

Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History

Volume 4 (1200-1350)

*Edited by David Thomas
and Alex Mallett*



With

Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala

Johannes Pahlitzsch

Mark Swanson

Herman Teule

John Tolan

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Christian-Muslim Relations
A Bibliographical History

History of Christian-Muslim Relations

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Volume 17

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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front cover illustration: This shows the Gate of the two Baptisms at the Mar Behnam Monastery near Mosul. The overall design of this Christian monument and decoration bear close similarities to the Mausoleum of Imām ‘Awn al-Dīn in Mosul, built by the Shī‘ī ruler Badr al-Dīn Lu‘lu’ in 1248.

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CONTENTS

Foreword	vii
Abbreviations	xi
Herman G.B. Teule, <i>Christian-Muslim religious interaction 1200-1350. A historical and contextual introduction</i>	1
Daniel G. König, <i>Medieval Western European perceptions of the Islamic world. From 'active othering' to the 'voices in between'</i>	17
Sharon Kinoshita and Siobhain Bly Calkin, <i>Saracens as idolaters in European vernacular literatures</i>	29
David M. Freidenreich, <i>Muslims in Eastern canon law, 1000-1500</i>	45
Works on Christian-Muslim relations 1200-1350	59
Index of Names	1011
Index of Titles	1020

FOREWORD

David Thomas

Christian-Muslim relations. A bibliographical History 4 (CMR 4) is the fourth volume of a general history of relations between Christians and Muslims as this is recorded in written sources. Earlier volumes cover the years 600 to 1200, and this volume continues from 1200 to 1350. Volume 5 will take it further to 1500, and it is planned to continue from 1500 to 1900 in further volumes in coming years. 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 and in almost every society.

The intention of this project is to include 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, with all the currents and influences comprised within it. Of course, this is more than a single individual or group could accomplish. The project leaders have drawn upon the expertise of the scholarly community, which has been readily and generously given, and have been assisted by leading authorities. The result is a succession of entries that reflect the latest scholarship, and in many 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 our best efforts, there are omissions and mistakes.

In this volume, like its predecessors, a series of essays covers writings that are of major 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 basic 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 other rulings and regulations – each present a single tiny part of a picture that only becomes more complete and comprehensible when they are all brought together. The introductory essay surveys relations between the faiths in the whole period 1200-1350.

Following these essays come the entries that make up the bulk of the volume. The basic criterion employed was to choose works written substantially about or against the other faith, or containing 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 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 made too many concessions. Another criterion that should be explained is that inclusion of works within this volume was decided according to the date of their author's death, not according to the date when the works appeared. This is because many works from this period give no indication of a date, though our adoption of this approach 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 (as far as can be told, all authors were male) main intellectual activities and writings, the main primary sources of information about him, and the latest works about him by present-day scholars. 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. 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 listing: the manuscript witnesses of the work (although where a recent edition or study provides an authoritative list of these, this list 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* 4 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 in order, 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, Armenian 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 discernible). What it does provide is a gauge of relations between the faiths over a particular period 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 contributors, who readily and often enthusiastically accepted the invitations of the editors. The project was led by Alex Mallett (Research Fellow and minor languages), Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala (Iberian Arabic texts), Johannes Pahlitzsch (Greek texts), Mark Swanson (Christian Arabic texts), Herman Teule (Syriac texts), David Thomas (Director, and Muslim Arabic texts), and John Tolan (Latin texts). 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, and this 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. They will be incorporated into the online version of *CMR*, and into further editions. Please send details of these to David Thomas at cmr@brill.nl.

ABBREVIATIONS

'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 Delgado and J.M. Puerta Vilchez (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 Three

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

- ICMR*
Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations
- JAOS*
Journal of the American Oriental Society
- JSAI*
Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam
- JSS*
Journal of Semitic Studies
- MGH*
Monumenta Germaniae Historica
- MIDEO*
Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire
- MW*
Muslim World
- Nasrallah, *HMLEM*
J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite du Ve au XX^e siècle. Contribution à l'étude de la littérature arabe chrétienne*, Louvain, 1979-, volume iii.2: 1250-1516 (*HMLEM* iii.2)
- OC*
Oriens Christianus
- OCP*
Orientalia Christiana Periodica
- ODB*
A. Khazhdan (ed.) *The Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*, New York, 1991
- Pd'O*
Parole de l'Orient
- PG*
Patrologia Graeca
- PL*
Patrologia Latina
- PO*
Patrologia Orientalis
- REB*
Revue des Études Byzantines
- 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-makḥṭūṭāt al-qibṭiyya wa-l-‘arabiyya*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1939-42

SOCC

Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea

Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*

M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 6.3)*, Leipzig, 1877

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

Christian-Muslim religious interaction 1200-1350.

A historical and contextual introduction

Herman G.B. Teule

The years 1200-1350 witnessed many important political changes that dramatically affected relations between Christians and Muslims. Insight into the historical developments that occurred in these years is necessary background for appreciating the works and authors discussed in this volume.¹

Political developments

The destruction of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258 not only marked the end of the Abbasid dynasty, which had determined, at least in part, the course of the Islamic world for more than half a millennium, but also led to a further fragmentation of the Islamic political system, a development that had already started in the 10th century. New dynasties rose to power – in the first place, the Mongols, who, after some flirtations with Syrian and Armenian Christianity and the Christian powers of the West, adopted Islam around the year 1300 and established Islamic Mongol rule in Persia and Iraq, with Marāgha and later Tabrīz as the capital of their Il-Khanate.

In southern Russia, another Mongol branch, often known as the Golden Horde, conquered important parts of the Middle and Lower Volga region and raided such prominent Russian cities as Vladimir, Suzdal and Moscow in the years 1237 to 1238. The Muslim Volga Bulgars were defeated in this period by the Mongol Khan Batu. His successor, Khan Berke, converted to Islam, though this did not lead to the conversion of the whole Mongol dynasty. Islam only became the official religion of the Mongol Empire under Öz-Beg (Uzbek) (r. 1313-41), who profoundly

¹ For general surveys of the developments in the Near and Middle East in this period, see W. Ochsenwald and S. Nettleton Fischer, *The Middle East. A history*, New York, 2004⁶, especially chs 11 and 12; also K. Fleet (ed.), *Byzantium to Turkey, 1071-1453* (*Cambridge History of Turkey* 1), Cambridge, 1987.

Islamicized the Mongol state system by allowing the Volga Bulgars, with their long tradition of Islamic science, to rise to prominent positions.

Despite many military expeditions against Russian towns and cities, Öz-Beg was known for his tolerant attitude towards followers of other religions, especially the Orthodox Christians; in 1313, he actually issued a decree prohibiting any anti-Orthodox propaganda. This policy of tolerance explains in part the unhindered development of Russian Orthodox religion and culture in the first half of the 14th century, especially in the region around Moscow.²

West of the Mongol Il-Khanate of Tabrīz, the once powerful Ayyūbid dynasty, already much divided after the death of its founder Ṣalāh al-Dīn in 1193, was taken over in 1250 by Turkish-speaking slave soldiers, the Mamluks, who managed to assert themselves as the new rulers of Egypt, Syria, the Ḥijāz and parts of south-eastern Anatolia. This was the start of the Mamluk period, which would last until 1517, when the dynasty was overthrown by the Ottomans. The Mamluk Sultan Rukn al-Dīn Baybars defeated the Mongols at the Battle of ‘Ayn Jālūt, near Damascus, in 1260, and put an end to their westward expansion for about 40 years.

In central Anatolia, the Seljuk Sultanate of Konya, established by the end of the 11th century and from the 12th century ruling as far as eastern Anatolia and overseeing port towns along the Black Sea and Mediterranean, continued to flourish until 1247. In that year, Mongol armies, assisted by Christian forces comprising Greeks from Trebizond and Georgians, generals as well as foot soldiers, defeated them at the Battle of Köse Dağ in eastern Anatolia, and reduced them to a Mongol vassal state.

The Christian Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, also called Lesser Armenia, had been brought to great prosperity by its first King Levon (Leo) I, surnamed the Magnificent (1199-1219), though in following years it was forced to reach accommodation with the Mongols. King Het’um (d. 1270) concluded an Armenian-Mongol alliance in 1254, and Armenian armies even helped Hülagu to conquer Syria. However, when the Mongol advances in Syria were halted at the Battle of ‘Ayn Jālūt, the Armenians were targeted by the Mamluk forces of Sultan Baybars, who expected them to abandon their allegiance to the Mongols. In these years, the Armenians of Cilicia were subjected to heavy taxation by the

² G.M. Yemelianova, *Russia and Islam. A historical survey* (*Studies in Russian and East European History and Society*), London, 2002, pp. 16-22. See also R. Bukharaev, *Islam in Russia. The four seasons*, Richmond UK, 2000. About the later negative Russian perceptions of the Islamic-Mongol conquest of this period, see S. Hunter, *Islam in Russia. The politics of identity and security*, Armonk NY, 2004, pp. 4-5.

Mamluks, who, suspicious that their enemies might be tempted to revive their Mongol alliance or, even worse, to ask for help from the Latins in the nearby crusader states, raided the country on several occasions and destroyed a great number of churches and monasteries. Hromklay, the seat of the catholicos, was sacked in 1292.

This only incited the Armenians to renew contacts with the Mongols, and the result was that the Armenian King Het'um II (r. 1289-1307) joined the forces of the Il-Khan Ghāzān II when the latter tried to recapture Syria from the Mamluks at the successful battle of Wadi al-Khazandar, near Homs, in 1299. Despite the fact that Ghazan II had officially converted to Islam in 1295, shortly before coming to the throne, he continued to forge alliances with Christian powers – not only the Armenians, but also the Franks and even the pope.³ After the Battle of Marj al-Şuffar, south of Damascus, in April 1303, which proved disastrous for the Mongols, the Armenians lost their powerful ally and were again subjected to Mamluk tribulations. Thanks to their relations with Western Christian powers, they managed, however, to maintain a certain independence – a Christian island between the Emirate of Aleppo and the lands of the now Muslim Il-Khanate.

In 1341, the crown of Armenia passed into the hands of a member of the House of Lusignan, the ruling dynasty of Cyprus, whose members claimed the title of King of Jerusalem (see below). This experience was not very positive, because the king was more interested in religious matters than in defending his kingdom against the Mamluks. He was succeeded by descendants belonging to the Het'umid dynasty, but in 1373, after the death of Constantine V, the Armenians, besieged on all sides by the Mamluks, again offered the crown to a prince of the House of Lusignan in the hope that, through this Latin connection, Armenia would be saved. However, only two years later in 1375, the Mamluks brought the Lusignan dynasty down, and the last king of an independent Lesser Armenia was taken captive to Cairo.

³ C. Mutaġian, *Le royaume arménien de Cilicie, XII^e-XIV^e siècle*, Paris, 1993; A.D. Stewart, *The Armenian kingdom and the Mamluks. War and diplomacy during the reigns of Het'um II (1289-1307)*, Leiden, 2001; P. Cowe, 'The Armenians in the era of the crusades 1050-1350', in M. Angold (ed.), *Eastern Christianity (Cambridge History of Christianity 5)*, Cambridge, 2006, 404-29. For the Islamic justification of these campaigns and the role of the Armenians, see D. Aigle, 'La légitimité des invasions de la Syrie par Ghazan Khan', *Eurasian Studies* 5 (2006) 5-29.

Anatolia and the rise of a new dynasty: the Ottomans

It is clear that these developments led to a much fragmented Anatolia: the eastern parts were under the authority of the Il-Khanate;⁴ in the north there was the Greek Empire of Trebizond; the central territories were split into a number of more or less autonomous Turkish Muslim emirates, partly former Seljuk vassal states, though more often governed by newly established dynasties that had managed to extend their power into western Anatolia at the expense of the Byzantines. The most important was the dynasty founded by Osman I, a vassal of the Seljuks in Konya, who was recognized by the Seljuk sultan as the head of a new *beylik*. Under Osman's command, Byzantine cities on the west coast of Anatolia such as Ephesus and Nicaea,⁵ once important traditional theological centres of Greek Orthodox Christianity with a high symbolic value and in this period still major episcopal sees, were besieged and conquered. The same fate befell a number of towns on the shores of the Black Sea.

Osman's son Orhan (d. 1361) made the city of Proussa (Turkish: Bursa) the capital of his new state in 1326. Three years later, at the Battle of Pelekanon, near Nicomedia, the Byzantine Emperor Andronicus III was defeated. By this time, Byzantium had lost most of its Anatolian lands. Only a few scattered towns that the Turks had not bothered to conquer remained in Greek hands.⁶

The crusades

One of the reasons for the swift advances of Osman and his successors was the political and military weakness of the Byzantines. In 1204, during the Fourth Crusade, their capital Constantinople had been sacked by a coalition of Frankish troops, who, after looting the city, installed Count Baldwin IX of Flanders as the new emperor, and a member of the rich and powerful Venetian Morosini family as Patriarch. This happened, of course, with the approval of Pope Innocent III, who considered

⁴ C. Melville, 'Anatolia under the Mongols', in K. Fleet (ed.), *Byzantium to Turkey, 1071-1453* (Cambridge History of Turkey 1), Cambridge, 1987, 51-101.

⁵ See H. Inalcık, 'Osmān Ghāzī's siege of Nicaea and the Battle of Bapheus', in E. Zachariadou (ed.), *The Ottoman emirate (1300-1389)*, Crete, 1991, 77-99.

⁶ J. Norwich, *Byzantium. The decline and fall*, London, 1991, pp. 285-87. An older, classical study with many details about the impact of these conquests on the Greek population and the ecclesiastical structure in Anatolia is S. Vryonis, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamization from the eleventh through the fifteenth century*, Berkeley CA, 1971.

the capture of Constantinople a miraculous event by which the Latin and Greek Churches were reunited and also, more importantly, a starting point for the recapture of Jerusalem and Alexandria.⁷ Nicea became the new capital of Orthodox Byzantium until, in 1261, Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus (1259-82) succeeded in expelling the Latins and reestablished Byzantine rule in Constantinople. Another Greek stronghold was the Empire of Trebizond in eastern Anatolia on the Black Sea.

Despite Pope Innocent's expectations of regaining Jerusalem, the Fourth Crusade ended up in Constantinople and thus remained a tragic internal Christian matter, which contributed significantly to the lasting split between Latin and Greek Christianity. The pope, however, did not give up his plans for liberating the Holy Land and re-launched the idea of a new campaign against the infidels in several letters, such as *Quia maior nunc*, addressed to all 'Christ's faithful in England', in which he almost desperately urged them to do something at a time when the Saracens threatened Acre. This letter was written in 1213.⁸ Two years later, in one of the final constitutions adopted at the Fourth Lateran Council, entitled *In order to liberate the Holy Land from the hands of the impious*, the pope issued a number of practical regulations concerning the financing of a new 'Christian army'.⁹ Unfortunately, he did not live to see the departure of the fleet, which reached the city of Acre in the autumn of 1217.

From Palestine, the crusaders, with St Francis of Assisi among them, continued to Damietta, in the Nile Delta east of Alexandria, which was conquered in 1219, but only for a very short period. Two years later, in 1221, the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Kāmil defeated them at the battle of Mansura, the unsuccessful end of the Fifth Crusade.¹⁰

In the following years, Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, Holy Roman Emperor since 1220 and King of Sicily, set his mind on recapturing Jerusalem. Despite earlier promises of active involvement in the crusader adventure, he had been conspicuous by his absence at the defense of Damietta. However, as soon as his position in Italy and Germany was

⁷ Cf. J.C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160/1-1216). To root up and to plant*, Leiden, 2003, pp. 130-41. For general surveys of the crusades, see J. Riley Smith, *The crusades. A short history*, New Haven CT, 1987; H.E. Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Stuttgart, 2005¹⁰; J. Phillips, *Holy warriors. A modern history of the crusades*, London, 2009. See also C. Hillenbrand, *The crusades. Islamic perspectives*, Edinburgh, 1999.

⁸ On the apocalyptic interpretation of the phenomenon of Islam, connecting it with the biblical apocalyptic forces of evil, see Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 194-95.

⁹ N.P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the ecumenical councils*. Vol. I: *Nicea I-Lateran V*, London, 1990 (Constitution 71, pp. 267-71).

¹⁰ For the Fifth Crusade, see J. Powell, *Anatomy of a crusade, 1213-1221*, Philadelphia PA, 1986.

secured, he developed a more active interest in the issue of the Holy Land. One of the reasons for this was his marriage in 1225 to Yolanda, also called Isabella, the heiress of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, although the city itself was in Muslim hands. Despite the protests of his father-in-law, John of Brienne, the Regent of Jerusalem, on behalf of his daughter, Frederick declared himself 'King of Jerusalem'. At the Agreement of San Germano, concluded a few months earlier, Frederick had already undertaken to leave for the Holy Land on pain of excommunication. When the departure of his fleet, promised for 1227, was delayed, Pope Gregory IX effectively excommunicated him; Frederick eventually set sail in 1228.

A few years before, he had been contacted by Sultan al-Kāmil of Egypt with the offer to hand Jerusalem over to the Christians if the emperor would support the sultan in his struggle against the latter's brother, al-Mu'azzam, the sultan of Damascus. Though al-Mu'azzam had already died when Frederick arrived in the Holy Land, al-Kāmil chose to honour his offer and ceded Jerusalem, together with Nazareth and Bethlehem, to Frederick for a period of about ten years on condition that the Muslims of the city could keep their holy places. Both in the East and in the West this event was met with mixed feelings: an excommunicated emperor cooperating with the enemy, according to the interpretation of the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem; a sultan committing treachery by undoing the conquest of Jerusalem by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, according to the views of the jurisconsult Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, a protégé of al-Mu'azzam.¹¹ This peaceful recapture of Jerusalem did not bring an immediate end to Frederick's excommunication, which was only pronounced in 1230, when Gregory and Frederick had settled their territorial conflicts in southern Italy.¹²

The Sixth Crusade was followed by the so-called Barons' Crusade, the participants mainly belonging to the French and English nobility. After some initial losses on the side of the Franks, diplomatic agreements were concluded with several Muslim rulers, which resulted in the return of important strategic fortifications in the Holy Land. Both al-Kāmil's offer to Frederick and these Christian-Muslim agreements during the Barons' Crusade show that it was apparently not only the language of warfare that was understood by both parties.

¹¹ On this 'diplomatic crusade', see H. Takayama, 'Frederick II's crusade. An example of Christian-Muslim diplomacy', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 25 (2010) 169-85.

¹² B. Weiler, 'Gregory IX, Frederick II and the liberation of the Holy Land', in R. Swanson (ed.), *Holy Land and holy lands (Studies in Church History 36)*, Woodbridge, 2000, 192-206.

In 1244, the Battle of al-Ḥarbiyya, in the west known as La Forbie, north east of Gaza, between the sultan of Egypt, who received the support of a contingent of Khwārazmian mercenaries, and the sultan of Damascus, supported by a great number of Frankish allies, ended in disaster for the crusaders, and the *de facto* end of the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem. Jerusalem itself had already been raided by the Khwārazmians a few months before La Forbie; in fact, the very cruel way in which these Khwārazmians had killed the clergy and inhabitants of Jerusalem and their profanation of the Holy Places, together with the traditional rivalry between Cairo and Damascus, explains the unusual Damascus-Frankish military alliance.

It was King Louis IX of France – and not Frederick II, who had been deposed at the First Council of Lyons in 1245¹³ – who took up the challenge to attempt a new liberation of Jerusalem. In 1248, he left for Cyprus, where, with ‘Nestorian’ monks as intermediaries, he was contacted by the Mongol leadership to explore the possibility of an anti-Muslim alliance, one of a series of comparable, and similarly unsuccessful, initiatives. From Cyprus he sailed to Damietta, since he rightly considered the subjugation of Egypt as the precondition for military and political success in the rest of the Middle Eastern world. Damietta fell in June 1249, and the mosque, one of the first in Egypt, was turned into a church, though the city was recaptured less than two years later. The king withdrew to Acre, the capital of the remnant of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and returned to France in 1254. Despite the king’s personal commitment to the cause of Christianity in the Holy Land, the Seventh Crusade turned out to be an utter failure.

When, a few years later, Baybars, the victor of ‘Ayn Jālūt, had secured his authority in Egypt and southern Syria, he turned his attention to the Frankish cities and fortresses of Palestine and Syria. One city after another fell into his hands: Safad, Jaffa and, in 1271, the mighty fortress of Crac des Chevaliers, symbol of crusader power, military skill and ingenuity.

In the meantime, King Louis had started preparations for a new campaign, in which he was to participate in person, though he did not reach

¹³ Cf. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, pp. 278-83. The crusader issue does not seem to have played a role in the Council’s decision to depose Frederick, but it was a source of great worry to some ‘Nestorian’ Christians, who feared that Frederick’s deposition might jeopardize the cause of Christianity in the Middle East; see H. Teule, ‘Saint Louis and the East Syrians. The dream of a terrestrial empire. East Syrian attitudes towards the West’, in K. Ciggaar and H. Teule (eds), *East and West in the crusader states. Context, contacts, confrontations*. Vol. III, Louvain, 2003, 101-22, pp. 108-9.

further than Tunis, where he died of dysentery in August 1270. In 1292, he was canonized by Pope Boniface VIII, who, in his bull *Gloria laus*, praised Louis as the Defender of Faith against the Saracen infidels.¹⁴

Baybars died in 1277, but his successors were as determined as he was to put an end to the crusader presence in the Middle East. Sultan Qalāwūn (r. 1279-90), the consolidator of the Mamluk Empire, as he has been called,¹⁵ conquered Frankish strongholds such as al-Marqab, Latakia and Tripoli. His son, al-Malik al-Ashraf (r. 1290-93), delivered the death blow by capturing and looting Acre in 1291, and killing the majority of its inhabitants or taking them into captivity. He was almost canonized, at least considered as '*Defensor fidei*', by many of his contemporaries as well as by later generations, including the Cairo historiographer Ibn al-Furāt, who, in his *Ta'rikh al-duwal wa-l-mulūk*, wrote: 'Through al-Ashraf the lord sultan, we are delivered from the Trinity, and Unity rejoices in the struggle.'¹⁶

Cyprus now became the last eastern bastion of the Latin Christians. It was ruled by the (second) House of Lusignan, whose members continued to bear the title of King of Jerusalem and made haphazard initiatives to recapture some of the lost territories in Palestine and Syria, participating in the Mongol-Armenian alliance of 1299-1300 mentioned above. In the 14th century, the island became a safe haven for some East Syrian ('Nestorian') Christians, who were interested in resuming the good relations that had existed between their community and the Latin Church in the Mongol period after the destruction of Baghdad, when East Syrian Christians acted as envoys to the West on behalf of the Mongol rulers. Some Maronite Christians also fled to Cyprus, when, after the Battle of Kesrouan in 1305, Maronite resistance was broken by Mamluk military forces from Damascus and Tripoli.

In northern Europe, towards the end of the period under discussion, the earlier religious enthusiasm tended to wane. The initiative of the French King Philip VI of Valois (d. 1350) for a new expedition was not realistic and met with little enthusiasm among the people in general. The two spontaneous popular crusader movements known as the Crusade of

¹⁴ M. Gaposchkin, 'Boniface VIII, Philip the Fair and the sanctity of Louis IX', *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003) 1-26.

¹⁵ L.S. Northrup, *From slave to sultan. The career of al-Mansūr Qalāwūn and the consolidation of Mamluk rule in Egypt and Syria (678-689 AH/1279-1290 AD)* (Freiburg Islamstudien 18), Stuttgart, 1998, p. 21.

¹⁶ Ed. Q. Zurayq and N. Izz al-Din, Beirut, 1939, p. 114; Cf. D. Little, 'The fall of 'Akkā in 690/1291. The Muslim version', in M. Sharon (ed.), *Studies in Islamic history and civilization in honour of Professor David Ayalon*, Jerusalem, 1986, 159-181, p. 181.

the Poor (1309) and the Shepherds' Crusade (1320), not recognized by the pope, degenerated into looting expeditions, destroying and pillaging whole regions in southern France and massacring the local Jewish population.

Reconquista in Spain

Crusading, however, was not only aimed at the liberation of the Holy Land. The struggle against the Saracens, the designation for Muslims used in contemporary Latin documents, was also waged in the Iberian Peninsula. In the 12th century, the Muslim-Berber dynasty of the Almohads had established a powerful kingdom in North Africa and southern Spain and Portugal.¹⁷ Seville became their capital, and a new *mezquita* with a massive minaret, later known as the Giralda, was the symbol of their power.

Encouraged by Innocent III's appeals to organize an Iberian crusade, an alliance of Christian kingdoms – Castile, Aragon, Navarre and Portugal – defeated the Almohad Caliph Muḥammad al-Nāṣir at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, near the city of Jaén – the beginning of the disintegration of al-Andalus.¹⁸ In 1229, James I of Aragon, surnamed the Conqueror, subjugated the Almohad vassal state of Mallorca, followed by the rest of the Balearic Islands. Only Minorca remained in Muslim hands, but the Muslim ruler accepted the sovereignty of James and of the newly created Kingdom of Mallorca. Only in 1287 did it fall to King Alfonso III of Aragon. In 1236, Ferdinand III of Castile took Cordova, where the *mezquita* was converted into a cathedral; and in 1238, Valencia was taken by the troops of James I of Aragon. In 1248, Seville fell to the Christians, the *mezquita* was destroyed and the Giralda now became the bell tower of the new cathedral.

Only the sultanate of Granada was able to survive as an Islamic state, and even there the ruling dynasty of the Naṣrids became tributary to the Kingdom of Castile. Under Naṣrid rule (1232-1492), and despite the often difficult relationship between the city and its Christian overlords, Granada developed into one of the most prestigious cultural centers of

¹⁷ P. Cressier, M. Fierro and L. Molina (eds), *Los Almohades. Problemas y perspectivas*, 2 vols., Madrid, 2005.

¹⁸ F. García Fitz, *Relaciones políticas y Guerra. La experiencia castellano-aragonesa frente al Islam, siglos XI-XIII*, Seville, 2002, pp. 143-48. On this crucial period, see the various contributions in *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal*. Vol. VIII-1/2: *Almorávides y Almohades. Siglos XI al XIII. El retroceso territorial de al-Andalus*, ed. M.J. Viguera, Madrid, 1997.

the Islamic world, symbolized by the new Alhambra, the magnificent fortified royal palace overlooking the city, built on the order of Sultan Ibn Naşr, the founder of the dynasty, with the help of numerous craftsmen who were fleeing the Christian conquerors.¹⁹

Sicily

In this period, Andalus was not the only region in Europe marked by Islamic culture and with a significant number of Muslim inhabitants. However, by the end of the 12th century, Sicilian Islam was already in decline. This is the picture one gets when reading the Sicilian experiences of the famous Muslim Andalusian traveler and geographer Ibn Jubayr (d. 1217), who reports stories of Muslims wishing to live in genuine Muslim lands rather than in Sicily.²⁰ Not very long after Frederick II of Hohenstaufen had effectively taken possession of the throne of Sicily after his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor in 1220, he launched a series of campaigns to put down a Muslim rebellion. This culminated in the deportation of the Muslims to Apulia in 1224, putting an end to a period in which Muslims had played a political role in the kingdom, mostly by forming alliances with Christian factions that were challenging the authority of the king and afraid of losing the privileges given to them during the king's absence from Sicily.²¹ The deportation to Apulia marked the end of the Muslim presence in Sicily.

The deported Muslims, whose numbers are estimated at 15,000-20,000, were mainly resettled in the town of Lucera, where they contributed to the economic welfare of the city (and thus, ironically, indirectly to financing the crusades in the Holy Land). Lucera, in Latin even known as *Lucaera Saracenorum*, became the last Muslim stronghold in southern Italy until, in 1300, Charles II of Naples invaded the city and again expelled its Muslim inhabitants.²²

¹⁹ On the Naşrid kingdom of Granada, see *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal*. Vol. VIII-3: *Los reinos de Taifas. El reino Nazarí de Granada (1232-1492)*. *Política, instituciones, espacio y economía*, ed. M.J. Viguera, Madrid, 2000.

²⁰ Ibn Jubayr visited Sicily in December 1184/January 1185. Despite the classical interpretation of his account, found in his *Travels*, of Sicily as a tolerant society, he in fact gives a bleak picture of the future of Islam on the island; see J.M. Powell, 'Frederick II and the rebellion of the Muslims of Sicily, 1200-1224', in *Uluslararası Haçlı Seferleri Sempozyumu: 23-25 Haziran 1997*, Ankara, 1999, 13-22, p. 13.

²¹ Powell, 'Frederick II and the rebellion of the Muslims of Sicily, 1200-1224', pp. 16ff.

²² J. Taylor, *Muslims in medieval Italy. The colony at Lucera*, Lanham MD, 2003.

Relations between Muslims and Christians

The political developments described in the paragraphs above may suggest that this period was characterized by permanent warfare between Christian and Muslim rival powers, each party encroaching on the lands of the other, to the advantage of the Christians in the West (Spain, Portugal, Sicily, Apulia), and of the Muslims in the East. However, warfare does not alone define Muslim-Christian relations in this period.

First, we hear of political alliances between Muslims and Christians directed against other Christian or Muslim factions. This is the case, for example, with the Armenians fighting for the Muslim Mongols against Baybars, Muslim rebels in Sicily revolting, together with rival Christian political factions, against Frederick II, and the recapture of Jerusalem by the same Frederick against the will of other crusader armies, but realized thanks to a diplomatic agreement with Sultan al-Kāmil of Egypt. In Spain, Granada was a flourishing Muslim city under the tutelage of the king of Castile. The khans of the Golden Horde supported the rulers of the principality of Moscow in their struggles against rival principalities such as Suzdal. In other words, Christian-Muslim warfare is not to be unilaterally interpreted as warfare between two religions, though in many instances Muslim-Christian antagonism of course played an important role.

Second, commercial exchanges and economic relations never came to an end.²³ Through much of the 13th century, Acre remained an important commercial centre used by Italian merchants as a base for contacts with Muslim traders in Syria and Iraq, as far as Mosul. In Alexandria and Damietta, consuls from Venice, Pisa and Genoa were responsible for the management of *fundūqs*, institutions that combined the functions of warehouse, hostelry and consulate. Several Islamic documents give information about the functioning of these *fundūqs* in Egypt, even in the period after the disastrous Seventh Crusade.²⁴ Tunis had an important Latin Christian population, occupying an area almost equal to the Muslim fortified city.²⁵ The Catalan Dominican Raymond de Penyafort wrote a special treatise at the request of the clergy in Tunis, in which he

²³ See, e.g., D. Abulafia, 'The role of trade in Muslim-Christian contact during the Middle Ages', in D. Agius and B. Hitchcock (eds), *The Arab influence in medieval Europe*, Reading UK, 1994, 1-24 (repr. in F. Micheau, *Les relations des pays de l'islam avec le monde latin du milieu du X^e siècle au milieu du XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 2000, 304-32).

²⁴ D. Jacoby, 'Les Italiens en Egypte aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles. Du comptoir à la colonie', in M. Balard and A. Ducellier (eds), *Coloniser au moyen-âge*, Paris, 1995, 76-89, 102-7 (repr. in Micheau, *Relations*, 348-82).

²⁵ Abulafia, 'The role of trade in Muslim-Christian contact', pp. 327ff.

discussed problems that resulted from the interaction between Muslims and Christians in the city. These included mixed marriages and the selling of prohibited goods such as arms and ships,²⁶ apparently a perennial problem already discussed in Constitution 71 of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). It does not seem that Oriental Christians were systematically employed by the Europeans to secure their commercial interests or to act as translators, as would be the case in the 17th and the 18th centuries. Incidentally, Muslim merchants appeared in European ports but, generally speaking, the trade routes were in the hands of the Europeans, due to their superiority in the maritime field.

Third, in the cultural arena, there was intensive interaction between the followers of the two religions. In the East itself, autochthonous Christians, increasingly adopting Arabic as a literary language alongside their national languages such as Syriac and Coptic, opened themselves to the cultural achievements of a now mature Islam and recognized that the period of their intellectual superiority was over. This is most clearly expressed by the Syrian Orthodox Bishop and *Maphrian* Gregory Barhebraeus (1225/6-86) (q.v.), who mentions that the Syriac-speaking Christians, once the teachers of the Muslims, found themselves in his days in the position of having to learn wisdom from them.²⁷ Accepting 'wisdom' and scholarship from the Muslims led to a new dynamic within Syriac literature, characterized by some modern scholars even as a 'Syriac Renaissance'.²⁸

The most conspicuous example was certainly Barhebraeus himself, whose scientific career followed the pattern of contemporary Muslim scholars. But his openness to the cultural achievements of the Muslim world was shared by several other Syrian authors of both the Eastern and Western traditions. For example, Isho'yahb bar Malkon, the East-Syrian Bishop of Mardin and later Metropolitan of Nisibis (Nüsaybin), used linguistic theories developed by Ibn Sīnā in his *Book of the cure* and *Book of admonitions* – the latter work even circulated in a Syriac translation – for a fresh approach to the age-old Christological deadlock with the Copts and 'Jacobites'.²⁹ His successor, 'Abdisho' bar Brikhā (d. 1318) (q.v.), composed one of his important and influential canonical writings after being

²⁶ See the entry on Raymond de Penyafort in this volume.

²⁷ See the entry on Barhebraeus in this volume.

²⁸ See H. Teule, 'The Syriac Renaissance', in H. Teule et al. (eds), *The Syriac Renaissance*, Louvain, 2010, 1-30.

²⁹ H. Teule, 'A theological treatise by Isho'yahb bar Malkon (13th century), preserved in the theological compendium *Asfār al-Asrār*', *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 58 (2006) 235-52. Cf. the entry on Isho'yahb in this volume.

challenged by some Muslim doctors, who ridiculed the Christians for not possessing the same type of extensive collections of law as they themselves did.³⁰ Al-Ghazālī's famous *Revivification of the sciences of religion* became the model for one of the most popular spiritual writings used by monks and solitaries, the so-called *Book of the dove*, written by Barhebraeus.³¹ In a somewhat different recension, it was also read by West Syrian lay people, showing how attractive al-Ghazālī's spiritual teachings were to Syriac readers.

There was a similar development among the Copts, even though their literature was essentially in Arabic and no longer in Coptic.³² Despite the difficult political situation in Egypt in the 13th century, crusader attacks in 1221 and 1249 (the Fifth and Seventh Crusades), the transition to Mamluk rule, and several campaigns in Syria against the Mongols, the 13th century, especially the earlier years, was the golden age of Copto-Arabic literature. This literature was characterized by an intellectual openness towards different traditions. Thus, the Coptic authors of this period also used the works and integrated the styles, methods, ideas and thoughts of Muslim scholars – for example in the fields of historiography (e.g., Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar [q.v.]), canon law, grammar and lexicography.³³

Like the Syrians of both the Eastern and Western traditions, Coptic theologians greatly appreciated the work of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (q.v.). Even religious poetry that was still being composed in Coptic was characterized by imitation of Arabic poetry, essentially by the adoption of rhyme and a strophic structure, a development which is also seen in Syriac poetry.

³⁰ Cf. J.M. Vosté, *Ordo iudiciorum ecclesiasticorum collectus [...]* a Mar 'Abdišo', Vatican City, 1940, p. 24.

³¹ A. Wensinck, *Bar Hebraeus's Book of the dove. Together with some chapters from his Ethicon*, Leiden, 1919. Cf. also the entry on Barhebraeus in this volume.

³² See A. Sidarus, 'La renaissance copte arabe du moyen-âge', in Teule et al. (eds), *Syriac Renaissance*, 311-40 (with extensive bibliography); A.Y. Sidarus, 'The Copto-Arabic renaissance in the middle ages. Characteristics and socio-political context', *Coptica* 1 (2002) 141-60. Some background to the period can be found in M.N. Swanson, *The Coptic papacy in Islamic Egypt (641-1517)*, Cairo, 2010, pp. 79-95.

³³ The flourishing of the Arabic literature of the Copts is also evident in fields where the influence of the Muslim environment is not immediately apparent. One of the famous al-'Assāl brothers, al-As'ad Abū l-Faraj Hibatallāh, does not receive an entry in this volume (though see the entries for his brothers al-Šafi and al-Mu'taman). Still, he occupies a prominent place in the history of Copto-Arabic scholarship, especially because of his critical Arabic translation of the Gospels. See, e.g., Wadi A., 'La traduction des quatres Évangiles d'al-As'ad Ibn al-'Assāl (XIII^e s.)', *SOCC* 24 (1991) 217-24.

In the field of art, both Copts and Syrians appreciated the work of Islamic artists. In particular, the Syrian Orthodox of the Mosul region were influenced by the local Islamic artistic tradition, visible in the iconography and decoration schemes of several churches and monasteries. This suggests the existence of mixed workshops, and even raises the question of whether it is appropriate to speak of distinct Islamic and Christian styles.³⁴

In Europe, the translation movement from Arabic into Latin had already reached its high point in the 12th century, but the penetration of Islamic culture and science into Europe continued during the 13th century and the first half of the 14th. In Spain, Hermann the German (q.v.), a member of the Toledo School of translators and Bishop of Astorga (d. 1272), made a Latin translation of Ibn Rushd's commentary on Aristotle's *Poetica*. Leonardo Fibonacci of Pisa (d. c. 1250), one of the Italian merchants who frequented the Muslim cities of North Africa, introduced the Arabic numerals in his much appreciated work known as *Liber abaci* ('Book of calculations') of 1202.³⁵ There were also Islamic influences on the work of Dante Alighieri (q.v.). In his famous *La escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia* (Madrid, 1919), the Spanish oriental scholar Miguel Asín Palacios discusses the parallels between this great work and the Islamic traditions about Muḥammad's night journey to Jerusalem and his ascension to heaven. The famous *Kitāb al-mi'rāj* by Abū l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī l-Nisabūrī was translated into Latin in the middle of the 13th century, and it may have been Dante's source of inspiration.³⁶ Other translations from Arabic into Latin included a number of medical, philosophical and other scientific works, among which was the *Kitāb al-hāwī*, Abū Bakr al-Rāzī's famous medical encyclopaedia. The translator was the Sicilian Jew Faraj ibn Sālīm (d. 1279), who also translated other authoritative medical treatises.³⁷

This translation movement was actively promoted by a number of rulers. Frederick II of Sicily supported the work of Fibonacci, Ibn Sālīm and

³⁴ B. Snelders, *Identity and Christian-Muslim interaction. Medieval art of the Syrian Orthodox from the Mosul area (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 198)*, Louvain, 2010; B. Snelders, 'The relationship between Christian and Islamic art', in Teule et al. (eds), *Syriac Renaissance*, 239-64. For comparable developments in the field of art among the Copts, see Sidarus, 'La renaissance copte arabe', pp. 322-24, 338-40.

³⁵ Recent English trans. by L.E. Sigler, *Fibonacci's Liber abaci*, New York, 2002.

³⁶ Cf. the edition of the Latin text with French trans. by G. Besson and M. Brossard-Dandré, *Le Livre de l'échelle de Mahomet – Liber scale Machometi*, Paris, 1991, 2008².

³⁷ D. Jacquart, 'The influence of Arabic medicine in the medieval West', in R. Rashed and R. Morelon, *Encyclopaedia of the history of Arabic science*, 3 vols, London, 1996, ii, pp. 963-84.

Michael Scotus, the translator of several works of Ibn Rushd and Ibn Sīnā. In the 13th century, the Toledo School of translators owed a great deal to King Alfonso X of Castile (d. 1284), surnamed the Wise (el Sabio), who had a personal interest in the activities of his translators and seemed to consider them as his collaborators.³⁸

It is essentially this growing awareness of the importance of Christian and Muslim Arabic culture, science and literary styles that gave rise to the establishment of schools and centers of oriental studies, where Arabic would be taught together with 'Chaldean' (Syriac) and Hebrew. The other side of the coin was that this better acquaintance with Arabic also assisted the composition of refutations of the Qur'an and of Islam in general, as is witnessed in the work of Ramon Llull and other authors discussed in this volume.

Marginalization of Christians in the Middle East

The fact that Christians in the East opened themselves up to the cultural developments of the Islamic world did not prevent them from becoming increasingly marginalized within society. Immediately after the fall of Baghdad in 1258,³⁹ the East and West Syrian Christians were initially able to improve their position, thanks to the pro-Christian attitude of the first Mongol leaders; Barhebraeus even compared Hülagu, who was responsible for the destruction of Baghdad, to the Emperor Constantine, and the Patriarch of the Church of the East took up residence in one of the former administrative buildings of the Abbasid caliphate. But the period of relief given to the Christians was extremely brief. In the very period when, on the western shores of the Mashriq, the crusaders had to give up their lands, the Mongol leaders chose Islam. Many Muslims now remembered the support the Christians had given to Hülagu, echoes of which can be found in Barhebraeus' *Civil chronicle*. East Syrian or 'Nestorian' Christianity moved to the north, to the regions of Kurdistan, and from the first quarter of the 14th century onwards it gradually lost all interest in scholarship and learning. 'Abdisho' of Nisibis (d. 1318) can be considered as the last great universal scholar of the Church of the East. After him, scholarship became self-centered, interested only in internal

³⁸ Cf. J. Vernet Ginés, *Lo que Europa debe al Islam de España*, Barcelona, 2001² (a re-publication of his earlier *La cultura hispanoárabe en Oriente y Occidente*, Barcelona, 1978, available in a French trans., Paris, 1985).

³⁹ Cf. D. Wilmshurst, *The martyred church. A history of the Church of the East*, London, 2011, pp. 234-76; H. Teule, *Les Assyro-chaldéens*, Turnhout, 2008, pp. 27-29.

developments and ecclesiastical issues. Debates with Muslims became extremely rare. The last real Synod of the Church of the East was convened by Patriarch Timothy II in 1318, shortly after his enthronement. While still the Metropolitan of Erbil, he had witnessed the massacre of the Christians of his city by Muslim Arab forces.

A comparable development can be witnessed in the case of the West-Syrians ('Jacobites'), whose center became the region of Ṭūr 'Abdīn and the town of Mardin, though they managed, like the Armenians, to maintain a certain presence in Syria. Damascus even became the new seat of the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate after the capture of Antioch by the Mamluks in 1260. In Lebanon, the Battle of Kesrouan, mentioned above, also meant the marginalization of the Maronite Christians, who were systematically removed from the prosperous coastal cities in order to prevent any alliance with the Franks of Cyprus.⁴⁰

In Egypt, after the transition from Ayyūbid to Mamluk rule in the middle of the 13th century, the Copts entered a difficult period. On several occasions, the authorities decreed that senior non-Muslim civil servants must either convert to Islam – and some of them, even from the immediate entourage of the patriarch, did so – or be removed from office. Classical anti-*dhimmi* measures were enforced, churches were looted throughout the whole country, and there were several instances of massive anti-Christian riots. Many Copts converted to Islam, and it seems that, by the end of the period under discussion, Coptic Christianity had lost a substantial percentage of its faithful.⁴¹

One of the consequences of this development was that there was a decrease in Christian writings addressed to Muslims. From the 14th century onwards, Christians of the Mashriq were more occupied with their survival, and were no longer in a position to write refined apologies for their own religion or refutations of the religion of the majority that determined their fate and position in society.

⁴⁰ R. Jabre Mouawad, *Les Maronites. Chrétiens du Liban*, Turnhout, 2009, pp. 31-33 (cf. pp. 77-99, the description of this period by the later Maronite historiographer and Patriarch Stephen Douwaihi).

⁴¹ Cf. Swanson, *The Coptic papacy in Islamic Egypt (641-1517)*, pp. 100-3.

Medieval Western European perceptions of the Islamic world: From ‘active othering’ to the ‘voices in between’

Daniel G. König

Providing an overview on medieval Western European perceptions of the Islamic world with a special focus on the period between the 12th and the late 15th century raises enormous difficulties, not only because the following essay cannot compete with the important and much more detailed syntheses on the subject written by Daniel, d’Alverny, Southern, Rodinson, Sénac and Tolan, among others.¹ Even if one regards medieval Western Europe or ‘Latin Christendom’ as a cluster of societies with several common features, including a specific form of Christianity and Latin as the main language of intellectual endeavors, it is not possible to claim that it constituted a homogeneous cultural orbit: in the period from Late Antiquity to the conquest of the Americas, mentalities and corresponding patterns of perception changed in line with geopolitical, economic and cultural developments, the rise and fall of polities, institutions and individuals, and the shift of axes of communication. Latin-Christian societies differed considerably from each other, not least concerning their position vis-à-vis the Islamic world: Christians in the border zones to the Islamic world on the Iberian Peninsula, in Sicily or in the crusader states gained different experiences and perceived the Islamic world differently from their more distant co-religionists in central Europe, on the British isles or – subject to Christian proselytism much later – in Scandinavia.² Consequently, formulating general theories about how

¹ N. Daniel, *Islam and the West. The making of an image*, Oxford, 2009 [reprint of 1960]; R.W. Southern, *Western views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge MA, 1962; M.-T. d’Alverny, ‘La connaissance de l’Islam en Occident du IX^e au milieu du XII^e siècle’, in *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo 12. L’Occidente e l’Islam nell’Alto Medioevo*, 2 vols, Spoleto, 1965, ii, 577-602; M. Rodinson, *La fascination de l’islam. Les étapes du regard occidental sur le monde musulman, les études arabes et islamiques en Europe*, Paris, 1982; P. Sénac, *L’Occident médiéval face à l’islam. L’image de l’autre*, Paris, 1983; J. Tolan, *Saracens. Islam in the medieval European imagination*, New York, 2002; J. Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael. Muslims through European eyes in the Middle Ages*, Gainesville FL, 2008.

² Sénac, *L’Occident*, p. 9.

medieval Western Europe perceived the Islamic world poses the great challenge, not only of avoiding essentialisms, but also of ‘representing the unrepresentable polychromy of reality’.³ Generally speaking, scholarship has so far concentrated on those aspects of perception that are most obvious in the available textual and pictorial material – that is, explicit definitions and depictions that present the Islamic world as an ethnic and religious ‘Other’ that existed outside the sphere of medieval Western Europe. Regarded from this angle, it seems legitimate to claim with Southern that ‘the existence of Islam was the most far-reaching problem in medieval Christendom’.⁴

The Saracen menace

Before the Arab-Islamic expansion in the 7th and early 8th centuries, Western European perceptions of the Arab sphere were mainly based on material provided by Roman ethnography and biblical narratives, depicting an uncivilized people at the fringes of civilization that was genealogically related to Abraham’s outcast son Ishmael.⁵ Initial confrontation on the Iberian Peninsula of the early 8th century resulted in the production of two Hispanic sources of exceptional content and value: the first Latin texts to mention Muḥammad, they define him as a noble Saracen leader, who was able to foresee the future and whose cunning enabled the Saracens to subjugate the Middle East.⁶ The rest of Western Europe still remained largely ignorant: early accounts of pilgrims to the Holy Land from the late 7th and early 8th centuries still do not seem to grasp the implications of the Muslim take-over.⁷ If they were aware of what was happening in the Mediterranean sphere at all, contemporary Latin-Christian authors, mainly from the Frankish and Anglo-Saxon realms, expressed their horror at the onslaught of ‘the Saracens’, one among

³ Rodinson, *Fascination*, pp. 197–98.

⁴ Southern, *Western views*, p. 3.

⁵ E. Rotter, *Abendland und Sarazenen. Das okzidentale Araberbild und seine Entstehung im Frühmittelalter*, Berlin, 1986.

⁶ *Continuatio byzantia arabica*, § 13 / *Continuatio hispana*, § 9, ed. T. Mommsen (*MGH Auctores Antiquissimi* 11), Berlin, 1894, p. 337; K.B. Wolf, ‘Christian views of Islam in early medieval Spain’, in J. Tolan (ed.), *Medieval Christian perceptions of Islam*, New York, 2000, 85–108.

⁷ R. Aist, ‘Adomnan, Arculf and the source material of *De locis sanctis*’, in J.M. Wooding (ed.), *Adomnán of Iona. Theologian, lawmaker, peacemaker*, Dublin, 2010, 162–80; K. Guth, ‘Die Pilgerfahrt Willibaldis ins Heilige Land (723–727/29). Analyse eines frühmittelalterlichen Reiseberichts’, *Sammelblatt des Historischen Vereins Eichstätt* 75 (1982), 13–28.

several pagan peoples menacing the security of the emerging Latin-Christian orbit.⁸ Citing Genesis 16:12, the venerable Bede (d. 735) asserts: 'Now his [Ishmael's] hand is against all men, and all men's hands are against him, to such an extent that the Saracens hold the whole breadth of Africa in their sway, and they also hold the greatest part of Asia and some parts of Europe, hateful and hostile to all.'⁹

A perverted faith

In spite of evolving diplomatic and economic relations between societies ruled by Latin-Christian and Arab-Islamic elites, the following centuries witnessed what Tolan has described as a process of 'forging polemical images'.¹⁰ Iberian Christians in direct contact with Muslim al-Andalus, as well as scholars on the Apennine Peninsula, mainly drawing back on literary models from the Christian East, produced extensive polemical biographies of the prophet as early as the 9th and 10th centuries.¹¹ Generally, however, knowledge about Islam in this period was rudimentary and interpreted in the light of regular raids and military aggression by 'the Saracens'. It slowly became apparent that the Islamic world professed a faith that was willing and able to resist the missionary advances that were successfully contributing to the integration of Normans, Slavs and other 'pagan' peoples into the folds of Latin Christianity.¹² In a poem written around 826, Ermoldus Nigellus attributes the following verses to the Carolingian King Louis the Pious: 'If this people venerated God and pleased Christ and had been anointed with holy baptism, we would have to make peace with them and to keep this peace in order to bind it to God through religion. But it remains detestable, sneers at the salvation we offer and follows the commandments of the demons. Therefore,

⁸ H.-W. Goetz, 'Sarazenen als "Fremde"? Anmerkungen zum Islambild in der abendländischen Geschichtsschreibung des frühen Mittelalters', in B. Jokisch (ed.), *Fremde, Feinde und Kurioses. Innen- und Außenansichten unseres muslimischen Nachbarn*, Berlin, 2009, pp. 58-62; Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 72-78; Sénac, *L'Occident*, pp. 19-26.

⁹ Beda Venerabilis, *In principium Genesis usque ad natiuitatem Isaac* IV, 16, ed. C.W. Jones, CCL 118A, p. 201; Bede, *On Genesis*, trans. C.B. Kendall, Liverpool, 2008, p. 279, K.S. Beckett, *Anglo-Saxon perceptions of the Arabs, Ismaelites and Saracens*, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 128-29.

¹⁰ Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 69.

¹¹ E. Klueting, 'Quis fuerit Machometus? Mohammed im lateinischen Mittelalter (11.-13. Jh.)', in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 90 (2008) 293-306, pp. 288-95.

¹² B.Z. Kedar, *Crusade and mission. European approaches to the Muslims*, Princeton NJ, 1984, pp. 3-41.

God's compassionate justice prevails on us to subject it to servitude.¹³ Although it is tempting to explain the emergence of crusading ideology on this basis, it must be acknowledged that a large variety of other factors also contributed to its formation.¹⁴ It cannot be denied, however, that a negative, stereotyped and largely erroneous image of idolatrous Islam was propagated and widely diffused on the eve and in the wake of the First Crusade.¹⁵ This crude image was complemented by a very large number of highly distorted biographical passages on Muḥammad¹⁶ – a man who, the chronicle of Erfurt around 1272 tells us, ‘planned to rule over the realm of the Arabs but, when he failed to subject them by force, achieved this by simulating holiness’, creating a creed defined as ‘errors of the Saracens that are firmly upheld by worldly and human fears as well as carnal desires’.¹⁷

Object of polemical study and missionary efforts

At the same time, cooperation, cohabitation and conflict between Muslims and Christians on the Iberian Peninsula, in Sicily and the Middle East of the crusading period nurtured interest in the Islamic world, which occasionally produced a more balanced and factual view of the Islamic Other.¹⁸ Commenting on the death of Bishop Thiemo of Salzburg at the hands of Saracens in 1101, allegedly because he had refused to venerate their idols, Otto of Freising (d. 1158) wrote: ‘That he destroyed idols is difficult to believe. For it is certain that all Saracens venerate one God and have adopted [biblical] law and circumcision, that they do not disavow Christ, the apostles and apostolic men, and that they are only barred

¹³ Ermoldus Nigellus, *Carmen in honorem Hludowici*, ed. E. Dümmler (*MGH Poetae latini aevi Carolini* 2), Berlin, 1884, p. 14. Translation adapted from Kedar, *Crusade and mission*, pp. 7–8.

¹⁴ C. Erdmann, *The origin of the idea of crusade*, Princeton NJ, 1977; J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the idea of crusading*, New York, 2003 [reprint of 1983].

¹⁵ Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 338–43; Southern, *Western views*, pp. 27–33; J. Tolan, ‘Muslims as pagan idolators in chronicles of the First Crusade’, in D. Blanks and M. Frassetto (eds), *Western views of Islam in the pre-modern period. Perception of Other*, New York, 1999, 97–118.

¹⁶ Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 100–30. Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 135–69; S. Hotz, *Mohammed und seine Lehre in der Darstellung abendländischer Autoren vom späten 11. bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts. Aspekte, Quellen und Tendenzen in Kontinuität und Wandel*, Frankfurt, 2002.

¹⁷ *Chronica minor Minoritae Erphordensis*, ed. O. Holder-Egger (*MGH SS rer. Germ.* 42), Hanover, 1899, pp. 596, 598; cf. A. Seitz, ‘Darstellungen Muhammads und seiner Glaubenslehre in lateinischen Weltchroniken’, in M. Borgolte et al. (eds), *Mittelalter im Labor. Die Mediävistik testet Wege zu einer transkulturellen Europawissenschaft*, Berlin, 2008, pp. 126–29.

¹⁸ Southern, *Western views*, pp. 34–36.

from salvation because they deny that Jesus Christ, the savior of humanity, is God and God's son, and because they venerate Muḥammad, the seducer mentioned above, as the great prophet of the highest God.¹⁹ The difficulties encountered in subjugating the Islamic world by force seem to have engendered and reinforced the conviction that a better understanding of Islamic religion provided the key to missionary success as a viable alternative to violence.²⁰ The first significant step in this direction was taken when the abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable (d. 1156), commissioned the first Latin translation of the Qur'an, which formed the basis of Western qur'anic studies up to the early modern age.²¹ Between the 12th and the 15th centuries, intellectuals from the Latin East and all over Europe, such as Petrus Alfonsi (d. after 1130),²² William of Tyre (d. c. 1185),²³ Jacques de Vitry (d. c. 1240),²⁴ William of Tripoli (second half of the 13th century),²⁵ Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (d. 1247),²⁶ Ramon Martí (d. 1284),²⁷ Roger Bacon (d. 1292),²⁸ Ramon Llull (d. c. 1316),²⁹ Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (d. 1320),³⁰ Paul of Burgos (d. 1435),³¹

¹⁹ Otto Frisingensis, *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus*, lib. VII, cap. 7, ed. A. Hofmeister (*MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol.* 45), Hanover, 1912, p. 317; Tolan, 'Muslims as pagan idolators', pp. 97-98.

²⁰ Kedar, *Crusade and mission*, pp. 97-158.

²¹ T.E. Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom, 1140-1560*, Philadelphia PA, 2009. On the abbot's attitude towards Islam see J. Tolan, 'Peter the Venerable on the "diabolical heresy of the Saracens"', in A. Ferreiro (ed.), *The devil, heresy and witchcraft in the Middle Ages*, Leiden, 1998, 345-67.

²² J. Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and his medieval readers*, Gainesville FL, 1993, pp. 27-32, 108-10.

²³ R.-C. Schwinges, 'William of Tyre, the Muslim enemy, and the problem of tolerance', in M. Gervers and J.M. Powell (eds), *Tolerance and intolerance. Social conflict in the age of the crusades*, Syracuse NY, 2001, 124-32.

²⁴ I. Schöndorfer, *Orient und Okzident nach den Hauptwerken des Jakob von Vitry*, Frankfurt, 1997.

²⁵ Wilhelm von Tripolis, *Notitia de Machometo. De statu Sarracenorum*, ed. and trans. P. Engels, Würzburg, 1992.

²⁶ R.-C. Schwinges, 'Die Wahrnehmung des Anderen durch Geschichtsschreibung. Muslime und Christen im Spiegel der Werke Wilhelms von Tyrus († 1186) und Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada († 1247)', in A. Patschowsky and H. Zimmermann (eds.), *Toleranz im Mittelalter*, Sigmaringen, 1998, 101-28.

²⁷ Anthony Bonner, 'L'apologetica de Ramon Martí i Ramon Llull davant de l'islam i del judaisme', *Estudi general (Girona)* 9 (1989), 171-85.

²⁸ J.D. North, 'Roger Bacon and the Saracens', in G.F. Vescovini (ed.), *Filosofia e scienza classica, arabo-latina medievale et l'età moderna*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1999, 129-60.

²⁹ S. Garcías Palou, *Ramon Llull y el islam*, Palma de Mallorca, 1981; R. Sugranyes de Franch, 'L'apologétique de Raymond Lulle vis-à-vis de l'islam', in *Islam et Chrétiens du Midi*, Toulouse, 1983, 373-93.

³⁰ J.-M. Mérigoux, *Les grandes religions de l'Orient à la fin du XIII^e siècle vues par Riccoldo Da Monte di Croce. Le monde de l'islam*, Dijon, 1988.

³¹ P.D. Krey, 'Nicholas of Lyra and Paul of Burgos on Islam', in Tolan, *Medieval Christian perceptions*, 153-74.

John-Jerome of Prague (d. 1440),³² Juan de Segovia (d. 1458),³³ Nicholas of Cusa (d. 1464),³⁴ Juan de Torquemada (d. 1468),³⁵ and many others, produced writings on Islam and the Islamic world, each with a different mixture of factual information, theological argument and polemics. If they did not restrict themselves to attacking Islam, their attitude was often ambivalent, in the sense that they acknowledged positive traits without questioning that Islam represented great error and a danger to the Christian faith. Thus Juan de Segovia (d. 1458) wrote: 'It is painful to see that the sect of Muḥammad enchants many, gently but without wisdom. For those who only regard it superficially, it seems very similar to the truth. This I have learnt by experiment: For when I, as the occasion arose, showed the Qur'an to a few people, among them learned men, and read one or several sūras to them, they more or less argued with me, why I did not divulge this book, since it contained so many useful moral exhortations.'³⁶ This heightened awareness of Islam as a religion backed by societies built on alternative religious principles is also reflected in travel accounts written by contemporary pilgrims.³⁷ The theological literature written by ecclesiastics of various provenance mainly aimed at providing arguments to be used in anti-Islamic and missionary discourse. Concrete missionary strategies, however, were mainly conceived and implemented on the initiative of Franciscans and Dominicans in the 13th and 14th centuries.³⁸ A promoter of the Franciscan cause, Ramon Llull, for example, is at the origin of a decree issued

³² W.P. Hyland, 'John-Jerome of Prague and the religion of the Saracens', in Tolan, *Medieval Christian perceptions*, 199-208.

³³ D. Cabanelas Rodríguez and E. Molina López, *Juan de Segovia y el problema islámico*, Granada, 2007.

³⁴ L. Hagemann, *Der Kur'an in Verständnis und Kritik bei Nikolaus von Kues. Ein Beitrag zur Erhellung islamisch-christlicher Geschichte*, Frankfurt a. M. 1976; J. Hopkins, *Nicholas of Cusa's De pace fidei and Cribratio Alkorani*, 2nd ed., Minneapolis MN, 1994.

³⁵ I. Adeva Martín, 'Juan de Torquemada y su "Tractatus contra principales errores perferi Machometi et turcorum sive saracenorum" (1459)', *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia* 16 (2007) 195-208.

³⁶ Juan de Segovia, *De mittendo gladio divini spiritus in corda Sarracenorum* (MS Sevilla, Biblioteca Colombina – 7-6-14), cited in R. Gleis and C. Finiello, 'Eher auf dem Weg des Friedens als des Krieges', *RUBIN. Wissenschaftsmagazin* (fall 2008), 26-32, p. 30.

³⁷ A. Grabois, *Le pèlerin occidental en Terre Sainte au moyen âge*, Paris, 1998, pp. 200-20.

³⁸ Kedar, *Crusade and mission*, pp. 97-158; Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 214-55; A. Müller, *Bettelmönche in islamischer Fremde. Institutionelle Rahmenbedingungen franziskanischer und dominikanischer Mission in muslimischen Räumen des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Münster, 2002; J. Tolan, 'Porter la bonne parole auprès de Babel. Les problèmes linguistiques chez les missionnaires mendiants, XIII^e-XIV^e siècle', in P. von Moos (ed.), *Zwischen Babel und Pfingsten. Sprachdifferenzen und Gesprächsverständigung in der Vormoderne* (8.-16. Jahrhundert), Zürich, 2008, 533-48.

by the Council of Vienna (1311-12), which stipulated the creation of academic chairs for the teaching of Arabic and other Oriental languages in Rome, Paris, Oxford, Bologna and Salamanca. The underlying aim was that catholic men 'instructed and sufficiently educated in these languages, can with God's help bring forth spiritual fruit, so that the faith will be beneficially propagated among these infidel peoples.'³⁹ From the 12th century onwards and parallel to this 'discovery' and polemical assessment of Islam as a religion, Latin scholars were confronted with the world of Arabic-Islamic science and philosophy, which built on the Graeco-(Syriac-)Arabic translation movement of the 9th and 10th centuries.⁴⁰ The ensuing movement of translation from Arabic to Latin provoked turmoil in the academic centers of Western intellectual culture as a great number of mainly Aristotelian ideas in Arabic-Islamic guise created the necessity of re-evaluating established patterns of orthodox Catholic thought.⁴¹ Interestingly, however, these intellectual imports, which also encompassed various branches of the natural sciences, were rarely associated with Islam as a religion or the Islamic world as a religiously defined entity. In his polemic against the Averroists, for example, Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) never mentions the faith professed by Ibn Rushd/Averroes and other Muslim thinkers.⁴²

Coping with the presence of Islam

While both the theological struggle against Islam and the assimilation of great parts of the Graeco-Arabic heritage laid the groundwork for the ensuing systematic study of Arabic, Islam and Arabic-Islamic culture in Western Europe,⁴³ vernacular culture of the 12th and 13th centuries

³⁹ 'Concilium Viennense (a. 1311-12), decretum 24', ed. and trans. G. Alberigo and J. Wohlmuth, in J. Wohlmuth (ed.), *Konzilien des Mittelalters. Vom ersten Laterankonzil (1123) bis zum fünften Laterankonzil (1512-1517)*, 3 vols, Paderborn, 2000, ii, p. 379; B. Altaner, 'Raymundus Lullus und der Sprachenkanon (can. 11), des Konzils von Vienne (1312)', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 53 (1933), 190-219.

⁴⁰ D. Gutas, *Greek thought, Arabic culture. The Graeco-Arabic translation movement in Baghdad and early 'Abbāsid society*, London, 1998.

⁴¹ For an overview see D.C. Lindberg, *The beginnings of Western science. The European scientific tradition in philosophical, religious and institutional context, prehistory to A.D. 1450*, Chicago, 2007, pp. 225-53; A. Speer and L. Wegener (eds), *Wissen über Grenzen. Arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter*, Berlin, 2006.

⁴² Cf. Thomas de Aquino, *De unitate intellectus contra Averroistas*, ed. Fratrum Praedicatorum (*Commissio Leonina* 43), Rome, 1976, ch. 5, p. 314.

⁴³ J.W. Fück, 'Die arabischen Studien in Europa vom Anfang des 12. bis in den Anfang des 19. Jh.', in R. Hartmann and H. Scheel (eds), *Beiträge zur Arabistik, Semitistik und*

increasingly integrated the literary motif of the Muslim heathen into its repertoire. Vernacular literature not only depicted this heathen 'Other' as a religious and cultural antagonist, but also associated it with shared ideals of chivalry⁴⁴ and successful conversion to Christianity.⁴⁵ The occasional text even suggests that a certain degree of religious alterity was accepted on the part of its Christian author.⁴⁶ In the meantime, political activists of ecclesiastical and lay origin sought political solutions for the challenges that arose as soon as the late medieval 'dreams of conquest and conversion', as Tolan puts it,⁴⁷ had either been partially realized or ultimately failed: legislators attempted to come to grips with Muslim populations and converted Muslims under Latin-Christian rule, in Sicily, the Iberian Peninsula, and the crusader principalities. From a juridical point of view, these Muslims were often regarded as a potential threat to Christian society. This elicited precautions and countermeasures against religious 'contamination', crypto-Islam and apostasy as the effects of induced or forced conversion.⁴⁸ In other cases, however, legislation

Islamkunde, Leipzig, 1944, 85-253; F. Klein-Franke, *Die klassische Antike in der Tradition des Islam*, Darmstadt, 1980.

⁴⁴ M.A. Jubb, 'Enemies in the Holy War, but brothers in chivalry. The crusaders' view of their Saracen opponents', in H. van Dijk and W. Noomen (eds), *Aspects de l'épopée romane. Mentalités – idéologies – intertextualités*, Groningen, 1995, 251-59; Gloria Allaire, 'Noble Saracen or Muslim enemy? The changing image of the Saracen in late medieval Italian literature', in Blanks et al., *Western views*, 173-84; J. Tolan, 'Mirror of chivalry. Saladin in the medieval European imagination', in Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, 79-100; B. Springer and A. Fidora (eds), *Religiöse Toleranz im Spiegel der Literatur. Eine Idee und ihre ästhetische Gestaltung*, Berlin, 2009.

⁴⁵ A. Kassimova, *Die Bekehrung des Sarazenen. Untersuchungen zum Bild des Islam in den mittelenenglischen Romanzen*, Bonn, 2006 (PhD diss. Universität Bonn).

⁴⁶ H. Legros, 'Entre Chrétiens et Sarrasins, des amitiés paradoxales. Liberté de l'imaginaire ou rêve d'un monde réconcilié', in van Dijk et al. (eds), *Aspects de l'épopée romane*, 269-78; Schwinges, 'William of Tyre'; M.E. Dorninger, 'Muslime und Christen im Grafen Rudolf und in der Kreuzfahrt Landgraf Ludwigs des Frommen von Thüringen. Zu Toleranz und religiösem Disput zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge', *Disputatio. Medieval forms of argument. Disputations and debate* 1 (2002), 157-88; E. Molina López, 'Juan de Segovia. Una propuesta de paz perpetua entre musulmanes y cristianos', in M.A. Ladero Quesada (ed.), *Cristianos y Musulmanes en la península Ibérica. La guerra, la frontera y la convivencia*, Ávila, 2009, 289-306. Also see the articles by B. Haupt and F. Ferrari in Springer et al., *Religiöse Toleranz*.

⁴⁷ Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 171.

⁴⁸ A. García 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; B.Z. Kedar, '“De iudeis et sarracenis”. On the categorization of Muslims in medieval canon law', in idem, *The Franks in the Levant*, Aldershot UK, 1993, 207-13; N.P. Zacour, *Jews and Saracens in the Consilia of Oldradus de Ponte*, Toronto, 1990; D.J. Kagay, 'The essential enemy. The image of the Muslims as adversary and vassal in the law and literature of the medieval Crown of Aragon', in D.J. Kagay, *War, government, and society in the medieval Crown of Aragon*, Aldershot UK, 2007, 19-36; Ferrero Hernández, 'Muslime und Juden in den Partidas

simply addressed the need of regulating relations between groups of different religious, ethnic and linguistic origins. Thus, a paragraph in the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso X of Castile and León (ruled 1252-84) stipulates that contracts between partners who speak Arabic (*arabigo*) and Latin or Romance (*ladino*) respectively, are only valid if they have been concluded with the help of an interpreter.⁴⁹ Such evidence of *convivencia* cannot eclipse, however, that the Islamic world was still regarded as a formidable antagonist. The possibility of subduing it came into view temporarily when the Mongols appeared on the scene. Confronted with Saracen messengers asking for assistance in 1238, the bishop of Winchester is said to have stated: 'Let us leave these dogs to devour one another, that they may all be consumed, and perish; and we, when we proceed against the enemies of Christ who remain, will slay them, and cleanse the face of the earth, so that all the world will be subject to the one Catholic church (. . .).'⁵⁰ As long as the Mongols seemed to lean towards Christianity, they embodied a long-awaited Christian ally against Islam.⁵¹ Their partial conversion to Islam, their defeat at the hands of the Mamluks, the failure of several crusading enterprises, and the fall of Acre in 1291 gave rise to despair, however. This atmosphere of deception is vividly expressed in an anecdote recorded by Salimbene of Parma (d. after 1288), according to which Frenchmen, confronted with Franciscans and Dominicans preaching the cross, ostentatiously dispensed alms, saying: 'Take this in the name of Muḥammad who is more powerful than Christ!'⁵² Whereas the Christian elites of the Iberian Peninsula grappled with the challenge of eliminating the last strongholds of Muslim al-Andalus, crusader projects became less organized. The eastern Mediterranean became infested with

Alfonso X. Anmerkungen zu einer paradoxen Toleranz', in Springer et al., *Religiöse Toleranz*, 57-70; C. Fally, 'Christians, Jews, and Muslims. Religion and exclusion in the law and society of the Crusader States', in L. Beck Varela (ed.), *Crossing legal cultures*, Munich, 2009, 107-20; S. Domínguez Sánchez, 'Cristianos y Musulmanes en la península Ibérica: la guerra, la frontera y la convivencia. Una visión a través de las "bulas" del siglo XIII', in M.A. Ladero Quesada, *Cristianos y Musulmanes en el medievo Hispano*, Madrid, 2006, 449-74.

⁴⁹ *Siete Partidas*, ed. La Real Academia de la Historia, vol. 3, Madrid, 1807, partida quinta, capítulo XI, ley I, p. 255; *Las Siete Partidas*, ed. R.I. Burns, trans. S.P. Scott, vol. 4: *Family, commerce, and the sea. The worlds of women and merchants*, Philadelphia PA, 2001, p. 1092.

⁵⁰ Matthew of Paris, *History of England*, trans. J.A. Giles, vol. 1, London, 1853, p. 131, cf. Matthaeus Parisiensis, *Chronica majora*, ed. H.R. Luards, vol. 3: *AD 1216-1239*, London, 1876, pp. 488-89; Matthaeus Parisiensis, *Historia Anglorum sive Historia minor*, ed. F. Madden, vol. 2: *A.D. 1189-1245*, London, 1866, p. 409.

⁵¹ Southern, *Western views*, pp. 42-51, 64-66.

⁵² *Salimbene de Adam, Cronica, a. 1251*, ed. O. Holder-Egger (*MGH SS* 32), Hanover, 1913, p. 445; E. Siberry, *Criticism of crusading 1095-1274*, Oxford, 1985, pp. 193-94.

Western actors pursuing various interests which only faintly echo the spirit of the early crusader movement.⁵³ At the end of the Middle Ages, a great paradigmatic shift in the perception of the Islamic Other took place with the ascent of the Ottomans and the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Central Europe increasingly associated Islam with the Turks, whose menacing presence on the eastern borders of Christian Europe became an important factor in the breakup of Catholic unity during the Reformation.⁵⁴

When Islam is not 'the Other'

Although this rudimentary overview cannot do justice to the scholarly efforts it professes to summarize, it nevertheless provides an insight into a wide range of perceptions characteristic of the medieval period. It is apparent, nonetheless, that scholarship has so far focused on Islam as a phenomenon the medieval Western world had difficulties coming to terms with. This interpretation accurately reconstructs one part of medieval realities. It must be acknowledged, however, that the medieval range of perceptions was much broader than has been previously suggested. Most medieval texts on Islam were written by clerical elites with an undeniable ideological bias,⁵⁵ in spite of all the differentiations and nuances to be found, above all in the later Middle Ages. Several studies make the effort to counterbalance the dominance of ecclesiastical perspectives by distinguishing between 'popular' and 'elite' sources⁵⁶ and by bringing the above-mentioned vernacular sources into play. So far, however, the difficulty of accessing the perceptions of those who have not immortalized their perception of Islam in writing or in works of art has been addressed, but not really solved.⁵⁷ Thus, the traditional method of analyzing how a specific source or corpus of sources depicts Islam has

⁵³ N. Housley, *The later crusades. From Lyons to Alcazar 1274-1580*, Oxford, 2001 [reprint of 1992]. Also see the travel accounts to the Middle East in W. Paravicini (ed.), *Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters. Eine analytische Bibliographie*, 3 vols, Frankfurt, 1994-2000.

⁵⁴ T. Kaufmann, 'The Christian perception of Islam in the Late Middle Ages and in the Reformation', *Comparativ. Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und Vergleichende Geschichtsforschung* 20(4) (2010), 43-57; A. Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben. 'Türkengefahr' und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450-1600*, Frankfurt, 2003.

⁵⁵ Sénac, *L'Occident*, p. 10.

⁵⁶ N. Daniel, 'Learned and popular attitudes to the Arabs in the Middle Ages', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1977) 41-52; J.A. Hoepfner Moran Cruz, 'Popular attitudes towards Islam in medieval Europe', in Blanks et al., *Western views*, 55-82.

⁵⁷ Sénac, *L'Occident*, p. 47.

to be complemented by other methodological approaches. Opposing the large quantity of written polemics to the large variety of relations that actually existed between the two cultural spheres and their representatives provides one solution, which mainly concerns the border and transit zones connecting societies under Latin-Christian and Islamic rule.⁵⁸ A thorough analysis of relations, e.g. between the Carolingians and the Umayyads of al-Andalus,⁵⁹ Christians and Muslims in pre-Norman Italy,⁶⁰ Amalfi, Venice and Muslim societies of North Africa⁶¹ in the early Middle Ages, Muslim slaves and Latin-Christian masters,⁶² popes and Muslim rulers,⁶³ and European Christian mercenaries and their Maghrebian employers⁶⁴ in the later Middle Ages, provides insight into the activities of a wide range of actors implicated in processes of communication and exchange. Each individual constellation elicited a large variety of perceptions which may have, but did not necessarily conform to the normative framework usually associated with the Latin-Christian 'othering' of Islam.⁶⁵ Such an approach opens up further perspectives, which seem essential for arriving at a fuller understanding of how medieval Western Europe perceived the Islamic world. Caution is called for, however, since the sources relevant to reconstructing relations between the two cultural spheres do not necessarily formulate relevant patterns of perception explicitly. Consequently, the latter have to be inferred on the basis of thorough analysis and interpretation. The Christian who invites Muslim friends to his newborn son's circumcision on the

⁵⁸ Cf. Sénac, *L'Occident*, pp. 42-48. A large amount of secondary literature is available on these relations, e.g. B. Arbel (ed.), *Intercultural contacts in the medieval Mediterranean*, London, 1996; P. Jansen, A. Nef and C. Picard, *La Méditerranée entre pays d'islam et monde latin*, Paris, 2009; Unité mixte de recherche 5648, *Pays d'islam et monde latin (X^e-XIII^e siècle)*, Lyons, 2000; H. Laurens et al., *L'Europe et l'islam. Quinze siècles d'histoire*, Paris, 2009, pp. 18-120.

⁵⁹ P. Sénac, *Les Carolingiens et al-Andalus (VIII^e-IX^e siècles)*, Paris, 2002.

⁶⁰ B.M. Kreutz, *Before the Normans. Southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries*, Philadelphia PA, 1996.

⁶¹ A.O. Citarella, 'The relations of Amalfi with the Arab world before the crusades', *Speculum* 42(2) (1967) 299-312; J. Hoffmann, 'Die östliche Adriaküste als Hauptnachschub-basis für den venezianischen Sklavenhandel bis zum Ausgang des elften Jahrhunderts', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 55 (1968), 165-81.

⁶² J. Heers, *Esclaves et domestiques en Méditerranée médiévale*, Paris, 1981, pp. 24-39.

⁶³ K.E. Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels*, Vatican, 1981.

⁶⁴ S. Barton, 'Traitors to the faith? Christian mercenaries in al-Andalus and the Maghreb, c. 1100-1300', in R. Collins and A. Goodmann (eds), *Medieval Spain. Culture, conflict and coexistence*, Basingstoke UK, 2002, 23-62.

⁶⁵ D.G. König, 'Muslim perception(s) of "Latin Christianity": Methodological reflections and a reevaluation', *Comparativ. Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und Vergleichende Geschichtsforschung* 20(4) (2010), 18-42, pp. 25-26.

Iberian Peninsula,⁶⁶ the ruler of Salerno who gives his hat to a Saracen who later warns him of an impending raid⁶⁷ in the 9th century, the Christian wives from 10th-century Sicily who negotiate with their Muslim husbands that their sons receive an Islamic, their daughters a Christian religious education,⁶⁸ the templar who permits a Muslim to pray in the Dome of the Rock in the late 12th century,⁶⁹ officials of the Crown of Aragon who enforce the marital rights of a Muslim woman,⁷⁰ and Italian merchants who rent entire ships to their Muslim colleagues in the Maghreb of the 14th century,⁷¹ provide some examples. They stand for many other cases in which patterns of perception resulting from pragmatic interaction, cooperation, cohabitation, friendship, love, or simply indifference, must have prevailed over patterns of perception associated with normative and physical antagonism or conflict. Recent scholarship has put much emphasis on phenomena that have been summarized under terms such as 'hybridity' or 'métissage'. These terms apply to objects and persons moving in 'third spaces' characterized by the blurring of boundaries constituted by ethnicity, culture, language, religion, etc.⁷² The existence of hybrid phenomena does not obliterate the parallel existence and force of boundaries and forms of cultural antagonism. It shows, however, that focusing on normative orders and the related stereotyped and often bipolar patterns of perception is not sufficient to provide a balanced view of the mutual perception(s) of medieval Western Europe and the Islamic world. In addition to reconstructing instances of active othering, it seems necessary to acknowledge the great variety of types and forms of Muslim-Christian interaction and to listen to the voices, albeit faint and hard to reconstruct, of those 'in between'.

⁶⁶ A. Fernández Félix and M. Fierro, 'Cristianos y conversos al Islam en al-Andalus bajo los Omeyas. Una aproximación al proceso de islamización a través de una fuente legal andalusí del s. III/IX', in L. Caballero Zoreda and P. Mateos Cruz (eds), *Visigodos y Omeyas. Un debate entre la Antigüedad tardía y la alta Edad Media*, Madrid, 2000, 417-29, p. 425.

⁶⁷ *Chronicon Salernitanum*, § 110-111, ed. Ulla Westerbergh, Stockholm, 1956, pp. 122-23.

⁶⁸ König, 'Muslim perception(s)', p. 25.

⁶⁹ *An Arab-Syrian gentleman and warrior in the period of the crusades. Memoirs of Usamah ibn-Munqidh*, trans. P.K. Hitti, New York, 2000 [reprint of New York, 1929], p. 164.

⁷⁰ M.-T. Ferrer i Mallol, 'Les phénomènes migratoires entre les musulmans soumis à la couronne catalo-aragonaise pendant le Moyen Âge', in M. Balard and A. Ducellier (eds), *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes (X^e-XVI^e siècles)*, Paris, 2002, 259-84, pp. 264-65.

⁷¹ V. Lagardère, *Histoire et société en Occident musulman au Moyen Âge. Analyse du Mi'yār d'al-Wanšarisi*, Madrid, 1995, p. 33 (*fatwā* no. 86).

⁷² S.E. Epstein, *Purity lost. The transgression of boundaries in the eastern Mediterranean*, Baltimore MD, 2007; S. Burkhardt et al., 'Hybridisierung von Zeichen und Formen durch mediterrane Eliten', in M. Borgolte et al. (eds), *Integration und Desintegration der Kulturen im mittelalterlichen Europa*, Berlin, 2011, 467-560.

Saracens as idolaters in European vernacular literatures

Sharon Kinoshita and Siobhain Bly Calkin

Muslims frequently appear in the vernacular literatures of medieval Latin Europe, never named as such but usually called ‘Saracens’ or ‘pagans’. They are portrayed as polytheists and idolaters, worshipping their gods in the form of idols that can be desecrated and abused. In the *Chanson de Roland* (late 11th or early 12th century), one of the earliest and by far the most celebrated of the Old French epics (*chansons de geste*), the Saracens of Saragossa worship a trinity of gods, Mahumet, Apollin, and Tervagan – the first clearly referring to the Prophet Muḥammad, and the third presumably to the Greco-Roman deity Apollo, while the derivation of ‘Tervagan’ remains open to conjecture.¹ This image becomes the standard, indeed formulaic, representation of Saracen religion throughout the rest of the European Middle Ages – primarily in epic, but also across a range of texts and genres influenced by it. To the extent that such representations are meant to refer to Islamic tenets and practices, they are, of course, blatantly inaccurate. In the wake of Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978), however, interpreting them as evidence of Latin Europe’s obdurate hostility towards Islam has taken on a life of its own in ways that sometimes distort their importance. There is no question that literary depictions of idolatry are deployed to portray Saracens in negative or comical ways – as credulous, inept, superficial, violent, and materialistic. At the same time, it is crucial to read such representations in context. In this essay, we examine literary depictions of ‘pagan’ or ‘Saracen’ idolatry with a focus on medieval French and English vernaculars, balancing an emphasis on the continuity of the discourse across time and textual traditions with due attention to historical, generic, and cultural specificities.²

¹ Leo Spitzer speculates that it comes from the present participle (*terrificans*) of the verb ‘to terrify’. He notes that many Saracen names (Baligant, Estorgant, Aubigant, Morgant) are formed from present participles of Provençal-sounding roots. See Spitzer, ‘Tervagan’, *Romania* 70 (1949) 397-408.

² On the interchangeability of ‘Saracen’ and ‘pagan’, see Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 126-27.

The Saracens of medieval French literature

Though predating the period covered by this volume, the *Chanson de Roland* sets the tropes of pagan idolatry that were to characterize epic, romance, and other genres through the end of the French Middle Ages. The Saracens are shown worshipping a trinity of gods, Mahumet, Apollin, and Tervagant (ll. 8, 3267-68, 3490-91) in the form of idols that can be desecrated and abused (ll. 2580, 2589-90). In general, this representation is structured by parallelism with the Christian Trinity or in 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 (l. 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 (l. 2458-75). After Charlemagne's conquest of Saragossa, the Franks take possession of the synagogues and the 'mahumeries' and destroy the pagan idols (l. 3662-64).

Composed in a vernacular tongue for an aristocratic audience whose interests frequently diverged from those of the church, the Old French *chanson de geste* (epic) is typically less concerned with *Islam* as a religion than with *Saracens* as members of a culture whose values and practices very much mirror the Franks' own. Occasionally these Saracens are racialized or depicted as monstrous or bestial (as in the oft-quoted description of King Abisme, 'black as pitch', or the bristle-backed Micènes from the *Chanson de Roland*), but elsewhere they are indistinguishable from the Franks in appearance and customs.³ For lay nobles whose 'Christianity' was undoubtedly more closely linked to practices than to theology, religious faith – like political allegiance – was understood as the personal bond between lord and vassal. In the *Chanson de Roland*, where this intimate feudal bond is referred to as 'love', the otherness of the Franks' Saracen antagonists is established by the declaration that their king 'does not love God: he serves Mahumet and invokes Apollin'. Correspondingly, the pagan king's offer to convert to Christianity is inseparable from the offer to become Charlemagne's 'man' (*hom*).⁴ Subsequently, however, he and his vassals are most often referred to by name ('King Marsile

³ On epic Saracens' diversity of color, race, geographical origins, and history, see P. Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste du cycle du roi*, Aix-en-Provence, 1982, pp. 29-30.

⁴ Man, or vassal, from which the term 'homage' (*hommage*) is derived. *Chanson de Roland*, ll. 7, 8, 39, 86.

was in Saragossa', l. 10), with mentions of 'pagans' (l. 22) or 'Saracens' (l. 40) largely reserved to refer to the collective. The drama and inflammatory intent of Roland's battle cry, 'Pagans are wrong and Christians are right!' (*Paien unt tort e chrestiens unt dreit*, l. 1015), obscure the fact that, throughout much of the poem, the fundamental dichotomy is not that between pagans and *Christians* but between pagans/Saracens and *Franks* (or the French), in which religious difference is assumed without being thematized *per se*.⁵

While the *Chanson de Roland's* trinity of pagan gods, Mahum (or Mahumet), Tervagan, and Apollin (ll. 2711-13) remains standard throughout the French Middle Ages, other texts sometimes add to or substitute for these basic three names others that were drawn from classical antiquity or biblical sources, or distortions of words of negative connotation: these include Jupiter, Nero, Baratron, Margot, Cahu (chaos), Pilate, and even Plato.⁶ Saracens/pagans routinely greet each other in the name of one or more of their gods (*Roland*, ll. 416-17), whom they worship in material form – as three-dimensional statues that can be transported (as in *Blancandin*, where Sadoine, son of the king of Athens, has [images of] Mahon, Apolin, and Baratron loaded on board his ship, ll. 2763-64), or desecrated and abused (as in the *Chanson de Roland*, where Queen Bramimonde leads a revolt against the pagan gods as being weak and ineffectual).

At first glance, such depictions of Saracens attacking their gods verbally and physically seem designed to underscore the shallowness of their religious beliefs and practices; in fact, however, the Saracens' 'abuse of their own images resembles the punishment of images practiced by medieval Christians, when an image of a saint or of the Virgin Mary would be displaced from its usual position and verbally abused until the saint once more displayed the efficacy expected by the supplicant. This parallelism suggests the extent to which medieval Christians used their own theology to imagine Islam'.⁷ Some depictions link the idols to tropes of Saracen wealth, highlighting the pagans' materiality (as opposed to spirituality) and avarice. In Jean Bodel's early 13th-century drama the *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*, an unnamed pagan king responds to news of a Christian

⁵ Thus in Bancourt's magisterial *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste*, 'The religion of epic Saracens' constitutes one chapter out of twelve.

⁶ See *Blancandin et l'Orgueilleuse d'amour*, ed. F.P. Sweetser (*Textes littéraires français*), Geneva, 1964, MS P, ll. 5359b and 5747, and Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste*, pp. 383-85.

⁷ Akbari, *Idols in the East*, p. 207.

border raid by cursing Tervagan and threatening to melt him down for his gold content if he does not immediately help him defeat his enemy: 'I will have you fired and melted down and divided among my people; for, more than silver, you are made of the purest Arabian gold' (*Je vous ferai ardoir et fonder / Et departir entre me gent. / Car vous avés passé argent: / S'estes du plus fin or d'Arrabe*, ll. 140-43); scandalized, his seneschal urges the king to promise Tervagan ten gold marks and beg his pardon (ll. 152-63).⁸ In *Blancandin*, when the pagan prince Sadoine agrees to convert to Christianity for love of the titular protagonist, 'he had [the statue of] Mahon brought and stripped of all its gold and silver. He had all the idols thrown into the sea, but made sure to keep all the precious stones' (*a fait Mahon aporter, / Et tot l'or et l'argent oster. / Toz les ydres gite en la mer, / Mais les pierres fist bien garder*, ll. 3177-80).

Though 'pagans' are scorned for their idolatry, the charge of polytheism *per se* would likely have meant little to a noble class whose own theological understanding of the Trinity was at best tenuous, and who routinely invoked a whole range of saints to assist them in their hour of need. The alternation between 'pagan' and 'Saracen' is typically a poetic rather than a semantic choice – a matter of syllable count and assonance or rhyme.⁹ Moreover, these terms refer not only to Muslims but sometimes to other non-Christian populations (or to populations perceived to be non-Christian), including Saxons (notably in the *Chanson des Saisnes* by Jean Bodel, author of the *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*, discussed below), Scandinavians, Bulgars, Russians, Hungarians, Avars, and Greeks.¹⁰

Christian-Saracen rivalry, it is important to note, is not the sole theme of the *chanson de geste*, which addresses itself more broadly to 'conflict, *either* between the Christian and his pagan other, *or* between the king and his barons'. Early texts tend to focus on the Saracens as an external other, not in a 'straightforward binary opposition' but '*either* as mirror to the Christian, *or* as his stark opposite'. Such Saracens may be

⁸ Jean Bodel, *Le Jeu de Saint Nicolas*, ed. A. Jeanroy, Paris, 1966.

⁹ On the 'interchangeability' of these names, conditioned by poetic exigencies, see Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste*, p. 385. Most *chansons de geste* are composed in decasyllabic lines; assonance (in earlier poems) or rhyme (in later ones) formally demarcate each *laisse* (stanza) from the next. Old French verse romances are composed in rhyming octosyllabic couplets.

¹⁰ See Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste*, p. 229. Compare early Byzantine Christian uses of 'Hellene' to refer not only to polytheistic ancient Greeks but to 'Persian Zoroastrians, Arabs who practiced human sacrifice, native north Africans, the early Rus, and the Chinese' (A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium. The transformations of Greek identity and the reception of the Classical tradition*, Cambridge, 2007, p. 122).

represented as ‘alien and threatening’ or as ‘recognizable and open to assimilation’ – notably in the figure of the Saracen princess who converts to Christianity.¹¹ Already ambivalent, in later poems the category ‘Saracen’ becomes increasingly unstable: names of characters may be Christian in one text and Saracen in another. ‘Although many poems continue the early tradition of featuring warfare against Saracens as their principal subject-matter, this enemy no longer possesses irreducible otherness. And increasingly, warfare against Saracens comes to play a merely episodic role’ in songs whose primary focus is ‘the dissolution of political authority within France’ and in which Saracens make war on each other instead of or in addition to the Franks.¹² For such texts, to focus on repetitions of the trope of Saracen idolatry as an index of Christian hostility to Islam is to risk giving a false impression of its importance in vernacular literature.

The significance of historical context is crucial in the case of the *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*, composed in about 1200 by Jean Bodel, also known as the author of the epic *Chanson des Saisnes* (‘Song of the Saxons’) and assorted lyrics. If situated ‘after the failures of the Third Crusade’ and during preparations for the Fourth, the play (which juxtaposes scenes of pagan idolatry with others of Christian devotion to a figural representation of St Nicholas) can easily be read as ‘part of the age-old struggle against pagan demon worship’ as defined by the ‘polemicist-chroniclers of the first Crusade’ or as an extension of the ‘crusade rhetoric’ of the *Chanson de Roland*.¹³ Situated in its local context, however, this emphasis on discursive continuities becomes harder to sustain. At the turn of the 13th century, Arras was ‘the hub of the fastest-growing, most densely populated, and most affluent region in Europe’. A center of agriculture, industry, and commerce that had recently (in 1191) passed from Flemish to French rule, it was ‘the most important European banking capital of

¹¹ F.E. Sinclair, ‘The *chanson de geste*’, in W. Burgwinkle, N. Hammond and E. Wilson (eds), *The Cambridge history of French literature*, Cambridge, 2011, pp. 28, 31 (emphases added). On the Saracen princess narrative, see S. Kay, *The Chansons de geste in the age of Romance. Political fictions*, Oxford, 1995, pp. 25-48.

¹² Kay, *The Chansons de geste in the age of Romance*, pp. 177-78. This fluctuation occurs against the backdrop of a larger historical and cultural context in which identities were being reformulated and challenged (S. Kinoshita, ‘Crusades and identity’, in Burgwinkle, Hammond and Wilson (eds), *The Cambridge history of French literature*, 93-101).

¹³ Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 129-30, and Akbari, *Idols in the East*, pp. 210-13. While Tolan cautions that it is ‘impossible to make sweeping generalizations’ about the representation of Saracens as pagans, the work of Latin polemicists remains primary in his readings.

the time'.¹⁴ It was also home to an efflorescence of literature in the Picard dialect of Old French, precociously fostered not by the aristocracy (as was the case for most vernacular literature of the period) but by confraternities and other urban institutions. These texts were distinguished by the 'extreme topicality of their plots', including the density of references to local personages and to controversies spawned by a 'creative maelstrom of conflicting politics, unprecedented economic opportunities, and unfamiliar types of social mobility'. Writing the *Jeu de Saint Nicolas* for an audience that showed remarkably little enthusiasm for crusade, Jean Bodel 'used the vocabulary of alterity available to him – the portrait of Islam familiar from the *Chanson de Roland* – to describe an Other closer to home'. The miracles attributed to St Nicholas, which include safeguarding and multiplying the pagan king's treasure, become 'vehicles for cutting-edge treatments of hot topics' such as usury, questions of coinage, and the interfaces between French and Flemish, ecclesiastical and bourgeois power at the very moment when the burgeoning 'profit-oriented market economy' had become an object of intense scrutiny and critique by the circle around Peter Cantor.¹⁵ In this light, the *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*'s depiction of pagan idolatry is subsumed in a general preoccupation with the slippage inherent in all representation, from the symbolic power of money to the performative and poetic use of (vernacular) language. Even the description of the 'ymage' of St Nicholas as a 'horned Mohammed' (ll. 458, 585, 999) harbors a dense web of local allusions to the bishop, Raoul de Neuville, whose family sobriquet was 'Horned Hat' (*de Capello Cornuto/Chapeau Cornu*), who showed particular favor to the parish church of St Nicholas, and who was implicated in usurious activity.¹⁶ If the 'idolatrous other' is 'an essential foil for Christian virtue',¹⁷ then the foreign targets of this representation are as much a French king and a bishop from the Dauphiné as a Saracen king.

Such historicized analyses furnish a cautionary example concerning ideological readings of literary tropes. On the one hand, the *Jeu de Saint Nicolas* serves as a *locus classicus* for the representation of pagan/Saracen polytheism/idolatry; on the other, it exemplifies how quickly tropes of alterity become available for resignification and redeployment

¹⁴ C. Symes, *A common stage. Theater and public life in medieval Arras*, Ithaca NY, 2007, p. 30.

¹⁵ Symes, *A common stage*, pp. 45, 53.

¹⁶ Symes, *A common stage*, pp. 51-52.

¹⁷ Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 129.

in local contexts in which the Islamic religion and Muslim peoples play remarkably little part.

Sharon Kinoshita

The Saracens of medieval English literature

The extant vernacular literature of late medieval England, like that of France, suggests that there was little interest in producing texts that dealt with Islam and its rites and beliefs in a substantive theological manner.¹⁸ Instead, what seem to have animated vernacular writers' imaginations are narratives of Christian encounters with Muslims. As in Latin and French texts, Muslims are designated by the term 'Saracen', a term that conflates ethnic identification (usually 'Turk' or 'Arab') with religious identification (usually 'Muslim', but sometimes more generically 'pagan'). Saracens frequently appear as figures of cultural, religious, and sometimes physical otherness whose enmity towards Christianity defines them. However, they also appear as knights and ladies so similar to their Christian counterparts that the dividing line between the two religions can be easily crossed. Factual accuracy, in either case, is not a paramount concern. Edward Said's observation, 'we need not look for correspondence between the language used to depict the Orient and the Orient itself, not so much because the language is inaccurate, but because it is not even trying to be accurate', is certainly true of most vernacular depictions of Saracens in late medieval England.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the number and variety of these depictions reveal an abiding cultural interest in the existence and implications of Islam and its adherents. These literary Saracens deserve study because they often informed the expectations of historical English crusaders, pilgrims and travellers to the East. Like their French counterparts, Middle English Saracens also indicate the ways in which figures of alterity were used to think through issues much closer to home.

Saracens turn up in a variety of Middle English genres, some of which derive from Latin traditions (e.g. historiography, hagiography), and others from Old French traditions (e.g. *chansons de geste*, romances). Although most uses of the term 'Saracen' invoke characters

¹⁸ As Akbari (*Idols in the East*, pp. 200-47) has shown, the same could be said of many Latin theological tracts about Islam written in Europe during the later Middle Ages.

¹⁹ E. Said, *Orientalism*, New York, 1979, p. 71.

and practices whose relationship to historical Muslims is tenuous at best, sometimes the term designates practices and peoples we would today call Muslim or Arab. Some vernacular medical treatises, many of which ultimately derive from Arabic sources, describe certain procedures by saying ‘Saracens proceed in this manner’ (*Sarazynes worchen on his maner*).²⁰ Similarly, most vernacular chronicles, like their Latin counterparts, describe the enemies of Western crusaders in the Middle East as Saracens.²¹ Other brief evocations of actual Muslims are found in pilgrimage narratives. Margery Kempe, a 15th-century English mystic, refers to a kind Saracen assisting her to ascend Mount Quarentyne during her pilgrimage to the Holy Land.²² In writings of vernacular theology, Muslim beliefs are occasionally referenced as a brief counterpoint to Christian beliefs, as when Walter Hilton refers to ‘Saracens, who do not believe in Christ’ (*Sarzynes, whiche trowen not in Crist*), and differ from ‘Christian men baptized with water and the Holy Ghost’ (*Cristene men baptizid in watir and in the Hooli Goost*).²³ Generally, such references evoking historically recognizable Muslims are either brief or, in the case of chronicles, focused on military and political enmity between Christians and Muslims and, as they increase in length, may shade into more imaginative depictions of Saracens.

Detailed depictions of Saracens in English literature tend to be quite fanciful, and resemble those found in French literature. This resemblance is unsurprising, given the multilingual nature of post-Conquest England and the composition and circulation of French texts there in the 12th, 13th and early 14th centuries. Indeed, the oldest extant manuscript of the *Chanson de Roland* is found in Oxford, and many French *chansons de geste* served as the basis for Middle English romances involving Saracens (including those of Otuel, Ferumbras, Bevis of Hampton, and Guy of Warwick).²⁴ As in French texts, one finds in Middle English texts Saracens who range from being racialized or presented as monstrous to those who are presented as similar to their Christian opponents in

²⁰ London, Wellcome Historical Medical Library, MS 564, f. 76, as quoted in the *Middle English Dictionary*, s.v. ‘Sarasin(e)’, meaning a.

²¹ See, for example, Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *The Chronicle*, ed. I. Sullens, Binghamton NY, 1996, Part 1 ll. 15271, 15290; Part 2 ll. 3416-55.

²² Margery Kempe, *The book of Margery Kempe*, ed. L. Staley, Kalamazoo MI, 1996, p. 81 (Chapter 30, ll. 1718-21).

²³ Walter Hilton, *The scale of perfection*, ed. T.H. Bestul, Kalamazoo MI, 2000, I. 56, ll. 1599-602.

²⁴ Middle English does not have separate forms for romances and *chansons de geste*. Texts deriving from either genre are identified as ‘romance’ in Middle English, and the verse forms of romance are variable.

appearance, behavior, and social values. Indeed, sometimes one finds the two extremes in one text. The 15th-century romance, *The Sowdone of Babylone*, features both Estragot, a Saracen giant who has a 'boar's head, black and dark' (*bores hede, black and donne*) and is 'so strong and so tall' (*so stronge and so longe in length*) that he seems 'a devil's son' (*a develes sone*), and Ferumbras, a knight so chivalrous that he releases the Pope when he captures him because he is a man of religion.²⁵ Like many other noble Saracens, Ferumbras converts to Christianity, a change of allegiance that cements his claim to being a knightly ideal.²⁶ Saracen princesses, too, often resemble their Christian counterparts and marry Christian knights once they have converted. In *The Sowdone of Babylone* the princess Floripas falls in love with a French knight and converts to Christianity for his love.²⁷

Whether monstrous or aristocratic, and whether found in romances, saints' lives or dramas, Middle English Saracens are generally, like their French counterparts, depicted as idolaters who venerate a pantheon of gods. The names included in the pantheon vary. The 14th-century romance *The king of Tars* lists Mahoun, Apolin, Tervagaunt, Jubiter, Astirot and Jovin, while the 15th-century *Stanzaic Life of St Margaret of Antioch* mentions only Mahound. The 14th-century *Stanzaic Life of St Katherine of Alexandria* names Mahoun and Tervagaunt while *The Sowdone of Babylone* refers to Termagaunte, Mahounde, and Mars. Mahoun (or some orthographical variation) appears most frequently, perhaps because of a faulty analogy drawn by Western Christians between their divinity, Christ, and Muḥammad, the human Prophet of God.

The Saracen gods are usually worshipped as statues of wood, stone, or metal, which are often called 'maumets'. Veneration may take the form of prayers, kisses, recitation of religious laws, censuring, and sacrificial offerings. In *The king of Tars*, for example, the sultan of Damascus insists that his newly converted wife kiss the idols and recite the Saracen laws. In *Sir Ferumbras*, a 14th-century romance, a Saracen princess asks the Twelve Peers to pray to golden, jewel-encrusted statues that are kept in a special shrine (a 'maumery') and have at their feet incense,

²⁵ *The Sowdone of Babylone* in *The English Charlemagne romances, Part 5*, ed. E. Hausknecht, London, 1881 (repr. Woodbridge UK, 2002) ll. 347, 355-57 and 549-72.

²⁶ Other knightly converts include Otuel in *Otuel a Knight, Duke Rowlande and Sir Otuell* and *Otuel and Roland*, and Palomides in Malory's *Morte Darthur*.

²⁷ This trope also appears in *Bevis of Hampton* and is, as Benjamin Kedar notes, a fantasy that affirms Western values and flatters Western knights (B. Kedar, 'Multidirectional conversion in the Frankish Levant', in J. Muldoon (ed.), *Varieties of religious conversion in the Middle Ages*, Gainesville FL, 1997, 190-208).

sweet-smelling balm and spices (ll. 2536-46). In the *Stanzaic Life of St Katherine*, the Saracen king orders the rich men of his kingdom to offer cattle and sheep to Mahoun, and the poor men to offer birds. He also has minstrels accompany the procession and promises Katherine that, if she converts to his law, he will have an 'ymage' made of her in silver and gold, and set it up in a marble temple for veneration (ll. 236-56).

Occasionally, scenes of Saracen worship receive extensive dramatic elaboration. *Sir Ferumbas* depicts a devil possessing a statue of Mahoun and instructing a Saracen king to begin a military offensive against besieged Christians (ll. 5143-46). In *The Sowdone of Babylone*, as Suzanne Akbari notes, Saracen 'bishops' in one episode make a fire of frankincense before their gods while blowing horns of brass and casting milk and honey before them. In another episode, Saracens celebrate victory by offering frankincense to their gods, blowing horns, drinking beasts' blood, milk, and honey, and eating serpents fried in oil while crying aloud 'Antrarian, Antrarian', a phrase translated by the narrator as 'general joy' (ll. 673-90, 2519-21). One of the most interesting depictions of Saracen worship is found in the 16th-century Digby manuscript play, *St Mary Magdalen*. In this predominantly Middle English drama, a Saracen priest and his clerk engage in a Latinate 'reading of Mahownd, a very strong man of the Saracens' (*Leccyo mahowndys, viri fortissimi sarasenorum*) which includes a recitation of gibberish that embraces the scatological (e.g. *fartum cardiacolorum*) and the fantastic (*snyguer snagoer werwolfforum*), as well as a veneration of Saracen relics identified as 'Mahownd's own neck bone' (*Mahowndys own nekke bon*) and 'Mahowind's own eyelid' (*Mahowndys own yeelyd*).²⁸

As scholars such as Michael Camille and Suzanne Akbari have noted, while depictions of Saracens venerating idols manifestly misrepresent Islam, they do evoke Christian devotional practices and hold them up for examination.²⁹ This is perhaps clearest in some of the hagiographical examples discussed here. When Katherine's Saracen persecutor offers to make an image of her and set it up in a temple for people to worship, how does what he proposes differ from what actually happened in the many English churches dedicated to St Katherine of Alexandria?³⁰ And

²⁸ See ll. 1186-248 of 'Mary Magdalen', in D. Baker, J. Murphy and L. Hall (eds), *The late medieval religious plays of Bodleian MSS. Digby 133 and E Museo 160*, Oxford, 1982, 24-95.

²⁹ M. Camille, *The Gothic idol. Ideology and image-making in medieval art*, Cambridge, 1989, especially, pp. 129-64; Akbari, *Idols*, pp. 216-19.

³⁰ See the introduction to 'St Katherine', in A. Savage and N. Watson, *Anchoritic spirituality. Ancrene Wisse and associated works*, New York, 1991, and K. Lewis, *The cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in late medieval England*, Woodbridge UK, 2000.

when a Saracen priest recites a Latinate *Leccyo mahowndys* and provides relics for veneration, does he not mimic Christian devotional practices? The theological answer to the questions posed by these troubling similarities is that Christian relics and images are representations to promote veneration of God, not ends of worship in themselves. As ends of worship in themselves, which have no divine referent, Saracen idols are supposed to be manifestly different, a difference which becomes evident when they are destroyed and have no power either to protect themselves, to rise again, or to endure as objects of worship beyond their material images. Accordingly, the destruction of Saracen idols is also a common feature of English texts, whether this destruction is wrought by irate Saracen devotees (as in *The king of Tars* ll. 645-72), by Christian knights (as in *Sir Ferumbras* ll. 2567-82; *Beves of Hamtoun* ll. 1349-57) or by divine Christian power (as in the Digby *Mary Magdalen* stage direction l. 1561). Depictions of Saracen idolatry thus reinforce conceptions of religious difference even as they misrepresent Islam and, occasionally, raise troubling questions about Christian devotional practices.

The tendency to model Saracen religious rites on Christian practices means that scenes of Saracen veneration can serve as imaginative spaces in which Western concerns about Christian devotional practices can be explored. Indeed, fantastical depictions of Saracens may be so popular precisely because these figures can serve as avenues for the consideration of events and practices close to home. In this context, it seems important to note that copies of the *Stanzaic Life of St Katherine* were still being made in the early 15th century, and that the Digby *Mary Magdalen*, while dating from the early 16th century, is believed to preserve a 15th-century version of the play. The 15th century in England was characterized by religious dissent and the rise of the Lollard heresy. One theological issue the Lollards found particularly troubling was the role of images and relics in worship. As one Lollard tract fulminates,

The people are fully deceived by vain trust in these images. For some unlearned people believe that the images truly perform miracles by themselves and believe that the image of the crucifix is Christ himself or that an image of a saint set up for its likeness to the saint is actually that saint. And therefore they say 'the sweet cross of Bromholme . . . our dear Lady of Walsingham,' but not 'our Lady of Heaven' nor 'our Lord Jesus Christ of Heaven.' And they cling to these old stones and pieces of wood, soberly stroking and kissing them, laying down their large offerings, and making vows right there to these dead images.

(þe puple is foul discevyd by veyn trist in þes ymagis. For summe lewid folc wenen þat þe ymagis down verreyly þe myraclis of hemsilf; and þat þis ymage of þe crucifix be Crist hymself; or þe seynt þat þe ymage is þere sett for likenesse. And þerfore þei seyn 'þe swete rode of Bromholme . . . oure dere Lavedy of Walsyngham'; but nouzt 'oure Lavedy of hevene,' ny 'oure lord Iesu Crist of hevene,' but cleven sadly strokande and kyssand þese olde stones and stokkis, laying down hore grete offryngis, and maken avowis rizt þere to þes dede ymagis.)³¹

The veneration of relics and images was a 'hot topic' in English theological debates of the 15th century, and texts depicting Saracen idolaters clearly engage this issue, even as they reproduce a long-standing trope of religious alterity.

Middle English texts occasionally use the label 'Saracen' to update older narratives involving Roman persecutors and Classical practices. This can be seen, for example, when the persecutors of the saints become Saracen in late medieval narratives of Katherine and Margaret, and when Classical gods such as Mars, Apollo and Jupiter turn up in the Saracen pantheon. Other Roman notables also get 'Saracened'. In *Piers Plowman*, a 14th-century allegorical study of the Catholic Church and its theology presented in alliterative verse, the Roman Emperor Trajan is described as a 'sarsyn' who, although not Christian, is saved for his loyalty and virtuous living.³² Historical pagans re-appear under a label which links them to more contemporary non-Christians found in Spain, North Africa, and the Middle East. In this way, older religious struggles and differences are recast in terms that speak to a late medieval English audience and elide historical specificity of religious difference in favor of a suggestion that Christians are perpetually confronted with non-believers who must be opposed and/or converted.

Perhaps, however, the most strikingly fluid use of the term 'Saracen' in Middle English is that found in some Arthurian texts. Occasionally, the Saxons and Danes who invade King Arthur's realm are called 'Saracens'. This appellation can be found in the 14th-century romance *Of Arthour and of Merlin* and in the 15th-century romance *The alliterative Morte Arthure*. While the term can mean generic pagan, these texts include

³¹ 'Images and pilgrimages', in A. Hudson (ed.), *Selections from English Wycliffite writings*, 1978², Toronto, 1997, p. 87 ll. 153-61.

³² William Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman. A critical edition of the B-Text based on Trinity College Cambridge MS B. 15. 17*, ed. A.V.C. Schmidt, London, 1995², Passus 11, ll. 140-74, esp. ll. 156 and 164.

references that mark their Saracens as representations of Muslims. In *Of Arthur and of Merlin*, Saracens make vows to Mahoun (ll. 5066, 5775 and 7497) and are led by 'amirals' and 'soudans', terms reflecting European contact with Arabic titles (ll. 7751, 7725, 7767 and 7776). In *The alliterative Morte Arthure*, Gawain actually evokes the rhetoric of crusading sermons and indulgences when he tells his retainers, 'I promise you truly and on my honor that we shall, for (fighting) yonder Saracens, dine with our Savior solemnly in heaven, in the presence of that Precious One, the Prince of all others, along with prophets and patriarchs and very noble apostles' (*We shall for yon Sarazenes, I seker you my trewth, / Soupe with our Saviour solemnly in heven, / In presence of that Precious, Prince of all other, / With prophetes and patriarkes and apostles full noble*) (ll. 3804-7).³³ In texts such as this, King Arthur and his knights become crusaders and participate in the type of battle most deserving of praise according to late medieval authors of chivalric treatises.³⁴ Finding Saracens in narratives of Arthur thus fosters a vision of England as a nation with a long history of crusading kings and warriors. This vision of the realm and its aristocracy tied in well with the crusading activities of Richard I, Richard of Cornwall and Edward I, and of the retainers who accompanied them to the Holy Land in the 12th and 13th centuries. Such endeavors were a source of great pride for those involved and their descendents, and so it is unsurprising to find narratives of King Arthur suggesting a continuity of crusading activity across English history.³⁵

While many of the depictions of Saracens in Middle English may seem fabulous and inaccurate to today's readers, it is important to remember that these images shaped medieval Westerners' expectations and

³³ Consider, for example, Pope Urban's promise at Clermont, as reported by Robert of Rheims: 'Accordingly, undertake this journey for the remission of your sins, with the assurance of the imperishable glory of the kingdom of heaven' (Robert of Rheims, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, trans. D. Munro, in E. Peters (ed.), *The First Crusade. The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and other source materials*, Philadelphia PA, 1998², p. 28).

³⁴ Geoffroi de Charny, for example, writes, 'the man who makes war against the enemies of religion in order to support and maintain Christianity and the worship of Our Lord is engaged in a war which is righteous, holy, certain, and sure, for his earthly body will be honored in saintly fashion and his soul will, in a short space of time, be borne in holiness and without pain into paradise. This kind of war is good, for one can lose in it neither one's reputation in this world nor one's soul' (*The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny. Text, context, and translation*, ed. and trans. R.W. Kaeuper and E. Kennedy, Philadelphia PA, 1996, p. 165).

³⁵ Regarding this familial pride, see M. Keen, 'Chaucer's Knight. The English aristocracy and the crusade', in V.J. Scattergood and J.W. Sherborne (eds), *English court culture in the later Middle Ages*, London, 1983, 45-62.

actual experiences of the Muslim world. Indeed, one can find records of historical pilgrimages in which the lines between actual Muslims and imaginary Saracens blur. Consider the late 15th-century *Beauchamp Pageants* (q.v.), which uses a mixture of drawings and Middle English prose to recount the life of Richard Beauchamp, the fifth Earl of Warwick (1382-1439). Folios 5-12 depict the earl's pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1408 and include a number of images representing his interactions with 'Sir Baltirdam, a noble lorde, the soldans lieutenant' (folio 9v).³⁶ According to the text, when Sir Baltirdam hears that Earl Richard is in Jerusalem and that he is 'lineally by blood descended from the noble Sir Guy of Warwick, whose life was recounted in books of their language there, he was delighted to meet the earl, received him with great honour, and desired him and his retinue to dine at his abode' (*lynally of blode descended of nole [sic] Sir Gy of Warrewik, whoes lif they hadde there in bokes of their langage, he was ioyful of hym and with greet honoure receiued hym, and desired hym and his mayny to dyne with hym in his owne place*) (f. 9v). Subsequent folios depict the two men dining together, exchanging noble gifts, and discussing Christianity, since Sir Baltirdam tells the Earl that 'in his heart, though he dared not speak his understanding, he faithfully believed as we do, repeating in order the articles of our faith' (*in his hert, thowe he durst nat utter his concept, yet he faithfully beleved as we do, rehersyng by ordre the articles of our feith*) (f. 10r). Sir Baltirdam behaves exactly like the noble Saracens depicted in Middle English romances. He secretly desires, and is receptive to, Christianity; he values militant knights like the legendary Guy of Warwick (who was, ironically, celebrated in romance for his many victories over Saracens); and he displays the largesse expected of a Western aristocrat. Moreover, Baltirdam's recognition of the earl because he is a descendant of Guy implies a veneration of aristocratic lineage that transcends cultures.³⁷

³⁶ All quotations are taken from *The Beauchamp Pageant*, ed. A. Sinclair, Donington UK, 2003, pp. 87-92.

³⁷ The late medieval earls of Warwick claimed Guy of Warwick, the hero of the romances bearing his name, as an ancestor. Indeed, a number of the earls made substantial efforts, through their patronage and public display, to foster the public identification of Guy as one of their noble progenitors. See M. Driver, 'Inventing visual history. Re-presenting the legends of Warwickshire', in W. Scase (ed.), *Essays in manuscript geography. Vernacular manuscripts of the English West Midlands from the Conquest to the sixteenth century*, Turnhout, 2007, 161-202; D. Griffith, 'The visual history of Guy of Warwick', in A. Wiggins and R. Field (eds), *Guy of Warwick. Icon and ancestor*, Woodbridge UK, 2007, 110-32; and Y. Liu, 'Richard Beauchamp and the uses of romance', *Medium Ævum* 74 (2005) 271-87.

Baltirdam is the noble Saracen, affirmative of Western knightly ideals, come to life in 15th-century Jerusalem. Whether this episode represents an elaborate re-working of some actual historical encounter or whether it is an artistic addition to enhance Earl Richard's prestige is unclear. There is no doubt, however, that Earl Richard did indeed make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1408, as his travels are attested in various historical records.³⁸ What one discovers in this English nobleman's biography is a historical visit to the Holy Land in which a figure resembling the Saracen knights of medieval romance actually appears. Imaginary Saracens could, and did, populate the lived Western experiences of late medieval Muslim realms.

The Saracens of medieval vernacular European literatures participate in a discourse of alterity that persists across time and varied textual traditions, and it is indisputable that much of this discourse has little interest in accurately conceptualizing medieval Muslim beliefs and practices. It did, however, have a surprisingly wide range of applications. It could be picked up and redeployed to reflect upon local Christian debates whether in 13th-century Arras or in 15th-century English religious courts. It could also inflect lived Western experiences of the Muslim world in strange and disconcerting ways.

Siobhain Bly Calkin

Suggestions for Further Reading

- S.C. Akbari, *Idols in the East. European representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450*, Ithaca NY, 2009
- P. Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste du cycle du roi*, Aix-en-Provence, 1982
- D.R. Blanks and M. Frassetto (eds), *Western views of Islam in medieval and early modern Europe. Perception of other*, New York, 1999
- S.B. Calkin, *Saracens and the making of English identity. The Auchinleck manuscript*, New York, 2005
- M. Camille, *The Gothic idol. Ideology and image-making in medieval art*, Cambridge, 1989
- N. Daniel, *Western views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, Edinburgh, 1962
- N. Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens. An interpretation of the chansons de geste*, Edinburgh, 1984
- C.F. Heffernan, *The Orient in Chaucer and medieval romance*, Cambridge, 2003
- G. Heng, *Empire of magic. Medieval romance and the politics of cultural fantasy*, New York, 2003

³⁸ See Sinclair's commentary in *Beauchamp Pageant*, pp. 80, 83.

- S. Kinoshita, *Medieval boundaries. Rethinking difference in Old French literature*, Philadelphia PA, 2006
- D. Metlitzki, *The matter of Araby in medieval England*, New Haven CT, 1977
- B.D. Schildgen, *Pagans, Tartars, Moslems, and Jews in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, Gainesville FL, 2001
- J. Tolan, *Saracens. Islam in the medieval European imagination*, New York, 2002

Muslims in Eastern canon law, 1000-1500

David M. Freidenreich

Although most members of the Eastern churches lived in a majority Muslim society, works of Eastern canon law from 1000 to 1500 devote relatively little attention to Muslims. Scholars of Eastern Christianity have studied the impact of Islamic law on its Christian counterpart, but the place of Muslims themselves within Eastern canon law has not previously been examined. The present essay surveys references to Muslims and other foreigners within the normative literature of the Armenian, Coptic, Syrian Orthodox, and Church of the East traditions, contrasting these references with those found in Western canon law.¹ We will consider the ways in which references to Muslims reflect the influence of Islamic power and civilization on the Eastern churches, as well as the manner in which Christian authorities seek to preserve Christian distinctiveness in the face of internal pressures toward assimilation.

Western ecclesiastical authorities active during the first half of the second millennium devoted significant attention to Muslims. Indeed, they set aside a discrete section of their topical legal collections to often unprecedented laws governing 'Jews and Saracens [i.e. Muslims] and their Christian servants'. Normative literature of the Roman Catholic Church portrays Muslims as posing a significant military and physical threat to Christians, and it contains a host of crusade-related laws governing Christian-Muslim interaction. Western canon law also presents Muslims living in Christian lands as equivalent to Jews and therefore imposes upon Muslims the extensive Roman Catholic corpus of

¹ Surprisingly, it appears that Greek Orthodox normative literature from this era devotes no attention at all to Muslims. A search for the terms *Sarakēn** and *Hagarēn** in works from 1000 to 1500 designated as legal in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* yields a number of hits, but none in the context of normative statements. A few normative statements refer to *ethnik**, 'gentiles', but the context of these statements offers no reason to presume that Muslims are the intended referent. John McGuckin, author of *The ascent of Christian law. Patristic and Byzantine reformulations of Greco-Roman attitudes in the making of a Christian civilization*, Yonkers NY, 2012, observes in private correspondence that, despite his exhaustive studies of Orthodox canon law, he too is unaware of specific laws relating to Muslims other than an occasional liturgical reference to how to Christianize them sacramentally. (On this subject, see the entry on Ritual of Abjuration in *CMR* 1, pp. 821-24, and also p. 95.)

restrictions known as Jewry law.² Not one of these statements, however, applies to the canon law of the Eastern churches.

The Eastern Christian communities did not witness anything like the explosion of new legal material within the Roman Catholic Church during the High Middle Ages. Rather, Eastern canon law of the 11th through 15th centuries was conservative in all senses of that term. The most important works of law created in this period are collections that preserve earlier norms, many of which predate the rise of Islam. These collections include the law codes of Abū l-Faraj ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Ṭayyib (q.v.), secretary to the catholicos of the Church of the East (d. 1043); Mxit‘ar Gosh, a monastic teacher within the Armenian church (d. 1213); Gregory Barhebraeus, *maphrian* of the Syrian Orthodox Church (d. 1286) (q.v.); and ‘Abdisho‘ bar Brikhā of Nisibis, metropolitan of the Church of the East (d. 1318).³ Also noteworthy is the *Synodicon* of the Syrian Orthodox Church (1204), a chronological compendium of legal material whose concluding sections date from the 11th and 12th centuries.⁴ None of these works contains a section devoted to Muslims or other non-Christians.

² See further David M. Freidenreich, ‘Muslims in Western Christian Law, 1000–1500’, *CMR* 3, pp. 41–68.

³ Abū l-Faraj ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Fiqh al-Naṣrāniyya*, ‘Das Recht der Christenheit’, ed. and trans. (German) W. Hoenerbach and O. Spies, 2 parts in 4 vols, Louvain, 1956–57 (CSCO 161–62, 167–68); R.W. Thomson, *The lawcode [Datastanagirk’] of Mxit‘ar Gosh*, Amsterdam, 2000; Gregory Barhebraeus, *Nomocanon*, ed. P. Bedjan, Paris, 1898; *The Nomocanon of Metropolitan Abdisho of Nisibis. A facsimile edition of MS 64 from the collection of the Church of the East in Thrissur*, ed. I. Perczel, Piscataway NJ, 2005. The *Nomocanons* of ‘Abdisho‘ and Barhebraeus were published in Latin translation by Angelo Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus*, vol. 10, Rome, 1838; page numbering in this volume is not consecutive. (Although Mai published the Syriac text of ‘Abdisho‘’s *Nomocanon* in the same volume, all citations of Mai here are to the Latin.) References to Muslims in these works were found through the application of fulltext scanning technology to the translated texts; scanning was unnecessary for *The lawcode of Mxit‘ar Gosh*, as Thomson not only provides an excellent index but also devotes a significant portion of his introductory essay to the topic of Muslims. I did not consult an Armenian text of Mxit‘ar’s work due to my own linguistic limitations, but otherwise checked translations against the original.

I was unable to find references to Muslims in the Coptic *Nomocanon* of al-Ṣafi ibn al-‘Assāl, published as Ignazio Guidi, *Il Fetha Nagast, o Legislazione dei Re*, Rome, 1897–99. There are, however, several such references in the canons from medieval Coptic church councils. These conciliar canons have been edited and translated (into English) by Oswald Burmester in a series of articles, including ‘The canons of Cyril II, LXVII Patriarch of Alexandria’, *Le Muséon* 49 (1936) 245–88; ‘The canons of Christodoulos, Patriarch of Alexandria (AD 1047–77)’, *Le Muséon* 45 (1932) 71–84; ‘The canons of Cyril III ibn Laqlak, 75th Patriarch of Alexandria’, *Bulletin de la Société d’Archéologie Copte* 12 (1946–47) 81–136.

⁴ A. Vööbus (ed.), *The Synodicon in the West Syrian tradition*, 2 parts in 4 vols, Louvain, 1975 (CSCO 367–68, 375–76); this work includes the Syriac original, an English translation,

Eastern Christian normative literature from the first centuries of Islam occasionally speaks of Muslims as invaders or oppressive overlords.⁵ Such references, however, are entirely absent from later works of Eastern canon law, which do not portray Muslims as violent or menacing. Normative literature from the East makes no effort to establish a legal framework to support military activity, nor does it seek to regulate commercial interaction with Muslims.

Eastern ecclesiastical authorities, moreover, classify Muslims in a very different manner from their Western counterparts. Rather than conflating Muslims with Jews, Syriac-speaking authorities refer to Muslims as 'gentiles' (*ḥanpē*), that is, non-Christian non-Jews.⁶ While 'Abdisho' often places Muslims and Jews in the same category for legal purposes, he never conflates the two and, indeed, suggests that the latter are more odious; he states, for example, that Christian marriage rituals are distinct from those of 'the gentiles and the crucifiers'.⁷ Barhebraeus also frequently refers to Muslims as 'gentiles', but sometimes uses the term *ḥanpē* in its original sense of 'pagan'.⁸ Thus, Barhebraeus declares that 'As for unbelievers, we know of six different kinds: pagans (*ḥanpē*); Magians [i.e., Zoroastrians]; Jews; Saracens (*Sarqāyē*); Christians who hold heretical views about [Christ's] divinity, namely Arians and the like; Christians who hold heretical beliefs about the unity of [Christ's] nature and substance, like the Phantasiasts'.⁹ Barhebraeus is even clearer than 'Abdisho' with respect to the inferiority of Jews to Muslims: Christians, he teaches, should avoid consuming meat prepared by a Jewish butcher more than they avoid meat prepared by Hagarenes (*Hāgārāyē*) because Jews pose a greater threat to Christian faith.¹⁰ No Eastern Christian authority applies

and a valuable index. The present article does not survey material in the *Synodicon* from before 1000, as that material has already been discussed in David M. Freidenreich, 'Muslims in canon law, 650-1000', *CMR* 1, pp. 83-98.

⁵ See Freidenreich, 'Muslims in canon law, 650-1000', pp. 86-90.

⁶ In Ibn al-Ṭayyib's Arabic-language *Fiqh al-Naṣrānīyya*, this term is rendered *ḥunafā'*.

⁷ 'Abdisho', *Nomocanon*, § 2.2 (Perczel, p. 63; Mai, p. 44). For a clear example of 'Abdisho's division of humanity into orthodox Christians, heretical Christians, Jews, and gentiles, see § 1.4 (Perczel, p. 45; Mai, p. 37).

⁸ The ambiguity of the term *ḥanpē* makes it impossible to determine with certainty whether medieval authorities believed that laws from the pre-Islamic era that referred originally to idolaters applied to contemporary Muslims. This essay contains references to pre-Islamic laws only when there is reason to believe that these laws applied to Muslims.

⁹ Barhebraeus, *Nomocanon*, § 8.3 (Bedjan, pp. 132-33; Mai, p. 69).

¹⁰ Barhebraeus, *Nomocanon*, § 35.1 (Bedjan, p. 458; Mai, p. 229). On this passage, see further D.M. Freidenreich, 'Fusion cooking in an Islamic milieu. Jewish and Christian jurists on food associated with foreigners', in D.M. Freidenreich and M. Goldstein (eds),

to Muslims laws that relate specifically to Jews; indeed, these authorities devote even less attention to Jewish law than to laws regarding Muslims.¹¹

The world envisioned in the Armenian *Lawcode of Mxit'ar Gosh* consists of Christians and 'foreigners' (*aylazgi*); the latter term, according to Robert W. Thomson, was commonly used by Armenians to refer to Muslims. Mxit'ar generally subsumes Muslims within the broader category of foreigners and refers to 'Mohammedans' (*Mahmetakank'*) only rarely, when discussing beliefs and laws particular to Muslims; Jews receive virtually no attention.¹² Mxit'ar does not draw on Jewish law, but rather on an idiosyncratic interpretation of the Old Testament, when formulating many of his laws regarding Muslims. Thus, for example, he states that Christian slaves go free in the seventh year, foreign slaves who accept baptism are set free when they have served for the amount of their purchase price, and those foreigners who do not accept baptism may be retained indefinitely.¹³ Apparently inspired by Deuteronomy 14:21, Mxit'ar teaches that Christians may sell to foreigners the meat of animals forbidden for Christian consumption, such as the meat of an ox that has gored a Christian or that of an animal afflicted by an evil spirit,¹⁴ and he cites Deuteronomy 21:22-23 when he urges Christian kings to bury foreigners on the day they are executed.¹⁵

Crossing religious borders. Interaction and intellectual exchange in the medieval Islamic world, Philadelphia, 2012, 144-60.

¹¹ In Barhebraeus' *Nomocanon*, the only laws that relate solely to Jews are prohibitions against Christian consumption of Jewish unleavened bread (§§ 4.1, 5.3) and Christian observance of Passover or Jewish fasts (§ 5.3). 'Abdisho' includes in his *Nomocanon* a prohibition against commensality with Jews (§§ 5.17, 6.6.17).

¹² See Thomson's discussion of Mxit'ar's terminology in *Lawcode*, 23, 47-49. References to 'Mohammedans' appear in Introduction § 9 (pp. 100-1, on the errors of Islamic belief and practice), Introduction § 10 (pp. 102-3, on Islamic law), §§ 101, 181, 183 (pp. 183, 230-31, on Islamic inheritance law). Thomson does not list 'Jews' in his otherwise robust index of terms. The only reference to Jews I have encountered appears in a statement that distinguishes orthodox Christians 'from the Jews and from the barbarians and from the Samaritans, and from the schismatics and from the sectaries, and from the Muslims' (*Lawcode*, Introduction § 9, p. 101); this list appears to constitute a historical survey of pre-Christian, Christian, and post-Christian religions.

¹³ Mxit'ar, *Lawcode*, § 56 (Thomson, p. 158). Foreign slaves are also not subject to the protections afforded to believing slaves struck by their masters: § 59, p. 162. Cyril II of Alexandria (c. 30) forbids selling a Christian slave to 'one of the dissidents' (*aḥad min al-mukhālifin*); Burmester identifies this term as referring to Muslims ('Canons of Cyril II', 286).

¹⁴ Mxit'ar, *Lawcode*, §§ 65, 248 (Thomson, pp. 162, 302).

¹⁵ Mxit'ar, *Lawcode*, § 113 (Thomson, p. 194); Mxit'ar urges kings not to execute Christians at all. He encourages Christians to avoid serving as executioners, regardless of whether the victim is a Christian or a foreigner (§ 220, p. 266), but holds that a priest – who is forbidden from killing, even in self-defense – may kill a foreigner in order to save his companions (§ 170, p. 223).

The different ways in which Eastern and Western ecclesiastical authorities conceive of Muslims, and the different sources they employ as precedents, have much to do with the different scope and tenor of their laws regarding Muslims. Within the Eastern churches, one of those sources was Islamic law itself.

The influence of Islamic law and power within Eastern canon law

The pervasive influence of Islamic law on its Eastern Christian counterparts is evident within the content and structure of many Eastern law codes. Versions of 'Islamic inheritance law' (*mawārith al-Muslimīn*) circulated within both the Church of the East and the Syrian Orthodox Church.¹⁶ In his *Nomocanon*, Gregory Barhebraeus employs the organizational system and some of the content found in a code by the Shāfiī jurist Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) (q.v.), albeit without acknowledgment of this source.¹⁷ The lack of a section devoted to non-Christians in the works of Barhebraeus and other Eastern Christian authorities may stem in part from the lack of a section devoted to non-Muslims in works by al-Ghazālī and his Muslim counterparts. Al-Ṣafī ibn al-ʿAssāl (q.v.), author of the most comprehensive and systematic Coptic *Nomocanon* (published in 1238), draws extensively upon Islamic sources when discussing matters of civil law, including in his treatment of the

¹⁶ Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Fiqh al-Naṣrānīyya*, introducing a text associated with Johannan ibn al-A'raj (Hoenerbach and Spies, ii.1 [ed.], p. 189/ii.2 [trans.], p. 190). The introduction to the first of several texts on inheritance laws within the Syrian Orthodox *Synodicon* describes these regulations as being 'according to the law of the Arabs' (*ak nāmōsā de-tayyāye*); see Vööbus, *Synodicon*, ii.1 (ed.), p. 64/ii.2 (trans.), p. 68. See further H. Kaufhold, *Syrische texte zum islamischen Recht*, Munich, 1971; idem, 'Islamisches Erbrecht in christlich-syrischer Überlieferung', *Oriens Christianus* 59 (1975) 19-35; A. Vööbus, *Important new manuscript sources for the Islamic law in Syriac. Contributions to the history of jurisprudence in the Syrian Orient*, Stockholm, 1975.

¹⁷ This observation was first made by Carlo Alfonso Nallino, 'Il diritto musulmano nel Nomocanone siriano cristiano di Barhebreo', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 9 (1921-23) 512-80 (repr. in *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, vol. 4: *Diritto musulmano, diritto orientale cristiani*, Rome, 1942). According to Nallino, the work that Barhebraeus consulted was al-Ghazālī's *Kitāb al-wajīz*, the most concise of his three law codes. Hanna Khadra, *Le nomocanon de Bar Hebraeus. Son importance juridique entre les sources chrétiennes et les sources musulmanes*, Rome, 2005 (Diss. Pontificia Università Lateranense), affirms Nallino's general argument but contends that Barhebraeus actually consulted the *Kitāb al-wasīṭ*, al-Ghazālī's mid-sized code. Barhebraeus draws on work by al-Ghazālī in non-legal writings as well; see, for example, H.G. Teule, 'Barhebraeus' Ethicon, al-Ghazālī, and Ibn Sīnā', *Islamochristiana* 18 (1992) 73-86, and his entry on Barhebraeus in *CMR* 4.

qualifications for judges.¹⁸ Tamer el-Leithy has shown that Ibn al-ʿAssāl and other Coptic authorities also reformulate elements of traditional Christian law, including those related to divorce and polygyny, in light of Islamic law. The permissiveness of the latter, Christian authorities feared, constituted an incentive for Copts to convert to Islam.¹⁹

It would be a gross exaggeration, however, to suggest that the civil components of Eastern canon law simply parrot those of Islamic law. I demonstrate elsewhere that Barhebraeus carefully fuses together Christian and Islamic material within the *Nomocanon's* chapter on animal slaughter, apparently because he regards certain laws and ideas of Islamic origin to be universally applicable and not distinctively 'Islamic'.²⁰ Mxit'ar Gosh explicitly distinguishes the worthwhile aspects of Islamic law (which, he states, all originate in Mosaic law) from those that Muslims have deceitfully altered. Mxit'ar, as Thomson observes, pointedly contrasts various aspects of Islamic law – such as the permission to employ paid lawyers, the use of oaths of denial rather than oaths of affirmation, and the rule that daughters may not inherit in the absence of sons – with the Christian regulations Mxit'ar regards as superior.²¹ The integration within Eastern Christian canon law of certain laws of Islamic origin is thus part of a broader dynamic of selective Christian acculturation within the majority-Muslim culture, a dynamic that involved both acceptance and rejection of Islamic norms.

Uriel Simonsohn argues that even the integration of elements of Islamic law within canon law reflects Eastern Christian resistance to assimilation. 'As Muslim jurisprudence gained greater importance within the new theocracy, every aspect of life was regulated according to Islamic

¹⁸ On this work, see F.J. Cöln, 'Nomocanonical literature of the Copto-Arabic Church of Alexandria', *Ecclesiastical Review* 56 (1917) 136-41. Ignazio Guidi, *Il Fetħa Nagast, o Legislazione dei Re*, 2 vols, Rome, 1897-99, ii, pp. vii, xi-xiii, points specifically to reliance on the 11th-century *Al-tanbih* by the Shāfiʿī jurist Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī. Hubert Kaufhold, 'Der Richter in den syrischen Rechtsquellen: Zum Einfluß islamischen Rechts auf die christlich-orientalische Rechtsliteratur', *Oriens Christianus* 68 (1984) 91-113, focuses specifically on Ibn al-ʿAssāl's statements regarding the qualifications of judges and their influence on the work of 'Abdisho' bar Brikhā.

¹⁹ Tamer el-Leithy, *Coptic culture and conversion in medieval Cairo, 1293-1524 A.D.*, Princeton NJ, 2005 (Diss. Princeton University), pp. 382-447; on Ibn al-ʿAssāl's reformulation of Coptic divorce law, see specifically pp. 426-28.

²⁰ Freidenreich, 'Fusion cooking in an Islamic milieu'.

²¹ Mxit'ar, *Lawcode*, Introduction §§ 9-10 (Thomson, pp. 100-3), which contains a wide-ranging critique of Islamic beliefs and practices; Thomson's discussion appears on pp. 50-53. Mxit'ar instructs Christians who are forced by a Muslim litigant to appear before a Muslim court that they should refrain from undertaking an oath of denial (Introduction § 8, p. 95).

law. Under such circumstances, ecclesiastical leaders began to realize that without a uniform and detailed civil legislation of their own they risked losing control over their communities.' Christians living under Roman rule never developed a distinctive form of civil law, so these ecclesiastical leaders drew upon elements of the Islamic civilization in which they lived to create a Christian alternative to Muslim courts. Christian law codes from the 11th to 14th centuries reflect the culmination of this process.²²

Christian authorities seek not only to retain control over their communities but also to limit the extent to which Christians are subject to the power of Muslims. Law codes routinely forbid recourse by Christians to Muslim courts, as do a number of conciliar canons and individual authorities from that period and from earlier centuries.²³ Similarly, Johannan of Marde (d. 1164), a Syrian Orthodox metropolitan, forbids Christians from asking foreign rulers to put pressure on bishops and thus improperly influence the bishops' rulings.²⁴ Mxit'ar Gosh declares that bishops or priests who receive positions from Muslims are to be deposed. Christians, he also teaches, must ensure that places dedicated to the church do not fall into the hands of foreigners.²⁵

²² Uriel Simonsohn, *Overlapping jurisdictions. Confessional boundaries and judicial choice among Christians and Jews under early Muslim rule*, Princeton NJ, 2008 (Diss. Princeton University), pp. 161-65 (citation on p. 165), summarized in Simonsohn, 'Seeking justice among the "outsiders"'. Christian recourse to non-ecclesiastical judicial systems under early Islam', *Church History and Religious Culture* 89 (2009) 199-216, pp. 209-11, and revised as Simonsohn, *A common justice. The legal allegiances of Christians and Jews under early Islam*, Philadelphia, 2011. Thomson, *Lawcode of Mxit'ar Gosh*, p. 52, similarly argues that Mxit'ar Gosh compiled his lawcode in order to forestall the need for Christian recourse to Muslim courts.

²³ Canons of Christodoulos (1048), c. 29 (Burmester, 'Christodoulos', pp. 77, 82); Canons of Cyril II (1086), c. 12 (Burmester, 'Cyril II', pp. 268, 282); undated canons of Johannan of Marde (d. 1164), c. 31 (Vööbus, *Synodicon*, ii.1 [ed.], p. 250/ii.2 [trans.], p. 263); Mxit'ar, *Lawcode*, §§ 2, 9 (Thomson, pp. 72, 99-102); 'Abdisho', *Nomocanon*, §§ 4.1-2 (Mai, pp. 65-66). On the reasons why Eastern Christians were attracted to Muslim courts and the efforts of Christian authorities to prevent such recourse, see Simonsohn, *Overlapping jurisdictions*, pp. 175-212. Simonsohn cites the canons of Christodoulos and Cyril II as well as many other sources from before the year 1000, including some absent from the essay 'Muslims in Canon Law, 650-1000', *CMR* 1, pp. 88-89. A similar discussion, including consideration of the canon by Johannan of Marde, appears in Simonsohn, 'Communal boundaries reconsidered. Jews and Christians appealing to Muslim authorities in the medieval Near East', *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 14 (2007) 343-55.

²⁴ Canons of Johannan of Marde, c. 32, in Vööbus, *Synodicon*, ii.1 (ed.), p. 250/ii.2 (trans.), p. 263. In the following canon, Johannan also condemns Christians who speak ill of, oppose, or revolt against secular rulers.

²⁵ Mxit'ar, *Lawcode*, §§ 48, 250 (Thomson, pp. 154-55, 303; see also pp. 56-57).

Mxit'ar draws upon and inverts elements of Islamic *dhimmī* law in the process of creating laws for an Armenian Christian kingdom. Within such a kingdom, Mxit'ar holds, foreigners alone are liable to pay the poll-tax.²⁶ In another inversion, he holds that the blood-money due to the family of a murdered foreigner is only one third that owed to the family of a murdered Christian.²⁷ Explaining that 'it is natural for [foreigners] to rejoice at our death', Mxit'ar urges severity in the punishment of foreigners who commit manslaughter, even though he advocates leniency for Christians so as to facilitate their repentance. In a Christian court, Mxit'ar declares, foreigners may not testify concerning Christians.²⁸ Barhebraeus holds the same position, while explicitly allowing Jews and Muslims the opportunity to offer testimony regarding a co-religionist; when doing so, Jews may swear on the Torah and 'Muslims [*Mashlimānē*] on their book', just as Christians may swear upon the Gospels.²⁹

The preservation of distinctively Christian rituals and households

Efforts on the part of Eastern Christian authorities to establish an autonomous judicial system reflect an attempt to preserve a sense of Christian distinctiveness despite the similarities between Christians and Muslims and, indeed, the attractiveness to Christians of appealing to Muslim courts and officials. Ecclesiastical authorities similarly seek to prevent Christians from adopting the evidently attractive wedding and funeral rituals common among Muslims. 'Abdisho' of Nisibis emphasizes that the wedding ritual serves to distinguish Christians from Jews and gentiles. He condemns gentile funeral practices and forbids Christians from engaging

²⁶ Mxit'ar, *Lawcode*, § 2 (Thomson, p. 119). Mxit'ar proceeds to forbid Christian princes from taxing Christians who are also subject to taxation by foreigners 'because it is right to take tax from foreigners, but not from [believers]' (p. 120). Earlier, however, Mxit'ar states that foreigners who surrender to the besieging army of a Christian king are exempt from the poll-tax but may be taxed in other ways (p. 115).

²⁷ Mxit'ar, *Lawcode*, § 2 (Thomson, p. 116). Thomson (p. 55) mistakenly asserts that this distinction is grounded in the Old Testament, which, in fact, contains no statement to this effect. Rather, it would seem that Mxit'ar inverts the opinion of those Sunnī jurists who hold that the blood-money due to a Christian's family is only one-third of that due to a Muslim's family. See Yohanan Friedmann, *Tolerance and coercion in Islam. Interfaith relations in the Muslim tradition*, Cambridge, 2003, p. 48.

²⁸ Manslaughter by foreigners: Mxit'ar, *Lawcode*, § 173, (Thomson, p. 225); see also § 232-33, pp. 288, 290. Leniency toward Christians: § 2 (pp. 116-17). Testimony of foreigners: Introduction § 7 (p. 87).

²⁹ Testimony of Jews and Muslims: Barhebraeus, *Nomocanon*, § 39.1 (Bedjan, p. 500; Mai, p. 249). Oaths of Jews and Muslims: § 40.3 (Bedjan, p. 527; Mai, p. 262).

in such behavior.³⁰ The Coptic Patriarch Cyril II and the Syrian Orthodox Metropolitan Johannan of Marde both link these prohibitions against the adoption of foreign wedding practices on the one hand and funeral practices on the other.³¹ ‘On the grounds of human love’, however, funerals need not be segregated by confession. Barhebraeus cites a statement of Jacob of Edessa (d. 708) (q.v.) that permits Christians to participate in the funeral processions of pagans (*ḥanpē*), Ḥaranians, and Jews, and allows such foreigners to participate in Christian funeral processions. It seems likely that Barhebraeus repeats this teaching with Muslims in mind, and Jacob may have taught it with Muslims in mind too.³²

Christians may fraternize with Muslims, but must distinguish themselves from their Muslim neighbors in matters of ritual. Eastern Christian authorities regularly transmit pre-Islamic laws forbidding Christian participation in the festivals of pagans (*ḥanpē*) or consumption of the food associated with such holidays; they may well intend these laws to apply to Islamic holidays as well.³³ Neither may Christians consume meat prepared by Muslim or other non-Christian butchers, except in cases of necessity, as the act of animal slaughter constitutes a religious ritual.³⁴

³⁰ Marriage: ‘Abdisho’, *Nomocanon*, § 2.2 (Perczel, p. 63; Mai, p. 44). Mourning: § 5.24 (Perczel, pp. 213-14; Mai, pp. 91-92); see also Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Fiqh al-Naṣrānīyya*, § 2.40 (Hoenerbach and Spies, ii.1 [ed.], pp. 107-108/ii.2 [trans.], pp. 110-11).

³¹ Cyril II (1038), c. 25 (Burmester, ‘Canons of Cyril II’, 271, 285); Johannan of Marde, cc. 27-28 (Vööbus, *Synodicon*, ii.1 [ed.], pp. 247-48/ii.2 [trans.], pp. 260-61). On Cyril’s condemnation of the practice of using henna as part of the wedding ritual, common among Muslims, see el-Leithy, ‘Coptic culture’, pp. 429-30.

³² Barhebraeus, *Nomocanon*, § 6.1 (Bedjan, p. 70; Mai, p. 37). On Jacob of Edessa, see R.G. Hoyland, ‘Jacob of Edessa on Islam’, in *After Bardaisan. Studies on continuity and change in Syriac Christianity in honor of Professor Han J. W. Drijvers*, ed. G.J. Reinink and A.C. Klugkist, Leuven, 1999, 149-60; Freidenreich, ‘Muslims in canon law, 650-1000’.

³³ Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Fiqh al-Naṣrānīyya*, §2.39 (Hoenerbach and Spies ii.1 [ed.], p. 107/ii.2 [trans.], p. 110); Barhebraeus, *Nomocanon*, § 5.3 (Bedjan, p. 59; Mai, p. 31). See also the *Nomocanon* by the Coptic Metropolitan Michael of Damietta, summarized in Wilhelm Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 107. Both of these works cite pre-Islamic laws without addressing the issue of their contemporary relevance. The Coptic Patriarch Gabriel ibn Turaik, in a series of canons promulgated in 1149, reiterates the prohibition against participation in the festival celebrations of Jews and gentiles; he also prohibits appeal to gentile astrologers and attendance at gentile theatrical performances (cc. 23, 73, epitomized in the encyclopedia of Shams al-Ri’āsa Abū l-Barakāt [d. 1363], in Riedel, pp. 62-64). Prohibitions of this nature are common in early Christian sources regarding Greco-Roman pagans; the fact that Gabriel repeats these prohibitions suggests that he has contemporary Muslims in mind.

³⁴ Barhebraeus, *Nomocanon*, § 35.1 (Bedjan, p. 458; Mai, p. 229; trans. in Freidenreich, ‘Fusion cooking’). Barhebraeus expresses less concern about meat prepared by Muslim butchers than that prepared by Jews or pagans (*ḥanpē*), defined here as idolaters and Zoroastrians.

Sources of Eastern canon law address the subject of non-Christians in conjunction with each of the most important Christian rituals: not only weddings and funerals, but also the sacraments of communion and baptism. Non-Christians, of course, may not receive either of these sacraments, nor may they bring Christian children to church lest they mock the eucharistic offering.³⁵ The eucharist may not be offered on an altar that has been used by a gentile, nor may gentile objects or those embroidered with the 'Hagarene confession of faith' (*tāwditā Hāgārāytā*) be used in the holy service.³⁶ Christians may not converse with Jews or gentiles prior to taking communion.³⁷ The children of Muslims (that is, apostates from Christianity?) should be baptized using unconsecrated water and oil on a different day from the children of believers, a distinction that conveys the questionable status of such a baptism.³⁸

Apostates may receive communion when they revert to Christianity and accept the appropriate penance; no rebaptism is necessary in such circumstances, although a ritual of reversion might take place.³⁹ Similarly, apostates may not inherit from Christian relatives, nor may Christians inherit from apostates, but apostates who revert are immediately eligible to inherit or bequeath their estates.⁴⁰ These rules reflect a belief that a baptized Christian is a Christian for life, a desire to facilitate the reversion to Christianity of apostates, and an effort to protect the exclusively Christian identity of the family unit. Inheritance takes place within a family and its Christian community; apostates have removed themselves from both.

³⁵ Offering communion to non-Christians: Barhebraeus, *Nomocanon*, § 2.1 (Bedjan, p. 22; Mai, p. 12). Non-Christian chaperones: 'Abdisho', *Nomocanon*, § 5.13 (Perczel, pp. 198-99; Mai, p. 87). Mxit'ar, *Lawcode*, § 88 (Thomson, p. 175), speaks of foreigners who blaspheme baptism, churches, priests, the cross, or Christ; such foreigners are to be stoned to death.

³⁶ Barhebraeus, *Nomocanon*, §§ 1.5-6 (Bedjan, pp. 11-12, 14; Mai, pp. 7-9).

³⁷ Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Fiqh al-Naṣrāniyya*, § 2.19 (Hoenerbach and Spies, ii.1 [ed.], p. 95/ii.2 [trans.], p. 99); Barhebraeus, *Nomocanon*, § 4.2 (Bedjan, p. 40; Mai, p. 22).

³⁸ Johannan of Marde, c. 25, in Vööbus, *Synodicon*, ii.1 (ed.), p. 246/ii.2 (trans.), pp. 259-60. In the same canon, Johannan forbids appointing a non-believer as a god-parent.

³⁹ Barhebraeus, *Nomocanon*, § 2.1, citing Jacob of Edessa (Bedjan, p. 22; Mai, p. 12; trans. in 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. 162-63). On the Ritual of Abjuration recited within the Greek Orthodox Church by those who reject Islam in favor of Christianity, see *CMR* 1, q.v., and D.J. Sahas, 'Ritual of conversion from Islam to the Byzantine Church', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 36 (1991) 57-69, where Sahas, p. 59, observes that aspects of this ritual suggest that it was performed by apostates returning to the church.

⁴⁰ 'Abdisho', *Nomocanon*, § 3.15 (Perczel, p. 124-25; § 3.14 in Mai, p. 62.) See also Burmester, 'Canons of Cyril III', pp. 100 (ed.), 131 (trans.).

Efforts to maintain the family unit as a thoroughly Christian domain are also apparent in the prohibition of employing Jewish or gentile wet nurses and, most obviously, in prohibitions against marriage with Muslims or other non-Christians.⁴¹ Mxit'ar Gosh deems adultery with a foreigner to be more problematic than adultery with a Christian and, indeed, as equivalent to sodomy and bestiality. He authorizes Christian authorities to castrate non-Christian adulterers if political circumstances allow.⁴² Mxit'ar holds that one may not dwell with a spouse who apostasizes, apparently to Islam.⁴³ According to Barhebraeus, apostasy to 'Saracenicism' or other religions or heresies by the spouse of an orthodox Christian automatically annuls the marriage.⁴⁴ The Coptic Patriarch Cyril III (q.v.), in canons promulgated in 1238, allows for greater flexibility in such circumstances; el-Leithy observes that this rule accommodates the common practice of Coptic men converting to Islam for short-term advantages even while raising Christian children.⁴⁵ In another concession to the social circumstances of Christian life in the Islamic world, Barhebraeus cites Jacob of Edessa's consent to offer communion to the Christian wife of a Muslim if she threatens to convert unless this is permitted.⁴⁶

The contents of Eastern Christian ritual and family law suggest that ecclesiastical authorities were fighting a rear-guard battle against Christians who were not, to the minds of church leaders, sufficiently committed to Christian practices, Christian households, or Christianity itself. This battle took place within a thoroughly Islamic milieu into which all Christians acculturated and a significant number assimilated. Lacking the power to prevent apostasy, church leaders chose instead to minimize

⁴¹ Wet nurses: 'Abdisho', *Nomocanon*, § 5.15 (Perczel, p. 200-1; Mai, pp. 87-88). Mxit'ar forbids marriage to all foreigners, male or female (*Lawcode*, § 163; Thomson, p. 220). 'Abdisho', citing and reformulating pre-Islamic sources, forbids only the marriage of a Christian woman to a non-Christian man (*Nomocanon*, §§ 2.1, 2.14-15; Perczel, pp. 60, 75-77; Mai, pp. 43, 48). Cyril III, surprisingly, forbids only marriage between a Christian man and a non-Christian woman; see Burmester, 'Canons of Cyril III', pp. 93 (ed.) 118 (trans.).

⁴² Mxit'ar, *Lawcode*, §§ 17, 28 (Thomson, pp. 135, 144; see also pp. 53-54).

⁴³ Mxit'ar, *Lawcode*, § 17 (Thomson, p. 139); see also § 18. As Thomson observes, the fact that Mxit'ar immediately discusses travel to a foreign land as a means of facilitating the spouse's reversion to Christianity suggests that the spouse in question has converted to Islam while living under Muslim rule.

⁴⁴ Barhebraeus, *Nomocanon*, § 8.5 (Bedjan, p. 150; Mai, p. 77); Barhebraeus lists paganism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Islam [*sarkäyutā*], and Arianism.

⁴⁵ Burmester, 'Canons of Cyril III', p. 119; el-Leithy, 'Coptic culture', pp. 428-29.

⁴⁶ Barhebraeus, *Nomocanon*, § 4.3 (Bedjan, p. 41; Mai, p. 22; trans. in Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, p. 163).

its damage within the Christian community while bolstering communal cohesiveness.

Muslims in canon law, East and West

Eastern Christian laws regarding Muslims differ dramatically from those found in Western canon law. The latter devotes hardly any attention to apostasy or the preservation of distinctly Christian rituals. Roman Catholic authorities address intermarriage, but primarily through laws imposed upon Muslims, such as the requirement of distinctive clothing. Indeed, much of Western canon law regarding Muslims is directed at Muslims, whereas the vast majority of Eastern canon law regarding Muslims is reflexive, binding solely upon Christians. The issue of recourse to non-Christian courts or officials, of course, simply does not apply in Christian Europe, nor does one find elements of Islamic law within Western canon law. These differences can all be explained by reference to the status of Eastern Christians as subject populations living under Islamic rule, in contrast to the dominant status of the Catholic Church within Europe.

Other differences between the place of Muslims within Eastern and Western canon law, however, reflect differences not in political reality but rather in the ways Christian authorities choose to perceive Muslims. Western canonists view Muslims through the prisms of crusader warfare and classical Christian anti-Judaism. As a result, Catholic canon law portrays Muslims as posing both physical and spiritual threats to Christianity, and responds with laws designed to fend off these dangers. Eastern canonists, in contrast, perceive Muslims as one amongst several non-Christian peoples or simply as paradigmatic of these gentiles. These authorities only conflate Muslims and Jews when they group all non-Christians into a single category. Eastern canon law portrays Muslims as powerful but not as inherently threatening or prone to meddle in Christian affairs without provocation.

Elsewhere, I show that Christian authorities tend to define gentiles as 'non-Christian' but Jews as 'anti-Christian'.⁴⁷ Eastern authorities continue to treat Muslims as 'non-Christians', yet Western authorities, emphasizing the degree to which Islam is similar to Judaism, elide Muslims into the 'anti-Christian' classification. Indeed, Eastern canon law regarding Muslims from the years 1000 to 1500 conforms more closely to Christian

⁴⁷ See David M. Freidenreich, *Foreigners and their food. Constructing otherness in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic law*, Berkeley CA, 2011, chs 7-8, 13.

sources from the first millennium than does its Western counterpart. A full accounting of the different status of Muslims in Eastern and Western canon law must therefore address the reasons why perceptions of Muslims evolved as they did within Christian Europe, a task beyond the scope of the present essay. The sources surveyed in this essay, however, offer a valuable baseline against which to measure the distinctly Catholic evolution of Christian ideas and laws about Muslims.

In 'Christians in early and classical Sunnī law' (*CMR* 1, 99-114), I make reference to an essay in a later volume of *CMR* that was to survey departures from classical approaches to Christians among Sunnī and Shī'ī authorities. This essay was to address the treatment of Christians by Muslim political authorities as well as Muslim responses to European Christian military conquests. I ultimately decided that such an essay would be of minimal value. My research led me conclude that Muslim rulers did not claim to be acting on the basis of Islamic law when they clearly violated classical norms regarding the status of their Jewish or Christian subjects. The sole probable exception, that of the Almohad abrogation of *Dhimmī* status in favor of conversion or expulsion, had only minimal impact on Christians.⁴⁸ Muslim responses to the rise of Christian political and economic power occurred within the framework of classical Sunnī conceptions of the proper relationship between Muslims and Christians, even as these responses stretched that framework in new ways.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ On Almohad policies and their impact on Christians in North Africa and al-Andalus, see especially M. Fierro Bello, 'A Muslim land without Jews or Christians. Almohad policies regarding the "protected people"', in *Christlicher Norden – Muslimischer Süden*, ed. M.M. Tischler and A. Fidora, Münster, 2011, 231-47; J.-P. Molénat, 'Sur le rôle des Almohades dans la fin du Christianisme local au Maghreb et en al-Andalus', *Al-Qanṭara* 18 (1997) 389-413.

⁴⁹ On the subject of whether Muslims must emigrate from Christian lands, see especially K. Abou el Fadl, 'Islamic law and Muslim minorities. The juristic discourse on Muslim minorities from the second/eighth to the eleventh/seventeenth centuries', *Islamic Law and Society* 1 (1994) 141-87; J. Hendrickson, *The Islamic obligation to emigrate. Al-Wansharisi's Asnā al-matājir reconsidered*, Atlanta GA, 2009 (Diss. Emory University); and the sources addressed in the latter work. On Islamic legal discourse responding to the rising influence of Christian commerce, see L. Halevi, 'Christian impurity versus economic necessity. A fifteenth-century fatwa on European paper', *Speculum* 83 (2008) 917-45.

Works on Christian-Muslim relations

1200-1350

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar ibn al-Ḥusayn

DATE OF BIRTH 1149 or 50
PLACE OF BIRTH Rayy, Iran
DATE OF DEATH 1209
PLACE OF DEATH Herāt, Afghanistan

BIOGRAPHY

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar, known as Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, was born in 1149 at Rayy in northern Persia. Until he was 16 he studied with his father, a scholar and preacher in Rayy, who educated al-Rāzī in the Ash‘arī school of theology and the Shāfi‘ī school of law. After his father’s death, he first studied jurisprudence with Kamāl al-Dīn al-Simnānī (d. 1179-80) in Simnān, and then theology and philosophy with Majd al-Dīn al-Jīlī in Rayy and later Marāgha. Al-Rāzī also studied other branches of contemporary knowledge, such as literature, history and medicine, though there is no information about his teachers in these subjects.

Al-Rāzī spent his whole life in the eastern parts of the Islamic world. After completing his education, he travelled widely, debating with scholars, enjoying the company and support of local rulers, teaching students and preaching in public according to the custom of Muslim scholars of his time. In every city he visited, he engaged in heated controversies with such groups as the Mu‘tazila, the Karrāmiyya, the Ḥanbaliyya and the Ismā‘īliyya, and, though he was compelled to abandon some cities, he gained great fame and respect. In about 1203, he finally settled in Herāt, and there he spent the last years of his life teaching a large number of students in a school built for him by the local ruler. In 1209, feeling the approach of death, he dictated his last testament. He probably died on 29 March 1210.

Al-Rāzī was one of the leading figures not only within the Ash‘arī school but also among Muslim theologians in general. His main achievement was to harmonize philosophy, particularly that of Ibn Sīnā, with Muslim theology and produce a kind of philosophical theology. This exerted great influence upon later theologians.

Throughout his life, al-Rāzī wrote extensively on a wide variety of subjects, including Arabic language and literature, history, and medicine, though he is best known for his works of Qur'an commentary, theology and philosophy. His discussions relating to non-Islamic religions in general and Christianity in particular are to be found in the following writings.

In his *I'tiqādāt firaq al-Muslimīn wa-l-mushrikīn* ('The beliefs of Muslim and non-Muslim sects'), in the section on Christianity he mentions the names of what he considers the five main Christian sects, the Melkites (*Malkāniyya*), Nestorians (*Nasṭūriyya*), Jacobites (*Ya'qūbiyya*), *Furfuryūsiyya* and Armenians (*Armunūsiyya*) (pp. 99-101), without discussing their beliefs in detail.

In his *Muḥaṣṣal* (p. 156) and *Al-maṭālib al-'āliya*, (ii, pp. 101-6), al-Rāzī discusses and rejects God's union with other beings, but does not mention Christianity, though in his *Kitāb al-arba'īn* (pp. 114-16) he attributes these views to the Christians, and adds that he has discussed these issues with them. Here he is probably referring to the *Munāzara fi l-radd 'alā l-Naṣārā*, which will be discussed below.

His most detailed discussions of issues related to Christianity come in his commentary, *Al-tafsīr al-kabīr* or *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* ('Keys to the unseen'). On Q 3:45-85 (viii, p. 221-83), he discusses Jesus as the Word of God and the possibility of his birth without a father, rejects the claim of the Christians of Najrān that he was God, and tries to prove that Jesus was a prophet. He expressly rejects the claim that Jesus was God or that God was incarnate in him (viii, p. 246-47). On Q 4:171-73 (xi, p. 271-74), he discusses and rejects the Christian claim that God could unite or be incarnate, and that God is one as essence and three as hypostases. He returns to the discussion of Incarnation on Q 5:17 (xi, p. 327-28), and says that to claim that God was incarnated in Jesus is the same as claiming that God was Jesus. Later he attributes this view to the Jacobites (xii, p. 408), and repeats the claim that Jesus was a prophet, not God. On Q 9:30 (xvi, p. 28-29), he gives a brief history of the divisions of Christianity from Paul to Jacob, Nestorius and Malqa, assuming the Melkites to be the followers of the last. On Q 19:30-32 (xxi, p. 530-34), he returns to the discussion on the Union and Incarnation, arguing that Christians must either claim that God united with Jesus or was incarnated in him, or, since God gave Jesus power, Jesus must either be God or called Son of God only as an honorific. Only the latter is acceptable.

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- Al-Rāzī, *Munāzara fī l-radd 'alā l-Naṣārā*, ed. 'A.M. al-Najjār, Beirut, 1986
- Al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal al-afkār al-mutaqaddimīn wa-l-muta'akhhirīn min al-'ulamā' wa-l-ḥukamā' wa-l-mutakallimīn*, ed. Ṭ.'A.R. Sa'd, Cairo, n.d.
- Al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-arba'īn fī usūl al-dīn*, ed. A.H. al-Sakkā, Beirut, 2004
- Al-Rāzī, *Al-maṭālib al-'ālīya min al-'ilm al-ilāhī*, ed. A.H. al-Sakkā, Beirut, 1987
- Al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, Beirut, 1999
- Al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā'*, ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 291-93
- Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān wa-anbā' abnā' al-zamān*, ed. I. 'Abbās, 8 vols Beirut, 1968-77, iv, 252

Secondary

- The literature on al-Rāzī is vast. Some of the most important studies are:
- F. Griffel, 'On Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's life and the patronage he received', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 18 (2007) 313-44
- A. Shihadeh, *The theological ethics of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, Leiden, 2006
- S. Kafrawi, *Methodology of Qur'ānic interpretation. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's exegetic principles*, New York, 2006
- A. Shihadeh, 'From al-Ghazālī to al-Rāzī. 6th/12th century developments in Muslim philosophical theology', *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 15 (2005) 141-79
- M. Iskenderoglu, *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and Thomas Aquinas on the question of the eternity of the world*, Leiden, 2002
- F. Arnaldez, *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, commentateur du Coran et philosophe*, Paris, 2002
- S. Kafrawi, *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's methodology in interpreting the Qur'an*, Binghamton NY, 2001
- Y. Ceylan, *Theology and tafsīr in the major works of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, Kuala Lumpur, 1996
- A.M.H. 'Ammārī, *Al-Imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. Ḥayātuhu wa-āthāruh*, Cairo, 1969
- F. Kholeif, *A study on Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and his controversies in Transoxiana*, Beirut, 1966

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Munāzara fī l-radd 'alā l-Naṣārā, 'Controversy in refutation of the Christians'

DATE Around 1184

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Munāzara fī l-radd ‘alā l-Naṣārā resulted from a debate held between al-Rāzī and one of the greatest Christian scholars, as he says, in Khwārazm around 1184. Al-Rāzī does not name his opponent, but from his arguments it may be inferred that, if he was a real person, he was a Nestorian. The work has not survived intact, but al-Rāzī refers to it in his *Tafsīr* and quotes from it (see viii, p. 246; xxi, p. 534). In the reconstructed edition it is 57 pages long.

The *Munāzara* served both as a refutation of Christianity and as a defense of Islam, as can be seen clearly from its main contents. While it is not well organized, it deals with seven main issues, also touching on further matters. The main issues discussed are as follows: 1. refutation of the divinity of Jesus; 2. veracity of the prophethood of Muḥammad; 3. refutation of the claim that Jesus is superior to Muḥammad; 4. refutation of the claim that Muslims believe in anthropomorphism; 5. refutation of the claim that there are ambiguities in Islamic teaching, and that the Companions of the Prophet did not ask him questions to clarify these; 6. refutation of the claim that Islam is spread through war; 7. refutation of the claim that Muslims are divided into different sects in understanding Islam, each accusing the others of unbelief, and that this is an indication of the self-contradiction of Islam.

In his refutation of the divinity of Jesus, al-Rāzī argues that the divine Being is in itself necessary Being, and cannot therefore be material, spatial or accidental. However, Jesus was a person with a material body. Thus, for the divinity of Jesus to be true, the divine Being must have been either this material visible person, or totally incarnated in this person, or partially incarnated in this person, all of which are unacceptable. Again, al-Rāzī argues that Jesus used to worship, which indicates that he was a human being not God. He goes on to argue that miracles cannot be evidence of Jesus' divinity, for similar miracles were performed by Moses and Muḥammad. In response, his opponent claims that his group do not accept that the material, visible Jesus was divine, but believe that God can appear to people in whatever form He likes, and that He was incarnated only in Jesus. He goes on to claim that some Muslims, such as al-Ḥallāj, also believed in incarnation.

Throughout the debate on this first issue, the opponent shows a deep knowledge of Islam and disagreements among Muslims and, as a result of his questions, the debate turns into a defense of Islam. Al-Rāzī gives answers to the opponent's objections and questions related to the

remaining six main issues, and in the end he persuades his opponent to become a Muslim.

SIGNIFICANCE

The points discussed in the *Munāzara fī l-radd ‘alā l-Naṣārā* are popular issues that can be found in any Christian-Muslim polemic. They show the breadth of the polemical tradition at the time of al-Rāzī, and exemplify the kind of arguments that have been used throughout the history of Christian-Muslim relations.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Al-Rāzī, *Munāzara fī l-radd ‘alā l-Naṣārā*, ed. ‘Abd al-Majīd al-Najjār, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1986

STUDIES —

Muammer Iskenderoglu

Al-Ḥimmaṣī

Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ‘Alī ibn Ḥasan al-Ḥimmaṣī l-Rāzī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; probably mid-12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; in or near Rayy
DATE OF DEATH After 1204
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Maḥmūd ibn ‘Alī ibn Ḥasan al-Ḥimmaṣī (who is sometimes confused with the 14th-century figure Maḥmūd ibn ‘Alī ibn Maḥmūd al-Ḥimmaṣī) was an Imāmī Shī‘ī jurist and theologian whose activities spanned the latter part of the 12th century. He is not well known, though, since he taught Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (q.v.), his influence may have been greater than it first appears.

In theology, al-Ḥimmaṣī was attracted to the teachings of the Mu‘tazilī theologian Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 1044) (q.v.), who is known for his disagreement with the principles of the prevailing Bahshamiyya school that was founded on the doctrines of the early 10th-century scholar Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā‘ī (q.v.). Al-Ḥimmaṣī was the first Imāmī Shī‘ī scholar to adopt the teachings of this Mu‘tazilī, which had previously attracted only criticism among Imāmīs. He makes frequent use of Abū l-Ḥusayn’s works, and he evidently knew them at first hand.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Muntajab al-Dīn ibn Bābawayh, *Fihrist*, Beirut, 1986, p. 164

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Amal al-‘āmil*, 2 vols, Najaf, 1965, ii, p. 316

Muḥammad Bāqir ibn Zayn al-‘Ābidīn al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍat al-jannāt*, 8 vols, Qom, 1970-72, vii, pp. 158-64

Secondary

S. Schmidtke and H. Ansari (eds), *Khulāṣat al-naẓar, an anonymous Imāmī-Mu‘tazilī treatise (late 6th/12th or early 7th/13th century)*, Tehran, 2006, pp. x-xi (see n. 18 for a complete list of biographical references)

- E. Kohlberg, *A medieval scholar at work. Ibn Ṭāwūs and his library*, Leiden, 1992, p. 75
- Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Mustadrak A'yan al-Shī'a*, 6 vols, Beirut, 1987-95, i, pp. 218-19
- Muḥsin al-Amīn, *A'yan al-Shī'a*, 11 vols, Beirut, 1983, x, pp. 105-7
- R. Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabische Literaturgeschichte*, 2 vols, Wiesbaden, 1976-87, i, pp. 146-47

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-munqidh min al-taqlīd wa-l-murshid ilā l-tawḥīd, 'Deliverance from imitation and guidance to divine unity'

DATE 1185

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work is a compendium of Mu'tazilī theology. It is known by a number of titles, *Kitāb al-munqidh min al-taqlīd wa-l-murshid ilā l-tawḥīd*, *Kitāb al-murshid ilā l-tawḥīd wa-l-munqidh min al-taqlīd* and *Al-ta'liq al-'irāqī* (prompting Muḥammad Bāqir al-Khwānsārī to suggest that it is a commentary on a work by al-Ḥimmaṣī's contemporary Abū l-Faḍl al-'Irāqī l-Qazwīnī l-Ṭāwūsī). It was evidently regarded as important among al-Ḥimmaṣī's writings, because the Shī'ī scholar Ibn Ṭāwūs recalled his grandfather, who had been al-Ḥimmaṣī's student, instructing him to memorize it (Kohlberg, *A medieval scholar at work*, p. 75).

Throughout *Kitāb al-munqidh*, al-Ḥimmaṣī quotes liberally from Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's (q.v.) *Ghurar al-adilla*, 'The finest of proofs', and it is likely that many of his arguments are taken from it, though unless a copy of that work comes to light the relationship will remain unclear.

Following the pattern of earlier Mu'tazilī treatises on theology, the *Munqidh* starts off with proofs of the existence and character of God, and at the end of this section it includes refutations of groups who hold contrary beliefs: supporters of real attributes (*al-ṣifātīyya*), dualists, Zoroastrians, Christians and Sabians (vol. 1, pp. 139-50). This is similar to the structure of the first five books of 'Abd al-Jabbār's (q.v.) *Mughnī* and other earlier works of this kind.

The refutation of Christianity is very brief, little more than three short pages (pp. 144-47), though it is comprehensive and serves its purpose well. It begins with a short exposition of Christian beliefs about the

Trinity and the act of Uniting in Christ, together with a quotation of part of the Nicene Creed, and then it sets out proofs against each doctrine, adducing arguments that recall earlier refutations from the time of Abū ʿĪsā l-Warrāq (q.v.) in the mid-9th century, and also a few that do not echo extant earlier attacks.

Against the Trinity al-Ḥimmaṣī argues that the existence of hypostases unavoidably entails multiplicity, even when they are identified as attributes (*ṣifāt*), particular characteristics (*khawāṣṣ*) or individuals (*ashkhāṣ*). And against the act of Uniting he argues that this would entail confusion because the human and divine cannot be thought to unite in any logical sense, and the differing articulations of the Jacobites, Nestorians and Melkites offer no solution.

His arguments are crisp and concise, getting to the heart of each point and revealing close knowledge of Christian doctrines and their relationships with ‘the teaching of the philosophers, which are the principle points in the teachings of these Christians’ (*alladhīnahum al-uṣūl fi madhāhib hāʾulāʾi al-Naṣārā*). But there is no sign of direct engagement with Christians themselves.

Further on in the *Munqidh* (pp. 504-18), al-Ḥimmaṣī quotes from Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī 16 passages from the Hebrew Bible that point to the coming of Muḥammad and Islam. These are all taken from *Kitāb al-dīn wa-l-dawla*, ‘The book of religion and empire’, by the 9th-century convert ʿAlī l-Ṭabarī (q.v.), whom Abū l-Ḥusayn acknowledges in a number of places. As Adang (‘A rare case’, p. 298) points out, it is unusual for a *kalām* theologian to use the Bible, rather than the inimitability of the Qurʾān, as proof of Muḥammad’s prophethood. It suggests that Abū l-Ḥusayn may well have acknowledged the validity of the text of the Jewish scripture. Al-Ḥimmaṣī himself seems to accept fully the proofs he has quoted, for he ends his quotation from Abū l-Ḥusayn with the comment that a person reading ‘what God says’ will conclude that it all refers to Muḥammad (Adang, ‘A rare case’, pp. 314-15, 330).

SIGNIFICANCE

While Christianity and quotations from the New Testament are not mentioned in *Kitāb al-munqidh*, it seems unlikely that al-Ḥimmaṣī would have made a distinction between the Old Testament, which he evidently accepts, and the New. Although he is quoting these verses along with many other passages from Abū l-Ḥusayn, the fact that he does include them in his own work, and draws attention to their importance, shows that he set some store by them as reliable attestations to Islam. The

implication, though this should not be pushed too far, is that he thinks at least some of the text of the Bible is authentic. In this he conforms to the minority view among Muslims, that earlier scriptures are textually trustworthy witnesses to Islam (as opposed to Ibn Ḥazm [q.v.] and others like him, who regarded the text as hopelessly corrupt), as long as they are interpreted in the proper way.

Taken together with his earlier refutation of the main Christian doctrines, these quotations indicate that in general al-Ḥimmaṣī subscribed to the general Muslim view that Christian errors resulted from a wrong reading of scripture. A correct reading would direct them not only towards the principle of *tawḥīd* but also to the fulfillment of their faith in the coming of Muḥammad.

MANUSCRIPTS

See *Muʿjam al-turāth al-kalāmī. Muʿjam yatanāwalu dhikr asmāʾ al-muʿallafāt al-kalāmīyya (al-makḥṭūʿāt wa-l-maṭbūʿāt) ʿabra l-qurʾān wa-l-maktabāt allatī tatawaffaru fihā nusakuhā*, 5 vols, Qom: Al-lajna al-ʿIlmiyya fī Muʿassasat al-Imām al-Sādiq, 2002, v, p. 505 (ref. in Adang, 'A rare case', p. 298, n. 1)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

C. Adang, 'A rare case of biblical "testimonies" to the Prophet Muḥammad in Muʿtazilī literature. Quotations from Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī's *Kitāb al-dīn wa-l-dawla* in Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Ghurar al-adilla*, as preserved in a work by al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, in C. Adang, S. Schmidtke and D. Sklare (eds), *A common rationality. Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism*, Würzburg, 2007, 297-330, pp. 302-15, trans.; pp. 316-30 (edition of the section on proof texts) Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī, *Al-munqidh min al-taqīd*, ed. M.H. al-Yūsufī al-Gharawī, 2 vols, Qom, 1991-93

A list of other editions is given in *Muʿjam al-turāth al kalāmī*, v, p. 505 (ref. in Adang, 'A rare case', p. 298, n. 1).

STUDIES

S. Schmidtke, 'Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and his transmission of biblical materials from *Kitāb al-dīn wa-al-dawla* by Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī.

The evidence from Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Mafātiḥ al-ghayb*, *ICMR* 20 (2009) 105-18

Adang, 'A rare case', pp. 297-301

Alan of Lille

Alanus ab Insulis, Alanus de Insulis, Alain de Lille,
Alain von Lille

DATE OF BIRTH Between 1125 and 1130
PLACE OF BIRTH Lille or nearby
DATE OF DEATH 1202 or 1203
PLACE OF DEATH Monastery of Citeaux

BIOGRAPHY

Only a few details of Alan's life are known. As a boy, he presumably studied liberal arts and theology at Chartres. He taught theology in Paris, and he also lived in the south of France (perhaps in the vicinity of Montpellier), where he was engaged in the altercations with the Cathars and the Waldensians. During his stay there, he must have become acquainted with the order of the Cistercians. Some identify Alan with Alan of Canterbury (cf. Tewkesbury).

Alan left an extensive collection of works on theology, natural philosophy, epistemology and the theory of science. Among those texts are two allegorical poems, a lexicon of theological terms, and sermons.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Currently there is no complete critical edition of Alan's works, but an unedited reprint of older editions is available in *PL* 210; some individual works are also available in critical editions. A list of his works is given in Solère et al. (eds), *Alain de Lille. Le docteur universel*, pp. xi-xiii.

Alain von Lille, *Regeln der Theologie*, trans. A. Niederberger and M. Pahlmeier, Freiburg, 2009

Secondary

E.C. Sweeney, *Logic, theology, and poetry in Boethius, Abelard, and Alan of Lille. Words in the absence of things*, Basingstoke UK, 2006

J.-L. Solère et al. (eds), *Alain de Lille. Le docteur universel*, Turnhout, 2005

C. Chiurco, *Alano di Lilla. Della metafisica alla prassi*, Milan, 2005

G. Casagrande and C. Kleinhenz, 'Alan of Lille and Dante. Questions of influence', *Italica* 82 (2005) 356-65

- M. Dreyer, *More mathematicorum. Rezeption und Transformation der antiken Gestalten wissenschaftlichen Wissens im 12. Jahrhundert*, Münster, 1996
- G.R. Evans, *Alan of Lille. The frontiers of theology in the later twelfth century*, Cambridge, 1983 (repr. 2009)
- H. Roussel et al. (eds), *Alain de Lille, Gautier de Châtillon, Jakemart Giélee et leur temps*, Lille, 1980
- J.M. Trout, *The voyage of prudence. The world view of Alan of Lille*, Washington DC, 1979

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

De fide catholica. Contra haereticos, Valdenses, Iudaeos et paganos, 'On the Catholic faith. Against heretics, Waldensians, Jews and pagans'

DATE After 1180, but presumably before 1187

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

De doctrina catholica is to be seen in the context of the preaching missions of the Cistercians against heretics in the south of France. Alan also discusses heretical positions in his theological summa *Quoniam homines*. There are also connections to the *Distinctiones dictionum theologiarum (Summa modis)*. *De doctrina catholica* is dedicated to William VIII, Lord of Montpellier.

The work is divided into four books. After a short prologue, in ch. 1 Alan discusses the main teachings of unidentified heretics, probably the Cathars; and in ch. 2 he analyzes the Waldensian creed. In ch. 3 he discusses theological issues disputed between Jews and Christians, and in ch. 4 he addresses Islam.

This chapter is short compared with the others (*PL* 210, cols 421-30), although, as in them, Alan cites biblical testimonies (*auctoritates*) and arguments from reason. He discusses in detail: the conception of Jesus by Mary; Jesus' (in-)capacity to suffer and his (im-)mortality; material or immaterial sustenance in heaven; authorization and prohibition of polygamy; absolution through baptism by water; figurative representations in churches; and the command not to greet anyone outside one's own faith.

Although Alan characterizes Muḥammad as a man of perverted life, inspired by a malicious spirit, and his doctrine as much more perverted, he does not regard Islam as a heresy, which to say an apostasy from

Christianity, but a pagan interpretation of the world which regards Christianity positively. Islam appears to him as a mixture of Christian and Jewish beliefs with some unique features. This judgment is possibly connected to the growing reception of Arab philosophy in the Latin West.

SIGNIFICANCE

Even though Alan gives a very negative impression of Muḥammad in *De fide catholica*, he still makes clear why a dialogue between Christianity and Islam is possible: the two religions share common beliefs; they trace their truth claims to the same sources; and they accept the same methods when assessing the truth or error of religious teachings.

MANUSCRIPTS

There is no complete listing of the manuscripts of *De fide catholica*. For the most important, see:

Pearson, 'The anti-Jewish polemic of Alan of Lille', p. 98, n. 49.

N.M. Häring, 'Alan of Lille *De fide catholica* or *Contra haereticos*', *Analecta Cisterciensia* 32 (1976) 261-37

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Summa quadrupartita adversus haereticos, Waldenses, Judaeos et paganos, libri duo priores cum initio tertii, in *Alanus ab Insulis, Opera moralia, paraenetica et polemica, quae reperiri potuerunt...*, ed. Karl de Viesch, Antwerp, 1654 (repr. in *PL* 210)

Alani insignis theologi Opus adversus haereticos, & Valdenses, qui postea Albigenses dicti, in duos libros divisum..., Paris, 1612

There are no critical editions of *De fide catholica*. On existing editions and their defects, see C. Bäumker, 'Handschriftliches zu den Werken des Alanus', *Philosophische Jahrbuch* 6 (1893) 163-75, 417-29, pp. 417-19

STUDIES

J.H. Pearson, 'The anti-Jewish polemic of Alan of Lille', in J.-L. Solère et al. (eds), *Alain de Lille. Le docteur universel*, Turnhout, 2005, 83-106

M.-T. d'Alverny, 'Alain de Lille et l'islam. Le *Contra paganos*', in *Islam et chrétiens du Midi (XII^e-XIV^e s.) (Cahiers de Fanjeaux 18)*, Toulouse, 1983, 301-50

Häring, 'Alan of Lille'

C. Vasoli, 'Il *Contra haereticos* di Alano di Lilla', *Bulletin dell'Istituto Storico Italiano* 75 (1963) 123-72

Yūḥannā ibn Sawīrus

Yūḥannā ibn Sūrus, Yūḥannā ibn Sawirus, *Al-kātib al-Miṣrī*

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; end of the 11th or beginning of the
12th century

PLACE OF BIRTH Cairo

DATE OF DEATH Unknown; perhaps the last decade of the
12th century

PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

The name of the author in MS Vat Arabic 117 is Yūḥannā ibn Sawirus (or Sūrus). In the MSS of Abū l-Barakāt's *Miṣbaḥ al-ẓulma*, ch. 7, various forms are found: Sawirus or Sūrus, Sūrīs, Sawīrus, or Sāwīrus. In other sources the form Sāwīrus occurs.

Cheikho places the author in the 12th century, and Graf in the 14th, though a reading of the author's one known work seems to confirm Cheikho's opinion, since it is mentioned there that he knew of the 12th-century Patriarch Mark III ibn Zur'a (1166-89). He names certain individuals such as Luke the Stylite of Antioch, Yaḥyā Ibn Jibrīl, and Bū Sa'd al-Munajjim, though these persons are otherwise unknown.

Abū l-Barakāt places Yūḥannā among Coptic authors, though the work itself contains no information about his confession. The only Coptic author Yūḥannā mentions is Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa' (q.v.), while he recalls several East and West Syrian and one Melkite author. He mentions the Church Fathers Athanasius and Cyril, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom, and a few Latin Fathers such as Sylvester, and the monks Anthony, Macarius, Pachomius, Sanuthius (using the Greek form of the names of the two last), Simeon the Stylite, and John Climacus. He uses the Syrian rather than the Coptic names of the months.

Yūḥannā, or perhaps his father, was a scribe (*kātib*) in Cairo. He says that he travelled to Antioch in Syria, where he saw Luke the Stylite (mentioned several times), and it is evident that he had a very broad knowledge of patristic literature, the Christian Arabic heritage, and also Islamic mysticism and *fiqh*.

Yūḥannā is known to have written three works: *Kitāb al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal* ('Knowledge and works'), preserved in a few MSS and in an abbreviated edition; *Al-ijhām ba‘d al-istibhām* ('Understanding after ambiguity'), lost though mentioned several times in the *Kitāb al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal*; and *Al-tabyīn ba‘d al-shakk* ('Demonstration after doubt'), known only from the colophon of MS Vat Ar. 117.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- W. Riedel, 'Der Katalog der christlichen Schriften in arabischer Sprache von Abū 'l Barakāt', in *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Heft 5*, Göttingen, 1902, 635-706, pp. 661 (text), 697 (trans.)
- Shams al-Ri'āsa Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar, *Miṣbāḥ al-ḡulma fī iḍāḥ al-khidma*, ed. Samīr Khalīl, Cairo, 1971, p. 319
- J.M. Vansleb, *Histoire de l'église d'Alexandrie fondée par S. Marc que nous appelons celle des Jacobites Coptes d'Egypte, écrite au Caire même en 1672 & 1673*, Paris, 1677, p. 336 (free trans.)
- Jirjis ibn al-‘Amid ibn al-Makīn, *Mukhtaṣar al-bayān fī taḥqīq al-īmān al-mawsūm bi-l-Ḥāwī*, vol. 1, Cairo, 1906, pp. 70-71
- Ibn al-Makīn, *Al-mawsū‘a l-lāhūtīyya l-shahīra bi-l-Ḥāwī*, ed. [Minā] al-Muḥarraqī, Vol. 1, Cairo, 1999, p. 131

Secondary

- A. Wadi, 'Introduzione alla letteratura arabo-cristiana dei Copti' [in Arabic], *SOCC* 29-30 (1998) 441-91, p. 461
- R.-G. Coquin, 'Langue et littérature arabes chrétiennes', in M. Albert (ed.), *Christianismes orientaux. Introduction à l'étude des langues et des littératures*, Paris, 1993, 35-106, p. 84
- V. Frederick, art. 'Yūḥannā Ibn Sāwīrus', in *CE*
- J.S. Qanawātī [G.S. Anawati], *Al-Masīḥīyya wa-l-ḥaḍāra l-‘arabiyya*, Cairo, 1992, pp. 290-91
- L. Cheïkho, *Les vizirs et secrétaires arabes chrétiens en Islam 622-1517*, ed. C. Hechaïmé, Beirut, 1987, p. 69
- Kāmil Ṣālīḥ Nakhla, *Silsilat tāriḫ al-bābāwāt baṭārikat al-kursī l-Iskandarī, fasc. 1, Wādī l-Naṭrūn*, 1951, p. 109; 2nd ed., Cairo, 2002, p. 80
- Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 436
- L. Cheïkho, *Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes chrétiens*, Beirut, 1924, pp. 9, 221

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-ifhām ba‘d al-istibhām, ‘Understanding after ambiguity’DATE Unknown, but before *Kitāb al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal*

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work is no longer extant. Yūḥannā mentions it several times in *Kitāb al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal*, and it would seem that it was a theological/apologetic work, defending Christian doctrines from Islamic challenges.

SIGNIFICANCE

Nothing can be said without more information about the work.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

Kitāb al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal, ‘Knowledge and works’;
Tartīb al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal, ‘Relationship of
 knowledge and works’

DATE Unknown; probably after 1189

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work was written after the death of the Patriarch Mark III in 1189. In the introduction, Yūḥannā explains his method and identifies the otherwise unknown Bū ‘Alī Abū I-Ḥasan ibn Mawhūb. The latter has been thought to be a Muslim, and it has been claimed that Yūḥannā wrote his book against him. However, despite the Muslim elements in his name, there is no reason to think that he was not a Christian, and he may be identified as the dedicatee.

After the introduction, the book is divided into 10 chapters. The first three are about immortality, and the following three are on the law of Christ. Ch. 4, on the superiority of the law of Christ (with 15 ‘demonstrations’), is the longest and also the richest in historical information, while ch. 5 explains that the law of Christ was accepted on the basis of

miracles – a topic covered in practically every Christian Arab apologetic and theological work. Ch. 7 deals with the subject of knowledge, and ch. 8 with works; ch. 9 is again on knowledge, and ch. 10 on knowledge and works together.

Jirjis ibn al-‘Amīd ibn al-Makīn (q.v.) thought the work was of little value because it was lacking in biblical and rational arguments, and recently Coquin has considered it not worth special study. It is not primarily a theological work, but rather a work of apologetic, morality and spirituality, and it is not lacking in originality. It may have influenced the great theologian and apologist al-Ṣafi ibn al-‘Assāl, among others.

SIGNIFICANCE

Yūḥannā’s admiration for Muslim authors is evident, including the philosophers al-Kindī and al-Rāzī, and he happily uses many Islamic and qur’anic words and expressions, though he criticizes *fiqh*. In the field of morality and spirituality, he sees points of difference between Christianity and Islam (e.g., in the conceptions of the afterlife and legal purity), but he also finds points of contact and resemblance, as in the high regard for fasting. All in all, his work shows qualities of ecumenism and irenicism, both between Christian confessions (so much so that it is difficult to know to which confession he belongs) and also between religions.

MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Vat – Ar. 117, fols 289v-331v (original Coptic numbering), 207v-249v (Arabic numbering) (1323)
- MS Vat – Ar. 126, fols 151r-225r (later Arabic numbering) (1687)
- MS Aleppo, Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem – Ar. 238 (Sbath 1040), fols 132v-193v (original Coptic numbering), 103v-164v (Oriental Arabic numbering) (1787)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – Hist. 482 (Simaika 113, Graf 726), fols 225r-228v (18th century; introduction, index, and beginning of ch. 1)
- MS Red Sea, Monastery of St Anthony – Theol. 320, fols 117-32 (1906, from a copy of 1263/4; epitome)
- MS Asyūt, heirs of the late al-Qummuṣ Ayyūb Masīḥa – 45, fols 100r-157v (date unknown)
- MS Red Sea, Monastery of St Anthony – Theol. 90, fols 247-249 (date unknown; epitome)
- MS Cairo, heirs of Marcus Jirjis (MS from a private collection, probably lost; Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 71, no. 584)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Kitāb al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal ikhtiṣār al-fāḍil Yūḥannā ibn Sāwīrus al-kātib al-Miṣrī, ed. Andrā’us al-Anṭūnī, Cairo, 1913

STUDIES

Wadi, ‘Introduzione alla letteratura arabo-cristiana’

Coquin, ‘Langue et littérature arabes chrétiennes’, p. 84

Frederick, art. ‘Yūḥannā Ibn Sāwīrus’

Qanawātī, *Al-Masīḥiyya wa-l-ḥaḍāra l-‘arabiyya*

Cheikho, *Les vizirs et secrétaires arabes chrétiens en Islam*, p. 69

Nakhla, *Silsilat tāriḫ al-bābāwāt*, Wādī l-Naṭrūn, 1951, p. 109; 2nd ed.,
Cairo, 2002, p. 80

Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 436

Cheikho, *Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes chrétiens*,
pp. 9, 221

Al-tabyīn ba‘d al-shakk, ‘Demonstration after doubt’

DATE Unknown; after 1189

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This lost work is known only from the colophon of MS Vat Ar. 117. From the title it seems that it was theological and apologetic in character.

SIGNIFICANCE

Nothing can be said without more information about the work’s contents.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

Wadi Awad

Paul of Antioch

Būlus al-Rāhib al-Anṭākī

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; possibly mid-12 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Presumably Antioch
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; possibly early 13 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; maybe Sidon

BIOGRAPHY

For an author who stirred up such a great deal of controversy with his writings, surprisingly little is known about Paul of Antioch. Outside his own works almost nothing is said about him, and it is even difficult to give him accurate dates.

Paul's works give a few scant details about him: he was from Antioch, a Melkite Christian, he became a monk, and at some stage he was made bishop of Sidon. Exactly when he was active is difficult to say. The earliest possible time is the mid-11th century, because he made use of the works of Elias of Nisibis (q.v.), who died in 1046, and the latest is the mid-13th century, when his works were being copied, used and refuted. Khoury (*Paul d'Antioche*, p. 18) suggests 1140-80 as the period of his main activity, a time of relative calm between the opposing forces of the Middle East, though Teule, 'Paul of Antioch's attitude', pp. 93-95, places him in the late 11th or early 12th century. Given that the earliest dated manuscript of his works dates from 1232 and that they are not used by others until the middle of the 13th century, a date nearer to 1200 and possibly into the early 13th century seems more likely (see below).

While a total of 24 works are associated with Paul, it is often accepted that only five of these are authentic (though see Teule, 'Paul of Antioch's attitude', pp. 96-97). In addition to his *Letter to a Muslim friend*, these include a brief treatise on reason, works on contemporary Christian sects and on Christian views about the Trinity and the act of uniting between the divine and human in Christ (one of them written for a Muslim shaykh), and an exposition of the reasons why all nations, including the Jews, should become Christian.

This last treatise (Khoury, *Paul d'Antioche*, text pp. 25-58, French trans. pp. 147-68) is effectively a defense of the doctrines of the oneness

of God, the Trinity and Incarnation according to reason and, for the Jews, according to scripture. While it does not explicitly mention Muslims, the kind of arguments it employs and the questions to which it responds suggest they are very much in Paul's mind as he writes.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Paul's works, ed. P. Khoury, *Paul d'Antioche, évêque melkite de Sidon (XII^e siècle)*, Beirut, 1964

Secondary

H. Teule, 'Paul of Antioch's attitude towards the Jews and the Muslims. His letter to the nations and the Jews', in B. Roggema, M. Poorthuis and P. Valkenberg (eds), *The three rings. Textual studies in the historical dialogue of Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, Leuven, 2005, 91-110, pp. 92-97

Khoury, *Paul d'Antioche*, pp. 8-18 (most subsequent works summarise the biographical information presented here)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Risāla ilā baʿḍ aṣḍiqā'ihī alladhīna bi-Ṣaydā min al-Muslimīn, 'Letter to one of his Muslim friends from Sidon'; 'Letter to a Muslim friend'

DATE Uncertain; about 1200

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Paul's *Letter to a Muslim friend* is one of the most accomplished and disconcerting works from the history of Christian-Muslim relations that is known. Although it is quite short, comprising 24 pages in Khoury's edition, and it has the appearance of being friendly and reasonable, beneath its irenic surface it reveals a logic that threatens to subvert the whole basis of Islam.

In response to a request from an unnamed friend, Paul tells how he had travelled in the Byzantine Empire, Constantinople, Amalfi, the land of the Franks and Rome, and met with leading intellectuals there. When he discovered that they had read the Qur'an, he asked them about Muḥammad and they replied by pointing out that he and his message were not intended for them, and that the Qur'an in any case supported

their own Christian teachings. The letter comprises their evidence for what they said.

It begins by showing from the Qur'an itself that Muḥammad was sent expressly to the pagan Arabs with a revelation in Arabic, and it goes on to show how the text of the Qur'an supports Christian beliefs about Christ, the Virgin Mary, the Apostles and the authenticity of the Gospels, maintains that Christians believe in one God, and upholds Christian religious practices. Moreover, it refers to Christ and to God in ways that are consistent with the doctrines of the uniting of the divine and human natures and the Trinity.

In this letter Paul, addresses familiar objections to Christianity by Muslims at this time, primarily their rejection of the authenticity of the Bible and the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation. In doing so, he makes use of an amalgamation of biblical proof texts, rational arguments and quotations from the Qur'an. It is this latter feature that marks out his work, because he acknowledges that Muḥammad was sent by God and that the Qur'an was revealed by God. But he stresses that Muḥammad was only sent to the pagan Arabs, and in his use of the Qur'an he makes clear by implication that it only becomes fully comprehensible when it is seen as a witness to the truth of Christian beliefs and doctrines, and is read according to the hermeneutic of the Bible.

This attitude towards Muḥammad goes back to earlier times, though Paul's attitude towards the Qur'an, which reveals a striking intimacy with it, is unusual. Not only is he able to make extensive use of Qur'anic verses, but, presumably because he regards the text as conforming to biblical teachings, he does not flinch from stretching his interpretations of it to make it yield a Christian teaching, or even from adjusting it to make it agree with Christian doctrines.

The net effect of Paul's demonstration is that Christianity is proved to be vindicated by both reason and the Qur'an itself.

Concerning the date of the work, it is worth bearing the following points in mind. In the first place, it is easier to think that the European experts Paul is supposed to have met on his journey are convenient mouthpieces for his own ingenious arguments rather than that they are real individuals. They speak too directly to the context of age-old Arab Muslim-Christian controversies and possess too keen a dexterity with the Arabic text of the Qur'an to carry verisimilitude. Thus, any journey that Paul may have made to places where he met them need not be linked to any particular period of calm between the two sides during the crusades or to any particular event, such as the Third Lateran Council

(Khoury, *Paul d'Antioche*, p. 13, n. 25). Second, it is unlikely that a work with such explosive contents would have lain unnoticed for long. It was first used in the mid-13th century by the Copt al-Ṣafī ibn al-ʿAssāl (q.v.) and was refuted by the Muslim jurist Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī (q.v.), suggesting that it was probably written nearer this time than in the 1140-80 period that has been suggested.

SIGNIFICANCE

While the letter appears to accept and acknowledge Muḥammad and the Qur'an as from God, and therefore seems to be making a gesture towards reconciliation with Islam, it actually does the opposite. It turns the Prophet into a local preacher who may be authentic but who was sent to do no more than bring the Arabs to an initial form of monotheism, presumably on the way to the full Trinitarian form, and it domesticates the Qur'an into a text that can best be understood by reference to the Bible.

Paul does not say what he was attempting to do, but it is not inappropriate to think that he had in mind the apologetic intention to explain to his fellow Christians why Islam was in the world, and how Christianity stood in relation to it. No wonder it met with some of the most substantial and intransigent refutations ever produced by Muslim authors: by al-Qarāfī in the 13th century, and, in response to the revised and extended version sent from Cyprus in the early 14th century (see 'The Letter from the people of Cyprus'), by Ibn Taymiyya (q.v.) and Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī (q.v.).

MANUSCRIPTS

See Khoury, *Paul d'Antioche*, pp. 21-31, for a list of the MSS containing collections of Paul's works; the *Letter* is given as no. 3 in the description of each collection.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- D. Sarrió Cucarella, 'Carta a un amigo musulmán de Sidón de Pablo de Antioquía', *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 4 (2007) 189-215, pp. 200-15 (Spanish trans.)
- R. Ebied and D. Thomas (ed. and trans.), *Muslim-Christian polemic during the crusades*, Leiden, 2005, pp. 54-146
- Khoury, *Paul d'Antioche, évêque melkite de Sidon*, pp. 59-83 (text), pp. 169-87 (French trans.)
- L. Cheikho, *Vingt traités théologiques d'auteurs arabes chrétiens (IX^e-XIII^e siècles)*, Beirut, 1920

- L. Buffat, 'Lettre de Paul, évêque de Saïda, moine d'Antioche, à un Musulman de ses amis demeurant à Sidon', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 8 (1903) 388-425 (edition and French trans.)

STUDIES

- D. Thomas, 'Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim friend* and *The letter from Cyprus*', in D. Thomas (ed.), *Syrian Christians under Islam*, Leiden, 2001, 203-21, pp. 203-13
- S.K. Samir, 'Notes sur la "Lettre à un musulman de Sidon" de Paul d'Antioche', *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 24 (1993) 179-95, pp. 179-90
- M.Z. Siddiqi, 'Muslim and Byzantine Christian relations. Letter of Paul of Antioch and Ibn Taymiyah's response', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 31 (1986) 33-45
- T. Michel, *A Muslim theologian's response to Christianity*, Delmar NY, 1984, pp. 87-93
- S.K. Samir, 'La réponse d'al-Şafi b. al-ʿAssāl à la réfutation des chrétiens de ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī', *Parole de l'Orient* 11 (1983) 281-328, pp. 313-25
- Khoury, *Paul d'Antioche*, pp. 51-55, 69-120

David Thomas

Joachim of Fiore

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1135
PLACE OF BIRTH	Celico, Calabria
DATE OF DEATH	30 March, 1202
PLACE OF DEATH	San Martino di Giove, Calabria

BIOGRAPHY

Joachim was born in Celico, the son of a notary. He was serving as a chancery official at the Sicilian court when he undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the late 1160s. According to an early life, he received the first of three visions relating to the persons of the Trinity (a manifestation of the Father) while in the Holy Land. Upon his return to Calabria, he lived as a penitent and wandering preacher but soon became a monk at the monastery of Corazzo, where he was elected abbot in the mid-1170s. His earliest writing, the *Genealogia* of 1176, already shows his fascination with determining the course of sacred history through 'concordances', divinely-established parallels between the generations of the Old Testament and those of the Church, beginning with the New Testament. Joachim became convinced that a true 'spiritual understanding' (*spiritualis intelligentia*) of the Bible reveals the past, the present, and even what is to come.

In the 1180s, attempting to have Corazzo accepted into the Cistercian order, Joachim journeyed to the abbey of Casamari south of Rome, where he remained for over a year between 1183 and 1184. During this period, two more visions, one of the Son given on Easter morning and a vision of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, further opened his mind to the Trinitarian structure of history and the meaning of the Book of Revelation. In this period, Joachim worked out the fundamental structure of his theology of history: the notion that each of the three persons had a proper age or *status*: the Old Testament being the *status* of the Father, the time of the New Testament and Church that of the Son, and the dawning *status* of the contemplative Church ascribed to the Holy Spirit. In the Spring of 1184, he was interviewed by Pope Lucius III and given papal license to begin his three major works: the lengthy *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, the *Liber de concordia de novo et vetere testamento*, five books of the concordances between the time of the Old Law and that of the New, which

contain about a dozen references to Islam (Bks I-IV, ed. Daniel, pp. 181, 191, 296-300, 360, 366-67, 376-79 [a reference to conflicts of Muslims and Christians in Italy], 400, 417 [Bernard and the Second Crusade]; Bk. V, ed. Venice, ff. 69r, 78v-79r, and 127r-v); and a work on the Trinity entitled *Psalterium decem chordarum*. Joachim's interest in the current crises of the Church – the resurgence of Islam culminating in the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187, the ongoing conflict between the papacy and the German Empire, and the rise of heresy – led him deeper into speculations about what the Bible and other holy writings predicted about the present and the future. In about 1187-88, he composed the *Tractatus in expositionem vite et regule beati Benedicti*, in which he applied his special exegesis to Gregory the Great's *Vita Benedicti* (*Dialogi*, Bk II) and the monastic office.

In the late 1180s and early 1190s, Joachim's commitment to the progress of the monastic life as the major engine for a coming better age of the earthly Church led to his distancing himself from the Cistercians and establishing a new monastic house at San Giovanni in Fiore, in the high Sila of central Calabria. He was aided in this endeavor by the support of the rulers of Sicily, both the last of the Norman dynasty and the Hohenstaufens who succeeded them. Despite his withdrawal in this mountain retreat, the abbot of Fiore became famous during the last decade of his life, as a number of trips to the papal court and encounters with rulers demonstrate. In the winter of 1190-91, Richard the Lionheart, wintering at Messina on his way to the Third Crusade, called on Joachim to interpret the meaning of the seven heads of the dragon in Revelation 12 and 17. According to the chronicler Roger of Howden, Joachim explained that the persecutions of the first five heads had already passed (Herod, Nero, Constantius, Muḥammad, and Melsemoth [probably an Almohad North African ruler; see also *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, f. 116r-v; and *Liber figurarum*, Tavola XIV]). The sixth head, 'The one who now is' [Rev. 17:9], is Saladin, who now oppresses God's Church and holds it captive along with the Lord's sepulcher. . . . Roger says that Joachim predicted victory over Saladin, though the two versions of his account differ on when this would happen. Joachim also said that the seventh and final persecution, that of Antichrist, would arrive in around 1200. In his last decade, the abbot continued to work on his major treatises as well as on a number of smaller works. He also perfected the *figurae*, geometrical and vegetative illustrations of the main lines of his apocalyptic message. At his death on 30 March 1202, he left his works to the papacy for final approval and

his diagrams to his disciples, who compiled them into a *Liber figurarum*, probably not long after his death.

Joachim's view of the historical significance of Islam represents a new option in Christian theology. He shows little interest in Islam as a religion, though occasionally he speaks of it as a 'heresy' (e.g., *Expositio*, f. 130r). Rather, he puts the struggle between the two religions into the framework of the on-going conflict between Christ and Antichrist in the time of the second *status*. The abbot lived through the debacle of the Second Crusade, and also long enough to reflect on the limited success of the Third Crusade. His generally pacifist form of apocalypticism, which insisted on the suffering witness of the just as a trigger for divine intervention, led him to criticize aspects of contemporary crusade ideology, but this was in part conditional on his view that, without an interior conversion of heart, military assaults were doomed to failure. What about the fate of Islam in the dawning third *status*? The abbot expressed the conviction that both the schismatic Greeks and the obdurate Jews would be converted to the contemplative Church in the third *status*. While most of his comments about Islam are negative and look forward to the coming destruction of Christianity's nemesis, a passage in a treatise written sometime in the 1180s, the *Dialogi de praescientia Dei et de praedestinatione electorum*, expresses a more positive view: 'In the future, the same Saracen people, who now are given to the Christian people as a scourge, may be converted to God at the same time as the Jewish people, just as the Roman people, once given to the children of Israel as a scourge, were converted' (Potestà, *Dialogi*, p. 96).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Two almost contemporary lives of Joachim exist: an anonymous *Vita* written before 1209, and the *Vita* of Luke of Cosenza, who served as Joachim's secretary. See H. Grundmann, 'Zur Biographie Joachims von Fiore und Rainers von Ponza', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 16 (1960) 437-546.

For the encounter between Joachim and Richard I, see Roger of Howden (under the name of Benedict of Peterborough), *Gesta regis Henrici secundi* (*Rolls Series* 49.2:151-55); and *Cronica* (*Rolls Series* 53.3: 75-79).

For a list of Joachim's authentic works, see K.V. Selge, 'Elenco delle opere di Gioacchino da Fiore', *Florensia* 3-4 (1989-90) 25-35. The genesis of these writings is discussed by K.V. Selge, 'L'origine delle opere di Gioacchino da Fiore', in O. Capitani and J. Miethke (eds), *L'attesa della fine dei tempi nel Medioevo*, Bologna, 1990, 87-131.

A new critical edition of all of Joachim's works is in progress: R.E. Lerner, et al. (eds), *Ioachim Abbas Florentis. Opera Omnia*, Rome, 1995- (5 vols to 2010). Other editions are noted below.

E.R. Daniel (ed.), *Liber de concordia Noui ac Veteris Testamenti*, Philadelphia PA, 1983. For Bk V, see *Concordia Novi ac Veteris Testamenti*, Venice, 1519 (repr. Frankfurt, 1964).

Secondary

The literature on Joachim is extensive, but there are useful bibliographies. In addition, a series of International Congresses sponsored by the *Centro Internazionale di Studi Gioachimiti* in San Giovanni da Fiore is in progress.

1. Bibliographies:

M. Rainini, 'Gioacchino da Fiore. Bibliografia 1994-2001', *Florentia* 16-17 (2002-3) 105-65

C. Caputano, 'Gioacchino da Fiore. Bibliografia 1988-1993', *Florentia* 8-9 (1994-95) 45-110

V. De Fraja, 'Gioacchino de Fiore. Bibliografia 1969-1988', *Florentia* 2 (1988) 7-59

F. Russo, 'Rassegna bibliografica Gioachimita (1958-1967)', *Cîteaux* 19 (1968) 206-14

F. Russo, *Bibliografia Gioachimita*, Florence, 1954

2. Congress volumes:

G.L. Potestà (ed.), *Gioacchino da Fiore nella cultura contemporanea*, Rome, 2005

R. Rusconi (ed.), *Gioacchino da Fiore tra Bernardo di Clairvaux e Innocenzo III*, Rome, 2001

R. Rusconi (ed.), *Storia e figure dell'Apocalisse fra '500 e '600*, Rome, 1996

G.L. Potestà (ed.), *Il profetismo gioachimita tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento*, Genoa, 1991

A. Crocco (ed.), *L'età dello Spirito e la fine dei tempi in Gioacchino da Fiore e nel gioachinismo medievale. Atti del II Congresso internazionale di studi gioachimiti: San Giovanni in Fiore*, 2 vols, S. Giovanni in Fiore, 1986

Storia e messaggio in Gioacchino da Fiore, S. Giovanni in Fiore, 1980

3. Important Studies

B.E. Whalen, *Dominion of God. Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge MA, 2009, ch. 4

R.E. Lerner, *Scrutare il future. L'eredità di Gioacchino da Fiore alla fine del Medioevo*, Rome, 2008

J.E. Wannemacher, *Hermeneutik der Heilsgeschichte. 'De septem sigillis' und die sieben Siegel im Werk Joachims von Fiore*, Leiden, 2005

M. Riedl, *Joachim von Fiore. Denker der vollendeten Menschheit*, Würzburg, 2004

- G.L. Potestà, *Il tempo dell'Apocalisse. Vita di Gioacchino da Fiore*, Bari, 2004
- H. Grundmann, *Gioacchino da Fiore. Vita e opere*, Rome, 1997
- B. McGinn, *Apocalypticism in the Western tradition*, Aldershot UK, 1994
- S.E. Wessley, *Joachim of Fiore and monastic reform*, New York, 1990
- B. McGinn, *The Calabrian abbot. Joachim of Fiore in the history of Western thought*, New York, 1985
- B.Z. Kedar, *Crusade and mission. European approaches toward the Muslims*, Princeton NJ, 1984, pp. 112-16
- H. de Lubac, *La posterité spirituelle de Joachim de Flore*, 2 vols, Paris, 1979-81
- H. Mottu, *La manifestation de l'Esprit selon Joachim de Fiore*, Paris, 1977
- M.E. Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the prophetic future*, London, 1976
- D.C. West (ed.), *Joachim of Fiore in Christian thought. Essays on the influence of the Calabrian abbot*, 2 vols, New York, 1975
- M.E. Reeves, *The influence of prophecy in the later Middle Ages. A study in Joachimism*, Oxford, 1969 (repr. 2000)
- E.R. Daniel, 'Apocalyptic conversion. The Joachite alternative to the crusades', *Traditio* 25 (1969) 127-54
- B. Töpfer, *Das kommende Reich des Friedens*, Berlin, 1964
- E. Benz, *Ecclesia Spiritualis. Kirchenidee und Geschichtstheologie der franziskanischen Reformation*, Stuttgart, 1964, Part 1
- A. Crocco, *Gioacchino da Fiore*, Naples, 1960
- E. Buonaiuti, *Gioacchino da Fiore. I Tempi. La Vita. Il Messaggio*, Rome, 1931
- H. Grundmann, *Studien über Joachim von Floris*, Leipzig, 1927

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Liber figurarum, 'The book of diagrams'

DATE First quarter of the 13th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The facsimile edition contains 23 plates from the Reggio Emilia and Oxford manuscripts, along with some appended plates and transcriptions of the captions and commentaries to the diagrams.

SIGNIFICANCE

The double-sevens pattern, showing the concordance between the seven persecutions of the Old Testament and the seven persecutions of the New Testament and identifying the fourth persecution with the *Saraceni/Arabi*, appears in Tavole IV, VIII, and X. Tavola XIV contains the picture and explanation of the seven-headed dragon of Revelation 12. In this diagram, head four is identified as 'Mohammed. The fourth persecution,

that of the Saracens. The time of the virgins.' Joachim usually identifies the fifth head with the persecuting German emperors, but here the fifth head is 'Mesemoth. The fifth persecution, that of the sons of Babylon in the spirit and not in the letter. The time of the conventuals.' The sixth head is 'Saladin. The sixth persecution has begun; the seventh will follow.' The commentary on the sixth head seems to reflect the time after the Third Crusade in predicting a setback for the Muslim forces, but a coming revival and new onslaught under a 'king who will be in charge, whether it be Saladin if he is still alive, or another in his place. . . .' Joachim makes a similar prediction in *Expositio*, f. 135r.

MANUSCRIPTS

Three surviving MSS and several partial *figurae* in other manuscripts are described in the edition.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- L. Tondelli, M. Reeves, and B. Hirsch-Reich (eds), *Il libro delle figure dell'abate Gioachino da Fiore*, 2 vols, Turin, 1953², 1990
- B. McGinn, *Apocalyptic spirituality*, New York, 1979, pp. 135-48 (illustrations and translations of the two figures)

STUDIES

- B. McGinn, 'Image and insight in Joachim of Fiore's *Figurae*', in T. Noble and G. DeNie (eds), *Envisioning experience in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Dynamic patterns in medieval thought*, Farnham, 2012, forthcoming
- M. Rainini, *Disegni dei tempi. Il 'Liber Figurarum' e la teologia figurativa di Gioachino da Fiore*, Rome, 2006 (this work incorporates a number of previously published articles)
- G.L. Potestà, 'La figura del pavimento di marmo', in C.D. Fonseca (ed.), *I Luoghi di Gioacchino da Fiore*, Rome, 2006, pp. 107-18
- A. Patschovsky (ed.), *Die Bildwelt der Diagramme Joachims von Fiore*, Ostfildern, 2003
- F. Troncarelli, 'Interior acies. Immagine e intuizione in Gioacchino da Fiore', *Florensia* 16-17 (2002-3) 89-104
- A. Patschovsky, 'Il diagramma di Gioacchino da Fiore dei due alberi Gerusalemme/Babilonia ed "Ecclesia"/Roma', *Florensia* 16-17 (2002-3) 7-23
- A. Patschovsky, 'The Holy Emperor Henry "the First" as one of the heads of the Apocalypse. On the image of the Roman Empire under German rule in the tradition of Joachim of Fiore', *Viator* 29 (1998) 291-322

- F. Troncarelli, 'Il "Liber Figurarum". Osservazioni ed ipotesi', in J. Hamesse (ed.), *Roma magistra mundi. Itineraria culturae mediaevalis. Mélanges offerts à P.L.E. Boyle*, Louvain, 1998, pp. 927-49
- F. Troncarelli, 'A terrible beauty. Nascita ed evoluzione del *Liber Figurarum*', *Florentia* 11 (1997) 7-40
- F. Troncarelli, 'Le due aquile. Il riscatto della storia in una immagine del "Liber Figurarum"', *Florentia* 7 (1993) 59-75
- B. Obrist, 'La figure géométrique dans l'oeuvre de Joachim de Flore', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 31 (1988) 297-321
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- M. Reeves and B. Hirsch-Reich, *The Figuræ of Joachim of Fiore*, Oxford, 1972

Expositio in Apocalypsim, 'Commentary on Revelation'

DATE About 1184-1200

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This is a lengthy work which still has no modern critical edition. After a long *Liber introductorius* (fols 2v-26v), Joachim divides his commentary into eight parts. Islam and Saladin are discussed in about 25 places in the book (see fols 7a, 8v-9v, 10r, 24v, 76r, 89r, 116r-v, 120r, 130r, 134r-v, 135r, 143r, 149v, 156v, 163r-v, 166v-168r, 170r, 173r, 190v, 192r, 193r, 196r-v, 197r, 210v-211r).

Joachim writes from a negative perspective – Islam from the beginning has been an 'anti-Christian' assault on the Church (Joachim, like most Christian apocalyptic thinkers, believed that many 'antichrists' would precede the final Antichrist of the end of the second *status*). The abbot's apocalyptic theology of history evolved over a quarter-century, and hence there was some variation in his thinking, especially on the role of Saladin, but the main lines of his view of Islam are twofold.

One of the key elements in Joachim's theology of history is the 'pattern of double sevens', that is, the conviction that the seven seals of Revelation (Rev 6-8) make a concordance with the seven persecutions suffered by the Israelites in the time of the Old Testament (a pattern

that could be used independently, or in tandem with that of the three *status*). Correlating the persecutions of the two testaments, however, involved many other Old and New Testament enumerations of sevens. In Joachim's view, the fourth Old Testament persecution, that of the Assyrians, formed a concord with the rise of Islam, the persecution of the Saracens (*Saraceni, Agareni, Arabi*, sometimes *pagani*). (In some texts, Joachim also includes the Persian King Chosroes, who conquered Jerusalem in 615, as part of the fourth persecution.) The abbot stresses that, although this persecution fell primarily on the Eastern Church, and was in part a judgment on its distancing from Rome, unlike previous persecutions, its bad effects lasted through the time of the fifth and sixth persecutions (i.e., Joachim's own age), as was evident in the revival of Islam under the Turks (*Turchi*) and Saladin. The abbot held that every attack on the Church was directed at a specific *ordo*, or form of religious life, that was designed to counter this evil. The fourth persecution fell especially on virgins and hermits because, in medieval fashion, Joachim accused Islam of favoring lustful activity.

The second aspect of the abbot's incorporation of Islamic-Christian relations into his theology of history dealt with his own times, the century of the First Crusade (1095-99), the Muslim recapture of Jerusalem in 1187, and the Third Crusade (1189-92) and its aftermath. The central figure was Saladin (1137-93), whom Joachim mentions often in his writings. For the abbot, this era was the time of the sixth seal, in which the immediate predecessors of the final Antichrist of the second *status* were double: the Eastern enemy of Saladin and resurgent Islam; and the Western threat of heretical teaching, especially those he called the *Patareni*. In his *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, f. 134r-v, Joachim even reports on a discussion he had with a man in Messina in 1195, who, while a captive in Alexandria, had heard of a forthcoming alliance between the Muslim forces and the Western heretics. In trying to decipher the meaning of these threats during the period c. 1180-1200, the abbot wrestled with the way in which recent events could be made concordant with three biblical paradigms of persecution: (a) the various patterns of sevens from Revelation (seven seals, seven heads of the dragon, etc.), which concord with the seven trials of the Israelites; (b) the various persecuting beasts of Daniel, especially chs 7 and 8; and finally, (c) the persecutions of Holofernes and Haman in the books of Judith and Esther. The details of his evolving views are extremely complex: in sum, the abbot always saw Saladin as a representative of the antichrist of the sixth seal, often equating him

with the 'eleventh horn [king]' of Daniel 7:8. After Saladin's death in 1193, Joachim tended to put more distance between the Muslim leader and the imminent last persecutions.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Expositio* is the central work in Joachim's oeuvre and provides his most sustained considerations of Islam. In the absence of a good edition, it is difficult to say how much the work represents shifts in his views of the career of Saladin and the wars in the East.

MANUSCRIPTS

Reeves lists seven manuscripts in *The influence of prophecy*, p. 513, but this count is not complete.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Expositio in Apocalypsim, Venice, 1527 (repr. Frankfurt, 1964)

B. McGinn, *Visions of the end. Apocalyptic traditions in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1998², pp. 130, 133-34, 136-37 (translated selections)

A. Tagliapietra, *Gioacchino da Fiore Sull'Apocalisse*, Milan, 1994 (Italian translation of Joachim's *Enchiridion in Apocalypsim*, which repeats much of the material of the *Liber introductorius*)

STUDIES

G. Potestá, 'Apocalittica e politica in Gioacchino da Fiore', in W. Brandes and F. Schmieder (eds), *Endzeiten. Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen*, Berlin, 2008, 231-48

E.R. Daniel, 'Exodus and exile. Joachim of Fiore apocalyptic scenario', in C.W. Bynum and P. Freedman (eds), *Last things. Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, Philadelphia PA, 2000, 124-39, 306-16

Potestá, *Il tempo dell'Apocalisse*, pp. 164-75, 182, 201-2, 214-18, 241-44 (the encounter with Richard I), 274-75, 305-11, 313-17, 320-21, 331-34

Bernie McGinn

Ibn al-Qusṭāl

Abū Yāsir ibn Abī Sa‘d ibn al-Qusṭāl

DATE OF BIRTH	Approximately 1120-30
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown, possibly in the region south of Old Cairo
DATE OF DEATH	31 July 1204
PLACE OF DEATH	Ṭurā (south of Old Cairo)

BIOGRAPHY

The notices about Abū Yāsir ibn Abī Sa‘d ibn al-Qusṭāl in the *History of the churches and monasteries* (q.v.) allow us to see him as a well-to-do but controversial Coptic priest in the second half of the 12th century. The son of a priest, he himself served as priest at the Church of the Virgin Mary called ‘al-Martūtī’ at al-‘Adawiyya, south of Old Cairo; there he assisted in the baptism of a convert from Judaism, Abū l-Fakhr ibn Azhar al-Ṣāni‘ in 1159. Later he was active at the formerly Armenian church of St George at Ṭurā, which was restored as a place of Coptic worship. According to a note in MS Paris Arabe 72, it was at Ṭurā that Abū Yāsir died in 1204.

Another entry in the *History of the churches and monasteries* mentions some of Abū Yāsir’s controversial practices: growing his hair long and covering his head during the liturgy, and believing that other priests should do the same; not insisting upon circumcision before baptism; and allowing a man to see his bride before marriage. These practices, which are reminiscent of some of the controversial teachings of the Copt-turned-Melkite Marqus ibn al-Qunbar (q.v.), caused division in the church; and Abū Yāsir was repeatedly rebuked for them.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Paris, BNF – Arabe 72, f. 27v (date and place of his death)

B.T.A. Evetts (ed.), *The churches and monasteries of Egypt and some neighbouring countries, attributed to Abū Ṣālīh, the Armenian*, Oxford, 1894-95 (repr. Piscataway NJ, 2001), pp. 57-59, 61-62 (Arabic text), pp. 138, 140, 143-44 (trans.)

Secondary

Athanāsīyūs al-Maqārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-taqṣī li-sirr al-tawba wa-l-i‘tirāf* (Ṭuqūs asrār wa-ṣalawāt al-Kanīsa 3,9), Cairo, 2007, pp. 199-202

- S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptischen Ägypten in arabischer Zeit (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Geisteswissenschaften, Nr. 41/1-7)*, 6 vols and index, Wiesbaden, 1984-2007, i, pp. 64-69 ('al-'Adawīya'); vi, pp. 2882-87 ('Ṭurā')
- S.K. Samir, art. 'Abū Yāsir b. Abī Sa'd b. al-Quṣṭāl', in 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976) pp. 228-29
- G. Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, Première partie, *Manuscrits chrétiens*, Paris, 1972-74, i, pp. 52-53
- Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 344

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

(Untitled) apology for the Christian faith; A brief apology for Christianity

DATE: UNCERTAIN possibly late 12th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

MS Paris Ar. 72 preserves a brief apologetic text attributed to Abū Yāsir; it occupies parts of just three folios in this unique copy. Samir's description of the text ('Bibliographie', p. 229) shows a quick succession of topics: a religion is accepted by faith rather than by reason; the inadequacy of Muslim scholars' claims to 'know' the Jewish and Christian *sharī'a*; the refutation of qur'anic claims about Christ (in which key texts such as Q 4:157, 5:72, 5:116, and 9:30 are cited); and a defense of fundamental Christian doctrines (resurrection, Trinity, Incarnation).

SIGNIFICANCE

An edition of this apologetic text would help assess whether it offers anything new to the history of Christian-Muslim apologetic.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 72, fols 25v-27v (1358)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Samir announced that he had prepared an edition ('Bibliographie', p. 229), though this has not so far appeared.

STUDIES

Samir, art. 'Abū Yāsir b. Abī Sa'd b. al-Quṣṭāl'
Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 344

Martyrology of T'ēodoros Kesarac'i

Anonymous vardapet

DATE OF BIRTH 1140S-1170S
PLACE OF BIRTH Armenia
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The author does not identify himself/herself in the narrative nor does he/she make any indirect allusions that might clarify his/her provenance and background. A later record from the 13th century exists, which plausibly states that the martyrology was composed by a *vardapet* (doctor of theology) who happened to be on assignment in Kayseri at the time of the events he documented.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The reference noted above is found in a *čarəntir* (homiliary) manuscript of the 13th century.

Secondary

There are no secondary investigations of authorship.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Vkayabanut'iw'n T'ēodorosi Kesarac'woy,
'Martyrology of T'ēodoros Kesarac'i'

DATE Approximately 1204
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

The work treats the case of a poor Armenian youth, T'ēodoros of Kayseri, who was born and brought up as a Christian, married, and lived by his trade, but continually struggled to make ends meet. He contracted a loan to improve his finances but, when the deadline approached and

the lender pressed him for the money, he was unable to discharge his debt. His case came before the chief *qāḏī* of the Seljuk state, who ruled he should return the sum in full. However, after the lender seized him by the throat and began choking him as they left the courthouse, the youth returned to the chamber and renounced his faith and thereby won remittance of his debt.

Struck by remorse, on deeper reflection he decided to live as a Christian incognito in the small city of Kırşehir near the Byzantine border, only to be recognized there by a Muslim from Kayseri, who charged him with apostasy from Islam, for which he was arraigned before the Sultan Rukn al-Dīn, who was residing in Kayseri at the time. After an initial audience with the latter, he was transferred to the jurisdiction of the *qāḏī*, the same one who had earlier received his religious conversion. This initiated an unusually protracted process of hearings characterized by threats and blandishments punctuated by longer or shorter spells in prison. At one point, the *qāḏī* sent a delegation of Muslim scholars to him in prison, but they were unable to persuade him, and at another he sent high-ranking officials bearing various gifts of gold, silver, and costly garments, though TĒodoros again refused. His resolve had been strengthened by daily visits from a priest, Gēorg, whom he had asked to contact the local Armenian hierarch Anania to seek his prayers that he be worthy of martyrdom.

Finally, the *qāḏī* pronounced the sentence of death by stoning and the youth was escorted to the place of execution outside the city as the populace gathered to witness the spectacle. Here, too, there was a further series of attempts to persuade him to recant, first by Rukn al-Dīn's second-in-command and then at several points by the executioner, once more to no avail. Then they bound him to a post, rained repeated blows on his head which broke the top of his cranium, and struck his eyes, before the crowd completed the task, attacking him from all sides with sabers, stones, and clubs. When the sultan was informed of events, he granted the Armenian hierarch permission to bury the body. The author affirms that the grave proved the source of many miracles. The martyrdom occurred on Tuesday, 18 May 1204.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is widely recognized that the Sultanate of Rum employed a relatively enlightened approach to matters of religion. This may in part account for the highly unusual extended judicial process, with the involvement of both scholars and magnates of the city, followed by further interjections

from administrative officials and the executioner as the sentence is carried out. Clearly, as the majority population in both the city of Kayseri and in the state as a whole remained Christian at this time, the youth's conversion would obviously have been a signal ideological victory. In keeping with this is the character of the chief *qāḏī* who, far from being the stern implacable figure of later martyrologies, is portrayed as possessing an avuncular concern for the youth's well being, first solicitous that he should tell his own story in case the witnesses were biased, and then apologetic for the punishment he had wrathfully commanded on the youth's continued rejection of Islam, blaming the Christian community for perverting his views of the religion rather than ascribing the guilt directly to TĒodoros. Nevertheless, the narrative also presents a striking contrast with regard to the sincerity of the conversion required of the youth. While the sultan and religious officials mainly emphasize the solemnity of the act, the administrator advises him to say something that could be interpreted as a curse [against Christianity] and then to worship whomever he chooses, while the executioner encourages him to utter a curse to save his life.

The narrative is also important for the support it gives to the thesis that, from the 1190s until the 1220s, the Sultanate of Rum was attempting to establish Anania, the Armenian bishop of Sebastia, as a counter-catholicos in order to sever ties between the community in that realm and the neighboring Armenian state of Cilicia. This is probably to be associated with an alliance between Rum, Antioch, and the Ayyūbid emirate of Aleppo to contain Cilician expansion (1180s-1220s) in the period before the kingdom temporarily accepted Seljuk suzerainty. While it is normal for Armenian writers to refer to local rulers as a dating mechanism, in the introduction our author goes out of his way to extol Rukn al-Dīn's prowess and success in war, tabulating in detail his numerous conquests and the awe he inspired in neighboring rulers. Similarly, the rapport between the sultan and the bishop is highlighted toward the end of the account.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- K. Ter-Davtyan, *Novie armyanskie mucheniki (1155-1843), perevod, pre-disloviye i primechaniya*, Yerevan: Nairi Publications, 1998, pp. 31-43, 263-64 (Russian trans.)
- K. Ter-Davtyan, *Armyanskie zhitiya i muchenichestva V-XVII vv.*, Yerevan: Nairi Publications, 1994, pp. 337-51 (Russian trans.)

- Y. Manandean and H. Ač'ārean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə* (1155-1843), Vałaršapat, 1903, pp. 73-93 (critical edition)
- Y. Manandean and H. Ač'ārean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (žotovrdakan hratarakut'awn)*, vol. 1, Vałaršapat, 1902, pp. 46-65 (edition lacks critical apparatus)
- Vark' ew vkayabanut'awnk' srhoc' hatəntir k'alealk' i čarəntrac'*, Venice: St Lazar's Press, 1874, vol. 1, pp. 550-68 (edition based on an incomplete manuscript)
- Yaysmawurk' əst kargi əntrelagoyn ōrinaki yačsmawurac' Tēr Israyēli*, Constantinople: Pōłos Srapean Press, 1834, vol. 1, pp. 224-225 (abbreviated edition of a complete copy of the work)
- M. Awgerean (ed.), *Liakatar vark' ew vkayabanut'awnk' srhoc'*, Venice: St Lazar's Press, 1810-14, xii, pp. 181-83 (edition)

STUDIES

- S.P. Cowe, 'The Armenian community of the Konia region in the Seljuk period', in R.G. Hovannisian (ed.), *Armenian communities of Asia Minor*, Costa Mesa CA: Mazda Publishers (in press)
- K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkayabanut'yunner (V-XVIII dd.)*, Yerevan: Nayri, 2011, pp. 321-22
- K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *XI-XV dareri Hay vark'agrut'yunə*, Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1980, p. 118
- H. Ač'āryan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri bařaran*, vol. 2, Yerevan: State University Publications, 1944, p. 302
- M. C'amč'ean, *Patmut'awn Hayoc' i skzbanē ašxarhis minč'ew c'am Tearn 1784*, Venice: Petros Valvazeanc' Press, 1786, vol. 3, pp. 176-78

S. Peter Cowe

Marqus ibn al-Qunbar

Abū l-Fakhr Marqus ibn al-shaykh Abū l-Barakāt Mawhūb,
al-ma'rūf bi-Ibn al-Qunbar; Marqus al-Ḍarīr (Mark the Blind)

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; perhaps 1130-40
PLACE OF BIRTH Perhaps Sunbāt near Zifta, Gharbiyya, in the
Nile Delta
DATE OF DEATH 18 February 1208
PLACE OF DEATH Dayr al-Quṣayr, south of Old Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Samir, 'Vie et œuvre', has carefully gathered the sources for the life of Marqus ibn al-Qunbar, with the warning that most of these are hostile: they aim to portray Marqus as an insolent, self-willed heretic and breaker of oaths.

Marqus, a blind priest and monk (who was alleged to have left a wife in order to become a monk), burst upon the 12th-century Coptic Orthodox landscape towards the end of the patriarchate of John V (the 72nd patriarch, 1146-66). Marqus became a charismatic preacher, often on the move, and he attracted followers, some of whom adopted the monastic life under his direction, becoming known as the *Qanābira*.

Marqus' followers may have been attracted by the way in which he translated and expounded upon the scriptures in Arabic at a time when much of the church's biblical and theological heritage was still in Coptic, then a dying language. Furthermore, he offered his followers a clear understanding of the path to salvation: through regular confession of one's sins to a priest or spiritual master, the acceptance and performance of penance (*al-qanūn*), and frequent reception of communion (although only, of course, after confession). These convictions – that every Christian should have a confessor and spiritual master, confess his or her sins and perform the stipulated penance with regularity, and receive the sacrament with the same regularity – run through Marqus' known writings.

Marqus' insistence on spoken confession of sins ran up against the practice then current in the Coptic Orthodox Church of private and silent confession ('over the censor'). First Pope John V and then, repeatedly, his successor Pope Mark III ibn Zur'a (the 73rd patriarch, 1166-89)

attempted to bring Marqus to obedience, but in vain. Two difficult encounters between Pope Mark III and Marqus are dated in the *History of the churches and monasteries* (q.v.). In Amshīr AM 890 (AD 1174), Pope Mark convened a synod at the Mu‘allaqa Church that sent Marqus away for a time to the Monastery of St Antony. Upon his release he resumed his preaching, to the consternation of the patriarch. At some point – here we are *not* given a date – Marqus responded to attempts to silence him by going over to the Melkite Church. Later, we are told, he quarrelled with senior Melkite clergy and attempted to return to Coptic Orthodox obedience, but was rejected; these incidents are dated to Abīb AM 901 (AD 1185). Having now antagonized the Melkite patriarch as well as his Coptic counterpart, Marqus was sent away to Dayr al-Quṣayr, the Melkite monastery to the south of Old Cairo. According to another passage in the *History of the churches and monasteries*, Marqus lived there with a number of his followers for over 20 years, until his death on 23 Amshīr AM 924 (18 February 1208).

Following his death, Marqus’ name was not held in much honor by any but his closest followers. Although his *Commentary on the Pentateuch* was widely used, copies were usually left anonymous or attributed to the church fathers Cyril of Alexandria or Ephrem the Syrian. Still, it was Marqus’ view regarding the necessity of spoken confession that would prevail in the Coptic Orthodox Church in the decades following his death, and contemporary scholars – at least in the West – have tended to regard Marqus as a ‘reformer’ (Salomon, ‘Un réformateur copte’; Graf, *Ein Reformversuch*), if not necessarily as a great theologian (Swanson, ‘Old, old story’, p. 78).

This entry will treat two works that have been preserved and of which editions have been published or are in preparation: Marqus ibn al-Qunbar’s small *Book of the master and the pupil* (8 questions) and his much more extensive *Commentary on the Pentateuch*. Other works attributed to Marqus, but not available in known copies, include *Al-dallāl* (‘The guide’), a biblical lectionary for the year; *Al-‘ashara ru’ūs* (‘The ten headings’); and *Al-majmū‘ fīmā ilayhi al-marjū‘* (‘The collection of that to which one returns’, perhaps referring to reference materials or to controversial questions).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- G. Graf, *Ein Reformversuch innerhalb der koptischen Kirche im zwölften Jahrhundert*, Paderborn, 1923, pp. 135-97 (translations of primary sources for the life of Marqus, including most of those listed below and, importantly, unpublished texts by Michael of Damietta, Marqus' primary theological adversary)
- Ṣamū'īl al-Suryānī (ed.), *Tārīkh al-kanā'is wa-l-adyura fī l-qarn al-thānī 'ashar al-mīlādī li-Abī l-Makārim*, vol. 1, [s.l.], [s.d.], p. 65; typeset and reprinted as *Tārīkh Abī l-Makārim. Tārīkh al-kanā'is wa-l-adyura fī l-qarn '12' bi-l-wajh al-bahrī*, Cairo, 1999, p. 54 (notice on Sunbāt)
- B.T.A. Evetts (ed. and trans.), *The churches and monasteries of Egypt and some neighbouring countries attributed to Abū Sālih, the Armenian*, Oxford, 1894-95 (repr. Piscataway NJ, 2001), pp. 12-22, 65-66 (Arabic text), pp. 20-43, 152-53 (trans.)
- L. Cheikho (ed.), *Petrus ibn Rahib. Chronicon orientale (CSCO 45 = Ar. 1)*, Beirut, 1903 (repr. Louvain, 1960), pp. 140-41
- J.-B. Abbeles and T.J. Lamy (eds), *Barhebraei Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, vol. 1, Louvain, 1872, cols 573-75
- F. Wüstenfeld (ed. and trans.), *Macrizi's Geschichte der Copten (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 3)*, Göttingen, 1845 (repr. Hildesheim, 1979), p. 28 (text), p. 68 (trans.) (alternatively, see a modern edition of al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*)

Secondary

- For bibliography on Marqus ibn al-Qunbar, see especially Samir, 'Vie et œuvre', listed below.
- M.N. Swanson, *The Coptic papacy in Islamic Egypt (641-1517)*, Cairo, 2010, pp. 79-81
- Athanāsīyūs al-Maqārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-taqṣī li-sirr al-tawba wa-l-i'tirāf (Ṭuqūs asrār wa-ṣalawāt al-Kanīsa 3.9)*, Cairo, 2007, pp. 202-23
- M.N. Swanson, 'Telling (and disputing) the old, old story. A soteriological exchange in late twelfth-century Egypt', *Coptica* 5 (2006) 69-82
- S.K. Samir, 'Vie et œuvre de Marc ibn al-Qunbar', in *Christianisme d'Égypte. Mélanges René-Georges Coquin (Cahiers de la Bibliothéque Copte 9)*, Paris, 1995, pp. 123-58 (with exhaustive bibliography, pp. 133-38)
- Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 327-32
- C. Beaugé, 'Un réformateur copte au XII^e siècle', *Revue des Questions Historiques* 106 (1927) 5-34 (plagiarizes Salomon's article of the same title; see Samir, 'Vie et œuvre', pp. 134-35)
- Graf, *Ein Reformversuch*

A.P. Salomon, 'Un réformateur copte du XII^e siècle', *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, Series 3, no. 7 (1896) 167-92 (reads the *History of the churches and monasteries* critically in order to offer a positive assessment of Marqus as reformer)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

[*Fuṣūl tashtamilu 'alā 'iddati*] *Masā'il sa'ala 'anhā tilmīdh min mu'allimihi*, [Chapters comprising several] 'Questions that a disciple asked of his master'; *Kitāb al-mu'allim wa-l-tilmīdh (yataḍammanu thamāniyata abwāb)*, 'The book of the master and the disciple (8 chapters)'

DATE Unknown, between about 1165 and 1208

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Masā'il sa'ala 'anhā tilmīdh min mu'allimihi ('Questions that a disciple asked of his master') is a small book in eight chapters that occupies between 22 and 70 folios in the known manuscripts. Although the name of Marqus ibn al-Qunbar is not mentioned in any of the accessible manuscript copies, the work's attribution to Marqus is certain both from its distinctive content and from its close correspondence to a list of Marqus' 'unacceptable' teachings prepared by his theological opponent Michael of Damietta (q.v.) and preserved in the *History of the churches and monasteries* (see Swanson, 'Two Vatican manuscripts' and 'Old, old story'). It is Michael who provides us with the title *Kitāb al-mu'allim wa-l-tilmīdh* ('The book of the master and the disciple') for this work of eight chapters. As indicated by either title, this is a work of the *erotapokriseis* or question-and-answer genre, in which a disciple's questions serve as jumping-off points for the master's discourse and allow for rapid changes of subject.

The disciple's opening question leads one to expect a work of Christian apology with respect to Islam: 'Master, you know that the Christians today are living among communities of *ḥunafā'* [= Muslims] and Jews who call themselves *muwahḥidūn* ['those who confess the unicity of God'] and who reproach the Christians for their belief in the Trinity... [and] the Incarnation of Christ and his crucifixion, sufferings, and

death' (Swanson, 'Two Vatican manuscripts', p. 188). Indeed, the first two chapters of the book address the issues of the trinity of God and the Incarnation. Both the opening question and the sequence and content of these questions display a dependence on earlier Coptic Orthodox catechetical works such as *Kitāb al-īdāḥ* (q.v.) and *Ten questions* (q.v.). These chapters prepare the way for the following chapters, in which Marqus expounds his vision of the path of salvation: through frequent confession and willing performance of penance followed by reception of communion for the forgiveness of sins, all of which requires that one should be a disciple to a spiritual master.

An interesting feature of Marqus' soteriological discourse is the way he uses elements from different apologetic traditions (the apologetic soteriology of the Melkite Theodore Abū Qurra (q.v.), on the one hand, with its focus on Christ's fulfillment of God the Father's law; or that of the popular Coptic catechism *Kitāb al-īdāḥ* on the other, with its emphasis on Christ's defeat of Satan), without any obvious concern about their congruity. The resulting awkward formulations and inconsistencies (e.g., was Christ's salvific transaction with the Father or with Satan?) provided easy targets for the attacks of a stalwart Coptic Orthodox apologist such as Michael of Damietta.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is not without interest that *The book of the master and the disciple* (8 chapters) presents itself as a work of Christian apology against the background of Muslims' reproaches, even though the work as a whole is in fact focused on inner-community concerns (confession, penance, eucharist, and the necessity of having a spiritual master). This suggests a certain 'routinization' of Christian-Muslim apologetic discourse, which here serves as an unexceptionable introduction to what turns out to be a provocative work on matters of controversy within the Egyptian Christian community.

MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Vat – Ar. 97, fols 11r-32r (late 16th century; incomplete, breaks off near the end of ch. 3)
- MS Vat – Sbath 15, fols 123r-143v (17th century; one leaf missing between f. 139 and f. 140)
- MS Wādī l-Naṣrūn, Monastery of St Macarius – Theol. 16 (Zanetti 287), 70 fols (17th century; second of the two MSS bound together)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 235 (Simaika 441, Graf 535), fols 110v-170v (18th century; text attributed to Sāwirus ibn al-Muqaffa')

In addition, P. Sbath reports three copies of the work in (inaccessible) manuscripts in private collections: Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 18 (no. 92, MSS in the collections of Yūḥannā Balīṭ and of Rufāʿil Rabbāt); and Sbath, *Fihris*, Suppl., p. 80 (MS in the collection of Nīqūlāʿus Naḥḥās, dated 1459).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

U. Zanetti is preparing a critical edition for publication. For the (detailed) table of contents, see Zanetti, 'Le livre de Marc ibn Qunbar', pp. 430-33 (Arabic text and French trans.), and Swanson, 'Old, old story', pp. 81-82 (trans.)

An incomplete and uncritical edition appeared in Cairo, published by *abnāʿ al-bābā Kīrillus al-sādis* ('sons of Pope Cyril VI') and attributed to Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ:

Dhabīḥat al-iʿtirāf li-l-qiddīs al-anbā Sāwīrus, al-shahīr bi-Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, usqf al-Ashmūnayn, min ābāʿ al-qarn al-ʿāshir, Cairo, [s.d.]

STUDIES

Athanāsiyūs al-Maqārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-taqṣī li-sirr al-tawba wa-l-iʿtirāf*, pp. 178-83, 211-23

Swanson, 'Telling (and disputing) the old, old story', pp. 74-78

Swanson, 'Two Vatican manuscripts of "The book of the master and the disciple"'

Samir, 'Vie et œuvre', pp. 138-42 (the footnotes in this section are out of order)

U. Zanetti, 'Une seconde copie du livre de Marc ibn al-Qanbar sur la confession', *OCP* 55 (1989) 199-200

U. Zanetti, 'Le livre de Marc Ibn Qunbar sur la confession retrouvé', *OCP* 49 (1983) 426-33

Tafsīr Sifr al-Takwīn, Tafsīr Sifr al-Khurūj; Tafsīr Sifr al-Aḥbār, 'Commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus'; 'Commentary on the Pentateuch'

DATE Unknown, between 1174 and 1208

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Commentary on the Pentateuch* poses a thicket of difficulties to the student: there are five books of commentary (although full commentaries,

as opposed to brief glosses, have only been preserved for the first three) in four recensions (at least for the Genesis commentary), with varying attributions of authorship. While there are modern editions of the commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus (ed. Tābit and attributed to St Ephrem the Syrian, 650 pages in all), these cannot be called critical. In addition, a different recension of the Genesis commentary was published in Cairo in 1895 and has recently been republished online.

Soundings in the commentary reveal an expositor who is more concerned to instruct and shape the lives of his hearers/readers than to probe the literal sense of the text (Graf, 'Pentateuchkommentar', p. 122). With a flair for typological exegesis, he shows how the books of the Pentateuch bear witness to God the Holy Trinity, the ministry of Christ, the institutions of the Church, and the ascetic life. In particular, they bear witness to a set of convictions that the author obviously held very strongly: the necessity of frequent confession, willing performance of penance, and frequent reception of communion; and that every Christian should have a father confessor or spiritual master. (The author finds this last point, for example, in the biblical account of the animals going into the Ark two by two.)

These convictions, taken together with other indications, allow us to identify the author of the commentary as Marqus ibn al-Qunbar, in spite of the fact that the commentary is often left anonymous in the manuscript tradition, or else attributed to Ephrem the Syrian or to Cyril of Alexandria. Graf points out that the commentary was written after Marqus became a Melkite, since its Christology is Chalcedonian and its calendar for the Lenten fast is that of the Melkites rather than that of the Copts (Graf, 'Pentateuchkommentar', p. 126; idem, *GCAL* ii, 329-31).

While not prominent at first inspection, interreligious apologetic or polemical elements are not absent from the text. Graf has pointed to the author's exegesis of Exodus 3:6, in which he defends the triunity of God over against the Jews and *ḥunafā'* (Graf, 'Pentateuchkommentar', pp. 123-24; *ḥunafā'* is frequently used in Christian texts to refer to the Muslims). And Samir has pointed out that the author found Islam represented in the text of Genesis by Abraham's wife Keturah (Genesis 25:1-4), who has no share in the revelation or promises vouchsafed to Hagar, representing the Old Covenant, or Sarah, representing the New (Samir, 'The Prophet Muḥammad', pp. 83-84). Here, the author's figurative method of exegesis enables him to make a sharply polemical point.

SIGNIFICANCE

The large number of manuscripts and their presence both among the Copts in Egypt and among Christians of Syriac background (Syrian Orthodox and Maronites) attest to the popularity of the commentaries of Marqus ibn al-Qunbar – even if his name was regularly suppressed because of the taint of heresy or rebellion that it carried. Precisely because the commentaries were so widely read, it will be important to study them in order to investigate the ways in which they invited their Christian readers to construct a biblical worldview, and to absorb Islamic realities into it.

MANUSCRIPTS

See Samir, 'Vie et œuvre', pp. 145-58, for a list of MSS broken down by biblical book: (a) 38 manuscripts of the Genesis commentary (plus an entry for 'several' MSS of Dayr al-Suryān); (b) 16 MSS of the Exodus commentary; (c) 16 MSS of the Leviticus commentary; (d) four MSS of the glosses on Numbers and Deuteronomy.

Samir's analysis is a major step forward, in that he distinguishes between four recensions (which he works out in detail for the Genesis commentary). Briefly, these recensions are:

1. A Long recension, represented by a number of old karshūnī MSS and the editions of Tābit. This is the recension that made its way into the Syriac-background world and that was prized by the Maronites. The oldest MSS of this recension include:

MS Florence, Medicea Laurenziana – 43 (third quarter of 14th century; Genesis and Exodus)

MS Vat – Ar. 605 (1462-63; Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus – long recension?)

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Marshall 440 (1487; Genesis and Exodus – karshūnī, attributed to St Ephrem)

MS Vat – Syr. 216 (1489; Genesis and Exodus – karshūnī)

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Huntington 112 (15th century; Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus – karshūnī)

2. A Middle recension, represented by a number of old MSS and the most widespread among the Copts. The oldest MSS of this recension include:

MS Vat – Ar. 33 + Munich, Bayerische Landesbibliothek – Ar. 948 (end of the 13th century, Egypt; Genesis and Exodus)

MS Paris, BNF – Syr. 10 (13th-14th century; Genesis and Exodus – karshūnī)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 18 (early 14th century, Egypt; Genesis)

MS London, BL – Or. 1330 (1386, Egypt; Genesis)

MS Vat – Ar. 496 (1397, Egypt, restored in 17th century; Genesis – Middle recension?)

3. A Short recension, often close to the Middle recension. For the Genesis commentary, this is represented by the Cairo edition of 1895.

4. A collection of glosses. Here alone is to be found some commentary on the entire Pentateuch, including Numbers and Deuteronomy. These glosses are found in some very old MSS, including:

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 16 (1238; Egypt, with additions – marginal annotations, entire Pentateuch)

MS Wrocław, Uniw. – Or. I, 5. (1290; Egypt, beginning restored in 18th century; Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 10 (1330, Egypt; entire Pentateuch)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 11 (1331, Egypt, restored in 1600; entire Pentateuch)

MS Cairo, Dar al-Kutub – Taymūr (1331-32, Egypt; Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus)

MS Vat – Ar. 606 (1344 with 17th century additions, Egypt; entire Pentateuch)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Yūḥannā Tābit (ed.), *Tafsīr li-sifr al-Aḥbār mansūb ilā l-qiddīs Afrām al-Suryānī*, Kaslik, 1984 (edition of the Leviticus commentary based on MS Oxford Hunt. 112 and MS Charfet Syr. 1/7 [18th century, attributed to Cyril of Alexandria]; Long recension)

Yūḥannā Tābit (ed.), *Tafsīr li-Sifr al-Khurūj mansūb ilā l-qiddīs Afrām al-Suryānī*, Kaslik, 1983 (ed. of the Exodus commentary taking MS Vat Syr. 216 as base; Long recension)

Yūḥannā Tābit (ed.), *Tafsīr li-Sifr al-Takwīn mansūb ilā l-qiddīs Afrām al-Suryānī*, Kaslik, 1982 (ed. of the Genesis commentary taking MS Oxford Hunt. 112 as base; Long recension)

Ghattās Yūsuf and Buṭrus Mikhāʿīl (eds), *Kitāb al-durr al-thamīn fī sharḥ Sifr al-Takwīn*, Cairo, 1895; electronic edition, Bonn, 2011, <http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de/ulbbn/content/titleinfo/221582> (edition of the Genesis commentary, Brief recension)

STUDIES

For an exhaustive list of printed studies going back to 1666, see Samir, 'Vie et œuvre', pp. 135-38. Some of the more important studies are:

- M.S. Zakhary, *De la Trinité à la Trinité. La christologie liturgique d'Ibn Sabbā; auteur copte du XIII^e siècle* (*Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae subsidia* 140), Rome, 2007, pp. 128, 173, 174, 255, 298, 350-53 (quotations from and references to the Genesis commentary)
- S.K. Samir, 'L'Esprit dans le Commentaire de la Genèse d'Ibn al-Qunbar, XII^e siècle', *Cedrus Libani* 66 (2002) 139-42
- S.K. Samir, 'La symbolique de l'arche de Noé dans le commentaire allégorique de Marqus Ibn al-Qunbar (12^e siècle)', in P.A. Chahwan and A. Kassis (eds), *Bible et patrimoine de l'Orient. Mélanges offerts au P. Paul Féghali*, Beirut, 2002, 265-317
- S.K. Samir, 'The Prophet Muḥammad as seen by Timothy I and other Arab Christian authors', in D. Thomas (ed.), *Syrian Christians under Islam. The first thousand years*, Leiden, 2001, 75-106, pp. 83-84 (makes reference to S.K. Samir, 'Marc Ibn al-Qunbar et l'islam, d'après son commentaire de Genèse 25/1-4', in *Mélanges en l'honneur de Fouad Éphrem al-Bustani*, forthcoming)
- S.K. Samir, 'L'Esprit dans le Commentaire de la Genèse d'Ibn al-Qunbar (12^e s.)', in S.K. Samir (ed.), *L'Esprit-Saint dans la vie de l'Église*, Jouneh, 2000, 99-128
- Samir, 'Vie et œuvre', pp. 135-38, 145-58 (an indispensable study)
- M. Breydy, 'Mā dakhkhala l-Mawārīna wa-Mār Afrām fi shurūḥāt Marqus ibn Qanbar li-asfār Mūsā al-thalātha?', *Al-Manāra* 27 (1986) 367-80, 426-27
- [S.]K. Samir, 'Note sur l'auteur du commentaire de la Genèse et ses recensions', in idem (ed.), *Actes du Deuxième congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes (Oosterhesselen, septembre 1984)* (OCA 226), Rome, 1986, pp. 177-82
- P. Féghali, 'Un commentaire de la Genèse attribué à Saint Éphrem', in Samir, *Actes du Deuxième congrès*, pp. 159-75
- Yūḥannā Tābit, *Tafsīr li-Sifr al-Aḥbār*, Introduction
- Yūḥannā Tābit, *Tafsīr li-Sifr al-Khurūj*, Introduction
- Yūḥannā Tābit, *Tafsīr li-Sifr al-Takwīn*, Introduction
- S.K. [Samir], 'Safinat Nūḥ wa-l-waḥda al-masiḥiyya, li-Marqus ibn Qanbar', *Ṣadiq al-Kāhin* 12 (1972) 286-94
- Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 329-32
- G. Graf, 'Ein arabischer Pentateuchkommentar des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Biblica* 23 (1942) 113-38 (still very helpful)

J.F. Rohde, *The Arabic versions of the Pentateuch in the church of Egypt*, Leipzig, 1921 (describes a number of the MSS of Marqus' commentary, including MSS Paris, BNF – Ar. 10, 11, 16 and 18, and MS Oxford, Bodleian – Marshall 440, listed above)

Mark N. Swanson

Michael of Damietta

Mikhā'īl, muṭrān Dimyāṭ; Michael, metropolitan
of Damietta

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; approximately 1130 or 1140
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; Egypt
DATE OF DEATH	After 1208
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; possibly Damietta

BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about the biography of Mikhā'īl (Michael), bishop of Damietta and the first Coptic bishop to receive the title *muṭrān* (metropolitan). He served during the patriarchates of Mark III ibn Zur'ā (the 73rd patriarch, 1166-89) and John VI (the 74th patriarch, 1189-1216). He is remembered for his collection of canon law and for his defense of distinctive Coptic Orthodox teachings and practices over against the would-be Coptic reformer and convert to the Melkite Church, Marqus ibn al-Qunbar (q.v.), and the Melkites in general.

Mikhā'īl's collection of canon law or *Nomocanon* (completed c. 1188) has been preserved, as have been (at least) four works related to the controversy with Marqus ibn al-Qunbar and the Melkites: *Al-'ādāt allātī yatamayyazu bihā al-aqbāṭ* ('The customs by which the Copts distinguish themselves'); a set of Ten Canons that epitomizes the previous work; a Letter sent to Marqus ibn al-Qunbar after he had become a Melkite; and a Report on Marqus' life and teaching. The first three works have been preserved in manuscript and published in German translation (and the second edited and translated into English); the fourth is preserved in the *History of the churches and monasteries* (q.v.). This fourth work is interesting in that Mikhā'īl takes Marqus ibn al-Qunbar to task for a number of formulations (found in Marqus' 'Book of the master and the pupil, in 8 chapters') that had their genesis in Christian-Muslim apologetics. Mikhā'īl makes some interesting points that suggest – to a reader not caught up in the controversy! – that many typical apologetic 'moves' are best understood as illustrative and *ad hoc* rather than meticulously systematic in character (see Swanson, 'Old, old story', pp. 75-78). Like many analogies, they cannot be pressed too far.

In the bibliographical chapter of *Miṣbāḥ al-zulma*, al-Shams ibn Kabar gives a detailed outline of (parts of) a book entitled *Al-bughya li-man ṭalaba li-naḥsihi l-khalāṣ wa-l-najāt yawm al-qaṣāṣ*, 'The desire of the one seeking salvation and rescue on the Day of Retribution'. This was a Christological treatise and is probably best understood in the context of Bishop Miḥā'il's polemics on behalf of the (miaphysite, anti-Chalcedonian) Copts against the (dyophysite, Chalcedonian) Melkites. Sbath reported a pair of manuscripts in private collections in Aleppo (Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 65, no. 528), but no accessible copies are known.

Unfortunately for Bishop Miḥā'il, his *Nomocanon*, while groundbreaking, was soon overshadowed by that of al-Ṣafī ibn al-'Assāl (q.v.). Furthermore, in his attacks on Marqus ibn al-Qunbar, he did his best to justify the Coptic Church's current practice of private and silent confession of sins, over against Marqus' insistence on the ancient practice of auricular confession – and was soon on the wrong side of Coptic liturgical history, as Coptic theologians, canonists, and hierarchs of the 13th century called for the restoration of the ancient practice.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 4728 (1886; a preface provides the information that the *Nomocanon* was completed after 1188)

G. Graf, *Ein Reformversuch innerhalb der koptischen Kirche im zwölften Jahrhundert*, Paderborn, 1923, pp. 147-97 (German trans. of Miḥā'il's works against Marqus ibn al-Qunbar)

B.T.A. Evetts (ed. and trans.), *The churches and monasteries of Egypt and some neighbouring countries attributed to Abū Sāliḥ, the Armenian*, Oxford, 1894-95 (repr. Piscataway NJ, 2001), pp. 12-28 (Arabic text of the report on Marqus ibn al-Qunbar by Bishop Miḥā'il), pp. 33-43 (trans.)

Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 65 (nos 528-29)

Shams al-Ri'āsa Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar, *Miṣbāḥ al-zulma fī 'idāḥ al-khidma* [ed. S.K. Samir], Cairo, 1971, pp. 307-9

Secondary

M.N. Swanson, art. 'Miḥā'il, metropolitan of Damietta', in Gawdat Gabra (ed.), *Historical dictionary of the Coptic Church*, Lanham MD, 2008, pp. 185-86, 242, 290-91

Athanāsiyūs al-Maqārī, *Al-tārīkh al-taqṣī li-sirr al-tawba wa-l-'tirāf* (*Ṭuqūs asrār wa-ṣalawāt al-Kanīsa* 3,9), Cairo, 2007, pp. 194-98, 206-9

- A. Sidarus, 'La pré-rennaissance copte arabe du moyen âge (deuxième moitié du XII^e/début du XIII^e siècle)', in J.P. Monferrer-Sala (ed.), *Eastern crossroads. Essays on medieval Christian legacy*, Piscataway NJ, 2007, 191-216, pp. 198-99
- M.N. Swanson, 'Telling (and disputing) the old, old story. A soteriological exchange in late twelfth-century Egypt', *Coptica* 5 (2006) 69-82 (with a trans. of Michael's list of the errors of Marqus ibn al-Qunbar at pp. 79-80)
- M.N. Swanson, 'Two Vatican manuscripts of "The book of the master and the disciple" (eight chapters) of Mark ibn al-Qunbar', *OCP* 66 (2000) 185-93, pp. 189-93
- A. Wadi, 'Introduzione alla letteratura arabo-cristiana dei Copti', *SOCC* 29-30 (1996-1997) 441-92, p. 475 (§31)
- R.-G. Coquin, art. 'Mikhā'il', in *CE* v, pp. 1624-25
- [S.]K. Samir, art. 'Mihā'il muṭrān Dimyāt', in 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976) 201-42, p. 230
- M. Brogi, 'Il patriarca nelle fonti giuridiche arabe della Chiesa copta (dal sec. X al sec. XIII)', *SOCC* 14 (1970-71), 1-161, pp. 104-8
- R.-G. Coquin, *Les canons d'Hippolyte* (*PO* 31.2), Paris, 1966, pp. 281-82
- Graf, *GICAL* ii, pp. 333-35
- Graf, *Ein Reformversuch*, pp. 18-25 (on Mikhā'il), pp. 35-134 (study of Mikhā'il's writings against Marqus ibn al-Qunbar and the Melkites)
- O.H.E. Burmester, 'The sayings of Michael, metropolitan of Damietta', *OCP* 2 (1936) 101-28
- J. Cöln, 'The nomocanonical literature of the Copto-Arabic Church of Alexandria', *Ecclesiastical Review* 56 (1917) 113-41, pp. 119-26
- W. Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien*, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 91-115

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-qawānīn al-rasūliyya wa-l-aḥkām al-dīniyya wa-l-farā'id al-wājiba wa-l-ḥuqūq al-lāzima,
 'Apostolic laws, religious judgments, obligatory precepts, and binding claims', 'The Nomocanon of Michael of Damietta'

DATE Soon after 1188

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Mikhā'il's *Nomocanon* (the longer title is given in the colophon of the Berlin MS) is a collection of canons from a variety of traditional sources,

treating both specific items of ecclesiastical law (e.g. the duties of the patriarch, bishops, priests, deacons, and monks) and also rules for the laity (including 'personal status' matters such as marriage, divorce, slavery, and inheritance). It occupies 219 folios in MS Berlin Ar. 10180, dated to 1210 or 1211, which provides a *terminus* for the dating of the work. In fact, the Berlin MS, as old as it is, does not preserve the earliest recension of the work; Coquin has discovered that MS Paris Ar. 4728, although itself a late copy, preserves an older and fuller text. According to a preface preserved there, Mikhā'il made this first recension sometime after 1188 (and thus not long after the height of the controversy with Marqus ibn al-Qunbar [q.v.]).

Mikhā'il had set himself the task of organizing a disparate body of material into a single, logically-arranged and practical handbook. The result was a compilation in 72 chapters (several of them with many subdivisions), with material drawn from: the Bible, the *Didascalia*, two collections of canons 'of the Apostles', and canons of St Clement; the canons of nine Orthodox councils from Ancyra to Ephesus (431); canons of the Church Fathers Hippolytus, Basil and John Chrysostom; and some specialized materials from Patriarch Cyriacus of Antioch (793-817), Patriarch Gabriel II ibn Turayk of Alexandria (1131-45), and the *Canons of the Kings*.

This compilation, like other Copto-Arabic canonical collections, is in need of careful study in the light of the social realities and state of inter-communal relations prevailing at the time of its composition. Canons on marriage (including polygamy and concubinage), divorce, slavery, and inheritance must be read with the Islamic cultural and legal environment in mind. As might be expected from *al-muṭrān* Mikhā'il, several canons emphasize Coptic Christian distinctiveness and oppose social and cultural-religious 'mixing', whether in matters of giving names (canon 47.1, according to the Berlin MS; see Ahlwardt and Riedel), assembly and dress (47.12), or marriage (62.6-7). While the danger of 'mixing' with the Melkites may sometimes be in the forefront of the compiler's mind (e.g. in several canons having to do with avoidance of 'heretics': 49.10, 12, 13; 58; 62.6), assimilation to the Muslim community may also be a concern. Canon 61.6 has to do with 'those who apostatize of their own free will', while 61.7 deals with 'those who do the deeds of the *ḥunafā'* of their own free will', where it must be remembered that the word *ḥunafā'*, while often a translation of 'Greeks' or 'Hellenes', also frequently served as Christian 'code' for the Muslims.

Another set of canons (21.21; 22; 23) prohibits clergy from making appeal to the civil authorities. This too must be read against the background of medieval Coptic Orthodox experience, perhaps including recent experience with Marqus ibn al-Qunbar, who, according to a report in the *History of the churches and monasteries*, had appealed to the sultan for a hearing on the matters at issue between him and Pope Mark III (Evetts, *The churches and monasteries*, trans., pp. 26-27).

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Nomocanon* of Miḳḥā'īl, bishop of Damietta, was soon overshadowed by that of al-Ṣafi ibn al-ʿAssāl (q.v.), produced just half a century later. Nevertheless, Coquin judged it to be 'one of the most significant links in the history of the ecclesiastical law of the Copts' (Coquin, 'Le Synaxaire', p. 360), and used it extensively in establishing the text of the *Arabic Canons of Hippolytus*. Furthermore, it is at least possible that a sensitive reading of the text – one that moves beyond identification of sources (as important as that is) to an analysis of the selection and organization of topics and source material – will contribute to an understanding of the social interaction of religious communities in late 12th-century Egypt.

MANUSCRIPTS

Graf (*GCAL* ii, p. 333) mentions three MSS of the full work:

MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Ar. 10180 (Sach. 65) (1210 or 1211)

MS Vat – Ar. 907 (15th century; incomplete, the same recension as the Berlin MS)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 4728 (1886, but preserves a recension of the work older than that of the other MSS)

In addition, extracts from the *Nomocanon* may found in:

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 238, fols 325r-329r (14th century, restored in the 16th; unidentified extracts from Miḳḥā'īl, and possibly from the *Nomocanon*)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 294 (Simaika 541, Graf 439) (17th century; includes an extract from Miḳḥā'īl on prohibited marriages)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 215 (Simaika 415, Graf 634), f. 162r-v (1788, on prohibited marriages)

MS St Macarius – Canon Law 10 (Zanetti 271) (1871; extract on prohibited marriages)

MS Cairo, Franciscan Center of Christian Oriental Studies – 255, fols 3r-130v (19th century; canonical collection, including some questions attributed to Miḳḥā'īl, possibly from the *Nomocanon*)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- W. Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien*, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 91-115 (German trans. of the outline of the *Nomocanon* according to the Berlin MS; to be used alongside Ahlwardt's Arabic text)
- W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften*, 9. Band (*Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, 21. Band), Berlin, 1897, pp. 532-39 (detailed outline of the *Nomocanon* according to the Berlin MS)

STUDIES

- R.-G. Coquin, art. 'Canon law', in *CE* ii, pp. 449-51
- R.-G. Coquin, arts 'Canons, apostolic', 'Canons, ecclesiastical', 'Canons of Clement', 'Canons of Epiphanius', 'Canons of Gregory of Nyssa', 'Canons of Hippolytus', 'Canons of Pseudo-Athanasius', 'Canons of Saint Basil', 'Canons of Saint John Chrysostom', in *CE* ii, pp. 451-60 (scattered references to Mikhā'il's *Nomocanon*, which drew from many of these sources)
- R.-G. Coquin, 'Le Synaxaire des Coptes. Un nouveau témoin de la recension de Haute Égypte', *Analecta Bollandiana* 96 (1978) 351-65, p. 360
- Broggi, 'Il patriarca nelle fonti giuridiche arabe della Chiesa copta', pp. 104-12
- Coquin, *Les canons d'Hippolyte*, pp. 281-82, 284-85, 291-92 (note that Mikhā'il's *Nomocanon* preserves more than three-quarters of the text of the Arabic *Canons of Hippolytus* and is an important source for its edition)
- Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 333-35
- Graf, *Ein Reformversuch*, pp. 20-22
- Cöln, 'The nomocanonical literature', pp. 119-26
- Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen*, pp. 91-115 (helpfully identifies the sources used by Mikhā'il in formulating his canons)

Mark N. Swanson

Tathlīth al-waḥdāniyya

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; fl. 12 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; possibly early 13 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

This author was probably an Andalusī Jew who had converted to Christianity, and who was active between 1150 and 1200.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

This author's only known work, *Tathlīth al-waḥdāniyya*, is preserved in a much longer refutation of it by a certain al-Imām al-Qurṭubī (q.v.), in his *Al-i'lām*. The little we know about the author appears in the sections of this work where *Tathlīth al-waḥdāniyya* is quoted (ed. al-Saqqā, pp. 47, 57, 71, 77, 91, 97, 105-6, 115-17, 181-85, 215-17).

Secondary

- T. Burman, '“Tathlīth al-waḥdāniyah” and the Andalusī-Christian approach to Islam', in J. Tolan (ed.), *Medieval Christian perceptions of Islam*, New York, 1996, 109-28
- T. Burman, 'Christian kalām in medieval Spain', in L. Simon (ed.), *Spain and the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages. Essays in honor of Robert I. Burns, S.J.*, Leiden, 1995, 38-49
- T. Burman, *Religious polemic and the intellectual history of the Mozarabs, c. 1050-1200*, Leiden, 1994, pp. 70-80
- P.S. van Koningsveld, 'La apología de al-Kindī en la España del siglo XII. Huelgas 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, pp. 110-11, 123-29
- M. de Epalza, 'Notes pour une histoire des polémiques anti-chrétiennes dans l'occident musulman', *Arabica* 18 (1971) 99-106, p. 104
- M. de Epalza, *La tuḥfa. Autobiografía y polémica islámica contra el Cristianismo de 'Abdallāh al-Taryūmān (fray Anselmo Turmeda)*, Rome, 1971, p. 71

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tathlīth al-waḥdāniyya, ‘Trinitizing the oneness (of God)’

DATE Approximately 1150-1210

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The fragments of this work that are quoted successively by al-Imām al-Qurṭubī amount to only 383 lines of text in the modern edition, or about 12 pages. It is unclear whether al-Qurṭubī quoted the whole of the work. The author defends three Christian beliefs. In the first section he argues in rational fashion that God is necessarily a Trinity. God could only have created through his power, knowledge, and will, he points out, because all actions require these three faculties, which are merely names of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. In the second section he defends the doctrine of the Incarnation, by arguing that it is the nature of God’s knowledge – that is his Son – to be born as an incarnate Word in order to exhort humankind. Like earlier Arab Christians, he points out that God’s speaking to Moses from the burning bush, as recorded in the Qur’an (20:9-24), makes clear the possibility of Incarnation. Since the voice of the fire spoke truly saying ‘I am God’ (Q 20:14), so also Jesus spoke truly when he said ‘I am God’. In the third section, the author argues on the basis of the Bible that the Messiah has come. Here he follows the age-old strategy that Christians had long used with Jews, citing such verses as Genesis 49:10 and Jeremiah 31:31-34 which foretell the Israelites’ loss of dominion and prophecy, and then arguing that these prophecies had been fulfilled with the coming of Jesus.

SIGNIFICANCE

Despite its brevity, *Tathlīth al-waḥdāniyya* tells us much about the Mozarabic intellectual world in the 11th and 12th centuries. Its argumentation in all three sections is clearly informed by Arab-Christian works of much earlier periods, and so testifies to the circulation of Middle-Eastern Arab-Christian texts in Iberia. Yet the particular triad of power, knowledge, and will used in its Trinitarian argument was borrowed from contemporary Latin-Christian theology, ultimately, indeed, from Peter Abelard. The community that produced this work had begun to re-appropriate the Latin theological tradition of its ancestors, combining it with its much deeper familiarity with Arab culture (both Islamic

and Arab-Christian). That the author quotes verses from the Hebrew Bible in both Hebrew and Aramaic indicates that he was a converted Jew. This suggests that the Mozarabic community was porous and able to absorb outsiders, something known as well from other sources.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Istanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi – 794b (1474-75)

MS Istanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi – 814 (unknown)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Al-Imām al-Qurṭubī, *Al-i'lām bi-mā fi dīn al-Naṣārā min al-fasād wa-awhām wa-iḡhār maḥāsīn dīn al-Islām wa-ithbāt nubuwwa nabīnā Muḥammad 'alayhi l-ṣalāt wa-l-salām*, ed. A. Hijāzī al-Saqqā, Cairo, 1980, pp. 47, 57, 71, 77, 91, 97, 105-6, 115-17, 181-85, 215-17

P. Devillard, *Thèse sur al-Qurtubī*, 3 vols, Aix-en-Provence, 1969 (Diss. Université d'Aix-en-Provence; introduction, edition of the first two parts of al-Qurṭubī's work, and French trans.)

STUDIES

Burman, '“Tathlīth al-wahdāniyah” and the Andalusī-Christian approach to Islam'

Burman, 'Christian Kalām in medieval Spain'

Burman, *Religious polemic and the intellectual history of the Mozarabs*

Van Koningsveld, 'La apologia de al-Kindī en la España del siglo XII'

Epalza, 'Notes pour une histoire des polémiques anti-chrétiennes dans l'occident musulman'

Epalza, *La Tuḥfa*

Devillard, *Thèse sur al-Qurtubī* i, pp. 14-15, 71-78

Thomas E. Burman

The Letter of Prester John

Unknown author

DATE Second half of the 12th century or early 13th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The existence of a priest-cum-king named John, a Nestorian Christian dwelling 'in the furthest east, beyond Persia and Armenia' and descended from the Magi of the Nativity story, is first mentioned in the chronicle *De duabus civitatibus* ('The two cities') of Otto, Bishop of Freising (q.v.), whose informant was the Frankish bishop of Jabala in Syria, visiting the papal Curia at Viterbo in 1145. John is here credited with a great victory over the Muslims, which has been linked with the decisive defeat of the Seljuk Sultan Sanjar at the hands of the Qara-Khitans (probably a Buddhist power) near Samarqand in 1141. This was, however, in all probability merely an episode to which an existing legend was attached, and the idea of Prester John may have originated in connection with the Nestorian Christian communities of Asia, notably the St Thomas Christians of southern India.

Whatever the genesis of the legend, it undoubtedly gained wider currency through the appearance, within Western Europe, of Prester John's 'Letter'. The mid-13th-century chronicler Aubry of Trois-Fontaines places its initial appearance around 1165, although no other evidence corroborates the date. There are no solid grounds for regarding a letter of Pope Alexander III (dated 27 September 1177 and addressed to 'John, King of the Indies'), frequently cited in this connection, as a reply and as therefore furnishing a *terminus ante quem*.

The *Letter of Prester John* begins with an inquiry as to the orthodoxy of 'Manuel, ruler of the Greeks', and offers him the highest office at John's court should he choose to visit it. John states his intention of marching to the Holy Sepulcher and doing battle with Christ's enemies. Great stress is laid on the vastness and wealth of his empire, which extends over the 'three Indias' and covers all the land from the Far East to the Tower of Babel; 72 kings pay him tribute; his subjects include the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. There are descriptions of: the exotic animals to be found there; the river flowing through his realm, which rises not far away

in the terrestrial Paradise and contains precious stones; the absence of poverty, conflict and sin among his subjects; his palace, modelled on that built by the Apostle Thomas for the Indian king Gundophor; and his court, in which the principal offices are held by leading ecclesiastics.

There is no doubt that the Letter is a forgery emanating from within the West. The author clearly aimed to present a fractious Catholic world with an ideal Christian potentate who combined royal and priestly authority in total harmony and whose subjects consequently enjoyed divine blessings in the form of moral rectitude and an absence of poverty or civil strife. Yet, more narrowly political impulses may have underlain this utopian vision. The condescending tone towards the Byzantine emperor and the Greeks, and the nostalgic combination of royal and priestly powers in a sovereign who could command the unquestioning obedience of churchmen, alike suggest a partisan of the Western Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Otto of Freising's nephew. The statement in a 13th-century manuscript that the letter had been translated from Greek into Latin by Archbishop Christian of Mainz is plainly wrong; no Greek original is known, although the Letter betrays some familiarity with the Greek language. Hamilton ascribes it to Christian's predecessor as Imperial Chancellor, Rainald of Dassel, Archbishop of Cologne, and associates it with the translation of the alleged relics of the Magi from Milan to Cologne in 1164 (over which Rainald presided) and the composition of a 'Life' of the Magi shortly afterwards. The Letter would thus have formed part of a programme of imperial propaganda directed against both the rival emperor in Constantinople and Barbarossa's enemy, Pope Alexander III.

It has been proposed that the Prester John of the Letter was modelled upon the archdeacon of the St Thomas Christians in Malabar (Kerala), a community to which probably belonged a high-ranking ecclesiastic, allegedly named John, who visited the papal Curia in about 1122. The notion that the name John derived from the title *žan* borne by an Ethiopian ruler has now been discredited on chronological grounds. For the description of Prester John's realm, however, the author drew upon a wide range of more venerable sources, including encyclopedic works such as Pliny's *Historia naturalis* (1st century), the *Collectanea* of Solinus (3rd century) and the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville (d. 636); the legends surrounding St Thomas and the Christian community he supposedly founded in India; the apocryphal Letter of Alexander the Great to Aristotle; and *Historia de proeliis*, the 10th-century Latin version of the Alexander Romance produced by the Archpriest Leo.

SIGNIFICANCE

The considerable popularity of the Letter is evident from the number of copies surviving from the pre-print era. These comprise around 160 manuscripts of the Latin text, many of which contain interpolated material, and numerous renderings into other languages, including Hebrew. The explanation lies in the failure of successive crusades from Western Europe to bring effective help to the beleaguered Latin states in Syria and Palestine, giving rise to a desperate need for assistance from external Christian allies.

MANUSCRIPTS

For a list of 96 manuscripts of the Latin text and successive interpolations, see Zarncke, 'Der Priester Johannes', pp. 877-908 (repr. in Beckingham and Hamilton, *Prester John*, pp. 45-76). Hamilton ('A note on the manuscripts of the Latin text of the Prester John letter', in Beckingham and Hamilton, *Prester John*, p. 39) draws attention to others, including 63 listed in Gosman, *La lettre du Prêtre Jean*, pp. 535-36, n. 7. Gosman also lists the manuscripts in Old French and Occitan.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- R. Silverberg, *The realm of Prester John*, Athens OH, 1996², pp. 41-45 (repr. London, 2001; trans. of the original Latin version)
- Martin Gosman, *La Lettre du Prêtre Jean. Édition des versions en ancien français et en ancien Occitan*, Groningen, 1982
- E. Ullendorff and C.F. Beckingham, *The Hebrew letters of Prester John*, Oxford, 1982
- V. Slessarev, *Prester John. The Letter and the legend*, Minneapolis MN, 1959 (facsimile reproduction of a text of the French version, printed in Paris c. 1500)
- F. Zarncke, 'Der Priester Johannes', *Abhandlungen des königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse 7* (1879), pp. 909-24 (repr. in C.F. Beckingham and B. Hamilton (eds), *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*, Aldershot UK, 1996, pp. 77-92; includes the interpolations in the Latin text)

STUDIES

- P. Raga Roseleny, 'Un reino epistolar', *Iacobus: Revista de Estudios Jacobeos y Medievales* 23-24 (2008) 359-83
- M.J. Ramos, *Essays in Christian mythology. The metamorphosis of Prester John*, Lanham MD, 2006

- M. Tamminen, 'Hirviöiden kulta-aikaa. Hirviömäiset rodut ja presbyteeri Johannes ristiretki-ideologiassa', *Historiatieteellinen aikakauskirja* 2 (2005) 45-59
- C. Gerhardt and W. Schmid, 'Beiträge zum "Brief des Presbyters Johannes". Bemerkungen zum utopischen Charakter der "Epistola" und zu ihrer deutschen Bearbeitung in der Pariser Handschrift (BNF, Ms. all.150)', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 133 (2004) 177-94
- U. Freidrich, 'Zwischen Utopie und Mythos. Der Brief des Priester Johannes', *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 122 (2003) 73-92
- M. Uebel, 'Imperial fetishism. Prester John among the natives', in J.J. Cohen (ed.), *The postcolonial Middle Ages*, Basingstoke UK, 2000, 261-82
- U. Knefelkamp, 'Pape Jan, tussen geschiedenis en fantasie', *Spiegel Historiae* 33 (1998) 51-59, 70
- G. Zaganelli, 'L'Orient du Prêtre Jean et la tradition encyclopédique du moyen âge', *Perspectives Médiévales* 24 (supplement) (1998) 90-107
- H. Franco Jr, 'La construction d'une utopia. L'empire de Prêtre Jean', *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997) 211-25
- C.F. Beckingham and B. Hamilton (eds), *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*, Aldershot UK, 1996
- Silverberg, *The realm of Prester John*
- I.P. Bejczy, 'De brief van Pape Jan. Legende, fictie en hyperrealiteit in een middeleeuws document', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 106 (1993) 483-95
- J. Pirenne, *La légende du 'Prêtre Jean'*, Strasbourg, 1992
- G. Melville, 'Le Prêtre Jean. Figure imaginaire du roi sacré', in A. Boureau and C.S. Ingerflom (eds), *La royauté sacrée dans le monde chrétien. Colloque de Royaumont, mars 1989*, Paris, 1992, 81-90
- M. Gosman, 'Le royaume de Prêtre Jean. L'interprétation d'une bonheur', in D. Buschinger (ed.), *L'idée du bonheur au moyen âge. Actes du colloque d'Amiens de mars 1984*, Göppingen, 1990, 213-23
- D. Buschinger, 'Zu Albrechts Jüngerem Titulrel. Versuch einer Interpretation', in K. Gartner and J. Heinzle (eds), *Studien zu Wolfram von Eschenbach. Festschrift für Werner Schröder zum 75. Geburtstag*, Tübingen, 1989, 521-28

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- U. Knefelkamp, 'Der Priesterkönig Johannes und sein Reich. Legende oder Realität?', *Journal of Medieval History* 14 (1988) 337-55
- G. Zaganelli, 'Le lettere del Prete Gianni. Di un falso e delle sua verità', in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter. Internationaler Kongreß der Monumenta Germaniae Historica München 16.-19. September 1986, Teil V: Fingierter Briefe, Frömmigkeit und Fälschung, Realienfälschungen*, Hannover, 1988, 243-60
- U. Knefelkamp, *Die Suche nach dem Reich des Priesterkönigs Johannes dargestellt anhand von Reiseberichten und anderen ethnographischen Quellen des 12. bis 17. Jahrhunderts*, Gelsenkirchen: Andreas Müller, 1986 (on pp. 35-47 there is a survey the Letter's sources and motifs)
- B. Hamilton, 'Prester John and the three kings of Cologne', in H. Mayr-Harting and R.I. Moore (eds), *Studies in medieval history presented to R.H.C. Davis*, London, 1985, 177-91 (repr. in Beckingham and Hamilton, *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*, 171-85)
- S. Kaplan, 'A note on the Hebrew letters of Prester John', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 36 (1985) 230-34
- M. Gosman, 'Otton de Freising et le Prêtre Jean', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 61 (1983) 270-85
- M. Gosman, 'De brief van priester Johannes', *Spiegel Historiae* 16 (1981) 303-10
- Ullendorff and Beckingham, *The Hebrew letters*
- A. Athappilly, 'An Indian prototype for Prester John', *Terrae Incognitae* 10 (1978) 15-23
- Slessarev, *Prester John. The Letter and the legend*
- C.E. Nowell, 'The historical Prester John', *Speculum* 28 (1953) 435-45
- R. Hennig, 'Neue Forschungen zur Sage des Priesterkönigs', *Universitas* 4 (1949) 1261-65
- M. Letts, 'Prester John. Sources and illustrations', *Notes and Queries* 188 (Jan.-June 1945) 178-80, 204-7, 246-48, 266-68; 189 (July-Dec. 1945) 4-7
- R. Hennig, 'Das Christentum im mittelalterlichen Asien und sein Einfluß auf die Sage vom "Priester Johannes"', *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 29 (1934) 234-52

- L. Olschki, 'Der Brief des Presbyters Johannes', *Historische Zeitschrift* 144 (1931) 1-14
- F. Zarncke, 'Der Priester Johannes', *Abhandlungen des königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse* 7 (1879) 827-1039; 8 (1883) 1-186

Peter Jackson

Oracula Leonis

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; 12 th or possibly 11 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; probably 12 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; probably Constantinople

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about the anonymous redactor of 16 oracles (from the 12th or possibly 11th century) on future Byzantine emperors. He uses older texts, known already in the 9th century. It is very probable, but of course not certain, that he lived in Constantinople.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary —

Secondary —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tou sophōtatou basileōs Leontos chrēsmoi,
'Oracles of the very wise emperor Leo'

DATE 12th century; with 9th- and 10th-century predecessors

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

Surprisingly, no manuscript of this work from before 1453 has survived, but the text must be earlier, because the *Oracles of Leo* are cited by earlier authors, among them Nicetas Choniates (c. 1200) (q.v.). There is evidence that this text (or some kind of predecessor) could already be found during the 9th century in the imperial library, and it was the model for the late 13th-century papal oracles (*Vaticinia de summis pontificibus* – see Mesler, 'Imperial prophecy and papal crisis'). The text was not known to a wider audience before the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

The 15 oracles in the *Oracles of Leo* were put together by a redactor of the 12th century (in all probability in Constantinople), but new oracles were interpolated later. They originated from different periods (oracles 1-6 from shortly after 815; 7-10 from the years around 1204; 11-15 cannot be dated), so it is no wonder that the numbering of the oracles differs in the various manuscripts (for details see Brokaar, *Sapientissimi imperatoris Leonis oracula*, pp. 25-26). As in other prophetic or apocalyptic texts, the first part (oracles 1-10) reflects events that have already taken place (*vaticinia ex eventu*), while oracles 11-15 are real 'prophecy'.

The *Oracula Leonis* are not concerned in the first instance with the end of the world, so they do not belong to the Byzantine apocalypses *stricto sensu*. But the author (redactor) uses many elements (*topoi*) known from older apocalyptic writings (Pseudo-Methodius, several *Visions of Daniel* etc.). The prophetic part focuses especially on the liberator-emperor of the endtime, who will restore perfect rule, but – in contrast to the older apocalypses – no war against the Muslims is described. In the manuscripts, the *Oracula* are followed by the so-called *Cento of the true emperor* (from the first half of the 14th century), in which the liberator-emperor plays the leading role. A new element is that this liberator-emperor sleeps in a rocky or stony environment (*petra*) before his miraculous resuscitation, when he destroys the Ottoman Empire. This is the beginning of the myth of the 'enmarbled emperor' (*marmarōmenos basilias*), which was very important after 1453 for Greeks under the *Turkokratia* who looked for a savior who would free them from the Muslim yoke.

There are two 'versions' of the Leonine Oracles: a collection of usually 16 iambic poems, each oracle with a symbolic picture; and a group of longer poems in popular Greek (some of them from the 13th century; Mango, 'The legend of Leo the Wise').

SIGNIFICANCE

The historical importance of the text, which was received/read together with the *Cento*, lies in its reception after 1453. The prophecy of a liberator-emperor who will destroy the Ottoman supremacy fascinated Christians under Muslim rule as well as European Christians. The superb illustrated manuscripts from the 16th century (by Barocci and George Klontzas) are of a special importance for art historians.

MANUSCRIPTS

There are about 40 manuscripts of the work, all later than 1453; see the lists by Vereecken and Hadermann-Misguich, *Les oracles de Léon le Sage*, p. 51

with n. 66, and Mioni, 'Gli Oracoli', pp. 295-97, 299-301. Since there is no critical edition of the texts, the manuscript traditions remain unstudied.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

There are no modern critical editions that use all the manuscripts. In the editions listed below, only one manuscript is normally used.

Sapientissimi imperatoris Leonis oracula & anonymi narratio de vero imperatore. The oracles of the most wise emperor Leo & the tale of the true emperor (Amstelodamensis graecus VI E 8), ed. W.G. Brokkaar, Amsterdam, 2002 (text and trans.)

J. Vereecken and L. Hadermann-Misguich, *Les oracles de Léon le Sage illustrés par Georges Klontzas. La version dans le Codex Bute*, Venice, 2000

A. Rigo, *Oracula Leonis*, Padua, 1988

E. Trapp, 'Vulgärorakel aus Wiener Handschriften', in *Ἀρχοθίνα. Sodalium Seminarii Byzantini Vindobensis Herbert Hunger oblata*, Vienna, 1964, 83-120

B. Knös, 'Les oracles de Léon le Sage, d'après un livre d'oracles byzantins illustrés récemment découvert', in *Aphierōma stē mnēmē tou Manolē Triantaphyllidē*, Thessaloniki, 1960, 155-88

Nikos A. Beēs, 'Peri tou historēmenou chrēsmologiou tēs Kratikēs Bibliothēkēs tou Berolinou kai tou thrylou tou "Marmarōmenou Basilia"', *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 13 (1936-37) 203-44

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P. Lambeck, *Oracula Leonis*, in *Georgii Codini et alterius cuiusdam anonymi excerpta de antiquitatibus Constantinopolitanis [Epistolae tres de comparatione veteris et novae Romae]*, Paris, 1655 (repr. in *PG* 107, cols 1129-40, followed by the *Cento of the true emperor*, cols 1141-50) (for more information see Mango, 'The legend of Leo the Wise', pp. 82-83)

STUDIES

W. Brandes, 'Kaiserprophetien und Hochverrat. Apokalyptische Schriften und Kaiservaticinien als Medium antikaiserlicher Propaganda', in W. Brandes and F. Schmieder (eds), *Endzeiten. Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen*, Berlin, 2008, 157-200

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- P. Karlin-Hayter, 'Le portrait d'Andronic I Comnène et les Oracula Leonis Sapientis', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 12 (1987) 101-16
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- P. Alexander, *Religious and political history and thought in the Byzantine empire. Collected Studies*, London, 1978
- A.D Komines, 'Paratêrêseis eis tous Chrêmous Leontos tou Sophou', *Epetêris Hetaireias Byzantinôn Spudôn* 30 (1960-61) 398-412
- C. Mango, 'The legend of Leo the Wise', *Zbornik radova vizantiloškog instituta* 6 (1960) 59-93 (repr. in C. Mango, *Byzantium and its image. History and culture of the Byzantine empire and its heritage*, London, 1984, no. XVI)
- W. Bousset, 'Beiträge zur Eschatologie', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 20 (1900) 262-90

Wolfram Brandes

The martyrdom of John of Phanijōit

Petros pšēri mpapa Poul Faraj, Buṭrus ibn Abī Būlus Faraj

DATE OF BIRTH Uncertain; possibly mid-12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Damanhūr, Egypt
DATE OF DEATH Early to mid-13th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

All that is known about this author derives from the colophon of the only manuscript of the *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit*, written in Coptic. It states: '[T]hese are what the miserable, wretched, worthless Peter, the son of Apa Paul Faraj (the man of Damanhour) wrote. AM 927 [1211 CE].'

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Vat – Copt. 69, f. 40r-55v

Secondary

See below.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ti martūria ntepiagios Iōannēs pimartūros mberi piebol henphannijōit, 'The martyrdom of St John the new martyr, from Phanijōit', 'The martyrdom of John of Phanijōit'

DATE 1211

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Coptic

DESCRIPTION

The Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit is extant in a single manuscript of 16 folios (32 pages), written in the Bohairic dialect of Coptic. The text relates the story of John, describing him as a deacon and a flax merchant from Phanijōit in the region of Poushin (al-Būsh? al-Wasīm?), Egypt. According to the text, his occupation brought him into contact with

women in Old Cairo where he assimilated to Islamic culture, ‘fornicating’ with a ‘Saracen woman’. The rest of the martyrdom tells the story of John’s journey of reconversion to Christianity, which takes him to the village of Pepleu (probably Biblāw near al-Ashmūnayn), said to be known for sheltering penitent Christians seeking reinstatement to the faith. The text highlights his devotional piety of fasting and prayer, and how this propelled him to seek guidance to declare his reconversion publicly, which ultimately led to his death.

The Martyrdom is elegantly composed (though the grammar and vocabulary seem to signal the decline in use of Coptic). First, it begins with a long poetic panegyric (7 MS pages) extolling John as a Christian champion and exemplar, and quoting and alluding to many biblical passages of redemption, such as the parables of the Prodigal Son and of the Last Laborers. Second, it describes John’s conversion to Islam, emphasizing lust as a motive – the text judges Islam immoral (2 MS pages). Third, the text presents a detailed account of a lengthy reconversion journey, during which John receives advice from others, such as a priest and a physician of the sultan (6 MS pages). Fourth, John’s reconversion culminates in his disputation with the Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil, during which he is imprisoned, setting the stage for his martyrdom (7 MS pages). The disputation resonates with other Christian texts of this genre, such as the Martyrdom of Michael of Mar Sabas (q.v.). Fifth, John is martyred before a large crowd of witnesses, at the behest of al-Malik al-Kāmil’s advisors (5 MS pages). Finally, the account concludes with a post-mortem visitation by John to the Sultan al-Kāmil, and it ends with an epilogue that quotes from the liturgy of St Basil (6 MS pages). While the text depicts some miraculous events common to the martyrdom genre, most of its details are not fantastical.

SIGNIFICANCE

The Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit offers a variety of important evidence for understanding the assimilation of Egyptian Christians to Islamic society in the 13th century. In terms of Arabization, the text is significant for being one of the last known literary works written in Coptic. Some scholars have questioned whether it derives from an Arabic original, since it was written at a time when Egyptian Christians were writing primarily in Arabic, and in some scholars’ opinions its style is rather poor. However, John is not mentioned in the extant Arabic *Synaxarion*, so his legacy is not widespread in the sources; perhaps, since it was written in Coptic, the audience of the *Martyrdom* was limited. In relation to conversion

to Islam, the text mentions the town of Pepleu, which was known for restoring Christians to their faith, indicating a possible trend of apostasy at the time. The text also mentions known personalities, such as the Sultan al-Kāmil and his chief physician Abū Shākir, and it is a useful source for understanding the crusades, as it mentions the Sultan al-Kāmil's preparations of the naval fleets for battle.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vat – Copt. 69, fols 40r-55v (1211)

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- A. Shihāta, *Istishhād Yūhannā al-Zaytūni ḥasab makhtūt qibṭi min al-qarn al-thālith 'ashar*, Cairo, 1995 (B.Th. thesis, Coptic Catholic Seminary, al-Ma'ādī, Cairo) (Arabic trans.)
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Jason R. Zaborowski

Nicetas Choniates

Nikētas Chōniatēs

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1155
PLACE OF BIRTH	Chōnai, near ancient Colossae, today Honaz
DATE OF DEATH	1217
PLACE OF DEATH	Nicea

BIOGRAPHY

Nicetas was born in Chōnai, in Phrygia (hence his name Chōniates, sometimes incorrectly given as Akominatos or Acominatus), in about 1155. When he was nine he moved to Constantinople, where his brother Michael (c. 1138-1222), who in 1182 would become metropolitan of Athens, was already resident. Nothing is known of his teachers. He entered the imperial bureaucracy, probably in the later years of Manuel I Comnenus' reign (1143-80), and in the following decades he climbed the ladder of a civil career up to the post of *Logothetēs tōn sekretōn* ('prime minister'). He briefly retired from imperial administration during the reign of Andronicus I Comnenus (1183-85).

Nicetas' offices occasionally took him into the imperial provinces (he was *dux* of Philippopolis/Plovdiv in 1189-90), but his career developed mainly in Constantinople. When the city was conquered by the warriors of the Fourth Crusade in 1204, Nicetas left for Selymbria, then came back for a short period, and finally he moved to Nicea, where Byzantine resistance to the Latin conquest was being organized by Theodorus Laskaris. Here, he was again active in the court (as testified by some of his rhetorical writings), but could not obtain the high position he had held in Constantinople prior to 1204. He died in 1217.

Nicetas is the author of a lengthy historical work, the *Chronikē diēgēsis* or *Historia*, which narrates events from 1118 to about 1207 and is considered one of the masterpieces of Byzantine literature. He is also the author of a theological work on heresies, the *Panoplia dogmatikē* or *Thesaurus orthodoxiae*, in 27 books. In addition, there are 11 letters and 18 orations, mostly linked to his activity as a court rhetorician. All these works contain important elements for a knowledge of Christian-Muslim relations, and are discussed below.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The main sources on Nicetas' life have been collected and discussed by J.-L. van Dieten in *Niketas Choniates. Erläuterungen zu den Reden und Briefen nebst einer Biographie* (*Supplementa Byzantina* 2) Berlin, 1971, pp. 1-57. They comprise: autobiographical passages of Nicetas' *Historia* and a few from *Panoplia dogmatikē*; his *Orations* and *Letters*; the titles of his works, giving lists of the offices he held the funeral oration, *monōdia*, written for him by his brother Michael: see S.P. Lampros (ed.), *Michaēl Akominatou tou Chōniatou ta sōzomena*, 2 vols, Athens, 1879 (repr. Groningen 1968), i, pp. 345-66.

Secondary

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 Van Dieten, *Niketas Choniates*, pp. 1-57

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Chronikē diēgēsis; Historia, 'History'

DATE Between about 1185 and 1208/9

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

The *History* of Nicetas Choniates is the main narrative source for the history of Byzantium in the years 1118-1207, a period that saw frequent conflicts between Byzantium and various Muslim powers: the Byzantine Empire had to counter the Turkish expansion in Asia Minor, and military expeditions also reached Syria (1137-38, 1144 or 1145, 1159) and Egypt (1169). The *History* thus offers ample evidence of political and military confrontation between Christian and Muslim powers. This period also saw a good deal of peaceful interaction between Byzantium and its Turkish neighbors, and Nicetas has important information on these aspects as well.

References to Turks in the *History* can be traced from the index in van Dieten, *Historia* (see under 'Persai'); also Brand, 'Turkish element', and Zorzi, 'Islam'. Here just a few examples will be given. We learn from the *History* about (converted) Turks integrated into Byzantine (high) society,

such as John Axouch (ed. van Dieten, pp. 9-10), and about members of the Byzantine elite, mostly part of the Comnenian family, who were at home at the court of various Turkish rulers and even converted to Islam (van Dieten, pp. 35-36). Nicetas testifies to the incipient assimilation of the Christians of Asia Minor to the Muslim Turks of the Sultanate of Iconium as early as the reign of John II Comnenus (1118-43) (van Dieten, pp. 37-38); and later he relates how a group of deported Byzantine peasants preferred to settle under the rule of Sultan Kai-Khusraw in 1196-97 (van Dieten, pp. 494-96). He has important pieces of information on Turkish and 'Roman' merchants from Iconium coming to Constantinople during the reign of Alexius III Angelus (van Dieten, pp. 493-94) and on the mosque that still existed in the Byzantine capital (van Dieten, pp. 525, 553, 554; see Reinert, 'The Muslim presence', pp. 126-30).

Conversion of Muslims to Christianity is recorded, though seldom explicitly: an officer of the Byzantine army called Poupakēs (Abū-Bakr) – and therefore a Turk, although Nicetas does not mention it – made the sign of the cross before assailing the fortress of Kerkyra (van Dieten, p. 84); in 1176, Turkish converts were serving in Manuel I Comnenus' army campaigning against the Sultan of Iconium, Kilij Arslan II (van Dieten, p. 187).

Nicetas' attitudes towards converted Turks and sometimes also towards Turkish Muslim rulers (in contrast to the Byzantine rulers) is not always negative, but his hostility to Islam is absolute, as the religious controversy narrated in Book VIII of the *History* (see below) reveals and various allusions confirm: e.g., when lamenting the loss of Byzantine lands in Asia Minor, he refers to Muslim Turks as believing in a false religion (van Dieten, pp. 116-17), and he disapproves of the intended participation of the sultan in a religious procession in Constantinople (van Dieten, pp. 118-19).

The *History* (pp. 213-20) is the main source for an important religious controversy in 1180 about the Muslim and Christian conceptions of God, which set the Emperor Manuel I Comnenus against the Byzantine clergy, led by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Theodosius Boradiotes. The same account, with minor but not irrelevant differences, is to be found in Nicetas' *Panoplia dogmatikē*, Book XXVI (see below). The only other source on this controversy is an official document (*Tomos*) dated April 1180 (see Zorzi, 'Tomos', *CMR* 3, pp. 759-63, which summarizes the whole question; for a discussion of the account of these three sources, cf. Zorzi, 'Islam').

According to Nicetas' *History*, the occasion for the dispute was offered by the emperor himself, as he decided to remove Anathema 22 from

the ritual of abjuration that Muslims converting to Christianity had to undergo (see A. Rigo, 'Ritual of abjuration', *CMR* 1, pp. 821-24). Anathema 22 condemned Allah as defined by a Greek version of *Sūra* 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.' According to Manuel, this condemnation of 'their God' was an obstacle to conversion for Muslims. From Nicetas' *Panoplia* (see *History*, ed. van Dieten, p. 213,54) we learn that the problem of Anathema 22 was raised by a Turkish emir, Ḥasan (Chasanēs), adoptive son of a certain Gabras and identified as Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Gabrās, known from other sources as a powerful member of Sultan Kilij Arslan's court. Moreover, Manuel is reported to have said that he wanted to avoid 'the true God', 'God creator' being condemned.

Although the definition of God as *holosphyros* (*al-Ṣamad*, Q 112), a word that in Greek means 'made of solid beaten metal', i.e. 'solid', 'compact', was one of the controversial points, neither from Nicetas nor from the *Tomos* can we infer that there was a serious discussion of its meaning. Rather, it was exploited by the clergy for polemical reasons (as by Nicetas of Byzantium, the first Byzantine author to translate *al-Ṣamad* as *holosphyros*), denying that a '*holosphyros* God' was really God.

The phases of the dispute have been already summarized, according to the *Historia*, in the entry on the *Tomos* (q.v.). Here it can be underlined that the Emperor, supported by some members of the court, had to face strong opposition from the clergy: in Nicetas' account, Patriarch Theodosius Boradiotes and the learned Eustathius of Thessaloniki figure most prominently. Eustathius' brief but intense speech to counter Manuel's arguments contains a very harsh and vulgar criticism of Islam, exploiting polemical terminology going back to Nicetas of Byzantium. Only from Nicetas Choniates' account do we learn about different written versions of Manuel's position, expressed in two different *tomoi* discussed by the *synodos*, and he is the only source to refer to the harsh discussions and dialogues that took place on various occasions. The final decision to abolish Anathema 22, while introducing a new one against Muḥammad and his teachings, is attested also by the preserved final *Tomos*. According to Nicetas, the dispute ended in May (1180), while the *Tomos* is dated to April of that year.

Nicetas' attitude is completely contrary to Manuel's attempt to find a compromise allowing Muslims not to condemn 'their God' directly; he agrees with the rigid position of the clergy, totally opposing any concession to the idea that the Muslim God had anything in common with the

Christian God. In his narrative, the emperor's initiative is described as a fruit of his sickness and madness, while Bishop Eustathius of Thessaloniki, with whom Nicetas was personally acquainted, is given the role of a hero.

SIGNIFICANCE

Nicetas' account of Turkish-Byzantine relations in the 12th century and the first years of the 13th contains unique items of evidence. As for the dispute about the 'God of Muḥammad', reported in Book VIII of the *History*, his account is again the most detailed source for the whole episode, and the only one for many of its aspects. As already stated in the entry on the *Tomos* of April 1180 in *CMR* 3, the overall significance of the dispute itself is under discussion, and its practical effects were probably insignificant, owing to the death of Manuel in September 1180. But it is certainly important as it testifies to Muslim conversions to Christianity during Manuel Comnenus' reign (a fact known from other sources as well), and most of all to Manuel's attempt to respond to the requests of his Muslim subjects, altering an established tradition and confronting the clergy on a theological issue.

The dispute also testifies to the clash between two different Byzantine attitudes towards Islam. The first, here represented by the clergy, totally discounts Islam as a true religion, not even recognizing a shared monotheism, and this is evidently the position that Nicetas supports (a position well attested in Byzantine polemical literature); the other (less frequently encountered in the sources), here represented by Manuel Comnenus, gives due importance to belief in one God, creator of the universe, as something common between the two religions.

MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts of the *History* are numerous; they are all listed in van Dieten's edition (pp. xix-ci).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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Niceta Coniata, *Grandezza e catastrofe di Bisanzio (Narrazione cronologica)*. Vol. 1. *Libri I-VIII*, intr. A.P. Kazhdan, text and comm.

R. Maisano, trans. A. Pontani, Milan, 1994; vol. 2: *Libri IX-XIV*, text

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O city of Byzantium. Annals of Niketas Choniates, trans. J.H. Magoulias, Detroit MI, 1984 (trans.; see the critical review by J.-L. van Dieten

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STUDIES

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Niceta Coniata, Grandezza e catastrofe, xxiii-xxxii

On the topic of Christian-Muslim relations in Nicetas Choniates' *History*, and especially on the controversy about 'the God of Muḥammad', see:

N. Zorzi, 'Islam e Cristianesimo durante il regno di Manuele Comneno. La disputa sul "Dio di Maometto" nell'opera di Niceta Coniata', in A. Rigo (ed.), *Vie per Bisanzio. VII Congresso Nazionale dell'Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini, Venezia, 25-28 novembre 2009*, Bari, forthcoming

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Orationes, 'Orations'

DATE Approximately 1185-1211

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

In various orations, delivered in different periods of Nicetas' career, mention is made of the Turks, mostly as enemies defeated by the emperors, both before and after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204 by the crusaders (see *Orations* 7, 9, 10, 14, 16). *Oration* 16, whose title reads *To the Emperor Theodorus Lascaris, when he killed the sultan of Iconium*, which was delivered on the occasion of an important victory of the emperor residing in Nicea over Sultan Kai-Khusraw I in 1211 (see van Dieten, *Erläuterungen*, pp. 161-62), is the only one that refers directly to Muslim beliefs. Here (van Dieten, p. 174.3-8), while affirming the superiority of Emperor Theodorus Lascaris over his Turkish enemy, and of Christ over Muḥammad, Nicetas briefly recalls the story of the she-camel 'who drinks all the rivers'. This story is also told in *Panoplia dogmatikē*, Book XX, ch. 7 (*PG* 140, cols 112B-113A), which reproduces *ad litteram* a passage from John of Damascus' chapter 100 on Islam in *De haeresibus* (ed. Kotter, pp. 65-66).

SIGNIFICANCE

Mention of the she-camel in *Oration* 16 testifies to the rhetorical use of one Muslim belief, not in the usual context of religious polemics, but in a literary, rhetorical work. References to Muslim Turks throughout the *Orations* confirm and integrate the historical information found in Nicetas' *History*, though here from the different perspective of rhetorical, mostly panegyric, compositions.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana – Marc. Gr. XI 22 (= 1235)
(13th century; see van Dieten, *Orationes*)

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STUDIES

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D.G. Angelov, 'Domestic opposition to Byzantium's alliance with Saladin. Niketas Choniates and his epiphany oration of 1190', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 30 (2006) 49-68

van Dieten, *Niketas Choniates*

Panoplia dogmatikē; Thesaurus orthodoxiae,
'The armour of doctrine'

DATE About 1206

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

This work comprises 27 books (i.e. ample chapters) on Christian heresies, starting with paganism and up to the author's time. Two books deal with Islam: Book XX is a compilation based mostly on earlier sources, and Book XXVI is an original composition.

In the *pinax* of the *Panoplia*, the title of Book XX is: 'On the Agarenes' religion and on the *ordo* (*taxis*) for those who convert from Islam to our pure and immaculate faith' (van Dieten, *Zur Überlieferung und Veröffentlichung*, p. 55). It is made up of two separate parts: the first containing 18 chapters is polemical (chs 1-12) and apologetic (chs 13-18), while the second contains an abjuration formula for Muslims who convert to Christianity (see A. Rigo, 'Ritual of abjuration', *CMR* 1, 821-24).

Khoury, *Théologiens*, pp. 249-58, has analysed the first 18 chapters according to their sources and contents (see also Trapp, *Manuel*, p. 22*). In the first part, chs 1-7 (*PG* 140, cols 105 A-113A) and 9 (col. 113 C-D)

reproduce *verbatim* the whole of John of Damascus' *De haeresibus*, ch. 100; ch. 8 (113 A-C) introduces a development on the Day of Doom and on Paradise derived from the section on Muslims in George the Monk's *Chronicon* (q.v.), pp. 700-2 (ed. de Boor); and the end of ch. 9 (cols 113 D-116 A) is again derived from George the Monk, p. 702 (ed. de Boor, though as Trapp, *Manuel*, p. 22*, underlines, the text is closer to that published by Davreux, *Codex Bruxellensis*, p. 94). The chapter closes with a sentence dating the rise of the 'heresy of the Ishmaelites' to *annus mundi* 6145, which is 636/637, in the reign of Heraclius (col. 116 A). (Owing to the lack of a critical edition of the *Panoplia*, a comparison with the *De haeresibus* [ed. Kotter] cannot be made in such a way as to note every possible textual difference and its meaning; Nicetas' text as printed in *PG* is sometimes closer to MS U of John's work [compare ch. 1, col. 105 A-B, with p. 60.12 in Kotter], sometimes to MSS ST [compare ch. 5, col. 109 B and C, with p. 64.79 and 91 in Kotter]; see 109 C for an omission both in Nicetas and in MS S, p. 64.87 in Kotter).

The following chapters of Book XX (ch. 10-beginning of ch. 13, cols 116 A-117 C), in which claims attributed to Muslims are rejected, summarize several chapters of Euthymius Zigabenus' *Panoplia dogmatikē* (q.v.): ch. 10 (col. 116 A-B) = Zigabenus 9, col. 1344 A-C (ed. Förstel, *Schriften*, ll. 223-43); ch. 11 (col. 116 B-D) = Zigabenus 14-17, col. 1348 D-1349 C (ed. Förstel, ll. 342-66); ch. 12 (cols 116 D-117 B) = Zigabenus 19-20, cols 1349 D-1352 D (ed. Förstel, ll. 383-422); ch. 13 (col. 117 B-C 9) = Zigabenus 26, col. 1357 C-D (ed. Förstel, ll. 535-50).

In the last section (chs 13-18, cols 117C-121C), other polemical statements are discussed and rejected, including Christ's birth from a virgin, erroneously compared by Muslims to the creation of Adam (ch. 13, col. 117 C), the Incarnation (ch. 14, cols 117 D-120 A), the crucifixion (chs 15-16, col. 120 A-D), and the veneration of the cross (ch. 17, cols 120 D-121 A). This section does not seem to derive directly from other known sources, though the subjects discussed are found in such earlier texts as Theodore Abū Qurra's *Opusculum IX* (*PG* 97, col. 1529 A = Gleib and Khoury, pp. 150-52), *Leo III's Letter to Umar* (in Ghewond [q.v.]), the *Letter to the Emir of Damascus* attributed to Arethas (q.v.) (on these see Khoury, *Théologiens*, pp. 255 n. 21, 256 n. 23, 257 n. 24). In chapter 14 (col. 117 D), Nicetas rejects the idea that in Nabuchadnezzar's dream in Daniel 2, the stone falling from the mountain and destroying the statue of gold, silver, iron and clay, in verses 34-35 and 45, represents Muḥammad (a Muslim interpretation which, according to Khoury, p. 255 n. 22, appears here for the first time in Byzantine literature); in ch. 18

(col. 121 A-B), Nicetas replies to the Muslim accusation that Christians do not obey Christ's command because they return evil for evil and worry about food and clothes.

(A. Abel's conjecture, 'Le chapitre CI', pp. 5-25, that chapter 100 [*aliter* 101] of *De haeresibus* should not be attributed to John of Damascus, but is a much later text that derives from Nicetas' *Panoplia*, has been firmly rejected. See a synthesis of the question in R. Le Coz, *Jean Damascène, Écrits sur l'islam. Présentation, commentaires et traduction* [*Sources Chrétiennes* 383], Paris, 1992, pp. 184-98, and in R. Gleis and A.T. Khoury, *Johannes Damaskenos und Theodor Abû Qurra, Schriften zum Islam. Kommentierte griechisch-deutsche Textausgabe* [*Corpus Islamo-Christianum, Series Graeca* 3], Altenberge, 1995, pp. 38-44).

The second part of Book XX contains the abjuration formula for Muslims who convert to Christianity. One of the anathemata in this formula was discussed by the synod convened by Manuel I Comnenus in 1180, as mentioned above.

In the *pinax* of the *Panoplia*, Book XXVI is entitled: 'On the dogma of the God of Muḥammad discussed under the same emperor [i.e. Manuel]' (van Dieten, *Zur Überlieferung und Veröffentlichung*, p. 56). This book deals with the theological controversy discussed under Manuel I Comnenus in 1180, mentioned above. Book XXVI is unpublished, but it coincides almost totally with Nicetas' *History*, ed. van Dieten, pp. 213-19; differences are noted by van Dieten in the critical apparatus of his edition, and analysed by Zorzi, 'Islam'. The *Panoplia* adds information to the narrative in the *History* about the convert Ḥasan (see apparatus to p. 213.54), some lines criticizing Islam in the speech by Eustathius of Thessaloniki (p. 217.32), and a sentence in Manuel Comnenus' reply to Eustathius (p. 217.48-51).

SIGNIFICANCE

Book XX of the *Panoplia*, being mostly an assemblage of known sources, shows that, even in a period of frequent interaction between Muslim Turks and Byzantines, an author might still follow the mainstream of Byzantine polemical texts, relying on the authoritative account of John of Damascus and on the popular *Panoplia* of Euthymius Zigabenus, and possibly on other sources as well. This is noteworthy, considering the personal account that Nicetas gives of one important theological issue, that of the *holosphyros* dispute, discussed in Book XXVI. It would be necessary to have an adequate edition of Book XX, a detailed study of its sources, and a reliable analysis of its contents in order properly to

evaluate the importance of the parts that appear to be, if not original, not attested elsewhere.

MANUSCRIPTS

A list together with a study of the MSS is given in van Dieten, *Zur Überlieferung und Veröffentlichung*, pp. 1-28, and van Dieten, 'Zur Überlieferung der Panoplia dogmatike'.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

There is no critical edition of the whole *Panoplia*, and part of it is still unpublished in any form.

Book XX, part one ('On the religion of the Agarenes'):

PG 140, cols 105-21 (from the edition by A. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum*, 10 vols, Rome, 1839-44, iv, pp. 483-97, and A. Mai, *Patrum nova bibliotheca*, 10 vols, Rome, 1842-1905, iv, pp. 432-42 (using MS Vat. Gr. 680; see van Dieten, *Zur Überlieferung und Veröffentlichung*, p. 41)

Book XX, part two (abjuration formula):

PG 140, cols 124-36. The text, although published under Nicetas' name, is not taken from the manuscripts of the *Panoplia*, but from a different tradition (see van Dieten, *Zur Überlieferung und Veröffentlichung*, pp. 30-31, 41). *PG* in fact reproduces the text, with parallel Latin translation, published by F. Sylburg, *Saracenicæ sive Moame-thicæ*, Heidelberg, 1595, pp. 74-91, from MS Vat. Palat. Gr. 232 (see Rigo, 'Saracenicæ', pp. 307-9).

E. Montet, 'Un rituel d'abjuration des Musulmanes dans l'église grecque', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 53 (1906) 145-63 (edition of the anathemata)

Book XXVII: This book is unpublished, but coincides almost totally with the *History*, ed. van Dieten, pp. 213-19. Variant readings of the principal manuscripts are registered in van Dieten's critical apparatus.

STUDIES

Studies on Book XX are given below, while bibliography dealing with Book XXVI is listed above.

Zorzi, 'Islam' (with earlier bibliography)

A. Argyriou, 'Perceptions de l'islam et traductions du Coran dans le monde byzantin grec', *Byzantion* 75 (2005) 25-69, pp. 44-45

- A. Rigo, 'Saracenic 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, 289-310, pp. 307-9
- J.-L. van Dieten, *Zur Überlieferung und Veröffentlichung der Panoplia dogmatike des Niketas Choniates*, Amsterdam, 1970
- A.-T. Houry, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'islam. Textes et auteurs (VIII^e-XIII^e s.)*, Louvain, 1969, pp. 186-94, 249-58
- Trapp, *Manuel II*, pp. 22*-23*
- J.-L. van Dieten, 'Zur Überlieferung der Panoplia dogmatike des Niketas Choniates. Codex Parisiensis Graecus 1234', in P. Wirth (ed.), *Polychronion. Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag*, Heidelberg, 1966, 166-80
- A. Abel, 'Le chapitre CI du Livre des hérésies de Jean Damascène. Son inauthenticité', *Studia Islamica* 19 (1963) 5-25
- J. Davreux, 'Le codex Bruxellensis (Graecus) II 4836', *Byzantion* 10 (1935) 90-106

Niccolò Zorzi

Ibn ‘Arabī

Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn
al-‘Arabī al-Ṭā’ī al-Ḥātimī

DATE OF BIRTH 28 July 1165
PLACE OF BIRTH Murcia, Spain
DATE OF DEATH 10 November 1240
PLACE OF DEATH Damascus

BIOGRAPHY

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-‘Arabī al-Ṭā’ī al-Ḥātimī, as he signs himself, stands at a critical juncture in the history of Islam and Islamic thought, during the flowering of Almohad, Ayyūbid and Anatolian Seljuk power. As an exceptional mystic and writer, he exerted an unparalleled influence on later Sufis and scholars throughout the Muslim world. His numerous writings bridge the divide between a largely oral, informal spiritual culture and an increasingly written and formalized one, in which the Sufi *ṭarīqas* were to play a dominant role. One of several prominent figures who left before the collapse of Arab rule in al-Andalus and came to live in the Levant, he can be regarded as the major exponent of *taṣawwuf* (Sufism) of his age, a veritable ‘reviver of the religion’ (Muḥyī l-dīn), as he was known even in his own lifetime.

Ibn ‘Arabī’s life is unusually well-documented, primarily through his own testimony but also through the details incidentally furnished by the *samā‘* certificates on his numerous works (listing the names of those present at the readings, the place and date of the reading, etc.). It can be divided into three discrete phases: born in south-eastern Spain, he spent the first 35 years of his life in the Maghreb, the western lands of Islam that stretched from al-Andalus to Tunis; he then embarked on the pilgrimage and spent the next three years in or around Mecca, where a series of dramatic experiences initiated the writing of several works including his magnum opus, the *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyya*; the final phase of his life was spent in the Levant (Mashriq) and Anatolia, where he raised a family and, in addition to an unceasing literary output and instruction given to numerous disciples, became adviser to kings and rulers. He settled in Damascus, where he lived and taught for 17 years. According to

his own testimony, he wrote nearly 300 works, of which over 100 survive in manuscript: these include many classics such as the encyclopaedic *Futūḥāt* in 37 volumes (in two recensions) and the quintessence of his teaching, the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, which generated numerous commentaries by writers over the centuries. He died at the age of 75 in 1240 and was buried in the Ṣāliḥiyya district by Mt Qāsiyūn. The present-day tomb complex was established by the Ottoman Sultan Selim I in 1516, and remains an important place of pilgrimage.

Ibn 'Arabī's visionary capacity was in evidence from a very early age, and he describes his spiritual journey in terms of following in the footsteps of the prophets, beginning with Jesus whom he calls 'my first teacher, who never neglects me for an instant' and ending with Muḥammad (*Futūḥāt* i.223; ii.49; iv.77). In his early teens, at a time when he had undergone no formal preparation or study, he experienced a dream-vision of Jesus, Moses and Muḥammad, as a consequence of which he had his famous meeting with Ibn Rushd (see Hirtenstein, *The unlimited mercifier*, pp. 53-58). This impelled him to dedicate his life entirely to God and to abandon the career laid out for him by his father, of serving in the entourage of the Almohad sultan. Having given away all his belongings to his father, he embarked on a 17-year course of spiritual training at the hands of various masters, men and women, in al-Andalus and the Maghreb, many of whom he describes in his *Rūḥ al-quds*. He describes his first teacher, al-'Uraybī, as being of a Christic (ṣawī) spiritual disposition, whose first instruction shows a remarkable similarity to gospel teaching (see *Rūḥ*, p. 76; *Sufis of Andalusia*, p. 63; Matthew, 6:6). His many spiritual experiences are detailed in various works, including a vision in Cordova in which he saw the spiritual realities of all the prophets from Adam to Muḥammad (*Fuṣūṣ*, 110).

The Jesus that Ibn 'Arabī describes appears very much a Muslim prophet, although he is at pains to point out his special saintly qualities. In his *'Anqā' mughrīb*, written in 1199 while he was still in al-Andalus, he gives a lengthy and complex exposition of the Seal of Universal Sainthood, a personage whom he would later openly identify as Jesus but one that he was careful to only refer to in coded letters in the *'Anqā'* – which gives an indication of the sensitivities that existed in the face of the threat from the Christian north in his homeland. He viewed Jesus' second coming, eagerly awaited by Christians and many Muslims, as the appearance of the Saint par excellence, who 'will descend at the end of time as heir [to Muḥammad] and seal', clarifying the inner meaning of religion for all believers. Equally, he viewed himself as the heir of both Jesus and

Muḥammad, being the Seal of Muhammadian Sainthood (*Futūḥāt* i.244, ii.49; Hirtenstein, *The unlimited mercifier*, pp. 139–41). He also describes what he calls the particular spiritual knowledges that Jesus possesses: the knowledge of letters and breath, the science of the creative *fiat* (*kun*), the reviving of the dead (physically and spiritually).

In other places Ibn 'Arabī touches on medieval Christian beliefs and spirituality, especially noting the tendency towards withdrawal from the world and worshipping God through representing Him in a sensory form, although he affirms the Islamic imperative of worshipping without external imagery (see ch. 36 in his *Futūḥāt*). He even declares openly that friends of God, i.e. saintly men and women, are to be found everywhere, in synagogues and churches at least as much as in mosques (*Tajalliyāt*, 80), a sentiment that demonstrates not only his own interfaith position but also the widespread tolerance and openness in Muslim society prior to the Mongol invasions of the Levant.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Selected bibliography of works by Ibn 'Arabī with reference to Jesus:

- '*Anqā' muḡhrib*, Berlin oct. 3266, fols 1-49v, dated 1201, Fez; printed Cairo 1954; trans. G. Elmore, *Islamic sainthood in the fullness of time*, Leiden, 1999
- Risāla Rūḥ al-quḏs fī muḡāsabat al-naḑs*, ed. M. Ghorab, Damascus, 1970; partial trans. R. Austin, *Sufis of Andalusia*, London, 1971
- Risālat al-itṭihād al-kawnī*, ed. D. Gril, with trans. by A. Jaffray as *The universal tree and the four birds*, Oxford, 2006
- Kitāb al-isfār 'an natā'ij al-asfār*, ed. D. Gril, Combas, 1994
- Kitāb al-tajalliyāt*, ed. Osman Yahia, Tehran, 1988
- Tarjuman al-ashwāq*, ed. and trans. R. Nicholson, London, 1911
- Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ed. Abū l-'Alā' 'Afīfī, Beirut, 1946, 1980²; trans. R. Austin as *Bezels of wisdom*, New York, 1980
- Al-futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, 4 vols, Beirut, n.d.; rev. ed. Osman Yahia, 14 vols, Cairo, 1972–91

Secondary

- W. Chittick, *Ibn 'Arabi. Heir to the prophets*, Oxford, 2005
- J. Morris, *The reflective heart. Discovering spiritual intelligence in Ibn 'Arabi's Meccan illuminations*, Louisville KY, 2005
- S. Hirtenstein, *The unlimited mercifier. The spiritual life and thought of Ibn 'Arabi*, Oxford, 1999
- M. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the saints*, Cambridge, 1993
- C. Addas, *Quest for the red sulphur*, Cambridge, 1993

W. Chittick, *The Sufi path of knowledge. Ibn 'Arabi's metaphysics of imagination*, Albany NY, 1989

H. Corbin, *Creative imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi*, Princeton, 1969

O. Yahia, *Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn 'Arabi*, Damascus, 1964

See also www.ibnarabisociety.org for articles and translations

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Letter to Kaykā'ūs

DATE Uncertain; in or just after 1212-13

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

In one of the rare places where Ibn 'Arabī directly discusses the Christian community, he appears to be unusually orthodox in his approach. In a letter of advice to the Seljuk Sultan Kaykā'ūs I (Keykavus, r. 1211-20), written in response to the sultan's letter to him dated 1212-13, he exhorts the ruler to act justly towards his subjects according to Islamic law, and to use his power to exalt the religion of Islam. He states: 'I tell you that among the worst things that can befall Islam and Muslims – and how few they are – are the ringing out of church bells, the public display of unbelief and the elevation of words of *shirk* (worship of other than God)', in contravention of the Pact of 'Umar (q.v.), the conditions of which he lists. He supports this view with a hadith of the Prophet Muḥammad, which states that 'No church should be built in Islam, nor those of them which have fallen into ruin be restored'.

SIGNIFICANCE

Although he refers to *ahl al-dhimma*, it is clear from this passage that Ibn 'Arabī primarily means Christians, who were by far the most numerous religious community in Anatolia after centuries of Byzantine rule, and his apparently categorical statement should therefore be interpreted within that context. As he writes of himself earlier in the letter, 'It is incumbent on him [Ibn 'Arabī] to respond with religious counsel and divine political advice *according to what is suitable to the moment*' (italics added). The mention of the conditions supposedly agreed between Christians and the second caliph becomes understandable as an exact parallel to the situation in which Kaykā'ūs found himself: a minority Muslim government in a primarily Christian environment. Furthermore, it was a time of great instability, in which the sultan was having to contend with

a rebellion organized by his younger brother in alliance with the Christian king of Cilicia.

Ibn 'Arabī's stance might also reflect his earlier experience of the turbulent conditions in al-Andalus, where Christian power in the north was the major fear and was already beginning to spell the end of Islamic rule in Spain. Whether this should be viewed as less than tolerant depends on how religious tolerance is defined: the institutionalized discrimination in traditional Islamic societies was intended to prevent persecution and to allow for gradual conversion (cf. the experience of Jews and Muslims in Spain after the Christian conquest), and Ibn 'Arabī's advice to the sultan should no doubt be seen in that light.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

The text of the letter can be found in *Al-futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, iv. 547.

STUDIES —

Stephen Hirtenstein

Mark of Toledo

DATE OF BIRTH	Before 1193
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown, but probably Toledo
DATE OF DEATH	After 1216
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

As with other 12th- and 13th-century Arabic-to-Latin translators, we know very little about Mark of Toledo's life. He seems to have grown up in and around Toledo, where, as d'Alverny argues in her seminal articles, he must have learned both Arabic and Castilian from childhood. It is clear from the prefaces to his translations that he had received a thorough education in pagan and Christian Latin, but also that he had an impressive knowledge of Islam and its texts. At some point he studied medicine, probably at Montpellier or Salerno. Off and on between 1193 and 1216, his name shows up in a series of charters connected to the church in Toledo, where he is identified variously as the 'canon deacon Mark', 'canon priest Mark', or simply 'canon Mark'. He is best known for his medical translations, some of which exerted a great deal of influence in Western Europe. At the behest of powerful ecclesiastical patrons in Toledo, he translated the Qur'an into Latin in 1210 or 1211, and also a series of Ibn Tumart's short works, including his *'Aqīda*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

D'Alverny discusses what little can be concluded about Mark's life from the prefaces to his translations in 'Marc de Tolède'.

Secondary

T.E. Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom, 1140-1560*, Philadelphia, 2007, pp. 17-18, 20-23, 27-29, 37, 40-41, 43-44, 46-50, 52, 58-59, 122-34, 137, 147-48, 156, 175, 188, 200-201

N. Petrus i Pons, 'El latín de Marcos de Toledo', in A.A. Nascimeto and P.F. Alberto (eds), *IV Congresso Internacional de Latin Medieval Hispânico: Lisboa, 12-15 de outubro de 2005*, Lisbon, 2006, 737-43

- J. Tolan, 'Las traducciones y la ideología de reconquista. Marcos de Toledo', in M. Barceló et al. (eds), *Musulmanes y Cristianos en Hispania durante las conquistas de los siglos XII y XIII*, Barcelona, 2005, 79-85
- T.E. Burman, 'The Latin-Arabic Qur'ān edition of Egidio da Viterbo and the Latin Qur'āns of Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo', in M. Barceló et al. (eds), *Musulmanes y Cristianos en Hispania durante las conquistas de los siglos XII y XIII*, Barcelona, 2005, 103-17
- N. Petrus i Pons, 'Marcos de Toledo y la segunda traducción latina del Corán', in M. Barceló et al. (eds), *Musulmanes y Cristianos en Hispania durante las conquistas de los siglos XII y XIII*, Barcelona, 2005, 87-94
- J. Martínez Gázquez et al., 'Die lateinischen Koran-Übersetzungen in Spanien. Eine antimuslimische Waffe der Christen', in M. Lutz-Bachmann and A. Fidora (eds), *Juden, Christen und Muslime. Religionsdialogue im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt, 2004, 27-39
- J. Martínez Gázquez, 'Las traducciones latinas medievales del Coran. Pedro le Venerable, Robert de Ketton, Marcos de Toledo, y Juan de Segobia', *Euphrosyne* 31 (2003) 491-503
- J. Tolan, *Saracens. Islam in the medieval European imagination*, New York, 2002, pp. 165, 182-85
- J. Martínez Gázquez, 'Trois traductions médiévales latines du Coran. Pierre le Vénéralbe-Robert de Ketton, Marc de Tolède et Jean de Segobia', *Revue des Études Latines* 80 (2002) 223-36
- T.E. Burman, 'Exclusion or concealment. Approaches to traditional Arabic exegesis in medieval-Latin translations of the Qur'ān', *Scripta Mediterranea* 19-20 (1998-99) 181-97
- T.E. Burman, 'Tafsīr and translation. Traditional Qur'ān exegesis and the Latin Qur'āns of Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo', *Speculum* 73 (1998) 703-32
- K.V. Jensen, 'Christian reading of the Quran before and after 1300', in J. Irmischer (ed.), *Rapports entre Juifs, Chrétiens et Musulmans. Eine Sammlung von Forschungsbeiträgen*, Amsterdam, 1995, 173-78
- H. Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation. Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Arabistik und Islamkunde in Europa*, Beirut, 1995, 55-60
- T.E. Burman, *Religious polemic and the intellectual history of the Mozarabs, c. 1050-1200*, Leiden, 1994, pp. 26, 62, 79, 199-200, 222
- N. Daniel, *Islam and the West. The making of an image*, rev. ed. Oxford, 1993, pp. 22, 35, 41, 44-45, 56, 58, 62, 79, 83, 103, 165, 191, 201, 231, 233, 249, 260, 269, 288, 351, 357, 359, 366, 398
- H. Bobzin, 'Latin Koran translations. A short overview', *Der Islam* 70 (1993) 193-206, pp. 200-1
- 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)*, Toledo, 1992, 25-59

- J. Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1955, p. 72
- M.-T. d'Alverny and Georges Vajda, 'Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tūmart', *Al-Andalus* 16 (1951) 99-140, 259-307; 17 (1952) 1-56
- 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. 113-31
- U. Monneret de Villard, *Lo studio dell'Islam in Europa nel XII e nel XIII secolo*, Vatican City, 1944, 21-24

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Liber Alchorani, 'The book of the Qur'an'

DATE 1210 OR 1211

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Mark of Toledo's *Liber Alchorani* is a translation of the Qur'an into Latin made at the behest of the Archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, and his archdeacon, Mauricius, almost certainly as an adjunct to Rodrigo's grand plan for a crusade against al-Andalus, which culminated in the successful campaign of Las Navas de Tolosa. Mark seems to have been unaware of Robert of Ketton's Latin translation from the previous century, and Mark's carefully literal version is very different in any case from Robert's complex paraphrase. Like Robert, however, Mark evidently turned to Muslim informants or Arabic commentaries on the Qur'an, since clear signs of his awareness of the Muslim exegetical tradition can be found throughout the text. Like Robert's version, then, Mark's *Liber Alchorani* provides extensive evidence of a largely non-polemical reading of Islam's holy book by a Latin Christian, for while Rodrigo and Mauricius' motives in commissioning the translation appear to have been thoroughly polemical, and Mark himself indulges in a typical Christian attack on Islam and Muḥammad in the preface to his translation, when he worked on the translation itself polemic ceased to be a controlling pre-occupation, the struggle to translate a very difficult book into a very different language forcing him to concentrate his efforts almost exclusively on lexical, linguistic, and basic interpretive problems. While, therefore, his Qur'an translation is hardly perfect, we find very little evidence of obvious polemical distortion of the text (Burman, 'Tafsīr and translation'; Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom*, pp. 20-29, 36-59).

SIGNIFICANCE

Circulating in far fewer manuscripts than Robert of Ketton's earlier version, Mark's Latin Qur'an had nothing like the same long-term influence (Petrus i Pons, 'Marcos de Toledo y la segunda traducción latina del Corán'). What readers there were in the later Middle Ages and Renaissance were restricted almost entirely to Italy (all the extant manuscripts are Italian or have a close connection to Italy). The reader about whom we know the most was the Dominican Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (c. 1243-1320), who read Mark's version alongside his own, extant copy of the Qur'an in Arabic (MS Paris, BNF Ar. 384) and quoted it extensively in his highly influential *Contra legem Saracenorum* (Burman, 'The Latin-Arabic Qur'an edition of Egidio da Viterbo'), and we know of still other anonymous Latin readers who likewise consulted it alongside the original Arabic, though there were also readers with standard Christian apologetic and polemical concerns (Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom*, pp. 122-33). It is very likely that Mark's Latin Qur'an circulated among the Italian Dominicans in a manuscript or manuscripts that also contained the anonymous anti-Islamic *Liber denudationis siue ostensionis aut patefaciens, alias Contrarietas alfolica* (d'Alverny, 'Marc de Toléde', p. 48).

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – L 1 supp. (14th century)

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 14503 (14th century)

MS Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine – 708 (1400)

MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – 4297 (15th century)

MS Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria – F.V. 35 (15th century)

MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – R 113 supp. (15th-16th centuries; fragmentary)

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 3394 (16th century)

On these manuscripts, see most recently Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom*, pp. 123-33, and Petrus i Pons, 'Marcos de Toledo y la segunda traducción latina del Corán'; and also d'Alverny, 'Mark de Toléde', pp. 49-59.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

N. Petrus Pons, *Título Alchoranus Latinus, quem transtulit Marcus canonicus Toletanus. Estudio y edición crítica*, Barcelona, 2008 (Diss., Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

Portions of the text were translated into Italian in the later Middle Ages (see Burman, *Religious polemic and the intellectual history of the Mozarabs*, p. 220).

The preface to his translation was edited by d'Alverny and Vajda in 'Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tūmart', pp. 260-68.

STUDIES

- T.E. Burman, 'How an Italian friar read his Arabic Qur'an', *Dante Studies* 125 (2007) 93-109, pp. 99, 103-5
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- Z. Pentek, 'Ze średniowiecznej recepcji Koranu wśród chrześcijan. Polemiści, tłumacze i wydawcy', in D.A. Sikorski and A.M. Wyrwa (eds), *Cognitioni gestorum. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza dedykowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Strzelczykowi*, Warsaw, 2006, 59-70
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- Burman, 'The Latin-Arabic Qur'ān edition of Egidio da Viterbo and the Latin Qur'āns of Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo'
- Petrus i Pons, 'Marcos de Toledo y la segunda traducción latina del Corán'
- T.E. Burman, 'Polemic, philology, and ambivalence. Reading the Qur'ān in Latin Christendom', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 15 (2004) 181-209, pp. 194-95
- Martínez Gázquez et al., 'Die lateinischen Koran-Übersetzungen in Spanien'
- Martínez Gázquez, 'Las traducciones latinas medievales del Coran'
- T.E. Burman, 'Cambridge University Library MS Mm v. 26 and the history of the study of the Qur'ān in medieval and early modern Europe', in T.E. Burman, M.D. Meyerson and L. Shopkow (eds), *Religion, text, and society in medieval Spain and northern Europe. Essays in honor of J.N. Hillgarth*, Toronto, 2002, 335-63
- Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 165, 182-85
- Martínez Gázquez, 'Trois traductions médiévales latines du Coran'
- Burman, 'Exclusion or concealment'
- Burman, 'Tafsīr and translation'
- A. Piemontese, 'Il Corano latino di Ficino e i Corani arabi di Pico e Monchates', *Rinascimento: Rivista dell'Institutio Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento*, 2nd series 36 (1996) 227-73
- K.V. Jensen, 'Christian reading of the Quran before and after 1300', in J. Irmscher (ed.), *Rapports entre Juifs, Chrétiens et Musulmans. Eine Sammlung von Forschungsbeiträgen*, Amsterdam, 1995, 173-78

- Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation*, pp. 55-60
- Burman, *Religious polemic and the intellectual history of the Mozarabs*, pp. 26, 62, 79, 199-200, 222
- Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 22, 35, 41, 44-45, 56, 58, 62, 79, 83, 103, 165, 191, 201, 231, 233, 249, 260, 269, 288, 351, 357, 359, 366, 398
- Bobzin, 'Latin Koran translations. A short overview', pp. 200-1
- D'Alverny, 'Marc de Tolède'
- J. Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1955, p. 72
- D'Alverny and Vajda. 'Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tūmart'
- D'Alverny. 'Deux traductions latines du Coran au moyen âge', pp. 113-31
- Monneret de Villard, *Lo studio dell'Islam in Europa nel XII e nel XIII secolo*, pp. 21-24

Libellus Habentometi de unio Dei, 'The Libellus of Ibn Tūmart on the unity of God'

DATE 1213

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

At the behest of Archdeacon Mauricius of Toledo, Mark translated this series of short works by Ibn Tūmart, founder of the *Muwahhidūn* (Almohads), who ruled the Maghreb and much of Spain in the 11th and 12th centuries. Inspired by al-Ghazālī's thought, Ibn Tūmart propounded a rationalist version of Islamic monotheism, which he advanced in a more philosophical form in his *Aqīda* (Creed), translated here as *Tractatus Habentomi de unio Dei* ('Tractate of Ibn Tūmart on the unity of God'), and in a simpler form for broader consumption in his two *Murshidāt* ('Guides'), and hymns. Mark's translation of these texts is typically literal; it is analyzed at great length from a linguistic point of view in d'Alverny and Vajda, 'Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tūmart'.

SIGNIFICANCE

Highly unusual in being a Latin translation of a work of Islamic theology (rather than science or philosophy), but only surviving in a single, late manuscript, Mark's *Libellus Habentometi* seems to have exercised very little influence in Latin thought about Islam. We certainly have no knowledge currently of any readers of these Latin versions of Ibn Tūmart's short

works. It is, therefore, what the fact of their translation tells us about the culture of Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's court in Toledo that makes them significant. As d'Alverny and Vajda pointed out decades ago, the choice of these texts for translation indicates that Mark and Archdeacon Mauricius (and perhaps others) in Rodrigo's entourage 'were very well informed about the religious tendencies' of the Almohads ('Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tūmart', pp. 101-10). Moreover, the preoccupation in Ibn Tūmart's *Aqīda* with God's attributes shows up not only in Arab Christian apologetic works from Spain in the 12th century, but also in a theological work by Rodrigo himself, the Trinitarian argument of which has connections to those same Arab Christian works (Burman, *Religious polemic*, pp. 157-89; Pick, *Conflict and coexistence*, pp. 81-87). It may be the case, therefore, that Mark's *Libellus Habentometi* is evidence of a sort of Latin *kalām* being practiced at Rodrigo's court.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine – 780 (1400)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

D'Alverny and Vajda, 'Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tūmart', pp. 268-83 (edition), 285-307 (commentary); 17, pp. 1-56 (lexical study).

STUDIES

D'Alverny and Vajda, 'Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tūmart', 99-140, 259-307; 17, 1-56

D'Alverny, 'Deux traductions latines du Coran au moyen âge'

Thomas E. Burman

Al-Ruhāwī

Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn ‘Abdallāh

DATE OF BIRTH 1141
PLACE OF BIRTH Al-Ruhā (Edessa)
DATE OF DEATH 1215
PLACE OF DEATH Ḥarrān

BIOGRAPHY

Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ruhāwī would have known about Christianity from his earliest years, and may well have known some Christians closely. His home town of al-Ruhā had retained a substantial Christian population through all the centuries of Muslim rule, and its churches were a feature that travelers noted with admiration. Since 1098 it had been the crusader county of Edessa, though in 1144 it was taken by ‘Imād al-Dīn Abū Muẓaffar Zangī, and remained in Muslim hands from that time; in 1182 it came into the hands of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.

Abū Muḥammad was a Ḥanbalī who distinguished himself as an expert on Hadiths, and is known to have travelled widely in search of them, visiting Iraq, Persia, Syria and Egypt. He died in his native locality.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, 19 vols, Beirut, 1997, xvi, pp. 102-5
Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, 4 vols, Hyderabad, 1909, iv, pp. 174-75
Ibn Kathīr, *Kitāb al-bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, xiii, p. 69
Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*, pp. 273-74
Ibn ‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 8 vols, Cairo, 1931-32, v, pp. 50-51

Secondary —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Radd al-Naṣārā, ‘Refutation of the Christians’

DATE Unknown; before 1215
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work is mentioned by Ḥajjī Khalifa (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. G. Flügel, *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum*, 7 vols, London, 1835-58, iii, p. 353), though not by any earlier biographer. It has not survived, and its contents cannot be known.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is not possible to say with any certainty what the significance of the work was.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

David Thomas

Ibn Jubayr

Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Jubayr

DATE OF BIRTH 1145
PLACE OF BIRTH Valencia
DATE OF DEATH 29 November 1217
PLACE OF DEATH Alexandria

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn Jubayr was born in Valencia to a father who was a civil servant in the town, and into a family that had come to al-Andalus in 740, only a few years after the Islamic conquest. He gained an education in religious studies and *adab*, before himself becoming a civil servant in the court of Granada. It was here that his travels began: after he was urged to drink wine by the governor, he was recompensed for it by the now remorseful ruler and he decided to use the money he had been given to go on *ḥajj*, thus expiating his sin.

Most of what is known about Ibn Jubayr comes through his *Riḥla* (see below), though he also made another trip east from 1189 to 1191, but did not leave an account of this. He left al-Andalus permanently for Alexandria in 1217 in order to teach, but died soon after arriving.

As well as the *Riḥla*, he wrote several poems, whose subjects included his approach to the city of Medina, and a complaint to Saladin over the taxes pilgrims were charged in Egypt.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla* (for editions see below)

Ibn al-Abbār, *Kitāb al-takmila li-kitāb al-Ṣila*, ed. I.A. al-Ḥusayni, 2 vols, Cairo, 1955-56, i, pp. 312-13

Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Kitāb al-iḥāṭa fī akhbār al-Ghārnāṭa*, ed. M. ʿInān, 4 vols, Cairo, 1973, vol. ii, p. 237

Secondary

See Studies below

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Rihla, 'Travels'

DATE Sometime between 1185 and 1217

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Ibn Jubayr's *Rihla* details the *hajj* and subsequent travels he undertook from his Andalusian homeland in 1183-85. His route took him from Granada to Ceuta, and thence by ship to Sardinia and Alexandria. Once there, he travelled south through Egypt to the pilgrim port of Aydhab on the Red Sea, and from there crossed to Mecca, where he performed the obligatory devotions. He did not then go straight back to al-Andalus, but instead journeyed across the Arabian desert with the pilgrims who were returning to Iraq and further east, and this took him to Kūfa and al-Ḥilla. From there, he moved on to Baghdad before travelling north and then west through the Fertile Crescent into Syria, passing through Mosul, Aleppo, and Damascus, before entering the crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. He was detained here for several weeks by bad weather before being able to board a Frankish vessel to take him back to Spain, via Zante, Sicily and Sardinia.

On such a journey, which took in areas where Christians were in power and ruling over Muslims, such as Sicily and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and where Christians lived under Muslim rule, such as Egypt, there was plenty of opportunity for interaction with and assessment of Christians, and his record provides interesting insights into Christian-Muslim relations in these areas during the period.

In Sardinia, Ibn Jubayr describes how a Muslim merchant who knew an unidentified European language accompanied the Franks to the market for supplies, and he saw Muslim prisoners who had been taken in plundering raids on coastal regions. When recounting his stay in Alexandria, he relates how he saw the public parading of a group of Frankish prisoners before they were executed, and gives an account of how they had been taken: under the leadership of Reynald of Chatillon, they had entered the Red Sea and attacked ports and pilgrim shipping along the coasts, before allegedly making for Mecca and Medina for an assault on those cities, being stopped just a day before they reached their target.

But it is his account of life in the Kingdom of Jerusalem that has engaged scholars of Christian-Muslim relations, for he gives a detailed description of life on an everyday level, which is rarely found in other

accounts. He describes how Christians living around Mt Lebanon bring food to Muslim ascetics and praise the Muslims' devotion to God. He contrasts the fighting at Kerak between the Muslim and Frankish armies with the trade that continues between the two sides despite the conflict, as merchants from both sides are able to freely pass through each others' battle lines. He also highlights conditions for Muslims living within the Latin kingdom, saying that they have to pay a tax that gives them security, and that Christians and Muslims are treated equally. The ordinary people, it seems, get on with their lives as normal while the soldiers fight around them. At the town of Banyas, Ibn Jubayr notes that there is a valley cultivated jointly by Franks and Muslims, with a recognized boundary between them across which the animals from each side can mingle freely without any trouble being caused. In Tibnīn, he finds more Muslims living comfortably with the Franks in exchange for half their crops and a poll tax; they retain full possession of their houses and belongings, and this situation, he writes, is the norm across the crusader states.

He describes the crusader port of Acre in some detail – though he often calls on God to destroy it – claiming it resembles Constantinople for greatness, and is full of Christian and Muslim merchants from many different places. However, he finds it filthy, being full of rubbish and excrement, a nest of unbelief, with pigs (i.e. Christians) and crosses everywhere. He laments its loss from Islam and the mosques that have been turned into churches, but does acknowledge that one mosque is kept in use for the Muslim merchant population. To the east of Acre, he mentions, is the spring of 'Ayn al-Baqar, where there is a place of worship where members of both religions pray side by side, and the Christians have, he states, maintained its venerable character.

Next, Ibn Jubayr came to Tyre whose inhabitants, he claims, are kinder to Muslims and 'less stubborn in their unbelief' (Broadhurst, p. 319) than those of Acre, and the situation of the Muslims in the town is more peaceful. Here, he sees a Frankish wedding procession, and admires its spectacle and the beauty of the bride, before adding, 'God protect us from the seduction of the sight' (Broadhurst, p. 320). In Tyre, he spent some time with the Muslim elders, who told him how the Muslims had been driven out of the town by the Franks when it was captured in 1124, but had returned soon after as they missed their former home. Ibn Jubayr also tells the story of a Muslim merchant who converted to Christianity and became a monk.

Upon leaving the Levant, Ibn Jubayr went back to Spain via Sicily, whose king, William, paid the Muslims' landing taxes as they were too

poor to pay them themselves, which Ibn Jubayr thought strange. In Sicily, at Messina, he describes the city as he found it, again full of unbelief, filthy, and with crosses and luxuries everywhere. In Sicily, as in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Ibn Jubayr finds the Muslims living comfortably, even amicably, with the Christians, and describes the Christian women as following the fashion of Muslim women. Muslims do, whoever, have to pay a tax twice a year, and they keep to their own suburbs. He writes that some Christians he encountered along the way initiated greetings with Muslims and treated them with great courtesy, for which the Christians are criticized for attempting to seduce the Muslims. Muslims on the island live in towns, such as Palermo, Cefalu and Termini, as well as being scattered across the rural farming community, and there are mosques in the towns for them. He comments that King William is just in conduct, employs Muslims in his retinue and allows them to perform their devotions when in attendance on him, and that his palace is luxurious. However, he later hears stories of Muslims being badly treated by Christians in Sicily, some being forced to convert, and others converting for personal gain or protection, while they all are under duress because of the Christian rule of the island. Interesting, too, are his comments that the architecture of Sicilian towns is similar to that of Cordova.

His attitude to all he describes can be summed up by his comment that 'the state of these countries . . . is truly more astonishing than our story can fully convey', and he certainly does not appreciate the fairly good state of relations he encounters. He calls the king of Jerusalem, Baldwin IV, 'the pig', and says that his leprosy is the result of being cursed by God, while his mother is referred to as 'the sow'. He is critical of the situation as he found it in Tibnān, where he claims the population have been seduced by comfort, while their fellow-Muslims in Muslim-controlled territory do not have so easy a life: 'the Muslim community bewails the injustice of a landlord of its own faith, and applauds the conduct of its opponent and enemy, the Frankish landlord, from whom it is accustomed to justice' (Broadhurst, p. 317). He concludes by suggesting taking comfort in God, and claiming that these circumstances are just a trial. Finally, his attitude to the whole situation is very critical of the Muslims living in the crusader states; he states that 'there can be no excuse in the eyes of God for a Muslim to stay in any infidel country, save for passing through it, while the way lies clear in Muslim lands' (Broadhurst, pp. 321-22). For the Muslims of Sicily, especially those in the employ of the king, he asks that they will be protected from the seduction of luxuries and that the power of the king should be curbed, for the sake of all Muslims.

The *Rihla* was enormously popular, and lasted through the centuries – possibly as it was one of the first of its genre – being copied verbatim by other Muslim writers, such as the 14th-century traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and the 15th-century historian al-Maqrīzī.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Travels* simultaneously tell of two aspects of Christian-Muslim relations in the years around 1200. First, they describe interactions between the two groups from a Muslim viewpoint in a situation where Muslims are living under Christian rule, which is a perspective not often recorded. Second, they demonstrate the attitude of the writer to this state of affairs, which gives a window onto the views of an administrator with a religious education from another part of the Islamic world, one whose existence was under threat from Christian powers.

Despite its interesting subject matter, one must be careful when using the material. It is a travel narrative with all the potential pitfalls of that genre: it was written as much for entertainment as for instruction, and it deals with a very specific, short period of no more than a few months. Thus, it needs to be used with caution, and has not always been so.

MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Leiden, University Library – 736 (1470-71; this manuscript has formed the basis of most editions)
- MS Fez, Qarawiyyin University – 4725 (14th-15th century; this was used with the Leiden text by Gaudefroy-Demombynes in his edition)
- MS Rabat, Al-Maktaba al-‘Āmma – 383 (undated)
- MS Rabat, Al-Maktaba al-Malakiyya – 585 (undated)
- MS Rabat, Bibliothèque Générale (Sīdī Ḥamza, Maktabat al-Zāwiya al-Ḥamziyya) – 63 (undated)

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- H. Naṣṣār (ed.), *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr fī Miṣr wa-bilād al-‘Arab wa-l-‘Irāq wa-l-Shām wa-Ṣiḡilliyya ‘aṣr al-ḥurūb al-ṣalībīyya*, Cairo, 1992
- P. Atābakī (ed.), *Safarnāmah-i Ibn Jubayr*, Mashhad, 1991-92 (Persian trans.)
- F.M. Salgado, *A través del Oriente. El siglo XII ante los ojos*, Barcelona, 1988 (Spanish trans.)
- R. Günther, *Tagebuch eines Mekkapilgers*, Stuttgart, 1985 (German trans.)
- Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr*, unknown editor, Beirut, 1984
- R.J.C. Broadhurst, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, London, 1952 (trans.)

- M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes et al. (eds), *Ibn Jubair. Voyages*, 4 vols, Paris, 1949-65
- M.J. de Goeje (ed.), *The Travels of Ibn Jubair*, Leiden, 1907 (revision of Wright's edition)
- C. Schiaparelli, *Ibn Ġubayr. Viaggio in Ispagna, Sicilia, Siria e Palestina, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Egitto*, Rome, 1906 (Italian trans.)
- W. Wright (ed.), *The Travels of Ibn Jubair*, Leiden, 1852 (revised De Goeje)

There have been numerous other partial translations.

STUDIES

- T. Khalaf, *Waṣf Filasṭīn ayyām al-ḥurūb al-ṣalībiyya. Usāma ibn Munqidh, al-Diyā' al-Maqdisī, Ibn Jubayr*, Damascus, 2010
- I.R. Netton, *Islamic and Middle Eastern geographers and travellers*, 4 vols, London, 2008, ii [Ibn Jubayr]
- D.M. Donaldson, 'Ibn Jubayr's visit to al-Medina', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 50 (1930) 26-42 (repr. in F. Sezgin [ed.], *The Great Mosque of the Prophet in Medina [al-ḥaram al-Madani]. Texts and studies*, Frankfurt am Main, 2007, 34-50)
- C.E. Bosworth, 'Studies on the Jazīra II. Dunaysir and its history', *Acta Orientalia* 59 (2006) 1-10
- N. Guglielmi, 'Miradas de viajeros sobre Oriente (siglos XII-XIV)', in D. Coulon et al. (eds), *Chemins d'Outre-Mer. Etudes d'histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, Paris, 2004, 425-37
- I. Shams al-Dīn, *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr: wa-hiya al-risāla al-ma'rūfa taḥt ism I'tibār al-nāsik fī dhikr al-āthār al-karīma wa-al-manāsik*, Beirut, 2003
- R. Ellenblum, 'Were there borders and borderlines in the Middle Ages? The example of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem', in D. Abulafia and N. Berend (eds), *Medieval frontiers. Concepts and practices*, Aldershot UK, 2002, 105-19
- A.A. Kan'ān, *Tadhkira bi-l-ikhbār 'an ittifāqāt al-asfār, 1182-1185*, Abu Dhabi, 2001
- G. Calasso, 'Les tâches du voyageur. Décrire, mesurer, compter, chez Ibn Jubayr, Nāṣer-e Khosrow et Ibn Baṭṭūṭa', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 73 (1999/2000) 69-104
- H.E. Kassis, 'Images of Europe and Europeans in some medieval Arabic sources', in A.E.C. Canitz and G.R. Wieland (eds), *From Arabye to Engeland. Medieval studies in honour of Mahmoud Manzalaoui on his 75th birthday*, Ottawa, 1999, 9-23

- M. Tolmacheva, 'Female piety and patronage in the medieval *hajj*', in G.R.G. Hambly (ed.), *Women in the medieval Islamic world. Power, patronage, and piety*, New York, 1998, 161-79
- E. Neubauer et al. (eds), *Studies on Ibn Gubair (d. 1217)*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1994
- G. Peyronnet, 'Coexistence islamo-chrétienne en Sicile et au Moyen-Orient à travers le récit de voyage d'Ibn Jubayr voyageur andalou et pèlerin musulman', *Islamochristiana* 19 (1993) 55-73
- I.R. Netton, 'Basic structures and signs of alienation in the *Rihla* of Ibn Jubayr', *Journal of Arabic Literature* 22 (1991) 21-37
- I. Netton, 'Ibn Jubayr. Penitent pilgrim and observant traveller', *Ur* 2 (1985) 14-17
- C. Cahen, 'Ibn Jubayr et les maghrébins de Syrie', *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 13-14 (1973) 207-9
- S.A. Bonebakker, 'Three manuscripts of Ibn Jubayr's *Rihla*', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 47 (1972) 235-45
- A. Gateau, 'Quelques observations sur l'intérêt du voyage d'Ibn Jubayr pour l'histoire de la navigation en Méditerranée au XII^e siècle', *Hesperis* 36 (1949) 289-312

Alex Mallett

The disputation of Jirjī the monk

Disciple of Jirjī l-rāhib

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; possibly later 12 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; after 1217
PLACE OF DEATH	Possibly the Monastery of Mār Sim‘ān al-Baḥrī, near Antioch

BIOGRAPHY

A colophon to the debate text treated below states that the one who described the debate was *tilmīdh al-rāhib Jirjī*, a ‘disciple’ of the monk Jirjī, the hero of the debate. The author was therefore (if this statement is to be believed) a Melkite monk of the Monastery of Mār Sim‘ān al-Baḥrī, near Antioch, and a disciple of the monk Jirjī, who at the time of the disputation in 1217 had stepped down from the position of superior of the monastery because of advanced age, but who was still mentally astute and a capable debater.

Another possibility is that the debate text is not a report of an actual debate but rather a free composition by an anonymous author, presumably a Syrian Melkite monk or priest, who might have lived some considerable time after the year in which he imagined the debate as having taken place. We note from the manuscript list below that the earliest securely dated manuscripts of the work date from the 16th century, although some undated manuscripts may be earlier.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

For manuscripts and editions and translations of the debate text, see below.

Secondary —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Waṣf mujādala jarat bayn al-rāhib al-Sim‘ānī wa-bayn thalātha min fuqahā’ al-Muslimīn wa-‘udūlihim ḥaḍrat al-amīr al-mulaqqab bi-l-Mushammar . . . (title in Bāshā’s edition), ‘A description of the disputation that took place between the monk of [the Monastery of] St Simeon and three Muslim legal scholars and their withdrawal, in the presence of the emir called al-Mushammar . . .’;

Muḥāwara jadaliyya fī amr al-dīn jarat bayn al-ab al-jalīl Jirjis al-rāhib min Dayr al-qiddīs Sim‘ān wa-bayn thalāthat anfār min al-Muslimīn wa-‘udūlihim, wa-dhālika bi-ḥaḍrat al-amīr al-mukannā bi-l-Malik al-Mushammar . . . (title in Qar‘alī’s edition), ‘A disputation-conversation on the matter of religion that took place between the reverend father and monk Jirjis from the Monastery of St Simeon and three upright Muslim individuals and their withdrawal, and this in the presence of the emir called al-Malik al-Mushammar . . .’;

Mujādalat Jirjī al-rāhib, ‘The disputation of Jirjī the monk’

DATE Unknown; perhaps 1217 or shortly thereafter

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work is an example of the literary genre that Griffith has called ‘the monk in the emir’s *majlis*’ (Griffith, *The church in the shadow of the mosque*, pp. 77-81). According to the frame story, a delegation of monks from the Monastery of Mār Sim‘ān al-Baḥrī was visiting Aleppo so that

their superior could discuss some matters with the governor, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī ibn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb (in power 1186-1218), son of the famous Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The date is given as 1217. One of the monks in the party was an elderly former superior of the monastery, named Jirjī (or Jirjis). While the superior was carrying on his business with the governor, the governor's younger brother, the emir al-Malik al-Mushammar, engaged Jirjī in a conversation about the monastic life. Soon afterwards, three Muslim scholars arrived, and the conversation turned into a fully-fledged disputation. Jirjī, who was guaranteed security and freedom of speech by the emir, spoke with great frankness and bested the Muslim scholars in the debate, which lasted two days.

The debate (which occupies 115 pages in the 1932 edition of Qusṭanṭīn Bāshā, now available online) covers a wide range of topics; Samir, following Qar'alī, divides the text into 27 sections (see Samir, 'Ġirġī', pp. 300-3), which he then groups into three major parts. Describing these parts as follows, we may discern a rough chiasmic structure in the work:

1. On discerning the true religion, with a discussion of the alleged corruption of the Gospels and the prophetic status of Muḥammad (including a version of the Baḥīrā legend, q.v.);
2. On Christian doctrines: Trinity, Incarnation, redemption (narrated in a lengthy parable as the divine deception of Satan), crucifixion, and the veneration of the cross;
3. On discerning the true religion that was established by God (among the four known religions: those of the Sabians, Jews, Muslims, and Christians).

An overarching theme of Jirjī's polemic is that Christianity is the religion that allows one to approach the spiritual God of purity and virtue, whereas Islam gives too much scope to ease of life and worldly passions and pleasures. Throughout the debate, Jirjī claims to be arguing solely from the Muslims' own book, the Qur'an. He also makes rich use of sometimes elaborate analogies and parables (see Roggema, 'King parables').

As in several debate texts of this kind, towards the end an ordeal is proposed. One of the Muslim participants proposes that the truth be ascertained by lot (in which, the reader is given to understand, some trickery was planned); in response, Jirjī offers a mutual trial-by-fire or trial-by-water, which his interlocutors do not take up, although the latter offer leads to a discussion of baptism. Finally, the Muslim doctors excuse themselves, but first one of them sings the praises of the Ḥijāz and invites the monk to accompany them on pilgrimage – an offer that the monk declines. The monk is then dismissed with honor by the emir,

who throughout the debate has played a supportive role, cheering the monk on and providing guarantees of his safety and freedom to speak frankly. At the text's close, the emir invites the monk to make any request that he pleases; the monk finally accepts a gift of fish for the monastery and a mule.

As is frequently the case with texts of this genre, it is difficult to judge its historicity. Do we have here a report (probably somewhat polished) of an actual debate, written up shortly afterwards by the victor's disciple? Or is the text an imaginary composition, inspired by earlier examples of the genre, written both to entertain and to reassure Christians that their faith was true and could readily be vindicated in fair debate? Samir leans to the former possibility, pointing out that the historical and geographical indications contained in the text (e.g., the identity of the emir or of the monk's monastery) appear to be precise and cannot be described as banalities or common knowledge.

A decision in such matters is at present difficult given the fact that the research of the past 75 years has paid little attention to this disputation text, despite the immense popularity it once enjoyed. Scholars without access to manuscript copies of the work have had to use the uncritical editions of 1932, an English translation of 1816, or a French translation of 1767.

SIGNIFICANCE

The disputation of Jirjī the monk was once among the most popular Arabic Christian texts among the Christians of Syria-Lebanon, to judge from the huge number of manuscript copies from the 16th through 19th centuries. It is interesting for the study of Christian apologetic use of the Qur'an and of the apologetic use of analogies and parables. Because this text so clearly played a major role in encouraging Christians and assuring them of the truth of their faith, over against Islamic challenges, it deserves more attention than it has recently been receiving, including a good working edition and a careful study.

MANUSCRIPTS

Graf (*GCAL* ii, p. 81) lists 63 MSS, to which Nasrallah (*HMLEM* iii.1, p. 256) adds 35 (and not '355' as printed; there is also a self-correction in n. 100: MS Sinai Ar. 556 does *not* contain this text). The resulting list may be compared with that of Samir ('Ġirġī', pp. 304-7), where there is a list of 89 MSS arranged according to the region where they are presently found: 24 in the West, 33 in Lebanon, 27 in Aleppo, 4 in Cairo, and 1 in Jerusalem.

The published lists of Graf-Nasrallah and Samir can be expanded: the text had great popularity, and new copies are regularly found as Middle Eastern manuscript collections become better known. Samir can now add the following MSS to the already-published lists:

- MS Cairo, Franciscan Centre of Christian Oriental Studies – 84 (18th century)
- MS Beirut, Near East School of Theology – AO-50 (1835-36)
- MS Aleppo, Collection of Mehran Minassian (19th century)
- MSS Aleppo, Maronite Archbishopric – 227 (garshūnī), 228 (garshūnī), 1076, 1112, 1182 (the first two were mentioned in Samir's published list as numbers 27 and 28)
- MSS Damascus, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – 44, 75, 181, 200, 340, 443 (Nasrallah listed two MSS numbered 1806 and 1616)

Little has been done to identify those MSS that would be the most important for a critical edition. Bacha has claimed that a MS of 1539, not identified further, was the 'oldest and most correct' that he knew (Bāshā, *Mujādala*, p. 6). Here are simply listed those MSS which, according to the published lists, can be dated to before the year 1600.

- MS Saïda, Couvent Saint-Sauveur, Lebanon – Haddad Cat. 1459 (13th century? – see Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.1, p. 256)
- MS Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek – Ar. 2882, fols 43r-44v (14th century; only the beginning of the text)
- MS Beirut, Université St-Joseph, Bibliothèque Orientale – 673, pp. 1-142 (15th century)
- MS of 1539 referred to in Bāshā, *Mujādala*, p. 6; perhaps in Bāshā's personal possession? (see Cheikho, *Catalogue*, p. 117)
- MS Beirut, Université St-Joseph, Bibliothèque Orientale – 678, pp. 1-90 (1566)
- MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 186 (1585)
- MS Vat – 504 (1589; this and the previous MS were written by the same scribe, the priest Īwānīs)
- MS Vat – Ar. 99, fols 53v-76v (1591)
- MS Beirut, Université St-Joseph, Bibliothèque Orientale – 679 (16th century)
- MS Ghūstā, Lebanon, Dayr al-Kuraym – 38 (16th century)
- MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine – Ar. 625, fols 1-68 (16th century; incomplete at the beginning)
- MS Vat – Ar. 146 (16th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Būlus Qar'alī [= P. Carali], *Al-Naṣrāniyya wa-l-Islām. Difā' mansūb ilā l-āb Jirjis rāhib Dayr Mār Sim'an al-Baḥrī amām al-amīr al-Zāfir al-mulaqqab bi-l-Malik al-Mushammar ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, 1207 m* (= *Le christianisme et l'islam. Controverse attribuée au moine Georges du Couvent de St Siméon (Séleucie) soutenue devant le Prince El-Mouchammar fils de Saladin en 1207*), Beit Chebab, Lebanon, 1933 (corrected and expanded version of Qar'alī's earlier publication, published independently)

Būlus Qar'alī [= P. Carali], 'Al-Naṣrāniyya wa-l-Islām. Difā' mansūb ilā l-āb Jirjis rāhib Dayr Mār Sim'an al-Baḥrī amām al-amīr al-Zāfir al-mulaqqab bi-l-Malik al-Mushammar ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, 1207 m', *Al-Majalla l-Sūriyya* 6 (1932) 503-44, 593-688

[Qusṭanṭīn Bāshā = C. Bacha], *Mujādalat al-anbā Jirjī l-rāhib al-Sim'anī ma' thalāthat shuyūkh min fuqahā' al-Muslimīn bi-ḥaḍrat al-amīr Mushammar al-Ayyūbī*, Beirut, [1932]; available online at 'Islamic manuscripts reference library', <http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/reference/index.html>

A. Nicoll, 'Account of a disputation between a Christian monk and three learned Mohammedans, on the subject of religion', *Edinburgh Annual Register* 9 (1816) 405-42 (English trans. made *currente calamo* from MSS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Marsh. 512 and 581; available online)

[St-A.] Legrand, *Controverse sur la religion chrétienne et celle des Mahométans, entre trois docteurs musulmans et un religieux de la nation maronite*, Paris, 1767 (available online)

STUDIES

B. Roggema, *The legend of Sergius Baḥirā. Eastern Christian apologetics and apocalyptic in response to Islam (History of Christian-Muslim Relations 9)*, Leiden, 2009, pp. 161-64 (on the use of the Baḥirā legend in the text)

S.H. Griffith, *The church in the shadow of the mosque*, Princeton NJ, 2008, pp. 77-81 (on the literary genre, with a very brief mention of 'The disputation of Jirjī' at p. 80)

B. Roggema, 'Hikāyāt amthāl wa asmār... King parables in Melkite apologetic literature', in R. Ebied and H. Teule (eds), *Studies on the Christian Arabic heritage (Eastern Christian Studies 5)*, Leuven, 2004, 113-31

[S.]K. Samir, art. 'Jirjī al-Sim'anī', in *CE*

- Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.1, pp. 254-56
- S.H. Griffith, 'The monk in the emir's *majlis*. Reflections on a popular genre of Christian literary apologetics in Arabic in the early Islamic period', in H. Lazarus-Yafeh et al. (eds), *The majlis. Interreligious encounters in medieval Islam*, Wiesbaden, 1999, 13-65, pp. 53-60 (helpful summary of the text)
- [S.]K. Samir, 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 7 (1981) 299-307
- J. Nasrallah, 'Couvents de la Syrie du Nord portant le nom de Siméon', *Syria* 49 (1972) 127-59, pp. 144-46
- Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 79-81
- G. Graf, review of Qar'alī, *Al-Naṣrāniyya wa-l-Islām*, *Oriens Christianus* 31 (1934) 272-75
- Qar'alī, *Al-Naṣrāniyya wa-l-Islām*, pp. 9-34, 66-67, 102-4
- L. Cheikho, *Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes chrétiens depuis l'islam*, Beirut, 1924, pp. 82-83 (no. 291), 116-17 (no. 417)
- Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, pp. 87-89 (no. 70)

Mark N. Swanson

Muṣṭafā l-Mulk Abū Yūsuf

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; perhaps 12 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; perhaps Egypt
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; perhaps 12 th or early 13 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; perhaps Egypt

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about the author of a brief extract in ch. 19 of al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assāl's famous theological compendium *Majmū' usūl al-dīn* apart from what can be gathered there. His honorific (*laqab*) *Muṣṭafā l-Mulk* ('the chosen of the reign') is typical of Copts of the secretarial class. Al-Mu'taman speaks highly of him, giving him the title *shaykh* and commenting that he had quoted this brilliantly fine passage (*lum'a laṭīfa*) in order 'to renew his memory' and 'that he might be shown mercy'. We are thus led to think of a highly-educated Copt who had passed from the scene some time before al-Mu'taman compiled his *Majmū' usūl al-dīn* (sometime after 1260).

Muṣṭafā l-Mulk's description of the Trinity is dependent upon those of Yahyā ibn 'Adī (d. 974 [q.v.]) and later 'Abdallāh ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 1043 [q.v.]). He therefore was active sometime between the 11th and 13th centuries, although we have little more to help us specify the time of his literary activity. Samir's suggestion that Muṣṭafā l-Mulk may have been a civil servant in the Ayyūbid administration towards the end of the 12th century (or the beginning of the 13th; Samir, 'Muṣṭafā l-Mulk', p. 238; 'Addenda et corrigenda', p. 311) is plausible, but by no means certain.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

For editions of the preserved paragraphs from Muṣṭafā l-Mulk's treatise, see below.

Secondary

[S].K. Samir, art. 'Muṣṭafā l-Mulk Abū Yūsuf', in 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976) 238-39; 'Addenda et corrigenda', *Islamochristiana* 5 (1979) 311

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Unknown; *Fī uṣūl al-dīn al-masīhī*, 'On the fundamentals of the Christian religion'DATE Late 12th or early 13th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

We are not certain of the original title of the work from which al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assāl extracted a couple of pages in his *Majmū' uṣūl al-dīn*; al-Mu'taman speaks of Muṣṭafā l-Mulk's discourse *fī kitābihi alladhī ṣanaḥahu fī uṣūl al-dīn al-masīhī*, 'in his book which he composed on the fundamentals of the Christian religion', where it is not clear whether 'on the fundamentals of the Christian religion' is a title or merely a description.

The preserved passage has to do with the triunity of God. First, Muṣṭafā l-Mulk defines what Christians mean by saying that God is one *jawhar*. This does not imply that God is corporeal (a body or *jism*), nor does the affirmation that the *jawhar* of God is not a *jism* imply any deficiency in God. Rather, God's *jawhar* is nobler than (*ashraf min*) corporeal *jawāhir*, being spiritual (*rūḥāniyya*) and simple (*basīṭa*).

The God who is one *jawhar* has no more and no fewer than three hypostases (*aqānīm*), which are explained in terms of characteristics (*khawāṣṣ*) or attributes (*ṣifāt*) belonging to God alone. For Muṣṭafā l-Mulk, the incontrovertible fact that God is Knowing (*'ālim*) implies that God possesses Knowledge (*'ilm*); and since God knows his own essence/self (*dhātahu*), his own essence/self is Known (*ma'lūm*). Muṣṭafā l-Mulk goes on to comment that this triad, *'ālim-ilm-ma'lūm* (which, we might add, had been developed earlier by 'Abdāllah ibn al-Ṭayyib), is no different from the triad *'āqil-ʿaql-ma'qūl* (as developed by Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī).

SIGNIFICANCE

The brief paragraphs from Muṣṭafā l-Mulk bear witness to the continuing effort by Christians to explain their doctrine of God's triunity in the context of Christian-Muslim encounter. Both the explanation of what *jawhar* means in specifically Christian theological usage, as well as the explanation of the Trinity in terms of a triad derived from an analysis of God as Intellect or of the divine Knowledge, are typical of their time and motivated by the questions raised by Muslims.

MANUSCRIPTS

For a full list of manuscripts of the *Majmū' uṣūl al-dīn*, see A. Wadi, *Studio su al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assāl* (*Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographiae* 5), Cairo-Jerusalem, 1997, pp. 189-92.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assāl, *Summa dei principi della religione*, ed. A. Wadi, trans. B. Pirone, 6 vols (*Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographiae* 6a-6b, 7a-7b, 8-9), Cairo, 1998-2002, i, ch. 19, §§ 52-57 (critical edition of al-Mu'taman's extract, with Italian trans.)

Samīr Khalīl [Samīr], 'Maqāla li-l-shaykh Muṣṭafā l-Mulk Abī Yūsuf, muqtabasa min kitāb "Majmū' uṣūl al-dīn" l-Ibn al-'Assāl', *Risālat al-Kanīsa* 9 (1977) 73-78 (edition on the basis of Paris Ar. 200, Paris Ar. 201, and Vat. Ar. 103)

Kitāb silk al-fuṣūl fī mukhtaṣar al-Uṣūl, ta'līf al-shaykh Ishāq ibn al-'Assāl, Minya, 1900, p. 92

STUDIES

R. Haddad, *La Trinité divine chez les théologiens arabes (750-1050)*, Paris, 1985, pp. 77, 155, 192

Samir, 'Bibliographie'

Samīr, 'Maqāla'

Graf, *GCAL* ii, 284 (where the author is incorrectly called 'Muṣṭafa l-Malik' and listed among the Syrian Orthodox 'Jacobites')

Mark N. Swanson

Ibn Ṣāhib al-Ṣalāt

Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad
ibn Aḥmad al-Bāji

DATE OF BIRTH Between 1126 and 1136
PLACE OF BIRTH Beja
DATE OF DEATH After 1198
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

As his *nisba* al-Bāji reveals, this Andalusī historian, secretary (*kātib*) and poet was born in Beja in the Portuguese province of the Algarve. Most of the information about his life comes from his own chronicle, *Al-mann bi-l-imāma*. From this, it can be known that he was at first reluctant to accept the rule of the Almohads, because he did not at first respond when he was called into their service in 1162, though some months later he had travelled to Cordova. In 1165, he was learning Almohad forms of Islam from the Seville *faqīh* Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn al-Ishbīlī and Abū ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Amīra. In 1167, he was working for the governor of Granada, and travelling throughout al-Andalus and the Maghreb. The last important event he mentions was the completion in 1198 of the minaret of the Great Mosque of Seville (the ‘Giralda’), after which nothing more is known about him.

As well as his chronicle, Ibn Ṣāhib also composed the *Thawrat al-murīdīn* (‘The revolt of the initiated’), now lost, in which he related the uprisings of the followers of the Almohads in al-Andalus against the declining Almoravid dynasty.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Ibn al-Abbār, *Al-takmila li-kitāb al-Ṣila*, ed. F. Codera y Zaidín, 2 vols, Madrid, 1887-89, i, p. 620

Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, *Al-dhayl wa-l-takmila li-kitābay al-Mawṣūl wa-l-Ṣila*, ed. I. ‘Abbās, 3 vols, Beirut, 1964, i, p. 32

Secondary

- L.G. Jones, ‘“El compañero cristiano”. Un tropo retórico en la narración del conflicto intra-musulmán en la época almohade’, *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 38 (2008) 793-829
- V.C. Navarro Oltra, art. ‘Ibn Ṣāḥīb al-Ṣalāt al-Bāyī, ‘Abd al-Malik’, in *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*
- M.J. Viguera, ‘Narrar la violencia. Pasajes de la crónica de Ibn Ṣāḥīb al-Ṣalāt sobre los almohades’, in M. Fierro (ed.), *De muerte violenta. Política, religión y violencia en Al-Andalus*, Madrid, 2004, 301-19
- M. Penelas and J. Zanón, ‘Nómina de ulemas andalusíes de época almohade’, in M. Fierro and M.L. Ávila (eds), *Biografías almohades I*, Madrid, 1999, 11-222, p. 91
- M.J. Viguera, ‘Historiografía’, in M.J. Viguera (ed.), *El retroceso territorial de al-Andalus. Almorávides y almohades. Siglos XI al XIII (Historia de España Menéndez Pidal, 8/2)*, Madrid, 1997, 1-37, p. 10
- J.F.P. Hopkins, art. ‘Ibn Ṣāḥīb al-Ṣalāt’, in *El2*
- M.‘A.A. ‘Inān, ‘*Aṣr al-murābiṭīn wa-l-muwāḥḥidīn fī l-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1964, i, pp. 7-10

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-mann bi-l-imāma ‘alā l-mustaḍ‘afīn bi-an ja‘alahum Allāh a’imma wa-ja‘alahum al-wāriṭhīn wa-ḡuhūr al-imām Mahdī al-muwāḥḥidīn,
 ‘The bestowal of leadership on the oppressed because God has made them leaders and has made them inheritors, and the appearance of the Leader Mahdī of the Almohads’; *Al-mann bi-l-imāma,* ‘The bestowal of leadership’

DATE Unknown; between the latter 12th century and early 13th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work was conceived in three parts, only the second of which is extant. The first part related events from the start of the Almohad movement to the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Mu’min (d. 1163), the second covers the years 1159-73, together with some later details such as the completion of the minaret of the Great Mosque of Seville, and the third probably went

up to the rule of al-Manṣūr (1184-99), according to Huici Miranda, and was used by later historians.

The work stands out as one of the most important sources for events in the Almohad period, as they were recorded by a contemporary chronicler who witnessed some of them personally. However, since it is an apology, its impartiality is sometimes questionable. In this respect, it tends to portray all opponents of the Almohads negatively, whether ‘hypocrite warriors’ (*al-munāfiqūn al-muḥāribūn*) or ‘infidels’ (*al-kāfirūn*), and it can justify the Almohad struggle as jihad. Thus, for example, Ibn Ṣāḥib makes much of the Almohads’ warfare against the Mozarab Ibn Mardanīsh and his father-in-law, Ibn Hamushk, and of the final ‘entry into *tawḥīd*’ of Ibn Hamushk and Ibn Mardanīsh’s son, Hilāl.

SIGNIFICANCE

As Jones says, Ibn Ṣāḥib constructs ‘binary oppositions, contrasting the legitimacy of the Almohads with the illegitimacy of their enemies’, among them the ‘Christian companions’ of the Andalusī rebels. He shows no hesitation in casting Christians in the worst light.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Marsh 433 (undated)

MS Rabat, Al-Maktaba l-Waṭaniyya – 2649 *dhāl* (a copy of MS Oxford)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Al-mann bi-l-imāma, ed. ‘A.H. al-Tāzī, Beirut, 1964, 1979², 1987³; also Baghdad, 1979 (with a preliminary study)

A. Huici Miranda, *Al-mann bil imāma. Estudio preliminar, traducción e índices*, Valencia, 1969 (Spanish trans. omitting the poetry)

STUDIES

Jones, ‘“El compañero cristiano”’

Navarro Oltra, art. ‘Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt al-Bāyī, ‘Abd al-Malik’

Viguera, ‘Narrar la violencia’

M. Fierro, ‘El título de la crónica almohade de Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt’,

Al-Qanṭara 24 (2003) 291-93

Penelas and Zanón, ‘Nómina de ulemas andalusíes de época almohade’

Viguera, ‘Historiografía’

Hopkins, art. ‘Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt’

Al-Tāzī (ed.), *Al-mann bi-l-imāma*, ‘preliminary study’

Miranda (ed.), *Al-mann bil imāma*, pp. 5-8

‘Inān, *‘Aṣr al-murābiṭīn wa-l-muwāḥḥidīn*

Khulāṣat al-naẓar

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	Early or mid-13 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The only information about this author comes from the *Khulāṣat al-naẓar* itself. As its editors Schmidtke and Ansari point out (*Khulāṣat*, pp. xi-xv), he mentions a number of earlier theologians, the latest being Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī (d. after 1204) (q.v.), and while there is strong evidence of the influence of the Muʿtazilī Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 1044) (q.v.), there is no sign of later influences, such as Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭuṣī (d. 1274) and other later 13th-century Shīʿīs, whose works show the influence of philosophical terminology and method. So it is likely that he was writing around or just after 1200.

He was clearly an Imāmī Shīʿī, though while he came under Muʿtazilī influence, this may have been through other Imāmīs such as al-Ḥimmaṣī rather than through personal interest.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary —

Secondary

Khulāṣat al-naẓar, ed. S. Schmidtke and Ḥ. Ansari, Tehran: Muʿassasa-ʿi Pizhūhishī-i Ḥikmat va Falsafa-ʿi Īrān, 2006, introduction, pp. xv-xvii

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Khulāṣat al-naẓar, 'Abridgement of speculative theology'

DATE Unknown; early 13th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Khulāṣat al-naẓar is a work of systematic theology. As its title indicates, it is a digest of much longer theological works such as ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s voluminous *Mughnī* and *Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf* (q.v.), which its structure and contents clearly, and sometimes directly, recall, and in all likelihood more directly of the lost works of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. Closer study will no doubt show how it preserves the outlines of Mu‘tazilī thinking as it continued to develop in the period from the 10th century and was adapted for the needs of Shī‘ī apologetic and reasoning.

The brief one-and-a-half-page refutation of Christianity, pp. 65-66, is positioned towards the end of the first major division of the work, which is on the existence and character of God (the next is on God’s justice, the second Mu‘tazilī principle). After completing the proof that God is one, the author proceeds to refute the ideas of groups whose beliefs contradict this: dualists, Zoroastrians, Christians and Zoroastrian sub-groups. This pattern corresponds exactly to the works of ‘Abd al-Jabbār and other earlier systematic treatises.

The refutation begins with a brief exposition of Christian beliefs about the act of uniting between the divine and human in Christ and the Trinity (betraying some confusion when, for example, it says the Nestorians hold that the uniting involved ‘the Father, the Son and the Word’), and it proceeds to show that since the many cannot become one this must be contradictory, even when it is explained as inherence or adjacency.

The refutation goes on to rebut uniting as transformation of natures or concurrence of wills (‘because Christ willed such things as eating, drinking, sleeping and so on, which are inconceivable for the Creator’). And it finally demonstrates that Jesus could not have been the son of God in reality because sonship entails biological relationship (‘relationship with the man who engenders him in his bed and creates him from his fluid’; cf. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Mughnī*, ed. D. Thomas, *Christian doctrines in Islamic theology*, Leiden, 2008, p. 289). Nor could it be understood metaphorically, or as honoring and glorifying, because such forms of relationship with God are true for other prophets as well as Jesus. This last argument summarizes a rejection of a Christian explanation of the act of uniting as adoption of Christ by God that appears in a succession of Muslim works from the time of Ibrāhīm al-Nazzām (q.v.) in the early 9th century.

SIGNIFICANCE

This refutation, from both its contents and its position in the overall argument of *Khulāṣat al-naẓar*, clearly continues the tradition of Mu‘tazilī

works from at least the 10th century, though it summarizes their arguments so severely (less than two pages compared with 75 in the *Mughnī*, for example) that the untutored reader might find it impenetrable.

The confusions in the text, often between the act of uniting and the Trinity (assuming they have not crept in through the course of transmission), reveal that the author had no direct information from Christians themselves. On the contrary, he includes the refutation because it is a traditional element in the structure of theology, where it functions as part of an elaborate proof that the Islamic perception of God is the one logical possibility because all alternatives are demonstrably incoherent.

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MS BNF – Arabe 1252 (13th century)

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STUDIES —

David Thomas

Ambroise

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; possibly Normandy
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The only source of information about the author of *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte* is the work itself, and even there only a few details are given: the name Ambroise, which appears seven times, and frequent comments in the course of the story, in the third person singular (the usual practice in historiographical narratives) and the first person singular or plural. It has been suggested (though without convincing support) that Ambroise could be the Ambrosius, 'a singing man in the royal chapel' (Jamison, 'The Sicilian Norman kingdom', repr. 1992, p. 182), who is mentioned in the *Rotuli de liberate* on 10 October 1200 in the company of Eustache the chaplain at the second coronation of King John.

In the *Estoire*, Ambroise appears as an eyewitness of the Third Crusade, in which he participated as a pilgrim accompanying the English army and King Richard I (v. 12039). It has been accepted since the time of Gaston Paris, the first editor of the *Estoire*, and adopted by its most recent editors, Marianne Ailes and Malcolm Barber, that Ambroise is the author and that he wrote his story on his return from the crusade, between 1194 and 1199. However, in addition to the figure of the pilgrim who lived the facts, or witnessed or heard of them, also present in the work is the moralizing chronicler, anxious to tell the truth, who relies on authoritative sources, as well as the author himself (closely linked with the chronicler). The terms 'estoire' and 'letré' (v. 2181), referring to sources, are placed on the same level in the narrative as the figure of Ambroise, as, for example, 'ço conte Ambroise en s'escripture' (v. 4560), 'Ambroise dit, qui fist cest livre' (v. 728), and 'Si velt Ambroises fere entendre/et saveir a cels qui aprandre/Le voldront' (vv. 2401-2). These elements have led some critics to distinguish Ambroise, even when he is presented as an eyewitness (v. 5929), from the author of the *Estoire* as we have it, and to suggest a redaction of the text a few years after the events themselves in the 13th century, when historiographical works

on the crusade were flourishing. In particular, Françoise Vielliard thinks that Ambroise is 'the author, real or fictitious, of a source which is anterior to the *Estoire*' ('Richard Cœur de Lion', p. 12), a source whose form (verse or prose) and language (vernacular or Latin) are unknown.

This uncertainty about the identity of the author also concerns his status. Gaston Paris saw in him a juggler and a professional writer, because of his extremely close acquaintance with the *chansons de geste* and romances, which he lists extensively (vv. 4179-94). Today, critics tend with some justification to identify him as a clerk who narrates the crusade as a chronicler, like the clerk-historiographers, such as Geiffrei Gaimart, Wace or Jordan Fantosme, who were part of the entourages of great Anglo-French warlords. He employs methods in vogue in 12th-century historiography, applying them to the crusade and claiming authenticity for facts seen or heard that confer the necessary authority on his story. Familiar with the culture taught in schools, he shows ease with Latin language and works, as is attested by the account of the history of Acre before Kings Richard and Philippe Auguste arrive there. In a single instance, he also resorts to vernacular literature, when he represents the crusaders (including Jacques of Avesnes and especially Richard the Lionheart) as heroes, and the Saracens as formidable enemies who embody evil (though with some nuances when it comes to Saladin and his brother), in the manner of the *chansons de geste* (v. 2310).

If there is consensus on Ambroise's status as clerk, his geographical origin, though he was obviously attached to King Richard, remains problematic. Gaston Paris has postulated a Norman origin, on the basis of a valuable detail that he was not English ('des terres dont nos de ça somes', v. 64), and also biographical, linguistic and topographical details (the mention of Evreux and Dreux, and of Duens for Douain [v. 3123]). Lists and the identity of Norman knights are probably not sufficient to support the hypothesis of a Norman-French origin, as Françoise Vielliard has shown, but Ambroise's virulent criticism of the French and King Philippe Auguste suggests that he could not have been a native of the Ile de France.

The author is thus surrounded by an aura of mystery. The narrative tends to portray him as an educated clerk of continental origin, learned in the historiographical tradition, but treating a new topic. It also depicts him as a pious pilgrim, who, full of contemporary prejudices against the Saracens, aspires to win Jerusalem alongside a king whom he praises constantly, and is totally committed to the service of a sacred cause.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Estoire de la guerre sainte, 'History of the holy war'

DATE Late 12th or early 13th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old French

DESCRIPTION

L'Estoire de la guerre sainte is a French chronicle written in the form of rhyming octosyllabic couplets. According to the critics, it was composed either in the late 12th century, between 1194 and 1199, or in the early 13th century. It is known from a single manuscript, dating from the second half of the 13th century and bearing Anglo-French features. The difficulty in dating it derives on the one hand from the status of the author – who is Ambroise? – and on the other from the issue of sources. Though *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte* is the first chronicle in French and in octosyllabic verse on the subject, it is far from isolated. Apart from English, French and Arabic chronicles, two other texts should be noted for the similarities they have with the *Estoire*. They are *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum* and *Itinerarium peregrinorum et Gesta regis Ricardi*. The first was written earlier than the *Estoire* and served as a source for certain passages (the situation in Acre before the arrival of Richard and Philippe Auguste), while the second was composed by Richard of the Temple between 1217 and 1222. Some see in this second a translation of the *Estoire* in Latin prose, although it is more developed and informed by other sources. Others speculate that Ambroise is the common source of both texts.

In Gaston Paris' edition, the first and oldest (1897) and the reference edition used here, the text numbers 12,352 verses; in the Ailes and Barber edition, the most recent (2003), it numbers 12,312, missing verses not being counted by reference to their rhyming pair, as in the Gaston Paris edition.

L'Estoire de la guerre sainte recounts the Third Crusade (1188-91) as experienced on the English side under the leadership of Richard I, from the call of Pope Gregory VII and the departure of the French and English armies, to the disastrous return of the king to the West. It describes in

detail all the stages of the journey to the Holy Land, in particular the taking of Cyprus by Richard, the siege of Acre, following a summary of the earlier history of the town, the departure of the king of France, and the march towards Ascalon via Arsur and Jaffa. The story ends with the three-year truce between Saladin and Richard, according to which pilgrims were granted access to Jerusalem. The chronicle is a detailed description of the progress of pilgrims and crusaders to Jerusalem, focusing on the various theatres of activity and the actors taking part, both Muslims and Christians: among these, the author carefully lists the English, French, Italians engaged in trade, the Christians settled in the East (*dhimmīs*), Templars and Hospitallers, and military recruits of various origins (Turks, Brabançons, etc.). It also vividly describes engagements of all kinds: sieges, naval battles, mass and individual combats. It focuses on disputes and rivalries between French and English, and the contest for the crown of Jerusalem between Conrad of Montferrat, supported by Philippe Auguste, and Guy de Lusignan, who enjoys the protection of Richard. The author completes his narrative with an accurate representation of the manner of life of pilgrims and crusaders; he is interested in their material conditions, the food shortages and famines they suffered, the harshness of the climate, diseases, and the constant harassment of the Saracens. He also particularly focuses on their feelings as these alternate between fervor for the idea of treading on the soil of Jerusalem and despair when Richard abandons the quest.

Focussing on the East for the most part, *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte* pointedly reflects relations between Christians and Muslims, variously called 'heathen', 'Saracens' or 'Turks'. The spirit of crusade, which the prologue echoes, explains why the perception of the 'other' is negative from the start and even more full of prejudice than vernacular literature, of which the author is a connoisseur, which already conveyed a negative image very well documented in *chanson de geste* literature. The encounter with the East and the Muslims is thus viewed as confrontation, since the pilgrim/crusader as *miles Christi*, eager to have his sins forgiven, wants to reclaim the Holy Land that has been defiled by the Saracens, and to make his pilgrimage there. Although this is the default attitude, the direct contact that is involved in the enterprise of crusade nevertheless leads the author, who is concerned to say what he has lived, seen and heard, to share with his audience the discoveries that he has made in the field almost by accident. He records his observations on wildlife (camels, dromedaries and crocodiles), plants (the *quaroble*, v. 4362) and the climate, and he uses for the first time Arabic terms as he needs them,

(*carvane*, 'caravan', v. 9948, and *melec*, 'chief', vv. 6832, 7124). He notes in passing the customs and rituals of Muslims, referring to circumcision and the prohibition against eating pork. He enriches his account with lively stories from obscure sources.

Even though he does not fight, the author follows the course of battles closely, comparing the strategies of the Muslims with those of the Christians. These details, worthy of a photographer or a field reporter, are included for the part they play in the narrative rather than with the intention of providing technical information or to confirm existing views of the East as exotic.

The ardent faith of the pilgrim takes precedence over any other consideration, and forms an insurmountable barrier to any objective and disinterested perception of the Muslims. The description of Jerusalem is typical: it is reduced to a fleeting evocation of the holy places visited by pilgrims, with no reference to architectural features, topography or any location, without mentioning the presence of hostile and aggressive Saracens. Similarly with the account of the Assassins: its terse and fragmentary outline of the way the Ismā'īlis, led by the Old Man of the Mountain, killed Conrad of Montferrat by lopping off two of his limbs presents a horrific vision of fanatics who are even more disturbing than the Saracens, and beyond a rational frame of reference. The relation of Christians to Muslims is thus one of rejection from the outset, as is reflected by the literal adoption of epic motifs and clichés. The physical portrait of the Saracens, while this is neutral in *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum*, the source of the *Estoire* at this point in the story, is traceable to the model of the *chansons de geste* through the conventional mention of the usual physical traits, such as black skin, and moral defects, such as deceit and treachery that complement religious excesses. The reported speeches of the Saracens, among them one by Saladin, are repetitions of the conceited and vain remarks of fictional emirs. The battles are similarly indicated by formulas such as 'Le veissiez', or such well attested motifs as inequality in numbers.

These mechanisms of exclusion are strengthened by the depictions of the crusaders as chivalrous heroes and brave Christians, with Richard at their head being praised by the Saracens themselves, which sometimes gives the narrative a sense of being the record of a colorful game. Nevertheless, the author corrects and relativizes any monochrome representation of the Muslims. Actual experience, the complexity of the situation in the Holy Land with the Latin States and *dhimmis*, the divisions between French and English and their respective Italian allies, the place of the

Hospitallers and Templars and their recruits such as the Turks, negotiations of all kinds – in short realpolitik – modify the fantasy image of a demonized East found in the *chansons de geste*, and visibly limits the epic caricature.

The Saracens are indeed worthy opponents of the Christians: taken from the *chansons de geste*, this portrayal is validated in the writer's experience in the East, and is illustrated in the precise and informed account of techniques and methods of combat, which reveal their fearsome mastery of the art of war. Veterans of some standing, the Saracens are also men with whom to negotiate and deal, and even establish relationships of friendship. The chronicler recounts several embassies with exchange of gifts. Although he is less eloquent in this regard than other writers, particularly Arab writers, he allows the possibility of an alliance that transcends religious barriers. From these episodes emerge two figures on the Saracen side, the brother of Saladin, Richard's privileged interlocutor, and Saladin himself, the sultan, who over the course of the story emerges with an increasingly positive image. In speeches in which he shows himself as a proud and flattering emir are words full of wisdom when he converses with the Bishop of Salisbury and deplors the excessive degree of Richard's prowess, despite the admiration that he shows for him. This presentation, which reflects the process of turning Saladin into a hero, leads to a paradox: the exemplary figures Ambroise fashions are those of the Christian Richard and the Muslim Saladin, at the expense of the other Christian, Philippe Auguste, whose failure in his mission as *miles Christi* leads to his image being terribly tarnished.

Ultimately, in the progress of the crusade, the chronicler discovers much about the Christians themselves, without revising his knowledge about the Muslims in any depth. He aims only to make simple statements about their religion, morals and customs. And, unlike Ernoul, in the *Chronicle of Ernoul*, or Bernard the Treasurer, who recounts the various crusades with neutrality and detachment, and without expressing views, this chronicler is always part of events, and always convinced of the uprightness of the Christian cause. However, despite his commitment, he is led by experience to set aside traditional clichés about the Saracens and suggests, beyond the conflicting relations caused by the crusade, the beginning of a timid evolution and subtle shift in values in approaching the enemy.

SIGNIFICANCE

L'Estoire de la guerre sainte appears to be a reliable witness to the state of relations between Christians and Muslims from the perspective of a participant in the crusade, who records what he sees through the prism of his religious beliefs. It is of considerable interest to historians, who find in it a wealth of information, and to literary specialists, who encounter mixed genres of writing from which emerges an original work, a faithful reflection of the Western imagination at a key time in its history. Openness to the other, which is clear in the accurate recording of personal traits, throws into relief the roles of the pilgrim, actor and spectator, and the chronicler, but it does not involve any genuine recognition of the Easterner in a society convinced of its own superiority in acting in the name of the Christian God. Moreover, when in a historical-romance cycle fiction reconciles two heroes, John of Avesnes and Saladin, whose names resonate through the Third Crusade, it does so at the cost of reclaiming the Muslim into the Western fold through a fictional genealogy.

At the beginning of the 13th century, despite undeniable movements towards the other that were brought about by the confrontation on the ground, considerable prejudice and barriers to understanding still existed, even though sound information from the East was available. These fed on reciprocal prejudices, misconceptions and misunderstandings that were repeated and relayed from work to work.

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Catherine Croizy-Naquet

Solomon of Basra

Shlemun of Khilāt

DATE OF BIRTH Last quarter of the 12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Possibly Khilāt (Akhilāt) on the western shore
of Lake Van in present day eastern Turkey; he is surnamed
Klaṭāyā ('from Khilāt')
DATE OF DEATH After 1222
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Shlemun of Khilāt, the name found in Bar Brikhā's catalogue (ed. Assemani, p. 309), or Solomon of Basra as he is generally called in Western literature, was a member of the (Nestorian) Church of the East. Little is known about his early career, though he was evidently ordained a priest, and rose to become metropolitan of Prāt d-Mayshān or Basra, one of the most prestigious episcopal sees of his church. In this capacity, he attended the ordination of Patriarch-Catholicos Sabrisho' IV in 1222, as is recorded in the Patriarchal Chronicle inserted into the East-Syrian theological encyclopaedia *Aṣfār al-asrār* (ed. Gismondi, p. 116/67).

'Abdisho' bar Brikhā (q.v.) mentions Solomon as the author of a work on the form of the heavens and the earth, and some 'brief homilies' and prayers. His main work is the *Book of the bee*, which he composed towards the end of his life.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

'Patriarchal chronicle', in *Aṣfār al-asrār*, ed. H. Gismondi, *Maris Amri et Slibae De patriarchis Nestorianorum commentaria. Pars altera. Amri et Slibae textus*, Rome, 1896, p.116; *Amri et Slibae versio*, Rome, 1899, p. 67

'Abdisho' bar Brikhā, *Catalogus librorum*, ed. J.S. Assemani in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* iii.1, Rome, 1725, pp. 309-10

Secondary

Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* iii.1, pp. 309-25

M. Tamcke, 'Salomon von Basra', in T. Bautz (ed.), *Biographisch-Bibliographisch Kirchenlexicon* (online version)

Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 213

A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1922, pp. 309, 354

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ktābā d-deboritā, 'Book of the bee'; *Ktābā d-luqāṭē*, 'Book of selected works'

DATE Unknown; early 13th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Syriac

DESCRIPTION

The *Book of the bee* relates the history of salvation, beginning with the creation of the world and ending in Solomon's own time. Most attention, however, is given to the biblical period, and for later periods Solomon limits himself to a list of patriarchs of the Church of the East (this was continued by some scribes down to the 16th century), and a list of rulers to the end of the Sasanian dynasty. These are followed by a very brief description of the 'end of times and the changing of the kingdoms', by which is meant the destruction brought about by the 'Sons of Ishmael', which is followed by restoration of Christian rule under the last emperor. The book ends with further descriptions of the end of the world and a chapter on the resurrection of the dead, the last judgment, the torment of sinners and the bliss promised to the righteous.

The *Book of the bee* is not a very original work; originality was not even Solomon's intention. He explains that the title of his work means that he made a selection from earlier works in the same way as a bee gathers pollen from different flowers, an image that is itself borrowed from earlier authors. He explicitly refers to a number of sources, and for the chapter on the Sons of Ishmael he more or less copies the so-called Syriac Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius (q.v.), whom he calls Methodius of Rome.

The work was popular down to the 19th century, and was translated into Arabic.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Book of the bee* shows that early Christian apocalyptic ideas about the end of time, when the rule of the Children of Ishmael would be destroyed by the King of the Greeks who would restore Christian rule, continued to appeal to Syriac readers in the 13th century (and from repeated copies of the work went on doing so until the end of the 19th century).

MANUSCRIPTS

- See Baumstark, *Geschichte*, p. 309, to which should be added:
 MS Paris, BNF – Syr. 368.1 (16th century; incomplete)
 MS Baghdad, Chaldean Monastery – 101 (formerly Vosté 79) (1699)
 MS Birmingham, University Library – Mingana 93 (1886)
 MS Harvard, University Library – Syr. 77 (1893)
 MS Baghdad, Chaldean Monastery – 938.4 (formerly Vosté 329) (1894;
 fragments)
 MS Yale, University Library – Syr. 4 (date uncertain)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- E.A. Wallis Budge, *The book of the bee. The Syriac text edited from the manuscripts in London, Oxford and Munich with an English translation*, Oxford, 1886 (repr. Piscataway NJ, 2006)
 J.M. Schoenfelder, *Salomonis Episcopi Bassorensis Liber Apis*, Bamberg, 1866 (Latin trans.)

STUDIES

- Baumstark, *Geschichte*, p. 309
 G. Reinink, *Die syrische Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius. Einleitung* (CSCO 541), Louvain, 1993, pp. v-vi, ix, xlv-vi; see also several footnotes to his translation for discussions of the relationship between the work and the *Book of the bee*.
 B. Haddād and J. Isaac, *Al-makḥṭūṭāt al-Suryāniyya wa-l-‘Arabiyya fī khazānat al-rahbāniyya l-Kildāniyya fī Baghdād*, vol. 1, *Al-makḥṭūṭāt al-Suryāniyya*, Baghdad, 1988, p. 57
 L. Sako, ‘Bibliographie’, *Islamochristiana* 10 (1984) 273-92

Herman G.B. Teule

Ibn al-Kardabūs

Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Abī l-Qāsim ibn
Muḥammad ibn al-Kardabūs al-Tawzarī

DATE OF BIRTH 12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Tawzar (Tozeur)
DATE OF DEATH 13th century
PLACE OF DEATH Tunis

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn al-Kardabūs was born in Tunisia, but perhaps had Andalusī origins. He studied Hadith and jurisprudence in Alexandria with Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī, though he is mainly known as the author of the historical work *Ta’rīkh al-Andalus*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Ta’rīkh al-Andalus li-Ibn al-Kardabūs wa-waṣḥūhu li-Ibn al-Shabbāṭ: naṣṣān jadīdān, ed. A. M. al-‘Abbādī, Madrid, 1971

Secondary

- J. Abellán Pérez, art. ‘Ibn al-Kardabūs, Abū Marwān’, in *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*
E. de Santiago Simón, *Un fragmento de la obra de al-Šabbāṭ* (s. XIII) sobre al-Andalus, (*Cuadernos de Historia del Islam* 6), Granada: Publicaciones del Seminario de Historia del Islam, Universidad de Granada, 1973

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-iktifā’ fī akhbār al-khulafā’, ‘Completeness, on reports about the caliphs’

DATE Unknown; probably early 13th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The book is a general history of Islam organized as *akhbār* (reports). The first part starts with the Prophet Muḥammad and the four Rightly Guided Caliphs, and continues through the Umayyad caliphate in the East. Then, Ibn al-Kardabūs makes special reference to the history of al-Andalus, taken as a continuation of the Damascus caliphate, up to the reign of Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb al-Manšūr (1184-99) at the beginning of the Almohad era. The second part is concerned with the history of the Abbasid caliphate to the beginning of the reign of al-Mustarshid (1118-22).

In the part dedicated to al-Andalus, some of the reports are clearly imagined while others have the character of eye-witness accounts. Ibn al-Kardabūs begins by explaining how the whole of the West was inhabited by Christians (Rūm) and Berbers, with the latter occupying the interior and the Christians the coasts. Elsewhere, he reports that Christians from Genoa and Pisa settled in the Balearic Islands in order to control the pirates there. The history also records the taxes exacted from *dhimmīs* in al-Andalus by their Muslim rulers.

SIGNIFICANCE

Details about Christians and the conditions under which they lived are mainly incidental in the work, but they are nevertheless valuable for reconstructing an account of their place in the early history of al-Andalus and the social conditions in which they lived under Muslim rule.

MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia – Colección Gayangos 56 and 561 (probably end of the 12th c.)
- MS Rabat, al-Khizāna al-‘Āmma – 2338-k (unknown)
- MS Tunis, al-Zaytūna Mosque Library – 4812 and 4813 (unknown)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- A. Bubāyā, *Al-iktifā’ fī akhbār al-khulafā’*, Beirut, 2009
- F. Maíllo Salgado, *Ibn al-Kardabūs. Historia de al-Andalus (Kitāb al-iktifā’)*, Barcelona, 1986
- M. La Chica Garrido, *Historia de al-Andalus (España musulmana). Ibn al-Kardabūs*, Alicante, 1984 (Spanish trans.)
- Ta’rīkh al-Andalus li-Ibn al-Kardabūs wa-waṣṣūhu li-Ibn al-Shabbāt naṣṣān jadīdān*, Madrid, 1971
- A. Mukhtār al-‘Abbādī, ‘Historia de al-Andalus por Ibn al-Kardabūs y su descripción por Ibn al-Šabbāt’, *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos* 13 (1965-66) 7-126

- R. Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne*, 2 vols, Amsterdam, 1965³, ii, pp. 22-27 (partial trans.)
- R. Dozy, *Scriptorum Arabum loci de Abbadidis*, 3 vols, Leiden, 1846-63, ii, pp. 11-27; iii, p. 189 (partial edition)
- P. de Gayangos, *The history of the Mohammedan dynasties in Spain*, 2 vols, London, 1840-43, i, pp. 43-50; ii, pp. 22-48 (partial trans.)

STUDIES

- C. Vanrell, 'La incursión pisano-catalana contra Mayurqa según el Kitāb al-iktifā' de Ibn al-Kardabūs (XII-XIII)', *Qurṭuba* 6 (2001) 261-65
- F. Maíllo Salgado, *Ibn al-Kardabūs. Historia de al-Andalus*, 9-48
- F. Maíllo Salgado, 'Consideraciones sobre la lengua árabe y su traducción. A propósito de la traducción de la Historia de al-Andalus, de Ibn al-Kardabūs', *Studia Historica* 4 (1986) 185-203
- F. Maíllo Salgado, 'Algunas noticias y reflexiones sobre la Historia de al-Andalus de Ibn al-Kardabūs', *Studia Historica* 2 (1984) 163-72

Amalia Zomeño

Sim‘ān ibn Kalīl

Sim‘ān ibn Kalīl ibn Maqāra ibn Abī l-Faraj; al-Shaykh al-Makīn (as a bureaucrat); Sim‘ān al-ḥabīs (as a monk and recluse)

DATE OF BIRTH About 1150
PLACE OF BIRTH Bashū or Shū, perhaps in the Nile Delta
DATE OF DEATH Towards 1240
PLACE OF DEATH Presumably the Monastery of St John the Short, Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Egypt

BIOGRAPHY

According to his great-nephew, the historian al-Makīn Jirjis al-‘Amīd (q.v.), Sim‘ān ibn Kalīl ibn Maqāra was born in a village known as Mikā’īl Bashū (or bi-Shū); the name was derived from the village church, that of the Archangel Michael ‘of Bashū’ (or ‘in Shū’). (Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten*, has located a place called Bashū near Kafr al-Shaykh in the Nile Delta.) As an adult, Sim‘ān was a skilled financial administrator (*kātib*) who in 1173/4 came to be employed in the Bureau of the Army under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (1271-93); there he served ably and was rewarded generously. Sometime during the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s younger brother al-‘Ādil (1200-18), however, Sim‘ān retired to the Monastery of St John the Short in the Wādī l-Naṭrūn, where he built a cell in which he became a recluse (*ḥabīs*). He spent more than 30 years as a monk, and his literary activity undoubtedly dates to this time.

A defective reading in Erpenius’ edition of al-Makīn’s *History* has led to some confusion in the literature regarding the dates of Sim‘ān’s withdrawal from the world and of his death: one often sees the claim that Sim‘ān was appointed to the Army Bureau in 1173, withdrew to become a monk – here is the problematic text – *three years later* (thus in 1176), and died sometime after 1206. However, Samir (‘Le “Livre des moeurs bienheureuses”’, pp. 154-56) called the date of Sim‘ān’s death into question; Wadi (‘Al-Makīn’, pp. 18-19) provided a clearer text of the relevant passage in al-Makīn’s *History*; and Sidarus (‘La pré-renaissance copte arabe’, p. 202) summarized the results: Sim‘ān had a long career in government service, became a monk after the year 1200, and probably died

at an advanced age toward the year 1240. This result was anticipated long ago by Evelyn White, according to whom a note in MS Paris, BNF Ar. 43 should be read to say that Sim'ān became a monk in 1206/7, and that, *if* this were true, 'his death occurred somewhat later than 1237' (Evelyn White, *Monasteries* ii, p. 387).

In addition to the two works described below, we also have from Sim'ān's hand a commentary on the Gospel of Matthew and an introduction to the Psalter (Graf, *GICAL* ii, pp. 337-38), neither of which has yet been edited. In addition, there are unidentified texts by Sim'ān in two manuscripts of the Coptic Patriarchate in Cairo: MS Theol. 110 (Simaika 264, Graf 329), *min ta'lif Ibn Kalil* ('from the writings of Ibn Kalil'); and MS Theol. 235 (Graf 535, Simaika 441; undated), on *īmān ṣaḥīḥ* ('sound faith').

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- Al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-'Amīd, *Al-majmū' al-mubārak* (the *History* of al-Makīn), ed. and trans. T. Erpenius, *Historia saracenicā*, Leiden, 1625, p. 299; the pertinent passage is reproduced (and corrected) in A. Wadi, 'Al-Makīn', pp. 18-19
- Shams al-Ri'āsa Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar, *Miṣbāḥ al-ḡulma fī ḡdāḥ al-khidma* [ed. S.K. Samir], Cairo, 1971, p. 319
- MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 43 (15th century), fol. 20v ([mis]reported by W.M. de Slane, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, Paris 1883-95, p. 9)

Secondary

- A.Y. Sidarus, 'Families of Coptic dignitaries under the Ayyubids and the Golden Age of Coptic Arabic literature (13th cent.)', in the *acta* of the 20th Colloquium on the History of Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras (Ghent University, 11-13 May 2011) (*Analecta Lovaniensia Orientalia*), Leuven, forthcoming
- M.N. Swanson, art. 'Sim'ān ibn Kalil', in G. Gabra (ed.), *Historical dictionary of the Coptic Church*, Lanham MD, 2008, pp. 242, 292-93
- S.K. Samir, 'Dieu a créé l'homme debout. Texte du reclus Sim'ān ibn Kalil ibn Maqārah, copte du XII^e siècle', *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 57 (2007) 243-49
- A. Sidarus, 'La pré-renaissance copte arabe du moyen âge (deuxième moitié du XII^e / début du XIII^e siècle)', in J.P. Monferrer-Sala (ed.), *Eastern crossroads. Essays on medieval Christian legacy*, Piscataway NJ, 2007, 191-216, pp. 201-4
- A. Wadi, 'Al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-'Amīd wa-tārīkhuhu', in *Actes de la septième rencontre des Amis du patrimoine arabe-chrétien*, Cairo, 1999, 5-24, pp. 18-19

- A. Wadi, 'Introduzione alla letteratura arabo-cristiana dei Copti', *SOCC* 29-30 (1996-97) 441-92, p. 474 (§32)
- L. Cheïkho and C. Hechaïmé, *Les vizirs et secrétaires arabes chrétiens en islam, 622-1517* (*Patrimoine Arabe Chrétien* 11), Jounieh, 1987, pp. 91-92 (and see n. 3, where Hechaïmé notes the problem with the traditional dates)
- S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit, Teil 1* (*Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients* B. 41/1), Wiesbaden, 1984, p. 367
- S.K. [Samir], 'Le "Livre des moeurs bienheureuses" (*al-ādāb aṭ-ṭūbāniyyah*) retrouvé', *OCP* 43 (1977) 135-60, pp. 147-49, 154-56
- [S.]K. Samir, art. 'Sim'ān b. Kalīl b. Maqāra', in 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976) 201-42, pp. 229-30
- Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 336-38
- H.G. Evelyn White, *The monasteries of the Wādi 'n-Natrūn, Part II, The history of the monasteries of Nitria and Scetis*, ed. W. Hauser, New York, 1932, pp. 386-87

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Maqāla fī waḥdāniyyat al-Bāri' (*ta'ālā*) *wa-tathlīth aqānīmihi*, 'Treatise on the unity of the Creator (may He be exalted!) and the trinity of His hypostases'

DATE Unknown; possibly 1210-20

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This brief treatise (8 pages in the published edition) presents a simple apologetic explanation of God's triunity. God is necessarily existent, living, speaking (*al-mawjūd al-ḥayy al-nāṭiq*), which necessitates the affirmation of God's existence, life, and speech (*al-wujūd, al-ḥayāt, al-nuṭq*); these are God's essential attributes (*ṣifāt dhātiyya jawhariyya*). Other names for God are permissible and found in scripture – Sim'ān mentions *baṣīr, samī', qādir, jawwād*, and *'ālim* – but, unlike the essential attributes, these imply an object of the action described in the name. God has called Himself 'Father, Son, and Holy Spirit' in the Bible (Matt. 28:19), and this maps perfectly onto the analysis of God's essential attributes as *al-wujūd, al-nuṭq, and al-ḥayāt*.

The apologetic character of the argument is immediately obvious: its original home was against the background of conversations among the Muslim *mutakallimūn* about the names and attributes of God. The main

contours of the argument sketched here were worked out at the beginning of the 9th century by 'Ammār al-Baṣrī (q.v.). But Sim'ān's speech is far simpler than 'Ammār's and has an elegance enhanced by the occasional rhyme and qur'anic echo (e.g. *rabb al-'ālamīn / wa-ilāh al-khalā'iq ajma'īn*, 'Lord of the worlds / and God of all the creatures'), as well as by down-to-earth yet elegant illustrations. For example, Sim'ān reminds his readers that divine realities are beyond human capacity truly to describe, since even ordinary everyday experience is difficult to put into words. To drive this point home, he asks: 'What is the difference between the scent of musk and that of ambergris? What is the difference between the taste of an apple and that of a quince? What is the difference between the red of a rose and that of a pomegranate blossom?' Sim'ān knew how to delight his readers at the same time as instructing them in the Christian faith.

SIGNIFICANCE

The text is a witness to the continuing popularity of a form of Christian apologetic for the doctrine of the Trinity that developed in the early 9th century and exploited Muslim *kalām* debates about the names and attributes of God.

MANUSCRIPTS

Samir (in 'Sim'ān' from 1976) can only mention the MS, no longer accessible (lost?), from which Sbath made his edition: MS Sbath 1533, pp. 1-7 (1391-92, Egypt).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

P. Sbath, *Vingt traités philosophiques et apologetiques d'auteurs arabes chrétiens du IX^e au XVI^e siècle*, Cairo, 1929, pp. 103-11

STUDIES

Sidarus, 'La pré-renaissance copte arabe', p. 203

Samir, 'Sim'ān b. Kalīl b. Maqāra', pp. 229-30 (provides an outline of the treatise)

Graf, *GICAL* ii, p. 337

Rawḍat al-farīd wa-salwat al-wahīd, 'The garden of the hermit and the consolation of the solitary'

DATE Unknown; possibly 1210-20

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Rawḍat al-farīd wa-sabwat al-wahīd is a remarkable work of Christian spiritual and moral theology that aims to guide its readers to the lives of virtue and godliness for which they were created. It is written in a delightful Arabic style, largely in rhymed prose, and is of considerable length: it occupies more than 240 folios in the oldest manuscript. It is divided into 12 chapters: 1. The creation of humanity; 2. The one, eternal, bountiful God; 3. The fear of God; 4. Constant prayer; 5. Ascetic practice, including fasting and restraining one's speech; 6. Patience; 7. Charity and mercy; 8. Chastity; 9. Humility and obedience; 10. Pardon of sinners; 11. Temperance and contentment; 12. Training in virtuous living. Graf points out the author's strong command of scripture and of the Church Fathers (GCAL ii, p. 336).

As Samir has pointed out ('Sim'ān', p. 229), specifically apologetic material is to be found especially in ch. 2, where Trinitarian and Christological matters are dealt with; the chapter cries out for a new edition and careful study. However, even the brief excerpt from ch. 1 that Samir has recently published ('Dieu a créé l'homme debout') shows the imprint of Islamic literary style (in its rhymed prose and near-qur'anic turns of phrase) and language (e.g., Sim'ān argues that God has not created 'abathan, 'frivolously', cf. Q 23:115; the divine law is *al-sharī'a*; the angels are *muqarrabīn*, 'brought near', Q 4:172; and so on). There is much to be discovered in this text.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is clear from the manuscript evidence that *Rawḍat al-farīd wa-sabwat al-wahīd* was a work of tremendous popularity. Within a century of its composition, extracts from it were arranged into a new 20-chapter work entitled *Al-ādāb al-ṭubāniyya wa-l-amthāl al-rūḥāniyya* ('Blessed morals and spiritual examples'; see Samir, 'Le "Livre des moeurs bienheureuses"'). The large number of manuscripts of *Rawḍat al-farīd* that we possess from the 16th-18th centuries demonstrates both its wide readership and its diffusion throughout the Christian communities of the Middle East. In the mid-17th century, the Discalced Carmelite friar Celestine of St Lydwina (Pieter van Gool, 1604-76) made a Latin translation of the work, which is preserved in MS Paris, BNF Ar. 194. And finally, the fact that *Rawḍat al-farīd* enjoyed not just one but two editions in Egypt before 1900 demonstrates that this was a book that many Arabic-speaking Christians held dear. Therefore, it is greatly to be hoped that contemporary scholars will pick up this work again, in order to explain how it caught and shaped

Arabic-speaking Christians' imaginations – perhaps also with regard to matters Islamic.

MANUSCRIPTS

See Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 336-37, with useful additional information in Samir, 'Le "Livre des moeurs bienheureuses"'. Where readily accessible, information has been given in the lists below about the confessional background of the scribe or other data that helps to show the wide diffusion of *Rawḍat al-farīd*. Manuscripts of *Rawḍat al-farīd* itself and of its abridgment, *Al-ādāb al-ṭūbānīyya*, are listed separately.

1. MSS of *Rawḍat al-farīd wa-salwat al-wahīd*:
 - MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Monastery of St Macarius – Hom. 20 (Zanetti 341) (14th century; lacking fols 1-9 and 241-, presumably Coptic Orthodox)
 - MS Vat – Ar. 87 (1580; Syrian Orthodox)
 - MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 193 (1584; Syrian Orthodox)
 - MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 348 (Simaika 266) (before 1594; Coptic Orthodox)
 - MS London, BL – Arundel Or. 6 (1599; Syrian Melkite)
 - MS Hamburg, Stadtbibliothek – Or. 23 (Brockelmann 306) (1636; Syrian Melkite)
 - MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Ar. christ. Uri 44 (1636)
 - MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Simaika 1103 (1644; Coptic Orthodox)
 - MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 194 (before 1646; Syrian – includes Fr Celestine's Latin translation)
 - MS Vat – Ar. 443 (1646; Syrian Melkite)
 - MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 123 (Graf 519, Simaika 290) (1661; Coptic Orthodox)
 - MS Sharfeh, Lebanon, Bibliothèque de Charfet – Ar. 8/1 (1662)
 - MS Aleppo, Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem – Ar. 128 (Sbath 921) (1682)
 - MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 124 (Graf 520, Simaika 301) (1687; Coptic Orthodox)
 - MS Vat – Ar. 86 (1691; Coptic Orthodox)
 - MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 581 (17th century; fragment, purchased in Cairo)
 - MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 126 (Graf 521, Simaika 278) (17th century; Coptic Orthodox)
 - MS Paris, BNF – Syr. 232, fols 81a-184a (17th century; karshūnī)

- MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Monastery of St Macarius – Hom. 19 (Zanetti 340)
(17th century)
- MS Birmingham, University Library – Mingana Christian Arabic 31
(Mingana Cat. 83) (17th-18th century; Coptic Orthodox)
- MS Vat – Sbath 247 (1701; Syrian)
- MS Aleppo, Bibliothèque des Maronites – 1222 (1702)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 127 (Graf 522, Simaika 348)
(1730/1; Coptic Orthodox)
- MS Birmingham, University Library – Mingana Christian Arabic 26
(Mingana Cat. 84) (1732)
- MS Aleppo, Bibliothèque des Maronites – 332 (1733)
- MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 580, pp. 1-293 (1744; purchased
in Mardin)
- MS Shuwayr – MS of 1769 (not more fully described in Graf)
- MS Cambridge, Cambridge University Library – Add. 2024 (1790;
karshūnī)
- MS Balamand, Dayr al-Sayyida – 146 (18th century)
- MS Damascus, Syrian Catholic Archbishopric – 57 (1806)
- MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 579 (1889; copied from a MS of
Charfet)

Manuscripts of unknown date (at least to the present contributor):

- MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 125 (Simaika 277)
- MS Sharfeh, Lebanon, Bibliothèque de Charfet – Ar. 8/2
- MS Sharfeh, Lebanon, Bibliothèque de Charfet – Ar. 8/3
- MS Sharfeh, Lebanon, Bibliothèque de Charfet – Ar. 8/78
- MS Sharfeh, Lebanon, Bibliothèque de Charfet – Ar. 8/2
- MS Sharfeh, Lebanon, Bibliothèque de Charfet – Syr. 13/23 (karshūnī)
- MS Sharfeh, Lebanon, Bibliothèque de Charfet – Syr. 13/24 (karshūnī)
- MS St Petersburg, National Library of Russia – Ar. New Series 255
(from a collection in Jerusalem)
- MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Dayr al-Suryān – Theol. 75
- MS London, Gresham College – Norfolk 479
- MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Ar. christ. Uri 60
- 8 inaccessible MSS in private collections; see Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 18
(no. 93)

2. Manuscripts of *Al-ādāb al-tūbāniyya wa-l-amthāl al-rūḥāniyya*

- MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 589, fols 117v-124v (16th century;
Coptic Orthodox)

- MS Moscow, State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) – 53, pp. 536-58 (1785; Syrian Chalcedonian)
- MS Zahleh, Ma'lūf Collection – 1945, pp. 321-26 (1799; Greek Orthodox, Damascus)
- MS Aleppo, Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem – Ar. 216 (Sbath 1018), fols 141r-173r (18th century)
- MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 4898, fols 102r-107r (18th century; Egypt)
- MS St Petersburg, Oriental Institute – B1225, fols 79v-94v (18th century; Syrian Chalcedonian)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

S.K. Samir has prepared a new edition of the work for publication; a small extract, from Chapter 1, is presented in Samir, 'Dieu a créé l'homme debout', pp. 245-49.

There are two 19th-century editions:

Sim'ān ibn Kalīl, *Rawḍat al-farīd wa-salwat al-wahīd* [without indication of editor], Cairo, 1886 (197 pp. in an octavo volume; according to Samir, not as good as the older edition); electronic edition Bonn, 2011 (<http://s2w.hbz-nrw.de/ulbbn/content/titleinfo/201872>)

Sim'ān ibn Kalīl, *Rawḍat al-farīd wa-salwat al-wahīd* [without indication of editor], Cairo, 1873 (431 pp. in a quarto volume)

STUDIES

Samir, 'Dieu a créé l'homme debout'

Sidarus, 'La pré-renaissance copte arabe', p. 203

Wadi, 'Introduzione', p. 474 (§32)

Al-makhṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya fī l-adyura l-urthūdhuksiyya l-Anṭākiyya fī Lubnān. Al-juz' al-thānī, *Dayr Sayyidat al-Balamand*, Beirut, 1994, p. 119

U. Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abū Maqâr. Inventaire*, Geneva, 1986, p. 46

Samir, 'Le "Livre des moeurs bienheureuses"'

Samir, 'Sim'ān b. Kalīl b. Maqâra', p. 229

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 336-37

W. Wright, *A catalogue of the Syriac manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 2 vols, Cambridge, 1901, ii, pp. 1247-49

Vita Mahometi

Unknown author; possibly named Pedro

DATE OF BIRTH	Possibly the last third of the 12 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; possibly in the north of Aragon
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; before 1250
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing certain is known about this author. But if it is accepted that he wrote the *Tractatus contra Iudaeos* as well as the *Vita Mahometi* (on this point, see below), both contained together in MS Uncastillo, Collegiate Church of Santa Maria 10, then, since the *Tractatus* makes the declaration '*Ergo ego sum qui eri fui vocatus Hebreus, hodie Petrus*' ('Thus I am one who yesterday was called Hebrew, today Peter'), it can be inferred that he was a Jewish convert, and that he could have been called Pedro. While it cannot be excluded that he uses this name as a symbol of his new Christian identity, it is worth remarking that the famous Petrus Alfonsi (q.v.) did assume the name Peter when he converted from Judaism.

The fact that the oldest manuscript of the work is from Uncastillo, near to the Pyrenees, an area in which a number of refutations of Islam were produced, suggests that the author of these works was active in the region to the north of Aragon.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The only primary reference to the author, if it is accepted, is in the *Tractatus*, as is mentioned above.

Secondary

This list is based on the assumption that the author of the *Vita* is also the author of the *Tractatus*.

J.C. Martín, 'Problemas planteados por la tradición indirecta del *Tractatus contra Iudaeos* (Díaz 1214). Estudio y edición crítica del texto', *Revue des Études Juives* 167 (2008) 23-98

J.C. Martín, 'Aspectos lingüísticos del *Tractatus contra Iudaeos*, s. XIII', *Sacris Erudiri* 46 (2007) 371-431

- V. Valcárcel, 'La "Vita Mahometi" del códice 10 de Uncastillo (s. XIII). Estudio y edición', in M. Pérez González (ed.), *Actas III congreso Hispánico de Latín medieval (León, 26-29 de septiembre de 2001)*, 2 vols, León, 2002, ii, 211-45
- J. Tolan, 'Rhetoric, polemics and the art of hostile biography. Portraying Muhammad in thirteenth-century Christian Spain', in *Pensamiento medieval hispano. Homenaje a Horacio Santiago-Otero*, 2 vols, Madrid, 1998, ii, 1497-1511
- G. Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens et les juifs au moyen âge*, Paris, 1990, pp. 410, 450, 451, 460-61, 484-86, 492-93
- J. Hernando, 'Tractatus adversus Iudaeos. Un tratado anónimo de polémica anti-judía (s. XIII)', *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Medievalia* 7-8 (1986-87) 9-77
- K. Reinhardt and H. Santiago-Otero, *Bibliografía bíblica ibérica medieval*, Madrid, 1986, p. 312, no. 143-1
- F. Cantera Burgos, 'Textos de polémica antijudaica y judeo-catalano-aragoneses en un ms. de Burgo de Osma', *Revista de Filología Española* 48 (1965) 135-44, pp. 135-38
- J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, 'Un tratado anónimo de polémica contra los judíos', *Sefarad* 13 (1953) 3-33
- M. Serrano y Sanz, 'Vida de Mahoma según un códice latino de mediados del s. XIII', *Erudición Ibero-Ultramarina* 2 (1931), 365-95, p. 365; 3 (1932) 115-20
- T. Rojo Orcajo, *Catálogo descriptivo de los códices que se conservan en la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Burgo de Osma*, Madrid, 1929, pp. 101-3, no. 35

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Vita Mahometi, 'Life of Muḥammad'

DATE 1221-22

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Vita Mahometi* is a short work, in Valcárcel's critical edition only three pages long, a total of 119 lines. The author explains at the start that his intention is to show that Muḥammad was not a Christian, as many think, and he argues that Muḥammad was not a prophet, that the religion he founded was false, a compilation from many sources and impure, and that his true intention was to use his teaching as an instrument of political domination.

The work can be divided into the following sections: 1. Muḥammad's origins, upbringing and youth, his contact with Jews and Christians, the beginning of his public activity, the flight from Mecca to 'Ietrip' (Yathrib/

Medina) (ll. 3-15); 2. his lustfulness and its importance as a motivation of his actions (ll. 26-35); 3. the sources of his teachings, his preaching and its effects in early conversions (ll. 36-44); 4. (the most important section, taking up half the text), his miracles and visions, including the *mi'rāj* (containing details not found elsewhere) and the Islamic version of paradise (ll. 45-104); 5. his death (ll. 100-15); 6. a brief appendix on Muḥammad's teachings about Christ, Mary, and the Apostles (ll. 116-19).

The work is arranged chronologically and thematically and, while it is brief and allusive, it gives ample general details, though with some minor inaccuracies. Significantly, it employs devices from hagiographical literature in a negative way to give an 'anti-hagiographical' life, in which Muḥammad is portrayed as false and dangerous, though less so than in other comparable works.

If, as seems plausible, the same author wrote the *Vita* and the *Tractatus contra Iudaeos*, which is bound with it in MS Santa Maria de Uncastillo 10, the *Vita* would form part of the *Tractatus*, and the work as a whole would have an anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim apologetic purpose, as was typical of Spain, and particularly of Aragon, in the 13th century. The author actually declares this purpose in the general prologue of the *Tractatus*, and the manuscript tradition of the work echoes it, for MS Burgo de Osma preserves the *Tractatus* alongside the *Dialogus contra Iudaeos* of the well-known Petrus Alfonsi (fl. 1106-16) (q.v.), who was also a convert from Judaism, and also the *Tractatus contra Iudaeos* of Bernardo de Oliver. The main themes of the *Tractatus* are: the Trinity, the circumcision of Christ, the feast of the Sabbath, and the new law (the most developed theme). The *Vita Mahometi* continues from this without any break in continuity and in accordance with the intention declared in the general prologue. It is worth recalling that Petrus Alfonsi had already concluded his treatise against the Jews with an anti-hagiographical life of Muḥammad, and evidently did not regard this as strange.

However, the idea that the author of the *Vita Muhameti* and the author of the *Tractatus contra Iudaeos* are the same is not free from doubt. Some, such as M. Serrano y Sanz, J.M. Millás Vallicrosa, M.C. Diaz y Díaz and G. Dahan have accepted it. After a brief comparison of the language of the two works, the present author regards it as not more than a plausible hypothesis, while J.C. Martin is inclined against common authorship, after an extensive examination of the two works, and J. Hernando is opposed, although the arguments he adduces are not convincing.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Vita Mahometi* does not appear to have been used by other authors. It stands as a witness to the development of Christian attitudes towards Muḥammad, and preserves elements of the legend about him not known in other works, particularly his miracles (of which Petrus Alfonsi knows only the miracle of the splitting of the moon). Its main significance lies in these and in its reference to his heavenly ascension. Further work on its sources remains to be done.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Uncastillo, Colegiata de Santa María la Mayor – 10, fols 19r-23r (13th century; fols 1-19r, *Tractatus contra Iudaeos*; fols 23r-25r, verses on the end of time)

Tractatus contra Iudaeos alone is found in MS Burgo de Osma, Archivo Biblioteca de la Santa Iglesia Catedral – 35 (formerly 28), fols 174r-197r (14th century); and MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 2277, fols 10v-24r (14th century; inserted into the *Vita ss Leandri, Isidori, Fulgentii et Braulionis* [BHL 4810]).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Vita Mahometi

Valcárcel, 'La "Vita Mahometi" del códice 10 de Uncastillo', pp. 243-45, available at http://hipatia.uab.cat/islamolatina/pub/text.asp?pub_id=25 (edition)

M. Serrano y Sanz, 'Vida de Mahoma según un códice latino de mediados del s. XIII', *Erudición Ibero-Ultramarina* 2 (1931) 365-95, pp. 391-95 (uncritical edition)

Tractatus contra Iudaeos

Martín, 'Problemas planteados por la tradición indirecta del *Tractatus contra Iudaeos*', pp. 23-98

Hernando, 'Tractatus adversus Iudaeos', pp. 24-77

Millás Vallicrosa, 'Un tratado anónimo de polémica contra los judíos', pp. 10-34

STUDIES

Vita Mahometi

Martín, 'Aspectos lingüísticos del *Tractatus contra Iudaeos*, s. XIII', pp. 371-431 (the author only indirectly examines the language of the *Vita*)

Valcárcel, 'La "Vita Mahometi" del códice 10 de Uncastillo', pp. 211-45
Serrano y Sanz, 'Vida de Mahoma según un códice latino', pp. 365-95
Tolan, 'Rhetoric, polemics and the art of hostile biography', pp. 1497-511

Tractatus contra Iudaeos

Martín, 'Problemas planteados por la tradición indirecta del Tractatus contra Iudaeos', pp. 23-59

Martín, 'Aspectos lingüísticos del Tractatus contra Iudaeos, s. XIII', pp. 371-431

J. Tolan et al. (eds), *Pedro Alfonso de Huesca, Diálogo contra los judíos*, Huesca, 1996

J. Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and his medieval readers*, Gainesville FL, 1993, pp. 240-41 n. 52

Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens et les juifs au moyen âge*, pp. 250, 410, 450-51, 460-61, 484-85, 493, 502-3, 507, 536

Hernando, 'Tractatus adversus Iudaeos', pp. 9-22

Cantera Burgos, 'Textos de polémica antijudaica y judeo-catalano-aragoneses', 135-44

V. Valcarcel

Oliver of Paderborn

Oliviero de Colonia, Olivier de Cologne

DATE OF BIRTH Before 1196
PLACE OF BIRTH Diocese of Paderborn
DATE OF DEATH August 9-September 18, 1227
PLACE OF DEATH Italy

BIOGRAPHY

Born into a family of perhaps minor nobility in the diocese of Paderborn, Oliver had become *scholasticus* (schoolmaster) of its cathedral school by 1200 and occupied a similar position in Cologne by 1201. Oliver's predecessor in Cologne, Rudolph, had studied in Paris, and by 1207 Oliver appears to have been dividing his time between Cologne and Paris. His association with members of Peter the Chanter's circle (including Robert of Courson and Jacques de Vitry) and his recruiting for the Albigensian Crusade drew him to the notice of Innocent III, who formally commissioned him to preach the Fifth Crusade for the diocese of Cologne in 1213. From 1214 to 1215, Oliver recruited in Liège, Namur, Brabant, Flanders, the diocese of Utrecht and Friesland, a preaching tour which he described in letters addressed to the count of Namur and to Robert of Courson (1214). After attending the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) as a representative for the archdiocese of Cologne, Oliver resumed preaching and probably departed with some of his recruits from Marseilles on 1 June 1217, arriving in Acre in July or August of the same year.

Similar to his compatriot Jacques de Vitry (q.v., then bishop of Acre), Oliver fulfilled his own crusade vow by offering spiritual and strategic support to the crusaders he had recruited through his preaching, participation in military councils, and the design of a siege machine. Two letters on the crusade's progress addressed to the archbishop and clergy of Cologne (1217-18) provided the impetus for Oliver's history of the Fifth Crusade (*Historia Damiatina*) (1217-22). His interest in crusade history and the various sights, religions, and peoples of the East were reflected in other works he wrote during the same crusade, including a *Description of the Holy Land* (*Descriptio Terre Sancte*), a history of Jerusalem (*Historia de ortu Jerusalem et eius variis eventibus*) and a *History of the kings of the*

Holy Land (*Historia regum Terre Sancte*). These works demonstrate the ways in which ecclesiastics in the crusading army glossed the course and outcome of the campaign and the situation in the East in terms of biblical history and the pilgrimage experience, while applying lessons from previous crusades to the current campaign.

Oliver and Jacques de Vitry also engaged eastern Christians and Muslims in theological disputes and evaluated their potential usefulness as allies and/or converts in their histories. Their impression of the heterogeneous beliefs they encountered was colored by the course of the Fifth Crusade's campaign, crusade histories, their theological education in Paris, their experience of Western heresy, contacts with missionaries in the Baltic, and information gleaned from Latin settlers in the Holy Land, other crusaders, and the Fourth Lateran Council. Both men were aware of Francis of Assisi's attempted proselytization of the sultan of Egypt and, in September 1221, after al-Kāmil's lenient treatment of the defeated crusaders, Oliver addressed two letters to him and the learned men of Egypt, urging them to convert to Christianity.

Upon his return to Europe, Oliver quickly became involved in attempts to persuade Frederick II to fulfill his crusade vow and in recruitment for the emperor's planned crusade. He was preaching in the diocese of Cologne by Ash Wednesday of 1222, and by 1224 was formally commissioned as crusade preacher and was collaborating with Conrad of Porto, the papal legate, Conrad of Hildesheim, Henry VII, and Hermann von Salza, the head of the Teutonic order. Oliver utilized his histories and knowledge of current conditions in the East for this work, resulting in multiple redactions and the swift dissemination of the *Historia Damiatina* (his other histories presented the German emperors, including Frederick Barbarossa, as heirs to the imperial tradition of Rome, Charlemagne, and the crusading kings of Jerusalem). Although Oliver's election to the bishopric of Paderborn in 1223 was disputed by various rivals, in 1225 both Honorius III and Frederick II officially confirmed it. Oliver received his episcopal regalia from the emperor while attending a crusade planning council in San Germano in July of 1225, and was named cardinal-bishop of Santa Sabina by Honorius III on 18 September 1225. He and Jacques de Vitry appear to have helped to mediate between pope and emperor concerning the fulfillment of Frederick's crusading vows, and Oliver died in Italy during preparations for the emperor's departure on crusade in 1227.

Oliver's favorable portrait of al-Kāmil and the possibility of recovering Jerusalem via a treaty with him may have influenced Frederick II,

who concluded a treaty with the sultan in 1229 on terms similar to those proposed by Oliver. Moreover, Oliver's *Historia Damiatina* became a popular source of information on the East for contemporary and future crusade propagandists, pilgrims (armchair or actual), and missionaries, both in its original form and (combined with the relation of Haymarus Monachus by an anonymous author) as a substitute for the missing third book of the *Historia Iherosolimitana* of his co-worker Jacques de Vitry. As cardinals, both Oliver and Jacques actively supported Honorius III and Gregory IX's involvement of the mendicant orders in crusade preparations and the first official mendicant missions to the East (including reunion efforts with various Christian sects). Their rationalization for the treatment of Islam (rapprochement with those rulers who would permit missions, legitimated violence towards those who would not), description of its beliefs, and approach towards proselytization (argument from shared scriptural authorities, dialectic, and the *libri naturales*) would also profoundly shape future crusading and missionary efforts.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Oliver of Paderborn, *Descriptio terre sancte*, ed. Hoogeweg, *Schriften*, pp. 3-24

Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia de ortu Jerusalem et eius variis eventibus*, ed. Hoogeweg, *Schriften*, pp. 27-79

Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia regum Terre Sancte*, ed. Hoogeweg, *Schriften*, pp. 83-158

Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, ed. Hoogeweg, *Schriften*, pp. 159-280

Oliver of Paderborn, *The Capture of Damietta*, trans. J.J. Gavigan, Philadelphia PA, 1948 (repr. in *Christian society and the crusades, 1198-1229*, ed. E. Peters, Philadelphia PA, 1971, pp. 49-145)

Oliver of Paderborn, *Epistolae*, ed. Hoogeweg, *Schriften*, 285-316

Secondary

G. Andenna and B. Bombi (eds), *I Cristiani e il favoloso Egitto. Una relazione dall'Oriente di Damietta di Oliviero da Colonia*, Milan, 2009

J. Bird, 'Oliver of Paderborn (d.1227)', in A.V. Murray (ed.), *The crusades. An encyclopedia*, 4 vols, Oxford, 2006, iii, 898-99

J. Bird, 'Crusade and conversion after the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). Oliver of Paderborn's and James of Vitry's missions to Muslims reconsidered', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 21 (2004) 23-48

- J. Bird, 'The Victorines, Peter the Chanter's circle, and the crusade. Two unpublished crusading appeals in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Latin 14470', *Medieval Sermon Studies* 48 (2004) 5-28
- J. Bird, 'The *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry. Visual and written commentaries as evidence of a text's audience, reception, and utilization', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 20 (2003) 56-74
- J. Tolan, *Saracens. Islam in the medieval European imagination*, New York, 2002, esp. pp. 194-255
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- J. van Moolenbroek, 'Dreihundert Schiffe für das Heilige Land. Oliver von Köln und die Kreuzzugskampagne der Jahre 1213-1217', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* 201 (1998) 19-44
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- J.M. Powell, *Anatomy of a crusade: 1213-1221*, Philadelphia PA, 1986
- A.-D. von den Brinken, 'Islam und Oriens Christianus in den Schriften des Kölner Domscholastikers Oliver', in A. Zimmermann, I. Craemer-Ruegenberg and G. Vuillemin-Diem (eds), *Orientalische Kultur und Europäisches Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1985, 86-102
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- J.P. Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade*, Philadelphia PA, 1950

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Descriptio Terre Sancte, 'Description of the Holy Land'

DATE Before November 1219

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The first of several historical works Oliver wrote while participating in the Fifth Crusade, this description of the Holy Land and its shrines was intended for that campaign's participants (their military and devotional efforts had begun in the Latin Kingdom before transferring to Egypt) and other future pilgrims and crusaders who desired to learn about the places Christ had sacralized by his life and works. Based largely on Eugesippus-Fretellus, the *Descriptio*'s somewhat standard description of the Holy Land echoes that given in the *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry (q.v.).

SIGNIFICANCE

Oliver's *Descriptio* illustrates the mindset of ecclesiastics (and their audiences) in the army of the Fifth Crusade while it was engaged in the campaign's joint military and pilgrimage phase in Syria, as well as in its later stages. By claiming that regions currently under Muslim control (including Arabia, Damascus, Egypt and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem) belonged to the Judeo-Christian landscape, Oliver clearly saw his work as rationalizing and making imperative the return of the holy places he describes to Christian control, particularly the shrines in and around Jerusalem. These arguments and the work's focus on the relic of the True Cross lost to Saladin would prove central to negotiations with the Sultan al-Kāmil during the Fifth Crusade and also during the crusade of Frederick II. (Oliver reiterated his arguments in his letter to al-Kāmil and his *Historia Damiatina*.) Oliver's description of the miraculous crucifix in Beirut (also noted by his compatriot Jacques de Vitry) would also be reutilized in his letters to al-Kāmil as proof of the validity of Christian veneration of images.

MANUSCRIPTS

The *Descriptio* survives in only four manuscripts, and it is only attributed to Oliver in one of them. However, internal references to the work in his later histories and letters confirm this attribution.

For details of the MSS, see Hoogeweg (ed.), *Schriften*, pp. lxxviii-lxxxiv

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Hoogeweg (ed.), *Schriften*, pp. lii-liv, lxxviii-lxxxiv, 3-24

STUDIES

Hoogeweg (ed.), *Schriften*

Historia de ortu Jerusalem et eius variis eventibus,
 ‘History of the origin of Jerusalem and the various
 events affecting it’; ‘History of Jerusalem’

DATE After November 1219, probably February 1220-21

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Written by Oliver of Paderborn during the campaign of the Fifth Crusade, this work of over 125 chapters on the origins and history of Jerusalem and its environs (from the Fall until the city’s capture by crusaders in 1099) was drawn largely from Peter Comestor’s *Historia scholastica* and the Old Testament (with the addition of a catalog of Roman caesars, a description of the Holy Land, and other sources). It appears to have been intended to furnish the crusaders and audiences supporting the crusade at home with a summary of the biblical history of the Holy Land that portrayed the Muslim powers in the East as but one of a long string of enemies to whom the promised land was delivered because of the sins of its inhabitants. Certainly in the introduction to his succeeding history (the *Historia regum*), Oliver claimed that God chose Israel to possess the Holy Land, but could not tolerate Jewish transgressions of divine law, ‘Saracen filth’ or Christian sins in it, and so handed it first to the Babylonians to lay waste, then to the Romans (who completely destroyed Jerusalem), and afterwards to Saracen occupation.

SIGNIFICANCE

Portions of the *Historia* were probably utilized in preaching and councils during the Fifth Crusade (and in its aftermath during preparations for the crusade of Frederick II) to draw parallels between historical and contemporary military reversals and disasters and triumphs. For example, we know that Oliver and Jacques de Vitry used episodes of biblical history when preaching to the crusading armies and writing newsletters and histories on the campaign of the Fifth Crusade, including the Samaritans finding the Syrian camp, Achan bringing punishment upon Israel for retaining spoils, and the Maccabees’ divinely assisted and exemplary military exploits.

Oliver’s *Historia* reflects the way in which Western ecclesiastics applied biblical history to current events. Certainly his *Historia Damiatina* and letters to al-Kāmil and the doctors of Egypt often paralleled the depredations of Egyptian and Babylonian powers against the Israelites

and Jerusalem with the activities of Muslim powers in the Euphrates region and Egypt (Saladin had recaptured Jerusalem in 1187, and Oliver complained bitterly about the depredations of the sultan's brother, al-Mu'azzam, in razing Jerusalem's walls, imposing tribute upon pilgrims, and refusing Christian entry to the Temple Mount area). His *Historia* supported the concept that the recovery of Jerusalem and the rebuilding of its shrines ought to be a priority for Christians in the West and the Latin Kingdom, and used the decial in the biblical history of the sabotaging of this process by the sins of people and their kings as a commentary on the current political, religious, and military state of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Oliver's inclusion of Egypt as part of biblical history, and his description of the prophet Jeremiah's shrine and other holy places there, were meant to justify the Fifth Crusade's attempt to annex it as part of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Moreover, his *Historia's* claim that the Judeo-Christian empire had been transferred from Israel to Rome, and thence to the German emperors, paved the way for the argument that the Holy Land was part of the Roman Empire, which thus belonged rightly to Frederick II (who had a dual claim to it as German emperor and as husband to the heiress of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem).

MANUSCRIPTS

The *Historia* survives alongside Oliver's other historical works in two manuscripts, one of which was linked to Saint Gereon in Cologne (where Oliver was a *scholasticus*). It was also firmly attributed to Oliver by Alberic of Troisfontaines.

Details of these MSS are given in Hoogeweg (ed.), *Schriften*, pp. liv-lviii.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Hoogeweg (ed.), *Schriften*, pp. liv-lviii, lxxxiv-lxxxix, 27-79

STUDIES

Hoogeweg (ed.), *Schriften*

Epistola salutaris regi Babilonis ab auctore huius operis conscripta, 'Letter of greeting to the king of Babylon written by the author of this work'; 'Letter to the king of Babylon'; 'Letter to al-Kāmil of Egypt'

DATE September 1221

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Written shortly after the defeated crusaders' conclusion of a truce with Sultan al-Kāmil, Oliver's letter appeals to the sultan's liberality and benevolence (which he had witnessed first-hand and praised in his *Historia Damiatina*), urging him to free Christian captives and persuade his brother al-Mu'azzam to return the Holy Land to Christian rule and allow Christians free access to the Temple and other holy sites in Jerusalem. Oliver almost certainly knew of Francis of Assisi's attempt to proselytize the sultan and his court, and he had encountered and debated with various representatives of eastern Christian and Islamic sects in the East. Oliver's letter likewise exhorted the Sultan to convert to Christianity, allow the activities of Christian missionaries, and conclude a permanent truce with the rulers of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. After accurately noting that many Muslims shared Christians' belief in Christ's virgin conception and birth, his ascension to heaven, and his role in the final judgement, considering him to be a great prophet and the holiest of men without sin, Oliver urged al-Kāmil to also recognize Christ's divinity, his incarnation and redemptive passion and death, and the Christian concept of the Trinity.

Familiar with anti-heretical debating techniques from his theological studies in Paris and the preaching of the Albigensian crusade, Oliver followed others of his generation in adding arguments based on logic and concepts from the Aristotelian *libri naturales* to the traditional ammunition of citations from shared written authorities (the Old and New Testaments) and showed a general awareness of certain qur'anic teachings, including Muslim detestation of the Christian veneration of the Trinity, images, the saints, and the Virgin Mary as idolatry. He nonetheless shared with other authors of his generation the tendency to depict Islam as a form of Christian heresy and to utilize in his critique of it images and arguments that were applied to the Cathar heresy and other heresies within Europe. He followed his compatriot Jacques de Vitry in depicting Muḥammad as an illiterate usurping *routier* whose writings were dictated by an apostate Christian monk and a Jew. Both men depicted Islam as similar to the Cathar heresy, claiming that, unlike the rigorous Christian law and spiritual Christian heaven, Islam promoted sexual laxity and promised a paradise of carnal delights in order to gain adherents.

Oliver and Jacques also justified continued crusades against Muslim powers by claiming that, whereas Christianity had spread by preaching, miracles, and the Holy Spirit, Islam had been spread through lies and the sword. Drawing on his earlier histories, Oliver claimed that, before

Muslim powers had annexed it by divine permission, the Holy Land had been lawfully possessed by the Jews and then the Christians (read as the Roman Empire and its successors, including Charlemagne and the first crusaders) by right as God's chosen people, despite their cyclical alienation of divine favor by their sins. Since all laws permitted princes to use the sword to defend their kingdoms and recover their rights, Christians would continue to wage war against the Muslim powers until they recovered their possessions and the teaching and preachers of Christ were admitted to their lands.

SIGNIFICANCE

This letter illustrates the changing image of Islam in the early 13th century and how Christian propagandists argued that it should be countered through a combination of missionary and military campaigns. The letter's proposal for a peaceful return of the lands conquered by Saladin would form the basis of a truce concluded between Frederick II and al-Kāmil in 1229.

MANUSCRIPTS

The letter survives in three 13th-century manuscripts, two of which contain the third redaction of Oliver's *Historia Damiatina*, suggesting that it circulated as crusade propaganda during preparations for the crusade of Frederick II.

For details of these MSS, see Hoogeweg (ed.), *Schriften*, pp. lxxviii.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Hoogeweg (ed.), *Schriften*, pp. lxxviii, 296-307

STUDIES

J. Bird, 'Crusade and conversion after the Fourth Lateran Council (1215)', pp. 23-48

Tolan, *Saracens*, esp. pp. 194-255

Von den Brinken, 'Islam und Oriens Christianus in den Schriften des Kölner Domscholastikers Oliver', pp. 86-102

Kedar, *Crusade and mission*, pp. 116-33

Hoogeweg (ed.), *Schriften*

Epistola salutaris doctoribus Egipti transmissa,
 ‘Letter of greeting to the learned men of Egypt’;
 ‘Letter to the learned men of Egypt’; ‘Letter to the
 philosophers of Egypt’; ‘Letter to the doctors of
 Egypt’

DATE September 1221

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE LATIN

DESCRIPTION

Following the conviction of his contemporaries (including Jacques de Vitry, q.v.) that debate with the learned men of Islam (and other ‘heresies’) based on the common authorities of reason, scripture, and the *libri naturales* offered the best hope of their conversion to Christianity, Oliver wrote a letter to the *doctores* (learned men) of Egypt after the defeated crusaders returned to Acre in 1221. It is not known whether the letter was ever sent (much less whether it arrived), but it remains illustrative of important changes in Latin Christian conceptions of Islam. Oliver and his compatriot Jacques de Vitry had personally debated with representatives of various eastern Christian sects and may well have done the same with representatives of varieties of Islamic belief: certainly both men had witnessed Francis of Assisi’s attempt to convert the sultan of Egypt and his court, and ardently hoped for the conversion of Muslims and the extirpation of Islam.

In his letter, Oliver claimed that the learned men of Egypt ought to accept as a common authority the law of God translated from Hebrew to Greek by King Ptolemy of Egypt. Arguing from scriptural citations, reason, and concepts drawn from the recently advocated Aristotelian *libri naturales*, Oliver urged the *doctores* to accept the divinity of Christ, his virgin birth and redemptive death, and the concept of the Trinity. Asserting that the books of their law testified that Christ lived an innocent, holy, and just life and that they must be bound by the authorities of their own religion, Oliver claimed that it logically followed that the law Christ gave was similarly irreprehensible and salutary, yet Islam denied those things found in the Gospels that contradicted its own observances, such as the Pauline epistles, which urged Christians to live justly, soberly and piously (in contrast to what Oliver imagined as Islam’s lax and carnally appealing requirements). Noting that Islamic scholars accepted the Pentateuch and the prophets of the Old Testament as authorities, he claimed

that these authorities provided no support for Islamic law yet openly foretold the redemptive passion, burial and resurrection of Christ, which were clearly fulfilled according to the eyewitness accounts of the Gospels and confirmed by the Apostles' preaching and miracles.

SIGNIFICANCE

Oliver's letter illustrates that a certain understanding of Islamic beliefs, and attempts to missionize via debate and the shared authorities of scripture, reason, and Aristotelian philosophy, were current prior to the mendicant missions of the later 13th century. In fact, the works, example, and personal influence of Oliver and Jacques de Vitry were to help shape the nature of mendicant missions to eastern Christian sects and Islam.

MANUSCRIPTS

Like his letter to al-Kāmil, Oliver's letter to the learned men of Egypt survives in two 13th-century manuscripts, which contain the third redaction of Oliver's *Historia Damiatina*, suggesting that both epistles circulated as crusade propaganda.

For a list of MSS of the work, see Hoogeweg (ed.), *Schriften*, p. lxxviii.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Hoogeweg (ed.), *Schriften*, pp. lxxviii, 307-14

STUDIES

J. Bird, 'Crusade and conversion after the Fourth Lateran Council (1215)', pp. 23-48

Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 194-255

A.-D. von den Brinken, 'Islam und Oriens Christianus in den Schriften des Kölner Domscholastikers Oliver', in A. Zimmermann, I. Craemer-Ruegenberg and G. Vuillemin-Diem (eds), *Orientalische Kultur und Europäisches Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1985, 86-102

B.Z. Kedar, *Crusade and mission: European approaches toward the Muslims*, Princeton NJ, 1984, pp. 116-33

Hoogeweg (ed.), *Schriften*

Historia regum Terre Sancte, 'History of the kings of the Holy Land'

DATE 1219-22

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Oliver wrote his cultural, political and religious history of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (beginning with the First Crusade and ending with preparations for the Fifth Crusade) during the campaign of the Fifth Crusade. Drawing on Fulcher of Chartres (q.v.), William of Tyre (q.v.), and other sources (possibly including a version of the *Estoire de Eracles*), he describes how God punished his chosen people, the Christians (to whom the Holy Land fell after the Jewish diaspora), for their sins by allowing Muslim powers to occupy and possess the Holy Land.

Oliver clearly absorbed from Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre a curiosity regarding the various Christian and Muslim sects inhabiting the East, and also an awareness of how truces and alliances with various powers were essential for the political and military survival of Latin Christians in the region, and their access to various holy places. In particular Oliver gained an awareness of the unique vulnerability of various regions of the Latin Kingdom to incursions by disparate Muslim powers: Antioch and Edessa were besieged by the sultan of Iconium and the Turks, while the sultans of Aleppo and Damascus threatened Jerusalem and its environs, as did the sultan of Egypt. Oliver urges Christians inhabiting the East to remain united and cleanse themselves from sin while exploiting divisions between surrounding powers (including the use of truces, which once made, should be kept) in order to retain the Latin Kingdom. Aware that the alliance of Muslim powers in Syria and Egypt posed a unique danger, Oliver notes the strategic importance of Egypt and previous attempts to attack its port cities to protect or gain territory in the Holy Land. These attempts formed the basis for the military campaign of the Fifth Crusade, which sought to conquer areas in Egypt and use them to negotiate for the return of portions of the Latin Kingdom lost to Saladin, a goal which soon shifted to the permanent retention, conversion and colonization of Egypt (justified by the fact that the Roman Empire had once held both regions and God's chosen people [Jews/Christians] had lived there). He also describes the difficulty the Latin Kingdom faced of having to fight on the Syrian and Egyptian fronts simultaneously, a model for what happened to the armies of the Fifth Crusade, which faced the forces of both al-Mu'azzam and his brother al-Kāmil.

Although presenting Muslim powers in the East as only one of the many threats facing Christendom (including the schismatic Greeks, pagans in the Baltic, heretics in France and Muslim powers in Spain) that should be countered by the crusade, Oliver follows William of Tyre in noting that Muslims venerated the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem (ch. 6).

He also describes the rift between the Sunnīs and Shī'īs and the existence of multiple caliphs (whom he describes in terms of rival popes) (ch. 56), and holds out hope for the potential conversion of various Muslim sects, including the Assassins (ch. 63). He likewise views the recent reconciliation of the Maronite sect with Rome as proof of the potential for collaboration with Eastern Christian sects against Islam (ch. 76), and explores these themes further in his *Historia Damiatina*. Oliver may also have viewed Richard I's negotiations with Saladin over the return of Christian captives and the True Cross (chs 104, 106) as a model for negotiations with al-Kāmil during the campaign of the Fifth Crusade and the crusade of Frederick II. Certainly he highlights the role of German emperors in previous crusades (chs 94, 98-99, 108, 111), perhaps to encourage Frederick II (who had planned to participate in the Fifth Crusade) to follow the example of his illustrious predecessors in fulfilling his crusade vow.

SIGNIFICANCE

Oliver's history illustrates how ecclesiastics responsible for the moral and sometimes strategic leadership of the armies of the Fifth Crusade (and for informing the West of its progress via newsletters) sought to understand and present that campaign in light of previous crusades and salvation history. The history also circulated during preparations for the crusade of Frederick II.

MANUSCRIPTS

The *Historia regum* survives in four manuscripts and is clearly attributed to Oliver of Paderborn. It circulated in the West mainly in the areas where Oliver was active as a crusade preacher – in Frisia and the Netherlands.

For a list of the MSS of the work see Hoogeweg (ed.), *Schriften*, pp. lviii-lxxxix.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Hoogeweg (ed.), *Schriften*, pp. lviii, lxxxix-cxxxix, 83-158

STUDIES

Hoogeweg (ed.), *Schriften*

Historia Damiatina, 'The history of Damietta'; 'The capture of Damietta'

DATE 1219-23

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Oliver began writing his extensive history (some 89 chapters) during the campaign of the Fifth Crusade and edited it after that campaign's disastrous denouement for use in the planning of and recruitment for the crusade of Frederick II. The *Historia Damiatina* presents the Fifth Crusade as a logical progression of the histories Oliver had written earlier, the *Descriptio Terre Sancte* (which portrays the Holy Land as the chosen land sanctified by the patriarchs, prophets, Christ and the apostles), and the *Historia de ortu Jerusalem* and *Historia regum Terre Sancte* (which present the loss of Jerusalem and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem to a succession of various enemies as the result of the sins and divisions among God's chosen people). Influenced by Fulcher of Chartres, William of Tyre, and a version of the *Estoire de Eracles* (also utilized for his earlier histories), Oliver not only chronicled the siege, capture and loss of Damietta, but analyzed the current state of the Latin Kingdom, including its various religious groups and surrounding political and military powers.

The opening chapters of his history relate the initial phases of the Fifth Crusade's campaign in Syria, which consisted largely of raids (including an abortive attempt to recapture Mt Tabor), the visitation of various pilgrimage sites, and the reconstruction of Château Pèlerin. Oliver naturally focuses on the role of the Frisian and German contingents (many of whom he had recruited) in the siege and capture of Alcácer in Portugal and in the next phase of the crusade in Egypt. He claims that the choice of Egypt as the crusade's military goal had been sanctioned at the Fourth Lateran Council, and his histories highlight the strategic and religious importance of Egypt in order to rationalize the choice of this rather than Syria as the ultimate military goal of the crusade. As Oliver notes, previous attempts had been made to capture various ports in Egypt (including Damietta) and to use them as sources of revenue or pawns to regain territory lost in Palestine. However, the goal of the new crusade soon turned from ransom to the potentially permanent conquest and conversion of Egypt and its annexation to the Holy Land, sanctioned by its place in salvation history, possession of sacred shrines, its strategic and economic importance, and prophecies publicized by Oliver and other ecclesiastics in the crusading army. These prophecies alluded to the extirpation of Islam by joint martial and missionary activity through collusion of Eastern and Western Christian kings (including the Georgians, Nubians, the mysterious King David, and Frederick II himself). They not only influenced the army of the Fifth Crusade's disastrous decision to proceed on towards Cairo, but, together with the prophecy attributed to John of Toledo, influenced preparations for the crusade of Frederick II.

Drawing on his previous histories and bitter firsthand experience, Oliver highlights the dangers posed to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem by disunity among Christians and by fighting several Muslim powers at once. Oliver's attempt to gauge accurately the potential for missions to various Muslim and Christian sects is also reflected in his history, which describes the geography of Egypt and assesses the various Christian and Islamic sects and powers in the East in terms of their religious beliefs, their potential for conversion to Latin Christianity, and putative usefulness as allies or threat as enemies (including the Assassins, Georgians, Armenians, Bedouin, Copts, Greeks, Nubians, Maronites, Nestorians, Syrian Christians, Jacobites, and Russ). While decrying Coradin's destruction of Jerusalem's walls and towers and his threat to destroy the Holy Sepulcher, Oliver also notes that many Muslims revere the Gospels and believe that Christ was born of a Virgin, lived without sin, performed miracles, embodied the word and spirit of God, and ascended into heaven, while rejecting Christian concepts of the Trinity and Christ's divinity, atoning passion, and death. Conditioned by their anti-heretical work in Europe, both Oliver and Jacques de Vitry unfavorably depicted Muḥammad as an unlettered *routier* who, influenced by an apostate and heretical monk, crafted a law that would appeal to those dedicated to carnal pleasures. The crusades were justified by what they claimed was the forcible spread of Islam by the sword and the refusal of Muslim powers to admit Christian missionaries who attacked Muḥammad and the Qur'an. Many of these arguments were reiterated in Oliver's letters to al-Kāmil and the learned men of Egypt, which also demonstrate Oliver's hopes that missions and truces might accomplish what military efforts might not. Oliver portrays al-Kāmil as lenient to the defeated crusaders and willing to negotiate for a peace or truce whose terms would include the return of the relic of the True Cross captured by Saladin, Christian captives, and a large portion of the Kingdom of Jerusalem with the exception of two key fortresses (Krak and Montreal), terms very similar to the ten-year truce Frederick II would conclude with al-Kāmil in 1229.

SIGNIFICANCE

Quickly circulated throughout the crusader camp and in German-speaking lands immediately after the Fifth Crusade, Oliver's history appealed to potential recruits to continue the goals of the failed campaign (the recovery of territory lost to Saladin via an attack on Egypt, or truce with al-Kāmil) by joining Frederick II in the fulfillment of his crusade vow. In person and through his history, Oliver influenced preparations for

Frederick II's crusade at the Council of Verona and other planning sessions – together with Herman von Salza and Jacques de Vitry, Oliver acted as go-between for Honorius III and Frederick II.

Like Jacques de Vitry, Oliver departs from previous writers by basing his descriptions of eastern religious sects largely upon personal observation and encounters with their adherents. His and Jacques' view of the state of religious affairs in the East, the potential for combined crusades against and missions to Islamic powers, and the need for the reunion of Christian sects with the Latin Church influenced future missionaries and crusaders. The strategic and geographical information Oliver provided, and his assertion that Islamic intolerance towards blasphemous Christian missionaries meant that force was necessary to open lands to Christian missionaries (also that the lands which Islamic powers occupied belonged by right to the heirs of the Judeo-Roman empire, i.e. the German emperors), was utilized by future crusade propagandists and planners as well as by Vincent of Beauvais (q.v.) in his *Speculum historiale* (which was presented to Louis IX prior to his own crusade to Egypt).

MANUSCRIPTS

The history had its origins in two letters sent by Oliver of Paderborn while on the Fifth Crusade to the ecclesiastics of Cologne, and went through three separate redactions from 1219 to 1222. His work survives in roughly 12 MSS, many of them from the 13th century, which indicates an early circulation. Anonymous authors soon also merged Oliver's account of the Fifth Crusade with the letter of Haymarus Monachus on the state of the East to take the place of the 'third book' missing from Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Iherosolimitana* (q.v.), which was to deal with these topics. This 'third book' circulated in many more manuscripts than Oliver's original three redactions, and was drawn upon by crusade propagandists, missionaries, and pilgrims (both armchair and physical) for information on the East.

For a list of MSS of the *Historia*, see Hinnebusch, 'Extant manuscripts of the writings of Jacques de Vitry', pp. 157-58.

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- E. Peters (ed.), *Christian society and the crusades, 1198-1229*, Philadelphia PA, 1971, pp. 49-145 (complete trans. of the history taken from Gavigan)
- Oliver of Paderborn, *The capture of Damietta*, trans. J.J. Gavigan, Philadelphia PA, 1948 (repr. New York, 1980)
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- E. Marténe and U. Durand (eds), *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, 5 vols, Paris, 1717, iii, 269-306 (the *Historia Damiatina* circulated as the 'third book' of Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Iherosolimitana*)
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STUDIES

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- Tolan, *Saracens*, esp. pp. 194-255
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- D. Francis, 'Oliver of Paderborn and his siege engine at Damietta', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 37 (1993), 28-32

- Van Moolenbroek, 'Signs in the heavens in Groningen and Friesland, 1214', 251-72
- J.M. Powell, *Anatomy of a crusade: 1213-1221*, Philadelphia PA, 1986
- Von den Brinken, 'Islam und Oriens Christianus in den Schriften des Kölner Domscholastikers Oliver', pp. 86-102
- Kedar, *Crusade and mission*, pp. 116-33
- A.-D. von den Brincken, *Die Nationes Christianorum Orientalium im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie*
- E. Weise, 'Der Kölner Domscholaster Oliver und die Anfänge des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen', in E. Kuphal (ed.), *Im Schatten von St. Gereon*, Cologne, 1960, 385-94
- Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade*
- Hoogeweg, *Schriften*, pp. lviii-lxxvi, cxi-clxx, 159-280

Jessalynn Bird

‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī

Muḥyī l-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Wāḥid ibn
‘Alī l-Tamīmī l-Marrākushī

DATE OF BIRTH 9 July 1185
PLACE OF BIRTH Marrakesh
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; probably mid-13th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī was born in Marrakesh, a town he calls ‘the first land that my skin touched’, in 1185, at the beginning of the reign of the Almohad Caliph Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb. At a very early age (he was only nine) he went to Fez, a center of science and cultural life, to study the Qur’an and Arabic language. Although he returned to his home town, he continued to visit Fez regularly. When he was 14, in 1198-99, he met the well known Abū Bakr ibn Zuhr (Avenzoar), and eight years later he met Yaḥyā ibn Ṭufayl, the son of the philosopher.

His constant desire for learning took ‘Abd al-Wāḥid across to al-Andalus at the beginning of 1206. There he stayed for nine years, studying and coming to the attention of political leaders. Then, in 1217, he went to Egypt, and performed the pilgrimage, after which there are no further details of his life, except that it was there that he probably wrote the *Kitāb al-mu‘jib*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Kitāb al-mu‘jib fī talkhīṣ akhbār al-Maghrib

Secondary

A. Huici Miranda, *Kitāb al-mu‘jib fī taljīṣ ajbār al-Magrib. Lo admirable en el resumen de las noticias del Magreb*, Tetouan, 1955, pp. vii-xxiv
The history of the Almohades, ed. R. Dozy, Leiden, 1881, pp. v-xxi

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-muʿjib fī talkhīs akhbār al-Maghrib,
 ‘The book of wonder, on the summary of news
 of the Maghreb’

DATE 15 July 1224

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Kitāb al-muʿjib fī talkhīs akhbār al-Maghrib, ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī’s best-known work, is a personal account of Almohad rule from its foundation to the 13th century. A number of small details point to Egypt as the place of writing, and ‘Abd al-Wāḥid himself says that he completed it on 15 July 1224.

It is a history based on personal knowledge of the Almohad dynasty and some of its recent rulers. It runs from the time of the Muslim conquest in 711 up to 1087, in part derived from al-Ḥumaydī (q.v.), and then traces the dynasty itself.

SIGNIFICANCE

Although information on Muslim-Christian relations in *Kitāb al-muʿjib* is generally scarce and mainly about military matters, some details give insight into conditions under Almohad rule. Mention is made of Christian concubines in Andalusian courts, and of Muslims of Christian origin, such as Muḥammad al-‘Āmirī, the ruler of Denia. And it points out that there were no synagogues or churches in the North African territories, reflecting the dynasty’s intolerance towards the People of the Book.

The work mentions that there were diplomatic relations between the Almohads and the king of Sicily, and also recounts the well-known story of the encounter between Ibn ‘Ammār, the vizier of the taifa of Seville, and Alfonso VI of Castile (r. 1072-1109). Knowing about Alfonso’s love of chess, Ibn ‘Ammār had an ingenious and extremely beautiful chess set made, with figures of ebony, aloe and sandalwood, and ornamented with gold. He brought it when he met with Alphonse on the border, and challenged him to a game with the set as prize. When Alphonse won, Ibn ‘Ammār made it a condition of receiving the set that he should not attack al-Andalus.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Leiden, University Library – 546 (no. dccccxxviii in the printed catalogue) (1224)

MS Paris, BNF – Arabe 2156 (14th century)

MS Madrid, Library of El Escorial – 1677 (in Casiri’s catalogue) (no date)

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‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb al-mu‘jib fī talkhīṣ akhbār al-Maghrib*, ed. Muḥammad Sa‘īd al-‘Aryān and Muḥammad al-‘Arabī, Cairo, 1978⁷

Huici Miranda, *Kitāb al-mu‘jib fī taljīṣ ajbār al-Magrib*

‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb al-mu‘jib fī talkhīṣ akhbār al-Maghrib*, Cairo, 1949

‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb al-mu‘jib fī talkhīṣ akhbār al-Maghrib*, Cairo, 1914

‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb al-mu‘jib fī talkhīṣ akhbār al-Maghrib*, Cairo, 1906

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Ignacio Jordán de Asso y del Río, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Aragonensis*,
Amsterdam, 1782, pp. 70-75 (the chapter on the Banū ‘Abbād)
STUDIES —

Bárbara Boloix-Gallardo

Yūsuf al-Lubnānī

Yūsuf al-Lubnānī al-Muhtadī

DATE OF BIRTH	Uncertain; probably second half of the 12 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; probably the Lebanon
DATE OF DEATH	Uncertain; mid-13 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The only source of information about Yūsuf al-Lubnānī is the unique manuscript in which his one known work is preserved. In the colophon (which is in a different hand from the rest) it is stated that he was a convert from Christianity to Islam, and that he composed a refutation of his former faith in 623 AH (1226). The introduction (also partly in different handwriting from the main text) mentions that he did so when he was already advanced in years (*bi-shaybatī*, ‘in my old age’). If this detail is not just a literary topos, he was probably born in the second half of the 12th century and died sometime in the second quarter of the 13th century. The colophon adds that he belonged to the Christian ‘priesthood’, while his *nisba* indicates that he probably came from the mountain range of Syria-Lebanon, an area known for the diversity of its Christian denominations in the Middle Ages.

At the beginning of his treatise, Yūsuf mentions a certain archbishop (*al-muṭrān al-kabīr*) Elias the monk (*Ilyās al-rāhib*), who had accused him in a letter of converting to Islam for ‘some sort of worldly gain’ (*li-sabab min umūr al-dunyā*) (although Graf calls him a Nestorian, this Elias cannot be identified with any certainty). Yūsuf’s reply is that he actually converted because in his Christian community he found it impossible to live up to Christ’s teaching about putting heavenly rewards before earthly gain, and that he has had growing doubts about the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation. He also expresses the hope that Elias will take the same course as he has.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Yūsuf's *Risāla fī l-radd 'alā l-Naṣārā*

Secondary

D. Duda, *Islamische Handschriften II. Teil 1. Die Handschriften in Arabischer Sprache*, Vienna, 1992, p. 285

J.M. Fiey, *Chrétiens syriaques sous les Abbassides surtout à Bagdad (749-1258)*, Louvain, 1980, p. 220

T. Al-Samman and D. Duda, *Kultur des Islam. Ausstellung der Handschriften- und Inkunabelsammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Vienna, 1980, p. 71

A. Charfi, 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 4 (1978) 247-67, pp. 249-50

Graf, *GICAL* ii, p. 213

Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, p. 59

G. Flügel, *Die Arabischen, Perzischen und Türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien. Dritter Band*, Vienna, 1867, p. 110

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Risāla fī l-radd 'alā l-Naṣārā, 'Treatise in refutation of the Christians'

DATE 1226

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Judging from the imbalance of the structure of the text, the single manuscript containing the treatise has not come down intact, with the exposition of the prophethood of Muḥammad ending abruptly and taking up only a small fraction of the whole. It is not an autograph: some marginal sigla indicate a comparison by the copyist with an exemplar. Whether the colophon, which is in different handwriting from the rest, was an original part is doubtful because its polemical tone and contents bear no relation to the argumentation in the main text: while Jews are mentioned with some respect there because of their receptiveness to the basic Muslim doctrinal notion of divine unity, in the colophon they are condemned alongside Christians for 'unbelief' (*kufṛ*), 'error' (*ḍalāl*), 'envy' (*ḥasad*), and 'obstinacy' (*'inād*).

Large parts of Yūsuf's *Risāla* are taken without acknowledgement from the 10th-century *Risāla ilā akhīhi 'Alī ibn Ayyūb* ('Letter to his brother

‘Alī ibn Ayyūb’) by the convert to Islam al-Ḥasan ibn Ayyūb (q.v.). Yūsuf sometimes quotes from this in full, and sometimes paraphrases or summarizes it, adding his own comments and objections about Christianity. This work gives his *Risāla* its three-part structure, and nothing in his own additions reveals any inside knowledge about his former faith.

The first part comprises an account of the conflicting beliefs of the Christian denominations of Arians, Jacobites, Melkites and Nestorians, followed by an exposition and refutation of the Christian creed (‘*aqīda*). Here Yūsuf adds to al-Ḥasan’s original list of Christians the ‘groups’ (‘*ṭawā’if*) of the Franks, Hungarians (*Hunkar*), Armenians and Georgians. Yūsuf regards their divergent views as proof of the ‘falseness’ (*buṭlān*) and ‘contradictoriness’ (*naqḍ*) of their collective ‘veneration of a crucified Lord’ (‘*ibādat rabb maṣlūb*) (fols 3r-6r).

The second part contains a lengthy refutation of the divinity of Christ by means of a comparison of Christ’s words and deeds with those of figures in the Gospels and Old Testament, which show that he was not exceptional in any way. It goes on to attack the idea of three hypostases as leading either to tritheism or to an infinite number of hypostases. And then it contrasts the belief in the divinity of Christ with accounts in the Gospels of his human nature (fols 6r-25r). Yūsuf appears to prefer popular wit to lengthy theological reasoning, sometimes cutting short an extensive argument based on al-Ḥasan with a humorous proverb (*mathal*).

The third part, which is only partially preserved, is a ‘clarification’ (*tabyīn*) of the Muslim belief (‘*ʿitiqād*) about Muḥammad. As part of this, Yūsuf quotes Genesis 17:18, 20, a well-known proof-text, giving it in its original Hebrew in Arabic transliteration (fols 25v-26v).

The treatise shows that Yūsuf is clearly familiar with the argumentational logic of *kalām*, and he assumes that his Christian opponents are too. He addresses them as ‘You, people endowed with knowledge and logic’ (*yā ayyuhā l-qawm aṣḥāb al-maʿrifa wa-l-manṭiq*) (fol. 10v), and remarks that they are gifted with reason (‘*ʿaql*) (fol. 1v) and capable of insight (*naẓar*) (fol. 26v).

SIGNIFICANCE

As has been pointed out, this treatise is heavily dependent on al-Ḥasan ibn Ayyūb’s *Risāla*, which was also used by another convert, Naṣr ibn Yaḥyā (q.v.), who died in 1193 or possibly 1163. In addition, the circumstances of Yūsuf’s conversion show a close resemblance to those of Ibn Jazla, who is remembered for the letter he wrote to the priest Iliyyā when he became a Muslim (see *CMR* 3, p. 153). Such correspondences raise the

possibility that Yūsuf was employing a standard literary form well known from converts, or even that this treatise (and its author) was a complete invention. If the latter was the case, the actual author may have found his inspiration for the archbishop's criticism that 'material gain' was the motive for conversion in the suspicion felt within the Islamic community that conversion was often not out of religious conviction but for material and social advantage.

Ibn Jazla's work is lost. But comparison with Naṣr ibn Yaḥyā's *Al-naṣīḥa al-īmāniyya fī faḍīḥat al-milla al-Naṣrāniyya*, and with Ibn Taymiyya's 14th-century *Al-jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-Masiḥi*, both of which incorporate long extracts from al-Ḥasan al-Ayyūb's treatise, shows that Yūsuf and Ibn Taymiyya usually (but not always) agree against Naṣr, and in particular that the longer passages and chapter headings that only Naṣr preserves are likely to be his own. Yūsuf's *Risāla* is thus a third source for reconstructing al-Ḥasan's original (cf. F.Sepmeijer, *Een weerlegging van het Christendom uit de 10e eeuw. De brief van al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb aan zijn broer 'Alī*, Kampen, 1985 [Diss. Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam], who reconstructs it on the basis of Naṣr and Ibn Taymiyya alone).

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – 1669 (Cod. A.F. 397),
27 fols (1226)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

Nico Tilmans

Radd ‘alā l-Naṣārā

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; mid or late 12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; mid-13th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; probably North Africa

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about this author apart from the details divulged by the work associated with him – that he was active in Ifrīqiya in the mid-13th century.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary —

Secondary

M. de Epalza, ‘Notes pour une histoire des polémiques anti-chrétiennes dans l’Occident musulman’, *Arabica* 18 (1971) 99-106, p. 105

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

[*Radd ‘alā l-Naṣārā*], ‘Refutation of the Christians’

DATE 1230

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Information about this putative work comes entirely from de Epalza, who mentions that he has been informed about a MS in the Library of the Royal Palace at Rabat that contains a refutation that was apparently written in Jerba in 1230. (Enquiries about this MS have not so far led to any identification.)

The island of Jerba, off the southern Tunisian coast, was taken by the Muslims from the Byzantines in the 7th century. It was captured by the Normans in 1135, but was regained by the Almohad Emir ‘Abd al-Mu’min in 1160 and remained under Muslim rule until the end of the 13th century.

Given this oscillating history, and the continuing threat of invasions from Europe and particularly Sicily, it is possible that this refutation was part of an effort to eradicate Christian allegiances from the island and to demonstrate the inferiority of putative invaders.

SIGNIFICANCE

Nothing can be said about the significance of the work until the MS is found and examined.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

David Thomas

Jacob bar Shakkō

Jacob bar Shakkō (Arabic, *ibn Sakkā*) bar ʿEsu bar Markos

DATE OF BIRTH Probably second half of the 12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Bartella, near Mosul
DATE OF DEATH 1241
PLACE OF DEATH Mosul

BIOGRAPHY

Severus (his baptismal name) bar Shakkō was a monk of the monastery of Mar Mattay. Promoted to abbot of Mar Mattay and titular bishop, he took the name of Jacob (Schrier, pp. 216-18). According to Ibrahim, in his introduction to the Arabic translation of the *Book of treasures*, his name should be read Bar Shabō, but the manuscript evidence does not seem to support this reading.

Bar Shakkō studied grammar with the East Syrian ('Nestorian') teacher Bar Zoʿbī (q.v.), and philosophy with the Muslim polymath Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus, who, according to Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, trans. W. MacGuckin de Slane, 4 vols, Paris, 1842-71, iii, p. 468), had several Jewish and Christian students reading the Torah and the Gospel under his direction.

Bar Shakkō is the author of a few ecclesiastical writings, but is mostly known for his *Book of dialogues*, a work that is proof of his good knowledge of Muslim-Arabic philosophical and scientific theories, and shows similarities with theories developed by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ (q.v.) or found in al-Khwārazmī's *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* (q.v.).

After his death, Bar Shakkō's rich library was placed in the public treasury/library of the ruler of Mosul (Barhebraeus, *Chronicon*, col. 411).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Gregory Barhebraeus, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, ed. J.-B. Abbeloos and T.J. Lamy, 3 vols, Louvain, 1872-77, iii, cols 409-12

Secondary

H. Teule, 'Jacob bar Šakkō, the Book of Treasures and the Syrian renaissance', in J.-P. Monferrer-Sala, *Eastern crossroads. Essays on medieval Christian legacy*, Piscataway NJ, 2007, 143-54

- H. Takahashi, 'Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Qazwīnī and Bar Shakkō, *The Harp* 19 (2006) 365-79
- O. Schrier, 'Name and function of Jacob bar Šakkō. Note on the history of the Monastery of Mar Mattay', in R. Lavenant (ed.), *V Symposium Syriacum 1988, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven 29-31 août 1988 (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 236)*, Rome 1990, 215-28
- Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 269
- A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1922, pp. 311-12
- J. Ruska, 'Studien zu Severus bar Shakku's Buch der Dialoge', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 12 (1897) 8-41, 145-61

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Šrōrō galyō, 'The evident truth'

DATE Before 1231

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Syriac

DESCRIPTION

This work is no longer extant but, as is suggested by Bar Shakkō himself, a brief summary may be found in Part 2, ch. 41, of the *Book of treasures* (see below), entitled *The religion of the Christians has more truth than all other confessions*. The *Šrōrō galyō* was meant as a refutation of the *ḥeryōyē*, a normal designation for Christian heretics, but in this case it is clear that Muslims were addressed, as appears from the argumentation, which runs as follows: Truth can subsist in itself; falsehood needs the support of other persons or external factors, such as the wealth of corrupting rulers and judges, the power by which monarchs can impose what is false, and finally the use of cunning and deceitful language by which people are lured into accepting what is not true.

Though Islam is not explicitly mentioned, Bar Shakkō here follows previous Arab Christian theologians who reflected on the motives that brought people to accept Islam, among them Abū Rā'īṭa (q.v.), 'Ammār al-Baṣrī (q.v.), the author of the correspondence between al-Hāshimī and al-Kindī (q.v.), Išo'yahb bar Malkon (q.v.), and especially Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq (q.v.), who wrote a thorough analysis of the reasons 'for accepting falsehood', by which he meant Islam. The three external forces specified by Bar Shakkō as helps to Islam imposing itself are already present in Ḥunayn's letter to Ibn al-Munajjim (q.v.). In Syriac literature, only Bar Ṣalībī (q.v.) seems to have developed similar ideas, but it is not clear whether he was one of Bar Shakkō's sources in this matter.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of this work lies in the fact that *The evident truth* shows that Christian theologians continued to ponder on why Islam was so successful. In Bar Shakkō's eyes, it was incompatible with the clear and visible truth of Christianity.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES

Teule, 'Jacob bar Šakkō', pp. 152-53

Ktōbō (or fragmatyā) d-simōtō, 'Book of treasures'

DATE 1231

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Syriac

DESCRIPTION

This still unedited work is a theological compendium written in a concise and condensed style that makes some passages difficult to understand. Bar Shakkō refers several times to other works, now lost, in which he deals more elaborately with the same themes.

The compendium is divided into four parts (*ōdshē*), dealing with: 1. the Trinity; 2. the Incarnation (and including some sections on monasticism and liturgy); 3. providence; and 4. a variety of subjects, including the creation – an opportunity to show his knowledge of contemporary theories concerning climate, natural phenomena, physics, etc.; the angelic orders; Satan; and the nature of the soul. Most chapters are very brief, and the themes are mostly developed along classical Christian lines and based on Christian sources, especially Moses bar Kephō (q.v.).

Bar Shakkō wrote this work when he was still a simple monk (*dayrōyō*), probably intending it as a practical introduction for the novices in his monastery. Despite the fact that it is primarily a work on Christian theology, there are some passages in which he develops his ideas in discussion with fictitious Muslim interlocutors.

In Part 1, on the Trinity, he refers several times to questions asked by Muslims – for instance, on the issue that God is three Persons – though without referring to Muslims explicitly. At other times he addresses them directly, calling them *hanpē*, a term he also uses for pre-Christian pagans. In Part 2, on the Incarnation, in ch. 1, he gives a list of 'heresies'

with brief descriptions of each. The last is that of the *Ṭayyōyē* or the *Mhagrōyē* (Hagarenes), both names denoting Muslims. Here Bar Shakkō gives a standard description of Muslim views concerning the Trinity, Christ, the last judgment and paradise. He shows a certain familiarity with the Qur'an, though the verses he refers to are the classical references found in many other Christian apologetic or polemical works.

In several other brief chapters, he discusses various matters normally found in writings intended for Muslims, such as the direction of prayer or the validity of the veneration of the cross. An important issue is the historical reality of the crucifixion, apparently in response to implicit Muslim claims to the contrary, the cross being in his eyes the true 'sign of Christianity' which Christ will bring with him at the end of times in order to confound the infidels (*kofūrē = kuffār*). Part 2 ends with a chapter on the superiority of Christianity, which in Bar Shakkō's eyes has higher claims to truth than any other religion. This chapter is a summary of a more elaborate treatise on this subject, entitled *The revealed truth* (see above).

Part 3, on providence, shows that Bar Shakkō was at least aware of the Muslim discussion on the relationship between God and evil. His treatment of free will, predestination and the fixed term of life (*qeṣō*) is to be read against the background of Muslim discussions on these issues, though his references are only to Christian authors.

In Part 4, ch. 3, on the fall of Satan, Bar Shakkō explains that God is not the cause of evil, but foresees it. In ch. 33, on paradise, he emphasizes that pleasure there is both material and spiritual, a recurring issue in Christian-Muslim discussions. This *odshō* ends with a chapter on the superiority of the 'Jacobite' community and creed.

SIGNIFICANCE

One of the aims of *The book of treasures* is to demonstrate that only the Christian faith is true. It helps its Christian readers to formulate answers to objections from non-Christian, often Muslim, opponents.

The argumentation itself is often not very original, as in, for example, the way in which Trinitarian analogies are elaborated, or the incorporeal character of Christ's generation from the Father is discussed. Its significance is also diminished by the brevity of the argumentation.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Charfeh – 251 (formerly 219)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- M. Tolstoluzhenko, 'Iakov bar Shakko o Bozhestvennom Promysle', *Simvol* 58 (2010) 156-75 (semi-critical edition and Russian trans. of Part 3, chs 1, 9 in part), 10-14.
- B. Daniel al-Bartali, *The treasures, by Mar Severios Yacoub Albartali (Syriac Patrimony 24)*, Damascus, 2007 (Arabic trans.); repr. Piscataway NJ, 2010

STUDIES

- Tolstoluzhenko, 'Iakov bar Shakko'
- M. Tolstoluzhenko, '“Kniga sokrovishch” Iakova bar Shakko. Bogoslovskaya kompilyatsya epokhi sirijskogorenessansa', *Simvol* 55 (2009) 357-74
- Teule, 'Jacob bar Šakkō'
- C. Harvard, 'Jacob bar Shakkō. On the faculties of the soul', in R. Lave-
nant (ed.), *VI Symposium Syriacum 1992 University of Cambridge
30 August-2 September 1992 (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 247)*,
Rome, 1994, 259-68
- F. Nau, 'Notice sur le *Livre des trésors* de Jacques de Bartela', *Journal
Asiatique* 9 (1896) 286-331

Herman G.B. Teule

Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī

Abū l-Faḍā'il Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz
ibn 'Alī ibn Muzhir ibn Barakāt

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; presumably second half of the
12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; maybe Ḥamā
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; sometime in the mid-13th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown, though likely to have been Homs

BIOGRAPHY

Little is known of Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī beyond what can be gleaned from his chronicle. He was a member of the influential Banū Naẓīf clan of Ḥamā, and was a high-ranking official in the administration of the Ayyūbid ruler al-Malik al-Ḥāfiẓ ibn al-'Ādil (d. 1240) in Qal'at Ja'bar. His post there continued until 1230, when, during a drunken party, he was arrested by al-Ḥāfiẓ, relieved of his possessions, and thrown into prison because of a disagreement over the fate of a slave. Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī's imprisonment lasted an unknown period until his petition to the ruler of the Jazīra was successful, and the latter intervened to secure his release. At this juncture, he went to the town of al-Raḥba, whose ruler, al-Manṣūr, looked after him, until al-Manṣūr gained possession of Homs. Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī followed him there and received a pension, enabling him to write his historical chronicle, which he dedicated to al-Manṣūr.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī, *Ta'riḥ Manṣūrī* (for editions see below)

Secondary

A. Hartmann, 'A unique manuscript in the Asian museum, St Petersburg. The Syrian chronicle *at-Ta'riḥ Manṣūrī* by Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī from the 7th/13th century', in U. Vermeulen and J. van Steenberghe (eds), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras*, vol. 3, Leuven, 2001, 89-100, pp. 93-96

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-ta'riḫ al-Manṣūrī, 'The Manṣūrī history'

DATE Almost certainly early 1230s

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work is a political history of the world from the creation up to the year 1233, dedicated to the Ayyūbid ruler al-Manṣūrī, and is one of three known works by the author. The other two were a chronicle until the year 940, and a now lost universal history, of which *Al-ta'riḫ al-Manṣūrī* is but a brief summary. For the period up to 1192, Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī used 'Imād al-Dīn's chronicle *Al-bustān al-jāmi'* as the main basis of his writing, and *Al-ta'riḫ al-Manṣūrī* does not differ much from that work. After 1192, when *Al-bustān al-jāmi'* ends, *Al-ta'riḫ al-Manṣūrī* comes into its own as a source, and provides valuable information, much of which was used extensively by later writers such as Ibn al-Furāt and al-Maqrizī, although in the modern period it has been rather neglected, possibly due to its complexity.

The work itself is valuable for a number of reasons. It deals in great detail with relations between the Ayyūbid 'states' at the time, as well as having plenty of information about the Ayyūbids of Yemen, the wars between the Khwārazmshāh and the Ayyūbids, and the early effects of the Mongol invasions. In terms of Christian-Muslim relations, it is valuable in two ways. First, it highlights the diplomatic relations between the Ayyūbids and the Franks of the crusader states, which at this time were particularly close due to their mutual needs. Second, it examines the situation in Sicily in the early 13th century and the reaction of the Ayyūbids to that situation, as on the one hand the island's ruler, Frederick II, was attempting to keep close diplomatic relations with the Ayyūbids, while on the other the Muslim population was revolting against his rule. Uniquely, it contains two letters written in Arabic by Frederick II to the Ayyūbid rulers of Syria, which provide interesting insights into diplomatic relations of the time, as well as important information on the situation of the Muslims in Sicily, many of whom had left and, at the time of writing, were refugees.

SIGNIFICANCE

This extremely under-utilized and under-appreciated chronicle details relations between Christians and Muslims in both Syria and Sicily during

the Ayyūbid period, highlighting both the diplomatic relations between the political powers, and the fate of ordinary Muslims under Christian rule.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS St Petersburg, Asian Museum – Or. V 614 (28 November 1233)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī, *Al-taʾrīkh al-Manṣūrī*, ed. Abū l-ʿĪd Dūdū, Damascus, 1981 (partial edition)

F. Gabrieli, *Arab historians of the crusades*, London, 1969, pp. 280-83 (trans. of letters edited by Amari)

Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī, *Al-taʾrīkh al-Manṣūrī*, ed. P. Gryaznevitch, Moscow, 1960 (partial edition)

M. Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula, seconda appendice*, Leipzig, 1887, pp. 34-37 (edition of the Arabic letters written by Frederick II)

M. Amari, *Estratti del Tarih Mansuri (Archivio Storico Siciliana N.S. 9)*, Palermo, 1884, pp. 1-29 (edited extracts regarding Sicily)

M. Amari, *Estratti del Tarih Mansuri (Archivio Storico Siciliana N.S. 8)*, Palermo, 1883, pp. 111-15 (edited extracts regarding Sicily)

STUDIES

Hartmann, 'A unique manuscript'

H.L. Gottschalk, 'Der Bericht des Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī über die Schlacht von Jasyčimen (25.-28. Ramaḍān 627/7.-10. August 1230)', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 56 (1960) 55-67

Alex Mallett

Ibn al-Labbād

Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Laṭīf
ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī

DATE OF BIRTH 1163
PLACE OF BIRTH Baghdad
DATE OF DEATH 1232
PLACE OF DEATH Baghdad

BIOGRAPHY

In his biographical notice, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a sums up Ibn Labbād as distinguished in the study of Arabic language and expert in theology and medicine. The list of his works shows that his interests went far beyond these three subjects, embracing most of the disciplines of his time. He was encyclopedic in his pursuits, and one of the most accomplished scholars of his day.

Ibn al-Labbād was born in Baghdad, where he studied the traditional religious disciplines. He became interested in philosophy and alchemy, and travelled to Mosul and then Syria and Egypt to discover more. He spent some years between Cairo, Damascus and Jerusalem, meeting the Ayyūbid Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 1192. He finally returned to Baghdad in about 1230, after an absence of about 40 years, and died there in 1232.

Most of Ibn Labbād’s works are lost, though his all-embracing interests can be told from their titles. They include works on Greek medicine and philosophy, grammar and religion, including works on Hadith and points of debate in the Qur’an; a refutation of the famous Cairo physician ‘Alī ibn Riḍwān (q.v.) on the dissimilarities between Galan and Aristotle; a reply to the inquiry as to whether sacrificing animals is as naturally and rationally permissible as it is legally permissible; treatises on works of al-Fārābī; and an intriguingly titled *Maqala fī l-milal*, ‘Treatise on religions’.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, *Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, ed. M. Bāsil ‘Uyūn al-Sūd, Beirut, 1998, pp. 634-48

Secondary

S.M. Stern, art. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghḍādī', in *El2*

L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, 2 vols, Paris, 1878, ii, p. 182

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Maqālāt fī l-radd 'alā l-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā,

'Treatises in refutation of the Jews and Christians'

DATE Unknown; before 1232

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

In his *Kitāb al-ifāda wa-l-i'tibār*, 'Information and instruction', about great matters and significant events concerning Egypt, Ibn al-Labbād refers briefly to the Christians in a discussion about the beliefs of the various nations. He says that their practices, such as the veneration of icons and making pictures of God 'with angels around him', were a continuation of the beliefs of their pre-Christian ancestors, though taken further because of their belief in the divinity of a human. He continues: 'We have investigated the teaching on this in our treatises about them', *fī maqālātīnā 'alayhim* (*The eastern key*, p. 158; the translation on p. 159, 'in a treatise [sing.] composed by me', is mistaken).

This information is amplified a little by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, based on Ibn al-Labbād's own autobiography, who lists among the author's works a *Maqāla fī l-radd 'alā l-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā*, 'Treatise on the refutation of the Jews and Christians', and *Maqalatān fī l-radd 'alā l-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā*, 'Two treatises on the refutation of the Jews and Christians' (*Uyūn al-anbā'*, p. 646).

Neither Ibn al-Labbād nor Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a gives any further information about the contents of the three works, though it might be surmised from the brief reference in *Kitāb al-ifāda wa-l-i'tibār*, as well as the titles of other works by Ibn al-Labbād, that they were strong on details about the beliefs and practices of Jews and Christians that would surprise and intrigue Muslim readers. The fact that they were refutations indicates that they also contained criticisms and arguments, though just how these were divided between the three treatises is impossible to say. Maybe they covered different aspects of the two faiths, or were written at different times.

SIGNIFICANCE

The interest in Christianity and Judaism of a person with the social and intellectual distinction of Ibn al-Labbād shows that these faiths raised issues among Muslims that could not be ignored by the scholarly and sophisticated. But it also suggests that the issues they raised could be dealt with as part of the array of challenges faced by any scholar, maybe as puzzling and intriguing academic questions but nothing to threaten Islam in any profound way.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

David Thomas

Ibn ‘Atīq

Abū ‘Alī l-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Atīq ibn al-Ḥusayn
ibn Rashīq al-Taghlibī

DATE OF BIRTH 1154
PLACE OF BIRTH Murcia
DATE OF DEATH 1235
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

A native of Murcia, Ibn ‘Atīq was a renowned Andalusī scholar. As a boy he lived in Ceuta in northern Morocco, and then he went to Alexandria to study. He remained in Egypt, and taught there. Some reports state that he spent his last days in Granada and others that he died in Egypt. Similarly, some say that he died in 1235 and others in 1281, though the latter seems unlikely in view of the date of his birth.

Ibn ‘Atīq wrote on a range of subjects. His best known works are *Al-kitāb al-kabīr fī l-ta’rīkh* (‘The great work on history’) and *Mizān al-‘amal* (‘The weighing of deeds’) (Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, p. 476).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Ibn Farḥūn, *Kitāb al-dībāj al-mudhahhab fī ma’rifat a’yan ‘ulamā’ al-madhab*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1976, i, pp. 105-6

Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Al-iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, ed. M. ‘Inān, 4 vols, Cairo, 1973, i, pp. 472-76

Al-Baghdādī, *Idāh al-maknūn fī l-dhayl ‘alā Kashf al-ẓunūn ‘an asmā’ al-kutub wa-l-funūn*, 2 vols, Beirut, n.d., ii, pp. 323, 612

Secondary

‘Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Mu’jam al-mu’allifīn*, 15 vols, Damascus, 1958-61, iv, p. 26

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-rasāʾil wa-l-wasāʾil, 'Treatises and devices'

DATE Unknown; before 1235

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Kitāb al-rasāʾil wa-l-wasāʾil has survived in al-Wansharīsī's *Miʿyār* (q.v.). This short polemical text gives an account of a debate that took place in the town of Tudmīr (Murcia) between a Muslim, Ibn Rashīq, and some Christian priests and monks concerning the inimitability of the Qur'an. The Christians compare the Qur'an with the Arab genre of the *maqāma* (which may be understood as an account of an individual's activities related by a second person to a wider audience, and typically in *sajʿ*), though Ibn Rashīq responds by composing an example in order to refute them.

SIGNIFICANCE

The subtle comparison made by the Christians threatens to undermine completely the eternal nature and inimitable character of the Qur'an by removing its uniqueness as a literary phenomenon. They probably do this knowingly, showing their deep understanding of Arabic verse forms and also religious claims.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Al-Wansharīsī, *Miʿyār al-muʿrib wa-l-jāmiʿ al-mughrib ʿan fatāwā ʿulamāʾ Ifrīqiya wa-l-Andalus wa-l-Maghrib*, ed. Ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Būʿazzāwī et al., 11 vols, Fes, 1896-97 (lithographic edition), xi, pp. 118-21

STUDIES —

Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala

Raymond of Penyafort

Ramon de Penyafort, Ramón de Peñafort

DATE OF BIRTH About 1180
PLACE OF BIRTH Probably Penyafort, Catalonia
DATE OF DEATH 6 January 1275
PLACE OF DEATH Barcelona

BIOGRAPHY

Raymond studied law in Bologna in the 1210s and then taught there as master. He joined the Dominican order in the 1220s. In November 1229, Pope Gregory IX called on him to preach the crusade for James I's conquest of Mallorca in southern France, including Arles and Narbonne (*Diplomatario*, p. 11). Raymond subsequently became papal confessor and penitentiary, and as such he compiled the *Decretals*, a collection of papal pronouncements that, alongside Gratian's *Decretum*, became one of the pillars of church law. He also wrote various *summae* for confessors. In these legal works he deals with Muslims, providing summaries of canon law on issues such as the prohibition of interreligious marriage, the legal rights and restrictions of Muslims living under Christian rule, and the prohibitions on certain types of trade with Muslims. The most interesting legal work in this context is the *Responsiones ad dubitalia* (see below), sent to Dominicans and Franciscans in Tunis at the behest of Gregory IX in 1235.

In 1238, Raymond was elected minister general of the Dominicans, though he renounced the position in 1240 and returned to Barcelona, where he became confessor and advisor to King James I of Aragon. He successfully lobbied the king for the establishment of the inquisition in Aragon to combat heresy, and he encouraged missionary preaching to Jews and Muslims.

Around 1260, Raymond sent a letter to Humbert of Romans (q.v.), Dominican master general, justifying the friars' activities in Africa through the 'six fruits' that they had produced: these included ministry to the needs of Christian mercenaries, to those of the 'Aramos' (Arabic-speaking Christians), to apostates (who could at times be brought back to the faith), and to Christian captives. Raymond affirms that the friars

also expounded Christianity to Muslims, who came to understand that Christian devotion to images is not idolatry, and were subsequently better disposed towards Christianity. And finally, some of the Muslims ended up converting to Christianity, in secret or openly, particularly in Murcia (*Dipolmatario*, p. 133). In July 1260, Pope Alexander IV granted Raymond the right to send friars to Tunis 'and other barbarous nations', in order to comfort the faithful and convert Saracens.

Raymond was one of the most important canon law scholars of the Middle Ages, and his legal works had considerable influence on the development of canon law. He was canonized in 1601.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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- J. Rius Serra (ed.), *Diplomatario. Documentos, vida antigua, crónicas, procesos antiguos*, Barcelona, 1954 (contains letters and other texts concerning Raymond, the texts relating to his 1318 canonization trial, and an anonymous 14th-century *vita*)
- F. Valls Taberner (ed.), 'El Diplomatario de Sant Ramon de Penyafort', *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 5 (1929) 249-304 (edition of 36 letters and documents concerning Raymond)
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Secondary

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- J. Tolan, 'Porter la bonne parole auprès de Babel. Les problèmes linguistiques chez les missionnaires mendiants, XIII^e-XIV^e siècles', in Peter von Moos (ed.), *Zwischen Babel und Pflingsten. Sprachdifferenzen und Gesprächsverständigung in der Vormoderne (8.-16.Jh.)*, Zurich, 2008, 533-47
- C. Longo (ed.), *Magister Raimundus. Atti del convegno per il IV centenario della canonizzazione di San Raimondo de Penyafort (1601-2001)*, Rome, 2002
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- S. Horwitz, 'Magistri and magisterium. Saint Raymond of Peñafort and the Gregoriana', *Escritos del Vedat* 7 (1977) 209-38
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- A. Robles Sierra, 'La biografía inédita de San Ramón de Penyafort escrita por Vicente Justiniano Antiist, O.P. (s. XVI)', *Escritos del Vedat* 7 (1977) 29-60
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- J. Quéatif and J. Echard, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*, 2 vols, Paris, 1719-21, i, pp. 106-10

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Responsiones ad dubitabilia circa communicationem Christianorum cum Sarracenis, 'Responses to questions about the communication of Christians with Saracens'; *Responsiones ad dubitabilia*, 'Responses to questions'

DATE 19 January 1235

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

On 19 January, 1235, Raymond, at the time major penitentiary (*paenitentarius*) to Pope Gregory IX, wrote a letter to the Dominican prior and the Franciscan minister 'in the kingdom of Tunis'. These two friars had written to the pope with 40 quite specific questions concerning problems they faced in serving the Christian community of Tunis, and Raymond sent the responses that he had written on the pope's orders. In these, he struggles to apply the basics of canon law to the very particular circumstances in Tunis, in the *Dār al-Islām*, where the traditional threats of excommunication and interdict carry little weight, and over whose Muslim rulers the pope obviously has no authority.

A number of the questions deal with issues of commerce, in the wake of the prohibitions by the councils of Lateran III (1179) and Lateran IV (1215), of certain kinds of trade with Muslims, in particular bans on selling weapons, iron, and wood. Some of the articles in the text show some merchants flouting these regulations (Genoans selling ships, for example), others trying to respect them, and others making excuses for not respecting them. Of particular interest are several questions concerning the problems posed by the conversion of Christians to Islam: can the Christian family and friends of these converts continue to frequent them? Can their Christian spouses remain married to them? In the answers to these and other questions, Raymond and the pope pragmatically try to adapt their responses to the realities on the ground by adapting the traditional dictates of canon law, even as they respect its general principles.

SIGNIFICANCE

This text offers a rare insight into the workings of the Latin Christian community in Tunis and into papal responses to the problems posed by

Christians living in Muslim lands. In the first place, it provides documentation of trade practices of European (principally Italian and Catalan) merchants in Ifrīqiya.

Moreover, the *Responsiones* offer a unique glimpse of the richness and complexity of the European Catholic community in Tunis that the friars seek to serve: not only the Italian and Catalan merchants, but also mercenaries, crusaders, fugitives, captives, or pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem. In particular, there are a number of marginal persons whose existence is seldom registered in other contemporary documents, whether Arabic or Latin: renegades, slaves, converts, couples in mixed marriages.

The *Responsiones* is also an important document in the early history of the Dominican and Franciscan orders, for two reasons: it shows both the increasing presence of those orders beyond the borders of Catholic Europe, and also the role these orders play in the papacy's effort to exercise its authority more forcefully and effectively.

MANUSCRIPTS

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(mid-13th century)
- MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana – Plut. 24.6, fols 79rb-80ra (13th-14th century)
- MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale – Conventi soppressi I.X.49, fols 162ra-163vb (14th century)
- MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Canon Mis. 269, fols 206-210
(15th century)
- MS Pisa, Bibliotheca Cathariniana – 100, fols 42v-45v (15th century)
- MS Prague, Bibliothek des Metropolitan kapitels – K 12, fols 16v-18v
(date unknown)
- MS Vat – Ottob. Lat. 45, fols 103v-104 (date unknown)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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- J. Rius Serra, in *Diplomatario*, pp. 22-29 (edition based on MSS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale and Prague)
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STUDIES

- J. Tolan, 'Marchands, mercenaires et captives. Le statut légal des chrétiens latins en terre d'islam selon le juriste canonique Ramon de Penyafort (XIII^e s.)', in S. Boisselier, F. Clément and J. Tolan (eds), *Minorités et régulations sociales en Méditerranée médiévale*, Rennes, 2010, 223-34
- J. Tolan, 'Taking Gratian to Africa. Raymond de Penyafort's legal advice to the Dominicans and Franciscans in Tunis (1234)', in A. Husain and K. Fleming (eds), *A faithful sea. The religious cultures of the Mediterranean, 1200-1700*, Oxford, 2007, 47-63

John Tolan

The Gregorian Report

Unknown authors

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing can be said about the identity of the authors of this text, other than that they were Dominican friars who were stationed in the East in the early 13th century.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Matthew Paris, Chronica majora, ed. H.R. Luard, 7 vols, (*Rolls Series 57*), London, 1872-73, iii, pp. 343-61

Secondary

J. Powell, 'Matthew Paris, the lives of Muhammad, and the Dominicans', in M. Balard, B. Kedar and J. Riley-Smith (eds), *Dei Gesta per Francos. Etudies sur les Croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, Aldershot, 2001, 65-69

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The Gregorian Report

DATE 1236
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Among the events of 1236 in his *Chronica majora*, the English historian Matthew Paris mentions the receipt of a 'certain text about the law of Muḥammad sent to the lord pope, namely Gregory IX, from the eastern places by preachers [Dominicans] traversing those regions'. This text, referred to hereafter as the Gregorian Report, has not survived, but Matthew goes on to outline its contents. In addition to the *Chronica*, parts of this source are attested – though not cited by name – in the

writings of Jacques de Vitry and William of Tripoli. They resurface in the anonymous *De statu Sarracenorum*, apocryphally attributed to William of Tripoli, and as interpolations in some manuscripts of Godfrey of Viterbo's *Speculum regum*. As preserved in the *Chronica majora*, the Gregorian Report consists of a narrative of Muḥammad's life and then an expository section on Islamic beliefs and practices.

The biography of Muḥammad recorded by both Jacques de Vitry and Matthew Paris conforms directly to the sequence of events in the *Apology of al-Kindi*: his social climbing by marrying Khadija; his prophetic claims; his accumulation of ignorant people (many of them criminals) as his followers; his expulsion from Mecca and settlement in Medina, where he built the first mosque; his raiding campaigns; his consolidation of power in Medina by assassinating rivals; his military losses; scandals involving his marriages; his claim to have performed no miracles, used to disprove a list of miracles attributed to him; his empty promise of resurrection; the dispersal of his followers after his death; and the *ridda* wars launched to reclaim their loyalty.

Whereas the purpose of the account in the *Apology* is to disprove Muḥammad's claim to prophethood, here it seems intended to inform Christian readers of the events in Muḥammad's life, albeit through a polemical lens, and the Gregorian Report thus de-emphasizes some of its source's contentions. Most remarkably, it omits qur'anic verses, even when presenting stories that, in the *Apology*, hinge on the argument that Muḥammad concocted revelations. Where the *Apology* accuses him of feigning divine approval for his marriages to Zaynab and 'Ā'isha, the relevant verses (Q 33:37-38 and 24:11-20 respectively) do not appear in the text of the Report and, with reference to the latter, it both misidentifies the woman and cuts out the charge that Muḥammad falsified a revelation to defend her. The aim of impugning the Qur'an is absent, and in fact the author of the Gregorian Report, or its transmitters, excises all references to the Qur'an in the narrative material recycled from the *Apology*.

By contrast, the expository part of the Gregorian Report does refer to the Qur'an, however allusively, where the author relates that the 'Muslims' scripture' claims that Muḥammad's name existed eternally with God. However, the subject covered most extensively in the Report's summary of Islamic beliefs, and attested by Jacques de Vitry, William of Tripoli, and the author of *De statu Sarracenorum*, is Jesus' status within Islam. The text notes Muslim beliefs in his virgin birth, ascension and

second coming, and it also covers Muslim disavowals of his divinity, crucifixion and resurrection, and the belief of some qur'anic commentators that someone else was crucified in his place. This statement of Islamic Christology corrects the erroneous opinion that the Qur'an obligates Muslims to recognize Jesus' divinity.

The Gregorian Report's outline of Muslim customs likewise reappears in all of the above-mentioned texts. It also bears the influence of the *Apology*, specifically of the opening letter attributed to the Muslim al-Hāshimī. The Report states that Muslim men may take three or four wives, and as many concubines as they can afford, and divorce them easily. Its account of Ramaḍān, derived from the Qur'an but cast polemically by accentuating the permissibility of eating and sex during the night, and its statements that Muslims pray facing south and worship on Friday, could also have been gleaned from the *Apology*. The text departs from the *Apology* in its final point: that according to 'their law', those who apostatize from Islam must face execution unless they repent within three days.

The Gregorian Report's relationship to the subsequent passage in the *Chronica majora*, attributed to an unnamed Dominican preacher against Islam, is unclear; James Powell has argued that Matthew accessed the two sources in the same Dominican compendium. The question of the Gregorian Report's sources also remains open. While it clearly relies on the *Apology of al-Kindī*, it has not been ascertained whether the Report follows the Latin translation of the *Apology* or the original Arabic. There is plentiful evidence that the Latin *Apology* circulated among Dominicans, although, noting the paucity of exact verbal parallels between the two and the variation in Arabic names, Fernández Muñoz has argued that the Dominicans around Acre translated excerpts of the Arabic *Apology* anew.

SIGNIFICANCE

The Gregorian Report provides insight into the discourse on Islam and its Prophet that was current among mendicant missionaries to *Dār al-Islām* in the 13th century, a discourse that shaped their arguments as they sought to evangelize Muslims and as they interpreted Islam for their fellow Latin Christians. In this context, its anonymous authors' concern with preventing misconceptions about Islamic Christology is particularly informative, and suggests that the Report's authors recognized that such misinformation obstructed their preaching.

MANUSCRIPTS

Matthew Paris:

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MS London, BL – Royal MS 14.C.VII 1250-59

MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College – MS 16 (13th century)

MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College – MS 26 (13th century)

Jacques de Vitry:

See J.F. Hinnebusch, 'Extant manuscripts of the writings of Jacques de Vitry', *Scriptorium* 51 (1997) 156-64

William of Tripoli, *De Notitia Machometo*, and Pseudo-William of Tripoli, *De statu Sarracenorum*:

See Engels, introduction to *Notitia de Machometo*, pp. 112-82

Interpolations in Godfrey of Viterbo's *Speculum regum*:

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Matthew Paris:

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Jacques de Vitry:

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Pseudo-William of Tripoli, De statu Sarracenorum, ed. P. Engels, *Notitia de Machometo*, pp. 263-372

STUDIES

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F. González Muñoz, *Exposición y refutación del Islam. La versión latina de las epístolas de al-Hāšimī y al-Kindī*, Coruña, 2005, pp. lxxxv-lxxxvi

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- E. Cerulli, *Il libro della scala e la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina Comedia (Studi e Testi 50)*, Vatican City, 1949, pp. 417-27
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- R. Röhricht, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge Jerusalem (1100-1291)*, Innsbruck, 1898, pp. 843-44
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Leah Giamalva

Al-Khaṭīb al-Iskandarī

Burhān al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍā'il Ja'far ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb
ibn 'Abd al-Qawī l-Khaṭīb al-Iskandarī

DATE OF BIRTH Mid or late 12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Presumably Egypt
DATE OF DEATH Uncertain; mid-13th century
PLACE OF DEATH Presumably Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about this author apart from the little he reveals in his refutation of Christianity. He says that he wrote the work at the prompting of the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil (r. 1218-37), and explains that the sultan encouraged him to engage in writing, so he chose apologetic and first focused on the Christians. This information indicates that he had evidently caught the sultan's eye because of his abilities, and, as Fritsch (*Islam und Christentum*, p. 18) observes, that *Adillat al-wahdāniyya* was his first attempt at literary activity, suggesting that he may have been relatively young when he wrote it.

Al-Iskandarī says that, when circumstances allowed, he intended to write a similar work against the Jews. Nothing more is known about this or any other work he may have written.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Adillat al-wahdāniyya

Secondary

E. Fritsch, *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Muslimischen Polemik gegen das Christentum in arabischer Sprache*, Breslau, 1930, p. 18

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Adillat al-waḥdāniyya fī l-radd ‘alā l-milla
l-Naṣrāniyya, ‘Proofs of divine unity in refutation
of the Christian community’*

DATE Between 1218 and 1237

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work has not been edited or even studied closely since the time of Fritsch. This description must, therefore, rely on what he says (pp. 18-20).

After an introduction in which al-Iskandarī explains the circumstances in which he wrote, the work is divided into four parts. In the first, where Christian mouthpieces are employed, he sets out the main Christian topics he intends to refute: the Incarnation and its significance; the crucifixion of Christ; Psalm 22 as a messianic prophecy; proofs of the Trinity; Old Testament antetypes of the cross; Old Testament prophecies about Christ; doctrines about God and Christ as agreed by the Councils of the Church. In the second part he responds to these topics, and in the third he criticizes the contradictions between the same stories as they appear in the different Gospels. And then in the fourth part he sets out the prophecies of Muḥammad in the Gospels (see ‘Bibliographie’, p. 255, for slightly different descriptions).

The work was written for the ruler whom Francis of Assisi attempted to convert in 1219 during the course of the Fifth Crusade. It is tempting to think that the upheavals caused in Egyptian society by the Frankish armies, and possibly the expectations their presence raised among Copts, contributed towards al-Iskandarī’s decision to write on this topic.

While he does not name any sources, al-Iskandarī evidently made use of works containing biblical references, although his versions are often free and not closely related to any text. In one place he identifies the monk ‘Sāniqlijūs’ as the author of an inferior translation of the Psalms from Greek into Arabic, and in another he complains that the Septuagint was the source of mistaken beliefs about Christ because it was a bad translation. His work has an element of populism about it, with no theological arguments but including stories.

SIGNIFICANCE

Without a full examination of the work it is difficult to be too precise about it, though it evidently appears to reflect attitudes towards

Christians that had been firmly established for some time: Christian doctrines were misguided and irrational, because they were founded on flawed versions of scripture.

The four-part structure reflects a number of works written by converts from Christianity, starting with al-Ḥasan ibn Ayyūb (q.v.) in the 10th century and including Naṣr ibn Yaḥyā (q.v.) in the 12th century (the dates of his death are given as 1193 and also 1163). It is possible that this work is related to them and continues the same tradition.

MANUSCRIPTS

Two MSS are referred to in 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 4 (1978) p. 255, one in Berlin and the other in Istanbul. Fritsch, *Islam und Christentum*, p. 18, identifies the Berlin MS as Staatsbibliothek, Landberg 118 (c. 1300), incorrectly attributed to al-Suhrawardī and lacking part of the introduction. The Istanbul MS is probably Suleymaniye – Reisulkuttab 586 (date unknown).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES

'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 4 (1978) p. 255

Fritsch, *Islam und Christentum*, pp. 17-20

David Thomas

Ibn 'Askar

Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn 'Alī (ibn 'Ubayd Allāh)
ibn Khaḍīr ibn Hārūn al-Ghassānī

DATE OF BIRTH About 1188
PLACE OF BIRTH Malaga
DATE OF DEATH 12 January 1239
PLACE OF DEATH Malaga

BIOGRAPHY

Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, known as Ibn 'Askar, was a noted jurist of Malaga. Among his teachers were his uncle Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Shaykh, the author of *Kitāb alif bā'*, and Abū 'Alī 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Majīd al-Rundī.

During the rule of Muḥammad ibn Hūd (1230-38), Ibn 'Askar served as deputy to the judge Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Judhāmī al-Nubāhī (d. 1233), though he lost his position when Abū 'Abdallāh was imprisoned for insurrection. In May 1238, Ibn 'Askar was again appointed judge by the Naṣrid Muḥammad I, though he held the position for less than a year, since he died in January 1239.

Ibn 'Askar was highly esteemed as a jurist and he was also a reputed author of poetry and other works of a diverse nature. His *Ikmāl wa-l-itmām fī ṣilat al-i'lām* on the scholars of Malaga is without doubt his best known work, but he also wrote on other topics such as Hadith, grammar and asceticism.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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- Ibn al-Abbār, *Al-takmila li-Kitāb al-ṣila*, ed. 'A.S. al-Harrās, 2 vols, Casablanca, s.d., ii, pp. 139-40, no. 364
- Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, *Al-dhayl wa-l-takmila li-kitābay al-Mawṣūl wa-l-Ṣila*, vol. 1, ed. M. Bencherifa, Beirut, s.d., p. 182; vol. 6, ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut, 1973, pp. 449-52, no. 1218
- Ibn al-Zubayr, *Kitāb ṣilat al-ṣila*, ed. 'A.S. al-Harrās and S. al-A'rāb, 3 vols, Rabat, 1993, iii, pp. 416-17, no. 224

- Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, ed. B.'A. Ma'rūf and M.H. al-Sirhān, 23 vols, Beirut, 1984, 1986³, xxiii, pp. 25-26, no. 48
- Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Al-iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, ed. 'A.A. 'Inān, 4 vols, Cairo, 1974, ii, pp. 172-75
- Al-Nubāhī, *Tārikh quḍāt al-Andalus aw-Kitāb al-marqaba l-'ulyā fī-man yastahiqq al-qaḍā' wa-l-futyā*, ed. S. al-Hawwārī, Beirut, 2006, pp. 126-27, 136
- Al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb bughyat al-wu'āt*, Cairo, 1326 AH (1908), p. 76

Secondary

- M.I. Calero Secall, art. 'Ibn 'Askar, Abū 'Abd Allāh', in *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*
- M.I. Calero Secall, art. 'Ibn 'Askar, Abū 'Abd Allāh', in *Enciclopedia de al-Andalus. Diccionario de autores y obras andalusies*, Granada, 2002, pp. 505-8, no. 262
- Ibn Khamīs, *A'lām Mālaqa*, ed. al-Targhī, pp. 18-22 (editor's biography of Ibn 'Askar)
- M.I. Calero Secall and V. Martínez Enamorado, *Mālaqa, ciudad de al-Andalus*, Malaga, 1995, pp. 38, 430-31
- M. al-Fāsī, 'Kitāb Ibn 'Askar wa-Ibn Khamīs fī mashāhīr Mālaqa', *Al-Manāhil* 13 (1978) 125-35
- J.D. Latham, art. 'Ibn 'Askar, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Khaḍīr b. Hārūn al-Ghassānī', in *EL2* (Supplement)
- J. Vallé Bermejo, 'Una fuente importante de la historia de al-Andalus. La "Historia" de Ibn 'Askar', *Al-Andalus* 31 (1966) 237-80, pp. 238-41
- F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos arábigo-españoles*, Madrid, 1898, p. 285, no. 242

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-ikmāl wa-l-itmām fī ṣilat al-I'lām bi-maḥāsīn al-a'lām min ahl Mālaqa al-kirām, 'Completion and conclusion, on the continuation of Information about the virtues of the eminent people of Malaga'; *Maṭla' al-anwār wa-nuzhat al-baṣā'ir wa-l-abṣār fī mā iḥtawat 'alayhi Mālaqa min al-a'lām wa-l-ru'asā' wa-l-akhyār wa-taqyīd mā lahum min al-manāqib wa-l-āthār*, 'Uplifting of lights and delectation of discernments and insights, on the eminent people, leaders and outstanding personalities of Malaga, including their virtues and deeds'

DATE 1239, unfinished

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

As is indicated by one of its titles, Ibn 'Askar's work is the continuation (*ṣila*) of *Al-i'lām bi-maḥāsin al-a'lām min ahl Mālaqa al-kirām*, the lost work of Abū l-'Abbās Aṣṣbagh ibn 'Alī ibn Abī l-'Abbās (d. 1196). Ibn 'Askar died before finishing it, and it was completed by his nephew, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Khamīs, of whom almost nothing is known.

The *Ikmāl wa-l-itmām fi ṣilat al-I'lām* comprises biographies of 174 personages, most of them from Almohad times, who were born in Malaga or were linked with it in some way. It originally contained a geographical section, but both this and many of the biographies in the incomplete unicum have been lost.

Significant among references to Christians in the work is the account of 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn, the *muwallad* who rebelled against the Umayyads in Bobastro (Serranía of Ronda) in 878, and kept up his resistance until near his death in 918. Supported by local Christians and other *muwallads*, he extended his power beyond the province of Rayya and acted as a lord, 'jealously protecting the honor of women' (*Ikmāl wa-l-itmām*, ed. al-Targhī, p. 325). In 899 he is supposed to have converted from Islam to Christianity, his ancestral faith.

Ibn 'Askar reports that one of Ibn Ḥafṣūn's fiercest opponents was Abū Hurayra 'Uzayz ibn Muḥammad, who was later rewarded by 'Abd al-Raḥmān III for the part he played against him (*Ikmāl wa-l-itmām*, p. 294). Abū Hurayra not only fought against Ibn Ḥafṣūn but also wrote a refutation of Christianity and Judaism entitled *Kayfiyyat al-īmān wa-l-radd 'alā ahl al-kitāb min al-Kitāb* ('The nature of faith and refutation of the People of the Book from the Book'), which, as M. Fierro points out ('Cuatro preguntas en torno a Ibn Ḥafṣūn', *Al-Qanṭara* 16 [1995], p. 245), shows that the struggle was not only of arms but also of ideology.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn 'Askar/Ibn Khamīs' *Ikmāl wa-l-itmām fi ṣilat al-I'lām* is important not only for the historical documentation and the poetry it contains, but also for the details it provides about attitudes between Christians and Muslims. These show the depth to which hostility was ingrained in the society of the time.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Rabat, Royal Library – 1055 (possibly 15th-16th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Abū 'Abdallāh ibn 'Askar wa-Abū Bakr ibn Khamīs. A'lām Mālaqa, ed. al-Targhī, Rabat, 1999

Ş. Jarrār, *Ibn Khamīs. Kitāb udabā' Mālaqa al-musammā Maṭla' al-anwār wa-nuzhat al-baṣā'ir wa-l-abṣār fī mā ihtawat 'alayhi Mālaqa min al-a'lām wa-l-ru'asā' wa-l-akhyār wa-taqyīd mā lahum min al-manāqib wa-l-āthār*, Amman, 1999

Vallvé Bermejo, 'Una fuente importante de la historia de al-Andalus' (several of the biographies containing significant historical information)

STUDIES

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Consejo de Redacción, art. 'Ibn Jamīs, Abū Bakr', in *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*

M.'A.A. 'Inān et al. (eds), *Fahāris al-khizāna al-ḥasaniyya*, vol. 1: *Fihris qism al-tārīkh wa-kutub al-riḥalāt wa-l-ijāzāt*, Rabat, 2000, pp. 111-12

M.I. Calero Secall, 'Málaga almohade. Políticos y ulemas', in M.L. Ávila and M. Fierro (eds), *Biografías almohades II*, Madrid, 2000, 285-314, pp. 299-300

Al-Targhī, *A'lām Mālaqa*, pp. 37-57

Calero Secall and Martínez Enamorado, *Málaga, ciudad de al-Andalus, passim*, esp. pp. 37-38

Al-Fāsi, 'Kitāb Ibn 'Askar wa-Ibn Khamīs fī mashāhīr Mālaqa'

Latham, art. 'Ibn 'Askar, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Khaḍīr b. Hārūn al-Ghassānī'

Vallvé Bermejo, 'Una fuente importante de la historia de al-Andalus'

É. Lévi-Provençal, 'Sur deux poètes de Malaga du x^e siècle', *Arabica* 1 (1954) 289-93

Mayte Penelas

Lucas of Tuy

Lucas Tudensis

DATE OF BIRTH	Between about 1180 and 1200
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	1249
PLACE OF DEATH	Tuy

BIOGRAPHY

Almost all we know about the life of Lucas of Tuy comes from his own works. Although his origins are uncertain, he identified himself as being from León (*in hac nostra civitate*). His forename is unusual, and Peter Linehan ('Dates and doubts') has suggested that he may have been of Italian origin.

It is generally accepted that he was a Canon Regular at the collegiate church of St Isidore in the town of León, but we have no indisputable documentary evidence of this (a list of canons of the community, included in an obituary of St Isidore in 1234, does not mention him). In León, he did not rise above the rank of deacon, but he became bishop of Tuy in Galicia in 1239, at a time when he bore the title *magister scholarum*. He undertook some journeys, specifically to Rome in 1234, and he died in 1249.

Four works by Lucas are currently known, one having only very recently (2006) been attributed to him. The *Chronicon mundi*, the most extensive and most important Hispano-Latin chronicle of the 13th century, like Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *De rebus Hispania*, was written in the 1230s, almost certainly between 1232 and 1237-39. *De altera vita*, an anti-heretical treatise, unique in Spain at this time, was written between 1235 and 1237. *Liber miraculorum beatissimi Isidori* was begun between 1221 and 1224. It appears to have been finished before Lucas's elevation to the episcopate, thus before 1239. *The vision of John, hermit of Asturias* is a much shorter work, written between July and December 1234. Although the author is not named, it was very convincingly attributed to Lucas in 2006 (Lerner and Morerod, 'The Vision of "John hermit of the Asturias"').

From the point of view of Christian-Muslim relations, the most interesting and least well-known passages are in the largely unedited *Liber miraculorum*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Information about Lucas of Tuy, at least regarding the period during which he was writing, comes from his own works, particularly the *Liber miraculorum* and the *De altera vita*. After his appointment to the episcopacy of Tuy in 1239, he is referred to in a number of documents.

Secondary

- B.F. Reilly, 'Bishop Lucas of Túy and the Latin chronicle tradition in Iberia', *Catholic Historical Review* 93 (2007), 767-88
- R.E. Lerner and C. Morerod, 'The vision of "John, Hermit of the Asturias". Lucas of Tuy apostolic religion, and eschatological expectation', *Traditio* 61 (2006), 195-225
- P. Linehan, 'Fechas y sospechas sobre Lucas de Tuy', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 32 (2002), 19-38
- P. Linehan, 'On further thought. Lucas of Tuy, Rodrigo of Toledo and the Alfonso histories', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 27 (1997), 415-35

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Liber miraculorum beatissimi Ysidori, 'Book of the miracles of the most blessed Isidore'

DATE Before 1239

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Liber miraculorum beatissimi Isidori* (this is the form given in the *oratio auctoris*; in the Prologue it is *Liber miraculorum sancti doctoris Ysidori*) was begun between 1221 and 1224 and certainly finished before 1239. It relates events following the translation of the relics of the saint from Seville, at that time a Muslim city, to the city of León in 1063.

The matters reported relate to the period from that date to the beginning of the 13th century, but those specifically related to the saint's miracles in Seville, which are discussed below, are difficult to date. Lucas's principal (indirect) informant is a Christian aristocrat, Pedro Fernández de Castro, who spent some time in Seville at the end of the 12th century,

when he was in the service of the Almohad authorities; he fought on the Muslim side at the battle of Alarcos in 1195. Pedro was reportedly cured at the tomb of Isidore in Seville (even though the relics had been in León for more than a century) and he then reportedly asked the inhabitants of the town (most likely Christians) to tell him what they knew about the saint's miracles. Pedro Fernández was a friend of the canons of the collegiate church of St Isidore (he is included in its obituaries), which explains how in due course Lucas was able to gather information about Seville.

The details recorded are placed by Lucas in the reign of King 'Miramolín' (*Miramolinus*), a generic term that may refer to one of several rulers. The most likely candidate, at least if we take the logic of Lucas's text seriously, is Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr (1184-99), which would point to a Christian presence in Seville later than is generally accepted. Moreover, things are made even more complicated by the fact that Lucas does not set his chapters in chronological order and intersperses incidents that took place after the destruction of the church of Isidore (chs 20, 21) with others that took place when it was still standing (chs 18, 19, but also 23).

The *Book of the miracles of St Isidore* is made up of 75 chapters, the last 24 constituting in fact a *Vita* of St Martin of León (d. 1203). The work has not yet been edited (apart from the *Vita Martini*), and takes up 39 folios, closely written in two columns, in San Isidoro de León codex 63, the most reliable of the ones that have been preserved. The chapters that have an abundance of clues to relations between Christians and Muslims or Christian perceptions of Muslims make up about 19% of the whole, of which about 15% are miracles described for the first time in Lucas's text.

The miracle stories in which Muslims play a part can be divided into three groups: miracles that show the respect the 'Ishmaelites' had for Isidore, with some instances of conversion; punishment miracles; conquest miracles, with the saint taking part in the military struggle against Islam in the Peninsula.

The *Miracula beatissimi Isidori* exhibits a kind of 'syncretistic devotion to Isidore' to an extent found in few other texts. The first account of the translation of Isidore's relics had already shown that in 1063 King 'Benabeth' (al-Mu'tadid) had complained about the removal of the relics of Isidore and had placed a valuable silk cloth over his coffin. Lucas takes up the story following the second account of the translation (end of the 12th century), but he also includes many miracles that took place

at the saint's original tomb, in Seville, after the relics had been taken away to León by the envoys of Ferdinand I (1063). A fig tree had once miraculously sprung up on this spot. Several of these accounts refer to Muslims praying to the Christian saint. The most important concerns a prominent man called 'Abencazi' and his son, who was possessed by the devil. The child was cured twice by the saint, and the father, through Isidore, waged battle 'against other Moors called "majorqins"' (*contra alios Agarenos quos maiorquinos vocant*). Father and son went to the site of Isidore's original tomb, for 'they had heard tell of the miracles that Isidore performed at that spot', and are described as praying there for several days.

But Lucas is not satisfied with describing Muslims as devotees of Isidore in Seville. He also attests that, at the time some miracles took place in León, Jews and Christians rejoiced and sang the praises of the confessor saint (ch. 15).

The respect felt by Muslims for St Isidore is, unsurprisingly, accompanied by a number of stories of conversion. The first is that of the famous 'Zayda the Moor', whom King Alfonso VI later married, here presented as the daughter of King 'Bebabeth' (al-Mu'tadid) of Seville, although she was in reality only his step-daughter. In this account, which has no known precedent, Isidore appears to Benabeth, who also wants to convert but does not do so 'out of fear of the Moors' and being afraid of losing his kingdom.

The father and his demon-possessed son referred to above also convert, with this particularly interesting note: having become Christians, the two converts reportedly travelled to Morocco to live 'among the Christians who were called "Arrom"' (*quos arromes dicunt*), probably Arabic-speaking Christians, sometimes referred to as *Rūm*. This most probably indicates that by then, at the end of the 12th century, the Christian community in Seville had almost disappeared.

The punishment miracles are all set in Seville. In ch. 20, King Miramolin commands that the area where the church consecrated to Isidore is situated should be turned into a garden, and he also forbids Muslims from going to pray there, on pain of death. The church is destroyed and the stones are used to build walls and mosques in the city. Consequently, three muezzins (*sacerdos eorum, qui ab eis almodonus nuncupabatur*) fall to their death from a minaret built with these stones. The mosque is not identified. In the gardens the king has created, three swords and two suits of armor are found, which gives rise the hope that treasure may be discovered there, but the workmen are suddenly paralysed, and they

then die with their entrails spilling out. The king gives up looking for the supposed treasure, and abandons his whole undertaking, and then falls ill. Later, he permits Christian believers to visit the place.

Ch. 23 introduces a Muslim paper maker who was accustomed to dry the paper he made on the walls of the church of St Isidore (clearly before its destruction). Careless of the reproaches of the Christians, he blasphemes the name of Isidore. His hand sticks to the wall with his paper, and he loses it as well as his life. This episode took place in Seville, not in León, as has been erroneously stated (Henriet, 'Xénophobie et intégration isidoriennes à León').

In line with the second account of the translation of Isidore's relics, written some decades before the *Liber miraculorum*, Isidore too becomes a champion of the *Reconquista*. He is the successor to St James, who is relegated to the role of an unobtrusive onlooker (Henriet, 'Hagiographie et politique à León'). In Lucas's text, Isidore participates indirectly in the taking of Toledo (1085), the defense of Ciudad Rodrigo under Ferdinand II (1157-88), and particularly in the short-lived taking of Baeza by Alfonso VII (1147). This last chapter is central to the overall structure of the work, and shows both how Isidore granted the necessary strength to the king, whose forces were fewer than the vast Muslim army, and also how the nuns of St Isidore were replaced by Canons Regular at the same time as a lay community was founded with Isidore as their patron. The Ciudad Rodrigo incident, as he relates it, provides some interesting information about the ferocity – or at least assumed ferocity – of the hostilities. Lucas describes the routed Moors being pursued by the women of the town, armed with sticks and cudgels, who 'carve them up like animals'. After the battle, the Christians took three months to dispose of the bodies of the Muslims, tossing them into great pits.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Liber miraculorum beatissimi Isidori* is an exceptional and little-known source for the study of Christian-Muslim relations in Spain at the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century. The miracle stories several times portray a semi-syncretistic cult of devotion to Isidore, in Seville as well as in León, that was followed by both Christians and some Muslims, to the extent that Almohad power seemed to be upset. Naturally, account must be taken of the significance of this hagiographical composition as anti-Islamic propaganda, but Lucas certainly did not invent it all and his main source of information, Pedro Fernández de Castro, is a perfectly identifiable historical character.

Lucas's collection of stories also provides a whole sequence of information about the last days of the Christian community in Seville, perhaps a few decades later than has generally been proposed. It is certainly not always easy to know whether the Christians in question were just passing through (merchants, soldiers, etc.) or whether they were the remaining members of the Christian community that had been living there since the time of the Muslim conquest. Whatever the case, the account gives the impression that there was perhaps an indigenous community, doubtless much depleted, until the 1190s. The destruction of the church, the fact that a prominent Muslim convert to Christianity decided to go to Morocco, and, finally, the fact that there were no longer any Christians in the town at the time of its conquest in 1248, suggest that, without specifically saying so, Lucas in fact describes the final days of the local Christian community. It is worth noting in conclusion the interest the work has in the construction of Isidore as a 'military' saint, and supporter of the *Reconquista*, after St James but doubtless before St Millán.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS León, Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León – codex 63 (beginning of the 16th century; the best MS)

MS León, Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León – codex 61 (beginning of the 16th century; almost certainly a copy of codex 63)

MS Toledo, Biblioteca Pública, Colección Borbón-Lorenzana – 58 (18th century; a copy of León – codex 61)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Liber miraculorum beatissimi Isidori, ed. P. Henriet (in preparation in *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* [CCCM] 74 B, including a new edition of the "The vision of "John, Hermit of the Asturias"', ed. C. Morerod)

De altera vita, ed. E. Falque, Turnhout, 2009 (CCCM 74 A)

R.E. Lerner and C. Morerod, 'The Vision of "John hermit of the Asturias". Lucas of Tuy, apostolic religion, and eschatological expectation', *Traditio* 61 (2006) 195-225, pp. 218-25 (edition of the Vision convincingly attributed to Lucas of Tuy for the first time)

Chronicon mundi, ed. E. Falque (CCCM 74), Turnhout, 2003

P. Henriet, 'Sanctissima patria. Points communs entre les trois œuvres de Lucas', *Cahiers de Linguistique et de Civilisation Hispaniques Médiévales* 24 (2001) 249-78, pp. 264-65 (ch. 2 of the *Liber miraculorum*, account of the conversion of Zaida, copied from León MS 63, with French trans.)

- P. Henriet, 'Hagiographie et politique à León au début du XIII^e siècle. Les chanoines réguliers de Saint-Isidore et la prise de Baeza', *Revue Mabillon*, n.s. 8 (= t. 69) (1997) 53-82, pp. 77-82 (edition of the *Liber miraculorum* account of the taking of Baeza)
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- A. Viñayo-González, *San Martín de León y su apologética antijudía*, Madrid, 1948, pp. 217-23 (the *Vita Martini Legionensis* contained in the last 24 chs of the *Liber miraculorum*)
- J. Pérez Llamazares, *Milagros de San Isidoro*, León, 1947 (repr. León, 1992; revision of the trans. by Juan de Robles [1525] with apologetic notes by Julio Pérez Llamazares)
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- F.A. Lorenzana, *Sancti Martini Legionensis presbyteri et canonici regulari ordinis sancti Augustini in regio coenobio Legionensi D. Isidoro Hispalensi sacro*, Segovia, 1782 (Opera, I) (the *Vita Martini Legionensis* contained in the last 24 chs of the *Liber miraculorum*, repr. in *PL* 208, cols 9-24)
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P. Henriët

Būlus al-Būshī

Paul of Bush

DATE OF BIRTH	Approximately 1170s
PLACE OF BIRTH	Perhaps Būsh, Middle Egypt
DATE OF DEATH	Approximately 1250
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; perhaps Miṣr (Old Cairo)

BIOGRAPHY

We know surprisingly little about the life of one of the greatest Coptic Orthodox theologians of the 13th century, the monk, priest, and (from 1240) bishop, Būlus al-Būshī. His name indicates that he (or his family) came from the Middle Egyptian town of Būsh, just north of Beni Suef. He became a monk, although we do not know precisely where. A manuscript note describes Būlus as a *rafiq*, ‘companion’, of Dā’ūd [al-Fayyūmī], who later became Patriarch Cyril III ibn Laqlaq (the 75th Coptic patriarch, 1235-43 [q.v.]); they may have been fellow monks in one of the monasteries of the Fayyūm.

Our most concrete information about Būlus’ life derives from his role in the story of Dā’ūd al-Fayyūmī, later Patriarch Cyril III. From the biography of Cyril by Yūḥannā ibn Wahb (q.v.) we learn that that when Patriarch John VI died in 1216, Dā’ūd and Būlus were among the candidates to succeed him. However, the patriarchal selection process devolved into a struggle of pro-Dā’ūd and anti-Dā’ūd factions, which ended in stalemate. A renewed attempt to choose a patriarch in 1225 led to Dā’ūd and Būlus being invited to debate in the presence of the Ayyūbid sultan, al-Malik al-Kāmil; but this process too was inconclusive. It was not until 1235 that Dā’ūd was made patriarch and given the name ‘Cyril’, but he soon provoked opposition, especially because of the fees he charged for appointments to office (that is, the practice of ‘simony’). At a hearing held at the Citadel in September 1240, the assembled Coptic bishops enacted a reform program that included the appointment of two bishops to oversee the decisions of the patriarch; one of them was Būlus al-Būshī, who was consecrated bishop of Miṣr (Old Cairo). This appointment perhaps indicates the esteem in which Būlus was held by reform-minded leaders of the Church.

We get a fuller sense of Būlus' qualities from his writings (on which see Samir, *Traité*, pp. 29-53). These bear witness to a capable preacher and theologian who was steeped in scripture and the Alexandrian theological tradition. In addition to the theological-apologetic works treated below, we should mention the following writings, all of which have had considerable influence in the Coptic Orthodox Church. Būlus' set of eight *Mayāmir li-l-a'yād al-sayyidiyya* ('Homilies for the feasts of the Lord') achieved wide circulation; three of them were incorporated into a collection alongside treatises of great patristic writers (Samir, *Traité*, pp. 41-42, with further references). Among Būlus' exegetical works was a *Commentary on the Apocalypse* that was important for later commentaries, such as that of Ibn Kātib Qaysar (q.v.). And Būlus contributed, along with Dā'ūd al-Fayyūmī and al-As'ad ibn al-'Assāl, to the *Kitāb al-i'tirāf* ('Book of confession'), also known as the *Kitāb al-mu'allim wa-l-tilmīdh* ('Book of the master and the disciple' – here in 22 chapters), which defended the ancient practice of confession to a priest after the practice had fallen out of favor in the Coptic Orthodox Church. (On this controversy, see the articles in this volume on Marqus ibn al-Qunbar and Michael of Damietta.)

It should be pointed out that homiletic and exegetical works such as those just mentioned are not without significance to the history of Christian-Muslim encounters. For example, in the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* (on Revelation 13:11-18), Būlus does not hesitate to repeat the old observation that 666 is the numerical value of Coptic 'Mametios', understood as a transliteration of 'Muḥammad' (Davis, 'Introducing an Arabic commentary', pp. 84-85). In his *Maymar al-qiyāma l-majīda*, 'Homily for the glorious Resurrection' (Manqariyūs 'Awaḍallāh, *Maqālāt*, pp. 78-98), Būlus carefully harmonizes the Gospels' resurrection accounts. Might this be a response to Muslim controversialists' charges of *taḥrīf*? Perhaps, but Būlus and other preachers like him have no need to say so explicitly.

Two other works should be mentioned. A certain *Kitāb al-tajassud*, 'On the Incarnation', is attributed to Būlus al-Būshī in MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 262 (Graf 430, Simaika 455), fols 98r-119r; it turns out to be a biblical and patristic *florilegium* (Samir, *Traité*, pp. 36-39). For the *Mujādala* or 'Disputation' text that recounts the discussion of Būlus and Dā'ūd al-Fayyūmī at the court of al-Malik al-Kāmil, see the entry in this volume on Cyril III ibn Laqlaq.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Secondary

- Any general study of the history of the Coptic Orthodox Church will mention Būlus al-Būshī in the context of the story of his confrere and rival, Dā'ūd al-Fayyūmī, known as Ibn Laqlaq, who became Pope Cyril III (1235-43); for bibliography, see the article on him in the present volume. The following list is necessarily selective.
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- S.K. Samir, art. 'Paulos v. Buš', in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd ed., 11 vols, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1993-2001, vii, col. 1515
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-maqāla al-ūlā min qawl al-qiddīs Būlus al-Būshī, usquf Miṣr, 'alā ma'rifat al-ilāh al-wāḥid wa-l-thālūth wa-l-tajassud, min al-qiyās al-'aqlī, 'The first treatise, from the sayings of the holy Paul of Būsh, Bishop of Old Cairo, on the knowledge of the one God, the Trinity, and the Incarnation, on the basis of rational argument'

Maqāla fi l-tathlīth wa-l-tajassud wa-ṣiḥḥat al-masīḥiyya, 'Treatise on the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the truth of Christianity'

DATE Unknown, sometime in the first half of the 13th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

We do not know the original title of Būlus al-Būshī's theological-apologetic work which has been published under the title *Maqāla fī l-tathlīth wa-l-tajassud wa-ṣiḥḥat al-masīḥiyya* ('Treatise on the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the truth of Christianity'). In the study that accompanies his edition of the work, Samir (*Traité*, pp. 89-102) has shown that the *Maqāla*, which occupies 14 folios in the unique manuscript (and 130 pages in the generously-spaced edition), is in fact lacking at its beginning; the title with which the text in its present state begins was supplied by a copyist. Samir concludes that the work originally consisted of four 'books' (*kitāb*): 1. On the unicity of God (now mostly missing); 2. On the Trinity (beginning missing); 3. On the Incarnation; and 4. On the truth of Christianity.

Throughout the treatise, it is clear that we are dealing with a work of Christian apologetics. The form is largely dialectical, in which the questions or statements of unspecified but presumably Muslim interlocutors are introduced with formulae such as *in qālū* ('if they say'), *in qultum* ('if you say'), or *in qāla qā'il* ('if someone says'), etc., to which Būlus gives his response. Furthermore, it quickly becomes clear that Būlus has learned much from earlier Arabophone theologians, in particular from the 9th-century West Syrian *mutakallim* Ḥabīb Abū Rā'īṭa al-Takrītī (q.v.).

In Book One ('On the unicity of God'), for example, Būlus takes from Ḥabīb his exploitation of Aristotle's definitions of 'the one' (from the Arabic translation of *Topics* I.7), whether in genus (*jins*), number (*'adad*), or species (*naw'*). Būlus, like Ḥabīb, alludes to Q 42:11, *laysa ka-mithlihi shay'* ('No thing is like Him'), in order to make the point that God may *not* be described as 'one' in the way that creatures may routinely be described as 'one'.

The borrowings from Ḥabīb are especially abundant in Book Two ('On the Trinity'; for a comparison and table of correspondences, see Samir, *Traité*, pp. 94-97). These borrowings include Ḥabīb's well-known argument for why there should be just *three* hypostases: three is the number of perfection (*kamāl*) since, as the sum of the first odd integer and the first even one, it in principle contains *all* the integers within itself.

Book Three ('On the Incarnation') has recently received considerable scholarly attention; see the works of Davis and Faltas in the bibliography. The first part of the book (chs 1-6 in Samir's edition) continues to be dialectical in form – and continues to show how much Būlus had learned from Ḥabīb. It is noteworthy that both authors 'rhyme' Incarnation with Creation and make appeal to Q 23:115 (that God did not create *'abathan*,

'frivolously') in order to defend the necessity and purposiveness of the Incarnation. In the second part of the book (chs 7-9), Būlus breaks new ground, moving from the necessity of the Incarnation to its 'fruits' and providing a 'Eucharistic commentary on John 6:51-57' with deep roots in Alexandrian patristic tradition (Davis, *Coptic Christology*, pp. 245-51).

Book Four ('On the truth of Christianity') is a 'true religion' apology with some interesting (and perhaps original?) elements. In a first part, Būlus makes a sharp distinction between an apostle (*rasūl*) and a prophet (*nabī*). Apostles, such as those sent out by Christ, have seven distinguishing characteristics: they were sent to *all* peoples; they were equipped with the languages in which they had to preach; they had no recourse to the sword; they went to other than their own people; they did not attract people with earthly pleasures (such as polygamy); they were poor and traveled without crowds of supporters; and they performed miracles. The stated comparison, of course, is between Christ's apostles and the prophets of the Old Testament; one is left to make one's own judgment about more recent claims to apostleship. In a second part, Būlus argues that the true religion is known through prophecy, through evidentiary miracles, and by rational arguments. These all point to Christ, who, in addition, had witness borne to him by angels, demons, and human beings.

SIGNIFICANCE

Būlus al-Būshī's 'Treatise on the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the truth of Christianity' is significant as a meeting point in the Arab Christian tradition between the creative apologetics of 9th-century writers such as Ḥabīb Abū Rā'īṭa on the one hand, and, on the other, the Alexandrian exegetical and theological traditions that, here and elsewhere, Būlus brought to expression in Arabic.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 68, fols 131r-133r (1339; extract from 'On the Incarnation')

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Huntington 240, fols 82r-95v (1549)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Davis, *Coptic Christology in practice*, pp. 299-306 (trans. of 'On the Incarnation', from Samir's edition)

Faltas, *Ho megas Athanasios hōs pēgē tēs theologias tou Būlūs al-Būšī*, pp. 29-52 (Greek trans. of 'On the Incarnation'; the Arabic text is given in an appendix)

- Samir, *Traité de Paul de Būš sur l'Unité et la Trinité, l'Incarnation, et la vérité du christianisme* (critical edition from the Bodleian MS, with an introductory study and an exhaustive index; for the text of the extract in Paris Ar. 68, see pp. 54-69)
- S.K. [Samīr], 'Maqāla li-Būlus al-Būshī fi ṣiḥḥat madhhab al-Naṣrāniyya', *Ṣadiq al-Kāhin* 18 (1978) 133-49, 213-17
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- S.K. [Samīr], 'Thimār al-tajassud. Al-ḥayāt al-abadiyya wa-l-qurbān al-muqaddas, li-Būlus al-Būshī', *Ṣadiq al-Kāhin* 15 (1975) 119-26
- S.K. [Samīr], 'Li-mādhā tajassad Allāh? li-Būlus al-Būshī usqf Miṣr', *Ṣadiq al-Kāhin* 15 (1975) 24-35
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- S.J. Davis, 'The Copto-Arabic tradition of theosis. A eucharistic reading of John 6:51-57 in Būlus al-Būshī's treatise On the Incarnation', in M.J. Christensen and J.A. Wittung (eds), *Partakers of the divine nature. The history and development of deification in the Christian tradition*, Madison NJ, 2007, 163-74
- Jūzīf Mūrīs Faltas, 'Aqīdat "al-khalq min al-'adam" fi kitābāt Būlus al-Būshī', *Dirāsāt Ābā'iyya Lāhūtiyya* 9 (January 2002) 21-26
- Jūzīf Mūrīs [Faltas], 'Ta'thīr al-qiddīs Athanāsiyūs al-rasūlī fi l-ta'līm al-lāhūti li-l-kanīsa l-qibṭiyya', *Dirāsāt Ābā'iyya Lāhūtiyya* 2 (July 1998) 40-53; 3 (January 1999) 8-21
- Faltas, *Ho megas Athanasios*
- Samir, *Traité de Paul de Būš*
- A.F.L. Beeston, 'An important Christian Arabic manuscript in Oxford', *OCP* 19 (1953) 197-205 (on the Bodleian MS)

Maqāla fi l-ʿumr wa-l-rizq, 'Treatise on [the predetermination of] lifespan and sustenance'

DATE Unknown; before 1240

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Maqāla fī l-ʿumr wa-l-rizq* is a small work (three pages in the Beirut MS) in which Būlus responds to a question posed to him by one Fakhr al-Dawla ibn Talmūs (Ptolemy?) al-Kafūrī: Are a human being's lifespan and sustenance predetermined?

According to Samir (*Traité*, p. 32), Fakhr al-Dawla asked for a response from scripture and tradition rather than from human philosophy; Būlus obliged, making special use of 'the book of Ezra the scribe'. Neither Graf nor Samir tell us much more about the contents of the work; we look forward to its publication.

Two additional notes: 1. The *laqab* 'Fakhr al-Dawla' was frequently given to Coptic financial administrators. Būlus' questioner was probably a Copt, but one who in the course of his work may well have had conversation about religious matters with educated Muslims; 2. According to Graf (*GICAL* ii, p. 360), Fakhr al-Dawla's question is addressed to the 'father, priest, and monk Būlus, before he had been consecrated to the see of Miṣr-Cairo'. Thus the work was composed before Būlus' consecration as bishop in 1240.

SIGNIFICANCE

This work concerns a regular topic of Christian-Muslim conversation, in which the qur'anic idea of a divinely fixed term of life (e.g. Q 3:154) met traditional Christian understandings of human freedom (cf. Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq, *Maqāla fī l-ājal*, q.v.). The publication of the text will allow for an assessment of Būlus' contribution to the conversation.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Princeton, University Library – Garrett Ar. 1993, 4th item (18th century)

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 341, pp. 12-14 (1809)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Samir reports that he has prepared the text for publication; Samir, *Traité*, p. 32.

STUDIES

Samir, *Traité*, p. 32

Graf, *GICAL* ii, p. 360

Mark N. Swanson

William of Auvergne

Guillaume d’Auvergne, Guillelmus Alvernus

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; probably between 1180 and 1190

PLACE OF BIRTH Auvergne

DATE OF DEATH Late March (probably 30th) 1249

PLACE OF DEATH Paris

BIOGRAPHY

A native of the Auvergne region in France, probably born in or near Aurillac, William spent his entire professional life in Paris. He was a canon of the cathedral by 1223, and held a chair of theology in the university by 1225 – a twinning of political and intellectual professions that defined his career. William amply demonstrated his political agility in 1227, when, as canon, he contested the irregular election of a new bishop. William represented the dissenting party at Rome, where Pope Gregory IX decided the case (April 1228) in his favor and straightaway ordained him to the priesthood and consecrated him bishop of Paris, a position he held until his death in 1249.

As bishop of Paris, William operated at the highest levels of national politics in France and supra-national politics in the Church. Gregory IX and his successor, Innocent IV, selected William for a number of special missions. These included: the enforcement of legal protections for Franciscans in France (1231 and 1245); the re-negotiation of a peace treaty between France and England (1233-34); the establishment of peace between France and Champagne (1235); and the administration of funds sent to Constantinople for the support of Emperor Baldwin II (1237-38). Anecdotal and documentary evidence from a variety of sources indicates that William was a close advisor to King Louis IX and Louis’s mother, Blanche of Castile (twice regent, 1226-36, 1248-52). In at least one case, his alliance with the crown’s interests was severely criticized by Gregory IX. After a carnival riot in Paris in 1229, which led to the intervention of royal officials and the death of several students, William, siding entirely with Blanche of Castile, refused to negotiate with the university masters, who, outraged at the violation of university rights, had threatened a six-year removal of masters and students from Paris. Instead, William used the opportunity to provide signal support for the mendicants, licensing

the first Dominican chair of theology in the university, an innovation with long-term institutional and intellectual consequences.

William proved a zealous arbiter and enforcer of religious orthodoxy, with no tolerance for heresy. (He argues at length in *De legibus* for the legitimacy of capital punishment for heretics, and defines as heretical the very denial of the legitimacy of such executions.) He condemned ten theological articles in 1241. In 1240, William participated in the first official ecclesiastical investigation of the Talmud, which led to its condemnation for blasphemy and heresy, and in 1242 or 1243 to its first burning. In this affair William successfully united his loyalties to the crown of France and the papacy. Louis IX ordered the confiscation and examination of Hebrew books; Blanche of Castile, representing the crown, presided over the process held against the Talmud. Their efforts represented the single positive response to Pope Gregory IX's appeal to the monarchs of western Europe to judge the Talmud in response to accusations made against it by Nicholas Donin in 1239. Papal condemnation of the Talmud by Innocent IV followed in 1244; and in 1248, William, supported by the masters of theology at Paris, issued a formal condemnation.

As university master and then bishop, William wrote prolifically (more than 24 treatises) on diverse philosophical, theological, biblical, and pastoral subjects. His masterwork was the seven-part *Magisterium divinale ac sapientiale* (a work he calls by other names, including, the *Theologica philosophia*), a series of linked philosophical-theological treatises written over a nearly 20-year period (c. 1220-c. 1240). Among intellectuals associated with the University of Paris, he was one of the earliest readers and critics – often a highly receptive critic – of Jewish and Islamic philosophers, including Avicenna, Solomon ibn Gabirol, and Moses Maimonides. Avicenna, in particular, was condemned by William in several places as representative of a rationalist, explicitly Islamic philosophy ultimately incompatible with the revealed teachings of Judaism and Christianity. There are refutations of certain of Avicenna's ideas in at least three of the seven parts of the *Magisterium divinale ac sapientiale*: *De universo*, *De anima*, and *De fide et legibus*.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

De fide et legibus, 'On faith and laws'

DATE Unknown; probably between about 1220 and 1240

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

De fide et legibus is one of the seven treatises that make up William's *Magisterium divinale ac sapientiale*; internal evidence indicates it was written after his *De sacramentis* and *De virtutibus et moribus*. The first section, *De fide*, is much shorter than the second, *De legibus* (in the 1674 edition, 17 pages for the former as compared with 85 pages for the latter), and the two sections read like two separate treatises – each has its own introduction, for example – but William explicitly refers to them as two parts of a single treatise (p. 67, col. 2). *De legibus* integrates a number of theoretical issues in the study of law and religion, including the relation between natural and revealed law, the relation between law and virtue, and the distinction between literal and spiritual interpretation of the Bible. Fundamentally, however, *De legibus* is about the Law of Moses, its

nature and purpose in ancient Judaism and in Christianity; the Law of Moses is introduced on the second page, just after some general remarks about the nature of faith. The many other subjects in *De legibus*, including the discussion of Muḥammad, are introduced in relation to the Law of Moses, though they are often allowed to take on rather lengthy lives of their own. *De legibus* is about the Law of Moses, and, at the same time, it is shaped throughout by William's long, relentless, and repetitive assault on the many forms of idolatry, past and present, which he believes have always been and always will be a threat to true faith.

De legibus includes two chapters on Muḥammad (18-19) and two chapters on theological questions inspired by his discussion of Muḥammad (20-21). These four chapters amount to 16 pages in the 1674 edition of William's works. The section on Muḥammad follows a clearly indicated transition point. William begins ch. 18 with a summary of what he has accomplished so far – the defense of a literal interpretation of the Law of Moses and the continued observance of most of its precepts in Christianity (chs 2-15), and the condemnation of abuses of spiritual interpretation among Christians (chs 16-17) – in order to clear the way for the 'destruction of the ravings and insanities of Muḥammad, which usurp the name of "law" with intolerable abuse.'

In ch. 18, William provides a series of short observations about the history of Muḥammad and Islam, with little apparent concern for the overall coherence of his account. They are, in order of presentation: Muḥammad was the descendant of Ishmael, the progenitor of the Arab people; Charlemagne arrested and reversed Muslim expansion in Europe; the sect of Muḥammad began in the unsettled times of Emperor Heraclius; Muḥammad should not be confused with the philosopher of the same name, whose book on astrology was translated from Arabic into Latin by Plato Tiburtinus; Muḥammad was led into heresy by the monk Sergius (disciple of the heretic, Nestorius), who inspired Muḥammad by the sanctity of his life and who was called the 'Archangel Gabriel' by Muḥammad; the 'Ishmaelites' have falsely taken the name 'Saracens' from Sarah, but they should more properly be called 'Hagarenes'. William concludes the chapter by acknowledging the success of Muḥammad in attracting believers, a success he attributes to Muḥammad's tireless preaching of 'one, true God', and his energetic campaign against idolatry and 'certain dishonorable things'. But Muḥammad's success, he reminds his readers, gives him all the more reason to refute 'the many absurd and ridiculous things which are found in his law'. As sources for the material in ch. 18, William explicitly cites Josephus, Pseudo-Methodius,

and a *'libellus disputationum cuiusdam Christiani et cuiusdam Sarraceni'*, perhaps a reference to Peter of Toledo's (q.v.) 12th-century translation of *Risālat al-Kindī*.

Ch. 19 is entirely devoted to the condemnation of the 'paradise of Muḥammad' for its intrinsic immorality. William's focus in this chapter is consistent with his dismissive judgment of the 'law of Muḥammad' in ch. 1 of *De legibus*, where he says that the immorality of Muḥammad's teaching makes it unworthy of any comparison to the 'law of the Hebrews'. In two long series of arguments, William condemns the feasting and the sex promised in paradise on grounds both moral and practical (the infinite accumulation of excrement and babies). He seems to refer to the *Libellus* a second time when he asks his readers to consider the quantity of excrement necessarily produced by all the feasting in paradise: 'A certain Christian beautifully mocked a certain Saracen about this, saying to him, "Cursed be the paradise in which all one does is defecate."' At the end of the chapter, William acknowledges that 'certain learned Saracens', seeing the immorality and absurdity of a notion of paradise in which all the pleasures are corporeal, have said that Muḥammad's depiction of paradise cannot be understood literally. But that observation proves to be little more than an occasion for William to find yet another reason to condemn Avicenna, who, according to William's report, 'expressly consented to these ravings' in his *First philosophy*.

William's discussion of the law of Muḥammad in chs 18 and 19 prompts a discussion of several theological opinions inspired by the 'diversity of these laws'. There are some, he says in ch. 20, who think that the Hebrews worship fortune, the Saracens nature, and the Christians grace, but their opinion, he concludes, betrays their ignorance of the three laws, and is not to be taken seriously. On the other hand, the idea that Judaism began under the influence of Saturn, Islam under the influence of Venus, Christianity under the influence of the sun, and various heresies under the influence of planetary conjunctions, is considered at length, so that he can adequately refute the idea that religious sects of any sort, whether true or false, are caused by planetary or other celestial powers. Ch. 21 is a long refutation of the idea, here explicitly attributed to Muḥammad, that 'everyone is to be saved in his faith or law or sect, as long as he believes it to be good and from God and does it to please him'; William presents a series of arguments showing how appropriate it is that very few are saved and very many damned.

In chs 18 and 19 William emphasizes the immorality and absurdity of Muḥammad's teaching, though he does not accuse him of idolatry. In

fact, in ch. 18, he admits that Muḥammad ‘effectively and energetically wiped out idolatry with the sword’. This is consistent with praise given to ‘perfidious Muḥammad’ for being on the right side in the battle against worship of planets as gods (ch. 24), and of the ‘kingdoms of the Saracens’ for having, along with Christians and Jews, ‘exterminated’ worship of the gods (ch. 24) and brought an end to the worship of weather phenomena (ch. 25). On the other hand, William also thinks that ‘every kind of sin promotes idolatry’ (ch. 24), and this certainly includes the gluttony and lust which he thinks Muḥammad enshrined as the ultimate goals of human life. And in his discussion (ch. 2) of Exodus 20:26, which forbids the use of steps to the altar ‘so that your nakedness may not be exposed on it’, he identifies certain practices of the ‘Saracens’ as remnants of sex-related (Venus and Priapus) idolatry, namely ‘worshipping with the little finger of one person’s hand inserted in the anus of another’, and ‘bending over to throw stones between their legs behind them at a certain corner of the house in Mecca in which the body of Muḥammad is located’.

SIGNIFICANCE

De legibus shows William’s familiarity with a limited number of earlier Christian writings on Islam, but it is William’s own theological interests, mainly his long, positive consideration of the Law of Moses, that prompt his refutation of what he sees as Muḥammad’s sham revelation, a set of immoral and absurd teachings that he thinks does not even deserve to be called ‘law’. Though his criticism of Muḥammad is emphatic, the *De legibus* as a whole is more concerned with the condemnation of idolatry, including contemporary idolatry, than with the condemnation of Islam. And William is clearly more concerned about Christians (and Jews) who deny the literal sense, or the pre-eminence of the literal sense, of the Law of Moses than he is about followers of Muḥammad. The *De legibus* circulated widely, but there are no clear indications that later philosopher-theologians in Paris or elsewhere followed William’s treatment of Islam in their own works.

MANUSCRIPTS

There are 35 extant manuscripts. See J.R. Ottman, ‘List of manuscripts and editions’, in F. Morenzoni and J.-Y. Tilliette (eds), *Autour de Guillaume d’Auvergne (d.1249)*, Turnhout, 2005, 381-83.

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- G. Corti, 'Le sette parte del *Magisterium divinale et sapientiale* di Guglielmo di Auvergne', in *Studi e ricerche di scienze religiose in onore dei santi apostoli Pietro et Paulo nel XIX centenario del loro martirio*, Rome, 1968, 289-307

Sean Murphy

Jacques de Vitry

Jacobus Vitriacus, James of Vitry, Jakob von Vitry

DATE OF BIRTH 1160-70
PLACE OF BIRTH Probably Vitry en Perthois
DATE OF DEATH 1 May 1240
PLACE OF DEATH Rome

BIOGRAPHY

Jacques was born in the 1160s into a noble family of the Perthois, probably Vitry en Perthois, in Champagne (see M.-G. Grossel's trans. of *Historia orientalis*, pp. 7-8). He studied in Paris with preaching masters Jean de Liro and Jean de Nivelles, who in turn had been taught by Peter the Chanter. Jacques proved to be the most effective and prolific preacher trained in this milieu, producing 410 model sermons, a number of which contain *exempla*, short edifying stories meant to capture the listener's attention and illustrate the preacher's moral and spiritual message. Jacques preached widely; some of his sermons sought to recruit for crusades – the Albigensian Crusade and the Fifth Crusade. According to the Dominican Humbert of Romans, Jacques, 'using *exempla* in his sermons, provoked the enthusiasm of all of France. I can think of no-one, before him or after him, who so inflamed his listeners.'

In 1216, he was elected bishop of Acre; he set off for Italy, was consecrated in Rome by Pope Honorius III, embarked at Genoa and sailed to Acre, where he arrived in March 1217. He expresses dismay at the corruption of the Catholics and the confusion of the various Eastern confessions in the town.

Jacques subsequently accompanied the troops of the Fifth Crusade, participating in the siege and conquest of Damietta and in the subsequent debacle. As part of the peace treaty between the crusaders and the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil, Jacques served as one of the hostages guaranteeing the surrender of the city of Acre.

Jacques returned to Europe and helped organize the crusading effort of Emperor Frederick II. He subsequently resigned his bishopric and was named cardinal of Tusculanum in 1229. He continued to preach and to

support crusading efforts, compiled collections of sermons and *exempla*, and actively supported the growth of the mendicant orders.

In addition to his sermons, Jacques produced hagiography (*Life of Marie d'Oignies*), a series of letters written between 1216 and 1221, and his *Historia Hierosolimatana* ('Jerusalem history'), of which two parts have survived: the *Historia occidentalis* and the *Historia orientalis*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

In addition to information gleaned from Jacques' own works, he is mentioned in the following works:

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Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier, ed. L. de Mas-Latrie, Paris, 1871, pp. 410, 446

Petrus Vallium Sarnaii Monachus (Pierre des Vaux de Cernay), *Hystoria albigensis*, ed. P. Guébin and E. Lyon, 3 vols, Paris, 1926-29 (This chronicler mentions Jacques' preaching for the Albigensian crusade)

Secondary

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G. Duchet-Suchaux, 'Jacques de Vitry', *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1999) 187-94

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Historia orientalis, 'History of the Orient'

DATE Probably 1216-24

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Historia orientalis* is the first part of the *Historia Hierosolymitana*. It was probably begun in 1216 and finished in 1223-24 (see Donnadieu, *Historia orientalis*, pp. 10-12). Jacques paints a fresco of the geography and history of the East, and Jerusalem in particular, for him the center of the world, the sacred city of the chosen people, from the days of Melchizedek to the early 13th century. He presents a moralized vision of history: when the people honor God and show obedience, He bestows his blessings upon them; when, however, the Holy Land becomes a place of sin and debauchery, 'God punishes sinners who inhabit it, overwhelms them, rejects them, in order to erase the stain of sin and filth, but in his mercy, once they have repented and returned to reason, He returns that land to its rightful place' (ch. 1).

The history of Jerusalem is a story that repeats itself. The sins of the Jews called down repeated punitive invasions: the Babylonians, Antiochus, Pompey. When they refused to recognize Jesus as their savior, God had Titus destroy the city. The Christians took possession of the city, but their ardor cooled and then they had to suffer invasion by the Persians, then by 'Umar, Prince of the Arabs' (ch. 3). All these adventures merely set the stage for the main drama of the *Historia orientalis*: the glorious victory of the crusaders in 1099, through which 'the Church in the East began to flourish' (ch. 51), pilgrims flocked to the city and monks and hermits abounded. But alas, this state of grace did not last long: the

chosen people fell into sin, and Saladin's conquest of the Holy Land was their just punishment.

Yet Jacques' text is not simply a chronicle; it is also part handbook of ethnography and heresiology. Several chapters present various peoples of the East, paying special attention their beliefs and their religious practices. The text is also a pilgrim's guide (offering descriptions of the major sites in the Holy Land) and a bestiary and book of wonders of the East (describing, among other things, phoenix and sirens, elephants and dragons, banana and palm trees, and various semi-human monsters). Particularly interesting for the historian of the Latin East are the descriptions of tensions between certain sectors of society in the Kingdom of Jerusalem: Italians, European crusaders, Eastern Christians, *pulani* (local-born Christians of European stock).

Jacques devotes several chapters to the life of Muḥammad and the development and doctrines of Islam. His sources probably include William of Tyre (q.v.) and perhaps Petrus Alfonsi (q.v.). He shows some knowledge of Islamic traditions: for example, Muḥammad's defeat and injury to his teeth [at the battle of Uḥud], and Qur'anic reverence for the Apostles, whom Muslims refer to as 'men dressed in white'. He also describes contemporary Muslim practice, such as veneration for the Virgin Mary and the veiling of women. Jacques reiterates much of the standard polemic against Muḥammad, integrating vituperative legends about his epilepsy and his association with a heretical Christian named Sosius (based on Baḥīrā/Sergius).

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Historia orientalis* offers a vision of history in which struggle between Islam and Christianity for Jerusalem and the Holy Land plays a key role. Jacques was an ardent supporter of church reform, missions to heretics and Muslims, and crusade: the three go hand in hand and are part of the moral and spiritual renewal necessary to restore God's favor and assure the victory of Christianity.

He has knowledge of the basics of Islam gleaned both from his reading and from contacts with Muslims. While he shows the standard disdain and disgust for Muḥammad and his 'law', portrayed as founded on debauchery and violence, Jacques affirms that it is not difficult to convert Muslims to Christianity through preaching and example, and that many learned Muslims realize the falseness of their faith and are ready to abandon it.

The text was widely read and copied in the Middle Ages: 124 manuscripts of the Latin texts are extant, as is a 13th-century translation into French.

MANUSCRIPTS

See J. Donnadiou, 'L'*Historia orientalis* de Jacques de Vitry, tradition manuscrite et histoire du texte' for details of the 124 extant MSS of the Latin text, dating from the 13th-16th centuries.

MS Paris, BNF – Français 172031 (13th-century French trans.)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

J. Donnadiou, ed. and trans., Turnhout, 2008 (critical edition and French trans., based principally on the 1597 edition which, he argues, is based on the now lost MS of Oignies, closest to Jacques' original version; he does not include Book 3 of the *Historia hierosolymitana*)

M-G. Gossel (trans.), *Histoire orientale*, Paris, 2005 (modern French trans., based principally on Bongars' 1611 edition, containing the prologue and Book 3, which, she argues convincingly, is probably by Jacques or one of his close associates)

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Epistolae, 'Letters'

DATE November 1216-April 1221

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Jacques wrote six letters, from Genoa, Acre and Damietta, to Pope Honorius III, to his former Parisian teachers, to Jean de Nivelles, to the beguines of Oignies, to the Cistercian nuns of Aywières and to their abbess, to Leopold VI, Duke of Austria, and to various unnamed friends. They date from November 1216 to April 1221 (see Huygens, *Letters*, pp. 534-37) Often, he sent the same letter (with slight modifications), to multiple recipients. (The edition contains seven letters, but the third, which is extant in only two manuscripts, does not seem to have been written by Jacques; see Huygens, *Letters*, pp. 528-30.)

Jacques wrote his first letter on board a ship in Genoa, waiting to depart for Acre. He describes his travels to Italy, first to Perugia, where he saw the fetid cadaver of Pope Innocent III and was consecrated bishop of Acre by the new pope, Honorius III. He also describes Rome

(in particular the popularity of the new Franciscan order) and Genoa, where he preached the crusade.

Jacques sent his second letter from Acre in March 1217. He describes his five weeks as sea, tossed by the winds and waves, which finally 'chased the storms from the hearts of most of the sinners'; the ship finally arrived in Acre on Friday, 4 November 1216. The new bishop was consternated by what he found in his see, in particular by the diversity of rites and doctrines of the city's Christians: there were Jacobites, Melkites, Nestorians, Georgians, and Armenians. Some of them were circumcised; some girls walked about veiled; some priests were allowed to marry; some Christians used leavened bread for communion. He decries the divisions among the Catholics, among whom he has some difficulty in affirming his authority. Yet, he says, he patiently preached to Christians, gradually leading them to reform their lives and support the crusading efforts; he also claims to have converted Muslims through preaching.

From Egypt, during the Fifth Crusade, Jacques wrote four more letters: 21 September 1218 (fourth letter); September 1219 (fifth), February or March 1220 (sixth), and 18 April 1221 (seventh). These letters describe the riches and the strategic importance of Egypt, recall the Holy Family's flight into Egypt (which for Jacques sanctifies and justifies the Christian conquest), and relate the events of the military campaign. Jacques speaks of his own role in these battles, describing, for instance, how he equipped a boat in which his men fought on the Nile (*Letter* 5:70-74). He asserts that those who fall in battle 'receive the crown of martyrdom' (*martyrio coronati sunt*, *Letter* 4:275-76). He describes the crusaders' ordeals: death on the battlefield, epidemics, famines, floods, the departure of crusaders who have decided to return home. But he remains resolutely optimistic. During the siege of Damietta, he reports, some Saracens cross the Nile to be baptized; only the dangers of the crossing keep more of them from doing so. He describes Francis of Assisi's preaching to the Egyptian Sultan al-Kāmil, the conquest of Damietta, and the subsequent transformation of the main mosque into a cathedral. Jacques himself bought 500 children from among the defeated captives and had them baptized. Throughout these letters, he insists that the crusade is an essential part of God's plan for Christian reconquest and spiritual renewal of the Orient.

SIGNIFICANCE

These letters are an important eyewitness account, by a key player, of life in 13th-century Acre and of the Fifth Crusade. Jacques writes with verve and has a keen sense of observation. For him, crusade and preaching

go hand in hand, and need to be accompanied by a profound spiritual renewal among lay Christians and clergy alike.

MANUSCRIPTS

- 11 MSS, principally from the 13th century, contain all or some of the letters (see Huygens, *Letters*, pp. 6-51).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- Francis of Assisi. Early documents*, ed. R. Armstrong, W. Hellman and W. Short, 4 vols, New York, 1999-2003, i, pp. 578-81 (trans. of letters concerning the Franciscans)
- G. Duchet-Suchaux (trans.), *Lettres de la cinquième croisade*, Turnhout, 1998 (French trans. with Huygens' Latin text)
- R. Huygens (ed.), *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry 1160/70-1240, évêque de Saint-Jean d'Acre*, Leiden, 1960 (critical edition of the Latin text)
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STUDIES

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- Richard, *La papauté et les missions d'Orient au moyen âge (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)*
- E. Cerulli, *Il Libro della scala e la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina Commedia*, Vatican, 1949, 428-29

Sermones, 'Sermons'

DATE 1225-40

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Jacques, both as bishop and as cardinal, composed and delivered hundreds of sermons in his career as a preacher of reform and crusade. It is in the later years of his life, in Rome, that he put into writing four major collections of model sermons: *sermones dominicales* (sermons for Sundays), *sermones feriales* (sermons for feast days), *sermones ad sanctos* (sermons in honor of the saints), and *sermones vulgares* or *ad status* (sermons to different categories of persons, from young virgins to Franciscan friars to widows, etc.). Of particular interest among the last are two *Sermones ad crucesignatos vel signandos* ('Sermons to those who are or will become crusaders'). In the first of these model sermons, Jacques proclaims that, for Zion's sake, he will not be silent, but will expose the tribulations of the Holy Land, where Christians are enslaved by Saracens. The name of Muḥammad is invoked in the Holy City: this is the abomination of desolation prophesied by Daniel. Urging his audience to be moved by this plight, warning them not to act like reprobate Jews who say 'the time has not yet come', Jacques urges his listeners to take up the cross. If you come to God's aid now, he says, He will be a true friend to you at the time of death and will assure your salvation.

Jacques' second crusader sermon opens with the theme from Jeremiah 4:6, 'Raise a sign in Zion. Be strong and do not delay!' The sign is the cross, and the preacher raises it when he exhorts his listeners to sign themselves with the cross. The listener should take note and make haste: Paradise can be bought cheaply, through the signing of the cross as a crusader. He exhorts his listeners to do so before it is too late.

SIGNIFICANCE

The crusading sermons illustrate the recruitment strategies and arguments of one particularly renowned and influential crusade preacher. The emphasis is on the efficacy of the crusade as a means of achieving personal salvation. The denigration of Muḥammad and Islam permits Jacques to emphasize the 'intolerable' nature of Muslim domination of the Holy Land.

MANUSCRIPTS

Schneyer, *Repertorium*, lists 15 MSS for the *sermones ad status*. Maier, *Crusade propaganda*, pp. 82, 100, lists four.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- Francis of Assisi. Early documents*, ed. Armstrong, Hellman and Short, i, pp. 585-89 (trans. of two sermons to the Franciscans)
- C. Maier, *Crusade propaganda and ideology. Model sermons for the preaching of the cross*, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 82-127 (edition and trans. of two crusading sermons)
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STUDIES

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- J. Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350*, vol. 3, Westfalen, 1971, 179-221

Historia occidentalis, 'History of the West'

DATE About 1226

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The second part of Jacques' *Historia Hierosolymitana*, the *Historia occidentalis*, is a portrait of the Latin Church, a rather dark portrait indeed, particularly at the beginning. Jacques describes a society plunged in the mire of sin: the powerful fleece the poor, the avaricious practice usury, the princes let taverns and brothels flourish, the peasants refuse to pay their tithes and rents, the priests celebrate mass with filthy hands and hearts, war and terror reign everywhere. Yet there is hope, represented by the reform movements in the Latin Church. In this context of spiritual renewal, Jacques presents, in 30 chapters, the principal orders regular of the Western Church, explaining how the members of each dress, the life they lead, and the rule they follow. For each order he gives a sort of moral inventory, explaining and praising the motivations of its founder, criticizing those of its members who no longer respect the rule of the order, and noting with satisfaction those who devote themselves humbly to the life of a monk or canon. The Franciscan order plays a special role in the renewal of Apostolic purity and the spread of Christianity.

It is in his chapter on the Franciscans that Jacques discusses their role as missionaries to the Saracens. He describes Francis' mission to the Sultan al-Kāmil in Egypt in 1219, presenting it as a model of evangelical preaching that almost succeeded in converting the sultan and his army to the Christian cause. He affirms that the Saracens listen patiently and with interest to Franciscan missionaries, except when they insult Muḥammad: then they violently chase them away.

Few later medieval authors would give such an important place to Francis' mission to the sultan in their biographies of Francis or in their praises of the Franciscans.

SIGNIFICANCE

For Jacques, Franciscan mission brings together three elements necessary for the triumph of Christianity: first, moral and spiritual renewal, through a life of asceticism, simplicity and humility. Second, preaching, propagating the Word, which inspires one's listeners and leads them to conversion. This conversion leads them to reform their lives to live according to the Gospels, to take the crusader's vow or (for non-Christians), to accept baptism. Finally, the third element is the confrontation with the Saracens, to come to the help of the Oriental Church in tears and hoping for liberation.

MANUSCRIPTS

See Hinnebusch (ed.), *Historia occidentalis*, 34-57, for details of the 24 extant manuscripts of the Latin text, ranging between the 13th and 17th centuries.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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J.F. Hinnebusch (ed.), *Historia occidentalis*, Fribourg, 1972 (critical edition)

STUDIES

J. Tolan, *St Francis and the sultan. The curious history of a Christian-Muslim encounter*, Oxford, 2009, ch. 1

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A. Quaglia, 'Sulla datazione e il valore della *Historia Occidentalis* di Giacomo Vitry', *Miscellanea Francescana* 83 (1983) 177-92

John Tolan

Chronicon ad annum 1234 pertinens

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Possibly the region of Edessa
DATE OF DEATH	Around 1240
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Little information is available about the author of this chronicle. The fact that the chronicle pays much attention to the region of Edessa (Urhōy) suggests that he lived for some time in this city. Some events that occurred there in the last quarter of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th, among them the destruction of a number of local churches, are described in great detail as if the author had personally witnessed them.

In 1187, the author was in Jerusalem during the conquest of the city by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Two years later, in 1189 (and possibly the beginning of 1190), he accompanied the *Maphrian* Georges on a pastoral journey to Takrit and Sinjar.

In addition to this chronicle, he also wrote a (now lost) biography of Athanasius, a bishop of Edessa (d. 1192).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Autobiographical fragments in the chronicle

Secondary

See below, Studies

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Chronicon ad annum 1234 pertinens; Chronicon civile et ecclesiasticum; Maktab zabnē d-ʿal-sharbē ʿōlmōnōyē w-ʿedtōnōyē ʿadamō la-shnat 1234 la-Mshihō, 'Anonymous Syriac chronicle'

DATE About 1237-40

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Syriac

DESCRIPTION

Like the more or less contemporary Syriac chronicle of Barhebraeus (q.v.), this work is also divided into a civil and an ecclesiastical part. It begins with the creation of the world and continues to the year 1203-4, at which point the author seems to have ended – but more probably only interrupted – his work, looking back at what he had written so far and stating: ‘This is what we have written up till this year.’ This remark is found in both the civil and the ecclesiastical parts, which implies that both parts were composed more or less simultaneously.

As a matter of fact, the work continues beyond 1203-4, ending in 1207 for the ecclesiastical part and in 1234 for the civil part, at which point the text of the sole preserved manuscript breaks off. The original text probably included a few more years after this, since in a passage on the siege of Damietta by the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil the author suggests that his work was written after al-Kāmil’s death in 1237.

This chronicle is, of course, based on numerous previous sources, among them the work of John of Ephesus and especially Dionysius of Tell-Maḥrē (q.v.). The author also used one or more unidentified Muslim sources, and possibly had Armenian informants (or used Armenian written sources). However, he did not know the chronicle of Michael the Syrian (q.v.), although he exploited several documents that are also mentioned by Michael. When describing the period of the Islamic conquest, the author gives a brief description of Islamic beliefs, similar to comparable accounts found in Barhebraeus’ *Civil chronicle* (q.v.), Dionysius of Tell-Maḥrē and Dionysius bar Ṣalībī (q.v.).

SIGNIFICANCE

This work is especially important for our knowledge of the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century (crusaders), and contains information on Christian-Muslim relations and contacts that is not found in Barhebraeus or Michael the Syrian, especially on events the author was able to report as an eye-witness, from hearsay or on the basis of reports unknown to Michael or Barhebraeus.

The *Chronicle of 1234* is also one of the sources for the reconstruction of the 9th-century chronicle of Dionysius of Tel-Maḥrē.

MANUSCRIPTS

This important chronicle is preserved in only one manuscript: Constantinople, private collection of P. Fehim (14th century; present location unknown)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- Chronicon civile et ecclesiasticum anonymi auctoris*, ed. Ignatius Ephrem II Rahmani, 2 vols, Charfeh-Beirut, 1904, 1911
- F. Nau, 'Traduction de la chronique syriaque anonyme, éditée par sa Béatitude Mgr Raḥmani', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 12 (1907) pp. 429-40; 13 (1908) pp. 90-99, 321-28, 436-43
- Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, ed. I.B. Chabot, 2 vols (CSCO 81-82), Paris, 1916-20
- I.B. Chabot, 'Un épisode de l'histoire des croisades', in A. Blanchet and G. Millet (eds), *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger*, 2 vols, Paris, 1924, i, 169-79
- A. Tritton and H. Gibb, 'The First and Second Crusades from an anonymous Syriac Chronicle', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1933) 69-101, 273-305
- Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, trans. I.-B. Chabot, Louvain, 1937 (CSCO 109) (Latin trans. of CSCO 81)
- Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, trans. A. Abouna, Louvain, 1974 (CSCO 354) (French trans. of CSCO 82)
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STUDIES

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- W. Witakowski, 'Syriac historiographical sources', in M. Whitby (ed.), *Byzantines and crusaders in non-Greek sources, 1025-1204*, Oxford, 2007, 253-82, pp. 261-64
- Palmer, *The seventh century*, p. 103
- J.-M. Fiey, *Introduction* in Abouna, *Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad 1234 pertinens*, pp. v-xii

Herman G.B. Teule

Al-Nābulusī

‘Alā’ al-Dīn Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Khālid
ibn Muḥammad ibn Muslim al-Qurashī l-Nābulusī

DATE OF BIRTH 26 or 27 December 1192

PLACE OF BIRTH Cairo

DATE OF DEATH 17 April 1262

PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Nābulusī (a few authors suggest Fakhr al-Dīn and/or add al-Ṣafadī), as his name suggests, had family origins in Palestine, though he seems to have lived most of his life in Egypt. His father ‘Alam al-Dīn was a Shāfi‘ī *qāḍī*, but his maternal grandfather was the Damascene Ḥanbalī jurist and preacher Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Najā l-Anṣārī, who came to Egypt in the time of the Fatimid vizier Ṭalā‘ī ibn Ruzzīk (c. 1154-61) and attained prominence there. Zayn al-Dīn makes an appearance in al-Nābulusī’s principal work urging the dismissal and dispossession of non-Muslim officials, the *Tajrīd sayf al-himma*.

Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān was trained as a Shāfi‘ī *qāḍī*, but in the reign of the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil (r. 1218-38) he was appointed to leading positions in the bureaucracy through the intercession of a powerful courtier, Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-Shaykh. Upon the demise of al-Kāmil he fell from favor. This difficult period in the life of al-Nābulusī saw the composition of the *Tajrīd*, which along with other works presented to the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ won al-Nābulusī appointment as a financial overseer in the Fayyūm oasis in 1243 or 1244. It is to his tenure there that we owe his account of the taxation of the Fayyūm, *Izhār ṣun‘at al-Ḥayy al-Qayyūm fī tartīb bilād al-Fayyūm*. As the most extensive extant tax record from the medieval Middle East, this book preserves valuable information about the religious makeup of the general population in this period. Little is known of al-Nābulusī’s subsequent activities before his death in 1262 (the Gregorian equivalent for al-Nābulusī’s date of death given by Claude Cahen – 18 April 1261 – is incorrect).

Apart from the *Izhār* and the two works discussed below, al-Nābulusī also authored a treatise on administrative practice, which is extant and has been edited (*Kitāb luma' al-qawānīn al-muḍīyya fī dawāwīn al-diyār al-miṣriyya*), a lost encomium of the kings of Egypt (*Ḥusn al-sulūk fī faḍl malik miṣr 'alā sār al-mulūk*), and a book praising a new citadel constructed on an island in the Nile (*Kitāb ḥusn al-sarīra fī ittikhādh al-ḥiṣn bi-l-jazīra*). The last is cited by Ibn Duqmāq and al-Maqrīzī.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Al-Nābulusī, *Tajrīd sayf al-himma li-istikhraj mā fī dhimmat al-dhimma*, part. ed. C. Cahen, 'Histoires coptes d'un cadé médiéval', *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 59 (1960) 133-50; and further excerpts as appendix to C. Cahen and C. Becker, 'Kitāb luma' al-qawānīn al-muḍīyya fī dawāwīn al-diyār al-miṣriyya', *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 16 (1958-60), 119-134 (study), 1-78 (edition), pp. 68-74

Al-Nābulusī, *Kitāb luma' al-qawānīn al-muḍīyya fī dawāwīn al-diyār al-miṣriyya*, ed. Cahen and Becker, *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 16 (1958-60), pp. 1-67 (edition) (repr. Port Sa'īd: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa al-Diniyya, 1980); part. trans. C. Owen and C.C. Torrey, 'Scandal in the Egyptian treasury. A portion of the *Luma' al-qawānīn* of 'Uthmān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Nābulusī', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 14 (1955) 70-96

Al-Nābulusī, *Izhār ṣun'at al-Ḥayy al-Qayyūm fī tartīb bilād al-Fayyūm* = *Description du Faiyoum au 7ième siècle de l'hégire*, ed. B. Moritz, Cairo, 1899 (two further manuscripts exist; see the ongoing project of Y. Rapoport and I. Shahar, <http://www.history.qmul.ac.uk/ruralsocietyislam/>)

'Abd al-Mu'min ibn Khalaf al-Dimyāṭī, *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh*, MS Tunis 912, f. 75 r-v (the most extensive source for al-Nābulusī's life, summarized in G. Vajda, *Le dictionnaire des autorités*, Paris, 1962, p. 146)

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, *Ṣilat al-takmila li-wafayāt al-naqala*, ed. B.'A. Ma'rūf, 2 vols, Beirut, 2007, i, p. 470

Al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl mir'āt al-zamān*, 4 vols, Hyderabad, 1954-61, i, p. 504 (abbreviated entry dependent upon al-Dimyāṭī)

Al-Dhababī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, ed. B.'A. Ma'rūf, 18 vols, Beirut, 2003, xiv, p. 936

Secondary

Cahen and Becker, '*Kitāb luma' al-qawānīn al-muḍīyya fī dawāwīn al-diyār al-miṣriyya*', pp. 120-22 (the only extensive, readily accessible rendering of the biographical entry by al-Dimyāṭī)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Taṣrīḥ al-Qurʾān bi-l-naṣr ʿalā man istaʿāna bi-kuffār al-ʿaṣr, ‘Qurʾanic assurance of victory over those who seek the support of present-day infidels’

DATE Before 1241

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Taṣrīḥ al-Qurʾān* is known only from the author’s reference in his *Tajrīd* (MS Tunis Jāmiʿ Zaytūna IV 74, f. 6r, MS Istanbul, Damād Ibrāhīm 273, f. 4r). After quoting qurʾanic passages that discourage amity with non-Muslims, al-Nābulusī explains that those who flout these directives risk becoming infidels themselves. He adds: ‘If the jurisprudent wishes to refer to these noble verses to show that it is forbidden on textual grounds to employ [non-Muslims], then he should by all means do so. One will find in the introduction to the book with which I have served the noble treasuries—and which is called ‘Qurʾanic assurance of victory over those who seek the support of present-day infidels’—words enough to this effect, making it unnecessary to rehearse the discussion here.’

SIGNIFICANCE

If the first known independent literary work that undertook to convince a Muslim sovereign to dismiss non-Muslim officials is the lost work presented to Saladin by Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib and entitled *Al-durr al-thamīn fī manāqib al-Muslimīn wa-mathālib al-mushrikīn* (see *CMR* 3, pp. 783-84), then *Taṣrīḥ al-Qurʾān* is the second. As no other author is known to have used it, its diffusion and impact were probably very limited.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

Tajrīd sayf al-himma li-istikhrāj mā fī dhimmat al-dhimma, ‘Drawing the sword of ambition to extract what is owed by the dhimmīs’

DATE Approximately 1240-41

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Tajrīd sayf al-himma* was written shortly after the Ayyūbid sovereign al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ had promulgated a decree re-imposing a number of social and legal disabilities on non-Muslims (c. 1239-40). Al-Nābulusī addressed his work to this ruler, whom he sought to persuade that the anti-*dhimmī* decree should be followed by an initiative to cleanse the bureaucracy of non-Muslim officials, particularly Copts. More specifically, he appealed to the sultan's acquisitiveness by recommending that the (allegedly ill-gotten) wealth of these officials be extracted by the common procedure of *muṣādara*.

The work is in four parts: 1. Evidence from the Qur'an, Ḥadith, and history indicating that the state employment of non-Muslims had long been known to be (and was in fact) illicit; 2. Evidence of forms of perfidy peculiar to the Copts, with numerous supporting anecdotes pertaining chiefly to the Fatimid era and the century preceding it (this section was published by Cahen); 3. Discussion of the scribal arts and the qualifications of scribes, containing much poetry and numerous *bons mots*; 4. Satire of ignorant persons who masquerade as scribes, as well as some piquant autobiographical material.

The work runs to 97 folios in the Tunis manuscript, 38 in the Süleymaniye, and 48 in the British Library (which is incomplete). Only the first of these manuscripts preserves an important concluding section, published in part by Cahen (1955-57), in which al-Nābulusī states his triple motive for composing the work. The first was his solicitude for the possessions of God (*māl Allāh*, Q 24:33), by which he evidently means the tax monies that the Copts are accused of embezzling, the second his ardent love for the Ayyūbid state, and the third his straitened personal circumstances. He and his 52 familial dependents were living in poverty, though endeavoring to conceal this fact from their neighbors. Having once owned 16 riding animals, al-Nābulusī was now reduced to three. He was likewise able to keep only two Greek slaves, 'worth scarcely 30 dinars'. The family's income was in steady decline because they were compelled to consume the proceeds from a *waqf* his father had bequeathed to him rather than reinvesting in the property.

It is clear that al-Nābulusī composed the *Tajrīd* in order both to endear himself to the ruler by offering a literary work, and to bring about the disqualification of his non-Muslim competitors for lucrative bureaucratic employment. The author also heaped disparagement upon Muslims: Bedouin and unlettered country folk who aspired to government employment. His campaign appears to have been successful, if his

subsequent employment in the tax administration of the Fayyūm is to be taken as an indication.

Some of the ideational resources that al-Nābulusī deployed in the *Tajrīd* had deep roots in the Islamic textual tradition, though few sources are named. For instance, an extended series of anecdotes that concern early caliphs and sultans who were induced to dismiss non-Muslim officials is shared in part with a number of comparable medieval works (e.g., those of Ghāzī ibn al-Wāsiṭī [q.v.] and Ibn al-Naqqāsh [q.v.]). Close comparison of these anecdotes reveals that Ghāzī, among others, is likely to have depended on the *Tajrīd*, and that the *Tajrīd* itself must ultimately have depended on a 12th-century work that has yet to be identified securely.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Tajrīd* is the earliest known extant independent literary work that undertook to convince a Muslim sovereign to dismiss non-Muslim officials. A number of later works had the same objective. Examples include those by al-Asnawī (q.v.) and Ibn al-Durayhim (q.v.), in addition to those mentioned above, and the earlier *Al-durr al-thamīn fī manāqib al-Muslimīn wa-mathālib al-mushrikīn* presented to Saladin by Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib (q.v.). Taken together these works represent an important instrument of the Islamization of the Egyptian bureaucracy in the later medieval period, as well as valuable historical witnesses to this process.

Although the *Tajrīd* is not cited in subsequent literature, it is possible to show that it was used by a handful of later authors. Its significance, however, lies on the one hand in its testimony to the evolving competitive practices of Muslim scholar-bureaucrats vis-à-vis their Coptic rivals, and on the other in the wealth of earlier anecdotes it preserves, particularly from the later Fatimid period. Many of these are not found elsewhere.

MANUSCRIPTS

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MS London, BL - Add. 23,293, fols 176r-223v (date unknown; contained in a compilation entitled *Majmū‘ mubārak yashtamil ‘alā aḥādīth*, this

witness is acephalous. It begins at the sixth *faṣl* of the first *bāb*, on ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān. Textually it is much closer to MS Istanbul – Damād Ibrāhīm 273 than to MS Tunis – IV 74, though the former was not copied from it. Any date that might be found on the final folios is illegible due to heavy water damage.)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Damād Ibrāhīm 273 (not dated)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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- J. Sadan, ‘Some literary problems concerning Judaism and Jewry in medieval Arabic sources’, in M. Sharon (ed.), *Studies in Islamic history and civilization in honor of Professor David Ayalon*, Jerusalem, 1986, 353-98, pp. 365-70 (trans. of passages that involve Jews)
- C. Cahen, ‘Histoires coptes d’un cadī médiéval’, *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 59 (1960) 137-50; and as appendix to Cahen and Becker, ‘*Kitāb luma’ al-qawānīn al-muḍīyya fī dawāwīn al-diyār al-miṣriyya*,’ *Bulletin d’Études Orientales* 16 (1958-60), pp. 68-74 (partial editions from MS Tunis Jāmi‘ Zaytūna IV 74)

STUDIES

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- J. Sadan, ‘What does *Manhaj al-ṣawāb* want from the Jews?’, in Y. Langermann and J. Stern (eds), *Adaptations and innovations. Studies on the interaction between Jewish and Islamic thought and literature from the early Middle Ages to the late twentieth century, dedicated to Professor Joel L. Kraemer*, Paris, 2007, 315-30, pp. 316, 324
- T. el-Leithy, ‘Sufis, Copts, and the politics of piety. Moral regulation in fourteenth-century Upper Egypt’, in R. McGregor and A. Sabra (eds), *The development of Sufism in Mamluk Egypt, Cahier des Annales Islamologiques* 27 (2006) 75-119, pp. 76, 90, 92-93, 96, 98, 100, 102, 113, 115
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- S. Samir, ‘The Role of Christians in the Fātimid Government Services of Egypt to the Reign of al-Ḥāfiẓ,’ *Medieval Encounters* 2 (1996) 177-92, p. 180 n. 6

- J. Sadan, 'The latrines decree in the Yemen versus the Dhimma principles,' in J. Platvoet and K. van der Toorn (eds), *Pluralism and Identity*, Leiden, 1995, 167-85, p. 171
- M. Cohen, *Under crescent and cross*, Princeton NJ, 1994, p. 229 n. 101
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- J. van Ess, *Chiliasmische Erwartungen und die Versuchung der Göttlichkeit. Der Kalif al-Ḥākīm, 386-411 AH*, Heidelberg, 1977, p. 13 n. 38
- H. Rabie, 'The size and value of the *iqṭā'* in Egypt,' in M.A. Cook (ed.), *Studies in the economic history of the Middle East*, Oxford, 1970, 129-38, p. 131 n. 8
- E. Sivan, *L'Islam et la Croisade*, Paris, 1968, pp. 180-83 and notes
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- Cahen, 'Histoires coptes,' pp. 133-36
- M. Perlmann, 'Notes on anti-Christian propaganda in the Mamluk Empire,' *BSOAS* 10 (1942) 843-61 (*Tajrīd* not named; reference is to MS BL Add. 23,293)
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- C. Rieu, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur, pars secunda, codices Arabicos amplectens*, London, 1871, pp. 659-60

Luke Yarbrough

Yūḥannā ibn Wahb

Yūḥannā ibn Wahb ibn Yūḥannā ibn Yaḥyā ibn Būlus

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; probably late 12 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; presumably Egypt
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; 13 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; presumably Egypt

BIOGRAPHY

Very little is known about Yūḥannā ibn Wahb. He was the biographer of the Coptic Patriarch Cyril III ibn Laqlaq (1235-43), with whom he had close contact. Our knowledge about him derives from this biography, preserved in the well-known *History of the patriarchs*. He was contemporary with Cyril III and an eyewitness to many of the events he narrates in his biography. He was possibly a Coptic priest. It seems that he was a reputable and influential person in the Coptic Church, and was also well known to Ayyūbid government officials. He was one of the five people who in 1216 represented the Copts of Miṣr (Old Cairo) before the Ayyūbid ruler al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (r. 1200-18) in the struggle to select a new patriarch, a matter in which Yūḥannā was deeply involved. When a new patriarch was finally selected in 1235 (after a 19-year interregnum, during which the number of bishops in all of Egypt was reduced to five), Yūḥannā was the person who wrote the statement of the consecration of the new patriarch (*taqlīd*), gave him the name 'Cyril', and translated the Gospel reading into Arabic at his consecration liturgy.

In his biography, Yūḥannā mentions that he stayed for a certain time in the Church of Abū Sarja in Old Cairo. The priest of this church, named Abū Manṣūr, was one of the sources from whom he derived information for his biography of Cyril ibn Laqlaq, which he probably completed shortly after the death of the patriarch in 1243.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

A. Khater and A. Burmester (eds), *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, known as the History of the holy Church*, vol. 4, pts i-ii, Cairo, 1974, pp. 3-5, 8, 11, 13-14, 17-18, 23, 67-68, 82, 135-36, 140 (Arabic text); pp. 6-10, 16, 22, 26, 28, 36, 49, 140-41, 169, 275, 277, 284 (trans.)

Secondary

- S. Moawad, *Untersuchungen zum Panegyrikos auf Makarios von Tkōou und zu seiner Überlieferung (Sprachen und Kulturen des christlichen Orients 18)*, Wiesbaden, 2010, p. 255
- S. Moawad, 'Kitāb tārikh al-baṭārika bi-l-lugha l-'arabiyya', *Madrasat al-Iskandariyya* (Church of St George in Sporting, Alexandria) 6 (2010) 217-41, pp. 239-40
- M.N. Swanson, *The Coptic papacy in Islamic Egypt (641-1517)*, Cairo, 2010, pp. 84-95
- Wadi Abullif, 'Introduzione alla letteratura arabo-cristiana dei Copti' [in Arabic], *SOCC* 29-30 (1996-97) 441-92, p. 468
- J. den Heijer, *Mawḥūb Ibn Manṣūr Ibn Mufarrij et l'historiographie copto-arabe. Étude sur la composition de l'Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie (CSCO 513 = subs. 83)*, Louvain, 1989, p. 12

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Sīrat al-baṭriyark Kīrillus ibn Laqlaq, 'Biography of Patriarch Cyril ibn Laqlaq'

DATE About 1243

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Yūḥannā ibn Wahb's biography of Patriarch Cyril III ibn Laqlaq is the longest biography in the *History of the patriarchs*. It deals with the circumstances of the Coptic Church between 1216 and 1243, and relates many events in detail, owing to the fact that Yūḥannā witnessed them at first hand. He was not only interested in ecclesiastical matters but also in the political and social affairs of his time. He reports on the conflict over the election of the Coptic patriarch in which he himself was involved (and in which appeal was made to the highest Muslim officials), on the sometimes unstable relations between Copts and Muslims, and also on the crusades against Egypt and Palestine. In addition, he mentions natural disasters and their effects on Egyptian society.

SIGNIFICANCE

In the biography of Patriarch Cyril, Yūḥannā provides a good overview of Egyptian society through several decades of Ayyūbid rule. He was evidently an eyewitness to many of the events he narrates, and he deals critically with events that he did not himself observe, often mentioning his sources. Yūḥannā wrote his biography of Cyril in a chronological

sequence year by year (according to the Coptic era 'of the martyrs'), as was common in Islamic historical works of his time.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 302, fols 287v-355r (15th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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STUDIES

K.J. Werthmuller, *Coptic identity and Ayyubid politics in Egypt, 1218-1250*, Cairo, 2010

Moawad, *Untersuchungen*, p. 255

Moawad, 'Kitāb tārīkh al-baṭārika', pp. 239-40

Swanson, *The Coptic papacy*, pp. 84-95

Wadi, 'Introduzione', p. 468

Den Heijer, *Mawḥūb*, p. 12

Samuel Moawad

Patriarch Cyril III ibn Laqlaq

Dā'ūd ibn Yūḥannā al-Fayyūmī, Ibn Laqlaq,
Patriarch Kīrillus III

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; late 12 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Al-Fayyūm, Egypt
DATE OF DEATH	10 March 1243
PLACE OF DEATH	Dayr al-Sham', Giza, Egypt

BIOGRAPHY

We know very little about the early life of the man who would eventually become Coptic Orthodox Patriarch Kīrillus (Cyril) III (the 75th Coptic Orthodox patriarch, 1235-43). His name was Dā'ūd ibn Yūḥannā and he hailed from the Fayyūm oasis, where he became a monk (and where he counted among his fellow monks the great theologian Būlus al-Būshī [q.v.]). He became closely involved in a controversy that had been roiling the church since the time of the blind Coptic Orthodox-turned-Melkite priest Marqus ibn al-Qunbar (q.v.) over the ancient practice of confession of sins to a priest or spiritual father. Like Marqus, Dā'ūd championed the practice, even though abuses had led to it being banned under the patriarchs Mark III (1166-89) and John VI (1189-1216). The intensity of the controversy was such that Dā'ūd was even imprisoned for a time in the Fayyūm, but he was later released and installed in the home of an influential Coptic notable in Cairo.

When Pope John VI died in 1216, one faction within the Coptic Orthodox Church (with close ties to the Ayyūbid ruler al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, 1200-18) maneuvered to have Dā'ūd made patriarch, while another faction (with close ties to al-ʿĀdil's son al-Kāmil) was in fierce opposition. Although the pro-Dā'ūd faction came very close to its goal on Palm Sunday 1217, at the last minute their plans were thwarted. Dā'ūd retired to the Monastery of St Philotheus outside Old Cairo, and the patriarchal throne remained vacant for another 18 years.

By 1235, the Coptic Orthodox Church was in a critical state, since most of its bishops had died. But so had many of Dā'ūd's opponents. At an opportune moment, Dā'ūd's champions secured the support of al-Malik al-Kāmil (1218-38) for Dā'ūd's elevation to the patriarchal throne with a

promise of 3,000 dinars, and Dā'ūd was consecrated Pope Cyril III. He energetically set to work, ordaining bishops, priests, and deacons for the church's depleted clergy ranks and projecting his authority throughout the church and abroad. However, he immediately created controversy because of the fees that he collected for every ordination – which he claimed were necessary in order to fulfil his obligations to al-Malik al-Kāmil. This outbreak of what was seen as blatant simony led to protests, reform proposals, a synod held at the church in Hārat Zuwayla, Cairo, in 1238, and finally to a series of hearings before Muslim authorities in 1240. In the end, two bishops (including his old confrere Būlus al-Būshī) were appointed to supervise the patriarch in all his decisions. The patriarch withdrew to the al-Sham' Monastery in Giza, where he died in 1243.

Whatever his failures, Cyril presided over a church that was undergoing a theological and cultural flowering in the Arabic language, and he himself made some contributions to this. With Būlus al-Būshī and al-As'ad ibn al-'Assāl (q.v.), he composed *Kitāb al-i'tirāf*, 'The book of confession', in defense of the Church's ancient practice of auricular confession (see Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 365-67; Swanson, 'Three Sinai manuscripts'). As patriarch, he issued a number of canons (Burmester, 'Canons'), and it was during his patriarchate that al-Ṣafi ibn al-'Assāl (q.v.) produced a definitive collection of canon law, still known as *Al-majmū' al-Ṣafawī* ('al-Ṣafi's collection'). Cyril also conducted a wide and varied correspondence, the riches of which are beginning to come to light (see Werthmuller, *Coptic identity*). All of this material needs to be sifted for what it teaches about Christian-Muslim relations in Egypt in the late Ayyūbid period. The two minor texts presented below may be just the tip of an iceberg.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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- O.H.E. Burmester, 'Canons of Cyril III ibn Laqlaq, LXXV patriarch of Alexandria', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 12 (1949) 81-136; 14 (1950-1957) 113-50
- A. Khater and O.H.E. Burmester (eds), *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian Church. Known as the History of the holy church*, vol. 3, pt. ii, *Mark III-John VI (A.D. 1167-1216)*, Cairo 1970, pp. 121-25 (Arabic text), pp. 203-10 (trans.)

- A. Khater and O.H.E. Burmester (eds), *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian Church. Known as the History of the holy church*, vol. 4, pts i-ii, *Cyril III, Ibn Laqlaq* (1216-1243 A.D.), Cairo 1974 (the history of Yuhannā ibn Wahb, edition and trans.)
- Shams al-Ri'āsa Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar, *Miṣbāḥ al-ḡulma fī idāḥ al-khidma*, ed. Samir Khalil, Cairo, 1971, p. 315
- Ṣamū'īl al-Suryānī and Nabīh K. Dā'ūd (eds), *Tārīkh al-ābā' al-baṭārika li-l-anbā Yūsāb usquf Fuwwa*, Cairo, [c. 1987], pp. 161-81
- A. Khater and O.H.E. Burmester (eds), *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian Church. Known as the History of the holy church*, vol. 3, pt. iii, *Cyril II [sic] – Cyril V (A.D. 1235-1894)*, Cairo 1970, p. 133 (Arabic text), pp. 227-28 (trans.)

Secondary

Any general study of the history of the Coptic Orthodox Church will have something to say about Pope Cyril III ibn Laqlaq. The following list is necessarily selective.

- M.N. Swanson, *The Coptic papacy in Islamic Egypt (641-1517)*, Cairo, 2010, pp. 83-95
- K.J. Werthmuller, *Coptic identity and Ayyubid politics in Egypt, 1218-1250*, Cairo, 2010
- M.N. Swanson, art. 'Cyril III ibn Laqlaq', in G. Gabra (ed.), *Historical dictionary of the Coptic Church*, Lanham MD, 2008, pp. 86-87, 284
- A. Elli, *Storia della Chiesa Copta*, 3 vols (*Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographiae* 12-14), Cairo, 2003, ii, pp. 159-72
- 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, pp. 349-52 (on the oldest MS of *Kitāb al-i'tirāf*, 'The book of confession', also known as 'The book of the master and the disciple' in 22 chapters)
- A. Wadi, *Studio su al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assāl* [in Arabic] (*Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographiae* 5), Cairo, 1997, 44-65
- A. Wadi, 'Introduzione alla letteratura arabo-cristiana dei Copti', *SOCC* 29-30 (1996-97) 468-69
- Subhi Y. Labib, art. 'Cyril III ibn Laqlaq', in *CE* iii, p. 677
- Īrīs Ḥabīb al-Miṣrī, *Qiṣṣat al-kanīsa l-qibṭiyya*, vol. 3, Cairo, 1971, pp. 206-21
- Kāmil Ṣāliḥ Nakhla, *Silsilat tārīkh al-babawāt baṭārikat al-kursī l-Iskandārī*, fasc. 1, *al-Bābā Kīrillus al-thālith*, Dayr al-Suryān, 1951, Cairo, 2001²
- Graf, *GICAL* ii, pp. 360-69

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Waṣiyya 'alā ḥāmil al-mutanaṣṣir, 'Instruction for the bearer of the convert to Christianity'

DATE 1235-36

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *waṣīyya* is a short admonition to one who has 'borne' a young convert to Christianity. Cyril gives counsel to the convert's sponsor or mentor with regard to the socialization of the convert into the Christian community of faith: by means of education, memorization of Christian writings, good company, early marriage, and ongoing care and attention. The letter mentions no names or particular circumstances; this may be a mark of caution, or it may mean that the letter was intended to be of general use in cases where young Muslim men converted to Christianity.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *waṣīyya* is a somewhat cryptic but significant piece of evidence for the reality of conversion from Islam to Christianity in Ayyūbid Egypt and for the welcome that the Coptic Orthodox Church afforded such converts. At the same time, the vagueness of the letter may reflect the extreme sensitivity with which this reality had to be treated.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 291 (Simaika 217) (1542-43)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

K.J. Werthmuller, *Coptic identity and Ayyubid politics in Egypt, 1218-1250*, Cairo, 2010, pp. 145-48 (Arabic text and trans.)

STUDIES

Werthmuller, *Coptic identity*, pp. 75-101

*Mujādala ma‘a jamā‘a min afāḍil al-Muslimīn
bi-majlis al-Malik al-Kāmil ibn al-Malik al-‘Ādil ibn
Ayyūb, ḥaḍarahu fihā l-qiss Būlus al-Būshī,*

‘A disputation with a group of eminent Muslims in the *majlis* of al-Malik al-Kāmil ibn al-Malik al-‘Ādil ibn Ayyūb, in which he was attended by the priest Būlus al-Būshī’; ‘A disputation in the *majlis* of al-Malik al-Kāmil’

DATE Unknown; not later than 1243 (if Cyril is the author)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This *mujādala* or disputation-text is the sole work attributed to Patriarch Cyril III ibn Laqlaq in the bibliographical chapter of al-Shams ibn Kabar's *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulma*; a copy of the work was reported by P. Sbath in an inaccessible manuscript.

According to Cyril's biographer Yūḥannā ibn Wahb (see Khater and Burmester, *History of the patriarchs*, 4, i, pp. 40-41), a renewed attempt to elect a patriarch in the year 1225 led to Cyril (then still known as Dā'ūd al-Fayyūmī) and the priest Būlus al-Bushī being summoned to the court of the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil, so that he might 'hear the discourse and learning of each' and make a choice between them. The Melkite patriarch was in attendance, as were Muslim legal scholars and notables of the people. Yūḥannā informs us that Dā'ūd emerged from the meeting as the preferred candidate, but that the process of electing a patriarch again stalled.

Yūḥannā ibn Wahb does *not* give us any information about what was said during the meeting. The text under consideration here evidently aimed to fill that gap. It is not impossible that Dā'ūd al-Fayyūmī himself drew up a report of the proceedings, which apparently had taken on the character of a Muslim-Christian debate. Another possibility is that Yūḥannā's notice (of the sheer *fact* that a conversation took place between Dā'ūd al-Fayyūmī, Būlus al-Būshī, and Muslim leaders and scholars at the court of the sultan) provided the perfect setting for a later author to imagine what might have been the content of that conversation.

SIGNIFICANCE

This work may be a witness to the role that Muslim authorities frequently played in the selection of leaders for Christian communities. It may also be a witness to the continuing popularity of the genre that Griffith has called 'the monk in the emir's *majlis*' (S. Griffith, *The church in the shadow of the mosque*, Princeton NJ, 2008, pp. 77-81). Little more can be said without access to the text.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Aleppo, Quṣṭanṭīn Khudārī Collection (inaccessible MS in private collection); Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 62 (no. 504)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES

Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 365

Athanasius II, Patriarch of Jerusalem

Athanasios

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH 1244
PLACE OF DEATH Jerusalem

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about Athanasius' life before he became Patriarch of Jerusalem, except that he was archimandrite of an unnamed monastery (colophon of MS Sinaiticus Gr. 660 [254]) and that he originally came from the West (diptychs of the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem in Pavlov, *Kritichskie opyty*). It is not even clear when he became patriarch. The only clue is the tombstone of Euthymius, his predecessor, from the monastery of St Catherine on Mt Sinai, which gives the date of Euthymius' death as 13 December 1230 (Grumel, 'La chronologie des patriarches grecs', p. 198). Athanasius' inaugural letter, in which he would have set down his creed upon his accession, has not survived, though the reply of Germanus II, the Patriarch of Constantinople, has. This letter refers to the situation in Jerusalem at this time, when the city was again under Latin rule following of the treaty in 1229 between the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II and the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Kāmil.

Another important source for the life of Athanasius is the *Life* of St Sava of Serbia written by Domentijan. Sava went to Jerusalem twice in the 1230s and on each occasion participated in services with Athanasius and discussed questions of liturgy with him.

These two sources show that Athanasius maintained close contacts with the other parts of the Orthodox world.

With the conquest of Jerusalem by al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, the Ayyūbid lord of Kerak, in the winter of 1239-40, and the very short-lived reconquest by Theobald of Champagne in July 1240, the situation of the Orthodox Church in the city seems to have suffered. This is evidenced by two letters written by Athanasius and George Bardanes, Metropolitan of Corfu, at about this time. In the years 1241 and 1242, it is difficult to say who was in possession of the city at which time. In any event, the Franks finally gained possession in 1243, joining with al-Nāṣir against the sultan

and his allies, the Khwārazmians. The entire city, including the Temple Mount, was surrendered to the Franks, and the Muslim population was forced to leave. However, this situation did not last long, and in 1244 the Khwārazmians marched in, plundering and despoiling the Christian shrines. Although Christians, Latins and Orthodox alike, sought refuge in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the Khwārazmians had no regard for this sanctuary and killed all Christians, among them Athanasius. For this reason Athanasius is commemorated as a martyr in the diptychs of the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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- S.A. Pavlov, *Kritichskie opyty po istorii drevnieicehei grecko-russkoi polemiki protiv latinjan*, St Petersburg, 1878, pp. 158-68
- Domentijan, *Zivot svetoga Simeuna i svetoga Save*, ed. D. Danicic, Belgrade, 1865
- V. Laurent, *Les registes de 1208 à 1309, Les registes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1, fasc. 4, Paris: Institut Francais d'Études Byzantines, 1971, pp. 88-89, no. 1282 (for the events of 1235)
- J.M. Hoeck and R.J. Loenertz (eds), *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto, Abt von Casole*, Ettal: Buch-Kunstverlag, 1965, pp. 221-23 (the letters between George Bardanes and Athanasius)

Secondary

- J. Pahlitzsch, *Graeci und Suriani im Palästina der Kreuzfahrerzeit. Beiträge und Quellen zur Geschichte des griechisch-orthodoxen Patriarchats von Jerusalem (Berliner Historische Studien 33, Ordensstudien 15)*, Berlin, 2001, pp. 259-70 (with further references)
- J. Darrouzès, 'Les documents byzantins du XII^e siècle sur la primauté romaine', *REB* 23 (1965) 42-88, pp. 43-51
- V. Grumel, 'La chronologie des patriarches grecs de Jérusalem au XIII^e siècle', *REB* 20 (1962) pp. 197-201

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Responsio domini Athanasii Patriarchae
Hierosolymorum ad Georgium Metropolitanæ
Corcyrae, 'Response of Athanasius, Patriarch of
Jerusalem, to George, Metropolitan of Corfu'*

DATE 1240

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

The correspondence between Athanasius and George Bardanes, Metropolitan of Corfu, consists of two letters preserved in a Latin translation made by Federigo Mezio, Bishop of Termoli, from the beginning of the 17th century (Hoeck and Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto*, p. 148). The editors of George Bardanes' letter date it to around 1236. However, Athanasius' reply seems perfectly to match the situation in Jerusalem as it existed after the conquest of the city by al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, in the winter of 1239-40 and the following few years. The political instability during this period must have caused a feeling of increasing insecurity and might have been the reason for a considerable part of the population leaving the city. Athanasius' answer was probably not written before Theobald of Champagne regained Jerusalem in July of 1240, given his allusions to the city being contested by Muslims and crusaders. Thus it seems justified to date his letter to 1240 or even later, since the exact date of George Bardanes' death is not known.

In the first letter of this correspondence, George Bardanes thanks Athanasius for writing, and especially for honoring him by asking him some questions. Unfortunately, these questions and George's answers have not been passed on. Athanasius' answer has, and it is a sorrowful lament. He calls Jerusalem a deserted city, *eversa a populis alienigenis* (alluding to Isaiah 1:7-8), and he refers to the misery he himself had to suffer at the hands of the *impiis hominibus* (most probably meaning the Latins) and the *irreligiosis* (the Muslims). He reports that both of these groups were trying to occupy Zion and had nothing but material motives for their actions.

SIGNIFICANCE

This letter is one of the very few sources on the situation of Greek Orthodox Christians in 13th-century Jerusalem, and how they tried to cope with

the frequent changes of rule between the crusaders and the Muslims. Interestingly, Athanasius presents the Latins and the Muslims as equal oppressors of the Greek Orthodox, without distinguishing between them.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Caesar Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici*, vol. 12, Rome, 1607, pp. xxx-xxxii

Hoeck and Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto*, pp. 220-23

STUDIES

Pahlitzsch, *Graeci und Suriani*, pp. 269-70

Hoeck and Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto*

*Al-muwāʿiẓ allatī hiyā bi-rasm dawr al-sana kullihā
al-ḥudūd wa-l-aʿyād maʿan min qawl al-qiddīs
Athānāsīyūs batriyark Ūrshalīm*, 'The sermons for
the cycle of the year and all Sundays and feast
days together as delivered by the holy Athanasius,
Patriarch of Jerusalem'

DATE Presumably between 1230 and 1244

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

In the manuscripts, this still unpublished collection of sermons is attributed to an unidentified Athanasius, Patriarch of Jerusalem (the title above is given in MSS Berlin State Library – orient. Ms. 971, and Jerusalem, Holy Sepulchre – arab. 221). Going by its formal composition, which follows Byzantine models, and internal evidence, its likely date is the 13th century, suggesting that Athanasius II was the author (cf. Pahlitzsch, *Graeci und Suriani*, pp. 270-89, though Athanasius IV, who lived in the 15th century and whose historicity can no longer be denied [see Hattox, 'Mehmed the Conqueror'], cannot be entirely ruled out as author). The sermons appear to have been composed originally in Greek, as is attested by the presence of Greek words transliterated into Arabic letters, and they are written in the typical style of Byzantine homiletics, with anecdotes about the early Byzantine emperors. They may have been translated into Arabic soon after being written in order to be understood

by the mostly Arabic-speaking community of the faithful. Unfortunately, there is almost no reference to current events in the sermons. A typical example is the sermon for the third Sunday after Easter (see Pahlitzsch, *Graeci und Suriani*, pp. 359-82).

In the sermon for the 14th Sunday after Pentecost, Athanasius seems to have Islam in mind, since he is pointing out that the truth of his faith is proven by the miracles reported in the Gospels. Should someone ask why there are no longer any miracles, the answer is: because of the sins of humankind and because Christianity is now spread all over the world so that there is no longer need for miracles as there was in the early period. Nevertheless, there are still some miracles, such as the Holy Fire that comes down in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher on Easter Eve, and the miraculous icon of the Mother of God in the convent of Şaydnāyā. He also gives other examples, though it is significant that these two miracles are well known among Muslims.

SIGNIFICANCE

This collection is an important example of the development of the Arabization of the Melkite community in Palestine, while at the same time reflecting this community's close connection to Byzantine culture. Although allusions to current circumstances are generally avoided, the function of the sermons was, nevertheless, to strengthen the faith of Melkite Christians in the face of Islam.

MANUSCRIPTS

For a complete list of the 20 known manuscripts, see Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.2, pp. 53-54.

The oldest dated MS is Berlin State Library – orient. Mf. 971 (1528-29) MS Jerusalem, Holy Sepulchre – Arab. 221, and MS Jerusalem, St Anna – Arab 35, are probably older (see Pahlitzsch, *Graeci und Suriani*, pp. 438, 359, n. 3).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Pahlitzsch, *Graeci und Suriani*, pp. 359-82 (edition and German trans. of the sermon for the third Sunday after Easter)

Kitāb al-muwā'iz al-sharīf, Aleppo, 1711 (freely revised version; cf. Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 88)

STUDIES

Pahlitzsch, *Graeci und Suriani*, pp. 270-89

R.S. Hattox, 'Mehmed the Conqueror, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and Mamluk authority', *Studia Islamica* 90 (2000) 105-23

Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.2, pp. 52-55 (ascribing the collection to Athanasius IV)

Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 86-88

Johannes Pahlitzsch

Isho'yahb bar Malkon

Yashū'yāb ibn Malkūn

DATE OF BIRTH	Last half of the 12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Dunaysir (in Ottoman times Koç Hisar, present Kızıltepe)
DATE OF DEATH	October 1246
PLACE OF DEATH	Probably Nisibis (Nüsaybin)

BIOGRAPHY

Apart from the place of his birth, Dunaysir, which is named in the colophon of MS Charfeh Ar. 2/1, little is known about Isho'yahb's early life and his education. He became the East-Syrian ('Nestorian') bishop of Mardin under the name of Joseph, but was later, at an unknown date, transferred to the more prestigious metropolitan see of Nisibis, to which the territory of the former diocese of Greater Armenia had been annexed. He then adopted the name Isho'yahb. As metropolitan of Nisibis, he participated in the elective Synod of Catholicos Sabrisho' IV bar Qayyumā in 1222 (see Gismondi, *Patriarchal history*).

Isho'yahb was an important author who wrote in both Syriac and Arabic. According to his successor, 'Abdisho' bar Brikhā (q.v.), he wrote a number of poetical compositions in Syriac ('*onyātā* and *madrāshē*), but the majority of his writings were in Arabic, which was the language he favored for the discussion of theological problems. He wrote a profession of faith which, after his death, was sent to the pope as proof of the 'orthodoxy' of the East-Syrian Christians. This creed is preserved in Arabic and in a Latin translation.

Bar Malkon was very much interested in Syro-Arabic linguistic and philological issues, as appears from both his Syriac-Arabic dictionary of ambiguous words and, more especially, his grammar of the Syriac language, which followed the system and methods used by Arabic grammarians (Scher, *Catalogue*, pp. 72-73). In imitation of Muslim preachers, he used rhymed prose (*saj'*) in some of his homilies, more particularly those on the Gospel readings of the liturgical year, which he himself had translated into Arabic.

Because of his openness to the cultural and scientific Islamic world, he seems a typical representative of the period that has been characterized

as a 'Syriac Renaissance' (Teule, 'Syriac Renaissance'). This is confirmed by the epitaph on his recently discovered tomb, which mentions that he contributed to two traditions, Syriac and Arabic.

An interesting example of the manner in which he integrated Muslim philosophy into his Christian theological thinking is found in his *Risālat al-bayān*. In this still unedited text, the author uses some linguistic theories developed by Ibn Sinā in his *Book of the cure* and *Book of remarks and admonitions* concerning the degree of agreement between a 'term' (*lafẓ*) and the reality expressed by it. In Christological matters, Isho'yahb argues, only complete agreement (*mutābaqa*) is acceptable, and in his eyes this is only true of the theological expressions used by the East-Syrians, such as 'Mother of Christ', since strictly speaking the popular expression 'Mother of God' falls under a category of less felicitous agreement.

This openness to the cultural world of Islam notwithstanding, Isho'yahb remained convinced of the truth of his Christian tradition, as appears from the apologetic works addressed to Muslims that will be discussed below.

According to the date on his tombstone, he died in October 1246 (Palmer, *Tombstone*), though a remark in the colophon of MS Charfeh Ar. 2/1, dated to 1233, suggests that he was by then already dead (Teule, *Theological treatise*, p. 246). He was buried in Nisibis, near or in the Church of Mar Jacob.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary Source

- Epitaph on bar Malkon's tombstone (forthcoming in A. Palmer, *The tombstone of Isho'Yhab bar Malkon, AD 1246, Bishop of Nisibis. A celebration of bilinguality and conceivably also of Christian-Muslim ecumenism*)
- G. Gianazza (ed.), *Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā al-Mawṣilī. Kitāb asfār al-asrār*, Beirut (forthcoming in the series *Patrimoine Arabe Chrétien*)
- Y.I. Sarkīs, 'Tarjama 'arabiyya qadīma min al-Injīl al-ṭāhīr', *Al-Mashriq* 11 (1908) 902-7, especially p. 906 (the text of the colophon of MS Charfeh Ar. 2/1)
- 'Abdisho' bar Brikhā, *Carmen continens Catalogum librorum omnium ecclesiasticorum* in Assemani, *BO* iii, pp. 295-306
- H. Gismondi, *Maris Amri et Slibae. De patriarchis Nestorianorum commentaria. Pars altera, Amri et Slibae textus*, Rome, 1896, p. 116; *Amri et Slibae versio*, Rome, 1899, p. 67

Secondary Source

- H. Teule, 'The Syriac Renaissance', in H. Teule and C. Fotescu (eds), *The Syriac Renaissance (Eastern Christian Studies 9)*, Louvain 2010, pp. 1-30
- H. Teule, 'A theological treatise by Išo'yahb bar Malkon preserved in the theological compendium *Asfār al-asrār*', *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 58 (2006) 235-52
- H. Teule, 'Saint-Louis and the East-Syrians. The dream of a terrestrial empire. East-Syrian attitudes towards the West', in K. Ciggaar and H. Teule (eds), *East and West in the crusader states. Context – contacts – confrontations (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 125)*, Louvain, 2003, 101-22, pp. 109-12
- B. Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans en Irak. Attitudes nestorienne vis-à-vis de l'islam*, Paris, 1994, pp. 135-36
- [S.]K. Samir, 'Les prologues de l'évangélaire rimé de 'Abdishu' de Nisibe', *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 31 (1981) 42-70
- J.-M. Fiey, *Nisibe, métropole syriaque orientale et ses suffragants des origines à nos jours (CSCO 388 = subs. 54)*, Louvain, 1977, pp. 105-7
- A. Abouna, *Adab al-lugha l-arāmiyya*, Beirut, 1970-1, pp. 429-30
- Graf, *GCAL* i, pp. 164-65; ii, pp. 208-10
- A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur, mit Ausschluss der christlich-palästinensischen Texte*, Bonn, 1922, pp. 309-10
- A. Scher, *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés dans la bibliothèque épiscopale de Séert (Kurdistan)*, Mosul, 1905
- J.S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Rome, 1725, iii, pp. 295-303 (with important extracts of some works by Išo'yahb)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-radd 'alā l-Yahūd wa l-Muslimīn alladhīna yattahimūna l-Naṣārā bi-'ibādat al-aṣnām li-sujūdhim li-l-ṣalīb wa-ikrāmihim ṣuwar al-Masīḥ wa-l-Sayyida wa-l-qiddīsīn, 'Refutation of the Jews and the Muslims who accuse the Christians of worshipping idols since they venerate the cross and honor the images of Christ, our Lady and the saints'

DATE First half of the 13th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work discusses objections by Jews and Muslims to the veneration of the cross and icons. In view of the fact that so many of the references are of interest only to a Christian readership, the aim of this treatise was probably to help Christians to formulate answers to questions addressed to them by Jews and Muslims. There is no reason to assume that the author, when polemicizing against Jews, indirectly intends to attack Muslims, as is the case in several other contemporary treatises (Teule, 'Bar Malkon's treatise', pp. 160-61).

Isho'yahb's text presents a number of classical arguments in defense of the veneration of the cross and icons already developed by previous authors: it is not the material object that is venerated but the person it represents; kissing the cross or prostrating before it is comparable to the Muslim practice of kissing the Ka'ba and the Muslim way of praying; devotional acts have a primarily spiritual meaning and are comparable to what Muslims do when they kiss a copy of their scripture, which does not mean that they venerate the paper or the parchment – their veneration is *dhikr*, remembrance of God.

Isho'yahb's main argument is that Christian worship is different from the pagan worship of idols. In the latter case, the veneration is of the idols themselves without any reference to God, whereas Christians venerate icons of people who worshipped God or who gave their lives for the sake of truth or the *sunna* and law of the Christians. Veneration without reference to God is unbelief (*kuf'r*); veneration with God in mind is worship of God (*'ibāda*), which is common to Christians, Jews and Muslims. The implicit conclusion is that Christians, on account of the similarity of their forms of worship to those of Muslims, are entitled to their liturgy. It should not be considered idolatrous; although it may superficially resemble pagan practices, the same could also be said of Muslim ritual acts.

The treatise ends with an interesting passage on the nature of the contact the faithful have with the individuals venerated through particular forms of worship, be it the veneration of their icons or taking dust from their graves.

SIGNIFICANCE

Though Isho'yahb's defense of the veneration of the cross and icons resembles the arguments developed in comparable treatises, especially the *Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn* of the East-Syrian Catholicos Elias II (q.v.), the author also makes his own contribution. First, he gives what for the East Syrians was an original justification of the veneration of icons: that approaching

God directly without intermediaries would amount to boldness (*iqdām*), comparable to the inappropriate behavior of subjects who force their way in before a governor, bypassing his servants. Second, he emphasizes the 'real presence' of the saint mediated by the icon.

The text testifies to the practice of the veneration of icons in the East-Syrian Church, contrary to the view that the East-Syrians did not have images in their churches.

MANUSCRIPTS

This text is only preserved in one or two MSS belonging to the collection of Paul Sbath in Aleppo (no number) and to the Ayyoub collection in Aleppo (no number). It is possible that the Ayyoub manuscript entered the Sbath collection and that there is only one MS of this text.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

H. Teule, 'The veneration of images in the East Syriac tradition', in B. Groneberg and H. Spieckermann (eds), *Die Welt der Götterbilder*, Berlin, 2007, 324-46, pp. 340-43 (partial trans.)

H. Teule, 'Išo'yahb bar Malkon's treatise on the veneration of the holy icons', in M. Tamcke (ed.), *Christlich-muslimische Gespräche im mittelalterlichen Orient (Beiruter Texte und Studien 117)*, Beirut, 2007, 157-70 (partial trans.)

Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans*, pp. 296-97 (partial French trans.)

P. Sbath, *Vingt traités philosophiques et apologétiques d'auteurs arabes chrétiens du XI^e au XIV^e siècle*, Cairo, 1929, pp. 158-65 (edition)

STUDIES

Teule, *The veneration of images in the East Syriac tradition*, pp. 324-46, esp. pp. 340-43

Teule, 'Bar Malkon's treatise', pp. 157-70

Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans*, p. 128

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 208-9

Sbath, *Fihris* i, pp. 32-33 (no. 230)

Barāhīn 'alā ṣiḥḥat al-Injīl, 'Proofs of the truth of the Gospel'

DATE First half of the 13th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

In this brief text Isho'yahb attempts to provide conclusive evidence for the truth of the Gospel. His arguments may be summarized as follows: the Gospel is spread among different and even hostile nations; it urges people to attend to spiritual matters and to act in ways contrary to their nature and customs; it is accepted by the nations on rational grounds; it was accepted by philosophers and scholars; it teaches the *sunna* of love rather than that of justice (which is the *sunna* of the Jews), or injustice (*jawr*), the *sunna* of the Sabeans and the Manicheans.

Though Muslims are not mentioned here, it may be inferred from comparable texts that the author composed this treatise in response to Muslim challenges to the veracity of the Gospel. The brevity of the argumentation suggests that the treatise was not meant to be read directly by Muslims, but was intended to give Christians brief, ready-made answers that might help them to counter the Muslim allegation of *tahrīf* of the Gospel.

SIGNIFICANCE

Isho'yahb's arguments are not very original and resemble those found in comparable East-Syrian treatises, such as Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq's analysis of the reasons to accept or reject a particular religion (q.v.). The brevity of the argumentation considerably diminishes its value.

MANUSCRIPTS

See the remark on the MSS of the previous text.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Sbath, *Vingt tra ités philosophiques et apologétiques*, pp. 152-55 (edition)

STUDIES

Teule, 'Bar Malkon's treatise', pp. 159-60

Graf, *GAL* ii, pp. 208-9

Sbath, *Fihris* i, pp. 32-33 (no. 229)

Adilla ukhar 'alā ṣiḥḥat al-Injīl, 'Other proofs for the truth of the Gospel'

DATE First half of the 13th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Again without mentioning Muslims, Bar Malkon gives nine additional arguments to establish the truth of the Gospel: the teachings of the Gospel correspond to what is good and right; the Gospel fits the rational soul and incites it to accept the essence of the Creator; it is also consistent with the delight of the perceiving soul, which is the knowledge of things divine; the Gospel is about intellectual rather than material matters and practices; despite the fact that the Gospel calls people to things that are not easy for them, it is still accepted by many; the Gospel urges people to be concerned for things that are good for the soul and which do not perish because of the soul's immortality; the Gospel calls people to accept the most honorable essence, which is the essence of the Creator; the best of existing things is what is represented by the best image; the best image is that of the Creator and the Gospel invites emulation of it; the unconditional love proclaimed in the Gospel resembles the unconditional love of the Creator.

It seems probable that this and the previous treatise were originally one work.

SIGNIFICANCE

On account of its brevity and the lack of originality of some of the arguments, this treatise is of only limited significance.

MANUSCRIPTS

See the remark on the MSS of the previous texts.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Teule, 'Bar Malkon's treatise', pp. 157-70 (partial trans.)

Sbath, *Vingt traités*, pp. 155-58 (edition)

STUDIES

Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans*, pp. 160-61

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 208-9

Sbath, *Fihris* i, pp. 32-33 (no. 229)

Radd 'alā l-Muslimīn, 'Refutation of the Muslims'

DATE First half of the 13th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work exists in a manuscript preserved in a private collection, though this is not accessible, so no description can be given. It is not inconceivable that the work is the same as the treatise described above on the veneration of icons addressed to both Muslims and Jews, since, according to Sbath's very brief comments, the same collection also contains a refutation of the Jews.

SIGNIFICANCE

Nothing can be said about this.

MANUSCRIPTS

The only MS of this text is preserved in the collection of the priest Baliṭ (Aleppo). There is no information about its present location.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES

Sbath, *Fihris*, i, p. 33 (no. 228)

Herman G.B. Teule

Buṭrus Sawīrus al-Jamīl

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; probably end of the 12 th /beginning of the 13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown, but in Egypt
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; probably second half of the 13 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; probably in Malij

BIOGRAPHY

Louis Cheikho (and Kāmil Nakhla after him) counts Buṭrus among 14th-century authors, though this is unlikely since he is mentioned by Abū l-Barakāt, who died in 1324. Graf places him among 13th-century authors, which is confirmed by his writings.

Among the chronological indications for Buṭrus' life are the following. He says that he writes more than 300 years after the first great schism of the Eastern Church in the time of Photius (d. c. 891), which gives a date in the 13th century. And there are other more precise indications. In Jerusalem, Buṭrus met the Melkite Patriarch Athanasius II (1224-36); this meeting probably took place in 1236, when Buṭrus accompanied the delegation sent by the Coptic Patriarch Cyril III (1235-43) to present the letter of communion to the Syrian patriarch, who was in Jerusalem at that time. There, Buṭrus also came into contact with the Latins and with members of other Eastern churches.

Buṭrus was ordained bishop of Malij in the Nile Delta by Cyril III or his successor. In Alexandria in 1240-41, he met some Latin monks, probably Dominicans. And in Egypt, probably Cairo, in 1245-46, he met a secretary sent by the Roman pope. We do not know when Buṭrus died.

Buṭrus wrote two apologetic-polemical books, the *Kitāb al-ishrāq* ('Illumination') against other Christian churches, and the *Kitāb al-burhān* ('The demonstration') against Islam. He is regarded as having begun the collection that became the Copto-Arabic *Synaxarion* (q.v.), and he also wrote an encomium (*madīḥ*) on Severus of Antioch and a testament.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- Shams al-Ri'āsa Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar, *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulma fī idāḥ al-khidma*, Cairo: Maktabat al-Kārūz, 1971, pp. 309-15
- W. Riedel, 'Der Katalog der christlichen Schriften in arabischer Sprache von Abū 'l Barakāt', in *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Heft 5*, Göttingen, 1902, 635-706, pp. 655-59 (text), 688-94 (trans.)
- J.M. Vansleb, *Histoire de l'église d'Alexandrie fondée par S. Marc que nous appelons celle des Jacobites Coptes d'Egypte, écrite au Caire même en 1672 & 1673*, Paris, 1677, pp. 333-35 (free trans. of Abū l-Barakāt's work)

Secondary

- M.N. Swanson, art. 'Butrus Sawirus al-Jamil, Bishop of Malij', in Gawdat Gabra (ed.), *Historical dictionary of the Coptic Church*, Cairo, 2008, 52-53, 281
- A. Wadi, 'Introduzione alla letteratura arabo-cristiana dei Copti' [in Arabic], *SOCC* 29-30 (1998) 441-91, p. 473
- R.-G. Coquin, 'Langue et littérature arabes chrétiennes', in M. Albert (ed.), *Christianismes orientaux. Introduction à l'étude des langues et des littératures*, Paris, 1993, 35-106, p. 79
- V. Frederick, art. 'Buṭrus Sāwirus al-Jamīl', in *CE*
- [S.]K. Samir, 'Buṭrus évêque de Malig', in 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976) 201-42, pp. 230-32
- Graf, *GCAL* ii, 340-44
- Kāmil Ṣāliḥ Nakhla, *Silsilat tāriḥ al-bābāwāt baṭārikat al-kursī l-Iskandarī*, fasc. 2, Dayr al-Suryān, 1952, p. 67; 2nd ed., Cairo, 2002, p. 47
- O.H.E. Burmester, 'On the date and authorship of the Arabic Synaxarium', *Journal of Theological Studies* 39 (1938) 249-53
- M. Jugie, art. 'Monophysite (Église copte)', in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. 10, Paris, 1929, 2251-2306, cols 2268-69
- L. Cheikho, *Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes chrétiens*, Beirut, 1924, pp. 62, 236

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-burhān, 'The demonstration';

Kitāb al-bayān, 'The statement'

DATE Unknown; probably after 1246

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This book, which is not listed by Abū l-Barakāt, consists of five treatises of varying lengths and on different topics. The first concerns the Incarnation and death of Christ, and the second the Coptic teaching about the union of the divine and human natures in the one nature of Christ.

In the third treatise, which comprises 11 chapters, Buṭrus responds to a letter of the *faqīh* Jamāl al-Dīn by comparing the Mosaic, Christian and Islamic laws. The first five chapters are about the Mosaic law and how it was abrogated by the prophets and by Christ, while chs 6 and 7 deal with the law of Christ and its eternal authority as the law of perfection. Ch. 8 demonstrates the superiority of this law over the 'following' law, and ch. 9 declares that Christians are not required to accept other laws because the Qur'an itself invites Jews and Christians to follow their own laws. Chs 10 and 11 show the applicability of the Christian law in all situations of life.

In the fourth treatise, Buṭrus responds to another letter of Jamāl al-Dīn on ablution (*al-wuḍū'*), in which the Muslim criticizes Christians for not purifying themselves. Buṭrus enumerates some of the purity laws in Christianity, citing mainly the Old Testament, and attacks the Muslim attitude towards purity and also the forms of its implementation.

The fifth treatise is about prayer.

SIGNIFICANCE

While Buṭrus shows respect towards his Islamic interlocutor, he evidently regards himself as having freedom to explain his own beliefs and to criticize Islamic attitudes. His work attests to the considerable knowledge that Egyptian Christians and Muslims had of one another in his time, and to the apparent freedom that Christians felt they had in the Ayyūbid state to defend their faith and also to criticize Islam.

MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Vat – Arabic 107, fols 141v-183r (original Coptic numbering); 51v-93r (Arabic numbering) (15th century)
- MS Aleppo, Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem – Ar. 219 (Sbath 1021), pp. 1-72 (1787)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 203 (Simaika 326, Graf 651), fols 3v-41v (18th century)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Canon 26 (Simaika 596) (no indication of date; 6 chapters from the third treatise)
- MS Aleppo, heirs of the late Mikhā'īl Shāhhūd (inaccessible MS in private collection; see Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 37, no. 265)

In the following MSS, the work is wrongly attributed to Buṭrus al-Sadamantī:

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 170 (Simaika 318, Graf 365)
(16th century)

MS Red Sea, Monastery of St Anthony – Theology 282 (1743)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Canon 26 (Simaika 596, Graf 651)
(18th century)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 203 (Simaika 326, Graf 651)
(18th century)

MS Aleppo, Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem – 1021 (18th century)

MS Red Sea, Monastery of St Anthony – Theology 102 (1816)

MS Wādī al-Naṭrūn, Dayr al-Baramūs – Theology 4:67, fols 201r-341v
(date unknown; first three treatises)

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Wadi Awad

Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1170
PLACE OF BIRTH	Puerta la Reina, Navarre
DATE OF DEATH	10 June, 1247
PLACE OF DEATH	Possibly Vienne or Lyons

BIOGRAPHY

Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada was born around 1170, the son of a nobleman. He received his education at the court of King Sancho IV of Navarre, but he went, probably in 1195, to study law and theology at Bologna and then Paris, though he seems not to have formally graduated. Back in the Iberian Peninsula around 1202-4, he was active in diplomatic affairs between the then rival kings of Navarre and Castile. His election as bishop of Osma in 1208 has been interpreted as a royal reward for his services that led to the peace treaty of Guadalajara in 1207. But before Rodrigo could take office at Osma, he was elected archbishop of Toledo and received papal consecration in February 1209.

Immediately after his election, Rodrigo became involved in the preparations for a crusading campaign, which in 1212 resulted in the decisive Christian victory over the Almohads at Las Navas de Tolosa. In his *De rebus Hispanie sive Historia Gothica*, Rodrigo dedicated the whole of Book 8 to the Christian triumph of 1212, characterizing the victory as a turning point in the centuries-long struggle of the Christian 'Spaniards' against their Muslim 'oppressors'. When the death of Alfonso VIII in 1214 interrupted royal warfare against al-Andalus for almost a decade, Rodrigo himself as a papal legate organized several military campaigns, though he could not achieve any lasting results. When Fernando III, whom Rodrigo served as chancellor, resumed the Castilian *Reconquista* in 1224, Rodrigo accompanied him on his annual campaigns until 1234, even personally taking military command in 1231. As a result of his active engagement in the *Reconquista*, Rodrigo was able to unite several regional lordships in al-Andalus under his personal control, thus becoming an important seignorial landlord.

The *Reconquista* required the restoration of ecclesiastical structures in the newly won territories. As early as 1210, Rodrigo received the papal mandate to consecrate bishops for orphaned dioceses in the

Muslim realm, and he thus became involved in the re-Christianization of al-Andalus and North Africa, in particular during the 1220s. This task brought him into contact with the new Mendicant orders, though his own missionary activities seem to have concentrated on the 'consolidation' of diaspora Christians. Though Rodrigo commissioned a Latin translation of the Qur'an as early as 1209, there is no evidence that he ever engaged in direct religious dispute with Muslims. As for a second 'missionary' text, the *Dialogus libri vitae*, a theological refutation of Judaism, Rodrigo's authorship is debated; his actual dealings with the Jews of Toledo, however, prove a certain pragmatic tolerance, at least in fiscal and juridical affairs.

From the very beginning of his episcopate, Rodrigo fought stubbornly for the rights of his church, claiming the *primatus Hispaniae* for Toledo. In 1215, however, he failed to obtain confirmation of his primatial pretensions from the Fourth Lateran Council because he was not sufficiently able to prove their legitimacy. This legal defeat led him to commission several vast collections of juridical and historical documents concerning the (supposedly leading) role of Toledo and its church in Hispania's past. Even though they never produced the juridical outcomes Rodrigo had hoped for, these so called 'primatial books' later served as an important base for his efforts to 'prove' the prerogatives of Toledo by means of historiography. In his *De rebus Hispanie*, which King Fernando III had asked him to compose as a 'national history' of Spain, he presented his metropolis as the political and ecclesiastical center of the whole of Hispania since Visigothic times. The remarkable *Historia Arabum* also forms part of this 'national history', though here the theme of 'Toledanizing Hispania's past', which is so prominent in the *De rebus Hispanie*, is not explicitly present.

Rodrigo's fierce struggle for the Toledan primacy frequently brought him into conflict with representatives of other Iberian churches, resulting in a certain political isolation towards the end of his episcopate. To finance his costly lawsuits as well as his ambitious project to build a cathedral in Toledo, he drew on the revenues of the cathedral chapter, which led to lasting dissent with the canons of his own church. In 1240, he even provoked his excommunication by the rival archbishop of Tarragona. In view of these conflicts, Rodrigo had always sought close contact with the papacy. When he died on 10 June 1247, probably on a ship on the Rhône, he was returning from an audience with Pope Innocent IV in Lyons. His corpse was transferred to Spain and buried at the monastery of Santa Maria de Huerta.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

De rebus Hispanie sive Historia Gothica; De rebus Hispanie; Historia Gothica, 'On the affairs of Spain, or Gothic history'

DATE 1243 (final redaction between February 1246 and June 1247)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *De rebus Hispanie* is a voluminous chronicle, structured into nine books of different lengths, each containing between 15 and 36 chapters. The whole text covers 299 pages in the latest edition by Fernández Valverde. The chronicle explicitly specifies 31 March 1243 as the date of its completion, but the text seems to have undergone at least one later revision after February 1246, presumably in the first half of the year 1247.

The *De rebus Hispanie* recounts a history of Hispania from its biblical origins, when the offspring of Noah's son Japhet allegedly populated the land after the Deluge, until Rodrigo's own lifetime in the middle of the 13th century. The last explicitly recorded event is the successful Christian 'reconquest' of several Andalusian strongholds in 1240, though the core narration of Rodrigo's *Gothic history* ends with the fall of Cordova in 1236 and the emblematic restoration of the candelabras that al-Manṣūr once had 'stolen' from the church of Santiago at Compostela and transferred to the mosque of the Umayyad capital.

In terms of quantity, and even more so in programmatic form, the *De rebus Hispanie* forms the backbone of an ensemble of five interrelated monographic histories that together make up a 'national' history of Spain. Besides his main chronicle, Rodrigo wrote smaller supplementary histories of all the 'peoples' (e.g. the Romans and Arabs) who had once imposed their rule on the Iberian Peninsula. Explicitly labelled as a 'Gothic history', the *De rebus Hispanie* focuses on the Visigothic realm (books 1-3) of the early Middle Ages and especially on its 'legacy' to later

Spanish history (books 4-9): while the Visigothic kingdom itself had irretrievably collapsed in 711, Rodrigo saw an inherited 'Gothicness' as the distinguishing trait and legitimizing factor of Christian Spanish (especially Castilian) rule in the period that followed. This 'neo-gothicism' paved the way for Rodrigo's general interpretation of Hispania's medieval past and of the role the Muslims were seen to play within Spain's history. For Rodrigo, the *Historia Hispanie* was a story of the deep humiliation and subsequent resurrection of a now purged Christian people. In 711, God had punished the Christian Spaniards for the sins of their rulers and had let the 'Saracens' subjugate great parts of Hispania. The 'reconquest' is thus understood as an act of penance that would finally lead to the promised Christian triumph over the 'infidel' enemies. With the victory of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 and the conquest of Cordova in 1236, Rodrigo himself saw this salvational process achieving its climax.

Within this general interpretive framework, Rodrigo reports (among many other things) the major military confrontations and diplomatic relations between the northern Iberian kingdoms and al-Andalus after 711. Of course, Rodrigo was able to provide firsthand information about Christian-Muslim affairs only for his own lifetime. Particularly important is his vivid (though biased) eyewitness report of the crusader campaign of 1212, and of the victory in battle over the Almohads at Las Navas (book 8). However, for most of his knowledge of past events he drew on older Latin chronicles and re-compiled their information according to his controlling model of a *Reconquista*-history. For its older sections, the value of the *Historia Gothica* therefore lies primarily in its re-modeling and updating of traditions and collective memories. This is particularly the case in Rodrigo's innovative narration of the Muslim invasion of 711 and the breakdown of the Visigothic realm (book 3, chs 16-24), where, for the first time in Spanish Latin historiography, the then well-known Latin-Christian traditions are combined with new, often legendary material from Islamo-Arabic and Mozarabic sources.

SIGNIFICANCE

The main contribution of Rodrigo's *Historia de rebus Hispanie* to the history of Christian-Muslim relations in medieval Iberia is the provision of a consistent master narrative for the 'national history' of Hispania that allots a clear role to the Muslims in Southern Spain. For Rodrigo the 'Arabes' of 'Wandalucia' were indeed part of the nation's history, but their destined function within this history was to provide the necessary counterpart in a centuries-long cathartic struggle of Christian Spanish

self-assertion. In fulfillment of God's plan, the Muslim 'yoke' was to be painfully overcome in order finally to restore the unity and integrity of Christian Spain.

With the 're-conquest' and the divinely ordered war against the 'infidels' as the two main characterizing elements of Spanish medieval history, Rodrigo formulated an influential historical master narrative that was to have consequences even in modern times: The idea of a medieval 'ethnogenesis' of Christian Spain in the course of a painful and long-lasting quest for national unity and integrity against the Muslim infestation figured as the foundation of Spanish nationalism up to the 20th century, finally to become a core element of the fascist ideology of the Franco regime. Even if Rodrigo was neither the original inventor nor the only propagator of this interpretive scheme during his own time, in his *Historia de rebus Hispanie* he provides one of its earliest and surely most coherent elaborations, which was subsequently adopted by many medieval and modern authors.

MANUSCRIPTS

At least 29 MSS from the 13th to the 18th centuries are known to contain the whole Latin text of the *Historia de rebus Hispanie*. These manuscripts are listed and described in the authoritative edition by Fernández Valverde, pp. xii-xvi. In addition to this corpus, there exist an undetermined number of codices which contain either fragments or epitomes of the Latin text, or else translations into Romance languages dating as early as 1252-53. For the latter, see D. Catalán and E. Jerez, '*Rodericus*' romanizado en los reinos de Aragón, Castilla y Navarra, Madrid, 2005, and P. Quer Aiguadé, *L'adaptació catalana de la Història de rebus Hispaniae de Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. Textos i transmissió (segle XIII-XV)*, Barcelona, 2001.

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Historia Arabum, 'History of the Arabs'

DATE Between 1243 and 1245

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Historia Arabum* consists of 49 chapters, covering 63 pages in the authoritative edition by J. Fernández Valverde. The main focus of the work lies on the history of the *regnum Cordube*, the Muslim realm of al-Andalus, from the Arab invasion in 711 to the conquest by the Berber Almoravids after 1086. Chapters 1 to 9 treat the pre-history of this Andalusian history, describing the alleged foundation of an 'Arab kingdom' in the East by Muḥammad (chs 1-4) and its consequent expansion under the early caliphs (chs 7-9), resulting finally in the conquest of Hispania in 711. From this point, the account concentrates almost exclusively on al-Andalus: after dealing at relative length with the period of the *wālī*-governors (chs 9-17), it comes to its main subject with the foundation of the independent Emirate in 756, whose history is followed to the end of Umayyad rule in 1031 (chs 18-47). Two further chapters are dedicated to a rather sketchy account of the taifa period and subsequent Almoravid rule until the middle of the 12th century (chs 48-49). Within this chronological framework, the *Historia* mainly focuses on the internal affairs of the Muslim realm of al-Andalus; contacts and confrontations beyond its borders are only rarely reported.

The *Historia Arabum* can be divided into two parts: Chs 1-6 offer a 'vita' of the Prophet Muḥammad, and it is only in this part of the text that a religious dimension of the 'Arab history' is explicitly dealt with. Rodrigo here combines traditional themes of Christian polemic against the 'pseudo-propheta' with authentic information from the Islamic tradition about Muḥammad: he provides essential parts of the *sīra* of Ibn Hishām in a Latin translation. Even though Rodrigo made no secret of his negative appraisal of Islam and its 'inventor', he portrayed Muḥammad from a primarily secular perspective as the founder not of a new religion but of an independent Arab kingdom. Following this perspective, the remaining 43 chapters present the *Historia Arabum* (not 'Saracenorum!') almost exclusively as a profane people's history, with virtually no reference to the different religious identity of the 'Arabes' and their rulers. This fact, which stands in sharp contrast to the usual patterns of the contemporary Latin historiography dealing with Christian-Muslim relations, can be explained by Rodrigo's use of Arab-Muslim and Mozarabic sources. Although no extant works can be definitely identified as Rodrigo's actual sources, with the sole exception of the 8th-century *Chronica muzarabica* (q.v.), which served as model for Rodrigo's treatment of the pre-Umayyad history of the *wālī*-period (chs 7-17), the dependence of the *Historia Arabum* on Muslim historiography is beyond doubt, because,

when it is compared with the corpus of historical traditions of early medieval Muslim Spain, corresponding Arab information can be identified for almost every single paragraph of Rodrigo's text. For the whole of the Umayyad and the taifa history, the *Historia Arabum* thus appears to be a faithful Latin paraphrase (if not translation) of Arab historical traditions, which are almost unaltered in content and wording: Rodrigo's treatment of the Spanish *Historia Arabum* follows the authoritative historical master narratives developed by Muslim historiographers, i.e. by Aḥmad al-Rāzī and Ibn Ḥayyān for the Umayyad and taifa periods respectively. Obviously, these histories of al-Andalus written from a Muslim perspective fitted Rodrigo's need for a rather neutral narration of the political history of southern Spain free from religious polarization, which would have hindered its integration into the conceptual framework of his 'national history' of Hispania:

Although the *Historia Arabum* has the form of a self-contained single work, it actually forms part of a wider *Historia Hispanie* consisting altogether of five chronicles, each dealing separately with the history of one of the different 'invaders' (e.g. Romans, Vandals, Visigoths), who at certain periods in the past had ruled Hispania and its inhabitants. Several cross references interconnect these 'histories' and allocate them within the framework of a Spanish 'national history'. There is reason to assume that the *Historia Arabum* was the last part of a voluminous *Historia Hispanie* to be finished in 1245, two years after the completion of Rodrigo's dated main work *De rebus Hispanie* in 1243, but still before a letter of dedication to King Fernando III, which must have been written before 1246.

The *Historia Arabum* is to be seen within Rodrigo's broader conception of a 'national' Spanish history that is mainly laid out in *De rebus Hispanie*. In contrast to the rather neutral treatment of the *Historia Arabum* itself, Rodrigo here developed a superordinate interpretation of the Muslims' historical role in Spain's national past: for him Muslim presence on the Iberian Peninsula meant a constant infestation of 'God's own' Christian people, which was to be overcome by the religious warfare of crusade and reconquest. For him, Muslim domination was a divine chastisement by which God had punished the sinful Spaniards and their sacrilegious rulers. Rodrigo thus understood the *Reconquista* as a century-long act of penance, which would finally result in the promised recovery of Christian Spain. With the victory of Las Navas and the successful reconquest of Cordova in 1236, Rodrigo saw this salvational process coming almost to its predicted end in his own lifetime.

The *Historia Arabum* thus is to be read against the *De rebus Hispanie*: here, as well as in the other minor histories, can be found all the derogatory and polemical terminology against the Muslims whose omission from the *Historia Arabum* was often interpreted as a proof of Rodrigo's seemingly tolerant attitude towards the other. The neutral tone of the *Historia Arabum* does not necessarily therefore mirror its author's alleged extraordinary cultural open-mindedness, but may be due to requirements of Rodrigo's historiographical conception: he presented the 'regnum Cordube' of the long gone Umayyad era – as well as the Andalusian territories once ruled by the Umayyads that were yet to be conquered – as a constituent part of the Spanish nation's historical unity, which in his own days was to be dominated by the Castilian crown and the Toledan church.

Several later authors drew on the *Historia Arabum* for information about the Muslim realm of al-Andalus in Umayyad times. None of them, however, shared Rodrigo's unique perspective on a self-contained 'Arab' history. When, for example, King Alfonso X of Castile in the 1270s and 1280s incorporated a vernacular translation of the *Historia Arabum* into his *Estoria de España*, he broke up the integrity of Rodrigo's text and arranged the pieces of annalistic information according to a strictly Christian model of *Reconquista* history.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Historia Arabum* is the only extant text from the Latin Middle Ages that treats the history of a Muslim society in monographic form. In sharp contrast to the usual historiographical patterns used to treat Christian-Muslim relations and confrontations in his time, Rodrigo refrained from aggressive religious polemic and conceded that the Muslims of al-Andalus had a history of their own. The *Wandaluci Arabes* and their rulers appear as the sovereign subjects of a secular people's history, independent from Christian salvation history. For his work, Rodrigo made extensive use of Arabic sources, as the first medieval author to provide substantial parts of the Muslim historical and hagiographical tradition in Latin translation.

MANUSCRIPTS

At least 27 medieval manuscripts of the *Historia Arabum* are known, the oldest exemplars dating from shortly after the middle of the 13th century (probably 1256). All extant manuscripts are listed and discussed in detail in the authoritative edition by Fernández Valverde (pp. 10-22), and in the edition by Lozano Sánchez (pp. xv-xxiv).

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Michael, Bishop of Atrīb and Malīj

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; end of the 12 th or beginning of the 13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; Egypt
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; latter half of the 13 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown, but probably in the region of Atrīb and Malīj

BIOGRAPHY

Mikhā'īl's full name is not known, and this creates a problem for the identification of the writings attributed to him. All that is known is that he had discussions with a Muslim jurist in Alexandria in April or May 1246 and in August 1247. A few years earlier, in 1242/3, he had begun writing his treatises. Later, sometime after 1250, he became bishop of Atrīb and Malīj, succeeding Buṭrus al-Jamīl and joining the two dioceses together. He must have died before 1300.

Various works are attributed to Mikhā'īl, but only the one called *Aqwāl* ('Sayings') is definitely by him. The attribution to him of the final draft of the Copto-Arabic *Synaxarion* (q.v.) requires further study, as does *Al-ṭibb al-rūḥānī* ('Spiritual medicine'), a set of 37 liturgical questions, and a few other works.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary —

Secondary

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- F.J. Cöln, 'Der Nomokanon Miḥā'īls von Malīg', *OC* 6 (1906) 70-237; 7 (1907) 1-135; 8 (1908) 110-229; especially the introduction at 6 (1906) 70-79

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Aqwāl, Maqālāt, Jawāb mas'ala, Mas'ala, 'Sayings'

DATE Between 1242/3 and 1247

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Aqwāl* consist of 13 texts that deal with a variety of topics (Sbath identifies only 12, and is followed in this by all later authors on this work). The author does not number them or use consistent titles: he calls one of the 'sayings' a 'Treatise', another 'Response to a question', and others 'Question'. The lengths vary from one text to another; the longest is the first, and the shortest the last.

The first saying (on the rejection of the Jews by God) and the last are of biblical character. Sayings 2, 6, 10 and 11 respond apologetically to Islamic objections on topics of Christology and soteriology. Miḥā'īl writes on theological themes in Sayings 3 (on Christian ecumenism), 7 (on eschatology), 8 and 9. Others deal with liturgical themes.

Of previous Coptic authors, Miḥā'īl refers only to Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffā' (q.v.). He does not mention any of the Awlād al-'Assāl (and none of them mentions him). Some topics are covered both by him and by al-Mu'taman, though without apparent influence of one on the other.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is evident from some of the Sayings that Miḥā'īl was writing in response to questions and challenges from Muslims. Christology remains the main topic of dialogue and debate, and the work attests to Miḥā'īl's awareness of Islam throughout.

MANUSCRIPTS

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(Sbath 1040), fols 231r-302r (1787; with some gaps)

MS Asyūt, heirs of the late *qummuṣ* Ayyūb Masīḥa – 45, fols 161v-227r
(date unknown; Sayings 1-6 only)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Qanawātī, *Al-Masīḥīyya wa-l-ḥaḍāra l-ʿarabiyya*, pp. 288-89 (edition
of the contents)

R.-G. Coquin, art. 'Mikhā'īl', in *CE* (trans. of the contents)

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 415-16 (trans. of the contents)

P. Sbath, *Bibliothèque de manuscrits*, vol. 1, Cairo, 1928, pp. 154-56 (edi-
tion of the contents)

STUDIES

Qanawātī, *Al-Masīḥīyya wa-al-ḥaḍāra l-ʿarabiyya*, pp. 288-89

Coquin, 'Mikhā'īl'

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 415-16

Sbath, *Bibliothèque de manuscrits*, pp. 154-56

Wadi Awad

Al-Qiftī

Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm
al-Shaybānī l-Qiftī

DATE OF BIRTH 1172
PLACE OF BIRTH Qift, Upper Egypt
DATE OF DEATH 1248
PLACE OF DEATH Aleppo

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Qiftī spent his early years in Cairo and then Jerusalem. In 1201, following the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and the disturbances in the city, he moved to Aleppo and continued the studies he had begun years earlier. His evident abilities brought him to the ruler's attention, and he entered public service as the head of finances, and finally from 1236 until his death as vizier to al-Malik al-‘Azīz.

He managed to keep up scholarly work throughout his life, and was able to give shelter to Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī and help with his biographical dictionary. He himself compiled his own biographical works of individuals and groups of scholars; among these the *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, ‘History of the scholars’ (its full title is *Kitāb ikhbār al-‘ulamā’ bi-akhbār al-ḥukamā’*), is the best known. In addition he wrote historical works on various Islamic dynasties, and a history of Cairo.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, vol. 22, ed. R. Baalbaki, Wiesbaden, 1983, pp. 338-41

Secondary

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A. Dietrich, art. ‘Ibn al-Qiftī’, in *EI2*

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-radd ‘alā l-Naṣārā wa-dhikhr majāmi‘ihim,
 ‘A refutation of the Christians and an account of
 their groups’

DATE Unknown; before 1248

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work has not survived, and is known only through the mention by al-Ṣafadī, *Al-wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, p. 340. Its contents and intention can only be guessed at, though its title indicates that, in addition to arguments against Christianity, it also contained accounts of Christian sects – possibly Copts as well as the Melkites, Jacobites and Nestorians – that al-Qifṭī would have got to know about in the course of his life.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is not possible to say with certainty what the significance of this work was.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

David Thomas

Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī

Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Mūsā ibn Muḥammad
ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Saʿīd

DATE OF BIRTH 1213
PLACE OF BIRTH Near Granada
DATE OF DEATH 1286
PLACE OF DEATH Tunis

BIOGRAPHY

Born near Granada, Ibn Saʿīd lived in Seville as a boy, and there he began his education. He left al-Andalus in 1241 for the *ḥajj* with his father, but the latter died in Alexandria in 1242, and Ibn Saʿīd then remained in Egypt for seven years, finally performing the *ḥajj* in 1249. He later travelled to Iraq and Syria, made a second pilgrimage, and worked in Tunis for the emir al-Mustanṣir. He died in Tunis in 1286 at the age of 73.

Ibn Saʿīd was known as a historian and geographer, and also a poet. His *Dīwān* and a number of other works have not survived; among those that have, *Al-mughrib fi ḥula l-Maghrib* is the most important and influential.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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- Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Al-ihāṭa fi akhbār Gharnāṭa*, ed. M. ʿInān, 4 vols, Cairo, 1973, iv, pp. 152-58
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- Al-Makkarī, *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des arabes d'Espagne*, ed. R. Dozy et al., Leiden, 1855-61, see index
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Secondary

- P. Cano Ávila and A. Tawfik, 'Ibn Sa'īd', in *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*
- M. J. al-Ansari, *A master of intercultural history in Islam. Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribi, his works and cultural voyages*, Beirut, 1992
- R. Arié, 'Un lettré andalou en Ifriqiyya et en Orient au XIII^e siècle. Ibn Sa'id', in *Historia y cultura del Islam español*, Granada, 1988, 1-26
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-mughrib fī ḥulā l-Maghrib, 'The wondrous work, on gems of the West'

DATE 1250

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work contains nearly 900 biographies of Muslim authors, giving important information about lost works and quoting from them. It comprises 15 books (*asfār*), the first six devoted to Egypt, the next three to Tunis (*Ifriqiyya*) and North Africa (*bilād al-Barbar*), and the remaining six to al-Andalus. This third group contains details about Christian al-Andalus, as well as Europe north of the Pyrenees (*al-arḍ al-kabīra*).

SIGNIFICANCE

In the last six books Ibn Sa'īd gives information about Andalusian Christian authors such as al-Mir'izī, an 11th-century poet from Seville, and Abū l-Qāsim ibn al-Khayyāṭ, another 11th-century poet and theologian from Toledo, who converted from Islam to Christianity after Alfonso VI's conquest of the city.

MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya – (1250; Ibn Sa'īd's autograph copy)
- MS Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia – 53 (late 19th century; a copy of the Cairo MS)

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a copy of the Cairo MS)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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1997

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ed. H. Nasser, Cairo, 1970

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E. García Gómez, *El libro de las banderas de los campeones*, Madrid,
1978² (edition and Spanish trans. of the Andalusian poetry; English
trans. J.A. Bellamy and P.O. Steiner, *The banners of the champions.*
An anthology of medieval Arabic poetry from Andalusia and beyond,
Madison WI, 1989)

Kitāb al-mughrib fī ḥulā l-Maghrib, ed. K.L. Tallqvist, 2 vols, Leiden,
1899

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M.J. Viguera Molins, 'Ibn Sa'īd entre al-Ándalus, Magreb y Oriente',
Jábega 97 (2008) 121-7

J. Vernet Ginés, 'España en la geografía de Ibn Sa'īd al-Magribī', in
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topography of al-Andalus*, IV, Frankfurt, 2008, 251-72

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topography of al-Andalus*, IV, Frankfurt, 2008, 293-311

J. Alubudi, 'Las rábitas, zāwiyas y takyās bagdadíes e Ibn Sa'īd', in
F.F. Sanchez (ed.), *La Rábita en el Islam: estudios interdisciplinarios.*
Congresos Internacionales de Sant Carles de la Ràpita (1989, 1997),
Sant Carles de la Ràpita, 2004, 313-44

A. Rei, 'A fronteira no sudoeste peninsular (1234-1242). Novas visões da
"Reconquista" a partir do al-Mughrib... de Ibn Sa'īd de Granada',
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29-41

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in F.D. Esteban (ed.), *Bataliús II. Nuevos estudios sobre el reino taifa*,
Madrid, 1999, 225-48

M. Meouak, 'Construction, destruction et passage à la chrétienté de
la madīna dans al-Andalus d'après Ibn Sa'īd al-Magribī (m. 1286)',
Quaderni di Studi Arabi 14 (1996) 59-76

Cano Ávila and Tawfik, art. 'Ibn Sa'īd'

Al-Ansari, *A master of intercultural history in Islam*

- M. Kropp, '... doch das gemeine Volk sagt 'empereo(u)r'!' Nachrichten über Europa aus dem Kitāb al-Muġrib des Ibn Sa'īd al-Maġribī, in D. Bellmann (ed.), *Gedenkschrift Wolfgang Reuschel: Akten des III. Arabistischen Kolloquiums, Leipzig, 21.-22. November 1991*, Stuttgart, 1994, 185-98
- H. Eisenstein, 'Zu drei nordeuropäischen Tieren aus Ibn Sa'īd's Geographie', *Acta Orientalia* 54 (1993) 53-61
- P.S. van Koningsveld, 'La literatura cristiano-árabe de la España medieval y el significado de la transmisión textual en árabe de la *Collectio Conciliorum*', in *Concilio III de Toledo. XIV Centenario 589-1989*, Toledo, 1991, 703-4
- B. Moritz, 'Ibn Sa'īd's Beschreibung von Sicilien', in E. Besta et al (eds), *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari. Scritti di filologia e storia araba; di geografia, storia, diritto della Sicilia medievale; studi bizantini e giudaici relativi all'Italia meridionale nel Medio Evo; documenti sulle relazioni fra gli Stati italiana ed il Levante*, Palermo, 1910, 292-305

Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala

Yoḥannān bar Zoʿbī

DATE OF BIRTH	13 th century or slightly earlier
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	After 1246
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Yoḥannān bar Zoʿbī was a member of the East Syrian Church, a student of Rabban Simeon Shanqlāwī (i.e. of Shanqlābad/Shaqḥawa) and a priest-monk of the monastery of Sabriḥoʿ in the region of Bēt Qoqē near Irbil. Judging from a contemporary biographical note found in MS Vat Syr. 194, which contains his grammatical works, he was held in high esteem by the members of his community. The author of this note praises him as an extraordinary solitary, a monk, ascetic, priest and spiritual director. Bar Zoʿbī composed several theological and liturgical writings as well as a famous Syriac grammar, which, against the practice of the period in which he lived, was not composed after the model of Arabic grammatical works, but followed more traditional Syriac patterns.

He was a staunch defender of the East Syrian ('Nestorian') Christology, which he explained to miaphysite opponents in several of his writings. This principal attitude notwithstanding, he did not refuse West Syrian Miaphysite students, such as the famous Jacob bar Shakkō (q.v.), who attended his courses in grammar and philosophy, a fact recorded by Barhebraeus in his ecclesiastical chronicle.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Letter by John bar Zoʿbī to Simeon Shanqlāwī, text in E. Sachau, *Verzeichniss der syrischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, 2 vols, Berlin, 1899, ii, pp. 357-59 (part 1); W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols, London, 1872, iii, pp. 1067-68 (part 2)

Bibliographical note in MS Vat Syr. 194 (dated 1600, but copied from a manuscript written in 1246; text in S. and J. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus*, 3 vols, Rome, 1756-59, iii, p. 411)

Gregory Barhebraeus, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, ed. J.B. Abbeloos and T. Lamy, 3 vols, Louvain, 1872-77, iii, cols 409-10

'Abdisho' bar Brikhā, *Catalogus librorum*, ed. J.S. Assemani, Rome, 1725, pp. 307-9, caput 196

Secondary

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T. Mannooramparambil, *John bar Zo'bi. Explanation of the divine mysteries*, Kottayam, 1992

J. Ishaq, 'Qaṣīda fī l-'imād wa-l-khamīr al-qurbānī li-Yuḥannā ibn Zo'bi', *Bayn al-Nahrayn* 16 (1988) 108-31

A. Khorayche, 'L'explication de tous les mystères divins' de Jean bar Zobi selon le ms Borg. Sir. 90', *Euntes Docete* 19 (1966) 386-426

W. de Vries, 'Die Erklärung aller göttlichen Geheimnisse' des Nestorianers Joḥannān bar Zo'bi (13. Jahrh.)', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 9 (1943) 188-203

G. Furlani, 'Yoḥannān bar Zo'bi sulla differenza tra nature, ispostasi, persona e faccia', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 12 (1929-30) 272-85

A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1922, pp. 310-11

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Shu'ālē luqbal harrātīqē w-Ishma'lāyē, 'Questions against the heretics and Ishmaelites'

DATE Unknown: early or mid-13th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Syriac

DESCRIPTION

This brief, still unedited, treatise of no more than two folios (146r-147v) is ascribed to Rabban Yoḥannān, a normal designation for Yoḥannān bar Zo'bi also found elsewhere. Bar Zo'bi's authorship is further confirmed by the fact that this work is found in a compilation containing several of his other works, although it is not mentioned by 'Abdisho' bar Brikhā in his description of Bar Zo'bi's works in his *Catalogue of authors*.

This treatise is intended as a refutation both of Christian heretics (probably the miaphysites in particular, whose doctrines Bar Zo'bi refutes at length elsewhere), and of the Muslims, whom he calls descendants of Ishmael (Ishma'lāyē). It consists of five questions:

How can you confess that Jesus is God made man or a man who was made God?

What came first: 'God made man' or 'man made God'?

Why was our Lord born from a woman and not created in the way of Adam?

Why was he born from a virgin, and
 Why from a betrothed woman?

Bar Zoʿbī's answer to the first question is a brief explanation of the East Syrian diophysite Christology, emphasizing that Christ's two natures (*kyānē*) do not change and are preserved in the unity of one person (*paršopā*). Further, God is born from a woman in order to teach a lesson to those who abhor the nature of woman and because it is fitting that, since sin came into the world through a woman, life also should be given through a woman. God was born from a virgin in order to show that God is the creator of Christ in the same way as He is the creator of Adam, and from a betrothed woman in order to show that she did not commit adultery.

SIGNIFICANCE

Bar Zoʿbī's treatise is clearly meant as a help for his coreligionists to formulate brief answers to possible questions from Muslim opponents. The fact that he wrote this treatise suggests that this kind of issue was as hotly debated by Christians and Muslims at this time as any other. However, the brevity of the standard answers, which are moreover addressed to both Christian and Muslim opponents, diminishes the value of the treatise, because the reader does not gain insight into what was really going on during discussions between the Christians and Muslims of the time.

MANUSCRIPTS

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STUDIES —

Herman G.B. Teule

Ibn al-Abbār

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr
al-Qaḍā‘ī al-Balansī

DATE OF BIRTH 1199
PLACE OF BIRTH Valencia
DATE OF DEATH 1260
PLACE OF DEATH Bougie

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn al-Abbār was probably the most famous Andalusian man of letters to come from Valencia during the Middle Ages. He was a poet, historian, critic, linguist, biographer, diplomat, theologian and politician, and also a well-known Arabic calligrapher. His status as a multifaceted scholar, along with his encyclopedic knowledge, was highlighted by writers such as Ibn Khaldūn, al-Dhahabī, and Ibn al-Zubayr. The writer Ibn al-Aḥmar called him *sirāj al-‘ulūm*, ‘the lamp of the sciences’.

Ibn al-Abbār descended from an influential family, which originally came from Yemen to settle in Valencia. His father was one of the best-known poets of the town, and he ensured that his son received the best education available in his time. From his youth, Ibn al-Abbār frequented the gatherings of scholars and poets in which his father took part.

Ibn al-Abbār started his career as a secretary to the Muslim governor of the emirate of Valencia. He worked for Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥafṣ, his son Abū Zayd, and Zayyān ibn Mardanīsh. He was a member of the Muslim delegation sent by the governor of Valencia to Tunisia, and wrote a historical poem, addressing the Tunisian Sultan Abū Zakariyya al-Ḥafṣī asking for help against the forces of King James that were surrounding Valencia. The sultan responded positively, sending a fleet of fully equipped war vessels to rescue the city, but the fleet could not reach the city because of a naval blockade. For several months Valencia resisted, but the Muslims finally surrendered to avoid more bloodshed and the King of Aragon entered peacefully in 1238.

Ibn al-Abbār witnessed the fall of the Islamic kingdoms of al-Andalus one after another, including Valencia, which inspired him to write one of his best elegies, expressing his grief over the conquest of his city.

After the conquest of Valencia, he settled in Tunisia and was employed as the head of the chancellery by the Ḥafṣid Sultan Zakariyya, and then he worked for his son al-Mustanṣir. He was treated well by the sultans of Tunisia, though his bad temper, sharp tongue, excessive ambition and inflated self-confidence caused him to anger them. When Sultan Zakariyya hired a new official writer in his place, he flared up in the sultan's presence but was forgiven. Later, his unrestrained anger caused him to write a poem criticizing al-Mustanṣir, for which he was tortured and executed at the age of 63.

Ibn al-Abbār was influenced by a number of prominent scholars of his time, such as Ibn Nūḥ, al-Ḥaṣṣār, Ibn Wājib, Ibn Khayrāt, Ibn Ḥawṭ and Abū l-Rabīʿ ibn Sālim. The latter encouraged him to write *Al-takmila li-Kitāb al-Ṣila*, and one of his most famous poems was the elegy he wrote when Ibn Sālim was murdered in 1237.

Around 45 of Ibn al-Abbār's books are known, of which eight survive. These include *Tuḥfat al-qadīm* (a major study of the Islamic poets of Muslim Spain), *Al-hulla al-siyarā'* (biographies), *Al-muʿjam fī aṣḥāb al-qādī*, *Iʿtāb al-kuttāb* (biographies) and *Al-takmila li-Kitāb al-Ṣila*.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-takmila li-Kitāb al-Ṣila, ‘The completion of the Continuation’

DATE 1253

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Al-takmila li-Kitāb al-Ṣila is considered one of the most valuable sources of information about al-Andalus, especially during the first century of Islamic rule. It provides biographies of at least 34 scholars not found in any other source.

The book was written following the Andalusian tradition of biographical works. It is a continuation of Ibn Bashkuwāl’s *Kitāb al-Ṣila* (q.v.), itself a continuation of Ibn al-Farādī’s *Ta‘rīkh ‘ulamā’ al-Andalus*. In fact, it can be considered as part of a series, since it was followed by

al-Marrākushī's *Al-dhayl wa-l-takmila*, and al-Makhzūmī's *Ṣilat al-Ṣila*, as well as Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *ʿĀ'id al-Ṣila*.

Ibn al-Abbār started writing in 1233 and finished the book in 1253, a total of 20 years in writing. He admitted that at first he did not want to write the book because of the tremendous amount of work and time involved, but he was encouraged by his mentor Abū l-Rabī' ibn Sālim.

The biographical entries are arranged alphabetically. Since the book follows an established tradition, it is essentially the product of a process of collection, classification, documentation and exposition. This explains why the writing style is characterized by clarity and the use of short well-balanced sentences. Some of the anecdotes in the biographies show the types of relationship that existed between Muslims and Christians. One, in the biography of Ibn Tamīm al-Tamīmī, tells of the Muslim leader ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who sent a representative to the Christian leader to negotiate. As he was travelling, this representative came across a blind man grinding flour all alone in an isolated place. The man told him that he was a Muslim who had been captured by the Christians and given the choice either to convert to Christianity or to be blinded, and rather than lose his religion he had chosen blinding.

The work includes a number of references to Christians and their interaction with Muslims, all pejorative and critical. Christians are often called *al-ʿaduww* ('the enemy'), while Muslims who die fighting them are given the title *shahīd* ('martyr').

SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn al-Abbār experienced the intense political atmosphere of his time. His biographical history reflects this, and is a witness to the expulsion of Muslims from cities and towns through the gradual Christian reconquest.

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Nader Al-Jallad

William of Rubruck

Guillelmus de Rubruc, Willelmus de Rubruk, Willem van
Ruysbroeck, Guillaume de Rubrouck, Rubruck

DATE OF BIRTH Before 1215
PLACE OF BIRTH Rubrouck, near Cassel, France
DATE OF DEATH Uncertain; late 13th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Most of our knowledge of William of Rubruck is based on the long letter he sent to King Louis IX in 1255, upon returning from the expedition to Mongolia with which the king had entrusted him.

Born in Rubruck in the north of France, in 1215 at the latest according to Pelliot (*Recherches*, p. 79), William was a Franciscan from the second generation of the order. Given the numerous references attesting to his familiarity with the place, he most probably lived in Paris. Van den Wyngaert suggests that he most likely left France in the summer of 1248, at the same time that Louis IX left for the crusades, and that he stayed in Cyprus with the king; according to Pelliot, it is likely that he went to the Holy Land prior to 1248. This is probably where he joined the crusaders: he knew Damietta and the Nile, and we have every reason to believe that he was part of the Egyptian campaign and was near the king before he set sail with him for Acre in May 1250.

He most probably lived in Palestine in the entourage of King Louis and Queen Margaret, and must have met Andrew of Longjumeau, who was returning from Mongolia in the spring or summer of 1251. At this point, the king gave him the task of taking a letter to the Mongol chief Sartaq, son of Batu (one of Genghis Khan's grandchildren), who was said to have been – and perhaps was – baptized. Furthermore, Rubruck wanted to bring Christian aid to Germans taken prisoner by Buri in Talas, about whom Andrew of Longjumeau had informed him. He left Palestine in early 1253 (as is indicated by Roger Bacon, *Opus majus*, p. 305), and he himself says he left Constantinople on 7 May 1253. It was doubtless in Constantinople that he was joined by another Franciscan, Bartholomew of Cremona.

After visiting Sartaq and then Batu, the ruler of the Golden Horde that extended across the lands north of the Caspian Sea near to the Volga, the two monks were invited to go to see the Great Khan Mongka, near Karakorum. William remained in Mongka's entourage from 27 December 1253, to 10 July 1254. On 16 June 1255, he arrived back in Cyprus. There he met his provincial, who appointed him reader at a convent in Acre (the Franciscan James of Iseo speaks of him as *lector Flandricus*; Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, p. 233). It was not until ten or so years later, by Pelliot's estimation, that Rubruck was given permission to go to stay in Paris, where he met Roger Bacon and spoke to him about his journey. Nothing is known about his later life.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Itinerarium fratris Willelmi de Rubruquis de ordine fratrum Minorum, Galli, anno grat. 1253 ad partes orientales, 'The journey of the Frenchman Friar William of Rubruk of the Franciscan order in the year of grace 1253 to the eastern parts of the world';
Itinerarium Willelmi de Rubruc, 'The journey of William of Rubruck'

DATE 1255

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The long letter – about 150 pages in a modern edition – which Rubruck wrote to King Louis when he returned from Karakorum, contains several illustrations of the ambiguity of his 'traveller' status. He shunned the title 'ambassador' lest the notion of 'official envoy' should invite the Mongols to choose between war or peace (which for them equalled subservience), as had happened in the case of Andrew of Longjumeau, the previous envoy sent by Louis. He thus made it perfectly clear that the purpose of his voyage was 'to go and preach God's word to infidels as [his] order decreed'. Rubruck's need to insist that the king had not sent him to form a military alliance against the Saracens with the Mongols was due to the fact that the Mongol chiefs were familiar with Louis IX's military operation in the Fifth Crusade, and that some – particularly the Armenians, Rubruck says – had an inkling of such an alliance.

Brother William's long journey would also enable him to gauge the formidable expansion of Islam. He met 'Saracens' everywhere he went: on the banks of the Volga, near Lake Balkhasch (where he was amazed to hear 'Saracens' speaking Persian so far away from Persia), and also in the entourage of the Great Khan Mongka. Among them were many traders, overflowing in every town along the Volga, but also in Karakorum, where they occupied a whole area. Furthermore, Rubruck got to meet

'Saracen' ambassadors (to Turkish Sudan as well as to Indian Sudan). Finally, he mentions 'Saracens' who, along with Nestorians, served as Mongka's 'grand secretaries'.

William is one of the first people to give an account of Berca's conversion to Islam, Berca being the grandson of Gengis Khan, under whose reign the Golden Horde would become an autonomous khanate. On the other hand, during William's stay, the Supreme Khan accepted all religions in his court. Christian priests (mostly Chaldeans), 'Saracens', Buddhists – all were invited to promote the prosperity of the imperial family (which already contained a number of Christians, mostly women) with their prayers and rituals. The Great Khan himself organized a theological debate between the representatives of the three religions, in order properly to understand their respective beliefs. Rubruck was an active participant, and though normally very critical of Nestorians (guilty of all vices) and scornful of 'Saracens' (whom he enjoyed baiting by holding up the cross as high as he could when in their camp), he understood straightaway what was at stake in such a confrontation. He quickly tried to form an alliance with the Nestorians and to bring the 'Saracens' onto his side by proposing that the three representatives discuss the nature of God. By doing so he managed to impose the monotheistic point of view and to silence those he saw as his main adversaries, the Buddhists, who in his eyes were guilty of denying the existence of a single all-powerful God, and whom he labelled 'idolatrous'.

Finally, William's journey home via Turkey meant that he could enlighten King Louis on the regions he saw along the way: he claimed that a Christian army headed for the Holy Land would meet no resistance, as had recently been shown by the defeat of the Seljuqs at the hands of the Mongols (at the battle of Köse Dağ on 26 June, 1243).

SIGNIFICANCE

Undertaken in the wake of the Fifth Crusade, in which he most certainly participated at the side of Louis IX, Rubruck's voyage to the Mongol Empire illustrates the West's eagerness to learn about the inhabited world, and more specifically about the Asiatic regions, discovered thanks to missionary expeditions prompted by the Mongol invasions. Brother William's text reveals the spread of Islam to Asia, and the strength and diversity of the Eastern churches – especially the Chaldeans – and shows us a Franciscan monk, the embodiment of the missionary spirit of this brand-new order, trying to find his place amidst this religious diversity.

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Michèle Guéret-Laferté

Ramon Martí

DATE OF BIRTH	Approximately 1220
PLACE OF BIRTH	Subirats, Catalonia
DATE OF DEATH	Approximately 1284
PLACE OF DEATH	Barcelona

BIOGRAPHY

It appears that Ramon Martí entered the Dominican order between 1234 and 1238, and was probably educated at the Dominican *studium*. He was assigned by the order to study Arabic in 1250, and we know that he was in Barcelona in 1264 and in Tunis in the summer of 1269. He was put in charge of organizing a school to teach Hebrew in Barcelona in 1281, and he died in Barcelona a few years later. Beyond these few facts we know almost nothing of his life.

Martí was the greatest linguist in the Dominican order and probably in all Latin Christendom during his lifetime. He knew Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic all at a very advanced level, and he had read a range of works in these languages. The focus of his work throughout his life was Christian apologetic and polemic, though in the first phase, before c. 1260, he focused entirely on Islam and thereafter almost entirely on Judaism, in which connection he wrote his two best known and notable works, *Capistrum Judeorum* (1267) and *Pugio fidei* (1278). It is true that he quotes the Qur'an briefly in both these works – intriguingly in support of Christian belief and against Judaism, but they are otherwise concerned entirely with combating Jewish belief (see Szpiech, 'Las citas árabes', and 'Translation, transcription and transliteration').

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As in the case of many other Latin-Christian writers of this period, the only information on Martí's life are stray references to him in charters and chronicles. See Sierra, 'Raymond Martí de Subirats', and especially Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims, and Jews*, pp. 105-6, 112-15, 223-25.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Explanatio simboli apostolorum, 'Explanation of the Apostles' Creed'

DATE Approximately 1256-57

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

As its name suggests, Martí's *Explanatio simboli apostolorum* is, in part, a theological exposition of the Apostles' Creed – and a fairly lengthy one at that, some 46 pages of Latin in small type in the only modern edition. But it is also a work with a clear preoccupation with Christian apologetic and polemic against Islam, and this is apparent from the beginning. After a brief introduction, including a quotation of the whole creed, Martí begins his treatise by arguing for three-and-a-half pages that 'That the books of the Old and New Testament are whole and incorrupt' (ed. March, p. 452). This odd beginning to a treatise on a Christian creed is obviously a refutation of the Islamic assertion that the text of the Bible had been corrupted by Christians and Jews. His argument here is based largely on biblical and qur'anic verses. Among many other interesting observations, Martí notes that the Jews returning from the Babylonian Captivity 'carried the holy books of the law and the prophets and other books which they had maintained [during the captivity], just as happened in the case of the Muslims who were expelled from the east and west of Spain, [and] who carried with them the books that they wanted' (pp. 452-53).

After this, the treatise focuses at some length on each of the 12 clauses of the Apostles' Creed. Much of this is fairly typical Latin-Christian theology, but here and there Martí engages with Islam indirectly or directly. While discussing the first article of the Creed ('I believe in God, the omnipotent Father...'), he takes time to argue against 'the error of Muḥammad and those Muslims who assert that Christians adore holy Mary and the cross, and the image of holy Mary and other images... just as [they adore] God' (p. 456). He decries Islamic law on marriage when he discusses the Christian sacraments of penance (p. 487) and marriage (pp. 489-91), culminating in the age-old Christian attack on Q 2:230 that 'It is, therefore, shameful and impious that someone who has pronounced the divorce of his wife three times is not able to take her back, according to the Qur'an, until another man has sex with her' (p. 491).

Although the verse in question is not quoted in this case, Martí does quote the Qur'an several times, usually with a reference to the *sūra*, most often in order to support Christian beliefs. While arguing that the Bible is incorrupt, for example, he quotes a number of qur'anic passages that appear to imply this: 'In the [*sūra*] of Jonah (Q 10:95) it was said to Muḥammad . . ., "If you were in doubt about what we sent down to you, ask those who read the Book before you . . ."' (p. 454). He also cites other Arab-Islamic books, such as the Hadith collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim (p. 487), al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (*Vivificatio scientiarum*), and works of Ibn Sīnā. The result is a somewhat odd treatise – an awkward hybrid of Christian catechesis and anti-Islamic polemic and apologetic.

SIGNIFICANCE

Surviving in only a single manuscript, *Explanatio symboli apostolorum* exercised very little influence either among other Dominicans or more broadly in Latin Christendom. Martí's fellow Dominicans, Riccoldo da Monte di Croce and William of Tripoli, were both much more widely read on matters Islamic. The work does suggest, however, that the Friars Preachers' concern for teaching Christians what to believe could be joined directly to their missionary apostolate, a topic that deserves more study. Furthermore, as Ryan Szpiech has shown, there is much to be learned about how Martí thought about and used his non-Christian sources by looking at how he cites them from this, his earliest work, up through his last, the anti-Jewish *Pugio fidei*, a trajectory that allows us to see his intriguing and growing awareness that his ability to cite such sources in the original language and in fastidious translation contributed powerfully in itself to the construction of his authority as an expert on Islam and Judaism (Szpiech, 'Translation, transcription and transliteration').

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De seta Machometi; De origine, progressu et fine Machometi et quadruplici reprobatione prophetie eius; Quadruplex reprobatio, 'On the sect of Muḥammad'

DATE Unknown; probably late 1250s

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

De seta Machometi, the title by which this treatise has been known since Josep Hernando edited it, is a remarkably learned attack on Muḥammad in which Martí draws on his direct knowledge of Muslim sources in Arabic,

such as the Qur'an, Hadith and Ibn Hishām's edition of Ibn Ishāq's biography. Its contents are suggested well by another of the titles by which it was known, *On the origin, development, and end of Muḥammad*, and the four-fold refutation of his prophethood.

Twenty-four pages long in the modern edition, the work begins by asserting that a prophet must have four qualities 'by which he can be recognized ... as a true prophet and messenger': he must be truthful, must be good and virtuous, must work miracles, and must come with a holy and good religion (*lex*). 'And whoever has contrary signs or fruits must be shunned ... as a false prophet and messenger' (ed. Hernando, pp. 14-16). While this introduction fits better with the second part of the treatise, which does argue that Muḥammad did not possess these four qualities, what follows immediately after it is a brief account of the Prophet's life and early followers, which stresses that 'for forty years he was in the sin of idolatry' (p. 20), that his visions were false, and that he had to 'fight men until they testified that "there is no god but God and Muḥammad is his Prophet"' (p. 24).

The majority of the treatise (from p. 24) is the 'four-fold refutation' itself, beginning with the observation that 'many of [Muhammad's] statements were false' (p. 26), followed by the citation of many verses meant to substantiate this claim, such as the claim in Q 4:157 that the Jews did not kill Jesus or crucify him, but rather someone who looked like him (p. 26). In the next section (pp. 34-36), Martí argues that, far from being good and virtuous, Muḥammad was an unclean sinner. He again cites qur'anic verses and also Hadiths, such as the following, attributed to al-Bukhārī (*Bachari*): 'Plundering has been allowed to me and was not allowed to anyone before me.' In the next section, Martí argues that the Qur'an itself denies that Muḥammad worked miracles, and that the miracles Muslims claim for him, such as the splitting of the moon alluded to in Q 54:1, are false, in this case because, according to an unnamed *tafsīr* (*glossator Alcorani*), the passage is actually talking about the future, and such an event could never happen in any case for scientific reasons (p. 40). Martí then argues that the religion of Islam is not holy, citing qur'anic verses that appear to condone sexual license and other unclean behavior (pp. 42-48). The last portion of the treatise consists of a short account of the misfortunes and death of the Prophet, followed by a lengthy defense of the integrity of the Bible against the Islamic claim that it had been corrupted by Jews and Christians (pp. 50-62), much of this latter section being identical to the parallel passage at the beginning of the *Explanatio symboli apostolorum*.

SIGNIFICANCE

Like the work on the Apostles' Creed, this treatise did not circulate widely in Latin Christendom, but is significant for the range of Arabic sources that Martí drew on. If we add them together with those that he cites in *Explanatio simboli apostolorum*, these sources range from the Qur'an itself as well as a qur'anic commentary, and the Hadith collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, to philosophical works by Ibn Sīnā and al-Ghazālī. Bearing in mind that his younger confreres, Riccoldo da Monte di Croce and William of Tripoli, also quoted widely from the Qur'an and at least periodically from Qur'an commentaries and the Hadith, we get some picture of the impressive range of Arabic books that circulated among these learned Dominican missionary-Arabists. If both the *Explanatio simboli apostolorum* and *De seta Machometi*, as Hernando suggests, were essentially a single work, moreover, we cannot help but be impressed by how fully Martí, who along with Ramon Llull was the first native-born Latin Christian of Spain to devote attention to anti-Islamic polemic, had assimilated the older, Arab-Christian tradition of apologetic and polemic. His *Explanatio simboli apostolorum* and *De seta Machometi* to a large degree recapitulate that tradition.

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Thomas E. Burman

Al-Imām al-Qurṭubī

Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn ‘Umar ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Umar
al-Anṣārī l-Qurṭubī

DATE OF BIRTH 1182
PLACE OF BIRTH Cordova
DATE OF DEATH 1258
PLACE OF DEATH Alexandria

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Imām al-Qurṭubī was a Mālikī jurist and also an expert traditionist and *faqīh uṣūlī*. Born in Cordova, he travelled with his father through al-Andalus and then to the Middle East, visiting Ceuta, Fes, Tilimsan, Tunis, Alexandria and Cairo, and eventually Mecca for the *ḥajj*. During this *riḥla* he studied *fiqh*, Hadith, grammar and rhetoric with scholars in a number of towns. Among his works are *Al-muḥhim li-mā ashkala min talkhīṣ Kitāb Muslim*, *Sharḥ ikhtiṣār Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *Uṣūl al-fiqh*, and also his *Al-i‘lām*, which he refers to by different titles. This work was for a long time wrongly attributed to other authors, such as Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Faraḥ al-Anṣārī al-Qurṭubī (d. 1273) and Abū Ja‘far ibn Naṣr al-Rawādī (d. 1285).

Al-Qurṭubī died near Alexandria in 1258.

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- P.S. van Koningsveld, 'La Apología 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 sobre los mozárabes, (Toledo, 20-26 Mayo 1983)*, 3 vols, Toledo, 1989, iii, 107-29, pp. 110-11, 125, n. 13

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-I'lām bi-mā fi dīn al-Naṣārā min al-fasād wa-l-awhām wa-iḥḥār maḥāsīn dīn al-Islām wa-ithbāt nubuwwat nabīyyinā Muḥammad,
 'Information about the corruptions and delusions of the religion of the Christians and the presentation of the merits of the religion of Islam and the affirmation of the prophethood of our prophet Muḥammad'

DATE Before 1258

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work can be divided into two parts. The first preserves two treatises written by Andalusī Christians: *Tathlīth al-waḥdāniyya* ('Trinitizing the oneness [of God]') (q.v.) and *Muṣḥaf al-'ālam al-kā'in* ('The Book of the world that is'). The second part contains a refutation of these two works, together with a long defense of the prophethood of Muḥammad, in the *dalā'il al-nubuwwa* style.

SIGNIFICANCE

An important feature of this work is its preservation of the two Christian treatises, which both testify to the vitality of Mozarabic theological thought in the 12th century, and show that Mozarabic authors possessed considerable learning in both Latin and Christian Arabic literature. At the same time, al-Imām al-Qurṭubī's response shows how Andalusī Muslim polemicists argued against Christian theologians and how they planned and composed their apologetic works.

MANUSCRIPTS

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Ahmed Ait Belaid, *La profecía de Mahoma en al-I‘lām de al-Qurṭubī*, 2 vols, Madrid, 2002 (Diss. Complutense University of Madrid, i, pp. 2-221 [Spanish trans.]; ii, pp. 2-195 [edition])

Al-Imām al-Qurṭubī, *Al-i‘lām bi-mā fi dīn al-Naṣārā min al-fasād wa-awhām wa-iḡhār maḥāsin dīn al-Islām wa-ithbāt nubuwwat nabīyyinā Muḥammad ‘alayhi l-ṣalāt wa-l-salām*, ed. A. Hijāzī al-Saqqā, Cairo, 1980 (edition of Istanbul MS)

P. Devillard, *Thèse sur al-Qurtubī*, 3 vols, Aix-en-Provence, 1969 (Diss. Université d'Aix-en-Provence; introduction, edition of the first two parts of al-Qurṭubī's work, and French trans.)

STUDIES

Qaddūrī, ‘Riḥlāt Aḥmad b. ‘Amr al-Anṣārī al-Qurṭubī’

Al-Imām al-Qurṭubī, Ithbāt nubuwwat Muḥammad, ‘Āyit Bel‘ayd, pp. 16-23

Ait Belaid, *La profecía de Mahoma en al-I‘lām de al-Qurṭubī*, i, pp. xx-xxvii

Kaddouri, ‘Identificación de “al-Qurṭubī”’

J.P. Monferrer Sala, ‘Un importante texto polemista: la versión andalusí de la “Leyenda del Monje Baḡirā” incluida en el I‘lām del Imām al-Qurṭubī’, *Qurṭuba* 4 (1999) 133-48

J.P. Monferrer Sala, ‘Siete citas hebreas, más una aramea, transcritas al árabe en el I‘lām del Imām al-Qurṭubī’, *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 48 (1999) 393-403

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Burman, *Religious polemic and the intellectual history of the Mozarabs*,
pp. 71-84, 173-75
Van Koningsveld, 'La apología de al-Kindī en la España del siglo XII'

Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala

Alexandre du Pont

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about Alexandre du Pont, beyond his name (which he himself gives at line 22 of his work) and the fact that he completed his *Roman* in the city of Laon in 1258 (as he announces at the end of the work).

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Roman de Mahomet; Roman de Mahon, 'Story of Muḥammad'

DATE 1258

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old French

DESCRIPTION

The *Roman de Mahomet* is a French verse adaptation of Gautier de Compiègne's *Otia de Machomete* (q.v.). The content and treatment of Muḥammad's life are essentially the same in both works, though in other aspects the translator takes considerable liberty with his source. Alexandre's account is 1,996 verses long compared with Gautier's 1,090, which is to some extent the result of the shorter verses of the French text, but is also due to Alexandre's prolixity: in the description of a battle between the Persians and the Idumaeans, for example, three verses in Gautier's Latin become 64 in Alexandre's adaptation (for this and similar examples, see Lepage's introduction to his 1996 edition).

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Roman de Mahomet* testifies to the fact that there was still interest in legendary lives of Muḥammad in the mid-13th century and in particular in Gautier de Compiègne's *Otia*. It testifies to the translator's desire to make these traditions available to a French-speaking audience and adapt them to the forms of French verse lives of saints – except of course that Alexandre's Mahomet is an anti-saint. The text was little known and read, and survives in only one manuscript.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Français 1553 (end of 13th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- R. Hyatte, *The prophet of Islam in Old French. The Romance of Muhammad (1258) and the Book of Muhammad's ladder (1264)*, Leiden, 1997 (trans.)
- Y. Lepage (ed.), *Roman de Mahomet*, Leuven, 1996 (revised and corrected version of 1977 edition, with a trans. into modern French)
- Y. Lepage (ed.), *Roman de Mahomet*, Paris, 1977
- R. Peters, *Der Roman de Mahomet von Alexandre du Pont. Eine sprachliche Untersuchung*, Gandersheim, 1885 (repr. Geneva, 1974)
- R. Michel and F. Michel, *Roman de Mahomet, en vers du XIII^{me} siècle*, Paris, 1831

STUDIES

- J. Tolan, 'European accounts of Muhammad's Life', in J. Brockopp (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Muhammad*, Cambridge, 2010, 226-50, p. 228
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- R. Hyatte, 'Muhammad's prophethood in two Old French narratives. Divergent traditions and converging ends', *Allegorica. A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Literature* 18 (1997) 3-19
- C. Pellat, 'Le *Roman de Mahomet* d'Alexandre du Pont', *En Terre d'Islam* 24 (1943) 216-35

John Tolan

Al-Zāhidī

Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Rajā Mukhtār ibn
Maḥmūd al-Zāhidī l-Ghazmīnī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; late 12th or early 13th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Ghazmīn, Khwārazm
DATE OF DEATH 1260
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; presumably Khwārazm

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Zāhidī was known as a Ḥanafī jurist who was active mainly in Central Asia. He began his studies in his home region, and continued these for some time in Baghdad and also in *'bilād al-Rūm'*. He was evidently committed to discussions with Christians, because he says in *Al-risāla l-nāṣiriyya* that he participated in debate with Christian scholars in his native Khwārazm (p. 47), and also with a Christian leader (*ba'ḍ mulūk al-Naṣārā*), who converted to Islam, though secretly, 'out of fear of his followers and superiors' (p. 56).

Al-Zāhidī wrote mainly on legal matters, and 19 of his works are known (*Al-risāla l-nāṣiriyya*, ed. al-Miṣrī, pp. 11-14).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

See the list in *Al-risāla l-nāṣiriyya*, ed. al-Miṣrī, p. 15.

Secondary

Al-risāla l-nāṣiriyya, ed. Muḥammad al-Miṣrī, Kuwait, 1994, pp. 9-10.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-risāla l-nāṣiriyya, 'The treatise of assistance'

DATE 1259

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Al-Zāhidī wrote this relatively short work (fewer than 50 pages in the published edition) very near the end of his life. He intended it (p. 28)

for Berke Khān (r. 1257-66), a grandson of Ghengiz Khān and ruler of Khwārazm and much of Central Asia, by all accounts a staunch Muslim, who would thus have been likely to welcome a work of this kind. It is an example of the *dalā'il al-nubuwwa* genre, designed to defend the prophetic status of Muḥammad.

The *Risāla* is divided into three parts, the first giving proofs of Muḥammad's prophethood, the second refuting those who deny it (including some Christians who say that Muḥammad was only sent to the Arabs, the descendants of Ismā'īl, p. 45), and the third detailing points of controversy between Muslims and Christians. Ḥajjī Khalifa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1941-43, cols 866, 895, 1921, lists the second and third parts as works in their own right, though al-Zāhidī makes clear in the introduction (p. 28) that these are both integral to the one work.

The third part (pp. 46-74) comprises a succession of points raised by Christians, together with al-Zāhidī's answers. He explains at the beginning of this part that the Christians have many questions that are scholarly (*'ilmiyya*) and about 40 others of a more general, less probing kind which have little point to them (*'āmmiyya iqnā'iyya lā ṭā'il taḥtahā*); he has mentioned all of them in order to remove the ambiguity from the scholarly questions (pp. 47-48). How this statement relates to what follows is not clear, since he discusses no more than 32 points in this part of the *Risāla*. But it does indicate that he has made an analysis of the issues that are regarded as important by Christians, and that he has maybe written a previous work on them (the editor is convinced of this, p. 48 n. 1).

The points raised and answered range over a host of matters. These include: the questionable validity of the miracles of Muḥammad; the priority and therefore superiority of the law of Moses, which Jesus endorsed; and Jesus' ascendancy over Muḥammad because he is alive and Muḥammad is dead, he spoke in the cradle as the Qur'an attests, performed impressive miracles, and did not teach about violence in the way that Muḥammad did.

Two items included among al-Zāhidī's replies to these points are particularly noteworthy. The first is an account (with some slight confusion) of a debate between the Muslim theologian Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (d. 1013) (q.v.) and Christian scholars during an embassy to Constantinople (pp. 54-56), which is also related by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (*Tārīkh Baghdād*, 14 vols, Cairo, 1931, v, p. 379). And the second is an account of debates that took place between a certain Wāṣil al-Dimashqī and his Byzantine

captors in the time of the Umayyads. These captors include Bashīr, a young Byzantine soldier who had converted to Islam and then reverted to Christianity, and a leading scholarly priest who confronts Wāṣil in the presence of the emperor (pp. 57-61). This latter account is also known from a single source elsewhere (see 'Ḥadīth Wāṣil al-Dimashqī' in *CMR* 1, pp. 863-65), and comparison between the two might prove fruitful.

SIGNIFICANCE

The points al-Zāhidī raises in this third section of his *Risāla* reflect awareness of Christian concerns and also some experience in responding to them. Even more, they reveal extensive knowledge of those matters of a general kind to which he refers that may not have carried great intellectual weight but nevertheless fuelled the feelings and attitudes of Christians who regarded Islam as oppressive and sought to resist it by questioning its assumed superiority over their own faith. The *Risāla* is thus a valuable witness to a tradition of inter-religious encounter on a popular level at a time when Islam was in the ascendancy and Christian confidence was unsteady.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Damascus, Syrian National Library – Uṣūl 658 (formerly al-Maktaba l-'Uthmāniyya in Maktabat al-Awqāf, Aleppo) (1587)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Al-risāla l-nāṣiriyya, ed. Muḥammad al-Miṣrī, Kuwait, 1994

STUDIES

S.H. Griffith, 'Bashīr/Bēsēr, boon companion of the Byzantine Emperor Leo III. The Islamic recension of his story in *Leiden Oriental MS* 951 (2)', *Le Muséon* 103 (1990) 293-327, pp. 313-27 (edition and trans. of the story of Wāṣil al-Dimashqī according to the Leiden MS, with no mention of the version in the *Risāla*)

David Thomas

Matthew Paris

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1200
PLACE OF BIRTH	Cambridgeshire
DATE OF DEATH	1259
PLACE OF DEATH	St Albans

BIOGRAPHY

All we know about Matthew Paris is gleaned from his own works. In spite of his surname and his knowledge of French, he was evidently of English birth. He was a Benedictine monk, chronicler and artist based at St Albans Abbey in Hertfordshire. He may have studied in Paris after his early education at the St Albans Abbey school, though in 1217 he was admitted as a monk to St Albans. In 1236, he inherited the mantle of Roger Wendover, the abbey's official recorder of events. Apart from his mission to Norway in 1248, where he was sent as the bearer of a message from Louis IX to Hakon, he spent his life mainly in the monastery and devoted his activities to the composition of history. St Albans produced one of the most important medieval historical schools, of which Matthew was one of the greatest representatives. The main work of his life is the *Chronica majora*, a history of the world from the creation to 1259.

Besides the *Chronica majora*, Matthew Paris wrote many other historical works including the *Historia Anglorum* – a history of England from the Norman conquest to 1250. He also wrote the *Gesta abbatum* (history of the abbots of St Albans) and the *Vita Sancti Albani* (biography of the patron of the monastery). Some of his works were written in Latin, some in Anglo-Norman and French. Matthew Paris died in 1259 at St Albans.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Chronica majora, ed. H.R. Luard, 7 vols (*Rerum Britannicarum Scriptores* 57), London, 1872-83

Secondary

The literature on Matthew Paris is vast. Some of the more important studies include:

- B. Weiler, 'Matthew Paris on the writing of history', *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2005) 254-78
- R. Reader, 'Sweet charity and sour grapes. The historical imagination of Matthew Paris', *Medieval History* 4 (1994) 102-18
- R. Vaughan, *The illustrated chronicles of Matthew of Paris. Observations of thirteenth-century life*, Cambridge, 1993
- H.E. Hilpert, *Kaiser-und Papstbriefe in der Chronica majora des Matthew Paris*, Stuttgart, 1981
- K. Schmith, *England in einer sich wandelnden Welt. Studien zu Roger Wendover und Matthew Paris*, Stuttgart, 1974
- A. Grandsen, *Historical writing in England c. 550-c. 1307*, London, 1974, pp. 356-75
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- R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, Cambridge, 1958
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- F.M. Powick, 'Notes on the compilation of the Chronica Majora of Matthew Paris', *Modern Philology* 38 (1941) 315-17
- D. Bocquet, 'Un idéal de théocratie monastique au XIII s. Matthieu Paris, Chronica majora, 1235-59', *Revue Mabillon* 6 (1935) 83-100
- F. Madden, 'Preface', in idem (ed.), *Historia Anglorum*, 3 vols, London, 1869, iii, pp. vii-liv (the most complete biography)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Chronica majora, 'The great chronicle'

DATE Approximately 1240-59

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

In his *Chronica majora* Matthew reworks the *Flores historiarum* of Roger Wendover, and continues it from 1235. For history prior to 1236, he simply abridges and copies from other monastic annals and chronicles, but in its coverage of the period from 1235 to 1259 his chronicle gives a detailed account of the events of his own lifetime. He draws information from prominent personages, including the King Henry III of England, who visited him several times, and also from eye-witnesses. Equally interesting are the illustrations, which he himself made. The most comprehensive edition of the Chronicle was undertaken for the Rolls Series in 1869 by Henry Luard.

It is noteworthy that Matthew shows curiosity about the beliefs and ways of life of non-Christians. He includes a lengthy description of

the Saracens, probably excerpted from literary sources (ed. Luard, iii, pp. 343-61), and in addition there are several passages that deal directly with Islam, presenting an image that appears to serve his ideological and polemical aims. He includes two descriptions of the life of Muḥammad, for which he also provides some illustrations.

The first description is placed under the year 622 and entitled 'De Mahumeth pseudo-propheta' (ed. Luard, i, pp. 269-71). For this, Matthew borrows fictional legends about Muḥammad from the chronicle of Roger of Wendover and adds some new details. He describes most fully the shameful death of the Prophet: 'Mahumet' became drunk with wine poisoned by his accomplices and then, struck by an epileptic fit, fell onto a dung heap, where he was torn apart by repulsive sow. The accompanying illustration (MS 26, f. 44) shows a bearded prophet labeled 'Machometus' standing on the back of a bright vermilion pig with his arms outstretched holding two inscribed banners that proclaim the endorsement of a life of lust including polygamy. The schematic diagram at the bottom of the page explains how his death from wine, poison and epilepsy is connected with the triple punishment of his sins: *epilepticus venenatus crapulatus peccavit enim in Patrem in Filium in Spiritum Sanctum*. All these details are taken from earlier polemical lives of the Prophet, such as those by Gautier de Compiègne (q.v.) and Embrico of Mainz (q.v.).

Matthew again treats Islam under the year 1236, in an account in three parts, two of which were among the materials sent by the Dominicans to Pope Gregory IX. The first part (ed. Luard, iii, pp. 344-52) opens with a genealogy tracing the descent of the Saracens and Muḥammad from Hagar, the slave woman who bore Ishmael to Abraham, for which reason they are called Hagarenes or Ishmaelites. This is followed by a biography, relating Muḥammad's success and the spread of Islam due to the influence of a renegade monk Sergius (Nestorius). Here Matthew includes a speech by Muḥammad and reports the false miracles that were ascribed to him.

The second part, *De fide Sarracenorum secundum Machomet*, expounds the creed of Islam (ed. Luard, iii, pp. 353-54), with the evident purpose of comparing Islam with Christianity. Matthew may have used for this Peter of Toledo's *Epistula Saraceni et rescriptum Christiani* (q.v.), a translation of the supposed correspondence between the Muslim al-Hāshimī and the Christian al-Kindī (q.v.). He refers to Muslim views about the Trinity, the Incarnation and crucifixion of Christ; the Last Judgement and eternal life; universal salvation and paradise as a place of carnal pleasures; polygamy and the fast during Ramaḍān.

Matthew says that he received the third part from a famous Dominican preacher. Entitled *Explicit scriptum missum ad dominum Papam de pseudo-propheta Machomet* (ed. Luard, iii, pp. 355–61), this contains another version of the biography of Muḥammad, this time in apocalyptic vein: he was ‘a poisonous dragon, a beast blooded with the slaughter of many, sucking in a river without amazement, confident that the Jordan would flow into his mouth’ (ed. Luard, iii, p. 356). This part contains a lengthy quotation of the legendary fable of Muḥammad’s response concerning the flood and Noah’s ark, and also a passage in which Muḥammad speaks of three great prophets: Moses, Jesus and himself.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Chronica majora* contains a rich variety of information about the beliefs and way of life of Muslims, though it is rather diverse and self-contradictory. Matthew’s aim was to denigrate Islam as a new and corrupt doctrine, and to refute the claims of Muḥammad to be a prophet and saint. His account of the main teachings of Islam and lengthy descriptions of the life of Muḥammad provide material that was used in later polemics.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College – MS 16 (13th century)

MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College – MS 26 (13th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

H.R. Luard (ed.), *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica majora (Rerum Britannicarum Scriptores 57)*, 7 vols, London, 1872–83

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Matthew Parker (ed.), *Matthaei Paris monachi Albanensis Angli, Historia Maior, a Guilielmo Conquaestore, ad ultimum annum Henrici tertii*, London, 1571 (repr. Zurich 1589, 1606)

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- A. Seitz, 'Darstellungen Muhammads und seiner Glaubenslehre in lateinischen Weltchroniken', in M. Borgolte et al. (eds), *Mittelalter im Labor. Die Mediävistik testet neue Wege zu einer transkulturellen Europaswissenschaft*, Berlin, 2008, 116-29
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- J. Powell, 'Matthew Paris, the lives of Muhammad, and the Dominicans', in M. Balard, B.Z. Kedar and J. Riley-Smith (eds), *Dei gesta per Francos. Études sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard, crusade studies in honour of Jean Richard*, Aldershot IK, 2001, 65-71
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- M. Vandecasteele, *Étude comparative de deux versions latines médiévales d'une apologie arabo-chrétienne. Pierre le Vénérable et le Rapport grégorien*, Brussels, 1991, pp. 81-134
- N. Daniel, *Islam and the West. The making of an image*, Oxford, 1960, pp. 60, 94-95
- U. Monneret de Villard, *Lo studio dell'islam in Europa nel XII e nel XIII secolo*, Vatican City, 1944, p. 60
- B. Altaner *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Habelschwerdt, 1913, pp. 85-87

Svetlana Luchitskaya

Vincent of Beauvais

Vincent de Beauvais

DATE OF BIRTH About 1190
PLACE OF BIRTH Uncertain
DATE OF DEATH About 1264
PLACE OF DEATH Uncertain

BIOGRAPHY

Few details about the life of Vincent of Beauvais are known; the only certain information concerns the period 1243-63. He joined the Dominican order at the end of the 1220s. In 1243 he met King Louis IX through the abbot of Royaumont, and in 1244 presented him with an incomplete version of what was to become the *Speculum historiale*. In 1246 he became *lector* at the Cistercian Abbey of Royaumont, an institution founded by the king himself, where, according to William of St Pathus, Louis came to listen to the reading of religious texts along with the monks. Some other biographical information is contained in the letters that accompany the treatises presented by Vincent to members of the royal family, the *De eruditione filium nobilium* (prepared for Marguerite of Provence, wife of Louis IX, and completed in about 1247-49) and the *De morali principis institutione* (dedicated to King Louis IX and his son-in-law Thibaut II, king of Navarre and count of Champagne, in about 1261-63). From the *Liber consolatorius de morte amici*, which Vincent sent to the king after the death of his eldest son in January 1260, it can be inferred that Vincent was no longer at Royaumont. On the basis of an obituary notice from the 15th century by Louis of Valladolid and a verse epitaph found in the 18th century by J. Echard in a manuscript in the Dominican convent of Valenciennes, it can be assumed that Vincent died in 1264. He is credited with treatises such as *De sancta Trinitate*, *Liber gratiae Redemptoris*, *De laudibus beatae Mariae virginis* and *De laudibus beati Iohannis evangelistae*.

Vincent's major work is the *Speculum maius*, started in the Order of Preachers and revised over the years by Dominican and Cistercian brothers. In the Middle Ages, this was the only encyclopedic undertaking that covered the six days of creation, the way followed by man through history to his salvation, and the knowledge conferred on him by God. It comprises a compilation of authorities (almost 1,200 titles are cited),

to which Vincent adds comments or amplifications under the name of *Actor*. These additions often represent the views of authors from the 13th century whose identity is passed over in silence. Through its use of the writings of many contemporary theologians and chroniclers (secular masters such as William of Auxerre and Philip the Chancellor, Dominicans such as Albert the Great, William of Rennes, Hugh of St Cher, Raymond of Peñafort, Richard Fishacre, Simon of St Quentin and Thomas Aquinas, and Franciscans such as Alexander of Hales, John of Plano Carpini and John of La Rochelle), the *Speculum maius* reflects the questions that were treated in the years 1220-60, and the availability and circulation of books in the Paris region. Vincent's originality (he admits that he is not an author) lies in his systematization according to themes and his selection and abridgement of excerpts. Given the enormous size of the compilation, which was not intended for reading but rather as an instrument of work, only a few libraries in the Middle Ages possessed all the volumes. Its vastness and the huge number of manuscripts make any attempt to compile a critical edition difficult. It should be noted that editions printed between 1473 and 1624 are to be used with caution because they often correct the text of the authorities cited in the medieval version according to the philological principles of the Renaissance.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

See the biography above.

G.G. Guzman, 'The testimony of medieval Dominicans concerning Vincent of Beauvais', in S. Lusignan and M. Paulmier-Foucart (eds), *Lector et compilator. Vincent de Beauvais, frère prêcheur, un intellectuel et son milieu au XIII^e siècle*, Grâne, 1997, 303-26

Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Speculum maius, 'The great mirror'

DATE Between about 1244 and 1260

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The first version of the *Speculum maius*, completed after 1244, is divided into two parts (*bifaria*), one on natural phenomena and various kinds of knowledge, the other on human history from its beginnings to 1244, with an appendix on the end of time. Following extensive revision completed in 1260, the *Speculum* was restructured into three parts (*trifaria*): *naturale*, *doctrinale*, *historiale*. A fourth part, the *Speculum morale*, which was circulated in the Middle Ages under Vincent of Beauvais' name, has been considered apocryphal since the 18th century, as its redaction probably dates from the end of the 13th century.

Two manuscripts of the first version of the *Speculum maius* survive, covering the natural phenomena of the first four days of creation, and three manuscripts containing the historical part. Of the second version, a considerable number of manuscripts survive containing either a series of books from each part or fragments: 49 manuscripts for the *Speculum naturale*, 21 for the *Speculum doctrinale*, 340 for the *Speculum historiale*. The study of this manuscript tradition has led to the identification of several redactions, both for the *Speculum naturale* and for the *Speculum historiale*. With regard to the latter, J.B. Voorbij has distinguished five main variants, the most significant differences being found between the Klosterneuburg version (completed after 1244) and the enlarged version called the Douai (c. 1260).

In the Douai version, the story of events continues until 1254 and contains much more information about relations between Christians and Muslims than the Klosterneuburg. Details are found scattered through books 23-31, a section preserved in over 70 of the 340 manuscripts. From the conquest of Spain to the emergence of the Mongol empire, information about Islam is derived from historiographical sources written at different times and in particular political contexts. Chronicles such as those of Hugh of Fleury (q.v.) and Sigebert of Gembloux (whom Vincent acknowledges in the Ourscamp redaction), who in their turn employ Anastasius Bibliothecarius' (q.v.) translation of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes (q.v.), recount stories marked by the conflict between Byzantines and Muslims. The exploits of Charlemagne against the Saracens of Spain are glorified by the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin*. The time of the crusades is documented through extracts from Latin sources written in the 12th and 13th centuries: Baldric of Bourgueil's *Historia Hierosolymitana* (q.v.), Olivier of Paderborn's *Historia Damiatina* (q.v.), and the *Chronographus*, *Epistola patriarchae Hierosolymitani ad Innocentium III papam*, *Cronicae* and *Historia Francorum*. The missionary accounts of the Franciscan John of Plano Carpini and the Dominican Simon of St Quentin (including the *Historia Tartarorum* which is preserved only in the *Speculum historiale*) are the main sources of relations between the Mongols and the populations they had recently conquered.

The biography of Muḥammad is based primarily on a notice in the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Hugh of Fleury, on another by the 'Actor' (*Speculum historiale* 23:39-40) and two extensive polemical texts, the *Libellus disputationis Sarraceni et Christiani* (the Latin translation of *Risālat al-Kindī* made in the 12th century [q.v.], *Speculum historiale* 23:41-67)

and the *Dialogus contra Iudeos* of Peter Alfonsi (q.v.) (*Speculum historiale* 25:140-45). Vincent's editing reflects a common perception of Muḥammad in the Latin West from the 12th century on, where negative traits are accumulated and made to discredit him. It is maintained that Muḥammad used spells, tricks and false miracles to present himself before Jews, Saracens and Arabs as the Messiah before claiming to be part of the line of prophets; that he gave laws inspired by the two Testaments that were intended to be less stringent than those of the Jews and Christians; that he conducted wars and expanded his power from Persia to Alexandria; that he urged conversion by force; that he practiced polygamy; that following his death there was no resurrection or ascension of his body. Muḥammad is thus portrayed as the antithesis to Christ.

Islam is criticized from many angles: the Qur'an is the result of the influence on Muḥammad of Sergius, a heretical monk, and two Jews; it is written in a vulgar style, and is composed from a number of sources that do not derive from God, and whose transmission is problematic; the conception of paradise is synonymous with fables; Muslim worship is nothing more than idolatry. This accusation of idolatry, supported by excerpts from the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* (*Speculum historiale* 24:7), contrasts with some of the accounts transmitted by Sigebert of Gembloux from Byzantine sources at the time of iconoclasm, which show the Saracens as being iconoclastic. In addition, Vincent selects hagiographical episodes written after the 12th century to highlight the power possessed by the image of the Virgin: she resists the Saracens who want to break all the holy images of a basilica (*Speculum historiale* 7:110), converts a Saracen who doubts the miracle of Christ's virgin birth (*Speculum historiale* 7:119), defends the walls of Constantinople against the attacks of the Saracens (*Speculum historiale* 23:147), unites Christians and Muslims at the monastery of Saydnaya near Damascus, where they come to venerate her (*Speculum historiale* 31:66). Thus, the war against the Muslims was also conducted in the area of iconography.

The description of the lands held by the sons of Saladin in the *Epistola patriarchae Hierosolymitani ad Innocentium III papam* (*Speculum historiale* 31:54-66) is an opportunity to make an inventory of sites and natural phenomena that made these lands holy in Christian eyes. There Adam was created and the Antichrist will be born and reign, the beginning and end of humanity. Whether they are under the occupation of Ayyūbids, Seljuks or Mongols, in the accounts of the chroniclers compiled by Vincent these lands continue to be the theater of miracles performed by

God for Christians (*Speculum historiale* 30:141; 31:53; 31:66; 31:98). This was a way to maintain the hope of reclaiming the land, a form of symbolic resistance to the new military powers of the time.

The appearance of the Mongols on the political stage was a matter of some concern in the 13th century, and Vincent is a witness to this. The portrait he composes of them is quite varied. On the one hand, there are traits that contrast with Christianity, such as animism, polygamy, strange burial practices, cannibalism and sodomy, while on the other, there are illustrations of their qualities as warriors and of their virtue of obedience to their leader. This contrast is emphasized in the letters sent by Smbat, the Constable of Armenia, and the khan Eljigidey, which suggest that the Mongols are open to the Christian faith (*Speculum historiale* 31:92-93). It is therefore possible to consider an alliance with them against the Muslims, whose influence over the Mongols is decried a few times by sources compiled in the *Speculum historiale*. The eschatological overview that ends the *Speculum historiale* makes no reference to the Mongols. At this point, Vincent keeps in a chapter already present in Klosterneuburg version which, embodying the revelations made at the end of the 7th century by the anonymous Syriac author of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* (q.v.), connects the Muslim expansion with the end of time (*Speculum historiale* 31:106).

Vincent's interest in the development of relations with Muslims is also a feature of the *Speculum doctrinale*. Several chapters in books 9 and 10 devoted to legal issues include the new decisions taken by canonists with regard to Muslims, who are now classified in the same legal category as Jews. The main sources used can be traced to the 1230s: the *Decretals* of Gregory IX, the *Summa de casibus* of the Dominican Raymond of Peñafort (q.v.) and the *Glossa super Summam de casibus* written by the Dominican William of Rennes. Laws are quoted from the time of Pope Alexander III intended to limit contact with the 'infidel': the obligation imposed on Jews and Saracens to wear clothes that distinguish them from Christians; the prohibition against trade with Saracens or service on their ships in time of war; the excommunication of any Christian who resides or eats with Jews or Saracens; the prohibition against Jews and Saracens having Christian serfs; the prohibition on pain of anathema against leaving any legacies to Jews or Saracens. The chapters also refer to circumstances of Christians living among Muslims: for example, if a Christian pretended to be a Muslim out of fear, would he be guilty of apostasy or heresy? The answer was no, but the Christian committed mortal sin as long as he decided to conceal his faith.

From a historical as much as from a juridical point of view, Saracens, identified as pagans, were political enemies of Christians *par excellence*. However, a terminological distinction between *Sarraceni* and *Arabes* ensured that the knowledge produced in the Islamic world had been received in the Christian world. And the *naturale* and *doctrinale* parts of the *Speculum maius* make extensive use of astrological, medical and philosophical theories found in such authors as Albumasar (Abū Maʿshar), Alchabitius (al-Qabīsi), Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā) and Rhazes (al-Rāzī).

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Speculum maius*, in the Douai version, shows the growing interest in the Eastern policy that was being conducted by King Louis IX of France and Pope Innocent IV in the years 1240-50. The Saracens are placed in a complex network of people and communities that to varying degrees constitute figures of otherness: heretics, Jews, the Mongols, the 'sect of Assassins'. The *Speculum* is also witness to a medieval cultural paradox: on the one hand, the Saracens and the religion of Muḥammad are denigrated and fought against, while on the other, Arab science is admitted.

The *historiale* part of the *Speculum maius* circulated most widely. It was translated or adapted, fully or partially, into Dutch by Jacob of Maerlant in about 1280, into French by Jean de Vignay in about 1330, into Catalan by Jaume Domènec and Antoni Ginebreda between 1363 and 1385, into Spanish and German in the 14th century, and into Italian by Piero da Firenzuola in 1533. It circulated through numerous *florilegia* and *excerpta*, was utilized by many chroniclers from Adam of Clermont and Martin of Troppau to Hermann Korner, and was printed seven times between 1473 and 1624. Scholars of the 16th century drew from the *Speculum historiale* texts that had become difficult to find. For example, the Protestant Theodore Bibliander (Buchmann) used Vincent's text of *Risālat al-Kindī* in the corpus of anti-Muslim writings he edited in Basel in 1543. The Ottoman threat thus gave a further breath of life to this medieval compilation.

MANUSCRIPTS

This survey takes into account volumes comprising series of books and also manuscripts containing only a few extracts of the *Speculum maius*. The geographical distribution is based on information about the provenance of manuscripts provided by library catalogues.

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Germany – 4 MSS (3 – 15th century, 1 – 16th century); Austria – 1 MS (15th century); Belgium – 4 MSS (3 – 13th-14th century; 1 – 15th century); France – 28 MSS (9 – 13th century, 5 – 13th-14th century, 10 – 14th century, 3 – 15th century, 1 – 15th-16th century); United Kingdom – 2 MSS (14th century); Poland – 1 MS (15th century); unknown provenance – 11

Speculum doctrinale (21 MSS): 3 MSS – 13th century; 3 MSS – 13th-14th century; 8 MSS – 14th century; 5 MSS – 15th century; 1 MSS – 16th century; 1 MSS – 17th century

Germany – 3 MSS (1 – 13th-14th century, 2 – 15th century); France – 7 MSS (2 – 13th century, 5 – 14th century); United Kingdom – 1 MS (15th century); Italy – 1 MS (15th century); Poland – 2 MSS (2 – 15th century); Switzerland – 1 (14th century); unknown provenance – 6

Speculum historiale (342 MSS): 35 MSS – 13th century; 18 MSS – 13th-14th century; 145 MSS – 14th century; 139 MSS – 15th century; 5 MSS – 16th century

Germany – 49 MSS (4 – 13th century, 14 – 14th century, 30 – 15th century, 1 – 16th century); Austria – 20 MSS (8 – 14th century, 12 – 15th century); Belgium – 19 MSS (5 – 14th century, 12 – 15th century, 2 – 16th century); Spain – 2 MSS (15th century); France – 126 MSS (20 – 13th century, 11 – 13th-14th century, 84 – 14th century, 11 – 15th century); United Kingdom – 10 MSS (4 – 14th century, 6 – 15th century); Italy – 9 MSS (4 – 14th century, 4 – 15th century, 1 – 16th century); The Netherlands – 12 MSS (6 – 14th century, 6 – 15th century); Poland – 3 MSS (1 – 14th century, 2 – 15th century); Czech Republic – 7 MSS (1 – 14th century, 6 – 15th century); Switzerland – 6 MSS (3 – 14th century, 3 – 15th century); unknown provenance – 80

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Eduard Frunzeanu

Buṭrus al-Sadamantī

Buṭrus al-Sadamantī l-Armanī;
Peter of Sadamant the Armenian

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; first quarter of the 13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; presumably Sadamant
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; second half of the 13 th century, after 1260
PLACE OF DEATH	A monastery in Wādī l-Naṭrūn or Sadamant

BIOGRAPHY

Buṭrus was a monk and priest, and was considered a holy man. The only known date in his life is 1260 (Cheikho and Atiya place him in the 11th century, though Atiya attests that one of his writings dates to 1260), when he wrote a work dedicated to his former colleague in the monastery, Yūsāb Bishop of Akhmīm.

The title *al-Sadamantī* has led many scholars, including Vansleb and Graf, to think that he lived in the monastery of St George in Sadamant. But at least one MS (Cairo, Franciscan Centre) attests that he was a monk in the desert of Scetis (Shīhāt), i.e. Wādī l-Naṭrūn, so Sadamant must be the place of his birth. The title *al-Armanī* given in MS Vat 126 and by al-Mu'taman and Abū l-Barakāt may mean that he was of Armenian origin (Atiya rejects this interpretation), even though he belonged to the Coptic Church. He died after 1260. (On his alleged relationship with Awlād al-ʿAssāl, see the entry on al-Ṣafī.)

More works are attributed to Buṭrus than he actually wrote, and some works are recorded under more than one title. His masterpiece was a commentary on the passion of Christ, *Al-taṣḥīḥ fī ālām al-Sayyid al-Masīḥ* ('The rectification, on the sufferings of the Lord Christ'). Several MSS wrongly attribute to him Buṭrus al-Jamīl's *Kitāb al-burhān* (q.v.).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Maqāla fī l-i'tiqād; Maqāla fī l-'aqīda,
'Treatise on belief'

DATE 12 May 1260

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This treatise, which is like a short catechism, is dedicated to Buṭrus's friend Anbā Yūsāb, Bishop of Akhmīm. In MS Cairo, Franciscan Centre 741, it is divided into 49 chapters. These cover the being of God, the Trinity, creation and human sin, the Incarnation and crucifixion of Christ, death, resurrection and the end of the world, and Christ's second coming.

SIGNIFICANCE

While the treatise follows the structure of the creed, a number of the topics it presents are those that are typically debated between Christians and Muslims. Buṭrus virtually acknowledges that he has Islam in mind when, in his account of heaven, he rejects the sensual paradise depicted in the Qur'an.

MANUSCRIPTS

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 MS Aleppo, Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem – Ar. 225 (Sbath 1027), pp. 1-31 (16th century)
 MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 170 (Simaika 318, Graf 365) (16th century)
 MS Vat – Arabic 126, fols 2r-15r (1687)
 MS Paris, BNF – Arabe 4786, fols 45v-65r (1795/6)
 MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 203 (Simaika 326, Graf 351), fols 43r-56r (18th century)
 MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 155 (Simaika 529, Graf 350), fols 74v-91v (1879)
 MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Dayr al-Baramūs – Theology 4:66, fols 76r-87r (1891)
 MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Dayr al-Baramūs – Theology 4:67, fols 190r-200v (1893)
 MS Birmingham, University Library – Mingana 82 [Chr. Arab. 20], fols 1r-11v (19th century)
 MS Cairo, Franciscan Centre – 741, fols 78r-94r (date unknown)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

‘Buṭrus al-Sadamantī, “Maqāla fī i’tiqād al-kanīsa l-Qibṭiyya l-urthūdhuksiyya”, *Al-Karma* 12 (1926) 226-32, 282-86

Buṭrus al-Sadamantī, *Maqāla fī i’tiqād al-kanīsa l-Qibṭiyya*, Cairo, 1895

STUDIES

Swanson, art. ‘Butrus al-Sadamanti’

Wadi, ‘Introduzione alla letteratura arabo-cristiana dei Copti’, p. 471

Qanawātī, *Al-Masīḥiyya wa-al-ḥaḍāra l-‘arabiyya*, p. 270

Atiya, art. ‘Buṭrus al-Sidmantī’

Samaan, *Le commentaire exégétique du récit de l’agonie par Buṭrus as-Sadamantī*, pp. 32-39

Samir, ‘Maqāla tanfī l-shakk wa-l-kufr ‘an al-Naṣārā l-muwaḥḥidīn’, p. 44

Buṭrus as-Sadamantī, *Introduction sur l’herméneutique*, pp. 29-30

Giamberardini, ‘Orientamenti teologici della Chiesa copta’

Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 353

Cheikho, *Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes chrétiens*, p. 62

Maqāla tanfī l-shakk wa-l-kufr ‘an al-Naṣārā l-muwaḥḥidīn, ‘Treatise denying doubt and unbelief on the part of Christians, believers in divine unity’

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

In the only known manuscript this treatise is anonymous, so there must be some reservations about its attribution to Buṭrus. In addition, it should be noted that, while the same topics are covered in the *Maqāla fī l-i’tiqād*, the terms employed are different.

The intention of the treatise is clearly apologetic. It deals with the Trinity and the divinity of Christ, the two doctrines most questioned by Muslims. Much of it (§§ 17-54) is taken from Elias of Nisibis (d. 1046) (q.v.).

SIGNIFICANCE

The treatise attests to the ongoing debates between Christians and Muslims about the relationship between the two major Christian doctrines

and the Muslim definition of the oneness of God. The fact that Buṭrus employs arguments from the earlier apologist Elias shows that the main issues in contention had not changed much from earlier times.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vat – Ar. 120, fols 239r-241r (1687)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Samir, 'Maqāla tanfī l-shakk wa-l-kufr 'an al-Naṣārā l-muwaḥḥidīn',
p. 44

STUDIES

Wadi, 'Introduzione alla letteratura arabo-cristiana dei Copti', p. 470
Samaan, *Le commentaire exégétique du récit de l'agonie par Buṭrus
as-Sadamantī*, pp. 45-48

Samir, 'Maqāla tanfī l-shakk'

Wadi Awad

Benedict of Alignan

DATE OF BIRTH	1190 or soon after
PLACE OF BIRTH	Alignan-du-Vent, near Béziers, southern France
DATE OF DEATH	11 July 1268
PLACE OF DEATH	Marseilles

BIOGRAPHY

Benedict was born into the minor nobility in Languedoc, perhaps as early as 1190, and as a youth joined the Benedictine monastery of Lagrasse (midway between Carcassonne and Narbonne), where he became abbot in 1224. This position implicated him politically as well as spiritually in the Albigensian Crusade (1209-29): in 1226, he attempted to persuade Carcassonne and Béziers to submit to Louis VIII, and played a similarly diplomatic role between Louis and the count of Roussillon. In 1229, he became bishop of Marseilles, a secular as well as spiritual lordship, though one which the city intermittently contested.

In the summer of 1239, Benedict travelled to Acre with the crusaders under the leadership of Thibaut IV, Count of Navarre. Whilst in the Holy Land he visited, under protection of the sultan, the Church of St Mary in Damascus, and in 1240 he encouraged and partially directed the rebuilding of the crusader fortress of Saphet (Safed, Israel). Authorship of the text recording the reconstruction, *De constructione castris Saphet*, was earlier attributed to Benedict on the flimsy grounds that it frequently mentions him; the modern editors rightly demur. Benedict returned to Marseilles in 1242 and, according to a story included in a Franciscan collection of preaching *exempla*, brought back with him a fragment of the True Cross.

In response to a bull of Alexander IV (24 June 1260) calling for support for the crusader settlements in Syria, on 27 August 1260 Benedict again left for the Holy Land, returning to France at some point before March 1262. At some uncertain point, most probably in his last years, he joined the Franciscan order, and resigned his bishopric in 1267, dying a year later.

Benedict is mentioned by the chronicler Salimbene as a notably learned man, and his work certainly demonstrates considerable familiarity with Patristic authors, canon law, and theologians of the 12th and

early 13th centuries, though we have no evidence that he was connected with formal theological centers in Paris or elsewhere. Perhaps unusually for a writer of his period, he had direct experience of dualist and Waldensian heretics in France, of a large Jewish population (who were under his protection) in Marseilles, and of Muslims when undertaking his travels to the Holy Land. He completed his main work, the *Tractatus fidei contra errores*, around 1261; in a letter of 9 August 1263 to Thomas Agni de Lention, Bishop of Bethlehem, he says that he first conceived of the work 20 years earlier, during his first trip on crusade.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Gallia Christiana novissima, ed. J.-H. Albanes, 7 vols, Montbéliard, 1899-1920, ii [Marseille], cols. 157-72, nos 287-301

De constructione castri Saphet. Construction et fonctions d'un château fort franc en Terre Sainte, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Amsterdam, 1981

Tractatus fidei contra errores

Secondary

A. Coccio, 'Notizie su Benoît d'Alignan (d. 1268) ed il suo *Tractatus fidei contra diversos errores* (1261)', in A. Cacciotti and B. Faes de Mottoni (eds), *Editori di quaracchi 100 anni dopo bilancio e prospettive*, Rome, 1997, 317-31

W.R. Thomson, *Friars in the cathedral. The first Franciscan bishops, 1226-1261*, Toronto, 1975, pp. 155, 212-17

P.-A. Amargier, 'Evêques et prévôts languedociens de l'église de Marseille', in M.-H. Vicaire (ed.), *Les évêques, les clercs et le roi (1250-1300)*, Toulouse, 1972, 147-62

P.-A. Amargier, 'Benoît d'Alignan, évêque de Marseille (1229-1268). Le contexte et l'esprit d'une théologie', *Moyen Age* 72 (1966) 443-62

M. Segonne, *Moine, prélat, croisé. Benoît d'Alignan, Abbé de La Grasse, Seigneur-Evêque de Marseille 119.-1268*, Marseilles, 1960 (repr. Nîmes, 2001)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tractatus fidei contra diversos errores; Caput: Firmiter credimus, 'Treatise of the faith against various errors'

DATE Begun at some point in the 1240s, completed by 1261

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Tractatus fidei* is a lengthy theological treatise in three books, framed by the tenets and words of the opening canon of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), 'Firmiter credimus'. Book 1 focuses on the nature of the Trinity, Book 2 on the nature of Christ, and Book 3 on the nature of the Church. In each case, Benedict expounds briefly on the meaning of a certain aspect of Christian belief, and then indicates what errors are associated with, or opposed to, this belief; he then provides rebuttals through a mixture of scriptural authorities, simple examples and reasoned arguments. The theology is not in itself sophisticated, but the attempt to present and defend the breadth of Christian belief via the Lateran IV creed is remarkable. So too is the breadth of 'error' which Benedict addresses, drawn from preceding manuals against heresy (going back particularly to Augustine's works), contemporary Christian heresy, Jewish belief, Muslim belief, and 'pagan' error.

Jensen presents a passage from the *Tractatus* that justifies the use of force against error, and which Jensen believes demonstrates that Benedict saw Muslims as 'heretics and pagans'. It is perhaps rather that Benedict saw Muslims, heretics, pagans, Jews and ancient philosophers as all 'in error', and all thus liable to the use of Christian force; though it is notable that the main point of the treatise is to argue against and persuade rather than to justify violence.

Muslim beliefs (as understood by Benedict) appear intermittently throughout the *Tractatus* – for example, that in 'Saracen' faith (*lex*) it is said that God created angels from light, but devils from flame (MS BNF Lat. 4224, f. 171r); and that they observe their own sabbath on Fridays (f. 179v). He even notes that 'Saracens' accept that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary (f. 228r), going on to explain how they then err in their understanding of his nature and his role.

SIGNIFICANCE

The treatise is interesting as the theological product of someone who had actual contact with non-Christian religions, and as an example of a developing 13th-century tendency to treat all non-Christian faith as 'in error' and hence correctable, whether by force or by persuasion.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS, Paris, BNF – Lat. 4224 (late 13th or early 14th century)

MS Rome, Biblioteca Alessandrina – Cod. 141 (late 13th or early 14th century)

These are the two earliest MSS. Various later MSS (some containing only brief extracts from the text) are listed by Grabmann, 'Der Frankiskanerbischof Benedictus de Alignano'.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

K.V. Jensen, 'War against Muslims according to Benedict of Alignano, OFM', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 89 (1996) 181-95, pp. 190-95 (edition of a fragment of MS BNF Lat. 4224 (fols 389v-392r))

STUDIES

Coccio, 'Notizie su Benoît d'Alignan (d. 1268) ed il suo *Tractatus fidei contra diversos errores* (1261)'

Jensen, 'War against Muslims according to Benedict of Alignano, OFM', pp. 181-95

P.-A. Amargier, 'Benoît d'Alignan, évêque de Marseille (1229-1268). Le contexte et l'esprit d'une théologie', *Moyen Age* 72 (1966) 443-62

M. Grabmann, 'Der Frankiskanerbischof Benedictus de Alignano (d. 1268) und seine Summa zum *Caput Firmiter* des vierten Laterankonzils', in *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien P. Michael Bihl OFM als Ehrengabe dargeboten*, Colmar, 1941, 50-64

John H. Arnold

Liber scalae Machometi

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Liber scalae Machometi; Livre de l'eschiele Mahomet, 'The book of Muhammad's ladder'

DATE 1264

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Castilian

DESCRIPTION

The *Liber scalae Machometi* is divided into a number of parts: the Prophet's night journey (*isrā'*) from Mecca to the Temple in Jerusalem in the company of Gabriel; his ascent to heaven by means of a ladder (*mi'rāj*) and subsequent journey to the seven regions of hell, meeting important historical and religious leaders in his way; and his return to Mecca, where he reveals his experience to his Quraysh relatives.

Although Hyatte argues that the author of this work was a Muslim, it is impossible to find an Arabic source that matches this tradition. It seems more likely that it was the work of a team, and one not necessarily formed of Muslims. It is clear from the manuscripts that Abraham of Toledo was to translate the work from Arabic into Castilian vernacular, divide it into chapters and provide them with headings. But the person in charge of the draft translation also reworked the sources to fit the overall plan of the book, since modifications, additions and clarifications were incorporated into the text in order to make it clearer to the reader. Therefore, the translator was free to incorporate his knowledge into the final version.

What Abraham most probably translated into Castilian vernacular were the Hadiths concerning the *isrā'* and *mi'rāj*, to which were added Christian commentaries on the Arabic tradition that were already available in Latin translation. The latter were probably the work of Bonaventure of Siena, a specialized editor who added material from Christian authorities and translated Abraham's text from Castilian into Latin. Abraham's work was therefore only a draft, and that is why it has not been preserved, unlike other vernacular productions of the Alphonsine

school that were intended for use in Castilian. It was the Latin version with interpolations that was intended for public use.

SIGNIFICANCE

The Latin version of the Prophet's night journey is, in fact, a compilation of a body of Latinate traditions culled from the Qur'an and Hadith, together with other Arabic and perhaps Jewish materials, which are used to demonstrate the falseness of Muḥammad's prophetic mission. The strong eschatological argument of the text is lost in further interpretations by Christian authors, who were less interested in Islamic eschatological beliefs than in the figure of the Prophet.

This work has been considered an authentic Arabic source translated into Latin and Romance in the context of King Alfonso X's (r. 1252-84) Castilian project to provide fresh material for polemicists, theologians and political propaganda. This 'Spanish' perspective was soon enlarged when it was translated into French, and later inspired Dante in his *Divina commedia*. Moreover, it became one of the canonical sources for medieval Christian polemics and chronicles from the 11th to the 15th centuries. It became known to these authors as 'the second sacred book of Muḥammad after the Qur'an', and it provided key source material for a variety of approaches to eschatological doctrines both in Islam and Christianity.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vat – Latin 4072 (13th century)

MS Paris, BNF – Latin 6064 (13th century)

MS Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal – Latin 1162 (13th century)

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Laudensis Misc. 537 (13th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

A. Mondadori, *Il libro della scala di Maometto*, Milan, 1999 (Italian trans.)

R. Hyatte, *The prophet of Islam in Old French. The Romance of Muhammad (1258) and the Book of Muhammad's ladder (1264)*, Leiden, 1997 (trans.)

J.L. Oliver and M.J. Viguera (ed. and trans.), *Libro de la escala de Mahoma, según la versión latina del siglo XIII de Buenaventura de Siena*, Madrid, 1996 (Spanish trans.)

G. Besson and M. Brossard-Dandré (trans.), *Le livre de l'échelle de Mahomet*, Paris, 1991 (Latin text and French trans.)

- E. Werner, *Liber scale Machometi. Die lateinische Fassung des Kitab al-mi'radj*, Düsseldorf, 1986 (Latin text)
- P. Wunderli, *Le livre de l'Eschiele de Mahomet*, Berne, 1968 (Latin text)
- E. Cerulli, *Il libro della Scala e la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina Comedia*, Rome, 1949 (Latin text)
- J. Muñoz Sendino, *La escala de Mahoma*, Madrid, 1949 (Latin text)

STUDIES

- A. Echevarria, 'La reescritura del Libro de la escala de Mahoma con fines polémicos (ss. XIII-XV)', *Cahiers d'Études Hispaniques Médiévales* 29 (2006) 173-99
- A. Echevarria, 'Eschatology or biography? Alfonso X, Muhammad's ladder and a Jewish go-between', in L. Rouhi and C. Robinson (eds), *Under the influence. Questioning the comparative in medieval Castile*, Leiden, 2005, 133-52
- J.-P. Guillaume, "'Moi, Mahomet, prophète et messenger de Dieu...". Traduction et adaptation dans le Liber scale Machometi', in M.A. Amir-Moezzi (ed.), *Le voyage initiatique en terre d'islam. Ascensions célestes et itinéraires spirituels*, Leuven, 1986, 83-98
- A. Echeverria, 'El Mi'radj en la literatura castellana del siglo XV', *Medievalia. Textos e Estudos* (Oporto) 5/6 (1994) 231-47
- M. Chiamenti, 'Intertestualità *Liber Scale Machometi* – *Commedia*?', in S. Foa and S. Gentili (eds), *Dante e il locus inferni. Creazione letteraria e tradizione interpretive*, Rome, 2000, 45-51
- P. Kennedy, 'The Muslim sources of Dante?', in D. Agius and R. Hitchcock (eds), *The Arab influence in medieval Europe*, Ithaca NY, 1994, 63-82
- B. Schrieke, J. Horovitz and J. E. Bencheikh, art. 'Mi'rādj', in *EI*2
- E. Cerulli, *Nuove ricerche sul Libro della scala e la conoscenza dell'Islam in Occidente*, Vatican City, 1972
- E. Cerulli, *Il libro della scala e la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina comedia*, Rome, 1949
- V. Cantarino, 'Dante and Islam. History and analysis of a controversy', in G.L. Tikku (ed.), *Islam and its cultural divergence*, Urbana IL, 1970, 10-25
- G. Levi della Vida, 'Nuova luce sulle fonti islamiche della Divina comedia', *Al-Andalus* 14 (1949) 377-407

M. Asin Palacios, *La escatología musulmana y la Divina comedia*,
Madrid, 1907 (English trans. London, 1926; repr. 1984)

Ana Echevarria

The Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; probably early 13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; presumably later 13 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

There is little that can be said about this anonymous author. He probably composed his work in France shortly after 1261, showing first-hand knowledge of Latin Syria.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary —

Secondary —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre

DATE About 1265

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old French

DESCRIPTION

The anonymous text published in the 19th century with the decidedly unpromising title *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr de 1229 à 1261, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin* is a self-contained work in its own right. However, because it only survives copied on to the end of 13 manuscripts of the French translation of William of Tyre's *History* (q.v.) and the continuation to 1232 as adapted from *La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, it has often been regarded as a further element of the Continuations. It takes its name from the Abbé Rothelin, the 18th-century owner of one of the manuscripts.

It is an idiosyncratic work, apparently written in the Ile de France, which describes in some detail the crusade of Theobald of Navarre (1239-40) and the Seventh Crusade, led by King Louis IX, who was in the East from 1248 to 1254. It also contains a description of Jerusalem and its

Holy Places, which may have been lifted from *La Chronique d'Ernoult* or from an independent source for the same text, a version of the 'Prophecy of Fil Agap', which appears to date from the time of the Fifth Crusade, and a substantial section of material is drawn from the *Fet des Romains*, a popular compendium of anecdotes, history and legend from the ancient world that was put together in the early 13th century. Indeed the material from the *Fet des Romains* is inserted into the middle of a letter from Louis IX's chamberlain, John Sarrasin, describing Louis's ill-fated Egyptian campaign of 1249-50.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work is chiefly valued as one of the best accounts from a Western writer of the crusades of Theobald of Navarre and Louis IX, and would appear to have been composed shortly after 1261, the point at which it ends. Although sympathetic to the French king, the author does not seem aware of Louis IX's canonization in 1297 or, quite probably, of his death in Tunis in 1270 on his second crusading expedition.

The manuscripts seem all to have been copied in France. Most of them date to the very end of the 13th century and the first half of the 14th, and it is likely that their production was stimulated by the interest in further crusades current at the court of King Philip IV and his successors, where this text would have been valued for its information Louis IX's campaign in Egypt.

MANUSCRIPTS

The 13 manuscripts are conveniently listed in Folda, 'Manuscripts of the History of Outremer by William of Tyre. A handlist', nos 52-66.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr de 1229 à 1261, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin, *RHC Hist. Occ.* 2i, Paris, 1857, pp. 489-639

J. Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the thirteenth century. The Rothelin continuation of the History of William of Tyre with part of the Eracles or Acre text*, Aldershot, 1999, pp. 12-120 (English trans.)

STUDIES

M.R. Morgan, 'The Rothelin continuation of William of Tyre', in B.Z. Kedar et al. (eds), *Outremer. Studies in the history of the crusading kingdom of Jerusalem presented to Joshua Prawer*, Jerusalem, 1982, 244-57

J. Folda, 'Manuscripts of the History of Outremer by William of Tyre. A handlist', *Scriptorium* 27 (1973) 90-95

Al-Rashīd Abū l-Khayr ibn al-Ṭayyib

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; beginning of the 13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Cairo
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; last quarter of the 13 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

According to al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assāl (q.v.) and Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar (q.v.), as well as some manuscripts of his own works, al-Rashīd Abū l-Khayr ibn al-Ṭayyib was a priest and a physician (*mutaṭabbib*), though he is not mentioned in the *History of the patriarchs* or the *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*. His dates are not known, though he lived after al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) (q.v.), Maimonides (d. 1204), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1210) (q.v.) and al-Ṣafī ibn al-'Assāl (d. after 1265) (q.v.), and since he is known as a contemporary (*mu'āṣir* – not collaborator, *mu'āḍid*, as is read by Mikhā'īl Khūzām, Graf and others) of al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assāl, who wrote his *Majmū' uṣūl al-dīn* around 1265, he must have been alive at that time. In fact, al-Mu'taman speaks of him with great respect (*Majmū'*, ch. 56, § 35), which suggests that there were no doubts about his faith, contrary to what Abū l-Barakāt later implies.

Al-Rashīd did not write many works. In addition to his principal dogmatic-moral volume, *Tiryāq* (or *Diryāq*) *al-'uqūl fī 'ilm al-uṣūl* ('Antidote of the minds on the science of fundamentals'), he also produced an abbreviated version, *Khulāṣat al-īmān al-Masīhī* ('Summary of the Christian faith'). In addition he wrote a *Risāla fī l-radd 'alā man yaqūl bi-l-qaḍā' wa-l-qadar* ('A treatise in refutation of those who teach divine predestination and decree') and a collection of summaries of the homilies of St John Chrysostom.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assāl, *Majmū' uṣūl al-dīn wa-masmū' maḥṣūl al-yaqīn* (*Summa dei principii della religione*), ed. A. Wadi, trans. B. Pirone, 6 vols, Cairo, 1998-2002 (*Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographiae* 6a-6b, 7a-7b, 8-9), ii, ch. 56

- W. Riedel, 'Der Katalog der christlichen Schriften in arabischer Sprache von Abū 'l Barakāt', in *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse, Heft 5*, Göttingen, 1902, 635-706, pp. 661-62, 698
- Shams al-Ri'āsa Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar, *Miṣbāḥ al-ḡulma fī idāḥ al-khidma*, ed. Samīr Khalīl, Cairo, 1971, p. 320
- J.M. Vansleb, *Histoire de l'église d'Alexandrie fondée par S. Marc que nous appelons celle des Jacobites Coptes d'Égypte, écrit au Caire même en 1672 & 1673*, Paris, 1677, p. 337 (free trans. of the notice in Abū l-Barakāt)

Secondary

- A. Wadi, 'Al-Rashīd Abū l-Khayr ibn al-Ṭayyib wa-kitābātuh', *Majallat Madrasat al-Iskandariyya 2* (Cairo, 2010) no. 1, pp. 175-85; no. 2, pp. 175-85; no. 3, pp. 181-87
- M.N. Swanson, art. 'Al-Rashid Abu al-Khayr ibn al-Tayyib', in G. Gabra (ed.), *Historical dictionary of the Coptic Church*, Cairo, 2008, pp. 24, 291
- U. Zanetti, 'Abū l-Ḥayr ibn al- Ṭayyib. Sur les icônes et la croix', *Pd'O 28* (2003) 667-701
- A. Wadi, 'Introduzione alla letteratura arabo-cristiana dei Copti', *SOCC 29-30* (1998) 441-91, p. 472
- A. Wadi, 'Al-Rašīd ibn al-Ṭayyib et son *Tiryāq*', *SOCC 28* (1995) 10-40
- R.-G. Coquin, 'Langue et littérature arabes chrétiennes', in M. Albert (ed.), *Christianismes orientaux. Introduction à l'étude des langues et des littératures*, Paris, 1993, 35-106, p. 69
- V. Frederick, art. 'Abū al-Khayr al-Rashīd Ibn al-Ṭayyib', in CE Graf, *GICAL* ii, pp. 344-48
- G. Giamberardini, 'Orientamenti teologici della Chiesa copta', *Antonianum 47* (1972) 213-94, p. 222
- P. Spath, *Al-machra'*, new ed., Cairo, 1941, pp. 13-15
- M. Khouzam, *L'Illumination des intelligences dans la science des fondements. Synthèse de l'enseignement de la théologie copto-arabe sur la révélation chrétienne au XII^e et XIV^e siècles d'après les écrits d'Abu 'l-Khair Ibn at-Tayyib et Abu 'l-Barakat ibn Kabar*, Rome, 1941
- Abū l-Khayr ibn al-Ṭayyib, 'Radduh 'alā l-qā'ilīn bi-l-qaḍā' wa-l-qadar', ed. M. Khouzam, *Al-Ṣalāḥ 9* (Cairo, 1938) 76-78, 131-37, 323-30
- G. Graf, 'Zum Schrifttum des Abū 'l-Barakāt und des Abū 'l-Ḥayr', *OC 30* (1933) 134-41
- L. Cheikho, *Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes chrétiens*, Beirut, 1924, pp. 20, 232
- L. Cheikho, 'Al-Makhtūṭāt al-'arabiyya fī khizānat kulliyatinā l-sharqiyya', *Al-Machriq 9* (1906), p. 756
- Ramzī Tādrus, *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif al-Qibṭiyya*, Minya, [1900?], p. 50

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tiryāq (or Diryāq) al-‘uqūl fī ‘ilm al-uṣūl; Tiryāq al-‘uqūl li-taḥṣīl al-uṣūl; Diryāq al-‘uqūl wa-ghāyat al-maḥṣūl fī ‘ilm al-uṣūl, ‘Antidote of the minds in the science of fundamentals’

DATE Probably after 1265

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Tiryāq* (or *Diryāq*) was probably written after 1265, as it is not mentioned by al-Muṭaman ibn al-‘Assāl (q.v.). It is theological, moral, liturgical and spiritual, though its ultimate intention is apologetic. It consists of a short introduction, two parts, and a relatively long conclusion.

The introduction is dedicated to an anonymous recipient who had asked the author to compose a short explanation of Christianity with answers to questions posed by Muslims. The first part comprises 24 chapters, some very short (less than 10 lines) and others very long (more than 10 pages). The themes are similar to those treated by al-Muṭaman ibn al-‘Assāl in his *Majmū‘ uṣūl al-dīn*: the unity of God, the Trinity, Christology (many chapters), and other theological issues such as icons, the cross, baptism, and the eucharist. The second part comprises five chapters covering prayer, fasting, alms, the superiority of the Christian law, the Gospel commandments, the law of virtue and the law of justice (*sharī‘at al-faḍl wa-sharī‘at al-‘adl*), marriage, divorce, fornication, and love for enemies.

Abū l-Khayr frequently refers to al-Ghazālī (q.v.), Maimonides and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (q.v.), and he uses a series of Muslim theological terms, including *‘ilm al-uṣūl* in the title.

SIGNIFICANCE

Abū l-Khayr’s apologetic intention is demonstrated by his frequent mention of Muslim theologians and the terminology they used. He does not move beyond apology to open controversy, but rather constructs a quiet dialogue with Islamic theology and polemical writings. He directs his work mainly towards Muslim and Christian intellectuals.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Aleppo – Sbath 1580 (1315; whereabouts unknown, presumably lost)

- MS Vat – Ar. 118, fols 1v-78v (original Coptic numbering); 1v-76v (Arabic numbering) (1323)
- MS Vat – Ar. 119, fols 2r-62r (original Coptic numbering); 1r-58v (Arabic occidental numbering) (1334)
- MS Vat – Ar. 105, fols. 2v-65v (original Coptic numbering); 1v-64v (Arabic occidental numbering) (14th century)
- MS St Petersburg, National Library – 110 (1421; Tripoli, Syria)
- MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 178, fols 1r-170r (1452; Homs, Syria)
- MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 1072 (Cheikho 569a), pp. 1-181 (1452)
- MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Huntington 362, 151 fols (1476)
- MS Graf (15th century; whereabouts unknown)
- MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Huntington 240, fols 1v-81r (1549/50)
- MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 179, 82 fols (1641)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 231 (Simaika 289) (1658)
- MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 180, 101 fols (1664)
- MS St Petersburg, Asiatic Museum – 7 (1696)
- MS Aleppo, Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem – Ar. 81 (Sbath 865), pp. 66-351 (17th century)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – Theology 356, fols 21r-167r (Simaika 57, Graf 711) (17th century)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 286, fols 1r-116v (Simaika 366, Graf 338) (1746)
- MS Red Sea, Monastery of St Anthony – Theology 139 (1783)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 232, fols 3v-138v (Simaika 337, Graf 391) (18th Century)
- MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Ar. 163 fols 31r-139v (1805)
- MS Cairo, Franciscan Centre – 324, fols 3r-98r (1827)
- MS Vat – Sbath 47, pp. 1-162 (1863; Karshūnī)
- MS Birmingham, University Library – Mingana 56 (Christian Arabic 24), fols 1r-183r (1874)
- MS Red Sea, Monastery of St Anthony – Theology 267 (1881)
- MS Shuwayr, Monastery of John the Baptist of the Melchites – (before 1897; original of the following MS)
- MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 1078 (Cheikho 569b), pp. 2-123 (1897)
- MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 1102 (Cheikho 588), pp. 1-181 (1905; copy of Vat Ar. 105)
- MS Aleppo, heirs of Mikhā'il Baṣṣāl (inaccessible MS in private collection, probably lost; see Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 22, no. 130)

MS Aleppo, heirs of Yūsuf Sinān (inaccessible MS in private collection, probably lost; see Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 22, no. 130)

MS Vat – Ar. 83 (date unknown; excerpts)

MS Asyūṭ, heirs of al-Qummuṣ Ayyūb Masīḥa, fols 3r-108v (date and whereabouts unknown)

MS Beni Suef, Bayāḍ al-Naṣārā, Monastery of the Virgin (date and whereabouts unknown)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

U. Zanetti, 'Abū l-Ḥayr ibn al-Ṭayyib. Sur les icônes et la croix', *Pd'O* 28 (2003) 667-701, pp. 669-77 (Arabic text and French trans. of chs 20-21)

Sbath, *Al-machra'*, pp. 13-15 (French trans. pp. 13-14)

P. Sbath, *Vingt traités philosophiques et apologetiques d'auteurs arabes chrétiens du IX^e au XIV^e siècle*, Cairo, 1929, pp. 176-78

STUDIES

Wadi, 'Al-Rashīd Abū l-Khayr ibn al-Ṭayyib wa-kitābātuh'

Zanetti, 'Abū l-Ḥayr ibn al-Ṭayyib. Sur les icônes et la croix'

Wadi, 'Introduzione', p. 472

Wadi, 'Al-Rašīd ibn al-Ṭayyib et son Tiryaq'

Graf, *GCAL* ii, 345-47

Khouzam, *L'Illumination des intelligences*

Graf, 'Zum Schrifttum des Abū 'l-Barakāt und des Abū 'l-Ḥayr'

Risālat al-bayān al-aḥḥar fī l-radd 'alā man yaqūl bi-l-qaḍā' wa-al-qadar, 'A treatise of the most manifest elucidation in refutation of those who teach divine predestination and decree'; *Risāla fī l-radd 'alā man yaqūl bi-l-qaḍā' wa-l-qadar*, 'A treatise in refutation of those who teach divine predestination and decree'

DATE Before 1265

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The fact that this treatise is extensively reproduced in ch. 56 of the *Majmū' uṣūl al-dīn* of al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assāl (q.v.) indicates that

it was written before 1265. In it Abū al-Khayr presents the arguments of those who claim that God determines all events, and of those who defend free will. He himself argues in defense of free will on the basis of biblical evidence and rational arguments.

Although neither Islam nor any Muslim author is explicitly mentioned, the treatise is evidently directed against Islamic teachings that support predestination at the expense of free will. This is confirmed by the copious use of Islamic expressions and rational proofs that Muslims would find familiar.

SIGNIFICANCE

The choice of subject attests to Abū l-Khayr's knowledge of Islamic religious thought, and his possible intimacy with Muslim scholars of his time.

MANUSCRIPTS

For MSS of *Majmū' uṣūl al-dīn*, see A. Wadi, *Studio su al-Mu'taman Ibn al-'Assāl (Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographiae 5)*, Cairo, 1997, pp. 189-92.

MS Vat – Ar. 119, fols 113v-123r (original Coptic numbering); 109v-119r (Arabic occidental numbering) (1334)

MS Aleppo, heirs of Mikhā'il Shaḥūd (inaccessible MS in private collection, probably lost; see Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 21, no. 126)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assāl, *Majmū' uṣūl al-dīn*, ii, ch. 56 (missing the end of the treatise; see Vat Ar. 119, f. 123r)

M. Khouzam (ed.), 'Abū l-Khayr ibn al-Ṭayyib, Radduhu 'alā l-qā'ilīn bi-l-qaḍā' wa-al-qadar', *Al-Ṣalāḥ* 9 (Cairo, 1938) 76-78, 131-37, 323-30, pp. 131-37, 323-30 (incomplete; see Vat Ar. 119, fols 120r-123r)

STUDIES —

Khulāṣat mu'taqad al-milla l-masīḥiyya wa-l-radd 'alā ṭā'ifatay al-Islām wa-l-Yahūdiyya min mawḏū'ātihim wa-uṣūl madhhabihim, 'Summary of the belief of the Christian religion and reply to the two communities of Islam and Judaism, from their writings and the fundamentals of their teaching';
Al-radd 'alā l-Muslimīn wa-l-Yahūd, 'Refutation of the Muslims and the Jews'

DATE Probably after 1265

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work was probably written after 1265, since it is not listed by al-Mu'taman ibn al-Assāl (q.v.). At the beginning, Abū l-Khayr explains that he is writing it in response to objections to Christianity raised by Muslims and Jews. It consists of an introduction and three parts, divided into 24 chapters, the majority on Christological matters. Authorities who are mentioned include Maimonides, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (q.v.) and al-Ṣafī ibn al-'Assāl (q.v.), while biblical quotations and Patristic testimonies are probably taken from the *I'tirāf al-abā'* ('Confession of the fathers').

SIGNIFICANCE

The work is significant for its extensive treatment of Christological issues, which were especial targets of Muslim criticisms.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vat – Ar. 119, fols 63r-113r (original Coptic numbering); 59r-109r (Arabic occidental numbering) (1334)

MS Vat – Ar. 105, fols. 1v-55v (original Coptic numbering); 66v-120r (Arabic occidental numbering) (14th century)

MS Aleppo, heirs of Mikhā'il Shaḥūd (inaccessible MS in private collection, probably lost; see Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 21, no.125)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES

Wadi, 'Al-Rashīd Abū l-Khayr ibn al-Ṭayyib wa-kitābātuh'

Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 347

Khouzam, *L'Illumination des intelligences*

Kirakos Ganjakec'i or Arewelc'i

DATE OF BIRTH	Approximately 1200-2
PLACE OF BIRTH	Ganjak, Ganja, Genje
DATE OF DEATH	1271
PLACE OF DEATH	Probably in the Monastery of Nor Getik

BIOGRAPHY

Kirakos is one of the most important Armenian historians of the 13th century. He was born in the region of Ganja and received his early formation at the monastic school of Nor Getik under the eminent savant Vanakan Vardapet. After 1215, he continued his education in Xoranašat Monastery, relocating to Lorut in 1225. In his history, he informs us he was taken captive by the Mongols in spring 1236, and gained a rudimentary knowledge of their language before escaping back to the monastery of Nor Getik in the autumn. Subsequently, he employed his Mongol contacts to petition successfully for the region's relief from tax impositions. It is probable that he succeeded his teacher Vanakan as abbot of Nor Getik and director of its school on the latter's death in 1251.

As an ecclesiastic and scholar, Kirakos played an active role in the Armenian religious life of his time, participating in drafting a response to the letter of Pope Innocent IV in 1250 that called for greater doctrinal and liturgical conformity with Latin practice on the basis of the Armenian union with Rome in the 1190s. He also commissioned a commentary on the *Song of Songs* in 1265 from his colleague Vardan Arewelc'i, with whom, together with other *vardapets*, he maintained correspondence, though this has not survived. Similarly, as a well-informed intellectual, Kirakos met with king Het'um I of Armenian Cilicia in 1255 on his journey to the Mongol center of Karakorum to apprise him of the political situation in southern Caucasia. Later, he spent the years 1268-69 on an extended visit to the Cilician state.

Begun in 1241 and completed in 1265-66, his *magnum opus* covers a millennium of Armenia's political, social, economic, religious, and cultural history from its Christianization in the early 4th century to contemporary times, presented in 65 chapters and an introductory preface. While in the first of the two divisions Kirakos' narrative is succinct and largely reliant on previous sources (e.g. Eusebius of Caesarea, Socrates

Scholasticus, Movsēs Kałankatuac'i, Samuēl Anec'i, and the lost account of Vanakan Vardapet), the second, dealing with his own period, is an important witness to the gradual establishment of rule of the Mongols in the Middle East and their relations with the Seljuk, Mamluk, and other Muslim states of the region. Its value was appreciated by several later medieval historians who draw on Kirakos' account.

His literary activities also comprised an expanded version of the Armenian *menologium* (*yaysmawurk'*), which he compiled over the years 1253-69, and in which he inserted the *Vita* of a certain bishop Pawłos he had composed.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Vardan Arewelc'i, *Hawak'umn patmut'ean Hayoc'*, ed. L. Ališan, Venice: St. Lazar's Press, 1862

Vardan Arewelc'i, *Hawak'umn patmut'ean*, ed. N. Emin, Moscow, 1861

Mxit'ar Ayriyanec'i, *Patmut'awn Hayoc'*, ed. N. Emin, Moscow, 1860, p. 37

Step'anos Orbēlean, *Patmut'awn nahangin Sisakan*, ed. K. Shahnazareanc', Paris, 1860, pp. 25, 27

Secondary

Z. Arzoumanian, 'Kiraks Ganjakec'i and his *History of Armenia*', in T.J. Samuelian and M.E. Stone (eds), *Medieval Armenian culture*, Chico CA, 1984, pp. 262-71

V.D. Arakelyan, 'Kirakos Ganjakec'i', *Patmabanasirakan Handes 1* (1972) 48-62

H. Oskean, *Yovhannēs Vanakan ew iwr dproc'ə*, Vienna: Mxitarist Press, 1922

L. Ališan, *Hayapatum*, Venice: St. Lazar's Press, 1901, p. 471

Garegin Sruanjteanc', *T'oros Atbar*, vol. 2, Constantinople: Elia M. Tntesean Press, 1884, p. 448

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Patmut'awn Hayoc', 'History of the Armenians'

DATE 1265-66

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

The tenth chapter of Kirakos' history presents the martyrdom of Grigor, an Armenian nobleman from the eastern region of Xaç'en, against the complex background of inter-ethnic and religious tension in southern Caucasia at a pivotal transitional point between Georgian and Mongol

suzerainty in the 1220s. A contingent of Kipchak Turks sought a place to settle in Georgia from King Giorgi IV Lasha (r. 1213-23), but were refused, as a result of which they attacked the important commercial center of Ganja, from which the historian originated. Their amicable acceptance by the local population provoked retaliation from the Georgian army under the command of the Armenian general Ivanē Zak'arean. The Georgian army lost the battle against the Ganjan troops. In consequence, the latter sold many Georgian and Armenian nobles to Persians, who held them for a much higher ransom. Grigor was one of those captives and, under pressure to renounce his Christian faith, he uttered calumnies against Muḥammad and Islamic law. Provoked at this, the Persians dragged him naked across the ground, lacerated his body with thorns, and finally beat him to death. The martyrdom occurred in the year 1223.

SIGNIFICANCE

The frame to the narrative is of interest for the light it sheds on the formation of alliances and creation of tensions that contrast with the groups' underlying religious affinities. Hence, representatives of the two major regional powers at the time, the Georgians, who dominated southern Caucasia (hence the presence of many Armenian vassals in their army), and the Kipchaks, who had established an empire over the steppes, are portrayed as pursuing contrary goals, although they tended to be close allies, the Georgians having Christianized the Kipchaks in the 11th century. Moreover, both were about to enter a period of decline with the growth of Mongol power in the next decade, and indeed Giorgi IV's absence from the battle may be the result of the severe wound he had suffered in fighting off the first Mongol expedition to the area in the previous year. Meanwhile, the common cause between the Kipchak contingent and the Ganjans, despite their religious diversity, is to be explained by the restiveness of the Muslim vassal states under Georgian suzerainty, resulting in a series of revolts in the previous decade, which Giorgi had harshly quelled. The contrast between the handling of the Christian captives, Grigor among them, by the Ganjans and the Persians is also striking. While the former were prepared to sell the nobles for the price of clothes or food, the latter demanded so much silver and gold that several of the captives died in prison before the requisite sum could be raised.

MANUSCRIPTS

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M1518, fols 181r-260v (1594)

M1486, fols 3r-85r (1597)

- M4067, fols 186r-215v (16th century)
 M6538, fols 3v-203r (1616)
 M5587, fols 26v-227v (1617)
 M2748, fols 129v-176r (1624)
 M8873, fols 165r-237r (1625, 1626, 1629)
 M3519, fols 26v-171r (1647)
 M3071, fols 17v-130v (1657)
 M1769, fols 48r-206r (1664)
 M2561, fols 236v-241r (1664)
 M4584, fols 327r-354r (1668)
 M1482, fols 476r-517v (1676-78)
 M3069, fols 114v-195r (1672)
 M1899, fols 86r-255v (1676)
 M2617, fols 1r-105v (17th century)
 M1768, fols 25r-159r (17th century)
 M1901, fols 2r-136v (1704)
 M1781, fols 72r-108v (1756)
 M9277, fols 1r-150v (1756)
 M2646, fols 1r-164v (1761)
 M2939, fols 347v-595v (1779-82, 1792)
 M3158, fols 1r-109v (17th-18th century)
 M2764, fols 1r-173r (18th century)
 M6575, fols 83r-100v (18th century)
 M6550, fols 1r-107r (1849)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- K. Ter-Davtyan, *Novie armyanskie mucheniki (1155-1843), perevod, pre-dislovié i primechaniya*, Yerevan: Nairi Publications, 1998, pp. 44-45, 265 (Russian trans. of the martyrology)
 V. Ařak'elyan, *Kirakos Ganjakec'i. Hayoc' Patmut'yun*, Yerevan, 1982 (modern East Armenian trans. of the history)
 A.A. Khanlaryan, *Kirakos Gandzaketsi, Istoriya Armenii*, Moscow, 1976 (Russian trans. of the history)
 K. Melik'-Ohananĵyan, *Kirakos Ganjakec'i. Patmut'wn Hayoc'*, Yerevan, 1961 (critical edition of the history)
 T. Ter-Grigoryan, *Kirakos Gandzaketsi*, Baku, 1946 (Russian trans. of the history)
 Y. Manandean and H. Ać'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerā (1155-1843)*, Vařarřapat, 1903, pp. 96-97 (critical edition of the martyrology)

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- M.F. Brosset, 'Histoire de l'Arménie par le vartabed Kiracos de Gantzac', in *Deux historiens arméniens*, St Petersburg, 1871, pp. 1-194 (French trans. of the history)
- Kirakos Ganjakec'i, *Kirakosi vardapeti Gajakec'woy Patmut'awn*, Venice: St. Lazar's Press, 1865
- E. Dulaurier, 'Les Mongols d'après les historiens arméniennes', *Journal Asiatique* 5^e série 2 (1858) 192-255, 426-73, 481-508 (French trans. of the history)
- Kirakos Ganjakec'i, *Patmut'awn Hayoc' arareal Kirakosi vardapeti Ganjakec'woy*, ed. O. Tēr Gēorgean Yovhanniseanc' Erevanc'i, Moscow, 1858 (edition of the history)

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- H. Ač'aryan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri bařaran*, vol. 1, Yerevan: State University Publications, 1942, p. 572
- G. Yovsēpean, *Xatbakeank'*, Jerusalem: St James Press, 1949, pp. 63, 64, 79, 81-84
- M. C'amč'ean, *Patmut'awn Hayoc' i skzbanē ašxarhis minč'ew c'am Tearn 1784*, Venice: Petros Vałvazeanc' Press, 1786, vol. 3, p. 202

S. Peter Cowe

Vardan Arevelci

Vardan Mec

DATE OF BIRTH	Approximately 1200
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	1271
PLACE OF DEATH	Probably Xor Virap, the monastery near Artašat where he was buried.

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known of Vardan's earliest years. He studied under the teacher (*vardapet*) Yovhannēs Vanakan together with Kirakos Ganjakeci, whose own *History* gives some information about him. By 1240 he had returned to Cilicia from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and in 1243 he carried an encyclical letter from the Armenian Catholicos in Sis to various regions of Greater Armenia. During that first visit to Cilicia he composed a *Commentary on grammar* and a *Miscellany on passages of scripture*. On returning to Cilicia in 1248, he translated the Syriac *Chronicle* of Patriarch Michael, but was back in Greater Armenia by 1251. There he spent the rest of his life as a scholar and teacher, save for a visit to the Ilkhan Hülagu in 1264.

Vardan taught in various monasteries. In 1260 he copied works by Gregory of Nyssa at Xor Virap near Dvin, and the next year he composed a *Commentary on the Pentateuch*. By 1265 he was at Halbat in the north, where he wrote commentaries on the Song of Songs and on the Psalms. But in 1267 he was again at Xor Virap, where he wrote a commentary on Daniel. He is also known to have been active at Glajor. In addition to biblical commentaries, he composed a brief *Geography*, the only medieval Armenian work off this kind known, other than the more extensive *Geography* by the 7th-century polymath Anania of Širak, which was influenced by Ptolemy.

Vardan's works are compilations and collections of material from previous writers, rather than original compositions. Their importance is as evidence for the general state of knowledge in medieval Armenian monastic centers. His most significant work, the *Chronicle* ('Historical compilation') is also a rewriting of previous histories, save for the description of Armenian-Mongol contacts in his own time.

Vardan was known as *Arevelc'i* ('from the East'), or *Mec* ('great') to distinguish him from numerous other Vardans.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Of Vardan's own writings, only the *Chronicle* gives information about his personal life; see pp. 150-64 of the 1862 edition. Kirakos of Ganjak refers to Vardan several times in his own *History*; see p. 294 of the Armenian edition by K.A. Melik'-Ohanjanyan, *Kirakos Ganjakec'i. Patmut'wn Hayoc'* (Yerevan, 1961), for Vardan's contacts in Cilicia with the Catholicos Constantine; pp. 298-99 and 310-11, where Vardan is entrusted with Constantine's encyclical; p. 330, where Vardan participates in a synod at Sis in 1251 to discuss the Pope's letter on the procession of the Holy Spirit; p. 349, for Kirakos's own friendship with Vardan. (Translation of Kirakos: M. Brosset, 'Histoire de l'Arménie par le vartabed Kiracos de Gantzac', in M. Brosset, *Deux historiens arméniens*, St Petersburg, 1870, pp. 1-194.)

Colophons of manuscripts contain information about Vardan's writings. See especially the 13th-century collection in A.S. Mat'evosyan, *Hayeren Jeraqreri Hišatakaranner žg dar* (Yerevan, 1984): pp. 243-44, the translation of Michael's *Chronicle* in 1248; p. 307, the *Commentary on the Pentateuch* in 1261; p. 325, the *Miscellany*; pp. 332-33, the *Commentary on the Song of Songs*; pp. 344-48, the *Commentary on the Psalms*; p. 365, the *Commentary on Daniel*; p. 401, the *Geography*.

Secondary

S.P. Cowe, 'Vardan Arewelc'i's Cosmology', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 24 (1993) 75-87 (with particular reference to Vardan's *Miscellany*)

R.W. Thomson, 'The historical compilation of Vardan Arewelc'i', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989) 125-226, pp. 125-30 (a survey of Vardan's life and works, in the Introduction to an English translation of the *Chronicle*)

P'.P'. Ant'apyan, *Vardan Arevelc'i*, 2 vols, Yerevan, 1987, 1989 (the most detailed study yet of Vardan's life and writings)

J. Muyltermans, *La domination arabe en Arménie. Extrait de l'Histoire universelle de Vardan*, Louvain, 1927

H. Oskean, *Yovhannēs Vanakan ew iw̄r dpročē*, Vienna, 1922 (contains information about Vanakan's pupils, notably Vardan and Kirakos)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Hawak'umn Patmut'ean, 'Historical compilation';
'Chronicle'

DATE 1267

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

A version of the work which ran to the year 1265 was stolen by bandits, later recovered in the market at Tiflis, and completed down to the year 1267. The standard edition contains 164 pages of text, not including Introduction and Index.

The *Chronicle* surveys in summary fashion the history of the world from creation to 1267. While Vardan is not primarily interested in Christian-Muslim relations, he inserts a (comparatively) long section on Muḥammad and the origin of Islam, pp. 64-66. Thereafter, the *Chronicle* describes the position of Armenians between the Byzantine Empire and Muslim forces, both Abbasid governors and the later Turkish sultans. Vardan describes numerous bloody encounters between Christians and Muslims, but except for passing references to readers of the Qur'an [*kurayk'* in Armenian] and mullas [*mutrik'*] on p. 140, he only refers to Islamic practices in the section on Muḥammad.

Vardan describes Muḥammad's early years as a merchant travelling to Egypt from Mecca. He met a monk called Sargis [Sargis Bxira in earlier Armenian texts], who taught him about God 'from old books'. But when Muḥammad preached this to his clan, he was persecuted and went out into the desert. There he preached the God of Abraham, and gathered supporters. After defeating a Greek army, he sent a message to the Byzantine emperor to abandon the land that God had given to Abraham; a second Byzantine army was defeated. Impressed by Muḥammad's success, the sons of Ishmael asked him for laws. Here Vardan introduces explanations of sites and rituals in Mecca that are associated with the *hajj*. He then notes that Muḥammad taught the people to say that God is one, that there is no companion to Him, and that Muḥammad is His servant. Then follows an explanation of the origin of the Qur'an, which Muḥammad introduced to deceive the people. He ordered people to pray five times a day with ablutions, and to summon the faithful from a high place. The passage ends with a reference to Muḥammad performing a miracle: he brought the moon down, divided it into four parts, and sent it back to heaven. The people of Jerusalem submitted to the Ishmaelites because the emperor was unable to gather another army. Then Vardan proceeds to describe the ensuing Muslim conquests.

Vardan's account is primarily indebted to a longer exposition found in the *History* of Mxit'ar of Ani (q.v.), written soon after 1193; and Mxit'ar in turn had picked up information from previous Armenian and Syriac sources. These are studied in Thomson, 'Muhammad and Islam in Armenian sources'.

SIGNIFICANCE

Although Vardan's account is not the most detailed Armenian version of Muḥammad's career and teaching, owing to his popularity as a teacher and scholar his *Chronicle* circulated widely. On the other hand, his account of Muḥammad and Islam was not so influential in later times. In the 14th century a more critical attitude to the religion of Islam developed, in which its tenets were attacked from the point of view of Christian theology. For this, see S.B. Dadoyan, 'Islam and Armenian political strategies at the end of an era. Matt'ēos Ĵowlayec'i and Grigor Tat'ewac'i', *Le Muséon* 114 (2001) 305-26.

It is unlikely that Vardan's *Chronicle* was known outside his native country. Today its primary value is as a witness to 13th-century attitudes in Armenia.

MANUSCRIPTS

The standard edition of the *Chronicle* (see below) is based on two MSS: Venice 516 (of the Mekhitarist collection on San Lazzaro) dated to approximately 1300, and Venice 1244, dated to 1307. The latter has the text only to the year 1236. The first edition by N. Emin is based on two later manuscripts, one undated and one copied in 1814 from a 15th-century exemplar.

More than 20 further MSS are known, dating from the 15th to the 19th century; details in Thomson, 'The historical compilaton', pp. 128-29, and Ant'apyan, *Vardan Arevelc'i*, ii, pp. 67-78.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- R.W. Thomson, 'The historical compilation of Vardan Arewelc'i', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989) 125-226 (trans.)
- J. Muyltermans, *La domination arabe en Arménie*, Louvain 1927 (Armenian text and trans. of the section from Muḥammad to the year 888, with commentary)
- E. Dulaurier, 'Extrait de l'histoire universelle de Vartan le grand,' *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Documents arméniens*, 2 vols, Paris, 1869-1906, i, pp. 431-43 (repr. Farnborough UK, 1967; text and trans. of the section dealing with the crusades)
- L. Ališan, *Hawak'umn Patmut'ean Vardanay vardapeti*, Venice, 1862 (repr. Delmar NY, 1991, with introduction by R.W. Thomson; the standard edition of the *Chronicle*)
- N. Emin, *Mecin Vardanay Bardjrberdec'woy Patmut'iwn tiezerakan*, Moscow, 1861 (edition and Russian trans.)

STUDIES

- R.W. Thomson, 'Muhammad and the origin of Islam in Armenian literary tradition', in D. Kouymjian (ed.), *Armenian Studies in Memoriam Haïg Berbérian*, Lisbon, 1986, 829-58 (repr. in R.W. Thomson, *Studies in Armenian literature and Christianity*, Aldershot UK, 1994, no. X)
- B. Kiwleserean, *Islamě hay matenagrut'ean meř*, Vienna, 1930
- M. Brosset, 'Analyse critique de l'Histoire de Vardan', *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St Petersbourg*, série 7.4 9 (1862) 1-30

Robert W. Thomson

George Akropolites

Geōrgios Akropolitēs

DATE OF BIRTH 1217
PLACE OF BIRTH Constantinople
DATE OF DEATH 1282
PLACE OF DEATH Constantinople

BIOGRAPHY

George Akropolites belonged to a long-established Constantinopolitan family that, from the early 11th century, had produced several officials who worked in the Byzantine civil administration. A 12th-century lead seal of a certain George Akropolites, found in Argos, probably belonged to his grandfather. He lived till the age of 16 in Constantinople, and received his first education there. Then, from the age of 17, he continued his education as part of the household of the Emperor John III Vatatzes in Nicea, numbering among his teachers Theodore Hexapterygus and the learned abbot and philosopher Nicephorus Blemmydes.

Soon afterwards, George took on military and diplomatic posts, being appointed *logothetēs tou genikou* under John III, and in 1255 *meγas logothetēs* under Theodore II Lascaris (1254-58). In addition, in 1256 he was given high judicial powers with the title *praitōr*. Sometime before 1256, he married Eudokia, a relative of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus. George held this emperor in special esteem and continued to serve him until his death: in 1274 he signed the final act of the Council of Lyons as his representative, and in 1282, the year of his own death, he led an embassy to Trebizond on his behalf.

In addition to his *History*, George is also credited with several shorter works in prose and verse (see Macrides, 'Akropolites', pp. 76-78), including his *Epitaphios*, or funeral oration, for John III Vatatzes. This contains two brief references to the Seljuk sultan, who may appear warlike but shows fear and remains silent in the emperor's presence (§§ 3 and 9).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

See *Prosopographisches Lexicon der Palaiologenzeit*, no. 518, for a list of the primary sources for George's life, and also Macrides, 'Akropolites', pp. 5-19, who gives a thorough account of the primary sources for George's life.

Secondary

This list contains recent titles, and a few additions to Macrides' almost complete bibliography ('Akropolites', pp. 388-417).

V. Stanković, 'Bugarska i Srbija u delima Georgija Akropolita i Georgija Pahimera', *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 46 (2009) 179-200

A.S(avvides), art. 'Akropolites, George', in A.G. Savvides and B. Hendrickx (eds), *Encyclopaedic prosopographical lexicon of Byzantine history and civilization*, vol. 1, Turnhout, 2007, pp. 116-17

P.I. Žavoronkov, 'Vozvyšenie roda Akropolitov v XIII-pervoj četverti XIVv.', *Vspomogatel'nye Istoričeskie Discipliny* [St Petersburg] 30 (2007) 219-26

T. Palágyi, 'Comment peut-on être Latin au XIII^e siècle? Témoignages de George Akropolitès', *Annuario dell'Istituto di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica di Venezia* 8 (2006) 75-108

P.I. Žavoronkov, art. 'Georgij Akropolit', in *Pravoslavnaja Ėnciklopedija*, vol. 11, Moscow, 2006, 46-47

P.I. Žavoronkov, 'Dinastija Angelov v izobraženii Georgija Akropolita', in A.A. Čekalova (ed.), *Mir Aleksandra Každana. K 80-letiju so dnja roždenija*, St Petersburg, 2003, 364-85

P.I. Žavoronkov, 'Predstavljenija Georgija Akropolita o znatnosti i strukture nikejskoj znati', *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 55 (1998) 93-98

W. Lackner, art. 'Akropolites, Georgios', in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 1, Freiburg, 1993³, p. 295

R.J. Macrides, art. 'Akropolites, George', in *ODB*

P.I. Žavoronkov, 'Nekotorye aspekty mirovozzrenija Georgija Akropolita', *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 47 (1986) 125-33

A. Hohlweg, art. 'Akropolites (Georgios)', in W. Buchwald, A. Hohlweg and O. Prinz (eds), *Tusculum-Lexikon griechischer und lateinischer Autoren des Altertums und des Mittelalters*, Munich, 1982³, pp. 25-26

Prosopographisches Lexicon der Palaiologenzeit, Vienna, 1976, no. 518

G. Prinzing, art. 'Akropolites, Georgios', in *Biographisches Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas*, vol. 1, Munich, 1974, pp. 26-27

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Chronikē syngraphē, ‘History’; *Chronikē diēgēsis
Historēma [...] archomenon apo tēs halōseōs
Kōnstantinoupoleōs*, ‘Historical account’
‘History . . . beginning with the conquest of
Constantinople’

DATE 1260s, perhaps in or soon after 1267

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

Description

Since it was written by a leading official, statesman and judge, the *History* is in general a trustworthy and reliable source for relations – which were both very close and friendly, and also hostile – between the Nicean emperors from 1196 to 1261 (Alexius III Angelus to Michael VIII Palaeologus) and the Seljuks (called *Persai*, *Mousoulmanoī* and *Tourkoi*, §§ 10, 23, 41, 61, 64, 65, 66, 69, 76, 81, and in § 38 *hoi ex Agar*, ‘descendants of Hagar’), together with their sultans from Giyath al-Din Kaykhusraw I (1192-96, 1205-11) to Izz al-Din Kaykaus II (1246-61).

The work contains few references to the religious sensibilities of the Turks. It comments on Alexius III Angelus extending spiritual sonship to Sultan Giyath al-Din Kaykhusraw I during the sultan’s visit to Constantinople in 1200, reports on the death of the sultan in the battle of Antioch-on-the Meander in 1211, and mentions Michael Palaeologus’ so-called flight to the Seljuk Turks in 1256-57. See Macrides, *George Acropolites*, pp. 92-94, for further references.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *History* is the central source for the Empire of Nicea (1205-61), the strongest of the three Byzantine ‘successor states’ that survived after the capture of Constantinople by the forces of the Fourth Crusade of 1204. It chronicles the uneven relations between the empire and the Seljuk sultanate of Rūm, and also with the Mongols after the Seljuks became their vassals following the battle of Kösedagh in 1243.

MANUSCRIPTS

Heisenberg (ed.), *Opera* i, pp. iv-xi, 2, and H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol. 1, Vienna, 1961, p. 77 no. 68, give details of the 13 MSS of the work.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- R. Macrides, *George Akropolites. The History. Introduction, translation and commentary*, Oxford, 2007
- P.I. Žavoronkov, *Georgij Akropolit. Istorija*, St Petersburg, 2005
- S. Spyropoulos, *Geōrgios Akropolitēs. Chronikē syngraphē*, Thessaloniki, 2004
- A. Panagiotou, *Geōrgios Akropolitēs. Chronikē syngraphē. Eisagōgē – Metaphrasē – Scholia*, Athens, 2003
- W. Blum, *Georgios Akropolites (1217-1282). Die Chronik*, Stuttgart, 1989
- Georgij Akropolit, A. Historia*, in M. Vojnov et al. (eds), *Grăcki Izvori za Bălgarskata Istorija/Fontes Graeci historiae Bulgaricae*, vol. 8, Sofia, 1969, pp. 150-213 (partial Bulgarian trans. with synoptic Greek text)
- B. Lehmann, *Die Nachrichten des Niketas Choniates, Georgios Akropolites und Pachymeres über die Selçuken in der Zeit von 1180 bis 1280 n. Chr.*, Gräfenhainichen, 1939 (Diss. University of Leipzig), pp. 45-63 (partial German trans.)
- 'History' (long version), in A. Heisenberg (ed.), *Georgii Acropolitae opera*, 2 vols, Leipzig, 1903, i, pp. 3-189; 'History' (short version), i, pp. 193-274

For other collections containing translated excerpts, some together with the Greek text, see W. Schule, *Bibliographie der Übersetzungen griechisch-byzantinischer Quellen (Glossar zur frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte im östlichen Europa, Beiheft 1)*, Wiesbaden, 1982: 13 (Albanian), 17 (Bulgarian), 18-19 (German), 20 (English), 23 (Rumanian) and 27 (Hungarian).

STUDIES

- A. Beihammer, 'Defection across the border of Islam and Christianity. Apostasy and cross-cultural interactions in Byzantine relations', *Speculum* 86 (2011) 597-651
- D.A. Korobeinikov, 'Raiders and neighbours. The Turks', in J. Shepard (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the Byzantine Empire c. 500-c. 1492*, Cambridge, 2008, 691-727
- Ē. Giarenēs/I. Giarenis, *Ē syngkrotēsē kai ē edraiōsē tēs autokratorias tēs Nikaias. O autokratoras Theodōros A' Laskaris/ Establishment and consolidation of the Empire of Nicaea. The Emperor Theodoros I Komnenos Laskaris*, Athens, 2008
- O.S. Apanovič, 'K voprosu o dolžnosti kundastabla u Sel'džukidov Ruma v XIII v. Kundastabl rumi i Michail Paleolog', *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 66 (2007) 171-92

- D. Korobeinikov, 'A sultan in Constantinople. The feasts of Ghiyath al-Din Kay-Khusraw I', in L. Brubaker and K. Linardou (eds), *Eat, drink and be merry (Luke 12:19). Food and wine in Byzantium. Papers of the 37th Annual Spring symposium of Byzantine Studies, in honour of Professor A.A.M. Bryer*, Aldershot UK, 2007, 93-108
- Macrides, *George Akropolites*; to her bibliography may be added:
- D.A. Korobejnikov, 'Michail VIII Paleolog v Rumskom sultanate', *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 64 (2005) 77-97
- A.G.C. Savvides, 'Acropolites and Gregoras on the Byzantine Seljuk confrontation at Antioch-on-the Maeander (AD 1211). English translation and commentary', *Journal of Oriental and African Studies* 8 (1996) 73-82 (= *Tarih Araştırmalar Dergisi* 5 [1990-91] 93-101)
- A.G.K. Sabbidēs [Savvides], *Byzantina stasiastika kai autonomistika kinēmata sta Dōdekanēsa kai stē Mikra Asia 1189-c. 1240 m. Ch.*, Athens, 1987
- A.G.C. Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East. Its relations with the Seljuk sultanate of Rum in Asia Minor, the Armenians of Cilicia and the Mongols AD c. 1192-1237*, Thessaloniki, 1981

Günter Prinzing

Ibn Kātib Qayṣar

‘Alam al-Ri’āsa Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; perhaps late 12 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; perhaps Cairo or its environs
DATE OF DEATH	Possibly 1267
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; perhaps Cairo or its environs

BIOGRAPHY

The full name of this author is ‘Alam al-Ri’āsa Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn *al-shaykh* Abū l-Thana’ ibn *al-shaykh* Ṣafī l-Dawla Abū l-Faḍā’il *kātib al-amīr* ‘Alam al-Dīn Qayṣar. This name indicates, in the first place, that he came from a distinguished family of Coptic civil servants, including one who served as secretary to the *amīr* ‘Alam al-Dīn Qayṣar – whence the name by which he is commonly known, Ibn Kātib Qayṣar.

We know little about his life or career other than what can be deduced from his remarkable scholarly output, and occasional references to him in conjunction with the Awlād al-‘Assāl, al-Mu’taman (q.v.) in particular. Ibn Kātib Qayṣar has been called ‘the great specialist in biblical studies of his time’ (Sidasus, ‘Medieval Coptic grammars’, p. 67). His *Commentary on the Apocalypse* will be treated below, but he also composed commentaries on the Pauline and the Catholic epistles, and perhaps on the Gospel of Matthew as well (Graf, *GICAL* ii, pp. 384-86). He also occupies an important place in the history of Coptic grammar: his *Tabṣīra* (‘Enlightenment’) is a first major step beyond the rather rudimentary *Muqaddima* (‘Introduction’) of Yūḥannā al-Samannūdī in the direction of what Sidasus calls a ‘real grammar’, exploiting the categories of Arabic grammatical science in order to explain the Coptic language (Sidasus, ‘Medieval Coptic grammars’, pp. 65-67).

The Commentary on the Apocalypse breaks off at Revelation 20:4. The work is dated AM 983 = AD 1266-67; Graf (*GICAL* ii, p. 381) has suggested that this may be the date of his death, which came before he could finish his commentary.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

For Ibn Kātib Qaysar's *Aṣl al-radd wa-l-jawāb* and its appropriation by al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assāl, see below.

Shams al-Ri'āsa Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar, *Miṣbāḥ al-zulma fī ṭdāḥ al-khidma*, ed. Samīr Khalīl, Cairo, 1971, p. 320 (where Ibn Kātib Qaysar receives the title *al-mu'allim*, 'the teacher')

Secondary

S.J. Davis, 'Introducing an Arabic commentary on the Apocalypse. Ibn Kātib Qaysar on Revelation', *Harvard Theological Review* 101 (2008) 77-96, pp. 77-86

M.N. Swanson, art. 'Ibn Katib Qaysar', in G. Gabra (ed.), *Historical dictionary of the Coptic Church*, Lanham MD, 2008, pp. 154, 287

A. Sidarus, 'Medieval Coptic grammars in Arabic. The Coptic *muqaddimāt*', *Journal of Coptic Studies* 3 (2001) 63-79, p. 67

A. Sidarus, 'L'influence arabe sur la linguistique copte', in S. Auroux et al. (eds), *History of the language sciences/Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaften/Histoire des sciences du langage*, 3 vols, Berlin, 2000-6, i, 321-25

A. Wadi, *Studio su al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assāl* [in Arabic] (*Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographiae* 5), Cairo, 1997, pp. 165, 186, 225

A. Wadi, 'Introduzione alla letteratura arabo-cristiana dei Copti', *SOCC* 29-30 (1996-1997) 466-67

V. Frederick, art. 'Ibn Kātib Qaysar', in *CE* iv, p. 1268

Graf, *GICAL* ii, pp. 379-87

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Aṣl al-radd wa-l-jawāb, 'The foundation of the refutation and the response'

DATE 1260s or earlier

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Aṣl al-radd wa-l-jawāb is a collection of excerpts put together by Ibn Kātib Qaysar from the *Radd* of Abū 'Īsā l-Warrāq (q.v.) and its *Jawāb* by Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī (q.v.). Part of this collection was simply incorporated by al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assāl (q.v.) into his *Majmū' uṣūl al-dīn*, Part II, *Fī l-tawḥīd wa-l-tathlīth* ('On the Unity and Trinity of God'), chs 16-19 (as al-Mu'taman explicitly states in the introduction to Part II).

SIGNIFICANCE

This work bears witness to the great importance that the philosophically sophisticated apologetic theology of Yahyā ibn ‘Adī played in the Copto-Arabic theological ‘renaissance’ of the 13th-14th centuries, specifically with regard to the explication of the trinity of God.

MANUSCRIPTS

No MSS of the independent text are known. For a list of MSS of the *Majmū‘ uşūl al-dīn*, see A. Wadi, *Studio su al-Mu’taman ibn al-‘Assāl* (*Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographiae* 5), Cairo, 1997, pp. 189-92, with a list of previous editions of the work at pp. 193-97.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Al-Mu’taman ibn al-‘Assāl, *Summa dei principi della religione*, ed. A. Wadi, trans. B. Pirone, 6 vols, Cairo, 1998-2002 (*Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographiae* 6a-6b, 7a-7b, 8-9), i, chs 16-19 (edition of the text as adopted by al-Mu’taman, with Italian trans.)

STUDIES

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 386-87

Tafsīr al-Ru’yā, ‘Commentary on the Apocalypse’

DATE 1266-67

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Ibn Kātib Qayşar’s *Commentary on the Apocalypse* is a book-length work of considerable erudition. As Davis (‘Introducing an Arabic commentary’, p. 83) points out, the author is interested in the etymology of words; is fond of systematic classification; pays attention to historical context; and regularly cites earlier commentators, especially Hippolytus of Rome. (For a list of cited authors, see Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 383.) Davis points out the author’s sensitivity with regard to the Islamic *milieu*: whereas Būlus al-Būshī had not hesitated to link the 666 of Revelation 13:18 with the name of Muḥammad (through the Coptic transliteration ‘Mametios’), Ibn Kātib Qayşar believes it proper to leave the identification a mystery (‘Introducing an Arabic commentary’, pp. 84-86).

A careful study of the work in search of material of relevance to the Christian-Muslim encounter is needed. Davis has made a provocative beginning in his analysis of the opening paragraphs of the work, especially with respect to the modes of prophecy (‘Introducing an Arabic

commentary', pp. 86-96). According to Davis, Ibn Kātib Qayṣar claims and defines terms such as *nubuwwa* ('prophecy'), *ru'yā* ('revelatory vision'), *waḥy* ('inspiration'), and even *rasūl* ('apostle') in such a way as 'to mark John as a divinely-inspired messenger... who rivals and surpasses his counterpart, the prophet... of Islam' ('Introducing an Arabic commentary', p. 96).

SIGNIFICANCE

Few themes are more central to the ongoing Christian-Muslim controversy than the nature of revelation. Ibn Kātib Qayṣar, while distancing himself from polemics of an obvious sort (such as reading Muḥammad into Revelation 13:18), was not afraid to perform an analysis of the nature of revelation that lifted a variety of biblical prophets and seers – including John of Patmos – to a status arguably higher than that of the prophet of Islam.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 67 (15th century)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 58 (Graf 666, Simaika 243), fols 2v-322r (15th or 16th century, copied from a MS of 1335, which was copied from a MS of 1305; restored in 1612; basis of the al-Birmāwī edition)

MS Aleppo, Maronite Episcopate – 45 (undated, in the library since 1726; attributed to Ibn al-ʿAssāl)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 57 (Graf 608, Simaika 242) (19th century; copied from the same 14th-century MS from which Theology 58 was copied)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Armāniyūs Ḥabashī Shattā l-Birmāwī (ed.), *Tafsīr Ru'yat al-qiddīs Yūḥannā l-lāhūtī li-Ibn Kātib Qayṣar*, Cairo, 1939 (and frequently reprinted)

Firansīs Mikhāʿil (ed.), *Kitāb sharḥ al-Ru'ya li-Ibn Kātib Qayṣar al-shahīr*, Cairo, 1898

STUDIES

Davis, 'Introducing an Arabic commentary on the Apocalypse' Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 380-84 (with references to older literature)

Mark N. Swanson

Roger Bacon

DATE OF BIRTH	Between about 1210 and 1220; most commonly given as 1214
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown, but conjectured to be in England
DATE OF DEATH	After 1292
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown, but conjectured to be Oxford

BIOGRAPHY

Most of what is known about Bacon is drawn from works that he composed to send to the papal curia between about 1266 and 1271. He was one of the younger sons of an affluent Anglo-Norman family and seems to have been educated at the new university in Oxford, completing his studies somewhere between 1236 and 1241. During the 1240s, he taught the arts in Paris, and was one of the first to lecture there on Aristotle's *libri naturales* and *Metaphysics*. He was already using translations of commentaries and treatises from the Muslim world, particularly those of Ibn Rushd, Ibn Sīnā and al-Ghazālī.

At the end of the decade, he left the university world and embarked on an ambitious programme of private study. His reasons for doing so are unclear, but are often attributed to the influence of Robert Grosseteste, Adam Marsh and other Oxford Franciscans. He later reported that during this period, he spent £2,000 on books, experiments, instruments, tables, assistants and learning Greek, Hebrew and possibly a smattering of Arabic. Drawing on newly-available scientific and philosophical texts from Greek and Arabic intellectual traditions, he developed expertise in mathematics, optics, 'experimental' science, astronomy, astrology and alchemy.

Somewhere around 1257, he entered the Franciscan order. We do not know what brought about his conversion to the mendicant life but, judging by his later writings, he shared many of the concerns of friars prominent in the order during this period. He was eager to reform the Church, strengthen the faith of Christians and convert non-Christians. Like many in the order, he believed that these ends could best be served by wise, learned and 'apostolic' men. His activities within the order at this time are uncertain. He seems to have continued his studies and his teaching, but claimed to have been discouraged by his superiors from writing much.

This was to change during the 1260s, when Bacon came to the attention of a powerful French cardinal, Gui de Foulques, in circumstances unknown to us. When Foulques became Pope Clement IV in 1266, he wrote to ask for a copy of Bacon's work, so that he could understand, as he put it, 'the remedies that you think we should adopt to address those issues that you have recently described as the occasion of such great danger'. He told Bacon to send the work 'quickly and as secretly as possible'. Bacon was not to inform his superiors and was to disregard the constitution forbidding members of his order to communicate their writing externally without formal internal approval (Brewer, *Fr. Rogeri Bacon*, p. 1). Bacon subsequently asserted that these instructions had caused him difficulty, but nonetheless succeeded in assembling and dispatching the treatises now known as the *Opus maius*, *Opus minus* and *Opus tertium*. Although Clement was not specific about the nature of the 'great danger', it is evident that Bacon's anxieties ranged from the eschatological to the pastoral. He felt that the Latin West was hindered from carrying out its proper tasks by widespread ignorance and intellectual complacency. His work was essentially a plea for the reform and renewal of learning. He also urged the application of enhanced linguistic, geographical, religious and cultural knowledge, together with improved technology, to Latin dealings with other societies.

Unfortunately for Bacon, Clement died in the same year. A long papal vacancy followed, during which time Bacon began a work known as the *Compendium studii philosophiae*. It reiterated many of the same calls for reform, but couched them within a fierce polemic on the corrupt state of the Church and society. He believed that the last days of the world were at hand, and saw everywhere the signs of God's enemies at work. This treatise was completed in 1271 and addressed to the newly-elected pope, Gregory X. Bacon's activities over the remaining two decades of his life are difficult to ascertain. He edited the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum* and probably wrote his *Communia naturalium* and *Communia mathematica*. He seems to have been involved in the debates surrounding the condemnations at the University of Paris in 1277. A late source, the *Chronica XXIV generalium ordinis minorum*, recorded that he had himself been condemned and sentenced to prison by his order at that time for 'suspected novelties' in his work. There is continuing controversy over how seriously this report should be taken, but it has undoubtedly greatly affected perceptions of Bacon. His final work, his *Compendium studii theologiae*, can be dated to 1292. It is assumed that he died soon afterwards.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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- T.S. Maloney (ed. and trans.), *Roger Bacon, The art and science of logic (Mediaeval Sources in Translation 47)*, Toronto, 2009
- F.A. Gasquet (ed.), 'An unpublished fragment of a work by Roger Bacon', *English Historical Review* 12 (1897) 494-517
- Opus maius*, ed. J.H. Bridges, 3 vols, Oxford, 1897-1900
- Opus minus*, in J.S. Brewer (ed.), *Fr. Rogeri Bacon opera quaedam hactenus inedita (Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores [Rolls Series] 15)*, London, 1859, pp. 313-89
- Opus tertium*, in Brewer, *Fr. Rogeri Bacon opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, pp. 3-310
- A.G. Little (ed.), *Part of the Opus Tertium of Roger Bacon including a fragment now printed for the first time*, Aberdeen, 1912
- Compendium studii philosophiae*, in Brewer, *Fr. Rogeri Bacon opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, pp. 394-519
- Fratris Rogeri Bacon, Compendium studii theologiae*, ed. H. Rashdall (*British Society for Franciscan Studies* 3), Aberdeen, 1911
- Roger Bacon: Compendium of the study of theology*, ed. and trans. T.S. Maloney (*Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters* 10), Leiden, 1988
- L. Wadding (ed.), *Chronica XXIV generalium ordinis minorum (Analecta Franciscana 3)*, Quaracchi, 1897

See further:

- J. Hackett, 'The published works of Roger Bacon', *Vivarium* 35 (1997) 315-20

Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Opus maius

DATE Put together between 1266 and 1268, almost certainly in part from existing treatises

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Opus maius* was written at the request of Pope Clement IV, who had asked to be told about Bacon's remedies for an unspecified 'great danger'. Its text, which was put together between 1266 and 1268, has yet to be fully established. The manuscript tradition is particularly complex because Bacon probably incorporated existing treatises into his argument for Clement and seems also to have written several drafts of each section, which subsequently circulated independently and were copied. These are difficult to distinguish from the final version, which was itself something of a work in progress, since Bacon regarded it as a summary of a much larger prospective treatise. This may be one reason for the absence of a modern edition. Books 1-4 and 6 have not been re-edited since the 1897-1900 edition by Bridges, in which they total about 500 pages. Books 5 and 7 have received critical editions: those of Lindberg and Massa respectively. Gasquet and Fredborg *et al* have published further fragments: the former a putative introduction; the latter an additional section of Book 3. A modern critical edition of the full text might occupy as many as 1,000 pages.

Once the manuscript was despatched to the papal curia, Bacon became anxious about it. He feared its loss in transit, and that he had not made

himself sufficiently clear, and he wanted to expand on some sections. Consequently, he wrote two further treatises: the *Opus minus* and *Opus tertium* (roughly another 500 pages in printed editions). Each of these contains substantial summaries and elaborations of the arguments in the previous work. Dividing the material in this fashion served a further purpose in Bacon's mind: better security for his secret information on alchemy (Little, *Part of the Opus tertium*, pp. 80-81). Bacon was also more explicit in the later works, criticizing named individuals, rather than generalizing about trends. For a full understanding of the ideas that he put to Pope Clement, the three works should be read together.

The *Opus maius* is a plea for the reform of learning and for the application of *sapientia*, wisdom, to the conduct of public affairs. Its first book, 'On the causes of error', is a critique of the current state of learning in the Latin West and the attitudes that have brought it about. These are: dependence on unworthy authorities; conformity to traditional orthodoxies; uncritical acceptance of popular ideas; concealment of ignorance with a show of knowledge. Book 2 provides a defense of the use of pagan philosophy, and by extension, all valuable works of non-Christian provenance. Book 3 urges the study of languages, and Book 4 mathematics, which encompass geography, astronomy and astrology. Book 5 deals with *perspectiva*: the study of vision and perception. Book 6 introduces *scientia experimentalis*, knowledge gained and tested by experience, rather than accepted unquestioningly from authorities. Examples include the use of the astrolabe, potions to prolong human life, alchemy and advanced technology. The final book is on moral philosophy, and features lengthy excerpts from Seneca, a discussion of world religions and methods for converting unbelievers, and a short treatise on the art of rhetoric applied to preaching.

Within this whole, there are many scattered references to Islam, which is almost always discussed in a comparative context. The most detailed descriptions occur in Books 4 and 7. Bacon believed that the diversity in religions across the globe had been engendered by the influence of the heavens. In Book 4, he writes of the religion associated with the planet Venus, which is worldly, hedonistic and sensual. It had always existed, but had not been codified until Muḥammad wrote the Qur'an. Muslim astrologers anticipated that it could not last much longer, and it is already being destroyed by Mongols (*Opus maius*, ed. Bridges, i, pp. 254-69). Book 7, part 4, is an extended discussion of the main world religions, their relative merits and how best to convert their adherents (*Moralis philosophia*, ed. Massa, pp. 187-223). Bacon considers

Muḥammad to be morally depraved and Muslims to be too interested in the pleasures of life, particularly sexual pleasure, but praises them for their acceptance of Jewish and Christian doctrines and practices, including what he believes to be their acknowledgement that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary. He reports that some Muslims agree that Christianity is superior. He has no doubt that Muslims, like all humans, are rational and, because they are rational, seek to learn and embrace the truth.

To discover other aspects of Bacon's thought about Islam and Muslims his asides and examples must be examined, for nowhere else does he offer much sustained discussion. The most dominant theme in his writings is the necessity for Latins to absorb the intellectual achievements of the Muslim world. The works of Ibn Rushd, Ibn Sīnā, al-Fārābī, Abū Ma'shar, al-Kindī, al-Ghazālī, al-Faghānī, Ibn al-Haytham and others were, for him, essential texts and he drew freely on them. He believed that these authors had been divinely inspired with knowledge of the truth, as had pagan thinkers, so that their works contained wisdom that could eventually be drawn upon by Christians. This was central to God's plan for humanity, as it enabled Christians to have confirmation of the truth of their faith and also a secure intellectual footing to convert everyone else. Bacon liked to appropriate Muslim authorities in support of Christian propositions, and wrote of their learning with an admiration sometimes bordering on awe. He was inclined to assert that the wisest Muslims had doubted the ultimate value of their own faith.

His attitudes towards Muslim contemporaries and their religion are quite different. In his writings, they are variously dangerous and duplicitous enemies; deluded infidels; allies against polytheistic belief systems; potential converts, and victims of ill-judged Christian aggression. The need to defend Christendom against those who would not be converted is a recurring theme in the *Opus maius*. Bacon frequently refers to the humiliating defeat of Louis IX's recent crusade and accuses both Mongols and Muslims of using occult arts against Christians. He feels that Christians need to develop more sophisticated methods to detect and deal with the threats that Muslims – together with the Mongols and Antichrist – pose. For all this, he is wary of the crusades, fearing that repeated invasions of Muslim territory alienate the inhabitants, sending the dead to hell and making it impossible to convert the survivors. Instead, he suggests that learned men should be sent in advance of a crusade, so that they might attempt to win Muslims over through rational debate and philosophical discussion. To this end, he recommends the study of languages. He maintains that Christian learning in general

needs to be improved as it currently has little credibility in the eyes of Muslims, who, he says, mock Latin ignorance. He notes that Louis IX had received a letter written in Arabic, and could not find anyone in his kingdom who could read it.

His expectations about inter-faith debate and his information on contemporary faiths come largely from William of Rubruck. William's account of his participation in a debate between Buddhists, Christians and Muslims at the court of the Mongol *qaghan* had a great influence on Bacon, and seems to underlie his whole method for approaching non-Christians. This material leads Bacon to believe that Muslims, as fellow monotheists, as well as philosophers, are at least to some extent natural allies of Christian missionaries against polytheists, pagans and idolaters. In the end, however, he wants Muslims to be converted or defeated – but preferably converted – so that they cannot menace Christians. This instinct comes out of concern for their souls rather than any obvious aggression, and should probably be linked to his Franciscan vocation. Given that translations of the Qur'an must have been available to him, the paucity of his knowledge of Islam can only indicate a lack of interest in it as a religion, however fascinated he was by the philosophical and scientific writings of some of its followers.

Bacon's approach to inter-faith debate also depends heavily on William of Rubruck's account, together with the well-established genre of imaginary dialogues between followers of different religions. His rhetorical method draws on Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*, blended with mendicant preaching techniques. His objections to the crusade are essentially pragmatic, and he certainly believes in violence as a last resort. He is at his most original when he is exploring unorthodox ways of encouraging non-Christians to accept the faith. In some little-noticed passages, he recommends that the pope should consider the use of various occult arts, including charms and potions, to incline people towards conversion in subtle ways that did not violate their free will. He bases these ideas on the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum*, in which 'Aristotle' suggests to Alexander the Great that a people's submission might be secured by changing their environment. Bacon thinks that this might be done by holy and learned men to free non-Christians from the planetary forces that influence them to adhere to false religions. He does not refer specifically to Muslims in these sections, but they are obviously among the intended beneficiaries of such tactics.

SIGNIFICANCE

Bacon's work played an important role in the integration of Greek and Muslim texts into Western philosophy and science. His insistence on the intellectual superiority of the 'Arabs' was echoed down the centuries. He was one of the few medieval thinkers whose work was almost continuously perceived as valuable from his death to the present day. Knowledge of his writings included awareness of his enthusiasm for the corpus of Arabic scholarship, which was noted through the Enlightenment period and beyond. His writings on Islam as a religion do not differ markedly from those of his contemporaries, and primarily consist of reproducing long-standing stereotypes. The comparative context within which he discussed Islam is interesting, but is little more than a logical development from existing genres of polemic and disputation. His work had some influence on treatises of the late 13th and early 14th centuries that put forward ideas on how to re-conquer the Holy Land.

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Amanda Power

Ibn al-Rāhib

Nushū' al-Khilāfa [abbrev. al-Nushū'] Abū Shākir ibn
[al-Sanā' Anbā Buṭrus] al-Rāhib

DATE OF BIRTH About 1210
PLACE OF BIRTH Presumably Old Cairo (Fusṭāṭ Miṣr)
DATE OF DEATH About 1290
PLACE OF DEATH Presumably Old Cairo (Fusṭāṭ Miṣr)

BIOGRAPHY

Known principally as a historiographer on account of the *Chronicon orientale*, which has been falsely attributed to him since the 17th century (Sidarus, Ibn al-Rāhib, pp. 41-45), Abū Shākir ibn al-Rāhib was in fact the leading polymath and encyclopedist of the golden age of Coptic Arabic literature. He was born between 1205 and 1210 to a large and distinguished Coptic family of Old Cairo, the Banū l-Muhadhhab, many of whose members were churchmen as well as senior officials of the Ayyūbid state. One of them, a cousin on his mother's side and physician, al-As'ad Hibat Allāh ibn Sa'īd al-Fā'izī, after his conversion to Islam even became vizier under the Mamluk Sultan al-Mu'izz Aybak (1250-57), with the title Sharaf al-Dīn. Abū Shākir's father, known at the time under the name al-Shaykh al-Sanā' al-Rāhib or al-Rāhib Anbā Buṭrus (he became a monk at an advanced age, while his wife became superior of a convent in Old Cairo), enjoyed a considerable reputation both in public administration, where he was twice responsible for state finance, and in ecclesiastical circles. As rector of the celebrated Abū Sayfayn Church St Mecurius, he virtually played the role of an interim patriarch in the latter part of the long period during which the Alexandrian see was vacant (1216-35), before becoming spokesman for the opposition under the much-contested patriarchate of Cyril ibn Laqlaq (1235-43).

Al-Nushū' Abū Shākir himself was deacon of the renowned al-Mu'allāqa church and played a senior role in the state administration, apparently in the *dīwān al-juyūsh*. He must have died around 1290 (Sidarus, *Ibn al-Rāhib*, ch. 1; Sidarus, 'Families').

It was relatively late, probably after leaving public service in the wake of the political unrest that accompanied the rise to power of the Mamluks, that Ibn al-Rāhib began his literary activity, which in fact is confined

to the period between the years 1257 and 1271. Beyond the latter date, he limited himself to reproducing and improving his works. He wrote about all the disciplines of human knowledge that an Arab Christian of the period was in a position to cultivate: chronology and astronomy, history, philology and hermeneutics, philosophy and theology.

But it is not this fact alone that confers upon his work an encyclopedic character; such versatility was not unusual in his milieu (Sidarus, 'Encyclopédisme'). The decisive factor is his method of working, the very dimensions of his studies, and finally, the abundant wealth of textual sources (Greek and patristic, Muslim and Arabic Christian) which he liberally quotes or incorporates in his own writings. It is in this work of compilation that the value of his writings seems to lie, much more than in the originality of his thought.

Ibn al-Rāhib's literary corpus is extensive and hitherto unedited. His works are, in chronological order: 1. *Kitāb al-tawārikh* ('Histories') (1257), which is discussed below; 2. a Coptic grammar, which serves as 'preface' to a rhymed vocabulary (*sullam muqaffā*), apparently lost (1263); 3. *Kitāb al-shifā'* ('Healing') (1267-68), an anthology of ancient exegetical works on biblical Christology, conceived on a large scale on the basis of the image of the Tree of Life with its triple trunk, each part of which bears three branches loaded with innumerable fruits; 4. the philosophical theological summa *Kitāb al-burhān* ('The demonstration') (1270-71), also discussed below. In addition, sometime before writing the *Kitāb al-burhān*, Ibn al-Rāhib composed a brief treatise on the contingency of the world, which anticipates the treatment of the question in the *Kitāb al-burhān* itself; again, see below.

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Primary

A. Khater and A. Burmester (eds), *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian Church. Known as the History of the holy church*, vol. 4, pts i-ii, Cairo 1974, *passim* (mid-13th century; important for the civil and church political activities of Ibn al-Rāhib's father and other relatives)

[Pseudo-]Yūsāb of Fuwwa, *Tārīkh al-ābā' al-baṭārika*, ed. Samū'il al-Suryānī and Nabīh Kāmil [Dāwūd], [Cairo, c. 1990], pp. 161-81

Shams al-Ri'āsa Abū al-Barakāt ibn Kabar, *Misbāḥ al-ḡulma fī ṭdāḥ al-khidma*, ed. S.K. Samir, Cairo, 1971, p. 321 (# 16; see Sidarus, *Ibn al-Rāhib*, Doc. 1)

Secondary

- A. Sidarus, 'Families of Coptic dignitaries (*buyūtāt*) under the Ayyūbids and the golden age of Coptic Arabic literature (13th cent.)', *Al-Masāq*, forthcoming
- A. Sidarus, 'L'œuvre philologique copte d'Abū Shākir Ibn al-Rāhib (XIII^e s.)', in R. Ebied and H. Teule (eds), *Studies on the Christian Arabic heritage*, Leuven, 2004, 1-23
- A. Sidarus, 'L'influence arabe sur la linguistique copte', in S. Auroux et al. (eds), *History of the language sciences/Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaften/Histoire des sciences du langage*, Berlin, 2000, pp. 321a-325b
- A. Sidarus, art. 'Ibn al-Rāhib' in *El2* Supp.
- A.Y. Sidarus, *Ibn ar-Rāhib's Leben und Werk. Ein koptisch-arabischer Enzyklopädist des 7./13. Jahrhunderts (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 36)*, Freiburg, 1975 (now available at <http://menadoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/iud/content/pageview/847474>)
- Graf, *GICAL* ii, pp. 428-34

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-tawārīkh, 'Histories'

DATE 1257

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Kitāb al-tawārīkh* is a collection of two separate parts plus an appendix, joined together without any formal transition and subdivided into 51 chapters of unequal length and varying internal composition. In the 15th century it was translated into Ethiopic by the prelate Enbaqom, originally a Muslim from the Yemen with a Jewish mother, making a great impact on Ethiopian literature (Sidarus, *Ibn al-Rāhib*, pp. 50-61; Neugebauer, *Abu Shaker's Chronography*; Neugebauer, 'Abū-Shāker').

Part I, a little more than a third of the whole, deals with the eras and calendars of the Arabs (or Muslims) and Hebrews, Persians and Greeks, Romans and Byzantines, Syrians and Copts, and their astronomical bases. It establishes similarities between them through a series of studies and synchronic tables, with special emphasis, where pertinent, on the Islamic era. Ibn al-Rāhib explains in ch. 1 that the reason he includes this is the current divergence between Christian groups in fixing their religious celebrations.

Part II, the main part of the work, taking up about two thirds of the whole, is divided into three chapters (48-50). It offers an overview of world history, followed by Islamic history, and then Coptic ecclesiastical

history. Each chapter is divided into time periods arranged according to key personalities or events: biblical patriarchs and rulers of the Israelites; Persian, Greek, and Roman/Byzantine kings or emperors; Muslim caliphs or sultans; and finally Coptic patriarchs. First comes the history of the world from the creation of Adam up to the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (610-41) at the time of Muḥammad, making 166 periods. Then, the annals of the Islamic Empire, with particular attention to the rulers of Egypt from Muḥammad until the seizure of power by the last Ayyūbid sultan, al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī (1255-57), making 84 periods. Finally, there is a history of the Patriarchs of Alexandria according to the Coptic tradition, from St Mark down to Athanasius ibn Kalil (beginning of the 76th patriarchate, 1250). Ibn al-Rāhib did not complete the entry on Athanasius, though successive copyists did this, and continued the listing up to their own time.

Part III (only 15 pages) gives a brief historical and dogmatic account of the first eight general Councils of the Church.

As the main sources for his scholarly undertaking Ibn al-Rāhib, as he was accustomed, employs a wide range of earlier and contemporary writings. In Part I he quotes the astronomical table called *Al-zīj al-ḥākīmī* of Ibn Yūnus al-Ṣadafī, from about 990, and he also depends in one way or another on the *Zīj* of Abū Ja‘far al-Khwārazmī, from about 820. There are also many similarities with the well-known chronological work of Abū l-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī (q.v.).

Although no specific author or source is mentioned in Part II, ch. 48, on Islamic history, Ibn al-Rāhib says in the preamble that he did consult several works by Muslim authors. It can be surmised that one of these was Abū Ja‘far al-Ṭabarī’s (d. 923) *Ta’rikh*, which was circulating by this time.

SIGNIFICANCE

The treatment of the Muslim calendar and of Islamic history and dynasties, and the use of Muslim sources on historiography, are some of the most prominent features of the *Kitāb al-tawārīkh* that show its interest in and indebtedness to the Islamic tradition. After Ibn al-Rāhib’s time, his work was regularly quoted by Muslim historians such as Ibn Khaldūn (q.v.), al-Maqrīzī, and al-Qalqashandī.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Wādī l-‘Araba (Egypt), Monastery of St Anthony – Hist. 227 (1611; now inaccessible)

For later copies (ten MSS, some now lost) and related material, see Sidarus, 'The astronomical and historical work'; Sidarus, *Ibn al-Rāhib*, pp. 46-49.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- A. Binggeli and A. Sidarus, 'Vestiges d'une version arabe du *Discours sur l'invention de la croix* d'Alexandre de Chypre (VI^e s.) dans le *K. al-Tawārīḥ* d'Abū Šākir b. al-Rāhib (XIII^e siècle)', *Le Muséon* 125 (2012) 241-49 (includes an edition and trans. of ch. 39 and other parts of the remaining extracts of the hitherto unknown Arabic version)
- A. Sidarus and S. Moawad, 'Un traité melkite sur le comput pascal de Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Anṭākī d'après Abū Šākir ibn al-Rāhib (auteur copte du XIII^e siècle)', *Le Muséon* 123 (2010) 455-77 (includes edition and trans. of chs 30-31)
- Kāmil Šāliḥ Nakhla, *Kitāb tāriḫ wa-jadāwil baṭārikat al-Iskandariyya al-qibt* (*Tāriḫ al-umma l-Qibtīyya* 4), Cairo, 1943, pp. 61-75 (includes data from ch. 50, extracted from one MS now lost, in the comparative table of medieval sources containing patriarchal lists)
- Petrus ibn Rahib: Chronicon orientale*, ed. L. Cheiko, Beirut, 1903 (repr. Leuven, 1955, 1960, 1963)
- Chronicon orientale*, trans. A. Ecchellensis, Paris, 1651 (repr. Paris, 1685 and Venice, 1729)

STUDIES

- A. Sidarus, 'The astronomical and historical work of al-Nushū' Abū Shākir ibn al-Rāhib and its sources (*Kitāb al-Tawārīḥ*, 1257)', in P. Bruns and H.O. Luthe (eds), *Orientalia Christiana*, Wiesbaden, 2012
- W. Witakowski, 'Ethiopic universal chronography', in M. Wallraff (ed.), *Julius Africanus und die christliche Weltchronistik (Texte und Untersuchungen 157)*, Berlin, 2006, 285-301 pp. 289-93, 300-1
- O. Neugebauer, *Abu Shaker's 'Chronography'. A treatise of the 13th century on chronological, calendrical and astronomical matters, written by a Christian Arab, preserved in Ethiopic* (*Österreich. Akad. der Wiss./Philos.-Histor. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte* 498), Vienna, 1988
- O. Neugebauer, 'The chronological system of Abu Shaker (A.H. 654)', in D.A. King and G. Saliba (eds), *From deferent to equant. A volume of studies in the history of science in the ancient and medieval Near East in honour of E.S. Kennedy*, New York, 1987, 279-93

- O. Neugebauer, 'Abū-Shāker and the Ethiopic ḥasāb', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 42 (1983) 55-58
 Sidarus, *Ibn al-Rāhib*, ch. 2
 Nakhla, *Kitāb Tārīkh*, pp. 50a-53b

Maqāla fī ḥadath al-‘ālam wa-qidam al-Ṣāni‘,
 ‘Treatise on the contingency of the world and
 the eternity of the Maker’

DATE Probably before 1270

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Maqāla* is transmitted in a single manuscript (MS Oxford, Bodleian – Hunt. 240), where it takes up three pages.

Divided into three sections (*fuṣūl*), the *Maqāla* has practically the same title as Q 1, ch. 3, of the *Kitāb al-burhān*, while the *incipit* corresponds exactly to the beginning of Q 1, ch. 1. Despite these resemblances, however, this is not directly related to the longer work. The first two sections of the *Maqāla* have no direct equivalents in the *Kitāb al-burhān*, either in the *prolegomena logica* (Qs 1-8) or in the part on theodicy (Qs 28-40). Section 3 of the *Maqāla* alone shows a direct relationship with the *Kitāb al-burhān*, because it literally reproduces Q. 7, § 18 on the concept of Nature (MS Vat. – Ar. 104, fols 28v-29r).

In fact, this is a treatise on the contingency of the world and the eternity of the Creator, written probably prior to the *Kitāb al-burhān*. It is Ibn al-Rāhib's only short writing that is known, fitting perfectly within the framework of his thinking on the subject as expressed in the *Kitāb al-burhān*, and sometimes in nearly identical language.

In the same manner as in the corresponding chapter of the *Kitāb al-burhān*, the third section of the *Maqāla* quotes the first *mas'ala* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-arba‘īn*. Here, however, unlike in the *Kitāb al-burhān*, Ibn al-Rāhib does not take over al-Rāzī's position, but simply uses him as a source of information about the doctrines of the Muslim schools on the subject.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn al-Rāhib's ready use of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī as a source of information shows how easy intellectual exchange between Christian and Muslim thinkers was at this time.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Oxford, Bodleian – Huntingdon 240, fols 110r-111r (1549)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

G. Troupeau, 'Un traité d'Ibn al-Rāhib sur l'avènement du monde', *Annales Islamologiques* 18 (1982) 37-44 (repr. in Troupeau, *Études sur le christianisme arabe au moyen âge*, Aldershot UK, 1995, no. XIV)

STUDIES

A. Sidarus, 'À propos de deux textes sur la création-contingence du monde transmis dans un recueil médiéval copto-arabe (Yuḥannā al-Naḥwī et Abū Šākir Ibn al-Rāhib)', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften* 19 (2010-11) 121-34
Sidarus, *Ibn al-Rāhib*, pp. 162-63

Kitāb al-burhān (fī l-qawānīn al-mukmala wa-l-farā'id al-muhmala), 'The demonstration (concerning completed canons and neglected prescriptions)'

DATE 1270

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Between 1270 and 1281, Ibn al-Rāhib made three versions of the *Kitāb al-burhān*, in a way representing a triple edition. The originals of the first and third versions are extant, in addition to a direct copy of the second. Even though the first version is unavailable at present, this is truly exceptional from the point of view of literary transmission.

The work is a philosophico-theological *summa*, divided into 50 Questions (*masā'il*) of different length and quality, dealing with philosophical, doctrinal, canonical, disciplinary, and liturgical issues, in no strict order. Ibn al-Rāhib draws upon a wide and varied range of literature: apart from the Bible, and the New Testament in particular, there are ancient Greek writings, pseudo-apostolic and patristic or pseudo-patristic texts,

Coptic and other Christian Arabic writers, and Muslim philosophers and theologians. In addition, there are texts and writers unknown to the history of literature. In general, it is on account of this erudition, more than of any original thought, that Ibn al-Rāhib distinguishes himself.

The work opens with some preliminary questions (Qs 1-8) on logic and philosophical terms. These are based mainly on the Arabic Islamic tradition, in particular al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, al-Ghazālī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, as well as later writers such as al-Khūnjī and al-Zayn al-Kāshshī, the authors of didactic handbooks of a kind very common in Egypt in Ibn al-Rāhib's time. Among these authors, it is Ibn Sīnā and his renowned *ʿUyūn al-ḥikma* ('The sources of wisdom') that is most frequently quoted. If it is remembered that al-Ghazālī's *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa* ('Intentions of the philosophers'), of which Ibn al-Rāhib makes frequent use, is an Arabic adaptation of Ibn Sīnā's *Dānesh nāmeḥ*, then the extent of the philosopher's influence on him becomes apparent (see Sidarus, 'Les sources', pp. 151-56 §§ 21-26).

This introduction on logic is intended to serve the 'rational' exposition of Christian theology that follows. Ibn al-Rāhib goes on to defend the doctrine of his church, sometimes attacking those who differ from it. The work is, in fact, an apology for the Christian faith, and specifically that of the Copts, directed to Muslims.

When he comes to theodicy (Qs 28-40), Ibn al-Rāhib moves from theological method, which he has been employing in the preceding questions, to a more clearly philosophical and universal discourse. At this point, it is Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (1149-1209) who serves as his guide. He repeatedly quotes from al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn [masʿala] ʿalā uṣūl al-dīn* ('Forty [questions] on the foundations of religion'), and adds his own nuances, corrections, continuations and refutations in accord with Christian teachings or with his own views (see Sidarus, *Ibn al-Rāhib*, pp. 104-7, 134-35; Sidarus, 'Les sources', § 26).

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Kitāb al-burhān* is heavily dependent on the philosophical logic developed in the Islamic tradition. Like contemporary Copts such as al-Muʿtaman ibn al-ʿAssāl (q.v.), Ibn al-Rāhib was especially indebted to al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, and al-Ghazālī (Sidarus, 'Les sources', § 21-23).

His evident respect for Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in the matter of theodicy witnesses to the prestige enjoyed by the Muslim theologian among medieval Jewish and Christian (Coptic and Latin included) writers. His use of arguments from al-Rāzī shows that in the field of theodicy, at least, the positions of Christians and Muslims were thought to be very close.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Wādī al-‘Araba, Monastery of St Anthony – Theol. 122 (1270?; possibly the first original autograph)

MS Vat – Ar. 104 (1282; the third autograph)

MS Vat – Ar. 117, fols 1-196 together with MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 202, fols 43-122 (1323; a good copy of the second autograph from 1281)

MS Vat – Ar. 116 (between 1575 and 1579; by two different Syriac copyists in Egypt and northern Iraq)

In all, there are some ten MSS; see Sidarus, *Ibn al-Rāhib*, ch. 6 for a full description of these with a tentative stemma.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

An edition and translation of chs 1-8 (*Prolegomena logica*) by A. Sidarus is forthcoming in the series *Studi e Testi* (Vatican City). An edition and translation of chs 28-40 (theodicy) by Z. Wellnhofer is forthcoming as a PhD Diss. at the Freie Universität Berlin.

A. Sidarus, ‘Un débat sur l’existence de Dieu sous l’égide prétendue d’Alexandre le Grand. Extrait d’une somme théologique copto-arabe du XIII^e siècle’, *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 19 (2009) 247-83 (edition and trans. of *Kitāb al-burhān* Q. 7, section 24)

A. Sidarus, ‘Une justification du “monophysisme” due à un médecin-philosophe copte du XII^e/XIII^e siècle’, in A. Boud’hors et al. (eds), *Études coptes IX. Onzième Journée d’études (Strasbourg, juin 2003) (Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte 14)*, Paris, 2006, 355-66 (edition and trans. of *Kitāb al-burhān* Q. 7, section 22 reproducing a hitherto unknown *Majmū‘* of a certain Jirjis ibn Bākhūm al-Mutaṭabbib)

STUDIES

A. Sidarus, ‘Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, *Vat. arab.* 104’, in P. Buzzi and D.V. Proverbio (eds), *Manoscritti copti della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Catalogo della Expositione cón Studi (Studi e Testi)*, Vatican City, 2012, in press

A. Sidarus, ‘Les sources d’une somme théologique copto-arabe du XIII^e siècle (*K. al-Burhān* d’Abū Šākir Ibn al-Rāhib)’, *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 17 (2010) 127-64

A. Sidarus, ‘Encyclopédisme et savoir religieux à l’âge d’or de la littérature copte arabe (XIII^e-XIV^e siècles)’, *OCP* 74 (2008) 347-61, pp. 351-54

Sidarus, *Ibn al-Rāhib*, chs 5-6

Al-Ja‘farī

Abū l-Baqā’ Taqī al-Dīn Şāliḥ ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Ṭalḥa
ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Hāshimī
al-Ja‘farī al-Zaynabī

DATE OF BIRTH 1185
PLACE OF BIRTH Egypt
DATE OF DEATH 1270
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Şāliḥ ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ja‘farī is described as a scholar, a poet, a man of letters and a jurist (most probably a Shāfi‘ī) who for some time served as judge (*qādī*) and then as governor (*wālī*) of the city of Qūş in Upper Egypt. Other than the fact that he wrote three anti-Christian polemics, few details of his life are known.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- Al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl mir’āt al-zamān*, 2 vols, Hyderabad, 1954, ii, p. 438
Al-Dhababī, *Tārīkh al-Islām wa-wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa-l-a‘lām: ḥawādith wa-wafayāt: 661-670*, ed. ‘U.‘A.-S. Tadmurī, Beirut, 1999, p. 262
Al-Şafadī, *Al-wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, 30 vols, Wiesbaden, 1962-2004, xvi, pp. 256-57
Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn ‘an asāmī al-kutub wa-l-funūn*, ed. Ş. Yalčkaya and K.R. Bilge, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1941-43, i, p. 379

Secondary

- M. Aydın, *Müslümanların Hristiyanlara Karşı Yazdığı Reddiyeler ve Tartışma Konuları*, Ankara, 1998, pp. 61-63
‘U.R. Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-mu‘allifin: tarājim muşannif al-kutub al-‘arabiyya*, 10 vols, Damascus, 1957-60, v, p. 6
I.B. al-Bābānī l-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘arīfin. Asmā’ al-mu‘allifin wa-āthār al-muşannifin*, eds. K.R. Bilge and İ.M.K. İnal, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1951, i, p. 422
Graf, *GCAL*, ii, p. 389
Brockelmann, *GAL* i, p. 430; S i, p. 766
E. Fritsch, *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter*, Breslau, 1930, p. 17
Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, pp. 36-37, 409

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Takhjil man ḥarrafa al-Tawrāh wa-l-Injil,
 'The shaming of those who have altered the Torah
 and the Gospel'; *Takhjil*, 'Shaming'

DATE Unknown (but before 1221)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Takhjil* is al-Ja'farī's first book in refutation of Jewish and Christian beliefs. As expressed in the prolegomena of his second work, *Al-bayān al-wādiḥ*, al-Ja'farī wrote the *Takhjil* in the early days of his youth (ed. Triebs, p. 4), and its structure and text served as the basis for his two later books in the field, the *Bayān* and the *Radd*. In writing the *Takhjil*, al-Ja'farī's intention was first to demonstrate the theological errors in Judaism and Christianity, and then to guide their adherents to the true path of God, Islam (ed. Qadaḥ, i, pp. 102-3).

The *Takhjil* starts with an introduction in which al-Ja'farī explains his motivation for writing this book and expounds the methodology of his study. He then structures his arguments into ten chapters: 1. the servanthood of Christ, and 2. his prophethood; 3. the metaphorical interpretation of various biblical titles, such as *ab*, 'father', *ibn*, 'son', *ilāh*, 'god', and *rabb*, 'lord'; 4. contradictions in the Gospels; 5. the crucifixion; 6. responses to various theological questions raised by the Christians; 7. the Incarnation; 8. doctrinal discrepancies; 9. a critique of certain Jewish and Christian matters of faith, scriptures, and worship; followed by a discussion, 10. on the biblical prophecies regarding Muḥammad. The work concludes with an assessment and response to Christian objections regarding Muḥammad's prophethood.

Although the *Takhjil* is intended to criticize both the Jews and the Christians, its main focus seems to be primarily on the latter. Among the topics discussed in reference to the Jews are the charges related to the abrogation (*naskh*) and alteration (*tahrīf*) of the Torah, the use of anthropomorphic language in reference to God, the imputation of sinful acts to the prophets, and the prophethood of Christ and Muḥammad. As for its critique of Christianity, attention is mainly directed towards the doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation and atonement, and the crucifixion.

Not only is al-Ja'farī familiar with earlier Muslim literature on Christianity, which he refers to with acknowledgment (e.g. Ibn Rabban

al-Ṭabarī, al-Jāhiz, 'Abd al-Jabbār, al-Bāqillānī, al-Juwaynī, al-Khazrajī, Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī, Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī, Ibn 'Awf, al-Dimyāṭī, al-Shahrastānī, the Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ and others), but he is also interested in serious study of the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Books of Isaiah, Micah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Zechariah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel, the four Gospels, the Acts, the Letters of Paul, various Christian prayer books, the Nicene Creed (ed. Qadaḥ, i, pp. 93-101), and the Gospel of Infancy referred to as the *Injīl al-ṣabwa* (ed. Qadaḥ, i, p. 114). He appears to have also thoroughly examined the theological writings of various Christian denominations, including those of the Jacobites, the Melkites and the Nestorians (for a detailed account of al-Ja'farī's Muslim and non-Muslim sources, see Qadaḥ's introduction to the *Takhjīl*, i, pp. 61-65).

Al-Ja'farī's knowledge of Judaism and Christianity was not confined to written texts alone. He was in close contact with the adherents of these two faith communities, as he shows when he tells his readers about the theological discussions and conversations he has held with various Jewish and Christian religious authorities (ed. Qadaḥ, i, pp. 250, 424 and 428).

In addition to al-Ja'farī's two abridgments of the *Takhjīl*, there is a well-known 16th-century epitome by Abū l-Faḍl al-Mas'ūdī (or al-Su'ūdī) al-Mālikī entitled *Al-muntakhab al-jalīl min Takhjīl man ḥarrafa al-Injīl*, 'A splendid selection from *The shaming of those who have altered the Gospel*', which has been translated into Ottoman Turkish and Latin. Amīn ibn Khayr Allāh 'Umarī (d. 1788), a Sufi scholar from Mosul, is also credited with a book entitled *Risāla fī l-radd 'alā al-Naṣārā*, 'A treatise in refutation of the Christians', which he wrote after reading al-Ja'farī's *Takhjīl* (see P. Kemp, 'History and historiography in Jalili Mosul', *Middle Eastern Studies* 19 (1983) 345-76, p. 351).

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of the *Takhjīl* lies in its rich encyclopaedic quality. It serves as an important source of information for the history of medieval Muslim literature on Christianity, illustrating the way al-Ja'farī made use of the writings of contemporaries as well as predecessors. As recent studies have shown, the *Takhjīl* made a significant impact upon subsequent Muslim generations. Among others, al-Qarāfī's (d. 1285) famous *Ajwiba*, 'Responses,' and Raḥmat Allāh al-Hindī's (d. 1889) *Iḥḥār al-ḥaqq*, 'The demonstration of the truth', seem to have been very much inspired by it (Qadaḥ, intro, i, pp. 66-68).

The *Takhjil* was widely known and read not only within Muslim circles, but also among Christians. For instance, it was precisely the *Takhjil* that spurred the eminent Coptic scholar, al-Ṣafī ibn al-ʿAssal (d. 1260), to write his apologetic *Nahj al-sabīl fī takhjil muḥarrif al-Injīl* in response to al-Jaʿfarī (Graf, *Geschichte*, ii, p. 389).

The *Takhjil* is also important for the study of the Arabic Bible, as it contains abundant material from the biblical books translated into Arabic. Despite its originality and importance, al-Jaʿfarī's work has attracted little, if any, attention from Western scholarship and is still awaiting serious scholarly interest.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Reisülkütab 6, 184 fols (1239; vol. 1, covering the first part of the book, from the beginning until the first half of ch. 6)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Damad Ibrahim 4, 188 fols (1239; vol. 2, from the second half of ch. 6 to the end of the work; according to a note in the end of the MS, this copy was controlled and verified by the author himself)

MS Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, fols 1-65 (1490)

MS Medina, ʿĀrif Ḥikmat – Tawḥīd 130, 121 fols (1764; vol. 2, from the second half of ch. 6 to the end of the work)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Abū l-Baqā ʿĀliḥ ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Jaʿfarī, *Bayān al-wāḍiḥ al-mashhūd min faḍāʾih al-Naṣārā wa-l-Yahūd*, ed. Amal bint Mabruk ibn Nāhis al-Luhibī, Mecca, 2011 (Diss. ʿUmm al-Qurā University)

Abū l-Baqā ʿĀliḥ ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Jaʿfarī al-Hāshimī, Takhjil man ḥarrafa al-Tawrāh wa-l-Injīl, ed. M. ibn ʿA.-R. Qadaḥ, 2 vols, Riyadh, 1998

STUDIES —

Kitāb al-‘ashr al-masā’il al-musammā Bayān al-wāḍiḥ al-mashhūd min faḍā’ih al-Naṣārā wa-l-Yahūd, ‘The book of the ten questions, entitled The exposition of the clear and attested ignominy of the Christians and Jews’; *Al-‘ashr al-masā’il*, ‘The ten questions’

DATE 1221 or soon after

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Bayān* is al-Ja’farī’s shorter version of the *Takhjīl*. According to the information given in the introduction, al-Ja’farī was asked to write a response to a list of theological questions that was sent in year 1221 by the Emperor of Nicea (Byzantine emperor in exile) Theodorus Lascaris I (d. 1222) to the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil (d. 1238), a nephew of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (d. 1193), who defeated the Fifth Crusade in that same year. Al-Malik al-Kāmil is also known for his meeting with Francis of Assisi (d. 1226) in Damietta in 1219, in the course of the Fifth Crusade.

Al-Ja’farī wrote his response relying on his earlier polemical work, the *Takhjīl*. He structured his new book around ten questions, each of which was based on a chapter from the *Takhjīl*, and then he sent it to the sultan. The contents of the book are as follows: 1. proving Jesus’ servanthood, and 2. his apostleship, through the scriptures; 3. the metaphorical interpretation of *rabb*, ‘lord’, *ab*, ‘father’, and *ibn*, ‘son’; 4. demonstration of the contradictions in the Gospels; 5. refutation of the crucifixion; 6. ‘silencing answers to perplexing questions’; 7. rejection of the Incarnation; 8. discussion on doctrinal discrepancies; 9. discussion regarding various religious matters related to the Jews and the Christians; and 10. biblical prophecies regarding the prophethood of Muḥammad.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Bayān* is an outstanding testimony to the intellectual exchanges and theological interactions that took place between Muslims and Christians in the era of the crusades.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS London, BL – Add. 16661, fols 2-73 (1617)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Şālih ibn al-Ḥusayn, *Kitāb al-‘ashr al-masā’il al-musammā Bayān al-wāḍiḥ al-mashhūd min faḍā’ih al-Naṣārā wa-l-Yahūd*, ed. and (Latin) trans. F. Triebs in *Liber decem quaestionum contra Christianos*, Bonn, 1897 (Diss. University of Bonn)

STUDIES —

Kitāb al-radd ‘alā l-Naṣārā, ‘Refutation of the Christians’

DATE Unknown, but not long before 1270

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Radd* is an abridged version of the *Takhjīl* written by al-Ja‘farī himself towards the end of his life (ed. Ḥasanayn, p. 10). Al-Ja‘farī explains that he wrote this work in response to the Franks (*al-Faraṅj*), who raised various questions that were ‘void of wisdom’ and sent these to the Muslims in order to test them (ed. Ḥasanayn, p. 56).

Unlike the *Takhjīl*, the *Radd* contains seven chapters: 1. refutation of Christ’s divine sonship; 2. rejection of the Incarnation; 3. on the crucifixion; 4. a critique of the Trinity; 5. demonstration of the contradictions in the Gospels; 6. the prophethood of Christ; and 7. the prophethood of Muḥammad. As in the *Takhjīl*, discussions are articulated on the basis of two main strategies, the *manqūl*, argument grounded in the scriptures, and the *ma‘qūl*, argument grounded in rational reasoning.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Radd* is regarded as al-Ja‘farī’s last polemical work. It is of importance as an illustration of how his ideas had developed by the end of his life and the way in which his views were shaped and affected by the socio-political circumstances of the period.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Ayasofya 2246, 114 fols (date unknown)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Al-Ja‘farī, *Al-radd ‘alā al-Naṣārā*, ed. M.M. Ḥasanayn, Cairo, 1988

STUDIES —

Yūsāb of Fuwwa

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; perhaps about 1200
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; presumably Egypt
DATE OF DEATH	Between 1257 and 1271
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; perhaps Fuwwa, Lower Egypt

BIOGRAPHY

Yūsāb was a monk in the Monastery of St John the Short in Wādī l-Naṭrūn in the 13th century. He bore the surname *al-Muḥabarak*, 'the deformed'. As a monk he was known as *al-faqīh* Yūsuf, Joseph the scholar or expert. Sometime between 1237 and 1239, he was consecrated bishop of Fuwwa in Lower Egypt by Patriarch Cyril III ibn Laqlaq (r. 1235-43). Later, he was involved in conflict with Cyril because of the patriarch's practice of simony, and joined the party that sought reform.

As the *History of the patriarchs* that bears his name reports, Yūsāb of Fuwwa played an important role in the election of Cyril ibn Laqlaq's successor in 1250. Yūsāb narrates how Coptic notables in Cairo sent him a request to come to Cairo with two other two bishops. In Cairo, he was able to intervene in a fiercely contested election in favor of Būlus ibn Kalīl and against Gabriel (who was supported by the Awlād al-ʿAssāl). Yūsāb then participated in Būlus' consecration in Alexandria as Patriarch Athanasius III (r. 1250-61).

Yūsāb's name is found in some lists of bishops; according to one, he took part in the ceremony of the consecrating of the holy oil (*myron*) in 1257. His name is also mentioned in various manuscripts that he copied or possessed. For example, Vat Ar. 133 (1369) and Vat Ar. 671 (1243, copied by Yūsāb's nephew) were copied from manuscripts that Yūsāb himself copied, in 1227 and 1234 respectively, when he was still a monk in the Monastery of St John. Furthermore, the oldest copy of *Al-majmūʿ al-Ṣafawī* (the canon law collection of al-Ṣafī ibn al-ʿAssāl [q.v.]) is a manuscript that was copied for him in 1239.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

A. Khater and A. Burmester (eds), *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, known as the History of the holy Church*, vol. 4, pt. ii, Cairo 1974, pp. 97-98, 102, 105, 135-36 (Arabic text); pp. 200-1, 209-10, 218, 276-78 (trans.)

Ṣamū'īl al-Suryānī and Nabīh K. Dāwūd (eds), *Tārīkh al-ābā' al-baṭārika li-l-anbā Yūsāb usquf Fuwwa*, Cairo, [c. 1987], pp. 168, 179-81

Secondary

M.N. Swanson, 'The Coptic patriarch and the apostate scribe. An incident from the career of Pope Gabriel II ibn Turayk (#70, 1131-1145)', forthcoming in *Pd'O* 36 (2012)

S. Moawad, *Untersuchungen zum Panegyrikos auf Makarios von Tkōou und zu seiner Überlieferung (Sprachen und Kulturen des christlichen Orients 18)*, Wiesbaden, 2010, pp. 258-60

M.N. Swanson, 'Yusab, bishop of Fuwwah', in G. Gabra (ed.), *Historical dictionary of the Coptic Church*, Cairo, 2008, 270-71

S. Moawad, 'Zur Originalität der Yūsāb von Fūwah zugeschriebenen Patriarchengeschichte', *Le Muséon* 119 (2006) 255-70

Kāmil Ṣāliḥ Nakhla, *Silsilat tārīkh al-baṭārika*, 5 fascicles, Dayr al-Suryān, 2001², i, p. 85

Wadi Abullif, 'Introduzione alla letteratura arabo-cristiana dei Copti' [in Arabic], *SOCC* 29-30 (1996-97) 441-92, p. 468

J. den Heijer, 'Coptic historiography in the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and early Mamlūk periods', *Medieval Encounters* 2 (1996) 67-98, pp. 81-83

J. den Heijer, *Mawḥūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Mufarrij et l'historiographie copto-arabe. Étude sur la composition de l'Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie* (CSCO 513 = subs. 83), Louvain, 1989, p. 12

Al-Suryānī and Dāwūd (eds), *Tārīkh al-ābā' al-baṭārika*, pp. 1-6

S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, 6 vols (*Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orient* 41, 1-6), Wiesbaden, 1984-92, ii, p. 962
Graf, *GICAL* ii, pp. 369-71

H. Munier, *Recueil des listes épiscopales de l'Église copte*, Cairo, 1943, pp. 31, 35

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Asmā' baṭārikat al-Iskandariyya al-qibṭ al-miṣriyyīn min Murqus al-rasūl ilā ākhirihim, 'The names of the Coptic Egyptian patriarchs of Alexandria from the Apostle Mark to the most recent of them';
Tārīkh al-ābā' al-baṭārika li-l-Anbā Yūsāb usquf Fuwwa, 'The history of the fathers, the patriarchs, by Anbā Yūsāb, Bishop of Fuwwa'

DATE Compilation made between 1676 and 1718, but with earlier sources
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *History of the patriarchs*, attributed to Bishop Yūsāb of Fuwwa, reports on the Coptic patriarchs of Alexandria from the Apostle Mark to John XVI (r. 1676-1718; the *History* does not mention the date of his death). Studies before 2006 attributed this work to Bishop Yūsāb of Fuwwa, who was contemporary with Patriarch Cyril ibn Laqlaq (r. 1235-43), and claimed that the biographies after Cyril were compiled by one or more anonymous authors. The authors of these studies base their attribution on two passages in which Yūsāb is the narrator.

However, there is evidence that calls this attribution into question. First, the unique manuscript of this work does not mention any author at all. Second, throughout the whole *History* there are just two passages in which Yūsāb himself is without doubt recognized as the narrator (see below), both of them in the biography of Patriarch Cyril ibn Laqlaq, Yūsāb's contemporary. In between these two passages, however, Bishop Yūsāb of Fuwwa is mentioned *in the third person*. Third, the biography of Cyril ibn Laqlaq, which one would expect to have been written by Yūsāb as an eyewitness, is nothing but a copy of the biography of the same patriarch in the well known Arabic *History of the patriarchs*, composed by Yūḥannā ibn Wahb (q.v.). The compiler of the *History* removed the name of Yūḥannā ibn Wahb and any hint that points to him as the real author. And fourth, the biography of Cyril ibn Laqlaq in (what we can now call) 'Pseudo-Yūsāb' reports only on the first five years of his patriarchate, from 1235 to 1239, even though the biography of this patriarch by Yūḥannā Ibn Wahb mentions other events after 1239 in which Yūsāb himself was involved. That these events are missing in Pseudo-Yūsāb proves that Yūsāb is not the actual author.

In fact, the *History* is a compilation by an anonymous compiler who was contemporary with Patriarch John XVI (1676-1718), the last patriarch mentioned in this work. He used a number of sources, most notably the well known *History of the patriarchs* by Mawḥūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Mufarrij (q.v.) and others. However, it is very possible that he used (and preserves) other important sources, which gives his work a certain significance (and justifies its inclusion in this volume of *CMR*). These might include:

(a) an independent source or sources for the 12th-century patriarchs (as Swanson has suggested for the biography of Patriarch Gabriel II ibn Turayk [1131-45]; see *Coptic papacy*, p. 67, or 'The Coptic patriarch and the apostate scribe'). This source or these sources may or may not be part of:

(b) an otherwise lost *History* written by Yūsāb of Fuwwa himself in the 1250s, which could be the source of the two passages in which Yūsāb is clearly the narrator. In the first passage, Yūsāb was still a monk before he became a bishop: *wa-kuntu anā l-miskīn nā'ib Dayr Abī Yiḥnis* ('I, the poor one, was the supervisor of the Monastery of St John'; al-Suryānī and Dāwūd, *Tārīkh*, p. 168). The second is a long passage concerning the election of a new patriarch after Cyril had died, beginning as follows: *wa-sayyarū ilā maskanatī 'alā yad al-Akram al-Aḥshā wa-aḥḍarūhu ilā Fuwwa* ('They contacted my poorness through al-Akram al-Aḥshā and sent him to Fuwwa'; al-Suryānī and Dāwūd, *Tārīkh*, pp. 179-81, here p. 179). There are also two passages, one in the biography of Patriarch John VI (1189-1216) and the other in the biography of Patriarch Athanasius III (1250-61), where the narrator refers to himself as *anā* ('I myself') or *nahnu* ('we'); conceivably these passages too come from a *History* written by Yūsāb himself.

The *History of the patriarchs* of Pseudo-Yūsāb of Fuwwa is not limited to the biographies of the Coptic patriarchs but refers occasionally to relations of the Copts with Muslim officials as well as to Christian-Muslim relations generally. These were often unstable and dependent upon the degree of tolerance displayed by the Muslim rulers.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *History of the patriarchs* of Pseudo-Yūsāb of Fuwwa gives valuable details concerning the Coptic Church and its patriarchs. It is based on various sources, the nature and exact extent of which require deeper analyses and a better edition. Although the anonymous compiler of this work is not principally interested in Christian-Muslim relations, he occasionally mentions events in their social context that are pertinent to this theme.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Dayr al-Suryān – Mayāmir 258 (date unknown)

MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – register no. 5328 (Hist. 517, formerly Hist. 84; see Samiḥa, 'Supplement' – a modern copy of the Wādī l-Naṭrūn MS)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Al-Suryānī and Dāwūd (eds), *Tārīkh al-ābā' al-baṭārika* (Arabic text only)

STUDIES

Swanson, 'The Coptic patriarch and the apostate scribe'

Moawad, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 258-60

Swanson, 'Yusab, bishop of Fuwwah'

Moawad, 'Zur Originalität'

Kāmil Ṣālīḥ Nakhla, *Silsilat tārīkh al-baṭārika*, i, p. 85

Samīha Abd El-Shaheed Abdel-Nour, 'Supplement to the Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Coptic Museum' ['Section III – Historica'], *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 36 (1997) 143-56, p. 148

Wadi, 'Introduzione', p. 468

Den Heijer, 'Coptic historiography', pp. 81-83

Ṣamū'īl and Nabīh, *Tārīkh al-ābā' al-baṭārika*, pp. 1-6

Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten*, ii, p. 962

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 369-71

Samuel Moawad

Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī

Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn
Muḥammad al-Balkhī l-Rūmī

DATE OF BIRTH 30 September, 1207
PLACE OF BIRTH Vakhsh, modern-day Tajikistan
DATE OF DEATH 17 December, 1273
PLACE OF DEATH Konya, modern-day Turkey

BIOGRAPHY

Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, known to posterity as *Mawlānā* ('Our master') and *Rūmī* (the Anatolian), was born in Tajikistan in the city of Vakhsh, which is about 250 kilometers southwest of Balkh in present-day Afghanistan. His father, Bahā l-Dīn Valad (1150-1231), was an eminent jurist, famous preacher, and Sufi teacher. In 1212, when Rūmī was around five years of age, the Valad family moved to Balkh; a year or so later they moved to Samarqand in (modern-day) Uzbekistan; and sometime around 1216 they left the region for good, just before the Mongol invasion of Khurāsān in 1221. They first visited Nishapur in northern Iran, then went to Baghdad, from where they proceeded to Kufa and then on to Arabia, where they performed the pilgrimage. Thence they travelled north-west to Damascus in Syria, before finally settling in Malatya in 1217.

In 1218, Bahā l-Dīn Valad, who made his living as a Sunnī preacher and teacher of the Ḥanifī juridical sect, persuaded the princess who ruled Erzincan (in eastern Anatolia) to build him a Sufi *khānaqāh* in the nearby town of Āqshahr, where the family now settled and where he taught general law for four years. Bahā l-Dīn and family then moved to Lārende (modern-day Karaman) in southern Turkey, where he now obtained another teaching position. In Lārende in 1224, his son Jalāl al-Dīn, aged 17, married Gawhar Khātun, by whom he had two sons, Sulṭān Valad, and 'Alā l-Dīn. The Seljuk prince 'Alā l-Dīn Kayqubād (r. 1219-37) then invited Bahā l-Dīn Valad to come north to the city of Konya, where in 1229 the family settled and he was appointed professor in a local *madrasa*. Bahā l-Dīn Valad quickly became known as one of the chief learned men in the city, and when he died in 1231, seven days of public mourning were decreed. Rūmī's father left to posterity a diary entitled *Ma'ārif* ('Mystical

intimations'), which reveals the rapturous, ecstatic nature of his Sufi mysticism.

Jalāl al-Dīn, aged 24, immediately succeeded to his father's position in the same *madrassa*, where he taught general classes on religion, literature and theology. In the following year (1232), Burhān al-Dīn Muḥaqqiq, who hailed from the city of Tirmidh on the Oxus near Vakhsh, where he had been one of Bahā l-Dīn Valad's chief disciples, arrived in Konya and initiated the young professor into the mysteries of Sufism, becoming his spiritual guide for the next eight years until his death in 1240. Jalāl al-Dīn, who had already become his father's successor in the exoteric 'husk' of Islamic law, through the esoteric education vouchsafed by Muḥaqqiq thereby received the 'kernel' of the esoteric teachings of Islamic spirituality. During his tutelage under Muḥaqqiq, Jalāl al-Dīn also spent a number of years in Damascus and Aleppo studying the Islamic sciences in the best colleges of the day; it is following this that he became renowned as *Mawlānā* ('our master').

Sometime during the next four years, his wife Gawhar Khātun passed away and the widowed professor married Kerrā Khātun, herself a widow, by whom he had a son and a daughter. Biographers recount that during these years he held four different professorial positions at four different colleges in Konya, where he taught religious sciences.

On 2 November 1244, another spiritual master, Shams-i Tabrīzī, appeared in Konya and soon became Rūmī's inseparable companion. Shams was a Qur'anic scholar, a theologian of intense passion and learning, an ascetic and highly advanced adept in Sufi mysteries. Rūmī soon became infatuated by Shams' ecstatic Sufi teachings and abandoned his duties as a professor of Islamic law and religion. Although he was in his early sixties, Shams was an *enfant terrible* whose bohemian wildness and ecstatic utterances none but the most sophisticated and wisest adepts could fathom. Eventually, Shams' presence in Konya provoked both the wrath of conventional Muslims in the city and the rancor and jealousy of Rūmī's alienated disciples. He was forced to flee, disappearing forever (some say he was murdered) in 1248.

Although his entry into and exit from Mawlānā's life lasted only four years, Shams' effect on Rūmī's being – and Islamic mystical literature – was incalculable. Mostly inspired by this association, Rūmī began to compose long lyrical poems. Eventually, these lyrics (known as *ghazals*) turned into a collection totalling some 36,360 verses (3,229 *ghazals*) that became known as *Dīvān-i Shams-i Tabrīzī* ('Shams' book of verse') because many

of its ghazals contained his name in the final signature line of the poem. Absorbed in love for Shams, whom he extolled with many encomia, Rūmī adopted his master's name as his own *nom de plume*.

Stoically shaking off his grief at the loss of Shams, Rūmī next transferred his attachment to an illiterate but spiritually advanced goldsmith named Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Zarkūb, who had been the successor of his first teacher Burhān al-Dīn Muḥaqqiq. For the next ten years (1248-58), during the decade of his devotion to Zarkūb, Rūmī perfected the whirling dance ceremony of the Sufis called *samā'* (the movements of which had originally been choreographed by Shams) that later caused his Order, the *Mawlawiyya*, to be dubbed by Westerners 'the Whirling Dervishes'. During this period, Rūmī betrothed his son Sulṭān Valad to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's daughter and appointed Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as his deputy, and in his honor composed for him over 70 *ghazals*. In around 1256, Rūmī began to compose the *Mathnawī*, his long epic mystical poem – the longest poem in world literature – in rhyming couplets.

Upon Zarkūb's demise in 1258, Rūmī devoted his attention to Ḥusām al-Dīn Chalabī, a man from the middle classes of Konya, an ascetic and a Sufi shaykh in his own right, who was also the director of a Sufi *futuwwa* organization. Ḥusām al-Dīn Chalabī had been a close friend of Shams and also a long-time disciple of Rūmī. The *Mathnawī*, which eventually came to consist of some 26,000 verses of didactic poetry, was largely dedicated and dictated to Ḥusām al-Dīn Chalabī, whose spiritual eminence is lauded all through this immense poem. After the Qur'an, the *Mathnawī* is probably the most frequently commented upon work in all of Islamic literature, being known as the Qur'an in Persian. At the same time, Rūmī preached numerous sermons that were noted down in his collected *Discourses* (*Fīhi mā fīhi*). When finally he died on 17 December 1273, it is said that the Sufi philosopher Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunawī (d. 1274), the mystical poet Fakhr al-Dīn 'Iraqī (d. 1282) and some other great Sufis were sitting together, remembering Mawlānā. Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunawī remarked:

If Bayazid and Junayd had been alive at this time, they would have seized the hem of this victorious man and would have considered this a boon: he is the major domo of Muḥammadan poverty, and we taste it through his mediation.

The funeral prayers were led by Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunawī, and Christians and Jews participated in them, each according to their own rite, for Rūmī had been on good terms with all religions.

In Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad-i Aflākī's (d. 1360) hagiographical account of Rūmī, known as the *Manāqib al-ʿarīfīn*, one finds a number of symbols and images relating to Jesus and Christianity in which emphasis is often laid on the ecumenical aspect of Rūmī's encounter with Christians (for a wide-ranging discussion of which see Grierson, 'We believe in your Prophet', pp. 99-105). Aflākī thus relates how once some of Rūmī's disciples tried to persuade a Greek Christian workman to become a Muslim, but the workman replied that he was too afraid of Jesus to abandon his faith, prompting Rūmī to comment, 'The secret of faith is fear (*tars*). Whoever is fearful (*tarsā*) of God, even if he is a Christian (*tarsā*), he has religion and is not without religion' (O'Kane, *Feats*, iii, p. 329, § 450). In this statement it is clear that Rūmī understood 'religiosity' and 'piety' to constitute a kind of ecumenical essence of spirituality above and beyond sectarian divisions.

Jesus is treated with veneration and has an extremely high profile in all of Rūmī's poetry. In the *Mathnawī* in particular, the various virtues of Jesus are frequently lauded, and his character traits, such as his trust in God, forbearance, breath of inspiration, perpetual cheer and sense of humor, often celebrated. There are a number of stock images concerning Jesus that Rūmī uses in his poetry and which also pervade classical Persian poetry (Nurbakhsh, *Jesus*, pp. 51-57; Schimmel, 'Jesus and Mary'; Lewisohn, 'Esoteric Christianity', pp. 137-51).

The plethora of Christian imagery and symbolism in Rūmī's poetry, which also appears in other poets of the Mongol period such as Shabistārī and Awḥādī (see Lewisohn, *Beyond faith*, pp. 84-92), is partly a reflection of the huge numbers of Greek Christians in the area of Anatolia in which he lived (Grierson, 'We believe in your Prophet', pp. 99-105). There were apparently Christians even among Rūmī's followers. In the ruling elite, Tamar, the wife of the powerful minister of state Muʿīn al-Dīn Parvāna, who counted herself among his disciples, was Christian, being the daughter of the Christian Queen Rosudan of Georgia (r. 1223-47) (Lewis, *Rumi. Past and present*, p. 126). He also managed to convert a number of Greek and Armenian Christians to Islam by his preaching (Lewis, *Rumi. Past and present*, p. 127). From both Aflākī's account (O'Kane, *Feats*, iii, p. 405, § 580) and Rūmī's own statements in the *Fīhi mā fīhi* (p. 97), it is clear that the outward Islamic form of his teachings never hindered his discourses from being enthusiastically welcomed and appreciated by the non-Muslim 'infidels' in his environs. Rūmī's anti-sectarian inclusivism (Ridgeon, 'Christianity', pp. 120-21), tolerance and open-minded religious

pluralism (Hick, 'Religious pluralism', p. 332) were thus the product of outward socio-political conditions as much as inward spiritual principles.

Universalism continued to characterize his order after his death, and from the mid-15th century onwards the tolerance and ecumenical teachings and the spiritual practices of the 'Whirling Dervishes' of Rūmī's Mevlevi Order began to attract the attention of Christian scholars and travellers to Turkey (Lewis, *Rumi. Past and present*, ch. 12; Ambrosio, *Vie*, ch. 2). In fact, this Mevlevi ecumenical outlook on other religions is one of the main things that continue to captivate admirers of his poetry both in the East and the West today.

For further analysis and study of the symbolism of Jesus, Christian imagery and Rūmī's attitude towards Christians in his *Mathnawī*, *Fihī mā fihī*, *Dīwān-i Shams* and other works, see in the bibliography below: Nurbakhsh, *Jesus, passim*; Dihqāni-Taftī, *Masīḥ va Masīḥīyyat nazd-i Īrānīyān* ii, pp. 116-36; Renard, *All the king's falcons*, ch. 6; Ridgeon, 'Christianity'.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Balkhī, *Mathnawī. Muqaddimah wa taḥlīl, tashīḥ-i matn bar asās-i nuskahhā-yi mu'tabar-i Mathnawī, muqāyasah bā chāphā-yi ma'rūf-i Mathnawī, tawdīhāt wa ta'līqāt-i jāmi' wa fihristhā*, ed. Muḥammad Istī'lamī, Tehran: Intishārāt-i Zawwār, 1384⁷ AHsh [2005]

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Farīdūn ibn Aḥmad Sipahsālār, *Zindigīnāma-yi Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn-i Mawlavi*, ed. Sa'īd Nafīsī, Tehran: Chāp u Intishārāt-i Iqbāl, 1380⁵ AHsh [2001]

Secondary

The literature on Rumi is vast. Some of the most important works dealing with his relations with Christians are:

- A.F. Ambrosio, 'Rûmî, les derviches tourneurs et les chrétiens de Konya', *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 67 (2011) 113-25
- R. Grierson, "We believe in your Prophet". Rumi, Palamas, and the conversion of Anatolia', *Mawlana Rumi Review* 2 (2011) 96-124
- A.F. Ambrosio, *Vie d'un derviche tourneur. Doctrine et rituels du soufisme au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 2010
- A.F. Ambrosio, 'Vizir anti-cristiano o falso profeta? Rûmî, il Mathnâwî e s. Paolo', in C. Monge (ed.), *Paolo di Tarso. Testimone del Vangelo in missione 'fuori le mura'*, Florence, 2009, 137-56
- M. Rustom, 'The metaphysics of the heart in the Sufi doctrine of Rumi', *Studies in Religion. Canadian Journal / Sciences Religieuses. Revue Canadienne* 37 (2008) 3-14
- R. Algan and C.A. Helminski (trans.), *Rumi's sun. The teachings of Shams of Tabriz*, Sandpoint ID, 2008
- A.J. Arberry (trans.), *Mystical poems of Rûmî*, ed. E. Yarshater, with a new foreword by F. Lewis, Chicago IL, 2008
- G.-R. Avani (ed.), *The legacy of Rumi. Collected papers*, 6 vols, Tehran: Iranian Institute of Philosophy, 1386 AHsh [2007] (Persian)
- İsmail Güleç, "Mesnevî" de Geçen Taassp Yüzünden Hristyanları Öldüren Yahudi Padişahın Hikayesi'ndeki Vezir, Aziz Pavlus mudur? ['Can the vizier in the tale of the Jewish sultan who murdered Christians because of his fanaticism, recounted in the *Mesnevî*, be identified as Saint Paul?'], in İ.E. Erünsal, C. Ferrard and H. Kandur (eds), *Essays in memory of Hazel E. Heughan*, Edinburgh: Hazel E. Heughan Educational Trust, 2007, 113-34
- Mahdi Mohabati (ed.), *Mowlavi studies at Iranian universities. M.A. and Ph.D level dissertations*, Tehran: Institute for Social and Cultural Studies, 2007 (a bibliography in English of over 500 MA and PhD theses written in Persian on Rumi in Iran since the early 1970s)
- Q. Āryān, art. 'Christianity, vi. Christian influences in Persian poetry', in *EI*
- F.D. Lewis, *Rumi. Swallowing the sun. Poems translated from the Persian*, Oxford, 2007
- A.F. Ambrosio, È. Feuillebois and T. Zarcone (eds), *Les derviches tourneurs. Doctrine, histoire et pratiques*, Paris, 2006
- Jalāl al-Dīn Huma'ī, *Mawlawī-nāma. Mawlawī chi migūyad?*, Tehran: Nashr-i Humā, 1385 AHsh [2006]
- C. Barks and J. Moyne (trans.), *The drowned book. Ecstatic and earthy reflections of Bahauddin, the Father of Rumi*, San Francisco CA, 2004
- S. Filiz and T. Uluc, 'Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (1207-1273): a Sufi representative of Turkish urban religiosity (a philosophical and sociological inquiry)', *Islamic Quarterly* 48 (2004) 67-79

- W. Chittick (trans.), *Me and Rumi. The autobiography of Shams-i Tabrizi*, Louisville KY, 2004
- W.C. Chittick, 'The pluralistic vision of Persian Sufi poetry', *ICMR* 14 (2003) 423-28
- M. Estelami, 'Rumi and the universality of his message', *ICMR* 14 (2003) 429-524
- L. Lewisohn, 'The esoteric Christianity of Islam. Interiorisation of Christian imagery in medieval Persian Sufi poetry', in L. Ridgeon (ed.), *Islamic interpretations of Christianity*, Richmond UK, 2001, 127-56
- L. Ridgeon, 'Christianity as portrayed by Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī', in L. Ridgeon (ed.), *Islamic interpretations of Christianity*, Richmond UK, 2001, 99-126
- F. Lewis, *Rumi. Past and present, East and West*, Oxford, 2000
- Vahīd Ākhirat-dūst (ed.), *Majmū'a-yi maqālāt-i himāyish-i buzurgdāsh-t-i Shams-i Tabrīzī*, Tehran: Anjuman-i āthār va mafākhir-i farhangī, 1378 AHsh [1999] (a large volume of Persian papers given at a conference on Shams-i Tabrīzī in Iran)
- V.R. Holbrook, 'Diverse tastes in the spiritual life. Textual play in the diffusion of Rumi's order', in L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The heritage of Sufism*, vol. 1. *The legacy of mediæval Persian Sufism*, Oxford, 1999, 99-120
- L. Lewisohn, art. 'Awhadi Maragha'i', in *EL* 3
- J. Hick, art. 'Religious pluralism', in M. Eliade (ed.), *The encyclopedia of religion*, New York, 1995, xii, 331-33
- L. Lewisohn, *Beyond faith and infidelity. The Sufi poetry and teachings of Mahmud Shabistari*, London, 1995
- A. Rigo, 'Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī et l'abate di S. Caritone', in *Östliches – Westliches. Studien zur vergleichenden Geistes – und Religionsgeschichte. Hommage an Cyrill J.C. von Korvin-Krasinski*, ed. M. Sladek, Heidelberg, 1995, 173-94
- A. Schimmel, 'Jesus and Mary as poetical images in Rumi's verse', in Y.Y. Haddad and W.Z. Haddad (eds), *Christian-Muslim encounters*, Miami FL, 1995, 143-57
- H. Dabashi, 'Rūmī and the problems of theodicy. Moral imagination and narrative discourse in a story of the Masnavī', in A. Banani, R. Hovannisian and G. Sabagh (eds), *Poetry and mysticism in Islam. The heritage of Rūmī*, Cambridge, 1994, 112-35
- J. Renard, *All the king's falcons. Rumi on prophets and prophetology*, Albany NY, 1994, ch. 6 (on 'Jesus and other Gospel figures')
- Rūmī, *Signs of the unseen. The discourses of Jalaluddin Rumi*, trans. W.M. Thackston, Putney VT, 1994
- G.H.B. Dihqāni-Taftī, *Masīh va Masīhiyyat nazd-i Īrānīyān* ['Christ and Christianity among the Persians'], 3 vols, London: Suhrāb, 1992-94 (vol. ii, pp. 116-38, brings together many of Rūmī's verse references to Jesus, Christians, the Gospels and Christianity, followed by a brief discussion of the meaning of relevant individual verses)

- A. Schimmel, *The triumphal sun. A study of the works of Jalaloddin Rumi*, Albany NY, 1993
- A. Schimmel, *I am wind, you are fire. The life and works of Rumi*, Boston MA, 1992
- Q. Āryān, *Chihrah-yi Masīh dar adabiyāt-i fārsī* ['The image of Jesus in Persian literature'], Tehran: Intishārāt-i Mu'īn, 1369 AHsh [1990] (Persian)
- J.-P. Roux, 'La tolérance religieuse dans les empires Turco-Mongols', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 202 (1986) 131-68
- W. Chittick, *The Sufi path of love. The spiritual teachings of Rumi*, Albany NY, 1983
- J. Nurbakhsh, *Jesus in the eyes of the Sufis*, trans. T. Graham and L. Lewisohn, London, 1983
- Nasir al-Dīn Sāhib al-Zamānī, *Khatt-i siyyum. Darbāra-yi shakshīyat, sukhanan va andīsha-yi Shams-i Tabrīzī*, Tehran: 'Ata'i, 1351 AHsh. [1972] (a study of the Discourses of Shams-Tabrīzī)
- A.J. Arberry (trans.), *The discourses of Rumi*, London, 1961
- R.A. Nicholson (trans.), *Rumi, poet and mystic, 1207-1273. Selections from his writings*, London, 1950

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Mathnawī-i ma'nawī, 'Rhyming couplets of spiritual significance'

DATE 1256-73 (not completed)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

Numerous references to Jesus, Christians, monks, priests, and Christianity can be found in the *Mathnawī*. The poem paraphrases or provides stories that parallel various Gospel tales and sayings, including the raising of Lazarus, Jesus' miracle of increasing the loaves of bread (ed. Nicholson, I: 83-85); his walking on water; curing the deaf and blind, and his healing the sick (Ridgeon, 'Christianity', pp. 101-3; Renard, *King's falcons*, pp. 89-93), as well as versified extracts of sentences from the Sermon on the Mount. Jesus is also portrayed, for instance, as a divine physician (I: 46-47); Jesus' multi-colored robe that he changed into a robe of a single color, symbolic of his understanding of divine unity, is praised (I: 500-2); a story is adapted from the apocryphal Gospel of Philip (Ridgeon, 'Christianity', p. 105). Rūmī also professes a deeply interiorized 'Spirit of Jesus' doctrine, a kind of esoteric Christology where Jesus

comes to symbolize inner aspects of the soul (Renard, *King's falcons*, pp. 95-96)

Nonetheless, in the *Mathnawī* (as well as in *Fīhi mā fīhi* and *Dīwān-i Shams*), we still find many of the traditional Islamic 'orthodox' dividing lines between Christian and Islamic theological doctrines and religion left intact. These lines of theological and doctrinal distinction include the opposition of Islam to monasticism and ascetic seclusion versus their advocacy in Christianity (Renard, *King's falcons*, p. 95; Ridgeon, 'Christianity', pp. 111-12); the purely spiritual wine of al-Ḥallāj in Islam versus the physical wine in the Christian rite of communion (Ridgeon, 'Christianity', p. 113; Renard, *King's falcons*, p. 95); the advocacy of celibacy in Christianity versus its emphatic rejection in Islam (Renard, *King's falcons*, p. 90; Ridgeon, 'Christianity', p. 112); the acceptance in Christianity of the doctrine of the crucifixion versus its rejection in Islam (Renard, *King's falcons*, p. 93; Ridgeon, 'Christianity', p. 104); the acceptance of the divinity of Jesus (i.e. the doctrine of the Incarnation) in Christianity versus its rejection in Islam (Renard, *King's falcons*, pp. 93-94; Ridgeon, 'Christianity', pp. 111, 121), and so on. Rūmī also endorses the traditional Islamic doctrine that the Christian scriptures have been falsified (*tahrīf*), devoting an entire section of the *Mathnawī* to explaining why and how this happened (Dabashi, 'Rūmī and the problems of theodicy'; Ridgeon, 'Christianity', pp. 114-15). In his comparisons in the *Mathnawī* between the Prophet Muḥammad and Jesus, the former is nearly always considered to be the superior (Ridgeon, 'Christianity', pp. 107-9).

In the *Mathnawī*, Rūmī's own hermeneutical approach to religious diversity, and by extension his attitude towards Christianity, generally eschews sectarian partisanship. His view of Christian priests and monks in the poem wavers between semi-parochial exclusivism and ecumenical understanding, on the one hand considering the committed Christian believer to be a 'miscreant and astray' (IV: 2378), and on the other apprehending full well that ultimately all differences between Christians, Muslims and Jews ecumenically dissolve when they turn to face the one God (IV: 2417-20). Indeed, since the Deity who is praised during prayer is always the One, in the end all religions turn out to be just one faith (III: 1222-25). In one place, he even seems to accept the validity of the Catholic doctrine of confession and forgiveness of sins, maintaining that through the power of love and imagination the Christian priest may genuinely serve as an intercessor between God and the Christian believer (IV: 3282-83).

SIGNIFICANCE

Popularly known as the 'Qur'an in Persian', the *Mathnawī* is the longest poem in the Persian language and 'possibly the longest single-authored "mystical" poem ever written' (*Rumi, spiritual verses*, trans. Williams, p. xvi). Not only is there nothing like it in Western spirituality, but the poem also far excels its antecedents in Persian poetry (i.e. the similar *mathnawī* poems composed by Sanā'ī, d. 1131, Nizāmī, d. 1202, and 'Aṭṭār, d. 1221) in scope, scale and conception (Safavi and Weightman, *Rumi's mystical design*, p. 3). The macro-compositional structure of the work conveys the structure and symbolism of the spiritual world through three hidden levels of ring composition (the level of the discourse, the book, and the work as a whole), every part of the poem being connected by mirroring parallelism and chiasmus (Safavi and Weightman, pp. 8-9). Inimitable in its poetic art, in the *mathnawī* genre at least, no subsequent poet in Persian has produced anything comparable and of equivalent depth of hermeneutical sophistication, theosophical insight or breadth of subject matter.

The profound theosophical resonances secreted within many of the *Mathnawī*'s verses and the multiple levels of meaning found in the poem's tales make it still the most frequently commented-on Sufi poem in Persian, its verses being cited by Islamic philosophers and metaphysicians more than those of any other poet as *bon mots*, or used as pithy summations of mystical insights to illustrate their doctrines. In Turkey, for instance, between the 16th and 20th centuries, some ten important commentaries on it were written. In each of the lodges (*tekkes*) of the Mevlevi Sufi Order founded by Rūmī's son Sulṭān Valad (there were 14 large Mevlevi lodges in major cities throughout Ottoman Turkey, with 76 minor lodges in smaller towns: Safavi and Weightman, p. 25), a qualified instructor in the *Mathnawī* (called *Mathnawī-khwān*) held a professorial chair.

Insofar as Persian maintained its position as the sacred liturgical language of the Order for several centuries (the *Mathnawī* was not translated into Turkish until the late 18th century: Holbrook, 'Diverse tastes in the spiritual life', p. 100), by the mid-16th century Mevlevi centers where the *Mathnawī* was taught in Persian could be found as far afield as Nicosia in Cyprus, Tripoli in Libya, Jerusalem in Palestine, Beirut in Lebanon, Aleppo and Damascus in Syria, Cairo in Egypt, and Athens in Greece. For eight centuries from the northernmost borders of Central Asia down to Calcutta in India, and from Ottoman-ruled Sarajevo in Western Europe east to Isfahan in Persia, the *Mathnawī* served as a vehicle to convey

Sufism's ecumenical teachings, in this respect being unrivalled by any other Islamic work. It is said that even the Brahmins of Bengal used to dress like Sufis and recited Rūmī's *Mathnawī* up until the mid-19th century. Today, largely thanks to the popular poetic renditions of selections from the *Mathnawī* into American English by Coleman Barks, since the early 1990s Rūmī has been the best-selling poet in English in the United States.

MANUSCRIPTS

Lewis, *Rumi. Past and present*, pp. 305-9, discusses the particulars of most of the important MSS, and see also Muḥammad Isti'lāmī's introduction to his edition of the text, pp. 86-89, for a comprehensive and detailed discussion of the provenance and significance of all the extant MSS. Nicholson's detailed account of the MSS used in his edition (Tehran, 1984, pp. xiv-xviii) is also useful.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

There are numerous editions and translations of this work, including:

Rumi, spiritual verses. The first book of the Masnavi-ye ma'navi, trans.

A. Williams, London, 2006

Rumi, the Masnavi. Book One, trans. J. Mojaddedi, Oxford, 2004

Rumi, the Masnavi. Book Two, trans. J. Mojaddedi, Oxford, 2007

Rumi, the Masnavi. Book Three, trans. J. Mojaddedi, Oxford, (forthcoming 2012)

Mathnawi-i manawi, tr. C. Oxenstierna, Chicago, 3 vols, 1992-2002 (German trans.)

Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Balkhī, Mathnawī. Muqaddimah wa taḥlīl, taṣḥīḥ-i matn bar asās-i nuskhahhā-yi mu'tabar-i Mathnawī, muqāyasah bā chāphā-yi ma'rūf-i Mathnawī, tawḍīḥāt wa ta'līqāt-i jāmi' wa fihristhā, ed. Muḥammad Isti'lāmī, Tehran: Intishārāt-i Zawwār, 1384⁷ AHsh [2005]

Mathnawī. La quête de l'absolu, ed. E. Vitray-Meyerovitch and D. Mor-tazavi, Paris, 2000 (French trans.)

R.A. Nicholson, *Tales of mystic meaning. Being selections from the Mathnawī of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī*, Oxford, 1995

A. Schimmel, *Das Mathnawī. Ausgewählte Geschichten*, Basle, 1994 (German trans.)

Maulana Rumi's Mathnawī, tr. M.G. Gupta, Agra, 1990

The Mathnawī of Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī, edited from the oldest manuscripts available with critical notes, translation, and commentary, ed.

R.A. Nicholson, 8 vols, London, 1925-40 (repr. *Mathnawī-yi ma'navī*, Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1363 AHsh [1984]; the edition cited here)

The Mathnawī-i-Maṇawi of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, s.l., s.n., 1865

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S.G. Safavi and S. Weightman, *Rumi's mystical design. Reading the Mathnawī, Book One*, Albany NY, 2009

Ḥusayn Muḥyī al-Dīn Ilāhī Qumsha'ī, *365 rūz dar suḥbat-i Mawlānā*, Tehran: Intishārāt-i Sukhan, 1386 AHsh [2007] (a day by day year-book of quotations from the *Mathnawī* with commentary by a famous contemporary Iranian mystical thinker)

Jalāl al-Dīn Huma'ī, *Mawlawī-nāma. Mawlawī chi migūyad?*, 2 vols, Tehran: Nashr-i Humā 1385 AHsh [2006] (a wide-ranging study of the theological views, Sufi doctrines and philosophical thought of the *Mathnawī*)

Bahā' al-Dīn Khurramshāhī, Siyāmak Mukhtārī, *Qur'ān va Mathnawī. Farhangvāra-yi ta'thīr-i āyāt-i Qur'ān dar adabiyāt-i Mathnawī*, Tehran: Nashr-i Qaṭra, 1384² AHsh [2005] (an analytical survey and concordance illustrated verse-by-verse of all qur'anic references in the *Mathnawī*)

Walī Muḥammad Akbarābādī, *Sharḥ-i Mathnawī-yi Mawlawī*, ed. N. Māyil Haravī, 7 vols, Tehran: Nashr-i Qaṭra, 2004 (an important 17th-century Persian commentary on the *Mathnawī* composed in India)

Karīm Zamānī, *Mīnāgar-i 'ishq. Sharḥ- mawḏū'ī-yi Mathnawī-yi ma'navī*, Tehran: Nashr-i Nay, 1383² AHsh [2004] (verses from the *Mathnawī* arranged according to key religious, mystical and philosophical themes)

A. Esmailpour, 'Rūmī's prologue to the *Mathnawī* and gnostic hymns. A comparative analysis', *Islamic Culture* 77 (2003) 47-71

Karīm Zamānī, *Bar lab-i daryā-yi Mathnawī-yi ma'navī. Biyān-i maqāṣad-i abyāt*, 2 vols, Tehran: Intishārāt-i Qaṭra, 1382 AHsh [2003] (the entire *Mathnawī* arranged for students with thematic subtitles for each topic)

J.A. Mojaddedi, 'The Sufi master in Rumi's *Mathnawī*', *Sufi* 58 (2003) 32-39

M. Alavi, 'An analysis of Discourse One in Book II of the *Mathnawī*', in S.G. Safavi (ed.), *Rumi's thoughts*, London, 2003, 27-50

- D. Davis, 'Narrative and doctrine in the first story of Rūmī's *Mathnawī*', in G.R. Hawting, J.A. Mojaddedi and A. Samely (eds), *Studies in Islamic and Middle Eastern texts and traditions in memory of Norman Calder*, Oxford, 2000, 93-104
- M. Estelami, 'The concept of knowledge in Rūmī's *Mathnawī*', in L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The heritage of Sufism*. Vol. I: *Classical Persian Sufism from its origins to Rumi (700-1300)*, Oxford, 1999, 400-8
- A. Schimmel, 'Yūsuf in Mawlānā Rūmī's poetry', in L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The heritage of Sufism*. Vol II: *The legacy of medieval Persian Sufism (1150-1500)*, Oxford, 1999, 45-59
- 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Zarrīnkūb, *Baḥr dar kūza. Naqd va tafsīr-i qissahā va tamthūlāt-i Mathnawī*, Tehran: Intishārāt-i 'Ilmī, 1376 AHsh [1997] (a critical analysis of the tales and symbolism of the *Mathnawī*)
- M. Este'lami, 'The gnosis of self in Rūmī's *Mathnawī*', *Sufi* 20 (1994) 5-9
- N. Faghih, 'Some scientific doctrines in the *Mathnawī* of Mawlana Jalal al-Din Mawlawī Rūmī', *Hamdard Islamicus* 16 (1993) 79-96
- C. Barks, *Delicious laughter. Rambunctious teaching stories from the Mathnawi of Jlaluddin Rumi*, Athens GA, 1990
- J.A. King, 'Jesus and Joseph in Rūmī's *Mathnawī*', *Muslim World* 80 (1990) 81-95
- Ismā'īl Anqaravī, *Sharḥ-i kabīr-i Anqaravī bar Mathnawī-yi Mawlawī*, trans. (Persian) 'Iṣmat Satārzādah, 15 vols, Tehran: Intishārāt-i Zarrīn, 1374 AHsh [1995] (a Persian trans. of Anqaravī's (d. 1631) famous Ottoman Turkish commentary on the *Mathnawī*)
- 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Zarrīnkūb, *Sirr-i nay. Naqd va sharḥ-i taḥlīlī va taṭbīqī-yi Mathnawī*, 2 vols, Tehran: Intishārāt-i 'Ilmī, 1368³ AHsh [1989] (a comparative analytical study of the *Mathnawī*)
- A.L. Herman, 'Šūfism, fatalism and evil in the *Mathnawī* of Jalāl al-Din Rūmī', *Iqbal Review* 12 (1971) 1-15
- Badī' al-Zamān Furūzānfar, *Mākḥaz-i qiṣaṣ wa tamthūlāt-i Mathnawī*, Tehran: Majlis, 1955 (repr. Amīr Kabīr, 1983) (a dictionary of the historical sources of the stories and symbolism used by Rūmī in the *Mathnawī*)
- Badī' al-Zamān Furūzānfar, *Aḥādīth-i Mathnawī*, Tehran: Dānishgāh-i Tihārān, 1335 AHsh [1956] (repr. Amīr Kabīr, 1361³ AHsh [1982]) (an annotated collection of all Traditions of the Prophet in the *Mathnawī*)

- S. Hillelson, 'The source of a story in the *Mathnawī*, and a Persian parallel to Grimm's fairy tales', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1937) 474-77
- E.G. Browne, 'A parallel to the story in the *Mathnawī* of Jalālu'd Dīn Rūmī, of the Jewish king who persecuted the Christians', *Islamica* 2 (1926) 129-34

Dīvān-i Shams-i Tabrīzī, 'Shams-i Tabrīzī's book of verse'

DATE Begun in 1244 and continued until Rūmī's death in 1273

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

The *Dīvān-i Shams* is the most celebrated collection of ecstatic lyrical love poetry in Persian literature, which in metaphysical insight, expression of spiritual realities, deep wisdom and philosophical subtleties, remains unrivalled by any other book of verse in the world's mystical poetic literature. From the standpoint of quantity, at over 35,000 couplets the *Dīvān-i Shams* is the largest collection of mystical lyrics, containing the widest, most diverse pattern of meters ever composed by any Persian poet. It features 3,229 *ghazals* varying in length (anywhere between 6 to 60 couplets), along with 44 strophe poems (*tarjī'āt*) totalling 1,700 verses, and 1,983 quatrains (*rubā'īyyāt*).

Composition of the lyrics in the *Dīvān*, mainly in Persian with a few Arabic *ghazals*, only began after Rūmī's encounter in 1244 with Shams-i Tabrīzī, but following the latter's disappearance in 1248 he continued to compose poems for it down to his own death in 1273. There are 156 references to Jesus in the *Dīvān-i Shams*, many if not most of which relate to Christological imagery and symbolism of Qur'anic derivation that were the stock-in-trade of every classical Persian poet. For reasons of space, only a few of these can be mentioned here. They include the idea that Jesus's lip (*lab-i ʿĪsā*) revives the sick and ailing (780: 8142; 1250: 13242); the miracle of Jesus's ascent to heaven from Q 4:158 (631: 6576); and the miracle of Jesus' discourse as a two-year-old infant in the cradle from Q 3:46 (619: 6477). Just as Jesus was able to raise the dead (Q 3:49), Rūmī declares that 'Love is the Jesus of the age. Love seeks one who's dead. Like me die – utterly – before his beauty, and fear not' (1214: 12918). In another *ghazal*, he also compares his own spiritual realization with

that of Jesus and Mary: 'At times, I became entirely speech like Jesus; at times I became a heart as silent as Mary. If you will believe me, I also became all that was manifested through Jesus and Mary' (1661: 17402-3). In a *tarjīb*, he writes 'I am the Jesus of that moon which surpasses the firmament. I am drunken as Moses, with God within these tattered robes' (*Tarjī* I, 9: 34941).

Despite these many positive references to Jesus throughout the *Dīwān-i Shams*, the Prophet Muḥammad always retains his superiority in Rūmī's prophetology over all other prophets, whether Jesus, Moses, or Zoroaster: 'There are a million tendrils of the light of Muḥammad, each of which fills the rims and cornices of both the worlds. Were just one tendril of that light disclosed, a thousand Christian monks and priests would rend the thread [of their faith]' (1137: 12051-52); 'The light of Muḥammad leaves no place for any Jew or Zoroastrian in the world. May the protective shadow of his kingdom illumine all!' (792: 8288). In another *ghazal*, he teasingly reproaches Christians using a Christian image, asking where the inspiring power of the lovely discourse of the Messiah (*Masīḥ-i khwush-damī*) has gone, which 'could rouse the heart of the Christian (*tarsā*) to cut the thread [of his Christian faith]' (24: 284).

SIGNIFICANCE

It is clear that in Rūmī's lyrical poetry as in his *Mathnawī*, poetic imagery and references to Christ and Christianity mostly belong within an Islamic and qur'anic context and that terms such as 'Jesus', the 'Messiah' and 'Christ' in his mystical lexicon are nominally Muslim rather than denominationally Christian.

MANUSCRIPTS

See Furūzānfar's definitive edition of the text, i, introduction, pp. *vav-yav*, for a comprehensive and detailed discussion of the provenance and significance of all the extant MSS, as well as Lewis' survey of all the key MSS (*Rumi. Past and present*, pp. 297-99).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

There are dozens of partial or full editions and translations of this work. They include:

Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Dīwān-i kabīr. Kulliyāt-i Shams-i Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥusayn Balkhī Rūmī ma'rif bi Mawlavī*, ed. Tawfiq Subḥānī, 2 vols, Tehran: Anjumān-i āthār u mafākhir-i farhangī, 1386 AHsh [2007] (edition of the Konya Museum MS)

N. Rastegar, *Nie ist wer liebt allein. Mystische Liebeslieder aus dem Diwan-i Šams von Maulana Ğalaluddin Rumi*, Graz, 1994

- Kulliyāt-i Shams yā Dīwān-i kabīr az guftār-i Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad mashhūr bi Mawlavī, ba tashīḥāt wa ḥawāshī*, ed. Badī' al-Zamān Furūzānfar, 10 vols in 9, Tehran: Sipīhr, 1363³ AH [1984]
 R.A. Nicholson (ed. and trans.), *Selected poems from the Dīvāni Shamsī Tabrīz*, Cambridge, 1898
 Arberry, *Mystical poems of Rūmī*

STUDIES

- Bahā' al-Dīn Khurramshāhī, *Insānam ārizū'st. Bar-guzīda u sharḥ-i ghazaliyyāt-i Mawlānā* [Anthology and commentary on the *ghazals* of Rūmī], Tehran: Intishārāt-i Nigāh, 1386 AHsh [2007]
 Mihdī Sitāyishgar, *Rubāb-i Rūmī. Gashṭī dar raftār u āthār mūsīqā'ī-yi jamāl-āfarīn-i Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Balkhī (Mawlavī)*, 2 vols, Tehran: Intishārāt-i Shirkat-i ta'āvanī-yi kār-āfarīnān-i farhang u hunar, 1385 AHsh [2006] (a study of music and musical imagery in the *Dīwān-i Shams*, and the *Mathnawī* to a lesser extent)
 M.A. al-Qāsimī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt va mafāḥīm-i 'irfānī-i Dīwān-i Shams = Gnostic expressions and meaning of Divan-e Shams by Rumi*, Tehran 2004/5
 A. Dashtī and S. Dahstī, *A voyage through Divan-e Shams. Celebrating Rumi by 'Alī Dashtī*, Tehran, 2003 (inaccurate and unreliable trans.)
 Taqī Pūrnamdāriyān, *Dar sāyih-i āftāb. Shi'r-i fārsī va sākht-shikanī dar shi'r-i Mawlavī*, Tehran: Intishārāt-i Sukhan, 1380 AHsh [2001] (a study of Rūmī's poetic originality and form-shattering innovations in the *Dīwān-i Shams*)
 Asadu'llāh Īzād-Gushasb, *Jadhbāt-i ilāhī. Muntakhāb-i kulliyāt-i Shams-i Tabrīz* [Anthology of the *ghazals* of Rūmī with a useful introduction], Tehran: Intishārāt-i Ḥaqīqat 1378² AHsh [2000]
 'Alī Riḍā Mukhtārpūr Qahrūdī, *Ishq dar manzūma-yi Shams. Vāzha-yābī-yi 'ishq dar Dīwān-i kabīr-i Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad mashhūr bi-Mawlavī*, Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1378 AHsh [1999] (study of all references to the word 'love' in the *Dīwān-i Shams-i Tabrīz*)

Fīhi mā fīhi, 'What is in it is in it', 'Discourses'

DATE Before 1273

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

In Rūmī's *Discourses*, or *Fīhi mā fīhi*, a miscellany of 71 of his lectures or extemporaneous talks gathered together by an unknown compiler after his death, several well-known anecdotes about Jesus from the Qur'an are related that expound a sort of Sufi esoteric Christianity (cf. Lewisohn, 'The esoteric Christianity of Islam'). One finds this, for instance, in Rūmī's belief in the existence of an interior Jesus within each person, who must be born again (*Fīhi mā fīhi*, p. 21). In one fascinating passage, he contrasts the conjugal way of Muḥammad with the celibate path of Jesus. It is required that one marry women, he writes, just so one can endure 'pain, ridding oneself of jealousy and manly pride, pain over extravagance and clothing one's wife, and a thousand other pains beyond bounds, so that the Muḥammadan world may come into being. The way of Jesus, upon him be peace, was wrestling with solitude and not gratifying lust; the way of Muḥammad, God bless him and give him peace, is to endure the oppression and agonies inflicted by men and women. If you cannot go the Muḥammadan way, at least go by the way of Jesus, that you may not remain altogether outside the pale' (*Fīhi mā fīhi*, p. 87, trans. Arberry, p. 99).

SIGNIFICANCE

The work has been described aptly as 'an indispensable source for both the thought of Rumi and his relations with the political figures of his day' (Lewis, *Rumi. Past and present*, p. 292).

MANUSCRIPTS

See Furūzānfar's edition of the text, introduction, pp. *j-ya*, for a comprehensive and detailed discussion of the provenance and significance of all the extant MSS.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

There are numerous editions and translations of this work. The major ones are:

Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Barneko liburua. Fīhi mā fīhi*, trans. J. Arregui, Vizcaya, 2009 (Basque trans.)

Ġalāl-ad-Dīn Rūmī, *Fīhi mā fīhi*, ed. Z. Yazdānī, Tehran, 2002

Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Fīhi mā fīhi*, tr. J.G. Muro, Madrid, 2001 (Spanish trans.)

Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *L'essenza del reale. Fīhi-mâ-fīhi (C'è quel che c'è)*, tr. S. Foti, Turin, 1995 (Italian trans.)

Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Maqālāt-i Mawlānā. Fīhi mā fīhi*, ed. J.M. Šādiqī, Tehran, 1994

W.M. Thackston (trans.), *Signs of the unseen. The discourses of Jalaluddin Rumi*, Putney VT, 1994

Jalāloddin Rumi, *Von allem und vom Einen*, trans. A. Schimmel, Munich, 1988 (repr. 2008) (German trans.)

Djalal al-Dîn Rûmi, *Le livre du dedans. Fîhi-mâ-fîhi*, trans. E. de Vitray-Meyerovitch, Paris, 1982 (repr. 1997 and Arles, 2010) (French trans.)

Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Fîhi mā fîhi*, ed. Badī' al-Zamān Furūzānfar, Tehran, 1358 AH [1979]

Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Het is wat het is*, trans. R. Hartzema, Amsterdam, 1978 (Dutch trans.)

Ġalāl-ad-Dīn Rūmī, *Fîhi mā fîhi*, ed. W. von Blücher, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, 1962

A.J. Arberry (trans.), *The discourses of Rumi*, London, 1961

Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Fîhi mā fîhi*, s.n., Istanbul, 1958

STUDIES

F. Keshavarz, 'Pregnant with God. The poetic art of mothering the sacred in Rumi's *Fîhi ma fîhi*', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 22 (2002) 90-9

Ḥusayn Ilāhī Qumshā'ī, *Guzīda-yi Fîhi mā fîhi*, Tehran: Intishārāt-i 'Ilmī va farhangī, 1366⁶ AHsh [1987] (a selection from Rūmī's *Discourses* and commentary by one of Iran's most eminent thinkers)

Leonard Lewisohn

Humbert of Romans

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1200
PLACE OF BIRTH	Romans, France
DATE OF DEATH	July 14, 1277
PLACE OF DEATH	Valence

BIOGRAPHY

Born in the Dauphiné region of south-eastern France, Humbert of Romans went to the University of Paris in the 1220s, and entered the Dominican Order in 1224. He was sent to the convent of Lyons and had become prior there by 1237, and he may have gone on pilgrimage to the Middle East within the following few years. In about 1240, he was given charge over the Roman province of the Dominicans, and then in 1244 over the province of France. In 1254, he was elected master general of the order, serving until 1263. Thereafter he returned to the convent in Lyons where he lived until his death in 1277. Humbert was one of the most influential members of the Order of Preachers in the 13th century, playing a central role in defending his brethren against attacks by both the secular masters of the University of Paris and the diocesan clergy. He also shaped the order's demanding educational curriculum, and wrote a number of works on the Dominican Order and on preaching, most notably with regard to Islam *Liber sive tractatus de praedicatione sanctae crucis contra Saracenos infideles et paganos*, which, as a manual for those who intend to preach the crusade, has a number of things to say about Islam, and the *Opusculum tripartitum*, a work addressing three ecclesiastical problems of the day: the Muslim domination of the Holy Land and the need for renewed crusade, the Greek-Latin schism, and Church reform.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The very few primary sources relating to Humbert of Romans are discussed in detail by Brett in his *Humbert of Romans*, pp. 4-11.

Secondary

- K. Brunner, 'Theorie als Praxis, Praxis als Theorie. Humbert von Romans und Thomas von Aquin', in H. Specht and R. Andraschek-Holzer (eds), *Bettelorden in Mitteleuropa: Geschichte, Kunst, Spiritualität. Referate der gleichnamigen Tagung vom 19. bis 22. März 2007 in St Pölten*, St Pölten 2008, 656-62
- P.J. Cole, 'Humbert of Romans and the crusade', in M. Bull and N. Housley (eds), *The experience of crusading*, vol. 1. *Western approaches*, Cambridge, 2003, 157-74
- F. Schmieder, 'Enemy, obstacle, ally? The Greek in Western crusade proposals (1274-1311)', in B. Nagy and M. Sebök (eds), *The man of many devices who wandered full many ways . . . Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, Budapest, 1999, 357-71
- J. Horowitz, 'Les *exempla* au service de la prédication de la croisade au 13^e siècle', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (1997) 367-94
- N. Daniel, *Islam and the West. The making of an image*, rev.ed., Oxford, 1993, pp. 41, 92, 133, 135-36, 148, 153, 216, 258, 391
- J. Brundage, 'Humbert of Romans and the legitimacy of crusader conquests', in B.Z. Kedar (ed.), *The horns of Ḥaṭṭīn. Proceedings of the second conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Jerusalem and Haifa*, Jerusalem, 1992, 302-13
- E. Brett, *Humbert of Romans. His life and views of thirteenth-century society*, Toronto, 1984
- Y. Dossat, 'Inquisiteurs ou enquêteurs? A propos d'un texte d'Humbert de Romans', in Y. Dossat (ed.), *Eglise et hérésie en France au XIII^e siècle*, London, 1982, 105-13
- E. Brett, 'Humbert of Romans and the Dominican Second Order', *Memorie Domenicane* 12 (1981) 1-25
- R.D. Taylor-Vaisey, 'Regulations for the operation of a medieval library', *The Library. The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 33 (1978), 47-50
- T. Kaepelli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Vol. 2, Rome, 1975, 287-91
- U. Monneret de Villard, *Lo studio dell'Islām in Europa nel XII e nel XIII secolo*, Vatican City, 1944, pp. 33, 38, 40, 49, 72
- R. Bennett, *The early Dominicans. Studies in thirteenth-century Dominican history*, Cambridge, 1937
- V. Cramer, 'Humbert von romans Traktat über dis Kreuzpredigt', *Das Heilige Land* 79 (1935) 132-53; 80 (1936) 11-23, 43-60, 77-98
- F.Heintke, *Humbert von Romans. Der fünfte Ordensmeister der Dominikaner*, Berlin, 1933
- J. Folghera, 'Le Bienheureux Humbert de Romans. Maître de prédication', *L'Année Dominicaine* 65 (1929) 49-54, 84-87, 115-20, 149-54, 177-81, 229-33
- K. Michel, *Das Opus tripartitum des Humbertus des Romanis, OP*, Graz, 1926

- A. Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts. Forschungen zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Unionen und der Mohammedaner und Heidenmission des Mittelalters*, Habelschwerdt, 1924, pp. 6, 7, 17, 23, 35, 68, 90, 93, 140, 149, 164
- E. Barker, *The Dominican order and convocation. A study of the growth of representation in the Church during the thirteenth century*, Oxford, 1913
- J. Berthier, 'Le B. Humbert de Romans. Cinquième général de l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs', *L'Année Dominicaine* 1 (1895) 283-342

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Liber sive tractatus de praedicatione sanctae crucis contra Saracenos infideles et paganos;
De praedicatione sanctae crucis, 'Book or treatise
 on the preaching of the holy cross against the
 unbelieving and pagan Saracens'

DATE 1266-68

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Humbert's *De praedicatione sanctae crucis* is a manual intended to help those preaching the crusade in a period when, owing to the stunning defeats of Louis IX's two endeavors, the business of crusading had become deeply unpopular. In many ways, as Penny Cole has observed, it is something of 'an omnibus, a reference collection of ideas and information about crusading up to [Humbert's] own day' (Cole, 'Humbert of Romans and the crusade', p. 164). It is divided into 46 chapters, each of which contains an introduction and then numerous sermon themes, as well as long lists of the relevant biblical quotations and illustrative stories, or *exempla*, that could be integrated into a sermon. At the end of each chapter, Humbert includes an 'invitation' (*invitatio*) imploring his listeners to take the cross immediately. The majority of the treatise dwells on the reasons why Christians should take the crusading vow, why they should not heed the arguments of those who counsel against taking the cross, and how preachers should prepare themselves for their task.

While focused on why one should fight against Islam, Humbert nevertheless here and there discusses Muḥammad and Islamic belief and practice, in ways that are 'without exception, disparaging' (Cole, 'Humbert of Romans and the crusade', p. 166). He describes the Prophet as acting on

behalf of the devil, and Muslims as the Antichrists described in 1 John 2:18. As for Islamic law, he regards it as degenerate, 'serving principally to sanctify concubinage and polygamy' (ibid., p. 168). For him, the conflict between Christianity and Islam is almost Manichean – Muslims have attacked Christianity for centuries and will never convert, so holy war against them is unavoidable.

SIGNIFICANCE

As will be apparent from the foregoing, Humbert has little to say about Islam that is new to Latin Christendom in the 13th century, though his vision of Islam inclines heavily toward the most hostile end of the spectrum of Latin-Christian ideas. Yet, as Cole points out, it is striking that Humbert does not take for granted that his audience of educated preachers has already taken on board this conception of Islam: he feels a real compulsion to instruct them on how and why Islam is a thoroughly deserving enemy of Christianity. While there is much study to be done on Humbert's understanding of Islam as shown in this treatise, it seems clear that the treatise is most significant for what it tells us about how long it took for the Latin world to assimilate the enormous amount of information about Islam that had become available in Latin translation during the 12th century.

MANUSCRIPTS

Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, p. 289, lists the 17 known MSS. Cole has argued persuasively that they represent at least three different recensions of the work ('Humbert of Romans and the crusade', pp. 161-64).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

K.V. Jensen (ed.), *De predicatione crucis contra Saracenos*, c. 2007, <http://www.jggj.dk/saracenos.htm> (a transcription of the 1495 incunabulum)

Tractatus solemnis fratris Humberti quondam Magistri generalis ordinis predicatorum. De predicatione sancte crucis, Nuremberg, Peter Wagner, c. 1495 (unclear which recension is printed)

STUDIES

Cole, 'Humbert of Romans and the crusade'

Tolan, *Saracens*, 154

Schmieder, 'Enemy, obstacle, ally?'

Horowitz, 'Les *exempla* au service de la predication'

Daniel, *Islam and the West*

- Brundage, 'Humbert of Romans and the legitimacy of crusader conquests'
- Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, pp. 167-75
- Kaepelli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 287-91
- Monneret de Villard, *Lo studio dell'Islām in Europa nel XII e nel XIII secolo*, p. 49
- Bennett, *The early Dominicans*
- Cramer. 'Humbert von romans Traktat über dis Kreuzpredigt'
- Heintke, *Humbert von Romans*
- Folghera, 'Le Bienheureux Humbert de Romans'

Opusculum tripartitum, 'Three-part treatise'

DATE Approximately 1273

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Of the three issues that preoccupy Humbert in this work – the need for renewed crusade, the Greek-Latin schism, and Church reform – only the first is relevant to Christian-Muslim relations. Writing at almost the same time as Louis IX's second failed crusade, Humbert admits in this first section that crusading in general has become deeply unpopular in the Latin world. He therefore sets himself the task of defending and renewing it. After 'portraying the Muslims as the most dangerous threat ever to befall Christianity' (Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, p. 178), and describing Islam in the same Manichean terms as he did in his *De praedicatione sanctae crucis*, Humbert devotes the rest of this portion of the *Opusculum* to responding to a wide variety of critics of crusading: those who say that Christians may not shed blood; those who argue that shedding Muslim blood may be licit, but has been highly ineffective in practice; those who say that crusading in the Holy Land is militarily senseless because it requires Latin Christians to fight at a great distance from Western Europe, while Muslims fight on their home ground; those who say that fighting against Muslims ensures that Muslims will not convert to Christianity, and so on.

SIGNIFICANCE

As Brett suggests (*Humbert of Romans*, pp. 177-78), the most significant thing about this treatise for Christian-Muslim relations is Humbert's open

admission, as a leading figure in the later 13th-century Latin church, of the great unpopularity of crusading at that time. His arguments against the opponents of crusade also give some sense of the range of opposition that existed in this period.

MANUSCRIPTS

No MSS of the whole text survive, though, as Brett indicates (*Humbert of Romans*, p. 176 n. 3), an abridged version survives in several MSS. He does not specify these, but refers readers to Heintke, *Humbert von Romans, der fünfte Ordensmeister der Dominikaner*, 138-44 (this has not been consulted).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Excerpta de tractandis in concilio Lugdun, in Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand (eds), *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio*, 9 vols, Paris, 1724-33, vii, pp. 174-98 (repr. of the Gratius edition, in turn reprinted in Giovanni Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova, et amplissima collectio: in qua præter ea quæ Phil. Labbeus, et Gabr. Cossartius S.J. et novissime Nicolaus Coleti in lucem edidere ea omnia insuper suis in locis optime disposita exhibentur*, Florence, Antonii Zatta Veneti, 1759-98, vol. 24, pp. 109-32)

Ortuinus Gratius, *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum & fugiendarum una cum appendice sive tomo II. Scriptorum veterum (quorum pars magna nunc primum e MSS. codicibus in lucem prodit) qui Ecclesiæ Romanæ errores & abusus detegunt & damnant, necessitatemque reformationis urgent... Opera & studio Edwardi Brown...*, 2 vols, London, R. Chiswell, 1690, ii, pp. 185-229

Pierre Crabbe (ed.), *Concilia omnia, tam generalia, quam particularia ab apostolorum temporibus in hunc vsque diem a sanctissimis patribus celebrata, & quorum acta literis mandata, ex vetustissimis diuersar[um] regionu[m] bibliothecis haberi potuere, his duobus tomis continentur*, 2 vols, Cologne, Agrippa Quentel, 1538, 1551, pp. 967-1003

STUDIES

Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 133, 135-36, 148

Brundage, 'Humbert of Romans and the legitimacy of crusader conquests'

Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 176-94

Kaepelli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*

K. Michel, *Das Opus tripartitum des Humbertus des Romanis*, OP, Graz, 1926

William of Tripoli

DATE OF BIRTH	First third of the 13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Probably Tripoli, Lebanon
DATE OF DEATH	After 1273
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Remarkably little is known about the life of this Dominican friar. Thomas Engels, the modern editor of the two works connected with him, has shown convincingly that many events associated with his life in traditional accounts amount to little more than fiction. From his name as it appears in his works, Gullelmus Tripolitanus, it appears likely that he was born in Tripoli under crusader rule, and that he learned Arabic, at least to some degree, as he grew up. While it is not known when he entered the Dominican order, three papal bulls of 1264 identify him as a Dominican friar and speak of him as an ambassador of the Holy Land.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Engels, *Wilhelm von Tripolis*, pp. 23-32, discusses in detail the few references to William in primary sources.

Secondary

- B. Whalen, *Dominion of God. Christendom and apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 2009, pp. 195, 229, 300
- T. O'Meara, 'The theology and times of William of Tripoli, OP. A different view of Islam', *Theological Studies* 69 (2008) 80-98
- S. Mossman, 'The Western understanding of Islamic theology in the later Middle Ages. Mendicant responses to Islam from Riccoldo da Monte di Croce to Marquard von Lindau', *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie Médiévales* 74 (2007) 169-224, pp. 194-203, 205
- Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 203-9, 211
- B. Hamilton, 'Knowing the enemy. Western understanding of Islam at the time of the crusades', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd series 7 (1997) 373-87, pp. 376, 381
- N. Daniel, *Islam and the West. The making of an image*, rev. ed., Oxford, 1993, see index

- P. Engels, *Wilhelm von Tripolis. Notitia de Machometo, De statu Sarracenorum*, Altenberge, 1992
- P. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt. Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the thirteenth century*, London, 1992, pp. 29, 32, 272
- S. Schein, *Fideles crucis. The Papacy, the West, and the recovery of the Holy Land, 1274-1314*, Oxford, 1991, pp. 22, 25-26, 35, 91, 97, 129
- E. Panella, 'Ricerche su Riccoldo da Monte di Croce', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 58 (1988) 5-85, pp. 23-38, 52-56
- B.Z. Kedar, *Crusade and mission. European approaches toward the Muslims*, Princeton NJ, 1984, pp. 146, 154, 180-83, 192
- D. Metlitzki, *The matter of Araby in medieval England*, New Haven CT, 1977, pp. 200-1, 231-33
- T. Kaepelli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Vol. 2, Rome, 1975, 170-71
- U. Monneret de Villard, *Lo studio dell'Islām in Europa nel XII e nel XIII secolo*, Vatican City, 1944, pp. 60, 62, 70, 71, 73
- M. Baldwin, 'Western attitudes toward Islam', *Catholic Historical Review* 27 (1942) 403-11, p. 410
- P. Throop, *Criticism of the crusade. A study of public opinion and crusade propaganda*, Amsterdam, 1940, pp. 115-46
- D. Munro, 'The Western attitude toward Islam during the period of the crusades', *Speculum* 6 (1931) 329-43, pp. 341, 342
- B. Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts. Forschungen zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Unionen und der Mohammedaner und Heidenmission des Mittelalters*, Habelschwerdt, 1924, pp. 39, 85, 141, 236

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Notitia de Machometo, 'Information concerning Muḥammad'

DATE Approximately 1271

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Some 33 pages long in Engel's edition, William's treatise on the 'knowledge' or 'information' (*notitia*) concerning Muḥammad addresses three topics: 'First, who Muḥammad was, and whence and how his nation (*gens*), who are called Saracens, and their sect spread so violently and powerfully. Second, concerning the book of the law of Muḥammad, which is called the Qur'an or Furqān in the language of the Arabs, how it was issued (in writing) and who its author or compiler... was. Third, what this book teaches and what (in it) touches on the Christian faith'

(ed. Engels, p. 194). After a brief prologue, the first part of the treatise follows this description. A first section (§§ 1-4) concentrates on early Islamic history, including a biography of the Prophet. William discusses the spread of Islam both east and west from Arabia, concluding with the conquest of Spain and the invasions of southern France. A second (§§ 5-6) consists of a polemically distorted account of the assembling of the written Qur'an, William arguing that 'Uthmān alone must be understood as the compiler of that text, this followed by a brief discussion of some of the Qur'an's qualities.

A third, much lengthier, section (§§ 7-12) describes the contents of the Qur'an, especially the passages that support Christian belief, for, William pointedly observes, 'Where [the Qur'an] speaks of divine decrees (*au-toritates*), it contains such pious and devout statements that it inspires devotion and faith leading to tears. Indeed, where there is discussion of the Lord Jesus, [the Qur'an] discourses so piously and devoutly that the uneducated might believe that these words are truer than those of the text of the holy Gospel' (pp. 220-22). He then lists and translates 19 Qur'an passages concerning Jesus, Mary and the followers of Christ. These include many of the *loci classici* of Christian apologetic, such as 'O Mary, God has chosen you and purified you and preferred you above all women' (Q 3:42, p. 226). Following this, William describes what Muslims typically say when they are invited to become Christians, and then outlines at greater length what Christians might say in response. A final section of the work (§§ 13-15) departs from William's overview of its contents, describing the contemporary circumstances of the Islamic world and focusing on the several caliphates of this period, the nature and role of the *qāḍī*, and Friday prayers. In an intriguing epilogue, William demands that all means should be used to convert Muslims, after which he cites three prophecies of the approaching end of Islam.

SIGNIFICANCE

Though mostly writing about William's views on the basis of the *De statu Sarracenorum* that is uncertainly attributed to him but certainly based largely on the *Notitia*, scholars for some decades have commented, quite rightly, on the remarkably positive attitude toward Islam that William demonstrates, a positive attitude that is as palpable in the *Notitia* as in *De statu*. While critical of the Qur'an in important ways, William and whoever is responsible for *De statu* go farther than any predecessor or contemporary in praising Islam's holy book for its favorable treatment of Jesus and Mary. Indeed, these works provide a reading of that text that

anticipates strikingly the Christian *pia interpretatio* of the Qur'an practiced two centuries later by Nicholas of Cusa (see, for example, Ludwig Hagemann, (ed.), *Nicolai de Cusa opera omnia*, Vol. VIII: *Cribratio alkorani*, Leipzig, 1986, 2.1, pp. 72-75, and also pp. xx and 234).

This irenic view of the Qur'an, moreover, goes hand-in-hand with the much commented upon optimism about the coming conversion of Muslims and the end of Islam that is another strong theme of both works – an optimism that illustrates what Robert I. Burns long ago described as the 'thirteenth-century dream of conversion' ('Christian-Islamic confrontation in the West. The thirteenth-century dream of conversion', *American Historical Review* 76 [1971] 1386-434). As John Tolan has cogently argued, however, the irenic view of Islam that William advances was only possible precisely because he was so confident of the imminent end of Islam – he could afford to be charitable (Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 207)

These works are also important as a channel for relatively accurate knowledge about Islam deriving not from al-Andalus, as the majority of Latin knowledge did, but from Outremer.

MANUSCRIPTS

Engels, *Wilhelm von Tripolis*, pp. 112-25, describes the three known MSS, which are all from the 15th century.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Engels, *Wilhelm von Tripolis*, pp. 194-60

STUDIES

Whalen, *Dominion of God*

O'Meara, 'The theology and times of William of Tripoli, OP'

Mossman, 'The Western understanding of Islamic theology in the later Middle Ages'

Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 203-9, 211

Engels, *Wilhelm von Tripolis*

De statu Sarracenorum, 'On the realm of the Saracens'

DATE 1273

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This treatise, which is 53 pages long in the modern edition, is divided into three sections as specified by the author at the beginning of the work. The first section (§§ 1-4) describes Muḥammad's life and death, with a heavy emphasis on the role of Baḥīrā (who is described in rather favorable terms) in the shaping of his beliefs. The second (§§ 5-23) describes at some length the conquests of the central Islamic lands, Persia, North Africa, Spain, and Sicily. Along the way, William discusses the role and history of the caliphate and the life of Sultan Baybars. At the end, he lists prophecies about the imminent end of Islam. The final section (§§ 24-55) covers the Qur'an and its compilation, and, as William puts it, 'what is contained in it of the faith of the Christians' (Engels, *Wilhelm von Tripolis*, p. 266). After pointing out that the 'Book of the Muslims, which is called the *Alchoranus* or *Meshaf*, contains much praise of the Creator by celebrating his power, knowledge, goodness, mercy, justice, and equity' (p. 336), he writes at length about the way in which it glorifies Jesus, Mary, and their followers, quoting many of the passages long seized upon by Christians for apologetic purposes. The Qur'an, he says, describes 'how the annunciation was declared [to Mary] through angels before it happened . . . : "O Mary, know that God will give you the good news [*evangelizabit*] of a Word from him. His name is Jesus Christ, son of Mary"' (p. 344). This section concludes by asserting that 'learned and wise Muslims are very near the Christian faith' (p. 360), followed by arguments in favor of the Trinity and Incarnation, supported by qur'anic passages.

Most present-day scholars have assumed that *De statu Sarracenorum* is the work of William of Tripoli, and the great majority of research about his views on Islam have been based on it. Engels, however, has argued at some length (*Wilhelm von Tripolis*, pp. 61-74) that *De statu* is essentially a revised version by another author of William's *Notitia*. More recently, Thomas O'Meara has argued that Engels' argument, while insightful, is not persuasive, and that William was indeed the author of both works ('The theology and times of William of Tripoli', p. 93).

SIGNIFICANCE

Surviving in many more manuscripts than the *Notitia de Machometo*, *De statu Sarracenorum*, whoever was the author, was the primary vehicle by which William of Tripoli's irenic views of Islam spread in the Latin world. For more on the importance William's approach to Islam, see the section on the *Notitia de Machomet*.

MANUSCRIPTS

Engels, *Wilhelm von Tripolis*, pp. 126-64, lists and describes the 12 known MSS in detail.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Engels, *Wilhelm von Tripolis*, pp. 263-370 (edition and German trans.)

H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Berlin, 1883, pp. 573-98

STUDIES

Whalen, *Dominion of God*

O'Meara, 'The theology and times of William of Tripoli, OP'

Mossman, 'The Western understanding of Islamic theology in the later Middle Ages'

Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 203-9, 211

Hamilton, 'Knowing the enemy. Western understanding of Islam at the time of the crusades'

Daniel, *Islam and the West*

Engels, *Wilhelm von Tripolis*

Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt. Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the thirteenth century*

Schein, *Fideles crucis. The Papacy, the West, and the recovery of the Holy Land, 1274-1314*

Panella, 'Ricerche su Riccoldo da Monte di Croce'

Kedar, *Crusade and mission*

Metlitzki, *The matter of Araby in medieval England*

Kaepelli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*

Monneret de Villard, *Lo studio dell'Islām in Europa nel XII e nel XIII secolo*

Baldwin, 'Western attitudes toward Islam'

Throop, *Criticism of the crusade. A study of public opinion and crusade propaganda*

Munro, 'The Western attitude toward Islam during the period of the crusades'

Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts*

Thomas E. Burman

Thomas Aquinas

DATE OF BIRTH	1225
PLACE OF BIRTH	Roccasecca, Italy
DATE OF DEATH	7 March, 1274
PLACE OF DEATH	Fossanova Abbey, Italy

BIOGRAPHY

Thomas was born in Roccasecca, near the southern Italian Benedictine monastery of Montecassino, which he entered at the age of five to begin his education. He continued his studies at the university of Naples, then entered the Dominican order (against the wishes of his parents) and went north to continue his studies in Cologne (where he studied with Albert the Great) and Paris. He taught theology in Dominican schools in Paris and in Italy. His writings include biblical commentaries and scholastic treatises on philosophy and theology. Some of his ideas provoked controversy (and indeed ecclesiastical censure) during his lifetime, in part because of his reliance on the philosophical writings of Aristotle and his Arabic-language commentators. It was in the 16th century (notably at the Council of Trent), that Thomas came to be seen as a bastion of orthodoxy and only in the 19th that the Church accorded him the title of 'Angelic Doctor'.

Aquinas' work may be distinguished from many of his contemporaries by his attention to the writings of Moses Maimonides (1135-1204), a Jew, and Ibn Sīnā [Avicenna] (980-1037), a Muslim. His contemporaries in Paris were responsive to the work of another Muslim, Ibn Rushd (Averroes) (1126-98), for his rendition of the philosophical achievements of Aristotle, but Aquinas' relation to Averroes focused primarily on his work as 'commentator'. He treated Maimonides and Avicenna, however, more as interlocutors, especially 'Rabbi Moses', whose extended conversations with his student Joseph in his *Guide for the perplexed* closely matched Aquinas' own project: to use philosophical inquiry to articulate one's received faith, and in the process extend that inquiry to include topics unsuspected by those bereft of divine revelation, notably the free creation of the universe. Yet the overriding authority of Aristotle allowed these three thinkers to share a perspective in their respective search for truth, despite palpable differences in religious perspectives.

Aquinas' tutelage under Albert the Great disposed him to Neoplatonic modes of inquiry, notably in the *Liber de causis*, a Latin translation of an Arabic text adapting Proclus to a universe freely created. Indeed, medieval inquiry was far less Eurocentric than subsequent commentators on Aquinas, most of them centered in north-east Europe. As a result, more focused attention on Aquinas' debt to Islamic and Jewish thinkers has emerged more recently, stimulated by the work of Georges Anawati, OP, and of Louis Gardet, under the aegis of the Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales in Cairo, initiated in 1946.

What seems to have inclined Aquinas to thinkers formed in the Islamicate traditions was their firm conviction regarding the oneness of God. This primary revelation of the Hebrew scriptures and of the Qur'an crowns Aquinas' presentation of the doctrine of God in the initial part of his *Summa theologiae*, where the initially unsurprising query – as to whether God is one (1.11) – caps the previous eight questions detailing how we can and should use semantic and philosophical strategies to identify God uniquely. An additional motivation, closer to prevailing Dominican concerns, would have been the specter of Manichean dualism. The revelation of Islam, novel as it was, served to reinforce the original Jewish insistence that God is one, which figured centrally in the early elaboration of Christian doctrine, notably that of Christology and divine triunity. It was primarily for conceptual strategies, however, that Aquinas mined his Islamic predecessors, while appropriating them (as he did Aristotle) to a use shaped by scripture and Catholic teaching. What comparative scholarship has revealed, however, is the ways in which Aquinas' mode of inquiry presages an ecumenical, intercultural approach to issues of philosophical theology.

While Aquinas' work bears the mark of Jewish and Muslim thinkers who wrote in Arabic, little of it deals directly with Islam, other than the two texts discussed below.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

For references to the Latin editions of Aquinas' works, see the list of secondary works. Below are a few introductory works in English.

R. McNerny (ed.), *Thomas Aquinas. Selected writings*, London, 1998

T. McDermott (ed.), *Aquinas. Selected writings*, Oxford, 1993

C. Martin (ed.), *The philosophy of Thomas Aquinas. Introductory readings*, London, 1988

Secondary

There are a vast number of studies on Aquinas. Some of the most important are:

- B. Davies, *Thomas Aquinas on God and evil*, Oxford, 2011
 F. Kerr, *Thomas Aquinas. A very short introduction*, Oxford, 2009
 G. Emery and F.A. Murphy, *The trinitarian theology of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, Oxford, 2007
 J. Inghish, *Thomas Aquinas*, Aldershot, 2006
 R. Van Nieuwenhove and J.P. Wawrykow, *The theology of Thomas Aquinas*, Notre Dame IN, 2005
 D. Burrell, 'Thomas Aquinas and Islam', *Modern Theology* 20 (2004) 71-79
 R. McInerny, *Aquinas*, Cambridge, 2004
 S.J. Pope, *The ethics of Aquinas*, Washington DC, 2002
 R. McInerny, art. 'Saint Thomas Aquinas', in *Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy*, 1999 & 2009 (<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/aquinas/>)
 D. Burrell, 'Aquinas and Islamic and Jewish thinkers', in N. Kretzmann and E. Stump (eds), *The Cambridge companion to Aquinas*, Cambridge, 1993, 60-84
 J. Weisheipl, *Thomas d'Aquino. His life, thought and work*, Washington DC, 1974
 J-P. Torrell, *Initiation à saint Thomas d'Aquinas*, Paris, 1993 (trans. R. Royal, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, vol. 1, *The person and his work*, Washington DC, 1996)
 D. Burrell, *Knowing the unknowable God. Ibn-Sina, Maimonides, Aquinas*, Notre Dame IN, 1986
 L. Gardet, 'La connaissance que Thomas d'Aquin put avoir du monde islamique', in G. Verbeke and D. Verhelst (eds), *Aquinas and the problems of his time*, The Hague, 1976, 139-49

David Burrell

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Liber de veritate catholicae fidei contra errores infidelium qui dicitur Summa contra gentiles; Summa contra gentiles, 'The truth of the catholic faith against the errors of the unbelievers, called the Summa against the Gentiles'

DATE 1264, or 1270-73

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This major work has traditionally been dated to 1264, though Murphy, 'The date and purpose of the *Contra gentiles*', dates it to between 1270

and 1273. In it, Thomas justifies the use of reason to complement faith. Thomas and Ramon Martí (q.v.) had together been students of Albert the Great, and it has been suggested that it was Martí who transmitted (possibly in 1269) the request from Ramon de Penyafort (q.v.) that Thomas compose a *Summa* to serve as another weapon in the Dominican arsenal of philosophical polemics and apologetics against Islam. While this hypothesis has stirred up some debate, it has been affirmed convincingly by Marc (vol. 1 of his edition, pp. 464-68), and Murphy, 'The date and purpose of the *Contra gentiles*'. Indeed, Thomas incorporates arguments from Martí's *Capistrum Iudaeorum* of 1267, while Martí in turn employs arguments from the *Summa contra gentiles* in his *Pugio fidei* of 1278. There has been some debate over whether Thomas's 'Gentile' adversaries are meant to be Muslims, generic non-Christian philosophers, or even Averroists in Paris; indeed he may have thought his work appropriate to all three groups.

Little in the *Summa contra gentiles* addresses Islam specifically. In one brief passage, Thomas does show that he has a general (and of course, quite negative) idea of who Muḥammad was. In *Summa contra gentiles* 1:6 he invokes the miracles performed by Christ as proof of the truth of Christianity, and contrasts Muḥammad, who produced no miracles, but who 'enticed peoples with the promise of carnal pleasures'. Thomas's knowledge of Islam is sparse; despite the reference to a 'perusal of his law', there is no evidence that he had ever seen a Latin translation of the Qur'an or that he had read any major Latin polemical text against Islam. Nevertheless, his portrayal, though a brief caricature, is similar to that of the Dominican missionaries. Clearly, he is completely unaware of Muslim counter-arguments to his arguments and he does not consider Muslim doctrine to be theologically sophisticated enough to merit thorough perusal and refutation. This is all the more surprising because he read (and incorporated into his theology) the works of a number of important Muslim philosophers and theologians. He nevertheless brands Muḥammad's followers as 'carnal', 'beast-like', irrational men. He claims that Muḥammad discouraged his followers from studying the Bible.

SIGNIFICANCE

In The *Summa contra gentiles* Aquinas presents his conception of the distinction between that which can be known through human reason (and hence is knowable to Gentiles, be they ancient pagan philosophers or Muslims) and the truths of Christianity known only through revelation (in particular, the sacraments and certain doctrines: the Trinity and

Incarnation). Partly through Thomas's influence, this was to become the standard Dominican approach to dialogue and polemics with Muslims, found in the work of authors whose knowledge of Islam was much deeper, such as Ramon Martí, Ramon de Penyafort and Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (q.v.).

MANUSCRIPTS

The editors of the Leonine edition list 102 extant medieval manuscripts (xiii, pp. xii-xv). One of them, Vaticanus Latinus 9850, is an autograph, containing fragments of the *Summa contra gentiles* and of two other works of Thomas, the *Postillae super Isaiam* and the *Commentarius super Boetium de Trinitate* (pp. vii-ix).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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- T. Sante Centi, *La somma contro i Gentili*, 3 vols, Bologna, 2000 (Italian trans.)
- C. Michon, *Somme contre les gentils. Livre sur la vérité de la foi catholique contre les erreurs des infidèles*, 4 vols, Paris, 1999 (French trans.)
- P. Marc (ed.), *Liber de veritate catholicae fidei contra errores infidelium qui dicitur Summa contra gentiles*, 3 vols, Turin, 1961-67 (vol. 1 comprises an introductory study)
- R. Bernier et al., *Somme contre les gentils*, 4 vols, Paris, 1951-61 and 1993 (French trans.)
- A.C. Pegis et al. (trans.), *Summa contra gentiles. On the truth of the catholic faith*, 5 vols, Notre Dame IN, 1955 and 1975
- Summa contra gentiles cum commentariis Ferrariensis, Sancti Thomas Aquinitatis Doctoris Angelici opera omnia iussa edita Leonis XIII*, vols 13-15, Rome, 1918-30 (this, the standard edition of Thomas's works, commissioned by Pope Leo XIII, is known as the 'Leonine edition')
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STUDIES

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- S.A. Otto, "'Felix culpa". The doctrine of original sin as doctrine of hope in Aquinas's *Summa contra gentiles*', *Heythrop Journal* 50 (2009) 781-92
- C. van Dyke, 'Human identity, immanent causal relations, and the principle of non-repeatability. Thomas Aquinas on the bodily resurrection', *Religious Studies. An International Journal for the Philosophy of Religion* 43 (2007) 373-94
- T.S. Hibbs, *Dialectic and narrative in Aquinas. An interpretation of the Summa contra gentiles*, Notre Dame IN, 2005
- J. Wawrykow, 'Hypostatic union', in R. van Nieuwenhove and J. Wawrykow (eds), *The theology of Thomas Aquinas*, Notre Dame IN, 2005, 222-51
- R. te Velde, 'Christian eschatology and the end of time according to Thomas Aquinas (*Summa contra gentiles* IV, c. 97)', in J.A. Aertsen and M. Pickave (eds), *Ende und Vollendung. Eschatologische Perspektiven im Mittelalter*, Berlin, 2002, 595-604
- V. Possenti, 'Vita, natura e teleologia', *Aquinas. Rivista Internazionale di Filosofia* 45 (2002) 31-55
- R. Schönberger, *Thomas von Aquins 'Summa contra gentiles'*, Darmstadt, 2001
- C. Chang, *Engaging unbelief. A captivating strategy from Augustine and Aquinas*, Downers Grove IL, 2000
- N. Kretzmann, 'The metaphysics of providence. Aquinas's natural theology in *Summa contra gentiles* III', *Medieval Philosophy and Theology* 9 (2000) 91-183
- R.M. Burns, 'Divine infinity in Thomas Aquinas. II: a critical analysis', *Heythrop Journal* 39 (1998) 123-39
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- R.I. Burns, *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the crusader Kingdom of Valencia*, Cambridge, 1984
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- M. Asín y Palacios, 'El averroísmo teológico de Santo Tomás de Aquino', *Homenaje á d. Francisco Codera en su jubilación del profesorado, estudios de erudición oriental*, Zaragoza, 1904, 271-331
- L. Getino, *La Summa contra gentiles y el Pugio fidei*, Vergara, 1905

De rationibus fidei contra Saracenos, Graecos et Armenos ad cantorem Antiochenum; De rationibus fidei, 'Reasons for the faith against the Saracens, Greeks and Armenians, to the cantor of Antioch'

DATE Not long before 1274

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Some time after he finished his *Summa contra gentiles*, Thomas composed a brief tract, *Reasons for the faith*, for the cantor of Antioch, who had asked him to provide arguments to defend the faith against the objections of Muslims and Eastern Christians.

The Muslim objections to Christian doctrine (as reported by the Cantor) are standard ones: God can have no son because he has no wife; it is 'insane' to profess three persons in one God; Christ was not crucified in order to save humankind; it is ridiculous to believe Christians eat God at the altar or to believe that man's fate is not pre-determined by divinely ordained destiny.

To each of these Muslim objections, Thomas gives a substantial reply to show how Christian doctrine is consistent with (though not provable by) reason. For Thomas, these Muslim objections, far from reflecting any irrationality (or non-rationality) of Christian doctrine, reflect the irrational, 'carnal' nature of the Muslims: in response to the objection that God can have no son because he has no wife, Thomas comments: 'Since [the Muslims] are carnal, they can think only of what is flesh and blood', and that they thus cannot understand the Christian doctrine of spiritual generation of the Son by the Father.

SIGNIFICANCE

In his *Reasons for the faith*, Thomas reaffirms the approach to Islam sketched out in the *Summa contra gentiles*, adapting it to the specific apologetic needs of Christians in contact with Muslims. He is clear about the limits of the defensive arguments he provides, warning the cantor (in accordance with Dominican practice) that reason can be used to destroy rival creeds and defend one's own doctrines from the charge of irrationality, but not to prove the truth of Christianity.

MANUSCRIPTS

The editors of the Leonine edition (pp. 8-13) list 77 medieval manuscripts.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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J. Salij, 'Św. Tomasza z Akwinu *De rationibus fidei*', *Studia Theologica Varsaviensia* 18 (1980) 219-50 (edition and Polish trans.)

De rationibus fidei ad cantorem Antiochenum, Sancti Thomas Aquinatis Doctoris Angelici opera omnia iussa edita Leonis XIII, vol. 40B, Rome, 1968

Opuscules de saint Thomas d'Aquin, 2. Contra errores Graecorum; Contra Graecos, Aremenos et Saracenos ad cantorem Antiochenum (de rationibus fidei), Contre les erreurs des Grecs; Contre les Grecs, les Arméniens et les Sarrasins au chantage d'Antioche, Paris, 1856 (repr. 1984)

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STUDIES

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H. Seitschek, 'Thomas von Aquin und die nichtchristlichen Religionen', *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 53 (2006) 7-20

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G. Reynolds, 'Saint Thomas' Islamic challenge. Reflections on the Antiochene questions', *ICMR* 12 (2001) 161-89

L.B. Hagemann, 'Missionstheoretische Ansätze bei Thomas von Aquin in seiner Schrift *De rationibus fidei*', in A. Zimmermann (ed.), *Thomas von Aquin. Werk und Wirkung im licht neuerer Forschungen*, Berlin, 1988, 459-83

J. Salij, 'Św. Tomasza z Akwinu'

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John Tolan

Al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assāl

Al-Mu'taman Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-'Assāl

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; first quarter of the 13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Cairo
DATE OF DEATH	Between 1270 and 1286
PLACE OF DEATH	Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Mu'taman Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-'Assāl was half-brother to al-Ṣafi (q.v.) and al-As'ad, and evidently a son of his father's second marriage. He was a married priest in the Coptic Church. He received news of his wife's death when he was away from Cairo, probably in Damascus.

He travelled to this city on a number of occasions between about 1237 and 1260, and in 1260 he lost his library there in a popular uprising of Muslims against Christians following a defeat of the Mongols by the Mamluks. He then settled in Egypt, where he composed the works for which he is known, including the *Majmū' uṣūl al-dīn*, an introduction to the Pauline Epistles, several liturgical works and homilies, and a work of Coptic lexicography, a *sullam muqaffā* or 'scala rimata' (for al-Mu'taman's works, see Wadi, *Studio*, ch. 4).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Maqāla mukhtaṣara fī uṣūl al-dīn, 'A concise treatise on the principles of religion'; *Al-tabṣira l-mukhtaṣara*, 'The concise instruction'

DATE 13 March-13 April 1260

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This booklet, a kind of catechism, is a foretaste of and preparation for *Majmū' uṣūl al-dīn*. It is not a summary, as Graf believed, because in the introduction al-Mu'taman promises he will write a longer work. He also explains the intention of this short work: to defend Christians against attacks from opponents who seek to put them in difficulties. It is divided into two parts, each comprising eight chapters. The first part is on the essential components of faith: the Creed, the authenticity of the Gospels, the beliefs of the three main denominations about Christ, the being of God, and the Trinity. The second part focuses on Christology, with the last two chapters discussing soteriology.

SIGNIFICANCE

Al-tabṣira l-mukhtaṣara is evidence of the ongoing differences and debates over matters of faith between Christians and Muslims. It speaks of a particularly challenging time for Egyptian Christians when the need to arm them against Muslim aggressiveness was acute.

MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Vat – Ar. 103, fols 2r-10r (original Coptic numbering); 236r-244v (Arabic occidental numbering) (last quarter of the 13th century)
- MS Vat – Ar. 107, fols 98v-105v; 188v-195v (15th century)
- MS Aleppo, Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem – Ar. 238 (Sbath 1040), pp. 186-200 (1787/88)

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Wādī al-Naṭrūn, 1951, p. 115; 2nd edition, Cairo, 2001, p. 81

Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 412

Graf, 'Die Koptische Gelehrtenfamilie der Aulād al-'Assāl und ihr Schrifttum', pp. 36-37, 197

Mallon, 'Ibn al-'Assāl. Les trois écrivains de ce nom', pp. 513, 522

Majmū' uṣūl al-dīn wa-masmū' maḥṣūl al-yaqīn,
 'Compendium of the principles of religion and
 the received tradition of what has been found
 to be certain'; *Majmū' uṣūl al-dīn*, 'Compendium
 of the principles of religion'

DATE Between 1260 and 1275

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This substantial work comprises 70 chapters in five parts, together with an introduction and conclusion. In some manuscripts it is divided into two volumes. Vol. 1 contains two parts divided into 19 chapters. The first part, chs 1-15, can be regarded as a general introduction to Christian teachings. It includes philosophical discussions, in which Muslim authors such as Ibn Sīnā and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (q.v.) are mentioned (chs 2-7, 11), a long Christological discussion (ch. 8), and accounts of the Gospels and Creed. The second part, chs 16-19, is on the unity of God and the Trinity.

Vol. 2 contains the remaining three parts. The third part, chs 20-45, covers Christian belief in Christ, and includes references to Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī (q.v.), al-Ṣafī ibn al-'Assāl (q.v.), and the discussions between Elias of Nisibis (q.v.) and a Muslim vizier. The fourth part, chs 46-59, includes doctrinal arguments about the Virgin Mary, the cross, icons, liturgical hymns, the Apostles and prophets, angels and demons, penance and

confession, free will, wealth and poverty, and death. Among these, ch. 53 is concerned with the doctrinal justification for the role of the patriarch. The fifth part, chs 60-70, is devoted to eschatology.

SIGNIFICANCE

While *Majmū' uṣūl al-dīn* is not explicitly intended as an apologetic or polemical work, its apologetic intention is in fact clear. Al-Mu'taman shows he is conscious of Islam throughout, from his use of the typically Muslim phrase *uṣūl al-dīn* in the title, to his extensive use of Ibn Sīnā and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and mention of other Muslims such as al-Fārābī. Moreover, he also refers extensively to Christians who were known for their apologetic works, particularly Ḥabīb ibn Khidma Abū Rā'iṭa (q.v.), 'Ammār al-Baṣrī (q.v.), Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī (q.v.), 'Isā Ibn Zur'a (q.v.), Elias of Nisibis (q.v.), 'Abdallāh ibn al-Ṭayyib (q.v.) and his own brother al-Ṣafī ibn al-'Assāl (q.v.). The work contains one of the largest collections of texts in defense of the Christian doctrines that Muslims were particularly accustomed to target.

MANUSCRIPTS

The list below is based on that published in Wadi, *Studio*, pp. 189-92 (see also pp. 198-215 for a description of the ten MSS on which Wadi bases his critical edition).

- MS Vat – Ar. 103 (13th century; vol. 1)
- MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 201 (13th-14th century; vol. 1)
- MS Red Sea, Monastery of St Anthony – Theology 118 (1329)
- MS Red Sea, Monastery of St Anthony – Theology 119 (1329; vol. 1)
- MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 1089 (Cheikho 583) (14th century; introduction and chs 1-15)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – Theology 211, fols 52-320 (Simaika 47, Graf 125) (14th century; chs 6-61)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 104 (Simaika 239, Graf 648) (1554; vol. 1)
- MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 198, fols 11-20v (16th century; ch. 10)
- MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 214, fols 221v-227v (1538; ch. 10)
- MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 200 (1613)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 105 (Simaika 286, Graf 647) (1643; vol. 1)
- MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Oriental 2098 [517] (1655)
- MS London, BL – Oriental 1020 (1677/78)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 322 (Simaika 284, Graf 649) (1724)

- MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 287 (Simaika 540, Graf 540)
(1765; chs 10, 55, 58, 59, 62, 64-67)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 102 (Simaika 421, Graf 324)
(1792; vol. 1)
- MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Dayr al-Baramūs – 20 (1797)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – Theology 202 (Simaika 66, Graf 116)
(18th century; chs 16, 17, 19, 25, 32, 34, 40)
- MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Dayr Anbā Maqar – Theology 12 (Zanetti 283)
(18th century?; chs 20-59)
- MS Asyut, Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ – Theology 49 (1809; vol. 1)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 101 (Simaika 497, Graf 650)
(1834)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 217 (Simaika 501) (1839;
chs 2, 8)
- MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Dayr al-Suryān – 139 (1839)
- MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Dayr Anbā Maqar – Theology 10 (Zanetti 281)
(1854?)
- MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Dayr al-Suryān – 140 (1856)
- MS Damascus, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – 107 (formerly 1773)
(1858; vol. 1?)
- MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Dayr Anbā Bishoi – Theology 304 (1858; vol. 2)
- MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Dayr al-Suryān – 141 (1858)
- MS Beirut, Bibliothèq̄ue Orientale – 1099 (Cheikho 584) (1860; chs 2-19 –
Karshūnī)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 103 (Simaika 468, Graf 326)
(1867; vol. 1)
- MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Dayr Anbā Maqar – Theology 11 (Zanetti 282)
(1872?; vol. 1)
- MS Red Sea, Monastery of St Paul – Theology 27 (general 149)
(1875/76)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 234 (Simaika 527) (1877;
vol. 1)
- MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Dayr Anbā Bishoi – Theology 305 (1877)
- MS Birmingham, University Library – Mingana 54 [64b] (1880)
- MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 4786, fols 138v-220v (19th century; chs 27-34, 36-39,
41-42, 48-49)
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introduction and chs 1-15)
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 chs 1-37)
 MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Dayr al-Baramūs – 19 (1943)
 MS Cairo, Franciscan Centre – 403 (20th century; last part of ch. 4, 5-7,
 first part of ch. 11)
 MS Beni Suef, Dayr Bayāḍ (date unknown)
 MS Florence, Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentiana – Oriental 229 (for-
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 MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 237 (Simaika 471, Graf 368)
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 al-'Assāl*, pp. 193-97

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Al-Ṣafī ibn al-‘Assāl

Al-Ṣafī Abū l-Faḍā’il Mājid ibn al-‘Assāl

DATE OF BIRTH 12th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Cairo
DATE OF DEATH Most likely between 1253 and 1275
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Ṣafī ibn al-‘Assāl was from a rich and famous family from Miṣr (Old Cairo) (and not from Sadamant [Beni Suef] as many scholars believe). Al-Ṣafī’s father’s first wife died and he remarried. Al-Ṣafī was probably a child of the first marriage. He had a full brother, al-As‘ad, and two half-brothers from his father’s second marriage, al-Mu’taman (q.v.) and al-Amjad. Like them, al-Ṣafī was educated in the Christian faith and in the Islamic sciences. He probably travelled to Syria and Palestine, and possibly Jerusalem, where he encountered crusaders; in fact, he speaks admiringly of Western Christians.

Al-Ṣafī was neither a priest nor a bishop, though he may have been a deacon. He definitely played some ecclesiastical role, because he acted as secretary of the Synod of Ḥārat Zuwayla in early September 1238, and he appears to have been close to the church leadership.

Al-Ṣafī began his literary activity in 1232 or before, and wrote many books on a variety of subjects. His earliest work is probably his *Jawāb al-Nāshi’* (‘Response to al-Nāshi’), the 9th-century Mu’tazilī (q.v.). He also wrote responses to other Muslim authors, such as ‘Alī l-Ṭabarī (q.v.), al-Ja‘farī (q.v.), and a scholar for whom he expressed admiration, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (q.v.), notably his *Nihāyat al-‘uqūl* (‘Goal of intelligences’) and *Kitāb al-arba’in* (‘The forty’). He also made remarkably lucid and perceptive epitomes of many of the works of Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī (q.v.) and other Christian apologists, as well as of patristic works (see Samir, *Brefs chapitres*, pp. 638-40, 644-46).

Al-Ṣafī is best known for his canonical work, *Majmū‘ al-qawānīn* (‘Collection of canons’), finished in 1238, which displays definite influences from Islamic legal teaching in both its terminology and conceptualization. This work was translated into Ge‘ez, and it has also been used by the Maronites. It is no exaggeration to say that al-Ṣafī was the greatest

canonist of the Coptic Church. But while he is remembered as a canonist, al-Şafī was probably also the greatest Copto-Arabic apologist of his age. Through his epitomes of Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī and others, he transmitted important parts of the Arabic Christian theological and apologetic heritage to the Copts. Six of his own apologetic works are treated below, though these do not exhaust his output in this field (see Samir, *Brefs chapters*, pp. 647-48; Samir, ‘Un traité perdu’).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Jawāb al-Nāshi' al-Akbar, 'Response to al-Nāshi' al-Akbar'

DATE Unknown, perhaps before 1235

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work is also known by the titles *Jawāb 'Abdallāh al-Nāshi' fi l-Maqālāt* (so al-Mu'taman and Abū l-Barakāt), *Al-radd 'alā Kitāb al-maqālāt li-l-Nāshi'*, and *Ijābat al-Nāshi'*. In his introduction, al-Şafī states that he had read al-Nāshi' 's (q.v.) work in a copy by Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī (q.v.), and that he had made a summary. When he returned the book to its owner, the latter asked him to respond to al-Nāshi' 's attack against Christianity. Al-Şafī obliged and dedicated his response to his brother, al-Rashīd Abū l-Majd.

In his response, al-Şafī follows al-Nāshi' 's book closely. The section on Christians follows shorter sections on dualists, Zoroastrians and Jews, and is itself followed by a section on Muslim thinkers. After an introduction, the Muslim briefly describes the doctrine of the Trinity and then various forms of Christology in detail, and he concludes with a refutation of the Trinity. Al-Şafī replies to selected arguments, acknowledging Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī as his main source, though also presenting additional arguments.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work represents a major response to an unusual early Muslim controversialist. It was used by al-Şafī himself in later works, by al-Mu’taman ibn al-‘Assāl in *Majmū‘ uşūl al-dīn*, and by Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar. It continued to be relevant even in the 19th century, when the Coptic bishop Yūsāb al-Abahḥ (d. 1826) made use of it.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 83 (Simaika 370, Graf 418), fols 30v-50v (1752)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Davis, *Coptic Christology in practice*, p. 315 (trans. of ch. 25 of al-Mu’taman, *Majmū‘ uşūl al-dīn*)

Al-Mu’taman ibn al-‘Assāl, *Majmū‘ uşūl al-dīn*, ed. Wadi, trans. Pirone, i, ch. 17, §§ 14-26; ch. 19, §§ 21-27; ii, ch. 24; ch. 25, §§ 2-5; ch. 31

STUDIES

Davis, *Coptic Christology in practice*, pp. 252, 256-57, 315-16

D. Thomas, *Christian doctrines in Islamic theology*, Leiden, 2008, pp. 19-34

Wadi, ‘Introduzione’, p. 465 (§ 50)

Qanawātī, *Al-Masīḥiyya wa-l-ḥaḍāra l-‘arabiyya*, pp. 277-78

Samir, ‘Bibliographie’, pp. 175-76

Al-Şafī ibn al-‘Assāl, *Brefs chapitres*, p. 647

J. van Ess, ed., *Frühere mu’tazilitische Häresiographie. Zwei Werke des Naşī’ al-Akbar (gest. 293H), herausgegeben und eingeleitet (Beiruter Texte II)*, Beirut, 1971

Graf, *GCAL* ii, 390-91

G. Graf, ‘Die koptische Gelehrtenfamilie’, pp. 136-37

Al-şahā’ih fi jawāb al-Naşā’ih, ‘The truths in response to The advice’

DATE Between 1238 and 1243; perhaps shortly after 1238

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Al-şahā’ih, which is also known as *Al-şahā’ih fi l-radd ‘alā l-Naşā’ih* (‘The truths in refutation of The advice’, implying that the Muslim original bore the title *Al-naşā’ih*), and simply *Al-şahā’ih al-Şafāwiyya* (‘The truths of

al-Şafī'), is a response to a Muslim refutation of Christian beliefs. Al-Şafī does not name his opponent, saying only that he was a Christian who had become a Muslim at the age of 70 (ed. Jirjis, p. 35), though in *Nahj al-sabīl* (see below) he names him as Ibn Rabban (ed. Jirjis, pp. 82, 120). This identifies him as 'Alī ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī (q.v.), an Iraqi Nestorian physician who in about 850 became a Muslim, after which he wrote his *Radd 'alā l-Naṣārā* ('Refutation of the Christians').

Al-Şafī divides his response into 15 chapters. The first is an introduction, in which he acknowledges his sources: Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī (q.v.), Ibrāhīm ibn 'Awn (q.v.), John Chrysostom, 'Abdallāh ibn al-Ṭayyib (q.v.), and his own *Jawāb al-Nāshi' al-Akbar*, as well as Muslim sources such as Ibn Sīnā and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (q.v.).

Then, in chs 2 and 3, he discusses 10 methodological principles. In chs 4-15 he replies to 'Alī l-Ṭabarī, following the order of his work and focusing on the Trinity and Christology in most chapters. In ch. 15 he directs his remarks against 'Alī l-Ṭabarī himself.

SIGNIFICANCE

This is the first Christian response to 'Alī al-Ṭabarī's *Radd*, and it serves the purpose of preserving the outline of the original, making it possible to have some understanding of the content of the latter parts that are not extant. It maybe demonstrates how thorough al-Şafī was in his defense of his own faith, as he ensured that no attack upon it went unanswered, not least those from Christian converts to Islam.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vat – Ar. 33, fols 30v-94r (original Coptic numbering), 88v-153r (Arabic occidental numbering) (1305)

MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Ar. 948, fols 13r-40v (1305)

MS Vat – Ar. 38, fols 1v-118v (1361)

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 1100 (Cheikho 586), pp. 1-184 (1896)

MS Damascus, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – 416 (19th century)

MS Florence, Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentiana – Or. 299, fols 1r-131r (date unknown)

MS Cairo, Coptic Catholic Patriarchate – 69 (date unknown; damaged)

MS Sharfeh, Syrian Catholic Patriarchate – Syr. 9:14 (date unknown; Karshūnī – extracts)

MS Cairo, heirs of 'Abd al-Masiḥ Ṣalīb al-Baramūsī al-Mas'ūdī (inaccessible manuscript in private collection, but used in Jirjis' edition; see Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 16, no. 72)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Al-Mu’taman ibn al-‘Assāl, *Majmū‘ uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Wadi, trans. Pirone, i, ch. 2, §§ 77-78; ch. 11, §§ 2-69, 82-90; ii, ch. 23, §§ 24-30; ch. 45; ch. 46, § 9; ch. 47, § 3

[S.]K. Samir, ‘L’accord des religions monothéistes entre elles selon al-Şafī ibn al-‘Assāl’, *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 36 (1986) 206-29 (edition and trans. of passages from ch. 10 [cf. *Al-ṣaḥā’ih*, ed. Jirjis, pp. 83-87] and ch. 2 [*Al-ṣaḥā’ih*, ed. Jirjis, pp. 6-7])

[S.]K. Samir, ‘Deux citations d’al-Şafī Ibn al-‘Assāl au ch. 46 de la *Somme théologique* d’al-Mu’taman’, *OCP* 51 (1985), 156-62 (short extract)

Samir, ‘Un traité perdu d’al-Şafī b. al-‘Assāl’, 283-96 (brief extract)

[S.]K. Samir, ‘La réponse d’al-Şafī ibn al-‘Assāl à la réfutation des chrétiens de ‘Alī al-Ṭabarī’, *Pd’O* 11 (1983) 281-323 (various extracts)

Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar, *Miṣbāḥ al-zulma*, ed. Samir, ch. 1, p. 9 (cf. *Al-ṣaḥā’ih*, ed. Jirjis, pp. 6-7)

Kitāb al-ṣaḥā’ih fī jawāb Naṣā’ih. Taṣnīf al-Shammās... al-Şafī... Ibn al-‘Assāl, ed. Marqus Jirjis, Cairo, 1926/27 (complete but non-critical edition)

STUDIES

Samir, ‘Bibliographie’, pp. 177-78

Graf, *GCAL* ii, 389-90

G. Graf, ‘Exegetische Schriften zum Neuen Testament in arabischer Sprache bis zum 14. Jahrhundert’, *Biblische Zeitschrift* 21 (1921) 22-40, 161-69, p. 38

Graf, ‘Die Philosophie und Gotteslehre’, pp. 63-68

Filūthā’ūs Ibrāhīm, Introduction, in Jirjis Filūthā’ūs ‘Awad (ed.), *Al-majmū‘ al-Şafawī. Kitāb al-qawānīn*, Cairo, 1908, h-s

Mallon, ‘Ibn al-‘Assāl’, pp. 518-19

Fuṣūl mukhtaṣara fī l-tathlīth wa-l-ittiḥād, ‘Brief chapters on the Trinity and the act of Uniting’

DATE June 1242

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Fuṣūl mukhtaṣara is quoted by al-Mu’taman ibn al-‘Assāl, who identifies it as *min al-taṣnīf al-Şafawīyya*, ‘from Şafī’s works’. The work is not listed

by Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar in the bibliographical chapter of his *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulma*.

The treatise is divided into two parts, the first on the Trinity (chs 1-6), and the second on the act of uniting between the divine and human natures in Christ (chs 7-11). At the beginning of each part al-Şafī explains the meaning of the terms he uses. In the second part, he demonstrates his ecumenical outlook by explaining the position of each main Christian group (the ‘Jacobites’, the ‘Melkites’ and the ‘Nestorians’) and by justifying the beliefs of each (ch. 8). The conclusion of the work deals with *al-‘ilm al-ilāhī*, the knowledge of divine things, that is only possible to purified intellects (ch. 12).

SIGNIFICANCE

The treatise has the appearance of a simple theological exposition, but al-Şafī’s intention is apologetic. He does not speak about Christian differences over the nature of Christ, because he wants to see one united front against attacks from Muslim opponents.

Al-Şafī does not mention his sources, but it is clear that he refers to Yahyā ibn ‘Adī (q.v.), ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ṭayyib (q.v.), and his own earlier works. ‘Brief chapters’ was used by his brother al-Mu’taman (q.v.) in his *Majmū‘ usūl al-dīn*, ch. 18 (ed. and trans. Wadi and Pirone, §§ 104-10); and by Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar (q.v.) in *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulma*, ch. 1 (ed. Samīr, pp. 10-11).

MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 199, fols 11r-12r (c. 1274)
- MS Vat – Ar. 145, fols 33v-45v (end of the 13th century)
- MS Cairo, Church of St Mina – Theology 5, fols 188r-192v (17th century)
- MS Aleppo, Sbath 1552, pp. 1-9 (possibly 17th century; whereabouts unknown)
- MS Sharfeh, Syrian Catholic Patriarchate – Syr. 9/5, pp. 1-13 (possibly 17th century; Karshūnī)
- MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Syr. (Sachau 41), fols 1v-7v (1711; Karshūnī)
- MS ‘Ashqūt, Lebanon, Sts Peter and Paul School – 55, fols 22v-27r (1718)
- MS Red Sea, Monastery of St Anthony – Theology 319 (1778/79)
- MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 876 (Cheikho 459), pp. 1-9 (18th century)
- MS Vat – Sbath 3, fols 1v-5r (18th century)

MS Birmingham, University Library – Mingana Syriac 140, fols. 1r-7v
(1896; Karshūnī)

MS Aleppo, Constantin Khuḍarī Collection (inaccessible MS in private collection; see Sbath, *Fihris*, i, p. 16, no. 74)

MS Sharfeh, Syrian Catholic Patriarchate – Raḥmānī 374 (date unknown)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Davis, *Coptic Christology in practice*, pp. 306-10 (trans. of chs 7-11; cf. Samir, *Brefs chapitres*, pp. 714-37)

Al-Mu‘taman ibn al-‘Assāl, *Majmū‘ uṣūl al-dīn*, i, ch. 18, §§ 104-12 (cf. Samir, *Brefs chapitres*, chs 1-4, pp. 688-703)

Al-Şafī ibn al-‘Assāl, *Brefs chapitres sur la Trinité et l’Incarnation*, ed. and trans. [S.]K. Samir (*PO* 42, fasc. 3 = no 192), Turnhout, 1985

[S.]K. Samir, ‘Maqāla fī l-Tathlīth li-l-Şafī ibn al-‘Assāl’, *Al-Şalāḥ* 48 (1977) 106-10, 153-60, 208-14

[S.]K. Samir, ‘Maqāla fī l-ittihād li-l-Şafī ibn al-‘Assāl’, *Al-Şalāḥ* 49 (1978) 43-46, 113-19 (chs 9-12 missing)

Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar, *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulma fī idāḥ al-khidma*, ch. 1, pp. 10-11 (cf. Samir, *Brefs chapitres*, pp. 702-7)

P. Sbath, *Vingt traités philosophiques et apologétiques d’auteurs arabes chrétiens du IX^e au XIV^e siècle*, Cairo, 1929, pp. 111-22

STUDIES

Davis, *Coptic Christology in practice*, pp. 252, 254-55, 261-62, 306-10

Wadi, ‘Mumayyizāt kristūlijīyya’

Wadi, ‘Introduzione’, p. 465 (§ 50)

Wadi, *Studio*, pp. 103-4

Wadi, ‘La soteriologia’

Wadi, ‘Les sources’, pp. 227-28

Samir, ‘Şafī ibn al-‘Assāl, al’, p. 2077

Wadi, ‘Al-Şafī ibn al-‘Assāl (sec. XIII) e il suo pensiero cristologico’

Samir, *Brefs chapitres*, pp. 649-80

Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 395

Graf, ‘Die koptische Gelehrtenfamilie’, pp. 136-37

Cheikho, *Catalogue*, pp. 12-13 (§ 34)

Graf, ‘Die Philosophie und Gotteslehre’, pp. 63, 65-67

Cheikho, ‘Al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya’, pp. 759-60 (§128)

Filūthā’ūs Ibrāhīm, introduction, in Jirjis Filūthā’ūs ‘Awad (ed.),

Al-majmū‘ al-Şafawī. Kitāb al-qawānīn, Cairo, 1908, pp. h-s

Mallon, ‘Ibn al-‘Assāl’, pp. 518-19

Al-shakk al-wārid min al-imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-khaṭīb ‘alā l-ittihād wa-jawāb al-shaykh al-Şafī fi l-mas’ala l-tāsi’a min Kitāb al-arba‘īn, ‘The doubt raised by the imām Fakhr al-Dīn the secretary about the act of Uniting and the response of the shaykh al-Şafī’, concerning question nine of *Kitāb al-arba‘īn*’

DATE Between 1238 and 1243

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This brief work (also known by the slightly different title *Al-shukūk al-wārida min al-imām Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb ‘alā l-ittihād wa-jawāb al-akh al-fāḍil al-Şafī*, ‘The doubts raised by the imām Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb on the act of Uniting, and the response of the virtuous brother al-Şafī’) is not listed in Abū l-Barakāt (q.v.), and it does not exist independently. Rather, it is to be found in two manuscripts at the end of *Al-ṣahā’ih fi jawāb al-Naṣā’ih*, and in manuscripts of *Majmū‘ uṣūl al-dīn*, which can be considered as witnesses to it.

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (q.v.) ridicules the possibility of the Incarnation of Christ (using the term often favored by Nestorians, *ḥulūl*). Al-Şafī responds point by point, firstly speaking of the necessity for the Incarnation and then of its possibility. He ends with proofs of the divinity of Christ.

SIGNIFICANCE

In other works, al-Şafī mentions al-Rāzī as his favorite author among Muslim theologians, and earlier he made a summary of the *Kitāb al-arba‘īn*. But his great esteem does not stop him from responding to what al-Rāzī says and demonstrating the weakness of his arguments on the Incarnation.

This little rejoinder attests to al-Şafī’s intimacy with current Muslim thought.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vat – Ar. 38, fols 118v-125v (1361)

MS Florence, Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentiana – Or. 299, fols 131r-141r (date unknown)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Al-Mu’taman ibn al-‘Assāl, *Majmū‘ uṣūl al-dīn*, ii, ch. 40

STUDIES —

Nahj al-sabīl fī jawāb Takhjīl muḥarrifī al-Injīl,
 ‘The procedure along the way in response to
 The shaming of those who alter the Gospel’

DATE Perhaps 1243

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work has sometimes been thought to be part of *Al-ṣahā’ih*, though it is a separate response to a different anti-Christian polemic. This was a summarized version (possibly made by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī, d. 1285 [q.v.]) of a work by an author who is called *al-faqīh* (ed. Jirjis, pp. 60, 76, 86, 100, 108, 121), and Taqī l-Dīn (ibid., p. 107), and is said to be a judge who was a bookseller (ibid., p. 45). He can be identified as Taqī l-Dīn Abū l-Baqā’ Ṣāliḥ al-Ja‘farī (q.v.), a convert from Christianity to Islam who wrote his *Takhjīl* between 1221 and 1238. He died in 1269/70.

Al-Şafī’s reply consists of an introduction and five parts. In the introduction, he tells of how he learned of al-Ja‘farī’s work from a wise and virtuous man, and also from the Patriarch Cyril III (1235-43), and says that he is writing his refutation in response to their requests. The topic of each of the first four parts is Christology, and then in part 5 al-Şafī turns to the Muslim claim that prophecies of Muḥammad are to be found in the Bible. Throughout, he follows the structure of the *Takhjīl*. Since this is based on ‘Alī al-Ṭabarī’s earlier *Radd ‘alā l-Naṣārā*, al-Şafī often refers to arguments in his *Ṣahā’ih* rather than repeat himself.

SIGNIFICANCE

This response testifies to al-Şafī’s acute concern not to leave refutations unanswered, and possibly his desire not to allow converts from Christianity to Islam to have the last word. The fact that he was alerted to al-Ja‘farī’s work by the Patriarch raises the possibility that he may have been writing in some kind of official capacity.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vat – Ar. 33, fols 95r-149v (original Coptic numbering), 152r-205v (Arabic occidental numbering) (1305; introduction, parts 1-3 and part 4 section 1, cf. ed. Jirjis, pp. 1-78)

MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Ar. 948, fols 150r-159v (original Coptic numbering), 41r-49v (Arabic occidental numbering) (1305; part 4 section 2, cf. ed. Jirjis, pp. 78-90)

- MS Vat – Ar. 159, fols 160r-184r (original Coptic numbering), 29r-53r (Arabic occidental numbering) (1305; part 4 section 3 and part 5, cf. ed. Jirjis, pp. 90-125)
- MS Sharfeh Syrian Catholic Patriarchate – Syr. 4 (1590; extracts – Karshūnī)
- MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 1100 (Cheikho 586), pp. 246-341 (1896)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Catholic Patriarchate – 69 (date unknown; damaged)
- MS Cairo, heirs of ‘Abd al-Masiḥ Ṣalīb al-Baramūsī al-Mas‘ūdī (inaccessible MS in private collection, but used in Jirjis’ edition; see Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 16, no. 72)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Nahj al-sabīl fī Takhjiḥ muḥarrifī l-Injīl. Taṣnīf al-Shammās... al-Şafī... ibn al-‘Assāl, ed. Marqus Jirjis, Cairo, 1926/27

STUDIES

- [S.]K. Samir, ‘Une citation du traité christologique attribué au calife al-Mu‘izz (m. 975) chez al-Şafī ibn al-‘Assāl’, *OCP* 50 (1984) 398-406
- Graf, *GCAL* ii, 389-90
- Graf, ‘Die koptische Gelehrtenfamilie’, pp. 135-36
- Graf, ‘Die Philosophie und Gotteslehre’, pp. 63-68
- Mallon, ‘Ibn al-‘Assāl’, pp. 518-19

Mā ukhtuṣir ‘alā ta‘līqihī min kalām ba‘ḍ al-Masīḥiyyīn fī l-radd ‘alā l-kitāb al-ma‘rūf bi-l-Lum‘a al-muḍṭ‘a alladhi jarradahu Abū l-Manṣūr ibn Faṭḥ al-Dimyāṭī min kitābihī alladhi qaṣada bihī al-radd ‘alā l-Naṣārā, ‘What has been abbreviated from his comments on the discourse of a Christian, in refutation of the book called *Al-lum‘a l-muḍṭ‘a*, which was extracted by Abū l-Manṣūr ibn Faṭḥ al-Dimyāṭī from his book which he intended to be a refutation of the Christians’

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The convoluted title of this work is anything but clear, and the exact relationship between al-Şafī’s response and the Muslim original is far from obvious. If the title is at all accurate, it appears that at least three participants were involved in what was possibly a protracted exchange of arguments, al-Şafī himself, an unknown Christian and the Muslim al-Dimyāṭī. This last and his work, ‘The luminous radiance’, are otherwise unknown. Ḥajjī Khalifa refers to the lost *Radd ‘alā l-Naṣārā* of the traditionist Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mu’min ibn Khalaf ibn Abī-l-Hasan al-Dimyāṭī (1217-1306), but his different name and dates indicate that he cannot have been the same person.

Al-Şafī’s arguments center on the authenticity of the Gospels, the divinity of Christ, and the claimed prophecies about Muḥammad in the Bible, and they presumably reflect the contents of the original lost Muslim work.

SIGNIFICANCE

This work again attests to al-Şafī’s concern to answer attacks on his faith, and the possible urgency in his apologetic attitudes in leaving no attack he knew about unanswered.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 83 (Simaika 370, Graf 418), fols 51r-97r (1752)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

S.K. Samir has treated fols 89r-97r of the Coptic Patriarchate MS as a *separate* treatise by al-Şafī, to which he has given the title *Al-difā‘ ‘an ṣiḥḥat al-Injīl* or ‘Apologie de l’évangile en réponse à un musulman’. He has published an edition of this text in four parts:

S.K. [Samir], “Al-Masīḥiyya qimmat taṭawwur al-bashariyya, fa-lā ḥājatan ilā kitāb ākhar”, li-l-Şafī ibn al-‘Assāl’, *Al-Manāra* 29 (1988) 73-86

S.K. [Samir], “Istiḥālat taḥrīf al-Tawrāt wa-l-Injīl”, li-l-Şafī ibn al-‘Assāl’, *Al-Manāra* 26 (1985) 407-20, 505-7 (includes a description of the work as a whole, pp. 407-8)

S.K. [Samir], “Hal tuqbal shahādat al-Qur’an ‘alā taḥrīf al-Injīl wa-l-Tawrāt?” li-l-Şafī ibn al-‘Assāl’, *Al-Manāra* 25 (1984) 497-508, 587-88 (ed. of fols 90v-92r)

S.K. [Samir], “Fī anna l-Injīl ākhir kitāb munzal”, li-Şafī l-Dawla ibn al-‘Assāl’, *Al-Manāra* 24 (1983) 275-86, 367-68 (ed. of fols 89v-90r)

STUDIES

Wadi, *Studio*, pp. 113-14

Samir, art. ‘Şafī Ibn al-‘Assāl, al’

Wadi, ‘Vita e opera’, pp. 158-59

Samir, ‘Bibliographie’, pp. 179-80

Al-Şafī ibn al-‘Assāl, *Brefs chapitres*, p. 648

J.S. Qanawātī (G.S. Anawati), *Al-Masīhīyya wa-l-ḥaḍāra l-‘arabiyya*,
Cairo, 1992, p. 277

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 393-95

Graf, ‘Die koptische Gelehrtenfamilie’, p. 136

Wadi Awad

James I of Aragon

DATE OF BIRTH 1 February 1208
PLACE OF BIRTH Montpellier
DATE OF DEATH 27 July 1276
PLACE OF DEATH Valencia

BIOGRAPHY

James became king at the age of five when his father, Peter II, was defeated and killed at the battle of Muret on 12 September 1213. Brought up at the forbidding Templar fortress at Monzón, the years of his minority saw almost continuous fighting between the higher nobles. James's first attempt to establish his own authority, a campaign against the Muslims of Peñíscola in 1225, ended in humiliating failure. His next campaigns were against the nobles in Aragon, with whom he came to terms in 1227, and the count of Urgell, whose power he diminished in 1228. By then, James already had his heart set on the conquest of Muslim Majorca. Between September and December 1229, he led a dramatic campaign that captured the capital. In the following years, the rest of the island was subjected while Minorca submitted to a tribute-paying status in 1231, and Ibiza was conquered in 1235.

By then, James's attention was focused on the conquest of the kingdom of Valencia. The conquest can be divided into four stages. In the first stage (1231-35), the northern zone of the kingdom was conquered, the king following in the wake of independent action by the Aragonese barons. In the second stage (1236-38), the region of Valencia and then Valencia itself were taken after help for the Muslim population from the sultan of Tunis proved to no avail. In the third stage (1239-46), the castles to the south of the River Xúquer were captured and, once formidable Xàtiva had conditionally surrendered (1244), it was almost inevitable that the entire kingdom would soon be in James's hands. Yet there was much spirited resistance from individual Muslim rulers. In a fourth stage (1247-58), James was forced to spend much time subduing serious rebellions.

Victories in Majorca and Valencia offset the king's failure to halt the advance of Capetian France into the Mediterranean and, at the treaty of Corbeil (1258), James renounced Aragon's territorial claims in the Midi.

Relations with his son-in-law, Alfonso X of Castile, were sometimes difficult, but in 1264, with the Castilians seriously troubled by a North African invasion supported by much of Muslim Spain (which encouraged an uprising in the kingdom of Murcia, tributary of Castile), James took prompt and decisive action to quash the revolt, though receiving scant support from his own barons. War with the nobles preceded victory over Murcia, which came with the taking of the capital in January 1266.

There were few glories after Murcia. An expedition to the Holy Land in 1269 was a failure, even for the section of the fleet that arrived, and more so for the king, who turned back because of bad weather. Similarly, in 1274 at the Second Council at Lyons, the king's enthusiasm for another crusade to the East did not amount to giving any practical help. Continued support for Castile and tax demands led to further baronial revolts in the 1270s. In James's final days, a renewed Muslim attack led by al-Azraq occupied his and his sons' attentions and, when he died in July 1276, the kingdom of Valencia, which he had labored so long to conquer, appeared as insecure as ever. James's reign saw the production of the remarkable work called the *Book of deeds*, an account in the first person plural of James's major military campaigns and some selected political events of his reign. It is one of the great works of medieval Catalan literature and a record of immense historical value.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Llibre dels feyts, 'Book of deeds'

DATE 1269-76

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Catalan

DESCRIPTION

The *Llibre dels feyts* is approximately 160,000 words in length. It was probably written in the last years of James's reign, 1269-76. While the authorship has been disputed, most scholars now believe the work to be substantially James's own account of what he considered to be the most important occasions when God had favored him during his long reign.

The 'Deeds' are a treasure trove of information on the image, power and purpose of monarchy, loyalty and bad faith in the feudal order, the growth of national sentiment, and medieval military tactics. Moreover, the taking of Spanish territory from the Muslims and Christian-Muslim relations on the frontier are central features of the account.

James considered that 'these Saracens know their weapons and are very skilful' (ch. 155) and that 'the Moors could defend a castle as well as any men in the world' (ch. 430). Concerning the negotiations for the surrender of Valencia, James recalled that the *ra'īs* Abū l-Hamlāt and the other Saracen knights 'would have been able to enter any court as very distinguished men' (ch. 274). James prided himself on knowing about Muslim customs, as at Almenara where he sent a captured crane live to the *faqīh* and another Saracen negotiator, 'because we knew their custom, and they would not want it dead' (ch. 244). With negotiated surrenders, for example at Peñíscola in 1233, James 'conceded to them the use of their law and those liberties they had been accustomed to enjoy in the time of the Saracens' (ch. 184). When Christians harried Muslims departing a town in accordance with treaties, as at Valencia in 1238, James had them executed (ch. 283).

Generally, James was angered when his knights broke his promises to the Muslims and set out to attack them, as with Pedro Ahones in 1226 (ch. 25) and Guillem d'Aguiló in 1239 (ch. 306). James was actively aided in his conquests by Muslims such as the 'angel of God' Ibn 'Abīd in Majorca (ch. 71) and Abū Zayd in Valencia (chs 136–7), and opposed by Christian knights such as García Romeu, who sided with the Muslims of Xàtiva (ch. 325), while Gil de Alagón converted to Islam (ch. 75). Where no agreements existed between Christians and Muslims, James was ruthless in his conduct of war. The king's stated aim in attacking the Muslims of Majorca was 'to convert them or destroy them' (ch. 56). During the siege, the head of a defeated local Muslim leader, Ifant Allāh, was catapulted into the town (ch. 70), and when Palma was stormed thousands were massacred (ch. 86). At the siege of Cullera, James planned to position the *fenevòls* so that if a stone missed the castle it would strike where the women and children had taken refuge (ch. 194). His normal tactic in war was to devastate the land and reduce the Muslim population to famine. The king insisted 'we must conquer a town such as Valencia through famine' (ch. 241).

James knew little of Islam and cared less. He says that the Muslims of Elche, on surrendering, asked that 'they would be able to practise their religion, as to shouting from their mosque' (ch. 418). At Murcia, he

reneged on his promise to allow the Muslims to keep their main mosque, thinking it unfitting 'that from there "Alàlosabba" should be cried near to my head when I am sleeping' (ch. 445). While economic reality meant that James tended to believe that the Muslims generally, as those at the siege of the tower of Musneros, 'were worth more alive than dead' (ch. 203), he would, nevertheless, at the end of his life advise his son, Prince Peter, 'that he should expel all the Moors from the kingdom of Valencia as they were all traitors and they had proved it to us many times, for though we had done good to them they always looked to do us harm and to trick us if they could' (ch. 564).

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Llibre dels feyts* must be used with caution and alongside other sources, especially from the royal chancery, in order for the reader fully to understand relations between Christians and Muslims in the lands of the Crown of Aragon. But it is wonderfully valuable in giving us the viewpoint of the longest-serving Christian king of the Middle Ages on his actions and what he considered the motives behind them.

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Damian Smith

The Old French Continuations of William of Tyre

Series of unknown authors

BIOGRAPHY

It is possible to detect a number of contributors to the Continuations of William of Tyre, although any attempt at a detailed analysis of who wrote what is hazardous.

La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier, which forms the basis for the continuations in the period 1184-1232, evidently reached its final form in the early 1230s and would appear to have been the work of someone – perhaps a priest – associated with John of Brienne. From 1217, the start of the Fifth Crusade, to the end, it closely follows his career and matches his outlook. So Pelagius, the papal legate on the Fifth Crusade, is treated with hostility, as is the Emperor Frederick II, at least after his quarrel with John over his treatment of John's daughter, Queen Isabella II of Jerusalem, whom Frederick had married in 1225. On the other hand, Jacques de Vitry (q.v.), bishop of Acre and later cardinal, is spoken of warmly. It would seem that this author fashioned his history of earlier events from a variety of sources, none of which is extant. The quality of the information varies, but there is clearly an interest in the activities, both in Europe and on crusade, of men from Flanders and other parts of northern France; thus for example, the detailed narrative of the events surrounding the death of the first Latin emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin I, in 1205 betokens an eyewitness account that has been incorporated into the main narrative.

A propos of its surrender to Saladin in 1187, the author incorporates a description of the topography of Jerusalem, which, from internal evidence, would appear to postdate 1229, and which seems to have been the work of a clerical pilgrim; quite possibly other passages describing the sacred geography of the Holy Land linking particular localities to episodes from the Bible were from the same source. The one named individual is Ernoul, the squire of Balian of Ibelin, who, according to most manuscripts of the *Chronique d'Ernoul*, was the original author of the description of events surrounding the battle of Le Cresson in 1187.

How much more Ernoul would have written is unclear. He was almost certainly responsible for episodes in which his master and his master's brother, Baldwin of Ramla, are given prominence. However, as John Gillingham points out, these passages stop abruptly with the end of the account of the year 1187, and it is to be assumed that Ernoul's writings went no further.

The person responsible for the recension composed in the 1240s was apparently writing in the Latin East, most likely in Acre, and was generally sympathetic to the Ibelins and hostile to Frederick II, whose intervention in the East gave rise to civil war. The annals, which begin in 1248 and with various additions take the narrative to the mid-1270s, would similarly seem to have been composed in Acre, and here, because of the interest in papal history and the numerous references to churchmen, it would appear that the author was a member of the clergy. This part of the text is closely related to the independent *Annales de Terre Sainte*, and it would seem that several versions of this work were in circulation in the late 13th century.

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For the editions of the texts, see 'The Old French Continuations of William of Tyre' below.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

L'estoire de Eracles empereur et la conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer, 'The Old French Continuations of William of Tyre'DATE 13th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old French

DESCRIPTION

William of Tyre completed his history of the crusades and the Latin East in 1184, and at some point during the first three decades of the 13th century it was translated from Latin into French. Then, in the 1230s, against a background of continuing interest in the crusades in western Europe, the French translation was brought up to date by adding material covering the period 1184-1232 adapted from another, anonymous text, which has been known since the 19th century as *La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*.

La Chronique d'Ernoul had recounted the history of the Latin East from 1100, but, for the purposes of creating the William of Tyre Continuation, the pre-1184 section was jettisoned, except for a few passages that were re-positioned later in the narrative. In the form in which it survives, the *Ernoul* text is a compilation dating from the early 1230s. Embedded in it is material drawn from an account of events in the Kingdom of Jerusalem written by the eponymous Ernoul who was a squire of Balian of Ibelin, a leading member of the nobility. It is impossible to know precisely how much of the existing narrative is actually by Ernoul, but it has to be assumed that he was responsible for a number of passages describing events in the 1170s and 1180s that are clearly designed to praise the Ibelin family, not least an extended description of the negotiations that led to the surrender of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187 in which Balian took the lead. After 1187, however, the partisanship for the Ibelins ceases and, at least for the events of the next few years, the information seems less reliable; it would therefore appear that Ernoul's account ended with the events of 1187.

The *Ernoul* text as it appears in the Continuation recounts the events leading up to the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn and the recovery of Jerusalem by the Muslims, the Third Crusade and its aftermath, the Fourth Crusade, giving far more attention to events in Syria and Palestine than do other sources, and the Fifth Crusade, including an account of two un-named friars,

one of whom is identified as St Francis, who attempted to convert the sultan of Egypt, al-Kāmil, to Christianity. It interweaves these episodes with accounts of affairs in western Europe, and, in the form in which it survives, appears to have been composed by someone with a particular interest in the career of John of Brienne, who, as the narrative comes to its end, took over the reins of government in Constantinople.

Between the mid-1230s and circa 1250 the Continuation underwent a series of changes. It would appear that someone working in the East considered the existing accounts of the events in Latin Syria to be inadequate, and rewrote large sections. This revision survives in just two manuscripts, with fragments (including yet another new recension) in a further three.

Almost certainly the same person continued the narrative into the 1240s. Other continuators then added further sections, mostly in the form of annals, which in one manuscript extend as far as 1277. The manuscripts containing these further additions were the product of a scriptorium in Acre. Several of the surviving manuscripts give the *Ernouf* version of the Continuation to 1232, and then tack on the re-worked version from the approximate point where it ends. These post-1232 sections of the Continuation tell of the internal history of the Latin East in these years, but also describe episodes such as the Battle of La Forbie, the Seventh Crusade, and the conquests of Christian-held territory by Baybars in the 1260s and early 1270s.

In the West, probably in scriptoria in Paris, a different form of the Continuation appeared. This comprised the *Ernouf* text to 1232 and then a completely different account of the events to 1261, which is known from a former owner of one of the manuscripts as the *Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre* (q.v.).

SIGNIFICANCE

For the period from 1184 to 1277 the various authors of the Old French Continuations of William of Tyre and of the associated text, *Chronique d'Ernouf*, provide the fullest accounts we have of the crusades to the Near East and events in the Latin East that offer a Latin perspective. The quality of information these works contain varies, and comparisons with other sources reveal places where they are tendentious or ill-informed. Even so, all historians who have written about the crusades and the Latin East in the period they cover have made full use of them. Unfortunately, the standard edition of the Continuations gives pride of place to the version of the text as rewritten in the 1240s, and all too often historians have

treated the additional material to be found there that describes events in the mid 1180s as if it were contemporary evidence.

Like many Western vernacular histories composed in the later Middle Ages, these works betray a tendency to introduce fictive elements into the narrative. The authors, familiar with medieval romance, evidently felt the need to hold their audiences' attention with entertaining or exotic detail. The *Chronique d'Ernoul* in particular contains a number of anecdotes about the rise to power and subsequent career of Saladin, some of which are self-evidently untrue, but which portray him in a generally favorable light. It thus stands at an early point in the process that gave rise to the positive image of Saladin to be found in Western romance and that ultimately led Dante to place him in the First Circle of Hell with the good pagans of Antiquity rather than consign him to the torments reserved for persecutors of Christians.

A number of manuscripts from scriptoria both in Acre and in western Europe contain miniatures, and some of these have been frequently reproduced to illustrate modern histories of the crusading movement.

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Peter Edbury

Al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-‘Amīd (the elder)

Al-Makīn Jirjis ibn Abī l-Yāsir ibn Abī l-Makārim ibn Abī l-Ṭayyib ibn al-‘Amīd (the elder)

DATE OF BIRTH 25 February 1206

PLACE OF BIRTH Cairo

DATE OF DEATH After 1280

PLACE OF DEATH Damascus

BIOGRAPHY

Jirjis ibn al-‘Amīd was a Coptic historian; he is often referred to by his honorific *al-Makīn*, ‘the man of rank’. Our main information about him and his family is based on his own statements in his historical work called *Al-majmū‘ al-mubārak* (see below). The short biographies of Ibn al-‘Amīd by Ibn al-Ṣuqā‘ī in *Tālī kitāb wafayāt al-a‘yān*, al-Ṣafadī in *Al-wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, and al-Maqrīzī in *Al-muqaffā l-kabīr*, are based on the same source.

Jirjis ibn al-‘Amīd belonged to a wealthy and well-known family. His great-grandfather, al-Ṭayyib ibn Yūsuf, was a merchant of Syrian origin from Takrīt in Iraq. He emigrated to Cairo during the reign of the Fatimid Caliph al-Āmir (r. 1101-30) who allowed him to live and conduct commerce in Egypt. Al-‘Amīd ibn Abī l-Yāsir, the father of the historian, was an official in the *dīwān al-jaysh*, serving there for 45 years. He died in 1238/9.

Jirjis ibn al-‘Amīd himself was employed in the same position as his father in the *dīwān al-jaysh* in Cairo and later in Syria. In his historical work, he mentions that he had to escape from Damascus to Tyre during the Tatar invasion in 1259, and remained there five months before he was able to return. According to Ibn al-Ṣuqā‘ī, he was successful and trustworthy, but aroused the jealousy of a colleague, who betrayed him to get his position. He lost his job and was arrested and imprisoned by the Mamluk Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars (r. 1260-77). However, the Muslim author Ghāzī ibn al-Wāsiṭī (q.v.) gives another reason for his arrest, accusing him of high treason on behalf of the Tatars. Eventually, Jirjis was released, and chose to spend the rest of his life in Damascus, where he wrote *Al-majmū‘ al-mubārak*. According to modern studies, he died sometime after 1280,

though the Muslim historians Ibn al-Ṣuqā‘ī, al-Ṣafadī, and al-Maqrīzī fix the date of his death as 1273.

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Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-majmū‘ al-mubāarak, ‘The blessed collection’;
Tārīkh Ibn al-‘Amīd, ‘The history of Ibn al-‘Amīd’

DATE After 1277

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Ibn al-‘Amīd’s historical work, *Al-majmū‘ al-mubāarak* (‘The blessed collection’), is a secular history with minimal interest in ecclesiastical matters. It seems that its title is not original but merely a description of the work by later scholars or copyists. It was written by Ibn al-‘Amīd in his retirement in Syria and covers the period from creation to the beginning of the reign of the Mamlūk Sultan al-Zāhir Baybars in 1260.

The work can be divided into two parts. The first is called simply *tārīkh* (‘History’) and covers the period from the creation to 620 in 166 chapters; it is arranged according to the powerful rulers in every period. The first half of this part, concerning creation, the prophets of Israel and its judges and kings, is based mainly on the Old Testament. In addition, Ibn al-‘Amīd uses the works of other historians, whom he mentions by name, including Sa‘īd ibn Baṭrīq (Eutychius, q.v.), Agapius al-Manbijī (q.v.), and Ibn al-Rāhib (q.v.). This part is still unpublished.

The second part, known as *Tārīkh al-Muslimīn* (‘The history of the Muslims’), begins with the rise of Islam and continues to the year 1260. As the author himself indicates, the events up to 920 derive from the well-known *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk* of al-Ṭabarī (q.v.), with additional material from other sources. This part was published from a single manuscript and translated into Latin in 1625, and is thus among the first historical works written in Arabic to become popular in Europe. However, the whole work needs a new edition based on all known manuscripts and a comprehensive study that identifies the relationship between this work and its sources.

Ibn al-‘Amīd tends to mention historical events briefly and without any comment or analysis, a tendency in line with his clearly announced aim to compile a book that contained brief summaries of historical events. He does not show any interest in literary works and does not quote any poet, as was frequently the practice in his time. This may be due to his background as an administrator in the military bureau.

From the introduction as it is preserved in some manuscripts, it appears that there are two versions, a longer and a shorter. MS Hist. 266,

preserved in the Coptic Museum in Cairo and containing the first part, for example, has a foreword by Ibn al-‘Amīd himself, in which he mentions how his work was disseminated in his own time and became well known among the notables. He also mentions that he emended, improved and updated it, and was asked to make an abridgement (*mukhtaṣar*), a request to which he acceded.

The work is quoted and used as a source by later Muslim historians such as Ibn Khaldūn in *Kitāb al-‘ibar*, al-Qalqashandī in *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shā*, and al-Maqrīzī in *Al-khiṭaṭ*, predominantly in matters concerning the pre-Islamic period or specifically Christian events.

The great number of the preserved manuscripts of this work indicates its popularity among Christians and Muslims inside Egypt and elsewhere, for it was transcribed in Karshūnī and translated into Ge‘ez.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn al-‘Amīd wrote as neither a Christian nor an Egyptian, but as a historian within the Islamic state. His work is a history not of Egypt but of the Islamic caliphate in general and, wishing to preserve his neutrality, he does not reveal his confession to his reader. Thus, he uses the formulae common among Muslims when he mentions the Prophet of Islam and his Companions or the caliphs. This helps to explain why his work enjoyed popularity among Muslim historians, even though it lacks a certain degree of originality.

The most significant thing about the *Majmū‘* is its author. Together with Ibn Muyassar, he is the only Egyptian historian of his generation who reported on the Ayyūbid period, most contemporary historians being Syrian.

MANUSCRIPTS

For the more than 36 manuscripts of *Al-majmū‘ al-mubārak*, see Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 249-51; and Kabkab, ‘Al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-‘Amīd’, pp. 288-93. In addition, there are two MSS of the first part preserved in the Monastery of St Antony in Egypt: Hist. 1 (14th century) and Hist. 2 (19th century).

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Samuel Moawad

Yovhannēs Erzncac‘i Bluz

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1230
PLACE OF BIRTH	Erznka (Erzinjān)
DATE OF DEATH	1293
PLACE OF DEATH	Monastery of Akneī, Cilicia

BIOGRAPHY

Yovhannēs Erzncac‘i was born around 1230 in Erznka (Erzinjān, Erez, Eriza, Erizawan, Arznka), the capital of the province of Ekeleac‘, on the upper reaches of the western Euphrates. He was nicknamed Bluz (or Čluz in the dialect of Erznka) because of his small stature. He claimed to be related to the nobility of the province. In his late twenties and despite his father’s objections, he entered the great Monastery of St Minas on *Sepuh Ler* (Sepuh Mountain) near the city. In 1268, in his late thirties, he was made *vardapet*.

Yovhannēs began his literary career in early 1270s. Earlier than this, and before he entered the Monastery of St Minas, he must have written *I Tačkak‘ Imastasirac‘ Groc‘ Kateal Bank‘* (‘Views from the writings of Islamic philosophers’), a collection of notes on the 10th-century *Epistles* of the Brethren of Purity (q.v.). The basic tenets and the comprehensive system of the Brethren had a deep impact on Yovhannēs, and he made use of them in many of his works. Already a prominent scholar by 1280, Yovhannēs was asked to write a constitution for the ‘reform’ (and presumably the control) of the brotherhoods of Erznka, the large, non-professional urban youth brotherhoods often of mixed Christian-Muslim membership. Again he made use of an Islamic source, the *futuwwa* reform of the Abbasid Caliph al-Nāšir (1180-1225), though without acknowledgement.

In 1281 Yovhannēs travelled to Jerusalem, and on his way back he stayed in Cilicia until 1284. During his time there he was asked to prepare an interpretation of grammar, and he also preached a sermon on the occasion of the bestowing of knighthood on the sons of King Lewon II (1269-89). At the end of 1284, before returning to Erznka, he also visited Tbilisi and gave a sermon at the royal court. He then returned to the Monastery of St Minas, and there he wrote most of his works. In 1290 he was forced to leave the region because of Mamluk incursions and traveled

to Cilicia, where he died in the Monastery of Akneř in 1293. His remains were taken to Erznka sometime later.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

I Tačkak' Imastasirac' Groc' Kateal Bank', 'Views from the writings of Islamic philosophers'

DATE About 1260

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

This is a comparatively short text of only about 5,000 words, a selection of ideas or *bank'* from Islamic philosophers, whose identity and 'writings' Yovhannēs never reveals; he simply refers to the 'sages of *aylazgik'* ('other nations', a term used for the Muslims), or just *imastunk'* ('the sages'). Until recently it was regarded as an original work by the mature Yovhannēs, but see Dadoyan, *I Tačkak' Imastasirac' Groc' Kateal Bank'ē ew Imastasirakan Arjakē Islamakan Atbiwrneru Loysin tak*, who identifies its origins and dating.

Views quotes and paraphrases from many parts of the *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (the Brethren of Purity), and the intermingling of various subjects makes it extremely difficult to read. The vocabulary, grammar and style are much more elementary than in Yovhannēs' mature works, while his grasp of the complicated system of the Brethren appears minimal. Unfamiliar with philosophical terminology (which had fully developed in Armenian by the 13th century), he simply uses Arabic terms in inconsistent transliterations.

SIGNIFICANCE

Written as no more than a collection of notes by a newcomer to philosophical sciences, *Views* is the earliest known summary and translation of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Safā'*, and was intended for a Christian audience. Yovhannēs successfully conceals the esoteric and primarily Carmatian peculiarities of the *Rasā'il* and makes the material acceptable for Christian readers. (He later assimilated the thought of the Brethren much more fully and used it in his two treatises, *Concerning heavenly movements* and *Concerning heavenly ornaments*).

Views, like others of Yovhannēs' works, has great significance for interactions between Armenian Christians and Muslims, and the Ismā'īlis in particular. The channel through which the *Rasā'il* reached Erznka was the Ismā'īlī movement and its *dā'īs*, or missionaries. In fact, from the 9th century political and ideological interactions between Armenians and Muslims were mostly through heterodox groups on both sides, and with Shī'ism and Ismā'īlism in particular.

MANUSCRIPTS

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STUDIES —

*Sahman ew Kanonk' Miabanut'ean Etbarc';
Krkīn Kanonk' ew Xratk' Tłayahasak Mankanc'
Ašxarhakanac'*, 'Definitions and canons for
the coalition of brothers'; 'Further canons and
advice for secular youth'; 'Constitution for the
Brotherhoods of Erzncak'

DATE 1280

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

Both written in 1280, these two short texts, totaling about 6,000 words, are commonly known as the *Constitution for the brotherhoods of Erzncak*. On the title page Yovhannēs states that they were written at the request of the old priest Grigor Sanahnec'ī to 'reform and guide' the *manuks*, the unruly groups of youth of the city. Closely adopting his basic terms from the Caliph al-Nāšīr's decree (and *futuwwa* literature in general) – *ḥudūd wa-shar'* – Yovhannēs calls his text *Sahman ew Kanonk'*, 'Definitions and canons'. In all respects, it is an Armenized and Christianized version of the Abbasid caliph's *futuwwa* initiative. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn al-Mī'mār's *Kitāb al-futuwwa*, written for al-Nāšīr's *futuwwa* circle, was his single most important source. Many sections are almost literal translations of this, and in much better language than the *Views*.

After a long introduction about the peculiar nature of the 'brotherhood *uxt'* ('oath', Arabic 'ahd), *Sahman ew Kanonk'* is divided into three chapters. The first deals with the 'personal conduct' of the 'true' *manuks*, the second with the 'benefit the brothers will find in the company of each other and the fruits of their coalition', and the third discusses the rules of 'public conduct in the world among many nations' (mainly the Muslims), and the manners in which the brothers should cultivate 'wise and constructive behavior to glorify the name of Christ'.

Krkin Kanonk' ('Further canons') was addressed mainly to the senior brothers or the *manktawags*, 'who conducted physical and worldly lives and whom [the church] intend[ed] to instruct in accordance with divine commandments and the holy scriptures, in order to redirect them towards spiritual virtues'. Again after a long introduction, the text is divided into four chapters: definitions of the *manuk* and the *manktawag*, and the conditions and duties pertaining to each; the brotherhood within the framework of faith, church, society and the world in general; the symbolism and significance of the initiation belt, *goti* or *zunnār*, and a poem addressed to the pseudo-*manktavag* Yakob (leader of the Gorguian sect); the initiation ceremony, the reading of the conditions of true brotherhood, and the granting of the initiation belt. In structure, language and strategies, the Constitution is a very close Christianized Armenized replica of Ibn al-Mi'mār's *Kitāb al-futuwwa*.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Constitution* reveals close similarities in the circumstances of Muslims and Christians in Middle Eastern cities during the Abbasid and Mongol periods. Its strategy, like that of the *futuwwa* manuals, was to control by imposing religious morality: just as the 'true' Nāṣiri *fata* was a good Muslim, so the 'true' *manuk* was a good Christian. Despite this, the gap between the actual culture of urban youth coalitions and their idealizations in the reform literature persisted. In Islamic society, *futuwwa* ideals did find some followers due the support of the Abbasid court, though there are no indications about what happened in Erzka. Often described as jobless, hedonistic and chaotic young men, the folklore of these youths laid the groundwork for the culture and arts of the urban middle and lower classes, and for secular culture throughout the Middle East.

MANUSCRIPTS

'Definitions':

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MS Yerevan, Mashtoc' National Manuscript Library (Matenadaran) – 2783 (14th century)

MS Yerevan, Mashtoc' National Manuscript Library (Matenadaran) – 652, fols 70v-75v (15th-16th century; Armenian *Kanongirk'* or 'Book of canons')

'Further canons':

- MS Yerevan, Mashtoc' National Manuscript Library (Matenadaran) – 2783, fols. 71r-11r (14th century)
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 MS Vienna, National Library – 1299, fols 158r-181v (1451)
 MS Venice, Mekhitarist Library – 29, fols 136r-139v (1796)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

'Definitions'

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 Xač'ikean, in *Banber Matenadarani* 6 (1962) 371-76

'Further canons'

- Pałtasarean, in *Yovhannĕs Erzncac'ĭn*, pp. 230-39

STUDIES

- Dadoyan, *The Armenians in the medieval Islamic world*, iii, ch. 1
 S.B. Dadoyan, 'The Constitution of the Brotherhood of Erzinjān (1280). An Armenization of the *futuwwa* reform project and literature of Abbasid Caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh', *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, NS 29 (2003-4) 117-65
 Dadoyan, 'The Nāṣirī *futuwwa* literature and the brotherhood poetry of Yovhannĕs and Kostandin Erzncac'ĭ. Texts and contexts'
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 L. Xač'ikean, '1280 T'wakanin Erzncakayum Kazmakerpwac Ełbayrut'iwnĕ' ['The brotherhood organized in Erzncak in the year 1280'], *Tetekagir* ['Newsletter'] *of the Armenian Academy of Sciences* 12 (1951) 73-84

Seta B. Dadoyan

Al-Saksakī

Abū l-Faḍl ‘Abbās ibn Maṣṣūr ibn ‘Abbās al-Tarīmī
l-Saksakī l-Yamanī

DATE OF BIRTH 1219
PLACE OF BIRTH Yemen
DATE OF DEATH 1284
PLACE OF DEATH Probably Yemen

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Saksakī was born and worked in the Yemen. He is recorded as a scholar of both the Ḥanbalī and Shāfi‘ī law schools (causing al-‘Amūsh to wonder whether he migrated from one to the other), and he served as *qāḍī* in the town of Ta‘izz.

Nothing is known of any works by him apart from the *Burhān*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyyat al-‘arīfīn. Asmā’ al-mu’allifīn*, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1951, 1955, i, col. 438

Secondary

Bassām ‘Alī Salāma al-‘Amūsh (ed.), *Al-burhān fī ma‘rifat ‘aqā’id ahl al-adyān*, al-Zarqā’, Jordan: Maktabat al-Manār, 1988, pp. 9-10
‘Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-mu’allifīn*, 15 vols, Damascus, 1958-61, v, p. 65

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-burhān fī ma‘rifat ‘aqā’id ahl al-adyān,
‘The proof, on awareness of the beliefs of
the followers of the faiths’

DATE Unknown; before 1284
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Al-burhān fī maʿrifat ʿaqāʾid ahl al-adyān is a brief descriptive account of religious groups and sects inside and outside Islam. At a mere 95 pages of text in al-ʿAmūsh’s edition, its descriptions are very brief and to the point.

Within Islam, the book describes sects of the Khawārij, the Murjiʿa, the Muʿtazila and the Rāfiʿa (Shīʿa), numbering 73 in all, and outside it describes seven groups: the Barāhima, Dahriyya, Jews, Samaritans, Zoroastrians, Christians and Sabians. Its account of Christians, which is less than a page long (pp. 91-92), relates that they are named after the town of Nazareth (Nāṣira) near the Jordan because they started from there, and that they believe that God is three, two of whom, Mary and Jesus, were manifest, and one, God Almighty, remained hidden. The Jacobites (who are not the followers of Jacob the father of Joseph) say that God was Christ. They divided into 72 sects, as Muḥammad foretold. At the beginning of the Creed, they say they believe in one God, and then they contradict this by saying that Christ is the uncreated Creator, which they then contradict by saying that he is the Son of God, which in turn they contradict by saying he is God. They begin a piece of writing with ‘In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit’, and they all believe in the crucifixion.

This may not be the full extent of the original, since its brevity and incompleteness, and particularly the reference to the Jacobites but not to the other two main Christian sects in the Islamic world, may indicate that parts have been lost.

SIGNIFICANCE

The mention of 72 Christian and 73 Muslim sects, following earlier precedents and stemming from a prophetic Hadith, suggests that al-Saksakī was at least as interested in categorizing Christians within the overall scheme of believing groups, and showing where they departed from the truth, as he was in saying what they actually believed. The unusual reference to the Trinity comprising God, Mary and Jesus indicates dependence on internal Muslim traditions (cf. Q 5:116), though the deconstruction of parts of the Nicene creed suggests accurate knowledge of Christian sources.

The brevity of the account (if it is complete) demonstrates how relatively unimportant accurate and complete knowledge of Christianity was regarded as being in comparison with showing how the main teachings of the faith conflicted with true belief. This is in keeping with al-Saksakī’s

intention, which he expresses in his introduction (p. 13), to expose the variety of wrong beliefs in his time in order to help clarify the nature of true belief.

MANUSCRIPTS

See al-‘Amūsh, ed., pp. 7-8, for details of the two MSS on which his edition is based, one in the Imam Muḥammad ibn Saud Islamic University Library, Riyadh (1874), and the other, undated, in the Dār al-Kutub, Cairo.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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Ed. al-‘Amūsh, al-Zarqā’, Jordan, 1988

Ed. Khalīl Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Ḥājj, Cairo: Dār al-Turāth al-‘Arabī,
1980

STUDIES —

David Thomas

Al-Qarāfi

Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Idrīs al-Ṣanhājī

DATE OF BIRTH 1228
PLACE OF BIRTH Bahfashīm, Egypt
DATE OF DEATH 1285
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad al-Qarāfi was born in Upper Egypt, from Berber origins. He received his first education in his native village, then moved to Cairo at the age of 15, acquiring the name al-Qarāfi from the al-Qarāfa district where he lived. He rose to become one of the leading scholars of the Mālikī school in Egypt, though he also specialized in a range of other disciplines, including logic, *kalām*, *tafsīr*, medicine, mathematics and astronomy. He lived in Cairo throughout his life, and remained active in learning and teaching, as well as in debates with Coptic Christians, until he died in 1285.

In his theological views al-Qarāfi was influenced by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. In his *Nafā’is al-uṣūl fī ‘ilm al-uṣūl* ('Gems of principles, on legal principles'), which is a very long commentary on al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl*, he adopts a position between that of the Ash‘ariyya and that of the Mu‘tazila over the ethical question of good and evil: while humans can distinguish through reason between good and evil, reward and punishment can only be known through scripture (Jackson, 'Taqīd, legal scaffolding and the scope of legal injunctions', p. 194). He was also well-known as a scientist, and his *Kitāb al-istibṣār fī mā tudrikuhu l-abṣār* ('Reflection on what the eyes may perceive') gives answers to 50 questions on optics, some of which seem to be questions that were addressed to Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil (d. 1238) by the Emperor Frederick II of Sicily (d. 1250), known as the 'Sicilian questions' (Sayili, 'Al-Qarāfi and his explanation of the rainbow', p. 17).

Important among al-Qarāfi's works, more than 30 of which are known, are *Anwār al-burūq fī anwā‘ al-furūq* and *Kitāb al-dhakhīra*, both on jurisprudence. He also wrote interpretations of several of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's works, among them *Sharḥ Kitāb al-arba‘īn*.

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Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya l-kubra*, 6 vols, Cairo: 'Isā l-Bābī l-Ḥalabī, s.d., v, pp. 41-42

Ibn Farḥūn al-Mālikī, *Al-dībāj al-mudhahhab fī ma'rifat 'ulamā' al-madhhab*, Beirut, s.d., pp. 236-39

Ḥājjī Khalifa, *Kashf al-zunūn 'an asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn*, 2 vols, Beirut, s.d., i, pp. 11, 21

Ibn 'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, Beirut, 9 vols, 1982, v, p. 353

Secondary

Mus'ad 'Abd al-Khāliq, *Al-Imām al-Qarāfi wa-juhūduhu fī l-radd 'alā l-Yahūd wa-l-Naşārā*, Cairo, 2008, pp. 63-115

Bayān Ḥasan, *Uslūb al-Imāmayn al-Qurtubī wa-l-Qarāfi fī da'wat al-Naşārā ilā l-Islām*, Riyadh, 2000 (Diss. Al-Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic University), pp. 78-93

S. Jackson, 'Taqīd, legal scaffolding and the scope of legal injunctions in post-formative theory. *Muṭlaq* and 'āmm in the jurisprudence of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfi', *Islamic Law and Society* (1996) 165-92

H. Lazarus-Yafeh, 'Some neglected aspects of medieval Muslim polemics against Christianity', *Harvard Theological Review* 89 (1996) 61-84

S. Jackson, *Islamic law and the state. The constitutional jurisprudence of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfi*, Leiden, 1996

A.M. Sayilī, 'Al-Qarāfi and his explanation of the rainbow', *Isis* 32 (1940) 16-26
Muḥammad Makhlūf, *Shajarat al-nūr al-zakiyya*, Beirut, s.d., p. 188

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Adillat al-wahdāniyya fī l-radd 'alā l-Naşrāniyya,
'Proofs of divine oneness in refutation of
Christianity'

DATE Before 1238

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This book was ostensibly presented to the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil (d. 1238), who was known as a patron of education and learning. The prologue explains that, when its author saw scholars competing for

the ruler's favor, he thought of a book on comparative religion, concentrating on dubious forms of monotheism and particularly Christianity. He must also have assumed that a refutation of Christianity would make a worthy present at a time when the crusaders were threatening Muslim territories.

Adillat al-waḥdāniyya, which is about 100 pages in print, is divided into four parts, like *Al-ajwiba l-fākhira*, and it is clearly related to the longer work. This raises substantial problems for its connection with al-Qarāfī, who, assuming his date of birth is accurate, would still have been a boy when al-Malik al-Kāmil died. Al-Qarāfī nowhere refers to it, raising the possibility that it is a work by an earlier author (see al-Khaṭīb al-Iskandarī's almost identically titled work earlier in this volume) which al-Qarāfī made use of in his refutation.

The first of the four parts is a long description of Christian beliefs, together with accounts of ten church councils, starting with Nicea. There is some confusion over the sequence of these.

The second part is a refutation of the Christian beliefs described in the first. This is the longest part, and is quite similar to the third part of *Al-ajwiba l-fākhira*. Here, as there, the aim is to show that verses in the Gospels that refer to the divinity of Jesus should be understood metaphorically.

The third part focuses on the contradictions between the four Gospels, showing that they cannot have been revealed by God but are compositions by Christians themselves.

The fourth part is very short and brings together the Gospel prophecies of Muḥammad as the last prophet.

SIGNIFICANCE

This book contains most of the arguments found in *Al-ajwiba l-fākhira* though in briefer form. It is mostly written in rhyming prose with poetic elements, and is evidently aimed at Muslim readers, maybe as an aid to understanding exactly what Christianity stands for, and to seeing its shortcomings.

MANUSCRIPTS

Mu'assasat al-Malik Fayṣal al-Khayriyya – microfilm no. 105 (edition p. 6; no further information is given)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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STUDIES

‘Abd al-Khāliq, *Al-Imām al-Qarāfī wa-juhūduhu*
 Ḥasan, *Uslūb al-Imāmayn al-Qurṭubī wa-l-Qarāfī*

Al-ajwiba l-fākhira ‘an al-as’ila l-fājira fī l-radd
‘alā l-milla l-kāfira; Al-ajwiba l-fākhira, ‘Superb
 answers to shameful questions in refutation of
 the unbelieving religion’

DATE Unknown; before 1285

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This substantial polemical work, amounting to over 400 pages in printed editions, is called by Brockelmann ‘the greatest apologetic achievement in Islam’ (*GAL S i*, p. 665). It is divided into four parts.

In the first, al-Qarāfī presents a refutation of an epistle written by an unnamed Christian to provide Qur’anic proofs for the integrity of Christian beliefs. He refutes these proofs one by one, calling them *shubuhāt* (‘doubtful issues’), and showing that the Christian does not have a full understanding of Arabic grammar or the basic knowledge needed for understanding the Qur’an. His detailed references to the Christian’s arguments show clearly that the individual he is answering is the Melkite Bishop Paul of Antioch (q.v.), whose *Letter to a Muslim friend* in an edited form (see the entry on ‘The letter from Cyprus’) also prompted a refutation from Ibn Taymiyya (q.v.) and Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī (q.v.) in the early 14th century.

In the second part, al-Qarāfī answers 15 questions that Christians and Jews raise about the integrity of their faith in response to what Muslims say about it. For example, the Christians ask how Jesus’ followers could not have recognized that the one who was crucified was not Jesus but someone who looked like him (based on interpretations of Q 4:157), which leads to the conclusion that direct visual evidence is untrustworthy. Al-Qarāfī answers that the power of sight can be fallible if there are two close likenesses – for example, sight cannot distinguish between two different but identical measures of water poured into the same container at different times.

The third part of the book contains 103 questions in which al-Qarāfi challenges Christian and Jewish beliefs, and supports his responses with passages from the Bible. His point throughout is that Christians cannot see the truth in their own scripture and are unable to understand the metaphorical usages it contains. He argues that the humanity of Jesus can be proved from the text of the Gospels, and that the doctrines of the various Christian sects are not based on the Gospels, but are their own false theological inferences.

In the fourth part, al-Qarāfi adduces proofs from the Bible for the prophethood of Muḥammad and presents well-known verses from the Old and New Testaments.

In these arguments, al-Qarāfi shows detailed knowledge of the Gospels, mainly of passages that support the humanity of Jesus. He also cites passages that show Jesus did not abrogate Jewish law, but in fact encouraged his followers to follow Jewish rituals. In this way, he brings out elements of the Bible that show its agreement with the Qur'an.

In various places in *Al-ajwiba l-fākhira* al-Qarāfi adduces evidence from a Christian priest named Ḥafṣ (ed. al-Shahāwī, p. 144), and his book entitled *Kitāb al-fiqh*. This work and its author are otherwise unknown.

SIGNIFICANCE

Al-Qarāfi appears to have written *Al-ajwiba l-fākhira* with two intentions. In the first two parts he seeks to defend Islam against charges made by Christians and Jews based upon passages in the Qur'an, while in the last two parts he seeks to invite Christians and Jews to Islam by showing the weakness of their beliefs and the proofs for Muḥammad in the Bible. He shows extensive knowledge of the Bible, and employs both scriptural and rational arguments.

MANUSCRIPTS

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- MS Riyadh, University Library – 1268 (1750)
- MS Baghdad, Maktabat al-Awqāf al-ʿĀmma – Majāmiʿ 4/6798-6799 (1886)
- MS Qatar, Dār al-Kutub – Fiqh Mālikī 1 (1893)
- MS Leiden, University Library – no. 2105 (date unknown)
- MS Istanbul, Maktaba Ra'is al-Kitāb – 586/6 (date unknown)
- MS Istanbul, Maktaba Mus'ad Afandī – 216 (date unknown)
- MS Istanbul, Maktaba Sa'ed Ali Bāsha – 771 (date unknown)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Al-ajwiba l-fākhira ‘an al-as’ila l-fājira, ed. Majdi Muḥammad al-Shahāwī, Cairo, 1992; Beirut, 2005

Al-ajwiba l-fākhira ‘an al-as’ila l-fājira, ed. Bakr Zakī ‘Awaḍ, Beirut, 1986; Cairo, 1987

STUDIES

‘Abd al-Khāliq, *Al-Imām al-Qarāfi wa-juhūduhu*, pp. 63-80

Ḥasan, *Uslūb al-Imāmayn al-Qurṭubī wa-l-Qarāfi*, pp. 78-90

Maha El Kaisy-Friemuth

Barhebraeus

Abū l-Faraj Gregory Bar ʿEbrōyō, Abū l-Faraj Jamāl al-Dīn
Ghrīghūriyūs ibn Tāj al-Dīn Hārūn ibn Tūmā al-Malaṭī bar
ʿEbrōyō, Bar ʿEbrāyā, Ibn al-ʿIbrī

DATE OF BIRTH Late 1225 or 1226

PLACE OF BIRTH Malatya (Melitene, today Eskimalatya,
Battalgazi)

DATE OF DEATH 30 July 1286

PLACE OF DEATH Marāgha; his relics were later transferred to
the Monastery of Mar Mattay near Mosul, his official place
of residence as *maphrian*

BIOGRAPHY

Gregory Barhebraeus was a prolific author as well as a capable religious leader who occupied important ecclesiastical positions within the Syrian Orthodox community in the turbulent times at the end of the Abbasid caliphate and the beginning of the Mongol period.

His name Bar ʿEbrōyō is often interpreted as referring to a Jewish origin, though recent research (especially Fathi-Chelhod, 2001) has shown that it probably refers to the town of ʿEbrō on the east bank of the river Euphrates, the possible place of origin of his father or one of his ancestors.

No precise information is available about Barhebraeus' first years in Melitene, but it may be assumed that he was to a certain extent influenced by the multi-religious and multi-ethnic culture of his native city, where Syrian Orthodox and a number of Armenians, Byzantine Orthodox and Muslims lived together. Gregory's *Civil chronicle* (see below) has a passage that tells how Christians and Muslims joined forces under the leadership of the West Syrian Metropolitan of the city Dionysius ʿAngur in order to defend it against Mongol attacks (*Chronography*, p. 432; trans. Budge, p. 408).

At the age of 18, Barhebraeus moved with his family to Antioch, at that time under crusader domination. Here he took monastic vows, but he soon left for Tripoli, the capital of another crusader state, in order to study medicine and logic, which he did under the supervision of a local

'Nestorian' teacher. It was probably in this period that he also received medical training at the famous Bimaristān Nūrī in Damascus.

In 1246, only 20 years old and against all ecclesiastical canons, he was ordained bishop of Gubos, a small town in the neighborhood of Malatya, but was transferred not long afterwards to Laqabin in the same region. A few years later, he was promoted to the much more important and prestigious metropolitan see of Aleppo. Due to internal ecclesiastical conflicts, he had to step down for a certain time, but was reinstated in 1258. Two years later, during the capture of the city by the Mongols, he tried to obtain from the Mongol leader Hülagu a promise that the West Syrian Christians of the city would be spared. The result was only that he was imprisoned in Qal'at al-Najm on the Euphrates and that the 'Jacobites', who in his absence had taken refuge in the church of the Greeks, were all slaughtered (*Chronography*, p. 461; trans. Budge, p. 436).

In 1264 he was elevated to the dignity of *maphrian*, the representative of the patriarch for the eastern territories of the Syrian Orthodox Church (basically modern Iraq and Iranian Azerbaijan), and as such was invested with patriarchal powers, in essence the right to ordain metropolitans. Particularly in the later Abbasid period, the function of *maphrian* was important since he was responsible for relations with the highest Islamic authorities of Baghdad. During the Mongol period, the Il-Khanate capital Marāgha was also situated within the boundaries of the *maphrianate*. This explains the intensive travelling of Barhebraeus as a *maphrian*: frequent stays in Marāgha and Tabrīz (which replaced Marāgha as the Mongol capital under the Il-Khan Arghun), Baghdad, Tagrit (Tikrit), and the Monastery of Mar Mattay, his official place of residence situated in the region of 'Nineveh' (Mosul and surroundings), which had an important Syrian Orthodox population. He also had to travel several times to the 'West' (Cilicia and the region of Malatya) in order to meet with the patriarch or to visit his relatives. These travels are extensively reported in his *Ecclesiastical chronicle* (see below).

Barhebraeus' preferred place of residence was certainly Marāgha, not only for obvious political reasons, but also because it was an important center of (Islamic) learning with a famous observatory and an extensive library, which allowed him to enter into contact with Islamic scholars. It is not certain whether he was personally acquainted with Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274), one of the greatest scholars of the school of Marāgha, but he certainly knew many of the latter's philosophical, ethical and scientific works (see below) and al-Ṭūsī's commentaries on earlier

philosophers were not without influence on Barhebraeus' knowledge of Islamic philosophy and his philosophical preferences.

Barhebraeus was also an active pastor: he took great care to ordain capable bishops, and supervised the construction or restoration of several churches and chapels. Moreover, as he tells in the brief autobiography found at the end of his *Book of the dove* (see below), as bishop he had to engage in discussions with the heads of other confessions, both Christian and of other religions, undoubtedly including Islamic leaders. With regard to intra-Christian discussions, Barhebraeus exhibited a remarkable ecumenical attitude, considering traditional Christological discussions as futile since they only bore on theological formulations, whereas, in his eyes, the 'Nestorian' and Chalcedonian Christologies were fundamentally orthodox and not different from the Christological ideas of his own church. In this respect, there was probably an evolution in his thinking; in some of his works, he displays more traditional views.

Despite his many pastoral responsibilities, Barhebraeus managed to compose an important corpus of writings, both in Syriac and in Arabic, covering various fields of knowledge (exact sciences, philosophy, theology, historiography, grammar, law), spirituality and literature (cf. Takahashi, *Barhebraeus. A bio-bibliography*, 57-117). From the perspective of Christian-Muslim relations, they may be divided into three categories:

1. Internal Christian works such as liturgical compositions or his Confession of faith, meant only for a Christian readership and not relevant for the issue of Muslim-Christian relations. A *caveat* is, however, appropriate here. One cannot exclude that, at first sight, internal Christian works, such as exegetical treatises and commentaries on the Bible, contain references to the world of Islam. For example, Barhebraeus' *Storehouse of mysteries*, an important biblical commentary written in Syriac, abounds in references to the Arabic language and the Muslim cultural world in general, and has some passages about Muslims – for example, God's promise concerning Ishmael (Gen. 17:20) fulfilled by the 'Midianites who subdued the greater part of the earth', or a rejection of the Islamic practice of divorce and remarrying (cf. M. Sprengling and W. Graham, *Barhebraeus' scholia on the Old Testament*, Chicago, 1931, pp. 63, 236). A systematic study of this exegetical work from the perspective of interaction with the world of Islam has not yet been carried out.

2. A number of scientific, literary and philosophical works betraying some or extensive Muslim influence, which will be briefly presented in this biographical introduction.

3. Several works which give insight into Barhebraeus' attitude towards Islam. These will be discussed separately below.

In the field of the exact sciences, Barhebraeus was largely influenced by Islamic scholars such as Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (see Takahashi, *Aristotelian meteorology in Syriac*, pp. 53-56), Ibn Sīnā (he translated into Syriac his *Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*), al-Ghāfiqī (an abridgment in Arabic of his *Kitāb al-adwiya l-mufrada*) and Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. The influence of the latter's *Tadhkira fī 'ilm al-hay'a* is obvious in Barhebraeus' work on astronomy and geography known as the *Ascent of the intellect*.

In the field of philosophy, Barhebraeus was largely tributary to Ibn Sīnā and Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. His *Cream of wisdom* was modeled on Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-shifā'*; the section on practical philosophy was strongly influenced by al-Ṭūsī's *Akhlaq-i Nāṣirī* (Joose, *Syriac encyclopaedia; Zonta, Fonti Greche e orientali*) which he could read in the original Persian. He translated Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-ishārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt* into very precise Syriac, maintaining the majority of the explicit and implicit references to the Islamic context of this work (Teule, 'The transmission of Islamic culture').

This acceptance of Muslim influences has to be interpreted in the light of the cultural evolution aptly described by Barhebraeus himself: 'There arose among them (i.e. the Muslims) philosophers, mathematicians and physicians who surpassed the Ancients by their precise understanding (...) to the extent that we from whom they (i.e. the Muslims) acquired wisdom through translators who were all Syrians find ourselves now in the necessity of asking for wisdom from them' (*Chronography*, p. 90; trans. Budge, p. 92). Furthermore, works that belong to the heart of Syriac culture were also influenced by Muslim-Arabic or Persian patterns. Thus, he based his Syriac grammar, known as the *Book of splendors* (*Ktōbō d-ṣemḥē*) on some grammatical theories found in the *Mufaṣṣal fī l-naḥw* of Abū l-Qāsim al-Zamakhshirī (d. 1144). Some of Barhebraeus' best poems, a field not yet well studied, are characterized by Arabic styles and themes characteristic of Arabic poetry. This is especially true of his mystico-philosophical poetry. His ode *On divine love* is more reminiscent of Islamic wine poetry such as the *Khamriyya* written by 'Umar ibn al-Fāriḍ, than of spiritual intoxication as found in early Syriac poetry (Taylor, 'Drink, desire and devotion', p. 34). The beginning of his poem *On the youth of the mind* displays strong similarities with Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī's mystical Persian treatise *Fī ḥālat al-tifūliyya*, 'The state of childhood' (Fathi-Chelhod, forthcoming).

One of the most telling proofs of Barhebraeus' acculturation to the Muslim-Arabic literary world is his *Laughable stories*, a collection of humorous anecdotes, the majority of which are borrowed or adapted from the *Kitāb nathr al-durr* ('Miscellaneous pearls') by the Arabic-Persian writer and politician Abū Sa'ḍ Maṣṣūr ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Abī (d. 1030). With this work, he intended to entertain his Syriac readers, who in this way were introduced to the popular Arabic humorous literature of his time, including some sexually explicit jokes not normally found in the predominantly religious and scientific Syriac literature of his days. In his eyes, this literature constituted common ground for followers of different religions. Finally, the civil-judicial part of his canonical work *Ktōbō d-huddōyē*, also known as the *Nomocanon*, was importantly influenced by Islamic material, mainly based on the juridical work of al-Ghazālī or, at least, on Shāfi'ī (and partly Ḥanafī) jurisprudence.

This openness to the cultural world of Islam did not make him blind to the many incidents that occurred between Christians and Muslims. They are recorded in his *Ecclesiastical chronicle* (see below). One of his poems is even explicitly devoted to the injustices the Christians had to endure from the 'sons of Hagar'. In this poem, he identifies himself with the victims (*Ktōbō d-Mushḥōtō*, ed. Y. Dolabani, Glanerburg, 1983², pp. 27-30).

Summing up, one could say that Barhebraeus wanted to make a number of fundamental works belonging to the cultural world of Islam accessible to his Syrian readership. He was not the first to do this; the reception of Islamic thought and culture is one of the main characteristics of the period designated as the Syriac Renaissance (1026-1318). On the other hand, his vast knowledge of the Islamic (Arabic and Persian) world makes him unique among Syriac authors. It seems that he wished to follow the pattern of the scholarly career of the great Islamic thinkers in vogue in his time. In a passage in his *Civil chronicle* (*Chronography*, p. 303; trans. Budge, pp. 289-90), he remarks that, in the field of poetry, the Christian physician Hibatallāh Amīn al-Dawla ibn al-Tilmīdh (q.v.) was not inferior to any Muslim. Emulating the greatest universal Islamic scholars and literary specialists also seems to have been one of Barhebraeus' aspirations. He tried to achieve this by adopting their styles and themes as well as by imitating the organization of their scientific works, frequently consisting of comprehensive encyclopedic studies which were later reworked into smaller and more accessible 'summaries', a procedure he followed in several of his writings. Most of all, he showed his admiration for Islamic scholarship by opening himself up to Muslim scientific,

cultural and religious concepts and ideas, sometimes simply accepting them, but more often critically discussing them or adapting them to the intellectual and spiritual horizon of his Syrian Christian readership.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Mnōrat qudshē, 'The lamp of the sanctuary'

DATE Around 1266-67, and some years later

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Syriac

DESCRIPTION

The *Lamp of the sanctuary* is a 12-volume theological encyclopedia dealing with the most important themes of the West Syrian ('Jacobite') creed, such as the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the last judgment (see the list of the individual books below). Several books (on creation, angels, the rational soul) show some influence from the scientific and philosophical world of Islam, comparable to the author's other philosophical and scientific works discussed above. Some other books have casual references to the 'non-believers' (cf. Kohlhaas, *Jakobitische Sakramententheologie*, p. 42), but it is not clear whether this term refers specifically to Muslims.

Sometimes Barhebraeus paraphrases the Qur'an, as in Book 7 (on demons), though the work also has a number of important passages in which Barhebraeus discusses Christian teachings with Muslim opponents. Thus, in Book 3 (on theology) he analyzes the objections of 'philosophers, Jews, Muslims and Sabellians' against the Trinity. Here he takes up some themes known from general Christian-Muslim debates on this issue, such as the distinction between the essential and non-essential attributes of God.

Book 4 (on the Incarnation) has a long chapter on the miracles performed by Christ that confirm that he is 'the Word of God'. Barhebraeus discusses eight, in fact nine, Muslim objections against this view. He starts by giving the background to these objections: despite the fact that the Muslims are prepared to accept that Christ was foretold in the scriptures and that he is God's prophet and servant, they refuse to consider him as God or Son of God. The Muslim objections are variations on this theme: impossibility of a tri-unity; Trinity is a form of polytheism; Christ's human attributes prove that he cannot be God; impossibility of a union of the divine and the human; Christ's generation from the Father presupposes

the union or conjunction of God with someone else, which amounts to *kufṛ* (*kōfūrūtō*); if Christ is God by nature, all Christians would be gods, since Christ taught them to address God as ‘Father’; the fact that Christ was foretold in the scriptures does not imply that he is God; his miracles are no proof of his divinity; God has said through Muḥammad, the true Prophet and Messenger of God, that those who proclaim the Trinity are unbelievers. Barhebraeus then gives a summary of the classical Muslim proofs of the prophethood of Muḥammad: his miracles, especially the miracle of the Qur’an, his honest character and way of life, and the fact that he was foretold in the Jewish and Christian scriptures.

This passage is followed by a systematic refutation of these objections. The majority of Barhebraeus’ answers, such as the spiritual, non-physical character of Christ’s generation from the Father, are borrowed from classical Christian apologetic literature. He is more original in his refutation of the miraculous character of the Qur’an, and the miracles in general attributed to Muḥammad. Here, he alludes to an unidentified Shī‘ī position against the reality of any miracle by Muḥammad, and he refers to the *Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaqaddimīn wa-l-muta’akhhirin* (‘The harvest of the opinions of the ancients and the moderns’) by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (q.v.), the *Munqidh min al-dalāl* by al-Ghazālī, and an unnamed work by al-Jāḥiẓ (q.v.) – another attestation to Barhebraeus’ good knowledge of Muslim theological literature, though in this passage the references to al-Ghazālī and al-Jāḥiẓ were taken from the *Muḥaṣṣal*. The passage ends with a refutation of the Muslim doctrine of the intentional corruption and falsification (*ḥabbal; shaḥlef*) of the Christian scriptures.

In Book 9, on free will and freedom, Barhebraeus mentions the Mu‘tazilī position, which states that all human actions are not to be attributed to divine Providence but are the result of a person’s free choice. It is interesting to note that, according to Barhebraeus, the Mu‘tazilī position appealed to some members of his own community, though Barhebraeus distances himself from it. However, he disagrees even more with the position of those whom he calls the *nomusoyē*, literally the ‘legists’, most probably a term to designate the Sunnis rather than the *fuqahā*, as Poirier holds (Poirier, ‘Bar Hebraeus sur le libre arbitre’, p. 34). The text of this volume also has a number of implicit references to various schools of *kalām* (Mu‘tazilī, Ash‘arī, *jabarī*), and discusses issues such as fate, divine decree and appointed time (*qeṣō; ajal*) in close connection with the ways these themes are developed by the *mutakallimūn*.

Some implicit references to Islamic theology are also visible in vols 10 (the resurrection), 11 (the last judgment) and 12 (paradise), though one

would have expected here more explicit refutations of the Islamic conceptions of paradise and life after death, in line with earlier Christian-Muslim polemics.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Lamp of the sanctuary* is another proof of Barhebraeus' good knowledge of the Islamic theological world of his time. It also shows that Christian theologians could no longer afford to deal with themes of Christian theology, such as providence or free will, without taking into account Islamic thinking on these issues.

MANUSCRIPTS

See Takahashi, *Bio-bibliography*, pp. 184-88

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Ktōbō d-zalgē, 'The book of rays'

DATE Before 1272, probably the same period as 'The lamp of the sanctuary'

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Syriac

DESCRIPTION

The *Book of rays* comprises ten books and is, like the *Lamp of the sanctuary*, a compendium of West Syrian theology, dealing with the same themes. Though it is significantly shorter than the *Lamp of the sanctuary* and deals with several subjects in a similar way, the *Book of the rays* is not a mere compendium and in some passages has a different or a more elaborate approach to the same issue.

In Book 3 (on the Incarnation), Barhebraeus discusses again the Muslim views of Jesus, and his arguments are basically the same as in the *Lamp of the sanctuary*. However, in response to the Muslim accusation

of corruption of the Christian scriptures, he tries to demonstrate that it is rather the text of the Qur'an that was changed by adding or omitting certain chapters or verses. For the addition of certain chapters, he refers to Ibn Mas'ūd, whose redaction of the qur'anic text, compared with that of Zayd ibn Thābit, did not contain chs 113, 114, or the one called by Barhebraeus *fusōqō d-shubhō*, the chapter/section of praise, which Nau (*Textes*, p. 322) identifies as ch. 107, but which is more probably the opening chapter, also known in the first centuries of the Islamic era as *Al-ḥamdu*, after its first word (cf. A. Khoury. *Der Koran, Arabisch Deutsch* I, Gütersloh, 1990, p. 129).

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of this work for Muslim-Christian relations is comparable to that of the *Lamp of the sanctuary*: it shows Barhebraeus' good knowledge of Islamic theology, in this case more particularly of the intra-Muslim dispute about the collection of the text of the Qur'an. Though the intended readership of both the *Lamp* and the *Book of rays*, written in Syriac, was Christian, both works were meant to help the readers to discuss theological issues with Muslims on the basis of inside information.

MANUSCRIPTS

See Takahashi, *Bio-bibliography*, pp. 193-96

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STUDIES

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Koffler, *Die Lehre*, passim

F. Nau, 'Deux textes de Bar Hébraeus'

Ktōbō d-maktbōnut zabnē, Part 1, 'Civil chronicle';
Chronicon Syriacum, 'Chronography'

DATE After 1276; Gregory continued to update it until near his death

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Syriac

DESCRIPTION

This major work of Barhebraeus is a universal chronicle from the creation to almost the end of his own days. It is divided into two parts: the first deals with secular history, and the second describes ecclesiastical events. The two were separated and considered as individual works, even in the early manuscript tradition. This is also the case with modern text editions and translations.

The secular or civil part is divided into 11 'successions' (*yubbōle*), in the sense of dynasties or empires. The first nine dynasties cover the pre-Islamic period, starting with the Old Testament patriarchs and ending with the 'second kingdom of the Greeks (*Yawnōyē*)'. The tenth, which makes up about two thirds of the whole work, gives the history of the 'Arab kings' (*malkē Arabōyē*) and is followed by the chapter on the dynasty of the Mongols (*Hunōyē*).

The *Civil chronicle* was continued after Barhebraeus' death by several authors, among whom was most probably his younger brother Barṣaumō, who also added some pages to the *Ecclesiastical history*.

The chapter on the 'Arab kings' is based on a variety of earlier sources, particularly the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian (q.v.), which also deals with secular events. This of course diminishes the value of Barhebraeus' account for the period that is also covered by Michael, though he does not copy Michael slavishly. For the period that begins a few years before Michael's death in 1199, Barhebraeus writes a chronological account based on a variety of Islamic and Christian sources. The whole book on the Islamic rulers is interrupted by personal observations, sometimes based on oral information (such as on the presumed conversion to Christianity of the Fatimid Caliph al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh) as well as by brief original notes on Islamic scholars, such as Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Ibn Sīnā and al-Ghazālī, which show that Barhebraeus had a good knowledge of internal Muslim intellectual debates of his time.

Among the Islamic sources of the *Civil chronicle* are the *Kāmil fī l-ta'riḫ* ('Complete history') of Ibn al-Athīr and, for the Mongol period, the *Tārīkh-e jahāngoshay* ('World history') of 'Alā al-Dīn Jovaynī.

The beginning of the 'Book on the kings of the Arabs' has a long paragraph on Muḥammad and the beginnings of Islam, the Qur'an and its description of paradise, the Islamic faith and the first intra-Islamic dissensions (*Chronography*, pp. 88-91; trans. Budge, pp. 90-92). This account has some similarities with the critical passages on Islam in Dionysius bar Ṣalībī's *Treatise against the Muslims* (q.v.), the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian (q.v.), and the anonymous *Chronicle of 1234* (q.v.), the last two

preserving parts of the (lost) *Chronicle* of Dionysius of Tell-Mahrē (q.v.). However, unlike these other authors, Barhebraeus also expresses his admiration for the cultural achievements of Muslim ‘philosophers, mathematicians and physicians’ (cf. the passage quoted above), but he seems to have had some reservations about the complicated Muslim system of law (even though he was influenced by Muslim jurisprudence). The *Civil chronicle* also has an interesting passage on the views about Islam of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius, who lost Syria to the Muslim invaders during the first Muslim conquests. On the authority of anonymous ‘writers’ (*maktbōnē*), Heraclius is credited with a vision according to which Islam is situated between darkness and light; there is not complete darkness on account of the Muslims’ acceptance of monotheism, but they lack the perfect light of ‘Christian orthodoxy’, a view which possibly betrays Barhebraeus’ own sentiments.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of the *Civil chronicle* for the study of Christian-Muslim relations lies first in Barhebraeus’ explicit and repeated recognition of the achievements of the Muslim cultural and scholarly world. Second, in several instances, he adopts a critical attitude towards Islam and criticizes some Islamic practices and beliefs, as in the passage on al-Ghazālī, where he states that, unlike al-Ghazālī, the Muslims were more concerned with outward ablutions than with inner purification (*Chronography*, p. 255; trans. Budge, p. 244). Third, he gives a balanced account of secular history, based on a combination of various Christian and Islamic sources, which he compares, and the data in which he discusses in a critical way.

MANUSCRIPTS

See the list in Takahashi, *Bio-bibliography*, pp. 292-94

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 D. Aigle, 'L'oeuvre historiographique de Barhebraeus. Son apport à l'histoire de la période mongole', in *Actes du Colloque Barhebraeus et la renaissance syriaque, Pd'O 33* (2008) 25-61
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 D. Aigle, 'Barhebraeus et son public à travers ses chroniques en syriaque et en arabe', *Le Muséon* 118 (2005) 3-31
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 S. Todt, 'Die syrische und arabische Weltgeschichte des Bar Hebräus. Ein Vergleich', *Der Islam* 65 (1988) 60-80
 For earlier studies, see Takahashi, *Bio-bibliography*, pp. 271-77, 286-88.

Ktōbō d-maktbōnut zabnē, Part 2. *Ktōbō d-eqlesiastiqi*, 'Ecclesiastical chronicle'; *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, 'Chronography'

DATE After 1276, though Gregory continued to update it until near his death

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Syriac

DESCRIPTION

The *Ecclesiastical chronicle* is divided into two parts. The first gives the succession of the Jewish high priests, beginning with Aaron, followed by their Christian successors, the patriarchs of Antioch, starting with the Apostle Peter and ending one year after the consecration of Patriarch Philoxenos Nemrod, in 1284. The second part gives the history of the heads of the Church 'of the East', which in this chronicle means the Church in the formerly Persian territories, both the East-Syrian ('Nestorian') Church of the East and their catholicoi-patriarchs beginning with the Apostle Thomas, and the West-Syrian ('Jacobite') Church and their *maphrians-catholicoi*. For the period down to Michael the Syrian, the first part is largely based on the Michael's own *Chronicle* (q.v.), but in many instances it also gives additional information not found there. The second part is a most original work, because it is the only West Syrian chronicle to pay extensive attention to developments within the Church of the East.

The first part of the *Ecclesiastical chronicle* has a number of additions by later authors; the Abbeloos-Lamy edition includes additions up to the end of the 15th century. The second part ends with a moving account of Barhebraeus' last moments by his younger brother Barṣaumō, and also has some additions by other chroniclers.

SIGNIFICANCE

For the 13th century, the *Ecclesiastical chronicle* gives a sometimes almost eye-witness account of developments in the Syrian Orthodox community and its contacts with the Islamic world: encounters of religious dignitaries with Islamic rulers and Muslim scholars, the use of the Arabic language and adoption of Arabic culture by Christian prelates, instances of apostasy and attacks on churches and the construction of religious buildings – information often not found in other sources.

This is also the significance of the contributions of Barhebraeus' continuators, though their geographical focus is somewhat narrowed down to the region of northern Iraq and the Ṭūr 'Abdīn, whereas Barhebraeus himself gives information about the whole territory of the Syrian Orthodox community, including Baghdad after its destruction by the Mongols in 1258.

MANUSCRIPTS

See the list in Takahashi, *Bio-bibliography*, pp. 292-93, 298-301.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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For other (partial) translations, see Takahashi, *Bio-bibliography*, pp. 288-91

STUDIES

Aigle, 'L'oeuvre historiographique de Barhebraeus'

Aigle, 'Barhebraeus et son public à travers ses chroniques'

Weltecke, 'Les trois grandes chroniques syro-orthodoxes des XII^e et XIII^e siècles'

Witakowski, 'Syriac historiographical sources'

Takahashi, *Bio-bibliography*, pp. 74-75, and for earlier studies, see pp. 271-77, 291

Ethicon, 'Ethicon'

DATE 15 July 1279

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Syriac

Description

The *Ethicon*, which Barhebraeus completed in Marāgha, is a work of spirituality and moral conduct, divided into four parts, written for both monks and lay-people. It is based on a variety of Christian and Islamic sources. Of the latter, the most important is al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* ('Revival of the religious sciences'). This seminal work of Islamic piety and morality gives the *Ethicon* its fourfold structure: part 1 is devoted to religious practices such as prayer or fasting (al-Ghazālī, *'ibādāt*); part 2 to social customs such as behaviour during a meal or marriage (al-Ghazālī, *'ādāt*); part 3 gives an analysis of pernicious vices such as jealousy or greed (al-Ghazālī, *muhlikāt*); and part 4 contains a description of virtues such as voluntary poverty, love of God and the remembrance of death (al-Ghazālī, *munjiyyāt*).

The influence of al-Ghazālī is not only evident in the structure of the *Ethicon*, but also in its contents. Barhebraeus borrows heavily from the *Iḥyā'*, which brings him to a new interpretation of some classical Christian ascetical practices. For example, under the influence of al-Ghazālī's considerations on the *ḥajj*, he discusses the spiritual value of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, re-evaluating a certain traditional Syriac interpretation

that the pilgrimage is not recommendable, at least not for monks. In the same way, he seems to introduce a practice of prayer, similar to the Islamic *dhikr al-lisān*, the repetition of short prayers or the repeated invocation of the name of God. On the other hand, in some passages he distances himself from al-Ghazālī, for example, when interpreting the concept of *parrhisia* (Ghazālī, *uns*), freedom of speech and familiarity with God, where he prefers a more biblical interpretation to the one given by al-Ghazālī.

Though the *Ihyā'* is Barhebraeus' main source, he sometimes prefers the views of Ibn Sīnā (on the concept of the soul) or Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (on the attitude of religious leaders towards princes).

The fact that Barhebraeus wrote this work for a general, not exclusively religious readership, as was normal in the Syriac tradition, may be considered as another proof of his openness to the Islamic religious world. The *Ethicon* has always been extremely popular, and has been translated into Arabic several times.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of the *Ethicon* lies in the combination of Christian and Islamic spiritual traditions, by which the author implicitly recognizes the value of a spiritual Islam and reinterprets some traditional Christian ascetic and mystical practices and concepts.

MANUSCRIPTS

See the list in Takahashi, *Bio-bibliography*, pp. 204-9.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- H. Teule, *The Ethicon of Barhebraeus. Critical edition and annotated translation of Memrō II*, Louvain (forthcoming)
- S. and I. Tanoğlu, *Doğunun ışığı, Abu'l Faraç*, Elazığ, 2010, pp. 151-81 (partial Turkish trans.)
- H. Teule, *Gregory Barhebraeus. Ethicon. Memrā I (CSCO 534-35)*, Louvain, 1993 (critical edition and trans.)
- G.B. Behnām, *Kitāb al-Ithiqūn aw falsafat al-ādāb al-khulqīyya*, Qamishli, 1967 (Arabic trans.)
- A. Wensinck, *Bar Hebraeus's Book of the Dove. Together with some chapters from his Ethicon*, Leiden, 1919, pp. 85-133 (partial trans.)
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STUDIES

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- G. Blum, *Die Geschichte der Begegnung christlich-orientalischer Mystik mit der Mystik des Islams*, Wiesbaden, 2009, 644-710
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- Takahashi, *Bio-bibliography*, pp. 201-4
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- H. Teule, "'La critique du prince". Quelques aspects d'une philosophie politique dans l'oeuvre de Barhebraeus', in G. Reinink and A. Klugkist (eds), *After Bardaisan*, Louvain, 1999, pp. 287-94
- H. Teule, 'Barhebraeus' Ethicon, al-Ghazālī and b. Sīnā', *Islamochristiana* 18 (1992) 73-86

Ktōbō d-yawnō, 'Book of the dove'

DATE Probably written after the Ethicon, hence later than 1279

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Syriac

DESCRIPTION

The *Book of the dove* takes up the same themes as the *Ethicon*, but whereas the *Ethicon* was written for any Christian believer, monk or lay-person, the *Book of the dove* discusses these themes only from the perspective of monks and solitaries. The similarity with the *Ethicon* implies that the *Dove* is also largely based on al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*.

Book 4 of the *Book of the dove* has no equivalent in the *Ethicon*, and consists of an autobiographical account of the author. This account

was modeled on al-Ghazālī's autobiography found in his *Munqidh min al-ḍalāl*. The *Book of the dove* ends with a series of 100 spiritual, hermetical sentences, possibly in imitation of the famous *Ḥikam* by a contemporary of Barhebraeus, the Sufi author Ibn 'Atā' Allāh, though sayings of this kind were not unknown in the earlier Syriac tradition.

SIGNIFICANCE

By taking al-Ghazālī's autobiography as a model for the description of his personal spiritual growth, Barhebraeus implicitly expresses his admiration for one of the greatest Islamic thinkers, whose spiritual views inspired him to compose the *Book of the dove* (and the *Ethicon*) and to rethink some traditional Christian practices.

MANUSCRIPTS

See the list in Takahashi, *Bio-bibliography*, pp. 215-18

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

C. Alkan, *Güvercin kitabı*, Glane, Losser, 1989 (Turkish trans., partially re-edited in Tanoğlu, *Doğunun ışığı*, pp. 195-220)

J.Y. Çiçek, *Ktōbō d-yawnō meṭṭul dubbōrō d-iḥididōyē... men syōmē... d-Bar Ebrōyō*, Glane, Losser, 1983 (Syriac text)

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For other editions, see Takahashi, *Bio-bibliography*, pp. 212-15

STUDIES

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H. Teule, 'L'amour de Dieu dans l'œuvre de Bar 'Ebroyo', in *Dieu Miséricorde-Dieu Amour. Actes du Colloque VIII Patrimoine syriaque*, Antélias: CERO, 2002, 259-75

S.K. Samir, 'Un récit autobiographique d'Ibn al-Ibrī', *Dirāsāt* 15 (1988) 15-51

K. Samir, 'Cheminement mystique d'Ibn al-'Ibrī (1226-1286)', *Proche Orient Chrétien* 37 (1987) 71-89

Wensinck, *Bar Hebraeus's Book of the dove*, pp. xiii-cxxxvi

Mukhtaṣar ta'riḫ al-duwal, 'Abridgement of the history of dynasties'

DATE Towards the end of his life in 1286

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Like the *Civil chronicle*, this work is also divided into 'dynasties', the last two of which give the history of the Arabs and the Mongols. The title *Mukhtaṣar* and this division suggest that this is an Arabic summary of the *Civil chronicle*. A remark by Barṣaumō in the *Ecclesiastical chronicle*, that some Muslims of Marāgha had requested Barhebraeus to translate his Syriac *Chronicle* into Arabic, appears to reinforce this assumption.

In fact, it is better to consider the *Mukhtaṣar* as an independent work, partly based on different sources. Besides Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil fī l-ta'riḫ*, Barhebraeus also uses al-Qiftī's (q.v.) *Ṭabaqāt al-hukamā'*, though with some care, supplementing al-Qiftī's notices with material found in other sources.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of this work is the exceptional attention paid by the author to Muslim scholars. Even his description of some Christian writers such as Yahyā ibn 'Adī (q.v.) seems to be borrowed from Islamic authors rather than from Christian bibliographical accounts.

MANUSCRIPTS

See the list in Takahashi, *Bio-bibliography*, pp. 309-13.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

A. Sallhānī, *Ta'riḫ mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, Beirut, 1890, 1958², 1992³, 1997⁴
(re-edition of Sallhānī's text by K. al-Manṣūr with additional notes;
cf. Takahashī, *Bio-bibliography*, pp. 301-2)

'Abd al-Muḥammad Ayatī, *Mukhtaṣar ta'riḫ al-duwal*, Tehran, 1998
(Persian trans.)

Muḥammad 'Alī Pūr and Hishmat Allāh Riyāḏī, *Tarjuma-i Ta'riḫ mukhtaṣar al-duwal ta'lif-i Grighuriyus Abū l-Faraj Ahrūn b. al Ibrī*, Tehran, 1985 (Persian trans.)

Ş. Yalatkaya, *Ebüferec İbnülibrî. Tarihi muhtasarüddüvel*, Istanbul, 1941
(partial Turkish trans.)

G.L. Bauer, *Des Gregorius Abulfaradsch kurze Geschichte der Dynastien oder Auszug der allgemeinen Weltgeschichte besonders der Geschichte der Chalifen und der Mongolen*, 2 vols, Leipzig, 1783-85

E. Pococke, *Mukhtaṣar ta'riḫ al-duwal. Historia compendiosa dynastiarum auctore Gregorio Abul-Pharajio*, Oxford, 1663 (Arabic text and Latin trans.).

For partial translations (brief excerpts), see Takahashi, *Bio-bibliography*, pp. 303-5.

STUDIES

F. Micheau, 'Le Kâmil d'Ibn al-al-Athîr, source principale de l'Histoire des Arabes dans le Mukhtasar de Bar Hebraeus', in A.-M. Eddé and E. Gannagé (eds), *Regards croisés sur le moyen âge arabe. Mélanges à la mémoire de Louis Pouzet S.J. (1928-2002), Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph* 58 (2005) 425-39

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Takahashi, *Bio-bibliography*, pp. 305-8

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L.I. Conrad, 'On the Arabic Chronicle of Barhebraeus. His aims and audience', *Pd'O* 19 (1996) 319-78

H. Teule, 'The crusaders in Barhebraeus' Syriac and Arabic secular Chronicles. A different approach', in K. Cigaar, A. Davids and H. Teule (eds), *East and West in the crusader states*, Louvain, 1996, 39-49

Y.M. Ishāq, 'Khaṣā'iṣ Ta'riḫ mukhtaṣar al-duwal li-l-mu'arriḫ al-Suryānī al-mashhūr al-'allāma Abī l-Faraj Yuḥannā al-ma'rūf bi-ibn al-'Ibrī', *ARAM* 1 (1989) 173-98

Herman G.B. Teule

‘Abdallāh al-Asīr

‘Abdallāh the captive

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; possibly early 13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; possibly late 13 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; possibly France

BIOGRAPHY

The figure of ‘Abdallāh al-Asīr is only known from a few references in the *Kitāb miftāḥ al-dīn* of the Tunisian scholar Abū l-Qasim Muḥammad ibn Sirāj al-Qaysī (q.v.), written about 1308. Al-Qaysī was taken captive by Christians in Spain and held in Lerida, where he participated in debates with Christian monks. He wrote the *Kitāb miftāḥ al-dīn* at this time and, as part of his argumentation, he included excerpts from an earlier work written by ‘Abdallāh al-Asīr.

Al-Qaysī says that ‘Abdallāh was held prisoner in ‘France’ (*bi-Ifranja*), and debated there with an unidentified but evidently familiar cleric whom al-Qaysī simply calls ‘the monk’ (*al-rāhib*) (Koningsveld and Wieggers, ‘Polemical works’, p. 183). ‘Abdallāh wrote a polemical work as part of this, and portions of it form part of al-Qaysī’s work.

This passing mention is enough to locate ‘Abdallāh in the 13th century, and to raise the possibility that he was the *Abdella Azir Abeyanet* who is referred to in a document dated to 1267 as living on Templar land in Villastar, Aragon, in north-eastern Spain (Koningsveld and Wieggers, ‘Polemical works’, p. 193). While this cannot be verified, it fits in with what little is otherwise known about him and suggests that the element ‘al-Asīr’ became accepted as part of his name.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

A.J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, London, 1973, pp. 395-96, document XXIV (containing the reference to Abdella Azir Abeyanet)

Secondary

R. Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the medieval Crown of Aragon*, Cambridge, 2009, p. 162

P.S. van Koningsveld, ‘Muslim slaves and captives in Western Europe during the late Middle Ages’, *ICMR* 6 (1995) 5-24, p. 13

P.S. van Koningsveld and G. Wieggers, ‘The polemical works of Muḥammad al-Qaysī (fl. 1309) and their circulation in Arabic and Aljamiado among the Mudejars in the fourteenth century’, *Al-Qanṭara* 15 (1994) 163-99

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

[Refutation of Christianity]

DATE Unknown; possibly mid or late 13th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Neither the title of the work nor its full contents have survived. All that is known is that it was written, in Arabic, against Christianity, and probably in response to hostile questions from a monk. It only survives as extracts in al-Qaysī’s early 14th-century *Kitāb miftāḥ al-dīn*.

In the third, largely autobiographical part of his original Arabic work, al-Qaysī describes how he was compelled to take part in a religious debate with a monk. In the course of this, the monk asks him whether the Spirit that was breathed into Mary was the Spirit of God, and whether this Spirit and God’s Word were attached to the essence of Jesus. This question is evidently based on Q 4:171, interpreted in Christian terms to imply that Jesus, God’s ‘Word which he bestowed on Mary, and a Spirit proceeding from him’, comprised the divine and human natures that Christian doctrine said he did. Al-Qaysī replies that ‘Abdallāh al-Asīr has previously answered this point, and quotes arguments about the divine attributes from the earlier Muslim’s work (Koningsveld and Wieggers, ‘Polemical works’, p. 183).

Al-Qaysī composed his work in Arabic, but not long after it was written – possibly within a decade or two – it was summarized in Aljamiado with additions that make the new work more of an adaptation than a translation. Among these additions are further quotations from ‘Abdallāh’s work, and the adaptor actually intimates that much of the early part of al-Qaysī’s work, which is concerned with texts from the Bible, was taken from ‘Abdallāh’s polemic (Koningsveld and Wieggers, ‘Polemical works’, pp. 190-92).

These details indicate that the work was something of a considered examination of Christian texts and doctrines in response to antagonistic questioning, and a mature defense of Islamic beliefs.

SIGNIFICANCE

As might be expected from someone who was held captive in Christian territory (possibly long enough to settle there, with the term ‘captive’ becoming part of the name by which he was known), ‘Abdallāh shows close acquaintance with Christian beliefs. But his evident ability in refuting the arguments put to him, and his easy facility with texts from the Qur’an and Bible, indicate that he was something of a scholar and maybe well experienced in polemical arguments. His refutation suggests a need to defend Islam, maybe as a result of Christian intellectual pressure arising from Christian military successes in the Iberian Peninsula.

His work must have enjoyed some popularity because, as well as al-Qaysī in the early 14th century, the Mudejar who made the slightly later Aljamiado adaptation evidently also knew it in its original form and was able to recognize it in al-Qaysī’s refutation.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES

Koningsveld and Wiegers, ‘Polemical works’, pp. 183, 190-92, 193

David Thomas

Burchard of Mount Sion

Burchardus de Monte Sion, Brocardus

DATE OF BIRTH	Probably mid-13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Uncertain; probably in the German Empire
DATE OF DEATH	Probably late 13 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about Burchard, other than what can be gleaned from his *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, which says that he was a Dominican friar associated with the convent of Magdeburg. He travelled to the Holy Land sometime between 1274 and 1284, spending some time in the Convent of Mt Sion, and subsequently wrote a description of his travels.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Descriptio Terrae Sanctae (see below)

Secondary

See below

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Descriptio Terrae Sanctae, 'Description of the Holy Land'

DATE Burchard apparently wrote two versions; the first was probably composed between 1280 and 1283.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Burchard provides a description of the Holy Land in the tradition of medieval Latin pilgrimage narratives. In accordance with the genre, it is a rather bookish portrayal, as he relies on biblical descriptions, works of the Church Fathers (in particular Jerome), Jacques de Vitry's (q.v.) *Historia orientalis*, and other texts. He gives his impression of the places

he visits, compares what he sees with the biblical descriptions of these places and identifies the biblical events that took place there. He also describes, briefly, the various religious groups that inhabit the Holy Land: Jews, various denominations of Eastern Christians, Latins and Muslims.

Compared with those of other authors (such as Jacques de Vitry [q.v.], one of his main sources), these descriptions are surprisingly free of polemic. In the midst of describing a church consecrated to St John the Baptist, Burchard explains that the Saracens revere John as a holy prophet. They also, he continues, believe that Jesus, born of the Virgin Mary, is the Word of God but not God, 'and they say that Machomet was the messenger of God and was sent by God only to them; I read this in the Alchoran, which is their book'. The emphasis here is on the fundamental compatibility of Christian and Muslim doctrine. Burchard takes from the Qur'ān itself the idea that Muḥammad was sent specially to the Arabs, and transforms it into a Muslim denial of the universality of Islam: the Saracens, he implies, have a revealed religion peculiar to themselves, one for which they do not claim superiority. Burchard reinforces this impression in another passage of his *Descriptio*, where he presents the various nations of the Holy Land. Here, the Saracens are one group among many – Latins, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, etc. – and no better or worse than the others; indeed, the Latins are the ones who are the wickedest. He shares with William of Tripoli (q.v.) and the author of *De statu Sarracenorum* (q.v.) the contempt for armed struggle as an evangelical tool. But whereas *De statu* sees an exhausted Islam about to fall into the arms of Christianity, Burchard sees one sect among many, neither better nor worse than most of its neighbors, but one unlikely to be drawn to the cult of the violent and rapacious Latins.

SIGNIFICANCE

While much of Burchard's text conforms to the genre of pilgrimage narrative, largely descriptive and derivative, he shows a capacity for keen observation and a critical skepticism. His assessment of the Latin community and his quite positive treatment of Eastern Christians and Muslims goes against the grain of contemporary Latin portrayals. Burchard's text was widely read and was in turn used by later pilgrims in their descriptions of the Holy Land.

MANUSCRIPTS

Laurent (pp. 5-11) lists 26 manuscripts from the late 13th to the 15th centuries. To these should be added:

MS Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania – Codex 60 (late 14th or early 15th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- D. Pringle, 'Burchard of Mount Sion OP. Description of the Holy Land (1274–85)', in D. Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291*, Aldershot, 2011 (trans.)
- A. Stewart (trans.), *Burchard of Mount Sion: A.D. 1280*, London, 1896 (repr. New York, 1971)
- J. Laurent (ed.), in *Peregrinationes medii aevi quatuor*, Leipzig, 1864
Onomasticon urbium et locorum Sacrae Scripturae seu Liber de locis hebraicis, graece primum ab Eusebio Caesariensi, deinde latine scriptus ab Hieronymo... variis additamentis auctus, notis... illustratus opera Jacobi Bonfrerii S. J. recensuit... Johannes clericus. Accessit huic editioni Brocardi Monachi... descriptio Terrae Sanctae, Amsterdam, 1711
- R. Reyneke (ed.), *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae, et regionum finitimarum*, Magdeburg, 1587
- De dimensione terrae et geometrice numerandis locorum particularium intervallis ex doctrina triangulorum sphaericorum et canone subtensarum liber, denuo editus, sed auctius multo et correctius, quam antea, autore Casparo Peucero. Descriptio locorum Terrae Sanctae exactissima, autore quodam Brocardo Monacho. Aliquot insignium locorum Terrae Sanctae explicatio et historiae per Philippum Melanthonem*, Witberg, 1579
- J. Host von Romberch (ed.), *Veridica Terre Sancte regionumque finitimarum ac in eis mirabilium description*, Venice, 1519

STUDIES

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- A. Grabois, 'Burchard of Mount Sion', in J. Friedman and K. Figg (eds), *Trade, travel and exploration in the Middle Ages. An encyclopedia*, New York, 2000, 82-83
- D. Lohrmann, 'Echanges techniques entre Orient et Occident au temps des Croisades', in I. Draelants et al. (eds), *Occident et Proche-Orient. Contacts scientifiques au temps des croisades. Actes du colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve, 24 et 25 mars 1997*, Turnhout, 2000, 117-43
- J. Folda, 'Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre through the eyes of crusader pilgrims', in B. Kühnel (ed.), *The real and ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic art. Studies in honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, Jerusalem, 1998, 158-64
- A. O'Mahoney, 'Between Islam and Christendom. The Ethiopian community in Jerusalem before 1517', *Medieval Encounters* 2 (1996), 140-54
- A. Grabois, 'Christian pilgrims in the thirteenth century and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Burchard of Mount Sion', in B. Kedar et al. (eds), *Outremer. Studies in the history of the crusading kingdom of Jerusalem presented to Joshua Prawer*, Jerusalem, 1982, 285-96
- T. Käppeli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi*, 4 vols, Rome, 1970-93, i, 257-60

John Tolan

Sulaymān al-Ashlūḥī

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; perhaps mid-13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Probably Ashlūḥ in the religion of Tripoli, Lebanon
DATE OF DEATH	After 1289
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; perhaps Ashlūḥ

BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about Sulaymān al-Ashlūḥī, the author of a poem in Lebanese Arabic dialect about the fall of Tripoli to the Mamluks (under Sultan Qalāwūn, on 27 April 1289) beyond what can be deduced from the poem itself. R. Jabre-Mouawad, who has recently provided a critical edition, translation, and study of the poem ('Un témoin melkite'), convincingly argues that Sulaymān was a Melkite (*pace* Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.2, p. 95). He hailed from the village of Ashlūḥ near Tripoli, no longer in existence today. His rich evocation of ceremonial in the Melkite church in Tripoli, as well as other hints of specialized ecclesiastical knowledge, suggest that he may have held the office of deacon (Jabre-Mouawad, 'Un témoin melkite', p. 147).

Nasrallah (*HMLEM* iii.2, p. 95) has pointed out that a poem by Sulaymān in praise of St Mary Magdalene is preserved together with Maronite texts in MS Marburg, Westdeutsche Bibliothek – Or. oct. 1428, fols 36r-39r.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

See below for the MSS of Sulaymān's poem.

Secondary

R. Jabre-Mouawad, 'Un témoin melkite de la prise de Tripoli par les mameluks (27 avril 1287)', in R. Ebied and H. Teule (eds), *Studies on the Christian Arabic heritage*, Leuven, 2004, 133-61

Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.2, p. 95

Graf, *GICAL* ii, p. 86

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Qawl 'alā Ṭarābulus 'alā mā jarā fihā min al-Islām,
 'Discourse on Tripoli concerning what was brought
 about there by Islam'

DATE After 27 April 1289

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This relatively short *zajaliyya* or strophic poem (67 lines in Jabre-Mouawad's edition) expresses the poet's sorrow after the fall of the city of Tripoli to the Mamluks in 1289. Its various titles all reflect this: *Qawl 'alā Ṭarābulus 'alā mā jarā fihā min al-Islām*, 'Discourse on Tripoli and what was brought about there by Islam' (Vat Syr. 231); *Madiḥat Ṭarābulus*, 'In praise of Tripoli' (MS Anayssi, Guidi's edition); *Qaṣīda 'alā kharāb Ṭarābulus fī ḥarb al-atrāk*, 'Poem on the destruction of Tripoli during the war of the Turks' (MS Kraym). Sulaymān vividly describes the deaths of young men before the eyes of their mothers; the lament of young women who have been raped and put up for sale in the market; and the destruction of the city's walls, the prince's palace, the Melkite church, and the once-bustling port. The genre of the poem (lament over a fallen city) is a common one, while its language is not classical but rather an Arabic dialect – as Jabre-Mouawad points out, of a Melkite rather than a Maronite variety ('Un témoin melkite', p. 146, pointing out the lack of Syriacisms).

SIGNIFICANCE

The poem provides a number of details useful for reconstructing the history of Tripoli and its fall to the Mamluks, as well as for the history of the Melkite Church under Latin crusader rule (Jabre-Mouawad, 'Un témoin melkite', pp. 136-45). Perhaps most importantly for the history of Christian-Muslim relations, it is a witness to how communal memories of cataclysmic events were created and passed on. Sulaymān's poem evokes for each new (Christian) audience the terror and destruction that 'Islam' brought (according to the title in the Vatican MS). The political sensitivity of such memories may be reflected in the fact that the poem is preserved only in manuscripts in *karshūnī* script: they serve to keep these memories alive within Syriac-background Christian communities, but also to prevent the wider dissemination of the text (see Jabre-Mouawad, 'Un témoin melkite', pp. 133-34).

MANUSCRIPTS

- See Jabre-Mouawad, 'Un témoin melkite', pp. 133-35.
 MS Vat – Syr. 231, fols 5v-10r (1629; karshūnī)
 MS made by P. Toubia Anayssi and sent to I. Guidi (late 19th century;
 karshūnī)
 MS Jounieh, Bibliothèque des PP. Kraym – [not further specified]
 (1905; karshūnī)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- Jabre-Mouawad, 'Un témoin melkite', pp. 149-61 (critical edition,
 French trans., and study)
 Munīr Wuhayba, *Al-zajal*, pp. 131-32 (cited in Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.2,
 p. 95, n. 17)
 Ibrāhīm Ḥarfūsh, 'Zajaliyya 'alā kharāb Ṭarabulus', *Al-Mashriq* 14 (1911)
 433-37 (ed. from MS Jounieh, Kraym)
 I. Guidi, 'Il codice Vaticano siriano 196', in *Homenaje á D. Francisco
 Codera en su jubilación del profesorado. Estudios de erudición ori-
 ental*, Zaragoza, 1904, pp. 339-48, here pp. 342-48 (ed. from MS
 Anayssi, with a list of variants in MS Vat. Syr. 231; this edition is an
 appendix to an article on another topic, MS Vat Syr. 196)
 I. Guidi, 'Discours sur Tripoli et sur ce qu'y firent les musulmans',
Archives de l'Orient Latin 2 (1884) 462-66 (French trans., with
 an introduction by R. Röhricht, who attributes the poem to the
 Maronite Gabriel ibn al-Qilāʿī)

STUDIES

- Jabre-Mouawad, 'Un témoin melkite', pp. 133-48
 Graf, *GICAL* ii, p. 86
 Ḥarfūsh, 'Zajaliyya'
 I. Guidi, 'Discours sur Tripoli'

Mark N. Swanson

Dawit' erēc' Baluec'i

DATE OF BIRTH Mid-13th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Eastern Anatolia
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The author of the text informs readers that he is the son of the sister of Grigor, the protagonist of the narrative, and that he had studied under his uncle's tutelage to become a priest. He says that he was an eyewitness to the events he describes.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The only primary source for the author's biography is the martyrology itself.

Secondary

H. Ač'aryan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri ba'aran*, vol. 2, Yerevan, 1944, p. 45

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Vkayabanut'iwn Grigori Baluec'woy, Simēoni ew Kirakosi, 'Martyrology of Grigor Baluec'i, Simēon, and Kirakos'

DATE About 1290
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

The work centers on the figure of Grigor Baluec'i from central Anatolia, who, after studying for the priesthood, was married for two years. However, on his wife's untimely death, he decided to gain a higher theological education further east, studying with the illustrious scholar Vardan Arewelc'i in the monastery of Xor Virap for six years (probably in the 1260s). On obtaining his license to preach and teach as a celibate *vardapet* he returned to his home district where he rebuilt the Monastery of St James and slowly gathered around him a community of monks.

At the end of the 1280s, Grigor determined to visit Xarberd/Harput in order to give the Armenian community there more systematic spiritual direction, since, as the author informs us, it was previously suffering from lack of cohesion and moral guidance. Sometime after his arrival, a Mamluk army together with its vassals from Damascus and Aleppo launched a devastating onslaught against the city, taking the brother of its Persian administrator Kharband Agha back to Egypt as captive. Meanwhile, as a conclave of the leading men was summoned in the palace to arrange the collection of the ransom required from the whole population, the roof collapsed, killing the whole assembly.

In the ensuing uproar, a group of Muslims killed a dog, hung its carcass at the mosque door and placed its head in the mihrab, spreading the rumor that Grigor and the Armenian community had perpetrated the sacrilege. In retaliation, a Muslim force entered the Armenian church during the fast of St Sargis (Sergius) and arrested and imprisoned the clergy and 45 magnates. The trial on the following day was conducted by ten *qāḏīs* from the city and surrounding district, who questioned the *vardapet* through an interpreter. While Grigor is stated as upholding the sanctity of the mosque as a holy place and condemning those responsible for its desecration, the author indicates his intentions were deliberately misrepresented by the translator in order to provoke the judges. In the event, he was stripped to the waist and dragged along the ground on his stomach, then administered 300 lashes with green switches till his intestines were exposed.

Meanwhile, his acolytes Simēon and Kirakos were interrogated and constrained to convert. When they refused, they were beaten about the head and body until they fell on the ground and expired. Next the *qāḏīs'* attention turned to the 45 magnates, who might have suffered a similar fate but for the intervention of the Mongol leader T'at'āra, who arrived on horseback with an armed force to secure their release, maintaining that he was responsible for their lives before the khan who had assigned him to guard the city. At this, the rabble fell on Grigor and stoned him to death, after which the executioners cut off his head and set it above the city gate. The following morning, a heavenly light is described as illuminating the place of execution, first observed by the mullah going to call the faithful to prayer, who is reported as remarking, 'Woe to you who have tortured an innocent one.' The Armenian community then removed the three bodies for burial, interring them in the neighboring Jacobite Syrian monastery of Mar Barsauma, where, the author notes,

their graves were the site of many miracles. The martyrdom is reported as occurring on Friday, 10 February 1290.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work presents a fascinating vignette of the ethno-religious complexity of the Sultanate of Rum in the 13th century, which had incorporated the Xarberd region from the Artuqids in 1223, before itself falling vassal to the Mongols a decade later. The main population is Turkish and Muslim, but governed by a Persian administrator, a typical representative of his class, many of whom settled in Anatolia from the 1220s to escape the ravages of the Khwārazmians. The Armenian community is depicted as centered on its church, while the Jacobite Syrian presence is more established, since they had achieved episcopal status in the 11th century and possessed the major religious and cultural center of Mar Barsauma, which frequently served as the seat of their patriarch. The intercommunion between these churches is marked by the Armenian martyrs' burial there.

The tensions gripping Xarberd society are mirrored by the allusions to the struggles between the main powers of the wider region contending for domination of Greater Syria. The Mamluk attack recorded is part of a concerted effort by Sultan Qalāwūn to assert control over the region, capturing Tripoli in 1289 and Acre in 1291. Meanwhile, the Mongol contingent will have been dispatched by the Ilkhan Arghun to reinforce defenses in order to prevent the enemy from pressing home their advantage. Although Islam was expanding within the Mongol forces, the Ilkhanid leadership was actively pursuing an anti-Mamluk alliance with west European monarchs and the papacy, sending four embassies there within the previous few years. In addition, Armenians were perceived as benefiting from Mongol rule in the Near East, having earlier accepted their suzerainty and, as a result, assisting them in achieving their goals. This gave rise to periodic ventings of resentment in various Seljuk centers, such as in the incident of sacrilege presented here.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M7494,
fols 134r-138 (post-1567)

MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M1668,
fols 87v-91v (17th century)

Both MSS represent an abbreviated recension of an original longer text.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *Novie armyanskie mucheniki (1155-1843), perevod, pre-disloviie i primechaniya*, Yerevan, 1998, pp. 49-55, 266-67 (Russian trans.)
- K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *Armyanskie zhitiya i muchenichestva V-XVII vv.*, Yerevan, 1994, pp. 353-58 (Russian trans.)
- K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *Pamyatniki armyanskoy agiografii*, Yerevan, 1973, pp. 265-74 (Russian trans.)
- Y. Manandean and H. Ač'aġean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, Vałaršapat, 1903, pp. 104-18 (critical edition)
- Y. Manandean and H. Ač'aġean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (žotovrdakan hratarakut'iwn)*, vol. 1, Vałaršapat, 1902, pp. 75-84 (edition lacking critical apparatus)

STUDIES

- K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkeyabanut'yunner (V-XVIII dd.)*, Yerevan, 2011, pp. 323-25
- K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *XI-XV dareri Hay vark'agrut'yunə*, Yerevan, 1980, p. 13
- H. Ač'aġyan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri baġaran*, vol. 1, Yerevan, 1942, pp. 581-82
- L. Ališan, *Ayrarat*, Venice, 1890, p. 438a

S. Peter Cowe

Fidentius of Padua

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; before 1226
PLACE OF BIRTH	Padua, or its surroundings
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; after 1291 or 1294
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; probably Padua

BIOGRAPHY

On the evidence of his name, Fidentius was born in Padua or its surroundings (or alternatively he was from the Franciscan convent there). In July 1266, he was vicar of the Franciscan province of the Holy Land – a function for which one had to be 40 years old. That year, at the request of the grand master of the Temple, he sent two friars to Safed castle, which was under siege by Baybars. Two years later, he was in Tripoli, where he read a prophetic book, the *Liber Clementis*, brought to him by a Syrian Christian. After the fall of Antioch (18 May 1268), he went to Baybars' encampment for the spiritual relief of the Latin prisoners. Again in 1289, after the fall of Tripoli (26 April), he went among Qalāwūn's troops for the same reason. In 1274, he participated at the second ecumenical council in Lyons, where Pope Gregory X asked him to write a report on the recovery of the Holy Land. He gave his *Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte* only in 1290-91 to Pope Nicholas IV. There are mentions of a friar Fidentius of Padua at the convent of St Anthony at Padua between 1283 and 1294. He accomplished some missions in Italy, though we cannot be sure whether this was the same man.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Fidentius of Padua's *Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte* (see below)

Secondary

J. Paviot, Introduction to the edition (see below), pp. 15-17

P. Evangelisti, *Fidenzio da Padova e la letteratura crociato-missionaria minoritica. Strategie e modelli francescani per il dominio (XIII-XV sec.)*, Naples, 1998

F. Simonelli, 'Fidenzio da Padova', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 47, Rome, 1987, pp. 412-14

C. Schmitt, 'Fidence de Padoue', *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. 16, Paris, 1967, cols 1422-23

G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa et dell'Oriente francescano*, vol. 2, Florence, 1913, pp. 1-7

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Liber de recuperatione Terre Sancte, 'On the recovery of the Holy Land'

DATE Date 1290-91

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This treatise is divided into seven chronological parts of unequal length, according to the rulers of the Holy Land: Gentiles, Jews, Assyrians, Romans, Byzantines, Saracens, and the Christians to whom it rightly belongs. The last three parts, and above all the last, are the most developed. In the fifth part, Fidentius presents the causes, mostly moral, which led to the loss of the Holy Land. The sixth part is devoted to the life of the 'false prophet' Muḥammad and the 'vices' of the Muslims (with quotations from the Qur'an), listed as infidelity, lewdness, cruelty, greed, over-confidence, foolishness and volatility. For these, Fidentius gives examples drawn from his own experience: Muslim abhorrence of the cross and representations of Jesus Christ, their profanation of Christian corpses, their exactions from Christian pilgrims, not keeping their own promises.

The seventh part is Fidentius' project for the recovery of the Holy Land, based on moral and military considerations, with references to the Bible. A land force would make its way to the Holy Land following the itinerary of the First Crusade, and would get help from the Armenians, the Georgians and the Mongols, while a fleet would be stationed in a port of the Eastern Mediterranean.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Liber de recuperatione Terre Sancte* is a good example of a late 13th-century view of Islam by a Franciscan friar in the Near East, though it is not original and shows the continuity of themes based upon John of Damascus (q.v.). It is difficult to know Fidentius' sources: Jacques de Vitry (q.v.), and perhaps Mark of Toledo (q.v.) and Petrus Alfonsi (q.v.). In addition, he was familiar with the Qur'an, at least parts of it, and with Arabic. Unlike earlier Franciscans, he did not seek martyrdom.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 7242, fols 85r-126r (14th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Projets de croisade (v. 1290-v. 1330), ed. J. Paviot, Paris, 2008, pp. 53-169
 Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, vol. 2, pp. 9-60

STUDIES

Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 209-13

J. Paviot, 'Comment reconquérir la Terre sainte et vaincre les Sarrasins?', in M. Balard, B.Z. Kedar and J. Riley-Smith (eds), *Dei gesta per Francos. Études sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, Aldershot UK, 2001, 79-85

A. Leopold, *The crusade proposals of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries*, Aldershot UK, 2000

P. Evangelisti, *Fidenzio da Padova e la letteratura crociato-missionaria minoritica. Strategie e modelli francescani per il dominio (XIII-XV sec.)*, Naples, 1998

C. Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192-1291*, Cambridge, 1992

S. Schein, *Fideles Crucis. The papacy, the West, and the recovery of the Holy Land 1274-1314*, Oxford, 1991, pp. 93-102

J.F. Verbruggen, *The art of warfare in western Europe during the Middle Ages. From the eighth century to 1340*, Amsterdam, 1977 (first edition in Dutch, Brussels, 1954), pp. 254-73

É. Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza, ducs de Milan au xv^e siècle*, Paris, 1955, p. 112, no. A 180 (on the manuscript)

Jacques Paviot

Ghāzī ibn al-Wāsiṭī

Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Wāsiṭī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; mid 13th-century

PLACE OF BIRTH Aleppo

DATE OF DEATH 1312

PLACE OF DEATH Aleppo

BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about Ghāzī ibn al-Wāsiṭī. He was employed for a time by al-Malik al-Ashraf of Homs (r. 1245-62), the last of the Ayyūbid rulers of that town, and his time there seems to have been ended by the arrival of the Mongols. He moved to Egypt, where he held various posts in the Mamluk bureaucracy in Cairo until he fell from favor and was forced to move to Aleppo. He was a *kātib*, which probably means he was part of the middle-ranking bureaucracy, although he held fairly high positions in Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo. Goitein describes him as 'a man of some temper', who 'does not mince matters', and does not 'take the edge off his words' (pp. 383-84).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Muḥammad Rāghib Ṭabbākh, *I'lām al-nubalā' bi-tārīkh Ḥalab al-shahbā'*, 7 vols, Aleppo, 1925, v, p. 544

Secondary

- D.S. Rice, 'Two unusual Mamlūk metal works', *BSOAS* 20 (1957) 487-500, p. 497
M. Perlmann, 'Notes on anti-Christian propaganda in the Mamlūk empire', *BSOAS* 10 (1942) 843-61
R. Gottheil, 'An answer to the Dhimmis', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 41 (1921) 383-487, pp. 383-85

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Radd 'alā ahl al-dhimma wa-man tabi'ahum,
'Refutation of the dhimmis and those who
follow them'

DATE 1290-93

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Radd 'alā ahl al-dhimma wa-man tabi'ahum is a vicious attack on Coptic Christians (and, less often, Jews), which consists almost entirely of anecdotes describing their supposed duplicity. It was one of a number of anti-Christian treatises written in the *jihād* atmosphere of the Mamluk empire with the aim of inciting popular antagonism against Christians, and a tone of bitterness runs throughout.

The main criticism within the piece is that Christians (and Jews) are allowed to live freely in Egypt and Syria, and Ibn al-Wāsiṭī considers these people to be worse than those who use oppression to keep hold over Muslim subjects. The tract contains Qur'anic quotations, Hadith, and examples from throughout Islamic history in which Christians are criticized, and each example has been chosen in an attempt to show the 'otherness' of Christians compared to Muslims. Particularly, the author picks examples concerned with not associating with Christians, the punishment for Christians who injure a Muslim in, and why they should not be employed in government. He also includes the terms of the Pact of 'Umar (q.v.), which he clearly links to the situation in his own time, when these directives were being ignored, with Christians seemingly lording it over Muslims, and he writes of the punishment the Christians supposedly agreed to should the terms be ignored. At his most vitriolic, Ghāzī ibn al-Wāsiṭī writes that everything a Jew or Christian possesses should be given to Muslims, until none is left on earth, and that the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem should be destroyed.

Goitein sees the tract not as an attack on Christians in general, but as against those with whom al-Wāsiṭī was in competition in the civil service, who were superior in their jobs to Muslims, and who, even when they converted, had no true conviction, doing so only as an attempt to gain advantage in the civil service.

SIGNIFICANCE

This tract demonstrates the strongly anti-Christian atmosphere that had developed in the strict Sunnī Mamluk state in the late 13th and early 14th centuries. It also reflects the competition between Christians and Muslims in the bureaucracy of the Mamluk empire, and the ways in which Muslims sought to gain an advantage.

MANUSCRIPTS

See Brockelmann, *GAL S i*, pp. 686, 769

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

A.G. Bostom (ed.), *The legacy of Islamic anti-Semitism. From sacred texts to solemn history*, New York, 2008, pp. 327-28 (trans. of the section about the Jews)

E. Strauss, *Tōledōt ha-Yehūdīm be-Miṣrayim we-Sūryāh*, Jerusalem, 1944, pp. 104-16 (critical summary of the text)

Gottheil, 'An answer to the dhimmis' (edition and trans.; both sections have been criticized for their inaccuracies, see Nemoy, 'A scurrilous anecdote', p. 188, n. 1)

STUDIES

C. Hillenbrand, *The crusades. Islamic perspectives*, Edinburgh, 1999, pp. 312-13

L. Nemoy, 'A scurrilous anecdote concerning Maimonides', *Jewish Quarterly Review* 62 (1972) 188-92

Alex Mallett

Al-Faḍl ibn ʿĪsā

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; 12 th -13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Possibly Antioch
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; possibly 13 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Possibly Antioch

BIOGRAPHY

Knowledge of this author is dependent upon an entry in Sbath's *Fihris*: he was a deacon of Antioch (*al-shammās al-Anṭākī*). Sbath asserts that he was a Melkite author of the 13th century. Nasrallah repeats this information and adds that he probably eventually became a priest.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary —

Secondary

Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.1, p. 254

Graf, *GICAL* ii, p. 79

Sbath, *Fihris*, Supplément, p. 27 (the source of what is found in Graf and Nasrallah)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-dustūr, 'The checklist'

DATE Before 1294

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Sbath describes the *Kitāb al-dustūr* as a work 'of Christian apologetic' and 'of great value'.

SIGNIFICANCE

At present there is no way of evaluating this claim that the work is 'of great value'.

MANUSCRIPTS

Sbath mentions a manuscript of 1294 once in the possession of Shukrī Naḥḥās of Aleppo; Sbath, *Fihris*, Supplément, p. 27 (no. 2641).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —
STUDIES —

Mark N. Swanson

Al-Būṣīrī

Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Sa‘īd al-Dalāṣī

DATE OF BIRTH 1212
PLACE OF BIRTH Būṣīr or Dalāṣ, Upper Egypt
DATE OF DEATH 1296
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Būṣīrī is best known for the *Burda*, his celebrated poem in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad, which has claims to be the most famous religious poem in Arabic. He wrote many other poems throughout his life, and attracted dislike as well as admiration for the telling criticisms and comments he included in them.

Born in Upper Egypt, al-Būṣīrī spent most of his life in Cairo, after a period in Billbays on the Nile Delta. He made a living by working as an administrator, though he also sought patronage for his writing from Mamluk rulers and nobles.

In addition to the *Burda*, al-Būṣīrī also wrote another famous poem in praise of Muḥammad, the *Hamziyya*. In part of this he turns on the People of the Book, and among them Christians, satirizing the doctrine of the Trinity, asking where it came from, whether Christians mean by it three attributes or divisions, and how the prophet Jesus can be part of it (ed. Kīlānī, pp. 61-63). These sarcastic questions reflect Muslim theological criticisms of Christian attempts to explain their doctrines in the terms and concepts familiar in Islamic theological discourse.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Al-Ṣafaḍī, *Al-wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, vol. 3, ed. S. Dederig, Wiesbaden, 1974, pp. 105-13
Al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. I. ‘Abbās, 5 vols, Beirut, 1973-78, iii, pp. 362-69
Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-muqaḥḥā l-kabīr*, ed. M. al-Ya‘lāwī, 8 vols, Beirut, 1991, v, pp. 661-69
Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, 8 vols, Cairo, 1931, v, p. 432

Secondary

Aḥmad Ḥasan Basaj (ed.), *Dīwān al-Būṣīrī*, Beirut, 1995, pp. 5-8

- ‘Abd al-‘Aẓīm Ibrāhīm al-Ma‘tanī (ed.), *Al-hamziyyafī madḥ khayr al-bariyya*, Cairo, 1981, pp. 3-8
- Muḥammad Sayyid Kilānī, *Dīwān al-Būṣīrī*, Cairo, 1973², pp. 5-47
- ‘Abd al-‘Alīm al-Qabbānī, *Al-Būṣīrī. Ḥayātuhu wa-shi‘ruhu*, Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1968

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-makhraḥ wa-l-mardūd fī l-radd ‘alā l-Naṣārā wa-l-Yahūd, ‘Repudiation and rebuttal, in refutation of the Christians and Jews’

DATE Before 1296

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This poem rhyming in *lām*, 284 verses long in Basaj’s edition of al-Būṣīrī’s poems, is effectively an apology for Muḥammad which includes short refutations of Christian and Jewish beliefs. It can be divided into three major parts: the refutations of the two faiths (vv. 1-80); predictions from the Bible of the coming of Muḥammad (vv. 81-179); descriptions of Muḥammad’s characteristics and activities that prove his prophetic status (vv. 180-284). The contents of the first two sections resemble many works of the time, and appear to reflect contemporary knowledge and understanding about Christianity and Judaism, as well as attitudes that had become standard through long repetition.

The arguments against Christianity (vv. 1-34) are at the very beginning of the poem. Jesus, al-Būṣīrī says, came as a messenger from God, but in their ignorance the Christians asserted that God dwelt within him. But how could God have experienced human needs, and been both the executor and executed when, as they claim, Jesus was killed? They make three into one, the many into the few. In sum, he concludes, they accept what contradicts both revelation and reason.

These observations and jibes are standard in Muslim polemic, reflecting fundamental assumptions about the distinction between God and humankind and Christian contravention of these, and what the Qur’an was interpreted as saying about Christian errors.

The same applies to the biblical predictions about Muḥammad. They include references well-known from other polemical works, including the Torah, the Gospel, Isaiah, Habbakuk, Daniel and Jeremiah, though

no direct quotations are given because of the verse form employed. They appear to reflect received assumptions about the Bible that had become self-evident as part of the polemicist's arsenal.

SIGNIFICANCE

These criticisms of Christianity in versified and abbreviated form convey certainty and confidence about the error of Christians in failing to see what is evident to Muslims. There is no apparent need to argue at any length, but simply to state the obvious.

In putting the exposition of what is wrong in Christianity and Judaism to service as a prelude to showing what is right about Muḥammad and Islam, al-Būṣīrī's poem recalls systematic theological treatises from earlier times, where the exposition of the logical confusion and mistakenness of other faiths underlines and emphasizes the soundness of Islam. The refutation also bears comparison with other contemporary works, among them Ibn Taymiyya's *Al-risāla l-Qubruṣīyya* (q.v.) and Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī's (q.v.) reply to the anonymous Christian letter from Cyprus (q.v.), all from the first decades of the 14th century. They each refer to similar items of evidence against Christianity, and display the common attitude that it is so obviously wrong that its error hardly needs to be demonstrated.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub – 'Ilm al-kalām 1244 (undated)

See Kīlānī, *Dīwān al-Būṣīrī*, pp. 46-47

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Basaj (ed.), *Dīwān al-Būṣīrī*, pp. 116-51

Kīlānī, *Dīwān al-Būṣīrī*, pp. 175-219

See 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 4 (1978), p. 254 for earlier editions

STUDIES

Al-Qabbānī, *Al-Būṣīrī*, pp. 92-95

David Thomas

Al-Dīrīnī

Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Aḥmad
ibn Sa‘īd al- Damīrī l-Dīrīnī l-Miṣrī

DATE OF BIRTH 1215
PLACE OF BIRTH Dīrīn, western Egypt
DATE OF DEATH 1295 or 1297
PLACE OF DEATH Dīrīn

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Dīrīnī was known in his native Egypt as a Qur’an commentator, jurist, theologian, historian and preacher. He was also known as an ascetic who wandered from place to place with no fixed abode.

He wrote on a range of subjects, among them *tafsīr*, law and asceticism.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘iyya*, 6 vols in 3, Cairo, 1906, v, pp. 75-80

Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 8 vols, Cairo, 1931-32, v, p. 450

Al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘arīfīn. Asmā’ al-mu’allifīn*, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1951, 1955, i, cols 580-81

Secondary

Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-mu’allifīn*, 15 vols, Damascus, 1957-61, v, 241

Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *Al-a‘lām. Qāmūs tarājīm li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-l-nisā’*, 10 vols, Cairo, 1954-56, iv, 137

Brockelmann, *GAL* i, pp. 451-52, S i, pp. 810-11

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Irshād al-ḥayārā fī rad‘ man mārā fī adillat al-tawḥīd wa-radd ‘alā l-Naṣārā, ‘Guide for the confused, in restraint of those who dispute about the proofs for God’s unity and refutation of the Christians’; *Irshād al-ḥayārā fī l-radd ‘alā l-Naṣārā*, ‘Guide for the confused, in refutation of the Christians’

DATE Uncertain; before 1297

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

In his one comment on it, al-Dīrīnī calls this short work, which is no more than 26 pages long in the printed edition, a summary of the proofs of divine unity (*fa-hādhā kitāb ikhtaṣartuhu fī adillat al-tawḥīd ikhtīṣāran*). This appears to imply that he has used a longer and fuller source or sources, though he offers no direct clue about what these may have been.

The work is divided into an introduction and a series of 21 sections (*fuṣūl*) of differing lengths. In the introduction, al-Dīrīnī sets out the points on which Christians agree, the Trinity and act of Uniting in Christ, and the points on which they disagree, the actual mode in which this act of Uniting took place. He then begins his refutation by arguing against the explanations of the act of Uniting, including the metaphorical explanations that are known from the 9th century onwards in authors such as Abū ʿĪsā l-Warrāq (q.v.) and al-Bāqillānī (q.v.) (§§ 1-5). From here he moves to the Trinity, asking why there are only three hypostases and how they are related to the substance, and why only the Word and not the other two hypostases united with the human Jesus (§ 6).

In the next sequence, he turns to the reasons given by Christians for claiming Jesus was divine. He rejects the claim that Jesus' miracles prove his uniqueness; argues that verses from the Gospels confirm that he was sent by God and could not therefore be divine and that verses adduced from the Old Testament do not give support to his divinity; and dismisses the uniqueness of the Virgin birth (§§ 7-9). Then, returning to rational arguments, he shows the difficulty in attributing the act of Uniting to an agent (§ 10), the contradiction in saying the Son united with a human but was not separate from the divine substance (§ 11), the impossibility in the Melkite teaching that the Word was born of Mary (§ 12), the illogicality in suggesting that the divine and human natures remained united through the crucifixion of Jesus (§ 13), the difficulties arising from recorded actions of Jesus that depict him as human (§ 14), and that worship of Jesus is worship of a created being (§ 15).

In a last sequence, al-Dīrīnī discusses scripture. The books on which Christians rely have been changed and, since they are not in Arabic, Muslims have to rely on questionable interpretations offered by Christians (§ 16). But the Qur'an is reliable, and what it says about Jesus as spirit and word of God in Q 4:171 should be interpreted in light of the revelation

as a whole (§ 17). It contains verses that disprove Christian beliefs (§ 18), and so Christians should accept Muḥammad, whose authenticity is proved by his miracles (§ 19).

Finally, if Christians agree with the claims of some Jews (*mā yaqūlu ba'd al-Yahūd*) that Muḥammad was only sent to the Arabs, it follows that, since they acknowledge his sincerity, they should accept what the Qur'an says about his universality (§ 20). The Jews for their part wrongly deny that the Mosaic Law has been or can be abrogated (§ 21).

Together, these mostly brief sections make up a comprehensive argument against the basic Christian doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, from both rational and scriptural angles, and also the biblical basis for them. Although they are brief, they are clear and comprehensive, and have sufficient cogency to pose the same difficulties for Christians as the rather longer predecessors on which they are evidently based.

Individual arguments in the refutation bear sufficiently close resemblance to those found in al-Warrāq, al-Bāqillānī and other Muslim polemicists to suggest that al-Dīrīnī must have been aware of one or more of their works, or more likely of a later intermediary. The fact that in two places he singles out the Melkites for particular attention (pp. 6, 16) while not naming other Christian groups, tends to support the idea that he was summarizing a source in which this sect was given special attention, such as al-Bāqillānī's *Tamhīd*. Further study may reveal closer relationships with known earlier works.

SIGNIFICANCE

The appearance of such a work as this in 13th-century Egypt testifies to the ongoing need for arguments that could be readily used against Christians, though at the same time its condensed form suggests that refutation of Christian positions had assumed a ritualized form that was not related to actual encounters. The work can as much be seen as a confirmation to Muslims of the truth of their doctrine as it can be read as an exposure to Christians of the flaws in theirs. Some features, such as the extended discussion about the interpretation of Q 4:171 (pp. 20-22) and the denial that Muḥammad was no more than a local prophet for the Arabs (pp. 25-27), might suggest that some matters were subjects of vigorous debate, but since they usually appear in other works it is equally possible that they were reproduced as parts of the traditional polemical repertoire.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Pococke 361, fols 5r-19r (date unknown)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Kitāb irshād al-ḥayāra fī l-radd ‘alā l-Naṣārā, Cairo: Muḥammad ‘Alī
l-Milijī, s.d. (1850?)

STUDIES —

David Thomas

James of Voragine

DATE OF BIRTH 1228/29
PLACE OF BIRTH Varraze or Genoa
DATE OF DEATH 13/14 July 1298
PLACE OF DEATH Genoa

BIOGRAPHY

James of Voragine was probably born in Genoa around 1228-29 and his name attests familial ancestry relating to the nearby town of Varagine, today Varazze. There is no evidence that he was born in Varazze, however, and James refers to himself as coming from Genoa. The more common 'Voragine', attested since the 14th century, is probably no more than a corruption of the original name. Nothing is known about his early life, and James himself gives the first reliable date when he recalls entering the Dominican order as an adolescent in 1244. Between this time and 1264, when he mentions the portent of a comet, no documents have yet surfaced and we know nothing about his activities.

In 1267, he was named Prior of the Province of Lombardy for the Dominican order at the general chapter held in Bologna that same year. He remained Provincial of the Province of Lombardy until 1286, with his tenure interrupted between 1277 and 1281, when he apparently remained in Genoa as a simple friar. Between 1283 and 1285, he was also the acting Master General after Giovanni da Vercelli and before Munio de Zamora, whose election James supported. In 1290, James found himself in the midst of a struggle between Pope Nicholas IV and the Master General of the Order, Munio de Zamora. Nicholas sent a peremptory letter to James and three other friars asking them to persuade Munio to resign, but James balked, and instead added his name to a declaration in support of the Master General. The dispute ended with Nicholas' demotion of Munio in 1290, but as a result of his involvement in the affair, some friars threatened to kill James by dropping him in the well of the Dominican convent of Ferrara. Another attempt on his life was made the following year, after he excluded a friar of the local convent named Stefanardo from the provincial chapter of Milan.

James' support for Munio notwithstanding, Nicholas named him Archbishop of Genoa in 1292, after an earlier candidacy to the archbishopric

in 1288 failed. As an archbishop, James was active in promoting peace, negotiated in early 1295, between the Ghibellines and the Guelphs (represented in Genoa by the factions known as the *mascherati* and the *rampini*). This hard-won peace was short-lived, however, and had already been broken by the end of the same year. The ensuing struggles led to a fire in the cathedral.

It is during those years that James devoted himself to the composition of his last work, the *Chronicle of Genoa* from the city's origins until the year 1297. He died in 1298 in the night between 13 and 14 July. His body, first buried in the Church of San Domenico in the Dominican convent, was moved to the Church of St Maria di Castello in the 18th century. His main works are the *Golden legend*, the most famous and widely disseminated collection of saints' lives to appear in the Middle Ages, a collection of his sermons, and the chronicle of the city of Genoa.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Chronica civitatis Ianuensis, in *Iacopo da Varagine e la sua Cronaca di Genova dalle origini al MCCXCVII*, ed. G. Monleone, 3 vols, Rome, 1941, ii

Secondary

C. Casagrande, art. 'Iacopo da Varazze', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 62, Rome, 2004, 92-102

G. Monleone, 'Studio introduttivo', in *Iacopo da Varagine e la sua Cronaca di Genova dalle origini al MCCXCVII*, i, 3-96

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Legenda aurea sive legende sanctorum, 'The golden legend or legends of the saints'; *Legenda aurea*, 'The golden legend'

DATE Between about 1260 and 1298

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

James kept working on the *Golden legend* until the end of his life and produced two different versions, which Maggioni calls the first and the second redactions. James' interest in Muḥammad is confirmed by the expansion of his life in the second version of the *Golden legend*, and

in particular by his efforts to find reliable sources. It is, for instance, in the later version that James adds a cautionary word regarding the story of Muḥammad and the dove: '*Hoc quidem uulgariter dicitur, sed uerius est quod inferius habetur*', *Legenda aurea*, ch. 177.85 ('This at least is the popular story, but the following account is closer to the truth', *Golden legend*, p. 370).

The life of Muḥammad is found in ch. 177 of the *Golden legend*, the chapter on St Pelagius. Pelagius himself figures only in the first few lines of the chapter, and appears to be only the pretext for James to insert a short secular chronicle into his collection of saints' lives. This chronicle begins with the arrival of the Lombards in Italy and ends with the death of the Emperor Frederick II in 1250. The section on Muḥammad is inserted at the break between two major sources for the chapter, Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum* (until around the year 600) and the last chapter of Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum naturale* (from the conversion of the Lombards to the death of Frederick II). Between these two major sources, at the time of the Emperor Heraclius, lies the long excursus on Muḥammad (*Legenda aurea*, ch. 177.76-150), which constitutes around one sixth of the entire chapter.

The tone of the biography is set in the very first line, where James introduces Muḥammad as a pseudo-prophet and a magician who, around the year 600, deceived '*Agarenos, Ismaelitas, id est Saracenos*'. The Life briefly covers the major points of Muḥammad's life: his career as a merchant, which is presented as the cause of many of his encounters with Jews and Christians; the influence of the Nestorian monk Sergius (Baḥīrā); his conscious choice of writing the Qur'an by juxtaposing truths to falsehoods; his marrying a widow called Cadigan; his epilepsy, leading to seizures presented as visions of the Archangel Gabriel; and his death by poison.

The section on the Prophet starts with the exemplum of a dove, trained to pick grain in his ears in order to give the impression of divine inspiration. What follows next are excerpts primarily from two main sources: Hugh of Fleury's *Chronicon* (q.v.), probably by way of Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* (q.v.); and the fifth chapter of Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialogi contra Iudaeos* (q.v.). James eliminates the dialogue and relies only on Alfonsi's description of the habits and religion of the Muslims. It is only at the end that James inserts his direct criticism of Islam. The sources of other minor passages are difficult to trace, but they could come at least in part from Peter the Venerable's *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum* (q.v.).

In his *Chronica civitatis Ianuensis* (ii, pp. 236-37), James also reports (in a shortened form) the story of Muḥammad's epilepsy.

SIGNIFICANCE

The Life of Muḥammad in the *Golden legend* provided preachers with what James presents as the truth about Islam and its founder. The entire chapter stands out from the rest of the collection. In the middle of a long series of saints' lives ordered following the liturgical year, we have a purely secular chronicle and a biography structured as an anti-hagiography, where Muḥammad fails in performing miracles and in predicting the future. The historical frame and the convention of hagiographical narrative help rhetorically to show that he was nothing more than an accident in human history, and an impostor.

James of Voragine's version of the life of the Prophet is not original in its content, and did not have an independent existence outside the frame of the *Golden legend*. Its presence in this medieval bestseller, on the other hand, made it probably one of the most accessible sources of information on Islam and Muḥammad during the latter centuries of the Middle Ages, either directly or indirectly through sermons. The fact that, in the table of contents of some manuscripts, the name of Muḥammad replaced Pelagius' name in the title of the chapter, and also that Pelagius was considered as Muḥammad's real name in two Italian translations of Brunetto Latini's *Trésor*, attests to the underground vitality of James' chapter and of the popularity of this particular version of Muḥammad's life.

MANUSCRIPTS

For a complete list of manuscripts, see B. Fleith, *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der lateinischer Legenda aurea*, Brussels, 1991, and G.P. Maggioni, *Ricerche sulla composizione e sulla trasmissione della 'Legenda aurea'*, Spoleto, 1995.

The five MSS from among the earliest 70 of the second redaction that Maggioni used for his critical edition are listed below:

MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – C 240 inf. (1272-76)

MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – M 76 sup. (1292-99)

MS Monza, Archivio della Basilica – 7b-24 (13th century)

MS Novara, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Biblioteca Capitolare – XXIV
(13th-14th century)

MS Vat – Reg. 485 (14th century)

The two MSS of the first redaction consulted by Maggioni are:

MS Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria – 1229 (13th century)

MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – A 17 inf. (13th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- J. Tolan, 'A life of Muhammad from fifteenth-century Spain', *JSAI* 36 (2009) 425-38 (edition of a medieval Spanish trans. of the chapter on Muḥammad, along with an English trans.)
- Jacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea: con le miniature dal codice ambrosiano C 240 inf.*, ed. G.P. Maggioni, Tavernuzze, 2007 (revised Latin text and Italian trans. at 1408-39, and notes at 1708-13)
- Jacques de Voragine, *La Légende dorée*, ed. A. Boureau et al., Paris, 2004 (French trans. based on Maggioni's 1998 edition; the Life is at 1022-27, and notes at 1476-89)
- Jacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea*, ed. G.P. Maggioni, Tavernuzze, 1998² (the ch. on Pelagius is 177 [1256-82], the Life is at 1261-66)
- J. Vignay, *La Légende dorée (Lyon 1467)*, ed. J. Batailler and B. Dunn-Lardeau, Paris, 1997 (French trans.)
- Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden legend. Readings on the saints*, 2 vols, Princeton NJ, 1993-95, ii, pp. 370-73 (trans. by W.G. Ryan based on Graesse's 1890 edition)
- Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea*, ed. A. Levasti, 3 vols, Florence, 1924-26 (repr. Firenze-Parigi, 2000; transcription of a 14th-century Italian trans., from MS Florence, Riccardiano 1254; the Life is at 1557-65)
- Jacobi a Voragine, *Legenda aurea, vulgo Historia Lombardica dicta*, ed. T. Graesse, Osnabrück, 1890 (the ch. on Pelagius is at 181 (824-44), the Life of Muḥammad is at 827-31)
- Jacobus de Voraigue, *Legenda aurea sanctorum*, s.n., Cologne, 1485

STUDIES

The bibliography on the *Golden legend* is immense, as is attested by the lists given in Batailler and Dunn-Lardeau, *La Légende dorée (Lyon 1467)*, pp. 1515-57, and in C. Casagrande, 'Iacopo da Varazze', pp. 100-2. Below are listed only the studies that deal with James' life of Muḥammad.

- Tolan, 'A life of Muhammad from fifteenth-century Spain'
- O. de la Cruz Palma, 'La Vita Magumethi de Voragine – Iacobus a Voragine (Iacopo da Varazze) c.1226-1298', *Mirandum* 19 (2008) 5-34
- G.H. Bousquet, 'Mahomet et l'islâm, selon un passage peu connu de la *Légende dorée*', *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 20 (1968-72) 137-44
- A. d'Ancona, 'La leggenda di Maometto in Occidente', Rome, 1994 (first published in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 13 [1889] 199-281; repr. with additions in A. d'Ancona, *Studi di critica e storia letteraria*, 2 vols, Bologna, 1912, ii, 167-306, pp. 76-77)

- C. Casagrande, 'Iacopo da Varazze', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 62 (2004) 92-102
- S. Mula, 'L'histoire des Lombards. Son rôle et son importance dans la *Légende dorée*', in B. Fleith and F. Morenzoni (eds), *De la sainteté à l'hagiographie. Genèse et usage de la Légende dorée*, Geneva, 2001, 75-95
- S. Mula, 'Muhammad and the saints. The history of the Prophet in the *Golden legend*', *Modern Philology* 101 (2003) 175-88
- J. Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and his medieval readers*, Gainesville FL, 1993, 100-1
- F.C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum. An index of medieval religious tales*, Helsinki, 1981 (the exemplum of the dove is in n. 1267)

Stefano Mula

Marco Polo

DATE OF BIRTH	Almost certainly 1254
PLACE OF BIRTH	Venice
DATE OF DEATH	January 1324
PLACE OF DEATH	Venice

BIOGRAPHY

Marco Polo set off in November 1271 at the age of 17, accompanied by his father Niccolo and his uncle Matteo. They travelled overland across Persia and Afghanistan, and then all through northern China following the southern Silk Road (Kashgar, Schache, Hotan, Yutian, Qiemo, Dunhuang, Yumen, Zhangye, Wuwei, Lanzhou) and then almost certainly the route along the Yellow River (Ynchuan, Hohot, Xuanhua). They probably came upon the Great Khan in Shangdu (today's inner Mongolia), the ruler's summer residence, almost certainly during the summer of 1274.

Marco stayed in China for 17 years in the service of the Khan, holding various elevated positions, notably that of special envoy. He travelled through numerous regions of China, in the west (including the provinces of Sichuan and Yunnan) and in the east (the towns of Yangzhou, where he stayed for several years, Suzhou, Hangzhou, the old capital of the Song, Fuzhou in Fujian, and finally Quanzhou, the major port, from where he left, probably in 1291, for the West). Previously the Khan had sent him to the east coast of India, perhaps to Indochina and to Burma. On the return sea journey, he made long stops at Sumatra, Ceylon and particularly on the west coast of India, for reasons that we do not know. He arrived at Hormuz in Persia around 1293, and finally Venice in 1295.

The book *Devisement du monde* was put down in writing, or at least started, at Genoa in 1298 by Rustichello da Pisa, who was a prisoner of the Genoese along with Marco Polo. French was the major language of communication at that time, and the Venetian traveller hoped to spread his story in French. We do not know why Marco Polo was imprisoned in Genoa. It has been assumed that he had participated in the naval battle of Korčula, which took place on 7 September 1298 between the Venetian and Genoese fleets and was a total defeat for the Venetian squadron, and was taken prisoner then. He must have been liberated in 1299 along with the rest of the Venetian prisoners. Nothing is known of his subsequent

life. He probably continued the family business of trading in silks and precious stones. His will, dated 9 January 1324, has been preserved, and he may have died shortly after that date.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

See below.

Secondary

The literature on Marco Polo is vast. Some of the most important recent studies are:

P. Ménard, *Marco Polo à la découverte de l'Asie*, Paris, 2009

S. Akbari and A. Iannucci (eds), *Marco Polo and the encounter of East and West*, Toronto, 2008

V. Bianchi, *Marco Polo. Storia del mercante che capì Cina*, Rome, 2007

S.G. Haw, *Marco Polo's China. A Venetian in the realm of Khubilai Khan*, London, 2006

A. Barbieri, *Dal viaggio al libro, Studi sul Milione*, Verona, 2004

J. Larner, *Marco Polo and the discovery of the world*, New Haven CT, 1999

M. Münkler, *Marco Polo. Leben und Legende*, Munich, 1998

J. Critchley, *Marco Polo's book*, Cambridge, 1992

J. Heers, *Marco Polo*, Paris, 1983

A. Zorzi, *Vita di Marco Polo*, Milan, 1982

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Devisement du Monde, Il Milione, 'Description of the world', 'Travels'

DATE 1298

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old French

DESCRIPTION

The *Devisement du monde* narrates Marco Polo's wanderings across Asia. The traveller quickly notes, without comment, that the inhabitants of certain regions are Muslims. He regularly says that they *adorent Maomet* (Franco-Italian version, ch. XXXIV, 3) or that they are *Saracin* (ch. XXVI, 2). These are the two expressions used to refer to Muslims, and thus apply in Persia, Afghanistan, the first Chinese towns along the Silk Road, and various parts of Indonesia. The narrator also indicates a diversity of religions; for example, alongside the *Saracins*, he notes the presence of Buddhists in north-west China, calling them 'idolators'; he regularly uses

the word *ydres* (ch. LVIII, 3), and sometimes the term *ydoles* or *ydules* (ch. XLIX, 1). The French version quite often replaces these words with the term *ydolastres* (7, 25 and *passim*). But it is notable that Marco Polo does not go into detail about beliefs. He is content to indicate briefly the religious affiliation of the communities he encounters.

SIGNIFICANCE

Marco seems to have obtained some knowledge of Arabic and Persian in his travels, since he cites roughly 45 words from those languages. Generally speaking, the narrator shows little penchant for polemical descriptions of other religions, though he does portray Muslims as hostile towards Christians. In ch. XXX, 8, for example, concerning the inhabitants of Tabriz in Persia, he indicates that the Muslims of that town are wicked (*mauveis*), for their religion commands them to do the most harm possible to all those who do not share their faith. He adds that all the Muslims in the world are the same in this. In ch. XXVI, 3-4, concerning the caliph of Baghdad and the miracle of the mountain that moved, he comments that all the Muslims (*tuit les Saracin*) in the world seek to do as much harm as possible (*velent grant maus*) to Christians. Again, towards the end of the narrative, when he is dealing with conflicts between the Muslims of Aden and the Christians of Ethiopia, ch. CXCIII, 22-23, he comments that the Muslims of Aden 'still hate Christians as their mortal enemies' (*come lor enimis mortiaus*), and he is pleased to report that the king of Abyssinia succeeded in triumphing over the Muslims and killing a great number of them in revenge for the humiliation suffered by a Christian bishop whom they had circumcised. On this occasion, he twice uses the infamous expression 'Saracen dogs', *chiens saracins* (ch. CXCIII, 46), and considers it shameful that Muslims should be in authority over Christians. But it must be added that this hostility only occupies a minute place in his text.

MANUSCRIPTS

Many versions have been preserved, all from the first third of the 14th century, of which the oldest appears to be the Franco-Italian version. For a general overview of the MSS and versions, see Benedetto, *Marco Polo. Il Milione*, pp. xi-cxxxii.

MS Paris, BNF – Fr. 1116 (the Franco-Italian version)

For the 18 MSS of the French version, see the edition by Ménard, vol. 1, pp. 40-50

For the 5 MSS of the Tuscan version, see the edition by B. Pizzorusso, pp. 327-33

For the 5 MSS of the Venetian version, see the edition by Barbieri and Andreose, pp. 34-36

For the 63 MSS of the Latin version by de Pipino, see C. Dutschke, *Francesco Pipino and the manuscripts of Marco Polo's Travels*, Los Angeles, 1993 (PhD Diss. University of California), pp. 279-81

MS Toledo, Archivio capitolare – 49.20 Zelada (Latin Z version)

There are no MSS of Ramusio's Italian version.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Marco Polo, Le devisement du monde, ed. P. Ménard, 6 vols, Geneva, 2001-9 (edition of the French version)

Marco Polo, Il Milione veneto, ed. A. Barbieri and A. Andreose, Venice, 1999 (edition of the Venetian version)

R. Kappler, *Marco Polo, Le devisement du monde*, Paris, 2004 (French trans. of the Franco-Italian version)

P.Y. Badel, *Marco Polo, La description du monde*, Paris, 1998 (trans. of the French version)

Marco Polo, Milione. Redazione latina del manoscritto Z, ed. A. Barbieri, Parma, 1998 (edition and Italian trans. of the Z version)

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Marco Polo, Milione, ed. V. Berttolucci Pizzorusso, Milan, 1975 (Tuscan version)

L. Hambis, *Marco Polo, La description du monde*, Paris, 1955 (French trans. of Moule and Pelliot)

A.C. Moule and P. Pelliot, *Marco Polo, The description of the world*, London, 2 vols, 1938-39 (trans. made from an amalgamation of the various versions)

Marco Polo, Il Milione, ed. F.L. Benedetto, Florence, 1928 (edition of the Franco-Italian version)

H. Yule, *The book of Ser Marco Polo*, London, 1903 (trans. of the Franco-Italian version)

Marka Pavlova z Benatek Milion, ed. J.V. Prašek, Prague, 1902 (edition of Pipino's Latin version)

STUDIES

The literature on the *Devisement du monde* is vast. In addition to the studies listed above, important works include:

- S. Conte (ed.), *I viaggi del Milione. Itinerari testuali, vettori di trasmissione e metamorfosi del Devisement du monde di Marco Polo e Rustichello da Pisa nella pluralità delle attestazioni*, Rome, 2008
- F. Masini, F. Salvatori and S. Schipani (eds), *Marco Polo 750 anni. Il viaggio, Il libro, Il diritto*, Rome, 2006
- P. Ménard, 'Le prétendu remaniement du *Devisement du monde* attribué à Grégoire', *Medioevo Romanzo* 22 (1998) 332-51
- F. Wood, *Did Marco Polo go to China?*, London, 1995
- F. Brunello, *Marco Polo e le merci dell'Oriente*, Vicenza, 1986
- C. Segre, G. Ronchi and M. Milanese, *Avventure del Milione*, Parma, 1983
- H. Watanabe, *Marco Polo. Bibliography*, Tokyo, 1983
- A. Gabriel, *Marco Polo in Persien*, Vienna, 1963
- P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, 3 vols, Paris, 1959-63
- L. Olschki, *L'Asia di Marco Polo*, Florence, 1957, Venice, 1978²
- J. Witte, *Das Buch des Marco Polo als Quelle für Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1916

Philippe Ménard

Liber Nycholay

Unknown author

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Liber Nycholay, qui dicitur Machumetus, quomodo Christianam legem subuertit et credulitatem Sarracenorum fecit; Liber Nycholay; Liber Nicolay; Liber Nicholay; Liber Nicolai, 'The book of Nicholas, who is called Muḥammad, about how he undermined the Christian law and framed the credulity of the Saracens'

DATE Unknown; probably second half of the 13th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Judging by its language and contents, the *Liber Nycholay* seems to have been composed in Italy, at a date not earlier than the second half of the 13th century. On the other hand, the fact that MS Vaticanus Reg. Lat. 627 presents a fragment of the *Liber Nycholay* after the *Liber de historiis veteribus et modernis imperatorum et pontificum romanorum* of friar Johannes Ruffus, a work composed around 1261-62, which shows some coincidences with the *Liber Nycholay*, makes one suspect that Johannes Ruffus used the *Liber Nycholay* as a source or was perhaps himself its author. Unfortunately, we hardly know anything for sure about Johannes Ruffus, though some 16th-century authors refer to a Dominican monk from Cornwall who had that name and composed a chronicle of kings and popes in the last decade of the 13th century.

The *Liber Nycholay* relates a legend about the supposed Christian origin of the founder of Islam. Muḥammad is portrayed as a Roman cardinal deacon named Nicholas, papal legate to Hispania and Barbary, and appointed by Pope Agapitus II as his successor. However, when Agapitus died, the curia, in the absence of Nicholas, chose as the new pope Joannes, a cardinal of San Lorenzo in Damaso. To avenge this affront,

Nicholas creates a new heresy opposed to Christianity. He sets it out in a book of instructions, in which he advocates polygamy, ablutions, alms, and fasting, the abolition of the sacrament of confession and the celebration of Easter, the prohibition of drinking wine during the day, punishments to be applied for misdemeanours and for apostasy, and so on. The various Muslim customs and religious practices are described with little precision and are supported with quotations from the Old and New Testaments. Some of these instructions, such as the futility of confession before priests, represent more the Nestorian critique of orthodox religious practice than a Muslim perspective.

Once he has composed the new holy book, Nicholas calls a council at Marrakesh to announce his prophetic mission, in a clear parody of the biblical accounts of the conversion of Saul or the delivery of the tables of the Law to Moses. The heresy succeeds, to a large extent thanks to the distribution of church properties to the poor and some good works and miracles performed by Nicholas. He also establishes the caliphs, emirs and sultans of the various regions of the Arab empire. Finally, he settles down in Baghdad, where he is murdered by Marzocco, the jealous husband of one of his lovers, called Carufa. His relics are preserved in a miraculous tomb constructed in Mecca, where Muslims go on pilgrimage. At the end of the text, the author refers briefly to the later history of the Arab empire, evoking the siege of Constantinople at the time of the Emperor Leo III in 717, and the conquest of al-Andalus. *Liber Nycholay* finishes with a conciliatory statement: Jews, Christians and Muslims do not cease to fight against each other, even though they all believe in a one God, Creator and Saviour.

This fabulous biography is the result of an attempt to harmonize various legends about Muḥammad that were circulating in European clerical environments from at least the end of the 11th century: the tradition, attested by Peter of Cluny (q.v.), that identified Muḥammad as the apostolic deacon Nicholas of Antioch, founder of Nicolaitism; the story that associated the origins of Islam with the figure of Nestorius or some other patriarch of the Eastern churches (attested by Adelphus [q.v.], Petrus Alfonsi [q.v.], Embrico of Mainz [q.v.] and others); the tradition that Hispania and North Africa were the first lands where the Muslim faith was preached (attested by Aimericus of Angouleme [q.v.], magister Siginus [q.v.], Lucas of Tuy [q.v.], etc.).

The resulting version is equally anachronistic, since, according to the testimony of MS Vat Reg. Lat. 627, the mission of Muḥammad would have taken place immediately after the death of Agapitus II in 956, while

elsewhere in the text a more accurate date for the founding of Islam is provided, 300 years after the baptism of the Emperor Constantine, that is, towards 612.

Surprisingly, the portrayal of Muḥammad and the explanation of Islamic teachings are recounted in a non-aggressive tone and free from critical indictment. The founder of Islam is characterized as deceitful, but his conduct is generally virtuous.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Liber Nycholay* is a good example of the obsession of some medieval authors to explain the origin of Islam as an offshoot of the Christian faith and to compare its institutions with those of the Catholic Church. The portrayal of Muḥammad as a Christian clergyman or, more specifically, as a cardinal of the Roman curia, has earlier precedents, as we have seen, and also continuity, especially in 14th-century Italian and French literature. The *Liber Nycholay* is relatively original in presenting quite a civilized image of Islam and is more focused on the affinities between Islam and the Catholic Church than on the differences. This may be due to some humorous and satirical criticism of the Roman curia and, more generally, the figure of the religious leader, as a being driven by an inordinate desire for power, and an extraordinary ability to lead common opinion and adapt the legal and moral code to people's aspirations and basic needs. This tone is reminiscent of other Christian works on Muḥammad, such as Gautier de Compiègne's poem *Otia de Machomete* (q.v.).

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vat – Reginensis Latinus 627, fols 17r-18v (end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century)

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 14503, fols 352r-354r (second half of the 14th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

F. González Muñoz, 'Liber Nycholay. La leyenda de Mahoma y el cardenal Nicolas', *Al-Qanṭara* 25 (2004) 8-19 (both MSS, with Spanish trans.)

A. Sommerlechner, 'Eine stadrömische Kaiser-Papst-Geschichte zu Ehren von König Manfred. Der "liber de istoriis" des Frater Johannes Ruffus', *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 42 (2000) 245-306, pp. 305-6 (MS Vat Reginensis Latinus 627)

- A. d'Ancona, 'La leggenda di Maometto in Occidente', in *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, series IV, 4, 1888, 199-281, pp. 260-63 (repr. Rome, 1994) (MS Paris, BNF 14503)

STUDIES

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- J. Summit, *Memory's library. Medieval books in early modern England*, Chicago IL, 2008, p. 111
- Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, ch. 2
- González Muñoz, 'Liber Nycholay. La leyenda de Mahoma y el cardenal Nicolás', pp. 5-43
- A. Ferreiro, 'Simon magus, Nicholas of Antioch and Muhammad', *Church History* 72 (2003) 53-70
- Sommerlechner, 'Eine stadtrömische Kaiser-Papst Geschichte zu Ehren von König Manfred', pp. 245-306
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- N. Daniel, *Islam and the West. The making of an image*, Oxford, 1960
- E. Doutté, *Mahomet cardinal*, Chalons-sur-Marne, 1899
- D'Ancona, 'La leggenda di Maometto in Occidente'

Fernando González Muñoz

Iniquus Mohametus

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Iniquus Mahometus, 'Deceitful Muḥammad'

DATE Probably last quarter of the 13th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This anonymous text, which González Muñoz, 'Dos versiones tardías', dates to the last quarter of the 13th century, is extant in one late-14th- or early-15th-century MS, along with an edificatory treatise on the salvation of the soul and a number of hagiographical texts.

The anonymous author relates that the evil heretic Nicolas, who practiced adultery and preached that wives should be held in common, was condemned by the holy church as a heretic and imprisoned in a tower where he died of hunger and thirst (as was appropriate, intones the author). One of his disciples, a necromancer named Maurus, escaped from Rome by ship and went to Arabia, where he lived as a hermit. One day he saw the young camel driver Mahometus traveling in the desert and, through his knowledge of astronomy, recognized him as the man who could help him realize his evil designs. Maurus took Mahometus under his wing and taught him the black arts, the languages of the world, and the doctrines of his mentor Nicolas.

Mahometus gained the trust of the Arabs through a series of ruses (here the author reproduces legends found in 12th-century authors, in particular Embrico of Mainz [q.v.]). He became king of the Arabs by defeating a bull he had raised (but which the people believed to be sent by God); he passed himself off as a prophet by having a trained dove eat from his ear, claiming that it was the Holy Spirit; he had another bull deliver his new law on its horns. This law, confected by Maurus and Mahometus from bits of the Old and New Testaments, prohibited eating foods that the Gospels allowed, permitted polygamy and enjoined ablution before prayer.

Mahometus was then struck by a seizure and, when he came to, narrated a fabulous story about how he had traveled to heaven: here the author gives a brief narration of the *mir'āj*, which he no doubt knew from the Latin translation, the *Liber scale Machometi* (q.v.).

Mahometus was driven by lust to lie with women, girls and boys; he would indulge in all sorts of lechery, then excuse his absences by claiming he had been in heaven speaking with God. In the end, Mahometus attempted to seduce a Jewish woman, who – afraid to refuse him – told him to come to her in secret. As night fell, her relatives waited in ambush for Mahometus, killed him, cut up his corpse, and threw everything but his left foot to the pigs. When Mahometus's angry and armed followers came looking for him, the woman claimed that angels had descended from heaven and had taken Mahometus away; she had held on to the foot, which she had kept, dressed in herbs and unguents, and wrapped in a precious cloth. The foot was reverently buried and pilgrims began to flock to it in droves.

SIGNIFICANCE

This text brings together a number of elements that were common in polemical Latin biographies of Muḥammad. It contains a particularly colorful and vicious version of his life, combining some knowledge of Muslim practice with the most outrageous elements of the polemical legends.

As González Muñoz has shown, the text was used by Pedro Pascual (q.v.); it otherwise seems to have had little circulation or impact.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Pisa, Biblioteca Santa Caterina – 50, fols 81v-85r (late 14th or early 15th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

A. Mancini, 'Per lo studio della leggenda di Maometto in Occidente', *Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, serie sexta 10 (1934) 325-49, pp. 330-49

STUDIES

Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, ch. 2 (= Tolan, *L'Europe latine et le monde arabe*, ch. 2)

F. González Muñoz, 'Dos versiones tardías de la leyenda de Mahoma. La *Vita Mahometi* del ms. Pisa, Biblioteca del Seminario 50 y el tratado *Sobre la seta mahometana* de Pedro de Jaén', in A. Nascimeto and P. Alberto (eds), *IV Congresso Internacional de Latim Medieval Hispânico: Lisboa, 12-15 de outubro de 2005*, Lisbon, 2006, 591-98

G. Cambier, 'L'épisode des taureaux dans la *Légende de Mahomet* (ms. 50, Bibliothèque du Séminaire de Pise)', *Hommages à Léon Herrmann (Collection Latomus 44)*, Brussels, 1960, 228-36

- E. Cerulli, *Il Libro della scala e la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina Commedia*, Vatican City, 1949, pp. 358-59
- Mancini, 'Per lo studio della leggenda di Maometto in Occidente'
- C. Vitelli, 'Index codicum latinorum qui pisis in bybliotheCUS conventus S. Catherinae et universitatis adservantur', *Studi Italiani de Filologia Classica* 8 (1900) 321-427, p. 353

John Tolan

Les prophéties de Merlin

'Richard d'Irlande'

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; probably early 13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; late 13 th or early 14 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The author's name 'Richard d'Irlande' is a pseudonym. It appears in a single work, written in French, probably by a Venetian Franciscan in the third quarter of the 13th century (Paton, *Les Prophecies de Merlin*, ii, pp. 328-51; this study still constitutes the fundamental reference on historical allusions in the text). The author hides behind a pseudonym both in order to mask his identity as a political pamphleteer, and as a fully deliberate response to the tradition of pseudonymity that is manifest in earlier works of 13th-century French literature about Merlin (see Zumthor, *Merlin le prophète*, pp. 101-8; Koble, *Le Roman arthurien en éclats*, pp. 144-85). In five manuscripts, the author claims to have copied Merlin's prophecies at the request of the Emperor Frederick II, despite many of them being violently directed against him (see Paton, *Les Prophecies de Merlin*, i, p. 57, and Koble, *Le Roman arthurien en éclats*, pp. 15-18).

The work circulated in both France and Italy in the late Middle Ages. The allusions to the Eastern history of the crusades and to the history of Italy under the reign of Frederick II are the key to understanding the choice of the pseudonym 'Richard d'Irlande' (see Koble, *Le Roman arthurien en éclats*, pp. 345-48).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

See below.

Secondary

See below.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Les prophéties de Merlin; Les prophesies de Merlin;
Les prophecies de Merlin; Les prophecies Merlin,
‘The prophecies of Merlin’*

DATE Late 13th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old French

DESCRIPTION

The work appears to have been written in several stages, making a cleverly crafted compilation that is difficult to date precisely and in which prophetic fragments alternate with narrative episodes about Arthur and his knights. Allusions to contemporary events lead to a date around 1270 for the oldest layer of prophecies, and thus the terminus ante quem for the oldest part of the text. While it continued to be read until the 16th century, it had been put into a more or less complete form by 1300.

The work consists of a series of prophecies and commentaries attributed to the Arthurian prophet Merlin, who dictates them to compilers in his writing workshop and then later from his grave after his death. Arthurian, apocalyptic and historical prophecies intertwine with one another, in line with the fashion for prophetic texts in the latter part of the Middle Ages. Following the tradition and writing protocols of Arthurian prose romance, in the longer versions of the text, prophetic episodes alternate with chivalric adventures.

SIGNIFICANCE

Many of the prophecies are disguised historical commentaries that relate to the conflict between Guelphs and Ghibellines in the author's 13th-century Italy (see Paton, *Les prophecies de Merlin*, ii; Ménard, ‘*Le Prophéties de Merlin e la Marca trevigiana*’, pp. 233-36, and ‘*Les Prophéties de Merlin et l’Italie*’, pp. 431-44). But there are also prophecies that refer to the crusades, and to the threat of a holy war of Muslim aggression, symbolized by the figure of Saladin. This theme also features in narrative episodes, when the Arthurian knights become involved in a crusade against the ‘king of Baudac’ (Baghdad). Here there are allusions to the Fifth Crusade, and to relations between Pope Gregory IX and the Emperor Frederick II (see Nicholson, ‘Following the path of the Lionheart’, completed by ‘Echoes of past and present crusades’), as well as historical elements borrowed from the First and Second Crusades, and

primarily the Third Crusade (see Koble, *Les prophéties de Merlin en prose*, pp. 331-35).

MANUSCRIPTS

The work is preserved in a complex, mainly narrative, manuscript tradition in France and in Italy. Its modern editor, L.A. Paton, distinguishes four groups of manuscripts (Paton, *Les prophécies de Merlin*, i). To the list she gives should be added MS Brussels Bibliothèque royale – 9624, and a number of fragments discovered in Italy (see Koble, *Le Roman arthurien en éclats*, pp. 527-29).

The best single MS is Cologny-Geneva, Fondation Martin Bodmer – 116.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- A. Berthelot, *Les prophesies de Merlin*, Cologny-Geneva: Fondation Martin Bodmer, 1992 (transcription of MS Bodmer – 116)
- L.A. Paton, *Les prophécies de Merlin, edited from Ms. 593 in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Rennes*, 2 vols, New York, 1927
- A. Vérard, *Le premie [sic] second volume de Merlin (Les prophéties de Merlin)*, Paris, 1498 (facsimile repr. in C.E. Pickford, *Merlin 1498*, 3 vols, London, 1975, iii)

STUDIES

- N. Koble, *Les prophéties de Merlin en prose. Le roman arthurien en éclats*, Paris, 2010
- J. Abed, 'Sibylles en terres arthuriennes?', in Abed (ed.), *Jeunesse et genèse du royaume arthurien*, Orleans, 2007, 121-42
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- N. Koble, 'Les enfances du livre. Continuation à rebours d'une genèse romanesque', in D. Hue and C. Ferlampin-Acher (eds), *Enfances arthuriennes*, Orleans, 2006, 127-42
- C. Daniel, *Les prophéties de Merlin et la culture politique (XII^e-XVI^e siècles)*, Turnhout, 2006
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- H. Nicholson, 'Echoes of past and present crusades in *Les prophécies de Merlin*', *Romania* 122 (2004) 320-40

- N. Koble, 'Le testament d'un compilateur. Montages textuels et invention romanesque dans l'édition *princeps* des "livres de Merlin" (Antoine Vérard, 1498)', in E. Bury and F. Mora (eds), *Du roman courtois au roman baroque*, Paris, 2004, 251-64
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- N. Koble, 'Le chevalier au tombeau. Pèlerinages à la tombe prophétique dans les *Prophecies de Merlin* de Richart d'Irlande', in D. Hue and C. Ferlampin-Acher (eds), *Le monde et l'autre monde*, Orleans, 2002, 223-38
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- H. Nicholson, 'Following the path of the Lionheart', *Medium Aevum* 69 (2000) 21-33
- I. Rousseau, 'Prophecies et réécriture de l'histoire dans les vaticinations de Merlin à Maître Antoine', in A. Redondo (ed.), *La prophétie comme arme de guerre des pouvoirs, XV^e-XVII^e*, Paris, 2000, 175-90
- A. Berthelot, 'Légende arthurienne et histoire contemporaine dans les *Prophecies de Merlin*', in D. Buschinger and W. Spiewok (eds), *Die kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen Italien und den anderen Ländern Europas im Mittelalter*, Greifswald, 1993, 15-24
- A. Berthelot, 'Cartengles, Feragus, Mingles et le dragon de Babyloine. Les variations du bestiaire apocalyptique dans les *Prophecies de Merlin*', in *Fin des temps et temps de la fin dans l'univers médiéval (Senefiance 33)*, Aix-en-Provence, 1993, 53-65
- J.-M. Fritz, *Le discours du fou au moyen âge (XII^e-XIII^e siècles). Étude comparée des discours littéraire, médical, juridique et théologique de la folie*, Paris, 1992, pp. 72-73, 270-74
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- R.S. Loomis (ed.), *Arthurian literature in the Middle Ages. A collaborative history*, Oxford, 1959, pp. 352-54
- P. Zumthor, *Merlin le Prophète. Un thème de la littérature polémique, l'historiographie et des romans*, Lausanne, 1943 (repr. Geneva, 2000, pp. 101-8, 261-72)
- E. Brugger, 'Das arthurische Material in den *Prophecies Merlin* des Maistres Richart d'Irlande mit einem Anhang über die Verbreitung der *Prophecies Merlin*', *Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur* 61 (1937-38) 321-62, 486-501; 62 (1938) 40-73
- E. Brugger, 'Verbesserungen zum Text und Ergänzungen zu den Varianten der Ausgabe der *Prophecies Merlin* des Maistres Richart d'Irlande', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 56 (1936) 563-603
- E. Brugger, 'Die Komposition der *Prophecies Merlin* des Maistres Richart d'Irlande und die Verfasserfrage', *Archivum Romanicum* 20 (1936) 359-448
- Paton, *Les Prophecies de Merlin*, ii

Nathalie Koble

Al-sayf al-murhaf fi l-radd 'alā l-Muṣḥaf

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH	Late 12 th -early 13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown (probably Egypt)
DATE OF DEATH	13 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown (probably Egypt)

BIOGRAPHY

Al-sayf al-murhaf fi l-radd 'alā l-Muṣḥaf is referred to by two Muslim authors in their works, Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī (d. 1316) (q.v.) and his contemporary Ghāzī ibn al-Wāsiṭī (d. 1312) (q.v.). Although al-Ṭūfī does not provide any information about the author beyond describing him as 'one of the Christian scholars' (al-Ṭūfī, *Ta'liq*, ed. Demiri, §§ 3, 25, 52; al-Ṭūfī, *Intiṣārāt*, ed. Qarnī, i, p. 227), al-Wāsiṭī identifies him as al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assāl (Gottheil, 'An answer to the dhimmis', p. 408, Arabic; p. 447, trans.). Al-Ṭūfī does not give any specific information as to when the *Sayf* was written, but in al-Ṭūfī's citations of the text the latest authority quoted by the anonymous Christian author appears to be Maimonides (d. 1204) (ed. Qarnī, i, p. 265), indicating that the work must have been composed some time during the 13th century (al-Ṭūfī wrote his *Intiṣārāt* in 1308). This date is further confirmed by al-Wāsiṭī, who places the *Sayf* in the period of civil unrest between the Muslim and Christian populace of Damascus in 1260, prompted by the Mongol sacking of the city and their pro-Christian policies in the region. Al-Wāsiṭī further writes that al-Mu'taman later denied his authorship and claimed to have destroyed the book, thus evading the death threat issued against him during this time of turmoil (Gottheil, 'An answer to the dhimmis', pp. 408-10, Arabic; pp. 447-48, trans.).

In the passages from the work quoted by al-Ṭūfī, we find that not only does the unnamed author of the *Sayf* refer to the Qur'an and Hadith when constructing his arguments against Islam, but he also cites from Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037), al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) (q.v.), al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1144), Ibn 'Aṭīyya (d. 1147), al-Suhrawardī (d. 1191) and Ibn Rushd (d. 1198). As a result of his frequent references to Muslim philosophers, as well as Aristotle, al-Ṭūfī reproaches him for taking sides sometimes with philosophy and yet at other times with religious authority (ed.

Qarnī, i, pp. 371-72, 424, 448-49, 481; ii, p. 631), calling him a perplexed man who is neither a faithful Christian nor a proper philosopher (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 372-73). Considering al-Mu’taman ibn al-‘Assāl’s acquaintance with Islamic philosophy and his interest in the works of al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in particular (see Wadī, *Dirāsa*, p. 188), it may not be a far-fetched assumption to consider him as the author of the *Sayf*, in line with what al-Wāsiṭī maintains. Nevertheless, as pointed out by Gregor Schwarb, a clearer identification can be established by a comparative study between al-Ṭūfī’s quotations from the *Sayf* and other anonymous polemical treatises by Coptic Christians of the period. The author’s reference to Maimonides’ *Dalālat al-ḥā’irīn* (‘Guide for the perplexed’) implies that he was a learned Christian of Coptic circles, since, as Schwarb writes, ‘the reception of Maimonides in Christian Arabic literature was essentially confined to Copto-Arabic literature’ (G. Schwarb, ‘The reception of Maimonides in Christian-Arabic literature’, *Proceedings of the 12th conference of the Society of Judaeo-Arabic Studies*, ed. Y. Tobi, Haifa, forthcoming).

The *Sayf* does not seem to have survived in its complete form, although it is preserved in fragments in al-Ṭūfī’s substantial citations in the *Intiṣārāt* and his few notes in the *Ta’līq*. According to al-Ṭūfī’s description, it was written with the intention of refuting Islam and challenging the prophethood of Muḥammad. Al-Ṭūfī further says that this Christian polemic opens with Jesus’ warning of false prophets (Matthew 7:15-16), used by its author as an argument against Muḥammad’s prophetic mission (*Intiṣārāt*, ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 244-52; see also *Ta’līq*, ed. Demiri, § 52). With its long discussion on the nature of prophethood, the book sets out to show that Muḥammad does not fit the description of a prophet (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 252-66, 285-87). He is described by the anonymous author as someone who is devoid of prophetic attributes, such as truthfulness (*ṣidq*), purity (*ṭahāra*) and miracles (*i’jāz*), and whose religion is compatible neither with what he calls ‘natural religion’ (*al-dīn al-ṭabī‘ī*) nor with the revealed laws of earlier prophets (ed. Qarnī, ii, p. 710).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

See above.

Secondary

For al-Mu’taman ibn al-‘Assāl’s life and work, see A. Wadī, *Dirāsa ‘an al-Mu’taman ibn al-‘Assāl wa-kitābuh Majmū’ uṣūl al-dīn wa-taḥqīquh*, Cairo, 1997, pp. 125-76

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Al-sayf al-murhaf fī l-radd ‘alā l-Muṣḥaf;**Al-sayf al-murhaf, ‘The whetted sword in refutation of the Scripture’*DATE 13th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Regarding the quality of ‘truthfulness’, the author presents instances, mainly related to the qur’anic tales of the prophets, which, in his view, contradict those of the Bible, such as the stories of Mary (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 300-1), Zachariah (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 305-6; ed. Demiri, §§ 218-20, 491), Joseph (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 312-24; ed. Demiri, §§ 217, 550, 555-56, 561-64, 580-81, 586-87) and Moses (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 325-26; ed. Demiri, §§ 517, 540). Other discussions included within this category consist of the author’s critique of the qur’anic denial of the crucifixion (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 343-44, 350-54), his rejection of the Muslim view that Muḥammad was foretold in the Bible (ed. Qarnī, i, p. 375), his contention that various Hadiths describe God in an anthropomorphic way (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 439-41; ii, pp. 701-6), a short discourse on whether the *mi’rāj* (ascension) of the Prophet was physical or spiritual (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 495-96) and various other topics.

In relation to prophetic purity, the author examines a number of Hadiths that refer to the Prophet’s virility, his polygamous life and his marriage to Zaynab (ed. Qarnī, ii, pp. 526-30), while with regard to miracles, the author claims that Muḥammad performed no miracles (ed. Qarnī, ii, pp. 535-85; ed. Demiri, §§ 78-79, 132-33) and argues against the Muslim notion of the Qur’an’s inimitability (ed. Qarnī, ii, pp. 585-618). As for the need for the prophetic message to match what is good (*ḥusn*) and perfect (*kamāl*) in righteousness, decency and justice and to be compatible with natural laws and the laws of previous prophets, the author focuses on the permissibility of polygamy in Islam, which he finds to be problematic, since, as he asserts, nature requires a monogamous life. Sex is also a shameful act, in his opinion, and sexual desire should be repressed. Similarly, he criticizes the permissibility of divorce in Islam, since it contradicts Jesus’ teaching (ed. Qarnī, ii, pp. 619, 622-73). Turning back to where he began, the author concludes with a rejection of the prophethood of Muḥammad, categorizing him amongst the false

prophets about whom Christ warned his followers in Matthew 7:15-16 (ed. Qarnī, ii, pp. 720-21).

SIGNIFICANCE

According to what al-Ṭūfī writes, the author of the *Sayf* remained anonymous among Muslims, yet through time the work itself became widely known and turned into a subject of heated criticism (ed. Qarnī, *Intiṣārāt*, ii, pp. 613-14). Ultimately, it was this polemical treatise that motivated al-Ṭūfī to write his critical commentary on the Bible, the *Taʿlīq*, as well as his apology for Islam, the *Intiṣārāt*, in which he thoroughly examines the arguments of the unnamed Christian author and responds to his allegations. Al-Ṭūfī's work on Christianity and Christian scriptures is a clear indication of the degree of attention this Christian refutation received within Muslim theological circles of the time.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES

- L. Demiri, *Muslim exegesis of the Bible in medieval Cairo. Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī's (d. 716/1316) commentary on the Christian scriptures. A critical edition and annotated translation with an introduction*, Leiden (forthcoming)
- Sulaymān ibn ʿAbd al-Qawī al-Ṭūfī al-Ṣarṣarī al-Ḥanbalī, Al-intiṣārāt al-Islāmiyya fī kashf shubah al-Naṣrāniyya*, ed. Sālim ibn Muḥammad al-Qarnī, 2 vols, Riyadh, 1999
- R. Gottheil, 'An answer to the dhimmis', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 41 (1921) 383-457

Lejla Demiri

Gerasimos

Gerasimos, Abbot of the Monastery of St Symeon

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; perhaps 12 th or early 13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; perhaps Antioch
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; perhaps 13 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; perhaps Antioch

BIOGRAPHY

Gerasimos is an exceedingly obscure figure. The body of his sole surviving work offers no biographical information. From its title, we learn that its author, Gerasimos, was ‘the abbot of the Monastery of the Blessed Saint Symeon the Wonderworker’, on the ‘wondrous mountain’ (*thaumaston oros*). This would be the monastery of Symeon the Thaumaturgos (d. 597), known as the Younger, to distinguish him from his famous namesake. A church and a monastery sprang up around the younger Symeon’s pillar, and soon became a popular goal for urban pilgrims who could easily reach it from Antioch in a day. The monastery seems to have suffered little during the Muslim conquests. By the 9th and 10th centuries it had become a center for the intellectual life of Arabic-speaking Christians, with many works being written, translated, and copied there.

It is difficult to be precise as to when Gerasimos was active. The few scholars to examine the question have been inclined to place him in the 12th or 13th centuries. This was particularly the conclusion of Cheikho and Nasrallah. While Graf did not hazard a specific guess, he discussed Gerasimos’s work in the context of authors dating to the 13th century. The main points of evidence cited in this connection are the date of the earliest manuscript of his work and the history of his monastery. The oldest known manuscript dates to the 13th century, while his monastery flourished as a literary center between the 9th century and the first half of the 13th century, after which it quickly faded from view. Gerasimos cannot have been writing earlier than the early 9th century, as he knew and used the works of Theodore Abū Qurra (d. c. 820, q.v.).

While it cannot be excluded that Gerasimos lived in an earlier century, a date in the 12th or 13th century does not seem unreasonable. A late date also helps to explain the lack of references to him in earlier Christian Arabic literature. Assuming that Gerasimos does belong to the

13th century, one wonders whether he is not to be identified with the 13th-century scribe Gerasimos, who helped produce a copy of the lives of St Symeon and the Blessed Martha, his mother, 'in the Monastery of Symeon the Thaumaturgos on the wondrous mountain'. The name Gerasimos seems not to have been widely used in early medieval Syria, so this identification is especially tempting.

Whoever Gerasimos may have been, he was clearly well educated. He makes easy and extensive use of the terminology and concepts of Aristotelian logic, and draws freely on a large corpus of non-Christian literature: the testimony of the ancient Greeks, the lore of the pagans of Ḥarrān, and the Qur'an itself. He does not as a rule cite his sources, though it is clear that he was well read in the disputation literature of earlier centuries. Stylistically, his work is largely composed in *saj'* or rhyming prose – with its necessary multiplication of modifiers, the clausal parallelism, the researched vocabulary, and the preference for oblique propositions. While this device sometimes gets the better of good sense, on the whole Gerasimos keeps his exuberant use of the form under control.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1909

A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Hierosolymitike bibliotheke*, 5 vols, St. Petersburg, 1891-1915

Secondary

W. Dalrymple, *From the holy mountain. A journey among the Christians of the Middle East*, New York, 1997, pp. 54-60 (a moving account of a modern traveller's visit to the remains of the Monastery of St Symeon)

G. Vikan, 'Art, medicine and magic in early Byzantium', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38 (1984) 65-86 (an overview of the history of the monastery of St Symeon)

Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.2, pp. 115-18

J. Nasrallah, 'Couvents de la Syrie du Nord portant le nom de Siméon', *Syria* 49 (1972) 127-59 (pp. 136-40, for the monastery's 'age of gold' in the 10th and 11th centuries; pp. 146-47, for the life of Gerasimos; and pp. 147-48, for the latest attested activity of its scriptorium, around 1260)

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 82-84

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-kāfi fi l-ma'nā l-shāfi, 'The sufficient,
on the clear meaning'DATE Unknown; 13th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Gerasimos' work is divided into six parts. The first five seek to discover the marks by which one can recognize the true religion. They include an extensive collection of testimonies, some from the Old and New Testaments, but most from non-Christian literature. The last part is disproportionately long, and offers a series of detailed responses to possible objections.

Parts 1 and 2 apply reason to the problem of discerning the true religion. Gerasimos opens with an examination of the nature of religion, and how it summons creatures to God by revealing a law of commands and prohibitions and by the promise of reward and punishment. An examination of the various religions and their laws shows that Christianity alone fulfills the proper function of religion – to summon creatures to God – while others summon to earthly or evil ends by catering to base passions. Gerasimos then turns to a second set of criteria for recognizing the true religion: it must not be tribal or parochial but have a universal message; it must be attested by miracles; and it must address people in languages they understand. An examination of the religions of his immediate region shows that Christianity alone meets these criteria.

Parts 3 and 4 cite testimonies to confirm the earlier discussion, first from the Old and New Testaments, and then from later Jewish authors such as Josephus, the writings of the Sabeans (i.e., the pagans of Ḥarrān), the Greek philosophers (Plato, Aristotle, Hermes, Socrates, etc.), and finally from the Qur'an itself.

Part 5 treats six clusters of possible objections.

Objection 1 examines the questions: How can Christianity be the true religion when it is not the largest, when it has not always existed, and when there are places where it is held in contempt? On the last point, the author is eager to show that 'the ascendancy of the *umma* of Muḥammad and their oppression' of Christianity does not invalidate his argument, for such things are marks of the mercy of God, in that he disciplines his children through 'the sword of Islam'.

Objections 2-4 are philosophical in nature. Gerasimos is required to show that the Christian doctrines of the crucifixion, the Trinity, and the Incarnation are not repugnant to reason; that God's foreknowledge of sin does not make him responsible for it, but rather that freewill is a necessary attribute of human beings; and that God's omnipotence does not require that he should have saved Adam by fiat, but rather his own nature and attributes of mercy, might, justice, and wisdom all require that he submit to death on the cross.

In response to Objections 5 and 6, Gerasimos explains that revelation is progressive, and thus one cannot fault God for abolishing earlier revelations, specifically the Law of Moses. He argues that religion in this respect is analogous to education, in that people at different stages require different levels of training. The Law, for instance, offered training in basic matters, and is analogous to the use of wooden swords to train soldiers or to a parent's tolerance of certain behavior in the young but not in those who are older. In general, revelation passes through three stages: natural law, the Law of Moses, and the Law of Christ.

SIGNIFICANCE

Gerasimos' is one of the most detailed defenses of the faith written by an Orthodox author in Arabic. His is also perhaps one of the most learned and gracious of such writers. He is well versed in the history of disputation theology and quite conversant with the ideas of his opponents. He avoids the temptations of an overly scholastic approach and instead weaves together theological reflection with memorable and provoking analogical stories. While buttressing the faith of Christians, Gerasimos takes care not to offend the sensibilities of potential Muslim readers. The rancor that sometimes characterizes later apologetic literature is lacking in this skilful and gracious presentation.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine – Ar. 448 (Kamil 495), fols 100v-127r (13th century; Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.2, p. 116, reports that this MS contains the first part of the treatise)

MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine – Ar. 451 (Kamil 497), towards the end (1323; Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.2, p. 116, reports that this MS contains the third part)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 258, fols 73-78 (15th century; testimonies of the Greeks)

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 548, pp. 243-71 (16th century; testimonies from the Greeks and from the Qur'an)

- MS Aleppo, Nahhas (private collection) – no shelf mark (See Sbath, *Fihris*, supplément, p. 80) (1627)
- MS Joun, Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ – 1807, 4th work (17th century; see Edelby, *Sulaiman al-Ġazzī*, pp. 23-24; this seems to be the MS that Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.2, p. 117, cites as ‘A.CENTURY 359 [1644], 4th’)
- MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Marshall Or. 69 (Uri ar. chr. 49) (1656)
- MS Vat – Sbath 49, pp. 304-500 (1686)
- MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 552, pp. 65-179 (17th century; parts 1, 4, and 5, bowdlerized)
- MS Aleppo, Maronite Archdiocese – 1190, 274 pages (1700)
- MS Homs, Dr Sim‘ān (private collection) – no shelf mark (1701; Cheikho notes the existence of this MS in his *Catalogue*, p. 81)
- MS Homs, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese – 33, fols 1-99 (17th or 18th century)
- MS Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – Holy Sepulchre Ar. 101, fols 82v-87v (17th or 18th century; testimonies from the Greeks)
- MS Aleppo, Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem – Sbath 1324, 18th work (1773; present location unknown)
- MS Damascus, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – 181 (formerly 1616), 5th work (18th century; testimonies of the Greeks and the Muslims)
- MS Nasrallah (private collection) – 46 (18th century; current location unknown; it is reported that Nasrallah’s heirs dispersed the collection)
- MS Basha – no shelf mark (the existence of the MS was first noted by Cheikho, *Catalogue*, p. 81; it may be the same as Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ 1807, cited above)
- MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 553 (19th century; modern copy of the preceding MS)
- MS Damascus, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – 252 (formerly 1675), pp. 258-72 (19th century; according to Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.2, p. 117, this is the fourth part of Gerasimos, on the testimonies of Christ)
- MS St Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies – B1218, fols 64r-68r (19th century; testimonies of the Greeks)
- MS Bakhkhach (private collection) – no shelf mark (see Sbath, *Fihris*, i, p. 40, with no indication of date; no trace of the MS has been found)
- MS Bassal (private collection) – no shelf mark (see Sbath, *Fihris*, i, p. 40, with no indication of date; no trace of the MS has been found)

MS Saegh (private collection) – no shelf mark (see Sbath, *Fihris*, i, p. 40, with no indication of date; no trace of the MS has been found)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- A. Bakhou has prepared an edition and translation of the work's sixth part for a dissertation in progress at PISAI, Rome. Otherwise, the text has never been edited.
- R. Khawam (trans.), *Dialogues oecuméniques de guérison suivi de Traité sur la Sainte Trinité*, Paris, 1998 (it is somewhat unclear whether this translation is from one or more MSS; it should also be noted that Khawam sometimes omits parts of the text and at other times adds to it, presumably to make it more accessible to modern readers)

STUDIES

- A. Bakhou, 'Kitāb al-kāfi fī al-ma'nā al-šāfi', The complete book of the proper meaning. The Christian apology of Gerasimus', *Pd'O* 34 (2009) 300-43
- N. Edelby, *Sulaimān al-Gazzī (X^e-XI^e siècles). Écrits théologiques en prose (Patrimoine Arabe Chrétien 9)*, Jounieh, 1986 (for a description of the Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ MS)
- A.-M. Dubarle, 'Le témoignage de Josèphe sur Jésus d'après des publications récentes', *Revue Biblique* 84 (1977) 38-58, pp. 57-58 (on Gerasimos' use of Josephus)
- L. Cheikho, *Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes chrétiens*, Beirut, 1924

Abgar Bakhou and John Lamoreaux

Al-muṭrān Yūsuf

Yūsuf, al-muṭrān al-Nasṭūrī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

This entry is occasioned by a brief entry in Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 74 (no. 604), where it is stated that the 'Nestorian' bishop (*muṭrān*) Yūsuf, an author of the 13th century, wrote a work of Christian apology against Islam called *Kitāb al-ibāna*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary —

Secondary

Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 74 (no. 604)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-ibāna, 'The explanation'

DATE Possibly 13th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

All that is known about this work is Sbath's comment (*Fihris* i, p. 74), that it is a work of Christian apologetic.

SIGNIFICANCE —

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Aleppo, Rizqallāh Bāsīl Collection (inaccessible; see Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 74, no. 604)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

Mark N. Swanson

Pedro Pascual

Date of Birth	Unknown
Place of Birth	Unknown
Date of Death	About 1300
Place of Death	Granada

BIOGRAPHY

Pedro Pascual became bishop of Jaén in 1296; he was consecrated in Rome by Cardinal Matthew of Aquasparta, and in his bull of confirmation Pope Boniface VIII praises the new bishop's erudition and character. In 1298 he was taken captive by Naşrid troops and imprisoned in Granada. Despite efforts to raise the ransom of 5,000 gold *doblas* that Sultan Muhammad II demanded for his release, Pedro died in captivity in 1300. It is not clear whether he was executed or died of natural causes, but he was subsequently recognized as a martyr for the faith and was canonized by Clement X in 1673. The hagiographical tradition associates him with the Mercedarian order, and makes him a doctor of theology in Paris.

A large number of works, in Catalan/Valencian and in Castilian, have been attributed to Pedro Pascual and it is unclear which he actually wrote. The earliest extant MS containing his works dates from the late 15th century, so it may be that some or all of his works are those of later authors which posterity saw fit to attribute to the martyr saint.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Boniface VIII, papal bulls, in F. Fita, 'Once bulas de Bonifacio VIII inéditas y biográficas de San Pedro Pascual, Obispo de Jaén y Mártir', *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia* 20 (1892) 32-61

Secondary

J. Pérez-Embid Wamba, 'De la frontera espiritual a la frontera militar. El caso del obispo de Jaén Pedro Pascual (†1300)', in F. Toro Ceballos and A. Linage Conde (eds), *Abadía. V Jornadas de Historia en la Abadía de Alcalá la Real. Homenaje a Don José Rodríguez Molina: jornadas celebradas en Alcalá la Real, 19 y 20 de noviembre de 2004*, Jaén, 2005, 597-612

- D. Muñoz León, 'San Pedro Pascual obispo de Jaén', in C. del Valle Rodríguez and A. Barcala Muñoz (eds), *La Controversia judeocristiana en España: desde los orígenes hasta el siglo XIII. Homenaje a Domingo Muñoz León*, Madrid, 1998, 309-15
- J. Riera i Sans, 'La invencio literaria de Sant Pere Pasqual', *Caplletra* 1 (1986) 45-60
- K. Reinhardt and H Santiago Otero, *Biblioteca bíblica ibérica medieval*, Madrid, 1986, 274-80
- F. Fita, 'Sobre la bibliografía de San Pedro Pascual', *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia* 46 (1905) 259-69
- P. Armegon Valenzuela, *Vida de san Pedro Pascual, religioso de la Merced, obispo de Jaén y mártir glorioso in Christo*, Rome, 1901 (more hagiography than biography)
- La Vie de Saint Pierre Paschal de Valence, docteur en théologie de la Faculté de Paris, évêque titulaire de Grenade, suffragant de l'archevêché de Tolède, depuis évêque de Jaën en Castille & martyr, de l'ordre de Notre Dame de la Mercy, rédemption des captifs, composée par les religieux du même ordre*, Paris, 1674 (hagiography)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Sobre la seta Mahometana, 'On the Muḥammadan sect'

DATE 1298-1300, if indeed an authentic work of Pedro Pascual;
otherwise 14th or 15th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Castilian

DESCRIPTION

As with many of the works attributed to Pedro Pascual, there has been scholarly debate concerning the authorship of *Sobre la seta mahometana*. While both Pérez-Embid Wamba and Riera i Sans argue against attributing the tract to Pedro, Walter Mettmann argues convincingly in favor of it. The author of the tract clearly presents himself as Pedro Pascual and, if he is not the Bishop of Jaén, he certainly knew much about the latter's life.

The author describes his consternation as some of his fellow prisoners convert to Islam; he is also troubled by the divinatory practices of certain Christians, which he attributes to a malevolent Muslim influence. Worse yet, some Christians are ready to share their beds with the infidel. In his *Sobre la seta Mahometana*, Pedro tries to offer a sort of handbook in Castilian which furnishes the Christian reader with defensive arguments

that he can deploy in his debates with Muslims. He also tries to cultivate in his Christian reader a sense of radical difference from the Muslim other. He gives a hostile biography of Muḥammad in order to inspire scorn for Islam.

Pedro presents the life of Muḥammad *twice*: first according to Muslim authors, then according to Christian authors who, he claims, were Muḥammad's contemporaries; this corresponds to the first chapter (*título*) of his tract, where he explains (and denigrates) Islam. In the first section, he often interjects polemic into his narration. When he remarks that Muḥammad was born at 'Meca', he reminds his readers that 'Meca' is Latin for adultery. He berates 'Adiga' (Khadija) for believing that Muḥammad had seen the archangel Gabriel: Do you not know, Pedro asks her, that men lie? Muḥammad invented his visions of heaven, Pedro says, to stir his troops into battle. Pedro issues the standard enumeration and approbation of Muḥammad's multiple marriages and in several places condemns him for being a diviner and interpreter of dreams. He describes contradictions or errors in the Qur'an and Hadith.

He then gives Muḥammad's biography a second time, according to the testimony of 'those Christians *who saw* Muḥammad and struggled to know the truth concerning his beginnings and his end' – in other words, based on hostile Christian legends; as González Muñoz has shown, he was using the anonymous Latin *Iniquus Mahometus* (q.v.). He includes many standard tales: Muḥammad was a necromancer schooled by a heretical monk; he proffers bogus miracles, having a bull bring his new book of laws on his horns, and claiming that a dove that eats grains out of his ear is the angel Gabriel. The most fantastic and vicious element in this Christian caricature of Muḥammad is the account of his death. As Muḥammad goes off to sleep with a Jewess who dares not refuse him, her family ambushes him, kills him, and has his cadaver cut up and devoured by pigs – all except one foot, which they dress in myrrh and sweet-smelling unguents. When Muḥammad's associates come looking for him, the woman claims that angels took him from her bed and that she held on to his foot, which came off in the subsequent tug of war.

The rest of his tract (*títulos* 2-16) is a sort of apologetic primer of Christianity; these chapters expound, didactically, the story of Jesus and the essential Christian doctrines. The point is to allow the Christian reader to comprehend his faith and to defend it in arguments with Muslim adversaries: 'You will find in it [the book] what you need to defend yourselves against the enemies of our law'. He provides defensive arguments that Christians can present to Muslims in order to defend the Christian faith.

He defends, for example, the Incarnation, affirming that only the sacrifice of a man-God could save humanity. Moors and Jews, he says, accuse us of worshiping images, but we do not. We merely show reverence to God through the images that we kiss; images play a useful didactic role, in particular for the illiterate.

Pedro presents the Moors as descendants of Ishmael and as implacable enemies of God's people. If Ishmael is a wild ass, his descendants are beasts of the field (*bestiae agri*) who, in a prophecy of Ezekiel (39:17), drink blood and eat human flesh. Throughout his text, Pedro calls Arabs and Moors beasts and asses. The animal imagery dehumanizes the adversary. They are barbarous, irrational people, dominated by lust, violence and greed, with little sense of propriety (and no table manners!).

Pedro's sources are both Arabic and Latin: he uses Petrus Alfonsi (q.v.), whom he cites by name, and the *Risālat al-Kindī*, probably in Peter of Toledo's (q.v.) Latin translation. He also shows some knowledge of the contents of the Qur'an, which he cites in transliterated Arabic, and the Hadith, as well as other Muslim texts, including traditions on the *mi'rāj*.

SIGNIFICANCE

Whether or not Pedro Pascual wrote the *Sobre la seta*, the text combines a clear knowledge of Islam and Muslim society with an implacable hostility. The text skillfully serves its purported purpose: to denigrate Islam in the eyes of Christian readers and to provide them with defensive arguments to use in discussion with Muslims.

Sobre la seta was little known in the Middle Ages and survives in only a single manuscript.

MANUSCRIPTS

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John Tolan

Riccoldo da Monte di Croce

Date of Birth Probably 1240s
Place of Birth Probably Florence
Date of Death 1320
Place of Death Florence

BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about Riccoldo until he joined the Dominican order in 1267. He quickly showed academic promise, and was appointed lecturer in the Dominican convent of Pisa in 1272. In 1287, he was placed provisionally in charge of the convent in Prato. He would eventually become one of the most learned scholars of Arabic and Islam in Latin Europe, and was proficient in Syriac, Hebrew and Greek as well. He was presumably educated in these Semitic languages at one of special language *studia* of the Dominican Order, though little about these is known in detail.

In 1288, he departed for the eastern Mediterranean, arriving in Acre not long before its fall, and from there travelling throughout the Holy Land, and then north into Turkish and Mongol territory, eventually making it as far east as Tabrīz. He spent the early months of 1290 in Kurdish territory in Iraq, and later that year arrived in Baghdad, where he remained until at least the fall of Acre in 1291. While in Baghdad, he claims to have debated with Muslim scholars at the Niẓāmiyya and Mustanṣiriyya, and to have begun a translation of the Qur'an. We know almost nothing about Riccoldo from this point until his presence in Florence can be documented in 1301, though it is widely assumed that he spent a significant portion of that decade in the Middle East, and that he may have drafted his *Epistole ad ecclesiam triumphantem* while in the Arab world. Panella ('Ricerche su Riccoldo da Monte di Croce', p. xxxix) argues that he completed his *Epistole* and wrote his three other works, *Contra legem Saracenorum*, *Liber peregrinationis*, and *Libellus ad nationes orientales*, all in a short period around 1300. In the years after returning to Italy, he held various posts in Dominican convents; he died in 1320.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

All the known (and very brief) references to Riccoldo's life in his own works, the necrology of St Maria Novella (his home convent), and various charters, have been gathered together by Panella, 'Ricerche su Riccoldo da Monte di Croce', pp. 5-18.

Secondary

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- B. Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts. Forschungen zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Unionen und der Mohammedaner und Heidenmission des Mittelalters*, Habelschwerdt, 1924, pp. 5-8, 25, 27, 29, 42, 43, 60-62, 83-87, 101, 122, 236
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Epistole de prosperitate Sarracenorum in temporalibus et deiectione Christianorum; Epistole ad ecclesiam triumphantem; Epistolae quinque commentatorie de perditione Acconis, 'Letters on the temporal success of the Muslims and the abject state of the Christians'

DATE 1291-99

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

One of the most remarkable Latin-Christian reflections on Islam, Riccoldo's five letters, rather than being an attack on the religion of the Prophet, are a reflection on the 'temporal success of the Muslims and the abject state of the Christians', as the title of one of them puts it. For Riccoldo, the final defeat of the crusader states in 1291 made the question of God's role in human history inescapable, and these letters are his Job-like demand for answers. His experience in the Islamic world forced this question on him, for, as he writes near the beginning of the first letter, 'the peoples of the East now openly say that you [God] are powerless to help us', and that 'in these times the fortune of Muḥammad totally surpasses that of Christ' (ed. Panella, Ep. 1.9). The first four letters are each addressed to different recipients – to the true and living God; to Mary, the queen of heaven; to the triumphant church and the heavenly curia; and to the patriarch of Jerusalem and the Dominicans who died at Acre – but their message is much the same. Riccoldo demands that God should help the Christian people: 'Your prophet said that *you have made your power known among the peoples* [Ps. 76:15]. But I am not satisfied that you made this known. Make it known! Rise up, O Lord; save us!' (Ep. 1.11-12). He decries what seems to be God's favoritism toward Islam, asking him to make clear whether it is the true religion: 'If it pleases you that Muḥammad rules, make this known to us so that we might venerate him' (Ep. 1.32). He calls on Mary Magdalene to protect Christians from Muslims and Islam (Ep. 3, fol. 257r), and asks the whole company of heaven whether they are able to help the Christian world against Islam (Ep. 3, fol. 258v).

While this Jeremiad is directed against God and his role in history, there is a fair amount of unsurprising polemic and apologetic in the letters as well, especially in Epistle 3. Here, in a few short pages, for example, he accuses Muḥammad of being a precursor of Anti-Christ and an unbelieving successor to Julian the Apostate (Ep. 3, fol. 258r). He quotes Q 5:111 where Jesus' disciples say that they are Muslims, and he asks how they could possibly have been, since they lived long before Muḥammad (Ep. 3, fol. 259r). He also attacks the common Muslim argument that Muḥammad's name is mentioned in the Gospel of John (Ep. 3, fol. 259r).

In the final letter, Riccoldo sets forth God's 'divine response to all the foregoing through the teaching of Pope Gregory [I]'. Here he describes how, after receiving no answer to his impassioned questions, he undertook an Augustinian *Tolle, lege* with Gregory's *Moralia in Job*. His finger landed on the passage where Gregory expounded Job 33:13-14: 'You contend against [God] because he does not respond to all [your] words. God speaks once, and does not repeat a second time.' Riccoldo finds himself satisfied with Gregory's assertion of the Bible's sufficiency in the face of all difficulties. Yet he remains in the same doubt and fear as to whether, in the apparent triumph of Islam, God is punishing Christians as friends so that they will fear and beware (as the Bible puts it), or as enemies (Ep. 5, fol. 267r).

SIGNIFICANCE

Surviving in only a single, badly damaged manuscript (with some fragments appearing in another), the *Epistule* are certainly Riccoldo's least read work. Yet because of their almost unrivalled frankness in questioning God's providence with regard to Islam, and the remarkable ambivalence that they display, they are surely his most humane work, and among the most important documents for probing the complex reactions that the Arab-Islamic world could provoke among Latin-Christian intellectuals.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale – H. II. 33, fols 246r-246v (14th century; fragments of Epistles 1 and 3)

MS Vat – Lat. 7317, fol. 249r-67r (15th century)

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Panella, 'Riccoldo' <http://emilioweb.t35.com/riccoldo/epi.htm> (edition and trans. with the first letter divided into numbered units, while the remaining letters may be searched by folio numbers of MS Vat, as well as by page numbers of Röhrich's edition)

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- E. Panella, 'Preghiera e protesta. La prima lettera di Riccoldo', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 59 (1989) 17-88
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- Burman, 'Polemic, philology, and ambivalence', pp. 208-9
- Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. xiii, 245-47
- Mérigoux, 'Les débuts de l'ordre dominicain et le monde musulman', pp. 67-69
- Spath, 'Riccoldo da Monte Croce. Medieval pilgrim and traveller', pp. 89-93
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- Mandonnet, 'Fra Riccolde pèlerin en Terre Sainte et missionnaire en Orient', pp. 190-91, 195-96, 587-94

Liber peregrinationis; Itinerarius, 'The book of the pilgrimage'

DATE 1299-1300

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Riccoldo's *Liber peregrinationis* describes his journey to the Middle East, which began in 1288 and lasted for some years, though it is not known when he returned to Italy. There are no doubts about his authorship of the work. It is 168 pages long in Kappler's facing page Latin-French edition. In one sense, it is a conventional account of his pilgrimage to the Christian holy places; the first 38 pages are entirely devoted to this (pp. 36-74). Thereafter it becomes an account of his travels north from Acre into Iraq and Persia and his experiences among Turks, Mongols and Arab Christians (pp. 74-154). The final 50 pages are dedicated to Muslims, whom he describes as unsurpassed in their devotion to God, even though they follow a profoundly erroneous religion, and he presents the errors at some length (pp. 154-204).

There is almost nothing in the first section of the work bearing on Islam, though there are occasional observations of interest in the second section. For example, while discussing the Arab Christians' teaching on the Trinity, Riccoldo observes that they refer to the persons in the Godhead as *thelathe saffat*, his transliteration of *thalāth ṣifāt*, 'three attributes' (p. 132), showing awareness of the terminology of Muslim and Christian *kalām*. He also inserts a (maddeningly) brief discussion of Shī'ī Islam into the same section, one of the few instances in which Latin authors of this period express any knowledge of this branch of Islam.

Near the beginning of the final section, Riccoldo tells us that he had diligently observed Muslims and was astounded at 'how with such a perfidious religion (*lex*) deeds of great perfection can be found' (p. 158). He then describes their great devotion in prayer and almsgiving, their reverence for the name of God, their kindness to strangers, and their great love for one other. Yet he concludes this section by commenting, 'We have not narrated the foregoing as much for the praise of Muslims as for the confounding of certain Christians who do not want to do on behalf of the religion (*lex*) of life what the damned do on behalf of the religion (*lex*) of death' (p. 172). This is his segue into a series of criticisms of Islam: that it is a broad, rather than narrow, way; that it is confused; that it contains lies; that it is irrational; and that it is violent. This section of the treatise has close connections with his *Contra legem Saracenorum*, which covers much of the same ground, and in both works he borrows heavily from the *Liber denudationis*, an anonymous treatise, originally written in Arabic in al-Andalus, which survives only in Latin.

SIGNIFICANCE

Preserved in seven manuscripts, *Liber peregrinationis* was nothing like as influential as Riccoldo's *Contra legem Saracenorum*, which survives in 28. It seems clear from the fact that it often appeared in manuscripts alongside other travel literature that much of its readership was not interested in it primarily for what it had to say about Islam (see Kappler, *Riccoldo de Monte Croce, Pérégrination en Terre Sainte*, pp. 22-27). The description of Muslim religious practices, even if intended mostly to chastise Christians, is one of the most sympathetic in Latin Christian literature.

MANUSCRIPTS

Kappler describes the seven surviving MSS in his edition and translation, as well as the surviving MSS of two 14th-century medieval French and Italian translations (pp. 22-29).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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Medieval Italian translation surviving in a single manuscript (see Kappler, *Riccoldo de Monte Croce, Pérégrination en Terre Sainte*, p. 29)

On both these early translations, see Panella, 'Ricerche su Riccoldo da Monte di Croce', pp. 65-77.

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Jotischky, 'The mendicants as missionaries and travellers'

Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 245, 247

Mérigoux, 'Les débuts de l'ordre dominicain et le monde musulman'

Mérigoux, *Va à Ninive! Un dialogue avec l'Irak*, pp. 38-40, 149-50, 374-409

Spath, 'Riccoldo da Monte Croce. Medieval pilgrim and traveller'

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Mérigoux, 'L'ouvrage d'un frère Prêcheur florentin en Orient à la fin du XIII^e siècle', pp. 2, 10, 12-13, 17, 20-27

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 T. Kaepelli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Vol. 3, Rome, 1980, pp. 308-10
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 Monneret de Villard, 'La vita, le opera e i viaggi di frate Ricoldo da Montecroce OP'
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 Mandonnet, 'Fra Ricoldo pèlerin en Terre Sainte et missionnaire en Orient'

Libellus ad nationes orientales, 'Tract on the Eastern peoples'

DATE 1300

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This short treatise, only 25 folios long in the earliest manuscript, was written, Riccoldo tells us, so that his Dominican brethren who travel to the East *facilius possint reducere ad uiam ueritatis errantes* ('will be able easily to guide those in error onto the path of truth'). It is arranged according to the doctrinal proximity of the various religious groups in the Middle East to Latin Christianity, and therefore begins with expositions of the beliefs of the Nestorians and Jacobites, and then treats Judaism, Islam, and the Mongols (this section concludes with a brief listing of still other religious/ethnic groups including the Armenians, Copts, Maronites, Georgians, and others).

At the the end of the treatise, Riccoldo adds a list of five 'general rules' for missionaries. However, as Jensen has shown in the introduction to his on-line edition of the text, the sections on the Nestorians and Jacobites consist of a 'verbatim copying or a close paraphrasing of St Thomas Aquinas' *Summa contra gentiles*, lib. IV, c. 34-36 and 49 (www1.sdu.dk/Hum/kvj/Riccoldo/IntroF.html; accessed 7 January 2011). The section on Islam, moreover, consists of a single sentence: *De Saracenis autem nihil*

amplius addo ad illud quod scripsi in illo tractatu Quot sunt dies servi tui, ubi per legem eorum confutatur lex ipsa ('Regarding the Saracens, I will add nothing to what I have written in the treatise *Quot sunt dies servi tui* [this is the *Contra legem Saracenorum*] where their religion is refuted on the very basis of that religion itself').

SIGNIFICANCE

So there is almost nothing original to Riccoldo about the Christians living under Islam, and nothing about Islam itself. What is significant about this text, therefore, for Christian-Muslim relations is what it tells us about the widely-travelled Riccoldo's way of thinking about the Middle East. Though he met native Christians living in the Islamic world, he preferred, in the bookish way of the scholastics, to write about them on the basis of a written authority, in this case the great teacher of his order, Thomas Aquinas. In part, this is also his method in composing his *Contra legem Saracenorum*. While he had discussed Islam with Muslims, and consulted the Qur'an directly in Arabic as he wrote this treatise, his understanding of that text was shaped by the Latin translation of Mark of Toledo (q.v.), and his method of argumentation was deeply influenced by the anonymous anti-Islamic treatise, *Liber denudationis siue ostensionis aut patefaciens*, which he quotes frequently, often at length.

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- MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Can. Pat. lat. 142, fols 61r-77v (date unknown)
- MS Oviedo, Biblioteca del Cabildo – 24, fols 69r-85r and 113v-114v (date unknown)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- Panella, 'Riccoldo' (emilioweb.t35.com/riccoldo2/adno.htm; accessed 7 January 2011; edition and Italian trans.)
- Jensen, 'Riccoldi Florentini Libelli ad nationes orientales editio princeps telina'
- Dondaine, 'Riccoldiana. Notes sur les oeuvres de Ricoldo de Montecroce', pp. 162-70

STUDIES

- K.V. Jensen, 'Riccoldi Florentini Libelli ad nationes orientales editio princeps telina', 1997 (www1.sdu.dk/Hum/kvj/Riccoldo/index.html, accessed 7 January 2011), introduction

Tolan, 'Porter la bonne parole auprès de Babel'

Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 246

Manetti, "Come Achab al calar del sole". Un Domenicano guida i Templari', p. 172

Emilio, 'Presentazione', pp. xxv-xxvii

Dondaine, 'Riccoldiana. Notes sur les oeuvres de Ricoldo de Montecroce', pp. 137-42, 162-70

Monneret de Villard, 'La vita, le opera e i viaggi di frate Ricoldo da Montecroce OP', p. 272

Mandonnet, 'Fra Ricoldo pèlerin en Terre Sainte et missionnaire en Orient', p. 602

*Contra legem Saracenorum; Improbatio alcorani;
Confutatio Alcorani; Confutatio legis late Sarrhacenis
a maledicto Mahometo, 'Against the religion of the
Saracens'*

DATE Approximately 1300

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Riccoldo's *Contra legem Saracenorum* is a thorough-going attack on the Qur'an and Islam, with little direct attempt at Christian apologetic. Consisting of 17 chapters, it is 81 pages long in Mérigoux's edition, and covers many of the topics that had long been standard in Christian polemic against Islam, among them: that neither the Old nor the New Testament testifies to the validity of Muḥammad or his religion; that the style of the Qur'an is not suitable to revelation; that it contains obvious contradictions; that no miracles attest to Muḥammad's prophethood; that the Qur'an contradicts reason; and that the Qur'an is a pseudo-revelation cooked up by Muḥammad with the advice of heretical Christians and Jews. There is no doubt that Riccoldo is the author – it is almost universally attributed to him, and a manuscript survives with corrections in his own hand.

While Riccoldo knew Islam at first hand by the time he wrote *Contra legem Saracenorum*, and had an impressive knowledge of Arabic, he was heavily dependent on two key works as he wrote it. First, his argumentation is often informed by an originally Arabic treatise that survives

only in a Latin translation entitled *Liber denudationis siue ostensionis aut patefaciens*, alias *Contrarietas alfolica*, composed in al-Andalus in the 11th or 12th century (Mérigoux, 'L'ouvrage d'un frère Prêcheur', p. 143). While *Liber denudationis* only survives in a single manuscript, and we know of scarcely any other European reader of it in the pre-modern era, Riccoldo quotes or paraphrases it some 50 times. Second, though Riccoldo possessed his own copy of the Qur'an, which is still extant (MS Paris, BNF Ar. 384), containing an abundance of marginalia in his own hand, a large percentage of the qur'anic quotations in *Contra legem Saracenorum* are direct or nearly direct quotations of Mark of Toledo's Latin translation, which Riccoldo was clearly reading alongside his own Arabic copy (Burman, 'How an Italian friar read his Arabic Qur'an').

Contra legem Saracenorum was probably the most influential Latin treatise against Islam in the later Middle Ages. There are 28 extant manuscripts, and it was printed for the first time in 1500. The original Latin version was known to many later readers such as Pietro da Penne (see Panella, 'Ricerche su Riccoldo da Monte di Croce', pp. 77-85), while Nicholas of Cusa, who knew the treatise well, left annotations in his (extant) copy of it, and cited it in his *Cribratio Alkorani* (see Biechler, 'Three manuscripts', p. 96). It was translated into Greek in the late 14th century, and into Spanish in the early 16th century. The Greek version was itself translated back into Latin, this version appearing in print several times. Luther translated this version from Latin into German.

SIGNIFICANCE

Owing to the influence on it of the originally Arabic *Liber denudationis*, and also to its wide readership, the *Contra legem Saracenorum* became one of the principal sources both of the highly developed Arab-Christian tradition of apologetic and polemic against Islam, and of relatively accurate information about Islam in the Latin world. Moreover, its extensive quotations of the Qur'an comprised a very large number of the verses that were thought to be particularly useful in contesting the Prophet and his holy book.

The survival of Riccoldo's own copy of the Arabic Qur'an, furthermore, affords a unique window into the composition of the treatise, and thus unmatched insight into how a learned Latin scholar went about writing on Islam. The marginalia in this manuscript allow us both to watch as Riccoldo distilled information and argumentation from his principal source, *Liber denudationis*, and also to examine how he read the Qur'an in both Arabic and Latin as he composed. While he often wrote Mark of

Toledo's translation in the margin next to the relevant Arabic verses, he periodically corrected it as he did so, in some cases correcting it again as he went on to use the same passage in his treatise. In examining this process, therefore, we are able to see both how a learned Dominican interrogated the Qur'an through the tradition of Arab-Christian polemic he inherited through the *Liber denudationis*, and also how he interrogated that tradition through his direct knowledge of the Qur'an and Islam.

MANUSCRIPTS

Mérigoux, 'L'ouvrage d'un frère Prêcheur', pp. 35-43, gives a thorough overview of all but one of the 29 known MSS of the work, including the invaluable copy with Riccoldo's own corrections (MS Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Conv. Sopp. C 8.1173). Panella, 'Ricerche su Riccoldo da Monte di Croce', pp. 19-22, describes the one remaining MS.

The MSS date from the early 14th to the 16th century.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

E. Panella, 'Riccoldo,' <http://emilioweb.t35.com/riccoldo2/clso00.htm> (accessed 20 January 2011; Italian trans. from Mérigoux's critical edition, which appears beside it)

T.C. Pfothenauer, 'Islam in the crucible. Can it pass the test?', in *Lutheran News* 684, Luther Lane, New Haven MO, 2002 (English trans. of Luther's German trans.)

J. Ehmann, *Ricoldus de Montecrucis, Confutatio Alcorani (1300). Martin Luther, Verlegung des Alcoran (1542) (Corpus Islamo-Christianum, Series Latina 6)*, Altenberge, 1999 (modern German trans. of Picensus' Latin version of the Greek translation with facing page German trans., followed by an edition of Luther's 16th-century German trans.)

G. Rizzardi, *I Saraceni*, Florence, 1992 (Italian trans. of Mérigoux's critical edition)

J.-M. Mérigoux, 'L'ouvrage d'un frère Prêcheur florentin en orient à la fin du XIII^e siècle. Le "Contra legem Sarracenorum" de Riccoldo da Monte di Croce', *Memorie Domenicane* 17 (1986) 1-144; pp. 60-142 (see E. Panella's corrections at <http://emilioweb.t35.com/riccoldo2/vulgo.htm>; accessed December 17, 2010)

Migne, *PG* 154, cols 1077-1543 (repr. of the Greek trans. as it appears in Bibliander's edition of 1543)

T. Bibliander (ed.), *Confutatio alcorani*, in *Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, doctrina ac ipse Alcoran...*, 3 vols, Basel, 1543, ii, pp. 82-165 (a facing edition of Cydones' Greek trans. and Picensus' Latin version)

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- Antonio de la Peña, *Improbatio alcorani*, Seville: Stanislas Polonus, 1500 (edition of the original Latin text)
- Demetrius Cydones, *Contra legem Saracenorum*, MS Paris, BNF, Gr. 1191, fols 89-116 (Greek trans. completed in 1385)

STUDIES

- Burman, 'How an Italian friar read his Arabic Qur'ān'
- Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 251-54
- Daniel, *Islam and the West*, see index
- Huber, 'Riccoldo da Monte de Croce (1243-1320)'
- Panella, 'Ricerche su Riccoldo da Monte di Croce', pp. 19-22
- C. Vasoli, 'Per le fonti De christiana religione di Marsilio Ficino', *Rinascimento: Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento* 28 (1988) 135-233
- P. Emilio, 'Presentazione', *Memorie Domenicane* 17 (1986) v-xl, pp. xxii-xxv, xxviii-xxviii
- Mérigoux, 'L'ouvrage d'un frère Prêcheur florentin en Orient', pp. 6-13, 27-58
- Kedar, *Crusade and mission*
- J. Biechler, 'Three manuscripts on Islam from the Library of Nicholas of Cusa', *Manuscripta* 27 (1983) 91-100
- Mérigoux, 'Un précurseur du dialogue islamo-chrétien'
- A. Dondaine, 'Riccoldiana', pp. 134-37, 145-49
- Monneret de Villard, 'La vita, le opera e i viaggi di Frate Riccoldo da Montecroce OP', pp. 270-72

Thomas E. Burman

Ibn al-Rifʿa

Najm al-Dīn Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn
Muḥammad ibn al-Rifʿa

DATE OF BIRTH 1247
PLACE OF BIRTH Cairo
DATE OF DEATH 1310
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn al-Rifʿa was a leading Shāfiʿī jurist in Mamluk Cairo, acknowledged for his unrivalled learning in Hadith and *fiqh* by, among others, his student Taqī l-Dīn al-Subkī (q.v.), father of the historian of the Shāfiʿī law school, Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī. He is known mainly for his commentaries on earlier law codes.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, 6 vols in 3, Cairo, 1906, v, p. 178

Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, *Al-durar al-kāmina*, ed M. Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq, 5 vols, Cairo, 1966-67, i, pp. 284-87

Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 8 vols, Cairo, 1931-32, vi, pp. 22-23

Secondary

S. Ward, 'Ibn al-Rifʿa on the churches and synagogues of Cairo', *Medieval Encounters* 5 (1999) 70-84, pp. 77-78

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Risāla fī l-kanāʿis wa-l-biya, 'Treatise on synagogues and churches'

DATE 1301
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

According to Ḥajjī Khalīfa, Ibn al-Rifʿa wrote a *fatwā* entitled *Risāla fī l-kanāʿis wa-l-biya* in 1301 (a 'fine work' in his estimation), and then in

1307 an abridgement entitled *Al-naḡā'is fī ḡadm al-kanā'is* ('Items of value concerning the demolition of religious buildings'), also known as *Kitāb al-naḡā'is fī adillat ḡadm al-kanā'is*. He presents his arguments in five points, on which see Ward, 'Ibn al-Rif'ā on the churches and synagogues of Cairo', pp. 79-82.

In the first, Ibn al-Rif'ā declares that no building in a city founded by Muslims should be assumed to predate the city. Thus, all Christian and Jewish religious buildings in Cairo must be deemed to have been built following its founding, and are therefore in contravention of the stipulation that no new religious buildings should be erected after the coming of Islam. Christians and Jews seeking to establish the age of their buildings must be regarded as plaintiffs in a legal sense. In the second stage, he emphasizes that, since Christians and Jews are plaintiffs, the burden of proving that their buildings predate the founding of the city lies with them. In the third, he clarifies that any buildings that may predate the city could only be allowed to stand if they had been the subject of agreements with the Muslim conquerors. In the fourth, he contends that any such agreements would have applied only to those who actually made them, and would anyway have lapsed by his own time. And in the fifth, he insists that, if any agreements existed, the Christians must prove that in the intervening period they have not contravened and thus invalidated them.

These legal arguments represent a radical move away from earlier precedents that generally accepted that ancient religious buildings should be respected according to the stipulations of the Pact of 'Umar. Contemporary jurists disagreed with Ibn al-Rif'ā's initial assumption that they should be assumed to post-date the founding of a city unless proved otherwise, and the *fatwā* was never implemented.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn al-Rif'ā's intolerant judgements against Jewish and Christian buildings reflect a mood within society of the time that occasionally erupted into riots and closures of buildings, and exerted increasing pressures upon non-Muslims that led to wide-scale conversions to Islam. Although not accepted by all jurists, they provided justification for popular attitudes of discrimination, and also for acts of desecration and destruction.

MANUSCRIPTS

See Ward, 'Ibn al-Rif'ā on the churches and synagogues of Cairo', p. 78, for details of the one MS in which the work (probably the second

treatise) is contained, and two MSS of al-Subkī's analysis in which it is quoted, and also of other MSS in which both authors' works are copied.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

S. Ward, *Construction and repair of churches and synagogues under Islam. A treatise by Tāqī al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Kāfī al-Subkī*, New Haven CT, 1984 (PhD diss. Yale University), pp. 292ff. (trans. of al-Subkī's analysis)

Fatāwā l-Subkī, ed. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Qudṣī, 2 vols, Cairo, 1936-38, ii, pp. 361-407 (edition of the second treatise – Ḥajjī Khalīfa's 'abridgement' – with some elements omitted)

STUDIES

Ward, 'Ibn al-Rif'ā on the churches and synagogues of Cairo', pp. 78-84

David Thomas

Al-Dimyāṭī

Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mu’min ibn Khalaf
ibn Abī-l-Hasan al-Dimyāṭī

DATE OF BIRTH 1217
PLACE OF BIRTH Island of Tūnā near Damietta
DATE OF DEATH 1306
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Dimyāṭī was known as a leading traditionist in 13th-century Egypt. As a young man he travelled throughout the Middle East in search of traditions, and later settled in Cairo, where he taught at leading institutions.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘iyya*, 6 vols in 3, Cairo, 1906, vi, pp. 132-41
Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, 4 vols in 2, Hyderabad, 1897, iv, pp. 258, 368
Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 8 vols, Cairo, 1931-32, vi, p. 12

Secondary

G. Vajda, *Le dictionnaire des autoritēs (Mu‘jam aṣ-ṣuyūh) de ‘Abd al-Mu’min ad-Dimyāṭī*, Paris, 1962, pp. 11-13
A. Dietrich, ‘Abd al-Mu’min b. Khalaf ad-Dimyāṭī’nin bir muhācirūn listesi, *Şarkiyat Mecmuası* 3 (1959) 125-55, pp. 125-27

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Radd al-Naṣārā, ‘Refutation of the Christians’

DATE Unknown; before 1306
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work has not survived, and is known only from Ḥajjī Khalifa (*Kashf al-zunūn*, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1941-43, col. 838). It probably presented at least some of the traditional Muslim arguments against Christian doctrines

and the authenticity of the Bible, and may also have included arguments in favor of the prophethood of Muḥammad.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is not possible to say what this was.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

David Thomas

George Pachymeres

Geōrgios Pachymerēs

DATE OF BIRTH 1242
PLACE OF BIRTH Nicea
DATE OF DEATH After 1307
PLACE OF DEATH Probably Constantinople

BIOGRAPHY

George Pachymeres was born in 1242 in the exile state of Nicea to a family from Constantinople. It is unclear whether the two brothers John and Michael Pachymeres were his sons or nephews (see V. Laurent's introduction to Tannery, *Quadrivium de Georges Pachymère*, p. xxvii, n. 3).

At the age of 19, Pachymeres returned to Constantinople and studied philosophy, rhetoric, mathematics and logic, probably under George Akropolites (q.v.). He became a member of the patriarchal clergy in a period when the Byzantine Church was facing great difficulties resulting from the Arsenite schism and the Union policy of the Emperor Michael VIII. In 1265, he was sent as *notarios* of the Great Church to Gregory, the metropolitan of Mitylene, and a few months later he delivered the decree of deposition against the Patriarch Arsenius Autorianus. Together with Iob Iasites, in 1273 he composed the *Tomos* against the Latins.

In addition to his clerical duties, from 1275 Pachymeres taught in the Patriarchal School, at first as *didaskalos tou psaltēros* and later (by 1277, when he signed the *engraphos asphaleia* of the patriarchal clergy) as *didaskalos tou apostolou*. In March 1279, he composed the letter of resignation of John Bekkos from the patriarchate, probably as his secretary.

In 1285, Pachymeres signed the *Tomos* against the unionist Bekkos as *hieromnēmon* (Laurent, 'Les signataires du seconde synode des Blakhernes', p. 148). Sometime after 1285, he was given the position of *prōtekdikos*, and he also held the political office of *dikaiophylax*. He never rose above the rank of deacon, as can be seen from a depiction of him in MS Munich, Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek – Monac. Gr. 442, f. 6v.

Owing to the great variety of his works, which include rhetoric, theology, philology, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy and history, George Pachymeres has been called a Byzantine humanist. His philosophical and astronomical treatises exerted great influence after his death.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary**Sygraphikai historiai*

Tou Philē eis ton Pachymerē epitaphios, ed. E. Miller, in *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, 2 vols, Paris, 1855-57 (repr. Amsterdam, 1967) ii, Appendix, pp. 400-5, no. xxxix

Grēgoriou tou Kypriou oikoumenikou patriarchou epistolai kai mythoi, ed. S. Eustratiadēs, Alexandria, 1910, pp. 51, 81-82

Engraphos asphaleia tōn klerikōn tēs Megalēs Ekklēsiās epī tē eirēnē dēthen tōn ekklēsiōn, ed. V. Laurent and J. Darrouzès, *Dossier grec de l'union de Lyon (1273-1277)*, Paris, 1976, 468-73, p. 471

Epistolē tou dikaiophylakos kai prōtekdikou tou Pachymerē kyr Georgiou pros ton hagiotaton papan kai patriarchēn Alexandreias, Libyēs, Pentapoleōs kai pasēs Aigyptou kai Athiopiās kyr Athanasion, apodēmoutos ek tēs Konstantinou kai endēmoutos en tē Rodō, ed. A. Failler, 'Le séjour d'Athanase II d'Alexandrie à Constantinople', *REB* 35 (1977) 62-71

T. Detorakēs, 'Anekdota poiēmata tou Georgiou Pachymerē', in *Aphierōma ston N. Svorōno*, 2 vols, Rethymno, Greece, 1986, i, pp. 300-6 (see now the new edition by A. Guardasole, 'Sui frammente dell'autobiografia poetica di Giorgio Pachymere', *Siculorum Gymnasium* 57 (2004) 379-95, pp. 391-93 (text)

Costantino Acropolita Epistole, ed. R. Romano, Naples, 1991, p. 196

Secondary

P. Golitsis, 'La date de composition de la Philosophia de Georges Pachymérés et quelques précisions sur la vie de l'auteur', *REB* 67 (2009) 209-15

S. Lampakēs, *Georgios Pachymeres prōtekdikos kai dikaiophylax. Eisagōgiko dokimio*, Athens, 2004, pp. 21-38

T. Boiadkiev, 'Georgios Pachymeres between Plato and Dionysius. The One and the Being', in M. Pickavé (ed.), *Die Logik des Transzendentalen. Festschrift für Jan A. Aertsen zum 65. Geburtstag*, Berlin, 2003, 501-10

A. Failler, 'La vie et l'oeuvre de Georges Pachymérés', in A. Failler and V. Laurent, *Georges Pachymérés. Relations historiques*, 5 vols, Paris, 1984-2000, i, pp. xix-xxiii

A.M. Talbot, art. 'Pachymeres, George', in *ODB*

C.N. Constantinides, *Higher education in Byzantium in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (1204-ca.1310) (Cyprus Research Centre Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus 11)*, Nicosia, 1982, pp. 61-64

J. Karayannopoulos and G. Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324-1453)*, 2 vols, Wiesbaden, 1982, i, pp. 492-93

- H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachige profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols, Munich, 1978, i, pp. 447-53
- M. Aubineau, 'Georges Hiéromnèmôn ou Georges Pachymères, commentateur du Pseudo-Denys?', *Journal of Theological Studies* 22 (1971) 541-4
- V. Laurent, introduction, in P. Tannery, *Quadrivium de Georges Pachymère*, Vatican City, 1940, vii-xxxiii, pp. xxiv-xxxiii
- V. Laurent, 'Les signataires du seconde synode des Blakhernes (été 1285)', *Echos d'Orient* 26 (1927) 129-49

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Syngraphikai historiai, 'Historical narration'

DATE After 1307

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

The *Syngraphikai historiai* (called *Chronikon*, 'Chronicle', in MS Munich – Monac. Gr. 442, and *Rhomaikē historia*, 'Roman history', in MS Paris, BNP – Gr. 1723) is divided into 13 books. The first six deal with the reign of Michael VIII Palaeologus (r. 1259-82), and the rest with that of his son Andronicus II Palaeologus (r. 1282-1328) up to 1307. Pachymeres began it after 1291, and he finished it in 1307. At the end of the 14th century, a short version of the *Syngraphikai historiai* was compiled (ed. A. Failler, *La version brève des Relations historiques de Georges Pachymères*, 3 vols, Paris, 2001-4). It is the only one of his works that contains details about Christian-Muslim relations.

Pachymeres alone among Byzantine historians reports in detail significant events of the second half of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century. Major themes include the neglect of the eastern borders of the Empire (I.3-5, ed. Failler, *Georges Pachymères*, vol. i, pp. 27-33; III.22, vol. i, pp. 291-93), Turcoman raids (II.24, vol. i, pp. 185-87; III.22, vol. i, p. 293), the decline of the Seljuk state, which made it possible for various Turkish emirates to emerge (II.24, vol. i, pp. 181-87), the battle of Bapheus in 1302, a turning point in the fate of Byzantium (X.25, vol. iv, pp. 365-67), and the unsuccessful Catalan expedition to attempt to recover western Asia Minor (XI.12-14, 21, 23-24, 26 and 31, vol. iv, pp. 431-49, 451-75, 479-85 and 497; XII.3, vol. iv, pp. 527-31).

Of some importance is the information he gives about the first appearance and expansion of the Ottomans in Bithynia (X.25, vol. iv, pp. 365-67; XI.21, vol. iv, pp. 451-55; XIII.35, vol. iv, pp. 701-3); he is the first Byzantine

author to mention Osman, the eponymous leader of the Ottomans, calling him Atman (X.20, vol. iv, p. 347). And he also describes Byzantine relations with the Mamluk sultanate and the Mongols (e.g., III.3-5, vol. i, pp. 235-39). He refers to Mongol customs, and he describes vividly how the rumor of a Mongol attack spread terror and panic among the citizens of Nicea (III.28, vol. i, pp. 317-25), as well as the consequences of the Turkish conquest of Asia Minor as refugees fled to Constantinople and the European parts of the Empire (X.21 and 26, vol. iv, pp. 349, 369).

The *Syngraphikai* does not contain any extensive discussion about Islam itself. In one place Muhammad is called 'cursed' (VI.13, vol. ii, p. 575), and the Muslims are called unfaithful, impious and 'enemies of the cross'. However, some Muslim rulers are depicted quite positively, among them the Ilkhanid Khan Ghāzān, the success of whose Georgian soldiers Pachymeres attributes to their clean and uncorrupted Christian piety (XII.1, vol. iv, pp. 503-5).

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Syngraphikai* is a unique historical source for relations between the Byzantine state and its Muslim opponents in the years before and after 1300. Pachymeres offers the testimony of an eye-witness to key events that presaged the slow decline of the Empire towards final collapse at the hands of the Ottomans.

MANUSCRIPTS

The 16 MSS of the work, dated 1350-1650, are listed in Failler, 'La tradition manuscrite de l'Histoire de Georges Pachymère'.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

N.J. Cassidy, *A translation and historical commentary of book one and book two of the Historia of Georgiōs Pachymerēs*, Perth, 2004 (Diss. University of Western Australia)

A. Failler, *Georges Pachymérés, Relations historiques*, 5 vols, Paris, 1984-2000 (edition with French trans. by V. Laurent and A. Failler)

PG 143, cols 443-996 (on Michael Palaeologus), *PG* 144, cols 15-716 (on Andronicus Palaeologus)

Georgii Pachymeris de Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis libri XIII, ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols, Bonn, 1835

STUDIES

A large number of studies are devoted to this work. Those that focus on Islam and Muslims are:

- S. Kyriakidis, 'The employment of large groups of mercenaries in Byzantium in the period ca. 1290-1305 as viewed by the sources', *Byzantion* 79 (2009) 208-30
- K. Petrides, 'Georgios Pachymeres between ethnography and narrative: Syngraphikai Historiai 3.3-5', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 49 (2009) 295-318
- E. Zachariadou, 'L'Asie Mineure turque', in A. Laiou and C. Morrison (eds), *Le monde byzantin*, vol. 3: *L'empire grec et ses voisins, XIII^e-XV^e siècle*, Paris, 2011, 369-99
- S. Lampakēs, *Georgios Pachymerēs prōtekdikos kai dikaiophylax. Eisagōgiko dokimio*, Athens, 2004
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- V. Georgiadou, *Hē eikona tēs autokratōrikēs exousias kai hē ideologia tēs byzantinēs historiographias. Mia methodos anagnōsēs tōn istorikōn keimenōn tou Pachymerē, tou Gregora kai tou Kantakouzēnou*, Athens, 1977 (Diss. University of Athens)
- A. Failler, 'Les émirs turcs à la conquête de l'Anatolie au début du 14^e siècle', *REB* 52 (1994) 69-112
- A.E. Laiou, 'On political geography. The Black Sea of Pachymeres', in R. Beaton and Charlotte Roueché (eds), *The making of Byzantine history. Studies dedicated to D.M. Nicol*, London, 1993, 94-121
- Talbot, art. 'Pachymeres, George'
- Failler, 'Pachymeriana Nova'
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Ekaterini Mitsiou

Ramon Llull

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1232
PLACE OF BIRTH	Majorca
DATE OF DEATH	About 1315-16
PLACE OF DEATH	Possibly Majorca

BIOGRAPHY

Ramon Llull was born in Majorca in the years following its conquest in 1229 by King James I of the Crown of Aragon. The king's expedition was probably funded in part by Llull's father, who received lands in Palma and elsewhere on the island as a reward. The young Ramon received an education commensurate with his class, and he became the steward of the future king, James II of Majorca. He married Blanca Picany around 1257 and they had two children, Domènec and Magdalena.

According to the *Vita coetanea* (a selective autobiography dictated by Llull in 1311 in Paris to some Carthusian monks of Vauvert), while he was engaged in writing some love poetry, probably in 1263, he had a series of visions of Christ on the cross suspended in midair. These repeated visions caused him to abandon the life of a courtier in the belief that he was to dedicate his life to God through the conversion of the infidel. This realization was the start of a career spanning almost five decades of writing, travelling, and cajoling popes, kings, princes and scholars to support his mission and adopt his Art (see below), and also of actual evangelization among the Muslims in North Africa, to Jews in Catalonia, northern Italy and perhaps elsewhere, and to other non-Catholic Christian denominations (he was also interested in converting the Mongols).

Following the visions and a pilgrimage, Llull spent a period of nine years in Majorca, learning Arabic from a Muslim slave (who later attempted to murder him and then conveniently committed suicide), and making a first attempt to write 'a book, the best in the world, against the unbelievers'. The first attempt resulted in the mammoth *Libre de contemplació en Deu*, an encyclopedic work in which Llull surveyed the whole of being, sensible and intelligible, human and divine, visible and invisible. In this work are to be found the seeds of all his later thought, but without the organization and terminology that provide the framework for disputation. The first exposition of the 'form and method' of the

Art, the *Ars compendiosa inveniendi veritatem* (c. 1274) was the result of another divine revelation, which provided him with the tools for organizing his broad-ranging ideas into a coherent structure. This structure would be continually redacted, refined and improved upon over the next 40 years, with the last redaction being the *Ars generalis ultima* (completed in 1308), along with its shorter and popular companion, the *Ars brevis* (1308).

In effect, the Art was a language whose grammar and syntax were the dynamic structure of creation, true knowledge of which revealed the internal and eternal structure of the divine. Using general principles, conditions and rules acceptable to all three monotheistic faiths, the artist – the practitioner of the Art – would be able to discover the inherent nature of the supreme Being. According to Lull, the religion revealed to be truly compatible with this Art was Christianity. In other words, it is not that other faiths are based on false premises, but that they do not understand totally the language of reality. Any disputation based on the framework of the Art would allow members of each faith to explore their own religious doctrines and those of the other faith, and, by asking the right questions, to reach the necessary conclusions. There are two main stages in the development of the Art, referred to as the Quaternary phase (1274-89) followed by the Ternary phase (1290-1308). In the first phase, there are 16 principles, and the other elements of the Art also appear in groups of 16; there are a lot of algebraic notations, and the four elements are very central.

Following an unsuccessful visit to Paris (1287-89), during which his lectures on the Art were ridiculed as being of an ‘Arabic manner of speech’, Lull revised and simplified it. The number of principles was reduced to nine and the algebraic formulations more or less disappeared. In this second phase, there is a much more recognizably Trinitarian structure and the importance of the four elements diminishes.

Lull wrote some 280 works in Latin, Catalan and Arabic, most of which are extant. He wrote treatises on many different subjects (theology, philosophy, logic, jurisprudence, medicine, astronomy etc.), as well as polemical works, didactic novels (the first works of prose in Catalan) and works of a political nature (on crusades and mission, and religious and social reform). Almost all these works are dedicated to showing how the general principles of the Art can be used in all fields of knowledge.

Lull travelled widely in order to garner support for his mission, and aside from his frequent attempts to meet with popes he was almost continually on the move, visiting France, Italy, Sicily, Cyprus and Asia

Minor, and possibly the Holy Land. With the financial support of King James of Majorca, he set up a monastery for the learning of Arabic at Miramar (c. 1276), populated by Franciscans, and he was present at the Council of Vienne in 1311 where he pushed for the establishment of language schools. Llull conducted a number of missions in North Africa (Tunis – 1293, 1314; Bougie – 1307), on one occasion spending almost half a year in prison before being expelled. Legend has it that he died in Tunis, or on the boat taking him back to Majorca. He is buried in the Church of San Francisco in Palma.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Doctrina pueril, 'Teachings for children'

DATE 1274-76

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Catalan

DESCRIPTION

This work was written for Lull's son Domènec as a program for religious and scientific education. It contains 100 chapters dedicated to a wide range of subjects, such as the 14 articles of faith, the ten commandments, the sacraments, the virtues and vices, the various religions, the seven arts, the hierarchical structure of society, and chapters dealing with the soul, life, death, the four elements, and so on.

In chapter 71, following chapters dealing with the natural law, the Old Law (Judaism) and the New Law (Christianity), Lull sets out the history of Muḥammad who is, unsurprisingly, a false prophet taught in Jerusalem by Nicholas, a heretical Christian. Muḥammad then spends 40 days and nights on a mountain (as did Moses and Jesus in the desert before him) before starting his proselytizing amongst the pagan tribes of Arabia. He promises them the material pleasure of paradise and claims that the Qur'an was revealed to him by the archangel Gabriel. Muḥammad conquers Mecca, and all those who do not adopt Islam are put to death. He lived a life of excess, had seven wives and a host of mistresses, and he bought loyalty with money. His successors conquered Christian lands in the East and West. Lull tells his son that wise Muslims do not believe that Muḥammad was a prophet, and Christians with the requisite knowledge of their language and with logical arguments would be able to convert them to Christianity.

Surprisingly, given Lull's surroundings, his sources of knowledge for Muḥammad seem to have been mainly Mozarab polemical works against Islam, the *Risāla* of al-Kindī (q.v.), and traditions known in northern Europe by people such as Peter the Venerable, the 12th-century abbot of Cluny (q.v.).

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Doctrina pueril* represents Lull's an early, pre-Art stage of Lull's theological and intellectual system. It is presented in a way that is clear and accessible, to serve for the education of children. In spite of his knowledge of Arabic and Islamic theology and philosophy, his portrayal of Islam in this works relies on the simplest and crudest polemical traditions against Muḥammad.

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Llibre del gentil i dels tres savis, 'The book of
the Gentile and the three wise men'

DATE About 1274

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Catalan

DESCRIPTION

This work presents a cordial debate between a Jew, a Christian and a Muslim before a Gentile who seeks truth. The three wise men wish to prove the truth of their respective faiths, when they meet Lady Intelligence who explains the nature and properties of the flowers of the five trees being watered by a stream in the glade. These trees contain the principles of the Art by which the three wise men agree to try to establish what the true faith is, given that they cannot do so by way of authoritative texts. The Gentile stumbles upon them and one of the three, using the flowers of the trees, proves to him that God exists and that there will be a resurrection. The Gentile is delighted with this proof but horrified to hear that only one of the three wise men will be saved. He then asks them to each present and prove their respective articles of faith so that he can choose which faith to embrace. The three wise men agree to do so in historical order, with the condition that only the Gentile can ask questions. After hearing what they each have to say, the Gentile wishes to tell them what religion he has chosen, but they ask him not to do so in order that they may continue to debate among themselves which religion is the true one. They leave the Gentile waiting for two of his colleagues he sees approaching, and they return to the town agreeing to continue their discussions so that they should all be united in one faith.

The Muslim is the last of the three to expound on his articles of faith, as his religion is historically the latest of the three. Twelve articles of faith are discussed: 1. belief in one God; 2. God as Creator; 3. Muḥammad as prophet; 4. the Qur'an as the word of God; 5. the five questions asked of Muslims by the angels in the grave; 6. all things will die except God; 7. resurrection; 8. Muḥammad's intercession on the day of judgment; 9. each person will have to account for his deeds; 10. the path leading to heaven from which the sinful will fall into hell; 11. belief in the existence of Paradise and Hell.

Llull's Muslim opens the chapter reciting a rather loose invocation of the opening verses of the Qur'an, and he seems to be somewhat eclectic in his beliefs. He teaches: that God created evil as well as good; that Muḥammad was uneducated and sinned through ignorance before he

became a prophet; much on the material pleasures of paradise, though the spiritual aspects are also mentioned; and about angels suffering death, and birds and beasts being resurrected.

SIGNIFICANCE

This work is sometimes cited in modern inter-faith discussions as one that exhibits tolerance towards the members of other faiths. This is not based on a detailed study of the work and but on a general impression, and it is mistaken when the rest of the Lullian corpus is taken into account. Lull exhibited tolerance only so that he would be able to bring about the conversion of the infidel, which was his ultimate goal.

Indeed, the *Libre del Gentil* is an exceptional work when seen in the context of medieval Christian texts about Islam (or Judaism): four educated men calmly discussing religion in a verdant grove, with no attacks on Muḥammad or the Qur'an. Works of religious disputation almost invariably end in conversion, yet here the reader does not even learn which religion the Gentile has chosen, and none of the three sages converts at all (though they all agree that they wish to find the one true law). While such tracts commonly present gross caricatures of the opponents' religions, Lull, scrupulous in his use of authentic Jewish and Muslim sources, presents a remarkably fair and accurate portrayal of each of the three religions. Lull's tract stands out as an irenic island in a sea of tempestuous disputation and polemic.

Yet the serene tone and apparent even-handedness do not stand up to close scrutiny; they comprise a strategic posture for the defense of Christianity against its rivals. The four characters in the *Libre del Gentil* all accept without question that only *one* of the three religions can lead to eternal bliss, and that the adherents of the two erroneous religions are bound for hell. And while Lull never explicitly announces which religion the Gentile chooses, the dialogue clearly indicates that it is Christianity. The Gentile rejects a number of the Saracen's arguments, and when the Saracen tries to prove that Muḥammad was a prophet, the Gentile first expresses his astonishment that God would send a prophet to the Arabs, but not to the Gentile's people, and then he affirms that God could not send a prophet to contradict another prophet, so that if (as the Qur'an affirms) Moses and Jesus were prophets, Muḥammad cannot be one as well. The Gentile makes other objections to Muslim doctrine, in particular to the sensual nature of the Muslim paradise. The Muslim even confesses that Arab philosophers reject this key doctrine, implicitly acknowledging the irrational nature of Muslim doctrine. Despite all the

polite language of respect, Lull presents Islam as fundamentally irrational. Lull himself, in several later works, affirms this interpretation of his *Libre del Gentil*; in his *Liber de fine*, for example, he recommends it for those wishing to convert the Tartars.

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man, French, Portuguese and Romanian.

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Cent noms de Déu, 'The hundred names of God'

DATE Possibly 1292

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Catalan

DESCRIPTION

This is a poem consisting of 1,009 lines arranged in three-line stanzas. According to the Muslim tradition, 99 names of God are mentioned in the Qur'an, and knowledge of the hundredth name was the knowledge of all there was to know. Llull lists 100 names of God, devoting ten lines to each, in order to counter the claim that the Qur'an is the most perfect book of divine revelation.

SIGNIFICANCE

This work offers an insight into Lull's attitude towards the relationship between Islam and Christianity.

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De fine, 'The goal'

DATE 1304

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This work is dedicated to showing how the infidel can be converted to Christianity and the Holy Land recaptured from the Muslims. Llull divides the work into three parts, of which the most important is the first, dealing with preaching to the infidel. This was the central pivot of his life's mission, and one that he viewed as just as important as fighting the Muslims. Llull proposes the setting up of four monasteries where the relevant languages (Arabic, Hebrew, the languages of the Christian schismatics, and the language of the Mongols) would be taught, and from where missionaries would depart to convert the infidel. This conversion would be effected if Llull's Art were used. This was his method for proving the truth of the Christian faith, and in the third part of the work Llull provides a list of those of his works (the framework of the Art itself and 20 other books derived from it) that could be utilized to achieve this purpose.

In the first part, Llull discusses Muslim beliefs. He concludes that their faith is close to that of the Christians (they believe that Jesus was the son of God, but not God, and acknowledge the virginity and sanctity of Mary, etc.), and that the truth of the Incarnation can be conclusively demonstrated using his own books. Llull writes that the Muslims believe in one God and mistakenly think that Christians believe in one God with three parts, or in three separate gods. The truth of the Christian faith can be conclusively demonstrated using rational proof, as he has already shown in many of his books written in Arabic and Latin.

Llull suggests that Muslims think the truth of Christianity is not provable and that this is why they are unwilling to convert. Yet with the aid of a number of his books (*De demonstration per aequiparantium*, *Ars magna praedicationis*, *Liber de Deo et Iesu Christo*, *Disputatio fidei et intellectus* and *De ascensu et descensu intellectus*) in which the truth of central Christian doctrines is demonstrated, this state of affairs can be rectified.

The one miracle that Muslims believe validates their faith is the transmission of the Qur'an from God to Muḥammad. Llull says that, while the language of the Qur'an is very ornate, its contents are false.

SIGNIFICANCE

De fine is a relatively late work which represents a significant departure from Llull's earlier works such as the *Libre del gentil*. While there his strategy was to build positive arguments for Christianity on the basis of shared truths recognized by Jews, Muslims and Christians, avoiding attacks which could offend his Muslim and Jewish interlocutors, here he

resorts to strategies he had once derided – attacks on Muḥammad and the Qur’an.

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Liber disputationis Raimundi Christiani et Homeri Saraceni, ‘The disputation between Ramon the Christian and Omar the Saracen’

DATE 1308

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This book, which was written in Pisa, was the result of what happened to Llull when he was preaching in Bougie in 1307. He was put in prison, and there he held an ongoing disputation with Omar, a Muslim who came to visit him. Omar wanted to demonstrate that the two central beliefs of Christianity, the Trinity and Incarnation, could not be proved rationally.

Llull suggested that they should put their arguments down in writing and give a copy of them to the pope and to the 'bishop of the Saracens'. Llull was later deported from Bougie, but he was shipwrecked close to Pisa and the books he had written were lost. In the monastery of San Donino, not far from Pisa, he wrote a Latin account of the disputation and sent it to the pope in Avignon.

The book is divided into three parts. The first presents the Muslim's claims against the Trinity and Incarnation based on 18 principles (seven essential conditions and 11 qualities). Following the Muslim's exposition, the Christian asks the Muslim to listen with attention to his response, just as he had listened patiently to him. The second part is divided into two sections. The first is a refutation of the Muslim's arguments based on the same principles, and a proof of the necessary existence of the Trinity and of the Incarnation. The second deals with 40 items (among them the ten commandments, seven sacraments, seven virtues and seven vices) which show the truth of Christianity and the falsehood of Islam. The third part recounts what happened to Llull in Bougie after he wrote the book in Arabic and sent it to the 'bishop of the Saracens', and how he was expelled. The book ends with some practical suggestions for missionary work amongst Muslims in the vein of those set out in the *De fine*.

SIGNIFICANCE

Like *De fine*, this work represents a shift in perspective and strategy from Llull's earlier works, in the face of his personal failures to convert Muslims through preaching and argumentation, as well as the capture of Acre by the Mamluks in 1291 and the subsequent conversion of the Mongols to Islam.

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John of Joinville

Jean de Joinville

Date of Birth Probably early 1225
Place of Birth Joinville, Champagne, France
Date of Death 1317
Place of Death Joinville

BIOGRAPHY

John of Joinville came from a relatively important family from the Champagne region of France. Born in the 1220s, he became the seneschal of the county upon his father's death in 1233, as the family had held this position for generations, and he also became squire to count Thibaut IV of Champagne in 1241, thus receiving a knightly education. Joinville's family had a strong tradition of crusading, and this may have influenced his decision to join King Louis IX's crusade in 1248 (the Seventh Crusade) at the age of 23. He remained in the East, first in Egypt and then the Holy Land, until 1254. During the course of the crusade, John became a friend of the king, which led him to gain an important position and degree of trust at Louis's court on their return to Europe. However, he declined the opportunity to go with Louis on his crusade to Tunis in 1270, in which the king died. After this, Joinville's influence at the French court declined, although he was active in the campaign to have Louis canonized. It was during this time and as part of this campaign that he started to write the *Life of Saint Louis*. John died in 1317, at an age past 90.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

La vie de Saint Louis, 'The life of St Louis'

DATE October 1309

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old French

DESCRIPTION

The Life of St Louis was written by John of Joinville following a request by Joan of Navarre, the countess of Champagne and the wife of Louis' grandson. Her purpose in commissioning the piece was to glorify Louis in two ways – for his sanctity in word, and for his sanctity in deed – and the work is split into two sections accordingly. While this was the primary goal of the work, John had several reasons of his own for wishing to write, including wanting to criticize the French monarchs after Louis for their indifference to crusading, as well as to underline his own role in Louis's crusade which, if the text is to be believed, was not inconsiderable. By the time Joinville had finished his work Joan had died, and so the text was dedicated to her son, the future French King Louis X.

The text is split into two sections. The first, 'Louis' sanctity in words' is a series of anecdotes relating pronouncements Louis made throughout his life about various matters, all of which show his piety. This is a very small part of the overall piece, running to just 12 pages in Smith's English translation. The second part, 'Louis's sanctity in deed', forms the majority of the piece, and runs to around 180 pages. This covers the period of Louis's life from 1226 until his death in 1270, although the vast majority covers the years of the Seventh Crusade and its preparations, c. 1244-54. Throughout the work, Louis's piety, strength and skill are underlined. Thus, John demonstrates in the first section how Louis managed to deal successfully with rebellious barons in the years 1226-42, followed by the

Seventh Crusade, which is described in great detail. After this, Louis's skill in governmental reforms is underlined, before a brief account of his crusade to Tunisia, death, and canonization.

While *The Life of St Louis* is not focused on Muslims, they do appear throughout, because of the considerable space the work devotes to the Seventh Crusade, in which Muslims are omnipresent. While earlier, clerical historians of the crusades made sweeping generalizations about Muslims, Joinville's chronicle is much more nuanced. While accepting the medieval Christian viewpoint that Islam was not God's religion, he presents Muslims in a wide variety of ways. They might be evil, being, amongst other things, treacherous, as many were when they killed their own sultan or when they failed to keep to treaty promises they had made; and they were cruel, as they killed many of the people they took prisoner as enemies in battle. However, they might also be good, like the Muslim who helped save Joinville's life, or the Muslim admiral who assured Joinville that God would not punish him for accidental sinning.

SIGNIFICANCE

The chronicle is particularly important in a number of ways. It was written by a knight, rather than by a member of the clergy, who usually wrote the histories of the crusades, and it thus offers a more nuanced view of the enemy, whom some regarded as evil, but some as good. Joinville recalls how one Muslim saved his life which was under threat from others, and he refers to this man as 'my Saracen'. The chronicle influenced numerous later works.

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Alex Mallett

Al-Ṭūfi

Abū l-Rabīʿ Najm al-Dīn Sulaymān ibn ʿAbd al-Qawī ibn
ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Saʿīd al-Ṭūfi l-Ṣarṣarī l-Baghdādī

DATE OF BIRTH 1271 or soon after, and not later than 1280
PLACE OF BIRTH Ṭūfā, near Baghdad
DATE OF DEATH 1316
PLACE OF DEATH Hebron

BIOGRAPHY

Najm al-Dīn Sulaymān al-Ṭūfi was a Ḥanbalī jurist, theologian, poet and man of letters. He was born in the decade following 1271 in a village called Ṭūfā, a district of Ṣarṣar near Baghdad. He studied various Islamic disciplines, first in his village, and then in Ṣarṣar and Baghdad (1292). Subsequently, he travelled to Damascus (1304-5), where he met Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328) (q.v.) and attended his study circles. Ibn Taymiyya is also reported to have studied Arabic with al-Ṭūfi.

In 1306, al-Ṭūfi left Damascus for Egypt and settled in Cairo, where he reached the height of his career, teaching at two schools, the Manṣūriyya and the Nāṣiriyya, then administered by Saʿd al-Dīn Maṣʿūd al-Baghdādī (d. 1312), the Ḥanbalite chief judge who was also one of al-Ṭūfi's teachers in Cairo. After an incident that occurred between al-Ṭūfi and the chief judge in 1311, he was punished, beaten, imprisoned for some time, banned from his teaching duties, and expelled from Cairo. Subsequently, he settled in Damietta, and then moved to Qūṣ in Upper Egypt. In 1315, he went on pilgrimage, spent the year in the Ḥijāz, and died in Hebron in 1316.

In biographical sources al-Ṭūfi is described as a controversial figure who was accused of being a Shīʿī by some of his Ḥanbalī colleagues, although he himself seems to have denied such claims. In the modern period, some authors also regard him as a crypto-Shīʿī disguised as a Ḥanbalī (Abū Zahra, *Ibn Ḥanbal*, pp. 325-26), and see a direct link between his radical theory of *maṣlaḥa* (public interest) and his adherence to Shīʿī tradition (Kawtharī, *Maqālāt*, pp. 119-21, 333; Abū Zahra, *Ibn Ḥanbal*, pp. 324-25; Stewart, *Islamic legal orthodoxy*, pp. 70-72). But many contemporary authors who have studied his work underline the fact that his writings do not contain any Shīʿī leanings (Zayd, *Al-maṣlaḥa*,

pp. 78-88; Heinrichs, 'Al-Ṭūfī', p. 588; Heinrichs, 'Nağm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī', p. 147). A thorough study of his writings, especially his theological commentary on the Qur'an, *Al-ishārāt al-ilāhiyya*, his final work, reveals no marks of Shī'ī thought, but on the contrary apparent criticism and at times even a severe reproach of Shī'ī theology. Furthermore, a thorough analysis of biographical accounts narrating the incident between al-Ṭūfī and the chief judge shows the involvement of factors such as professional rivalry and personal disagreements, rather than theological differences (Demiri, *Muslim exegesis of the Bible in medieval Cairo*, introduction).

Al-Ṭūfī's involvement with anti-Christian polemics testifies to the interreligious milieu of Mamluk Egypt, where he wrote both his commentary on the Bible (*Ta'līq*) and his apology for Islam (*Intiṣārāt*). After his imprisonment and banishment from teaching, al-Ṭūfī spent a period of time (1311-12 to 1314-15) in Qūṣ, then a predominantly Christian town. What is more, according to some sources he even lodged with a certain Christian there (al-Ṣafādī, *Aḡyān*, ii, p. 446; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, ii, pp. 154-55). His various references to encounters with Christians attest to his frequent contacts with them.

Al-Ṭūfī wrote more than 50 works in a number of Islamic disciplines, including legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth*), dogmatic theology (*'aqā'id*), qur'anic exegesis (*tafsīr*), poetry, and the science of dialectics (*jadāl*). Among his most important works are *Al-ishārāt al-ilāhiyya ilā l-mabāḥith al-uṣūliyya* (a theological commentary on the Qur'an), *'Alam al-jadhal fī 'ilm al-jadal* (a book on qur'anic dialectics), *Sharḥ arba'īn al-Nawawī* (a commentary on Nawawī's collection of 40 *ḥadīths*, where al-Ṭūfī explicates his theory of *maṣlaḥa*), *Mukhtaṣar al-Tirmidhī* (a two-volume abridgment of al-Tirmidhī's *ḥadīth* collection), *Mawā'id al-ḥays fī fawā'id Imru' al-Qays* (a literary critique of pre-Islamic Arab poetry), *Ḥallāl al-'uqad fī bayān aḥkām al-mu'taqad* (a theological treatise written during his imprisonment in Cairo), *Dar' al-qawl al-qabīḥ bi-l-taḥsīn wa-l-taqbīḥ* (a theological work on the question of *taḥsīn* and *taqbīḥ*), *Mukhtaṣar al-rawḍa* (an abridgment of Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī's [d. 1223] work in legal theory), *Rawḍat al-nāzir* (which for centuries served as a textbook at Ḥanbalī madrasas) and *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-rawḍa* (a three-volume commentary on his summary of Ibn Qudāma's work).

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- Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn ‘an asāmī al-kutub wa-l-funūn*, ed. Ş. Yaltkaya and K.R. Bilge, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1941-43, pp. 71, 219, 248, 251, 363, 756, 827, 837, 878, 1153, 1293, 1343, 1359, 1616, 1626, 1738 and 1790
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Secondary

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- M.M. Shalabī, *Ta'līl al-aḥkām. 'Ard wa-taḥlīl li-tariqat al-ta'līl wa-taṭawwurātihā fi 'uşur al-ijtihād wa-l-taqlīd*, Beirut, 1981, pp. 295-306
- M. Abū Zahra, *Mālik. Ḥayātuhu wa-aşruhu, ārā'uhu wa-fiqhuhu*, Cairo, 1952, pp. 311, 329-34
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-ta'līq 'alā al-Anājīl al-arba'a wa-l-ta'līq 'alā al-Tawrah wa-'alā ghayrihā min kutub al-anbiyā',
 'Critical commentary on the four Gospels, the
 Torah and other books of the prophets'; *Al-ta'līq
 'alā al-Anājīl*, 'Critical commentary on the Gospels'

DATE Early 1308 (before April)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Written for polemical purposes, the *Ta'līq* contains al-Ṭūfī's critical comments and annotations on the Bible. It starts with an untitled introduction in which al-Ṭūfī explains the reason behind his writing such a book on the Christian scripture and the principles he will follow. In the subsequent sections, he comments on the four Gospels, followed by commentaries on parts of Isaiah, Hosea, Jonah, Habakkuk, Malachi, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel and Genesis. His main aim is to show that Christian

teachings, such as the doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation, crucifixion and others are not even supported by Christian scriptures. The biblical passages used in Christian theology as evidence for the Christian creed are, in his understanding, either misinterpreted or forged and inserted into the text by later generations.

The Christianity al-Ṭūfī has in mind appears to be uniform. The classical Muslim categorization of Christianity under three denominations, the Melkites, Jacobites and Nestorians, does not exist in his work. His main intention is to refute doctrines such as the Trinity and Incarnation without any interest in analysing theological divergences. The problem for him is the Trinity or Incarnation *per se*, no matter how they are elucidated. Although his academic career in Islamic learning was primarily focused on legal studies, in his critique of Christianity al-Ṭūfī's attention is attracted to matters of faith (*ʿaqāʿid*), rather than those of religious law (*fiqh*). With the exception of a few remarks on ritual impurity (ed. Demiri, §§ 82-91), circumcision (ed. Demiri, §§ 344-45, 415-18 and 498-99), and the prohibition of divorce (ed. Demiri, §§ 104-8), he is predominantly interested in the study of monotheism and how errors relating to it have occurred.

As expressed in his own words, al-Ṭūfī was prompted to write his commentary because of a certain Christian refutation of Islam that was in circulation at the time, *Al-sayf al-murhaf fi l-radd ʿalā l-Muṣḥaf*, 'The whetted sword in refutation of the Scripture'. Before writing a response to this polemic, the *Intiṣārāt*, he first wants to reveal 'the deficiencies of Christianity', a task that materializes in this critical commentary on the Christian scriptures, the *Taʿlīq*. The identity of the Christian author, who was unknown to al-Ṭūfī and is named only as 'one of the Christian scholars' (ed. Demiri, § 3), seems to have been deliberately kept hidden. According to what Ṭūfī asserts, he remained anonymous among Muslims even though through time his work became widely known and turned into a subject of heated criticism (*Intiṣārāt*, ed. Qarnī, ii, pp. 613-14).

SIGNIFICANCE

With his extraordinary work, al-Ṭūfī appears to be the first Muslim theologian to have produced a commentary on both the Qur'an and the Bible. Composed specifically as a commentary, the *Taʿlīq* is intended to serve as a guidebook for Muslims who may be exposed to the Christian critique of Islam. Al-Ṭūfī may well have intended to make his voice heard amongst his Christian counterparts, but his target audience for the *Taʿlīq* seems to be primarily his fellow Muslims. Thereby he aspires to protect

his flock from what he calls 'erroneous Christian teachings' and Christian theological attacks on Islam (ed. Demiri, § 25). The significance of this work is immense, as it demonstrates how a Muslim theologian engages with the biblical text and the way in which he reads and understands it.

Al-Ṭūfī efficiently makes use of both earlier and contemporary literature, and therefore his arguments, reasoning, and critique clearly resonate with other medieval polemical writings on Christianity. Yet his unusual opinion about the angelic Jesus who appeared in human form (ed. Demiri, § 261) and his eccentric view that Jesus died a natural death and after three or 40 days was resurrected (ed. Demiri, § 152) are some of the striking differences between him and many other Muslim authors writing about Christianity in his time.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Şehid Ali Paşa 2315, fols 212v-272r (1328)

MS Istanbul, Köprülü – Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 795, fols 86v-148v (1346)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Demiri, *Muslim exegesis of the Bible in medieval Cairo*, Leiden (forthcoming)

STUDIES

Demiri, *Muslim exegesis of the Bible in medieval Cairo*

*Al-intiṣārāt al-Islāmiyya fī kashf shubah
al-Naṣrāniyya*, 'Islamic defences in uncovering
specious Christian arguments'; *Al-intiṣārāt
al-Islāmiyya*, 'Islamic defences'

DATE Completed in April 1308 and then revised by the author with minor corrections and additions until March 1309

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

After composing the *Ta'liq*, the main argument of which is that the doctrines of Christianity are not sanctioned even by its own scripture, al-Ṭūfī's second step was to write a response to *Al-sayf al-murhaf fi l-radd 'alā l-Muṣḥaf*. This materialized in the form of an apology for Islam that intends to prove the authenticity of the prophethood of Muḥammad and

the reliability of the Qur'an. It appears that this Christian polemic has not survived, though the text can easily be reconstructed on the basis of al-Ṭūfī's numerous quotations in the *Intiṣārāt* and a number of references in the *Ta'liq*.

Among the questions raised by the anonymous Christian and discussed by al-Ṭūfī are those related to the prophets and their qualities (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 244-65), the concept of prophethood, marriage, polygamy and divorce (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 268-85; ii, pp. 526-34, 622-73), miracles of the Prophet Muḥammad (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 256-58; ii, pp. 535-85), the Qur'an as Muḥammad's greatest miracle (ed. Qarnī, ii, pp. 585-618), the *mi'rāj* (ascension) of the Prophet (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 495-96), and the abrogation of earlier legal traditions (ed. Qarnī, i, p. 386; ii, pp. 620-21). There are a number of cases in which the anonymous Christian polemicist compares various aspects of the qur'anic and biblical stories of the prophets, claiming that the former contradict the latter and therefore should be dismissed. Among such cases are the stories of Mary (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 300-5), Zachariah (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 305-12), Joseph (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 312-24), Moses and the daughters of Shu'ayb (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 325-39), the creation of man (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 387-93), and the creation of the world in six days (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 504-7). Al-Ṭūfī also responds to the Christian author's critique of various qur'anic verses and Hadiths, including those concerning the nature of the angels (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 435-39), the jinn and the devils (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 420-34), life after death (Qarnī, i, pp. 469-94), the end of the world (ed. Qarnī, ii, 513-20) and many others. Other theological matters discussed are the presence of contradictions in the Gospels (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 340-42), the crucifixion (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 343-59), biblical prophecies regarding Muḥammad and his prophethood (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 375-82), alteration (*tahrīf*) of the Bible (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 383-386), anthropomorphism (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 439-48; ii, pp. 701-6), free-will and predestination (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 451-69), punishment in the hereafter (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 475-94), and a discussion on physical acts such as eating, drinking and sexual intercourse in paradise (ed. Qarnī, i, pp. 496-503).

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Intiṣārāt* is an important contribution to medieval Muslim apologetics written in response to theological objections raised by Christians. It covers a wide selection of topics discussed in this context and offers abundant material for further research in this field. As a polemicist, al-Ṭūfī speaks with a harsh tongue against his adversary, yet he does not shy away from occasional criticism of his own arguments either. In one

passage, for instance, after offering his response to the matter discussed, he explicitly remarks that 'it is not fair to direct such an argument', taking his answer back (ed, Qarnī, i, p. 353). Candid remarks such as this are also indications that his target audience primarily consisted of fellow Muslims, rather than Christians.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Istanbul, Topkapı – Ahmed III 1822, fols 1-122 (1311)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Şehid Ali Paşa 2315, fols 147-212 (1328)

MS Istanbul, Köprülü – Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 795, fols 1-85 (1346)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Intiṣārāt al-Islāmiyya wa-kashf shubah al-Naṣrāniyya, ed. A.H.A. Saqqā,
Giza, 2006

*Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Qawī al-Ṭūfī al-Şarṣarī al-Ḥanbalī, Al-intiṣārāt
al-Islāmiyya fī kashf shubah al-Naṣrāniyya*, ed. S. ibn M. al-Qarnī,
2 vols, Riyadh, 1999

*Najm al-Dīn al-Baghdādī al-Ṭūfī, Al-intiṣārāt al-Islāmiyya fī 'ilm
muqāranat al-adyān*, ed. A.Ḥ. al-Saqqā, Cairo, 1983 (a very poor
edition, reviewed by G.C. Anawati in 'Textes arabes anciens édi-
tés en Égypte au cours des années 1985 à 1987', *Mélanges. Institut
Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire* 18 (1988) 292-95)

STUDIES

Demiri, *Muslim exegesis of the Bible in medieval Cairo*

Lejla Demiri

Al-Qaysī

Muhammad al-Qaysi

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; mid-13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; possibly Tunis
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; shortly after 1310
PLACE OF DEATH	Probably Tunis

BIOGRAPHY

Almost everything that is known about the figure of Muḥammad al-Qaysī is derived from the Arabic text and Aljamiado adaptations of his work, *Kitāb miftāḥ al-dīn*. This has been extensively researched by van Koningsveld and Wiegers, and what is said here relies heavily upon their findings.

The Arabic text of al-Qaysī's work is intimately connected with events that took place in the early 14th century in north-eastern Spain, when Christian forces advanced against Muslim towns, and it refers specifically to the expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306, the persecution and dissolution of the Order of Knights Templar from 1307 onwards, and the unsuccessful siege of Granada by King James II of Aragon in 1310.

Al-Qaysī also gives details about his own experiences, saying that he was captured and held prisoner in Christian territory, and on one occasion was made to take part in a dispute with a monk about the differences between Islam and Christianity. He intimates that he composed *Kitāb miftāḥ al-dīn* while he was still a prisoner, and says that it was the work of his old age (*li-annī ṭa'antu fī l-sinn ḥīna allaftuhu*).

The points he raises and the replies he makes in this dispute with the monk suggest that he was a scholar. This is supported by his knowledge of the account of St Paul's distortion of pure Christianity in the work of the 8th-century Muslim author, Sayf ibn 'Umar al-Tamīmī (q.v.), and of the earlier Andalusī refutation of Christianity by the shadowy 'Abdallāh al-Asīr (q.v.), parts of which he quotes. He was also able to give subtly Islamicized versions of passages from the Bible, and had some facility in Arabic.

To these details in the Arabic text of the work, the Aljamiado adaptation, which was probably made a few decades later in the 14th century and shows independent knowledge of the circumstances surrounding

the refutation, adds that al-Qaysī was 'a learned man from the Zaytūna mosque in Tunis' who was held prisoner in the Catalanian town of Lérida but was later released.

These hints and details point to a scholar of North African origin, who may have taken part in Muslim resistance against the Christian advances in northern Spain, and was taken as a prisoner into Christian territory. He presumably remained there some years, until he had passed beyond fighting age, and he became recognized for his scholarly accomplishments so that he was made to join in at least one public debate about faith with a Christian. During this time, he was well informed about events in France and Spain, and must have had access to Muslim works. Sometime after 1310, he gained his release, and returned to his home in Tunis, where he died not long after.

Al-Qaysī may have written another work against Christianity, in addition to *Kitāb miḡtāḡ al-dīn*. This is a short polemic against the Trinity and the divinity of Christ, which is known to have been written by a certain Abū l-Qāsim Muḡammad ibn Sirāj ibn Muḡammad ibn Sirāj al-Qaysī. There has been disagreement over the identity of this author (see van Koningsveld and Wiegers, 'Polemical works', pp. 185-86 and n. 80), and whether he is the same person as the author of *Kitāb miḡtāḡ al-dīn*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Kitāb miḡtāḡ al-dīn, Arabic text and Aljamiado adaptation

Secondary

- P.S. van Koningsveld, 'The Islamic image of Paul and the origin of the Gospel of Barnabas', *JSAI* 20 (1996) 200-28
- P.S. van Koningsveld, 'Muslim slaves and captives in Western Europe during the late Middle Ages', *ICMR* 6 (1995) 5-24, p. 13
- G.A. Wiegers, *Islamic literature in Spanish and Aljamiado. Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), his antecedents and successors*, Leiden, 1994 (Diss., University of Leiden)
- P.S. van Koningsveld and G.A. Wiegers, 'The polemical works of Muḡammad al-Qaysī (fl. 1309) and their circulation in Arabic and Aljamiado among the Mudejars in the fourteenth century', *Al-Qanṭara* 15 (1994) 163-99
- D. Cardaillac, *La polémique anti-chrétienne du manuscrit aljamiado no. 4944 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid*, Montpellier, 1972, 2 vols (PhD diss. Université Paul-Valéry de Montpellier)

- M. Ásin Palacios, 'La polémica anticristiana de Mohámed el Caisi', *Revue Hispanique* 21 (1909) 339-61 (edition of Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad al-Qaysī's polemical work)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb miḥtāḥ al-dīn wa-l-mujādala bayna l-Naṣārā wa-l-Muslimīn min qawl al-anbiyā' wa-l-mursalīn wa-l-ʿulamā' al-rāshidīn alladhīna qara'ū l-Anājīl;
Kitāb miḥtāḥ al-dīn, 'The key of religion or the disputation between the Christians and Muslims from the sayings of the prophets, those who have been sent and the rightly-guided scholars who have read the Gospels'

DATE 1310 or soon after

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work occupies about 40 pages in the one manuscript in which it is preserved. Van Koningsveld and Wieggers divide it into three parts, the first a scriptural justification for the coming of Muḥammad and his revelation, the second an account of armed confrontation between Christians and Muslims in Spain in the first decade of the 14th century, and the third a personal reflection by the author on these events, together with details of his experiences as a prisoner.

The first part (pp. 49-68) begins with quotations from the Old Testament which, as it claims, foretell Islam and Muḥammad, among them the familiar passage from Isaiah 21:7 that refers to the rider on the ass and the rider on the camel, identified as Jesus and Muḥammad. It goes on to describe how the Christians were split into doctrinally different groups through the machinations of Paul, as recounted by Sayf ibn ʿUmar (q.v.), and quotes verses from the Gospels to prove that there was originally no claim that Christ was divine. These verses have been slightly altered to emphasize their agreement with Islam: thus, the Lord's Prayer in Matthew 6 begins with 'Our Lord who is in heaven' not 'Our Father', while the heavenly voice that is heard after Jesus' baptism in Mark declares, 'You are my beloved prophet' rather than 'beloved Son'. The main point

that Christianity has lost its original purity is further underlined by examples of inconsistencies between the Gospels.

The second part (pp. 68-79) describes the suppression of the Order of the Temple, whose members rejected the divinity of Christ and believed in the unity of God. Their wealth and independent status incurred jealousy within the Church, and an enquiry made into them discovered that their leader had converted to Islam. The pope concealed this news, but when the king of France heard what the leader of the Templars said about Christian errors, he seized their possessions, expelled the Jews from France, and gathered a force to expel the Muslims from Spain, lest any of them should cause the downfall of the Church publicizing the truth. This attack failed, and eventually peace was agreed.

The third part (pp. 79-90) tells how the author, a prisoner of the Christians, wanted to write about what he had seen and heard of these events. It goes on to say that he was made to debate about matters of theological disagreement with a monk. This man appears to have been well informed about Islam and to have read the Qur'an, but al-Qaysi's own subtle arguments incense him and cause the ruler before whom the debate is held to dismiss them both from his presence. They continue in a local mosque, and al-Qaysi responds to the monk's questioning with a quotation from his predecessor 'Abdallāh al-Asīr (q.v.), which in his mind settles the matter of the sincerity of Muḥammad and supremacy of Islam.

SIGNIFICANCE

Kitāb miftāḥ al-dīn continues many of the themes from earlier polemical works, notably the contention that Christianity is a distorted form of Jesus' original teaching, which emphasized strict monotheism and said nothing about his own divinity, and that the Bible preserves some of his true teachings and also predictions of the coming of Islam, despite being corrupt and written by human authors. It ingeniously interprets events from al-Qaysi's own time in line with this, giving the French king the motivation of wishing to keep the truth about the errors of Christianity (which he evidently knows) suppressed by expelling the Templars, Jews and Muslims, all of whom know it.

The work sees events all contributing towards the triumph of Islam, though as van Koningsveld and Wiegers 'Polemical works', pp. 193-94, point out, it is one among relatively few examples of anti-Christian polemic in Arabic written in Christian Spain. Such works began to appear when the *Reconquista* was beginning to force Islam onto the defensive,

and this marks a third stage, when Christian missionary activities compelled Muslims to respond in order to preserve some sense of their own identity.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Algiers, National Library – 1557, pp. 49-90 (1481; Arabic text)
For details of the five MSS containing all or part of the Aljamiado adaptation, see van Koningsveld and Wiegers, 'Polemical works', pp. 186-88.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

E. Lévi Provençal, 'Un "zayâl" hispanique sur l'expédition aragonaise de 1309 contre Alméria', *Al-Andalus* 6 (1941) 377-99 (edition of the poem on the Christian advances into areas of Muslim Spain in 1309-10 that forms the conclusion of the second part of the work, pp. 74-79)

Van Koningsveld and Wiegers are preparing an edition and trans. of the whole work.

STUDIES

Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, 'Polemical works', pp. 165-83

David Thomas

Ibn ʿIḏhārī al-Marrākushī

Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad
ibn ʿIḏhārī al-Marrākushī

DATE OF BIRTH Second half of the 13th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Maghreb
DATE OF DEATH 1312-13 or after
PLACE OF DEATH Maghreb

BIOGRAPHY

Very little is known about Ibn ʿIḏhārī's life, let alone about how he acquired his vast knowledge of the history of both the eastern and western regions of the Islamic world, a subject on which he wrote two books, the one dealing with the east (*Al-bayān al-mushriq*) being lost. From his extant chronicle, *Al-bayān al-mughrib*, we learn that he was still writing it in 1312-13. We also know that for an unspecified period of time he was the military commander (*qā'id*) of the city of Fez.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Ibn ʿIḏhārī's *Al-bayān al-mughrib*

Secondary

J. Bosch Vilá, art. 'Ibn ʿIḏhārī', in *EL2*

Introductory studies to the editions and translations of the *Bayān* mentioned below

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Al-bayān al-mughrib fī [ikhtiṣār] akhbār mulūk
al-Andalus wa-l-Maghrib*, 'The surpassing
explanation, on the [summary of the] history of
the kings of al-Andalus and the Maghreb'

DATE Uncertain; around 1312-13

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This chronicle, which has not been preserved in its complete form, covers the period starting with the conquest of Egypt in 640-41 and ending with the fall of the Almohads. The last events to which it refers took place in 1312-13, which may mark the time at which Ibn 'Idhārī left off writing. It is divided into three parts. The first offers an account of the different dynasties and rules established over Ifrīqiya, the Maghreb and al-Andalus until the Almohads seized Mahdiyya in 1205-6; the second deals with the history of al-Andalus until the end of the taifa period; and the third is dedicated to Almoravid and Almohad rule over al-Andalus and the Maghreb until the capture of Marrakesh by the Marīnids in 1269. It seems that the third part originally also included the history of the Ḥafṣid, Hūdid, Naṣrid and Marīnid dynasties, though these chapters have not come down.

In the sections of the *Bayān* that deal with the period between the conquest of al-Andalus and the death of the Umayyad Caliph al-Ḥakam II in 976, mentions of Christians are only scattered, reflecting the slight nature of their political, social and religious relevance, but in the 11th century things start to change dramatically. Christians become more prominent in the *Bayān* at the same time as they start to present a serious military challenge to the Muslims, whose internal divisions they are well prepared to use to their own benefit. This capacity, in its turn, results in an increasing deterioration of the Muslims' political, military and economic position.

Christians mainly appear as political or military foes, and they are usually referred to in negative terms. But at the same time there are repeated mentions of Christian women as concubine mothers of the Cordovan rulers. For example, Ḥabīyya, a Christian (*Rūmīyya*) slave, was the mother of Sulaymān al-Musta'īn, and Ghāya, the mother of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, al-Mustaẓhir bi-llāh (1023-24) (*Bayān-Taifas*, pp. 91, 135). Among these women is 'Abda, the wife of the vizier al-Manṣūr and mother of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī 'Āmir (d. 1009), who was the daughter of the Christian King Sancho of Navarre. Ibn 'Idhārī says that 'Abd al-Raḥmān looked so much like his grandfather that 'Abda decided to call him 'Sanchuelo', with the effect that he was always cunning in his dealings with the Caliph Hishām II (*Bayān-Taifas*, pp. 38, 42).

In the Almohad part of the work, Christians appear for the most part as infidels and hypocrites who must be resisted in order to protect Islam, e.g. in the campaign against Beja (*Bayān-Muwaḥḥidīn*, pp. 105-8). As might be expected, Muslim victories over the Christians are spoken

up, e.g. the battle of Alarcos (al-Ark) in July 1195 (*Bayān-Muwaḥḥidīn*, pp. 218-21), and the victory over a group of Christians from Guadix (*Bayān-Muwaḥḥidīn*, pp. 101-2).

Ibn ʿIdhārī sharply criticizes the Almohad practice of engaging Christians in the army (*Bayān-Muwaḥḥidīn*, p. 315), such as the 500 Christian soldiers recruited by al-Maʿmūn to fight against his nephew, al-Nāṣir (*Bayān-Muwaḥḥidīn*, p. 284), and of allowing them their own commanders (*Bayān-Muwaḥḥidīn*, pp. 413-14, 428-30, 436, 437). Sometimes, these soldiers converted to Islam, but they were always a risk, as when the Christian force of Arkam ibn Mardanīsh in Sijilmasa deserted and sided with their fellow-Christians (*Bayān-Muwaḥḥidīn*, p. 324).

Throughout the history, Christians are referred to by the familiar terms *Naṣārā* ('Nazarenes'), *Rūm* ('Romans'), and *Ifrānj* ('Franks'), but also by pejorative terms such as *'ilj* ('unbeliever'), *al-la'īn* ('the damned'), *kuffār* ('infidels'), *mushrikūn* ('polytheists') and *ṭāghiyya* ('tyrants').

SIGNIFICANCE

Given that the *Bayān* covers a wide chronological span and that its author provides data not found in other extant similar chronicles, at times drawing from works now lost, it is one of the most important sources for the history of al-Andalus and the medieval Islamic West. This relevance extends to the history of its Christian population, especially the progress of the Christian military advance during the 12th and 13th centuries.

Through the several volumes of the *Bayān* it is possible to observe Christians undergoing a process of transformation from a group subjected to the Muslim conquerors of the Iberian peninsula to an increasingly powerful adversary that after the collapse of the caliphate and the split of al-Andalus into different political entities – the taifas – becomes a serious enemy committed to take hold of the entire peninsula. Christians are prevented from achieving this goal only temporarily from the end of the 11th century to the first quarter of the 13th century by the Almoravid and Almohad conquests, and then by the emergence of the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada, which, notwithstanding its political fragility, resisted for another two centuries.

MANUSCRIPTS

The incomplete MSS that contain the first two parts were already known in the 19th century. No complete list is available, but see A. Huici, *Al-bayān al-mughrib fī ikhtišār mulūk al-Andalus wa-l-Maghrib*, III. *Los Almohades*, Tetouan, 1953-54, pp. vii-xi.

Manuscripts containing most of the third part have come to light more recently:

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- MS Rabat, al-Maktaba al-Ḥasaniyya – 336, 459 pages (1751)
- MS Copenhagen, Danish Royal Library – 76 (18th century)
- MS Madrid, National Library – 5351 (18th century)
- MS Rabat, al-Maktaba al-Āmma – 200 *qaf*, 232 pages (date unknown)
- MS, Fez, Private collection of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥājj ibn 'Abd al-Kabīr al-Kattānī (not dated)

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Delfina Serrano Ruano

Testament of our Lord (on the invasions of the Mongols)

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; probably late 13th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; Egypt or the Levant
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; early to mid-14th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; Egypt or the Levant

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known of the author 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

Waṣīyyat rabbinā Yasū‘ al-Masīḥ li-tilmīdihī Buṭrus wa-huwa ḥādīruhu lammā kāna ṣā‘id ilā l-samā’ ‘alā Jabal al-Zaytūn al-muqaddas, ‘The testament of our Lord Jesus Christ to his disciple Peter, who was in his presence when he was ascending to heaven on the holy Mount of Olives’

DATE Approximately 1312-13

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This historical apocalypse, known from two *karshūnī* MSS (its title is given in MS Paris, BNF – Syr. 232; it is also known as ‘The testament of our Lord on the invasions of the Mongols’, ‘The testament of our Lord Jesus Christ to his disciple Peter’ ‘Arabic testament of our Lord’ and *Test Dom*), deals with the vicissitudes of a series of early Mamluk rulers, focusing

on their conflicts with the last crusader states and the Mongols in the Levant. It is presented as a prophecy by Jesus Christ to the Apostle Peter, and was therefore classed by Georg Graf as belonging to the tradition of the pseudo-Clementine *Book of scrolls* (*Kitāb al-majāll*), also known as the *Apocalypse of Peter* – with the understanding that Clement has been eliminated as a mediator (Graf, *GCAL* i, p. 292). At the same time, it is closely related to markedly Coptic miaphysite apocalyptic works such as the *Letter of Pisentius* (*CMR* 2, pp. 266-74) and the *Prophecy of Daniel to Athanasius* (*CMR* 3, pp. 290-96) (see below).

Christ's speech opens by sketching a terrible picture of the sufferings of the Christians of the eighth generation (*jīl*), when people are 'hated for their faith and their Christianity', and then calls for perseverance in the faith with the promise that the steadfast will meet no difficulty at the Final Judgment.

This brief introduction is followed by a great number of *ex eventu* prophecies of a political nature, which, compared with those commonly found in historical apocalypses, are remarkably explicit. Thus, when referring to rulers and their reigns, the prophecies follow the typical style of the *Apocalypse of Peter* (e.g., '... a white-haired *amīr* whose name begins with Q...'), but, unlike the latter text, the nearly always include a correct interpretation ('that is, Qalāwūn'); moreover, most of the 'prophesied' events are also easily recognizable. After a reference to the rise to power of the Mamluks, who 'from slaves will become sultans, but ones who do not know their fathers or mothers', the text narrates the rise of the Mongol ruler Hülegü (r. 1256-65) and the Syrian campaign of his general Kitbughā Noyan, ending in the famous defeat by the Mamluk army at 'Ayn Jālūt in 1260. The *Testament* then shifts its attention to the Mamluks again, and what follows are descriptions of the reigns of a series of Baḥrī Mamluk sultans, from Quṭuz (r. 1259-60) up to and including al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (r. 1293-94, 1299-1309, 1310-41). The text focuses on their endemic power struggles and their many military campaigns, most often against the 'light-colored people (*banū al-aṣfar*), i.e., the Franks (*al-firanj*)' in Syria-Palestine.

Twice this gives rise to rather detailed attention to the position of the Christians, once in connection with a description of Baybars' destruction of Antioch in 1269, and a second time following an account of Khalīl's bloody capture of Acre in 1291. In both cases, there is much emphasis on the burden of taxation, notably concerning the *jawālī*-tax (poll tax), but perhaps the most interesting element related to the topic of Christian-Muslim relations is the reference, in the passage on Baybars, to Muslim

proselytism among Christians: 'O Peter . . . they will spend night and day multiplying words of cunning against your people in the hope of making them renounce their baptism and the doctrine of truth (*madhhab al-ḥaqq*).'

The Mamluk sultan with whom the *Testament* is concerned the most is Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn. The prophecies *ex eventu* concerning his reign are for the greater part clear and deal with events from his second period of rule (1299-1309), central to which was the renewed Mongol threat: it narrates the Mamluks' defeat by the Īlkhānid Ghāzān (r. 1295-1304) and his various allies at the Battle of Wādī al-Khāzindār near Homs in 1299, and their eventual victory at the Battle of Shaqḥab near Damascus in 1303. However, the last clearly recognizable historical events referred to in the text are al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's deposition and exile, by his Mamluk enemies, to the fortress of al-Karak in 1309, his return to power in 1310, and his subsequent assassination of his main opponents. The prophecies then rapidly become rather vague, and, with the description of Muḥammad's untimely death at the hands of a fresh team of conspiring emirs, they definitively assume a fictitious character.

The sultan appointed in al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's place, who will be 'a good man' (*raḡul ṣāliḥ*) whose name begins with 'ayn or mīm, will reign for 'a short week' and then go to Baghdad, ruling it for 'three hours of a day', after which he will be killed. Seven sultans will succeed him, and these also will all be killed before the Georgians (*al-Kurj*) will eventually conquer Baghdad and rule it.

At that moment, 'because of the magnitude of their fornication, their oppression, their injustice, and the abomination of their male-to-male sexual intercourse (*mujāma'at al-dhukūr*)', God shall take the victory away from 'the sons of Ishmael'. From here until the end, roughly half of the text, which mainly consists of a version of the legend of the Last Roman Emperor, the *Testament of our Lord* is very similar to the Copto-Arabic *Prophecy of Daniel to Athanasius*, which was probably composed around 1100; the *Testament* is either directly dependent upon this work or shares a common *Vorlage* with it (see *CMR* 3, p. 294). First, 'the sons of Hagar' destroy themselves at the river Euphrates, after which the king of the Romans (*al-Rūm*), called 'lion cub' and 'Constantine', meets with the king of Ethiopia (at first kept company by the king of the Nubians) in Miṣr, where a divine ordeal is arranged in order to establish who has the True Faith. The miaphysite faith triumphs, but when the two kings travel to Jerusalem together, it is the Roman emperor who will be crowned

with the heavenly crown. Ten other Roman kings will rule after him, the tenth of whom will also be called Constantine, and the earth will experience its last period of bliss and happiness. The *Testament* ends with the story of an 'unbelieving king' who conspires with Satan, followed by a version of the Antichrist legend, a description of the Last Judgment, and a final exhortation to repentance and the confession of sins.

The *Testament of our Lord* cannot have been composed much later than 1310, the year of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's definitive return to power, which is the last historical event described without ambiguity. This date is confirmed by a prophecy earlier on in the text that 'from the loins' of Hülegü seven Tatar (*Tatar*) kings will rule, which brings us to the Īlkhānid ruler Öljeytü, who died in 1316. Furthermore, while the description of a war in Syria between al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and a coalition of various military forces, won by the former but nonetheless leading up to his violent death at home, is too vague to be identified beyond all doubt with particular events, it is possible that the work dates from around 712 AH (1312/13). This was a critical year, especially for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who saw his last Turkish king-maker enemies flee from Syria to the Īlkhānid court, Öljeytü conduct the last (abortive) Mongol invasion into Mamluk territory, and European powers prepare for a crusade (which never materialized). Evidently, the author committed his speculations to paper in a moment when the ultimate outcome of all this was still uncertain.

That author was clearly a miaphysite Christian, but it is less obvious where he came from and where he wrote the work, and one may need to keep an eye open to various possibilities. Whereas, in the opinion of the present author, the *Apocalypse of Peter* is rather unmarked where religious denomination and origin is concerned, so that little is to be learned from the *Testament's* dependence on this work, the situation for that unknown other literary influence, from which our author took the whole second part of text, is decidedly different: this particular *Vorlage* (perhaps the *Prophecy of Daniel to Athanasius* itself) is thoroughly Coptic, as manifest in the importance given to the kings of Ethiopia and Nubia. This, and the fact that the *Testament* describes the history of the Baḥrī Mamluk sultans, who reigned from Cairo, might suggest that the work was composed in Egypt. At the same time, the evidence that instead suggests a link with the Levant seems of overriding importance. The whole emphasis of the historical part of the work is very much on events and situations in Syria-Palestine (Mongol invasions, war with crusaders), which shows even in the smallest details; for example, in the description of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's return to power, special mention

is made of the leader of the Banū Muhanna, who dwelled in Syria and Palestine and whose significance was merely regional. Moreover, when the focus is on the plight of Christians, it seems always to be with regard to those living in the Levant without any hint of Egypt whatsoever. It seems therefore more likely that the work was composed by a member of a local Levantine Christian community, notably from one of the coastal cities repeatedly mentioned, such as Acre or Tripoli, or perhaps Antioch, which is singled out in the text as the Apostle Peter's city and which is known for its strong miaphysite tradition.

The *Testament's* dependence on the apocalyptic tradition of the Copts does not present a problem for this hypothesis. Contacts between (miaphysite) Christians from the Levant and Egypt were many, close, and varied in the Mamluk period, not the least because both regions belonged to the same political orbit, which may also have facilitated circulation of literary texts and motifs. Particularly attractive is the idea of the Monastery of the Syrians in the Wādī l-Naṣṣrīn as intermediary; it is even possible that the text is from the pen of a Levantine Christian who worked there, or some other place in Egypt that served as a place of refuge for Christians fleeing before the western advance of the Mongols. Conversely, we cannot exclude the possibility that the work was instead composed by a Copt with a special interest in the Levant, perhaps because he, or a close ancestor, had migrated there.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Testament of our Lord* is a witness to attempts by Eastern Christians to find meaning and divine purpose in history, notably the turbulent events that shook the Levant in the second part of the 13th and early 14th centuries, including the fall of the last crusader states, the Mongol invasions, and internal Mamluk political strife.

In addition, with its mixed Levantine concerns and Coptic pedigree, the *Testament* gives quite remarkable evidence for the cultural and religious ties between the miaphysite Christian communities of Syria-Palestine and of Egypt, and if the *Testament* was indeed composed in the former region, then it is an interesting case of the travelling of literary texts and motifs, one that represents the homecoming, after a long Egyptian journey (see e.g. *CMR* 2, pp. 271, 748), of the originally Syrian legend of the Last Roman Emperor (cf. the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*).

While certainly not the most recent (*pace* Graf, *GCAL* i, p. 292), the *Testament of our Lord* is a late example of Eastern Christian apocalyptic, which shows the continuing usefulness of the apocalyptic genre to

Christians seeking to come to terms with difficult situations in a predominantly Muslim society.

At the same time, the text does not always follow apocalyptic literary convention. Together with the *Prophecy of Daniel to Athanasius* and the *Prophecies and exhortations of Shenute* (see *CMR* 5), it represents a late development in Eastern Christian apocalyptic tradition characterized by remarkably clear and unsterotypical prophecies *ex eventu* – which lends the text importance as a witness to historical events.

Representative of another, parallel apocalyptic trend, and of particular interest to the topic of Christian-Muslim relations, is the prophecy about the eschatological ruler succeeding al-Nāṣir Muḥammad: ‘He will be a good man, and the beginning of his name will be *‘ayn* or *mīm*. He will love the knowledge (*‘ilm*) and the experience (*khibra*) of all the doctrines (*madhāhib*), and he will suppress all iniquities and injustice’. In violation of the traditional apocalyptic world view that ‘the other’ is intrinsically evil, the message of this key passage in the *Testament of our Lord* seems to be that earthly salvation comes from whoever brings peace and justice, and this can very well be an ‘Alī or a Muḥammad.

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Jos van Lent

‘Abdisho‘ of Nisibis

‘Abdisho‘ bar Brikhā, ‘Abdisho‘ Ṣūbāwī; Ebediesus (Sobensis)

DATE OF BIRTH	Around the middle of the 13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	Beginning of November 1318
PLACE OF DEATH	Probably Nisibis

BIOGRAPHY

‘Abdisho‘ belonged to the East-Syrian (‘Nestorian’) community. Little is known about his early years. His surname Bar Brikhā, ‘son of the blessed one’, seems to be an honorific name and not an indication of his family or of the place where he was born or grew up. Though he undoubtedly followed the classical career of a future bishop and entered the monastic life, the suggestion made by P. Varghese (*Mar Oudisho*, 1995/6, p. 355) that he was born in Gāzartā, and spent his first monastic years in the famous nearby monastery of Mar Aḥā and Mar Yoḥannon, cannot be proved.

According to a Syriac note in the ‘Nestorian’ MS 159 preserved in the Monastery of St Mark in Jerusalem, he was already a bishop in 1279/80. Around 1285, he was the incumbent of the see of Sinjār (Syriac, Shighār) and Bēt Arbāyē, the region west of Mosul, but was soon, between 1285 and 1291, promoted to the more prestigious metropolitan see of Nisibis (Syriac, Ṣobā, hence his surname Ṣūbāwī). As the ‘Metropolitan of Nisibis and Armenia’, he had responsibility for a large number of suffragan dioceses extending over a wide area in northern Mesopotamia and east of the Tigris, all situated within Mongol territory.

At the end of his life, he participated in the elective Synod of Patriarch Timothy II in Arbela (modern Irbil) in February 1318, and attended the Council convened by the new patriarch. A second note in Arabic in MS St Mark’s Monastery 159 informs us that he died a few months later, at the beginning of November in the same year.

‘Abdisho‘ was a prolific author in both Syriac and Arabic. A list (incomplete) of his writings can be found in the *Catalogue of ecclesiastical writers*, a literary history of the authors of the Church of the East composed by himself, in which he also briefly describes his own literary

production. This list has, however, to be complemented by information gleaned from other sources.

Some of his writings are internal ecclesiastical or Christian documents, such as liturgical compositions, biblical commentaries or refutations of heresies. However, a number of these show the author's acquaintance with Islamic culture or even have an apologetic twist. For example, in a sermon addressed to the faithful of his community and composed in Arabic rhymed prose (*saj'*), in imitation of the style and language of the *khuṭbas* of the Muslim Friday communal prayer, 'Abdisho' mentions a number of themes, such as the veracity of the Christian message being indicated by Christ's miracles, and classical Trinitarian triads, which are found in earlier Christian apologetic texts explicitly addressed to Muslims (see the edition of this sermon in Cheiko, *Vingt traités*).

His *Pardaysā da-Dēn* ('Paradise of Eden'), a thoroughly theological work of Christian content and written in Syriac, was composed in imitation of the famous *Maqāmāt* ('Assemblies') of al-Ḥarīrī, though changing the picaresque character of the original, which was meant not only to edify but also to entertain people, into a more serious religious treatise. In his introduction to the *Pardaysa*, he explains that the Patriarch Yahbalāhā III had ordered him to compose a work that would prove that Syriac was as refined as Arabic. In 'Abdisho's eyes, the only way to do this was by creating a Syriac imitation of al-Ḥarīrī's popular *Maqāmāt*, since the Arabs considered this work to be the utmost proof of the elegance of their language.

A similar idea is found in his introduction to one of his canonical writings, the *Ṭukkās dinē w-namusē 'edtānāyē* ('Order of ecclesiastical laws and regulations'), where he states that he composed this work in answer to some Muslims (literally, 'doctors of those outside the Church') who had ridiculed Christians for not possessing collections of law comparable to their own juridical treatises (Vosté, 'Ordo iudiciorum ecclesiasticorum collectus', p. 24).

Another example of his admiration for Islamic culture is his Arabic translation of the liturgical Gospel lectionary, which he composed in *saj'*, the rhymed prose characteristic of large parts of the Qur'an. Though we may suppose that Christians in this period were accustomed to the use of *saj'* on solemn occasions and did not necessarily interpret its use as a way of emulating Muslim preachers, from 'Abdisho's introduction to this translation, which contains many allusions to the Qur'an, it may be inferred that he composed it as a way of showing that the Muslim claim

to the inimitability of their scripture (*i'jāz*) was unfounded. Though attempts at a deconstruction of this Islamic dogma had already been made by earlier Christian apologetic authors, such as 'Abd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī (q.v.), the originality of 'Abdisho's endeavor is that he tries to prove his argument by making a translation in *saj'* of the Christian scripture itself.

'Abdisho' is often compared to the Syrian Orthodox bishop and scholar Gregory Barhebraeus (q.v.), who lived in the same period. Though both men, by their reception of Islamic culture, are genuine representatives of the intellectual renewal within Syrian Christian circles that is sometimes designated as a Syriac renaissance, 'Abdisho's approach seems more characterized by apologetic motives than is the case with Barhebraeus.

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Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ktābā d-marganitā, 'The book of the pearl'

DATE November 1298

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Syriac

DESCRIPTION

At first sight, the *Ktābā d-marganitā* seems an internal Christian theological work, dealing with the traditional issues of East Syrian doctrine and ecclesiastical practice. In the introduction, however, the author explains that the pearl mentioned in the title is the pearl of the truth of Christianity in general, apparently not just of the truth of his own community, the Church of the East. It would appear that he intends to provide the Christian faithful with a short handbook as a weapon against possible attacks by non-Christians. The fact that these non-Christians are Muslims becomes clear from a brief passage in a chapter entitled *On the truth of Christianity*, in which he analyzes the motives for changing one's religion. Though he nowhere explicitly mentions Islam, his analysis strongly resembles the ideas developed by other Christian authors such as Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (q.v.) and Abū Rā'īṭa (q.v.) when reflecting on the reasons why Christians convert to Islam.

The chapter on the Trinity is explicitly addressed to Muslims, called *ḥanpē* ('pagans'), and Jews, 'who vituperate the truth of the Catholic Church'. 'Abdisho' defends the tri-unity of God with the traditional philosophical triad of Intellect (*hawnā*), Wisdom and Life, which, in analogy with the threefold energy of the intellectual soul, constitute a unity. He also uses the classical image of the disc, the radiance and the heat constituting the one sun, already found in the works of other East Syrian theologians.

An implicit reference to Islamic eschatological representations may be found in the last chapter, on resurrection, where the author explains that the bliss of everlasting life is not corporeal and does not consist of eating, drinking or marriage, a classical theme that had been developed by many earlier authors.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of this work is that it shows that Islam partly determined the theological agenda, even in the case of intra-Christian works. It is interesting to see that an author of the 13th century still considers the motives for converting to Islam that had been elaborated by theologians of the 9th century as valid for the period in which he lives. However, the way in which he explains the Trinity or life in paradise lacks any originality.

MANUSCRIPTS

See Baumstark, *Geschichte*, p. 324.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

The Book of marganitha (the pearl) on the truth of Christianity written by Mar O'Dishoo, metropolitan of Suwa (Nisibin) and Armenia, Ernakulam, 1965 (trans. by Patriarch Eshai Shimun XXIII)

Y. Abraham (ed.), *Ktābā d-marganitā*, New York, 1916 (trans. into modern Syriac).

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'Domini Ebediesu Metropolitae Sobae et Armeniae Liber margaritae de veritate christiana religionis', in A. Mai, *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio X*, Rome, 1838, pp. 317-66 (Syriac text with Latin trans., both with lacunae)

Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis* iii.1, pp. 352-60 (Syriac extracts with Latin trans.)

STUDIES

Baumstark, *Geschichte*, p. 324

Creed

DATE 7 December 1298

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This brief untitled creed can be divided into two sections. The first, on the Trinity, presents the faith 'of the Christians' in God's tri-unity. The fact that, as in the *Ktābā d-marganitā*, the author speaks of the Christians in general, and not only of his own community, may imply that his work was addressed to non-Christians, in particular to Muslims. Samir remarks that it is no coincidence that the term *wāḥid* is one of the key terms in this creed and testifies to its dialogical character (Samir, *Profession*, p. 436), though it must be noted that this term mostly occurs in the second part, on Christology, and hence is not pertinent in the context of discussions with Muslims. The author summarizes the Trinity as defining God as single on account of his essence (*dhāt*), and triple on account of his attributes (*ṣifāt*).

The second part, on the Incarnation, is a refutation of the Christology of the 'Jacobites' and the 'Melkites' and proves the truth of the Christology of 'Abdisho's own East Syrian community. This at first sight intra-Christian discussion may also refer to the general context of discussions

between East Syrians and Muslims, where the East Syrians tried to present their Christology as the most acceptable in Muslim eyes, but this is not mentioned explicitly by the author.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of this text for Muslim-Christian relations is limited on account of the brevity of the argumentation and the lack of originality in the author's approach to Trinity and Incarnation.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Birmingham, University Library – Mingana Syr. 212 (1850)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

S.K. Samir, 'Une profession de foi de 'Abdišu' de Nisibe', in E. Carr et al. (eds), *Eulogēma. Studies in honor of Robert Taft SJ (Studia Anselmiana 110)*, Rome, 1993, 427-51

STUDIES

Samir, 'Une profession de foi'
Graf, GCAL ii, p. 216

*Kitāb farā'id al-qawā'id fī uṣūl al-dīn
wa-l-'aḳā'id*, 'The book of the pearls of useful
matters concerning the fundamental doctrines
of religion'

DATE 1313

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This still unedited text closely resembles 'Abdisho's *Uṣūl-al-dīn*. Like the latter, it contains a dogmatic and a practical part. The East-Syrian priest Ṣalība ibn Yuḥannā l-Mawṣīlī gives a description of this treatise (with some extracts) in his (only partly edited) theological encyclopedia *Aṣfār al-asrār*, composed in 1332.

In the introduction, 'Abdisho' refers to Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, requesting his readers not to judge an accused person before thoroughly examining his case. He then explains the aim of this work: to prove that Christians are not guilty of 'polytheism' (*shirk*) and impiety (*kufṛ*), and to convince his readers of the truth of the main important Christian dogmas such as the Trinity and the divinity of Christ, and the legitimacy of

Christian practices such as taking the cross as the *qibla* of their prayer (cf. Landron, *Attitudes nestoriennes*, p. 138).

The first chapter consists of five introductions on the truth of Christianity, the coming of Christ and the Gospel. These introductions analyze the pure motives for accepting Christianity, such as miracles and the rationality of the Christian religion, as well as the absence of bad motives such as greed or the possibility of improving one's situation. It is followed by a paragraph on the symbolic language and anthropomorphisms used not only by Christians, but also by Jews and Muslims. The author then sets out an elaborate profession of faith and a systematic presentation of the Trinity, the wording of which is strongly colored by references to Islamic religious vocabulary and themes, and the philosophical terminology found in previous Christian apologetic texts. His focus is on the Trinity of the essential attributes of existence (*wujūd*), word (*kalima*) and life taught by Christ in the Gospel, which correspond to the Christian belief in three persons (*aqānīm*). He then moves on to a discussion about the mode of union between Christ's divinity and humanity and explains the non-literal interpretation of the term 'son'. In this context, 'Abdisho' refers to the famous verse of the Qur'ān (Q 4:171) that refers to Jesus as son of Mary, word of God and a spirit from him.

The work has a long paragraph on the Cross, which is comparable to the section on the same subject in *Uṣūl al-dīn*.

According to the description by the priest Ṣalībā, the *Farā'id* also originally contained chapters on marriage and the impossibility of divorce for Christians (Landron, *Attitudes nestoriennes*, p. 138).

SIGNIFICANCE

The two accessible manuscripts of this work are both incomplete and contain less than what one would expect on the basis of the description given by Ṣalībā ibn Yuḥanna. On the basis of our defective knowledge, it is difficult to determine the work's significance. It seems to be an important apologetic treatise addressed to Muslims, in which the author tries to present the Christian faith in a terminology and in categories understandable to them.

Apart from the reference to al-Ghazālī in the introduction, which seems original, this work appears to rely on earlier apologetic authors – for example, in its presentation of the motives for accepting a religion. But this provisional judgment can only be confirmed by a more detailed study based on both available manuscripts and the fragments preserved in the *Asfār al-asrār*, as well as on a comparison with 'Abdisho's *Uṣūl al-dīn* and the *Book of the pearl*.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 206 (1371)

MS Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph – Ar. 562 (1563; of bad quality)

Sbath, *Fihris* p. 236 (from a private collection and maybe lost)

Extracts can be found in the MSS of the *Kitāb asfār al-asrār* of Ṣalība ibn Yuḥannā l-Mawṣilī; for these MSS, see Landron, *Attitudes nestoriennes*, p. 141.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES

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Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis* iii.1, p. 360

Shāh marwārīd, 'The king of the pearls'

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work is no longer extant. 'Abdisho' refers to it in his *Catalogue of books* and in the preface to his *Paradise of Eden* and mentions that he wrote it in Arabic. On account of its title, *Shāh marwārīd*, it cannot be excluded that this work is an Arabic translation or reworking of the Syriac *Ktābā d-marganītā* discussed above. This assumption is confirmed by the note in MS St Mark's Monastery 159 (mentioned above), which refers to 'the book of *Shāh marwārīd* or of the pearl (*marganītā*) in the Arabic language' (cf. Kaufhold, *Introduction*, p. xiii). This identification can only be tentative, however, because there is also an extant Arabic work by

‘Abdisho‘, entitled *Kitāb uṣūl al-Dīn*, which shows many similarities with *Ktābā d-marganītā* (see below).

SIGNIFICANCE

If *Shah marwārīd* is an original and separate work, it is impossible to establish its precise significance for the religious interaction between Christians and Muslims. We may, however, assume that the author discussed some Christian theological issues with reference to the Islamic intellectual world in which he lived, as he also did in his *Ktābā d-marganītā*.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES

Kaufhold, *Introduction. The Nomocanon*, p. xiii

Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 216

Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis* iii.1, p. 352

Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn, ‘The fundamentals of religion’

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This treatise is still unedited. Composed at the request of ‘some illustrious faithful’ and partly written in Arabic rhymed prose, it is meant as a brief presentation of Christian beliefs. It was certainly, at least in part, also addressed to a Muslim readership. Its technical, liturgical and theological vocabulary shows the author’s East-Syrian ecclesiastical background. In some cases he even explains the Syriac etymology of some Christian Arabic terms. The perspective from which he writes is, however, more often that of all Christians, regardless of their specific denomination.

Uṣūl al-dīn consists of 18 chapters (cf. Landron, *Attitudes nestoriennes*, p. 137, Ghanīma, ‘*Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn*’, p. 1000). Three introductory chapters deal with the authenticity of the Gospel and the credibility and veracity of Christianity, proved by the miracles performed by Christ and his disciples, the (traditional) scriptural prophecies concerning the life of Christ, his resurrection and ascension and the sending of the Paraclete, the abrogation (*nāsikha*) of the Mosaic Law, and the perennial character of the Christian Law.

This introduction is followed by a set of seven theoretical or doctrinal chapters dealing with a variety of dogmatic issues. First, the author discusses God's unicity and Trinity (cf. Landron, *Attitudes nestorienne*, pp. 186, 188) and the Incarnation (*fi l-ḥulūl wa-l-itihād*). In the Christological chapter, he feels obliged to explain the three classical Christian positions, designating his own *madhhab* as Nestorian. These chapters are followed by a discussion of a number of internal Christian themes, including (in ch. 9) the veneration of the Cross, an important devotion and theological theme within the Church of the East. In this context, 'Abdisho' mentions the many miracles that have occurred by virtue of the Cross, which Christians have chosen as their *qibla* because in their eyes *ṣalīb*, the Arabic word for cross, still conveys the meaning of the Syriac word *šlibā*, meaning both cross and crucified one. Thus, it is Jesus Christ the Crucified, and not the material of the Cross, who determines the direction of their prayer, in the same way as the prayer of Muslims is not addressed to the stone of the Ka'ba (cf. Landron, p. 238).

This theoretical part is followed by a less developed series of seven 'practical' chapters devoted to a variety of issues, such as prayer, almsgiving, fasting, the direction of prayer, the girdle, the meaning of Sunday and the special significance of Wednesdays and Fridays, the beating of the *nāqūs* to call people to prayer, and the veneration of images. The author especially emphasizes the spiritual meaning of religious practices.

The work concludes with a chapter on the accusation of *taḥrīf*, the falsification of the Christian scripture.

SIGNIFICANCE

In *Uṣūl al-dīn*, 'Abdishū' discusses the classical themes of Christian-Muslim dialogue. He mostly seems to develop an argumentation already found in the works of East Syrian authors before him, such as Elias of Nisibis (q.v.), one of his possible sources, and Ibn al-Ṭayyib (q.v.), but this provisional judgment must be confirmed by a more detailed study of the entire text, in comparison with his other apologetic works, especially the *Kitāb al-farā'id* (see above). The originality of *Uṣūl al-dīn* derives from the fact that it is partly cast in rhymed and rhythmic prose (*saḡ'*) in order to present the Christian faith in an attractive way adapted to the literary tastes of 'Abdishū's time.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Baghdad, olim 'Chald. Cathedral' (1703; see Sbath, *Fihris*, p. 415)

MS Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph – Ar. 936 (no date)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Landron, *Attitudes nestoriennes*, pp. 297-98 (French trans. of a small fragment)

Y. Ghanīma l-Baghdādī, ‘Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn li-‘Abdīshū‘ muṭrān Naṣībīn’, *Al-Mashriq* 7 (1904) 1001-3 (edition of the chapter on the meaning of Wednesday and Friday)

STUDIES

I.-A. Khalifé, *Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque orientale de l’Université Saint-Joseph, 2^e série, II* Beirut, 1954, pp. 104-5 [6-7]

Landron, *Attitudes nestoriennes*, pp. 137-39

Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 216

Ghanīma l-Baghdādī, ‘Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn li-‘Abdīshū‘’, pp. 1000-1

Herman G.B. Teule

Al-Shams ibn Kabar

Al-Shams al-Ri'āsa Abū l-Barakāt ibn al-Akmal al-As'ad
ibn Kabar, al-qiss Barṣawmā

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; second half of the 13th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Possibly Old Cairo
DATE OF DEATH 10 May 1324
PLACE OF DEATH Old Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

It appears that Abū l-Barakāt was born into a wealthy family in Old Cairo. He learned Arabic, mathematics and Coptic, and at some point he became secretary (*kātib*) to the prince (*amūr*, not the sultan as Cheikho and some Copts assert) Baybars Rukn al-Dīn al-Manṣūrī l-Dawādār (d. 1324). In this position, according to al-Maqrīzī, he assisted his master in the composition of his historical work *Zubdat al-fikra fī tāriḫ al-hijra* ('The quintessence of thinking on the history of the Hijra'), and later made an epitome of this work. As a consequence of the periodic decrees issued against Christians, Abū l-Barakāt was probably forced to relinquish his position a number of times. He had to leave finally in 1293, and in 1300 he was ordained priest in the Mu'allaqa Church in Cairo, and given the name Barṣawmā. According to al-Maqrīzī, a certain al-Shams ibn Kathīr (a corruption of the name Kabar?) was pursued for arrest in 1321, but he went into hiding, possibly protected by his former master. He died in 1324.

Besides his *Miṣbāḥ al-zulma*, Abū l-Barakāt wrote a Buhairic Coptic-Arabic dictionary entitled *Al-sullam al-kabīr al-muqtaraḥ* ('The great ladder', known as the *Scala magna*), and a number of homilies and sermons, including a funeral oration to be read after his death.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulma wa-īdāḥ al-khidma, 'A lamp in the darkness and illumination of service'

DATE Probably after 1293 and before 1314

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work consists of an introduction and 24 chapters of varying length. Chs 1 and 2 are theological, based on previous authors such as Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī (q.v.), al-Ṣafī ibn al-ʿAssāl (q.v.) and al-Muʿtaman ibn al-ʿAssāl (q.v.), who are not named, and Severus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (q.v.), who is. Ch. 3 is on the story of Christ, ch. 4 on the apostles, ch. 5 on canonical themes, and ch. 6 on biblical themes. Ch. 7 is almost unique in Coptic literature

(ch. 1 of al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assāl's *Majmu' usūl al-dīn* is comparable) – a kind of bibliography of Christian writers in Arabic from the patristic era to Abū l-Barakāt's own time. Chs 8-23 are on canonical and liturgical themes, while ch. 24 focuses on liturgical questions, and ends with a list of the Patriarchs of Alexandria.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work is of immense significance for what it presents of the history and ecclesiastical character of the Coptic Orthodox Church. While it is not primarily directed against Islam, some chapters contain arguments known from Christian-Muslim encounters, particularly chs 1, 2 and 6, which draw largely on the apologists Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī and al-Ṣafi ibn al-'Assāl. The work is an eloquent testimony to the situation of the Copts in their Muslim context, and their constant awareness of the other faith.

MANUSCRIPTS

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- MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – 10184 (Diez A qu 111) (14th century; chs 1-8)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theology 258 (Simaika 452, Graf 388) (14th century; chs 1-7)
- MS MS Vat – Ar. 57, fols 127v-130r (15th century)
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- MS Red Sea, Monastery of St Anthony – Theology 140, 263 fols (1546)
- MS Vat – Ar. 623 (16th century; copy of Uppsala – Tornberg 486)
- MS Cambridge, University Library – Add. 3280, p. 171 (1607; Karshūnī)
- MS Vat – Arab. 106 (1718)
- MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Monastery of Anbā Maqār – Theology 13 (Catalogue 284) (1738; ch. 7)
- MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Bible 177 (Simaika 108), (1782; ch. 23)
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- MS Red Sea, Monastery of St Anthony – Theology 141, fols 1-100 (1889; partial)
- MS Vat – Borgia Arabic 116 (18th century; copy of Vat Arab. 623)
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- MS Red Sea, Monastery of St Anthony – Theology 320 (date unknown; partial)
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- MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Monastery of al-Baramūs (copy made by Shinūda l-Baramūsī, according to a mimeographed edition by Samuel al-Suryānī)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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- Shams al-Ri'āsa Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar, *Miṣbāḥ al-ḡulma fī iḏāḥ al-khidma*, Cairo: Maktabat al-Kārūz, 1971 (chs 1-12)
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- Yūḥannā Kābis, 'Faṣl fī tartīb al-alḥān al-thamāniya 'an makḥṭūṭ Miṣbāḥ al-ḡulma fī iḏāḥ al-khidma', *Ṣadiq al-Kāhin* 5 (1953) 180-81 (part of ch. 24)
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- Khouzam, *L'illumination des intelligences dans la science des fondements*, (various theological parts)
- L. Villecourt, 'Les observations liturgiques et la discipline du jeûne dans l'Église copte', *Le Muséon* 36 (1923) 249-92; 37 (1924) 201-80; 38 (1925) 261-320 (parts of chs 24, 12, 13; chs 16-19)
- L. Villecourt (ed. and trans.), *Le livre de la lampe des ténèbres (Patrologia Orientalis* 20, fasc. 4), Paris, 1922, 575-734 (chs 1-2)
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- R. Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen der Patriarchats Alexandrien*, Leipzig, 1900, 15-80 (ch. 5)
- J.M. Vansleb, *Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandrie fondée par S. Marc que nous appelons celle des Jacobites Coptes d'Égypte, écrite au Caire même en 1672 & 1673*, Paris, 1677 (free trans. of many chs)

STUDIES

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- Yūḥannā Kābis, 'Miṣbāḥ al-zulma li-iḍāḥ al-khidma', *Ṣadiq al-Kāhin* 4 (1952) 174-86, pp. 176-78
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- Jirjis Filūthā'us 'Awaḍ, *Ibn Kabar akbar faylasūf qibṭī qadīm fi l-qarn al-rābi' 'ashr*, Cairo, 1930, pp. 124-57
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Al-Bājī

‘Alā’ al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn
‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Khaṭṭāb

DATE OF BIRTH 1234
PLACE OF BIRTH Uncertain; possibly Badajoz
DATE OF DEATH February 1315
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Bājī was known mainly as a Shāfi‘ī jurist of Maghribī origins. He studied in Damascus, and served as *faqīh* and *walī l-quḍā’* in al-Karak during the time of Baybars I, al-Malik al-Zāhir (r. 1260-77). He later taught in Cairo, where he also featured in political life.

His best known works are: *Kashf al-ḥaqā’iq* (‘Disclosure of the truths’) on logic, *Ghāyat al-sūl fī ‘ilm al-uṣūl* (‘The purpose of asking for knowledge of the fundamentals’) on the bases of Islamic law, and *Mukhtaṣar ‘ulūm al-ḥadīth* (‘Abridgment of the sciences of Hadith’). One of his most intriguing works is a polemical commentary on the Pentateuch, *‘Alā al-Tawrāt. Kitāb fī naqd al-Tawrāt al-Yūnāniyya* (ed. Aḥmad Ḥijāzī al-Saqqā, Cairo, 1980), which comprises analyses of passages from the five books to show their inconsistencies and contradictions.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyyat al-‘arīfīn*, 2 vols, Baghdad, n.d. (repr. Istanbul, 1951), i, p. 716

Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-radd ‘alā l-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā, ‘Refutation of the Jews and Christians’

DATE Unknown; before 1315

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work has not survived, and is only known from a passing reference in al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vi, p. 228. Since it would have been written at a time of virulent anti-Jewish and anti-Christian feeling in Cairo, it may well have rehearsed familiar accusations against the client communities and complained about their arrogance and flouting of the regulations imposed upon them by the Pact of ‘Umar. It possibly incorporated elements of al-Bājī’s Pentateuch commentary as part of its demonstration that the biblical books had been subject to corruption.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work may well have helped to support and intensify the strong feelings against *dhimmīs* in Mamluk society at the time it was written.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala

The letter from the people of Cyprus

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; mid-13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; possibly in or around Damascus
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; first half of the 14 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Probably Cyprus

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about the person responsible for this letter apart from what the letter itself and the circumstances in which it was sent disclose. He was a Christian, and was based in Cyprus in the early 14th century when the letter was sent. However, he knew Arabic well and had intimate knowledge of the Qur'an, and in addition he knew the Arabic letter that Paul of Antioch, the Melkite bishop of Sidon (q.v.), had composed sometime around 1200, and was familiar with leading Muslim scholars in Damascus. His origins may therefore not have been on the island but somewhere in Syria.

The letter written by this anonymous author was sent to Ibn Taymiyya (q.v.) in Damascus in 1316, and again to Muḥammad ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī (q.v.) in 1321. It is an edited version of Paul of Antioch's letter that shows skill in reshaping and independence in thinking. These qualities suggest its author possessed a mature scholarly mind. In the earliest manuscript of the letter, he is actually referred to as 'our master, the revered teacher, the head, lord, distinguished, unique and unparalleled professor' (MS BNP Arabe 204 f. 49v), so he may well have been something of an intellectual celebrity in Cyprus, possibly chosen for this task of writing to formidable Muslim scholars because of his unrivalled expertise.

The author's use of Paul of Antioch's work indicates that he was a Melkite, while his thorough knowledge of Damascus and its main scholarly inhabitants suggests that he was a native of the city or its surroundings. He knew the Qur'an so well that he could correct Paul's quotations and supply *sūra* names for Paul's and his own quotations from it. It is possible that he found his way to Cyprus as a refugee from the triumphant Mamluk armies that had recaptured crusader territories in the late 13th century, and that he was maybe even a convert from Islam with urgent need to evade Muslim hands.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary —

Secondary

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- R. Ebied and D. Thomas (eds), *Muslim-Christian polemic during the crusades. The Letter from the people of Cyprus and Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī's response*, Leiden, 2005, pp. 5-19
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Risāla min ahl jazīrat Qubruṣ, 'Letter from the people of Cyprus'

DATE Just before 1316

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Letter from the people of Cyprus* is structured closely on Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim friend*, though with such significant changes throughout that it is less a new edition of the earlier letter than a fresh composition. It is relatively brief, 46 half-page columns in the printed edition, and diminutive compared with the two massive responses it prompted from Ibn Taymiyya and al-Dimashqī.

The letter begins with the author, who is silent about his religious loyalty, recounting how he travelled to Cyprus (Paul travelled to parts of Europe) and conversed there with Christian scholars who had read the Qur'an but had not converted to Islam. They say that they see in the Muslim scripture confirmation of their own beliefs and so will remain Christian, and they go on to explain why.

They cite verses that affirm that the Qur'an was intended for Arabs and is thus not for them, and they go on to show how the Qur'an confirms Christian beliefs in Mary as a virgin and Jesus as divine, and attests to the integrity of the Bible, drawing a clear distinction between Christians who are faithful to it and Jews who have neglected it. They demonstrate

how the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, and also the technical terms employed in explaining them, are confirmed by reason and supported by both the Bible and the Qur'an. And they conclude that, as the Qur'an acknowledges, God's plan of revelation reached its climax in Christ and there is no need for further revelation. They see substantial agreement between the Bible and the Qur'an, and no need for disagreement between Christians and Muslims.

In constructing this careful case (which neither of his Muslim correspondents accepted), the author makes extensive changes to Paul's original letter. He adds many verses from both the Bible and the Qur'an, deletes arguments that are particularly contentious and potentially offensive (mainly aggressive interpretations of Qur'an verses), and alters Paul's original by completing and correcting quotations from the Qur'an and softening its often acerbic tone. The net result is that the letter appears less combative than Paul's original, altering its character from a reason-based demonstration to one that is largely founded on scriptural proofs.

SIGNIFICANCE

This letter is one of the few known attempts by a Christian to invite Muslims to what appears to be a joint exploration of their respective claims. In order to make his case, the author is compelled to reject Muslim accusations of scriptural corruption, but apart from that he is generally eirenic in tone; in fact, his harsh and unstinting condemnation of the Jews can be construed as a device to bring Muslims closer through recognition of a common foe.

By using the Qur'an in the way he does, the author implicitly reveals that he accepts it as authoritative and Muḥammad as divinely inspired (al-Dimashqī actually comments on this). But he still has to concede that the Qur'an can only be properly understood when read through the Bible, and he can only recognize Muḥammad as a prophet meant for the pagan Arabs alone. Nor can he avoid promoting Christianity above Islam as the final revelation from God. Despite his carefully worded and constructed arguments, he cannot find a way to recognize Islam in any form a Muslim might find acceptable, and his efforts met with little success when the letter was opened to scrutiny from the Muslim experts of the day. It thus constitutes a limiting case of what Christianity can say approvingly about Islam without denying itself, and illustrates starkly the issues that dog true understanding.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Arabe 204, fols 49v-66r (1336)

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MS Paris, BNF – Arabe 215, fols 203r-223r (1590)

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque de l'Université St Joseph – 946 (1856)

The text is also quoted *in extenso* in Ibn Taymiyya's *Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-Masīḥ* (c. 1316), and in Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī's *Jawāb* (1321).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian polemic during the crusades*, pp. 54-147 (edition and trans.)

STUDIES

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Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian polemic during the crusades*, pp. 5-23

Thomas, 'Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim friend* and *The letter from Cyprus*', pp. 213-21

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David Thomas

Al-Sakūnī

Abū 'Alī 'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; mid-13th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; North Africa
DATE OF DEATH 1317
PLACE OF DEATH Tunis

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Sakūnī was a Mālikī jurist and theologian who was active in the Maghreb. He lived for much of his life in Tunis, where he probably died.

He was known for a work on the Mu'tazilī Qur'an commentary of al-Zamakhsharī, and other works on orthodox Muslim belief.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'arīfīn. Asmā' al-mu'allifīn*, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1951, 1955, i, col. 788

Secondary

S. Ghrab (ed.), *Uyūn al-munāẓarāt*, Tunis, 1976, pp. 25-42
Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *Al-ā'lām*, 8 vols, Beirut, 1999, v, p. 63

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Uyūn al-munāẓarāt, 'Choice disputes'

DATE Unknown; before 1317
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Uyūn al-munāẓarāt is a history of disagreements in matters of religion, comprising 160 sections (in the printed edition divided into 416 numbered sub-sections, used as references here), from the first dispute between the angels and Iblīs over God's command to venerate Adam, and continuing up to the author's own time. It is concerned mainly with disagreements among Muslims themselves, but it also includes the views of followers of

other faiths. Among the latter, Christians feature alongside Jews, Zoroastrians and others.

Towards the beginning of the work, al-Sakūnī describes the main error of the Christians as being to mistake the miracles performed by Jesus as originating from himself rather than from God (§ 11). Later, he criticizes them for thinking that an attribute of God can be transferred from place to place or exist in more than one location, which is the implication of their concept of the hypostases (§ 78), and, with reference to the debate between Muḥammad and the Christians of Najrān, he argues that Jesus was no different from Adam (§ 176). He also reports an exchange between a Christian philosopher and a Muslim over the soul (§ 301), another exchange between a Christian philosopher and leading Muslims of the early 10th century about the eternity of the world (§ 322), an exchange between Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (q.v.) and a Christian over the prophethood of Muḥammad and the divinity of Christ, as recorded in al-Rāzī's *tafsīr* (§§ 388-92), a summary of the Andalusī Abū l-Walīd al-Bājī's (q.v.) reply to the letter from the 'monk of France' (§§ 407-8), a brief summary of an exchange between a Christian and a Muslim in Cordova (§ 410), and finally an argument between a Muslim and some Christians who denied abrogation in matters of religious law, in which the Muslim compels the Christians to accept that although Adam's sons married their sisters, the Gospel forbids this form of marriage (§ 411).

SIGNIFICANCE

In a work of this kind, frequent references to Christians are maybe not to be expected. Those that are included attest to the strong Muslim belief that there is something inherently weak about Christianity, in that it has no clear appreciation of the nature of God, or of the distinction between divinity and humanity, or of rational thinking and expression. Christians figure as illustrations of weak thinking and mistaken belief, providing examples on the margin of the discourse that serve as cautions against abandoning the truth of *tawḥīd*.

MANUSCRIPTS

See Ghrab, *Uyūn al-munāẓarāt*, pp. 44-47, for descriptions of the four MSS of the work, dating from the 18th to the 20th century.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Uyūn al-munāẓarāt, ed. S. Ghrab, Tunis, 1976

STUDIES

Ghrab, *Uyūn al-munāẓarāt*, pp. 48-100

Saʿīd ibn Ḥasan al-Iskandarānī

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; mid-13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Alexandria
DATE OF DEATH	After 1320
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Saʿīd ibn Ḥasan was originally a Jew of the Alexandrian community. He converted to Islam in May 1298 as a result of a dramatic recovery from illness (Weston, 'The Kitāb masālik an-naẓar', pp. 379-80). He grew intolerant of Judaism and Christianity, and joined in the calls being made at various levels of Egyptian society for all synagogues and churches to be closed, and for those built since the coming of Islam to be destroyed.

The evidence from *Masālik al-naẓar* is that Saʿīd had no particularly thorough education, not even in his former faith, and he was no expert in Arabic style. While he took particular exception to the influence of philosophy, in Weston's words 'his knowledge of the subject was very superficial' (p. 319). He appears to have written mainly out of strong feeling, in an attempt to get something done against people who he presumably felt should follow his own example and convert to Islam.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Kitāb masālik al-naẓar

Secondary

M.A. al-Sharqāwī, *Masālik al-naẓar fī nubuwwat sayyid al-bashar*, Cairo, 1990 (edition with a copy of Weston's English trans.)

S.A. Weston, 'The Kitāb masālik an-naẓar of Saʿīd ibn Ḥasan of Alexandria. Edited for the first time and translated with introduction and notes', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 24 (1903) 312-83, pp. 312-21

S. Goldziher, 'Saʿīd b. Hasan d'Alexandrie', *Revue des Études Juives* 30 (1895) 1-23, pp. 3-11

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Masālik al-naẓar fī nubuwwat sayyid al-bashar,
 ‘Ways of discernment, concerning the
 prophethood of the master of mankind’; *Al-muḥīt*,
 ‘The all-embracing’

DATE April, 1320

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Masālik al-naẓar*, which its author says he completed in Damascus in 1320, is largely composed of comments on passages from books of the Hebrew Bible in which Saʿīd claims to see predictions of the coming of Muḥammad or details that point to him (trans. pp. 359-76). It is mainly concerned with texts that Jews would find disturbing, but one passage refers to Jesus and the Gospels (pp. 369-71), depicting Jesus as a Muslim prophet who taught nothing that contravenes Islam, and commenting that the Gospels must be corrupt because Saʿīd cannot find in them any predictions of Muḥammad.

The work concludes with arguments against the philosophers and their claim that the universe is eternal, and with personal details about Saʿīd’s conversion and his composition of this book after the failure of repeated attempts to get the government to convene a meeting between Jews, Christians and himself for the purpose of debating their differences over the nature of God.

In some comments about Jesus, Saʿīd particularly displays the complete change in his outlook following his conversion: on p. 370 he explains that the crucifixion is something that is asserted by Jews and Christians (though for him as a Muslim now it did not take place), and on p. 376 he claims that the reason why the second temple in Jerusalem was destroyed is that the Jews denied that Jesus was a prophet from God (a claim a Jew would not accept but a Muslim would).

SIGNIFICANCE

While the work is mainly directed against the Jewish scriptures, it is significant for Christian-Muslim relations because it makes use of proof-texts that are familiar from earlier *dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* works written in response to Christian accusations (Deuteronomy 33:2 figures prominently). It may be particularly important because it does not show any

obvious indebtedness to known literary precedents (Sa'īd's failure to note references to Muḥammad in the Paraclete verses in John's Gospel underlines this), but relies on what appear to be popular Muslim traditions of interpretation. It may therefore attest to the circulation of scriptural proof texts far beyond the scholarly literature in which they have been passed down.

More generally, the *Masālik al-naẓar* finds nothing good among the *dhimmīs* and sees only error and stubbornness in them. It witnesses to the virulent anti-*dhimmī* feelings that are known to have ranged through Mamluk society at the turn of the 14th century.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS New Haven, Yale – Landberg 700, fols 28v-46 (14th or 15th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Weston, 'The Kitāb masālik an-naẓar', pp. 322-59 (text), 359-83 (trans.)
Goldziher, 'Sa'īd b. Hasan d'Alexandrie', pp. 17-23 (extracts)

STUDIES

Weston, 'The Kitāb masālik an-naẓar', pp. 315-21
Goldziher, 'Sa'īd b. Hasan d'Alexandrie', pp. 11-16

David Thomas

The Life of St Nik'oloz Dvali

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH After 1320
DATE OF DEATH After 1320
PLACE OF DEATH Jerusalem

BIOGRAPHY

The author of this work is unknown; he is likely to have been a Georgian monk in Jerusalem who was, if not an eye-witness, at least a contemporary of Nik'oloz Dvali and his martyrdom.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary —

Secondary —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tskhovreba ts'midisa nik'oloz dvalisay, 'The Life of St Nik'oloz Dvali (St Nik'oloz the Dval)'

DATE Between 1314 and 1320
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION

While Dvali was, and is, a surname found in Georgia, it is also an ethnonym. The Dvals were an Ossete-speaking people, possibly of Nakh (Chechen) origin, living in the upper Liakhvi valley in today's South Ossetia, and on the Ardon River, a tributary of the Terek. Nik'oloz was a Dval from the village of Ts'a, a toponym reflected in today's Ts'e stream by the Ardon. At the age of 12 he was ordained as a monk and spent some time in a hermitage in the southern province of Georgia, Klarjeti, before moving to the Holy Cross monastery in Jerusalem. He sought martyrdom and persuaded a Muslim to take him before the *qāḏī*, and then denounced Islam and proclaimed Christianity.

He was imprisoned. Against his wishes, his fellow monks secured his release and sent him to Cyprus, where he commissioned an icon of John the Baptist. He then intended to go to Mt Athos, but the icon spoke to him and told him to go to Jerusalem and consult a Georgian elder so as to find martyrdom. In Jerusalem the elder prayed for guidance, and in a dream was told by the Virgin and John the Baptist to send Nik'oloz to Damascus for his death. Nik'oloz went to a mosque in Damascus and cursed Islam; he was imprisoned, but the Bishop of Damascus had him freed. He then repeated his actions and was punished with 500 lashes and two months' imprisonment.

On being freed Nik'oloz was seized by an emir and taken to see Tengiz, the Mamluk viceroy in Damascus. Tengiz offered him wealth and rank if he converted to Islam. On Saturday 19 October 1314, Nik'oloz refused, cursed Muḥammad, and was beheaded. His severed head spoke seven times. His body was burnt, and a pillar of light hung over his execution site for three days. The elder who advised Nik'oloz saw St George in a dream and was shown Nik'oloz among the host of saints and told not to mourn.

SIGNIFICANCE

The Life of Nik'oloz is unusual in being precisely dated, but is particularly interesting in that it shows a Dval as both Christian and Georgianized, for many Dvals (like other Ossetians) had reverted to paganism since the 12th century, and Georgian kings undertook several missionary expeditions to the Dvals and Ossetians over the next three centuries. It also shows the freedom of movement and relative tolerance (for Nik'oloz is executed only after his third offence) granted to Georgian Christians in Palestine after the alliance concluded between King David VI of Georgia and the Mamluks. Otherwise, it is a conventional shortened hagiography, with its subject set on martyrdom and the miraculous posthumous manifestations.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts – *Didi svinaksris ierusalimis nusxa* 104 (f. 104 of the Great Synaxary of Jerusalem) (c. 1320)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Z. Machitadze (ed.), *Lives of the Georgian saints*, trans. D. and L. Ninoshvili, Platina CA: St Herman of Alaska Brotherhood, 2006, pp. 99-101

G. Gverdt'siteli, *Kartuli p'roza*, 2 vols, Tbilisi, 1982, ii, pp. 23-25

- D. Qipshidze, *Didi svinaksris ierusalimis nusxa 104* (folio 104 of the Great Synaxary of Jerusalem), in *Izvestiia Kavkazskogo Istoriko-Arkheologicheskogo Instituta* 2 (1927) 63-65 (original Georgian, transliterated into modern mkhedruli script, and copied in all subsequent anthologies of Georgian hagiographies)

STUDIES

- K. K'ek'elidze, *Dzveli kartuli lit'erat'uruli lit'erat'uris ist'oria*, 2 vols, Tbilisi, 1980-82, i, pp. 541-43 (subsequent studies copy K'ek'elidze)

Donald Rayfield

Life of St Luka of Jerusalem

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Georgia
DATE OF DEATH After 1320
PLACE OF DEATH Jerusalem

BIOGRAPHY

The author of this work is unknown; he is likely to have been a Georgian monk in Jerusalem writing within living memory of the death of the subject of this hagiography and of the period (1270-80s) when the Mamluks were confiscating Georgian church property in Jerusalem.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary —

Secondary —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tskhovreba ts'midisa luk'a ierusalimelisay, 'Life of St Luka of Jerusalem (Luka Mukha Abashidze)'

DATE Between 1273 and 1320

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION

Most of the Synaxary in which the *Life of Luka* was included consists of metaphrastic, abbreviated versions of longer lives: this life is less than 1,000 words long and probably derives from a still undiscovered, or lost, full hagiography.

Luka Mukha was born between 1249 and 1254, the youngest of at least three brothers from the aristocratic Abashidze family, whose estates lay mainly in Rach'a (north central Georgia). On their father's death, their mother left to become a nun in Jerusalem. At the age of 20 Luka left the family estates to see his mother and visit the holy places of Palestine.

There he was ordained a monk and deacon, and he learned Arabic. He so impressed the monks with his 'manifold wisdom, valour and purity' that he was appointed abbot of the Holy Cross monastery.

After three years' uneventful existence, a certain Shaykh Qidar persuaded the Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars (r. 1260-77) to give him the monastery buildings; Qidar then confiscated the monks' property and drove them out. Luka complained to the sultan. He was advised to flee Shaykh Qidar's wrath, but instead confronted him. Qidar promised Luka a high post if he converted to Islam. Luka refused and when threatened with death said he would be glad to die many times for Christ. On 27 June between 1273 and 1277, Qidar's slave beheaded Luka; the severed head smiled and thanked God aloud. Qidar had Luka's body burned. Local Muslims gathered the ashes for use as a charm and as medicine.

The mention of Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir places the events between 1260 and 1277.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Life of Luka* confirms historical allusions to the confiscation of Georgian church property under the Mamluks in the 1270s, a process that was reversed in the 1290s when King David VI of Georgia made a comprehensive treaty with the Sultan of Egypt. It also shows that, even under Mongol suzerainty, Georgian pilgrims and clerics still travelled to Jerusalem. Otherwise, the *Life* conforms to the formula of earlier Georgian hagiographies, in which a Christian actively confronts Muslim oppressors, refuses blandishments and, on execution, shows extraordinary, if not miraculous powers.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts – *Didi svinakrsis ierusalimis nusxa 104* (f. 104 of the Great Synaxary of Jerusalem) (c. 1320)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Z. Machitadze (ed.), *Lives of the Georgian saints*, trans. D. and L. Ninoshvili, Platina CA: St Herman of Alaska Brotherhood, 2006, pp. 98-99

G. Gverdts'iteli, *Kartuli p'roza*, 2 vols, Tbilisi, 1982, ii, pp. 21-22

D. Qipshidze, *Didi svinakrsis ierusalimis nusxa 104* (folio 104 of the Great Synaxary of Jerusalem), *Izvestiia Kavkazskogo Istoriko-Arkheologicheskogo Instituta* 2 (1927) 60-62 (original Georgian, transliterated into modern mkhedruli script, and copied in all subsequent anthologies of Georgian hagiographies)

STUDIES

K. K'ek'elidze, *Dzveli kartuli lit'erat'uruli lit'erat'uris ist'oria*, 2 vols, Tbilisi, 1980-82, i, pp. 540-41 (subsequent studies follow K'ek'elidze)

Donald Rayfield

Dante Alighieri

Dante

DATE OF BIRTH May/June 1265
PLACE OF BIRTH Florence
DATE OF DEATH 14 September 1321
PLACE OF DEATH Ravenna

BIOGRAPHY

Dante was born in Florence in 1265. As a young man he was a member of the Guild of Doctors and Apothecaries, and he also took an active part in the public life of the city. In 1289, he was among the cavalry at the battle of Campaldino, and possibly the battle of Caprona. Between 1295 and 1297, he was a member of the Council to the Captain of the People, and the Council of the Hundred, before becoming one of the six priors of Florence in 1300. Amid the political turmoil following the rivalry between the Guelphs and Ghibellines and the splitting of the Guelph party into Whites and Blacks, as a White Guelph he was banished from Florence in 1302, while on a mission to Pope Boniface VIII in Rome. Never to return to his beloved home-city from this point, his life became one of continuous wandering from city to city until he settled in Verona and eventually in Ravenna, where he died following a sudden attack of malaria.

Dante's works are the primary source for his biography. In the *Vita nuova* he claims he was a noble by birth, a descendant of a certain Cacciaguida, who was knighted by the Emperor Corrado III and died during the Second Crusade. The great poet Cavalcanti was the 'first friend' to whom the *Vita nuova* is dedicated, and Brunetto Latini the mentor who 'showed him how man becomes eternal'. Dante includes biographical elements in his poetic works in an attempt to substantiate the claim of truth in what he writes; it represents the first self-conscious attempt of a medieval author to present himself as a canonical authority, and it forms a basic element in both the *Vita nuova* and the *Commedia*. The *Vita nuova* ('New life') is a narrative of the poet's young life, revolving around the figure of Beatrice, from his first encounter with her as a nine-year old child to her death at 24, in 1290. As a sequel to this work, the journey of the *Commedia* is made possible by Beatrice's intervention, when she rescues her 'friend' from the dark forest of sinful wanderings by recruiting Virgil as his guide through Hell and Purgatory, while she herself will guide him towards Paradise.

Regarded as the father of the Italian language, 'the central man of all the world' (Ruskin), Dante represents a summa of the literary, theological and scientific achievements of the Middle Ages, and a literary model for centuries after his own time. His *oeuvre* includes works in Latin and in the vernacular (*Vita nuova* and *Commedia*, along with *Il fiore* and *Detto d'amore*, whose authorship is still debated), an encyclopedic work (*Convivio*, unfinished), a linguistic treatise (*De vulgari eloquentia*, unfinished), a scientific inquiry (*Questio de aqua et terra*), a political treatise (*De monarchia*), 13 surviving Latin epistles and two Latin eclogues, and his greatest work, the *Commedia*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

See P. Wicksteed (ed.), *The early lives of Dante*, London, 1904, and J. Robinson Smith (ed.), *The earliest lives of Dante*, New York, 1963, where the earliest biographies are given in translation, including Villani, *Nuova cronica* (1322-48), Boccaccio, *Trattatello in laude di Dante* (after 1348), and Bruni, *Vita di Dante* (1436).

Secondary

There are huge numbers of studies on Dante. Among the most important are: R.W.B. Lewis, *Dante. A life*, New York, 2009
 J. Ruud, *Critical companion to Dante. A literary reference to his life and work*, New York, 2008
 G. Mazzotta, 'Life of Dante', in R. Jacoff (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Dante*, Cambridge, 2007², 1-13
 Jan Ziolkowski, ed., *Dante and Islam*. Special issue of *Dante Studies* 125 (2007)
 B. Reynolds, *Dante. The poet, the political thinker, the man*, Emeryville CA, 2006
 S. Bemrose, *A new life of Dante*, Exeter, 2000
 G. Petrocchi, *Vita di Dante*, Naples, 1983
 M. Barbi, *Dante*, Florence, 1940 (trans. P. Ruggiers, *Life of Dante*, Berkeley CA, 1960)
 N. Zingarelli, *La vita, i tempi e le opere di Dante*, 2 vols, Milan, 1931

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

La divina commedia, 'The divine comedy';
Commedia; Commedia; Comedia, 'The comedy'

DATE Between 1304 and 1321

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE (Florentine vernacular) Italian

DESCRIPTION

The *Commedia* (it is only called 'divine' from the 1555 Venetian edition by Lodovico Dolce) is a poem whose structural organization reflects the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, with three canticles (*Hell*, *Purgatory* and *Paradise*), 33 canti in each canticle, plus the proem at the beginning, making 100 canti in all. Each canto is composed in tercets of three lines, each made up of 11 syllables, making 33 syllables in each tercet. The rhyme structure creates a very compelling yet open chain, with the first and third lines rhyming, and the second rhyming with the first and third lines of the following tercet: *aba bcb cdc . . .*, so that each rhyme, with the exception of the beginning and the end of the chain, is repeated three times.

Even though the poem is not primarily concerned with relations with the Muslim world, there are nevertheless a number of explicit and implicit references to Islam. They are listed and described in what follows.

The first is in Limbo, the first circle of Hell, where the souls of those whose only fault is not having known Christ are confined, eternally longing for a salvation they can never achieve. Here, separated from the rest of the souls by the seven walls of a noble castle, are the souls of virtuous pagans, among them Saladin, *solo, in parte* ('alone, set apart', *Inf.* IV, 129), and the philosophers Avicenna and Averroes, 'who made the great commentary' (*Inf.* IV, 139-44). The figure of the sultan appears in the second circle, where lustful souls are punished, in a reference to Babylonia (Dante probably confused this with Babylon, the name given to Cairo), the land where Semiramis legalized incest (*Inf.* V, 58-60).

In lower Hell, the city of Dis is distinguished by fiery mosques (*Inf.* VIII, 70-75), though the most striking passage in the *Inferno* concerns the figure of Muḥammad, who appears in the ninth pouch of the eighth circle, which is reserved for the sowers of schism and scandal. Grotesque and revolting, and described in the crudest and basest language, Muḥammad is split from chin to anus, as a punishment for causing what Dante believed was a schism within the body of Christendom. Close to him is 'Alī, split from forehead to chin, punishment for splitting Islam. The founder of Islam addresses Dante, and he is made to end his speech with a prophecy concerning Fra Dolcino of Novara (*Inf.* XXVIII, 22-63).

The list of references to Islam in the *Commedia* is completed by three more passages. In the *Inferno*, the wickedness of Pope Boniface is attested by his wars against Christians, rather than Jews or Muslims (*Inf.* XXVII, 87); in *Purgatory*, in an invective against the Florentine

women of the time, they are called even more lascivious than barbarian or Saracen women (*Purg.* XXIII, 103-5); and finally, in *Paradiso*, among the great deeds of St Francis of Assisi is remembered his failed attempt to convert the sultan (*Par.* XI, 99-104) in 1219 when he participated in the Fifth Crusade.

SIGNIFICANCE

Dante did not know Arabic, and never set foot in the Middle East. His attitude towards Islam in the *Commedia* displays a clear dichotomy. On the one hand, he shows admiration for Saladin, and he is positive towards Islamic science in the figures of Avicenna and Averroes – indeed, in the *La vita nuova* he associates the fateful day of Beatrice's death with the number 9 as computed in the calendar *secondo l'usanza d'Arabia* (XXIX, 1). On the other, he firmly condemns and despises Islam as a faith, and justifies the crusades, as is shown in the *Paradiso*, where he meets the glorified shade of his ancestor Cacciaguida, who fought and died in the Second Crusade (e.g. *Par.* XV, 139-48). In the same way, Pope Boniface is blamed for directing his army against Christians, rather than 'Saracens or Jews' (*Inf.* XXVII, 87), and St Francis is remembered for his 'thirst for martyrdom' and for his mission to preach *ne la presenza del Soldan superba* ('before the proud Sultan') (*Par.* XI, 100-3).

The association of Islam with hell is evident: fiery mosques occupy the infernal landscape of the city of Dis (*Inf.* VIII, 70). And without doubt the most significant passage in the *Commedia* is the portrait of Muḥammad, which could not be more disrespectful. Not only is his soul defeated by the angel of the Christian God, who splits his body as a punishment for his alleged schism, but Dante evidently employs the best tools in his poetic store to produce an utterly base, disgusting description. He goes into realistic and revolting details about Muḥammad's bowels ('the miserable sack where shit becomes what one swallows') that hang down between his legs as he is split from chin to anus ('there where one farts'), employing the lowest comic register made up of harsh-sounding and base words (*tristo sacco, trangugia, merda*). And in addition, Muḥammad is even denied any recognition of historical relevance, appearing among relatively minor schismatic figures, such as Fra Dolcino from Novara.

While such a derogatory treatment might not be unexpected, more problematic is his inclusion among the Schismatics rather than the Heretics, who receive their punishment two circles above. It is impossible to know what exact knowledge Dante had of the historical Muḥammad, and it is likely that his depiction feeds on the widespread popular accounts

surrounding the legend of Muḥammad as a Christian cleric, even a cardinal, who initiated a schism after being denied the papacy. If Dante knew of the medieval debate about whether Muḥammad was a heretic (as maintained by John of Damascus), a pagan (as hinted by Peter the Venerable), or a schismatic (cf. Sahas, Kritzeck, Akbari), then there is no doubt how he resolved the controversy in his own mind.

The inclusion of 'Alī is even more problematic. Certainly, his being severed from chin to forehead, a punishment similar to Muḥammad's, justifies the view that the two characters are a fitting reference to Islam as a whole. However, it can be argued that, by condemning 'Alī as a schismatic, Dante may have considered Islam itself as a form of Christianity, a religion that is not to be harmed by division or schism. Consequently, 'Dante's own treatment of Ali, an enigma to the early commentators, illustrates the poet's more subtle understanding of the theological relationship between Christianity and Islam' (Akbari). At the same time, however, it should be noted that none of the early commentators on the *Commedia* showed any awareness of 'Alī's particular historical role.

Dante treats Islamic culture, science and philosophy in a generally positive way. He gives Saladin the highest possible honor, placing him in Limbo, where his beloved Virgil is, in company with Aristotle, Plato and the great heroes of Antiquity. He is, however, depicted *solo, in parte*, marking the distance between him and the other virtuous pagans of Antiquity, for, unlike Virgil or Aristotle, who could not have known Christ, Saladin had many contacts with Christians. Saladin's generosity receives a special mention in Dante's *Convivio* (IV, 11, 14), and he appears as a munificent character in the stories of the *Novellino* (23 and 40) and in Boccaccio's *Decameron* (I, 3 and X, 9).

Avicenna and Averroes, who made the 'great commentary', are mentioned in Limbo at the end of the list of the great philosophers of Antiquity, as the arrival point of a universal story of human intellectual achievements. Averroes is also mentioned as *lo Commentatore* in the *Convivio* (IV, 13, 8), and his authority is claimed in the *Monarchia* (1.3.9), and the *Questio* (12 and 46).

It has been argued that Saladin and Averroes' being set slightly apart in the *Commedia* corresponds to Dante's own position at the end of the procession of the five greatest poets of Antiquity, suggesting a special relationship between them and Dante himself. This is ultimately a relationship of 'anxiety' (Akbari, Menocal), because the Islamic world and the philosophical unorthodoxy of Averroism are all too close, representing an intellectual seduction that the character of Dante in the poem

could not resist, and the dangerous and fascinating temptation that the Christian poet himself has to reject.

In the seven centuries of Dante scholarship, the problem of the Islamic sources used by Dante has not been given much attention. The first scholar to analyze the Islamic sources in Dante's eschatology systematically was Asin Palacios, who published a seminal study in 1919 in which a large number of instances in the *Commedia* were explained in light of various Arabic sources, in particular the accounts of Muḥammad's *mi'rāj* through the hells and heavens, entailing some basic knowledge of Arabic on the part of Dante, who emerges as a great admirer of Islam. Palacios' study was soon dismissed by mainstream Dante scholarship on grounds of language, because Dante could not have had access to the requisite Arabic texts, which had not been translated. However, in the 1940s, Latin and Old French translations of the *Liber scalae Machometi* (q.v.) were discovered and edited (Monneret de Villard, Cerulli), offering the textual evidence missing in Palacio's argument.

More recently, Maria Corti (1983, 2001 and 2003) has studied the passages from Islamic sources in Dante's works, highlighting the mediating role of such figures as Brunetto Latini, Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas. In relation to the construction of Dante's afterlife, Corti not only indicates important specific cases where analogies with Islamic eschatology appear to derive from Islamic attitudes, but she also refers to the channel of transmission as the *autostrada della fonte* ('the highway of the direct source', Corti, 'La "Commedia" di Dante e l'oltretomba islamico', p. 379).

Corti has also been able to identify Islamic sources for one of the most significant episodes in the *Commedia*, the journey of Ulysses. While scholars had earlier maintained that the last voyage of Ulysses beyond the pillars of Hercules was entirely the fruit of Dante's invention, she has found similar accounts in Arabic texts, which Dante could have known through Latin and Old French translations. Her discovery offers a stimulating new perspective on Dante's position on Averroism, pointing at a series of contrasts: between unrestrained intellect and Christian theology; the unrestrained exercise of human reason and the necessary curb of religion; Dante's one-time 'first friend', the 'Averroist' Cavalcanti (who is placed in the circle of the heretics), and the poet himself; the intellectual curiosity of the pagan Ulysses and the agenda of the *Commedia*; and the pagan hero's impossible voyage towards the unknown and final shipwreck, and the Christian pilgrim's journey with its *comica*, happy ending.

MANUSCRIPTS

The assessment of the manuscript tradition is still a matter of dispute among Dante scholars. The current National Edition, sponsored by the Società Dantesca Italiana, is based on the recension, collation and description provided in G. Petrocchi (ed.) *La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata*, 4 vols, Milan, 1966-67.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

The editions and translations of the *Commedia* are too numerous to list.

The National Edition of Dante's works, along with an English translation, is available at www.danteonline.it.

Among English translations (see E. Griffiths and M. Reynolds, *Dante in English*, London, 2005), those mentioned below are regarded as the most reliable:

- R. Durling and R. Martinez, *The divine comedy of Dante Alighieri: Inferno – Purgatorio – Paradiso*, New York, 1996-2011
- R. and J. Hollander, *Inferno – Purgatorio – Paradiso*, New York, 2000-7, available at www.danteonline.it
- A. Mandelbaum, *The divine comedy of Dante Alighieri: Inferno – Purgatorio – Paradiso*, Berkeley CA, 1980-82, available at www.danteonline.it
- J. Sinclair, *The divine comedy*, New York, 1948

STUDIES

There are thousands of scholarly works on the *Commedia*. Those that deal with Islam include:

- E. Benigni, 'La Divina Commedia nel mondo arabo. Orientamenti critici e traduzioni', *Critica del testo* 14 issue 3 (2011) 391-413
- L. Capezzone, 'Intorno alla rimozione delle fonti arabe dalla storia della cultura medievale europea, e sul silenzio di Dante', *Critica del testo* 14 issue 2 (2011) 523-43
- G. Coco, 'La visione di Dante nel mondo arabo', in R. Unfer Lukoschik and M. Dallapiazza (eds), *La ricezione di Dante Alighieri. Impulsi e tensioni*, Munich, 2011, 279-99
- Dante e l'Islam. *Incontri di civiltà* [exhibition catalogue], Milan, 2010
- C. Kleinhenz, 'Dante's views on Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Perspectives from the new (fourteenth) century, in C.E. Karkov (ed.), *Poetry, place, and gender. Studies in Medieval culture in honor of Helen Damico*, Kalamazoo MI, 2009, 302-18
- C. Gizzi, *Il ponte del capello. Elementi della tradizione islamica e della visione di Alberico nella poesia di Dante*, Pescara, 2008
- E. Coggeshall, 'Dante, Islam, and Edward Said', *Telos* 139 (2007) 133-51

- G. Nuvoli, 'Le tre anella. Dante al crocevia tra cultura cristiana, ebraica ed islamica', *Tenzzone* 11 (2010) 33-58
- Dante and Islam*, special issue of *Dante Studies* 125 (2007); contributions include: J. Ziolkowski, 'Introduction', 1-34; V. Cantarino, 'Dante and Islam. History and analysis of a controversy (1965)' [first published in 1965], 37-55; M. Corti, 'Dante and Islamic culture' [English trans. of Corti, 'Dante e la cultura islamica', 2001], 57-75; J.M. Gásquez, 'Translation of the Qur'an and other Islamic texts before Dante (twelfth and thirteenth centuries)', 79-92; T.E. Burman, 'How an Italian friar read his Arabic Qur'an', 93-109; B.D. Schildgen, 'Philosophers, theologians, and the Islamic legacy in Dante. Inferno 4 versus Paradiso 4', 113-32; G.B. Stone, 'Dante and the "falasifa". Religion as imagination', 133-56; D. Boccassini, 'Falconry as a transmutative art. Dante, Frederick II, and Islam', 157-82; M. Esposito Frank, 'Dante's Muhammad. Parallels between Islam and Arianism', 185-206; K. Mallette, 'Muhammad in hell', 207-24; J. Tolan, 'Mendicants and Muslims in Dante's Florence', 227-48; K.M. Hall, 'Dante and the three religions', 249-70; D. Abulafia, 'The last Muslims in Italy', 271-87
- B.D. Schildgen, 'Middle Eastern apocalyptic traditions in Dante. *La divina commedia* and Mohammed's *Mi'raj* or night journey', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 4 (2007) 171-93
- C.G. Antoni (ed.), *Echi letterari della cultura araba nella lirica provenzale e nella Commedia di Dante*, Udine, 2006
- G.B. Stone, *Dante's pluralism and the Islamic philosophy of religion*, New York, 2006
- K. Mallette, 'Dante e l'Islam sul canto III del *Purgatorio*', *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 41 (2005) 39-62
- A. Longoni, 'Il contrappasso tra occidente cristiano e mondo arabo', *Strumenti critici* 19 (2004) 189-231
- M. Corti, 'La "Commedia" di Dante e l'oltretomba islamico', in *Scritti su Cavalcanti e Dante; La felicità mentale; Percorsi dell'invenzione e altri saggi*, Turin, 2003, 365-79
- P. Locatin, 'Maometto negli antichi commenti alla "Commedia"', *L'Alighieri* 20 (2002) 41-75
- T. Silverstein, 'Dante e la leggenda del "Mi'raj". Il problema dell'influsso islamico nella letteratura escatologica cristiana', *Critica del Testo* 3 (2001) 582-636

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- S.C. Akbari, art. 'Islam and Islamic culture', in R. Lansing (ed.), *The Dante encyclopaedia*, ed. R. Lansing, London, 2000
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- M.R. Menocal, *The Arabic role in medieval literary history. A forgotten heritage*, Philadelphia PA, 1987
- E. Werner, *Liber scale Machometi. Die lateinische Fassung des Kitab al mi'radj*, Düsseldorf, 1986
- S. Faḡl, *Ta'thīr al-thaqāfa l-Islāmiyya fī l-Kūmīdiyā l-ilāhiyya li-Dāntī*, Beirut, 1985
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- G. Sepulveda, *Influencia del Islam en La divina comedia*, Santiago, 1965
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- U. Bosco, 'Contatti della cultura occidentale di Dante con la letteratura non dotta arabo-spagnola', *Studi Danteschi* 29 (1950) 85-102
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Paolo de Ventura

Martyrology of Bishop Grigor of Karin (Erzurum)

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH Approximately 1270s-80s
PLACE OF BIRTH Armenia
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The author does not identify himself/herself in the narrative nor does he/she make any indirect allusions that might clarify his/her provenance and background. On the basis of the norms for this type of narrative, one might plausibly argue that the martyrology was composed by a monk or *vardapet* (doctor of theology) at one of the monasteries in the neighborhood of Erzurum not long after the events he documented.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The only source directly associated with the author is the martyrology itself.

Secondary

There are no secondary investigations of authorship.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Vkayabanut'wn Grigori episkoposi Karnec'woy,
'Martyrology of Bishop Grigor of Karin (Erzurum)'

DATE Approximately 1321
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

The account situates the martyrdom within the broader context of Christian-Muslim relations in the Ilkhanate after the leaders' adoption of Islam and the new social and financial burdens this placed upon the

Christian community, as well as peremptory attacks on their churches and monasteries. It then treats the anti-Christian activities of Timurtash, the Mongol viceroy of Rum from 1319, who planned an abortive campaign against Armenian Cilicia, and then redirected his energies towards Greater Armenia, burning the cathedral of Eĵmiacin, looting the city and taking many captives, and pursuing similar objectives in Kayseri.

Against this background, the narrative focuses on the situation in Karin (Erzurum) and the anti-Christian initiative adopted by the local *qāḏī*. Obtaining an edict from Timurtash, he arrested the Armenian Bishop Grigor and his paternal uncle Tēr Pap, forcibly binding and circumcising the latter and interrogating the former. Displeased at his responses, the *qāḏī* ordered him to be beaten with iron staves on the chest and back till his bones showed through, then left him on the spot half-dead, at which point the crowd attacked his church dedicated to St John the Precursor, destroying the altar and stealing the holy vessels and Gospel book. When the bishop rejected the counsels of Muslim scholars and elders to accept Islam, the administrator of the city commanded the sinews of his knees to be cut and salt to be applied to his wounds. However, when he lay in that state for hours without uttering a word, he was taken to the house of a Muslim who kept him under supervision and thereafter to prison, where he remained for 20 days, refusing food and water, except for holy communion, which he secretly arranged to be brought from one of the priests.

Then the verdict was delivered of death by the sword. Once he had offered a long prayer, the bishop was duly decapitated, after which the administrator placed a watch to prevent any of the Christians removing his body. However, the appearance of a heavenly light on the third night persuaded him finally to release the body for burial, and it was accordingly laid to rest in the Church of St John the Precursor. The martyrdom occurred on Tuesday, 29 January 1321.

SIGNIFICANCE

The narrative frame sheds valuable light on the paradigm change in Ilkhanid religious perspective after the leadership adopted Islam, abandoning their neutral stance and toleration of religious pluralism to impose a series of taxes and restrictions on minority communities, from Ölĵeitü onwards. This text directs particular attention to the poll tax (*kharāĵ*) as being so onerous as to provoke Armenian emigration from Greater Armenia to the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia and to the Crimea,

altering the demographics of the region. It also indicates the increasing vulnerability of the minorities to arbitrary impediments and unwarranted attack, which was often permitted, if not actually initiated, by the leadership. In this instance, the example of Timurtash is mentioned, a scion of the powerful Chupanid family that played a major role in government during the final phase of the Ilkhanate. The text discusses his abortive invasion of Cilicia in about 1320, which was probably intended to coordinate with Mamluk Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's campaign, taking advantage of the death of King Ošin and the minority of his son Levon IV (r. 1320-41), which in turn elicited appeals from Pope John XXII to both the sultan and Ilkhan Abū Sa'īd. It is also likely that Timurtash's move formed part of his broader pro-Mamluk policy, which informed his revolt in 1322 and his defection to Egypt five years later. Similarly, his burning of the cathedral of Eġmiacin struck at one of the most symbolic sites for the Armenian church, founded in the early 4th century by St Gregory the Illuminator who was instrumental in establishing Christianity as the religion of the court.

Significantly, the text also contrasts the role of the *qāḏī* with other official or semi-official figures. Thus, the administrator of the city immediately granted permission for the Christians to bury the martyr, whereas the *qāḏī* demanded a high ransom for the release of the body. Earlier, the householder had wished to show the bishop hospitality while in his care and the jailor had wanted to offer him water, while the *qāḏī*'s judgment is peremptory and his petition for an edict appears motivated by the desire to undermine the proper functioning of the local Armenian religious community by neutralizing its hierarchy.

MANUSCRIPTS

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fols 152v-155v (post-1567)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *Novie armyanskie mucheniki (1155-1843), perevod, predislovie i primechaniya*, Yerevan, 1998, pp. 56-60, 267 (Russian trans.)

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Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, Vałaršapat, 1903, pp. 121-28 (critical edition)

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STUDIES

K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkayabanut'yunner (V-XVIII dd.)*, Yerevan, 2011, pp. 326-27

K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *XI-XV dareri Hay vark'agrut'yunə*, Yerevan, 1980, p. 13

H. Ač'aġyan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri baġaran*, vol. 1, Yerevan, 1942, p. 590

S. Peter Cowe

Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī

Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Ṭālib
al-Anṣārī l-Dimashqī, Shaykh al-Rabwa

DATE OF BIRTH 1256
PLACE OF BIRTH Ṣafad, near Damascus
DATE OF DEATH 1327
PLACE OF DEATH Ṣafad

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī was known in his time for the breadth of his interests. Born near Damascus, he appears to have remained in his native locality for most of his life, serving as *imām* at al-Rabwa, and rising to become a local celebrity.

He wrote on many subjects. Among his works are *Kitāb al-maqāmāt al-falsafīyya wa-l-tarjamāt al-Ṣūfīyya* (‘Philosophical sessions and interpretations of mysticism’), a compendium of diverse topics, including mathematics, theology, history, and esoteric speculation, in 50 sections; and his best-known work, *Nukhbat al-dahr fī ‘ajā’ib al-barr wa-l-baḥr* (‘The pick of the age on the wonders of land and sea’), a geographical encyclopaedia. As in the *Jawāb* (see below), in these works he shows an interest in facts and stories as opposed to concepts and arguments.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Al-Ṣafadī, *A’yān al-‘aṣr wa-a’wān al-naṣr*, ed. A. Abū Zayd et al., 6 vols, Beirut, 1998, iv, pp. 475-80
Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Al-durar al-kāmina fī a’yān al-mi’a l-thāmina*, 4 vols, Hyderabad, 1929-31, iii, pp. 458-59

Secondary

R. Ebied and D. Thomas (eds), *Muslim-Christian polemic during the Crusades. The letter from the people of Cyprus and Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī’s response*, Leiden, 2005, pp. 23-25

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Jawāb risālat ahl jazīrat Qubruṣ, 'Reply to the letter of the people of Cyprus'

DATE June 1321

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This long work is a reply to the anonymous letter that was sent in the name of the people of Cyprus to demonstrate how Christianity is supported and authenticated by the Qur'an (see 'The letter from the People of Cyprus'); this is an extensively edited version of Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim friend* (q.v.), written by Paul about a century earlier. In 1316, a version of this letter was sent from Cyprus to the theologian Ibn Taymiyya (q.v.) and, on 11 March 1321, another slightly different version was sent to al-Dimashqī. He says that it was brought by the merchant Kilyām (Guillaume), whom he professes to know, but there are reasons to suppose that this individual was as fictional as the scholars whom Paul says he met in Europe and the Cypriot author says he met in Cyprus (see Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian polemic*, pp. 25-27). Al-Dimashqī quotes the letter in full, and methodically attaches his responses to each of its sections. These often bring in hosts of details that go far beyond the points made in the letter, though they cast an informative light on the attitudes towards Christianity and knowledge about it that were circulating among informed intellectuals in the early 14th century.

The *Jawāb* is divided into an introduction and 13 sections, most headed by a part of the letter from Cyprus. After describing in the introduction how he received the letter, and explaining that it evidently calls for a polemical reply, al-Dimashqī responds in Section 1 to the claim that Muḥammad was only sent to the Arabs by demonstrating, on the basis of a wide range of detailed information, that Muḥammad was expected and predicted as a universal prophet. In Section 2, he argues that, if the Qur'an is claimed to acknowledge Christ, Mary and the Gospels, by the same token its acknowledgement of Muḥammad should also be recognized, while in Section 3 he points out that its soundness compared with the Torah and Gospel should be accepted. He goes on in Section 4 to argue that, even if the Qur'an appears to acknowledge the Gospel, though it does not, evidence can be adduced to show that the Gospels are not reliable.

In Section 5, al-Dimashqī turns to the argument that the Qur'an recognizes the Christians and condemns the Jews, insisting that his Cypriot opponents misinterpret the Qur'an on these points, and in Sections 6-11, he argues that, despite what Christians claim, the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation are unreasonable and illogical, and are not founded on the Old Testament prophets. In Section 12, he responds to the allegation that Christ's law was perfect and required nothing more, and in Section 13, he shows at length and by referring to philosophical speculations how the teachings of Muḥammad correct previous errors about the transcendent and unfathomable nature of God.

Al-Dimashqī approaches his task of responding to the unusual propositions in the letter from Cyprus with undisguised enthusiasm (he wrote it in a matter of months), and from the evidently traditional position that Christian beliefs were wrong because they had deviated from an original truth, mainly through dependence on corrupt scripture. He does not respond closely to the points made in the letter – possibly because he recognizes their radical challenge to the beliefs of his own tradition – but instead he counters the general positions they represent.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Jawāb* is less instructive for the cogency of its arguments than for the interest of the details it collects together, among them the parts played by the Apostle Paul and the Emperor Constantine in perverting original Christianity, and the verses in the Bible that stand as proof of the veracity of Muḥammad. These details show how much Muslims at this time might know about Christian beliefs and history, and also how far they were influenced by the norms of their own tradition in evaluating them. They also show how elements that appear in earlier polemical works had become molded into composite arguments in what appear to have been unquestioningly accepted as factual proofs of the unerring truth of Islam and the inadequacy of any efforts to challenge it.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Utrecht, University Library – 1149 (1370)

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Marsh 40, fols 161r-255r (1645; a close copy of the Utrecht MS yielding no independent readings)

The scribe of the Utrecht MS names himself at the end of the work as Abū Bakr ibn 'Alī Ra'ūd al-Tarūḥī. On the basis of Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, p. 42, no. 22, the notice in 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 4 (1978) p. 260, mistakenly identifies this individual as the author of a separate work.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian polemic during the crusades*

E.L. Vriemoet, *Arabismus, exhibens grammaticam Arabicam novam & monumenta quaedam Arabica, cum notis miscellaneis & glossario Arabico-Latino*, Franequerae, 1733, pp. 130-48 (Latin trans. of Utrecht MS fols 5r-9r)

STUDIES

Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian polemic during the crusades*, pp. 25-35

T. Michel, *Ibn Taymiyya's Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ. A Muslim theologian's response to Christianity*, Chicago IL, 1978 (Phd Diss. University of Chicago), p. 258

E. Fritsch, *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter*, Breslau, 1930, pp. 34-36

David Thomas

De Saracenis

Unknown author

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

De Saracenis et ritu ipsorum in oratione et ieiunio et aliis moribus ipsorum; De Saracenis et ritu ipsorum,
'On the Saracens and their practice in prayer and fasting and other customs of theirs'

DATE Late 13th or early 14th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This brief anonymous text consists of 18 paragraphs describing various aspects of Muslim practice and doctrine, extracted from ch. 5 of Petrus Alfonsi's (q.v.) *Dialogi contra Iudaeos* of 1110. It describes Muslim ablutions, fasting, the pilgrimage to Mecca, dietary restrictions, marriage and divorce, prohibition of wine, practice of justice, and beliefs about heaven and hell. These passages are descriptive and remarkably free of invective, which is all the more remarkable since the tone of Petrus Alfonsi's anti-Islamic chapter is considerably harsher. Only in the final paragraphs, relating how Muḥammad 'feigned to be a prophet', and imputing his doctrines to the influence of Jacobite heretics and Jews, does one find a polemical tone.

The text is extant in one manuscript, alongside the relation of the Mongol mission of John of Piancarpino in 1245-48 and a *Brevis descriptio orbis* ('Brief description of the world'). The context shows that the scribe was no doubt interested in understanding the beliefs and practices of Muslims, without necessarily polemical purpose.

SIGNIFICANCE

This work attests to the importance of Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialogues* as a source of knowledge about Islam in Latin Europe. It also attests to the growing tendency to place Islam in a broader perspective, alongside other beliefs (such as those of the Mongols); in this context, Islam is often portrayed in a less polemical way.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria – E. V. 8 (late 13th or early 14th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

G Golubovich (ed.), *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, vol. 1, Quaracchi, 1906, pp. 400-1

STUDIES —

John Tolan

An anonymous treatise about the excellences of ‘Alī

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH Possibly 14th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Possibly 14th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; possibly Yemen

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about the author of this treatise, though it can be inferred that he was a Shī‘ī and was active in Yemen in the 14th century.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary —

Secondary —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

An anonymous treatise about the excellences of ‘Alī

DATE Probably 14th century
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This treatise consists of a collection of historical reports (*akhbār*) about the excellences of ‘Alī, and forms the second part of the 14th-century Yemeni author Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Daylamī’s *Irshād al-qulūb fī l-mawā‘iẓ wa-l-ḥukm* (‘Guidance of hearts through exhortations and wisdom’). The book as a whole is composed of two volumes, and there is some debate about the authenticity of the second, which is dedicated to the virtues of ‘Alī. (The first book is on ethics.) Etan Kohlberg argues that although both volumes were regarded as parts of a single work by 1615, when they are mentioned together in a catalogue, this may well not have been the case originally. For one thing, al-Daylamī in his introduction

proposes to cover his topic in 54 chapters (or 52 depending upon the edition), and the first volume alone includes this exact number, and for another, the second volume does not mention al-Daylamī's name and is concerned not with matters of faith and morality but with the virtues of ‘Alī. Thus, Kohlberg does not regard al-Daylamī as the author of this volume, and its author remains unknown.

The collection probably belongs to the 14th century, contemporaneous with al-Daylamī. This period seems most likely since it includes transmission lines of Islamic figures from the 12th to early 14th century, such as the Mu‘tazilī Abū l-Mu‘ayyad al-Muwaffaq ibn Aḥmad Khuwārizmī al-Makkī (d. 1172) and Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Ganjī l-Shāfi‘ī (d. 1260), and it closes with a poem by the Shī‘ī scholar Rajab al-Barsī (14th century). As for the provenance of the treatise, it is most likely Yemen (though it was also known among the Shī‘a in Safavid Persia in later centuries) because Yemen was a Zaydī stronghold and the location of al-Daylamī's works. It may have been appended to al-Daylamī's work by a Zaydī scholar in Yemen to add to its legitimacy.

The first part of the treatise discusses the key theme of excellence, and how ‘Alī exhibited the quality in his birth, ancestry, modesty, asceticism, humility, speech, and military prowess. The second part shifts into a series of historical accounts about his actions on expeditions and his battles with Mu‘āwiya and the Khārijīs. The third part, which is of interest for Muslim-Christian relations, includes a number of reports of various conversations between ‘Alī and other individuals, including Sunnīs, Jews, and Christians.

There are at least four accounts of ‘Alī's interactions with Christians: a discussion with a Christian monk (attributed to Shaykh al-Mufid, d. 1022); a debate with a Byzantine patriarch (*jāthaliq*) (no transmission line); a report of ‘Alī converting the Byzantine emperor (no transmission line); and a report about a Syrian monk and Khālid ibn al-Walīd (no transmission line).

The first report is a one-page discussion that is said to have taken place during ‘Alī's return journey from the battle of Şiffin (in 657), when he and his entourage stopped at a monastery. With his Bible in hand, a Christian monk mentions to ‘Alī that he is a disciple of Jesus son of Mary, and notes that God could have sent a prophet among the Arabs through Ibrāhīm's son Ismā‘īl. ‘Alī thereupon gives an explanation of the Shī‘ī understanding of Jesus.

The second report is the longest of the accounts at around 17 pages in modern editions. Accompanied by his entourage, the Byzantine patriarch

successfully defeats the first Caliph Abū Bakr (r. 632-34) in debate. Then ‘Alī points out the weakness of the patriarch’s answer, to which the patriarch responds with a series of questions in a dialectical argument (*kalām*). ‘Alī gives a comprehensive answer, causing the patriarch and his entourage to observe that his replies are more compelling than anything from the Sunnīs.

The third report of roughly three pages recalls the Byzantine emperor before Heraclius (r. 610-41), whom ‘Alī is supposed to have converted to Islam. This is a Shī‘ī elaboration of a Sunnī legend, found in many sources, which claims that Heraclius recognized the validity of Muḥammad’s prophethood, and, according to this version, the emperor (who would have been Phocas, who ruled from 602 to 610, before even Muḥammad migrated to Medina, making the whole incident historically impossible) writes a series of riddle-like questions to the second Caliph ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 634-44): What is the meaning of *sūrat al-Fātiḥa*? What kind of water did the Queen of Sheba give to Solomon that was not from the earth or sky? What were the origin, name, power, ability, and dimensions of Moses’ staff? If two sons are born of the same parents, how can God allow one into heaven and cast the other into hell? When ‘Umar is unable to respond, ‘Alī writes a detailed letter answering each question. The emperor converts to Islam (though the populace and leaders reject his conversion, which he hides until his death), and so does his successor Heraclius. At the conclusion of the story, the author argues that the emperor’s failure to promote his conversion resulted in ‘our corruption and our destruction’.

The fourth report of approximately six pages recalls Sahl ibn Ḥanīf al-Anṣārī and the general Khālīd ibn al-Walīd (d. 642) travelling between Syria and Iraq. During the journey, they stop at a monastery and enter into discussion with an old hermit of the community. Khālīd talks about Jesus’ humanity and divinity, and then they discuss the various Islamic criteria for the choice of the Prophet’s successor. The conversation promotes ‘Alī as the ideal type.

The literal authenticity of these stories is so unlikely as to be negligible, not least because they contain historical inaccuracies and conform in many respects to polemical types. Their main focus is upon communicating the perfection of ‘Alī and his superiority in knowledge over his Sunnī contemporaries, and the interactions between him and other Muslims and Christians serve this larger purpose.

SIGNIFICANCE

In its literary afterlife, the treatise about the excellences of 'Alī continued to be popular among various Shī'ī communities of the later medieval period, and circulated in Yemen and Safavid Persia, where it was preserved by the scholar al-Majlisī. The endurance of these legends in Islamic lore indicates that they were valued for religious learning, especially because they were attached to the authoritative figure of al-Daylamī.

With regard to Muslim-Christian encounters, the Christian content in the collection suggests the importance of Christian figures as typological figures in Shī'ī writings. Often through their conversions, Christian figures were portrayed as catalysts to emphasize the power and leadership of the Shī'ī imams.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Ann Arbor, University of Michigan – 172 (Suleiman Purchase)
(1695)

MS London, Institute of Ismaili Studies – Arabic 400, fols 92r-225v
(19th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Al-Daylamī, *Irshād al-qulūb*, Qum, 1991

Al-Daylamī, *Irshād al-qulūb*, Beirut, 1978

Al-Daylamī, *Irshād al-qulūb*, al-Najaf, 1973

STUDIES

D. Bertaina, 'Christians in medieval Shī'ī historiography', *Medieval Encounters* (forthcoming)

E. Kohlberg, 'Abū Moḥammad Ḥasan Deylamī', *Encyclopaedia Iranica-Online*, 1996, www.iranica.com

David Bertaina

Theodore Metochites

Theodōros Metochitēs, Theoleptus, Theolēptos

DATE OF BIRTH 1270/71
PLACE OF BIRTH Constantinople
DATE OF DEATH 1332
PLACE OF DEATH Constantinople

BIOGRAPHY

Theodore Metochites was born, probably in 1270/71, in Constantinople. However, at the age of 13, he had to leave the capital since his father, a supporter of the church union with Rome that was concluded by Michael VIII Palaeologus, was exiled to Asia Minor by the new emperor, Andronicus II (1282-1328). In 1290, however, Metochites attracted the attention of Andronicus II when he was in Nicea, and entered the imperial service.

In the following years, Metochites accompanied the emperor during his sojourn in Asia Minor. After the emperor's return to Constantinople, Metochites took part in several diplomatic missions to Cyprus and Cilicia in 1295 and Serbia in 1298/99. Between 1303 and 1305, he was in the service of the Empress Irene (Yolanda) of Montferrat, who had retired to Thessaloniki. Around 1305, he returned to Constantinople, and soon became one of the most important imperial officials. Maybe already in 1305 or maybe only in 1315/16 (thus *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*; cf. Beck, *Theodoros Metochites*, p. 11, for a discussion of this date), he was appointed *mesazōn*, a kind of prime minister, and was in charge of the state affairs. He amassed great wealth and married his daughter to the nephew of Andronicus II.

Finally in 1321, he obtained the highest position of all, that of the *megas logothetēs*, the Grand Logothete. In the civil war between Andronicus II and his grandson Andronicus III (1328-42), he was loyal to his master. After the fall of the older emperor, Metochites' property was confiscated, his palatial mansion burned down and he was exiled to Didymoteichon. Deprived of all his wealth and influence, he became a bitter man, disappointed with life. In 1330, he was allowed to return to Constantinople to live in the monastery of the Chora, which he had restored and where he had placed his large library. On his deathbed he became a monk,

adopting the name Theoleptus. He died in his monastery on 13 March 1332.

Metochites was in close contact with, and patron of, the most important intellectuals of his time, such as Joseph the Philosopher, Manuel Bryennius and Nicephorus Gregoras (q.v.). He himself was also a very distinguished author of poems, rhetorical writings and philosophical and astronomical-mathematical treatises. His collection of *Miscellanea philosophica et historica*, consisting of short essays on diverse political, historical and philosophical subjects, is unique, since here he describes Byzantium as just another political entity that is bound to perish like all things.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

In addition to the information in the main historical works of this time, such as those of George Pachymeres, Nicephorus Gregoras and John Kantakouzenus (for the references to these works, see *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*), Metochites himself wrote two autobiographical essays in his *Introduction to astronomy* and in his first poem.

Theodore Metochites' Stoicheiosis astronomike and the study of natural philosophy and mathematics in early Palaiologan Byzantium, ed. B. Bydén (*Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia* 66), Göteborg, 2003, pp. 417-43

Dichtungen des Gross-Logotheten Theodoros Metochites, ed. M. Treu, Potsdam, 1895, pp. 3-37

Miscellanea philosophica et historica, ed. C.G. Müller and T. Kiessling, Leipzig, 1821 (repr. Amsterdam, 1966), pp. 184-95

For a more complete list of his works, see H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachige profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols, Munich, 1978, i, pp. 192-93, ii, pp. 248-49

Secondary

M. Bazzani, 'Theodore Metochites. A Byzantine humanist', *Byzantion* 76 (2006) 32-52

D. Angelov, 'Theodore Metochites. Statesman, intellectual, poet and patron of the arts', in H. Klein (ed.), *Restoring Byzantium. The Kariye Camii in Istanbul and the Byzantine Institute restoration*, New York, 2004, 15-21

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Eis ton neon martyra Michaēl, 'On Michael the new martyr'

DATE Between 1305 and 1324

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

Metochites' rhetorical writings were collected during his own lifetime (according to Ševčenko, *Etudes*, commissioned and redacted by Metochites himself); they are to be found in Codex Philosophicus Graecus 95, in the Vienna State Library. It seems that the works are, at least more or less, in chronological order.

The oration on the neomartyr Michael of Alexandria (in the MS margin the explanatory note appears: *Eis ton hagion martyra Michaēl ton neon ton kat' Aigypton martyrēsanta epi tois chronois tou eusebestatou basileōs Rhōmaïōn kyrou Andronikou tou Palaiologou*, 'On the holy martyr Michael the Younger who testified in Egypt in the times of the most pious emperor of the Romans, the lord Andronicus Palaeologus') is arranged between the *Ethikos*, which is dated 1305, and the two Orations *Against the uneducated*, which were written between 1324 and 1326. So a dating between 1305 and 1324 is quite plausible, and is corroborated by the fact that, from 1305 on, Metochites was the most influential official at the imperial court (although Jacoby, 'Byzantine traders in Mamluk Egypt', pp. 251-52, assumes that the oration was written in the 1290s).

The oration on Michael of Alexandria was given, or says it was given, publicly in the presence of the Emperor Andronicus II. After praising the emperor's piety and his constant care for the church and Christianity in general, Metochites introduces the saint as a new martyr (an epithet used to designate those saints who, from about the 11th and 12th centuries on, gave their lives in the course of the advance of the Muslim Turks and Mongols). He says that Michael was sent by God for all men, the Byzantines as well as the non-believers, thanks to the emperor's piety. However, the emperor should not just adorn himself with the saint but proclaim his fame to all.

Then, Metochites tells the life of Michael with frequent, lengthy rhetorical excursuses addressed to the saint himself, Egypt, the audience and even the Muslims. He says that Michael was born to Christian parents in the area of Smyrna, Izmir, at the end of the 13th century. While still a child, and not yet equipped with the armor of faith, he was abducted by 'barbarians', i.e. Turks, who raided the area. Typically, these Turks did not take captives for their own use, but to sell them. Michael was sold in Egypt, and there he lost his own faith because of his youth and was captured and overwhelmed by the abominable (*mysarōis telemois*) rites of Muḥammad (Mōamed) and the futile nonsense (*lērois*) prevalent in Egypt. The two main characteristics that Metochites ascribes to Islam already appear here, and they emerge again and again in many different ways and expressions, as might be expected from a work of rhetoric: Islam is loathsome (*bdelyros*), licentious (*aselgēs*) and impious or sacrilegious (*asebēs*), and it consists of senseless, idle talk and gossip (*mataiologia, terateia*) and is just pure nonsense (*phlyaria*, also *alogōtatos*) that can only be derided by any sensible person. The saint's loss of his own faith is, however, attributed entirely to his youth, and does not represent a fundamental dereliction of his own self. Indeed, if he had lived a peaceful, quiet life he would not have had the opportunity to demonstrate his greatness and his piety.

On account of his physical strength, Michael was assigned to the Mamluk forces, where he proved his worth, so that he was held in high esteem among the wealthy and was actually sold by one of them. Metochites' report thus far seems to be entirely credible, for Michael's path through life up to this point was quite typical of the recruitment and training of military slaves. Christians captured on plundering raids and in war certainly constituted an important source of supply for the Egyptian Mamluks.

Michael is depicted as a lost sheep, but he is not forgotten by God, who bestows upon him insight and reason so that he finally perceives the impiety surrounding him. From this time on, he desires to return to the Christian faith and plans his flight from Egypt night and day. Finally, he contacts the head of the local Christian community, an admirable shepherd who endures patiently the difficulties of his situation. When the saint learns of an imperial embassy that is about to embark from Alexandria to return to Constantinople, he decides to board their ship disguised as a monk.

At this point, Metochites begins an excursus on Andronicus II's policy towards the Mamluks. He points out that the presence of Byzantine ambassadors in Egypt was nothing unusual since the emperor quite often sent missions to the Mamluk sultan, who is nevertheless described as most hateful (*echthistos*) and extremely abnormal (*allotriōtatos*) because of his faith. This corresponds to the historical facts, because Byzantine relations with the Mamluks were generally good, since the slave trade on the sea routes from the Black Sea to Egypt continued to flourish. We know of several Byzantine embassies to Cairo in Metochites' time, namely in 1305/6, possibly in 1310, in 1319 and 1320. Against this background, the proposed dating of the speech to the period between 1305 and 1324 fits with the political conditions of the time.

Metochites then takes the mention of the embassy as the occasion to insert a lengthier excursus on Andronicus' Egyptian, or better eastern, policy. The emperor, he observes, does not act out of need or to achieve a particular benefit. Rather, he sees as his main concern the well-being of the Christian community entrusted to him, including Christians in distant countries who are living under non-Christian rule. Even though these communities are small and around them crime (*hybris*) of every kind rises up against religion and the might of the Devil triumphs over human nature, thanks to the emperor's solicitude and vigilance there are still monasteries, Christian worship and an ecclesiastical hierarchy to care for the faithful. Andronicus II was obviously striving to re-establish Byzantium as the Melkite Christians' protective power in the Middle East, after it had lost this role following the conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204.

Michael's flight from Egypt and his Muslim owners is thwarted by betrayal and he is handed over to the authorities, when he openly professes his true faith and renounces Islam. The Muslims then attempt to make him change his mind, at first with promises and money, then through torture, but without success. At this point, Metochites addresses

Muslims in general, asking them how they could have believed he would give up the true faith for this abominable and ridiculous (*katagelastos*) gossip (*leschē*). The reasonable Christian faith is repeatedly contrasted with the fabulous figments (*mythōdē plasmata*) and the totally irrational illusion (*planēn pantapasin alogiston*) that Islam represents.

Finally, Michael is led to his execution, but after he is beheaded his mouth still proclaims '*Kyrie eleison*', and those present scramble to get hold of something from him as a relic.

In conclusion, Metochites emphasizes that many people witnessed this miracle. Alexandria, a flourishing trading center, was full of people who were drawn by the spectacle of the execution, among them 'Romans, (i.e. Byzantines), who had come for the above mentioned embassy, and those who were in the city for trade, and Italians; the city is always full of them', but there were also Russians, Arabs, Syrians, and a Serbian embassy as well. This list of the nationalities of those witnessing the execution is notable as one of the rare references to Byzantine merchants in Alexandria in the Palaeologan period.

SIGNIFICANCE

This oration is not a *Vita* of Michael, who is otherwise unknown and is not mentioned in the Byzantine synaxaria or any of the calendars of saints of the Orthodox Church. Nevertheless, his life, in this oration, fits into the series of other known lives of neomartyrs from the 15th century and later, in which conversion to Islam with a subsequent return to Christianity represents a frequent motif (cf. Nicodemus Hagioreites [q.v.]). Thus, even if there is no cause to doubt Michael's historicity, with regard to incidental motifs he would seem to exemplify recurring *topoi* (e.g. his youth, his betrayal, and the futile attempts by the Muslim authorities to change his mind). Metochites' main objective in writing seems to have been to establish Michael as a saint, maybe because of the increasing number of conversions to Islam by Christians living in areas conquered by the Turks (for the neomartyrs, see Zachariadou, 'The neomartyr's message', and Krstić, *Contested conversions*).

Furthermore, this text presents an informative and very rare source for the situation of the Melkite Church in Mamluk Egypt, and provides insights into Byzantine-Mamluk relations at the beginning of the 14th century. It is also an important testimony to the presentation of imperial policy towards the Mamluks, on which Theodore Metochites undoubtedly had a fundamental determining influence.

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Johannes Pahlitzsch

Ibn Abī Zarʿ

Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn Abī Zarʿ al-Fāsī

DATE OF BIRTH	Mid-13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; probably Fez
DATE OF DEATH	After 1326
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

A remarkable fact about this author is the lack of information about him, when it is considered that his chronicle *Al-anīs al-muṭrib bi-rawḍ al-qirṭās* had great influence in his time. Biographical dictionaries provide only fragmentary details about him, and attribute this work to a number of different individuals, probably members of the same family: Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Abī Zarʿ (d. 1310-1320), Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Zarʿ (d. 1340), Abū Muḥammad Šāliḥ ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm al-Gharnāṭī (d. 1326), and the actual author, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn Abī Zarʿ al-Fāsī.

The little reliable information on ʿAlī ibn Abī Zarʿ comes from his work itself. He narrates events up to the year 1326, suggesting that he died not long after, and he gives a detailed description of the city of Fez, indicating that he was a native. He also mentions 'our great book' (*kitābunā l-kabūr*), which was the lost *Azhār al-bustān fī akhbār al-zamān* ('Blossoms of the garden, on reports of the time'), a longer work than the *Rawḍ al-qirṭās*, on the history of al-Andalus and the Maghreb. He may have been the author of *Al-dhakhīra l-saniyya fī l-taʾrīkh al-dawla l-Marīniyya* ('The radiant treasure, on the history of the Marīnid dynasty'), which he uses extensively in the *Rawḍ al-qirṭās*, though differences between the works cast doubt on this (see Shatzmiller, *Historiographie*, p. 25).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-anīs al-muṭrib bi-rawḍ al-qirṭās fī akhbār mulūk al-Maghrib wa-ta'riḫ madīnat Fās; Rawḍ al-qirṭās; Qirṭās, 'The entertaining companion in the maiden's garden, on reports of the kings of the Maghreb and the history of the city of Fez'

DATE Before 1326

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work is a history of the rulers of the Maghreb, and a local history of the city of Fez. The dynasties included are the Idrīsī, Maghrāwa, Banū

Īfrān, Almoravids, Almohads and Marīnids. It gives personal details about individual rulers, together with significant facts about their rule. It is a valuable source for the history of the Maghreb in the 13th and 14th centuries, and for the history of al-Andalus at this time.

SIGNIFICANCE

Christians are regularly called polytheists in the *Rawḍ al-qirtās*, and a significant detail is the custom of *jihād* against them as one of the means by which rulers legitimized themselves. Thus, in 1275 the Marinid Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb (r. 1258-86) conducts *jihād* as 'his first expedition to the country of polytheism (*bilād al-shirk*)' (Huici ed., pp. 313-15, trad., pp. 592-97). Warfare against the Christians of al-Andalus becomes one of the main means by which the dynasty gains popular support and strengthens its power. Abū Yūsuf's five expeditions against al-Andalus are described in great detail.

MANUSCRIPTS

The *Rawḍ al-qirtās* circulated widely after its appearance, and copies can be found in most major European libraries, though no single list is available. The following list shows the holdings of the Maktaba l-Ḥasaniyya in Rabat.

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María Dolores Rodríguez-Gómez

Ibn al-Ṣuqā'ī

Al-Muwaffaq Faḍlallāḥ ibn Abī l-Fakhr
ibn al-Ṣuqā'ī al-kātib al-Naṣrānī

DATE OF BIRTH Shortly after 1228
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH 1325-26
PLACE OF DEATH al-Arza, outside Damascus

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Muwaffaq Faḍlallāḥ ibn Abī l-Fakhr ibn al-Ṣuqā'ī was a Christian who had a successful career as a financial administrator (*kātib*) under the Mamluks. He served in the *dīwān al-murtaja'* (bureau of reclamation) and in the *dīwān al-mawārith* (bureau of inheritances); we know that he occupied the latter post in 1287. In an age when many Christian financial administrators came to inglorious ends, Ibn al-Ṣuqā'ī was a survivor. It appears that he had a comfortable retirement during which he was able to devote himself to literary activities. He lived to be nearly 100 (lunar) years old and died in his own garden in al-Arza, a village in the rural Ghūṭa outside Damascus.

Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī reported that al-Ṣuqā'ī composed a harmony of the four Gospels (in Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, and Coptic); a continuation to the *History* of al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-'Amīd (q.v.) for the years 1260-1320; a biographical dictionary of singers; and an abridgement of Ibn Khallikān's *Wafāyāt al-a'yān* ('Obituaries of prominent people'), along with a 'Continuation' (*tālī*) of the work. As far as we know, of these works only the *Tālī* has been preserved (and will be treated below). The suggestion that the Gospels harmony has been preserved in MS S bath 1029 – now MS Aleppo, Salem Ar. 227 – has been called into question by Samir (review of Sublet, p. 186).

Ibn al-Ṣuqā'ī was a pious Christian who, al-Kutubī tells us, claimed to have memorized 'the Torah, the Gospel, and the Psalms'. However, we are not told which Christian community he belonged to. It is usually assumed that he was a Melkite, although it is not impossible that he was a Copt (Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.2, pp. 100-1).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tālī Kitāb wafayāt al-a'yān, "The continuation of "Obituaries of prominent people"

DATE 1325-26

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Ibn al-Şuqā'ī's *Tālī* is a work very familiar in form to students of medieval Arabic literature: the biographical dictionary. One of the monuments of this genre is the *Kitāb wafayāt al-a'yān* ('Obituaries of prominent people')

of Ibn Khallikān (d. 1282); Ibn al-Suqā'ī made a condensed version of this work (now lost) and added his *Tālī* or 'Continuation'. This *Tālī* originally consisted of 300 notices arranged alphabetically by name, treating selected people who died during the period under consideration (1258-1317); to this is added an appendix consisting of 53 additional notices, arranged by date of death, for the period 1317-25. The whole occupies 88 folios in the unique manuscript (MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 2061), or 195 pages in Sublet's edition.

What is surprising about Ibn al-Şuqā'ī's *Tālī* is not its form, but rather the fact that its author was not a Muslim, as was normally the case for medieval Arabic biographical dictionaries, but a Christian – and one who could write with the sharp observation and insider knowledge of a skilled and well-connected bureaucrat who had made a successful career for himself, despite the precarious position that *dhimmī* financial administrators occupied under the Mamluks. A few of Ibn al-Şuqā'ī's notices are dedicated to non-Muslims, including six Christians: two Melkite physicians (Ibn al-Quff and Ibn al-Arshī) and four prominent Copts (the historian al-Makīn ibn al-'Amīd [q.v.], the financial administrator al-Shaykh al-Sadīd Hibatallāh, the monk and martyr Būlus al-Ḥabīs, and the holy man 'Ibn Şawmā' or Barşawmā al-'Uryān). In addition, he devotes an entry to Karīm al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍā'il 'Abd al-Karīm, a Copt who converted to Islam and rose to great heights in the financial bureaucracy before his (almost inevitable) fall.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn al-Şuqā'ī's *Tālī* is significant as a Christian contribution to a genre that was normally the preserve of Muslim scholars. In his biographical compilation, he provides some vivid detail about the place of *dhimmīs* in the Mamluk administration and in Egyptian society in general, as well as information about some notable Christians of his time, including physicians, financial administrators, and holy men. The work merits greater attention than it has received since the publication, in 1974, of a good edition and translation.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 2061, fols 1-88 (1332)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Ibn aṣ-Şuqā'ī, Tālī Kitāb wafayāt al-a'şyān. (Un fonctionnaire chrétien dans l'administration mamelouke), ed. and trans. J. Sublet, Damascus, 1974

STUDIES

J. Sublet, art. 'Ibn al-Şuqā'ī

D. Gazagnadou, 'Note sur le "Talī Kitāb wafayāt al-'ayān" d'Ibn as-Suqā'ī. Une précieuse source arabe quant aux relations mamluko-mongoles aux XIII^ème siècle', *Der Islam* 66 (1989) 94-97

Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.2, pp. 100-1

Samir, review of *Ibn aṣ-Şuqā'ī, Tālī Kitāb wafayāt al-a'yān* (ed. Sublet)

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Ibn aṣ-Şuqā'ī, Tālī Kitāb wafayāt al-a'yān, pp. xi-xxxiii (Sublet's introduction)

Mark N. Swanson

Ibn Taymiyya

Shaykh al-Islām Taqī l-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm
ibn ‘Abd al-Salām ibn Taymiyya l-Ḥarrānī

DATE OF BIRTH 22 January 1263
PLACE OF BIRTH Ḥarrān
DATE OF DEATH 25 September 1328
PLACE OF DEATH Damascus

BIOGRAPHY

The Ḥanbalī jurist Ibn Taymiyya was one of the most incisive and prolific religious scholars of the late medieval period. His circle of disciples was small, and his ideas were not widely accepted, even within the Ḥanbalī school of law. His atypical theological views and political misfortunes in later years also appear to have made even his closest disciples hesitate before collecting his writings after his death (Bori, ‘The collection’; Bori, ‘Ibn Taymiyya *wa-jamā’atuhu*). Nonetheless, Ibn Taymiyya had a disproportionate impact on his immediate context through his activism and polemical writings, and his reformist turn inspired a wide range of Muslim reformers from the 18th century onwards. Central to Ibn Taymiyya’s project was rejuvenating the Islamic belief and practice prescribed in the Qur’an and the Sunna of the Prophet and practiced by the early Muslim community, the *salaf*. In his writings, he sought to show that his vision of Islam accorded fully with reason, trumping other claimants to superior rationality, such as *kalām* theology and the Aristotelian-Neoplatonism of the *falāsifa*, and he worked to distinguish true Islam from later innovations in jurisprudence and Sufism and from theological competitors such as Imāmī Shī‘ism and Christianity. His writings on Christianity aim to demonstrate the truth of Islam over against Christian doctrine, limit Christian impact on the Muslim community, and clarify the legal boundaries between the two communities.

Ibn Taymiyya was born in 1263 in Ḥarrān into a family of Ḥanbalī scholars, and in 1269 he fled with his family to Damascus to escape Mongol invaders from the east. Settled in Damascus, Ibn Taymiyya was a precocious student of the Islamic sciences and took over teaching at the Sukkariyya *madrasa* in 1284 upon his father’s death. In 1294, Ibn Taymiyya made his first major public intervention, insisting on the death

penalty for a Christian accused of insulting the Prophet. This led to the shaykh's detention at the hands of the authorities and spurred him to write *Al-ṣārim al-maslūl* to clarify the legal issues of the case.

Ibn Taymiyya actively supported the Mamluk Empire of Egypt and Syria in its resistance to the three Mongol invasions of 1299-1300, 1300-1 and 1303, but he also worked diplomatically to reduce bloodshed and harm. He helped negotiate the surrender of Damascus in 1300 in the face of superior Mongol power, and he prevailed upon the Mongols to release prisoners and keep their allies, the Armenians and the Georgians, from wreaking destruction around Damascus. Following the failed third Mongol invasion in 1303, Ibn Taymiyya also wrote *Al-risāla l-qubruṣiyya* to the crusader baron John II of Giblest, appealing for good treatment of Muslim prisoners held on Cyprus.

The external threats posed by the Mongols, and to a lesser degree by the crusaders, upped the ante for Jews, Christians and Shī'īs living within the Mamluk realm, especially as some of them had hoped the Mongols would end Mamluk Muslim rule. Churches in Cairo were shut for a time from 1301 and riots in Egypt in 1321 and 1354 led to a significant reduction in the size of the Christian community. Ibn Taymiyya argued for the limitation of Christians and Christian expression on juristic and historical grounds to protect the purity of Muslim practice and identity, and he wrote a number of treatises on Christian churches, monks and religious practices. It has been suggested that his *Iqtidā' al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*, a major polemic against popular Christian and Muslim religious practices, was written in the wake of the disturbances of 1321, but it must in fact be dated to before 1315-16.

In the early 1300s, Ibn Taymiyya's polemics against Ash'arī *kalām* theology and Ibn al-'Arabī's philosophical Sufism, as well as his agitation against Sufi transgressors of the Sharī'a, led to disruption among the 'ulamā' and attracted the attention of the political authorities. This culminated in three trials before the governor of Damascus in 1306 over accusations that Ibn Taymiyya was guilty of corporealism (*tajsīm*) in his doctrine of God's attributes. The trials were inconclusive, with the shaykh outwitting his opponents in debate, but he was nonetheless summoned to Cairo for interrogation. Ibn Taymiyya then spent seven years in Egypt and, despite periods of imprisonment and house arrest, he remained active in preaching, writing and confronting Sufi excesses until his return to Damascus in 1313.

Ibn Taymiyya wrote two of his largest and best known works after his return to Damascus. His encyclopedic *Dar' ta'āruḍ al-'aql wa-l-naql*,

affirming the congruity of reason with revelation, dates to between 1313 and 1317, and his *Minhāj al-sunna l-nabawiyya*, a vast refutation of Imāmī Shī‘ism, was written thereafter. Ibn Taymiyya’s extensive refutation of Christianity *Al-jawāb al-ṣaḥiḥ* also belongs to this period, dating to 1316 or a little later.

The latter years of Ibn Taymiyya’s life saw him imprisoned twice on legal issues. In 1318, the sultan forbade him from issuing fatwas on divorce (*ṭalāq*) because he denied the validity of divorce oaths and making three divorce pronouncements at once. The shaykh was eventually accused of violating the sultan’s order and incarcerated in the Citadel of Damascus for five months in 1320-21. Later, in 1326, Ibn Taymiyya was again imprisoned in the Citadel, along with a number of his followers, for unpopular rulings on tomb visitation and criticism of the cult of saints. He continued to write in prison until his pens and paper were removed in the spring of 1328, and he died in the Citadel five months later.

The following entries present Ibn Taymiyya’s works dealing primarily with Christians and Christianity, including those mentioned above. The information about manuscripts in each entry has been culled largely from Brockelmann *GAL*, the extensive list in Shibl’s 1995 edition of Ibn Taymiyya’s *Mas’ala fī l-kanā’is*, al-Shaybānī’s 1993 list of manuscripts in the Süleymaniye in Istanbul, and the introductions to critical editions of Ibn Taymiyya’s works. Efforts have been made to identify as many of the published editions of each work as possible, and three major printed collections of Ibn Taymiyya’s works are indicated with the abbreviations *KMF*, *MRM* and *MF* as follows:

KMF = *Kitāb majmū‘at fatāwā Shaykh al-Islām Taqī l-Dīn ibn Taymiyya l-Ḥarrānī*, 5 vols, Cairo: Maṭba‘at Kurdistān al-‘Ilmiyya, 1908-11

MRM = Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, ed., *Majmū‘at al-rasā‘il wa-l-masā‘il*, 5 parts, Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Manār, 1922-30

MF = ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim and Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad (eds), *Majmū‘ fatāwā Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad ibn Taymiyya*, 37 vols, Riyadh: Maṭābi‘ al-Riyāḍ, 1961-67

MF has been reprinted several times by various publishers. The reprint of *MF* from Medina: Mujammā‘ al-Malik Fahd, 2004, retains the pagination of the original, makes the corrections given in the errata at the end of each volume of the first printing, and is accessible at www.archive.org/details/mfsiaitmmfsiaitm. Some reprints of *MF* do not retain the original pagination, nor does the similarly named *Majmū‘at al-fatāwā*, which is

identical to *MF* in content, and these should be avoided for scholarly purposes. *MF* does not indicate the exact textual basis for each item therein, but the introduction to the first volume describes the sources for the collection as a whole: manuscripts found in Saudi Arabia, the Zāhiriyya library in Damascus (Syrian National Library) and elsewhere, as well as previously published works. The treatises from the whole of *MRM*, for example, have been integrated into *MF*.

Ibn Taymiyya's writings are sometimes repackaged in trade collections with little or no scholarly value added. A good example is 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Umayra (ed.), *Al-jihād li-Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyya*, 2 parts in 1 vol., Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1991. This work simply reprints the texts in *MF* xxviii in the same order without acknowledgement and adds the title, a hortative introduction, and indexes for names and Qur'an and Hadīth references. No effort has been made here to go through works of this kind systematically to identify relevant texts, and treatises from such collections are only included when they can be easily identified through the secondary literature.

Also worthy of note is the 14th-century abridger of Ibn Taymiyya's works, Badr al-Dīn al-Ba'ī (d. 1376-77). Published editions of his abridgements of Ibn Taymiyya's *Iqtidā'* *al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm* and *Al-ṣārim al-maslūl* are given in the lists of editions in the entries on the respective works. However, I have not tried to link several short texts in al-Ba'ī's *Mukhtaṣar al-fatāwā l-miṣriyya* (ed. 'Abd al-Majīd Salīm, Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya, 1949; repr. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1985), pp. 512-19, to their fuller versions in Ibn Taymiyya's corpus because their brevity precludes certain identification. The better part of p. 512 may, however, be al-Ba'ī's abridgement of Ibn Taymiyya's fatwa on monks found in *MF* xxviii, pp. 659-63. Michel, *Response*, pp. 81-82, surveys some of the content of *Mukhtaṣar al-fatāwā l-miṣriyya*, pp. 512-19, but without noting the role of al-Ba'ī's editorial hand.

The following entries by no means exhaust what Ibn Taymiyya has to say about Christianity and Christians, as he also frequently discusses these subjects in works devoted primarily to other topics. It has not been possible to catalogue all of these references, and it must suffice to cite just a few examples here. Ibn Taymiyya's long commentary on *Sūrat al-ikhlāṣ* (Q 112) includes a section arguing that Christ is not divine but a creature (*MF* xvii, pp. 272-86). In *Ra's al-Ḥusayn* (*MF* xxvii, pp. 450-89), a treatise on the shrine cult of Ḥusayn's head, Ibn Taymiyya lashes out against Christian shrine religion and mentions debating with a group of Christian monks in Cairo (*MF* xxvii, pp. 460-64, trans. Michot,

Pages spirituelles, XXI, *Ambigüités et limites de l'interreligieux*, pp. 1-2). Ibn Taymiyya also discusses the secret Muslim faith of the Negus, the king of Christian Abyssinia at the time of the Prophet Muḥammad, in his *Minhāj al-sunna l-nabawiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Rashād Sālīm, 9 vols, Riyadh: Jāmi'at al-Imām Muḥammad ibn Su'ūd al-Islāmiyya, 1406/1986, v, pp. 111-16 (trans. Michot, *Textes spirituels, Nouvelle série*, VI, *Musulman parmi les 'mécéants'* . . . , pp. 1-3).

In addition, there are numerous very short texts in *MF* dedicated to Christians and Christianity that have not been given separate entries below. For example, no entry is given for the two-page fatwa at *MF* iv, pp. 322-23 on whether Jesus is currently alive – Ibn Taymiyya says that he is (trans. Michot, *Textes spirituels d'Ibn Taymiyya. Nouvelle série*, I, *Jésus est vivant*, 2009, pp. 1-2). Similarly, there is no entry for the fatwa at *MF* xxiv, pp. 295-96 concerning a Christian woman who is married to a Muslim man and dies seven months pregnant – should she be buried in the Christian or the Muslim cemetery? As the dead fetus is a Muslim who cannot be buried in a Christian cemetery and the woman is an unbeliever who cannot be buried with Muslims, Ibn Taymiyya rules that she cannot be buried in either cemetery; she must be buried separately. Also, among the several writings on Christians in *MF* xxviii, pp. 600-67, I provide entries only for the following longer texts: *Al-risāla l-qubrūṣiyya* (pp. 601-30), *Mas'ala fī l-kanā'is* (pp. 632-46), a treatise on the Pact of 'Umar (*shurūṭ 'Umar*) (pp. 651-56), and Ibn Taymiyya's fatwa on the legal status of monks noted above (pp. 659-63).

With respect to listing translations and studies in the following entries on Ibn Taymiyya's works, the aim is to include the major discussions of scholarly significance in European languages, as well as numerous short mentions, and whatever has been come across in Arabic. There is probably much more in Arabic, Urdu and other languages that could have been added here with the benefit of additional time and resources. Collecting and analyzing that material is worthy of a major research project in its own right and would contribute immensely to our understanding of Ibn Taymiyya's significance for Christian-Muslim relations today.

It should be noted that the scope of the following articles does not extend to Ibn Taymiyya's writings on *jihād*, even though this would arguably be relevant to Muslim-Christian relations. The basics of his doctrine may be found in his work of political theory *Al-siyāsa l-shar'iyya* (*MF* xxviii, pp. 244-397), which discusses booty acquired in battle with unbelievers (pp. 269-73), *ḥay'* lands taken from unbelievers (pp. 274-77), and *jihād* against unbelievers (pp. 349-72). *Al-siyāsa l-shar'iyya* has been

translated into English (Farrukh, 1966), French (Laoust, 1948) and Italian (Piccinelli, 2002). Other works of scholarship relevant to *jihād* in the thought and practice of Ibn Taymiyya are cited below. These include Aigle, 'The Mongol invasions', 2007; Michot, *Ibn Taymiyya. Muslims under non-Muslim rule*, 2006; Michot, *Ibn Taymiyya. Les saints du Mont Liban*, 2007; and Morabia, 'Ibn Taymiyya. Dernier grand théoricien du *ġihād* medieval', 1978.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Al-jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-Masīḥ;
Bayān al-jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn
al-Masīḥ*, 'The correct answer to those who have
changed the religion of Christ'

DATE 1316 or shortly thereafter

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Ibn Taymiyya's *Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ* is a long refutation of the Christian *Letter from the people of Cyprus* (q.v.), which is a revised version of the *Letter to a Muslim friend* written by Paul of Antioch, Melkite Bishop of Sidon (q.v.), sometime in the late 1100s or early 1200s. Ibn Taymiyya received the *Letter from the people of Cyprus* in 1316 and probably completed his *Jawāb* well before 1321, the year in which Damascene Muslim scholar Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī (q.v.) received a second copy of the Cypriot Christian letter and wrote his own response. The version of the *Letter from the people of Cyprus* that Ibn Taymiyya quotes section by section in the *Jawāb* is largely that found in the edition of Ebied and Thomas (*Polemic*, 2005, pp. 54-147), but with minor additions, deletions and re-orderings. Ibn Taymiyya knew that the *Letter from the people of Cyprus* was based on the earlier letter by Paul of Antioch, and he was aware of that letter's wide circulation.

Michel (*Response*, 1984, p. 78) suggests that Ibn Taymiyya's *Al-risāla l-qubruṣīyya*, which was sent to the Cypriot court to request humane treatment for Muslim prisoners, sparked a kind of dialogue: the Cypriot court replied to *Al-risāla l-qubruṣīyya* with the *Letter from the people of Cyprus*, and Ibn Taymiyya responded in turn with his *Jawāb*. Ebied and Thomas (*Polemic*, pp. 17-19) think that this scenario is unlikely because *Al-risāla l-qubruṣīyya* is considerably earlier than the *Jawāb* and the two treatises differ in aim and content. Ebied and Thomas suggest that the *Letter from the people of Cyprus* was instead written by an Arabic-speaking Christian from the Syrian mainland who had emigrated to Cyprus.

Manuscripts and printed versions of the *Jawāb* add to its great length by appending Ibn Taymiyya's *Takhjīl ahl al-Injīl* to the end without clearly identifying it as a separate work (see the discussion on the *Takhjīl* in Michel, *Response*, pp. 370-82). A good critical edition of the *Jawāb* was published in Riyadh in seven volumes from 1993 to 1999 (hereafter

1999 ed.). The *Jawāb* runs to nearly 2,000 pages and extends to vol. 5, p. 145, of this edition, while the remainder is devoted to the *Takhjīl* and indexes. Two earlier editions are often cited in the literature. The *Jawāb* extends to more than 1,000 pages, to vol. 3, p. 274, in the four-volume 1961-64 Cairo edition (hereafter 1964 ed.), and to vol. 3, p. 258, in the four-volume 1905 Cairo edition. The 1905 edition is based on partial manuscripts held in private libraries in Cairo and Baghdad (see vol. 4, p. 325). The 1964 edition gives no indication of its sources, and it is presumably based on the 1905 edition. The 1999 edition is based on four manuscripts – the earliest dating to 1330, just two years after Ibn Taymiyya's death – and also on the 1905 and 1964 Cairo editions.

While the *Jawāb* poses a full-scale challenge to central Christian doctrines such as the Trinity and the Incarnation, its primary purpose is not to refute the Cypriot *Letter* for its own sake or to provide Muslims with a battery of arguments for disputations against Christians. Rather, the main aim of the work is to clarify Islamic doctrine by making Christianity out to be an example of what Muslims should avoid (Michel, *Response*, 1984, pp. vii-viii, 99-103; Thomas, 'Apologetic', 2010, pp. 255-62). As Ibn Taymiyya himself puts it, 'By knowing the reality of the Christian religion and its falsity, the falsity of what resembles their views is also known, that is, the views of the heretics and innovators' (*Jawāb* 1964, i, p. 19; 1999, i, p. 98). Ibn Taymiyya in the *Jawāb* warns those he deems wayward in the Muslim community – Sufis given to excess, *kalām* theologians, Shī'īs, and others – that they are guilty of corrupting their religion in the fashion of Christianity, and he devotes much of the *Jawāb* to dissecting their errors as well.

The following narrative outline of Ibn Taymiyya's *Jawāb* is keyed to the pagination of the 1964 Cairo and 1999 Riyadh editions of the Arabic text and to Thomas Michel's translation in *Response* (1984) to aid referencing and further research. Also, material from the *Letter from the people of Cyprus* is keyed to the pagination in Ebied and Thomas' 2005 edition and translation. Michel's *Response* provides the best access to the *Jawāb* in a Western language. However, the translation covers only about one-third of the work, sometimes skipping over long sections of the Arabic and occasionally obscuring the progression of Ibn Taymiyya's thought. Additional outlines of the argument in the *Jawāb* are found in Siddiqi ('Letter', 1986, pp. 37-45) and Michel (*Response*, 1984, pp. 99-135).

Ibn Taymiyya begins his *Jawāb* with a long introduction affirming basic Islamic doctrines, explaining that Islam was the religion of all the prophets and warning against Jewish and Christian innovations. He then

states that the occasion of writing was receiving the *Letter* from Cyprus, and he outlines the *Letter* and his strategy in responding (*Jawāb* 1964, i, pp. 1-26; 1999, i, pp. 59-119; Michel, pp. 137-45). Ibn Taymiyya divides the *Letter* and the corresponding body of the *Jawāb* into six parts, and in each part he quotes the *Letter* in successive portions and offers his responses.

The first part of the *Letter* claims that Muḥammad and the Qur'an were not sent to the whole of humanity but only to the pagan Arabs, and thus there is no need for Christians to respond to the Islamic message (Ebied and Thomas, *Polemic*, 2005, pp. 54-61). Against this, Ibn Taymiyya argues at length that Muḥammad was sent to all humanity, including Christians, who have corrupted and innovated their religion (*Jawāb* 1964, i, pp. 26-229; 1999, i, p. 119-ii, p. 132; Michel, pp. 146-92).

The *Letter's* second part offers textual proofs for Christianity. First (pp. 60-67), it cites qur'anic texts praising Christ and his mother Mary and honoring Jesus' disciples and churches. This, the *Letter* claims, obligates Christians to retain their religion. Ibn Taymiyya denies that the Qur'an supports Christianity, and he provides Islamic reinterpretations for the texts in question (*Jawāb* 1964, i, pp. 229-90; 1999, ii, pp. 133-267; Michel, no trans.) The *Letter* (pp. 66-71) then goes on to argue that the Qur'an affirms the Christian scriptures and thus precludes the Muslim charge that they have been subject to substitution (*tabdīl*) and alteration (*taghyīr*). In response, Ibn Taymiyya explains the qur'anic texts in question and discusses various theological issues. He maintains that Christians have certainly altered the meanings of their texts (*tahrīf al-ma'ānī*) but not necessarily their actual wording (*alfāz*). Nonetheless, the Christian scriptures lack the reliability of multiple lines of transmission (*tawātur*) (*Jawāb* 1964, i, pp. 290-362; 1999, ii, pp. 268-409; Michel, pp. 192-220). The *Letter* (pp. 70-73) also rejects the possibility that the Christian scriptures were altered only after the revelation of the Qur'an. Ibn Taymiyya is inclined to think that very little of the actual text of the Christian scriptures has ever been changed, and he maintains that one cannot in fact know whether a particular text has been altered. However, he clarifies that Christianity as a religion had been changed long before the coming of Muḥammad and that Christians should judge according to the original Gospel (cf. Q 5:46-47), which points to Muḥammad (*Jawāb* 1964, i, p. 362-ii, p. 28; 1999, ii, p. 410-iii, p. 52; Michel, pp. 220-40). The *Letter* (pp. 72-91) carries on with several more proofs for Christianity from both the Qur'an and the Hebrew scriptures and argues that Christians are superior to Jews in religion. Ibn Taymiyya reinterprets the texts Islamically,

counters that Muslims are better at following Christ than Christians, and outlines Christian errors. He also observes that Jews and Christians take the opposite extremes on basic religious issues while in the middle position Muslims adopt correct views (*Jawāb* 1964, ii, pp. 28-90; 1999, iii, pp. 53-181; Michel, pp. 240-54).

The third topic in the Cypriot Christian *Letter* (pp. 90-93) is a defense of the Trinity. This begins with the traditional Arab Christian proof from reason that God is the Creator, who must be living so as not to be dead and speaking so as not to be dumb. God is then essence, speech and life, that is, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Among other things, Ibn Taymiyya responds that the Trinity cannot be derived from rational proofs; Christians only derive it from what they suppose to be in their scriptures. He also observes that Christians place Trinitarian doctrine above reason, and he retorts that in fact the Trinity opposes reason, is tri-theistic, and has no foundation in revelation (*Jawāb* 1964, ii, pp. 90-121; 1999, iii, pp. 182-235; Michel pp. 255-73). The *Letter* (pp. 92-97) continues by citing several texts from the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament and the Qur'an in support of speaking of God as Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Ibn Taymiyya reinterprets these texts to accord with Islamic teaching and exposes further difficulties with Trinitarian doctrine (*Jawāb* 1964, ii, pp. 121-60; 1999, iii, pp. 236-307; Michel, pp. 273-85).

The long fourth part of the *Letter* (pp. 97-129) is dedicated largely to the Incarnation and the two natures of Christ. The *Letter* (pp. 97-125) first explains the Incarnation as Christ's humanity being God's 'veil' (cf. Q 42:51) and provides a great many biblical prophecies of Christ, along with condemnation of the Jews for not believing in him and in the Trinitarian character of God. Ibn Taymiyya's response denies that God can indwell a human, provides numerous rational arguments against the Incarnation, and reinterprets sayings that might be misunderstood to indicate divine indwelling. He also accuses Christians of misunderstanding their texts (1964, ii, pp. 160-279; 1999, iii, p. 308-iv, p. 26; Michel, pp. 285-303). The *Letter* (pp. 124-29) continues by explaining the divine and human natures of Christ and showing how they concur with Qur'anic testimony. Ibn Taymiyya rejects the claim that the Qur'an supports the Christian doctrine (*Jawāb* 1964, ii, pp. 279-307; 1999, iv, pp. 27-75; Michel, pp. 303-8), and he denies that the Melkite doctrine of Christ's two natures has any foundation in reason or prophetic tradition (1964, ii, p. 307-iii, p. 137; 1999, iv, pp. 76-402; Michel, pp. 308-37).

This long refutation of Christ's two natures draws on major portions of earlier works. Ibn Taymiyya quotes and discusses material refuting

Jesus' divinity from the 10th-century Mu'tazilī theologian al-Ḥasan ibn Ayyūb's *Risāla ilā akhihi 'Alī b. Ayyūb* (q.v.) (1964, ii, p. 313-iii, p. 4; 1999, iv, pp. 88-182). These quotations are our primary source of knowledge for Ibn Ayyūb's letter; the original and full form is not extant. Immediately following this, Ibn Taymiyya quotes extensively from an expanded version of the ecclesiastical history *Nazm al-jawhar*, also known as the *Annals*, of Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīq (q.v.), Melkite Patriarch Eutychius of Alexandria (d. 940), to construct a narrative of how Christians innovated their religion (1964, iii, pp. 5-125; 1999, iv, pp. 182-373). Troupeau ('Ibn Taymiyya', 1978) translates a portion of this in which Ibn Taymiyya argues that the Melkite Christology is more contradictory than the Nestorian, a common trope in Muslim anti-Christian polemics (1964, iii, pp. 37-51; 1999, iv, pp. 249-67). The version of the *Annals* from which Ibn Taymiyya drew had been expanded, perhaps in the 11th century, to include *Kitāb al-burhān* written by Peter, Melkite Bishop of Bayt Rās (Capitolias) (q.v.), probably in the late 800s. Ibn Taymiyya quotes the *Kitāb al-burhān* material on Christology and the Trinity from the *Annals* and refutes it (*Jawāb* 1964, iii, pp. 51-122; 1999, iv, pp. 268-378) (analyzed in Swanson, 'Ibn Taymiyya', 1995). The last part of Ibn Taymiyya's polemic against the doctrine of Christ's two natures maintains that revelation and reason agree and that Christians may not argue that their Christology lies beyond reason. The Christian doctrine contradicts reason, whereas the sayings of the prophets do not (1964, iii, pp. 125-37; 1999, iv, pp. 384-402).

The fifth part of the *Letter* (pp. 128-39) is devoted to questions of theological language. It explains that Christians affirm that God is Father, Son and Holy Spirit in the non-literal way that Muslims affirm various anthropomorphic attributes of God mentioned in the Qur'an, and it defends the Christian creedal practice of calling God substance (*jawhar*) against Muslim objections. Ibn Taymiyya responds by explaining his approach to God's attributes, criticizing Christians for having no prophetic foundations for doctrinal terms such as *uqnūm* (hypostasis) and *tathlith* (Trinity), and noting their ambiguous use of doctrinal terms such as 'son' (1964, iii, pp. 137-228; 1999, iv, p. 403-v, p. 56; Michel, pp. 337-50).

The sixth and last part of the *Letter* (pp. 138-47) argues that Islam is superfluous, given that in Christ God brought the perfection of grace to the justice found in the Law of Moses. Ibn Taymiyya responds that rather Islam is the perfect religion because it perfectly combines grace and justice (*Jawāb* 1964, iii, pp. 228-58; 1999, v, pp. 57-113; Michel, pp. 350-69). The final sections of the *Jawāb* recount the errors that Christians make

in argumentation and interpretation of texts (1964, iii, pp. 258-74; 1999, v, pp. 114-45; Michel, no trans.)

SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn Taymiyya's *Jawāb* is the longest refutation of Christian doctrine in the Islamic tradition, and it was part of the most extensive Christian-Muslim polemical exchange in the medieval period. This exchange began with Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim friend* and its refutation by the Egyptian jurist Aḥmad ibn Idrīs al-Qarāfi (d. 1285) in *Al-ajwiba l-fākhira* (q.v.). An anonymous Christian later revised Paul's letter into the *Letter from the people of Cyprus*, probably in 1316 or just before, and sent it to Ibn Taymiyya, who responded with his *Jawāb*. The *Letter* was later sent to Ibn Abi Ṭālib al-Dimashqī in 1321, who also wrote a lengthy response. While al-Qarāfi's and Ibn Abi Ṭālib's works are among the largest and most insightful medieval responses to Christianity, Ibn Taymiyya's *Jawāb* surpasses both in length, scope and sophistication.

As Michel notes, the originality of Ibn Taymiyya's *Jawāb* lies not in devising clever new arguments or refuting the Cypriot *Letter* point by point, but in taking a vast body of well-known arguments against Christianity and integrating them into a comprehensive new analysis of deviant human response to prophetic revelation. In Christianity, a whole religious tradition went astray. In Islam, many had fallen into errors resembling those of Christians, but God had preserved a faithful remnant adhering to the truth. Ibn Taymiyya in the *Jawāb* uses the Christian errors to warn the wayward in the Muslim community. Ibn Taymiyya was also, as far as Michel knows, the first Muslim to draw on a prominent Christian history – Ibn Baṭrīq's *Nazm al-jawhar* – to advance his argument (Michel, *Response*, 1984, pp. 94, 98-103).

The *Jawāb* is one of several large theological works in Ibn Taymiyya's corpus, and its argumentation is typical of his wider apologetic strategy, which is to show that errant doctrine is both irrational and without support in prophetic tradition, and then to affirm and demonstrate that revelation and reason agree and coincide. In the *Jawāb*, this strategy is most evident in his writing on the Trinity and Incarnation. Christians have strayed from true prophetic teaching by innovating these two doctrines. Moreover, he asserts, these doctrines are not just mysteries beyond reason but positively irrational. Ibn Taymiyya then goes beyond polemic to reinterpret the scriptural texts used in the Cypriot *Letter* – both qur'anic and biblical – to support Islamic monotheism and the prophethood of Muḥammad. This work of interpretation and integration of scriptural

texts into his theological vision, that is, giving the texts their proper Islamic sense as he understands it, is central to his apologetic for the rationality of the prophetic revelation. The net effect is not only refutation of Christian doctrine but also appropriation of the biblical texts into an Islamic frame of reference.

Ibn Taymiyya's willingness to venture interpretations of biblical texts points up his agnostic and comparatively generous approach to the question of textual corruption. Christians, in his view, have certainly corrupted the meaning of the texts (*tahrif al-ma'nā*), but it cannot be known with certainty whether they corrupted the actual wording (*tahrif al-lafẓ*). Such corruption may not be affirmed lest one mistakenly reject a report of authentic revelation, nor may it be denied lest one inadvertently accept an inauthentic report. Ibn Taymiyya thus makes no attempt to judge on the corruption of specific texts, and in this he differs markedly from Ibn Ḥazm, who seeks to demonstrate that the biblical text was necessarily corrupted by identifying contradictions, historical inaccuracies, anthropomorphisms, and the like.

In modern times, Muslims continue to use Ibn Taymiyya's *Jawāb* as a source book for the refutation of Christianity. This is the express purpose given for publishing the abridged English translation *Answering those who altered the religion of Jesus Christ* that is available on the Internet. It is also evident in the large two volume work of Maryam Zāmil, *Mawqif Ibn Taymiyya min al-Naṣrāniyya* ('Ibn Taymiyya's attitude toward Christianity'). Although Zāmil's title suggests an analytical study of Ibn Taymiyya's views on Christianity, the work instead uses his *Jawāb* to undertake a thoroughgoing critique of Christianity itself. Christian engagement with the doctrinal claims of Ibn Taymiyya's *Jawāb* has not been extensive, but Thomas Michel ventured a thorough theological response in a series of six lectures delivered in Oxford in 2000.

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- I. Abdullah, 'Tawḥīd and Trinity. A study of Ibn Taymiyyah's *Al-jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ*', *Intellectual Discourse* 14 (2006) 89-106
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- M. Accad, 'The Gospels in the Muslim discourse of the ninth to the fourteenth centuries. An exegetical inventorial table', four parts, *ICMR* 14 (2003) 67-91, 205-20, 337-52, 459-79 (tabulates citations from the four Gospels found in the *Jawāb*; pp. 72-73 discuss Ibn Taymiyya on *taḥrīf*)

- A. Ljami, *Ibn Ḥazm et la polémique islamo-chrétienne dans l'histoire de l'Islam*, Leiden, 2003 (pp. 175-183 show that the *Jawāb* drew on Ibn Ḥazm's *Fīṣal*)
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- S.M. Stern, 'The Oxford manuscript of Ibn Taymiyya's anti-Christian polemics', *BSOAS* 22 (1959) 124-28 (discusses earlier confusion over the relationship between the *Jawāb* and *Takhjīl al-Injīl*)
- Abū Zahra, *Ibn Taymiyya*, 514-19
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- I. di Matteo, *La divinità di Cristo e la dottrina della Trinità in Maometto e nei polemisti musulmani*, Rome, 1938, pp. 27-31, 64-71
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- I. di Matteo, *Ibn Taymiyyah, o Riassunto della sua opera*, Palermo: Tipografia Domenico Vena, 1912 (a study of the *Jawāb*)
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Takhjil ahl al-Injil wa-l-nahj al-ṣaḥīḥ fī radd ‘alā man baddala dīn ‘Īsā ibn Maryam al-Masīḥ, ‘The shaming of the followers of the Gospel and the correct way to refute those who have altered the religion of Jesus, son of Mary, the Christ’; *Al-takhjil li-man baddala l-Tawrāt wa-l-Injil*, ‘The shaming of those who have altered the Torah and the Gospel’; *Al-takhjil li-man ḥarrafa l-Tawrāt wa-l-Injil*, ‘The shaming of those who have corrupted the Torah and the Gospel’

DATE Unknown; possibly before 1316

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Takhjil ahl al-Injil exists independently in two known manuscripts, one at the Bodleian Library in Oxford and another at the Süleymaniye in Istanbul. Otherwise, the *Takhjil* is found as the last quarter of manuscripts and printed editions of Ibn Taymiyya’s *Jawāb* without any indication that it is a separate work. The *Takhjil* begins at vol. 3, p. 258, in the 1905 Cairo edition of *Jawāb*; at vol. 3, p. 275, in the 1961-64 Cairo edition; and at vol. 5, p. 146, in the 1993-99 Riyadh edition (hereafter 1999 ed.). The *Takhjil* comes to a total of 856 pages in the 1999 edition.

The identity of *Takhjil ahl al-Injil* was the subject of considerable confusion among Western scholars into the early 20th century. Samuel M. Stern and especially Thomas Michel (*Response*, pp. 370-82) clear away the confusion and establish that *Takhjil al-Injil* is distinct from Ibn Taymiyya’s *Jawāb*. This is supported by the facts that *Takhjil* exists in independent manuscripts and that its contents bear no direct relation to the *Letter from the people of Cyprus*, to which the *Jawāb* responds section by section. In Michel’s view, the *Takhjil* was probably written before the *Jawāb* and then appended to it by 1330, the date of the earliest extant manuscript of the *Jawāb*, perhaps by Ibn Taymiyya himself.

The *Takhjil* responds to two longstanding Christian charges against Islam, namely, that Muḥammad’s prophethood, unlike Christ’s, was not foretold, and that someone who is not foretold cannot be a prophet. Roughly the first fifth of the *Takhjil* (vol. 5, pp. 146-318 in the 1999 ed.) counters these charges by citing numerous passages in the Hebrew Bible

and the New Testament to demonstrate Muḥammad's prophethood. The latter four-fifths of the *Takhjīl* are devoted to such matters as proofs for Muḥammad's prophethood from the Qur'an, the Prophet's miracles, and his knowledge of the unseen.

SIGNIFICANCE

Takhjīl ahl al-Injīl is not well known as a separate work because of its long-standing connection to Ibn Taymiyya's *Jawāb*. Nonetheless, it provides a major medieval summation of Muslim biblical proofs for Muḥammad's prophethood found earlier in Ibn Qutayba (q.v.) and 'Alī l-Ṭabarī (q.v.). Ibn Taymiyya's student, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (q.v.), quotes these proofs at length in his *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā*.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Leiden, University Library – 40 (formerly: Or 338 and 2018) (1330; latter part of the *Jawāb* with *Takhjīl al-Injīl*)

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Marsh 299 (perhaps 15th or 16th century)

MS Cairo, Egyptian National Library – 378 (1864; full *Jawāb* with *Takhjīl al-Injīl*)

MS Hyderabad, Asafiyya – 2 (165/6), 1298, (1901; full *Jawāb* with *Takhjīl al-Injīl*)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – 2712 (date unknown)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

The *Takhjīl* has only been printed as the last part of Ibn Taymiyya's *Jawāb*. See the discussion of editions above and the editions listed for the *Jawāb*.

Answering those who altered the religion of Jesus Christ, abridged by Ahmad al-Tahhan, trans. Muhammad Fadel, Umm al-Qura, Saudi Arabia: Umm al-Qura for Translation, Publishing and Distribution, s.d., www.mohdy.name/pdfs/e057.pdf, accessed 10 April 2010, pp. 343-84 (partial translation of the first fifth of the *Takhjīl*, without indication that it is separate from the *Jawāb*)

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S. Schmidtke, 'The Muslim reception of biblical materials. Ibn Qutayba and his *A'lām al-nubuwwa*', *ICMR* 22 (2011) 249-74, p. 252 (observes that Ibn Taymiyya quotes Ibn Qutayba)

Michel, *Response*, pp. 370-82 (clarifies earlier confusion over the identity of the *Takhjīl*)

Stern, 'The Oxford manuscript of Ibn Taymiyya's anti-Christian polemics' (as with Michel, includes references to the earlier confused discussions over *Takhjīl*)

Al-risāla l-qubruṣiyya. Risāla min Ibn Taymiyya ilā malik Qubruṣ, 'The Cypriot letter. Letter from Ibn Taymiyya to the ruler of Cyprus'

DATE Between April 1303 and May 1304

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Al-risāla l-qubruṣiyya (also known as *Al-risāla l-qubruṣiyya. Khitāb min Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyya ilā Sarjawās malik Qubruṣ*) is a letter of 30 pages in *MF* xxviii, pp. 601-30, and 36 pages in the 1973 critical edition of Thomas Raff. Raff's edition is based on the Berlin and Munich manuscripts and two printed editions (1901 and 1946).

Ibn Taymiyya wrote the letter to appeal for good treatment of Muslim captives held by the Franks in Cyprus. The Mamluks drove the Franks, that is, the crusaders, out of the Levant in the 1290s, with the last of them removed from Ruwād in 1302. However, from their base in Cyprus the Franks continued to raid the Syrian coast for slaves and captives. Yahya Michot (1995, pp. 89-91) proposes that Ibn Taymiyya wrote *Qubruṣiyya* on behalf of Muslim prisoners taken in the crusader raid on al-Dāmūr (between Beirut and Sidon) at the turn of the new year 1302-3 (Jumādā l-ūlā 702). Michot notes that this fits well with Raff's suggestion (pp. 15-16) that the letter dates to just after the Mamluk victory over the Mongols at Marj al-Ṣuffar in April 1303. Michot also observes that the letter gives the impression that the Mongol leader Ghāzān is still alive – he died in May 1304. Thus, the letter most probably dates to between April 1303 and May 1304.

Ibn Taymiyya addresses *Qubruṣiyya* to *s-r-j-w-ā-n* (*MF* xxviii, p. 601), a word whose meaning and Arabic vowel pattern are not readily apparent. The addressee is given as *s-r-j-w-ā-s* (ending in *sīn* rather than *nūn*) in several printed editions. Raff (p. 19 n. 2) explains that this is an error first introduced into the title of the 1901 edition and then into the opening line of the text in the 1946 edition (and subsequent editions as well). The addressee *s-r-j-w-ā-n* or *s-r-j-w-ā-s* is sometimes taken simply to be

the king of Cyprus – at the time Henry II of Lusignan – without further investigation (e.g. Michel, *Response*, p. 73). The addressee is called ‘king’ (*malik*) several times in the course of the letter. However, the term ‘king’ was not used exclusively for the supreme ruler over a territory at that time, and it could refer to political and military actors of lesser rank. In light of this, Raff (pp. 18-20) reads the addressee’s name as *sirjawān* (Sir Jawān), taking it to be an Arabic transliteration of the Old French ‘Sire Johan’, that is, John II of Giblet (Jubayl, today in Lebanon) whose family had taken refuge in Cyprus after having been driven out of the Levant by the Mamluks. This man is known to have raided the Syrian coast along with other crusaders during the Mongol campaigns on Syria. Opposing Raff, Marco di Branco (2005, pp. 392-93) thinks that the exiled crusader baron John II of Giblet would be of too low a station to deserve the praise for his religiosity and knowledge that Ibn Taymiyya lavishes on him in the letter. Di Branco proposes instead to change the second consonant *rā*’ to *nūn* and read *sanjawān* (San Jawān), meaning Saint John, a title referring to William of Villaret who was Master of the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem between 1294 and 1305. The Knights had also engaged in raids on the Levantine coast after fleeing from the Mamluks to Cyprus. Sarrió Cucarella, who provides the most recent review of possible addressees (‘Corresponding’, pp. 192-94), is not persuaded by di Branco’s arguments: it has not been proven that John II of Giblet was unworthy of Ibn Taymiyya’s praise, and the reading *sanjawān* has nowhere else been suggested. Sarrió Cucarella thus prefers John II of Giblet as the best hypothesis until proven otherwise.

It has been suggested that *Qubruṣiyya* was the first round in an exchange between Ibn Taymiyya and the Cypriot court. The correspondence continued with the Christian *Letter from the people of Cyprus*, a revised version of Paul of Antioch’s *Letter to a Muslim friend*, to which Ibn Taymiyya responded with his vast *Al-jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ* (Michel, *Response*, p. 78). However, it seems highly unlikely that there was any direct relation between *Qubruṣiyya* and the latter exchange because they were separated by 12 years or more and the purposes of Ibn Taymiyya’s respective treatises differ (Ebied and Thomas, *Polemic*, pp. 17-19). Nonetheless, and despite the great difference in size between *Qubruṣiyya* and *Al-jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ*, the backbone of the critique of Christianity found in both is the same (Sarrió Cucarella, ‘Corresponding’).

The first half of *Qubruṣiyya* (*MF* xxviii, pp. 601-15) is dedicated to a narrative of prophetic history that, as elsewhere in Ibn Taymiyya’s writings, portrays Islam as the correct middle way between Judaism and

Christianity. After the opening address and invocations, Ibn Taymiyya writes of creation and original monotheistic worship and then the human innovation of idolatry, God's restorative guidance through prophets such as Noah, Abraham, Moses, and David, rejection of these prophets by the Children of Israel, and God's sending of Christ, son of Mary. Ibn Taymiyya outlines three responses to Christ. Some (the Jews) did not believe in him. Others (Christians) exaggerated their regard for him, calling him God, Son of God, and the like; Ibn Taymiyya here provides extensive criticism of the Christian clergy for their innovation and hypocrisy and of monks for their trickery. A third group did not fall into innovation and idolatry, believed that Christ had announced a coming prophet, and turned to him when he came. These people believe in all the prophets from Adam to Muḥammad; they are the middle community (*umma wasaṭ*) between the two extremes of the Jews and the Christians.

Having made his addressee fully aware of what he believes to be correct religion in the first half of *Qubruṣīyya*, Ibn Taymiyya prepares the ground more directly for his appeal on behalf of Muslim prisoners in the following pages (*MF* xxviii, pp. 615-21). Among other things, he flatters the crusader baron with commendations of his religiosity and love of knowledge, and the shaykh recounts his intervention with the Mongols during their invasion of Syria in the winter of 1299-1300 to secure the release of Syrian prisoners, both Muslims and non-Muslims, under Muslim protection. He also underlines the ascendancy of Islam as the Mongols retreated in defeat following their invasions of 1301 and 1303.

In the last third of the letter (*MF* xxviii, pp. 621-30), Ibn Taymiyya launches his appeal. He accuses the Christians on Cyprus of acting treacherously in the taking of prisoners, and he denies that the Muslims had initiated hostilities. He explains that Christ did not command *jihād* against, or the taking of captives from, those who follow the religion of Abraham. Moreover, mistreating prisoners would be detrimental to the spiritual standing of the king, and the prophets in fact spoke of releasing captives. Presenting himself as a representative of Christ and all the prophets, Ibn Taymiyya asks that the prisoners be given assistance and not forced to change their religion.

SIGNIFICANCE

Unlike most of Ibn Taymiyya's writings on Christianity, which are written for Muslims in the first instance, *Qubruṣīyya* is addressed directly to a specific Christian – probably John II of Giblet – about a matter of concrete concern: the good treatment of Muslim prisoners on Cyprus.

There is no record of whether the letter achieved its purpose. It appears that Ibn Taymiyya modeled his epistle on the Prophet Muḥammad's letters to rulers calling them to Islam. The shaykh opens his letter with the same Qur'anic verse as that used in these letters (Q 20:47), and he mentions two of their recipients: Heraclius, the emperor of Byzantium, and the Negus of Abyssinia. *Qubruṣiyya* is also probably Ibn Taymiyya's first polemical work against Christian doctrine and practice, and the fundamentals of its critique of Christianity are the same as those found much more fully developed in his vast *Al-jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ* (Sarrió Cucarella, 'Corresponding', 2010)

Qubruṣiyya is being put to Islamic theological use today. Published in Jordan in 1994, Muḥammad Khayr al-'Abbūd's *Qawā'id tawḥīd al-adyān* quotes the full *Qubruṣiyya* along with other texts by Ibn Taymiyya to oppose a modern pluralism of 'heavenly religions' (*adyān samāwiyya*) said to be found among some ordinary people. According to al-'Abbūd, individuals of diverse religions should not be treated equally but in accord with God's just laws, which he finds well presented by Ibn Taymiyya.

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- MS Damascus, Ḥāhiriyya – 3128 (15th century)
- MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – 2087 (15th century?)
- MS Riyadh, King Saud University – 1421, 2, 26-38 (date unknown)

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- M. di Branco, *Lettera a un sovrano crociato. Sui fondamenti della 'vera religione'*, Milan, 2004 (Italian trans.)
- Abu Ammar (trans.), *Ibn Taymeeyah's letters from prison*, Hounslow UK: Message of Islam, 1998, pp. 37-56 (with some omissions)
- J.R. Michot, *Ibn Taymiyya. Lettre à un roi croisé (al-Risālat al-Qubruṣiyya)*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1995 (Arabic of *MF* xxviii, pp. 601-30 and French trans.)
- Muḥammad Khayr al-'Abbūd, *Qawā'id tawḥīd al-adyān 'inda Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyya*, Amman, 1994 (repr. as *Qawā'id al-ta'āyush bayn ahl al-adyān 'inda Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyya*, Al-Dammām: Ramādī li-Nashr, 1996, pp. 89-120 (Arabic of *MF* xxviii, pp. 601-30)

- Al-risāla l-qubruṣīyya. Khiṭāb min Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyya ilā Sarjawās malik Qubruṣ*, ed. 'Alā' al-Dīn Damaj, Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1987
- Sahib Mustaqim Bleher, *Das ist die aufrechte Religion. Brief des Ibn Taymiya an den König von Zypern*, Würselen, 1984 (German trans.)
- Al-risāla l-qubruṣīyya. Khiṭāb li-Sirjawās malik Qubruṣ*, Cairo: Al-Maktaba l-Salafiyya, 1980
- Al-risāla l-qubruṣīyya. Khiṭāb li-Sirjawās malik Qubruṣ*, ed. Quṣayy Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo: Dār al-Maṭba'a l-Salafiyya, 1974
- T. Raff, *Das Sendschreiben nach Zypern (ar-Risāla al-Qubruṣīya)* von Taqī ad-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taimīya (661-728 A.H.=1263-1328 A.D.), Bonn, 1971 (Diss. Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität) (Arabic critical edition and German trans.)
- Al-risāla l-qubruṣīyya*, *MF* xxviii, pp. 601-30
- Al-risāla l-qubruṣīyya*, ed. 'Alī al-Sayyid Subḥ al-Madanī, Cairo: Al-Maṭba'a l-Madanī, 1961, repr. 1979
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- D. Sarrió Cucarella, 'Corresponding across religious borders. The letter of Ibn Taymiyya to a crusader in Cyprus', *Islamochristiana* 36 (2010) 187-212 (full analysis of the theology in *Qubruṣīyya*)
- M. di Branco, 'Sul destinatario della *Lettera a un sovrano crociato (Risālat al-qubruṣīyyah)* di Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyyah', *Atti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 16 (2005) 389-94
- R.Y. Ebied and D. Thomas (eds), *Muslim-Christian polemic during the crusades. The letter from the people of Cyprus and Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī's response*, Leiden, 2005, pp. 17-19
- Michot, *Ibn Taymiyya. Lettre à un roi croisé*
- Michel, *Response*, pp. 71, 73-78
- Fritsch, *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter*, pp. 26-28

Al-qawl fī masʿalat ʿĪsā kalimat Allāh wa-l-Qurʿān kalām Allāh, ‘What is said about the issue of Jesus being the Word of God and the Qurʿan being the Word of God’

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The only known source of information for this fatwa is an edition published in Egypt by an anonymous editor. There is no reason to doubt the fatwa’s authenticity as the writing is characteristically Taymiyyan. The text runs to 44 pages in the printed edition.

The fatwa is in response to an inquiry about a Muslim and a Christian who are debating the Word. The Christian observes that the Qurʿan calls both Jesus the Word of God (*kalimat Allāh*) and it itself the Word of God (*kalām Allāh*). The Christian further observes that the Qurʿan is uncreated (*ghayr makhluq*), apparently suggesting that Jesus the Word is therefore uncreated as well, and thus divine.

In reply, Ibn Taymiyya explains that the Qurʿan is indeed uncreated but that Jesus was a creature brought into being by God’s command: ‘Be!’ (*kun*). This differentiates the uncreated Word of the Qurʿan from the created Word Jesus. Ibn Taymiyya also denies that the Qurʿanic description of Jesus as ‘a Spirit from Him [i.e. God]’ (Q 4:171) proves his divinity. Rather, the Spirit of God in the Qurʿan refers to the angel Gabriel, who was also created. Ibn Taymiyya develops his arguments for these points more fully here than in a similar discussion in *Jawāb* (1964, ii, pp. 293-307; 1999, iv, pp. 53-75), which may indicate that this fatwa is later.

The fatwa includes polemics against Sufis such as al-Ḥallāj and Ibn ʿArabī, whom Ibn Taymiyya accuses of errors resembling those of the Christians: positing God’s indwelling in human beings (*ḥulūl*) or conflating (*ittiḥād*) God and the world. Ibn Taymiyya also discusses the Christian doctrines of the two natures of Christ and the Trinitarian hypostases. The fatwa ends with Ibn Taymiyya calling Christians associators (*mushrikūn*).

SIGNIFICANCE

The inquiry and resulting fatwa provide evidence of live Christian-Muslim theological discussion within the Mamluk sultanate of Ibn Taymiyya’s time.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Cairo, Egyptian National Library – 322 (date unknown)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Ibn Taymiyya, *Taḥqīq al-qawl fi mas'alat 'Īsā kalimat Allāh wa-l-Qur'ān kalām Allāh*, Ṭantā, Egypt: Dār al-Şahāba li-l-Turāth, 1992

STUDIES —

Kitāb al-şārim al-maslūl 'alā shātīm al-Rasūl,
 'The unsheathed sword against whoever insults
 the Messenger'

DATE 1294

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Al-şārim al-maslūl is a lengthy legal treatise arguing that anyone – Muslim or non-Muslim – who curses (*sabba*) the Prophet Muḥammad must be killed without further recourse. This was Ibn Taymiyya's first major work, and it comes to around 1,100 pages in the 1997 critical edition of al-Ḥalawānī and Shawdarī, and between 400 and 600 pages in various trade editions. Al-Ḥalawānī and Shawdarī base their edition on five manuscripts, three of which date to the 1300s.

Ibn Taymiyya wrote *Al-şārim al-maslūl* in 1294 in response to an incident involving a Christian who insulted the Prophet. The Christian was a scribe attached to the Arab *amīr* 'Assāf ibn Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ḥajjī. The Christian himself is sometimes called 'Assāf in the secondary literature (Turki, Michel), the source of which is a confused report in Ibn Kathīr's history *Al-bidāya wa-l-nihāya*. The much fuller and clearer account in al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh ḥawādith al-zamān* (Beirut, 1998), i, pp. 202-5, does not supply the Christian's name.

In mid-1294, the people of Suwaydā', a village just outside Damascus, complained to the Damascene governor that 'Assāf's Christian scribe had cursed the Prophet. The governor hesitated to administer the death penalty on account of his cordial relations with 'Assāf. This led to a series of disturbances involving crowds and legal scholars, among them Ibn Taymiyya. The Christian eventually converted to Islam to save his neck, and the governor got the leading Shāfi'ī scholars of Damascus to rule that conversion averted the death penalty. Ibn Taymiyya wrote *Al-şārim al-maslūl* to clarify that this was not the case.

In *Al-ṣārim al-maslūl* Ibn Taymiyya argues that the *ḥadd* punishment for any Muslim or unbeliever who curses (*sabba*) or insults (*shatama*) the Prophet is death. A Muslim offender is an apostate (*murtadd*) or a heretic (*zindīq*), and a non-Muslim offender under Muslim protection (*dhimmī*) breaks his pact of protection. Repentance (for the Muslim) and conversion to Islam (for the non-Muslim) cannot avert the death penalty for cursing the Prophet. No lesser punishment of the curser, such as expiation or enslavement, is acceptable.

Ibn Taymiyya's views were not those of the majority, and he had to overcome certain intellectual obstacles to sustain his position. Friedmann (*Tolerance*, pp. 151-52) explains that he faced two apparently contradictory sets of traditions. One set reported that some Companions of the Prophet killed the Prophet's cursers without offering them a chance to repent, while another set of traditions called cursers apostates (*murtadd*). The legal schools generally agreed that apostates should be given the opportunity to repent before facing the death penalty, which would appear to preclude executing cursers of the Prophet directly.

To resolve this contradiction, Ibn Taymiyya differentiates between simple apostasy (*ridda mujarrada*) and aggravated apostasy (*ridda mughallaḏa*). Simple apostasy is a matter of drifting away from the faith, whereas aggravated apostasy is intentional impugning of the religion, as when someone curses the Prophet. Simple apostasy should be met with an invitation to repent and return to Islam, but those guilty of aggravated apostasy such as cursing the Prophet should be killed without recourse.

SIGNIFICANCE

Al-ṣārim al-maslūl was Ibn Taymiyya's first major work, and it firmly established his reputation as a public intellectual who wrote in response to specific challenges posed by the historical environment. The affair of 'Assāf's Christian scribe spurred him to clarify the reasons why all cursers of the Prophet should be executed directly. *Al-ṣārim al-maslūl* is also the most extensive legal discussion concerning those who insult the Messenger in the Islamic tradition (Friedmann, *Tolerance*, p. 151). Michel (*Response*, pp. 70-71) underlines the specifically legal character of the treatise by contrasting it with Ibn Taymiyya's more polemical works against Christianity. The large number of modern editions of *Al-ṣārim al-maslūl* probably indicates that Ibn Taymiyya's discussion of apostasy is of considerable interest among Muslims today.

MANUSCRIPTS

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 MS Istanbul, Murād Mullā (Dāmādzāde) – 548 (old no.), 2, 297 (new no.), (1328-29)
 MS Medina, Al-Maktaba l-Maḥmūdiyya – 1867 (1339-40)
 MS Medina, Markaz Khidmat al-Sunna – 784 (1339-40)
 MS Damascus, Ḥāhiriyya – 2980 (part 1) and 2981 (part 2) (perhaps 14th century)
 MS Damascus, Ḥāhiriyya – 2734 (perhaps 14th century)
 MS Saudi Library, General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta – 612 (1406-7)
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – 89 (perhaps 15th century)
 MS Baghdad, Al-Awqāf al-‘Āmma – 4330 (1893-94)
 MS Damascus, Ḥāhiriyya – 49 (date unknown)
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – 642 (date unknown)
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – 719 (date unknown)
 MS Cairo, Egyptian National Library – 1,327 (date unknown)

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Al-ṣārim al-maslūl ‘alā shātim al-Rasūl, Giza, Egypt: Dār al-Fārūq, 2009
Al-ṣārim al-maslūl ‘alā shātim al-Rasūl, ed. Abū ‘Amrū l-Atharī, n.pl.: Dār Ibn Rajab, 2003
Mukhtaṣar al-ṣārim al-maslūl ‘alā shātim al-Rasūl (abridgement by Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Ba‘lī al-Ḥanbalī [d. 1376-77]), ed. ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-‘Imrān, Mecca: Dār ‘Ālam al-Fawā'id, 2002
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Al-ṣārim al-maslūl ‘alā shātim al-Rasūl, ed. Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar al-Ḥalawānī and Muḥammad Kabīr Aḥmad Shawdarī, 3 vols, Dammām, Saudi Arabia: Ramādī li-l-Nashr, and Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1997
Al-ṣārim al-maslūl ‘alā shātim al-Rasūl, ed. Khālid ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Sab‘ al-‘Ālamī, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1996
Al-ṣārim al-maslūl ‘alā shātim al-Rasūl, Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1994
Al-ṣārim al-maslūl ‘alā shātim al-Rasūl, Beirut: al-Maktaba l-‘Aṣriyya, 1990

- Al-ṣārim al-maslūl ‘alā shātīm al-Rasūl*, Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1975
- Al-ṣārim al-maslūl ‘alā shātīm al-Rasūl*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, Ṭantā, Egypt: Maktabat Tāj, 1960 (repr. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1978)
- Selections in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Sharḥ al-shurūṭ al-‘umariyya mujarradan min Kitāb aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*, ed. Ṣubḥī l-Ṣāliḥ, Damascus: Maṭba‘at Jāmi‘at Dimashq, s.d. (introduction dated 1961), pp. 219-37
- Kitāb al-ṣārim al-maslūl ‘alā shātīm al-Rasūl*, Ḥaydarābād, al-Dakkan: Maṭba‘at Majlis Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif al-Niẓāmiyya, 1904

STUDIES

- Y. Friedmann, *Tolerance and coercion in Islam. Interfaith relations in the Muslim tradition*, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 123, 149-52
- Al-Ḥalawānī and Shawdarī (eds), *Al-ṣārim al-maslūl*, i, pp. 165-82, 211-51 (studies on various aspects of the book)
- Michel, *Response*, pp. 69-71
- Makari, *Ibn Taymiyyah’s ethics*, p. 127
- Murad, ‘Ibn Taymiyya on trial’, pp. 1-2, 26 n. 4 (recounts the circumstances leading up to the composition of *Al-ṣārim al-maslūl*)
- A. Turki, ‘Situation du “tributaire” qui insulte l’islam, au regard de la doctrine et de la jurisprudence musulmanes’, *Studia Islamica* 30 (1969) 39-72 (largely an exposition of *Al-ṣārim al-maslūl*)
- Laoust, *Essai*, pp. 249, 276, 372

Mas’alat al-kanā’is, ‘The question of the churches’

DATE Between 1303 and 1305

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Mas’alat al-kanā’is (also known by slightly different titles, such as *Kitāb fi l-kanā’is*, *Maqāla fi l-kanā’is*, *Mas’ala fi l-kanā’is* and *Su’āl fi l-kanā’is*) is a fatwa on the status of churches under Muslim rule that comes to 15 pages in *MF* xxviii, pp. 632-46, and 41 pages in the critical edition of Shibl. Shibl’s version of the fatwa is based on four manuscripts and the text printed in *MF*. It also includes a list of the conditions in the Pact of ‘Umar (*al-shurūṭ al-‘umariyya*) (q.v.), which is not found in the *MF* version and is different from that found in the treatise in *MF* xxviii, pp. 651-56, beginning *Fi shurūṭ ‘Umar*.

Laoust (*La biographie*, p. 147) dates *Mas’alat al-kanā’is* on the basis of a letter that Ibn Taymiyya wrote in 1310 to his relatives in Damascus.

In the letter, the shaykh requests that what he has written 'on the matter of the churches' (*fi amr al-kanā'is*) be sent to him in Cairo (in Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, *Al-'uqūd al-durriyya*, pp. 284-85 and *MF* xxviii, pp. 656-57). Assuming that this refers to *Mas'alat al-kanā'is*, Laoust proposes that Ibn Taymiyya wrote the fatwa between 1303 and 1305, just after the Mamluk sultan closed the churches in Cairo in 1301, but before the shaykh was exiled to Egypt in 1306. Later scholars have followed the dating of Laoust (O'Keeffe 55; Sarrió Cucarella 296).

The immediate backdrop to *Mas'alat al-kanā'is* is the Mamluk initiative in 1301 to curtail Coptic Christian influence in Egypt. The sumptuary laws of the Pact of 'Umar were enforced; churches were nailed shut; and Copts were removed from their prominent roles in the bureaucracy. The Mamluks could not sustain these measures, however, most likely for economic and political reasons. Some churches reopened the following year, the king of Aragon intervened in 1304 to get two churches opened, probably for foreign Christian merchants, and Copts regained their prominence in the bureaucracy. But the Muslim populace did not look favorably upon relaxation of the sumptuary laws, and the Mamluks sometimes left the masses to enforce the laws themselves.

The long inquiry to which Ibn Taymiyya's fatwa *Mas'alat al-kanā'is* responds concerns the churches in Cairo. The anonymous inquirer observes that the Christians complained that closing the churches was unjust because they dated back to the era of the second caliph, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. It was understood that Christians could not build new churches under their protection agreement with the Muslims, but it was thought that churches predating the coming of Islam could remain open. The inquirer also asks whether it is acceptable for protected communities (*ahl al-dhimma*) to appeal for help to their co-religionists living outside the lands of Islam, and he wonders whether Muslim political and economic interests justify complying with Christian demands for reopening the churches.

In response, Ibn Taymiyya denies that there is any injustice in the closing of the churches, and he argues that the consensus of the Companions, the Successors, the four Sunnī legal schools and other early jurists is that the ruler would be justified in demolishing every church in Muslim territory conquered by force (*arḍ al-'anwa*), which includes Egypt, Iraq and Syria, if he so wished. Later in the fatwa, Ibn Taymiyya explains that the original Muslim conquerors did not demolish the churches because the Christians were peasants living apart from the Muslim military camps. This, he elaborates, is much as the Prophet Muḥammad left the Jews in

Khaybar after conquering it, because Jews were peasants and the Muslims were engaged in *jihād*. Eventually, however, the Jews and Christians were expelled from Arabia because they were no longer needed there. Similarly, Ibn Taymiyya argues, churches are rightly destroyed when Muslims come to live in the same places as Christians in accord with the saying of the Prophet, 'It is not fitting to have two directions of prayer (*qibla*) in the [same] land', and some righteous rulers such as 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz and Hārūn al-Rashīd did destroy churches.

Ibn Taymiyya also denies the Christian claim reported in the fatwa inquiry that the churches date back to the time of the second caliph, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. He explains instead that it was 200 years of Fatimid Ismā'īlī rule in Egypt and the concomitant absence of Shari'a law that granted Christians opportunity to build new churches and also allowed the Franks (crusaders) to conquer the Syrian coast. It was only with the Ayyūbids and Salāḥ al-Dīn that Islam returned to the region.

Responding to other questions in the inquiry, Ibn Taymiyya does not permit protected peoples to correspond with their co-religionists living outside the realm of Islam; those who do so should be punished. He also refuses to allow that Muslims might need to comply with Christian demands in order to protect their own interests. He denies categorically that Muslims have any need of Christians, and he argues that Muslim interests are best served by strengthening religion and humiliating God's enemies.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn Taymiyya's *Mas'alat al-kanā'is* is part of a wider body of literature in the Mamluk period advocating harsh treatment of Christians in Egypt to counter their prominence in government and society. Others writing in this vein include 'Abd al-Ghaffār al-Qūṣī (d. 1307), Jamāl al-Dīn al-Asnāwī (d. 1370) and Ibn al-Naqqāsh (d. 1362) (O'Keefe, pp. 55-56, and Perlmann). Classical Sunnī jurists agree that new churches may not be built after the coming of Islam, but there is disagreement as to whether pre-Islamic churches in Egypt may be destroyed (see, e.g., Fattal, pp. 196-97). The issue turns on whether Egypt is Muslim territory conquered by force (*'anwa*) or by treaty (*ṣulḥ*). If the latter, pre-Islamic churches are protected, but Ibn Taymiyya takes the view that Egypt – as well as Syria and the plains of Iraq – is Muslim territory conquered by force, with pre-Islamic churches subject to destruction if the ruler so wishes. In his presumably later *Fatwā fi amr al-kanā'is*, he changes his view on the legal status of Syria and Iraq from territory conquered by force to territory

conquered by treaty, but he retains his judgment that Egypt is territory conquered by force. Whatever the case, Ibn Taymiyya in *Mas'alat al-kanā'is* renders the question largely moot as he also deploys his detailed knowledge of Egyptian history to undermine Christian claims to pre-Islamic antiquity for their churches in Cairo. These polemics of Ibn Taymiyya and others played a role in the Christian-Muslim conflict in Egypt that erupted sporadically in violence through the mid-14th century and led to the destruction of a number of churches.

Ibn Taymiyya's view does not appear to be held widely today, but it has been cause for concern among present-day Egyptian Christians. In this regard, see the response of Mājid al-Rāhib to *Su'āl fi al-kanā'is*, the 2009 Cairene publication of Ibn Taymiyya's fatwa; al-Rāhib takes the opportunity to warn against Wahhābī influence of Taymiyyan inspiration in Egyptian affairs (*'Istihlāl hadm al-kanā'is bi-fatwā Su'āl fi l-kanā'is'*, 1 November 2009, www.copts-united.com/Arabic2011/Article.php?I=895&A=9359).

MANUSCRIPTS

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 MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – 10275 (date unknown)
 MS Istanbul, Bayazid Library – 1141, 16 (date unknown)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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- B. O'Keefe, 'Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyya. *Mas'alat al-kanā'is* (the Question of the churches)', *Islamochristiana* 22 (1996) 53-78 (trans. of *MF* xxviii, pp. 632-46)
- Mas'ala fi l-kanā'is*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Alī l-Shibl, Riyadh: Maktabat al-'Ubaykān, 1995, pp. 97-137 (repr. in *Majmū' fīhi rasā'il wa-qawā'id li-Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyya*, ed. 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Alī l-Shibl, pp. 419-470, Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 2005)
- MF* xxviii, pp. 632-46 (without the Pact of 'Umar appended)

Fatwā Shaykh al-Islam fīmā istahdathahu l-Naṣārā min al-kanā'is fī bilād al-Islam, Cairo: al-Manār, n.d.

STUDIES

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- Y. Michot, *Fetwa des moines*, Oxford, 2005, at www.muslimphilosophy.com/it/works/ita%20moines.pdf, pp. 11-12
- O'Keeffe, 'Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyya. Mas'alat al-kanā'is'
- S. Ward, 'A fragment from an unknown work by al-Ṭabarī on the Tradition "Expel the Jews and Christians from the Arabian Peninsula (and the lands of Islam)"', *BSOAS* 53 (1990) 407-20, pp. 409, 412-13 (no direct reference to *Mas'alat al-kanā'is* but applicable to its contents)
- S. Ward, 'Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī on construction, continuance, and repair of churches and synagogues in Islamic Law', in W.M. Brinner and S.D. Ricks (eds), *Studies in Islamic and Judaic traditions II*, 169-88, Atlanta GA, 1989, p. 173
- Bat Ye'or, *The dhimmi*, pp. 194-96 (trans. of first few pages of *Mas'alat al-kanā'is* as found in the text by Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq given in Schreiner, 'Contributions à l'histoire', below)
- Michel, *Response*, pp. 78-80
- S. Ward, *Construction and repair of churches and synagogues in Islamic law. A treatise by Taqī al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Kāfi al-Subkī*, New Haven CT, 1984 (PhD diss. Yale University) pp. 33, 73-74 n. 215, 78 n. 231
- A. Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'islam*, Beirut, 1958, pp. 176-78
- Laoust, 'La biographie', p. 147
- M. Perlmann, 'Notes on anti-Christian propaganda in the Mamlūk Empire', *BSOAS* 10 (1942) 843-61, pp. 844, 853
- Laoust, *Essai*, pp. 265-77 (discussion of non-Muslims under Islam based partially on this treatise)
- M. Schreiner, 'Contributions à l'histoire des Juifs en Égypte', *Revue des Études Juives* 31 (1895) 212-21 (ed. with trans. of an anti-Jewish fatwa by a certain Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq that quotes and summarizes parts of *Mas'alat al-kanā'is*)
- Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, pp. 89-90

Fatwā fī amr al-kanā'is, 'Fatwa on the issue of churches'

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The only known source for this short fatwa is Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma* (ii, pp. 677-86 in the 1961 edition of Subḥī al-Ṣāliḥ), and it has now been printed independently in the collection *Jāmi' al-masā'il* cited below. *Fatwā fī amr al-kanā'is* treats the legal status of churches under Muslim rule, and it probably dates to after *Mas'alat al-kanā'is* because it takes a less polemical and more juristic approach to the question.

In long and involved fashion, the inquiry prompting *Fatwā fī amr al-kanā'is* asks about the status of unbelievers' places of worship in Muslim territories conquered by force (*'anwa*). This is likely in response to Ibn Taymiyya giving Egypt, Syria and the plains of Iraq this status in *Mas'alat al-kanā'is* and thereby rendering all churches in those regions subject to destruction if the ruler so wished. Ibn Taymiyya backtracks in *Fatwā fī amr al-kanā'is*, explaining that most of Syria and Iraq was in fact conquered by treaty (*ṣulḥ*). This would give protection to churches built in those regions prior to Islam. Ibn Taymiyya explains that Egypt was also conquered initially by treaty. However, its inhabitants then violated their treaty, and Egypt had to be re-conquered by force. All unbelievers' property in such regions belongs to the Muslims; no exception is made for churches, even those that are pre-Islamic. The ruler may give pre-Islamic churches, synagogues and other places of worship into the temporary care of those who use them, but he may rescind this when the public welfare (*maṣlaḥa*) requires. Churches and synagogues built after the Islamic conquest must be removed immediately, as the Pact of 'Umar prohibits building new churches, monasteries and the like.

SIGNIFICANCE

The fatwa inquiry and Ibn Taymiyya's response reflect the controversy over the Islamic legal status of Egypt and its churches that raged in the context of Egyptian Christian-Muslim conflict in the 14th century. Ibn Taymiyya's *Fatwā fī amr al-kanā'is* is less inflammatory than his *Mas'alat al-kanā'is*, but he retains his ruling that Egypt is territory conquered by force and that its churches are thus subject to destruction.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

‘Fatwā fī amr al-kanā’is’, in *Jāmi‘ al-masā’il li-Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm ibn ‘Abd al-Salām ibn Taymiyya, Al-Majmū‘a l-thālitha*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Uzayr Shams, vol. 4 of *Āthār Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyya wa-mā laḥiqahā min a‘māl*, ed. Bakr ibn ‘Abd Allāh Abū Zayd, Mecca: Dār ‘Ālam al-Fawā’id, 2002, pp. 361-70

STUDIES —

Untitled treatise beginning *Fī shurūṭ ‘Umar . . .*,
 ‘Concerning the Conditions of ‘Umar . . .’

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This short treatise of six pages printed in *MF* xxviii, pp. 651-56, provides a listing of the Conditions of ‘Umar applying to non-Muslims living under Muslim protection (*ahl al-dhimma*) and discusses related matters. For example, Ibn Taymiyya denies that the Prophet said, ‘Whoever harms a protected person (*dhimmī*) has harmed me’, and that unbelievers can never be rightly harmed. Also, he affirms that the Conditions of ‘Umar should always be enforced and, among other things, he censures the Ismā‘īlī Fatimids – here called Banū ‘Ubayd al-Qaddāḥ – for permitting the building of churches in Egypt.

SIGNIFICANCE

The text shows that Ibn Taymiyya supports robust implementation of the Pact of ‘Umar.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Sarrió Cucarella, ‘Iglesias en tierra de Islam’, pp. 320-24 (Spanish trans.)
 Y. Michot, *Fetwa des moines*, Oxford, 2005, www.muslimphilosophy.com/it/works/ita%20moines.pdf, p. 16 (French trans. of *MF* xxviii, pp. 655-56)
MF xxviii, pp. 651-56
MRM i, pp. 226-30

STUDIES

- M.Y. Abu-Munshar, *Islamic Jerusalem and its Christians. A history of tolerance and tensions*, London, 2007, pp. 63, 70-71, 195 n. 40, 197 nn. 75-77 (on the authenticity of Ibn Taymiyya's attribution of the Pact to 'Umar)
- Michel, *Response*, pp. 80-81
- S. Ward, *Construction and repair of churches and synagogues in Islamic Law. A treatise by Taqī al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Kāfī al-Subkī*, New Haven CT, 1984 (PhD diss. Yale University), p. 212 n. 82
- Makari, *Ibn Taymiyya's ethics*, pp. 128-30 (discussion of the Pact of 'Umar based partially on this treatise)
- Laoust, *Essai*, pp. 265-77 (discussion of non-Muslims under Islam based partially on this treatise)

Untitled fatwa beginning *Wa su'ila 'an al-ruhbān . . .*,
'And he was asked about the monks . . .'

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This brief fatwa on the legal status of monks living as *dhimmīs* under Muslim rule takes up five pages in *MF* xxviii, pp. 659-63. The fatwa inquirer asks whether monks who circulate freely among the populace, engaging in business and agriculture, are subject to the *jizya* tax levied on *dhimmīs*. In response, Ibn Taymiyya turns to the instruction of the first caliph, Abū Bakr, to Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān, who was setting out on a military expedition to Syria: he should not harm monks who are secluded in hermitages, but should fight those who wear the tonsure, on the grounds that God commanded fighting the 'leaders of unbelief' (Q 9:12).

Ibn Taymiyya explains that Abū Bakr prohibited killing monks in hermitages only because they did not mix with their co-religionists in society and thus did not pose any danger to the Muslims. However, monks who mixed in society – those who wore the tonsure – and provided strategic or material aid to their co-religionists in battle against Muslims were to be killed. It follows, therefore, that monks who trade and farm among their people after the cessation of hostilities must also pay the *jizya*. Moreover, Ibn Taymiyya elaborates, these monks are the 'leaders

of unbelief', who block their co-religionists from the way of Islam and who the Qur'an says must be fought in time of battle.

In the latter part of the fatwa, Ibn Taymiyya discusses the legal status of Egypt under Muslim rule and complains that the Fatimids (*al-dawla l-rāfiḍīyya*) had permitted Christians to gain too much power in the government bureaucracy.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn Taymiyya's view that monks active in society should pay the *jizya* and may be killed in time of battle falls within the mainstream of debate in classical Islamic jurisprudence. Some jurists exempted monks from the *jizya*, probably on the grounds that they were poor and secluded themselves for worship. However, some Christians in the Umayyad period turned to monasticism to avoid the *jizya*, which led rulers to impose the tax on monks. The *jizya* for monks was abolished and reinstated several times through the centuries, and this request for a fatwa from Ibn Taymiyya bears testimony to the fact that the taxation status of monks was still an open question in the Mamluk era (see Michot, *Fetwa des moines*, p. 13 n. 14 for references).

Yahya Michot's 1997 *Le statut des moines*, a study and translation of Ibn Taymiyya's fatwa on monks published under the pseudonym Nasreddin Lebatelier, provoked considerable controversy when it first appeared. The introduction to the study examines the 1996 capture and killing of seven French Trappist monks in Tibehirine, Algeria, attributed to the Islamist militant group Groupe Islamique Armé (GIA), and it analyzes GIA statements along with the widespread condemnation of the killings by Muslim leaders at the time. Michot seeks to contextualize both the GIA statements and the subsequent Muslim condemnations in the wider Islamic legal tradition with the help of Ibn Taymiyya's fatwa. Some interpreted Michot's work as legitimizing the killings of the Trappist monks (Bozzo, Wehbé and Veilleux), though Michot strongly denied that this was his aim and publicly condemned the killings.

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- Y. Michot, *Fetwa des moines*, Oxford, 2005, www.muslimphilosophy.com/it/works/ita%20moines.pdf (abridgement of and additions to Lebatelier, *Le statut des moines*, leaving out the material on the 1996 killing of seven Trappist monks in Tibehirine, Algeria)
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- Ibn Taymiyya, *Fiqh al-jihād*, ed. Suhayr Shafiq al-Kabbī, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, 1992, pp. 165-68
- MF* xxviii, pp. 659-63

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- T. el-Leithy, *Coptic culture and conversion in medieval Cairo, 1293-1524 A.D.*, Princeton NJ, 2005 (PhD diss. Princeton University), pp. 43-44
- Michot, *Fetwa des moines*
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- L. Wehbé and A. Veilleux, ‘Une opinion islamique extrême. A propos des sept frères de Tibhirine’, *Collectanea Cisterciensa* 62 (2000) 72-80 (criticizes Lebatelier, *Le statut des moines*)
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Kitāb iqtidā’ al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm mukhālafat aṣḥāb al-jahīm; Iqtidā’ al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm, ‘The necessity of the straight path in distinction from the people of hell’

DATE Before 1315-16

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Iqtidā’ al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm (the title appears in slight variations, among them *Iqtidā’ al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm fī radd ‘alā aṣḥāb al-jahīm*, *Iqtidā’ al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm wa-mujānabat aṣḥāb al-jahīm* and *Iqtidā’ al-ṣirāṭ*

al-mustaqīm fī mukhālafat ahl al-jahīm) is a large book forbidding Muslim imitation (*tashabbuh*) of unbelievers, especially Christians in their festivals. Its date is uncertain, but the earliest known manuscript was copied in 1315-1316, setting a *terminus ad quem*. The work was probably written not much before this.

At the beginning of the *Iqtidā'*, Ibn Taymiyya states that he had previously written a tract on the same topic to positive effect. However, the problem of Muslims imitating unbelievers re-emerged, and someone asked him to write about it again. Ibn Taymiyya does not give the name of the first work – it is perhaps the short fatwa *Khamīs* or the fatwa in *MF* xxv, pp. 329-32 – and he adds that it was not even available to him when writing the *Iqtidā'*. In the introduction to *Ibn Taymīya's struggle*, a nearly full English translation of the *Iqtidā'*, Memon provides a detailed attempt to date the text, but, not being aware of the 1315-1316 manuscript, he speculates that it was written after the 1321 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Cairo (pp. 7, 78-82).

Ibn Taymiyya refers to the *Iqtidā'* by name in his treatise *Ra's al-Ḥusayn* (*MF* xxvii, 450-89, p. 464), and he copies from it extensively to compose his short fatwa *Dhamm khamīs al-Naṣārā* (*MF* xxv, pp. 318-28).

The text of the *Iqtidā'* divides into 24 chapters (*faṣl*). While these are not numbered in the Arabic text, Memon has conveniently numbered them in his translation, and this numbering will be followed in the description of the book here. Page references are to the two-volume critical edition of Nāṣir ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-'Aql (seventh printing, 1999, indicated as 'Aql), in which the *Iqtidā'* takes up 880 pages, and to Memon's translation.

The first chapter of the *Iqtidā'* ('Aql i, pp. 71-94; Memon, pp. 88-98) states its aim: to identify the errors of Jews, Christians and other unbelievers, especially pertaining to religious practices, so that Muslims can avoid these errors and remain on the Straight Path. Inspired by traditional interpretation that applied 'not those who have incurred anger, nor those who have gone astray' (Q 1:7) to Jews and Christians respectively, Ibn Taymiyya describes Jews as those who know the truth but incur God's anger by not acting on it, and Christians as those who go astray by acting without knowledge. Christians have, out of ignorance, innovated rites of worship, and some Muslims have moreover fallen into imitating them. On Ibn Taymiyya's analysis, participating in shared behavior outwardly, as when Muslims imitate Jewish and Christian ways, leads eventually to similarity in character and belief, whereas differing in

outward behavior prevents straying and clearly distinguishes those who are rightly guided from those who are not.

The second through eighth chapters ('Aql i, pp. 95-477; Memon, pp. 98-193) constitute more than one third of the *Iqtidā'* and establish the general legal foundation for the rest of the treatise. Ibn Taymiyya touches on a range of issues here, but the thrust of his argument is that the Qur'an, the Sunna and the consensus of the early Muslim scholars prohibit imitating unbelievers as a general rule and prescribe differing from them as either obligatory or commendable. For example, Muslim men are commanded to dye their beards to distinguish themselves from Jewish and Christian men. The Hadith contain reports that Muslims should not imitate the greetings of the Jews and the Christians and that Muslims should dress differently from others. Conversely, and in accord with the Pact of 'Umar, non-Muslims living within Muslim lands should be required to dress differently from Muslims. In these and many other ways, Ibn Taymiyya argues, the legal sources of Islam call Muslims to distinguish themselves outwardly from unbelievers in order to avoid falling into proscribed deeds and eventually wrong belief.

With this general principle in place, the remainder of the *Iqtidā'* focuses specifically on proscribing participation in non-Muslim and innovated festivals. Ibn Taymiyya defines a festival (*ʿīd*) as a recurrent gathering to perform religious rituals and customs, which may or may not be tied to a specific place. Examples of Muslim festivals include gathering for Friday prayers and celebration of the Feast of Fast-Breaking (*ʿīd al-fiṭr*). The term 'festival' also applies to places in which such gatherings might occur; this is the sense in the saying of the Prophet, 'Do not turn my grave into a festival' ('Aql i, pp. 496-97; ii, pp. 5, 121; Memon, pp. 198, 220, 241).

Ibn Taymiyya grounds the prohibition against Muslim participation in non-Muslim and innovated festivals both on the textual foundations of Islam and on considerations of benefit (*maṣlaḥa*) and detriment (*mafsada*). With regard to the latter, he argues that Muslims derive benefit by deliberately differing from the People of the Book ('Aql i, p. 478; Memon, p. 193). Moreover, while innovations in ritual may involve a measure of profit and Jews and Christians may derive some advantage from performing their own rites, all of this is outweighed by the greater evil in those rites. Had the good of those activities outstripped their evil, the *sharīʿa* would have proscribed them from the outset ('Aql ii, p. 117; Memon, p. 241). In Ibn Taymiyya's view, the prescriptions of Islam

coincide fully with what is beneficial to humankind, and anything else can only detract from this.

The ninth through fourteenth chapters of the *Iqtidā'* ('Aql i, p. 478-ii, p. 81; Memon, pp. 193-229) provide detailed analysis of non-Muslim festivals. Drawing on Qur'an, Hadith and views of the *salaf* and early scholars, as well as considerations of benefit and detriment, Ibn Taymiyya censures Muslim imitation of or participation in pre-Islamic, Persian and Jewish festivals and the Christian festivals of Christmas, Jesus' baptism, Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, and Easter. Ibn Taymiyya ranges widely in analyzing the origins and rituals of these various festivals, and he complains that he has seen Muslims participating in Christian festive practices such as coloring eggs, exchanging gifts, burning incense at graves, giving children new clothes, and spreading clothes out on roofs in hope for a blessing from the Virgin Mary. Such activities, Ibn Taymiyya explains, draw Muslims into Christian rites and belief – even baptism – or engender a theological pluralism in the minds of the Muslim masses in which 'the object of worship is one, even if the paths differ' ('Aql i, p. 540; Memon, p. 213, translation added), meaning that parts of the Jewish and Christian laws may lead to God even if they are not in agreement with Islam. Ibn Taymiyya reiterates that imitation or participation in Christian festivals is not permitted. Jews and Christians as the People of the Book may practice their festivals within Islamic territory, but they must keep their festivals to themselves and not involve Muslims. However, Muslims are permitted to receive gifts from the People of the Book on the occasions of their festivals, and Muslims may eat food prepared by Jews and Christians during their festivals within certain limits.

The final portion of the *Iqtidā'* – well over a third of the book – focuses on showing that innovation (*bid'a*) is always in error and entails corruption of religion (ch. 15, 'Aql ii, pp. 82-120; Memon, pp. 229-41), and on ferreting out innovated festivals of time (ch. 16, 'Aql ii, pp. 121-48; Memon, pp. 241-51) and place (chs 17-24, 'Aql ii, pp. 149-401; Memon, pp. 251-331). Considerable space is given to condemning the turning of graves into festivals. Most of this discussion concerns practices that have emerged within the Muslim community itself, and Christians and other unbelievers are not often mentioned. Nonetheless, Christians and Jews still loom in the background as those from whom Muslims must distinguish themselves and as sources of Muslim innovations. For example, Ibn Taymiyya traces the innovated Muslim celebration of the Prophet Muḥammad's birthday (*mawlid*) to imitation of the Christian festival of Christmas, and he faults Christians for introducing unreliable stories into the Muslim

community that lead Muslims to believe in the special efficacy of praying at graves. Turning graves into festivals is proscribed because it so quickly deteriorates into associating partners with God (*shirk*) as Muslims fall foul of the Christian propensity to deify and worship human beings. Moreover, explains Ibn Taymiyya, the Prophet prohibited building religious sanctuaries over graves in deliberate divergence from Jewish and Christian practice.

Much of the last chapter in the *Iqtidā'* (ch. 24, 'Aql ii, pp. 354-401; Memon, pp. 320-31) is devoted to an exposition of exclusive devotion to God (*tawhīd*). Ibn Taymiyya here sets out his vision of correct worship of God over against the errors and excesses of Sufis and Muslim jurists and theologians, as well as against the stereotypical *shirk* of Christians and the arrogance of Jews.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn Taymiyya's *Iqtidā'* is part of a wider literature in the Baḥrī Mamluk sultanate of the late 13th and the early 14th centuries, which decried Muslim involvement in allegedly deviant religious practices – including those of Christians. Other examples of this literature include the *Madkhal* of the Cairene Ibn al-Ḥajj al-'Abdarī and the *Kitāb al-luma'* of Idrīs ibn Baydākīn al-Turkumānī (Shoshan, *Popular culture in medieval Cairo*, p. 68; Memon p. 6). These treatises are also part of a wider genre of anti-innovation legal treatises that emerged earlier in the medieval period (Fierro), prompted in part by the widening prevalence of Sufism and shrine religion in the Muslim community.

The *Iqtidā'* stands out among these other works by developing a rationale for proscribing Muslim participation in non-Muslim festivals that appeals to considerations of benefit (*maṣlaḥa*) and goes beyond simply opposing Jews and Christians or protecting the *sharī'a* from danger. The result is probably the most sophisticated argument for the social, cultural and religious separation of Muslims from non-Muslims in the medieval period. In the *Iqtidā'*, as in other writings, Ibn Taymiyya takes the minority view within medieval Islam that there is no such thing as a good innovation (*bid'a ḥasana*). This rules out celebrating the Prophet's birthday, the cult of saints and other popular practices that had developed within the Muslim community over time. On Ibn Taymiyya's analysis, the origins of these practices lay outside Islam among Jews, Christians and others. As Islam has set out all that is required to benefit humankind, imitating non-Muslim practices or those that derive from them cannot but harm Muslims and is thus proscribed. The fullest benefit for

Muslims is found in following the *salaf* and intentionally opposing non-Muslim practices.

At the level of social history, the work provides ample evidence that the boundary lines between the Christian and Muslim communities of this time were much more blurred than Ibn Taymiyya would have wished and that a good number of Muslims had no difficulty mixing with Christians in Christian celebrations. It also provides an interesting witness to the content of popular Christian festive practices under the Mamluks, albeit through Ibn Taymiyya's polemical lens.

Reception of the *Iqtiḍā'* today has been ambivalent among some more conservative Muslims because of Ibn Taymiyya's acknowledgement that those engaged in erroneous practices might gain some (limited) benefit from them (Ukeles). However, as is evidenced by the proliferation of editions and commentaries, the text has received much attention, especially in Saudi Arabia, and it continues to inspire a vision of cultural, social and religious separation between Christians and Muslims (e.g. al-Dasūqī).

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- Michot, 'Between entertainment and religion' (notes 5, 9, 15 and 66 cite *Iqtidā'*)
- 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Bāz, *Fawā'id min sharḥ Iqtidā' al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*, Part 7, in *Al-Fawā'id al-'ilmiyya min al-durūs al-bāziyya*, 10 parts in 8 vols, Damascus: Dār al-Risāla l-'Ālamiyya, 2009
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- Wā'il ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Ḍasūqī, *Kitāb taḥrīm mushārakat al-kuffār min ahl al-kitāb wa-al-mushrikīn fī a'yādhim aw tahnī'atihim bihā*, 2003-4, rev. 4th printing 2009, published online at www.mediafire.com/?kzzzdlyyvo and elsewhere (a normative work that draws heavily on the *Iqtidā'* to argue that Muslims should not participate in Christians festivals)
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- Michel, *Response*, pp. 83-86
- Makari, *Ibn Taymiyya's ethics*, p. 131
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- Memon, *Ibn Taimīya's struggle* (study and nearly full trans.)
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- Laoust, *Essai*, pp. 270, 272
- M. Schreiner, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der theologischen Bewegungen im Islām, V.c', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 53 (1899) 51-88 (includes Arabic extracts from the Berlin MS of the *Iqtidā'* with discussion pp. 51-59, 78-85)

Untitled fatwa beginning *Wa su'ila 'amman yaf'al min al-Muslimīn mithl ṭa'ām al-Naṣārā fī Nayrūz . . .*, 'He was asked about Muslims who eat the food of the Christians at Nayrūz . . .'; *Taḥrīm mushāraḳat ahl al-kitāb fī 'ayādihim*, 'Forbidding participation with the People of the Book in their festivals'

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This brief fatwa is printed in *MF* xxv, pp. 329-32, and *MRM* i, pp. 230-32, and bears no title in either collection. Thomas Michel (*Response*, pp. 82-84)

gave the work the title *Tahrīm mushāraḳat ahl al-kitāb fī ‘ayādihim*, apparently deriving it from editor Rashīd Riḳā’s very brief summary of the work found in the table of contents to *MRM* i. While there is no clear evidence by which to date the text, Michel speculates that Ibn Taymiyya wrote it in Egypt in 1309-10. The inquiry prompting the fatwa asks in a general way about Muslim involvement with Christians in festivals such as Christmas, Maundy Thursday, Easter and Nayrūz. Ibn Taymiyya responds that it is not permitted to have anything to do with Christians in their festivals. Muslims should not participate in their rituals and ancillary celebrations. Moreover, Muslims should not sell Christians anything to be used in their festivals or assist Christians in celebrating their feast days in any way. To do so is tantamount to helping Christians in their unbelief and associationism (*shirk*).

SIGNIFICANCE

Michel suggests that this fatwa is a precursor to the far more developed *Iḳtiḳā’*, and Memon thinks it may be the brief work mentioned by Ibn Taymiyya at the beginning of that book (p. 345, n. 4).

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

MF xxv, pp. 329-32

MRM i, pp. 230-32

STUDIES

Michel, *Response*, pp. 82-84

Memon, *Ibn Taimīya’s struggle*, p. 345, n. 4

Laoust, *Essai*, pp. 270, 272

Mas’ala fī man yusammī l-khamīs ‘īd, ‘A question about someone who calls Maundy Thursday a festival’

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This fatwa (six pages in the printed edition) responds to an inquiry about calling the Christian celebration of Maundy Thursday a festival (*‘īd*), and about activities such as painting eggs, gambling and using incense that

are linked to this day. Ibn Taymiyya responds that Muslims should not engage in any activities associated with the feasts of the unbelievers in accord with two sayings of the Prophet, 'Whoever imitates a people is from them', and 'Whoever imitates someone apart from us is not from us'.

Ibn Taymiyya then censures the various beliefs and practices mentioned in the inquiry. Muslims who engage in these things should be called upon to repent; if they refuse, they should be killed. Moreover, those who are baptized, pray to the east and venerate the Cross are unbelievers and apostates who should be killed in accordance with the law, even if they claim to be Muslims. However, Muslims should not go to the opposite extreme and fast on Christian festivals in order to oppose them explicitly.

Ibn Taymiyya ends the fatwa by calling upon the ruling authorities to prohibit engagement in forbidden acts and command adherence to the laws of Islam.

SIGNIFICANCE

Among Ibn Taymiyya's writings that censure participation in Christian festivals, *Khamīs* is the only text known to prescribe the death penalty for Muslims who do not refrain. This fatwa also provides evidence that commemoration of Maundy Thursday during Mamluk times was an occasion of considerable Christian merrymaking.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Damascus, Zāhiriyya – 2962, fols 76v-78r (1352-53)

MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – 2085 (15th century)

MS Dublin, Chester Beatty Library – Ar 3296, fols 14v-16r (perhaps 16th century)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

'Mas'ala fi-man yusammī l-khamīs 'īd', in *Jāmi'* *al-masā'il li-Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥalīm ibn 'Abd al-Salām ibn Taymiyya*, *Al-Majmū'a l-thālitha*, ed. Muḥammad 'Uzayr Shams, vol. 4, in *Āthār Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyya wa-mā laḥiqahā min a'māl*, ed. Bakr ibn 'Abd Allāh Abū Zayd, Mecca: Dār 'Ālam al-Fawā'id, 2002, pp. 371-77

STUDIES —

Mas'ala fī dhamm khamīs al-Naṣārā; Dhamm khamīs al-Naṣārā, 'Censure of the Christians' Maundy Thursday'

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad Āl Farayān edited this short fatwa on the Christian festival of Maundy Thursday from three manuscripts, which he describes in the introduction to his edition in the Saudi journal *Majallat al-buḥūth al-islāmiyya* in 1995. He judges that two of the manuscripts come from the 16th century, while the third was copied in 1922-23. Āl Farayān does not mention where he found these manuscripts, and neither does he note that this fatwa appears without title in *KMF* ii, pp. 74-79, and in *MF* xxv, pp. 318-28, as two separate pieces (pp. 318-20 and pp. 320-28).

Dhamm khamīs al-Naṣārā clearly derives from the *Iqtidā'*, and by all appearances Ibn Taymiyya or possibly a disciple drew upon the earlier book to respond quickly to this later inquiry about Maundy Thursday. Apart from the introductory paragraph and some omissions, *MF* xxv, pp. 318-20 (Āl Farayān, pp. 363-66), is nearly identical to the first few pages of *Iqtidā'*, ch. 12 (Arabic ed. of 'Aql ii, pp. 9-12; trans. of Memon, pp. 221-22). *MF* xxv, pp. 320-23 (Āl Farayān, pp. 366-71), is largely identical to passages found in *Iqtidā'*, ch. 9 ('Aql i, pp. 534-40, ii, pp. 6-8; Memon, pp. 210-14, 220-21), and *MF* xxv, pp. 323-24 (Āl Farayān, pp. 371-73), draws from ch. 11 ('Aql ii, pp. 6-8; Memon, pp. 220-21). The remainder of the fatwa consists of material found in various places elsewhere in *Iqtidā'*, some of which may not have been copied directly but taken from memory.

Dhamm khamīs al-Naṣārā lists censored activities linked to Maundy Thursday, such as women leaving their homes, coloring eggs, leaving off work for the festival, and spreading incense at graves. It argues that these activities are forbidden to Muslims because they could lead to worse acts, such as baptism and seeking blessing from the Cross.

SIGNIFICANCE

The existence of this and other fatwas devoted specifically to Maundy Thursday indicates that the activities associated with the day were a matter of particular curiosity among Muslims in the Mamluk period.

MANUSCRIPTS

See Āl-Farayān, ‘Dhamm khamīs al-Naşārā’

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Al-Walīd ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad Āl Farayān, ‘Dhamm khamīs al-Naşārā li-Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyya’, *Majallat al-buḥūth al-islāmiyya* 44 (1415-1416 [1995]) 357-78, available at <http://www.alifta.net/Fatawa/FatawaDetails.aspx>

MF xxv, pp. 318-28 (presented as two separate treatises: *MF* xxv, pp. 318-20, and *MF* xxv, pp. 320-28)

KMF ii, pp. 74-79

STUDIES

Āl Farayān, ‘Dhamm khamīs al-Naşārā’, pp. 357-78

Untitled fatwa beginning *Su’ila Shaykh al-Islām . . . ‘an jamā’a min al-Muslimīn ishtadda nakīruhūm ‘alā man akala dhabīḥat Yahūdī aw Naşrānī muṭlaqan*, ‘The Shaykh of Islam . . . was asked about a group of Muslims who severely reproached someone who had eaten the meat of animals slaughtered by a Jew or Christian’

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

In this fatwa of 22 pages as found in *MF* xxxv, pp. 212-33, Ibn Taymiyya permits Muslims to eat meat from animals slaughtered by Christians and Jews. He also deems all Christian and Jewish butchers eligible to provide meat for Muslims, opposing a Shāfi‘ī legal view that Christians and Jews who had converted to their respective religions – or whose descendants had converted – after the rise of Islam were not eligible. In Ibn Taymiyya’s view, it runs against the principles of Islam to factor these sorts of historical and genealogical considerations into interaction with non-Muslims.

SIGNIFICANCE

This is apparently the only fatwa in which Ibn Taymiyya speaks about the question of Muslims eating meat from animals slaughtered by Jews

and Christians. He is here in agreement with mainstream Sunnī views, apart from the Shāfi'īs.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Ibn Taymiyya, Al-tafsīr al-kabīr, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Umayra, 7 vols, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1988, iv, pp. 22-46

Daqā'iq al-tafsīr. Al-Jāmi' li-tafsīr al-Imām Ibn Taymiyya, ed. Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-Jalaynad, 4 vols, Damascus: Mu'assasat 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān, 1984, iii, pp. 13-25

MF xxxv, pp. 212-33

KMF i, pp. 152-64

STUDIES

D.M. Freidenreich, 'Five questions about non-Muslim meat. Toward a new appreciation of Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziyyah's contribution to Islamic law', in C. Bori and L. Holtzman (eds), *A scholar in the shadow. Essays in the legal and theological thought of Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziyyah*, *Oriente Moderno* monograph series 90 (2010) 89-110, pp. 93-96, 99, 101-2, 104, 109-10

Y. Friedmann, *Tolerance and coercion in Islam. Interfaith relations in the Muslim tradition*, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 62-63

D.P. Little, 'Ḥaram documents related to the Jews of late fourteenth century Jerusalem', *JSS* 30 (1985) 227-64, pp. 260-61

Jon Hoover

Nicholas of Lyra

DATE OF BIRTH 1270
PLACE OF BIRTH Lyre, Normandy
DATE OF DEATH 1349
PLACE OF DEATH Paris

BIOGRAPHY

Nicholas of Lyra, Franciscan, biblical exegete and regent master in Paris (1308-9), and Franciscan minister provincial of France (1319) and Burgundy (1325), was born in Lyre, Normandy, in the diocese of Évreux, a center of Jewish learning. He became acquainted with the Talmud, Midrash, and the works of Rashi (Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac, 1045-1105). His *magnum opus*, the *Literal Postill on the whole Bible* (1322/23-31), was a running commentary on the Old and New Testaments, intended for theologians and known for its double literal sense, affirmation of history and literary context, and Jewish interpretations of the Old Testament. The double literal sense served as his key to interpret Old Testament prophetic passages, allowing the exegete to draw two interpretations from the passage: one for the prophet's own time and another (usually Christological) for the future. His *Moral Postill on the whole Bible* (1333-39) was a handbook for lectors and preachers, that is, a typological and allegorical series of notes on passages of scripture that could be given a moral or spiritual interpretation. Known for his use of Jewish exegesis for his commentaries and his controversial treatises on the Jews, he also commented on Christian-Muslim relations as a critic of the crusades in his famous Apocalypse commentary (1329) in the *Literal Postill*. Other extant works are *The question of the Advent of Christ* (1309); *On the difference of our translation from the Hebrew Letter of the Old Testament* (1333), a treatise summarizing the *Literal Postill*; *Response from the words of the Gospel according to Matthew to a certain Jew who argues badly against Christ* (1334), a treatise against the Jews; and *On the vision of the divine essence* (1333), a treatise on the beatific vision. His last work, from around 1339, was an acrostic devotional text spelling out the name of St Francis, *Oratio ad honorem S. Francisci*, a commentary on the literal sense of the Psalms.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Biblia Sacra cum glossis, interlinearibus et ordinariis Nicolai Lyrani Postilla, Venice, 1588 (this edition contains a helpful index; see E.A. Gosselin, 'A bibliographical survey. A listing of the printed editions of Nicolaus de Lyra', *Traditio* 26 (1970) 399-426)

Secondary

- P. Krey, art. 'Nicholas of Lyra' in *The new Westminster dictionary of Church history*, ed. R. Benedetto, Louisville KY, 2008, 465-66
- C. Carvalho, art. 'Nicholas of Lyra', in *Dictionary of major biblical interpreters*, ed. D. McKim, Downers Grove IL, 2007, 770-76
- P. Krey, 'Nicholas of Lyra's commentary on Daniel in the *Literal Postill* (1329)', in K. Bracht and D.S. du Toit (eds), *Die Geschichte der Daniel-Auslegung in Judentum, Christentum und Islam. Studien zur Kommentierung des Danielbuches in Literatur und Kunst (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 371)*, Berlin, 2007, 199-215
- D. Klepper, *The insight of unbelievers. Nicholas of Lyra and Christian reading of Jewish text in the later Middle Ages*, Philadelphia PA, 2007
- C. Ocker, *Biblical poetics before humanism and the Reformation*, Cambridge, 2002
- P. Krey and L. Smith (eds), *Nicholas of Lyra and the senses of scripture*, Leiden, 2000
- P. Krey, 'Nicholas of Lyra. Apocalypse commentator, historian, and critic', *Franciscan Studies* 52 (1992) 53-84
- D. Burr, 'Antichrist and Islam in medieval Franciscan exegesis', in J. Tolan (ed.), *Medieval Christian perceptions of Islam. A book of essays*, New York, 1996, 131-52
- P. Krey, 'Nicholas of Lyra and Paul of Burgos on Islam', in J. Tolan (ed.), *Medieval Christian perceptions of Islam. A book of essays*, New York, 1996, 153-74
- H. Rüthing, 'Kritische Bemerkungen zu einer mittelalterlichen Biographie des Nikolaus von Lyra', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 60 (1967) 42-54
- C. Langlois, 'Nicolas de Lyre, Frère Mineur', *Histoire Littéraire de la France* 36 (1927) 356-57
- H. Labrosse, 'Sources de la biographie de Nicolas de Lyre', *Études Franciscaines* 16 (1906) 383-404
- H. Labrosse, 'Biographie de Nicolas de Lyre', *Études Franciscaines* 17 (1907) 489-505, 593-608
- H. Labrosse, 'Oeuvres de Nicolas de Lyre. Sources bibliographiques', *Études Franciscaines* 19 (1908) 41-53, 153-76, 368-80; 35 (1923) 171-87, 400-32

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Apocalypsis Jesu Christi in Biblia Sacra cum glossa ordinaria; Apocalypsis, 'Nicholas of Lyra's Apocalypse commentary'; 'Apocalypse commentary'; 'Apocalypse commentary (1329)'

DATE 1329

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Nicholas of Lyra's Apocalypse commentary of 1329 in the *Literal Postill* is more than likely a revision of his early lectures on the Apocalypse. It interprets the Book of Revelation as a successive narrative of church history from the time of the apostles to the end of the world. His analysis of the role of Islam in this history represents a departure from his Joachite and Franciscan models. He does not seem to be motivated by the Franciscan/Joachite critique of the crusades, which argued for a combination of persuasion over violence and a hope that Islam and the Jews would ultimately be converted. The mass conversion of the Mongols in his own time also convinces him of Islam's vitality and not its decline. His historical and contemporary analysis compels him to accept the forces of Islam as a real and inscrutable mystery that will not easily be resolved. He does not demonstrate immediate knowledge of Islam, and most of what he does know is taken from standard encyclopedic works such as Vincent of Beauvais' (c. 1190-c. 1264) *Speculum Historiale* (q.v.). From his vantage point as a professor and a Franciscan administrator in Paris, Islam was a distant threat and a speculative problem for his theology of history.

Like his proximate sources Alexander Minorita (d. 1271) and Peter Auriol (1280-1322), Nicholas is convinced that Islam is identified with the forces of Antichrist in the world. Unlike them, however, he has little hope that the Muslim world will soon experience a decline, that a mass conversion to Christianity is in the future, or that some apocalyptic confrontation is on the horizon. He sees that the Islamic world is expanding, that the Tartars have become Muslim and not Christian. Thus he rejects their identification of Muḥammad with the number 666 because, as he has learned from a Franciscan bishop who lived among the Tartars, a majority of this people have only recently accepted the Islamic law. Thus Islam is not in decline, and all Western attempts since Charlemagne to contain them have been ephemeral victories at best. Nicholas

is agnostic about the future of Islam, though like his sources he trusts that the Church of Christ will ultimately prevail.

SIGNIFICANCE

Nicholas observes that Saracen preachers and Christian preachers both stir up their people against one another. His earlier models who commented on the Apocalypse, Alexander Minorita and Peter Auriol, had interpreted the crusades as a struggle of the Christian mission against Islam, and as an apocalyptic crisis and Christian triumph. For them, Muḥammad was the beast of the earth (Revelation 16) and no triumph for the Christian church was sweeter than the First Crusade, when saints from so many countries responded to the call and established the Latin Kingdom in the Holy Land. Nicholas departs from this.

According to his own analysis (chs 13, 16-20), although Islam represents a dramatic and overwhelming enemy of Christendom, the crusades were only temporary successes that were marred by human greed and sinfulness, and they should not be overstated in terms of their attainments. Although the First Crusade achieved a modest success, its accomplishments were in part due to the divisions among the Muslims; they did not endure, and everything gained was eventually lost. In fact, the Islamic empire expanded in the process of conflict.

In the tradition that followed Nicholas, he had many readers of his *Literal Postill* but few followers of his close attention to historical detail and the sense of historical ambiguity with which he critiqued his Franciscan sources Alexander Minorita and Peter Auriol. He did, however have two close readers: Paul of Burgos (1351-1435) and John of Segovia (c. 1400-58). Paul of Burgos (Pablo de Santa María), addressed his concerns about the expansion of Islam in his *Additions to the Postillae of Nicholas of Lyra* (1431), arguing that Nicholas was wrong in perceiving Islam's endurance as being opposed to God's will. If it were not God's will that they should prosper, they would not have done so. Furthermore, if one were to look at the positive side of Islam, one could understand God's ways: Islam is not like other pagan religions; they are not idolatrous, and they do not force Christians to apostatise but only to pay taxes; there are many Christians in Islamic territories; and Islam considers Christ to be the most excellent of creatures (*Addition* to ch. 13, cols 1602-4). John of Segovia uses Nicholas's arguments to critique the crusades in his *Prologue to the Qur'an*, proposing that Christians inform themselves about the Islamic faith and, beginning with the common beliefs, discuss the differences.

MANUSCRIPTS

There are hundreds of manuscripts of the *Postills*, some beautifully illustrated, as well as early modern editions. For a listing of the oldest manuscripts and references to comprehensive bibliographical listings of manuscripts and printed editions, see Krey, 'Nicholas of Lyra: Apocalypse commentator, historian and critic', p. 54.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Nicholas of Lyra's Apocalypse commentary, trans. P. Krey, Kalamazoo MI, 1997

STUDIES

P. Krey, 'The Apocalypse commentary of 1329. Problems in Church history', in P. Krey and L. Smith (eds), *Nicholas of Lyra. The senses of scripture*, Leiden, 2000, 267-88

Burr, 'Antichrist and Islam in medieval Franciscan exegesis'

Krey, 'Nicholas of Lyra and Paul of Burgos on Islam'

Biblia Latina cum glossa ordinaria, ed. K. Froehlich and M.T. Gibson, Turnhout, 1992, pp. v-xxvi (includes a study of Lyra's *Postills* and the *Additions* of Paul of Burgos)

Krey, 'Nicholas of Lyra: Apocalypse commentator, historian, and critic' (includes a discussion of Lyra's critique of his earlier models)

Philip Krey

Abū ‘Alī ‘Umar al-Hāshimī

Abū ‘Alī ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Hāshimī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; late 13th century

PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown

DATE OF DEATH 1330

PLACE OF DEATH Tunis

BIOGRAPHY

Abū ‘Alī ‘Umar al-Hāshimī was *qāḍī l-ankiḥa*, responsible for the administration of marriage law, in early 14th-century Tunis.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Zarkashī, *Ta’rīkh al-dawlatayn*, Tunis, 1872, p. 56

Secondary —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Idrāk al-ṣawāb fī ankiḥat ahl al-kitāb, ‘Identification of what is right concerning marriages of the People of the Book’

DATE Unknown; before 1330

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work has not survived, and is known only from a reference in the 16th-century author al-Zarkashī’s *Ta’rīkh al-dawlatayn*, p. 56, where it appears that Abū ‘Alī ‘Umar was in dispute with the *qāḍī* Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafi‘ (q.v.) over the issue of Muslims acting as witnesses to marriages between *dhimmīs*. There was in any case rivalry between the two judges over their respective seniority, and they appear to have made this matter a point of honor between themselves.

The dispute started when Abū ‘Alī gave approval for Muslims to act in the capacity of witnesses when *dhimmīs* wed. Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafi‘ forbade it

as soon as he heard of it, and in response Abū 'Alī instructed court officials in Tunis to sanction it, and wrote his 'book' (*kitāb*). Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥī thereupon wrote his own 'book'.

It is by no means certain that either of these works was long (though the fact this one was given a title suggests it may have had some substance). Each may have been no more than an explanatory pamphlet, setting out the author's position and giving justification.

SIGNIFICANCE

The reasons for Abū 'Alī 'Umar's initial sanctioning of Muslims acting as witnesses to marriages of Christians and Jews suggest that this was already a commonplace practice, in turn showing that, among people for whom theological scruples were of little importance, the divisions between the faiths counted for almost nothing.

Abū 'Alī's support for the practice shows a pragmatic attitude, and also a sense that intimate mingling between followers of the faiths was not injurious and was maybe permitted by authoritative precedents and teachings.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

David Thomas

Odoric of Pordenone

Odorico da Pordenone, Odoricus de Foro Iulii, Odoricus de
Portu Naonis, Odorico de Porto Naone de Friuli

DATE OF BIRTH Between 1275 and 1280
PLACE OF BIRTH Pordenone, Italy
DATE OF DEATH 1331
PLACE OF DEATH Udine

BIOGRAPHY

Most of what we know for sure about Odoric's life comes from his own account of his travels in Asia. According to John of Viktring, his father was a mercenary in the garrison established in Pordenone by Ottokar II, King of Bohemia (*Liber*, p. 113). He reportedly entered the Franciscan order at a very young age, and lived a life of asceticism in the forest before setting off for the Orient, but this information, taken from his *Vita*, included in the *Chronica XXIV Generalium*, seems highly hagiographical. He left for the Far East after 1318 in the company of James of Ireland, a fellow Franciscan (Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, p. 393).

After reaching the Black Sea and Trebizond, he crossed Greater Armenia and Persia, where he is believed to have pursued missionary activity for a time. Then he arrived at Ormuz, where he set sail for India. He came ashore at Thana, near Bombay, and retrieved the bones of four Franciscans who had been martyred by Muslims in April 1321 (these were Thomas of Tolentino, James of Padua, Peter of Siena, and Demetrius, a Georgian convert from Tiflis). He then continued his travels, stopping at various towns along the west and east coasts of southern India, and went on to Sumatra, Java, possibly Borneo, and then *Zampa* (Vietnam). From there he made his way to *Manzi* (Southern China), and in Zayton he returned the bones of the Thana martyrs to his brothers in one of the town's two Franciscan monasteries.

After this, he travelled back up towards Cathay and reached Khanbaliq (Beijing) around 1324-25, where he spent three years in the court of the Great Khan, Yesun Timur (*Relatio*, p. 474). Details of his return journey are very sketchy. He reached northern Persia by land, most probably via the Chinese province of Shaanxi and Central Asia. By May 1330, he was in Padua, in St Anthony's Monastery, where he had William of

Solagna transcribe his account of his travels. He had hoped to go to see the pope in Avignon, but fell ill in Pisa and died in Udine on 14 January 1331. He was beatified by Benedict XIV in 1755.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- B. Odoricus de Portu Naonis, *Relatio* (see below for editions)
 Iohannis abbatis Victoriensis [Jean de Viktring], *Liber certarum historiarum*, ed. F. Schneider, 2 vols (*MGH SS Rerum Germanorum* 35), Hanover, 1910, ii, p. 113
 Letters from Jordan Catala de Sévérac (1321 and 1323) and from Bartholomew of Tabriz on the martyrdom of Thana, in *Analecta Franciscana*, vol. 3, Florence, 1897, pp. 597-613, and in C. Gadrat, *Une image de l'Orient au XIV^e siècle. Les Mirabilia descripta de Jordan Catala de Sévérac*, Paris, 2005, pp. 309-15
 'Vita fratris Odorici de Utino', *Chronica XXIV Generalium ordinis Minorum*, in *Analecta Franciscana*, vol. 3, Florence, 1897, 499-504

Secondary

- G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, vol. 3, Florence, 1919, pp. 374-94

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Relatio, 'Account'; *Itinerarium de mirabilibus orientalium Tartarorum*; *De rebus mirabilibus in variis partibus mundi*; *Odoricus de rebus incognitis*; *Libro delle nuove e strane e meravigliose cose*; *Les merveilles de la Terre d'Outremer*; *Incipiunt hic multe et diverse hystorie beati Odorici fratris Minoris de ritibus et condicionibus huius mundi et de martirio iv fratrum Minorum*, 'The travels of friar Odoric of Pordenone'

DATE 1330

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The *Relatio*, roughly 60 pages long in modern editions, originally existed in two versions: the first, taken down at Odoric's dictation and written, as the scribe says, in simple and unembellished Latin ('*nec curavi de latino difficili et ornato stilo, sed sicut ille narabat sic ego scribebam...*', *Relatio*, pp. 494-95), and the later version written in 1340 by Henry of Glatz, based on the earlier text that had been taken to Avignon by Marchesino of Bassano. Very similar to the first version, the second differs only in its more careful style and in the addition of two further incidents.

The *Relatio* is divided into chapters corresponding for the most part to the stages of Odoric's journey, though sometimes the order is geographically incoherent, due either to Odoric's poor memory or to the scribe's poor hand. Some much longer chapters stand alone: ch. 8 (*Relatio*, pp. 424-39), which narrates in great detail the martyrdom of the four Franciscans at Thana and tells of the numerous miracles that occurred before and after their deaths; and chs 26-30 (*Relatio*, pp. 471-82), which describe the Great Khan's court and palace, the feasts and the organization of his kingdom.

As is shown by the nature of Odoric's recollections, as well as by the numerous titles that his writings have since been given, Odoric takes care to document the weird and the wonderful, whether concerning foreign customs and beliefs or the fabulous Oriental wealth, above all in China.

There are three other sources for the story of the Thana martyrs: the details given by the Dominican monk Jordan Catala de Sévérac (who travelled to Thana with the four Franciscans but did not witness the events), the version given in 1321 by the custodian Bartholomew of Tabriz, and finally the information collected in the *Chronica XXIV Generalium*. Odoric's version shares several points in common with that of Bartholomew of Tabriz: the two must have been based on eyewitness accounts from traders who were present at the time. Despite a number of fantastic elements, critics are agreed on the authenticity of the 'historical core'.

Apart from this account, other details in the *Relatio* that concern Christians include: the prohibitions on them remaining for more than one year in the city of Yazd (ch. 7); both idolaters and Muslims, when they were sick, would take soil from the place where the Franciscans had been martyred, mix it with water, drink it and immediately be cured (ch. 25); together with 400 idolatrous and eight Christian physicians, there was also a Saracen physician at the court of the Great Khan (ch. 59); Saracens held Odoric in great respect (*reverentia*) after he had

got through the *val infernal*, and ascribed his survival to his baptism (*dicentes me esse baptizatum et sanctum*) (ch. 73).

SIGNIFICANCE

The very detailed account that Odoric gives of the martyrdom of the Franciscans in Thana, which includes typical hagiographical elements, highlights the relations between Christians and Muslims in this part of India. The Franciscans, lodging with a Nestorian, are called to testify in the course of a dispute between the host and his wife. Their interview with the *qāḍī* leads to a religious controversy, during which the merits of Christ and Muḥammad are compared, and they are threatened with punishment. Finally, after a succession of miracles by which they are saved from execution, the account shows the contrasting reactions of the people, and also of the Islamic authorities, the *qāḍī*, the *melic* and the sultan of Delhi.

MANUSCRIPTS

For a complete list of the 76 MSS of the Latin text, see G.C. Testa, 'Bozza per un censimento dei manoscritti odoriciani', in G. Melis (ed.), *Odorico da Pordenone e la Cina*, Pordenone, 1983, 121-45. See also P. Chiesa, 'Per un riordino della tradizione manoscritta della *Relatio* di Odorico da Pordenone', *Filologia Mediolatina* 6-7 (1999-2000) 311-50.

Concerning the seven manuscripts chosen by van den Wyngaert for his edition of the *Relatio*, see *Sinica Franciscana*, i, p. 412.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Le voyage en Asie d'Odoric de Pordenone traduit par Jean le Long, ed.

A. Andreose and P. Ménard, Geneva, 2010 (edition of Jean le Long's French trans., 1351)

Odorico da Pordenone, Libro delle nuove e strane cose, ed. A. Andreose, Padua, 2000 (edition of the Tuscan version)

Jean de Vignay, Les merveilles de la Terre d'Outremer, ed. D.A. Trotter, Exeter, 1990 (edition of Jean de Vignay's French trans., 1331-33)

F. Reichert, 'Eine unbekannte Version der Asienreise Odorichs von Pordenone', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 43 (1987) 531-73 (South German edition)

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Michèle Guéret-Laferté

Ibn al-Ḥājj al-‘Abdarī

Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn
Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥājj al-‘Abdarī l-Mālīkī l-Fāsī l-Tilimsānī

DATE OF BIRTH Before 1258-59

PLACE OF BIRTH Maghreb

DATE OF DEATH 1336-37

PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn al-Ḥājj al- ‘Abdarī was a Mālīkī jurist from Fez who settled in Cairo, perhaps in the 1280s. His birth date is unknown, but he died in December 1336-January 1337 at the age of 80 or more. He was famed for his asceticism and for his book *Al-madkhal*, which attacks innovation (*bid‘a*) and includes descriptions of Muslim involvement in Christian practices. He also wrote a book on mysticism, *Shumūs al-anwār wa-kunūz al-asrār* (‘Suns of lights and treasures of mysteries’). Ibn al-Ḥājj is not to be confused with Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī l-‘Abdarī, the 13th-century traveler who wrote the travel account *Al-riḥla l-maghribiyya*.

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Secondary

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A.Z. Iskandar, *A descriptive list of Arabic manuscripts on medicine and science at the University of California, Los Angeles*, Leiden, 1984, p. 23

J.C. Vadet, art. ‘Ibn al-Ḥadjdj’, in *El2* (erroneously gives Ibn al-Ḥājj’s birth date as 1336)

C. Brockelmann, art. ‘Al-‘Abdarī’, in *ElI*
 Brockelmann, *GAL* ii, p. 101 (83); *S* ii, p. 95

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Madkhal al-shar‘ al-sharīf ‘alā l-madhāhib al-arba‘a; Al-madkhal ilā tanmiyyat al-a‘māl bi-taḥsīn al-niyyāt wa-l-tanbīh ‘alā ba‘d al-bida‘ wa-l-‘awā’id allatī untuḥilat wa-bayān shanā‘atihā; Al-madkhal, ‘Introduction to the sublime law of the four legal schools’

DATE October-November 1331

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Al-madkhal is a large and wide-ranging book of more than 1,200 pages across four volumes in the printing of Maktabat Dār al-Turāth in Cairo. Ibn al-Ḥajj’s primary objective is reform of society by increasing adherence to the *sharī‘a*, and especially purifying the intentions of actions. The first volume includes long discussions on the proper comportment of religious scholars and women, with criticism of their deviant behaviors. The latter part of the first volume and much of the second treat religious celebrations, and attack innovations (*bida‘*) in ritual practices such as tomb visitation and celebration of the Prophet’s birthday. The third volume is largely devoted to morals and spirituality, and the fourth to professions (e.g., baker, perfumer, etc.), medicine and other matters.

The second volume of the work includes a section censuring close Muslim interaction with Christians (ii, pp. 46-60 in the Cairo, Maktabat Dār al-Turāth printing). Here, Ibn al-Ḥajj warns against imitating Christians and condemns Muslim participation in Christian festivals. Muslims should not eat from the same dish as Christians to avoid the camaraderie developed thereby, and Muslims should not sell Christians anything for use in their festivals so as not to aid them in their polytheism (*shirk*). Additionally, Muslims must not participate in Christian practices associated with Maundy Thursday, among them the coloring of eggs, women mixing with men in the market, and use of turtles to expel Satan from homes. Ibn al-Ḥajj also criticizes practices linked to Holy Saturday, Christmas, Epiphany and Palm Sunday that in his view are superstitious,

irreligious and immoral, and he accuses Christians in their festivals of intentionally trying to harm the religious well-being of Muslims.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn al-Ḥajj's *Madkhal* lies within an anti-*bid'a* tradition of writing cultivated especially by Mālikī authors extending back to the 9th century (Fierro, 'The treatises against innovations'). It also constitutes a major contribution to the anti-*bid'a* literature of the early Mamluk Empire, alongside works such as Ibn Taymiyya's *Iqtidā' al-ṣirāt al-mustaqīm* (q.v.). This literature evinces considerable anxiety that true Islam is under threat from nefarious outside influences, including Christian religious practice and social power, and texts such as the *Madkhal* played a role in the deterioration of Muslim-Christian relations in Egypt through the 1300s. At the level of social history, Ibn al-Ḥajj's *Madkhal* provides detailed evidence of the various ways in which medieval Egyptian Muslims participated in Christian religious festivals.

MANUSCRIPTS

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EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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I. Goldziher, 'Das Patriarchengrab in Hebron nach Al-‘Abdarī', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins* 17 (1894) 115-22

Jon Hoover

Roger of Stanegrave

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; about 1250
PLACE OF BIRTH	England, possibly Yorkshire
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; after 1332
PLACE OF DEATH	England, possibly the diocese of Lincoln

BIOGRAPHY

Perhaps the young Roger of Stanegrave followed the Lord Edward (the future King Edward I of England) to the Holy Land in 1270; he seems to have been present when Edward received the Mongol envoys at Acre in September 1271. He entered (it is not known when) the Order of the Hospital, and seems to have been at Margat Castle in 1280. The following year, he was certainly in the Hospitaller battalion that participated in the battle of 'La Chamelle' (Homs) alongside the Mongols against the Mamluks. He was severely wounded, but was rescued and nursed by the Mamluks, and taken prisoner to Egypt. There he stayed, in Cairo and Alexandria, for 34 years, and was freed in an exchange of prisoners, thanks to a Jew, Isaac, who ransomed him for 10,000 golden florins, a huge sum, in 1315 or 1316. He seems to have stayed for two years on Rhodes, though in December 1318 he was at Edward II's court in York, and was again at the king's court in January 1320.

Roger spent the following years reading, and writing his treatise *Li charboclois d'armes du conquest preciaus de la Terre Saint de promission* ('The carbuncle of arms of the precious conquest of the Holy Land of promission'). We do not know the first addressees, though he gave a copy with a new prologue to King Edward III no later than the first half of 1332. He probably died soon after.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Li charboclois d'armes du conquest preciaus de la Terre saint de promission (see below)

Secondary

J. Paviot, Introduction to the edition (see below), pp. 35-43

T. Guard, art. 'Stanegrave, Sir Roger (fl. 1280s–1331)', *Oxford dictionary of national biography*, online edition (May 2005)

C. Tyerman, *England and the crusades 1095–1588*, Chicago IL, 1988, p. 251

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Li Charboclois d'armes du conquest precieuse de la Terre Saint de promission, 'The carbuncle of arms of the precious conquest of the Holy Land of promission'

DATE 1332

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Anglo-Norman

DESCRIPTION

This is an allegorical treatise on the recovery of the Holy Land, divided into 77 short chapters, but with an uneven structure. It covers Roger's captivity, a description of Egypt and its government, plans for the conquest of the country, and references to prophetic, fictional, and didactic literature. It describes how the wealth of Egypt comes from the Nile and its annual flood, which is measured by the Nilometer, and how the country is ruled by the sultan, with details of the origins of the Mamluks, and the succession of their rulers. It also offers glimpses of life in Egyptian gaols, and in its plans for an invasion it gives information about Mamluk practices in warfare.

SIGNIFICANCE

Like his contemporary, Marino Sanudo Torsello, who had a merchant's knowledge of Egypt, Roger offers an insider's view of the Mamluk military state at the beginning of the 14th century. He also relates informative exchanges with his fellow prisoner, who was doubtless the amir al-Hājj Bahādur. However, what he says is marred for modern readers by his allegorical style.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS London, BL – Cotton Otho, D.v., fols 1-15v (date unknown; the manuscript was damaged in the fire of 1731, and every folio is incomplete)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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- A. Leopold, *The crusade proposals of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries*, Aldershot UK, 2000
- Tyerman, *England and the crusades 1095-1588*, p. 251

Jacques Paviot

Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā

Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā l-Mawṣilī

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; late 13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Mosul
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; after 1335
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā is the author of an Arabic compendium to be treated below, but we are also fortunate in the preservation of a codex that probably belonged to him and in which he copied texts that interested him: MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 204, which contains a work of Christian-Jewish controversy, two texts by ‘Abdīshū‘ of Nisibis (q.v.), and a copy of the so-called *Letter from Cyprus* (q.v.).

In a colophon at f. 48v of this codex, the scribe identifies himself as *al-qiss Ṣalībā ibn al-qiss Yūḥannā l-Mawṣilī l-mawlid*, that is, the priest Ṣalībā, son of the priest Yūḥannā, born in Mosul. This is followed by a date, June 1315; it should be noted that this is the date on which Ṣalībā completed his copy of ‘Abdīshū‘’s *Al-khuṭba l-jāmi‘a li-ḥaqā’iq al-īmān*, and not Yūḥannā’s date of birth (*pace* Landron, *Chrétien et musulmans*, p. 139, who misunderstood *al-mawlid*). He tells us that this work was done in al-Jazīra, that is, Jazīrat Ibn ‘Umar to the north of Mosul on the Tigris. Years later, Ṣalībā added a copy of the *Letter from Cyprus* (q.v.) to his little volume; according to his colophon on f. 66v, it was completed in Famagusta, Cyprus, in August 1336.

Ṣalībā composed the compilation entitled *Asfār al-asrār* (‘The books of secrets’) in 1332. The *Risāla* or ‘Epistle’ with which the work opens is addressed to Christians in the West, defends the authentic Christianity of the Church of the East, and makes a moving plea for Christian unity. It is certainly possible that Ṣalībā was already in Cyprus when he composed the work, although this is not stated.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 204, fols 48v, 66v (notes by Ṣalībā, the copyist)
For the MSS (and partial editions) of *Asfār al-asrār*, see below.

Secondary

- G. Gianazza, 'Traité de la démonstration et de la direction. *Kitāb al-burhān wa-l-irshād* de Şalībā ibn Yūḥannā al-Mawṣilī. Édition critique et traduction', *Pd'O* 22 (1997) 567-629
- B. Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans en Irak. Attitudes nestorienne vis-à-vis de l'islam*, Paris, 1994, pp. 139-41
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- [S.]K. Samir, 'Les prologues de l'évangélaire rimé de 'Abdishu' de Nisibe', *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 31 (1981) 43-70, pp. 54-55, n. 58
- G. Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, Première partie, *Manuscrits chrétiens*, 2 vols, Paris, 1972-74, i, pp. 172-73
- Graf, *GICAL* ii, pp. 217-18

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Asfār al-asrār, 'The books of the secrets'

Risālat al-burhān wa-l-irshād ilā l-maḥabba, thamarat al-dīn wa-l-i'tiqād, 'Demonstration and guidance to love, fruit of religion and belief'

DATE 1332

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

In response to a request from friends, the priest Şalībā ibn Yūḥannā wrote an epistle (*risāla*), which he described as being 'from the sincere, loving Easterners (*mashāriqa*, members of the Church of the East) to their Western brethren'. In it Şalībā stresses their fundamental unity in the Christian faith; recounts how the faith of the Church of the East was tested by persecution under the Persians; and briefly asserts the Church's blamelessness over against charges of Arianism, adoptionism, denigration of the Virgin Mary, and discontinuity in its leadership, as well as against the attacks of controversialists such as (the Melkite) Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīq (q.v.) or (the Copt) Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa' (q.v.). For Şalībā, the disunity of Christians is a scandal caused by the love of the world, a lack of grounding in the Gospel, and the wiles of the Devil.

To support his claims, Şalībā added to this opening *risāla* material from historical books (*tawārīkh*) and from 'the books of the fathers',

and for convenience he arranged the whole in five books (*asfār*). While he referred to the entire compilation as *Asfār al-asrār* ('The books of secrets'), he gave the initial *risāla* (which constitutes the first *sifr*) a title of its own: *Risālat al-burhān wa-l-irshād ilā l-maḥabba thamarat al-dīn wa-l-i'tiqād* ('Demonstration and guidance to love, the fruit of religion and belief'); in a few manuscripts this is given as the title of the compilation as a whole (Paris Ar. 6732 and 6744; Sbath, *Fihris*, no. 2628).

The five books (*asfār*) are arranged somewhat as follows (see Teule, 'A theological treatise', pp. 236-45, and watch for Gianazza's edition):

I. *Risālat al-burhān wa-l-irshād* (published by Gianazza), and four other introductory essays (*muqaddimāt*)

II. Nine chapters (*fuṣūl*) on the superiority of the East

III. Seven chapters and an appendix, on the history of the early Church

IV. Seven chapters, on the various sects, culminating in a comparison between the history of the Councils in the West and the lack of need for them in the Church of the East

V. Seven sections (*uṣūl*), with various topics:

1. The apostles and evangelists, through Addai and Mārī
2. The patriarchs of the Church of the East (published by Gismondi), followed by a collection of extracts from Arabic apologetic works by authors of the Church of the East
- 3-7. A justification of the teachings of the Church of the East over against those of the 'Jacobites' and 'Melkites'.

Şalībā reproduces a variety of texts in the course of his compilation. He was dependent upon historical works such as the *Annales* of Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīq and the *Chronicle of Séert* (q.v.), and in the final section of the work quoted extensively in the service of his intra-Christian apologetics. But he was also interested in texts reflecting Christian-Muslim encounters, as may be seen from his incorporation of a number of passages from authors of his own Church of the East: Iliyā II (q.v.), Iliyā of Nisibis (q.v.), Makkīkhā ibn Sulaymān (q.v.), 'Abdīshū' of Nisibis (q.v.), and Īshō'yabh ibn Malkōn (q.v.).

It perhaps needs to be stressed, given the history of scholarship, that, while Şalībā drew freely from a variety of Arabic Christian texts, he did *not* plagiarize *Kitāb al-majdal* ('The tower'). Graf (*GICAL* ii, pp. 217-18), building on the earlier work of Westphal, attempted to make sense of the *Kitāb al-majdal* dossier by suggesting that (a) the seven-chapter *Kitāb al-majdal* was written in the mid-12th century by Mārī ibn Sulaymān; (b) a five-chapter work of the same title was written two centuries later

by ‘Amr ibn Mattā; and (c) this latter work was plagiarized by Şalībā, who antedated it to 1332 and renamed it *Aşfār al-asrār*. The researches of Samir, Landron, and Holmberg have refuted this, and have restored the 11th-century, seven-chapter *Kitāb al-majdal* to ‘Amr ibn Mattā, and the quite separate five-book *Aşfār al-asrār* to Şalībā ibn Yūḥannā. (See ‘*Kitāb al-majdal*’, *CMR* 2, pp. 627-32.) Finally, Gianazza’s critical edition and translation of *Risālat al-burhān wa-l-irshād* has made Şalībā’s distinctive voice readily accessible.

SIGNIFICANCE

A full assessment of the significance of Şalībā’s compendium awaits more careful study of the work as a whole. It is interesting as a justification of the Church of the East against its eastern Christian rivals, and important in that it reproduces, among other texts, Makkīkhā ibn Sulaymān’s ‘Letter to a believer of Işfahān’ (or ‘Letter on the truth of the Christian religion’ [q.v.]), which is not otherwise preserved. Furthermore, it has played a role in preserving the story of the Church of the East and its vicissitudes within the *Dār al-Islām*. A question to be investigated is whether the compendium had a political as well as a spiritual purpose: that of facilitating an East-West Christian alliance.

MANUSCRIPTS

See Samir, ‘Makkīḥā’, p. 222; Landron, *Chrétien et musulmans*, p. 141; Gianazza, ‘*Traité*’, p. 569. The principal MSS are:

- MS Berlin – Syr. 116 (Sachau 12) (14th century; opening folios missing)
- MS Vat – Ar. 110 (14th century; incomplete – *not* an autograph, as is often claimed)
- MS Cambridge, University Library – Add. 2889 (1730; karshūnī)
- MS Vat – Néof. 54 (18th century)
- MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 6732 (1885)
- MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 6744 (19th century)
- MS Birmingham, University Library – Mingana Christian Arabic 98 (mid-19th century)
- MS Vat – Borgia ar. 198, fols 1v-140v (19th century; opening folios missing)
- MS London, BL – Or. 2438 (suppl. Ar. 33) (date unknown; opening folios missing)

Other manuscripts in Mosul have been indicated (at the Séminaire St Jean and in a private collection; see Landron). Sbath, *Fihris*, Supplément, p. 25 (no. 2628) notes a copy in the collection of the Chaldean patriarchal vicar Yūḥannā Ūstah in Cairo.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- An edition of the text by G. Gianazza is forthcoming in the series *Patrimoine Arabe Chrétien*.
- G. Gianazza, 'Lettre de Makkīḥa sur la vérité de la religion chrétienne', *Pd'O* 25 (2000) 493-555 (critical edition and French trans. of the letter as preserved in *Aṣfār al-asrār* v.2.14)
- G. Gianazza, 'Risālat Makkīkhā fi ḥaḳīqat al-diyāna', in Gianazza, *Nuṣūṣ mukhtāra min Kanīsat al-Mashriq (al-qurūn 11-14)*, Baghdad, 1999, pp. 76-120 (edition of the letter, preserved in *Aṣfār al-asrār* v.2.14)
- G. Gianazza, 'Traité de la demonstration et de la direction. *Kitāb al-burhān wa-l-irṣād* de Şalībā ibn Yūḥannā al-Mawṣilī. Édition critique et traduction', *Pd'O* 22 (1997) 567-629 (critical edition and French trans. of *Aṣfār al-asrār* i = *Risālat al-burhān wa-l-irṣād*)
- H. Gismondi, *Maris Amri et Slibae. De patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria*, Pars altera, 2 vols, *Amri et Slibae textus* and *Amri et Slibae versio latina*, Rome, 1896-97 (edition and Latin trans. of *Aṣfār al-asrār* v.2.1, on the patriarchs of the Church of the East)

STUDIES

- H. Teule, 'A theological treatise by Išo'yahb bar Malkon preserved in the theological compendium *Aṣfār al-Asrār*', *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 58 (2006) 235-52, pp. 235-45
- Gianazza, 'Lettre de Makkīḥa', pp. 494-504
- Gianazza, 'Risālat Makkīkhā'
- Gianazza, 'Traité'
- Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans*, pp. 140-41
- B. Holmberg, 'A reconsideration of the *Kitāb al-mağdal*', *Pd'O* 18 (1993) 255-73, pp. 261-62
- [S.]K. Samir, 'Le "Daf' al-hamm" d'Élie de Nisibe. Date et circonstances de sa rédaction', *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 18 (1987) 99-119, pp. 101-3 (Şalībā provides a witness to the work; in n. 4, Samir details his disagreements with Graf regarding Şalībā and his activity as author)
- [S.]K. Samir, art. 'Élie de Nisibe', in 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 3 (1977) 257-86, p. 274 (Şalībā preserves ch. 1 of Iliyyā's *Kitāb al-burhān 'alā ṣaḥīḥ al-īmān* in *Aṣfār al-asrār* v.2.6)
- [S.]K. Samir, art. 'Makkīḥā b. Sulaymān', in 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976) 221-23, p. 222 (Şalībā preserves Makkīkhā's 'Letter to a believer of Ispahan' in *Aṣfār al-asrār* v.3.12 [sic])

- Graf, *GICAL* ii, pp. 217-18 (continued the mischaracterization of Şalībā's work as plagiarism)
- G. Westphal, *Untersuchungen über die Quellen und die Glaubwürdigkeit der Patriarchenchroniken des Mārī ibn Sulaimān, 'Amr ibn Matai und Şalība ibn Joḥannān*, Kirchwald, N.-L., 1901, pp. 1-21 (makes Şalībā ibn Yūḥannā a plagiarist of Mārī ibn Sulaymān)
- W. Wright, *A catalogue of the Syriac manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 2 vols, Cambridge, 1901, ii, pp. 754-92 (still the best introduction to Şalībā's *Aṣfār al-asrār*, which he clearly distinguishes [pp. 754-55, note] from 'Amr ibn Mattā's *Kitāb al-majdal*)
- J.S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, Rome, 1725, iii.1, p. 586 (claimed that this text was part of 'Amr ibn Mattā's *Kitāb al-majdal*)

Mark N. Swanson

Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafi‘

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥasan ibn ‘Abd al-Rafi‘

DATE OF BIRTH 1239
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; presumably North Africa
DATE OF DEATH 1333
PLACE OF DEATH Tunis

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn ‘Abd al-Rafi‘ was a Mālikī jurist and chief *qāḍī* of Tunis, distinguishing himself by the length of his career in the judiciary.

Among his works were *Mufīd al-ḥukkām* (‘Instructions for judges’), and *Ikhtisār ajwibat Ibn Rushd* (‘Abridgement of the responses of Ibn Rushd’), presumably on the philosopher’s legal opinions.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Zarkashī, *Ta’rīkh al-dawlatayn*, Tunis, 1872, p. 57

Secondary —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-radd ‘alā l-mutanaṣṣir, ‘Refutation of the convert to Christianity’

DATE Unknown; before 1333
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work has not survived, and is only known from a passing reference in the 16th-century author al-Zarkashī’s *Ta’rīkh al-dawlatayn*, p. 57 (in the 1966 edition, p. 70, the title is given as *Al-radd ‘alā l-muntaṣir*, ‘Refutation of the victorious one’, though this is presumably a misprint).

Who this convert was, and whether he was an individual or a representative of a whole group of former Muslims, cannot be ascertained. The book may have been directed against a social trend of the time, or

it may have been about the legal and spiritual dangers of abandoning Islam for Christianity.

SIGNIFICANCE

The title maybe attests to a particular trend in the religious mobility that characterizes all periods of Christian-Muslim relations. It is impossible to comment on the precise circumstances that led to its composition.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

Legal judgement; Unnamed work on Muslims acting as witnesses to dhimmī marriages

DATE Unknown; before 1333

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work is only known from a brief mention by al-Zarkashī, *Ta'rikh al-dawlatayn*, p. 56. He details the circumstances in which it was written as follows.

Ibn 'Abd al-Rafī' was in competition with Abū 'Alī 'Umar al-Hāshimī (q.v.), the judge in charge of the administration of marriage law in Tunis, over which of them was senior. When the latter sanctioned the practice of Muslims acting as witnesses to marriages between Jews or Christians, Ibn 'Abd al-Rafī' forbade it. Abū 'Alī 'Umar then wrote a 'book' to justify his views, and Ibn 'Abd al-Rafī' responded with his own work (*kitāban 'alā ṣiḥḥat qawlihi*). There is no way of knowing how extensive or detailed this work was, or whether it went beyond legal arguments.

SIGNIFICANCE

The difference between Ibn 'Abd al-Rafī' and his rival over this matter of witnessing to marriages points to a situation in which there were close contacts between Muslims and *dhimmīs* in the mixed society of Tunis and North Africa. Their disagreement shows that this practice was not uncommon and not thought by many to be significant in religious terms. Ibn 'Abd al-Rafī' 's ban on it (unless he was simply reacting against his rival) suggests that he thought there was too much intimacy between

Muslims and others, and that there was need for greater separation within society.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

David Thomas

Ibn Jamā'a

Badr al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Jamā'a

DATE OF BIRTH 1241
PLACE OF BIRTH Ḥamā, Syria
DATE OF DEATH 1333
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn Jamā'a was one of the most distinguished Shāfi'i jurists of his time. He served as chief *qāḍī* in both Damascus and Cairo, and established his family as a leading power in legal circles in Mamluk society.

He distinguished himself so much as a scholar that in mid-life he was appointed *imām* of the al-Aqṣā mosque in Jerusalem, and in 1288 *qāḍī* of Jerusalem. Then in 1291 he was called to Cairo as grand *qāḍī* and head of the Sufi fraternities. Changes of ruler led to successive dismissals and reappointments until he retired in 1327.

Ibn Jamā'a's most important work was *Taḥrīr al-aḥkām fī tadbīr ahl al-Islām* ('The compilation of laws concerning the oversight of the people of Islam'), on constitutional law.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Les biographies du Manhal Safī*, ed. G. Wiet, Cairo, 1932, no. 1985
Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-durar al-kāmina fī a'yān al-mī'a l-thāmina*, 4 vols, Hyderabad, 1929-31, iii, pp. 280-83
Al-'Ulaymī, *Al-uns al-jalīl bi-tārīkh al-Quds wa-l-Khalīl*, 2 vols in 1, Cairo, 1866, ii, pp. 480-81
Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfi'iyya l-kubrā*, 6 vols in 3, Cairo, 1324, v, pp. 230-33
Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-sulūk li-ma'rīfat duwal al-mulūk*, 8 vols, Cairo, 1934-42, i, pp. 271, 798, 929; ii, pp. 86, 126, 283

Secondary

- K.S. Salibi, 'The Banū Jamā'a. A dynasty of Shāfi'ite jurists in the Mamluk period', *Studia Islamica* 9 (1958) 97-109, pp. 99-100

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kashf al-ghimma fī aḥkām ahl al-dhimma,
'Removing obscurity, on the regulation of
the people of protection'

DATE Unknown; before 1333

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The work has not survived, and is known only from a listing in I. Bāshā, *Īdāḥ al-maknūn fī l-dhayl 'alā kashf al-zunūn*, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1947, ii, p. 362. It presumably discussed the regulations governing the conduct of *dhimmīs* in Islamic society, and may have advocated a systematic implementation against individuals and groups who were thought to be advancing beyond their legal status.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Kashf* is one example among a number from this time of works by Muslim authors that appear to be reminding society of the correct and appropriate place of Christian and other client communities within the Islamic state.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

David Thomas

Yovhannēs vardapet

DATE OF BIRTH Approximately 1280s-90s
PLACE OF BIRTH Armenia
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

A later scribal colophon appended to the martyrdom informs the reader that the original author was a certain Yovhannēs *vardapet*, who happened to be in the Derjan region at that time and became an eyewitness to the events he describes. It adds that the writing was later inserted in a manuscript *menologium* by the scribe Karapet, from whose exemplar the current scribe copied most of the account, except for its introductory preface.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The only source directly associated with the author is the martyrology itself.

Secondary

H. Ačařyan, *Hayoc' anjanunneri bařaran*, vol. 3, Yerevan: State University Publications, 1946, p. 617

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Vkayabanut'ıwn Amēnawagi Derjanc'woy,
'Martyrology of Amēnawag Derjanc'ı'

DATE 1335

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

The account focuses on an altercation that arose between Amēnawag, a simple Armenian peasant from the village of Karnberdak in the district of Derjan near Erzurum, and a local Muslim to whom he owed some money, when the latter pressed the former to discharge his debt and impounded his pack animal as a guarantee of payment. Amēnawag

countered that it was better for his brother to take charge of the animal rather than a Muslim and, when his brother declined, queried his values, asking what kind of Christianity his response represented. At this the Muslim lender quipped that if he was dissatisfied with Christianity, he should accept Islam, a point expanded on by witnesses to the effect that the debtor had thereby renounced his faith. Alarmed by the turn of events, Amēnawag went into hiding for a period before returning and seeking counsel from a priest.

By this time, the incident had been brought to the attention of the Emir Amīr Mahmut and the *qāḏī* Amīr Hasan of Derjan, who summoned him for trial. As his testimony before the emir to having always been a Christian was contradicted by witnesses, his case was passed to the *qāḏī*, and on his repeated denial of conversion to Islam the *qāḏī* sentenced him to two days in prison without food and water. Thereafter, when he still persisted in invoking the name of Christ, those present argued he had blasphemed, at which point the *qāḏī* pronounced the death sentence. Although some argued that he had returned to Islam on the way to the place of execution, the *qāḏī* maintained the contrary and threw the first stone, commanding others to do the same. One wounded his ribs, another struck him with a metal bar and pushed out his brains, and soon his body was covered by a pile of stones.

Then they stripped the corpse and constrained Christians to drag it around face down. However, the body was not released to the community for three days, during which time the account states that a light appeared over it at night and hymns were heard as from a priest, though when the guards approached to prevent anyone from removing the body, no one was found in the vicinity. Finally, on Sunday the authorities permitted the burial to take place. The martyrdom occurred on 10 March, 1335.

SIGNIFICANCE

The account highlights the crucial issue of religious identity, the socio-political implications associated with it, and the means by which it may be affirmed or transformed. Hence, the protagonist's response to repeated questioning that he was Armenian by ethnicity and Christian by religion, and that all his family was Christian, emphasizes the increasing alignment between those two very distinct identity markers as part of a process that culminated in the developed Ottoman *millet* structure, in which confessional minorities were administered by their hierarchs, who were invested internally with both religious and civil authority.

The acerbity of reactions to Amēnawag's repeated protestations of his religious identity during the trial and ensuing execution may have been intensified by the fact that the events unfolded on a Friday. At the same time, it is significant that the author also employs the occasion to develop parallels with the crucifixion of Christ, such as the charge of blasphemy, placing a watch over the body to prevent its removal, and the theme of its incorrupt state, here underscored by its emitting no foul odor but rather a sweet fragrance.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- K. Ter-Davtyan, *Novie armyanskie mucheniki (1155-1843), perevod, pre-dislovie i primechaniya*, Yerevan: Nairi Publications, 1998, pp. 61-63, 268 (Russian trans.)
- Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, Vałaršapat, 1903, pp. 129-33 (critical edition)
- Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (žotovrdakan hratarakut'iwñ)*, vol. 1, Vałaršapat, 1902, pp. 94-97 (edition lacking critical apparatus)
- Yaysmawurk' əst kargi əntrelagoyñ ōrinaki yaysmawurac' Tēr Israyēli*, Constantinople: Pōłos Srapean Press, 1834, vol. 1, pp. 114-16 (edition)

STUDIES

- K. Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkayabanut'yunner (V-XVIII dd.)*, Yerevan: Nayri, 2011, pp. 328-29
- H. Ač'aryan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri bararan*, Yerevan: State University Publications, 1942, vol. 1, p. 117
- M. Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, Constantinople: V. & H. Tēr-Nersesean Press, 1927, col. 1860

S. Peter Cowe

Pascal of Vitoria

Paschalis de Victoria, Pascal of Vittoria

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; late 13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Spain, possibly Vitoria
DATE OF DEATH	1339 or 1340
PLACE OF DEATH	Almaliq, Central Asia

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known of Brother Pascal's life before his travels. There is much evidence that he was from Spain but, whilst Vitoria was definitely the location of the Franciscan monastery to which he belonged, it is not known whether it was also his birthplace. He left Spain around 1333, in the company of Gonsalvo Transtorna, for Avignon, which was then the seat of the papacy. Here the minister general Geraldus Odonis (or Othonis) gave Pascal the authorization he required for his journey.

After a detour via Assisi, he set sail from Venice and arrived at Tana (Azov). From there he headed for Sarai on the banks of the Volga, where he stayed for a year in order to learn Cuman and Uyghur. Resuming his travels, he sailed down the Volga to the Caspian Sea and arrived in Sarai-ichik. From there, a 50-day camel ride took him to Urghandj (Khiva). Then, a lone Christian accompanied by his Zichian steward, he joined a 'Saracen' caravan and travelled to Almaliq, the khan of Jagatai's place of residence, though political unrest delayed him for five months during this journey.

When he finally got to Almaliq, he joined up with Franciscans already settled there. But in 1339 (or 1340), Pascal and six other Franciscans, including Bishop Richard of Burgundy, perished at the hands of Muslims inflamed by the power struggles that were then taking place between two branches of Jagatai, one espousing the Mongolian tradition, the other Islam. The first to tell of the martyred Franciscans was John of Marignolli, who in 1341 went through Almaliq on his way to China and took the opportunity to rebuild the church that the Muslims had destroyed.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- 'Epistola Fr. Paschalis de Victoria', *Chronica XXIV Generalium ordinis minorum*, in *Analecta franciscana*, vol. 3, Florence, 1897, pp. 532-35
- John of Marignolli, *Chronicon* [extracts], in *Sinica franciscana*, ed. A. van den Wyngaert, vol. 1, Florence, 1929, pp. 527-28

Secondary

- 'Relatio martirii fratrum', *Chronica XXIV Generalium ordinis minorum*, in *Analecta franciscana*, vol. 3, Florence, 1897, pp. 531-32
- John of Winterthur, *Chronicon*, *MGH Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, neue Folge, 1924, iii, p. 208

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Epistola Paschalis de Victoria, 'Letter of Pascal of Vitoria'

DATE 1338

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The letter sent by Pascal from Almaliq to his fellow Franciscans in Vitoria begins with a precise account of each stage of his journey from Avignon right through to the heart of Central Asia. The aim of his mission is made perfectly clear: to preach the Gospel 'as much to Saracens as to schismatic or heretic Christians' (ed. Wyngaert, p. 503). This is why he learnt Cuman and Uyghur during his journey, languages used, as he explains, throughout the Mongolian empire as far as Cathay. But his outstanding missionary work was with the Muslims, particularly during the long journey in the Saracen caravan that took him from the north of the Caspian Sea to Almaliq. He recounts vividly how he took pains to 'bring Christ to them in public, through the words [he] used, through the examples [he] set and through the way [he] behaved' (ed. Wyngaert, p. 506), not forgetting to catalogue the many torments he received from them in return.

SIGNIFICANCE

The letter is a very useful illustration of the nature of Franciscan establishments in the khanates of Qipchaq and Jagatai in the first half of the 14th century. But above all it is valuable evidence of the Franciscan missionary spirit, showing in great detail the conditions in which Christian

preaching to Muslims was carried out in the towns and along the trade routes of Central Asia.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale – 329 (end of the 14th century)

For a list of the main manuscripts of the *Chronica XXIV Generalium*, see *Analecta franciscana*, vol. 3, pp. xiii-xxv.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, 16 vols, Florence, 1932³, vii (1333-46), pp. 393-5

A. van den Wyngaert (ed.), *Sinica franciscana*, vol. 1, Florence, 1929, pp. 501-6

G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, 5 vols, Florence, 1906-27, iv (1333-45), pp. 245-48

'Letter from Pascal of Vittoria, a missionary Franciscan in Tartary', in H. Yule and H. Cordier (eds), *Cathay and the way thither*, 4 vols, London, 1914, iii, pp. 81-88 (trans.)

'Epistola Fr. Paschalis de Victoria', *Chronica XXIV Generalium ordinis Minorum*, in *Analecta franciscana*, vol. 3, Florence, 1897, pp. 532-35

M. da Civezza, *Storia universale delle missioni francescane*, 7 vols, Rome, 1857-83, iii, pp. 663-67 (Italian trans.)

E. Huc, *Le christianisme en Chine, en Tartarie et au Thibet*, 4 vols, Paris, 1857, i, pp. 450-54 (French trans.)

J.L. Mosheim, *Historia Tartarorum ecclesiastica*, Helmstadt, 1741, pp. 193-96

D. de Gubernatis, *Orbis seraphicus historia. Vol. 1, De missionibus inter infideles*, Rome, 1689, pp. 407-8

R. de Tossignano, *Historiarum seraphicae religionis*, 3 vols, 1586, ii, pp. 241-42

STUDIES

J.-P. Roux, *Histoire de l'empire mongol*, Paris, 1993, pp. 441-49

C. Schmitt, art. 'Pascal de Vitoria', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, Paris, 1983

J. Richard, *La papauté et les missions d'Orient au moyen âge (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)*, Rome, 1977, pp. 128, 162-64

G. Fedalto, *La chiesa latina in Oriente*, 2 vols, Verona, 1973, i, p. 432

P. Pelliot, *Recherches sur les chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême-Orient*, ed. J. Dauvillier and L. Hambis, Paris, 1973, p. 116

V. Rondelez, 'Un évêché en Asie centrale au XIV^e siècle', *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 7 (1951) 1-17

- B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland, 1223-1502* [Leipzig 1943], Wiesbaden, 1965, p. 411
- Yule and Cordier, *Cathay and the way thither*, iii, pp. 31-35
- C.R. Beazley, *The dawn of modern geography*, 3 vols, 1897-1906 (repr. New York, 1949), iii, pp. 241-48
- W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*, ed. Furcy Raynaud, 2 vols, Leipzig, 1936 (repr. Amsterdam 1983), ii, pp. 229, 235, 242

Michèle Guéret-Laferté

Ibn Sabbāʿ

Yuḥannā ibn Abī Zakariyyā, Ibn Sibāʿ

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; possibly late 13 th -early 14 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; presumably Egypt
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; possibly mid-14 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; presumably Egypt

BIOGRAPHY

Given the great popularity and importance of his theological and especially liturgical encyclopedia, *Al-jawhara l-naḥisa fī ʿulūm al-kanīsa* ('The precious jewel, on the ecclesiastical sciences'), it is surprising how little we know about its author. His name was Yuḥannā ibn Abī Zakariyyā, known as Ibn Sabbāʿ (or Ibn Sibāʿ). His book provides evidence of his knowledge of the Bible and various apocryphal traditions, of the theological and canonical heritage of the Coptic Orthodox Church (including its Arabic-language catechetical and apologetic library), and of the church's liturgy and occasional services.

Zakhary sifts *Al-jawhara l-naḥisa* for clues to the author's ecclesial rank and concludes that he was a cleric in the patriarch's entourage, very possibly an archdeacon who played the role of 'master of ceremonies' (Zakhary, *De la Trinité*, pp. 98-130). The author appears to provide something of a date for the work when he states in ch. 26 that 'more than 1,300 years' had passed since the time of the apostles. If this is accurate and part of the original text (rather than an 'updating' by a scribe), it would place the composition of the work – and Yūḥannā's *floruit* – around 1340. The present writer sees no compelling reason not to accept this, at least as a working assumption.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

See below for the manuscripts and editions of *Al-jawhara l-naḥisa fī ʿulūm al-kanīsa*.

Secondary

M.N. Swanson, art. 'Yuhanna ibn Abi Zakariyya ibn Sabbaʿ', in Gawdat Gabra (ed.), *Historical dictionary of the Coptic Church*, Lanham MD, 2008, pp. 270, 295

- M.S. Zakhary, *De la Trinité à la Trinité. La christologie liturgique d'Ibn Sabbā'*, auteur copte du XIII^e siècle (*Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae Subsidia* 140), Rome, 2007, pp. 87-130, 199-206
- A. Wadi, 'Introduzione alla letteratura arabo-cristiana dei Copti', *SOCC* 29-30 (1996-97) 441-92, pp. 458-59 (§ 65)
- S.K. Samir, art. 'Ibn Sabbā'', in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd edition, vol. 5, 1996, col. 383
- R. Aubert, art. 'Ibn Sibā', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. 25, 1995, col. 605
- A.S. Atiya, art. 'Ibn Sibā', Yuhannā ibn Abī Zakariyyā', in *CE* iv, p. 1272
- P. du Bourguet, art. 'Jean, fils d'Abou Zakariya', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, vol. 7, 1974, col. 256
- Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 448-49

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-jawhara l-naḥḥisa fi 'ulūm al-kanīsa, 'The precious jewel, on the ecclesiastical sciences'; *Al-jawhara l-naḥḥisa*, 'The precious jewel'

DATE Possibly 1340

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Al-jawhara l-naḥḥisa is usually described as a theological-liturgical 'encyclopedia' because of the range of topics covered in its (originally) 113 chapters, which occupy 386 pages (along with the critical apparatus) in Mistrīḥ's edition. The work opens with statements about the unity and trinity of God (chs 1-2), and goes on to re-narrate the biblical story (with apocryphal elements, e.g. from *The cave of treasures*) from Creation to Redemption and the spread of the Christian faith (chs 3-26); it is in this first section that much of the material of relevance to the history of Christian-Muslim relations is to be found. The work then turns to ecclesiastical and sacramental matters, although chs 32-36 first deal with Christian practices in a way that may be reminiscent of the 'pillars' of Islamic practice (fasting; prayer with an exegesis of the Lord's Prayer; the profession of faith with an exegesis of the Nicene Creed; hours of prayer; almsgiving), while chs 37-43 continue with the discussion of particular virtues (love of God and neighbor, humility, not giving in to anger and hatred, purity, marriage and avoidance of adultery). The remainder of the book is of great value for understanding the appointments of the church, the

hierarchy, rites of consecration and ordination, the duties of the patriarch (including a weekly meeting with priests, ch. 111), and details of the liturgy, especially that of Holy Week. A typological exegesis that finds ecclesial realities foretold or foreshadowed in Old Testament passages helps bind the work into a coherent whole. Furthermore, Zakhary has discerned in the work a cosmic-theological vision that unites heaven and earth, and Christ and the Church, in a great cycle of bountiful love and praise (see *De la Trinité*, pp. 495-500 for a summary).

This work may be seen as a Coptic Orthodox 'in-house' resource, written by a cleric and intended largely for the use of other clerics. However, several chapters have clear antecedents in the literature of Christian-Muslim controversy. Ch. 1, on the unity (*tawḥīd*) of God, is cast in terms immediately accessible to a Muslim reader, while ch. 2, on God's trinity, reproduces a strategy of describing God as *nāṭiq* ('speaking', the Word) and *ḥayy* ('living', the Spirit), which was developed against the background of the Islamic *kalām*, and is found in the *Miṣbāḥ al-ʿaql* of Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffā' (q.v.). The work's treatment of redemption appears to be based on the medieval catechetical work *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ* (q.v.); the underlying theme of the divine deception of Satan was sometimes used for apologetic purposes (e.g., in the 8th-century Melkite text *On the triune nature of God*, q.v.). Catalogues of *testimonia* to the advent of Christ from the pagan sages and from the Old Testament (chs 21-23) have a long history of apologetic use, as does a comparison of Christ's miracles to those of Moses (ch. 24). Finally, ch. 26 offers criteria for distinguishing between falsehood and the true religion in a way similar to many Christian Arabic treatises going back to the 9th-century works of Theodore Abū Qurra (q.v.), Ḥabīb Abū Rā'iṭa (q.v.), 'Ammār al-Baṣrī (q.v.), and Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (q.v.).

SIGNIFICANCE

Al-jawhara l-naḥṣa bears witness to the continuing popularity of a number of theological ideas that were developed in the context of Christian Arabic apologetics in the *Dār al-Islām*. Perhaps what is most significant about the presence of these ideas in what may be considered a clerical 'in-house' reference work is the extent to which originally apologetic ideas, formulated 'at the boundaries' for the defense of the community, have been adopted and integrated into the core of the community's self-understanding.

MANUSCRIPTS

Samir ('Contribution', pp. 161-64) provides a list of 22 MSS which is the basis for Zakhary's list (*De la Trinité*, pp. 511-2) as well as for the list that follows. Mistriḥ (*Pretiosa margarita*, pp. xviii-xxx) provides a description of 18 of these MSS and a stemma. The following list adds three MSS to Samir's, the most important of which is a 15th-century copy from the Monastery of St Macarius. There are certainly yet more copies to be found in monastery and church collections.

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 207 (end of 14th century)

MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Monastery of St Macarius – Canon Law 1 (Zanetti 262) (15th century)

MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – Lit. 15 (Graf 32, Simaika 180) (1634)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 208 (1638, with omissions)

MS Charfet, Syrian Catholic Patriarchate – Raḥmānī 376 (17th century)

MS Vatican City, BAV – Ar. 130 (1701)

MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – Lit. Add. (old register no. 6463, new register no. 387) (17th-18th century) (third piece in the collection, a single folio)

MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub – Theol. 221 (1750 according to Samir, who believes that the given date of AM 1164 must in fact be AH 1164)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 159 (Graf 343, Simaika 419) (1790)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 158 (Graf 657, Simaika 422) (1790)

MS Cairo, Franciscan Center of Christian Oriental Studies – 154 (1792)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 40 (Graf 709, Simaika 354) (18th century)

MS Vatican City, BAV – Borgia Ar. 56 (18th century)

MS Wādī al-Naṭrūn, Monastery of St Macarius – Canon Law 12 (Zanetti Suppl. 30) (18th century)

MS Ma'ādi, Cairo, Coptic Catholic Seminary – 1 (18th-19th century)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 160 (Graf 658, Simaika 499) (1836)

MS Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Bibliothèque Orientale – 582 (1841)

MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – Canon Law 3 (Simaika 78) (1841)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 353 (Simaika 550) (19th century)

MS Cairo, Church of the Virgin in Ḥārat Zuwayla – Theol. 5 (= Canon 44) (end of 19th century)

MS Charfet, Syrian Catholic Patriarchate – Raḥmānī 343 (1915)

In addition, Sbath (*Fihris* i, p. 14, no. 57) mentions 4 MSS in private collections, now inaccessible or lost.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

M.S. Zakhary is preparing a new edition and French translation for publication. On existing editions (including small-circulation ones in Egypt), see Zakhary, *De la Trinité*, pp. 138-55. The principal editions at present are:

V. Mistrîḥ (ed.), *Jūḥannâ ibn Abî Zakariâ ibn Sibâ': Pretiosa margarita de scientiis ecclesiasticis (Studia Orientalia Christiana – Aegyptiaca)*, Cairo, 1966 (critical edition with Latin trans.)

Samir Khalil Kussaim, 'La perle précieuse d'Ibn Sabba'. 1. Chap. 57 à 84. Texte arabe établi d'après le Paris Arabe 207 (fin du 14^e siècle)' (Part 1 of a thesis for the Diplôme d'Études Supérieures), Aix-en-Provence, 1964

Marqus Jirjis (ed.), *Yūḥannâ ibn Abî Zakariyyâ al-ma'rūf bi-Ibn Sabbâ': Al-jawhara l-naḥisa fi 'ulūm al-kanīsa*, Cairo, [1920s?] (reprints the text of I.Y. Labīb's ed.)

J.-B. Périer (ed.), *Jean, fils d'Abou-Zakariyâ, surnommé Ibn Sabâ': La perle précieuse traitant des sciences ecclésiastiques (chapitres I – LVI)* (PO 16.4 = no. 80), Paris, 1922 (edition of the first 56 chs based on MS Paris ar. 207, with variants from MSS Paris ar. 208 and Vat. ar. 130, with French trans.)

[Iqlādiyūs Yūḥannâ Labīb (ed.)], *Yūḥannâ ibn Abî Zakariyyâ al-ma'rūf bi-Ibn Sabbâ': Al-jawhara l-naḥisa fi 'ulūm al-kanīsa*, Cairo, 1902 (freely 'updates' the text)

STUDIES

The following list does not attempt to include every study of Coptic liturgy, ecclesiology, or sacramental theology that includes a reference to *Al-jawhara l-naḥisa*. To seek these out, see Zakhary, *De la Trinité*, pp. 550-53, a chronological list of citations of the work.

S.J. Davis, review of Zakhary, *De la Trinité*, in *Journal of Theological Studies* 60 (2009) 733-37

P. Luisier, review of Zakhary, *De la Trinité*, in *OCP* 74 (2008) 241-45
Zakhary, *De la Trinité*

S.K. Samir, 'Une rite copte de parrainage du baptême au XIII^e siècle', in *Le sacrement de l'initiation. Origines et prospective*, Antelias, 1996, 81-101

Mistrîḥ, *Pretiosa margarita*, 'Introductio' (pp. ix-xliv), plus annotations to the Latin translation and indices

Samir Kussaim (= S.K. Samir), 'Contribution à l'étude du moyen arabe des coptes. L'adverbe ḥāṣṣatan chez Ibn Sabbā'', *Le Muséon* 80 (1967) 153-209; 81 (1968) 5-78, here 80 (1967) pp. 157-65

Samir Khalil Kussaim, *La perle précieuse d'Ibn Sabba'*. 2. *Étude formelle* (mss., date de composition et étude de langue), Aix-en-Provence, 1964 (Part 2 of a thesis for the Diplôme d'Études Supérieures)

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 448-49

G. Graf, *Ein Reformbesuch innerhalb der koptischen Kirche im zwölften Jahrhundert*, Paderborn, 1923, pp. 63-65 (German trans. of ch. 96), 108-9, 112-13

Mark N. Swanson

*Al-qawl al-mukhtār fī l-man‘
‘an takhyīr al-kuffār*

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH Approximately 1250-1300
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The author is unknown. Thorough study of the work, which has not yet been undertaken, may provide clues or even a positive identification. Preliminary indications are that he was a learned jurist of the early or middle 14th century who, though a Ḥanbalī, was keen to cite authorities from across the *madhhab* spectrum.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The only hints about the author’s personal circumstances are likely to be found in the work itself.

Secondary —

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-qawl al-mukhtār fī l-man‘ ‘an takhyīr al-kuffār,
‘The selected saying concerning the prohibition
on preferring infidels’; ‘The selected saying’

DATE Uncertain; 14th century, possibly before 1341
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Al-qawl al-mukhtār has scarcely been studied in either the Islamic or Western scholarly traditions; this description and the details it contains are thus provisional. At 76 lithographed manuscript pages of approximately 27 lines per page, it is a substantial work. Its topical coverage

extends to most legal aspects of Muslim-non-Muslim relations. Its special interest, however, is the prohibition on the employment of non-Muslims – especially Coptic Christians – as administrative officials.

The work may be dated tentatively to the first half of the 14th century on the strength of three observations. First, none of the numerous authorities it invokes lived long after 1350. Second, it belongs to that minor genre of writings against Christian and Jewish officials that was popular in Egypt in this period; 14th century analogues include the works by Ghāzī ibn al-Wāsiṭī (q.v.), Ibn al-Naqqāsh (q.v.), and Ibn al-Durayhim (q.v.), though the genre had antecedents in books by Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kātib (q.v.) and ʿUthmān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Nābulūsī (q.v.). Third, it is written in praise of a certain ʿMuḥammad, sultan of the Muslims, may God grant him great victory’ (*naṣarahu Allāh naṣran ʿazīzan*), who has evidently enacted recent policies to restrict the public freedoms of his non-Muslim subjects. The language and content of this address tally well with the reign of the Mamluk Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (d. 1341), whose rule spanned very nearly the first half of the 14th century and who is known to have enacted such policies. Since the author praises the sultan for what he has only recently done, if this is al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (though the later al-Manṣūr Muḥammad, r. 1361-63, must remain a possibility), then the work would have been written in his reign, and before 1341.

The chief concern of the author is to consolidate and preserve the recent gains of Muslim elites who, like him, advocated the dismissal of Christian (and Jewish) state officials and the imposition of legal disabilities on their coreligionists. Slightly less than the first half of the work presents the opinions of an array of jurists to reinforce the point that non-Muslims are not to be employed by the state. The assembly of authorities invoked is, though uniformly Sunnī, otherwise ecumenical; it includes, among others, Mālikīs such as Mundhir ibn Saʿīd al-Ballūṭī (q.v.), Ibn Khuwayzmandād (d. 999), and Ibn Rushd al-Jadd (d. 1126), Ḥanafīs such as Abū Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ (d. 980), Shāfiʿīs such as al-Āmidī (d. 1156), al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī (d. 1014), and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209), Ḥanbalīs such as Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (d. 923), Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1201) (q.v.), and Ibn Qudāma (d. 1223), and others, such as al-Zajjāj (d. 923) and the Qurʾan commentator and historian Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī (d. 923) (q.v.), the last of whom is relied upon heavily in the introductory line-up of qurʾanic proofs and their exegeses.

Following this conspectus of juristic opinion, the author recounts a few edifying tales about Abbasid caliphs who dismissed their non-Muslim

officials – the sequence and wording of these is very close to those of parallel accounts found in the works of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (q.v.) and Ibn al-Naqqāsh (q.v.). The author then proceeds to discuss the ‘Pact of ‘Umar’, presenting several versions, and the consequences of contravening it. There follow separate sections on such standard *dhimmī* issues as the *ghiyār*, the *nāqūs*, the taking of *ribā*, places of worship, tall buildings, riding horses, buying real estate, and the *jizya*, which despite their programmatic quality collect earlier material of much value. Detailed accounts of debates on these issues among prominent 14th-century Cairene jurists feature prominently. The author makes an effort to deny that imposing rigorous legal disabilities on *dhimmīs* might have undesirable consequences for Muslims.

In addition to collecting a wide range of scattered juristic opinions, *Al-qawl al-mukhtār* preserves sections from longer earlier works concerning Christian-Muslim relations that are now rare or lost. For example, it is the more extensive of the two independent witnesses to the *Shurūṭ al-Naṣārā* of the 10th-century Damascene *qāḍī* Ibn Zabr (d. 940) (which survives in a single Cairo MS). The other is *Ta’rīkh Dimashq* of Ibn ‘Asākir (q.v.). It also cites extensively from what appears to be a significant work on *dhimmī* law by Abū l-Shaykh al-Iṣbahānī (d. 979), and from the apparently lost *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma* (or *Bayān mā yalzam ahl al-dhimma fi’luhu*) of the renowned Ḥanbalī *qāḍī* Abū Ya’lā ibn al-Farrā’ (d. 1066).

SIGNIFICANCE

Al-qawl al-mukhtār is the most extensive and systematic treatise yet identified that treats the impermissibility of employing non-Muslim officials. While the work has not been widely known or influential among Muslims or historians, its profuse citation of earlier sources – as well as its own novel organization of and commentary on them – promises to add to our knowledge of the historical development of Muslim thought on the political and legal status of non-Muslims.

MANUSCRIPTS

Unknown

EDITIONS

Ed. L. Yarbrough, ‘The selected saying’, in preparation 2012

Al-qawl al-mukhtār fī l-manʿ an takhyīr al-kuffār, lithograph, Cairo, 1856 or 1857, pp. 90-168 (This is a *majmūʿ*, collected volume, that unites four anti-Christian and/or anti-colonial polemical works, most of which appear to be early modern, as well as a short work on Sufism and another of political advice. The first work in the volume is entitled *ʿUddat al-umarāʾ wa-l-ḥukkām li-ihānat al-kafara wa-ʿabadat al-aṣṇām* [‘The instrument of emirs and rulers for humiliating the infidels and idol worshippers’] and is ascribed by Sarkis to the Muslim leader of Mappila Muslims in Kerala, India, al-Shaykh Faḍl ibn al-Ḥabīb al-Imām al-Ghawth ʿAlawī ibn Muḥammad ibn Sahl Mawlā l-Duwaylah [d. 1901].)

There is one copy of *Al-qawl al-mukhtār* in Riyadh, at the library of the King Saʿūd University (separately bound, but originating in the same *majmūʿ* edition). Another may be held at the library of Muḥammad al-Saqqāṭ in Casablanca.

STUDIES

- L. Yarbrough, ‘Islamizing the Islamic state’, PhD diss. Princeton University, in progress 2012
- ʿA. al-Ṭurayqī, editor’s notes to Ibn al-Naqqāsh (q.v.), *Al-madhamma fī istiʿmāl ahl al-dhīmna*, Riyadh, 1995, p. 62 n. 9, p. 146 (passing references to passages parallel to those in the *Madhamma*)
- H. Rantattani, *Mappila Muslims. A study on society and anti colonial struggles*, Calicut, Kerala, 2007, pp. 138-46 (discusses the work but does not add to our knowledge of it; it is treated as a manifestation of 19th-century opposition to European colonialism)
- I. al-Bābānī, *Īdāḥ al-maknūn fī l-dhayl ʿalā kashf al-zunūn ʿan asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn*, ed. M. Yaltaqāyā and R. al-Kilīsī, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1945-47, ii, col. 253 (title and incipit only)
- Y.A. Sarkis, *Dictionary of Arabic printed books*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1928, ii, col. 1986, no. 102 (brief list of the contents of the volume that includes *Al-qawl al-mukhtār*)
- Fihrist al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya al-maḥfūza bi-l-kitābkhāna l-khidīwiyya l-kāʿina bi-sarāy darb al-jamāmīz bi-Miṣr al-maḥrūsa al-muʿizziyya*, 7 vols in 8, Cairo, 1890 or 1891, vii, pt. 1, pp. 209-10 (the most extensive inventory of the contents of the volume that includes *Al-qawl al-mukhtār*)

Guido Terrena de Perpignan

Guido Terrena

DATE OF BIRTH	Last quarter of the 13 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Perpignan
DATE OF DEATH	21 August 1342
PLACE OF DEATH	Probably Avignon

BIOGRAPHY

Guido Terrena studied theology in Paris, obtaining the degree of *magister theologiae* in 1312. He subsequently became regent master, then provincial of the Carmelites. He was general prior of the order from 1318 to 1321, then bishop of Majorca from 1321 to 1332, and afterwards Elna from 1332 to 1342.

Guido was the author of a number of treatises on theology, philosophy and canon law, in particular commentaries: on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, on Gratian's *Decretum*, and on various works of Aristotle.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary —

Secondary

- F. Bertelloni, 'Guido Terrena', in J. Gracia and T. Noone (eds), *A companion to philosophy in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 2002, 291-92
- S. Brown, 'Guido Terrena and the unity of the concept of being', *Documenti e Studi sulla Tradizione Filosofica Medievale* 3 (1992) 599-631
- J. Gracia, 'The convertibility of "Unum" and "Ens" according to Guido Terrena', *Franciscan Studies* 33 (1973) 143-70
- P. Glorieux, 'A propos de "Vatic. lat. 1086". Le personnel enseignant de Paris vers 1311-14', *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 5 (1933) 23-39
- P. Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle*, 2 vols, Paris, 1933, ii, pp. 339-43
- B. Xiberta y Roqueta, *Guiu Terrena. Carmelita de Perpiny*, Barcelona, 1932
- B. Xiberta y Roqueta, *De scriptoribus scholasticis ex ordine Carmelitarum*, Leuven, 1931, pp. 137-41

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Summa de haeresibus, 'Summa on heresies'DATE Early 14th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Guido begins with a section in which he defines heresy and discusses what the Church's attitude towards heresy should be. He follows with a section on the 17 errors of the Jews, a section on the 26 errors of the Greeks, and the errors of the Jacobites, Georgians, and Armenians, who amass 30 errors between them. Then, citing the twin authorities of Augustine and Isidore, he briefly describes dozens of other heresies: from simony and Nicolaitism to Nestorianism, before moving on to more recent European heretics: the Waldensians, Cathars, Joachim of Fiore, Peter John Olivi, and the Beguines.

Guido's section on the 25 errors of the Saracens is not reproduced in the early modern editions, but is extant in manuscript. These errors are:

1. That they usurp the name of Saracens, from Sarah, in order to try to claim the legitimate heritage of Abraham, when in fact, as the descendants of the slave Hagar via Ishmael, they have no part in it.
2. They deny the Trinity.
3. They deny that Christ is God.
4. They affirm that after the resurrection of the flesh, the blessed will eat and drink.
5. They practice polygamy.
6. They practice circumcision and abstain from eating pork.
7. They claim that it is licit to steal and kidnap.
8. They say that all sexual liaisons are legitimate.
9. They affirm that Muḥammad is greater and holier than Jesus Christ.
10. They claim that Jesus did not die.
11. They believe that Muḥammad is the Messiah.
12. They keep Friday, the day of Venus, as a holy day, because Muḥammad was an adept of the goddess of love, when it should be a day for mourning, since it is the day of Christ's passion.
13. They wear monastic habits without hoods [perhaps a reference to wool garments favored by Sufis?].
14. They say Muḥammad was a prophet, when in fact he was a diabolically-inspired pseudo-prophet.

15. They fast during the day and at night eat, drink and indulge in lust.
16. They go to Mecca 'to adore Muḥammad in base idolatry'.
17. When they go to Mecca to adore Muḥammad, they throw stones thinking they are stoning the devil [here Guido is using, directly or indirectly, Petrus Alfonsi (q.v.), though Guido thinks that Muḥammad's tomb is in Mecca, while Petrus knew better].
18. They claim that the house in Mecca 'where Muḥammad lies' was constructed by Abraham and Ishmael.
19. They practice divorce.
20. They practice incest through marriage within the prohibited degrees.
21. They accept false testimonies.
22. They marry the divorced wives of other men.
23. They claim that anyone who believes in God and Muḥammad can be saved and forgiven any sin.
24. They claim that had there been no Muḥammad, there would have been neither sky nor earth nor paradise.
25. They claim that Muḥammad made the moon come down from the sky and split it into two.

SIGNIFICANCE

Guido shows only second-hand knowledge of Islam and gives a somewhat confused mix of material from earlier polemicists and popular misconceptions (that the object of the Mecca pilgrimage was idolatrous worship at Muḥammad's tomb, for example). The *Summa* is a scholastic work, perhaps meant for use by students. It seems to have had little impact on subsequent authors.

MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Vat – Lat. 988, fols 9v-69v (1455; copied by Guy de Donzy for Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy)
- MS Caen, Bibliothèque municipale – 27 (date unknown)
- MS London, BL – add. ms. 11486 (date unknown)
- MS Oxford, Magdalen College – Lat. 4 (date unknown)
- MS Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine – 891 (date unknown)
- MS Trier, Stadtbibliothek – 159 (date unknown)
- MS Vat – Pal. Lat. 679, fols 39-54 (date unknown)
- MS Wolfenbüttel – Gud. Lat. 5.1 (date unknown)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- J. Seiner (ed.), *Summa de haeresibus ab initio mundi usque ad a. 1300 et ultra*, Cologne, 1631 (the anti-Islamic chapters have been expunged)
- J. Roch (ed.), *Summa de haeresibus et earum confutationibus*, Paris, 1528 (the anti-Islamic chapters have been expunged)

STUDIES

- E. Cerulli, *Il Libro della scala e la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina Commedia*, Vatican, 1949, pp. 490-502
- C. de Villiers, *Bibliotheca carmelitana notis criticis et dissertationibus illustrata*, Rome, 1927, cols 581-88

John Tolan

Les gestes des Chyprois

A series of authors

BIOGRAPHY

There are three identifiable authors: the anonymous author (or authors) of the *Annales de Terre Sainte*; Philip of Novara; the 'Templar of Tyre'.

The *Annales de Terre Sainte* exist in a number of recensions, some of which end in 1291 with the fall of Acre. Although not a feature of the section that comprises the first part of the *Gestes des Chiprois*, the large number of necrologies of Latin clergy to be found in this work suggests that some at least of the compilers were themselves clerics. The focus on Acre strongly indicates that it was there that the compilers were at work.

Philip of Novara was probably born c. 1205. He himself claimed to be a member of a knightly family from Novara, although when he came to Cyprus is not clear. Most of what we know of his career is to be learnt from his own writings. He first appears as a squire of a Cypriot knight named Peter Chappe at the siege of Damietta (1218-19) during the Fifth Crusade. He then attached himself to the Ibelin family and served them loyally throughout the political crises and civil wars that engulfed Cyprus and the Latin East in the 1220s and 1230s. In due course he came to acquire fiefs in both Cyprus and the Kingdom of Jerusalem. He married three times, and at least two of his wives were daughters of prominent vassals. He witnessed charters issued by King Henry I of Cyprus, and was one of the three men Henry appointed to act as his executors after his death, which occurred in 1253. As a vassal and therefore a member of the High Court of Cyprus, he made a name for himself as an advocate, and in the mid-1260s he was said to be 'the best pleader this side of the sea'. Besides the history of the wars between the Ibelins and the supporters of Frederick II, which forms the second part of the *Gestes des Chiprois*, he wrote a treatise on knightly manners and morals entitled *Des .iiii. tenz d'aage d'ome* and another treatise on the workings of the High Court and the law and custom of the Latin East, *Le livre de forme de plait*. This latter work can be dated to c. 1250, but, from a passage interpolated into one of the surviving manuscripts, it would appear that Philip himself lived on until after 1269.

The so-called 'Templar of Tyre' was the author the section of the *Gestes des Chiprois* history that covers the period from the early 1240s to the point in 1309 at which the unique manuscript breaks off. The name of the author is unknown, and attempts to identify him with a certain Gerard of Montréal are speculative. The appellation 'Templar of Tyre' was invented in the 19th century: in fact, he was not a Templar and, although he lived in Tyre for a part of the time between 1269 and 1283, he would appear to have originated in Cyprus. In 1269 he tells us he was *valet* in the service of Margaret, the sister of King Hugh III of Cyprus, when she married John of Montfort, the then heir to the lordship of Tyre. By the mid 1280s he was employed, apparently as a secretary, by the Templar master, William of Beaujeu (1273-91), but he himself was clearly not a member of the Order. He provides what is evidently an eyewitness account of the siege and fall of Acre in 1291. After that, he seems to have made his way to Cyprus but severed his association with the Templars.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

See under Editions and Translations below, lists 1, 2 and 3.

Secondary

For detailed bibliographies, see the editions by Silvio Melani, Laura Minervini and Peter W. Edbury listed below.

P.W. Edbury, 'Introduction' to Philip of Novara, *Le livre de forme de plait*, Nicosia, 2009

G. Grivaud, 'Literature', in A. Nicolaou-Konnari and C. Schabel (eds), *Cyprus. Society and culture 1191-1374*, Leiden, 2005, 219-84, pp. 240-44

L. Minervini, 'Les Gestes des Chiprois et la tradition historiographique de l'Orient latin', *Le Moyen Age* 110 (2004) 315-25

G.N. Bromiley, 'Philip of Novara's account of the war between Frederick II of Hohenstaufen and the Ibelins', *Journal of Medieval History* 3 (1977) 325-37

G. Paris, 'Les mémoires de Philippe de Novare', *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 9 (1902) 164-205

G. Paris, 'Philippe de Novare', *Romania* 19 (1890) 99-102

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Les gestes des Chiprois, 'The deeds of the Cypriots'

DATE 13th and 14th century, before 1343

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION

The compilation of historical narratives which, since its discovery in the 19th century, has been known as *Les gestes des Chypriotes* survives in a single manuscript of Cypriot provenance dated 1343. The manuscript lacks the opening and the final folios and in its surviving form the narrative covers the period 1131-1309. It is likely that the history originally began with a series of brief annals from 1095 onwards. Internal evidence shows that the narrative extended into the 1310s, perhaps ending with the death of King Henry II of Cyprus in 1324.

The narrative divides into three sections: a series of annals covering the period 1131-1224, which is closely related to the various versions of the text known as the *Annales de Terre Sainte*; an account of the civil war (1218-42) between the supporters and opponents of the Emperor Frederick II, which engulfed the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Kingdom of Cyprus; and a largely annalistic account of the period 1243-1309, which was the work of an anonymous layman who has been wrongly dubbed 'the Templar of Tyre'.

SIGNIFICANCE

This compilation comprises one of the most important groups of narratives describing the history of events in the Latin East in the 13th century.

Of the three elements, the annalistic section is perhaps the least significant, although for a few years in the 1220s it becomes fuller and may preserve fragments of the work by Philip of Novara.

Philip of Novara's own section is characterized by a strong bias in favor of the Ibelin party in its conflicts with the adherents of Frederick II, and by a series of uncorroborated assertions that the author himself played an important role in the conflict. Philip has almost nothing to say about relations with the Muslim world, making only the briefest mention of that most extraordinary event, the Muslim cession of Jerusalem to Frederick II in 1229. His history does, however, illustrate one important point: it is often said that the survival of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the century following the Third Crusade was due in large measure to divisions among their Muslim neighbors; while that may be true, it is also clear from this narrative that the Christian-held territories were also characterized by serious conflict.

By contrast, the third section, the work of the so-called 'Templar of Tyre', has much information about relations between the Christians and their Muslim neighbors. It is unfortunate that there is a lacuna for the years 1249-58, but otherwise the author has much to tell about

the conquests of Baybars and his successors as Mamluk sultans at the expense of both the crusaders and the Cilician Armenians. He has much too on the impact of the Mongols on the Near East, and provides the fullest eyewitness account of the 1291 siege and capture of Acre by al-Ashraf Khalil. He is clearly well informed, and provides details on, for example, Muslim siege equipment and diplomatic exchanges.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Turin, Biblioteca Reale – Varia 433 (9 April 1343; copied by a certain Johan le Miege, then held as a prisoner in the castle at Kyrenia in Cyprus)

MS Paris, BNF – Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 6680 (19th-century copy of the Turin MS)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

1. Editions of the whole text

'Les gestes des Chiprois', ed. C. Kohler, *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniens*, vol 2, Paris, 1906, 651-872

Les gestes des Chiprois, ed. G. Raynaud (*Publications de la Société de l'Orient Latin. Série historique 5*), Geneva, 1887

2. Editions of Part 2: Philip of Novara's account of the war between Frederick II and John of Ibelin

Filippo da Novara, *Guerra di Federico II in Oriente (1223-1242)*, ed. with an Italian trans. S. Melani, Naples, 1994

Philippe de Novare, *Mémoires*, ed. C. Kohler (*Les Classiques Français du Moyen Âge*), Paris, 1913 (trans. J.L. LaMonte and M.J. Hubert as *The wars of Frederic II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus*, New York, 1936)

3. Edition of Part 3: The chronicle of the 'Templar of Tyre'

Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243-1314), ed. with an Italian trans. L. Minervini, Naples, 2000 (trans. P. Crawford as *The Templar of Tyre. Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'*, Aldershot UK, 2003)

4. Editions of other versions of the *Annales de Terre Sainte*

'A new text of the *Annales de Terre Sainte*', ed. P.W. Edbury, in I. Shagrir, R. Ellenblum and J. Riley-Smith (eds), *In laudem Hierosolymitani. Studies in the crusades and medieval culture in honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, Aldershot UK, 2007, 145-61

'Las cruzadas en la historiografía española de la época. Traducción castellan de un redacción desconocida de los "Anales de Tierra Santa"', ed. A. Sánchez Candiera, *Hispania: Revista Española de Historia* 20 (1960) 325-67

- 'Annales de Terre Sainte', ed. R. Röhrich and G. Raynaud, *Archives de l'Orient latin* 2, 1884; documents, pp. 427-61
5. Editions of other works by Philip of Novara
- Philip of Novara, *Le livre de forme de plait*, ed. with a trans. P.W. Edbury, Nicosia, 2009; earlier edition: ed. A. Beugnot as 'Le livre de Philippe de Navarre', *RHC Lois* 1, Paris, 1841, 469-571
- Philippe de Navarre, *Les quatre âges de l'homme*, ed. Marcel de Fréville, Paris, 1888

STUDIES

- In each case the editions listed above have useful introductions.
- Edbury, 'Introduction' to Philip of Novara, *Le livre de forme de plait*
- P.W. Edbury, 'The Old French William of Tyre and the origins of the Templars', in N. Housley (ed.), *Knighthoods of Christ. Essays on the history of the crusades and the Knights Templar presented to Malcolm Barber*, Aldershot UK, 2007, 151-64
- Grivaud, 'Literature', in Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, *Cyprus. Society and culture 1191-1374*, 240-44
- G. Airaldi, 'Je suis Bertrand de Gibelet', in D. Coulon et al. (eds), *Chemins d'Outre-Mer. Etudes d'histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, Paris, 2004, 24-30
- L. Minervini, 'Les gestes des Chypriotes et la tradition historiographique de l'Orient latin', *Le Moyen Âge* 110 (2004) 315-25
- A. Ilieva, 'Images of tolerance and intolerance in Cypriot historical writings between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries', in M. Gervers and J. Powell (eds), *Tolerance and intolerance. Social conflict in the age of the crusades*, Syracuse NY, 2001, 93-99
- G.N. Bromiley, 'Philippe de Novare another epic historian?', *Neophilologus* 82 (1998) 527-41
- C. Aslanoff, 'Récit historique et discours poétique dans L'Estoire de la guerre des Ibelins contre les Impériaux de Philippe de Novare', *Le Moyen Âge* 103 (1997) 67-81
- P.W. Edbury, 'Law and custom in the Latin East: Les Letres dou Sepulcre', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 10 (1995) 71-9
- Bromiley, 'Philip of Novara's account of the war between Frederick II of Hohenstaufen and the Ibelins'
- Paris, 'Les mémoires de Philippe de Novare'
- Paris, 'Philippe de Novare'

Peter Edbury

The Copto-Arabic Synaxarion

Multiple authors

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb al-Sinaksār al-jāmi‘ li-akhbār al-anbiyā’ wa-l-rusul wa-l-shuhadā’ wa-l-qiddīsīn al-musta‘mal fī kanā’is al-karāza l-marqusiyya fī ayyām wa-āḥād al-sana l-tūtiyya, The Synaxarion: A collection of reports about the prophets, apostles, martyrs, and saints, used in the churches of the See of St Mark on weekdays and Sundays of the Coptic calendar year; *Kitāb al-Sinaksār (or al-Sinaksārī)*, ‘The Synaxarion’, ‘The Copto-Arabic Synaxarion’

DATE Stabilization of the ‘standard’ Lower Egyptian recension in the early 14th century, between 1317 and 1354; an ongoing, living tradition

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Previous articles in *CMR* have treated the ‘Synaxarion of the Great Church’, that is, the Greek *Synaxarion* of Constantinople, as well as ‘The Melkite *synaxaria*’ that developed from it in the Arabic language, beginning in the 11th century. The Copto-Arabic *Synaxarion* (*Kitāb al-Sinaksār*) represents a parallel and not wholly unrelated development, although the exact ways in which it may have been influenced or enriched by the Melkite *synaxaria* is a matter requiring investigation. Like the Melkite *synaxaria*, the Copto-Arabic *Synaxarion* developed over time in various recensions; indeed, it continues to be a living text in the present day. Dating the text is therefore difficult. However (as will be pointed out below), al-Shams ibn Kabar refers to a recension of the *Synaxarion* in his *Miṣbāḥ al-zulma*, itself written (according to Wadi, art. ‘al-Shams ibn Kabar’ in this volume) before 1314; a manuscript of the first part of

the 'Lower Egyptian' recension (MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – Lit. 41a) is dated to 1340; and that Lower Egyptian recension as a whole (which is the basis for the most widely utilized manuscripts and editions of the work) appears to have stabilized sometime between 1317 and 1354.

The Copto-Arabic *Synaxarion* is a liturgical book consisting of short entries for biblical figures, saints and martyrs, and various events in the life of the Church, ranging from a sentence to a page or two long, and arranged according to the day of their commemoration, following the Coptic calendar year (beginning from 1 Tūt = 29 August in the Julian calendar). The commemorations for the day are regularly read in the services of the Coptic Orthodox Church.

The *Synaxarion* is a sizeable collection, and copies (both in manuscript and in print) are very commonly divided into two volumes, each devoted to one half of the year: Tūt–Amshīr (referred to below as '1st Part'), or Baramhāt–al-Nasī ('2nd Part'). A helpful comparative table of contents, which provides some help in distinguishing the medieval recensions of the work from later elaborations, is provided by Meinardus, 'A comparative study', to be supplemented by the 'Index chronologicus' in Forget, *Synaxarium*, text vol. 2, pp. 310-39.

The history of development of the Copto-Arabic *Synaxarion* is anything but clear. We lack the 'preliminary' studies of manuscripts and recensions that J.-M. Sauget provided for the Melkite *synaxaria* in his *Premières recherches sur l'origine et les caractéristiques des synaxaires melkites* (Brussels, 1969) – although one must quickly add that R.-G. Coquin's studies are groundbreaking and provide a basis for all future work. (See especially Coquin, 'Quelle est la date', 'Synaxarion, Copto-Arabic. Editions', and 'Le Synaxaire des coptes. Un nouveau témoin'.) He has helped us achieve clarity on several of the following points:

1. We must distinguish between a recension of Lower Egypt (attested in the vast majority of MSS), and one of Upper Egypt. The recension of Upper Egypt, while attested only in a handful of manuscripts, is the older of the two. (See Coquin's comparisons in *Livre de la consécration*, pp. 27-33; 'Le Synaxaire des Coptes. Un nouveau témoin', pp. 363-65.) Unfortunately, none of our editions of the *Synaxarion* makes a clear and consistent distinction between these two recensions.

2. For the recension of Lower Egypt, we must also distinguish between the first half of the year (Tūt–Amshīr) and the second half (Baramhāt–al-Nasī). The two parts appear to have different histories, the 1st Part being older than the 2nd Part.

3. In the bibliographical chapter of *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulma*, al-Shams ibn Kabar attributes the *Synaxarion* to Buṭrus Sāwīrus al-Jamīl (13th century [q.v.]). Many manuscripts of the 2nd Part of the *Synaxarion* attribute it to Mikhā'il, bishop of Atrib and Malij (active in the 1240s-50s [q.v.]). Whatever their specific contributions may have been, Mikhā'il's appears to be limited to this 2nd Part.

4. It is possible to define a form of the Lower Egyptian recension of the *Synaxarion* that stabilized sometime between the years 1317 and 1354 (see below). This recension is more-or-less represented in a great number of MSS and the major printed editions and translations.

5. It is thus possible to think of several stages in the development of the text: (a) the Upper Egyptian recension, translating and condensing primarily Coptic materials (12th-13th century?); (b) the work of 13th-century authors in creating a 'proto'-Lower Egyptian recension (although the textual evidence for this recension is thin); (c) a 14th-century revision and update to create what we know as the Lower Egyptian recension; (d) ongoing development.

6. The *Synaxarion* tradition is a living one, and additions have been made over time in order to commemorate new saints, martyrs, and important events in the life of the Coptic Orthodox Church, as well as to edit existing materials for the purposes of edification and use in the liturgy.

7. One source of additions may have been the *Synaxarion* of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, itself an elaboration of a translation of the Copto-Arabic *Synaxarion* into Ethiopic made around the year 1400 by the monk Sem'on of the Monastery of St Antony (Colin, 'Le Synaxaire éthiopien', pp. 300-5). A translation of the Ethiopic *Synaxarion* back into Arabic (see the manuscript list below, part 3) was among the manuscripts consulted by the editors of the much-used Cairo edition of the *Synaxarion* of the Coptic Orthodox Church.

A striking characteristic of the Copto-Arabic *Synaxarion* is its emphasis on the martyrs of the early Church, especially those during the Great Persecution of Diocletian – as befits a community that measured time in the 'Era of the Martyrs' from the beginning of Diocletian's reign, and that has long considered itself 'the Church of the martyrs'. However, in addition to entries for biblical figures and the early heroes and heroines of the church, we find entries for many later saints, martyrs, and events, including a significant number that date to the Islamic period and that are significant for the history of Christian-Muslim relations in Egypt. Many of the Coptic Orthodox patriarchs of the period, including the great

majority of patriarchs from Pope Benjamin (the 38th patriarch, 623-62) through Pope John VI (the 74th patriarch, 1189-1216), are commemorated as saints. (This range of dates, incidentally, may provide some evidence for the 13th-century compilation of a 'proto'-Lower Egyptian recension.) So too are a number of bishops, monks, and holy men and women.

Of special interest for the history of Christian-Muslim relations in Egypt are the entries for several 'new martyrs', that is, individuals put to death by Muslim authorities, usually for apostasy:

11 Hātūr: Mīkhā'īl (Michael) of Damietta, a monk of the Monastery of St John the Short, who apostatized and married a Muslim woman, but then repented. He was martyred under Sultan al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars in 1277. (From the 14th-century MS Cairo, Church of the Virgin 'al-Damshiriyya', Lit. 38.)

14 Kīyahk: Sim'ān (Simeon), from Minūf al-'Ulyā, a new martyr 'in the time of the Muslims'. (Very brief entry, widely attested.)

6 Baramhāt: Diyusqurus (Dioscoros), from Alexandria, a new martyr 'in the time of the Arabs'. He apostatized, but later repented and refused all attempts to dissuade him from his determination to 'die as a Christian'. A fragment discovered by Khater ('Nouveaux fragments', pp. 94-96) places the commemoration on the 7th of the month, and adds historical detail: Dioscoros was martyred under Sultan Qalāwūn (1279-90). (Widely attested, although usually without indication of the date of the martyrdom.)

19 Bāūna: Jirjis (George), formerly Muzāḥim, new martyr. The son of a Muslim father and a Christian mother, he married a Christian woman of Damīra (in the Delta) and was baptized. After various trials, he was put to death for apostasy. A full *Martyrdom* of Jirjis (Muzāḥim) by the monk Mīnā (q.v.) is known, which dates the martyrdom to 978. (Detailed story, widely attested.)

13 Abīb: Shenoute, new martyr 'in the time of the Muslims'. (Very brief entry from the recension of Upper Egypt; the present Cairo edition of the *Synaxarion* adds that the martyrdom took place soon after the Arab conquest, when Shenoute stood up to pressure to leave his faith.)

27 Masrī: Maryam the Armenian, new martyr during the reign of Sultan Baybars. Captured by a Muslim soldier, she refused all attempts to force her to give up her Christian faith, and was put to death by burning at Bāb Zuwayla. (Found in the much-used MS Paris Ar. 256.)

Over the course of time, other accounts of 'new martyrs' were added to the *Synaxarion* tradition. For example, MS Vat Ar. 65 (1720, used in Forget's edition) provides entries for some of the 49 martyrs of the time of Pope Matthew I (the 87th patriarch, 1378-1408): Abū Muqayṭif (1 Barmūda); Rizqallāh al-Bannā' (3 Barmūda); the three women Bint al-Fazūlī, Ghazāl, and Nuzha (4 Barmūda); Dā'ūd al-Bannā' (19 Barmūda); Arsāniyūs al-Ḥabashī (9 Bashans); Sidrāk and Faḍlallāh al-'Aṭṭār (15 Bashans); as well as a martyr from the same period who does not figure in the standard lists of 49 martyrs, the priest Filāthā'us of Durunka (2 Bashans). These martyrdoms are dated to 1380-83.

An entry that is of special importance for dating the 'standard' Lower Egyptian recension of the *Synaxarion* (as a whole, in both its parts) is that for the holy man Barṣawmā l-'Uryān (5 al-Nasī). A lengthy and detailed entry credits Barṣawmā's prayers for the reopening of churches after they had been closed (following the disturbances of 1301), and provides his day of death: 5 al-Nasī AM 1033, or 27 August 1317. This entry is very widely-attested in the manuscript tradition, in sharp contrast to the accounts of martyrdoms in 1380-83 mentioned in the previous paragraph, which we know from an 18th-century manuscript. Thus, a major recension of the *Synaxarion* appears to have stabilized in the 14th century, after 1317 but before 1380. Coquin narrows this window further by pointing out that the well-attested entry for the martyr Yuḥannis of Sanhūt (8 Bashans) displays no knowledge of the destruction of his relics in 1354 (Coquin, 'Quelle est la date', pp. 80-82).

SIGNIFICANCE

The Copto-Arabic *Synaxarion* has for centuries been one of the chief ways by which Coptic Orthodox Christians have come to know the history of their church. Through its regular use in the services of the church, it has played an enormous role in defining and shaping Coptic Orthodox identity within the *Dār al-Islām*, including the church's identity as 'the church of the martyrs'. The description of the *Synaxarion*'s contribution to identity-definition is a complex matter, which deserves careful study carried out in an interdisciplinary manner.

MANUSCRIPTS

A thorough study of the MSS of the Copto-Arabic *Synaxarion* is a project yet to be undertaken. For orientation, see Coquin, 'Le Synaxaire', but note the discovery of a distinctive 14th-century witness by Fayez and Mistrih, 'Vies inédits', and an impressive list of otherwise unknown MSS

from Egyptian churches in Fayeze, 'Incoming of the Holy Family', pp. 309-11. Also note the fragments described by Khater, 'Nouveaux fragments', pp. 75-76, 109-10.

The list that has been assembled here includes MSS significant by virtue of age, or by virtue of their actual use in scholarship up to this point; it is by no means an exhaustive or representative listing. The manuscripts that *are* listed here are divided by recension: (1) that of Lower Egypt; (2) that of Upper Egypt; (3) representing the Ethiopic *Synaxarion*; and (4) not yet classified. If the manuscript has been used to establish an edition and/or translation, that is indicated by the editor or translator's name (and includes the siglum used by the editor/translator).

1. Recension of Lower Egypt (most common)

MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – Lit. 41a (Simaika 139, Graf 57) (1340; 1st Part – consulted in the Mikhāʿil and al-Birmāwī ed. of the *Sinaksār*)

MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale – Cl. III, 28 (Buonazia Cat. 32) (1389; 1st Part - Forget E)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – unspecified MS of (restored in?) 1397-98 (consulted in the Mikhāʿil and al-Birmāwī ed. of the *Sinaksār*)

MS Birmingham, University Library – Mingana 152 (Chr. Arab. Add. 267) (1470; 2nd Part - Fayeze, 'Incoming of the Holy Family', siglum *thā*: one of two preferred MSS)

MS Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek – Or. 125²⁹ (1483 and 1487; 2nd Part)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 256 (16th century; whole year – Basset A, one of three MSS used; Forget B)

MS Vat – Ar. 62 and 63 (1713, 1st Part; and shortly thereafter, 2nd Part – Forget A: base MSS for his edition)

MS Vat – Ar. 64 and 65 (1720; 1st and 2nd Parts – Forget D)

MS Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek – Ar. 195 (18th century; 1st and 2nd Parts – Forget H)

MS Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek? – unspecified MS (1826; 1st Part – Wüstenfeld)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 4779 (1867; 1st Part – Forget C)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 4780 (19th century; 2nd Part - Forget C)

MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale – Cl. III, 67 (Buonazia Cat. 33) (undated, 2nd Part - Forget E)

2. Recension of Upper Egypt

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 4869 (17th century; 1st Part – Basset B; Forget G)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 4870 (18th century; 2nd Part – Basset B; Forget G)

MS Naqada (19th century? 1st Part; see Coquin, 'Quelle est la date', pp. 82-83)

MS Luxor, Dayr al-Muḥārib (1912; 1st Part – Coquin, *Consécration du sanctuaire de Benjamin*, 'Apa Hāmāy')

3. Translation from Ethiopic

MSS Cairo, Coptic Museum – Lit. 155a, b, c (Simaika 220-22; Graf 102 A-C) (1734 – consulted in the Mikhā'īl and al-Birmāwī ed. of the *Sinaksār*)

4. Recent discoveries, not yet classified by recension

MS Cairo, Church of the Virgin 'al-Damshiriyya' – Lit. 38 (1337; 1st Part, several 'new' lives – Fayez and Mistrih, 'Vies inédites')

MS Bayāḍ, Beni Suef, Church of the Virgin Mary – Lit. 47 (no estimate of date given; 2nd Part – Fayez, 'Incoming of the Holy Family', siglum *bā'*: one of 2 preferred MSS)

MS Cairo, Church of the Virgin Mary in Ḥārat al-Rūm – Lit. 36 (no estimate of date given; 2nd Part – consulted by Fayez, 'Incoming of the Holy Family', siglum *alif*)

MS Minyā l-Qamḥ, al-Sharqiyya, Church of Abū Sayfayn – Lit. 24 (no estimate of date given; 2nd Part – consulted by Fayez, 'Incoming of the Holy Family', siglum *tā'*)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Coquin, 'Date de la recension', p. 83, announced an edition of the recension of Upper Egypt (1st Part), based on the three known MSS; but this does not appear to have been finished before his death in 1997.

1. Editions and translations of the entire work:

Al-Anbā Ṣamū'īl ('preparer'), *Al-Sinaksār al-qibṭī l-ya'qūbī li-Rīnīh Pāsīh*, 3 vols, Cairo, 1999 (reproduces Basset's edition)

Kitāb al-Sinaksār al-jāmi' li-akhbār al-anbiyā' wa-l-rusul wa-l-shuhadā' wa-l-qiddīsīn al-musta'mal fi kanā'is al-karāza l-marqusiyya fi ayyām wa-āḥād al-sana l-tūtiyya, 2 vols, Cairo: Maktabat al-Maḥabba, [s.d.] (much reproduced reprint of the Cairo 1935-37 edition)

'Abd al-Masiḥ Mikhā'īl and Amāniyūs Ḥ.S. al-Birmāwī, *Al-Sinaksār*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1935, 1937 (based on 3 MSS of the Coptic Patriarchate, 2 MSS of the Coptic Museum, and 2 MSS of Dayr al-Baramūs [numbers not specified], plus the editions of Forget and Basset)

R. Basset (ed.), *Le Synaxaire arabe jacobite (rédaction copte)* (PO 1.3, 3.3, 11.5, 16.2, 17.3, 20.5), Paris, 1907-29 (ed. from MSS Paris Ar. 256 and 4869-4870, with French trans.)

- J. Forget (ed.), *Synaxarium Alexandrinum*, 4 vols (CSCO, series 3, 18-19, separate text and trans. volumes), Beirut, 1905-26 (takes MSS Vat. Ar. 62-63 as base, with Latin trans.)
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Mark N. Swanson

Álvaro Pais

Álvaro Pais Gomes Charinho, Alvaro Pelagio, Alvarus
Pelagii, Alvarus Pelagii Gometii Charinno

DATE OF BIRTH Between 1275 and 1280
PLACE OF BIRTH Salnès, Galicia
DATE OF DEATH 1349
PLACE OF DEATH Seville

BIOGRAPHY

Álvaro Pais lived in various places across Europe. He was an illegitimate child of aristocratic origin, born in Salnès, Galicia, and he himself testifies that he was raised in the court of King Sancho IV of Castile. On 22 September 1289, Pope Nicolas IV granted him a dispensation to take minor orders despite being illegitimate. He was a secular clergyman in the diocese of Santiago de Compostela until at least 1296, and later studied law at the University of Bologna until 1304. He obtained his doctorate in canon law in Bologna and later taught at the University. He made his profession to the Franciscan Order in Assisi, possibly in May 1304, having previously renounced all his endowments and assets and distributed them among the poor. He went from one convent to another in Italy and taught canon law at the Dominican Convent of Perugia. He lived in the province of Rome between 1327 and 1328, but withdrew to the Mount Compatri Hermitage after Louis of Bavaria entered Rome and was crowned Emperor on 17 January 1328.

Álvaro was an unflinching supporter of John XXII, defending his legitimacy and condemning Nicolas V as an antipope. Despite some suspicion in the Curia of Avignon about his loyalties, perhaps due to his position towards the poverty issue, a letter from John XXII dated 23 March 1329 set aside any insinuations and praised Álvaro's fidelity to the Church and to himself, saying that he had chosen not to follow the Minister General of the Franciscans, Miguel de Casena, who had meanwhile been stripped of office.

In 1330, Álvaro became Penitentiary to the Pope in Avignon. On 22 January 1322, John XXII granted him dispensation to overrule his illegitimacy so that all ecclesiastical dignities could be bestowed on him. On 16 June that same year he was appointed bishop of Corona in the

province of Moreia – a post that he did not occupy as he was transferred to the see of Silves (Portugal) on 9 June 1333. During his stay in the kingdom of Portugal he taught at Lisbon University (after August 1317). Between 1339 and 1341, several members of his diocese remarked on his absence. Indeed, he was in Santiago de Compostela in autumn 1339, where he finished the second correction of his *De statu et planctu Ecclesiae* the following year, and went to Seville in 1341 to deal with diocesan matters with the archbishop for his diocese.

The period during which Álvaro was bishop of Silves was marked by serious dissensions with the Portuguese king Afonso IV, and also by conflicts with the municipalities of the Algarve, the Military Order of Santiago, and even the clergy of the diocese, as well as by disputes with the University of Lisbon. In September 1349, he fled to Seville where his sister's family had settled, and there he wrote his last will and testament in November that same year. He is believed to have died there, possibly a month later.

Among Álvaro Pais' works are *De statu et planctu Ecclesiae*, *Speculum regum*, *Collyrium fidei adversus haereses* and probably *De potestate ecclesiae*.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

De statu et planctu ecclesiae, 'On the condition and lamentation of the church'

DATE 1330-40

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Álvaro first wrote this work between 1330 and 1332 in Avignon in the time of Pope John XXII, revising it in Tavira in 1335, and again in Santiago de Compostela in 1340. It is divided into two parts: in the first, *de statu ecclesiae*, comprising 70 articles, Álvaro defends the pope's legitimacy and supremacy, and in the second, *de planctu ecclesiae*, comprising 93 articles, he criticizes the immoral state of society.

Álvaro calls Muslims slaves, because they are descendants of the slave Hagar (*Agarení*), and he recognizes their power over the Holy Land, Egypt and Africa as a punishment for the sins of the Christians. He defends just war as the right course of action against the Muslims, and he condemns rulers for not trying to re-conquer the Holy Land and for not fighting 'the Saracens, enemies of the cross of the Lord, who persecute the Catholic faith'. However, while the bishops and clergy of Germania and Hispania should spiritually exhort and assist those who take up arms

to fight against the Muslims, he emphasizes that their own participation in armed combat is forbidden by canon law.

SIGNIFICANCE

Muslims are portrayed as instruments of God's punishment of Christians, though they themselves are inferior and to be resisted in every way. At a time when Christianity in Spain was on the offensive, there is a clear sense that no ground must be given and all force must be exerted to drive them back.

MANUSCRIPTS

For a list of MSS of the work, see Caeiro, Barbosa and Meneses (eds), *Estado e Pranto da Igreja*, i, pp. 20-21 (27 MSS); ii, p. 21 (four further MSS).

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Speculum regum, 'Mirror of kings'

DATE 1341-44

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Álvaro Pais wrote this treatise between 1341 and July 1344, finishing it in Tavira. He dedicated it to Alfonso XI of Castile after his victory over the Muslims in the Battle of Salado in 1340 (the Portuguese King, Afonso IV, had also taken part). It is largely concerned with the virtues that should be cultivated by a king, and it does not flinch from levelling criticisms at rulers who 'among other indecent Christians, are those who most surrender to lust and fornication'.

Among Álvaro's criticisms are that Christian kings in Hispania tend to surround themselves with 'villainous advisors of the same race as the Jews, the Saracens, and the heretics', that they wage war not for the faith or for the nation but to increase their wealth and, contrary to the law, to keep all the spoils from wars 'against the Saracens and other just wars'.

At the beginning of the work Álvaro develops an idea that he has already briefly broached in the *De statu et planctu ecclesiae* – a justification of war against the Muslims. He argues that because Christ liberated the descendants of free Sarah from servitude, from the devil, from the flesh, and from hell, these descendants must be opposed to the descendants of the slave Hagar. The opposition between the illegitimate son Ishmael and the legitimate son Isaac prefigures the battle between the carnal and the spiritual, with the former continually seeking to lead the latter into the servitude of the flesh. This battle will only end when, at the end of time, there will be only one fold, the Church, and one shepherd, Christ. Since Ishmael 'will raise his hand against all, and all will raise their hands against him', Alfonso is exhorted to raise his anointed hands against the Muslims, and to take the fight into Ifriqiya, the rightful property of the Christians.

SIGNIFICANCE

The apparently casual references to Muslims as embodiments and symbols of evil, in contrast to everything that is Christian, establishes an opposition between the faiths that allows no sympathy or understanding. Álvaro evidently considers that there should be no cooperation between Christians and Muslims, but only continuous strife against Muslims as the agents of darkness.

MANUSCRIPTS

For details of the single MS of the work, see de Meneses (ed.), *Álvaro Pais, Espelho dos Reis*, i, pp. vii-viii

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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Collyrium fidei adversus haeresis, 'Eye salve of the faith against heresies'

DATE After July 1344

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This work of unknown date, though later than July 1344 (after the *Speculum regum*), was intended to be an 'eye salve for all Christians' by destroying heresies. It is almost entirely based on canon law and has a theoretical quality, refuting some doctrines that had passed into history, though it also mentions Álvaro's personal experiences in the kingdom of Portugal. As bishop of Silves and during his long stays at the Franciscan convent in the neighbouring town of Tavira, Álvaro may have

encountered a different situation from the one he had found at the papal curia in Avignon, because here the presence of a Muslim minority was an acute reality. This very personal experience may be reflected in his references to the 'sect of Muḥammad', to practices and customs of all three monotheistic faiths, and also in comparisons between some Christian heresies and the principles of Islam.

Álvaro expressly refers to the papal instruction issued at the Council of Vienna, 1311-12, to ban throughout the peninsula the Muslim call to prayer, interpreted as worship of Muḥammad and hence of the devil. (In fact, in Portugal the *adhān* was only forbidden in 1390.) He also inveighs against the Prophet, whom he regards as an apostate, and against the Qur'an, emphasizing the 'carnal law' of the 'Saracens' (as opposed to the spiritual law of Christianity) – the key idea developed in the *Speculum regum*. He also argues that there is no salvation outside the Church, thus pointing out the error of those who believe that Jews, Muslims, and pagans who live moral and virtuous lives will be saved like Christians. This assertion leads to criticism of certain practices: wills made by Christians in favor of Jews, Muslims or heretics, and prayers or alms given for the souls of dead unbelievers. Álvaro has Islam specifically in mind here, and concludes his argument with an attack on those who worship 'the beast and false prophet Muḥammad (...) thrown into the vat of fire, as John said in Revelation 19'.

In the same way, he condemns sexual relations and marriage between Christian men and Muslim or Jewish women, because it would introduce 'the Saracen poison' and make the children of such unions 'perfidious'. He also analyzes the legal consequences for the Church of voluntary or forced conversion of Christians to Islam. In a perhaps subconscious reaction to the circumstances in the Peninsula marked by two apparently paradoxical mentalities, 're-conquest' against the one surviving Muslim kingdom of Granada, and living with minority groups, especially Muslims, Álvaro's discussion is peppered throughout with references to Islam, although he visualizes it mainly as the opposite to *Christianitas*.

SIGNIFICANCE

Though the works of Álvaro Pais are never centered on Islam in itself, it always appears as the converse of his view of a *respublica Christiana*. His representation of Christian Hispania is particularly significant in this respect, because its boundaries are both social, with the Muslim minorities within it, and political, with the Muslim kingdom of Granada.

MANUSCRIPTS

For details of the single MS of the work, see de Meneses (ed.), *Álvaro Pais, Colírio da Fé*, i, pp. vii-viii

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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Filomena Barros

Abner of Burgos/Alfonso of Valladolid

Master (Maese, Maestro) Alfonso

DATE OF BIRTH	Approximately 1260-70
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown, but probably Burgos
DATE OF DEATH	Approximately 1345-47
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown, but probably Valladolid

BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about the early life of Abner of Burgos, but on the basis of information in his *Moreh tsedek* ('Teacher of righteousness', now extant only in Castilian as *Mostrador de justicia*), it is estimated that he was born into the Jewish community in or around Burgos sometime between 1260 and 1270. Judging by his works, it is assumed he received some sort of Jewish education in Hebrew, Torah, and Rabbinical writing.

He recounts his conversion to Christianity in fascinating detail in the opening to his *Moreh/Mostrador*, where he mentions the failed messianic movements of Ávila and Allyón of 1295, events that he says occurred 'some 25 years' before, thus placing his dreams, if they occurred, around 1317-20 and his conversion shortly after. Before publicly converting, he wrote an anti-Jewish treatise, the *Sefer milhamot Adonai* ('Book of the wars of the Lord'). According to the copy seen by Ambrosio de Morales in the 16th century, Abner/Alfonso himself translated the text into Castilian as *Libro de las batallas del Señor* at the request of Doña Blanca of Portugal (d. 1321), thus dating the work and its translation to 1320-21. According to polemicist Alonso de Spina, who records passages of the *Sefer* in Latin in the *Fortalitiium fidei*, Abner/Alfonso was a doctor who treated Jews for distress after the events of 1295, and, according to Spina's account, Abner/Alfonso claimed in the *Sefer* that this marked the beginning of his process of doubt of his ancestral faith and conversion to Christianity. Abner/Alfonso's mention of medicine and medical authors in his writing lends further credence to the hypothesis that he was trained in medicine and worked as a doctor before converting. Pablo de Santa María claims in his *Scrutinium scripturarum* that Abner/Alfonso was 60 years old when he converted (p. 533), which, if true, would put his birth in the early 1260s.

Although much of this information is based on Abner/Alfonso's own testimony, which is admittedly colored by his strategic polemical bias in the *Moreh/Mostrador*, a few facts of his life can be gleaned from other sources. After his conversion, Abner moved to Valladolid and adopted the name Alfonso of Valladolid, taking a position as sacristan of the Collegiate Church of Valladolid. Mention of one 'Master (Maese) Alfonso' (a name given to him regularly in other sources) can be found in the records of the church from between 1324 and 1341, and mention of one 'Juan Alfonso, son of Master Alfonso' can be found in 1348 (Rucquoi, *Valladolid au moyen âge*, p. 638). The astronomer Isaac Israeli claims in his work *Yesod 'olam* ('Foundation of the world') that Abner/Alfonso wrote a letter to the Jews of Toledo in 1334 accusing them of miscalculating the date of Passover. Abner/Alfonso is also credited with persuading King Alfonso XI to issue an edict in 1336 (preserved only by Spina, but alluded to by the Hebrew poet Samuel ibn Sasson) banning the *Birkat ha-minim* prayer ('Benediction concerning heretics,' part of the Jewish *'Amidah* prayers), and Abner/Alfonso may have debated publicly with Jews over this issue.

After his conversion, Abner wrote a number of anti-Jewish polemical works in Hebrew (some preserved in a manuscript owned and annotated by Venetian Rabbi Leon of Modena), and many of these survive in Castilian translation. After the *Sefer milhamot* and *Moreh/Mostrador*, these include: three anti-Jewish polemical letters (surviving in Hebrew and Castilian), possibly composed between 1225 and 1235; the *Teshuvot ha-meshvot* (*sic* in the manuscript; 'Response to the apostasies', surviving only in Hebrew), which is a response to the Jewish responses to his letters, probably from the 1330s; *Libro de la ley* ('Book of the law', surviving only in Castilian), probably from the 1330s; and two works written against his former 'good friend' Isaac Pollegar: the first is a philosophical anti-Jewish discussion of determinism called *Minhat kena'ot* ('Offering of zeal', now surviving only in Castilian as *Ofrenda de zelos* or *Libro del zelo de Dios*), probably from the late 1330s or possibly the early 1340s (based on Abner/Alfonso's claim in it about composing an earlier work already in the 'time of old age'); the second is Abner/Alfonso's last known work, the *Teshuvot la-meharef* ('Response to the blasphemer', surviving in Hebrew and Castilian, often called *Respuestas al blasfemo*), probably from the early 1240s. At least ten other Hebrew works by Abner/Alfonso are known of but now lost, and at least four more surviving works are attributed to him but are still of uncertain authorship. These disputed works include the *Sermones contra los judíos e moros* ('Sermons against

the Jews and Muslims’); the *Libro de las tres creencias* (‘Book of the three faiths’, also called the *Libro declarante*); a Hebrew work of mathematics called *Meyasher a’kov* (‘Straightening the curve’); and a single Hebrew poem. Abner/Alfonso has also been listed, probably incorrectly, as a possible author of the *Tratado contra las hadas* (‘Treatise against fate’), a work found in the Escorial manuscripts of the *Libro de las tres creencias*. The works pertaining to Christian-Muslim relations, either in their comments about Muslim philosophers or in their polemical comparisons of Muslims and Jews, are the *Moreh/Mostrador*, the *Teshuvot la-meharef*, the *Minhat*, and the attributed works *Sermones* and *Libro de las tres creencias*. Abner/Alfonso has also been loosely associated with a 14th-century translation into Latin of the so-called *De animae beatudine*, attributed to Ibn Rushd.

The philosopher Moses Narboni claims to have seen Abner/Alfonso ‘at the end of his days’, a meeting that, if true, would have occurred between 1345 and 1347, according to the known chronology of Narboni’s travels in Iberia. The exact time or place of Abner/Alfonso’s death is unknown, but can be estimated to be around this time or shortly after.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Moreh Tsedek; Mostrador de justicia, 'Teacher of righteousness'

DATE Approximately 1321-24

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Hebrew

DESCRIPTION

This is the earliest surviving and most important work of Abner of Burgos/Alfonso of Valladolid. The authenticity of the work is not doubted, as it is referred to by numerous later writers, and in other works by the same author. Originally composed in Hebrew, it was translated into Castilian in the 14th century, very possibly by Abner/Alfonso himself. (He translated his earlier work, the now lost *Sefer milḥamot Adonai*, into Castilian himself in the years preceding the composition of the *Moreh/Mostrador*.) Based on the few fragments of the *Sefer milḥamot* that survive in Latin citations of the 15th-century polemicist Alonso de Spina, the content of the *Moreh/Mostrador* seems to recycle material from the earlier work (a practice that Abner/Alfonso would repeat in his later works with content from the *Moreh/Mostrador*). This makes it all the more likely that Abner/Alfonso was responsible for the surviving Castilian translation. The work is among the longest anti-Jewish polemical works composed in the Middle Ages, comparable to the length of the *Pugio fidei* of Raymond Martini. The work survives only in Castilian translation as *Mostrador de justicia*, and is known from a single long manuscript containing 330 folios, over 700 pages in the printed edition.

The work is a text of anti-Jewish polemic (virtually unique among medieval Christian polemics because it was composed in Hebrew) that takes the common form of an extended 'dialogue' between a Christian 'teacher' (*mostrador*, a translation of the Hebrew *moreh*) and a Jewish 'rebel' (*rebelle*, a translation of *mored*). After an introduction in which the author recounts his conversion to Christianity in a fascinating

first-person narrative, the manuscript offers a detailed summary of the contents of the work, which is followed by ten chapters, each covering a separate topic relating to Christian-Jewish polemical arguments. The text draws its proofs predominantly from biblical and rabbinical sources, largely avoiding Christian texts and showing relatively little knowledge of Christian writing in Latin. The ten chapters of the text, which vary considerably in length, treat the following questions: the foundations of polemical argument and the use of textual authorities; the need for Christ's new law to replace that of Moses; a defense of the notion that Christ died to atone for the sins of Adam; a defense of the Trinity; a defense of the Incarnation; proof that the Jewish hope for the future Messiah is false; the miscalculations of Jews concerning the coming of the Messiah and the four kingdoms of history, following the book of Daniel (Babylonia, Persia, Greece, Edom/Rome); proof that the Jews will not return to Israel or leave the captivity of exile; and proof that the Christians are the 'new Israel' and have received God's favor. The anti-Jewish polemics and pro-Christian apologetics closely resemble the arguments of late 13th-century attacks, such as those of Raymond Martini and those presented at the 1263 Disputation of Barcelona by the convert Paul Christiani, although Abner/Alfonso's arguments are both more detailed and less systematic than either of these. While Abner/Alfonso refers directly to the Disputation of Barcelona and the Hebrew account by Naḥmanides, he never names Martini, and his knowledge of Martini's work is, despite similarities, not yet certain. A close comparison of their sources is necessary to evaluate Abner/Alfonso's possible knowledge of Martini's polemics.

Despite its size and its wide impact on later polemicists, both Christian and Jewish, the content pertaining to the question of Christian-Muslim relations is spare and the actual references to Muslims or to Islam are very few. The work includes roughly 100 citations of material from Arabic texts written by Muslim philosophers (including Ibn Rushd, Ibn Bājjā, al-Ghazālī, Ibn Ṭufayl, and others) used to bolster Abner/Alfonso's pro-Christian and anti-Jewish arguments. In themselves, these references constitute a fascinating source of information about the translation and dissemination of works of Arabic philosophy in Hebrew translation among Iberian Jewish intellectuals in the 14th century. Most interesting in this respect are the references to 'Ibn Sīnā's oriental philosophy', all of which can be shown to derive from Abner/Alfonso's misreading of Ibn Ṭufayl's *Ḥayy Ibn Yaqzān* in Hebrew translation. Although his knowledge of Arabic seems elementary at best (though this too is hard to confirm

or deny), he does show awareness of various works of Arabic philosophy and medicine, and mentions Sufism in a positive light.

Even more importantly, however, Abner/Alfonso's references to Arab philosophers form part of a wider set of references to Muslims in comparison with Jews. As Abner/Alfonso asserts in a few different passages, 'the faith of the Moors is not as bad as the faith of the Jews'. The reason for this is that Muslims 'do not have all the alterations and discord and bad customs' that the Jews are alleged to have. Moreover 'the act of sodomy, which the Moors allow, is not as bad as what the Jews allow, letting the woman [be taken] in that other part which is not customary' (f. 332v/ed. Mettmann, ii, p. 427). Abner/Alfonso even goes as far as to assert that Muslims, because they receive Jesus as a prophet, are to be called 'Nazarenes, which is to say [they are] Christians' (f. 233r/ed. Mettmann, ii, p. 203). Statements such as these are tucked into a few places within a much larger work dedicated predominantly to the refutation of Judaism on the basis of rabbinical sources.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Moreh/Mostrador* was immensely significant as an anti-Jewish polemical text, receiving many responses by later Jews defending Judaism and attacking Christianity. Similarly, its ideas were important for the two most important Christian polemicists of the 15th century, Alonso de Spina and Pablo de Santa María, whose works were repeatedly published and widely read in the early modern period. Nevertheless, Abner/Alfonso's ideas about Islam in particular seem to have had little lasting impact or significance. Their importance lies in epitomizing an important, temporary shift in Latin Christian polemical attitudes towards Islam in the late 13th and early 14th centuries in which negative attacks occupy less space and importance than passages invoking the name of Islam or citing the Qur'an itself as a 'witness' to Christian beliefs within arguments against Jews. A similar attitude can be found in certain contemporary anti-Jewish passages by Raymond Martini, Alphonsus Bonihominis, and Nicholas of Lyra, despite their own anti-Muslim rhetoric.

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Teshuvot la-meḥaref; Respuestas al blasfemo,
 'Response to the blasphemer'

DATE Uncertain; late 1330s or early 1340s

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Hebrew

DESCRIPTION

This is the last known text written by Abner/Alfonso, as is clear from its mention by name in most of his other major writings. Along with his earliest surviving work, the *Moreh tsedek/Mostrador de justicia* ('Teacher of righteousness'), it is also among his most important, for two reasons: it is his second longest surviving work (57 folios of Hebrew text, 48 in Castilian translation); and it is his longest and most significant work to survive in *both* Hebrew and Castilian versions. Because Abner/Alfonso frequently recycled and repeated arguments and even whole passages from his earlier writing in his later works, this text offers a small glimpse into the state of what parts of the original Hebrew of Abner/Alfonso's *magnum opus*, the *Moreh/Mostrador*, must have looked like. It also sheds some light on how the Castilian translations of his work correspond to the original Hebrew versions, often helping to clarify obscure turns of phrase in translation. Also important is the fact that the texts, which correspond fairly closely in most respects, survive in different manuscripts and the Castilian version can help shed light on some passages missing from the original Hebrew.

Like his earlier *Minḥat kena'ot/Ofrenda de zelos* ('Offering of zeal'), the work was written in response to his former 'good friend' Isaac Pollegar, who wrote various treatises against Abner/Alfonso's ideas, criticizing his belief in divine foreknowledge and predestination. It sets forth his refutations of Pollegar's critiques of Christian belief and what Abner/

Alfonso considers his over-dependence on Aristotelian philosophy. Abner/Alfonso defends Christian belief in the unity of God within the concept of the Trinity, attacks Pollegar's brand of Aristotelian rationalism, and defends belief in Jesus as the Messiah through the testimonies of rabbinical as well as biblical writing.

The content relating to Christian-Muslim relations is of a piece with that found in the *Moreh/Mostrador*, although less explicit. Abner/Alfonso occasionally invokes Muslim Arabic philosophers to support his Christological views, specifically asserting their support of the Trinity as he did in Book 5 of the *Moreh/Mostrador*. Citing 'the Arab philosophers, who are called Sufis', Abner/Alfonso claims that Islamic thinkers agree on the basic truths of Christianity. The point of such an argument, which is made more explicitly in the *Moreh/Mostrador*, is not – as it is among 12th-century anti-Muslim writers – to deride Islam, but rather to invoke Islam as part of a shared argument against Judaism. There is one significant passage where Abner/Alfonso discusses Islam directly, stating that al-Ghazālī 'hinted' obliquely at the truth of Christianity, but did not do so openly 'because he saw that it was not good and appropriate in the eyes of his Muslim coreligionists who were listening to him. For even though they believed in Jesus Christ . . . they did not want to accept the belief in the Trinity . . . this is because . . . Muḥammad their prophet, in all of his edicts, wanted to make a compromise between the edicts of the Jews and the edicts of the Christians and to take an intermediary path between them in order that neither these nor the others would be very far from turning to him' (BPP MS 2440, f. 21r, trans. in Hecht, *Polemical exchange*, pp. 170-71). This passage expresses a view similar to that of the *Moreh/Mostrador's* assertion that 'the faith of the Moors is not as bad as the faith of the Jews'. Despite these statements, however, the role of Islam in both the *Moreh/Mostrador* and the *Teshuvot* is minimal.

SIGNIFICANCE

On the whole, this work presents little material that is directly relevant to the discussion of Muslim-Christian relations, but it offers a fruitful companion to the arguments in the *Moreh/Mostrador*. Given that the *Teshuvot* offers a much more acerbic and concentrated attack on Judaism than the longer and more rhetorically sophisticated *Moreh/Mostrador*, the total lack of any direct criticism of Islam – even when mentioning Muḥammad's alleged desire for a 'compromise' between Christianity and Judaism – is in itself striking. Considering the seemingly benign place of Islam within Abner/Alfonso's thought, the text also bears on the question

of Muslim-Christian relations in providing grounds for comparison with the spurious works attributed to Abner/Alfonso, *Sermons against Jews and Muslims* and the *Book of three faiths*, in which Islam is attacked more directly. The *Teshuvot* is notably different from these texts in almost every way: in tone, source base, and certainly in attitudes toward Islam.

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Libro de las tres creencias; Libro declarante,
'Book of the three faiths'

DATE Unknown; estimated between 1280 and 1400

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Castilian

DESCRIPTION

This text consists of an extended analysis of each section of the Apostles' Creed into which are incorporated shorter defenses of Christian dogmas such the Trinity, the person of Christ, the sacraments, the Incarnation, and the divinity of Jesus. The text begins, on the basis of a dictum drawn from a Romance version of the collection of didactic proverbs *The distichs of Cato* (*Disticha Catonis*), by setting out to discover which sages from which religions should be believed. "Those who are called Jewish sages have the Jews believe one way, and those who are called sages of the Moors [have the] Moors [believe] in another way, and the Christian sages [have] the Christians [believe] in another way.' Because of the relative nature of authority, the text presents proof-texts in multiple languages, including biblical citations in Latin, Castilian, and transliterated Hebrew. In a few selected places, the text also gives statements relating to Christian belief in transliterated Arabic alongside a Castilian translation. In all cases, as much in the Hebrew citations as in the Arabic, the transliterated texts are extremely corrupt but still can be deciphered with the help of the accompanying translations. For example, in discussing Muslim beliefs about Jesus and Mary, the text reads, "They say that holy Mary – who conceived from the Holy Spirit, whom [the Muslims] call *Arohala* [i.e. *rūḥ Allāh*] – she gave birth to Jesus Christ, whom they call *Ahica Aduenj Mariem* [i.e. *ʿIsā ibn Maryam*]... In Arabic they say *aduenj Mariem aradayala anua araday la asmja* [i.e. *Ibn Maryam raḍiya llāh ʿanhu raḍiya llāh ismahā*], by which they say "Jesus Christ son of holy Mary, God bless him and of holy Mary, God bless her"' (MS 9302, f. 20r). Such examples of transliteration, which are much more abundant for Hebrew texts, seem to indicate a concern with the sound of the original rather than the spelling of the written text, although it is impossible to know for certain, given the corrupt nature of the copies in the extant manuscripts.

The question of authorship is a complicated one, and has yet to be settled. Menéndez Pidal ('Sobre la bibliografía de San Pedro Pascual') rejected the association of the text with San Pedro Pascual and associated it with Abner of Burgos/Alfonso of Valladolid, on the basis of the two Escorial manuscripts. Carpenter (*Text and concordance*) tentatively attributed the text to Abner/Alfonso, while Mettmann ('El *Libro declarante*') argues against this attribution on the basis of various points. First, the only explicit textual attribution to Abner/Alfonso can be found only in BNM MS 9302, which Mettmann argues shares a source with the two Escorial manuscripts, and he thus concludes that the attribution is a

later addition into the manuscript tradition through the BNM manuscript. Second, he claims that there are notable differences in style between this work and Abner/Alfonso's other undisputed writings, above all in the citation of biblical material in Latin. Finally, he analyzes the statement that 'more than 1,300 years' have passed since Jews have remained in 'captivity' (MS 9302, f. 13r). Based on traditional rabbinical calculations of the duration of the four exiles (Babylonia, Persia, Greece, and 'Edom', usually understood as Rome, inclusive of the Roman Church), he calculates that the text must have been composed around 1270 or 1280, and came to be falsely attributed to Abner/Alfonso in the 14th century.

Although Mettmann's hypothesis against Abner/Alfonso's authorship may be right, his arguments are problematic for various reasons. First, Abner/Alfonso himself rejects the typical four-fold rabbinical calculation of the Jewish exile, arguing instead that the last captivity was that of Greece, not Rome (see *Mostrador de justicia*, ch. 8, fols 236v-238v). As a result, the standard rabbinical calculations cannot be used to determine the date of the text since they might vary depending on the calculations accepted by the author. More appropriate for comparison is Abner/Alfonso's own explicit statement in the *Moreh/Mostrador* that 'more than 1,252 years have passed' in 'this captivity of Titus', apparently referring to the dispersion of the Jews since the destruction of the Second Temple under Titus in 70 (f. 266v). This dating seems logical for the composition of the *Moreh/Mostrador* in c. 1321-22 or 1323, and thus suggests that the claim of 'more than 1,300 years' could not have been made by Abner/Alfonso because it would date the text to after his death, unless it referred to the birth of Jesus rather than the destruction of the Second Temple. The standard rabbinical calculations do not figure here.

Second, the argument concerning the use of Latin in the text relies on a comparison of Hebrew originals or Castilian translations (themselves of uncertain provenance) with a text composed by all accounts in Castilian and with a strong oral character. There are no extensive Latin citations in Abner/Alfonso's Hebrew texts (although a few do appear in the Castilian translations), but these facts do not preclude there being such in a text *composed* in Castilian for a mixed audience. Within Abner/Alfonso's surviving corpus, however, there are no texts composed for certain in Castilian against which the use of Latin could be compared. The one text possibly composed in Castilian (*Libro de la ley*) offers no clarification of the question because it contains some occasional phrases in Latin like the Castilian version of the *Moreh/Mostrador*. Insofar as Latin does appear in a few places in these Castilian texts, the *Libro's* citations of

the Latin Vulgate are not entirely out of keeping with Abner/Alfonso's other writing: most of what little Latin can be found in the translations of his writing is, as it is in the *Libro*, drawn from ecclesiastical or scriptural rather than literary or academic sources and could easily have been familiar to him in his position as sacristan of the Collegiate Church of Valladolid. Similarly, the use of a few phrases of transliterated Arabic in the *Libro* offers no clarification, because Abner/Alfonso also includes a few words in Arabic in the *Moreh/Mostrador* (e.g. *çoffia*, i.e. *şūfiyya*, 'Sufis', 'Sufism', and his explanation of the word for 'soul' 'in the Arabic language', fols 91v and 94v).

Moreover, at the same time as Mettmann glosses over these points, his arguments give short shrift to the similarities between Abner/Alfonso's texts and the *Libro*. First, the *Libro* (fols 2r, 31v, etc.) shows a concern with the relative merit and argumentative force of 'witnesses' (*testigos*), a theme that dominates the first chapter of Abner/Alfonso's *Moreh/Mostrador*, and is especially evident in his rendition of the Talmudic dictum, 'The testimony of the litigant is worth 100 witnesses' (f. 32v). Second, the *Libro* approaches the question of religious difference from a relative perspective, conceding that each faith esteems its own teachers 'in one way' or 'another way'. This recognition of the relative weight of authority and tradition vaguely resembles Abner/Alfonso's attitude in his main writings. Third, the *Libro* argues in favor of the Trinity using arguments similar to those in the *Moreh/Mostrador* (e.g., seeing the Hebrew word *Elohim*, 'Lord', as a plural form). The principle polemical themes of the *Libro* can all be found in Abner/Alfonso's writing and, as in the *Moreh/Mostrador*, he gives a preponderate focus to attacking Judaism rather than Islam. To be sure, these issues are common to other polemical writing, but the presence of such similarities to Abner/Alfonso's own works gainsays Mettmann's assertion that the possibility of his authorship must be discarded out of hand (p. 75). Sainz de la Maza ('La reescritura de obras de polémica', p. 156 n. 13) judges Mettmann's dating of c. 1270 to be illogically early for the history of Castilian polemical writing, which seems to have lagged behind Aragon by a few decades in the use of non-Christian proof-texts and translations.

Finally, the rejection of the attribution of the work to Abner/Alfonso in BNM MS 9302 is too hasty. Accepting Mettmann's own manuscript *stemma*, it is possible to see the name of the author dropping out in an intermediate source (δ) shared by the Escorial manuscripts and not impacting MS 9302. The truncated state of the Portuguese and later BNM manuscripts sheds no light on the common source. Unless new

manuscripts are unearthed, there is not sufficient evidence either to accept for certain the attribution to Abner/Alfonso in MS 9302 or to discard it out of hand.

Despite all of this, there are, to complicate matters more, other issues that would support Mettmann's case against attributing the work to Abner/Alfonso. Unlike all of Abner/Alfonso's other undisputed writings, the *Libro* contains virtually no references to Rabbinical writing (only two vague references to the Talmud) or to Muslim or Jewish philosophers (the absence of Maimonides is particularly notable). The total lack of references to the philosophical questions that permeate his other major writings further underscores the patent differences between the *Libro* and the *Moreh/Mostrador*. Because of the many points where the *Libro* overlaps with the *Sermones contra los judíos y moros*, also attributed to Abner/Alfonso (for a consideration of these intersections, see the entry on the *Sermones* below), the question of Abner/Alfonso's authorship of both works seems inseparable, and arguments applying to one of the texts directly impact any reading of the other. As already noted, the attitude toward Islam is significantly more acerbic in the *Libro* (and in the *Sermones*) than in Abner/Alfonso's undisputed texts.

All of these points complicate rather than settle the question of authorship; the impression they leave is that the attribution of the *Libro* to Abner/Alfonso is probably spurious, as Mettmann asserted, although not for the reasons he offered. However, without any further data, a more certain conclusion can only be reached through an exhaustive comparison of word use, style, content, and sources across all of Abner/Alfonso's undisputed and attributed works, a task that remains a scholarly desideratum.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work is a unique example of late-medieval Romance polemical literature because it presents authoritative proof-texts in multiple languages. The text seems to have been reasonably well disseminated, judging by the various manuscript recensions (including Castilian, Aragonese, and Portuguese versions), as well as by the intersection and overlapping with the *Sermones*. Although the focus of the *Libro* is more apologetic than polemical and the majority of the polemical arguments are directed against Judaism rather than Islam, it contains numerous passages that bear directly on the question of Muslim-Christian relations. Abner/Alfonso praises Muslims for their faith in Mary: "The Moors bless holy Mary and for this reason they have kings and princes and have a part

of honour in this world.' Despite this, however, the author stresses that Muslims have no hope of salvation without conversion: 'However, they do not have salvation in the next [world] because they do not want to believe in the salvation and birth or death or resurrection of the Son of God' (MS 9302, f. 20r). This statement contrasts sharply with the statements about Muslims by Abner/Alfonso in his *Moreh/Mostrador*, in which he asserts that Muslims 'are Nazarenes, which is to say, Christians'. While in the *Libro* (and the *Sermones*), the author affirms that both Muslims and Jews are equally in error, repeatedly grouping them together as those who 'deny' the truths he defends, Abner/Alfonso explicitly says in the *Moreh/Mostrador* that 'the faith of the Moors is not as bad as the faith of the Jews'. Differences such as these bear directly on the question of the attribution of the text to Abner/Alfonso.

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Sermones contra los Judíos e Moros,
‘Sermons against the Jews and Muslims’

DATE Unknown; 14th or 15th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Castilian

DESCRIPTION

This text, attributed to Abner of Burgos/Alfonso of Valladolid but of uncertain and disputed authorship, survives in a single known manuscript copy. Some earlier critics (Falbel; Santiago-Otero; Dagenais et al.) have treated this text as a single work, while others (Sainz de la Maza) argue it consists of two sermons (Dagenais et al. see these as ‘sections’ of the same text), both incomplete but joined together without conclusion or transition, and both with the characteristics of texts constructed for oral delivery as sermons. These disparate opinions result in part from the uncertainty surrounding the relationship of the text to the *Libro de las tres creencias*, also of unknown authorship but attributed to Abner/Alfonso. The points of intersection and overlap with the *Libro* are abundant but do not follow any easily discernible order. In fact, it is not clear whether the *Libro* and the sermon (or sermons) all together form a larger, single work or whether the sermons are fragments based on the *Libro* (a more likely scenario). Because of these points, the questions of the authorship of both works (if they are indeed separate texts) must be answered together. (For a discussion of this issue, see the arguments presented in the entry on the *Libro* itself.)

What can be called the first sermon or first section (MS 25-H, fols 201r-202v) begins with an opening invocation and prayer, followed by the assertion that, ‘Among all of us Christians and Jews and Moors there is a great debate about the law of God, because you Jews say “We have a better law”, and you Moors say, “We have a better law”, and we Christians say that our law is better and truer than either of yours, and about this is the debate between us and you’ (201r). Each side is said to have an authoritative book, the Gospels, the Talmud and the Qur’an respectively, and ‘these three books are opposed one to another’ (201v). In order to decide who is right, God is invoked as the fair judge in whom all three sides believe. The author begins by claiming to present ‘the arguments’ (*razones*) of the Gospels (promising to later present the arguments in the Talmud and Qur’an), which correspond to the seven sacraments of the Church.

After 'proving' the first 'argument', the truth of the Incarnation, and after claiming that both Muslims and Jews deny this in 'their books', the author begins a discussion of the crucifixion and resurrection. This ends abruptly after only a few lines, and there then begins what can be called the second sermon, also clearly overlapping with the *Libro de las tres creencias*, calling itself the book 'of the three names' and the *Declara[n]te* (another name for the *Libro de las tres creencias*), as well as the *Monstra[n]te* and *Proba[n]te* (202v-203r). It is possible to see the text as a rewriting of portions of the *Libro* in many parallel sections and in its claim to have been written 'anew' (*nueuamente*), but its exact relationship to the *Libro* is still not clear. Through citation of the Hebrew Bible, Talmud, and Qur'an, the remainder of the text sets out to explain and prove the truth of the Christian sacraments, focusing in particular on baptism, eucharist, and penance, and then, in another section overlapping with the *Libro*, it begins to provide proofs of the Trinity, breaking off without conclusion.

SIGNIFICANCE

This text, along with the *Libro de las tres creencias*, displays the relatively rare practice of attempting to render passages from textual authorities (Talmud, Qur'an, Bible) in a multi-lingual format through citation in Latin and Romance alongside transliterated phrases and passages in Hebrew and Arabic (a similar practice can be found in the works of Raymond Martini). As in the *Libro*, the transliterations seem to be based on an oral rendering, perhaps copied from the pronunciation of a native assistant or informant. However, the exact nature of the transliterations, including their accuracy and their source, is impossible to determine because the passages were very probably corrupted through copying. While the focus of both sermons in this text seems to be primarily on Judaism and only secondarily on Islam, there is slightly more content dealing with Islam than in the *Libro*. In the sermons, Arabic is cited in transliteration, the Qur'an itself is named and cited, and the 'Moors' are discussed, all with greater frequency than in the *Libro*. In most cases, Islam is lumped together with Judaism, and the two are considered as partners in unbelief. Speaking directly to a Jewish and Muslim audience, the author states that in both the Talmud and in the Qur'an, 'you do not want to recognize or concede the truth' (202r). In contrast to the first sermon and to the *Libro* itself, the second sermon specifically addresses the importance of languages as a tool for persuasion, presenting its arguments 'in Hebrew and in Arabic and in Latin and in Romance, so that it can be understood

by educated Jews and Muslims and Christians' (203r). The association of language with confessional identity bears a strong resemblance to contemporary Dominican polemical writing such as that of Raymond Martini and Abner/Alfonso himself, but the joint condemnation of Muslims along with Jews is not in keeping with the latter's hierarchical characterization of Muslims as implicitly 'better' than Jews from a Christian perspective.

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Giovanni Villani

DATE OF BIRTH Probably 1276 or 1280
PLACE OF BIRTH Florence
DATE OF DEATH 1348
PLACE OF DEATH Florence

BIOGRAPHY

Giovanni Villani was a merchant and member of the Peruzzi bank company. He travelled frequently on business, notably to the Papal curia in Rome (he was there for the 1300 jubilee) and to France and Flanders (in particular in the years 1302-7; he witnessed the Bruges revolts of 1302). He served in a number of civic offices, as prior, monetary officer, and (in 1329) as ambassador to the papal legate, Cardinal Bertrand du Pouget. He helped oversee the construction of Florence's new defensive walls and was appointed by the *arte della calimala* to oversee the construction of the doors of the cathedral baptistry. Being allied with the faction of the Black Guelphs meant that he was less prominent in his later life. After the bank crisis of 1345, in 1346 he was accused of corruption but was acquitted. He died in 1348, having fallen victim to the Black Death.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Nuova cronica; Istorie fiorentine, 'New chronicle'

DATE Started in 1308, updated until his death in 1348 (subsequently continued by his brother Matteo and nephew Filippo)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

DESCRIPTION

Villani conceived of his work while in Rome for the 1300 jubilee, although he does not seem to have begun work on it until eight years later. He purports to relate 'the origin and beginnings of the city of Florence, then all the changes that have taken place and that will take place throughout the centuries' (*incipit* to Book 1). He presents Florence as the glorious bearer of the traditions of (now decadent) Rome. In Books 1-7, which narrate events from the destruction of the tower of Babel to the death of Charles of Anjou in 1265, Villani essentially compiles from earlier chronicles. He shows a breadth of reading in Latin and the vernacular (Italian and French): classical poets and historians, medieval chroniclers, romances, travel narratives (notably Marco Polo) and Dante. In Books 8-13, narrating events from 1265 to 1348, Villani makes extensive use of his own experience, oral accounts, and archival documents. Florence is clearly the center and focus of the *Nuova cronica*, but he also narrates at length other events that had a bearing on the city: papal or imperial politics, the wars between Angevins and Aragonese, the crusades, etc.

In Book 3, ch. 8, Villani narrates 'the beginnings of the law and the sect of the Saracens, founded by Muḥammad'. He explains that the 'Saraceni' should really be called 'Agareni', since they are the descendants of Abraham's slave Hagar, not his wife Sarah. He relates that Maometto was born in about 600 in the Arabian city of Lamech to a necromancer named Aldimenech. Young Maometto was an idolater who worked for a rich merchant, transporting his wares on mule back. One day he came to a Christian monastery, where a monk named Bahairà recognized in him the fulfillment of the prophecy of Genesis 16: 'He will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand will be

against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren.' Here Villani is combining two key Christian polemical traditions regarding Muḥammad; this is a good example of how he synthesizes material from diverse (and sometimes conflicting) sources. He then relates that, upon his master's death, Maometto married his master's widow; became rich and powerful, styled himself as a prophet, and attracted a hoard of bandits who attacked and plundered their enemies, in particular the Jews. Banished from Lamech, he went to another desert city where he ruled over a mixed group of savages – Jews and idolaters. Proudly claiming to have the sexual power of 40 men, he permitted polygamy and claimed for himself the divine privilege of sleeping with any woman he wanted in order to beget prophets. The principal source for this account seems to be the Florentine Dominican Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (q.v.).

Villani continues his account, now using other, more legendary sources. He says that a Christian monk named Grosius or Sergio had heard of Maometto and sought him out. (Historically, Sergius is derived from the figure of Baḥīrā, but here the two are distinct individuals.) With Sergio's help, Maometto wrote the *Alcaram*, the book of his law, incorporating elements from the Old and New Testaments and from paganism, mixing 'poison with honey'. Maometto was subsequently poisoned by jealous followers; as he died, he predicted that he would rise again after three days; his followers waited 12 days after his death, then placed his rotting body in an ark in the city of Mecca where it is held in mid-air by magnets. The Saracens who go there on their pilgrimage think that it is a divine miracle that holds his casket aloft. He explains that, at Muḥammad's death, his relatives appointed a successor as caliph, but that now, through greed and infighting, there are two caliphs, one ruling from Baghdad and the other ruling over Egypt and Africa. (Villani's information is somewhat dated, since Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had abolished the Fatimid caliphate in 1171.)

Other passages scattered throughout the chronicle also refer, often in passing, to Muslims (or 'Saracens'). Villani gives a brief description of the victorious First Crusade and of other crusading ventures. He also narrates other military conflicts between Muslims and Christians: when, for example, he describes how in 1266 'Saracens from Barbary' invaded Christian Spain and were repulsed by an alliance of Iberian kings, he notes that the Moors continue to rule over the kingdom of Granada, 'to the great shame of the Christians' (Book 8:11).

The day-to-day realities of cooperation and trade with Muslim states of North Africa and the Levant rarely merit mention among the events

chronicled by Villani, but they are an assumed background that on occasion emerges to the forefront. He mentions, for example, a certain Don Arrigo, son of a Spanish king, who served as a mercenary for the king of Tunis and amassed great wealth (Book 8:10). When Villani proudly relates the first minting of gold Florins (Book 7:53), he says that one of the coins came into the hands of the king of Tunis, 'who was a valiant and wise lord'. The king had the coin's Latin inscription translated into Arabic for him and asked some Pisan merchants present who these 'Florentines' were. The Pisans replied disdainfully that they were the Italians' 'Arabs' (meaning uncivilized 'mountain men', explains Villani). 'This does not seem to be the coinage of Arabs', responded the King, who then asked, 'You Pisans, what is your gold coinage?' The Pisans, who of course had no gold coins, were shamed into silence.

SIGNIFICANCE

Villani is one of a number of 14th-century Florentine authors to write about Muḥammad and Islam, along with Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (q.v.), Dante (q.v.), and Giordano da Pisa, among others. The chapter on Muḥammad is an important testimony to the reception of Riccoldo's polemical views of Islam and their transmission into the Italian vernacular. Villani adapts the polemical portrait of Muḥammad as a false prophet, common in the Latin universal chronicles, into vernacular civic history. While this negative portrayal of Islam underpins his sense of the superiority of Christianity (and the justness of Christian conquests over Muslims), this does not prevent him from painting a nuanced portrait of the complex web of military, commercial and cultural contacts in the Mediterranean world in which Florence played an important role.

MANUSCRIPTS

See Porta, *Nuova Cronica* i, p. xxviii for a list of the 19 medieval MSS that contain (in full or in part) either the first version or the final version of the work.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

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- F. Pezzarossa, ‘“Le geste e’ fatti de’ *Fiorentini*”. Riflessioni a margine di un’edizione della “Cronica” di Giovanni Villani’, *Lettere Italiane* 45 (1993) 92-115
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John Tolan

History of the churches and monasteries of Egypt

Al-Shaykh al-Mu'taman Abū l-Makārim Sa'd Allāh
ibn Jirjis ibn Mas'ūd

DATE OF BIRTH Before about 1160
PLACE OF BIRTH Egypt, probably Cairo
DATE OF DEATH After 1204
PLACE OF DEATH Egypt, probably Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

The Coptic Orthodox priest Abū l-Makārim Sa'd Allāh ibn Jirjis ibn Mas'ūd is usually regarded as the author of the topographical encyclopedia known as the *History of the churches and monasteries of Egypt*, which was formerly ascribed to an otherwise unknown person by the name of Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī ('the Armenian'). The attribution to Abū al-Makārim was first postulated in 1925 by Tewfik Iskarous and later sustained by Jirjis Filūthā'us 'Awaḍ and, with more impact, by Father Samuel al-Suryani in his edition of 1984.

Recent research has shown, however, that the textual history of the *History* is more complex and that Abū l-Makārim must have been merely one out of several authors or compilers who have left their traces in what is manifestly a multi-layered text. It cannot even be ascertained whether Abū l-Makārim was the main contributor, but what can be confirmed is that he is the only truly identifiable personality amongst a number of individuals. The more obscure Abū Ṣāliḥ, then, may have been either the owner of the unique MS containing the text, as 'Awaḍ has it, or one of the text's compilers or scribes, and he might perhaps even be credited for the passages of specifically Armenian interest that had been Evetts's argument to recognize him as an author. Other text layers are due to an otherwise unknown person named Abū Jamīl and to at least one more anonymous contributor. These conclusions of internal text criticism by J. den Heijer are largely corroborated by U. Zanetti's thorough codicological analysis of the MS.

As for Abū al-Makārim himself, Jirjis Filūthā'us 'Awaḍ contended that he must have been a *qummuṣ* or *hegoumenos*, as is suggested by his title

al-Shaykh al-Mu'taman ('the reliable elder'). Whatever the case may be, the *History* states that Abū l-Makārim owned a mansion in the Ḥārat Zuwayla area of the former fortified Fatimid city of al-Qāhira (Cairo) and mentions his wife's property as well (ed. al-Suryani, i, fols 5r, 18v). In view of the fact that she was the niece of a high-ranking official and is referred to as *al-sitt al-jalīla sitt al-dār* ('the noble lady, lady of the house'), it would seem that Abū l-Makārim himself also belonged to a prominent Cairene family.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Our sole source of knowledge about Abū l-Makārim is the *History* itself, which contains the two short passages referred to above, where he is mentioned by name (ed. Samuel al-Suryani, i, fols 5r, 18v; for the editions, see below). To the extent that other compilers and scribes can be identified, this is mostly based on internal evidence, as explained above.

Secondary

- C. ten Hacken, 'The description of Antioch in Abū al-Makārim's *History of the churches and monasteries of Egypt and some neighbouring countries*', in K. Ciggaar and M. Metcalf (eds), *East and West in the medieval eastern Mediterranean. I. Antioch from the Byzantine reconquest until the end of the crusader principality*, Leuven, 2006, 185-216, pp. 185-95
- U. Zanetti, 'Abū al-Makārim et Abū Ṣāliḥ', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 34 (1995) 85-138
- J. den Heijer, 'The composition of the *History of the churches and monasteries of Egypt*. Some preliminary remarks', in D.W. Johnson (ed.), *Acts of the fifth international congress of Coptic studies, Washington, 12-15 August 1992*. vol. 2. *Papers from the sections 1-2*, Rome, 1993, 209-19
- Jirjis Filūthā'us 'Awaḍ, 'Abū l-Makārim wa-Abū Ṣāliḥ kitāb waḥid', hand-written essay reproduced as an appendix to Bishop Samuel's edition of 1984 (see below), part 4, pp. 159-70 (or the edition of 2000, part 4, pp. 145-53)
- Tewfik Eff. Iskarous, 'Un nouveau manuscrit sur les églises et monastères de l'Égypte au XII^e siècle', in *Congrès international de géographie, le Caire – avril 1925*, Vol. V, Cairo, 1926, pp. 207-8

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

History of the churches and monasteries of Egypt

DATE Various layers, produced between about 1160 and about 1349

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The original title of the *History of the churches and monasteries of Egypt* is unknown. The first folio of the Paris MS contains the title *Tāriḫ al-shaykh Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī, tudkhar fihī akhbār min nawāḥī Miṣr wa-iqtā'ihā* ('History of the shaykh Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī, in which are mentioned accounts of the districts and fief[s] of Egypt'). According to Evetts, this title was added by a scribe in the 14th century, when the MS was already acephalous. For the various titles used in the modern editions and studies, see below.

First and foremost, the *History* is well known to the scholarly world as a major source on churches and monasteries in Egypt, and to a lesser extent, in other countries and regions. In a more general sense, it provides much information on the geography and the history of medieval Egypt. Solid historical evidence is to be extracted from it with a great deal of caution and care as it is mixed in a rather intricate manner with legendary, scriptural, and doctrinal material, much of which derives from older sources that have been only partly identified at the present stage of textual research. Such historical or otherwise narrative material appears in the form of anecdotes presented in connection with the localities that provide their topographical framework. The anecdotes in question are related to a broad time span, reaching back to biblical times and covering Late Antiquity, early Islam, and the medieval period up to the 13th and occasionally the 14th century.

The text is transmitted in what has turned out to be one unique manuscript, dismembered, however, into two volumes now kept in Munich and Paris respectively. These two volumes contain the three parts of the text that were published in an incorrect order in Bishop Samuel's (previously the monk Samuel al-Suryani's) editions of 1984 and 1992. According to the correct identification by U. Zanetti, part 1 of the text covers various quarters of Cairo, the Delta, and Alexandria, whereas it is part 2 (corresponding to part 3 in Bishop Samuel's edition) that in a rather scattered manner deals with South Sinai, Palestine including Jerusalem, Syria and Iraq, Anatolia including Constantinople, part of Greece, and Rome; and part 3 (Bishop Samuel's part 2) that partly takes the reader back to Egypt by presenting other parts of the Cairo region extending to the south, the Eastern Desert, north Sinai, the Fayyum, the western oases, and Upper Egypt, but also Nubia and Ethiopia.

SIGNIFICANCE

From the perspective of Christian-Muslim relations, the *History of the churches and monasteries of Egypt* is a highly significant and interesting

compilation. On the one hand, the very intertextuality of the text derives from an environment of fascinating interconfessional interchange at the cultural level. Thus, the *History* includes quotations from Coptic sources (the *History of the patriarchs of Alexandria* compiled by Mawhūb ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Mufarrij and later continuators, and an otherwise unknown *Dallāl al-a'yād*, 'Guide to festivals'; from Melkite Christian texts including the *Naẓm al-jawhar* by Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīq (Eutychius) and the *History* by Maḥbūb ibn Qusṭanṭīn al-Manbijī (Agapius); but also, significantly, from several well-known works by Muslim authors (al-Ṭabarī's famous world history, the *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*; the *Faḍā'il Miṣr* by 'Umar Muḥammad al-Kindī; the topographical work *Al-khiṭaṭ* by his father, Abū 'Umar Muḥammad al-Kindī; the reputed source on the conquest of Egypt by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*; as well as al-Shābushtī's treatise on Christian monasteries, *Kitāb al-diyārāt*). In many instances, it is precisely this combination of quoted sources that gives the compilation its uniquely interconfessional character.

On the other hand, whether in passages borrowed from these (and probably other, yet to be identified) Christian and Muslim authors and dealing with the more or less distant past, or in the original material in which the various contributors report on events of their own times, the *History* contains a wealth of narratives on all kinds of encounters between members of the communities in question, and notably between the various Christian denominations and the Muslim authorities. Whereas incidents of confrontation – often borrowed from the *History of the patriarchs of Alexandria*, the official history of the Coptic Orthodox Church – are by no means lacking, the general tendency seems to be towards an emphasis on favors bestowed on the Christians by those authorities. The loss of property and privileges suffered by Christians after the establishment of the Ayyūbid state seems to be implicitly contrasted to the somewhat idealized times of the Fatimid caliphate. Even the notes on the oppressive early part of the regime of al-Ḥākīm (996-1021) are countered by an extensive, and apparently unique, quotation of the document in which the same ruler allowed the restoration of demolished churches (*History*, ed. al-Suryani, i, fols 61v-63r).

Since the text exists only in one unique MS, its impact on contemporary and later readers is utterly unknown in the present state of research.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Ar. 2570 (14th century; quires 1-20 [or 21])

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 307 (1338; quires 22-37)

The original unique MS of the *History* was dismembered long ago and is now contained in these two volumes, as is demonstrated elaborately by U. Zanetti (see below).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Al-anbā Ṣamū'īl usqf Shībīn al-Qanāṭir (ed.), *Tārīkh Abū l-Makārim*, 4 parts, Cairo, 2000 (reprint of the 1984 edition, now typeset)

Bishop Samuel (trans.), *Abu al-Makarem: History of the churches and monasteries in Lower Egypt in the 13th century*, Cairo, 1992 (trans.)

Al-rāhib Ṣamū'īl al-Suryānī (ed.), *Tārīkh al-kanā'is wa-l-aḍyura fī l-qarn al-thānī 'ashar al-mīlādī, li-Abī l-Makārim, alladhī nusiba khaṭa'an ilā Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī*, 4 parts, Wādī l-Naṭrūn: Dayr al-Suryān, 1984 (parts 1-3 reproduce Fr Samuel's handwritten transcription of the MSS; part 4 is a set of related quotations and studies)

B.T.A. Evetts (ed. and trans.), *The churches and monasteries of Egypt and some neighbouring countries attributed to Abū Ṣāliḥ the Armenian, with added notes by A.J. Butler (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series 7)*, Oxford, 1895; repr. Piscataway NJ, 2001 (ed. and English trans. of the Paris MS)

None of these editions and translations can be said to meet the standards of modern textual research. Evetts' work is impressive as a display of late 19th-century erudition, and Bishop Samuel's edition contains some helpful explanatory notes. Against the background of Den Heijer's and Zanetti's preliminary studies, a critical edition is an urgent desideratum.

STUDIES

1. Studies devoted to the text itself:

ten Hacken, 'The description of Antioch', pp. 185-95

J. den Heijer, 'Coptic historiography in the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and early Mamlūk periods', *Medieval Encounters* 2 (1996) 67-98, pp. 77-81

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J. den Heijer, 'The influence of the "History of the patriarchs of Alexandria" on the "History of the churches and monasteries of Egypt"', *Pd'O* 19 (1994) 415-39

Den Heijer, 'The composition of the *History of the churches and monasteries of Egypt*'

Jirjis Filūthā'us 'Awaḍ, 'Abū al-Makārim wa-Abū Ṣāliḥ kitāb wāḥid'
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2. Selected studies that make extensive use of *The history of the churches and monasteries of Egypt*

- M.N. Swanson, 'The Coptic patriarch and the apostate scribe. An incident from the career of Pope Gabriel II ibn Turayk (#70, 1131-1145)', *Pd'O* 37 (2012) forthcoming
- J. den Heijer, 'La présence chrétienne au Caire fatimide. Un problème d'histoire urbaine', in K. D'hulster et al. (eds), *Continuity and change in the realms of Islam. Studies in honour of Urbain Vermeulen*, Leuven, 2008, 169-79
- J. den Heijer, 'Le vizir fatimide Badr al-Ġamālī (466/1074-487/1094) et la nouvelle muraille du Caire. Quelques remarques préliminaires', in U. Vermeulen and K. D'hulster (eds), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras*, V, Leuven, 2007, 91-107, pp. 101-6
- J.-M. Mouton and A. Popescu-Belis, 'Une description du monastère Sainte-Catherine du Sinaï au XII^e siècle. Le manuscrit d'Abū l-Makārim', *Arabica* 53 (2006) 1-53
- ten Hacken, 'The description of Antioch', pp. 195-215
- M. Martin, 'Dévotions populaires au Caire à la fin du XII^e siècle', in U. Zanetti and E. Lucchesi (eds), *Ægyptus christiana. Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos bollandiste (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 25)*, Geneva, 2004, 313-20
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- M. Martin, 'Chrétiens et musulmans à la fin du XII^e siècle', in C. Décobert (ed.), *Valeur et distance. Identités et sociétés en Egypte*, Paris, 2000, 83-89
- M. Martin, 'Alexandrie chrétienne à la fin du XII^e siècle d'après Abū l-Makārim', in C. Décobert and J.-Y. Empereur (eds), *Alexandrie médiévale 1 (Études Alexandrines 3)*, Cairo, 1998, 45-49
- M. Martin, 'Le Delta chrétien à la fin du XII^e s.', *OCF* 63 (1997) 181-99
- U. Zanetti, 'Matarieh, la sainte famille et les baumiers', *Analecta Bollandiana* 111 (1993) 21-68, pp. 32-39, 63-64
- In addition, see the entries in *CMR* on Marqus ibn al-Qunbar, Mikhā'īl muṭrān Dimyāṭ, and Abū Yāsir ibn Abī Sa'd ibn al-Qusṭāl for the witness of *The history of the churches and monasteries of Egypt* to their careers and literary activity.

Johannes Den Heijer, assisted by Perrine Pilette

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya

Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn
Ayyūb al-Zur‘ī l-Dimashqī l-Ḥanbalī

DATE OF BIRTH 29 January 1292
PLACE OF BIRTH Damascus
DATE OF DEATH September 1350
PLACE OF DEATH Damascus

BIOGRAPHY

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya was a prolific Ḥanbalī jurist, theologian and spiritual writer who is best known as the foremost student of Ibn Taymiyya. Apart from several pilgrimages to Mecca, he spent his whole life in Damascus. The agnomen (*laqab*) ‘Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya’ refers to his father’s occupation and means ‘the son of the superintendent (*qayyim*) of the Jawziyya madrasa’, a law college in Damascus used as the court of the city’s chief Ḥanbalī judge. Modern scholars writing in both Arabic and European languages frequently shorten the agnomen to Ibn al-Qayyim. In the literature one occasionally finds Ibn Qayyim or Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya (both of which are grammatically incorrect because Qayyim al-Jawziyya is a noun construct [*iḍāfa*]).

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya first met Ibn Taymiyya when the latter returned from Egypt to Damascus in 1313, and he soon gained a place among Ibn Taymiyya’s inner circle of disciples. Ibn al-Qayyim shared in his master’s trials, which included imprisonment with Ibn Taymiyya from 1326 until the latter’s death in 1328. Although Ibn al-Qayyim followed his teacher’s methods and many of his doctrines, he also developed original views of his own, and recent scholarship is starting to bring these out. Apart from his sometimes harsh views on Christians and Jews, Ibn al-Qayyim’s writings are typically warmer and more eloquent than Ibn Taymiyya’s. Drawing inspiration and terminology from Sufism, they express a distinctively therapeutic concern for the maladies of both spirit and body. Toward the end of his life, in 1345 and 1349, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya came into disagreement with the Shāfi‘ī chief judge of Damascus Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī on legal matters pertaining to horse racing and divorce, respectively. It is also very likely that in 1348 or later al-Subkī stopped Ibn al-Qayyim from presenting arguments for the annihilation of hell fire and the eventual salvation of all humankind.

It appears that Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya only began writing after Ibn Taymiyya died, but his literary production is immense nonetheless. Krawietz (2006) provides a comprehensive overview of his books. Bell (1979) works out an approximate chronology of many of the theological and spiritual works. Holtzman (2009) groups Ibn al-Qayyim's works into early, middle and late periods. Both Bell and Holtzman work on the basis of internal evidence. There is practically no external evidence by which to date Ibn al-Qayyim's works, and the date of his death is also subject to some slight disagreement, either 13 Rajab 751 (Ibn Kathīr, al-Şafadī) or 23 Rajab 751 (Ibn Rajab), both in September 1350.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's two major works dealing with Christianity, as well as Judaism, are *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā fī ajwibat al-Yahūd wa-l-Naşārā* ('Guidance for the confused concerning answers to Jews and Christians') and *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma* ('Regulations for the People of the Covenant'). These are discussed separately below. Ibn al-Qayyim also gives a long account of Satan's trickery in leading Christians astray towards the end of his later work *Ighāthat al-laḥfān min maṣā'id al-Shayṭān* ('Rescuing the distressed from the snares of Satan'). This is found on pp. 625-50 in the edition of Majdī Fathī al-Sayyid (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, s.d.), and in vol. 2, pp. 270-98 of the edition of Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1395/1975). This account has not been studied, but it draws at least in part from Ibn Taymiyya's *Jawāb* and Ibn Ḥazm's *Fişal fī l-milal wa-l-niḥal*, and probably Ibn al-Qayyim's earlier book *Hidāya*.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma, 'Laws regarding the dhimmīs'; *Aḥkām ahl al-milal*, 'Regulations for people of the religions'

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This large work, which runs to 873 pages in the 1961 edition of Subḥī l-Ṣāliḥ, provides a comprehensive account of Islamic regulations pertaining to non-Muslims. The book begins by responding to an inquiry about the *jizya*, or poll tax, collected from non-Muslims (*ahl al-dhimma*) living within Islamic territories. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's response, which takes up 140 pages in al-Ṣāliḥ's edition, outlines the reasons for the tax and the way in which it should be collected. He interprets the 'humiliation' prescribed by Q 9:29 to mean not striking *dhimīs* paying the *jizya* but rather having them comply with the Islamic regulations pertaining to their status.

Other matters treated in the *Aḥkām* include the exclusion of non-Muslims from the Arabian Peninsula, how Muslims should greet and interact with *dhimīs*, regulations for doing business with them and marrying them, the employment of non-Muslims in government posts, whether Muslims may eat meat butchered by Jews and Christians, the religious status of non-Muslim orphans, and the fate of children of idolaters who die before reaching the age of maturity. The last quarter of the *Aḥkām* cites the Pact of 'Umar (q.v.) in three different versions and provides commentary on each of the Pact's stipulations. Al-Ṣāliḥ has also published this section on the Pact of 'Umar as a separate volume entitled *Sharḥ al-shurūṭ al-'Umariyya*.

Neither medieval biographers nor earlier modern scholars such as Brockelmann and Laoust list *Aḥkām al-dhimma* among Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's works. This tome only came to the attention of modern scholars when Subḥī l-Ṣāliḥ edited and published it in 1961 from a single known manuscript found in the possession of the religious scholar Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad Bahā' al-Dīn in Madras, India. The manuscript is dated 869/1464-65 and includes a sale price marked in riyals, the currency of the Ḥijāz in Arabia. Al-Ṣāliḥ reckons that Bahā' al-Dīn's grandfather or another relative bought the manuscript in Mecca or Medina (al-Ṣāliḥ, Introduction, pp. 47-50).

Even though *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma* does not appear in lists of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's works, no one has seriously questioned his authorship. Al-Ṣāliḥ cites the following pieces of evidence to establish the authenticity of the work (Introduction, pp. 53-58). Ibn al-Qayyim mentions a work of his entitled *Aḥkām ahl al-milal* in his theological treatise *Shifā' al-'alīl*. After lengthy deliberation, al-Ṣāliḥ takes *Aḥkām ahl al-milal* to be equivalent to our present work. Ibn al-Qayyim also copies a portion of text from the *Aḥkām* concerning predestination and the religious

status of children into *Shifā' al-'alīl* (ch. 30). It has recently been shown that this material comes originally from Ibn Taymiyya's *Dar' al-ta'arud* (Holtzman, 'Human choice').

In addition, al-Ṣāliḥ observes that the *Aḥkām* refers its readers to Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's earlier discussion of certain Jewish ritual slaughter regulations in *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā*. Moreover, al-Ṣāliḥ explains, the *Aḥkām* calls Ibn Taymiyya 'our shaykh' (*shaykhunā*), which Ibn al-Qayyim does in other writings as well. Finally, and characteristic of Ibn al-Qayyim's reliance on Ibn Taymiyya's writings more generally, the book quotes extensively from the latter's *Al-ṣārim al-maslūl* and *Iqtidā' al-ṣirāt al-mustaqīm*.

Aḥkam ahl al-dhimma falls most likely among Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's middle works in view of the fact that he cites it in later works (Holtzman, 'Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya', pp. 202, 214). There is no evidence by which to date it more precisely.

The *Aḥkām* has been edited at least three times since the work of al-Ṣāliḥ. There are the editions of Ṭāhā 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Sa'd (1995) and 'Ādil Sa'd (2004), while the three-volume 1997 edition of Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad al-Bakrī and Shākir ibn Tawfiq al-Ārūrī is not based on new manuscript evidence. It is rather an attempt to improve on al-Ṣāliḥ's edition by, among other things, providing references for Qur'an and Hadith texts and examining Ibn al-Qayyim's textual sources in order to enhance his accuracy in citing them. Studies in European languages referring to *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma* have relied on al-Ṣāliḥ's edition.

SIGNIFICANCE

Modern scholars have been impressed with the unprecedented focus and comprehensiveness of *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*. Its editor Subḥī l-Ṣāliḥ (Introduction, p. 6) calls it 'the first comprehensive book on the subject' in the Islamic tradition. Krawietz further accentuates its significance, stating that 'it has to be regarded as the main late medieval reference concerning the status of minorities in Islamic law' (p. 44; cf. Friedmann, p. 38). It is true that earlier Islamic law books only deal with regulations pertaining to *dhimmi*s across a diffuse range of topics and that the *Aḥkām* draws these together under one heading both for the first time and in a thorough and comprehensive manner. However, the paucity of manuscript evidence for the text and its absence from lists of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's works are striking, and the work does not appear to have been consulted widely in the late medieval period. The reasons for this may well lie in the work's idiosyncratic character.

Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma has received little critical investigation thus far. However, David Freidenreich's recent study ('Five questions') on its treatment of Muslim consumption of meat slaughtered by Jewish and Christian butchers (ed. al-Ṣāliḥ, pp. 244-69) shows that Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's views are highly unusual. Ibn Taymiyya and much of the Sunnī tradition permit Muslim consumption of meat butchered by People of the Book without further qualification. However, Ibn al-Qayyim goes beyond this and systematically introduces theological criteria to help Muslims ascertain whether non-Muslim butchers are sufficiently Jewish or Christian – with Judaism and Christianity defined in Islamic terms – to permit consumption of the meat that they provide. Meat from an animal over which a Christian butcher pronounces the name of Christ instead of the name of God may not be consumed. Even Christians themselves should not eat such meat because the butcher has deviated from authentic Christianity – as defined by Ibn al-Qayyim – into idolatry. Freidenreich concludes that, if this and equally novel views on Jewish butchers are indicative of the whole of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's *Aḥkām*, the work is not merely a comprehensive compendium of medieval Muslim views on non-Muslims living in Muslim lands. It is rather an original and independent contribution to Muslim legal scholarship. Freidenreich observes that Ibn al-Qayyim's unique rulings in the *Aḥkām* do not appear in later medieval discussions of food regulations. The work is ignored or unknown. However, it is possible that Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's views inspired some 20th-century Muslims to prohibit meat supplied by Jews and Christians.

Even if Ibn al-Qayyim's *Aḥkām* appears to have fallen into disuse soon after it was written, it is today attracting the attention of Salafī revivalists, giving the work a life it has not previously enjoyed. To cite just one example, al-Bakrī and al-ʿĀrūrī, the two editors of a 1997 edition of the *Aḥkām*, explain that their motivation in publishing the work is to resist Muslims who call for unifying the 'heavenly religions' (i.e. Judaism, Christianity and Islam) and for considering Jews, Christians and Muslims equally children of Abraham (i, p. 17-18). *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma* is here serving a contemporary need to buttress the distinctiveness and superiority of Islam over against other religions.

MANUSCRIPTS

See the Description above.

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Kitāb hidāyat al-ḥayārā fī ajwibat al-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā; Hidāyat al-ḥayārā, 'Guiding the confused, on responses to the Jews and the Christians'

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This polemic against Jews and Christians comes to 650 pages in the 2008 critical edition of 'Uthmān Ḍumayriyya, a careful piece of work based

on five manuscripts. The 1996 edition of Muḥammad al-Ḥājj is based on four of the same manuscripts and also makes a valuable scholarly contribution. The *Hidāya* cannot be dated precisely, but it falls among Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's earlier works.

Ibn al-Qayyim indicates in his introduction that he wrote the *Hidāya* in response to a set of questions that an 'unbeliever' had presented to a certain Muslim. The Muslim could not answer and so beat the unbeliever instead. Ibn al-Qayyim is of the view that unbelievers should first be invited to Islam and debated with before a resort to force, and he aims to set out the necessary Muslim arguments in his book. The religious affiliation of the unbeliever is never given. While a long section toward the end of the book details first Jewish and then Christian errors, major parts of the *Hidāya* apply equally to Jews and Christians.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya divides the set of questions that he received into seven parts and responds seriatim. The first part of the inquiry alleges that Muslims think Jews and Christians only stay in their religions out of love for power or headship (*riyāsa*) and the good life (*ma'kala*). If that is truly the case, the inquirer asks in the second part, why do Jews and Christians without access to headship and the good life not convert to Islam? Ibn al-Qayyim clarifies that Muslims also believe that Jews and Christians remain in their religions for other reasons, such as ignorance, pride and attachment to irrational beliefs, and he adds that those without access to headship and the good life remain Jews and Christians simply out of subservience to their leaders. He emphasizes that the great majority of Jews and Christians did in fact convert to Islam and that they did so voluntarily. The number of Jews and Christian remaining in their respective religions is not significant.

Ibn al-Qayyim's response to the third part of the inquiry is, at 165 pages in Ḍumayriyya's edition, the longest section in the *Hidāya*. The prompt is the inquirer's claim that Muslims believe that Jews and Christians erased Muḥammad's name from their books. Ibn al-Qayyim denies that all Muslims say this, even if some ordinary Muslims might do so, and, following 'Alī ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, he cites Habakkuk 3:3 and 3:9 as biblical texts in which Muḥammad's name appears explicitly. Ibn al-Qayyim also provides a vast collection of stories and other biblical texts that refer to the Prophet. This collection draws heavily on Ibn Taymiyya's *Takhjīl ahl al-Injīl*, and the biblical passages cited follow in the tradition of 'Alī al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Qutayba's biblical proofs for Muḥammad's prophethood. Ibn al-Qayyim also broaches the question of textual corruption in this section, and here he is noticeably harsher than his teacher

Ibn Taymiyya. Ibn Taymiyya affirms that Christians and Jews misinterpret their scriptures (*tahrīf al-ma'nā*), but he is reticent to pronounce on the corruption of the texts themselves (*tahrīf al-laḥẓ*). In the spirit of Ibn Ḥazm, however, Ibn al-Qayyim does not hesitate to say that Jews and Christians have indeed altered the wording of their scriptures. This would appear to undermine his use of the Bible to prove Muḥammad's prophethood, but he resolves this by maintaining that God protected those proof texts from corruption.

Ibn al-Qayyim's responses to the fourth, fifth and sixth parts of the inquiry are brief, and they affirm among other things that the foundation of Islam lies in the revelation of God and not in the degree of learning or lack of it found among the Prophet's Companions. The seventh part of the inquiry accuses Muslim scholars of sexual perversity and corrupt character. Ibn al-Qayyim's response constitutes the second longest section of the *Hidāya*, at 129 pages. He first explains that the sinfulness of a messenger's followers does not invalidate the veracity of the message. Then he counters that Jews and Christians, with all of their sin and error through history, have no right to accuse others of impropriety. Drawing on the *Iḥām al-Yahūd* of the Jewish convert to Islam al-Samaw'al al-Maghribī (d. 1175), Ibn al-Qayyim explains how Jews mistreated their prophets and how Rabbinic Judaism entangled its followers in a burdensome web of obligations in order to buttress its claims to authority. In this context, he also includes a discussion of Jewish laws of ritual slaughter, which he refers back to in the later *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*. Ibn al-Qayyim then quotes at length from Ibn Baṭrīq's church history to demonstrate that Christians strayed into doctrinal error through a series of ten ecumenical councils. This material from Ibn Baṭrīq is also found in Ibn Taymiyya's *Jawāb*, and it is not clear whether Ibn al-Qayyim merely copied from his teacher's book or drew from Ibn Baṭrīq directly. This section also includes quotations from 'Abd al-Jabbār's *Tathbīt dalā'il al-nubuwwa* (Reynolds) and a major argument that Muḥammad's advent proved all preceding prophets true (translated in Accad, 'Muḥammad's advent', pp. 222-25).

The *Hidāya* ends with a section on proofs for the prophethood of Muḥammad that is unsystematic and unexpectedly brief. Perhaps this is because so many proofs of this kind have already been presented earlier in the book.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn al-Qayyim's *Hidāya* has long been known for its harsh language against Jews and Christians and, in contrast to Ibn Taymiyya, its affirmation of

textual corruption of the Bible. Nonetheless, an earlier generation of scholars thought that the *Hidāya* was largely a ‘plagiarism’ of Ibn Taymiyya’s *Jawāb* (Fritsch and Anawati). This has proved to be incorrect. While Ibn al-Qayyim does draw from Ibn Taymiyya’s texts, he also uses other sources, as noted above, and he addresses a decidedly different set of questions. The book thus stands alone as a separate work.

Although dwarfed by Ibn Taymiyya’s *Jawāb*, the *Hidāya* remains one of the longest polemical works against Christianity and Judaism in the Islamic tradition, and it contains one of the fullest discussions – if not the fullest – of biblical proofs for the prophethood of Muḥammad. It also marks the end of an era; Hava Lazarus-Yafeh (*Intertwined worlds*, p. 139) observes that the *Hidāya* was the last scholarly Muslim polemic against Judaism and Christianity in the medieval period. Later polemical works were limited to a more popular style.

The reception history of *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā* through to the 20th century remains to be studied. However, the fact that at least eight different editors have produced editions of one kind or another since 1978 reveals substantial recent interest in the work. ‘Uthmān Ḍumayriyya, editor of the 2008 edition, may give us some sense of the reasons for this. Ḍumayriyya details the embattled state of Muslims today in the face of both military enemies and ideological competitors, such as secularism and Christian mission, and he turns to Ibn al-Qayyim as an example of how Muslim scholars should respond in the face of such threats. For Ḍumayriyya, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya’s *Hidāya* provides inspiration for Muslims struggling to defend the uniqueness of their religion in a religiously and intellectually hostile world.

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Jon Hoover

Historians of T'amar Queen of queens

DATE OF BIRTH	Mid-12 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Georgia
DATE OF DEATH	Probably mid-13 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Georgia

BIOGRAPHY

There is no certain information about either of the two scholars known as the Historians of Queen T'amar, except that they were both living during T'amar's reign (1184-1213) and wrote their works in the decades following.

The first historian was evidently highly educated. He was familiar with Western and Eastern literature, and also with details of world history, and he wrote prose of a highly wrought character in the style of Plutarch.

Javaxishvili identifies the second historian as Basil Ezosmodzghuari, a chamberlain and 'cross-bearer' in the royal court, though this has not been generally accepted. This historian too was highly educated, citing both the Bible and Greek historiography in his work.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Istoriani da azmani sharavandedtʿani (first historian) *Tsxovreba mepʿetʿ mepʿisa Tʿamarisi* (second historian), 'History and eulogies of the crowned one' (first historian); 'The life of Queen of queens Tʿamar' (second historian)

DATE Both in the 13th century, probably before 1350

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION

Composed by contemporaries of Queen Tʿamar, the histories each trace her reign from her coronation to her death, drawing vivid pictures of Georgia's development as a unified state and its military glory, its political and economic progress, and the prosperity of its ecclesiastical and secular culture. They record a number of victories over the Seljuq Turks, who were Georgia's main political competitors in the early 13th century, as well as portraying the threat that the powerful Georgian state represented to neighbouring Islamic rulers. With some hagiographical embellishment,

the historians represent T'amar's reign as an era of diplomatic success, military triumphs, and cultural and spiritual development.

They show how T'amar's wise policies profited from the weakness of the Byzantine Empire and the defeat of the crusaders by Saladin to promote the position of Georgia on the international stage. As is shown by the presence of foreign coins in Georgia and of Georgian coins elsewhere, commercial links were established with Muslim countries as well as with the Byzantine Empire, China, Russia and the Caucasus.

SIGNIFICANCE

Both histories show the vitality of political relations that existed between Georgia and its Islamic neighbors, and the reciprocal flow of information and ideas between them, making this a golden age of Georgian culture. It is symbolized in Rustaveli's epic poem, *The man in the panther's skin*, a tale of chivalry, honor, compassion and romantic love, which is dedicated to T'amar.

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*Al-dhakhīra l-saniyya fī taʾrīkh
al-dawla l-Marīniyya*

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; mid-13th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; mid-14th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about this author, though his 'History' itself is referred to in a number of medieval works. These, and modern works in which it mentioned, are listed below.

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- 'Abd Allāh Gannūn, 'Mu'allif *Al-dhakhīra l-saniyya* huwa mu'allif *Al-qirtās*', *Tetuán* 2 (1957) 145-61
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-dhakhīra l-saniyya fī ta'rīkh al-dawla l-Marīniyya, 'The gleaming treasure, on the history of the Marīnid dynasty'

DATE Early 14th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This history was dedicated to the Marīnid Sultan Abū Sa'īd 'Uthmān II (1310-31). It traces Moroccan history from the rise the Banū Marīn to the reign of Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq (1259-86), ending just before the year 1280. Its last four chapters, which are lost, presumably focused on the period 1280-1310.

The work, which is nearly 240 pages long, offers a detailed account of the events of the latter part of the 13th century, mainly the beginnings and the coming to power of the Banū Marīn, their campaigns in North Africa and Spain, and the most important events of the time, both within Marīnid territory and in the Middle East.

Although the work is anonymous, some researchers have claimed that Ibn Abī Zar' (q.v.) was the author.

SIGNIFICANCE

The relevance of this chronicle to Christian-Muslim relations derives from its description of the crusading attacks on Muslim territories in the Middle East and of the *Reconquista* in Spain. Most significant is the description of the reactions of the defeated, and the massacres suffered by the populations who resisted the advance of the armies, as in Damietta

in the Nile delta and Écija near Seville. The accounts of the conversion of some leaders of former Muslim states to Christianity are of great interest, not only because they are uncommon in medieval Islamic sources, but also because they include a few descendants of the first Almohad caliph, 'Abd al-Mu'min. This is the case with 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, the first *qāḍī* of the Muslims of Seville appointed by Fernando III after the conquest of the city, whose baptism ceremony is vividly described. And the same happens with the former king of Muslim Valencia, Abū Zayd.

MANUSCRIPTS

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José Ramírez del Río

Index of Names

Numbers in italics indicate a main entry.

- Abbasid dynasty 1, 15, 197, 445, 572, 576, 577, 588, 589, 925
 ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī 67, 180, 482, 998
 ‘Abd al-Wahīd al-Marrākushī 230-33
 ‘Abdallāh al-Asīr 610-12, 732, 735
 ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Ṭayyib 46, 173, 174, 534, 543, 545, 760
 ‘Abdīsho’ bar Brikhā, *see* ‘Abdīsho’ of Nisibis
 ‘Abdīsho’ of Nisibis 12, 15, 46, 47, 52, 193, 331, 366, 750-61, 900, 902
 Abner of Burgos 955-76
 Abraham of Toledo 425
 Abū ‘Alī ‘Umar al-Hāshimī 884-85, 907
 Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar 13, 73, 110, 324, 339, 341, 416, 431, 541, 542, 545, 547, 591, 762-66, 937, 939
 Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā’ī 66
 Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī 66, 67, 68, 179, 180
 Abū ‘Īsā l-Warrāq 68, 454, 636, 637
 Abū l-Makārim Sa’d Allāh ibn Mas‘ūd 983-84
 Abū Ma’shar 411, 463
 Abū Rā’iṭa, Ḥabīb ibn Khidma 241, 284, 285, 534, 754, 920
 Abū Yūsuf Ya’qūb, Almohad caliph 197, 230, 273
 Abū Yūsuf Ya’qūb, Marīnid sultan 230, 817, 1009
 Acre 5, 7, 8, 11, 25, 161, 183, 185, 186, 212, 221, 261, 295, 300, 301, 373, 374, 421, 559, 560, 562, 563, 622, 678, 681, 684, 716, 744, 747, 897, 932, 933, 935
 Afonso IV, king of Portugal 947, 951
 Agapius al-Manbijī, *see* Maḥbūb ibn Quṣṭanṭīn 568, 986
 Agareni, *see* Hagarenes
 Alan of Lille 70-72
 Albigenian crusade 212, 219, 295, 421
 Aleppo 3, 96, 110, 160, 167, 169, 223, 359, 492, 500, 589, 621, 627
 Alexander III, pope 118, 119, 410
 Alexander IV, pope 254, 421
 Alexandre du Pont 395-96
 Alexandria 5, 11, 90, 159, 160, 196, 251, 339, 356, 361, 391, 409, 471, 486, 775, 812, 813, 897, 940, 985
 Alexius III, Byzantine emperor 134, 450
 Alfonso VI, King of Castile 231, 274, 362
 Alfonso X, King of Castile 15, 25, 353, 426, 553
 Alfonso XI, King of Castile 951, 956
 Alfonso of Valladolid, *see* Abner of Burgos 955-76
 ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib 748, 787, 788, 804-7
 ‘Alī ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī 68, 481-82, 538, 543, 548, 846, 997
 ‘Alī ibn Riḍwān 248
 Almohad dynasty 9, 57, 84, 145, 146, 155, 156, 176, 177, 178, 197, 230, 231, 238, 269, 273, 275, 343, 347, 738, 739, 817, 1010
 Alonso de Spina 955, 959, 961
 Álvaro Pais 946-54
 Ambroise 182-92
 ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī 202, 241, 534, 920
 Anatolia 2, 4, 5, 145, 148, 491, 494, 620, 622, 985
 Al-Andalus 9, 10, 19, 25, 27, 145, 146, 149, 152, 159, 160, 176, 178, 196, 197, 230, 231, 251, 343, 344, 346, 347, 351, 352, 353, 361, 362, 368, 370, 391, 392, 393, 518, 651, 684, 689, 732, 738, 739, 774, 815, 817, *see also* Spain
 Andronicus I, Byzantine emperor 132
 Andronicus II, Byzantine emperor 699, 808, 811, 812
 Andronicus III, Byzantine emperor 4, 808
 Antioch 16, 73, 78, 96, 166, 223, 588, 603, 624, 630, 666, 744, 747
 Apostles of Christ 20, 41, 80, 112, 209, 222, 225, 285, 298, 533, 763, 881, 902, 918
 Aragon 9, 28, 207, 209, 253, 368, 552, 556, 610, 703, 857, 971, 978
 Armenia and Armenians 1, 2, 3, 8, 11, 16, 45, 46, 48, 52, 62, 92, 94, 96, 118, 226, 236, 301, 308, 331, 375, 410, 416, 438, 439, 440, 443, 445, 446, 494, 575, 588, 614, 621, 622, 625, 686, 750, 794
see also Cilicia

- Armenian language 444, 445, 446, 574, 575, 576, 620, 794, 795, 796, 825, 886, 911, 912, 929, 935, 940, 983
 Al-As'ad ibn al-'Assāl 281, 321, 530
 Ascension of Muḥammad, *see mi'rāj* 14, 209, 210, 425, 426, 664, 676, 730, 789
 Al-Asnawī, Jamāl al-Dīn 314, 858
 Assassins 187, 224, 226, 411
 Athanasius II, Patriarch of Jerusalem 325-30, 339
 Athanasius III, Coptic patriarch 486, 489
 Averroes 14, 15, 23, 146, 457, 463, 521, 662, 786, 787, 788, 906, 957, 960
 Avicenna 12, 15, 61, 289, 292, 332, 386, 389, 411, 457, 463, 478, 521, 533, 534, 543, 591, 600, 605, 662, 663, 786, 787, 788, 960
 'Ayn Jālūt, Battle of 2, 7, 744, 911
 Ayyūbid dynasty 2, 16, 96, 145, 173, 246, 247, 313, 317, 318, 321, 323, 341, 409, 471, 569, 627, 858, 986
 Baghdad 1, 8, 15, 160, 248, 397, 491, 589, 603, 647, 651, 658, 678, 724, 745, 835, 979
 Bahīrā 168, 298, 519, 641, 978, 979, *see also* Maurus, Sergius
 Al-Bāji, 'Ala' al-Dīn 767-68
 Al-Bāji, Abū l-Walid 774
 Baku, Mongol khan 1, 373, 376
 Baldwin I, Latin Emperor of Constantinople 559
 Baldwin II, Latin Emperor of Constantinople 288
 Baldwin IV, King of Jerusalem 162
 Baldwin IX, Count of Flanders 4
 Baldwin of Ramla 560
 Baptism 19, 36, 48, 54, 71, 92, 168, 305, 433, 652, 734, 745, 868, 875, 876, 889, 975, 1010
 Al-Bāqillānī, Abū Bakr 398, 482, 636, 637
 Barhebraeus, Gregory 12, 13, 15, 46, 47, 49, 50, 52, 53, 55, 308, 365, 588-609, 752
 Baybars, Rukn al-Dīn, Mamluk sultan 2, 7, 8, 11, 95, 96, 519, 562, 566, 568, 624, 744, 762, 767, 782, 935, 940
 Benedict of Alignan 421-24
 Berbers 9, 197, 351, 582
 Berke, Mongol khan 1, 398
 Boniface VIII, pope 8, 673, 784, 786, 787
 Bulgars 1, 2, 32
 Būlus al-Būshī 280-87, 320, 321, 324, 455
 Burchard of Mount Sion 613-16
 Al-Būshīrī 632-34
 Buṭrus al-Sadamantī 416-20
 Buṭrus Sawirus al-Jamil 339-42, 356, 416, 939
 Cadigan 641, *see* Khadija
 Cairo 3, 7, 8, 73, 92, 98, 99, 104, 129, 225, 248, 251, 264, 280, 287, 310, 317, 320, 321, 339, 359, 391, 453, 471, 480, 486, 500, 522, 530, 538, 566, 569, 582, 627, 632, 692, 693, 695, 724, 725, 746, 762, 767, 768, 786, 812, 825, 827, 835, 857, 859, 866, 893, 897, 909, 983, 984, 985
 Castile 9, 11, 343, 553
 Castilian language 150, 425, 426, 673, 674, 955, 956, 959, 964, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 974
 Catalan language 411, 553, 554, 673, 704, 706, 709, 712
Chansons de geste 29, 30, 32, 35, 36, 183, 186, 187, 188
 Charlemagne 30, 213, 220, 291, 408, 881
 Christians as associators and polytheists 739, 817, 852
 Cilicia, Armenian kingdom of 2, 96, 149, 438, 443, 572, 573, 589, 795, 796, 808, 935
 Clement IV, pope 458, 461
 Constantine, Armenian catholicos 444
 Constantine, Roman emperor 15, 652, 745, 746, 800
 Constantinople 5, 26, 79, 119, 124, 125, 132, 134, 139, 161, 288, 373, 398, 409, 448, 450, 559, 562, 651, 697, 700, 808, 812, 937, 985
 Coptic language 12, 13, 98, 112, 128, 129, 281, 339, 453, 455, 472, 530, 663, 744, 745, 762, 763, 820
 Cordova 9, 146, 162, 176, 346, 347, 352, 391, 738, 774
 Corruption of the Bible 168, 385, 596, 599, 636, 768, 771, 776, 799, 836, 840, 997, 998, 999, *see also* taḥrīf
 Council of Vienna 23, 953
 Crucifixion of Christ 101, 141, 168, 236, 243, 261, 265, 402, 418, 481, 484, 485, 499, 528, 580, 585, 636, 664, 669, 728, 730, 760, 776, 913, 975
 Cyprus 7, 8, 16, 81, 186, 373, 374, 500, 634, 704, 769, 770, 779, 799, 800, 808, 825, 834, 836, 847, 848, 849, 900, 932, 933, 934
 Cyril III ibn Laqlaq, Coptic patriarch 55, 280, 281, 317, 318, 320-24, 339, 471, 486, 548
 Damascus 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 16, 37, 145, 160, 216, 223, 248, 409, 421, 491, 492, 500, 530, 566,

- 589, 621, 627, 662, 724, 745, 767, 769, 776,
779, 798, 820, 824, 825, 826, 827, 853,
856, 909, 989
- Damietta 5, 7, 11, 225, 295, 300, 301, 308,
373, 484, 695, 724, 932
- Dante 14, 426, 563, 784-93, 978, 980
- David VI, king of Georgia 779, 782
- Dawit' erēc' Baluec'ī 620-23
- Al-Daylamī, Abū Muḥammad
al-Ḥasan 804-5, 807
- Dhimmi*s 16, 52, 57, 148, 186, 187, 197, 313,
768, 777, 822, 854, 862, 863, 884, 907, 910,
926, 992, 993
- Al-Dimyāṭī, Abū l-Manṣūr 549-50
- Al-Dimyāṭī, Sharaf al-Dīn 695-96
- Dionysius of Tell-Mahrē 308, 601
- Dionysius bar Ṣalībī 241, 308, 600
- Al-Dīrīnī, Abū Muḥammad 635-38
- Dominican order 11, 22, 25, 153, 253, 256,
257, 259, 261, 289, 295, 339, 381, 389, 402,
403, 405, 406, 408, 410, 509, 515, 521, 522,
524, 525, 528, 613, 639, 640, 650, 678, 681,
686, 690, 888, 946, 976, 979
- Dualists 67, 180, 422, 541
- Egypt 2, 6, 7, 11, 13, 16, 105, 109, 113, 128,
133, 157, 159, 160, 173, 199, 202, 203, 213,
216, 217, 218, 221, 222, 223, 225, 226, 227,
230, 231, 248, 249, 251, 264, 280, 301, 305,
310, 311, 317, 318, 320, 321, 323, 339, 356,
359, 361, 362, 430, 445, 474, 478, 480,
486, 500, 530, 562, 566, 569, 582, 621,
627, 628, 632, 635, 637, 662, 695, 718, 724,
725, 738, 743, 746, 747, 782, 796, 810, 811,
812, 813, 825, 852, 857, 858, 859, 861, 862,
864, 874, 895, 897, 898, 918, 925, 938,
939, 940, 942, 943, 949, 979, 983, 985,
986, 989
- Elias II, East Syrian catholicos 334, 902
- Elias of Nisibis 78, 419, 420, 533, 534, 760,
902
- Embrico of Mainz 402, 651, 654
- Ernoul 559, 560, 561
- Eucharist 54, 55, 102, 285, 433, 975
- Euthymius Zigabenus 141, 142
- Al-Faḍl ibn ʿĪsā 630-31
- Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī 13, 61-65, 66, 431,
433, 437, 476, 477, 478, 533, 534, 538, 543,
547, 582, 591, 596, 600, 663, 774, 925
- Al-Fārābī 248, 463, 478, 534, 663
- Ferdinando III, king of Castile 343, 344,
352, 1010
- Fidentius of Padua 624-26
- Fifth Crusade 5, 13, 212, 213, 216, 217, 218,
223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 265, 295, 301, 375,
376, 430, 484, 559, 561, 658, 787, 932
- First Crusade 20, 90, 223, 625, 882, 979
- Fourth Crusade 4, 5, 132, 450, 561, 812
- Fourth Lateran Council 5, 12, 212, 213,
225, 256, 344, 423
- Francis of Assisi 5, 212, 265, 301, 305, 484,
562, 787, 879
- Franciscan order 22, 25, 253, 256, 257,
288, 301, 303, 305, 373, 374, 376, 406, 421,
457, 464, 624, 625, 657, 705, 879, 881, 882,
886, 888, 889, 914, 915, 946, 952
- Franks 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 16, 18, 30, 31, 33, 79, 118,
160, 161, 162, 236, 246, 265, 325, 326, 485,
739, 744, 847, 858
- Frederick I Barbarossa, Holy Roman
emperor 119, 213
- Frederick II, king of Sicily and Holy Roman
emperor 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 14, 213, 216, 217,
218, 220, 224, 225, 226, 227, 246, 295, 325,
559, 560, 582, 641, 657, 658, 932, 934
- Fulcher of Chartres 223, 225
- Gautier de Compiègne 395, 402, 652
- Genoa 11, 197, 256, 295, 300, 301, 639, 640,
645
- George Akropolites 448-52, 697
- George Pachymeres 607-702
- George the Monk 141
- Georgia and Georgians 2, 225, 226, 236,
301, 439, 440, 494, 625, 686, 700, 745, 778,
779, 781, 782, 825, 886, 929, 1003, 1004,
1005
- Gerassimos 666-71
- Al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥamid 13, 49, 155, 386,
389, 431, 433, 457, 463, 478, 592, 596,
600, 601, 604-5, 606, 607, 662, 756, 757,
960, 965
- Ghāzān II, Mongol khan 3, 700, 745, 847
- Ghāzī ibn al-Wāsiṭī 313, 314, 566, 627-29,
662, 925
- Giordano da Pisa 980
- Giovanni Villani 977-82
- Golden Horde 1, 11, 374, 376
- Gospel 52, 80, 146, 168, 221, 222, 226, 236,
240, 265, 281, 305, 317, 329, 331, 335-37,
433, 481-83, 484, 485, 498, 517, 532, 533,
548, 550, 584, 586, 633, 636, 654, 682,
727-29, 730, 734-35, 751, 757, 759, 774,
776, 777, 795, 799, 820, 836, 845, 901, 915,
974
- Granada 9, 11, 159, 160, 176, 251, 361, 673,
732, 739, 953, 979

- Gregory I, pope 84, 682
 Gregory VII, pope 185
 Gregory IX, pope 6, 214, 253, 256, 259,
 288, 289, 402, 410, 658
 Gregory X, pope 458, 624
 Gregory Barhebraeus 12, 13, 15, 46, 47, 49,
 50, 52, 53, 55, 308, 365, 588-609, 752
 Gregory of Nyssa 73, 443
 Grigor Baluec'i 620-22
 Guelphs and Ghibellines 640, 784, 977
 Guido Terrena de Perpignan 928-31

 Hagar 104, 402, 450, 592, 745, 929, 949,
 951, 978
 Hagarenes 45, 47, 54, 90, 140, 243, 274,
 291, 402, 641, 949, 978
 Ḥajjī Khalifa 158, 398, 550, 692, 695
 Al-Ḥākīm bi-Amr Allāh, Fatimid
 caliph 600, 986
Ḥanpē 47, 53, 242, 754
 Al-Ḥasan ibn Ayyūb 236, 266, 838
 Hebrew Bible 68, 117, 522, 776, 836, 837,
 845, 975
 Hebrew language 15, 117, 120, 221, 236,
 289, 381, 457, 678, 714, 820, 955, 956, 957,
 959, 960, 964, 968, 969, 970, 975
 Hebrews 207, 292, 473, 956
 Heraclius, Byzantine emperor 141, 291,
 474, 601, 641, 806
 Heretics, Muslims as 85, 141, 291, 423, 651,
 788, 929-30
 Ḥijāz 2, 168, 724, 992
 Al-Ḥimmaṣī, Sadīd al-Dīn 66-69, 179
 Historians of T'amar, Queen of
 queens 1003-7
Holosphyros, God as 135, 142
 Holy fire, miracle of 329
 Holy Sepulcher, Church of 118, 226, 326,
 329, 628
 Homs 3, 627, 897
 Honorius III, pope 213, 214, 227, 295,
 300
 Hospitaller, Knights 186, 188, 848, 897
 Hugh of Fleury 408, 641
 Hülagu, Mongol khan 2, 15, 443, 589, 744,
 746
 Humbert of Romans 253, 295, 509-14
Ḥunafā' 47, 101, 104, 112
 Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq 241, 287, 336, 754, 920
 Hungarians 32, 236

 Iberian Peninsula, *see* Spain
 Ibn al-Abbār 368-72
 Ibn 'Abd al-Rafī' 884, 906-8
 Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī 81, 585, 634,
 769, 771, 798-801, 834, 839
 Ibn Abī Zar' 815-19, 1009
 Ibn 'Arabī 145-49, 825, 852
 Ibn 'Askar 267-70
 Ibn 'Atīq 251-52
 Ibn al-Durayhim 314, 925
 Ibn al-Furāt 8, 246
 Ibn Ḥafṣūn 269
 Ibn al-Ḥājj al-'Abdarī 893-96
 Ibn Ḥazm 69, 840, 990, 998
 Ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī 737-42
 Ibn Jamā'a, Badr al-Dīn 909-10
 Ibn Jazla, Abū 'Alī Yahyā 236
 Ibn Jubayr 10, 159-65
 Ibn al-Kardabūs 196-98
 Ibn Kātib Qaysar 281, 453-56
 Ibn Khaldūn 368, 474, 569
 Ibn Khallikān 820, 821, 822
 Ibn al-Labbād 248-50
 Ibn al-Naqqāsh 314, 858, 925, 926
 Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī 245-47
 Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya 846, 861, 926,
 989-1002
 Ibn al-Qustāl 92-93
 Ibn Qutayba 846, 997
 Ibn al-Rāhib 471-79, 568
 Ibn al-Rif'a, Najm al-Dīn 692-94
 Ibn Rushd 14, 15, 23, 146, 457, 463, 521,
 662, 786, 787, 788, 906, 957, 960
 Ibn Sabbā' 918-23
 Ibn Ṣāhib al-Ṣalāt 176-78
 Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī 361-64
 Ibn Sīnā 12, 15, 61, 289, 292, 332, 386, 389,
 411, 457, 463, 478, 521, 533, 534, 543, 591,
 600, 605, 662, 663, 786, 787, 788, 960
 Ibn al-Ṣuqā'ī 820-23
 Ibn Ṭawūs 67
 Ibn Taymiyya 81, 237, 585, 634, 724, 769,
 770, 799, 824-78, 895, 989, 990, 993, 994,
 997, 998, 999
 Ibn al-Ṭayyib, 'Abdallāh 46, 173, 174, 534,
 543, 545, 760
 Ibn al-Ṭayyib, al-Rāshid Abū l-Khayr
 431-37
 Ibn Tumart 150, 155-56
 Icons 249, 329, 334-35, 338, 433, 533, 779
 Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' 572, 575
 Il-Khanate 1, 2, 3, 4, 589, 795, 796
 Al-Imām al-Qurṭubī 115, 116, 391-94
 Incarnation 62, 64, 79, 80, 93, 101, 102, 116,
 141, 168, 219, 234, 242, 265, 284, 285, 341,
 402, 418, 481, 484, 485, 499, 519, 525, 547,
 595, 598, 637, 669, 676, 714, 715, 716, 728,

- 755, 756, 760, 771, 800, 835, 837, 839, 960, 968, 975
- Innocent III, pope 4, 5, 9, 212, 300
- Innocent IV, pope 288, 289, 344, 411, 438
- Isabella of Jerusalem 6, 559
- Isho'yahb bar Malkon 12, 241, 331-38, 902
- Ishmael 18, 291, 402, 590, 676, 929, 930, 951
- Ishmaelites, sons of Ishmael 141, 194, 273, 291, 366, 398, 402, 445, 641, 676, 745, 951
- Isidore of Seville, Saint 119, 272-76, 929
- Ismā'īlis 61, 187, 575, 858, 862
- Jacob bar Shakkō 240-44, 365
- Jacques de Vitry 21, 212, 213, 214, 216, 217, 219, 221, 222, 226, 227, 260, 295-306, 559, 613, 614, 625
- Al-Ja'fari, Šāliḥ ibn al-Ḥusayn 480-85, 538, 548
- Al-Jāhiz, Abū 'Uthmān 482, 596
- Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī 491-508
- James I, King of Aragon 9, 253, 368, 552-58, 703
- James, Saint 275, 276
- James of Voragine 639-44
- Jawhar*, God as 174, 201, 838, *see also* substance
- Jerusalem 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 14, 42, 43, 83, 84, 90, 162, 183, 186, 187, 212, 213, 216, 217, 218, 219, 223, 225, 226, 248, 257, 297, 298, 307, 325, 327, 328, 339, 359, 425, 429, 443, 445, 500, 538, 559, 561, 572, 604, 628, 681, 706, 745, 750, 776, 778, 779, 781, 782, 848, 909, 934, 985
- Jerusalem, Kingdom of 6, 7, 160, 162, 216, 218, 219, 223, 225, 226, 298, 561, 932, 934
- Jesus Christ 19, 20, 21, 25, 36, 37, 39, 62, 64, 68, 71, 75, 78, 80, 85, 93, 101, 104, 116, 139, 146, 147, 180, 209, 216, 220, 221, 222, 225, 226, 236, 243, 260, 261, 265, 285, 297, 332, 341, 366, 367, 388, 398, 402, 403, 409, 416, 418, 419, 423, 463, 481, 484, 485, 494, 495, 498, 499, 504-5, 507, 517, 519, 524, 528, 532, 533, 545, 547, 550, 576, 580, 584, 585, 586, 595, 596, 598, 611, 614, 625, 632, 633, 636, 663, 664, 665, 669, 675, 681, 682, 703, 706, 710, 714, 729, 733, 734, 735, 744, 756, 757, 759, 760, 763, 770, 771, 774, 776, 782, 786, 788, 799, 805, 806, 827, 828, 836, 837, 838, 849, 852, 868, 882, 889, 912, 913, 915, 920, 929, 951, 960, 961, 965, 968, 969, 994
- as Word of God 62, 116, 180, 226, 519, 595, 611, 614, 636, 757, 852-53, 920
- see also* Crucifixion, Incarnation
- Jews 9, 14, 45, 46, 47, 48, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 68, 71, 72, 78, 79, 85, 93, 101, 104, 115, 116, 117, 149, 168, 207, 208, 209, 217, 219, 220, 223, 235, 240, 249, 253, 264, 274, 289, 293, 297, 303, 334, 336, 338, 341, 344, 357, 381, 385, 386, 388, 409, 410, 411, 422, 423, 426, 437, 463, 473, 478, 481, 482, 484, 493, 499, 505, 521, 522, 541, 580, 585, 586, 588, 595, 596, 603, 614, 625, 628, 633, 637, 641, 651, 655, 668, 675, 676, 688, 693, 703, 709, 710, 714, 732, 735, 754, 757, 768, 770, 771, 774, 775, 776, 786, 787, 800, 802, 805, 825, 835, 836, 837, 849, 857, 858, 866, 867, 868, 869, 877, 879, 881, 885, 897, 900, 907, 925, 929, 951, 953, 955, 956, 957, 959, 960, 961, 965, 966, 968, 969, 971, 972, 974, 975, 976, 979, 989, 990, 992, 993, 994, 996, 997, 998
- Jirji the monk 166-69
- Joachim of Fiore 83-91, 929
- John II of Giblet 825, 848, 849
- John III Vatatzes, Byzantine emperor 448
- John VI, Coptic patriarch 109, 280, 320, 489, 940
- John XXII, pope 796, 946, 949
- John of Brienne 6, 559, 562
- John of Damascus 139, 141, 142, 625, 788
- John of Joinville 718-23
- John of Segovia 22, 882
- John of Toledo 225
- Al-Jubbā'ī, Abū Ḥāshim 66
- Al-Kāmil, Ayyūbid sultan, *see* al-Malik al-Kāmil
- Kaykā'ūs I, Seljuk sultan 148
- Kay-Khusraw I, Seljuk sultan 134, 139, 450
- Kayseri 94, 95, 96, 795
- Khadija 260, 641, 675
- Al-Khaṭīb al-Iskandarī 264-66
- Khwārazm and Khwārazmians 7, 64, 326, 397, 398, 622
- Kirakos Ganjakec'ī 438-42, 443
- Konya 2, 4, 491, 492, 493
- Köse Dağ, Battle of 2, 376
- Al-Kurj, *see* Georgians
- Last emperor 194, 745, 747
- Lebanon 16, 161, 169, 234, 500, 515, 617, 848
- Leo III, Byzantine emperor 717

- Lull, Ramon 15, 21, 22, 703-17
Louis VIII, King of France 421
Louis IX, King of France 7, 8, 227, 288,
289, 373, 375, 376, 400, 405, 411, 429, 430,
463, 464, 511, 513, 718, 719, 720
Louis X, King of France 719
Lucas of Tuy 271-79, 651
Lusignan dynasty 3, 8, 186, 848
- Maghreb 27, 28, 145, 146, 155, 176, 231, 737,
738, 773, 815, 816-17, 893
Maḥbūb ibn Qusṭanīn 568, 986
Mahomet 135, 395
Mahometus 654-55
Mahon 31, 32
Mahoun 37, 38, 41
Mahound 37
Mahounde 37
Mahownd 38
Mahum 30, 31
Mahumet 29, 30, 31, 402
Maimonides 289, 431, 433, 437, 521, 662,
663, 971
Majorca 525, 555, 703, 705, 928
Al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-'Amīd (the elder)
76, 199, 566-71, 820, 822
Makkīkhā ibn Sulaymān 902, 903
Malaga 267, 268, 269
Al-Malik al-'Ādil, Ayyūbid sultan 317, 320
Al-Malik al-Ashraf, Ayyūbid sultan 8, 935
Al-Malik al-Kāmil, Ayyūbid sultan 5, 6,
11, 129, 130, 213, 216, 217, 219, 220, 221, 222,
223, 224, 226, 264, 280, 281, 282, 295, 301,
305, 308, 310, 320, 321, 324, 325, 484, 562,
582, 583, 584, 787
Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, Ayyūbid sultan 312, 313
Mallorca 9, 253
Mametios 281
Mamluks 2, 3, 8, 13, 16, 25, 439, 471, 530,
566, 572, 617, 618, 621, 622, 627, 628, 629,
632, 692, 700, 716, 725, 743, 744, 745, 746,
747, 768, 769, 777, 779, 781, 782, 796, 811,
812, 813, 820, 822, 825, 847, 848, 852, 857,
858, 864, 869, 870, 875, 876, 895, 897,
898, 909, 935
Manuel I Comnenus, Byzantine
emperor 132, 134, 135, 136, 142
Maometto 978-79
Al-Maqrizī 163, 246, 311, 474, 566, 567,
569, 762
Marāgha 1, 61, 588, 589, 604, 608
Marco Polo 645-49, 978
Mark III ibn Zur'a, Coptic patriarch 73,
75, 98, 99, 109, 113, 320
- Mark of Toledo 150-56, 625, 687, 689
Maronites 8, 16, 105, 224, 226, 538, 686
Marqus ibn al-Qunbar 92, 98-108, 109, 110,
112, 113, 281, 320
Marriage between the faiths 12, 52-53,
55, 56, 112, 253, 257, 884-85, 907-8, 953,
992
Mary, Virgin 31, 39, 71, 80, 92, 209, 219,
298, 385, 423, 463, 494, 505, 517, 519, 533,
580, 611, 614, 636, 664, 681, 714, 730, 757,
770, 799, 805, 836, 849, 868, 901, 968, 971
Matthew Paris 259, 260, 400-4
Maundy Thursday 868, 874-75, 876-77,
894
Mauricius, Archdeacon of Toledo 152,
155, 156
Maurus, necromancer 654, *see also*
Baḥirā, Sergius
Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī 491-508
Mecca 145, 160, 208, 260, 293, 391, 425,
445, 651, 706, 802, 930, 979, 989, 992
Medina 159, 160, 209, 260, 806, 992
Merlin 657, 658
Mhagrōyē, *see* Hagarenes
Michael VIII, Byzantine emperor 5, 448,
450, 697, 699, 808
Michael, Bishop of Atrīb and Malij
356-58, 939
Michael, Metropolitan of Athens 132
Michael of Alexandria, neomartyr 810-13
Michael of Damietta 101, 102, 109-14, 281,
940, 1009
Michael of Mar Sabas 129
Michael the Syrian 308, 443, 600, 603
Mī'rāj 14, 209, 210, 425, 426, 664, 676,
730, 789
Mxit'ar Gosh 46-55
Mongolia 373, 645, 914, 915
Mongols 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 25, 147, 246,
373, 375, 376, 408, 409, 410, 411, 438, 439,
440, 443, 450, 462, 463, 464, 491, 494,
530, 577, 588, 589, 600, 603, 608, 621, 622,
625, 627, 662, 678, 684, 686, 700, 703, 714,
716, 743-48, 750, 782, 795, 802, 811, 824,
825, 847, 848, 849, 881, 897, 935
Montpellier 70, 150
Moscow 1, 2, 11
Moses, and Law of 64, 116, 146, 290, 291,
293, 398, 403, 505, 521, 651, 664, 669, 706,
710, 730, 806, 838, 849, 920, 960
Moses bar Kephō 242
Mozarabs 116, 117, 178, 347, 351, 393, 707,
Al-Mu'azzam, sultan of Damascus 6, 218,
219, 223

- Muḥammad, Prophet 14, 18, 21, 22, 25, 29, 37, 64, 68, 69, 71, 72, 79, 80, 81, 84, 87, 88, 135, 136, 139, 141, 142, 146, 147, 148, 152, 168, 197, 208-10, 219, 226, 235, 259, 260, 265, 281, 291, 292, 293, 298, 303, 305, 351, 385, 386, 387-89, 392, 395, 398, 402, 403, 408-9, 411, 426, 440, 445, 446, 455, 456, 462, 463, 474, 481, 484, 485, 499, 505, 507, 511, 516-18, 524, 548, 550, 580, 584, 586, 596, 600, 614, 625, 632, 633, 634, 637, 640-42, 650-52, 654-55, 663, 664, 668, 675, 681, 682, 688, 696, 700, 706, 707, 709, 710, 714, 715, 729, 730, 734, 735, 748, 771, 774, 776, 777, 779, 786, 787, 788, 799, 800, 802, 806, 811, 828, 834, 839, 849, 853-54, 857, 881, 882, 889, 929, 930, 953, 965, 978, 979, 980, 998, 999
and the number 666 281, 455, 881
mī'rāj of 14, 209, 210, 425, 426, 664, 676, 730, 789
sent only to Arabs 81, 637, 770, 771, 836
see also Mahomet, Mahometus, Mahon, Mahoun, Mahound, Mahounde, Mahownd, Mahum, Mahumet, Mametios, Maometto, Nicholas
- Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kātib 312, 925
- Muslims as heretics 85, 141, 291, 423, 651, 788, 929-30
- Muslims as pagans 72, 411, 423, 511-12, 754, 788, 882
- Muṣṭafā l-Mulk Abū Yūsuf 173-75
- Al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assāl 173, 174, 357, 416, 431, 433, 435, 437, 453, 454, 478, 530-37, 538, 541, 542, 544, 545, 662, 663, 763, 764
- Mu'tazila 61, 66, 67, 179, 180, 538, 580, 582, 596, 773, 805, 838
- Al-mutrān Yūsuf 672
- Al-Muwahḥidūn*, *see* Almohad dynasty
- Muwahḥidūn* (Jews) 101
- Muwallads* 269
- Al-Nābulusī, 'Alā' al-Dīn 310-16, 925
- Al-Nāshī' al-Akbar 541
- Al-Nāšir, Abbasid caliph 572, 576
- Al-Nāšir Dāwūd 325, 327
- Al-Nāšir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, Mamluk sultan 8, 617, 622, 624, 744, 745-47, 748, 796, 925, 940
- Našr ibn Yahyā 236, 237, 266
- Našrid dynasty of Granada 9, 10, 267, 673, 738, 739
- Navarre 9, 343, 405, 421
- Las Navas de Tolosa, Battle of 9, 152, 343, 347, 352
- Nicea 4, 5, 132, 139, 448, 450, 484, 584, 697, 700, 808
- Nicene creed 68, 418, 482, 532, 533, 580, 919
- Nicetas of Byzantium 135, 142
- Nicetas Choniates 124, 132-44
- Nicholas IV, pope 624, 639, 946
- Nicholas, cardinal and Prophet Muḥammad 650-52
- Nicolas, Christian heretic 654, 706
- Nicholas of Cusa 22, 518, 689
- Nicholas of Lyra 879-83, 961
- Nisibis 12, 15, 46, 52, 331, 332, 750
- Odoric of Pordenone 886-92
- Old French language 29, 30, 34, 35, 120, 185, 395, 429, 561, 562, 646, 658, 703, 789, 848
- Oliver of Paderborn 212-29, 408
- Otto of Freising 20, 118, 119
- Ottomans 2, 4, 26, 125, 411, 500, 699, 700, 912
- Ottoman Turkish 482
- Öz-Beg, Mongol khan 1, 2
- Pact of 'Umar 149, 628, 693, 768, 828, 856, 857, 861, 862, 867, 926, 992
- Pagans, Muslims as 72, 411, 423, 511-12, 754, 788, 882
- Pascal of Vitoria 914-17
- Paul, Saint 62, 221, 453, 482, 530, 651, 732, 734, 769, 770-71, 800
- Paul of Antioch 78-82, 585, 769, 799, 800, 834, 839, 848
- Paul of Burgos 21, 882
- Pedro Pascual 655, 673-77, 968
- Persian language 375, 493, 494, 498, 500, 504, 591, 592, 647
- Peter of Cluny 21, 641, 651, 707, 788
- Peter of Toledo 292, 402, 676
- Peter the Venerable, *see* Peter of Cluny
- Petrus Alfonsi 21, 207, 209, 210, 298, 409, 625, 641, 651, 676, 802, 930
- Philip II Auguste, king of France 183, 185, 186, 188
- Philip of Novara 932, 934
- Pisa 11, 14, 197, 678, 715, 716, 887, 980
- Portugal 9, 11, 176, 225, 947, 952, 953, 955
- Pseudo-Methodius 125, 194, 291, 409
- Qalāwūn, al-Nāšir Muḥammad ibn, Mamluk sultan 8, 617, 622, 624, 744, 745-47, 748, 796, 925, 940

- Al-Qalqashandī, Shihāb al-Dīn 474, 569
 Al-Qarāfī, Shihāb al-Dīn 81, 482, 548,
 582-87, 839
 Al-Qaysī, Muḥammad 610, 611-12, 732-36
 Al-Qifṭī, Jamāl al-Dīn 359-60, 608
 Qur'an 15, 22, 62, 79, 80, 81, 116, 150, 152,
 153, 169, 230, 252, 260, 261, 341, 344, 381,
 386, 388, 389, 398, 409, 426, 464, 493,
 500, 507, 516, 517, 518, 519, 522, 524, 599,
 600, 612, 633, 635, 636, 637, 641, 662, 667,
 668, 675, 687, 688, 689-90, 706, 709, 710,
 712, 714, 728, 730, 769, 770, 771, 773, 799,
 800, 824, 827, 836, 837, 852, 864, 925, 961,
 974, 975, 993,
 as word of God 709, 852-53
 Ramon Llull 15, 21, 22, 703-17
 Ramon Martí 21, 381-90, 524, 525, 959,
 961, 975, 976
 Al-Rashīd Abū l-Khayr ibn al-Ṭayyib
 431-37
 Al-Rawādī, Abū Ja'far ibn Naṣr 391
 Raymond Martini, *see* Ramon Martí 21,
 381-90, 524, 525, 959, 961, 975, 976
 Raymond de Penyafort 11, 253-58, 406,
 410, 524, 525
Reconquista 9, 275, 276, 343, 347, 352, 353,
 735
 Revelation, Book of 83, 84, 87, 89, 90, 281,
 453, 455, 456, 881, 882, 953
 Riccoldo da Monte di Croce 21, 153, 386,
 389, 525, 678-91, 979, 980
 Richard I, king of England 41, 84, 182, 183,
 185, 224
 Richard, earl of Warwick 42-43
 Richard d'Irlande 657
 Robert of Ketton 152, 153
 Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada 21, 152, 343-55
 Roger Bacon 21, 373, 374, 457-70
 Roger of Stanegrave 897-99
 Rome 23, 79, 83, 90, 194, 213, 218, 224, 271,
 288, 295, 300, 303, 438, 654, 673, 784, 808,
 946, 960, 969, 977, 978, 985
 Al-Ruhāwī, Abū Muḥammad 157-58
 Rukn al-Dīn Baybars, Mamluk sultan 2,
 7, 8, 11, 95, 96, 519, 562, 566, 568, 624,
 744, 762, 767, 782, 935, 940
 Rūmī, Jalāl al-Dīn 491-508
 Russia and Russians 1, 2, 32, 813, 1005
 Rustichello da Pisa 645
 Sabians 67, 168, 580
 Al-Safī ibn al-'Assāl 46, 49, 76, 81, 110,
 113, 321, 416, 431, 437, 486, 530, 533, 534,
 538-51, 763, 764
 Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīq 568, 838, 839, 901, 902,
 986, 998
 Sa'īd ibn Ḥasan al-Iskandarānī 775-77
 Al-Saksaki, Abū l-Faḍl 579-81
 Al-Sakūnī, Abū 'Alī 773-74
 Saladin, *see* Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn
 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Ayyubid sultan 2, 6, 84, 88,
 89, 90, 91, 157, 159, 168, 183, 186, 187, 188,
 189, 199, 216, 218, 220, 223, 224, 226, 248,
 298, 307, 312, 314, 359, 409, 484, 493, 559,
 561, 563, 658, 786, 787, 788, 858, 979, 1005
 Ṣalība ibn Yuhannā 756, 757, 900-5
 Saracens 5, 9, 10, 18-19, 20, 25, 28, 29-44,
 45, 47, 55, 85, 87, 88, 90, 129, 183, 186, 187,
 188, 217, 254, 291, 292, 293, 301, 303, 305,
 347, 354, 375, 376, 402, 408, 409, 410, 411,
 423, 516, 555, 614, 625, 641, 646, 647, 687,
 710, 716, 720, 787, 882, 888, 914, 915, 929,
 949, 951, 953, 978, 979
 Sarah 104, 291, 929, 951, 978
 Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa' 73, 357, 763, 901,
 920
 Saydnaya, monastery of 329, 409
 Sayf ibn 'Umar 732, 734
 Second Crusade 84, 85, 784, 787
 Seljuks 2, 4, 95, 96, 145, 376, 409, 439, 450,
 622, 699
 Sergius 291, 298, 402, 409, 445, 641, 979,
see also Bahīrā, Maurus
 Seventh Crusade 7, 11, 13, 429, 562, 718,
 719, 720
 Seville 9, 176, 177, 231, 272, 273, 274, 275,
 276, 361, 362, 946, 947, 1010
 Shams al-Ri'āsa, Abū l-Barakāt ibn
 Kabar 13, 73, 110, 339, 324, 341, 416, 431,
 541, 542, 545, 547, 591, 762-66, 937, 939
 Sicily 10, 11, 17, 20, 24, 28, 83, 84, 160, 161,
 162, 231, 239, 246, 519, 704
 Sim'an ibn Kalīl 199-206
 Solomon of Basra 193-95
 Sons of Ishmael 194, 366, 445, 676, 745
 Spain 9, 11, 14, 17, 18, 20, 24, 25, 28, 40, 116,
 145, 149, 155, 156, 160, 161, 209, 223, 271,
 273, 275, 278, 343, 344, 346, 347, 348, 351,
 352, 369, 385, 389, 408, 517, 519, 553, 610,
 612, 732, 733, 734, 735, 739, 914, 950, 957,
 960, 979, 1009
 Al-Subkī, Tāj al-Dīn 692
 Al-Subkī, Taqī al-Dīn 989
 Substance, God as 174, 636, 838, *see also*
jawhar
 Sulaymān al-Ashlūhī 617-19
 Syria 2, 3, 7, 8, 11, 13, 16, 73, 118, 120, 133,
 157, 160, 169, 216, 223, 225, 234, 246, 248,
 361, 421, 429, 491, 500, 538, 561, 562, 566,

- 568, 601, 622, 628, 667, 744, 746, 747,
769, 806, 825, 848, 849, 857, 858, 861,
863, 909, 985
- Syriac Renaissance 12, 332, 592, 752
- Al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far 474, 568, 925, 986
- Tabrīz 1, 2, 589, 647, 678, 888
- Tahrif* 281, 336, 481, 499, 730, 760, 836,
998, *see also* Corruption of the Bible
- T'amar, queen of Georgia 1003, 1004, 1005
- Al-Tarūhī, Abū Bakr ibn 'Alī Ra'ūd 800
- Ṭayyōyē* 243, *see also* Hagarenes
- Templar, Knights 186, 188, 624, 732, 735,
933
- 'Templar of Tyre' 932, 933, 934
- Theodore I Lascaris, Byzantine
emperor 132, 139, 484
- Theodore II Lascaris, Byzantine
emperor 448
- Theodore Abū Qurra 102, 141, 666, 920
- Theodore Metochites 808-14
- Thiemo of Salzburg, bishop 20
- Third Crusade 33, 84, 85, 88, 90, 182, 185,
189, 561, 569, 659, 934
- Third Lateran Council 80, 256
- Thomas Aquinas 23, 406, 521-29, 686,
687, 789
- Toledo 14, 15, 150, 156, 275, 343, 344, 362,
956
- Trebizond 2, 4, 5, 448, 886
- Trinity 8, 30, 32, 68, 78, 79, 80, 83, 84, 93,
101, 104, 116, 168, 173, 174, 180, 181, 202,
209, 219, 221, 226, 234, 242, 243, 265, 284,
402, 418, 419, 423, 433, 481, 485, 519, 524,
532, 533, 541, 543, 544-45, 580, 595, 596,
632, 636, 637, 669, 684, 715, 716, 728, 733,
754, 755, 756, 757, 760, 771, 786, 800, 835,
837, 838, 839, 919, 920, 929, 960, 965,
968, 970, 975
- Tripoli, Lebanon 8, 515, 588, 617, 618, 622,
624, 747
- Tripoli, Libya 500
- Al-Ṭūfī, Najm al-Dīn 662, 663, 665, 724-31
- Tunis 8, 11, 145, 196, 253, 254, 256, 257,
361, 362, 381, 391, 430, 552, 705, 718, 732,
733, 773, 884, 885, 906, 907, 980
- Turks 4, 26, 35, 90, 495, 618, 622, 678, 684,
699, 700, 746, 811, 813, 1004
- Al-Ṭūṣī, Nāṣir al-Dīn 179, 589, 591, 605
- Umayyads of al-Andalus 27, 269, 351-53,
738
- Umayyads of Damascus 197, 399, 864
- Valencia 9, 159, 368, 369, 552, 553, 555,
556, 1010
- Vardan Arevelc'i 443-47
- Veneration of the cross 141, 168, 243, 334,
385, 760
- Venice 11, 27, 645, 914
- Vincent of Beauvais 227, 405-15, 641, 881
- Virgin Mary, *see* Mary, Virgin
- Volga river 1, 2, 374, 375, 914
- Al-Wansharīsī, Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā 252
- Al-Warrāq, Abū 'Īsā 68, 454, 636, 637
- Wāṣil al-Dimashqī 398-99
- William of Auvergne 288-94
- William of Rubruck 373-80, 464
- William of Tripoli 21, 260, 386, 389, 515-
20, 614
- William of Tyre 21, 223, 225, 298, 429-30,
561-65
- Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī 173, 174, 454, 455, 533, 534,
538, 539, 541, 543, 545, 608, 763, 764
- Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr, Andalusian caliph
178, 197, 273
- Yashū'yāb ibn Malkūn, *see* Isho'yāhb bar
Malkon 12, 241, 331-38, 902
- Yohannān bar Zo'bī 240, 365-67
- Yovhannēs Erznkac'ī Bluz 572-78
- Yovhannēs vardapet 911-13
- Yuḥannā ibn Sawīrus 73-77
- Yuḥannā ibn Wahb 280, 317-19, 324, 488
- Yūsāb of Fuwwa 486-90
- Yūsuf al-Lubnānī 234-37
- Al-Zāhidī, Najm al-Dīn 397-99
- Zoroastrians 47, 53, 55, 67, 180, 505, 541,
580, 774

Index of Titles

Numbers in italics indicate a main entry.

- Abridgement of the history of dynasties*, see *Mukhtaṣar ta'riḫ al-duwal* 608-9
- Abridgement of speculative theology*, see *Khulāṣat al-naẓar* 179-81
- Account*, see *Relatio* (Odoric of Pordenone) 887-92
- Al-ādāb al-ṭūbāniyya*, see *Rawḍat al-farīd wa-sabwat al-waḥīd* 202-6
- Adilla ukhar 'alā ṣiḥḥat al-Injīl* 336-37
- Adillat al-waḥḍāniyya fī l-radd 'alā l-milla l-Naṣrāniyya* (al-Khaṭīb al-Iskandarī) 264, 265-66
- Adillat al-waḥḍāniyya fī l-radd 'alā l-Naṣrāniyya* (al-Qarāfī) 583-85
- Against the religion of the Saracens*, see *Contra legem Saracenorum* 153, 678, 684, 685, 687, 688-91
- Aḥkām ahl al-dhimmā* 861, 990, 991-96, 998
- Al-ajwiba l-fākhira 'an al-as'ila l-fājira* 585-87
- And he was asked about the monks . . . see Wa su'ila 'an al-ruḥbān . . .* 863-65
- Al-anīs al-muṭrib bi-rawḍ al-qirtās* 816-19
- Annales de Terre Sainte* 560, 932, 934
- Anonymous Syriac chronicle*, see *Chronicon ad annum 1234 pertinens* 307-9, 600
- Antidote of the minds in the science of fundamentals*, see *Tiryāq al-'uqūl li-taḥṣil al-uṣūl* 431, 433-35
- Apocalypse commentary*, see *Apocalypsis Jesu Christi in Biblia Sacra* 881-83
- Apocalypsis Jesu Christi in Biblia Sacra* 881-83
- Apology of al-Kindī*, see *Risālat al-Kindī* 241, 260, 261, 291, 402, 408, 411, 676, 707, 752
- Aqwāl* (Michael, bishop of Atrīb) 357-58
- Al-arba'in, Kitāb* 62, 476, 478, 538, 547
- The armour of doctrine*, see *Panoplia dogmatikē* 132, 134, 135, 139, 140-44
- Aṣfār al-asrār* 193, 756, 757, 900, 901-5
- Al-'ashr al-masā'il* 484
- Aṣl al-radd wa-l-jawāb* 454-55
- Barāhīn 'alā ṣiḥḥat al-Injīl* 335-36
- Al-bayān al-mughrib* 737-42
- The bestowal of leadership*, see *Al-mann bi-l-imāma* 177-78
- The blessed collection*, see *Al-majmū' al-mubārak* 566, 568-71
- The book of the bee*, see *Ktābā d-deboritā* 193, 194-95
- Book of deeds*, see *Llibre dels feyts* 553, 554-58
- The book of diagrams*, see *Liber figurarum* 87-89
- Book of the dove* 13, 590, 606-7
- The book of the Gentle and the three wise men*, see *Llibre del gentil i dels tres savis* 709-12, 714
- The book of the master and the disciple*, see *Kitāb al-mu'allim wa-l-tilmidh* 99, 101-3
- Book of the miracles of the most blessed Isidore*, see *Liber miraculorum beatissimi Ysidori* 272-79
- The book of Muhammad's ladder*, see *Liber scalae Machometi* 425-28
- The book of Nicholas, who is called Muhammad*, see *Liber Nycholay, qui dicitur Machumetus* 650-53
- The book of the pearl*, see *Ktābā d-marganitā* 753-55, 757, 758-59
- The book of the pearls of useful matters concerning the fundamental doctrines of religion*, see *Kitāb farā'id al-qawā'id fī uṣūl al-dīn wa-l-'aqā'id* 756-58, 760
- The book of the pilgrimage*, see *Liber peregrinationis* 678, 683-86
- The book of the Qur'an*, see *Liber Alchorani* 152-55
- The book of rays*, see *Ktōbō d-zalgē* 598-99
- Book of the three faiths*, see *Libro de las tres creencias* 957, 967-73, 974, 975
- Book of treasures*, see *Ktōbō d-simōtō* 242-44
- Book or treatise on the preaching of the holy cross*, see *Liber sive tractatus de praedicatione sanctae crucis* 509, 511-13
- The book of wonder, on the summary of news of the Maghreb*, see *Kitāb al-mu'jib fī talkhīs akhbār al-Maghrib* 231-33
- The Book of the world that is*, see *Muṣḥaf al-'ālam al-kā'in* 392

- The books of the secrets*, see *Asfār al-asrār* 193, 756, 757, 900, 901-5
- A brief apology for Christianity* (untitled work by Marqus ibn al-Qunbar) 93
- Brief chapters on the Trinity and the act of Uniting*, see *Fuṣūl mukhtaṣara fī l-tathlīth wa-l-ittiḥād* 544-46
- Burda* (al-Būṣīrī) 632
- al-burhān, Kitāb* (Buṭrus Sawīrus al-Jamīl) 340-42, 416
- al-burhān, Kitāb* (Ibn al-Rāhib) 472, 476, 477-79
- Al-burhān fī ma'rifat 'aqā'id ahl al-adyān* 579-81
- The carbuncle of arms of the precious conquest of the Holy Land of promiseion*, see *Li Charboclois d'armes du conquest precious de la Terre Saint de promiseion* 897, 898-99
- Censure of the Christians' Maundy Thursday*, see *Mus'ala fī dhamm khamīs al-Naṣārā* 876-77
- Cent noms de Dieu* 712-13
- Chanson de Roland* 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36
- Li Charboclois d'armes du conquest precious de la Terre Saint de promiseion* 897, 898-99
- The checklist*, see *Kūtāb al-dustūr* 630-31
- Choice disputes*, see 'Uyūn *al-munāẓarāt* 773-74
- Chronica majora* 260, 261, 400, 401-4
- Chronicle*, see *Hawak'umn Patmut'ean* 443, 444-47
- Chronicon ad annum 1234 pertinens* 307-9, 600
- Chronicon Syriacum*, see *Ktōbō d-maktbōnut zabnē* 15, 308, 588, 592, 599-602, 608
- Chronikē diēgēsīs* (Nicetas Choniates) 132, 133-39
- Chronikē syngraphē* (George Akropolites) 448, 450-52
- La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* 188, 429, 559, 561, 562, 563, see also *L'estoire de Eraclēs empereur et la conquete de la Terre d'Outremer*
- Civil chronicle*, see also *Ktōbō d-maktbōnut zabnē* 15, 308, 588, 592, 599-602, 608
- Collyrium fidei adversus haeresis* 947, 952-54
- Commedia*, see *Divina Commedia* 426, 784, 785-93
- Commentary on the Apocalypse*, see *Tafsīr al-Ru'yā* 453, 455-56
- Commentary on the Pentateuch*, see *Tafsīr Sifr al-Aḥbār* 99, 103-8
- Commentary on Revelation*, see *Expositio in Apocalypsim* 83, 84, 89-91
- Compendium of the principles of religion*, see *Majmū' uṣūl al-dīn* 173, 174, 431, 433, 435, 454, 539, 532, 533-37, 542, 545, 547, 764
- Completeness, on reports about the caliphs*, see *Kitāb al-iktifā' fī akhbār al-khulafā'* 196-98
- Completion and conclusion, on the continuation of Information*, see *Al-ikmāl wa-l-itmām fī ṣilat al-I'lām* 268-70
- The completion of the Continuation*, see *Al-takmila li-Kitāb al-Ṣīla* 369, 370-72
- Identification of what is right concerning marriages of the People of the Book*, see *Idrāk al-ṣawāb fī ankīḥat ahl al-kitāb* 884-85
- A concise treatise on the principles of religion*, see *Maqāla mukhtaṣara fī uṣūl al-dīn* 532-33
- Constitution for the brotherhoods of Erzinka*, see *Sahman ew kanonk' miabanut'ean Elbarc* 572, 576-78
- The continuation of Obituaries of prominent people*, see *Tālī Kitāb wafayāt al-a'yān* 821-23
- Contra legem Saracenorum* 153, 678, 684, 685, 687, 688-91
- Controversy in refutation of the Christians*, see *Munāẓara fī l-radd 'alā l-Naṣārā* 62, 63-65
- Copto-Arabic Synaxarion*, see *Kitāb al-Sinaksār* 129, 339, 356, 937-45
- The correct answer to those who have changed the religion of Christ*, see *Al-jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-Masiḥ* 237, 826, 834-44, 848, 850, 990, 998
- Creed* ('Abdisho' of Nisibis) 755-56
- Critical commentary on the Gospels*, see *Al-ta'liq 'alā al-Anājīl* 727-29, 730
- The Cypriot letter*, see *Al-risāla l-qubruṣiyya* 825, 828, 834, 847-51
- De fide catholica* (Alan of Lille) 71-72
- De fide et legibus* (William of Auvergne) 290-94
- De fine* 713-15
- De rationibus fidei contra Saracenos, Graecos et Armenos ad cantorem Antiochenum* 527-29

- De rebus Hispanie* 343, 344, 346-50, 352, 353
- De Saracenis et ritu ipsorum* 802-3
- De seta Machometi* 387-90
- De statu et planctu ecclesiae* 947, 949-50
- De statu Sarracenorum* 260, 517, 518-20, 614
- d-deboritā, Ktābā* 193, 194-95
- Deceitful Muḥammad, see Iniquus Mahometus* 654-56, 675
- The deeds of the Cypriots, see Les gestes des Chyprois* 933-36
- Definitions and canons for the coalition of brothers, see Sahman ew kanonk' miabanut'ean Elbarc* 572, 576-78
- Deliverance from imitation and guidance to divine unity, see Kitāb al-munqidh min al-taqīd wa-l-murshid ilā l-tawhīd* 67-69
- The demonstration, see Kitāb al-burhān (Buṭrus Sawirus al-Jamil)* 340-42, 416
- The demonstration, see Kitāb al-burhān (Ibn al-Rāhib)* 472, 476, 477-79
- Demonstration after doubt, see Al-tabyīn ba'd al-shakk* 74, 77
- Descriptio Terrae Sanctae (Burchard of Mount Sion)* 613-16
- Descriptio Terre Sancte (Oliver of Paderborn)* 212, 215-16, 225
- Description of the Holy Land, see Descriptio Terrae Sanctae (Burchard of Mount Sion)* 613-16
- Description of the Holy Land, see Descriptio Terre Sancte (Oliver of Paderborn)* 212, 215-16, 225
- Description of the world, see Devisement du Monde* 646-49
- Devisement du Monde* 646-49
- Al-dhakhira l-saniyya fi ta'rikh al-dawla l-Mariniyya* 1009-10
- Diryāq al-'uqūl wa-ghāyat al-maḥṣūl fi 'ilm al-uṣūl, see Tiryāq al-'uqūl li-taḥṣīl al-uṣūl* 431, 433-35
- Discourse on Tripoli concerning what was brought about there by Islam, see Qawl 'alā Ṭarābulus 'alā mā jarā fihā min al-Islām* 618-19
- Discourses, see Fīhi mā fīhi* 493, 494, 499, 506-8
- A disputation with a group of eminent Muslims in the majlis of al-Malik al-Kāmil, see Muḥādala ma'ā jamā'a min aḥādīl al-Muslimīn bi-majlis al-Malik al-Kāmil* 323-24
- The disputation of Jirjī the monk, see Muḥādalat Jirjī al-rāhib* 167-71
- The disputation between Ramon the Christian and Omar the Saracen, see Liber disputationis Raimundi Christiani et Homeri Saraceni* 715-17
- Dīvān-i Shams-i Tabrizī* 492, 504-6
- Divina Commedia* 426, 784, 785-93
- Doctrina pueril* 706-8
- The doubt raised by the imām Fakhr al-Dīn the secretary, see Al-shakk al-wārid min al-imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-khaṭīb* 547
- Drawing the sword of ambition to extract what is owed by the dhimmīs, see Tajrīd sayf al-himma li-istikhrāj mā fi dhimmat al-dhimma* 312-16
- Al-durr al-thamīn fi manāqib al-Muslimīn wa-mathālib al-mushrikīn* 312
- al-dustūr, Kitāb* 630-31
- Ecclesiastical chronicle, see also Ktōbō d-maktbōnut zabnē* 308, 592, 602-4, 608
- Eis ton neon martyra Michaēl* 810-14
- The entertaining companion in the maiden's garden, see Al-anīs al-muṭrib bi-rawḍ al-qirtās* 816-19
- Epistola Paschalis de Victoria* 915-17
- Epistola salutaris doctoribus Egipti transmissa* 221-22
- Epistola salutaris regi Babilonis* 218-20
- Epistolae (Jacques de Vitry)* 300-2
- Epistole ad ecclesiam triumphantem see Epistole de prosperitate Sarracenorum in temporalibus et deiectione Christianorum* 678, 681-83
- Epistole de prosperitate Sarracenorum in temporalibus et deiectione Christianorum* 678, 681-83
- L'estoire de Eraclēs empereur et la conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer* 561-65
- Estoire de la guerre sainte* 182, 185-82
- Ethicon (Barhebraeus)* 604-6, 607
- The evident truth, see Shrōrō galyō* 241-42
- Explanatio simboli apostolorum* 385-87, 388, 389
- The explanation, see Kitāb al-ibāna (al-muṭrān Yūsuf)* 672
- Explanation of the Apostles' Creed, see Explanatio simboli apostolorum* 385-87, 388, 389
- Expositio in Apocalypsim* 83, 84, 89-91

- Eye salve of the faith against heresies*, see
Collyrium fidei adversus haeresis 947,
952-54
- On faith and laws*, see *De fide et legibus*
290-94
- farā'id al-qawā'id fi uṣūl al-dīn wa-l-'aqā'id*,
Kitāb 756-58, 760
- Fatwā fi amr al-kanā'is* 858, 861-62
- Fi uṣūl al-dīn al-masiḥi* ('Abdallāh ibn
al-Tayyib) 174-75
- Fihī mā fihī* 493, 494, 499, 506-8
- The first treatise, from the sayings of the
holy Paul of Būsh*, see *Al-maqāla al-ūlā
min qawl al-qiddis Būlus al-Būshī*
283-86
- The foundation of the refutation and the
response*, see *Aṣl al-radd wa-l-jawāb*
454-55
- The fundamentals of religion*, see *Kitāb uṣūl
al-dīn* 756, 757, 759-61
- Fuṣūl mukhtaṣara fi l-tathlith wa-l-ittihād*
544-46
- The garden of the hermit and the
consolation of the solitary*, see *Rawḍat
al-farīd wa-salwat al-wahīd* 202-6
- Les gestes des Chyprois* 933-36
- The gleaming treasure, on the history of
the Marīnid dynasty*, see *Al-dhakhūra
l-saniyya fi ta'rīkh al-dawla
l-Marīniyya* 1009-10
- The goal*, see *De fine* 713-15
- The golden legend*, see *Legenda
aurea* 640-44
- Gospel of Philip* 498
- The great chronicle*, see *Chronica
majora* 260, 261, 400, 401-4
- The great mirror*, see *Speculum
maius* 405-6, 407-15
- The Gregorian report* 259-63
- Guide for the confused, in refutation of the
Christians*, see *Irshād al-ḥayārā fi l-radd
'alā l-Naṣārā* (al-Dīrīnī) 635-38
- Guiding the confused, on responses to
the Jews and the Christians*, see *Kitāb
hidāyat al-ḥayārā fi ajwibat al-Yahūd
wa-l-Naṣārā* (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya)
990, 996-1002
- Hawak'umn Patmut'ean* 443, 444-47
- He was asked about Muslims who eat the
food of the Christians at Nayrūz*, see
*Su'ila 'amman yaf'al min al-Muslimīn
mithl ta'am al-Naṣārā fi Nayrūz* 873-74
- hidāyat al-ḥayārā fi ajwibat al-Yahūd
wa-l-Naṣārā, Kitāb* 990, 996-1002
- Historia Arabum* 350-55
- Historia Damiatina* 212, 213, 214, 216, 217,
224-29, 408
- Historia Gothica*, see *De rebus Hispanie*
343, 344, 346-50, 352, 353
- Historia occidentalis* 296, 304-6
- Historia orientalis* 296, 297-300, 613
- Historia de ortu Jerusalem et eius variis
eventibus* 212, 217-18
- Historia regum Terre Sancte* 213, 222-24,
225
- Historical compilation*, see *Hawak'umn
Patmut'ean* 443, 444-47
- Historical narration*, see *Syngraphikai
historiai* 699-702
- Histories*, see *Kitāb al-tawārīkh* 472, 473-76
- History*, see *Chronikē diēgēsis* (Nicetas
Choniates) 132, 133-39
- History*, see *Chronikē syngraphē* (George
Akropolites) 448, 450-52
- History of the Arabs*, see *Historia
Arabum* 350-55
- History of the Armenians*, see *Patmut'iwn
Hayoc'* 439-42
- History of the churches and monasteries of
Egypt* 92, 99, 101, 109, 113, 983-88
- The history of Damietta*, see *Historia
Damiatina* 212, 213, 214, 216, 217,
224-29, 408
- The history of the fathers, the patriarchs*, see
Tārīkh al-ābā' al-baṭārika 487-90
- History of the holy war*, see *Estoire de la
guerre sainte* 182, 185-82
- History of Jerusalem*, see *Historia de ortu
Jerusalem et eius variis eventibus* 212,
217-18
- History of the kings of the Holy Land*, see
Historia regum Terre Sancte 213,
222-24, 225
- History of the orient*, see *Historia
orientalis* 296, 297-300
- History of the West*, see *Historia
occidentalis* 296, 304-6
- The hundred names of God*, see *Cent noms
de Dieu* 712-13
- al-ibāna, Kitāb* 672
- Idrāk al-ṣawāb fi ankiḥat ahl al-kitāb*
884-85

- Al-īfhām ba'd al-istibhām* 74, 75
Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn 13, 386, 604, 605, 606
Al-ikmāl wa-l-itmām fi šilat al-l'ām
 268-70
al-iktifā' fi akhbār al-khulafā', Kitāb
 196-98
al-i'lām bi-mā fi dīn al-Našārā min al-fasād
wa-l-awhām, Kitāb 392-94
al-'ilm wa-l-'amal, Kitāb 73, 75-77
Information about the corruptions and
delusions of the religion of the Christians,
see Kitāb al-l'ām bi-mā fi dīn al-Našārā
min al-fasād wa-l-awhām 392-94
Information concerning Muḥammad, see
Notitia de Machometo 516-18, 519
Iniquus Mahometus 654-56, 675
Instruction for the bearer of the convert
to Christianity, see Waṣṣīyya 'alā ḥāmil
al-mutanaṣṣir 322-23
Al-intiṣārāt al-Islāmiyya 662, 663, 665,
 725, 728, 729-31
Introduction to the sublime law of the
four legal schools, see Madkhal
al-shar' al-sharif 'alā l-madhāhib
al-arba'a 894-96
iqtidā' al-širāt al-mustaqīm mukhālafat
aṣḥāb al-jaḥīm, Kitāb 825, 827, 865-73,
 876, 895, 993
Irshād al-ḥayārā fi l-radd 'alā
l-Našārā 635-38
Islamic defences, see Al-intiṣārāt
al-Islāmiyya 662, 663, 665, 725, 728,
 729-31
Istoriani da azmani sharavandedt' ani
 1004-7
Istorie fiorentine see Nuova cronica
 978-82
Items of value concerning the demolition
of religious buildings, see Al-nafā'is fi
hadm al-kanā'is 693
Itinerarium de mirabilibus orientaliū
Tartarorum (Odoric of Pordenone)
 887-92
Itinerarium Willelmi de Rubruc 375-80

Jawāb al-Nāshī' al-Akbar 538, 541-42,
 543
Jawāb risālat ahl jazirat Qubruṣ 634,
 799-801
Al-jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn
al-Masiḥ 237, 826, 834-44, 848, 850,
 990, 998
Al-jawhara l-nāfisa 919-23
Jeu de Saint Nicolas 31, 32, 33, 34-35

The journey of William of Rubruck, see
Itinerarium Willelmi de Rubruc 375-80

Kashf al-ghimma fi aḥkām ahl al-dhimma
 910
Kayfiyyat al-īmān wa-l-radd 'alā ahl
al-kitāb min al-Kitāb 269
The key of religion, see Kitāb miṭṭāḥ
al-dīn 732, 734-36
Khulāṣat al-naẓar 179-81
The king of the pearls, see Shāh
marwārid 758-59
Kitāb al-arba'in 62, 476, 478, 538, 547,
 582
Kitāb al-bayān, see Kitāb al-burhān (Buṭrus
 Sawirus al-Jamīl) 340-42, 416
Kitāb al-burhān (Buṭrus Sawirus
 al-Jamīl) 340-42, 416
Kitāb al-burhān (Ibn al-Rāhib) 472, 476,
 477-79
Kitāb al-dustūr 630-31
Kitāb farā'id al-qawā'id fi uṣūl al-dīn
wa-l-'aqā'id 756-58, 760
Kitāb hidāyat al-ḥayārā fi ajwibat al-Yahūd
wa-l-Našārā 990, 996-1002
Kitāb al-ibāna 672
Kitāb al-iktifā' fi akhbār al-khulafā' 196-98
Kitāb al-i'lām bi-mā fi dīn al-Našārā min
al-fasād wa-l-awhām 392-94
Kitāb al-'ilm wa-l-'amal 73, 75-77
Kitāb iqtidā' al-širāt al-mustaqīm
mukhālafat aṣḥāb al-jaḥīm 825, 827,
 865-73, 895, 993
Kitāb miṭṭāḥ al-dīn 732, 734-36
Kitāb al-mu'allim wa-l-tilmīdh 99, 101-3
Kitāb al-mu'jib fi talkhīs akhbār
al-Maghrib 231-33
Kitāb al-munqidh min al-taqīd
wa-l-murshid ilā l-tawḥīd 67-69
Kitāb al-qawānīn al-rasūliyya 109, 110,
 111-14
Kitāb al-radd 'alā l-Našārā (al-Ja'farī) 485
Kitāb al-radd 'alā l-Našārā wa-dhikhr
majāmi'ihim 359-60
Kitāb al-radd 'alā l-Yahūd wa-l-Našārā
 (al-Bājī) 768
Kitāb al-rasā'il wa-l-wasā'il 252
Kitāb al-šarīm al-maslūl 'alā shātim
al-Rasūl 825, 827, 853-56, 993
Kitāb al-Sinaksār 129, 339, 356, 937-45
Kitāb al-tawārikh 472, 473-76
Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn 756, 757, 759-61
Knowledge and works, see Kitāb al-'ilm
wa-l-'amal 73, 75

- Ktābā d-deboritā* 193, 194-95
Ktābā d-marganitā 753-55, 757, 758-59
Ktōbō d-maktbōnut zabnē 15, 308, 588, 592, 599-602, 608
Ktōbō d-simōtō 242-44
Ktōbō d-yawnō 13, 590, 606-7
Ktōbō d-zalgē 598-99
- A lamp in the darkness and illumination of service*, see *Miṣbāḥ al-ḡulma wa-īdāḥ al-khidma* 73, 110, 324, 545, 762, 763-66, 937, 939
The lamp of the sanctuary, see *Mnōrat qudshē* 595-98, 599
Laws regarding the Dhimmīs, see *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma* 861, 990, 991-96, 998
Legal judgement on marriages (Ibn 'Abd al-Rafī') 907-8
Legenda aurea 640-44
Letter of Pascal of Vitoria, see *Epistola Paschalis de Victoria* 915-17
The letter from the people of Cyprus, see *Risāla min ahl jazīrat Qubruṣ* 81, 770-72, 799, 834, 835, 839, 845, 848, 900
Letter to his brother 'Alī ibn Ayyūb, see *Risāla ilā akhihi 'Alī ibn Ayyūb* 236, 838
Letter to the doctors of Egypt, see *Epistola salutaris doctoribus Egipti transmissa* 221-22
Letter to Kaykā'ūs 148-49
Letter to the king of Babylon, see *Epistola salutaris regi Babilonis* 218-20
Letter to a Muslim friend, see *Risāla ilā ba'ḍ aṣḍiqā'ihī alladhīna bi-Ṣaydā min al-Muṣlīmīn* 78, 79-82, 585, 770, 799, 834, 839, 848
The Letter of Prester John 118-23
Letters, see *Epistolae* (Jacques de Vitry) 300-2
Letters on the temporal success of the Muslims and the abject state of the Christians, see *Epistole de prosperitate Sarracenorum in temporalibus et deiectione Christianorum* 678, 681-83
Li Charboclois d'armes du conquest précieux de la Terre Saint de promission 897, 898-99
Libellus Habentometi de unio Dei 155-56
The Libellus of Ibn Tūmart on the unity of God, see *Libellus Habentometi de unio Dei* 155-56
Libellus ad nationes orientales 683-86
Liber Alchorani 152-55
Liber denudationis 153, 684, 687, 689
Liber disputationis Raimundi Christiani et Homeri Saraceni 715-17
Liber figurarum 87-89
Liber miraculorum beatissimi Ysidori 272-79
Liber Nycholay, qui dicitur Machumetus 650-53
Liber peregrinationis 678, 683-86
Liber de recuperatione Terre Sancte 625-26
Liber sive tractatus de praedicatione sanctae crucis 509, 511-13
Liber scalae Machometi 425-28, 654, 789
Libro declarante, see *Libro de las tres creencias* 957, 967-73, 974, 975
Libro de las tres creencias 957, 967-73, 974, 975
Life of Muḥammad, see *Vita Mahometi* 207, 208-11
The life of St Louis, see *La vie de Saint Louis* 719-23
Life of St Luka of Jerusalem, see *Tskhovreba ts'midisa luk'a ierusalimelisay* 781-83
The Life of St Nik'oloz Dvali, see *Tskhovreba ts'midisa nik'oloz dvalisay* 778-80
Literal Postill on the whole Bible 879, 881, 882
Libre dels feyts 553, 554-58
Libre del gentil i dels tres savis 709-12, 714
- Mā ukhtušir 'alā ta'līqihī min kalām ba'ḍ al-Masīḥiyyīn* 549-51
Madkhal al-shar' al-sharif 'alā l-madhāhib al-arba'a 894-96
Al-majmū' al-mubārak 566, 568-71
Majmū' uṣūl al-dīn 173, 174, 431, 433, 435, 454, 530, 532, 533-37, 542, 545, 547, 764
Al-makhrāj wa-l-mardūd fi l-radd 'alā l-Naṣārā wa-l-Yahūd 633-34
d-maktbōnut zabnē, Ktōbō 15, 308, 588, 592, 599-602, 608
Al-mann bi-l-ināma 177-78
The Maṣṣūrī history, see *Al-ta'rikh al-Maṣṣūrī* 246-47
Maqāla fi l-'aqīda, see *Maqāla fi l-'iṭiqād* 418-19
Maqāla fi ḥadath al-'ālam wa-qīdam al-Ṣānī' 476-77
Maqāla fi l-'iṭiqād see *Maqāla fi l-'aqīda* 418-19
Maqāla fi l-tathlīth wa-l-tajassud wa-ṣiḥḥat al-masīḥiyya, see *Al-maqāla al-ūlā min qawl al-qiddīs Būlus al-Būshī* 283-86

- Maqāla fi l-'umr wa-l-rizq* 286-87
Maqāla fi waḥdāniyyat al-Bārī' wa-tathlīth aqānīmīhi 201-2
Maqāla mukhtaṣara fi uṣūl al-dīn 532-33
Maqāla tanfī l-shakk wa-l-kufr 'an al-Naṣārā l-muwaḥḥidīn 419-20
Al-maqāla al-ūlā min qawl al-qiddīs Būlus al-Būshī 283-86
Maqālāt fi l-radd 'alā l-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā 249-50
d-marganītā, Kitāb 753-55, 757, 758-59
Martyrology of Amēnawag Derjanc'i, see V kayabanut 'awn Amēnawagi Derjanc'woy 911-13
The martyrdom of John of Phanijōit, see Ti martūria ntepiagios Iōannēs pimartūros mberi piebol henphannijōit 128-31
Martyrology of Bishop Grigor of Karin, see V kayabanut 'awn Grigori episkoposi Karnec'woy 794-97
Martyrology of Grigor Baluec'i, Simēon, and Kīrakos, see V kayabanut 'awn Grigori Baluec'woy, Simēoni ew Kīrakosi 620-23
Ti martūria ntepiagios Iōannēs pimartūros mberi piebol henphannijōit 128-31
Martyrology of T'ēodoros Kesarac'i, see V kayabanut 'awn T'ēodorosi Kesarac'woy 94-97
Mas'ala fi dhamm khamīs al-Naṣārā 876-77
Mas'ala fi man yusammī l-khamīs 'īd 874-75
Mas'alat al-kanā'is 826, 828, 856-60, 861
Masālik al-naṣar fi nubuwwat sayyid al-bashar 775, 776-77
Mathnawī-i ma' nawī 493, 494, 495, 498-504
miftāḥ al-dīn, Kitāb 732, 734-36
Mirror of kings, see Speculum regum 947, 951-52, 953
Miṣbāḥ al-zulma wa-iḏāḥ al-khidma 73, 110, 324, 545, 762, 763-66, 937, 939
Mnōrat qudshē 595-98, 599
Moreh Tsedek 955, 956, 957, 959-64, 965, 970
Mostrador de justicia, see Moreh Tsedek 955, 956, 957, 959-64, 965, 970
al-mu'allim wa-l-tilmīdh, Kitāb 99, 101-3
Al-mughrib fi hulā l-Maghrib 361, 362-64
Mujādalat Jirji al-rāhib 167-71
al-mu'jib fi talkhīs akhbār al-Maghrib, Kitāb 231-33
Mukhtaṣar ta'rikh al-duwal 608-9
Munāzara fi l-radd 'alā l-Naṣārā 62, 63-65
al-munqidh min al-taqlīd wa-l-murshid ilā l-tawḥīd, Kitāb 67-69
Muṣḥaf al-'ālam al-kā'in 392
Al-muwā'iz . . . min qawl al-qiddīs Athānāsīyūs 328-30
Al-naḥā'is fi hadm al-kanā'is 693
Nahj al-sabil fi jawāb Takhjil muḥarrifī al-Injīl 483, 543, 548-49
The nature of faith and refutation of the People of the Book from the Book, see Kayfīyyat al-īmān wa-l-radd 'alā ahl al-kitāb min al-Kitāb 269
The necessity of the straight path in distinction from the people of hell, see Kitāb iqtīdā' al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm mukhālafat aṣḥāb al-jahīm 825, 827, 865-73, 876, 895, 993
New chronicle, see Nuova cronica 978-82
The Nomocanon of Michael of Damietta, see Kitāb al-qawānīn al-rasūliyya 109, 110, 111-14
Notitia de Machometo 516-18, 519
Nuova cronica 978-82
The Old French Continuations of William of Tyre, see L'estoire de Eraclēs empereur et la conquēte de la Terre d'Outremer 561-65
On the affairs of Spain, see De rebus Hispanie 343, 344, 346-50, 352, 353
On the Catholic faith, see De fide catholica (Alan of Lille) 71-72
On the condition and lamentation of the church, see De statu et planctu ecclesiae 947, 949-50
On the fundamentals of the Christian religion, see Fi uṣūl al-dīn al-masiḥī 174-75
On Michael the new martyr, see Eis ton neon martyra Michaēl 810-14
On the Muḥammadan sect, see Sobre la seta Mahometana 674-77
On the realm of the Saracens, see De statu Sarracenorūm 260, 517, 518-20, 614
On the recovery of the Holy Land, see Liber de recuperatione Terre Sancte 625-26
On the Saracens and their practice, see De Saracenis et ritu ipsorum 802-3
On the sect of Muḥammad, see De seta Machometi 387-90
Opus maius 458, 461-70
Opus minus 458, 461
Opus tertium 458, 461

- Oracles of the very wise emperor Leo, see Tou sophōtatou basileōs Leontos chrēsmoi* 124-27
- Orations (Nicetas Choniates)* 139-40
- Other proofs for the truth of the Gospel, see Adilla ukhar 'alā shīḥat al-Injil* 336-37
- Panoplia dogmatikē* 132, 134, 135, 139, 140-44
- Patmut'awn Hayoc'* 439-42
- The precious jewel, see Al-jawhara l-nafisa* 919-23
- The procedure along the way in response to The shaming of those who alter the Gospel, see Nahj al-sabil fi jawāb Takhjil muḥarrifi al-Injil* 483, 543, 548-49
- The proof, on awareness of the beliefs of the followers of the faiths, see Al-burhān fi ma'rifat 'aqā'id ahl al-adyān* 579-81
- Proofs of divine oneness in refutation of Christianity, see Adillat al-waḥdāniyya fi l-radd 'alā l-Naṣrāniyya* 583-85
- Proofs of divine unity in refutation of the Christian community, see Adillat al-waḥdāniyya fi l-radd 'alā l-milla l-Naṣrāniyya* 264, 265-66
- Proofs of the truth of the Gospel, see Barāhīn 'alā shīḥat al-Injil* 335-36
- The prophecies of Merlin, see Les prophéties de Merlin* 657-61
- al-qawānīn al-rasūliyya, Kitāb* 109, 110, 111-14
- Al-qawl fi mas'alat 'Īsā kalimat Allāh wa-l-Qur'ān kalām Allāh* 852-53
- Al-qawl al-mukhtār fi l-man'ān takhyīr al-kuffār* 924-27
- The question of the churches, see Mas'alat al-kanā'is* 826, 828, 856-60
- A question about someone who calls Maundy Thursday a festival, see Mas'ala fi man yusammī l-khamīs 'īd* 874-75
- Questions against the heretics and Ishmaelites, see Shu'ālē luqbal harrātīqē w-Ishma'lāyē* 366-67
- Qur'anic assurance of victory over those who seek the support of present-day infidels, see Taṣrīḥ al-Qur'ān bi-l-naṣr 'alā man istā'āna bi-kuffār al-'aṣr* 312-16
- Radd 'alā ahl al-dhīmna wa-man tabi'ahum* 628-29
- Radd 'alā l-Muslimīn* 337-38
- Al-radd 'alā l-Muslimīn wa-l-Yahūd* 437
- Al-radd 'alā l-mutanaṣṣir* 906-7
- al-radd 'alā l-Naṣārā, Kitāb (al-Ja'fārī)* 485
- Radd al-Naṣārā (al-Ruhāwī)* 157-58
- Radd al-Naṣārā (unknown author)* 238-39
- al-radd 'alā l-Naṣārā wa-dhikhr majāmi'ihim, Kitāb* 359-60
- Al-radd 'alā l-Yahūd wa l-Muslimīn alladhīna yattahimūna l-Naṣārā bi-'ibādāt al-aṣnām* 333-35
- al-radd 'alā l-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā, Kitāb (al-Bājī)* 768
- al-rasā'il wa-l-wasā'il, Kitāb* 252
- Rawd al-qirtās* 816-19
- Rawḍat al-farid wa-sabwat al-wahūd* 202-6
- Reasons for the faith against the Saracens, Greeks and Armenians, to the cantor of Antioch, see De rationibus fidei contra Saracenos, Graecos et Armenos ad cantorem Antiochenum* 527-29
- Refutation of Christianity ('Abdallāh al-Asir)* 611-12
- Refutation of the Christians, see Kitāb al-radd 'alā l-Naṣārā (al-Dimyāṭī)* 695-96
- Refutation of the Christians, see Kitāb al-radd 'alā l-Naṣārā (al-Ja'fārī)* 485
- Refutation of the Christians, see Radd al-Naṣārā (al-Ruhāwī)* 157-58
- Refutation of the Christians, see Radd al-Naṣārā (unknown author)* 238-39
- A refutation of the Christians and an account of their groups, see Kitāb al-radd 'alā l-Naṣārā wa-dhikhr majāmi'ihim* 359-60
- Refutation of the convert to Christianity, see Al-radd 'alā l-mutanaṣṣir* 906-7
- Refutation of the dhimmis and those who follow them, see Radd 'alā ahl al-dhīmna wa-man tabi'ahum* 628-29
- Refutation of the Jews and Christians, see Kitāb al-radd 'alā l-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā (al-Bājī)* 768
- Refutation of the Jews and the Muslims who accuse the Christians of worshipping idols, see Al-radd 'alā l-Yahūd wa l-Muslimīn alladhīna yattahimūna l-Naṣārā bi-'ibādāt al-aṣnām* 333-35
- Refutation of the Muslims, see Radd 'alā l-Muslimīn* 337-38

- Refutation of the Muslims and the Jews*, see *Al-radd 'alā l-Muslimīn wa-l-Yahūd* 437
- Relatio* (Odoric of Pordenone) 887-92
- Removing obscurity, on the regulation of the people of protection*, see *Kashf al-ghimma fi ahkām ahl al-dhimma* 910
- Reply to the letter of the people of Cyprus*, see *Jawāb risālat ahl jazīrat Qubruş* 634, 798, 799-801
- Repudiation and rebuttal, in refutation of the Christians and Jews*, see *Al-makhrāj wa-l-mardūd fi l-radd 'alā l-Naşārā wa-l-Yahūd* 633-34
- Response of Athanasius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, to George, Metropolitan of Corfu*, see *Responsio domini Athanasii Patriarchae Hierosolymorum ad Georgium Metropolitae Corcyrae* 327-28
- Response to the blasphemer*, see *Teshuvot la-meḥaref* 964-67
- Response to al-Nāshī' al-Akbar*, see *Jawāb al-Nāshī' al-Akbar* 538, 541-42, 543
- Responses to questions*, see *Responsones ad dubitabilia* 256-58
- Responsio domini Athanasii Patriarchae Hierosolymorum ad Georgium Metropolitae Corcyrae* 327-28
- Respuestas al blasfemo*, see *Teshuvot la-meḥaref* 964-67
- Responsones ad dubitabilia* 256-58
- Revivification of the religious sciences* 13, 386, 604, 605, 606
- Riḥla* (Ibn Jubayr) 159, 160-65
- Risāla fi l-kanā'is wa-l-biya* 692-94
- Risāla fi l-radd 'alā man yaqūl bi-l-qaḍā' wa-l-qadar* 431, 435-36
- Risāla fi l-radd 'alā l-Naşārā* (Yūsuf al-Lubnānī) 235-37
- Risāla ilā akhūhi 'Alī ibn Ayyūb* 236, 838
- Risāla ilā ba'ḍ aṣḍiqā'ihī alladhīna bi-Şayḍā min al-Muslimīn* 78, 79-82, 585, 770, 799, 834, 839, 848
- Risālat al-Kindī* 241, 260, 261, 291, 402, 408, 411, 676, 707, 752
- Risāla min ahl jazīrat Qubruş* 81, 770-72, 799, 834, 835, 836, 839, 845, 848, 900
- Al-risāla l-nāşiriyya* 397-99
- Al-risāla l-qubruşīyya* 634, 825, 828, 834, 847-51
- Roman de Mahomet* 395-96
- The Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre* 429-30, 562
- Al-şaḥā'ih fi jawāb al-Naşā'ih* 542-44, 547, 542
- Sahman ew kanonk' miabanut'ean* *Elbarc* 572, 576-78
- al-şārim al-maslūl 'alā shātīm al-Rasūl, Kitāb* 825, 827, 853-56, 993
- Al-sayf al-murhaf fi l-radd 'alā l-Muşhaf* 662-65, 728, 729-30
- Sayings*, see *Aqwāl* (Michael, bishop of Atrīb) 357-58
- The selected saying concerning the prohibition on preferring infidels*, see *Al-qawl al-mukhtār fi l-man 'an takhyr al-kuffār* 924-27
- Sermones* (Jacques de Vitry) 303-4
- Sermones contra los Judíos e Moros* 974-76
- Sermons*, see *Sermones* (Jacques de Vitry) 303-4
- Sermons against the Jews and Muslims*, see *Sermones contra los Judíos e Moros* 974-76
- The sermons . . . delivered by the holy Athanasius*, see *Al-muwā'iz . . . min qawl al-qiddis Athānāsīyūs* 328-30
- Shāh marwārid* 758-59
- Al-shakk al-wārid min al-imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-khaṭīb* 547
- The shaming of the followers of the Gospel*, see *Takhjil ahl al-Injil* (Ibn Taymiyya) 834, 845-47, 997
- The shaming of those who have altered the Torah and the Gospel*, see *Takhjil man harraḡa l-Tawrāh wa-l-Injil* (al-Ja'farī) 481-83, 548
- The Shaykh of Islam . . . was asked about a group of Muslims*, see *Su'ila Shaykh al-Islām . . . 'an jamā'a min al-Muslimīn* 877-88
- Shrōrō galyō* 241-42
- Shu'ālē luqbal harrātiqē w-Ishma'lāyē* 366-67
- d-simōtō, Ktōbō* 242-44
- al-Sīnaksār, Kitāb* 129, 339, 356, 937-45
- Speculum doctrinale*, see *Speculum maius* 410
- Speculum historiale*, see *Speculum maius* 405-6, 407-15, 881
- Speculum maius* 405-6, 407-15
- Speculum regum* 947, 951-52, 953
- Story of Muhammad*, see *Roman de Mahomet* 395-96
- The sufficient, on the clear meaning*, see *Al-kāfi fi l-ma'nā l-shāfi* 668-71

- Su'ila 'amman yaf'al min al-Muslimin mithl ta'am al-Naşārā fi Nayrüz* 873-74
- Su'ila Shaykh al-Islām... 'an jamā'a min al-Muslimin* 877-88
- Summa contragentiles* (Thomas Aquinas) 523-27, 528, 686
- Summa de haeresibus* (Guido Terrena) 928-31
- Superb answers to shameful questions*, see *Al-ajwiba l-fākhira 'an al-as'ila l-fājira* 585-87
- The surpassing explanation*, see *Al-bayān al-mughrib* 737-42
- Synaxarion, Copto-Arabic*, see *Kitāb al-Sinaksār* 129, 339, 356, 937-45
- Syngraphikai historiai* 699-702
- Al-tabšira l-mukhtašara*, see *Maqāla mukhtašara fi ušul al-dīn* 532-33
- Al-tabyin ba'd al-shakk* 74, 77
- I tačkac' imastasirac' groc' kaleal bank'* 572, 574-76
- Tafsīr al-Ru'yā* 453, 455-56
- Tafsīr Sifr al-Ahbār* 99, 103-8
- Taḥrīm mushāraḳat ahl al-kitāb fi 'ayādihim* 873-74
- Tajrīd sayf al-himma li-istikhrāj mā fi dhimmat al-dhimma* 312-16
- Takhjil ahl al-Injil* (Ibn Taymiyya) 834, 845-47, 997
- Takhjil man ḥarrafa al-Tawrah wa-l-Injil* (al-Ja'fari) 481-83, 548
- Al-takmila li-Kitāb al-Šila* 369, 370-72
- Tālī Kitāb waḳayāt al-a'yān* 821-23
- Al-ta'liq 'alā al-Anājil* 727-29, 730
- Tārīkh al-ābā' al-baṭarika* 487-90
- Al-ta'rīkh al-Manšūrī* 246-47
- Tašrīh al-Qur'an bi-l-našr 'alā man ista'āna bi-kuffār al-'ašr* 312-16
- Tathbīt dalā'il al-nubuwwa* 998
- Tathlith al-waḥdāniyya* 116-17, 392
- al-tawārīkh, Kitāb* 472, 473-76
- Teacher of righteousness*, see *Moreh Tsedek* 955, 956, 957, 959-64, 965, 970
- Teachings for children*, see *Doctrina pueril* 706-8
- The ten questions*, see *Al-'ashr al-masā'il* 484
- Teshuvot la-meḥaref* 964-67
- The testament of our Lord Jesus Christ to his disciple Peter*, see *Wašyyat rabbinā Yasū' al-Masiḥ li-tilmidihī Buṭrus* 743-49
- Three-part treatise, Opusculum tripartitum* 513-14
- Tiryāq al-'uqūl li-taḥšil al-ušul*, see *Diryāq al-'uqūl wa-ghāyat al-maḥšūl fi 'ilm al-ušul* 431, 433-35
- Tomos* 135, 136, 697
- Tract on the Eastern peoples*, see *Libellus ad nationes orientales* 683-86
- Tractatus contra Iudaeos* 207, 209
- Tractatus fidei contra diversos errores* 422-24
- Travels* (Marco Polo), see *Devisement du Monde* 646-49
- Travels* (Ibn Jubayr), see *Rihla* 159, 160-65
- The travels of friar Odoric of Pordenone* 887-92
- The treatise of assistance*, see *Al-risāla l-nāširiyya* 397-99
- Treatise concerning the Conditions of 'Umar* 862-63
- Treatise on belief*, see *Maqāla fi l-i'tiqād; Maqāla fi l-'aqida* 418-19
- Treatise on the contingency of the world and the eternity of the Maker*, see *Maqāla fi ḥadath al-'ālam wa-qidam al-Šāni'* 476-77
- Treatise denying doubt and unbelief on the part of Christians, believers in divine unity*, see *Maqāla tanfī l-shakk wa-l-kufr 'an al-Naşārā l-muwahḥidin* 419-20
- Treatise of the faith against various errors*, see *Tractatus fidei contra diversos errores* 422-24
- Treatise on lifespan and sustenance*, see *Maqāla fi l-'umr wa-l-rizq* 286-87
- Treatise in refutation of the Christians*, see *Risāla fi l-radd 'alā l-Naşārā* (Yūsuf al-Lubnāni) 235-37
- A treatise in refutation of those who teach divine predestination and decree*, see *Risāla fi l-radd 'alā man yaqūl bi-l-qaḍā' wa-l-qadar* 431, 435-36
- Treatise on synagogues and churches*, see *Risāla fi l-kanā'is wa-l-biya* 692-94
- Treatise on the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the truth of Christianity*, see *Al-maqāla al-ūlā min qawl al-qiddīs Būlus al-Būshī* 283-86
- Treatise on the unity of the Creator and the trinity of his hypostases*, see *Maqāla fi waḥdāniyyat al-Bārī' wa-tathlith aqānīmihi* 201-2
- Treatises and devices*, see *Kitāb al-rasā'il wa-l-wasā'il* 252

- Treatises in refutation of the Jews and Christians*, see *Maqālāt fi l-radd ‘alā l-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā* 249-50
- Trinitizing the oneness (of God)*, see *Tathlīth al-wahdāniyya* 116-17
- The truths in response to The advice*, see *Al-ṣaḥā’ih fi jawāb al-Naṣā’ih* 542-44, 547, 548
- Tskhovreba ts`midisa luk'a ierusalimelisay* 781-83
- Tskhovreba ts`midisa nik'oloz dvalisay* 778-80
- Tsxovreba mep`et` mep`isa T`amarisi* 1004-7
- Understanding after ambiguity*, see *Al-ifhām ba`d al-istibhām* 74, 75-77
- The unsheathed sword against whoever insults the Messenger* see *Kitāb al-ṣārim al-maslūl ‘alā shātim al-Rasūl* 825, 827, 853-56, 993
- uṣūl al-dīn, Kitāb* 756, 757, 759-61
- ‘Uyūn al-munāẓarāt* 773-74
- La vie de Saint Louis* 719-23
- Views from the writings of Islamic philosophers*, see *I tačkac` imastasīrac` groc` kateal bank`* 572, 574-76
- Vita Mahometi* 207, 208-11
- Vita nuova* 784, 787
- Vkayabanut`iwn Amēnawagi*
Derjanc`woy 911-13
- Vkayabanut`iwn Grigori Baluec`woy, Simēoni ew Kirakosi* 620-23
- Vkayabanut`iwn Grigori episkoposi Karnec`woy* 794-97
- Vkayabanut`iwn T`ēodorosi Kesarac`woy* 94-97
- Wa su`ila ‘an al-ruhbān . . .* 863-65
- Wafayāt al-a`yān* 820, 821-22
- Waṣīyya ‘alā ḥāmil al-mutanaṣṣir* 322-23
- Waṣīyyat rabbinā Yasū‘ al-Masīh li-tilmīdihī Buṭrus* 743-49
- Ways of discernment, concerning the prophethood of the master of mankind*, see *Masālik al-naẓar fi nubuwwat sayyid al-bashar* 775, 776-77
- What has been abbreviated from his comments on the discourse of a Christian*, see *Mā ukhtuṣir ‘alā ta`liqihī min kalām ba`d al-Masīhiyyīn* 549-51
- What is said about the issue of Jesus being the Word of God and the Qur`an being the Word of God*, see *Al-qawl fi mas`alat ‘Isā kalimat Allāh wa-l-Qur`ān kalām Allāh* 852-53
- The whetted sword in refutation of the Scripture*, see *Al-sayf al-murḥaf fi l-radd ‘alā l-Muṣḥaf* 662-65, 728, 729-30
- The wondrous work, on gems of the West*, see *Al-mughrib fi ḥulā l-Maghrib* 361, 362-64
- d-yawnō, Ktōbō* 13, 590, 606-7
- d-zalge, Ktōbō* 598-99