (May 1045–December 1046). When the pope was deposed, Hildebrand followed him into exile in Germany. He returned to Rome in the winter of 1048-49, accompanying Bishop Bruno of Toul, Emperor Henry III's choice as the new pope. This new pope, Leo IX, restored Hildebrand to the service of the Roman Church, enlisted him as one of his confidants and, at an unknown date, made him subdeacon. Hildebrand was involved in the nomination of Leo's successors, Victor II, Stephen IX and Nicholas II, and in deposing antipope Benedict X. In the 1050s, he was on legations to France and Germany, where he became acquainted with lay and ecclesiastical dignitaries and established his own reputation.

During Nicholas II's pontificate, Hildebrand become a leading figure at Rome. In 1059 (if not in 1058), he was appointed an archdeacon of the Roman Church. Under Pope Alexander II, he continued to be a shaper of papal policy. On 22 April 1073, Hildebrand was elected pope by popular acclaim, and chose his name in honor of Gregory I. He did not seek imperial approval for his ascendancy to the papal throne because of the Emperor Henry IV's association with supporters of antipope Honorius II, whom Alexander II had excommunicated. The conflict with Henry IV came out into the open in 1075,

when Gregory VII prohibited lay investiture. Since the emperor did not comply, the pope rebuked him. The emperor called on him to abdicate and convened a synod of German bishops, who deposed the pope. In response, Gregory excommunicated Henry, suspended him from exercising royal powers, and absolved his subjects from allegiance to him. The emperor sought absolution at Canossa, but the conflict soon re-emerged. In 1080, Gregory excommunicated Henry anew, and imperial bishops deposed the pope and elected Clement III to replace him. In March 1084, Henry IV entered Rome. Rescued by the Normans, Gregory VII had to leave the city and stayed first at Monte Cassino and then at Salerno, where he died and was buried.

Gregory VII is a towering figure in the history of the papacy. The 11th-century church reform has conventionally been named after him. From his association with Gregory VI and Leo IX onward, Hildebrand was dedicated to the reform with unwavering determination. His main concern was 'the honor and liberty of holy church', and he charged clergy and laity with the task to 'do all possible to see that the bride of Christ is no longer treated as a slave' (*Epp. vagantes*, no. 59).

The main targets in the struggle for the inner reformation of the church were simony and nicolaitism, whereas the endeavors to free the church of secular control were directed against lay investiture. The reform resulted in the assertion of the primacy of the Roman Church, and of the pope within it. The church was clericalized and centralized, while lay power was desacralized. As spiritual authority, the church – whose clergy had the exclusive right to administer the *sacra* and *sacramenta*, and thus had the key to redemption of each and every member of Christian society – was superior to secular power and, with regard to the ultimate goal of human life, all owed it obedience. Anyone who opposed the pope was not in conformity with the Roman Church, was not to be considered Catholic, and was to be regarded as an enemy of Christians.

These principles had profound implications for the ordering of life within Christian society. The notorious clash between the church and the empire was only the most dramatic expression of the uncompromising struggle against the ungodly, which included military struggle. Gregory expected and demanded that lay princes would fight for the church. He condemned secular wars, where 'thousands of secular men go daily to their death for their lords', but advocated the use of arms 'for the God of heaven and our Redeemer' and praised those 'who for

love of Christ's law are determined to stand firm to death in the face of ungodly' (*Epp. vagantes* no. 54). Gregory undoubtedly contributed to the rise of holy war and acquired the reputation of being a 'man of war'. But since, for Gregory VII and his propagandists, the ungodly, whom the Church had the right to persecute, were primarily straying Christians – the *dissipatores ecclesiae*, the 'enemies of the Church', heretics, schismatics, and excommunicates, and, of course, the 'Henricians' – and since they saw bad Christians as worse than pagans and Jews, these principles in general, and the new ecclesiastical militarism in particular, had little direct bearing on Christian-Muslim relations. Muslims played no significant role in Gregory VII's outlook or policy, and his views of the Muslims were not uniform. Some of what he said about them was fairly conventional and abusive, but he also expressed respect for their faith.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Epistolae et privilegia, Letters and privileges

DATE   From 22 April 1073 to [1085]
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

Most of Gregory VII's surviving letters are collected in his *Register*, which is both the only preserved register of any reform pope and the earliest surviving original register of a pope (although on this point there are some dissenting views). The *Register* contains around 390 items: letters written by Gregory, as well as a small number of letters written to him and records of his Lateran synods. More than 60 of his surviving letters were never registered (*extravagantes*), and only a small portion of papal privileges were entered into the *Register*. According to some estimates, more than 1,000 of Gregory's letters may have been lost. What survives is still a more voluminous correspondence than of any other pope since Gregory I.

Gregory's 'Oriental Project'

The most coherent group of Gregory VII's letters referring to the Muslims and having relevance for Christian-Muslim relations are those relating to his 'Oriental Project'. The first few letters of this group are from Winter/Spring 1074. On 2 February, Gregory wrote to Count William of Burgundy that he thought of crossing to 'Constantinople to bring aid to Christians who are grievously afflicted by the most frequent ravagings of the Saracens and who are avidly imploring us to extend them our helping hand' (*Register* I.46, pp. 70-71 [references are to Caspar's edition, followed by the page numbers of Cowdrey's translation]). On 1 March, Gregory made a general summons to the defense of the Byzantine Empire. He pointed out that the Seljuk Turks had advanced 'almost up to the walls of the city of Constantinople', deplored the pitiable suffering of the Eastern Christians at the hands of the 'pagans', and appealed to the 'fraternal charity' of Latin Christians that 'demands of us that we lay down our lives for the liberation of our brothers' and 'with God's help... bring assistance to the Christian empire' (*Register* I.49, p. 75). Gregory's disappointment at Duke Godfrey's failure to provide troops for the 'honor and support of St Peter' seems to refer to the planned Eastern expedition (*Register* I.72, p. 103). The other set of letters relating to this matter is from Fall/Winter of 1074. Gregory commended Count William of Poitou for his 'ready will for the service of St Peter', that is, for his willingness to join the expedition. The pope, however, informed the count that no specific measures were in place for the expedition because the situation in the East had improved: 'For rumor has it that, in parts beyond the sea, by God's mercy the Christians have far repelled the savagery of the pagans, and we are still awaiting the guidance of divine providence about what more we ought to do' (*Register* II.3, p. 128). In contrast, the pope's message three months later to Henry IV of Germany was very different, for he said the persecution of Eastern Christians continued: 'a very great proportion' of them were 'suffering destruction by the pagans through unheard-of disaster' and were 'daily being slaughtered after the manner of cattle', reducing the 'Christian people... to nothing'. They had asked Pope Gregory for help, 'lest (which heaven forbid!) the Christian religion should altogether perish in our time' and, in response, the pope had 'sought to stir Christians everywhere and to incite them to this purpose: that they should seek by defending the law to lay down their life for their brothers and to show more clearly than the light the nobility of the children of

God. By God's inspiration…men from Italy and from beyond the Alps have accepted this challenge, and already more than 50,000 are making themselves ready so that, if they can have myself as leader and as pontiff on a campaign, they are prepared to rise up in armed force against the enemies of God and to go as far as the sepulcher of the Lord under his leadership' (*Register* II.31, p. 166). Soon afterwards the pope summoned all the faithful of St Peter to join the expedition: to show that they were 'the sons of God' and, 'prepared through' the pope, to cross over the sea in defense of the Christian faith and in the service of the heavenly King, for which they could 'gain an eternal reward' (*Register* II.37, p. 173). Gregory expressed similar thoughts in a contemporaneous letter to Countess Matilda of Tuscany (*Epp. Vagantes*, ed and trans. Cowdrey, p. 5 [text]; p. 12 [translation]).

North Africa

Five of Gregory VII's letters to North Africa are preserved, and there is no indication that he wrote any others. Two were composed in 1073, very early in his pontificate, and the rest three years later. They were all sent to the Maghreb, four addressed to the local Christians and one to a Muslim ruler. Four were dictated by the pope himself.

The cause for Gregory VII's first address to North African Christians was their internal strife. When the archbishop of Carthage refused to perform uncanonical ordinations, the rival faction of the local Christians denounced him to their Muslim ruler, at whose hands he was punished. Gregory consoled the archbishop for 'the distresses that are being brought upon you by pagans and by false sons of your own church', expressed his full support for him, and urged him to remain steadfast in the face of adversities (*Register* I.23, pp. 39-40). His strongly-worded message to the Christian community of Carthage was that, according to the apostolic precept, they owed obedience to 'earthly powers' and, even much more so, to 'spiritual powers and to those who have the place of Christ among Christians' (*Register* I.22, p. 38).

Gregory's intervention in the affairs of North African Christians in 1076 was concerned with the ordination of bishops, on which he wrote to the archbishop of Carthage and to the Christian community in Bougie. Gregory exhorted the clergy and the people of Bougie to bear witness before their Muslim neighbors by living an exemplary Christian life, 'so that the people of the Saracens who are round about

you may see the sincerity of your faith together with the purity of mutual divine charity and brotherly love among you, and by your good works may be aroused to the emulation rather than the scorning of the Christian faith' (*Register* III.19, p. 285; III.20, pp. 286-87).

The ordination of bishops was also the occasion for Gregory's correspondence with the Hammadid Emir al-Nāṣir: 'Your highness has this year sent a letter to us asking that we would ordain the priest Servandus as bishop according to Christian dispensation. Because your request seemed right and for the best, we have been glad to do this.' We learn from the letter that the emir (the 'king of the province of Mauretania Sitifensis in Africa') sent presents to the pope and, as a gesture of good will, freed some Christian captives, promising to free more. The pope expressed his appreciation by writing that, 'in this undertaking' the generosity in the emir's heart was inspired and his mind enlightened by 'God the creator of all'. He continued by saying that the Almighty God, 'who wills all men to be saved and none to perish', approves most that 'a man should love his fellow man' and act in the spirit of the Golden Rule. 'In truth, such charity both we and you owe more particularly to our own than to the remaining peoples, for we believe in and confess, albeit in a different way, the one God, and each day we praise and honor him as the creator of the ages and the ruler of this world. For as the Apostle says, 'He is our peace, who has made both one'. In the second part of the letter, Gregory mentioned how much 'the Roman nobles', whom he had informed about the matter, admired al-Nāṣir's generosity and virtues, and that some wanted to enter his service. The pope closed the letter with the following words: 'For God knows that we love you sincerely to the honor of God, and that we desire your own welfare and honor both in the present life and in that which is to come; and with heart and lips we beseech that God himself will bring you, after the long continuance of this life, into the blessedness of the bosom of the most holy patriarch Abraham' (*Register* III.21, pp. 287-88).

Reconquista

The letters in question refer to formerly Christian territories that had come under Muslim rule and were reconquered by the Christians. Most of those reconquests were recent or contemporaneous with Gregory VII. The largest portion of these letters deal with Spain, which remained on Gregory's mind throughout his pontificate, and the rest with the islands.

The cornerstone of Gregory's dealings with Spain was his firm conviction that Spain 'from ancient times…belonged to the personal right (*proprii iuris*) of St Peter and that to this day, although it has for long been occupied by the pagans, the law of righteousness has not been annulled: it therefore rightfully belongs to no mortal man but only to the apostolic see' (*Register* I.7, p. 11; *Quellen und Forschungen zum Urkunden- und Kanzleiwesen Papst Gregors VII.* 48, p. 33 [subsequently cited as *QF*]). In one of his pastoral letters he claimed that 'by ancient statutes the kingdom of Spain has been handed in law and proprietorship to blessed Peter and the holy Roman Church' (*Register* IV.28, pp. 345-46). It remains unclear what 'ancient statutes' Gregory was referring to. Elsewhere, he rested his title on the claim that the Apostle Paul visited Spain and that 'seven bishops were afterwards sent by Peter and Paul the apostles from the city of Rome to instruct the peoples of Spain'. Those bishops, 'after the destruction of idolatry…spread Christianity, propagated religion, made plain the order and form of service to be followed in divine worship, and consecrated churches by their own blood'. Against the background of that sacred history, Gregory asserted a special relationship between Rome and Spain: 'It is sufficiently clear how great a concord Spain enjoyed with the city of Rome in religion and the ordering of the divine office' (*Register* I.64, p. 93).

Gregory explained the obliteration of that concord in more than one way. The more comprehensive explanation was that 'Spain was for a long time polluted by the poison of Priscillianists and corrupted by the perfidy of the Arians and cut off from the Roman rite, first by the encroaching Goths and finally by the invading Saracens' (*Register* I.64, p. 93), to which he elsewhere added 'a certain negligence of our predecessors' (Register IV.28, p. 346) – a fault amended by the reform popes. In a truncated version, Gregory pointed out only that 'this kingdom was overrun by Saracens and pagans and the service that used to be rendered thence to blessed Peter was withheld on account of their infidelity and tyranny' (*Register* IV.28, p. 346), or that Spain was 'occupied by the pagans' (*Register* I.7), and that it was 'well known' that the 'Christian people…in those parts…suffer under great hatred of the impious Saracens' (*Register* VI.16, p. 421).

Gregory's historical emphases served different argumentation purposes. The Saracen occupation was linked to the approval of the Christian arms-bearers who 'wished to enter that land to the honor of St Peter and to seize it from the hands of the pagans' (*Register* I.7,

p. 11). The conviction that Spain belonged to St Peter gave the pope the right to set conditions and determine the aims of military action. Gregory indeed made 'a treaty…about the land of Spain' with Count Ebolus of Roucy, who was about to 'travel' there. The pope urged his legates to 'be zealous in gaining support for the enterprise of Count Ebolus' and to make 'a similar agreement' with 'other princes who are understood to be about to travel to those parts with their forces separately from Ebolus' (*Register* I.6, I.7, pp. 10, 11). The treaty instructed the reconquerors 'how to correct the error of the Christians who are to be found there', and required them to 'attend to the interests of St Peter' (*Register* I.6, p. 10). Should the assurances not be given and the conditions laid out by the treaty not be fulfilled, Gregory preferred that the military campaigns should not take place. His main concern was not that the 'pagans' be 'driven out', but that Christian conquerors of Spain 'may not do the same wrongs to St Peter as do those who, not knowing God, now occupy it'. Should the conquerors not respect 'the rights of St Peter in that kingdom', the pope would rather 'restrain' them 'by apostolic authority from going thither, than that, by suffering in the same way from her sons as from her enemies, our universal mother the church should be wounded by the detriment, not now of her property, but of her sons' (*Register* I.7, pp. 11-12; Santifaller, *Quellen und Forschungen* = *QF* 48, p. 33; cf. *Register* I.6, p. 10). Gregory VII's cardinal aim in Spain was to (re)establish Roman, papally-led ecclesiastical order and administration. Driving out the pagans was a condition. The main stumbling block was the errors of the local Christians, generated by the long estrangement from Rome (*Register* I.6, VII.6). The main agents of the restoration were, on the one hand, Spanish kings and other princes who, in due obedience to the 'Roman Church as truly [their] mother', were to enforce the Roman order in the Spanish church and whom the pope could reprove for their failings (*Register* I.63, 64, p. 93; II.50; VII.6; VIII.3; IX.2), and, on the other hand, canonically-ordered bishops of the Spanish church, who were obliged strictly to adhere to and promote the Roman order in ecclesiastical life (*Register* I.6, pp. 9-10; I.83; III.18; VI.16; p. 421; *QF* 209, pp. 244-45). Should the secular and spiritual dignitaries turn out to be ineffective, the pope was willing to go to Spain himself (*Register* VIII.2).

Gregory VII supported the Norman conquest of Sicily, which roughly coincided with his pontificate, because it channeled Norman military energies away from Rome and toward a meritorious goal of restoring Christianity on the island. With that double prospect,

Gregory VII was happy to be reconciled with Count Roger and to absolve him and 'also his knights who are about to fight with him against the pagans' – the Muslims of Sicily – of all their sins for which they performed penance. However, while giving papal backing to the Norman conquest of Sicily, Gregory let Count Roger be admonished 'with godly admonition that he keep himself from capital offences and that he seek so to spread the worship of Christian name amongst the pagans that he may deserve to obtain victory over these enemies' (*Register* III.11, pp. 271-72). When Palermo was conquered, Gregory VII rejoiced. The ancient Christian see, which because of sins had been subjected to the power and faithlessness of the Saracens, was now restored to the Christian faith (*QF* 212, p. 253).

Gregory VII outlined a similar historical scheme of ancient Christian lands lost to the Saracens and restored to the Roman Church, when he extended papal protection to the monastery of St Mary on the island of Gorgona in the Tuscan archipelago. He pointed out that the island had from ancient times belonged to St Peter. However, the ancient monastery had been destroyed by the 'cruelty of the Saracens' and Christian life and worship had been impeded for fear of them. Now, those places were restored to the Christians and taken under St Peter's wing (*QF* 61, p. 40).

Gregory VII's dealings with Sardinia and Corsica were informed by the same historical perspective. Because the charity that in 'ancient time' existed between the Roman Church and the people of Sardinia had 'grown cold', the Christian religion had 'come to the utmost harm' (*Register* I.29, p. 47). The pope saw the necessity of no longer leaving 'the right and honor of St Peter unestablished' (*Register* I.41, p. 64), and urged the judges of Sardinia to recognize 'like legitimate sons the Roman church as your mother', acknowledge 'blessed Peter', and maintain their devotion to him (*Register* I.29, p. 47; VIII.10, p. 529). The obedience to 'the custom of the holy Roman church, the mother of all the churches and especially of yours', required that Sardinian clergy 'should shave' (*Register* VIII.10, p. 529). Gregory considered one of the achievements of his first pontifical year to be that he appointed and consecrated an archbishop, the enforcer of Roman custom, in the province of Sardinia (*Register* I.85a, p. 123). In order to restore the ancient liberty of the holy Roman Church in Sardinia, from where the Muslims had been expelled some time before his pontificate, Gregory VII subordinated it to the Church of Pisa. The island, which had been 'taken away from the right and lordship of the holy

Roman church through the invasion of certain wicked men', had to be 'recalled according to ancient custom to the lordship of the Roman church' (*Register* VI.12, p. 415). He reminded the Corsicans that their island belonged 'properly, or by right and proprietorship, to no man whatsoever and to no power save to the holy Roman church, and that those who have hitherto forcibly held it while showing nothing by way of service, nothing by way of fealty, absolutely nothing by way of subjection or obedience to blessed Peter, have involved themselves in the crime of sacrilege and in great peril for their souls'. The Corsicans had to return 'to the honor and just rights of apostolic supremacy and to restore to blessed Peter… the just rights that have for long been withheld by those who invaded them' (*Register* V.4, p. 352).

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of Gregory VII's letters and privileges for Christian-Muslim relations has, as a rule, been judged in the light of subsequent events. One's judgment thus turns around the question of whether Gregory VII was a 'precursor' of the crusades, a 'proto-crusader', and around one's understanding of and attitude to the crusades. Since this brings in the dangers of teleological constructions of history and anachronistic judgments of historical agents (not to speak of intellectual fashions and political concerns of the day), but is probably unavoidable, one is advised to use extra caution in judging Gregory's role and place in shaping Christian views of and attitudes toward Muslims.

'Oriental Project'

Gregory VII's 'Oriental Project' appears to have been a response to two pressing practical concerns: the schism between the churches of the West and the East, and the Norman threat to both the papacy and the Byzantine Empire. On the one hand, Gregory wished to heal the schism – on Roman terms. On the other, he feared the Normans, as did the Byzantine emperor. Some historians have argued that, upon learning that Robert Guiscard was planning to invade Byzantine territories in the Balkans, the Emperor Michael VII sent an embassy to Rome to offer union of the churches in exchange for Gregory's restraining Robert Guiscard, but the reality of the emperor's appeal to the pope has been doubted (cf. Gregory VII to Emperor Michael of Constantinople, 9 July 1073, *Register* I.18, pp. 29-30; II.31, pp. 166-67; Runciman, *The Eastern schism*, pp. 58-59; Flori, *La Première Croisade*,

p. 21; Richard, *The crusades*, p. 22). For whatever specific reason, the pope took the initiative to mobilize an army with the overt aim of helping the Eastern Empire against the Turks, while counting that the Normans, 'who are rebels against us', upon seeing 'this multitude of knights', might 'more readily' submit 'to righteousness'. In Gregory's vision, once the Normans were 'brought to peace', he could cross with the army to Constantinople (*Register* I.46, pp. 70-71; Cowdrey, *Abbot Desiderius*, pp. 125-28). The Byzantines, apparently alarmed by the prospect, made sure the negotiations with the pope were aborted. In practical terms, the project came to nothing.

In historical retrospection, Gregory's 'Oriental Project' has for centuries, but especially since the 19th century, been discussed in relation to the 'Muslim question'. Earlier commentators as a rule saw the project as a 'crusade to the East' (references in Riant, *Inventaire*, p. 59 n. 1; cf. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, pp. 12-13; Delarc, *Saint Grégoire VII*, iii, pp. 57-60, 107-16); Bréhier, *L'Église et l'Orient au moyen âge*, p. 52, credited Gregory with 'clearly seeing the interest of the West in opposing the progress of Islam'). Such views are not warranted. The first to authoritatively dissent from them was von Sybel (*Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs*, p. 189). The idea was vehemently rejected by Riant (*Inventaire*, pp. 60ff.); Fliche (*Saint Grégoire VII*, pp. 41, 46), followed by Chalandon (*Histoire de la Première Croisade*, p. 11), saw the rejection as definitive. However, the idea that Gregory's plan was a crusade, albeit in a 'broader sense', was resuscitated with the publication of Erdmann's *Die Entstehung des Kreuzungsgedankens* (pp. 149ff.), and found supporters, among others, in Delaruelle (*Essai*, pp. 84-90), Ullmann (*The growth of papal government*, pp. 306-8) and Gauss (*Zur Orientpolitik Gregors VII.*, p. 41). Critical of that view were e.g., Rousset (*Les origines et les charactères*, pp. 51-53), Alphandéry (*La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade*, i, p. 30), Riley-Smith (*What were the crusades?*, p. 75; *The First Crusade*, pp. 7-8), and Flori (*La Première Croisade*, p. 21; *Guerre sainte, jihad, croisade*, pp. 231-34).

Even if the 'Oriental Project' is not regarded as a (proto)crusade, Gregory VII could still be seen as Urban II's precursor (e.g., Villey, *La croisade*, p. 79; Rousset, *Les origines et les charactères*, p. 51; Flori, *La guerre sainte*, p. 309). This understanding is based on regarding Gregory as a promoter of holy war, and on regarding the crusade as a form of holy war. The 'Oriental Project' exhibits a number of elements characteristic of the crusades, although it lacks others, and it

undoubtedly incorporates the idea of holy war. More specifically, here for the first time the idea of carrying holy war under papal direction into the Middle East was broached (Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, p. 28; Brundage, *Medieval canon law*, p. 27; Finucane, *Soldiers of faith*, p. 13; Flori, *Guerre sainte, jihad, croisade*, p. 234).

In the context of Gregory VII's literary remains and political action, the 'Oriental Project' was marginal (Riant, *Inventaire*, p. 62; Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte* iii, p. 757; Cowdrey, *Abbot Desiderius*, p. 142). Gregory's political thought and action were absorbed by affairs in the West. The 'Oriental Project' itself was integral to his intra-Christian politics (Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance*, pp. 14-16; Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, ii, pp. 169-70; Runciman, *A history of the crusades*, i, p. 99; Alphandery, *La chrétienté* i, pp. 30-31; Becker, *Papst Urban II*, pp. 294ff.). There is no evidence that the project made an impact on contemporaries, even though one might speculate that it was possible that Pope Urban II knew about it, and revived it (Cowdrey, 'Pope Gregory VII's "crusading" plans'; Richard, *The crusades*, p. 22).

North Africa

Gregory VII's letters to North Africa deal with the governance of the church. Since canonical ordinations were of central importance for the church reformers, it is understandable that Gregory responded positively when African Christians asked him to help maintain the right order within the church. His other concern was the state of the African church. 'Africa, which is reckoned a part of the world, and which when of old Christianity was flourishing there was also ruled by a very large number of bishops…has fallen into such dire straits that it does not have three bishops for the ordination of a bishop' (*Register* III.19, p. 285). We have here the rudiments of the historical scheme in which past glory is followed by decline, and this by restoration of Christian fortunes. In Pope Urban II's pronouncements related to the *reconquista* and the First Crusade, Christianity is restored by the 'deeds of God' carried out by Christian soldiers. In Gregory's letters to North Africa, the response is the care for canonical governance of the church and the exemplary life of the Christians. In view of the latter, it is possible to argue that Gregory VII hoped for the conversion of the Saracens (Kedar, *Crusade and mission*, p. 56) and that, whatever hopes he had about the future of Christianity in Africa, he did not rest them on anything resembling the 'crusade idea' (Becker, *Papst Urban II*, p. 293).

Some historians have explained this lack of zeal for fighting the Saracens by pointing to the decline of Muslim maritime domination over the Mediterranean. The Saracens had ceased to represent a threat to Rome, and Gregory may have realized that the political circumstances in North Africa were favorable to Christianity (Riant, *Inventaire*, p. 61; Courtois, 'Grégoire VII et l'Afrique du Nord'; Cowdrey, 'The peace and the truce of God'). Historians have seen him as prepared to compromise with Muslim rulers in the interest of their Christian subjects (France, *The crusades*, p. 37). Another interpretation is that Gregory was promoting the trading interests of the Roman nobility, who sent envoys accompanying Gregory's letter to al-Nāṣir's court. But while there is ample evidence for trading activity involving the places to where Gregory sent his letters, there is no evidence that that activity was brought about or advanced by Gregory VII's action (Lopez, 'Le facteur économique'; Idris, *La Berbérie orientale*; Hettinger, *Die Beziehungen des Papsttums zu Afrika*; Valérian, *Bougie*).

Gregory VII's letter to al-Nāṣir has generated a number of commentaries. Against the background of the subsequent history of persistent and often violent enmity between Christians and Muslims, interpreters have argued that the spirit that animated Gregory's letter was very alien to the spirit of the crusades and his expression of goodwill quite remarkable. The pope, historians have maintained, formulated a possible meeting point between Christianity and Islam as clearly as was possible in the Latin Middle Ages, and made 'a conscious effort to communicate with Islam' or even to establish peaceful coexistence between Christians and Muslims (Schwinges, *Kreuzzugsideologie und Toleranz*, p. 135; Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 46-47; Becker, *Papst Urban II*, p. 294; Delaruelle, 'Essai', pp. 73-74 n. 91; Courtois, 'Grégoire VII et l'Afrique du Nord', p. 103; Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 494). The very ambiguities of Gregory's letter were alien to the crusading outlook. If Gregory wrote the letter as a skillful politician, and if the letter is an expression of his 'knowledgeable opportunism' (Courtois, 'Grégoire VII et l'Afrique du Nord', pp. 224, 226; Idris, *La Berbérie orientale*, i, p. 286, ii, pp. 759-60), it still stands apart from the 'crusading spirit'. The letter displays a rare understanding of Islam, when Gregory refers to God, not Christ, whom Islam does not recognize as God, and to Abraham, whom Muslims venerate. If that understanding originated with the Maghrebian priest Servandus, who came to Rome to petition Gregory to help him and his Christian community, it is remarkable that Gregory adopted it. Equally remarkable is

Gregory's honorific address of the Muslim prince, even if he used it routinely, independently 'of the state of specific relations', as was the practice in the pope's prolific correspondence with princes (Schieffer, *Gregor VII. und die Könige Europas*, p. 193).

There is no evidence that Gregory VII's letter to the Emir al-Nāṣir had any impact on views about and attitudes toward Muslims among either his contemporaries or later generations. The Roman Church had not come to a comparable position before the Second Vatican Council. The main significance of the latter seems to lie in demonstrating that there was a language available, in which different views of and attitudes toward Muslims could be expressed than the views of those who came to make history. Gregory VII himself used this 'other' language only exceptionally.

Reconquista

Views of Gregory VII's letters referring to the territories that were being reconquered after Muslim rule differ. For Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc*, iii, p. 15, Gregory was an initiator of the crusades because of the fervor with which he encouraged the enrollment of the French barons under the banner of *reconquista*: the deeds of Gregory VII against the Muslims of Spain foreshadowed those of Urban II against the Muslims of Syria. Closer to the letter and spirit of Gregory's correspondence is the explanation that the pope's concern was to affirm the (secular) rights and authority of the Holy See over the lands recaptured from the Muslims, and that his support for *reconquista* was conditional and not necessarily enthusiastic (Riant, *Inventaire*, p. 62; Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*, ch. 5; Alphandéry, *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade*, i, p. 29; Rousset, *Les origines et les charactères*, p. 50; Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, pp. 221, 223; Becker, *Papst Urban II*, 288).

Gregory VII's letters referring to Spain, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Tuscan archipelago clearly show that his attitude toward the Christian reconquest was informed by the overall goals of ecclesiastical reform: to restore the ancient liberty of the church, cleanse it of error and pollution, and assert universally the supremacy of the papally-led Roman Church. The attempted implementation of the claimed universal primacy of papal Rome rested on the view that the pope, the successor of St Peter, was the 'governor and ruler of the Roman church' (*Epp. vagantes*, 21), which in turn was 'the head and universal mother of all the churches' (e.g., *Register* IV.28). Gregory

VII declared specifically that Spain and Corsica belonged to St Peter, but a basic tenet of his outlook was that St Peter was 'prince over the kingdoms of the world' (*Register* I.63, p. 92) and 'lord and emperor' (*Register* III.15, p. 276), that he held 'regalian rights' (*Register* VIII.1a, p. 515), and that 'all principalities and powers on earth [were] subject to him' (*Register* VII.6, p. 465). From this perspective, disobedient Christians were as problematic as 'pagans', if not more so. What made a Christian good was obedience to the pope. The model relationship between a Christian prince and the Roman Church was exemplified by Robert Guiscard's taking the oath of fidelity to St Peter (*Register* VIII.1a, 1b, 1c; cf. Amatus, *Ystoire de li Normant*, VII.27; Lange, *Das Staatensystem Gregors VII.*, p. 55), and it is plausible to argue that Gregory VII used the conflicts in the Iberian peninsula as a 'testing ground for formulating specific ties with the nobility by creating *fideles S. Petri*' (Housley, *Contesting the crusades*, p. 101). Such a relationship could not be established with a non-Christian ruler.

The retaking of formerly Christian lands from the Muslims was a necessary, yet not sufficient, step toward establishing universal Roman supremacy. That is why Gregory VII's support for the *reconquista* was qualified. Should Christian soldiers fail to give assurances that they would honor the rights of St Peter, Gregory would rather restrain them from going to war. Muslims, in his view, were not the only enemies. In his letters on Sardinia and Corsica, he did not even mention them. The 'wicked men' and 'invaders of the property of St Peter' (*Register* II.52a, p. 197; VI.12, p. 415) were not necessarily Muslims. The Christian religion had not only suffered at the hands of the Saracens, and Gregory VII's support for war against the Saracens rested on political calculation rather than on religious zeal. While he spoke of the Saracens' tyranny and oppression, which had denied liberty to the church, he advised the Normans against waging a dirty war of liberation.

Summary

The term Gregory VII most often used when referring to Muslims was 'pagans', a defamatory and polemical term (*Register* I.7, p. 11 [= *QF* 48, p. 33 (twice)]; I.23, p. 39; I.49, p. 75; II.3, p. 128; II.31, p. 166; *Epp. vagantes* 5, p. 12/13; *Register* III.11, p. 272; IV.28, p. 346). Occasionally, he spoke of the 'impious Saracens' (*Register* VI.16, p. 421) and of their 'faithlessness' (*perfidia*) (*QF* 212, p. 253) or 'infidelity' (*Register* IV.28, p. 346). They did 'not know God' (*Register* I.7, p. 12), were members

of the devil (*Register* II.37, p. 173; II.49, p. 189) and enemies of both the church and God (*Register* I.7, p. 12; II.31, p. 166; III.11, p. 272). They were savage and cruel persecutors of the Christians (*Register* I.49, p. 75; II.3, p. 128; II.31, p. 166; II.37, p. 173; *QF* 61, p. 40; *Epp. vagantes* p. 5, p. 12/13). Their rule was a rule of terror (*QF* 61, p. 40) and 'tyranny' (*Register* IV.28, p. 346).

On a few occasions, however, Gregory referred to the Muslims in order to shame the Christians. He wrote, for example, that 'the Christian law and religion have almost everywhere so perished that Saracens and all kinds of pagans hold to their observances more resolutely than do those who have received the name of Christian' (*Register* II.9, p. 139), and that those among whom he lived – the Romans, Lombards, and Normans – were, as he often told them, 'somewhat worse than Jews and pagans' (*Register* II.49, p. 189). At the end of his life, he saw 'the Christian religion and the true faith' as being turned into 'the evil custom of this world. Their ancient character has so changed that they have been reduced to a laughing-stock not only of the devil but also of Jews, Saracens, and pagans. For these men, so far as faith is given them, observe their own laws, even though in this age they are of no avail for the salvation of souls' (*Epp. vagantes* p. 54, pp. 130/131-132/133). This was all a conventional – and conventionally derogatory – way of speaking about Muslims. Exceptional even in his own time was Gregory's injunction to the North African Christians to obey their Muslim rulers and to win their Muslim neighbors over to Christianity by living an exemplary life (*Register* I.22, p. 38; III.20, pp. 286-87), and his admonition to the Normans not to commit 'capital offences' in the Sicilian war of reconquest (*Register* III.11, pp. 272). Gregory's letter to the Emir al-Nāṣir was unique in its respectful tone and in the admission that Christians and Muslims 'believe in and confess, albeit in a different way, the one God', and thus owe each other particular charity (*Register* III.21, pp. 287-88). The conclusion is that the way Gregory spoke of Muslims varied, depending on the occasion and context. His views of Muslims were not uniform and even less were they uniformly hostile. Some of them have been said to express an astonishing tolerance, and were destined to remain 'unparalleled almost until modern times' (Rousset de Pina, 'L'entrevue de Pape Alexandre III et d'un prince sarrasin', p. 178; Daniel, *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe*, p. 251; Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 136; Becker, *Papst Urban II*, p. 293).

Conflict with Muslims was not in the forefront of Gregory VII's thought and action. His main concern being reform of the church, he was preoccupied with the affairs of Latin Christendom (and at times with the schism between the Eastern and Western churches). He was dealing with Muslims incidentally, when that seemed opportune in the struggle against the Christian enemies of the church and when Muslims got in the way of the implementation of the principles of the canonical order within the church or of securing secular rights for the church in the context of asserting the claimed universal jurisdiction of the papally-led Roman Church. Gregory VII's dealing with Muslims was dictated by the needs and principles of ecclesiastical reform. Some of the principles governing church reform that he formulated and pursued – particularly the use of violence for the cause of the liberty of the church and for the faith and the claimed universality of Christian faith and papal jurisdiction – informed Christian-Muslim relations more strongly after Gregory's death than under his watch. In the view of some historians, Gregory's pontificate was especially important for 'developing background of the crusade' because, under him, holy war became a central theme of papal policy (Brundage, *Medieval canon law*, pp. 27-28; Partner, *God of battles*, pp. 66-67).

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See the editions below, and particularly:
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Tomaž Mastnak

Aimericus of Angoulême

DATE OF BIRTH 11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Southern France
DATE OF DEATH After 1086
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Almost nothing in known about Aimericus' life. He claims to have been born in 'Gastinia' (?), and he dedicated his only known work, the grammatical treatise *Ars Lectoria*, to a bishop called Ademarus, who could be Adémar, bishop of Angoulême between the years 1076 and 1101.

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Secondary

C.H. Kneepkens and H.F. Reijnders (eds), *Ars lectoria. Un art de lecture à haute voix du onzième siècle*, Leiden, 1979, pp. xxii-xxiv

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ars lectoria, 'The art of reading'

DATE 1086
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Ars lectoria* is a long treatise about rules for spelling, pronunciation and accentuation of Latin, similar to the identically titled book by Seguinus (q.v.).

In Book III (Reijnders, 'Aimericus, Ars lectoria (3)', p. 141), in relation to the term *cronica*, Aimericus sets out a series of chronological calculations. Among them, he says that between the birth of Christ

and the death of a deacon named Ocin (var. Adocin), whom Muslims called *Maumitum*, 607 years elapsed. Ocin was sent to Hispania as legate by Pope Osius, 'but he was deceived and he deceived' (*sed deceptus decepit*). From his death to the present, 479 years had passed (this confirms the date of the *Ars Lectoria* to the year 1086). Aimericus adds that those who consider Nicolas to be 'one of the seven first ones' (i.e. the seven apostolic deacons) are wrong.

This passage is almost identical to one that appears in Seguinus' *Ars Lectoria*. Like this one, it is related to the *Excerptum de libro domni Metobii* (MS Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia – 78, fol. 185v; 11th century). It could be thought that both Seguinus and Aimericus (or maybe their common source) knew the tradition that identifies Muḥammad as a Christian who was sent by Bishop Osius to infidel territory to confront paganism or a doctrinal deviation. Tempted by the evil angel, he changed his name to Muḥammad and promoted Islam. The name *Ocin* could be a deformation of *Hāshim*, the Prophet's clan, or of ʿ*azīm*, 'great'. But it is not clear who is behind the character of Osius. The identification with the 4th-century bishop Osio of Cordova, suggested by Díaz y Díaz, does not seem very probable.

The reference in Codex Roda to a *liber domini Metobii* has been identified with the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* (q.v.), which is preserved in Syriac, Arabic, Greek and Latin versions. It circulated from an early date in the Iberian Peninsula, though no obvious connection with the contents of Aimericus' and Seguinus' works has been detected.

Unlike the version included in Codex Roda, which sets the story in *Erribon* (Yathrib), both Aimericus and Seguinus agree upon Hispania. This coincides with other traditions that refer to the coming of Muḥammad to Hispania, e.g., the 13th-century *Chronicon Mundi* of Lucas of Tuy. Similarly, the reference to the mistake of considering Nicolas as one of the seven first apostolic deacons is one of the first mentions of the tradition that connects Muḥammad with Nicolas. This legend appears in several Christian writings of the 12th and 13th centuries (the *Historia Compostellana*, Lucas of Tuy's *Chronicon Mundi*, and the anonymous *Liber Nycholay*), though better informed authorities, such as Peter the Venerable (q.v.) and Mark of Toledo (q.v.), expressly deny it.

SIGNIFICANCE

This interpretation of the beginnings of Islam evidently reflects a complex tradition that was taking root among Christians in Europe. Its elements can be seen in other works from this time, particularly the connection between Muḥammad and Spain, while its identification of the founder of Islam as originally a Christian is an inference that can be indirectly related to John of Damascus' (q.v.) 8th-century explanation of Islam as a heresy that was derived from heretical teachings and casual consultation of the Bible (though John does not call Muḥammad a Christian). The connection with the deacon Nicolas relates Aimericus' interpretation of Muḥammad and his activities intimately with Christianity.

MANUSCRIPTS

> MS Tours, Bibilothèque municipale – 843, fols 20r-60v (12th century)
>
> MS Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek – 186, fols 220v-221r (12th century)
>
> MS Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek der Stadt – Q 46, fols 76v-103v (12th century)
>
> MS Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek – 395, fols 1r-40r (12th or 13th century)
>
> MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana – XVI 5, fols 43v-74r (beginning of 13th century)
>
> MS Paris, BNF – 11277, fols 52r-71v (14th century)
>
> MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana – XLVII 8, fols 189r-261r (15th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

> Reijnders, 'Aimericus, Ars lectoria (1)'; 'Aimericus, Ars lectoria (2)'; 'Aimericus, Ars lectoria (3)' (critical edition of the Latin text)

STUDIES

> R.G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as others saw it. A survey and evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian writings on early Islam*, Princeton NJ, 1997, pp. 515-16
>
> K.B. Wolf, 'The earliest Latin lives of Muhammad', in M. Gervers and R. Bikhazi (eds), *Conversion and continuity. Indigenous Christian communities in Islamic lands, eighth to eighteenth centuries*, Toronto, 1990, 89-101

C.H. Kneepkens, 'More evidence on the manuscript tradition of Aimeric's Ars Lectoria, Paris B.N. Lat 711 & Rolduc Abbey', *Vivarium* 18 (1980) 63-66

M.C. Díaz y Díaz, 'Los textos antimahometanos más antiguos en códices españoles', *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 37 (1970) 149-68

A. d'Ancona, 'La leggenda di Maometto in Occidente', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, 12 (1889) 199-281 (repr. *La leggenda di Maometto in Occidente*, Rome, 1994)

Fernando González Muñoz

Magister Seguinus

Siguinus

DATE OF BIRTH   11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Southern France
DATE OF DEATH   After 1087
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Seguinus was a member of a religious community in France, and in his youth he received a monastic education. He travelled to Lorraine, Germany and Spain. In addition to his *Ars lectoria*, he claims to have written a *Liber de orthographia*, and declares his intention of writing a *Liber de metris*. Neither of these latter two works has been conserved or identified.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
C.H. Kneepkens and H.F. Reijnders (eds), *Ars lectoria. Un art de lecture à haute voix du onzième siècle*, Leiden, 1979, pp. xxii-xxiv

Secondary
H.F. Reijnders, 'Aimericus, Ars lectoria (1)', *Vivarium* 9 (1971) 119-37

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ars lectoria, 'The art of reading'

DATE   1087/88
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION
This is a long treatise on the orthography and rules for pronunciation and accentuation of the Latin language, similar in many cases to the *Ars lectoria* of Aimericus (q.v.). This fact leads the editors to think that both works are an adaptation of an earlier one. The author expressly says that he wrote it in 1087/88, though the editors suggest

a date between this and the early 12th century (ed. Kneepkens and Reijnders, p. xxiv).

The only significant passage dealing with relationships between Muslims and Christians appears in an incidental way in Book II (ed. Kneepkens and Reijnders, p. 124). Concerning the term *cronica*, the author expounds a series of chronological computations. Among them, there appears the number of 610 years that elapsed between the birth of Christ and the death of a certain Ocin, whom Muslims called Maumitum. Ocin was sent to Hispania by 'Pope Osius' to correct people (or correct himself, the text is ambiguous). From the death of Ocin to the author's own time, 478 years have passed, situating the *Ars lectoria* in the year 1088.

SIGNIFICANCE

This passage is almost identical to one that appears in the *Ars lectoria* of Aimericus of Angoulême (q.v.).

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana – Plut. XLVII, 27, fols 1r-48v (12th century)

MS Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipal – 831 (322), fols 1r-173v (13th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Kneepkens and Reijnders (eds), *Ars lectoria*

STUDIES

R.G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as others saw it. A survey and evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian writings on early Islam*, Princeton NJ, 1997, pp. 515-16

K.B. Wolf, 'The earliest Latin lives of Muhammad', in M. Gervers and R. Bikhazi (eds), *Conversion and continuity. Indigenous Christian communities in Islamic lands, eighth to eighteenth centuries*, Toronto, 1990, 89-101

M.C. Díaz y Díaz, 'Los textos antimahometanos más antiguos en códices españoles', *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 37 (1970) 149-68

A. d'Ancona, 'La leggenda di Maometto in Occidente', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 12 (1889) 199-281 (repr. *La leggenda di Maometto in Occidente*, Rome, 1994)

Fernando González Muñoz

Ibn Sahl

Abū l-Aṣbagh ʿĪsā ibn Sahl ibn ʿAbdallāh
al-Asadī al-Jayyānī

DATE OF BIRTH   1022-23
PLACE OF BIRTH   Wādī ʿAbd Allāh (Jaen)
DATE OF DEATH   4 February 1093
PLACE OF DEATH   Granada

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn Sahl is one of the most remarkable authorities of the Andalusī Mālikī school. His composition of a collection of legal cases entitled *Al-aḥkām al-kubrā* ('Major legal judgements') became an essential reference for Mālikī doctrine and legal practice. He performed several judicial functions, and taught Islamic jurisprudence to numerous Mālikī jurists who were active in the Almoravid period. In the years before 1051-52 he was judge of Baeza, Shumuntān and Tíscar around Jaen, between 1058-59 and 1064-65 he was secretary to the *qāḍī* of Toledo, and in the years before 1075 to the *qāḍī* of Cordova. He also worked in Tangiers, Meknes and finally Granada, where he witnessed the change of power from the Zīrids to the Almoravids in 1090.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Al-Bunnāhī, *Al-marqaba al-ʿulyā*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Beirut, 1983, pp. 96-97

Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis*, ed. F. Codera and J. Ribera, Madrid, 1884-85, p. 390

Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Kitāb al-ṣila*, Cairo, 1966, p. 438

ʿAbdallāh ibn Buluqqīn, *Kitāb al-tibyān*, ed. A.T. al-Ṭībī, Rabat, 1995, pp. 132-34, 153-54 (trans. A.T. Tibi, *The Tibyan: Memoirs of Abd Allah b. Buluggin last Zirid amir of Granada*, Leiden, 1986, pp. 125-28, 148-49; Spanish trans. E. Lévi-Provençal and E. García Gómez, *El siglo XI en primera persona*, Alianza, 2005, pp. 217-18, 220, 256-57)

Ibn Farḥūn, *Al-dībāj al-mudhhab*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1972, ii, pp. 70-72

Secondary

F.C. Aguirre Sádaba, 'Ibn Sahl al-Asadī, Abū l-Aṣbag', in *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*

C. Müller, *Gerichtspraxis im Stadtstaat Córdoba. Zum Recht der Gesellschaft in einer mālikitisch-islamischen Rechtstradition des 5./11. Jahrhunderts*, Leiden, 1999, pp. xiii-xx, 1-30, 103-74

R. Daga Portillo, *Organización jurídica y social en la España musulmana. Traduccion y estudio de 'Al-Ahkam al-kubrà' de Ibn Sahl (s. xi)*, 2 vols, Granada, 1990 (Diss. University of Granada)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-aḥkām al-kubrā, Kitāb al-iʿlām bi-nawāzil al-aḥkām, 'Major legal judgements'

DATE   Between 1079 and 1090
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Al-aḥkām al-kubrā is a collection of legal cases presented before various judicial authorities of al-Andalus. It preserves not only *fatwā*s issued in connection with actual legal cases, but also accounts of the whole legal process followed in their adjudication. In this respect, the collection is a direct witness to what Andalusī judicial records may have looked like. Ibn Sahl adds to these items extensive excerpts from an earlier lost collection of legal cases entitled *Aḥkām Ibn Ziyād*.

SIGNIFICANCE

Apart from the many questions concerning slaves who may have been Christian or of Christian origin (see *Aḥkām*, ed. al-Nuʿaymī, i, pp. 353-80), the work preserves a number of legal cases concerning Christians or the Christian kingdoms in the Iberian peninsula. They are not in any particular section or chapter, but occur throughout the four sections of the book.

The *Aḥkām* portrays Christians first as enemies, as where territory in Christian hands is called *dār al-ḥarb* ('abode of war') (ed. al-Nuʿaymī, i, pp. 230, 302). The case of Bobastro, near Malaga, is particularly interesting since it was a Christian enclave surrounded by Muslim territory. The fact that its ruler, Ibn Ḥafṣūn (d. 917), rebelled against Umayyad authority and converted to Christianity made his land not only *dār al-ḥarb* but also *mawḍiʿ al-fasād* ('a place of

corruption'), with the consequence that possessions acquired there were not legitimate under Islamic law (i, pp. 360-62, on the enslavement and sale of men and women in this territory; and ii, pp. 811-13, on a certain Ibn Anatuluh who claimed that Ibn Ḥafṣūn took and married a Christian slave of his).

It also portrays Christians as subjects of Muslim rule. The recorded cases illustrate the legal status of Christians under Muslim rule, their internal organization, and their social and legal interactions with the Muslim population. See *Aḥkām*, ii, pp. 1119-20, on the question of endowing a piece of land on a mosque if it is land on which the *dhimmī* poll tax is levied; ii, p. 1171, on the prohibition against Christians walking over the graves of Muslims at burials, which incidentally shows that in 11th-century al-Andalus Christians and Muslims shared the same cemeteries; ii, pp. 1173-74, on the prohibition against new churches; ii, pp. 1261-62 and 1262-63, referring to conversions to Islam and reversions back to Christianity; ii, p. 683, on the hypothetical case of a Christian slave who converts to Islam during the absence of his Christian master, and of a Christian woman who converts to Islam in the absence of her husband.

Although these and other examples in the *Aḥkām* (see particularly ii, p. 467; ii, pp. 672-74; ii, pp. 974-76; ii, p. 1274, ii, pp. 1302-4) are evocative of Muslim attitudes towards Christians, care must be taken not to generalize from them too readily.

MANUSCRIPTS

For a list of the 13 known MSS of the work, see Daga, *Organización*, i, pp. 55-70

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Abū l-Aṣbagh ʿĪsā ibn Sahl, *Dīwān al-aḥkām al-kubrā ʿAl-nawāzil wa-l-iʿlām'*, ed. R.H. al-Nuʿaymī, 2 vols, Riyadh, 1997

Abū l-Aṣbagh ʿĪsā ibn Sahl, *Al-iʿlām bi-nawāzil al-aḥkām, al-maʿrūf bi-l-Aḥkām al-kubrā*, ed. N.M. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Tawījarī, Riyadh, 1991 (Diss. Islamic University Imām Muḥammad ibn Saʿūd)

F. Vidal Castro, 'Sobre la compraventa de hombres libres en el territorio de Ibn Ḥafṣūn', in *Homenaje al Prof. Jacinto Bosch Vilá*, Granada, 1991, 417-28, pp. 427-28

Daga Portillo, *Organización jurídica y social en la España musulmana*

Al-Wansharīsī, *Al-miʿyār al-muʿrib*, Rabat, 1981

M.ʿA.W. Khallāf, *Wathāʾiq fī aḥkām qaḍāʾ ahl al-dhimma fī l-Andalus, mustakhraja min makhṭūṭ al-aḥkām al-kubrā li-l-qāḍī…Ibn Sahl*, Cairo, 1980, pp. 43-47, 56-60, 82-86

STUDIES

V. Martínez Enamorado, 'Ibn Anatuluh, Ibn Ḥafṣūn y el asunto de la propiedad sobre una esclava' (forthcoming)

Vidal Castro, 'Sobre la compraventa de hombres libres en el territorio de Ibn Ḥafṣūn'

Khallāf, *Wathāʾiq fī aḥkām qaḍāʾ ahl al-dhimma fī l-Andalus*, pp. 3-39

E. García Gómez, 'Dulce, mártir mozárabe de comienzos del siglo X', *Al-Andalus* 19 (1954) 451-54

Delfina Serrano Ruano

Abū l-Maʿālī

Abū l-Maʿālī Muḥammad ibn ʿUbayd Allāh

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; probably mid-11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown; probably Iran or further east
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; probably early 12th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown; possibly Ghazna

BIOGRAPHY

What little we know of Abū l-Maʿālī is gained from snippets in the introduction to his *Bayān al-adyān*, as there is no mention of him in biographical or bibliographical dictionaries. He seems to have been a civil servant in the court of Ghazna, and he was well educated, although we know of only one work by him. There is some debate over his creed: while superficially this one book reads like an ortho-dox Sunnī account, Kafafi suggests he was a closet Shīʿī practicing *taqiyya* – he was descended from ʿAlī, and he devotes long sections of his work to defending or justifying Shīʿī beliefs.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Bayān al-adyān, introductory chapter

Secondary
K. Christensen, 'Remarques critiques sur le Kitāb Bayāni-l-adyān d'Abū l-Maʿālī', *Le Monde Oriental* 90 (1911) 205-16
M.A.S. Kafafi, *The Bayān al-adyān of Abū'l-Maʿālī Muḥammad ibn ʿUbayd Allāh*, London, 1949, pp. i-xi (Diss. SOAS, University of London)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Bayān al-Adyān, 'Enumeration of the religions'

DATE   1091/92
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Persian

DESCRIPTION

The *Bayān al-Adyān* is an encyclopaedia of sorts, listing and describing the various religious sects which were known to Abū l-Maʿālī. Completed in 1091/92, as the author relates, Kafafi, p. iii, believes it is the earliest extant Persian book on religions. It was written after Abū l-Maʿālī took part in a discussion about pre-Islamic religions and Islam at the royal court, presumably in the city of Ghazna, whose library he describes in some detail. It was probably written in the reign of Jalāl al-Dīn Masʿūd (1089-99), as it was he who was ruling during the time the work was finished.

Of the four extant chapters, the first demonstrates that almost all people acknowledge the existence of a Creator, going through each one by one, the second lists and describes non-Muslim and pre-Islamic religions, the third lists Hadith that foretell the appearance of different sects among the Muslims, while the fourth describes these various Muslim sects. It is in Ch. 2 that Christians and Christianity are described, along with other religious groups such as Jews, Magians, Samaritans, philosophers, Zoroastrians, Manicheans, and Dualists. The only extant manuscript is not complete, as the latter part of Ch. 4, dealing with Islamic sects, and all of Ch. 5, on false prophets, are missing.

The section on Christians and Christianity runs to three pages in Kafafi's translation, and is divided into two sections: the beliefs of the Christians, and the structure of the Christian empire of Byzantium and the church. In the first section, Abū l-Maʿālī states that the Christians believe the Creator is one essence and three Persons, identifying these as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. He then reports that there are three sects of Christians, Jacobites, Nestorians and Melkites, reflecting the situation in the eastern part of Christendom. A short outline of each of these is given, focused on their beliefs about the relationships within the Trinity. The Melkites receive the fullest attention, and the extra information offered includes that they are the most followed of the sects, their place of worship is called a *haykal* (translated as church), and they have pictures of the prophets and Jesus painted on the wall.

In the second section, Abū l-Maʿālī describes how the Christians have four Patriarchs, and correctly states that these sit in Constantinople, Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch – though he does not mention one in Jerusalem (cf. Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī in *CMR*2 p. 533).

He then describes how other churchmen sit in important positions at Baghdad and Khurāsān, and how all have a hierarchy below them. Following this, he describes the Byzantine Empire's military hierarchy, which is headed by the Caesar. Below him are twelve army commanders, and the military organization below each of these is shown.

SIGNIFICANCE

Abū l-Maʿālī's work shows that there was significant interest in other religions and sects among the court at Ghazna, and his descriptions demonstrate a desire to learn rather than simply judge.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Suppl. Pers. 13567 (late-11th or 12th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

H. Reza, *Tārikh-e kāmel-e adyān*, Tehran, 1964 (Persian edition)

M.-T. Dāneshpazhuh, 'Bāb-e panjom az ketāb-e *Bayān al-adyān*', *Farhang-e Irān-zamīn* 10 (1962) 282-318 (Persian edition)

Y. al-Khashāb, 'Bayān al-adyān', *Majalla Kulliyyat al-ādāb fī l-Qāhira*, Cairo, 1957, pp. 11-58

ʿA.I. Ashtiyānī, *Bayān al-adyān*, Tehran, 1955 (repr. 1997; Persian edition)

Kafafi, *The Bayān al-adyān*, pp. 1-86 (trans., based on Iqbal)

A. Iqbal, *Bayān al-adyān*, Tehran, 1934 (edition of the Persian text)

F. Gabrieli, 'Un antico trattato Persiano di storia delle religioni – Il *Bayān al-adyān* di Abū al-Maʿālī Muḥammad ibn ʿUbayd Allāh', in *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei Rendiconti*, Series 6, vol. 7 (1932) 587-644 (Italian trans. of Schefer)

H. Massé, 'L'exposé des religions par Abou'l Maâli', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 94 (1926) 17-75 (French trans.)

C. Schefer, *Christomathie Persane*, Paris, 1882 (edition of the Persian text)

STUDIES

Kafafi, *Bayān al-adyān*, pp. i-xi

Christensen, 'Remarques critiques sur le Kitāb Bayāni-l-adyān d'Abū l-Maʿāli'

Alex Mallett

Mawḥūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Mufarrij al-Iskandarānī

DATE OF BIRTH   About 1025
PLACE OF BIRTH   Probably Alexandria
DATE OF DEATH   About 1100
PLACE OF DEATH   Probably Alexandria

BIOGRAPHY

Thanks to the researches of J. den Heijer, we may recognize Mawḥūb (and not Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ) as the founder and first 'general editor' of the project that resulted in an Arabic-language compilation of materials known as *Siyar al-bīʿa al-muqaddasa* ('Biographies of the holy church'), or more commonly as *The history of the patriarchs of Alexandria*. Here in *CMR* we have treated this compilation by *source*: see the entries for George the archdeacon, John the deacon, John the writer, and Michael of Damrū, bishop of Tinnīs. In addition to supervising the collection, translation, and edition of Coptic-language sources into a single Arabic work, Mawḥūb began the process of keeping the work up to date by composing – now in Arabic rather than Coptic – the biographies of two patriarchs whom he knew personally: Christodoulos, the 66th patriarch (1046-77) and Cyril II, the 67th patriarch (1078-92); these biographies will be treated below.

Den Heijer has provided a thorough, carefully documented compilation of biographical data for Mawḥūb (see den Heijer, *Mawḥūb*, pp. 81-116, esp. pp. 86-93; also see his summary of this data in *The Coptic encyclopedia*). Here it may be enough to point out that Mawḥūb was a member of a wealthy, well-connected, and influential Coptic family of Alexandria. He and other members of his family were financial administrators in the service of the Muslim authorities in the city: for a time, he and his maternal uncle were in the service of the emir Ḥiṣn al-Dawla, who served as governor of Alexandria in 1056-57; later, he and his brother Abū l-ʿAlāʾ Fahd were financial administrators for al-Awḥad, who governed Alexandria for his father Badr al-Jamālī (military governor of Egypt from 1074 to 1094). In addition to being at the hinge of Christian-Muslim relations in Alexandria, Mawḥūb and his family were very much involved in church affairs; Mawḥūb

himself was an ordained deacon. As a result, Mawhūb's biographies of patriarchs Christodoulos and Cyril II are full of 'I' statements: he knew everyone of note (in Alexandria, at least), had an insider's view of church politics, and was sometimes painfully caught up in Egypt's political vicissitudes.

A few incidents will illustrate the involvement of Mawhūb and his family in the affairs of his day. On one occasion (maybe around 1050), Mawhūb's father was imprisoned for 37 days while the Muslim authorities of Alexandria attempted to locate and take possession of the church's great relic, the head of St Mark the Evangelist. Later, when the oppressive vizier al-Yāzūrī (d. 1058) and other persecutors had passed from the scene, Mawhūb was part of a delegation that sought permission for churches to reopen. Partway through 'the great tribulation' (al-shidda al-ʿuẓmā) of 1066-73, Mawhūb gave the recently ransomed and heavily indebted Patriarch Christodoulos some relief by himself paying the 350 dinars that the patriarchate owed annually to the churches of Alexandria. And while Mawhūb portrays the Armenian general Badr al-Jamālī (r. 1074-94) in a positive light for bringing stability to Egypt after years of terrible crisis, he and his brother appear to have been among those punished (with a large fine and, in the brother's case, a savage beating) for serving Badr's son al-Awḥad, who in 1084 had revolted – unsuccessfully – against his father. In 1091, Mawhūb and his family – he was married with at least one son, Yūḥannā – were being 'shaken down' for an impossible sum of money by a Coptic financial official and his associate, when (by a miracle of God, Mawhūb tells us) the two oppressors were arrested and executed.

Notices in *The history of the patriarchs* give some details about the project that is Mawhūb's great legacy. The project to create a comprehensive history of the Coptic Church was launched at the Monastery of St Macarius in 1088; it may have had the official backing of Patriarch Cyril II, who was then present at the monastery. Mawhūb and his collaborators, foremost among them the deacon Abū Ḥabīb Mīkhāʾīl ibn Badīr al-Damanhūrī, then sought out sources in various monastery libraries, and after a labor of collating, translating, and editing, produced what is now considered 'part one' of *The history of the patriarchs of Alexandria*. When this was completed, Mawhūb added the two *Lives* that are treated below.

Mawhūb shows himself to be a practical-minded individual, who knew how to use his connections and personal fortune to help his community deal with periods of arbitrary rule and political chaos.

But he was also a pious Copt, who relied on the prayers of the holy monks, turned to the Virgin Mary with weeping and supplication when his own resources were exhausted, and traveled the country seeking out holy men and relics (and has left lists of these, giving a precious picture of the Coptic 'sacred geography' in the late 11ᵗʰ century).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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A.S. Atiya, Y. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ and O.H.E. Khs.-Burmester (eds), *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, known as the History of the holy Church, by Sawīrus ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, bishop of al-Ašmūnīn*, ii, pt. iii, Cairo, 1959, pp. 163-232 (Arabic text), pp. 245-369 (English trans.) (Mawhūb's *Lives* of patriarchs Christodoulos and Cyril II; see den Heijer, *Mawhūb*, pp. 81-116 as a guide to the biographical information contained therein)

Secondary

J. den Heijer, *Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Mufarriǧ et l'historiographie copto-arabe. Étude sur la composition de* l'Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie (*CSCO* 513), Louvain, 1989, esp. ch. 3, pp. 81-116. See den Heijer's bibliography for the earlier studies that led up to this monograph, and for a useful summary of biographical data concerning Mawhūb, see:

J. den Heijer, art. 'Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Mufarrij al-Iskandarānī', in *CE*

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Siyar al-bīʿa al-muqaddasa, 'Biographies of the holy church', 'The history of the patriarchs of Alexandria, *Lives* 66-67'

DATE   1094 or shortly thereafter
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Mawhūb's Arabic *Lives* of patriarchs Christodoulos and Cyril II (*The history of the patriarchs of Alexandria, Lives* 66-67) provide a rich picture of a tumultuous period in the history of the Coptic Orthodox Church and of Egypt in general (and Alexandria in particular), from the point of view of a well-connected bureaucrat and churchman who was personally involved in many of the events he narrates. These *Lives* can be read for political history: we learn about the oppressive measures of the vizier al-Yāzūrī (in office 1050-58) and other officials; political chaos and famine during the 'great tribulation' of 1067-73; the arrival of Badr al-Jamālī and events during his 20-year rule. Mawhūb does not neglect to inform his readers about the wider horizon of events, e.g. the arrival in the Levant of the Seljuk Turks under Alp Arslan in 1071.

Patriarchs Christodoulos and Cyril II often seem to have a rather limited role in the affairs of their day. Indeed, Mawhūb highlights both the role played by his own class of Coptic lay notables and the importance of holy monks; he is especially enthusiastic in his description of the monk Bisūs, about whom he relates about a dozen miracle stories. Still, Mawhūb does his best to portray both patriarchs in a positive light. In passages that may echo older accounts of patriarchs meeting Muslim authorities, Mawhūb recounts meetings between each of these patriarchs and Badr al-Jamālī – although in the case of Patriarch Cyril's meeting it is *Badr* who speaks by divine inspiration! This, incidentally, points out an important feature of Mawhūb's understanding of history: both God and the devil are at work in the world – and either may work through human beings, whether Christian or Muslim.

Mawhūb's biographies are both a monument of and a witness to the Arabization of the literature of the Coptic Orthodox Church. While the work bears witness to the fact that the Coptic language was still read and spoken by monks and lay notables, it was itself composed in Arabic, and it reports on the canons that Christodoulos and Cyril II promulgated in that language (shortly after 1046 and in 1086 respectively).

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Lives* of patriarchs Christodoulos and Cyril II are important sources for our knowledge of the Coptic Orthodox Church, Christian-Muslim relations in Egypt, and Egyptian history in general for

the years 1046-92, a tumultuous period in which a major breakdown in order (from 1066-73) led to the establishment of a new pattern of rule by powerful military governors, beginning with Badr al-Jamālī.

MANUSCRIPTS

See den Heijer, *Mawhūb*, pp. 18-27. For *Lives* 66-67, it is worth mentioning an ancient dated MS in addition to that which serves as the base for the printed edition:

> MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Hist. 12 (Simaika 597, Graf 501) (1275; contains *Lives* 66-72)
>
> MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – Hist. 1 (b) (Simaika 94, Graf 134) (13th-14th century; base MS for the edition of *Lives* 66-67 by Atiya, ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, and Burmester)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

> Atiya, ʿAbd al-Masīḥ and Khs.-Burmester (eds), *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, ii, pt. iii, pp. 163-232 (Arabic text), pp. 245-369 (English trans.) (from MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – Hist. 1 [b])

STUDIES

> M.N. Swanson, *The Coptic papacy in Islamic Egypt*, Cairo, 2010, ch. 5
>
> J. den Heijer, 'La rébellion de l'émir Al-Awḥad (477/1084). Étude comparative des sources historiques', in J.-Y. Empereur and C. Décobert (eds), *Alexandrie médiévale 3* (*Études Alexandrines* 16), Cairo, 2008, 171-81
>
> J. den Heijer, 'Wādī al-Naṭrūn and the *History of the patriarchs of Alexandria*', *Coptica* 2 (2003) 24-42
>
> J. den Heijer, 'Le patriarcat copte d'Alexandrie à l'époque fatimide', in C. Décobert (ed.), *Alexandrie médiévale 2* (*Études Alexandrines* 8), Cairo, 2002, 83-97
>
> B. Voile, 'Les miracles des saints dans la deuxième partie de l'Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie. Historiographie ou hagiographie?' in D. Aigle (ed.), *Miracle et karāma*, Turnhout, 2000, 317-30
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>
> M.J. Saleh, 'Government relations with the Coptic community in Egypt during the Fāṭimid period (358-567 A.H./969-1171 C.E.)', Chicago, 1995 (Diss. University of Chicago)

J. den Heijer, 'Une liste d'évêques coptes de l'année 1086', in C. Décobert (ed.), *Itinéraires d'Égypte. Mélanges offerts au père Maurice Martin, S.J.*, Cairo, 1992, 147-65

M. Martin, 'Une lecture de l'Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie', *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 35 (1985) 15-36, pp. 25-27

B. May, 'Die Religionspolitik der ägyptischen Fatimiden, 969-1171', Hamburg, 1975 (Diss. University of Hamburg)

Mark N. Swanson

Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; early or mid-11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; late 11th or early 12th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum, 'Poem on the victory of the Pisans'

DATE   Probably soon after the events it relates, 1087, and before the
First Crusade, 1095-99
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

This is a poem in 73 stanzas celebrating the Pisan and Genoan attack
on Mahdiyya (Tunisia) in 1087. The poet is clearly a Pisan cleric; he
makes frequent allusions to biblical, particularly Old Testament, per-
sons and events. The poem is an epic evocation of the Pisan struggle
against the forces of evil, a paean to the victory that God granted
to his faithful over his enemies. Timinus (Tamīn ibn al-Muʿizz, the
Zīrid emir of Mahdiyya) is a 'cruel dragon', comparable with the Anti-
christ and with Pharaoh. His fortress has massive walls; its towers
reach up to the clouds; he has raided Spain, Italy, Gaul and as far as
Alexandria. In short, he is an epic villain who has little in common
with the historical Zīrid emir. By contrast, Pisa is a new Rome, come
to destroy Mahdiyya, the new Carthage. But such classical allusions
are far outnumbered by biblical (primarily Old Testament) parallels:
the poet compares the conflict to Moses' struggle with Pharaoh, to
David's fight with Goliath, and to Gideon's combat against the Midi-
anites (whose name indeed, becomes *Madianites*, residents of *Madia*).
God assures the victory of His army by sending the same angel to
smite the Agarenes that he sent against Sennacherib (2 Kings 19:35);

at the hour of battle, the Archangel Michael sounds his trumpet, just as he did when he slew the dragon.

In the heat of battle, the Agarenes call on Muḥammad, 'who roused the world with his perfidy, the enemy of the Trinity and of the holy faith; he denies that Jesus of Nazareth, the Word, became God'. Muḥammad 'was a more powerful heresiarch than Arius'. His Saracen followers are 'like beasts'. God, of course, grants victory to the Pisans and their Genoan allies, who conquer the suburb of Zawila (Sabila in the text), then the city of Mahdiyya itself. Men, women and children are massacred in the mosque (*meschita*) and the Italians cut down 'a thousand of Muḥammad's priests'.

SIGNIFICANCE

This poem, written just a few years before Urban II's call for the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont in 1095, has been seen as expressing a vision of holy war against Muslims which will subsequently come to full fruition during the First Crusade. Unlike many texts on the First Crusade, the poem presents Muslims as heretics (rather than idolaters) and Muḥammad as a heresiarch (rather than a false god). The description of the Saracen enemies and in particular of their king is similar to that in French *chansons de geste*. Yet the poet's use of the Old Testament in order to present the Pisan army as the echo of that of Israel, anticipates the chronicles of the First Crusade.

MANUSCRIPTS

> MS Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale – 3897/919, fols 63r-65v (first half of the 12th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

> http://www.uan.it/alim/testi/xi/AlimCarmenvictorPisanXIepica-poes.htm;
> this transcription seems to be the source of three other websites that reproduce the poem:
> http://www.intratext.com/IXT/LAT0619/_P1.HTM
> http://www.ancienttexts.org/library/latinlibrary/carmeninvicto-riam.html
> http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/carmeninvictoriam.html
> H. Cowdrey, 'The Mahdiya campaign of 1087', *English Historical Review* 92 (1977) 1-29, pp. 24-29 (repr. in J. France (ed.), *Medieval warfare 1000-1300*, Aldershot UK, 2006, 493-521; Cowdrey was unaware of the 1971 and 1969 editions)

G. Scalia: 'Il carme Pisano sull'impresa contro i Saraceni del 1087', in *Studi di Filologia romanza offerti a Silvio Pellegrini*, Padua, 1971, 565-627 (reproduced online at

Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum, ed. P. Loi, Pisa, 1969 (edition with introduction, commentary and Italian trans.)

F. Schneider (ed.), *Fünfundzwanzig lateinische weltliche Rhythmen aus der Frühzeit*, Rome, 1925, pp. 34-42

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E. Du Méril (ed.), 'Chant sur la victoire remportée par les Pisans, en 1088', in *Poésies populaires du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1847, pp. 239-51

Baron of Reiffemberg (ed.), 'Poème sur l'honneur de Pisans vainqueurs des Sarrasins', *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Sciences et de Belles-Lettres de Bruxelles* 10 (1843) 524-45 (according to P. Loi, edition containing numerous errors)

STUDIES

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M. Oldoni, 'Guerra e pace nell'epica medievale,' in E. Menestò (ed.), *Pace e guerra nel basso medioevo. Atti del XL Convegno storico internazionale*, Spoleto, 2004, 335-45

Cowdrey, 'The Mahdiya campaign of 1087'

M. Allegretto and G. Lachin, 'Epica latina medioevale ed escatalogia cristiana. Il "Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum"', *Atti dell'Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti – Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti* 131 (1973) 209-29

John Tolan

ʿAbdallāh ibn Buluqqīn

Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh ibn Buluqqīn (ibn Buluggīn)
ibn Bādīs ibn Ḥabūs al-Ṣinhājī

DATE OF BIRTH   January 1056
PLACE OF BIRTH   Granada
DATE OF DEATH   1095
PLACE OF DEATH   Agmāt (Maghreb)

BIOGRAPHY

ʿAbdallāh ibn Buluqqīn was the last Zīrid king of the taifa of Granada
(1073-90), succeeding his grandfather Bādīs. His predecessors were
of Berber origin, and arrived in al-Andalus during the period of the
caliphate, taking power in Granada after its collapse.

During his reign, ʿAbdallāh and his vizier had to resist a number
of threats to the kingdom and his own position. His own brother
Tamīm opposed him, Alfonso VI demanded tribute after the con-
quest of Alcalá la Real, and the frontiers were attacked by the king of
Seville, allied with the rulers of Castile and Almería.

After the Christian conquest of Toledo in 1085, the taifa of Gran-
ada asked the Almoravids for help, only to be taken by them soon
afterwards. ʿAbdallāh was deposed and left al-Andalus for Marrakesh
and Agmāt, where he died.

Some of his biographers portray ʿAbdallāh as a scholar, stressing
his deep knowledge of rhetoric and poetry.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Ibn Buluqqīn, ʿAbd Allāh, *Kitāb al-tibyān li-l-amīr ʿAbd Allāh ibn Buluqqīn,
    akhīr umarāʾ Banī Zīrī bi-Gharnāṭa*, ed. A.T. al-Ṭībī, Rabat, 1995
Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Al-iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, ed. M.ʿA.A. ʿInān, 4 vols, Cairo,
    1973-78, iii, pp. 379-82
Ibn Saʿīd, *Al-mughrib fī ḥulā l-Maghrib*, ed. S. Ḍayf, 2 vols, Cairo, 1953-55, ii,
    pp. 108, 115, 154

Secondary

J. Lirola Delgado, art. 'Ibn Buluqqīn, ʿAbd Allāh', in *Enciclopedia de al-Andalus*

J. Samsó, 'Sobre el horóscopo y la fecha de nacimiento de ʿAbd Allāh, último rey zīrī de Granada', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 187 (1990) 209-15

E. Lévi-Provençal and E. García Gómez, *El siglo XI en 1ª persona. Las 'Memorias' de ʿAbd Allāh, ultimo rey zīrí de Granada, destronado por los almorávides (1090)*, Madrid, 1980, pp. 15-57

ʿA. Ibn Ibrāhīm, *Al-iʿlām bi-man ḥalla Marrākush wa-Agmāt min al-aʿlām*, ed. ʿA.W. Ibn Manṣūr, 10 vols, Rabat, 1974-83, viii, pp. 184-86

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-tibyān ʿan al-ḥāditha al-kāʾina bi-dawlat Banī Zīrī fī Gharnāṭa, 'Explanation of the situation that prevailed under the Zīrid dynasty in Granada'

DATE   1094-95

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work was conceived as a history of the Zīrid dynasty of Granada. Even though it is partial, it gives detailed descriptions of how the Kingdom of Granada survived during the last quarter of the 11th century. As ʿAbdallāh's own autobiography, it can be understood as a king's justification for the treaties he made with Christians, and particularly with Alfonso VI.

At the start of the work, ʿAbdallāh reflects on the importance of religion and the realization that one's destiny is held by God. He says that polytheists and the People of the Book are mistaken in rejecting the Prophet of Islam, who was the successor and seal of their own prophets, and the renewer of their faith.

In justification of himself, he protests that, when the Almoravids were at the gates of Granada, he preferred that they should take the city rather than leaving it to the Christians, and affirms that they would find no Christians inside when they entered.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work contains informative references about the political activities of Alfonso VI and his relationships with the taifa kings. More

importantly, though briefly, it tells about what appears to have been a Christian population in Granada as something that was used against ʿAbdallāh by the Almoravids when they took the city.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Fes, Jāmiʿ Qarawiyyīn – 1886 (date unknown; incomplete)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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ʿAbd Allāh ibn Buluqqīn, *Kitāb al-tibyān li-l-amīr ʿAbd Allāh ibn Buluqqīn, ajīr umarāʾ Banī Zīrī bi-Garnāṭa*, ed. A.T. al-Ṭībī, Rabat, 1995

A.T. al-Ṭībī, *The Tibyān. Memoirs of ʿAbd Allāh b. Bulluggīn last Zīrīd amīr of Granada*, Leiden, 1986 (trans.).

Lévi-Provençal and García Gómez, *El siglo XI en 1ª persona* (Spanish trans.)

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Buluqqīn, *Min mudhakkirāt al-amīr ʿAbd Allāh akhīr Banī Zīrī bi-Garnāṭa al-musammā bi-Kitāb al-tibyān*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo, 1955

É. Lévi-Provençal, 'Les "Mémoires" de ʿAbd Allāh, dernier roi zīride de Grenade', *Al-Andalus* 3 (1935) 233-344; *Al-Andalus* 4 (1936) 29-143; 'Deux nouveaux fragments des "Mémoires" du roi zīride ʿAbd Allāh de Grenade', *Al-Andalus* 6 (1941) 1-63 (partial edition)

STUDIES

Al-Ṭībī, *The Tibyān*, pp. 1-30

Lévi-Provençal and García Gómez, *El siglo XI en 1ª persona*, 13-57

Amalia Zomeño

Urban II

Pope Urban II (Odo of Châtillon-sur-Marne)

DATE OF BIRTH   About 1035
PLACE OF BIRTH   Châtillon-sur-Marne, France
DATE OF DEATH   29 or 30 July 1099
PLACE OF DEATH   Rome

BIOGRAPHY

Urban, whose name was Odo (Eudes), was born into a noble family in Châtillon-sur-Marne around 1035. He studied with St Bruno, the founder of the Carthusians, at Reims, where he was made canon and archdeacon. Around 1070, he entered Cluny, where he was first a monk and later became prior. Pope Gregory VII summoned him to Rome, made him cardinal bishop of Ostia in 1080, and sent him to Germany as his legate in 1084-85. He was elected pope in 1088. Henry IV's Italian campaigns in 1090-92 brought the antipope Clement III to Rome, while Urban retreated to southern Italy, where he lived under Norman protection. In 1093, Urban was able to return to Rome and in 1094, through bribery, won possession of the Lateran. (It is believed that four years later he obtained Castel San'Angelo by the same means.) By 1095 he succeeded in securing his position.

As pope, Urban II was a consistent continuator and promoter of the 'Gregorian' reform. He differed from Gregory VII, however, in adopting a less confrontational approach in promoting the reform, which was rewarded with success in his dealings with lay rulers and within the church. Urban's first council at Melfi (1089) renewed Gregory VII's legislation against simony, Nicolaitism, and lay investiture – issues that concerned him throughout his pontificate. In very successful councils at Piacenza (March 1095) and Clermont (November 1095), Urban made further advances in enacting reform legislation. At Piacenza, he responded to the Byzantine Emperor Alexius I's appeal by calling on Christian soldiers to defend the Eastern Church, while at Clermont he decreed the Truth of God and summoned the First Crusade to liberate Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher from the Muslims.

The launching of the First Crusade was the fruit of Urban II's two long-standing policies, one of which was to improve relations with the Eastern Church. With the union of the churches in view, he held a synod with Greek bishops from southern Italy in Bari (1098). With the help of Anselm of Canterbury, he persuaded the Greeks to accept the doctrine of the *filioque* (the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son as well as the Father). In the end, however, these efforts failed, not least – ironically – because the First Crusade re-ignited mistrust and hostility between the Greeks and Latins. The other policy was Urban's support for the reconquest, which bore success mainly in Spain, where, in the steps of a Christian military offensive, Urban established the suzerainty of the Holy See over Christian kingdoms and Roman primacy within the reorganized Spanish church.

Under Urban II's leadership, the centralization of the church made further progress, the papal finances were reorganized, the papal court (*curia Romana*) took shape, the influence of the college of cardinals increased, and the overall position of the papacy within both the church and Christian society was strengthened, influenced in no small way by the launching of the First Crusade. Many of the rulings of Urban II as a canonist were incorporated into ecclesiastical law. The influence of the crusades, the initiation of which was Urban II's most popular and memorable achievement, was long-lasting on ideas, images, and institutions within Christendom, Europe, and the West, and on relations between the Western Christian world and the Muslim world. He died two weeks after the capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders, on July 29 or 30, 1099, and was beatified by Pope Leo XIII in 1881.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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PL 151, cols 9-584

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Epistolae et privilegia, 'Letters and privileges'

DATE	15 October 1088-4 May 1099

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE	Latin

DESCRIPTION

Relevant to Christian-Muslim relations are portions of Urban II's papal letters and privileges, as well as decrees and canons of church councils convoked by the pope, contemporary reports of Urban's actions and speeches (some by eye-witnesses), and fragments and testimonia in later sources. Letters and privileges are our most extensive source. Jaffé's *Regesta* cites 463 items; additional documents have been discovered since, mostly by Kehr and his collaborators. Thematically, extant sources directly bearing on Christian-Muslim relations fall into two interrelated categories: the reconquest and the First Crusade.

Urban II's letters and privileges addressing the reconquest in the Iberian peninsula and on the western Mediterranean islands far outnumber those referring to the crusade. However, the body of documents pertaining to Urban's crusading activity is augmented by conciliar documents, accounts of his organizational efforts, and reports of his sermon at Clermont. Critical analysis and editions of the latter originate with Riant and Hagenmeyer; critical research into Urban II's councils and editions of conciliar documents we owe primarily to Somerville.

Reconquest

The reconquest of formerly Christian territories from the Muslims was one of Urban II's main concerns throughout his pontificate. He supported and encouraged the reconquest and took a keen interest in developments. His letters and privileges relating to the reconquest, broadly speaking, deal with the ecclesiastical administration of reconquered territories and with making sense of the reconquest.

With regard to the administration of reconquered territories, Urban was consequently following the guidelines laid down by Gregory VII, the aim of which was to establish, maintain, and extend the authority of the papally-led Roman Church, claiming universal primacy. In some cases, e.g., Corsica and Sardinia, Urban II simply reconfirmed Gregory's decisions (Jaffé-Loewenfeld, *Regesta pontificum* [=*JL*] 5449, 5464, 6886, 7266, 7890). Elsewhere, he was the shaper of the new order. He conferred the primacy over the churches of Spain on the church of Toledo, sending the pallium to Archbishop Bernard and informing other bishops of Spain, the abbot of Cluny (Bernard's mother house), and the king (*JL* 5366; 5367; 5370; 5371; 5643; 5801) of this papal decision. He called on the nobility and the episcopate of Catalonia to

conquer Tarragona and restore the metropolitan see there (*JL* 5401; 5450; Kehr, *Katalanien*, no. 22). He made Huesca episcopal see the head of the diocese of Jacca (*JL* 5703; 5736; †5777), and he also dealt with minor disputes regarding rights and possessions of religious houses and churches (e.g., *JL* 5398; 5699; 5702; Kehr, *Katalanien*, nos. 16-21, 24-26). The suppression of the Mozarabic rite in Spain and its replacement with Roman usages was completed under him.

In his dealings with secular rulers involved in the reconquest, Urban II was a pragmatic politician with a clear idea of the right order. Christian princes were to be defenders of the faith and champions of the church. As such, they were key agents in the reconquest: their role was to wrest formerly Christian territories from the Saracens, chase the enemies out, liberate churches, and expand the Roman rule. In a letter to King Alfonso IV of Castille (*JL* 5367), Urban referred to Pope Gelasius I's sentence *Duo sunt*, which asserted the superiority of spiritual authority over secular power. Higher in dignity, the pope was responsible for the safety of the Christian king, who in turn was expected to follow ecclesiastical guidance and fight for the church. The Count of Barcelona became a Roman vassal.

Urban saw the reconquest as a sign of God's grace. Having punished his people for their sins by allowing Saracen conquests and tyranny, God now showed mercy and helped restore the ancient churches. Urban's explanatory scheme is well expressed in his letter to the archbishop of Toledo: All who know the holy decretals can see 'the dignity that the Toledan Church had possessed from the ancient times, the authority it had in the regions of Spain and Gaul, and how through her the ecclesiastical matters prospered; but because of the multitude of sins of the people that city was conquered by the Saracens and the liberty of the Christian religion was there reduced to nothing, so much so that for almost 370 years no Christian bishop was able there to keep alive his office. In our times however God has looked upon his people in mercy, and after the Saracens were chased out by the zeal of the most glorious King Alfonso and the efforts of the Christian people, the city of Toledo has been restored to the Christian law…And responding to this mercy and grace from above we can thus…agree to restore the former authority of the Church of Toledo' (*JL* 5366.) Urban applied this scheme to different theaters of reconquest, repeating it a number of times (cf. *JL* 5413; 5448; 5449; 5450; 5460; 5464; 5497; 5549; 5703; 5710; †5777).

Crusade

Urban II is generally seen as the originator of the crusades. He proclaimed what we call the First Crusade in the Council of Clermont, on 27 November 1095. We only have reports of that speech, not Urban's own wording of the appeal. More reliable but less informative of Urban's views is a small number of canons and documents on papal activity relating to the crusade. Also preserved are about half a dozen letters in which Urban speaks of the crusade in his own voice. Among the most comprehensive is the following letter to all the faithful of Flanders: 'We believe that you, brethren, learned long ago from many reports the deplorable news that the barbarians in their frenzy have invaded and ravaged the churches of God in the eastern regions. Worse still, they have seized the Holy City of Christ, embellished by his passion and resurrection, and – it is blasphemy to say it – they have sold her and her churches into abominable slavery. Thinking devoutly about this disaster and grieved by it, we visited Gaul and urged most fervently the lords and subjects of that land to liberate the eastern churches. At a council in Auvergne, as is widely known, we imposed on them the obligation to undertake such a military enterprise for the remission of all their sins and we appointed in our place as leader of this journey and labour our dearest son Adhémar, bishop of Le Puy. It follows that anyone who decides to go on this journey should obey his orders as though they were our own and should be entirely subject to his power to "loose and bind" in any decision that appears to concern this business. If God calls any men among you to take this vow, they should know that he will set out, with God's help, on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary and that they can join his company at that day' (*JL* 5608; Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, no. 2; L. and J. Riley-Smith, *The crusades*, p. 38).

In a letter to his supporters among the laity and clergy in Bologna, Urban stated: 'It pleases us exceedingly' to hear that 'many of you have felt the longing to go to Jerusalem'. To laymen among them he let it be known 'that if any men among you go there not because they desire earthly profit but only for the salvation of their souls and the liberation of the Church, we, acting as much on our own authority as on that of all the archbishops and bishops in Gaul, through the mercy of almighty God and the prayers of the Catholic Church, relieve them of all penance imposed for their sins, of which they have made genuine and full confession, because they have risked their belongings and lives for the love of God and their neighbour.' His message to

clerics and monks was that they were not allowed to go on the cru-
sade 'unless they have permission from their bishops and abbots'. The
pope also told bishops to be 'careful not to allow their parishioners to
go without the advice and foreknowledge of the clergy', and to make
sure that 'young married men' had the agreement of their wives. 'May
almighty God strengthen you in fear and love of him and may he lead
you, freed from all sins and errors, to understand how to love him
above all things and show him true devotion' (*JL* 5670; Hagenmeyer,
Epistulae, no. 3; L. and J. Riley-Smith, *The crusades*, pp. 38-39).

Urban II reiterated his prohibition to the religious to go on the
crusade in even stronger words in a letter to the congregation of Val-
lombrosa: 'We have heard that some of you want to set out with the
knights who are making for Jerusalem with the good intention of lib-
erating Christianity. This is the right kind of sacrifice, but it is planned
by the wrong kind of person. For we were stimulating the minds of
knights to go on this expedition, since they might be able to restrain
the savagery of the Saracens by their arms and restore the Christians
to their former freedom: we do not want those who have abandoned
the world and have vowed themselves to spiritual warfare either to
bear arms or to go on this journey; we go so far as to forbid them to
do so. And we forbid religious – clerics or monks – to set out in this
company without the permission of their bishops or abbots in accor-
dance with the rule of the holy canons' (Hiestand, *Papsturkunden*, no.
2; L. and J. Riley-Smith, *The crusades*, pp. 39-40.)

In letters addressed to Spain, Urban II represented the reconquest
and the crusade as a unity. 'In our days', he wrote to Bishop Peter
of Huesca, 'God has through Christian men overcome the Turks in
Asia, the Moors in Europe, and through special grace restored once
famous cities to his worship' (*JL* 5703). In conformity with such an
understanding, Urban urged the nobility from the region to devote
their 'pious labor' to Spain instead of undertaking 'the journey' to
Jerusalem. Already prior to the launching of the crusade, Urban
counseled Spanish counts and bishops, who, in order to do penance
or for the remission of sins, wished to undertake pilgrimage to Jeru-
salem or other places, rather to devote their pious labor to restoring
the Church of Tarragona, so that there could be an episcopal see there
and the town would be the bulwark of Christian people against the
Saracens (*JL* 5401). In 1096, the pope again 'beseeched' and 'ordered'
Spanish counts and their soldiers 'on behalf of the city or rather the
church of Tarragona' to 'make a vigorous effort to restore it in every

possible way for the remission of sins. For you know what a great
defence it would be for Christ's people and what a terrible blow it
would be to the Saracens if, by the goodness of God, the position of
that famous city were restored. If the knights of other provinces have
decided with one mind to go to the aid of the Asian Church and to
liberate their brothers from the tyranny of the Saracens, so ought you
with one mind and with our encouragement to work with greater
endurance to help a church so near you to resist the invasions of the
Saracens. No one must doubt that if he dies on this expedition, for
the love of God and his brothers, his sins will surely be forgiven and
he will gain a share of eternal life through the most compassionate
mercy of our God. So if any of you has made up his mind to go to
Asia, it is here instead that he should try to fulfill his vow, because
it is no virtue to rescue Christians from the Saracens in one place,
only to expose them to the tyranny and oppression of the Saracens
in another. May almighty God arouse in your hearts a love of your
brothers and reward your bravery with victory over the enemy' (Kehr,
Katalien, 2, no. 23; L. and J. Riley-Smith, *The crusades*, p. 40.) In this
spirit, Urban sent the archbishop of Toledo, who wanted to join
the crusade, back to Spain, absolving him from his crusading vow
(*JL* *5674).

One of the preserved canons of the Council of Clermont tells of
the decision to send a military expedition to rescue the church of
Jerusalem and other Asian churches from the power of the Saracens,
while another promises that all who went to Jerusalem to liberate the
church of God not in order to obtain honor or riches but solely out
of devotion, would be freed from all penance (Somerville, *Decreta
clarmontensia*, pp. 74, 124). Not unrelated to Urban's crusading appeal
at Clermont (although the nature of the relation is open to debate)
was his response in the Council of Piacenza in March 1095 to the
Byzantine embassy asking for 'some help with the defense of the holy
Church against the pagans', who had reached the walls of Constanti-
nople. Urban urged 'many' to offer that help, 'so that they promised
by swearing that they would with God's help go there and help that
emperor against the pagans faithfully and according to their ability'
(Bernoldi, *Chronicon*, a. 1095). *Annales S. Benigni Divionensis* (a. 1095)
claim that 'the first vows for the journey to Jerusalem were sworn'
in the Council of Autun, which may have taken place during
Urban's stay there in October 1095. On his way from Clermont back
to Rome, Urban is said to have, 'everywhere he went, instructed men

to make crosses and go to Jerusalem and liberate it from the Turks and other peoples' (*Chronicon Sancti Maxentii*, a. 1096). More specifically, Urban is reported to have preached the crusade in the councils of Limoges in the last week of 1095, Angers in the second week of February 1096, Tours in March 1096, and Nîmes in July 1096 (*Notitiae duae Lemovicenses; Gesta Andegavensium*; Bernoldi, *Chronicon*, a. 1096; *Chronicon Sancti Maxentii*, a. 1096). In Angers, he appointed Robert Arbrissel a preacher of the crusade and confirmed Raymond of Toulouse's donation of rights and goods to the abbey of Saint-Gilles in preparation for Raymond's joining the expedition to Jerusalem (Baldric of Dol, *Vita b. Roberti de Arbrisello* 2, in *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 5 vols, Paris, 1730-45, v, cols 743-46, no. 393). In September 1096, Urban sent Bishop Hugh of Grenoble and William of Orange to Genoa to preach the crusade (Cafari, *De liberatione*, iii, p. 49). He asked the Genoese for help with the Holy Land (Jacobus de Voragine, *Chronica*, p. 300). From Pisa, he addressed a letter to his supporters in Bologna (*JL* 5670; Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, no. 3, cited above) and, late in October near Lucca, he met Robert of Normandy, Stephen of Blois, and Robert of Flanders, on their way to the East, and gave them his blessing (Fulcher, *Historia* I, vii,1; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum anglorum* IV.350). He discussed the crusade in Chieti (probably in March 1098: *Chronicon Casauriense* 5), and in the council he held in Bari, in October 1098, where he reportedly expressed his intention to leave for the Holy Land (Riant, *Inventaire*, app. no. IV, p. 225). Late in 1098, he named Cardinal Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, his plenipotentiary with the crusaders, in place of the deceased Adhémar (whom he had appointed in the Council of Clermont). In the year of his death, he exhorted Archbishop Anselm of Milan to help the crusading efforts, which Anselm did by going on a crusade in 1100 (Landulfus, *Historia mediolanensis* 4; Kehr, *Italia pontificia* 6.1.54, no. *129).

SIGNIFICANCE

Urban II's letters and privileges, as well as other surviving documents that shed light on his thought and action, are of primary importance for understanding Christian-Muslim relations in the period concerned and far beyond that time, because of Urban's role as the initiator of the First Crusade. The leaders of the crusade, in a letter to Urban, called it the war that was 'properly your own' (Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, no. 16, p. 164). Contemporary chroniclers and the first historians

of the crusade had no doubts as to Urban's centrality to the whole
enterprise. The emphasis that modern historians, in their efforts to
explain the causes and success of the First Crusade, have placed on
Urban and/or on the favorable circumstances (social transformation,
economic and demographic factors, political developments, church
reform and the rise of papal monarchy, lay piety) has shifted here and
there, but Urban's key role has never been denied.

The significance of Urban II's words for bringing about the crusad-
ing action remains open to debate. Urban deployed some conventional
figures of speech from discourses on the Muslims and holy war. The
Muslims were pagans (*JL* 5710), wild and savage people (*JL* 5497; Hie-
stand, *Papsturkunden*, no. 2), molesters (*JL* 5710), barbarians, invaders,
and ravishers of the churches (*JL* 5608). They were enemies, includ-
ing the 'enemies of the cross' (Kehr, *Katalien* 2, no. 27). Against that
enemy, God granted victories to his people and helped them; Chris-
tian military triumphs were the expression of divine mercy, victories
in the name of God, or God's work (cf. *JL* 5366; 5398; 5448; 5464; 5497;
5703; 5706; Kehr, *Katalien* 2, no. 23). Within and beyond such conven-
tional rhetoric, one can detect shifts of emphasis in Urban's writings.
One shift was mainly 'technical': building on the idea of meritorious
violence at the bidding of the pope and emphasizing the devotional
and penitential character of holy war as (armed) pilgrimage, Urban II
and his councils began to codify the spiritual benefits of crusaders –
commutation, redemption, absolution, or remission of penance or
sins (there is a difference between what was promised by papal docu-
ments and popular crusading propaganda, and no consensus among
historians) – and their legal protection. Perhaps more consequential
was Urban II's giving greater prominence than his predecessors to
the image and idea of Saracen oppression, servitude, and tyranny (cf.
JL 5497; 5608; 5703; Kehr, *Katalanien*, 2: no. 23), and to their concep-
tual opposite – the idea of liberation. In Urban II's usage, the idea of
liberation itself underwent a transformation. He departed from the
Gregorian understanding, in which *liberatio* was primarily the libera-
tion of the church through reform, and called for 'liberation of the
eastern churches' (*JL* 5608) and for the 'liberation of Christendom'
(Hiestand, *Papsturkunden*, no. 2). The imperative to liberate Christen-
dom was a logical extension of the reform papacy's claim to universal
primacy (cf. Gilchrist, 'The papacy and war against the "Saracens"',
p. 186). Christendom, however, was not a pre-existing community but
a community in the making. Consequently, crusade was by definition

an expansionist war, producing the object of liberation through the slaughter of the enemy and conquest of territory.

Urban's most important innovation was to develop a theologico-historical scheme in which he placed the reconquest and the crusade (and thus Christian-Muslim relations) and, intimately linked with that, a political-theological interpretation of the crusaders' action. Urban viewed and represented the armed struggle against Muslims in the west and east, the reconquest and the crusade, as a unitary struggle on different but equally important fronts. He ordered Spanish pilgrims and knights to stay home, created Pisa an archbishopric for its success in North Africa, gave perpetual legation to the victorious Roger of Sicily, and organized the expedition to the east (see especially *JL* 5703, and Kehr, *Katalien* 2, no. 23; cf. *JL* 5401, *5674; Malaterra, *Ruggero I e Roberto il Guiscardo*, iv, p. 29; Boase, 'Recent developments'; Becker, *Papst Urban II.*). The 'global' and successful struggle against Muslims was a sign of God's grace and a turn in salvation history: The Christian people had expiated for their sins by suffering Saracen tyranny and oppression (Urban was very precise in counting the years that had elapsed since the Arab conquests in different parts of the western Mediterranean); God looked upon His flock in mercy, and with His help they were liberated and they restored the faith and churches to their ancient glory. Whereas the conventional association of God and God's will with Christian military triumphs against the Muslims was a feature of Urban's letters from the beginning of his pontificate (Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, p. 16), he went a step further. In his comprehensive view of the struggle against Muslims, he made a shift from the concept of God's help to his people to one of God's acting through them: Christian holy warriors did not only enjoy God's help and benefit from his merciful intervention, but came to embody God's action. God now acted through them. Urban expressed both these aspects in his privilege for Huesca. He thanked the Lord for the abundance of His mercy, since He deigned that 'in our own times' the oppression of the Christian people be eased and faith exalted, 'since in our days, God has through Christian men overcome the Turks in Asia, the Moors in Europe, and through special grace restored once famous cities to his worship' (*JL* 5703; cf. 5460).

In Urban II's *imaginaire*, the conflict between Christians and Muslims was of central importance and became irreconcilable, driving Christians into a God-willed war of extermination. If the language of crusading chronicles and histories, including their reports of Urban

II's Clermont speech, was sometimes stronger than the language in Urban's own surviving writings, it was consonant with it. As both idea and reality, the crusades have left a profound negative imprint on Christian-Muslim relations, and this has not yet been overcome. As the initiator of the crusades, Pope Urban II bears a major share of responsibility.

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Tomaž Mastnak

Gesta Francorum

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; possibly southern Italy
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; possibly late 11th or early 12th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about the author of the *Gesta Francorum* other than what can be inferred from the text, which in fact amounts to very little. Since the time of Heinrich von Sybel and Heinrich Hagenmeyer's researches into the text in the 19th century, however, a quite full biography has been constructed. The general belief has been that the author was a knight of Norman descent from southern Italy, who participated in the First Crusade as a follower of Bohemond of Taranto before shifting his allegiance to Count Raymond IV of Toulouse in the final months of the expedition, when Bohemond's retention of the city of Antioch meant that he did not take part in the conquest of Jerusalem. For von Sybel and Hagenmeyer, as well as for several later commentators, the frequent use in the text of the first-person plural both expresses the author's identification with the crusaders' sense of solidarity and situates him as a historical actor in certain phases of the action.

This image of the actively-engaged knightly author continues to receive some scholarly support, but none of its central premises stand up to close scrutiny. Although the style and standard of the text's Latinity were criticized by near-contemporary writers, Robert the Monk, Baldric of Bourgueil and Guibert of Nogent, there are in fact numerous indications of a quite sophisticated facility with the rhetorical possibilities of the language as well as signs of the substantial imprint of scriptural lexis and syntax. This argues strongly for the author having been a cleric. The supposed attachment to Bohemond rests on a somewhat old-fashioned approach to the content of texts as direct indicators of authorial identity: it is true that the text contains

a greater amount of information about the southern Italian Norman element on the crusade than about other groups (apart from some southern French crusaders, who are treated at some length), and it foregrounds Bohemond at several junctures, but these emphases are to understood as part of the text's narrative programme, not in the first instance as biographical clues about the author.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum, 'The deeds of the Franks and of others going to Jerusalem'

DATE   Probably 1099
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

A little less than 20,000 words in length and occupying 97 pages in its most recent Oxford Medieval Texts edition, the *Gesta Francoru-met aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* is a Latin prose history of the First Crusade between its preaching in France by Pope Urban II and the key events of the summer of 1099, that is, the crusaders' capture of Jerusalem from Egyptian forces on 15 July and their defeat of a large Egyptian relief force at Ascalon on 12 August, at which point the text concludes. The absence of retrospection in the narrating of events suggests that the text was completed soon after that latter date.

The author's autograph does not survive, but the surviving manuscripts broadly agree in dividing the text into ten 'books' (the division of the work into 39 chapters has no manuscript warrant, and would seem to have been introduced by Jacques Bongars into his 1611 edition, whence it was adopted by Hagenmeyer's 1890 edition and entered into subsequent scholarly usage). The first eight books are all short, averaging 1,500 words; they bring the action up to the crusaders' capture of Antioch on 3 June 1098. The final two books are longer and point to a growing sense of thematic range and narrative ambition on the part of the author. Book nine in particular is a narratively complex suite of discrete but interwoven sequences that share the common theme of misunderstandings and misconceptions. Book ten more closely resembles a traditional campaign narrative in its propelling of the action from Antioch to the twin climaxes of July-August 1099.

Throughout the text, the author presents attitudes towards Muslims that are typical of contemporary discourses, including some resonances with vernacular epic treatments: the crusaders' opponents are pagan, idolatrous and ethnically diverse, their human geography is exotic and dimly perceived, and their numbers are vast. The several renderings of Muslim characters' direct speech in the text attempt to convey a sense of bombast, bordering on the comic, by deploying deliberate stylistic infelicities and grandiloquent constructions. This technique is especially evident in the celebrated, and entirely fanciful, exchange between Kerbogha, the atabeg of Mosul, and his soothsaying mother on the eve of the battle of Antioch, in which Kerbogha would suffer catastrophic defeat. Muslim religious, social and military structures are broadly imagined as mirroring Frankish institutions, but in an exaggerated, burlesque fashion: for example, the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad is described as the Muslims' 'pope' and issues a

'licence to kill Christians', which should be seen as a crude parody and inversion of the pope's crusade appeal and its offer of spiritual benefits.

On the other hand, the text reveals some attempt to differentiate between the various Muslim populations that the crusade encountered, and in particular a guarded appreciation of the fighting abilities of the Turks, which thus effectively situated them culturally closest to their crusader foes. The author hints at an intertextual reference to Fredegar's 7th-century version of the Frankish myth of Trojan descent, according to which a break-away group of refugees en route to Gaul became known as the 'Torci'. The author ultimately refuses to endorse the belief that there was some sort of distant kinship between the Franks and the Turks, but the fact that the possibility is mentioned at all points to some nuancing of the stock crusader positions on the Muslim world.

SIGNIFICANCE

The surviving manuscripts of the *Gesta Francorum* suggest a modest but not insignificant textual transmission in the Middle Ages. An early reworking of the text, which highlighted the status and achievements of Duke Robert of Normandy on the crusade, seems to have originated in the Anglo-Norman realm; a greater proportion of the manuscripts are of English origin than is the case with all other contemporary narratives of the First Crusade. The principal significance of the text lies not in its own transmission, however, but in its mobilization as a source text by several crusade historians, including Robert the Monk, Baldric of Bourgueil and Guibert of Nogent. Robert's *Historia Iherosolimitana* followed the *Gesta*'s basic plot outline and story content quite closely, and the very substantial manuscript dissemination of the *Historia* reveals that a mediated form of the *Gesta*'s telling became a stock element of medieval Europe's cultural memory of the First Crusade. To some extent, modern historical reconstructions of the crusade continue to privilege the plot design of the *Gesta* and its derivatives. The *Gesta* was also consulted by the other 'eyewitness' historians of the crusade, Raymond of Aguilers (q.v.) and Fulcher of Chartres (q.v.). The relationship of the Gesta to a fourth 'eyewitness' text, the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* of Peter Tudebode (q.v.), is more problematic: some form of common source possibly lies behind both texts, but if so this *Ur*-text must have been very similar in structure and content to the *Gesta* as it now survives.

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Morris, 'The *Gesta Francorum* as narrative history'

Beer, *Narrative conventions of truth in the Middle Ages*

Skoulatos, 'L'auteur anonyme des *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* et le monde byzantin'

Hill, 'Crusading warfare. A camp-follower's view, 1097-1120'

Oehler, 'Studien zu den *Gesta Francorum*'

L. Boehm, ' "Gesta Dei per Francos" oder "Gesta Francorum"? Die Kreuzzuge als historiographisches Problem', *Saeculum* 8 (1957) 43-81

Witzel, 'Le problème de l'auteur des *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*'

Gavigan, *The syntax of the Gesta Francorum*

Jamison, 'Some notes on the *Anonymi Gesta Francorum* with special reference to the Norman contingent from southern Italy and Sicily in the First Crusade'

Krey, 'A neglected passage in the *Gesta* and its bearing on the literature of the First Crusade'

Iorga, *Les narrateurs de la première croisade*

Marcus Bull

Abū l-Faraj Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd ibn Yaḥyā

DATE OF BIRTH   Perhaps early 11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   Perhaps later 11th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown; perhaps in or near Antioch

BIOGRAPHY

This entry introduces the author of three apologetic treatises, as reported in Sbath, *Fihris*, Supplement, p. 10: Abū l-Faraj Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd ibn Yaḥyā *al-ṭabīb al-Malakī al-Anṭākī*, 'the Melkite physician of Antioch'. This figure has been convincingly identified with the Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd ibn Yaḥyā to whom Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa devotes an entry (ʿ*Uyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. Müller, i, p. 239): a fine physician of Antioch whom the renowned Christian physician Ibn Buṭlān knew personally and about whom he wrote (in 1063) with the greatest respect for his piety and scholarship *fī zamāninā*, 'in our time'.

It is important to note that the well known historian and author of *Kitāb al-dhayl* (the *Appendix* to, or continuation of, the *Annales* of Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq, [q.v.]), was also named Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd ibn Yaḥyā ('al-Anṭākī' [q.v.]). Are Yaḥyā the physician-apologist and Yaḥyā the historian one and the same person? Graf (*GCAL* ii, 51) and Samir ('Yaḥyā b. Saʿîd, Abû l-Faraǧ, b. Yaḥyâ al-Anṭâkî', p. 202) make the identification. Nasrallah (*HMLEM* iii.1, p. 253), however, argues that Yaḥyā the physician-apologist and Yaḥyā the historian must be distinguished, pointing out that Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa's entry for the former does not mention *Kitāb al-dhayl* (although this book is known to him and mentioned at the end of his entry for Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq; ʿ*Uyūn al-anbāʾ*, ii, 86-87).

While this question of 'one Yaḥyā or two?' probably cannot be settled decisively, Micheau and Troupeau find the identification of Yaḥyā the historian (who was already a mature scholar in 1015) and Yaḥyā the physician-apologist (known to Ibn Buṭlān in 1063) to be 'chronologically delicate', and give their support to Nasrallah's position (Kratchkovsky, Micheau, and Troupeau, *Histoire*, pp. 374-75, with a good summary of the opposing points of view).

There is little more that we can say about Yaḥyā the physician-apologist. Sbath identifies him as a Melkite. From Sezgin (*GAS* iii, p. 251) we learn that he wrote a commentary on Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's *Masāʾil fī l-ṭibb*. He may have become acquainted with Ibn Buṭlān when the latter settled in Antioch towards the end of his life, if the two had not crossed paths earlier.

Yaḥyā the physician-apologist, whether or not the same person as Yaḥyā the historian, was (according to Sbath, *Fihris*, Supplement, p. 10) the author of three apologetic treatises: *Maqāla fī ḥaqīqat al-diyāna*, 'The truth of the [Christian] religion'; *Maqāla fī l-radd ʿalā l-Yahūd*, 'The refutation of the Jews'; and *Maqāla fī l-radd ʿalā l-Muslimīn*, 'The refutation of the Muslims'. The first and last of these will receive entries below.

Additional note:

On the same page in Sbath's *Fihris* (Supplement, p. 10, and referring to the same MS collection in Aleppo), we find an entry for a certain Abū l-Faraj al-Naṣrānī, whom Sbath identifies with a physician who served Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, p. 176), and who is said to have composed a *Maqāla fī ṣiḥḥat al-diyāna*, 'The soundness of the [Christian] religion'. This strikes the present writer as possibly a doublet for *Abū l-Faraj* Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd ibn Yaḥyā's *Maqāla fī ḥaqīqat al-diyāna*, treated below. However, many have followed Sbath's lead in treating 'Abū l-Faraj al-Naṣrānī' as a separate author: see Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 214 (though identifying him with a different physician in *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*); Samir, 'Abû l-Faraǧ an-Naṣrânî', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976) 225-26; Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.1, p. 254.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *Kitāb ʿuyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabāqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. A. Müller, 2 vols, Cairo, 1882, i, p. 239

Secondary
I. Kratchkovsky (ed.) and F. Micheau and G. Troupeau (trans), *Histoire de Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd d'Antioche*, (*PO* 47.4 = no. 212) Turnhout, 1997, pp. 373-75 (from the 'Introduction' of Micheau and Troupeau, on the question of the identification of Yaḥyā the historian and Yaḥyā the physician-apologist; they are inclined to distinguish between them)
Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.1, p. 253 (distinguishes between this author and the historian Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṭākī)

[S.] K. Samir, ʿYaḥyā b. Saʿīd, Abû l-Farağ, b. Yaḥyâ al-Anṭâkî, in ʿBibliographie' *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976) 201-42, p. 202 (identifies this author and the historian Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṭākī)

Sezgin, *GAS* iii, p. 251

Graf, *GCAL* ii, 51 (identifies this author and the historian Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṭākī)

Sbath, *Fihris*, Supplement, p. 10

On Ibn Buṭlān, see, for example:

L.I. Conrad, ʿScholarship and social context', in D. Bates (ed.), *Knowledge and the scholarly medieval traditions*, Cambridge, 1995, 84-100, p. 96 (on Ibn Buṭlān's later years in Antioch)

J. Schacht, art. ʿIbn Buṭlān', in *EI2*

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Maqāla fī ḥaqīqat al-diyāna, ʿTreatise on the truth of the [Christian] religion'

DATE   11th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION
To judge from the title, this is an apology of the ʿtrue religion' genre.

SIGNIFICANCE
In order to be able to judge the significance of this work, we must hope that a copy of this treatise can be found.

MANUSCRIPTS
MS Aleppo, Nīqūlāʾus Naḥḥās Collection (13th century; inaccessible MS in private collection; see Sbath, *Fihris*, Supplement, p. 10, no. 2527)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —
STUDIES   —

Maqāla fī l-radd ʿalā l-Muslimīn, ʿTreatise in refutation of the Muslims'

DATE   11th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

We know no more about this (presently lost) work than is told us by the title: that it is a refutation of Islam.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is interesting to note that Yaḥyā's controversial writings include both a 'true religion' apology (in defense of his own faith) *and* polemical refutations (of the faiths of others). This, of course, is not uncommon; one thinks, for example, of the 9th-century convert ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī (q.v.), whose two controversial works were *Kitāb al-dīn wa-l-dawla* (on the truth of Islam) and *Al-radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā* ('The refutation of the Christians').

MANUSCRIPTS

> MS Aleppo, Nīqūlāʾus Naḥḥās Collection (13th century; inaccessible MS in private collection; see Sbath, *Fihris*, Supplement, p. 10, no. 2529)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —

STUDIES   —

Mark N. Swanson

Ktābā d-ʿal-idaʿtā da-shrārā

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; possibly 11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; possibly 11th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

This author was an otherwise unknown West Syrian (Jacobite) Bishop of Edessa.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary   —

Secondary   —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ktābā d-ʿal-idaʿtā da-shrārā aw d-ʿElat d-kull ʿellān, 'The book of knowledge of the truth or of the Cause of all causes'

DATE   Probably 11th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Syriac

DESCRIPTION

This work, originally divided into nine *memrē* (discourses), the last two of which are lost (the work ends at *memrō* 7, ch. 2), is a reflection and meditation on God's creation, based on the reading and interpretation of the 'Book of nature', nature being the father and teacher of the human race, and on the study of scripture, especially the 'Book of Moses'. In the introduction, the author explains that with this work he intends to bring the reader to the perfect knowledge of Truth or God, the Cause of all causes.

The intended readership is not only the members of his own community, but all peoples, more specifically Christians of all denominations, Jews and Muslims (*Ishmaʿlōyē, Ṭayyōyē* or *Mahgrōyē/ Mhaggrōyē*). This explains his choice of the 'Book of Moses', accepted by all members of these three religions. The general Islamic context in which the author lived (he refers several times to the 'Arabs, Turks and Kurds') explains a number of allusions to Islamic theology scattered throughout his technical explanations of the wonders of creation, which make this work an encyclopaedia of natural science.

The book of nature shows that there is one God, who in an allusion from the Qurʾan is said to be 'without partner or companion' (p. 39/50). But, in an important step, nature also teaches about the Trinity. From both the general creation (*makrokosmos*) and also human nature (*mikrokosmos*), one can learn that God is Intellect (*Hawnō*), Word (*Melltō*) and Living Spirit (*Ruḥō ḥaytō*), which have the individual characteristics (proprieties) of paternity (the Intellect is the source of the Word), being born (*ylidō*) and life. The author also finds in nature some Trinitarian analogies, which are comparable to those found in earlier apologetic works addressed to Muslims, such as 'sun, light and strength' (p. 77).

Other themes that possibly reflect an awareness of the Christian intellectual debate with Muslim scholars are the issues of liberty, free will and providence (pp. 276-79), and of astrology.

Despite the declaration of universality in the introduction of this book, where the author emphasizes that all peoples are brothers and sons of the same race, it appears from his natural demonstration of the Trinity that his true intention is to show the superiority of the religion of the Christians, who are the only ones to possess truth in its fullness.

This work was popular, especially in East Syrian circles, and it was even translated into Arabic.

SIGNIFICANCE

The author exhibits a positive and irenic attitude towards all peoples, including Muslims. The work is no straightforward refutation of the beliefs of the adherents of other faiths, but an attempt to bring them from 'natural knowledge' to accept the truth of Christianity.

MANUSCRIPTS

See A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1922, p. 280

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

G. Furlani, 'Estratti del Libro della Causa delle Cause in un mano-scritto Vaticano', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 23 (1948) 37-45 (edition)

C. Kayser, *Das Buch von der Erkenntniss der Wahrheit oder der Ursache aller Ursachen*, Strasbourg, 1893 (German trans.)

C. Kayser, *Das Buch von der Erkenntniss der Wahrheit oder der Ursache aller Ursachen*, Leipzig, 1889 (edition)

STUDIES

G. Reinink, 'Communal identity and the systematisation of knowl-edge in the Syriac "Cause of all causes"', in P. Binkley (ed.), *Pre-modern encyclopaedic texts. Proceedings of the second Comers congress Groningen, 1-4 July 1966*, Leiden, 1997, 275-88

G. Klinge, 'Die Bedeutung der syrischen Theologen als Vermittler der griechischen Philosophie an den Islam', *Zeitschrift für Kirch-engeschichte* 58 (1932) 382-86

Baumstark, *Geschichte*, pp. 280-81

T. Nöldeke, Review of Kayser's edition, in *Literarisches Centrallblatt für Deutschland* 30 (1889) 1001-4

A. Pohlmann, 'Über die syrische Schrift: Liber generalis ad omnes gentes in einer Hdschr. der Bibliothek der Propaganda zu Rom', *ZDMG* 14 (1861) 648-63

Herman G.B. Teule

A chronicle fragment

DATE   10th or 11th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The fragmentary 14th-century copy of this chronicle, a mere 18 folios long, relates the first 18 years (912-929) of the reign of the Spanish Umayyad Caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (912-61), the period during which the *muwallad* (convert from Christianity) ʿUmar ibn Ḥafṣūn and his sons led an uprising. The rebels took possession of the fortress in Bobastro (Malaga), and made it their capital. They abandoned their new faith and returned to Christianity.

The account seems to be original, since the anonymous author gives only a single version of the report, differing in this from later Andalusī historians, who conventionally give two or more versions of the same historical incidents. It was perhaps written during the 10th or 11th century, since it is identical in many places with Ibn Idhārī's (d. c. 1295) later *Bayān al-mughrib*.

SIGNIFICANCE

The most important feature of this fragment is the fresh information it gives about Ibn Ḥafṣūn's return to Christianity, his death and burial, as well as details about his sons and supporters.

MANUSCRIPTS

The unique MS, acquired in Fes by Lévi-Provençal, is preserved in this scholar's collection.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

E. Lévi-Provençal and E. García Gómez, *Una crónica anónima de ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir. Editada por primera vez y traducida, con introducción, notas e índices*, Madrid, 1950, pp. 27-85 (edition), pp. 89-158 (Spanish trans.)

STUDIES

Lévi-Provençal and García Gómez, *Crónica anónima de ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir*, pp. 15-24

E. Lévi-Provençal, *Historia de la España musulmana (Historia de España 4)*, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1957, pp. 261-368

Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala

Kitāb al-īḍāḥ

Unknown author

BIOGRAPHY

Kitāb al-īḍāḥ, 'The elucidation', is usually attributed to the great 10th-century Coptic Orthodox theologian and apologist Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (q.v.) in the manuscript tradition – at least that of Egyptian provenance.

If, as the present author believes, the attribution to Sāwīrus must be rejected for reasons of style and content, there is little that we can say about the actual author of *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ* other than what can be gathered from the book itself. It is clear that the author was a Copt, probably a monk; it has been suggested that he had 'a somewhat condescending view of the laity' (Swanson, 'A copto-arabic catechism', p. 497). He wrote his book in response to what he saw as a pressing need of the Coptic community for resources that explained the faith and practices of their church *in the Arabic language*, since many members of that community were losing competence in Coptic.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary   —

Secondary
See below

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-īḍāḥ, 'The elucidation'

DATE   Approximately 11th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Kitāb al-īḍāḥ, 'The elucidation', is a catechetical work aiming to provide a simple explanation of Christian doctrines (Trinity, Incarnation, redemption) and practices (prayer and fasting) *in Arabic* to Christians no longer fluent in Coptic.

While *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ* is a Christian work for Christians, it deserves inclusion here as a witness to the adoption of the Arabic language by Egypt's Coptic Orthodox Christians, their loss of competence in the Coptic language, and the ease with which they then absorbed specifically Islamic theological ideas. A well-known introductory statement in ch. 1 states that [Copts] have difficulty understanding fundamental Christian beliefs because of 'their mingling with the *ḥunafāʾ*, and the disappearance of their [Coptic] language'; the author goes on to say that most of what they hear about God is that 'God is *fard*, *ṣamad*, and the rest of the language that the *ḥunafāʾ* use' (Swanson, 'The specifically Egyptian context', p. 216). An introductory statement in ch. 10 emphasizes that Copts are confused about their creed 'because the Arabic language has gained ascendancy over them', so that when Coptic texts are read to them in church they 'hear but do not understand' (Swanson, 'The specifically Egyptian context', p. 217).

In manuscripts of Coptic Orthodox provenance, *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ* is attributed to Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (q.v.). The present writer finds this attribution difficult to accept because of great differences in style and content between this popular, unsophisticated work, and the careful Arabic and theological diction of a work such as *Miṣbāḥ al-ʿaql* (q.v.). While Sāwīrus refers to a work entitled *Īḍāḥ al-ittiḥād* (q.v.) in some of his undoubtedly genuine writings, the references do not appear to pertain to the present *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ*. Still, a detailed case for denying the work to Sāwīrus has yet to be made.

Kitāb al-īḍāḥ has been published in full, but under the misleading title *Al-durr al-thamīn fī īḍāḥ al-dīn*, which confuses the work with Sāwīrus' biblical and patristic florilegium, *Al-durr al-thamīn* (q.v.). To a certain extent the confusion is understandable, as the original title of the work we know as *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ* is not entirely certain. The oldest full manuscript (Paris, BNF – Ar. 170) bears no title but simply refers to 'twelve questions' (*masāʾil*); the word *īḍāḥ*, 'elucidation', is found in the titles of the first two of these questions (the 'elucidation' of the Trinity and of the Incarnation, respectively). It may be that the original title of the work has been lost, and that the title *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ* is an addition in the manuscript tradition.

SIGNIFICANCE

Kitāb al-īḍāḥ has played a significant role in the catechesis of Arabic-speaking Christians, judging from its tremendous popularity, evident from the very large number of manuscripts in which the work is preserved, their geographical spread, and the ready availability of the text even today. This role was not limited to the Coptic community of Egypt. Perhaps as early as the 14th century, a 'Melkite' recension was made of the original 12-chapter Copto-Arabic recension by eliminating the final four chapters (including Ch. 10 with its specifically Coptic Orthodox Christology); the resulting eight-chapter recension circulated widely among 'Melkite' Christians, e.g. in Syria, sometimes under the name of St John Chrysostom. In addition, *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ* was translated into Ethiopic as *Maṣḥafa Sāwiros*, 'The book of Sāwīrus'.

Wherever the text has gone, it has borne witness to a Christian lament about 'mingling with the *ḥunafāʾ*' (i.e., the Muslims); the loss of competence in the language of the church's liturgical and theological heritage; and the concomitant risk of Islamization, almost by osmosis. At the same time, the author does not confine himself to lament, but addresses the situation by composing a work of Christian catechesis *in Arabic*.

MANUSCRIPTS

See Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 311, for a list of 57 manuscripts; Swanson, 'The specifically Egyptian context', p. 215, n. 5, adds 19 manuscripts to Graf's list. Newly published catalogues regularly add manuscripts to this list, e.g.

> MS Ḥimṣ, Library of the Greek Orthodox Archbishop – 14 (1763)
> MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Monastery of St Macarius – Theol. 28 (Zanetti Suppl. 32) (18th century)
> MS Latakia, Library of the Greek Orthodox Archbishop – 10 (old 41) (1841; 8 chapters, lacking Ch. 1 and part of 2)

Some manuscripts especially important for their age and completeness are:

> MS Vat. – Ar. 115, fols 190r-191v (1260; excerpt from Ch. 8; significant as the earliest dated witness)
> MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 170 (13th century; necessary for any critical edition)
> MS Aleppo, Antiochian Orthodox Archbishopric – 72 (8 chapters; 1355)

MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Monastery of St Macarius – Canon Law 8 (b) (Zanetti 269) (14th century; Chs 9-10 missing)

MS Cairo, Franciscan Center of Christian Oriental Studies – 139 (1440?)

MS Vat – Borgia Ar. 98 (1474; 8 chapters)

MS Göttingen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek – Ar. 107, fols 117-208 (1513; 8 chapters)

MS Vat – Ar. 1258 (16th century)

MS Cairo, Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate – Hist. 19 (Simaika 611, Graf 531), fols 129-198 (16th century; chs 11-12 missing)

MS Eastern Desert, Egypt, Monastery of St Antony – 105 (1702-3, but copied from a MS of 1301-2)

In addition, see Samir, 'Un traité inédit', p. 165, for some old MSS that contain short extracts of the work and should be considered by anyone attempting a critical edition.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

S.J. Davis, *Coptic Christology in practice. Incarnation and divine participation in late antique and medieval Egypt*, Oxford, 2008, pp. 297-98 (English translation of an excerpt from ch. 4)

M.N. Swanson, 'A copto-arabic catechism of the later Fatimid period: "Ten questions that one of the disciples asked of his master"', *Pd'O* 22 (1997) 473-501, pp. 484-92 (Arabic text from Paris, BNF – Ar. 170 of a passage from ch. 2, with trans.)

S. Griffith, 'The *Kitāb miṣbāḥ al-ʿaql* of Severus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ. A profile of the Christian creed in Arabic in tenth century Egypt', *Medieval Encounters* 2 (1996) 15-42, p. 25 (trans. of a famous introductory paragraph in ch. 1; this and the next entry will suffice as examples of translations of this much-translated paragraph)

M.N. Swanson, 'The specifically Egyptian context of a Coptic-Arabic text. Chapter Nine of the *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ* of Sawīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ', *Medieval Encounters* 2 (1996) 214-27, pp. 216-17 (trans. of introductory paragraphs in chs 1 and 10)

Al-durr al-thamīn fī īḍāḥ al-dīn li-l-anbā Sāwīrus min ābāʾ al-qarn al-ʿāshir, Cairo, [1971] (an inexpensive and frequently reprinted volume that reproduces Murqus Jirjis' edition but omits ch. 9)

Samīr Khalīl [Samīr], 'Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ', parts 3-9, *Risālat al-Kanīsa* 2 (1970) 204-9, 255-60, 317-21, 438-45, 493-98; *Risālat al-Kanīsa* 3 (1971) 54-59, 105-11 (edition of part of ch. 5, with commentary, based on that of Murqus Jirjis)

Murqus Jirjis, *Kitāb al-durr al-thamīn fī īḍāḥ al-dīn*, Cairo, 1925 (uncritical edition)

STUDIES

Davis, *Coptic Christology in practice*, pp. 194-97, 230-36, 297-98

Swanson, 'A copto-arabic catechism of the later Fatimid period' (on a text that depends on *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ*; calls the attribution of *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ* to Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ into question)

Griffith, 'The *Kitāb miṣbāḥ al-ʿaql* of Severus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ', pp. 25-26

Swanson, 'The specifically Egyptian context of a Coptic-Arabic text'

[S.]K. Samir, 'Un traité inédit de Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (10ᵉ siècle). "Le flambeau de l'Intelligence"', *OCP* 41 (1975) 150-210, pp. 165-66

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 309-11

Mark N. Swanson

The Copto-Arabic Sibylline prophecy

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; perhaps 11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown; presumably Egypt
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; perhaps 12th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown; presumably Egypt

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known of the redactor of this pseudonymous apocalyptic text beyond what can be gathered from the text itself.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary   —

Secondary   —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Mukhtaṣar kalām Sibilla l-ḥakīma l-ṭāhira ibnat Hūfalīs (= Harqalīs) raʾs ḥunafāʾ Afasus bi-l-Iskandariyya, wa-huwa taʿbīruhā manāmāt kahana bi-madīnat Rūmiyya allatī raʾawhā fīhā, wa-ʿadaduhum miʾat kāhin, 'An abridged account of the words of Sibilla, the wise, the pure, daughter of Heraclius, head of the pagans of Ephesus, in Alexandria, being her interpretation of the dreams of certain priests in the city of Rome which they saw there, and the priests numbered one hundred'; 'The Copto-Arabic Sibylline prophecy'; 'The Arabic Sibylline prophecy, version V'; 'The Oriental Sibylline prophecy Arab. V'; 'Sib. Or. Arab. V'

DATE   Probably late 11th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work is a late recension of the *Arabic Sibylline prophecy* described in *CMR* 1 (q.v.). Like the other versions, it contains the prophecy of an elderly prophetess or sibyl on the basis of a vision of nine suns, representing nine ages of humanity: the 8th age refers to more recent history, and the 9th describes the eschatological woes and the drama of the end. Most of its distinguishing features are concentrated in the description of the 8th generation, which is devoted to the Fatimids, and especially to events taking place in Egypt during the reign of the Caliph al-Mustanṣir (r. 1036-94), here referred to as born 'of a black woman'. The *vaticinia ex eventu* focus in particular on the many calamities that marked his reign, including warfare, revolts, looting, and famine. The text makes clear allusions to, among other matters, the revolt of Nāṣir al-Dawla ibn Ḥamdān ('a man from the east … who is not of the royal line') and his Lawāta Berber allies; the Great Crisis (1065-72); the subsequent restoration of order by the Armenian vizier Badr al-Jamālī ('the Terror', *al-hawl*); the unsuccessful attack on Cairo by Atsız ibn Uvak ('a man of unknown parentage…from the east'); and, finally, the rise of the Great Saljuq Malik Shāh (r. 1072-92) ('a man who shall rule over a great city in the east').

The text then waxes increasingly apocalyptic. The Children of Kedar (= the Arabs) will come from the west headed by a commander riding 'upon a wild ass'; they will reach Alexandria, destroy its environs, ruin the monasteries, and put to flight the king of Egypt, who will flee and reside in Damascus – an episode that seems to combine typically anti-Islamic apocalyptic lore with echoes of the revolt of the Lawāta Berbers and/or past incursions by the Banū Hilāl. After a period of two-and-a-half years, the Children of Kedar will then go to Yemen, and from there to the Ḥijāz, and then Kūfa, and mingle with the Turks. The description of the 8th generation ends with a prophecy of how these people will then move to Syria and bring civilized life to an end, burning Jerusalem and killing the saints. The prophecy concerning the 9th generation is, for its part, rather similar to that of the other recensions except for the part about the 'lion cub', which has some interesting additions, including the prediction that this ruler from the west will meet the kings of Ethiopia, Nubia, India, and China, after which the Holy Spirit will descend on 'the Orthodox king'.

The last historical reference that can be identified with any certainty is the one pointing to Badr's victory against Atsız ibn Uvak in 1077, which repelled the latter's invasion of Egypt. The recension was probably produced not long afterwards, as it indicates the Caliph al-Mustanṣir as 'the last king of the sons of Ishmael', while it does not mention either his death, or Badr's, in 1094 (nor, for that matter, that of Malik Shāh two years earlier). It appears, then, that its purpose was to explain the many tumultuous events of the later 11th century – one of these being some conflict between Badr and al-Mustanṣir that is described in terms too vague to allow easy identification but which, interestingly, is also alluded to in the *Prophecy of Daniel to Athanasius* (q.v.).

It is generally assumed that, while the *Arabic Sibylline prophecy* was originally of Melkite provenance, this particular Fatimid recension was made by a Copt. Indeed, the text is certainly from an Egyptian Christian hand, and it was later epitomized by the 13th-century Copt al-Muʾtaman ibn al-ʿAssāl in ch. 70 of his compendium *Majmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn*. However, the text has relatively little in common with other Coptic and Copto-Arabic apocalyptic works, and it cannot be excluded that the few elements in the text that suggest a Coptic author are, in fact, slightly later additions from a copyist.

Apart from the other Arabic Sibylline prophecies, the text has the greatest affinity with the above-mentioned *Prophecy of Daniel to Athanasius* and the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Peter* (q.v.), which seems partly due to the fact that they may be roughly contemporary and relate to the same historical events; in any case, it is difficult to establish the lines of influence.

SIGNIFICANCE

While the prophecy does not contain any details of Christian-Muslim relations, it gives evidence for a heightened interest in the meaning and outcome of history among Egyptian Christians in the later 11th century, which for all communities, Christian and Muslim alike, was a period of great political instability, chaos, and uncertainty. The text is also important as a witness to interdenominational literary borrowing, and it may provide clues on how 'foreign' motifs such as the lion cub may have found their way in the later Coptic apocalyptic tradition.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Huntington 328, fols 154v-160r (1616)

Other witnesses to 'Sib. Or. Arab. V' may be found among the unpublished MSS listed in Graf, *GCAL* i, p. 294

For a list of manuscripts of the *Majmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn*, in which an epitome of the text is found, see A. Wadi, *Studio su al-Muʾtaman ibn al-ʿAssāl* (*Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographia* 5), Cairo, 1997, pp. 189-92

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Al-Muʾtaman ibn al-ʿAssāl, *Summa dei principi della religione*, ed. A. Wadi, trans. B. Pirone, 6 vols (*Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographia* 6a-b, 7a-b, 8-9), Cairo, 1998-2002, ch. 70, §§ 12-43 (critical edition of al-Muʾtaman's epitome of the text, with Italian trans.)

R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young, 'A newly-discovered version of the Arabic Sibylline prophecy', *OC* 60 (1976) 83-94 (partial edition and English trans.)

Ruʾya Sābila al-ḥakīma, (s.l.), (s.d.) (19-page publication from Egypt bearing no publication information; mid-20th century?)

STUDIES

J. van Lent, *Coptic apocalyptic writings from the Islamic period*, Leiden, forthcoming (Diss. Leiden University)

M.N. Swanson, art. 'The Arabic Sibylline prophecy', in *CMR* 1, pp. 492-97

Ebied and Young, 'A newly-discovered version of the Arabic Sibylline prophecy'

Graf, *GCAL* i, pp. 294-95

Jos van Lent

Yūḥannā al-Anṭākī

DATE OF BIRTH   Probably early 11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Probably in or near Antioch
DATE OF DEATH   Probably later 11th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Probably in or near Antioch

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about the author of a brief extract in ch. 18 of al-Muʾtaman ibn al-ʿAssāl's famous theological compendium *Majmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn* apart from what can be gathered from the extract itself and al-Muʾtaman's introduction to it. Al-Muʾtaman identifies the author as *al-qaṣṣ anbā Yūḥannā al-Anṭākī, tilmīdh Ibn Buṭlān*, that is, as a priest from Antioch and a student of the renowned East Syrian ('Nestorian') physican Ibn Buṭlān (d. 1066) (q.v.), who indeed settled in Antioch towards the end of his life and became a monk.

Graf (*GCAL* ii, 194-95) placed Yūḥannā among the 'Nestorians', presumably because of his relationship to Ibn Buṭlān. This assumption has been called into question by Samir ('Yūḥannā al-Anṭākī', p. 214), and Nasrallah has explicitly claimed Yūḥannā for the Melkites (Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.1, pp. 253-54). While Yūḥannā's relationship to Ibn Buṭlān does not necessarily determine his 'denominational' affiliation, it is worth noting that Ibn Buṭlān was a student of the physician and theologian ʿAbdāllah ibn al-Ṭayyib (q.v.). One may wonder whether apparent echoes of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's apologetics in Yūḥannā's writing can be explained by their transmission through Ibn Buṭlān; but this is no more than speculation, given how little of Yūḥannā's work has been preserved.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
For the edition of the preserved paragraphs from Yūḥannā's treatise, see below.

Secondary
Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.1, pp. 253-54
[S.] K. Samir, 'Yûḥanna al-Anṭâkî', in 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976) 201-42, pp. 214-15

Graf, *GCAL* ii, 194-95

On Ibn Buṭlān, see, for example:

L.I. Conrad, 'Ibn Buṭlān in *Bilād al-Shām*. The career of a travelling Christian physician', in D. Thomas (ed.), *Syrian Christians under Islam. The first thousand years*, Leiden, 2001, 131-57, p. 146 (on Ibn Buṭlān's later years in Antioch)

L.I. Conrad, 'Scholarship and social context', in D. Bates (ed.), *Knowledge and the scholarly medieval traditions*, Cambridge, 1995, 84-100, p. 96 (on Ibn Buṭlān's later years in Antioch)

J. Schacht, art. 'Ibn Buṭlān', in *EI2*

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Title unknown. The extract is described as being about *amthila tūjib al-waṣf li-shayʾ wāḥid bi-ʿiddat awṣāf*, 'Examples that require the description of one thing with multiple descriptions'

DATE   Second half of 11th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

While the title of a work of which only a brief extract has been preserved is unknown, the extract is described as being about *amthila tūjib al-waṣf li-shayʾ wāḥid bi-ʿiddat awṣāf*, 'Examples that require the description of one thing with multiple descriptions'. The aim of the preserved paragraphs is to show, beginning from nature and ordinary human endeavor, that unity and multiplicity are not mutually exclusive. Yūḥannā's basic claim is that *kullu fāʿil…yafʿalu fī mafʿūlihi fiʿlahu*, 'every actor…performs its action upon its object' or, awkwardly but literally, 'every actor…acts its action upon its acted-upon'. The triad of *fāʿil – fiʿl – mafʿūl* may immediately bring to mind the descriptions of *God* as *ʿāqil – ʿaql – maʿqūl* (in Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī [q.v.]) or *ʿālim – ʿilm – maʿlūm* (in ʿAbdāllah ibn al-Ṭayyib [q.v.]), but Yūḥannā is here arguing 'from below': the heat is one both in the heating fire and in the heated object; the form of the chair is one both in the mind of the carpenter (the *fāʿil*) and in the wood of the chair he manufactures (the *mafʿūl*).

From *fāʿil – fiʿl – mafʿūl* Yūḥannā proceeds to *ʿālim – ʿilm – maʿlūm*, still with respect to a created actor or knower. But then he makes his move *a minore ad maius*, arguing that if natural or manufactured things demonstrate such simultaneous unity and multiplicity, how much more will this be the case for spiritual things that are not confined in space! Shortly after this point is made, the extract breaks off rather abruptly.

SIGNIFICANCE

The brief paragraphs from Yūḥannā al-Anṭākī bear witness to the continuing effort by Christians to explain the doctrine of the Trinity in the context of Christian-Muslim encounter. Yūḥannā's treatise takes over triads proposed by other Arab Christian writers as descriptions specifically of *God*, but develops them rather 'from below', as descriptions of realities readily observed in nature and in human activity.

MANUSCRIPTS

For a full list of manuscripts of the *Majmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn*, see A. Wadi, *Studio su al-Muʾtaman ibn al-ʿAssāl*, Cairo, 1997 (*Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographia* 5), pp. 189-92.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Al-Muʾtaman ibn al-ʿAssāl, *Summa dei principi della religione*, ed. A. Wadi, trans. B. Pirone, 6 vols, Cairo, 1998-2002 (*Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographia* 6a-6b, 7a-7b, 8-9), vol. 1, ch. 18, §§ 25-30 (critical edition of al-Muʾtaman's extract, with Italian trans.)

STUDIES

Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.1, pp. 253-54

Samir, 'Yūḥannā al-Anṭākī'

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 194-95

Mark N. Swanson

Ibn Athradī

Abū l-Ghanāʾim Hibat Allāh ibn
ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Athradī

DATE OF BIRTH   Early 11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   End of the 11th century, around 1080
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn Athradī belonged to the East Syrian ('Nestorian') community of Baghdad and was a disciple of Abū l-Faraj ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Ṭayyib (q.v.). He was the author of several medical and philosophical works. One of his medical writings was addressed to the West Syrian author Yaḥyā ibn Jarīr (later 11th century) (q.v.). He also wrote a theological handbook, on which see below.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. A Müller, Cairo, 1882, pp. 240, 297

Secondary
R. le Coz, *Les médecins nestoriens au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 2004, pp. 203-4, 231
B. Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans*, pp. 120-21
S.K. Samir, 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976) 215-16
M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, (*Handbuch der Orientalistik. I. Ergän-zungsband* VI. 1), Leiden, 1952, p. 225
A. Basile, *Abrégé du Livre de la Direction d'Ibn Atradī*, Paris, 1973 (unpub-lished thèse de 3e cycle)
G. Troupeau 'Recherches sur un médecin-philosophe de Bagdad. Ibn Aṭradī (XIe siècle)', in *Mémorial Mgr Gabriel Khouri-Sarkis (1898-1968)*, Lou-vain, 1969, 259-62
Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 197-99

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Maqāla tataḍamman lumaʿ min al-uṣūl al-sharʿiyya wa-nukat min al-milal (al-ʿilal?) al-dīniyya, 'Treatise containing short extracts concerning the fundamental issues of the Law and (important) points regarding religious doctrines'; *Kitāb al-hidāyā*, 'Guidance'

DATE   11th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This theological compendium was originally divided into *uṣūl*, 'fundamental issues', and *furūʿ*, 'derived matters'. Of this second section, only a few extracts on marriage and divorce have been preserved.

According to the descriptions by Landron and Graf, the first part of *Kitāb al-hidāya* discusses the following theological subjects and religious practices: cosmological proofs for the existence of the Creator; God's triunity; the creation and paradise (the garden of Eden, the corporeal paradise that is to be distinguished from the spiritual paradise, which consists in the knowledge of God); revelation; the truth of the coming of Christ; the difference between Christ and the prophets; Christ's divinity; the reason for the Incarnation; prayer (justification of prayer and a description of the manner of prayer); circumcision and ablutions; religious rites (Eucharist), practices and festivals; the adoration of the cross (a common theme in Christian-Muslim discussions); and the cessation of miracles. The work ends with a discussion about the general resurrection.

SIGNIFICANCE

Though this work does not seem to be addressed directly to Muslims, it shows how the East Syrians of Baghdad developed their theological thinking and reflections on moral issues and religious practices in close interaction with the Muslim religious world in which they lived.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vat – Ar. 1492, 35r-65v (13th century)
MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 82, 102r-137r (14th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES

Le Coz, *Les médecins nestoriens au Moyen Âge*, p. 231

Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans*, p. 128

Samir, 'Bibliographie', 215-16

Troupeau, 'Recherches sur un médecin-philosophe de Bagdad'

G. Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes. I. Manuscrits chrétiens*, vol. I, Paris, 1972, p. 66

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 197-99

A. Scher, *Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés à l'archevêché chaldéen de Diarbékir* (extrait du *Journal Asiatique* [1907] Paris, 1907, p. 65)

Herman G.B. Teule

Yaḥyā ibn Jarīr

Abū Naṣr Yaḥyā ibn Jarīr al-Takrītī

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown, perhaps c. 1030
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   1103/4
PLACE OF DEATH   Mayyāfāriqīn

BIOGRAPHY

Abū Naṣr Yaḥyā ibn Jarīr al-Takrītī was a West Syrian ('Jacobite') physician and scholar in the tradition of ʿĪsā ibn Isḥāq ibn Zurʿa (q.v.) and Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī (q.v.). Little is known about the course of his life. He informs us (in ch. 35 of *Kitāb al-murshid*) that he visited Constantinople in the year 1058. More information is provided by a manuscript of Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn's (q.v.) Arabic version of Theophrastus' *On first principles* that Yaḥyā himself copied and collated (MS Tehran Malik 5925; see Gutas, *Theophrastus*, pp. 75-76, 224-25): according to Yaḥyā's colophon, he copied it in Mayyāfāriqīn in 1068/9. This appears to place Yaḥyā at the court of Niẓām al-Dīn (r. 1061-79), ruler of the Marwānid dynasty of Diyār Bakr; indeed, Yaḥyā's brother al-Faḍl had served as physician to Niẓām al-Dīn's father Naṣr al-Dawla (r. 1011-61). Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa makes a point of stating that Yaḥyā was still alive in AH 472 (= 1079/80); perhaps this can be taken to imply that he was still in Mayyāfāriqīn and had outlived his patron Niẓām al-Dīn.

Scholars have tended to assume that Yaḥyā died shortly after 1079 (Samir, 'Yaḥya b. Jarīr'; Khoury-Sarkis, 'Le livre du Guide', p. 310), from which it might be guessed that he was born around the year 1000. However, the 12th-century historian of Mayyāfāriqīn, Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, mentions that '*al-shaykh* Abū Naṣr ibn al-Takrītī *al-ṭabīb*' died in that city in AH 497 (= 1103/4). This precious notice, if correct, helps situate Yaḥyā ibn Jarīr both in time and space: it appears that he spent a long career in Mayyāfāriqīn, where he practiced medicine and where he died in 1103/4.

In addition to his theological compendium *Kitāb al-murshid* (see below), Yaḥyā wrote a number of books. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa mentions works in the areas of sexual health and astrology. In the *Kitāb*

al-murshid, Yaḥyā mentions two of his other works in passing. One, entitled *Kitāb al-fāʾiq*, may be the treatise 'On the priest and priesthood' mentioned by the Coptic authors al-Muʾtaman ibn al-ʿAssāl, *Majmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn*, and al-Shams ibn Kabar, *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulma*. Another, *Zīj al-tawārīkh*, was a chronicle from the creation to the Marwānid dynasty of Diyār Bakr.

While Yaḥyā was clearly possessed of many talents, the reader of the *Kitāb al-murshid* is struck by his profound theological culture, and especially by his deep knowledge and creative use of scripture. Whatever his activities as physician, scribe, and chronicler in court circles, it is probable that Yaḥyā also played a role in his 'Jacobite' community as a teacher of the faith. Perhaps he devoted more time to this role in his later years, especially in the politically unsettled years that followed the fall of the Marwānids in 1085.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

For the manuscripts and editions of *Kitāb al-murshid* (which contains a few passages of biographical interest), see below.

D. Gutas, *Theophrastus* On first principles (*known as his Metaphysics*), Leiden, 2010, pp. 75-76, 224-25 (edition and trans. of the colophon of a MS copied by Yaḥyā)

Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Tārīkh al-Fāriqī*, ed. Badawī ʿAbd al-Laṭīf ʿAwaḍ, Cairo, 1959, p. 271

Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *Kitāb ʿuyūn al-anbāʾ* i, p. 243 (entries for both Yaḥyā and his brother al-Faḍl)

Al-Muʾtaman ibn al-ʿAssāl, *Summa dei principi della religione*, ed. A. Wadi, trans. B. Pirone, 6 vols, Cairo, 1998-2002, ii, ch. 53 §§12-17 (al-Muʾtaman's extract from Yaḥyā's treatise 'On the priest and priesthood')

Shams al-Riʾāsa Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar, *Misbāḥ al-ẓulma fī īḍāḥ al-khidma*, ed. Samir, Cairo, 1971, p. 301

Secondary

Gutas, *Theophrastus*, pp. 75-76

S.K. Samir, art. 'Yaḥya b. Jarīr', in *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd ed., Freiburg, 1993-2001

R.J. Mouawad, 'La prière chez Yaḥyā ibn Ǧarīr (XIe s.)', *Pd'O* 22 (1997) 393-404, pp. 394-95

Sezgin, *GAS* vii, pp. 19-20 (the astrological work mentioned by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, although the authorship is disputed)

[S.]K. Samir, 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976) 201-42, pp. 217-21

G. Khoury-Sarkis, 'Le livre du Guide de Yahya ibn Jarir', *L'Orient Syrien* 12
     (1967) 303-54, 421-80, pp. 303-10
Graf, *GCAL* ii, 259-62
Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 39 (nos 277-79)
G. Graf, 'Eine theologische Propädeutik von Yaḥyā ibn Ǧarīr', *Zeitschrift für
     Katholische Theologie* 50 (1926) 310-22
L. Shaykhū (Cheikho), 'Maqāla fī ṣalb al-sayyid al-Masīḥ li-l-shaykh Abī
     Naṣr ibn Jarīr al-Takrītī', *Al-Mashriq* 16 (1913) 241-50, pp. 241-42

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-murshid, 'The Guide'

DATE   Between 1058 and 1104
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION
Kitāb al-murshid, 'The guide', is a voluminous theological-ecclesiasti-
cal compendium divided into 54 chapters (for the table of contents,
see Khoury-Sarkis, 'Le livre du Guide', pp. 311-15; or Graf, 'Eine the-
ologische Propädeutik'). While the first 24 chapters deal largely with
doctrinal issues, later chapters move into matters of sacramental and
ecclesial practice.

The title of the work is not entirely fixed in the manuscript tradi-
tion; the Bodleian manuscript, from which an edition of a chapter was
published already in 1837, reads *Kitāb al-miṣbāḥ al-murshid ilā l-falāḥ
wa-l-najāḥ al-hādī min al-tīh ilā sabīl al-najā*, that is, 'The *lamp* that
guides….' This matter requires study; for the time being we can say
that *Kitāb al-murshid* is the common element in the manuscript tradi-
tion, among various elaborations.

In his important summary of the significance of the work for
Christian-Muslim relations, Samir ('Bibliographie') points to several
chapters as having particular apologetic significance. Ch. 6 is devoted
to the Trinity, and here the author distinguishes two types of divine
attributes, *ṣifāt al-taʿaddī* and *ṣifāt al-dhāt*, the latter 'essential attri-
butes' serving to explain the Trinity. Then, in ch. 7 on the (hypostatic)
union, Yaḥyā argues that the differences in Christological formulations
between the major Christian communities are a matter of vocabulary
rather than essential meaning (*lafẓī lā maʿnawī*). In ch. 9, he deals
with the Incarnation in a way that was indirectly influenced by Yaḥyā
ibn ʿAdī (q.v.). Ch. 15 explains that the Law of Christ, which is the Law

of grace (*sharīʿat al-tafaḍḍul*) as opposed to the Law of justice, abrogates but cannot be abrogated; the same theme is discussed in ch. 25. Ch. 17 is a presentation of how the coming of Christ was foretold by the prophets. Ch. 18 shows that the Jews are rejected by God, whereas the Muslims, despite their differences with the Christians, in some way accept the coming of Christ and his virgin birth, and hold him in honour. Ch. 19 deals with the criteria for authentic prophethood, which are not miracles but the high moral ideals proclaimed by the prophets. Ch. 20 is a 'true religion apology' for the truth of Christianity, and is developed under the influence of the analysis by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (q.v.) of the reasons why people accept truth or falsehood. This chapter also deals with the theme of the corruption (*taḥrīf*) of the Gospel. In ch. 22, the author refutes the opinion of those who deny Christ's crucifixion, and in ch. 23 he describes Christ's passion. This list (summarized from Samir, 'Bibliographie') can undoubtedly be extended. For example, ch. 30, on the resurrection, devotes several paragraphs to establishing that there will be no need for food, drink, or sex in the afterlife – a common Christian theme in conversation with Muslims (Khoury-Sarkis, 'Le livre du Guide', pp. 350-52). And ch. 35, on prayer, defends the Christian manner of prayer: at length, chanted aloud, before the cross or icons (Mouawad, 'La prière', 398-400).

Yaḥyā is cautious in his apologetics – at least where Muslims are concerned. In ch. 22, on the crucifixion (see the edition of Cheikho, 'Maqāla fī l-ṣalb'), Yaḥyā's *stated* opponent is *Mani*, who is said to have claimed that Christ was not crucified by the Jews, but that this was merely made so to appear to them (*khuyyila ilayhim*, rather than the *shubbiha lahum* of Q 4:157). Yaḥyā responds with an essay on the necessity of the crucifixion, the results of which were far more miraculous than any miracle of preservation from death. He adduces a number of biblical parallels, for example, the story of Job (whom God did not preserve from Satan's test). Finally, Yaḥyā argues that the idea that someone else was made to suffer on the cross in Christ's place is incoherent; it makes nonsense of the biblical accounts of Christ's words and deeds from the cross as well as of the signs that followed his death. All this is clearly a response to the apparent qurʾanic denial of Christ's crucifixion in Q 4:157 and its elaboration in the Islamic exegetical tradition – but in this chapter Yaḥyā does not mention Muslims, Islam, or the Qurʾan a single time.

Any sounding in *Kitāb al-murshid* reveals Yaḥyā's depth of scholarship. Mouawad ('La prière', p. 402) can point to citations in ch. 35 of Aristotle, St. Ephrem, Dionysius the Areopagite, Gregory Nazienzen, Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī (q.v.), and Moses bar Kephā (q.v.) as translated by ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Ṭayyib (q.v.); Mouawad goes on to mention Yaḥyā's citations, in other chapters, of ʿĪsā ibn Zurʿa (q.v.) and of his own brother al-Faḍl. Furthermore, as Khoury-Sarkis points out, for Yaḥyā, 'all the holy books, whether from the Old Testament or the New, were familiar to him, and he cites them abundantly' ('Le livre du Guide', p. 309).

SIGNIFICANCE

Kitāb al-murshid discusses a number of the classical themes of Christian-Muslim controversy; the scattered editions and translations at our disposal suggest that it does so in a rather fresh manner, drawing on the work of previous apologists but, exercising a vivid biblical imagination, not hesitating to stake out new ground. We must hope that new editions and translations will soon be published, in particular the fruit of the collaboration between S.K. Samir and R.J. Mouawad.

MANUSCRIPTS

See Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 261; Samir, 'Bibliographie', p. 217; and Mouawad, 'La prière', p. 395. The principal manuscripts of the work appear to be the following:

    MS London, BL – Or. 6817 (1357/8)
    MS Sharfeh, Dayr al-Sayyida – Ar. 5/5 (15th-16th century)
    MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Pococke 253 (Ar. christ. Nicoll 21)
       (*karshūnī*, 1572)
    MS Vat – Syr. 205 (*karshūnī*, 16th century, incomplete)
    MS London, BL – Or. 2320 (*karshūnī*, 1718/9)
    MS Vat – Borg. Ar. 227 (1768)
    MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 568 (1890)
In addition, the following MSS are sometimes mentioned:
    MS Jerusalem, Convent of St Mark – 112 (14th century; lost?)
    MS of 1467 mentioned by Patriarch Ignatius Ephrem I Barṣawm
       (in Damascus?)
    MS Seʿert – 135 (15th century; probably lost)
    MS Diyārbakr – 137 (1778; probably lost)

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

S.K. Samir and R.J. Mouawad have announced an edition and French translation of the work, beginning with chs 32-35.

S.K. Samir, 'Maqāla l-Yaḥyā ibn Jarīr fi sharīʿat al-Masīḥ', *Al-Manāra* 36, no. 3 (1995), 79-102 (edition of ch. 15 on the Law of Christ), 30-32 (French trans.)

G. Khoury-Sarkis, 'Le livre du Guide de Yahya ibn Jarir', *L'Orient Syrien* 12 (1967) 303-54, 421-80 (introduction and French trans. of three chapters, on the basis of MS London, BL Or. 2320: 'Ch. XXIX: De la construction de l'église', pp. 319-31; 'Ch. XXX: De la résurrection', pp. 332-54; and 'Ch. XXXI: Du sacerdoce', pp. 421-80)

Ighnāṭiyūs ʿAbduh Khalīfa (I.-A. Khalifé), 'Fuṣūl min kitāb "al-Murshid" li-Yaḥyā ibn Jarīr al-Takrītī', *Al-Mashriq* 50 (1956) 603-17 (ed. of chs 51-54, on the Eucharist, from MS Beirut, Bibl. Or. 568)

Afrām Barṣawm (Patriarch Ignatius Ephrem I), in *Al-Majalla al-baṭriyarkiyya al-suryāniyya* 3 (1935) 2-10 (ed. of ch. 3, on the unity of the Creator); 6 (1939) 91-96 (ed. of ch. 10, on the sin of Adam), 96-98 (ed. of ch. 11, on the Law of Moses), and 117-29 (ed. of ch. 13, on why the prophets were incapable of following Christ's way)

Yūḥannā Dūlabānī, 'Al-mayrūn ay duhn al-ʿimād', *Al-Ḥikma* 4 (1930) 589-92 (on ch. 32, on the oil of chrism or *myron*)

Yūḥannā Dūlabānī, 'Al-ṣalāt wa-lawāzimuhā', *Al-Ḥikma* 4 (1930) 409-16 (on ch. 34, on prayer, including the Lord's Prayer)

Yūḥannā Dūlabānī, 'Maqāla fī l-ʿimād', *Al-Ḥikma* 2 (1928) 458-63 (on ch. 33, on baptism)

G. Graf, 'Eine theologische Propädeutik von Yaḥyā ibn Ǧarīr', *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 50 (1926) 310-22 (German trans. of the table of contents and ch. 1)

L. Shaykhū (Cheikho), 'Maqāla fī ṣalb al-sayyid al-Masīḥ li-l-shaykh Abī Naṣr ibn Jarīr al-Takrītī', *Al-Mashriq* 16 (1913) 241-50 (ed. of ch. 22, on the crucifixion, from MS Beirut, Bibl. Or. 568)

W. Cureton, *The thirty-first chapter of the book entitled The lamp that guides to salvation*, London, 1865 (trans. of ch. 31, on the priesthood, from MS Oxford, Bodleian Pococke 253)

W. Cureton, *Al-Bāb al-wāḥid wa-l-thalāthūn fī l-kahanūt min Kitāb al-miṣbāḥ al-murshid ilā l-falāḥ wa-l-najāḥ al-hādī min al-tīh ilā sabīl al-najā*, Oxford, 1837 (ed. of ch. 31, on the priesthood, from MS Oxford, Bodl. Pococke 253)

STUDIES

Mouawad, 'La prière'

Samir, 'Bibliographie', pp. 217-21

Khoury-Sarkis, 'Le livre du Guide', pp. 310-18

G. Graf, 'Die Eucharistielehre des Jakobiten Yaḥyā ibn Ǧarīr', *OC* 37 (1953) 89-100

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 259-62

Herman G.B. Teule and Mark N. Swanson

Ten questions

Ten questions that one of the
disciples asked of his master

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; perhaps 11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown; presumably Egypt
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; perhaps 12th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown; presumably Egypt

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known of the author of a brief catechetical text in ten chapters, ʿAshara masāʾil saʾala ʿanhum baʿḍ al-talāmīdh min muʿallimihi, 'Ten questions that one of the disciples asked of his master', other than what can be gathered from the text. The author was clearly a Copt, probably a monk and/or a priest. He knew the older (and much longer) catechetical text Kitāb al-īḍāḥ (q.v.), which he took as a model (but did not follow slavishly) as he attempted to craft a resource to teach the faith of the Coptic Orthodox Church to lay believers, men and women, in the Arabic language.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary   —

Secondary
See below

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

ʿAshara masāʾil saʾala ʿanhum baʿḍ al-talāmīdh min muʿallimihi, 'Ten questions that one of the disciples asked of his master'; *Kitāb al-muʿallim wa-l-tilmīdh*, 'Book of the master and the disciple' (10 questions)

DATE   Late 11th to early 12th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Ten questions is a short treatise in *erotapokriseis* or question-and-answer form. Through the questions of a 'disciple' and the responses of his spiritual 'master', it teaches – in simple Arabic – the fundamental doctrines (Trinity, Incarnation, and redemption) and practices (prayer, Eucharist, fasting, and almsgiving) of the Coptic Orthodox Church. It appears to have taken as a model the longer catechetical text *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ*, 'The elucidation' (q.v.), which it follows quite closely in its description of the Trinity and the redemption effected by Christ. However, in what it teaches about marital sex, prayer, and good works, *Ten questions* appears to be much more attuned to the lives of lay Christians than was that earlier work (see Swanson, 'A Copto-Arabic catechism', pp. 493-97).

Kitāb al-īḍāḥ had opened with a paragraph describing the crisis in Christian formation brought about by Christians' mingling with Muslims and their loss of competence in the Coptic language. Similarly, the 'disciple' of *Ten questions* begins the discussion by placing it against the backdrop of Muslims' misunderstanding of what Christians mean by 'Son of God and Son of the Virgin Mary'. However, concern about the Muslims (here *ḥunafāʾ*) quickly disappears from text: *Ten questions* is primarily a work of simple Christian catechesis for Christians. However, apologetic considerations may reappear in ch. 8, on Christ's deeds of human weakness, and especially in ch. 9, on Christ's saying 'My father and your father, my God and your God' (John 20:17). According to Griffith ('Arguing from scripture', p. 51), this text was 'the most often quoted Gospel verse in the Christian/Muslim discourse of the [early Islamic] period'.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ten questions bears witness to the 'Arabization' of the Coptic Orthodox Church. Its author does not see the adoption of the Arabic language as an occasion for bitter lamentation and woe (cf. the *Apocalypse of Samuel of Qalamūn* [q.v.]), but instead teaches lay people who do not understand Coptic how to pray, *in Arabic*, to the Lord *Jesus*! For the history of Christian-Muslim relations in Egypt, the text is a witness simultaneously to linguistic assimilation *and* identity-preserving differentiation.

MANUSCRIPTS

See Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 467, for a list of 34 MSS, to which Swanson, 'A Copto-Arabic catechism', p. 479, adds eight more. The work was very

popular, so more copies will undoubtedly be discovered as collections are catalogued.

The known copies produced before 1500 are:

MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine – Ar. 320, fols 196r-209v (1237; breaks off in Ch. 7)

MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine – Ar. 493, fols 177r-194r + MS Birmingham, University Library – Mingana Christian Ar. 184 (13th century; this reunited MS should probably serve as the base for any edition)

MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine – Ar. 501, fols 25r-50r (13th century)

MS Vat – Sbath 125, 13th treatise (1440)

MS Cambridge, University Library – Add. 2881, fols 240r-266v (1484)

MS Vat – Syr. 211, fols 21v-56r (15th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

M.N. Swanson, "'These three words will suffice'. The "Jesus prayer" in Coptic tradition', *Pd'O* 25 (2000) 695-714, pp. 699-702 (Arabic text and English trans. of ch. 3, from Sinai ar. 493)

M.N. Swanson, 'A Copto-Arabic catechism of the later Fatimid period: "Ten questions that one of the disciples asked of his master"', *Pd'O* 22 (1997) 473-501 (includes Arabic text and English trans. of the title, table of contents, and passages from chs 2, 3, and 5; from Sinai ar. 493)

STUDIES

S.H. Griffith, 'Arguing from scripture. The Bible in the Christian/ Muslim encounter in the Middle Ages', in T.J. Heffernan and T.E. Burman (eds), *Scripture and pluralism. Reading the Bible in the religiously plural worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Leiden, 2005, 29-58, pp. 51-52 (on the place of John 20:17 in Christian-Muslim controversy)

Swanson, 'These three words will suffice'

M.N. Swanson, 'Three Sinai manuscripts of Books "of the master and the disciple" and their *membra disiecta* in Birmingham', *OCP* 65 (1999) 347-61 (pairs Sinai ar. 493 with Mingana chr. ar. 184)

Swanson, 'A Copto-Arabic catechism'

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 466-67

Mark N. Swanson

The prophecy of Daniel to Athanasius

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; probably mid-11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown; presumably Egypt
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; late 11th to early 12th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown; presumably Egypt

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known of the author of this pseudonymous apocalyptic text beyond what can be gathered from the text itself: that the author was a Christian, probably a monk, active in the late 11th and early 12th centuries, perhaps in the area called 'the island of Niqiyūs' (*jazīra Banī Naṣr*), in the western Nile Delta.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary   —

Secondary   —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Khabar Dāniyāl al-nabī, lammā aẓharahū li-abīnā Athanāsiyūs baṭriyark al-Iskandariyya, 'The message of Daniel the prophet, when he revealed it to our father Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria' (in MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine – Ar. 495); *Maymar li-l-qiddīs Athanāsiūs al-baṭriyark, wa-mimmā aʿlamahū bihi Dāniyāl al-nabī fī l-manām*, 'The homily of St Athanasius the patriarch and what the prophet Daniel let him know in a dream' (in MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 153); 'The prophecy of Daniel to Athanasius', 'The second (Arabic) apocalypse of Athanasius', 'PA ar. II', 'ApocAth II'

DESCRIPTION

This historical apocalypse is only partially edited and is still little known among scholars. The extant manuscripts give evidence of two different recensions: a long one, consisting of a miracle story followed by an apocalyptic prophecy, and a short one, which only has the second part. Clearly, the latter depends on the former, since it briefly summarizes the miracle story in its extended title. Otherwise, no significant differences occur.

The miracle story has as its protagonist Bishop Athanasius of Alexandria (d. 373), and it contains a fictitious account of the famous conspiracy that accused him of having murdered one Arsenius, bishop of Hypsele (see the selection of sources in Martinez, *Eastern Christian apocalyptic*, pp. 557-58). In this particular version (which speaks of an unnamed deacon rather than a bishop and changes many other details of the incident), Athanasius manages to get himself exonerated because the alleged murder victim is transported on a cloud, alive and well, from Alexandria to the imperial court at Constantinople where Athanasius stands trial! The emperor, seeing the deacon, is convinced that the accusations against Bishop Athanasius are false.

The story may be interpreted as a long narrative introduction to the prophetic part of the apocalypse, which consists of a series of revelations made by the prophet Daniel to Athanasius, when the latter was in hiding from his enemies and contemplating the future state of the Church. These revelations may be divided into three parts.

The first part consists of prophecies *ex eventu* about a succession of Eastern Roman emperors and the beginning of Arab rule over Egypt. The emperors whose reigns are briefly described are not listed by name, but they are quite easily identifiable. Modelled after Daniel 7, the part begins with a series of ten rulers, from Constantius II (d. 361) to Theodosius II (d. 450), followed by an eleventh, Marcian ('the smaller horn', r. 450-57); then a jump is made to Heraclius (r. 610-41). After some allusions to Cyrus al-Muqawqis ('a dissenting man') and his rule in Egypt (631-42), the text describes the arrival of the Arabs, sent by God in response to 'the clamoring of the saints'. While the new rulers, characterized as 'wearing mourning garments' and being 'burnt of the flesh' (var. 'circumcised of the flesh') love 'gold, silver, women, horses, and pleasures of the body', they also 'inform themselves about the faith of the people of the country, and they do not forbid them their

worship'. Earlier on, in the prophecy on Emperor Marcian, an allusion is made to Muḥammad, for the reason that both their names would add up to 666 (the number of the beast, cf. Rev. 13:18); Muḥammad is also characterized as a lawgiver (ṣāḥib sharīʿatihim).

The second part of the revelations opens with the prediction that 19 kings shall come forth from the Arabs, which is followed by a long prophecy on the 18ᵗʰ of them. This king is doubtless the Fatimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir (r. 1036-94), and the text alludes to some of the most important events of his later reign, starting with the revolt of Nāṣir al-Dawla ibn Ḥamdān and his Lawāta Berber allies, and the Great Crisis of 1065-72. Particularly detailed attention is given to the Armenian vizier Badr al-Jamālī (the 'great commander', amīr kabīr, r. 1074-94), whose 'thoughts are the thoughts of kings; yet he will have a king who has authority over him'. After allusions to his and al-Mustanṣir's deaths in 1094, to his son al-Afḍal Shāhanshāh, vizier himself until his death in 1121, and to the struggle for power between al-Mustanṣir's sons Nizār and Mustaʿlī, the prophecies ex eventu conclude with a brief general description of Muslim rule.

The eschatological third part of the revelations consists largely of a version of the legend of the last Roman emperor. After 'the Children of Hagar' have destroyed themselves at the Euphrates, the king of the Romans (al-rūm), called 'lion cub' and 'Constantine', and, on one occasion, identified as 'the king of the Franks (al-ifranj)', meets with the king of Ethiopia (initially accompanied by the king of the Nubians) in Miṣr, where a divine ordeal is to determine who stands for the True Faith. The miaphysite faith triumphs, and the two kings travel to Jerusalem where the Roman emperor is crowned with the 'crown from heaven'. The tenth Roman king after him will return the crown to God, after which his successor will conspire with the Antichrist. The work ends with a quite original version of the Antichrist legend and a description of the Last Judgment.

Since the Prophecy of Daniel speaks of 19 kings and is clearly referring to the Caliph al-Mustanṣir when describing the rule of the 18ᵗʰ king, one would expect that the text was composed during the reign of al-Mustanṣir's son and successor al-Mustaʿlī (r. 1094-1101), and indeed, such a date finds confirmation in other details from the prophecies ex eventu. The last historical allusion that can be identified with any certainty is the one pointing to the revolt, and subsequent defeat, of al-Mustanṣir's other son Nizār in 1095. In addition, in the brief passage alluding to al-Afḍal ibn Badr, it is said that this vizier will rule two years and some days (sanatayn wa-ayyām), which,

if taken literally and counting from his father's death in April 1094, brings us towards the middle to second part of 1096. The text may thus have served to explain the turbulent events of the later 11th century, to predict their outcome, and to provide hope to Copts under Muslim rule.

A few details in the text could be used in support of a later date, but the present author is inclined to interpret them as 'genuine' prophecies or as later additions. The most remarkable point at issue is a brief passage that tells how the king of the Franks will go to Constantinople and conquer the city before travelling to Jerusalem and meeting with the king of the Ethiopians. This could well be a reference to the fall of Constantinople in 1204; on the other hand, apart from the possibility that the passage was added later – which applies in any event to the designation 'king of the Franks', which occurs just once, in place of 'king of the Romans' – the notion reported here is well-known from a number of Greek and Syriac apocalyptic texts that antedate the Crusaders' sack of Constantinople, and therefore the passage may not have anything to do with that event.

Support for the date proposed is also found in the mention of 'the island known as Nikiyūs' as the only place in Egypt where the king of Ethiopia still finds life after the destruction of the peoples at the Euphrates. This area stretching eastward from the Rosetta branch of the Nile may still have had some cultural importance at the end of the 11th century: the Syrian priest and recluse Samuel bar Cyriacus – copyist and one-time candidate for the position of Coptic patriarch – lived there in that period, in a small town called Azarī, which slightly later also became an abode for Patriarch Macarius III (r. 1102-25). Afterwards, however, it seems to have gone into rapid decline (on 'the island of Niqiyūs' and Samuel, see Coquin and Martin, 'Azarī'). The particular attention the text gives to this place could indicate that the work was actually composed there, especially if the presence of an important Syrian monk might explain the great influence of Syrian and Greek apocalyptic traditions on the *Prophecy*. At the same time, more evidence is needed to substantiate any such theories on its place of composition and authorship.

The *Prophecy of Daniel* is a composite work, and it is likely that the author borrowed entire sections of text from older sources. This is quite possible, for instance, for the miracle story and the prophecies concerning the Eastern Roman emperors, although so far we do not have texts that match them. The apocalypse contains many motifs that occur in other Coptic apocalyptic texts. Examples include

the motif of the 19 Muslim kings (*Proto-fourteenth vision of Daniel*, *Fourteenth vision of Daniel* [q.v.]) and the episode on the kings of the Romans and the Ethiopians and their dispute over the true Orthodox faith (*Letter of Pisentius* [q.v.]). In addition, the text was influenced, either directly or indirectly (or both), by the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* and the *Edessene Apocalypse* (see Martinez, 'King of Rūm'), particularly in the eschatological part, while it also has affinity with medieval Greek Danielic prophecies and Syriac apocalyptic texts such as the *Baḥīrā* apocalypse and the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra* – in its use of the lion cub motif, for example. It has even been claimed that the text 'represents the definitive introduction in Egypt of a foreign style in apocalyptic, much closer to Syriac models and conceptions than to the older Egyptian apocalyptic tradition' (Martinez, 'King of Rūm', p. 257). At the same time, the *Prophecy of Daniel to Athanasius* appears closest to the *Copto-Arabic Sibylline prophecy* (q.v) and the *Apocalypse of Peter* (q.v), which may be roughly contemporary and relate to same historical events.

From its section on the destruction of the Muslims onwards, the contents of the text are very similar to the eschatological part of an Arabic *Testament of our Lord* (ed. Ziadé, 'Testament'). It has been suggested that the former was copied from the latter (Troupeau, Suermann), but this is unlikely as the *Testament* is most certainly the more recent, dating from the 14th century. Therefore, it is rather the other way around, or the two texts both borrowed their eschatological part from a common *Vorlage*.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Prophecy of Daniel to Athanasius* provides evidence of a desire for order and of a heightened interest in history among Copts in response to the tumultuous events of the late 11th century. It is written against the background of a progressive acculturation of Copts into the dominant Muslim culture, which may have caused the need for an assertion, or re-assertion, of positions.

Thanks to its reflection on the meaning and outcome of history, the *Prophecy* gives an interesting insight into the world view of Egyptian Christians of the period: one in which, for example, the Muslim Arabs had liberated the Egyptian miaphysites from oppression, treated them well (at least initially), and, overall, are less intrinsically evil than they are portrayed in other Coptic and Copto-Arabic apocalypses. This world view also includes a strong longing for Christian unity, if only

out of necessity – and thus, while the miaphysite faith will ultimately triumph, the champions of the Christian faith in this text include not only Athanasius, but also several past Eastern Roman kings, future kings of the Romans, the Franks, the Ethiopians, the Nubians, and seemingly even the vizier Badr al-Jamālī, a Muslim Armenian. The *Prophecy of Athanasius*, then, may prove significant in any future debate on the development of Coptic identity in the Middle Ages.

The ecumenical spirit perceived in this text is also reflected in its wide variety of sources: it seems to represent the perfect blend of Coptic with Greek and Syrian apocalyptic traditions.

The prophecies *ex eventu* are rather explicit and unstereotypical compared with those commonly found in historical apocalypses – especially when referring to the more recent history of al-Mustanṣir's reign – thus enhancing the historical value of the text. The text is an early example, in this regard, of a new trend in the Copts' apocalyptic tradition, witnessed also in the *Prophecies and exhortations of Shenute* and the above-mentioned *Testament of our Lord*, both from the Mamlūk period.

MANUSCRIPTS

Long recension:

MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine – Ar. 448, fols 212r-219r (c. 13th century)

MS Vat – Ar. 158, fols 99v-111v (1356)

MS Cairo, Franciscan Center of Christian Oriental Studies, Muski – 150, fols 148r-151v, 158r-159v (18th century)

MS Monastery of St Anthony – Hist. 186, fols 11v-19v (19th century)

MS Monastery of St Macarius – Hag. 32 (Zanetti 398), fols 20v-37v (19th century)

Short recension:

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 153, fols 461v-469v (17th century)

MS Monastery of St Macarius – Hag. 44 (Zanetti 410), fols 170v-178r (1735)

MS Monastery of St Macarius – Comm. 23 (Zanetti 318), 2nd MS of the two bound together, fols 16r-22v (19th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

J. van Lent, *Coptic apocalyptic writings from the Islamic period*, Leiden, forthcoming (Diss. Leiden University) (critical English trans. based on MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine – Ar. 488)

J.P. Monferrer Sala, 'Literatura apocalíptica cristiana en árabe. Con un avance de edición del Apocalipsis árabe copto del Pseudo Atanasio', *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos, Sección Árabe-Islam* 48 (1999) 231-54, pp. 247-54 (partial edition and Spanish trans.)

Rifʿat Fatḥī Rūmān, *Khabar Dānīyāl al-nabī al-mansūb li-l-qiddīs Athanāsiyūs. Muqaddima wa-taḥqīq*, Cairo, 1995 (BTh thesis, Evangelical Theological Seminary), pp. 5-13 (critical edition)

STUDIES

Van Lent, *Coptic apocalyptic writings*

H. Suermann, 'Koptische arabische Apocalypsen', in R.Y. Ebied and H.G.B. Teule (eds), *Studies on the Christian Arabic heritage*, Leuven, 2004, 25-44, p. 31

F.J. Martinez, 'La literatura apocalíptica y las primeras reacciones cristianas a la conquista islámica en Oriente', in G. Anes y Álvarez de Castrillón (ed.), *Europa y el Islam*, Madrid, 2003, 143-222, pp. 217-18, n. 182

J. van Lent, *Koptische apocalypsen uit de tijd na de Arabische verovering van Egypte*, Leiden, 2001, pp. 33-34

H. Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit. Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjährigen Weissagung*, Stuttgart, 2000, p. 186

Monferrer Sala, 'Literatura apocalíptica cristiana en árabe', pp. 239-46

Rifʿat Fatḥī Rūmān, *Khabar Dānīyāl*

G. Troupeau, 'De quelques apocalypses conservées dans les manuscrits arabes de Paris', *Pd'O* 18 (1993) 75-87, pp. 77-79

R.-G. Coquin and M. Martin, art. 'Azarī', in *CE*

F.J. Martinez, 'The king of Rūm and the king of Ethiopia in medieval apocalyptic texts from Egypt', in W. Godlewski (ed.), *Acts of the third international congress of Coptic studies, Warsaw 1984*, Warsaw, 1990, 247-59, pp. 251-52, 255-57

F.J. Martinez, *Eastern Christian apocalyptic in the early Muslim period. Pseudo-Methodius and Pseudo-Athanasius*, Washington DC, 1985 (Diss. Catholic University of America), pp. 557-58

Graf, *GCAL* i, p. 277

J. Ziadé, 'Un testament de N.-S. concernant les invasions des Mongols', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 21 (1918-19) 261-73, 433-44

Jos van Lent

Raymond of Aguilers

<small>DATE OF BIRTH</small>   Probably second half of the 11th century
<small>PLACE OF BIRTH</small>   Probably near Toulouse
<small>DATE OF DEATH</small>   Unknown; after 1101
<small>PLACE OF DEATH</small>   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Raymond of Aguilers was chaplain to Count Raymond IV of Toulouse (also known as Raymond of St Giles). He accompanied Count Raymond on the First Crusade (1095-99) and co-authored an account of the expedition with a Provençal knight, Pons of Balazun, until Pons was killed at the siege of Arqa (February-May 1099). Raymond addressed his work to the bishop of Viviers and stated that he aimed to correct false stories circulated by cowards and deserters from the army. Much of Raymond's narrative is concerned with visionaries and the defense of the controversial relic of the Holy Lance said to have been found at Antioch, as well as the role of the poor on the crusade.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Most of what we know about Raymond of Aguilers comes from his own work:
Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. J. and L. Hill, Philadelphia, 1968
Raymond d'Aguilers, *Le 'Liber' de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. J. and L. Hill, Paris, 1969

Secondary
J. Rubenstein, 'Godfrey of Bouillon vs. Raymond of Saint-Gilles. How Carolingian kingship trumped millenarianism at the end of the First Crusade', in M. Gabriele and J. Stuckey (eds), *The legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages. Power, faith and crusade*, New York, 2008, 59-75
C. Morris, 'Policy and visions. The case of the Holy Lance at Antioch', in J. Gillingham and J.C. Holt (eds), *War and government in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1984, 33-45

J. Richard, 'Raymond d'Aguilers, historien de la première croisade', *Journal des Savants* 3 (1971) 206-12

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem, 'History of the Franks who captured Jerusalem'

DATE   Approx. 1101
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, almost 100 pages of Latin text, was probably completed about 1101. Raymond of Aguilers does not mention the death of Count Raymond at Tripoli in 1105, suggesting he had completed his work before that date. Another crusade historian, Fulcher of Chartres (q.v.), who probably finished his account of the First Crusade by 1101, used Raymond's work, again suggesting an early date for the completion of Raymond's narrative.

Raymond of Aguilers borrowed from the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* (q.v.), as did other chroniclers of the First Crusade. He and the writer of the *Gesta Francorum* shared the conviction that the crusade was directed by God and the crusaders themselves were chosen instruments of the Almighty. Raymond's concerns differ significantly from those of the anonymous author, leading him to make only limited use of the *Gesta Francorum* and giving his account an entirely different focus. He was himself an eye witness and included his own experience and viewpoint in his narrative. He was also close to the leadership and seems to have been better informed regarding their policies and quarrels than the anonymous author. Moreover, Raymond did not use the *Gesta* uncritically; his narrative is much more than just a derivative of the *Gesta Francorum*, and has value in its own right. It may be significant that the majority of those who chose to use the *Gesta Francorum* did not simply make stylistic changes but altered and added considerably to the text. They evidently felt that something was missing and the work was in need of revision.

The two narratives differ, moreover, in their presentation and perception of crusading ideology. The *Gesta Francorum*, for example, at times demonizes the Muslims, referring to their language as 'devilish',

calling mosques a 'devil's chapel' or 'house of the devil', and stating that Muslims suffered 'everlasting death with the devil and his imps'. The author juxtaposes this with 'knights of the true God' suffering martyrdom and receiving their reward in heaven. It appears that, for him, this is sufficient justification to make war on the Muslims. In contrast, Raymond sought a more theologically based justification. He presents the crusade as a divine punishment for Muslims, whom he portrays as pagans, for their sacrilege of holy places and atrocities against Christians. Raymond's preoccupation with the will of God also led him to highlight the faults of the crusaders. After the defeat of Kerbogha, atabeg of Mosul, at Antioch, the greed and avariciousness of the crusaders becomes a major theme in his work. For Raymond there was a direct correlation between the failure to act upon directions revealed by visionaries and the hardships endured by the army. Raymond's enthusiasm for recording visions led him to take an interest in the visionaries, most of whom were poor, thus offering significant information about ordinary crusaders of which we might otherwise be fairly ignorant.

Raymond's narrative was evidently considered to be of value in the 12th century, as it was one of the texts presented to Louis VII of France in 1137 as a coronation gift. Parts of the text were also incorporated into later works, including the anonymous *Historia belli sacri* and the chronicle of William of Tyre (q.v.).

SIGNIFICANCE

Raymond of Aguilers' narrative provides an early example of theological development in crusade ideology and the justification for Holy War. He presents the Muslims as the pagan enemy of God's people – and explains why they are so – and thereby justifies crusader aggression against them.

MANUSCRIPTS

There are seven known manuscripts of the work of Raymond of Aguilers. Of these, three date from the mid-12th century, two from the 13th century and two from the 14th and 15th centuries. Most of them are found bound together with the works of Walter the Chancellor (q.v.) and Fulcher of Chartres (q.v.). For details see *RHC* Occ. 3, pp. xxv-xxvi, and Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. J. and L. Hill, pp. 8-9.

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Barbara Packard

Hugh of Flavigny

DATE OF BIRTH   1064 or 1065
PLACE OF BIRTH   The region around Verdun, Lorraine, France
(then part of the German duchy of Upper Lotharingia)
DATE OF DEATH   After about 1144
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown; possibly the abbey of St-Vanne,
Verdun

BIOGRAPHY

The historian Hugh of Flavigny was born in either 1064 or 1065 in the
region around Verdun, which was then part of the duchy of Upper
Lotharingia. He entered the monastery of St-Vanne, Verdun, dur-
ing the abbacy of Rudolf, which began on 25 May 1076. Hugh was
devoted to Abbot Rudolf and shared his enthusiasm for the church
reform program that was formulated in the pontificate of Gregory VII
(1073-85). It was because of this devotion to reform that Abbot Rudolf
and 40 of his monks – Hugh of Flavigny included – were exiled from
the monastery of St-Vanne by the conservative and royalist Bishop
Theoderic of Verdun in 1085.

Victims of the conflict between empire and papacy, known as the
'Investiture Contest', took refuge with their fellow reformer Abbot
Jarento of St-Bénigne in Dijon. This exile was to be a major influ-
ence on Hugh of Flavigny's subsequent career. It was around this time
in 1085 that Hugh began work on his *Chronicon*. After some initial
reluctance, Hugh embraced life at the abbey of St-Bénigne to such
an extent that when the exiled community from St-Vanne was finally
able to return home in 1092, Hugh preferred to stay at Dijon with his
new mentor Jarento. It was as Jarento's amanuensis that Hugh trav-
elled on a diplomatic mission to Normandy and England in 1096 to
procure peace between King William Rufus of England and Duke
Robert of Normandy. By 1096 Hugh's evident learning and bureau-
cratic competence had recommended itself to the circle of 'Gregorian'
reformers in Burgundy that included not only Jarento of St-Bénigne
but also Archbishop Hugh of Lyons (1082-1106), who had been at
one time the most powerful standing papal legate in France. It was as
Archbishop Hugh's protégé that the monk Hugh was appointed abbot

of Flavigny-sur-Ozerain in the Burgundian diocese of Autun in 1096. Hugh soon incurred the hostility of Bishop Norgaudus of Autun and lost support among the notoriously independent monks at Flavigny, who ejected him from his monastery at least once between 1096 and 1101. His position became untenable in 1100-1 when his former mentor and protector, Archbishop Hugh of Lyons, turned against him.

Hugh's career after 1101 is obscure. He probably became the royalist nominee for the position of abbot at his first monastery of St-Vanne, Verdun, during the period 1111-14, when the old passions and enmities of the 'Investiture Contest' were rekindled. He may have abandoned the pro-papal cause for the royalist party at this time out of bitterness towards his former allies who had abandoned him during his difficult tenure at Flavigny. Hugh's time as abbot of St-Vanne came to an end in 1114 with the return of the legitimate, pro-papal abbot. It is possible that Hugh was then allowed to stay at St-Vanne. Certainly there was an old monk named Hugh at the abbey in the 1140s, who was evidently interested in the prestige of St-Vanne in the diocese of Verdun; this concern is also a pronounced feature in Hugh of Flavigny's chronicle.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Chronicon Hugonis Monachi Virdunensis et Divionensis Abbatis Flaviniacensis, 'The Chronicle of Hugh of Flavigny'

DATE   Approximately 1085-1102
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION
The Chronicle of Hugh of Flavigny is an incarnation chronicle that purports to be a history of the world from the birth of Christ down to Hugh's own day. In its later stages this chronicle narrows down to become, in effect, a local history of church reform in the dioceses most familiar to its author, Verdun and Autun. Hugh supports his historical analysis with copies of many important primary sources, especially papal letters. The inclusion of such source material has ensured the continued significance of Hugh's chronicle, which breaks off in 1112.

The most modern edition of the chronicle of Hugh of Flavigny was published by G.H. Pertz in the *Scriptores* series of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* in 1848. It comprises 214 pages in folio. This edition is based on Hugh's own autograph manuscript of his chronicle, which comprises 148 parchment folios. R Köpke speculated that the last folios of this manuscript might have been the work of a continuator, but there is little stylistic, palaeographical or codicological evidence to support this hypothesis. The opening folios of the MS contain a calendar in 12 columns corresponding to the *Necrologium* that precedes the chronicle in Pertz's edition. This necrology marks the most important feast days in Hugh's private religious devotion and, incidentally, reveals much useful information about Hugh's immediate family and descent. The *Series Abbatum Flaviniacensis* that follows the chronicle in Pertz's edition is no longer extant but was present at the beginning of the MS when Labbé produced his edition of the chronicle in 1657. The autograph manuscript of Hugh's chronicle was previously part of codex 686, *male compactus*, of the Jesuit library of the College de Clermont. A companion piece that was also part of

codex 686 is currently preserved at the Staasbibliothek zu Berlin: MS Phillipps 1814. It is a quarto manuscript of 44 folios and seems also to have been the work of Hugh of Flavigny. MS Phillipps 1814 contains a Christological poem in six books.

In terms of Christian-Muslim relations, there are two passages in Hugh's chronicle of particular importance. The first is contained in a marginal addition to folio 37r (corresponding to p. 323/32-41 of Pertz's edition). In this passage, a brief summary of Muḥammad's life and career is given. This summary is very probably derived directly or indirectly from a version of a *History of Muḥammad*, composed in Latin before 850 by a Christian from al-Andalus (*Istoria de Mahomet* [q.v.]). The Iberian *History of Muḥammad* contains elements that recur in Hugh's account. Of particular importance is the common idea that the devil appeared to Muḥammad in the guise of the Archangel Gabriel, exhorting him to set himself up as a prophet. In both versions of this story, the devil has a 'golden mouth'. Hugh's version of the Iberian *History of Muḥammad* is clearly not an exact copy and it contains some variants from the original. For example, whereas the *History of Muḥammad* asserts that Muḥammad 'rose up' in the seventh year of the reign of Heraclius, Hugh's chronicle claims that that Muḥammad emerged in the fifth year of Heraclius. Again, the *History* tells us that the followers of Muḥammad established the city of Damascus as the 'capital of their kingdom', whereas Hugh, with lesser knowledge, writes that the Prophet ruled personally in Damascus.

The second passage in the chronicle of particular significance for Christian-Muslim relations occurs in the context of Hugh's *Vita* of Abbot Richard of St-Vanne (1004-46). Hugh deviated from the narrative flow of his chronicle to give a long account of the life and miracles of Richard, the saintly abbot of St-Vanne and monastic reformer. In chapters 20-23 of this hagiographical digression (corresponding to pp. 394-397 of Pertz's edition), Hugh provided a description of Abbot Richard's pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1026, one of the most significant of the mass pilgrimages to the Holy Land that were a characteristic of the Latin West in the first half of the 11th century. These chapters reflect the mounting difficulties that faced Christian pilgrims in their passage to Jerusalem at the time, indicative perhaps of the increasing tension that contributed to the crusading movement in western Europe at the end of the 11th century.

SIGNIFICANCE

Hugh's chronicle illustrates how Islam and Muḥammad were perceived in Christian, west-European historiography in the late 11th century. Hugh depended on previous Latin histories, such as those of 'Fredegar' (q.v.), Paul the Deacon, and Flodoard for his knowledge of the expansion of Islam in the 7th century down to the late 10th century. His portrayal of the life and career of Muḥammad, dependent on a version of a Latin *History* of the Prophet composed in Iberia in the mid-9th century, reflects the common Christian view in the Middle Ages that Muḥammad received some religious training at a Christian school and was seduced into founding the religion of Islam by the devil in the guise of the Archangel Gabriel. The chronicle is a witness to the 11th-century difficulties faced by Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land, such as those experienced by Abbot Richard of St-Vanne in 1026. Hugh's work also reveals the atmosphere of religious zeal in which the First Crusade was proclaimed at Clermont in late 1095, although the author seems uninterested in or unaware of the course of the subsequent crusade other than to record the crusaders' victory in 1099 over what he enigmatically refers to as the 'prince of Babylon'.

MANUSCRIPTS

> MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Phillipps 1870 (formerly Meerman 142) (approximately 1085-1102)

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Patrick Healy

ʿAlī ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī

Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Ṭāhir ibn Jaʿfar ibn
ʿAbdallāh al-Qaysī al-Sulamī al-Naḥwī

DATE OF BIRTH 1039 or 1040
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH 19 November 1106
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Sulamī is an obscure figure, and what little we know about him comes from only four short entries in biographical dictionaries. He was a teacher of grammar in the Great Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, where he had a *ḥalqa* (circle of students), upon whom he endowed his collection of books. However, al-Sulamī was not merely a teacher of grammar; he also took an interest in jurisprudence, being himself from a family of Shāfiʿī religious scholars, and was regarded by others as a *thiqa* (a reliable transmitter of Hadith).

Over the course of the year 1105, at the mosque of Bayt Lihyā in the *ghūṭa* (the rural area surrounding Damascus), al-Sulamī publicly composed a treatise entitled *Kitāb al-jihād* ('Jihad'). In doing this he sought to encourage his co-religionists, and particularly the political authorities of the time, to take up arms against the crusaders, who had conquered Jerusalem six years earlier and were continuing to expand their territory in the Levant. Al-Sulamī's call, however, seems to have had little immediate effect, even though the most important part of his work was again read in public once before and once after his death, with the last dictation being conducted in the Great Mosque in Damascus.

Al-Sulamī's text is unfinished, with gaps waiting to be filled in. Given that al-Sulamī died less than a year after his work's composition, it seems likely that it was his death rather than a lack of motivation that prevented him from adding these finishing touches to it.

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   and Muslims in twelfth century Syria*, Leiden, 1993, 162-72

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-jihād, 'Jihad'

DATE   1105

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Al-Sulamī's *Kitāb al-jihād* survives only in a single, partial manuscript
that is itself split over two codices. The original manuscript runs to
a total of 165 pages. The entire work is written in one hand (with the
exception of some later annotations) and appears to have been taken
down by the scribe as the author was composing it aloud in public.

As noted above, al-Sulamī's work was composed with the express
purpose of summoning his fellow Muslims to the *jihād* against the
crusaders. It forms part of an ongoing tradition of works devoted to
the topic of the *jihād*, although it is also a multifaceted work showing
elements of a variety of genres, thus being not only a theological tract
and public moral exhortation, but also at times a historical account,

a collection of Hadith, *maghāzī* and *sīra* material, a judicial text, a grammar treatise, a *faḍāʾil* collection and even a poetic anthology. As such, it was clearly influenced by a wide range of writing traditions.

SIGNIFICANCE

Despite its lack of immediately discernable impact, the *Kitāb al-jihād* is an important work. It is one of the few contemporary texts that we have for the aftermath of the arrival of the First Crusade in the Levant, and as such it gives us a vital insight into initial Muslim reactions to the crusades. Of particular note is al-Sulamī's reference to the crusaders' activities as a *jihād*, which suggests that the Muslims were more aware of the nature of the crusaders' campaigns than other sources might have us believe. In addition, it is clear that al-Sulamī's ideas, and those of others like him, circulated among scholars in the years that followed and were eventually influential in the development of the Muslim counter-crusade.

Al-Sulamī's text is also significant for its place in the development of Muslim *jihād* doctrine as a whole, in as far as it was written at about the time that the theory of greater *jihād* (*al-jihād al-akbar*, cleansing one's soul of disobedience to God and speaking or writing in defense of the faith) and lesser *jihād* (*al-jihād al-aṣghar*, military activity for the faith) was crystallizing under the influence of al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) (q.v.) and others. The text provides an early example of discussion of this doctrine and hence is important as a witness to this change in Muslim thought.

Finally, as a multi-genre work, the *Kitāb al-jihād* offers a variety of avenues for future study of a number of topics, including developments in theological and legal thought and practice, oratory techniques, Arabic grammar, poetry, and the writing of historical and biographical texts, particularly in the form of *sīra* and *maghāzī* works.

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Niall Christie

Robert the Monk

Robertus Monachus, Robert of Reims

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; mid-11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown; probably north-eastern France
DATE OF DEATH   1122 or soon after (if the identification of the
    author with Abbot Robert of St-Rémi is accepted)
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The only information that the text of the *Historia Iherosolimitana* itself reveals about its author is that he was named Robert, that he was a monk, almost certainly of the monastery of St-Rémi, Reims in Champagne, and that he attended the Council of Clermont in November 1095. On the basis of this experience, he was invited by an abbot variously rendered in the manuscripts as 'Bernardus', 'Benedictus' or 'B.' to write a history of the First Crusade by improving upon a stylistically impoverished base text that had come into his possession. The plot structure and story content of Robert's narrative reveal that this source text must have been the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* (q.v.).

Largely on the basis of an identification of the abbot who commissioned Robert's text as Bernard of Marmoutier, it has usually been supposed that the author was the same Robert who led a rather chequered career in the northern French monastic world in the late 11th and early 12th centuries. This Robert was a monk first of St-Rémi then of Marmoutier near Tours, before returning to St-Rémi as its abbot in 1096. Coming into conflict with his former abbot, Bernard of Marmoutier, Robert was excommunicated; his cause attracted a good deal of attention and was taken up by various supporters, including the poet and future historian of the First Crusade, Abbot Baldric of Bourgueil. His excommunication eventually rescinded but his position at St-Rémi untenable, Robert was demoted to the position of prior of Sénuc in the Ardennes, a dependency of St-Rémi. Little is known of his career thereafter, but accusations of maladministration resurfaced, resulting in his destitution by Pope Calixtus II in 1122. Robert probably died soon thereafter.

The identification of this historical figure with the author of the *Historia*, which has been the scholarly orthodoxy since Bongars and Mabillon, and was repeated by Le Bas in his 1866 edition for the *RHC*, receives some support from the fact that the author says that he wrote the text in a 'cell' of St-Rémi, which might be an allusion to the priory of Sénuc. On the other hand, the dates of Abbot Bernard of Marmoutier's abbacy and his antagonism towards Abbot Robert of St-Rémi make this strand of the argument hazardous. The identification should be regarded, therefore, as possible but unproven.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Historia Iherosolimitana, 'Jerusalemite History of the First Crusade'

DATE   C. 1107
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION
Occupying about 160 pages in its *RHC* edition, the *Historia Iherosolimitana* is a Latin history of the First Crusade between the launching of

the crusade at the Council of Clermont in November 1095, and the battle of Ascalon on 12 August 1099. The text is about 35,000 words in length and is divided into nine books, which probably reflects the author's original design; most of the text is in prose, but there are several verse sequences, among which the hexameter is the favored form. The Latin is elegant and learned, but noticeably simpler than that of its closest comparitor texts, the histories of the crusade by Guibert of Nogent (q.v.) and Baldric of Bourgueil, which is probably one reason for the *Historia*'s far greater manuscript diffusion. The date of composition is not entirely clear, but is probably to be fixed at 1106/7.

The principal source for the *Historia* was the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, the plot sequence and story detail of which it largely follows. The most significant substantive addition is a version of Pope Urban II's sermon to the Council of Clermont, which formally launched the crusade. The *Historia* also partly flattens out the *Gesta Francorum*'s greater emphasis on events in and near Antioch in 1098, compared with the climax of the crusade at Jerusalem and Ascalon in the summer of 1099. For some sections, the author also seems to have drawn on a tradition that finds an echo in Gilo of Paris's *Historia vie Hierosolimitane*. It is very unlikely that Robert drew directly on this text, which in any event probably postdates his own work. It has been suggested that both authors drew on a now lost common source. The fact, however, that this source would seem to have left no other trace in the surviving record means that this hypothesis can only be tentative. It has also been suggested that Robert was inspired by *chansons de geste*, though it is more likely that he was drawing on a general stock of epic motifs and narrative forms that also subtended *chansons* than that there was direct borrowing.

Substantially expanding and extending the ideas found in the *Gesta Francorum*, the *Historia* emphasizes the crusade as an instrument of the divine will and as a signal event in the unfolding history of Christian salvation. There is increased attention to the crusade as a pilgrimage, and to the significance of both the earthly and celestial Jerusalem. Furthermore, Robert places greater emphasis than other contemporary writers on the Franks, and more specifically the western Franks, that is the French, as God's chosen people. Many of Robert's substantive additions to the *Gesta Francorum* reveal a particular interest in the nobility of the Île-de-France, the center of French royal power – more so, in fact, than in the Champagne region where Robert was writing. The role in the crusade of King Philip's brother,

Hugh of Vermandois, is extensively enhanced, as is the leadership of Godfrey of Bouillon: the *Historia* thus represents an important early stage in the transformation of Godfrey into the central heroic figure of the First Crusade in medieval Europe's historical memory. Compared with the *Gesta Francorum*, the text also exhibits a pronounced hardening of attitudes towards the Byzantines.

SIGNIFICANCE

The principal significance of the *Historia Iherosolimitana* lies in the fact that it was far more widely disseminated than any other of the Latin narratives of the First Crusade. More than 100 manuscripts survive from between the 12th and 15th centuries, whereas the totals for the other histories never exceed 20. It is possible that part of the *Historia*'s success is to be ascribed to its dissemination among the houses of the Cistercian order, which effectively 'sponsored' the text as its favored telling of the First Crusade, even though the author was not himself a Cistercian.

Moreover, although Robert's account of the crusade is the most overtly pro-French in tone of the early crusade narratives, it enjoyed wide currency in the German-speaking lands, especially in southern Germany. Its dissemination there is to be linked to the mobilization of the connection it makes between the crusade and Carolingian history by supporters of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa as part of his programme of recuperation of the cult of Charlemagne. The apotheosis of this seemingly unlikely adoption of the text by the German elites is the beautifully illuminated frontispiece to a manuscript of the *Historia* (now MS Vat. Lat. 2001), which must date from shortly before Barbarossa's departure on the Third Crusade and depicts Provost Henry of Schäftlarn humbly offering Robert's *Historia* to the emperor, who is portrayed wearing the cross.

In terms of attitudes towards the Muslim world, Robert's views are consonant with the dominant discourses of early crusade historiography, as well as of *chansons de geste*: the crusaders are presented as avenging the pollution and defilement of the holy places by the Turks; and the Muslims generally are depicted as threatening and vast in numbers but also cowardly and treacherous, their speech and behavior bordering on the animalistic. Significantly, Robert eliminates the suggestion found in the *Gesta Francorum* that the Turks were the Franks' distant kinsmen.

MANUSCRIPTS

Approximately 110-120 manuscripts survive from between the 12th and 15th centuries. This figure substantially exceeds those for all other accounts of the First Crusade. Of these manuscripts, about 35 date from the 12th century. The 12th-century manuscript tradition points to a substantial Cistercian role in the dissemination of the text, as well as a pronounced popularity in the German empire despite the text's clear pro-French leanings.

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Marcus Bull

Ibn Bassām

Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī

DATE OF BIRTH   Second half of the 11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Santarem, Portugal
DATE OF DEATH   1147
PLACE OF DEATH   Possibly Santarem

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn Bassām was born in the town of Santarem in the second half of the 11th century. We have very little information about his youth, except that he travelled to Lisbon in 1084-85. After the conquest of Santarem by Alfonso VI of Castile in 1092-93, Ibn Bassām was forced to leave his birthplace.

Around the year 1100, Ibn Bassām went to Cordova for the first time, though the reasons for this are unclear. This was the year when he began to write his *Al-dhakhīra fī maḥāsin ahl al-Jazīra*, dedicated to an unnamed Almoravid nobleman.

Ibn Bassām died in 1147, perhaps in Santarem, after twice falling into the hands of Christian armies.

He is best known for the *Al-dhakhīra fī maḥāsin ahl al-Jazīra*, though he also wrote works that are preserved as fragments in other sources, or are lost.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-dhakhīra fī maḥāsin ahl al-Jazīra, 'Treasure, on the merits of the people of the Peninsula'

DATE   Between 1100 and 1108-9

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Dhakhīra* is divided into four parts, on litterateurs (*udabāʾ*) and poets from Cordova, from western al-Andalus, from eastern al-Andalus, and from abroad. Within each part, Ibn Bassām arranges the contents according to litterateurs, secretaries, viziers and poets. Each chapter opens with a eulogy in which every kind of epistolary device is employed. Ibn Bassām frequently indicates his sources and changes in style and narrative.

Despite its importance, *Al-dhakhīra fī maḥāsin ahl al-Jazīra* has still not been properly studied, except in literary and historical research on the period of the taifa kingdoms.

SIGNIFICANCE

Al-dhakhīra fī maḥāsin ahl al-Jazīra is one of the most important sources for the political, historical and literary history of al-Andalus in the 11th century. In addition, it provides much information concerning relations between Christians and Muslims, including palace intrigues, tales of battles (e.g. the Christian conquest of Toledo in 1085), official visits, and details about Christian kingdoms. There are also references to Castilians, Basques, Franks and others such as the *Ṣaqāliba*, which not only give important details about these peoples, but also provide a great stock of images and stereotypes of the 'other'.

The *Dhakhīra* attests to the tensions experienced by Christian and Jewish *dhimmī* communities under Muslim rule in its references to conversions to Islam as a way of escaping from social and religious marginalization. But the same was evidently true of Muslim communities under Christian rule in newly conquered areas, such as Muslims in Toledo who converted to Christianity under Alfonso VI (r. 1065-1109), as is corroborated by other sources.

MANUSCRIPTS

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Mohamed Meouak

Makkīkhā ibn Sulaymān al-Qankānī

DATE OF BIRTH   11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Baghdad
DATE OF DEATH   17 March 1109
PLACE OF DEATH   Baghdad

BIOGRAPHY

Makkīkhā ibn Sulaymān, chief-sacristan (*qankānī*) possibly of the church of the East Syrian ('Nestorian') patriarchal see in Baghdad (Fiey, 'Le patriarche nestorien Makkiha Ier', p. 451), studied in his native city Baghdad and was attracted to the monastic life. For some time he also practiced as a physician. After serving as a priest in one of the churches of Baghdad he was appointed bishop of Tīrhān/Tayrhān in central Iraq, where he became popular because of his oral translations into Arabic of the scriptural texts read in Syriac during the liturgy. After 20 years, in 1085/6, he was appointed metropolitan of Mosul and Ḥazza (Irbil), and in 1092 patriarch of the Church of the East.

His term as patriarch is characterized by a long-standing conflict with Ibn al-Wāsiṭī, a priest and the personal physician of the Caliph al-Mustaẓhir (r. 1094-1118). The conflict was about certain liturgical reforms introduced by the patriarch, which the priest-physician refused to implement. The conflict ended with Ibn al-Wāsiṭī's excommunication, but eventually the vizier ʿAmīd al-Dawla ibn Jahīr succeeded in reconciling the two men.

The patriarchal chronicle in the *Kitāb al-majdal* (q.v.) emphasizes the many miracles performed by the patriarch. The same chronicle gives the text of the diploma delivered from the *diwān* of the Caliph al-Muqtadī (r. 1075-94), mentioning the rights and obligations of Makkīkhā as leader of his community.

Makkīkhā is the author of several apologetic writings, presented below, some of which were incorporated into the theological encyclopaedia *Asfār al-asrār* ('The books of secrets').

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb fī ḥaqīqat al-dīn al-Masīḥī, 'Letter on the truth of the Christian religion'

DATE   Between 1085/6 and 1092
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This letter, which Makkīkhā wrote when he was metropolitan of Mosul and Irbil (as is mentioned in the introduction), is addressed to a Christian leader of Iṣfahān, 'a venerable elder' and 'pure deacon'. It is preserved in the 13th/14th-century theological encyclopaedia *Asfār al-asrār*.

It is an answer to a request by the unnamed Christian leader to give a summary of words and ideas contained in the ecclesiastical books

in order to strengthen the orthodox faith and to give consolation in times when 'atrocious matters' had unexpectedly affected the life of the Christians. This is possibly an allusion to al-Muqtadī's imposition of strict clothing rules on *dhimmīs*, as is suggested by the editor, or to some unknown incident that had occurred in Iṣfahān.

The author exhorts the Christians of this city to remain steadfast and (referring to Matthew 10:16) to be cunning as serpents, protecting their heads (which for the Christians means their faith), but to be prepared to give up their bodies.

Makkīkhā then refers to a number of New Testament passages which show that eternal life in Christ is preferable to the present perishable life. The truth of Christianity and the right choice made by the apostles and martyrs appears from the many miracles they performed, such as the miracle of the candle flame in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher on Holy Saturday, or the miracles that take place in the monasteries as a result of prayers. The faith and perseverance of the forefathers and martyrs should serve as an example, especially the victims of the Roman and Persian persecutions, such as the famous Patriarch Ibn Sabbāʿē, or the attitude of the holy fathers and doctors imprisoned or killed on account of their struggle for the true faith.

The author ends with a reference to a contemporary event in Mosul, where three Christians were martyred for their faith in Christ, interpreted by Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans*, p. 295, as an allusion to the re-conversion to Christianity of some originally Christian officials who had become Muslims for the sake of their career.

SIGNIFICANCE

The letter is basically a work of exhortation to hold on in difficult times. Islam is nowhere explicitly mentioned, but it is possible that the 'atrocious matters' that had disturbed the life of the Christians of Iṣfahān are related to difficulties in relations between Christians and Muslims. The Islamic context of the letter also appears from the fact that, for his description of the unique character of Christian martyrdom as opposed to that of other religions (§§ 88-94, 105), Makkīkhā relies on the letter of the famous Christian apologist ʿAbd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī (q.v.).

MANUSCRIPTS

See Gianazza, 'Lettre de Makkīhā', pp. 498-99. It is not certain whether the inaccessible MSS referred to in Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 64, no 519 (now preserved in a private collection in Aleppo) contain the same text.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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G. Gianazza, 'Risālat Makkīkhā (+1109) fī Ḥaqīqat al-diyāna', in G. Gianazza, *Nuṣūṣ mukhtāra min kanīsat al-Mashriq* (*al-qurūn 11-14*), Baghdad, 1999, pp. 76-120 (edition)

Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans*, pp. 294-95 (French trans. of §§138-45 of Gianazza's edition)

J.S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis* iii.1, Rome, 1925, pp. 552-54 (extracts)

STUDIES

H. Teule, 'A theological treatise by Išoʿyahb bar Malkon preserved in the theological compendium *Asfār al-asrār*', *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 58 (2006) p. 242

Gianazza, 'Lettre de Makkīhā', pp. 495-504

Gianazza, 'Risālat Makkīkhā', pp. 76-82

Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans*, p. 122

S.K. Samir, 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976), p. 222

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 196-97

Sbath, *Fihris* i, Cairo, 1938, p. 64

Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis* iii 1, pp. 552-54

Qawl mukhṭasar fī l-ubuwwa wa l-bunuwwa ʿalā madhhab dīn al-Naṣrāniyya, 'Short treatise on fatherhood and sonship according to the doctrine of Christianity'

DATE   Between 1092 and 1109, the years of Makkīkhā's patriarchate
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The first theme of this treatise, which is preserved in the *Kitāb asfār al-asrār*, is the Trinity. Makkīkhā explains that the eternal fatherhood

and sonship applied to God and his Son are unlike fatherhood and sonship between corporeal and temporal beings. He then gives some classical Trinitarian analogies that are also found in earlier Christian Arabic treatises (e.g. the sun with its light and heat), and explains that God is one substance (*jawhar*) in three hypostases (*aqānīm*).

The second theme is the Incarnation of the Word. Here Makkīkhā presents the classical Christology of the Church of the East and gives some analogies of the relationship between Christ's divinity and humanity, which he thinks is too subtle to be exactly defined with the help of intellectual concepts.

He then concludes with the enumeration of seven forms of 'natural', non-eternal fatherhood and sonship, such as the corporeal fatherhood common to human beings and animals, or spiritual fatherhood, such as the titles given to bishops and priests.

SIGNIFICANCE

This vigorous defence and explanation of eternal fatherhood and sonship, in response to the classical Muslim reproach that these physical categories are not applicable to God, shows that Christians at this time were required to give as good an account of their beliefs as any of their predecessors, and also that they were able to draw on substantial resources. Makkīkhā's refusal to shift from the traditional position of his church suggests both confidence in his ancestral beliefs, and possibly a measure of reluctance to produce changes in explanation simply for the sake of a Muslim audience.

MANUSCRIPTS   —
EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —
STUDIES   —

Kitāb fī ḥaqīqat dīn al-Naṣrāniyya li-aḥad ʿulamāʾ al-Muslimīn, 'Treatise on the truth of the Christian religion, for one of the Muslim religious doctors'

DATE   Before 1109
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work appears to have been a justification of Christian teachings in the light of Muslim criticisms, and is likely to have contained defenses of the Trinity, the unity of the divine and human natures in Christ, and Christian scripture, among other recognized matters of disagreement.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is difficult to say what the significance of the work was.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Aleppo – Rizq Allāh Bāsīl Collection (inaccessible MS in private collection; see Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 64, no. 520)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —

STUDIES

  Samir, 'Bibliographie, p. 222
  Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 64

Herman G.B. Teule

Guibert of Nogent

Guibertus abbas Novigentis, Guibert de Nogent

DATE OF BIRTH   Uncertain, about 1060
PLACE OF BIRTH   Clermont en Beauvais
DATE OF DEATH   Uncertain, about 1125
PLACE OF DEATH   Probably Nogent

BIOGRAPHY

Born into a family of minor Picard nobility, Guibert became a monk at the monastery of St Germer en Fly, and subsequently was elected abbot of Nogent sous Coucy, where he remained until his death. He is best known for a fairly prolific and idiosyncratic collection of written works, including exegesis (focusing on tropological or moral meanings), a tract criticizing the cult of relics, a polemical tract against Judaism, and most famously his *Monodies*, which has been called the first work of autobiography by a medieval European.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Secondary

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J. Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent. Portrait of a medieval mind,* New York, 2002

M. Garand, *Guibert de Nogent et ses secrétaires*, Turnhoult, 1995

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Dei gesta per Francos, 'The deeds of God through the Franks'

DATE   1109
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

Guibert calls his chronicle *Dei gesta per Francos*, 'The deeds of God through the Franks', because he presents the First Crusade as the glorious accomplishment of God's will through His new chosen people. He describes the army of the Franks in language that echoes Old Testament narratives of Israel's victories over its pagan enemies. Guibert's principle source is the anonymous *Gesta francorum* (q.v.), which he criticizes both for its poor Latin and for its insufficient grasp of the significance of the events it relates. He complements this with other sources, including letters, Fulcher of Chartres' contemporary *Historia Hierosolymitana* (q.v.) (Guibert seems to have discovered this as Fulcher was actually in the process of writing it over the first two decades of the 12th century, and as he himself was in the process of writing the *Gesta*), and probably information gleaned orally from returning crusaders; he also describes Peter the Hermit, whom he saw preach the crusade.

Guibert demonizes the Muslim enemies of the 'Franks' in order the better to justify and glorify the conquest of Jerusalem. He presents a letter purportedly sent by the Greek emperor to Robert of Flanders, describing the plight of Eastern Christians. According to this text (which circulated in northern France in the early 12th century) the Muslim conquerors slaughtered priests at the altars and transformed churches into stables, theatres and brothels. They raped Christian matrons and made their daughters sing lewd songs; they then made the mothers sing lewd songs while they raped the daughters. They even sodomized a bishop. Yet, after summarizing the contents of this letter, Guibert affirms that the Emperor Alexius brought down on his own people the Muslim enemy's implacable violence and lust, since the emperor had previously proclaimed that each family had to devote one of its daughters to prostitution and make one of its sons a eunuch. It was for these reasons that God has stirred the virile Franks into action, driving them to conquer the East.

The degeneracy of the East is closely linked with its propensity for heresy. Guibert explains that Orientals are clever, flighty intellectuals whose brilliant circumlocutions carry them off into heresy; he contrasts them implicitly to the stodgy, earthbound, authority-respecting Latins. Is it any wonder, Guibert asks, that virtually all the heresiarchs were Orientals, from Mani and Arius onward? These Orientals continue to defend their errors through reasoning (*ratiocinatio*): the use of leavened bread in the eucharist, the lack of proper deference to the pope, clerical marriage and Trinitarian errors regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit. It is because of these errors, Guibert affirms, that God allowed the Eastern empire to fall to the Arab invaders.

In the opening book of his chronicle, Guibert inserts a brief and polemical biography of Muḥammad, whom he presents as a clever and degenerate heresiarch – both a divine scourge sent to punish the heretical eastern Christians, and the latest and worst of a long line of Oriental heresiarchs. He says that he does not know when 'Mathome' lived, but, since the fathers of the Church did not write about him, he concludes that he is a recent heresiarch. Since he was unable to find an authoritative text relating Mathome's life, he repeats what he has heard about him.

He makes Mathome into the associate of a heretical hermit who marries his young protégé to a rich widow. Mathome suffers from epilepsy, which he passes off as the effects of the divine presence come to reveal a new dispensation. Having gained a reputation for exceptional sanctity, Mathome places the scrolls of the new law he has written on the horns of a cow, whose sudden appearance amongst the assembled crowd of Arabs is hailed as a miracle. The essence of this new law is sexual license and debauchery: adultery and incest are not only permitted, but encouraged. God subsequently punishes Mathome by striking him again with epilepsy; as he writhes on the ground, pigs come and devour his body, which they transform not into spirit but into flatulence. All that is left of the prophet are his heels, which become preposterous relics venerated by the Saracens. Yet Guibert acknowledges that he is indulging in polemic and parody, and informs his readers that the essential thing to know is that the Saracens do not believe that Muḥammad is their god, but consider him a prophet and a holy man who conferred upon them a divinely-authored law.

SIGNIFICANCE

Guibert adeptly uses a polemical depiction of 'Orientals' as prone to heresy in order to justify the crusade. The conquests of God's army, of valorous and pure Christians from the West, are justified and necessary, both against the Saracen followers of Muḥammad and against the weak and perfidious Greeks. His denigration of Muḥammad as the most debauched and pernicious of a long line of oriental heresiarchs fits this purpose, as does, more generally, his portrayal of Saracens as violent and lustful.

Guibert's text was among the least read, during the middle ages, of the various chronicles of the First Crusade. Seven of the eight surviving manuscripts date to the 12th century. His text was rediscovered and edited by Jacques Bongars in the 17th century.

Guibert's is one of a number of 12th-century authors (along with Gauthier de Compiègne [q.v.], Adelphus [q.v.], and Embrico of Mainz [q.v.]) to present Muḥammad as a colorful scoundrel: a purveyor of false miracles who hoodwinks his followers into accepting a crude and degenerate law.

MANUSCRIPTS

>   MS Copenhagen, Royal library – Fabricius 95 (first half of 12th century)
>   MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana – Ashburnham (Libri) 1054 (second half of 12th century)
>   MS Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale – 882 (second half of 12th century)
>   MS Bern, Burgerbibliothek – 458 (second half of 12th century)
>   MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 18416 (second half of 12th century)
>   MS Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale – 9823-34 (12th century)
>   MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 18417 (12th century)
>   MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 12945 (second half of 13th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

>   M. Garand, *Geste de Dieu par les Francs. Histoire de la première croisade*, Turnhout, 1998 (French trans.)
>   R. Levine, *The deeds of God through the Franks*, Woodbridge UK, 1997 (trans.)
>   *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Turnhout, 1996
>   H. Wallon et al. (eds), *Dei gesta per Francos*, in *RHC Occ.* 4 (1879) 117-260
>   *PL* 156, cols 679-834 (republication of edition by d'Achéry)

F. Guizot, 9 vols, Paris, 1823-35, ix, 1-338 (French trans.)

L. d'Achéry (ed.), *Venerabilis Guiberti abbatis B. Mariae de Novigento opera omnia*, Paris, 1651, 363-453

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STUDIES

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E. Lapina, '"Nec signis nec testibus creditur…": the problem of eyewitnesses in the chronicles of the First Crusade', *Viator* 38 (2007) 117-39

P.-A. Sigal, 'Les visions dans les récits de la première croisade', in F. Gingras et al. (eds), *Invent les merveilles pruvees et les aventures truvees. Hommage à Francis Dubost*, Paris, 2005, 583-98

M. Arduini, 'Il problema christianitas in Guiberto di Nogent', *Aevum* 78 (2004) 379-410

Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 135-47

S. Hotz, *Mohammed und seine Lehre in der Darstellung abendländerischer Autoren vom späten 11. bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Frankfurt am Main, 2002

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N. Hodgson, 'The role of Kerbogha's mother in the *Gesta Francorum* and selected chronicles of the First Crusade', in S. Edgington and S. Lambert (eds), *Gendering the Crusades*, Cardiff, 2001, 163-76

J. Flori, *Pierre l'Ermite et la première croisade*, Paris, 1999

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S. Kruger, 'Medieval Christian (dis)identifications: Muslims and Jews in Guibert of Nogent', *New Literary History* 28 (1997) 185-203

R.B.C. Huygens, *La tradition manuscrite de Guibert de Nogent* (*Instrumenta patristica* 21), Steenbrugis: in Abbatia S. Petri, 1991

P. Cole, '"O God, the heathen have come into your inheritance" (Ps. 78.1). The theme of religious pollution in Crusade documents, 1095-1188', in M. Schatzmiller (ed.), *Crusaders and Muslims in twelfth-century Syria*, Leiden, 1993, 84-111

J. Flori, 'La caricature de l'Islam dans l'Occident médiéval. Orig-
    ine et signification de quelques stéréotypes concernant l'Islam',
    Aevum 66 (1992) 245-56

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    Francos*', *Rhetorica* 7 (1989) 261-73

J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the idea of crusading*, Phila-
    delphia PA, 1986

J. Chaurand, 'La conception de l'histoire de Guibert de Nogent',
    Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale 8 (1965) 381-95

John Tolan

The conquest of Iberia

Fatḥ al-Andalus

DESCRIPTION

Fatḥ al-Andalus is more than a history of the Arab conquest of the Iberian Peninsula, because it extends to the arrival of the Almoravids in the 12ᵗʰ century. However, two quite different parts are to be distinguished: its account of the conquest, the governors of the Umayyads of Damascus, and the coming and rule of the Umayyad emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I is very detailed, whereas from the second Umayyad ruler, Hishām I, to the taifa kings it is scant, defective, and often wrong, omitting any mention of important rulers such as ʿAbdallāh, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III 'al-Nāṣir', and al-Ḥakam II 'al-Mustanṣir'.

The history is by an unknown Andalusī or North African author, certainly writing after 1102, because the last event recorded is the conquest of Valencia by the Almoravids in that year, and probably before 1110, since the conquest of Saragossa in that year is not referred to in the chronicle (Molina, *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, pp. xxxi-xxxii). L. Molina suggests that the author may have been ʿAbd al-Salām ibn Aḥmad Sukayraj (d. 1834), author of a history of Tetuan, whose name is mentioned in the colophon of the Algiers MS as copyist (Molina, *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii). If this proved to be the case, the chronicle would have been composed as late as the end of the 18ᵗʰ century from an original written between 1102 and 1110.

As regards sources, the following authors are cited: ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb, al-Rāzī, Ibn Qutayba (q.v.), Ibn Mufarrij, Ibn Ḥazm (q.v.), Ibn Ḥayyān (q.v.) and Qāsim ibn Thābit al-Saraqusṭī. There is much discussion on whether these authors were used directly or not and which was the main one, the prevailing view being that the author used a compilation of earlier sources. This compilation may also have been used in other works with which *Fatḥ al-Andalus* has textual parallels, such as the *Kitāb al-iktifāʾ* of Ibn al-Kardabūs (12ᵗʰ century) and the *Riḥlat al-wazīr fī iftikāk al-asīr* of Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ghassānī (17ᵗʰ century). According to L. Molina,

this common source could have been the lost *Ṣilat al-mughrib* of Ibn Muzayn (11th century) (Molina, *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, pp. xxiii-xxx; 'Los itinerarios de la conquista').

SIGNIFICANCE

The importance of *Fatḥ al-Andalus* lies mainly in the fact that it transmits fragments of earlier works, some of which are lost.

As a work largely dealing with the conquest of Iberia, it includes several legends connected with this event, such as those that see its origins in the underhand behavior of the last Visigothic king, Roderick, and his insatiable greed. Moreover, it describes at length the route of conquest followed by Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād and Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr, as well as the difference between the treatment given to Christian natives of towns taken by force (their property passed into Muslim hands), and that in towns surrendered through treaty (they kept their property and paid the *jizya*). To a lesser extent it also records details of Christian-Muslim contacts during the early period of Arab rule, such as expeditions to subdue northern Spain and incursions into the land of the Franks.

MANUSCRIPTS

    MS Algiers, Bibliothèque Nationale – 1876
    MS Rabat, Bibliothèque Royale – 7531, fols 62r-92r (lacking final part; see Molina, *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, p. 100, n. 146)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

    M. Penelas, *La conquista de al-Andalus*, Madrid, 2002 (Spanish trans.)
    L. Molina, *Fatḥ al-Andalus* (*La conquista de al-Andalus*), Madrid, 1994 (edition based on the two extant MSS)
    J. de González, *Historia de la conquista de España*, Argel, 1889 (defective edition and Spanish trans. based on MS Algiers)

STUDIES

    J. Castilla Brazales, art. 'Fatḥ al-Andalus', in *Enciclopedia de al-Andalus*
    E. Manzano Moreno, 'Las fuentes árabes sobre la conquista de al-Andalus. Una nueva interpretación', *Hispania* 59 (1999) 389-432
    L. Molina, 'Los itinerarios de la conquista: el relato de ʿArīb', *Al-Qanṭara* 20 (1999) 27-45
    Molina, *Fatḥ al-Andalus*, pp. xi-xli
    P. Chalmeta, 'Una historia discontinua e intemporal (Jabar)', *Hispania* 33 (1973) 60-65

E. de Santiago Simón, 'Los itinerarios de la conquista musulmana a la luz de una nueva fuente: Ibn al-Šabbāṭ', *Cuadernos de Historia del Islam* 3 (1971) 51-65

C. Sánchez Albornoz, 'Precisiones sobre Fatḥ al-Andalus', *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos* 9-10 (1961-62) 1-21

E. García Gómez, 'Novedades sobre la crónica anónima titulada "Fatḥ al-Andalus"', *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales* 12 (1954) 31-42

C. Sánchez Albornoz, *En torno a los orígenes del feudalismo*, 3 vols, Buenos Aires, 1942, ii, pp. 272-78

Mayte Penelas

Euthymius Zigabenus

Euthymios Zigabenos, Euthymios Zigadenos

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; probably mid-10th Century.
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; probably early 11th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

After the trial of Basil the Bogomil (c. 1099), Euthymius, monk and theologian in Constantinople, was charged by the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus to write a refutation of Bogomilism and other heresies. The work, which Euthymius completed with the help of a team of theologians, was published under the title *Panoplia dogmatikē*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
D.R. Reinsch and A. Kambylis (eds), *Anna Comnena, Alexias* 1 (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 40/I), Berlin, 2001, XV, 9.1, p. 489

Secondary
G. Podskalsky, art. 'Euthymios Zigabenos', in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*
A.N. Papabasileios, *Euthymios – Iōannēs Zygadēnos. Bios – syngraphai*, Leukosia, 1979[2]

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Panoplia dogmatikē, 'Armour of doctrines'

DATE   About 1110
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Greek

DESCRIPTION

Following a prologue addressed to Emperor Alexius I, the *Panoplia dogmatikē* is divided into two parts (these do not agree with the division into two books given by the author): the first is devoted to the exposition of faith, while the second contains a refutation of various

errors. Ch. 22, against the Iconoclasts, signals the change from past to present heresies, and ch. 28, the last, is dedicated to Muslims; following chapters are dedicated to other heretical groups, Armenians, Paulicians, Bogomils, Messalians, and so on.

In its structure and contents – name and genealogy of the Ishmaelites and Saracens, Muḥammad and the Qurʾan, Jesus Christ, the Cross, the Black Stone, Muslim teaching on God, prayer, fasting, customs and morals, holy war and paradise – the chapter follows ch. 100 of John of Damascus' *De haeresibus* (q.v.) (see E. Trapp, *Manuel II. Palaiologos. Dialogos mit einem 'Perser'*, Vienna, 1966, pp. 20*-21*), and Euodius the Monk's *Refutation* (q.v.), as is indicated in the manuscript margins (see Rigo, 'Niceta Byzantios, la sua opera e il monaco Evodio', pp. 163-64).

It should be pointed out that the last paragraph of ch. 28 in the Migne edition (*PG* 130, col. 1360c-d), copied from Sylburg (1595), is found only in MS Palat. gr. 367, fol. 68r. It is not original, but is a later insertion (see S.G. Mercati, 'Macaire Caloritès et Constantin Anagnostès', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 22 [1920/21] 162-93, p. 193; Rigo '*Saracenica* di Friedrich Sylburg', pp. 304-5).

SIGNIFICANCE

This chapter, a simple compilation based on the earlier writings of John of Damascus and Euodius the Monk, was, like the rest of the work, widely known in the Byzantine and Ottoman eras.

It should be noted that in the first printed edition of *Panoplia dogmatikē*, which appeared in Wallachia (Tirgoviste 1710), the heading of ch. 28 was omitted 'for fear of the Turks' (see A. Galland, *Bibliotheca Patrum veterum* XIV, Venice, 1781, p. ix). The chapter had already been published alone in the West in 1595 by Friedrich Sylburg, in a collection inspired by anti-Islamic polemical intentions and anti-Turkish political concerns.

MANUSCRIPTS

See *Papabasileios, Euthymios – Iōannēs Zygadēnos*, pp. 59-76

see also http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/rech_oeuvre/ resultOeuvre/filter_auteur/5534/filter_oeuvre/12212

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

PG 130, cols 20-1360

STUDIES

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A. Rigo, '*Saracenica* di Friedrich Sylburg (1595). Una raccolta di opere bizantine contro l'Islâm', in M. Cortesi (ed.), *I padri sotto il torchio. Le edizioni dell'antichità cristiana nei secoli XV-XVI*, Florence, 2002, 209-310, pp. 301-5

Papabasileios, *Euthymios – Iōannēs Zygadēnos*, pp. 59-130

K. Förstel, *Schriften zum Islam von Arethas und Euthymios Zigabe-nos und Fragmente der griechischen Koranübersetzung* (*Corpus Islamo-Christianum, series Graeca* 7), Wiesbaden, 2009, pp. 12-14, 44-83

Antonio Rigo

Hugh of Fleury

Hugo monachus Floriacensis, Hugo a Sancta Maria

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH   Uncertain; maybe Cotentin, Normandy
DATE OF DEATH   Approximately 1120
PLACE OF DEATH   St-Benoît-sur-Loire, Loiret

BIOGRAPHY

Hugh, who may have been of Norman origin (Berland, 'Les prieurés', p. 124), lived, worked and died as a monk of the Benedictine Abbey of Fleury-sur-Loire. His literary works, and their dedicatees, show his ties to the family of William the Conqueror and his interest in the issue of the investiture contest. In his treatise *De regia potestate et sacerdotali dignitate* (1102), dedicated to King Henry I of England, he assumes a conciliatory position. His *Historia ecclesiastica* (1109-10) was dedicated to William's daughter and Henry's sister, Adela of Blois, and to Bishop Ivo of Chartres, who both played a part in settling the dispute between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities (Cantor, *Church, kingship*, pp. 203-26). He offered his *Liber modernorum regum Francorum actus* (approx. 1114) to William's granddaughter and Henry's daughter, Matilda, at that time the wife of the Emperor Henry V. Other works are the *Vita sancti sacerdoti* and *De miraculis Sancti Benedicti*.

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Primary
Hugh's literary works:
De regia potestate et sacerdotali dignitate, ed. E. Sackur, *MGH LL* 2, Hannover, 1892, pp. 465-94
Historia ecclesiastica (see the editions listed below)
Liber modernorum regum Francorum actus, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SS* 9, Hannover, 1851, pp. 376-95
Vita sancti sacerdotis, PL 163, cols 939-76
Miracula Sancti Benedicti, ed. E. de Certain, Paris, 1858

Hugh's dedicatory letters to Ivo of Chartres, Henry I of England, Adela of
  Blois and the Empress Matilda, in which he presents himself as a
  monk of Fleury (Waitz, *MGH SS* 9, pp. 338, 341, 345, 349, 376)
Marginal notes in some manuscripts explaining his surname *de sancta Maria*
  (Waitz, *MGH SS* 9, p. 345 and n. 40; Wilmart, 'L'histoire ecclésiastique',
  p. 293)
A capital in the abbey church of Fleury, possibly representing Hugh
  (Vergnolle, *Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire*, figs 263-64)

Secondary

K.A. Lo Prete, *Adela of Blois. Countess and Lord(c. 1067-1137)*, Dublin,
  2007
A. Vauchez, 'I Cristiani d'Occidente di fronte agli ebrei e ai musulmani
  all'epoca delle crociate', in S. Ensini (ed.), *Fedi a confronto. Ebrei, Cris-
  tiani e Musulmani fra X e XIII secolo. Atti del Convegno di Studi, Mon-
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G. Constable, 'L'idea di innovazione nel XII secolo', in G. Constable et al.
  (eds), *Il secolo XII. La 'renovatio' dell'Europa cristiana*, Bologna, 2003,
  35-66
A. Becker, art. 'Hugo (auch H. v. S. Maria), Mönch in Fleury-sur-Loire', in
  Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, Freiburg, 1993-2001
J.M. Ferrante, 'Women's role in Latin letters from the fourth to the early
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  eval women*, Athens GA, 1996, 73-104
R. Aubert, art. 'Hugues de Fleury', in *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie
  Ecclésiastiques*, Paris, 1995
L.B. Mortensen, 'The glorious past. Entertainment, example or history? Lev-
  els of twelfth century historical culture', *Culture and History* 13 (1994)
  57-71
P. Bourgain, art. 'Hugo von Fleury', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Munich,
  1991
L.K. Barker, 'Ivo of Chartres and the Anglo-Norman cultural tradition', in
  M. Chibnall (ed.), *Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1990*, Wood-
  bridge UK, 1991, 15-33
F. van Liere, 'Hugo van Fleury's Geschiedbeschouwing in zijn politieke trac-
  taat De Regia Potestate et Sacerdotali Dignitate', *Groniek* 110 (1990)
  25-34
J.R. Strayer, art. 'Hugh of Fleury', in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, New York,
  1982-89
E. Vergnolle, *Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire et la sculpture du XIᵉ siècle*, Paris, 1985
G.M. Cantarella and D. Tuniz, *Il papa ed il sovrano. Gregorio VII ed Enrico
  IV nella lotta per le investiture*, Novara, 1985, pp. 203-45

J.M. Berland, 'Les prieurés Normands de l'Abbaye de Fleury aux XIᵉ et XIIᵉ siècles', in *Questions d'histoire et de dialectologie normande*, Paris, 1984, 107-24

N. Lettinck, *Geschiedbeschouwing en beleving van de eigen tijd in de eerste helft van de twaalfde eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1983, pp. 43-63, 125-40 (with extensive bibliography)

R.M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, Woodbridge UK, 1987, pp. 170-74 (Thomson's comparison of Hugh's life of Muḥammad with its source, Anastasius Bibliothecarius [q.v.], is partly erroneous)

B.Z. Kedar, *Crusade and mission. European approaches toward the Muslims*, Princeton NJ, 1984, 1988², pp. 87, 208-10

N. Daniel, *The Arabs and medieval Europe*, London, 1975, pp. 232-34

A. Vidier, *L'historisgraphie à St Benóit-sur-Loire et les miracles de Saint Benóit*, Paris, 1965, pp. 76-81, 111-12

M.-T. d'Alverny, 'La connaissance de l'Islam en occident du IXᵉ au milieu du XIIᵉ siècle', in *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto, 1964, 577-602, p. 599

N. Daniel, *Islam and the West. The making of an image*, Edinburgh, 1960, pp. 12 and 324

N.F. Cantor, *Church, kingship and lay investiture in England (1089-1135)*, Princeton NJ, 1958, pp. 185, 226-34

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Historia ecclesiastica, 'Ecclesiastical history'; *Chronicon*, 'Chronicle'

DATE   First redaction, 1109, second redaction, 1110
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

The first redaction (hereafter: no. 1) covers 110 folios in MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 4963, of which one and a half, fols 96r-97r, contain Hugh's account of the conquests of the *Sarraceni* and the story of Muḥammad. In the manuscripts of the second redaction (no. 2), most of which are incomplete, this account usually takes up one folio (fol. 64r-v in MS Vat – Reg. lat. 545).

Hugh relies on the information about Muḥammad given in Anastasius Bibliothecarius' (q.v.) *Historia Tripertita* (in *Theophanis chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 1885, ii, pp. 208-10). It is not clear how he came by this information for no. 1; he declares that he had access to Anastasius' work only when writing no. 2. There is no evidence of his

knowing Landulfus Sagax's (q.v.) *Historia Romana*, whose account of Muḥammad is copied literally from Anastasius, or other authors who reproduce Landulfus' text, such as Frutolf of Michelsberg, *Chronicon universale*. Hugh's report on Muḥammad in no. 2 is slightly shorter than that in no. 1; this does not necessarily (as Kedar, *Crusades*, p. 86 supposes) show a diminished interest in the matter, but may be due to a greater effort at historical precision, if not impartiality.

The themes Hugh has in common with Anastasius in both redactions are: Muḥammad is a 'pseudo-prophet', an *Ismahelita* (no. 1 omits to mention that Ishmael was a son of Abraham). Having travelled as a merchant to Egypt and Palestine with his camels and conversing there frequently with Jews and Christians, he had obtained knowledge of the Scriptures (Hugh specifies: of the New as well as of the Old Testament). He impresses the Jews, who abandon the teaching of Moses for his sake, marries Khadīja, disappoints her because of his epileptic fits, and wins back her favor by making her believe in his visions of the Archangel Gabriel. Only in no. 2 does Hugh, like Anastasius, present Muḥammad as 'prince of the Arabs'.

With few exceptions, Hugh formulates all of this in his own words, changing the order of narration, adding personal nuances (especially in no.1) and information of unknown provenance (Daniel, *Islam and the West*, p. 324, speaks of 'crusaders' stories'). Concerning Muḥammad's knowledge of the Bible, Anastasius' term *capiebat*, 'understood', becomes *callide rimabatur*, 'devised artfully', in no. 1 but returns to *didicit*, 'learnt', in no. 2.

New themes are introduced: that Muḥammad 'approached sorcerers' (only in no. 1) and became 'a perfect magician'; that he obtained the favors of Khadīja by offering her the spices he brought with him; that Khadīja governed the province of *Corozania* (Khurasān); that Muḥammad gradually led her into error by his sorcery and 'the great resources of his shrewdness', making her believe that he was the Messiah expected by the Jews. Although Anastasius states that some Jews (ten in number) believed Muḥammad to be the Messiah, he does not say that Muḥammad himself claimed as much.

Hugh insists, especially in no. 2, on the 'novelty' of Muḥammad's teaching (Lettinck, *Geschiedbeschouwing*, p. 138) and on its particular impact on the Jews. In both redactions we read that his followers, Jews and 'Saracens', believed in him and accepted the 'new laws' he had 'invented' (no. 1 adds: 'putting aside the Law of Moses'). In no. 1, Muḥammad is said to allege 'testimonies from both Testaments' for his

being the Messiah; in no. 2, these testimonies serve to authenticate his 'laws' which the 'Ishmaelites' consider their own, Muḥammad being their 'legislator'. Furthermore, Khadīja, who observes Muḥammad's success with Jews and 'Saracens' alike, believes that 'the divine majesty is hidden in him', and by marrying him she confers upon him the lordship of her province. No. 2 mentions the attacks and invasions of Muḥammad's Arab followers into the Persian and Byzantine empires, whereas no. 1 reflects on his incredible good luck, which, it seems, leads to an anticlimax. In the following report about Muḥammad's epileptic crises, Khadīja regrets having married a 'most impure man' (Anastasius has *egenus*, 'poor'), and the 'sight' of the Archangel Gabriel that supposedly makes Muḥammad faint and fall becomes the 'splendor of his face'. As an introduction, Hugh also adds the idea (more explicitly in no. 2 than in no. 1) that the invasions under Muḥammad's lead of the *Agareni qui et Saraceni dicuntur* into the Byzantine Empire are a divine punishment for the Emperor Heraclius, who had deviated from the Catholic faith. In no. 2, Hugh adds the 'Turks' to the 'Saracens'.

Themes to be found in Anastasius but omitted by Hugh in both redactions are: Muḥammad's forefathers live in tents in the desert and raise sheep; the ten Jews who take Muḥammad for their Messiah are disappointed when they see him eat camel meat, but instead of leaving him tell him *illicita*, 'unlawful things', about the Christians; Muḥammad as a poor orphan, entered into Khadīja's service; a false monk reassures Khadīja by authenticating Muḥammad's visions of Gabriel. Particularly in no. 2, Hugh minimizes the role, emphasized by Anastasius, of Khadīja and her female entourage in spreading the new religion.

Only in no. 1 does Hugh specify part of the contents of the 'laws' given by Muḥammad: the worship of God the Creator, circumcision, the promise of paradise with carnal food, wine, milk and honey and intercourse with women, 'overflowing with the delight of all kinds of voluptuousness'. Hugh leaves out Anastasius' accusation of *luxuria* and *stultitia*, as well as the precept of compassion, but mentions the teaching that whoever kills an enemy of this law is a friend of God.

SIGNIFICANCE

Hugh of Fleury is an important witness to the renewed interest in Muḥammad and Islam in the Western world at the time of the crusades. While Frutolf of Michelsberg, in his *Chronicon universale*

written in 1101 (ed. G. Waitz, *MGH*, vi, p. 153), reproduces Anastasius'
text literally (from Landulfus Sagax), Hugh uses elements inherited
from Anastasius to compose a new story, more adapted to the needs
of his time. In his case, the interest in Muḥammad is linked to a par-
ticular concern for the Byzantine Empire. Wanting to play down the
importance of the Germanic emperors in comparison with the French
kings, Hugh upholds the legitimacy of the Byzantine emperors at the
time of Charlemagne and thereafter, and is much more receptive than
most of his Western colleagues to the problems Muḥammad and his
followers caused the empire of the East. In particular, he appreciates
the information given by Anastasius about the Byzantine emperors
more than that about Muḥammad (*Historia ecclesiastica*, Prol. VI,
MGH SS 9, p. 357, cf. Mégier, 'Karl der Grosse').

Especially in no. 2, Hugh's report on Muḥammad and Islam may
appear as an intentionally historical, rather than polemical account,
updated according to contemporary (especially geographical) notions.
Hugh is the first Christian author to locate Khadīja in the province of
Khurasān; this does not correspond to historical fact but to the impor-
tance of this province in the Abbasid caliphate (Kedar, *Crusades*, p. 87,
and Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 12, 324). However, one may ask
whether Hugh's transformations of Anastasius' text indicate another
– additional? – intention. The name Corozania may also remind the
reader of Chorozaim, one of the supposed birth places of the Anti-
christ (Emmerson, *Antichrist*, pp. 80-81); moreover Muḥammad's
being a 'perfect magician', introducing 'new laws', and his claim to
be the Messiah, added to his character as a pseudo-prophet already
put forward by Anastasius, and assimilate him to the current rep-
resentations of that sinister personage (see on these representations,
Emmerson, *Antichrist*, pp. 74-95, with reference, among others, to
Pseudo-Methodius [q.v.], Adso of Montier-en-Der, and the *Glossa*).

Hugh's report was reproduced almost literally by Vincent of Beau-
vais (q.v.) in his *Speculum historiale* (Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Specu-
lum quadruplex sive speculum maius IV, speculum historiale*, Douai,
1624, photomechanical repr. Graz, 1965, p. 912), from where it also
found its way into the chronicle of Martin of Troppau (Paulmier-Fou-
card, 'La compilation', p. 53; von den Brincken, 'Martin von Troppau',
pp. 164-65, on the connection between the three authors), thus becom-
ing an important element of later medieval encyclopedic knowledge.

The first redaction is contained in six manuscripts:

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 4963 (12th century)

MS Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève – 1207, fols 69r-138r (12th century)

MS Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale – 470 ter, fols 89r-143v (12th century)

MS Vat – Reg lat. 905, fols 135r-203v (12th or 13th century)

MS Bern, Bürgerbibliothek – 208, fols 118r-160v (13th century)

MS Oxford, Bodleian – 599, fols 1r-25v (13th century)

The second redaction is contained in 45 manuscripts:

MS Auxerre, Bibliothèque municipale – 198 (165), fols 77r-203v (12th century)

MS Vat – Reg. lat. 545 (12th century; particularly studied by Wilmart, 'L'Histoire Ecclésiastique', and de Ruiter, 'An indispensable manuscript')

MS Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine – 2013 (543) (12th century)

MS Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine – 608 (706) (12th century)

MS Aberystwyth, National Library – 21664 C (12th century)

MS Bern, Bürgerbibliothek – 90, fols 1r-64r (12th century)

MS Bern, Bürgerbibliothek – 324 (12th century)

MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College – 265, pp. 443-550 (12th century)

MS Cambridge, University Library – Dd X 20 (12th century)

MS Brussels, Royal library – 9178-87, fols 125r-165v (12th century)

MS London, Lambeth Palace – 440, fols 2r-121v (12th century)

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 12710 (12th century; fragmentary)

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 13701, fols 1r-159v (12th century)

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 14625 (S. Vict. 311), fols 1r-84v (12th century)

MS Oxford, Merton College – 88, fols 1ra-100vb (12th century)

MS London, BL – Royal 13 A II (12th century; fragmentary)

MS Vat – Reg. lat. 336 (12th century)

MS Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale – 129, fols 1va-66va (12th century)

MS Oxford, Magdalen College – 84 (12th century)

MS Lincoln, Chapter Library – 101 (A.4.9), fols 67r-153r (12th-13th century)

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 15047 (S. Vict. 580), fols 9r-148r (12th-13th century)

MS London, Lambeth Palace – 355, fols 1r-120v (12th-13th century)

MS London, BL – Royal 13 B XIII, fols 65r-124v (13th century)

MS Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale – 22, fols 80r-135v (13th century)

MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana – Plut. 89, Inf. 41, fols 58r-95v (13th century)

MS Hereford, Cathedral – P.I. XIII (13th century)

MS Oxford, Bodleian – Rawl. B 194, fols 9r-85r (13th century)

MS Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal – 988, fols 55r-132r (13th century)

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 2498, fols 99r-100v (13th century; fragmentary: *Narratio de Muameth*)

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 4890, fols 3r-93r (13th century)

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 4963A (13th century)

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 4963B, fols 1r-50r (13th century)

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 5009, fols 145r-238r (13th century)

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 5013A (13th century)

MS Vat – Ottob. Lat. 1555, fols 6v-130v (13th century)

MS Vat – Reg. Lat. 628 (13th century; fragmentary)

MS Vat – Reg. Lat. 1896, fols 48v-96r (13th century)

MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – 561 (Hist. Prof. 682) (13th century)

MS Oxford, Bodleian – Lat. th. d. 9 s. (13th century)

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 15434 (14th century)

MS Oxford, Bodleian – 688, fols 314r-363r (15th century)

MS Cambridge, Peterhouse – 196, fols 27r-92v (15th century)

MS Dublin, Trinity College – 320 (15th century)

MS Monte Cassino – 533 (15th century)

MS Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale – 262 (218), pp. 7-127 (15th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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E. Mégier, 'Karl der Grosse, das römische Reich und die Kirche in franko-normannischer Sicht. Der Standpunkt Hugos von Fleury', in F.-R. Erkens (ed.), *Karl der Grosse und das Erbe der Kulturen*, Berlin, 2001, 221-233

E. Mégier, 'La chiesa cristiana, erede della Roma antica o dell' antica alleanza? I punti di vista di Ugo di Fleury e Ottone di Frisinga', in *Roma antica nel Medioevo: mito, rappresentazioni, sopravvivenzenella 'Respublica Christiana' dei secoli IX-XIII. Atti della quattordicesima Settimana internazionale di studi, Mendola, 24-28 agusto 1998*, Milan, 2001, 505-36

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A. Wilmart, 'L'Histoire Ecclésiastique composée par Hugues de Fleury et ses destinataires'

Elisabeth Mégier and Martin de Ruiter

Peter Tudebode

Petrus Tudebodus, Petrus Tudebovis

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown, probably western France in or
      near Poitou
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about the historical figure of Peter Tudebode, other than what can be gleaned from a handful of autobiographical references in the text of his *Historia*. In three of the four surviving manuscripts his name is rendered as *Petrus sacerdos Tudebovis Sivracensis*. Since the first discovery and championing of the *Historia* by the 17th-century Poitevin scholar Jean Besly, '*Sivracensis*' has usually been identified as Civray in Poitou (dépt. Vienne, about 30 km south of Poitiers), though there are in fact several places of this name in central-western France. This reference occurs at the point in the text where Peter attests to the veracity of his description of the first crusaders' penitential procession around the walls of Jerusalem, during the siege of the Holy City in July 1099, by appealing to his having himself participated in it.

This is the only direct evidence for Peter's presence on the First Crusade, but the text further mentions the deaths on crusade of two knights, Arvedus Tudebovis and Arnaldus Tudebovis; the former is to be identified as Peter's brother if the text's mention in the third person of the priest who buried him is read as an authorial self-reference; the relationship of the latter to Peter is not specified, but elevated language is used of him. References in the text to the activities of the Gascon crusader Gaston of Béarn and to the duke of Aquitaine (who did not participate in the 1096-99 crusade but did take part in the 1101 expedition) suggest some authorial identification with southwestern France, broadly conceived. Beyond this exiguous information and inference, historians' constructions of Peter's significance are wholly wrapped up within the broader debates about the status of his

text in relation to various other early narrative accounts of the First Crusade.

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Primary
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J. Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum*, and who was Peter Tudebode?', *Revue Mabillon* 77 (2005), 188-9
Y.N. Harari, 'Eyewitnessing in accounts of the First Crusade. The *Gesta Francorum* and other contemporary narratives', *Crusades* 3 (2004) 77-99
J. France, 'The anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* of Peter Tudebode. An analysis of the textual relationship between primary sources for the First Crusade', in J. France and W.G. Zajac (eds), *The crusades and their sources. Essays presented to Bernard Hamilton*, Aldershot, 1998, 39-69
J. France, 'The use of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* in the early twelfth-century sources for the First Crusade', in A.V. Murray (ed.), *From Clermont to Jerusalem. The crusades and crusader societies, 1095-1500*, Turnhout, 1998, 29-42
N. Iorga, *Les narrateurs de la première croisade*, Paris, 1928, 62-79

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere, 'The history of the journey/pilgrimage to Jerusalem'

DATE   Written in two phases, 1099-c.1101, and c.1101-c.1110
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION
About 23,000 words in length and occupying 119 pages in its most recent edition, the *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* is a Latin prose history of the First Crusade between its preaching in France by Pope Urban II and the climax of the expedition in July and August 1099,

when the crusaders captured Jerusalem and then defeated an Egyptian relief force at Ascalon on 12 August. The story told in the text concludes with this latter event.

The primary noteworthy feature of the *Historia* is its substantial affinity with another early narrative of the First Crusade, the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*. In effect, all scholarly discussion of the *Historia* has been centred on the problem of the relationship between the two texts; much of this debate has been unduly complicated by appeals to anachronistic notions of plagiarism. The *Historia* was unknown to Jacques Bongars when he compiled the first scholarly edition of crusade-related texts (1611), but soon thereafter it was discovered by the Poitevin historian Jean Besly (1572-1644), whose edition was published by Duchesne in 1641. Most positions in the debate over the last three centuries have involved arguing for the priority of one text and the derivative status of the other. In recent years, however, it has also been suggested that both the *Gesta* and the *Historia* derive from a now lost common source. If so, the *Gesta* as it now survives must resemble the supposed common exemplar much more closely than does the *Historia*; many of the lexical and syntactic differences between the two represent a dilution in the *Historia* of the word play and sustained use of alliteration, assonance and rhyme that are a noticeable feature of the *Gesta*'s prose style. On the other hand, points of similarity between the readings of the manuscripts of the *Historia* and the earliest witness to the transmission of the *Gesta* (MS Vatican Reg. Lat. 572), as against other *Gesta* manuscripts, suggest that the *Historia*'s history as a discrete text originated in a revision of a copy of the *Gesta* made very early in the *Gesta*'s own dissemination, quite possibly in Jerusalem within a few years of the crusaders' seizure of the city.

Furthermore, it has recently been suggested, by Jay Rubenstein, that the *Historia* in its surviving form is the result of a two-tiered process of composition: first an anonymous scribe effected a substantial reworking of the text that also stands behind the *Gesta* as we now have it, incorporating some further material inspired by the *Liber* of Raymond of Aguilers and other sources, as well as making stylistic changes; then a veteran of the First Crusade, the priest Peter Tudebode, made further additions, principally involving a grafting onto the main narrative of occasional personal reminiscences. This suggestion of a two-stage process of authorship is convincing, not least because it resolves many difficulties in the way of establishing

a plausible chronology of textual transmission if there had been only one author. A variant of this thesis, proposed by Jean Flori, has little to commend it: that the *Gesta* in its current state represents a second reworking, by the original author of the *Ur*-text, of an intermediate reworking produced by another scribe, as now preserved in the Tudebode tradition. Nothing in the manuscript transmission makes this feasible.

The differences between the *Historia* and the *Gesta* do not introduce substantially different perspectives on the crusaders' opponents. In both texts, Muslims are portrayed as paganistic and idolatrous, their political institutions and social hierarchies imagined as warped mirror-images of Latin practices. The *Historia* repeats the suggestion also found in the *Gesta* that the Turks' fighting abilities hinted at a distant kinship with the Franks.

SIGNIFICANCE

If one accepts the thesis of a two-stage process of composition and of derivation from a text close to the *Gesta*, several conclusions as to the *Historia*'s significance follow. First, the *Historia* attests to the cultural valency in 12th-century western Europe of the basic plot construction, storyworld features, and ideological preconceptions (including attitudes towards the Muslim world) represented by the *Gesta*'s telling of the First Crusade. Second, the appropriation of the text by a veteran of the crusade, Tudebode, offers a rare glimpse of the interaction between texts and non-written sources of information in the fashioning of memories of the crusade, as well as the dynamic between individual and collective memory of that momentous event. Third, the fact that an apparently modest priest in western France came by a copy of the reworking of the *Gesta* suggests a wider circulation of, and reading public for, manuscripts of the eyewitness accounts of the crusade than scholars generally acknowledge. And fourth, the emergence of the text of the *Historia* is to be situated at some median point within a wider process involving the successive and serial rewriting of the First Crusade in the decades after 1099, a process evidenced, at one end of the continuum, by manuscripts that preserve light-touch stylistic revisions of the Latinity of the *Gesta*, and represented, at the other end, by the wholesale reformulation of the *Gesta* as the base text in the histories of the crusade written by Robert the Monk, Baldric of Bourgueil, Guibert of Nogent, and several others.

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Marcus Bull

Petrus Alfonsi

Pedro Alfonso, Pierre Alphonse

DATE OF BIRTH   Second half of 11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; after 1116
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Petrus Alfonsi is one of the key actors in the transmission and assimilation of Arabic scientific, literary and religious texts and ideas to Latin Europe in the early 12th century. His impact is attested in the survival of roughly 160 manuscripts of his works, in the frequent use made of them by key authors from the 12th century to the 16th, and in their wide diffusion through early printed editions.

Petrus Alfonsi was born Moses, a Jew from al-Andalus. He was educated in Hebrew and Arabic; his writings show familiarity with the Talmud, with texts of Arabic astronomy, medicine and philosophy, and with the Arabic wisdom traditions. Moses converted to Christianity, and the first date associated with his life is that of his baptism, on June 29, 1106, in the cathedral (and former mosque) of Huesca. He explains that he took the name Petrus in honor of St Peter and Alfonsi in honor of his godfather, King Alfonso I of Aragon. This probably indicates that he played a role in Alfonso's court, perhaps as royal physician and astrologer.

At some point between 1110 and 1116 Alfonsi went to England, where he taught astronomy, and in 1116 produced his *Tabulae astronomicae* ('Astronomical tables'), a somewhat flawed Latin version of al-Khwārazmī's *Zīj al-Sindhind*, a set of astronomical tables with accompanying 'canons' or explanatory texts. Two of his students in England are known by name: Walcher of Malvern and Adelard of Bath. Walcher composed a text on how to predict eclipses, based on the teachings of Alfonsi, and Adelard revised and improved Alfonsi's Latin version of al-Khwārazmī's text. According to one manuscript of Alfonsi's *Disciplina clericalis* ('Clerical instruction'), he served for a time as royal physician to King Henry I of England. Sometime in the 1120s, it seems, he was in France, as he wrote an *Epistola ad*

peripateticos in Francia ('Letter to the peripatetics in France'), in which he complains of his lack of students, professes his expertise in the art of astronomy, and lambastes Latin intellectuals for preferring the study of grammar and logic to the 'hard science' of astronomy.

The works of Petrus Alfonsi provide a fascinating glimpse at how the Latin West adapted and transformed the intellectual and cultural legacy of the Arab world. The historical Alfonsi himself imported new texts and new ideas into England and France: the aphorisms and fables of the eastern Wisdom traditions, astronomical texts and knowledge, and his own interpretations of the Qur'an and Talmud suffused with Hispano-Arab religious polemics. He shaped this knowledge to fit the needs and desires of his pan-European Latin readers. His rationalistic religious disquisitions reflect the concerns of the theologians of the 12th-century renaissance, of faith seeking understanding. He passionately defended astronomy and affirmed that the study of nature could reveal God's designs for creation. And the moral aphorisms of the *Disciplina* are directed to the edification of a proud new educated clerical elite.

His readers, copyists and continuers were to perpetuate the process of 'naturalization' of the Jewish and Arabic elements of Alfonsi's thought, using the *Dialogues* to inform a new, harsher anti-Judaism, mining the *Disciplina* as grist for their sermon tales and instructive fables.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Dialogi contra Iudeos, 'Dialogues against the Jews'

DATE   1110

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

In 1110 Petrus Alfonsi composed his *Dialogi contra Iudaeos* ('Dialogues against the Jews'). He wrote the *Dialogues*, he says, because Jews accused him of having abandoned his former faith out of contempt for God's law, misunderstanding of the prophets, and lust for worldly gain. The *Dialogues* are his response to these accusers; he seeks to 'destroy their objections with reason and authority'. These *Dialogues* do not pretend to be the record of a real debate; he tells us that he has given the name Moses to the Jewish debater because that was his own name as a Jew; he gives the Christian debater his new name, Petrus. The twelve *Dialogues* fall into three parts: in the first, an attack on Judaism *(Dialogues* I-IV), Petrus 'proves' to Moses that Judaism is no longer valid, that Jews 'obey the law only in part, and that part is not pleasing to God'. Much of his argument turns on rationally- and scientifically-based attacks on the Talmud.

He then launches into an attack on Islam *(Dialogue* V), in which he presents Muḥammad as a fraud and a pseudo-prophet, and Muslim rituals (such as ablutions, fasting and pilgrimage) as sullied by their pagan origins. His polemics closely follow those of the *Risālat*

al-Kindī (q.v.), insisting on Muḥammad's violence and on the sordid details of his sex life (his polygamy, his relationship with Zaynab). He claims that Muslim ritual ablutions and the pilgrimage rites at Mecca are in fact survivals of pagan idolatrous devotions to Venus.

In the final section (*Dialogues* VI-XII), Petrus attempts to prove the basic doctrines of Christianity to Moses, or at least to show how they do not contradict either reason or the Old Testament. By the end of the exchange in the *Dialogues*, Moses is convinced and tamely converts to Christianity.

Alfonsi's *Dialogues* brought several important new elements to anti-Jewish polemic in Latin. First was his attack on the Talmud, a text unknown to most previous Latin authors. This shift in focus to the rich accumulation of Jewish exegesis and teaching, as well as contemporary Jewish practice, moves the arena of dispute from abstractions about Old Testament Judaism into a face-off between living communities. Second was his use of scientific and philosophical arguments to attack the beliefs of Jews and Muslims. This was a strategy common enough in interreligious polemic in al-Andalus and the rest of the Arab world but new to Latin Christendom. Its rhetorical as well as logical purpose was to show the irrationality of the rival religion. Third was Alfonsi's idea that, because of their espousal of the unreasonable and anti-biblical tenets of the Talmud, Jews were no longer faithful to their divine covenant, and that contemporary Judaism was a heretical deviation from classical Judaism. The previous consensus among Christian anti-Jewish polemicists was, on the contrary, that Jews erred in their literalist readings of holy writ and in clinging obstinately to the Old Law instead of embracing the New (Christian) Dispensation. These charges were to contribute to an intensification of anti-Judaism in Christian Europe and charges of moral 'contumacy', the perverse election of evil over an unmistakable good.

The surging popularity of Alfonsi's work within Iberia and well beyond the peninsula furthered an increasing tendency to link anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim polemics: whereas earlier anti-Jewish polemicists had for the most part contented themselves with arguing for Christian interpretations of the Torah and the Prophets, Alfonsi focused on the Talmud and the Qur'an as two illicit pseudo-revelations which formed the bases for two heretical doctrines. Both Talmud and Qur'an, for Alfonsi, could be attacked through scriptural and rational-scientific argumentation, and certain key elements of Christian doctrine, in particular the doctrine of the Trinity, could be proven. The

Muslim or Jew, as long as he allowed himself to be rational, could be brought to the Christian truth, as is Moses in Alfonsi's *Dialogues*. This conflation of anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim argumentation and an increasingly terse Christian insistence on the irrationality of both rival faiths represent a crucial turning-point in Christian portrayal of Islam and Judaism in medieval Europe.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Dialogues* became the most widely read and used of any medieval anti-Jewish text; they survive in 63 manuscripts, with sixteen additional manuscripts containing variant or abridged versions of the text. The *Dialogues* were already popular in the first quarter of the 12th century at the Parisian abbey of St Victor, whose canons took particular interest in Alfonsi's presentation of Jewish scriptural exegesis. In the 12th and 13th centuries, the *Dialogues* were found principally in Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries in France and England.

The *Dialogues* also proved popular among those interested in Islam; some scribes recopied only the anti-Islamic chapter of the *Dialogues,* and Humbert of Romans (q.v.), master general of the Dominican order (1254-63), in his *Tract on the preaching of the Crusade*, recommends it alongside the Latin translation of the Qur'an as essential reading for understanding the religion of the adversary. Dozens of medieval writers on Islam based their descriptions of Muḥammad's life, of Muslim law, and of the pilgrimage rites at Mecca on Alfonsi's *Dialogues*, including Petrus de Pennis, Marino Sanudo, and Jacobus de Voragine (q.v.) in his *Legenda aurea* ('Golden legend'). A Castilian translation of the anti-Islamic chapter of the *Dialogues* was inserted into the edition of the *El viaje de la Tierra Santa* (Zaragoza, 1498), a Spanish version of Bernard of Breidenbach's 15th-century narrative of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Throughout the Middle Ages, the *Dialogues* remained an important source of information and polemics about Islam for European readers.

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    In all, 63 medieval manuscripts are known (described in Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi*, pp. 182-98).

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John Tolan

Al-Ghazālī

Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn
Aḥmad al-Ṭūsī, al-Ghazālī

DATE OF BIRTH 1058
PLACE OF BIRTH Ṭūs
DATE OF DEATH 8 December 1111
PLACE OF DEATH Ṭūs

BIOGRAPHY

Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, known as al-Ghazālī
because his father was probably a spinner, *ghazzāl*, and as *ḥujjat
al-Islām*, 'the proof of Islam', was one of the most famous and influ-
ential scholars in the history of Islam. He wrote about his life in *Al-
munqidh min al-ḍalāl*, 'The deliverer from error', though this book
should be considered as an evaluation of the important stages of his
thought and experiences rather than as an autobiography.

Al-Ghazālī started his education in Ṭūs, but in 1077-78 he went
to Nīshāpūr in order to study under the famous Shāfiʿī and Ashʿarī
scholar Abū l-Maʿālī al-Juwaynī (q.v.). He remained in Nīshāpūr until
1091, studying theology, philosophy, logic and the natural sciences.
After the death of al-Juwaynī in 1085, he himself started to teach and
became known to the Saljuk Vizier Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 1092), a sup-
porter of Ashʿarī theology and Sufism. The vizier sent al-Ghazālī to be
director of the Niẓāmiyya college in Baghdad in 1091, where he wrote
most of his works on philosophy. He passed through a spiritual crisis,
ending with the certitude that he found in Sufism. After 11 years of
wandering, he returned to Nīshāpūr in 1106, and finally to his own
town of Ṭūs, where he taught and wrote until his death in 1111.

The scope of al-Ghazālī's writings is very wide and embraces his
interests in Islamic law, theology, philosophy and mysticism. The
most important of his numerous works include *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa*,
'The intentions of the philosophers', *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, 'The incoher-
ence of the philosophers', *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, 'The revivification of the
religious sciences', *Jawāhir al-Qurʾān*, 'Jewels of the Qurʾan', *Mishkāt
al-anwār*, 'The niche of lights', and *Al-mustaṣfā min ʿilm al-uṣūl*, 'The
selection from legal theory'.

Four works by al-Ghazālī or associated with him make more than passing references to Jews and Christians.

In the *Fayṣal al-tafrīqa bayna l-dīn wa-l-zandaqa*, 'The criterion for distinguishing between religion and unbelief', he contends that Christians and Jews do not always deserve the accusation of unbelief because, while they generally portray the Prophet as deceitful, some may not have full knowledge of the facts or may have been influenced to do this from childhood, when they could not decide for themselves. God's mercy will embrace all who search sincerely for the truth about him, and Muslims should be careful when making the accusation of unbelief.

In the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, his great work comprising 40 books in four volumes, al-Ghazālī presents a new interpretation of religion, bringing out its spiritual and mystical dimensions. He supports and illustrates his teachings with numerous quotations from significant religious figures, including sayings from the biblical prophets. Among them are 44 otherwise unknown sayings of Jesus, contributing to what has been called the Muslim Gospel. What is important is that al-Ghazālī appears to accept the authenticity of these sayings, even though it must have been clear to him that they were derived from Jewish and Christian traditions. Nowhere in the *Iḥyāʾ* does he express doubt about their integrity, despite the fact that most are not from the canonical books of the Bible but from apocryphal books and collected traditions. He occasionally gives a reference for a saying, but in the main he introduces them with 'it has been reported'.

In three chapters of the *Mustaṣfā* al-Ghazālī discusses the reliability of reports from Christians and Jews, and argues that they should not be rejected out of hand but should be judged according to the rules of uninterrupted transmission of reports (*tawātur*). He examines issues that contradict qurʾanic teachings, such as the doctrine of the Trinity and the abrogation of the law of Moses, and shows that, when Christians and Jews collected their reports on these, they did not follow the rules of *tawātur*. For example, when Christians reported the crucifixion of Jesus, they were truly reporting what they saw, but what they did not know is that Jesus was miraculously saved from such a shameful death (see Whittingham, 'Al-Ghazālī on Jews and Christians', and 'How could so many Christians be wrong?').

The fourth work, *Al-radd al-jamīl*, a polemical work attributed to al-Ghazālī, demonstrates its author's deep knowledge of the Bible and of Christian theological history. On this work, see below.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-radd al-jamīl li-ilāhiyyat ʿĪsā bi-ṣarīḥ al-Injīl, 'The fitting refutation of the divinity of Jesus through what is evident in the Gospel'

DATE   Unknown; before 1111 (if original)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Al-radd al-jamīl is a long refutation of the divinity of Jesus (63 pages in Chidiac's edition), based on one of the most thorough analyses of Gospel texts known from a Muslim author. Al-Ghazālī's author-ship has been disputed since Bouyges expressed reservations in 1959. Watt, Badawī and Jabre followed him, and in 1975 Lazarus-Yafeh pre-sented strong arguments against its attribution to al-Ghazālī. On the other hand, scholars such as Massignon, Chidiac, Sweetman, Arberry, Wilms and Elkaisy-Friemuth accept that, although the style of the work is not typical of al-Ghazālī, the contents and arguments are closely related to his other polemical works.

In addition to the arguments presented by Elkaisy-Friemuth in her examination of the work, it may be pointed out that in the *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* al-Ghazālī represents Jesus as a prophet and Sufi master, as does the author of the *Radd*, and while he emphasizes the humanity of Jesus, he describes his relationship to the 'Father' as similar to the Sufi experience of union with God, just like the author of the *Radd*. This is additional evidence for attributing the *Radd* to al-Ghazālī (see Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus*, pp. 163-87).

Concerning the dating of the work, if it is by al-Ghazālī, there is some possibility that it is linked with his stay in Egypt in the years following his withdrawal from his post at the Niẓāmiyya, though this stay is disputed. If it is not by him, it must pre-date the mid-13th cen-tury, because that is when it is first quoted by the Coptic author Ibn al-Ṭayyib.

The main arguments of the *Radd* are concerned with the proper meaning of a series of verses from the Gospels, and the contradic-tions in the Christological teachings of the main Christian sects. After an introduction in which he shows the weakness of Christian beliefs about Jesus and their blind faith in philosophical principles, the author turns to six Gospel texts that appear to attribute divinity

to Jesus. He compares them with other biblical texts that attest to his humanity, arguing that all the passages that refer to Jesus' divinity are to be understood metaphorically. Jesus himself confirmed his humanity, so there is no valid reason for Christians to do otherwise.

To these exegetical arguments the author adds a refutation of the divinity of Jesus as it is explained by the three Christian sects best known in the medieval Islamic world, the Jacobites, Nestorians and Melkites. Here, he adopts the same approach as earlier refutations of Christian doctrines, exposing the logical flaws in his opponents' Christological models according to the formulas they present. He moves on to show that the titles 'Divinity', 'Lord' and 'Son' are not to be understood literally when used of Jesus (he draws a parallel with the exclamations of al-Ḥallāj and other mystics). And he concludes with substantial exegeses of three passages from John's Gospel that appear to confirm Jesus' divinity, including the Prologue, and an elucidation of the instance of the term 'Word' in Q 4:17.

SIGNIFICANCE

Al-radd al-jamīl contains some of the most detailed and complete discussions of biblical texts that are known from the medieval Islamic period. They reveal that the author was deeply knowledgeable of the Gospels, and was also acquainted with Christian interpretations of them. An unusual, though not entirely unique, feature is that the author accepts the authenticity of the text itself, while he disputes the interpretation given by Christians.

Even more strikingly, he accepts that Jesus was united with God, though he interprets this as a unique form of mystical experience. Instead of insisting on the humanity of Jesus, as other Muslim polemicists tended to, he goes to the root of the problem and argues that it is possible for a human to have union with God, although it is logically impossible to become God.

The author's attitude towards Jesus' disciples and their experience of his divinity is also unusual. He considers this to be authentic, although he insists that it must be interpreted in the Sufi sense of union.

No doubt as a consequence of these features, the *Radd* never appeared to be popular among Muslim polemicists, and exerted little or no influence on the later course of anti-Christian polemic.

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Maha El Kaisy-Friemuth

Historia Silense

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; mid-11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; early or mid-12th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY   —

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary   —

Secondary   —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Historia Silense, 'The history of Silos'

DATE   Between 1109 and 1118
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

The Latin chronicle incorrectly entitled *Historia Silense* is one of the most important chronicles of 12th-century Spain. Attributed to an anonymous monk, it certainly does not originate from Silos (Castile), but rather from León or Sahagún. It occupies just under 100 pages in the most recent edition (1959). Reporting the events of the 8th to 10th centuries, it relies on the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* (q.v.) and the *Chronicle of Sampiro*, which has disappeared in its original form and is transmitted in this work for the first time. Its author is driven by a violent animosity towards the 'Franks', and seeks to boost the reputation of King Alfonso VI after his death in 1109; he finished his work before 1118.

The elements that relate to Christian-Muslim relations are numerous. However, here only those that seem to be attested to by the author of the *Silense* will be discussed, excluding the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* and the *Chronicle of Sampiro*.

The invasion of Iberia by those whom the author sometimes calls 'barbarians' and sometimes 'Moors' is, for the author, the key event of the history of the peninsula. The prologue tells how it caused the destruction of letters within the peninsula and that the *gesta Yspanorum* (acts of the Spaniards) ceased to be written from this time onwards. The campaign against the Muslims is omnipresent in the chronicle, good kings invariably being good warriors. If the uprising of Pelagius and the battle of Covadonga, which mark the beginning of the *Reconquista*, are mostly borrowed from the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, it is completely the opposite for other episodes in which there is great interest. Here, one learns that, after an expedition against Mérida, Ordoño III (r. 950-55) returned with women, children, gold and silk. The enslavement of Muslim women and children is once again mentioned during the reign of Fernando I (r. 1037-65). During the rule of Ramiro III (965-85), following a Christian victory, the Umayyad vizier al-Manṣūr abandoned his siege as a sign of discontent and sat on the ground, removing his golden headdress; the sight of his uncovered head reinvigorated the Muslim soldiers to fight. For the author, the period of al-Manṣūr seems to be a second loss of Spain, for thereafter 'every divine cult disappeared (…), all the glory of the Christians perished and the treasures amassed in the churches were melted down'. The good kings are therefore those who fought the Muslims manfully and took territory from them, such as Alfonso VI (r. 1065-1109), who 'captured the provinces' from 'the sacrilegious hands of the barbarians' and brought them back (or as the chronicler says, 'converted' them) 'to the faith of Christ'.

Three accounts illustrate more specifically the value of the *Historia Silense*. The first is that of the 'loss of Spain', which mentions for the first time in Latin historiography the role of the traitor Julian, a Visigoth refugee in Tingitana whose daughter had been raped by King Rodrigo. It is plausible to give a 'Mozarab' origin to this story, as it was already presented in the 10th-century chronicle of al-Rāzī. It is equally noted that, after the invasion of the peninsula, the churches were 'destroyed', and that from then on the 'name of Muḥammad' was worshipped in them (*destructe ecclesie, in loco quarum Mahometis nomen collitur*).

A second account reports the arrival of Charlemagne in Spain. It violently criticizes the traditions from the other side of the Pyrenees according to which the Frankish emperor is supposed to have played an important role during the *Reconquista*. Rather, Charlemagne went

to Pamplona and Saragossa, but in the latter he was corrupted by
Muslim gold, a common occurrence among the Franks! During the
crossing of the Pyrenees, his army was decimated and several of his
chief men, including Roland, were killed. Charlemagne returned to
his own land 'without having done anything to give freedom to the
Church oppressed by the barbarians', but instead he bathed in the
baths of Aix-la-Chapelle and thought of revenge. This version of
events is diametrically opposed to the more or less contemporary one
transmitted by the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* (q.v.), but it does have
many common points with the *Nota emilianense*, a text copied in the
third quarter of the 11th century in a manuscript of the monastery of
San Millan of the Cogolla.

A third account describes the circumstances of the capture of
Coimbra by King Fernando I in 1064. For the first time, a military
role is here given to St James, called *bonus miles*, who predicts the
victory of the Christians to an oriental peregrine, to whom he appears
on a white horse. This episode marks the initial phase in the construc-
tion of the image of Santiago Matamoros, the Moor-slayer.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Historia Silense* occupies a very particular position in the forging
of images of Muslims and of the *Reconquista* among the Christians of
Spain. It borrows elements and passages from chronicles of the early
Middle Ages and reinforces the image of the good warrior sovereign,
re-conqueror and restorer of the Christian religion. Yet it also intro-
duces an almost nationalist and anti-Frankish discourse (which does
not preclude the author's knowledge of Carolingian texts, in particu-
lar Eginhard's *Vita Karoli*), and transmits the legend of Julian, origi-
nating from Muslim Spain, which is destined for a great future. Lastly,
it almost invents the character of the military saint.

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P. Henriet

Ralph of Caen

Raoul de Caen, Radulfo Cadomensi

DATE OF BIRTH   About 1080
PLACE OF BIRTH   Caen, Normandy
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; after 1118
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Ralph of Caen probably came from a prominent Norman family. He was likely educated at the cathedral school at Caen under the tutelage of Arnulf of Chocques, who was later to become patriarch of Jerusalem. It is not known whether he completed his studies and training for the priesthood before Arnulf's departure for the Holy Land in 1096, but he was an ordained priest at least by 1106. That year, Bohemond of Taranto, prince of Antioch, toured France to recruit men for his new crusade. Ralph accompanied Bohemond as his chaplain and appears to have served Bohemond during his campaign against Emperor Alexius Comnenus (1107-8). In his work, Ralph emphasizes his close personal relationship with Bohemond, although it is possible this was a rhetorical device designed to give greater credence to his narrative.

Some time before Bohemond's death in 1111, Ralph of Caen left his service to join Bohemond's nephew Tancred, who had succeeded him as prince of Antioch. Ralph seems to be deliberately vague regarding the circumstances surrounding this move. He remained with Tancred until the latter's death in 1112. Throughout his narrative, Ralph highlights his close association with both Bohemond and Tancred, and emphasizes that his information on the crusade came from them and their followers. Ralph began the *Gesta Tancredi* after Tancred's death in 1112, seems to have had Arnulf of Chocques as a patron, and dedicated the work to him. Ralph probably completed the work shortly before Arnulf's death in 1118.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Gesta Tandcredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana, 'The deeds of Tancred on the expedition to Jerusalem'

DATE 1112-18

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Ralph of Caen began his work after the death of Tancred in 1112, writing in both verse and prose. In the *RHC* edition, the text takes up about 125 pages. In his preface, Ralph implies that he wrote only after the death of his lord so that he could not be accused of being bribed and told what to write. Ralph dedicated the work to Arnulf of Chocques, his former teacher and patriarch of Jerusalem. Throughout his work, he highlights the close personal relationship he had enjoyed with both Bohemond and Tancred, and stresses that he had obtained his information from these two men and also from their followers. While we cannot know how much information they actually provided for his narrative, Ralph certainly had ample opportunity to learn details of the First Crusade, both while he was in Europe and in the Holy Land; Bohemond's tour of France in 1106 was accompanied by the circulation of an early narrative of the First Crusade, the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, and

possibly stimulated the production of further narratives. In the Latin East, Ralph would have met many who participated in the crusade. Moreover, in Jerusalem the conquest of the city by the Christian armies was commemorated yearly in liturgy.

Ralph of Caen's work has been largely neglected by modern scholarship, perhaps because the single (and slightly damaged) manuscript in which it is preserved suggests the work was never widely disseminated, or because of Ralph's highly partisan and very Norman view of the crusade. Nevertheless, it is a valuable text and provides some insight into Norman views of Muslims and eastern peoples following the crusade. It is interesting that, although Ralph lived in the Latin East at the time of writing, he does not seem to have modified his views for his narrative or sought to explain more about Islam. It seems he retained his Western perspective, portraying Muslims as idolaters and pagans, and even describing an idol of Muḥammad supposedly found by Tancred in the Dome of the Rock. He has Tancred refer to (the idol) Muḥammad as the Antichrist and, although it is made of precious metals, he calls it vile and vividly describes its destruction at the hands of Tancred's men. Ralph of Caen does not relate in any detail what the beliefs of Muslims were perceived to be, to some extent following the motto of epic, 'Christians are right and pagans are wrong'. He portrays the crusaders, particularly those of Norman origin, as heroes in battle; they are lions, the Muslims sheep.

Unlike many other contemporary crusade narratives, Ralph of Caen's work appears to be original, not based on an earlier text (such as the much used *Gesta Francorum*). The text does not seem to have been well known in the Middle Ages; it was used later only in part and only by the anonymous chronicler of Monte Casino around the year 1139, and no other author appears to have been aware of, or chose to use, Ralph's work.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ralph of Caen's narrative provides a valuable insight into how Muslims were viewed more than a decade after Latin Europe's first encounter with them. His work is one of the few not influenced by the near ubiquitous *Gesta Francorum* and also one of the few texts on the First Crusade produced in the Latin East.

MANUSCRIPTS

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Barbara Packard

Walter the Chancellor

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown: late 11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   After about 1122
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Walter is known only from his work, *The Antiochene wars*, where he refers to himself as 'the author Walter' and 'I myself, Walter the Chancellor'. He was chancellor of Antioch at the least between the years 1114 and 1122, the period covered by his narrative, though another chancellor, Ralph, is recorded in 1127.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Walter is known only from references in the *Antiochene wars*.

Secondary
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Bella Antiochena, 'The Antiochene wars'

DATE   Unknown; Book 1 probably between late 1115 and mid-1119; Book 2 after 1119
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Bella Antiochena* occupies 54 pages in its modern edition (Hagenmeyer), and 94 in translation (Asbridge and Edgington). It is an account of two wars waged by the Latin Christians against the Turks

in northern Syria: Book 1 covers the war of 1115, in which Count Roger of Antioch defeated Bursuq ibn Bursuq of Hamadān (14 September); Book 2 describes the defence of Antioch against the forces of Il-Ghāzī ibn Artuq of Mārdīn in 1119, in which Roger was killed in the battle of the Field of Blood (28 June), King Baldwin II of Jerusalem's subsequent arrival, and the second battle of Tall Danith (14 August). A short closing section (chs 13-16) tells of Il-Ghāzī's defeat by King David IV of Georgia (1121) and his death (1122).

Book 1 sheds interesting light upon the normalization of Christian relations with the Turks within 20 years of capturing Antioch: Roger's response to the threat from Bursuq was to seek an alliance with Tughtegin of Damascus (d. 1128) and Il-Ghāzī of Mārdīn. They campaigned together, but were unable to bring Bursuq to battle, and the Muslim forces had returned home before the first battle of Tall Danith in which Antiochene and Edessan forces defeated Bursuq. The neutral stance towards Il-Ghāzī, the villain of Book 2, the triumphal note on which the book ends, and the lack of any reference forward to the second war make it most probable that Book 1 was composed between late 1115 and mid-1119.

In contrast, Book 2 attempts to explain the disastrous defeat of the Antiochenes and the death of Roger in the battle of the Field of Blood in 1119. The causes and consequences of the defeat are described in detail, including the Turks' treatment of their prisoners of war, among whom was Walter himself: he was held captive in Aleppo in the later months of 1119. Book 2 was therefore written after that. Notably, Il-Ghāzī has become 'prince of delusion and dissent' in this book, and his death is luridly described. In general, Walter has a fairly accurate picture of relationships between different Muslim leaders, but a confused and hostile understanding of their religion.

The authenticity of the work is not in any doubt. It is unique in being focused on the northern territory of Antioch, rather than the kingdom of Jerusalem. Fulcher of Chartres (q.v.) wrote a shorter account of the same events, but did not have Walter's eyewitness status. Both Walter and Fulcher's works were used by William of Tyre (q.v.). Albert of Aachen (q.v.) wrote an independent account, but his *Historia* finishes in spring 1119, so there is no report of the second war. Orderic Vitalis (q.v.) and Matthew of Edessa (q.v.) also add useful details. Relevant parts of these five works are translated in Asbridge and Edgington, pp. 173-204.

SIGNIFICANCE

This is a uniquely detailed account of episodes in Muslim-Christian relations in the early years of Latin settlement in Syria, giving clear details of their fluid nature. The earliest and best surviving manuscript was given by William of Grassegals to King Louis VII of France at the time of his coronation in 1137. In this and the other five earliest MSS, Walter's history is grouped with the First Crusade narrative of Raymond of Aguilers (q.v.) and the *Historia Hierosolymitana* of Fulcher of Chartres, suggesting early recognition of the importance of the work.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris – Reg. Lat. 14378 (the Grassegals MS; see above)
MS Berne – 261 (12th century)
MS Paris – Reg. Lat. 5131 (13th century)
MS Paris – Arm. 1102 (13th century)
MS London, BL – Add. 8927 (13th century)
MS Clermont – 262 (14th century)
MS Vat – Reg. 547 (14th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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Hagenmeyer, *Galterii Cancellarii. Bella Antiochena*, pp. 61-115 (based on all extant MSS)
Bella Antiochena, ed. P. Riant, *RHC Occ.* 5, Paris, 1895, pp. 73-132 (based on all extant MSS)
Quellenbeiträge zur Geschichte d. Kreuzzüge, vol. 1, ed. H. Prutz, Danzig, 1876, pp. 1-55 (uses 3 MSS)
Bella Antiochena, in *PL* 155, cols 995-1038 [uses Bongars]
Gesta Dei per Francos, vol. 1, ed. J. Bongars, Hanover, 1611, pp. 441-67 (based on MS Berne 261)

STUDIES

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Asbridge and Edgington, *Walter the Chancellor's* The Antiochene wars
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J. Rubenstein, 'Putting history to use. Three crusade chronicles in context', *Viator* 35 (1994) 131-68

Mayer, *Varia Antiochena*

Susan B. Edgington

Arsen of Ikalto

Arsen Iqalt'oeli

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; probably in the 1050s
PLACE OF BIRTH   Ikalto, eastern Georgia
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; probably soon after 1125
PLACE OF DEATH   Monastery of Ikalto

BIOGRAPHY

Arsen of Ikalto, also known as Arsen Beri (the Monk Arsen), Arsen Vač'esże (Arsen the Son of Vache) and Arsen Kaliposeli (Arsen of Kalipos), is remembered as an author and translator. In the Georgian Church he is regarded as a saint. The very little that is known about his life is to be found in his own writings and brief observations from others.

Arsen was probably born in the 1050s in the village of Ikalto in east Georgia. He was educated in the local monastery and became a monk there. He went on to study in Constantinople, and became an expert in canon law and dogmatics. He returned to Georgia to work under Ephrem Mc'ire, and remained with him until the latter's death, when he returned to Constantinople for a period. He also lived for some time in Syria.

In 1105, perhaps at the invitation of King David Aghmashenebeli, Arsen compiled his *Dzegliscera*, the earliest extant Georgian compilation of canon law. He became a close companion of the king, who referred to him as his 'hope' and 'enlightener'.

Arsen is connected with the construction of a number of monasteries and churches in Georgia. Among these is the ecclesiastical academy of Ikalto, where tradition relates he was buried. Since he wrote about the death of King David, who died in 1125, he evidently survived him, though probably not by many years.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
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MS Kutaisi, Ethnographic Museum – Georg. Kut. 23 (13th century)

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Secondary

E. Kočlamazashvili and E. Giunashvili (eds), *Tipikoni šiomġvimis monsatrisa*, Tbilisi, 2205

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K. Kekelidze, *Dzveli k'art'uli literaturis istoria*, vol. 1, Tbilisi, 1980, pp. 309-14, 373-84

I. Lolashvili, *Arsen iqalt'oeli*, Tbilisi, 1978

S. Qauxč'ishvili (ed.), *Andria kritelis didi kanoni*, Tbilisi, 1973

I. Abuladze (ed.), *Dzveli k'art'uli hagiograp'iuli literaturis dzeglebi*, Tbilisi, 1971, pp. 7-83

R. Miminoshvili and M. Rap'ava (eds), *Cm. ioane damaskelis mart'lmadidebluri sarcmunoebis zedmicevnit'i gadmoc'ema, t'argmani ep'rem mc'irisa da arsen iqalt'oelisa*, Tbilisi, 1966 (2006²), pp. 33-303

S. Qauxč'ishvili (ed.), *Xronograp'i giorgi monazonisay (amartoli)*, Tbilisi, 1920

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

X'senebay sitqwisgebisay da sasjelisay shjulisat'wis k'rsitianet'ay da sarkinozt'a, 'Account of the polemics, and judgment about the belief of Christians and Saracens'

DATE   Unknown, probably between 1115 and 1120
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Georgian

DESCRIPTION

The last section of Arsen of Ikalto's *Dogmaticon* is directed against Islam. It recounts debates held in Tbilisi in Arabic between a Georgian monk and the followers of a local Muslim leader.

The story unfolds as follows: Iamam (who is unknown elsewhere), the 'king' of the Muslims, comes to Tbilisi and gathers around him Christians and Muslims, among whom is a Georgian monk of noble descent. Iamam offers to take him into his service if he will take off his worn woolen habit. The monk refuses, so the king orders him to be

undressed by force. The monk then reminds the king that the Qur'an forbids violence, and insists that he will not abandon his monastic life even if he is killed. At this, Iamam adopts the strategy of arguing with the monk about belief, but both he and a Zoroastrian he calls to represent him are rendered speechless.

Others are called to debate with the monk, including an expert on Christian belief, and issues such as the prophethood of Muḥammad, the divinity of Jesus, and the doctrine of the Trinity are argued over. The monk proves that Christian belief and the Bible are true, and the Muslims admit their failure. Iamam also recognizes that they could not defeat the monk in debate, because he has 'an assistant and spiritual guide' who has made him win.

These debates must have taken place before 1122, when the Muslims lost Tbilisi to the Christians. It would not be surprising if the figure of the monk was Arsen of Ikalto himself, as at this time (c. 1115-20) he was living in Shiomghvime monastery near Tbilisi. Since he had lived in Syria, he could also have known Arabic.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work reflects the clear anti-Islamic sentiments of Georgian society. It also makes plain that there were Georgian monks who were fluent in Arabic and possessed considerable knowledge of Islam and the Qur'an. This was a result of Georgian contacts with Arabs in general, but especially with Arabic-speaking Christians in Syria-Mesopotamia, Palestine and Sinai.

The work continued to be popular in Georgia for some centuries; it is mentioned in 13th-century literature.

MANUSCRIPTS

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EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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STUDIES

X. Baindurashvili, 'Shiizmi t'bilisshi (VIII-XVIII ss.)', *Istoriul-et'nograp'iuli Statiebi* 9 (2005)

G. Jap'aridze, *Sak'art'velo da maxlobeli aġmosavlet'is islamuri samqaro*, Tbilisi, 1995

R. Metreveli, *Davitʿ IV aghmashenebeli*, Tbilisi, 1990

K. Kekelidze, *Dzveli kʿartʿuli literaturis istoria*, Tbilisi, 1980, pp. 309-14, 373-84

I. Lolashvili, *Arsen iqaltʿoeli*, Tbilisi, 1978

R. Baramidze (ed.), *Anton pirvelis ʿcqobilsitqvaoba'*, Tbilisi, 1972, p. 177

K. Kekelidze and A. Baramidze (eds), *Ioane bagrationis kalmasoba*, Tbilisi, 1943, pp. 176-77

Enrico Gabidzashvili

Al-Ṭurṭūshī

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Walīd ibn
Muḥammad ibn Khalaf al-Ṭurṭūshī

DATE OF BIRTH   About 1059
PLACE OF BIRTH   Ṭurṭūsha (Tortosa, southern Catalonia)
DATE OF DEATH   22 August-19 September 1126
PLACE OF DEATH   Alexandria

BIOGRAPHY

A famous Mālikī jurist, ascetic, theologian and author of a 'Mirror for princes', al-Ṭurṭūshī (also known as Ibn Abī Randaqa, which according to Ibn Khallikān derived from a French expression which was explained to him by a Frank (*baʿḍ al-Faranj*) as meaning *taʿālā*, 'come') started his studies in the taifa kingdom of Saragossa, where one of his teachers was Abū l-Walīd al-Bājī. He then left al-Andalus in 1083, and travelled in Egypt, Syria and Iraq. He finally settled in Alexandria in the year 1097.

The teachers with whom al-Ṭurṭūshī studied during his stay in the East were many, the most famous being al-Ghazālī (q.v.), a crucial figure in the intellectual and religious renewal of the times. Al-Ghazālī's life and work had a deep influence on al-Ṭurṭūshī, although he was critical of the fact that al-Ghazālī's doctrines and thought had been too deeply penetrated by philosophy and mysticism.

Like many of his contemporaries, al-Ṭurṭūshī experienced spiritual crises – one of them while living in Jerusalem – which led him to a retired and ascetic life, but once he settled in Egypt, where he married a rich widow who helped him found a madrasa, he devoted the rest of his life to teaching. Egypt was then under Fatimid (Ismāʿīlī) rule. As a Sunnī, al-Ṭurṭūshī fought against what he considered to be the juridical and religious innovations introduced by that dynasty, and this was what kept him from returning to his native land. At the time, the viziers of the Fatimid caliphs were two Sunnīs, al-Afḍal and al-Baṭāʾihi, who seem to have been favorably disposed towards al-Ṭurṭūshī.

Al-Ṭurṭūshī's stay in the East coincided with the First Crusade, while in al-Andalus Toledo fell into Christian hands in the year 1085. In 1086, the Almoravids were called by some of the taifa kings to help check the Christian military advance. Al-Ṭurṭūshī was influential with the Almoravids, and in a letter carried by his pupil Abū Bakr ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1148) urged the emir Ibn Tāshufīn and his fellow Muslims to perform jihad. These external (Christian advance) and internal (Ismāʿīlī heresy) threats motivated al-Ṭurṭūshī's concern for the need to reform the practices and beliefs of the Muslims, as well as his views about strengthening restrictions on Jews and Christians and exalting the sacredness of Jerusalem.

Ibn Khaldūn attributed to him a decisive influence in making Andalusī Mālikism known in the East, while at the same time al-Ṭurṭūshī disseminated Eastern Mālikī doctrines among the many pupils who studied with him in Egypt. Andalusīs were numerous among these pupils and through them al-Ṭurṭūshī's teachings were influential in the Islamic West during the Almoravid and Almohad periods. Ibn Tūmart, the founder of the Almohad movement, is said to have studied with him.

Al-Ṭurṭūshī's grave in Alexandria attracted many visitors through the centuries and is still known.

Among al-Ṭurṭūshī's works was his *Al-suʿūd fī l-radd ʿalā l-Yāhūd* ('Strokes of fortune in refutation of the Jews'). This has not survived, and it is unclear why he wrote it, given his preoccupations with Christians rather than Jews throughout his life.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
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Al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis*, ed. F. Codera and J. Ribera, Madrid, 1884-85, no. 295
Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, trans. M. de Slane, 4 vols, Paris, 1842-71, ii, pp. 665-7
Ibn Farḥūn, *Al-dībāj al-mudhhab*, 2 vols, Cairo, s.d., ii, pp. 244-48, no. 43
Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-wafī bi-l-wafayāt*, 22 vols, Wiesbaden, 1962-88, v, p. 175, no. 2215, and xvi, p. 424
Ibn Saʿīd, *Al-mughrib*, ed. S. Ḍayf, 2 vols, Cairo, 1964, ii, p. 424, no. 613
Al-Maqqarī, *Azhār al-riyāḍ*, 5 vols, Rabat, 1978-80, iii, pp. 160, 162-65
Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, 8 vols, Beirut, 1968, ii, pp. 85-90, no. 46
Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalā'*, 23 vols, Beirut, 1981-85, xix, pp. 490-96, no. 285

Secondary

M. Fletcher, 'Ibn Tūmart's teachers. The relationship with al-Ghazālī', *Al-Qanṭara* 18 (1997) 305-30

A.M. Turkī (ed.), *Risāla fī taḥrīm al-jubn al-rūmī* (together with al-Ṭurṭūshī's *Kitāb taḥrīm al-ghināʾ wa-l-samāʾ*), Beirut, 1997, pp. 11-118

M. Fierro (trans.), *Kitāb al-ḥawādith wa-l-bidaʿ (El libro de las novedades y las innovaciones)*, Madrid, 1993

A. ben Abdesselem, art. 'al-Ṭurṭūshī', in *EI2*

V. Lagardère, 'L'unificateur du malikisme oriental et occidental á Alexandrie. Abū Bakr at-Ṭurṭūshī', *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 31 (1981) 47-61

V. Lagardère, 'Al-Ṭurṭūshī. Unificateur du malikisme aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *Revue des Études Islamiques* 47 (1979) 173-90

M.J. Viguera, 'Las cartas de al-Gazālī y al-Ṭurṭūšī al soberano almorávid Yūsuf b. Tašufīn', *Al-Andalus* 42 (1977) 341-74

F. La Granja, 'Fiestas cristianas en al-Andalus. (Materiales para su estudio) II. Textos de al-Ṭurṭūšī, el cadí ʿIyāḍ y Wanšarīšī', *Al-Andalus* 35 (1970) 119-42, pp. 120-24

J.-D. al-Shayyāl, *Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī al-ʿālim al-zāhid al-thāʾir*, Cairo, 1968

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-ḥawādith wa-l-bidaʿ, 'Novelties and innovations'

DATE After 1086, and probably after 1097
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This treatise, which al-Ṭurṭūshī certainly composed after 1086, and most probably after he settled in Alexandria in 1097, is against religious innovations both in matters of doctrine and practice (see M. Fierro, 'The treatises against innovations (*kutub al-bidaʿ*)', *Der Islam* 69 (1992) 204-46). Many of these innovations can be shown to refer to rituals and practices that were followed under Fatimid rule in Egypt.

As is usual in other works of this genre, many Muslim innovations are thought to originate in the imitation of Jews and Christians, hence the exhortation to *mukhālafat ahl al-kitāb* (ed. Turki, nos 87, 239). One such practice is the adorning and decorating of mosques (ed. Turki, nos 180, 181). Another is to stop working on Fridays in

imitation of what Jews and Christians did on Saturdays and Sundays, which Mālik had criticised (ed. Turki, no. 255).

The Prophet Muḥammad had warned that there would be Muslims who would deviate from the right path in the same way as had happened among Jews and Christians (ed. Turki, nos 18, 19). Abū Ḥanīfa disagreed with the supererogatory fast of the month Shawwāl, in spite of a Hadith in favour of it, out of fear that it would be considered obligatory, and therefore that obligatory prescriptions would increase among Muslims as they had increased among Christians (ed. Turki, nos 102-4).

Al-Ṭurṭūshī includes the mosque of Jerusalem among mosques that it is permissible to visit on pilgrimage together with Mecca and Medina (see on this M.J. Kister, '"You shall only set out for three mosques". A study of an early tradition', *Le Museón* 82 (1969) 173-96; E. Sivan, 'Le caractère sacré de Jerusalem dans l'Islam aux XIIe-XIIIe siècles', *Studia Islamica* 27 (1967) 149-82).

Some of the passages included by Talbi in his edition are additions – not from al-Ṭurṭūshī's pen – made in MS Tunis. Some of these refer to the celebration of Christian festivals by Muslims of al-Andalus, and have been studied by Fernando de la Granja. Even if al-Ṭurṭūshī is not the author, he could have been, as such material is usually found in treatises against innovations.

SIGNIFICANCE

Al-Ṭurṭūshī's *Kitāb al-ḥawādith wa-l-bidaʿ* was highly influential on later treatises against innovations, such as Abū Shāma (d. c. 1268), *Al-bāʿith ʿalā inkār al-bidaʿ wa-l-ḥawādith* (ed. ʿU. Aḥmad ʿAnbar, Cairo, 1978). It reflects the hardening of contemporary views towards *dhimmī*s, as is indicated by Cohen, 'What was the Pact of ʿUmar? A literary-historical study', and Levy-Rubin, 'Shurūṭ ʿUmar and its alternatives: the legal debate on the status of the dhimmis'. Such hardening found its most extreme expression in the forced conversion of Jews and Christians decreed by the first Almohad Caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin (r. 1133-63), on which see now M. Fierro, 'A Muslim land without Jews or Christians. Almohad policies regarding the "protected people"'.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Rabat, General Library – majmūʿa qāf 85 (1531)
MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional – 5341 miscellaneous, fols 73v-105v (1602)
MS Dublin, Chester Beatty – majmūʿa 5010 (1604)

MS Tunis, Dār al-kutub al-waṭaniyya – 3387 majmūʿa (1874)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

M. Fierro, *Kitāb al-ḥawādiṯ wa-l-bidaʿ* (*El libro de las novedades y las innovaciones*), Madrid, 1993 (Spanish trans.)

Ed. A.M. Turki, Beirut, 1990 (based on the four known MSS)

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STUDIES

Fierro, 'The treatises against innovations (*kutub al-bidaʿ*)'

M. Fierro, 'Spiritual alienation and political activism. The *ghurabāʾ* in al-Andalus during the sixth/twelfth century', *Arabica* 47 (2000) 230-60

Trans. Fierro (1993)

Ed. Turki, 1990

M. Fierro, 'El principio mālikí *sadd al-ḏarāʾiʿ* en el *Kitāb al-ḥawādiṯ wa-l-bidaʿ* de Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūšī', *Al-Qanṭara* 2 (1981) 69-87

M. Talbi, 'Les *Bidaʿ*', *Studia Islamica* 12 (1960) 43-77

M. Talbi, 'La *qirāʾa bi-l-alḥān*', *Arabica* 5 (1958) 183-90

Kitab birr al-wālidayn, 'Devotion to parents'

DATE   After 1095-97

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This book, which al-Ṭurṭūshī must have written after al-Ghazālī's (q.v.) *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, which it quotes, discusses duties towards parents.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work includes material on cases of non-Muslim parents.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Cairo, Dār al-kutub – (undated)

MS Cairo, Al-Khizāna al-Taymūriyya – (undated)

MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional – 5341 miscellanous (1602)

MS Dublin, Chester Beatty – majmūʿa 5010 (1604)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Ed. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm al-Qāḍī, Beirut, 1986, 1991²

STUDIES   —

Sirāj al-mulūk, 'A lamp for rulers'

DATE   1122

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Sirāj al-mulūk* belongs to the 'mirrors for princes' genre, containing various forms of advice to the ruler about how to behave in order to ensure justice and preserve his reign. Ibn Khaldūn quotes from it in his *Muqaddima*. Al-Ṭurṭūshī started it under the vizierate of al-Afḍal (1094-1121) and completed it under al-Baṭāʾihī (1121-25), to whom he dedicated it. The actual year of completion is indicated in one of the British Library MSS.

The material relating to Christians is varied. Part of it refers to the Christian military advance in al-Andalus, with descriptions of battles between Muslims and Christians on the northern frontier (*Sirāj*, p.149/Spanish trans. in Alarcón, ii, p. 305; p. 152/Alarcón, ii, pp. 318-19/French trans. in Dozy, pp. 245-48; pp. 152-53/Alarcón, ii, 320-23/Dozy, pp. 235-37; pp. 155-56/Alarcón, ii, pp. 333-34/Dozy, pp. 242-45; p. 156/Alarcón, ii, pp. 336-38).

Of special interest is the text in which al-Ṭurṭūshī discusses the reasons for the military weakness of the Muslims. According to al-Ṭurṭūshī, quoting some Andalusī elders, as long as the members of the army were landowners, Muslims remained dominant over the enemy because agriculture flourished, peasants were well treated, there were ample recruits for the army and plenty of weapons and cattle. This situation was changed in the second half of the 10th century by the powerful vizier al-Manṣūr ibn Abī ʿĀmir (Almanzor), who replaced land ownership with a monthly salary to the soldiers and established a tax on the land, which the soldiers collected. This led to the ruin of the peasants and agriculture. Taxes then diminished and with them the number of soldiers, and the Christians took advantage of the situation and conquered Muslim territory. The position continued to deteriorate until the Almoravids intervened in the Iberian Peninsula. They decided to return to the previous system, giving al-Ṭurṭūshī hope of improvement (*Sirāj*, pp. 105, 108/Alarcón, ii, pp. 92-93, 97).

Two other texts present examples of interaction between Muslims and Christians: one is an anecdote in which a Christian ascetic admonishes King al-Mustaʿīn of Saragossa by pointing out that worldly

riches are worth nothing in the face of death (*Sirāj*, p. 20/Alarcón, i, pp. 69-70/Dozy, pp. 240-41); the other concerns a Cordovan Muslim apparently on good terms with his Christian neighbor, although in reality all his spoken exchanges with him have a double meaning indicating the Muslim's desire for the Christian's humiliation in this life and his punishment in the hereafter (*Sirāj*, pp. 129-30/Alarcón, ii, 206-7/Dozy, pp. 248-49).

This is followed by material related to the position in law of Christians in Muslim lands. Al-Ṭurṭūshī had a prominent role in the transmission of the Pact of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, about which he had learned from his Ḥanafī teacher al-Dāmighānī (d. 1085; on al-Dāmighānī, see G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionniste au XIᵉ siècle*, Damascus, 1963, pp. 269-74) and which he taught to his pupil Ismāʿīl ibn Makkī ibn ʿĪsā al-Zuhrī (d. 1185). The document is preserved in *Sirāj*, p. 118/Alarcón, ii, pp. 143-45/English trans. N.A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab lands*, Philadelphia PA, 1979, pp. 157-58; see also Y. Lev, *State and society in Fatimid Egypt*, Leiden, 1991, p. 180, n. 3). The *Sirāj* also contains an anecdote against the employment of Christians by a ruler (*Sirāj*, p. 61/Alarcón, i, p. 287), an anecdote that involved al-Ṭurṭūshī himself in his dealings with the Fatimid vizier al-Afḍal. (It can also be found in Ibn Khallikān, al-Dhahabī, al-Ṣafadī and al-Maqqarī.) Al-Ṭurṭūshī also shows himself in favor of seeking the conversion of non Muslims either by word or by the sword (*Sirāj*, pp. 70, 77/Alarcón, i, pp. 330, 365-66) and of not allowing the existence of any synagogue or church, whether old nor new, in Muslim territory (*Sirāj*, ch. 51 on the treatment of infidels/Alarcón, ii, pp. 143-54; see also al-Wansharīsī, *Miʿyār*, ii, pp. 239, 251; Lev, *State and society*, pp. 180-91).

SIGNIFICANCE

Al-Ṭurṭūshī arrived in Egypt in 1096, the year the crusades reached the Holy Land, so he may have been among the first wave of refugees (E. Sivan, 'Réfugiés syro-palestiniens au temps des Croisades', *Revue des Études Islamiques* 25 [1967] 135-47). His insistence on the need to perform jihad, his severe attitude towards the *dhimmī*s and his exaltation of Jerusalem can be understood as part of the process of 'moral rearmament' within Islam (E. Sivan, *L'islam et la croisade. Idéologie et propagande dans les réactions musulmanes aux croisades*, Paris, 1968, pp. 23-37).

More specifically, his harsh view of the conditions in which non Muslims should live under Muslim rule belongs to the developments that were taking place during the 11th-12th centuries (on which see M. Cohen, 'What was the Pact of ʿUmar? A literary-historical study', *JSAI* 23 [1999] 100-57, and M. Levy-Rubin, 'Shurūṭ ʿUmar and its alternatives. The legal debate on the status of the dhimmis', *JSAI* 30 [2005] 170-206) and can be understood as contributing to the Almohad decision to convert Jews and Christians by force in the Islamic West (on which see M. Fierro, 'A Muslim land without Jews or Christians. Almohad policies regarding the "protected people"', in *Christlicher Norden, Muslimischer Süden. Die Iberische Halbinsel im Kontext kultureller, religiöser und politischer Veränderungen zwischen dem 11. und 15. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am-Main, 2010 [forthcoming]).

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The fullest available lists of the many MSS of this work are in Brockelmann, *GAL*, i, p. 459, and *GAL* S i, pp. 829-30. See also Ziriklī, *Al-aʿlām*, vii, p. 134; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam al-muʿallifīn*, xii, p. 96.

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Ed. Jaʿfar al-Bayātī, London, 1990

Ed. Cairo, 1935

M. Alarcón, *Lámpara de los Príncipes por Abubéquer de Tortosa*, 2 vols, Madrid, 1930-31 (Spanish trans.)

M. Alarcón, 'Un caso de limitación del poder real en la España musulmana', *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 2 (1925) 196-99 (partial Spanish trans.)

Ed. Cairo, 1893 (in the margins Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddima*)

Ed. Cairo, 1888-89, 1901-2

R. Dozy, 'Extraits du Sirādj al-molouc'. *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen Age*, 2 vols, Paris, 1881³, ii, pp. 234-49 (partial French trans.)

Ed. Alexandria, 1872, 1881

Ed. Būlāq, 1872

The work was translated into Persian by Taqī l-dīn Muḥammad Ṣadr al-Dīn (d. 1626); a Persian translation (perhaps the same?) is to be found in St Petersburg (*Bulletin Scientifique* 3 (1836-), p. 63; *Bulletin Historico-philologique* 3 (1846) p. 221; *Bulletin Historico-philologique* 4 (1847) p. 238).

There is an anonymous Turkish translation in MS Istanbul, Sulay-
maniyye – ʿĀshir Efendi, 772.

STUDIES

R. al-Sayyid, 'Sirāj al-mulūk li-l-Ṭurṭūshī', Al-Ijtihād 12 (1991) 241-46

B. Justel, 'Influences d'al-Andalus dans la Hidāya d'al-Rajrajī', in
Actes du VII Colloque Universitaire Tuniso-Espagnol sur le Pat-
rimoine Andalous dans la culture arabe et espagnole, Tunis 3-10
février 1989, Tunis, 1991, 143-54, pp. 153-54

Alarcón, Lámpara de los Príncipes por Abubéquer de Tortosa

Studies dealing with 'mirror for princes' literature usually refer to
al-Ṭurṭūshī's work (see L. Marlow, art. 'Advice and advice litera-
ture', in EI3).

Kitāb fī taḥrīm jubn al-Rūm, 'Condemnation of Byzantine cheese'

DATE   Between 1097 and 1126

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Al-Ṭurṭūshī was against the importation, sale and consumption of
cheese made by the Byzantines, a stance that created hostility between
him and the notable family of the Banū l-Ḥadīda in Alexandria, where
this work was written. Al-Ṭurṭūshī's opposition was motivated by the
use of mayta (material from animals not slaughtered according to
Islamic regulations) in the making of this cheese, having thus to do
with issues of purity (ṭahāra).

SIGNIFICANCE

The work is of interest in the debate concerning the legality of non-
Muslim food for Muslims (see on this N. Tsafrir, 'The attitude of
Sunnī Islam toward Jews and Christians as reflected in some legal
issues', Al-Qanṭara 26 (2005) 317-36; A.F. Félix, Cuestiones legales del
Islam temprano. La ʿʿUtbiyya' y el proceso de formación de la sociedad
islámica andalusí, Madrid, 2003; and A. García Sanjuan, 'El consumo
de los alimentos de los ḏimmíes en el Islam medieval', Historia, Insti-
tutiones, Documentos 29 (2002) 109-46).

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Cairo, Dār al-kutub – 36777 (1696)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

A.M. Turkī (ed.), *Risāla fi taḥrīm al-jubn al-rūmī*, Beirut: Dār al-gharb al-Islāmī, 1997

STUDIES

M. Cook, 'Magian cheese. An archaic problem in Islamic law', *BSOAS* 47 (1984) 449-67, p. 456, n. 69

Maribel Fierro

Ibn ʿAbdūn al-Ishbīlī

Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbdūn al-Tujībī al-Ishbīlī al-Nakhāʿī

DATE OF BIRTH   Mid-11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Possibly Seville
DATE OF DEATH   Early 12th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Possibly Seville

BIOGRAPHY

The only information we have about Ibn ʿAbdun appears in his *Risāla fī l-qaḍāʾ wa-l-ḥisba* ('Epistle on the office of judge and the market inspector'). He lived in Seville during the reign of the taifa King al-Muʿtamid (r. 1068-91), and later under the Almoravids. The main subject of his treatise suggests that he himself was a market inspector (*ṣāḥib al-sūq* or *muḥtasib*), though he does not mention his profession, nor his masters or pupils. He refers to two contemporaries, Ibn al-Farrāʾ and Ibn Sihāb, who were also market inspectors in Seville, and this is all the information about him we have.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Ibn ʿAbdūn's introduction to his *Risāla fī l-qaḍāʾ wa-l-ḥisba*

Secondary
F. Gabrieli, art. 'Ibn ʿAbdūn', in *EI2*
P. Cano Ávila, art. 'Ibn ʿAbdūn al-Ishbīlī', in *Enciclopedia de al-Andalus*

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Risāla fī l-qaḍāʾ wa-l-ḥisba, 'Epistle on the office of judge and market inspector'

DATE   Possibly before 1125
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Risāla fī l-qaḍāʾ wa-l-ḥisba* belongs to the genre of works on *ḥisba*, which were practical books written to serve as guides for market inspectors, who were officers in charge of regulating commercial transactions and the conduct of merchants and shop-keepers and were also responsible for the proper use of public baths, cemeteries and mosques. It was probably written before 1126, when much of the Christian community in Seville was deported to the Maghrib following the conquests of Muslim territories by Alfonso I of Aragon.

In many parts of the work, Ibn ʿAbdūn refers to Jews and Christians as socially and religiously inferior to Muslims, and evidently favors separation between them and Muslim society. Thus, he prohibits Muslims from doing certain kinds of work for them, such as disposing of their rubbish, cleaning their latrines and tending their riding animals (ed. Levi-Provençal, fragment 153); he restricts the production and consumption of wine (52, 116, 129, 186, 204); he forbids the sale of clothes belonging to Jews and Christians, as well as those of lepers and the dissolute (164); he prohibits them from wearing expensive cloth and requires them to display badges of their faith on their clothing (169); he will not allow church bells to be rung (196); Muslim women should not go into churches or visit clergy in their homes, and priests should marry because they are licentious, and should be circumcised as Jesus was (154); they should not be sold books, because they tend to claim that their predecessors wrote them (206).

SIGNIFICANCE

These directives reflect both the ordinary everyday exchanges that took place between Christians and Muslims as members of a single society who met and interacted on a daily basis, and also the underlying mistrust and dislike that attached to followers of different and competing religious traditions and might flare up without warning. In many places they recall details of the Pact of ʿUmar (q.v.), and testify to its influence over the formal Muslim understanding of the correct mode of relations, in which Christians should always be in inferior positions to Muslims, should be reminded of their place, should distinguish themselves in public, and should never be trusted.

The fact that Ibn ʿAbdūn regards it as necessary to set this down in writing suggests that social and religious distinctions were ignored in the majority of circumstances, though the readiness with which

he refers to them shows that they were never far from the surface in relationships between the faiths.

MANUSCRIPTS

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MS Meknes (Morocco) (private library)

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É. Lévi-Provençal and E. García Gómez, *Sevilla a comienzos del s. XII. El Tratado de Ibn ʿAbdūn*, Madrid, 1948 (Spanish trans.)

Ibn ʿAbdūn, Seville musulmane au début du XII siècle. Le traite d'Ibn ʿAbdūn sur la vie urbaine et les corps de métiers, trans. É. Lévi-Provençal, Paris, 1947

C. Sánchez Albornoz, *La España Musulmana según los autores islamitas y cristianos medievales*, 2 vols, Buenos Aires, 1946, ii, pp. 171-78

H. Bruno and M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le livre des magistratures d'el Wancherisi*, Rabat, 1937, pp. 59-61 (trans. of two chapters concerning judges)

F. Gabrieli, 'Il trattato censorio di Ibn ʿAbdūn sul buon governo di Siviglia', *Rendiconti delle Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, de la Reale Academia Nazionale dei Lincei* 11 (1936) 878-935 (Italian trans.)

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STUDIES

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E. Escartín González, *Estudio económico sobre el 'Tratado' de Ibn Abdún. El vino y los gremios en al-Andalus antes del s. XII*, Seville, 2006

G. Martínez Gros, 'Le gouvernement du juge. Ibn ʿAbdūn et Séville au début du XIIᵉ siècle', *Les Cahiers de Fontenay (Idées des villes, villes idéales)* 69-70 (1993) 37-51

P. Chalmeta, *El señor del zoco*, Madrid, 1973

Cristina de la Puente

Fulcher of Chartres

Fulcherius Carnotensis

DATE OF BIRTH   1058 or 1059
PLACE OF BIRTH   Northern France; probably the Chartrain or Orléanais
DATE OF DEATH   1127 or 1128
PLACE OF DEATH   Probably Jerusalem

BIOGRAPHY

Fulcher of Chartres was born in 1058 or 1059, probably in or near Chartres in northern France. He may have been a member of the cathedral clergy at Chartres and could have known the reformer Bishop Ivo (1090-1115), but this is less than certain. His standard of Latinity and knowledge of classical texts suggest a good level of education; the cathedral school of Chartres had been a noted center of classical learning since the time of Bishop Fulbert (1006-28), and this was probably, therefore, where Fulcher was educated.

Fulcher has left no trace in the historical record before the event with which he is now wholly associated, the First Crusade. Fulcher took part in the crusade, initially in the contingent led by Count Stephen of Blois and Duke Robert of Normandy. Having journeyed through Italy, the Balkans and Asia Minor in 1096-97, en route marvelling at the city of Constantinople, closely observing the siege of Nicea and surviving the battle of Dorylaeum, in October 1097 Fulcher attached himself to Count Baldwin of Boulogne, serving as his chaplain. He followed Baldwin on the expedition to Edessa that was to detach him, and Fulcher, from the main body of the crusade for the next two years.

Fulcher accompanied Baldwin on his journey from Edessa to Jerusalem towards the end of 1099 to fulfil his crusade vow, and on Baldwin's second journey south in late 1100 to assume the rulership of the nascent Frankish polity in and around Jerusalem after the death of Baldwin's brother, Godfrey of Bouillon, in September of that year. Baldwin assumed the title of king, making Jerusalem his political base, and Fulcher was based in the city for the rest of his life, continuing

to serve as Baldwin's chaplain and accompanying him on some of his military campaigns until the mid 1110s.

Thereafter, the connection to Baldwin seems to have become looser, although it has been suggested that at this stage Fulcher became a canon of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher with Baldwin's support in order to further the reform of the community under the Rule of St Augustine. The devotion to the relic of the True Cross, kept in the Holy Sepulcher, that Fulcher expresses in his *Historia* suggests a strong connection to that church.

The *Historia Hierosolymitana* is Fulcher's only known composition. He most probably began work on it in late 1100 or 1101; thereafter it was written, party as a broadly contemporaneous record, partly in retrospective bursts after intervals of inactivity, until 1127. The date of Fulcher's death is uncertain, but is probably to be fixed soon after the last event mentioned in his text, a plague of rats around the summer of 1127.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (*Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medieualis* 127A), Turnhout, 1996, pp. 329, 332, 342, 340, 344

William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors, rev. R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols, Oxford, 1998-99, i, p. 660

Secondary

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J. Oberste, 'Rittertum der Kreuzzugszeit in religiösen Deutungen. Zur Konstruktion der Gesellschaftsbildern im 12. Jahrhundert', *Francia* 27 (2001) 53-87

V. Epp, '*Miles* und *militia* bei Fulcher von Chartres und seinen Bearbeitern', in *Militia Christi e crociata nei secoli XI-XII. Atti dell undecima settimana internazionale di studio Mendola, 28 agosto-1 settembre 1989*, Milan, 1992, 769-84

V. Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres. Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung des ersten Kreuzzuges*, Düsseldorf, 1990 (the most thorough study of the work to date)

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W. Giese, 'Untersuchungen zur *Historia Hierosolymitana* des Fulcher von Chartres', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 69 (1987) 62-115

D.C. Munro, 'A crusader', *Speculum* 7 (1932) 321-35

N. Iorga, *Les narrateurs de la première croisade*, Paris, 1928, pp. 38-61

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Historia Hierosolymitana, 'The Jerusalem history'; *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem peregrinantium*, 'The deeds of the Franks on pilgrimage to Jerusalem'

DATE   1101-27

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Historia Hierosolymitana* is an important historical text in two chief respects. First, alongside the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* (q.v.) and Raymond of Aguiler's (q.v.) *Liber*, it is one of the three so-called 'eyewitness' Latin narratives of the First Crusade. Second, unlike the other two texts, whose accounts end in 1099, Fulcher extended his history substantially beyond the crusade proper into the story of the emergent Latin settlements in Palestine and Syria that the crusade had brought into being. This historiographical bridging of the histories of the crusade and the Latin East makes Fulcher's *Historia* a source of the utmost importance.

About 50,000 words in length, the *Historia* occupies some 700 pages in Heinrich Hagenmeyer's (heavily annotated) 1913 edition. The text is structured into three books. This arrangement may not wholly reflect Fulcher's original intentions for the organization of the work, and probably emerged gradually as the text expanded, but the book divisions represent important moments of closure and transition in the political history of the Latin East: Book I ends with the death of Godfrey of Bouillon, Book II begins with the accession to power of Baldwin I and ends with his death in 1118, and Book III opens with the beginning of the reign of Baldwin II. Book I is predominantly an account of the progress of the First Crusade. Anticipating the narrative arcs of several later historians of the crusade, Fulcher is the only first-generation, 'eyewitness' historian to emphasize the importance of the Council of Clermont in November 1095 as the crusade's inaugural moment: the canons of the council, and the sermon by Pope Urban II that formally launched the crusade, are treated at some length. It is likely that Fulcher attended the council.

For the description of the progress of the crusade up to mid-October 1097, Fulcher's account is that of a direct observer. However, because he detached himself from the main crusade army at that point in order to follow Baldwin of Boulogne to Edessa, thereafter he had to reconstruct the story of the crusade second-hand, drawing upon the *Gesta Francorum* and Raymond of Aguilers but not in a wholly derivative fashion. Books II and III were written in Jerusalem, and duly concentrate upon the affairs of the Latin kingdom, with its kings functioning as the principal narrative focus. Nevertheless, Fulcher's geographical range reached to the northern parts of the Latin East, especially as Baldwin II's scope of political and military operations extended into the county of Edessa and the principality of Antioch. The result is a more rounded and integrated treatment of the whole of the Frankish presence in Palestine and Syria in the later parts of Fulcher's text.

The substantive emphasis of Fulcher's writing is on military and political affairs, but he also demonstrates some appreciation of the socio-cultural complexities of the new Latin polities and their relations with both the Muslims and indigenous Christians of the area. Fulcher also permits himself a number of 'digressions' into the natural history of Palestine, and shows an interest in the mapping of biblical topography onto the political geography of his own times; classi-

cal texts as much as direct observation and experience inform these interests.

The composition of the *Historia* was a stop-go process. Having finished his retrospective Book I, Fulcher may have then produced what became the first chapters of Book II more or less contemporaneously with events until 1105, at which point some sort of closure was reached; the version of Fulcher's text that Guibert of Nogent (q.v.) consulted in northern France ended at that point, and an abridgement of the *Historia* that was produced in the Latin East, possibly with Fulcher's co-operation, likewise ends at that date. Fulcher probably did not resume work on the *Historia* until 1109, and there was probably another hiatus or slowing down of work on it between 1114 and 1118. The death of Baldwin I seems to have acted as a stimulus to further effort. In 1124, Fulcher undertook a substantial revision of all his text to date, incorporating new details, deleting some passages, and making stylistic revisions. This second recension was the text that he then kept up until 1127. The two recensions survive in a roughly equal number of manuscripts. In terms of posthumous influence, Fulcher's principal legacy was to serve as a major source for William of Tyre's (q.v.) *Chronicon*, one of the most widely-read histories of the First Crusade and the 12th-century Latin East for the remainder of the Middle Ages and into the early modern period. His work was also used by Orderic Vitalis (q.v.) and William of Malmesbury (q.v.), amongst others.

SIGNIFICANCE

Fulcher does not conspicuously stand out from the general run of early writings on the First Crusade in terms of his attitudes towards Muslims and Islam. It has been suggested, by Verena Epp in her 1990 monograph on Fulcher, that he took the opportunity afforded by the writing of the second recension of the *Historia* to tone down some of his harsher verdicts on the Franks' Muslim opponents and the rhetoric of holy war; but these changes, which affect only a minority of all Fulcher's references to Muslims, seem to have had localized rationales, to reflect, for example, shifts in the Latins' alliances with local Muslim rulers or to achieve greater stylistic finesse, and so cannot be interpreted as evidence of a significant softening of attitudes. In the main, those attitudes reflected the stock Latin image of the Franks' opponents as pagan and perfidious, exotic and threatening. In a celebrated passage written in 1124, on the changes that had overtaken

the Franks living in the East, and which had turned them from 'occidentals' to 'orientals' (*Historia*, III.37), Fulcher welcomes the fact that Frankish intermarriage with local people extended beyond the choice of Syrian Christian and Armenian brides to baptized Saracens. This suggests that he anticipated a progressive absorption into Frankish religion, culture and political life of the Muslim populations living under Frankish rule.

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Maier, 'Konflikt und Kommunikation. Neues zum Kreuzzugsaufruf Urbans II'

Oberste, 'Rittertum der Kreuzzugszeit in religiösen Deutungen'

E. Lauzi, 'Occidentali e Saraceni nel Medioevo latino. Tracce di un incontro. II', *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo. Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche*, 132 (2000) 485-502

P.J. Cole, 'Christians, Muslims, and the "liberation" of the Holy Land', *Catholic Historical Review* 84 (1998) 1-10

M. Balard, 'Gesta Dei per Francos. L'usage du mot "Francs" dans les chroniques de la première Croisade', in M. Rouche (ed.), *Clovis: Histoire et memoire. Le baptème de Clovis, son écho à travers l'histoire*, Paris, 1997, pp. 473-84

A.V. Murray, 'Ethnic identity in the crusader states. The Frankish race and the settlement of Outremer', in S. Forde et al, (eds), *Concepts of national identity in the Middle Ages*, Leeds, 1995, pp. 59-73

P.J. Cole, '"O God, the heathen have come into your inheritance" (Ps. 78.1). The theme of religious pollution in crusade documents, 1095-1188', in M. Shatzmiller (ed.), *Crusaders and Muslims in twelfth-century Syria*, Leiden, 1993, 84-111

Epp, '*Miles* und *militia* bei Fulcher von Chartres und seinen Bearbeitern'

Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres. Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung des ersten Kreuzzuges* (the most thorough study of the work to date)

Epp, 'Die Entstehung eines "Nationalbewußtseins" in der Kreuzzugfahrerstaaten'

Giese, 'Untersuchungen zur *Historia Hierosolymitana* des Fulcher von Chartres'

Munro, 'A crusader'

Marcus Bull

Ibn al-Qulzumī

Yūḥannā ibn Ṣāʿid ibn Qulzumī, Ibn al-Qulzumī *al-kātib*

DATE OF BIRTH   Mid-11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Perhaps in Miṣr (Old Cairo)
DATE OF DEATH   After 26 January 1127
PLACE OF DEATH   Probably in Miṣr (Old Cairo)

BIOGRAPHY

Yūḥannā ibn Ṣāʿid ibn Yaḥyā ibn Mīnā, known as Ibn al-Qulzumī *al-kātib*, was the first of the 'continuators' who extended the composite work known as the *History of the patriarchs of Alexandria* (more properly *Siyar al-bīʿa al-muqaddasa*, 'Biographies of the holy Church') beyond the 65 patriarchal biographies compiled and translated from Coptic originals by Mawhūb ibn Manṣur ibn Mufarrij (q.v.) and his associates, plus the biographies that Mawhūb composed directly in Arabic of patriarchs Christodoulos, the 66th patriarch (1046-77) and Cyril II, the 67th patriarch (1078-92). Yūḥannā discovered a copy of the *Siyar*, copied it out, and added its 68th and 69th biographies, those of patriarchs Michael IV (1092-1102) and Macarius II (1102-28) respectively.

We know little about Yūḥannā other than what he tells us in his text. He was a member of the Coptic secretarial class, wrote excellent Arabic, and appears to have been from Miṣr (Old Cairo), although the name 'Ibn al-Qulzumī' indicates that his family may have originally hailed from al-Qulzum (Klysma, Suez). Yūḥannā was a pious and theologically well-informed Copt; he informs us that he knew Patriarch Christodoulos personally (which puts his date of birth well before 1077), and reports on a long conversation he had with Patriarch Cyril II (which demonstrates both his high standing within the Coptic community and his command of Christological discourse). The biographies that he wrote bear witness to his deep involvement in the ecclesiastical politics of his day; in general, Yūḥannā championed the bishops of Miṣr and their prerogatives over what he saw as encroachments on the part of the patriarchs.

Yūḥannā was interested in both ecclesiastical and secular history. The final paragraphs in his account have to do with the struggle

between the Caliph al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh (r. 1096-1130) and the vizier al-Maʾmūn (imprisoned in 1125); the last event that Yūḥannā mentions is dated 26 January 1127. In the text as published, Yūḥannā's work appears unfinished: he does not report the death of Patriarch Macarius II (or that of the vizier al-Maʾmūn) in 1128. One explanation for this is that Yūḥannā died or became incapacitated in 1127 or 1128, although other explanations are also possible.

In addition to his patriarchal biographies, Yūḥannā is apparently the author of a *Kitāb al-abuqṭī* ('The epact', the calculation of the date of Easter), of which an excerpt is preserved in ch. 26 of *Kitāb al-tawārīkh* by al-Nushūʾ Abū Shākir ibn al-Rāhib (q.v.).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

See below for the editions of the *History of the patriarchs, Lives* 68-69. Yūḥannā added passages to the two previous *Lives* (66-67) when he copied them out, and then wrote a Preface to *Lives* 68-69 that describes his scribal and authorial activity.

In A.S. Atiya, Y. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ and O. Khs.-Burmester (eds), *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian church, known as the history of the holy church, by Sawīrus ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, bishop of al-Ašmūnīn*, ii, pt. iii, Cairo, 1959, see:

1. A personal reminiscence about a damaged icon inserted into the biography of Patriarch Christodoulos (*Life* 66): p. 187 (Arabic text), p. 285 (English trans.)

2. An account of Yūḥannā's conversation with Patriarch Cyril II (at the end of *Life* 67): pp. 229-32, pp. 365-68 (English trans.)

3. Preface to *Lives* 68 and 69, describing Yūḥannā's scribal activity up to that point: pp. 232-33 (Arabic text), pp. 369-70 (English trans.)

Secondary

M.N. Swanson, *The Coptic papacy in Islamic Egypt*, Cairo, 2010, pp. 66-67

J. den Heijer, *Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Mufarriǧ et l'historiographie copto-arabe. Étude sur la composition de l'*Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie (*CSCO* 513), Louvain, 1989, pp. 10, 73-77, 113

A.Y. Sidarus, *Ibn al-Rahibs Leben und Werk. Ein koptisch-arabischer Enzyklopädist des 7./13. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg, 1975, p. 34

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Siyar al-bīʿa al-muqaddasa, 'Biographies of the holy church', 'The history of the patriarchs of Alexandria, *Lives* 68-69'

DATE   Probably 1127
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Yūḥannā's biographies of the Coptic patriarchs Michael IV and Macarius II devote a considerable amount of space to the ecclesiastical politics of their day: first, the attempts of Patriarch Michael to depose Bishop Sanhūt of Miṣr (which came to nothing when the patriarch died of the plague), and then the protracted negotiations with Patriarch Macarius to consecrate a successor to the saintly Bishop Sanhūt after he had died.

At the same time, Yūḥannā is interested in the wider Egyptian and world scene. The period about which he writes (1092-1127) was an eventful one, and Yūḥannā does not fail to report on the coming to power of the powerful Armenian military governor al-Afḍal (al-Malik al-Afḍal Abū l-Qāsim Shāhanshāh) in 1094; the struggle over the succession to the Fatimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir (d. 1094); the arrival of Western crusaders in the region and the fall of Jerusalem in 1099; Baldwin's invasion of Egypt in 1117; and the assassination of al-Afḍal in 1121, and al-Āmir's subsequent maneuvering for power.

SIGNIFICANCE

Yūḥannā's biographies are significant as an eyewitness source for the period 1092-1127 in Egypt. In the course of them we find mentions of particular instances of Christian-Muslim interaction, e.g., when the military governor al-Afḍal insisted that Patriarch Michael should hurriedly (and against his better judgment) consecrate a new metropolitan for Abyssinia (Atiya et al., *History*, p. 247); when a Coptic official attempted to rebuild a church without permission (Atiya et al., *History*, pp. 248-49); or when the new patriarch Macarius II was warmly received by al-Afḍal, and prayed for him (Khater and Burmester, *History*, p. 3). These biographies also provide evidence for Coptic Christian attitudes towards the effective ruler of Egypt, al-Afḍal (strongly positive) and towards the Western crusaders (strongly negative).

Perhaps these biographies' greatest significance for the history of Christian-Muslim relations lies in their witness to stresses in the hierarchy of the Coptic Orthodox Church occasioned by the realities of Muslim rule. From the time of Patriarch Cyril II, the patriarch *of Alexandria* was obliged to live near the center of political authority *in Cairo* (see J. den Heijer, 'Le patriarcat copte d'Alexandrie à l'époque fatimide', in C. Décobert [ed.], *Alexandrie médiévale 2*, Cairo, 2002, pp. 84-87, 91-93). It was perhaps inevitable that this obligatory (and permanent) shift in the patriarchal residence should result in friction with bishops already in place. How were lines of authority to be drawn, when the patriarchal church and residence had become the Muʿallaqa Church in Miṣr (Old Cairo), while the cathedral church of the Bishop of Miṣr was that of Abū Sarjah, a few meters away? Similar stresses were undoubtedly experienced by other Christian hierarchies, in Egypt and throughout the *dār al-Islām*, as historic patterns of ecclesial governance were reshaped by political necessity.

MANUSCRIPTS

See den Heijer, *Mawhūb*, pp. 18-27. For *Lives* 68-69, it is worth mentioning an ancient dated MS in addition to that which serves as the base for the printed edition:

> MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Hist. 12 (Simaika 597, Graf 501) (1275; contains *Lives* 66-72)
>
> MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – Hist. 1 (b) (Simaika 94, Graf 134) (13th-14th century; base manuscript for the Cairo edition of *Lives* 68-69)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

> A.S. Atiya, Y. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ and O. Khs.-Burmester (eds), *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian church, known as the history of the holy church, by Sawīrus ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, bishop of al-Ašmūnīn*, ii, pt. iii, Cairo, 1959, pp. 232-49 (Arabic text), pp. 369-99 (English trans.) (Yūḥannā's preface followed by the *Life* of Patriarch Michael IV)
>
> A. Khater and O. Khs.-Burmester (eds), *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian church, known as the history of the holy church, by Sawīrus ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, bishop of al-Ašmūnīn*, iii, pt. i, Cairo, 1968, pp. 1-25 (Arabic text), pp. 1-39 (English trans.) (Yūḥannā's *Life* of Patriarch Macarius II)

STUDIES

> Swanson, *The Coptic papacy in Islamic Egypt*, pp. 66-67

M.J. Saleh, *Government relations with the Coptic community in Egypt during the Fāṭimid period (358-567 AH/969-1171 CE)*, Chicago, 1995 (Diss. University of Chicago), e.g., p. 198 (on the 'three-sided relationship' between the Muslim government, the Coptic Church, and Abyssinia)

Den Heijer, *Mawhūb*, pp. 10, 73-77, 113

J. den Heijer, 'Quelques remarques sur la deuxième partie de l'Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 25 (1983) 107-24 (clears up some confusions about the authorship of *Lives* 66 and 67: they were *composed* by Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Mufarrij, but later *copied* by Yūḥannā ibn Ṣāʿid al-Qulzumī, who also *added* passages)

Mark N. Swanson

Liber denudationis

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH   Probably al-Andalus
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH   Probably al-Andalus

BIOGRAPHY

Other than that he may have been a Muslim convert to Christianity, and that he probably wrote his originally Arabic treatise (now surviving only in a Latin translation) in Toledo at some point between 1050 and 1132, we know nothing about this Mozarabic intellectual.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
The only source of information about this anonymous author is what little can be gleaned from his only surviving work, *Liber denudationis siue ostensionis aut patefaciens, alias Contrarietas alfolica* on which see below.

Secondary
T. Burman, *Religious polemic and the intellectual history of the Mozarabs, c. 1050-1200*, Leiden, 1994, pp. 46-55

N. Daniel, *Islam and the West. The making of an image*, rev. ed., Oxford, 1993, pp. 22, 30

M.-T. d'Alverny, 'Marc de Tolède', in *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la reconquista de Toledo. Actas del II Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes (Toledo, 20-26 Mayo 1985)*, 4 vols, Toledo, 1992, iii, 22-59, pp. 43-47

M.-T. d'Alverny, 'La connaissance de l'islam en occident du ixe au milieu du xiie siècle', in *L'occidente e l'Islam nell'alto medioevo*, 2 vols, Spoleto, 1965, ii, 577-602, pp. 591-92

M.-T. d'Alverny and G. Vajda, 'Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tumart', *Al-Andalus* 16 (1951) 99-140, 159-307; 17 (1952) 1-56, pp. 25-26

M.-T. d'Alverny, 'Deux traductions latines du Coran au moyen âge', *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 22-23 (1947-48) 69-131, pp. 125-27

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Liber denudationis siue ostensionis aut patefaciens, 'The book of denuding or exposing'; *Contrarietas alfolica*

DATE   Between approx. 1050 and 1132
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Liber denudationis* is a Christian polemical and apologetic treatise against Islam very typical of the genre and clearly based heavily on earlier eastern Arab Christian models (see Burman, *Religious polemic*, pp. 108-20). After an introduction (ch. 1) in which the author asserts that he will make clear 'the infidelity and error of those who oppose us', he discusses the foolishness of Muslims for adhering to the law of Muḥammad (ch. 2), and then defends the integrity of the Bible against charges of *taḥrīf* (ch. 3). Muḥammad could only attract followers through force, the author continues, because his scripture was a series of false revelations of an epileptic (ch. 4). Then follows a brief account of Muḥammad's education and association with Baḥīrā, a heretical monk, and Jewish rabbis (ch. 5), an overview of how the Qur'an was compiled after the Prophet's death (ch. 6), and a discussion of the unseemly things that appear in it, such Muḥammad's marriage to Zaynab (ch. 7). The author next denies the miraculous nature of the Qur'an and the universality of Muḥammad's mission (ch. 8), and then recounts a series of what he sees as the obvious internal contradictions of the Islam's holy book (ch. 9). After contrasting the qur'anic portrayals of Jesus and Muḥammad (ch. 10), the author relates legends about the building of the Ka'ba and the origin of the Black Stone, briefly describes the Ḥajj (ch. 11), and then describes Muḥammad's Night Journey in a manner that conforms closely to many of the Islamic accounts of it (ch. 12).

The work was long known among scholars under the title *Contrarietas alfolica* ('The disagreement of the fuqahā' [?]'), though this only appears in a 17th-century gloss on the one known manuscript. The text of the work itself makes clear that the previous title is correct (see Burman, *Religious polemic*, pp. 37-38). While it was originally composed in Arabic, it survives only in Latin translation.

SIGNIFICANCE

Though it survives in a single, late manuscript, the *Liber denudationis* was one of the two or three works that most influenced the Latin-Christian approach to Islam in the high and later Middle Ages. This is because it exercised an enormous influence on Riccoldo da Monte di Croce's (q.v.) early 14th-century *Contra legem Sarracenorum* ('Against the laws of the Saracens'), which itself survives in many manuscripts and was widely read and cited. Riccoldo's work includes long passages from the *Liber denudationis* quoted directly or paraphrased. Along with the annotations that appear in many manuscripts of Robert of Ketton's Latin Qur'an translation and the 12th-century Latin translation of *Risālat al-Kindī*, *Liber denudationis* was, therefore, an essential model for how Latin Christians could understand and refute Islam, and a rich storehouse of relatively accurate information about it.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 3394, fols 237v-263v

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Liber denudationis siue ostensionis aut patefaciens, ed. and trans. Burman, *Religious polemic and the intellectual history of the Mozarabs*, pp. 240-385

STUDIES

T. Burman, 'How a Latin friar read his Arabic Qur'an', *Dante Studies* 125 (2007) 89-105

Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 148, 149-51, 150-52, 271

A. Piemontese 'Il Corano latino di Ficino e i Corani arabi di Pico e Monchates', *Rinascimento: Rivista dell'Instituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento* 2nd series, 36 (1996) 227-73, pp. 246, 251

Burman, *Religious polemic and the intellectual history of the Mozarabs*, pp. 37-62, 108-20, 143-53, 196-97, 204-9, 215-39

Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 22, 30, 55, 71, 84, 85, 87, 89, 97, 197, 260, 265-66, 358, 364, 365, 366, 378, 380, 389, 397, 402

D'Alverny, 'Marc de Tolède', pp. 43-47

T. Burman, 'The influence of the *Apology* of al-Kindī and *Contrarietas alfolica* on Ramon Lull's late religious polemics', *Mediaeval Studies* 5 (1991) 197-228

C. Lohr, 'Ramon Lull, Liber Alquindi and Liber Telif', *Estudios Lulianos* 12 (1968) 145-60

D'Alverny, 'La connaissance de l'islam en occident du ixe au milieu du xiie siècle', pp. 591-92

D'Alverny, 'Deux traductions latines du Coran au moyen âge', pp. 125-27

U. Monneret de Villard, *Lo studio dell'Islam in Europa nel XII e nel XIII secolo*, Vatican City, 1944

Thomas E. Burman

Elias II, Ibn al-Muqlī

DATE OF BIRTH   11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Mosul
DATE OF DEATH   14 October 1133
PLACE OF DEATH   Baghdad

BIOGRAPHY

Elias II is one of the lesser known patriarchs of the ('Nestorian') Church of the East. The patriarchal chronicles found in the two important theological encyclopedias, *Kitāb al-majdal* ('The tower') (q.v.) and *Asfār al-asrār* ('The books of secrets') (q.v.), mention him as metropolitan of Ḥazza/Irbil and Mosul before his patriarchal election. His consecration took place in the church of al-Madāʾin in 1111, a service attended by several metropolitans and bishops, and also some medical doctors from the capital. Apart from the fact that he ordained several bishops and transferred some others, nothing is recorded about his patriarchal activities, which appears to be the reason why he is not mentioned in Barhebraeus' *Ecclesiastical chronicle*, or in ʿAbdishoʿ of Nisibis' *List of books* (q.v.). The patriarchal chronicle in the *Asfār al-asrār* recalls his fair way of administering justice, by making no distinction between 'the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor'.

The *Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn*, discussed below, is the only work that Elias is known to have written.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Patriarchal chronicle of *The tower*: H. Gismondi (ed.), *Maris Amri et Slibae De patriarchis Nestorianorum commentaria. Pars prior. Maris textus Arabicus; Maris versio Latina*, Rome, 1899, pp. 152-53 (Arabic), 129-30 (Latin trans.)

Patriarchal chronicle of the *Books of mysteries*: H. Gismondi (ed.), *Maris Amri et Slibae De patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria. Pars altera. Amri et Slibae textus*, Rome, 1896; *Amri et Slibae versio*, Rome, 1899, pp. 102-4 (Arabic), 59-60 (Latin trans.)

Secondary

B. Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans*, 1994, pp. 126-28

J.-M. Fiey, *Pour un Oriens Christianus novus. Répertoire des diocèses syriaques orientaux et occidentaux*, Beirut, 1993, p. 112

J.M. Fiey, *Chrétiens syriaques sous les Abbassides surtout à Bagdad, 749-1258*, Louvain, 1980, pp. 230-34

J.A. Assemani, *De catholicis seu patriarchis chaldaeorum et nestorianorum*, Rome, 1775, pp. 156-57

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn, 'The fundamentals of religion'

DATE   Before 1132

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn*, preserved in the *Asfār al-asrār*, consists of 22 chapters of apologetic character, and is indirectly addressed by the East Syrian author to Chalcedonians and West Syrians ('Jacobites'), Jews and Muslims; the latter are explicitly mentioned in chs 11 and 15. Gianazza and Landron have convincingly argued that this work cannot be attributed to Patriarch Elias I, as is held by Graf.

Ch. 1 is devoted to the Trinity. The author strongly emphasizes that Christians believe in one God (*lā ilāha ilā huwa, la sharīka lahu*) and discusses a number of Trinitarian analogies, comparable to the development of this theme in earlier apologetic works (cf. R. Haddad, *La Trinité divine chez les théologiens arabes (975-1075)*, Paris, 1985). God's triunity is moreover explained with the help of the classical division into attributes of essence and action, the essential attributes being *dhāt* (essence)/*azaliyya* (eternity), *ḥayyāt* (life) and *nuṭq* (word), for the Christians corresponding to the triunity of Father, Spirit and Son.

Chs 2-5 deal with *ittiḥād*, the union of God the Word with the perfect humanity springing from the Virgin Mary; the author gives here a classical presentation of East Syrian Christology and a refutation of the Jacobite and Melkite positions. Ch. 6 explains that the indwelling (*ḥulūl*) of God in Christ is different from God's *ḥulūl* in the prophets, and chs 7-9 and 11-14 give the testimonies of the Old Testament prophets concerning Christ (his birth, life and resurrection and the descent of the Holy Spirit) and the fulfillment of these prophesies in the Gospel. These chapters also have some interesting passages on different

aspects of East Syrian sacramental theology, liturgical rites and prac-
tice. Ch. 10 is devoted to Jesus' celebration of the Jewish Pascha, the
institution of the Eucharist and various matters regarding receiving
communion, while ch. 15 discusses the veneration of the cross and of
images, partly in response to implicit Muslim objections. Ch. 16 first
mentions the Law of Christ as superior and final (*al-ghāya*), and gives
the reasons for the successful spread of Christianity, as well as proofs
for the truth of the Gospel and the veracity of Christianity, such as
miracles, and the examples of the martyrs. Ch. 17 is a refutation of the
accusation of corruption and manipulation of the texts of the Torah
and Gospel (*taḥrīf wa-tabdīl*) and chs 18-20 are devoted to prayer,
fasting, abstinence and almsgiving. The last two chapters, 21 and 22,
discuss the issues of resurrection, retribution and paradise.

Elias' work is based on a number of earlier sources, among which
the writings of Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib (q.v.), Makkīkhā (q.v.) and
Elias of Nisibis (q.v.) are especially important.

SIGNIFICANCE

Elias' work is an attempt to explain Christian beliefs and practices in
an accessible and understandable way. His intended readership pri-
marily comprises the members of his community: he gives exhorta-
tions to observe prayer, fasting and almsgiving, to baptize children in
good time, and so on. These faithful, however, are to be convinced of
the truth of the doctrines and the correctness of the religious practices
of their own community as compared with the Christological beliefs
of other Christian communities, and especially the criticism formu-
lated by members of other religions such as the Jews and the Mus-
lims. In this way, many chapters directly or indirectly deal with issues
that played a role in Christian-Muslim discussions of the 11th century
and earlier, such as the Trinity, predictions of the coming of Christ,
the differences between Christ and earlier prophets, miracles as proof
of the veracity of Christianity, the fact that Christian scriptures have
not been corrupted, the veneration of the cross and icons. Thus, this
theological treatise is a good example of the way in which theologi-
cal writings, even when composed for the author's own community,
could no longer ignore the Islamic religious environment, despite a
certain lack of originality in the treatment of several themes.

MANUSCRIPTS

See Gianazza, *Elie*, pp. 133-50

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

G. Gianazza, *Elie II (+ 1131). Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn. Le livre des fonde-ments de la religion*, forthcoming (French trans.)

G. Gianazza, *Elie II (+ 1131). Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn. Introduction, étude et édition critique* (Patrimoine Arabe Chrétien 17-18), Beirut, 2005 (Arabic introduction and study, with French summary)

B. Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans*, p. 296 (translation of a brief fragment on the Trinity, from ch. 1)

STUDIES

H. Teule, 'The veneration of images in the East Syriac tradition', in B. Groneberg and H. Speickermann (eds), *Die Welt der Gött-erbilder*, Berlin, 2007, 324-46 (with a trans. of the passage on the veneration of images on p. 338)

H. Teule, 'A theological treatise by Išo'yahb bar Malkon preserved in the theological compendium *Asfār al-asrār*', *Journal of East-ern Christian Studies* 58 (2006) 239-40

Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans*, pp. 120, 129

S.K. Samir, 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976) 208-9 (attri-bution of the *Uṣūl al-dīn* to Elias I)

Graf, *GCAL* ii, 159-60 (with attribution to Elias I)

Herman G.B. Teule

The Old French Crusade Cycle

Graindor de Douai

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown, though his name suggests an
    origin in north-eastern France
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

All we know of Graindor de Douai is one reference in the text at
ll.12-15 in the *Chanson d'Antioche*. It is not clear whether he wrote the
text himself or had it commissioned. If we accept the former, he may
also have had a hand in the two *chansons de geste, Fierabras* and the
Destruction de Rome. If we accept the latter interpretation, it is just
possible that he may in fact be Walter III or IV, castellan of Douai:
this is argued by A. de Mandach. Firm evidence for either case is
lacking.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary   —

Secondary
A. de Mandach, *Naissance et développement de la chanson de geste en Europe.*
    V: la geste de Fierabras, Geneva, 1987, pp. 109-28

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Chanson d'Antioche, 'The Song of Antioch' (though it is seldom referred to as such)

DATE   In its current form, from the end of the 12th/beginning of
    the 13th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Old French

DESCRIPTION
The *Chanson d'Antioche* forms part of a trilogy with two other texts:
the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, which takes the Crusaders through the fall

of Jerusalem to the battle of Ascalon; and the *Chanson des Chétifs*, a fantasy compilation of three tales loosely linked to the First Crusade, which serves as a bridge between the two. The text is part of a wider complex of *chansons de geste* known as the *Old French Crusade Cycle*, which starts with the legends surrounding the ancestry of Godfrey of Bouillon and concludes with the fall of Acre. While the text as it survives comes from about 1200, this hides a long and complex history of adaptation which has been much debated since the text's first publication in 1848. At the risk of over-simplifying, there are two opposed positions: the view taken largely by French scholars that the text is adapted from an original version contemporaneous with the First Crusade, which can be reconstructed in some detail – this would make it in essence an early 12th-century text; and the contrary view taken by the American scholar R.F. Cook that the text is an early 13th-century fantasy with little if any link to the events of the Crusade. A more nuanced view is that the text comprises several strata: songs and legends contemporary with the Crusade, some of which may have been written down in some form and some of which may have survived orally; a recognized *chanson de geste* about events at Antioch in the last quarter of the 12th century, although it is unclear whether this was in French or Occitan; an account around 1200 commissioned by the St-Pol family, possibly in the light of the Fourth Crusade, specifically highlighting the role of their ancestors – this would possibly have been based on a summary of Albert of Aachen, switching to Robert the Monk for the battle of Antioch; a combination of this text with earlier material into a trilogy with the *Chanson de Jérusalem* and the *Chétifs* early in the 13th century written or commissioned by Graindor.

The *Antioche* is 9,582 lines long in the Duparc-Quioc edition, while the Alabama edition comprises 11,407 lines, reflecting the use of a different manuscript with additional episodes. The trilogy of *Antioche-Chétifs-Jérusalem* is around 25,000 lines. This in turn is central to the *Old French Crusade Cycle*, which occupies a ten-volume edition. Whilst references to Saracens are found throughout the *Antioche*, around a third focuses wholly or partly on their activities.

The *Antioche* is a *chanson de geste* in which Saracens exist only as adversaries of the crusaders. The three principal opponents are Soliman, Sultan of Rum, portrayed as comic and cowardly; Corbaran, the historic Kerbogha/Kurbuqa of Mosul; and the shadowy but powerful Sultan of Persia, Corbaran's lord. Corbaran's mother, the prophetess

Calabre, also plays a key role, attempting to dissuade her son from giving battle as she has foreseen his defeat, and subsequently reappearing as the jailer of the Christian captives in the *Chétifs*.

In general, Muslims are drawn as variously untrustworthy, cowardly, ugly, cruel, barely human, foppish and, on occasion, figures of fun. Good examples are: polygamy to create new warriors (ll. 5326-23); the torture of Rainalt Porcet (ll. 4355-4402); and the extravagant lamentations of Soliman (ll. 1800-29). It need hardly be said that this is a distorted vision with about as much reality as a comic strip.

Particular motifs and themes are: 1. the portrayal of an idol of Muḥammed, described as floating in the air held up by magnets and later carried on an elephant in a parodic religious ceremony, with a devil inside uttering prophecies (ll. 4877-93, 5299-308; and see also *Jérusalem*, ll. 6158-9); 2. the topos of a luxurious tent (ll. 4866-76; repeated in much greater detail in *Jérusalem*, ll. 6088-172); 3. exoticism and fantasy: see for example Garsion's elaborate dress (ll. 4481-83) – this is particularly evident in the *Chétifs*, which is set entirely in Saracen territory tenanted by a three-headed dragon and a giant monkey; 4. a clear sentiment that the Saracens are somehow less than human – this is particularly clear in the episode where Peter the Hermit advises the Tafurs to eat Saracen corpses (ll. 4039-118).

The text shows that these perceptions were still alive and well in the early 13th century and that they were an accepted way of portraying the Islamic world. It tells us much about literary and popular convention, but little about the real world of Christian-Muslim relations.

Similar considerations apply to the authenticity of the *Chanson*'s description of the crusade. The broad lines of the events and characters are correct, though they have been heavily influenced by literary stereotypes. Thus, Corbaran is portrayed as a near-pantomime villain; Islam is portrayed as a mirror image of Christianity, with the caliph of Baghdad as the equivalent to the pope; the text is full of hyperbole (see for example the gruesome passage repeated three times where Garsion cuts off his beard); exotic fantasy (the description of the horse stolen by Gontier d'Aire); and the standard combats of the *chansons de geste* repeated *ad infinitum* with little perceptible difference between Muslim and Christian warriors.

It is the Saracens who provide the narrative motor of the text as a trilogy with the *Chétifs* and the *Jérusalem*. The role of Peter the Hermit and his expedition is emphasized in order to allow the capture of the Christian knights known as the Chétifs, who are taken deep into

the heart of the Saracen kingdom. Corbaran is entrusted with Brohadas, the son of the sultan, but loses favor on Brohadas' death; the *chétifs* come to his rescue against the sultan and leave him on the verge of conversion to Christianity, returning to the crusade triumphantly just in time to take Jerusalem. This narrative not only removes the Christians' key adversary but underlines the rightness of their cause; it also allows the uncomfortable reality of defeat on Crusade to be turned into triumph.

It is hard to discern what sources may lurk beneath the surface of this conventional *chanson de geste*. As explained above, it is likely to comprise several different strata. It displays close links with two Latin histories of the First Crusade, both written by contemporaries: the *Historia Ierosolimitana* of Albert of Aachen, and the *Historia Iherosolimitana* of Robert the Monk. The first two-thirds of the text display very close parallels with Albert, although episodes in one text do not necessarily occur in the other; the resemblances stop abruptly after the fall of Antioch. From that point large swathes of the text are translated verbatim from Robert the Monk. A likely explanation is that the text draws heavily on an account based on a summary of Albert that stopped after the fall of Antioch: whether the author had an incomplete text of Albert or preferred to switch to Robert for the climactic battle we do not know. It is likely that some oral material contemporary with the Crusade also survives in the text: whether or not this took the form of a *chanson de geste* early in the 12th century, it was certainly recognized as one by the last quarter. Some vivid anecdotal material may owe its survival to this *chanson de geste*, to preserved oral tradition or to both: equally it may be pure invention, since it cannot be corroborated from other sources.

The cycle was popular enough to be constantly re-edited during the 13th century: the *Antioche* survives in four different versions analyzed in detail in Duparc-Quioc's study. It was used as the basis for a group of texts known as the *Second Crusade Cycle* stretching into the 14th century. An index of its popularity is given by the existence of an Antioch chamber in Henry III's Clarendon Palace (Steane, p.107). Another *chanson de geste* written in Old French alexandrines is preserved in Oxford (Bodleian – Hatton 77) and London (BM – Add. 34114): this has not been edited, apart from some extracts published by Meyer in 1876, and it would repay further study. There is also an Occitan *chanson de geste* about the Crusade, surviving in a 714-line fragment. More generally, the influence of the *Old French Crusade*

Cycle is apparent in the *chansons de geste Enfances Renier* and *Renaut de Montauban*.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of the text lies in what it tells us about popular perceptions of Muslims encapsulated in the *chansons de geste*. Regardless of the growing knowledge of Islam in the 12th century and the existence of Outremer, the *chansons de geste* continued to portray Saracens in terms of the 11th century and earlier. It is unclear how much favor this found. The work survives as part of the wider Crusade Cycle, and was subsequently to mutate into a set of works known as the *Second Crusade Cycle*. It is likely to have been instrumental in getting Godfrey of Bouillon recognized as one of the Nine Worthies in the 14th century; it received a final, albeit faint, recognition in the *Ierusalemme Liberata* of Torquato Tasso. However, the modest number of manuscripts argues against a very wide diffusion.

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Carol Sweetenham

Chanson de Jérusalem, 'The song of Jerusalem' (though the French title is almost always used)

DATE   About 1135

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Old French

DESCRIPTION

The *Chanson de Jérusalem* is an Old French epic poem running to almost 10,000 lines. Its central theme is the siege and capture of Jerusalem during the First Crusade in 1099, and it covers the period from

the arrival of the crusading army in mid-June until a battle against the Muslims shortly after the capture of the city, which is believed to be the battle against the Fatimids at Ascalon on 12 August.

Like the *chansons de geste*, the poem is an historically recognizable account of the events it describes but, as it was written as much for pleasure as for education, the majority of its account is unreliable as a historical source, and it is mainly of interest as a window onto attitudes of the mid- to late-12th century and for its ideological importance. It has not survived in its original form of the mid-1130s, and the earliest extant version is an adaptation by Graindor de Douai dating from the 1180s. Graindor joined the *Chanson de Jérusalem* with the *Chanson d'Antioche* and *Les Chétifs* to form the core of the *Old French Crusade Cycle*, which was popular throughout the 13th century.

The *Chanson de Jérusalem* describes both Arabs and Turks in very negative terms, saying that they destroy or profane churches, and trample Christianity through actions such as banning Christian festivals, while the Turks particularly are shown as exterminating Christians, with their massacres of unarmed pilgrims being underlined. To highlight the protective nature of the crusades, the author states that, in each town taken by the crusaders, they found that the inhabitants had stayed true to the faith, despite the pressures exerted on them by the ruling Muslims. The Muslims are fundamentally a religious menace, which is demonstrated most clearly in Jerusalem by a statue of Muḥammad covered with precious stones (a familiar motif in western Europe at the time), while some Saracens are literally monsters. At ll. 6150-55 the author gives his version of the tale about Muḥammad being eaten by pigs. Thus, the combat at Jerusalem is presented as a fight between good and evil, with saints accompanying the crusaders. The Saracen is the enemy, the antichrist, and a supporter of Satan; though, rather negatively, the Saracens are, like a hydra, never definitively defeated.

Other interesting aspects of the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, which contrast with the chronicles, are that it is more concerned with the geographical expansion of Christendom (the crusaders threaten to invade Persia and attack Mecca) than with the protection of fellow-Christians in the Holy Land, and that set-piece battles between the Christians and Muslims have a symbolic value, a familiar feature of *chansons de geste*, which enables the audience to place these Turks in their appropriate context.

SIGNIFICANCE

The popularity of the *Chanson de Jérusalem* and the wider Crusade cycle in Europe during the 12th and 13th centuries reflects the popularity of the crusading ideal at the time and the way in which the victories of the First Crusade over the Muslims still resonated in the popular mind, despite the numerous setbacks crusading had suffered. It also justifies what was being undertaken as holy war and, through its similarities with other *chansons de geste*, makes war against the Muslims into a romantic ideal.

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Alex Mallett

Digenes Akrites

Digenēs Akritēs, Digenes

DATE   Approximately 1135 (see below)
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Greek

DESCRIPTION
The title in the two primary manuscripts of this anonymous work (Grottaferrata, Escorial) is lost. In later manuscripts it appears as *Deka logoi peri tou Digenous Akritou* ('Ten books on Digenes Akrites'; Athens/Andros, and possibly Trebizond and Thessaloniki, both now acephalic), and *Diēgēsis horaiotatē tou andreiomenou Digenē* ('Very delightful tale of brave Digenes'; Oxford). Some editions use the invented title *Basileios Digenēs Akritēs*. The text is generally referred to as *Digenes Akrites* or *Digenes*.

There are several layers of material. The earliest and most shadowy relate to identifications suggested for the hero's paternal ancestry (8th century); more secure are connections to Paulician heretics in Cappadocia (late 9th century); some toponyms refer to areas in Asia Minor prominent in the 10th and 11th centuries; disparate epic tales from Syria probably came to Constantinople in the late 11th century and were recast as an epic-romance c. 1135.

The verse epic (or epic-romance) *Digenēs Akritēs* is preserved in six manuscripts and thus six versions. They tell recognizably the same story in much the same words but at varying length and at varying linguistic registers (with one version in prose). The Grottaferrata MS (G) is the oldest and is arguably not too far removed from the poem as it was constructed c. 1135, when it would have been part of the literary movement that produced four 'novels' (romantic fiction) in high-level Greek prose and verse. G is also the most coherent version and provides the most satisfactory base for discussion. Divided into eight books, it consists of 3,680 unrhymed 15-syllable lines; citation is normally by book and line. The next oldest, the Escorial version (E), consists of 1,867 lines; citation is by line.

Christian-Muslim relations are an important underlying element in the poem's plot. Though the overriding thought-world belongs to that of a Byzantine and Christian aristocratic household, references to

Muslim and Arab customs, attitudes and places surface intermittently. The hero, the son of an Arab-Muslim father and Christian (Byzantine) mother, is 'of two races' (*Digenēs*) and defends the frontiers (*akra*) of the Byzantine Empire against all-comers, including Arabs.

An emir (anonymous in G, Mousouros in E) abducts and marries the unnamed daughter of a Byzantine general. The emir's ancestors are themselves of mixed ancestry (clearly so in G, less so in E). A maternal ancestor (grandfather, Ambron, at G1.285, 4.37 and father, Aaron, at E145) has been tentatively identified with Harūn al-Rashīd; maternal uncles are named Karois Moursis (G1.285, 2.75, 4.37), Mourtasit and Karolis (E145, 261) possibly reflecting Arab forms; Mouselom, his grandfather's name at E146, bears a superficial resemblance to the leader of the Arab siege of Constantinople in 717, Maslama.

After initial hostility from his abducted bride's brothers, the emir converts to Christianity and is integrated into the family unit (G Books 1-2; E1-494), though wariness remains and his wish to return to Syria to visit his mother is treated as potential treachery. The emir's enthusiasm for his new faith rapidly converts his mother too (G Book 3; E542-609), and he brings her back to his new home with her household. The son from the emir's marriage, Digenes, is regarded as fully Byzantine.

Other figures with Arab names include the Emir Aplorabdis (G5.67), whose daughter was rescued by Digenes, and other warriors – both groups (Dilemitēs: G1.45, 1.155) and individuals (Apohalpis: E506; Mouroufris: E337; Mousour: G5.168, 5.203, 5.215, 5.261; Naaman: G3.150). Places alluded to include Amorion (G1.8, 1.295; E258, 732), Baghdad (G1.278, 4.969, 8.206; E232, 568), Basra (E233), Emek (Homs?; E246) Emet (Amida?; G8.7, 8.207), Kufa (G1.292, 4.39), Mecca (E288, 537; cf. G1.101), Meferke (G5.66), Panormos (Jeddah; G1.101), Prainetos (E259), Rachab or Raqqa (G3.50, 3.63, 3.111; E527, 531).

Allusions that recent scholarship takes to be Arab/Muslim rather than Byzantine/Christian include the band of warrior youths who accompany the emir (G and E *passim*); references to Mecca and other holy sites and miracles (G1.101-4; E288, 537); use of lion's teeth as talismans (G3.105; E524) and the use of certain gestures (G1.193, E53).

The majority of these references occur in the first part of the poem (G Books 1-3, E1-609), where the focus is on the emir. In the second part, where Digenes himself is the focus, it is only in his encounter with the daughter of Aplorabdis (G Book 5, not in E) that the Arab-Byzantine/Muslim-Christian syndrome reappears. In a reversal of

the main plot (where an Arab had captured, seduced and married a Byzantine), a Byzantine captive who seduced his Arab captor's daughter and abandoned her is compelled by Digenes to respect his promises. The inter-communal tensions implicit in this episode, together with the raids that led to the emir's abduction in the opening scenes, are the clearest expression in *Digenēs* of the frontier warfare that would have given rise to the poem.

Written from a Byzantine Christian perspective, *Digenēs Akritēs* shows little sign of deep understanding of Muslim beliefs and practices but every sign of a tolerant acceptance of different customs.

SIGNIFICANCE

Digenēs Akritēs depicts an idealized image of a harmonious Byzantine-Arab frontier society from a stand-point in 12th-century Constantinople. The daughter of a Byzantine (Roman) general, abducted by a Muslim emir, established a happy marriage, with the emir and later his mother converting to Christianity. The Byzantine-Arab Christian son of this union maintained peace on the Syrian Euphrates border and was universally respected. Toponyms and personal names reflect people and events between the 8th and 11th centuries.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Grottaferrata – Z.a.XLIV (444), fols 1r-37r (13th century)

MS Escorial – Gr. 496 (Ψ.IV.22), fols 139r-185v, 198r-201r (approximately 1475)

The following are secondary versions derived from a now lost MS compiled, probably in the early 16th century and probably in Venice, from a descendant of Grottaferrata Z.a.XLIV, and from Escorial Gr 496:

MS Trebizond, Soumela Monastery (now lost), fols 1-90 (late 16th century)

MS Athens, National Library – 1074, fols 1-189 (mid-17th century; from Andros)

MS Thessaloniki, University Library – 27, fols 1-101 (1632; prose version, copied by Meletios Vlastos)

MS Oxford, Lincoln College – 24, fols 10r-107r (1670; copied by Ignatios Petritzes)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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C. Jouanno (trans.), *Digénis Akritas, le héros des frontières. Une epopée byzantine*, s.l., 1998 (Grottaferrata MS)

F. Rizzo-Nervo (ed. and trans.), *Dighenis Akritis, versione dell'Escorial*, Messina, 1996

P. Odorico (trans.), *Digenis Akritas, poema anonimo bizantino*, Florence, 1995 (Grottaferrata MS)

D. Ricks (ed. and trans.), *Byzantine heroic poetry*, Bristol, 1990 (Escorial MS)

S. Alexiou (ed.), *Basileios Digenēs Akritēs kai to asma tou Armourē*, Athens, 1985 (Escorial MS)

J. Valero Garrido (trans.), *Basilio Digenis Akritas*, Barcelona, 1981 (Grottaferrata MS)

D.B. Hull (trans.), *Digenis Akritas, the two-blood border lord*, Athens OH, 1972 (Grottaferrata MS)

E. Trapp (ed.), *Digenes Akrites. Synoptische Ausgabe des altesten Versionen*, Vienna, 1971

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J. Mavrogordato, *Digenes Akrites, edited with an introduction, translation and commentary*, Oxford, 1956. (Grottaferrata MS)

P. Kalonaros (ed.), *Basileios Digenēs Akritas*, 2 vols, Athens, 1941 (all MSS)

S. Impellizzeri (ed. and trans.), *Il Digenis Akritas. L'epopea di Bisanzio*, Florence, 1940 (Grottaferrata MS)

D. Paschalis, 'Oi deka logoi tou Digenous Akritēs', *Laographia* 9 (1926) 305-41 (Thessaloniki version, prose)

D.C. Hesseling, 'Le roman de Digénis Akritas d'après le manuscrit de Madrid', *Laographia* 3 (1911-1912) 536-604

E. Legrand (ed.), *Les exploits de Basile Digénis Acritas d'après le manuscript de Grottaferrata*, Paris, 1892

A. Miliarakis (ed.), *Basileios Digenēs Akritēs*, Athens, 1881 (Athens/Andros MS)

S. Lampros (ed.), *Collection de romans grecs en langue vulgaire et en vers*, Paris, 1880, pp. 111-237 (Oxford MS, rhymed version)

C. Sathas and E. Legrand (eds), *Les exploits de Digénis Acritas*, Paris, 1875 (Trebizond MS)

STUDIES

The secondary literature on *Digenēs Akritēs* is vast, and most has little bearing on issues of Christian-Muslim relations. The older literature to 1971 is listed in H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur*, Munich, 1971, pp. 63-97. Important studies, and later bibliography, can be found in R. Beaton and D. Ricks (eds), *Digenes Akrites. New approaches to Byzantine heroic poetry*, Aldershot UK, 1993, while the introductions to Odorico, *L'Akrite*, Jeffreys, *Digenis Akritis*, Jouanno, *Digénis Akritas*, Odorico, *Digenis Akritas*, Alexiou, *Basileios Digenēs Akritēs*, Trapp, *Digenes Akrites* (see above) contain much relevant material; see also T. Muhammad, 'The conversion from Islam to Christianity as viewed by the author of *Digenes Akrites*', *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 7 (2010) 121-49; R. Beaton, *The medieval Greek romance*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1996, pp. 30-51.

A longstanding problem in approaching *Digenes Akrites* was the disparate nature of the versions preserved in the six surviving MSS. This was solved by S. Kyriakidis who demonstrated that the later MSS reflect alternately lines from the Grottaferrata and Escorial texts. This principle underlies Trapp's 1971 edition, and renders all earlier discussion of MSS relationships obsolete. See:

> M.J. Jeffreys, 'Digenis Akritas manuscript Z', *Dōdōnē* (Ioannina) 4 (1975) 163-201
>
> Trapp, *Digenes Akrites*, pp. 26-29 (with earlier literature)
>
> S. Kyriakides, 'Forschungsbericht zum Akritas-Epos', *Berichte zum XI.Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress München, 1958*, Hft. 2.2.

Of particular importance is the edition by S. Alexiou, *Basileios Digenēs Akritēs*, of the Escorial MS, which clarifies many textual issues and establishes E as a credible version.

On the layers to the historical background to the poem, in addition to introductions to the editions, see:

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>
> P. Magdalino, 'Honour among the Romaioi. The framework of social values in the world of Digenes Akrites and Kekaumenos', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 13 (1989) 183-218

N. Oikonomides, 'L'épopée de Digénis et la frontière orientale de Byzance au Xe et XIe siècles', *Travaux et Mémoires* 7 (1979) 137-63

H. Grégoire, *Autour de l'épopée byzantine*, London, 1975

G. Huxley, 'Antecedents and contexts of Digenes Akrites', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 15 (1974) 317-38

A. Pertusi, 'Tra storia e leggenda. Akritai e ghazi sulla frontera orientale di Bisanzio', in *Actes du XIVe Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines, Rapports II*, Bucharest, 1971, 27-71

L. Politis, 'L'épopée byzantine de Digénis Akritas. Problèmes de la tradition du texte et des rapports avec les chansons akritiques', in *La poesia epica e la sua formazione*, Rome, 1970, 541-81

H. Grégoire, 'The historical elements in western and eastern epics', *Byzantion* 16 (1944) 527-44

Elizabeth Jeffreys

Ibn al-Malāḥimī

Rukn al-dīn Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad
al-Malāḥimī al-Khuwārazmī

DATE OF BIRTH   Before 1090
PLACE OF BIRTH   Khwārazm, Khorezm
DATE OF DEATH   19 October 1141
PLACE OF DEATH   Khwārazm

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn al-Malāḥimī was the most prominent Muʿtazilī theologian in Khwārazm in the early 12th century. Muʿtazilī theology still prevailed among the Ḥanafī community in Khwārazm during this period, while it was suppressed as heretical in most of the Islamic world. Little is known about his life. He initially belonged to the Muʿtazilī school of the famous Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 1025) (q.v.), known as the Bahshamiyya. Later, he adopted the theological thought of Abu l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Baṣrī (d. 1044) (q.v.), which was introduced in Khwārazm at this time by the grammarian and physician Abū Muḍar al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1114).

Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī had been a physician well versed in the philosophical sciences, who criticized some of the doctrine of ʿAbd al-Jabbār, his teacher in Muʿtazilī theology. Through the teaching efforts of Ibn al-Malāḥimī, the school of Abū l-Ḥusayn became a serious rival of the Bahshamiyya school. Ibn al-Malāḥimī gave lessons in theology to the renowned Qurʾan commentator al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1144), who in turn instructed him in Qurʾan exegesis. This was probably in Jurjāniyya (Gurganj), then the capital of Khwārazm. A major concern in his teaching was his opposition to the rapid spread of philosophical metaphysics among Muslim religious scholars in his time. He strove in particular to refute the theological thought of Ibn Sīnā and his school, which he saw as undermining the true prophetic teaching of Islam. He viewed Christianity as a prime example of a prophetic religion that was distorted by the adoption of Greek philosophical thought in order to buttress superstitious beliefs, such as the Trinity and the divinity of Christ.

Ibn al-Malāḥimī's works include the following. *Al-muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* ('The reliable book on the principles of religion') is a voluminous sum of Muʿtazilī theology based on the teaching of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. Only the first part containing most of the section on divine Unity (*tawḥīd*) and the beginning of the section on Justice (*ʿadl*) are known to be extant in manuscript. A greatly abridged version of this work, *Al-fāʾiq fī l-uṣūl* ('The excellent book on the principles of religion'), was finished by the author in December 1137. This is extant, and contains a brief critical discussion of Christianity. A third work, *Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn fī l-radd ʿalā l-falāsifa* ('The gift to the theologians concerning the refutation of the philosophers'), is a comprehensive refutation of the theological doctrine of Muslim philosophers, in particular of Ibn Sīnā and his school. The book was partly written at the same time as *Al-fāʾiq* and was completed between 1137 and 1141. In the introduction, Ibn al-Malāḥimī expresses his fear that the Muslim community, by accepting the theories of the philosophers, might follow the path of the Christians, whose leaders had adopted Greek philosophy to justify false beliefs, such as the Trinity, the Incarnation and the divinity of Christ.

Al-tajrīd ('The abstract') is an abridgment of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Kitāb al-muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-fiqh* on legal methodology. In the single extant manuscript of this book, MS Oxford, Bodleian Arab. e 103, the beginning is missing and there is a gap. A reading of the text with the author was completed in June 1140.

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Secondary

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Kitāb al-fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-dīn *by Rukn al-Dīn b. al-Malāḥimī al-Khwārazmī*, ed. W. Madelung and M. McDermott, Tehran, 2007, introduction

W. Madelung, 'Ibn al-Malāḥimī's refutation of the philosophers', in C. Adang, S. Schmidtke and D. Sklare (eds), *A common rationality. Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism*, Würzburg, 2007, 331-36

Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī al-Khuwārazmī, Kitāb
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London, 1991, introduction

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn, 'The reliable book on the principles of religion'

DATE   Before 1137
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Ibn al-Malāḥimī introduces his critical discussion of Christianity by
quoting from the work he refers to as *Kitāb al-diyānāt* of ʿAbd Allāh
ibn Muḥammad al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar (d. 906) (q.v.), who describes var-
ious religions, including Christianity, as essentially based on ancient
Greek philosophy, in contrast to the pure monotheism of the proph-
ets. Ibn al-Malāḥimī concurs with this judgment, adding that the
doctrines of the Dahriyya (materialists) and the Bāṭiniyya (Ismāʿīlīs)
should also be included among these philosophical religions.

His description of Christianity focuses on the Trinitarian theol-
ogy of the Melkites, Jacobites and Nestorians, and his main sources
of information are Abū ʿĪsā l-Warrāq (q.v.), al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā
al-Nawbakhtī's *Kitāb al-ārāʾ wa-l-diyānāt* (q.v.), and the Christian
philosopher Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī (q.v.). His refutation is arranged in four
chapters: on divine substance and hypostases; on the hypostases and
whether they are properties, attributes, or essences; on the union of
the divine and human natures in Christ; on the manner in which the
two natures in Christ united. At the end, Ibn al-Malāḥimī quotes the
Nicene Creed in order to argue that it does not support any of
the philosophical interpretations of Trinitarian theology. He suggests
that the most acceptable Christian theology is the Adoptionist doc-
trine of Paul of Samosata and his school. He again quotes al-Nāshiʾ al-
Akbar, who states in his *Kitāb al-diyānāt* that the Christians have no
textual evidence in their scripture and prophetic tradition that God
expressly calls Christ his Son.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn al-Malāḥimī's critical discussion of Christianity contains many
elements familiar from earlier refutations. It reflects the sharp reaction

of Muʿtazilī theology to the rapid spread of Aristotelian metaphysics as set forth by Ibn Sīnā and his school among Muslim religious scholars. Its long-term impact was limited, as Muʿtazilī theology came to be suppressed in Sunnī Islam, and philosophical thought, partly under the guise of Sufism, was widely accepted by later Muslim theologians.

MANUSCRIPTS

The only known manuscript of the third part *(al-juzʾ al-thālith)* of the book, which contains the section on Christianity, was written for the library of the Yemeni Zaydī Imam al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Yaḥyā ibn Ḥamza (1328-49), 173 fols (end missing). The section on Christianity is on fols 142-49. A photocopy of the manuscript is available at the Zayd ibn ʿAlī Foundation in Sanaa.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —

STUDIES   —

Wilferd Madelung

Matthew of Edessa

Matt'ēos Uṛhayets'i

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; before 1100
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; possibly by 1138
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown; probably Edessa

BIOGRAPHY

The only information about the life of Matthew of Edessa is contained in his one surviving work, the *Chronicle (Zhamanakagrut'iwn)*. He was a priest, and probably a lifelong resident of the city of Edessa (modern Urfa in Turkey). Writing in the 1130s, he describes himself as an old man and an elder of a monastery. He was a passionate adherent of the non-Chalcedonian Armenian church, but did not have the scholarly training of a *vardapet* scholar. He resolved, nevertheless, to write the *Chronicle* despite this deficiency, since he felt it necessary to leave a record of the suffering that the Armenian nation bore at the hands of 'the Turks, and of their Roman brothers'. Matthew intended to continue his history to the Armenian year 580 (1131-32), but the final entry that can be attributed to him is the one for the Armenian year 577 (1128-29), which was probably written in late 1137. It is likely that he died shortly thereafter. His *Chronicle* was continued down to the Armenian year 611 (1162-63) by an otherwise unknown priest named Gregory, resident in the nearby town of Kesun.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, 'L'image de l'empire byzantin dans l'historiographie arménienne médiévale (Xe-XIe s.)', in B. Martin-Hisard et al. (eds), *L'Arménie et Byzance. Histoire et culture*, Paris, 1996, 7-17, pp. 9, 16

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S. Runciman, *A history of the Crusades*. Vol. 1: *The First Crusade and the foundations of the kingdom of Jerusalem*, London, 1954, pp. 334-35

H. Achaṛean, 'Mattʻēos Uṛhayetsʻi', *Handēs Amsōreay* 67 (1952) 350-54

C. de Cirbied, *Notice de deux manuscrits arméniens contenant l'histoire de Matthieu Eretz*, Paris, 1912

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa

DATE   1122-37

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Armenian

DESCRIPTION

The *Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* is the first work of Armenian 'diaspora' history, in that it was written a lifetime after the fall of the Armenian kingdom in the mid-11th century, by an Armenian living in the Syrian city of Edessa. It is arranged annalistically, and it uses a form of language that is not strictly classical, features that are reminiscent of Byzantine chronicles. It covers the years 401-577 of the

Armenian era, that is, 952/3-1128/9. The *Chronicle* currently exists in two 19th-century editions and at least 35 manuscripts. The first edition, published in 1869, is based on two manuscripts held by the Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem; the second, published in 1898, is based on six manuscripts now held by the Matenadaran in Yerevan. The text is roughly 80,000 words long, including the continuation of Grigor.

Matthew, the priest who was its author, is otherwise unknown. The only biographical information that survives is in two authorial interludes, placed respectively after the entry for 500 (1051/52) and after a set of entries for 550 (1101/2), which have been used by editors as the basis for dividing the *Chronicle* into three separate books. The first book, covering the years 401-500 (952/53-1051/52), focuses on events in Byzantium and Armenia as their 10th-century strength against Muslim invaders begins to weaken in the mid-11th century, and Armenia loses its independence to the Byzantine Empire. Its central feature is a pair of prophecies attributed to the clerical scholar Yovhannēs Kozeṛn, which set out the historical framework for the remainder of the *Chronicle.* The second book, covering the years 502-550 (1053/54-1101/2), is largely a litany of the physical and spiritual destruction of Armenia, both at the hands of the invading Seljuk Turks and through the attempts by successive Byzantine emperors to end the autonomy of the (non-Chalcedonian) Armenian Church. It ends with the arrival and initial successes of the crusaders, whose appearance had been predicted by Kozeṛn in Book 1. These first two books were probably written over the course of the 1120s.

The third book, covering events that would have occurred during Matthew's own adulthood, was probably written around 1137. He resumes the narration in the year 500 (1101/2). He had intended from the outset to record 180 years of history, down to the year 580 (1131/32), but his last entry is for 577 (1128/29). This book is a detailed source of information about the deeds of the crusader lords of Edessa and Antioch, and the Turkish and Arab emirs who lived alongside and fought against them. It also reflects the shifting, ambivalent, and apparently contradictory attitudes that Matthew and his fellow Armenians displayed toward both the crusaders and the Muslims during the time when the text was composed.

Matthew's *Chronicle* has survived with a continuation by an otherwise unknown priest named Grigor, who lived in the nearby town of Kesun, and who recorded events for the years 585-611 (1136/37-1162/63). Grigor's attitudes, shaped by the collapse of the crusader

county of Edessa and the rise of the Armenian principality of Cilicia, portray the Armenians as a people under threat, and under occasional coordinated siege, from the Byzantines and the Turks who surrounded them.

SIGNIFICANCE

As a work of history from an Eastern Christian viewpoint, the *Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* has often been used as an 'impartial' account of relations not only between Christians and Muslims before and during the crusades, but also between the Catholic crusaders and the Orthodox Byzantines. Matthew is, in fact, far from impartial in his account; he is a passionate partisan of the Armenian Church, and his attitudes toward Byzantines, Muslims, and crusaders are all directly influenced by the extent to which each of these groups sought peaceful coexistence or cooperation with the Armenian nobility and clergy. Unlike many works of Armenian history that preceded it, the *Chronicle* is not the work of a clerical scholar, and Matthew does not engage in a great deal of philosophical or theological discussion concerning Christians and Muslims. The theological texts that are preserved within the *Chronicle* – most notably the confession of faith attributed to the deposed young king Gagik II Bagratuni, delivered before the court of Constantine X Doucas in Constantinople – concern disputes between the Byzantine and Armenian churches. Taken as a whole, however, the *Chronicle* gives a nuanced, albeit not impartial, picture of the relations between Turkish conquerors and their Armenian subjects.

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MS Yerevan, Matenadaran – 1731, fols 77r-272v (1617)
MS Yerevan, Matenadaran – 5587, fols 253r-404v (1617)
MS Yerevan, Matenadaran – 1767 (1623)
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shapat edition)

MS Bzommar, Armenian Monastery – 449, pp. 117-288 (1699)

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Tara L. Andrews

Ibn Bashkuwāl

Abū l-Qāsim Khalaf ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Masʿūd ibn
Mūsā ibn Bashkuwāl al-Anṣārī l-Khazrajī

DATE OF BIRTH   29 September 1101
PLACE OF BIRTH   Cordova
DATE OF DEATH   5 January 1183
PLACE OF DEATH   Cordova

BIOGRAPHY

An Andalusī traditionist, historian and jurist, Ibn Bashkuwāl is known mainly for his biographical dictionary *Kitāb al-ṣila fī taʾrīkh aʾimmat al-Andalus* ('The continuation on the history of the sages of al-Andalus').

Ibn Bashkuwāl was the son of the Cordovan jurist Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 1139), by whom he was taught Islamic law. His family came from the locality known as Shurriyūn, in the *vega* of Valencia, but Ibn Bashkuwāl's entire life and professional activity was situated in Cordova and Seville. In Cordova he worked for a time drafting contracts, while in Seville he became a member of the judiciary as a subordinate of the chief *qāḍī* Abū Bakr ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1148). However, he soon gave up public office completely in order to devote himself exclusively to studying and teaching, dedicating himself to the composition of ascetic works and biographical dictionaries.

With regard to his academic background, we know that he did not travel east to carry out his studies, as was usual among Andalusī ʿulamāʾ. But this did not prevent him from being acquainted with the knowledge of the day. His biographers insist on how numerous his teachers and disciples were, his most outstanding teacher being the Cordovan traditionist Abū Muḥammad ibn ʿAttāb (d. 1126), along with Ibn al-ʿArabī, as well as the Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 1149) from Ceuta, and Abū ʿAlī al-Ṣadafī (d. 1120).

The biographers set the total number of works composed by Ibn Bashkuwāl at 50, although the titles they actually cite are far fewer. The literary creation of this author centred on Hadith and *akhbār*, as well as biographies of those who transmitted them. The greater part

of his written legacy consists of the compilation of pious tales and biographies of important figures known for their devotion.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-ṣila fī taʾrīkh aʾimmat al-Andalus, 'The continuation of the history of the sages of al-Andalus', 'The continuation'

DATE   1139

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The Ṣila is Ibn Bashkuwāl's best-known work, being the continuation of the biographical dictionary compiled by Ibn al-Faradī (d. 1013), *Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*. The Ṣila was continued by other authors: Ibn al-Abbār in his *Takmila* ('The complement') and Ibn al-Zubayr in *Ṣilat al-ṣila* ('The continuation of The continuation').

Ibn Bashkuwāl's Ṣila is a collection of 1400 biographies of ʿulamāʾ from the 11th and 12th centuries. The personalities whose lives are featured are grouped alphabetically by name and, under each name, are ordered chronologically in accordance with the date of their death. The length of the biographies depends on the intellectual relevance of the person. Almost all of them have the same structure: the person's complete name, place of birth, profession, his teachers and the works he learnt with them, description of his qualities as a scholar and an enumeration of his works where appropriate, his disciples and the works he taught them, and finally his date of death. Sometimes the date of birth or the scholar's age are also added.

SIGNIFICANCE

In addition to its historiographical value, one of the main interests of this work lies in what it says about activities on the frontier between al-Andalus and the Christian kingdoms of the north of the peninsula. Furthermore, the Ṣila includes isolated but interesting references to Andalusī figures who took part in the jihad against the Christians, and others who carried out *ribāṭ* on the Christian-Muslim frontier. From a social and demographic viewpoint, it is also possible to locate names, originally Christian, that were later arabized (as Ibn Bashkuwāl's own name, for instance). The Ṣila also presents valuable information of social interest by including pejorative expressions against Christians.

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Ana María Carballeira Debasa

Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The author was probably a French cleric, maybe born in Poitou and affected by Cluniac influence, given the *Chronicle*'s precision with regard to the geography of south-western France, as well as its Carolingian content and its scorn for certain Spaniards. This is incompatible with the thesis that this was a Spanish author writing at the abbey of Santiago de Compostela (Meredith-Jones, *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*, p. 41; Moisan, *Le Livre de saint Jacques ou* Codex Calixtinus *de Compostelle*, pp. 59-73). However, *Pseudo-Turpin*'s connection to Cluniac circles should perhaps be qualified if we note, with Jacques Merceron, that in addition to the Cluniac monks, the canons of St Augustine, for whom the *Pseudo-Turpin* also seems to have had the highest regard (ch. 13), were extremely active both through their foundations and through their charitable works along the pilgrimage routes to the shrine of St James at Compostela. The *Chronicle* clearly grants them a share in the renown of the legendary figure of Charlemagne (Merceron, 'Charlemagne et l'économie de la charité et de la conversion dans le *Pseudo-Turpin*', p. 965).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary   —

Secondary   —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin, Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi

DATE   About 1140
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* is first and foremost the work of a forger who passes himself off as Archbishop Turpin and testifies to the 14 years of expeditions that Charlemagne is supposed to have carried out in Spain, *ad expugnandum gentem paganorum perfidam* at the command of St James. To open the way for future pilgrims to Compostela, represented in his dreams by a pathway of stars, the emperor conquers Spain with the help of God, and in answer to his prayer the walls of Pamplona, the new Jericho, collapse. Turpin baptizes those who convert and those who do not are killed. Churches and monasteries are founded and idols destroyed, except for the one in Cadiz which Muḥammad himself is alleged to have made. But soon after his return to France, the emperor learns that the African King Agolant has invaded Spain and also the south-west of France and has massacred the Christians.

With accounts of four successive campaigns carried out by Charlemagne against Agolant and then the survivors of his troops, and punctuated by regular returns to France, the *Chronicle* abandons its insistent bias towards James and becomes more definitely epic, incorporating into a broader narrative scenes of war, moralizing and *exempla* (the fate of those who do not respect the last wishes of the dead, ch. 7; the miracle of the lances flowering at St Fagon and Saintes, indicating those among Charlemagne's warriors who will die as martyrs, and so on).

Charlemagne fails to convert Agolant, though he does defeat him heavily. He is then challenged by King Fourre, and by the giant Ferragut, whom Roland kills in single combat after failing to convert him to Catholicism. Charlemagne becomes the undisputed master of Spain, and makes Compostela an apostolic seat. But the emperor is betrayed by Marsile and Baligant who, with the complicity of the covetous Ganelon, pretend to submit to him and seek baptism in order to set their ambush at Roncesvalles. *Pseudo-Turpin* gives here a different version of the drama from the *Chanson de Roland* (q.v.), even though some elements, such as Roland's last prayer, are similar. To avenge the defeat of the rearguard and the death of his beloved nephew Roland, about which Turpin is warned in a vision before one of the few survivors can reach the emperor, Charlemagne sets off in pursuit of the Saracens and crushes them. Back at the scene of Roncesvalles, he punishes Ganelon and has the remains of the heroes embalmed and sent for burial in different places. The emperor returns to France and

then, after taking his leave of Turpin, he returns to Aix, which he embellishes with fine architecture, and dies there in peace. In a vision Turpin is told about St James' intercession to save Charlemagne's soul. A letter attributed to Pope Calixtus II closes the *Chronicle* with the account of the death of Turpin.

In different manuscripts, a number of appendices are attached to the *Chronicle* which variously develop the figure of Roland, foretell the later fate of Spain or add anecdotes about Charlemagne. The long version of the *Chronicle* adds to these episodes an introductory letter from the false Calixtus II, amplifies the theological debate between Roland and Ferragut, as well as other passages, gives a portrait of Charlemagne and shows him after his final return to France according the same privileges to the abbey of St Denis as to Compostela, and so on.

The *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* is original in making a connection between the figures of St James and Charlemagne, and for the first time relating the pilgrimage to the legend of the emperor, which was unfolding in chronicles, *chansons de geste*, and probably in stories peddled along the road to Compostela. It reads like a propaganda text that was using the renown of Charlemagne in poetry and history to launch a call to crusade in the context of *Reconquista*, and also constructing a work of morality: for example, if the Christians in the rearguard suffered a cruel death at Roncesvalles, it was to punish their lack of self-control.

The earliest manuscript of the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* is *Codex Calixtinus*, kept in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. This manuscript also contains an extensive compilation named *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, which brings together sermons, hymns and offices dedicated to St James, as well as the story of his miracles and a guide to pilgrimage that was probably written or revised by the author of the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin*. The *Liber* is a work of liturgical reform intended to substitute Roman forms for ancient Mozarabic usages and to purify accumulated traditions about St James. The *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* formed the fourth book of the *Codex*, taking up fols 163-91 before being separated in the 17th century by the canons of Compostela, who doubted its authenticity. Was it written specifically for the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* (Moisan), or was it composed earlier and only later incorporated into the *Liber* (Meredith-Jones *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*; Herbers, *Der Jakobuskult des 12. Jahrunderts und der* Liber Sancti Jacobi)? The answer to this question determines

the different hypotheses about the attribution, and consequently the interpretation, of the *Chronicle.*

The problem is complicated by the lack of unity of the various parts of the text: at first it emphasizes the importance of St James and therefore of the Abbey of Compostela, which houses his body – or the monks of Cluny and the Augustinian Canons who were active along the pilgrimage route; but it gradually abandons the figure of the Galician saint and places increasing emphasis on the importance of St Denis, whose abbey enjoyed a longstanding relationship with the sovereign (Walpole, 'Sur la *Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin*'; Herbers, *Der Jakobuskult 12. Jahrunderts und der* Liber Sancti Jacobi). However, Brown notes the reticence that the monks of Saint-Denis appeared to have maintained in face of the exaggerations in the *Chronicle*, which show Charlemagne granting privileges to the abbey it did not have, and the outright contradiction with other sources that were kept there. They preferred to rely on the *Vita Karoli* of Einhard (also Eginhard or Einhart), and only considered the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* as an authoritative source from the end of the 12th century, so that a century later a revised version of the *Chronicle* is incorporated into the *Vita et actus beati Dyonisii* (1232), and then included by Primat in the *Grandes chroniques de France* (Brown, 'Saint-Denis and the Turpin Legend', p. 52 and *passim*). The figure of the priest Aimeri Picaud emerges as the last adapter of the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* (Meredith-Jones, *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*, pp. 79-80; Walpole, 'Sur la *Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin*', p. 18), and even as the author himself (Moisan, *Le livre de saint Jacques ou* Codex Calixtinus *de Compostelle*).

The dating of the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* depends on this question. David notes that the names of some characters seem to be derived from those borne by certain 12th-century Almoravid leaders, though these identifications are questionable. The description of the three monastic orders at the banquet at which Agolant refuses baptism (ch. 13) seems informed by the outcomes of the Council of Lyons in 1130. David also formulates the hypothesis that the remission of sins to the contributors to St. Denis' building fund, in ch. 30, must reflect the rebuilding of St-Denis by Suger between 1137 and 1144 and the fundraising that preceded it. Finally, regarding the accuracy of a date *ante quem*, the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* shows Charlemagne sparing the idol of Cadiz in his campaign to destroy all traces of the Muslim faith: the author refers here to a statue that stood in the Bay of Cadiz until

1145, when according to Averroes it was destroyed. *Pseudo-Turpin* appears to have been written before it was demolished.

SIGNIFICANCE

Written in the context of the *Reconquista*, the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* provides in ch. 3 a list of cities where battles were fought in the 12th century, and taken either during the expeditions led by Alfonso and Ferdinand of Spain, or during the crusades departing from France under the command of Rotrou de Perche, Ebles de Roucy, Guillaume d'Aquitaine, Gaston de Béarn and so on, or inspired by the papal appeals relayed by the churches and Cluny (Meredith-Jones, *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*, pp. 286-87). Although this historical context is recognizable through the warpings of legend, the *Chronicle* displays true literary imagination when it portrays Saracens. It upholds an epic ideal of conversion, either freely springing from admiration for the Christian conduct of Charlemagne and his men (ch. 2), or forced. *Christianitas* and *Imperium* are strongly connected, as in the *chansons de geste*: the idol of Cadiz is the symbol of this association, since, according to legend, it holds a key that will fall when Spain is completely conquered by a French king and subjected to the law of Christ; created by Muḥammad, who is supposed to have enclosed within it a legion of devils, it will kill any Christian approaching too close and any bird perching on it. But the campaigns against Agolant intensify the link between the two concepts: the African king, jealous of the fame of Charlemagne, invades the Iberian Peninsula and looks on the emperor of the Franks as a usurper, claiming land that he has not received as an inheritance, to which Charlemagne replies that Jesus Christ, ruler of heaven and earth, has chosen the Christian people to govern the world he has created. Another battle is decided to distinguish between the two 'laws', with Agulant accepting baptism if he is defeated. But this attempt at conversion fails, in an episode that is out of keeping with traditional motifs, even though it is later incorporated into epic literature (for example, it is found in *Anseïs de Carthage*, and in the *geste* of *The knight of the swan and Godfrey of Bouillon*): at the banquet, the African king realizes that Charlemagne does not practice the principles of Christian charity he professes, and, rather than be baptized, decides to fight on despite certain defeat.

The figure of Agolant oscillates between being a rival to Charlemagne and a coward, fleeing from place to place, shamefully abandoning his men and resorting to drains filled with filth as he does so

(ch. 9). The same ambivalence is reflected in the character of Ferragut, who is at once a monstrous giant and a knight wanting only baptism. The Saracens are also seen as the masters of subterfuge: Agolant pretends to negotiate with Charlemagne to draw him into an ambush (ch. 9); Marsile and Baligant pretend to want baptism in order to set the trap at Roncesvalles; the survivors of Agolant's army contemplate fighting in masks to frighten the horses of the Christians (ch. 18). The final episode of Roncesvalles sees them abandoning the chivalric code when they employ extreme cruelty in executing the defeated rearguard; when Charlemagne finds the tortured body of Oliver, he comes upon a scene of martyrdom worthy of the Roman arenas of legend. In such ways the battle for the Christian faith is magnified, and the portrait of the *miles Christi* related by Charlemagne is completed by the drama of Roncesvalles and the prayer of the dying Roland (the emperor himself having left to open the way to Santiago in return for the promise of a heavenly crown), and by his men repeatedly marked out for glorious martyrdom with the two miracles of the flowering lances (chs 8 and 10) and the miracle of the cross marked on the shoulders of soldiers destined to die (ch. 16). *Pseudo-Turpin* thus presents a stereotypical vision of holy war, justified by the vision of Islam led by devils (ch. 12); in the *Codex Calixtinus* version, a fake letter from Pope Calixtus calls the audience of the *Chronicle* to follow the example of Charlemagne and go and fight in Spain or Jerusalem.

The *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* achieved immense success, as is evidenced by its many copies; they transmit the text in different versions and with different arrangements of chapters, in manuscripts in which are collected together other passages from the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, saints' lives and lists of miracles, or chronicles and sometimes *chansons*. This context attests to three possible readings of the chronicle: hagiographical, historical or poetical. Indeed, it inspired historians such as Hélinand de Froidmont, Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, and the Dominican Vincent de Beauvais, who transmits it in his *Speculum historiale*, as well as hagiographers such as the man who in 1459 inserted a *Vita sancti Rolandi* into the sequence of Passion-tide readings used by the chapter of Bremen cathedral. Hagiography and political agenda came together in 1165, when someone near to Frederick Barbarossa wrote a *Vita Karoli Magni* that incorporates the first seven chapters of *Pseudo-Turpin*: the emperor was concerned to construct parallels between himself and the first Holy Roman emperor, and this *Vita* was intended to support his attempt to have Charlemagne canonized

(Meredith-Jones, *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*, p. 37; Shepherd, *Turpines story*, p. xlviii; Moisan, 'L'exploitation de la "Chronique de Pseudo-Turpin"').

The authority of a character both prestigious and serious, the cleric Turpin, brings to the chronicle the weight of evidence further strengthened by the guarantee of Pope Calixtus II – whose letter is also a fake. The use of Latin and of prose added to the credit it enjoyed, in contrast to works in verse such as the *Chanson de Roland*, which were suspected as poetic fables. Only among the humanist historians was its authenticity little by little brought into doubt, for example in the *De origine et gestis Francorum compendium* of Gaugin (1495), or the *Annales* of Papire Masson (1578) (Rech, 'Entre mémoire et oubli. Le règne de Charlemagne chez les historiens provinciaux de l'ouest de la France au début du XVIᵉ siècle'.) But despite its dryness and its unevennesses, the *Chronicle of Turpin* elaborates the poetic figures of Charlemagne and Roland, and draws from epic material to such an extent that in its turn it enriches later *chansons de geste* and romances of chivalry: André Moisan lists the various texts that embroider on the fabric of *Turpin* rather than on the poetic material of the *Chanson de Roland*, such as *Guy of Burgundy*, or the epic *Karlamagnússaga* in Norway, the *Karlmeinet* in Rhineland, the late *Roelantslied* in the Netherlands, and the *Reali di Francia* in Tuscany. The adoption of the Latin source was made mainly in works intended to be read or read out in *scriptoria* and monastic churches or aristocratic courts, such as the *Enfances Garin de Monglane*, or another text conceived in Burgundy, *Les croniques et conquestes de Charlemaine* by the author David Aubert: the Burgundian cleric juggles different traditions and tries to reconcile them, from a versified version of the *Chanson de Roland* and an Old French translation of the *Chronicle* called the 'Johannes' version (Palumbo, 'David Aubert historien? Le récit de la bataille de Roncevaux dans les *Croniques et conquestes de Charlemaine*', and 'La *Chanson de Roland* dans les *Croniques et conquestes de Charlemaine*. Le problème des sources').

Nearly six different translations into Old French appeared during the 13ᵗʰ century. The earliest were commissioned by Franco-Flemish lords, in conflict with the king of France, who appropriated the figure of Charlemagne into their own genealogies: this is the case with *Turpin III*, the 'Johannes', the one that enjoyed greatest success from the moment the translation by Pierre de Beauvais of the *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus clavum et coronam Domini a Constantino-poli*

Aquis Grani detulerit (or *Iter Hierosolymitanum*) was incorporated into it. Later, the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* was taken back into royal circles when it was incorporated into chronicles kept at the Abbey of St Denis (Spiegel, '*Pseudo-Turpin*, the crisis of the aristocracy and the beginnings of vernacular historiography in France'). One of the versions of the translation, known as *Turpin I*, was probably composed at St Denis with the intention of supporting the abbey's claims to ecclesiastical and political independence, based upon the authority of Charlemagne (Walpole, *Le Turpin français, dit le Turpin I*, pp. xi, xv-xvi).

In this way, vernacular historiography became reliant upon the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin*: it is on the basis of *Turpin II* that Philippe Mousket from Touraine in 1240 wrote a part of his chronicle in verse, and also that the anonymous author of Béthune in the early 13th century and the Minstrel of Alfonso of Poitiers at the end of the 13th century each made their revised version of the *Chronicle*. Each translation is a rewriting that adjusts the *Chronicle* to a new political agenda or adds interpolations and reworks the legend, as did the author of the late Catalan version who chooses to make Ganelon's betrayal the main theme of the story, with no mention of either St James or Santiago de Compostela.

The various translations into Old French, English, Irish, Welsh, Catalan, and so on, clearly show the Europe-wide transmission of the *Chronicle*. But its success was not without criticism in the Iberian Peninsula. The chronicler of the *Historia Silense* (q.v.), for example, rebelled against the idea that aid could have come from beyond the Pyrenees to repel the Saracens; Charlemagne, far from having conquered them, allowed himself to be bought over by them.

The poetic scope of the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* can also be felt in the inspiration it provided to the master glaziers who created the stained glass of Chartres, or the craftsmen who between 1200 and 1215 fashioned the shrine of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle. Here the poetic significance of the work, which is at first closely linked to the historical and political interest to be found in each new contextualization produced by copying or translating it, takes a final step.

MANUSCRIPTS

There are about 139 manuscripts of the Latin text, listed by Horrent, *La Chanson de Roland*, and Hämel, *Überlieferung und Bedeutung*.

The oldest and most important is the *Codex Calixtinus*, in the Cathedral library at Santiago de Compostela. It was written between 1120 and 1145.

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 3718 (13th century) and MS London, BL – Royal 13 A. XVIII (14th century) contain copies of the *Karollelus*, the Latin verse version of the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin*, which was composed in about 1200; MS London, BL – Harley 6358 (13th century) contains a text of the *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi* based on this (see Schmidt, *Karolellus atque Pseudo-Turpini Historia*, pp. v-viii)

Vernacular translations
Old French:
Turpin I (before 1223) –
There are nine manuscripts dating from the 13th to 15th centuries, divided into two distinct groups: three manuscripts containing the text called *Turpin I*, the earliest of which is MS Paris, BNF – Fr. 1850 (1225 to 1250); another five move away from *Turpin I* after ch. 14 to copy 'Johannes', and draw on other sources after ch. 30 (Walpole, 'Prolégomènes à une édition du Turpin français dit le "Turpin I"', and *Le Turpin français, dit le Turpin I*, pp. xvii-xxiv). It seems that MS Vatican – Reg. 624 and MS Chantilly, Musée Condé – 869, which are included in the first group, can be brought together as the *Chronicle of the Anonymous of Chantilly-Vatican*, which runs from the end of the Trojan War to the reign of Philippe-Auguste (Labory, 'Essai d'une histoire nationale au XIIIe siècle. La chronique de l'anonyme de Chantilly-Vatican')
Turpin II –
There are two manuscripts (Walpole, *An anonymous translation of the Old French Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, pp. 10-15)
Turpin III, the translation known as 'Johannes' (around 1206) –
There are about 32 manuscripts in three separate groups: in the second group the text of *Pseudo-Turpin* is preceded by a translation from Latin into French of the *Descriptio*, the story of Charlemagne's journey to Constantinople and Jerusalem by Pierre de Beauvais; in the third group the translation of the *Descriptio* is abbreviated and included in the text of *Pseudo-Turpin* itself.

This third group includes 23 manuscripts, which can be separated into two sub-groups (Walpole, *The Old French Johannes translation of the* Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle, pp. 1-96)
Turpin IV, known as the *Chronicle of William Briane* (before 1218) –
MS London, BL – Arundel 220 (early 14th century)

Turpin V, known as 'Saintongeaise' (close to the first translation of the *Chronicle* into Old French by Nicolas de Senlis, made around 1200, and now lost) –

There are three late 13ᵗʰ-century manuscripts (MS Paris, BNF – Fr. 5714 (the earliest); MS Paris, BNF – Fr. 124; MS Lee) and a printed edition of 1527 which is a translation of MS 124 into modern French, with many interpolations (*Cronicque et histoire faicte et compose par reverent pere en Dieu Turpin, archeveque de Reims*)

Turpin VI, known as 'Burgundy' –

MS Paris, BNF – fr. 25438 (last quarter of the 13ᵗʰ century)

Catalan: MS Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya – 487 (mid-15ᵗʰ century)

Medieval Irish: There are five manuscripts from the 15ᵗʰ and 16ᵗʰ centuries; the translation was made around 1400.

Middle English: MS San Marino CA, Huntington Library – 28.561 HM (1460-61; 'The Burghley *Polychronicon*')

Dutch: printed edition made in Antwerp by Roland van den Dorpe in 1498

Occitan: MS London, BL – Add 17920 (14ᵗʰ century)

Welsh: There are ten manuscripts from the 14ᵗʰ to 17ᵗʰ century, nine in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, and one, the *Red book of Hergest*, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the translation was made before 1282 from an Anglo-Norman version of an Old French translation.

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Magali Cheynet

Peter of Toledo

Petrus Toletanus

DATE OF BIRTH   End of 11th or beginning of 12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Spain, perhaps Toledo
DATE OF DEATH   After 1142
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

In 1142, Peter of Toledo, in collaboration with Peter of Poitiers, the secretary of Peter of Cluny (q.v.), made the Latin translation of the epistles attributed to ʿAbdallāh ibn Ismāʿīl al-Hāshimī and ʿAbd al-Masīḥ ibn Ishāq al-Kindī (9th century). This translation is part of the *Collectio Toletana*, a corpus of texts on Islam written between the years 1142 and 1143 in the Iberian Peninsula, on the initiative of Peter of Cluny. In the view of some scholars, Peter of Toledo may have been responsible for the design and supervision of this entire editorial project, as well as for writing one part of the Latin glosses that appear in some manuscripts.

Peter of Cluny refers to Peter of Toledo as a *magister* ('expert') in Arabic and Latin, though less fluent in Latin than in Arabic. His relationship with Toledo and his great knowledge of the Arabic language suggest a possible Mozarab origin, though he could have been a convert from Islam or Judaism. Van Koningsveld and others propose identifying him with Petrus Alfonsi (q.v.), though their arguments are not convincing. Van Koningsveld has found several references to *magistri* with the name Pedro in 12th-century Toledan documentation from between 1115 and 1157.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Epistula Saraceni [et] Rescriptum Christiani, 'The letter of a Saracen [and] the reply of a Christian'; *Disputatio Saraceni et Christiani*, 'Disputation of a Saracen and a Christian'; 'The Apology of al-Kindī'

DATE   1142

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

Peter of Toledo's Latin translation of the Arabic *Risālat al-Kindī* (q.v.) appears to derive from a version close, though not identical, to that in MS Gotha, Forschungsbibliotek – Ar. 2884 (copied in 1656 from a version dated 1173) and its duplicate, MS Paris BNF – Syr. 204. In general, it is quite faithful to the original, though the translation contains particular mistakes of interpretation, and tends to use more aggressive language.

An epigraph in some manuscripts states that the translation was completed in the year of the conquest of Coria by King Alfonso VII, thus 1142.

SIGNIFICANCE

This work influenced a great number of European authors who wrote on Islam up to the 17th century. Most of them only knew the text through Peter's translation, though some, particularly Spaniards, seem to have used the original Arabic. Other polemicists made use of summaries of the Latin translation, particularly the one included by Vincent de Beauvais in his *Speculum historiale* (Book 23, chs 39-67). Among the authors who knew Peter's translation, were Peter the Venerable (q.v.), William of Auvergne (q.v.), Jacobus of Varagine (q.v.), Humbert of Romans (q.v.), Fidentius of Padua (q.v.), Martinus Polonus (q.v.), Riccoldo of Montecroce (q.v.), Nicolas of Cusa (q.v.), Dionysius the Carthusian (q.v.) and Jean Germain (q.v.). However, most of these writers follow their source in a very selective way, since they usually preserve only the information related to the biography of Muḥammad, in particular, the teaching that the Nestorian monk Sergius gave him, and the errors supposedly introduced into the Qur'an by Jews. They also preserve the arguments against the accusation of *taḥrīf* and the teaching about jihad. Other equally interesting passages are rarely used, such as the phases of the history of the compilation of the Qur'an, the considerations about the origins of the various Muslim rites and observances, and the arguments for the Trinity.

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To this list can be added the extensive summary preserved in Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* (Book 23, chs 39-67), which is extant in more than 1,000 manuscripts.

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M.T. d'Alverny, 'Quelques manuscrits de la Collectio Toletana', in Constable and Kritzeck, *Petrus Venerabilis*, 202-18

Muñoz Sendino, 'Al-Kindi, Apología del Cristianismo'

D'Alverny, 'Deux traductions latines du Coran au moyen âge'

Fernando González Muñoz

William of Malmesbury

Willelmus Malmesbiriensis

DATE OF BIRTH End of 11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Probably Wiltshire
DATE OF DEATH 1143 or after
PLACE OF DEATH Malmesbury

BIOGRAPHY

Almost all we know of William is gleaned from his own works. Born of mixed parentage (Norman and Anglo-Saxon), as a child or teenager William entered the abbey of Malmesbury, Wiltshire, where he was to remain a monk for the rest of his life. Not interested in ecclesiastical advancement (he twice refused to become abbot), he preferred to devote himself to learning. His works show a wide and varied reading in the Latin classics. He composed chronicles, hagiography (including a widely-read collection of miracles of the Virgin Mary), biblical commentaries and *florilegia* of ecclesiastical authors. Most of his works deal with England: the history of its kings, bishops, and saints. His final work, *Historia novella*, a continuation of his *Gesta regum*, ends abruptly in 1142, which has led scholars to deduce that he died in that year or shortly thereafter.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
The autobiographical details are scattered throughout several of William's numerous works (see secondary bibliography).

Secondary
C.M. Otter, 'Functions of fiction in historical writing', in N. Partner (ed.), *Writing medieval history*, London, 2005, pp. 109-30
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R. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, Woodbridge UK, 1987

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R. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, Woodbridge UK, 1987

A. Gransden, *Historical writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307*, London, 1974,
    pp. 166-85

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Adbreviatio de gestis imperatorum, 'Abbreviated history of the emperors'

DATE   1129

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

This manuscript, a good part of it in William's own hand, contains
William's digest of Roman imperial history, essentially an annotation,
and in many cases a reworking, of chronicles from Dares to Hugh
of Fleury (q.v.). It relates Roman history from the sack of Troy to
the medieval empire, concluding with regnal lists of Byzantine and
Ottonian emperors and French kings.

William recopies Hugh of Fleury's brief biography of Muḥammad,
and says that 'Muameth' is the 'false prophet of the Turks', explaining
that he was an Ishmaelite and a merchant who, on his travels, learned
the rudiments of Judaism and Christianity. He also met 'Cadiga', ruler
of 'Corozania', whom he married. Through magical powers and mir-
acles, he convinced both her and numerous Christians and Jews that
he was a prophet. He composed a book of laws, drawn from the Old
and New Testaments. He conquered Persia and then the eastern part
of the Roman empire as far as Alexandria. He was then struck with
epileptic fits, which he explained as the consequences of visits of the
Archangel Gabriel. This is widely believed among 'barbarous peoples',
William concludes, 'and until today they believe that those laws are
angelic.'

As R. Thomson has shown, William made several modifications
to Hugh's text: in essence, he abbreviated it and cut back on flowery
verbiage. He also inserted a brief assertion that Muḥammad beyond
any doubt performed miracles, since 'until today many nations vener-
ate him as a prophet, not a god'.

SIGNIFICANCE

Here we see Willliam at work as a reader and editor. He clearly does
not accept all of Hugh's version of Muḥammad's life, and seems less
interested in polemicizing than in trying to understand how and why

Muḥammad came to be revered as a prophet and continued to his own day to be seen as prophet by many nations.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Arch. Seld. B. 16 (1129)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

No editions or translations have been published.

STUDIES

K. Fenton, *Gender, nation and conquest in the works of William of Malmesbury*, Woodbridge UK, 2008

Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, pp. 4, 25-26, 66-68, 92-95, 176-80

D. Farmer, 'William of Malmesbury's commentary on Lamentations', *Studia Monastica* 4 (1962) 283-311

Stubbs, *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis regum Anglorum*, i, pp. cxxxi-cxliii

Gesta regum Anglorum, 'The deeds of the kings of the English', 'History of the English kings'

DATE   1125 (1st edition); 1135-40 (revised version)
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

Queen Matilda, consort of Henry I, apparently asked William to produce a history of the kings of England. The result, the *Gesta regum Anglorum*, is a sweeping national chronicle that goes from the death of Bede in 735 to his own day: this clearly indicates that Bede was a model for William, whose chronicle is a sort of continuation of the Northumbrian monk's *Ecclesiastical history of the English people*. William's chronicle was to become widely read in England.

In a discussion of Emperor Henry III's campaigns against the pagan Wends, William sees fit to set the record straight on the differences between pagans and Saracens, explaining that Saracens and Turks adore God the Creator and believe that Muḥammad is his prophet, not a god. This does not prevent William from affirming, in a description of Jerusalem, that the Turks had placed an image of Muḥammad (*simulacro Mahumet*) in the Dome of the Rock, which

perhaps did not seem incongruous to William, as Christians naturally placed images of prophets and saints in their churches.

SIGNIFICANCE

The two references to Muḥammad are minor asides in a chronicle whose principal focus is the history of the kings of England. Nevertheless, they show that William was aware of two perceptions of Muḥammad: as the Saracens' god and as their prophet. Part of his information probably comes from reports relating to the First Crusade: this is clearly the case with the story of the statue of Muḥammad in the Dome of the Rock, which is found in various crusading chronicles.

MANUSCRIPTS

Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom, in their edition, list 30 extant manuscripts, dating primarily from the 12th to 14th centuries. They divide them into four versions, each corresponding to different phases of redaction, as William revised, corrected and reworked his text several times.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum. The history of the English kings*, ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors, completed by R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, Oxford, 1998-99 (the two references to Muḥammad are on pp. 338-41 and 642-3)

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Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, pp. 174-84

R. Southern, *Western views of Islam in the middle ages*, Cambridge, 1962, pp. 34-35

Super explanationem Lamentationum Ieremie prophete, 'Commentary on the Lamentations of the prophet Jeremiah'

DATE   Probably between 1135 and 1142
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

In his commentary on the biblical book of *Lamentations*, which is a meditation on the fall of Jerusalem in 587 BC, William describes the different senses of the text, paying most attention to the spiritual.

In a brief passage of this long commentary, William explains that, while the 'sects' of Christians, Jews and Saracens disagree about the Son, they all believe in God the Father in their hearts and proclaim him in their words.

Again, while glossing Lam 1:14, William explains that God has allowed the Turks and Saracens to dominate the lands of God's birth and passion as a punishment for the people's mores.

SIGNIFICANCE

As in the *Gesta regum Anglorum*, William affirms the monotheism of Muslims and asserts that Jews and Muslims worship the same God as Christians (whom he associates with God the Father). Yet, in the divine plan, Turks and Saracens play the same role as Nebuchadnezzar and his Chaldeans: divine scourges sent by God to punish the sins of his people (then the Israelites, now the Christians of the crusader kingdom).

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Bodley 868 (12th century)
MS London, BL – Cotton Tiberius A. XII, fols 1-45 (12th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

None

STUDIES

Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, pp. 174-84

John Tolan

Ibn Barrajān

Abū l-Ḥakam ʿAbd al-Salām ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Lakhmī l-Ishbīlī

DATE OF BIRTH   Between 1058 and 1078
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown; possibly Seville
DATE OF DEATH   1141
PLACE OF DEATH   Marrakesh

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn Barrajān lived in Seville for most of his life. He studied Arabic language and literature, Qurʾan exegesis, arithmetic, geometry and other disciplines of the time. He was known as an ascetic (*zāhid*), and was a famous Sufi, being known as *Shaykh al-ṣūfiyya*.

Ibn Barrajān is known for five books. Apart from his best-known work, *Sharḥ asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā*, he also wrote an unfinished *Tafsīr*, which was famous for its innovative method for explaining verses of the Qurʾan.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila li-Kitāb al-ṣila*, ed. F. Codera, 2 vols, Madrid, 1887-89, i, p. 247
Ibn Khallikān, *Wāfayāt al-aʿyān*, iv, pp. 230, 236; vii, p. 340; viii, p. 71
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Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, Beirut, 1981-86, pp. 72-75
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Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, Beirut, s.d., iv, p. 13.
Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, 7 vols, Beirut, 1971, iv, pp. 13, 14.
Al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-mufassirīn*, Leiden, 1839, p. 20
Al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyat al-ʿārifīn. Asmāʾ al-muʾallifīn wa-āthār al-muṣannifīn*, ed. R. Bilge and M. Kemal, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1951, i, p. 570
Ḥajjī Khalifa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asmāʾ al-kutub wa-l-funūn*, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1941-43, i, p. 257

Secondary

Ibn Barraŷān (m. 536/1141), Sharḥ asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā (Comentario sobre los nombres más bellos de Dios), ed. P. de la Torre, Madrid, 2000, pp. 33-36

P. Nwiya, 'Note sur quelques fragments inédits de la correspondance d'Ibn al-ʿArīf avec Ibn Barrajān', *Hespéris* 43 (1956) 217-21

I. Goldziher, 'Ibn Barrağān', *ZDMG* 68 (1914) 544-46

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Sharḥ asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā, 'Explanation of the beautiful names of God'

DATE   12th century; before 1141

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Ibn Barrajān's *Sharḥ asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā* includes accounts of more than 113 names of God. Each is structured in three sections. In the first, the verbal root of each name is explained; in the second, mentions of the names in the Qurʾan and Hadiths are set out; and in the third, attaining the power of God's names is explored.

SIGNIFICANCE

In his explanations of the divine names, Ibn Barrajān makes frequent use of biblical quotations, showing no apparent unease at using either the Old or New Testament.

MANUSCRIPTS

De la Torre, *Ibn Barraŷān (m. 536/1141), Sharḥ asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā*, pp. 59-82, lists and describes the 17 MSS of the work.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

De la Torre, *Ibn Barraŷān (m. 536/1141), Sharḥ asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā*

STUDIES   —

Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala

Orderic Vitalis

DATE OF BIRTH   16 February 1075
PLACE OF BIRTH   Atcham, near Shrewsbury
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; probably after 1142, on 13 July
PLACE OF DEATH   Abbey of St Evroul, France

BIOGRAPHY

Orderic was born in Mercia in 1075 to a Norman father and English mother. His father was a clerk in the retinue of Roger of Montgomery, later the earl of Shrewsbury. Orderic was given a rudimentary education at a newly-built local abbey, before his father sent him away at the age of ten to the abbey of St Evroul, never to see him again.

Despite his importance as a historian, little is known of Orderic except a few details that can be gleaned from his own work, so his life at the abbey is something of a mystery. His studies at St Evroul probably lasted until he was 18, when he was made a deacon. However, he continued working with books throughout his life, spending much time in the scriptorium, first copying others' works, then composing his own. His output was considerable, as many manuscripts bearing his handwriting survive, and these include lives of saints, liturgies, hymns, biographies and histories.

Orderic spent the rest of his life at the abbey, only venturing into the wider world on abbey business, from which experiences spring some of his most powerful descriptive passages. This meant that he was not immune to the realities of life outside; the turbulent politics of the locality ensured that could not be the case. Thus, he was well able to understand the political backgrounds to the events he described in the *Ecclesiastical history*, while his travels to other ecclesiastical institutions enabled him both to see the places he was describing, and to exchange ideas with others.

The date of his death is unknown. The *Ecclesiastical history* ends with the year 1141, so it must have been 1142 at the earliest, while the obituary of St Evroul (MS BNF – Lat. 10062, fol. 19v) records the death of a monk called Ordricus on 13 July, in an unnamed year. While this does not refer to Orderic for certain, having two monks

with this English name at St Evroul at the same time would have been very unlikely (see Chibnall, *Ecclesiatical history*, i, p. 113).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
All that is known of Orderic Vitalis comes through his own writings, and is almost exclusively contained in the preface to Book V and the epilogue of the *Ecclesiastical history*.
See also MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 10062, fol. 19v.

Secondary
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B. Schnitzler, 'Ordericus Vitalis. Ein Sympathisant der normannischen Kirchenreform in England?', in R. Baumer (ed.), *Reformatio ecclesiae. Beiträge zur kirchlichen Reformbemühungen von der Alten Kirche bis zur Neuzeit. Festgabe für Erwin Iserloh*, Paderborn, 1980, 77-88
H. Pellerin, 'Ordéric Vital, moine de Saint-Evroult et historien normand', *Lingua e stile* 24 (1974) 5-13
R.D. Ray, 'Orderic Vitalis and his readers', *Studia Monastica* 14 (1972) 15-33

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Historia ecclesiastica, 'Ecclesiastical history'

DATE   Mainly between 1123 and 1137, with additions until 1142
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Ecclesiastical history* was written, at the request of the abbot of
St Evroul, as an historical record of the abbey, but it soon grew to
become a much wider historical work. Starting with the life of Christ,
the Apostles and subsequent popes in Books 1 and 2, it describes the
events in a chronological framework that adds little to previous writ-
ings. It is with Book 3 that the work starts to take shape as an inde-
pendent source, as from here to Book 6 Orderic wrote particularly
on the Normans and the history of the abbey of St Evroul until 1083.
Books 7 to 13 contain much wider material, dealing with events across
the known world, from 1083 until Orderic's own lifetime. The *Ecclesi-
astical history* gleaned information from many sources, including the
Bible, the Church Fathers, Bede, Eusebius, Paul the Deacon, William
of Poitiers, the *Annales Sancti Ebrulfi*, and any number of saints' lives,
as well as documents and charters from the abbey itself, and the
recollections of more mature monks of the various institutions he
visited. While the work was started some time before, it is clear that
the majority of it was written between 1123 and 1137, with additions
and revisions made from then until 1142.

Orderic's history was designed to provide future generations with
examples of how to act morally, as well as bringing glory to God for
His deeds throughout history. In Orderic's eyes, it was written to both
the residents of his abbey and other ecclesiastical institutions, and to
the notables of France and the Anglo-Norman realm. As such, it fol-
lowed the ideas of Norman heroic traditions, though with an added
Christian interpretation, which meant the chronicle has, in some parts
at least, the feel of an epic. His use of dramatic speeches and miracle
stories intensifies the events described, and while this, along with his
propensity for including material fairly uncritically, especially when
compared with a writer such as William of Malmesbury (q.v.), means
that while to the modern reader Orderic's history is full of incredible
stories, it does nevertheless reveal much about the events and society
in which he lived.

The 13 books of the chronicle run to six volumes in Chibnall's edition and translation, and Books 9 and 10 are the main sections that refer to Islam and Muslims. There are occasional reports of Muslims in earlier books, but it is in the report in these books of the First Crusade and the foundation of the crusader states that the Muslims are represented. Orderic Vitalis' account is based on that of Baldric of Bourgueil, archbishop of Dol, which he took and condensed, while slightly changing some of its themes. Baldric's account was, in turn, based to a large extent on the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* (q.v.), so Orderic's account comes at third-hand.

There has been little study of the First Crusade account in the *Historia ecclesiastica* because the chronicle is used mostly in the field of English history, and because it contains little new material on the First Crusade. The account of the First Crusade and the image of Muslims within it have therefore received little scholarly attention.

SIGNIFICANCE

While Orderic's account of the First Crusade is factually similar to his source, Baldric of Bourgueil, it is the differing presentation of the Muslims that is important. Writing several decades after the First Crusade and the foundation of the crusader states, Orderic demonstrates that the Crusade was a unique, monumental event in history, in which the diverse people of the West came together to overthrow the Muslims, who are presented as an eschatological force. The large amount of space given to the Crusade shows how important he, and probably therefore others in Western Europe, regarded the liberation of Jerusalem from the Muslims.

MANUSCRIPTS
See Chibnall, *Ecclesiastical history*, i, pp. 118-23

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS
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Alex Mallett

Hermann of Carinthia

Hermann Dalmata, Hermannus Sclavus, Hermannus Secundus

DATE OF BIRTH Uncertain; early 12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Possibly in Carinthia, near St Peter im Holz
DATE OF DEATH Uncertain; mid 12th century
PLACE OF DEATH Uncertain

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about Hermann of Carinthia (who is not to be confused with Herman the German (d. 1272), the translator of works by Aristotle in Toledo), apart from the scant information that can be gleaned from his own works. He studied in Chartres or Paris, and between 1138 and 1143 he was in the Iberian peninsula, perhaps in the entourage of Michael, bishop of Tarazona (1119-51), working on Latin translations of Arabic scientific texts, especially mathematics, natural sciences and astronomy (see Robert of Ketton, *Biography*). His translations include Euclid's *Elements*, Theodosio's *Sphaerica*, Albumasar's *Introductorium maius* (1140), and Abū ʿUthmān Sahl ibn Bishr's *Fatidica* (*Prognostica*) (1138). He collaborated in the translation of al-Khwārazmī's astronomical tables, and he was also the author of *De essentiis* (1143), dedicated to Robert of Ketton (q.v.).

Between 1142 and 1143, commissioned by Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, he collaborated in the translation of doctrinal and historical works from the Islamic tradition.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Hermann's prologues to his works and translations are our principal sources
of information about his life and activity. As for the production of
Latin works on Islam, the main information is in the *incipit* (both
the *Liber de generatione Mahumet* and the *Liber de doctrina Mahu-
met* lack a prologue) and in references made by Peter of Cluny, *Liber
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to the titles translated by Hermann '*librum Abdiae Iudaei nec Genea-
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Liber de generatione Mahumet, Liber de generatione et nutritura eius, Liber generationis Mahumet nuncii Dei, 'On the birth of Muḥammad'

DATE   1142-43 (Latin translation)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Liber de generatione Mahumet* is a Latin translation of the 13th-century *Kitāb al-anwār* ('Lights') by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī. It first addresses the theme of how the mystical light (*nūr, lumen*), which is a sign of true prophethood, was transmitted from Adam to Muḥammad. When the line reaches the Prophet Muḥammad, the account turns to its main theme, giving extensive details of his birth (*de natiuitate Mahumet*), with the natural *prodigia* (wonders) that occur when he is born, and the visit of the three angels who wash his heart in snow. This is given in the words of the daughter of Ḥalīma, Muḥammad's wet-nurse. The story ends with Ḥalīma returning the young Muḥammad to Mecca, where again portents of his future destiny are witnessed.

Ḥalīma's first person narration is reminiscent of the style of Islamic Hadith, reproducing conversations with the characters involved in the incidents, which are sometimes not mentioned in other sources about the life of the Prophet.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Liber de generatione Mahumet* was one of the translations commissioned by Peter of Cluny for his anthology of texts on Islam. In this collection, the manuscript tradition refers to the trilogy of texts:

Chronica mendosa, Liber de generatione Mahumet and *Liber de doctrina Mahumet* as *Fabulae Sarracenorum*. Peter of Cluny used them in the *Summa totius haeresis Sarracenorum* and in the *Liber contra sectam Sarracenorum*, and the information given in the *Liber de generatione Mahumet* about the prophetic significance of Muḥammad proved useful in the on-going tradition of anti-Islamic polemic, although the theme of divine light marking out the prophets does not appear often in Latin works. As regards the theme of the Prophet's infancy, the episode of the angels purifying Muḥammad's heart is especially widespread, although this tradition does not always depend on the account that the Latin version of the *Liber de generatione Mahumet* offers (it is not impossible that Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada [q.v.], in his *Historia Arabum*, knows the original Arabic version).

The work's importance in later tradition is less significant than other works of the collection compiled by Peter of Cluny, particularly compared with the Latin translation of the Qur'an by Robert of Ketton, but it is used in Alfonso de Espina's *Fortalitium fidei contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et alios christianae fidei inimicos* IV, 'De bello Sarracenorum' (1458-59); in Nicolas of Cusa's *Cribratrio Alcorani* (1462) Dionysius the Carthusian's *Contra Perfidiam Mahometi* (c. 1462), and in the anonymous 16th-century treatise, *Theophrastus redivivus*. It also circulated in Bibliander's edition, and in the critical notes written by Ludovico Marracci for his commentary on the Qur'an (*Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani* (Padua, 1691, 1698).

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àge', *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinal et Littéraire du Moyen Age*
22-23 (1947-48) 69-131

Liber de doctrina Mahumet, Gesta quendam sive disputatio ridiculosa et questionum stultarum solutiones frivole cum quodam Abdia iudeo, Diálogo de Abdías, 'On the doctrine of Muḥammad'

DATE   The Arabic version was probably written in the 7th or 8th cen-
tury, the Latin translation by Hermann of Carinthia between
1142 and 1143.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION
The *Liber de doctrina Mahumet*, translated by Hermann of Carinthia,
was classified by Moritz Steinschneider as an apocryphal treatise of
Judeo-Muslim controversy between the Jew, 'Abdallah ben Salam
(sc. Abū l-Ḥārith 'Abdallāh ibn Salām, d. 663-64) and the Prophet
Muḥammad. It addresses the working of a popular theme, in which
four Jews appear who ask Muḥammad different questions and in his

answers he explains aspects of his doctrine. The work begins with the announcement to Muḥammad by the archangel Gabriel of the arrival of some scholars eager to know the new doctrine that the Prophet is preaching. The spokesman of the group of Jewish scholars is Abdias ('Abdallāh ibn Salām), who poses a series of questions to Muḥammad that vary in character from doctrinal questions to cosmographical ideas. The numerical system of symbols in which the arguments are articulated is especially interesting. At the end of the work, Abdias, convinced by the words and arguments, recognizes Muḥammad's mission and converts to Islam.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Liber de doctrina Mahumet* belongs to a genre of polemic between religions which was prolific throughout the Middle Ages in the Muslim world, especially in the Iberian peninsula, as well as in Jewish and Christian circles. Translations into Persian, Urdu, Tamil, Javanese, Malay and Buginese show that it came to be regarded as a catechism of Islamic belief.

Hermann's Latin translation of the *Doctrina Mahumet* was part of the collection of translations commissioned by abbot Peter of Cluny (q.v.). Its purpose was essentially to provide fodder for Latin Christians who sought to recognize and refute the theological foundations of Islam: in this sense the commentary by the translator that is found in the explicit, *Hic multa mendacia sunt et multa ridiculosa* ('Here are many lies and ridiculous things'), takes on special significance.

The original Arabic version of the *Liber de doctrina Mahumet* presents Islam as superior to Judaism, as is shown by Abdias' conversion. Probably the Latin version is of concern to Christianity as a basis for the appropriate refutation of both Islam and Judaism.

As soon as it was translated into Latin, Peter of Cluny used the *Liber de doctrina Mahumet* and the other treatises from the *Corpus Islamochristianum* to write his treatises *Liber contra sectam Sarracenorum* and the *Summa totius haeresis Sarracenorum*. In both works by the abbot of Cluny there is evidence of the work's influence. For example, in Hermann's work there is a caricature of the Prophet inspired by the poems of Horace, also found in Peter's *Summa*, 10 (ed. R. Glei, 1985).

Both this work and the other titles from the *Collectio* compiled by Peter were also used in later tradition. Its influence can be identified in Alfonso de Espina, *Fortalitum fidei contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et*

alios christianae fidei inimicos IV, 'De bello Sarracenorum' (1458-59); Nicolas of Cusa, *Cribratrio Alcorani* (1462); Dionysius the Carthusian, *Contra perfidiam Mahometi* (c. 1462); and in the *Theophrastus redivivus* by the anonymous freethinker of the 16th century (ed. G. Canziani and G. Paganini, Florence, 1983), among many others. It was also circulated in Bibliander's edition, and in the critical notes made by Ludovico Marraci for his commentaries on the Qur'an (*Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani*, Padua, 1691, 1698).

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Óscar de la Cruz Palma and Cándida Ferrero Hernández

Robert of Ketton

Robert of Chester, Robertus Ketensis or Ketenensis or
Ketinensis or Kettonsis, Robertus Retinensis or
Retenensis, Robertus Anglicus or Anglus, Robertus
Castrensis or Cestrensis, Robertus Anatensis or Astrensis
or Astenensis or Ostiensis

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown, fl. 1141-57
PLACE OF BIRTH   Ketton, Rutland, England
DATE OF DEATH unknown
PLACE OF DEATH   unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known of Robert's early life until the 1130s when he had
made his way to Iberia in search of scientific knowledge. There he
learned Arabic and began translating scientific texts, including
al-Kindī's *Judicia*. He held ecclesiastical benefices in Pamplona (c. 1145-
51) and Tudela (c. 1157). In 1142-43 he was hired by Peter the Venerable
to translate the Qur'an.

Between 1143 and 1157 he was the archdeacon of the diocese of
Pamplona. He lived in London between about 1147 and 1150. Between
1152 and 1153 he may have had personal contact in Rome with Pope
Eugene III, with whom there is evidence he corresponded on a politi-
cal matter concerning the peace treaty signed at the beginning of July
1149 between the monarch of Pamplona, García Ramírez, and Count
Ramón Berenguer IV. In September 1157 he was canon of Santa María
de Tudela, an office he would receive in compensation for taking a
stand in favor of Sancho el Sabio. The politico-economic difficulties
of the bishop of Pamplona would lead him to move permanently to
Rome (between 1157 and 1159), where he was among the followers of
the future Pope, Celestine III.

As Burnett ('Robert of Ketton') argues, Robert of Ketton and Rob-
ert of Chester are not, as has long been thought, the same person,
though both were scientific translators in 12th-century Spain.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The main sources of information about Robert of Ketton's scientific output are the prologues of his works and the lengthy dedication to him by Hermann of Carinthia in his *De essentiis*. Concerning his public life as a leading ecclesiastic, the documents have been researched by Martín Duque (see 'El Ingles Roberto').

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Lex Mahumet pseudo-prophete que arabice Alchoran, id est collectio preceptorum, vocatur, 'The law of the pseudo-prophet Muḥammad, called in Arabic the Qur'an, which is a collection of rules'

DATE   1142-43
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Lex Mahumet pseudo-prophete* is a complete Latin paraphrase of the Arabic Qur'an. As he translated, Robert of Ketton transformed the Arabic *sajʿ* of the Qur'an into the elevated Latin prose style normally used in this period for high-status works. Because of his paraphrasing approach, scholars have often assumed that Robert's Latin Qur'an must have seriously distorted the message of the revelation to Muḥammad. Other scholars, however, especially Daniel and Hagemann, have suggested that Robert's version accurately gets across the essential meaning of the original. Burman has argued, moreover, that his paraphrase contains very little blatant polemical distortion, and that Robert was actually consulting Muslim informants or Arabic Qur'an commentaries (or both) regularly as he translated. While his paraphrase is far from perfect, what is most impressive about it is the energy with which Robert reworked the text as he wrote, and the effort he made to understand what he was translating.

A group of scholars, probably including Robert himself and other members of the translation team hired by Peter of Cluny, added a set of marginal and interlinear notes to the *Lex Mahumet*, which appear in the original manuscript (MS Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal – 1162). These notes, which reappear in many later manuscripts, both attack Muḥammad and the Qur'an viciously and, at the same time, explain transliterated terms, qur'anic conventions, the occasion of certain revelations and other matters, with considerable learning derived once again from Muslim informants or Arabic commentaries.

Abridgements and extracts: In the late 15th or early 16th century, an anonymous scholar created an exhaustive analytical description of the contents of Robert's translation. Intriguingly reworked, this *Tabula* also appeared from at least 1537 onwards in an anonymous abridgment entitled *Compendium alcorani* ('Abbreviation of the Qur'ān'),

which Johann Albrecht von Widmanstetter published under the title *Epitome alcorani* in 1543. Between 1550 and 1660, an anonymous reader compiled a lengthy series of extracts, *Collectiones aliquot ex alcorano turcarum fide*, from the 1550 printed edition of the *Lex Mahumet pseudo-prophete*; see Burman, *Reading the Qurʾān*, pp. 98-110, 117-21.

SIGNIFICANCE

Robert's *Lex Mahumet pseudo-prophete* was the first translation of the Qurʾan into a western European language. While later medieval Latin translations were made (see Burman, *Reading the Qurʾān*, pp. 14-20), Robert's paraphrase was by far the most widely read to the end of the 17th century, when Ludovico Marracci's *Alcorani textus universus* pushed it aside. It was widely cited in Latin polemical and apologetic works directed at Islam, and was the basis for a number of vernacular translations of the Qurʾan. Its marginal notes were the source of a good deal of Latin Christendom's hostile approach to Islam but also of much of its accurate knowledge of Islam and its holy book.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal – 1162, fols 26r-189v (mid- to late 12th century; the oldest known manuscript from which all the other manuscripts and 16th-century printed editions directly or indirectly derive; see most recently González Muñoz, *Exposición y refutación del Islam*, pp. cxvii-cxviii, and Burman, *Reading the Qurʾān*, pp. 60-87, where this manuscript is discussed in detail)

There are 23 other extant manuscripts, references to all of which can be found collectively in D'Alverny, 'Deux traductions', passim; D'Alverny, 'Quelques manuscrits', passim; and Burman, *Reading the Qurʾān*, 240, n. 1 (see also pp. 89-105 for a study of several of these MSS).

The anonymous *Tabula*, an exhaustive analytical table describing the contents of the *Lex Mahumet pseudo-prophete*, survives in MS Dresden, Sächsiche Landesbibliothek – 120b, fols 37r-73r.

The *Compendium alcorani*, the anonymous 16th-century abridgement of Robert's translation based on the *Tabula*, exists in at least two manuscripts:

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 3671, fols 28v-65r (before 1537)

MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – R 113 sup, fols 213r-232v (16th century)

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Chronica mendosa et ridicula Sarracenorum, 'Mendacious and ridiculous chronicle of the Saracens'

DATE   1143

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

The polemical title given to this translation of an anonymous Arabic chronicle shows the purpose of Robert's work (if indeed the title is his, though the *incipit* makes his authorship clear: *Prologus Roberti translatoris, uiri enim eruditi et scolastici, ad dominum Petrum abbatem Cluniacensem*). Its prologue, which has not survived in all the manuscripts, has sometimes been interpreted as a letter addressed to Peter of Cluny. In addition, it is sometimes wrongly referred to as *Fabulae Sarracenorum*, owing to this title appearing in MS Paris Arsenal – 1162.

Divided into ten chapters, the *Chronica mendosa*, relates the creation of the world, the lives of the prophets, the genealogy of Muḥammad, and his life and deeds. It then continues with the narration of the events of the caliphs down to the reign of the second Umayyad caliph, Yazīd I (680-83). This suggests that the Arabic original of the *Chronica mendosa* was composed during the reign of this caliph .

The Arabic version has not been identified, though some suggestions have been made: D'Alverny, 'Deux traductions', p. 80, identifies it as a chronicle written in Spain in the 9th century, wrongly attributed to Ibn Ḥabīb. The main problem with identifying the Arabic text is the disappearance in the Latin version of the line of transmission. It appears that Robert of Ketton decided that it was unimportant information, for dealing with Arab names would only contribute to long-windedness.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Chronica mendosa et ridicula Sarracenorum* must be placed in relation to the first Latin translation of the Qurʾān and the other translations commissioned by Peter of Cluny (q.v.). In accordance with the manuscript tradition, as represented by MS Paris, Arsenal – 1162, the trilogy of texts *Chronica mendosa – Liber de generatione Mahumet – Liber de doctrina Mahumet* could be called *Fabulae Sarracenorum*. These three texts can be considered as bringing together information on the life of Muḥammad, the history of the Arabs and the teachings of Islam. Peter of Cluny used them in the *Summa totius haeresis Sarracenorum* and the *Liber contra sectam* to shape his *armarium Arabicum*, an instrument for refuting Islamic doctrines.

The *Chronica mendosa* contributes valuable information on the genealogy of the Prophet Muḥammad and his successors, up to the first two Umayyad caliphs, referring repeatedly to kinship relationships between the caliphs and the ancestors of the Prophet. The errors

in these relationships that can be detected perhaps reflect the translator's mistakes in reading the original Arabic.

As with the other texts from the *Fabulae Sarracenorum*, the impact of the *Chronica mendosa* in later tradition is less significant than that of other works commissioned by Peter of Cluny, especially compared with the translation of the Qur'an by Robert of Ketton. Later texts that use the *Chronica mendosa* include: Alfonso de Espina, *Fortalitium fidei contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et alios christianae fidei inimicos* IV, 'De bello Sarracenorum' (1458-59); Nicolas de Cusa, *Cribratrio Alcorani* (1462); Dionisius Cartusianus, *Contra perfidiam Mahometi* (c. 1462); and the anonymous 16th-century *Theophrastus redivivus*. It was also made known through Bibliander's 16th-century edition, and the critical notes written by Ludovico Marracci for his commentaries on the Qur'an (*Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani*, Padua, 1691, 1698).

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Óscar de la Cruz Palma and Cándida Ferrero Hernández

Abū Bakr ibn al-ʿArabī

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn
Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Maʿāfirī

DATE OF BIRTH   31 March 1076
PLACE OF BIRTH   Seville
DATE OF DEATH   1147-48; 1148-49; 22 July 1148
PLACE OF DEATH   Magīla or Raʾs al-Māʾ, Morocco

BIOGRAPHY

Abū Bakr ibn al-ʿArabī was the son of Abū Muḥammad ibn al-ʿArabī, a courtier in Seville of the Banū ʿAbbād, rulers of one of the most important of the taifa kingdoms. When he was 17, with the Almoravids threatening to overthrow the Banū ʿAbbād, he left with his father on a journey (*riḥla*) to the Middle East. He remained there for some time, and the experience created a lasting impression. He came into contact with such luminaries as al-Ghazālī (q.v.) and al-Ṭurṭūshī (q.v.) (see M. Yaʿalā, *Tres textos*).

Upon his return to al-Andalus, Ibn al-ʿArabī served as *qāḍī* of Seville for a short time under the Almoravids. This incurred the anger of the people, who were against the new rulers. They attacked his house and almost killed him.

In his later years, Ibn al-ʿArabī was part of the delegation that travelled to Marrakesh to show loyalty to the Almohad Caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin ibn ʿAlī. The members of this delegation were jailed for almost a year. He died on his way home, probably on 22 July 1148.

Abū Bakr is known as the author of about 120 books (see the lists in Aʿrāb, *Maʿa l-qāḍī*, and Lucini, 'Ibn al-ʿArabī'). Their subjects cover a huge range of current social, political and intellectual concerns in Islam, both western and eastern. They include Islamic law, Hadith sciences, Qurʾan, Arabic grammar, philology, history, philosophy, *kalām* and many other matters.

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Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Kitāb al-ṣila fī tārikh aʾimmat al-Andalus wa-ʿulamāʾihim wa-muḥaddithīhim wa-fuqahāʾihim wa-udabāʾihim*, ed. ʿI. ʿAṭṭār al-Ḥusaynī, 2 vols, Cairo, 1955, ii, p. 558

Ibn Farḥūn, *Al-dībāj al-mudhhab fī maʿrifat aʿyān ʿulamāʾ al-madhhab*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1972, ii, pp. 252-56

Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt fī akhbār man dhahab*, 4 vols, Beirut, s.d., iv, pp. 141-42

Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, iv, pp. 296-97

Ibn Khāqān, *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus fī masraḥ al-taʾannus fī mulaḥ ahl al-Andalus*, ed. M. ʿAlī Shawābkiya, Cairo, 1983, pp. 297-98

Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Jadhwat al-iqtibās fī dhikr man ḥalla bi-madīnat Fās*, 2 vols, Rabat, 1973-74, i, pp. 202-62

Ibn Saʿīd, *Al-mughrib fī ḥulā al-Maghrib*, ed. S. Ḍayf, 2 vols, Cairo, 1953-55, i, pp. 249-50

Ibn Saʿīd, *Rāyāt al-mubarrazīn wa-ghāyat al-mumayyazīn*, ed. M. Ridwān, Damascus, 1987, pp. 60-61

Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *Al-ghunya*, ed. M. Jarrār, Beirut, 1982, pp. 66-72

Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min guṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, 8 vols, Beirut, 1968, ii, pp. 25-36

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Secondary

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S. Aʿrāb, *Maʿa l-qāḍī Abī Bakr ibn al-ʿArabī wa-kitābihi Tartīb al-riḥla li-targhīb al-milla*, Beirut, 1987

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ʿI. Dandash, 'Dirāsa ḥawla rasāʾil Abī Bakr b. al-ʿArabī', *Al-Manāhil* 9 (1977)
     149-91

M. Viguera, 'Las cartas al-Gazālī y al-Ṭurṭūšī al soberano almorávide Yūsuf
     b. Tāšufīn', *Al-Andalus* 42 (1977) 341-74

ʿA. al-Ṭālibī, *Ārāʾ Abī Bakr ibn al-ʿArabī al-kalāmiyya*, Algiers, 1974 (vol. 2
     of *Al-ʿawāṣim min al-qawāṣim*)

I. ʿAbbās, 'Riḥlat ibn al-ʿArabī ilā l-Mashriq', *Al-Abḥāth* 21 (1968) 59-91

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     16 (1963) 217-36

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-ʿawāṣim min al-qawāṣim, 'Protections from catastrophes'

DATE   1144
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work is concerned with *kalām*, and contains often very aggressive criticisms of those with whom Ibn al-ʿArabī disagrees. He makes clear his absolute disagreement with the philosophers, emphasizing that rational thought must be in harmony with revelation, because through the Qurʾan God has solved every problem and every doubt.

   A detail of the book concerns a reminiscence of Ibn al-ʿArabī's time in Jerusalem, where he encountered many debating circles. In one he remembers seeing Jewish and Christian leaders (*min aḥbār al-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā*) participating on equal terms with leaders of other faiths, as well as Muslims (ed. al-Khaṭīb, p. 61). If this leaves him uneasy, his recollection (pp. 94-95) that in early Abbasid times Christians and others were relied on to translate works into Arabic for Muslims makes him indignant, because in his view these translators mixed medical knowledge with their atheistic beliefs, in disagreement with the *sharīʿa*. In a similar way, he argues (p. 102) that the translators of the medical works of Galen inserted into the original text approval of eating pork, which he thinks is unsuitable for human consumption.

SIGNIFICANCE

These and other comments in the work show Ibn al-ʿArabī's uncompromising dislike of Christians (as well as Jews and others), and his

readiness to accuse them of all kinds of malice in their distortion of the truth. He clearly considers that Muslims should not mix with Christians and followers of other faiths, and is disdainful of those who have in the past.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya – ʿAqāʾid Taymūr 621 (1843)

MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya – 4 tawḥīd *sh* (1872)

MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya – a.n. 22031 (date unknown)

MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya – 42654 (date unknown)

MS Tunis, Jāmiʿ al-Zaytūna – 14565 (date unknown)

MS Tunis, Jāmiʿ al-Zaytūna – 168033 (date unknown)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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Ed. ʿA.ʿA. Ṭālibī, Algiers, 1974

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Ed. ʿA.ʿA. al-Ḥ. ibn Bādis (ed.), 2 vols, Constantine, 1927-28 (from the poor MS Tunis, Jāmiʿ al-Zaytūna)

STUDIES

ʿA. Ṭālibī, *Ārāʾ Abī Bakr ibn al-ʿArabī al-kalāmiyya*, vol. 2

Rachid El Hour

Al-Qūṭī

Qissīs min al-Qūṭ

DATE OF BIRTH   12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown; possibly Toledo
DATE OF DEATH   12th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

We have no information about this Christian author, except for a few details in the work associated with him. These indicate that he was from Toledo and a priest, and with the epithet al-Qūṭī he must have been of Visigothic descent.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Maqāmiʿ al-ṣulbān, ed. ʿA.-M. al-Sharfī, Tunis, 1975, pp. 30-39

Secondary
T.E. Burman, *Religious polemic and the intellectual history of the Mozarabs, c. 1050-1200*, Leiden, 1994, pp. 63-65

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Risālat al-Qūṭī, 'The letter of al-Qūṭī'

DATE   Mid-1140s
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

The letter of al-Qūṭī survives in the form of quotations in the refutation made by al-Khazrajī (q.v.), who was presumably the translator of the original Latin into Arabic. It contains a brief refutation of Islam, the main topics of which include Christian salvation history, the divine Sonship of Jesus and the Incarnation, together with Islam as untruth, the errors of the Qurʾan, disagreements between the Bible and the Qurʾan, and the accusation of *taḥrīf*.

SIGNIFICANCE

The most valuable feature of the treatise is that the themes included confirm Mozarabic theological and polemical views about Islam in the 11th and 12th centuries. At the same time, it offers valuable information about the language and terminology used by Mozarabic polemicists, although it was originally written in Latin.

MANUSCRIPTS   —
EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS
See the entry on al-Khazrajī.
STUDIES
Burman, *Religious polemic and the intellectual history of the Mozarabs*, pp. 62-70

Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala

Al-Khazrajī

Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad ibn Abī ʿUbayda
(ʿAbīda) al-Khazrajī al-Ṣāʿidī al-Anṣārī al-Qurṭubī

DATE OF BIRTH   1125-26
PLACE OF BIRTH   Possibly Cordova
DATE OF DEATH   1187
PLACE OF DEATH   Fes

BIOGRAPHY

As his *nisba* al-Qurṭubī indicates, al-Khazrajī appears to have been born in Cordova. He died in Fes, after living in Granada and Bijāya. He received a complete education in the Islamic sciences, especially Prophetic traditions, and he studied with the most learned scholars of his day. In his turn, he taught many students, who transmitted traditions from him.

Among the scant details we have about al-Khazrajī, al-Marrākushī says that he went blind, and that he was taken prisoner in Toledo in the year 1145-46, during the struggle for Cordova between the Almoravid governor Ibn Ghāniya and Abū Jaʿfar ibn Ḥamdīn.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad al-Ḥifnāwī, *Taʿrīf al-khalaf bi-rijāl al-salaf*, 2 vols in 1, Beirut, 1985², ii, p. 66

Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila li-Kitāb al-Ṣila*, ed. F. Codera, Madrid, 1887-89, no. 223

Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, *Al-dhayl wa-l-takmila li-kitābay l-Mawṣūl wa-l-Ṣila*, ed. Muḥammad Bencherifa, 2 vols, Beirut, 1971, i/1, pp. 239-41

Ibn Farḥūn, *Kitāb al-dībāj al-mudhhab fī maʿrifat aʿyān ʿulamāʾ al-madh-hab*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1976, i, pp. 215-16

Al-Tunbuktī, *Kitāb nayl al-ibtihāj bi-taṭrīz al-Dībāj*, Beirut, s.d., p. 59

F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos arábigo-españoles*, Madrid, 1898, pp. 176-77

Secondary   —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Maqāmiʿ al-ṣulbān wa-marātiʿ (rawātiʿ) riyāḍ (rawḍat) ahl al-īmān, 'Mallets for crosses and provender in the meadows of the faithful', 'Mallets for crosses'

DATE   Mid-1140s

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Al-Khazrajī's *Maqāmiʿ al-ṣulbān* was written when the author was around 20 years old (though al-Sharfī thinks that perhaps it was written by one of his pupils).

The text, which belongs to the broad genre of polemics (*radd*), was written by al-Khazrajī during his two years of captivity in Toledo in 1145-46/1147-48. The book comprises an attack on Islam by a Visigothic priest of Toledo (*qissīs min al-Qūṭ*) and the answer from al-Khazrajī after he had left Toledo and was heading back towards Islamic territory.

The Christian attack contains a defense of Christian teachings, life, morals and scriptures, and a series of accounts of miracles among the Christians, followed by an attack on the Islamic version of paradise and against the spread of Islam by force, ending with a call for the conversion of Muslims to Christianity.

Al-Khazrajī's reply includes a refutation of the Christian beliefs in the divinity of Jesus, his Incarnation, crucifixion and redemption, and the Trinity. This is followed by a comparison between Islamic law, Jewish law and the law of the Gospel, together with a defense of the inimitability of the Qurʾān and the mission of Muḥammad, which he argues is supported by predictions in the Bible. He shows that Jewish and Christian scriptures have been corrupted, and argues against the Christian's criticisms of jihad, polygamy and the abrogation of the Bible, concluding with his own criticisms about the false miracles claimed by the Christians.

SIGNIFICANCE

Al-Khazrajī's work is important not only because of its refutations of Christian doctrines and practices, but also because of the Christian's letter it preserves. This letter attests to Mozarabic attitudes towards Islam.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Tunis, Al-Maktaba al-Waṭaniyya – 14472 (16th century)

MS Istanbul, Maktabat Asʿad Effendi – 6/4 (18th century)

MS Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi – R 506/3 (possibly 18th century)

MS Istanbul, Aḥmet III – 1863 (19th century)

MS Istanbul, Aya Sofiya – 2367 (19th century)

MS Tunis, Al-Maktaba al-Waṭaniyya – 8983 (19th century)

MS Tunis, Al-Maktaba al-Waṭaniyya – 13659 (19th century)

MS Tunis, Al-Maktaba al-Waṭaniyya – 18545 (19th century)

MS Tunis – private copy belonging to Muḥammad al-Shādilī (19th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Muḥammad Shāma, *Bayn al-Islām wa-l-Masīḥiyya: Kitāb Abī ʿUbayda al-Khazrajī*, Cairo, 1979 (faulty edition)

Maqāmiʿ al-ṣulbān, ed. ʿA.-M. al-Sharfī, Tunis, 1975

F. de la Granja, 'Milagros españoles en una obra polémica musulmana (el "Kitāb maqāmiʿ al-Ṣulbān" del Jazraŷī)', *Al-Andalus* 33 (1968) 311-65, pp. 327-59 (Spanish trans. of five fragments)

STUDIES

O.R. Constable (ed.), *Medieval Iberia. Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish sources*, Philadelphia PA, 1997, pp. 143-47

T.E. Burman, *Religious polemic and the intellectual history of the Mozarabs, c. 1050-1200*, Leiden, 1994, pp. 36, 63-64, 67, 70, 83, 253 n. 4, 321 n. 2, 347 n. 7

S.K. Samir, 'Maqāmiʿ al-Ṣulbān li-Aḥmad Ibn ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Ḫazrajī (519/1125-582/1186), éd. critique par ʿAbd al-Maǧīd ash-Sharfī, Tunis, 1975', *Islamochristiana* 6 (1980) 242-54 (review)

M. de Epalza, 'Notes pour une histoire des polémiques anti-chrétiennes dans l'Occident musulman', *Arabica* 18 (1971) 99-106, p. 104

de la Granja, 'Milagros españoles'

Abdelmagid Turki, 'La culture arabo-musulmane et la Péninsule Ibérique', *Revue Tunisienne de Sciences Sociales* 2 (1965) 67-88, pp. 81-82 and n. 8

Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala

Euthymius the monk

Euthymios monachos, hosios Euthymios
ho megas, Euthymios

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   Maybe after 1110 or 1113, or 13th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

We have no information about the life of the author of the *Dialexis*, the so-called Euthymios *monachos*. Biographical information previously thought to be about him was in fact the result of confusion with other individuals with the name 'Euthymios' (see below) and is incorrect.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary   —

Secondary   —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Dialexis, 'Dialogue of the monk Euthymius with a Saracen'

DATE   Maybe after 1110/13 and before 1129-46, or 1st half of the 13th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Greek

DESCRIPTION

Almost all the six manuscripts give this work different titles. In addition, Papabasileios and Trapp quote the manuscripts in different ways, producing a confusing number of variants. Since Papabasileios apparently did not inspect the manuscripts but quotes some older works on them, Trapp's information is to be preferred. The variations between the titles are set out below:

MS Hieros. Sab. – 697 (A)

Dialexis Euthymiou monachou kai Sarakēnou philosophou peri pisteōs ginomenē [sic] *en polei Melitēnē* ('Dialogue of [the] monk Euthymius and a Saracen philosopher about [the] faith held in [the] city Melitene') (Trapp, 'Dialexis', p. 114, *apparatus criticus*)

MS Hieros. Sab. – 223 (B)

Dialexis tou hosiou patros hēmōn Euthymiou tou megalou kata Sarakinou [sic] *philosophou peri pisteōs genomenēs* [sic] *en tē polei Melitēnēs* ('Dialogue of our holy father Euthymius the great against a Saracen philosopher about [the] faith held in the city of Melitene') (Trapp, 'Dialexis', p. 114, *apparatus criticus*, like D)

MS Vienna, Vindob. theol. – Gr. 252 (C)

Dialexis Euthymiou monachou kai Sarakēnou philosophou peri pisteōs genomenēs [sic] *en tē polei Melitēnē eulogēson* ('Dialogue of [the] monk Euthymius and a Saracen philosopher about [the] faith held in the city Melitene, praise') (Trapp, 'Dialexis', p. 114, *apparatus criticus*)

MS Vat – Gr. 952 (E)

Dialexeis Euthymios me ton Sarakynon [omnia sic] ('Dialogue[s] Euthymius with the Saracen') (Trapp, 'Dialexis', p. 114, *apparatus criticus*)

MS Vat – Ottob. Gr. 333 (D)

Like B, according to Trapp, 'Dialexis', p. 114, *apparatus criticus*

MS Hieros. Patr – 231

Dialexis Euthymiou kai Sarakēnou philosophou peri pisteōs en tē polei Melitēnē ('Dialogue of Euthymius and a Saracen philosopher about [the] faith in the city Melitene') (Papabasileios, *Euthymios*, p. 331, referring to A. Papadopoulou-Kerameus, *Hierosolymitikē Bibliothēkē*, vol. 2, St Petersburg, 1894 [repr. Brussels, 1963, p. 304]).

Trapp ('Dialexis', p. 114) collates these as *Dialexis Euthymiou monachou kai Sarakēnou philosophou peri pisteōs genomenē en tē polei Melitēnē* ('Dialogue of [the] monk Euthymius and a Saracen philosopher about [the] faith held in the city Melitene'). Mai (*PG* 131, cols 19-20) gives *Tou hosiou patros hēmōn Euthymiou monachou dialexis meta Sarakēnou philosophou peri pisteōs en tē polei Melitēnēs* ('[The] dialogue of our holy father Euthymius with a Saracen philosopher about [the] faith in the city of Melitene').

The *Dialogue between the Christian Euthymius and a Saracen about the faith* covers some nine cols in *PG*, 416 lines in Trapp's edition. In *PG* it is divided into 16 chapters. The Saracen commences each

chapter with a question, except ch. 2 (where the Christian begins by giving an allegory), and chs 13-16. This corresponds to the internal structure, as chs 1-12 are a real dialogue in question-answer style, while chs 13-16 are a monologue by the Christian.

The second part is more militant against Muslims and their faith than the first, which is written in a tone of mutual respect and good will to persuade the Muslim to become Christian. At the end (l. 416, ed. Trapp, *apparatus criticus*) the Muslim confesses he is won over and asks to be baptized. This part is included only in MS Vat – Ottob. Gr. 333 (D, which was the basis for Mai's edition).

Regarding their form and content, chs 13-16 (apart from the very last part containing the Muslim's confession, l. 416, *apparatus criticus*) seem to be a later addition to the dialogue, for the following reasons: only the Christian speaks and there is no dialogue; the 'Saracen' (*Sarakēnos*) is here addressed as 'Agaren' (*Agarēnos*), while the last segment (l. 416, *apparatus criticus*) reverts to 'Saracen'; in the apologetic first part (chs 1-12) the Christian patiently explains his own faith, while in this polemical second part he aggressively refutes the Muslim faith.

The topics dwelt on in the first, apologetic part are the Trinity, Christology, Mariology, the witnesses of the Old Testament, indirect refutation of two inter-Christian heresies, some Christian practices, and redemption history. Topics dealt with in the second, polemical part are the prophethood of Muḥammad, Muḥammad as a person, the Islamic perception of angels and paradise, and the sanctuary at Mecca.

In more detail, first, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity is explained (ll. 3-19) and the existence of God the Father is proved by an allegory (ll. 20-26). Next, the Incarnation of God the Son and the three hypostases of God (ll. 27-40), and then Mary's virginity (ll. 41-46) and the reasons for the Incarnation (ll. 47-60) are discussed. The Christian explains how Christians come to know these dogmas although they originate long before this time (ll. 61-68). An *apologia* for Christ's two natures (*physeis*) and the three hypostases (*physeis*), and the energies (*energeiai*) of the one essence (*hypostasis*) and power (*exousia*) of God follows, including an allegory (ll. 69-88); here Moses and Isaiah are presented as witnesses for the unity (*henōsis*) of the two natures (*ousia*) in the incarnate God (ll. 89-110). In the following two segments, the Christian indirectly disapproves of two controversies, Monenergism-Monotheletism and Iconoclasm, which shook

the church internally in the 7th and 8th-9th centuries respectively. The Christian explains the meaning of the Eucharist (ll. 129-38) and rebuts the Muslim dogma of the inferiority of the Christian (and Jewish) scriptures to the Qur'an (ll. 139-49), and then elucidates the sending out of the Holy Spirit ('Pentecost') (ll. 150-62) and Christian practices, such as not being circumcised, spiritual cleansing with water (in contrast to the corporal ablution practiced by Muslims before prayer) (ll. 163-72), confession (ll. 173-77) and the last rites (ll. 178-83). The Christian lists witnesses attesting to the conception of Christ taking place without intercourse (ll. 184-201), and provides an allegory in order to explain the divine and human natures of Christ (ll. 202-11). He stresses that only the human nature suffered (*paschein*) (ll. 212-24), before explaining redemption history (*oikonomeia*) (ll. 225-63). In the last section of the dialogue, the Christian refutes the Muslim's view that Isaiah declared Muḥammad a prophet (ll. 264-76) and that Christians corrupted things (ll. 277-84).

The break between the two parts is quite obvious. In the monologue that now follows, the Christian attacks Muḥammad as a false prophet and an impure man by referring to the story of the monk Baḥīrā (ll. 285-324, 344-68, 409-12, 414-16). He then objects to Islamic ideas such as the 124,000 prophets of God (ll. 325-44), the Muslim perception of paradise (ll. 369-94, 412-14), and the Muslim sanctuary in Mecca with the Black Stone (ll. 395-409).

The work is principally written in standard Greek, but some vulgar forms of words are detectable even though the apparently complex transmission of the text may have changed a significant proportion of the original lexemes (cf. Trapp, 'Dialexis', pp. 112-13). A remarkable feature is the straightforward language, including the absence of complicated technical terms and the use of simple allegories (*homoiōma*). This leads to the conclusion that it was written for a wide readership (Papabasileios, *Euthymios*, p. 334), and that its author was not highly educated.

What is interesting from the theological point of view is that the terms for 'essence' (*ousia*), 'hypostasis' (*hypostasis/prosōpon*) and 'nature' (*physis*) do not seem to be entirely fixed: *ousia* is used for 'nature' (l. 90; *contra* Khoury, *Théologiens*, p. 302, who translates *ousia* here as 'essence'); *physis* as 'hypostasis' (ll. 79, 84) and 'nature' (l. 71); and *hypostasis* as 'essence' (l. 78). This leads to the conclusion that the author was not deeply educated theologically, as these terms had been fixed from the 4th and 5th century (cf. the *tomus* of the Synod

of Constantinople 382, transmitted in Theodoret *h. e.* V, 9,11, and the *horos* of the 4th Ecumenical Council 451 in Chalcedon).

The Christian interlocutor is identified in the title as 'Euthymios *monachos*' (MSS A and C), 'Euthymios' (MSS E and Hieros. Patr. 231) and '*hosios* Euthymios *ho megas*' (MSS B and D; for the last cf. Papabasileios, *Euthymios*, p. 340, n. 1 *contra* Trapp, 'Dialexis', p. 112). In the text itself, he is named just once and in one manuscript only (MS D) as 'holy' (*ho hagios* Euthymios *ephē*, l. 43, *apparatus criticus*).

It is not clear whether the author was in fact called Euthymius or whether the name was chosen simply for publicity. Jugie ('La vie', p. 224; 'Euthymius', col. 1579) assumes that the author of the *Dialexis* chose this name because of its closeness to Euthymius Zigabēnus' (q.v.) *Panoplia dogmatikē*. So the author of the *Dialexis* might best be called Pseudo-Euthymius. The fictional style of the work supports this assumption.

It is important to stress that this Euthymios *monachos* is not to be identified with the better-known Euthymius Zigabēnus, as was the view of earlier scholars (for bibliographical details, see below). According to Jugie (art. 'Euthymius' in *DThC*, col. 1579) and Beck (*Kirche*, p. 614), the *Dialexis* and the *Panoplia* are, on the basis of internal criteria, by different authors.

In addition, as G. Ficker has shown (*Die Phundagiagiten*, 1908, pp. 177-91), Euthymius Zigabēnus is not identical with the Euthymius who wrote polemical works against the Armenians and the Bogomils (cf. Beck, *Kirche*, pp. 532-33, 614). The latter is called Euthymios *monachos tēs Peribleptou monēs* ('monk of the Peribleptos monastery' [near Constantinople]), and was a monk from the diocese of Akmoneia, born in Phrygia (cf. also A. Kazhdan and C. Cutler, art. 'Zigabenos, Euthymios', in *ODB*; Papabasileios, *Ethymios*, p. 25; Jugie, 'La vie', pp. 215-16, and 'Euthymius', col. 1580). Whether this Euthymios *monachos* of the Peribleptos monastery is the same as the Euthymios *monachos* who wrote the *Dialexis* cannot be verified (see Trapp, 'Dialexis', p. 112; for the different individuals called 'Euthymius', cf. Papabasileios, *Euthymios*, pp. 21-25).

Although the title of the work suggests that the dialogue took place in Melitene on the Euphrates, it does not seem probable that Euthymius would have been in that city, which was under Muslim rule before and during the First Crusade (Güterbook, *Islam*, pp. 36-37). Khoury says that the author wanted to give importance to his work by situating the interlocution in a well-known city, and that Melitene was

not constantly under Muslim rule, so a Christian could have travelled there during this period; indeed, there was even a Greek governor in the city (Khoury, *Théologiens*, p. 294). However, the general style of the *Dialexis* seems to reflect a fictitious scene rather than a historical one (cf. Trapp, *Manuel II*, p. 26*; Khoury, *Thélogiens*, pp. 294-95, 298-99; Papabasileios, *Euthymios*, p. 335).

Jugie (art. 'Euthymius' in *DThC*, col. 1579, quoting E. Féron and F. Battaglini, *Codices manuscripti Graeci Ottoboniani Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, Rome, 1893, p. 174) and Beck (*Kirche*, p. 614) assume that the author of the *Dialexis* made use of ch. 28 (*kata Sarakēnōn*, 'against the Saracens') of the *Panoplia dogmatikē* of Euthymius Zigabēnus, cf. in particular *PG* 130, cols 1336, 1337 with *PG* 131 cols 28, 21, 33. Trapp (*Manuel II*, p. 26*), in contrast, rejects this view, postulating that *PG* 131, cols 36D – 37A (ch. 15) is taken from John of Damascus' *De haeresibus* (*PG* 94, cols 769C-772B) rather than from Euthymius Zigabēnus. He argues that the first part of the description of paradise (i.e. the rivers: *PG* 131, col. 36D = *PG* 94, col. 772BC) is missing in the *Panoplia* (*PG* 130, col. 1353AB); cf. also *PG* 94, cols 764, 765 with *PG* 131, cols 33, 36, ch. 13, respectively.

Following from Jugie and Beck's opinion that the *Panoplia* influenced the *Dialexis*, it can be assumed that the dialogue was written about or after 1110 (A. Kazhdan and A. Cutler, art. 'Zigabenos, Euthymios', in *ODB* 2227) or 1113 (H.G. Thümmel, art. 'Euthymios Zigabenos', in *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche*), which is the estimated date when the *Panoplia* was written. On the other hand, the chronological priority of the *Dialexis* to the *Elenchos Agarēnou* of Bartholomew of Edessa (q.v.) cannot be doubted (Trapp, 'Dialexis', p. 112 and *Manuel II*, p. 34*; Niehoff-Panagiotidis, art. 'Bartholomew of Edessa' in this volume). The *Elenchos* uses some of the questions (cf. l. 61 = Bartholomew, *PG* 104, col. 1384B; l. 89 = col. 1384C; ll. 123, 129 139 = col. 1384C; ll. 150, 163, 173, 178, 264 = col. 1385A) and passages of the polemical part (ll. 294-368 = cols 1388A-1389A, 1416B) of the *Dialexis*. The *Elenchos Agarēnou* is said to have been written before 1146 (when the Christian minority of Edessa was eliminated), or even between 1129 and 1146 (when Edessa was Frankish) (cf. Trapp, *Manuel II*, pp. 33*-34*). So, the origin of the *Dialexis* can be estimated to before 1146 for certain, and maybe after 1110/13 and before 1129.

Khoury, in contrast, states that the *Dialexis* depends less upon Euthymius Zigabēnus' *Panoplia* than upon Bartholomew's *Elenchos*.

He regards the *Dialexis* as later than the *Elenchos* (1st half of the 13th century), and argues that it was written by a follower of Euthymius Zigabēnus, who was influenced by Bartholomew of Edessa (Khoury, *Théologiens*, pp. 296-98). However, he admits that the first dialogue part could be earlier than the *Elenchos*. The two parts within the *Dialexis* could have been collated after the appearance of Bartholomew's work (Khoury, *Théologiens*, p. 298, n. 8).

The assertion that the Qur'an says that sexual intercourse in paradise is performed in the presence of God (*enōpion tou theou*, ll. 412-14) has already been made in Nicetas of Byzantium's (q.v.) *Anatropē tou Koraniou* (9th century; *Confutatio* I, l. 141-43, K. Förstel, *Niketas von Byzanz. Schriften zum Islam*, Würzburg, 2000, i [*Corpus Islamo-Christianum, Series Graeca* 5, p. 46]).

The *Dialexis* uses the Old and New Testaments (for detail, see Trapp, 'Dialexis', pp. 114-26; Khoury, *Théologiens*, pp. 300-7), as well as other earlier works (according to Papabasileios, *Euthymios*, pp. 336-37, and Khoury, *Théologiens*, p. 306, n. 23), such as Theodore Abū Qurra (q.v.) (*Kata hairetikōn, Ioudaiōn kai Sarakēnōn, poikila erga*, *PG* 97, cols 1544f. = *PG* 131, col. 33, ch. 13), Samōna, Archbishop of Gaza, *Dialexis pros Achmed ton Sarakēnon* (*PG* 120, cols. 821, 824 = *PG* 131, col. 25, ch. 6) and others.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Dialexis* is consistent with the mainstream of polemical works of the time against Islam. Its apologetic arguments and the charges it reproduces against Islam had been well known in Byzantium for centuries.

It is remarkable that the relatively short *Dialexis* presents a combination of an apologetic and a polemical part, like the much longer *Anatropē tou Koraniou* of Nicetas of Byzantium (see above). The dialogue section represents a continuation of the earlier *opuscula islamica* of Theodore Abū Qurra (8th-9th century). Furthermore, the mutual respect of the two interlocutors is evocative of the two letters written by Nicetas of Byzantium to the Hagarenes (Förstel, *Niketas von Byzanz*, pp. 155-99).

MANUSCRIPTS

For easy recognition of MSS, the letters A, B, C, D, E are retained, as in Trapp, 'Dialexis', p. 111:

> MS Hieros. Sab. – 697, fols 88r-107r (about the end of the 13th or 14th century; Greek) (A)

MS Hieros. Sab. – 223, fols 206v-214v (14th century; Greek) (B)

MS Vienna, Vindob. theol. – Gr. 252, fols 43r-48v (14th century:
Trapp, 'Dialexis' (1971), p. 111; 16th-18th century: Trapp, *Manuel II* (1966), p. 26*) (C)

MS Vat – Gr. 952, fols 147r-153r (15th century) (E)

MS Vat – Ottob. gr. 333, fols 163r-176r (16th-17th century) (D)

MS Hieros. Patr. – 231, fols 217r-228r (about the middle of the
18th century; Greek)

It is not possible to reconstruct a stemma of the manuscripts, but it seems that ACE and BD represent two different branches of text tradition. E is a quite arbitrary contamination, as the beginning of the *Dialexis* is missing and the rest of the text appears in a very different order.

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Manolis Ulbricht

De expugnatione Lyxbonensi

Unknown author; probably Raol,
a Norman-French priest

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown; possibly Normandy
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; latter part of the 12th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Raol was a Norman-French priest who wrote an account of the northern European crusading expedition that helped King Afonso I Henriques of Portugal (1128-85) conquer the city of Lisbon in October 1147. This was a temporary stop for the crusaders who were en route to the main target of the campaign in the Levant. This work was addressed to Osbert of Bawdsey, a cleric of the Glanvill family, a prominent noble family in East Anglia. Hervey, one member of the Glanvills, was a leading figure in the Lisbon campaign.

Raol probably had some kind of legatine status, judging by his possession of a relic of the True Cross and substantial financial resources. He was also responsible for a stirring oration to the Anglo-Norman troops before the final assault on Lisbon. After the siege, in April 1148, he donated the Anglo-Norman cemetery and chapel to the Augustinian priory of Santa Cruz at Coimbra, a gift witnessed on the charter of donation by King Afonso. Nothing else about Raol's life is known.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

De expugnatione Lyxbonensi, 'The conquest of Lisbon'

DATE   1147 or soon after

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

The modern English edition and translation is 65 pages of Latin, with an opposing-page translation.

The work, in the form of an epistolary narrative, is primarily a description of the conquest of Lisbon (October 1147) by an army of northern European crusaders during the Second Crusade. It was probably written originally as a diary and then shaped into its literary form of an epistolary narrative during the winter of 1147 (the sole surviving manuscript dates from the late 1160s). Three contingents of men from Anglo-Norman lands, Flanders and the Rhineland, took part; Raol was a member of the first of these groups. His text includes the regulations that all participants swore to follow during the campaign. He also describes the crusaders' reception by the bishop of Porto in northern Iberia and then details the events of the siege and capture of Lisbon itself.

Part of Raol's motivation could have been a justification of what some may have seen as a diversion from the main aim of the Second Crusade, to fight Muslims in the Holy Land. Through the literary device of four lengthy speeches, Raol repeatedly stresses the moral value and integrity of this undertaking, warns against the dangers and sins that face the crusaders and, through the positive outcome of the

expedition, (without saying so directly) leaves the reader to observe God's judgment.

One set-piece exchange is between Archbishop John of Braga and an anonymous Muslim elder. While this is almost certainly a literary construct, some of the sentiments expressed are of interest. The archbishop stresses the common humanity between the two groups and how one ought not to be unacceptable to the other. He points out that the Muslims had seized Christian lands unjustly (a standard justification for crusading) and suggests that the Muslims might remain in Lisbon under Christian rule and live according to their own customs. The Muslim elder responds by pointing out the Christians' greed and stating that God will decide the city's fate.

As the siege progresses the Muslims insult the crusaders by claiming that their wives will be bearing bastards in their absence. They also attack Christ's humanity and criticize the Christian veneration of the son of a poor woman. Once the siege is over, Raol makes further, and distinctive, remarks about the Muslims. After thanking God for the crusaders' success he – extraordinarily for an active crusader – sympathizes with their sufferings during the siege: 'We feel pity for them in their vicissitudes… and feel sorry that the lashings of divine justice are not at an end' (*De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, p. 183). He ends with a plea to 'let their sorrow be turned into joy in order that they may know thee, the only living God' (p. 183).

Expressions of conversion were almost unheard of in 12th-century crusading ideology, particularly given the need to stir up hatred of the targets of holy war. Bernard of Clairvaux, for example, called for the extermination or conversion of the pagan Wends in the Baltic in 1147, exactly contemporaneously with Raol. Some hints that conversion was encouraged in the Iberian peninsula can be seen in papal bulls, and the Order of Santiago, founded in 1175, was urged to encourage conversion. In a narrative, however, Raol's comments – while perhaps needing to be seen in the context of Iberia – are many decades earlier than the push for conversion so characteristic of the 13th century.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* is twofold. First, the 'conversation' between Christians and Muslims during the siege seems to offer a reasonably accurate reflection of some of the latter's criticisms of the Christian faith, as well as the motives of the crusaders. Second is the author's willingness to consider converting Muslims

after the capture of Lisbon. This is an early incidence of such a view and, given the dating of the text to the late 1140s, was obviously well before the major age of mission during the 13th century. From the crusaders' perspective, this work explains why the crusaders were justified in attacking Lisbon en route to the Holy Land. The text covers the conventional motives such as the recovery of Christian lands, the need for vengeance on Muslims and the requisite of 'right intention', alongside an overlapping tension concerning the acquisition of material benefits.

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Jonathan P. Phillips

Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ

Abū l-Faḍl ʿIyāḍ ibn Mūsā
ibn ʿIyāḍ al-Yaḥṣubī al-Sabtī

DATE OF BIRTH   1083
PLACE OF BIRTH   Ceuta
DATE OF DEATH   1149
PLACE OF DEATH   Marrakesh

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ was one of the most significant religious personalities of Islamic Spain. He excelled in the fields of prophetic tradition and Islamic jurisprudence, and also wrote on history and literature (*adab*). After he composed the *Kitāb al-shifāʾ bi-taʿrīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā* ('The cure by the acknowledgement of the rights of the chosen one'), his reputation went beyond the confines of his homeland through the whole Islamic world.

He served the Almoravids as *qāḍī* of Ceuta between 1121 and 1136, of Granada between 1136 and 1138, and of Ceuta again from 1144-45 to 1148. At the same time, he acted as a *muftī*, giving advice on legal matters to both the authorities, including the Almoravid ruler, and private individuals.

In 1148, when the Almohads besieged Ceuta, it was al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ who decided that surrender was the only course. He was retained in his position, but was dismissed and expelled a short time later after leading an unsuccessful uprising. He spent some time in Day, in the area of Tadla close to Marrakesh, and was later called to Marrakesh itself. He died there of a sudden sickness in circumstances that remain unclear.

Al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ is now venerated as one of the seven 'patron-saints' of Marrakesh.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-shifāʾ bi-taʿrīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā, 'The cure by acknowledging the rights of the chosen one'

DATE   Between about 1110 and 1136

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Al-Shifāʾ is recognised as the most authoritative reference of its kind. ʿIyāḍ must have completed it before 1136, when he was made *qāḍī* of Granada, since by this time he was already teaching it to his students. His goal in writing it was to establish Muḥammad's precedence over other figures (e.g. saints), and to warn Muslims against unbelief (*kufr*).

The book is divided into four parts. The first deals with references in the sacred texts that demonstrate how God exalted Muḥammad and preferred him over other Muslims. The second deals with the obligation to believe in Muḥammad's prophetic mission and venerate him. In the third part, the Prophet's superiority vis à vis other religious figures is established on the grounds of the arguments presented in earlier chapters, and of his sinlessness. The fourth part is concerned with the duty of legal authorities to prevent and punish any violation of the duty to venerate Muḥammad.

References to Christians, who are usually mentioned together with Jews as *dhimmī*s, are found in part four. ʿIyāḍ warns of the danger of falling into unbelief, having in mind 'those members of the populace, women and idiots who imitate Christians and Jews' (ed. Amīn, ii, p. 280). Drawing on the authority of the Mālikī jurist and Ashʿarī theologian Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (q.v.), he criticizes al-Ghazālī (q.v.) for not supporting the view that Christians, Jews and 'those who move away from Islam' are to be declared unbelievers when they profess heretical doctrines. Among such doctrines he mentions the denial of God's oneness, the worship of a being other than God (p. 282), the belief that God became incarnate in one particular being, the rejection of Muḥammad's prophethood, the refusal to acknowledge any of the prophets acknowledged by Sunnī Muslims – a doctrine he attributes to Orosian Christians (p. 283) – and denial of the miraculous nature of the Qurʾan (pp. 290, 304-7).

An infidel is also someone who, despite being a Muslim, 'bows down to worship an idol, the sun, the moon, the cross, fire, etc… or goes to churches and synagogues together with their people, and adopts their manners and their attire, such as wearing close-fitting belts or shaving their heads' (ibid, 287). This is a valuable testimony to social interaction across religious boundaries in the Islamic West.

Christians who insult the Prophet and God, and are therefore subject to the death penalty, should not be offered an opportunity to repent unless they convert to Islam (pp. 295-96). The same should apply to *dhimmī*s who insult the angels or any one of the Islamic prophets (p 302).

SIGNIFICANCE

These harsh recommendations have earned the Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, together with Abū Bakr ibn al-ʿArabī al-Maʿāfirī (q.v.), the reputation of being the foremost anti-Christian polemicist of his time (Urvoy, *Penseurs*,

p. 166). His strictures against Christians who insulted Muḥammad were followed by the Ḥanbalī jurist and theologian Ibn Taymiyya (see Turki, 'Situation du "tributaire" qui insulte l'Islam', pp. 221-26).

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Fatwā, Legal opinion

DATE   Between 1126 and 1149
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This *fatwā* is concerned with 'a church constructed by Christian sub-
jects (*Naṣārā muʿāhidūn*) over which a mosque was built: are the
endowments (*aḥbās*) of the church to be transferred to the mosque
or to the public treasury?' The text contains a formal question (*istiftāʾ*)
concerning properties endowed for the benefit of an unnamed church,
which was presumably in the vicinity of Granada or Seville, together
with two answers given by ʿIyāḍ. The church and its endowments had
been abandoned after the local Christian community were deported
to the Maghrib by the Almoravid emir ʿAlī ibn Yūsuf for helping
Alfonso I of Aragon during a raid in 1125.

In his formal replies, ʿIyāḍ endorses the decision to convert the
church into a mosque. And he judges that the endowments should be
returned to their original owners, if known, because, unlike endow-
ments by Muslims, they have no sacred character (*ḥurma*). If the
owners cannot be found, the ruler should decide whether their rents
should go to the mosque or the public treasury.

SIGNIFICANCE

The text gives information about the legal status of landed property
of Andalusī Christians, and about the organization of Christian com-
munities under Muslim rule. It also offers an insight into the kind
of punishments meted out to Christians who betrayed their rulers,
and the threat from mass deportations to Christian survival in al-
Andalus.

MANUSCRIPTS

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      (1670)

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   V. Lagardère, *Histoire et société en Occident musulman au moyen
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E. Molina López, 'Economía, propiedad, impuestos y sectores productivos', in M.J. Viguera (ed.), *El retroceso territorial de al-Andalus. Almorávides y almohades. Siglos XI al XIII, Historia de España Menéndez Pidal*, Madrid, 1997, 211-300, pp. 231-34

D. Serrano 'Dos fetuas sobre la expulsión de mozárabes al Magreb en 1126', *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* 2 (1991) 163-82 (online http://www.ucm.es/BUCM/revistas/fll/11303964/articulos/ANQE9191110163A.PDF)

V. Lagardère, 'Communautés mozarabes et pouvoir almoravide en 519h/1125 en Andalus', *Studia Islamica* 67 (1988) 99-119

Tartīb al-madārik wa-taqrīb al-masālik bi-maʿrifat aʿlām madhhab Mālik, The ordering of perception and facilitation of procedures for knowledge of the most eminent in the school of Mālik

DATE   Before 1149

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Tartīb* is a collection of about 1,600 biographies of jurists of the Mālikī school of law, from the founder, Mālik ibn Anas, to ʿIyāḍ's own time (the precise date of composition is unknown). It is one of the most important sources for the history of the Mālikī school.

In the biography of Abū Bakr Yaḥyā ibn Hudhayl, ʿIyāḍ reports about celebrations of St John the Baptist's Day, the *mahrajān* or *ʿanṣara*, in 10th-century Cordova. He says that horse races took place, presumably organized and presided over by the Caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān

III himself. The celebration was accompanied by a poetry contest in which both Christian and Muslim poets participated.

SIGNIFICANCE

The fact that ʿIyāḍ gives this report without any comment suggests that the participation of Muslims, both ordinary people and elite, in Christian festivals was not unusual (see De la Granja, 'Fiestas cristianas II', p. 127). Read in relation to ʿIyāḍ's harsh words in the *Shifāʾ* about Muslims who imitated Christians and consorted with them, the story indicates that, when the balance of military power between Muslims and Christians in the Iberian peninsula started to shift in favor of the latter, customs and social practices that had been common before became unacceptable to Muslim jurists and theologians. They feared that mixing would weaken Muslims and increase the danger of being absorbed by the enemy, culturally and religiously.

MANUSCRIPTS

    MS Rabat, Al-Khizāna al-Malikiyya (no number) (undated)
    MS Rabat, Al-Khizāna al-ʿĀmma – 2633 (undated)
    MS Rabat, Al-Khizāna al-ʿĀmma – 2634 (undated)
    MS Rabat, Al-Khizāna al-ʿĀmma – 2635 (undated)

    There are also numerous manuscripts in private collections and libraries (see R. Brunschvig, 'Polémiques médiévales autour du rite de Mālik', *Al-Andalus* 15 (1950) 377-435, p. 414, and M. Ibn Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī, Introduction, p. *lam*).

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    Ed. Wizārat al-Awqāf wa-l-Shuʾūn al-Islāmiyya, 8 vols, Rabat, 1965-83, vi, p. 293
    F. de la Granja, 'Fiestas cristianas en al-Andalus (materiales para su estudio). II: Textos de Ṭurṭūšī, el cadí ʿIyāḍ y Wanšarīšī', *Al-Andalus* 35 (1970) 19-42, p. 127 (Spanish trans.)

STUDIES

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Delfina Serrano Ruano

Al-Shahrastānī

Abū al-Fatḥ Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn
Aḥmad al-Shahrastānī

DATE OF BIRTH   1086
PLACE OF BIRTH   Shahristān, northern Khurāsān
DATE OF DEATH   November 1153
PLACE OF DEATH   Shahristān

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Shahrastānī was born in a little village on the edge of the Qara
Qum desert. There he received his first education, but as a young
teenager (before 1100 at the latest) he travelled to Nīshāpūr to con-
tinue under leading scholars of the Ashʿarī school. He made the pil-
grimage to Mecca in 1117, and on his way back taught for three years
in the Niẓāmiyya college in Baghdad, where al-Ghazālī had been
professor about 20 years earlier. In 1120 he returned to his home-
land; he served in Merv in the entourage of the Saljūk ruler Sanjar,
and became his friend. At some unknown point he returned to his
own village, and remained there until his death. It is possible that he
engaged in Ismāʿīlī activities; the evidence is not conclusive, though
there are clear hints that he was sympathetic to Ismāʿīlī teachings.

Of al-Shahrastānī's works, 26 are known (Gimaret and Monnot,
Livre des religions, pp. 6-8). They are mostly on theological and philo-
sophical matters, and make clear that, like al-Ghazālī, al-Shahrastānī
had little time for the claims of speculative philosophy. There is also a
Qur'an commentary, and the *Nihāyat al-aqdām fī ʿilm al-kalām*, 'The
limit of advance [lit. steps] in the science of theology', a late work in
which al-Shahrastānī examines the nature of theology and its limita-
tions. It contains two chapters on the nature of prophethood (ch. 19)
and the prophetic claims of Muḥammad (ch. 20), which make no
reference either to Christian accusations against him or to biblical
predictions of him.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, 6 vols, Cairo, 1948-49, iii, pp. 403-4

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Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, 10 vols, Cairo, 1964-76, vi, pp. 128-30

Secondary

M.Ḥ. Saʿda, *Al-fikr al-naqdī ʿinda l-Shahrastānī*, Alexandria, 2003

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G. Monnot, 'Les controverses théologiques dans l'œuvre de Shahrastani', in A. le Boulluec (ed.), *La controverse religieuse et ses forms*, Paris, 1995, pp. 281-96

D. Gimaret and G. Monnot (trans), *Livre des religions et des sectes*, vol 1, Paris, 1986, pp. 3-10

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal, 'Religions and sects'

DATE   Unknown; before 1153
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal* is a comprehensive survey of the Muslim and non-Muslim religious and intellectual groupings known in al-Shahrastānī's time. It is a definitive example of Muslim heresiography, setting the groups and sects' teachings in hierarchical order to show how far they conform to the fundamental principles of orthodoxy or, in the majority of cases, fail to do so.

The *Milal* is clearly a work of al-Shahrastānī's maturity, though an exact date cannot be fixed for it. While it is extremely detailed in its exposition of the many sects and groups it includes, its structure is relatively clear (see Gimaret and Monnot, *Livre des religions*, pp. 14-23). It begins with five introductions in which the phenomenon of religious and intellectual diversity is set out and the need for a work such as this is explained. And then it presents the groups and

sects in two major parts, the first including those that can be called
religions (*al-diyānāt wa-l-milal*) since they acknowledge a deity and
claim to possess a revelation – Muslims, Jews, Christians, Zoroastri-
ans and dualists, and the second those that are of human origin (*ahl
al-ahwāʾ wa-l-niḥal*) since they emerge from reason and reflection –
Ṣābians, philosophers, pre-Islamic Arabs and Indians.

The Christians are among the religious groupings that 'have
departed from the religion of pure monotheism (*al-milla l-ḥanafiyya*)'.
Al-Shahrastānī explains that this happened when both Christians and
Jews made changes in their revelations that foretold the coming of
Muḥammad. It was thus impossible for either Jews or Christians to
follow the injunctions contained in them if they did not follow the
Qurʾan (ed. Badrān, pp. 485-90).

The section on Christians comprises a brief doctrinal description
of Christological and Trinitarian interpretations and an impression-
istic history of the early church (ed. Badrān, pp. 521-28), followed by
accounts of the three main sects of Melkites, Nestorians and Jaco-
bites, and notes about the main differences between them and their
lesser sectarian offshoots (ed. Badrān, pp. 529-50). These accounts are
extremely concise, and summarize the main doctrines of the sects
with a minimum of historical contextualization and interpretation.

Al-Shahrastānī's presentation is ostensibly almost entirely descrip-
tive, and it preserves many of the forms of expression and technical
terms typical of the Christian sects as found in earlier Arabic descrip-
tions (Abū ʿĪsā l-Warrāq's *Al-radd ʿalā l-thalāth firaq min al-Naṣārā*
may well be his ultimate source). If al-Shahrastānī has any criticisms,
they remain implicit in the details of the involvement of the Divinity
in the plurality of the Trinity and the limitations of the Incarnation,
and there are no overt comments. However, his severely schematized
accounts maybe speak for themselves about the logical difficulties
in the two main Christian doctrines, and warn about the dangers of
Christianity.

SIGNIFICANCE

Al-Shahrastānī appears to have relied heavily on Muslim sources
rather than Christian (he thinks that the Melkites are followers of
a certain Malkā, and that the 5th-century theologian Nestorius was a
contemporary of the 9th-century Caliph al-Maʾmūn), and he evidently
regards the doctrines he summarizes as similar to Muslim equiva-
lents (he compares Nestorius on the Trinitarian hypostases with the

Muʿtazilī Abū Hāshim [q.v.] on the divine attributes). His account is important not for its historical accuracy or objective information, but for its evaluation of Christianity as a distortion of true monotheistic beliefs. In his mind, this derives entirely from inattention to revealed teachings, through distortion of the scripture given to Christians themselves and indifference towards the scripture of Islam.

Al-Shahrastānī thus provides a typically Muslim appraisal of Christianity, stemming from the assumption that the true faith was anticipating the coming of Muḥammad and his revelation, and its historical forms have thus clearly neglected this original purity and degenerated into error.

MANUSCRIPTS

The best account of the most important of the numerous manuscripts of the work is given by Gimaret and Monnot, *Livre des religions et des sectes*, pp. 24-30. The earliest manuscripts, to be found in Turkey, possibly date from within al-Shahrastānī's own lifetime, and there are others that date from soon afterwards.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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David Thomas

Martyrdom of Bishop Thiemo

Passio Thiemonis Archiepiscopi, Passio beati Thiemonis, juvanensis archiepiscopi, 'Martyrdom of Archbishop Thiemo'

DATE   Early 12th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

Three hagiographical texts narrate the martyrdom of Archbishop Thiemo of Salzburg, who died in the crusade of 1101. The versions vary slightly, but accord in the events narrated. Thiemo, we are told, along with Duke Welf of Bavaria, led a group of Bavarians and Swabians toward Jerusalem, which was already under the rule of crusader Godfrey. As they approached the holy city, these crusaders were surrounded and defeated 'by an innumerable multitude of gentiles (*ethnici*)'. These pagans were led by three brothers from 'Corosan', 'who in their ferocity were more tyrannical and in their cult more pagan than Decius' (the Roman emperor best known for his brutal persecutions of Christians). The 'pagans' were angered by the recent victory of the crusaders and eager to wreak vengeance on Christian pilgrims. They led Thiemo and other pilgrims away into slavery.

One day, their king discovered that Thiemo had been trained as a goldsmith, so he asked him to repair a golden idol. Thiemo asked for a hammer and approached the idol. He addressed the demon inhabiting the idol, ordering it in the name of God to leave the statue. When the demon uttered blasphemies, Thiemo smashed the idol with his hammer. This led to his martyrdom: he was thrown into prison, brought out the next day, put on an ass, whipped, and brought to an arena before the crowds; there the king accused him of sacrilege. Thiemo responded that the idols were not gods but demons, and preached that the king should desist from the worship of Saturn, Jove and the obscene Priapus. The king responded by ordering that all Thiemo's fingers be cut off, as well of those of his followers, and that their limbs then be lopped off.

As the king drank the martyrs' blood, Thiemo commended his soul to God, and the crowd saw a choir of angels descend to take up the

souls of the martyrs. Nearby was an idol named Machmit, whom the pagans used to consult as an oracle. A demon began to speak through Machmit, saying that this had been a great victory for the Christians, 'whose glory grows against us daily'. He warned the pagans not to attempt to stop the Christians from burying their saint.

Thiemo was buried in a church and miracles ensued: he healed the blind, deaf, lepers and possessed, both Christians and pagans. For this reason, the story tells, the pagans held St Thiemo in respect and did not harass any of his pilgrims.

SIGNIFICANCE

This text presents a vivid example, in the wake of the First Crusade, of the stereotypical image of Saracens as pagan idolaters. Roughly contemporary with the *Chanson de Roland*, it offers a similarly colorful and polemical image of perverted devotion to idols. As a *passio*, it clearly takes its inspiration from a long hagiographical tradition and as such makes the archbishop's persecutors into standard bloodthirsty pagan oppressors: only the name of their idol, Machmit, reflects a vague awareness of the name of the Muslim Prophet.

The text reflects a certain naïve optimism that the blood of the martyrs and fresh miracles can convert the pagan masses to Christianity. If the *passio* provides a glimpse of a certain clerical view of Saracen religion in the early 12th century, it should clearly be placed in its local perspective: the goal seems to be to grace the church of Salzburg with a glorious martyr, and thereby to magnify the prestige of his successors, archbishops of Salzburg. At least some medieval readers of this *passio* were skeptical: Otto of Friesing (q.v.) came across the story and retells it in his *History of the two cities*, but immediately rejects it as impossible because the Saracens would not have asked Thiemo to worship idols since they are strict monotheists.

MANUSCRIPTS

The 11 manuscripts are listed in the introduction to the edition in *RHC Occ*. There are three distinct versions of the *Passio*:

I. by Henry, Abbot of Breitenau (one 13th-century MS)

II. *Passio prior beati Thiemonis, juvanensis archiepiscopi* (five MSS, 12th/13th centuries, all in Austria/Germany)

III. *Passio altera beati Thiemonis, juvanensis archiepiscopi* (five MSS, one now lost; all 12th century in Austria/Germany)

(III is version I discussed in Tolan, *Saracens*; I & II are essentially the same, with minor variations)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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MGH SS 11, pp. 51-62 (edition of one version of the *Passio*, corresponding to version no. 3 of the *RHC* edition)

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John Tolan

Otto of Freising

Otto episcopus Frisingensis, Otto von Freising,
Otton de Freising

DATE OF BIRTH   Between 1111 and 1115
PLACE OF BIRTH   Probably Klosterneuburg near Vienna
DATE OF DEATH   22 September 1158
PLACE OF DEATH   Morimond, Haute Marne, France

BIOGRAPHY

The fifth son of the Margrave Leopold III of Austria and of Agnes, daughter of the Emperor Henry IV, Otto was destined for an ecclesiastical career. He received his first education from the Augustinian canons of Klosterneuburg, where he was appointed prior in 1126. From about 1127 he continued his studies in France, where he was probably taught by Hugh of St Victor, Gilbert of Poitiers, Thierry of Chartres, and maybe also Abelard. In 1132 he became a monk in the Cistercian Abbey of Morimond, with 15 fellow students, and was elected abbot there in 1138. The same year, he became bishop of Freising in Bavaria. In this capacity, he participated actively in the political life of the empire (diets, expeditions to Italy), secured the temporal possessions of his see, and strove to raise the moral and intellectual standard of the clergy, as well as to promote harmony between opposing parties in the ecclesiastical and political field.

He took a serious interest in the philosophical debates of his time and is considered to have promoted the study of the new Aristotle in the Germanic lands, but his extant literary works – the *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus* and the first two books of the *Gesta Friderici I imperatoris* (two more books were added after Otto's death by his secretary Rahewin) – belong to the field of historiography.

The *Historia* (written between 1143 and 1147, extant only in a second recension dedicated to Frederick Barbarossa in 1157) is usually considered the highest achievement of Latin medieval chronicle writing. It is placed under the auspices of St Augustine and relates the vicissitudes of the 'two cities' from Adam to the last judgment. From the time of Constantine the Great, Otto sees the worldly and heavenly

cities united in the *ciuitas permixta* of the Christian empire; he sees the investiture crisis menacing this union as a foreboding of the end of the world which can only be delayed by the merits of the monastic orders.

In the *Gesta Friderici* (1157-58) Otto changes from this eschato-logical and monastic point of view to a philosophical one (Morrison, 'Otto of Freising's quest', and Mégier, 'Tamquam lux', differing from Goetz, *Das Geschichtsbild*) and presents imperial history from 1076 to 1156 as a gradual progress from conflict: the second excommunica-tion of Henry IV by the pope – to concord: the agreement promoted by Frederick I between the Guelfs and the Babenberger reestablishes peace in the empire.

Otto considers that in this 'joyous history' there is no room for a report on the Second Crusade (1146-47), in which he himself partici-pated. The disastrous experience of the crusade probably caused or reinforced his critical attitude towards Bernard of Clairvaux (*Gesta Friderici*, I, 50 and 66, Schmale, pp. 224-25 and 270-71; Waitz and Simson, pp. 68 and 93) and aggravated the tensions, visible in his work as a whole, between his commitment to the Roman Empire (on his mother's side, he was respectively the grandson, half-brother and uncle of three emperors), to the Cistercian order, and to the new learning of the French schools.

He died on his way to the general chapter of the Cistercians, report-edly uneasy about his favorable representation in the *Gesta Friderici* of Gilbert of Poitiers' theological position, which had been attacked by Bernard.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Historia de duabus civitatibus, Historia, Chronica, De mutatione rerum, 'History of the two cities', 'History', 'Chronicle', 'About change in (all) things'

DATE   First edition dedicated to the monk Isengrimus, 1143-46; second edition dedicated to the Emperor Frederick I, 1157

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Historia* covers 457 pages in the *MGH SS rer. Germ.* edition. The passages referring to the 'Saracens' and their religion are to be found on pp. 241 (book V, 9) and 317-18 (book VII, 7). See also *Historia* VII, 3, pp. 312-13

Otto presents a combination of authentic information and legend or invention, and distinguishes them by introducing the first by *constat*, 'it is known', and the second by *traditur* or *dicitur*, 'it is reported' or 'said'. But Otto's sources have not been identified, though we may assume that the themes he deals with were discussed in the milieus he knew. When it comes to legend, we find the idea that Muḥammad was born of a pagan father and a Jewish mother, which in fact at least partly contradicts the traditional belief in his origin *ex stirpe Ismahelis* ('from the offspring of Ishmael') also repeated by Otto; when it comes to information, Otto denounces as false the accusation of Muslims as worshippers of idols.

Following an anonymous narrative (*Passio Thiemonis* [q.v.], summarized by Ekkehard of Aura in his continuation of Frutolf of Michelsberg's chronicle [*MGH SS* 6, p. 221]), Otto reports the tragic fate in 1100 of a group of eminent Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem, including

Otto's grandmother Ita, and Archbishop Thiemo of Salzburg, whom the treacherous Byzantine emperor either had killed or handed over as prisoners to the emir of Memphis. In particular, Otto reproduces the part of the narrative that describes the martyrdom of Archbishop Thiemo, tortured to death after destroying the idols he had been entreated to adore (to repair in the *Passio Thiemonis*). He not only qualifies this by *ut tradunt*, but also states that, if a *fidelissima traditio* affirms Thiemo's passion for the Christian faith, the story of the broken idols is difficult to believe: it is in fact beyond doubt, *constat*, that all Muslims, *universitas Sarracenorum*, worship one God, *unius Dei cultricem esse*, accept the books of the Law as well as circumcision, and moreover do not reject Christ, the Apostles and apostolic men. On only one point are they far from salvation, namely, that they deny that Christ is God and the Son of God, and instead venerate and cherish, *venerantur et colunt* (given the terminological parallel between *colunt* and *cultrix* it is tempting to translate *colunt* as 'they worship', and one wonders if Otto was aware of his lack of precision) the seducer Muḥammad as the great prophet of the highest God. Otto concludes the whole passage with what resembles a mockery, namely with what is supposed to be a quotation from the Qur'an (in fact not with certainty, because it is introduced by *traditur*), made up using the beginning of the Gospel of Mark (1:1) and the call for cleansing in Isaiah 1:16. According to Otto, the Muslim custom of washing the intimate parts of the body every day derives from a foolish misunderstanding of Isaiah's words.

It is remarkable that, when describing the antecedents of the Second Crusade in his other work, the *Gesta Friderici* (I, 36-47; Schmale, pp. 200-19, Waitz and Simson, pp. 55-64), Otto does not say a word about the enemies against whom the crusade is directed. Generic 'enemies of the cross' appear in Pope Eugene III's letter to King Louis VII of France and Bernard of Clairvaux's letter to the German princes quoted by Otto, but in Otto's own text only matters concerning the Christian side are considered. In particular, Otto dwells on Bernard's preaching, and on the unexpected, but as it will turn out ephemeral, peace in the Christian lands that precedes the expedition. In his prologue to the *Gesta*, he writes that almost the whole 'West', *Hesperia*, had taken arms against the 'peoples who live in the East', *gentes qui orientem inhabitant*, without any further precision, and mentions a prophecy promising the conquest of the 'ancient Babylon', *antiquae*

Babylonis, and also of the *regia urbs*, Constantinople (Schmale, pp. 114-17 and n. 5, Waitz and Simson, pp. 9-10).

Similarly, in *Historia* VII, 3, p. 312, Otto produces information about the 'oriental' countries, which he declares he received from 'trustworthy men from beyond the sea', only because it can be used to support one of his main historical theories, the parallelism between the Babylonian and Roman empires (Goetz, *Das Geschichtsbild*, p. 142, n. 49). According to Otto's informants (perhaps the emissaries of the Armenian bishops whom Otto met at the papal court in Viterbo, see *Historia* VII, 32-33, pp. 360-67), Baghdad, *Baldach*, is part of the ancient city of Babylon, and belongs to the Persian Empire, but the 'kings of the Persians' have conceded it to their highest priest, whom they call 'caliph'. This, Otto argues, contributes to showing the similarity between Babylon and Rome: in both cases, the temporal ruler has abandoned to the highest religious authority the city that gives its name to his reign.

Otto adds information about other Middle Eastern and Egyptian cities and their role as capitals and/or episcopal sees; he notes that the Christians live there *sub tributo*, obliged to pay a tax, but nowhere in this chapter he does mention Islam or Muslims; the Persian 'kings' are presented as pagans.

SIGNIFICANCE

Christian-Muslim relations do not seem to have been an important issue for either Otto or his relatively few medieval readers (the circulation of the *Historia* was limited to the southern German-Austrian area). The comparison with Hugh of Fleury, who wrote one or two generations earlier, suggests that a genuine interest in Muslims and Islam tends to be a result of sympathy with the Byzantine Empire, a sympathy which Otto seems to lack. The fact that one of his brothers, Henry 'Jasomirgott', was married to a Byzantine princess apparently counted less for Otto than his historical concept of *translatio imperi*, postulating the transfer of imperial power from the Greeks to the Franks. In any case, Otto is probably representative of the Christian intellectual circles of his time, whose general knowledge of Islam, thanks to the efforts of some contemporaries who had a real personal interest in the question, such as Peter the Venerable, was relatively accurate if not very detailed, but remained dependent on more ancient legendary traditions; information was chosen and interpreted according to familiar notions and interests, not as a basis for

discussion. Like his Christian contemporaries, Otto was convinced of the unquestionable and exclusive truth of the Christian religion.

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Elisabeth Mégier

Life of David, King of kings

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH   Mid-11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Georgia
DATE OF DEATH   Mid-12th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The anonymous author of *The Life of David* was a contemporary of King David IV of Georgia (1073-1125) and his faithful follower, known to him personally and therefore able to give a vivid account of his life. He was acquainted with both eastern and western history, culture and literature. His sources included narrative works, such as those of Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus and Josephus, and he makes frequent use of Aristobulus' *History of Alexander*. He also regularly cites from the Bible and other religious works, though he often incorporates material into his text without indicating the source. The use of such sources indicates that this author may have been a monk.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Cxovreba mepet mepisa Davitisi, Cxovreba Davit IV Agmasheneblisa, 'Life of David, King of kings'

DATE   Early 12th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Georgian

DESCRIPTION

The Life of David provides significant evidence for the period of Seljuk domination in Georgia and the whole of Transcaucasia in the late 11th and early 12th century. The work describes the ruin of the country and the disasters that befell the Georgian people.

Written in the first quarter of the 12th century, the work is a pan-egyric tracing the life of King David IV. It describes how, as the only son of King George II and Queen Helena, he ascended the throne at the age of 16 and undertook military, administrative, judicial and ecclesiastical reforms in order to stabilize the country. The work narrates how, with a strong and well-disciplined army, he liberated Georgia and subsequently the whole of Transcaucasia from the Seljuks, before capturing Tbilisi, the last Muslim enclave, and moving the capital there from Kutaisi.

It goes on to show how David assisted Georgia's economic development and made it an important commercial center, founded cultural and religious institutions, rejected Byzantine attempts to make him a vassal, and composed hymns of repentance. After his death on 24 January 1125, he was canonized by the Georgian Orthodox Church.

During his rule Muslims, Jews, Gregorian Armenians and others were given complete freedom to profess their faith, and he specifically ordered a mosque to be built for Muslims in Tbilisi.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work describes how King David adopted a policy of ethnic and religious tolerance in his kingdom, which was to become a model for later rulers. This is also attested by the Muslim author Ibn al-Azraq (q.v.).

MANUSCRIPTS

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S-30 (17th century)
Q-1219 (17th century)
H-213 (18th century)
H-2080 (18th century)
S-4730 (18th century)
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Medea D. Abashidze

Adelphus

DATE OF BIRTH   11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; probably early 12th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about Adelphus beyond what can be surmised from the text with which he is connected. He claims to have heard the call of the muezzin and to have spoken with Greeks about Islam; it is possible that he accompanied the troops of the First Crusade.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Vita machometi (see below)

Secondary   —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Vita Machometi, 'Life of Muḥammad'

DATE   Probably early 12th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

Adelphus' text is a brief and very polemical narration of the life of Muḥammad. He opens his narrative by affirming that he frequently heard the Saracens invoke Muḥammad, 'calling on him and worshiping him as a god'. This piques his curiosity, and he asks 'a little Greek man' to tell him about Muḥammad and the Saracens; it is hence a Byzantine polemical version of the Prophet's life that Aldelpus relates. 'Machomet' is an insignificant young swineherd until he meets Nestorius, scurrilous heresiarch and false monk; Nestorius takes the young man under his wing and teaches him heretical depravity and trains him in the arts of magic and necromancy. The two manage to convince the people that Machomet is a prophet. The young swineherd

marries the queen of Babylon and performs bogus miracles to hood-
wink his people. In particular, Machomet writes a new law, which
he then places on the horns of a cow he has trained; when the cow
suddenly appears before the people, they take this as a miracle and
accept the authority of the new law. Jealous of the fame of his master
Nestorius, Machomet plots to kill him: one night, after a communal
drinking bout, he takes the sword of one of his sleeping companions,
kills Nestorius, and then replaces the sword in its scabbard; the next
morning Nestorius is found dead, and the sword's owner is accused
of murder and executed. Machomet henceforth prohibits the drinking
of alcohol. Machomet is so expert in magic that the people begin to
worship him as a god. Yet God punishes the false prophet: one day
when he is out hunting, Machomet is attacked by pigs and devoured;
only one arm remains.

SIGNIFICANCE

This text, which was little read and little known, provides an example
of how clerical authors in the 12th century, in the context of crusad-
ing, portrayed Islam as yet another manifestation of oriental heresy.
Adelphus' version of the life of the prophet is quite similar to that of
other 12th-century Latin authors: Guibert of Nogent (q.v.), Embrico of
Mainz (q.v.), and Gauthier de Compiègne (q.v.). Like Guibert, Adel-
phus presents Muḥammad as the most recent and scurrilous example
of a long line of oriental heresiarchs.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Trier, Stadtbibliothek – 1897 (18), fols 1r-20v (mid-12th century;
alongside Adelphus' text, it contains Leo Presbyter's life of Alexander
the Great and Bernardus of Reichenau's Tonarius)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

B. Bischoff, 'Ein Leben Mohammeds (Adelphus?) (Zwölftes Jahr-
hundert)', *Anecdota Novissima. Texte des vierten bis sechzenten
Jahrhundert* (1984) 106-22 (edition of Latin text and analysis)

STUDIES

Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 137-47

John Tolan

Synaxarion of the Great Church

Synaxarion periechon holou tou eniautou tōn hagiōn kai tōn hosiōn en syntomō ta hypomnēmata, Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, 'Synaxarion containing abstracts of deeds of the blessed saints and martyrs for the whole year', 'Synaxarion of the Great Church'

DATE   Late 9th century (P); between 945 and 959 (Synaxarion of Euaristus, H*); late 10th century (B*); late 10th-early 12th centuries (other recensions)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Greek

DESCRIPTION

The Synaxarion of Constantinople is the liturgical book – though Synaxaries, together with other liturgical texts, are frequently part of larger collections – in which are recorded the commemorations for which offices (*synaxeis*) are celebrated according to the liturgical calendar of the Great Church, which was followed throughout the Byzantine world. These commemorations, several on each day, are diverse: fixed feasts of the Lord and of the Virgin, saints (most frequently), and memorials of various events (councils, translations of relics, earthquakes, sieges of Constantinople…). Sometimes accompanied by an indication of the place in which the office was held, they may be reduced to a brief mention, but often take the form of records of varying length (a few lines to a few dozen lines, and occasionally a few pages), particularly those related to passions of martyrs and much abbreviated saints' lives, and they constitute the reading for the day during the canon in the morning service (*orthros*). These references are themselves called 'synaxaries' (by convention, with a lower case 's'). The Synaxarion is often connected in the manuscripts with the *Typikon*, the liturgical book that sets out the proper for each day (see Mateos, 1962-63). As readings for the Office, they are also found in the *Menaia*. Delehaye's edition of the Synaxarion takes up 938 columns of a folio volume.

The Synaxarion owes its origin to the deacon Euaristus who, during the personal reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (944-59), wrote the first book of this kind, which he dedicated to the emperor, and this is when the Synaxarion took the form in which we now find it: mostly a collection of notices. In his preface, preserved anonymously in a Greek manuscript (in the Arabic translation, the Melkite Synaxarion [q.v.], the name of the author is given as h.w.r.s.t.s; see Sauget, 1969), Euaristus briefly outlines the principles that guided him in making abstracts of long hagiographical texts, especially the passions of the martyrs. This first stage of the text (recension H*, separated by Noret) is preserved in whole or in part in three manuscripts. The collection then evolved over the centuries. The fundamental work of the editor of the Synaxarion, H. Delehaye, taken further in the century that followed by others (Noret, Luzzi), makes it possible to distinguish seven recensions: H* (the primitive form), S* (later, to which belongs the *Synaxarion of Sirmond*, S, the base witness of Delehaye's edition), B* (the archetype of which is the famous *Menologion of Basil II*, Vat. gr. 1613, a manuscript illustrated with 430 miniatures presented to the Emperor Basil II in the late 10th century), C* (probably an exclusively Italo-Greek recension, secondary to B*) D*, F* and finally M*, the most recent recension, which became prevalent in the 12th century. The Melkite Synaxarion (Sauget, 1969) is an 11th-century Arabic translation of a text close to that in MS G (see list of manuscripts below), which is an abbreviation of form F*. This classification omits a few individual manuscripts, since the history of the text of the Synaxarion, which was adapted and evolved with time and place, is still only imperfectly known.

Patmiacus 266 (P in Delehaye) is a manuscript with contested dating (early 10th century according to Luzzi, or later), though its sanctoral is certainly ancient. Notices in it are rare and belong to a different textual tradition from the witnesses of the Synaxarion. Although P depends on a Constantinopolitan model, which it adapts to Palestinian usage, it is not strictly speaking a witness to the Constantinopolitan Synaxarion, but represents a step towards it. Thus, it will only be referred to here as a witness to the diffusion of a saint's cult.

Because it exists in so many recensions, the Synaxarion is treated here as an anonymous work, although the key role of Euaristus should now be recognized.

Arab Muslims in the Synaxarion of Constantinople

Given the date of its composition, references to Islam in the Syna-
xarion tend to be mingled with appearances of the Arabs, who are
known by the names Agarenes (*Agarēnoi*), Saracens (*Sarakēnoi*), or
simply Arabs (*Arabes*). The first two terms seem interchangeable, and
the third is very rare. The term 'Arabia' is more frequent, but refers
to a former geographical reality, the province of Arabia, or twice to
Arabia Felix. No specific term is used to refer to Islam, because there
was no need to specify the religion of the Arabs since users would
know what was meant.

In a collection that is mainly hagiographical, the most interesting
texts for relations between Byzantium and Islam are the notices on
neo-martyrs, those who confessed their faith before Muslim authori-
ties. Ten can be identified, and they are examined here in the order in
which they appear in the Synaxarion, which is to say in the order of
the calendar, focusing on cases where the testimony of the Synaxarion
is unique and does not match any other surviving text.

23 September (Synaxarion, cols 72.1-74.3; 73.47-76.33): Andrew,
John, Peter and Antoninus (late 9th century).

This group of martyrs is known only from the Synaxarion. At the
time of Basil I (867-86), John and his sons Peter and Antoninus were
captured, when the Agarenes took Syracuse (21 May 878), by 'the most
cruel Abrahen' (Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Alab), who took them to
Africa. He gave Peter and Antoninus an Arab education, and then
used them as finance officials. Despite an apparent conversion 'to the
customs of the Saracens' (var. 'the abominable and impure religion
of the Saracens'), the two young men secretly remained Christian.
They were executed after cruel torture. Ibrāhīm killed their father
John with his own hand, and their bodies were burned. Shortly after-
wards, Andrew, an old man who had been captive for many years, was
also beheaded by Ibrāhīm for his Christian faith. Absent from Costan-
tinian Synaxarion H* (and B), the notice is presented in two slightly
different forms in later recensions (S*, B*, C*, F*, M*).

1 October (Synaxarion, col. 98.1-18): Michael, abbot of Zōbē, and
his companions (late 8th century).

This group of martyrs is also known only from the Synaxarion. Dur-
ing an offensive by 'Alim, emir of the Agarenes' ('Alī ibn Sulaymān),
during the reign of Constantine and Irene, 36 monks of the monas-
tery of Zōbē near Sebastopol were captured, along with their abbot,

Michael. Attempts were made to force them to renounce Christianity but, encouraged by Michael, they resisted, responded with insults and were put to death, Michael last. Known through H, this group was the subject of a notice, apparently based on a lost passion, in several later recensions (S*, B*, C*, F*, M*). In B, a miniature by Nestorius shows the beheading of Michael, whose companions lie on the ground.

4 October (Synaxarion, cols 105.29-106.12): Peter of Capitolias (d. 13 January 715) (q.v.).

This martyr is known from an old passion preserved in Georgian under the name of John of Damascus (P. Peeters, 'La Passion de S. Pierre de Capitolias († 13 janvier 715)', *Analecta Bollandiana* 57 [1939] 299-339), and from a notice by Theophanes (ed. C. de Boor, *Theophanis Chronographia*, 2 vols, Leipzig, 1883-85, i, pp. 416-17), who refers to a Passion written by John of Damascus. In the Synaxarion (H*, S*, C*, F*, M*, B*; the notice in B differs; there is a mention in P [Dmitrievskij, 1895, p. 11]), this is about a married priest of Capitolias (a town near Bostra), father of three children, accused before the 'ethnarch of the Agarenes' of being the 'catechumenist of the Christians'. Led to Damascus, he persists in his faith, suffers various mutilations, is crucified and beheaded, and his body is burnt and thrown into the river. This notice accords closely enough with the Georgian Passion, through which we know that Peter was put to death under Walīd I (r. 705-15), although Theophanes gives Walīd II (r. 743-49). In B (*PG* 117, col. 85CD; MS Vat. Gr. 1613, p. 84, see Franchi de'Cavalieri, *Menologio di Basilio*, 1907, fig. 84), the rather different notice (Peter is from a pagan family) is accompanied by a miniature of Michael the Lesser. In neither of the two notices is there mention of the violent insults which, according to the Georgian Passion and Theophanes, the martyr pronounces against Islam and the Prophet.

19 November (Synaxarion, cols 235.55-239.37): Simon (9th-10th century).

This long notice is only known to Delehaye through a single manuscript (Q), which belongs to none of the principal recensions. When some monks of a monastery in Calabria were taken as captives to Africa by Agarenes, their abbot sent one of his other monks, Simon, to free them. Simon finds one of the monks, who tells him that he will be forced to convert to Islam (*magarisai*). Two Agarenes attempt to strike Simon, but their arms are paralyzed. Accused of magic before the *amerimnēs*, Simon proves his sincerity by healing his assailants through prayer, a test proposed by the ruler's advisers. The 'barbarians' realize that Simon is a servant of God, and he is freed with the

three monks he had come to find and leaves on a boat made ready for him by the *amerimnēs*. During the crossing, the Saracen sailors are impressed by his conduct, and benefit from his miracles (seawater is sweetened).

11 December (Synaxarion, cols 301.22-303.39): an anonymous young Egyptian (9th-10th century?).

This long notice is only transmitted in manuscripts of recension M*, the most recent; it does not correspond to any ancient text. A young Egyptian Christian from the *kastron* of Teneste converts before the local emir, cutting off his belt, trampling on the cross and breaking his sword ('From today I am Agarene, no longer Christian'). He benefits from his conversion, but some time later desires to return to Christianity. At the insistence of his parents, who fear that they will be held responsible for this new conversion, he presents himself before the emir and, putting his belt back on and drawing on a piece of wood a cross which he kisses, he says the *Kyrie eleison* and declares he has become a Christian again. The emir subjects him to harsh treatment and then has him beheaded, and his body is thrown into the sea. His head, ransomed from the emir by the Christians, is honored and works miracles.

15 (or 17 or 18) December (Synaxarion, cols 310.15-312.17; 321.36-38; 325.51): Bacchus the Younger (d. 787-88) (q.v.).

Mentioned in P (Dmitrievskij, p. 31) and H*, commemorations of Bacchus form the subject of notices in most of the recent recensions of the Synaxarion (S*, B*, D*, F*, M*). The Muslim Dahak (Gelasius in Greek), a Palestinian whose father converted to Islam while his mother remained a Christian, converts to Christianity. Having become a monk at Mar Sabas (east of Jerusalem) under the name of Bacchus, he leaves his monastery, whose abbot fears the consequences of his conversion, and persuades all but one of his brothers to adopt Christianity. He is denounced to the emir of Jerusalem by his Muslim brother, and sent 'to the strategos and the judges', before whom he professes the Christian faith and denounces the worthlessness of the 'belief of the Agarenes', and he is beheaded. The notice on him corresponds to the Greek Passion (*BHG* 209). In B (p. 253: Franchi de'Cavalieri, fig. 253), it is accompanied by a miniature by Michael the Lesser. For the Passion, see F. Combefis, *Christi martyrum lecta trias*, Paris, 1666, pp. 61-126.

17 December (Synaxarion, cols 317.39-319.56; 320.12-322.8): Donalē, or Dounalē, the Confessor (d. c. 960).

The ruler of an island (Nivertis) near Cadiz, Donalē decides to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and hands over power to his children. He departs for Rome, where, by means of expensive gifts, he receives the monastic habit from Pope Agapetus. He is mistreated by Alberic, and leaves for Constantinople, where he becomes a friend of Constantine VII and Romanus II. He finally reaches Jerusalem, where he makes his final profession before Patriarch Christodoulos and takes the monastic name of Stephanus. There, as he recounts in a letter to the emperor, 'the atheistic and abominable Agarenes' and the Jews insult him because of his tonsure and beardless face. He plans to continue his pilgrimage by visiting the sites in Egypt where the Holy Family stayed, but he is arrested while still in Palestine and transferred to Egypt, where the emir (probably Unūjūr ibn Tughj) attempts to make him renounce Christianity. He resists heroically and dies of the tortures inflicted upon him.

The notice is well represented in recensions of the Synaxarion later than H* (S*, B*, D*, M*), and is particularly detailed in F*.

30 January (Synaxarion, col. 434.13-29): Theophilus the Younger (d. 794).

We know through Theophanes (ed. de Boor, p. 465) that Theophilus, a native of Constantinople, named *strategos* of the *theme* of Kibyrrhaiotai by Irene and Constantine, was captured during a naval battle against the Arabs. He was brought before the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, who tried to make him change his religion, and was beheaded for refusing to give up Christianity. Theophilus is known to P (Dmitrievskij, p. 46), and notice of him is well documented in the Synaxarion (H*, B*, C*, D*, F*). The synaxarist insists that the saint was betrayed by various stratagems. He spends four years in prison and is invited to participate in the 'abominable sacrifice' of the Arabs (*Arabes*), but he refuses and is beheaded. In B, the notice about him is accompanied by a miniature by Pantoleōn (p. 359: Franchi de'Cavalieri, fig. 359).

9 February (Synaxarion, col. 453.57-58): Peter of Damascus (d. under Walīd II) (q.v.).

A contemporary of John of Damascus, Peter, metropolitan of Damascus according to Theophanes (de Boor, p. 416), was sentenced by Walīd II to have his tongue cut out, because he 'publicly condemned the impiety of the Arabs and Manicheans'. Exiled in Arabia Felix, he was martyred there. His memory is recorded in the latest recension of the Synaxarion (M*).

6 March (Synaxarion, col. 516.4-21): the Forty Martyrs of Amorium (6 March 845) (q.v.).

The case of these officers, taken prisoner during the capture of Amorium by al-Muʿtaṣim (12 August 838), who refuse to renounce their faith and are executed after a long captivity, is known through a collective passion (*BHG* 109-14). Commemorated in P (Dmitrievskij, p. 53), they are the subject of notices in several recensions of the Synaxarion (S*, B*, C*, D*, M*).

The small number of notices on the neo-martyrs is interesting, especially if we note that in its primitive form (H*) they are even rarer. It appears that, in the mid-10th century, Euaristus did not have access to a full account of Christian martyrs under Islam, and did not make a special effort to compile one. Some were added later, though there were not many. The typology is what might be expected: Christians under Islamic rule put to death for insulting Islam (Peter of Capitolias, Peter of Damascus) or for apostasy (Bacchus, the young Egyptian); Christian captives refusing to convert (Andrew, Michael and the monks of Zōbē, Theophilus the Younger, the Martyrs of Amorium), or returning to Christianity after a forced conversion (Andrew, John, Peter and Antoninus). The notices cover two and a half centuries, from the early 8th century (Peter of Capitolias) to the reign of Constantine VII (Donalē). Palestine and Syria are well represented in the early period (8th century: Peter of Capitolias, Peter of Damascus, Bacchus the Younger); Egypt is mentioned in a notice in M* that is difficult to date (the young Egyptian); the case of Donalē, which is very spectacular, makes an interesting connection with pilgrimage to the holy places.

Generally speaking, the religion of the Arabs is not given a particular name. The redactors are interested only in the circumstances of martyrdom, not the opposition of religions, and comparison with longer texts, when we have them, shows that this feature has been removed, probably because it does not fit into the synaxary genre. Some specific details, however, are important, especially in cases known only from the Synaxarion (23 September, 1 October, 11 December, 17 December, 19 November, the latter being mainly an edifying tale).

Notices about martyrs of Islam are not the only texts of the Synaxarion that have a bearing upon relations between Byzantium and the Muslim Arabs, which are referred to incidentally in other notices: for example, in about 800 Theodore Studites abandons the monastery of

Sakkoudion in Bithynia, threatened by a Saracen attack, and comes
to Constantinople (cols 214.5-216.8); at the end of the 8th century, the
Cretan monk Gregory of Akritas suffers repeated taunts from the
Agarenes and Jews during the pilgrimages to Jerusalem he made over
12 years as a layman (col. 373.5); the parents of Luke of Steirion leave
Aegina because of Saracen attacks (col. 449.19); in the second half
of the 9th century, Joseph the Hymnographer leaves Sicily when it is
captured by the Agarenes, and is later seized by Cretan pirates and
taken to their island, where he preaches and converts (col. 581.34).
The synaxary on the transfer of the image of Edessa in 944 is one of
the only witnesses in the Synaxarion to the Byzantine advance in the
10th century: during the negotiations to secure delivery of the image of
Christ preserved at Edessa, which they are besieging, the Byzantines
agree to release 200 Saracen prisoners (cols 893.46-901.4). The story
is making its own point about the ousting of Romanus I Lecapenus
by Constantine VII, and is not interested in this aspect.

Some miracle stories in which saints appear as defenders of the
empire and its people against impious enemies can be identified:
thus, John, bishop of Polyboton, confessor of Orthodoxy under Leo
the Armenian, performs miracles after his death and punishes the
Agarenes who are besieging Amorium and Polyboton, and they are
forced to release their prisoners (cols 279.19-280.27); a young man of
Mytilene, taken prisoner with others in an attack by the Agarenes of
Crete during the annual vigil (*pannychis*) of St George, and made the
cup-bearer of the emir of Crete, miraculously finds himself in Lesbos,
cup still in his hand, for the St George celebrations the following year
(cols 623.53-624.54); St Therapon warns the Cypriots of the coming
invasion of their island by Agarenes, and his relics are transported to
Constantinople before the invasion (col. 710.15-28); the Agarenes who
have the audacity to plunder the Sicilian fort (*phrourion*) that houses
the relics of St Agrippina are annihilated (col. 765.19-26); a certain
Sisinnakius, captured (in Pontus?) during an offensive by Maslama, is
liberated by St Phocas when he prays to him (cols 802.13-803.3).

In this brief series should also be included two major commemora-
tions that celebrate the miraculous protection of Constantinople dur-
ing two sieges by the Arabs: on 25 June (col. 772.8-16) is celebrated
'the assistance that our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, through
the prayers of his mother, bestowed on us against the Saracens who
were besieging our imperial city by land and by sea', which is to say,
the end of the siege of Constantinople in the reign of Constantine IV

on 25 June 677; while on 16 August is commemorated the end of the siege of the imperial city on 16 August 718, in the reign of Leo III the Isaurian.

This notice (cols 901.30-904.27), which does not appear in the Constantinian Synaxarion H* but is to be found in the majority of the more recent recensions (S*, C*, D*, M*), is the only one that offers a composite image of 'atheist Agarenes', whose conquests are rapidly enumerated, with the observation that they gave the Christians their word 'that they would not compel them to abandon the orthodox faith', but then violated this commitment: 'This is why many martyrs appeared, because they refused to trample on the cross of Christ.' The story then focuses on the siege of Constantinople by the Arab army and Sulaymān's fleet, relating many miracles witnessed by the besieged: a muezzin (*kērux*) mounted on a tall wooden pillar to call 'their abominable prayer' fell and was killed; Sulaymān, when invited to visit the city in peace, was unable to ride through a gateway protected by a mosaic icon of the Virgin and Child, and entered on foot… What remained of the Arab fleet was destroyed in the Aegean by a hail storm and only ten ships returned to Syria. The story ends with a cry of triumph: 'What god is as great as our God? It is you, the only God, who work miracles and free your people and your City by your immaculate Mother, Mary the Theotokos, always until the end of time.' More than any other text, this notice shows the perspective behind many references throughout the Synaxarion: not a confrontation between two religions, but a clash of the Christian empire and its secular opponents, the 'atheistic Agarenes'.

SIGNIFICANCE

The Synaxarion is important because of its wide circulation as a liturgical book. Relations between Christians and Muslims do not occupy an important place in it, and it presents a negative image of Muslims. Notices on neo-martyrs under Islam are rare. They are important insofar as they are sometimes original and sometimes testify to the diffusion of a cult. No comprehensive plan is evident, and there seems to have been no concern to bring together all the martyrs of Islam. Other references only incidentally include details of interest. The most notable concern the sieges of Constantinople, victoriously repulsed with the help of God. The Synaxarion is not interested in Islam as such. It celebrates the Christian saints, and in addition the sanctity of an empire fighting against an infidel enemy.

MANUSCRIPTS

There are numerous witnesses of the Synaxarion. Listed here are the main manuscripts used by Delehaye (with the initials he gives in his edition), those of the Constantinian Synaxarion (class H *), and Q, a MS cited in this article.

MS Patmos, Monè tou Hagiou Iôannou tou Evangelistou – 266 (10th century or later) (P)

Recension H*:
MS Jerusalem, Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – Holy Cross 40 (late 10th to early 11th century; Synaxary with *typikon* for the whole year) (H)
MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine – Gr. 54 (11th century)
MS Paris, BNF – Gr. 1587 (11th to 12th century)

Recension B*:
MS Vat – Gr. 1613 (end of the 10th century; Synaxary for September-February, *The Menologion of Basil*) (B)

Recension F*:
MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana – San Marco 787 (1050; Synaxary for September-February) (F)

Recension C*:
MS Messina, Biblioteca Universitaria – S. Salvatore 103 (13th century; Synaxary for the whole year) (C)

Recension D*:
MS Paris, BNF – Gr. 1587 (12th century; Synaxary for March-August) (D)
MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – C 101 Sup. (12th century; very similar to the model for the Melkite Synaxarion) (G)
MS St Petersburg, Russian National Library – Gr. 240

Recension S*
MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Gr. 219 (*Phillipp.* 1622, 12th-13th century; Synaxary for the whole year, *The Synaxarion of Sirmond*) (S)

Recension M*:

MS Paris, BNF – Gr. 1582 (14th century; Synaxary for September-February) (M)

MS Paris, BNF – Gr. 1621 (13th century) (Q)

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H. Delehaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano, adiectis synaxariis selectis*, (*Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*) Brussels, 1902 (reference edition of the Greek text)

PG 117, cols 9-614 (Greek text and Latin trans. of B reproduced from *Menologium basilianum ex editione cardinalis Albani*)

A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgicheskich rukopisej*, vol. 1, Kiev, 1895, pp. 1-152 (Greek text of MS Patmos 266 [P])

For the Arabic Melkite Synaxary, cf. M. Sauget, *Premières recherches sur l'origine et les caractéristiques des Synaxaires melkites (XIe-XVIIe siècles)* (*Subsidia Hagiographica* 45), Brussels, 1969 (study with text and French trans. of extracts)

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A. Luzzi, 'Precisazioni sull'epoca di formazione del Sinassario di Costantinopoli', *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 36 (1999) 75-91

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Bernard Flusin

The Melkite *Synaxaria*

Majmūʿ li-l-sana kullihā tadhkūr fīhi akhbār al-qiddīsīn…, 'Compilation for the entire year mentioning the lives of the saints' (and similar titles); known collectively as the Melkite *synaxaria*

DATE   Originates in second half of 11th century; later additions
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic translation of a Greek original; Arabic additions

DESCRIPTION

The present entry is a postscript to the entry on the 'Synaxarion of the Great Church' (q.v.), the Greek Synaxarion of Constantinople, in which the existence of an 11th-century Arabic translation of the Greek work is mentioned. What follows is wholly dependent upon J.-M. Sauget, *Premières recherches sur l'origine et les caractéristiques des synaxaires melkites*, which despite its provisional-sounding title remains the crucial study of the Arabic-language *synaxaria* of the Melkite churches between the 11th and 17th centuries.

A *synaxarion*, let it be recalled, is a liturgical book which lists, for each day of the year (beginning with September 1 in the Byzantine calendar), the feasts of saints and other commemorations observed on that day. Entries may be very terse, little more than the name of a saint and perhaps a few words of identification; or they may include an account of the life, martyrdom, or event being commemorated, varying in length from a few lines to a couple of pages.

Sauget has demonstrated that, sometime in the second half of the 11th century, a particular recension of the Greek Synaxarion of Constantinople (which he labeled G, very similar to the text preserved in MS Milan Ambrosiana C 101 Sup.) was translated into Arabic for use in the Melkite churches, the largely Arabic-speaking Chalcedonian patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. (The oldest dated witness to this Arabic translation is MS Sinai Ar. 417 of 1095.) This 'archetype' of the Melkite *synaxarion*, however, was not transmitted without change; rather, commemorations were gradually

added to the 'primitive' calendar. At the Monastery of St Catherine, for example, a set of commemorations specific to the life of that monastery were added, which Sauget called 'le propre du Mont Sinaï' (see *Premières recherches*, pp. 181-84). Sauget also identified about 35 commemorations as part of a 'propre melkite normal', which may have originated as an attempt to reform and contextualize the *synaxarion* by bringing into it a number of commemorations specific to the Melkite (as opposed to the Byzantine) churches (see *Premières recherches*, pp. 176-80). Judging from the manuscript evidence, these 'propers' were in existence by 1237 (the date of the MSS Sinai Ar. 418 and 421), and may have originated considerably earlier.

The 'propre du Mont Sinaï' and the 'propre melkite normal' do not exhaust the additional commemorations found in the manuscript tradition; Sauget also listed 'commémoraisons du *propre melkite moins diffusées*' (*Premières recherches*, p. 181); these 'less widespread' commemorations sometimes occur in just one of the manuscripts he studied. Sauget set the 17th century as the end point for his inquiry into the Melkite *synaxaria*, noting that Meletius Karmā (patriarch of Antioch, 1634-35) prepared a new *synaxarion* (translated from Greek) for use among the Melkites. However, Sauget also showed how the Melkite *synaxaria* were adapted for use in Maronite circles (where his evidence is a set of manuscripts of the 17th-18th centuries; *Premières recherches*, pp. 185-92).

Flusin ('Synaxarion') has already listed the commemorations in the Synaxarion of Constantinople that make reference to Arab Muslims – many of which are commemorations of neomarytrs. These entries, translated into Arabic, became part of the Melkite *synaxaria*. In addition, the Arabic Melkite *synaxaria* add a number of relevant commemorations, again mostly of neomartyrs; these are listed below. They form part of Sauget's 'propre melkite normal' unless otherwise indicated.

22 October (*Premières recherches*, pp. 310-11): 63 martyrs of Jerusalem 'in the days of the Muslims'. The notice continues that they are venerated at a church outside Jerusalem, near that of St Stephen. These martyrs, a group of pilgrims to Jerusalem who were taken prisoner in 724, are known from Greek martyr accounts; see *CMR* 1, pp. 327-29, *BHG* 1217-18 and Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, pp. 360-63.

24 December (*Premières recherches*, pp. 332-34; a 'less widespread' commemoration): Antony the Qurayshite, for whom it is mentioned that a *Martrydom* exists (*wa-lahu khabar*). This is a reference to the

well-known story of Rawḥ al-Qurashī, called Antony after his conversion, put to death for apostasy in 799; see *CMR* 1, pp. 498-501.

30 January (*Premières recherches*, pp. 343-44): Kyriakos of Mar Saba, whom 'the *amīr* of Jerusalem had cut [off his extremities? to bits?] in the days of the Muslims'. The circumstances of this martyrdom are not known.

1 February (*Premières recherches*, pp. 344-45, a 'less widespread' commemoration): Rizqallāh of Tripoli. One MS (Paris Ar. 254 of the 15th century) briefly relates the story of Rizqallāh ibn Nabaʿ, a Christian in the service of one Azdamur, *nāʾib* of Tripoli. He suffered a falling-out with a Muslim associate who demanded money from him and eventually resorted to torture in an attempt to get the sum he was demanding. Rizqallāh swore 'by the Son of God' that he had no more money – and was then decapitated for that oath, and thus died (according to the narrator) 'for the name of Christ'. On the basis of the identity of the *nāʾib*, Ḥabīb Zayyāt suggested a date of 1363-65 for the story ('Shuhadāʾ', p. 461); but Tūmā Bīṭār (*Al-qiddīsūn al-mansiyyūn*, pp. 263-64, 268-70) has recently discovered an independent *Martyrdom* that dates Rizqallāh's death to 1477 (see the entry for Rizqallāh in *CMR*, forthcoming).

12 February (*Premières recherches*, pp. 352-56, from the proper of Mt Sinai): John, bishop of Mt Sinai. The notice tells the story of an invasion of the monastery by soldiers of the *Banī Hājar* ('Hagarenes', not further identified but to be distinguished from the local beduin Arabs). They ransacked the monastery, seeking hidden wealth; when they found nothing, they began to torture the monks. At that point, Bishop John insisted that they turn their attention to him and him alone – which they did, inflicting grievous harm on the venerable monk. Eventually the marauders departed, but John died of his injuries three days later. He had spent 53 years in the monastery, 20 of them as bishop. The events are dated to 1091 in the Era of the Incarnation, suggesting a date of 12 February 1083 for John's death (and 1063-83 for his tenure as bishop).

9 March (*Premières recherches*, pp. 366-67): ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, 'who was martyred in the city of al-Ramlaʾ'. This is a reference to the well-known story of ʿAbd al-Masīḥ (Qays al-Ghassānī), superior of Mt Sinai, who was put to death for apostasy under the Umayyads; see *CMR* 1, pp. 684-87 (and, for the date of the martyrdom, add A. Binggeli, 'L'hagiographie du Sinaï en arabe…', *Pd'O* 32 (2007) 175-77).

21 May (*Premières recherches*, pp. 380-83): Christopher, patriarch of Antioch, 'martyred in the days of the Muslims'. Patriarch Christopher was murdered by opponents of the Ḥamdānid ruler Sayf al-Dawla on May 22, 967. For the *Life of Christopher* written by Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā al-Anṭākī, see *CMR* 2, pp. 612-13.

19 July (*Premières recherches*, pp. 411-14): Michael of Mar Saba and Theodore of Edessa; the former was 'martyred in the city of Jerusalem'. These stories are likewise well known; the Arabic *Life* of Theodore of Edessa places them during the reign of al-Maʾmūn (r. 813-33). For the *Martyrdom* of Michael of Mar Saba, see *CMR* 1, pp. 911-15; for the *Life* of Theodore of Edessa, see *CMR* 2, pp. 585-93.

21 August (*Premières recherches*, pp. 427-29, a 'less widespread' commemoration): Isaac of Ḥamā. As in the case of Rizqallāh of Tripoli, the 15th-century MS Paris Ar. 254 relates the story of his martyrdom. The priest Isḥāq of the village of Ḥanāk was arrested, apparently for his bold public preaching. He refused various blandishments and offers designed to persuade him to renounce his faith, and was finally decapitated outside the city of Ḥamā, though an attempt to burn his body was foiled by a sudden downpour of rain. Isaac does not appear to be otherwise known; even the details of his martyrdom as presented here were later 'appropriated' by that of Rizqallāh of Tripoli; see Tūmā Bīṭār, *Al-qiddīsūn al-mansiyyūn*, pp. 494-500.

We note that apart from the stories of Rizqallāh of Tripoli and Isaac of Ḥamā, related in a single 15th-century manuscript, the entries for the additional neomartyrs are very brief. While the *synaxaria* do not hesitate to say that several martyrdoms took place 'in the days of the Muslims' (63 martyrs; Kyriakos; Christopher), almost nothing is said about Islamic faith. Indeed, John of Mt Sinai and Rizqallāh of Tripoli were not tortured for 'religious' reasons, but in order to get them to divulge where their wealth was hidden! Ironically, it is the latter story that reveals a specifically confessional disagreement: Rizqallāh, under torture, swore by 'the Son of God' that he had no more money. That oath was deemed blasphemous and deserving of death by Rizqallāh's Muslim torturer; but, according to the narrator, it qualified Rizqallāh as a Christian martyr.

SIGNIFICANCE

The Melkite *synaxaria* preserve and celebrate the memory of a number of figures who played a role in the history of Christian-Muslim relations, Christian neomartyrs in particular. Several *Lives* or *Martyrdoms*

devoted to these figures have already been treated in the pages of *CMR* (e.g., Antony the Qurayshite, ʿAbd al-Masīḥ of Mt Sinai, Patriarch Christopher of Antioch, Michael of Mar Saba and Theodore of Edessa); the *synaxaria* are a witness to their ongoing significance in the life of the Melkite churches. This significance should not be underestimated. The *synaxaria* were regularly read in the liturgy and helped to shape the self-understanding of Melkite communities within the *Dār al-Islām*. In particular, the regular commemoration of saints who had died at the hands of Muslims served to define and harden communal boundaries; they urged Christians to cling to their faith in Jesus Christ the Son of God, and, if called upon to do so, to confess that faith with boldness, even unto death.

In addition, the Melkite *synaxaria* preserve for contemporary historians the mention of figures otherwise unknown or only poorly known (e.g. Kyriakos of Mar Saba, John of Mt Sinai, Rizqallāh of Tripoli, and Isaac of Ḥamā), and may serve as a starting point for further research.

MANUSCRIPTS

Sauget found 19 manuscripts upon which to base his study; these are thoroughly described in *Premièrs recherches*, ch. 1, pp. 37-103, and are listed here:

MS London, British Library – Or. 11574 (11th century)
MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine – Ar. 417 (1095)
MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine – Ar. 410 B-A (1103)
MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine – Ar. 412 (12th century)
MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine – Ar. 418 (1237)
MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine – Ar. 421 (1237)
MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine – Ar. 413 (1285)
MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine – Ar. 420 (1287)
MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine – Ar. 414 (13th century)
MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine – Ar. 416 (13th century)
MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Sachau 138 (14th-15th century)
MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Sachau 127 (14th-15th century)
MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 254 (15th century)
MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 255 (15th century, restored in 17th century)
MS Vat – Ar. 472 (1560-61, restored in 1633)
MS Harissa, Couvent de Saint-Paul – Ar. 70 (16th century)
MS Vat – Syr. 243 (1665-1666)
MS Vat – Ar. 621 (1709)

MS Vat – Syr. 412 (last half of 18th century)

Undoubtedly this list can be extended.

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

There is no critical edition of any recension of the medieval Melkite *synaxaria*. A number of passages are transcribed, with a French translation, in Sauget, *Premièrs recherches*, passim.

STUDIES

J.-M. Sauget, *Littératures et manuscrits des chrétientés syriaques et arabes*, ed. L. Duval-Arnould and F. Rilliet (*Studi e Testi* 389), Vatican City, 1998 (includes a reprint of 'À propos des "Premières recherches sur l'origine et les caractéristiques des synaxaires melkites (XIe-XVIIe siècles)"' at pp. 175-84)

Tūmā Bīṭār, *Al-qiddīsūn al-mansiyyūn fī l-turāth al-Anṭākī*, Beirut, 1995 (made use of Sauget, *Premières recherches*; helpful material on the neomartyrs)

J.-M. Sauget, *Premières recherches sur l'origine et les caractéristiques des synaxaires melkites (XIe-XVIIe siècles)* (*Subsidia hagiographica* 45), Brussels, 1969 (the fundamental study)

J.-M. Sauget, 'À propos des "Premières recherches sur l'origine et les caractéristiques des synaxaires melkites (XIe-XVIIe siècles)"', in *Mémorial Mgr Gabriel Khouri-Sarkis, 1898-1968, fondateur et directeur de l'Orient syrien, 1956-1967*, Louvain, 1969, 37-46 (helpful brief presentation of Sauget, *Premières recherches*)

Graf, *GCAL* i, 491-96

Ḥabīb Zayyāt, 'Shuhadāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya fī l-Islām', *Al-Mashriq* 36 (1938) 459-65 (useful material on several neomartyrs)

Mark N. Swanson

Embrico of Mainz

BIOGRAPHY

What little we know about Embrico is gleaned from the text of the *Vita Mahumeti* and from the *Vita auctoris*, a brief poem which states that the author of the *Vita Mahumeti* is named Embrico and is from Mainz. It may well be the same Embrico who served as treasurer of Mainz cathedral from 1090 until 1112.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Vita auctoris (Life of the author), contemporary Latin poem (edition and
    French trans. in Cambier, 'Embricon de Mayence', p. 469)

Secondary
See below

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Vita Mahumeti, 'Life of Muḥammad'

DATE   Probably first quarter of the 12th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Vita Mahumeti* is a polemical life of Muḥammad in 1,149 rhymed leonine hexameters. It relates how a nameless heretical magus, feigning piety, comes to Libya where he meets Mammutius, young slave to the governor, and trains him in the arts of magic and deception. The two secretly murder the governor, then have Mammutius marry the governor's widow. Through a series of tricks and bogus miracles, the two manage to persuade the Libyans to make Mammutius their king, and then to proclaim him a prophet. The two concoct a new law

based on sexual debauchery; they place the book of the law on the horns of a cow, and when the cow subsequently appears in the midst of the assembled throng of Libyans, Mammutius is hailed as a messenger of God.

Those who refuse to accept the new law, and to indulge in the sexual licence it enjoins, are martyred. As punishment for instigating this new law, God racks Mammutius with epilepsy, which the magus explains as Gabriel having taken the prophet's soul to heaven. Mammutius subsequently relates to the astonished people his celestial voyage (in a clear parody of the traditions of the *mi'raj*). Mammutius also says that in heaven God gave him a new indulgence: whoever sins can purify himself with water (a polemical take on Muslim ablutions). Shortly thereafter, God strikes Mammutius dead for his sins, and pigs begin to devour his body. The magus comes along, finds Mammutius dead, drives off the pigs, and takes the corpse away. He dresses and perfumes the body and comes to the people to make a funeral oration, in which he bids them not to eat pork, since pigs have devoured the dead Mammutius. Embrico closes with a description of Mammutius' tomb, designed by the magus. His gilded sarcophagus is held aloft by a system of magnets; hence it appears to the credulous masses that God is miraculously holding Mammutius in mid-air.

It is unclear what Embrico's sources are; clearly he is mixing elements extant in earlier polemical traditions, in particular Byzantine and Iberian traditions. Whatever his sources, he has clearly taken a good deal of liberty with them to create a colorful, scheming heretic. A number of other 12th-century Latin texts present a similar image of the prophet (Gauthier de Compiègne [q.v.], Adelphus [q.v.], Guibert of Nogent [q.v.]); some of them may have used Embrico's text. Until the discovery and publication of the *Vita auctoris*, Embrico's text was long attributed to Hildebert of Lavardin.

SIGNIFICANCE

This is perhaps the earliest and certainly the most elaborate 12th-century portrayal of Muḥammad. It is also the first coherent theological response to Islam by a Latin writer. Embrico presents Muḥammad in the guise of a 4th-century Libyan heresiarch, driven by lust and worldly ambition to lead his people into a depraved cult. This portrayal enables him to denigrate Islam while at the same time explaining its tremendous temporal success. By narrating Muḥammad's life and portraying him in this way, Embrico presents Islam as something

knowable, something familiar. Instead of a young, vigorous rival to Christianity, Islam is reduced to an old and particularly corrupt species of heresy – to something that can be easily understood and utterly dismissed.

MANUSCRIPTS

Cambier, in his edition, lists 16 extant MSS, 12 or 13 of which date to the 12th century.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

S. Hotz, *Mohammed und seine Lehre in der Darstellung abendländerischer Autoren*, 101-28 (German trans.)

Embrico of Mainz, La vie de Mahomet, ed. G. Cambier, Brussels, 1961 (edition with introduction and notes)

STUDIES

J. Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael. Muslims through European eyes in the Middle Ages*, Gainesville FL, 2008, ch. 1 (= Tolan, *L'Europe latine et le monde arabe au Moyen Age. Cultures en conflit et en convergence*, Rennes, 2009, ch. 1)

A. Ferreiro, *Simon Magus in patristic, medieval, and early modern traditions*, Leiden, 2005, pp. 224-30

A. Ferreiro, 'Simon Magus, Nicolas of Antioch, and Muhammad', *Church History* 72 (2003) 53-70

Tolan, *Saracens*, 137-47

S. Hotz, *Mohammed und seine Lehre in der Darstellung abendländerischer Autoren vom späten 11. bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Frankfurt am Main, 2002, pp. 27-42

S. Luchitskaja, 'The image of Muhammad in Latin chronography of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *Journal of Medieval History* 26 (2000) 115-26

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E. Rotter, 'Embricho von Mainz und das Mohammed-Bild seiner Zeit', in F. Staab (ed.), *Auslandbeziehungen unter den salischen Kaisern. Geistige Auseinandersetzung und Politik*, Speyer, 1994, 69-137

C. Ratkowitsch, 'Das Grab des Propheten. Die Mohammad-Dichtungen des Embricho von Mainz un Walter von Compiègne', *Wiener Studien* 106 (1993) 223-56

N. Daniel, *Islam and the West. The making of an image*, Edinburgh, 1960, Oxford 1993² (Daniel refers to Embrico as Hildebert de Lavardin)

G. Cambier, 'Quand Gautier de Compiègne composait les Otia de Machomete ?', *Latomus* 17 (1958) 531-39

M.-T. d'Alverny, 'Pierre le Vénérable et la légende de Mahomet', *À Cluny, congrès scientifique*, Dijon, 1950, 161-70 (repr. in d'Alverny, *Connaissance de l'Islam dans l'Occident médiéval*, Aldershot UK, 1994)

A. d'Ancona, 'La leggenda di Maometto in Occidente', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 12 (1889) 199-281 (repr. in *La leggenda di Maometto in Occidente*, Roma, 1994)

G. Cambier, 'Embricon de Mayence (1010?-1077) est-il l'auteur de la Vita Mahumeti?', *Latomus* 16 (1957) 468-79

John Tolan

Martyrdom of Saints David and Constantine

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; probably mid-11th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; probably mid-12th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about this author, except that he was a scholar active in the first part of the 12th century, and virulently anti-Muslim.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary   —

Secondary   —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Camebay da ghuacli cmidat'a da didebult'a mocamet'a Davit' da Kostantinesi,
Camebay cmidat'a Davit' da Kostantinesi
'Martyrdom and merits of the saints and magnificent martyrs David and Constantine',
'Martyrdom of Saints David and Constantine'

DATE   Unknown; probably first half of the 12th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Georgian

DESCRIPTION

The Georgian saints David and Constantine were martyred during the second Arab campaign against Georgia in 737-41. The earliest surviving account of their lives and martyrdoms has been dated by K. Kekelidze to the first half of the 12th century, because its author made use of an anti-Islamic treatise by Arsen of Iqalto (q.v.) from his famous collection *Dogmaticon*, which was probably written between

1115 and 1120. The author of this account draws upon and elaborates an older work on the saints, but this has not survived. He also cites Antiochus Strategus' *The capture of Jerusalem*, which was translated from Arabic into Georgian in the 10th century.

The *Martyrdom* begins with the reign of Heraclius (610-41), to whom Muḥammad sent special gifts, as the latter was 'very rich and governed the Arabs'. In turn, Heraclius granted Muḥammad 'the valleys and mountains of Sinai, which is close to Arabia'. After Heraclius, the leaders of the Greeks became 'heretics, unworthy people and iconoclasts', deserving God's anger. Thus the Arabs and Persians prevailed, and started oppressing the Christians.

Then the author deals with the Arab invasion of the Caucasus led by Marwān ibn Muḥammad, who was to become the last Umayyad caliph (744-50); he 'covered the north like a cloud of darkness'. When the Arab army reached Samtskhe, the southern province of Georgia, Marwān sent part a detachment to the upper regions of the country. They reached Argveti, known also as Margveti, in western Georgia, which was ruled by David and Constantine. The Christian rulers defeated the Arab force, so Marwān sent the main army against them. The Muslims devastated the land, forced the population to flee and captured David and Constantine.

Marwān went into a church and ordered David and Constantine to be brought. First he mocked the captives and their faith, and when they retorted with words that offended 'the magnificent and glorious apostle', he ordered them to be beaten. He then tried to persuade them to convert and become Muslim leaders, but they replied by explaining their Christian beliefs in the words of the Chalcedonian Creed. Marwān insisted that according to the Qur'an 'Īsā was only a prophet, 'a righteous man, the son of Mariam', who claimed that he was the Son of God, which is why the Jews killed him on a wooden beam. But Muḥammad was magnificent and taught the Arabs and Persians the oneness of God.

David replied that the Qur'an was unauthentic, and what was said in it was taken from the Bible and falsely changed. It was written by a student of Muḥammad. Muḥammad could not show his nation the true path, although he did introduce monotheism among them. Lastly, in the Old Testament there are many prophecies about Jesus, while there are none about Muḥammad.

Despite Marwān's efforts, the Georgians refused to convert, so he kept them in prison for ten days, where they were constantly beaten.

He sent Persians to them with gifts, but they resisted all efforts. Finally, he had them hung upside-down and beaten, and then had large stones tied to their backs and had them thrown into the River Rioni.

The work goes on to describe other raids by the Arab forces, and it concludes with the miraculous discovery of the bodies of David and Constantine and their burial in a delapidated church, and later their re-interment in a cathedral by King Bagrat IV (1027-72).

The full title of the *Martyrdom* is: *Camebay da ġuacli cmidaťa da didebulťa mocameťa davit' da kostantinesi, romelni icamnes k'ueqanasa č'rdiloeťisasa, sanaxebsa argŭeťisasa, sabrżanebelsa k'arťvelťasa šemdgomad mic'valebisa didisa mis da maġlisa mep'isa vaxtang gorgaslissa, romelman mep'obay qovlisa k'ueqanisay sap'lavad šťaitana, uġmrťoysa mis mżlavrisisa sparsťa mep'isa murvan abu-l-kasimisgan, romelsa ecoda narťaulad qru, romeli iqo disculi muhmad (muhamed) c'ud saxelisa (qovlad sażagelisa) moc'iqulisa* ('Martyrdom and merit of the saints and magnificent martyrs David and Constantine, who were martyred in the country of the north, the environs of Argveti, the Georgian domain after the death of the great and high king Vakhtang Gorgasali, who had taken the kingdom of all the world to the grave, by the godless and violent king of the Persians Murvan Abu-l-Kasim, nicknamed 'the Deaf', who was a nephew of Muhmad (Muhamed), the (most disgusting) apostle of bad name').

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Martyrdom* describes in considerable detail Marwān ibn Muḥammad's raids into Georgia, especially in the Caucasus. It also shows, like other sources, that in the 8th century the people of Georgia had a good knowledge of Arabic, Islam and the Qur'an.

The *Martyrdom* of David and Constantine was very popular in Georgia, because of its anti-Islamic sentiments. Beside the two recensions we know of (the earlier lost one and the revised one), three shorter synaxary variants are known, and also a later 18th-century elaboration by Catholicos Anton of Georgia.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Tbilisi, National Center of Manuscripts – Georg. Q 762, fols 327-338 (13th-14th century)

MS Kutaisi, Ethnographic Museum – Georg. Kut. 34, fols 125-30 (17th century)

MS Kutaisi, Ethnographic Museum – Georg. Kut. 4, fols 660-67
(17th century)

MS St Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies – Georg. H 22,
fols 43-47 (17th-18th century)

MS Tbilisi, National Center of Manuscripts – Georg. A 518,
fols 527-34 (1708)

MS Tbilisi, National Center of Manuscripts – Georg. A 130,
fols 127-33 (1713)

MS Tbilisi, National Center of Manuscripts – Georg. A 170,
fols 78-80 (1733)

MS Tbilisi, National Center of Manuscripts – Georg. H 2077,
fols 75-79 (1736)

MS Tbilisi, National Center of Manuscripts – Georg. H 1672,
fols 361-69 (1740)

MS Tbilisi, National Center of Manuscripts – Georg. A 176,
fols 137-46 (1743)

MS Tbilisi, National Center of Manuscripts – Georg. H 2121,
fols 61-66 (1748)

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agiograp'iuli literaturis dzeglebi*, 6 vols, Tbilisi, 1971, iii, pp. 248-
64 (critical edition of the text based on all known MSS; repr. in
M. K'avt'aria (ed.), *Mcignobroba k'art'uli*, 4 vols, Tbilisi, 2007,
pp. iii, 308-22)

S. Qubaneishvili, *Dzveli k'art'uli literaturis k'restomat'ia*, 2 vols,
Tbilisi, 1946, i, pp. 233-40 (edition from MS Q 762)

*Sak'art'velos samot'xe: sruli aghcera ghuaclt'a da vnebat'a
sak'art'velos cmidat'a*, ed. G.M. Sabinin, St Petersburg, 1882,
pp. 323-30 (the editor does not indicate specific MSS, but it is
clear that he mainly used 18th-century codices)

Polnoe zhizneopisanie sviatykh gruzinskoĭ tserkvi, ed. M. Sabinin,
2 vols, St Petersburg, 1872, ii, pp. 154-65 (Russian trans. on the
basis of 18th-century MSS)

STUDIES

T. Zozarashvili, *Didi k'art'velebi, c'xovrebis k'ronikebi*, Tbilisi,
2008, pp. 52-54

A. Bregadze, *Sak'art'velosat'vis*, Tbilisi, 2004, pp. 50-53

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Mariam Nanobashvili

Gautier de Compiègne

Walterius, Walter of Compiègne, Walter von Compiègne

DATE OF BIRTH   unknown; probably late 11ᵗʰ century
PLACE OF BIRTH   unknown
DATE OF DEATH   mid to late 12ᵗʰ century
PLACE OF DEATH   unknown

BIOGRAPHY

In the *Otia de Machomete*, Gautier gives his name as Walterius, and says that he is a monk writing at the bidding of his abbot; he also mentions the Cathedral of Sens. He may well be the same Gautier who was monk at Marmoutier and later, from 1137 to 1155, prior of St Martin of Chartres, author of a history of Marmoutier and a collection of miracles of the Virgin Mary.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary   —

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Otia de Machomete, 'Verses on Muḥammad'

DATE   Before about 1155
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

This is a long poem (1,090 verses) narrating the life of 'Machomes' (Muḥammad), trickster, worker of bogus miracles, and false prophet of the Saracens. It is unclear what Gautier's sources were; it is plausible that he knew and used Embrico of Mainz's (q.v.) *Vita Mahumet*, as G. Cambier argues, though Cambier's argument is far from convincing. A number of the legendary elements in Gautier's narrative

circulated widely in 12ᵗʰ-century Europe, as various other texts show
(e.g. Guibert of Nogent [q.v.] and Adelphus [q.v.]). He was probably
familiar with Anastasius Bibliothecarius' (q.v.) translation of Theophanes'
Chronographica, either directly or through an intermediate text.

Gautier, like other hostile biographers of Muḥammad, bases his
portrait on deliberate deformations of Muslim traditions. He seeks to
denigrate Islam for readers who have little chance of ever meeting a
Muslim. This gives him great liberty to make Muḥammad conform
to the stereotype of the scheming heresiarch and to paint him as a
colorful scoundrel. Machomes was the servant of a rich widow whom
he longed to marry in order to make himself rich. Here Gautier, like
Theophanes, alludes to Muḥammad's marriage with Khadīja; their
union is presented as scandalous, because the couple are mismatched
in age and in social standing. Shortly after the wedding, Machomes is
struck with epileptic fits; he tells his wife that his seizures are brought
on by the visits of the archangel Gabriel; a pious hermit (a deforma-
tion of the Baḥīrā legend), whom Machomes threatens with death,
backs up his claims. Machomes hoodwinks the people with false mir-
acles: he hides jars of milk and honey on a mountainside and pre-
tends they were sent by God; he ties the book of his law to the horns
of a bull, the sudden appearance of which is acclaimed as a miracle
by the credulous Saracens. By such false miracles, he persuades them
to accept his law as heaven-sent. The main precepts of the law are the
prohibition of pork, the obligation of circumcision, and the permis-
sion to have up to ten wives. At Machomes' death, he is placed in an
iron coffin, which is made to float in mid-air in a temple in *Meca*, a
final bogus miracle that persuades the Saracens to revere his memory
and to flock to his tomb in pilgrimage.

SIGNIFICANCE

Gautier is one of several early 12ᵗʰ-century poets to paint an image of
Muḥammad as a trickster and scoundrel who performed bogus mira-
cles to hoodwink the naïve Saracens into accepting him as a prophet.
These texts show a rising interest in Islam and its prophet and a need
to relegate the faith to the level of a ridiculous and despicable heresy.
These hostile legends about Muḥammad were to persist in Europe
into the 18ᵗʰ century. Gautier's text was used by 13ᵗʰ-century medi-
eval chroniclers and was translated by Alexandre du Pont (q.v.) into
French as the 13ᵗʰ-century *Roman de Mahomet*.

MANUSCRIPTS

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John Tolan

Peter of Cluny

Petrus Venerabilis, Peter the Venerable

DATE OF BIRTH 1092 or 1094
PLACE OF BIRTH Montboissier, Auvergne
DATE OF DEATH 25 December 1156
PLACE OF DEATH Cluny, Burgundy

BIOGRAPHY

Peter of Cluny, known as Peter the Venerable since the end of the 12th century, was the ninth abbot of Cluny (1122-56). Born into a Montboissier family of the middle aristocracy of Auvergne, Peter became an oblate at the Cluniac monastery of Sauxillanges in the Auvergne, then followed a typical *cursus honorum* within the Cluniac church: choir monk at Cluny, schoolmaster at Vézelay, and prior at Domènes. In 1122, he was elected abbot of Cluny after the abdication of Pons de Melgueil, which initiated a crisis. Peter strove to restore order in the mother abbey and in its network of dependencies, and to defend the Cluniac model against attacks from new monastic models (notably the Cistercians).

Peter never promoted or preached crusade, as did his contemporary Bernard of Clairvaux, though in various letters he praises the Templars for their relentless war against the Saracens and offers prayers for the success of Louis VII of France and Roger II of Sicily in their wars against Muslims. Peter is the author of numerous letters and treatises, including a triptych of texts meant to defend the church against its enemies: heretics (Peter of Bruys and his disciples), Jews and Saracens.

In 1142-43, Peter travelled to Spain and decided to commission the first full Latin translation of the Qur'an, by Robert of Ketton (q.v.), along with translations of a number of other works related to Muḥammad and Islam. He hoped in this way to provide Christendom with an instrument to be used in the fight against the 'Saracen heresy', in the form of an *armarium*, a 'bookshelf' or 'arsenal' that would permit him to wage war in the field of ideas.

With this collection, Peter hoped to furnish the intellectual arms necessary to attack Islam at its base. His correspondence with abbot Bernard of Clairvaux shows that he hoped Bernard would take up his pen against Islam. Bernard declined to do so, and it was finally Peter himself who composed a pair of polemical works against Islam, based on the contents of his *armarium*.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Summa totius haeresis ac diabolicae sectae Saracenorum siue Hismahelitarum, 'Sum of the entire heresy or demonic sect of the Saracens or Ishmaelites'; *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum*, 'Sum of the entire heresy of the Saracens'

DATE   Probably 1143-44
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

The corpus of texts commissioned by Peter is introduced by two works of the abbot himself: a letter and the *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum*, in which Peter summarizes the contents of the *armarium* and lays out the main lines of his argument against Islam.

The principle focus of this text is a polemical biography of Muḥammad. The only source of information that Peter explicitly cites on Muḥammad's life is Anastasius Bibliothecarius' (q.v.) Latin translation of Theophanes' *Chronographia* (of which Cluny possessed a manuscript in the 11th century). Peter fills in Anastasius' account with information gleaned from a Latin translation of *Risālat al-Kindī* (q.v.), one of the translations he had commissioned, and Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialogi* (q.v.). Peter gives a clear sense of where the Prophet and his followers fit in the history of error: the devil works behind and through Muḥammad, leading a third of the world's population into error. Mixing good and evil, sublime and ridiculous, Muḥammad created a monstrous cult similar to the animal described by Horace, with a human head, a horse's neck, and feathers. Peter sees three great adversaries whom the devil uses to lead Christians astray as Arius, Muḥammad, and Antichrist.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Summa haeresis Saracenorum* seeks to furnish the basis of a polemical vision of Islam by giving the principle elements of the 'detestable life' of Muḥammad, a base-born man and a clever manipulator of ignorant Arabs. Peter denounces the errors of Muḥammad's teaching concerning the Trinity, concerning Christ (in particular his refusal to accept the Incarnation) and in his conception of heaven as

a place of eternal lust. This polemical tract seeks to show (as the title indicates) that Islam represents the sum of all the heresies previously known to Christendom. At the same time, Peter poses the paradoxical question of whether the Muslims should be considered true heretics or simply pagans.

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Contra sectam Saracenorum, 'Against the sect of the Saracens'; *Contra Saracenos*, 'Against the Saracens'

DATE   1155-56

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

Towards the end of his life, Peter himself took up the challenge that Bernard of Clairvaux had refused, in his last written work, the *Contra sectam Saracenorum*. The work as it survives is composed of a long prologue and two books; it may be that Peter wrote more that was subsequently lost, or that he left it incomplete at his death in 1156. Whether or not Peter considered the text complete, Book I in its current state sets the stage for the argument by naming the adversaries' authorities, and by presenting the common scriptural bases of Christianity and Islam. Peter thus attempts to impose on his hypothetical Saracen adversaries a position they cannot refuse that would oblige the Muslims to accept the canonical books of the Jews and Christians (since the Qur'an presents them as *bona fide* revelations). From this point of view, Islam cannot pick and choose from the heritage of the two previous religions of the book, but must accept the whole of the tradition (which of course, for Peter, is represented by the Latin church).

In this way, Peter places the debate firmly in the field of his own authorities which he confronts with the material assembled in the *armarium* of texts translated in Spain. On this basis, in Book II of the *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, Peter addresses two fundamental questions that preoccupied Latin Christians in the age of the crusades: what is prophecy, and was Muḥammad a prophet, or the Seal of the prophets, transmitter of revelation and messenger of the Lord? Peter here tries to prove that Muḥammad was not a prophet, by contrasting his life with those of Old Testament figures.

SIGNIFICANCE

In the *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, Peter attempts to combat Islam through a close examination of what constitutes prophecy. The definition he gives emphasizes the extraordinary manifestations of the divine: 'The prophet is he who shows mortals unknown truths about the past, the present or the future, not because he is instructed by human knowledge, but because he is inspired by the spirit of God.'

According to this restricted definition, Muḥammad cannot be a real prophet since the Qur'an does not show any extraordinary (miraculous) proof of his status as prophet. Faithful to the Christian tradition of continuity between scriptural miracles and those of the hagiographical tradition, Peter cannot imagine that Islam could distinguish between the Muḥammadan prophetic model, in which miracles have little role to play, and a hagiographical model, in which miracles have their place.

In his preface, Peter poses a hypothetical question: why address his tract to Saracens in Latin, a language they do not understand? His response is twofold: first, he expresses the hope that his tract might one day be translated into Arabic; second, he says that even in Latin it might be useful to show doubting Christians the true diabolical nature of the Saracen heresy. He is particularly interested in those Christians who secretly admire Islam, suggesting that his purpose is apologetic as much as it is polemical.

Peter's *Contra sectam Saracenorum* represents the first attempt to refute Islam by a prominent authority of the Latin church. The work exists in only two manuscripts and seems to have been little read in later centuries.

MANUSCRIPTS

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Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*

Dominque Iogna-Prat & John Tolan

Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; early 12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; late 12th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY   —

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary   —

Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, 'Chronicle of the Emperor Alfonso'

DATE   Unknown, probably between 1147 and 1157
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* is a panegyric in prose and verse devoted to the deeds of Alfonso VII of León-Castile (1126-57) from his accession to the throne down to the eve of the conquest of the Muslim city of Almería in 1147. The work is divided into two books. The first is chiefly concerned with Alfonso VII's attempts to bolster his authority over his kingdom and over those of the other Iberian Christian rulers; the second is devoted to the wars that were waged between Christian and Muslim armies from the death of Alfonso VI

of León-Castile (1065-1109) down to the conquest of Cordova by Alfonso VII in the spring of 1146. There follows a poetical celebration, known as the *Poem of Almería*, consisting of 385 and a half lines of rhythmic hexameters, of the campaign that was led by Alfonso VII and his allies to conquer Almería in 1147.

The date of composition is unknown. However, the poetic account of the Almería campaign gives the impression that Alfonso VII was still alive at the time it was written, from which we can conclude that it was probably composed some time between the fall of Almería and the death of Alfonso VII in 1157.

The authorship of the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* is also unknown. The clear front-runner in scholarly opinion, ever since it was first suggested by Juan de Ferreras in 1775, has been Bishop Arnaldo of Astorga (1144-52/3). However, the evidence for Arnaldo's authorship is circumstantial: the bishop is mentioned both at the end of the prose chronicle and in its poetic colophon; he was a regular visitor to the court of Alfonso VII and was well rewarded by the emperor for his service; in 1146 he was sent as the monarch's special envoy to the counts of Barcelona and Montpellier with the task of co-ordinating a coalition for the campaign against Almería. Moreover, what is known of Arnaldo's career – his presumed Catalan origins and the time he probably served at the priory of San Servando in Toledo before his election to the see of Astorga, as well as his loyal service to Alfonso VII – seem to chime with the outlook of the chronicler, in particular his Leonese and Catalan sympathies, and his detailed knowledge of the Toledan frontier, all of which are writ large in the *Chronica*.

The most striking aspect of the *Chronica* is the author's focus (particularly in the second book) on the numerous campaigns that were waged by Alfonso VII and his nobles against the Muslim Almoravids and their allies. Drawing inspiration from the books of the Old Testament Vulgate, the chronicler fashioned a biography infused with a profound religious spirit, in which Alfonso VII was portrayed as an instrument of divine will and a scourge of the Muslims. The chronicler records in detail the many victories that were won by the Christians, the Muslim cities that were captured, the booty that was seized, the mosques and sacred Islamic texts that were burned, and the prisoners that were captured or put to the sword. In addition to the vein of hatred for the Muslims that runs throughout the whole work, in the poetic account of the siege of Almería the spirit of crusade is also to the fore.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* furnishes the principal account of the political and military affairs of the Leonese monarchy during the period 1126-47. The work is particularly significant not only for its hostile portrait of the Muslim world, which chimed fully with the sectarian outlook of the Western Church in the age of the crusades, but also for its unprecedentedly detailed knowledge of Muslim political and military affairs, both in Iberia and North Africa.

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Simon Barton

Al-Yaḥṣubī

Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Masarra ibn Khalaf
ibn al-Faraj (or ibn Faraj ibn Khalaf) al-Yaḥṣubī
al-Shantamarī

DATE OF BIRTH   1077-78
PLACE OF BIRTH   Possibly in Santa María del Algarve
     (Portugal)
DATE OF DEATH   28 October 1157
PLACE OF DEATH   Cordova

BIOGRAPHY

According to Ibn al-Zubayr, al-Yaḥṣubī was a descendant of Abū
l-Ṣabāḥ, an Arab emir and one of the first conquerors of al-Andalus.
Although the sources do not indicate with certainty whether Santa
María del Algarve was his birthplace, they confirm that he lived in
Cordova.

Al-Yaḥṣubī had a thorough education in Hadith and Islamic law,
as is confirmed by his works and the books he transmitted. These are
all recorded in Ibn Khayr's *Fahrasa*.

The sources give conflicting versions of the positions held by
al-Yaḥṣubī. Whether or not he was a leading *qāḍī* in Cordova (see
El Hour, *La administration judicial*, p. 40), he was certainly a very
important jurist-consult in the city. He probably died in October 1157,
though Ibn al-ʿImād gives the month as September, and al-Ḍabbī
places his death in the year 1158-59.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-radd ʿalā al-Naṣārā, 'Refutation of the Christians'

DATE   Before about 1120

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work has not survived. Meier, 'Ṭāhir aṣ-Ṣadafī vergessene Schrift', offers some information about the circumstances in which it was written, though without mentioning sources. It appears that, in a battle against the Christian forces of the north, al-Yaḥṣubī fell from his horse and was captured, but he was then saved by fellow Muslims through God's miraculous intervention. When his Jewish personal secretary

asked him how he came to be saved, he responded with this work in the form of a letter.

Given these facts, it is likely that the letter would have been written between about 1110 and 1120 at the latest, for if al-Yaḥṣubī was born before 1080, he would not have been a fighting man much after his fortieth year. The refutation was well-known throughout the Maghrib and al-Andalus during the al-Yaḥṣubī's own lifetime.

SIGNIFICANCE

The circumstances of writing help to reconstruct some of the contents of this letter. There is no doubt that al-Yaḥṣubī explained how God had saved him from the Christians. This miraculous and divine act would have led him to conclude that Muslims have truth on their side and Christians only falsehood.

MANUSCRIPTS   —
EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —
STUDIES   —

Risālat mīzān al-ṣidq al-mufarriq min ahl al-bāṭil wa-ahl al-ḥaqq, 'The balance of truth which separates the people of wrong from the people of right'; *Qaṣīda dāliyya fī maʿānī Risālat mīzān al-ṣidq al-mufarriq min ahl al-bāṭil wa-ahl al-ḥaqq,* 'Poem rhyming in d about the meanings of The balance of truth which separates the people of wrong from the people of right'

DATE   Between about 1120 and 1157
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work is not extant. Its title indicates that it clarified the difference between Muslims, who represent right (*ahl al-ḥaqq*), and Christians, who represent wrong (*ahl al-bāṭil*). Ibn Khayr says that it was an answer to a letter sent by some Christian bishops, in which case it may have dealt with precise points as well as general principles. Its

poetical form may have added to the impressiveness of its arguments that its author no doubt wanted to create.

SIGNIFICANCE
It is difficult to say what this was.

MANUSCRIPTS —
EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —
STUDIES —

Rachid El Hour

Ibn Quzmān

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsā ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn ʿĪsā
ibn Quzmān al-Zuhrī al-Zajjāl al-Aṣghar

DATE OF BIRTH   Before 1086
PLACE OF BIRTH   Cordova
DATE OF DEATH   2 October 1160
PLACE OF DEATH   Cordova

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn Quzmān was born in Cordova into a well-known family, whose name Quzmān (= Guzmán) suggests non-Muslim, maybe Gothic, origins. From the little that is known about him, mainly through hints in his poems, he was well versed in classical Arabic poetry, but he attained fame through popular stanzaic poems known as *zajal*, written in the vernacular language of al-Andalus, mostly as panegyrics for various members of the Almoravid dynasty. He travelled to a number of Andalusian towns, including Seville, Granada and Jaén, in search of patrons.

One of the characteristics of Ibn Quzmān's poetry is satire, verging on the licentious, aimed at religious experts. On several occasions he was accused of impiety, but towards the end of his life, giving up his former ways, he became a mosque imam. He died during the siege of Cordova by the emir Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Saʿd in 1160.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Iṣābat al-aghrāḍ fī dhikr al-aʿrāḍ. Dīwān Ibn Quzmān al-Qurṭubī, 'Achieving aims by recalling honours. The poems of Ibn Quzmān of Cordova'

DATE   12th century. Before 1160

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Dīwān* of Ibn Quzmān, which has come down in a single copy, consists of 149 stanzas of poetry (*zajals*) written in the Andalusī Arabic dialect. Many of them are dedicated to rulers of the Almoravid dynasty. The collection, a masterpiece of popular poetry, depicts a vivid panorama of the social life of 12th-century Islamic Cordova, including details about local customs, criticism of the religious authorities, and descriptions of sexual exploits. It also deals with the relationship between Muslims, Christians and Jews.

It is very interesting to note that, while Jews are usually treated in a friendly and respectful manner, Christians are always seen as dangerous and a potential enemy. They are usually called *Naṣrānī*, and once *Rūm* and *ʿulūj* ('infidels'), and they are never considered citizens of any kind. This must be because at this time the southern progress of the Christian *reconquista* was threatening al-Andalus, and

hence provoking a natural reaction against Christians, their language and culture.

SIGNIFICANCE

One of the most important features in the *Dīwān* is its language and style, which is popular and vivid, and reflects Cordovan society during the Almoravid period, in contrast to the elitist tendencies of contemporary poetry. It is also important as a witness to the Andalusī Arabic dialect spoken by Muslims and Christians.

Regarding Christian-Muslim relations, Ibn Quzmān's *Dīwān* is consistently pejorative about Christians under Almoravid rule (see poems 9, 14, 38, 40, 86, 102 and 137). This is intriguing, because by this time Christian communities had almost disappeared from al-Andalus as a consequence of the political and military actions of Christians from the north against the Almoravids.

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Ignacio Ferrando

Ibn Ẓafar

Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Muḥammad ibn
Muḥammad ibn Ẓafar Ḥujjat al-Dīn al-Ṣiqillī al-Makkī

DATE OF BIRTH   May 1104
PLACE OF BIRTH   Sicily
DATE OF DEATH   1172 or soon after, but not later than 1202
PLACE OF DEATH   Hama

BIOGRAPHY

According to the majority of biographers, Ibn Ẓafar was born in
Sicily under Norman rule but grew up in Mecca, though some authors
identify Mecca as his birthplace (al-Fāsī, *Al-ʿiqd*, p. 345; Ibn Ḥajar,
Lisān al-mīzān, p. 372; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, p. 142; al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt*,
p. 167). He travelled to Egypt, Mahdiyya (present day Tunisia), Sicily,
back to Egypt and then Aleppo, before finally settling down in Hama,
where he died. This is an approximate account of his life journey, as it
is difficult to determine the exact chronological order and the precise
time he spent in each of his destinations.

The great majority of biographical sources propose 1170 as the year
of Ibn Ẓafar's death, though according to some others he died in 1172
(al-Isfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr*, p. 49; Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh*, p.74; al-Fāsī,
Al-ʿiqd, p. 344; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, p. 372), 1173 (al-Isfahānī,
Kharīdat al-qaṣr, p. 49; Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh*, p.74; Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Kashf
al-ẓunūn*, ii, pp. 998, 2052), 1180 (al-Daljī, *Al-falāka*, p. 136), in the
decade of 1175 (al-Fāsī, *Al-ʿiqd*, p. 346), or in 1202 (Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān
al-mīzān*, p. 372). The opening page of the Escorial MS (f. 1v) includes
a *samāʿ* note, which suggests that he was still alive in Rajab 566 (March
1171), so one is inclined to conclude that he may have died sometime
in 1172 or soon after, but not later than 1202 (see Ibn Ẓafar, *Khayr al-
bishar*, pp. 36, 57, 69-70).

Ibn Ẓafar was a man of letters, a poet, grammarian and philologist.
He was a prolific author who composed works in various disciplines
including law, theology, history, political philosophy and qurʾanic
and biblical exegesis. More than 30 books are attributed to him,
among which 23 are listed in a catalogue written by Ibn Ẓafar himself

and annexed to one of his works (for a full list, see Amari, *Solwan*, pp. 43-51). The sources record that during his stay in Aleppo, while based at the Madrasa of Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn, his books were destroyed in a conflict between the Shīʿīs and the Sunnīs. Today only a few of his works are known to have survived.

In addition to his work on the prophethood of Muḥammad, *Khayr al-bishar bi-khayr al-bashar*, 'The best of tidings concerning the best of mankind', he penned his most famous work, the *Sulwān*, 'Waters of comfort', which contains maxims for a ruler, written in the literary genre of *Fürstenspiegel*, 'Mirror for princes'. Ibn Ẓafar compiled this work twice, and dedicated the two editions to two different patrons: the first to an unknown ruler in Syria who was facing a political crisis, and the second, completed in 1159, to Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Qāsim ibn ʿAlī ʿAlawī al-Qurashī, a *qāʾid al-Muslimīn*, 'leader of Muslims', living in Norman Sicily (see Kechichian and Dekmejian, *The just prince*, p. 68). The work has been translated into Turkish, Persian, English and Italian.

Among his other important works are a commentary on the Qurʾan entitled *Yanbūʿ al-ḥayāt*, 'The spring of life', a commentary on al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*, 'Sessions', and a biographical work called *Anbāʾ nujabāʾ al-abnāʾ*, 'Information regarding the noble descendents'.

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Secondary

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ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ḥājiyāt, 'Naẓariyyat ibn Ẓafar al-Ṣiqillī fī akhlāq al-mulūk min khilāl *Kitāb sulwān al-muṭāʿ*', *Awrāq* 5-6 (1982-83) 43-50

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R. Arié, *Miniatures hispano-musulmanes. Recherches sur un manuscrit arabe illustré de l'Escurial*, Leiden, 1969

I.B. al-Bābānī l-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn asmāʾ al-muʾallifīn wa-āthār al-muṣannifīn*, ed. K.R. Bilge and I.M.K. İnal, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1951, ii, p. 96

Y.I. Sarkīs, *Muʿjam al-maṭbūʿāt al-ʿarabiyya wa-l-muʿarraba*, [Cairo]: Maṭbaʿat Sarkīs, 1928, p. 149

M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache, zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden, nebst Anhängen verwandten Inhalts*, Leipzig, 1877, pp. 396-97

M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, [1854-58] 3 vols in 4, Florence, 2003, iii/2, pp. 358, 468-81

M. Amari, *Solwan; or, Waters of comfort. By Ibn Zafer, a Sicilian Arab of the twelfth century*, 2 vols, London, 1852

M. Amari, *Solwan el Mota' ossiano Conforti politici di Ibn Zafer Arabo Siciliano del XII secolo*, Florence, 1851

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Khayr al-bishar bi-khayr al-bashar, 'The best of tidings concerning the best of mankind'

DATE   1163

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work, written in Syria under Zangid rule in 1163 (ed. Choukri and Abouri, p. 96), is dedicated to Ibn Ẓafar's patron, Ṣafī l-Dīn, 'a generous *raʾīs* (chief)', who might have been a notable figure in the court of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī (r. 1146-74). In the latest edition, it is approximately 190 pages long (ed. Choukri and Abouri, pp. 69-261).

As the title suggests, its main intention is to present historical proofs that present the evidence for the coming of the Prophet Muḥammad and his message. It is structured in four parts comprising four different types of material that verify the prophetic ministry of Muḥammad. These are: information provided in earlier scriptures; information given by non-Muslim religious authorities (*aḥbār*); information handed down by soothsayers (*kuhhān*); and information derived from the *jinn*, as communicated to earlier Muslim generations.

The biblical passages that Ibn Ẓafar quotes in the first section (ed. Choukri and Abouri, pp. 77-109) are from Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Habakkuk, Psalms and the Gospels of Matthew, Luke and John. According to Ibn Ẓafar, not only were Hagar and Abraham given the glad tidings about Muḥammad, but Moses and Jesus also prophesied his coming. The biblical texts he refers to are very similar to those quoted by earlier authors such as Ibn al-Layth

(fl. late 8ᵗʰ century) (q.v.), ʿAlī ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī (d. c. 860) (q.v.), and Ibn Qutayba (d. 889) (q.v.). The mention of Sinai, Seir and Paran (Deuteronomy 33:2) is nothing but a triadic symbol of the divine revelation conveyed by Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad (ed. Choukri and Abouri, pp. 82-84). Similarly, Jesus' Paraclete is actually a foretelling of Muḥammad's prophethood (ed. Choukri and Abouri, pp. 91-96).

The second section includes various accounts related from Wahb ibn Munabbih, Kaʿb al-Aḥbār and other early Muslims who reveal a hidden text or piece of information regarding the Prophet Muḥammad that had been known to the *ahl al-kitāb* (ed. Choukri and Abouri, pp. 113-51). The relevant part of the third section is found in the last few pages, in which King Nebuchadnezzar's dream is described and interpreted as in Daniel 2:1-48 (ed. Choukri and Abouri, pp. 191-92).

The work also focuses on the question of *taḥrīf*, the alteration of earlier scriptures. According to Ibn Ẓafar, the Jews as well as the Christians have altered the authentic scriptures that were given to them by God. In fact, the Torah and the Gospel they possess are nothing more than the products of *taḥrīf* and *tabdīl* (ed. Choukri and Abouri, pp. 85-87). The external evidence he presents for the occurrence of *taḥrīf* is an historical account concerning the loss of the true Torah during the time of Nebuchadnezzar and its recovery by Ezra. The internal evidence is the fact that the Torah does not provide any information about heaven and hell, and that punishment and reward appear to be only in this world. Moreover, its anthropomorphic description of God and the sinful acts attributed to the prophets (e.g. the story of Lot and his daughters, Judah and his daughter-in-law, acts of the sons of Jacob, shortcomings of Moses and Aaron) are indications of *taḥrīf* in the biblical text (ed. Choukri and Abouri, pp. 87-91). Similarly, the use and interpretation of the title 'son', by Christians as well as Jews, is an example of *tabdīl* and *taḥrīf* (ed. Choukri and Abouri, p. 94). What happened to the Torah likewise happened to the Gospels, i.e. the original of both was lost. It is only the Qur'an that, through God's protection, has remained intact (ed. Choukri and Abouri, p. 97).

SIGNIFICANCE

The work is an example of the genre called *dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, 'proofs of prophethood', *bashāʾir al-nubuwwa*, 'good tidings of prophethood', or *aʿlām al-nubuwwa*, 'signs of prophethood', the primary goal of which is to establish the authenticity of Muḥammad's prophetic

mission. As such, it includes many elements that are familiar from other extant examples.

A significant characteristic of the work is the variety of Arabic versions of the biblical texts quoted in it. The author justifies this by saying: 'We have quoted from them [the *ahl al-kitāb*] in accordance with the translations they accept and prefer to relate in their books. Therefore, they cannot accuse us of altering (*taḥrīf*) them [their scriptures]' (ed. Choukri and Abouri, p. 109). The diversity of the translations cited provides useful data for students of the Arabic Bible.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Karaçelebizade 351, fols 39r-72r (1476)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 1058, fols 103v-176v (early 18th century)

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MS Princeton, University Library – 556, fols 184r-186r

For other MSS see below.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Ibn Ẓafar, *Khayr al-bishar bi-khayr al-bashar*, ed. A. Āl Nāṣir, Beirut, 2009

Ibn Ẓafar al-Ṣiqillī, *Khayr al-bishar bi-khayr al-bashar*, ed. L. Choukri and K. Abouri, Rabat: Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa-l-Abḥāth wa-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth, 2008

This edition is based on five MSS:

MS Riyadh, Islamic University of al-Imām Muḥammad ibn Suʿūd – 7935, 58 fols (1218; the oldest surviving dated MS)

MS Paris, BNF – 1959, 92 fols (1324)

MS Madrid, El Escorial – 3/116-117 [1516 (1) /1521], 45 fols (1361)

MS Medina, King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Library – ʿĀrif Ḥikmat 242/35, 51 fols (1464)

MS Dublin, Chester Beatty – 5082, 37 fols (1620)

Other manuscripts mentioned in this edition (p.55) are:

MS Tunis, National Library – 4833, 49 fols (1631-32)

MS Tunis, National Library – 4399, 97 fols

MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub – 5/174 (15 majāmīʿ m.)

Ibn Ẓafar al-Ṣiqillī, *Khayr al-bishar bi-khayr al-bashar*, Cairo, 1863

STUDIES

H. Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined worlds. Medieval Islam and Bible criticism*, Princeton NJ, 1992, pp. 82n, 85-86, 88, 90, 92n, 94n, 95, 96, 97n, 103n, 104n, 107n, 117n, 119n, 121n, 138

Al-mukhtaṣar fī khabar sayyid al-bashar, 'An abridgment of the news regarding the master of mankind'

DATE   Unknown; probably after 1163
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION
As the title suggests, this must have been a summary of *Khayr al-bishar*. No sources mention it apart from Brockelmann, *GAL* S i, pp. 595-96.

SIGNIFICANCE   —

MANUSCRIPTS
    MS Mosul – 106, 90, 6 (see Brockelmann, *GAL* S i, pp. 595-96)
EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —
STUDIES   —

Aʿlām al-nubuwwa, 'Signs of prophethood'

DATE   Unknown; probably 1163 (see Ibn Ẓafar, *Khayr al-bishar*, p. 96)
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION
As implied by the title, this is most probably identical to Ibn Ẓafar's *Khayr al-bishar* and is perhaps an alternative title. The fact that no reference to this work exists in any of the biographical sources supports this possibility. The only references to it are in *Kashf al-ẓunūn* (i, p. 126) and *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn* (ii, p. 96).

SIGNIFICANCE
If it was a separate work, it would have been another contribution to the same genre as *Khayr al-bishar*.
MANUSCRIPTS   —
EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —
STUDIES   —

Lejla Demiri

Hibat Allāh ibn al-Tilmīdh

DATE OF BIRTH   1071
PLACE OF BIRTH   Baghdad
DATE OF DEATH   1165 (or 1154)
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Hibat Allāh ibn al-Tilmīdh was a renowned physician, working at the prestigious ʿAḍudiyya hospital. His medical activities are elaborately recorded by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa and al-Qifṭī. He was an influential member of the ('Nestorian') Church of the East, as appears from his presence at the patriarchal consecration of Elias II (q.v.), recorded in the patriarchal lists of the *Kitāb al-majdal* ('The tower') and the *Asfār al-asrār* ('The books of secrets'). He is also the author of an important theological work (see below).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Al-Qifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 340-42

Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. A Müller, Cairo, 1882, pp. 25976

Gregorius Barhebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-duwal*, ed. A. Ṣāliḥānī, Beirut, 1956², pp. 363-65

Patriarchal chronicle of the *Books of mysteries*: H. Gismondi (ed.), *Maris Amri et Slibae De patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria. Pars altera. Amri et Slibae textus*, Rome, 1896; *Amri et Slibae versio*, Rome, 1899, pp. 103 (Arabic), 60 (Latin trans.)

Secondary

R. le Coz, *Les médecins nestoriens au moyen âge*, Paris, 2004, pp. 206-7

Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans en Irak*, pp. 120, 129

S.K. Samir, 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976) 201-42, pp. 224-25

J.M. Fiey, *Chrétiens syriaques sous les Abbassides, surtout à Bagdad (749-1258)* Louvain, 1980, pp. 230-31

M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam (Handbuch der Orientalistik. I. Ergänzungsband* VI. 1), Leiden, 1952, p. 163

G. Troupeau, 'Recherches sur un médecin-philosophe de Bagdad. Ibn Aṭradī (XIᵉ siècle)', in *Mémorial Mgr Gabriel Khouri-Sarkis (1898-1968)*, Louvain, 1969, pp. 259-62

Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 199, cf. pp. 197-98

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Risāla fī ithbāt ʿaqāʾid al-dīn al-Masīḥī, Lumaʿ ʿajib (sic) min al-umūr al-sharʿiyya wa-nukat gharība min al-milal al-dīniyya, 'Demonstration of the beliefs of the Christian religion'

DATE   12ᵗʰ century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This (for the greater part) unedited work deals with various general theological subjects, which can no longer be specified. Cheikho (*Chresthomathie*, pp. 282-83) published an extract from one chapter on the abrogation of the Mosaic law, the law of justice, as opposed to the final and universal character of the law of Christ, the law of perfection. Though this argument seems to be primarily addressed to the Jews, it is also a common theme in Christian apologetic texts intended for Muslims (cf. Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans*, pp. 155-58), and possibly reflects the Islamic discussion about abrogation of revealed texts (*nāsikh-mansūkh*). That the author had Muslim readers in mind also appears from the fact that he tries to show the perfection of the Christian law by a reference to a passage from the description of India by al-Bīrūnī (d. 1048) (q.v.).

The work has sometimes been confused with the *Kitāb al-hidāya* of Abū l-Ghanāʾim Hibat Allāh ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Athradī (q.v.), for example by Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans*, p. 156 (cf. Troupeau, *Recherches*, pp. 260-61).

SIGNIFICANCE

One chapter of this work discusses a classical theme of Christian-Muslim apologetics. The originality of the argumentation is in the reference made to al-Bīrūnī.

MANUSCRIPTS

    MS formerly Diyarbakir 133 (13th century; present location unknown, probably lost)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

    L. Cheikho, *Chrestomathia Arabica*, Beirut, 1897, pp. 282-83 (edition of one chapter)

STUDIES

    Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans*, pp. 120, 129

    Samir, 'Bibliographie', pp. 224-25

    Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 119

    A. Scher, 'Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés dans la bibliothèque de l'évêché chaldéen de Diarbékir', *Journal Asiatique*, série x, 10 (1907) 414-15

Herman G.B. Teule

Caffaro of Genoa

Caffaro di Rustico da Caschifellone

DATE OF BIRTH   About 1080
PLACE OF BIRTH   Genoa
DATE OF DEATH   About 1166
PLACE OF DEATH   Genoa

BIOGRAPHY

Caffaro, from Rustico da Caschifellone (near Genoa in the Val Pol-
cevera), was born around 1080. A member of an aristocratic fam-
ily descending from Ido, a 10th-century vice-count of Genoa who
belonged to the 'Compagna' of the Porta (in the area of the San Pietro
in Banchi church), Caffaro was the eldest of three brothers (the oth-
ers being Oberto and Guiscardo), all of whom were active in public
life. A typical member of the Genoese elite of merchant-warriors, Caf-
faro was among the 'founding fathers' of the Commune of Genoa,
and worked in a broad international area. He was consul, ambassador
and historian of the Commune on several occasions, with his name
first appearing on a document of 20 July 1100. In 1101, just after the
First Crusade, he took part in the expedition that led to the conquest
of Caesarea, led by another eminent character, Guglielmo Embriaco,
whom Caffaro was to celebrate, together with the townspeople, as the
founding hero of the new Genoese history. Except for a document
dating from 1111, there are no notices on Caffaro's life until 1121, when
he reappeared on the scene as a protagonist in the role of ambassador
to Pope Calixtus II during the Genoese clash with Pisa over the status
of Corsica and its dioceses, and for which he was to return to Rome
in 1123. In 1122 he became the consul of the Commune and the *Placiti*,
taking part in military operations against the Pisans. He was again
to be alternatively consul of the *Placiti* or of the Commune in 1127,
1130 – the year in which the position was split – 1141, 1144, 1146
and 1149. In 1127 he went to Barcelona for the Genoese alliance
with Count Raymond Berengarius III; in 1146 he led an expedition
against Almería; in 1154 and 1158 he was ambassador to Frederick I
Barbarossa.

In addition to the *Annals* of his home city, Caffaro wrote two important shorter works: *Liberatio civitatum Orientis* and *Yistoria captionis Almerie et Tortuose*, composed in the same years. The former, an account of the Genoese part in the First Crusade, starts from the conquest of Antioch (1097) and ends with the conquest of Tripoli in Syria (1109). The latter, which concerns the conquest of Almería and Tortosa (1147-49), marks contemporary Genoese presence in the western Mediterranean.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Annali Genovesi (for editions see below)

Caffaro, *Ystoria captionis Almarie et Tortuose (1147-1149)* (for editions see below)

Caffaro, *Liberatio civitatum Orientis* (for editions see below)

Secondary

G. Airaldi, *Blu come il mare. Guglielmo e la saga degli Embriaci*, Genoa, 2006

E. Bellomo, *A servizio di Dio e del Santo Sepolcro. Caffaro e l'Oriente latino*, Padua, 2005

G. Airaldi, *Guerrieri e mercanti. Storie del medioevo genovese*, Turin, 2004

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E. Bellomo, 'La componente spirituale negli scritti di Caffaro', *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* n.s. 37 (1997) 65-92

A. Placanica, 'L'opera storiografica di Caffaro', *Studi Medievali* series 3, 36 (1995) 1-62

R.D. Face, 'Secular history in the twelfth century. Caffaro of Genoa', *Journal of Medieval History* 6 (1980) 169-85

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D. Puncuh, art. 'Caffaro di Rustico', in *Dizionario critico della Letteratura Italiana*, Milan, 1973

G. Arnaldi, 'Uno sguardo sugli Annali Genovesi', in G. Arnaldi, *Studi sui cronisti della Marca Trevigiana nell'età di Ezzelino da Romano*, Rome, 1963, 225-45

C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Caffaro e i suoi tempi*, Turin, 1894

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ystoria captionis Almarie et Turtuose, 'History of the capture of Almería and Tortosa'

DATE   Late 1140s – early 1150s
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

This relatively short chronicle (27 pages in the latest Italian translation) details a series of Genoese attacks on the Muslim territories of the Balearic islands, together with the cities of Almería and Tortosa on mainland Iberia. In the first of these, which captured Minorca and besieged Almería, Caffaro himself was the commander, so from a historical point of view this is a particularly useful account. During later stages of the assaults, both Almería and Tortosa were captured by the Genoese. While these episodes brought great renown to the city of Genoa, they also severely strained their resources. Like his other chronicles, Caffaro's account underlines his sense of pride both in his city and, as leader, in himself, as well as highlighting his beliefs about the crusading movement. The Muslims, who appear as an indistinct mass, are again seen as the enemies of God, and fighting them as a religious act that leads to both remission of sins for the individual and the regaining of land for Christendom.

SIGNIFICANCE

This short, secular account demonstrates how deeply embedded in the Latin psyche crusading had become by the mid-12th century, and how important crusading was to both individual and civic prestige. It also underlines how the ideals of fighting against the Muslims to secure Jerusalem (the basis of the First Crusade) had been expanded to become a battle on all fronts, which was to reach its zenith at this time, during the Second Crusade.

MANUSCRIPTS

    MS Paris, BNF – Latin 10136 (late 13th century)
    MS Paris, Ministère des affaires étrangères – Genes no. 3 (14th century)
    MS London, BL – Add. 12031 (15th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

    Storia della presa di Almeria Tortosa (1147-1149), ed. and Italian
        trans. M. Montesano, Genova, 2002

L.T. Belgrano *Annali Genovesi, di Caffaro e de suoi continuation del MXCIX al MCCXCIII*, 14 vols, Rome, 1890-1929, i, pp. 79-89

STUDIES

J. Dotson, 'The Genoese civic annals. Caffaro and his continuators', in S. Dale, A.W. Lewin and D.J. Osheim (eds), *Chronicling history. Chroniclers and historians in medieval and Renaissance Italy*, University Park PA, 2007, 55-85

C.W. Marshall, 'The crusading motivation of the Italian city republics in the Latin East, 1096-1104', in M. Bull and N. Housley (eds), *The experience of crusading. 1. Western approaches*, Cambridge, 2003, 60-79

Face, 'Secular history', p. 172

De liberatione civitatum Orientis, 'The liberation of the cities of the East'

DATE   Mid-1150s

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

This chronicle describes the participation of the Genoese in the First Crusade, and the privileges and holdings granted to the city-state in the Holy Land following their success. Caffaro, who participated in the campaign, wrote the chronicle in the mid-1150s, around 50 years after the events themselves and his similar, though much shorter, account in his *Annals*.

The chronicle seems to have been written as a legal document to be presented to Pope Hadrian IV, in order to remind him of Genoa's earlier heroics in the Holy Land at a time when their privileges were being threatened by the rulers of the crusader states.

Contrary to the beliefs of some historians, the chronicle suggests that Genoese motivation to go on crusade was not pure greed for the trading privileges that would be available, but was religious. Sermons delivered by bishops persuading people to go on the First Crusade underlined remission of sins rather than material gains, and those who died at Antioch and elsewhere are described as martyrs. As in the *Annals*, the theme of civic pride is at the forefront, but so is the crusading movement. The crusade is seen as a holy war, performed

for the spiritual purpose of serving God through crusading, which was an act of love. One major difference between this and more ecclesiastical accounts is the separation between pilgrimage and military activity; for example, the Genoese go to take part in the siege of Tartus after completing their journey to Jerusalem.

Despite being a continual presence, Muslims are not at the forefront of the chronicle.

SIGNIFICANCE

This account demonstrates the importance attached to the events of the First Crusade and a city's involvement, over 50 years after the event. It suggests that the ideals on which the First Crusade was based were still relevant, and that struggling against Muslims gave political credit.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Latin 10136
MS London, BL – Add. 12031

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Caffaro, *La liberazione delle citta d'Oriente*, ed. and Italian trans. M. Montanari, Genoa, 2001
La presa di Gerusalemme, Italian trans. N. Guido, Genoa, 1992
Belgrano, *Annali Genovesi*, i, pp. 99-124
Cafari Genuensis, *De liberatione civitatum Orientis* (*RHC Occ.* 5), Paris, 1885, p. 47-73
De liberatione civitatum Orientis, ed. F. Ansaldo (I, fasc.2), Genoa, 1859

STUDIES

Dotson, 'The Genoese civic annals'
Face, 'Secular history', p. 172

Annales Ianuenses, MXCIX-MCLXIII, 'Annals of Genoa, 1099-1163'

DATE   Before 1166
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

In 1152, towards the end of his life, Caffaro presented to the consuls of Genoa his *Annals*, an account of the life of a commune that in the years it covers, 1100-63, had become an international power. His work was placed in the Public Archives, and, together with continuations, it became Genoa's public version of its own history. It is an achievement of some innovation, in which Caffaro takes and revitalizes the year-by-year chronicle, which had principally been a monastic genre (although previously employed by Lombard historians), and links it to the new political regime, the commercial economy and an urban culture of international character. Writing from a Mediterranean perspective, in which Muslims are among the main protagonists, in his narrative of political, military and economic events he describes places, institutions, cultures and religions with the eye of a warrior and the mentality of a businessman. He accomplishes a survey of a global panorama – as might be expected of someone from a city that fronts the open horizons of the sea.

The *Annals* are secular in perspective, moral and didactic in purpose; they reflect civic patriotism and show a bias in favor of the city's ruling party. Thus, they do not start with Creation or the Incarnation, but with the Genoese participation in the First Crusade in year the city was established as a commune. It is 'civil-service' history, celebrating the accomplishments of Genoa and its citizens throughout the early and mid-12th century, although at the end of the *Annals*, in about 1163, communal strife and the loss of civic sentiment are strong.

The main thrust of the *Annals* concerns war, against Muslims, other maritime cities or rural lords. The attacks on Muslim cities during the First Crusade and the following years are painted in purely spiritual terms, and the Crusades are seen as a battle on behalf of God, waged in order to regain the land of Christ for Christianity. However, this is only part of the story. For in the years following the initial period of crusading, the *Annals* highlight the commercial and political relations between the Genoese and Muslim powers, in which religious rhetoric is put aside in the quest for treaties and trade privileges.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Annals* are written according to the official dogma that war against the Muslim enemy was rightful and holy. Nevertheless, they allow a

glimpse of the true relationship between the Genoese and Muslims, which was based more on the market than on war, in accordance with a business approach typical of the political bosses of the new communal political system. The commune, controlled by the great families, intended to make Genoa the leading port in the Mediterranean and the center of a network through which to control the international market. Like all members of the Genoese politico-economic classes, Caffaro had direct knowledge of the world of Islam in both the West and the East, and consequently Islam is a dominant theme in his work.

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Gabriella Airaldi & Alex Mallett

Marqus ibn Zurʿa

Marqus (Mark III) ibn Zurʿa

DATE OF BIRTH Early 12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; possibly Miṣr (Old Cairo)
DATE OF DEATH 1 January 1189
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; presumably Miṣr

BIOGRAPHY

Abū l-Faraj ibn Abū Asʿad, known as Ibn Zurʿa, was a member of the class of Coptic bureaucratic administrators (he was a *kātib* or 'secretary') and, according to the patriarchal history attributed to Yūsāb of Fuwwa, he served in the Fatimid administration as *mustawfī dīwān al-khāṣṣ*, chief accountant in the special bureau. We know almost nothing of his early life; while his family was of Syrian background, his own culture appears to have been profoundly Coptic (see den Heijer, 'Les patriarches coptes', pp. 60-61). The *History of the Patriarchs* mentions his celibacy, piety, and learning. In 1166 (or 1167 according to some sources), he was consecrated the 73rd patriarch of the Coptic Orthodox Church, with the name Mark.

We know surprisingly little about Mark's career as patriarch. While there is a 'biography' of him in the *History of the patriarchs*, it is mostly given over to events in the secular world, including the end of the Fatimid state and the eventful reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb (effective ruler from 1169 to 1193). Perhaps early in his patriarchate, Mark wrote (or completed) the biographies of his three predecessors (see below). The *History of the churches and monasteries* reports that he rejected simony (the sale of ecclesiastical offices; see Evetts, *Churches*, pp. 120-21), often a desperate fund-raising measure by financially-pressed patriarchs; no doubt Mark's financial administrative skills – and perhaps financial resources of his own – stood him in good stead.

A curious note in the *Chronicon* attributed to Ibn al-Rāhib suggests that Mark worked at staying on good terms with the members of his own class of Coptic notables or *arākhina*: it states that 'every day this patriarch used to have many tables spread, in the presence of all the

arākhina, with many different kinds of food (including meat and other things) upon them' (Cheikho, *Chronicon*, p. 140). This practice may have raised the eyebrows of those accustomed to an ascetic patriarch, but was probably politically astute: after initial setbacks under the Ayyūbids, the Coptic *arākhina* steadily gained in influence and wealth. The *History of the churches and monasteries* allows us to see their patronage at work in rebuilding and renewing churches, at the consecration of which Patriarch Mark (and later his successor, John VI) would preside.

During Mark's patriarchate, a dispute broke out within the church over the teachings (especially concerning the necessity of confession to a priest or spiritual director) and peripatetic ministry of the blind monk and priest Marqus ibn al-Qunbar (d. 1208). Mark held a synod that ordered the priest to desist from his teaching; Ibn al-Qunbar refused and went over to the Melkite Church. At a certain point Ibn al-Qunbar attempted to return to Coptic obedience, but Patriarch Mark refused to receive him (see Swanson, *The Coptic papacy*, pp. 79-81).

Mark III ibn Zurʿa died on 1 January 1189; it is not known where he was buried. He is remembered as a saint of the church, and he merits a brief mention in at least some manuscripts of the Synaxarion on the day of his death, 6 Ṭūbah.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Siyar al-bīʿa al-muqaddasa, 'Biographies of the holy church, *Lives* 70-72', 'The history of the patriarchs of Alexandria, *Lives* 70-72'

DATE   After 1166
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Mark continued the compilation commonly known as the *History of the patriarchs of Alexandria* beyond the contributions of Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Mufarrij (q.v.) and Yūḥannā ibn Ṣāʿid ibn al-Qulzumī (q.v.) by composing the biographies of the 70th-72nd patriarchs: Gabriel II ibn Turayk (1131-45), Michael V (1145-46), and John V (1147-66). This period was a significant one in the life of the Coptic Orthodox Church; Patriarch Gabriel II, in particular, was an energetic reformer at a time when literacy in the Coptic language was in decline, catechesis was in crisis, and conversion to Islam a present reality (see Swanson, *The Coptic papacy*, pp. 67-78); Mark provides one important source for the life of this patriarch. Furthermore, Mark is attentive to wider events in Egypt during this period, from the caliphate of al-Ḥāfiẓ (r. 1132-46) through the death throes of the Fatimid state, as three armies (those of the Fatimid vizier Shāwar, of Amalric I of Jerusalem, and of Nūr al-Dīn of Damascus) fought up and down the country.

Mark's biographies relate many concrete instances of Christian-Muslim interaction in late Fatimid Egypt. Interaction could be

positive; in fact, from 1135 to 1137 a Christian vizier, the Armenian Bahrām, held office – and the Christian community prospered. However, Mark's account is also punctuated with the actual or threatened conversion of highly-placed Copts to Islam, attempts to impose anti-*dhimmī* legislation, and the plunder or demolition of churches. At the end of Mark's biographies, immediately before reporting the death of Patriarch John V, he gives an account of that patriarch's imprisonment by the vizier Ṭalāʾiʿ ibn Ruzzīk (r. 1154-61), an imprisonment from which John was only delivered when Ibn Ruzzīk was assassinated – which Mark attributes to the effectiveness of the patriarch's curse (Khater and Burmester, *History*, p. 56).

SIGNIFICANCE

Lives 70-72 of the *History of the patriarchs of Alexandria* give a lively eyewitness account of late Fatimid history (1131-66); descriptions of particular instances of Christian-Muslim interaction during this period; and an important portrait of one of the great reforming popes of the medieval Coptic Orthodox Church, Patriarch Gabriel II ibn Turayk.

MANUSCRIPTS

See den Heijer, *Mawhūb*, pp. 18-27. For *Lives* 70-72, it is worth mentioning an ancient dated MS in addition to that which serves as the base for the printed edition:

    MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Hist. 12 (Simaika 597, Graf 501) (1275; contains *Lives* 66-72)

    MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – Hist. 1 (b) (Simaika 94, Graf 134) (13th-14th century; base manuscript for the Cairo edition of *Lives* 70-72)

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Mark N. Swanson

La Chanson de Roland

Unknown Author

La chanson de Roland, 'The song of Roland'

DATE   Late 12th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Old French

DESCRIPTION

Composed of 4,002 decasyllabic verses divided into stanzas (*laisses*) bound by a common assonance, the anonymous *Chanson de Roland* (as preserved in the Oxford manuscript) is one of approximately 100 surviving *chansons de geste* (Old French epics), and while the Oxford *Roland* manuscript is in old French, other manuscripts show dialectal traits in Franco-Italian, Picard-Lorrain, and Burgundian. The versions of the poem contained in manuscripts C, V7, P, T, and the fragments are rhymed rather than assonanced. Though its tight narrative structure and consistently heroic (versus comic or 'romance') tone are somewhat atypical of the genre, its early date, poetic artistry, and usefulness to 19th-century projects of nation-building have elevated it to canonical status. Scholars differ on whether the *Chanson de Roland* was composed orally (in an ongoing tradition of anonymous singers) or in writing. Versions of the tale were clearly circulating by the second half of the 11th century. The Oxford manuscript has been variously dated between about 1130 and 1180; the other manuscripts date from the 13th through early 15th centuries.

The song recasts a defeat suffered by the historical Charlemagne in the Iberian Peninsula in 778 into a heroic tale of his betrayal and loss, followed by his ultimate victory, in a campaign against the 'pagan' king of Saragossa and his overlord, the 'emir of Babylon'. As is typical in the epic corpus, the 'pagans' are portrayed as polytheists, worshipping a trinity of gods, Mahumet, Apollin and Tervagant (ll. 8, 416-17, 2711-13, 3267-68, 3490-91) in the form of idols that can be desecrated and abused (ll. 2580, 2589-90). In general, this representation is governed

by parallelism or contrast to the Christian God, as when the pagan king swears an oath on a book containing the 'law' of Mahum and Tervagant (ll. 610-11). Mostly they are portrayed as bad (feudal) lords (ll. 2696-97) in contrast to the Christian God, as when Tervagant fails to protect his worshippers, even as the Christian God works a 'great miracle' for Charlemagne (ll. 2458-75). After Charlemagne's conquest of Saragossa, the Franks take possession of the synagogues and the 'mahumeries' and destroy the pagan idols (ll. 3662-64). The population is forcibly baptized (ll. 3666-71) and, in the poem's penultimate *laisse*, the pagan queen is taken back to the Frankish capital at Aix, where she converts voluntarily 'for love' (ll. 3984-87).

SIGNIFICANCE

The most prominent of the Old French epics, the *Chanson de Roland* presents an early example of what will become the standard representation in the vernacular French literary corpus: Islam misconstrued as pagan idolatry centered (generally) on the 'trinity' of Mahumet, Apollin, and Tervagant.

Prized for what was perceived to be its expression of a precocious French nationalism, the *Chanson de Roland* was incorporated into the French secondary curriculum in the 1870s during the time of the Third Republic's colonial expansion, notably in Algeria. More recently, 'postcolonial' readings have cast the *Chanson de Roland* as exemplary of medieval Christian ignorance about Islam and intransigence towards Muslims or, alternately, as illustrative of the complexity of Latin Christian attitudes towards the Islamic world.

MANUSCRIPTS

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Sharon Kinoshita

Pfaffe Konrad

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; early 12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; late 12th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

All that is known about this German author must be gathered from his work. In the epilogue (vv. 9017-94), which is preserved only in the Heidelberg manuscript, he says of himself *Ich haize der phaffe Chunrât* (v. 9079). The term 'pfaffe' is equivalent to *clericus*, which does not necessarily indicate a parish priest or a monk: in fact it is assumed that Konrad was a member of the clergy employed in a ducal chancellery. His clerical education – and therefore his knowledge of Latin – is confirmed both by the numerous biblical quotations in the text and by his statement that he first translated his French written source into Latin and then from Latin into German verse (vv. 9080-83).

The cleric-poet further informs us that the French original was procured for him by a Duke Henry at the request of his wife, 'the daughter of a mighty king' (vv. 9017ff.). The identity of the Duke in question has become the subject of much critical debate. The possible patrons were Henry the Proud (d. 1139), Henry 'Jasomirgott' (Heinrich Babenberg, d. 1177) and Henry the Lion (d. 1195). The composition of the *Rolandslied* has accordingly been dated around 1130, 1150, and 1170. In his study, *Die Datierung des deutschen Rolandsliedes* (1965), Kartschoke provides new, convincing arguments in favor of Wilhem Grimm's hypothesis that Konrad's sponsor was Henry the Lion, Duke of Bavaria and Saxony, who in 1168 had married the French-speaking princess Matilda, daughter of King Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine. Several other details contained in the epilogue seem to support this identification. For example, Konrad's praise of the duke as a converter of the pagans (v. 9046) could be a reference to Henry the Lion's participation in the 1147 Wendish crusade and in other campaigns against the heathen Slavs in the north-east. Furthermore, since Henry the Lion saw himself as Charlemagne's descendant, it is possible that the poem contributed to the duke's intention to claim the

imperial throne for himself. It is therefore now generally – though not unanimously – agreed that the *Rolandslied* was composed about the year 1170, before Henry the Lion was deprived of his duchies (1180).

The known manuscripts of the work come from different dialect regions and display a High German (mainly Bavarian) basis, together with Middle, and also Low German characteristics, so that it is not possible to draw any definite conclusions about Konrad's homeland and the place of composition of the *Rolandslied*. Most scholars believe that the poet was a Bavarian, but a Rhenish Franconian origin has also been suggested. As for the place of composition, the *Rolandslied* has been traditionally associated with Henry's court in Ratisbon in Bavaria, but recent studies point to Brunswick in Saxony, the duke's principle center of power.

In earlier research, Konrad was also regarded as the author of the *Kaiserchronik* (*Emperors' Chronicle*, c. 1150), mainly on the basis of the *Rolandslied*'s archaic style and the numerous similarities between the two works. Later, it was assumed that Konrad was only one of the members of the literary circle of Ratisbon who produced this immense verse chronicle.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Rolandslied, 'The Song of Roland'

DATE   About 1170
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Middle High German

DESCRIPTION
The *Rolandslied* by Pfaffe Konrad is a translation (or better, an adaptation) of the *Chanson de Roland* (q.v.), based on the military defeat of Charlemagne at Roncesvalles in the Pyrenees in 778.

None of the extant manuscripts of the *Chanson de Roland* was Konrad's direct source. With respect to the plot, the *Rolandslied* bears the closest affinities to the version attested in the Oxford manuscript, but, with its 9094 verses, the German rendering doubles the length of the French epic. Since Konrad claims that he translated his model without adding or omitting anything (vv. 9084-85), some scholars have supposed the existence of an earlier, expanded version of the *Chanson*, which is now lost.

The most remarkable change introduced by Konrad concerns the shift of emphasis from French nationalism to the crusading spirit of the fight against the Saracens. The ideal of warfare justified by the necessity to extend the boundaries of Christendom is clearly expressed in the prologue (vv. 1-360), which has no counterpart in any of the known French versions: Charlemagne, who is the representative of God on earth, receives through an angel the divine mission to go to Spain and convert unbelievers, and all those who refuse baptism are damned, and will have to be killed. The Carolingian warriors are thus transformed into *milites Dei*, fighting against the Muslims like crusaders: they are explicitly characterized as martyrs who die in God's cause, and their reward for shedding infidel blood is eternal bliss.

The idealization of Roland and his compatriots is matched with a radically negative depiction of their enemies. If the main virtue of the Christian heroes is *humilitas*, the main vice of the non-Christians is *superbia*. The former are referred to as 'the children of God', and are the instrument of divine justice, whereas the latter are called 'the children of the devil', and they will dwell in hell forever. The physical appearance of the Muslims – e.g. the dark complexion of some of them – functions as a metaphor for their evil nature; analogously, their material wealth is a sign of their arrogant pride. In referring to the Saracens, Konrad makes use of a wide range of denigratory

epithets such as 'cowards' or 'dogs'. As in other works of this period, the non-Christians are moreover represented as polytheists: they worship no fewer than 700 idols, the chief of which is Mahomet, followed by Apollon and Tervigant, and by the trinity formed by Jupiter, Mars and Saturn. The few expressions of admiration for the courage or the dignity of the Muslims found in the poem only serve to enhance the Christians' merit in the fight against their adversaries. The final victory of the Christian heroes over the treacherous heathens represents the triumph of good over evil, of God over Satan.

The crusade motif that pervades the whole epic is also highlighted by the illustrations that adorn the Heidelberg Manuscript (P): the first of the 39 drawings, for instance, shows the warrior-bishop Turpin baptizing the pagans.

The rapid and wide diffusion of the *Rolandslied* is witnessed by the relatively large number of extant manuscripts – one nearly complete (P) and six fragmentary – all dating from around 1200. The *Rolandslied* was soon revised by the German poet known as 'der Stricker' (*Karl*, c. 1225), who adapted Konrad's poem to contemporary taste. Other poets, such as Wolfram von Eschenbach in his *Willehalm* (c. 1210-20) and the anonymous author of the *Karlmeinet* (c. 1300), drew significantly from the *Rolandslied*.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Rolandslied* represents the first full treatment of the crusading ideal in Middle High German literature. It portrays the religious fervor of the time and reflects the dualistic scheme of salvation for Christians and damnation for non-Christians that had been advocated by Bernard of Clairvaux in support of the Second Crusade (especially in *De laude novae militiae* and in *Epistula* 457: *Ad universos fideles*). The strongly negative attitude toward Islam expressed in this poem is often contrasted with the more humane outlook contained in Wolframs' *Willehalm*.

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Maria Grazia Cammarota

Dionysius bar Ṣalibi

DATE OF BIRTH   First quarter of the 12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Malatya (Melitene)
DATE OF DEATH   2 November 1171
PLACE OF DEATH   Diyarbakir (Amidā)

BIOGRAPHY

There is no information about Bar Ṣalibi's early years or education (Dionysius was his episcopal name; he was baptised James). He embraced the monastic life, since he is incidentally called *aksnōyō* 'stranger', a term used to designate anchorites or monks living in a monastery. In 1153, as a deacon, he wrote against Bishop John of Mardin, who had argued that God had not ordained the fall of Edessa to ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī of Mosul in 1144, and stated that it was in fact divinely decreed. The conflict was brought before a synod, which decided in favor of Bar Ṣalibi. In 1154, he became Bishop of Marʿash (Germaneia) and, one year later, also of Mabbug (Manbij). In 1155, he was carried off as a prisoner of war by the Armenians, who had attacked Marʿash. In 1167, he was appointed Metropolitan of Amidā (Diyarbakir) by Michael the Syrian (q.v.), whose election as patriarch he had strongly supported during the elective synod of 1166. He was even invited to preach at Michael's installation as patriarch.

Bar Ṣalibi was a prolific author. He wrote homilies and letters on different theological and liturgical subjects and on the fall of Marʿash (the latter not extant), liturgical commentaries and several anaphoras. He was also the author of one of the most complete Syriac biblical commentaries, of philosophical and theological treatises, sometimes of a polemical nature (among which is a treatise against the Muslims, see below), a universal history (lost) and commentaries on patristic texts (e.g. on Evagrius' *Kephalaia gnostica*), and he issued a number of juridical decisions. His penitential canons reflect the Islamic context of this period and deal with subjects such as intercourse and mixed marriages of Christians with Muslims, Turks and Arabs (Vööbus, *Kanonessammlungen*, pp. 406, 436).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Oruʿutō luqbal ʿamō d-Arābōyē, 'Dispute against the nation of the Arabs', 'A response addressed to the Arabs'

DATE   Unknown; before 1171
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Syriac

DESCRIPTION

The *Dispute against the Arabs* (designated as *Arabōyē, Ṭayyōyē, Mhaggrōyē*) belongs to a series of refutations which includes non-Jacobite Christian communities (Nestorians, Chalcedonians, Armenians), 'Idolaters', Phantasiasts, and the Jews, which originally may have formed one large heresiographical work. The tone of some of these refutations, especially of the Armenians and the Chalcedonians, is extremely polemical. In this respect, its refutation of the Muslims is more balanced and detached.

The *Dispute* is divided into three parts (*mēmrē*): *memrō* I, 8 chapters; *memrō* II, 16 chapters; *memrō* III, 6 chapters.

Memrō I begins with a section on Muḥammad and the rise of Islam, comparable to the account given by Dionysius of Tell-Maḥrē (q.v.). It is followed by an original description of the four main Muslim 'heresies' (Sunnīs, Shīʿīs, Khārijīs and Muʿtazila) and a discussion of the different names given to each group, as well as of the Syriac translations of these Arabic appellations.

Next follows a discussion of God's Unity and Trinity on the basis of scriptural, natural and philosophical arguments and an analysis of the terms *ousia* and *hypostasis*, the concepts of sonship and fatherhood and a discussion of the (un)createdness of the Word of God.

Memrō II deals with issues related to the Incarnation of God the Word and formulates brief answers to various (standard) Muslim objections (e.g. How can God be limited by entering a womb? When God was among us, who governed the universe? Did the Virgin not give birth to three hypostases if the divinity is one?). The second theme of this *memrō* is Christ's death, discussed from the perspective of God's foreknowledge and the question of God being the cause of evil. Next follows a discussion of various subjects (Christ's divinity, the properties of the individual hypostases of Father, Son and Spirit). As a conclusion to these intellectual arguments, Dionysius gives the

testimonies of prophets and some pagan philosophers affirming the mystery of the Incarnation of the Son.

The next theme of this *memrō* is the prophethood of Muḥammad, which the author rejects with some classical arguments (there are no testimonies about his prophethood in the scriptures, the impossibility of Muḥammad being the Paraclete, the Qurʾan contradicting the Torah and the Gospel) and original arguments such as an analysis of the terms *nbiyā* ('prophet') and *rasūl* ('messenger').

The last chapters of this *memrō* are devoted to a variety of subjects such as the direction of prayer, an explanation of why Christians gird their waists with a belt, the veneration of the bones of saints and of the (wood of the) cross, the reality of the crucifixion, the interpretation of the Old Testament 'camel and ass' (see Isaiah 21:7) understood as referring to Muḥammad and Jesus, the accusation of *taḥrīf* of the Christian scriptures and contradictions in the Qurʾan, the issue of circumcision, the interpretation of the terms Christians (Naṣrōyē, Nazarenes, the 'spiritually victorious') and Islam, the problem that Muḥammad did not perform miracles, and finally a comparison between the ascetic ideals of the Christians and the immorality of Muḥammad, as well as the materialistic description of paradise in the Qurʾan.

Memrō III gives a substantial selection of qurʾanic passages translated into Syriac, followed by a commentary/refutation in which certain themes dealt with in the first two *memrē* are taken up again. Bar Ṣalibi shows some familiarity with traditional Islamic exegetical interpretations and he refers to a work, the *Maghāzī*, on 'the actions and battles of Muḥammad', and to another called the *Mukhtāra*, which reports on the 'appearance' or 'figure', 'image' (*yuqneh*) of Muḥammad, presumably a reference to the *sīra* literature.

The qurʾanic quotations given here are often at variance with the received text of the Qurʾan. Mingana ascribes this to personal interpretations and interpolations by the Syriac translator, who, in his view, was not Dionysius bar Ṣalibi himself, as well as to the fact that the Syriac translation represents a redaction of the Qurʾan predating the 10th century, when the standard text became generally disseminated. It is to be noted that *memrē* I and II also contain important qurʾanic quotations the text of which is sometimes not identical with the same citation found in *memrō* III.

A study of the sources used by Dionysius and a systematic comparison with other refutation texts is still to be carried out. The intention

of the work is to provide the reader with clear-cut arguments against classical Muslim objections to Christian beliefs. The author's personal experience of debating with Muslims is reflected in his remark that it is only recommended to discuss with 'the intelligent and wise' among the Muslims and certainly not with the 'legalists', i.e. the Sunnīs, who, in his opinion, have the same view about Christ as Arius.

SIGNIFICANCE

Bar Ṣalibi's *Dispute against the Arabs* is the most comprehensive refutation of Islam written in Syriac. It discusses all traditional themes found in the Syriac and Christian Arabic refutation literature, often repeating the classical interpretation found in earlier works. In addition, it shows an unusual familiarity with internal Muslim divisions (*memrō* I, ch. 2), gives Syriac equivalents for Muslim technical terms and is the sole work to give large fragments of the Qur'an in a Syriac translation.

The work was not only read in the West Syrian tradition, but was also appreciated by the East Syrians.

MANUSCRIPTS

Most of these are listed by Amar in his edition and translation.

To his list should be added:

a MS in the possession of Raban Eliyo Oztas of Mor Afrem Monastery, Glanerbrug, written in Damascus in 1754

a MS in the possession of Raban Said Cakici of Mor Afrem Monastery, Glanerbrug, copied in 1983 in Mezizaḥ

a MS in the possession of Hori Gabriel Kaya, copied in 1997 in Hengelo by the owner

a MS in the possession of the Reverend Samuel Essen of Enschede (no date)

(information from Gabriel Rabo, Göttingen).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

J.P. Amar, *Dionysius bar Ṣalībī. A response to the Arabs* (*CSCO* 614-15), Louvain, 2005 (Syriac text and English trans.)

STUDIES

R. Ebied, 'The Syriac polemical treatises of Dionysius Bar Salibi, Metropolitan of Amid (d. 1171 A.D.)', *Pd'O* 31 (2006) 57-61

Amar, *Dionysius bar Ṣalībī*, trans., pp. V-XII

S. Griffith, 'Disputes with Muslims in Syriac Christian texts. From Patriarch John (d. 648) to Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286)', in B. Lewis and F. Niewöhner (eds), *Religionsgespräche im Mittelalter*, Wiesbaden, 1992, 251-73, pp. 268-69

S. Griffith, 'Dionysius bar Ṣalibi on the Muslims', in H. Drijvers (ed.), *IV Symposium Syriacum 1984*, Rome, 1987, 353-65

A. Mingana, 'An ancient Syriac translation of the Kurʾān exhibiting new verses and variants', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 9 (1925) 188-235

Two mēmrē, Two metrical poems

DATE   Between 1159 (when the event described in both *mēmrē* took place) and 1171

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Syriac

DESCRIPTION

Gregory Barhebraeus (*Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, iii, pp. 347-52) mentions Dionysius as the author of two metrical compositions on the steadfastness of a Syrian Orthodox girl who resisted pressure by Muslim doctors from Mosul to convert to Islam, as well as on the attitude of a Maphrian (representative of the patriarch for the eastern territories of the Syrian Orthodox Church) put into prison by Muslims for his principled attitude in matters of religion. The same event was also the subject of a metrical composition by Michael the Syrian (q.v.).

SIGNIFICANCE

At the least, the poems attest to continuing resentment between Christians and Muslims, and to the difficulties Christians might easily encounter in Muslim company where religious differences could lead to discrimination or worse.

MANUSCRIPTS   —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —

STUDIES

Baumstark, *Geschichte*, p. 299

Herman G.B. Teule

Apologetic commentary on the Creed

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH   Probably first half of the 12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown; perhaps Baghdad
DATE OF DEATH   Probably late 12th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown; perhaps Baghdad

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about the author of an Arabic apologetic commentary on the Nicene Creed other than what can be gathered from the commentary itself, which reflects the milieu of Baghdad in the 1160s. The author was a scholar of the ('Nestorian') Church of the East and possessed of wide learning, including a profound knowledge of the Bible and the Christian Arabic theological library of his time.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
See below.

Secondary   —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Sharḥ amānat ābāʾ majmaʿ Nīqiyya al-thalāthamiʾa wa-l-thamāniyata ʿashara, 'Commentary on the Creed of the 318 fathers of the Council of Nicaea', 'Commentary on the Creed', 'Apologetic commentary on the Creed'

DATE   Probably written between 1160 and 1172
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Commentary on the Creed* is a substantial work that occupies 209 folios in the unique manuscript (which is incomplete at its

beginning). The author divides the Creed into 19 lemmas and then adds commentary which, depending on the lemma, ranges from less than a page to more than 50. Although these 19 sections of the commentary are very uneven in length, it is possible, while still respecting the text, to divide the work into four roughly equal sections (and an Appendix):

Part 1: God as One and triune

Part 2: Christology (divine Sonship, Incarnation, Union of humanity and divinity in Christ)

Part 3: Soteriology (crucifixion, death, and resurrection of Christ)

Part 4: Ecclesiology (the new Law, the sacraments, worship)

Appendix: Other important topics (response to the charge of falsification of the Scripture; the verification of the truth of the Christian religion).

The work as a whole may be described as encyclopedic or, better, 'eclectic': for the most part, the author was attempting to collect, compile, or rework existing material rather than to formulate something new. For this task, he had a wide range of material at his disposal, including philosophical works, well-known Islamic sources (e.g., works by ʿAbdallāh ibn Sallām, Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī [q.v.], and Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī [q.v.]), and an extensive Arabic Christian library. While the author makes special use of works from his own Church of the East (e.g., the rhymed theological compendium *Kitāb al-majdal* [q.v.] and the works of Iliyyā of Nisibis [q.v.]), he is also willing to make use of authors from other Christological confessions (e.g. Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī [q.v.] and Theodore Abū Qurra [q.v.]).

The explanation of the second lemma, on God *al-Āb māsik al-kull*, 'the Father almighty', may be taken as paradigmatic for the work as a whole. From the point of view of literary genre, three units may be distinguished: first, a rather theoretical introduction to the matter, with a focus on careful definition of the terms of Christian Trinitarian vocabulary. This is followed by a section structured by questions or objections and the responses to them; in it, an attempt is made to find vocabulary accessible to Muslim intellectuals. The last unit is a collection of scriptural witnesses – from the Bible, and also from the Qurʾan. These three kinds of unit – the theoretical, the dialectical (questions/objections and responses), and the scriptural – may be found throughout the Commentary.

A striking feature of the Commentary is the care with which the author defines terms, often explaining the range of meanings found in the Scripture or that are possible in the Arabic language, and creating lists. An initial discussion of the meanings of *al-wāḥid*, 'the One', is missing from the manuscript; but then we find extensive discussions of terms such as (for example): *al-Masīḥ*, 'Christ'; *al-ittiḥād*, 'union'; *al-bunuwwa*, 'sonship' (7 categories); *al-ubuwwa wa-l-bunuwwa*, 'fatherhood and sonship' (and their use in Arabic); *bikr*, 'firstborn' (3 biblical usages); *al-ilāh*, 'god' (8 biblical meanings); *yad*, 'hand' (4 meanings); *ʿawālim*, 'worlds'; *al-nuzūl*, 'coming down'; *ṣāra*, 'became'; *al-mawt*, 'death' (8 meanings); *al-yamīn*, 'the right hand' (at least 3 biblical meanings); and *al-qiyāma*, 'resurrection'.

From time to time the author embarks upon a linguistic, philosophical, or technical aside, e.g., a Neoplatonic explanation of the connection between God and the universe; on the use of verbs of motion in Arabic (and their application to that which is immovable); proofs of the contingency of the world; the relationship between a whole and its parts, and the possibility of predicating an attribute of a part to the whole; on what constitutes a contradiction; on Aristotle's four causes; on the date of Christ's birth in various chronological systems; on the linguistic and legal appropriateness of a person's *nisba* referring to a woman (as in 'son of Mary'); on the meaning of 'tongues' in describing the flames by which the Spirit's descent was made manifest; on the conditions and symbols of baptism; on the mode of representation in the eucharist; on the calculation of the dates of fasting and of Easter.

These last examples illustrate a characteristic of the work: the author aims to be *comprehensive*, so that the mention of 'baptism' in the Creed is enough to justify an extensive presentation of baptism, eucharist, and the Church's calendar of fasts. Furthermore, important apologetic *topoi* that were missed in the main course of the Commentary are treated in the Appendix.

It is clear throughout the Commentary that the author is, in the first place, thinking of the objections of *Muslims* to Christian belief and practice. However, especially towards the end of the work, he explicitly records and responds to the objections of Jews as well.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Commentary on the Creed* is a major compilation of sources woven together into a whole that is largely apologetic in character. In it we gain a vivid idea of the resources available to a Christian

apologist in 12th-century Baghdad. While most of the sources of the work are known and can be identified, the work also preserves lesser-known but significant apologetic treatises, e.g. a *Jawāb man jaḥada l-ṣalb*, 'Response to the one who denies the crucifixion'. Furthermore, the work provides a rich collection not only of biblical texts used in support of the Christian author's arguments, but also of qur'anic texts as well.

MANUSCRIPTS

There are only two known manuscripts of the work, only one of which is (known to be) preserved:

MS Aleppo, Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem – Ar. 317 (Sbath 1129) (dated by Sbath to the 16th century)

MS Aleppo, Qusṭanṭīn Anṭākī Collection (1190/1) (inaccessible manuscript in private collection; see Sbath, *Fihris* ii-iii, p. 175, no. 2252)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

An edition of the text by P. Masri is forthcoming in three volumes in the series *Patrimoine Arabe Chrétien*.

P. Masri, *Édition critique et étude des sources de la première partie du commentaire arabe du Credo (amāna) par un auteur nestorien inconnu du XIIème siècle*, Rome, 1992 (Diss. PISAI)

M.N. Swanson, *Folly to the ḥunafā'. The cross of Christ in Arabic Christian-Muslim controversy in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D.*, Rome, 1992 (Diss. PISAI) (Appendix II is an edition of 'The refutation of the one who denies the crucifixion', on the basis of the text as found in the 'Commentary' and in an independent witness, Var. Ar. 107, fols 106r-107v)

STUDIES

P. Masri, 'Les témoignages des jurists musulmans', in N. Edelby and P. Masri (eds), *Mélanges en mémoire de Mgr Néophytos Edelby (1920-1995)* (*Textes et Études sur l'Orient Chrétien* 4), Beirut, 2005, 340-62

P. Masri, 'Tafāsīr "qānūn al-īmān" al-ʿarabiyya al-qadīma', *Al-Mashriq* 74 (2000) 453-85, pp. 468-74

Masri, 'Édition critique et étude'

[S.]K. Samir, 'Commentaire apologétique du Credo', in 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976) 201-42, pp. 223-24

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 190-91

Sbath, *Fihris* ii-iii, p. 175, no. 2252 (which provides the title of the work)

P. Sbath, *Bibliothèque de manuscrits Paul Sbath, prêtre syrien d'Alep. Catalogue*, vol. 3, Cairo, 1934, pp. 6-10 (with description and extracts from the first 'chapter' of the work)

Pierre Masri & Mark N. Swanson

ʿAbd al-Kāfī ibn Abī Yaʿqūb

Abū ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfī ibn Abī Yaʿqūb Yūsuf
ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Tanāwutī
al-Wārglānī

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH   Tanāwut near Wārglān (Ouargla in
    present-day Algeria)
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; before 1174
PLACE OF DEATH   Wārglān

BIOGRAPHY

ʿAbd al-Kāfī ibn Abī Yaʿqūb was born in a village of the Sahara oasis
of Wārglān sometime in the later 11th or early 12th century. He studied
there before moving to Tunis, where he continued to study for some
years before returning home. In Wārglān his reputation for learning
attracted students and wide recognition as a leading scholar of ʿIbāḍī
Islam. The exact date of his death is not known, but a written ques-
tion to him that was answered by a colleague in 1174 suggests that he
had only recently died.

In addition to the *Kitāb al-mūjaz*, ʿAbd al-Kāfī is known for a
number of works on theology.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Aḥmad ibn Saʿīd al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mashāyikh bi-l-Maghrib*, ed. Ibrāhīm
    Ṭallāy, 2 vols, Constantine, s.d., i, p. 40, ii, pp. 393, 425, 485-91
Abū l-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm al-Barrādī, *Kitāb al-jawāhir al-muntaqāt fī itmām
    mā akhalla bihi kitāb al-ṭabaqāt (li-l-Darjīnī)*, Cairo, 1885, pp. 200-21
Aḥmad ibn Saʿīd al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-siyar (Siyar al-mashāyikh)*, ed. A.
    ibn Suʿūd al-Sayyābī, 2 vols, Muscat, 1987, ii, p.104

Secondary
V. Hoffman, art. 'Abū ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfī b. Abī Yaʿqūb', in *EI3*
Muḥammad ibn Mūsā Bā Bā ʿAmmī et al., *Muʿjam al-aʿlām al-Ibāḍiyya min
    al-qarn al-awwal al-hijrī ilā l-ʿaṣr al-ḥāḍir, qism al-Maghrib al-islāmī*,
    2 vols, Beirut, 2000, ii, pp. 258–59

P. Cuperly, *Introduction à l'étude de l'Ibāḍisme et de la théologie*, Algiers, 1991

Farḥāt al-Jaʿbīrī, *Al-buʿd al-ḥaḍārī li-l-ʿaqīdat al-Ibāḍiyya*, Muscat, 1989, p. 119

ʿA. Ṭālibī (ed.), *Ārāʾ al-Khawārij al-kalāmiyya. Al-mūjaz li-Abī ʿAmmār ʿAbd al-Kāfī l-Ibaḍī*, 2 vols, Algiers, 1978, i, pp. 215-21

T. Lewicki, *Études Ibāḍites Nord-Africaines*, Warsaw, 1955, p. 13

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-mūjaz fī taḥṣīl al-suʾāl wa-takhlīṣ al-maqāl fī l-radd ʿalā ahl al-khilāf, 'An outline examination of questions and clarification of opinions concerning the refutation of people who differ'

DATE Before about 1174

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Kitāb al-mūjaz* is a two-part compendium of theology, not unlike the earlier works of al-Bāqillānī (q.v.) and ʿAbd al-Jabbār (q.v.). In the first part it refutes the teachings of a series of non-Islamic groups, and in the second it examines doctrines held within Islam.

For ʿAbd al-Kāfī, the major faults of Christianity arise from their rejection of the prophethood of Muḥammad (for which he considers he has already given enough evidence in the section immediately preceding), and their beliefs about God and Jesus. Thus, his main refutation (vol. i, pp. 345-51) focuses on the Trinity and divine sonship of Christ. He begins with a brief description of the doctrines of the main sects (pp. 345-46), which bears close resemblances to elements in the descriptive introduction of the 9th-century refutation of Abū ʿĪsā l-Warrāq, and he then presents brief arguments against each doctrine in turn. He shows how the Trinity is either effectively a unity or is qualified by accidents of distinction and is therefore contingent (pp. 346-47), and then how the relationship of father and son between eternal beings is illogical according to basic theological principles, including points that are remarkably close to those made by the 10th-century central Asian theologian al-Māturīdī (pp. 347-49). He concludes with a comparison between the miracles of Jesus and of other

prophets to show that his actions do not give evidence of divinity, again adducing examples that are particular to al-Māturīdī (pp. 349-51). This is a well-known motif in Muslim polemic, stretching back to at least the late 8ᵗʰ century.

It is striking that ʿAbd al-Kāfī positions this refutation together with a refutation of the Jews in a section of the *Mūjaz* concerned with the prophetic status of Muḥammad (compare al-Māturīdī's *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, where they are located at the same point in the structure of the work). This follows refutations of groups that reject in principle the existence of God and of prophets, and precedes refutations of anthropomorphists on the margin of the Islamic community itself. Thus, although the major thrust of his attack is against Christian doctrines that challenge the oneness of God, he appears to regard their main error as rejection of Muḥammad. He does not say so, but it can be inferred that in his mind the errors of Christian beliefs stem from their repudiation of Muḥammad and the teachings about God that he delivered.

SIGNIFICANCE

The conciseness of these arguments suggests that ʿAbd al-Kāfī was reproducing them and probably summarizing them from a source where they were already assembled together, and the similarities with other surviving works indicate that this was in wide circulation. The main point of his arguments is that the Christian doctrines are illogical or inconsistent, and therefore doomed to error, by implication because they do not follow the teachings of Muḥammad.

MANUSCRIPTS

The three known manuscripts of the work, which were all copied in the 20ᵗʰ century, are described by Ṭālibī, *Ārāʾ al-Khawārij al-kalāmiyya*, i, pp. 221-23

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Ṭālibī, *Ārāʾ al-Khawārij al-kalāmiyya*, i, pp. 345-51

STUDIES   —

David Thomas

Burchard of Strasbourg

DATE OF BIRTH   Uncertain; probably 2nd quarter of
       12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Cologne
DATE OF DEATH   Uncertain; probably late 12th century or early
       13th century (after 1194)
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown, probably Strasbourg

BIOGRAPHY

The author of the *Itinerarium* is probably Burkardus, native of Cologne, a churchman in the entourage of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa. Several of his letters survive, one of which relates the author's diplomatic embassies to Aquileia, Salzburg and Hungary in 1161; another narrates the emperor's siege of Milan in 1162. In 1175, Burchard was sent on a diplomatic mission to Saladin; this was apparently the continuation of an earlier diplomatic exchange, for imperial chronicles tell of Egyptian envoys present in Frederick's court in 1173. Burchard, notary and chaplain in the imperial court, signed a number of charters in 1177 and 1178. Finally, various documents mention Burchard, Vidame of Strasbourg, between 1182 and 1194. It seems probable that all these documents refer to the same person.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Burchard of Strasbourg, *Epistolae*, ed. F. Güterboeck, 'Le lettere del notaio imperiale Burcardo intorno alla politica del Barbarossa nello schismo ed alla distruzione di milano', *Bolletino dell' Istituto storico per il medio evo e Archiv. Murator* 66 (1949) 1-65

Secondary

F. Worstbruck, 'Burchard von Straßburg', *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexicon* 1, Berlin and New York, 1978, 118-19

P. Scheffer-Boichorst, 'Der Kaiserliche Notar und der Straßburger Viztum Burchard', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Oberrheins* N.F. 4 (1889) 456-77 (repr. in *Gesammelte Schriften von Paul Scheffer-Boichorst*, Berlin, 1903-5, 225-47)

J. Laurent, 'Burchard von Straßburg', *Serapeum: Zeitschrift für Bibliothek-wissenschaft, Handschriftenkunde und ältere Literatur* 19 (1858) 145-54; 20 (1859) 174-76

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Itinerarium, 'Itinerary'

DATE   1175 or shortly thereafter
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION
Burchard's *Itinerary* reads as a travel narrative. He tells how he set sail from Genoa and stopped in Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily (he describes the flora, fauna, and the inhabitants of these islands); he describes the fish of the Mediterranean and the famous lighthouse of Alexandria, which he saw as he approached the African coast. He gives a long description of Egypt, and then relates his voyages across the desert to Syria, where he visits Damascus and the monastery of Saydnaya.

Burchard nowhere mentions his diplomatic mission to Saladin, but shows particular interest in relations between 'Saracens' and their Jewish and Christian subjects. He presents a picture of easy *convivencia*; members of the three religions show courtesy and respect for each other, and he repeatedly describes the flourishing Christian communities that he encountered in Egypt and Syria. Moreover, he emphasizes Muslim reverence for Christ and the Virgin Mary. In particular, he describes the Marian shrines of Matariyya, near Cairo, and Saydnaya, near Damascus, where both Christians and Muslims show their devotion to the Virgin and she performs miracles on their behalf. Throughout his narration, and in particular in his descriptions of the Marian sanctuaries, Burchard affirms that Saracens, Christians, and even Jews are united in their devotion to Mary. She grants miracles to all her faithful, apparently showing no preference for Christians.

Burchard is aware of doctrinal differences between Islam and Christianity, which he describes succinctly. He says that the Saracens believe that Jesus was a prophet, miraculously born from the Virgin, but they deny that he is the son of God, that he was baptized, died and was buried. He says that Muslims believe in a paradise of sensual delights. In battle against Christians, the Muslim warrior thinks only of the ten virgins who await him in heaven if he dies a martyr's death, but, Burchard adds skeptically, his Saracen interlocutors were unable

to answer his questions about these women. He also describes the Egyptians' customs of veiling and isolating their women and, with some disapprobation, their polygamy (which, he notes, only a few men practice). The *Itinerarium* ends abruptly without describing the return voyage.

SIGNIFICANCE

Burchard is rare among 12th-century Latin authors in his portrayal of idyllic harmony between Egyptian and Syrian Christians and Muslims; he is also unusual in his calm, non-polemical presentation of doctrinal differences between Christianity and Islam. If this text is indeed the product of Burchard's diplomatic mission from Frederick Barbarossa to Saladin, this positive image of Islam corresponds to the diplomatic purpose of his embassy, if we assume that it was to forge an alliance or at least a treaty between emperor and sultan. If the 'Saracens' are so pious, so devoted to the Virgin, if they allow Christians to freely practice their religion, what could be more natural than to seek a peaceful alliance with them? Just as other Latin authors denigrated Islam and its prophet to justify wars of conquest against Muslims, Burchard paints a glowing picture of Muslim-Christian harmony to justify peace with Saladin. If the Virgin herself bestows the grace of miracles on the Saracens, he seems to be saying, who are we to consider them enemies of her Son?

The *Itinerarium* was subsequently used and cited by a number of medieval authors, such as the chronicler Jacques de Vitry and various pilgrims, who insert Burchard's descriptions into the narratives of their own travels (real or fictive), beginning with a certain Thietmar, who travelled to Jerusalem and Saydnaya in 1217.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vat – Lat. 1058, fols 108r-112r (13th century)

MS Munich, Universitätsbibliothek – 76 (burned in 1944; base MS of the edition by Lehmann and Glauning, who describe it in *Burchard, Itinerarium*, pp. 61-62)

MS Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsbibliothek – cod. 362, fols 36r-38v (14th century)

The version in Arnold of Lübeck's *Chronica Slavorum* survives in 12 MSS, most of them modern (16th-19th centuries), none earlier than the 14th century.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Burchard of Strasbourg, Itinerarium, ed. P. Lehmann and O. Glauning in 'Mittelalterliche Handschriftenbruchstücke der Universitätsbibliothek und des Georgianum zu München', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 72 (1940) 61-73

Arnold of Lübeck, Chronicae Slavorum continuatio, ed. G. Pertz, in *MGH SS* 21, Hannover, 1869 (this 13th-century chronicler inserts Burchard's text verbatim into his chronicle, making for the most part only minor modifications, referring to Burchard as *Gerardus Argentinensem vicedominum*)

STUDIES

Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, ch. 7 (= Tolan, *L'Europe latine et le monde arabe au moyen âge. Cultures en conflit et en convergence*, Rennes, 2009, ch. 6)

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John Tolan

Ibn ʿAsākir

Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh
Ibn ʿAsākir

DATE OF BIRTH   13 September 1105
PLACE OF BIRTH   Damascus
DATE OF DEATH   25 January 1176
PLACE OF DEATH   Damascus

BIOGRAPHY

Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn ʿAsākir is the most notable figure of the Sunnī ʿAsākir family, whose members occupied prestigious scholarly positions in Damascus for more than two centuries (11ᵗʰ-13ᵗʰ centuries). Ibn ʿAsākir was born in 1105. He started his pursuit of religious education at a very young age, accompanying his father and elder brother to the teaching circles of several renowned Damascene scholars. Between 1126 and 1141, he embarked on two ambitious educational journeys that took him to the most influential Sunnī centers of learning in the Islamic world, especially Iraq, Iran and Central Asia (Khurāsān and Transoxiana). The enormous knowledge that he acquired, especially of Hadith, earned him the title of *ḥāfiẓ* (great memorizer). He died in 1176.

Since Ibn ʿAsākir lived through the early period of what are commonly referred to as the crusades, his works and career were defined in terms of defending Islam against its many enemies (both internal and external). So it is no surprise that he was involved in not only the formulation but also the dissemination of the Sunnī religious reforms of his political patron Sultan Nūr al-Dīn Zangī, including jihad propaganda. (Nūr al-Dīn's religious program can be summed up as, first, to unite Syria and Egypt under the banner of Sunnī Islam and put an end to the Shīʿī Fatimid dynasty in Egypt, and, second, to employ the power of that unity to mount an effective military campaign against the crusaders.) To underscore the significance of Ibn ʿAsākir, Nūr al-Dīn ordered a *madrasa* to be built for the scholar, which became known as *Dār al-Ḥadīth* (College of Hadith). Also under Nūr al-Dīn's patronage, Ibn ʿAsākir composed several books, among them the

massive *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* ('History of Damascus'), which he started in 1134.

The *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq* is primarily a biographical dictionary that celebrates the holiness of Syria, with Damascus as its center, by documenting the lives and achievements of the saintly figures, notable politicians and scholars who lived in it or passed by it. It is one of the treasures of medieval Islamic historiography in that it preserves extensive excerpts from hundreds of now lost works authored by Muslim historians and religious scholars before the time of Ibn ʿAsākir. Its first two chapters focus on the sanctity of the city and its environs, and list the sites and events that make it holy. Ibn ʿAsākir did not restrict himself to Muslim figures alone. He also included biblical prophets and figures, both men and women, and dedicated extensive entries to Jesus, Mary and John the Baptist. The biography of Jesus in particular is of considerable relevance to Christian-Muslim relations, as it reflects Islamic views, albeit polemical, about Jesus.

Besides the *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, Ibn ʿAsākir authored several other religiously motivated works. With respect to Christian-Muslim relations, at the request of Sultan Nūr al-Dīn he authored *Al-arbaʿīn fī l-ijtihād fī iqāmat al-jihād* ('Forty Hadiths on the virtue of waging jihad'), a collection of 40 Hadiths attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad emphasizing the duty and obligation to wage jihad against Islam's enemies. Another indirectly relevant work, no longer extant, is the *Faḍl ʿAsqalān* ('Merits of Ascalon'), written in reaction to the fall of Ascalon to the crusaders in 1153 and as an appeal to Muslims to recapture it.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq, Taʾrīkh Dimashq, Taʾrīkh, 'History of Damascus'

DATE   Between 1134 and 1176
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The parts of Ibn ʿAsākir's *Taʾrīkh* that are relevant to Christian-Muslim relations are the following entries: ʿIsā ibn Maryam (Jesus), xlvii, pp. 347-524 (also edited by Mourad, *Sīrat al-Sayyid al-Masīḥ*); Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyya (John the Baptist), lxiv, pp. 168-218; Ḥawāriyyū ʿIsā ibn Maryam (Disciples of Jesus), lxviii, pp. 55-71; and Maryam bint ʿImrān (Mary), lxx, pp. 75-122.

In these entries one comes across the variety of Muslim opinions about their lives and careers, as well as Muslim views of Christianity and Christians (and also Judaism), such as that Christians deserted the 'true' teachings of Jesus and split into various sects. Clearly, Ibn ʿAsākir derives his material from earlier Muslim sources (though he does not depend on the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* works where we almost exclusively find the Islamic stories about these figures). His originality,

however, is in the way he arranges the narratives to fit and reflect the great challenge of his day, the crusader invasion.

The entry for Jesus includes a large array of sayings and sermons attributed to him, some of which parallel sayings and sermons in the Gospels. Ibn ʿAsākir also cites the exegetical literature that discusses the references to Jesus in the Qurʾan. But his creative contribution is in the way he recasts what is known about Jesus in earlier Islamic literature – e.g. ascetic wanderer, prophesier of the coming of Muḥammad, eschatological figure (his second coming possibly as the *Mahdī* of Islam) – as if Jesus might return and join the Muslims in their wars against the crusaders (one notable description by Ibn ʿAsākir of the eschatological clash between Christianity and Islam only fits the crusader period).

The entry on Mary is almost entirely comprised of exegetical glosses on the many references to her in the Qurʾan, and of Hadiths attributed to Muḥammad regarding her elevation over all other women. One of the issues that Ibn ʿAsākir addresses is that Mary at her birth (and Jesus as well) was immune to the attacks of Satan (hence, the Muslim belief that parallels the immaculate conception). One interesting Hadith, repeated by Ibn ʿAsākir several times with various lines of transmission, features Muḥammad instructing his wife Khadīja on her deathbed to salute on his behalf Mary, Asīya (who picked Moses from the stream), and Kulthūm (Moses' sister), whom God gave him as wives in heaven.

The entry on John also cites the exegetical glosses on the qurʾanic references to him. The most interesting part of this entry, though, is the Islamic legends that link his execution to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, as if to make the case that the Babylonians were sent by God to avenge the killing of John (one tradition relates that Nebuchadnezzar killed 70,000 in Damascus). Ibn ʿAsākir also reports the burial of John's head in the church in Damascus, and how it was found to be uncorrupt when it was unearthed and reburied when the church was transformed into what became the Great Umayyad Mosque.

The entry on Jesus' Disciples is almost entirely devoted to Jesus' sermons to them, most of which also appear in the entry on him. An interesting detail is the local Damascene belief that the Disciples once came with Jesus to Damascus, to the Barada river; Ibn ʿAsākir includes this tradition at the very beginning of the entry, which is

not surprising given that the subjects of his entries had to have a direct connection to Damascus or its environs so that they could be included in his *Taʾrīkh*. Another interesting detail about the Disciples is found toward the end of the entry, where Ibn ʿAsākir relates a tradition attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās, which states that the Disciples made the pilgrimage (*ḥajja*) to Mecca (*al-ḥaram*).

SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn ʿAsākir's entries on these figures familiar from Christian scripture cast Christian-Muslim relations in a very negative light, as a result of his preoccupation with the crusader challenge and thus his eagerness to portray Christianity and Christians as having deserted the true messages of Jesus. Thus, Jesus stands against his historical followers, and will help Islam and the Muslims defeat them.

The four entries are also significant in that they sum up the various Islamic beliefs about Jesus, Mary, John, and the Disciples, especially in the way history and fables conflate with dogma to create pseudo-history, which in turn is used to validate the Islamic belief that Christians distorted the histories of these figures.

The four entries also reflect the richness of the popular imagination in Damascus regarding the presumed association of Jesus, Mary, and the Disciples with the city and its environs.

MANUSCRIPTS

For the manuscripts of Ibn ʿAsākir's *Taʾrīkh Dimashq*, see al-ʿAmrawī and Shīrī's edition, i, pp. 36-41 (introduction)

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Suleiman A. Mourad

Ibn al-Azraq

Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī

DATE OF BIRTH 1116-17
PLACE OF BIRTH Mayyāfāriqīn
DATE OF DEATH 1176-77
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown, though probably Mayyāfāriqīn

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn al-Azraq's life is shrouded in some mystery, and the little that is known comes from what he writes in his history. He was born in Mayyāfāriqīn in 1116-17, and spent much of his life travelling in the Islamic world, and to areas bordering it. His first mission was to Mārdīn at the age of 19, before spending time in Āmid, Muʿdan, and Mosul, in the last two of which he was a buyer and seller of metals for the Artuqid ruler Ḥusām al-Dīn. He also visited Baghdad three times – in 1139-40, when he spent six months being taught by pre-eminent Muslim scholars, in 1151-52, and again in 1173-74. In 1153-54, he was at the court of the Georgian King Dmitri, where Minorsky believes he was the king's secretary, before leaving for Mayyāfāriqīn by way of Greek and Dānishmendid territory in Anatolia. Following this, in 1154-55, he made a visit to the tomb of Chosroes at Rayy. Ibn al-Azraq then writes that he was again in Georgia in 1162-63, before being made *mutaqallī ishrāf al-waqf* in the region of Mayyāfāriqīn in 1166-67. In 1167-68, he was persuaded to accept the same position in Damascus, which he held for two years, before returning once more to Mayyāfāriqīn. It is uncertain in which year he died, as no medieval Islamic biographer wrote a notice about him, this despite the copious use of the *Taʾrīkh Mayyāfāriqīn* by Ibn Khallikān for his biographical dictionary.

From his comments in the text about his life, it is clear that Ibn al-Azraq was connected with the civil service of both Muslim and non-Muslim states for the majority of his life. Thus, he had access to official records and chancellery documents, and surely used them to write his history. However, as a writer, he was evidently not highly regarded by other Muslims of the medieval period, as is demonstrated by his absence from the biographical dictionaries.

Further attempts to reconstruct aspects of his life are difficult, though some have been made, notably by Hillenbrand and Robinson. While his political bias is clearly in favor of the Artuqids, his ethnic background is open to debate, being seemingly either Arab, Kurdish or Turkish. There has also been some controversy over his religious affiliation, with Minorsky claiming that he was an ʿAlid supporter, and Hillenbrand that he was a Sunnī.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Taʾrīkh Mayyāfāriqīn wa-Āmid, 'The history of Mayyafariqin and Amid', 'History of Mayyafariqin'

DATE   1164-65 and 1176-77
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION
The *Taʾrīkh Mayyāfāriqīn* is a chronicle which, while generally focused on the area around Mayyāfāriqīn and Āmid in Diyār Bakr, includes discourses which are wide-ranging both geographically and historically. The chronicle probably originally started with the life of Muḥammad, as there are a number of missing folios at the beginning of MS BL Or. 5803, before the manuscript begins with an account of the caliphate of ʿUmar. Much in the early sections is derivative, but the work's usefulness is as a welcome contemporary 12th-century chronicle which fills in gaps that would exist otherwise. It appears to have been written in two stages. The first was around 1164-65, and it was then

extended in about 1176-77 to create a longer version. For details, see
Hillenbrand, *A Muslim principality in crusader times*, pp. 15-19.

There is great value in the level of detail about certain subjects
that are treated. The politics, society and warfare of the Artuqids are
described in detail, and there is unique information on Zangī, Nūr
al-Dīn, and the status of the caliphate, as well as aspects of Georgian
society. Yet this valuable information is qualified by some major defi-
ciencies. The quality of the Arabic is poor in places, leading to diffi-
culties in understanding; the author lacks the insightfulness of other
medieval historians; the chronicle is often imprecise in both what it
reports and the dating of events; and there are contradictions in what
is written. Yet despite these myriad faults, it is still an important piece
because of the light it sheds on otherwise darkened periods, places
and events in the 12th-century Middle East.

Aspects of Christian-Muslim relations are not at the forefront of
the chronicle. There are occasional disparaging references to Chris-
tians, particularly the Latin crusaders, with whom the Artuqid rulers
of Diyār Bakr came into contact, but only in passing. However, there
is one section of the work devoted to the state of relations between
Muslims and Christians in the Georgian city of Tiflīs (Tbilisi) that
offers invaluable insights into relations.

This covers the period of the 1120s and 1150s (pp. 31-35 in Minor-
sky's English translation, and pp. 41-43 and 142 in Hillenbrand's), and
describes the generous terms which the Georgian King David II gave
to the Muslim inhabitants of Tiflīs after his capture of the city in 1121-
22. These included the removal of heavy tax burdens on them, which
the previous, Muslim, administration had used, the acceptance of all
the conditions the Muslim population asked for, and a prohibition
on pigs being brought into the city. In addition to these terms, King
David also minted coins with Islamic inscriptions, permitted the call
to prayer, and gave the Muslims a favorable rate of *khidma*.

Having described these concessions, Ibn al-Azraq then relates the
situation in Georgia as he found it in the 1150s, when he worked for
David's son, King Dmitri. He writes that, when Dmitri came to Tiflīs,
he went down to the mosque on a Friday, listened to the entire ser-
mon, and then donated 200 gold dinars to the mosque. Dmitri also
listened to, respected and rewarded all the Muslims who came to him,
to the extent that Ibn al-Azraq claims, 'From him I saw such esteem
for the Muslims as they would not have enjoyed even if they had been
in Baghdad.'

SIGNIFICANCE

Short as it is, this description gives an invaluable insight into inter-religious relations in Georgia during the early 12th century. It suggests that the Georgian kings had managed to create a society, in Tiflīs at least, in which the Christian and Muslim communities lived together in a spirit of mutual respect. These circumstances do not seem to have been common at the time, nor was tolerance for Muslims a characteristic of the dynasty as a whole, as there is no evidence of anything similar in the historical sources. Ibn al-Azraq's own clear surprise at what he found in Tiflīs supports the unusual nature of these measures taken by these two Georgian kings.

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Alex Mallett

Alexander III

Orlando Bandinelli

DATE OF BIRTH   Approximately 1100
PLACE OF BIRTH   Siena
DATE OF DEATH   30 August 1181
PLACE OF DEATH   Città Castellana

BIOGRAPHY

Orlando Bandinelli studied law at Bologna, where he then taught canon law (1139-42). He became canon in Pisa, then in 1150 cardinal deacon. He was a close advisor to Pope Hadrian IV (1154-59). At Hadrian's death, a majority of cardinals elected Orlando as pope and consecrated him as Alexander III; a pro-imperial minority elected Cardinal Ottaviano of Monticelli as Victor IV. The result was a schism that was to last 18 years. Only at the peace of Venice (24 July 1177) did Frederick I Barbarossa recognize Alexander as pope.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Instructio fidei catholicae ad soldanum, 'Instruction in the Catholic faith to the sultan'

DATE   Probably 1177 or 1178
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

The text, preserved in the correspondence of Peter of Blois, who was part of the papal curia in 1177-78, takes the form of a short letter (8 columns in the *PL* text) addressed by the pope to the sultan of Iconium (who is not named). The pope says that the sultan has made known, through letters and messengers, that he wishes to convert to Christianity. The sultan has already received a number of biblical books, and now the pope is writing to give him instruction in the Christian faith. What follows is a brief summary and explanation of Christian doctrine: the Trinity, the life of Christ (Incarnation, Virgin birth, crucifixion, resurrection and ascension). Alexander concludes by telling the sultan that if he wishes to proceed from darkness into light, he must start by accepting the sacrament of baptism.

SIGNIFICANCE

Alexander had some months earlier addressed a letter to Prester John (in response to a forged letter supposedly written by the legendary figure), explaining to him the prerogatives of papal supremacy. His tract to the sultan of Iconium shows a similar desire to use persuasion and teaching to justify and uphold papal claims in the Orient. The tract shows little real knowledge of Islam, but testifies to rumors that some prominent Muslim rulers were prepared to convert to Christianity if properly instructed in the faith.

MANUSCRIPTS

There are 251 extant manuscripts containing some or all of the letters of Peter of Blois (listed in Wahlgren, pp. 200-3); it is not clear how many of them contain Alexander's tract.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

   PL 207, cols 1069-78

STUDIES

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   E. Cohn, 'The manuscript evidence for the letters of Peter of Blois', *English Historical Review* 41 (1926) 43-60

John Tolan

The fourteenth vision of Daniel

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; probably 12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown; presumably Egypt
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; probably late 12th or early
    13th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown; presumably Egypt

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known of the redactor of this pseudonymous apocalyptic text beyond what can be gathered from the text itself: that the author was a Copt, probably a monk, who, sometime after the fall of the Fatimid dynasty, perhaps in the 1170s, 'updated' an older apocalyptic text in order to take account of recent Egyptian history.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary —

Secondary —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tihorasis mmah IΔ / Al-ruʾyā l-rābiʿa ʿāshara, 'The fourteenth vision', 'The fourteenth vision of Daniel', '14Dan', '14th Vision'

DATE   Probably late 12th century, perhaps in the 1170s
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Bohairic Coptic

DESCRIPTION

The *Fourteenth vision of Daniel* is a short historical apocalypse added, in several bilingual Copto-Arabic manuscripts, to the biblical Book of Daniel, which in the Coptic miaphysite tradition usually comprises 13 chapters. Most witnesses give a Bohairic Coptic and an Arabic text in parallel columns. It has been thought that the extant Coptic text is a translation from the Arabic, but the manuscript note cited in support

of this view (Becker, 'Reich', pp. 29-34; Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, p. 289) pertains only to the first two verses of Daniel 1. Moreover, an analysis of the language of both the Bohairic and the Arabic texts strongly suggests that the former is the more original and was the direct *Vorlage* of the Arabic.

The *Fourteenth vision* is modelled after Daniel 7. It first recounts the vision of the four beasts (Dan 7:2-8), with the difference that the last beast is given 19 instead of ten horns. Next, an angel appears in order to explain the meaning of the vision. The four beasts represent the kingdoms of the Persians, the Romans, the 'Hellenes' (Byzantines), and the 'Sons of Ishmael', while the 19 horns of the fourth beast symbolize 19 Ishmaelite kings. This interpretation is followed by brief descriptions of the reigns of the 10th to the 19th kings, which take up the greater part of the work. The last king will be killed by another, called 'the Turk' (*pitourgos* /*al-turkī*), after which, at the end of time, a last Roman emperor will free Egypt from Muslim dominion.

The work contains many but often vague historical allusions, which has given rise to scholarly debate on the identity of the kings it refers to and on its date of composition. Thus, the prophecy has been dated to shortly after the fall of the Umayyad dynasty (Becker), the early Ayyūbid period (Macler, Meinardus in 'New evidence'), and, more recently, the late 11th century (Hoyland). The present writer inclines to the theory that the present form of the *Fourteenth vision* in fact represents a reworking, probably from the late 12th or early 13th century, of a now lost mid-8th century Danielic apocalypse (Meinardus in 'Commentary', Suermann, van Lent), called *The Proto-fourteenth vision of Daniel* in *CMR* 1, pp. 309-13.

While there are certainly grounds for skepticism about attempts to date the work precisely (Hoyland, DiTomasso), evidence for the scenario just described is provided by a recently published witness to yet another recension, most likely produced during the reign of the Caliph al-Amīn (809-13) (van Lent, '*The Prophecy of the nineteen Muslim kings*', *CMR* 1, pp. 411-13). A comparison between this source and the *Fourteenth vision*, backed up by historical analysis, suggests that the second is the product of a redactor who revised the early Abbasid *Proto-fourteenth vision* in order to make its prophecies (which originally dealt mainly with the Umayyads) fit better with the Fatimid dynasty. For example, it appears that the original prophecy contained descriptions of the 11th to 19th kings rather than starting with the 10th, but that a description of another king (the third) was

then added in order to conform their total to the number of Fatimid caliphs that actually ruled over, and from, Egypt. The redactor is also likely to have reversed the order of the first two descriptions, so that their contents came to reflect the reputations of the first Egyptian Fatimid, al-ʿAzīz (r. 975-96), and the second, al-Ḥākim (r. 996-1021), respectively – the former generally judged good and the latter bad by Copts and Muslims alike. In addition, he may also have added some (but not all; *pace* Suermann) of the passages that involve the 'Ethiopians'.

One of the possible dates of composition of the recension is the late 11ᵗʰ century, in which case one would want to identify 'the Turk' with the Seljuks who threatened Egypt in that period (Hoyland). It is perhaps more likely, however, that it was produced after the fall of the Fatimid dynasty. The name Pitourgos may well refer to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (d. 1193) or to the Ayyūbids in general (cf., e.g., the Coptic inscription in U. Bouriant, 'Petite inscription historique en dialecte thébain', *Receuil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes* 7 (1886) 218). Instead, 'the battle in Shmoun [Arabic *Ashmūn*]' between Pitourgos and the 19ᵗʰ king could be taken as a reference to the battle in 1167 at al-Bābayn, near al-Ashmūnayn in Middle Egypt, between the combined Frankish-Egyptian forces of the Fatimid vizier Shāwar and the Syrian army of the Kurdish general Shīrkūh – even if only in a 'recycled' way: the passage perhaps already formed part of the *Proto-fourteenth vision*, where it may have alluded to the battle in 750 at nearby Būṣīr in which the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II, was killed by an Abbasid force. If the Danielic prophecy of ten rulers cited by the biographer of Patriarchs Mark III (1166-89) and John VI (1189-1216), and applied by him to the Fatimids, refers to this particular recension, we have a *terminus ante quem* of 1207, which is when the biographer completed his work (see Meinardus, 'New evidence', pp. 282-85, with a translation of the relevant passage). However, since its focal point seems to be the fall of the Fatimid dynasty and the rise of the Ayyūbids, the recension was probably produced decades earlier. Some passages on the 'Ethiopians', which may well have been added as part of the early Ayyūbid redaction, suggest a date during or shortly after the Nubian campaign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's brother Tūrānshāh in 1172-73.

The second part of the 12ᵗʰ century seems late for a text written in Coptic, but much less so if the extant *Fourteenth vision* is indeed a reworking of an earlier Coptic original (*pace* Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*,

p. 290). In addition, if it was written to form part of the biblical Book of Daniel from the start, this too may have influenced the language choice; however, it is difficult to determine whether this was indeed the case or whether the prophecy once existed independently.

Little is known about the Coptic redactor, and the argument that he and the above-mentioned anonymous biographer of Mark III and John VI are one and the same person (Meinardus, 'New evidence', p. 283) lacks real basis. In any event, his aim was probably to explain the course of history and to provide hope to Christians under Muslim rule; certainly, the decision to use a centuries-old prophecy was motivated by the parallels he saw between its contents and Fatimid and early Ayyūbid history – notably the fact that starting with the Imam Ismāʿīl, and following the traditional genealogy, the Fatimids indeed counted 19 'rulers' (five hidden imams, then four caliphs from Ifrīqiya, then ten from Egypt). It has been proposed that the text also served to entertain as much as to edify (van Lent, 'Nineteen Muslim kings', p. 671).

SIGNIFICANCE

The prophecy provides a unique example of a medieval apocryphal text included in Egyptian Christian biblical manuscripts, and is an important source for the reconstruction of the early Abbasid *Proto-fourteenth vision of Daniel*. While the *Fourteenth vision of Daniel* does not contain any detailed description of Christian-Muslim relations, it provides evidence for a heightened interest in the meaning and outcome of history among Egyptian Christians in the period after the fall of the Fatimid dynasty. In addition, the fact that it is probably a redaction of a much older piece of popular Coptic literature suggests that such texts continued to be studied and to enjoy a certain prestige at least into the 12th and 13th centuries. At the same time, it may have been among the last examples of the use of Coptic as a literary language.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS London, BL – Or. 1314, fols 240r-252r (= British Museum – Copt. 729) (1374; Coptic and Arabic; the other MSS are copies from this MS or ultimately depend on it)

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MS Paris, BNF – Copt. 2, fols 101r-106v (1660; Coptic and Arabic; copied from the London MS)

MS Paris, BNF – Copt. 96, fols 166r-173v (1788; Coptic and Arabic; copied from the London MS)

MS Manchester, John Rylands University Library – Copt. 419, fols 123v-140v (1795; Coptic and Arabic)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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J. van Lent, 'The nineteen Muslim kings in Coptic apocalypses', *Pd'O* 25 (2000) 643-93, pp. 657-61 (partial edition and English translation from Coptic)

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Van Lent, 'Nineteen Muslim kings'

H. Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit. Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjährigen Weissagung*, Stuttgart, 2000, pp. 347-48

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Meinardus, 'Commentary'

Becker, 'Reich'

Macler, 'Apocalypses apocryphes'

Jos van Lent

Two texts from Sbath 1002

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; between 10th and 13th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

It is impossible to establish with certainty the confessional affiliation of the anonymous Christian author of the two treatises discussed below. Graf and Landron consider him a member of the East Syrian ('Nestorian') Church. Graf's assumption is possibly based on the similarities of these treatises with some writings of Elias of Nisibis (q.v.) and Ibn al-Ṭayyib (q.v.), but no definitive proof can be given.

The manuscript containing both treatises was dated by Sbath to the 12th century, which, if correct, gives a *terminus ad quem* for the active life of the author. His irenic Christological position (it is impossible for the human mind to understand the mystery of 'Christ, God and man'; hence it is incorrect to assert that one's own community alone possesses truth) corresponds to the ecumenical attitude characteristic of some theologians from all denominations living between the 10th and 13th centuries, such as Ibn Yumn (q.v.), Yaḥya ibn Jarīr (q.v.), al-Arfādī (q.v.), Barhebraeus (q.v.), Ishoʿyahb bar Malkon (q.v.) and ʿAbdishoʿ bar Brikhā (q.v.).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
P. Sbath, *Bibliothèque de manuscrits* ii, Cairo, 1928, pp. 118-19

Secondary
Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans*, p. 123
S.K. Samir, 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976) 201-42, pp. 239-40
Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 189-90

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Anonymous apology in Sbath 1002

DATE Between 10th and 12th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This treatise is addressed to an unknown 'beloved son', who is worried by the contradictions concerning Christ that he finds in the 'books of the Christians'. This is a classical reproach made by Muslims, and consequently Graf and Samir assume that the addressee is a Muslim. It would, however, be unusual for a Christian author to address a Muslim as 'beloved son', which rather suggests that the addressee belongs to the same community as the author and was even his pupil. The term used for contradictions (*tanāquḍāt*) and the reference to the *kutub al-Naṣāra* (a term not used by Christians themselves) point to an Islamic environment. We may therefore assume that the addressee was a Christian who redirected to the author of this treatise questions posed to him by some Muslims.

The work, 154 pages in length, is divided into two parts. Part I (pp. 7-30) is devoted to the existence of God and to His unity and Trinity, which the author explains with the help of the concept of essential attributes (*ṣifāt dhātiyya*). Part II (pp. 30-139) discusses Christology (no further information about this part is available), and the work ends with a conclusion (pp. 139-154, incomplete at the end) responding to the objection that, since the 'people of the law of Christ' do not allow their bishops and monks to marry and have children, they cannot possibly accept the physical generation of the Son from the Father.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work discusses a number of classical issues found in other writings concerned with Christian-Muslim debates. The author states that his work is based on the writings of ancient and modern predecessors, though the very succinct description given by Sbath does not allow us to establish whether this work has some original features or is just a repetition of classical arguments.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Aleppo, Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem – Ar. 200 (Sbath 1002; dated by Sbath to the 12th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —

STUDIES

F. del Río Sánchez, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem (Alep, Syrie)*, Wiesbaden, 2008, p. 110

Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans*, p. 123

Samir, 'Bibliographie', pp. 239-40

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 189-90

P. Sbath, *Bibliothèque de manuscrits*, pp. 118-19

(Possibly) *Kitāb fī l-ittiḥād wa-l-ittiṣāl*, 'Unity and conjunction [of the divine and human natures in Christ]'

DATE: Between 10th and 13th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE: Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Judging from Sbath's description of the last chapter, this voluminous treatise (392 pages, 50 chapters) seems to be a Christological work, dealing with the mode of union of Christ's humanity and divinity.

Certain expressions suggest that the author is the same as the author of the anonymous treatise discussed above.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is difficult to say what the significance of the work was. The theme treated in the work was frequently discussed by Christians and Muslims, but the brief description by Sbath does not allow us to determine whether or not the author develops his argumentation with a Muslim interlocutor in mind.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Aleppo, Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem – Ar. 200 (Sbath 1002; dated by Sbath to the 12th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES

del Rio Sánchez, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem*, p. 110

Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans*, p. 123

Samir, 'Bibliographie', p. 240

Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 190

P. Sbath, *Bibliothèque de manuscrits*, pp. 119-20

Herman G.B. Teule

Vita Sancti Isidori

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH   Uncertain; mid-12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown; possibly Leon
DATE OF DEATH   Uncertain; early or mid-13th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown; probably Leon

BIOGRAPHY   —

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary   —

Secondary   —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Vita Sancti Isidori, 'Life of St Isidore'

DATE   Uncertain; late 12th to early 13th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Vita Sancti Isidori* is a complex text which, without the passage on Muḥammad (see below), occupies some 20 pages in the folio edition of *Acta sanctorum*. Incorporated into the narrative is a complete series of documents: letters of Isidore, more or less authentic, a *Lamentum poenitentiae* (7th century?), a Visigothic epitaph, and a hymn in honor of the saint. The author knows the *Obitus* of Redemptus (7th century) and the *Adbreviatio Sancti Brauli de Vita Sancti Isidori*, a text possibly written in the 11th century that amplifies the *Renotatio* of Braulion of Saragossa (631-51). The *Vita* presents Isidore as the successor of St James in the Iberian peninsula, portraying him as one of the main opponents of Arianism and highlighting his relationship with Pope Gregory the Great. It also presents Isidore as the first enemy of Islam in the peninsula, even before the invasion of 711.

According to the author, when the saint is returning from Rome and is close to Seville, he learns that a certain Muḥammad is corrupting those who listen to him 'with his venomous teachings filled with unheard of opinions'. Isidore then sends servants with orders to bring Muḥammad to him, and if he refuses at least to keep him chained until he arrives (he even provides chains for them). The devil then appears to Muḥammad disguised as an angel of light (2 Cor 11:14) and advises him to leave the 'frontiers of Spain'. In fact, he says, 'neither you nor even we angels of God can bear his [Isidore's] presence'. A dialogue unfolds between the devil and the false prophet, the one explaining to the other how 'it is not Isidore who performs these actions as a human, but it is the Prince of the spirits acting through him'. In words filled with references to the Bible, Satan then explains why Muḥammad must leave Spain and win Africa. In prophetic tone, he announces that 'the inequities of the Spanish are not yet complete', which, following Genesis 15:16, is a prediction of a harsh judgement on them all in the future. Elsewhere, the *Vita Sancti Isidori* presents the saint as a true prophet, and this whole episode must be read according to a providential scheme which brings about the events of history, and particularly the invasions of the peninsula, as a reward or punishment from God.

When Muḥammad reports to his followers his interview with the devil disguised as an angel of light, he becomes convinced that it will be impossible to gain the upper hand over this man who makes rain fall during drought and performs miracles of healing. So he hastens to win Africa, where, says the hagiographer, he seduces 'a countless multitude of Ismaelites through his criminal preaching'. Isidore's envoys do not, therefore, find Muḥammad in Cordova where they look for him, but they pursue him as far as the sea and capture some of his followers.

This story is followed by a short narrative (perhaps inspired by the *Translatio magna* of St James) telling how, in a place called Santa Eulalia, Isidore tames a dragon whose mouth emits 'a sound like a torrent rushing from its bed, and crackling flames'. The words Isidore addresses to the monster are as follows: 'In the name of Jesus Christ, Son of God, I command you to go to a place where you will not harm any creature.' Insofar as this account is not separated from the story about Muḥammad, and insofar as allusion has also been made at the beginning of the story to this 'extraordinary snake, surpassing in size the volume of a great beam of wood', it seems legitimate to see here

two sides of the same account. At least, this is what the Bollandists in the 17th century did, including this story in the censored passage (see below). The dragon, whose mouth produces sounds similar to flames, and Muḥammed, who as we have seen was seducing his victims 'by his speeches that were venomous and full of opinions unheard of', are doubtless two related manifestations of the same evil – heresy.

This remarkable story, which appears here for the first time, enjoyed some success despite the poor dissemination of the *Vita Sancti Isidori*. It was repeated shortly after it was written by Lucas of Tuy in his *Chronicon mundi*, and it was summarized in the years 1260-65 by the Dominican Rodrigo de Cerrato in an abbreviated legendary (*PL* 81, cols 76A-81A). It was then translated into Castilian as early as the 15th century (Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, Archpriest of Hita), and it appears, again in Castilian, in Juan de Robles' translation of the *Liber miraculorum Sancti Isidori* by Lucas of Tuy, published in Salamanca in 1525. However, to measure more accurately the diffusion of this episode it would be necessary to go systematically through chronicles, legendaries, lectionaries and breviaries. Clearly, this astonishing story was preserved in Sevillian (and perhaps Hispanic) breviaries of the late Middle Ages as among important events in the life of Isidore. See, for example, the breviary originally from Seville (Paris, BNF, lat. 982; 15th century), in which the following text can be read (f. 251bis r): *Veniente autem haud procul a civitate Yspalensi, notum sit ei quod pessimus Machometus inauditarum opiniorum ore vipereo tamquam membrum diaboli, confecerat audientes. Qui mittens nuncios ut ipsum apprehenderent, tunc fugiens Machometus, ultra mare transivit* ('When he [Isidore] arrived near the city of Seville, he was informed that the evil Muḥammad, as an associate of the Devil, was seducing listeners with his venomous mouth full of unheard of opinions. So he sent envoys to capture him, but Muḥammad fled and crossed over the sea').

In the modern period, at the time of a Counter-Reformation that was anxious not to give Protestants grounds for criticism, the often fabulous character of the *Vita Sancti Isidori*, and more particularly this episode, have been strongly criticized. The Jesuit Mariana (d. 1624), author of a very influential *History of Spain* published in Latin and later Castilian, and translated into English and French, comments thus on the episode of the coming of Muḥammad to Spain: '*Todas estas cosas las desechamos como frivolas hablillas sin fundamento, pues ni son a proposito para aumentar su grandeza, y quitan el*

credito a las demas que del con verdad se cuentan' (*Historia General de España*, vol. 1, Madrid, 1608, p. 266) ('All these things we reject as frivolous and as gossip without foundation. They add nothing to his [Isidore's] greatness, and they lessen the credit of other things that are deservedly related from him.') Juan Tamayo y Salazar himself, though normally uncritical, in his *Anamnesis sive omnium sanctorum commemoratio hispanorum* (Lyons, 1651-59), rejects this tradition as totally false. As for the Bollandists, advised on this matter by the great Spanish scholar Nicolas Antonio (d. 1684), they applied full censorship to the text. Henschenius gives the reasons in his edition: the events reported were *falsa* and *adscititia* ('false and added'; ed. Henschenius, *Acta sanctorum, Aprilis*, vol. 1, 1675, p. 340, n. e). Consequently, the passage relating to Muḥammad was excised from the text circulated through the *Acta sanctorum*, and this, with the exception of some others, is what is found in the edition by Arévalo, and from him in the *Patrologia Latina*. The 'false stories', later forgeries attributed to well-known or invented authors, nevertheless preserve a reference to a stay of Muḥammad in Spain (as does the *Chronicle* of Pseudo-Liutprand of Cremona). The text can now be read in a recent article (José Carlos Martín, 2005), but the *Vita* in its entirety awaits a critical edition.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Vita Sancti Isidori* is an important stage in a process that was taking place in the same period, in which Isidore is transformed into a staunch adversary of Islam. Thus, the *Historia translationis Sancti Isidori* (*BHL* 4491), written in Leon at the same time as the *Vita*, represents Isidore as a quasi-military saint who, on the eve of the taking of Baeza by the Christians in 1147, appears to King Alfonso VII to explain that he is the successor of St James in the peninsula. The same theme is present in the prologue of *BHL* 4486. A generation later, in a voluminous collection of miracles, Lucas of Tuy is able to make Isidore a particular adversary of the Muslims. The 'loss of Spain' is certainly more than three-quarters of a century later than the death of Isidore, but the author of the *Vita* circumvents the problem by saying that the saint from Seville had predicted the tragedy before dying (which he does, it may be noted, without mentioning the fact that the 'enemies' of the Goths will be Muslims): *Cum autem haec praecepta dereliqueretis, apprehendent vos mira mala et cadet gens Gothorum fame et gladio inimicorum et peste* (*Acta Sanctorum, Aprilis*, vol. 1,

p. 347 E); this passage is repeated in the *Historia translationis*) ('However, when you forsake these principles, terrible misfortune will befall you and that will be the downfall of the Goths through famine, pestilence and the sword of the enemies').

The great originality of *BHL* 4486 is to make Isidore and Muḥammad, who were actually contemporaries, practically direct adversaries. But the author of the *Vita* was not the first to imagine a stay by Muḥammad in Spain: in the famous *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* (q.v.) (beginning of the 12th century), Muḥammad personally builds the statue of the idol of Cadiz. In two *Artes lectoriae* from the years 1086-87, respectively composed by Siguinus (q.v.) and Aimery of Angoulême (q.v.), he is called Ocin (*quem Saraceni Maumitum dicunt*), and he is sent *ad Hispanias* by a certain *Osius papa*. These names clearly refer to the *Tultusceptrum de libro domni Metobii* (q.v.), a work from the latter 10th or 11th century in the so-called Codex of Roda (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Codex 78), which, in common with the *Vita Sancti Isidori*, stages a dialogue between Muḥammad and Satan, disguised as an angel of light.

The origins of the story reported by the *Vita* are perhaps ancient but, be that as it may, this episode was given its significance in the context of strengthening the cult of Isidore in Leon. It made it possible to show how heresies of all kinds had been successfully fought against by the man who symbolized the golden age of Christian *Hispania*. Islam was one of these, and the relevance of this message in the 1200s can be well understood.

MANUSCRIPTS

    MS Madrid, Bibliteca Nacional – 10,442, fols 1-36v (13th century)

    MS Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria – 2540, fols 227-240v (15th century)

    There are also several complete or partial copies in MSS from the 15th and 16th centuries.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

    Juan de Robles, *Libro de los miraglos Sant Isidro arzobispo de Sevillia,* Salamanca, 1525 (Castilian trans. following the *Milagros de San Isidoro* by Lucas de Tuy)

    Acta sanctorum, Aprilis, vol. 1, ed. Henschenius, Antwerp, 1675, pp. 330-51 (lacking the passage on Muḥammed, which can be found in Martín, 'El corpus hagiográfico')

F. Arevalo *S. Isidori episcopi Hispalensis Hispaniarum Doctoris opera omnia*, 7 vols, Rome, 1797-1803, ii, p. 452-87 (reproduction of the *Acta sanctorum* edition, without Isidore's letters)

PL 82, cols 19A-53B (Arévalo's edition)

Lucas of Tuy, *Milagros de San Isidoro*, ed. J. Pérez Llamazares, Leon, 1947, 1992², pp. 133-35 (modernized trans. of Juan de Robles)

Vida de San Ildefonso y San Isidoro, ed. J. Madoz y Moleres, Madrid, 1962 (15th-century Castilian translation)

J.C. Martín, 'El corpus hagiográfico latino en torno a la figura de Isidoro de Sevilla en la Hispania tardoantigua y medieval (ss. XIII-VII)', *Veleia. Revista de Prehistoria, Historia Antigua y Arqueología y Filología clásicas* 22 (2005) 187-228, pp. 227-28 (edition of the miracle concerning Muḥammad, followed by the account of Isidore's confrontation with the dragon)

STUDIES

Martín, 'El corpus hagiográfico Latino en torno a la figura de Isidoro de Sevilla'

P. Henriet, 'Hagiographie léonaise et pédagogie de la foi. Les miracles d'Isidore de Séville et la lutte contre l'hérésie (XIe-XIIIe siècle)', in D. Baloup (ed.), *L'enseignement religieux dans la couronne de Castille. Incidences spirituelles et sociales (XIIIe-XVIe siècles)*, Madrid, 2003, 1-28

P. Henriet, '*Rex, lex, plebs.* Les miracles d'Isidore de Séville à León (XIe-XIIIe siècles)', in M. Heinzelmann, K. Herbers and D. Bauer (eds), *Mirakel im Mittelalter. Konzeptionen, Erscheinungsformen, Deutungen*, Stuttgart, 2002, 334-50, pp. 338-40

F. González Muñoz, 'La leyenda de Mahoma en Lucas de Tuy', in M. Pérez González (ed.), *Actas del III Congreso Hispánico de Latín Medieval*, Leon, 2002, 347-58, pp. 353-55

J. Fontaine, 'A propos de la *Vita Sancti Isidori* (CPL 1214) ou: comment on récrit l'histoire', *Cahiers de Linguistique et de Civilisation Hispaniques Médiévales* 24 (2001) 235-48

J. Gil, 'La historiografía', in *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal*, vol. 11 *La cultura del Románico. Siglos XI al XIII. Letras religiosidad, artes, ciencia y vida*, Madrid, 1995, 58-59

K.B. Wolf, 'The earliest Latin lives of Muḥammad,' in M. Gevers and R. Bikhazi (eds), *Conversion and continuity. Indigenous Christian communities in Islamic lands, eighth to eighteenth centuries*, Toronto, 1990, 89-101 (with Latin text and trans. of the *Tultusceptrum*)

M. Díaz y Díaz, 'Los textos más antiguos antimahometanos en codices españoles', *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 37 (1970) 149-68 (with an edition of the *Tultu-sceptrum*, pp. 163-64)

B. de Gaiffier, 'Le culte de saint Isidore de Séville. Esquisse d'un travail', in M. Díaz y Díaz (ed.), *Isidoriana. Estudios sobre San Isidoro de Sevilla en el centenario de su nacimiento XIV*, Leon, 1961, 271-283

P. Lopez Ortiz, 'San Isidoro de Sevilla y el Islam', *Cruz y Raya* (March 1936) 6-63

A. Ramos, 'Un poco de crítica sobre antiguas biografías isidori-anas'', *Revista Eclesiástica* (1936) 587-601

P. Henriet

Bartholomew of Edessa

Bartholomaios Edessēnos

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown, but before 1146
PLACE OF BIRTH   Edessa, now Urfa (Turkey)
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; late 12th or early 13th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

It used to be thought that Bartholomew was active in the 9th century
(see e.g. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen
Reich*, Munich, 1959, p. 531). However, since the convincing re-dating
by Todt, it is beyond any reasonable doubt that Bartholomew wrote
during the last decades of the 12th century, or even later.

All we know about Bartholomew is to be deduced from his own
work, and from the 17th-century MS Iberon 395 (4515), which contains
a vernacular paraphrase of his *Elenchos*. It is certain that he was a
native of Edessa, since he identifies himself as such in several places
(ed. Todt, pp. 6; 24; 50). His remark, 'the Euphrates will not suffice me
for ink', and his mention of the Emir of Aleppo Nūr al-Dīn (r. 1146-
74), suggest acquaintance with the region of northern Syria. Since the
Christian community of Edessa was wiped out in 1146, he must have
been born before that year.

We do not know where Bartholomew spent his life. According to
a much later note, preserved in MS Iberon, he was a priest-monk
(*hieromonachos*), and went to Mount Sinai to study the writings of
the 'Arabs' there in order to refute them. This cannot be confirmed
(though it sounds plausible), even if Gkinos, the copyist of MS Iberon,
accepted as accurate Bartholomew's repeated boasting that he had
read all the writings of the Arabs and knew them better than they
did (ed. Todt, pp. 14; 52; 56).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
K.–P. Todt (ed.), *Bartholomaios von Edessa, Confutatio Agareni* (*Corpus
Islamo-Christianum, Series Graeca* 2), Würzburg, 1988, pp. xv-lxv

Secondary

Earlier studies on Bartholomew's work have been rendered obsolete by
    Todt, who cites them *in extenso*. See the reviews of his edition by
    B. Flusin, *Revue des Études Byzantines* 47 (1989) 277-79, A. Karpozilos,
    Hellenika 41 (1990) 144-46, and J. Schamp, *Nouvelle Revue Théologi-
    enne* 112 (1990) 147-48.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Bartholomaiou tou Edesēnou (sic) elenchos Agarēnou, 'Bartholomew of Edessa's refutation of an Agarene'

DATE   Last decades of the 12th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Greek

DESCRIPTION

The main feature of the work is its unsystematic character: it lacks a
logical structure and is full of repetitions and inconsistencies, which
is partly due to Bartholomew's outbursts: 'B. est incapable de s'en tenir
à la ligne d'un argument. Aussitôt qu'il a commencé à en développer
un, sa passion bouillonne, la colère le prend', (Abel, cited by Todt,
p. xxvi). The result is his tearing apart of many arguments so that they
appear twice or more (e.g. pp. 18.6f., 30.8ff., 92.10ff., concerning the
differences between the 72 erring sects and the one sect of true believ-
ers that will be saved). Nevertheless, two parts of the work can be
clearly distinguished. In the first (pp. 2-52), Bartholomew begins with
the typical catalogue of Muslim questions, on the Incarnation, Trin-
ity, eucharist, etc. These partially coincide with the questions asked
by the 'Saracen' in the dialogue written by the monk Euthymius (see
Trapp, 'Euthymios', pp. 116-22), but in contrast to Euthymius and in
contradiction to his own declaration, Bartholomew does not answer
these questions. (As Trapp has pointed out, this shows, that Euthy-
mius is earlier than Bartholomew, *pace* Todt, p. lvi). Instead, Bartho-
lomew polemicizes in sometimes drastic language against details of
Islam, e.g. Muḥammad's night journey (pp. 14-16), and the practices
of ablution that he has observed closely (pp. 34ff.). The second part is
a counter-biography of Muḥammad's life, full of surprising details not
found anywhere else, e.g. that pilgrims who come to Medina asking

for Muḥammad's tomb are told that once they have seen it they will go blind (p. 92, and see p. 44, where this is said about Mecca).

Bartholomew's 'argumentation' characteristically consists of picking out details from his Muslim sources, sometimes rendering them very exactly, and sometimes giving them the exact opposite of their original sense (pp. lif., following Troupeau, pp. 156f.). These sources are often of a popular, oral or even heterodox (Shīʿī) character. Thus, the ascent of the Prophet to heaven (*miʿrāj*) becomes a focal point of Bartholomew's interest (p. li; Troupeau, p. 156), because despite his repeated claims (e.g. p. 16.19; and see pp. xlviif.), Bartholomew has not read the Qurʾan or any relevant Muslim religious literature, but relies on oral information from ordinary Muslims and his own observations. His description of Muslim children closing their copies of the Qurʾan when they go to relieve themselves before sitting down, and trampling on them and playing and hitting one another with them (p. 20), and his comparison of Muḥammad's first preaching with the dancing dervishes of his own time (pp. 69f.), reveal him as the son of a multi-religious city, who also claims he has obtained information from Syriac-speaking Christians (pp. 10.33, 56.24, and introduction p. xlviii). What he describes are the popular layers of the Islam in northern Syria seen from outside, at the time of the later crusades. He takes the lived Islam of his own time for educated Islam, displaying complete ignorance of the hierarchies of knowledge inside the religion he attacks.

The languages he uses for his diatribe fit its content. From his transcriptions of Arabic words it is evident that he knew some Arabic (p. xlvii), whose popular origin is shown by his frequent rendering of *alif* by *epsilon* (*imāla*, e.g. *Sefi* for Shāfiʿī, p. 30.13). By the same token, he uses many vernacular Greek words and forms (pp. 34 *gouna, taxidion*, 36 *bano*; and see also pp. xxxii, xxxvii). This feature misled Karpozilos (p. 145) to the assumption that the extant text is a paraphrase of a lost original into demotic Greek.

SIGNIFICANCE

In 1959, Beck (*Kirche und theologische Literatur*, p. 339) wrote that in no field did Byzantine polemics undergo such a purification process as in the struggle against Islam. To this development, culminating in the Emperor Manuel II's 'dialogues' (q.v.), Bartholomew stands in stark contrast. There is no scholarly approach, such as that undertaken by

Nicetas (q.v.), and no atmosphere of mutual respect, but only boasting
of what he has seen and picked up, Bartholomew makes no attempt
to understand Islam by serious study, and has no qualms about call-
ing his Muslim counterpart 'arse–cleaner' (*plynokolos*, p. 48.6). Todt's
view, that Bartholomew is 'fresh, powerful and direct' (p. xxxi, and see
p. xliv), is far too positive for this uncouth monk.

Written outside the Byzantine Empire, his work lacks any connec-
tion with the intellectual circles of Constantinople, and it remained
almost without echo within mainstream Byzantine literature. Instead,
it influenced the 17th century anti-Islamic *History of the birth and edu-
cation of Moameth*, which was published by Delatte in 1927 (see ed.
Todt, p. lvii, for a possible connection with the treatise *Kata Mōamed*
[q.v.].), setting the tone for present day Islamophobic views among
Orthodox clergy. It thus looks like a provincial reaction against the
efforts made by the Emperor Manuel I (1143-80) to keep the God of
Muḥammad away from the condemnation of the church.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Moscow, Mus. Hist – Codex Mosquensis, Bibl. Syn. 298 =
Vlad. 436, fols 304-34 (14th century)

MS Leiden, University Library – Codex Scaligeranus Graecus 21,
fols 1-13 (16th century)

MS Iberon 395 (4515) (1640) and Codex Athous Laurae 1854
(17th century) contain an unedited partial translation of the
'biography' of Muḥammad from the *Elenchos* into the vernacu-
lar. According to the extract presented by Todt (p. lxviii), the
differences from the original are not remarkable.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Todt (ed.), *Bartholomaios von Edessa, Confutatio Agareni* (edition
and German trans.)

While it represents an important step in dating the author and his
work, this edition is based only on Codex Scaligeranus, with the
readings of the recently discovered but older Codex Mosquen-
sis only in an appendix (p. 175ff.). But it is evident that the *codex
antiquior* in this case is the *melior*, e.g. at the beginning, where
it supplies a whole passage that is not found in the Scaligeranus,
or on p. 50.33, where its reading is evidently superior. Todt does
not always give the correct readings of the Mosquensis (see
Flusin's review of his edition, p. 278), and since Bartholomew
knew Arabic and cites Arabic names and concepts frequently, a

new edition that comments on these items is necessary. This is being prepared by D.R. Reinsch and J. Niehoff-Panagiotidis.

STUDIES

A. Argyriou, 'Perception de l'Islam et traductions du Coran dans le monde Byzantin Grec', *Byzantion* 75 (2005) 25-69, pp. 30-32 (this article does not take Todt's arguments into consideration)

G. Troupeau, 'La biographie de Mahomet dans l'œuvre de Barthélémy d'Édesse', in *La vie du prophète Mahomet, Colloque de Strasbourg (octobre 1980)*, Paris 1983, 147-57

E. Trapp, 'Die Dialexis des Mönchs Euthymios mit einem Sarazenen', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 20 (1971) 111-32

Earlier studies on Bartholomew's work have been rendered obsolete after Todt's edition.

Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis

Yuḥannā ibn Mīnā

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; possibly 12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown; probably Egypt
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; possibly 12th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown; probably Egypt

BIOGRAPHY

Almost nothing is known about Yūḥannā ibn Mīnā, the author of an appendix (or supplement) to the treatise *Kayfiyyat idrāk ḥaqīqat al-diyāna*, 'How to discern the truth of a religion', by the 9th-century translator and author Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (q.v.). Yūḥannā was probably a Copt: 'Mīnā' is a common name among the Copts, and the appendix was known to Coptic Orthodox writers, e.g. al-Shams ibn Kabar (d. 1324).

Sbath claims that MS Sbath 1001, one of the manuscripts containing the work, dates to the 11th century – but elsewhere suggests that Yūḥannā should be considered a writer of the 12th century (*Vingt traités*, p. 181, n. 2 [of the Arabic text], but cf. p. 6 [of the French introduction]). For now, we can only say for certain that Yūḥannā wrote his appendix sometime between the 9th century (when Ḥunayn [809-73] wrote his treatise) and 1249, the date of the earliest dated manuscript. Further study of MS Sbath 1001 is required; unfortunately, this manuscript must now be considered lost (F. del Río Sánchez, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem (Alep, Syrie)*, Wiesbaden, 2008, p. 335). Another possibility is that a careful study of the text will elucidate Yūḥannā's sources, which will allow for a more certain dating.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary   —

Secondary
See below

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Untitled appendix to Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, *Kayfiyyat idrāk ḥaqīqat al-diyāna*, 'How to discern the truth of a religion'

DATE   Unknown; possibly 12th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Yūḥannā's treatise is not so much a 'commentary' on Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's *Kayfiyyat idrāk ḥaqīqat al-diyāna* as a supplement that, in Yūḥannā's view, completes Ḥunayn's argument. Ḥunayn, one remembers, had posited ten reasons (*asbāb*) for accepting a religion. Six of them were reasons for which one might accept *falsehood*: (1) coercion; (2) desire for ease of life, (3) or for honor and power; (4) the preacher's trickery, (5) or his exploitation of ignorance; and (6) family or tribal solidarity. But there were four reasons for accepting the *truth*: (1) evidentiary miracles, (2) consistency between outward manifestations and inner reality, (3) compelling demonstration (*burhān*), and (4) correspondence between ends and beginnings. While Ḥunayn had devoted some lines to showing that the six reasons for accepting falsehood were absent from the earliest spread of Christianity, he had left the four reasons for accepting the truth without comment.

Yūḥannā feared that that a reader might not understand that, by eliminating the reasons for accepting falsehood from the explanation for the early spread of Christianity, Ḥunayn had, in fact, fashioned a positive demonstration of Christianity's truth; thus he provided a supplement to Ḥunayn's argument. He took each of Ḥunayn's four reasons for accepting the truth, and, subdividing each of the four reasons into four *bayānāt* or 'elucidations', argued that each of the four reasons was indeed applicable to Christianity: to the career of Christ himself in the first place, and then to his disciples. For example, specifically with regard to Christ: (1) he performed miracles (as Yūḥannā reports in a beautiful passage in rhymed Arabic prose); (2) his actions and teaching were entirely consistent; (3) his coming was foretold by the prophets (who thus provide a demonstration or *burhān*); and (4) the end of his earthly life rhymes perfectly with its beginning.

The Prophet Muḥammad or the Muslim community are never explicitly named in the treatise, although, as is usually the case in

Christian Arabic 'true religion' apologies, Christian understandings and experiences of the spread of Islam serve as a foil for the claims that are made for Christianity. One senses a number of 'Let the reader understand' moments, where Christ is to be compared with Muḥammad, or the spread of Christianity with the spread of Islam – always, of course, to the advantage of Christianity.

SIGNIFICANCE

Yūḥannā's work may represent an important stage in the transmission to the Copts of an important Christian Arabic apologetic genre, the 'true religion apology', from the Melkite, West Syrian, and East Syrian apologists among whom it first flourished in the 9th century. The work is also interesting as an example of how Ḥunayn's text was understood by Christian readers. One wonders, for example, whether Ḥunayn would have been happy with Yūḥannā's interpretation of *burhān* ('demonstration') as that offered by Old Testament *testimonia*, or whether he had a rather more Aristotelian form of demonstration in mind.

MANUSCRIPTS

According to Samir, 'Yûḥannâ b. Mînâ', four MSS are known. Unfortunately, two are lost and another incomplete.

> MS Sbath 1001 (11th century?), pp. 325-38 or 39 (the MS has been lost)
> MS Sbath 1589 (1249), pp. 17-27 (the MS has been lost)
> MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 173 (14th century), fols 168r-170r (incomplete)
> MS Aleppo, Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem – Ar. 238 (Sbath 1040) (1787), pp. 173-86 or 87

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

> Samir ('Une correspondence', p. 525) indicates that he has prepared a new edition and French translation, but (to the best of the present writer's knowledge) this has not yet been published. This leaves the older edition:
>
> P. Sbath, *Vingt traités philosophiques et apologétiques d'auteurs arabes chrétiens du IXe au XIVe siècle*, Cairo, 1929, pp. 186-200 (edition using MS Sbath 1589 as base)

STUDIES

> [S.]K. Samir, 'Yûḥannâ b. Mînâ', in 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976) 201-42, pp. 227-28

[S.]K. Samir and P. Nwyia, *Une correspondence islamo-chrétienne entre Ibn al-Munağğim, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq et Qusṭā ibn Lūqā* (*PO* 40.4 = no. 185), Turnhout, 1981, p. 525 (= p. [7])

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 127-28

Mark N. Swanson

Islamic 'Psalms of David'

Various anonymous Muslim authors

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown, probably 12th century and after
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown, probably 12th century and after
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY   —

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary   —

Secondary   —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-zabūr al-sharīf alladhī unzila ʿalā sayyidinā Dāʾūd, 'The noble psalms which were revealed to our lord David'; *Al-Zabūr,* 'Psalms'; *Zabūr Dāʾūd,* 'Psalms of David'; *Tarjamat al-zabūr*, 'A translation of the Psalms'

DATE   Ongoing composition; extant texts redacted c. 12th century and after
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION
The Psalms of David, rewritten in Arabic by several unnamed Muslim authors, form a small body of literature that is partly based on the biblical Psalms, but consists mostly of Islamic materials such as qurʾanic allusions, *ḥadīth qudsī*, sermonic exhortations, laws, proverbs, and traditions about David from the *Tales of the prophets* literature. They also contain predictions of Muḥammad, scattered polemics about Christ's divinity and the corruption of the Bible, and stories and sayings from the Gospels and other pre-Islamic sources. As in the

Qurʾan, these elements are woven together in the form of revelations spoken by God to a prophet and his people.

These Psalms stem from two principal source collections, which were rearranged and rewritten and expanded by medieval authors to produce at least four distinct texts that are extant today in at least seven different recensions. The freedom with which these authors rewrote their sources shows that they regarded their work not as a recovery of David's original revelation, but as a creative literary endeavor. David's traditional connection to desire, sin and repentance made him an ideal recipient for the authors' admonitions about the vanity of this world and the importance of piety, repentance, reliance on God, and devotional practices.

The Moses source (M) was originally composed as a rewritten *Torah of Moses*, which has been dated to the 12th century by J. Sadan ('Some literary problems', p. 378). Extant copies vary in length from six to 25 folios, and contain 20 or 30 or 40 short, elegant chapters. Some copies bear the title *Psalms of David*. M also appears at the end of some recensions of another Psalm text described below.

The Core source (C) was older, and may have included material from the early Muslim expert on Jewish lore, Wahb ibn Munabbih (d. c. 728). No extant copy of C itself has yet been identified. It consisted of about 50 folios, divided into some 50 or 100 Psalms. It was redacted and expanded, probably beginning in the 12th century, by three authors whose outlooks may be characterized respectively as Ṣūfī, Orthodox and Pious.

The Ṣūfī author (S) started out using material from C to respond to the biblical Psalms. His first Psalm paraphrases most of Ps 1, then follows C in commanding David to rebuke the Children of Israel for their harshness toward the poor. His second Psalm turns Ps 2 on its head. He apparently read Ps 2 as a Christian text, perhaps in light of the Crusaders' establishment of a kingdom in Jerusalem, and in response he replaced God's Anointed with the Muslim community, by changing *masīḥih* to *musabbiḥīh*, so that instead of scoffing at those who join together against a putatively Christian king in Zion, the Psalm decries the aggression that the Christians themselves have committed against the Muslims' holy shrine in Jerusalem. From his third Psalm on, S left the biblical text behind and followed C, redacting it to suit his own message. He then added another 102 Psalms of his own, for a total of 154 Psalms occupying 104 folios in the Florence MS. His writing expresses a moderate Ṣūfī vision of divine love and

forgiveness, of *dhikr* and night worship and tearful repentance, and of a common spirituality that is at least potentially shared by the Bible and its adherents. He shows less concern with legally correct behavior or anti-Christian polemic than the Orthodox and Pious authors. He is not named, but one manuscript gives a chain of transmission from Wahb ibn Munabbih to Abū Walīd ibn Yūnus, a preacher in the mosque of Cordova who travelled to Egypt and Arabia and died in India in 1156 (see Zwemer, 'A Moslem apocryphal Psalter').

The Orthodox author (O) made fewer modifications to the relatively simple and primitive text of C, though he did rectify parts he found theologically problematic, and appended 48 rather prosaic Psalms of his own, for a total of 147 Psalms occupying 85 folios in the Leiden MS. He spoke less of night vigils and God's love, and more of obedience and God's greatness.

The Pious author (P) gave C a new level of literary polish, and adapted it to his own strict legal piety, dropping or mitigating allusions to David's sin, and adding language about outward obedience and punishment for disobedience. He added 65 Psalms of his own, for a total of 143 Psalms occupying 78 folios in the Oxford MS. One early copy of P skipped over two folios near the beginning, and this 'Broken Pious' recension (BP) was reproduced many times, sometimes with M tacked on at the end to produce a 'Broken Pious with Moses' recension (BPM). A further recension, BPM2, contains only the second half of BPM (Psalms 67-169).

SIGNIFICANCE

These Psalms were written principally for Muslims, as an exhortation to pursue a repentant and ascetic piety like that associated with David. Sadan has argued that M was written primarily as a set of sermons for Muslims, and secondarily as a polemic against Jews ('Some literary problems', pp. 384-88), but M also contains a critique of the People of the Book that seems to be directed especially at Christians: they fail to live by the principles of the Sermon on the Mount (MS Leiden, Leiden University – Or. 14.027, fols 142v-143r; MS Princeton – Garrett 108B, fol. 98r-v). O and P, and to a lesser extent S, have at times a more specifically anti-Christian character, echoing polemical themes from the Qur'an. First and foremost, however, these Psalms are part of an internal Muslim argument against worldliness and hypocrisy. They have more in common with Islamic sermons, wisdom literature, divine sayings, law, and Tales of the Prophets, than with the Psalms

they purport to rewrite. They are more like rewritten Qurʾan than rewritten Bible.

Nevertheless, these Islamic Psalms have a two-fold significance for Muslim-Christian relations. First, they draw upon sayings, stories and values that are shared by Muslims, Christians and Jews. Each author depends upon that common symbolic repertoire, and especially upon the shared figure of David and the idea of his Psalms, to lend the authority and rhetorical force of scripture to his own message. Second, because they are presented as *Psalms of David*, these texts assert and indeed embody the polemical claim that the Jewish and Christian scriptures are corrupt. An analysis of Psalm 2 in the Ṣūfī text suggests that the decision to frame this material in this implicitly polemical fashion was motivated in part by some external challenge to the Muslim community, most likely the Crusaders' conquest of Jerusalem. Today, however, these Islamic *Psalms of David* are not widely known, and do not appear to play any significant role in Muslim-Christian discussions of the corruption of scripture or any other topic.

MANUSCRIPTS

Most of the following manuscripts have not been studied, but are tentatively identified with specific texts and recensions based on a check of the first few Psalms, or on published excerpts and descriptions.

The Moses text (M):

MS Leiden, Leiden University – Or. 14.027, fols 141r-148v (1876; 30 Psalms, the basis for my description of M)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 5647 and 5681

MS Cairo, Taymūriyya – *diyānāt* 3 and 4

The Ṣūfī text (S):

MS Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana – Orient. Palat. 267 (Assem. XXVIII), 105 fols (1262; 154 Psalms, the basis for my description of S)

MS from Cairo described by Zwemer, 'Apocryphal Psalter' (present location unknown) – c. 108 fols (1759; 150 Psalms, with *isnād* from Wahb ibn Munabbih to Abū Walīd ibn Yūnus)

MS Berlin, State Library – Spr. 466, fols 33v-140 (1766; 137 Psalms, may represent a precursor to S)

The Orthodox text (O) (some of these may actually contain C):

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Fatih 28, 95 fols (1229; 118 Psalms plus conclusion, Arab League microfilm *Al-kutub al-samāwiyya* 36)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Damat İbrahim Paşa 5, 125 fols (1303; 157 Psalms)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Ayasofya 30, 47 fols

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Halet Efendi ve Eki 11, 26 fols (110 Psalms)

MS St Petersburg, National Public Library – 51, 72 fols (1609; 150 Psalms)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Hüsrev Paşa 4, fols 1-37

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Fatih 29, 120 fols

MS Mecca, Maktabat al-Ḥaram – 117 fols (1860; 148 Psalms, trans. ascribed to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib)

MS Leiden, Leiden University – Or. 6129, 85 fols (1917; 147 Psalms, copied from preceding MS, the basis for my description of O)

The Pious text (P):

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Hunt. 515, fols 5v-83r (1356; 143 Psalms, the basis for my description of P)

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Bodley Or. 429, 1v-64r (copy of Psalms 60-143 from preceding MS)

The Broken Pious recension (BP; some of these may actually contain BPM):

MS from Mosul described by Cheikho, 'Quelques légendes', p. 41 (present location unknown) – 90 pages (137 Psalms)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Hamidiye 14, 94 fols (1755)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Carullah 5, 155 fols

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Laleli 19, 125 fols (late, illuminated, ends with a short biography of David)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Laleli 20, 97 fols (similar to Laleli 19)

The Broken Pious with Moses recension (BPM):

MS Princeton, Princeton University Library – Garrett 108B, 118 fols (1672; 169 Psalms)

The second half of the Broken Pious with Moses recension (BPM2):

MS Jerusalem, Maqām Dāʾūd/Khizānat kutub al-Sayyid Ḥasan Ṣidqī l-Dujjānī (1738; described in Mukhliṣ, ʿAl-zabūr al-sharīf')

MS Jerusalem, al-Khālidiyya (modern copy of preceding MS)

MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye – 48/1 (some recension of P, probably BPM2)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Bağdatlı Vehbi 3 (some recension of P, probably BPM2)

Additional manuscripts of uncertain classification:

An additional MS from Cairo mentioned by Krarup, Auswahl, p. 3

MS Jerusalem, J. N. L. – Yahuda Ar. 261 (about 170 Psalms)

MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional – Al-zabūr al-munazzal ʿalā nabī Allāh Dāʾūd

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 760 and 1397

MS Cambridge, University Library – Add. 3256

There are doubtless many other manuscripts and perhaps other texts and recensions in existence, but they cannot always be identified from manuscript catalogues because they are often listed in the same way as ordinary Arabic translations of the biblical Psalms.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

L. Cheikho, 'Quelques légendes islamiques apocryphes', Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale 4 (1910) 33-56 (includes an edition of the first 18 Psalms of BP)

O.C. Krarup, Auswahl pseudo-Davidischer Psalmen, Copenhagen, 1909 (edition and German trans. of 19 Psalms selected from S)

Short excerpts are also included in some of the studies described below. There is no complete edition or translation of any version.

STUDIES

D. Vishanoff, 'An imagined book gets a new text: Psalms of the Muslim David', Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations 22 (2011) forthcoming

J. Sadan, 'Some literary problems concerning Judaism and Jewry in medieval Arabic sources', in M. Sharon (ed.), Studies in Islamic history and civilization, in honour of Professor David Ayalon, Jerusalem, 1986, 353-98 (see pp. 370-98, on M)

R.G. Khoury, Wahb b. Munabbih, Teil 1: Der Heidelberger Papyrus PSR Heid Arab 23, Leben und Werk des Dichters, Wiesbaden, 1972, pp. 258-63

ʿA.A. Mukhliṣ, 'Al-zabūr al-sharīf. Nuskha ukhrā minhu', *Majallat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī* 13 (1933) 341-42 (on Princeton MS of BPM)

ʿA.A. Mukhliṣ, 'Al-zabūr al-sharīf ', *Majallat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī* 12 (1932) 627-30 (principally on Jerusalem MS of BPM2)

[A.ʿA. al-Zayn,] 'Bayna Ṣīdāʾ wa-Makka' part 7, *Al-ʿIrfān* 8 no. 7 (1923) 481-91 (p. 491 is on Meccan MS of O)

S.M. Zwemer, 'A Moslem apocryphal Psalter', *MW* 5 (1915) 399-403 (on a MS of S)

Cheikho, 'Quelques légendes islamiques apocryphes'; trans., without Cheikho's partial edition of BP, by J. Spaeth as 'Some Moslem apocryphal legends', *MW* 2 (1912) 47-59

David R. Vishanoff

Ibn al-Jawzī

Abū l-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAlī ibn
Muḥammad ibn al-Jawzī

DATE OF BIRTH   1116
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   1200
PLACE OF DEATH   Baghdad

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn al-Jawzī was known as a historian, *qāḍī*, and preacher of the Ḥanbalī legal school. He started his career as a preacher in the Baghdad house of the Ḥanbalī leader Ibn Hubayra, and his stature quickly grew to the point where he was asked by the Caliph al-Mustanjid (r. 1160-70) to preach sermons in the palace mosque, denouncing schismatics, among others. He then became assistant to Abū l-Ḥakīm al-Nahrawānī, one of his teachers, at the Bāb al-Azaj and Maʾmūniyya madrasas. When al-Nahrawānī died in 1161, Ibn al-Jawzī became master of both. His influence in Baghdad increased greatly during the reign of the Caliph al-Mustaḍīʾ (r. 1170-80), a keen promoter of Ḥanbalism, and he was given a number of important tasks, including to write a piece for the caliph in celebration of Saladin's conquest of Egypt in 1171, and a number of important sermons, which were well received by the Baghdad populace. As a reward for this, the caliph built a special dais for him in the palace mosque, and he was allowed to carry out work against Shīʿīs in Baghdad.

By 1179, Ibn al-Jawzī was in charge of five madrasas, had written more than 150 books, was on good relations with the caliph and other members of the Baghdad hierarchy, and was responsible to a large extent for the spread of Ḥanbalī influence throughout the city. However, after al-Mustaḍīʾ's death in 1180, Ibn al-Jawzī's career waned somewhat, and he was less active, partly due to his age. In 1194 he was arrested, probably on the orders of the new Shīʿī vizier Ibn al-Qaṣṣāb, after he had written a book condemning the policies of the new caliph, al-Nāṣir, and he was sent to Wasiṭ. He remained there for five years, but soon after his return to Baghdad in 1200, he died.

Ibn al-Jawzī wrote over 200 works, almost all of them lost, though several important pieces survive, including a history of the caliphate entitled *Al-muntaẓam fī taʾrīkh al-mulūk wa-l-umam*, a history of Sufism called *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, a manual of *fiqh*, and a number of biographies.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl ʿalā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1953, i, pp. 399-434

Ibn Kathīr, *Al-bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, 14 vols, Cairo, 1932-39, xii, pp. 28-30

Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, 8 vols, Cairo, 1866/67, iv, pp. 329-30

Secondary

M.B. al-ʿAwf, *Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Jawzī wa-l-taṣawwuf al-Sunnī. Al-khilāf bayn al-fiqh wa-l-taṣawwuf fī l-qarn al-sādis al-hijrī*, Beirut, 2007

A.A.S.H. al-Ghazzūlī, *Ibn al-Jawzī. Al-imām al-murabbī, wa-l-wāʿiẓ al-balīgh wa-l-ʿālim al-mutafannin, 510-597*, Damascus, 2000

K.M.M. ʿUwayḍah, *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Jawzī. Shaykh al-zuhhād wa-imām al-wuʿʿāẓ*, Beirut, 1993

A.M. Naṣr, *Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Jawzī, 510 H-597 H. Ārāʾuhu l-kalāmiyya wa-l-akhlāqiyya*, Cairo, 1987

A. Hartmann, 'Les ambivalences d'un sermonnaire ḥanbalite. Ibn al-Ǧawzī (m. en 597/1201), sa carrière et son ouvrage autographe, le Kitāb al-Ḫawātīm', *Annales Islamologiques* 22 (1986) 51-115

M.L. Swartz, *Ibn al-Jawzi. A study of his life and work as a preacher*, New Haven CT, 1967 (Diss. University of Harvard)

A.H. al-ʿAlūjī, *Muʾallafāt Ibn al-Jawzī*, Baghdad, 1965

A.A.M.S. al-Ghumārī, *Al-adhkiyāʾ li-Ibn al-Jawzī*, Cairo, s.d.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Talbīs Iblīs, 'The devil's deception'

DATE   Late 1190s

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work is a lengthy discussion about the numerous ways in which Ibn al-Jawzī believes Satan deceives the members of various sects, those who practice rituals, and various types of people, including the

intelligent, the ignorant, observant Muslims, Shīʿīs, and followers of other religions. The number of people covered is deliberately so wide in order to ensure that no-one is omitted – that Satan deceives everybody. However, the main target are the Sufis, who are the subject of almost half of the work. Ibn al-Jawzī criticizes their dress, food, music and dancing.

The section in which Ibn al-Jawzī describes how Satan deludes Christians runs to a single page and shows the three ways in which he believes the delusion happens. First is their belief that God was a person, which is untenable because if God were a person He would be a substance and therefore limited. Second is the belief that Christ was God or the Son of God; if this were the case, how could he have needed food or not protected himself from the crucifixion? The final way in which Satan deceives Christians is in blinding them to the prophecies about Muḥammad in the Gospel, or by making them claim that he was sent only to the Arabs.

In addition to this main section, there are a few other occasions on which Ibn al-Jawzī shows Satan deceives Christians: by making them believe in anthropomorphism (though some Muslims also commit this error); by preventing them from thinking properly about religious issues and so blindly following their ancestors; and by making those Christians who want to become Muslims put off this action until death intervenes and they are consequently lost. Ibn al-Jawzī also suggests that the Devil uses Christians in deceiving Muslims, particularly when Christian military victories cause Muslim apostasy.

A point worth noting is that, in the early chapters of the work, Ibn al-Jawzī refers a number of times to the otherwise unknown Persian writer Yaḥyā ibn Bishr ibn ʿUmayr al-Nihāwandī as a source of details about the Dayṣānites, philosophers, Majūs and Indians. He says the copy of this author's work he consulted was made 220 years before his own time, placing it somewhere in the late 10th century, which may mean it was composed earlier in the same century. It was clearly a work in the *maqālāt* genre, and so would presumably have included accounts of Christians and their beliefs. These, however, could not have been extensive or original, at least in Ibn al-Jawzī's judgement, because he does not refer to Yaḥyā ibn Bishr for what he says about either Christians or Jews.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn al-Jawzī's interpretations of Christian errors suggest that he believed they were generally victims of, rather than actively in league with, Satan. This represents an unusual angle on Christians from a Muslim, differing from the accusations often levelled that they are of the devil.

MANUSCRIPTS

See Brockelmann, *GAL* S i, p. 918

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

A.E. al-Mubarak, *Dahsyatnya tipu muslihat iblis*, Kuala Lumpur, 2009 (Malay trans.)

N.K. Singh (ed.), *Talbīs Iblīs*, Delhi, 2008² (reissue of Margoliouth's trans.)

A.R. al-Muhdī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, Riyadh, 2000

K. Suhardi, *Jerat syaitan*, Kuala Lumpur, 2000 (Malay trans.)

M.A. al-Fāḍilī (ed.), *Talbīs Iblīs*, Beirut, 1999

K. Suhardi, *Perangkap syetan*, Jakarta, 1998 (Indonesian trans.)

M.H. Ismāʿīl and M.A. al-Saʿdanī (eds), *Talbīs Iblīs*, Beirut, 1998

A.A. Bilal-Philips, *Ibn al-Jawzee's The devil's deception*, Birmingham, 1996 (partial trans.)

A. Ṣāliḥ (ed.), *Talbīs Iblīs*, Cairo, 1995

I.F. al-Ḥarastānī and M.I. al-Zaghlī (eds), *Talbīs Iblīs*, Beirut, 1994

A.A. al-ʿAbbās (ed.), *Talbīs Iblīs*, Cairo, 1990

A.R.Z. Qarāguzlū, *Talbīs-i Iblīs*, Tehran, 1989/90 (Persian trans.)

S. al-Jumaylī (ed.), *Talbīs Iblīs*, Beirut, 1985

Talbīs Iblīs, Amman, 198-

K. ʿAlī, (ed.), *Talbīs Iblīs*, Beirut, 1970

D.S. Margoliouth, 'The Devil's delusion', *Islamic Culture* 9 (1935), pp. 1-21, 187-308, 377-99, 533-77; 10 (1936), pp. 20-39, 169-92, 339-68, 633-47; 11 (1937), pp. 267-73, 382-92, 529-33; 12 (1938), pp. 109-18, 235-40, 352-64, 447-58; 19 (1945), pp. 69-81, 171-88, 272-89, 376-83; 20 (1946), pp. 58-71, 181-90, 297-310, 408-22; 21 (1947), pp. 73-79, 174-83, 394-402; 22 (1948), pp. 188-91 (trans.)

Talbīs Iblīs, ed. M.A al-Khanjī and M.M. al-Dimashqī, Cairo, 1920 (repr. 1928, 1950)

Talbīs-i Iblīs, Delhi, 1905 (repr. Karachi, 1959; Urdu translation)

STUDIES

Y.K. ibn Tawfīq, *Al-nafīs fī takhrīj aḥādīth Talbīs Iblīs li-l-ḥāfiẓ Ibn al-Jawzī*, Cairo, 1994

K. Lewinstein, 'Notes on eastern Ḥanafite heresiography', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114 (1994) 583-98

M. Talbi, 'Les bida'', *Studia Islamica* 12 (1960) 43-77

Alex Mallett

Michael the Syrian

DATE OF BIRTH   1126
PLACE OF BIRTH   Malatya (Melitene)
DATE OF DEATH   7 November 1199
PLACE OF DEATH   Monastery of Mar Bar Ṣauwmō (near Malatya)

BIOGRAPHY

Michael the Syrian is the name under which this Syrian Orthodox church leader is generally known to the Western world, though in the Syriac tradition he is called Mikhaʾil Rabō, Michael the Great or Michael the Elder, Rabō being originally used, by Barhebraeus among others, to distinguish him from his namesake Michael II Zʿōrō ('the little', 'the younger'). The Syrians also called him Mikhaʾil d-Qindasī, after his family. He was son of the priest Elias in Melitene. He grew up in the Monastery of Bar Ṣauwmō, of which he was elected abbot in 1156. In 1165/66 he declined to succeed John of Mardin as metropolitan of that city, but one year later he was elected patriarch of the Syrian Orthodox Church and consecrated on 18 November 1166.

As patriarch, he initiated an important reform movement in administrative and canonical matters, such as the relationship between patriarch and synod, and issued regulations concerning the acquisition of episcopal dignity (non-simoniacal and without interference of worldly authorities). He built or restored several important monasteries and churches, including his main patriarchal residence Mar Barsaumō.

Michael made several pastoral journeys to Antioch, Jerusalem and many cities in northern Mesopotamia and Cilicia. His attempts at reform were opposed by some of the Syrian orthodox bishops, who elected his former disciple Theodore bar Wahbun anti-patriarch in 1180, thus creating a schism which only ended with Theodore's death in 1193. He entertained good relations with the crusader secular and ecclesiastical authorities and, generally speaking, with the Armenians, except for the period when the latter recognized the anti-patriarch Theodore.

Michael was highly valued by the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Comnenus, who invited him several times to Constantinople for

doctrinal discussions. However, he consistently declined, in the same way as he refused to attend the Third Lateran Council, to which he had been invited by the Latin Patriarch of Antioch. His refusal to accept these invitations is possibly motivated by his loyalty to the Muslim rulers who reigned over large parts of the territories where the Syrian Orthodox Church was established.

As well as his chronicle, he wrote several homilies, canons and shorter theological texts.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Michael's own chronicle

J.-B. Chabot, 'Discours de Jacques (Denys) Bar Salibî à l'intronisation du patriarche Michel le Syrien', *Journal Asiatique* 11 (1908) 87-103 (edition and French trans.)

Anonymi Auctoris chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens II, ed. J.-B. Chabot (*CSCO* 82), Louvain, 1953; French trans. (*CSCO* 354), Louvain, 1974

Kirakos of Gantzak, *Patmut'yun Hayots' (History of Armenia)*, ed. K. Melik'-Awhanjanyan, Yerevan, 1961; French trans. M. Bosset, *Deux histoires arméniennes Kirakos de Gantzac XIIIᵉ s.*, St Petersburg, 1870, pp. 78-79 (a brief remark about his presence at the coronation of the Armenian King Leo II in 1187)

Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon ecclesiasticum, ed. J.-B. Abbeloos and T.J. Lamy, vol. ii, Paris, 1874, vol. iii, Paris, 1877

Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Syriacum, ed. P. Bedjan, Paris, 1890; trans. E.W. Budge, *The chronography of Gregory Abu'l-Faraj, the son of Aaron, the Hebrew physician, commonly known as Barhebraeus*, Oxford, 1932

Secondary

W. Witakowski, 'Syriac historiographical sources', in M. Whitby (ed.), *Byzantines and crusaders in non-Greek sources 1025-1204*, Oxford, 2007, pp. 255-58

D. Weltecke, *Die 'Beschreibung der Zeiten' von Mōr Michael dem Grossen (1126-1199). Eine Studie zu ihrem historischen und historiographiegeschichtlichen Kontext* (*CSCO* 594), Louvain, 2003

H. Kaufhold, 'Zur syrischen Geschichte des 12. Jahrhunderts. Neue Quellen über Theodoros Bar Wahbûn', *Oriens Christianus* 74 (1993) 115-51

J. Tübach, art. 'Michael Syrus', in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexicon*, Herzberg, 1970-

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Maktbōnut Zabnē, Maktab Zabnē, 'Chronography'

DATE   Between 1195-96 and 7 November 1199
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Syriac

DESCRIPTION

Michael's work is a universal chronicle, beginning with the creation and ending three or two years before his own death. It is divided into 21 books and a number of appendices (for a survey, see Weltecke, pp. 127-28). The historiographical material is presented in three columns, the first on church history, the second secular history, and the third noteworthy occurrences ('incidents and miracles'; on this division, see Weltecke, pp. 163-78). Michael's chronicle is based on many earlier historiographical works, fragments of which are frequently quoted *verbatim*. These sources are mostly Greek and Syriac (among them Dionysius of Tell-Maḥrē [q.v.]), but Michael also consulted Muslim Arabic works, though without naming them. His Muslim sources include a lost Arabic work that was also known to Ibn al-Athīr, and in Book 14 an account on the history of the Turks (Witakowski, p. 259).

The chronicle has many important *lacunae* in Books 17 and 18, which can be partly filled in with the help of the ecclesiastical history of Gregory Barhebraeus, who used Michael's chronicle as one of his principal sources and frequently quoted him *verbatim*.

The last three books are observations and reflections about contemporary events.

SIGNIFICANCE

Michael's chronicle is one of the works that allows for a partial reconstruction of the *Chronicle* of Dionysius of Tell-Maḥrē (q.v.), especially the passages on Muḥammad and the beginnings of Islam.

Like Dionysius, Michael records a number of developments pertaining to Islamic history in general, sometimes interpreted from the perspective of the leader of the most important Christian community of Syria and eastern Anatolia. Thus, he not only mentions names and deeds of rulers (e.g. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn), local governors, generals and other political leaders, but also their attitude towards Christians in general or, more particularly, to his own community, as well as the practice

for Christian leaders to receive their 'diploma' from the hands of Muslim officials.

He describes a number of encounters (official, informal, juridical) between Muslims and Christians. Especially noteworthy is his encounter (Book 21) with the Seljuk Sultan Qilij Arslan II in Melitene, where Michael was allowed to explain his faith (probably the Trinity) on the basis of arguments from 'the Gospel and nature', possibly an allusion to the Trinitarian analogies often used as arguments by Christians in discussions with Muslims. About the contents of his conversations with the Persian philosopher Kamāl al-Dīn, who was working at the court of Qilij Arslan II, nothing is known except that they discussed interpretation of the scriptures. Another important encounter took place with one of the generals of the Zangid ruler Sayf al-Dīn of Mosul, in which Michael shows he is acquainted with the qur'ānic verse 'There is no constraint in religion' (Q 2:256); he uses this to show that princes are not allowed to settle matters of faith 'by the sword' (Book 20).

Like Dionysius, he gives information – contemporary, as an eyewitness, or based on older sources – on issues such as tax collection, apostasy, destruction and rebuilding of churches, raids and conquests, protection or persecution of Christians, and their social position.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Edessa (1598; Rahmani and Chabot (1899) are copies of this)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, s.l., s.n., 2006

Gregorius Ṣalībā Shem'un, *The general Chronicle of Michael the Syrian*, ed. Y. Ibrahim, Aleppo, 1996 (Arabic trans.)

J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, Paris, 1899-1924, vol. iv (Syriac text); vols i-iii (French trans.)

Zhamanakagrut'iwn ex yałags k'ahanut'ean teaŕn Mikayēli Asorwots' Patriark'i, Jerusalem, 1871 (Armenian trans.; partial French trans. E. Delaurier, 'Extrait de la chronique de Michel le Syrien, traduit de l'Arménien', in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniens*, 2 vols, Paris, 1869-1906, i, pp. 309-409

Teaŕn Mihkayēli Patrark'i Asorwoy Zhamanakagrut'iwn, Jerusalem, 1870 (Armenian trans.; French trans. of one of the MSS used for this edition, V. Langlois, *Chronique de Michel le Grand, patriarche des Syriens jacobites*, Venice, 1868, pp. 281-361)

STUDIES

W. Witakowski, 'Syriac historiographical sources', in Whitby, *Byzantines and crusaders in non-Greek sources*, 253-82 (with extensive bibliography)

T. Greenwood, 'Armenian sources', in Whitby, *Byzantines and crusaders in non-Greek sources*, 221-52, particularly pp. 244-45

J. van Ginkel, 'Michael the Syrian and his sources. Reflections on the methodology of Michael the Great as a historiographer and its implications for modern historians', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 6 (2006) 53-60

J.J. van Ginkel, 'The perception and presentation of the Arab conquest in Syriac historiography. How did the changing social position of the Syrian orthodox community influence the account of their historiographers?', in E. Grypeou, M. Swanson and D. Thomas (eds), *The encounter of Eastern Christianity with early Islam*, Leiden, 2006, 171-84

Weltecke, *Die 'Beschreibung der Zeiten'*

H. Suermann, 'The Turks in Michael the Syrian', *The Harp* 5 (1991) 39-51

Memrō

DATE   Between 1159 and 1199
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Syriac

DESCRIPTION

This poem, which is no longer extant, was about the steadfastness of a Syrian Orthodox girl who resisted pressure exerted by Muslim doctors from Mosul to convert to Islam, and also about a Maphrian who was put into jail by the Muslims for his principled attitude in matters of religion.

Information about this poem and its contents is given by Barhebraeus, in *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, ed. J.-B. Abbeloos and T.J. Lamy, 3 vols, Louvain, 1872-77, iii, pp. 347-52. Dionysius bar Salibi (q.v.) also wrote two poems on the same theme.

SIGNIFICANCE

At the least, the poem attests to continuing resentment between Muslims and Christians, and to the difficulties Christians might easily

encounter in Muslim company, where religious differences could lead to religious discrimination or worse.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

Herman G.B. Teule

Glossarium latino-arabicum

BIOGRAPHY

No biographical data survive.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The only known work of this author, the *Glossarium latino-arabicum*, offers no meaningful factual information on his life. But as van Koningsveld has thoroughly shown, its contents and composition indicate that he was a learned Mozarab who designed this lexicon to assist other Mozarabs, whose language had for long been Arabic, in acquiring a knowledge of Latin.

Secondary

By far the most important study of this author is van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic glossary*, esp. pp. 64-66. For the abundant early modern and 19th- and 20th-century literature on the *Glossarium*, see van Koningsveld, pp. 16-21.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Glossarium latino-arabicum, 'Latin-Arabic glossary'

DATE   Van Koningsveld's argument that this lexicon dates to the 12th century is persuasive.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Five hundred and sixty-six pages long in the only modern edition, the *Glossarium latino-arabicum* is a lexicon devised for Mozarabs educated in Arabic to study Latin, the ancestral and ecclesiastical language of Arabic-speaking Christians of al-Andalus. This is apparent from the fact that the entries consist of a list of Latin words which are then explained or defined in Arabic, the Latin words appearing in alphabetical order, indicating that it was intended for people who wanted to look up the meaning of the Latin rather the Arabic

words. Moreover, as van Koningsveld has shown, the Latin entries themselves derive in substantial part from an older Latin-Latin glossary, 'a descendent of the well-known *Liber glossarum*', so that, in effect, the *Glossarium latino-arabicum* amounts to an enormous alphabetized list of Latin words, which are often glossed first in Latin itself, and then glossed in Arabic (Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic glossary*, p. 65). Van Koningsveld has also shown that the author drew lexical data from a Latin manuscript of Isidore's *Etymologiae* (now MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional – 15.8), as well as Arabic versions of the Gospels, Epistles, and parts of the Hebrew Bible.

SIGNIFICANCE

By its very character, the *Glossarium* sheds fascinating light on the linguistic and intellectual history of the Mozarabs in the 12th century. Having assimilated over many generations to the Arab-Islamic milieu of their rulers (adopting Arabic as their cultural language, taking Arabic names), and then having abandoned Almohad al-Andalus, they now largely lived in and around Toledo, which had been under Latin-Christian rule since 1085. This new religious-political situation necessarily forced them to re-immerse themselves in Latin culture, and the *Glossarium* was an important tool in this process. Other contemporary sources also provide evidence of this appropriation of contemporary Latin-Christian culture (see Burman, *Religious polemic*, pp. 157-89). The *Glossarium* also provides important information about the Mozabic dialect of Arabic (see Corriente, *El léxico árabe estándar*).

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Leiden, University Library – Cod. Or. 231 (12th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

F. Seybold (ed.), *Glossarium latino-arabicum ex unico qui exstat codice Leidensi undecimo saeculo in Hispania conscripto*, Berlin, 1900 (*Ergänzungsheft zur Zeitschrift für Assyriologie; Semitistische Studien* 15-17). For an excellent critique of this edition, see van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic glossary*, pp. 16-21.

STUDIES

R. Kruk, 'Of rukhs and rooks, camels and castles', *Oriens* 36 (2001) 288-298, pp. 291, 297

E. García and M. Lucas, 'Les traités de "Hisba" andalous. Un exemple de matière médicale et botanique populaires', *Arabica* 44 (1997)76-93, pp. 83, 86

T. Burman, *Religious polemic and the intellectual history of the Mozarabs, c. 1050-1200*, Leiden, 1994, see index

F. Corriente, *El léxico árabe estándar y andalusí del 'Glosario de Leiden'*, Madrid, 1991

P.S. van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic glossary of the Leiden University Library. A contribution to the study of Mozarabic manuscripts and literature*, Leiden, 1977 (this provides an exhaustive account of previous scholarly literature on the *Glossarium*, from the 16th century onwards, pp. 6-16)

P.S. van Koningsveld, 'Psalm 150 of the translation by Ḥafṣ ibn Albar al-Qūtī (fl. 889 A.D. [?]) in the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* of the Leyden University Library', *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 29 (1972) 277-80

Thomas E. Burman

Aghushtīn

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; fl. 12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

This author appears to have been a Mozarabic priest or bishop living in al-Andalus, perhaps in the 12th century. He was certainly not Augustine of Hippo, as the treatise which preserves portions of his only known work assumes.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

This author's only known work, *Muṣḥaf al-ʿālam al-kāʾin*, is preserved in the refutation of Christianity by a certain al-Imām al-Qurṭubī (q.v.), *Al-iʿlām bi-mā fī dīn al-Naṣārā min al-fasād wa-awhām wa-iẓhār maḥāsin dīn al-Islām*. All that is known about the author appears in the sections of this work where he is mentioned or where his *Muṣḥaf al-ʿālam al-kāʾin* is quoted (pp. 57-58, 69, 81-83, 86, 110, 126, 128, 143-48, 156).

Secondary

T. Burman, *Religious polemic and the intellectual history of the Mozarabs, c. 1050-1200*, Leiden, 1994, pp. 80-84

P. Devillard, *Thèse sur al-Qurtubī*, 3 vols (unnumbered), Aix-en-Provence, 1969 (Diss. University et Aix-en-Provence), introduction, pp. 5-6, 9, 15-18, 78-80

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Muṣḥaf al-ʿālam al-kāʾin, 'The book of the world that is'

DATE   12th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

There are a number of references to Aghushtīn's ideas in al-Qurṭubī's anti-Christian treatise, but the quotations of his work add up to no more than half a dozen pages of the modern edition. There are, in fact, only two extensive quotations from it. In the first (pp. 81-83) he argues that God possesses the attributes of power, knowledge and will (here adopting a triad of attributes originally devised by Abelard and widespread in 12th-century Latin thought) which, unlike the other attributes often attributed to God, are eternally existing in God. These three attributes correspond to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, and therefore God can be demonstrated to be a Trinity by reason alone. In the second substantial fragment (pp. 143-47), he argues that the Qurʾan suggests the possibility of Incarnation when it recounts the conversation between God and Moses through the burning bush. The parallels between these arguments and those of the contemporary Mozarabic *Tathlīth al-waḥdāniyya* are striking. Parallels with earlier Arab-Christian works are obvious too, demonstrating the importance of Eastern models for this author (see Burman, *Religious polemic*, pp. 100, 104, 118, 166-68, 171, 174).

SIGNIFICANCE

This work and the *Tathlīth al-waḥdāniyya*, which is probably contemporary, are evidence of the vitality of Mozarabic thought in the 12th century, and of the influences on it of both contemporary Latin-Christian theology, especially the ideas of Abelard, and earlier Arab-Christian thought.

MANUSCRIPTS

    MS Istanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi – 794b (1474-75)
    MS Istanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi – 814 (date unknown)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

    Muṣḥaf al-ʿālam al-kāʾin is preserved fragmentarily in al-Imām al-Qurṭubī, *Al-iʿlām bi-mā fī dīn al-Naṣārā min al-fasād wa-awhām wa-iẓhār maḥāsin dīn al-Islām wa-ithbāt nubuwwat nabiyyinā Muḥammad ʿalayhi l-ṣalāt wa-l-salām*, ed. A. Hijāzī al-Saqqā, Cairo, 1980, pp. 57-58, 69, 81-83, 86, 110, 126, 128, 143-48, 156.

The first two parts of al-Qurṭubi's *Al-iʿlām* have been edited by P. Devillard, (in three volumes, one containing an introduction, another the edition of the first two parts of al-Qurṭubī's work, and another containing a French translation of the edited text), 1969.

STUDIES

Burman, *Religious polemic and the intellectual history of the Mozarabs*, pp. 80-84, 100, 117-18, 166-89, 202-4

P.S. van Koningsveld, 'La apologia de al-Kindī en la España del siglo XII. Huellas toledanas de un "animal disputax"', in *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la reconquista de Toledo. Actas del II Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes (Toledo, 20-26 Mayo 1983)*, 3 vols, Toledo, 1986-92, iii, 107-29, p. 125, n. 38

Devillard, *Thèse sur al-Qurtubī*, introduction, pp. 5-6, 9, 15-18, 78-80

J.P. Monferrer Sala, 'Aguštīn', in *Enciclopédico de al-Andalus*

Thomas E. Burman

'The polemicist from the West'

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown; the Maghrib
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown; possibly 12th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown; probably the Maghrib

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about the author of the work that is referred to by Ḥajjī Khalīfa simply as *Kitāb li-baʿḍ al-Maghāriba*, 'the book of one of the people from the West'. It is included in a list of refutations of Christianity under the heading *Radd al-Naṣārā* (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, col. 838). The fact that it is listed among refutations by such luminaries as al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Bāqillānī, ʿAbd al-Jabbār and al-Juwaynī indicates that it, and presumably its author, were well-known to Ḥajjī Khalīfa and his audience.

Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, p. 161, places this unidentified author in the 12th century, on the assumption that the list of polemicists given by Ḥajjī Khalīfa in which his name appears is chronological. This must, however, remain an unresolved issue in view of the fact that in the Istanbul edition of the *Kashf* two of these names appear as al-Ṭurṭūsī and Ibn ʿAwf, while in the Leipzig edition (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, iii, p. 353) they are given as al-Ṭarsūsī and Ibn ʿŪdh/ʿAwdh, making it risky to identify them with precision.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn*, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1941-43
Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn*, ed.G. Flügel, 7 vols, 1835-58

Secondary
M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache*, Leipzig, 1877

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

[Radd al-Naṣārā], Refutation of the Christians

DATE   Unknown, possibly 12th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION
Nothing is known about the work, except the title (or maybe only the genre) as given by Ḥajjī Khalīfa. It can be assumed that it included arguments of a relatively traditional kind, against Christian doctrines and scriptural falsification, and also possibly defenses of the prophethood of Muḥammad.

SIGNIFICANCE
The work attests to the continuing interest in Christian beliefs, if only to strengthen the teachings of Islam by showing that alternatives to them were in error. If originating in al-Andalus (though there is no reason to link it specifically with this part of the Maghrib), it may well have been written in the context of successive encroachments into Muslim territory from the north and the need to remind both Muslims and client Christians of the deficiencies in Christian teachings.

MANUSCRIPTS   —
EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —
STUDIES   —

David Thomas

Naṣr ibn Yaḥyā

Naṣr ibn Yaḥyā ibn ʿĪsā ibn Saʿīd al-Mutaṭabbib
al-Muhtadī

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; late 11th or early 12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Basra
DATE OF DEATH   September 1193 or possibly 1163
PLACE OF DEATH   Basra

BIOGRAPHY

In the opening of *Al-naṣīḥa al-īmāniyya* the author refers to himself
as Naṣr ibn Yaḥyā ibn ʿĪsā ibn Saʿīd al-Mutaṭabbib (p. 48). The work
also reveals that he was a Christian doctor who later converted to
Islam. In classical biographical dictionaries, however, one can detect
hardly any information about a Christian doctor called Naṣr ibn
Yaḥyā. Despite the confusion concerning the identity of this author
(see Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, pp. 105-6),
recent scholarship has tentatively identified him as Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā,
suggesting that in the biographical sources the first name was mis-
spelled as Yaḥyā instead of Naṣr (see Sharqāwī's introduction to his
critical edition of *Al-naṣīḥā*, pp. 17-18).

Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd, known as Ibn Mārī al-Masīḥī is described
as a Christian doctor from Basra by his biographers, with the excep-
tion of Ibn Taghrībirdī, who calls him ʿal-Baghdādī' (*Al-nujūm*, p.
346). Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā was also a man of letters, an author, poet,
linguist and grammarian, as well as being distinguished in the sci-
ence of the ancients (*ʿilm al-awāʾil*). In the field of literature, he was
known for his *Al-maqāmāt al-sittīn*, in which he attempted to imitate
al-Ḥarīrī. Most of his biographers record that he died in Ramadan 589
(September 1193), while Ibn Taghrībirdī (*Al-nujūm*, p. 346) and Ibn
al-ʿImād (*Shadharāt*, p. 185) suggest that he died in 558/1163.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ, aw: Irshād al-arīb ilā maʿrifat al-adīb*,
    6 vols, Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya, 1991-94, v, pp. 637-38

Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Kitāb ikhbār al-ʿulamāʾ bi-akhbār al-ḥukamāʾ*, [Cairo]: Maṭbaʿat al-saʿāda, 1326 AH [1908], p. 236

Al-Zawzanī, *al-Muntakhabāt al-multaqaṭāt min Kitāb ikhbār al-ʿulamāʾ bi-akhbār al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 320-21

Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-nujūm al-ẓāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, ed. M.Ḥ. Shams al-Dīn, 16 vols, Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya, 1992, v, p. 346

Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, 8 vols, Cairo: Maktabat al-qudsī, 1350 AH [1931], iv, p. 185

Aḥmad ʿĪsā, *Muʿjam al-aṭibbāʾ. Min sanat 650 h. ilā yawminā hādhā (Dhayl ʿuyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ li-Ibn Abī ʿUṣaybiʿa)*, [Cairo]: Maṭbaʿat Fatḥ Allāh Ilyās Nūrī wa-awlādihi, 1942, pp. 517-18

Secondary
Y.I. Sarkīs, *Muʿjam al-maṭbūʿāt al-ʿarabiyya wa-l-muʿarraba*, [Cairo]: Maṭbaʿat Sarkīs, 1928, p. 1858

Brockelmann, *GAL* S ii, p. 145

M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache, zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden, nebst Anhängen verwandten Inhalts*, Leipzig, 1877, pp. 105-6

I.B. al-Bābānī al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn asmāʾ al-muʾallifīn wa-āthār al-muṣannifīn*, ed. K.R. Bilge and I.M.K. İnal, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1951-55, ii, p. 492

Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn*, ed. Ş. Yaltkaya and K.R. Bilge, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1941-43, ii, pp. 1957-58

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-naṣīḥa l-imāniyya fī faḍīḥat al-milla l-Naṣrāniyya, 'Faithful counsel concerning the ignominy of the Christian religion'

DATE   Unknown; mid or late 12th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work is an example of a convert's assessment and critique of his former religion, penned as an act of gratitude to God for granting him the opportunity to find the true path.

The book comprises four chapters covering various topics concerning Muslim-Christian relations, entitled respectively: on the Christian sects and doctrines; Christian claims, incoherencies in theology,

and differences of opinion; the miracles of Jesus, the Christian claim regarding the divinity of Jesus and the miracles of other prophets; biblical prophecies concerning the prophethood of Muḥammad.

The text examines and criticizes varying Trinitarian and Christological formulas and views as represented by three Christian denominations: Melkites, Jacobites and Nestorians. In addition to attacking the doctrinal contentions related to the Trinity and Incarnation, the author vehemently rejects the Christian veneration of the cross, the use of icons and the eucharist (ed. al-Sharqāwī, pp. 56-77; see also Sepmeijer, *Een weerlegging*, pp. 125-31).

Focusing on the allegorical meaning of the title 'Son of God', the author suggests, like many other Muslim authors writing on Christianity, that Jesus never claimed to be divine and that he is no different from other prophets (ed. al-Sharqāwī, pp. 78-103; see also Sepmeijer, *Een weerlegging*, pp. 131-43). Moreover, there is no difference between his miracles and those of the other prophets, and none of them was declared divine. The Gospel itself reveals Jesus' humanity and prophethood, but instead of following the teachings given there, Christians have introduced innovations, which have ultimately led them to polytheism (*shirk*), error (*ḍalāl*) and unbelief (*kufr*). Furthermore, the Trinity equals tritheism (ed. al-Sharqāwī, pp. 104-37; see also Sepmeijer, *Een weerlegging*, pp. 143-62).

Finally, the last chapter focuses on biblical predictions concerning the coming of the Prophet Muḥammad. Examining various passages, the author shows how Moses and Isaiah, as well as Jesus, all brought good tidings concerning his prophetic ministry (ed. al-Sharqāwī, pp. 138-50; see also Sepmeijer, *Een weerlegging*, pp. 162-67).

As demonstrated by Sepmeijer's careful study, the author incorporates into his treatise the entire work of al-Ḥasan ibn Ayyūb (q.v.), the 10th-century Christian convert to Islam, which is preserved in Ibn Taymiyya's *Al-jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ*. Not only the contents of *Al-naṣīḥa*, but also its structure and even the titles of the chapters are completely identical to those of al-Ḥasan ibn Ayyūb's *Risāla* (see Sepmeijer's *Een weerlegging*, where he reconstructs Ibn Ayyūb's work relying on Ibn Taymiyya's *Al-jawāb* and Naṣr ibn Yaḥyā's *Al-naṣīḥa*).

Moreover, as Sharqāwī points out, one may also find many parallels between *Al-naṣīḥa* and ʿAbd al-Jabbār's (q.v.) exposition and refutation of Christianity in his *Tathbīt* as well as his *Mughnī*. These similarities may lead one to conclude that both Naṣr ibn Yaḥyā and ʿAbd al-Jabbār benefited from ʿAlī l-Ṭabarī's *Kitāb al-dīn wa-l-dawla*

and *Radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā*, or else that Naṣr ibn Yaḥyā may have quoted from ʿAbd al-Jabbār who had had access to ʿAlī l-Ṭabarī's work (see Sharqāwī's introduction to *Al-naṣīḥā*, pp. 30-31).

SIGNIFICANCE

Although the entire work is built upon a substantial number of quotations from an earlier source without any acknowledgment, its significance lies in the fact that it represents another contribution to the genre of polemical writing by religious converts, intended to offer justification for their conversion and to refute their former beliefs.

The existence of a great number of manuscripts of the work, as well as the copy owned by the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, all attest to the repute this work has enjoyed among its Muslim readership, both the commonality and the elite.

MANUSCRIPTS

> MS Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library – Ahmed III Kit. 1883, 92 fols (probably copied sometime between 1494 and 1566, during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, for his private library; possibly the oldest surviving manuscript)
> MS Amsterdam, Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences – Oriental Manuscripts, Acad. 7, 101 fols (1579)
> MS Istanbul, Köprülü – Ahmed Paşa 158, 36 fols (possibly 1585 or earlier)
> MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – 2208, 28 fols (c. 1591)
> MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Reisülküttab 586, 220r-231v (most probably 1703)
> MS Tokyo, University of Tokyo, Institute of Oriental Culture – Daiber Collection MS 65 [134], 47 fols (possibly 18th century)
> MS Princeton, Princeton University Library – Garrett Collection of Arabic Manuscripts 1537 (305L), 60 fols (1861)
> MS Cairo, Khudaywiyya Library – 325/16405 (1877)
> MS Princeton, Princeton University Library – Garrett Collection of Arabic Manuscripts 1538 (975H), 24 fols (1880)
> MS New Haven, Yale University Library – 1062 (L-35), fols 13-36 (1880)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

> Naṣr ibn Yaḥyā ibn ʿĪsā ibn Saʿīd al-Mutaṭabbib, *Al-naṣīḥa l-īmāniyya fī faḍīḥat al-milla l-Naṣrāniyya*, ed. M.ʿA.-A. al-Sharqāwī, Cairo: Dār al-ṣaḥwa, 1986

Naṣr ibn Yaḥyā ibn ʿĪsā ibn Saʿīd al-Mutaṭabbib, *Al-naṣīḥa l-īmāniyya fī faḍīḥat al-milla l-Naṣrāniyya*, Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-ʿāṣima, 1312 AH (1894; apparently a very poor edition)

STUDIES

H. Lazarus-Yafeh, 'Some neglected aspects of medieval Muslim polemics against Christianity', *Harvard Theological Review* 89 (1996) 61-84, pp. 75, 78

F. Sepmeijer, *Een weerlegging van het Christendom uit de 10e eeuw. De brief van al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb aan zijn broer ʿAli, Kampen*, 1985 (Diss. Free University of Amsterdam)

Lejla Demiri

Muḥyī l-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī

Muḥyī l-Dīn al-ʿAjamī al-Iṣfahānī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; possibly Iṣfahān
DATE OF DEATH Possibly 12th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

We have little information about this author, who is called *shaykh* and *imām*. On account of his outspoken preference for the West Syrian doctrine on the Incarnation against the position of the other Christian communities, he must have belonged to the West Syrian (Jacobite) community, though Sbath and Graf (but the latter also refers to his 'monophysite' convictions) tend to consider him rather as an East Syrian author on account of his presumed Persian origins. As for his dates, he knew the work of Iliyyā of Nisibis (d. 1046 [q.v.]; see Samir, 'Muḥyî ad-Dîn', p. 226), while one of his works is preserved in a manuscript of 1310 (Troupeau, *Catalogue*, i, pp. 169-71), so he must have lived between these two times.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Ashraf al-ḥadīth fī sharafay al-tawḥīd wa-l-tathlīth*, ed. Allard and Troupeau (see below), pp. 31-32, 52

Secondary
[S.]K. Samir, 'Muḥyî ad-Dîn al-ʿAǧamî al-Iṣfahânî', in 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976) 201-42, pp. 226-27
G. Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes. Première partie, Manuscrits chrétiens*, 2 vols, Paris, 1972-74, i, pp. 169-71
Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 157 and 259
L. Cheikho, 'Catalogue raisonnée des manuscrits de la Biblitothèque Orientale', *Mélanges de l'Université St-Joseph* 14 (1929), 385-440, no. 47

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ashraf al-ḥadīth fī sharafay al-tawḥīd wa-l-tathlīth, 'The noblest speech about the noble [doctrines of God's] Unity and Trinity'

DATE   Possibly 12th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work is divided into six chapters, dealing with the Trinity (chs 1-3) and Incarnation (chs 4-6).

In the Trinitarian part, the author first (ch. 1) discusses the various meanings of the term *uqnūm*, 'hypostasis', as used by Christian theologians. In ch. 2, he presents brief refutations of each of these various meanings, and in ch. 3 explains his own view, which according to Allard and Troupeau emphasizes God's unicity while his Trinitarian aspect amounts *de facto* to a form of modalism, the distinction into hypostases being a reality only in the human mind rather than in the divine substance itself.

In chs 4-6, the author explains the Christological views and terminology of the three main Christian communities: Melkites, Nestorians, and Jacobites. Some formulations seem to echo questions of Muslim scholars.

The work, which betrays influences from Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī, seems to have been written for an unidentified Muslim reader.

SIGNIFICANCE

This treatise is a clear example of the way Christians tried to explain their belief in the Trinity and Incarnation in philosophical terms that were common to themselves and Muslims.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Leiden, University Library – Or. 1290, pp. 286-336 (15th century)
MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 668 (19th century; 15 pages)
MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 669, pp. 57-68 (19th century)
MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 4786, f. 99 (19th century; fragment)
MS Aleppo, Rūfāʾīl Rabbāṭ Collection (inaccessible MS in private collection; see Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 63, no. 512)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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Troupeau, *Catalogue*, ii, p. 36 (on MS 4786, no. 8)

Allard and Troupeau, *Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī*, Introduction, pp. ix-xxi

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 157, 259

Cheikho, 'Catalogue raisonnée', no. 47

Kalām fī l-ʿaql wa-l-ʿāqil wa-l-maʿqūl, 'Discourse on the Intellect, the Intelligent, and the Intelligible'

DATE   Possibly 12th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This is a short treatise that attempts to demonstrate, following two ways of argumentation, that the Creator and 'God of the world' is 'intellect, intelligent, and intelligible'. The author uses a terminology that he probably borrowed from Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī, who employed it in a philosophical demonstration of the Trinity. Although the recipient of this treatise is not mentioned, it seems that the author had a Muslim reader in mind.

SIGNIFICANCE

This short treatise provides an example of an attempt to explain the concept of the Trinity with the help of philosophical categories that would be familiar to both Christians and Muslims.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 202, fols 36v-37v (1310)

MS Aleppo, Qusṭanṭīn Khuḍarī Collection (inaccessible MS in private collection, lost; see Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 63, no. 513)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

> Allard and Troupeau, *Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī*, pp. 55-61 (edition on the basis of the Paris MS, with French trans.)

STUDIES

> Samir, 'Muḥyî ad-Dîn al-ʿAğamî al-Iṣfahânî', p. 227
> Troupeau, *Catalogue*, i, pp. 169-71 (MS 202, no. 4)
> Allard and Troupeau, *Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī*, Introduction, p. xiii
> Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 159, 259

Risāla ilā aḥad fuqahāʾ al-muslimīn, 'Epistle to a Muslim legal scholar'

DATE   Possibly 12th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

According to Sbath (*Fihris* i, p. 63), this treatise is a refutation of Islam. There is no way of knowing more about it until the MS should become accessible.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is not possible to say what the significance of the work is.

MANUSCRIPTS

> MS Aleppo, Qusṭanṭīn Khuḍarī Collection (inaccessible MS in private collection, lost; see Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 63, no. 514)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —
STUDIES   —

Herman G.B. Teule

Tomos

Unknown author

DESCRIPTION

The *Tomos* (a decree of a religious character made with the participation and confirmation of the imperial power) is no more than one and a half pages long (61 lines) in Darrouzès' edition. It was the result of a religious controversy in which the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143-80) opposed the clergy led by the patriarch of Constantinople, Theodosius Boradiotes, in April 1180.

In order to become Christians, Muslims had to abjure their faith, pronouncing 22 anathemata (see the entry on 'Ritual of abjuration' in *CMR* 1). In the last of these, the prospective convert had to condemn Allāh, as defined by a Greek version of Q 112, 'And furthermore, I anathematize the God of Mahomet, of whom he says: He is the one God, *holosphyros*, who neither begat nor was begotten, and no one has been made like him'. One of the controversial points was the translation of the Arabic *al-Ṣamad* (a *hapax* of the Qur'an, translated by Arberry as 'the Everlasting Refuge') as *holosphyros* ('made of solid beaten metal', i.e. 'solid', 'compact'), which is earlier found in Nicetas of Byzantium (q.v.). The Arabic term, which perhaps underlines the absolute singleness of God as opposed to the Trinitarian Christian God, was interpreted in a distorting manner by Nicetas and other Byzantine polemicists (see e.g. Sahas, 'Holosphyros', pp. 110-14).

In the *Tomos* it is said that Muslim converts were uneasy about condemning God in this way, not being aware that a god *holosphyros* is not God, and therefore the Emperor Manuel I Comnenus proposed in a long letter (*graphē*) to the synod that Anathema 22 be abandoned, so avoiding offense against the true God. The synod agreed to replace this anathema with a harsh condemnation of Muḥammad and his doctrines (ll. 41-54).

The main source of information about this dispute, apart from the *Tomos* itself, is Nicetas Choniates (c. 1155-1217) (q.v.), both in his *History* (*Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, pp. 213-20) and in his *Panoplia*

dogmatikē, Book XXVI (still unpublished, but partly given by van Dieten in his *apparatus criticus* to the *Historia*). Nicetas narrates the whole background of the dispute, which is otherwise unknown because all the other items of the dossier are lost.

From his *Panoplia* (see the *apparatus* to the *Historia*, p. 213) we learn that the problem of Anathema 22 was raised by an important Turkish emir, Ḥasan, adoptive son of a certain Gabras. The phases of the dispute may be summarized as follows, according to the *Historia*: The emperor composes a first *Tomos*, but the patriarch opposes it; a new, shorter *Tomos*, accompanied by a letter to the patriarch and the clergy, is presented by an envoy of the emperor to the delegates of the synod, who approve it, though Bishop Eustathius of Thessaloniki reacts harshly; the next day the whole synod rejects it; corrections are made and the synod approves a new version of the *Tomos* in which the anathema is replaced by a new version against Muḥammad and his teachings. According to Nicetas, the dispute ended in May (1180). Of all these documents, only the *Tomos* that concludes the dispute is preserved, dated April 1180 (in a 14th-century copy; the original had the signatures of the members of the synod and of the emperor).

It should be noted that the first edition of Grumel's *Regestes* (1947), based on Nicetas' narrative, was not correctly updated after the publication of the *Tomos* by Darrouzès; therefore the revised edition (Grumel-Darrouzès, *Regestes*, n. 1153) continues to give the text as 'lost' and dates the *Tomos* to 'May 1180' (correct dating in Dölger and Wirth, *Regesten*, n. 1534d). Most of the bibliography that deals with the dispute ignores the *Tomos* (e.g. Hanson, 'Manuel'; Sahas, 'Holosphyros'; Magoulias, 'Disputes'). The best treatment of the *Tomos* is in Darrouzès, *Tomos*, pp. 187-93.

SIGNIFICANCE

The dispute can be considered as arising from an attempt by an open-minded emperor (perhaps also influenced by political motives) to respond to the requests of his Muslim subjects who wished to become Christians. Alternatively, when it is remembered that the Ritual of Abjuration (q.v.) contained another 21 very harsh anathemata against Islam, and Anathema 22 was replaced by a condemnation of Muḥammad and his teachings, the importance of this gesture may have been minimal. Yet, the core of the question is that to condemn not only the beliefs of Muḥammad but also 'the God of Muḥammad', 'seemed to imply that Christians and Moslems did not, in fact, believe

in one and the same God' (Meyendorff, 'Byzantine views', p. 124). Manuel aimed to avoid such an extreme position.

The term *holosphyros* of Sūra 112 was certainly one of the elements in the dispute, but apparently there was no real interest in clarifying the meaning of this epithet and of the notion of God that it implied; nor were Arab sources or different Greek translations consulted.

Finally, the decision to eliminate Anathema 22 and to introduce a new one had no practical effect, as no manuscript registers the substitution of this new anathema for the original.

This dispute testifies to the diffusion of conversions from Islam to Christianity in the Comnenian period, when the Byzantine Empire regained some of its political, military and economic power, and set up significant resistance against the Seljuk Turks of Anatolia.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery – Gr. 1117, fol. 334rv (14th century; see Benešević, *Catalogus*, no. 482, pp. 266-93 [p. 287])

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Niccolò Zorzi

Usāma ibn Munqidh

Usāma ibn Murshid ibn ʿAlī

DATE OF BIRTH   1095
PLACE OF BIRTH   Shayzar
DATE OF DEATH   16 November 1188
PLACE OF DEATH   Damascus

BIOGRAPHY

Usāma is the best known of the Banū Munqidh clan of Shayzar. He lived in the town from his birth until 1131, when he joined the ruler Zangī at Aleppo and, due to a family dispute over the succession, returned only once, the occasion of his father's death and also the siege of the town by the Byzantine Emperor John Comnenus in 1138. After leaving Shayzar for the last time, he eschewed returning to Zangī's service, instead opting to enter the entourage of Muʿīn al-Dīn Unur of Damascus, for whom he visited crusader Jerusalem on a number of occasions. However, intrigue took its toll on Usāma, and he was forced to leave Damascus for Cairo in 1144.

In Egypt, Usāma became an envoy for the Fatimids to Nūr al-Dīn, Zangī's son, but was soon accused of complicity in a plot against the Caliph al-Ẓāfir and was forced to flee in 1154. He came to Damascus again, which Nūr al-Dīn had recently taken, and entered into his service for a period of ten years. Following this, he moved to the court of Qara Arslān, the Artuqid ruler of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, and started his copious writings. Most of them are lost, although those extant include his *diwān* and a book on staffs (*Kitāb al-ʿaṣā*). In 1184, he was invited and moved to Saladin's court, again in Damascus, where he stayed until his death, though he quickly fell out of favor. During this time, he continued his writings, and his sayings, which form the *Kitāb al-iʿtibār*, were pronounced.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
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Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt al-aʿyān*, i, 195-99

Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, ed. D. Margoliouth, 7 vols, Cairo, 1907-27, ii, 173-97

Ibn ʿAsākir, *Al-taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, ed. A. Badrān, 7 vols, Damascus, 1927, ii, 400-4

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Secondary

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J. Ālūsī, *Usāma ibn Munqidh, baṭal al-ḥurūb al-Ṣalībiyya*, s.l., 1967

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-iʿtibār, 'Instructions'

DATE   1183

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Kitāb al-iʿtibār* is an autobiographical work, dictated by Usāma when he was almost 90, and its contents reveal to the reader aspects of medieval Islamic society rarely seen in other writings. There are other autobiographies, but they do not have the same richness or appeal of material as Usāma's work. Through a number of anecdotes, the book shows methods of warfare, medicine, ways of life, modes of thinking, geographical locations and aspects of the lives of ordinary Muslims in 12th-century Syria that may not otherwise have been known. The anecdotes Usāma includes were carefully chosen to reflect the aim of the work, as demonstrated by its title.

With regard to Christian-Muslim relations, Usāma has plenty to say about the Latin Franks. They appear throughout his memoirs and,

while he fairly often lapses into the usual Muslim curses called down on and epithets given to the Franks, and is to a large extent cementing pre-existing stereotypes, he is one of the few Muslim writers from this period to have both interacted with the Franks and recorded that interaction. He thus has plenty of interesting, amusing, and, to his Muslim readership, scandalous accounts of their behavior, devoting a whole section of his work to examining them.

Among his observations, he claims that the Franks are not jealous in sexual matters – and cites three famous examples as proof of this – and that they have strange medical practices, an inferior judicial system, demonstrated by their use of the duel to settle disputes, and strange festival practices – including a race between two elderly women. He also distinguishes between the newly-arrived Franks, who are boorish, and those who have been in the Levant for some time, among whom he has friends, meaning he can appreciate the differences within this alien population.

SIGNIFICANCE

This work gives a fascinating insight into a world of interaction between Muslims and Latin Christians in the areas around the crusader states, which would not otherwise be known. It shows the sense of both ridicule and horror that the Franks evinced in the Muslims, as well as how theoretical boundaries were broken down by the higher levels of society and mutual accommodation was found, at least for a time.

MANUSCRIPTS

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Alex Mallett

William of Tyre

Willelmus Tyrensis, Guillaume de Tyr

DATE OF BIRTH   about 1130
PLACE OF BIRTH   Jerusalem
DATE OF DEATH   29 September, 1184, 1185, or 1186
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown, though almost certainly
somewhere in the Kingdom of Jerusalem

BIOGRAPHY

William was born in Jerusalem, the crusader capital, around the year 1130, probably to a non-noble family of burgess stock. When he was about 15, he went to western Europe to be educated, and studied liberal arts, theology, and canon and civil law at Paris, Orleans, and Bologna. He returned to the Holy Land in 1165 and was immediately made a prebend at the cathedral of Acre. He claims that he impressed the King of Jerusalem, Amalric, and because of this he was granted the position of archdeacon of Tyre. Amalric's trust in him and his education led to further important positions, and he became a leading figure in the politics of Jerusalem until the king's death in 1174, being sent as an envoy to the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Comnenus in 1168, and to western Europe around the year 1169. In 1170, he was granted the position of tutor to Amalric's son, the future King Baldwin IV.

On the death of Amalric, with Baldwin IV a minor and a leper, and with the Muslims around them becoming ever stronger, factional rivalries began to emerge at the Jerusalem court. In this, William showed a strong partiality for the faction that grew up around the late Amalric's second wife, Maria Comnena, against which was ranged the faction of his first wife, Agnes of Courtenay. During the early period of this factionalism, William's political influence grew stronger when he was given the position of chancellor of the kingdom, and was promoted to be archbishop of Tyre, in 1174 and 1175 respectively. However, in 1177 the rival faction gained the upper hand in the power struggle and William was sidelined somewhat. He still had his previous positions, but was no longer involved in political

decisions, although he was again sent to Constantinople in 1179-80. It may thus have been at this point that he started to concentrate more on his writings, which he had begun around 1170, as well as devoting his time to carrying out ecclesiastical business.

What happened during the last few years of his life, from 1183 until his death, is uncertain. The last official correspondence from his chancery is dated March 1183, while he finished his history of the crusader states in 1184, and one later writer states that he was excommunicated in 1183 by Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, whose lax morals he had criticized. Thus, his life in politics petered out slowly until his death, on 29 September, sometime around 1185.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Unknown title: possibly *Gesta orientalium principum*, 'The deeds of the rulers of the East'

DATE   About 1180

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

This work was a history of the Muslim world written by William after, he claims, a request by King Amalric, and covering the period from Muḥammad to his own day. Copies of it circulated in Europe in the medieval period, but no extant manuscript is known, and our knowledge of its existence and our evidence for it come solely from references to it in the *Chronicon*, which William was writing simultaneously. The only explicitly named source William used was the *Annals* of Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq (q.v.), the Greek Orthdox Patriarch of Alexandria, which ended in the year 938, although other Arabic sources were given to William by Amalric, and it has been suggested that these included the histories of Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd and Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (q.v.). However, the question of the sources used by William remains open.

SIGNIFICANCE

The existence of a Latin history of the Muslim world, written in the crusader states, demonstrates that, to some at least, there was a real effort to understand the Muslim foe.

MANUSCRIPTS   —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —

STUDIES

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Unknown title: *Chronicon*, 'A history of deeds done beyond the sea'

DATE   Between about 1170 and 1184, when the narrative abruptly breaks off

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Latin

DESCRIPTION

William of Tyre's history of the crusader states is one of the most
magisterial works in 12th-century Latin historical writing. Sweeping in
its scope, both geographically and temporally, it covers the whole his-
tory of the crusading movement up to 1184, including the long period
of 1127-84, which would otherwise be a large gap in the Latin histori-
cal record. It is thus the main source for the history of the crusader
states in the 12th century.

The original title is unknown, as most manuscripts do not carry
one, the exception being those that Huygens labelled as the MP group,
which carry the opening words *Incipit Historia/Hystoria rerum in par-
tibus transmarinis gestarum a tempore successorum Mahumeth usque
ad annum domini M.C.LXXXIIII, edita a venerabili Willelmo/Guil-
lelmo Tyrensi archepiscopo*. There is no reason, however, to assume
that this is the original title, and Huygens has named his edition, the
latest, *Chronicon*, though others have called it *Historia Ierosolymitana*.
In English, it has been translated as *A history of deeds done beyond the
sea*, and with various other titles in other European languages, but is
usually referred to by one of the Latin titles.

The purpose of the work was three-fold. First, it was written not
only to recount events in the crusader states in the 12th century, but
also to explain how those events came to pass. Thus, it addresses the
role of the monarchy, the church, the papacy, relations with the Byzan-
tines, the place of the Muslims both historically and spiritually, and
God's role in events. Particularly important is William's explanation
of how the crusader states fell from the height of power in the first
part of the 12th century to the position they were in during his writ-
ing, being surrounded by Saladin's forces. Second, it was addressed
primarily to his fellow-churchmen, whose responsibility it was, he
believed, to help solve the problems that confronted the kingdom of
Jerusalem. Finally, as the work was commissioned by King Amalric,
and this presumably continued with Baldwin IV, the work praises the
kings of Jerusalem for their achievements in difficult circumstances.

Because the focus of the work is the history of the crusader states,
Islam, and particularly Muslims, figure prominently throughout.
Mostly their appearance is as a mass of people, usually in battle, and
on these occasions William has little to say. However, he includes
plenty of information about Christian-Muslim relations throughout
his chronicle. He narrates how kings of Jerusalem made treaties with

Muslim powers, such as Damascus in the 1140s and Egypt in the 1160s, which provide insights into cross-community diplomacy, and in one instance he describes the splendor of the Egyptian Fatimid court in Cairo, which he visited, and gives an insight into how it operated. He also describes Muslim attacks on the crusader states, particularly in the years 1174-84 when Saladin united the territories around into one political unit, threatening the destruction of the Frankish territories, which happened soon after his death, at Hattin in 1187.

William also includes several digressions, including an explanation of how the Muslims' power had grown between the First and the Third Crusades – the cause was a combination of Christian sins and Muslim political co-ordination – and a report on how the differences between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs came about. At the beginning of his history, he also describes the life of Muḥammad, writing that he believed he was a prophet from God, that he had led the people of the east, especially Arabia, into false beliefs, and that his religion had been spread by a combination of the sword and appealing to people's desires. William is scathing about Muḥammad, calling him 'the first-born of Satan' and the Muslims' 'prophet, or, rather, their destroyer'.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Chronicon* gives invaluable insight into relations between the Latin Franks of the crusader states and the Muslims around them. Illuminating the greater part of the 12th century, William's writings demonstrate how the differing paths of war or diplomacy were chosen and taken, and how relations between the two sides changed, as well as including contemporary Latin explanations for the condition of the Muslim world.

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Krey, 'William of Tyre. The making of an historian in the Middle Ages'

Alex Mallett

Chronica Naierensis

Unknown Author

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; probably early or
     mid-12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; probably late 12th or early
     13th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The author of the *Chronica Naierensis* has traditionally been identified as a Cluniac monk from the priory of Santa-María de Nájera. It is certain that he was particularly interested in this monastery, and reports its foundation. He was familiar with and made use of a Cluniac text (Gilo's *Vita Hugonis*), which no one in the Iberian peninsula previously knew. Recently, Carlos Reglero de la Fuente (2009) has cast doubt on this idea of a Cluniac origin, and suggested that the author may have been a clerk in the royal entourage who had dealings with the monastery of Nájera. But it is certainly equally likely that he was a Spanish Cluniac monk, who harmoniously combined his Cluniac and Spanish identity.

We have no other information about him, although it seems safe to say that he was active in the latter part of the 12th century, and was a strong supporter of Castile.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary —

Secondary —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Chronica Naierensis, 'Chronicle of Najera'

DATE Between about 1173 and 1190
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

Chronica Naierensis

Unknown Author

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; probably early or
     mid-12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; probably late 12th or early
     13th century
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BIOGRAPHY

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MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary —

Secondary —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Chronica Naierensis, 'Chronicle of Najera'

DATE Between about 1173 and 1190
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Chronica Naierensis* has conventionally been dated to the middle of the 12th century, but its most recent editor, Juan A. Estévez Sola, has identified borrowings from the *Historia scholastica* of Petrus Comestor. This work was completed in 1173, giving a *terminus post quem* for the writing of the *Chronica*. Other elements suggest a date of composition to the 1180s at the earliest. However, Estévez Sola has suggested that there was a first, earlier redaction. The overall character of the text is pro-Castilian.

The Chronicle is composed of three books: the first runs from Adam to the fall of Toledo; the second continues to the union of Sancha, sister of Bermudo III of León (d. 1037), with Ferdinand I (r. 1037-65), the son of Sancho III of Navarre; and the third ends with the death of Alfonso VI (r. 1065/72-1109). In the reference edition (Estévez Sola, 1995), it runs to 180 pages. It is the first Spanish chronicle to mention epic themes that became important elements in the literature of the peninsula. The question as to whether these were the author's own creations, or borrowings from oral traditions or from lost earlier epics, has been and remains a matter of discussion. Original passages are anyway rare in the work, which is above all a patchwork composed on the basis of other works, and it frequently copies these (they include *The Chronicle of Alfonso III* [q.v.], *The Chronicle of Sampiro*, *The Chronicle of Pelayo*, the *Historia Silense* [q.v.], the *Annals of Compostela*, and the *Genealogies of Roda*). Here, only original elements in the work will be considered.

From the point of view of Christian-Muslim relations, the period treated most fully corresponds with the 'reign' of al-Manṣūr (978-1002), even if accurate historical information is weak. It is in this context that the story of the *Condesa traidora* occurs for the first time. Al-Manṣūr ('Almazor') proposes marriage to this Castilian countess, for which she must first dispose of her husband, García Fernández (970-95). She makes the suggestion that, for the Christmas festival (in 997 in the Chronicle, but 995 in reality), he should allow his soldiers to return to their homes (*ad loca propria*), and she then tells al-Manṣūr, who sends a large detachment to capture the count. García Fernández is wounded and seized on the banks of the Douro, between Langa and Acozar, and dies after five days. His body is taken to Cordova and buried in the basilica (a church well referred to elsewhere, notably in the *Memoriale sanctorum* of Eulogius of Cordova [q.v.]). The body is later said to lie in the Castilian monastery of San Pedro of Cardeña

(II, 37). After all this, al-Manṣūr, who has not married the countess, exacts tribute from 'almost the whole of Christian territory' (*omnem fere Christianorum terram*). The author concludes, closely following the *Historia Silense*, that at this time 'all the treasures of the churches were completely destroyed' (*omnes ecclesiarum thesauri funditus perierunt*).

The story of the *Condesa traidora* continues a little later (II, 39). Under Sancho García (r. 995-1017), García Fernández' son, al-Manṣūr's misdeeds are perpetuated. The countess, wanting to 'satisfy her lust and her desire for glory', still seeks to marry the vizier, whom the chronicler calls the 'rod of the Lord's wrath' (*virga furoris Domini*). So she conceives of a plan to poison her son, the one hope of the Christians. But on his return from an expedition, Sancho is warned of her evil intentions by a servant girl, 'a young Saracen' (*sarracenula*), and he forces his mother to drink the deadly poison. Al-Manṣūr's depredations continue for 12 further years, but after a fight with Sancho he flees and dies at Grajal de Campos, Leon. His death is portrayed as particularly ignominious: 'taking flight, he burst open through his middle and died' (*fugam arripiens, per medium crepuit et mortuus est*, II, 39).

The other reign that offers original insights into Christian-Muslim relations is that of Alfonso VI (1065-1109). After being freed from the captivity in which he was held by his brother Sancho II (1065-72), thanks to the prayers of Abbot Hugh and monks of Cluny, he takes refuge with the 'king' of Toledo, al-Maʾmūn. When Sancho is killed at the siege of Zamora in 1072, he decides to regain his kingdom, though, out of fear of al-Maʾmūn's reaction, he does not leave immediately. But then, on one occasion his hair stands up on end for a whole hour, which al-Maʾmūn's advisers interpret as a sign that one day he will rule Toledo. They advise the king to kill Alfonso, but instead al-Maʾmūn calls him and assures him that there will always be peace and friendship between them. Suspicion nevertheless creeps in, and Alfonso eventually makes his getaway with his men.

There are a few other original passages concerned with Christians and Muslims. A little after the death of Ramiro III of Leon (d. 985), a Muslim king, who is given the name *rex Alcorexi* (this is a transliteration of 'al-Qurayshī', though in the index of the most recent edition of the *Chronica Nairensis* it is wrongly listed as a place name), is returning to Portugal, and he decides while he is in Galicia to destroy the tomb of St James. However, God sends a sort of deadly dysentery

on the Muslim army and they all die (*Rex enim noster celestis populi Christiani miseratus labores, tanta ventris infirmitate gentem ipsam perfidorum attrivit quod nemo ex ipsis remansit vivus qui ad patriam unde venerat repedaret*, II, 32). Later (III, 14), the boy Sancho, son of Garcia Sánchez III (d. 1054), falls in love with the queen's daughter Stephanie, who had been promised to Sancho II, and the two take refuge with the Moorish ruler of Saragossa.

SIGNIFICANCE

The numerous passages on Christian-Muslim relations in the early parts of the work from Book II on present the history of Spain as a pattern of struggles between the two faiths. However, this impression lessens somewhat nearer the author's own time and the reigns of Ferdinand I and especially of Alfonso VI, as the struggles between the Christian kingdoms come to the fore (the chronicler showing favor towards Castile).

The period when al-Manṣūr dominated Spain is presented in detail and can be considered as a major element in the *Chronica Naierensis*, in ways comparable to the account of the Arab invasion and of the Christian revival after the battle of Covadonga. In a providential scheme that sees God punishing the sins of the Christians and then showing them his favor afresh, churches are destroyed and Christians are oppressed until a heaven-sent man appears, Count Sancho García, 'on whom alone depended the salvation of the whole of Spain' (*ex quo solo salus totius pendebat Hyspanie*, II, 39). *Salus Hispaniae*: the exact words are found in the account of the Battle of Covadonga in the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, where Pelayo uses it to refer to Mount Auseba, on which is the sacred cave from which the Reconquista began. In the view of the author of the *Cronica Naierensis*, writing in the years 1180-90, Castile is thus the center of the battle against Islam, and Sancho García is a new Pelayo.

MANUSCRIPTS

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Special number of *e-Spania* 7 (2009), accessible at http://e-spania.revues.org/index17958.html; see particularly:

G. le Morvan, 'La Chronica naiarensis. D'un néo-gothisme astur-léonais à un néo-gothisme castillan'

G. Martin, 'Mujeres de la Najerense'

C.M. Reglero de la Fuente, 'La *Crónica najerense*. Santa María de Nájera y Cluny'

P. Henriet

Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown; early 12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown; probably Cairo
DATE OF DEATH   Late 12th century
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown; probably Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

This otherwise unknown author wrote his work for the Ayyūbid Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (r. 1174-93), and would therefore have been his contemporary, most likely living in the capital Cairo.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, ed. M. Qumayḥa et al., 33 vols, Beirut, 2004-5, xxxi, p. 261

Secondary   —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-durr al-thamīn fī manāqib al-muslimīn wa-mathālib al-mushrikīn, 'The costly pearl, on the virtues of the Muslims and defects of the associators'

DATE   Unknown; between 1174 and 1193
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

According to the part of *Al-durr al-thamīn* summarized by al-Nuwayrī (*Nihāyat*, xxxi, pp. 261-64) in the context of an account of measures taken against the *dhimmī*s in 700 AH (on this see the accounts of other Muslim historians in D. Little, 'Coptic conversion to Islam under the Baḥrī Mamlūks, 692-755/1293-1354', *BSOAS* 39 (1976) 552-69, pp. 554-57), Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān relates how Ṣalāḥ

al-Dīn renewed the *dhimmī* regulations. He then refers to verses in the Qurʾan by which such regulations could be justified and quotes a version of the agreement made between the *ahl al-dhimma* and the Caliph ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, purportedly a letter from the *dhimmī*s of Syria and also Egypt (p. 263). He evidently intended to prove that the sultan's actions were in line with early precedents, and in fact a return to them.

It may not be a coincidence that the main title of the work is identical with the *Kitāb al-durr al-thamīn* of the 10th-century Coptic Bishop Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (q.v.), a work devoted to the Incarnation. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān could have been intending to remind Christians that their faith was not to be tolerated, no matter how well substantiated they might try to pretend it was.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work affords an insight into the predicament of Christians and others under the rule of Muslims, who regarded the imposition of restrictions as part of the observance of their faith. It shows that by the 12th century the Pact of ʿUmar had become an authoritative representation of Qurʾan teachings that good Muslims would implement without demur.

MANUSCRIPTS   —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat*, under the year 700 AH (1300) (summary)

C. d'Ohsson, 4 vols, The Hague, 1834-35, iii, pp. 275-76, n. 1 (summary)

STUDIES   —

David Thomas

Ibn al-Muʾammal

Abū l-Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) Ṣāʿid ibn Hibat Allāh ibn
al-Muʾammal

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH   Al-Ḥaṣīra
DATE OF DEATH   1194/5
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Abū l-Ḥasan belonged to the East Syrian ('Nestorian') community
of Baghdad, where he was a renowned physician; his activities were
recorded by Ibn Uṣaybiʿa and al-Qifṭī. He also wrote two theological
works, a refutation of the Jews and a work on God's unity and Trinity
(see below).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary
Al-Qifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903, p. 214
Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *Uyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. A Müller, Cairo,
    1882, p. 303

Secondary
B. Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans*, p. 128
Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 200
Samir, 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana*, 201-42, p. 225

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Risāla fī l-tawḥīd wa-l-tathlīth, 'Treatise on the unity of God and the Trinity'

DATE   12th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work has not survived, and nothing is known about it except its title. This suggests that it comprised a comparison of the Muslim and Christian portrayals of God, no doubt to the detriment of the former.

SIGNIFICANCE

Nothing can be said about the significance of the work.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Aleppo – ʿAbdallāh Gerro Collection (inaccessible MS in private collection; see Sbath *Fihris*, p. 48, no. 362)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS   —

STUDIES

Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans*, p. 128
Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 200
Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 48

Herman G.B. Teule

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Index of Works

Numbers in italics indicate a main entry.