

# Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History

*Volume 5 (1350-1500)*

*Edited by David Thomas*  
and Alex Mallett



*With*

Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala

Johannes Pahlitzsch

Mark Swanson

Herman Teule

John Tolan

BRILL

Christian-Muslim Relations  
A Bibliographical History

# History of Christian-Muslim Relations

## *Editorial Board*

David Thomas, University of Birmingham

Tarif Khalidi, American University of Beirut

Gabriel Said Reynolds, University of Notre Dame

Mark Swanson, Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago

## Volume 20

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.

# Christian-Muslim Relations A Bibliographical History

Volume 5 (1350-1500)

Edited by  
David Thomas and Alex Mallett  
with Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala,  
Johannes Pahlitzsch, Mark Swanson,  
Herman Teule, John Tolan



BRILL

LEIDEN · BOSTON  
2013



## Arts & Humanities Research Council

*Cover illustration:* This shows part of the interior of Aya Sofia, Istanbul. Built by the Emperor Justinian in his capital Constantinople in the 6th century, the Church of Hagia Sophia remained the most splendid place of Christian worship throughout the Middle Ages. When the Ottomans conquered the city in 1453 and renamed it Istanbul, the church was turned into a mosque. This detail is of the minbar of the mosque to one side of what became the miḥrab, and in the background a mosaic of the Virgin and Child in what had been the original central apse of the basilica.

Photo by Kyle K. Tsui.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Christian Muslim relations : a bibliographical history / edited by David Thomas & Alex Mallett; with Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala . . . [et al.].

p. cm. — (The history of Christian-Muslim relations, ISSN 1570-7350 ; v. 20)

Includes index.

ISBN 978-90-04-22964-8 (hardback : alk. paper) 1. Christianity and other religions—Islam. 2. Islam—Relations—Christianity. 3. Christianity and other religions—Islam—Bibliography. 4. Islam—Relations—Christianity—Bibliography. I. Thomas, David. II. Roggema, Barbara. III. Monferrer Sala, Juan Pedro. IV. Title. V. Series.

BP172.C4196 2009

016.2612'7—dc22

2009029184

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual “Brill” typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities. For more information, please see [www.brill.com/brill-typeface](http://www.brill.com/brill-typeface).

ISSN 1570-7350

ISBN 978-90-04-22964-8 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-25278-3 (e-book)

Copyright 2013 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Global Oriental, Hotei Publishing, IDC Publishers and Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.

Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

## CONTENTS

Foreword .....	vii
Abbreviations .....	xi
Herman G.B. Teule, <i>Introduction: Constantinople and Granada. Christian-Muslim interaction 1350-1516</i> .....	1
Daniel G. König, <i>Arabic-Islamic perceptions of Europe in the Middle Ages</i> .....	17
Klaus-Peter Todt, <i>Islam and Muslims in Byzantine historiography of the 10<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries</i> .....	35
Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, <i>Somewhere in the 'History of Spain'. People, languages and texts in the Iberian Peninsula (13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries)</i> .....	47
Works on Christian-Muslim relations 1350-1500 .....	61
Addenda and corrigenda to CMR 1-4 .....	613
Index of Names .....	763
Index of Titles .....	770



## FOREWORD

David Thomas

*Christian-Muslim relations. A bibliographical history 5 (CMR 5)*, covering the period 1350-1500, is the fifth volume in a history of the written records of relations between Christians and Muslims. It covers the momentous events leading up to the fall of Constantinople and the rise of the Ottoman sultanate, continuing the history from the beginning of Islam in the seventh century, and leading into the early modern era. Later volumes will follow Muslims and Christians as they recorded their mutual encounters and set down their reflections about one another and reactions to one another's presence in a multitude of new circumstances and through all parts of the world up to the year 1900.

*CMR* includes accounts of all the known works written by Christians and Muslims about and against one another. They are intended to provide a basis for further investigation, paving the way for fuller knowledge of the history of Christian-Muslim relations and deeper understanding of the currents and influences it comprises. This is much more than a single individual or group could accomplish and, as in earlier volumes, the editors have drawn upon the expertise of the scholarly community and been assisted by a wide range of authorities in bringing together entries that reflect the latest scholarship, in many instances take it forward and in some extend it beyond what was previously known.

After an introductory essay that surveys relations between the faiths in the whole period 1350-1500, this volume, like its predecessors, begins with a series of general essays. These cover issues and items that do not fit easily into the format adopted for the entries in the main part of the work; they provide separate details of information forming parts of a picture that is only completed and made comprehensible when they are all assembled together.

Following these essays come the entries that make up the bulk of the volume. The basic criterion is to include works written substantially about or against the other as a believer, or containing significant information or judgements that cast light on attitudes of the one towards the other. Thus, by their very nature, apologetic and polemical works are included, while, with the exception of works offering significant information (e.g. al-Maqrīzī's *Khīṭa* on the Copts in Egypt around the year 1400), historical,



political and geographical works are usually not, even though they may refer to the other in passing. 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 deduced from a title or a reference by a later author. It is possible that future discoveries will either confirm these decisions or show that they have been too broad.

A point that requires explanation is the system of ordering works. A single work by an author is ordered according to its date, where this is known. Multiple works by an author are placed together according to the date of the latest, and, where the dates of works are not known, they are ordered according to the date of the author's death. Where this date is not known, or in the case of anonymous works, a judgement has been made about the period when the works are likely to have appeared, and such works are ordered together with others from the same time. If this system seems arbitrary in any way, it is balanced by the consideration that any other criterion would also involve decisions that might just as easily be open to question.

Each entry is divided into two main parts. The first is concerned with the author, where known, and it contains basic biographical details, an account of his (as far as can be told, nearly all authors in this period were male) main intellectual activities and writings, the main primary sources of information about him, and the latest works by present day scholars on him. Without aiming to be exhaustive, this section contains sufficient information for readers to gain an idea of the author and his activities, and to pursue further details if desired.

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

With this coverage, *CMR 5* will provide sufficient information to enable a work to be identified, its importance appreciated, its earliest witnesses

and later publications of it traced, and studies on it located. Each work is also placed as far as is possible in the historical progression of relations between the faiths, allowing it to be seen in the context of other works from the same time. Thus, a work written in Greek may be found next to a work written in Syriac, which may be followed by a Muslim Arabic work, which in turn will be followed by a Latin, Armenian, Christian Arabic 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 in any stretch of time. But it must always be considered only a rough guide, and its limitations should be particularly borne in mind in the case of anonymous works or works by little-known authors that can only be allocated to a general period, and even more in the case of works whose dating is debated and disputed.

A clear indication that work in this field never stops is given in the last section of the volume, which contains updates and corrections to the entries in *CMR* 1-4. These have all been incorporated into the original entries in the online *CMR*.

The composition of this history has been the work of many contributors who readily and often enthusiastically accepted the invitations of the main editors. The project was led by Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala (Iberian Arabic texts), Johannes Pahlitzsch (Greek texts), Alex Mallett (Research Fellow and minor languages), Mark Swanson (Christian Arabic texts), Herman Teule (Syriac texts), David Thomas (Director, and Muslim Arabic texts), and John Tolan (Latin texts). In addition, Carol Rowe gave practical help in the form of careful copy editing, while the staff editors at Brill gave constant encouragement. The editors are deeply indebted to everyone who has helped in one way or another, not least those generous souls who actually volunteered to write entries and in a few cases alerted the editors to newly discovered works.

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 that 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.

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

### BL

British Library

### BNF

Bibliothèque Nationale de France

### Brockelmann, *GAL*

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

### BSOAS

*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*

### BZ

*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*

### CE

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

### CSCO

*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*

### DOP

*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*

### EI<sub>2</sub>

*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.

### EI<sub>3</sub>

*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

- JAOS  
*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JSAI  
*Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
- JSS  
*Journal of Semitic Studies*
- 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<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 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*
- PLP  
 E. Trapp, R. Walther and H.-V. Beyer (eds), *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, 15 vols, Vienna, 1976-96
- PO  
*Patrologia Orientalis*
- 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

Simaika

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

Vat

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana



# Introduction: Constantinople and Granada. Christian-Muslim interaction 1350-1516

Herman G.B. Teule

The years between 1350 and 1516/17, when the Ottomans entered the Arab world, are marked by a redesigning of the political geography of the eastern Mediterranean and the Iberian Peninsula, and the appearance of new borders between areas of Christian-European and Muslim rule. Two emblematic events are the fall of Constantinople (1453) in the East and the fall of Granada (1492) in the West, though the process of encroaching upon each other's territories had already started earlier,<sup>1</sup> and was not completed with either the Christian re-conquest of Spain or the Muslim proclamation of Constantinople as the capital of a new empire.

Despite a state of continuing war, commercial relations between Islamic and Christian states and between Christian and Muslim individuals continued to flourish, and this encouraged cultural and religious interaction. Finally, with the establishing of the new borderlines, huge Christian and Muslim populations found themselves living in territories ruled by foreigners. The new empires had to develop solutions for how to relate legally and practically to populations that did not share the religion of the majority or of those in power.

This introduction presents a sketch of the main political developments of this period, with a focus on Muslim-Christian relations, followed by two brief outlines on commercial and diplomatic interaction between Christians and Muslims, and the situation (legal and *de facto*) of Christians living under Muslim rule and of Muslims under Christian rule. Its sole aim is to provide some background to the works and authors included in this volume.

---

<sup>1</sup> See H. Teule, 'Christian-Muslim interaction 1200-1350. A historical and contextual introduction', *CMR* 4, 1-16.



## Political Developments

### The Ottomans<sup>2</sup>

The first years of this period saw the steady expansion of Ottoman territory. In 1354, Gallipoli (Gelibolu), on the European side of the Dardanelles, was struck by a heavy earthquake, which facilitated the capture of the city by Sulayman Pasha, son of Orhan I. The Ottomans considered this as a sign that God himself had given the city to them. This first stronghold in Europe opened the way to further raids into Thrace, and only eight years later Adrianople (Edirne), about 100 kilometers west of Constantinople, opened its gates to Murad I, who had succeeded Orhan. Despite the temporary recapture of Gallipoli by a European coalition led by Amadeus VI of Savoy (1366), the only ruler to answer Pope Urban V's call for a new crusade, Murad gradually brought most of the Balkans under Ottoman rule: Sofia, an important city in the disintegrating Bulgarian Tsardom of Tarnovo, fell in 1382, and Thessaloniki, the second city of the Byzantine Empire, in 1387, though it was temporarily recaptured in 1393.<sup>3</sup> At the battle of Kosovo Polje (the 'field of the blackbirds'), today paradoxically the key symbol of Serbian nationalism, the Serbs were defeated and parts of Serbia opened up to further Ottoman penetration. In Anatolia, Murad was no less successful, and expanded Ottoman territory at the cost of the former local Seljuk and Mongol *beyliks*.

Murad himself was killed during the Battle of Kosovo, but he left behind a well organized state, in both Europe (Rumeli) and Anatolia. He was the first to adopt the title of sultan and made Edirne after Bursa his second capital, and there he laid the foundations of the new administration that would become the hallmark of the later Ottoman Empire.

---

<sup>2</sup> For some general historical surveys, see H. İnalcık, 'The emergence of the Ottomans', and 'The rise of the Ottoman Empire', in P. Holt et al. (eds), *The Cambridge history of Islam*, Vol. 1a, Cambridge, 1970, 264-91, 295-323 respectively; H. İnalcık, *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire, Vol. 1: 1300-1600*, Cambridge, 1997<sup>2</sup>; K. Fleet, 'The rise of the Ottomans', in M. Fierro (ed.), *The new Cambridge history of Islam*, Vol. 2, Cambridge, 2010, 313-31; M. Kiel, 'The incorporation of the Balkans into the Ottoman Empire, 1353-1453', in K. Fleet (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Turkey*, Cambridge, 2009, 138-91; R.P. Lindner, 'Anatolia, 1300-1451', in K. Fleet (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Turkey*, Cambridge, 2009, 102-37; 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, pp. 403-43.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. Bryer, 'The Roman Orthodox world (1393-1492)', in J. Shepard, *The Cambridge history of the Byzantine Empire c. 500-1492*, Vol. 1, Cambridge, 2008, 852-80, pp. 856-60.

Murad was succeeded by his son Bayazid I, who continued the rapid Ottoman expansion begun by his father, both in the Balkans and in Anatolia, swift successes that earned him the nickname *yıldırım*, 'thunderbolt'. In Rumeli, he captured Tarnovo and even besieged Constantinople, thus provoking a new and last crusade, whose armies were crushed, however, at the disastrous battle of Nikopolis in 1396.<sup>4</sup> In Anatolia, he captured Amasya, Sivas and Konya, and even entered Mamluk territory, where he conquered the city of Malatya, which still had an important Christian population. However, his reign came to a premature end at the Battle of Ankara, where he was made captive by the troops of Timur-i Leng (1402), the new and powerful Mongol leader who in the following years would prevent any Ottoman expansion in the east, and would also threaten the stability of the Mamluks in Egypt. However, Bayazid's earlier capture of Mamluk Malatya made a stable and possibly profitable alliance between Timur's main enemies impossible, at least for a short but crucial period.

Following Bayazid's death, it took some time for the Ottomans to recover their former élan. After a period of fratricidal struggle among his heirs, which gave some room to the Byzantines (the so-called 'interregnum'), Mehmed I succeeded to his father's throne and restored the unity of the empire. By the time of his death in 1421, he had recaptured much of the lost Anatolian territories and expanded Rumeli as far as Albania. In this period, Edirne became the Ottoman first capital, before Bursa.

The following years, under Murad II, saw the consolidation and expansion of Ottoman territory in Rumeli. In 1430, Thessaloniki was captured again, allowing Murad to wage war against King Sigismund of Hungary for the recognition of Ottoman supremacy in Serbia. However, the military successes against the Ottomans by John Hunyadi (d. 1456), the Voivoda of Transylvania, retaking Sofia and even threatening Edirne, aroused new hopes among the Christian powers and even triggered a new Christian alliance. The union signed between the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1439<sup>5</sup> reinforced this idea of a new crusade to drive the Ottomans from the Balkans and out of Europe. All crusader hopes were dashed, however, at the Battle of Varna (1444) and a second Battle of Kosovo (1448), both won by the forces of Murad II.

<sup>4</sup> N. Housley, *The later crusades, 1274-1580*, Oxford, 1992, pp. 67-69, 76-81.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. M. Angold, 'Byzantium and the West', in *The Cambridge history of Christianity*, Vol. 5. *Eastern Christianity*, Cambridge, 2006, 53-78, pp. 73-77.

It was only a matter of time before Constantinople itself, now entirely surrounded by Ottoman territory, would be attacked.<sup>6</sup> Murad II died in 1451, but he had already designated his successor, his son Mehmed II. On 29 May 1453, after a siege of 54 days, Mehmed launched a successful attack on the city and, in accord with the treatment reserved for cities captured by force, he allowed his army to plunder it for three days, with only two districts spared. Making Constantinople the capital of his empire,<sup>7</sup> Mehmed II, now surnamed Fatih ('Conqueror'), made sure to consolidate his power both in the Balkans, Bosnia, Morea and the Crimea, and in Anatolia, where he subjugated the Empire of Trebizond, a Byzantine state on the Black Sea founded to succeed Constantinople after the Latins had conquered the city in 1204. He died in 1481, one year after Ottoman troops had landed on Italian shores in the neighborhood of Otranto.<sup>8</sup>

Mehmed was succeeded by his son Bayazid II. Though of a different character from his father – he was given the name 'Adlī, ('the Just') – and more interested in internal Ottoman developments than in warfare, Bayazid still had to organize military campaigns on a variety of fronts. First, he set up a successful expedition against Poland concerning the supremacy of Moldavia (1496-98). Second, in eastern Anatolia, there was a permanent struggle with the Mamluk Sultanate. Bayazid concluded a peace treaty with them, which for some time fixed the borders between the two empires. A new development, however, was that, under his reign, the Ottomans became implicated in European policy and warfare. After some initial diplomatic contacts with various Italian principalities and with the king of Hungary, Bayazid became directly involved in the war between a Franco-Venetian alliance and some Italian cities, including Milan, Naples and Florence. An Ottoman fleet, as well as land troops, threatened Venetian possessions in the Morea and, with the help of Naples, secured their hold over Otranto. However, facing a strong coalition of French, Spanish, Portuguese and Hungarian allies, he accepted peace treaties with the European powers in order to have a free hand to solve his problems in Anatolia.

---

<sup>6</sup> Cf. W. Treadgold, *A history of the Byzantine state and society*, Stanford CA, 1997, pp. 784-803.

<sup>7</sup> Bryer, *The Roman Orthodox world (1393-1492)*, pp. 865-71; P. Bádenas de la Peña and I. Pérez Martín (eds), *Constantinopla 1453. Mitos y realidades*, Madrid, 2003 (with a good survey of the Greek sources).

<sup>8</sup> G. Gianfredo, *Otranto nella storia*, Lecce, 2003, pp. 255-74.

Bayazid abdicated in favor of his son Selim I in 1512. Selim's first interest was in the East rather than in the Balkans. After defeating the armies of the Persian Shah Ismā'īl, who was trying to gain influence in Anatolia, he annexed the rest of eastern Anatolia, including Bitlis and Amid (Diyarbakır), a multi-religious city with a significant Christian population. But he did not stop there; in August 1516, he entered Mamluk Syria, where he subjugated the cities of Aleppo and Damascus and conquered Palestine. When the Mamluk sultan refused to swear allegiance to the Ottomans, Selim entered Egypt and defeated the Mamluk armies, thus ending the Mamluk Sultanate.

### The Arab world<sup>9</sup>

In 1350, the political situation in the central lands of the Arab world – Syria, Iraq, Palestine and Egypt – was rather diffuse. In Egypt, the Mamluk Bahrī dynasty had firmly established themselves after defeating the remnants of the Crusader states and also the Mongols, confirming themselves as the protectors of the Islamic state. After the destruction of Baghdad in 1258, Cairo had become one of the most prominent cities of the Islamic world, and Mamluk rule extended over parts of Arabia, Palestine, Syria and the Armenian Cilicia. In 1382, the Burjī Mamluks, a new dynasty of Circassian origin, took over. The reign of most of their sultans was extremely short and characterized by political instability.<sup>10</sup>

Outside Egypt, the first sultan, Zāhir Sayf al-Dīn Barqūq (d. 1399), had to deal with Timur-i Leng's conquests in Mesopotamia, at the same time as the Ottomans were encroaching on Mamluk territory in Anatolia. In 1400, Timur entered Syria, taking Aleppo and Damascus, and raided Mamluk holdings in Anatolia. Syria was nearly reduced to ruin, and the destruction of its infrastructure was one of the factors that explain the difficult internal situation in Egypt, both politically and economically.

In addition, on a number of occasions in the late 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, Christians from Europe raided the coast of Egypt. In 1365, Peter I of Lusignan, the king of Cyprus,<sup>11</sup> successfully attacked Alexandria, the

<sup>9</sup> For general surveys, see A. Levanoni, 'The Mamlūks in Egypt and Syria. The Turkish Mamlūk sultanate (648-784/1250-1382) and the Circassian Mamlūk sultanate (784-923/1382-1517)', in M. Fierro (ed.), *The new Cambridge history of Islam*, Vol. 2, Cambridge, 2010, 237-84, pp. 257-59; J.-C. Garcin, 'The regime of the Circassian Mamlūks', in C. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Egypt*, Vol. 1, Cambridge, 1998, 290-317; B. Lewis, 'Egypt and Syria', in P. Holt et al. (eds), *The Cambridge history of Islam*, Vol. 1a, Cambridge, 1970, 175-230, pp. 219-22.

<sup>10</sup> On the Burjī Mamluk dynasty, see A. Clot, *L'Égypte des Mamelouks*, Paris, 2009.

<sup>11</sup> S. Bliznyuk, 'A crusader of the later middle ages. King Peter I of Cyprus', in

ultimate aim of his crusade being the recapture of the Holy Land.<sup>12</sup> The initiative for this crusade had been taken by Pope Urban V, who was also instrumental in organizing the coalition led by Amadeus of Savoy against the Ottomans. Although a peace treaty was signed between Cyprus and Egypt in 1370, the island continued to serve as a naval basis for regular attacks on Muslim shores by pirates and corsairs of various origins, culminating in a massive counterattack by Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy in 1427. The king, Janus I of Lusignan, was taken captive and was forced to recognize the suzerainty of the sultan and to pay a yearly tribute, a situation that would continue until 1489 when the Venetians took over power. Though the Venetians continued to recognize Mamluk suzerainty, the sultan's influence considerably diminished in this period.<sup>13</sup>

Another Christian enemy that threatened Mamluk power was the Portuguese, who had already reconquered all Muslim dominions in their country in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. When, by the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Vasco da Gama had opened a direct sea route between Portugal and India, this had immediate negative consequences on the economy of Egypt, which was deprived of exclusive control of the spice trade. The ensuing war resulted in a resounding victory for the Portuguese, who destroyed the Egyptian fleet in the Arabian Sea (1508) and even threatened the shores of the Red Sea.

#### The Iberian Peninsula<sup>14</sup>

In the Iberian Peninsula, it was only the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada that remained in Muslim hands.<sup>15</sup> At the beginning of this period, the ruler Muḥammad V (d. 1391) was still powerful enough to take over some fortifications near the town of Ronda, which had been conquered by the Marīnid dynasty of Fes that, in the previous years, had extended its influence over the southern parts of al-Andalus. The death of Muḥammad V,

---

Z. Hunyadi and S. Laszlovsky (eds), *The crusades and the military orders. Expanding the frontiers of medieval Latin Christianity*, Budapest, 2001, 51-57.

<sup>12</sup> For a discussion of the possibly commercial rather than religious motives behind Peter's 'crusade', see Housley, *The later crusades*, pp. 41-42, and Bliznyuk, *A crusader*, p. 56.

<sup>13</sup> A. Fuess, 'Was Cyprus a Mamluk protectorate? Mamluk policies towards Cyprus between 1426 and 1517', *Journal of Cyprus Studies* 11 (2005) 11-28.

<sup>14</sup> F.R. Mediano, 'The post-Almohad dynasties in al-Andalus and the Maghrib (7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries)', in M. Fierro (ed.), *The new Cambridge history of Islam*, Vol. 2, Cambridge, 2010, 106-43, pp. 131-33.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal*, Vol. 8.3. *Los reinos de Taifas. El reino Nazarí de Granada (1232-1492)*. *Política, instituciones, espacio y economía*, ed. M.J. Viguera, Madrid, 2000.

who was a skillful politician, maintaining good relations with both the Mamluks in Egypt and the Christian princes of the Peninsula, marked the beginning of a period of decline. This was as much due to external Christian pressure as to internal rivalries and the struggle for the succession. The result was the loss of important centers such as Antequera (1410) to Ferdinand I of Aragon, and lost battles such as La Higuera (1431) against the Castilians. Abroad, King Alfonso V of Aragon (d. 1458) was active on the African coast, and tried to conquer some Tunisian islands that belonged to the Ḥafsid dynasty.

When in 1474 Queen Isabel of Castile, through her marriage to Ferdinand II of Aragon, virtually united the two kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, the time was ripe for a new offensive against the much weakened Emirate of Granada. After several military campaigns, during which towns such as Ronda, Málaga and Baeza were conquered by the Castilians, the *Reyes Católicos* started their siege of Granada in April 1491. The city capitulated on 2 January 1492, not after battle but on terms negotiated a few months before by the Emir Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad XII, known to the Spanish as Boabdil, the so-called *capitulaciones* of Granada (25 November 1491). It was the end of al-Andalus and the completion of the Reconquista, at least in the Iberian Peninsula.

The next step would be some Spanish attempts to reach the Holy Land by organizing raids into North Africa. In 1510, Castilian armies even conquered ‘Western Tripoli’ in Libya, and this remained in Christian hands till it surrendered to the Ottomans in 1551. In the same period, the Portuguese raided the Atlantic coasts of Morocco. They had already taken Ceuta in 1415 and, by the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, they were in control of the majority of the Moroccan harbors on the Atlantic.

#### Christian-Muslim relations

The description of the political developments above may suggest that the struggle between Islamic and Christian armies was basically motivated by religion. Though it is self-evident that, in many cases (Ottoman expansions, crusades, the Reconquista), a religious thrust and the idea of conducting a holy war played an important role,<sup>16</sup> other factors were much more important. In the case of the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans, İnalçık has highlighted the importance of the idea of *ghazā*. He gives the example of Gregory Palamas, the Bishop of Thessaloniki and Byzantium’s

<sup>16</sup> İnalçık, *Emergence*, p. 270.

most important theologian, who was told that the westward Ottoman expansion had to be seen as the will of God. This interpretation is, however, challenged by several scholars, who point to other equally important factors, such as capable leadership, the absence of struggles for succession to the throne, at least in the initial period (in contrast to what could be witnessed in Byzantium), and the capacity of Ottoman leaders to take advantage of the internal rivalries of their enemies, whether Byzantine or European.<sup>17</sup> In many cases, the victories of the Ottoman armies can be explained by their alliances with Christian princes and states, while the latter in turn owed many of their successes to their relationships with the Turks.

At the beginning of this period, Orhan was the ally of Emperor John VI Cantacuzenus (q.v.) in the latter's struggle for the throne, and he even married the emperor's daughter Theodora. When his rival, John V Palaeologus, failed in his attempts to obtain help from the pope and other European allies, *Realpolitik* dictated that he recognize the suzerainty of Murad I; he even took part in the latter's Anatolian expeditions. His son, Andronicus IV, requested help from Murad for his personal political ambitions on the promise of returning Gelibolu, which, as has been seen, had been recaptured by the crusader campaign led by Amadeus of Savoy. He thus became instrumental in the Ottomans' further expansion in Thrace.

The same pattern can be seen throughout virtually the whole period until the Ottomans captured Constantinople, a situation that was very much resented by some Byzantine observers. In a public letter written in 1391, the Byzantine theologian, translator of some Latin anti-Islamic tracts and statesman Demetrius Cydones (d. 1398; q.v.) recognizes that, on account of their internal dissensions, the emperors had no other way out than 'to serve the barbarian'.<sup>18</sup> His pupil, the later Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus (d. 1425; q.v.), who had his own ideas on Islam, was forced to take part in the campaign of Bayazid I (1390) against the city of Philadelphia (Alaşehir), the last Greek stronghold in western Anatolia and an important Orthodox metropolitan see, being one of the Seven Churches mentioned in the Book of Revelation.<sup>19</sup> The alliance was, however,

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Fleet, *The rise of the Ottomans*, pp. 321, 330 (bibliographical references).

<sup>18</sup> R.-J. Loenertz OP (ed.), *Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance*, 2 vols (*Studi e Testi* 186, 208), Vatican City, 1956-60, ii, p. 407; cf. Fleet, *The rise of the Ottomans*, p. 318.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. A. Laïou, 'The Palaiologoi and the world around them (1261-1400)', in J. Sheppard (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the Byzantine Empire c. 500-1492*, Cambridge, 2009, 803-33, p. 829; Treadgold, *A history*, p. 781.



short-lived. A few years later, Manuel requested the West to help him defend his capital against Bayazid, and also offered assistance to the failed crusade of Nicopolis. Demetrius, the brother of Emperor John VIII Palaeologus, was successful in obtaining help from the Ottomans in his opposition to his brother's pro-Latin sympathies. This resulted in the last siege of Constantinople before its final fall in 1453.

However, it was not only the Byzantines who needed support from the Ottomans, for in the period of the interregnum after Bayazid's death, his son, Sulayman Çelebi, sought support from the Venetians and the Byzantines in his struggle against his brothers. A few years later, it was Sulayman's brother Mehmed's turn to conclude an alliance with Manuel II, which allowed him to cross the Dardanelles into Rumeli. It was only due to the Byzantines that he was able to defeat his other brother, Musa, near Sofia (1413), who in turn sought refuge at the Byzantine court. About a decade later, in the struggle for the succession that had Murad II (d. 1451) opposing his uncle, Mustafa, the latter concluded a treaty with the Byzantines, who were promised lands on the Black Sea coast and near the Dardanelles in exchange for military help, whereas Murad himself turned to the Genoese with a request that they put their vessels at his disposal.<sup>20</sup>

This fluidity of Christian-Muslim relations, as Kate Fleet has called it, also becomes visible in the diplomatic and commercial relations between Islamic and European states, and corrects the idea that there was permanent conflict between the Ottomans, the Mamluks and their Christian rivals.

Throughout much of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Italian maritime states had strong ties with Ottoman rulers.<sup>21</sup> The relationship with the Ottomans was especially valuable to the Genoese. In 1358, their ambassadors signed a treaty with Orhan, the underlying reason being that the Byzantines had supported the Venetians when they tried to capture Pera/Galata, the Genoese commercial settlement on the north side of the Golden Horn. During the siege of Constantinople in 1453, they remained neutral, which earned them permission to retain their possessions in Pera as a basis for their commercial enterprises.<sup>22</sup> Thirty years earlier

---

<sup>20</sup> J. Jefferson, *The holy wars of King Wladislas and Sultan Murad. The Ottoman-Christian conflict from 1438-1444*, Leiden, 2012, p. 74.

<sup>21</sup> K. Fleet, *European and Islamic trade in the early Ottoman state. The merchants of Genoa and Turkey (Cambridge studies in Islamic civilization)*, Cambridge, 2004<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> B. Masters, 'Trade in the Ottoman lands to 1215/1800', in M. Fierro (ed.), *The new Cambridge history of Islam*, Vol. 2, Cambridge, 2010, 665-78, esp. p. 666. Cf. Fleet, *European and Islamic trade*, pp. 122-33.



they had adopted the same attitude of neutrality in the conflict between the Mamluk Sultan Bārsbay and Janus of Cyprus.

The Venetians too tried to secure their commercial interests in Ottoman territory, as well as in Alexandria, and signed various agreements that fixed the rules for access to ports, protection and security, as well as the possibilities for trading. The perspective in this kind of document is clearly to the advantage of the Christians, since, for the period under discussion, much of the Mediterranean trade was in European hands. Incidentally, we also hear of provisions for the ‘Saracens’, as in the case of a treaty between Pisa and the Marīnid rulers of Morocco (1358) that guaranteed safe conduct for Arab merchants travelling to Pisa.<sup>23</sup> In the majority of cases, however, the commercial transactions between Europeans and Muslims were concluded in the Levant. Muslim merchants travelled much less to European cities, and if they did so, they often travelled on European vessels. As for the Iberian Peninsula, the Mudejar merchants under Christian rule and the Naṣrids of Granada continued to maintain trading connections with Africa and Egypt.

Despite ongoing warfare, in many cases mutual interest and pragmatism dictated the relationship between Muslim rulers and European powers, especially on the local level.

### Christian communities in Muslim lands and Muslim communities in Christian lands

#### The Middle East

In Egypt, the decline of the Coptic Christians that had already started under the Turkish Baḥrī Mamluk dynasty became more acute under the Circassian Mamluks. Though the saintly Patriarch Matthew I (d. 1408) seems to have enjoyed good personal relations with Barqūq, the first sultan of this dynasty – a monk of this period, Anbā Ruways, speaks positively of the ‘days of Matthew and Barqūq’ – this does not imply that the patriarch was able to protect his community from persecution. His biography, preserved in the Arabic compilation known as the *History of the patriarchs*, ends by mentioning that, in his time, 49 Christians were martyred. From an analysis of a more expanded version of his *Vita*, it turns out that these martyrs were killed for their faithfulness to their

---

<sup>23</sup> O.R. Constable, ‘Muslim trade in the late medieval Mediterranean world’, in M. Fierro (ed.), *The new Cambridge history of Islam*, Vol. 2, Cambridge, 2010, 633-47, p. 635.

Christian religion.<sup>24</sup> Quite significantly, a number of them were Copts who had converted to Islam, but then returned to Christianity, a crime that attracted the classical Islamic punishment for apostasy.

Barqūq's successors put into practice traditional anti-*dhimmi* measures, such as exclusion from the administration, and restrictions on dress and the riding of animals. The sources also mention the destruction of some important churches and monasteries to the extent that, on several occasions (1437, 1443), the emperor of Ethiopia had to intervene with the Mamluk authorities on behalf of the Copts. This, together with heavy taxation, which did not only affect the Christian population, explains the growing number of conversions to Islam and the increasing marginalization of the Copts in Egyptian society.<sup>25</sup>

In Mamluk Syria, the situation was hardly better. To prevent any contact with European powers, local Christians – Maronites and Greek Orthodox – were systematically removed from the more prosperous coastal areas, so that the center of gravity of the Greek Orthodox Church shifted eastwards. This explains why, in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Patriarch Michel I ibn Bishāra finally moved to Damascus from Antioch, the traditional spiritual center of his community, which in this period was already reduced to an insignificant local town. In 1400, the invasion of Aleppo and Damascus by Timur-i Leng's armies heavily affected the Orthodox population of both cities. The new patriarchal residence in Damascus was destroyed, forcing the patriarch to seek temporary refuge in Cyprus.<sup>26</sup> This period also saw increasing Islamization of the country, while the Orthodox Church itself, like the Coptic Church, became more and more Arabized.<sup>27</sup>

In Lebanon, the Maronite Church, because of its intensive contacts with Rome, Cyprus and the European powers, was regarded with much suspicion by the Mamluk authorities.<sup>28</sup> The Maronite historiographer and patriarch, Duwayhī (d. 1704), tells the story of a papal envoy to the

---

<sup>24</sup> M. Swanson, *The Coptic papacy in Islamic Egypt (641-1517)*, (*The popes of Egypt* 2), Cairo, 2010, pp. 106-19, 133-34.

<sup>25</sup> Swanson, *The Coptic papacy*, pp. 123-27.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. I. Dick, *Les melkites, Grecs-orthodoxes et Grecs-catholiques des Patriarcats d'Antioche, d'Alexandrie et de Jérusalem*, Turnhout, 2004, pp. 26-27; cf. J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise melchite du V<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, iii.2 (1215-1516), Louvain, 1981, pp. 35-43, 47.

<sup>27</sup> For the increasing decline of Christians in Egypt and Syria that had already started under the Bahrī Mamluks, see Y. Courbage and P. Fargues, *Christians and Jews under Islam*, New York, 1998 (originally published in French, 1997), p. 90.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. R. Jabre-Mouawad, *Lettres au Mont-Liban d'Ibn al-Qilā'i (XV<sup>ème</sup> siècle)*, Paris, 2001, pp. 23-30.

Maronite patriarch who, when he was welcomed by the crowds, was arrested and jailed since the Mamluk authorities believed that the local Christians had allied themselves with the Latins and Greeks in order to recapture Syria from the Mamluks.<sup>29</sup> In 1440, after these events, it was necessary to transfer the patriarchal see from Mayfūq to a more inaccessible place, the convent of Qannūbīn in the Qadishā-valley in northern Lebanon.<sup>30</sup>

The fate of the Syrian-Orthodox or 'Jacobite' Church was no less depressing, though it would be incorrect to ascribe their decline solely to the Islamic factor because internal rivalries for patriarchal succession also played a role. For the period under discussion, the main center of the church was situated near Mardin, at the Monastery of Dayr al-Za'farān, and very little is heard of a Syrian Orthodox presence in the more important cities of Syria and Iraq, where in previous periods they had actively participated in the cultural life of these regions. Much of the infrastructure of the Syrian Church was destroyed by Timur-i Leng or by local Kurds.<sup>31</sup> This isolated location explains why the Syrian Orthodox, more than the Copts, for example, were able to preserve their original Syriac language (or a related Aramaic language), which they continued to use alongside Arabic.

The 'Nestorian Church of the East', in the Abbasid period the most prestigious Christian community in the eyes of the Muslim authorities, was no more than a shadow of its former self. Already marginalized after the Mongols had adopted Islam by the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, they first established the center of their community and the patriarch's residence in Mosul, but later also in Gazīrā or Jazīrat ibn 'Umar (today Cizre in eastern Turkey) or the Monastery of Rabban Hormizd in northern Iraq. This community also suffered a great deal, although possibly less than the Jacobites and Armenians, from the incursions of Timur-i Leng, at least in the region around Mosul. After the death of Timur, eastern Anatolia became the scene of struggle between two confederations, the White Sheep and Black Sheep Turkomans (Aq Quyunlu and Qara Quyunlu), and notes in some manuscripts suggest that the Nestorians were among the victims of this war. Around 1500, the Persian Safavid dynasty expanded its territory in Anatolia as far as Diyarbakır and their allies, the Turkic

<sup>29</sup> Cf. M. Moosa, *The Maronites in history*, Syracuse NY, 1986, pp. 229-37.

<sup>30</sup> R. Jabre Mouawad, *Les Maronites, Chrétiens du Liban*, Turnhout, 2009, pp. 31-35.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. C. Sélis, *Les syriens orthodoxes et catholiques*, Turnhout, 1988, pp. 34-35. For the destruction of churches by Timur, see Ignatius I Ephrem Barsaum, *Maktbōnūtō d-'al Atrō d-Ṭūr 'Abdīn*, Junieh, 1965, pp. 39, 105-9.

tribe of the Kızılbaş, pillaged Anatolia and gave no quarter to the local Christians.

In the mountains of Kurdistan, the 'Nestorians' adopted tribal modes of organizing themselves, among them the principle of hereditary succession of their patriarch; this was in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, and against all ecclesiastical canons. As in the case of the Jacobites, their isolation allowed them to preserve their ethnic and linguistic particularities, such as the use of Syriac in the liturgy and Sureth as a spoken vernacular, at the cost, however, of losing Arabic as a literary language.<sup>32</sup>

Concerning the Armenians, in 1374-75, when the Mamluks captured and looted the capital Sis, at that time the residence of the catholicos, they administered the final blow to the Kingdom of Cilicia and brought it under their rule. Less than three decades later, Lesser Armenia was captured by the troops of Timur, who had already raided Greater Armenia and Georgia in 1386. In the following years, the Armenians of Cilicia shared the fate of many 'Nestorian' Christians and suffered from the conflicts between the Timurids and the Qara Quyunlu, followed by the struggle between the latter and the Aq Quyunlu, and eventually the Ottoman-Persian war.<sup>33</sup> Many Armenians of Cilicia migrated to Cyprus, thus accelerating the decline of Armenian culture in eastern Anatolia.

This general situation of 'decline', 'struggle for survival' and 'darkness', as these years have been characterized in the most recent studies, makes it understandable that, but for a few exceptions, no original intellectual activity was possible in either the Maronite Church, or the Greek Orthodox Church of Antioch, or in any pre-Chalcedonian or pre-Ephesian communities. Compared with the previous period, which saw a modest Armenian, Coptic and Syrian renaissance, thanks to fruitful Christian-Muslim interaction, in the later 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries literary production by Christians became extremely limited and was restricted to church-centered works: ecclesiastical chronicles, some ascetic and devotional tracts, and the revision of liturgical compositions.

---

<sup>32</sup> For general surveys, see H. Teule, *Les Assyro-Chaldéens. Chrétiens d'Irak, d'Iran et de Turquie*, Turnhout, 2008, pp. 30-31; D. Wilmhurst, *The martyred church. A history of the church of the East*, London, 2011, pp. 277-315; D. Wilmhurst, *The ecclesiastical organization of the Church of the East 1318-1913*, Louvain, 2000, pp. 18-21.

<sup>33</sup> D. Kouymjian, 'Sous le joug des Turcomans et des Turc-Ottomans (XV<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles)', in G. Dédéyan (ed.), *Histoire des Arméniens*, Toulouse, 1986<sup>2</sup>, 341-76, pp. 344-46.

### The Ottomans and their Christian subjects

In the period leading up to the capture of Constantinople, the Ottomans had already had to accommodate themselves to the mainly Orthodox Christians living in their newly conquered territories. This happened often on an *ad hoc* basis and was dictated by practical considerations, such as a possible alliance with some Christian power, whether Byzantine or European. In many regions, the Ottomans were a minority ruling over a Christian majority, though the process of Islamization was already well advanced in central and western Anatolia.<sup>34</sup> A regular practice in the rural areas of the Balkans was the *devshirme*, the taking of boys from Christian households in order to train them for a career in the Ottoman army (the Janissary corps) or administration, which of course presupposed their conversion to Islam and implied Turkification.<sup>35</sup> Generally speaking, this system, together with taxation, was deeply resented by the populace.

With Constantinople becoming the capital of a new imperial power, Mehmed II realised that a relationship had to be established with the Christian population. One of his first concerns was to repopulate the decimated city, which he achieved partly by applying the traditional system of forced resettlement (*sürgün*) of both Muslim and Christian populations, and partly by inviting back Christians who had fled the city, promising them some fiscal compensation. By the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, about one third of the inhabitants of Istanbul was again Christian.<sup>36</sup>

Initially, Mehmed tried to deal with the Greek Orthodox Christian population through the former Grand Duke Loucas Notaras, a lay person. It was more than six months after the fall of the city that Mehmed, gave some form of official recognition to the patriarch as leader of the community,<sup>37</sup> in the person of Gennadius Scholarius (q.v.), known for his anti-Western sympathies and thus in Ottoman eyes a reliable person.<sup>38</sup> Eventually, this would lead to the creation of a well institutionalized

<sup>34</sup> İnalcık, *Economic and social history*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>35</sup> M. Brett, 'State formation and organisation', in M. Fierro (ed.), *The new Cambridge history of Islam*, Vol. 2, Cambridge, 2010, 549-85, p. 571.

<sup>36</sup> Courbage and Fargues, *Christians and Jews under Islam*, p. 116.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. B. Braude, 'Foundation of the Millet system', in B. Braude and B. Lewis (eds), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The functioning of a plural society*, 2 vols, New York, 1982, ii, 69-88.

<sup>38</sup> M.-H. Blanchet, *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios (vers 1400-vers 1472), un intellectuel face à la disparition de l'empire byzantin*, Paris, 2008.

Greek *millet*, but for the period under review it seems that the Ottomans continued to deal with their Greek Orthodox subjects more or less as they had treated them before, with *ad hoc* arrangements adapted to local circumstances, applying to them the traditional rules of the *dhimmī* system. In this period, there was no question of an established Armenian *millet* headed by an Armenian patriarch. The Armenian patriarchate of Istanbul was a later creation,<sup>39</sup> and the term *millet* in the sense of the designation of a non-Muslim community would only enter Ottoman administrative language at a much later date.<sup>40</sup>

### The Iberian Peninsula

With the capture of Granada, all the Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula were now *mudejars*, Muslims who were allowed to keep their religion after the conquest of their lands by Christian rulers. The term also included those Muslims who, for economic reasons and of their own free will, migrated from al-Andalus to Christian lands. Some of them were in a position to develop commercial activities with Islamic rulers in Africa. Though the development of the *mudejar* communities was not identical in the various Iberian states, it is possible to speak of a similar pattern of organization. A council of notables (*aljama*, from the Arabic *al-jamā'a*), comprising an *alcaide* (judge) and an *alfaquí* (jurisconsult), which was in charge of the internal organization of the community, had to collect the sometimes exorbitant taxes imposed by the Christian rulers and to represent the community before the Christian authorities.<sup>41</sup>

Despite the treaty concluded between Boabdil and the Catholic Monarchs in November 1491, which contained many detailed provisions for freedom of religion and safety for the Muslims within the boundaries of the Emirate of Granada, in 1499 the Muslims of Granada revolted to protest against the violation of the treaty. The revolt lasted almost three years, but was counterproductive. It resulted in the annulment of the treaty and the obligation either to convert to Christianity or to leave. In

---

<sup>39</sup> Cf. K. Bardakjian, 'The rise of the Armenian patriarchate of Constantinople', in B. Braude and B. Lewis (eds), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The functioning of a plural society*, 2 vols, New York, 1982, i, 89-100; Kouymjian, *Sous le joug des Turcomans*, pp. 351-52.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. M. Ursinus, art. *Millet*, in *El2*.

<sup>41</sup> Mediano, *Post-Almohad dynasties*, pp. 135-37.

the following years, forced conversions became the norm in various parts of Spain, such as Castile (1502) and Navarra (1512), though the 'new Christians', called *moriscos*, were often suspected of secretly remaining Muslims. They too were encouraged to leave, though it would take another century before this was officially decreed (1609).

# Arabic-Islamic perceptions of Western Europe in the Middle Ages

Daniel G. König

There are many texts of different kinds in which Muslims from the period between the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries depict aspects of Western Europe in Arabic. The generalization that a distinctly bipolar world-view setting 'righteous Muslims' over against 'barbarian infidels' characterizes Arabic-Islamic perceptions of medieval Western Europe, permeates the majority of studies that approach this subject from a macro-historical point of view.<sup>1</sup> The impact of Henri Pirenne's famous hypothesis, that the Muslim expansion of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries must be seen as the primary cause of the end of Mediterranean cultural unity,<sup>2</sup> can still be felt in the statement of Bernard Lewis who spoke of 'a medieval iron curtain (...) between Islam and Christendom'.<sup>3</sup> In line with this, scholars such as Francesco Gabrieli have claimed that 'indifference, caused by a sense of superiority and contempt, which the Muslims always showed, except on a few occasions, for the western world, its history and culture throughout the Middle Ages',<sup>4</sup> has to be regarded as the essence of Arabic-Islamic perceptions of the Latin-Christian sphere. Less adamantly, but acting on similar assumptions, other scholars have confirmed or tried to explain the Islamic world's alleged lack of interest in medieval Europe,<sup>5</sup> while others have meticulously traced stereotype after stereotype in the extant sources.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Case studies, which are numerous, generally deal with the perception(s) formulated by a certain author or a limited corpus of texts vis-à-vis a well-defined 'object of perception'. They seldom dare to formulate macro-historical hypotheses on the subject.

<sup>2</sup> H. Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne*, Paris, 1992 (reprint of Brussels, 1937).

<sup>3</sup> B. Lewis, 'The Muslim discovery of Europe', *BSOAS* 20 (1957) 409-16, p. 411.

<sup>4</sup> F. Gabrieli, 'The Arabic historiography of the crusades', in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds), *Historians of the Middle East*, London, 1962, 98-107, p. 98.

<sup>5</sup> I. Guidi, 'L'Europa occidentale negli antichi geografi arabi', in *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé*, Paris, 1909, 263-69; E. Ashtor, 'Che cosa sapevano i geografi arabi dell'Europa occidentale?', *Rivista Storica Italiana* 81 (1969) 453-79; A. Miquel, 'L'Europe vue par les Arabes jusqu'à l'an mil', in H. Loucel, A. Miquel and T. Fahd (eds), *Lumières arabes sur l'Occident médiéval*, Paris, 1978, 65-81.

<sup>6</sup> 'A. al-'Azma, *Al-'Arab wa-l-barābira. Al-Muslimūn wa-l-ḥaḍārāt al-ukhrā*, London, 1991; A. Al-Azmeh, 'Mortal enemies, invisible neighbours. Northerners in Andalusian eyes', in S.K. Jayyusi and M. Marin (eds), *The legacy of Muslim Spain*, 2 vols, Leiden,



This academic discussion also has a political dimension, which is closely related to discourses on Western 'Orientalism', as well as to discussions of the modern-day balance of power between 'Islam' and 'the West'. Harshly criticized by Edward Said,<sup>7</sup> Bernard Lewis asserted in his monograph *The Muslim discovery of Europe* that it had 'required centuries of defeat and retreat before Muslims were ready to (...) look to the Christian West with something other than contempt',<sup>8</sup> claiming at the same time that it 'was a peculiarity of the (...) Western European during a certain period in his history to show interest in alien cultures'.<sup>9</sup> Lewis regarded the 'feeling of timelessness, that nothing really changes' as a 'characteristic feature of Muslim writing about Europe' in the pre-modern period.<sup>10</sup> This estimation is echoed in numerous writings on the topic, some of them cited above. These fail to consider not only that written records do not necessarily reflect the whole range of perceptions characteristic of an entire cultural orbit, but also that the geopolitical and socio-cultural conditions for recording the Latin-Christian world changed considerably between the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. On the basis of these assumptions, such studies presumed to reduce medieval Islam to a single pattern of perception prevalent among Muslims from al-Andalus to Central Asia in a period of approximately 800 years. In view of this, it seems appropriate to argue that change and diversity characterize the range of perception patterns, and this can be reconstructed from the extant sources.<sup>11</sup>

In spite of centuries-long relations with the Roman and Byzantine Empire, as well as ecclesiastical contacts between Rome and dioceses in the Middle East,<sup>12</sup> the pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arab world-view

---

1992, i, 259-72; A. Al-Azmeh, 'Barbarians in Arab eyes', *Past and Present* 134 (1992) 3-18; C. Hillenbrand, *The Crusades. Islamic perspectives*, New York, 2000, 257-327, esp. 267-71; A. Leclercq, *Portraits croisés. L'image des Francs et des Musulmans dans les textes relatifs à la première croisade*, Paris, 2010.

<sup>7</sup> E. Said, 'Orientalism reconsidered', in E. Said, *Reflections on exile and other essays*, Cambridge MA, 2000, pp. 204-5 (the article first appeared in *Cultural Critique* 1 (1985) 89-107).

<sup>8</sup> B. Lewis, *The Muslim discovery of Europe*, New York, 2001 (reprint of New York, 1982), p. 301. This bundle of hypotheses was developed even further in his most recent monograph on relations between 'Islam' and 'the West': B. Lewis, *What went wrong? Western impact and Middle Eastern response*, London, 2003, pp. 3-4, 7-8.

<sup>9</sup> Lewis, *The Muslim discovery of Europe*, p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> Lewis, *The Muslim discovery of Europe*, p. 297.

<sup>11</sup> D.G. König, 'Muslim perception(s) of "Latin Christianity". Methodological reflections and a reevaluation', *Comparativ* 20 (2010) 18-42; see also N. Hermes, *The European Other in medieval Arabic literature and culture*, Basingstoke 2012, esp. pp. 1-10.

<sup>12</sup> D.G. König, 'Zur Ausstrahlung des Papsttums in die mittelalterliche arabisch-islamische Welt', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 90 (2010) 1-52, pp. 42-43.

of the 6<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> century seems to have been largely restricted to the Middle Eastern sphere: scarce references to the Roman Empire in pre-Islamic poetry exclusively deal with Syrian affairs;<sup>13</sup> the Qur'an ignores the western and north-western hemisphere altogether;<sup>14</sup> later Hadith literature and Arabic-Islamic historiography on the early Islamic period only mention the West in connection with rather vague prophecies of conquest<sup>15</sup> or when naming Muslims who were active in these regions after the Arab-Islamic expansion of the 7<sup>th</sup> and early 8<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>16</sup>

Western Europe really seems to have come into view with the Islamic expansion. However, contemporary Arabic-Islamic sources are lacking because early scholars mainly focused on the foundational period of Islam and the preservation of Arab lore before the development of an 'imperial' outlook in the Abbasid period that extended beyond the Muslim world.<sup>17</sup> The institutional infrastructure to support such scholarship was initially confined to the urban centers of the Middle East, and only slowly spread to the newly conquered territories further west.<sup>18</sup> In the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, the encounters between members of societies ruled by Latin-Christian and Arab-Islamic elites took place far away from these urban strongholds of intellectual activity, often between raiders and others with no interest in ethnographic observation. Consequently,

<sup>13</sup> ʿArāfa al-Bakrī, *Diwān*, ch. 4, v. 22, v. 32, in W. Ahlwardt (ed.), *The divans of the six ancient Arab poets*, London, 1870, pp. 55-56; W. Jones (trans.), "The Moallakāt: The poem of ʿArāfa, v. 22, v. 30", in W.A. Clouston, *Arabian poetry for English readers*, Glasgow, 1881, pp. 19-20; 'The diwān of 'Abīd ibn al-Abras of Asad, carmen IV, v. 19', in *The diwāns*, ed. and trans. C. Lyall, Leiden, 1913, pp. 22 (text), 25 (trans.).

<sup>14</sup> See S. Abū Khalīl, *Aṭlas al-Qur'ān. Amākin, aqwām, a'lām*, Damascus, 2000.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Ibn Hishām, *Kitāb sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, *Das Leben Muhammads*, 2 vols in 1, Göttingen, 1858-60, i, p. 673; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 6 vols, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, c. 1980 (reprint of Cairo, 1895), ii, p. 176; iv, p. 338; al-Dārimī, *Sunan al-Dārimī*, 2 vols, Beirut: Dār ḥiyā' al-sunna al-nabawiyya, [s.d.], i, p. 126 (*bāb man rakhaṣa fī kitābat al-'ilm*); Ibn 'Idhārī al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb al-bayān al-mughrib*, ed. G.S. Colin and É. Lévi-Provençal, 4 vols, Beirut, 1980, i, p. 7; *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus. Una descripción anónima de al-Andalus*, ed. and trans. L. Molina, 2 vols, Madrid, 1983, i, p. 16; al-Zuhri, *Kitāb al-jughrafiyya*, ed. M. Hadj Sadok, Damascus, 1968, pp. 80-81; cf. J. Vallvé, *La división territorial de la España musulmana*, Madrid, 1986, pp. 22-25.

<sup>16</sup> Ibn Saad, *Biographien*, ed. E. Sachau, Vol. 3, part 1, Leiden, 1904, p. 90; Vol. 7, part 2, Leiden, 1915, p. 207; Vol. 9, part 2, Leiden, 1929, p. 4 (index, which only covers vols 3-8).

<sup>17</sup> F. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic origins. The beginnings of Islamic historical writing*, Princeton NJ, 1998, pp. 275-90; G. Schoeler, *The genesis of literature in Islam. From the aural to the read*, Cairo, 2008; T. Khalidi, *Arabic historical thought in the classical period*, Cambridge, 1996, p. 83 (on the 'secularization' of historical writing in the 9<sup>th</sup> century); A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vols, Paris, 2000 (repr. of 1967), i, pp. 85-92, 267-85 (on the administrative impetus to write geography and the development of a notion of 'géographie totale' in the Abbasid era).

<sup>18</sup> 'A. Dhū l-Nūn Ṭāha, *Nash'at al-tadwīn al-tārīkhī fī l-Andalus*, Baghdad, 1988, pp. 7-10 (on the later emergence of native Muslim historiography in al-Andalus in comparison to the Middle East).

several encounters that loom large in Latin-Christian sources of the 8<sup>th</sup> and early 9<sup>th</sup> centuries are passed over in silence in the Arabic-Islamic sources.<sup>19</sup>

The earliest extant records on the expansion to the west include one work from al-Andalus by Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 853), as well as some eastern works, most notably the histories of Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 871) and al-Balādhurī (d. 892). Although of a later date, these appear to reproduce the conquerors’ perspective faithfully, referring to the downfall of the Visigoths and raids against the Franks and communities in Sardinia and Sicily, while showing interest mainly in military encounters and the acquisition of booty. Visigothic history is not addressed, apart from rather vague passages that deal with a ruler called Roderic (*Lūdhriq*), who opposed the Muslim invaders in battle.<sup>20</sup> Such passages seem to be based on accounts given by conquerors who were returning home via Egypt, one of the most important early centers of documentation, which even supplied the Andalusian author Ibn Ḥabīb with information.<sup>21</sup> The chronological and geographical discrepancy between actual encounters in the West and their later documentation in the East probably accounts for the scarcity of data and many legendary embellishments.<sup>22</sup>

Works from the late 9<sup>th</sup> and early 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards reveal that, in the meantime, more accurate information on Western Europe had become available via two main strands of transmission.

Confronted with the material remnants of earlier societies and drawing on the repositories of knowledge of subjected Christian populations, Arabic-Islamic societies obtained access to certain aspects of Western Europe’s pre-Islamic history. In the Middle East, processes of transmission linked to the Graeco-Syriac-Arabic translation movement of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries made available to Arabic-Islamic scholars data on the geography of Western Europe and the Late Antique Roman past.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the Arabic-Islamic and Latin-Christian documentation of the ‘Saracen’ sack of Rome in 846: König, ‘Zur Ausstrahlung des Papsttums’, pp. 11-13.

<sup>20</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-tārīkh*, ed. J. Aguadé, Madrid, 1991, pp. 136-56; Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-akhbārūhā*, ed. C. Torrey, Cairo, 1999 (repr. of Princeton, 1922), pp. 205-13; al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M. de Goeje, Leiden, 1866, pp. 230-35; al-Ya’qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ed. ‘A. al-Muhannā, 2 vols, Beirut, 1993, ii, p. 207; Ibn Khurradadhbih, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, ed. M. de Goeje, Leiden, 1889, pp. 156-57; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. M.F. Ibrāhīm, 11 vols, Cairo, 1960-77, vi, p. 468.

<sup>21</sup> M. Makkī, ‘Egipto y la historiografía arabigo-española’, *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid* 5 (1957) 157-220.

<sup>22</sup> The latter are dealt with by J. Hernández Juberías, *La península imaginaria. Mitos y leyendas sobre al-Andalus*, Madrid, 1996, pp. 68-108, 163-94.

<sup>23</sup> D. Gutas, *Greek thought, Arabic culture. The Graeco-Arabic translation movement in Baghdad and early ‘Abbāsīd society*, New York, 1998; J. Teixidor, ‘D’Antioche à Bagdad.

Evidence includes passages on the conversion of Constantine and the activities of the Roman patriarch in the universal history of al-Ya‘qūbī (d. after 905),<sup>24</sup> an Arabic term for ‘Europe’ (*Ūrūfa*) in the geographical work of al-Hamdānī (d. c. 945) connected with a reference to Ptolemy,<sup>25</sup> and al-Mas‘ūdī’s (d. 956) detailed discussion of Melkite, Maronite, Jacobite and Nestorian sources in conjunction with an exposition of Roman history that also mentions the Roman West.<sup>26</sup>

In al-Andalus, historiographers of the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries were able to make use of a growing pool of information on the region’s past: Visigothic ancestry and associated memories of the period of conquest play a role in the history of Ibn al-Qūṭīyya (d. 977).<sup>27</sup> The anonymous chronicle *Akhbār majmū‘a* (of disputed date), a collection of regional Muslim tradition, contains further details on the early interaction between conquerors and conquered.<sup>28</sup> Several texts also testify to the extensive assimilation of the local Latin heritage. Most important is the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, a restructured, enlarged and chronologically extended Arabic version of Orosius’ (d. c. 417) universal history, *Historiae adversus paganos*. Produced around the late 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> century, it contains ample information about the Roman West and, in parts unfortunately lost, an exposition of Visigothic history.<sup>29</sup> The work of Šā‘id al-Andalusī (d. 1070) deals extensively with the Roman Empire in the western hemisphere,<sup>30</sup> while the writings of Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 1076) and al-Bakrī (d. 1094) testify to an evident increase of knowledge concerning the western hemisphere’s Roman and Visigothic past.<sup>31</sup>

---

Bibliothèques et traductions syriaques’, in L. Giard and C. Jacob (eds), *Des Alexandries. Du livre au texte*, Paris, 2001, 249-62.

<sup>24</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Tārīkh*, i, pp. 194-95, 198.

<sup>25</sup> Al-Hamdānī, *Šifat jazīrat al-‘Arab*, ed. D.H. Müller, 2 vols, Leiden, 1884, i, p. 32.

<sup>26</sup> Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Kitāb al-tanbūh wa-l-ishrāf*, ed. M. de Goeje, Leiden, 1893, pp. 154-55 (on the Christian sources he has used to describe Roman history, including aspects of the Roman West; cf. pp. 123, 136, 145).

<sup>27</sup> Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, *Tārīkh iftitāh al-Andalus*, ed. I. al-Abyārī, pp. 29-32, 58-60; M. Brauer et al., ‘Rückblickend nach vorn gewandt. Funktionen kultureller Rückbindung von Alfred dem Großen zu den Osmanen’, in M. Borgolte et al. (eds), *Integration und Desintegration der Kulturen im europäischen Mittelalter*, Berlin, 2011, 127-37.

<sup>28</sup> *Ajbar Machmu‘a* [*Akhbār majmū‘a*], *colección de tradiciones*, ed. and trans. E. Lafuente y Alcántara, Madrid, 1867.

<sup>29</sup> *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* (traducción árabe de las *historiae adversus paganos* de Orosius), ed. M. Penelas, Madrid, 2001.

<sup>30</sup> Šā‘id al-Andalusī, *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-umam*, ed. Ḥ. Bū‘alwān, Beirut, 1985, pp. 96-98.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān, *Al-muqtabas* (V), ed. P. Chalmeta, F. Corriente and M. Subh, Madrid, 1979, pp. 272-76; al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, ed. A.P. van Leeuwen and A. Ferre, Carthage, 1993, pp. 313-14, §§ 501-5; p. 319, § 516; pp. 701-2, §§ 1177-78; p. 900, § 1508; pp. 902-3, § 1513; p. 908, § 1522.

In the centuries following the expansion, intensive interaction, particularly in the border zones between the two spheres, made further data accessible. That encounters took place regularly is proven by references in Andalusian historiography – to Muslim insurgents seeking refuge in the Christian north,<sup>32</sup> diplomatic envoys going back and forth between Frankish and Spanish Umayyad courts,<sup>33</sup> Amalfitan merchants in Cordova,<sup>34</sup> and negotiations with Norman raiders.<sup>35</sup>

Thanks to such cross-border relations, Ibn Ḥayyān was able to record the case of Jamīla, the sister of a Muslim insurgent: taken captive in 839-40, she became the mother of the future archbishop of Santiago de Compostela.<sup>36</sup> If we can believe the Latin life of John of Gorze, an Ottonian diplomat to the court of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III in Cordova around 953, the Umayyad caliph had detailed knowledge about the state of affairs in the Ottonian realm.<sup>37</sup> Rumors swept over the borders, as in the case of the marriage scandal involving count Ramón Berenguer I of Barcelona, the wife of a noble in Narbonne and the pope in Rome around 1054-55, which was put down in writing by al-Bakrī.<sup>38</sup> Encounters and exchange also entailed the acquisition of substantial ethno- and geographical data about the other sphere. The 10<sup>th</sup>-century travel account by the Andalusian Jew Ibrāhīm ibn Ya‘qūb al-Isrā’īlī provided the Andalusian scholars

<sup>32</sup> E.g. Ibn Ḥayyān, *Al-muqtabis min abnā’ ahl al-Andalus* [II, 2], ed. M.‘A. Makkī, Beirut, 1973, pp. 350, 376-79 (on the rebel Sa‘dūn who seeks protection among the Christians of Asturias under ‘Adhfunsh bin Rudhmīr’, probably Alfonso III of León, in 874); al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, p. 341, § 568 (on several Galician rulers).

<sup>33</sup> E.g. Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, *Tārīkh iftītāḥ al-Andalus*, pp. 86-87 (on an embassy sent by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān to Charles the Bald); Ibn Ḥayyān, *Al-muqtabis*, ed. Makkī, pp. 130-31 (on a delegation sent by Charles the Bald to the emir Muḥammad; see A.A. El-Hajji, *Andalusian diplomatic relations with Western Europe during the Umayyad period* (A.H. 138-366 / A. D. 755-976), Beirut, 1970).

<sup>34</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān, *Al-muqtabas* (V), ed. Chalmeta, Corriente and Subh, pp. 478, 485; O.R. Constable, *Trade and traders in Muslim Spain. The commercial realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900-1500*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 41-42.

<sup>35</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān, *Crónica de los emires Alḥakam I y ‘Abdarraḥmān II* [*Al-muqtabis II-1*], trans. M.‘A. Makkī and F. Corriente, Zaragoza, 2001, p. 315 (fol. 186r) (on the Norman attack on Seville in 844).

<sup>36</sup> Maḥmūd had taken refuge with Alfonso II of Asturias and settled in the frontier region to the Umayyad caliphate. He was killed and his relatives were taken captive in 839-40, when Alfonso was informed about his intention to return to Muslim al-Andalus. See Ibn Ḥayyān, *Crónica de los emires*, transl. M.‘A. Makkī and F. Corriente, Zaragoza, 2001, 298 (181v), 304-07 (183r-184r).

<sup>37</sup> Iohannis Abbas S. Arnulfī, *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis*, ed. G.H. Pertz, Hanover, 1841, pp. 376-77, § 136. See H.G. Walther, ‘Der gescheiterte Dialog. Das Ottonische Reich und der Islam’, in A. Zimmermann and I. Craemer-Ruegenberg (eds), *Orientalische Kultur und europäisches Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1985, 20-44.

<sup>38</sup> Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, pp. 910-11, § 1527; M. Aurell, *Les noces du comte. Mariage et pouvoir en Catalogne (785-1213)*, Paris, 1995, pp. 261-78.

al-'Udhri (d. 1085) and al-Bakri with a detailed description of the Frankish realm and parts of central and eastern Europe.<sup>39</sup> Its reception should not necessarily be regarded as an exception, but rather as the fragmentary written record of a regular flow of information between al-Andalus and its northern neighbors.

As a consequence of processes of transmission from west to east, information acquired in al-Andalus also reached scholars in the Middle East. Thus, al-Ya'qūbī was able to record references to Norman attacks against Seville, which had taken place in 843-44.<sup>40</sup> The case of a Frankish chronicle, offered to the future ruler al-Ḥakam II of al-Andalus by Bishop Godemar of Gerona in 939-40 and used by al-Mas'ūdī in al-Fuṣṭāṭ in Egypt only seven years later,<sup>41</sup> provides rare insight into the speed with which data could be transmitted. Because he had Andalusian texts at his disposal,<sup>42</sup> Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233) in Mosul was able to write the most detailed extant Arabic-Islamic account of Visigothic history.<sup>43</sup> The Persian cosmographer al-Qazwīnī (d. 1283), in turn, made extensive use of the 10<sup>th</sup>-century travel account written by the Andalusian Jew Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb as transmitted in the work of al-'Udhri.<sup>44</sup>

Notwithstanding, the Muslim Middle East was not solely dependent on al-Andalus for information but maintained a certain number of independent commercial and diplomatic relations with the Latin-Christian West. The philosopher al-Kindī (d. c. 866) describes 'Frankish swords' in his treatise on sword-making.<sup>45</sup> Ibn Khurradadhbīh (d. c. 911) mentions a Frankish court in his description of commercial travel routes.<sup>46</sup> The geographical work of Ibn Rustah (d. after 913) contains references

<sup>39</sup> A. Miquel, 'L'Europe occidentale dans la relation arabe d'Ibrahim b. Ya'qūb (X<sup>e</sup> siècle)', *Annales* 21 (1966) 1048-64.

<sup>40</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. M. de Goeje, Leiden, 1892, p. 354.

<sup>41</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādīn al-jawhar/Prairies d'Or*, ed. and trans. C. Pellat, Beirut, 1965-79 (text), Paris, 1962-97 (French trans.), pp. 146 (Arabic), 344 (French), §912.

<sup>42</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-kāmil fi l-tārīkh*, ed. C. Tornberg, 14 vols, Beirut, 1965-67, iv, p. 556 (repr. of Leiden, 1851-76 edition).

<sup>43</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-kāmil fi l-tārīkh*, iv, pp. 558-61.

<sup>44</sup> Al-Qazwīnī, *Athār al-bilād*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1848, pp. 334, 387-88, 404, 409, 413, 415.

<sup>45</sup> A. Zeki Validi, 'Die Schwerter der Germanen nach arabischen Berichten des 9.-11. Jh.', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 90 (1936) 22-26; R. Hoyland and B. Gilmour, *Medieval Islamic swords and swordmaking. Kindī's treatise 'On swords and their kinds'*, Oxford, 2006, pp. 22-23, 42-43 (expressing doubts about the 'Frankish' origin of these swords).

<sup>46</sup> Ibn Khurradadhbīh, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, ed. M. de Goeje, Leiden, 1889, pp. 153-54. On the Radhanite Jews, see E. Ashtor, 'Aperçu sur les Radhanites', *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 27 (1977) 245-75.



to the pope (*al-bāb*), Latin-Christian religious traditions, and the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy.<sup>47</sup> The Middle Eastern traveler Ibn Ḥawqal (d. after 988) comments on the fine linen of Naples, and the southern extension of the Frankish sphere of influence.<sup>48</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm's (d. 995-98) index of books contains specimens of 'Frankish', 'Lombard' and 'Saxon' script and alludes to a letter sent to the Caliph al-Muktafi bi-llāh by Bertha of Tuscany in 906.<sup>49</sup>

Thus, by the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Arab-Islamic scholars around the Mediterranean had acquired a fair understanding of what could be found in the north-western regions, even though areas far to the north such as Scandinavia and the British Isles still remained little known. An idea of what might have been known is offered by Ibn Diḥya's (d. 1235) work on western Muslim poetry, which purports to reproduce what al-Ghazāl, the ambassador of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II, reported to his contemporary Tammām ibn 'Alqama (d. 896), after returning from his diplomatic mission to the court of a Viking ruler (*malik al-Majūs*) situated on an island in the north.<sup>50</sup>

From the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the Arab-Islamic world was confronted with various forms of Latin expansionism as represented by the Norman conquest of Sicily, the rising intensity of 'Reconquista'-activities on the Iberian Peninsula and, last but not least, the large number of crusading enterprises. Contemporary Arabic-Islamic sources tend to define the representatives of Latin-Christian expansionism as 'Franks'. However, the idea of a northern sphere under Frankish hegemony encompassing the medieval 'Francia' as well as parts of the Iberian and Apennine peninsulas already had its roots in the pre-crusade era. Al-Mas'ūdī's claim that 'Rome is and has always been the capital of the great Frankish kingdom' remains one of the clearest expressions of this notion before the beginning of the crusading period.<sup>51</sup> Notwithstanding, crusading activities seem to have reinforced the concept of a 'Frankish' cultural sphere north of the Mediterranean in the minds of some Middle Eastern authors.

<sup>47</sup> Ibn Rustah, *Kitāb a'lāq al-naḥḥa*, ed. M. de Goeje, Leiden, 1892, pp. 128-32.

<sup>48</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-ar*, ed. J.H. Kramers, Leiden, 1938, pp. 202-3.

<sup>49</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, Frankfurt, 2005, p. 20; see also al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr, *Kitāb al-dhakhā'ir wa-l-tuḥaf*, ed. M. Ḥamīdullāh, Kuwait, 1959, pp. 48-54; *Book of gifts and rarities – Kitāb al-hadāyā wa al-tuḥaf*, trans. G. al-Ḥijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, Princeton NJ, 1996, pp. 91-98, § 69.

<sup>50</sup> Ibn Diḥya, *Kitāb al-muṭrib fi ash'ār ahl al-Maghrib*, ed. I. al-Abyārī, Ḥ. 'Abd al-Majīd and A.A. Badawī, Beirut, 1955, pp. 138-46; A. El-Hajji, 'The Andalusian diplomatic relations with the Vikings', *Hespéris Tamuda* 8 (1967) 67-110.

<sup>51</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, pp. 181-82: '*wa Rūmiyya dār mamlakat al-ifranjīyya al-uzmā qadīman wa-ḥadīthan*'.

Al-Sulamī (d. 1106) and Ibn al-Athīr both drew a connection between 'Frankish' expansionist activities in Sicily, the Iberian Peninsula and the Middle East.<sup>52</sup> This concept also found expression in Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Khaldūn's (d. 1406) description of the Frankish rise to power, which began in Roman times and led up to the conquest of Constantinople in 1204.<sup>53</sup>

However, this notion of ethno-cultural homogeneity was not universally applied by everyone and at all times. The tendency to identify various groups and peoples from different parts of Western Europe as 'Franks' went hand in hand with the explicit awareness that a process of ethnic differentiation had taken place among the various peoples north of the Mediterranean. Thus, Arab-Islamic historiography and geography not only reflect what may be called the emergence of the 'Latin-Christian' sphere, but also record the political transformation of the Western European landscape.

The number of names of peoples given by Ibn Khurradadhbīh in the late 9<sup>th</sup> century and Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī (d. 1286) in the 13<sup>th</sup> century attest to this fact. Ibn Khurradadhbīh distinguishes very roughly between non-Muslim peoples inhabiting the Iberian Peninsula, Franks, Burgundians, Lombards, the population of the city of Rome and the Slavs, while also acknowledging the existence of the British Isles and the island of Thule.<sup>54</sup> The geographical knowledge professed by Ibn Sa'īd, in turn, clearly proves that commercial, military and political interaction with Western Europeans had provided Arab-Islamic scholars with a more accurate and up-to-date idea of medieval Latin Christendom. Concerning the Iberian Peninsula, Ibn Sa'īd mentions Galicia (*bilād Ghalīsiya*), with its capital at Zamora (*Samūra*), and the cities of León (*Liyūn*) and Santiago de Compostela (*Shant Yāqū*), as well as Portugal (*arḍ Burtuqāl*), Navarra (*mamlakat al-nabarrī*), with its capital at Pamplona (*Banbalūn*), Castile (*Kastāliya*) with the city of Burgos (*Burghash*), and finally Barcelona (*Barshalūna*), the capital of the Catalan king (*malik al-Kaṭālīn*). As regards southern France, he refers to the powerful region of Toulouse (*Ṭulūza*), Narbonne (*Narbūna*) as an important reloading point for ores and minerals from England (*jazīrat Inkaltīra*) and Ireland (*jazīrat Īrlānda*), and the rich merchants of Montpellier (*Munbalīr*), as

<sup>52</sup> P. Chevedden, 'The Islamic interpretation of the crusades. A new (old) paradigm for understanding the crusades', *Der Islam* 83 (2006) 94-100.

<sup>53</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Kitāb al-kāmil fī l-tārīkh*, ed. Tornberg, i, pp. 338-39; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, ed. S. Zakkār and K. Shaḥāda, 8 vols, Beirut, 2000-1, v, pp. 209-10; vi, pp. 424-25.

<sup>54</sup> Ibn Khurradadhbīh, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, pp. 116, 155, 231.



well as Marseilles (*Marsīliya*). On the Apennine Peninsula, he locates Calabria (*bilād Qalūriya*) with Naples (*Nābil*) and Salerno (*Salarn*), followed by Rome (*Rūmā*), Pisa (*Bīs*) and Genoa (*Janwa/Janwā*), Lombardy (*al-Ankubardiya/Lūmbardiya*) with its center in Milan (*Milān*), and Apulia (*bilād Būliya*) with the Muslim colony of Lucera (*Lūshīra*), as well as Venice (*al-Bunduqiyya*), a city ruled by the Doge (*al-duj*) with wooden buildings, waterways and a money market. He mentions the coastal towns of the Hungarians (*al-Hunkar*) on the Adriatic Sea, as well as the mountainous regions of Croatia (*al-Kharuwāsiyā*). Further north, he places the lands of Germany (*bilād Almāniya*) ruled by the emperor (*al-ambarātūr/al-anbarūr*), France (*Faransa*) with its royal capital in Paris (*Barīs*) divided into different quarters, the gulf of Brittany (*baḥr Barīṭāniyā*) and the Poitou (*bilād Bīṭū*). The British Isles comprise Ireland, an important exporter of tin, Britain (*jazīrat Barīṭāniya*), led by Bristol (*Brīstal*), and England (*jazīrat Inkaltira*), with its capital in London (*Lundras*) and many cities, whose ruler is mentioned in connection with Saladin. A comparatively long passage is dedicated to economic exchange between the rulers of England and France, the former paying precious metals in exchange for wine to the latter, since vines do not grow in the island's cold climate. Concerning the extremely cold northern regions, Ibn Sa'īd alludes to several islands inhabited by swimming and fish-eating white bears with soft fur, as well as precious gyrfalcons, which are imported by the sultan of Egypt for a very high price.<sup>55</sup>

More centered on the Mediterranean, less extensive as regards geographical data but much more detailed concerning the political landscape, is the 'Synoptic survey of the most well-known continental polities of the venerators of the cross'. Written by al-'Umarī (d. 1349), a secretary of the Mamluk chancery of Syria and Egypt, it is based in part on the eyewitness account of a Genoese dependent of the Mamluk *amīr* Bahādur al-Mu'izzī.<sup>56</sup> Here, the king of France (*rayd Farans/Faransīs*) and the emperor (*al-anbarūr*), the ruler of the Germans (*malik al-Lamān*), are characterized as the most powerful Frankish rulers, who receive homage from all minor rulers around them. The king of France, also known for

<sup>55</sup> Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, *Kitāb al-jughrāfiyya*, ed. I. al-'Arabī, Beirut, 1970, pp. 168-69, 178, 180-83, 192-94, 199-200.

<sup>56</sup> Al-'Umarī, *Condizioni degli stati cristiani dell' Occidente secondo una relazione di Domenichino Doria da Genova*, ed. and trans. M. Amari (Reale Accademia dei Lincei anno CCLXXX, 1882-83), Rome, 1883, pp. 1-2 (trans.) Amari identifies Bahādur al-Mu'izzī with the Ilkhānid ruler Bahādur Khān. S. Tsugitaka, 'The proposers and supervisors of al-Rawk al-Nāshīrī in Mamluk Egypt', *Mamluk Studies Review* 2 (1998), 73-93, pp. 89, 92, mentions a Mamluk *amīr* in Egypt with the same name.

his defeat by Muslim forces in Damietta and Tunis, is of noble descent, and holds power in an ancient kingdom inherited from his predecessors, which is entrusted to him during a coronation ritual. The ruler of the Christian lands of al-Andalus, Alfonso (*al-Adhfunsh*), is his deputy. The powerful, well-equipped and extremely rich ruler of Provence (*Abrans*), Robert (*al-Rayrubart*), also belongs to the royal family. However, the French king's power is contested by the emperor of the Germans, a people that has suffered defeat in warfare against the Muslims in Syria. Because of the number of people inhabiting their country, a country that is as vast as the lands of the Arabs, they can be regarded as the 'Tatars of the Franks' (*Tatār al-Faranj*). Living in undefended cities, this courageous people is as land-bound as the Arabs. Their ruler can call on many more fighters than the king of France. Having defeated him, he deprived the French king of his crown and his throne, reorganizing his territories so that all his governors now pay homage to the king of the Germans. In this way, the French and German rulers are presented as the representatives of Western Europe's competing superpowers to which all surrounding peoples are subordinate. Among the latter are the Burgundians (*al-Burghuniyyūn*), whose territory lies within the German realm but who are not governed by the emperor. The Catalans (*al-Katīrān/al-Kūtlān*), the Genoese (*ahl Janwa*), Pisans (*al-Bīzān*), Tuscans (*al-Dushqān*), Florentines (*Afarantīn*), Anconans (*Ankūnītīn*) and Venetians (*al-Banādiqa*) all practice a communal form of rule (*ḥukm kumūn*). The Lombards (*al-Lunbard*), divided into two parties with the cities of Montferrat and Ferrara at the respective center, are governed by a Byzantine official. In addition, al-'Umarī mentions the inhabitants of Mallorca, Sicily and Cyprus, and finally the 'damnable Franks of the Latin East' (*al-Faranj al-malā'īn [...] fī sawāḥil al-bilād al-shāmiyya*), recently expelled thanks to the efforts of the Mamluks.<sup>57</sup>

A third perspective is provided in Ibn Khaldūn's voluminous universal history. Although it does not always meet the highest possible standards as regards data on Western Europe, it can be regarded as a summa of historical knowledge available to Arabic-Islamic intellectual elites of the late 14<sup>th</sup> century. Among other things, Ibn Khaldūn's elaborate exposition contains several references to events in the Roman West. It includes a rare description of the Roman republican system, which arose after the people of Rome (*ahl Rūma*) 'appointed 320 elders to administer their realm' (*qaddamū shuyūkh thulthumā'īya wa-'ashrīn yudabbirūna mulkahum*).

---

<sup>57</sup> Al-'Umarī, *Condizioni*, pp. 1-13 (Arabic).

It also offers a short description of the Punic wars (*fitnat al-Kaytam ma' ahl Ifriqiya*),<sup>58</sup> as well as an acceptable overview of Visigothic history.<sup>59</sup> It mentions Frankish-Umayyad relations in al-Andalus,<sup>60</sup> comments on the rise of Christian polities on the Iberian Peninsula,<sup>61</sup> and features a rough sketch of the Franks' rise to power, which also contains detailed information about crusading activities in the Middle East.<sup>62</sup> Likewise, attention is given to Norman (alias 'Frankish') rule in North Africa,<sup>63</sup> as well as to the expedition of Louis IX (*Sanluwīs bin Luwīs*) to Tunis.<sup>64</sup> Ibn Khaldūn's work also offers an interesting definition of the pope's role in promoting the Frankish people's submission to an overlord called emperor (*al-inbaradhūr*), whose task it is to quell factionalism (*al-ʿaṣabiyya*) among the Franks.<sup>65</sup> In addition, he reproduces rumors about the recent intensification of philosophical studies in the contemporary Frankish sphere.<sup>66</sup> This work, which looks back on almost eight centuries of Islamic history, thus contains many elements that together constitute a shared history of both the Latin-Christian and Arabic-Islamic world.

This rough summary of works chosen to represent a geographical, administrative-political and historiographical perspective of Latin Christendom from the vantage-point of Arabic-Islamic scholars active in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries can only provide fragmentary insight into the diversity of perceptions in the period between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. This diversity covers the entire range from emotional polemics via forms of neutral, factual and pragmatic appraisal to respect, admiration and sympathy.

Ibn al-Abbār's curses of 1238, directed at the *reconquistadores* who ravished Muslim towns and women, and exchanged the call of the muezzin for the clanging of church bells, stand for the emotions aroused by the gradual loss of al-Andalus.<sup>67</sup> They were formulated in the presence of the Ḥafṣid ruler Abū Zakariyā' in Tūnis, with the aim of soliciting help for the besieged city of Valencia, though it was eventually lost to James I of Aragon. The standard repertory of images contrasting righteous Muslim

<sup>58</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārikh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, ii, pp. 233-36.

<sup>59</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārikh*, ii, pp. 280-83.

<sup>60</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārikh*, iv, pp. 158, 161-63, 183.

<sup>61</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārikh*, iv, pp. 182-84; v, pp. 229-36.

<sup>62</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārikh*, v, pp. 209-46; cf. vi, pp. 424-25.

<sup>63</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārikh*, v, pp. 230-39.

<sup>64</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārikh*, vi, pp. 424-27.

<sup>65</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārikh*, i, p. 292. Cf. König, 'Zur Ausstrahlung des Papsttums', pp. 20-27.

<sup>66</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārikh*, i, p. 633.

<sup>67</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārikh*, vi, pp. 386-87.

victims with aggressive Christians<sup>68</sup> does not do justice to the much more complex forms of interaction that characterized relations between Christian and Muslim polities on the Iberian Peninsula. Nonetheless, the emotions eloquently phrased by Ibn al-Abbār have to be regarded as real. Most probably they were felt by the masses of refugees from al-Andalus who, leaving their homes behind, entered North Africa in such large numbers that they eventually imposed Andalusian styles of writing on the chanceries of North African rulers, as Ibn Khaldūn tells us.<sup>69</sup> And they continued to play a role in later Muslim memories of al-Andalus, in what Elinson calls the 'poetics of loss and nostalgia'.<sup>70</sup>

In this period of Latin-Christian expansionism, it is hardly surprising that hostility towards the protagonists of expansion was widespread and often cultivated. In a crusading context, hostile attitudes are often expressed in curses appended to the ethonym 'Franks' (*Ifranja/Faranj*), e.g. 'may God hasten their destruction' ('*ajala Allāh ihlākahum*) and 'God curse them' (*la'nahum Allāh*).<sup>71</sup> The pope, occasionally called the instigator of the Franks' efforts to conquer and hold onto Jerusalem, was also a target of invective and accordingly described as 'the accursed one' (*hādha al-mal'ūn*), e.g. in a letter written by Saladin to Baghdad.<sup>72</sup> His religious authority among Christians certainly provoked Muslim theologians: Ibn Taymiyya's (d. 1328) slanderous definition of the pope as a liar and hypocrite who falsely claims to be the mouthpiece of God provides a fine example in the sense that it polemically phrases the rival claim to divine truth.<sup>73</sup> On top of this, ancient clichés, repeated over the centuries, still appear in 14<sup>th</sup>-century chronicles. Thus, Abū l-Fidā (d. 1331), copying data to be found in the work of al-Bakrī (d. 1094), still claims that the Galicians of Christian Spain do not wash.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>68</sup> On this see J. Tolan, 'A dreadful racket. The clanging of bells and the yowling of muezzins in Iberian interconfessional polemics', in J. Tolan (ed.), *Sons of Ishmael. Muslims through European eyes in the Middle Ages*, Gainesville FL, 2008, 147-60.

<sup>69</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, i, pp. 528-29.

<sup>70</sup> A.E. Elinson, *Looking back at al-Andalus. The poetics of loss and nostalgia in medieval Arabic and Hebrew literature*, Leiden, 2009.

<sup>71</sup> E. Sivan, 'La genèse de la contre-croisade. Un traité damasquin du début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Journal Asiatique* 254 (1966) 187-224, p. 212; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-kāmil fi l-tārīkh*, ed. Torberg, x, p. 126 (AH 593).

<sup>72</sup> Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn fi akhbār al-dawlatayn*, ed. and trans. B. de Meynard (*RHC Or.* 4), Paris, 1898, p. 480.

<sup>73</sup> Ibn Taymiyya, *Al-jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-Masīh*, ed. 'A. bin Ḥassan bin Nāṣir, 'A. al-'Askar and Ḥ. al-Ḥamdān, 7 vols, Riyadh, 1999, iii, p. 500; vi, p. 423.

<sup>74</sup> Abū l-Fidā, *Al-mukhtaṣar fi akhbār al-bashar*, ed. Ḥ. Mu'nīs, M. Zaynuhum 'Azzab and Y. Sayyid Husayn, 4 vols, Cairo, 1998-99, i, p. 120: '*lā yaghsalūna thiyābahum*'. Cf. al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, p. 913, § 1530.

However, such global condemnations and stereotypes do not seem to have been of great relevance in situations of concrete interaction. In spite of its sweeping generalizations, almost satirical tone and several passages that do not shed positive light on the crusaders, Usāma ibn Munqidh's (d. 1188) description of the crusaders' ideas, beliefs, customs, medicine and jurisdiction proves that personal contact led to a more differentiated perception of the other, without necessarily eliminating the cultural or religious divide.<sup>75</sup> More than once, Usāma clearly distinguishes between fanatical new-comers on the one hand and acclimatized and thus more compromising Franks on the other. The latter included a 'chaste Frankish knight' (*fāris muḥtashim ifranjī*) who enjoyed Usāma's 'friendship and companionship' (*mawadda wa-mu'āshara*), as well as Templars whom he describes as 'my friends' (*aṣḍiqā'ī*).<sup>76</sup>

Diplomatic and other forms of peaceful interaction cannot be regarded as devoid of conflict. However, concrete questions of power, gain and political leverage seem to have played a greater role than a general hostile attitude towards 'the infidel'. According to Ibn Wāṣil, the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil did not refuse the ten-year truce proposed by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, which involved the Frankish take-over of Jerusalem in 1229, 'because this would have endangered his political aspirations' (*li-anna kāna yu'addī dhālika ilā fawāt aghrāḍihi*).<sup>77</sup> When Frederick II visited Jerusalem after the truce had been concluded, the qadi of Nablus, who was responsible for the emperor's welfare during his visit to the city, even ordered the city's muezzins to refrain from making the call to prayer in deference to the presence of the Christian ruler (*ihtirāman lahu*).<sup>78</sup> The angry accusations that were directed by the Mamluk Sultan Baybars against the Franks of Cyprus because they had not respected the safe-conduct promised to his envoys on the way to the Seljuqs in 1263, express a Muslim ruler's resentment of political partners who cannot be trusted, rather than a sweeping condemnation of Christians and crusaders.<sup>79</sup>

Contemporary written documents convey the impression that mutual norms of courteous behavior were generally respected in direct

<sup>75</sup> Usāma bin Munqidh, *Kitāb al-i'tibār*, ed. P. Hitti, Princeton NJ, 1930, pp. 132-41.

<sup>76</sup> Usāma bin Munqidh, *Kitāb al-i'tibār*, pp. 132, 134-35.

<sup>77</sup> Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb fi akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, ed. J.D. Shayyāl, H.M. Rabī' and S.'A. 'Āshūr, 5 vols, Cairo, 1953-77, iv, pp. 234-35 (AH 625).

<sup>78</sup> Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, iv, p. 245 (AH 626).

<sup>79</sup> Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-sulūk li-ma'rīfat duwal al-mulūk*, Vol. 1, ed. M.M. Ziyāda, Cairo, 1957, p. 486 (AH 661); P.M. Holt, *Early Mamluk diplomacy, 1260-1290*, Leiden, 1995, pp. 13, 69; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. 4, Stuttgart, 1860, pp. 45-46, on the context.

communication. In a letter sent by the governor al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm to Pope Innocent IV in 1245, which only survives in Latin translation, the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb reacts politely to the pope's previous exposition of the Christian faith, counters with a comparable exposition of Islam, expresses his interest in further correspondence with the pope and takes a stand concerning specific political details.<sup>80</sup> In 1350, a letter written by a functionary of the Ḥafsid ruler Ibrāhīm (II) Abū Ishāq informs the king of Aragon that the newly arrived Catalan consul in Tunis lacked official credentials, making it necessary to appoint an alternative consul after consultation with the local Catalan community.<sup>81</sup> These letters, which are only two of many more specimens of late medieval diplomatic correspondence, seem to confirm Kedar's observation that, in the course of the Middle Ages, we can witness an 'ever-growing intercultural compatibility in the sphere of diplomatics, a compatibility that largely surmounted religious barriers'.<sup>82</sup> This rather pragmatic and goal-oriented approach to what may be called a late medieval form of 'international relations' is also reflected in the large number of treaties that involve the great maritime powers of the late medieval Mediterranean, such as Genoa, Venice and the Crown of Aragon, as well as their Muslim partners on the coasts of North Africa and in the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>83</sup>

Undeniably, empathy had its limits, as is obvious from Usāma ibn Munqidh's description of the Frankish attitude towards jealousy or their irrational and violent way of conducting judicial trials.<sup>84</sup> This is not the only example showing that the medieval West, with its beliefs and practices, could puzzle and even shock Muslim observers: the Mālikī jurist al-Qarāfī (d. 1285), who also responded to some questions

<sup>80</sup> K.E. Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels*, Vatican City, 1981, p. 162.

<sup>81</sup> A. Giménez Soler, 'Documentos de Túnez, originales o traducidos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón', *Anuari del Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 3 (1909-10) 210-59, pp. 253-54.

<sup>82</sup> B.Z. Kedar, 'Religion in Catholic-Muslim correspondence and treaties', in A. Beihammer, M.G. Parani and C.D. Schabel (eds), *Diplomatics in the eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500*, Leiden, 2008, 407-21, p. 421.

<sup>83</sup> See e.g. L. de Mas Latrie, *Traité de paix et de commerce et documents divers concernant les relations des chrétiens avec les arabes de l'Afrique septentrionale au moyen âge*, 2 vols, Paris, 1866, 1872; J. Wansbrough, *Documents for the history of commercial relations between Egypt and Venice 1442-1512*, London, 1961 (PhD diss., University of London); J. Wansbrough, 'Venice and Florence in the Mamluk commercial privileges', *BSOAS* 28 (1965) 483-523; P.M. Holt, *Early Mamluk diplomacy (1260-1290). Treaties of Baybars and Qalawun with Christian rulers*, Leiden, 1995.

<sup>84</sup> Usāma ibn Munqidh, *Kitāb al-i'tibār*, pp. 135-37, 138-40.



on ophthalmology sent by Frederick II,<sup>85</sup> failed to understand how Christians were able to believe that God [Jesus] allegedly created his own mother [Mary] who then gave birth to her own Creator [Jesus]. Equally incomprehensible to him was the irrational behavior of Christians from Barcelona, Tarragona, Marseilles and other Western European towns who annually subjected the Jewish inhabitants to pogroms for a period of three days (probably during Easter holidays), but peacefully cohabitated with them during the rest of the year.<sup>86</sup>

In this context, however, it is important to consider that certain traits and forms of behavior that would seem strange or even repulsive to us today were not necessarily regarded as such by Muslim observers of the period. Although he obviously did not approve of the crusaders' intentions and actions, Saladin acknowledged traits worth emulating in the Franks' determination and zeal to fight 'for the defense of what they venerate and for the honor of what they believe' (*al-ḥamiyya li-muta'abbadihim wa-l-nakhwa li-muta'aqqadihim*) in two letters cited by Abū Shāma (d. 1268), an attitude that he contrasts with Muslim inertia to put an end to the Frankish presence in the Middle East:<sup>87</sup> 'Look at the Franks in contrast, how they manage to attain their objectives, how many people they manage to assemble, how they strive to fulfill their desires, how much support they provide [to each other], and how much money they pay and spend, single contributions which they have collected and then distributed and divided among themselves. In their lands, on their islands, there is no ruler, no leader, no lord and not a single noble who would refrain from rendering assistance to his neighbor in the battlefield or who would abandon his peer in a situation of need and in his efforts. Sacrificing their life to defend their religion is something that does not mean much to them.'<sup>88</sup> It is clear that Saladin highlighted the crusaders' unity and determination in order to exhort the Muslims to

<sup>85</sup> S.A. Jackson, art. 'Shihāb al-Din al-Ḳarāfi', in *Elz*.

<sup>86</sup> Al-Ḳarāfi, *Al-ḳjwiba l-fākhira 'an al-as'ila l-fājira fi l-radd 'alā l-millat al-kāfira*, ed. M.M. al-Shahāwī, Beirut, 2005, p. 26; E. Fritsch, *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter. Beiträge zur Geschichte der muslimischen Polemik gegen das Christentum in arabischer Sprache*, Breslau, 1930, p. 149.

<sup>87</sup> Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn fi akhbār al-dawlatayn*, ed. and trans. de Meynard, (*RHC Or.* 4) pp. 429-30, 480.

<sup>88</sup> Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn* (*RHC Or.* 4), p. 429: 'fa-undhurū ilā l-Faranj ayya mawrid waradū wa-ayya hashad hashadū, wa-ayya ḍalla nashadū, wa-ayya najda anjadū, wa-ayya amwāl gharamūhā wa-anfaḳūhā, waḥdāt jama'ūhā wa-tawazza'ūhā fimā baynahum wa-faraḳūhā, wa-lam yabqa malik fi bilādihim wa-jazā'irihim, wa-lā 'azam wa-lā kabir min 'uzamā'ihim wa-akābirihim, allā jārā jārahu fi miḍmār al-ittiḥād, wa-bārā nazārahu fi l-jidd wa-l-ijtihād, wa-staqallū fi šūn millatihim badhal al-muhaj wa-l-arwāh. . .'

draw together against their common enemy. This does not automatically imply, however, that he only feigned respect for these 'Frankish' virtues. Other qualities were respected as well: Ibn Khaldūn's explanation of why certain rulers of the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Maghreb preferred to employ 'Frankish' mercenaries in their mutual wars because of the latter's superior fighting technique certainly betrays an acknowledgement of their professional skills.<sup>89</sup>

In this context, it should be emphasized that Muslim perceptions of medieval Western Europeans were not necessarily subjected to the paradigm of cultural and/or religious antagonism, which is so often imposed on relations between 'Islam' and 'the West', particularly concerning the medieval period. This is evident in cases in which Muslim observers describe representatives of Latin Christianity who had an open-minded attitude towards the Islamic world. Thus, Ibn Wāṣil (d. 1298) praises King Manfred of Sicily for his erudition and his sympathy towards the Muslims.<sup>90</sup> Such an attitude must have also stood at the basis of serious alliances and maybe even friendships: Ibn Khaldūn refers to a relationship of support and trust (*wilāya wa-mukhāliṣa*) between Peter I of Castile and the emir of Granada, Abū l-Ḥajjāj, in relation to events around the year 1350.<sup>91</sup> But even in cases in which the geopolitical constellation would lead us to expect that Muslims clearly distinguished between a 'Muslim in-group' and a Latin-Christian 'other', we repeatedly stumble upon contemporary texts that claim that Muslims cooperated or even sided with Western European Christians without any apparent qualms. Describing the crusaders' siege of Tyre in 1111, Ibn al-Athīr mentions a Muslim working on a Frankish ship who, together with one of his Frankish comrades, manages to catch a carrier pigeon sent with a secret message to the city's besieged population. According to Ibn al-Athīr, the Frank is tempted to let the pigeon go. The Muslim, however, refuses to do so, and takes the pigeon to King Baldwin of Jerusalem, thus triggering a chain of events that eventually leads to the massacre of Muslim troops.<sup>92</sup> The fact that Muslim jurists of the period repeatedly dealt with the question of whether Muslims were allowed to reside in territories under non-Muslim

<sup>89</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, i, pp. 338-39; cf. 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, 2002, 23-62.

<sup>90</sup> Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrīj al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, iv, p. 248 (AH 626).

<sup>91</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, vii, pp. 388-89.

<sup>92</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-kāmil fī l-tārīkh*, x, p. 489 (AH 505); *The chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the crusading period from al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh*, pt. 1. *The years 491-541/1097-1146: the coming of the Franks and the Muslim response*, trans. D.S. Richards, Aldershot, 2006, p. 158.



rule,<sup>93</sup> clearly proves that, from a dogmatic point of view, many Muslims were not too concerned about living in societies dominated by Christians, and may even have felt comfortable there. An interesting case of divided loyalties is documented by the Maghrebian jurisconsult al-Wansharīsī (d. 1508), who criticizes Muslim refugees from al-Andalus because they regret having emigrated to the Islamic world and wish to return to territories under Christian suzerainty after being confronted with the difficulties of making a living in Muslim North Africa.<sup>94</sup> Trade between European Christians and Muslims residing in societies under Muslim rule does not seem to have constituted a problem. In a period in which the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and later treatises in favor of a new crusade condemned Christians selling strategic material to the 'Saracens',<sup>95</sup> a fatwa issued by Ibn 'Arafa (d. 1401) from Tunis deals with Muslim traders who rented ships from Christian colleagues to cover distances between the Maghreb, Ifrīqiya and Egypt.<sup>96</sup>

This wide range of material proves that perceptions of Latin Christians and Western Europe could vary considerably. It shows that, even in an age of crusades and Reconquista, the dividing lines did not necessarily follow religious or ethnic criteria, but left many people between the normative borders drawn by geopolitical confrontation and religious intransigence. All in all, this evidence strongly suggests that the range of perception patterns characteristic not only of the period between the 12<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, but of the entire period of relations between the Latin-Christian and Arab-Islamic worlds, was much larger than has so far been suggested by scholarship. It shows that a reappraisal of how Muslims perceived Latin Christendom must refrain from oversimplification and take a large variety of relations and hybrid phenomena into consideration.

<sup>93</sup> See 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.

<sup>94</sup> Al-Wansharīsī, *Asnā al-matājir fi bayyān aḥkām man ghalaba 'alā waṭānihi l-Naṣārā wa-lam yuhājir*, in Ḥ. Mu'nīs (ed.), *Ṣaḥīfat ma'had al-miṣri li-l-dirāsāt al-Islāmiyya fi Madrīd*, Vol. 5(1-2), Madrid, 1957, p. 149; cf. V. Lagardère, *Histoire et société en Occident musulman au moyen âge. Analyse du Mi'yār d'al Wansarīsī*, Madrid, 1995, p. 48, fatwa no. 182.

<sup>95</sup> Concilium Lateranense IV (1215), § 71, in J. Wohlmuth (ed.), *Konzilien des Mittelalters. Vom ersten Laterankonzil (1123) bis zum fünften Laterankonzil (1512-1517)*, Paderborn, 2000, p. 270; Guillelmus Adae, *De modo Sarracenos extirpandi* (RHC, *Documents arméniens* 2), Paris, 1906, p. 523.

<sup>96</sup> Lagardère, *Histoire et société en Occident musulman au moyen âge*, p. 33, fatwa no. 86.

# Islam and Muslims in Byzantine historiography of the 10th-15th centuries

Klaus-Peter Todt

Byzantine historians writing in Greek used a great number of designations for Muslims.<sup>1</sup> Some were derived from the Old Testament, such as *Agarēnoi* and *Ismaēlitai*, descendants of Hagar and of her son Ishmael, who were driven out by Abraham after the birth of Isaac (Genesis 16; 17:20, 23, 25-26; 21:9-21). These designations were used for Muslims of various ethnic origins. Other terms, such as *Arabes* or *Sarakēnoi*, had already been used in Ancient Greek literature and had then been defined ethnically, but were now employed synonymously with *Agarēnoi*, as in the report in *Theophanes continuatus* on the rebellion of Thomas against the Emperor Michael II (820-29). Initially, the Muslims who used Thomas's rebellion to devastate Byzantine territory are called *Agarēnoi*, but later, in the account of a counter-attack by Thomas and his forming an alliance with the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, they are called Saracens (*Sarakēnoi*).<sup>2</sup> In contrast, when the historian Leo the Deacon (c. 950-c. 992/94) comes to mention the army of Sayf al-Dawla, the Ḥamdānid amir of Aleppo (944-67; in Greek *Chambdan*), he makes a distinction between Arabs (*Arabes*) and *Agarēnoi*, because he knows that, in the Ḥamdānid army, alongside Arabs there are also Daylamites from Iran and Turks from Central Asia.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> On Byzantine historiography in the 10<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, see: G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica, I. Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Turkvölker*, Berlin, 1958 (repr. Leiden, 1983); H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, Vol. 1: *Philosophie – Rhetorik – Epistolographie – Geschichtsschreibung – Geographie*, Munich, 1978, pp. 349-504; J. Karayannopoulos and G. Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324-1453)*, Vol. 2, part 4: *Hauptquellen, allgemeine Quellenlage (nach Jahrhunderten geordnet)*, Wiesbaden, 1982, pp. 367-73, 405-10, 428-34, 459-64, 491-97, and 517-25; M. Angold and M. Whitby, *Historiography*, in E. Jeffreys with J. Haldon and R. Cormack (eds), *The Oxford handbook of Byzantine Studies*, Oxford, 2008, pp. 838-52.

<sup>2</sup> *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekkerus, Bonn, 1838, p. 54 (ii.12); A. Kazhdan, art. 'Theophanes Continuatus', in *ODB*; A.G. Savvides, 'Some notes on the terms *Agarenoi*, *Ismaelitai* and *Sarakenoi* in Byzantine Sources', *Byzantion* 67 (1997) 89-96, pp. 90, 92.

<sup>3</sup> *Leonis Diaconi Caloënsis Historiae libri decem et liber de velitatione bellica Nicephori Augusti*, ed. C.B. Hasius, Bonn, 1828, p. 18 (ii.1); German trans. F. Loretto, *Nikephoros Phokas 'Der bleiche Tod der Sarazenen' und Johannes Tzimiskes. Die Zeit von 959-976 in der Darstellung des Leon Diakonos (Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber 10)*, Graz, 1961, p. 24; English trans. A.-M. Talbot et al., *Leo the Deacon, The history. Byzantine military expansion*

While *Theophanes continuatus* inaccurately describes the Arabs conquering Crete around 822 as *Agarēnoi* from Spain, Leo the Deacon designates their descendants more precisely as *Arabites Krētoi*.<sup>4</sup> He archaically calls the Arabs of Sicily *Sikēliōtai*,<sup>5</sup> and the Fatimid forces of North Africa, who were recruited from the Berber tribe of Kutāma, *Karchēdonioi*, i.e. Carthaginians.<sup>6</sup>

In his *Synopsis historiōn*, John Scylitzes (11<sup>th</sup> century) generally calls Muslims *Agarēnoi*; though he occasionally uses the term *Ismaēlitai* as well. He tends to use *Agarēnoi* in the context of actual military conflicts between the Byzantines and their Muslim enemies of Arab descent, as in the accounts of the wars of the Emperors Leo V (813-20), Theophilus (829-43), Michael III (842-67), Basil I (867-86), Nicephorus II Phocas (963-69), and John I Tzimisce (969-76).<sup>7</sup> The only exception is Scylitzes' report on Leo the Mathematician, who was invited by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn (813-33) to move to Baghdad.<sup>8</sup>

The terms *Agarēnoi* and *Ismaēlitai* or *hoi tou Ismaēl* were occasionally used for Turks, as, for example, in the *Alexiad* of Anna Comnena (1083-c. 1153/54), the daughter of the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118). In Book 2, she tells how Alexius Comnenus, then commander-in-chief of the Western forces, was ordered by Nicephorus III Botaneiates (1078-81) to advance from Constantinople against the *Agarēnoi*, who had just conquered Cyzicus.<sup>9</sup> Elsewhere, she tells how, in 1096, Alexius I Comnenus

---

in *the tenth century*, Washington DC, 2005, p. 71; A. Kazhdan, art. 'Leo the Deacon', in *ODB*.

<sup>4</sup> *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bekkerus, p. 73; *Leo Diaconus*, ed. Hasius, p. 6, trans. Loretto, p. 13, trans. Talbot and Sullivan, p. 58; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides de Jazīra et de Syrie*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1953, p. 597; Savvides, 'Notes', p. 90.

<sup>5</sup> *Leonis Diaconi Caloënsis Historiae*, ed. Hasius, p. 66, trans. Loretto, p. 66, trans. Talbot and Sullivan, p. 116.

<sup>6</sup> *Leonis Diaconi Caloënsis Historiae*, ed. Hasius, pp. 75, 103, trans. Loretto, pp. 74, 97, trans. Talbot and Sullivan, pp. 126, 152.

<sup>7</sup> *Ioannis Scylitzae synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 5), Berlin, 1973, pp. 501, 521; partial German trans. H. Thurn, *Byzanz wieder ein Weltreich. Das Zeitalter der makedonischen Dynastie*, Part 1: *Ende des Bilderstreites und Makedonische Renaissance (Anfang 9. bis Mitte 10. Jh.)*. *Nach dem Geschichtswerk des Johannes Skylitzes (Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber 15)*, Graz, 1983; English trans. J. Wortley, *John Scylitzes, A synopsis of Byzantine history, 811-1057*, Cambridge, 2010; A. Kazhdan and A. Cutler, art. 'Skylitzes, John', in *ODB*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ioannis Scylitzae synopsis historiarum*, ed. Thurn, pp. 101-5, trans. Thurn, pp. 136-40, trans. Wortley, pp. 102-6.

<sup>9</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ed. D.R. Reinsch et al., 2 vols (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 40/1 and 2), Berlin, 2001, p. 62; English trans. E.R.A. Sewter, *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, Harmondsworth, 1969, p. 79, German trans. D.R. Reinsch, *Anna Komnene, Alexias*, Cologne, 1996, p. 77; A. Kazhdan, art. 'Komnene, Anna', in *ODB*; A. Beihammer,

gave the command to build fortifications east of Nicomedia in order to protect that city and its hinterland against incursions by *hoi tou Ismaēl*, who had become 'bad neighbours' of the local Byzantine population.<sup>10</sup>

In his *Chronographia*, Michael Psellus (1018-after 1081), reporting on the campaign of Romanus III Argyrus (1028-34) against the Emirate of Aleppo, describes the Mirdāsīd emirs and their followers as belonging to the Saracens who inhabited Koile Syria.<sup>11</sup> In his account of the campaign of Romanus IV Diogenes (1068-71) against the Emirate of Aleppo, the historian Michael Attaleiates (11<sup>th</sup> century) draws a distinction between the Arabs (*Arabes*) and the Turks (*Tourkoi*) who are allied to them. Elsewhere, he calls the defenders of towers in the city wall and of the citadel of Hierapolis/Manbij *Sarakēnoi*.<sup>12</sup> In his *Epitomē historiōn* ('Abridgement of history'), John Zonaras (c. 1100) mostly calls Muslims descendants of Hagar (*hoi ek tēs Agar, Agarēnoi*), but he also refers to them as Arabs (*Arabes*), Ishmaelites (*Ismaēlitai*) and Saracens (*Sarakēnoi*). Only Muslims are called *hoi ek tēs Agar, Ismaēlitai* and *Sarakēnoi*, but *Arabes* is also used for the Arabs of the pre-Islamic period.<sup>13</sup> John Cinnamus (before c. 1143-after 1185) calls the soldiers of the Atabeg 'Imād al-Dīn Zankī (1127-46), who in 1137 were besieging the fortress of Mountapharas (Bārīn), 'the Saracens living near Palestine' (*hoi Sarakēnoi hoi Palaistinois prosoikountes*), even though most of them were Turks.<sup>14</sup>

The religious term *Mousoulmanoi* is only rarely used in Byzantine historiography. For instance, Anna Comnena reports that, after the defeat

---

'Feindbilder und Konfliktwahrnehmung in den Quellen zum Auftreten der Seldschuken in Kleinasien (ca. 1050-1118)', *Byzantion* 79 (2009) 48-97, pp. 65-66; K. Durak, 'Defining the "Turk". Mechanisms of establishing contemporary meaning in the archaizing language of the Byzantines', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 59 (2009) 65-78, p. 74.

<sup>10</sup> *Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, pp. 295-98, trans. Sewter, p. 307, trans. Reinsch, p. 333.

<sup>11</sup> *Michele Psello, Imperatori di Bisanzio (Cronografia)*, introduced by D. del Corno, ed. S. Impellizzeri, commentary by U. Criscuolo, trans. S. Ronchey, 2 vols, Milan, 1984, I, p. 78, English trans. *Fourteen Byzantine rulers. The Chronographia of Michael Psellus*, trans. E.R. Sewter, Harmondsworth, 1966, p. 66; A. Kazhdan, art. 'Psellos, Michael', in *ODB*; T. Bianquis, art. 'Mirdās, Banū or Mirdāsīds', in *El2*; F. Lauritzen, in *CMR* 3, pp. 155-59 (the *Chronographia* is not mentioned).

<sup>12</sup> *Miguel Atalates, Historia*, ed. and Spanish trans. I. Pérez Martin (*Nueva Roma* 15), Madrid, 2002, pp. 82, 83; A. Kazhdan, art. 'Attaleiates, Michael', in *ODB*.

<sup>13</sup> Ioannes Zonaras, *Epitomae Historiarum Libri XVIII*, Vol. 3: *Libri XIII-XVIII*, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, Bonn, 1897, pp. 780-81, 799, 845, 911-12; A. Kazhdan, art. 'Zonaras, John', in *ODB*.

<sup>14</sup> *Ioannis Cinnami Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Manuele Comneno gestarum*, ed. A. Meineke, Bonn, 1836, p. 18; John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. C.M. Brand, New York, 1976, p. 23; A. Kazhdan, art. 'Kinnamos, John', in *ODB*.

of his troops near Kerbianon, the Rūm-Seljuq Sultan Malik-Shāh (*Saisán soultános*, 1107-16) sent ambassadors to Alexius I Comnenus expressing his wish to conclude a peace between Muslims and Romans (*tēn anametaxy tōn Mousoulmanōn kai Rhōmaiōn eirēnēn epipothēin*).<sup>15</sup> As a notable exception to this rule, the historian George Acropolites (1217-82) uses *Mousoulmanoi* relatively often, in reference, for example, to the troops of the Rūm-Seljuq Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw I (1192-96 and 1204-11), who in 1211 were defeated by the Frankish mercenaries of the Emperor Theodorus I Lascaris (1205-21).<sup>16</sup> However, he uses the term *Tourkoi* for the Turkish mercenaries in the army of the *sebastokratōr* John Palaeologus, who contributed decisively to the Byzantine victory in the battle of Pelagonia in 1259.<sup>17</sup>

*Persai* is clearly an ethnic term. Accordingly, Leo the Deacon uses it exclusively to designate the Sasanian Persians when he recalls their defeat during the siege of Nisibis in 338.<sup>18</sup> But from the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards *Persai* simply becomes a synonym for Turks, being used both in imitation of ancient Greek historiography and also in acknowledgement that the Turks had arrived in the Near East and in Asia Minor via Iran.

Speaking about the time prior to the battle of Manzikert in August 1071, Michael Psellus calls the Seljuq leader Alp Arslan (1063-72) 'the sultan, the king of the Persians or of the Kurds' (*ho soultan, ho tōn Persōn e Kourtōn basileus*).<sup>19</sup> Anna Comnena identifies the Turks with the Persians of Antiquity, and the Turkish emirs with the satraps of the Persian Achaemenid kings.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, John Cinnamus usually calls the Turks of Asia Minor Persians,<sup>21</sup> and the territory of the Rūm-Seljuq sultans *Persikon*.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, i, pp. 295-98, trans. Sewter, p. 307, trans. Reinsch, p. 488.

<sup>16</sup> *Georgius Acropolita, Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg and P. Wirth, vol. 1. *Historia, breviarum historiae, Theodori Scutariotae additamenta*, Stuttgart, 1978, pp. 16-17, 357, trans. R. Macrides, *George Akropolites, The history*, Oxford, 2007, p. 131; R.J. Macrides, art. 'Akropolites, George', in *ODB*.

<sup>17</sup> *Georgius Acropolita*, ed. Heisenberg and Wirth, p. 169, trans. Macrides, p. 360.

<sup>18</sup> *Leonis Diaconi Caloënsis Historiae*, ed. Hasius, p. 162, trans. Loretto, p. 147, trans. Talbot and Sullivan, pp. 203-4; Durak, 'Defining the "Turk"', 69.

<sup>19</sup> *Michele Psello, (Cronografia)*, ed. Impellizzeri and trans. Ronchey, ii, p. 338, trans. Sewter, p. 355.

<sup>20</sup> *Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, i, p. 222: ...*hon hē synētheia men tōn Persōn satrapēn apokalei, hoi de nun ta Persōn phronountes Tourkoi amēran onomazousi*, trans. Reinsch, p. 253 (missing in Sewter's English trans.).

<sup>21</sup> *Ioannis Cinnami Epitome*, ed. Meineke, pp. 5, 13, 21, 38-63, 123, trans. Brand, pp. 14, 20, 25, 38-56, 97 (see N. Elisséeff, art. 'Nūr ad-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zankī', in *EL2*).

<sup>22</sup> *Ioannis Cinnami Epitome*, ed. Meineke, p. 191, trans. Brand, p. 146.

Historians of the Late Byzantine period, among them George Pachymeres (1242-c. 1310; q.v.), and John Cantacuzenus (c. 1295-1383; q.v.), also usually designate the Turks as Persians (*Persai*);<sup>23</sup> Pachymeres calls the Sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kā'ūs II (1246-61) 'the ruler over the Persis' (*ho tēs Persidos archōn*).<sup>24</sup> Nicephorus Gregoras (c. 1290-c. 1358/61), however, identifies the Turks of Asia Minor as both *Persai* and *Tourkoi*.<sup>25</sup> Michael Critobulus (d. c. 1470), probably to flatter Sultan Mehmed II (1451-81), claims that the Ottomans (*Atoumanoī*) were descendants of the most ancient family of the Achaemenids and Persids (*houtoi tu palaitatou genous eisin Achaimenidōn kai Perseidōn*), the Persian kings of Antiquity.<sup>26</sup>

In a thoroughly archaizing manner, Michael Psellus in his *Chronographia* designates the Turks as *Parthoi* and calls the first Seljuq ruler Ṭoghrlil-Beg (1038-63) the 'Parthian sultan' (*ho Parthos soultan*),<sup>27</sup> while George Pachymeres misleadingly portrays the Mamluk Sultan Baybars (1260-77) as 'the sultan of the Ethiopians' (*ho tōn Aithiopōn soultan*),<sup>28</sup> probably using the term as a synonym for Nubians, like classical Greek authors.

Scylitzes and Zonaras use the ethnic name *Tourkoi* for both Hungarians and Turks from Central Asia,<sup>29</sup> though Zonaras designates the

<sup>23</sup> Georges Pachymères, *Relations historiques (Syngraphikai historiai)*, vol. 5. *Index, tables générales et lexique grec*, ed. A. Failler (*Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae* 24/5), Paris, 2000, p. 40; Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris, *Historiarum libri IV*, ed. and (Latin) trans. L. Schopenus, 3 vols, Bonn, 1828-32, iii, pp. 603-4; A.M. Talbot, art. 'John VI Kantakouzenos', in *ODB*; A.M. Talbot, art. 'Pachymeres, George', in *ODB*.

<sup>24</sup> Georges Pachymères, *Relations historiques (syngraphikai historiai)*, Vol. 1, ed. A. Failler, French trans. V. Laurent (*Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae* 24/1), Paris, 1984, pp. 185, 235.

<sup>25</sup> Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. and trans. L. Schopenus, Vol. 2, Bonn, 1830, pp. 1371-72 (*Persae = Turci*), 1383-84 (*Turci*); Vol. 3, Bonn, 1855, p. 571 (*Persae*).

<sup>26</sup> Critobulus Imbriota, *Historiae*, ed. D.R. Reinsch (*Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae* 22), Berlin, 1983, pp. 15-16; Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. C.T. Riggs, Princeton NJ, 1954, p. 13; Mehmet II. *erobert Konstantinopel. Die ersten Regierungsjahre des Sultans Mehmet Fatih, des Eroberers von Konstantinopel 1453. Das Geschichtswerk des Kritobulos von Imbros*, German trans. D.R. Reinsch (*Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber* 17), Graz, 1986, p. 43; A.M. Talbot, art. 'Kritoboulos, Michael', in *ODB*.

<sup>27</sup> Michele Psello, (*Cronografia*), ed. Impellizzeri, trans. Ronchey, ii, pp. 240, 258, trans. Sewter, pp. 306, 314.

<sup>28</sup> Georges Pachymères, ed. Failler, trans. Laurent, i, p. 235; G. Wiet, art. 'Baybars I', in *El2*; P. Thorau, *Sultan Baibars I. von Ägypten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Vorderen Orients im 13. Jh. (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Series B, 63)*, Wiesbaden, 1987.

<sup>29</sup> Scylitzes, *Synopsis*, p. 553; Zonaras, *Epitomae Historiarum*, Vol. 3, ed. Büttner-Wobst, p. 923.



Hungarians as the ‘Turks of the Danube’ (*hoi Tourkoi hoi peri ton Istron*) or as *Oungroi*,<sup>30</sup> in order to distinguish them from the Asian Turks.

At the time of the first Turkish attack against Byzantium (1045/46), Michael Attaleiates, the most important source for the Turkish conquest of Asia Minor, calls them *Ounnoi Nephthalitai* and says they lived across the river Ganges from the Persians (in reality the Syr Darya in present-day Kazakhstan).<sup>31</sup> When he relates their conquest of Anatolian Neocaesarea in 1068, he says that the Persians (*hoi Persai*) are now known as Turks (*Tourkoi*).<sup>32</sup>

### Muslim dynasties and rulers

Leo the Deacon calls the Fatimid Caliph al-Mu‘izz (953-75) ‘the general of the Carthaginians’ (*ho tōn Karchēdoniōn agós*; *agós* is a rare Classical Greek word for ‘general’),<sup>33</sup> though after their conquest of Egypt in 969 the Byzantine historians quite naturally identified the Fatimid caliphs with this country. Scylitzes relates how, in 1009, Azizios, ‘the ruler over Egypt’ (*ho tēs Aigyptou katarchōn*; not the caliph al-‘Azīz [975-96] but his successor al-Ḥākīm [996-1021]), violated the terms of the armistice concluded with Byzantium and ordered not only the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem to be destroyed, but also the famous monasteries of Palestine, whose monks were expelled.<sup>34</sup> In his *Chronographia*, Michael Psellus mentions al-Ḥākīm’s son al-Zāhir (1021-36) and his grandson al-Mustanşir (1036-94) as the men ‘who had chosen the lot to rule over Egypt’ (*ho tēs Aigyptou tēn exousian lachōn*), or as ‘the ruler over Egypt’ (*ho goun en Aigypto dynastēs*), or else as ‘the holder of the rule over Egypt’ (*ho tēs Aigyptou tēn archēn echōn*).<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Zonaras, *Epitomae Historiarum*, Vol. 3, ed. Büttner-Wobst, pp. 442-43, 484.

<sup>31</sup> Miguel Atalíates, *Historia*, ed. and trans. Pérez Martin, p. 33; Durak, ‘Defining the “Turk”’, p. 74.

<sup>32</sup> Miguel Atalíates, *Historia*, ed. and trans. Pérez Martin, p. 80; Durak, ‘Defining the “Turk”’, p. 74.

<sup>33</sup> *Leonis Diaconi Caloënsis Historiae*, ed. Hasius, p. 75, trans. Loretto, p. 74, trans. Talbot and Sullivan, p. 126.

<sup>34</sup> *Ioannis Scylitzae synopsis historiarum*, ed. Thurn, p. 347, trans. Wortley, p. 329; M. Canard, art. ‘Al-Ḥākīm bi-Amr Allāh’, in *El2*; H. Halm, *Die Kalifen von Kairo. Die Fatimiden in Ägypten 973-1074*, Munich, 2003, pp. 167-304.

<sup>35</sup> Michele Psello, (*Cronografia*), ed. Impellizzeri, trans. Ronchey, i, p. 138, ii, p. 138, trans. Sewter, pp. 98, 253; T. Bianquis, art. ‘Al-Zāhir li-‘Izāz Dīn Allāh’, in *El2*; H.A.R. Gibb and P. Kraus, art. ‘Al-Mustanşir’, in *El2*; Halm, *Kalifen von Kairo*, pp. 305-420; T. Pratsch (ed.), *Konflikt und Bewältigung. Die Zerstörung der Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem im Jahre 1009* (*Millenium-Studies* 32), Berlin, 2011.

Attaleiatēs informs his readers that, after the Georgian prince Liparit, an ally of Byzantium, was defeated and captured, he was escorted to the *ethnarchēs* of the Turks (*Ounnoi*), who is called in the Persian language ‘sultan’ (*soultános en tē persikē dialektō*). Even though the negotiations over the release of Liparit resulted in the first diplomatic relations between the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-55) and his successor Theodora (1055-56) on the one side and the sultan on the other, according to Attaleiates the rapacity (*to lēstrikon*) of the *Ounnoi* meant that their incursions into Byzantine territory did not end at this point.<sup>36</sup>

The authority of the Great Seljuq sultan of Persia (*ho soultános ho tēs Persias kratōn*) was, as the Byzantines quickly recognized, not accepted by all Turkish leaders. Therefore, in 1070 the *prōtoproedros* Manuel Comnenus was able to win over the Turkish leader (*ho tōn Tourkōn hēgoumenos, stratarchēs tōn Ounnōn*) Chrysoskoulos (Turkish Arisgi, Erisgen) to travel with him to Constantinople and to acknowledge the emperor’s supremacy. This ‘Scythian’ (*Skythēs*) was given a ceremonial reception by Romanus IV Diogenes (1068-71) and promoted to *proedros*, and became a vassal of the emperor.<sup>37</sup>

John Cinnamus mentions the Abbasid caliph (*ho chaliphás*) in his report on the negotiations between Manuel I Comnenus and Sultan Kılıç Arslan II in 1173, calling the caliph the great archpriest (*meegasarchiereus*) of the Muslims.<sup>38</sup>

### Islam as a religion in Byzantine historiography of the 9<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries

Islam as a religion is only rarely treated in Greek historiographical texts of the middle and late Byzantine periods. In his account of the reconquest of Crete by the expeditionary forces of Nicephorus Phocas in 959/60, Leo the Deacon remarks that the Arabs of Crete were addicted to divination, ribaldry and wrongful belief, which they had learned from the Manichaeans and from Muḥammad (*Mōameth*).<sup>39</sup> Elsewhere he reports

<sup>36</sup> *Miguel Ataliates, Historia*, ed. and trans. Pérez Martin, pp. 34-35; I. Kazhdan, art. ‘Liparites’, in *ODB*.

<sup>37</sup> *Miguel Ataliates, Historia*, ed. and trans. Pérez Martin, pp. 104-7; *Nicéphore Bryennios, Histoire*, ed. and French trans. P. Gatié (*Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae* 9), Brussels, 1975, pp. 100-2; Beihammer, ‘Feindbilder’, pp. 76-77; C.M. Brand, ‘The Turkish element in Byzantium, eleventh-twelfth centuries’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989) 1-25, pp. 2, 14.

<sup>38</sup> *Ioannis Cinnami Epitome*, ed. Meineke, p. 289, trans. Brand, p. 216.

<sup>39</sup> *Leonis Diaconi Caloënsis Historiae*, ed. Hasius, pp. 24-25, trans. Loretto, p. 30, trans. Talbot and Sullivan, pp. 76-77.



that Nicephorus II Phocas sent the 'commander of the Carthaginians' (*ho tōn Karchēdoniōn agós*), the Fatimid Caliph al-Mu'izz (953-75), 'the sword of the most accursed and impious Muḥammad' (*to tou enagestatou kai asebestatou Mōamed xiphos*), which the Byzantines had recently taken as booty from a fortress in Palestine (Syria). This was in order to effect the release of the *patrikios* Nicetas, who had been made prisoner of war during a sea battle near Messina.<sup>40</sup>

Anna Comnena calls the Turks 'most godless' (*hoi atheōtatoi Tourkoi*).<sup>41</sup> In her report on the First Crusade (1095-99), she complains about 'the barbarian Ishmaelites, slaves of drunkenness and wine, indeed dominated by Dionysos and Eros, indulging readily in every kind of sexual licence, circumcised in the flesh not in their passions, slaves of the vices of Aphrodite and worshippers of Astarte and Ashtaroth, adoring the figure of the moon and the golden image of Chobar'.<sup>42</sup> This grotesque and distorted image establishes an inaccurate relationship between Islam as a religion and the excessive drinking of many Turks, a custom they had brought from the steppes of Central Asia and which is also heavily criticized in Islamic sources. Did Anna really not know that the drinking of wine was strictly forbidden by Islamic law? No less grotesque is her assertion that the Ishmaelites, in this case the Turks of Asia Minor, worshipped Astarte, Astaroth and Chobar.

Elsewhere Anna Comnena relates how her father, the Emperor Alexius I, filled with a priestly and apostolic sense of mission, intended to convert to Christianity not only the nomadic Scythians (*hoi nomades toutousi Skythai*), but also 'the whole population of Persia and all those barbarians inhabiting Egypt and Libya and participating in the orgiastic rites of Muḥammad' (*tais tou Mōameth teletais orgiazousin*).<sup>43</sup>

John Zonaras also reports on Muḥammad in his *Epitomē historiōn*, presenting him not as the founder of a new religion but as the tribal leader of the Saracens (*Mōameth ho tōn Sarakēnōn phylarchos*). According to Zonaras, Muḥammad was not of noble descent but originally poor, and therefore he was not entitled to lead the people. Wielding magical powers (*goēteiais*), he succeeded in seducing a rich widow. Then he met

<sup>40</sup> *Leonis Diaconi Caloënsis Historiae*, ed. Hasius, p. 75, trans. Loretto, p. 74, trans. Talbot and Sullivan, pp. 126-27.

<sup>41</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, p. 114, trans. Sewter, p. 129, trans. Reinsch, p. 135; Beihammer, 'Feindbilder', pp. 72-73.

<sup>42</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, p. 298, trans. Sewter, pp. 309-10, trans. Reinsch, p. 336.

<sup>43</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, p. 199, trans. Sewter, pp. 211-12, trans. Reinsch, p. 229; Beihammer, 'Feindbilder', pp. 77-78.

a heretical monk who had escaped from Byzantium. He presented this monk's tales as revelations he himself had received from the archangel Gabriel, and from that time onward his wife and his tribe considered him as a prophet. Deceiving one part of the people through words and subjugating the other by force, he became the leader (*phylarchos*), teacher (*didaskalos*), and lawgiver (*nomothetēs*) of the Ishmaelites. After subjugating the Arabs, he started plundering and conquering the territories of the Romans, and since that time there had been a permanent state of war between Ishmaelites and Romans.<sup>44</sup> This account of Muḥammad is in complete agreement with references to him in almost all other Byzantine historiographical works and refutations of Islam.<sup>45</sup>

John Cinnamus reports that, during the visit of the Seljuq Sultan Kılıç Arslan II to Constantinople, the patriarch refused him access to Hagia Sophia, even though the Emperor Manuel I Comnenus had requested this. The patriarch argued that 'impious men' (*andres asebeis*) should not be allowed to walk among the consecrated artifacts and priestly adornments. An immense earthquake late that night, duly interpreted as a sign of divine wrath, gave support to the patriarch's judgement. The people declared that the emperor's request was contrary to God's will, and Manuel was forced to back down.<sup>46</sup>

Fundamental religious questions are very rarely discussed in Byzantine historiography. One of the few exceptions is Nicetas Choniates's detailed account of the controversy between Manuel I Comnenus and the clergy in Constantinople in 1179/80. Manuel proposed to the patriarch's permanent synod that the condemnation of Muḥammad's God should be removed from all formulas of conversion from Islam to Christianity. But the patriarch and synod argued that this condemnation referred not to the Creator of the universe, but to 'the uncreated, uncreating and immobile God of Muḥammad, who was stupid and possessed by demons' (*ton para tō lērō kai daimonōdei Mōamet anaplattomenon holosphyron theon kai mēte gennēthenta kai mēte gennēsanta*); he did not believe in God the Father and attacked the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Metropolitan Eustathius of Thessalonica (c. 1115-c. 1195/96) denounced Muḥammad as a pederast (*paiderastēs*), as 'like a camel' (*kamēlōdēs*), and as a seducer and teacher of every outrage (*pasēs praxeōs mysaras hyphēgētēs kai didaskalos*). Eventually, however, the emperor succeeded: the condemnation of Muḥammad's God was removed from the catechetical books (*katechētika*

<sup>44</sup> Zonaras, *Epitomae Historiarum*, Vol. 3, ed. Büttner-Wobst, pp. 214-15.

<sup>45</sup> A.-T. Houry, *Polémique byzantine contre l'islam (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> s.)*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 59-102.

<sup>46</sup> *Ioannis Cinnami Epitome*, ed. Meineke, p. 206, trans. Brand, p. 157.

*biblia*) and was replaced by an anathema against Muḥammad and his doctrine.<sup>47</sup>

The historian Nicephorus Gregoras says in his report about the capture of his arch-enemy, Gregory Palamas, Archbishop of Thessalonica (c. 1296-1357, archbishop from May 1347), by Turkish pirates in spring 1354, that Sulayman, the eldest son of the Ottoman emir Orhan (c. 1324/28-60), ordered his soldiers to throw Palamas's 'heretical' books into the sea. In contrast, he says, they treated the Gospel and Psalter with respect and veneration, because, like the Christians, they honored the prophets of the Old Testament and Christ the Savior as one of the prophets. Nicephorus comments that Palamas's teachings had to be regarded as far worse than Islam because, while the barbarians indeed denied the Incarnation of Christ, they at least confessed one God as Creator of all, whereas Palamas divided the Holy Trinity up into thousands of uncreated energies.<sup>48</sup>

In his historical demonstrations (*apodeixeis historiōn*), the late Byzantine historian Laonicus Chalcocondyles (c. 1423-90) gives a very detailed and largely correct report on the religion of Islam, part of an account of the campaigns of Tamerlane (1360-1405) against the Mamluks and Ottomans during the years 1401-2. He says that the Arabs (*Arabes*), whom he calls very just and (with regard to their religion) wise people, sent an embassy to Tamerlane requesting him not to attack their country, which was the birthplace of the hero (*hērōs*) and lawgiver (*nomothētēs*) Muḥammad (*Mechmetēs*). He goes on to mention Muslim daily prayer, Friday prayer in the mosque and the call to prayer from the minaret, emphasizing the importance of prayer, which is not to be neglected in any circumstances. He describes life for men as very pleasant, because they are not only allowed to marry five wives, but are also free to have

<sup>47</sup> *Nicetae Choniatae, Historia*, ed. J.L. van Dieten, Berlin, 1975, pp. 213-19; *Die Krone der Komnenen. Die Regierungszeit der Kaiser Joannes und Manuel Komnenos (1118-1180)*, trans. F. Grabler, Graz, 1958, pp. 263-68; *O city of Byzantium. Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. H.J. Magoulias, Detroit, 1984, pp. 121-23; J. Darrouzès, 'Tomos inédit de 1180 contre Mahomet', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 30 (1972) 187-97; H.J. Magoulias, 'Doctrinal disputes in the History of Niketas Choniates', *Patristic and Byzantine Review* 6 (1987) 199-226, pp. 217-20; Brand, 'Turkish element', pp. 21-22; N. Zorzi, art. 'Tomos', in *CMR* 3, pp. 759-63; C. Simelidis, 'The Byzantine understanding of the qur'anic term al-Ṣamad and the Greek translation of the Qur'an', *Speculum* 86 (2011) 887-913, pp. 905-7.

<sup>48</sup> *Nicephorus Gregoras, Byzantina historia*, ed. and trans. L. Schopenus, Vol. 3, Bonn, 1855, pp. 227-30; *Nikephoros Gregoras, Rhomäische Geschichte/Historia Rhomaike*, trans. J.L. van Dieten, vol. 5, Stuttgart, 2003, pp. 175-77; R.E. Sinkewicz, 'Gregory Palamas', in C.G. Conticello and V. Conticello (eds), *La théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, vol. 2. (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> s.), Turnhout, 2002, 131-88, p. 137.

numerous concubines, and can divorce with ease. Every year Muslims give away one tenth of their income and fast for 30 days, not eating or drinking until the stars appear; wine and pork are forbidden; men have to be circumcised. Muslims consider Jesus as an apostle of God, born of the Virgin Mary; they believe in one God and that Muḥammad was sent into the world to complete the work of the lawgivers before him. After Muḥammad's death, Muslims conquered a large part of the world, and they now extend throughout Asia, Africa (*Libya*) and the southeast of Europe, which is ruled by the 'Scythians' (the Tartars of the Golden Horde) and the Turks. Today, many people from Asia, Africa, and Europe visit the tomb of Muḥammad, believing that this will contribute to their happiness. Their laws have been written down in the Qur'an (*ta Alkōra*).<sup>49</sup>

### Conclusion

From the 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the Byzantine Empire was permanently confronted by Muslims as enemies, neighbors, and sometimes as allies. In consequence, the extensive historiographical literature of Byzantium is rich in information on Islam and Muslims. Following the rules of the literary genre, Byzantine historians used archaizing and hence occasionally misleading terminology, for example, calling the North African Fatimids *Karchēdonioi* (Carthaginians), and the Seljuk Turks *Parthoi*. In the main, they called Muslims by the religious names *Agarēnoi* and *Ismaēlitai*, or the ethnic names *Arabes*, *Sarakēnoi*, *Persai* and *Tourkoi*. They rarely used the religious designation *Mousoulmanoi*.

Chroniclers and historians mainly focused on diplomatic and military events between Byzantium and the Muslims.<sup>50</sup> However, a few writers composed theological works, among them Nicetas Choniates, author of a voluminous anti-heretical compendium, *Thēsauros orthodoxias* ('The treasure of orthodoxy'), and the Emperor John Cantacuzenus, who, after

<sup>49</sup> *Laonici Chalcocondylae historiarum demonstrationes*, ed. E. Darko, Vol. 1, Budapest, 1922, pp. 11-18, trans. N. Nicoloudis, *Laonikos Chalkokondyles. A translation and commentary of the 'Demonstrations of histories' (Books I-III)*, Athens, 1996, pp. 274-83; W. Eichner, 'Die Nachrichten über den Islam bei den Byzantinern', *Der Islam* 22/23 (1935/36) 133-62, 197-244, pp. 230-31; E. Trapp, *Manuel II. Palaiologos, Dialoge mit einem 'Perser'* (*Wiener Byzantinistische Studien* 2), Vienna, 1966, p. 94\*; A.M. Talbot, art. 'Chalkokondyles, Laonikos', in *ODB*.

<sup>50</sup> Hunger, *Literatur der Byzantiner*, i, pp. 241-56; R. Scott, 'The classical tradition in Byzantine historiography', in M. Mullett and R. Scott (eds), *Byzantium and the classical tradition. University of Birmingham thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine studies 1979*, Birmingham, 1981, 61-74.

he had abdicated and become a monk, wrote four apologies and orations against Muḥammad (see entries on both in *CMR* 4). In general, however, to treat Islam as a religion remained the undisputed task of apologetic and polemical theology.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> W. Eichner, 'Die Nachrichten über den Islam bei den Byzantinern'; H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich, 1959, pp. 337-39; J. Meyendorff, 'Byzantine views of Islam', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964) 113-32; Trapp, *Manuel II. Palaiologos, Dialoge mit einem Perser*, pp. 13\*-95\* (best overview of Byzantine theological polemics against Islam); A.-T. Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'islam. Textes et auteurs (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> s.)*, Louvain, 1969; J. Pelican, *The spirit of Eastern Christendom*, Chicago IL, 1974, pp. 227-42; A.-T. Khoury, *Apologétique byzantine contre l'islam (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> s.)*, Altenberge, 1982.

# Somewhere in the ‘History of Spain’: People, languages and texts in the Iberian Peninsula (13th-15th centuries)

Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala

## Background

The powerful 12<sup>th</sup>-century resurgence that was prompted by a series of social, political and religious changes, with its roots in the cultural renaissance that swept Europe under Charlemagne, led to a watershed in the intellectual life of Western Europe. The new order was enhanced in large measure by the translation of numerous works of classical antiquity into Latin via Arabic, and also by the translation of texts by Muslim Arab scholars. Their most immediate impact was felt in Italy and the Iberian Peninsula, where there was a strong Arab presence. Both regions provided the ideal conditions for a process of cultural transmission spearheaded by al-Andalus, which was to a great extent the fruit of social links between peoples of different creeds – mainly Christians, Muslims and Jews.

The Iberian Peninsula enjoyed an exceptional position in relation to the rest of Europe, perhaps the most notable feature of which was the Islamic domination of the southern part of the Peninsula, which was to wane over this period. Though the Christian alliance in the north suffered a major defeat at the Battle of Alarcos in 1195, the battle marked a point of no return: the intermittent ‘peaceful coexistence’ hitherto enjoyed by the various religious communities in al-Andalus was shattered, giving way to suspicion, intransigence, and mutual persecution on both sides of the frontier. Non-Arabs – such as Jews – fled from their southern homes to the Christian north in search of greater safety, though this was not always to be found.<sup>1</sup> But the most decisive factor in the change of the *status quo* was the resounding defeat of the Muslim army at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, when Castilian troops, with their allies from León, Aragón and even beyond the Pyrenees, succeeded in

---

<sup>1</sup> For an excellent description of the concept of ‘coexistence’, see D. Nirenberg, *Communities of violence. Persecution of minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton NJ, 1998.

crushing the Almohad forces. This Christian victory led, some years later, to a renewal of the so-called 'Reconquest', prompting the progressive fall of one city after another: Cordova (1236), Valencia (1238), Murcia (1243), Seville (1248), and then Cadiz (1250). Only the Kingdom of Granada was not conquered, and it would remain virtually a besieged enclave until its final surrender in 1492. All this marked a turning-point not only in historical or 'political' terms but also – and especially – in terms of the most immediate aspects of the daily life of the people and their cities.<sup>2</sup>

### Languages in the Iberian Peninsula

The links between languages and the societies in which they were spoken provide immensely valuable sociological information, and this is enhanced by another area of linguistics: the study of languages in contact. Like other places at other times, the Iberian Peninsula offers a particularly fertile field of study with regard to both written records and colloquial usages, as an area shared by Latin, various Romance vernaculars, Arabic and – to a lesser extent though of no less qualitative interest – Hebrew and Aramaic.

The language situation in the Iberian Peninsula in 711<sup>3</sup> posed no particular novelty for the Muslim forces; it was not greatly different from the situation encountered by Arab troops in other areas of *Dār al-Islām*, such as Palestine or Egypt. Whilst in these countries Arabic had to carve a niche for itself between Greek and Syriac, or Greek and Coptic respectively, in the Iberian Peninsula its rivals were classical Latin, Low Latin, and a whole range of Romance vernaculars.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the linguistic and cultural framework was to some extent comparable to that of the Middle East; in both cases, the Arabs were dealing with a diglossic society, where a sharp boundary was drawn between 'high' and 'low' languages, with all the social and cultural implications this entailed.<sup>5</sup> The demarcation between Latin and the early Romance vernaculars survived until the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, whilst Arabic continued to coexist with other languages

<sup>2</sup> A. Castro, *España en su historia. Cristianos, moros y judíos*, Buenos Aires, 1948 (repr. Barcelona, 1983), pp. 332-54.

<sup>3</sup> See on this issue, D. Wasserstein, 'The language situation in al-Andalus', in A. Jones and R. Hitchcock (eds), *Studies on the muwashshah and the kharja*, Oxford, 1991, 1-15.

<sup>4</sup> R. Wright, *Late Latin and early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France*, Liverpool, 1982.

<sup>5</sup> C.A. Ferguson, 'Diglossia', *Word* 15 (1959) 325-40; C.A. Ferguson, 'Epilogue. Diglossia revisited', *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 10 (1991) 214-34.



until the late 15<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>6</sup> or even – particularly in Valencia but also among the Moriscos in Granada – until the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

In the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, Romance vernaculars started to achieve ‘high’ status as a result of their persistent use in literary circles – examples included Galician-Portuguese (*Cancioneiro da Ajuda*), Catalan (*Libre de la contemplació* by Ramon Llull), and Castilian (*Cantar de mio Cid*) – to such an extent that varieties such as Aragonese and Leonese enjoyed the status of prestige languages. It was during this century that Castilian became the official language, thanks to the untiring efforts of King Alfonso X ‘The Wise’ to promote it as part of his far-reaching cultural projects.<sup>7</sup> As will be seen later, the contribution of local Arab (Muslim) translators was central to these vast undertakings.<sup>8</sup> As a result, and with certain exceptions, an important portion of Arabic culture was transferred into Castilian, and thence into Latin, to be spread throughout Europe. A good example of this cultural enterprise was the vast output mistakenly attributed to the so-called ‘Toledo translation school’, created by Alfonso X for the translation of scholarly works into Castilian; in point of fact, much of this work was carried out by individual translators working alone, rather than by translation teams. This naturally favored a degree of linguistic colonization by Castilian at the expense of other Romance variants,<sup>9</sup> a trend enhanced by its widespread use in literary circles in general. As a result, Castilian assumed the status of a *lingua franca* and also became progressively homogenized, eventually becoming the language of the educated elite at national level, a position consolidated with the publication of Antonio de Nebrija’s celebrated *Grammar of the Castilian language* in 1492.

This was the language situation on the Christian side of the frontier, though on the other side things were rather different. The Arabic imported by the Muslim conquerors had become the Andalusī *malḥūn*,<sup>10</sup> based on a variable register that blended elements of standard Arabic

<sup>6</sup> M.A. Gallego, ‘The languages of medieval Iberia and their religious dimension’, *Medieval Encounters* 9 (2003) 122–26.

<sup>7</sup> R. Lapesa, *Historia de la lengua española*, Madrid, 1986<sup>9</sup>, pp. 237–38.

<sup>8</sup> For example, I. Fernández-Ordoñez, *Las Estorias de Alfonso El Sabio*, Madrid, 1992, pp. 126–33, 177–202. For the influence of Almohad ideology on Alfonso X’s cultural projects, see M. Fierro, ‘Alfonso X “the Wise”. The last Almohad caliph?’, *Medieval Encounters* 15 (2009) 175–98.

<sup>9</sup> Lapesa, *Historia de la lengua española*, pp. 171–92. Cf. A. Zamora Vicente, *Dialectología española*, Madrid, 1985<sup>2</sup>, p. 53, n. 4.

<sup>10</sup> On Andalusī Arabic, see the pioneer work in this field by F. Corriente, *A grammatical sketch of the Spanish Arabic dialect bundle*, Madrid, 1977. See also his *Árabe andalusí y lenguas romances*, Madrid, 1992.



with vernacular features, which together constituted an oral dialect. The Andalusī Arabic dialect bundle took root alongside the various native Christian vernaculars, giving rise to a bilingualism that, over time, gradually tended towards a monolingual situation. This process was largely completed by the 13<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>11</sup> despite various kinds of interference,<sup>12</sup> mainly lexical,<sup>13</sup> which had an impact on the daily speech of the inhabitants of al-Andalus, whose culture – imported and generated in Arabic – overtook that of the Hispanic natives.<sup>14</sup> Of course, Andalusī Arabic is of interest not only in terms of linguistic variation, but also in socio-cultural and more particularly in literary terms. Since Arabic was the shared language of these communities on Andalusī soil,<sup>15</sup> the rich lexical legacy of Andalusī Arabic enables us to tease out the relationships between Christians, Muslims and Jews in all walks of life.<sup>16</sup>

At the same time, this diachronic process was enhanced by the other characteristic feature of the language situation in al-Andalus: the Arabic-Romance bilingualism much vaunted by its Arabized Christian population.<sup>17</sup> Federico Corriente has coined the apt term 'Romandalusí' to describe this second language, in use among the Andalusī Christians, who eventually took it with them to the Christian north, where illustrious precedents were already to be found during the transition that led al-Andalus from bilingualism to monolingualism.<sup>18</sup> Surviving documents produced by the Arabized Christians of Toledo,<sup>19</sup> including around 1,200 legal texts

<sup>11</sup> Corriente, *Árabe andalusí y lenguas romances*, pp. 33-34.

<sup>12</sup> F. Corriente, 'Linguistic interference between Arabic and the Romance languages of the Iberian Peninsula', in S.K. Jayyusi (ed.), *The legacy of Muslim Spain*, Leiden, 1992, 443-51.

<sup>13</sup> M. Marugán, 'Andalusī lexicon as reflected by Ibn 'Āṣim's proverb collection', in J. Aguadé et al. (eds), *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre interferencias lingüísticas árabe-romances y paralelos extra-iberos*, Madrid 10-14 1990, Saragossa, 1994, 157-63.

<sup>14</sup> R. Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del Español. Estado lingüístico de la Península Ibérica hasta el siglo XI*, Madrid, 1980<sup>9</sup>, pp. 385-88. Cf. K. Baldinger, *La formación de los dominios lingüísticos en la Península Ibérica*, trans. E. Lledó and M. Macau, Madrid, 1972<sup>2</sup>, pp. 62-91. See in this respect the prominent work by F. Corriente, *Dictionary of Arabic and allied loan-words. Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, Galician and kindred dialects*, Leiden, 2008.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. F. Corriente, 'Judíos y cristianos en el *Dīwān* de Ibn Quzmān, contemporáneo de Abraham ibn Ezra', in F. Díaz Esteban (ed.), *Abraham ibn Ezra y su tiempo. Actas del Simposio Internacional, Madrid, Tudela, Toledo. 1-8 febrero 1989*, Madrid, 1990, 73-78.

<sup>16</sup> See an extensive description by M.A. Gallego, 'The languages of medieval Iberia and their religious dimension', *Medieval Encounters* 9 (2003) 107-39, pp. 119-26, 131-35.

<sup>17</sup> R. Menéndez Pidal, *El idioma español en sus primeros tiempos*, Madrid, 1979<sup>9</sup>, pp. 29-41.

<sup>18</sup> F. Corriente, *Poesía dialectal árabe y romance en Alandalús (cejeles y xarajāt de muwaššahāt)*, Madrid, 1998, pp. 336-72.

<sup>19</sup> A. González Palencia, *Los mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII*, 4 vols, Madrid, 1926-30.

datable to the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, attest to the persistent use of Arabic by Christians two centuries after the capture of Toledo by Christian forces, largely for reasons of cultural prestige.<sup>20</sup> With the exception of the Kingdom of Valencia, where – as happened with Karshūnī in Arabized Syriac communities or with Judaeo-Arabic among the Jews – the Muslims preserved the Andalusī dialect as a sign of identity,<sup>21</sup> the progressive re-conquest of what was formerly Andalusī territory was accompanied by a gradual decline of Andalusī Arabic. At the same time, in al-Andalus – even in places with a strong Mudejar community (from the mid-13<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries) – bilingualism eventually gave way to the domination of Romance,<sup>22</sup> as Muslim communities were pressured by the Church in its quest to bring them into the Christian fold.<sup>23</sup> Even so, it is interesting to note that, in some towns in the Kingdom of Castile, the main state of the Peninsula, these communities were granted a particular privilege (similar to that granted by Islam to the *ahl al-dhimma* in its territories) during the 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, in the appointment of an *alcalde de moros* ('mayor of Moors').<sup>24</sup> Indeed, Muslim communities continued to enjoy the legal status of 'Muslim communities' until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, without generally encountering the problems faced by the Jewish community.

A direct reflection of this process of constant linguistic change can be found in the appearance of *aljamiado* texts (the term derives from 'ajamiyya, 'foreign/non Arabic [language]') in the 15<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>25</sup> a kind

<sup>20</sup> I. Ferrando, *El dialecto andalusí de la Marca Media: los documentos mozárabes de Toledo*, Saragossa, 1995; I. Ferrando, 'The Arabic language among the Mozarabs of Toledo during the 12th and 13th centuries', in J. Owens (ed.), *Arabic as a minority language*, Berlin, 2000, 45-63; I. Ferrando, 'Testamento y compraventa en Toledo (años 1214 y 1215). Dos documentos árabes de los mozárabes de Toledo', *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 4 (2007) 41-54, pp. 42-43.

<sup>21</sup> C. Barceló, *Minorías islámicas en el País Valenciano. Historia y dialecto*, Valencia, 1984.

<sup>22</sup> F. Corriente, 'Vigencia del romandalusí y su documentación en los botánicos, particularmente Abulḥayr', in C. Aillet et al. (eds), *¿Existe una identidad mozárabe? Historia, lengua y cultura de los cristianos de al-Andalus (siglos IX-XII)*, Madrid, 2008, pp. 83-90.

<sup>23</sup> On the situation of Muslim subjects in the Kingdom of Aragon, see R.I. Burns, 'Muslims in the thirteenth-century realms of Aragon. Interaction and reaction', in J.M. Powell (ed.), *Muslims under Latin rule, 1100-1300*, Princeton NJ, 1990, 57-102. On the 'Mudejars', see the synthesis by L.P. Harvey, 'The Mudejars', in Jayyusi (ed.), *The legacy of Muslim Spain*, pp. 176-87.

<sup>24</sup> J.-P. Molénat, 'Alcaldes et alcaldes mayores de moros de Castille au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle', in F. Géral (ed.), *Regards sur al-Andalus (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Madrid, 2006, 147-64, pp. 148-49.

<sup>25</sup> M. de Epalza 'Le lexique religieux des Morisques et la littérature aljamiado-morisque', in L. Cardaillac (ed.), *Les morisques et l'Inquisition*, Paris, 1990, 51-64. Cf. A. Vespertino Rodríguez, 'La datación de los manuscritos aljamiado-moriscos', in *Estudios Románicos. Homenaje al profesor Luis Rubio*, 5 vols, Murcia, 1987-89, ii, 1419-39, which suggests that the *aljamiado* texts may be dated to the late 16th century.

of 'endo literature' composed within Islamic communities in the Iberian Peninsula for their own consumption, comprising texts written in Castilian or some other Romance language, but using Arabic script.<sup>26</sup> These early *aljamiado* texts testify to the linguistic status of the Muslims using them, and thus to a hybrid cultural situation. However, it should be noted that *aljamiado* literature as we know it is a strictly Aragonese phenomenon, a particular development symptomatic of a general trend towards the loss of the Arabic language through texts dealing with Islamic beliefs. No similar development occurred in Castile, Granada or Andalusia.

### Texts from the Iberian Peninsula

#### Contextual framework

Cultural activity in the Middle Ages, like cultural activity today, was not the result of a single action by a given individual; rather it was one of a range of activities performed by society as a whole. Painting, and even literature, can thus be seen simply as elements of a political process designed by the 'powers that be' in a given society. In that sense, it is no coincidence that the founding of the *Studium Generale* in Palencia (1208 or 1212) took place virtually at the same time as the victory at Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), or that the expansionist movement following this decisive victory gave rise to the founding of the universities of Salamanca and Valladolid. This naturally confirms that social change is never sudden, radical or isolated, but is the result of a synchronic development, which is itself the fruit of a diachronic history shaped by a series of events that eventually give rise to a new situation. This does not, of course, mean that earlier trends – artistic movements, literary models – vanish overnight.

To identify the defining features of 13<sup>th</sup>-, 14<sup>th</sup>- and 15<sup>th</sup>-century culture, and particularly literature, is no easy task. In ideological terms, we might highlight the totalitarian approach of the societies inhabiting the Iberian Peninsula over the three centuries, and their desire to subjugate the whole of the territory and ensure that it was completely organized, i.e. controlled, with a view to establishing a lasting order in which the power of the state would be unchallengeable. That goal was shared by both the Christian and Islamic states, although in the event neither succeeded in

---

<sup>26</sup> On *aljamiado* textual production, see M.J. Viguera Molins, 'Introduction', in F. Corriente, *Relatos píos y profanos del manuscrito aljamiado de Urrea de Jalón*, Saragossa, 1990, 9-51.

gaining total or effective control. The pursuit of these aims led to well-documented tensions and dissent among vested interests on both sides, causing cracks and fissures, which, by the late 13<sup>th</sup> and early 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, had severely debilitated the opposing forces; for the Islamic state, they heralded the final, inexorable defeat that was to come at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

In comparison with the previous century, the 14<sup>th</sup> century can be seen as a period of general crisis, in which the social values of the age were threatened by demographic, economic, political and religious upheavals. Despite their structural differences, the Christian kingdoms and al-Andalus were equally affected by this turmoil. Even so, this period should not be dismissed as having no positive aspects: work in the sciences and in theology, philosophy and literature, adumbrated the advent of the European Renaissance.<sup>27</sup> The 15<sup>th</sup> century, for its part, brought a number of radical socio-political and cultural changes; rather than heralding the imminent Renaissance, this was a period of transition between two radically different constructs: the medieval model and the Renaissance model.

This encounter of opposing forces was evident in the clash between Christians and Muslims, a clash that was not only religious but also economic, and therefore social. But it also reflected the ideological opposition of two models: the new (the Christians) versus the old (the Muslims); Islam, the old model now overthrown, represented a stage to be superseded and forgotten. Something similar happened in the period of early Islam, when the pre-Islamic (*jāhili*) model was gradually supplanted by the new model, Islam. Naturally enough, each of the forces involved in this clash sought to define itself clearly, not only in terms of its own identifying features, but also in terms of its opposition to the other, and this was evident in the literature of the time.<sup>28</sup> A similar process takes place in the succession of historical periods and ages; rather than being seen as part of a continuum, every age is defined by opposition to earlier and later ages. The period from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries is seen not only as the age of the Almoravid, Almohad, Zirid and Naṣrid dynasties, but more importantly in opposition to earlier periods (emirates, caliphate and taifa kingdoms). Perhaps the key feature of this definition in terms

<sup>27</sup> G. Knowles, *The evolution of medieval thought*, London, 1962, p. 333.

<sup>28</sup> For instance, R. Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes en la España medieval (El enemigo en el espejo)*, Madrid, 1991<sup>2</sup>, pp. 205-46; A. al-Azmeh, 'Mortal enemies, invisible neighbours. Northerners in Andalusi eyes', in Jayyusi (ed.), *The legacy of Muslim Spain*, 259-72.

of the 'other' in the 15<sup>th</sup> century is the opposition between the past of al-Andalus and the new future of the Iberian Peninsula – the creation of Spain and the launching of the national Catholic project under the aegis of the Catholic Monarchs.

#### Texts, translators and translations

Numerous historians, among them Asín Palacios, Castro, García Gómez, and Monroe, have sought to chart the links and relationships between Arabic and Castilian literature by tracing Andalusī, Mudejar and Morisco influences in texts belonging to a whole range of genres, from courtly literature to mysticism. Their views are well known.<sup>29</sup> In these texts, the view of the 'other' is not always presented directly, by indicating how the writer sees or thinks of the 'other', but through references and allusions to the ideas and concepts held by the other in the form of a broad range of influences. Although there is certainly no shortage of study material, the 'comparatist method' does not always provide a consistent or satisfactory answer to the many questions still raised by these texts.<sup>30</sup>

Castro, undoubtedly one of the leading exponents of 'Christian-Jewish-Muslim hybridism' in the Iberian Peninsula, strove throughout his career to prove his ideas about 'Spanish thatness'. Some of his work focused directly on the analysis of literary texts, from which he took examples intended to demonstrate the Islamic influence on Castilian authors. A good example is his treatment of one of the jewels of Castilian literature, the *Libro de buen amor* (translated as 'The book of good love'), by Juan Ruiz, the 14<sup>th</sup>-century archpriest of Hita (Guadalajara).<sup>31</sup> The 'Islamic' influence evident throughout this book is not only the product of literary transmission<sup>32</sup> – though this cannot be dismissed, of course – but also, as with other books at other times, the result of daily contact between Christians, Jews and Muslims living in the same cities, a contact that also shaped tastes and the reception of themes and motifs by the different groups.

---

<sup>29</sup> See a resumé in L. López Baralt, 'The legacy of Islam in Spanish literature', in Jayyusi (ed.), *The legacy of Muslim Spain*, 505-52.

<sup>30</sup> See a general approach in A. Galmés de Fuentes, 'La literatura oriental y la literatura española', in idem, *Romania Arabica (Estudios de literatura comparada árabe y romance) I*, Madrid, 1999, 13-43.

<sup>31</sup> A. Castro, *España en su historia*, pp. 355-446.

<sup>32</sup> For a summary of this issue, see J. Vernet, *La cultura hispanoárabe en Oriente y Occidente*, Barcelona, 1978, pp. 309-41. See also F. Márquez Villanueva, *Orígenes y sociología del tema celestinesco*, Barcelona, 1993.

All this can be deduced from the material of oral origin found in the book, and is also evident in other key 14<sup>th</sup>-century Castilian works, such as the *Libro de los enxiemplos del Conde Lucanor et de Patronio* by Don Juan Manuel, and the *Poema de Alfonso Onceno*, as well as in the *Cancionero de Baena* and the *Danza de la Muerte* (both from the 15<sup>th</sup> century), where the Arabic words and phrases used are clearly of oral rather than literary origin, and testify both to contacts between communities and to the predominant bilingualism of the time.<sup>33</sup> This situation, though widely acknowledged,<sup>34</sup> has regularly been questioned not only by sectors unwilling to recognize the 'oriental' influence in general, and in particular the 'Arabic-Islamic' influence, on cultural expression in the Iberian Peninsula<sup>35</sup> – their opposition extends to denying that influence in specific works, including the *Libro de buen amor*<sup>36</sup> – but also, mostly on religious or nationalistic grounds, by historians loath to accept any evidence of the superiority over the Hispanic culture of the culture transmitted through the 'Arabic-Islamic legacy',<sup>37</sup> whenever those influences were echoed through or by Christian authors.<sup>38</sup>

Obviously, just as occurs in the East,<sup>39</sup> the 'other' is standardized as an enemy in all socio-political and therefore religious senses; yet this standard archetypal vision, rehearsed and repeated in the chronicles of various periods, offers little in the way of qualitative information. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the relationship – the impressions and opinions that each side held of the other in the Iberian Peninsula between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries – is to be found in the field of *belles lettres*, for example in the 'romances' composed on either side of the frontier that separated, albeit only territorially,<sup>40</sup> the Christians from the

<sup>33</sup> F. Corriente, 'A vueltas con las frases árabes y algunas hebreas incrustadas en las literaturas medievales hispánicas', *Revista de Filología Española* 86 (2006) 111-21.

<sup>34</sup> C. Sánchez-Albornoz, *El islam de España y el Occidente*, Madrid, 1981<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> C. Aillet, 'Al-Andalus, la construction d'une mémoire (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)', in F. Géral (ed.), *Regards sur al-Andalus (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, 1-9, pp. 3-4.

<sup>36</sup> C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'Originalidad creadora del Arcipreste frente a la última teoría sobre el *Buen Amor*', *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 31-32 (1960) 275-89 (repr. in idem, *Estudios polémicos*, Madrid, 1979, 258-75).

<sup>37</sup> C. Sánchez-Albornoz, 'España entre Oriente y Occidente', in idem, *Aún. Del pasado y del presente*, Madrid, 1984, 166-69, pp. 167-69.

<sup>38</sup> J.P. Monferrer-Sala, 'Ex Oriente lux. La llegada a al-Andalus de un género literario desde Bagdad', in S. Peña (ed.), *Iraq y al-Andalus. Oriente en el Occidente Islámico*, Almería, 2009, 125-44.

<sup>39</sup> See for example N.M. El Cheikh, *Byzantium viewed by the Arabs*, Cambridge MA, 2004.

<sup>40</sup> On the concept 'frontier', see R.I. Burns, 'The significance of the frontier in the Middle Ages', in R. Bartlett and A. MacKay (eds), *Medieval frontier societies*, Oxford, 1989, 307-30.

Muslims.<sup>41</sup> Contacts between the two communities remained constant throughout the history of al-Andalus, from beginning to end, for evident reasons of mutual need.<sup>42</sup> How else are we to account for the translation of an Arabic *Speculum al foderi* in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Aragon?

In this respect, the chronicles are not the best reflection of the complex 'peaceful coexistence' that marked the history of Christians and Muslims during the Middle Ages, as surviving documents show.<sup>43</sup> As a genre, the chronicles were limited to vague stereotypes in which, with few exceptions, realities were blurred and made subservient to the political or military narrative. By contrast, truly literary texts – whether secular or religious in nature – provide a wealth of fascinating information that helps to give a clear idea of how the communities saw each other, their opinion of the 'other', and their attitude to his faith.<sup>44</sup> Further evidence is provided by the work of the translators, which reflected a desire for first-hand information on the thought of a given author or on specific beliefs. Thus, for example, according to the prologue to the *Liber scale Machometi*, in the Latin translation made in Seville by Buenaventura of Siena in about 1260, the work was translated 'in order to make known the life and doctrine of Mohammed'; from this we can readily infer the animus of the author,<sup>45</sup> which is a reflection of the negative view of Islam common in the Iberian Peninsula in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>46</sup> This negative vision, moreover, was not exclusively Hispanic; it formed part of a wider, supranational hostility shaped at European level and actively voiced through the crusades.<sup>47</sup>

Close analysis of the text suggests that the translator sought not to spread the doctrine of Muḥammad but rather to find out, and inform his Christian readers, about a specific aspect of that doctrine – Islamic eschatology – with a view to laying bare the illusions and fantasies that

<sup>41</sup> R. Menéndez Pidal, *Estudios sobre el Romancero*, Madrid, 1973, pp. 29-37.

<sup>42</sup> F. Márquez Villanueva, 'El caso del averroísmo popular español (hacia *La Celestina*)', in R. Beltrán and J.L. Canet (eds), *Cinco siglos de 'Celestina': aportaciones interpretativas*, Valencia, 1997, 121-32.

<sup>43</sup> For example, A. Labarta, 'Reconocimiento de tutela a un mudéjar de Daroca (documento árabe de 1477)', *Aragon en la Edad Media* 5 (1983) 207-18. For this kind of document, see the texts gathered by W. Hoenerbach, *Spanisch-islamische Urkunden aus der Zeit der Naṣriden und Moriscos*, Bonn, 1965.

<sup>44</sup> N. Daniel, *Islam and the West. The making of an image*, Oxford, 1960 (repr. 1993).

<sup>45</sup> Buenaventura of Siena, *Libro de la Escala de Mahoma*. Foreword by M.J. Viguera Molins, trans. J.L. Oliver Domingo, Madrid, 1996, p. 28, cf. pp. 13-14.

<sup>46</sup> J.V. Tolan, *Saracens. Islam in the medieval European imagination*, New York, 2002, pp. 174-93.

<sup>47</sup> J. Flori, *L'Islam et la fin des temps. L'interprétation prophétique des invasions musulmanes dans la chrétienté médiévale*, Paris, 2007, pp. 338-86.



shaped the Islamic concept of the afterlife. The translation prompted a controversial reaction in the West in the form of a theological debate, but at the same time strongly influenced countless authors and was echoed in their work,<sup>48</sup> including Dante's *Divine comedy*.<sup>49</sup> The polemical purpose implicit in the translation of the work provided the basis for a new image of Islam in the Iberian Peninsula in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, an image that clearly reflects the interaction of Christians and Muslims at a time when the latter were facing particular difficulties.<sup>50</sup> The *Liber scale Machometi* is, at the same time, a perfect example of the involuntary acculturation to which Christians and Muslims were bound simply because of the cultural and everyday exchanges in which they were involved. This translation was thus the fruit of a process that had started in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, had taken shape in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, and ended in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, when the capture of the last Andalusī redoubt gave rise to an unbridled intolerance on the part of the Christian establishment, which was not always shared by the rest of the population.<sup>51</sup>

This polemical spirit was a constant feature of a society in which two communities were engaged in a permanent, complex coexistence: the enduring *topica classica theologica*<sup>52</sup> of the debating sessions (*majālis*) that were said to have given rise to intellectual clashes between Christians and Muslims in earlier periods persisted for centuries over issues such as the relationship between Islam and Judaism, the problem of the representation and worship of images, the adoration of the Cross, the Trinity, the crucifixion of Christ, miracles, and Jesus as the Son of God; other features were the ridiculing of Muḥammad and Jesus, and of their respective messages. All this furnishes us with an – admittedly partial – idea of what each side knew about the other, for what Christians and Muslims really sought in these intellectual clashes was not to understand the other, but to demonstrate their own superiority. As in earlier times, however, it is interesting to see how these controversies influenced both

<sup>48</sup> A. Echevarría, 'El *mi'rādj* en la literatura castellana del siglo XV', *Mediaevalia* 5-6 (1994) 231-46.

<sup>49</sup> M. Asín Palacios, *La escatología musulmana en la 'Divina Comedia'*, Madrid, 1919 (repr. 1963 and 1984 with the supplement 'History and critique of a polemic'), and E. Cerulli, *Nuove ricerche sul 'Libro della scala' e la conoscenza dell'Islam in Occidente*, Vatican City, 1972.

<sup>50</sup> A. Echevarría, *The fortress of faith. The attitude towards Muslims in fifteenth-century Spain*, Leiden, 1999.

<sup>51</sup> R.I. Burns, *Muslims, Christians and Jews in the crusader Kingdom of Valencia*, Cambridge, 1984, p. 59.

<sup>52</sup> F. de la Granja, 'Una polémica religiosa en tiempos de Alfonso el Sabio', *Al-Andalus* 31 (1966) 47-72.



sides, forcing them constantly to rethink and review their own positions,<sup>53</sup> arguments and approach; this is particularly evident in the work of one of the leading polemicists of the time, Ramon Llull (q.v.).

But relationships between the two communities were not restricted to human contacts or the contact of ideas; influences of a structural nature were also found. A good example was the copying of a key Islamic institution, the *madrasa*, whose administrative structure was adapted in the 13<sup>th</sup> century by Alfonso X for the school he founded in Murcia.<sup>54</sup>

Translating activity in the Iberian Peninsula,<sup>55</sup> mainly after the creation of the Toledo translation school, clearly involved a range of influences deriving not only from contact with books – evident in certain translations from Arabic into Latin, a good example being Dominicus Gundisalvus' translation of *De scientiis*, a compilation/reworking of al-Fārābī's *Maqāla fī iḥṣā' al-'ulūm*,<sup>56</sup> – but also from contacts with Arabized Christians, Jews and Muslims. This was the case with the famous 13<sup>th</sup>-century translator Hermann the German.<sup>57</sup> Although there had been earlier instances of Christians and Muslims working together on the translation or recension of certain works,<sup>58</sup> it was not until the 12<sup>th</sup> century that this kind of collaboration became common.<sup>59</sup>

These were certainly not isolated cases; despite the well-known legal rulings issued by Alfonso X against Jews and Muslims,<sup>60</sup> the various publishing ventures embarked upon by the king required constant collaboration between Christians, Muslims and Jews, an active proof of the prevailing state of truce between the three religious communities under

<sup>53</sup> The same occurs, for example, between Christians and Jews in that century, see D.J. Lasker, 'Jewish polemics against Christianity in thirteenth-century Italy', in Y. Elman and J.S. Gurock (eds), *Ḥazon Naḥum. Studies in Jewish law, thought, and history presented to Dr Norman Lamm on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, New York, 1997, 251-63.

<sup>54</sup> J. Vernet, 'Natural and technical sciences in al-Andalus', in Jarryusi (ed.), *The legacy of Muslim Spain*, 937-51, p. 950. See also F. Márquez Villanueva, *El concepto cultural alfonsí*, Barcelona, 2004, pp. 171-78, and G. Makdisi, *The rise of colleges. Institutions of learning in Islam and the West*, Edinburgh, 1981.

<sup>55</sup> C. Burnett, 'Translating activity in medieval Spain', in Jarryusi (ed.), *The legacy of Muslim Spain*, 1036-58.

<sup>56</sup> D. Gundisalvo, *De scientiis. Compilación a base principalmente de la Maqāla fī iḥṣā' al-'ulūm*, ed. M. Alonso Alonso, Madrid, 1954.

<sup>57</sup> J. Vernet, *La cultura hispanoárabe en Oriente y Occidente*, pp. 95, 103.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. an example from 10<sup>th</sup>-century al-Andalus, in M. Penelas, 'A possible author of the Arabic translation of Orosius' *Historiae*', *Al-Masāq* 13 (2001) 113-35.

<sup>59</sup> M.-T. d'Alverny, 'Les traductions à deux interprètes: d'arabe en langue vernaculaire et de langue vernaculaire en latin', in G. Contamine (ed.), *Traductions et traducteurs au moyen âge. Colloque internationale du CNRS*, Paris, 1989, 193-206.

<sup>60</sup> M. Ratcliffe, 'Judíos y musulmanes en las Siete Partidas de Alfonso X', in *Alfonso X El Sabio, vida, obra y época*, Madrid, 1989, 237-49.

which Hermann was destined to live.<sup>61</sup> The same can be said of other leading figures such as Ramon Llull, who undoubtedly had dealings with the Muslims who stayed on in Mallorca after the Aragonese conquest. There is no other way to account for his knowledge of Islam, or his use of the Arabic language.<sup>62</sup>

One of several remarkable examples of collaboration, which in addition provides an insight into the situation of 15<sup>th</sup>-century Muslims in the new order in which they now had to live,<sup>63</sup> is the joint activity of the clergyman Juan de Segovia (q.v.) and a Muslim compatriot, the famous Mudejar *faqīh* Iça Gidelli (‘Īsā al-Shādhilī), also known as Içe de Gebir (q.v.),<sup>64</sup> which culminated in the first trilingual Qur’an.<sup>65</sup> Juan de Segovia, noting defects in Robert of Ketton’s (q.v.) translation of the Qur’an, enlisted the aid of Içe de Gebir, who rallied to the call, attended by a Muslim friend laden with Islamic works. Juan’s idea was that ‘Īsā should translate the Qur’an from Arabic into Castilian<sup>66</sup> using a word-for-word technique, so that he could subsequently translate from Castilian into Latin, which he duly did. Notes on the work in progress provide evidence of the complexity of this undertaking, as a result of which the initial project was transformed into a much more ambitious enterprise requiring a philological and exegetical approach on which the two worked side by side for several months. As a result of this professional relationship, they forged a close friendship, and ‘Īsā became Juan’s master, teaching him the rudiments of Arabic; this in turn stimulated Juan’s interest in learning about the faith of his adversary, who was also his collaborator and friend.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Márquez Villanueva, *El concepto cultural alfonsí*, p. 104.

<sup>62</sup> Márquez Villanueva, *El concepto cultural alfonsí*, p. 249.

<sup>63</sup> D. Cabanelas, *Juan de Segovia y el problema islámico*, Madrid, 1952.

<sup>64</sup> G. Wiegers, *Islamic literature in Spanish and Aljamiado. Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), his antecedents and successors*, Leiden, 1994.

<sup>65</sup> D. Cabanelas, ‘Juan de Segovia y el primer Corán trilingüe’, *Al-Andalus* 14 (1949) 149-74.

<sup>66</sup> On the survival of fragments of this version, see U. Roth and R.F. Gleis, ‘Die Spuren der lateinischen Koranübersetzung des Juan de Segovia. Alte Probleme und ein neuer Fund’, *Neulateinisch Jahrbuch* 11 (2009) 109-54. Cf. on the other hand C. López-Morillas, *The Qur’an in sixteenth-century Spain*, London, 1982.

<sup>67</sup> T.E. Burman, *Reading the Qur’an in Latin Christendom, 1140-1560*, Philadelphia PA, 2007, pp. 181-88.



Works on Christian-Muslim relations

1350-1500



# Ibn al-Maḥrūma

Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ya‘qūb ibn Nakhtūmā  
l-Khabbāz ibn al-Maḥrūma l-Mārdīnī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; perhaps about 1270  
PLACE OF BIRTH Probably Mardin or its environs  
DATE OF DEATH Unknown, but before 1355  
PLACE OF DEATH Perhaps Mardin or its environs

## BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about a Christian from Mardin named Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ya‘qūb ibn Nakhtūmā l-Khabbāz and known as Ibn al-Maḥrūma, but scattered references allow us to describe him as a Syrian Orthodox (‘Jacobite’) scholar and scribe in both Syriac and Arabic, who was active at least from the 1290s until the 1330s.

Barṣawm (*Al-lu’lu’*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, p. 434) reports that Ibn al-Maḥrūma was ‘present’ in 1299 and that he wrote Arabic comments in the margins of a copy of Barhebraeus’ *Book of the dove* (q.v.); Zakkā ‘Īwās reports that it was Ibn al-Maḥrūma who copied the Syriac text of the same book in 1290 (*Bar Hebraeus’s Book of the dove*, p. 7). The evidence of Ibn al-Maḥrūma’s *Ḥawāshī* to Ibn Kammūna’s *Tanqīh* (treated below) suggests that these notes were written in the 1330s (Bacha, *Ḥawāshī*, pp. xxxix-lv, 37-38; he opts for 1333 on p. 39).

The colophon of the unique manuscript of the *Ḥawāshī*, written in 1354/55, speaks of Ibn al-Maḥrūma as one who has died.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

MS Chicago, Oriental Institute – 11997 (includes a colophon by Ibn al-Maḥrūma, dated 1290)

MS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica – 15 (1354/55)

### Secondary

B. Roggema, ‘Jewish-Christian debate in a Muslim context. Ibn al-Maḥrūma’s Notes to Ibn Kammūna’s *Examination of the inquiries into the three faiths*’, in H.L.J. Vanstiphout et al., *All those nations... Cultural encounters within and with the Near East*, Groningen, 1999, 131-39, p. 133

- Habib Bacha, *Ḥawāšī (notes) d'Ibn al-Maḥrūma sur le 'Tanqīḥ' XXX d'Ibn Kammūna (Patrimoine arabe chrétien 6)*, Jounieh, 1984, pp. xxxv-xlvi (French), 35-44 (Arabic)
- Afrām I Barṣawm, *Al-lu'lu' al-manthūr fī tārikh al-'ulūm wa-l-ādāb al-Suryāniyya*, Aleppo, 1956, p. 541; 4<sup>th</sup> edition, Glane, Losser, The Netherlands, 1987, p. 434
- Zakkā 'Iwāš, *Al-ḥamāma. Mukhtaṣar fī tarwīḍ al-nussāk*, Baghdad, 1975, p. 7
- Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 270-71
- I. Guidi and A. di Capua, *Catalogo dei codici orientali della Biblioteca Angelica di Roma*, Florence, 1878, pp. 64-66

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### Untitled *ḥawāshī* (notes) to a copy of *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth li-l-milal al-thalāth* by Sa'd ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Kammūna

DATE Approximately 1333

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

#### DESCRIPTION

In the year 1280, the distinguished Jewish philosopher and scientist of Baghdad Sa'd ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Kammūna wrote a treatise on the three 'Abrahamic' faiths entitled *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth li-l-milal al-thalāth*, 'Examination of the inquiries into the three faiths' (B. Roggema's translation). The work consists of an introductory essay on prophetology, followed by examinations of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam in turn.

About half a century later, the Christian scholar and scribe Ibn al-Maḥrūma l-Mardīnī copied Ibn Kammūna's treatise and set himself to commenting on (and refuting) the second and third chapters on Judaism and Christianity by adding 'notes' or *ḥawāshī* (87 and 46 notes respectively, according to Bacha, *Ḥawāšī*). Most of these notes are quite short, half of them occupying six lines or less in the edition, but several are a page (or two or three) in length, and two in particular amount to short treatises (notes 15 and 17 to chapter 2, which in the edition are about 7 and 11 pages long respectively). Ibn al-Maḥrūma's commentary on chapters 2 and 3 is longer than the chapters commented upon; altogether, these chapters and 'notes' occupy 150 pages in the edition of Bacha. It should be observed that Ibn al-Maḥrūma's notes to chapter 2, on Judaism, are more numerous, on the average longer, and definitely sharper in tone than the notes to chapter 3, on Christianity.

It is indeed Ibn Kammūna's chapter on Judaism, and Ibn al-Maḥrūma's responses, that are interesting for the history of Christian-Muslim relations, because Islamic arguments form a constant backdrop to the combined text. Ibn Kammūna had written in response to one Samaw'al al-Maghribī (d. 1175), a Jew who converted to Islam and wrote a work of polemic entitled *Iḥām al-Yahūd*, 'Silencing the Jews'. Ibn Kammūna in essence adapted the Islamic insistence on the integrity of transmission in order to make an argument for the truth of Judaism. And Ibn al-Maḥrūma responded, rather astonishingly, by rehearsing the typical Islamic polemic against the integrity of the Torah in the form in which the Jews possessed it – pointing out contradictions, anthropomorphisms, and the like, which can only be due to 'the inattentiveness of Ezra' (Roggema, 'Jewish-Christian debate', p. 136). Ibn al-Maḥrūma is especially exercised by the absence in the Torah of any doctrine of reward and punishment in the afterlife.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn al-Maḥrūma's *Ḥawāshī* on Ibn Kammūna's *Tanqīḥ* provides an extraordinary example of Christian-Jewish polemic which must be seen and explained against the background of Islamic polemic. Ibn Kammūna had responded to an Islamic anti-Jewish polemic by using Islamic epistemological ideas (on the integrity of transmission); Ibn al-Maḥrūma responded in kind by adopting an Islamic anti-Torah polemic, even where this flatly contradicted Christian understandings of the Old Testament.

The contradiction between polemical efficacy and Christian teaching may have been too great for Ibn al-Maḥrūma's Christian readers. In any event, there is no evidence that these *Ḥawāshī* were widely copied and read; we know the text only from a single manuscript copied from the (lost) autograph.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica – 15 (1355)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Roggema, 'Jewish-Christian debate in a Muslim context' (includes translations of selected passages)

Bacha, *Ḥawāshī (notes) d'Ibn al-Maḥrūma sur le 'Tanqīḥ' d'Ibn Kammūna* (introduction in French and Arabic, edition of Arabic text, indices)



- M. Perlmann, 'Ibn al-Maḥrūma. A Christian opponent of Ibn Kammūna', in *Harry Austryn Wolfson jubilee volume on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday*, English section, 2 vols, Jerusalem, 1965, ii, 641-65 (includes English translations and the Arabic text of selected passages; for the Arabic, see the Appendix, pp. 657-65)

## STUDIES

- B. Roggema, 'Epistemology as polemics. Ibn Kammūna's examination of the apologetics of the three faiths', 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, 47-68 (helpful background to the text on which Ibn al-Maḥrūma comments)
- Roggema, 'Jewish-Christian debate in a Muslim context'
- Bacha, *Ḥawāshī*, pp. lxiv-lxxxix, 52-74
- L. Nemoy, 'Ibn al-Maḥrūmah's *Ḥawāshī* sur Ibn Kammūna', *Jewish Quarterly Review* 77 (1986) 82-83
- Perlmann, 'Ibn al-Maḥrūma. A Christian opponent of Ibn Kammūna' Graf, *GCAL* ii, 270-71
- I. Guidi and A. di Capua, *Catalogo dei codici orientali della Biblioteca Angelica di Roma*, Florence, 1878, pp. 64-66

Mark N. Swanson

# Alfonso Buenhombre

Alfonso de Buenhombre, Alphonsus Bonihominis

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Probably Galicia
DATE OF DEATH	About 1353
PLACE OF DEATH	Probably Marrakesh

## BIOGRAPHY

Alfonso Buenhombre was a Dominican monk who, towards the end of his life, was bishop of Marrakesh. He is always referred to as *frater Hispanus*, so his Spanish origin is clear. He was probably born in Galicia, since in one work he is identified as *Gallicus*. He is credited with translating five works from Arabic into Latin, though at least two of these are not translations. The details of his life all come from the opening and closing remarks in these texts.

In 1336, he was translating an apocryphal Arabic history of the patriarch Joseph, entitled *History of Joseph*, whilst in prison in Cairo. The introduction explains that he had been accused of spying along with his fellow missionary, and had been imprisoned in the Sultan's prison. There he was able to get hold of some Arabic Christian books, which he translated into Latin in the hope that someone powerful who liked the translations would take pity on him and try to obtain his release from prison.

In 1339, he was in Paris at the same time as Pedro de la Palu, patriarch of Jerusalem, to whom he dedicated his *Epistola Samuelis*, a purported translation of an Arabic disputation between Jews. Shortly afterwards, he wrote the *Disputatio Abutalib*, a purported Arabic disputation between a Jewish rabbi and a Muslim *faqih*. He says he obtained the Arabic originals of both works during an earlier spell of captivity in Marrakesh, so we must assume he was there between 1336 and 1339.

In 1341, in Famagusta, Cyprus, he was translating from Arabic a life of St Antony, *Legenda Sancti Antonii*, the Arabic original of which he had found in a Coptic monastery in the city.

In 1342, he was translating a brief popular Arabic medical work, entitled *Treatise against bad doctors*.

The same year, Pope Clement VI appointed Alfonso bishop of Marrakesh, and his knowledge of Arabic is highlighted in the bull of appointment. In April 1353, a new bishop of Marrakesh was appointed, so we have to put Alfonso's death shortly before this date.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

V. Beltrán de Heredia OP (ed.), *Bulario de la Universidad de Salamanca (1219-1549)*, 3 vols, University of Salamanca, 1966-68, i, pp. 354-55  
The incipits and explicits of the MSS of Alfonso's works; see below.

### *Secondary*

- A. Biosca, 'Rasgos islámicos de la Carta de Samuel', in M. Barceló and J. Martínez (eds), *Musulmanes y Cristianos en Hispania en los siglos XII y XIII*, Bellaterra, 2005, 95-102
- O. Limor, 'The epistle of Rabbi Samuel of Morocco. A best-seller in the world of polemics', in O. Limor and G.G. Stroumsa (eds), *Contra Iudaeos. Ancient and medieval polemics between Christians and Jews*, Tübingen, 1996, 177-94
- T. Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, 4 vols, Rome, 1970-93, i, pp. 54-55
- F. Halkin, 'La légende de Saint Antoine traduite de l'arabe par Alphonse Bonhome, OP', *Analecta Bollandiana* 60 (1942) 143-212
- G. Meerseeman, 'La chronologie des voyages et des oeuvres de Frère Alphonse Buenhombre OP', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 10 (1940) 77-108

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Disputatio Abutalib*, 'The disputation of Abu Talib'

DATE About 1340

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

### DESCRIPTION

The *Disputatio Abutalib* is so named after one of the characters involved in the religious dispute, Abu Talib, a Muslim from Ceuta, who discusses religion in a correspondence of seven letters with the Jew Samuel, a resident of Toledo. According to the introduction to the text, these letters were written in Arabic by both characters, found in Marrakesh by Alfonso Buenhombre before 1340, and probably translated into Latin in Paris in about the same year.

The text is not very long (49 pages edited).

In letters 1, 2 and 3, Samuel and Abu Talib explain their doubts about the success of Muslims, Jews and Christians. In letter 4, Samuel argues against Islam, using various Qur'anic quotations, from which he deduces that Jesus is the true Messiah. Muḥammad's biography, genealogy and teachings show that he cannot by any means be the messenger of God. In letter 5, the longest, Abu Talib argues against Judaism on the basis of quotations from the Old Testament and defends Islam by recounting Muḥammad's 'night journey' and portraying his superiority over Jesus and Moses. The attack on Judaism leads him to defend Christian precepts by using quotations from the Old Testament, Maimonides and Josephus. Letter 6 reveals Samuel's uncertainty, and letter 7 contains Abu Talib's conclusions. The letters include a shameful secret biography of Muḥammad, in which he defended Christianity on his deathbed. Abu Talib also proves the superiority of Christian baptism over Muslim ablutions.

Today it is clear that this correspondence is not authentic, as the information comes largely from the *Quaestio quodlibeta de adventu Christi* by Nicholas of Lyra (q.v.), the *History Arabum* by Jiménez de Rada (q.v.), and the *Chronicon mundi* by Lucas de Tuy (q.v.). The author must therefore be Alfonso Buenhombre.

Alfonso's most successful work, the *Epistola Samuelis*, agrees in part with the *Disputatio Abutalib*; both were supposedly found in Marrakesh and translated almost simultaneously, and both defend Christianity from similar positions. In the *Epistola Samuelis*, the same rabbi Samuel, who here is a native of Fes, not Toledo, argues with another rabbi on the interpretation of Bible passages. Many manuscripts of the *Epistola Samuelis*, but not all, have a brief final addition in which Islam is attacked, paraphrasing the *Disputatio Abutalib*. This shows that it is an identical theological polemical exercise of recreating conversion arguments.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The text had comparatively little success, as is evidenced by the existence of only a single translation into a modern language, made in 1458 in Salamanca by Alvaro de Villaescusa.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional – Madrid 4402, fols 103r-111r (1370)

MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional – Res. 35, fols 92r-101r, (1458; Castilian trans.)

MS Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana – 414, fols 171r-27v (1474)

- MS Vienna, Austrian National Library – 930, fols 222r-238v (1488)  
 MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana – Plut. 90 sup. 35,  
 fols 35r-56r (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana – Conv. Soppr. 82,  
 fols 3r-18v (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS London, BL – Royal 6. E. III, fols 132v-138r (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Madrid, Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense – 145, fols 83r-98r  
 (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Vat – 11508, fols 1r-26v (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Latinus Msc. e.113, fols 1r-18r (15<sup>th</sup> century)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

- S. García-Jalón and K. Reinhardt, *La disputa de Abutalib*, Madrid, 2006  
 (edition of the Latin text and Castilian trans.)

## STUDIES

- A. Biosca, 'Las traducciones coránicas de Alfonso Buenhombre', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 18 (2008) 257-77  
 J. Tolan, *Saracens. Islam in the medieval European imagination*, New York, 2002, pp. 254-55  
 K. Reinhardt, 'Un musulmán y un judío prueban la verdad de la fe Cristiana. La disputa entre Abutalib de Ceuta y Samuel de Toledo', in H. Santiago-Otero (ed.), *Diálogo filosófico-religioso entre cristianismo, judaísmo e islamismo durante la Edad Media en la Península Ibérica. Actes du Colloque international de San Lorenzo de El Escorial 23-26 juin 1991*, Turnhout, 1994, 191-212

**Antoni Biosca**

# Manuel Gabalas

Manouël Gabalas, Matthaïos of Ephesus

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1271/72
PLACE OF BIRTH	Philadelphia, Lydia
DATE OF DEATH	Before 1359/60
PLACE OF DEATH	Probably Constantinople

## BIOGRAPHY

Gabalas was born in Philadelphia, Lydia, in about 1271/72. In 1309 he began his church career under the local metropolitan, Theoleptus, and witnessed the Turkish siege of Philadelphia in 1310. Because of a dispute with Theoleptus, Gabalas went to Constantinople in 1315, and remained there from 1317 onwards. In the capital, he established contacts with the leading intellectuals of his time. After reconciliation with Theoleptus, he was able to return to Philadelphia in 1319/20, where he was promoted to *chartophylax* the next year. In winter 1322/23, he became a monk and adopted the name Matthew, though he had to leave Philadelphia again because of a dispute with the local governor. In Constantinople, it is evident that he moved in court circles, for he wrote a panegyric for the emperor, Andronicus II Palaeologus, in the late 1320s (ed. Kaltsogianni, pp. 117-26). Although he was consecrated as metropolitan of Ephesus in 1329, he was obliged to reside in the capital since his see was occupied by the Turks. In 1332, he received as an additional see the metropolis of Brysis in Thrace, where he probably stayed until 1337, when he returned to Constantinople.

Against the background of the joint military expeditions of Andronicus III and Umur Beg, the ruler of the coastal emirate of Aydın, in 1335 and 1336, it seems that Matthew was sent in 1339 to Umur to deliver a letter from the emperor (maybe to renew the alliance of the previous years) and to ask for permission to take up his residence in Ephesus (letter 55). The situation of the Christians in Ephesus is described in letters 54, 55, and 57. It seems he was able to stay in Ephesus until at least 1343, when he is mentioned in a decision of the synod in Constantinople. Whether he returned to Ephesus is unknown. After his deposition as metropolitan of Ephesus in 1351 because of his anti-Palamite stance, he seems to have spent the rest of his life in the capital. He died before 1359/60.

The works he wrote were theological, philosophical, philological (e.g. on the *Odyssey*), and also rhetorical (letters, panegyrics, monodies) (cf. *PLP* no. 3309 for a list of his writings). Several of his autographs are still extant (Reinsch, *Bemerkungen*).

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

The most important source for Gabalas' life is his letters and his other writings.

For a complete overview of the sources, see *PLP* no. 3309.

*Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos*, ed. with German trans. D. Reinsch, Berlin, 1974, pp. 79-410

E. Kaltsogianni, 'Die Lobrede des Matthaïos von Ephesos auf Andronikos II. Palaiologos', *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 59 (2010) 107-26

*Matteo di Efeso. L'ekphrasis per la festa di Pasqua*, ed. with Italian trans. A. Pignani, Naples, 1981

L. Previale, 'Due monodie inedite di Matteo di Efeso', *BZ* 41 (1941) 4-39

### *Secondary*

Kaltsogianni, 'Die Lobrede des Matthaïos von Ephesos auf Andronikos II. Palaiologos', pp. 107-17

D. Angelov, *Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium, 1204-1330*, Cambridge, 2007, pp. 57, 76

A. Angelou, 'Matthaïos Gabalas and his kephalaia', in A. Moffatt (ed.), *Maistor. Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance studies for Robert Browning*, Canberra, 1984, 259-67

D. Reinsch, 'Bemerkungen zu byzantinischen Autorenhandschriften', in D. Harlfinger (ed.), *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, Darmstadt, 1980, 629-44, pp. 636-39

*PLP* no. 3309

D. Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos*, Berlin, 1974, pp. 1-78

S.I. Kourousēs, *Manouēl Gabalas eita Matthaïos mēropolitēs Ephesou (1271/2-1355/60)*, *A' Ta Biographika*, Athens, 1972

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, pp. 327-28, 343-48

M. Treu, *Matthaïos Metropolit von Ephesos. Über sein Leben und seine Schriften. Programm des Victoria-Gymnasiums zu Potsdam. Ostern 1901*, Potsdam, 1901

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Euchē ekphōnētheisai epi tē eis tēn Epheson eisodō hēmōn*, 'Prayer to be spoken at our entry to Ephesus'

DATE 1339

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

As its title indicates, this prayer was delivered on the occasion of Gabalas' entry into Ephesus, his metropolitan see, in 1339. In it, Gabalas asks God to provide him with the same power as the apostles whom he sent to 'the nations' (*ta ethnē*). In general, the intention of the prayer is to request from God the salvation of the oppressed Christians, using various biblical motifs.

## SIGNIFICANCE

If this prayer was actually uttered when Gabalas entered Ephesus, it is a very rare example of such a liturgical text, expressing the feelings of Byzantine Christians who lived under Turkish rule.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vienna, Austrian National Library – Theol. Gr. 174, fols 150v-151r  
(first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

Treu, *Matthaios Metropolit von Ephesos*, pp. 51-52

## STUDIES

Vryonis, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*, pp. 344-45

## Letters 54, 55, 57

DATE Between 1339 and 1341

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

In his letters, Manuel Gabalas describes in much detail the situation of his church under Turkish rule. In Letter 55, he reports that he travelled to Smyrna to meet Umur Beg, who received him only after some time. With a letter from the emir, he went to Ephesus, where a very small church and an insufficient piece of land was assigned to him by the local governor Khidīr, Umur's brother. The governor was unable to return to



him either the Basilica of St John, since it had already been turned into a mosque, or the bishop's residence, where now the 'archpriest of his imposture (*planē*)' lived, maybe the local qadi or the *imām*. Gabalas was especially depressed by being assigned a house close to the basilica, so that he had to witness every day 'how these corybants leapt on the roof and shouted aloud the utterances of their worship'. Another cause for upset was the large number of Christian slaves, including monks and priests, who were brought to Ephesus from Byzantine territory. They tried to take refuge with him, but he was not able to help them.

In Letter 54, Gabalas states explicitly that he was sent to Ephesus, 'the land of the barbarians'. Very vividly he describes how he was molested by the Muslims and how they tried to kill him, or at least to expel him. Although the governor protected him during the day, stones were thrown at his house at night. The only reason for this was that those who were considered by the Muslims as their priests and the enunciators of their disbelief felt endangered by the mere presence of the bishop and his priests. It thus seems that the religious leaders of the Muslim community, who, Gabalas says, were nothing but 'demons', were inciting the population. Gabalas also alludes to disputes he had with these religious leaders, in which he demonstrated clearly that they were just vain blatherers and that their disbelief and their laws were good only for eternal fire and worms.

In his last extant letter, no. 57, Gabalas seems to be in a better mood. He states that, while he could not enjoy Ephesus as such because of the rule of the 'barbarians', he could enjoy it very much from a spiritual point of view. The reason for this was its sacredness, which could not be destroyed by the Muslims. Gabalas refers to a stone with a depiction of Christ and his follower John, obviously some kind of relic since, according to what he says, it was one of the stones that shot forth with dust from John's grave. This is obviously a reference to the dust miracle that took place at the grave of John the Apostle.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Gabalas' letters from Ephesus are among the very rare sources that give detailed information about the situation of Byzantine Christians under Turkish rule in 14<sup>th</sup>-century Asia Minor. The letters even seem to depict a certain development. While at first his life was threatened, his last letter reflects a more secure situation. In view of the fact that Gabalas stayed in Ephesus at least until 1343, he was obviously able to establish some kind of *modus vivendi* for these few years.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vienna, Austrian National Library – Theol. Gr. 174, fols 52v-53r (Letter 54), fols 53r-55r (Letter 55), fols 56v-57r (Letter 57) (first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos*, no. 54, pp. 173-74 (German trans. pp. 342-43); no. 55, pp. 175-78 (German trans. pp. 344-49); no. 57, p. 183 (German trans. p. 355)

Treu, *Matthaïos Metropolit von Ephesos*, pp. 53-58

## STUDIES

D. Reinsch, 'Bemerkungen zu byzantinischen Autorenhandschriften', in Harlfinger (ed.), *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, 629-44, pp. 636-39

*PLP* no. 3309

Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos*, pp. 1-78

Kourousēs, *Manouēl Gabalas eita Matthaïos mētropolitēs Ephesou (1271/2-1355/60), A'. Ta Biographika*

Vryonis, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*, pp. 345-48

Treu, *Matthaïos Metropolit von Ephesos*

**Johannes Pahlitzsch**

# Giovanni Boccaccio

DATE OF BIRTH 1313  
PLACE OF BIRTH Florence or Certaldo (Florence)  
DATE OF DEATH 1375  
PLACE OF DEATH Certaldo

## BIOGRAPHY

Giovanni Boccaccio was born in either June or July 1313 from a relationship which Boccaccio (or Boccaccino) di Chelino had with an unknown woman who was probably of humble birth. Among the recurring elements in Boccaccio's self-portrait are birth out of wedlock to a French mother – either a king's daughter (*Filocolo*, possibly 1336) or a widowed Parisian noblewoman (*Comedia delle ninfe* 1341-42) – subsequently abandoned by her lover. Thus – in addition to the fact that Paris was one of the places where his father, a merchant, would often go – came into being the legend of his highborn French mother and the myth of Paris as his birthplace. His date of birth is known from one of his letters (*Epist.*, XX) and also from a letter by his friend, the poet Petrarch (*Seniles*, VIII, 1). His father recognized his illegitimate son shortly before marrying Margherita de' Mardoli around 1320. He was born in Florence rather than in nearby town of Certaldo, as is sometimes suggested, but he did spend most of his childhood in his father's house in Certaldo.

While still a young man, in the autumn of 1327, Boccaccio was sent to Naples by his father, who was in charge of commercial business for the Bardi family. This was one of the most powerful companies of bankers at the time, and was involved in political and economic relationships with the French kingdom, which, under the Angevin dynasty, dominated southern Italy, Sicily and Naples. Boccaccio's inclination towards poetry and literary studies, rather than commerce and business or canon law, as his father had wished, became apparent during the time he spent in Naples, where he enjoyed life at the court of the French King Robert of Anjou, a man of culture and a patron of the arts and literature.

In Naples, Boccaccio made acquaintances who were important for his intellectual development and his exposure to the non-Christian world: the Genoese astronomer Andalò dal Negro and the Venetian historian Paolino Veneto or Minorita (1270-1344) of the order of St Francis. Paolino

Veneto was a bishop and a historian with an encyclopedic mind. He was the author of *Chronologia magna* and the *Satirica ystoria*, in which, in an attempt to narrate history from the creation to his own days, he incorporated *contingentiae*, anecdotes and legends, including a life of Muhammad that Boccaccio transcribed in his own notebook, the *Zibaldone Magliabechiano*, though not without making important changes to Paolino's style. While he praises Paolino in Book XIV, 8, of his *Genealogie deorum gentilium* (c. 1363), in general he was very critical and at times even annoyed with him because he considered him a confused and ignorant historian.

While in Naples, Boccaccio conceived the *Filocolo* (1336-38) a work full of echoes of the rich world he inhabited at King Robert's court, classical, French and Byzantine literature, and also Arab science. The work shows his fascination for the marvelous and exotic, for an 'otherness' and a 'somewhere' that finds its 'home' in Alexandria in Egypt. When the Christian Biancifiore is sold to merchants in her native Spain and taken to Egypt, she is given away to the 'emir' who governs Egypt and she is kept in the 'tower of the Arab'. Her beloved Florio, a pagan, goes in search of her and tries to rescue her from the Egyptian emir, and then discovers that he is the emir's nephew. During their return journey to Spain, they stop in Rome, and there Biancifiore learns of her noble origin and Florio converts to Christianity. The novel ends with all the characters becoming Christians.

The work reveals a contrast between Biancifiore's belief in the Christian God and Florio's belief in pagan gods, which is 'as sharp as the one Dante establishes between Virgil's *dei falsi e bugiardi* and Dante's Trinitarian God' (Grossvogel, *Ambiguity and allusion*, p. 178). And while it is set in the reign of the Emperor Justinian (527-65), before the time of Islam, it nevertheless refers to 'Arabs', who should be understood, at least on one level, as Muslims (Cornish, "Not like an Arab", p. 58).

Boccaccio's encounter with the scientist and astronomer Andalò dal Negro is particularly important for understanding cultural relations between Christians and Muslims in Boccaccio's works. The Genoese astronomer introduced Boccaccio to science and astronomy, and Boccaccio copied his treatise *Tractatus theorice planetarum* in his notebook, the *Zibaldone Laurenziano* (MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana – Pluteo 29.8). His influence becomes evident in the *Filocolo*, where the relationship between teacher and pupil is reproduced through the fictional characters Idalogos (Boccaccio) and Calmeta (Andalò): when Florio stops near Naples on his return to Spain, he meets Idalogos, who

tells him about his teacher, the shepherd Calmeta, 'to whom almost all things were manifest' and to whose lessons Idalogos devoted himself 'not like an Arab'. As Cornish ("Not like an Arab") points out, the possible significance of this negative qualification is that Arabs were identified with 'methodical', 'passive', 'mechanical', and even 'incomprehensible' approaches to learning, while Andalò gave meaning to what they wrote through his translations and commentaries.

Boccaccio's experiences in Naples determined his strong interest in learning and understanding forms of 'otherness', including Islam, which in the 14<sup>th</sup> century were too often ostracized and condemned as evil and sectarian – an openness not to be found in other poets of the time. It produced descriptions of exotic places, such as the oriental gardens filled with scents and colors in the *Decameron* (1349-51), or of characters such as the Muslim Saladin and the Christian Torello of the *Decameron* (IX, 9).

In 1341, Boccaccio returned to his father's house in Florence. His interest in other races and beliefs remains evident in the *Esposizioni sopra la Comedia di Dante* (commentary and notes on the *Inferno*, breaking off at canto XVII), written in preparation for his public readings of the *Divine comedy* in 1373-74. In canto IV, Dante narrates his encounter with Aristotle and Saladin, among others, and likewise in the *Convivio* (IV ix, 14) Boccaccio praises Saladin for his *curiositas* for people and places different from his own, and for his tireless travelling to learn about others, particularly Christians: 'he was among the followers of Muḥammad although some would have it that he was not very observant of his laws and commandments' (*Esposizioni* IV, 243-44). Boccaccio was fascinated by the image of fame, values and wisdom conveyed by Saladin, and he returns to this in the 'Triumph of fame' in the *Amorosa visione* (XII, 28-30) where Saladin is presented as dressed all in gold.

Besides Saladin, in the *Esposizioni* Boccaccio also mentions the Prophet Muḥammad, who, though notably absent from most of his works, is presented here as the anti-Christ worshipped as Christ by the Muslims (VIII, 728). Again in the *De casibus virorum illustrium* (c. 1355-60), Boccaccio mentions Muḥammad as 'the seducer whose arts God knows [...] and who, after assuming the name of prophet and making lethal laws according to his lust, perished' (ed. Smarr, p. 127). The image of Muḥammad as lustful, and as seducing by fraud and with promises of carnal passion, derives from Thomas Aquinas who, in the *Summa contra gentiles* (c. 1266), had devoted a whole page to the 'seducer' (I, 6). John Lydgate, who was inspired by Boccaccio's works, was to elaborate on this image of Muḥammad as corrupt in his *Fall of princes* (pp. 920-23).

In the *De casibus*, Boccaccio calls Muḥammad's followers Agareni rather than Saracens (IX, ii), although in the title of his life of Muḥammad in the *Zibaldone Magliabechiano* (MS Florence, Banco Rari 50, fols 223r-224v) Muḥammad is a 'prophet of the Saracens'. Argument about whether to call Muslims Agareni or Saracens, while not found in Iacopo da Varagine's *Legenda aurea*, figures in Jacques de Vitry's *Historia orientalis* and in Giovanni Villani's *Chronica*.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

- Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio, ed. V. Branca et al., 10 vols in 11, Milan, 1964-98
- G. Boccaccio, *De casibus virorum illustrium*, ed. G. Ricci and V. Zaccaria, in *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, vol. 9, Milan, 1983, p. 748
- J.M. Rigg, *The Decameron*, London, 1903
- [http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Italian\\_Studies/dweb/texts/DecIndex.php?lang=eng](http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Italian_Studies/dweb/texts/DecIndex.php?lang=eng)

### Secondary

- L. Surdich, *Boccaccio. Profili di storia letteraria*, Bari, 2005
- A. Cornish, "Not like an Arab". Poetry and astronomy in the episode of Idalogos in Boccaccio's *Filocolo*, *Annali d'Italianistica* 23 (2005) 57-70
- P.D. Stewart, 'The tale of the three rings (I, 3)', in E. Weaver (ed.), *The Decameron first day in perspective. Volume One of the lectura Boccaccii*, Toronto, 2004, 89-111
- R. Morosini, *Per difetto reintegrare. Una lettura del Filocolo di G. Boccaccio*, Ravenna, 2004
- V. Kirkham, *Boccaccio's Filocolo and the art of medieval fiction*, Ann Arbor MI, 2001
- L. Battaglia Ricci, *Boccaccio*, Rome, 2000
- D. Ruhe, 'Boccace Astronomen?', in M. Picone and C. Cazalé-Bérard (eds), *Gli Zibaldoni di Boccaccio, memoria, scrittura, riscrittura. Atti del Seminario internazionale di Firenze-Certaldo, 26-28 aprile 1996*, Florence, 1998, 65-79
- P.D. Stewart, 'Boccaccio', in P. Brand and L. Pertile (eds), *The Cambridge history of Italian literature*, Cambridge, 1996, 70-88
- S. Grossvogel, *Ambiguity and allusion in Boccaccio's Filocolo*, Florence, 1992
- G. Porta (ed.), *Nuova Cronica di Giovanni Villani*, 3 vols, Parma, 1990-91, i, pp. 86-92
- F. Bruni, *Boccaccio. L'invenzione della letteratura mezzana*, Bologna, 1990
- J.L. Smarr, *Boccaccio and Fiammetta. The narrator as lover*, Urbana IL, 1986
- Jacques de Vitry, *La traduction de l'Historia orientalis*, ed. C. Buridant, Paris, 1986, ch. 5

- A.M. Cesari, *Il trattato della sfera di Andalò dal Negro nello Zibaldone del Boccaccio*, Milan, 1982
- J.L. Smarr, 'Boccaccio and the stars. Astrology in the Teseida', *Traditio* 35 (1979) 303-32
- N. Sapegno, art. 'Boccaccio', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, 1968, 838-56
- A.E. Quaglio, *Scienza e mito nel Boccaccio*, Padua, 1967
- A.E. Quaglio, 'Tra fonti e testo del Filocolo', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 140 (1963) 489-513
- H. Bergen, (ed.), *The fall of princes*, Washington DC, 1913, pp. 920-23
- G. Paris, *La leggenda del Saladino*, Florence, 1896

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Zibaldone Magliabechiano*, 'Boccaccio's notebook'

DATE 1342-45

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

#### DESCRIPTION

*Zibaldone Magliabechiano*, named after the librarian Magliabechi, is Boccaccio's own notebook. Folios 223r-224v contain a life of Muḥammad entitled *De Maumeth propheta Saracenorūm, Venetus*, where *Venetus* indicates that Boccaccio was copying from the Venetian friar and historian Paolino Veneto. He does not identify which work he is using, and on the basis of offensive comments against Paolino written in Boccaccio's own hand in his copy of Paolino's *Chronologia magna* (in the Bibliothèque nationale de France), it has long been claimed that this was the only one of Paolino's works he knew. But *De Maumeth propheta Saracenorūm* now proves (Morosini, 'L'arcangelo Michele') that Boccaccio was in fact using Paolino's *Gesta Machumeti et Saracenorūm*, part of his *Satirica ystoria* (MS Florence, Laurenziana Library – Plut. XXI, sin.1, fols 126v, 127r-127v). Apart from this biography, Boccaccio never mentions Muḥammad in any of his works, with the exception of a single passing reference in *De casibus* (IX,1) where the prophet is called a 'seducer', though not named.

Paolino follows Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* (Book XXIII, 39-67, *Libellus in partibus transmarinis*), although he never mentions Vincent as his source. He divides his account into 13 sections: on the prophet's birth; his encounter with the Christian priest Sergius; his marriage with Khadīja and his epilepsy; religious injunctions such as prayer towards Mecca, fasting until one is unable to tell a black thread from

white (confusing the ending of the daily fast for its start at first light), and the annual pilgrimage and the practices of wearing pieces of white cloth and throwing stones backwards to keep the devil away; marriage and infidelity; paradise and hell. Boccaccio faithfully follows the first six sections, though he gives his own account of Muḥammad's epilepsy and rearranges sections 6-11. He also omits section 13 and the disagreements in the early community after Muḥammad's death.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Boccaccio's biography of Muḥammad shows prejudice that is absent in the *Decameron*. He seems to be interested in the rituals and laws that were introduced by Muḥammad and he is very intolerant towards them, especially as far as they affect women. He does not explicitly condemn Muḥammad himself, but following Thomas Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles* (I, 6) and some commentaries on Dante's *Inferno* XXVIII (where Dante places Muḥammad among the schismatics) and *Purgatorio* XXXII, vv. 130-35 (where the beast is sometimes identified as Muḥammad), he criticizes him both for himself indulging in sexual laxity, as he also does in *De casibus* (IX, 1: 'seductor ille cuius artes quam libentissime audissem novit Deus, et qualiter post prophete nomen assumptum legesque letiferas datas in suam luxuriam, deperisset') and also for preaching it as a means of attracting disciples for Islam.

In *De Maumeth* Boccaccio's main interest is to add plausibility to the already well-known story about Muḥammad in order to make it appear more credible and thereby more objectionable.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale – Banco Rari 50 (1342-45)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS —

## STUDIES

- R. Morosini, 'L'arcangelo Michele "messo celeste" nel *De Maumeth propheta Saracenorum*', *Studi sul Boccaccio* 40 (2012) 273-314
- J. Smarr, 'Altri spazi, altre razze', in R. Morosini (ed.), *Boccaccio Geografo*, Florence, 2010, 133-58
- R. Morosini, 'Maometto, l'asceta di un antieroe a corte', in R. Morosini and C. Perissinotto (eds), *Mediterraneosis. Voci dal Medioevo e Rinascimento mediterraneo*, Rome, 2007, 127-48
- R. Morosini, 'A literary Muhammad. The prophet of Islam in the cosmography of Fazio degli Uberti', in M. Bendinelli Predelli (ed.), *Firenze alla vigilia del Rinascimento, Atti del Colloquio, McGill University, 22-23 Ottobre 2004*, Florence, 2006, 199-218



- R. Morosini, 'Il "Roman de Mahomet" (1258) tra tradizione e riscrittura nei commentari danteschi del XIV secolo e nella Cronica di Giovanni Villani', *Letteratura Italiana Antica* 6 (2005) 293-317
- F. Cecchini, art. 'Paolino Veneto', in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1998, ix, 150-52
- M. Picchone, 'La *Comedia lidie* dallo *Zibaldone* al *Decameron*', in M. Picone and C. Cazalé Bérard (eds), *Gli Zibaldoni di Boccaccio. Memoria, scrittura, riscrittura. Atti del seminario internazionale (Firenze-Certaldo, 26-28 Aprile 1996)*, Florence, 1998, 401-14
- I. Huellant-Donat, 'Boccaccio lecteur de Paolino da Venezia. Lectures discursives et critiques', in M. Picone and C. Cazalé Bérard (eds), *Gli Zibaldoni di Boccaccio. Memoria, scrittura, riscrittura. Atti del seminario internazionale (Firenze-Certaldo, 26-28 Aprile 1996)*, Florence, 1998, 37-52
- I. Huellant-Donat, 'Entrer dans l'histoire. Paolino da Venezia et les prologues des ses chroniques universelles', *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome* 105 (1993) 381-442
- A.M. Costantini, 'Studi sullo *Zibaldone Magliabechiano*. III: La polemica con Fra Paolino da Venezia', *Studi sul Boccaccio* 10 (1977-78) 255-75
- A.M. Costantini, 'Studi sullo *Zibaldone Magliabechiano*. I: Descrizione e analisi', *Studi sul Boccaccio* 7 (1973) 21-58
- G. Billanovich, 'Autografi del Boccaccio alla Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi (Par. lat. 4939 e 6802)', *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 7-12 (1952) 376-88
- A. Ghinato, *Paolino da Venezia O.F.M. vescovo di Pozzuoli*, Rome, 1951
- G. Vandelli, 'Lo *Zibaldone Magliabechiano* è veramente autografo del Boccaccio', *Studi di Filologia Italiana* 1 (1927) 9-86
- F. Macrì Leone, 'Il *Zibaldone Boccacesco* della *Magliabechiana*', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 10 (1887) 1-41
- S. Ciampi, *Monumenti di un manoscritto autografo e lettere inedite di messer Giovanni Boccaccio*, Milan, 1830

### *Il Decameron*, 'The Decameron'

DATE 1349-51

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

## DESCRIPTION

The *Decameron* is a book of a hundred tales (*novelle*) told by ten people in ten days at the time of the Black Death, when they decide to leave Florence for the countryside in order to save themselves from the devastation taking place in the city. Each day, one member of the group is elected king or queen and decides the theme of their storytelling.

While Christian-Muslim relations are not the main motif or aim of the *Decameron*, a close analysis of the text shows Boccaccio's open-mindedness towards the other, and also his desire to learn more about Muslims and Islam in order to 'correct' by means of 'knowledge and information' the error of ignorance with regard to a culture that was the object of prejudice in Western Europe. Muslims, both men and women, appear throughout the *Decameron*, offering a portrait of how they were viewed in 14<sup>th</sup>-century Italian society, and often acting as a means by which Boccaccio could criticize his own society and the hypocrisy of the Church.

Considering the time in which the *Decameron* was composed, there are an impressive number of tales that portray Muslim men or women interacting with Christians, either in Arab countries or in Italy (IX, 9).

Day 2, Tale 7, tells of Alatiel, a *Saracina* who sets sail from Alexandria to marry the king of Algarve, Portugal. She is shipwrecked, and is then passed like an object from one man to another, moving all over the Mediterranean through Christian countries. Day 3, Tale 10, tells of another Muslim woman, Alibech, a Tunisian, who decides to travel into the desert to learn about the Christian faith, and encounters a Christian hermit, who seduces her. According to Smarr, these two female figures 'may represent the perceived sexual laxity of Islamic law, which was accused of seducing Christians who encountered it. . . . The Eastern female comes as an unexpected test, and the Christian man fails it miserably. The men who desired these two women are left either dead or, at best exhausted and humiliated, but where the visiting male, Jew or sultan, expresses openly his criticism or his praise of the West, the female does not comment on the behavior of the men she encounters. . . . She accepts whatever men present' ('Other races, other places', p. 118). Most probably, Boccaccio's criticism in the tale of Alibech is of missionaries who go to non-Christian countries but live as hermits, failing to practise and proclaim the word of God (Morosini, 'From mobile to static').

Day 1, Tale 3, and Day 10, Tale 9, both have Saladin as protagonist. In Day 1, Tale 3, Saladin, who has spent all his money in warfare, attempts to get money from a Jew, Melchisedech, without paying interest. He asks him which of the three monotheistic faiths is superior, and the old

man answers with the story of the three rings, in which a father makes two identical copies of his ring for his three sons (earlier versions are to be found in the *Gesta Romanorum*, tale 89, and other works). Saladin is affected by this story and converts, though in this he differs from Muslims in general, who never convert, unlike the Jew, Giannotto, who appears in the preceding tale.

Day 10, Tale 9, tells of the journey Saladin made to Italy in order to spy on Christians at a time when a war in the Middle East was about to take place. Disguised as a European, he finds hospitality at the house of Messer Torello, a Christian merchant in Pavia. Torello's generous hospitality towards his unknown guests surprises Saladin, and he is sad to leave the town. Later, Torello is taken prisoner of war and held in Alexandria, dressed as an Arab, and there Saladin, the 'Sultan of Babylon', returns the courtesy he earlier received. Smarr appropriately writes about this tale: 'None of the potential criticisms are raised; only praises abound in both directions. Given Saladin's popular reputation for extreme wealth and generosity, the tale seeks to show how a gentleman of Pavia can equal him in spirit if not in material wealth. The Muslim, his religion seemingly forgotten, has become a model of emulation' ('Other races, other places', p. 116). Religious and theological difficulties are left aside here, as in other stories in the *Decameron* that deal with Muslims and Christians.

Elsewhere in the *Decameron* the Christian Zinevra flees from her jealous husband in Genoa to Alexandria in Egypt disguised as a man (Day 2, Tale 7), while Gostanza leaves the island of Lipari in search of her beloved Martuccio and is shipwrecked in Tunisia (Day 5, Tale 2). However, the women not only survive in strange surroundings but thrive. Smarr suggests that in both stories 'the Muslim world is . . . another space in which [the two women's] previous differences in status and wealth can be completely reversed. Thus their temporary displacement into the Muslim world enables them to overcome the home world's social obstacles to their marriage' ('Other races, other places', p. 125). This Christian Gostanza is the spiritual sister of the Tunisian Muslim princess Gostanza (Day 4, Tale 4; Morosini, 'From mobile to static'), though she is much more fortunate. The Muslim Gostanza is in love with Gerbino, according to the romance tradition of *amor de lohn*, but she has been promised to the king of Granada. Gostanza sends to tell Gerbino that she is about to be brought to her future husband, and Gerbino sets out to rescue her. After a battle between the Tunisian Muslims and the Sicilians over these precious goods, the Muslims kill Gostanza before Gerbino's eyes and throw her body into the sea. Gerbino then has the horrible duty of finding and

burying it. Why does the story of the Muslim Gostanza end so tragically, but her Christian spiritual sister from Lipari is spared, and why does the Muslim Alatiel survive her journey in the foreign – Christian – waters of the Mediterranean? Morosini (*Penelopi in viaggio fuori rotta*, p. 16; ‘From mobile to static’) argues that the Christian Gostanza and Alatiel both correct the tragic errors of the Muslim Gostanza, by making a virtue out of necessity: the Christian Gostanza integrates into the Tunisian community, while Alatiel does not rebel against her culture, for when her boat is shipwrecked she shows that she is aware of herself as a *foreigner* or the *other*. The Muslim Gostanza does not have this awareness and she perishes.

Generally speaking non-Christians, especially Muslims, and non-Christian lands are represented positively in the *Decameron*: in the tale of the three rings, Boccaccio claims that no religion is superior; the East is characterized by magic – Saladin uses it to return Torello to Pavia just in time to save his wife from remarrying – fantastic decorations filled with jewels, and clothes where colors and gold dominate; the behavior of Muslims can be as bad or as good as that of Christians, and the conditions and dangers faced by Muslim women in their own countries or in Christian surroundings are the same as those faced by Christian women in Muslim countries.

There is no mention of Muḥammad in the *Decameron*, though in the *Esposizioni*, *De casibus* and *Zibaldone Magliabechiano*, Boccaccio is not at all tolerant and attacks him as a seducer and a fraudster, a man who manipulates people when he speaks to them.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The number of stories dealing with Muslims and aspects of Christian-Muslim relations in the *Decameron* shows Boccaccio’s interest in other peoples and beliefs. He is as critical of the Christian as he can be of the Muslim or the Jew, and it is no coincidence that in Day 1, Tale 4, right after the story of the three rings, the very heart of Catholicism, the papal court in Rome, is described as a place of corruption and the kingdom of the seven deadly sins, and that the Christian clerics are so corrupt that the Jew, Giannotto, coming from France, decides that a religion that can flourish in spite of such vice must indeed be favored by God and converts.

While all the tales involving Muslims show interest in and appreciation of aspects of the Muslim world, sometimes at the expense of Christians, it is the legendary figure of Saladin that contributes best to

the understanding of the relevance of Christian-Muslim relations in the *Decameron*. In Day 1, Tale 3, and Day 10, Tale 9, he stands out for his curiosity, generosity and openness towards the other and otherness, thus expressing all the interest and *curiositas* Boccaccio himself had for non-Christians, despite the prejudices against Muslims generally held in his own time. The story of the three rings in Day 1, Tale 3, served as a model for G.H. Lessing's play *Nathan the wise*, and for some critics it is a plea for religious tolerance, and ultimately for religious freedom (Stewart, 'The tale of the three rings', p. 104). The frame tale is more elaborate, the two antagonists, Muslim and Jew, appear to be carefully characterized, and in the end a relationship based on friendship and mutual trust is established between them (Stewart, 'The tale of the three rings', p. 95). The Muslim as well as the Jew in the *Decameron* appear to be complex beings, beyond and despite their race and their beliefs.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

See M. Cursi, *Il 'Decameron'. Scritture, scriventi, lettori*, Rome, 2007, pp. 14-15, 39-42, for a complete list of the 60 MSS, and pp. 161-238 for descriptions and extensive bibliography on studies of them.

To this list should be added MS Milan, Braidense Library – Castiglioni 12, found in 2007, an incomplete draft. On this, see M. Cursi, 'Un'antica carta di prova del Decameron (Milano, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, cod. Castiglioni 12)?', *Studi sul Boccaccio* 37 (2009) 105-26.

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

New editions and translations of the *Decameron* have been published regularly since it first appeared. Here are given only some of the most recent, and most popular.

G. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, ed. M. Fiorilla, illustrations by Mimmo Paladino, Rome, 2011

*The Decameron*, 2nd edition, ed. G.H. McWilliam, London, 1999

G. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, ed. V. Branca, Turin, 1980 (frequently republished)

*The Decameron*, ed. P. Bondanella and M. Musa, New York, 1977

*Decameron*, ed. V. Branca, in *Tutte le opere di G. Boccaccio*, vol. 4, Milan, 1976 (according to MS Hamilton 90)

*The Decameron*, ed. J.M. Rigg, London, 1903 (frequently republished)

[http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Italian\\_Studies/dweb/texts/DecIndex.php?lang=eng](http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Italian_Studies/dweb/texts/DecIndex.php?lang=eng)

## STUDIES

- There are many studies of the *Decameron*. Those dealing with Islam and Muslims are:
- R. Morosini, 'From mobile to static. Women of the *Decameron* crossing from the domestic into the foreign in the hybrid waters of the Mediterranean', in S. Marchesi (ed.), *Decameron's categories*, Princeton NJ (forthcoming)
- J. Tolan, "'Tra il diavolo di Rustico e il ninferno d'Alibech". Muslims and Jews in Boccaccio's *Decameron*', in L. Saurma-Jeltsch and A. Eisenbeiss (eds), *Images of otherness in medieval and early modern times*, Berlin, 2012, pp. 151-90
- R. Morosini, 'Penelopi in viaggio "fuori rotta" nel *Decameron* e altrove. "Metamorfosi" e scambi nel mediterraneo medievale', *California Italian Studies Journal* 1-2 (2010) 1-33
- M.-M. DeCoste, 'Filomena, Dioneo, and an ass', *Heliotropia – An online journal of research to Boccaccio scholars* 2.1 (2004) Article 4, <http://scholarworks.umass.edu/heliotropia/vol2/iss1/4>
- C.F. Heffernan, 'Mercantilism and faith in the medieval eastern Mediterranean. Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale*, Boccaccio's *Decameron* 5, 2 and Gower's *Tale of Constance*', in *The Orient in Chaucer and Medieval Romance*, Cambridge, 2003, 23-44
- J. Levarie Smarr, 'Other races, other places in the *Decameron*', *Studi sul Boccaccio* 27 (1999) 113-36
- G. Allaire, 'Portrayal of Muslims in Andrea da Barberino's *Guerrino il Meschino*', in J.V. Tolan (ed.), *Medieval Christian perceptions of Islam. A book of essays*, New York, 1996, 243-70
- V. Kirkham and M.R. Menocal, 'Reflections on the "Arabic" world. Boccaccio's ninth stories', *Stanford Italian Review* 7 (1987) 95-110
- G. Almansi, 'Lettura della novella di Bernabò e Zinevra (II, 9)', *Studi sul Boccaccio* 7 (1973) 125-40
- G. Thouvenin, 'La légende arabe d'Hatim Taï dans le *Décameron*', *Romania* 59 (1933) 247-69
- T.F. Crane, 'The sources of Boccaccio's novella of Mitridanes and Nathan (*Decameron* X 3)', *Romanic Review* 12 (1921) 193-215

Roberta Morosini

# Al-Subkī

Taqī l-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Kāfī l-Subkī

DATE OF BIRTH 1284  
PLACE OF BIRTH Subk, Nile Delta, Egypt  
DATE OF DEATH 1355  
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

## BIOGRAPHY

Taqī l-Dīn al-Subkī (the father of Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī) was born in one or other of the villages named Subk in the Nile Delta. He studied law in Cairo under Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn al-Rif‘a (d. 1310; q.v.), and then himself taught in Alexandria and Cairo. In 1338/9, he was appointed chief judge of Syria and moved to Damascus, returning to Egypt just before his death.

In the course of his career as judge, al-Subkī issued a number of fatwas concerning non-Muslims. These cover topics such as: European merchants in Acre involving Muslims in their worship (Atiya, ‘An unpublished XIV<sup>th</sup> century *fatwā*’); non-Muslims who die as children; payments by non-Muslims; contracts allowing non-Muslim servants to observe the Sabbath; and reading the Torah and Gospel. He also wrote a full-length treatise, *Kashf al-ghimma fi mūrāth ahl al-dhimma* (‘The removal of obscurity about inheritance of client people’), about the intricacies of inheritance laws relating to non-Muslims (Ward, ‘Al-Subkī on churches and synagogues’, p. 170), and another, *Al-sayf al-maslūl ‘alā man sabb al-rasūl* (‘The sword drawn against those who revile the Messenger’), which includes a long and detailed discussion about the fate of non-Muslims who insult Muḥammad. In the second of the four parts of this work (ed. Iyād Aḥmad Ghawj, Amman: Dār al-Faḥ, 2000, pp. 231-402), he records the opinions of early Muslim experts, precedents from the first generations of Muslims, and complications that arise when *dhimmīs* repent of their offense or seek conversion after committing it. There are few specific references to Christians (he often mentions Jews in examples from early times), and he usually mentions *dhimmīs* in general.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyya l-kubrā*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī and 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw, 10 vols in 5, Cairo, 1964-76, x, pp. 139-338 (and see the note on p. 139 for further references)

*Secondary*

- M. Melcak, 'Reconstruction of the lost Ayyubid Waqf. Madrasa al-Shāmiya al-Juwwāniya in Damascus as depicted in the Fatāwā of Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355)', *Archiv Orientalni* 80 (2012), 1-39
- S. Ward, 'Use and abuse of the law. A mufti's response', in M.Kh. Masud, B. Messick and D.S. Powers (eds), *Islamic legal interpretation. Muftis and their fatwās*, Cambridge, 1996, 72-86, 340-342
- N. Haram, 'Dhimmi women and mourning', in Masud, Messick and Powers (eds), *Islamic legal interpretation*, 87-97, 342-344
- 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. Papers presented at the Institute for Islamic-Judaic Studies*, Atlanta GA, 1989, 169-88, pp. 169-70
- A.S. Atiya, 'An unpublished XIV<sup>th</sup> century *fatwā* on the status of foreigners in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria', in W. Heffening and W. Kirfel (eds), *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des nahen und fernen Ostens. Festschrift Paul Kahle*, Leiden, 1935, 55-68

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Kashf al-dasā'is fī tarmīm al-kanā'is*, 'The exposure of intrigues regarding the repair of churches'

DATE 1353

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

This work was written in response to a particular event in Lebanon. In the summer of 1353, the dome of a church collapsed, and a commission of Muslim scholars was convened to decide whether it could be rebuilt. In September of that year, they granted permission, and at this point al-Subkī wrote his response to their judgement. He completed it in just four days, but continued to work on it until the end of the year. Simultaneously, he wrote a second work on the topic, with the title *Īdāḥ kashf al-dasā'is fī man' tarmīm al-kanā'is* ('Clarification of The exposure of intrigues, regarding the prohibition against the repair of churches'), and



issued this in November. The two are very close in contents, though with slightly different structures.

*Kashf al-dasā'is* can be roughly divided into four sections. It begins with references to building churches in Hadiths and the Pact of 'Umar; then it moves on to the status of religious buildings in land taken in different ways by Muslim armies; next it lists the opinions of the law schools on the repair of churches; and then it points out the errors in the fatwa issued by these Shāfi'ī colleagues, in the process criticizing the opinions of Ibn al-Rif'a in the fatwa he had issued some years earlier (Ward, 'Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī', pp. 180-81).

*Īdāh kashf al-dasā'is* is more elaborate in detail and formal in structure, comprising five chapters. After an introduction, in ch. 1 it adduces evidence from the example of Muḥammad with regard to *dhimmīs*, including part of a work attributed to the historian Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī (d. 923), which focuses on the Hadith, 'Expel the Jews and Christians from the Arabian peninsula' (*CMR* 2, pp. 186-87). Ch. 2 brings together traditions from early Muslims, and ch. 3 traces the history of the Pact of 'Umar, and the articles in it that bear on this situation. Ch. 4 discusses statements from legal experts about churches, and ch. 5 brings the focus onto the matter of repair and restoration (Ward, 'Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī', pp. 181-82).

There is also a third, much shorter work on the same subject. This refers back to the *Kashf* and does not add materially to the other works (Ward, *Construction and repair of churches*, pp. 16-17).

Al-Subkī's main point, and the one on which he disagreed with the other experts, concerns the basis of the decision about the repair. Whereas their opinion was that the repair was permissible, his view was that it could only be regarded as not prohibited. The difference meant that, whereas the other experts were by implication granting Christians a right over their church, al-Subkī did not make any such concession. In his view, churches and other non-Muslim religious buildings were places of unbelief, and therefore to be prohibited. In refusing to establish any precedent by saying that repair was either permitted or not, but only that it was not prohibited, he maintained that churches (and synagogues) could still be condemned as illegal, though he also allowed them to be tolerated as long as Muslims thought fit to do so.

## SIGNIFICANCE

This legal decision placed non-Muslims in a position of considerable potential uncertainty and anxiety, reminding them of their status as secondary to Muslims and entirely under Muslim control. It will have reminded them of the stark reality that they were tolerated because they were useful to the Islamic state, and that they had no inalienable rights within it.

Although it is expressed in general terms, this fatwa accords with other Muslim attitudes witnessed within the Mamluk state in this period, all harsh towards Christians, and intended to edge them out of public life. This maybe goes further than any others, by placing non-Muslims in a position of powerlessness over their own religious buildings, and subject entirely to the mercy of Muslim good will.

## MANUSCRIPTS

See Ward, *Construction and repair of churches*, pp. 81-91, for details of the four MSS that contain the fatwa.

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

Ward, *Construction and repair of churches*, pp. 114-334 (trans. of *Īdāh*)  
*Fatāwā l-Subkī*, ed. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Qudṣī, 2 vols, Cairo, 1936-38, ii,  
 369-417

## STUDIES

- Ward, 'Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī on construction, continuance, and repair of churches', pp. 170-88
- S. Ward, *Construction and repair of churches and synagogues in Islamic law. A treatise by Taqī al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Kafī al-Subkī*, New Haven CT, 1984 (PhD diss., Yale University)
- S.D. Goitein, 'Ibn Ubayya's book on the destruction of the synagogue of the Jews in Jerusalem in 1474', *Zion* 13-14 (1948-49) 18-32 [Hebrew] (refers to another ruling that makes extensive use of al-Subkī's judgement)

David Thomas

# The Copto-Arabic *Synaxarion*

Multiple authors

*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*, ‘The *Synaxarion*’; ‘The Copto-Arabic *Synaxarion*’

DATE Stabilization of the ‘standard’ Lower Egyptian recension in the early 14<sup>th</sup> 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 11<sup>th</sup> 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 Tût = 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: Tût–Amshīr (referred to below as ‘1<sup>st</sup> Part’), or Baramhāt–al-Nasī (‘2<sup>nd</sup> 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 (Tût–Amshīr) and the second half (Baramhāt–al-Nasī). The two parts appear to have different histories, the 1<sup>st</sup> Part being older than the 2<sup>nd</sup> Part.

3. In the bibliographical chapter of *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulma*, al-Shams ibn Kabar attributes the *Synaxarion* to Buṭrus Sāwirus al-Jamīl (13<sup>th</sup> century [q.v.]). Many manuscripts of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Part of the *Synaxarion* attribute it to Mikhā'īl, bishop of Atrīb and Malīj (active in the 1240s-50s [q.v.]). Whatever their specific contributions may have been, Mikhā'īl's appears to be limited to this 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 (12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century?); (b) the work of 13<sup>th</sup>-century authors in creating a 'proto'-Lower Egyptian recension (although the textual evidence for this recension is thin); (c) a 14<sup>th</sup>-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 38<sup>th</sup> patriarch, 623-62) through Pope John VI (the 74<sup>th</sup> patriarch, 1189-1216), are commemorated as saints. (This range of dates, incidentally, may provide some evidence for the 13<sup>th</sup>-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: Mikhā'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-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars in 1277. (From the 14<sup>th</sup>-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 7<sup>th</sup> 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 Ba'ūna: 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 87<sup>th</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript. Thus, a major recension of the *Synaxarion* appears to have stabilized in the 14<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup>-century witness by Fayez and Mistrih, 'Vies inédits', and an impressive list of otherwise unknown MSS from Egyptian churches in Fayez, '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; 1<sup>st</sup> Part – consulted in the Mīkhāʿīl and al-Birmāwī ed. of the *Sinaksār*)

MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale – Cl. III, 28 (Buonazia Cat. 32) (1389; 1<sup>st</sup> Part – Forget E)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – unspecified MS of (restored in?) 1397-98 (consulted in the Mīkhāʿīl and al-Birmāwī ed. of the *Sinaksār*)

MS Birmingham, University Library – Mingana 152 (Chr. Arab. Add. 267) (1470; 2<sup>nd</sup> Part – Fayez, 'Incoming of the Holy Family', siglum *thā'*: one of two preferred MSS)

MS Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek – Or. 125<sup>29</sup> (1483 and 1487; 2<sup>nd</sup> Part)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 256 (16<sup>th</sup> century; whole year – Basset A, one of three MSS used; Forget B)

MS Vat – Ar. 62 and 63 (1713, 1<sup>st</sup> Part; and shortly thereafter, 2<sup>nd</sup> Part – Forget A: base MSS for his edition)

MS Vat – Ar. 64 and 65 (1720; 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Parts – Forget D)

MS Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek – Ar. 195 (18<sup>th</sup> century; 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Parts – Forget H)

MS Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek? – unspecified MS (1826; 1<sup>st</sup> Part – Wüstenfeld)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 4779 (1867; 1<sup>st</sup> Part – Forget C)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 4780 (19<sup>th</sup> century; 2<sup>nd</sup> Part – Forget C)

MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale – Cl. III, 67 (Buonazia Cat. 33) (undated, 2<sup>nd</sup> Part – Forget E)

2. Recension of Upper Egypt

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 4869 (17<sup>th</sup> century; 1<sup>st</sup> Part – Basset B; Forget G)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 4870 (18<sup>th</sup> century; 2<sup>nd</sup> Part – Basset B; Forget G)

MS Naqada (19<sup>th</sup> century? 1<sup>st</sup> Part; see Coquin, 'Quelle est la date', pp. 82-83)



- MS Luxor, Dayr al-Muḥārib (1912; 1<sup>st</sup> 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; 1<sup>st</sup> 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; 2<sup>nd</sup> Part – Fayez, ‘Incoming of the Holy Family’, siglum *bā*: one of two preferred MSS)  
 MS Cairo, Church of the Virgin Mary in Ḥārat al-Rūm – Lit. 36 (no estimate of date given; 2<sup>nd</sup> 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; 2<sup>nd</sup> Part – consulted by Fayez, ‘Incoming of the Holy Family’, siglum *tā*)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

Coquin, ‘Date de la recension’, p. 83, announced an edition of the recension of Upper Egypt (1<sup>st</sup> 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’malfi kanā’is al-karāza l-marqusiyya fi ayyām wa-āḥād al-sana l-tūtiyya*, 2 vols, Cairo: Maktabat al-Maḥabba, [s.d.] (much reproduced version derived from the Cairo 1935-37 edition)  
 ‘Abd al-Masiḥ Mikhā’īl and Armāniyūs Ḥ.S. al-Birmāwī, *Al-Sinaksār*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1935, 1937 (based on three MSS of the Coptic Patriarchate, two MSS of the Coptic Museum, and two 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.)
- F. Wüstenfeld (trans.), *Synaxarium, das ist Heiligen-Kalender der cop-tischen Christen*, 2 vols, Gotha, 1879 (German trans. of the first half of the Synaxarium, from a 19<sup>th</sup>-century MS in Gotha)
2. Editions and translations of particular entries, especially as new MSS of the *Synaxarion* have come to light:
- Nabil Farouk Fayez, 'The incoming of the Holy Family to the Monastery of Eesos at the twenty fifth of the month of Bašans', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 46 (2007) 309-28
- Nabil Farouk Fayez and V. Mistrîh, 'Vies inédites, d'après un synaxaire manuscrit de l'église de la Sainte-Vierge al-Damširiyyah au Vieux Caire', *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea* 39 (2006) 249-311
- R.-G. Coquin, 'Apa Hāmāy martyr Pachômien au V<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Hom-mages à Serge Sauneron. II. Égypte post-pharaonique (Bibliothèque d'étude – IFAO 82)*, Cairo, 1979, pp. 145-63, and Plates xviii, xix
- R.-G. Coquin, *Livre de la consécration du sanctuaire de Benjamin (IFAO / Bibliothèque d'Études Coptes 13)*, Cairo, 1975, pp. 27-35 (compares the Lower and Upper Egyptian recensions of the entry under consideration)
- A. Khater, 'Nouveaux fragments du Synaxaire arabe', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 17 (1963-64) 75-100 and Plates I-VIII; 18 (1965-66) 109-38 and Plates I-IX

## STUDIES

- M.N. Swanson, art. 'Synaxarion', in G. Gabra (ed.), *Historical dictionary of the Coptic Church*, Lanham MD, 2008, pp. 245-46, 293
- M.M. Shenoda, 'Displacing *dhimmi*, maintaining hope. Unthinkable Coptic representations of Fatimid Egypt', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 39 (2007) 587-606 (an example of a study of Coptic identity as informed by a text of the *Synaxarion*: the commemoration of Pope Abrâhâm on 6 Kiyahk, including the account of the Muqaṭṭam miracle)
- R.-G. Coquin, 'Quelle est la date possible de la recension de Basse-Égypte du Synaxaire des coptes?', in *Études coptes IV. Quatrième Journée d'études, Strasbourg 26-27 mai 1988 (Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte 8)*, Louvain, 1995, 74-84
- A.S. Atiya, art. 'Synaxarion, Copto-Arabic. The list of saints', in *CE* vii, 2173-90

- R.-G. Coquin, 'Synaxarion, Copto-Arabic. Editions of the Synaxarion', in *CE* vii, 2171-73
- G. Colin, 'Le synaxaire éthiopien. État actuel de la question', *Analecta Bollandiana* 106 (1988) 274-317, pp. 277-83
- Coquin, 'Apa Hāmāy'
- R.-G. Coquin, 'Le Synaxaire des Coptes. Un nouveau témoin de la recension de haute Égypte', *Analecta Bollandiana* 96 (1978) 351-65
- Coquin, *Livre de la consécration du sanctuaire de Benjamin*
- O. Meinardus, 'A comparative study on the sources of the Synaxarium of the Coptic Church', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 17 (1963-64) 111-56 (an important tool for research, together with Forget's 'Index chronologicus' in *Synaxarium*, Text vol. 2, pp. 310-39)
- Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 343, 416-20
- G. Graf, 'Zur Autorschaft des arabischen Synaxars der Kopten', *Orientalia* 9 (1940) 240-43
- O.H.E. Burmester, 'On the date and authorship of the Arabic Synaxarium of the Coptic Church', *Journal of Theological Studies* 39 (1938) 249-53

Mark N. Swanson

# Gregory Palamas

Grēgorios Palamas

DATE OF BIRTH 1294  
PLACE OF BIRTH Constantinople  
DATE OF DEATH 14 November 1359  
PLACE OF DEATH Thessaloniki

## BIOGRAPHY

Gregory Palamas was born in 1294 (this is according to Beyer, *PLP*; the traditional dating is 1296) in Constantinople, the son of a senator. Since his father was also the teacher of the grandson of the Emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus, Palamas was brought up in the imperial court. At the age of about 20, however, he left the capital for Mount Athos to become a monk. After spending about six years in the Vatopedi monastery and the Great Laura, he lived for two years as a hermit until he was compelled by Turkish raids to leave. He went to Thessaloniki, where he was ordained priest. In about 1324, he established himself and ten followers on a mountain near Berrhoia, but attacks by Albanians forced him and his followers to flee, and he returned to Mt Athos, where he settled in the hermitage of St Sabas near the Great Laura. This was probably in about 1330.

Throughout this period, Palamas was becoming acquainted with Hesychast practices, the ultimate aim of which was experiential knowledge of God. Barlaam of Seminara (or of Calabria) challenged the whole possibility of this aim, and Palamas was asked to defend the Hesychasts. An intense controversy developed between the two, and the patriarch of Constantinople was drawn in, and in the summer of 1341 two synods forbade further discussion of the issue, although they absolved Palamas. It happened that the Emperor Andronicus died at this time, and the controversy between Palamas and Barlaam became bound up in the civil war between the supporters of the heir to the throne, John V Palaeologus, who was still a minor, and John VI Cantacuzenus (q.v.). As Palamas continued to write polemical treatises against Barlaam, and because of his friendship with John Cantacuzenus, he was excommunicated in 1344 by the then patriarch of Constantinople, a follower of John Palaeologus. When John Cantacuzenus conquered Constantinople in 1347, Palamas

was rehabilitated and made metropolitan of Thessaloniki, but he was only able to settle into his see three years later, in 1350, because of the people's opposition to John. In 1351, a synod in Constantinople declared Palamas' teachings the official doctrine of the Greek Orthodox Church.

In March 1354, Palamas embarked on an official mission from Thessaloniki via Tenedos to Constantinople. His ship was forced by stormy weather to seek refuge near Gallipoli, which had just been captured by the Turks. He was recognized as an important personality, and the Ottomans took him into captivity until a ransom could be paid. John Cantacuzenus was unable to pay what was probably an exorbitant sum, and he was in any case deposed by John Palaeologus at the end of 1354. As a result, Gregory was only freed in the spring of 1355, when some Serbians (perhaps the Serbian ruler Stefan Dushan himself) paid the money. Palamas died two years later, on 14 November 1357 (according to Beyer, *PLP*), in Thessaloniki.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

A very detailed list of all available sources on Palamas' life is to be found in H.-V. Beyer, 'Palamās Grēgorios', in *PLP*, no. 21546.

### *Secondary*

- A. Louth, 'St Gregory Palamas and the Holy Mountain', in D. Conomos and G. Speake (eds), *Mount Athos the sacred bridge. The spirituality of the Holy Mountain*, Bern, 2005, 49-67
- G. Kapriev, *Philosophie in Byzanz*, Würzburg, 2005, 249-306
- G.C. Papademetriou, *Introduction to St Gregory Palamas*, Brookline MA, 2004
- E. Cazabonne, 'Gregory Palamas (1296-1359). Monk, theologian, and pastor', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 37 (2002) 303-33
- G. Mantzarides, 'Ho Hagios Grēgorios Palamās kai to ergo tou', in T. Zeses, P. Asemakopulu-Atzaka and B. Katsaros (eds), *Hē Makedonia kata tēn epochē tōn Palaiologōn. B' Symposio. Thessalonikē 14-20 Dekembriou 1992*, Thessaloniki, 2002, 643-48
- G. Podskalsky, art. 'Gregorios Palamas', in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 14 (1985) 200-6
- Beyer, 'Palamās Grēgorios', in *PLP*
- A. Philippidis-Braat, 'La captivité de Palamas chez les Turcs. Dossier et commentaire', *Travaux et Mémoires* 7 (1979) 109-221
- G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz. Der Streit und die theologische Methodik in der spätbyzantinischen Geistesgeschichte (14./15. Jh.)*, seine systematischen Grundlagen und seine historische Entwicklung, Munich, 1977

D. Stiernon, 'Bulletin sur le Palamisme', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 30 (1972)  
231-341

J. Meyendorff, *A study of Gregory Palamas*, Crestwood NJ, 1974

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Tou autou epistolē hēn ex Asias, aichmalōtos ōn, pros tēn heautou ekklēsiān apesteilen*, 'Letter of the same [Gregory Palamas] which, as a captive, he sent from Asia to his church'; 'Letter to his church'  
*Tou Thessalonikēs hote healō*, '(Letter) of the Thessalonian (bishop) when he was taken captive'; 'Letter to an anonymous recipient'

DATE July 1354

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

#### DESCRIPTION

Palamas's *Letter* to his flock in Thessaloniki is a complex document, consisting of three parts: a detailed account of his capture in March 1354 and the events of his captivity until he was transferred to Nicea in July 1354 (§§ 1-17 in the Philippidis-Braat edition); the description of an excursion in Nicea shortly after his arrival (§§ 18-30); an epilogue (§§ 31-35). The first part was written immediately after his arrival in Nicea; the second part is nearly identical with the *Letter to an anonymous recipient*, which is obviously the original version of this part and was written soon after the excursion; according to Philippides-Braat the third part was added during the final redaction, which took place between July 1354 and Palamas' release in spring 1355. In the course of this final redaction, lengthy theological elucidations were added to the other parts.

Palamas starts his letter with the statement that his capture was providential. He regarded it not only as a punishment for his sins but also as part of God's plan to show the barbarians the truth about Jesus Christ, so that they would have no excuse at the final judgement for not knowing about the true religion. It seems that he also interpreted in this way the fact that the Christians lived promiscuously (*anamix*) with the Turks (§ 3). Certainly it was not his goal to show how peacefully Christians and Muslims lived together, as is sometimes assumed (Meyendorff,

*A study of Gregory Palamas*, p. 104; Sahas, 'Captivity and dialogue', p. 432; Philippidis-Braat, 'La captivité de Palamas', p. 204).

Palamas next describes how in March 1354, as he sailed with an official mission from the island of Tenedos to Constantinople, his boat was forced by stormy weather to shelter near Gallipoli, which was in Turkish hands. He was captured and taken to Lampsakos, where the Greek Orthodox population protested on his behalf. The Turks, however, molested him and started to argue with him that his captivity was a proof of the ineffectiveness of the Christian faith.

According to Palamas, the Turks, 'the impious, god-hated and all-abominable race', boasted that they dominated the Romans (i.e. the Byzantines) because of God's favor to them. In reply, Palamas stated that they ignored the fact 'that this world is in a bad state and that in the most cases evil men and servants of the nether world and those who oppress their neighbors with arms are the ones who dominate the greatest part of it'. For Palamas, to rule is not a sign of godly favor, but rather the contrary. Although they do know Christ, they do not honor him as Savior, and so 'they live in a reproachful, inhuman, and God-hated way . . . a life of bow, sword and knife, indulging in slavery, murder, plundering, robbery (or rape, *harpagais*), licentiousness, adultery and lust after men. Not only are they doing such things, but – what a madness – they even believe that God gives them his consent. This is how I think about them.' Palamas closes this lengthy tirade against the Muslims with the remark, 'now that I know their ways better' (§ 8). To interpret this letter as a document of tolerance and understanding does not seem justifiable.

That the military superiority of the Turks was of major concern to the Christians living under Turkish rule is demonstrated by the fact that many of them asked Palamas why God had so utterly abandoned the Christians (§ 9). When he was brought to Pegai, he was allowed to live with the local Christian community because the Turks could not make him raise the sum of his ransom. He was even free to preach in the local church.

After three months, he was taken to Bursa, where again the indigent Christians were eager to profit from the unexpected presence of one of the leading Orthodox scholars of the time. From Bursa he was taken to the summer residence of the Ottoman Sultan Orhan I. There he received an invitation from Ismaël, the sultan's grandson, who questioned him about the Christian practice of almsgiving, whether Christians accepted Muḥammad, how Christians could believe in the passion of Christ, and the issue that God must have a wife since he conceived

a son. Palamas was able to give answers to all these questions without offending Ismaël.

Palamas spent the next few days with the Byzantine ambassador, who resided in a town nearby. When Orhan became sick, he called his Greek physician Taronites, a Christian. Taronites tried to persuade Orhan to transfer Palamas to Nicea, in the process telling him who Palamas was, so Orhan ordered a disputation between Palamas and the so-called *Chionai*. The identity of the latter is disputed, and the idea that they were Jewish converts to Islam has recently been contested by Miller. Palamas does not describe this discussion but instead refers to the report of Taronites (q.v.), who was an eyewitness.

The second part of the *Letter* consists of the description of Palamas' excursion through Nicea shortly after his transfer there (§§ 18-30). Palamas states explicitly that only when he was transferred from one place to another was a guard placed on him. In Nicea, he was able to move quite freely, and associate with anyone he wanted to (§ 18).

In Nicea, he found the area where most of the Christians lived, around the monastery of St Hyacinth, and he immediately went and settled among them (§ 19). Early on in his time there, he witnessed a Muslim funeral conducted by a '*tasimanēs*' (probably a *danishmand*, religious scholar). Returning after the ceremony was over, he met the *tasimanēs* at the city gate, where a group of Christians were also resting. Palamas approached the *tasimanēs*, saying that he approved of the ceremony he had seen, since the Muslims addressed themselves to God on behalf of the deceased. From this starting point a discussion evolved about Christ as judge on the Last Day, which again led to the question of why Christians did not accept Muḥammad as a prophet whereas the Muslims did so accept Jesus. Palamas argued along traditional lines that there were no proofs or signs for Muḥammad being a prophet while there were plenty for Jesus being God's son. Like Alexander the Great, Muḥammad conquered many countries only by means of war and sword (§ 23-28), and 'although he resorted to violence and allowed licentious things, he did not take into his fold even a single portion of the world', in contrast to Christ, whose teachings had embraced the whole world (§ 28).

As the listening Christians could see that the *tasimanēs* was becoming irritated, they advised Palamas to end this discussion. One of the Muslims remarked that 'there will come a time when we will agree with each other', and Palamas replied that he hoped that this would happen soon. However, he makes it very clear in his letter that in the end everyone will venerate Christ (§ 29).



The final part of the letter (§§ 31-35) is a long epilogue in which Palamas very insistently admonishes his congregation not to become like these ill-willed people, the Muslims: 'They call him who was born of the Virgin the Word of God and his Spirit and Christ, that is God-man . . . but then they flee and break away from him madly as non-God.' So Muslims are represented as trying to deceive Christians by claiming they will believe in the divine nature of Christ, only to repudiate it later (§ 33). He finishes his letter with a final admonition to his flock to detach themselves from evil and remain virtuous (§ 35).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of this letter lies on the one hand in its detailed eyewitness description of the situation of the Christian communities in Anatolia under Ottoman rule. On the other, it reflects the concern of the metropolitan of Thessaloniki for his church, rather than providing new insights into theological debates about Islam in Byzantium, since Palamas keeps to traditional arguments (see e.g. the comparison between Palamas and John Cantacuzenus' treatise on Islam by Todt, *Kaiser Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos und der Islam*, pp. 567-93).

In fact one must be careful in judging whether the reports of theological discussions found in the letter are true reports of the meetings it describes. In general, texts about Christian-Muslim disputations that were composed by Christians served either to strengthen the faith of the Christian community by refuting Muslim doctrine or to prepare Christians to deal with the arguments Muslims usually put forward. Texts of this genre should not be regarded as expressions of any kind of ecumenism.

The main topic of all the disputations described by Palamas is the Muslims' question as to why Christians do not accept Muḥammad as prophet, while Muslims believe in Jesus Christ. It seems that this was a very powerful argument and led to the conversion of many Christians, since they could reassure themselves with the thought that Islam and Christianity had many things in common. Palamas' letter is directed against this very attitude. His goal is to prepare his community to face this 'temptation', especially in a time when it had become foreseeable that Thrace and his metropolitan see of Thessaloniki would soon come under Ottoman influence (cf. Pahlitzsch, 'Byzantine saints in Turkish captivity', and Sahas, 'Gregory Palamas (1296-1360) on Islam', p. 19).

## MANUSCRIPTS

## Letter to his church:

- MS Paris, BNF – Coislin Gr. 97, fols 230-233v (14<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Paris, BNF – Gr. 421, fols 361-364v (14<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Paris, BNF – Gr. 1239, fols 287-295 (14<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Athens, National Library of Greece – Constantinopolitanus  
 Metochii Sancti Sepulcri 46, fols 203v-210 (14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Paris, BNF – Coislin Gr. 98, fols 263v-267 (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Athens, National Library of Greece – 2715, fols 226-231v (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery – Gr. 1851, fols 330-337 (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Athens, National Library of Greece – 1379, fols 408v-415v (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup>  
 century)  
 MS Rome, Biblioteca Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana – 2, fols 137-154  
 (18<sup>th</sup> century)

## Letter to an anonymous recipient:

- MS Uppsala, University Library – Gr. 28, fols 99-100v (14<sup>th</sup> century)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

## Letter to his church:

- A. Philippidis-Braat, 'La captivité de Palamas chez les Turcs. Dossier et commentaire', *Travaux et Mémoires* 7 (1979) 109-221, pp. 136-65 (with French trans.)  
 D.J. Sahas, 'Captivity and dialogue. Gregory Palamas (1296-1360) and the Muslims', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 25 (1980) 409-36, pp. 411-18, 424-31 (English trans.)

## Letter to an anonymous recipient:

- Philippidis-Braat, 'La captivité de Palamas', 186-90 (with French trans.)

## STUDIES

- J. Pahlitzsch, 'Byzantine saints in Turkish captivity in Anatolia (late 13<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries)', in G. Christ (ed.), *Union in separation. Trading diasporas in the eastern Mediterranean (1200-1700)* (forthcoming)  
 R.A. Miller, 'Religious v. ethnic identity in fourteenth-century Bithynia. Gregory Palamas and the case of the Chionai', *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (2007) 27-42  
 E. Trapp, 'Quelques textes peu connus illustrant les relations entre le christianisme et l'islam', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 29 (2007) 437-50

- E.A. Zachariadou, 'Religious dialogue between Byzantines and Turks during the Ottoman expansion', in B. Lewis and F. Niewöhner (eds), *Religionsgespräche im Mittelalter (Vorträge, gehalten anlässlich des 25. Wolfenbütteler Symposions vom 11.-15. Juni 1989 in der Herzog-August-Bibliothek) (Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien 4)*, Berlin, 1992, 289-304
- K.-P. Todt, *Kaiser Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos und der Islam. Politische Realität und theologische Polemik im palaiologenzeitlichen Byzanz*, Würzburg, 1991
- M. Balivet, 'Byzantins judaïsants et Juifs islamisés. Des Kühhân (Kâhin) aux Xionai (Xiónioç)', *Byzantion* 52 (1982) 24-59
- D.J. Sahas, 'Gregory Palamas (1296-1360) on Islam', *The Muslim World* 73 (1983) 1-21
- D.J. Sahas, 'Gregory Palamas (1296-1360) on Islam', *Revue des Études Islamiques* 49 (1981) 197-214
- Sahas, 'Captivity and dialogue. Gregory Palamas (1296-1360) and the Muslims'
- Philippidis-Braat, 'La captivité de Palamas'
- J. Meyendorff, *A study of Gregory Palamas*, Crestwood NJ, 1974, 103-8
- S. Vryonis, Jr, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamization from the eleventh through the fifteenth century*, Berkeley CA, 1971, p. 426
- G. Arnakis, 'Gregory Palamas among the Turks and documents of his captivity as historical sources', *Speculum* 26 (1951) 104-18

Johannes Pahlitzsch

# Taronites

Kōnstantinos (?) Tarōneitēs

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown: early 14<sup>th</sup> century  
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown  
DATE OF DEATH Unknown  
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

## BIOGRAPHY

Our knowledge of Taronites derives from a letter that Gregory Palamas sent to his flock in Thessaloniki during his captivity in Ottoman Anatolia. From what Palamas says, Taronites was a Christian physician in the service of the Ottoman ruler (*ho megas amēras*, the great emir) Orhan I. When the latter was suffering from a liver disease, he summoned Taronites to his summer court, which at that time was near Bursa (July 1355). There, Taronites met Gregory Palamas, Bishop of Thessaloniki, who was a captive of the Ottomans. Since Palamas was physically weak, Taronites attempted to persuade Orhan to let the bishop move to Nicea. As a consequence, Orhan made inquiries about Palamas and called his '*chionai*' to enter into a theological debate with the bishop, which Taronites attended and recorded. Later, when Palamas arrived in Nicea, Taronites gave him a warm welcome.

Taronites may also be the author of the *Antidota*, which survive in several manuscripts (see *PLP*, no. 27532, referring to Diels, *Handschriften*, p. 100, and Diels, *Nachtrag*, p. 67). In one of the manuscripts, Taronites bears the first name Constantine.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

A. Philippidis-Braat, 'La captivité de Palamas chez les Turcs. Dossier et commentaire', *Travaux et Mémoires* 7 (1979) 109-221, pp. 149-51, 186 (references in Palamas's letter)

*Secondary*

- I. Tabur, *The representation of the medical doctor in the non-medical sources of the Palaiologan period*, Istanbul, 2008 (MA diss., Boğaziçi University), p. 64 (<http://www.belgeler.com/blg/1cbr/the-representation-of-the-medical-doctor-in-the-non-medical-sources-of-the-palaiologan-period-palaiologos-dneminin-tibbi-olmayan-kaynaklarinda-bizans-tip-doktorlari>)
- PLP*, no. 27532
- K.-P. Todt, *Kaiser Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos und der Islam. Politische Realität und theologische Polemik im palaiologenzeitlichen Byzanz (Würzburger Forschungen zur Missions- und Religionswissenschaft; Religionswissenschaftliche Studien 16)*, Würzburg, 1991, p. 572
- P.K. Chrēstos, *Grēgoriou tou Palama syngammata 4. Dogmatikai pragmateiai kai epistolai grapheisai kata ta etē 1348-1358*, Thessaloniki, 1988, p. 57
- D.J. Sahas, 'Gregory Palamas (1296-1360) on Islam', *The Muslim World* 73 (1983) 1-21, pp. 7-8
- Philippidis-Braat, 'La captivité de Palamas chez les Turcs', p. 114
- J. Meyendorff, *A study of Gregory Palamas* (trans. G. Lawrence), Leighton Buzard, 1974, p. 105
- H. Diels, *Bericht über den Stand des interakademischen Corpus medicorum antiquorum und erster Nachtrag zu den in den Abhandlungen 1905 und 1906 veröffentlichten Katalogen. Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte*, 2 vols, Berlin, 1908, p. 67
- H. Diels, *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte. Griechische Abteilung*, Berlin, 1906, p. 100

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Tou autou pros tous atheous Chionas dialexis, syngrapheisa para iatrou tou Tarōneitou, parontos kai autēkoou gegonotos*, 'Dialogue of the same [Gregory Palamas] with the godless chionai, recorded by the physician Taronites, who was present and heard it with his own ears'

DATE July 1355

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

There are two versions of the *dialexis* between Gregory Palamas (q.v.) and the sultan's *chionai*: a shorter one (represented only by MS Uppsala 28) and an extended one (represented by all the other manuscripts).

Philippides-Braat (pp. 14-116) regards the shorter version as an earlier form of the text, which was later revised and extended.

Only the extended version is recorded under the name of Taronites. However, Phillipides-Braat (p. 116) suggests that the surviving text represents a revision of Taronites's notes that was composed by Palamas. The physician's name may have been retained to ensure a certain degree of objectivity.

The identification of the '*chionai*', presumably Jews who had converted to Islam, is a contentious issue (see Todt, *Kaiser Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos und der Islam*, pp. 572-77, who summarizes the scholarly debate; more recently Miller, 'Religious v. ethnic identity in fourteenth-century Bithynia').

The *dialexis* represents an apology for crucial points of the Christian faith. In his introduction (§ 1, ed. Philippides-Braat), Taronites reports the arrival of the *chionai*, who were afraid to start the discussion and had tried to prevent it taking place. They had at least managed to arrange it in the absence of Orhan, who appointed some officials and a certain Palapanus to preside.

Following a very short summary of the reasons given by the *chionai* for abandoning their Jewish faith (§ 2), Palamas begins a defense of the Trinity, based on the Old Testament: God is the only eternal Being, whose word (*Logos*) is his wisdom. Christ is the word and the spirit (*pneuma*) of God, since both are inseparable. Everything has been created by the Word of God, which therefore existed prior to all created things and is itself uncreated (§§ 3-9). Palamas then answers a question about the reason for the Incarnation of Christ by summarizing very briefly the history of salvation (§§ 10-11). He uses the Muslims' recognition of Jesus Christ as the Word and the Spirit of God (in Q 4:171) to insist on the consubstantiality of God and Christ (§ 12). He justifies his refusal to accept Muḥammad as a prophet by referring to Jesus Christ, who had said that he would return to judge the world and had commanded the faithful not to accept anybody else as prophet in the meantime (§ 13). Palamas rejects circumcision (§ 14) and defends the veneration of icons (§1 5).

In the final part of the treatise (§ 16), Taronites records the end of the debate. While the Turks stood up and greeted the bishop respectfully, one of the *chionai* insulted him and hit him in the eye, whereupon the Turks rebuked this man and took him to Orhan.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Though claiming to be the report of an eye-witness, the *dialexis* is certainly not an actual record of the event (cf. Philippides-Braat, p. 116). It

does not provide any new insights into the theological debate between Islam and Orthodox Christianity, but uses mostly traditional arguments. Nevertheless, as Todt (pp. 567-93) has pointed out, there are very close links between the *dialexis* and the apologies and orations of John VI Cantacuzenus; both follow the same line of argumentation, which thus seems to have been very common in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Its purpose was certainly to strengthen the faith of Christians living under Ottoman rule, and to provide arguments against Islam, especially against the acceptance of Muḥammad as a prophet. Furthermore, the *dialexis* must be seen in the context of the other disputations that Gregory Palamas conducted during his captivity (see the entry in this volume).

#### MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Paris, BNF – Gr. 421, fols 364v-368 (14<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Paris, BNF – Gr. 1239, fols 295-298 (14<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Uppsala, Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek – Gr. 28, fols 453v-454v (14<sup>th</sup> century; shorter version)  
 MS Vat – Gr. 579, fols 264-268v (14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Athens, National Library of Greece – Constantinopolitanus Metochii Sancti Sepulcri 46, fols 213v-215v (14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Paris, BNF – Coislin Gr. 98, fols 267v-271 (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Athens, National Library of Greece – 2715, fols 232-234 (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine – Gr. 1851, fols 337-340 (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Athens, National Library of Greece – 1379, fols 415v-418 (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- P.K. Chrēstos, *Grēgoriou tou Palama syngrammata 4. Dogmatikai pragmateiai kai epistolai grapheisai kata ta etē 1348-1358*, Thessaloniki, 1988, pp. 148-65 (synoptical edition of both versions)  
 D.J. Sahas, 'Captivity and dialogue. Gregory Palamas (1296-1360) and the Muslims', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 25 (1980) 409-36, pp. 418-24 (English trans.)  
 Philippidis-Braat, 'La captivité de Palamas chez les Turcs', pp. 109-221 (ed. and French trans.)  
 A.I. Sakkelion, *Sotēr* 15 (1892) 240-46 (transcription of MS Athens 1379, without apparatus criticus)

#### STUDIES

- Tabur, *The representation of the medical doctor in the non-medical sources of the Palaiologan period*, p. 64

- R. Miller, 'Religious v. ethnic identity in fourteenth-century Bithynia. Gregory Palamas and the case of the Chionai', *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (2007) 27-42
- E.A. Zachariadou, 'Religious dialogue between Byzantines and Turks during the Ottoman expansion', in B. Lewis and F. Niewöhner (eds), *Religionsgespräche im Mittelalter (Vorträge, gehalten anlässlich des 25. Wolfenbütteler Symposions vom 11.-15. Juni 1989 in der Herzog-August-Bibliothek) (Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien 4)*, Berlin, 1992, 289-304, pp. 291-93 (repr. in E.A. Zachariadou, *Studies in pre-Ottoman Turkey and the Ottomans*, Aldershot, 2007, no. II)
- K.-P. Todt, *Kaiser Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos und der Islam. Politische Realität und theologische Polemik im palaiologenzeitlichen Byzanz (Würzburger Forschungen zur Missions- und Religionswissenschaft; Religionswissenschaftliche Studien 16)*, Würzburg, 1991, 567-93
- Chrēstos, *Grēgoriou tou Palama syngrammata 4*, pp. 57-65, 114-16
- M. Balivet, 'Byzantinsjudaisants et Juifs islamisés. Des "Kühhân" (Kâhin) aux "Chiônai" (Χιόνιος)', *Byzantion* 52 (1982) 24-59
- D.J. Sahas, 'Gregory Palamas (1296-1360) in Islam', *Revue des Études Islamiques* 49 (1981) 197-214
- D.J. Sahas, 'Captivity and dialogue. Gregory Palamas (1296-1360) and the Muslims', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 25 (1980) 409-36
- Philippidis-Braat, 'La captivité de Palamas chez les Turcs'
- Meyendorff, *A study of Gregory Palamas*, pp. 105-7
- 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, p. 427
- H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich, 1959, p. 714
- G. Arnakis, 'Gregory Palamas among the Turks and documents of his captivity as historical sources', *Speculum* 26 (1951) 104-18

Martin Vucetic



# The Life and Miracles of Barṣawmā al-‘Uryān

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; perhaps late 13 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; presumably Egypt
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; probably after 1355-56
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; perhaps Dayr Shahrān or the environs of Cairo

## BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about the anonymous author (or final compiler) of the *Life* and the *Miracles* of Barṣawmā (Barsūm) al-‘Uryān (‘the naked’) other than that he was a pious Copt, probably from Cairo or its environs (and perhaps from the saint’s own Shahrān Monastery), who desired to preserve the saint’s memory for posterity. A note in MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Hist. 51 states that the *Life* and the *Miracles* were compiled in 1355-56 ‘from the sayings of *al-qiss* Dāniyāl, *al-shaykh* Yūḥannā ibn al-As‘ad Ṣalīb, and those who used to visit him’ (Simaika, *Catalogue* ii, p. 290). Whether these sayings (*maqālāt*) of Dāniyāl and Yūḥannā were written texts or oral reminiscences is not certain. However, the note clearly points to an effort to compile information about the saint, who had died in 1317, before all the eyewitnesses to his life had passed on.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Hist. 51 (Simaika 639), fol. 170v

### *Secondary* —

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Sīrat al-ab al-fāḍil . . . anbā Barṣawmā al-‘Uryān*,  
‘The Life of the virtuous father . . . anbā Barṣawmā  
“the Naked”’; ‘The Life and miracles of Barṣawmā  
(Barsūm) al-‘Uryān (‘the Naked’)’

DATE 1355-56, perhaps on the basis of earlier sources

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

There are a number of unresolved, indeed, mostly unstudied questions regarding the genesis of the *Life* and the *Miracles* of Barṣawmā (Barsūm) ‘the Naked’ (its full title is given as *Sīrat al-ab al-fāḍil . . . anbā Barṣawmā al-Uryān ibn al-Wajīh kātīb Shajar al-Durr, al-ma‘rūf bi-bn al-Tabbān*, ‘The Life of the virtuous father . . . anbā Barṣawmā “the Naked”, son of al-Wajīh, kātīb to Shajar al-Durr, known as Ibn al-Tabbān’). A fragment of the *Life* in Sahidic Coptic has been preserved, suggesting that the *Life* could have been originally composed in that language. If so, then the *Miracles*, composed in Arabic, would best be seen as a separate work that later circulated together with the translated *Life*. While this is not impossible, for the present it may be assumed that the *Life* and the *Miracles* can be considered a unit (the *Life* in fact explicitly points ahead to the *Miracles*), that both were composed or compiled in Arabic, and that the Coptic fragment is a translation from Arabic.

The *Life* (which occupies 18 folios in one accessible manuscript, Paris, BNF – Ar. 282) is in many respects a typical account of a holy man who renounced the world, performed great ascetic labors, and then returned to the world as teacher, mediator and healer. The reader is informed that Barṣawmā’s father was one al-Wajīh ibn al-Tabbān, who was secretary to Shajar al-Durr (who played an important role in Egypt’s transition to Mamluk rule in the 1250s). After the death of his parents, Barṣawmā chose not to resist the actions of an uncle who sought to claim their legacy but rather to embrace the ascetic life: first, five years of living outside the city on rubbish heaps, clothed in very little (hence his sobriquet ‘the Naked’) and exposed to the elements; then many years in a cave beneath the Church of St Mercurius in Old Cairo, where he tamed a terrible serpent. When a ‘great persecution’ came upon the Christians (probably the disturbances of 1301), Barṣawmā emerged from his cave, took up residence on the roof of the church, and interceded for his people. He came to the attention of the authorities, who had him arrested, interrogated, beaten and imprisoned for illegally inhabiting a church after the churches had been closed. After a short time in prison, he was released and sent to Dayr Shahrān to the south of Old Cairo, where for the next 16 years he continued to follow his austere life of prayer, but also taught, blessed, absolved and healed great numbers of visitors, disciples and supplicants. He died on the final day (5 Nāsī) of the year AM 1033 (= 28 August 1317) and was buried at the monastery with great honor, with Patriarch John VIII at the head of the mourners.

The *Miracles* (three times the length of the *Life*) consist of stories (43 to 45, depending on the manuscript) of Barşawmā's encounters with those who sought him out at Dayr Shahrān. They emphasize Barşawmā's clairvoyance: he knew what was on his visitors' hearts and sometimes addressed those concerns even before they said a word to him. Many of the stories concern healings (and even raising the dead), but they also deal with a variety of everyday troubles other than disease: threats to making a living (a failed harvest, a shipwreck, lost camels, an escaped donkey), danger from thieves and highway robbers, unemployment, the despair of widows and orphans, the financial demands (and harsh methods of procuring payment) of creditors or those in authority, the difficulty of getting a hearing in a legal matter. As Voile points out in her important study, Barşawmā played the role of mediator 'between God and humans, certainly, but also mediator between humans, between Copts and Muslims, between the people and their masters' (Voile, 'Barsūm le nu', p. 160).

Several of those who sought out Barşawmā were Copts of the bureaucratic class – and the *Miracles* bear witness to their high status, but also to the fragility of their position vis-à-vis the high-ranking Muslims whom they served. But Barşawmā was also visited by some of these high-ranking Muslims. The *amīr* Baktemir is said to have consulted him regularly (Miracle 7, according to MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 282), and the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir himself visited the holy man, who promised him victory over his rivals in Syria but asked, in return, that churches be allowed to reopen (Miracle 6). However, while he offered his help to Muslims as well as to Christians, he was not one to be trifled with. For example, when the *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn the Silāḥdār visited the monastery and found the saint exasperatingly evasive, he had one of his *mamlūks* beat him and threatened to lay waste to the monastery. Barşawmā then held a private conversation with the *amīr*, who departed the monastery in joy... but soon afterwards his *mamlūk* drowned and his mare fell down dead (or injured), leading him to return and seek Barşawmā's forgiveness and prayers (Miracle 32).

For any study of the life and significance of Barşawmā, the *Life* and *Miracles* treated here must be supplemented by other sources, in particular the notices in the Copto-Arabic and Ethiopic *synaxaria* and the report of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī l-Faḍā'il (q.v.) in *Al-nahj al-sadīd*. Furthermore, this significance cannot be grasped apart from knowledge of the difficulties faced by the Copts in the Mamluk period, including the anti-*dhimmī* measures of 1293, 1301, 1321 and 1354 (about which the seminal

study is that of D.P. Little, ‘Coptic conversion to Islam under the Bahri mamluks...’, *BSOAS* 39 [1976] 552-69).

## SIGNIFICANCE

As Voile (‘Barsūm le nu’) has pointed out, Barṣawmā provides an excellent example of a ‘holy man’ of a type known from late antiquity (and brought to the attention of contemporary scholars by P. Brown, ‘The rise and function of the holy man in late antiquity’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 [1971] 80-101) – but now transposed into the society of Mamluk Egypt. In the *Life* and *Miracles* of Barṣawmā (Barsūm) ‘the Naked’ we find a vivid picture of that society (and its perils) from a Coptic point of view; one reaction to the riots and anti-*dhimmī* measures of 1301; and memories of Coptic Christian miracle-working power that were collected and transmitted at a time when the Copts’ experience of power was often of an oppressive sort, to be suffered rather than exercised.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 72, fols 31v-41v (*Life*) and 42r-83r (43 *Miracles*) (1358)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 82, fols 155r-158v (*Life*, incomplete) (14<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Cairo, Dayr Mārī Minā – Hag. 1 (serial no. 4) fols 2r-98r (*Life* and *Miracles*; 15<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Cairo, Abū Sarja – Theol. 8 (serial no. 111), fols 1v-78v (*Life* and *Miracles*; 17<sup>th</sup> century, probably before 1635)

MS Florence, Bibliotheca Nazionale – Ar. 37, fols 145r-275v (1638)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 282, fols 1r-18r (*Life*), 18v-71v (45 *Miracles*), and 72v-77r (*Homily* for his feast day) (1649)

MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – Hist. Add. 14 (old register no. 6419, new register no. 523) (18<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 4885, fols 95r-107r (*Life*) and 107r-161r (44 *Miracles*) (19<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Hist. 51 (Simaika 639) (undated, but traces the text back to a copy of 1362-3; *Life*, *Miracles*, and hymns)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Hist. 86 (Simaika 669) (undated, but before 1814; on the saint’s death, *Miracles*)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Misc. 2 (Simaika 1075) (undated; some of the saint’s *amthāl*; perhaps an extract from the *Life*)

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Ar. Christ. Uri 103 (date unknown)

There are surely many more manuscript copies in Egyptian church and monastic collections.

On the Coptic fragment published by Crum, see his ‘Barşaumā the Naked’, pp. 136-37.

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

*Tārīkh ḥayāt al-qiddīs al-‘aẓīm al-Anbā Barşawm al-‘Uryān. Min aqwāl ābā’ al-kanīsa l-qibṭiyya l-urthudhuksiyya*, Cairo, 1936 (repr. 1978; edition of the *Life, Miracles, Homily*, and hymns in praise of the saint; not seen)

W.E. Crum, ‘Barşaumā the Naked’, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 29 (1907) 135-49, 187-206 (edition of the Arabic text of the *Life*, taking Paris, BNF – Ar. 72 as base, and edition of the Coptic fragment, with English trans.; summary of the *Miracles*)

#### STUDIES

Athanāsīyūs al-Maqārī, *Fihris kitābāt ābā’ kanīsat al-Iskandariyya. Al-kitābāt al-‘arabiyya (Maṣādir tuqūs al-kanīsa 1.8-9)*, 2 vols, Cairo, 2012, ii, pp. 1087-88

A. Wadi, art. ‘Barsauma il Nudo’, in J. Nadal Cañellas and S. Virgulin (eds), *Bibliotheca sanctorum orientalium. Enciclopedia dei santi. Le chiese orientali*, 2 vols, Rome, 1998-99, i, cols 360-62 (with extensive bibliography, including Arabic-language publications in Egypt)

B. Voile, ‘Barsūm le nu. Un saint copte au Caire à l’époque mamelouke’, in D. Aigle (ed.), *Saints orientaux*, Paris, 1995, pp. 152-68 (a fundamental study)

R.-G. Coquin, art. ‘Barsūm the Naked, Saint’, in *CE*

Īrīs Ḥabīb al-Miṣrī, *Qiṣṣat al-kanīsa l-qibṭiyya*, vol. 3, Cairo, 1971, pp. 281-85

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 474-75

Crum, ‘Barşaumā the Naked’

Mark N. Swanson

## Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī l-Faḍā'il

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; late 13 <sup>th</sup> -early 14 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; presumably Egypt
DATE OF DEATH	After 1358
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; presumably Egypt

### BIOGRAPHY

Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī l-Faḍā'il was a Coptic historian who lived in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. He became known through his single work *Al-nahj al-sadiḍ* (see below), which, according to the colophon of the unique manuscript, he finished in 1358. He may have been the nephew of the historian al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-'Amīd (q.v.); Ghāzī ibn al-Wāsiṭī (q.v.) in his *Radd 'alā ahl al-dhimma* mentions a certain 'Abū l-Faḍā'il *ibn ukht* [son of the sister of] al-Makīn ibn al-'Amīd, known as secretary of war in Damascus'. Indeed, al-Mufaḍḍal's work is no more than a continuation of al-Makīn's history *Al-majmū' al-mubārak*.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### Primary

- E. Blochet, *Moufazzal ibn Abi l-Faza'il, Histoire des sultans mamlouks. Texte arabe publié et traduit en français* (PO 12, fasc. 3), Paris, 1919, 345-550, p. 407
- S. Kortantamer, *Ägypten und Syrien zwischen 1317 und 1341 in der Chronik des Mufaḍḍal b. Abī l-Faḍā'il* (*Islamkundliche Untersuchungen* 23), Freiburg im Breisgau, 1973, p. 114 [342] (Arabic text), p. 280 (German trans.)
- R. Gottheil, 'An answer to the dhimmis', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 41 (1921) 383-457, pp. 407-10, 445

#### Secondary

- M.N. Swanson, *The Coptic papacy in Islamic Egypt (641-1517)*, Cairo, 2010, pp. 98-99
- M.N. Swanson, 'Al-Mufaddal ibn Abi al-Fada'l', in G. Gabra (ed.), *Historical dictionary of the Coptic Church*, Cairo, 2008, 23-24
- D.P. Little, 'Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk epochs', in C.F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Egypt*, vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640-1517*, Cambridge, 1998, 412-44, p. 427
- Wadi Abullif, 'Introduzione alla letteratura arabo-cristiana dei Copti', *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea* 29-30 (1996-97), 441-92, p. 458 (in Arabic)
- J. den Heijer, 'Coptic historiography in the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and early Mamlūk periods', *Medieval Encounters* 2 (1996) 67-98, pp. 88-95

J. den Heijer, art. 'Al-Mufaḏḏal b. Abī 'l-Faḏā'il', in *El2*

S. Kortantamer, *Ägypten und Syrien zwischen 1317 und 1341 in der Chronik des Mufaḏḏal b. Abī l-Faḏā'il*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1973, pp. 2-6

Graf, *GICAL* ii, p. 450

F. Nau, 'Sur al-Makin et Ibn Abi-l-Faza'il', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 26 (1927-28) 208-11

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Al-nahj al-sadīd wa-l-durr al-farīd fīmā ba'd Tārīkh Ibn al-'Amīd*, 'The correct procedure and singular pearl in what comes after the History of Ibn al-'Amīd'

DATE 24 September 1358

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

#### DESCRIPTION

Al-Mufaḏḏal's historical work, as its title reveals, is a continuation of al-Makīn ibn al-'Amīd (the elder)'s *Al-majmū' al-mubārak*. It deals with the history of Egypt and Syria in the period from the sultanate of al-Ẓāhir Baybars beginning in 1260 to the death of al-Malik al-Nāṣir in 1341, with some additional events up to 1348.

For the most part, al-Mufaḏḏal arranges his history by year, as was customary among the historians of his time. However, he sometimes allows himself to mention events in chronological sequence without giving a precise date.

Al-Mufaḏḏal relied on earlier Muslim historians such as Baybars al-Manṣūrī (*Zubdat al-fikra*), al-Nuwayrī (*Nihāyat al-arab*), al-Jazarī (*Ḥawādith al-zamān*), and Ibn al-Dawādārī (*Kanz al-durar*), and he uses and manages his sources well. Moreover, the part of the work that contains events of which al-Mufaḏḏal was a contemporary deserves close attention. However, the work was not used by later historians, and it has come down in a single manuscript. This may be due to the fact that al-Mufaḏḏal wrote *Al-nahj al-sadīd* for his own personal use, and not, like Ibn al-'Amīd, to be read and used by others.

Since his work is a secular history, al-Mufaḏḏal does not give much attention to the affairs of the Coptic Church, even though he was a Copt himself. He briefly mentions the dates of election of the Coptic patriarchs and of their death, but normally nothing about their personality

or the internal affairs of the Church in their times. He says a little more about the Patriarchs John VII (1262-68, 1271-93) and Gabriel III (1268-71) because of the strange situation that led to two patriarchs being in office at the same time (*PO* 14, fasc. 3, pp. 447-52), but he does not mention any other well-known Copts, with the notable exception of several pages devoted to St Barṣūmā the Naked (*PO* 20, fasc. 1, pp. 159-67), which can be explained by al-Mufaḍḍal's fondness for wonders and strange events. In addition, al-Mufaḍḍal is inclined to omit anti-Christian passages found in his Islamic sources.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Al-Mufaḍḍal followed his predecessor (and perhaps uncle) in the way in which he reported historical events. Both wrote works of secular history with minimal interest in Christian matters, despite being Copts. Both depended mainly on Muslim historians and adapted Islamic formulas when they mentioned Muslim holy people. They also shared an interest in wonders and supernatural events.

Despite al-Mufaḍḍal's limited interest in specifically Coptic affairs, he does provide an important witness to certain matters of importance to the history of Christian-Muslim relations in Egypt, e.g. Mamluk government interference in the leadership of the Coptic community in the period of Patriarchs John VII and Gabriel III; the relationship between St Barṣūmā the Naked and the Mamluk ruler al-Malik al-Nāṣir ibn Qalāwūn; and the destruction of churches by a Muslim mob in 1321 (and al-Nāṣir's punishment of the perpetrators).

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 4525 (1358; probably al-Mufaḍḍal's autograph – see Kortantamer, *Ägypten und Syrien*, pp. 11-15)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

S. Kortantamer, *Ägypten und Syrien zwischen 1317 und 1341 in der Chronik des Mufaḍḍal b. Abī l-Faḍāʿil (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 23)*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1973, pp. 342-455, 47-281 (Arabic text with German trans. of the part from 1317 to 1348)

E. Blochet, *Moufazzal ibn Abi l-Fazāil, Histoire des sultans mamlouks. Texte arabe publié et traduit en français (PO 12, fasc. 3; 14, fasc. 3; 20, fasc. 1)*, Paris, 1919-29 (Arabic text with French trans. of the part from 1260 to 1317)

#### STUDIES

Swanson, *The Coptic papacy*, pp. 98-99

Swanson, 'Al-Mufaddal ibn Abi al-Fada'l'



- Little, 'Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk epochs', p. 427
- Wadi, 'Introduzione', p. 458
- Den Heijer, 'Coptic historiography', pp. 67-68, 88-95
- Den Heijer, 'Al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍā'il'
- B. Schäfer, 'Bücherbesprechungen', *ZDMG* 127 (1977) 138-39 (review of Kortantamer, *Ägypten und Syrien*)
- U. Haarmann, 'Buchbesprechungen', *Der Islam* 51 (1974) 319-20 (review of Kortantamer, *Ägypten und Syrien*)
- Kortantamer, *Ägypten und Syrien*, pp. 1-40
- U. Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, Freiburg, 1969, pp. 107-14
- D.P. Little, *An introduction to Mamlūk historiography. An analysis of Arabic annalistic and biographical sources for the reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn*, Wiesbaden, 1970 (*Freiburger Islamstudien* 2), pp. 33-38
- Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 450
- Blochet, *Moufazzal ibn Abi l-Fazā'il, Histoire des sultans mamlouks*, pp. 345-406

Samuel Moawad

# Ibn al-Naqqāsh

Abū Umāma Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Wāḥid ibn  
Yaḥyā ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-Dukkālī/al-Maghribī l-Miṣrī  
l-Shāfi‘ī, Ibn al-Naqqāsh

DATE OF BIRTH Approximately 1320

PLACE OF BIRTH Probably the Maghrib (the *nisba*; q.v.)  
al-Dukkālī, which originates in the name of a Berber tribal  
confederation, might refer to any of several locations  
in Morocco)

DATE OF DEATH 13 January 1362

PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

## BIOGRAPHY

Ibn al-Naqqāsh was born of Berber stock, probably in 720/1320 (723 and 725 are also proposed). He seems to have come to Cairo at a young age. There he proved a pleasant surprise to his friend and principal biographer al-Ṣafadī, who ‘never dreamt that someone of his kind (*min abnā’ jinsihi*) would be able to achieve what he did’. His accomplishments included innovative scholarship, worldly success, and skillful navigation of the personal and sectarian rivalries of Mamluk elite society.

Noteworthy among his teachers were Burhān al-Dīn al-Rashīdī (d. c. 1348) in the *qirā’āt*, and Taqī l-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 1344; q.v.), with whom, among others, he studied the *Minhāj al-wuṣūl* (on legal theory) of al-Bayḍāwī (d. c. 1286). By his own account, according to al-Ṣafadī, he was the first in Cairo to memorize *Al-ḥāwī l-ṣaghīr*, the Shāfi‘ī manual of al-Qazwīnī (d. 1266).

Ibn al-Naqqāsh’s mature scholarly pursuits were, characteristically for an ‘alim of his day, quite multifarious. While his biographers praise his literary mastery and quote his poetry, he also wrote about Hadith, law, and grammar. His voluminous *tafsīr*, *Al-sābiq wa-l-lāḥiq*, was noted for its originality; in it, Ibn al-Naqqāsh reportedly managed to avoid quoting a single word from an earlier work. This project was a reaction to the criticisms of contemporaries who, when Ibn al-Naqqāsh inaugurated a custom of giving exegetical lectures at al-Azhar during Ramaḍān, expressed doubt about the adequacy of his learning.

Controversy followed Ibn al-Naqqāsh throughout a career that included stints in Cairo as *mudarris* and *khaṭīb* at the mosques of Ibn

Ṭūlūn and Aşlam, as well as numerous similar appointments there and in the cities of the Levant. His thirst for influence with great men was partly responsible, as was his pugnacity. He is most frequently quoted for a partisan barb: 'People these days are Rāfi'yya (followers of the scholar al-Rāfi' [d. 1226]), not Shāfi'yya, Nawawiyya not Nabawiyya (followers of al-Nawawī [d. 1277], not the Prophet).' His access to the Mamluk Sultan al-Nāşir Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (r. 1347-51, 1354-61) was gained at the expense of a rival, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Hirmās (d. c. 1368). Along with his ally, the future Ḥanafī chief qadī Sirāj al-Dīn al-Hindī, Ibn al-Naqqāsh contrived to turn the ruler against al-Hirmās when the latter undertook the pilgrimage in 1359. Al-Hirmās was summarily banished and his fine new house beside the mosque of al-Ḥakīm demolished.

This triumph was, in fact, revenge. Al-Hirmās had conspired against Ibn al-Naqqāsh to curb his growing influence with leading emirs. The charge he caused to be levelled against Ibn al-Naqqāsh, through the agency of leading students Zayn al-Dīn al-'Irāqī and Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī, was that he had ruled in contravention of the Shāfi' *madhhab*; Ibn Taghrī Birdī relates that he was also accused of inclining to the Zāhirī *madhhab* of Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064). This led the chief qadī 'Izz al-Dīn ibn Jamā'a, an ally of al-Hirmās, to forbid Ibn al-Naqqāsh to issue fatwas and then to imprison him. Ibn Ḥajar reports that the offending fatwa was issued to a Christian (*kāna aḫṭā ba'da l-qibṭi bi-futyā*); it might conceivably have been *Al-madhamma fi isti'māl ahl al-dhimma* itself (below), which has the form of a fatwa whose petitioner is anonymous, and about which there is nothing specifically Shāfi'.

The death of Sultan al-Nāşir in 1361 reportedly sent Ibn al-Naqqāsh into a funk from which he never recovered. He died in January 1362 at the age of about 40. He had a son, Zayn al-Dīn Abū Hurayra 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who achieved some scholarly distinction.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

Al-Şafadī, *Ayān al-'aşr wa-a'wān al-naşr*, ed. 'A. Abū Zayd et al., 6 vols, Beirut, 1998, iv, pp. 670-74 (the most extensive and original account)

Ibn Rāfi' al-Sallāmī, *Al-wafāyāt*, ed. 'A. Zakkār, 2 vols, Damascus, 1985, i, pp. 374-75 (brief treatment)

Ibn Kathīr, *Al-bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, 14 vols in 7, Cairo, 1932-39, xiv, p. 292

Ibn al-'Irāqī, Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm, *Al-dhayl 'alā l-'ibar fi khabar man ghabar*, ed. Ş. 'Abbās, 3 vols, Beirut, 1989, i, pp. 90-91 (cites Ibn Rāfi')

- Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-durar al-kāmina fī aʿyān al-miʿa l-thāmina*, 5 vols, Cairo, 1966-67, iv, pp. 190-92 (cites al-Ṣafadī, Ibn Kathīr)
- Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-jumān*, MS Cairo Dār al-Kutub – 1584 Tārīkh, pt. 1, fol. 129r, *sub anno* 763
- Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī, *Taʿrīkh al-Badr*, MS BL – Add. 22,360, fol. 68v
- Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, 4 vols, Hyderabad, 1978-80, iii, 176-78 (cites al-Ṣafadī)
- Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Taʿrīkh*, ed. ʿA. Darwīsh, 4 vols, Damascus, 1977-97, iii, 212
- Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Al-manhal al-ṣāfi wa-l-mustawfi baʿd al-wāfi*, ed. M. Amīn, 11 vols, Cairo, 1984-2003, x, 221-22
- Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Al-dalīl al-shāfi ʿalā l-manhal al-ṣāfi*, ed. F. Shaltūt, 2 vols, Mecca, 1983, ii, 661
- Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Al-nujūm al-zāhira*, 16 vols, Cairo, 1929-72, xi, 13-14
- Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, ed. M. Ibrāhīm, 2 vols, Cairo, 1979, i, 183 (cites Ibn Ḥajar)
- Al-Dāwūdī, Shams al-Dīn, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*, ed. ʿA. ʿUmar, 2 vols, Cairo, 1972, ii, 200-2 (cites al-Ṣafadī, Ibn Ḥajar, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, Ibn Kathīr)
- Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, ed. ʿA. al-Arnāʿūṭ et al., 11 vols, Beirut, 1986-95, viii, 338-39 (cites Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba)
- Al-Shawkānī, *Al-badr al-tālī*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1930, ii, 211-12

### Secondary

- 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)*, Cairo, 2006, 75-119, pp. 76, 82, 93, 98-99, 106, 113
- ʿA. Ṭrayqī, introduction to edition of *Madhamma* (below), pp. 19-25
- N.K. Hafes, introduction to edition/trans. of *Madhamma* (below), pp. 1-11
- J. Escovitz, 'Patterns of appointment to the chief judgeships of Cairo during the Baḥrī Mamlūk period', *Arabica* 30 (1983), 147-68, p. 156 (brief account of the Hirmās affair; has al-Hirmās stay in Cairo while the sultan makes pilgrimage, but the sources report the reverse)
- C. Brockelmann, *GAL S II*, pp. 95-96 (incorrectly classed as Mālikī)
- F.A. Belin, introduction to trans. of *Madhamma* (below), pp. 417-20

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Al-madhamma fī istiʿmāl ahl al-dhimma*, 'Censure concerning the employment of dhimmīs'

DATE 1357-58

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

The *Madhamma* has the form of a fatwa, requested by a petitioner who wants to know whether it is lawful (*yajūz*) for non-Muslims to be employed by emirs in affairs of state such as tax collection. The negative answer that Ibn al-Naqqāsh gives is in fact not his own; most of the *Madhamma* corresponds verbatim to the section on state employment in the *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma* of the Ḥanbalī jurist Ibn al-Qayyim (q.v.) (ed. Ş. Şāliḥ, i, pp. 208-44). Since Ibn al-Qayyim died in 1350 and the *Madhamma* was composed in 1357-58, it is likely that Ibn al-Naqqāsh transcribed from the *Aḥkām*. Alternatively the two works could share a common source. Permutations of the same material are found in other works, including those of ‘Uthmān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Nābulusī (q.v.) and Ghāzī ibn al-Wāsiṭī (q.v.), and can be shown to derive from a 12<sup>th</sup>-century source that has not yet been securely identified.

This material is of two kinds. The first is a series of quotations from the Qur’an that are evidently meant to discourage Muslim rulers from employing non-Muslims. These receive very little explanation. The second and much more extensive kind of material in the *Madhamma* consists of anecdotes organized chronologically by ruler and extending from the Prophet to the Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, Ibn al-Naqqāsh’s own patron. Rulers discussed include the Prophet (in the form of a few Hadiths), ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, Abbāsids such as al-Mahdī and al-Rāḍī, and a single Fatimid, al-‘Āmir. In each case, according to the schematized sequence of events, the ruler is made aware by some pious warner of the misconduct of non-Muslims in his employ and takes action to dismiss them.

Ibn al-Naqqāsh’s contribution to the source from which he transcribed would seem to be limited to the request for a fatwa, which is formulaic in that it prefigures the content of the work, and three Mamluk-period episodes that concern the second reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (the well known imposition of *dhimma* restrictions in 1301), that of his son al-Şāliḥ Şāliḥ (the reimposition of 1354) and that of the latter’s brother al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (a renewal of al-Şāliḥ’s measure). These have the same basic structure as the earlier accounts. The *Madhamma* thus exhibits a curious self-generative quality: stories of earlier rulers are used to admonish current rulers such as al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who in conforming to the paradigm make themselves the protagonists of new stories on the same theme. Additional material on the *dhimma* regulations is appended to some MSS of the *Madhamma*, but this probably represents a later addition (see Editions and translations below).

## SIGNIFICANCE

The *Madhamma* was the first work against *dhimmī* state officials to become available to European readers. It contains a wealth of historical information, however difficult to authenticate, about the history of this issue in the first seven centuries of Islam. It is also evidence of the competitive practices of 14<sup>th</sup>-century Muslim elites vis-à-vis their Coptic competitors for economic, social and symbolic capital. Though derivative of earlier sources, it mediated these to later authors such as al-Qalqashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, xiii, 366-78) and ‘Alī al-Munīr al-Shāfi‘ī (*Tafhīm al-jāhilīn*, partially edited by M. Perlmann in *Studies in Judaica, Karaitica, and Islamica*, ed. S. Brunswick, Ramat-Gan, 1982, 181-202). Its legacy for current Christian-Muslim relations, though not entirely clear, is unlikely to be especially salutary. On the one hand, it has led figures such as its editor Ṭurayqī, one of the leading Muslim authorities on the status of non-Muslims in Islamic law, to conclude that ‘the experiment of employing *dhimmīs* has failed’. On the other, the modernist Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (*Al-ta‘aṣṣub wa-l-tasāmuḥ bayna l-Masīḥiyya wa-l-Islām*, Kuwait, 1970) repudiated its exclusionary ideas, declaring them incompatible with Islam and their author an ignoramus. But he knew the *Madhamma* only through the work of the Orientalists against whom he wrote, and whom he charged with having fabricated it (and invented its author) as a calumny against Islam.

## MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub – 3952 Ta’rikh = MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub – Fiḥ Shāfi‘ī 1693 = MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub – 4315 (the fourth and last item in a *majmū‘* copied in 1454; the same *majmū‘* contains the only known MS of the *Shurūṭ al-Naṣārā* of Ibn Zabīr)
- MS Oxford, Bodleian – Ar. Pococke 361, fols 62v-104r (third of four items in an undated *majmū‘* that also contains the *Irshād al-ḥayārā fī l-radd ‘alā l-Naṣārā* by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Dīrīnī, d. c. 1295; q.v.)
- MS Tunis, Maktabat Ibn ‘Āshūr – m/187 (in a *majmū‘*, date and foliation unknown; information from introduction to Ṭurayqī, ed.)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

- S. Kisrawī, Beirut, 2002, pp. 251-327 (from Cairo MS; published with *Manhaj al-ṣawāb* of Ibn al-Durayhim [q.v.])
- ‘A. Ṭurayqī, Riyadh, 1995 (from Cairo and Tunis MSS, with detailed textual comparison to *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma* of Ibn al-Qayyim)
- Abū l-Haytham Ibrāhīm ibn Zakariyyā, Riyadh, 1995 (from Cairo MS)

- B. Pirone, 'Libro della riprovazione del ricorso ai servigi dei Dhimmi del dottissimo shaykh ed imām Abū Umāma Muḥammad b. 'Alī ibn an-Naqqāsh', *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea* 24 (1991) 226-326, edition pp. 233-75, Italian trans. pp. 277-326 (from Cairo MS)
- N.K. Hafes, 1964 (MA diss. American University in Cairo); edition separate pagination, pp. 1-38, English trans. pp. 49-165 (from Cairo MS)
- F.A. Belin, 'Fetoua relatif à la condition des zimmi', *Journal Asiatique* 4<sup>e</sup> série 18 (1851) 420-92 (French trans. from MS in the translator's possession; Belin probably did not edit any part of the *Madhamma* proper, *pace* Brockelmann and many others. What he edited [corresponding to the 'Deuxième partie' of his translation, pp. 493-516 and *Journal Asiatique* 4<sup>e</sup> série 19 (1852) 97-103, edition pp. 126-40] is in all likelihood a later addition. It is also found in the Oxford MS, fols 94r-104r. The earliest MS, that of Cairo, does not include this additional section and ends with the phrase 'the question and its answer are hereby finished'. The Tunis MS also ends here. The additional material in the Oxford MS and that of Belin consists of assorted *shurūṭ* and other juristic material of a Mālikī flavor, lacking direct connection to the work itself. Although it appears unlikely, it cannot be categorically ruled out that the additional material, some of which is found also in the *Manhaj al-ṣawāb* of Ibn al-Durayhim [q.v.], was added by Ibn al-Naqqāsh himself.)

## STUDIES

- L. Yarbrough, 'Islamizing the Islamic state' (PhD diss. Princeton University, in progress 2012)
- M. Levy-Rubin, *Non-Muslims in the early Islamic empire*, Cambridge, 2011, pp. 108, 207
- 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)*, Cairo, 2006, 75-119, pp. 76, 82, 93, 98-99, 106, 113
- Q. Qāsim, *Ahl al-dhimma fī Miṣr min al-fatḥ al-Islāmī ḥattā nihāyat al-Mamālīk*, Giza, 2003, pp. 80, 161
- S. Ward, 'Ibn al-Rif'a on the churches and synagogues of Cairo', *Medieval Encounters* 5 (1999) 70-84, p. 71 n. 3
- B. Catlos, 'To catch a spy. The case of Zayn al-Dīn and Ibn Dukhān', *Medieval Encounters* 2 (1996) 99-113, pp. 108-9
- Ṭurayqī, introduction to edition, pp. 26-31

- J.M. Fiey, 'Conversions à l'islam de juifs et de chrétiens sous les abbassides d'après les sources arabes et syriaques', in J. Irmscher (ed.), *Rapports entre juifs, chrétiens, et musulmans*, Amsterdam, 1995, 13-28, p. 18 (notes textual relationship with *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma* of Ibn al-Qayyim)
- Pirone, 'Libro della riprovazione', pp. 227-28
- J.M. Fiey, *Chrétiens syriaques sous les abbassides*, Louvain, 1980, pp. 4, 85, 88
- Hafes, introduction to edition/trans. pp. 11-16
- A. Darrag, *L'Égypte sous la règne de Barsbay*, Damascus, 1961, p. 141 n. 1
- A. Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-Musulmans en pays d'Islam*, Beirut, 1958, pp. 232-63
- S. Baron, *Social and religious history of the Jews*, 18 vols, New York, 1957-, iii, pp. 128, 292, 303, 311
- M. Perlmann, 'Notes on anti-Christian propaganda in the Mamluk Empire', *BSOAS* 10 (1942) 843-61, pp. 844, 848, 856
- C. Brockelmann, *GAL S II*, pp. 95-96
- M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, Leipzig, 1877, pp. 77-78 (reference to Oxford MS)
- Belin, 'Fetoua relatif à la condition des zimmis', pp. 419-20
- A. Nicoll and E.B. Pusey, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum orientalis Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, Oxford, 2 vols, 1821-35, ii, p. 567
- J. Uri, *Bibliothecae Bodleianae codicum manuscriptorum orientalium... catalogus*, 2 vols, Oxford, 1787, i, p. 57

Luke Yarbrough



# Jamāl al-Dīn al-Asnawī

Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn al-Ḥasan  
al-Umawī l-Qurashī l-Asnawī

DATE OF BIRTH 1304/5  
PLACE OF BIRTH Asna  
DATE OF DEATH September 1370  
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

## BIOGRAPHY

Al-Asnawī was a fairly prolific though generally unremarkable writer. He moved from his native town of Asna (Isna) in Upper Egypt to Cairo in 1321/22, where he excelled in his studies, and he soon became a renowned teacher at various mosques in the city. He then moved into the administration of the Mamluk state, where he stayed for some years, before he fell out with the vizier, Ibn Kazwīna, which led to his leaving and devoting himself purely to writing and teaching, and to his duties as head of the Shāfi‘īs of Egypt until his sudden death.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

See Perlman, ‘Notes on anti-Christian propaganda’

### *Secondary*

J. Sadan, ‘A legal opinion of a Muslim jurist regarding the sanctity of Jerusalem’,  
*Israel Oriental Studies* 13 (1993) 231-45

M. Perlmann, ‘Notes on anti-Christian propaganda in the Mamlūk Empire’,  
*BSOAS* 10 (1942) 843-61

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Al-kalimāt al-muhimma fī mubāsharat ahl  
al-dhimma*, ‘Important words about the treatment  
of the People of protection’

DATE After 1349; possibly between 1354 and 1359

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

This tract is one of a large number of anti-Christian polemics written in Mamluk Egypt during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. It has a number of titles in the different manuscripts. The British Library version is entitled *Al-kalimāt al-muhimma fī mubāsharat ahl al-dhimma*, while the Tunis version has *Risāla fī ‘adam istikhdām ahl al-dhimma wa-‘adam tawliyatihim al-Muslimīn* ('Treatise on not employing the people of protection and not appointing them to positions of authority over Muslims'). Other titles are listed in Perlmann, 'Notes on Mamluk anti-Christian propaganda', p. 845, n. 5 (though see the entry on 'Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Asnawī for a discussion of the evidence for a separate work, now lost, written by this author).

Al-Asnawī criticizes a number of aspects of current Christian practices and, by association, the Mamluk rulers themselves. He complains that the *dhimmī* regulations are not enforced, which means Christians can do things that should not be permitted, such as riding on horseback and working in the state bureaucracy. He comments that anyone who fails to stop such behavior is as guilty as the Copts themselves, if he has it in his power but does nothing.

Al-Asnawī goes on to accuse the Copts of stealing from the treasury and giving their ill-gotten gains to churches and monasteries. They also claim that Egypt is theirs and that the Muslims stole it from them (a widespread theme at the time, which seems to have been a sore point in medieval Egypt). Their criminal activities have enabled them to acquire palaces, horses and luxuries, and to indulge in drinking and seduction, which has led to moral decline within society. They generally have a bad attitude, are full of vengeance towards the Muslims, and would co-operate with foreign non-Muslim powers against their Muslim rulers. They buy Muslim Turkish slaves from Muslims and convert them to Christianity and no one stops this, and they build new churches and ignore the *jizya*, while at the same time objecting to the building of mosques and to Christians converting to Islam. All this is done, he concludes, because the Christians hate the Muslims.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Like similar attacks on Christianity written under Mamluk rule, this tract reflects wider tensions and desires in society for moves against the Christians. These were demonstrated by the popular riots in 1321/22, and the sultan's very real dilemma of having to balance the wishes of the anti-Christian forces with his own need for Christians in the Egyptian

civil service. The pamphlet itself was quite possibly not only a witness to but also a result of a round of popular agitation in the 1350s, in which concern for Muslim property and for the protection of the state, as well as anger at attitudes among the Copts, may all have played a part. It is also a witness to the atmosphere in which many Christians decided to convert to Islam, a time when the power of the Copts was extinguished. But al-Asnawī is scathing about these so-called converts, claiming that they were worse than people who remained Christians as their conversion was merely for show and personal advantage.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS London, BL – Or. 11581, fols 6-14 (14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Tunis, Zaituna – IV, 362 (undated)

MS Cairo, Dar al-Kutub – VII, 355 (undated)

MS Cairo, Dar al-Kutub – VI, 409 (undated)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

M. Perlmann, 'Asnawī's tract against Christian officials', in S. Löwinger, A. Scheiber and J. Somogyi (eds), *Ignace Goldziher memorial volume II*, Jerusalem, 1958, 172-208

#### STUDIES

Perlmann, 'Notes on anti-Christian propaganda'

**Alex Mallett**

# Nicephorus Gregoras

Nikēphoros Grēgoras

DATE OF BIRTH About 1295  
PLACE OF BIRTH Herakleia Pontike  
DATE OF DEATH About 1360  
PLACE OF DEATH Constantinople

## BIOGRAPHY

Orphaned at an early age, Gregoras was brought up by his uncle, Bishop John of Heraclea, who also gave him his first formal education. In 1315, when he was about 20 years old, he was sent to Constantinople, where Patriarch John XIII Glycys (1315-19) taught him grammar, literature and logic. Living in the Monastery of Chora, he became the disciple of Theodore Metochites (1270-1332), whose vast learning and interests – particularly in astronomy – he came to share, and who later named him heir of the monastery and its library. In 1324 he was invited to debate a proposed calendar reform at the court of Emperor Andronicus II (r. 1282-1328); his skills in rhetoric and astronomy earned him imperial favor, and he remained a respected scholar even after the overthrow of the emperor in 1328.

He predicted lunar and solar eclipses in the early 1330s, and in a public debate in 1331 successfully faced Barlaam (1290-1350), who later opposed Gregory Palamas (1294-1357; q.v.). Gregoras himself became increasingly involved with the anti-Hesychast party after the synodal approval of Gregory Palamas in 1341, and in the imperial power struggle that ended with the victory of John VI Cantacuzenus in 1347. In 1351, he was condemned and placed under house arrest at the Chora monastery. He was freed after Cantacuzenus's overthrow in 1354, but he became a major target of many Besychast writings. When he died, his corpse was publicly dishonored and dragged through the streets of Constantinople.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

Information about Gregoras' life is mainly found in his own historical writings (see below), while details can also be deduced from his letters, eulogies and polemics, as well as from the writings of his friends and enemies, the most notable of whom was Gregory Palamas.

*Secondary*

- D. Bianconi, 'La "biblioteca" di Niceforo Gregora', in B. Atsalos and N. Tsironi (eds), *Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Colloque International de Paléographie Grecque (Drama, 21-27 septembre 2003)*, 3 vols, Athens, 2008, ii, 225-33, iii, 1049-59
- P.K. Blachakos, *Ho byzantinos logios Nikēphoros Grēgoras*, Thessaloniki, 2008
- G. Page, *Being Byzantine. Greek identity before the Ottomans*, Cambridge, 2008
- I. Pérez-Martín, 'Un escolio de Nicéforo Gregorás sobre el alma del mundo en el *Timeo* (Vaticanus Graecus 228)', *Revista Internacional de Investigación sobre Magia y Astrología Antiguas* 4 (2004) 197-220
- P.K. Blachakos, *Nikēphoros Grēgoras. Physikē geōgraphia kai anthrōpogeōgraphia sto ergo tou*, Thessaloniki, 2003
- D. Moschos, *Platōnismos ē christianismos*, Athens, 1998
- S. Mergiali, *L'enseignement et les lettrés pendant l'époque des Paléologues (1261-1453)*, Athens, 1996
- A-M. Talbot, art. 'Nikephoros Gregoras', in *ODB*
- I. Ševčenko, *Society and intellectual life in late Byzantium*, London, 1981
- H.-V. Beyer, 'Eine Chronologie der Lebensgeschichte des Nikephoros Gregoras', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 27 (1978) 127-55
- H.-V. Beyer, art. 'Grēgoras, Nikēphoros', in *PLP*
- I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Theodore Metochite et Nicéphore Choumnos*, Brussels, 1961
- V. Grecu, 'Das Geburtsjahr des byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibers Nikephoros Gregoras', *Bulletin de la Section Historique de l'Académie Roumaine* 27 (1946) 56-61
- V. Laurent, 'La personnalité de Jean d'Héraclée, oncle et précepteur de Nicéphore Grégoras', *Hellenika* 3 (1930) 297-315
- R. Guiland, *Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras. L'homme et l'œuvre*, Paris, 1926

Olof Heilo

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

## Letters

DATE early 1320s-mid 1350s

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

Nicephorus Gregoras' epistolary collection includes 159 letters written by Gregoras himself, and 22 letters addressed to him by 14 of his contemporaries. The letters included in the collection cover the period from the early 1320s to the mid 1350s, with letters from the 1330s and 1340s being the most numerous. Gregoras wrote to at least 62 different addressees, designated in the collection either by name or by title. For 39 of the letters the addressee is unknown.

Gregoras' letter collection gives clear evidence of his numerous connections to most of the prominent Byzantine intellectuals of the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Among many others, he wrote letters to two emperors, Andronicus II and Andronicus III, to the *megas domestikos* and future emperor John Cantacuzenus, to the scholar and rhetorician Joseph the Philosopher, to the *megas logothetēs* and his mentor Theodore Metochites, to Nicephorus Chumnus, Gregory Acindynus and George Lapithes.

The collection contains abundant examples of themes characteristic of the Byzantine epistolary tradition. Besides topics such as friendship, silence and longing for the addressee's answer, Gregoras' letters also reflect his scientific, philosophical and theological interests, his polemical involvement in the so-called 'Hesychast controversy', and his role in contemporary events such as embassies and debates. It is worth mentioning that many letters include long verbatim quotations from his *Historia Rhōmaikē*.

Gregoras refers to the Turks in three letters, nos 12, 40 and 107 (ed. Leone). In all three cases they are traditionally called 'Persians'. Letters 12 and 107 discuss military encounters between Turks and Byzantines, while Letter 40 compares Caucasian and Constantinopolitan scientific practices, with special reference to astronomy.

Letter 12 comments on the efficiency of the Turkish army, which easily subdues all who rise against it. Letter 107 says that the Turkish fleet is invincible, and goes on to enumerate atrocious acts of violence the army has committed, such as pillaging and enslaving the local people, and praises the successful repulsion by Alexius Philanthropenus of a Turkish attack on Lesbos. Letter 40 speaks of the extreme ignorance of certain Caucasians (named 'Persians from the Colchis region' in *Historia* 9.11), who claim to possess the 'knowledge of the Persians and Chaldeans', i.e. astronomy.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Gregoras' letters do not express any particular attitude about the enemy's religious views. References to the Turks mention only their military prowess and the ferocity of their soldiers, or their ignorance in scientific matters.

## MANUSCRIPTS

For a complete list and full description of the extant manuscripts of Gregoras' letter collection, see *Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae*, ed. Leone, pp. 17-194.

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

*Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae*, ed. P.L.M. Leone, Martino, 1982

*Correspondance de Nicéphore Grégoras*, ed. R. Guiland, Paris, 1927

S. Bezdechi, 'Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae XC', *Ephemeris Dacoromana* 2 (1924) 239-376

## STUDIES

D. Manolova, 'Astronomy as battlefield? Nikephoros Gregoras, Barlaam of Calabria and the calculation of the sun eclipse', *Archiv za srednovekovna filozofija i kultura /Archiv für mittelalterliche Philosophie und Kultur* 16 (2010) 118-31

H.-V. Beyer, art. 'Philantrōpēnos, Alexios Doukas', in *PLP*

P.L.M. Leone, 'Per l'edizione critica dell'epistolario di Niceforo Gregora', *Byzantion* 46 (1976) 13-47

G. Moravcsik (ed.), *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 vols, Berlin, 1958, i, pp. 450-53

R. Guiland, *Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras. L'homme et l'œuvre*, Paris, 1926

Olof Heilo

### *Historia Rhōmaikē*, 'Roman history'

DATE 1337/1346-c. 1360

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

In accordance with the image of a Palaeologan 'Renaissance man', Gregoras was a prolific writer on a vast range of subjects. His main historical work is the *Historia Rhōmaikē*, which describes the fate of the Byzantine Empire after 1204. Its general emphasis centers on the lifetime of the author and the Hesychast controversy in particular, and is expanded

with details that were brought to Gregoras during his house arrest by his pupil, Agathangelus. Among the latter are descriptions of Syria and Cilicia, where a 'foreign cult' (*threskeia*) engulfed the Christians (24.9), and of the court of John Cantacuzenus in Constantinople, where Şūfi ceremonies allegedly attracted churchgoers, who preferred to hear 'the hymns of Moamed' and the music of the 'infidels' (28.40). Agathangelus is also the source for the story of how Gregory Palamas was taken captive and abused by Turkish pirates, who burnt his books but left the Psalms and the Gospels untouched, 'since the Ismaelites consider both David and Christ as their own prophets' (29.6-8).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Gregoras refers to Muslim peoples as Turks, Persians and Scythians (Mongols), or simply Barbarians in a non-dogmatic sense. As secondary actors in his historical play, Muslims figure either as infidels along with Jews and Hesychasts, or as God's scourge for the sins of the latter and of humanity in general. Gregoras thus conforms to the earlier Byzantine attitude of regarding Muslims as worldly but not spiritual enemies, displaying little more than superficial interest in Islam as a religion. It might be worth adding that the details about Muslim practices and beliefs are actually put into the mouth of Gregoras's pupil, Agathangelus.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

For a list and full description of the manuscripts see van Dieten, *Entstehung und Überlieferung der Historia Rhomaike*, pp. 30-60.

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- Nikephoros Gregoras' Rhomäische Geschichte*, ed. and (German) trans. J.L. van Dieten and F. Tinnefeld, Stuttgart, 1973-2007  
*Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina historia, chs 1-11*, ed. H. Wolf, Basel, 1562; continued by J. Boivin, 1702; re-edited by L. Schopen, 1828-30; completed by I. Bekker, 1855

#### STUDIES

- J.L. van Dieten, *Entstehung und Überlieferung der Historia Rhomaike des Nikephoros Gregoras*, Cologne, 1978  
 G. Fatouros, 'Ein Testimonienapparat zu Nikephoros Gregoras' *Byzantina Historia*, *Byzantine Studies* 1 (1974) 107-46



# Ibn al-Durayhim

Tāj al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Futūḥ al-Tha‘labī (or al-Taghlibī) al-Shāfi‘ī al-Mawṣilī, known as Ibn al-Durayhim

DATE OF BIRTH 1312  
PLACE OF BIRTH Mosul  
DATE OF DEATH Approximately 1360-61  
PLACE OF DEATH Qūṣ, Egypt

## BIOGRAPHY

Ibn al-Durayhim was a noted 14<sup>th</sup>-century Sunnī scholar, merchant, and official. The patronymic by which he is known refers to the sobriquet of his seventh-generation ancestor (Sa‘īd). Born in Mosul in 1312, he was educated there in the qur’anic sciences, Hadith, Arabic grammar, Shāfi‘ī *fiqh*, and the other normal disciplines of the day. Ibn al-Durayhim’s father had died very early in his son’s life, leaving a large fortune that was confiscated by local authorities and for the most part lost to him. After recovering a small portion of his inheritance, by the judicious investment of which he prospered in trade, he came to Egypt for the first time in about 1332. In Cairo, he moved among leading emirs before becoming a favorite of the Sultan al-Kāmil Sha‘bān (r. 1345-46). Al-Kāmil’s successor al-Muẓaffar Ḥājji (r. 1346-47) turned against him, however, exiling him to Syria. Ibn al-Durayhim would never regain such favor among leading political lights.

Ibn al-Durayhim lived the last 15 years of his life in transition, occasionally involuntary, between Damascus, Aleppo and Cairo, and between minor appointments in religious and state institutions (e.g., the Umayyad Mosque; the office for the redemption of prisoners [*dīwān al-asrā*]) and ever endeavoring to recover assets and belongings that the authorities had taken from him. In 1348, for instance, his house in Damascus was raided and his books taken.

Apart from his official occupations, he was a man of eclectic interests and a prolific author. Among his writings were works of religious polemic, not only the *Manhaj* (below) but also books attacking the *Tawrāh* (entitled *Madāḥiḍ al-ikrāh fī tanāquḍ al-Tawrāh*) and *Injil* (entitled *Ta’rif al-tabdīl fī taḥrīf al-Injil*; see below) and urging the destruction

of synagogues in Cairo (entitled *Naẓm nafā'is 'uqūd al-durar al-zāhira fī hadm kanā'is al-Yahūd bi-Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*). Of these only the titles are known. Yet Ibn al-Durayhim was no crude polemicist. By all accounts a brilliant scholar, he excelled most notably in cryptography and onomancy. He also wrote poetry, exegesis (copiously), and on such matters as the interpretation of elegies, the manners of kings, chess, and the uses of animals. In Ṣafar of 762 AH (December 1360-January 1361), he died in Upper Egypt while en route to Abyssinia as a reluctant emissary of the Mamluk Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (r. 1347-51, 1354-62).

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### Primary

- Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-ʿaṣr wa-a'wān al-naṣr*, ed. 'A. Abū Zayd et al., 6 vols, Beirut, 1998, iii, pp. 521-28 (a detailed and sympathetic account by a personal friend)
- Al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, 30 vols, ed. var., Istanbul, 1931-2008, xxii (ed. R. Baalbaki), pp. 67-69 (less extensive than the preceding)
- Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-durar al-kāmina fī a'yān al-mi'a l-thāmina*, 5 vols, Cairo, 1966, iii, pp. 106-8 (dependent upon al-Ṣafadī)
- Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, 4 vols, Hyderabad, 1979, iii, pp. 143-45 (cites al-Ṣafadī)
- Al-Shawkānī, *Al-badr al-ṭālī*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1930, i, pp. 477 (variant date of death: 766 AH)

#### Secondary

- M. 'Āyish (ed.), *Al-muḥāwara l-ṣalāhiyya fī l-aḥājī l-iṣṭilāhiyya... bayna Ibn al-Durayhim wa-Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī*, Beirut, 2010, pp. 7-13 (from an Escorial MS that includes a long list of Ibn al-Durayhim's works very close to that of al-Ṣafadī)
- J. Sadan, 'What does *Manhaj al-sawāb* 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, pp. 315-30
- 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)*, Cairo, 2006, 75-119, pp. 76, 77, 93, 97-99, 101, 107, 109, 113, 115, 117
- M. Mrayati et al. (eds), *Ibn al-Durayhim's treatise on cryptanalysis*, Riyadh, 2004, pp. 3-6

- A. al-Sharnoubi, *Critical study and edition of Manhaj al-ṣawāb fī qubḥ istiktāb ahl al-kitāb of Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī Ibn Abu al-Fath known as Ibn al-Durayhim*, Lampeter, 2000 (PhD diss. University of Wales Lampeter), pp. 30-35
- C. Bravo-Villasante (ed.), *Libro de la utilidad de los animales*, 2 vols, Madrid, 1990
- K. al-Ziriklī, *Al-a‘lām*, 8 vols, Beirut, 2002<sup>15</sup>, v, p. 6 (the *Manhaj* is not mentioned in some earlier editions)
- Brockelmann, *GAL S ii*, p. 213; *S N ii*, p. 165, no. 4c

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Ta‘rīf al-tabdīl fī taḥrīf al-Injīl*, Intimation about substitution concerning falsification of the Gospel’

DATE Between about 1330 and 1360

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

#### DESCRIPTION

All that is known of this work is its title. It was evidently written to assert the well-known doctrine of *taḥrīf*, the deliberate falsification of pre-qur’anic scripture, in this case of the Gospel by Christians. The term *tabdīl* suggests that it may have laid special emphasis on the notion that the Christians had substituted some words and phrases for others, though *taḥrīf* and *tabdīl* are often used interchangeably.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Nothing about this work or its significance is known.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

#### STUDIES

Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān al-‘aṣr wa-a‘wān al-naṣr*, ed. Abū Zayd et al., iii, p. 527 (mention of the title)

*Manhaj al-ṣawāb fī qubḥ istiktāb ahl al-kitāb*,  
 ‘The right way, on the infamy of employing Jews  
 and Christians as scribes’; *Manhaj al-ṣawāb fī*  
*taḥqīq al-murīd wa-l-murād*, ‘The right way, on  
 the fulfillment of the seeker and the sought’

DATE 1340-60

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

*Manhaj al-ṣawāb* is the most extensive and original of the several pre-modern Arabic works that urge Muslim political elites not to employ non-Muslim officials, particularly Coptic Christians. It runs to 219 pages in the most accessible edition (Kisrawī), 227 in the critical edition (al-Sharnoubi). All eight sections (*abwāb*) into which the work is divided (nine with introduction) bear directly or indirectly on Christian-Muslim relations, most amicable forms of which the author opposes.

In the first *bāb*, the author justifies his book by referring to the solemn obligation of giving pious advice (*naṣīḥa*) to powerful people. The second and longest *bāb* is an exhaustive survey of the qur’anic and exegetical arguments against friendly relations with non-Muslims, and in particular against ceding to them any kind of political authority. The author’s prevailing method is to read the Qur’an as a kind of moral-anthropological expose in which the evils concealed in all non-Muslim hearts and minds can be discovered. In the third *bāb*, some common anti-infidel Hadith and *akhbār* are presented, while the fourth contains discussion of the ‘Pact of ‘Umar’ (q.v.), which the author attempts to relate to the matter of state employment. The fifth to ninth sections are calculated to cultivate the loftier inclinations of the author’s elite audience; they bear less directly on Christians and Jews. They treat, respectively, the proper qualifications of state officials, commanding right and forbidding wrong, the unpleasant effects of oppression, and spiritual inducements to forego such infamies as the employment of Christian scribes.

The ascription of the *Manhaj* to Ibn al-Durayhim is strongly probable rather than certain. The early accounts of his literary oeuvre, notably that of al-Ṣafadī in the *A‘yān*, do not mention the work, while the majority of the manuscripts name no author. One manuscript used by al-Sharnoubi in fact indicates a different author: a Ḥanafī Khalwatī Ṣūfī, who has not been separately identified. On the other hand, several of the manuscripts

do name Ibn al-Durayhim as author (those in Istanbul and Damascus, one in Princeton, though in a later hand, and two in Cairo). In addition, the spirit of the work fits well with the titles of other polemics by Ibn al-Durayhim, and internal evidence indicates that it was composed after about 1260 (it mentions al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Quṭuz's struggle against the Mongols) at a time when the reigning sultan was very young. This evidence matches well enough, though not conclusively, the period of Ibn al-Durayhim's activity in Egypt and Syria after 1340. The work's occasionally scathing and thus dangerous critique of the political authorities is sufficient reason to have issued it anonymously. Sadan and al-Sharnoubi have come down independently in favor of Ibn al-Durayhim's authorship, while El-Leithy, who also supports the ascription, dates the work tentatively to the 1350s.

While no examination has been made of the relation, if any, of the *Manhaj* to other works by Ibn al-Durayhim, it is possible to discern textual overlap between the *Manhaj* and other works on the same topic. A Mālikī fatwa opposing the employment of non-Muslim officials (ed. R. Gottheil, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Verwandte Gebiete* 26 [1912], 203-14), probably from Iraq, contains a short run of text (pp. 210-11) that corresponds to a passage from the *Manhaj* (ed. Kisrawī, pp. 125-28). More noteworthy is the correspondence between a substantial passage in the *Manhaj* (ed. Kisrawī, pp. 146-70) and a section long believed to belong to the *Madhamma* of Ibn al-Naqqāsh (q.v.), having been published long ago as the 'second part' of that work (the section concerned: trans. F.A. Belin, *Journal Asiatique*, 4e sér. 18 [1851], pp. 493-516; ed. Belin, *Journal Asiatique*, 4e sér. 19 [1852], pp. 126-36). It now appears unlikely that this passage in fact belongs to the work of Ibn al-Naqqāsh, but neither can Ibn al-Durayhim be identified confidently as its originator (though it does really belong to the *Manhaj*, unlike the case of the *Madhamma*). Its vaguely Mālikī flavor and points of similarity to the *Sirāj al-mulūk* of al-Ṭurṭūshī (q.v.; ed. Alexandria, 1872, pp. 135-36) suggest a shared source. Further study is needed.

Ibn al-Durayhim was ostensibly moved to write the *Madhamma* by righteous indignation. 'I saw that those in power were ignoring this affliction, and making no effort to do anything about it.' He feared lest God's punishment fall upon the entire community, and resolved 'to remind them of what they have forgotten of the *sharī'a*'. Things were so bad that he felt compelled to write: 'What life could be sweet under such enormities of humiliation? What pleasure could be enjoyed in the face of such a grave matter? Indeed, death in this time is better than a life

of degradation' (ed. Kisrawī, pp. 33-34). Yet, as Sadan and El-Leithy have stressed, it is evident that personal circumstances also played a role. Ibn al-Durayhim was embittered by repeated injustices suffered at the hands of authorities who often drew support from the bureaucratic power of competent and dependent Christian officials. As a sometime bureaucrat, he was in direct competition with Christians for lucrative administrative employment. These factors must be kept in mind when considering the countless proof texts, juristic precedents, and other rhetorical strategies by which Ibn al-Durayhim sought to persuade the sultan and emirs to cease employing Christian and Jewish officials.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

*Manhaj al-ṣawāb* has had relatively little influence upon later audiences. Although many more manuscripts have been identified than for the *Madhamma* of Ibn al-Naqqāsh (q.v.), the latter work has been more widely discussed among both pre-modern Muslims and modern scholars. With the relatively recent completion of two serviceable editions, the *Manhaj* may now be studied more extensively alongside its analogues, which include books by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kātib (q.v.), 'Uthmān al-Nābulusī (q.v.), Ghāzī ibn al-Wāsiṭī (q.v.), and al-Asnawī (q.v.), and in the context of Ibn al-Durayhim's life and works. The fact that Ibn al-Durayhim claims, sincerely as it would seem, that no earlier scholar had authored an independent work on the topic (ed. Kisrawī, p. 38) makes the *Manhaj* especially interesting as a spontaneous response to the same sociopolitical conditions. It is a source for the development of Muslim polemical writing, exegesis, and advice literature in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and in particular for the developing discourse against non-Muslim officials.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

The MS survey of al-Sharnoubi (*Critical study and edition*, pp. 23-28) is the most extensive to date. It names seven MSS, five in Egypt, one in London (BL – Or. 9264, which he judges the best), and one from a private dealer in Morocco, used by Faḍil in his edition. Only two of these are dated, the earlier to 947 AH. Al-Sharnoubi also mentions (p. 23) a MS in Leiden that does not appear in the list, while Ziriklī (or an editor of his *A'lām*) knows of another in Damascus. Also absent: two MSS in Istanbul (Enderūn Kütüphanesi 1404=Ahmet III 1404, copied 921 AH, and Millet Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah Efendi Collection 34 Fe 1277, copied 812 AH) and two at Princeton University (Princeton – Garrett 909Y and 933H). The last bears the title *Manhaj al-ṣawāb fī taḥqīq al-murīd wa-l-murād*, which is probably

a copyist's erroneous conjecture. Neither Princeton MS is dated; if the cataloguers are correct in estimating that they are from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries (respectively), they are among the earliest witnesses.

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- S. Kisrawī, Beirut, 2002, pp. 31-250 (from the Istanbul MS; published with the *Madhamma* of Ibn al-Naqqāsh)
- Al-Sharnoubi, *Critical study and edition of Manhaj al-ṣawāb fī qubḥ istiktāb ahl al-kitāb*, edition (separate pagination) pp. 1-227 (critical edition of MSS in Egypt and the UK, lacking those in Istanbul, Damascus, and Princeton)
- D.A. Fāḍil, Beirut, 1982 (based on an abridged MS in private hands, misascribed)

#### STUDIES

- J. Sadan, 'What does *Manhaj al-ṣawāb* want from the Jews?'
- El-Leithy, 'Sufis, Copts, and the politics of piety', pp. 76, 77, 93, 97-99, 101, 107, 109, 113, 115, 117
- Al-Sharnoubi, *Critical study and edition*, pp. 3-198
- J. Sadan, 'The "Latrines decree" in the Yemen versus the Dhimma principles', in J. Platvoet and K. van der Toorn (eds), *Pluralism and identity. Studies in ritual behaviour*, Leiden, 1995, 167-85, pp. 172-74
- D.S. Richards, 'The Coptic bureaucracy under the Mamluks', in *Colloque International sur l'histoire du Caire*, Cairo, 1972, 373-81, pp. 377, 380-81
- M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 102 (from Ḥajjī Khalīfa)
- Ḥajjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn 'an asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn*, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1941-43, ii, col. 1882 (no author indicated)

Luke Yarbrough

## Memorial of the holy martyr Theodore the Younger

*Mnēmē tou hagiou martyros Theodōrou tou neou,*  
'Memorial of the holy martyr Theodore the  
Younger'

DATE Latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, probably before 1362

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

### DESCRIPTION

Theodore was born in Adrianople when it was still under Byzantine control (thus before 1362), and was taken prisoner as a child during a Turkish raid. A probable identification seems to be the raid of 1344/45, when Sultan Orhan's troops intervened in the second civil war on John VI Cantacuzenus's side, and pillaged large parts of Thrace. He was taken to Malagina/Melagina (Bithynia), where he became a Muslim and was circumcised. He became doubtful about Islam as he grew up, and he eventually decided to return to Christianity. One day, he communicated his wish to a priest, who offered him two solutions, either to make a public confession of Christianity, or to travel to Constantinople to converse with the patriarch (who is not named). He chose the latter, and received the patriarch's advice to return to Malagina, armed with nothing but prayers.

Back there he became a shepherd near a lake (probably today's Çerkeşli Göleti between Malagina and Nicea), and kept his Christianity a secret. Shortly afterwards, however, he was betrayed by a Muslim who knew him, and was brought before a qadi. The judge offered him money, land, property, clothes, beautiful women and even a post of doctrinal authority in return for his renunciation of Christianity, but Theodore refused, and he was burnt at the stake. His remains were placed in a church in the city, and there they brought about miracles of light.

The *Life* was probably written before 1362, because the fall of Adrianople to the Ottomans remains unmentioned. Therefore, the events described must have taken place within a short period of time, as the *Life* itself indicates.



## SIGNIFICANCE

The *Life* gives insight into the common situation of apostates from Islam in early Ottoman times. In Theodore's case, the *Life* suggests that he is admired for his theological knowledge by the Muslim population – knowledge that could be shared in case of his return to Islam – in spite of his temporary shift to Christianity.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Athens, Ethnikē Bibliothēkē – 2118, fols 149r-157v (14<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> centuries)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

N. Oikonomidēs, 'Akolouthia tou Hagiou Theodōrou tou neou', *Neon Athēnaion* 1 (1955) 205-21 (edition)

## STUDIES

J. Pahlitzsch, 'Byzantine saints in Turkish captivity in 14<sup>th</sup>-century Anatolia', in G. Christ (ed.), *Union in separation. Trading diasporas in the eastern Mediterranean (1200-1700)* (forthcoming)

E.A. Zacharidou, 'The Neomartyr's message', *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikōn Spoudōn* 8 (1990/91) 59-60

S. Salaville, 'Pour un répertoire des néo-saints de l'église orientale', *Byzantion* 20 (1950) 223-37

Max Ritter

# John Mandeville

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

## BIOGRAPHY

John Mandeville is the name used by the still unlocated author of a widely circulated and much translated compilation about the biblical and marvelous East. The compilation was probably made in the late 1350s and is best known nowadays by its misleading editorial title, *Mandeville's travels*. According to the work's opening and closing perorations, John Mandeville was a knight, born in St Albans, England, who went overseas on 29 September 1322 before returning to 'our countries' 34 years later in 1356, whereupon, in his gouty old age, he composed his book from memory. (The dates of the years sometimes vary in the extant manuscripts due to miscopying of Roman numerals.) As 19<sup>th</sup>-century scholars discovered, however, 'Sir John's' self-styled memoir was in fact rewritten from the records of genuine travellers (two in particular) and supplemented by other sources such as encyclopedias and histories. Moreover, since the author claims as his own some of his sources' deeds (e.g., he writes himself into Odoric of Pordenone's [q.v.] harrowing passage through a haunted valley) and since some other claims are patently false (e.g., he could not have served the Great 'Chan' in his wars against the King of Mancy because those wars took place in the 13<sup>th</sup> century), it is uncertain whether even a single one of the text's autobiographical claims is true. Compounding the uncertainty is the fact that no appropriate John Mandeville has ever been found in any archive, despite diligent scholarly searches. Lack of evidence does not necessarily confirm the non-existence of an actual John Mandeville, of course, but it is reasonable to wonder whether the name is not rather a pseudonym meant to conceal the author's imposture.

Unable to find a suitable John Mandeville anywhere, scholars since the 19<sup>th</sup> century have proposed three other candidates for the work's authorship: John of Bourgogne, John of Outremeuse, and Long John of Ypres. The first two Johns are associated with the Liège textual tradition,

which claims that the work was originally composed in Liège, and names both real places and real persons (discussed below, the Interpolated Continental Version was likely made in Liège). The name John of Bourgogne is associated with a lapidary and a plague treatise and therefore with sufficient learning to be responsible for the original compilation, but the tenuous evidence for his authorship mostly comes from the unreliable John of Outremeuse (1338-1400), a Liège historian best known for his verse *Geste de Liège* ('Deeds of Liège') and his prose *Myreur des histors* ('Mirror of histories'). Both chronology and textual history make the authorship of either figure highly unlikely, moreover, since the Interpolated Continental Version probably dates from around 1390 (about 30 years after the presumed authorial original) and it is clearly not authorial. John of Outremeuse may well have been responsible for the Liège redaction, however, since it contains many interpolations devoted to his hero, Ogier the Dane. More recently, Long John of Ypres (d. 1383), monk at the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer, has been proposed as the author, largely because he was the French translator of the *Mandeville* author's main sources, William of Boldensele and Odoric of Pordenone. This proposal is not implausible, but it remains conjectural, and there is no compelling reason to attribute an imaginative forgery to someone who was merely a competent translator.

In short, there is no reliable evidence to allow scholars either to name or locate the *Mandeville* author with any certainty. The likely date of his book and its early textual history suggest that the author was probably working in the English or French territories affected in the 1350s by the Hundred Years' War, but beyond that one can only make more or less well-informed guesses. What remains is the author's French work in its Insular and Continental forms (it is not clear which is more likely to be authorial) and the interpretative inferences that one can make from it. One reasonable inference, for example, is that, whether or not the author was a knight, as he claims and as he may perhaps have been, he seems to have had some clerical training, for in more than 50 citations he quotes (not always entirely accurately) from some 20 biblical books, especially the Psalms and the Gospels; and he shows a fairly wide knowledge of the Bible. He must also have had access to a well-stocked library, whether monastic or courtly, but the fact that he preferred to work from French translations of his Latin sources suggests that he was either not especially well trained as a cleric or that he did not finish his training.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

C. Deluz (ed.), *Le Livre des merveilles du monde*, Paris, 2000 (critical edition of the Insular Version)

*Secondary*

- M.C. Seymour, 'More thoughts on Mandeville', in E. Bremer and S. Röhl (eds), *Jean de Mandeville in Europa. Neue Perspektiven in der Reiseliteraturforschung*, Munich, 2007, 19-30 (restates case for Long John of Ypres)
- M. Bennett, 'Mandeville's travels and the Anglo-French moment', *Medium Aevum* 75 (2006) 273-92 (attempts to connect author with the court of Edward III)
- M. Tyssens, 'La version liégeoise du *Livre de Jean de Mandeville*', *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, 6<sup>th</sup> ser. 16 (2005) 59-78
- M.C. Seymour, *Sir John Mandeville*, Aldershot, 1993 (proposes Long John of Ypres as the possible author)
- C. Deluz, *Le livre de Jehan de Mandeville. Une 'géographie' au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1988
- A. Goosse, 'Jean d'Outremeuse et Jean de Mandeville', in K. Baldinger (ed.), *Festschrift Walther von Wartburg zum 80. Geburtstag*, 2 vols, Tübingen, 1968, i, 235-50
- R. Lejeune, 'Jean de Mandeville et les Liégeois', in *Mélanges de linguistique romane et de philologie médiévale offerts à Maurice Delbouille*, vol. 2, Gembloux, 1964, 409-37 (best study of the Liège tradition)
- J.W. Bennett, *The rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville*, New York, 1954 (still the most detailed study, although necessarily inconclusive)
- M. Letts, *Sir John Mandeville. The man and his book*, London, 1949 (unreliable in places)

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Le livre de Jehan de Mandeville; Mandeville; Le Livre des merveilles; 'The book of John Mandeville'; 'Mandeville's travels'; 'The travels of Sir John Mandeville'*

DATE Unknown; after 1351 and before 1371 (the work dates itself to 1356 or 1357)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old French

## DESCRIPTION

A widely-circulated and much-translated guide to the East, *The book of John Mandeville* is a lengthy prose compilation that falsely passes itself off as a work of memory based on the personal experience of three-and-half decades of travel (1322-56) by a knight born and raised in St Albans, England. Drawing on some two dozen sources and consulting about another ten, the still-unlocated author used two texts in particular as the templates for his work: the *Liber de quibusdam ultramarinis partibus* ('Book of certain regions beyond the Mediterranean') composed in 1336 by the German Dominican William of Boldensele, and the *Relatio* ('Account') dictated in 1330 by the Franciscan Odoric of Pordenone. William's tidy, intelligent, informative, and sometimes self-promoting memoir records his pilgrimage in 1332 to the Holy Land and Egypt, while Odoric's less well organized and more credulous account gathers together what he could remember of his missionary journey to India and China in the 1320s. Consulting the Latin originals, but working mostly from the French translations made in 1351 by Long John of Ypres, monk of Saint Bertin in Saint Omer, the *Mandeville* author spliced these two memoirs together, Odoric's after William's, to create his idiosyncratic guide to both the biblical and the marvelous East. As he did so, he turned their first-person, past-tense itineraries ('I went', 'I saw') into an impersonal third-person itinerary in the present tense ('one goes', 'one sees') that can be followed vicariously or actually by any reader or hearer. Sometimes omitting or rearranging material, the author supplemented the resulting extended itinerary with so much additional information and so many inset narratives adapted from the other sources that his work is about 50 per cent longer than the two main sources combined. (It takes up between 150 and 200 pages in most modern editions.)

Its original title is unknown. No authorial copy of the work is known to have survived and the extant French manuscripts are variously designated. Some have no title whatsoever, others vary from 'Maundeville' to 'Le livre de Jehan de Mandeville'. The latter neutrally and accurately describes the work, unlike the potentially misleading modern title (see below), which dates from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. There is the same uncertainty with its date. The work dates itself to 1356 or 1357 (variation due to mis-copying of Roman numerals), which accords with the external evidence of dating: after 1351 (when the two main sources were translated into French by Long John of Ypres) and before 1371 (when the first dated copy was made: BNF nouv. acq. fr. 4515, whose somewhat faulty text suggests that several intermediaries lie between it and the postulated original).

The composite itinerary begins in 'the regions of the West' (named as 'England, Ireland, Wales, Scotland, or Norway'), arrives briskly at Constantinople, its first major stop, then moves through the eastern Mediterranean islands to Egypt and the Holy Land, before proceeding farther east through India, Cathay, and Prester John's Land. Besides Prester John's Land, *The book* describes several other places, including Amazonia and the Earthly Paradise, now likewise considered mythical but which were believed to exist by many medieval writers. Into this vicarious tour of the actual and mythical eastern world, the *Mandeville* author occasionally inserts mentions of his 'own' deeds. These include his military service under the Sultan of Egypt against the Bedouins and under the Great Khan of Cathay (China) against the King of Manzi; such service was possible, if unlikely, under the sultan but impossible under the khan, since the war in question took place in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Given that its self-presentation as a memoir is false and that some of its author's claims about his activities are also false, *The book* clearly cannot be used as a source of reliable information about its author's life or deeds. Whatever the extent of his own travels (he may have travelled, but there is no reliable evidence for this), his 'memoir' is a forgery and the work a compilation. Nevertheless, and despite the presence of legendary material drawn from such sources as the forged *Littera Presbyteris Johannis* ('Letter of Prester John') from the 1160s, and the Alexander romances (both considered historical by many medieval readers), *The book's* itinerary is reasonably accurate and its copious information about the eastern world is generally quite reliable by the standards of its day. Not only did the *Mandeville* author adapt two genuine travel memoirs, but he also drew mostly on credible sources, including the 13<sup>th</sup>-century encyclopedias of Vincent of Beauvais (q.v.) and Brunetto Latini, and Hayton of Armenia's *Flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient* ('Flower of the histories of the land of the east') of 1307. Since *The book* usually agrees with the standard authorities, it is thus easy to understand why readers took it at its word for centuries.

In initially presenting his 'memoir' to readers and hearers, the *Mandeville* author states that he should have composed it in Latin to be more concise, but that he set his recollections down in French to reach a wider audience: he claims to write for 'everybody' but appeals as a knight to other courtiers to endorse or correct his 'recollections' as necessary. Given that many of *The book's* sources began life in Latin, the author's gesture towards its authority is well enough founded, but his overt choice of French aligns the work with the courtly world as well as the increasingly-frequent later-medieval practice of bringing Latin

learning and its concerns into the vernacular. The extant French manuscripts contain three versions of *The book*, generally known as the Insular, Continental, and Interpolated Continental (or Liège, or Ogier) Versions. The third of these, the Interpolated Continental Version, which probably dates from about 1390 and survives in seven manuscripts, is clearly not authorial. It differs in at least six significant respects from the other two versions, most strikingly through a series of interpolations celebrating the eastern exploits of Charlemagne's legendary peer, Ogier the Dane, better known from the legends associated with the Frankish ruler, as in the famous *Chanson de Roland* (q.v.). It is not clear which of the other two versions better represents the lost authorial original, since they differ from each other only in small ways that do not obviously decide the question of their origins and descent. The most important differences between them are that the Continental Version (which survives in some 30 manuscripts) contains a longer account of Sir John's journey through the Perilous Valley and has a different conclusion to the work's discussion of the earth's shape and size from that in the Insular (which survives in some 25 manuscripts, 14 of them in Anglo-French, 11 in Continental dialects). Further complicating matters is the fact that the work's place of origin cannot be decided with certainty, since in the 1350s and 1360s, when *The book of John Mandeville* was likely composed, the events of the Hundred Years' War ensured that there was considerable traffic of books and people between England and northern France. It is thus possible that a French-speaking English author (either a knight or a cleric) could have composed the work in England or on the Continent, but conversely so could someone from the French-speaking regions of north-western Europe. The complexity and uncertainty of the textual and biographical evidence are such that the work's two leading textual scholars differ entirely in their claims about the work's origins and authorship. The Continental scholar Christiane Deluz prefers an English author and an Insular origin, whereas the Englishman M.C. Seymour favors a Continental author and origin alike, even suggesting (not especially plausibly) that the translator of the main sources, the Benedictine monk Long John of Ypres, was also the author.

Whatever the author's nationality and occupation (knight or cleric or...?), and wherever he compiled his 'memoir', one thing is certain: he insists that he is writing for 'everyone' and thus invokes his audience throughout as fellow Latin Christians. Indeed, even before the author (or his textual stand-in) names himself, the work begins with elaborate praise of the Holy Land, Jesus Christ and Mary, accompanied by dispraise of the 'cruel Jews' for harming Christ, of the 'miscreants' and 'foreigners'

(Muslims are meant in both cases) for taking the Promised Land away from its 'true heirs', and of Latin Christian lords for letting it happen by trying to disinherit one another instead. This overtly pro-crusading rhetoric does not color the work beyond the Prologue, however, even in the account of the Holy Land, as the *Mandeville* author adopts a more neutral tone and a more descriptive style once the Prologue has ended. In addition, the work tends to call more overt attention to Christian reform than to Christian re-expansion, even as (or though) it usually links the two. Indeed, Latin Christian moral failings are often criticized with reference to the greater piety and devotion of those who lack the one true faith. Still, the work never drops its initial concern with ultimately recovering the Holy Land, and several times it prophesies its restoration if only Latin Christians will reform themselves. Such prophecies are even placed in the mouths of non-Christians, especially those whose devotion is depicted as morally superior to that of Latin Christians. Alongside this rhetorically quiet but persistent Christian triumphalism and the critique of Latin Christian practice, the book devotes considerable space to what it calls 'customs, manners, and diversities', including those of religion, starting with sectarian forms of Christianity. Unsystematically and at varying length, it offers a kind of ethnography of the world beyond Latin Christendom, beginning in Constantinople with Greek Christianity. Added to these discussions of religious difference are accounts of natural history, geography, and cultural and natural wonders, as well as several tall tales. Only the religious beliefs and practices of the Jews, who are maligned throughout the work in a manner distinctly at odds with the author's relatively open-minded presentation of sectarian Christian and non-Christian differences, receive no attention. Most religions and peoples are described relatively briefly, but a few are presented at length, including the Greek Christianity present in Constantinople. Other sects and groups include the Christians of India and Prester John's Land, as well as the Mongols of Cathay and the Muslims of the Levant. This last group are always called 'Saracens'. Saracen beliefs and practices receive more attention in the work than those of any other sect or religion, including Greek Christianity.

*The book* offers its account of Islam mostly in one extended excursus, which is placed between the end of its description of the Holy Land and its turn further East. Prior to that, however, in the account of Egypt and the Holy Land, it makes various shorter references to Saracens and the Islamic world, some neutral, some negative, some positive. The focus in the pilgrims' guide is typically on the biblical past, Christian history, and current Latin Christian devotional concerns, but the text often notes that



a particular site once held by the crusaders has since been subject to Saracen reconquest or destruction. These allusions to Christian territorial loss are the most prominent signs of the *Mandeville* author's interest in the *contemporary* Holy Land, and they are, surprisingly (given the Prologue's rhetorical stance), largely neutral in tone. The claim, for example, that 'pagans and Saracens' whitewashed the Christian images from a church in Alexandria is merely descriptive; no overt condemnation is made. Some of the negative references are likewise unexpected, such as the claim that the Saracens adulterate the balm produced in Cairo in order to deceive Christians. One would expect religious practices to be viewed more negatively than commercial ones (which are perhaps being used metonymically to discredit all Saracen practices). Some passages, moreover, almost take a 'Saracen' point of view. The revered Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron, for example, is said to be off limits to Christians and Jews because the Saracens regard them 'as dogs'. Indeed, Saracen devotion in such places is shown to be exemplary even as Islam itself is criticized. The *Mandeville* author notes, for example, that he and his companions followed the Saracen practice of removing their shoes on entering the *Templum Domini* (Dome of the Rock), since 'we ought to behave much better than the misbelievers'. This sort of criticism, first made in the opening reference to the Saracens as 'miscreants', is doled out piecemeal, mixed with the more neutral or even positive descriptive comments. If the Saracens are the enemy here, they are not quite a two-dimensional enemy. On one occasion, that of the account of the Oak of Mamre near Hebron, the author refers to prophecies of Saracen and Jewish conversion to Christianity, turning to his theme of ultimate Latin Christian triumph. Only a couple of these smaller references to Saracens and Islam concern actual beliefs or practices, such as the prohibitions on drinking alcohol and eating pork; for, as in the case of Greek Christianity, the *Mandeville* author saves his comprehensive account until he moves from one major geo-political region to another.

The *Mandeville* author took some of his information on Islam and the Islamic world from William of Boldensele's *Liber* (which is aggressively hostile to Islam, especially in William's original Latin) and other pilgrimage writings, but his main source, particularly in the separate section devoted to Islam, was the late-13<sup>th</sup>-century *Tractatus de statu Saracenorum* ('Treatise on the state of the Saracens') traditionally attributed to William of Tripoli (q.v.). These sources are supplemented by Hayton's *Flor*, Vincent of Beauvais' (q.v.) *Speculum historiale*, and Jacques de Vitry's (q.v.) *Historia orientalis* (Book 3, regarded by some scholars as an unauthorial supplement). None of the sources is mentioned, however, since

the fiction of *The book* is that its ostensible author, an English knight, acquired his knowledge first-hand. In the account of Egypt, for instance, he claims, to have been offered a noble marriage and great inheritances for his military service to the sultan against the Bedouins, if only he renounced his Christian faith – thus presenting himself as an ideal intermediary, a kind of participant-observer in enemy territory who has not gone over to the enemy. In introducing his account of Islam, moreover, he makes a still bolder claim: that he has ‘often read and seen’ the Qur’an (called Alkoran here). And later in this same account he recalls a private audience he had with the sultan on the subject of Saracen versus Christian adherence to their respective religious teachings. Like his earlier claim of service to the sultan, these two ‘insider’ claims are plausible but unlikely, especially the one about reading the Qur’an, given the *Mandeville* author’s demonstrable dependence on western sources: even if he had looked at one of the two available Latin translations of the Qur’an, his information comes from the *Tractatus*’ account of it.

When he begins to explain Islam to his fellow Latin Christians, he claims merely to be passing on qur’anic teachings, but in fact, while drawing selectively on the *Tractatus*, he focuses on matters of particular interest to his Christian audience: Saracen belief that the good will go to Paradise and the bad to Hell; the sensory and sensual pleasures of Paradise; belief in the Virgin Mary and Jesus; the nature of Mary’s trials as a young mother; belief in Judgment Day; Jesus’s excellence as a prophet and his miracles; veneration of the Gospels; the observance of Ramadan (not named as such); the wickedness of the Jews; belief in a substitute crucifixion (Judas Iscariot instead of Jesus); and belief in salvation through right belief. Such beliefs, the *Mandeville* author pauses to note, make Saracens so close to Christians in belief that they are easily converted by preaching, the more so as they know by their own prophecies that ‘Machomet’s’ law will fail, just as the Jews’ law did, and that the Christian law will ultimately triumph. These claims made (claims borrowed from the *Tractatus*), the *Mandeville* author returns to his survey of Saracen beliefs and practices: the number of wives and concubines allowed; refusal to believe in the Trinity; belief in the power of God’s word and Jesus as God’s Word, and in Jesus as the greatest prophet. This return to an earlier point allows the author to reiterate the ease with which Saracens can supposedly be converted, despite their limited understanding of (Christian) scripture, which, like the Jews, they grasp only literally.

Mention of the Jews here gives the *Mandeville* author an opportunity to restate the supposed Saracen belief in Jewish wickedness, but

now accompanied by the same belief about Christians: just as the Jews fail to follow Moses' teachings, the Saracens are made to say, Christians fail to follow Jesus' teachings. In thus turning from belief to practice, the author turns away from supposedly qur'anic teachings and invokes the authority of the Sultan of Egypt. Here he tells a tale of how the sultan summoned him for a private audience in order to deliver the bad news about Christian moral failings – and the good news about universal Christian triumph after moral reform. In an exchange almost certainly adapted from Caesarius of Heisterbach's 13<sup>th</sup>-century *Dialogus miraculorum* ('Dialogue of miracles'), book 4, ch. 15, the English knight replies 'well' to the sultan's question about how Christians behave in their own countries, only to be blasted with a homily insisting on the opposite: that all Christians, from priests to commoners, fail to imitate Jesus and instead indulge themselves in sins of every sort. That, says the sultan, is why God has allowed the Saracens to take the Holy Land – but he will restore it to the Christians when they reform themselves morally. Stunned, the knight asks the sultan how he knows this and is introduced to French-speaking Saracen spies who, disguised as merchants, have found the Christians out. The *Mandeville* author here acknowledges the scandal that the misbelieving Saracens keep their mistaken law better than Christians, in that they actually do what the Qur'an teaches.

Mention of the holy book leads to mention of its intermediary, 'Machomet', whose life is briefly narrated from the version of it given in the *Tractatus*. The *Mandeville* author makes a number of notable changes to his source, however. Machomet is said to be the protégé of a 'worthy hermit', for example, a figure explicitly named in the *Tractatus* as the Christian monk Baḥīrā, and no reasons are given for his becoming 'wise and rich and . . . a great astronomer' as well as 'governor' of the Prince of Khorosan's land, whereas in the *Tractatus* he achieves success through his hard work for another protector, this time a rich merchant, as well as through his religious devotion. These qualities, according to the *Tractatus*, account for his political success, which is not even mentioned in *The book*. Rather, it offers an account of an epileptic Machomet, whose 'falling sickness' makes Khadija regret her marriage to him until he tells her that he was in fact falling down in response to 'Saint Gabriel's' visits, being overwhelmed each time by the angel's brightness. The *Mandeville* author follows his source in concluding with the legend of Machomet's being tricked into believing that he has slain his murdered teacher Baḥīrā (unnamed in *The book*) in his drunkenness and thus cursing wine – the supposed reason why Saracens do not drink it. But whereas the *Tractatus*

uses Baḥīrā's death to explain that Machomet's troops then lost their discipline, *The book* discusses what devout Saracens drink instead of wine and concludes by quoting the *shahāda*, explaining it as the words by which apostate Christians are received into Islam. The entire account of Islam concludes with a mention of the Arabic alphabet, after which *The book* moves on to its account of the world farther east, an account in which Islam has no place.

Near the very end of the work, however, immediately after the account of Prester John's ideal Christian kingdom, the Mandeville author tells the story of 'Gathalonabez', who built, within the walls of his mountain castle on the island of 'Milstorak', a kind of paradisaal pleasure garden, where he tricked young men into killing his enemies for him. Behind this story, of course, lies a version of the Assassins legend, itself a distorted picture of the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs, a sect born in the 1090s from dynastic strife amongst the Shī'ī Fāṭimids in North Africa, who used assassination as a political weapon. Like his source (Odoric of Pordenone) and unlike Marco Polo (q.v.) (who also relates a version of the legend), the *Mandeville* author does not explicitly locate the events within the Islamic domain. Any Islamic connection would have to be made by a reader who recognized the old man's paradise to be highly reminiscent of the Muslim Paradise already mentioned in chapter 15.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

*The book of John Mandeville* was translated, both directly and indirectly, into almost all the languages of Latin Christendom (Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, German, Irish, Italian and Spanish, as well as Latin). It was so popular that some 300 manuscripts are still extant, and after the 1490s it was printed in all its languages except Danish and Irish. For these reasons, its portraits of Islam and Muḥammad circulated throughout the entire Latin Christian world from the later 14<sup>th</sup> until at least the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. Probably no other medieval account of Christian-Muslim relations was as well known in that 200-year period. *The book's* portraits sometimes changed in transmission, however, and this is an important element of *The book* and its influence that remains to be studied properly. Sometimes material was left out, simplifying the portraits, but in at least one version (the internationally circulated Vulgate Latin translation, a radical redaction of the Liège Version) the *Mandeville* author's relatively open-minded attitude towards (non-Jewish) religious difference is considerably altered in favor of a hard Christian orthodoxy. The Vulgate Latin Version, Otto von Diemerungen's German refashioning of

the Liège Version, Michel Velsler's German translation of the Continental Version, the Middle English Defective Version (a translation of the Insular Version characterized by an especially faulty text), and the Continental and Insular Versions themselves, were all especially widely circulated. Any assessment of *The book's* influence, then, must take account of its textual history, examining its depiction of Islam and Muḥammad in relation to its transmission from a presumed authorial original, whose traces remain in the Continental and Insular French texts.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

Including fragments and excerpts, *The book of John Mandeville* is represented by some 300 manuscripts in more than ten languages. Roughly 60 of these copies represent the original French text, which, as noted above, exists in three separate versions. Continental and Insular, one of which likely best represents the authorial original, survive in some 30 and 25 manuscripts respectively. For a complete list of manuscripts in the various languages, see Seymour, *Sir John Mandeville*, pp. 38-49, supplemented for the Insular Version by Deluz, *Le livre des merveilles du monde*, pp. 36-58.

MS BNF – nouv. acq. fr. 4515 (Continental), from 1371, is the oldest dated copy in any language.

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- A. Bale, *John Mandeville. Book of marvels and travels*, Oxford, 2012 (trans. of the English Defective Version supplemented with material from the Insular Version)
- M.M. Rodríguez Temperley, *Juan de Mandevilla. Libro de las maravillas del mundo y del Viaje de la Tierra Sancta de Jerusalem (impresos castellanos del siglo XVI) (Serie Ediciones Críticas 6)*, Buenos Aires, 2011 (edition of Spanish trans. from early prints)
- I.M. Higgins, *The book of John Mandeville with related texts*, Indianapolis IN, 2011 (trans. of the Insular Version and excerpts from Continental and Interpolated Continental and select sources)
- T. Kohanski and C.D. Benson, *The book of John Mandeville (TEAMS Middle English Text Series)*, Kalamazoo MI, 2007 (edition of the Middle English Defective Version)
- C.W.R.D. Moseley, *The travels of Sir John Mandeville*, Harmondsworth UK, 1983, 2005<sup>2</sup> (trans. of the Middle English Egerton Version)
- M.M. Rodríguez Temperley, *Libro de las maravillas del mundo (Ms. Esc. M-III-7). Edición crítica, estudio preliminar y notas (Incipit ediciones críticas 3)*, Buenos Aires, 2005 (edition of a late-14<sup>th</sup>-century Aragonese Spanish trans. of the Continental Version)

- M.C. Seymour, *The defective version of Mandeville's travels* (*Early English Text Society*, original series 319), Oxford, 2002 (edition of the Middle English Defective Version)
- T. Kohanski, *The book of John Mandeville. An edition of the Pynson text with commentary on the defective version* (*Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 231), Tempe Az, 2001 (edition of the Middle English Defective Version)
- C. Deluz, *Le livre des merveilles du monde*, Paris, 2000 (critical edition of the Insular, thus currently the preferred source text for any scholarly discussion)
- C. Deluz, 'Le livre de messire Jean de Mandeville', in D. Régnier-Bohler (ed.), *Croisades et pèlerinages. Récits, chroniques et voyages en Terre Sainte XII<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1997, 1393-1495 (French trans. of excerpts from the Interpolated Continental Version)
- C. Deluz, *Voyage autour de la terre*, Paris, 1993 (French trans. of the Insular Version)
- E. Bremer and K. Ridder, *Reisen. Reprint der Erstdrucke der deutschen Übersetzungen des Michel Velser (Augsburg, bei Anton Sorg, 1480) und Otto von Diemeringen (Basel, bei Bernhard Richel, 1480/81)* (*Deutsche Volksbücher in Faksimiledrucken*, Reihe A 21), Hildesheim, 1991 (facsimile edition of Michel Velser's and Otto von Diemeringen's German translations)
- G. Santonja, *Libro de las maravillas del mundo* (*Biblioteca de obras raras y curiosas* 3), Madrid, 1984 (reproduction of Spanish edition published in Valencia, 1524; trans. of the Continental)
- E.J. Morrall, *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung in deutscher Übersetzung von Michel Velser nach der Stuttgarter Papierhandschrift Cod. HB V 86* (*Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters* 66), Berlin, 1974 (edition of Michel Velser's German version)
- M.C. Seymour, *The metrical version of Mandeville's travels* (*Early English Text Society*, original series 269), London, 1973 (edition)
- M.C. Seymour, *Mandeville's travels*, Oxford, 1967 (edition of the Middle English Cotton Version)
- E.W. Crosby, *Otto von Diemeringen. A German version of Sir John Mandeville's 'travels'*, Lawrence KA, 1965 (Diss. University of Kansas) (edition)
- R. Hakluyt, *Liber Ioannis Mandevil*, in R. Hakluyt (ed.), *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1589). *A photo-lithographic facsimile* (*Hakluyt Society*, extra series 39), 2 vols, Cambridge, 1965, i, 23-79 (edition of the Vulgate Latin Version)



- M.C. Seymour, *The Bodley version of Mandeville's travels from Bodleian MS. e Musaeo 116 with parallel extracts from the Latin text of British Museum MS. Royal 13 E. ix* (Early English Text Society, original series 253), London, 1963 (edition of the Middle English abridgment known as the Bodley Version)
- F. Simek, *Cestopis tzv. Mandevilla (Zivá Díla Minulosti 32)*, Prague, 1911, 1963<sup>2</sup> (edition of the Czech Version made from von Diemerings's German)
- M. Letts, *Mandeville's travels. Texts and translations*, 2 vols (Hakluyt Society, 2nd series 101-2), London, 1953 (issued for 1950) (modernized edition of the Middle English Egerton Version; transcription of the 1371 MS of the Continental Version; edition of the Middle English abridgment known as the Bodley Version; trans. of Ogier passages from Otto von Diemerings's German version and the Vulgate Latin Version)
- P. Hamelius, *Mandeville's travels, translated from the French of Jean d'Outremeuse. Edited from MS. Cotton Titus C. XVI, in the British Museum*, 2 vols (Early English Text Society, original series 153-54, issued for 1916), London, 1919-23 (edition of the Middle English Cotton Version)
- S. Martinsson, *Itinerarium orientale. Mandeville's Reisebeschreibung in mittelniederdeutscher Übersetzung*, Lund, 1918 (edition of the Middle-Low-German text of von Diemerings's German Version)
- N.A. Cramer, *De reis van Jan van Mandeville, naar de Middelnederlandsche handschriften en incunabelen*, Leiden, 1908 (edition of the Middle Dutch trans. of the Continental Version)
- Whitley Stokes, 'The Gaelic Maundeville', *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 2 (1898) 1-63, 226-312 (corrigenda, 222-23, 603-4) (edition of the medieval Irish trans. of the Middle English Defective Version)
- G.F. Warner, *The buke of John Maundeuill being the travels of Sir John Mandeville, Knight 1322-56. A hitherto unpublished English version from the unique copy (Egerton MS. 1982) in the British Museum edited together with the [Insular] French text*, Westminster, 1889 (edition of the Middle English Egerton Version)
- M. Lorenzen, *Mandevilles rejse i gammeldansk oversættelse*, Copenhagen, 1882 (edition of the medieval Danish trans. of the Continental Version)

## STUDIES

- S.C. Akbari, *Idols in the east. European representations of Islam and the Orient, 100-1450*, Ithaca NY, 2009

- S. Gaunt, 'Translating the diversity of the Middle Ages. Marco Polo and John Mandeville as "French" writers', *Australian Journal of French Studies* 46 (2009) 235-48
- S.C. Akbari and A. Iannucci (eds), *Marco Polo and the encounter of East and West*, Toronto, 2008
- A.A. Biglieri, 'Jerusalén. De la gran conquista de Ultramar a Pero Tafur', *Corónica. A Journal of Medieval Spanish Language, Literature, and Cultural Studies* 36 (2008) 59-73
- M. Kupfer, "...lectres... plus vrayes". Hebrew script and Jewish witness in the *Mandeville* manuscript of Charles V', *Speculum* 83 (2008) 58-111
- S.M. Yeager, *Jersusalem in medieval narrative*, Cambridge, 2008
- E. Bremer and S. Röhl (eds), *Jean de Mandeville in Europa. Neue Perspektiven in der Reiseliteratureforschung*, Munich, 2007
- M.J. Bennett, 'Mandeville's travels and the Anglo-French moment', *Medium Aevum* 75 (2006) 273-92
- N. Housley, 'Perceptions of crusading in the mid-fourteenth century. The evidence of three texts', *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 36 (2005) 415-33
- M. Tyssens, 'La version liégeoise du *Livre de Jean de Mandeville*', *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, 6<sup>th</sup> ser. 16 (2005) 59-78
- S.C. Akbari, 'The diversity of mankind in *The book of John Mandeville*', in R. Allen (ed.), *Eastward bound. Travel and travellers, 1050-1550*, Manchester, 2004, 156-76
- I.M. Higgins, 'Mandeville', in A.S.G. Edwards (ed.), *A companion to Middle English prose*, Cambridge, 2004, 99-116
- S. Röhl, *Der Livre de Mandeville im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der kontinentalfranzösischen Version*, Munich, 2004
- E.M. Özcan, 'Voyager et comparer. Le rôle du récit de voyage dans la formation de l'esprit comparatiste', *Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi / Journal of the Faculty of Letters* 20 (2003) 33-42
- G. Heng, *Empire of magic. Medieval romance and the politics of cultural fantasy*, New York, 2003, 239-305
- S. Salih, 'Idols and simulacra. Paganity, hybridity and representation in *Mandeville's travels*', in B. Bildhauer and R. Mills (eds), *The monstrous Middle Ages*, Cardiff, 2003, 113-33
- R. Tzanaki, *Mandeville's medieval audiences. A study on the reception of the Book of Sir John Mandeville (1371-1550)*, Aldershot, 2003



- D.B. Leshock, 'Religious geography. Designating Jews and Muslims as foreigners in medieval England', in A. Classen (ed.), *Meeting the foreign in the Middle Ages*, New York, 2002, 202-25
- M. Przybilksi, 'Die Zeichen des Anderen. Die Fremdsprachenalphabet in den "Voyages" des Jean de Mandeville am Beispiel der deutschen Übersetzung Ottos von Diemeringen', *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 37 (2002) 295-320
- S. Sobeci, 'Mandeville's thought of the limit. The discourse of similarity and difference in *The travels of Sir John Mandeville*', *Review of English Studies* 53 (2002) 329-43
- M.M. Rodríguez Temperley, 'Alfabetos, lenguas y gruñidos (o sobre el lenguaje en Juan de Mandevilla)', in L. Funes and J. Luis Moure (eds), *Studia in honorem Germán Orduna*, Alcalá de Henares, 2001, 557-70
- M.M. Rodríguez Temperley, 'Narrar, informar, conquistar. Los Viajes de Juan de Mandevilla en Aragon', *Studia Neophilologica. A Journal of Germanic and Romance Languages and Literature* 73 (2001) 184-96
- J. Kaliszuk, 'Recepcja *Podróży* Johna Mandeville w polsce późnego średniowiecza i u progu czasów nowożytnych [The Reception of John Mandeville's *Travels* in late-medieval and early-modern Poland]', *Przegląd Historyczny* 89 (1998) 343-59
- E. Seebold, 'Mandevilles Alphabet und die mittelalterlichen Alphabetsammlungen', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 120 (1998) 435-49
- B. Braude, 'The sons of Noah and the construction of ethnic and geographical identities in the medieval and early modern periods', *William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997) 103-42
- I.M. Higgins, *Writing East. The 'Travels' of Sir John Mandeville*, Philadelphia PA, 1997
- F. Grady, '"Machomete" and *Mandeville's travels*', in J.V. Tolan (ed.), *Medieval Christian perceptions of Islam. A book of essays*, New York, 1996, 271-88
- K. Ridder, 'Übersetzung und Fremderfahrung. Jean de Mandevilles literarische Inszenierung eines Weltbildes und die Lesarten seiner Übersetzer', in J. Heinzle et al. (eds), *Übersetzung im Mittelalter. Cambridge Colloquium*, Berlin, 1996, 231-64
- B. Braude, 'Mandeville's Jews among others', in B.F. LeBeau and M. Mor (eds), *Pilgrims and travellers (Studies in Jewish Civilization 7)*, Omaha NE, 1996, 141-68

- J.R.S. Phillips, 'The quest for Sir John Mandeville', in M.A. Meyer (ed.), *The culture of Christendom. Essays in medieval history in commemoration of Denis L.T. Bethell*, London, 1993, 243-55
- M.C. Seymour, *Sir John Mandeville*, Aldershot, 1993
- R. Lengeler, 'Reisender in Sachen Universalismus. Das Zeugnis von Mandevilles Bibelzitate', in W.-D. Lange (ed.), *Diesseits- und Jenseitsreisen im Mittelalter / Voyages dans l'ici-bas et l'au-delà au moyen âge*, Bonn, 1992, 91-100
- C. Burnett and P.G. Dalché, 'Attitudes towards the Mongols in medieval literature. The XXII kings of Gog and Magog from the court of Frederick II to Jean de Mandeville', *Viator* 22 (1991) 153-67
- S. Greenblatt, *Marvelous possessions. The wonder of the new world*, Chicago IL, 1991
- K. Ridder, *Jean de Mandevilles 'Reisen'. Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der deutschen Übersetzung des Otto von Diemeringen*, Munich, 1991
- M.B. Campbell, *The witness and the other world. Exotic European travel writing, 400-1600*, Ithaca NY, 1988
- C. Deluz, *Le livre de Jehan de Mandeville. Une 'géographie' au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1988
- M. de Riquer, 'El "Voyage" de Sir John Mandeville en català', in A. Manent et al. (eds), *Miscel.lània d'homenatge a Enric Moreu-Rey*, 3 vols, 1988, iii, 151-62
- G.W. Ganser, *Die niederländische Version der Reisebeschreibung Johanns von Mandeville. Untersuchungen zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung*, Amsterdam, 1985
- E.J. Morrall, 'Der Islam und Muhammad im späten Mittelalter. Beobachtungen zu Michel Velsers Mandeville-Übersetzung und Michael Christians Version der "Epistola ad Mahumetum" des Papst Pius II', in C. Gerhardt et al. (eds), *Geschichtsbewusstsein in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Tübingen, 1985, 147-61
- R. Hanna III, art. 'Mandeville', in A.S.G. Edwards (ed.), *Middle English prose. A critical guide to major authors and genres*, New Brunswick NJ, 1984, 121-32
- D.R. Howard, *Writers and pilgrims. Medieval pilgrimage narratives and their posterity*, Berkeley CA, 1980
- J. Muldoon, *Popes, lawyers, and infidels. The Church and the non-Christian world, 1250-1550*, Philadelphia PA, 1979
- M.C. Seymour, 'The Czech version of Mandeville's travels', *Notes and Queries* n.s. 26 (1979) 395-96

- D. Metlitzki, *The matter of Araby in medieval England*, New Haven CT, 1977, 220-39
- S.A.J. Bradley, 'Mandevilles Rejse. Some aspects of its changing role in the later Danish Middle Ages', *Medieval Scandinavia* 9 (1976) 146-63
- C.K. Zacher, *Curiosity and pilgrimage. The literature of discovery in fourteenth-century England*, Baltimore MD, 1976
- C.W.R.D. Moseley, 'The metamorphoses of Sir John Mandeville', *Yearbook of English Studies* 4 (1974) 5-25
- D.R. Howard, 'The world of Mandeville's travels', *Yearbook of English Studies* 1 (1971) 1-17
- E.J. Morrall, 'The text of Michel Velsler's "Mandeville" translation', in P.F. Ganz and W. Schröder (eds), *Probleme mittelaltlicher Überlieferung und Textkritik.: Oxforder Colloquium 1966*, Berlin, 1968, 183-96
- M.C. Seymour, 'The English manuscripts of *Mandeville's travels*', *Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* 4 (1966) 169-210
- R. Lejeune, 'Jean de Mandeville et les Liégeois', in *Mélanges de linguistique romane et de philologie médiévale offerts à Maurice Delbouille*, 2 vols, Gembloux, 1964, ii, 409-37
- M.C. Seymour, 'The scribal tradition of *Mandeville's travels*. The insular version', *Scriptorium* 18 (1964) 34-48
- G. de Poerck, 'Le corpus mandevillien du ms Chantilly 699', in G. de Poerck et al. (eds), *Fin du moyen âge et renaissance. Mélanges de philologie française offerts à Robert Guiette*, Antwerp, 1961, 31-48
- G. de Poerck, 'La tradition manuscrite des "Voyages" de Jean de Mandeville. Á propos d'un livre récent', *Romanica Gandensia* 4 (1955) 125-58
- J.W. Bennett, *The rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville*, New York, 1954
- M. Letts, *Sir John Mandeville. The man and his book*, London, 1949 (unreliable in places)
- A. Bovenschen, 'Untersuchungen über Johann von Mandeville und die Quellen seiner Reisebeschreibung', *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 23 (1888) 177-306
- J. Vogels, 'Die Ungedruckten Lateinischen Versions Mandeville's', *Programm des Gymnasiums zu Crefeld*, Schuljahr 9 (1886) 3-23

Iain Macleod Higgins

# John VI Cantacuzenus

Ioannēs (Ioasaph) Kantakouzēnos, Ioannēs Angelos  
Komnenos Palaiologos Kantakuzēnos

DATE OF BIRTH About 1295  
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown  
DATE OF DEATH 15 June 1383  
PLACE OF DEATH Mistra, Peloponnese

## BIOGRAPHY

John Cantacuzenus was born in about 1295 into one of the noblest and wealthiest aristocratic families of the Byzantine Empire. During the civil war of 1321-28, he supported Andronicus III Palaeologus against his grandfather Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282-1328), and it was probably after Andronicus III's coronation on 2 February 1325 that he was made *meġas domestikos*, commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the empire.

During the reign of Andronicus III (1328-41), he was the emperor's most important supporter, and he accompanied him on his campaigns against the Ottoman Turks (1329), Bulgarians (1331) and Albanians (1338). In 1335, during Andronicus's campaign to re-conquer the island of Lesbos, Cantacuzenus met the emir Umur of Aydn and the two became friends.

When Andronicus died on 15 June 1341, his son and heir John V Palaeologus was only nine years old. Cantacuzenus claimed the regency, but met strong resistance from the Dowager Empress Anna of Savoy and others. The conflict escalated into a bloody civil war. On 26 October 1341, Cantacuzenus was proclaimed emperor by his friends and his soldiers, but the empress and the patriarch incited the people against him. His property was plundered and confiscated, and through the years 1343-46 he was only able to survive with the emir Umur's help. In 1346, in need of more Turkish military assistance, Cantacuzenus married his daughter Theodora to Orhan, the Ottoman emir of Bithynia (1324/1326-60).

On 3 February 1347, he and his soldiers occupied Constantinople, but they could not take the palace. Finally, on 8 February 1347, he agreed with the dowager empress that he (now John VI) and John V Palaeologus should reign jointly as co-emperors. On 21 May 1347, John V Palaeologus married Cantacuzenus's daughter Helena.

In May, June and July 1351, Cantacuzenus convoked synods to affirm that the Hesychast theology of his friend Gregory Palamas, archbishop of Thessaloniki, was orthodox. Then, in the autumn of that year, an armed conflict between John V Palaeologus and Cantacuzenus's eldest son, Matthew, resulted in a new civil war. In 1352, an Ottoman auxiliary force, commanded by Orhan's son, Sulayman, defeated the Serbian and Bulgarian allies of John V Palaeologus near Adrianople. However, in the same year, Sulayman occupied the fortress of Tzympe on the peninsula of Gallipoli, and in March 1354, after a terrible earthquake, he took control of the town of Gallipoli (Kallioupolis) and the whole peninsula. Cantacuzenus was unable to regain this territory, and Gallipoli and the peninsula became a bridgehead for the Turkish conquest of south-eastern Europe. On 29 November 1354, John V Palaeologus forced his way into Constantinople and Cantacuzenus was compelled to abdicate. He became a monk, and adopted the monastic name of Joasaph.

In the period 1355-83, he wrote his memoirs, a history of the years 1321-56/1363, and a number of apologetic and polemical treatises in defense of Gregory Palamas's theology. His most important works were his nine dialogues against the Jews, his four apologies in defense of Christianity against Islam, and his four orations against Muḥammad, all completed before June 1373.

Cantacuzenus continued to take some part in public life through these years, and he was imprisoned by his grandson, Andronicus IV Palaeologus, between July 1379 and May 1381. After his release, he went to live with his eldest son, Matthew, who was governor of the Byzantine parts of the Peloponnese. He died in Mistra on 15 June 1383.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

- Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri IV*, ed. L. Schopenus, 3 vols, Bonn, 1828, 1831, 1832 (edition of Cantacuzenus's memoirs); trans. (incomplete) T.S. Miller, *The History of John Cantacuzenus (Book IV)*, Washington DC, 1975; German trans. (incomplete), G. Fatouros and T. Krischer (eds), *Johannes Kantakuzenos, Geschichte*, Stuttgart, 1982, 1986 (Books 1 and 2), ed. G. Fatouros, Stuttgart, 2011 (Book 3)
- J. Darrouzès, 'Lettre inédite de Jean Cantacuzène relative à la controverse palamite', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 17 (1959) 7-27
- J. Meyendorff, 'Projets de Concile oecuménique en 1367. Un dialogue inédit entre Jean Cantacuzène et le légat Paul', *DOP* 14 (1960) 149-77 (repr. in J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm. Historical, theological and social problems*, London, 1974, no. XI)

- E. Voordeckers and F. Tinnefeld (eds), *Ioannis Cantacuzeni refutationes duae Prochori Cydonii et disputatio cum Paulo patriarcha Latino epistulis septem tradita* (*Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca* 16), Turnhout, 1987
- C.G. Sötēropoulos (ed.), *Ioannou Kantakouzenou kata Ioudaiōn logoi ennea*, Athens, 1983
- Démétrius Cydonès, *Correspondance*, ed. R.-J. Loenertz, Vol. 1 (*Studi et Testi* 186), Vatican City, 1956, pp. 1-10, 31-45, 74-76, 96-98; Vol. 2 (*Studi et Testi* 208), Vatican City, 1960, pp. 92-111, 117-25, 131-34, 141-46, 205-8, 210-13, 223-27, 355-56
- Ducas, *Historia Turcobizantina*, ed. V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1958, pp. 34, 40-71; trans. H.J. Magoulias, *Decline and fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks*, Detroit MI, 1978, pp. 59-60, 63-79
- Nicephori Gregorae, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopenus et al., 3 vols, Bonn, 1829, 1830, 1855 (German trans. J.L. van Dieten, *Nikephoros Gregoras, Rhomäische Geschichte/Historia Rhomaïke*, 6 vols (*Bibliothek der Griechischen Literatur* 4, 8, 9, 24, 39, 59, 66), Stuttgart, 1973-2007
- J. Gouillard, 'Le synodikon de l'orthodoxie', *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967) 1-316, pp. 98-99
- P. Schreiner (ed.), *Chronica byzantina breviora/Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, 3 vols (*Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae* 12.1, 2, 3), Vienna, 1975-79
- Secondary*
- K.-P. Matschke, *Das Kreuz und der Halbmond. Die Geschichte der Türkenkriege*, Düsseldorf, 2004, pp. 35, 44-47, 49-50, 55
- D.M. Nicol, *The reluctant emperor. A biography of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine emperor and monk, c. 1295-1383*, Cambridge, 1996
- R. Radić, *Vreme Jovana V Paleologa/The time of John V Palaeologus (1332-1391)*, Belgrade, 1993 (Serbian with an English summary, pp. 465-90)
- K.-P. Todt, *Kaiser Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos und der Islam. Politische Realität und theologische Polemik im palaiologenzeitlichen Byzanz*, Würzburg, 1991
- A.M. Talbot, art. 'John VI Kantakouzenos', in *ODB*
- E. de Vries-Van der Velden, *L'élite byzantine devant l'avance turque à l'époque de la guerre civile de 1341 à 1354*, Amsterdam, 1989
- E. Werner, *Die Geburt einer Grossmacht – die Osmanen (1300-1481)*, Vienna, 1985, pp. 127-62
- Art. 'Kantakuzenos, Ioannes VI. Angelos Komnenos Palaiologos', in *PLP*, no. 10973
- K.-P. Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion in Byzanz im 14. Jh. Konstantinopel in der Bürgerkriegsepoche von 1341 bis 1354*, Berlin, 1971
- E. Voordeckers, 'Un empereur palamite à Mistra en 1370', *Revue des Études Sud-est Européennes* 9 (1971) 607-15
- G.M. Prochorov, 'Publicistika Ioanna Kantakuzina 1367-1371gg.', *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 29 (1969) 318-41

- G. Weiss, *Joannes Kantakuzenos – Aristokrat, Staatsmann, Kaiser und Mönch – in der Gesellschaftsentwicklung von Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, 1969
- L. Maksimović, 'Politička uloga Jovana Kantakuzina posle abdikacije (The political role of John Cantacuzenos after his abdication)', *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 9 (Belgrade 1966) 119-93
- Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453*, ed. F. Dölger and P. Wirth, Vol. 5: *Regesten von 1341-1453*, Munich, 1965, pp. 14-37 nos 2915-3029
- H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich, 1959, 1977<sup>2</sup>, pp. 731-32

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Historion biblia tessara*, 'Four books of history'

DATE Between 1363 and 1369

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

#### DESCRIPTION

In his extensive four-volume history, John Cantacuzenus gives an account of the years 1321-1356/1363. Since he himself played a prominent part in the events of these years, the work is autobiographical and partly apologetic in character. Cantacuzenus first tries to prove that his close relationship with Emperor Andronicus III Palaeologus gave him a legitimate claim to act as regent for his child heir, John V Palaeologus (Book 2, ch. 9, 14-19, 40; Book 3, chs 4 and 5). But even more than this, he defends himself against the accusation that he commanded Turkish allied forces in battles against other Byzantines and deliberately incited them to carry out attacks in Bulgaria (Book 3, ch. 96; Book 4, ch. 5). It is possible to check the veracity of what he says here in the account given by Nicephorus Gregoras (q.v.) in books 8-37 of his *Historia Rhomaike*, where he criticizes Cantacuzenus's reliance upon the Turks during his regency because he knew how unpopular he was among the people of Constantinople (*Historia Rhomaike*, Book 27, ch. 28), and also exposed his own people to be attacked and enslaved by the Turks and Catalans, for which even Patriarch Callistus I condemned him (*Historia Rhomaike*, Book 28, chs 2, 13).

A major element of Cantacuzenus's history concerns the relationship between the Byzantines and the Turkish emirates in the western parts of Asia Minor, as well as the Mongols of the Golden Horde and the



Mamluks. In Book 1, he reports on the civil war through the years 1321 to 1328 between Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282-1328) and his grandson Andronicus III Palaeologus, and in ch. 31 he tells how, when he was forced to retreat, Andronicus II strengthened his army with Turks, though this profited him little because Andronicus III retained the upper hand. He relates that, in the spring of 1326, a period of peace between the two Andronici, Andronicus III offered to relieve the Ottoman siege on Prusa (Bursa), but Andronicus II refused this offer and, on 6 April 1326, the Ottomans took Prusa and made it their capital (Book 1, ch. 45).

In Book 2, Cantacuzenus writes about the rule of Andronicus III Palaeologus in the years 1328-41, when, as commander in chief of the army, he himself was one of the emperor's most important supporters. In May 1329, they undertook a campaign against the Ottomans in Bithynia, which ended with a Byzantine defeat at the gates of the fortress of Philokrene (Book 2, chs 6-8). Also in 1329, after the reconquest of Chios, Andronicus III met with the emir of Saruchan in Palaia Phocaea (now Eski Foça) and allied himself with him, though at this time the Turks were making continual incursions over the Hellespont and the Sea of Marmara into Byzantine Thrace, so that the emperor and Cantacuzenus repeatedly had to lead forces against them (Book 2, chs 13, 21, 22). In the spring of 1331, the emperor sailed for Nicomedia (Kocaeli), which was under siege by the Turks, and was able to supply the city with food (Book 2, ch. 26). In August 1331, the Byzantines were able to force Umur of Aydın (1309-48), who had landed with his army at Poru, to withdraw to Asia Minor (Book 2, ch. 28), and in August 1333, the emperor returned to help the people of Nicomedia. The Byzantines and Ottomans concluded a peace treaty (Book 2, ch. 24), though Cantacuzenus does not mention that the Byzantines bought peace with an annual tribute of 12,000 *hyperpyra*.

In 1335, the emir of Saruchan supported the emperor with his army and fleet against Domenico Cattaneo, the Genoese ruler of Nea Phocaea (YeniFoça), who had taken Mytilene. They besieged Nea Phocaea, and for this period they formed an alliance. At the meeting to negotiate this, Cantacuzenus and Umur of Aydın entered into a close personal bond of friendship (they possibly became blood brothers). The Genoese could not withstand this Byzantine-Turkish alliance and were forced to return Mytilene to Byzantium (Book 2, chs 29-31). In 1337, Umur supported Andronicus III and Cantacuzenus in their battles against the Albanians, in the course of which the Turks enslaved the Albanians' women and children (Book 2, ch. 32). In the late summer of 1337, the Ottoman Orhan made a major attack on Constantinople with 36 ships and a large army,



though the emperor and Cantacuzenus were able to resist it (Book 2, ch. 34).

In Book 3, the most comprehensive of the entire work, Cantacuzenus describes the course of the civil war that broke out three months after the death of Andronicus III (the night of 14-15 June 1341). Cantacuzenus had already prepared ships and an army in Didymoteichon and Adrianople (modern Edirne) to ward off any attack by the emir of Saruchan in Thrace, and was seeking a renewal of peace with Orhan (Book 3, ch. 9). In the first two years of the war, he experienced many setbacks, and he finally called on Umur of Aydın for help. Umur forced the Bulgarians to abandon their siege of Didymoteichon (Book 3, chs 63-66), and with his assistance and also that of Orhan, Cantacuzenus was able to bring almost the whole of Thrace under his rule (Book 3, chs 76-86), though he was not yet able to take the capital itself. He acknowledged his reliance on his Turkish allies by giving his daughter Theodora in marriage to Orhan (Book 3, ch. 95), though other Turkish forces continued to pillage through Bulgaria (Book 3, ch. 96).

In Book 4, Cantacuzenus covers the period 1347-54, when he ruled as emperor. In 1349, he sent Manuel Sergopoulus and Patriarch Lazaros of Jerusalem to the Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥasan (1347-51, 1354-61). In a letter of response, the sultan informed Cantacuzenus that he had consented to the patriarch's return to Jerusalem. This letter was inserted into the history (Book 4, chs 14 and 15). The remaining account in Book 4 continues the themes of earlier books, narrating how he made use of the troops of his now son-in-law Orhan to put down uprisings in European parts of the empire. Despite their Islamic faith, he treated them as a fighting force like any other, and appears to have had no hesitation in using them against the Serbs and other Christian leaders within the empire.

Ivan Alexander (1331-71), tsar of Bulgaria, whose lands were constantly being plundered, blamed Cantacuzenus for allowing the Turks to cross into his European domains. In response, Cantacuzenus proposed an alliance to remove the Turks, and Ivan appeared to agree, but the plan eventually came to nothing (Book 4, ch. 22). Cantacuzenus himself was powerless against the Turks, and when Orhan took control of the Gallipoli peninsula he was unable to persuade him to abandon it. Finally, on 10 December 1354 he was forced to abdicate, and rule passed to John V Palaeologus (Book 4, ch. 39-42).

## SIGNIFICANCE

Cantacuzenus's chronicle is a main source for the history of Byzantium, south-eastern Europe and the eastern Mediterranean region between 1321 and 1363, and also for the history of the Turks of Asia Minor, especially the emirates of Saruchan and Aydın and the early Ottoman Empire. Cantacuzenus speaks as one of the parties in the action, and in the end he knows he has failed. As he himself points out, the Byzantine Empire had been weakened so badly, above all by the civil war of 1341-47, that recovery was no longer possible and it was only a fraction of its former size (Book 3, ch. 1). His attempt to bind the Ottomans to the family of the Cantacuzeni by marriage and to use their military potential in the fight against John V Palaeologus and the Serbs failed, and, as the Ottomans took increasingly more territory into their possession, they abandoned any further consideration for Cantacuzenus. This was the prelude to the final subjugation by the Turks of Bulgaria, Thrace, Macedonia and Serbia during the reigns of Murad I (1362-89) and Bayazid I (1389-1402).

As it follows the conventions of Byzantine historiography, there is hardly any mention of Islam as a religion in this history. It serves as the vivid background to the intense theological debate with Islam that is found in Cantacuzenus's apologies and speeches.

## MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana – IX, 9 (7 December 1369)
- MS Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library – 28 (1360-70)
- MS Paris, BNF – Coislin 144 (1363-c. 1380)
- MS Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna – 2212 (before c. 1380)
- MS Modena, Biblioteca Estense – 224-225 (30 May 1555; copied by John Maurommatos)
- MS Munich, University Library – 106 (a copy of MS Modena 224-225)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

- Johannes Cantakuzenos, Geschichte*, German trans. G. Fatouros and T. Krischer, 2 vols, Stuttgart, 1982, 1986 (Books 1 and 2); trans. G. Fatouros, Stuttgart, 2011 (Book 3) (*Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur* 17, 21, 71)
- The history of John Cantacuzenus (Book IV)*, trans. T.S. Miller, Washington DC, 1975 (incomplete)
- Joannes Cantacuzenus, *Historiae Byzantinae libri IV*, in *PG* 153 (Books 1-3), 154, cols 10-370 (Book 4) (reprint of the Paris edition, 1865-66)

- Ioannis Cantacuzeni Eximperatoris Historiarum Libri IV*, ed. L. Schopeni, 3 vols, Bonn, 1828-32 (edition and Pontanus's Latin trans.)
- Ioannou tou Kantakuzenou Apobasileos Historion Biblia 4* (= *Ioannis Cantacuzeni Eximperatoris Historiarum Libri IV*), ed. and Latin trans. Jacob Pontanus and Peter Seguierius, Venice, 1729
- Ioannis Cantacuzeni Eximperatoris De rebus ab Andronico Palaeologo Iuniore, imperatore Constantinopolitano, nec non a se gestis libri quatuor*, Latin trans. Jacob Pontanus, Ingolstadt, 1603

## STUDIES

- J. Pahlitzsch, 'Mediators between East and West. Christians under Mamluk rule', *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9 (2005) 31-47; on Patriarch Lazaros of Jerusalem pp. 36-40
- F. Tinnefeld, 'Idealizing self-centered power politics in the memoirs of Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos', in J.S. Langdon, St W. Reinert, J. Stanojevich Allen, C.P. Ioannides (eds), *To Ellenikon. Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr.*, Vol. 1. *Hellenic Antiquity and Byzantium*, New Rochelle NY, 1993, 397-415
- A.P. Kazhdan, 'L'histoire de Cantacuzène en tant qu'oeuvre littéraire', *Byzantion* 50 (1980) 279-327
- H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, Vol. 1. *Philosophie – Rhetorik – Epistolographie – Geschichtsschreibung – Geographie*, Munich, 1978, pp. 465-76
- H. Hunger, 'Thukydides bei Johannes Kantakouzenos. Beobachtungen zur Mimesis', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 25 (1976) 181-93
- T. Teoteoi, 'La conception de Jean VI Cantacuzène sur l'état byzantin vue principalement à la lumière de son Histoire', *Revue des Études Sud-est Européennes* 13 (1975) 167-85
- R.-J. Loenertz, 'Ordre et désordre dans le Mémoires de Jean Cantacuzène', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 22 (1964) 222-37 (repr. in R.-J. Loenertz and P. Schreiner, *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca. Articles parus de 1935 à 1966* [*Storia e letteratura. Raccolta di Studi e Testi* 118], Rome, 1970, 113-30)
- G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, Vol. 1. *Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvolker*, Leiden, 1983 (repr. of the Berlin, 1958 edition), pp. 321-23
- M. Canard, 'Un lettre du Sultan Nâsir Hasan à Jean Cantacuzène (750/1349)', *Faculté des Lettres de l'Université d'Alger, Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales* 3 (1937) 27-52 (repr. in M. Canard, *Byzance et les Musulmans du Proche Orient*, London, 1973, no. X)

V. Parisot, *Cantacuzène homme d'état et historien ou examen critique des mémoires de l'empereur Jean Cantacuzène et des sources contemporaines*, Paris, 1845

*Apologiai tessares*, 'Four apologies'  
*Logoi tessares kata Moameth*, 'Four orations  
 against Muḥammad'

DATE Before June 1373

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

These four extensive apologies and significantly shorter orations against Muḥammad (Förstel, *Johannes Kantakuzenos*, pp. 2-233 and 235-415 respectively) are undoubtedly by Cantacuzenus. The three oldest manuscripts containing them were copied during his lifetime, between 1373 and 1375, and are more or less autographs (Todt, *Kantakouzenos*, pp. 135-40). Since they are found together in all manuscripts, they can be regarded as a single composition.

At the beginning is a preface (*hypothesis*), in which Cantacuzenus explains that he has written in support of a monk named Meletius, who came from Isfahan. Meletius had converted to Christianity and had been sent a letter by the Persian Sampsatines attacking him and his new faith. Cantacuzenus says that he has included Sampsatines's letter (Förstel, *Johannes Kantakuzenos*, pp. 4-9), because he has been prompted to write by its criticisms of the Trinity and worship of Christ, and its assertion that the name of Muḥammad has been removed from the Gospel. Although rare in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, conversion of Muslims to Christianity was known, so it is quite possible that what Cantacuzenus says here is based on fact (Todt, *Kantakouzenos*, pp. 235-49).

The first apology (*Johannes Kantakuzenos*, pp. 10-71) argues that Christ was not only the Son of God but perfect God and perfect man, and that the predictions of the Old Testament prophets are fulfilled in him. All the prophets from Abraham and Moses attested to this (pp. 14-65) and, in addition, Muslims themselves accept that Christ was word and spirit of God (an allusion to Q 4:171) and believe in his virgin birth, so they should not deny his divinity.

The second apology (pp. 72-137) is on sin and redemption. After Adam and Eve's disobedience, their descendants fell under the dominion of the devil, but Christ eliminated sin by his crucifixion, resurrection and ascension, ending the tyranny of the devil and breaking the power of death. Muslims themselves say that Christ is in heaven, but they are deceived about the significance of his ascension because they see in him only a holy and great man. At the end of time, however, Christ will be revealed as Son of God.

In the third apology (pp. 138-75), Cantacuzenus shows how many people were converted to Christianity by the preaching, courageous witness and miracles of the Apostles and martyrs. Among the best-known miracles is the holy fire kindled each Easter Eve in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and, because Jerusalem is under Islamic rule, many Muslims can testify that this is not done by humans (pp. 139-61). And it is wrong for Muslims to claim that Christians believe in a Godhead of father, mother and son (a reference to Q 5:116), or to criticize the worship of images, because these serve to instruct and to bring worshippers closer to the One (pp. 172-75).

These three apologies are defensive, but in the fourth, the longest, Cantacuzenus goes on the attack (pp. 138-233). He argues that Muslims are wrong to attribute their religion to Abraham, because between him and Muḥammad is a gap of 2,582 years; they misunderstand the significance of circumcision, which initially served to distinguish the Hebrews from the Egyptians and was done away with by baptism, which is open to women as well as men (pp. 176-83); and they are mistaken about the removal of the name Muḥammad from the Gospel, because not a single document among all the scattered communities of Christians throughout the world refers to him or attests that he was sent by God (pp. 182-89, 200-5).

Cantacuzenus goes on to argue that Muḥammad's law did not come from God, because he relied on the sword to spread it and forbade his followers to discuss it, since he was aware of its weaknesses; the alternative offered to non-Muslims, to pay taxes or be killed (pp. 188-91), is wicked; and the fleshly promises of paradise, which are made to men only, are absurd because sexual activity was only a consequence of Adam's disobedience, although Muḥammad permitted polygamy in order to win over the masses (pp. 190-201). Furthermore, the notion that Christ intended to abolish the law of Moses is absurd, because his teachings about the way of perfection were to eradicate evil and, in any case,

in the books of the prophets Jeremiah and Isaiah, God had promised a new law (pp. 204-25).

Cantacuzenus further criticizes Islam in his four orations against Muḥammad. In the first two (*Johannes Kantakuzenos*, pp. 244-303), he makes detailed criticisms of passages from the Qur'an. A point of particular concern, which he discusses at the end of the second speech, is the apparent defeat of Jews and Christians who are now forced to live under Islamic rule. This may be true for Jews, but Christians are only suffering a temporary setback and, since they have priests, they continue to have access to sanctification (through the sacraments), union with God and salvation (pp. 302-19).

In the third oration, Cantacuzenus deals in detail with the Christological statements of the Qur'an. He argues that, although Muḥammad confessed that Christ, the son of Mary, is word, soul and breath of God, he wrongly thought that Christ must have been physically related to God; when he said that Christ was holier than all the prophets, he followed Nestorius and, by denying that Christ was crucified, he was like the Manichaeans (pp. 320-47).

In the short fourth oration, Cantacuzenus polemicizes against Muḥammad's alleged ascension to heaven and against the teaching in the Qur'an that even the demons would be saved (pp. 348-63); Muḥammad's admission that no man, not even himself, knew the correct interpretation of the Qur'an is nonsensical, because he was admitting that his law was useless, and proving that the Qur'an had not come from God, because God's laws are not useless. He ends with devastating comparisons between Muḥammad and Christ, and then with the devil (pp. 364-69).

In these four orations, Cantacuzenus makes extensive use of Demetrius Cydones's (q.v.) translation of the Florentine Dominican Riccoldo da Monte di Croce's *Contra legem Sarracenorum* (q.v.), though primarily for quotations from the Qur'an on which he builds his own arguments. He by no means plagiarizes Riccoldo (Trapp, *Manuel II. Palaiologos, Dialoge mit einem Perser*, pp. 44\*-48\*; Todt, *Kantakouzenos*, pp. 250-305, 393-404, 624-25).

The orations are close to his nine speeches against the Jews. In his view, Muslims (*Sarakēnoi*) and Jews have many similarities: exclusive monotheism (*monarchia*), polygamy (*polygamia*), abstention from pork (*choreiōn te kreōn apochē*), circumcision (*peritomē*), and divorce, which is easy for the husband at least. In fact, he calls the law of Muḥammad

nothing more than faulty Judaism (*Iudaïsmos plēmmelēs*). Thus, Muslims and Jews can be approached with the same arguments (*Johannes Kantakuzenos*, pp. 4-7).

In both these apologies and orations, Cantacuzenus benefitted from Gregory Palamas's (q.v.) letter to the believers of Thessaloniki about his captivity among the Ottomans in the years 1354-55 and the discussions he had there, complemented by the *Dialexis* of Taronites (q.v.), in which many issues that Cantacuzenus treats are already discussed (A. Philippidis-Braat, 'La captivité de Palamas chez les Turcs. Dossier et commentaire', *Travaux et Mémoires* 7 (1979) 109-221; Todt, *Kantakuzenos*, pp. 567-93).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

These writings of John/Ioasaph Cantacuzenus against Islam circulated in 46 manuscripts in the 14<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries, were re-written in a simplified version by the monk Meletius Syrigus (1586-1664) and translated into middle Bulgarian Church Slavonic (15<sup>th</sup> century) and Romanian (1669). They were probably the most widely used and read Byzantine refutation of Islam.

For Cantacuzenus's grandson, the Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425; q.v.), these works were a source of central importance. When he drafted his notes about his discussions with an Ottoman teacher in Ankara in 1392/93, Manuel referred back to the apologies and orations, and in the *Prooemium* of his dialogue he wrote admiringly about his grandfather (Trapp, *Manuel II. Palaiologos, Dialoge mit einem 'Perser'*, p. 86\*, and *Prooemium*, p. 6).

It seems that Cantacuzenus produced exactly the arguments that were needed during the long centuries of Ottoman rule to encourage Christians to hold out despite the discrimination and disadvantages they faced. In addition, their first Western editor and translator, the Zurich theologian Rudolf Gwalther (1519-86), greatly admired them because of their emphasis on biblical reasoning, which he saw as very much in the spirit of the Reformation.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

For a complete list of MSS of the works, see Todt, *Kaiser Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos und der Islam*, pp. 133-74

See also I. Drpić, 'Hesychasm and visual exegesis. Parisinus Graecus 1242 revisited', *DOP* 62 (2008) 217-47



- P. Guran, 'Jean VI Cantacuzène, l'hésychasme et l'empire. Les miniatures du codex Parisinus graecus 1242', in *L'empereur hagiographe. Culte des saints et monarchie byzantine et post-byzantine. Actes des colloques internationaux 'L'empereur hagiographe' (13-14 mars 2000) et 'Reliques et miracles' (1-2 novembre 2000) tenus au New Europe College*, ed. P. Guran and B. Flusin, Bucharest, 2001, 73-121

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

- K. Förstel (ed. and trans.), *Johannes Kantakuzenos, Christentum und Islam. Apologetische und polemische Schriften (Corpus Islamo-Christianum, Series graeca 6)*, Altenberge, 2005
- R. Gwalterus (ed. and trans.), *Ioannis Cantacuzeni Contra sectam Mahometicam pro Christiana religione Apologiae quatuor et orationes quatuor*, PG 154, Paris, 1866, cols 371-692 (repr. of the Basle edition, 1543)
- R. Gwalterus (trans.), *Ioannis Cantacuzeni Constantinopolitani regis contra Mahometicam fidem Christiana et orthodoxa assertio*, in *Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, ac doctrina, ipseque Alcoran.... His adiunctae sunt... Haec omnia in unum volumen redacta sunt opera et studio Theodori Bibliandri, ecclesiae Tigurinae ministri...*, Basle, 1550, 193-358 (Latin trans.)
- R. Gwalterus (ed. and trans.), *Ioannis Cantacuzeni Constantinopolitani regis contra Mahometicam fidem Christiana et orthodoxa assertio, Graece conscripta ante annos fere ducentos, nunc vero Latinitate donata... Adiuncta est eadem Graece scripta, in eius linguae et studiosorum gratiam*, in *Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, ac doctrina, ipseque Alcoran* (parts IV and V), Basle, 1543

## STUDIES

- Todt, *Kaiser Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos und der Islam*, pp. 133-249, 306-566
- A. Ducellier, 'L'Islam et les Musulmans vus de Byzance au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Byzantina* 12 (1983) 93-134
- S. Vryonis Jr, 'Evidence of human sacrifice among the early Turks', *Journal of Asian History* 5 (1971) 140-46 (repr. in S. Vryonis Jr, *Studies on Byzantium, Seljuks, and Ottomans. Reprinted studies*, Malibu CA, 1981, no. IX)
- S. Vryonis Jr, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamization from the eleventh through the fifteenth century*, Berkeley CA, 1971, 424, 425, 432-36



- A.D. Karpozilos, 'Byzantine apologetic and polemic writings of the Palaeologian epoch against Islam', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 15 (1970) 213-48, pp. 224-29
- E. Trapp, *Manuel II. Palaiologos, Dialoge mit einem 'Perser'* (*Wiener Byzantinistische Studien* 2), Vienna, 1966, pp. 44\*-48\*
- H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich, 1959, 1977<sup>2</sup>, p. 732
- W. Eichner, 'Die Nachrichten über den Islam bei den Byzantinern', *Der Islam* 22/23 (1935/36) 133-62, 197-244, pp. 134 no. XIV, 140, 145, 150, 159, 161, 199, 200, 202, 204, 219-20, 224 Ann. 1.
- H. Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 114), Rome, 1937, pp. 54-58

Klaus-Peter Todt

## The rite of the jar

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; Egypt

### BIOGRAPHY

Liturgical texts have complex histories that usually preclude speaking of a particular ‘author’. We know little about the genesis of the Coptic-Arabic ritual for the return of penitent apostates that is known as ‘The rite of the jar’, apart from the fact of its existence in a manuscript dating from 1374. The text can well be explained against the background of rapid conversion to Islam in 14<sup>th</sup>-century Mamluk Egypt, but it may have come into existence much earlier. It would have developed in monastic or priestly circles in the Coptic Orthodox Church.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

For the MSS, see below.

#### *Secondary*

L.S.B. MacCoull, ‘The rite of the jar. Apostasy and reconciliation in the medieval Coptic Orthodox Church’, in D. Wolfthal (ed.), *Peace and negotiation. Strategies for coexistence in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Turnhout, 2000, 145-62

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Fuṣūl al-qidr*, ‘The rite of the jar’

*Ṣalāt al-qidr*, ‘The prayer of the jar’

*Qānūn li-man jaḥada l-īmān*, ‘The ritual for one who has denied the faith’

DATE Before 1374

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

A special service of the Coptic Orthodox Church found in a few bilingual (Coptic-Arabic) manuscripts is 'The rite of the jar', introduced in the text as '[a] canon that the teachers of the church handed down concerning one who has denied the faith, or who has defiled his flesh with an unbeliever, whether male or female' (translation from Coptic by MacCoull, 'The rite of the jar', p. 147). The Arabic title for the service, *fuṣūl* (or *ṣalāt*) *al-qidr*, 'the rite (prayer) of the jar', refers to the jar of water used for the climactic ritual washing (which is *not* rebaptism), in which the priest pours water over the penitent, who has removed his clothing, three times in the name of the Triune God.

The prayers of the rite make it explicit that it deals with the readmission of Copts who have converted to *Islam* and/or have had sexual relations with *Muslims* (of either gender): the priest intercedes for the one who has abandoned 'every evil belief of the Hagarenes' and prays that he may be delivered from 'every deceit of the heretics and the Hagarenes and the nations' (MacCoull, 'The rite of the jar', pp. 148-49).

An accurate dating of the rite may be impossible. As MacCoull points out in her important article, 'The rite of the jar' is naturally interpreted against the background of the rapid and sometimes coerced conversion to Islam in 14<sup>th</sup>-century Egypt ('The rite of the jar', pp. 151-58). Indeed, anecdotes about Coptic converts to Islam who repented and desired to return to the Coptic Orthodox fold may be found in the *Lives* of late 14<sup>th</sup> century Coptic saints such as Marqus al-Anṭūnī and Anbā Ruways (q.v.). However, the ritual may be much older than the 14<sup>th</sup> century. A ritual for the return of Christians who had converted to Islam existed in the Melkite church as early as the 8<sup>th</sup> century (the *hilasmos* = *uṣmūn*, see Brakmann et al., 'Der palästinische Rekonziliationsritus für Apostaten').

## SIGNIFICANCE

'The rite of the jar' is a reminder that the churches within the *Dār al-Islām* were faced, from an early date, with the question of what to do with Christians who converted to Islam but who later repented of their decision. The evidence suggests that these penitents were (quietly) welcomed back into their churches and that special liturgies were provided for their readmission. Among the Copts, 'The rite of the jar' provided an impressive ritual for the reception of one who had decided to return to the church, a decision that often entailed substantial risk and required great personal courage.

## MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – Lit. 331 (Graf 696, Simaika 144) (1374)  
 MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Lit. 325 (Graf, Simaika 866) (1783)  
 MS once from Ṭarānna, Church of the Holy Virgin, fols 94v-116r (1851)  
 (not further specified, used by Burmester)  
 MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Lit. 335 (Graf, Simaika 888) (undated)  
 For MSS of the Ethiopic version of the rite (or other texts readily confused with it), see R. Cowley, review of Getatchew Haile, *A catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts . . .*, vol. 8, Collegeville MN, 1985, in *Journal of Semitic Studies* 32 (1987) 372-74.

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

- MacCoull, 'The rite of the jar', pp. 147-50 (trans. from the Coptic text of Tuki's edition)  
 O.H.E. Khs-Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic church. A detailed description of her liturgical services and the rites and ceremonies observed in the administration of her sacraments (Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte)*, Cairo, 1967, pp. 317-20 (summary trans. from the Ṭarānna MS)  
 R. Tuki (= Ṭūkhī), *Pimeros mmahsnauti nte pieuchologion [The second part of the Euchologion]*, Rome, 1761, pp. 462-75 (published version of the text)

There is also an Ethiopic version of the rite:

*Mashafa qedar wa-qanonā Temqata neshā [The book of the jar and the ritual of the 'baptism of penance']*, Addis Ababa, 1970

## STUDIES

- H. Brakmann, T. Chronz, and U. Zanetti, 'Der palästinische Rekonziiliationsritus für Apostaten: al-uṣmūn = ᾠασμός. Eine Anmerkung zur Passio des Martyrer-Abtes 'Abd al-Masiḥ vom Sinai', *OC* 93 (2009) 109-12, p. 112  
 MacCoull, 'The rite of the jar' (indispensable study and the principal source of the present entry)  
 U. Zanetti, 'Bohairic liturgical manuscripts', *OCP* 61 (1995) 65-94, p. 82

Mark N. Swanson

# Ibn al-Khaṭīb

Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb Muḥammad ibn ʿ Abd Allāh  
ibn Saʿīd ibn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Salmānī

DATE OF BIRTH 1313  
PLACE OF BIRTH Loja, Spain  
DATE OF DEATH 1374  
PLACE OF DEATH Fes, Morocco

## BIOGRAPHY

Born into a wealthy and politically influential family, Ibn al-Khaṭīb was brought up in the sultan's court. He was chiefly active in Granada during the rule of Muḥammad V (1354-59, 1362-91). Riḍwān, the chief general of the royal court, invited Ibn al-Khaṭīb to be his assistant, introducing him to the world of politics, court administration and diplomacy. A few years later he had risen to gain great power, acquiring the title of *double vizier* (*dhū l-wizāratayn*), reflecting his political influence and authority.

During the first part of the reign of Muḥammad V, Ibn al-Khaṭīb was sent as an ambassador to Morocco, where he played an essential role in asking for help against the encroaching threat from Castille-León. During the revolt against Muḥammad V in August 1359, he was imprisoned but managed to escape to Guadix. There he joined the overthrown sultan and escaped with him to Morocco, where they stayed for two years (1360-62).

After such dramatic events, Ibn al-Khaṭīb withdrew from politics and went to live near the shrine of his father in the city of Salé, but Muḥammad V returned to power in 1362 and persuaded him to return to politics and assume influential political posts in his court. However, the jealousy of his enemies forced him to escape to Morocco for a second time and, from 1371 to 1374, he lived in Ceuta, Tlemcen and Fes. But even there he was not safe; he was imprisoned and tortured and in 1374 he was finally strangled in jail in Fes.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb was famous as a poet, and some of his verses were written on the walls of the Salón de Embajadores in the Alhambra. He wrote more than 60 books (or 100 according to some sources) covering a wide variety of topics: literature, history, philosophy, medicine, politics and religion. Among these, *Al-iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa* is the best known.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

- Ibn al-Khatīb, *Rayḥānat al-kuttāb wa-naǧʿat al-muntāb*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1980, i, pp. 3-11
- Ibn al-Khatīb, *Al-lamḥa l-badriyya fi l-dawla l-Naṣriyya*, Cairo, 1928, pp. 1-8
- Ibn al-Khatīb, *Rawḍat al-taʿrīf bi-l-ḥubb al-sharīf*, Cairo, 1968, pp. 18-75
- Al-Nāṣirī, *Al-istiṣḡā li-akḥbār duwal al-Maghrib*, 8 vols, Casablanca, 1954-56, ii, p. 132
- Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, 11 vols, Cairo, 1988, vii, p. 46
- Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Kitāb al-ṣila*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1966, i, p. 828
- Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh ibn Khaldūn*, 8 vols, Cairo, 1999, i, pp. 332-42

*Secondary*

There is a large body of secondary material on Ibn al-Khaṭīb. Some of the most significant works are:

- C. Robinson, 'Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb (1313-1374 or 1375)', in J.E. Lowry and D.J. Stewart (eds), *Essays in Arabic literary biography, 1350-1850*, Wiesbaden, 2009, 159-74
- J.A. Sanchez Martinez and M.A. Nasser (eds), *Actas del Ier Coloquio Internacional sobre Ibn al-Jatib*, Granada, 2007
- 'Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Harūt, *Al-nathr al-fannī 'inda Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb*, Amman, 2006
- E. Molina Lopez, 'Ibn al-Jaṭīb. Vínculo vital, político y cultural entre al-Andalus y el Magreb', in P. Beneito and F. Roldan (eds), *Al-Andalus y el norte de África. Relaciones e influencias*, Seville, 2004, 153-88
- M. Jibrān, *Funūn al-nathr al-adābī fi āthār Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb*, Beirut, 2004
- E. Molina López, *Ibn al-Jatib*, Granada, 2001
- N. Roser Nebot, 'Epístola de al-Bunnahi a Lisan al-Din', *Al-Qanṭara* 12 (2001) 421-61 (appendix)
- A. Knysh, 'Ibn al-Khaṭīb', in M.R. Menocal, R.P. Scheindlin and M. Sells (eds), *The literature of al-Andalus*, Cambridge, 2000, 358-71
- A.C. Damaj, 'El último viaje de Ibn al-Jaṭīb. Circunstancias, causas y consecuencias', in J.P. Monferrer Sala and M. D. Rodriguez Gomez (eds), *Entre Oriente y Occidente. Ciudades y viajeros en la edad media*, Granada, 2005, 103-32
- M.J. Viguera, 'Ibn al-Jaṭīb visita el monte de los Hintāta', in *Homenaje al profesor José María Fórneas Besteiro*, Granada, 1995, 645-59
- 'Abd al-Sālām Shakūr, 'Qirā'a fi kitāb awsāfat al-nās fi l-taʿrīkh wa-l-ṣilāt li-Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Majallat Kulliyat al-Da'wa l-Islāmiyya* 6 (1989) 330-53
- E. García Gómez, *Foco de antigua luz sobre Alhambra desde un texto de Ibn al-Jaṭīb en 1362*, Madrid, 1988
- Ja'far al-Nāṣirī, *Ibn al-Khaṭīb bi-Sālā*, Salé, 1988

- Muḥammad al-Kattānī, ‘Thaqāfat al-qarn al-thāmin bayna manhajay Ibn Khaldūn wa-Ibn al-Khaṭīb’, *Daʿwat al-Ḥaqq* 30 (1986) 55-67
- ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ʿAbdallāh, *Al-falsafa wa-l-akhlāq ʿinda Ibn al-Khaṭīb*, Beirut, 1983
- E. Santiago Simón, *El polígrafo granadino Ibn al-Jaṭīb y el sufismo. Aportaciones para su estudio*, Granada, 1983
- Ḥasan al-Sāʿih, ‘Aṣr Ibn al-Khaṭīb’, *Daʿwat al-Ḥaqq* 20 (1976) 115-21
- Muḥammad ʿInān, *Lisān al-Dīn. Ḥayātuhu wa-turāthuhu l-fikrī*, Cairo, 1968
- R. Airé, ‘Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb. Quelques aspects de son oeuvre’, in *Atti del terzo congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici*, Naples, 1967, 69-81

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Al-iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, ‘The all-embracing work, on reports about Granada’

DATE 14<sup>th</sup> century, before 1374

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

#### DESCRIPTION

*Al-iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa* is an encyclopaedic book about Arab literature in general and Andalusian literature and history in particular. Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s objective was to provide a comprehensive view of everything concerning the city of Granada – by the time he was writing the last surviving Muslim stronghold in al-Andalus. Accordingly, the book chronicles every aspect of the city, and it describes more than 500 key figures in its history.

In writing *Al-iḥāṭa*, Ibn al-Khaṭīb used a wide variety of books. One important source was the *Taʾrīkh* of Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Gharnāṭī, whose methodology he adopted, and another was Ibn al-ʿAsākir’s *Taʾrīkh Dimashq*.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

*Al-iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa* reflects the social and political environment of 14<sup>th</sup>-century Andalus, which was deeply marked by conflict between Muslims and Christians. But not every aspect of relations was negative. Ibn al-Khaṭīb refers to Bishop Artibus, for example, who was appointed leader of all Christians within Muslim territories and governor of Seville, and who, in return, took charge of gathering the *jizya*. He also refers to the ways in which Christians under Muslim rule adopted elements of Arabic language and culture, though they enjoyed some measure of autonomy, having their own judges, tribunals and authorities, and some of them even held high offices in the Islamic administration. There were

also Christians who converted to Islam, among them Ibn Hamushak, and Muslim rulers who were well-disposed towards the Christians, such as emir al-Judhāmī, who particularly liked Christian dress, weapons and other accoutrements, and was a good friend to the count of Barcelona. The emir of Zaragoza, al-Tujībī, was so friendly with the Christians that he held the wedding of King Sancho of Navarre and the daughter of the Count of Barcelona in his palace.

Such incidental details as these show the extent and quality of relations between people and communities of Muslim and Christian origin within al-Andalus and between the Muslim and Christian-held areas. While hostilities were the norm, individuals and even groups sometimes managed to conduct constructive and creative relationships.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

The major redaction is preserved in six MSS, often in more than one volume:

MS Tunis, National Library – 8134, 8135, and 8136 (formerly Zaytuna Mosque Library 3522, 3523, 3524) (1273)

MS Madrid, Royal Academy of History – 34 (1489)

MS Madrid, Royal Library of San Lorenzo de El Escorial – 1673, 1674 (1490)

MS Cairo, Egyptian National Library – 348 (1579)

MS Madrid, Pascual de Gayangos, Royal Academy of History – 142 (date unknown)

MS Rabat, Royal Library – 1840 (date unknown)

The minor redaction is preserved in five MSS:

MS Fes, al-Qarawiyīn University Library – 2589/89 (1367)

MS Cairo, al-Azhar University Library (date unknown and no number)

MS Leiden, University Library – 1082 (date unknown)

MS London, BL – 8674 (date unknown)

MS Rabat, National Library – 2704 (date unknown)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Ḥasan Muḥīb, *Al-ihāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, Rabat, 1996 (PhD diss. University Mohammed V)

*Al-ihāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, ed. M. ʿInān, 4 vols, Cairo, 1965 (repr. 1973)

*Al-ihāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, trans. M.S.A.S. Nadvī, Hyderabad, 1932 (Urdu trans.)

*Al-ihāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, 2 vols, Cairo, 1901



## STUDIES

- J. Stearns, 'Two passages in Ibn al-Khaṭīb's account of the kings of Christian Iberia', *Al-Qanṭara* 25 (2004) 157-82
- Ziyād Yūsuf, *Alfāz al-ḥayāt al-ijtimā'īyya wa-l-thaqāfiyya fī Kitāb al-iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, Cairo, 1999 (PhD diss. Cairo Arab University)
- Rābiḥ al-Maghrāwī, 'Kitāb *Al-iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*. Manhajīyyāt al-ta'līf wa-l-taṣnīf', *Āfāq al-Thaqāfa wa-l-Turāth* 20-21 (1997) 167-84
- Muḥīb, *Al-iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*
- Nuzhā Ḥasan, *Al-iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, Mosul, 1995 (PhD diss. Mosul University)
- Muḥammad al-Tiṭwānī, 'Kitāb al-iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa', *Al-Manāhil* 8 (1981) 172-201
- S. Bencheneb, 'Mémoires, tableaux historiques et portraits dans l'oeuvre de Lisan ad-Din Ibn Al-Khatib', *Revue d'Histoire et de Civilisation du Maghreb* 2 (1967) 54-85
- Muḥammad al-Tiṭwānī, 'Al-iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa', in idem, *Ibn al-Khaṭīb min khilāl kutubihī*, Tetouan, 1959, 69-114
- Ṭahā al-Ḥājirī, 'Al-iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa', *Al-Nadwā* 3 (1956) 52-57

Nader Al-Jallad

# ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Asnawī

‘Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Asnawī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown  
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; presumably Asna (Isna) south of  
Luxor  
DATE OF DEATH 1374-75  
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; possibly Cairo

## BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about al-Asnawī (his name is also vocalized as al-Isnawī), except that he was a Shāfi‘ī jurist and also a grammarian. Ḥajjī Khalifa records that he wrote critical editions of earlier works on law and grammar and a book on the legal status of hermaphrodites (*Kashf* ii, pp. 300, 434; i, p. 170), as well as *Al-riyāsa l-nāṣiriyya* (iii, p. 515). He did not complete some of these (i, p. 411, ii, p. 294).

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

Ḥajjī Khalifa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, ed. G. Flügel, 7 vols, London, 1835-58

### Secondary

‘Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-mu‘allifīn*, 15 vols, Beirut, 1985, ix, pp. 233-34  
Brockelmann, *GAL* ii, p. 145 (119), S ii, p. 148

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Al-riyāsa l-nāṣiriyya fī l-radd ‘alā man yu‘aẓẓim ahl al-dhimma wa-yastakhdimuhum ‘alā l-Muslimīn*,  
‘Triumphant control, in refutation of those who advance the status of client people and employ them rather than Muslims’

DATE Unknown; before 1375  
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

The work has not survived. Its title suggests that it was written as part of moves in the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Mamluk state to bar Christians from public life, and it is not implausible to think that it was composed in conjunction with the measures taken under Sultan al-Malik Ṣāliḥ al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad in 1354 to curb the activities of Coptic scribes in government employment. It must have resembled in tone and contents works known from other Egyptian Muslim authors, such as ‘Uthmān al-Nābulusī’s (d. 1262) *Tajrīd sayfal-himma* (q.v.), Ibn al-Durayhim’s (c. 1360-61) *Manhaj al-ṣawāb fī qubḥ istiktāb ahl al-kitāb* (q.v.), and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Asnawī’s (d. 1370) *Al-kalīmāt al-muhimma fī mubāsharat ahl al-dhimma* (q.v.).

There must be some doubt about the ascription of this work, because, while Ḥajjī Khalifa confidently names ‘Imād al-Dīn as the author, al-Suyūṭī (*Kitāb ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fī akhbār Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, 2 vols in 1, Cairo, 1882, i, p. 243) attributes it to his contemporary Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-Asnawī (d. 1370; q.v.). If this is so, then as Perlmann suggests (‘Notes’, p. 845, n. 5, though he wrongly gives p. 242), it may be Jamāl al-Dīn’s *Al-kalīmāt al-muhimma fī mubāsharat ahl al-dhimma* under another title.

## SIGNIFICANCE

The work adds evidence to what is known from other sources about harsh feelings towards *dhimmi*s, and particularly Christians, in Mamluk society during the 14<sup>th</sup> century, arising from the wealth and status they conspicuously enjoyed. Its criticism of promoting Christians and Jews makes an indirect reference to the clause in the Pact of ‘Umar that forbids *dhimmi*s from holding positions senior to Muslims, and shows the continuing power and influence of these early provisions in forming attitudes towards client peoples in the Islamic state.

## MANUSCRIPTS —

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS —

## STUDIES

- C. Petry, *The civilian elite of Cairo in the later Middle Ages*, Princeton NJ, 1981, pp. 272-74 (on the position of Copts in general)
- D.P. Little, ‘Coptic conversion to Islam under the Bahri Mamluks’, *BSOAS* 39 (1976) 552-69, pp. 567-69 (making no reference to this work)
- M. Perlmann, ‘Notes on anti-Christian propaganda in the Mamluk Empire’, *BSOAS* 10 (1940-42) 843-61

# Theophanes of Nicea

Theophanēs (monastic name; his baptismal name is unknown)

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown  
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown  
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; probably after May 1380  
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; probably Constantinople

## BIOGRAPHY

We know nothing about the life of Theophanes before his appointment as Metropolitan Bishop of Nicea. This would have been before 31 October 1364, when he signed an annulment of an anathema against Philotheus Kokkinos (*Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani* i, p. 453; Darrouzès, *Regestes* I.5, no. 2463). Nicea had been under Ottoman rule since 1331, so Theophanes remained in Constantinople. He sent three long pastoral letters to the Christians in Nicea and the surrounding area (*PG* 150, cols 287-350), in the third intimating that adverse circumstances prevented him from officiating among them (*PG* 150, col. 321 BC).

From the time of his appointment, Theophanes was evidently active in the life of the church. He was among the signatories of a number of letters, and is mentioned in others until early 1380. He probably died shortly after this time.

A number of Theophanes' works are known, including a treatise on the transfiguration, treatises against the Jews and against the Latins, a refutation of the claim that the world is eternal, and a treatise on the Mother of God and the Incarnation.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

- Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, ed. F. Miklosich and I. Müller, 6 vols, Vienna, 1860-90, i, pp. 498, 510, 513, 531, 539, 541, 558, 563, 579; ii, pp. 6, 8, 10, 16
- M. Goudas, 'Byzantiaka engrapha tēs en Athō hieras monēs tou Batopediou (II)', *Epēteris Hetaireias Byzantinōn Spoudōn* 4 (1927) 211-48, pp. 246-48, no. 18

*Gennadios Scholarios, Hapanta ta heuriskomena/Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, ed. L. Petit, X.A. Siderides and M. Jugie, Vol. 2. *Traitéés polémiques sur la procession du Saint-Esprit*, Paris, 1929, p. 3; Vol. 3. *Oeuvres polémiques – Questions théologiques – Écrits apologétiques*, Paris, 1930, p. 127

*Secondary*

- I.D. Polemis, *Theophanēs Nikaias, Apodeixis hoti edynato ex aidiou gegenēsthai ta onta kai anantropē tautēs* (*Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi, Philosophi Byzantini* 10), Athens, 2000, pp. 3\*-18\*
- A. Rigo, 'La missione di Theofane di Nicaea a Serre presso il despota Giovanni Uglješa (1367-1368)', *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 51 (1997) 113-27
- I.D. Polemis, *Theophanes of Nicaea. His life and works* (*Wiener Byzantinistische Studien* 20), Vienna, 1996
- M.O. Carroll, art. 'Théophane de Nicée', in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 15, Paris, 1991, cols 516-17
- C. Sôtēropoulos, 'Angeloi, taxis en tē Triadi, Poreia pros ton ouranon (Kata ton Theophanē Nikaias kai ton Nikētan Stēthaton)', *Epistēmōnikē Epēteris tēs Theologikēs Scholēs tou Panepistēmiou Athēnōn* 28 (1989) 495-508
- C. Sôtēropoulos, 'To schēma tou kyklou kai hē taxis en tē hagia Triadi kata ton Theophanē Nikaias epi tē basei tou anekdotou ergou tou, Kata Latinōn logoi treis', *Epistēmōnikē Epēteris tēs Theologikēs Scholēs tou Panepistēmiou Athēnōn* 27 (1986) 505-41
- Art. 'Theophanes, Metropolit von Nikaia', in *PLP*, no. 7615
- J. Darrouzès, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, Vol. 1, fasc. 6. *Les Regestes de 1377 à 1410*, Paris, 1979, nos 2696, 2702, 2704-7, 2716
- D. Obolensky, 'A *Philorhomaïos anthropos*. Metropolitan Cyprian of Kiev and all Russia (1375-1406)', *DOP* 32 (1978) 79-98, p. 90 (repr. in D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine inheritance of Eastern Europe*, London, 1982, no. XI)
- J. Darrouzès, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, Vol. 1, fasc. 5. *Les Regestes de 1310 à 1376*, Paris, 1977, nos 2418, 2463, 2467, 2518, 2524, 2535, 2551, 2553, 2557, 2576, 2594, 2595, 2611, 2612, 2622, 2654, 2665
- E. Trapp, 'Die Metropoliten von Nikaia und Nikomedia in der Palaiologenzeit', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 35 (1969) 183-92, pp. 186-87
- M. Candal, 'El Sermo in Deiparam de Teofane Niceno', *Marianum* 27 (1965-66) 72-103
- H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich, 1977<sup>2</sup>, pp. 746-47
- M. Jugie, art. 'Théophane de Nicée', in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. 15, Paris, 1946, cols 1797-98
- Theophanes Nicaenus, Sermo in sanctissimam Deiparam*, ed. M. Jugie, Rome, 1935, pp. vii-xxxii

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Epistolē pros tous Nikaias*, ‘Letter to the Christians of Nicea’

*Epistolē didaskalikē pros pantas tous hyp’ autou poimanomenous Christianous peri hypomonēs kai makrothymias*, ‘Letter of teaching to all Christians under his pastoral care on patient endurance and long-suffering’

*Epistolē didaskalikē pros tous hiereis kai loipous klērikous tēs kat’ auton hagian Ekklēsias*, ‘Letter of teaching to the priests and to the other members of the clergy of his holy Church’

DATE Between 1364 and 1380

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

Theophanes wrote three letters: to the Christians of Nicea, to the Christians of Prusa, Nicea and surroundings, and to the clergy of his diocese. He probably wrote the first in the time between his appointment and his consecration (it was sent in the autumn of 1368; *PG* 150, col. 289B), and the others between 1366 and 1380. Although he does not mention Islam directly, he intimates that his people are in grave danger through being exposed to it.

In the first letter, Theophanes warns the Christians of Nicea to beware of being seduced into corrupt ways through their dealings with ungodly and sinful people, and particularly of falling into the attitude that there is no harm in the lusts of the flesh (col. 289CD). He warns them against ‘Arabian wolves’ (*lykoi Arrabikoi*), who approach them in sheep’s clothing (col. 292A). The devil, he says, uses the wicked to seduce Christians to a life of sin, drunkenness (*methē*) and fornication (*porneia*), filled with all kinds of licentiousness and indulgences (col. 292CD). Christians should meet these dangers with patience and steadfastness (col. 293C), and should resist them by remembering the passion of Christ at all times (col. 293D-296C).

At the beginning of the second letter, Theophanes gives thanks to God because he knows that the Christians in Nicea, Prusa and the surrounding

area have remained loyal to their faith, patiently resisting temptations and bearing up through sorrows (col. 301AB). He reminds them about Job, who continued to love God and to give him thanks and praise even after he had lost his possessions and children, and was attacked by a rash all over his body. The faithful should take Job as their example, and they should not think that the fulfillment of the divine commandments can be overcome by the power of men (cols 301C-320B).

In the third letter, Theophanes writes to the priests and clergy of his diocese. He tells them that he longs to be with them in person but is prevented by recent events, so he can deliver them the heavenly bread of instruction only through letters (col. 321A-C). He goes on to give detailed theological teachings about the fall of man, and the deification of man through Christ, the sacraments and the priesthood. Through the disobedience of the first man and woman, humanity was afflicted by death. But human nature has been deified by the Incarnation of God in Christ and we have become children of God (cols 324A-328B), though only those who have been born again by baptism and have received the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist can attain this union of God and man. Thus, the priest, who gives baptism, pronounces forgiveness of sins and shares the Eucharist as an intermediary between God and humankind (*mesitēs Theou kai anthrōpōn*), is crucially important for the obtaining of salvation (cols 332C-344A). The clergy should therefore apply themselves to study and strict adherence to the teachings of the Church (*hieroi kai theoi kanones*) (col. 349B). If they do these things, they will save themselves and those who listen to them (col. 349 C).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Although Theophanes probably avoids precise statements about Islam and the Turks deliberately, his letters cast light on the situation of the Greek Church in Ottoman Bithynia. More than 30 years after the Ottoman conquest of Nicea in 1331, there still remained a considerable number of Christians in Bithynia. But even after the Cantacuzenoi were allied with the Ottomans through the marriage of Theodora, daughter of John VI Cantacuzenus (1347-54), with Orhan in 1346, Greek metropolitans and bishops were not able to officiate in Ottoman territory. Priests could probably still tend to pastoral needs and distribute the sacraments without hindrance, though their moral integrity was crucial for the success of their ministry.

It is noteworthy that Theophanes saw seduction to an immoral lifestyle as the greatest danger for the faithful in Nicea living among

Muslims. Apparently, opportunities under Islamic law to marry several women and to divorce easily gave incentives to convert, while the trade in female slaves provided by Turkish raids in Thrace, Macedonia and Bulgaria was another inducement to sexual license.

MANUSCRIPTS

See the list of MSS in Polemis, *Theophanes of Nicaea*, p. 40.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Ed. C. Ponce de Leon, in *PG* 150, cols. 287-350

STUDIES

Polemis, *Theophanes of Nicaea*, pp. 17, 40, 60-61

K.-P. Todt, *Kaiser Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos und der Islam. Politische Realität und theologische Polemik im palaiologenzeitlichen Byzanz (Würzburger Forschungen zur Missions- und Religionswissenschaft, Religionswissenschaftliche Studien 16)*, Würzburg, 1991, pp. 119, 131, 156, 600, 616

S. Vryonis, Jr, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamization from the eleventh through the fifteenth century*, Berkeley CA, 1971, pp. 327, 343, 360 n. 20, 440

*Theophanes Nicaenus, Sermo in sanctissimam Deiparam*, ed. Jugie, pp. xii-xiv

Klaus-Peter Todt



# Dāniyāl al-Suryānī l-Mārdīnī

Daniel ibn al-Khaṭṭāb?, Daniel al-Mārdīnī

DATE OF BIRTH Possibly 1327  
PLACE OF BIRTH In or near Mardin  
DATE OF DEATH After 1382  
PLACE OF DEATH Perhaps Mardin

## BIOGRAPHY

The author of the *Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn* ('The fundamentals of religion') described below was a West-Syrian ('Jacobite') monk who, in the MSS of the work, is regularly identified as Dāniyāl (Daniel) ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. Early 20<sup>th</sup>-century scholarship identified two possibilities for saying more about this author. First, F. Nau discovered and in 1905 published the story of *rabbān* Daniel of Mardin, a scholarly monk who in 1382 was arrested and tortured by the Muslim authorities in Mardin because of the controversial character of a book he wrote on 'ecclesiastical fundamentals'. In 1920, A. Baumstark identified Daniel ibn al-Khaṭṭāb as a younger contemporary of Barhebraeus (1226-86; q.v.) who was known for a poetical controversy with the East-Syrian Khamīs ibn Qardāḥē. Since then, opinions have varied as to whether *rabbān* Daniel of Mardin and Daniel ibn al-Khaṭṭāb are to be identified with one another or not. Graf (*GCAL* ii, p. 281) opted for a single author who suffered in Mardin in 1382; Barṣawm (*Al-lu'lu'*, p. 442) attributed the *Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn* and translations of Barhebraeus to the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Daniel of Mardin, while distinguishing him from a 13<sup>th</sup>-century Daniel ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the correspondent of Khamīs ibn Qardāḥē. Barṣawm's position required him to hold that the ascription of the *Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn* to Daniel 'ibn al-Khaṭṭāb' in some manuscripts was due to confusion in the scribal tradition.

Graf and Barṣawm both relied on a manuscript note by one Dā'ūd al-Ḥimṣī preserved in MS Vat – Ar. 636, which claims that *al-shaykh al-marḥūm* Daniel was the youngest of three scholars (the others being Yūsūf ibn Gharīb and Yashū' ibn Khayrūn) who revived church scholarship – and which then provides a list of Daniel's works, mostly Arabic recensions made from the works of Barhebraeus, but including the original work *Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn*. Yashū' ibn Khayrūn and Yūsuf ibn Gharīb are both 14<sup>th</sup>-century figures (with death dates of 1335 and 1375

respectively, according to Barṣawm, *Al-lu'lu'*, pp. 438-39, 441). According to this, the scholarly Daniel who wrote *Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn* is clearly a figure of the 14<sup>th</sup> century; there is little difficulty in identifying him with Daniel the confessor of Mardin in 1382. The question remains – and will not be settled here – of whether the name of this scholar and confessor of the faith was Daniel *ibn al-Khaṭṭāb* al-Mārdīnī, or whether the *nasab* found in several manuscripts is the result of a confusion with a writer of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

Summing up so far: the preserved biographical notices allow us to speak of the monk Daniel of Mardin, who devoted considerable scholarly energy to making Arabic-language recensions of writings of Barhebraeus (including the *Kitāb al-ishrāq*, which translates a number of chapters of Barhebraeus' *Lamp of the sanctuary*; see Sepmeijer, 'The book of brilliance'), but who also composed the original work *Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn* described below. Materials from this book – or perhaps from another, more sharply polemical work? – offended Muslim officials in Mardin, which was then under the rule of Sultan al-Malik al-Ṭāhir. Thus, in March 1382, Daniel was arrested, imprisoned, savagely beaten, urged to abandon his Christian faith, and finally paraded through the city by means of a rope tied to a ring through his nose. After he had spent several more weeks in prison, the Christian community paid a huge ransom for his release.

According to Barṣawm (*Al-lu'lu'*, p. 442, citing MS Berlin 23), Daniel was born in Mardin in 1327, became a monk and priest at Dayr al-Qaṭara, traveled to Egypt in search of knowledge in 1356, and returned to Mardin 17 years later.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

MS Paris, BNF – Syr. 244, fol. 142v (autobiographical account of Daniel's arrest and torture in March 1382; see Nau, 'Rabban Daniel de Mardin')

MS Vat – Ar. 636, fol. 92r (note of Dā'ūd al-Ḥimṣī; see Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis* ii, p. 464)

### Secondary

F. Sepmeijer, 'Book of the principles of faith attributed to Daniel ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb', *Pd'O* 22 (1997) 405-13, pp. 406-7

F. Sepmeijer, 'The book of brilliance by Daniel ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb', *Pd'O* 19 (1994) 379-87 (on *Kitāb al-ishrāq*)

- H.G.B. Teule (trans.), *Gregory Barhebraeus, Ethicon. Mēmṛā I* (CSCO 535 = syr. 219), Louvain, 1993, pp. xiv-xv
- Ḥabīb Bāshā, *Ḥawāshī Ibn al-Maḥrūma 'alā kitāb 'Tanqīḥ al-abḥāth li-l-mīlal al-thalāth' li-Ibn Kammūna* (*Patrimoine Arabe Chrétien* 6), Zouk Mikhaël, Lebanon, 1984, p. 44
- Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 281-84
- Ighnāṭīyūs Afrām al-awwal Barṣawm, *Al-lu'lu' al-manthūr fi tārikh al-'ulūm wa-l-ādāb al-suryāniyya = Histoire des sciences et de la littérature syriaque*, Ḥims, 1943; Glane, The Netherlands, 1987<sup>4</sup>, pp. 441-42
- A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1922, p. 320
- P. Asbat [= Sbath], 'Manuscripts orientaux de la Bibliothèque Asbat', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 22 (1920-21) 194-205, pp. 202-4
- F. Nau, 'Rabban Daniel de Mardin, auteur syro-arabe du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 10 (1905) 314-18 (edition and French trans. of the important note in Paris Syr. 244, fol. 142v)
- F. Nau, 'Opuscles maronites', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 4 (1899) 175-226, 318-53, 543-71, pp. 186, 335-36
- G.S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis clementino-vaticana*, vol. 2, Rome, 1721, pp. 244, 463-64

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn wa-shifā' qulūb al-mu'minīn*,

'The fundamentals of religion and cure for believers' hearts'

*Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn*, 'The fundamentals of religion'

*Mukhtaṣar fi uṣūl al-dīn al-Naṣrāniyya*, 'Epitome of the fundamentals of the Christian religion'

DATE Shortly before 1382

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

#### DESCRIPTION

*Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn* is a work of some length, occupying 112 folios in the Bodleian manuscript, the oldest complete text available. It is divided into two (or more) parts. Part 1 is well-defined in the manuscript tradition and is normally divided into 14 chapters that deal with the Christian doctrines of God, the Incarnation, and redemption through the death of Christ. The remainder of the work is less clearly structured (sometimes two parts, or three *manāḥij*), but begins with a section on the Virgin Mary (complete with *testimonia* from the Bible and the pagan philosophers),

and then moves on to Marian and Christological understandings, in dispute with East Syrians and Melkites. There follows a ‘refutation of the Muslims’ who deny the crucifixion of Christ, a response to ‘those who deny the possibility of the Incarnation of God the Word’, and other matters (Sepmeijer, ‘Book of the principles of faith’, pp. 411-12).

The first five chapters (on the doctrine of God) have been edited, translated, and studied. Beyond these chapters, however, an edition of the text is needed – and for now we are mostly dependent upon the outline given in Sepmeijer, ‘Book of the principles of faith’. Sepmeijer has alerted us to the existence of passages in which Daniel clearly addresses Muslims, e.g. in Part 1, ch. 11 (‘The refutation of those who say that Christ is a pure creature’), and in the section on the crucifixion, where Daniel counters Q 4:157 (‘they did not kill him...’) with Q 3:55 and 5:117 (where Daniel presumably understands the verb *tawaffā* as ‘caused to die’).

An edition of the entire text is needed in order to judge whether the Islam-directed apologetic in the work could plausibly be the source of the rage on the part of the Islamic authorities of Mardin that led to Daniel’s arrest and torture in 1382.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

It is difficult to judge the significance of the work given the present state of scholarship. What is most significant about the story of Daniel al-Mārdīnī – if it has been correctly pieced together here – is the reminder that writing polemics in Arabic was a sensitive business, not to be undertaken lightly.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

See Graf, *GAL* ii, pp. 282-83, but note that Graf’s list includes MSS of works other than *Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn*: two MSS of *Kitāb al-ishrāq* (Leiden – Or. 1290 and Beirut, BO – 573) and two MSS of a text (that might or might not be related to *Kitāb al-ishrāq*) called *Tiryāq al-ʿuqūl* (Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 190 [Graf 333; Simaika 357] and Theol. 201 [Graf 573; Simaika 505]). Removing these, we can construct the following list:

MS Vat – Ar. 74, fols 213v-242r (1455; Part 1)

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Ar. Christ. Uri 53 (1575)

MS Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek – Ar. 63, fols 44v-100v (1617; Karshūnī)

MS Vat – Sbath 4 (1871; Karshūnī)

MS Birmingham, University Library – Mingana Chr. Arab. 57 [100]  
(fol. 2a contains a biography of the author written in 1931 by the future patriarch Ighnāṭiyūs Afrām I Barṣawm)

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 690, pp. 48-153 (19<sup>th</sup> century; but is this the *Kibāb uṣūl al-dīn* or a different apologetic work? It is ascribed to Dāniyāl ibn ʿĪsā)

In addition, Sbath mentions two inaccessible manuscripts, an additional MS from his own collection, and one in the collection of Daoud Kabāba: Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 11 (no. 38)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

P. Sbath, *Vingt traités philosophiques et apologétiques d'auteurs arabes chrétiens du IX<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Cairo, 1929, pp. 148-51 (edition of the first five chapters of the first part, from a 16<sup>th</sup>-century MS in his own collection)

P. Asbat [= Sbath], 'Manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Asbat', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 22 (1920-21) 194-205, p. 203 (French trans. of the first five chapters, from MS [Vatican] Sbath 4)

#### STUDIES

F. Sepmeijer, 'Book of the principles of faith attributed to Daniel ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb', *Pd'O* 22 (1997) 405-13 (provides an outline of the text based on the Mingana MS)

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 282-83

G. Graf, *Die Philosophie und Gotteslehre des Jaḥyā ibn ʿAdī und späterer Autoren. Skizzen nach meist ungedruckten Quellen (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters viii.7)*, Münster, 1910, pp. 70-74

Mark N. Swanson

# Martyrology of Archbishop Step‘anos Sebastac‘i

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH Mid-14th century

PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown

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 of 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 Sebastia not long after the events 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‘iwn Step‘anosi ark‘episkoposi  
Sebastac‘woy*, ‘Martyrology of Archbishop  
Step‘anos Sebastac‘i’

DATE About 1387

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

## DESCRIPTION

This work depicts the retaliation of Burhān al-Dīn, the Danishmend qadi of Sebastia, against conspirators among his troops, who were planning an abortive revolt against his harsh rule in the aftermath of his killing the previous ruler of the city and ensconcing himself in power there.

This scenario serves as the backdrop for his onslaught against the important local Armenian Christian community on the basis of a report that its hierarch Step'anos was implicated in the plot. Although the original summons had been for the cleric to be accompanied by all his monastics, he bribes the soldiers to allow him to bring only two elderly monks to his audience with the qadi in the latter's summer residence at Ašaru. Unsatisfied by the response Step'anos makes to the charge of complicity, the qadi demands the conversion of the three as the only means of saving their lives, and upon their refusal he orders them to be decapitated. Summary justice is meted out to the two monks, but when complications arise with the hierarch, the executioner strikes him in the back and severs it in two. The three are then given appropriate burial by the Christian community.

The witness of the manuscripts of the martyrology is divided between 23 and 26 June as the date the event occurred. However, the reference in a subsequent commemorative *tał* poem to its taking place on a Wednesday decides the issue in favor of the latter date.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Granted the clerical background of the Armenian martyrs, the account exhibits a pronouncedly religious focus. This involves a developed creedal statement of their Christian faith before the qadi and a distinct emphasis on the supernatural. So, when the soldiers approach the archbishop with a sharp sword to decapitate him, the qadi interprets their inability to make any impression to the hierarch's application of magic, and hence orders two men to hold his arms and legs before continuing. Since the execution occurs on the same spot where the conspirators had met their death, their bodies are portrayed as forming an indistinguishable pile. Thus the appearance of a bright light, the verifying sign of true martyrdom that is frequently mentioned in the genre, fell indiscriminately upon them all, provoking the qadi to comment that it was occasioned by those of the Muslim soldiers who had made the hajj to Mecca. However, when the corpses were separated out, the light was seen to rest only on the three Christian saints.

The narrative also underscores Burhān al-Dīn's indifference to established convention with regard to his extortions against the clergy and pillaging and destruction of churches and monastic property. The former would normally have been free from any imposts, while the inviolability of the latter was generally guaranteed by their status as religious trusts (*waqf*).

## MANUSCRIPTS

Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts, Yerevan:

- M1511, fols 528r-529r (1471)  
 M4477, fols 524r-525v (1559)  
 M1505, fols 514v-515v (1589)  
 M4520, pp. 1032-34 (16<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M1517, fols 395r-396r (16<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M1510, fols 546r-547r (16<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M1338, fols 439v-470v (16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M1503, fols 555r-556r (1633)  
 M1502, fols 511v-512v (1651)  
 M1501, fols 547r-548r (post-1655)  
 M1516 fols 248r-249r (pre-1681)  
 M1509, fols 519v-520v (1685)  
 M1512, fols 503v-504v (1689)  
 M1532, fols 518v-519v (1695)  
 M1534, fols 537v-538v (1695)  
 M3808, fols 442r-443r (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M1504, pp. 975-77 (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M1506, fols 504r-505r (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M1507, fols 438r-439r (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M1508, fols 521v-523r (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M3783, fols 433v-434r (1704)  
 M1513, fols 372v-373v (1706)  
 M3786, pp. 1121-23 (1713)  
 M1533, fols 450v-451v (1725-30)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

- K. Ter-Davtyan, *Novie armyanskie mucheniki (1155-1843), perevod, pre-dislovie i primechaniya*, Yerevan: Nairi Publications, 1998, pp. 64-66, 268-69 (Russian trans.)  
 K. Ter-Davtyan, *Pamyatniki armyanskoy agiografii*, Yerevan, 1973, pp. 98-99 (Russian trans.)  
 Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, Vałaršapat, 1903, pp. 137-50 (critical edition)  
 Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (žotovrdakan hratarakut'wn)*, vol. 1, Vałaršapat, 1902, pp. 101-4 (edition lacks critical apparatus)  
*Yaysmawurk' əst kargi əntrelagoyn ōrinaki yaısmawurac' Tēr Israyēli*, vol. 1, Constantinople: Pōlos Srapean Press, 1834, pp. 267-68 (edition affording a more complete text than the other printed editions)



*Girk' or koč'i aysmawurk' or parunakē yink'ean zčařs varuc' srhoc'*, Constantinople: Grigor Marzuanec'i Press, 1730, pp. 625-26 (edition)

*Yaysmawur or əst patšači awur iwrum ənt'ėrnun surb eketec'in*, Constantinople: Astuacatur Kostandnupolsec'i Press, 1706, pp. 915-17 (edition)

## STUDIES

K. Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkayabanut'yunner (V-XVIII dd.)*, Yerevan: Nayri, 2011, pp. 329-30 (East Armenian trans.)

H. Ačaiyan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri bařaran*, vol. 4, Yerevan: State University Publication, 1948, pp. 647-48

M. C'amč'ean, *Patmut'ıwn Hayoc' i skzbanē ařxarhis minč'ew c'am Tearın 1784*, vol. 3, Venice: Petros Valvazeanc' Press, 1786, pp. 431-33

**S. Peter Cowe**

# The Life and Miracles of Marqus al-Anṭūnī

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; 14 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; presumably Egypt
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; after 1389
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; possibly the Monastery of St Antony

## BIOGRAPHY

The *Life* and *Miracles* of Marqus al-Anṭūnī allow us to conclude that their author (or chief compiler) was, like Marqus, a monk of the Monastery of St Antony in the Eastern Desert of Egypt. The *Miracles* open by relating that no *Life* of Marqus al-Anṭūnī had yet been written three years after the death of the saint (that is, in 1389). At that time, we are told, the saint appeared to one of the monks of the Monastery of St Antony in a vision and chided him for having neglected this matter, after which the (unnamed) monk wrote the *Life*. Presumably, the same author, perhaps working with other monks who had known the saint, compiled the *Miracles*.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

MS Red Sea, Monastery of St Paul – Hist. 115, fols 53v-54r (Miracle 1, the story of the appearance of Marqus al-Anṭūnī to one of his disciples in a vision)

### *Secondary* —

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Sīrat al-ṭūbānī l-mukhtār Anbā Marqus al-Anṭūnī, hād̄hā-lladhī akmala say‘ahu l-muqaddas fī l-yawm al-thāmin min shahr Abīb*, ‘The life of the blessed chosen one Anbā Marqus al-Anṭūnī, who completed his holy course on the 8th day of the month of Abīb’

*Sīrat Anbā Marqus al-Anṭūnī*, ‘The life of Anbā Marqus al-Anṭūnī’

‘The Life and Miracles of Marqus al-Anṭūnī’

DATE Begun in 1389

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The *Life* and *Miracles* of Marqus al-Anṭūnī is a work of some length (88 full folios in the Monastery of St Paul copy) which makes use of a literary form already familiar among the Copts (e.g., in the *Life* and *Miracles* of Barṣawmā al-'Uryān, q.v.): a *Life* (= *sīra*) proper, followed by a collection of *Miracles* (= *a'jāb*, *a'ājīb*, or *'ajā'ib*), which are colorful (and not necessarily miraculous) anecdotes of events during the saint's *life* rather than miracles that took place after his death.

According to the text, Marqus was born around 1296 to pious Christian parents in Upper Egypt, was trained in prayer and charity by his mother, and at the age of 23 decided to embrace the monastic life. After six years of intense ascetic training at the Monastery of St Paul, he moved to the neighboring Monastery of St Antony, where he spent the next seven decades of his life. There he became a spiritual father and teacher to others, and was known for his labor for the salvation of souls and his mercy towards sinners. He was also known for his clairvoyance and his power to heal and to save. After a two-year illness, he died on 8 Abīb (2 July 1386).

Despite his refusal to leave his monastery (even in time of famine), Marqus was remarkably well connected with the Egyptian society of his day – and herein lies his significance for the history of Christian-Muslim relations. The *Life* and especially the *Miracles* show Marqus interacting with Copts and with Muslims from many segments of society, including 'Muslim Copts' of the bureaucratic class (that is, from families that had recently and under pressure converted to Islam from Christianity). In several stories, Marqus met with nominal Muslims, both women and men, who desired to return to Christian allegiance. Marqus offered comfort and encouragement, healing and forgiveness to all who sought him. He received those who wished to return to Christianity with joy – here is a very particular instance of his 'mercy towards sinners' – and helped them along their way, whether to life in the monastery, to an openly Christian life in the world, or, in some cases, to martyrdom. Indeed, when a wave of voluntary martyrdoms broke out in Egypt in the year 1380, several of the first martyrs, such as the monk Ya'qūb Abū Muqayṭif and his 'daughters', were figures who make appearances in Marqus' *Life* and *Miracles*.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Marqus was the eldest of a remarkable 'quartet' of Coptic saints whose lives overlapped for a full half century (1336-86). Two of the others appear to have been Marqus' disciples: Patriarch Matthew I (1378-1408, q.v.) and the monk Ibrāhīm al-Fānī (q.v.). The third was the strange lay saint known as Abba Teji or Anbā Ruways (q.v.). Taken together, their *Lives* provide a remarkable picture (from a Coptic point of view) of Egyptian society in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, and provide considerable insight into how the Coptic community struggled for stability and survival even as it continued to hemorrhage members and resources because of an ongoing wave of conversion to Islam.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Hist. 53 (Simaika 627, Graf 492) (1679; *Life* and 36 *Miracles*)

MS Red Sea, Monastery of St Paul – Hist. 115 (1700; *Life* and 34 *Miracles*)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 4774, fols 230r-298r (19<sup>th</sup> century; *Life* and 35 *Miracles*)

MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Monastery of St Macarius – Hag. 40 (Zanetti 406), fols 96-134 (these folios are from a modern MS)

MS Cairo, Church of the Virgin at Ḥārat Zuwayla – Hist. 24 (date unknown)

MS Venice, Biblioteca Naniiana – Or. 29 (89/1) (date unknown)

MS Asyut, Dayr al-Muḥarraq – Panegyric 30 (date unknown)

Other MSS are surely to be found in Egyptian church and monastic collections (including at least one at the Monastery of St Antony).

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

Gawdat Gabra, 'New research from the Library of the Monastery of St Paul', in W. Lyster (ed.), *The cave church of Paul the Hermit at the Monastery of St Paul, Egypt*, New Haven CT, 2008, 94-105, pp. 96-99 (text and trans. of selected passages)

## STUDIES

M.N. Swanson, 'The saint and the Muslim Copts. Episodes from the *Life* of Abba Mark of the Monastery of St Antony (1296-1386)', in Y.N. Youssef and S. Moawad (eds), *From Old Cairo to the New World (Colloquia Antiqua 9)*, Leuven, forthcoming

Athanāsīyūs al-Maqārī, *Fihris kitābāt ābā' kanīsāt al-Iskandariyya. Al-kitābāt al-'arabiyya (Maṣādir ṭuqūs al-kanīsa 1.8-9)*, 2 vols, Cairo, 2012, ii, pp. 1088-89

M.N. Swanson, *The Coptic papacy in Islamic Egypt 641-1517*, Cairo, 2010, pp. 110-17

- M.N. Swanson, “‘He often rejected sinners and cast them into Hell’? On the image on St Shenoute in Copto-Arabic literature. The relevance of a sermon in MS Paris B.N. ar. 244’, *Coptica* 9 (2010) 67-81, pp. 67-69, 80-81 (on Marqus’ disapproval of St Shenoute’s severity)
- M.N. Swanson, ‘The Monastery of St. Paul in historical context’, in Lyster, *The cave church*, 42-59, pp. 49-51 (what the *Life* and *Miracles* tell us about the Monastery of St. Paul)
- M.N. Swanson, ‘“Our father Abba Mark”. Marqus al-Anṭūnī and the construction of sainthood in fourteenth-century Egypt’, in J.P. Monferrer Sala (ed.), *Eastern crossroads. Essays on medieval Christian legacy*, Piscataway NJ, 2007, 217-28 (with some Arabic-language bibliography at p. 218, n. 5)
- A. Wadi, art. ‘Marco l’Antoniano’, in J. Nadal Cañellas and S. Virgulin (eds), *Bibliotheca sanctorum orientalium. Enciclopedia dei santi. Le chiese orientali*, 2 vols, Rome, 1998-99, ii, cols 410-13 (with extensive bibliography, including Arabic-language publications in Egypt)
- R.-G. Coquin, art. ‘Murqus al-Antūnī’ in *CE*
- [S].K. Samir, art. ‘Marqus al-Anṭūnī’ in *CE*
- Majma’ ruhbān Dayr al-qiddīs al-‘aẓīm al-Anbā Anṭūniyūs, *Al-qiddīs al-Anbā Marqus al-Anṭūnī al-nāsik. Siratuhu wa-mu’jizātuhu*, Cairo, 1986 (one of several small-circulation publications about the saint from the Monastery of St Antony; gives a very helpful summary of the *Miracles*)
- Īrīs Ḥabīb al-Miṣrī, *Qiṣṣat al-kanīsa l-qibṭiyya*, vol. 3, Cairo, 1971, pp. 353-59
- Kāmil Ṣāliḥ Nakhla, *Silsilat Tārīkh al-babawāt baṭārikat al-kursī l-Iskandarī*, fasc. 3, Dayr al-Suryān, 1952, pp. 75-85 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cairo, 2001, pp. 53-61)

Mark N. Swanson

# Martyrology of Awag Salmastec‘i

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH Mid-14th century  
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 origin and background. Basing oneself on the norms of 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 Bitlis 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‘iwn Awagi Salmastec‘woy, ‘Martyrology of Awag Salmastec‘i’*

DATE 1390  
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

## DESCRIPTION

The work is an account of the martyrdom of the Christian Armenian leather worker Awag, originally of Salmast, who had been apprenticed there under a Muslim master around the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century and subsequently relocated to Bitlis some 30 years later, perhaps to escape Timur-i Leng’s devastating campaigns in the region. It is also significant that Armenians were the majority population in the city. There, he was

charged by a Muslim from Salmast with having renounced Islam. As a result, he was arraigned before the Kurdish emir Amirsharaf of the Rusaki dynasty, who transferred him to the local qadi for a ruling. However, as he protested his Christian faith en route, the mob attacked him and beat him to death with stones, wooden clubs, and swords. The martyrdom is stated to have taken place on 23 February 1390. The text reveals many of the typical features of the genre, including a long prelude on God's goodness and mercy as indicated by the biblical record, especially the accounts of martyrdom of the prophets. At the same time, the wealth of circumstantial detail underlines its overall veracity and suggests it is the product of a writer close to the events described.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The narrative highlights the particular significance of identity issues for individuals involved in close interchange between the Christian and Muslim communities, such as this case of apprenticeship by a Christian to a Muslim master craftsman, which raises questions about the ethno-religious composition of the guild structure in that milieu at that time. Identification as a Muslim by association with his artisan environs becomes the crucial factor in precipitating the charge of apostasy from Islam. The description of events is striking in underscoring the emir's sense of justice and humanity in contrast with the populace's swift visceral reaction to the charge. The former is presented as wishing to release the defendant, being pressured into invoking the *qādi's* prerogative to judge in order to placate the crowd. In addition, he inquired into the defendant's financial situation regarding both his assets and debts, and is depicted as making a final settlement of his affairs after his death.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts, Yerevan:

- M1511, fols 342v-344r (1471)
- M4477, fols 291r-293r (1559)
- M1505, fols 321r-322r (1589)
- M4520, pp. 638-41 (16<sup>th</sup> century)
- M1510, fols 357v-359v (16<sup>th</sup> century)
- M1517, fols 241r-242r (16<sup>th</sup> century)
- M1338, fols 281v-283r (16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> century)
- M1503, fols 349r-351v (1633)
- M1502, fols 303r-304v (1651)
- M1501, fols 335v-336v (post-1655)
- M1516, fols 51r-52v (pre-1681)

- M1509, fols 321v-323r (1685)  
 M1512, fols 315r-316r (1689)  
 M1532, fols 308v-310r (1695)  
 M1534, fols 344v-346r (1695)  
 M3808, fols 280r-281v (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M1504, pp. 607-10 (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M1507, fols 268v-269v (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M1508, fols 302r-303r (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M3683, fols 285v-286v (1704)  
 M3783, fols 394r-396v (1704)  
 M1513, fols 239r-240r (1706)  
 M2786, pp. 692-96 (1713)  
 M1533, fols 292r-293v (1725-30)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

- K. Ter-Davtyan, *Novie armyanskie mucheniki (1155-1843), perevod, pre-disloviie i primechaniya*, Yerevan: Nairi Publications, 1998, pp. 69-72, 270 (Russian trans.)  
 K. Ter-Davtyan, *Pamyatniki armyanskoy agiografii*, Yerevan, 1973, pp. 104-7 (Russian trans.)  
 Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, Vałaršapat, 1903, pp. 152-65 (critical edition)  
 Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (žotovrdakan hratarakut'iwñ)*, vol. 1, Vałaršapat, 1902, pp. 108-13 (edition lacks critical apparatus)  
*Yaysmawurk' əst kargi əntrelagoyñ ōrinaki yaysmawurac' Tēr Israyēli*, vol. 1, Constantinople: Pōlos Srapean Press, 1834, pp. 93-94 (edition)  
*Girk' or koč'i aysmawurk' or parunakē yink'ean zčarš varuc' srhoc'*, Constantinople: Grigor Marzuanec'ĭ Press, 1730, pp. 386-88 (edition)  
*Yaysmawur or əst patšacı awur iwrum ənt'ėrnun surb ekelec'in*, Constantinople: Astuacatur Kostandnupolsec'ĭ Press, 1706, pp. 549-51 (edition)

## STUDIES

- K. Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkayabanut'yunner (V-XVIII dd.)*, Yerevan: Nayri, 2011, pp. 331-32  
 H. Ač'aryan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri bařaran*, vol. 1, Yerevan: State University Publication, 1942, pp. 323-24  
 M. C'amč'ean, *Patmut'iwñ Hayoc' i skzbanē ašxarhis minč'ew c'am Tearn 1784*, vol. 3, Venice: Petros Vałvazeanc' Press, 1786, p. 433



# Geoffrey Chaucer

DATE OF BIRTH About 1340  
PLACE OF BIRTH London  
DATE OF DEATH 1400  
PLACE OF DEATH London

## BIOGRAPHY

In a 'Ballade' addressed to Geoffrey Chaucer, the French poet, Eustache Deschamps, his contemporary, calls him a 'grant translateur'. Deschamps explains what this term might mean by referring to the classical authors, Virgil and Ovid, for example, and the French *Roman de la rose*, which Chaucer has 'translated' into English (1360s). To confer on him the role of *translatio studii* of the ancient Romans and the contemporary French only slightly addresses Chaucer's many allusions, borrowings, and general indebtedness to the matter of Rome, the matter of Britain, French 13<sup>th</sup>-century vernacular literature and the Italian trecento (specifically Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio). It would be impossible to imagine Chaucer's major works, *Troilus and Criseyde* (1381-86), *The Canterbury tales* (1375-1400), *The house of fame*, *The book of the duchess* and *The parliament of fowls*, without taking into account how he has 'translated' the works of these earlier poets into English. At the same time, he also shows knowledge of Islamic learning, cultural contribution, and science, particularly astronomy and astrology, as is demonstrated in his many references throughout *The Canterbury tales*, as well as in his *Treatise on the astrolabe* (1391), which he wrote for his son.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

*The Riverside Chaucer*, general editor L.D. Benson, Cambridge MA, 1987

### Secondary

The literature on Chaucer is vast. Some important recent studies include:

C. Lewis, 'History, mission, and crusade in the *Canterbury tales*', *Chaucer Review* 42 (2008) 353-82

W. Ginsberg, *Chaucer's Italian tradition*, Ann Arbor MI, 2002

B. Schildgen, *Pagans, Tartars, Moslems, and Jews in Chaucer's Canterbury tales*, Gainesville FL, 2001

- S. Delany, 'Chaucer's prioress, the Jews, and the Muslims', *Medieval Encounters* 5 (1999) 198-213
- D. Wallace, *Chaucerian polity. Absolutist lineages and associational forms in England and Italy*, Stanford CA, 1997
- D. Pearsall, *The life of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Oxford, 1992
- L. Patterson, *Chaucer and the subject of history*, Madison WI, 1991
- D. Howard, *The idea of the Canterbury tales*, Berkeley CA, 1976

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *The Man of Law's tale*

DATE 1390s

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Middle English

#### DESCRIPTION

*The Man of Law's tale*, based on Nicholas Trevet's Anglo-Norman chronicle, incorporates many Islamic elements. Until recently, the contrast between Islam and Christianity that undergirds the first half of the story has been overlooked. (The second half deals with the conversion of Britain.) The Man of Law tells a story of a marriage arranged between a Roman Christian daughter of the emperor, Constance, and a Sultan of Syria, who, having heard of her beauty and manner as recounted by Syrian merchants who have been doing business in Rome, sets aside the diversity between the two laws of Islam and Christianity. Indeed, he agrees, along with his court, to convert to Christianity in order to secure the marriage agreement. The stars predict that the marriage is doomed as Constance sets out with dire premonitions. Indeed, the prediction, based on Arab astronomical knowledge, proves true as the Sultan's mother, 'a second Semiramis', masterminds and carries out a plot to kill her son and his converted allies and expel Constance. The Roman side returns this treachery with vengeance, sealing an absolute divide between the two realms.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Six aspects of medieval European attitudes towards and relations with the Islamic world appear in this tale: 1. Regular trade between Islamic and Christian territories as demonstrated in the initial link between the merchants from Syria and Rome; 2. The vitriolic and scornful attitude that helped support the crusades and exhibits little knowledge of Islam, found in medieval *chansons de geste* and typified in Alexandre du Pont's *Le roman de Mahomet* (1258). This appears in *The Man of Law's tale* as

what Constance calls 'hethenesse' – incidentally, the same word she uses for the unconverted Britons she encounters in the second part of the story. 'Saracen', the common word applied to Muslims in the Middle Ages, does not appear here; it is replaced by the far more pejorative terms, 'heathen' or 'barbre nacioun', both of which demonstrate lack of knowledge of Islam; 3. Nonetheless, the tale does show some knowledge of Islam, having the Syrians refer to their prophet 'Mahoun' and their sacred text 'Alkaron'; 4. Islamic learning regarded as classical learning, particularly with regard to philosophy and astronomy, demonstrated in the reading of the heavenly bodies that predict disaster in the impending wedding; 5. Islam as a threat and danger because it combined religion and politics, demonstrated by the Roman desire to convert this Islamic opposition by marriage, and by the brutal response to betrayal on both sides of the divide, when the Sultan's mother kills her son and courtiers in order to return Syria to its Islamic status, and when the Romans avenge this act; 6. The fictional and exotic Islam appearing in the representation of the sultan's mother as a second Semiramis (thus melding Ancient Babylon and contemporary Syria), who will murder her son and those who follow him in order to hold onto power and her religion.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS San Marino, Huntington Library – Ellesmere 26 C 9 (early 15<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales – Peniarth 392 D (formerly Hengwrt 154) (early 15<sup>th</sup> century)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Benson (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*

F.N. Robinson, *The works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Boston MA, 1957

J.U. Nicholson, *Canterbury tales*, New York, 1934

#### STUDIES

H. Phillips, *Chaucer and religion*, Cambridge, 2010

B. Boyd, 'Chaucer's imaginary frontiers. The Man of Law's tale', in O. Merisallo and P. Pahta (eds), *Frontiers in the Middle Ages. Proceedings of the Third European Congress of Medieval Studies*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 2006, 637-41

B.S. Lees, 'Family values and the boundaries of Christendom in Chaucer's *Man of Law's tale*', *Southern African Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies / Suider-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Middeleeuse en Renaissance studies* 14 (2004) 23-38

- S. Niebrzydowski, 'Monstrous (m)othering. The representation of the Sowdanesse in Chaucer's Man of Law's tale', in L. McAvoy and T. Walters (eds), *Consuming narratives. Gender and monstrous appetite in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Cardiff, 2002, 196-207
- C. Dinshaw, 'Pale faces. Race, religion, and affect in Chaucer's texts and their readers', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer: Yearbook of the New Chaucer Society* 23 (2001) 19-41
- K. Davies, 'Time behind the veil. The media, the Middle Ages, and orientalism now', in J.J. Cohen (ed.), *The postcolonial Middle Ages*, Basingstoke UK, 2000, 105-22
- K. Lynch, 'Storytelling, exchange, and constancy. East and West in Chaucer's Man of Law's tale', *Chaucer Review* 33 (1999) 409-22
- Wallace, *Chaucerian polity. Absolutist lineages and associational forms in England and Italy*
- S. Schibanoff, 'Worlds apart. Orientalism, antifeminism, and heresy in Chaucer's Man of Law's tale', *Exemplaria* 8 (1996) 59-96
- M. Schlauch, *Chaucer's Constance and accused queens*, New York, 1927 (repr. 1969)

**Brenda Schildgen**

# Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār

Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad  
ibn ‘Alī l-Dunaysirī

DATE OF BIRTH 1345 or before  
PLACE OF BIRTH Cairo  
DATE OF DEATH 1392  
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

## BIOGRAPHY

Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār was known for his literary works, primarily poetry. He first studied the Qur’an and legal thinking, but later in his short life he turned to literature. While the date of his birth is generally given as 1345, Ibn al-‘Imād gives it as 1339. His patronymic, which is presumably derived from Dunaysir near Mardin in eastern Anatolia, suggests that his family originated from this area.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Al-durar al-kāmina*, 5 vols, Beirut, 1997, i, p. 170

Ḥajjī Khalifa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, 2 vols, Istanbul, 1941-43 (see index)

Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, 6 vols, Cairo, 1932, vi,  
p. 133

### *Secondary*

L. Chipman, *The world of pharmacy and pharmacists in Mamlūk Cairo*, Leiden, 2010, p. 170 (mentions that al-Maqrīzī refers to Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār five times in the *Khīṭaṭ*)

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Al-‘uhūd al-‘umariyya fī l-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā*, ‘The pacts of ‘Umar concerning the Jews and Christians’

DATE Late 14<sup>th</sup> century; before 1392

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

This lost work is almost completely unknown. It is mentioned by Ḥajjī Khalīfa alone (*Kashf al-zunūn*, col. 1180), and he says nothing about it except that Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār *jama‘ahā* (‘brought them together’). By this he presumably means that Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār assembled together what must have been the different versions of the Pact of ‘Umar (q.v.) that were known in his time. Since this would have been a broadly legal work, Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār may have completed it in the period before he left his legal studies.

## SIGNIFICANCE

This title indicates that a number of versions of the Pact of ‘Umar were in circulation in later 14<sup>th</sup>-century Egypt. Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār could have been assembling the ones he knew in order to arrive at a definitive version, with the possible aim of ascertaining exactly how Christians and Jews living under Mamluk rule should be treated.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

David Thomas

# Martyrology of Zak'aria, catholicos of Alt'amar

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH Mid-14<sup>th</sup> century  
PLACE OF BIRTH Armenia  
DATE OF DEATH Unknown  
PLACE OF DEATH Probably Alt'amar or its environs

## BIOGRAPHY

The author does not identify himself/herself in the narrative nor does he/she make any indirect allusions that might clarify his/her origin and background. Granted the status of the martyr as a high-ranking cleric with a large monastic entourage and the theological sophistication with which the martyrology is penned, it is most plausible that the author was a vardapet (doctor of theology) at the monastery of Alt'amar, who composed the account not long after the events it documents.

## 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'iwn Zak'ariayi, kat'olikosi Att'amaray,*  
'Martyrology of Zak'aria, catholicos of Alt'amar'

DATE Approximately 1393  
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

## DESCRIPTION

The protagonist of the narrative is Zak'aria II, catholicos of Alt'amar, probably the nephew of Dawit' II, and a scion of the Sefedinian branch of the prominent Armenian aristocratic and royal family of the Arcrunids, who was consecrated in 1378 (or possibly 1369). Before the events described here, he had fallen captive to Timur-i Leng during his campaign against

Van, but had escaped in 1387. Six years later he received a visit from the Persian qadi of Ostan, the regional center on the southeast shore of Lake Van, who wanted to leave his satchel with him for safe-keeping. When the hierarch responded that his residence was not a fitting place for it and that he should find somewhere more suitable, the qadi became annoyed, began cursing him, and stretched out his hand to strike him. The other placed his arm over his chest defensively, so the qadi hit him on the chin, to which he retorted that it was not appropriate for the qadi to strike him without proper cause. With a large group of men and women gathering round them, the qadi tore Zak'aria's robe and pulled at his beard until blood ran over his face, and then left the island to return to Ostan, where he spoke badly about the catholicos and the Christians of Alt'amar to the emir 'Izz al-Din.

The catholicos also hurried to the emir, and found him at the baths. The emir's response was that the catholicos should denounce Christ and accept Islam if he wanted him to overlook the matter. When the latter refused, the Muslim crowd became incensed and drove him out of the baths at sword-point, then stripped him and trailed him through the streets at the end of a rope, fatally striking him with stones, sticks, and swords. After this, they dragged his body out of the town and were about to burn it when the emir intervened to prevent it, granting the Christians permission to give him an honorable burial. The martyrdom took place on Wednesday, 25 June, 1393.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The text offers a fascinating vignette of religious power politics in the Lake Van region. The catholicate of Alt'amar had been created in 1113 through a schism in the Armenian church to perpetuate in the ecclesiastical realm the autonomy that the Arçrunid dynasty had previously enjoyed politically. It was maintained in the family by lineal descent (usually uncle-nephew) until its demise in the Hamidian massacres of 1895, with jurisdiction reduced to a few bishoprics around the lakeshore. Indeed, with the backing of the local emir, Zak'aria III actually relived a moment of past glory by crowning his relative Smbat 'King of Armenia' in the following century, but the title disappeared with the death of its bearer some eight years later. Consequently, incumbents of the see were keenly aware of their status and prerogatives.

Moreover, as is suggested by other sources, the island of Alt'amar was a predominantly Armenian enclave, which likely accounts for the qadi's rather hasty retreat as a crowd formed to witness his treatment of their



hierarchy. His visit may then be construed as an attempt to assert authority over the catholicos and bring the island more directly under the qadi's legal jurisdiction. Leaving his satchel on the island would provide further opportunities to return, and thus to establish a presence there. This impression is heightened by the sequel, in which both religious leaders make their case before the secular administration.

Although the narrative is highly realistic and is replete with details that reinforce the reality of the events related, the introduction and conclusion broach deeper theological issues of theodicy, justice, and the scope of evil in the divine economy. The author also develops certain parallels between his subject and his namesake, the biblical prophet.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts, Yerevan:

- M1511, fols 530v-531v (1471]
- M4477, fols 528r-529r (1559)
- M1505, fols 517v-518r (1589)
- M4520, pp. 1038-40 (16<sup>th</sup> century)
- M1517, fols 397v-398r (16<sup>th</sup> century)
- M1503, fols 558r-559r (1633)
- M1502, fols 514v-515v (1651)
- M1501, fols 550v-551r (post-1655)
- M1516, fols 251r-252r (pre-1681)
- M1509, fols 522v-523v (1685)
- M1512, fols 506r-507r (1689]
- M1532, fols 521v-522v (1695)
- M1534, fols 540v-541r (1695)
- M1506, fols 507r-508r (17<sup>th</sup> century)
- M1507, fols 441r-441v (17<sup>th</sup> century)
- M1508, fols 525r-526r (17<sup>th</sup> century)
- M3783, fols 435v-436r (1704)
- M3783, fols 576v-577r (1704)
- M1513, fols 375r-375v (1706)
- M3786, pp. 1127-1129 (1713)
- M1533, fols 453v-454r (1725-30)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- K. Ter-Davtyan, *Novie armyanskie mucheniki (1155-1843), perevod, pre-dislovie i primechaniya*, Yerevan: Nairi Publications, 1998, pp. 74-75, 271-72 (Russian trans.)

- K. Ter-Davtyan, *Armyanskie zhitiya i muchenichestva V-XVII vv.*, Yerevan, 1994, pp. 365-67 (Russian trans.)
- Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, Vałaršapat, 1903, pp. 170-83 (critical edition)
- Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (žotovrdakan hratarakut'ıwn)*, vol. 1, Vałaršapat, 1902, pp. 116-19 (edition lacks critical apparatus)
- Yaysmawurk' əst kargi əntrelagoyn ōrinaki yaysmawurac' Tēr Israyēli*, Constantinople: Pōlos Srapean Press, 1834, vol. 1, pp. 271-72 (edition)
- Girk' or koč'i aysmawurk' or parunakē yink'ean zčarš varuc' srboc'*, Constantinople: Grigor Marzuanec'i Press, 1730, pp. 629-30 (edition)
- Yaysmawur or əst patšači awur iwrum ənt'ėrnun surb ekelec'in*, Constantinople: Astuacatur Kostandnupolsec'i Press, 1706, pp. 921-22 (edition)

## STUDIES

- K. Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkayabanut'yunner (V-XVIII dd.)*, Erevan: Nayri, 2011, pp. 333-34
- R.H. Hewsen, 'The Artsrunid House of Sefedinian. Survival of a princely dynasty in ecclesiastical guise', *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 1 (1984) 123-37
- H. Ač'aryan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri bařaran*, vol. 2, Yerevan: State University Publication, 1944, p. 188
- N. Akinean, *Gawazanagirk' kat'otikosac' Ałt'amaray: patmakan usumnasirut'ıwn*, Vienna: Mxitarist Press, 1920, pp. 67-70
- M. C'amč'ean, *Patmut'ıwn Hayoc' i skzbanē ašxarhis minč'ew c'am Tera'n 1784*, vol. 3, Venice: Petros Valvazeanc' Press, 1786, pp. 433-34

S. Peter Cowe

# Isidore Glabas

Isidōros Glabas

DATE OF BIRTH	Approximately 1341/42
PLACE OF BIRTH	Possibly Thessaloniki
DATE OF DEATH	11 January 1396
PLACE OF DEATH	Thessaloniki

## BIOGRAPHY

Isidore Glabas, whose baptismal name was Ioannes, was most probably born in Thessaloniki in 1341/42. On 1 April 1375, he became a monk with the name Isidore in the Xanthopouloi monastery in Constantinople. Five years later, on 25 May 1380, he was ordained metropolitan of Thessaloniki (Dennis, 'Metropolitans', pp. 257-58; Preiser-Kapeller, *Der Episkopat*, pp. 447-48; Talbot, art. 'Glabas, Isidore', in *ODB*). Between June and September 1380, he was assessor of the synod in the Byzantine capital (*Acta et diplomata II*, ed. Miklosich and Müller, pp. 8, 19), and then, in 1381/82, he arrived in his see.

During his first years as metropolitan, 1383-87, Thessaloniki was besieged by the Ottomans. Isidore preached several homilies during this time, in which he urged his flock to repent in order to receive the help of St Demetrius. At the end of 1383, he abandoned his see and sailed to Constantinople. Even though the patriarch urged him to return to his flock, Isidore refused, which led to his suspension in September 1384. This continued until October 1385 (Dennis, 'Metropolitans', pp. 258-59; Preiser-Kapeller, *Der Episkopat*, pp. 447-48; Talbot, art. 'Glabas, Isidore'). After the conquest of Thessaloniki by the Ottomans in 1387, Isidore traveled to Asia Minor to negotiate with them (Papoulia, *Ursprung*, pp. 64-65, n. 5; *PLP*, no. 7973 [Ibankos Kōnstantinos]).

Following his rehabilitation, Isidore was again assessor of the synod in Constantinople in the years 1387, 1389 and 1391 (*Acta et diplomata II*, ed. Miklosich and Müller, pp. 39-42, 77, 85-86, 96, 99, 105, 109, 115, 130, 133). He was back in Thessaloniki by October 1393, and in 1394-95 he was engaged in several legal matters on the area (*Acta et diplomata II*, ed. Miklosich and Müller, pp. 202-3, 221-23, 234-35).

In a homily delivered on 28 February 1395, Isidore consoled his flock regarding the child tribute (*devshirme*) that was imposed upon them by

the Ottomans (*Isidōrou, archiepiskopou Thessalonikēs, homilia*, ed. Laourdas, pp. 390-97), the first mention of this practice in a Byzantine source (Vryonis, 'Isidore Glabas', p. 437; Ménage, art. 'Devshirme', in *EL2*). He died in Thessaloniki on 11 January 1396.

Apart from this homily of 1395, Isidore Glabas wrote many other homilies and also letters. These are preserved in two manuscripts (MS Vat – Graecus 651, and MS Paris, BNF – Graecus 1192), and some of them have been edited.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

MS Codex Sinaiticus 141 (alias 869) (containing biographical data on Isidore)  
PG 139, pp. 11-164

*Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana II. Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani MCCCXV-MCCCCII*, ed. F. Miklosich and J. Müller, Vienna, 1862, pp. 8, 19, 39-42, 77, 85-86, 96, 99, 105, 109, 115, 130, 133, 202-3, 221-23, 234-35

*Isidōrou archiepiskopou Thessalonikēs homiliai eis tas heortas tou Hagiou Dēmētriou*, ed. B. Laourdas (*Hellēnika Parartēma* 5), Thessaloniki, 1954

A.C. Hero, *Five homilies of Isidore, Archbishop of Thessalonica. Edition, translation, and commentary*, New York, 1965 (Diss., Columbia University)

*Isidōrou Glaba homilies*, ed. V. Christophorides, Thessaloniki, 1992

N. Bees, 'Hai paschaliai epigraphai tou Hagiou Dēmētriou Thessalonikēs kai ho mētopolitēs autēs Isidōros Glabas', *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 7 (1928-29, published 1930) 140-60

K. Tsirpanles, 'Symbolē eis tēn historian Thessalonikēs. Dyo anekdotoi homiliai Isidōrou archiepiskopou Thessalonikēs', *Theologia* 42 (1971) 548-81 (English trans. in *The Patristic and Byzantine Review* 1 [1982] 184-210; 2 [1983] 65-83)

A.E. Bakalopoulos, 'Hoi dēmosieumenes homilies tou archiepiskopou Thessalonikēs Isidōrou hōs historikē pēgē gia tē gnōsē tēs prōtēs Tourkokratias stē Thessalonikē (1387-1403)', *Makedonika* 4 (1955-60) 20-34

S. Lampros, 'Isidōrou mētopolitou Thessalonikēs oktō epistolai anekdotoi', *NE* 9 (1912) 343-414

*Isidōrou, archiepiskopou Thessalonikēs, homilia peri tēs harpagēs tōn paidōn kai peri tēs mellousēs kriseōs*, ed. B. Laourdas, in *Prophora eis Stilpōna P. Kyriakidēn* (*Hellēnika Parartēma* 4), Thessaloniki, 1953, 389-98

Constantine Ivankos, *Lettres de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue*, ed. E. Legrand, Paris, 1893, pp. 105-8

*Secondary*

- J. Preiser-Kapeller, *Der Episkopat im späten Byzanz. Ein Verzeichnis der Metropolen und Bischöfe des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel in der Zeit von 1204 bis 1453*, Saarbrücken, 2008, pp. 447-48
- E. Chatzeantoniou, *Hē mētropolē Thessalonikēs apo ta mesa tou 8ou ai. heōs to 1430. Hierarchikē taxē – Ekklesiastikē periphēreia – Dioikētikē organōsē (Byzantina Keimena kai Meletai 42)*, Thessaloniki, 2007, pp. 70, 295 n. 1131
- G.T. Dennis, 'The late Byzantine metropolitans of Thessalonike', in A.-M. Talbot (ed.), *Symposium on late Byzantine Thessalonike*, Washington DC, 2003, pp. 257-59
- A.A. Eustathiou, *The language of the 'Occasional homilies' of Isidore Glabas, Archbishop of Thessaloniki (1380-1396)*, Thessaloniki, 1994 (Diss., Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)
- A.-M. Talbot, art. 'Glabas, Isidore', in *ODB*
- B.C. Christophorides, 'Ho Isidōros Thessalonikēs kai ta koinōnika problēmata tēs epochēs tou', *Epistēmōnikē Epetēris ekdidomenē hypo tēs Theologikēs Scholēs* 29 (1986-89) 517-91
- PLP*, no. 4223 (Glabas Isidōros)
- V.L. Ménage, art. 'Devshirme', in *EL2*
- G.T. Dennis, 'The second Turkish capture of Thessalonica – 1391, 1394 or 1430?', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 57 (1964) 56-58
- B.D. Papoulia, *Ursprung und Wesen der 'Knabenlese' im Osmanischen Reich (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 59)*, Munich, 1963, pp. 62-70
- S. Vryonis Jr, 'Isidore Glabas and the Turkish *Devshirme*', *Speculum* 31 (1956) 433-43
- V. Laurent, 'Note additionnelle. La liste de présence de la lettre aux Hagiories', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 6 (1948) 187-90
- R.-J. Loenertz, 'Isidore Glabas, métropolitane de Thessalonique (1380-1396)', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 6 (1948) 181-87

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Tou autou homilia peri tēs harpagēs tōn paidōn kata to tou amēra epitagma kai peri tēs mellousēs kriseōs, ekphonetheisa Kyriakē prōtē tōn nēsteiōn*, 'His homily concerning the carrying off of the children by the decree of the emir, and concerning the coming Judgment, delivered on the first Sunday of the Fasts'

DATE 28 February 1395

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

This homily is preserved in one manuscript (MS Paris, BNF – Parisinus graecus 1192, fols 320-22), from the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. It is divided into three sections, of which the first is the most pertinent for Christian-Muslim relations (*Isidōrou, archiepiskopou Thessalonikēs, homilia*, ed. Laourdas, pp. 390-92).

Here, Isidore mentions ‘the carrying off of the children by the decree of the emir’, which is a ‘misfortune . . . concerning our dearest ones’. In this reference to the child tribute, the *devshirme*, he describes how the children are taken from their parents by force, how they ‘change over to alien customs’ and are ‘contaminated’ by ‘barbaric garb, speech and impiety’ (*barbarikēs stolēs kai phōnēs kai asebeias*). He stresses the fact that ‘a free child’ becomes ‘a slave’, that it is alienated from its parents and that it is ‘taught to pass the night in murdering its own people’ (*pros phonous, pheu, homophylōn*). The consequence for the soul of the child is that it is ‘shamefully separated from God’, ‘miserably entangled with the devil’, and ‘in the end will be sent to darkness and hell with the demons’. Isidore then systematically sketches out all the steps that are taken in transforming the child when it has been seized.

The English translation and analysis of this homily by Vryonis (‘Isidore Glabas’, pp. 436-37) are fundamental and provide an excellent basis for further research.

## SIGNIFICANCE

This is the first Byzantine source to refer explicitly to the practice of the *devshirme*, which the Ottomans introduced in order to establish and expand the Janissaries (Bryer, ‘The Roman Orthodox world’, p. 858; Ménage, art. ‘Devshirme’, in *El2*). Isidore’s comments portray understandable Christian reactions to this forced conversion and its spiritual consequences.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Parisinus graecus 1192, fols 320-22 (early 15<sup>th</sup> century)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

*Isidōrou, archiepiskopou Thessalonikēs, Homilia peri tēs harpagēs tōn paidōn kai peri tēs mellousēs kriseōs*, ed. B. Laourdas, in *Prospora eis Stilpōna P. Kyriakidēn (Hellēnika Parartēma 4)*, Thessaloniki, 1953, pp. 390-97

B.D. Papoulia, *Ursprung und Wesen der ‘Knabenlese’ im Osmanischen Reich (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 59)*, Munich, 1963, p. 112 (partial German trans.)

- S. Vryonis Jr, 'Isidore Glabas and the Turkish *devshirme*', *Speculum* 31 (1956) 433-43, pp. 436-37 (partial trans.)

## STUDIES

- B. Hechelhammer, 'Das Korps der Janitscharen. Eine militärische Elite im Spannungsfeld von Gesellschaft, Militär und Obrigkeit im Osmanischen Reich', in G. Gahlen and C. Winkel (eds), *Themenheft Militärische Eliten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Potsdam, 2010 (*Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit* 14) 33-58
- M. Hacisalihöglü, 'Das Bild vom Janitscharen. Die Streitkräfte des Osmanischen Reiches zwischen Tradition und Modernisierung', in B. Chiari and G.P. Gross (eds), *Am Rande Europas? Der Balkan – Raum und Bevölkerung als Wirkungsfelder militärischer Gewalt*, München, 2009, pp. 233-40
- A. Bryer, 'The Roman Orthodox world (1393-1492)', in J. Shepard (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the Byzantine Empire c. 500-1492*, Cambridge, 2008, 852-80
- Y. Friedmann, *Tolerance and coercion in Islam. Interfaith relations in the Muslim tradition*, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 106, 121
- V. Demitriades, 'Some thoughts on the origins of the *devshirme*', in E. Zachariadou (ed.), *The Ottoman emirate (1300-1389)*, Rethymnon, 1993, 23-31
- C. Astruc, 'Isidore de Thessalonique et la reliure à monogramme du Parisinus graecus 1192', *Revue Française d'Histoire du Livre* 36 (1982) 261-72
- D. Pipes, *Slave soldiers and Islam. The genesis of a military system*, New Haven CT, 1981, p. 183
- G. Schweizer, *Die Janitscharen. Geheime Macht des Türkenreiches*, Salzburg, 1979
- V.L. Ménage, art. 'Devshirme', in *El2*
- R.C. Repp, 'A further note on the *devshirme*', *BSOAS* 31 (1968) 137-39
- V.L. Ménage, 'Some notes on the *devshirme*', *BSOAS* 29 (1966) 64-78
- Papoulia, *Ursprung und Wesen der 'Knabenlese'*, pp. 62-70
- V.L. Ménage, 'Sidelights on the *devshirme* from Idris and Sa'duddin', *BSOAS* 18 (1956) 181-83
- Vryonis Jr, 'Isidore Glabas and the Turkish *Devshirme*'
- P. Wittek, 'Devshirme and Shari'a', *BSOAS* 17 (1955) 271-78
- A. Bakalopoulos, 'Problēmata tēs historias tou paidomazōmatos', *Hel-lenika* 13 (1954) 274-93

- O. Tafrali, *Thessalonique au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1913, pp. 286-87  
S. Lampros, 'Isidōrou mētropolitou Thessalonikēs oktō epistolai anak-  
dotoi', *NE* 9 (1912) 343-414

**Mihailo St. Popovic**



# The Life of the hegumenos Abra'ām al-Fānī

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH	Perhaps early or mid-14 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Presumably Egypt
DATE OF DEATH	After 1396
PLACE OF DEATH	Possibly the Monastery of St Antony

## BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about the author of the *Life* of the hegumenos Abra'ām (*al-qummuṣ* Ibrāhīm) al-Fānī other than what can be deduced from the text itself, in which the author speaks as a Coptic monk addressing other monks of the Monastery of St Antony, on the occasion of the commemoration of Abra'ām's departure from the monastery to Minyat Banī Khaṣīb. There Abra'ām died shortly afterwards, on 5 November 1396, and was buried.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

MS Red Sea, Monastery of St Antony – Hist. 69 (formerly Hist. 75), fols 3v-31v  
(1700)

*Secondary* —

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Sīrat Anbā Abra'ām al-Fānī*, 'The Life of Abra'ām al-Fānī'

DATE Not long after 1396  
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

### DESCRIPTION

The *Life* of Abra'ām (Ibrāhīm) al-Fānī, which occupies 28 folios in the copy consulted here, tells the story of a pious monk who lived in troubled times. (Its full title is *Sīrat al-ab al-mukarram wa-l-qiddīs al-'aẓīm al-kāmil bi-kulli ma'ānī wa-l-faḍā'il al-ighūmānus Anbā Abra'ām al-Fānī, hādhā lladhī akmala jihādahu l-ḥasan wa-ntaqala ilā l-rabb wa-tanayyaha*

*fi l-yawm al-tāsi' min shahr Hātūr sanat 113 li-l-shuhadā' al-aṭhār*, 'The Life of the honored father and great saint, one perfect in every meaning and virtue, the hegumenos Anbā Abra'ām al-Fānī, who completed his beautiful striving, died, and went to the Lord on the 9<sup>th</sup> day of the month of Hātūr, in the year 113 of the pure martyrs'). Born in Middle Egypt (Minyat Abū Fīs) around the year 1321, he was raised by his mother, Sayyida, as his father had died before he was born. He was well educated, learned to practice fasting and perform deeds of charity, and soon displayed monastic inclinations. After his mother's death, he became a monk at Dayr Abū Fāna (and thus his *nisba* 'al-Fānī'). There, and later in a cave outside Akhmīm, he practiced the ascetic life. During an unspecified persecution, he was arrested and tortured but refused to convert to Islam; his steadfastness earned him a widespread reputation as a Confessor of the faith.

A turning point came in Ibrāhīm's life when he heard of the monk Marqus al-Anṭūnī (q.v.); he eventually made his way to the Monastery of St Antony and became Marqus' disciple, learning from him how to fight the demons (as had St Antony) and how to emulate his characteristic mercy towards sinners. These 'sinners' included penitent apostates, and the *Life* portrays Ibrāhīm as collaborating closely with Marqus in the preparation of people for martyrdom (presumably either as former Muslims who publicly professed their Christian faith, or as Christians who openly preached against Islam).

After the death of Marqus in 1386, Ibrāhīm made his way to Old Cairo, where he encouraged his spiritual son the Patriarch Matthew I (1378-1408; q.v.), served the poor, preached against sins such as drinking, made apocalyptic prophecies, and performed miracles. When he foresaw his death, he decided to return to his home town to die and be buried at the church there, although he was also mourned in formal ceremonies at Dayr Shahrān (where Patriarch Matthew led the liturgy) and at the Monastery of St Antony.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The *Life* of Abra'ām al-Fānī, together with the more extensive *Lives* and *Miracles* of his contemporaries, Marqus al-Anṭūnī, Patriarch Matthew I, and Anbā Ruways, contributes to our picture of Coptic monastic resistance to the rapid Islamization that was taking place in Egypt in the later 14<sup>th</sup> century. With these other works, it is an important source for understanding the wave of voluntary martyrdoms (49 in the standard list; see 'The Life of Patriarch Matthew I', q.v.) that began in Cairo in

1380. This phenomenon deserves study alongside the much better known wave of voluntary martyrdoms that took place in Cordova in the 850s (see the articles on Speraindeo, Paul Alvarus, and Eulogius of Cordova in *CMR* 1).

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Red Sea, Monastery of St Antony – Hist. 69 (formerly Hist. 75),  
fols 3v-31v

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES

M.N. Swanson, *The Coptic papacy in Islamic Egypt 641-1517*, Cairo, 2010,  
ch. 8, pp. 112, 114-17

M.N. Swanson, ‘“Our father Abba Mark”. Marqus al-Anṭūnī and  
the construction of sainthood in fourteenth-century Egypt’, in  
J.P. Monferrer Sala (ed.), *Eastern crossroads. Essays on medieval  
Christian legacy*, Piscataway NJ, 2007, 217-28, pp. 221, 226

A. Wadi, art. ‘Abramo l’Egumeno’, in J. Nadal Cañellas and S. Virgulin  
(eds), *Bibliotheca sanctorum orientalium. Enciclopedia dei santi. Le  
chiese orientali*, 2 vols, Rome, 1998-99, i, col. 19

Mark N. Swanson

# Gregory of Tat'ew

Grigor Tat'ewats'i, Krikor Dat'evats'i

DATE OF BIRTH 1344

PLACE OF BIRTH Either the fortress of T'mok'/T'mogvi, Georgia,  
or in Vayots' Dzor, Armenia

DATE OF DEATH 1409

PLACE OF DEATH Monastery of Tat'ew

## BIOGRAPHY

Gregory of Tat'ew was an Armenian Apostolic monk and director of the school at the Monastery of Tat'ew in the Armenian province of Siwnik'. According to Gregory's student, Matthew of Jugha (Matt'ëos Jughayets'i), Gregory was born in the Georgian fortress of T'mok'/T'mogvi and raised by his brother at the court of King David VIII Bagrat'ioni of Georgia. His birth name was Khut'lushah. As a youth, he attracted the attention of the renowned Armenian monastic scholar, John of Orotn (Hovhannēs Vorotnets'i). Gregory was ordained a deacon by 1371 and a monastic priest in Jerusalem around 1373. He most likely acquired the lower degree of 'doctor' that enabled him to teach in 1374, and he achieved the rank of 'eminent doctor' after completion of a course of studies in 1385. His education consisted of patristics, biblical exegesis, and basic Aristotelian philosophy.

Gregory assumed directorship of the school at the monastery of Tat'ew in 1391; he was possibly also recognized as the 'chief doctor' of Armenia at that time. One of the more pressing issues facing the Armenian Apostolic Church in 14<sup>th</sup>-century Armenia was the success of Dominican missionaries in attracting Armenian monks to Catholicism. As a young man, Gregory likely participated in the ad hoc courts established by his teacher in order to ascertain whether Armenian monasteries had remained true to Armenian tradition. Although Gregory's rejection of the Latin Church is clear, he nevertheless read and incorporated into his thinking several Latin works that had been translated into Armenian.

Gregory was a prolific author, and composed over 20 works. His most famous texts are his *Sermonary* (*K'arozgirk'*) and his *Book of questions* (*Girk' Harts'mants'*). He also composed or compiled several biblical and philosophical commentaries, theological and liturgical tractates, and

epistles. He continued the monastic education reforms of his teacher and was a manuscript illuminator of some talent. He was involved in both the ecclesiastical and secular politics of his day. Although Gregory was never officially anointed a bishop, he apparently enjoyed episcopal powers. In 1407, his nephew Arak'el acceded to the episcopal throne of Siwnik'.

In 1408, Gregory and his students fled the monastery of Tat'ew due to Islamic persecution and went to Lake Van. He apparently tried to return to Tat'ew the next year, but died in mysterious circumstances either en route or shortly after his arrival. Gregory was buried in the monastery of Tat'ew where his mausoleum remains.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

Matt'ēos Jughayets'i, *Vita of Grigor Tat'ewats'i*, in G. Khach'ikyan (ed.), *ZhE dari hayeren jeragreri hishatakaranner*, 3 vols, Yerevan, 1955, i, pp. 103-4

T'ovma Medzop'ets'i, *Patmugrut'wn*, ed. L. Khach'ikyan, Yerevan, 1999

*Yawsmawurk'*, Constantinople, 1706, pp. 698-704

Dawit' Baghishets'i, *Tsaghkak'agh arareal i bazum patmagrats' zazgn Hapet'i*, in V. Hakobyan (ed.), *Manr Zhamanakagrut'yunner*, 2 vols, Yerevan, 1956, ii, 351-53

Important information is also found in Armenian colophons from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries: G. Khach'ikyan (ed.), *ZhD dari hayeren jeragreri hishatakaranner*, Yerevan, 1950, and G. Khach'ikyan (ed.), *ZhE dari hayeren jeragreri hishatakaranner*, 3 vols, Yerevan, 1955, i

#### *Secondary*

S. La Porta, 'Translation and transformation. Armenian meditations on the metamorphic power of language', in S. La Porta and D. Shulman (eds), *The poetics of grammar and the metaphysics of sound and sign*, Leiden, 2007, 342-67

S. La Porta, 'Grigor Tat'evatsi et l'École monastique de Tat'ev', in V. Calzolari (ed.), *Illuminations d'Arménie. Arts du livre et de la pierre dans l'Arménie ancienne et médiévale*, Cologny, 2007, 210-14

R. Thomson, 'Supplement to a bibliography of classical Armenian literature to 1500 AD. Publications 1993-2005', *Le Muséon* 120 (2007) 163-223, p. 189

G. Hovhannisyanyan, *St Grigor Tatevatsi and his moral teaching* (in Russian), Gladzor, 2006

S. La Porta, 'The liturgical imagination of medieval Armenian monasticism', in R. Ervine (ed.), *Worship traditions in Armenia and the neighboring Christian East*, Crestwood NY, 2006, 197-221

- S. La Porta, 'Grigor Tat'ewac'i's pilgrimage to Jerusalem', in R. Ervine, M. Stone and N. Stone (eds), *The Armenians in Jerusalem and the Holy Land*, Leuven, 2002, 97-110
- S. La Porta, "The theology of the Holy Dionysius". Volume III of Grigor Tat'ewac'i's *Book of questions*, Cambridge MA, 2001 (Diss, Harvard University; ch. 1 of this thesis contains the most extensive discussion of Grigor's biography)
- N. Manukyan, 'Interrelations between scholarship and folklore in medieval Armenian culture', *Le Muséon* 110 (1997) 81-89
- R. Thomson, *A bibliography of classical Armenian literature to 1500 AD*, Turnhout, 1995, 134-35
- M. Ashjian, *Armenian Church patristic and other essays*, New York, 1994
- N. Pogharean, *Hay groghner*, Jerusalem, 1971, 396-401G
- Karpisyan, 'Grigor Tat'ewats'i', *Ejmiatsin* 3 (1959) 25-32; 4 (1959) 19-25

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Girk' Harts'mants'*, 'Book of questions'

DATE 1397

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

#### DESCRIPTION

The *Book of questions* is divided into ten volumes that in the printed edition are further subdivided into 40 sections. Each section presents a series of questions ascribed to a supposed pupil, and the master's responses. Its overall structure evidences its systematic approach and reveals a clear theological program. Vol. 1 contains polemics against those who believe in fate and in the divine creation of evil, as well as against Manichaeans, Muslims, and Jews. Vol. 2 refutes various Christian heresies, including the teachings of those who deny the divinity of the Holy Spirit (the Pneumatomachoi, the followers of Macedonius), Nestorians, and Dyophysites (Chalcedonians). Vol. 3 is devoted to a discussion of the nature of God and of the angels and demons that is explicitly based on the works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite. Vol. 4 is a description of the first six days of creation and the creation of the world. Vol. 5 discusses the particular composition of man. Vol. 6 – the longest, with 82 questions – is a commentary on the Pentateuch; it also includes a brief explanation of the book of Job, as Gregory believed Job to be a contemporary of Moses. Gregory continues his exegesis of the Old Testament in vol. 7, which covers Joshua through 2 Kings. Vol. 8 is a commentary on the New Testament and the nature of the Incarnation. Vol. 9 presents Gregory's explanation of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and his sacramental theology.

He completes his encyclopedic work in vol. 10, with a discussion of the eschaton and the general resurrection.

The polemic against Islam is the longest of all the refutations in the first volume of the *Book of questions*. It is entitled, 'Against the doomed nation of the Tajiks, who are forerunners of the Antichrist, and new heathens with the heresy of Arius and Cerinthus' (i.e., the heresy of denying the divinity of Christ). Gregory dedicates 16 chapters to refuting the legitimacy of Islam. In these he accuses Muslims of denying the Trinity (1); of positing God as the origin of both good and evil (2); of denying the Incarnation (3); of considering Christ only a messenger and not God (4); of not accepting holy scripture (5); of accepting 'some man', Muḥammad, as God's messenger (6); of adhering to a theory of physical resurrection (7); of claiming that angels and souls are mortal (8); of insulting the Cross and holy images (9); of eating indiscriminately except for pork (10); of considering wine unlawful (11); of equating washing in water with purification (12); of practicing circumcision (13); of not keeping Jewish or Christian fasts (14); of not partaking of Armenian sacrifices (15); of considering themselves lawful when they are in fact lawless (16).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The *Book of questions* is the earliest known handbook and systematic treatment of Armenian theology, exegesis, and ecclesiology. It served as an important text for monastic students in the centuries to follow and formed a bridge between the medieval and 18<sup>th</sup>-century Armenian intellectual traditions. Gregory's refutation of Islam is particularly noteworthy as it is representative of a new approach in the Armenian tradition of confronting Islam. Although he relied for the life of Muḥammad and the origins of Islam upon an Armenian translation of a Karshūnī text (Arabic written in Syriac letters) that had been widely used in medieval Armenia, his arguments cover a far wider range of topics than that text or those of any of his predecessors, and they evince a greater concern with Islam as a contemporary religious and cultural phenomenon. Dadoyan (2001) argues that, in Gregory's work and that of his student, Matthew of Jugha, Islam was – for the first time in the Armenian tradition – not merely dismissed as a form of the Arian heresy (despite the title of the polemic in the *Book of questions*), but treated as a distinct religious tradition, with its own belief system, language, and culture, that had to be combated. One purpose of this intellectual offensive was to delineate clear lines for Armenian Christian cultural identity and obstruct Armenian assimilation into cultural Islam. Dadoyan (1996) has

also suggested that a Persian Shī'ī sect constituted the likely object of Grigor's polemic.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

There are well over 200 complete or partial copies of the *Book of questions* in various collections of Armenian manuscripts around the world. A complete list of every manuscript of either the whole work or portions of it has not been compiled; nor has any study attempted to sort out the relationship between the manuscripts. The following is not an exhaustive list of copies, but a list of the more important witnesses from major Armenian collections. Excluded from this list are portions of the *Book of questions* that exist in miscellanies, with the exception of the list of manuscripts held in the Matenadaran, Yerevan, that contain Gregory's polemic against Islam on its own. An asterisk next to the manuscript number indicates that the copy was produced under the supervision of Gregory.

Yerevan, Matenadaran (Armenian National Manuscript Library = M)  
 M3616 (1397; this is the autograph but it is missing several quires and some folios are out of order)

M3106 (1400)\*

M813 (1401)\*

M3955 (1403)\* (missing the first seven volumes of the text)

M4072 (1406)\*

M3104 (1407)\*

M918 (1407)\*

M9247 (1407-8)\*

M5861 (1408-9)\* (in bad condition)

M921 (1409)\*

M856 (1410)

M917 (1413)

M817 (1414)

M2889 (1420)

M4004 (1420)

M10198 (1420)

M799 (15<sup>th</sup> century)

M801 (15<sup>th</sup> century)

M818 (15<sup>th</sup> century)

M819 (15<sup>th</sup> century)

M820 (15<sup>th</sup> century)

M853 (15<sup>th</sup> century)



- M854 (15<sup>th</sup> century)
- M855 (15<sup>th</sup> century)
- M858 (15<sup>th</sup> century)
- M3842 (15<sup>th</sup> century)
- M4005 (15<sup>th</sup> century)
- M5864 (15<sup>th</sup> century)
- M8174 (15<sup>th</sup> century)
- M8484 (15<sup>th</sup> century)
- M916 (1569-72)
- M2504 (1596)
- M807 (16<sup>th</sup> century)
- M827 (16<sup>th</sup> century)
- M852 (16<sup>th</sup> century)
- M922 (16<sup>th</sup> century)
- M7277 (16<sup>th</sup> century)
- M4999 (1612)
- M815 (1615)
- M806 (1613-15)
- M857 (1618)
- M797 (1622)
- M7786 (1623-29)
- M2599 (1628)
- M6866 (1628)
- M809 (1629)
- M2654 (1631)
- M8205 (1637-38)
- M10011 (1638)
- M3165 (1643-51)
- M804 (1647)
- M800 (1653)
- M803 (1654)
- M915 (1657)
- M4120 (1662)
- M3554 (1670)
- M808 (1677)
- M814 (1691)
- M7930 (1693)
- M796 (17<sup>th</sup> century)
- M798 (17<sup>th</sup> century)
- M810 (17<sup>th</sup> century)

M812 (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M919 (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M920 (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M2741 (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M4073 (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M7931 (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M9008 (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M10327 (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M6579 (1714)  
 M802 (1722)  
 M805 (1705-7)

There are also miscellanies containing copies of only the polemic against Islam:

M1237 (1415)  
 M5324 (1627)  
 M4298 (1633)  
 M774 (1651)  
 M2268 (1683-89)  
 M3506 (1615, 1697)  
 M3260 (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M5041 (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M402 fols 258v-280r (18<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M421 fols 130r-132r (18<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M4095 (18<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M383 fols 228r-248v (1824)

Jerusalem, Manuscript Library of the Monastery of St James (=J)

J1155 (1413)  
 J2180 (1414)  
 J2181 (1423)  
 J2208 (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 J420 (1601-2)  
 J3449 (1655)  
 J216 (1666)  
 J205 (1667)  
 J2182 (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 J2206 (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 J827 (17<sup>th</sup> century?)  
 J3309 (18<sup>th</sup> century)  
 J272 (?)

J831 (?)

J1546 (?)

J2042 (?)

New Julfa, Iran, Library of the Monastery of St Amenap'rkich' (=NOJ)

NOJ497 (1626)

NOJ 492 (1623, 1650)

NOJ494 (1654)

NOJ493 (17<sup>th</sup> century)

NOJ496 (17<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Venice, Mekhitarist Manuscript Library – V1411 (1401)

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Arm.e.11 (15<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Vienna, Mekhitarist Manuscript Library – W847 (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Bzommar Lebanon, Monastic Library – 196 (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Galata (Istanbul), Armenian National Library – 85 (1616)

MS Los Angeles, University of California, Special Collections – 5 (1637)

MS Galata (Istanbul), Armenian National Library – 126 (1678)

MS Paris, BNF – 164 (1680)

MS Bzommar Lebanon, Monastic Library – 202 (1709-10)

MS Galata (Istanbul), Armenian National Library – 130 (?)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

No critical edition of the *Book of questions* has appeared to date. An incomplete edition was published in Constantinople in 1720, and a more complete printed edition was published in Constantinople in 1729-30 (although the year 1178 of the Armenian calendar [=1729 CE] is given as the date of publication on the title page, the text appeared in 1730). It is unknown which manuscript served as the base text for this edition, but judging from a sample collation, it is related to M9247 (1407) and M10198 (1420). This edition was reprinted in Jerusalem in 1993. The text comprises 773 double-columned pages. Following the *Book of questions* is the very brief 'Questions of the *vardapet* Gēorg Erznkats'i and answers of Grigor Tat'ewats'i' (pp. 773-89). Completed in 1387, this work consists of 14 questions; Gregory himself had already inserted it at the conclusion to the autograph.

The edition printed in 1729-30 did not include Gregory's polemic against Islam so as not to offend the Ottoman authorities. This part of the *Book of questions* was edited separately by B. Kiwlēsērean, Vienna, 1930; it was subsequently appended to the *Book of questions* in the Jerusalem, 1993, reprint of the Constantinople edition. After examining a dozen manuscripts contained in the Manuscript Library of the Armenian

monastery of St James in Jerusalem, Kiwlēsērean selected J1546 (15<sup>th</sup> century) as his base text and J1155 (1413) and J827 (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century) as his witnesses. Of these three MSS, J1155 presents the fullest text of the polemic, J1546 is a slightly abridged text, and J827 a much more abridged text. Kiwlēsērean notes that it was easier for him to use J1546 as the base text and to provide the readings of J1155 in his apparatus than the other way around. He argues that the process of textual abridgement was a result of increased Islamic power in the region.

## STUDIES

- S. La Porta, 'A fourteenth-century Armenian polemic against Judaism and its Latin source', *Le Muséon* 122 (2009) 93-129  
Thomson, 'Supplement', p. 189
- S. La Porta, 'Additional remarks concerning "Man as the image of God" in Grigor Tat'ewac'i's *Book of questions*', *St Nersess Theological Seminary Review* 7 (2002) 67-84
- S. La Porta, 'Sorcerers, witches, and weasels. Armenian definitions of the magical arts', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 28 (2001-2) 171-214  
La Porta, '“The theology of the Holy Dionysius”'
- S. Dadoyan, 'Islam and Armenian political strategies at the end of an era. Matt'eos Jowlayec'i and Grigor Tat'ewac'i', *Le Muséon* 114 (2001) 305-26
- S. La Porta, 'Concerning Job. Chapter 22 of the sixth volume of Grigor Tat'ewac'i's *Girk' Harc'manc'*', *St Nersess Theological Review* 2.2 (1997) 131-65
- S. Dadoyan, 'Grigor of Tatev. Treatise against the Tajiks', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 7 (1996) 193-204  
Thomson, *Bibliography*, 134-35 (this contains a full listing of modern published editions of Gregory's work as well as secondary sources)
- M. Ashjian, *Armenian Church patristic and other essays*, New York, 1994
- G. de Durand, 'Notes sur deux ouvrages de Grégoire de Tatew', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 5 (1968) 175-97
- G. de Durand, 'Une somme arménienne au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Études d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale*, Montreal, 1968, 217-77 (this work provides a summary of the entire *Book of questions*)
- R. Ishkhanyan, 'Grigor Tat'evats'u 'Girk' Harts'mants'i' arajin hratarakut'yunë', *Ejmiatsin* 9-10 (1963) 51-55
- T. Poladian, 'Gregory of Tatew – Against the Manichees', *Review of Religion* 9 (1945) 242-53

- A. Jeffery, 'Gregory of Tathew's "Contra Mohammedanos"', *Muslim World* 32 (1942) 219-35
- F. Macler, 'L'islam dans la littérature arménienne', *Revue des Études Islamiques* 6 (1932) 493-522. (this provides a French resumé of Kowlēsērean's work and a translation of what Macler considered to be the most important parts of the text)
- B. Kowlēsērean, *Islamē hay matenagrut'ean mēj. I. Grigori Tatewats'woy ēnddēm tachkats'. II. I k'ašunē k'alatsu*, Vienna, 1930 (repr. in the Jerusalem reprint of *the Book of questions*, 1993)
- F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, 'Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Wörter im Buch gegen die Mohammedaner des Gregor von Tat'ew', *Handēs Amsorya* 41 (1927) 771-78

**Sergio La Porta**

# Demetrius Cydones

Dēmētrios Kydōnēs; Dēmētrios Kydōnios

DATE OF BIRTH About 1324  
PLACE OF BIRTH Thessaloniki  
DATE OF DEATH End of 1397  
PLACE OF DEATH Candia, Crete

## BIOGRAPHY

Demetrius came from a distinguished family that for generations had served at the imperial court in Constantinople. His father was a good friend of John Cantacuzenus, a rich member of the military aristocracy and a confidant of Emperor Andronicus III Palaeologus. When Andronicus died in 1341, Cantacuzenus claimed imperial power in place of the heir, John V, who was a minor, and after six years of civil war entered Constantinople as the ruling emperor. Here he soon invited Demetrius, his friend's son and a distinguished expert in Latin, to the imperial court. After a while, Demetrius turned out to be well qualified for diplomatic contacts with the West, but he also used his knowledge of Latin to study the works of Thomas Aquinas, and became increasingly convinced by the clear theological method of Western scholasticism, which he thought could open new horizons to the Byzantine Church. The increasing threat against the empire from Turkish tribes that had been moving into Anatolia since the late 13<sup>th</sup> century forced the Byzantines to look around for allies. Demetrius considered that these could only be found in the Latin West.

Some time after John V Palaeologus had assumed imperial power in Constantinople in autumn 1354, Cydones returned to his former leading position of *mesazōn*. Under his influence, as is documented by the emperor's correspondence with popes Innocent VI (1352-62) and Urban V (1362-70), John V pursued a pro-Latin policy. Eventually, on the advice of Cydones, he decided to accept Urban's invitation to travel to Rome, and there, in October 1369, he entered into a so-called 'union', which was no less than a conversion to the Roman Church. As a result, when Cydones returned to Constantinople in 1371, he was violently blamed by the Patriarch Philotheus, a man devoted to strict Orthodoxy. He also lost the emperor's favor and, in autumn 1371, he asked to be removed from

his service (see the text of his speech in Loenertz, *Correspondance*, i, pp. 10-23; German trans. Tinnefeld, *Die Briefe*, pp. 265-87). John V granted the request with reluctance, but, although the relationship was never fully restored, Demetrius was later recalled to the court to act in negotiations with the Latins.

He enjoyed a much better relationship with Manuel, the second son of John V, co-emperor since 1373, who also owed him a solid classical education. An important document of Cydones' critical attitude towards the Turks and Islam is his correspondence with Manuel during the period when the co-emperor had left Constantinople and taken up residence in Thessaloniki in order to defend this town against the Turkish threat. The exchange of letters from this time between Cydones and his friend and student Rhadenus in Thessaloniki is a precious addition to the letters addressed to Manuel.

By summer 1386, Cydones had definitely retired from the imperial service. In 1390, he travelled to Venice, where, in January 1391, he received the 'eternal' civil right of the town. In 1396, he travelled once more to Venice and then to Candia on Crete, which was under Venetian rule. There, some time before the end of 1397, he died, very probably in the Dominican monastery of St Peter and Paul (see Ganchou).

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

- R.-J. Loenertz OP (ed.), *Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance*, 2 vols (*Studi e Testi* 186, 208), Vatican City, 1956-60  
 F. Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*, 5 vols (*Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur* 12, 16, 33, 50, 60), Stuttgart, 1981-2003 (German trans. and commentary)

### *Secondary*

- F. Tinnefeld, *Die Briefe des Demetrios Kydones. Themen und literarische Form*, Mainz, 2010  
 J.R. Ryder, *The career and writings of Demetrios Kydones. A study of fourteenth-century Byzantine politics, religion and society*, Leiden, 2010  
 G. Saint-Guillain, 'Manouël Kydônès (vers 1300-1341), diplomate byzantin, père de Dèmètrios Kydônès', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 64/65 (2006/7) 341-57  
 T. Ganchou, 'Dèmètrios Kydônès, les frères Chrysobergès et la Crète (1397-1401) de nouveaux documents', in C.A. Maltezos and P. Schreiner (eds), *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII-XV secolo)*, Venice, 2002, 435-93  
 R.-J. Loenertz, 'Dèmètrios Cydonès', *OCP* 36 (1970) 47-72; 37 (1971) 5-39  
 J.W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaiologos (1391-1425). A study in late Byzantine statesmanship*, New Brunswick NJ, 1969

- O. Halecki. *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome. Vingt ans de travail pour l'union des églises et pour la défense de l'empire d'orient 1355-1375*, Warsaw, 1930 (repr. London, 1972)

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### Greek translation of Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, *Libellus (or Tractatus) contra legem Saracenorum*, 'Against the religion of the Saracens'

DATE Between 1360 and 1369

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

#### DESCRIPTION

The Greek title of this work is given in different forms:

1. *Rikardou anaskeuē tēs para tou kataratou Mouchamet tois Sarakinois tetheisēs nomothesias, metenechtheisēs de ek tēs Italikēs dialektou eis tēn Hellada dia tinos Dēmētriou*. 'Refutation, written by Ricardus, against the law, imposed on the Saracens by the damned Muḥammad, translated from the Italian to the Greek dialect by a certain Demetrius'. This, perhaps the earliest preserved (although not original) form of the Greek title, is given in MS Athos, Vatopediou – 658.
2. *Rikardou tou tō tagmati tōn para Latinois kaloumenōn Adelphōn Predikatorōn kateilegmenou anaskeuē tēs para tou kataratou Machoumet tois Sarakēnois tetheisēs nomothesias, metenechtheisa ek tēs Italēs dialektou eis tēn Hellada dia tinos Dēmētriou*. 'Refutation, written by Ricardus of the order called by the Latins Preacher Brothers, against the law imposed on the Saracens by the damned Muḥammad, translated from the Italian into the Greek dialect by a certain Demetrius'. This expanded version of the title is given in MS Athos, Laura – 1854 and (with some variations) in MS Athens, Metochion tou Panagiou Taphou – 616, as well as in *PG* 154, col 1037A.
3. *Dēmētriou Kydōnē anatropē kephalaiōdēs tou nomou Mōameth, kata metaphrasin ek tou latinikou tou Rikardou*. 'Summary refutation of Muḥammad's law, translated by Demetrius Cydones from the Latin of Ricardus'. This title is found in MS Vat – Gr. 1570, MS Vienna – theol. Gr. 261, and MS Edirne – 1097.

The Latin original of Cydones' Greek version was written in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century (Todt, *Kaiser Johannes VI*, pp. 263-64) by the Dominican



Riccardo da Monte di Croce (q.v.); Cydones himself made his translation in the 1360s (see Todt, *Kaiser Johannes VI*, pp. 298-99). The early printed editions offer several different titles of the work (for instance *Confutatio Alcorani*, 'Refutation of the Qur'an'), but the manuscript tradition confirms as authentic only *Libellus* (or *Tractatus*) *contra legem Saracenorum* (Todt, *Kaiser Johannes VI*, p. 262). A systematic comparison of the Cydones translation with the Latin original has not yet been made, but Mérigoux ('L'ouvrage d'un frère Prêcheur', p. 52) refers to a group of manuscripts that contain a version of the Latin original that almost exactly corresponds to Cydones' Greek translation.

Riccardo introduces his work with the following scathing judgement: 'A devilish man, the first-born offspring of Satan..., named Muḥammad, ... with the agreement and support of him who is a liar and the father of lies [sc. Satan], composed an unholy law, allegedly dictated by the divine mouth, but full of lies, which he called Alkoranos, that is a guide to the divine instructions' (*Anthrōpos tis diabolos, prōtotokos men tou Satana..., onomati Machumet [hos] tē boulē kai tē symmachia ekeinou, hos pseustēs te esti kai tu pseudous patēr, anosion kai pseudous gemonta hōs an ek tou theiou stomatos hypēgoreumenon synethēke nomon, hon dē kai nomon Alkoranon ōnomasen dēladē tōn theiōn prostagmatōn anagōgēn*, PG 154, col. 1040B). This law contains all the heresies of earlier church history, denies the Trinity and teaches that Jesus Christ was only a prophet, together with the Holy Spirit a creature, and neither God's son nor God himself. 'It also gossips that man finds the highest bliss in lust and physical pleasure' (*Lērei de kai tēn eschatēn tou anthropou makariotēta en akolasia kai tryphē legōn einai*, col. 1045B). Another important aspect of Riccardo's criticism is the problem of violence in the Qur'an: 'The Qur'an is not a divine law since it is violent. To say it briefly, this law can mainly be defined as a law of slaughter and death..., although... the same Qur'an says that in God's law is no violence' (*To Alkoranon ouk esti nomos theou, biaios gar estin. Kai syntomōs eipein, ho nomos houtos kyriōs an legoito nomos sphagēs kai thanatou..., kaitoi ge en autō tō Alkoranō... legetai, hōs en tō nomō tou theou ouk esti bia*, col. 1104AB). As an unreasonable mixture of true and wrong assertions, and composed without any meaningful order, it contradicts in numerous points its own statement, and the history of its tradition is also confused. The Gospel of Jesus Christ exceeds it in every respect.

## SIGNIFICANCE

That Cydones highly estimated the work of Riccoldo can be concluded from a short *enkōmion* that he himself attached to the end of his translation. The text is edited by Mercati (*Notizie*, p. 161), according to the autograph version of it in MS Vat – Gr. 706, fol. 135v, incipit: *Charis soi tēs dialexeōs tautēs* ('Thanks to you for this treatise'). Todt, *Kaiser Johannes VI*, p. 299, gives a German translation of the eulogy and in n. 57 quotes the Greek original. The manuscripts that, according to the catalogues, contain the eulogy are marked with an asterisk (\*) in the list below.

John VI Cantacuzenus, in his four apologies and in his four speeches against Muḥammad (cf. Todt, *Kaiser Johannes VI*, pp. 196-230), makes such abundant use of the translation that Todt (pp. 250-52) even calls it his main source.

The rich manuscript tradition shows that, thanks to Cydones' translation, the Dominican's treatise became well-known in the Greek Orthodox world.

## MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Athos, Vatopediou – 658, fols 1r-71v (14<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Vat – Gr. 706, fols 79r-135v (14<sup>th</sup> century, with autograph corrections by Cydones)\*
- MS Athos, Karakallou – 60 (Lampros 1573), no. 4, fragment (15<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Vat – Gr. 433, fols 180r-243v (15<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Vat – Gr. 1748, fols 57r-120v (15<sup>th</sup> century)\*
- MS El Escorial – 553 = Ω IV.1, fols 1r-65v (15<sup>th</sup> century)\*
- MS Vat – Gr. 1570, fols 2r-170v (15<sup>th</sup> century)\*
- MS Patmos, Monē tou Hagiou Iōannou tou Theologou – 418 (before 1543)\*
- MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – theol. Gr. 261, fols 119r-260r (later 16<sup>th</sup> century)\*
- MS Athos, Laura – 1854, fols 49r-108v (17<sup>th</sup> century)\*
- MS Athens, Historikon Mouseion tou Neou Hellēnismou, Kōdikes tēs Historikēs kai Ethnologikēs Hetaireias (*Neos Hellēnomnēmōn* 6, p. 474) – 37, fols 1r-70r (18<sup>th</sup> century)\*
- MS Athens, Metochion tou Panagiou Taphou – 616, fols 1r-43v (18<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Edirne – 1097 (9, 2) (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 14, p. 591) (date unknown)
- MS Paris, BNF – Gr. 1191, fols 89r-116v (date unknown)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

Cydones' translation of Riccoldo was first printed in Basle in 1543 (Todt, *Kaiser Johannes VI*, pp. 179-86), and reprinted in *PG* 154, cols 1035-1170. There is no critical edition.

## STUDIES

- K.-P. Todt, *Kaiser Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos und der Islam. Politische Realität und theologische Polemik im palaiologenzeitlichen Byzanz*, Würzburg, 1991
- J.-M. Mérigoux OP, 'L'ouvrage d'un frère Prêcheur florentin en Orient à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Le *Contra legem Sarracenorum* de Riccoldo da Monte di Croce', *Memorie Domenicane* n.s. 17 (1986) 1-144 (text of the Latin original, pp. 60-142)
- O. Mazal, 'Zur geistigen Auseinandersetzung zwischen Christentum und Islam in spätbyzantinischer Zeit', in A. Zimmermann and I. Craemer-Ruegenberg (eds), *Orientalische Kultur und europäisches Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1985, 1-19
- E. Trapp, *Manuel II, Dialoge mit einem 'Perser'*, Vienna, 1966, pp. 35-44
- J.W. Sweetman, *Islam and Christian theology. A study of interpretation of theological ideas in the two religions*. Vol 2.1. *The medieval developments significant for comparative study. Historical survey of the second period*, London, 1955, pp. 116-59 (detailed summary of Riccoldo's treatise)
- G. Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti etc.* (*Studi e Testi* 56), Vatican City, 1931

*Dēmētriou tou Kydōnou Rōmaiois Symboloutikos,*  
 'Advisory address by Demetrius Cydones to the  
 Byzantines'  
*Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum*

DATE August 1366

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

While the Emperor John V was still on his way back from Buda, where he had tried in vain to get military help from the 'barbarians' (sc. the Hungarians under Louis the Great) against the Turks (*PG* 154, cols

1000D-1001B), his cousin, Count Amadeus VI of Savoy (col. 993AB), had arrived in Byzantine waters in August 1366 with a small fleet and recaptured Kallipolis (Barker, *Manuel II Palaiologos*, pp. 7-8), a Byzantine stronghold on the European shore of the Hellespont, which had been occupied by the Ottomans in 1354 (Barker, *Manuel II Palaiologos*, p. 4). Shortly after the arrival of the count, Cydones composed the speech *Pro subsidio Latinorum*. He very probably delivered it to the citizens of Constantinople to win their favor for Amadeus's enterprise, making the point that his presence was proof that only the nations of the Latin West could help against the Turks.

In the introduction to the speech (cols 961A-969A), he describes the destruction of Asia Minor by various invading Turkish tribes and considers in detail the religious aspects: the invaders have plundered churches and broken down tombs; they compel the Christian population to abandon the true God and to adopt their abominable beliefs; they enslave them and deprive them of their liberty (col. 965C). It is remarkable that Cydones ranks the loss of liberty, which especially concerns free choice of religion, above all other negative consequences of the Turkish conquest (col. 968CD). He outlines the scenario that, as soon as the Byzantines submit to Turkish slavery, all imaginable evils will befall them, the worst being the ruin of the soul (*hē tēs psychēs apōleia*), and separation from God, the origin of all good hopes (col. 968D; cf. Barker, *Manuel II Palaiologos*, pp. 7-8).

Cydones goes on to show that none of the peoples around Byzantium – Scythians (Mongols, Tartars), Mysians (Bulgars), Tribalians (Serbs) and Paionians (Hungarians) – can be an effective ally to Byzantium against the Turks. As the only suitable allies there remain the peoples in the Latin West, whom he calls by the same name *Rhomaioi* as the Byzantines call themselves. With the rhetorical question, 'Which allies are for the Romans more suitable than Romans?' (*Tines Rōmaiois Rōmaiōn oikeioteroi symmachoi?*), he declares that they are the only possible allies for his compatriots (col. 977D).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

In this speech Cydones presents to the Byzantines his plan to win allies against the Turks through a union with the Roman Church. To realize it, he travelled to Rome with John V in autumn 1369, and there the emperor formally converted to the Roman Church. But this step did not bring the emperor the military help he had hoped for, and even Cydones himself admitted in a letter to his brother Prochorus that the delegation had not

achieved anything they had expected in Rome (Loenertz, *Correspondance*, i, p. 73, epistle 39, ll. 35-36; Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*, i/2, p. 413). In the years that followed, the efforts of Pope Gregory XI (1370-78) to persuade Western powers to come to the defense of the Byzantines against the Ottomans remained unsuccessful (Luttrell, 'Gregory XI and the Turks').

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vat – Gr. 486, fols 54r-69r (late 14<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana – 59, 24, fols 50r-68r (15<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Paris, BNF – Gr. 1213, fols 355r-371r (early 15<sup>th</sup> century) (*Neos Hellēnomnēmōn* 2, p. 317)

MS Paris, BNF – Fonds Coislin 315, fols 650r-679v (17<sup>th</sup> century)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

The only edition is F. Combefis, *Graeco-Latinae Patrum bibliothecae novum auctarium*, vol. 2, Paris, 1648, cols 1221-1281 (with Latin translation; repr. in *PG* 154, cols 961-1008). There is no translation into a modern language.

#### STUDIES

F. Kianka, 'Byzantine-papal diplomacy. The role of Demetrius Cydones', *International History Review* 7 (1985) 175-213

A. Luttrell, 'Gregory XI and the Turks: 1370-1378', *OCP* 46 (1980) 391-417

J.W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaiologos (1391-1425). A study in Late Byzantine statesmanship*, New Brunswick NJ, 1969

Halecki, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome*

*Symbouleutikos heteros peri tēs Kallipoleōs,*  
*litēsantos tou Mouratou, 'Advisory speech on*  
*Kallipolis, keenly sought by Murad'*  
*Oratio de non reddenda Callipoli*

DATE 1376/77 or 1371

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

#### DESCRIPTION

The town and stronghold of Kallipolis (Gallipoli) on the European shore of the Hellespont was much sought after by the Ottomans as a stronghold, and a few years after its recapture by Amadeus VI of Savoy it was

again lost to them. It is uncertain whether this happened in the summer of 1371 or as late as 1376/77; Barker (*Manuel II Palaiologos*, pp. 30, 458-61) argues for the later date against an earlier consensus. It was Andronicus Palaeologus, John V's eldest son, who arranged with Murad Bey the peaceful hand-over to the Turks in return for political support. In 1371, Andronicus acted as regent for his father during John's journey to Italy; in 1376/77 with Murad's help he revolted against his father, and it is probable that he agreed to hand over Kallipolis to thank Murad for this support. Cydones warned against this, and his most important argument was that, for the Christian inhabitants, it would mean the loss of their religious freedom.

## SIGNIFICANCE

The speech refers mainly to the political importance of the Kallipolis issue, but the passage on religious freedom shows that this aspect was in the minds of Cydones and his audience.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Gr. 1213, fols 371v-381r (15<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana – 59, 24, fols 39r-49v (15<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Paris, BNF – Fonds Coislin 315, fols 679r-699v (17<sup>th</sup> century)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

F. Combefis, *Graeco-Latinae Patrum bibliothecae auctarium novum*, vol. 2, Paris, 1648, cols 1284-1318 (Greek text with Latin trans.; repr. PG 154, cols 1009-1036)

## STUDIES

K.-P. Todt, *Kaiser Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos und der Islam. Politische Realität und theologische Polemik im palaiologenzeitlichen Byzanz*, Würzburg, 1991

Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones, Briefe*, i/1, p. 65, no. 1.3.5 (argues for a date of 1371)

Barker, *Manuel II Palaiologos* (argues for 1376/77)

G. Ostrogorski, *Serska oblast posle Dušanove smrti (Das serbische Gebiet nach Dušans Tod)*, Belgrade, 1965, p. 138, n. 54 (argues for 1371)

R.-J. Loenertz, *Les recueils de lettres de Démétrius Kydonès*, Vatican City, 1947

P. Charanis, 'The strife among the Palaeologi and the Ottoman Turks, 1370-1402', *Byzantion* 16 (1942/43) 286-315

## Letters

DATE Approximately 450 letters written between about 1341 and 1394  
 ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

### DESCRIPTION

The letters in Cydones' correspondence that refer expressly to Islam as a religion are noted here. They are given in chronological order, first according to the numbering in Loenertz, *Correspondance*, and then, in brackets, according to the numbering in Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*.

1. Letter 93 (59) to Simon Atoumanus, summer 1364; *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*, i/2, p. 355. Cydones quotes from a letter sent by John V to Pope Urban V, in which he asks the pope 'to have mercy on the Christian faith itself, condemned to ruin, and on the abandoned Christians', and to send an emergency force against the Turks.

2. Letter 320 (274) to Emperor Manuel II, 1383/84; *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*, iii, pp. 140-41. Here Cydones refers to the despair of the Christians who are under Turkish rule and the danger of apostasy. But he also quotes the opinion of 'wiser' men who are convinced that under Turkish rule Christian faith is preserved better than in Byzantium.

3. Letter 313 (309), to the *despotēs* Theodore I Palaeologus in Mystras, May/June 1385. He refers to the Muslims as 'ungodly' (*asebeis*); on this see the comment in Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*, iii, p. 230, n. 7.

4. Letter 327 (316), to the Emperor Manuel II, 1386. Here (ll. 23-24) Cydones blames compatriots who prefer the 'damned legislator' (*enagēs nomothetēs*, sc. Muḥammad) to Christ, and rather than Christian liberty prefer the yoke that Islam imposes on its believers. The designation of Muḥammad as a legislator is an allusion to the work of Riccoldo, who calls the Qur'an a law (see Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*, iii, pp. 249-50, n. 12).

5. Letters 354 (347) and 355 (348) to Rhadenus, summer/autumn 1387, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*, iv, p. 25, ll. 47-51; p. 28, l. 18. Cydones is very concerned that Rhadenus will follow the Emperor Manuel to the court of Murad I. He is afraid that the young man will be forced to listen to the Muslims' blasphemies against the God of the Christians and not dare to contradict them. So he will betray his faith and damage his soul.

6. Letter 367 (352) to the Emperor Manuel, autumn 1387. After his flight from Thessaloniki, Manuel stayed for some time at the Ottoman court. Cydones deplors his difficulties and his humiliation in being forced to render a slave's service to the Turkish bey. Above all, he is

afraid that the emperor's soul is sullied by being with Muslims and will continue in opposition to his conscience (... *tēn psychēn tē keinōn koinōnia miainesthai kai tō syneidoti polemein*, Loenertz, *Correspondance*, ii, pp. 312-13, ll.19-22).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

These references in Cydones' letters supplement what he says in his other works. They show that, even in his private remarks, he makes scathing judgements about Islam as a ruinous enemy of Christian faith and liberty.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

The rich manuscript tradition of these letters is fully considered in the Loenertz edition. It is worth mentioning in particular MS Vat. – Gr. 101, which contains 320 letters from Cydones' later life, copied by the author himself and including his own corrections. This group affords an authentic encounter with the author.

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe* (German trans. and commentary)

Loenertz (ed.), *Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance*

G. Cammelli, *Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance*, Paris, 1930 (*Collection byzantine publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé*) (50 letters with French trans.)

#### STUDIES

Barker, *Manuel II Palaiologos*, especially pp. 56-63

**Franz Tinnefeld**



# Martyrology of T‘amar Mokac‘i

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH    Approximately mid-14<sup>th</sup> century  
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 origin and background. On the basis of the norms of 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 Ostan, on the south-east shore of Lake Van, 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‘iwn T‘amaray Mokac‘woy*, ‘Martyrology of T‘amar Mokac‘i’

DATE    1397

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE    Armenian

### DESCRIPTION

The work tells the tale of the attractive Christian Armenian woman, T‘amar, also known as Gohar, of the region of Mok’s to the south-west of Lake Van. Her beauty rendered her the object of the unwanted affections of a local Kurd, who planned to kill her husband T‘uma and make her

his own. On learning of his scheme, T'amar and T'uma moved their family to the island of Alt'amar, where they lived for some five or six years. However, on a visit to the regional center of Ostan on the southeast shore of the lake, T'amar was recognized by some Kurds, who claimed that she was a Muslim and arraigned her before the emir Amīr al-Dīn. While he paid little attention to the case, his Turkmen wife, P'ašaxat'un, attempted to persuade her by various means to renounce Christianity. When T'amar refused, she was brought before the qadi and subsequently incarcerated without food and water. Meanwhile, men of substance from the Christian community approached P'ašaxat'un with a significant sum to procure her release, but instead the emir's wife ordered T'amar to be taken outside the city and stoned. The martyrdom took place on Monday, 22 April, 1397.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Although the account is extremely realistic and includes many details underlining the specificity of the case, the author contextualizes the narrative within the spiritual realm, broaching the topic of theodicy in distancing God from any association with evil, while tempering the Kurdish perpetrators' human agency with influence from the principle of evil. In contrast to the norm of male protagonists in the genre, this example features the equipoise of two strong female figures, whose pithy exchanges enliven the work. The role of the emir's wife, in particular, is highly unusual, her dominant persona being likened to Shamiram, the Assyrian queen, the subject of many legends, who in late ancient Armenian historiography is presented as capturing the Lake Van area and ruling from the citadel of the city of Van. In contrast to P'ašaxat'un's harsh sentence of imprisonment without sustenance, the author highlights the humanity of the jailers, who disobey her orders in offering food to their charge, though she adamantly rejects their attempts. The narrative also emphasizes the position of the island of Alt'amar, site of one of the catholicates (supreme hierarchical sees) of the medieval Armenian Church, as a refuge for the local Christian population under its direct jurisdiction, as opposed to their minority status in the cities on the surrounding shoreline.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts, Yerevan:

M1511, fols 454r-455v (1471)

M477, fols 442r-442v (1559)

- M1517, fols 342r-434r (16<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M4520, fols 880-883 (16<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M1338, fols 398v-399r (16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M1503, fols 470r-471v (1633)  
 M1502, fols 426v-427v (1651)  
 M1501, fols 459v-461r (post-1655)  
 M1516, fols 164v-166r (pre-1681)  
 M1509, fols 440r-441r (1685)  
 M1512, fols 435v-437r (1689)  
 M1532, fols 434r-435v (1695)  
 M1534, fols 463r-464r (1695)  
 M1507, fols 371v-373r (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M1508, fols 436v-438r (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 M3783, fols 376v-377v (1704)  
 M3783, fols 500r-501r (1704)  
 M1513, fols 313v-314r (1706)  
 M3786, fols 967-969 (1713)  
 M1533, fols 387v-388v (1725-30)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

- K. Ter-Davtyan, *Novie armyanskie mucheniki (1155-1843), perevod, pre-dislovie i primechaniya*, Yerevan: Nairi Publications, 1998, pp. 76-78, 272-73 (Russian trans.)  
 K. Ter-Davtyan, *Armyanskie zhitiya i muchenichestva V-XVII vv.*, Yerevan, 1994, pp. 368-73 (Russian trans.)  
 Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, Vałaršapat, 1903, pp. 186-97 (critical edition)  
 Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (žotovrdakan hratarakut'wn)*, vol. 1, Vałaršapat, 1902, pp. 126-30 (edition lacks critical apparatus)  
*Yaysmawurk' əst kargi əntrelagoyn ōrinaki yaysmawurac' Tēr Israyēli*, vol. 1, Constantinople: Pōlos Srapean Press, 1834, pp. 182-83 (edition)  
*Girk' or koč'i aysmawurk' or parunakē yink'ean zčarš varuc' srboc'*, Constantinople: Grigor Marzuanec'i Press, 1730, pp. 528-29 (edition)  
*Yaysmawur əst patšači awur iwrum ənt'ernun surb ekelec'in*, Constantinople: Astuacatur Kostandnupolsec'i Press, 1706, pp. 766-69 (edition)

## STUDIES

- K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkayabanut'yunner (V-XVIII dd.)*, Yerevan: Nayri Publications, 2011, pp. 333-34  
 K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *XI-XV dareri Hay vark'agrut'yuna*, Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1980, pp. 58-59, 118, 154

- H. Ačaiyan, *Hayoc' anjanunneri bařaran*, vol. 2, Yerevan: State University Publication, 1944, pp. 267-68
- M. C'amč'ean, *Patmut'wn Hayoc' i skzbanē ařxarhis minč'ew c'am Tearn 1784*, vol. 3, Venice: Petros Valvazeanc' Press, 1786, pp. 434-35

**S. Peter Cowe**

## Al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-‘Amīd

Al-Makīn Jirjis, known as Ibn al-‘Amīd (the Younger)

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; probably first half of 14 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; possibly in the vicinity of Old Cairo
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; after 1398
PLACE OF DEATH	Monastery of St Arsenius (also called ‘al-Qusayr’), Ṭura

### BIOGRAPHY

Jirjis ibn al-‘Amīd ‘the younger’ was a priest and practical physician (*mutaṭabbib*) who is known to have flourished in the last decade of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. He held a high position somewhere in the civil administration of the Mamluk state, as his title *al-Makīn* (‘the powerful or holder of a power’) suggests (most probably a family inheritance; see below). This complex identity of being at the same time priest, physician and civil servant was not unusual in the Ayyūbid epoch (13<sup>th</sup> century) among the Copts or other religious communities (see Sidarus, ‘Families of Coptic dignitaries’, and add the exactly parallel case of al-Rashīd Abū al-Khayr Ibn al-Ṭayyib, q.v.), but also in the same period in Syria and north Mesopotamia (see Eddé, ‘Médecins’).

Jirjis is regularly identified in manuscript witnesses as the brother of al-As‘ad Ibrāhīm *al-kātib fī dīwān al-jaysh* (or *al-juyūsh al-manṣūra*), a highly placed member of the bureaucracy. An earlier generation of the Banū al-‘Amīd family included the historian (and also civil servant in the *dīwān al-jaysh*) al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-‘Amīd, known as ‘the elder’ (q.v.; and see Sidarus, ‘Families’). He and the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Jirjis have not infrequently been confused with each other.

Jirjis retired as a hermit to one of the rock-caves of St Arsenius Monastery (also known as ‘al-Qusayr’), in the Ṭura hills, south of Cairo. He dedicated himself to writing *Al-ḥāwī* (‘The compiler’), and probably died in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century – in any case after 1398, the date of an autograph of this work.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

- MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 583, fol. 286r (colophon stating that the MS was acquired in 1392 from *al-ab al-qiss* al-Makīn Jirjis *al-mutaṭabbib al-shahīr*, known as Ibn al-ʿAmīd); see Cheikho, ‘Catalogue raisonné’, *Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph* 11 (1926) 258-59
- MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 282 (Graf 515, Simaika 538), fols 218 ff. (citation from a copy of an autograph of *Al-ḥāwī* dated to 1398/99, with important biographical data, including the location of Jirjis’s hermitage; see Graf, *Catalogue*, p. 194)
- Other MSS of *Al-ḥāwī* frequently give Jirjis’s name and titles and those of his brother.

*Secondary*

- A.Y. Sidarus, ‘Families of Coptic dignitaries (*buyūtāt*) under the Ayyūbids and the golden age of Coptic Arabic literature (13<sup>th</sup> cent.)’, *Proceedings of the ninth international Congress of Coptic Studies (Cairo, Sept. 2008)*, ed. A. Delatre et al. in *Journal of Coptic Studies* 13 (2013) (in press)
- Athanāsīyūs al-Maqārī, *Fihris kitābāt ābāʾ kanīsāt al-Iskandariyya. Al-kitābāt al-ʿarabiyya (Maṣādir ṭuqūs al-kanīsa 1.8-9)*, 2 vols, Cairo, 2012, ii, pp. 778-86 (mostly follows Graf, *GCAL*)
- A. Sidarus, ‘Encyclopédisme et savoir religieux à l’âge d’or de la littérature copto-arabe (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)’, *OCP* 74 (2008) 347-61, p. 348
- M.N. Swanson, ‘Jirjis ibn al-ʿAmīd al-Makīn’, in G. Gabra (ed.), *Historical dictionary of the Coptic Church*, Cairo, 2008, pp. 159, 288
- A.-M. Eddé, ‘Les médecins dans la société syrienne du VII<sup>e</sup>/XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle’, *Annales Islamologiques* 29 (1995) 91-109
- Wadi Abullif, ‘Introduzione alla letteratura arabo-cristiana dei Copti’ [in Arabic], *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea* 29-30 (1996-97), 441-92, pp. 457-58 (also published in the Lebanese journal *Al-Masarra* 84 (1998), 203-24 and 374-87)
- R.-G. Coquin, ‘Langue et littérature arabes chrétiennes’, in M. Albert et al. (eds), *Christianismes orientaux. Introduction à l’étude des langues et des littératures (Initiation au Christianisme ancien)*, Paris, 1993, 35-106, p. 86
- R.-G. Coquin, M. Martin, and P. Grossmann, art. ‘Dayr al-Qusayr (Ṭurāh)’, in CE S. Timm, art. ‘Dēr al-Quṣēr (I)’, in *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, 6 vols (*Beihefte TAVO*, Reihe B, XLI/1-6), Wiesbaden, 1984-92, ii, pp. 779-89; art. ‘Ṭurā’, vi, pp. 2882-87
- Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 450-53
- G. Graf, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire (Studi e Testi 63)*, Vatican City, 1934, p. 194
- L. Cheikho, ‘Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Orientale, V. Patristique, conciles, écrivains ecclésiastiques anciens, hagiologie’, *Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph* 11 (1926) 189-306, pp. 258-59

A. Nicoll, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum orientalium Bibliothecae Bodleianae, pars secunda, Arabicos complectens*, Oxford, 1835, pp. 22-23 (no. XX)

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Al-ḥāwī l-mustafād min badīhat al-ijtihād*, ‘The profitable compiler, from the faculty of independent reasoning’

*Al-ḥāwī l-mustafād*, ‘The profitable compiler’

*Al-ḥāwī*, ‘The compiler’

*Mukhtaṣar al-bayān fī taḥqīq al-īmān*, ‘The brief exposition on the verification of faith’

DATE 1390s

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

#### DESCRIPTION

The massive yet understudied work often known simply as *Al-ḥāwī* poses a number of questions. It falls into two roughly equal parts (each occupying two volumes of close to 400 pages in the recent edition by an unnamed monk of Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ in Upper Egypt, on which the following description depends), which have often been transmitted separately in the manuscript tradition. The work bears two titles, whose precise relationship is not entirely clear. According to MS Monastery of St Antony – Theol. 166, which claims to be a copy of an autograph, the title of the work is *Mukhtaṣar al-bayān fī taḥqīq al-īmān al-musammā* (‘called’) *Al-ḥāwī l-mustafād min badīhat al-ijtihād*. On the other hand, MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 325 states that the work as a whole is called *Al-ḥāwī* or *Al-ḥāwī l-mustafād*, and that *Kitāb mukhtaṣar al-bayān fī taḥqīq al-īmān* is the title of Part One alone (Graf, *Catalogue*, p. 238). A further complication is that the lengthy Christological introduction to the work contains an internal reference to the author’s *Al-mustafād li-dhawī l-ijtihād* (‘That which is profitable to those possessing independent reasoning’), which may indicate that the author considered the introduction an independent work, and also that there has been some flexibility in the compilation’s title. A late manuscript of Part Two, Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 240 (1880), calls its text *Ḥall al-shukūk*, ‘The dissolution of doubts’.

Both parts have what seems to be a clear formal structure: Part I now comprises the lengthy introduction (on Christology) and five chapters (*abwāb*), while Part II consists of six chapters. Each of these 11 chapters

is subdivided into three sections (*fuṣūl*). However, the range of issues covered is very wide, a single *faṣl* may contain a variety of topics, and it is difficult to discern any particular order as one moves from section to section. What follows is the merest sketch of an outline for Part I.

Introduction: a lengthy essay on Christology, refuting those who would deny the divinity or true humanity of Christ

- 1.1. The place of knowledge (*ʿilm*) in Christian teaching
- 1.2. The need for 'spiritual physicians'
- 1.3. Divine predetermination and human freedom (*al-qaḍā' wa-l-qadar*)
  - 2.1. Trials and suffering
  - 2.2. Comment on various biblical passages
  - 2.3. The law of justice (*al-ʿadl*) and the law of grace (*al-faḍl*)
    - 3.1. The crucifixion of Christ; the impossibility of *tahrīf*
    - 3.2. Defense of the Trinity and the divinity of Christ; against the two-natures Christology
    - 3.3. On forgiveness and judgment
  - 4.1. Anthropology (soul and body, the nature of intellect)
  - 4.2. Angels and demons
  - 4.3. Intellect and miracle in the life of faith
    - 5.1. The Lord's Prayer
    - 5.2. Miscellaneous scriptural and theological questions, including the attributes of God
    - 5.3. Heaven and Hell

Part II consists of a succession of issues. Many of these are exegetical discussions, and there does not appear to be much of specific relevance to the Christian-Muslim conversation. Some passages of interest include: an exegesis of the story of the Fall (ch. 1.2); a refutation of astrology (ch. 3.1); anti-Jewish polemic (3.2); the strange customs of the Melkites (ch. 4.1); and an explanation of the Creed (ch. 6.3).

It is in Part I that we discover several passages, sometimes quite extended, that reflect the author's knowledge of Islamic teaching and, indeed, his conversations with Muslim scholars. Below are a few examples.

The section on divine predetermination and human freedom (ch. 1.2) explicitly draws a contrast between Christian teachings and those of 'outsiders' (*al-umam al-khārija* or *al-khārījīn*; *Al-Mawsūʿa* i, p. 168), where Islamic determinism is the object of critique. In the course of a discussion on human agency, al-Makīn quotes from al-Bāqillānī (q.v.), al-Ashʿarī (q.v.), the 'generality' of the Muʿtazila, and Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (q.v.) (pp. 180-82).



The section on the law of justice and the law of grace (ch. 2.3) states that there is no *sharīʿa* after the Christian *sharīʿa* of grace and perfection (p. 295). This leads to a discussion with an apparently Muslim interlocutor who makes an argument for the truth of a given *sharīʿa* from its worldly success (pp. 300-2).

The entire section on the crucifixion of Christ (ch. 3.1, pp. 304-41) is structured as a report on a conversation with a [Muslim] scholar who denies the appropriateness and, indeed, the actual occurrence of the crucifixion. Towards the end of the chapter, the topic shifts to the possibility of the corruption (*tahrīf*) of Christian scripture. Finally, as an afterthought, the author adds a comment on the absurdity of the idea of corporeal pleasures in the afterlife – but does so by building on a quotation from Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (q.v.).

A treatment of the attributes of God (*ṣifāt Allāh*) in ch. 5.2 refers to Islamic attributes-discourse and to dialogue with Muslim scholars, as the author defends the possibility of plurality in God (*Al-Mawsūʿa* ii, pp. 256-70).

Some of these passages amount to substantial essays. They well deserve scholarly attention.

About a century after its composition, *Al-ḥāwī* was translated into Ethiopic, where it is traditionally known as the *Talmid* and is attributed to ‘George, disciple of Antony the Syrian’ (Colin, ‘Tālmid’). This Ethiopic translation of al-Makīn’s work is *not* to be confused with the Ethiopic work entitled *Maṣḥafa Ḥāwī* (pace M. Kamil, ‘Translations from Arabic in Ethiopic literature’, *Bulletin de la Société d’Archéologie Copte* 7 (1941), p. 65, n. 3); the Ethiopic *Ḥāwī* is translated from the Arabic version of the *Pandectes* of Nikon of the Black Mountain (on this translation, see *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 2, Wiesbaden, 2005, pp. 1052a-53a; further, with corrections and additions, Sidarus, ‘Encyclopédisme’, p.35; Sidarus, ‘Note sur un épitomé copto-arabe du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et la traduction éthiopienne du *Pandectes* de Nikon de la Montagne Noire (XI<sup>e</sup> s.)’, forthcoming.)

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Al-Makīn’s *Al-ḥāwī* is a substantial work of Christian theology that was written at a time of limited theological production in the Coptic Church. It bears witness to continuing theological conversation between Christian and Muslim scholars (in certain elite milieus) in Mamluk Egypt at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, a period known to be one of great difficulty for the church. It is striking that in his title the author should appeal to the capacity of *ijtihād* or ‘independent reasoning’ (as in Islamic legal interpretation) – a loaded term for his milieu. Scholarly study of the

work is necessary for its significance for the history of Christian-Muslim relations to be fully assessed.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

The following list is generated from Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 452-53, as supplemented by Athanāsiyūs, *Fihris* ii, pp. 783-85, with information about MSS in the monasteries of the Eastern Desert of Egypt (the monasteries of St Antony and St Paul), and other local catalogues. These lists will surely be extended as Egyptian monastery and church collections become better known.

#### 1. MSS of both parts:

MS Monastery of St Antony – Theol. 166 (1719; claims to be a copy of an autograph; Part I and first chapter of Part II, without the introduction)

MS Giza, Franciscan Seminary – FJ3 (18<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> century; extracts, mutilated MS – see Wadi, ‘Catalogo dei manoscritti del Seminario Franciscano di al-Jīzah’ [in Arabic], *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea* 42 (2009) 27-117, pp. 31-32)

MS Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ – Section XI: Theology and doctrine (*kutub lāhūtiyya wa-ʿaqāʿidiyya*) 1-2 (no year specified; see local unpublished catalogue)

#### 2. MSS of Part I alone:

MS Vat – Borgia Ar. 228 (14<sup>th</sup> century?)

MS Monastery of St Antony – Theol. 171 (1574; ch. 5)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 325 (Graf 659, Simaika 482) (1722)

MS Monastery of St Antony – Theol. 167 (undated but bound with a MS of 1746)

MS Monastery of St Paul – Theol. 29 (serial no. 149) (1763)

MS Monastery of St Antony – Theol. 168 (1764)

MS Aleppo, Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem – Ar. 222 (Sbath 1024), fols 1-70 (1796, Egypt; see F. del Río Sánchez, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem (Alep, Syrie)*, Wiesbaden, 2008, p. 124)

MS Monastery of St Paul – Theol. 28 (serial no. 148) (1886)

MS Monastery of St Antony – Theol. 230 (1897)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 241 (Simaika 553) (1905)

MS Monastery of St Antony – Theol. 169 (date unascertained; incomplete)

MS Monastery of St Antony – Theol. 172 (date unascertained; incomplete)

MS Monastery of St Antony – Theol. 231 (date unascertained)  
 MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 115 (date unascertained; Karshūnī –  
 mentioned in *Al-Mashriq* 9 (1906) 651-52)

3. Manuscripts of Part II alone:

MS Göttingen, State and University Library – Ar. 110 (end 14<sup>th</sup> century?)  
 MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Ar. Christ Nicoll 20 (Marshall 182; cata-  
 logue does not supply a date)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 240 (Graf 660, Simaika 531)  
 (1880)

MS Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ – Section XI: Theology and doctrine (*kutub  
 lāhūtiyya wa-ʿaqāʿidiyya*) 25 (no date specified; see local unpub-  
 lished catalogue)

4. For the MSS of the Ethiopic translation, see Colin, 'Tālmid', p. 850.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

*Mawsūʿat ʿulūm al-dīn li-Ibn al-Makīn*, [abridged version by] Mikhāʿil  
 Maksī Iskandar (*Silsilat Makhṭūṭāt al-Adyura*), Cairo: Maktabat  
 al-Maḥabba, 2002/3? (a popularizing epitome, not for scholarly  
 work)

*Al-Mawsūʿa l-lāhūtiyya l-shahīra bi-l-Ḥāwī li-Ibn al-Makīn*, 4 vols (*Min  
 makhṭūṭāt Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ al-ʿĀmir* 5-8), Cairo, 1999-2001 (uncriti-  
 cal edition from a pair of MSS in the library of Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ)

Tāwaḡrūs Shaḥḥāt and Fuʿād Bāsīlī (eds), *Kitāb Mukhtaṣar al-bayān  
 fī taḥqīq al-īman al-mawsūm bi-l-Ḥāwī taʿlīf al-Shaykh al-Taḡī Jirjis  
 ibn al-ʿAmīd al-mulaqqab bi-Ibn al-Makīn*, [s.l.], [s.d.] (introduction  
 and ch. 1)

Buṭrus ʿAbd al-Malik (ed.), *Kitāb Mukhtaṣar al-bayān fī taḥqīq al-īman  
 al-mawsūm bi-l-Ḥāwī taʿlīf al-Shaykh al-Taḡī Jirjis ibn al-ʿAmīd al-  
 mulaqqab bi-Ibn al-Makīn*, Cairo, 1906 (introduction and chs 1-3)

STUDIES

Athanāsīyūs, *Fihris* ii, pp. 778-86 (mostly follows Graf)

G. Colin, art. 'Tālmid', in S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 4,  
 Wiesbaden, 2010, pp. 849b-50a (on the Ethiopic version)

M.S.A. Mikhail, *Egypt from late antiquity to early Islam. Copts, Melkites,  
 and Muslims shaping a new society*, Los Angeles, 2004 (PhD diss.,  
 University of California, Los Angeles), pp. 365-79, passim (makes  
 some use of Part II for the study of intra-Christian polemics and  
 identity definition)

*Al-Mawsūʿa l-lāhūtiyya*, pp. 9-24 (introduction attributing the work to al-Makīn 'the elder'); ii, pp. 9-11; iii, pp. 9-12; iv, pp. 9-12 (introductions giving brief outlines for each volume)

G. Colin, 'La profession de foi christologique du "Talmid"', in C. Robin (ed.), *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Maxime Rodinson*, Paris, 1985, 163-65 (on two passages from the introduction, read from the Ethiopic version)

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 450-53

Nicoll, *Catalogi*, pp. 22-23 (good outline of Part II)

Adel Sidarus and Mark N. Swanson

## *Llibre de la çuna e xara dels Moros*

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; 14<sup>th</sup> century  
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; Catalonia  
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; 15<sup>th</sup> century  
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; probably Catalonia

### BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about this translator, except the very few details that can be inferred from his work. He was a legal scholar who worked in Valencia, and was acquainted with both the Christian and the Islamic Mālikī legal codes.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary* —

*Secondary* —

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Llibre de la çuna e xara dels Moros*, 'Book of the tradition and law of the Moors'

DATE Uncertain; late 14<sup>th</sup> century  
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Catalan

### DESCRIPTION

This text, the only Catalan work of its kind that is currently known, is a translation from an unknown Arabic original into Catalan made in Valencia at the end the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

As its title, which is known from the start of the index page, suggests, it is concerned with major Islamic religious and legal regulations (*sunna* and *sharī'a*), and it includes references that reflect Mālikī legal opinions. Although the index has 366 headings, the MS in its surviving incomplete form consists of no more than 355 chapters in 59 folios.

Significant details concerning Muslims are found in ch. 214 (on punishments for those who insult Christians), ch. 222 (that two Christians may attest the will of a Muslim, by analogy with the Islamic principle), ch. 290 (that Christians may attest a Muslim will), ch. 297 (that the *Fur de València* [Christian regulations] takes precedence over the *sunna* when deciding the punishment of a Muslim in inter-religious disputes), ch. 312 (on the wife's rights when her husband converts to Christianity), ch. 329 (on the inheritance of the sons of a Christian woman [slaves included]), and ch. 345 (on the involvement of Christian witnesses in the case of a Muslim killing another Muslim).

## SIGNIFICANCE

The most significant feature of this Christian text is its concern for Muslim legal rules in the period following the reconquest of the kingdom by King Jaime I in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Owing to the continuing presence of Muslims in huge numbers, the Islamic legal code was retained in force alongside Christian regulations until 1525. This translation is a vivid example of the pragmatic response by the Christian ruler to the situation that faced him in his kingdom.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Avila, Archivo Condal de Orgaz, (mid-late 15<sup>th</sup> century, possibly 1460-85)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

*Un tratado catalán medieval de derecho islámico. El libro de la çuna e xara dels Moros*, ed. C. Barceló, Cordova, 1989

## STUDIES

Barceló (ed.), *Un tratado catalán medieval de derecho islámico*, pp. ix-xxiv, 103-23

V. Pons Alós, *El fondo Crespí de Valldaura en el Archivo Condal de Orgaz (1249-1548)*, Valencia, 1982

**Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala**

## *Corte imperial*

*Livro da Corte imperial*, 'The book of the  
'Imperial court''

*Corte enperial*, 'Imperial court'

DATE 14<sup>th</sup> century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

### DESCRIPTION

The *Corte imperial* is the only known medieval Portuguese dialogue between Christianity and a number of religions. While there are *adversus Judaeos* works, only the *Corte imperial* includes a range of religious representatives, from pagans (ancient philosophers) and Oriental Christians (represented by a Greek bishop) to Jews and Muslims. In the prologue the author says that he is only a 'simple gatherer' of arguments into one volume, which he has translated from Latin into Portuguese.

The book is an account of the court that is held by the 'heavenly Emperor'. The action is set in a large field, in the centre of which is the Emperor's jasper throne, flanked by angels with their musical instruments. On his right, the Queen, the Church Triumphant, is seated on an ivory throne surrounded by the multitude of the saints. Meanwhile, from the East comes another Queen, the Church Militant, with camels laden with spices and precious stones, followed by a host of people. She is greeted by the Emperor with a kiss and is given a seat on his left. Some distance away is a crowd of Jews, Muslims, gentiles, and Greeks. Illuminated by a ray of light from the celestial Emperor, the Church Militant raises her hands and begins to speak. She is the central figure in the long dialogues that follow, each involving one of the various groups from outside the church.

The Church Militant engages with each representative in turn, defeating them in polite but decisive words and inviting them to accept baptism. Finally she turns to the Muslims ('Moors'), who are represented by a *faqih* (Calado, *Corte enperial*, pp. 223-48), an old man wearing a black burnous and white cloak, who is referred to as 'chaplain of the Moors', a familiar contemporary term used in Portugal. He is depicted as an old man, by contrast with the youth and beauty of the celestial Emperor and the two Queens.

This last debate has a more formal structure than the earlier ones and is different in content. Unlike the other controversialists, the *faqih's* interventions are few and any development of discussion is ruled out. In addition, this exchange does not appeal so much to reason but compares Islamic and Christian ethics to show that 'the law of the Christians is true and that of the Moors is false'. The style, however, remains restrained, and the antagonist is always referred to as 'alfaqih friend', as with the Church's other opponents.

The Church Militant points to verses in the Qur'an (the respective *sūras* are quoted in the margins) that attest to the coming of the Messiah and the truth of the Old Testament and Gospel, citing Hadiths from al-Bukhārī and Muslim for support. When the *faqih* objects that the Jews and Christians corrupted their scriptures and removed the name of the Prophet from them, the Church praises Christianity, referring to the Ten Commandments, the seven sacraments and the seven deadly sins.

The whole argument shows intimate acquaintance with Islam, referring to Friday prayers, ablutions, the annual sacrifice and episodes from the Prophet's life, and contrasting Islam and Christianity in their attitudes towards poverty and sensuality. It upholds the moral superiority of Christianity by comparing Christ, a poor man, to Muḥammad, who was not only a trader but also amassed great wealth through conquest. It condemns the sensuality that is evident in the fact that Muslim men may marry four wives and have as many women servants as they wish, in the carnal teachings of the Qur'an about paradise, and in episodes from the Prophet's life, and it criticizes the position of women in Islam as mere objects of men's pleasure. Baptism, the Church contends, is superior to circumcision, because while only males are circumcised both males and females are baptized.

The text is largely taken from the last part of Ramon Llull's *Disputatio Raymundi Christiani et Homar Sarraceni* (q.v.), to which it adds an original introduction and quotations from the Qur'an and Hadiths. However, Sidarus suggests that the exchange may be a copy of a *compendium* by Llull, that is also used in earlier parts of the *Corte imperial*, and that the whole may originally have been written in Catalan.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The work shows the typical attitude of Iberian Christians towards Muslims in the period of the *Reconquista*. At the same time, it lacks the violent condemnation found in many other works, particularly in what it says about Muḥammad. The fact that it was owned by a merchant, as



the unique MS attests, shows interest in inter-religious matters outside clerical and elite social circles.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal – 803 (first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

A.A. Calado, *Corte enperial*, Aveiro, 2000

J.P. Sampaio Bruno, *O livro da Corte imperial*, Oporto, 1910

#### STUDIES

R.C.B. Campos, 'Política e religião em Portugal, séculos XIV e XV', *AEDOS* 2 (2009) online journal, <http://seer.ufrgs.br/aedos/article/view/9867>

R.C.B. Campos, 'Estética e juízo de valores na Corte imperial', *História, Imagem e Narrativas* 3 (2006) 228-38

J.M. Pontes, 'Apostilas para a edição crítica do 'Livro da Corte enperial'', *Humanitas* 58 (2006) 229-52

R.C.B. Campos, *O próximo como 'o outro'. Cristianismo e judaísmo na Corte imperial*, Porto Alegre, 2005 (Diss. Porto Alegre)

M. Sleiman, 'Fé, razão e diferença na Corte enperial', in A.V. Leão and V.O. Bittencourt (eds), *Anais do IV Encontro Internacional de Estudos Medievais*, Belo Horizonte, 2003, 666-73

M. Sleiman, 'As reais cortes da Corte enperial', in L.M. Mongelli (ed.), *A literatura doutrinária na corte de Avis*, São Paulo, 2001, 3-49

J. Perarnau Esplet, 'Sobre la catalanitat del Livro da corte imperial: el títol', *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 15 (1996) 406-8

A. Sidarus, 'Le "Livro da Corte enperial" entre l'apologétique lullienne et l'expansion catalane au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle', in H. Santiago-Otero (ed.), *Diálogo filosófico-religioso entre cristianismo, judaísmo e islamismo durante la Edad Média en la Península Ibérica*, Turnhout, 1994, 129-72

J. Antunes, 'Acerca da liberdade de religião na Idade Média. Mouros e judeus perante um problema teológico canónico', *Revista da História das Ideias* 11 (1989) 63-84

J.M. Pontes, 'Raimundo Lulo e o lulismo medieval português', *Biblos* 62 (1986) 51-76

M. Martins, 'Corte imperial', in *Alegorias, símbolos e exemplos morais da literatura medieval Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1980<sup>2</sup>, 207-12

J.M. Pontes, 'A controvérsia com os muçulmanos e as fontes árabes do "Livro da Corte enperial"', *Monumenta* 3 (1967) 43-49

- M. Martins, 'O livro da Corte imperial', in A. Anselmo (ed.), *As grandes polémicas portuguesas*, 2 vols, Lisbon, 1964, i, 27-49
- J.M.C. Pontes, *Estudo para uma edição crítica do 'Livro da Corte imperial'*, Coimbra, 1957
- M. Martins, 'Sibiúda, a "Corte imperial" e o racionalismo naturalista', in *Estudos de Literatura Portuguesa*, Braga, 1956, 395-416
- M. Martins, 'A música religiosa na "Corte Imperial"', in *Estudos de Literatura Portuguesa*, Braga, 1956, 417-21
- J.M.C. Pontes, 'Valor filosófico do Livro da Corte imperial', *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 11 (1955) 412-15
- A. Martins, 'Literatura Judaica e a Corte imperial', *Brotéria* 31 (1940) 15-24
- A. Martins, 'Toledot Teshu', *Brotéria* 27 (1938) 577-85
- A. Martins, 'A literatura árabe e a Corte imperial', *Brotéria* 26 (1938) 61-68
- A. Martins, 'Originalidade e ritmo na *Corte imperial*', *Brotéria* 26 (1938), 368-76

Filomena Barros

# The Coeur-de-Lyon Romances

Unknown author

*Vita Ricardi regis primi*, 'The romance of Kyng  
Richard the Conqueroure'; 'King Richard'  
*Richard Coeur de Lion*; *Richard Cœur de Lyon*;  
*Richard Coer de Lyon*; *Kynge Rycharde cuer du lyon*;  
*Richard Löwenherz*, 'The Lion-heart romances';  
'Richard the Lionheart'

DATE Between 1200 and 1400, possibly from an Anglo-Norman original dated to the late 12<sup>th</sup> or early 13<sup>th</sup> century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Middle English

## DESCRIPTION

Blending fabulous and historical material, the *Coeur-de-Lyon romances* recount in Middle English verse the life of King Richard I of England, focusing mainly on his exploits during the Third Crusade. They survive in six MSS and in two fragments dated from the early 14<sup>th</sup> to the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, and in two editions printed in 1509 and 1528. Internal evidence suggests they derive from a lost Anglo-French original, speculatively dated to the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century. Though often considered a single romance, these texts vary so widely that they are more accurately described as related texts. Scholars generally classify them into two distinct versions (Brunner, *Der mitttelenglische versroman über Richard Löwenherz*, pp. 1-15). The shorter version, *b*, is considered closer to the original and more historically accurate than *a*, which is amplified by a number of romance elements. The only complete texts in the *a* group, de Worde's nearly identical editions, devote more than 4,000 of 6,044 lines to Richard's crusade. Brunner's composite edition from texts in the *a* group contains 7,212 lines. Though defective at its beginning, the most complete text from *b*, MS London, College of Arms – HDN 58, is comprised of 23 folios.

Putting aside the fabulous material, portions of texts from *a*, and much of *b*, present fairly accurate, if exaggerated, accounts of Richard's

crusade. Each version describes his adventures in Sicily, including the pillage of Messina; his conquest of Cyprus; the capture of Acre and massacre of prisoners; the march to Jaffa; Saladin's destruction of castles and poisoning of wells; Richard's victory at Arsuf and rebuilding of Ascalon; his celebrated defense of Jaffa; his truce with Saladin; his return to England to deal with his brother John's intrigues; and his death on the continent while laying siege to a vassal's castle. In their historical accuracy and geographical specificity, these texts resemble chronicles of the Third Crusade, but no particular source has been proven (see, e.g., Paris, *Le roman de Richard Coeur de Lion*, and Hibbard, *Mediaeval romance in England*, p. 150). The manuscript context of two witnesses of the *b* version exemplifies their perceived historicity. In MS London, College of Arms – HDN 58 a *Coeur-de-Lyon* text appears as a continuation of Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*; in MS London, BL – Harley 4690 a partial text of the romance supplements a *Brut*. Exhibiting the national bias found in chronicles, these romances emphasize conflict between Richard and Philip, the French king, and they repeatedly portray the French as cowardly and avaricious braggarts. More prone to historical revision than texts from *b*, the *a* version invents victories for Richard, i.e. his capture of Babylon – probably Cairo, the seat of Saladin's empire – that belittle the Sultan (Heng, *Empire of magic*, p. 77).

The *Coeur-de-Lyon romances* exhibit stock features of crusade chronicles and *chansons de geste*: reckless heroism, single combat, violent siege warfare, fierce battles between vast forces, divine interventions, contempt of Saracens, and numerous atrocities (including cannibalism) (see e.g. White, 'Saracens and crusaders', pp. 177-78). Especially typical is their inaccurate portrayal of Muslims as polytheistic, pagan idolaters who worship such deities as Appolyn, Mahoun, Plotoun, and Terma-gaunt. These romances understandably devote considerable attention to Saladin, the brilliant Kurdish sultan of Egypt and Syria, but again, their portrayal is wildly inaccurate. Eliding his nobility, honor and brilliance, and misrepresenting his piety, these texts depict him as 'a mere *chanson villain*' (Heng, 'The romance of England', p. 144). For example, when suffering the loss of a rich caravan – a historically accurate detail – he impiously berates his gods. The sultan's depraved treachery is most famously represented in his duel with Richard. Having challenged the king to a combat to prove who has more power, Jesus or Jupiter, Saladin presents Richard with a gift horse that is actually a fiend conjured by a sorcerer and intended to render the king vulnerable. Warned of the

ploy by an angel, Richard unhorses Saladin in a scene whose resonance for medieval audiences is attested through frequent representation in images and in chronicles (see e.g. Loomis, *Richard Cœur de Lion*).

Despite such conventional features, the extreme hatred and contempt for Saracens manifest in these texts, and the hyperbolic violence of their Christian militancy, distinguish them from such Middle English crusade romances as *Sir Ferumbas*, *The Sowdone of Babylone*, and the Charlemagne cycle (Hamel, *The siege of Jerusalem as a crusading poem*, p. 184). Angels, for example, demand the beheading of the Saracen prisoners at Acre, thus lending divine sanction to a brutal, historical event even as the exaggerated number – 60,000 – magnifies the atrocity. In the *a* version, Richard and his knights slaughter the entire population of cities – women and children included – that refuse to convert. That this violence radiates from the person of a king, a holy warrior who is both Christian and demonic, further distinguishes these romances.

In the centuries-long process of producing these texts, redactors and revisers embellished Richard's already formidable reputation with romance *motifs*, legendary material, and crusade lore (see e.g. Hibbard, *Medieval romance in England*, pp. 149-52). Many of these accretions emphasize the king's strength and violent nature. In both versions, for example, Richard earns his sobriquet, Lionheart, by slaying a lion intended to kill him and then eating its heart in front of his German captors. Both versions of the romance foreground his demonic nature: in *a* and in *b*, Richard's opponents frequently describe him as 'a devil and no man'. The *a* version, though, develops his demonic attributes to such an extent that he becomes monstrous. In contrast to *b*, whose texts accurately portray Richard's mother as Eleanor of Aquitaine, the *a* version presents her as a demon princess from the East who is unable to witness the elevation of the host. Such an origin may explain Richard's strength, his violence, and, most notably, his repeated cannibalism of Saracen flesh. In his first such act, which appears only in *a*, Richard's cannibalism is unintentional. As he lies sick at the siege of Acre, he longs for pork, but none can be had, so a knight instructs the cook to slay and roast a Saracen, and then to serve the meat to the king as pork. Though his subjects laugh at this substitution, the king revives, and the cannibalism is thus perceived as being divinely sanctioned (Heng, *Empire of magic*, p. 64). In the second instance of cannibalism, a particularly aggressive performance that also appears in one MS from *b*, Richard, after the capture of Acre, consumes the roasted head of a Saracen in front of Saladin's

emissaries, telling them to inform the sultan that Saracen is the meat most nourishing to the English and that he, Richard, will not return to England until he and all his Englishmen have eaten all the Saracens in Saladin's empire.

This depiction of a historical king as a demonic cannibal, together with the romance's complex manuscript history, have posed difficulties of interpretation. Those interested in recovering the earliest form of the work argue that texts from the *b* group stand closest to the original; thus, they regard Richard's demon birth and acts of cannibalism as late, 'romantic accretions' that move heroic poetry in the direction of romance (see e.g. Finlayson, '*Richard, Coer de Lyon*').

More comfortable with multiple versions of a vernacular work, other scholars regard the manipulations and distortions within these texts as particularly meaningful. The romance utterly transforms the chronicle and *chansons de geste* analogues of Richard's cannibalism (see e.g. Broughton, *The legends of King Richard I*). The *a* version, which focuses upon 'black' Saracen flesh that is especially wholesome to the English, and which is followed by Richard's threatened consumption of an entire enemy population, contemplates a nationalist and colonialist agenda by means of a joke whose racializing discourse produces a community – the English – while creating a fantasy of Saladin's vulnerability (Heng, *Empire of magic*, pp. 75-77). Such manipulations within a popular romance not only make the failures of the Third Crusade palatable to a medieval audience, but also transform a heroic, Francophile king into a legendary English hero and symbol of an emerging nation (see e.g. Ambrisco, 'Cannibalism and cultural encounters').

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The *Coeur-de-Lyon* texts were among the most popular romances in Middle English (Pearsall, 'The English romance in the fifteenth century', p. 58 n. 2). While their degrading misrepresentations of Muslims are conventional, the virulence of their Christian militancy is unmatched. Their popularity, which spanned centuries, reflects the vitality of the crusades in the popular culture of medieval Europe; and their complex depiction of Richard I helped to transform an unlikely candidate – a king who spoke no English and who spent a mere six months of his ten-year reign in England – into a legendary hero of the English nation.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland Advocates' – 19.2.1 (formerly the Auchinleck MS) fols 326r-327v (1330-40; the oldest MS extant, though fragmentary; a good portion of its text survives in separated leaves: the Laing leaves, MS Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Library – 218, fols 2 and 7, and MS St Andrews, St Andrews University Library – PR2065 R.4, 2 fols)

MS London, BL – Egerton 2862, fols 1r-44v (formerly Sutherland or Trentham MS) (late 14<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Badminton House – 704.1.16, single folio (1400-25)

MS Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College – 175 (James' no. 96), pp. 1-98 (1400-50; used by Brunner and by Weber as their base manuscript)

MS London, BL – Additional 31042 (formerly London Thornton), fols 125r-163v (1425-50)

MS London, College of Arms – HDN 58 (formerly Arundel), fols 252r-275r (1400-50)

MS London, BL – Harley 4690, fols 109r-118r (1450-1500)

MS Oxford, Bodleian – 21802 (formerly Douce 228), pp. 1-41 (late 15<sup>th</sup> century)

*Kynge Rycharde cuer du lyon*, Oxford, Bodleian – Crynes 734, and Manchester, John Ryland's Library – Deansgate 15843 (1509; a London printing by Wynkyn de Worde that Brunner used to complete gaps in his base MS; *STC* 21007; *ESTC* S120269)

*Kynge Rycharde cuer du lyon*, Oxford, Bodleian – S. Seld. D. 45 (1), and London, BL – C.40.c.51 (formerly Harleian) (1528; a second London printing by de Worde that is nearly identical to his 1509 printing; *STC* 21008; *ESTC* S101588)

For a fuller discussion of these manuscripts, see G. Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue of manuscripts containing Middle English romances*, Munich, 1976, pp. 82-3, 121-26, 159-63, 182-84, 205-6, 215-17, 263-64

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

I.C. Cunningham and D. Pearsall, *The Auchinleck manuscript. National Library of Scotland, Advocates' MS. 19.2.1*, 1979 (a facsimile edition that includes fragments of *Richard Coeur de Lion*)

N. Davis, 'Another fragment of "Richard coer de lyon"', *Notes and Queries*, n.s 16 (1969) 447-52 (selections from the single folio that survives from MS Badminton House – 704.1.16)

- G. Smithers, 'Two newly-discovered fragments from the Auchinleck MS', *Medium Ævum* 18 (1949) 1-11 (an edition of the St Andrews fragment – MS St Andrews, St Andrews University Library – PR2065.R4)
- J.L. Weston, *The chief Middle English poets*, New York, 1914, pp. 123-32 (abridged English trans.)
- K. Brunner, *Der mitttelenglische Versroman über Richard Löwenherz*, Vienna, 1913, pp. 1-75 (introduction), 81-452 (critical edition that delineates textual variations), 474-604 (German trans.)
- F. Jentsch, 'Die mitttelenglische Romanze *Richard Coeur de Lion* und ihre Quellen', *Englische Studien* 15 (1891) 161-247 (a synopsis in German, pp. 164-75)
- E. Kölbing, 'Kleine publicationen aus der Auchinleck-hs III. Zwei fragmente von King Richard', *Englische Studien* 8 (1885) 115-19 (an edition of the Laing leaves of NLS Adv 19.2.1)
- R. Wülker, 'Richard Löwenherz', in *Altenglisches lesebuch*, vol. 1, Halle, 1874, pp. 95-104 (text of last 479 lines from MS Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College – 175)
- G. Ellis and J.C. Halliwell, *Richard Coeur de Lion*, in *Specimens of Early-English metrical romances*, London, 1848, pp. 282-341 (extracts with linking prose summaries)
- D. Laing and W.B. Turnbull, *Owain Miles, and other inedited fragments of ancient English poetry*, Edinburgh, 1837 (a rare edition that includes the two Laing leaves separated from NLS Adv MS 19.2.1)
- H. Weber, *Richard Coer de Lion*, in *Metrical romances of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries*, 3 vols, Edinburgh, 1810, ii, pp. 3-278 (text), iii, pp. 347-66 (notes)

## STUDIES

- J. Sánchez-Martí, 'The printed history of the Middle English verse romances', *Modern Philology* 107 (2009) 1-31
- S. Akbari, *Idols in the East. European representations of Islam and the Orient, 1150-1450*, Ithaca NY, 2009, pp. 150, 157-58, 212
- T. Crofts and R. Rouse, 'Middle English popular romance and national identity', in L. Radulescu and C. Rushton (eds), *A companion to medieval popular romance*, Cambridge, 2009, 79-95



- R. Rouse, 'For king and country? The tension between national and regional identities in *Sir Bevis of Hampton*', in J. Fellows and I. Djordjevic (eds), *Sir Bevis of Hampton in literary tradition*, Woodbridge UK, 2008, pp. 115, 118, 122
- H. Burton, *Cannibalism in high medieval English literature*, New York, 2007, pp. 11, 106-7, 120-31, 136
- L. Coote, 'Laughing at monsters in *Richard Coeur de Lyon*', in A. Tudor and A. Hindlay (eds), *Grant risee? The medieval comic presence*, Turnhout, 2006, 193-211
- Y. Liu, 'Middle English romance as prototype genre', *Chaucer Review* 40 (2006) 335-53
- S. Akbari, 'The hunger for national identity in *Richard Coer de Lion*', in R. Stein and S. Prior (eds), *Reading medieval culture*, 2005, 198-227
- S. Calkin, *Saracens and the making of English identity. The Auchinleck manuscript*, New York, 2005
- S. Yeager, 'Medieval crusading in the literary contexts of England. Teaching romance and chronicle', *Literature Compass* 2 (2005) 1-11
- N. McDonald, 'Eating people and the alimentary logic of *Richard Cœur de Lion*', in N. McDonald (ed.), *Pulp fictions of medieval England. Essays in popular culture*, Manchester, 2004, 124-50
- D. Brewer, 'The popular English metrical romances', in C. Saunders, (ed.), *A companion to romance. From classical to contemporary*, Oxford, 2004, 45-64, pp. 50-51
- G. Heng, *Empire of magic. Medieval romance and the politics of cultural fantasy*, New York, 2003
- C. Heffernan, *The Orient in Chaucer and medieval romance*, Woodbridge UK, 2003, pp. 1-22
- D. Vance Smith, *Arts of possession. The Middle English household imaginary*, Minneapolis MN, 2003, pp. 12-13, 52
- L. Cordery, 'Cannibal diplomacy. Otherness in the Middle English text *Richard Coer de Lion*', in Albrecht Classen (ed.), *Meeting the foreign in the Middle Ages*, New York, 2002, 153-71
- M. Mills, 'Generic titles in Bodleian Library MS Douce 261 and British Library MS Egerton 3132A', in P. Hardman (ed.), *The matter of identity in medieval romance*, 2002, 125-38
- G. Heng, 'The romance of England. *Richard Coer de Lyon*, Saracens, Jews, and the politics of race and nation', in J. Cohen (ed.), *The postcolonial Middle Ages*, 2000, 135-71

- A. Ambrisco, 'Cannibalism and cultural encounters in *Richard Coeur de Lion*', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 29 (1999) 499-528
- P. Hardman, 'The *Sege of Melayne*: a fifteenth-century reading', in R. Field (ed.), *Tradition and transformation in medieval romance*, Woodbridge UK, 1999, 71-86
- H. Cooper, 'Romance after 1400', in D. Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge history of medieval literature*, Cambridge, 1999, 690-719
- J. Finlayson, 'The marvellous in Middle English romance', *Chaucer Review* 33 (1999) 363-408
- J. Finlayson, 'Legendary ancestors and the expansion of romance in *Richard, Coer de Lyon*', *English Studies* 79 (1998) 299-308
- M. Hebron, *The medieval siege. Theme and image in medieval romance*, Oxford, 1997, pp. 37-46
- T. Turville-Petre, *England the nation. Language, literature, and national identity, 1290-1340*, Oxford 1996, pp. 120-30
- M. Evans, *Rereading Middle English romance. Manuscript layout, decoration, and the rhetoric of composite structure*, Montreal, 1995
- G. Barnes, *Counsel and strategy in Middle English romance*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 91-123
- C. Meale, 'Caxton, de Worde, and the publication of romance in late medieval England', *The Library* 14 (1992) 283-98
- M. Hamel, '*The Siege of Jerusalem* as a crusading poem', in B. Sargent-Baur (ed.), *Journeys toward God. Pilgrimage and crusade*, Kalamazoo MI, 1992, 177-94
- J. Finlayson, '*Richard, Coer de Lyon*: Romance, history, or something in between', *Studies in Philology* 87 (1990) 156-80
- A. Hopkins, *The sinful knights. A study of Middle English penitential romance*, Oxford, 1990, pp. 5, 73, 155, 167, 202
- J. Tattersall, 'Anthropophagi and the eaters of raw flesh in French literature of the crusade period. Myth, tradition and reality', *Medium Ævum* (1988) 240-53
- W. Barron, *English medieval romance*, New York, 1987, pp. 150, 157-58, 212
- C. Fewster, *Traditionality and genre in Middle English romance*, Cambridge, 1987, pp. 4, 14, 40, 47
- S. Crane, *Insular romance. Politics, faith, and culture in Anglo-Norman and Middle English literature*, Berkeley CA, 1986, pp. 106-7
- J. Bennett and D. Gray, *Middle English Literature. 1100-1400*, Oxford, 1986, 1997<sup>3</sup>, pp. 90-135

- L. Ramsey, *Chivalric romances. Popular literature in medieval England*, Bloomington IN, 1983, pp. 74-87
- S. Hauer, 'Richard Coeur de Lion, Cavalier or cannibal?', *Mississippi Folklore Register* 14 (1980) 88-95
- D. Pearsall, *Old and Middle English poetry*, London, 1977, pp. 86, 115-16, 295-99
- D. Pearsall, 'The English romance in the fifteenth century', in T. Donaldson (ed.), *Essays and studies. 1976*, London, 1976, 56-83
- B. White, 'Saracens and crusaders. From fact to allegory', in D. Pearsall and R. Waldron (eds), *Medieval literature and civilization*, London, 1969, 170-91
- D. Mehl, *The Middle English romances of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries*, London, 1968, pp. 242-46
- L. Hornstein, 'Miscellaneous romances', in J. Severs (ed.), *A manual of the writings in Middle English, 1050-1500*, New Haven CT, 1967, 158-60
- B. Broughton, *The legends of King Richard I, Coeur de Lion. A study of sources and variations to the year 1600*, The Hague, 1966
- D. Pearsall, 'The development of Middle English romance', *Medieval Studies* 27 (1965) 91-116
- R. Chapman, 'A note on the demon queen Eleanor', *Modern Language Notes* 70 (1955), 393-96
- L. Hibbard, *Mediaeval romance in England. A study of the sources and analogues of the non-cyclic metrical romances*, New York, 1924, pp. 147-55
- J. Wells, *A manual of the writings in Middle English. 1050-1400*, New Haven CT, 1916, pp. 150-53 (includes a synopsis)
- R. Loomis, Review of K. Brunner, *Der mittelenglische Versroman über Richard Löwenherz*, K. Brunner, ed., Vienna, 1913, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 15 (1916) 455-66
- R. Loomis, 'Richard Cœur de Lion and the Pas Saladin in medieval art', 30 *Publications of the Modern Languages Association* (1915) 509-28
- W. Schofield, *English literature from the Norman conquest to Chaucer*, London, 1906, pp. 314-15
- G. Paris, 'Le roman de Richard Coeur de Lion', *Romania* 26 (1897) 353-93
- F. Jentsch, 'Die mittelenglische Romanze Richard Coeur de Lion und ihre Quellen', *Englische Studien* 15 (1891) 161-247

G. Needler, *Richard Coeur de Lion in literature*, Leipzig, 1890 (Diss. University of Leipzig; synopsis of Weber's edition, 26-38)

**Peter Larkin**

## The prophecies and exhortations of Pseudo-Shenute

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; perhaps late 13 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; presumably Egypt
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; perhaps mid-14 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; presumably Egypt, possibly at the monastery of Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ in Upper Egypt

### BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known of the Coptic Christian author of a pseudonymous apocalyptic sermon beyond what can be gathered from the text itself.

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Qawl Anbā Shinūda ra'īs al-mutawaḥḥidīn, wa'ẓ  
wa-ta'līm li-awlādihi l-ruhbān*, 'The saying of Abba  
Shenute, head of the recluses, an admonition and  
an instruction to his children the monks'

*Nubuwwat abīnā l-qiddīs Anbā Shinūda*,  
'The prophecy of our holy father Abba Shenute'  
'The apocalypse of Shenute'; 'The second (Arabic)  
apocalypse of Shenute'; 'The prophecies and  
exhortations of Shenute'; 'ApocShen II'; 'ShenII'

DATE The original version may have been composed around 1325-30;  
slightly reworked at least once c. 1400

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

### DESCRIPTION

This early Mamluk-period work, which records an apocalyptic sermon purportedly addressed by the Coptic monastic saint Shenute (d. 464) to an assembly of his fellow monks, is largely unedited and known only from two recent and closely related manuscripts. The sermon is clearly a composite work, made up in large part of passages from older Christian

apocalyptic sources that have been put together with only a minimum of redaction. The later part of the work, however, seems substantially original, and it is here that, in a remarkably historical style, transcending the typical vagueness and obscurity of much apocalyptic literature, the sermon provides an interesting picture of Christian-Muslim relations under early Mamluk rule from a contemporary Coptic miaphysite perspective.

*Prophecies and exhortations of Pseudo-Shenute* falls roughly into three parts: a prophetic homily, *vaticinia ex eventu* of a political nature, and eschatological prophecies. These can be divided into smaller sections on the basis of content and origin (for which cf. Troupeau, 'De quelques apocalypses').

The first part of the work, the prophetic homily, consists of more or less the entire first half of the well-known *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Samuel* followed by a passage taken from the *Letter of Pseudo-Pisentius* (see *CMR* 2, pp. 743-53 and 266-74 respectively). The former piece of borrowing makes up almost a third of the entire *Prophecies and exhortations of Pseudo-Shenute*, and it remains very close to the original (Troupeau, par. 1). The most important differences with respect to the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Samuel* are the substitution of the name Shenute for that of Samuel, a lengthier narrative introduction, and the use of the term *muhājirūn*, 'emigrants', where the direct witnesses to *Pseudo-Samuel* have *hajara*, 'Hagarenes', or 'arab', 'Arabs'. Its main theme being the assimilation of Coptic practice to that of the Arab Muslims, it includes *Pseudo-Samuel's* famous lament concerning the Egyptian Christians' abandonment of the Coptic language, which is then followed by a series of prophecies *ex eventu* on the oppression of the Arabs, interpreted as God's punishment of the Christians because of their deviation from the canons of the Church and the precepts of the fathers. The passage copied from the *Letter of Pseudo-Pisentius* (common recension) – the first of three borrowings from the *Letter* – is much shorter and contains an exhortation to avoid sinful behavior, in addition to an enumeration of a number of social evils, together with a description of the punishments that will await the sinners in hell (Troupeau, par. 2).

The second part of *Prophecies and exhortations* comprises a long series of *vaticinia ex eventu*, which seem to be aimed at providing an overview of the history of Arab-Muslim rule over Egypt and its Coptic miaphysite inhabitants, starting from the Arab invasion up to and including the author's own time. It is introduced by a section on the decline of a monastery, which is unnamed but characterized as a place 'in which Christ halted many times and which he consecrated with his

pure hand' (Troupeau, par. 3). This suggests that we are dealing here with the Upper-Egyptian monastery known as Dayr al-Muḥarraq, of which tradition says that Christ himself consecrated its principal church in the place where the Holy Family had stayed during their flight from Herod. This account was possibly taken from an earlier source, which is certainly the case for the next section (Troupeau, par. 4), which contains a political prophecy dealing with a succession of 19 Muslim 'kings' following the Prophet Muḥammad, the last of whom is identified as the Caliph al-Amīn (r. 809-13). This text probably goes back largely to a 9<sup>th</sup>-century recension of the early-Abbasid *Proto-fourteenth vision of Daniel* (for details, see *CMR* 1, pp. 411-13; see also *CMR* 1, pp. 309-13 and *CMR* 3, pp. 697-703). After a second short passage taken from the *Letter of Pseudo-Pisentius* (Troupeau, par. 5), in which the powers inhabiting the Copts' sacred shrines ask Jesus Christ to intervene in the face of Arab-Muslim dominion, but are told by him to remain patient, the prophecies *ex eventu* continue with yet another succession of Egyptian rulers, this time seven unnamed men called the *ḥuqqām* (Troupeau, par. 6a). While the descriptions of their reigns are cursory and obscure, and while these may well have been borrowed from another source where they referred to a different set of rulers, it is likely that they refer here to the Ayyubid dynasty that governed Egypt from 1169 to 1254.

What follows next is a series of *vaticinia ex eventu* dealing with the rule of 'people called the Turks' (*al-turk*), i.e., the Mamluks, and in particular their attitude towards the Egyptian Christians. These political prophecies appear mostly original and, compared with those commonly found in historical apocalypses (including the present one up to this point), are also unusually explicit and detailed. A first set of prophecies (Troupeau, par. 6b) is focused on the reign of Sultan al-Zāhir Baybars (r. 1260-77) – here called 'Uluww ibn Muḥibb al-Dhahab Zālim, lit., 'Uluww ('Highness'), son of the lover of gold Zālim ('Oppressor'). It gives a colorful version of the well-known events of 1263/64, when the sultan threatened to burn all Christians 'close to him', which was only avoided by the payment of 'much gold'; the text describes in a remarkably hostile tone how the Coptic Patriarch John VII (r. 1262-68, 1271-93) travelled from 'Alexandria to Philae' to collect the fine, plundering the Christians' possessions and impoverishing them.

Then, after quoting from a passage of the *Letter of Pseudo-Pisentius* that predicts how the land will become impoverished due to God's withdrawal of his blessing (Troupeau, par. 7), the text turns to the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (r. 1293-94, 1299-1309, 1310-41).

This section (Troupeau, par. 8) describes in considerable detail the governmental anti-*dhimmī* campaign of 1301, mentioning the enforcement of sumptuary laws, the closing of churches, and the conversion of Coptic 'senior-ranking clerks' (*al-kuttāb al-akābir*) to Islam. Even greater attention, however, is given to the famous riots between Christians and Muslims in 1321, when many churches were destroyed in Egypt and monks seem to have set fire to the mosques of Cairo, creating a series of blazes throughout the city (see Little, 'Coptic conversion', pp. 562-65). In what is quite an original version of the affair, Pseudo-Shenute insists that the real arsonists were envious Muslims, who started the fire in order to blame the Christians! Interestingly, the text gives a nuanced picture of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad himself: while it links the sultan to the Antichrist (by noting that the numerical value of his name is 666, the number of the beast, cf. Revelation 13:18) and describes how he initially persecuted the Christians, it also has an eye for the sultan's generally positive attitude towards them later on. Moreover, Pseudo-Shenute emphasizes that the killing of Christians by Muslim mobs shortly after the 1321 fire happened 'without an order of the sultan or the governors', while in a later section describing al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death, it predicts that he would not die by the sword 'because of the great good that the king did to the Christians.'

The account of the events of 1321 is followed by a digression on the sins that the Egyptian Christians would commit in those days (Troupeau, par. 9). Particularly telling is the remark that 'all the bad things that this [Arab-Muslim] nation will do in its days, the Christians will do like them', which reveals what may well have been central to the worries of the author, namely, that Christians were hardly distinguishable from Muslims anymore.

In the next section (Troupeau, par. 10), the prophecies rapidly become vague again, and eschatological history starts to take over. First, there are obscure and cursory allusions to internal strife among the higher echelons of the Mamluk administration, probably between Muslims and Copts/*masālīma* (recent converts to Islam), which ends with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad being pressured into banishing the latter (identified as 'the chief clerks [*kubār al-kuttāb*] in his castle, whom he had put in charge of his riches') to Upper Egypt to die. Next, the text mentions a letter sent to the sultan by the 'king of the Greeks (*malik al-Yūnāniyyīn*), who is the king of the Ethiopians', discussing 'the restoration (*tajdid*) of Jerusalem and the showing of affection for the people of the Christians'; badly advised by his imams and judges, the sultan seems to ignore it. This



serves as a prelude to a very original version of the legend of the last Roman emperor, which is a standard feature of later Coptic miaphysite apocalyptic literature. 'After the completion of 62 years of the kingdom of Qalāwūn and his son', the angry king of the Ethiopians dams up the Nile in order to deprive Egypt of water, and then invades the country while the Romans (*al-Rūm*) attack from the north. The Muslims are defeated, and Ibn Qalāwūn falls ill and dies after three months in hiding, leaving Egypt prey to a 40-year struggle for power between the Romans and Ethiopians. After an interlude (Troupeau, par. 11) consisting of *ex eventu* prophecies concerning two series of Coptic miaphysite patriarchs, from Benjamin (r. 622-61) up to Alexander II (r. 705-31), and then from Gabriel II ibn Turayk (r. 1131-45) to John IX (r. 1220-27), the *Prophecies and exhortations of Pseudo-Shenute* ends with the rival kings of the Romans and the Ethiopians going to Jerusalem, where a divine ordeal sanctions the miaphysite faith and the kings make peace (Troupeau, par. 12). The king of the Romans will leave his brother behind in Egypt, and the king of the Ethiopians his brother-in-law; both will then return to their lands, and a period of bliss will ensue for Egypt. Remarkably, there is neither an Antichrist legend nor a description of the Last Judgement.

The last historical event described with some accuracy is the riots of 1321, which suggests that *Prophecies and exhortations* was composed not much later than this low point in Coptic-Muslim relations. This view is supported by the fact that the *ex eventu* prophecies on Coptic patriarchs mentioned above end with John IX, who died in 1327, as well as by a prophecy at the very beginning of pseudo-Shenute's historical overview (Troupeau, par. 4) that the Arab-Muslim rule would last for 730 years, i.e. until 1329/30. The passage on the crisis in the Mamluk administration is, then, likely to allude to the downfall of the *nāzir al-khāṣṣ* (supervisor of the fisc) Karīm al-Dīn al-Kabīr, a powerful Coptic convert to Islam, who fell into disgrace in 1323 and died in exile in Upper Egypt. Likewise, the letter sent by the king of the Greeks/Ethiopians (for this curious identification, see below) appears to refer to a document that, according to al-Maqrīzī, was sent to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad by the Ethiopian *negus* Amda Seyon (r. 1314-44) in 726 AH (1325), in which he threatened to starve Egypt by diverting the Nile if the Egyptian Christians were not treated better. It is this letter, one of the first in a series of alleged Ethiopian interventions in Egyptian politics, that probably triggered the composition of the work and formed an important source of inspiration for Pseudo-Shenute's version of eschatological events.

While the above cluster of references gives evidence that the work was originally composed towards the end of the 1320s, there are also clear indications that its text was slightly updated, perhaps more than once, in subsequent editing. Probably, this merely consisted of the addition of some figures and calculations here and there, and the text seems to have been left essentially in its original form. One such addition is the reference to the reigns of Qalāwūn (r. 1279-90) and his son al-Nāṣir Muḥammad as adding up to 62 years, which corresponds to historical fact (678/1279-740/1341). Another added phrase even appears datable: in the opening section on the rule of the Mamluks, the text seems to say that they will rule for 153 years and that there will be 27 kings, suggesting a date of 1399, the year of the death of Barqūq al-Yalbughāwī (r. 1382-89, 1390-99), approximately the 27th Mamluk sultan.

The work was composed by a miaphysite Copt, probably a monk or priest, who, considering his extensive use of older textual material, had access to a monastic or private library but at the same time knew what was going on in Cairo. The present author is inclined to believe that he came from Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ or its surroundings (Mount Qusqām), as this would explain the incorporation into the text of a whole section dedicated to this monastery. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, after a long period of obscurity, Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ rose to prominence, thus becoming an important center of Coptic Christianity, together with the Red Sea monasteries of St Anthony and St Paul. In addition, the place appears to have been a staging post for Ethiopian pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem, and it stood in close contact with the Ethiopian community of that place as well as with that of Ḥārit Zuwayla in Cairo, which may somehow account for *Prophecies and exhortations*' discernible affinity with Ethiopian literary traditions and popular lore.

Indeed, while pseudo-Shenute borrowed entire sections of text from older Coptic and Copto-Arabic literature, he also seems influenced, directly or indirectly (or both), by the famous Ethiopian *Kebra Nagast*, which is usually dated to the first years of Amda Seyon's rule (1314-1321/22). This is suggested by several elements of the episode about the kings of the Romans and the Ethiopians in *Prophecies and exhortations* that do not appear in earlier Coptic tradition, such as Jerusalem as the location of the divine ordeal sanctioning the miaphysite faith and the fact that both kings leave a family member as deputy in Egypt (cf. *Kebra Nagast*, ch. 117). In addition, the text has even greater affinity with the stories about the invasion of Egypt and the damming of the Nile narrated

by an abundance of chronicles and hagiographies – Ethiopian, but also Coptic and Muslim – in relation to Amda Seyon, Sayfa Ar'ad (r. 1344-71), and later Ethiopian kings, notably Dawit I (r. 1379/80-1413), the only one who seems to have actually interfered with the Nile; however, the exact nature of its relation to these traditions remains unclear. In any case, the curious identification of the king of the Greeks as king of the Ethiopians may well derive from the Vulgate recension of the *History of the patriarchs of Alexandria*, which in the biography of Patriarch Michael I (r. 743-67; the biography was originally written by one John 'the Deacon', *CMR* 1, pp. 317-21) deals with the invasion of Egypt by the Nubian king Cyriacus and, in an echo of the famous *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* (*CMR* 1, pp. 163-71), calls this king both 'the Ethiopian' and 'the Greek king'.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

*Prophecies and exhortations of Pseudo-Shenute* is a witness to Egyptian Christians' continuing interest in the meaning of history, and their hopes for its outcome, in the early Mamluk period. This was a period when, as we learn from the text itself, the Coptic community suffered from episodic crises of state tyranny and mob violence as well as a general pressure to conform to dominant Muslim norms, with increased Islamization and conversion as the results.

*Prophecies and exhortations* marks the end of the Copts' apocalyptic literary tradition. Not only is it the last medieval Coptic apocalyptic work handed down to us, but also, and quite remarkably, it offers a kind of anthology of prestigious older examples of the genre by incorporating some of their most striking passages.

At the same time, as a culmination of a late trend in the tradition (cf. the *Prophecies of Daniel to Athanasius* and the *Testament of our Lord*, for which see *CMR* 3, pp. 290-96, and *CMR* 4, pp. 743-49, respectively), it wanders away from apocalyptic literary convention in its unexpectedly clear and unsterotypical representation of contemporary events – to which the text should probably be taken seriously as an historical witness. A good example is its *ex eventu* prophecies on the Coptic-Muslim riots of 1321, where its version of what happened differs considerably from the accounts of most other witnesses (e.g. al-Maqrīzī, al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi l-Faḍā'il).

Moreover, as part of this phenomenon, and in violation of traditional apocalyptic norms, *Prophecies and exhortations* has no strict dichotomy between 'us' and 'the evil other', which allows for some nuance in evaluative judgments. We hear of an evil Muslim mob, but also of a sultan who

does good, of a Coptic patriarch who plunders his co-religionists' riches, and of Christians who misbehave like Muslims; the text paints a rather realistic and worried picture of a turning point in Mamluk society, in which boundaries between the Christian and Muslim communities are rapidly breaking down.

*Prophecies and exhortations* is an important source for the reconstruction of the history of older Egyptian Christian apocalyptic works, especially the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Samuel* and the *Proto-fourteenth vision of Daniel*. In addition, it is of interest as a possible early witness to the influence of the *Kebra nagast*, as well as for its crossover combination of elements from the typically Coptic apocalyptic legend of the kings of Byzantium and Ethiopia with late medieval traditions concerning Ethiopian interference in Mamluk politics (invasion of Egypt, damming up the Nile).

*Prophecies and exhortations* also adds to our knowledge of the history of Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ. If it was indeed composed there, it testifies to the importance of the place as a center of Coptic Christianity in the Mamluk period, while at the same time enriching the heritage of this again flourishing monastery.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 6147, fols 61r-87r (1832)

MS Cairo, Franciscan Center of Christian Oriental Studies – 324,  
fols 236r-264r (19<sup>th</sup> century)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

J. van Lent, *Coptic apocalyptic writings from the Islamic period*, Leiden, forthcoming (critical English trans. based on MS BNF – Ar. 6147)

J. van Lent, 'The nineteen Muslim kings in Coptic apocalypses', *Pd'O* 25 (2000) 643-93, pp. 673-93 (partial edition and English trans.; severely mishandled in the editing process)

#### STUDIES

Van Lent, *Coptic apocalyptic writings*

A. Tsuji, 'Medieval Coptic apocalypses. Repression and hope in the Apocalypse of Shenute', in S. Carro Martín et al. (eds), *Mediterráneos. An interdisciplinary approach to the cultures of the Mediterranean Sea*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2013, 197-208

J. van Lent, 'The prophecy of the nineteen Muslim kings', in *CMR* 1, 410-11

J. van Lent, 'The proto-fourteenth vision of Daniel', in *CMR* 1, 309-313, pp. 309, 312

- H. Suermann, 'Koptische arabische Apocalypsen', in R.Y. Ebied and H.G.B. Teule (eds), *Studies on the Christian Arabic heritage*, Leuven, 2004, 25-44, pp. 40-42
- J. van Lent, *Koptische apocalypsen uit de tijd na de Arabische verovering van Egypte*, Leiden, 2001, pp. 34-36
- Van Lent, 'Nineteen Muslim kings in Coptic apocalypses'
- J. van Lent, 'An unedited Copto-Arabic apocalypse of Shenute from the fourteenth century', in S. Emmel et al. (eds), *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit*, 2 vols, Wiesbaden, 1999, ii, 155-68
- G. Troupeau, 'De quelques apocalypses conservées dans les manuscrits arabes de Paris', *Pd'O* 18 (1993) 75-87, pp. 79-83
- D. Little, 'Coptic conversion to Islam under the Bahṛī Mamlūks, 692-755/1293-1354', *BSOAS* 39 (1976) 552-69 (important background information)
- Graf, *GCAL* i, p. 463; ii, p. 500

**Jos van Lent**

# The Life and Miracles of Anbā Ruways

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; 14<sup>th</sup> century  
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; presumably Egypt  
DATE OF DEATH Unknown, but after 18 October 1404  
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; possibly Dayr al-Khandaq or the  
environs of Cairo

## BIOGRAPHY

We know nothing about the author of the *Life* of Anbā Ruways apart from what can be gathered from the text itself; however, the second of the ‘miracles’ that follow the *Life* ‘proper’ in several manuscripts appears to refer to this author. According to this miracle account, Anbā Ruways cured one of his disciples (who is not named) of a very serious illness, and promised him that he would live long, attend Anbā Ruways’s death, and write down an account of his trials. The account goes on to inform us that the disciple did recover fully, was a witness to the saint’s sufferings, and was in fact the one who shrouded and buried the saint’s body.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

*The life and miracles of Anbā Ruways*, Miracle 2, e.g. in MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 282, fols 113v-115r

### *Secondary* —

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Sīrat al-qiddīs Anbā Furayj* (Ruways), ‘The Life of the saint Anbā Furayj (Ruways)’; ‘The Life and miracles of Anbā Ruways (Furayj, Tegi)’

DATE Soon after 18 October 1404

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

The *Life and Miracles* of Anbā Ruways is a fairly extensive work (61 folios in Paris Ar. 282) which, like the *Lives* of Barṣawmā al-‘Uryān (q.v.) and

Marqus al-Anṭūnī (q.v.), makes use of the literary form of a *Life* (= *sīra*) proper, followed by a collection of miracle stories from the saint's life. Its full title, as given in the Paris manuscript, is: *Sīrat abīnā al-ab al-qiddīs al-tūbānī l-bārr wa-l-inā' al-mukarram al-mukhtār al-ḍiyā' al-'aẓīm abīnā Furayj al-ma'rūf bi-Ruways, hādhā lladhī akmla say'ahu l-ṣāliḥ bākīr yawm al-aḥad al-mubārak al-ḥādī wa-l-'ishrīn min shahr Bābah sanat 1121 li-l-shuhadā' al-aṭḥār* ('The Life of our father Saint... Furayj, known as Ruways, he who completed his righteous course on the morning of blessed Sunday, the 21<sup>st</sup> day of the month of Bābah, in the year 1121 of the pure martyrs').

The *Life* begins with a homiletic introduction, which specifies its liturgical role as a reading on the celebration of the saint's feast day at the saint's tomb, at the Church of the Virgin in Dayr al-Khandaq. After the introduction, the *Life* reports that Furayj ibn Iṣḥāq was born into a family of modest farmers from the village of Minyat Bamīn in the western Delta (probably around 1334). From an early age he worked to help support his family, including by selling salt from the back of his affectionate and obedient camel, whom he called Ruways. During an unspecified persecution of Copts (possibly the disturbances of 1354), his father Iṣḥāq was forced to convert to Islam. Furayj fled, presumably so as not to have to convert as well. This was the beginning of a long career as a wandering ascetic and 'holy fool'. Seeking anonymity, he called himself 'Ruways' (after his camel). He traveled the length of Egypt, refused alms of money or clothing and lived exposed to the elements, fasted for days and even weeks at a stretch, and did not resist – or speak a word to – those who mistreated him. He had great reverence for the Eucharist, could see angels and heavenly light in church, and held converse with distant saints.

At some point in his career (possibly in the 1380s), his activity appears to have become focused in the vicinity of Cairo. From 1395 until his death in 1404, he lay on one side and did not speak – this is portrayed as an act of extreme asceticism rather than as of illness – although he did communicate through gestures with those who came to seek his help and blessing. When he died (on 18 October 1404), his body was buried in the Church of the Virgin at Dayr al-Khandaq; an attempt to steal the body and take it to Dayr Shahrān was foiled.

Apart from the circumstances surrounding the beginning of Anbā Ruways's career as a wandering ascetic, the outline given here may not seem to be of great interest for the history of Christian-Muslim relations. The *Life* 'proper' does in fact present some material of immediate relevance. In one scene, Anbā Ruways bears witness to the joy in heaven

over the 'wounded' (*majrūḥīn*) who are baptized or who confess Christ – that is, the joy at the return, in an age of rapid conversion to Islam, of certain individuals to the Coptic Christian fold. The *Life* also reports a confrontation with a Muslim *amīr*: on one particular occasion, Anbā Ruways refused to say a word to the *amīr* Sūdūn and was savagely beaten and imprisoned until Patriarch Matthew I arranged for his release.

More material of interest may be found in the *Miracles*, which portray Anbā Ruways from his later years as an *urban* ascetic, wandering the streets of Cairo, performing miracles of healing, and delivering Copts from various (and sometimes self-inflicted) troubles. In three cases, Anbā Ruways sent Copts of the bureaucratic (*kātib*) class away to become monks at the Monastery of St Antony: Fakhr al-Dawla ibn al-Mu'taman had actually converted to Islam under Sultan Barqūq (r. 1382-99, generally viewed positively), while Abū l-Faraj ibn Quzmān and Sadaqa ibn 'Ajīn had become inappropriately (and dangerously) entangled with Muslim women. Abū l-Faraj later approached Anbā Ruways with his plan to become a voluntary martyr; Anbā Ruways knocked him unconscious and, once he had come to, sent him back to his monastery.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The theme of conversion runs through the *Life* and *Miracles* of Anbā Ruways. His career as a wandering ascetic of the 'holy fool' type appears to have been determined by his father's forced conversion to Islam and his own determination to avoid his father's fate. He bore witness to the joy in heaven over the return of converts or members of formerly Christian families to the Coptic Christian fold. He received Fakhr al-Dawla ibn al-Mu'taman, who had adopted the life of a Muslim grandee but then repented of it, with joy.

Together with the *Lives* of his contemporaries, Marqus al-Anṭūnī (q.v.), Ibrāhīm al-Fānī (q.v.), and Patriarch Matthew I (q.v.), the *Life* of Anbā Ruways provides a vivid picture of aspects of Coptic Christian life (and strategies of resistance/survival) during a period of rapid conversion to Islam.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Monastery of St Macarius – Hag. 40 (Zanetti 406) (15<sup>th</sup> century; *Life* and 54 *Miracles*)
- MS Cairo, Abū Sarja – Theol. 8 (serial no. 111), fols 79r-158v (17<sup>th</sup> century, probably before 1635; *Life* and *Miracles*)
- MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 282, fols 82v-151r (1650-1; *Life* and 14 *Miracles*)



MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Monastery of St Macarius – Hag. 73 (Zanetti 486)  
(17<sup>th</sup> century; *Life* and 13 *Miracles*)

MS Red Sea, Monastery of St Antony – Hist. 69 (formerly Hist. 75),  
fols 32r ff. (1700)

MS Cairo, Dayr Anbā Ruways – without further specification (1752;  
apparently the *Life* and 15 *Miracles*)

MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Monastery of St Macarius – Hag. 81 (Zanetti Suppl.  
44), fols 1-32 (19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century; *Life* and *Miracles*)

MS Cairo, Ḥārat Zuwayla – without further specification (modern  
copy indicated by Magdī Ibrāhīm, *Siyar*, pp. 45-51, containing mir-  
acles beyond the well-known set of 13-15)

Additional MSS are undoubtedly to be found in Egyptian church and  
monastic libraries.

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES

M.N. Swanson, *The Coptic papacy in Islamic Egypt 641-1517*, Cairo, 2010,  
pp. 112-14

Magdī Ibrāhīm, *Siyar wa-muʿjizāt thalāth shumūʿ muḍrʿa*, Cairo, 2006,  
pp. 13-52 (includes a helpful paraphrase of the *Miracles* at pp. 29-46)

A. Wadi, art. 'Ruways', in J. Nadal Cañellas and S. Virgulin (eds), *Bib-  
liotheca sanctorum orientalium. Enciclopedia dei santi. Le chiese  
orientali*, 2 vols, Rome, 1998-99, ii, cols 889-92 (with extensive bib-  
liography, including Arabic-language publications in Egypt)

Bishop Gregorios, art. 'Anbā Ruways' in *CE*

Īris Ḥabīb al-Miṣrī, *Qīṣṣat al-kanīsa l-qibṭīyya*, vol. 3, Cairo 1971, pp.  
360-71

Kāmil Ṣāliḥ Nakhla, *Silsilat Tārīkh al-babawāt baṭārikat al-kursī  
l-Iskandārī*, fasc. 3, Dayr al-Suryān, 1952, pp. 86-101 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cairo,  
2001, pp. 61-72) (summarizes the *Life* and *Miracles* from MS Dayr  
Anbā Ruways)

Mark N. Swanson

# John of Sulṭāniyya

Iohannes Sultaniensis archiepiscopus; John III,  
archbishop of Sulṭāniyya

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Probably Kastamonu, Paphlagonia, Turkey
DATE OF DEATH	After 1412
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

## BIOGRAPHY

John came from an Italian family, probably of merchants settled in the colonies on the Black Sea coast. (Luttrell also suggests that John was from Padua; see Luttrell, 'Timur's Dominican envoy', pp. 211-12, 224). There is no information about his early life; we can only surmise that he joined the Dominican order. In the last decades of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, he was appointed bishop of Nakhchivan, taking the place of Jean de Gillefontaine (who was elected in 1377, and is often mistaken for John). In 1398, he was promoted to the archiepiscopal seat of Sulṭāniyya (or Soltaniyeh in what is now the Zanjur province of Iran) by Pope Boniface IX, and in 1410 he was named administrator of the archbishopric of Khanbaliq (Peking) by Antipope John XXIII, who had been elected by the Council of Pisa.

During his life, John of Sulṭāniyya devoted himself continuously to bettering conditions for eastern missions, and attempting to make their difficult situation known in Europe. For this reason, between 1398 and 1412, he embarked upon several diplomatic journeys in the West.

The papal archives document John's presence at the court of Boniface IX from the summer to the end of 1398; during his stay in Rome, besides being elected bishop of Sulṭāniyya, he had the opportunity to describe to the pope the state of the Church in the east after Timur-i Leng's conquests, thus obtaining help and concessions for his diocese. It is likely that he made use of his trip to Italy to put Genoa and Venice in contact with Timur; like the archbishop, they were interested in restoring peace in the Orient, which was necessary for a renewal of their Asian trade.

Back in the East, John joined the court of Timur, for whom he became ambassador in Europe. Directly after the battle of Ankara (28 July 1402), which ended with the Timurids defeating the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid,

John was invited to the western courts with the aim of promoting alliances and implementing trade between the East and the West. The archbishop carried with him a portrait of the Turco-Mongol ruler, and two letters: one from Timur and one from his son Miran Shah (the Persian originals as well as John's Latin translation are kept at the Parisian archive of the *Trésor des Chartes*; see Sacy, 'Mémoire'). There is documentary evidence of John passing through the following courts: Charles VI of France, Martin of Aragon, Robert of Germany, Henry IV of England and Conrad von Jülich of Prussia. During these travels (1402-7) the archbishop gained several responses and recommendations for himself and his diocese. During this time, he also wrote his two works: a biography of Timur and the *Libellus de notitia orbis*. Despite Timur's death (1405), John did not interrupt his diplomatic mission and he never returned to Sultāniyya.

In 1407, John was in Venice, where he came into contact with conciliarist ferments (during those months in Italy several negotiations were taking place with the aim of convening a council to put an end to the Great Schism). The documents elaborated in preparation for the Council of Pisa mention his presence in Pisa in September 1408, at the service of a group of cardinals. He was put in charge of delivering several invitations to the council for princes, including Sigismund of Hungary, the Emperor Manuel II of Constantinople, Prince Mircea of Wallachia and Prince Alexander of Moldavia, and prominent Eastern clergy. John's exact itinerary is unknown: he left Pisa after 18 September 1408, and returned on 2 April 1409, and then remained until the end of the council.

From this moment on, a clear reconstruction of John's movements is impossible; after he was nominated apostolic administrator of the archbishopric of Khanbaliq in 1410, the latest document we possess is a letter dated 12 February 1412, in which he grants indulgences to those who visited the Dominican church in Lwow. Perhaps he actually travelled to Peking. The silence of the sources leads us to think that he died shortly after, while active on his eastern mission.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

All references to John's life are found in contemporary documents and in his own writings. They have been gathered together in Loenertz, 'Evêques dominicains', and Luttrell, 'Timur's Dominican envoy'.

Pietro Ranzano, 'Annales omnium temporum', in B. Figliuolo (ed.), *La cultura a Napoli nel secondo Quattrocento: ritratti di protagonisti*, Udine, 1997, p. 232

*Secondary*

- F. Reichert, 'Los viajes políticos. Embajadas y diplomacia', in F. Novoa Portela and F.J. Villalba Ruiz de Toledo (eds), *Viajes y viajeros en la Europa medieval*, Barcelona, 2007, 197-232, pp. 227, 232
- P. Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221-1405*, Harlow, 2005, pp. 242-44, 246-48, 260, 300, 302, 329, 345, 360
- F. Reichert, 'Johannes von Soldania. Ein persischer Erzbischof in österreichischen Bibliotheken', in W. Rosner (ed.), *Österreich im Mittelalter. Bausteine zu einer revidierten Gesamtdarstellung. Die Vorträge des 16. Symposiums des Niederösterreichischen Instituts für Landeskunde Puchberg am Schneeberg, 1. bis 4. Juli 1996*, St Pölten, 1999, 349-65
- C. Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains et la chrétienté greque aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Rome, 1997, pp. 30, 49, 50, 131-34, 158, 161, 163, 164-73, 196, 206, 331
- C. Longo, art. 'Jean archevêque de Sultaniyeh ou Sultaniye', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, Paris, 1912-
- A. Luttrell, 'Timur's Dominican envoy', in C. Heywood and C. Imber (eds), *Studies in Ottoman history in honour of Professor V.L. Menage*, Istanbul, 1994, 209-29
- F. Schmieder, *Europa und die Fremden. Die Mongolen im Urteil des Abendlandes von 13. bis in das 15. Jahrhundert*, Sigmaringen, 1994, pp. 41, 48, 51, 56, 126, 131, 140, 150, 159, 181, 186, 203, 209, 235, 240, 284, 298, 311
- T. Kaeppli and E. Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, vol 4, Rome, 1993, p. 172
- J.P. Roux, *Tamerlano* (trans. S. Atzeni), Milan, 1995 (trans. of J.P. Roux, *Tamerlan*, Paris, 1991), pp. 180, 199, 203, 222, 235, 238-39, 241
- Ruy González de Clavijo, *La route de Samarkand au temps de Tamerlan*, ed. and trans. L. Kehren, Paris, 1990, pp. 50-52, 55, 293-99
- T. Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, vol 4, Rome, 1980, pp. 18-19
- J. Richard, *La papauté et les missions d'Orient au moyen âge (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Rome, 1977, pp. 155-56, 181-82, 193, 195, 221, 245, 256-59, 261
- G. Fedalto, *La Chiesa latina in Oriente*, 2 vols, Verona, 1976, ii (*Hierarchia Latina Orientis*), pp. 162, 211-12
- A.D. von den Brincken, *Die Nationes Christianorum orientalium' im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie von der Mitte des 12. bis in die zweite Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Cologne, 1973, pp. 75, 135, 138, 140-41, 193, 209, 261, 285-86, 326, 380, 442-43, 450
- G. Fedalto, *La Chiesa latina in Oriente*, 2 vols, Verona, 1973, i, pp. 434, 446, 461
- R. Loenertz, 'Evêques dominicains des deux Arménies', *Archivium Fratrum Praedicatorum* 10 (1940) 258-81, pp. 258-65
- A. Kern, 'Der "Libellus de notitia orbis" Iohannes III (de Galonifontibus?) O.P. Erzbischofs von Sulthanyeh', *Archivium Fratrum Praedicatorum* 8 (1938) 81-123

- R. Loenertz, *La Société des Frères pèrègrinants. Étude sur l'Orient dominicain*, Rome, 1937, pp. 111-12, 170-72
- M.A. van den Oudemijn, 'Bishops and archbishops of Naxivan', *Archivium Fratrum Praedicatorum* 6 (1936) 160-216, p. 167
- H. Moranvillé, 'Mémoire sur Tamerlan et sa cour per un dominican en 1403', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 55 (1894) 433-64
- S. de Sacy, 'Mémoire sur une correspondance inédite de Tamerlan avec Charles VI', *Mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* 6 (1822) 470-522

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Les ordonnances de Temir Bey*, 'The orders of Timur' *Histoire de Tamerlan*, 'The life of Timur'

DATE 1403

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old French

#### DESCRIPTION

John wrote this brief biography of Timur during his embassy's stay at the court of Charles VI of France in 1403. (The circulation of the booklet is attested by the court chronicler, who also translated it into Latin.) The purpose of the embassy was to create new commercial relations between East and West, so the biography was meant to be first and foremost a means of making Timur known in European courts and thus encouraging trade.

The text was published in 1894 by Moranvillé in a non-critical edition of 23 pages. In the footnotes, the editor suggests parallels with contemporary works on Timur, such as those of Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo and Johannes Schiltberger.

The work bears no title in the medieval manuscripts, but it can be inferred from the ending: *explicit les ordonnances de Temir Bey*. It is divided into 24 brief chapters (in Moranvillé's edition as well as in MS Paris, BNF – fr. 12201), in which the story of Timur's life is told: his origins, his children, his kingdom, his allies and enemies, his goodness and his great cruelty, his conquests, the battle of Ankara, and so on. Ch. 22, a page and a half long, is dedicated to Timur's faith: he is described as a good Muslim who prays five times a day and performs all the Islamic rites; he suppresses sodomy – particularly among Muslims – and hates Jews. John also adds that Timur used to persecute all non-Muslims cruelly, particularly Christians, but that, after a conversation about the fundamentals of

the Christian faith with the author and his brother, named as Francis, his attitude towards *Frans* – that is, Catholics – radically changed. Reflecting the aim of the work, the author underlines that Timur's concessions toward Catholics (freedom of worship and trade) are aimed mainly at merchants.

## SIGNIFICANCE

The aim of the work is to present Timur as a reliable commercial partner. The description of his faith is part of a broader account of his personality – he is a good king, a good commander, a good Muslim – and contains no evaluation of Islam itself. Political and economic aspects are dominant rather than Timur's religion. In John's retelling, this offers the opportunity to add a positive evaluation of his conduct.

## MANUSCRIPTS

For the two extant MSS, both from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, see Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi*, iii, p. 19:

MS Paris, BNF – fr. 5624, fols 63v-72r (15<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Paris, BNF – fr. 12201, fols 84r-97r (15<sup>th</sup> century)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

H. Moranvillé, 'Mémoire sur Tamerlan et sa cour per un dominican en 1403', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 55 (1894) 433-64, pp. 441-64 (uncritical edition)

There is also a contemporary Latin translation made by the chronicler of Charles VI of France; see *Chronographia regum Francorum*, ed.

H. Moranvillé, 3 vols, Paris, 1891-97, iii, pp. 206-25

## STUDIES

Moranvillé, 'Mémoire sur Tamerlan et sa cour per un dominican en 1403', pp. 433-41

### *Libellus de notitia orbis*, 'Description of the world'

DATE 1404

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

## DESCRIPTION

The text of the *Libellus de notitia orbis* was discovered in 1937 by Anton Kern, the librarian of Graz University. Kern's partial edition of the *Libellus* remains the only one available.

The *Libellus* was written by John of Sultāniyya during his stay in Europe, probably in Germany (because all the six extant manuscripts are from central Europe). Despite its title, it is a long (in the Graz manuscript occupying 86 octavo folios) ethno-geographical description of the world that focuses particularly on eastern territories, with ample references to the author's personal experience. It documents the state of cultural and geographical knowledge of the Orient at the end of the Middle Ages and gives insight into political, economic and ecclesiastical conditions.

At the end of the *Libellus*, John declares that the aim of his work is to provide information about the heresies and beliefs found in the east, and to solicit help for the missions, though it also carries a hint of propaganda, and in some parts there are suggestions of a military alliance to defeat the Turks.

The manuscript texts are not divided into chapters, but thematic units can nevertheless be identified. After a brief prologue, in which the origin of schisms is explained (they are presented as the result of Lucifer's envy of humankind and the Dominicans and Franciscans are called by the Holy See to remedy them), John describes the main eastern heresies: Islam and the Church of Constantinople. The *Libellus* then follows a largely geographical sequence: Wallachia and Russia, the lands and people of the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea (Goths and Cumans), Ziquia (Circassians), Armenia, Persia, Kurdistan, China, India, the Middle East (Palestine, Syria, Babylon, Assyria and Arabia), Asia Minor and Africa. Before ending and declaring the aim of the work, John gives a list of all the kingdoms and countries, and presents his theory that Muslims are not more numerous than Christians.

The part devoted to Muslims is very long and occupies about a quarter of the work. (Kern edited only a few extracts of this section.) It is clearly divided into two sections: the rites and laws of Islam, and the life of Muḥammad. After outlining some ethno-religious traits of the Muslims by comparing them with Jews, Christians and pagans, John lists the main doctrines of Islam, including denial of the Trinity and Incarnation, the virgin birth of Jesus from Mary, the Islamic understanding of the figure of Christ, and corruption of scripture. He then describes Muḥammad as a pseudo-prophet, calling him a deceiver and seducer, referring to his base moral conduct and the false miracles he performed with the help of the monk Sergius, and adding some legendary and apocryphal details, typical of European biographies of Muḥammad.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Overall, the image of Islam that emerges from the *Libellus* is typical of medieval Christian works: it presents Islam as a heresy and Muḥammad as a pseudo-prophet. But John does not make explicit use of other authors or sources, and his account contains elements of his personal experience and direct observations. This enriches the *Libellus* with information not found elsewhere, particularly in the biography of Muḥammad, where details from western and eastern sources are combined (e.g., the episode of the cloud, the apparent miracles of the dove and the deer, the ascent to heaven, and the coffin suspended in the air).

## MANUSCRIPTS

For the six extant MSS, all from central Europe and dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, see Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, vol. 3, pp. 18-19; Kaeppli and Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi*, vol. 4, p. 172:

MS Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek –1225, fols 182r-221v (1412)

MS St Pölten, Diözesanbibliothek – 63, fols 1r-112v (1454-56)

MS Basel, Universitätsbibliothek – A V 25, fols 120r-157v (15<sup>th</sup> century; incomplete)

MS Basel, Universitätsbibliothek – E III 17, fols 92r-116v (15<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Graz, Universitätsbibliothek – 1221, fols 41r-127r (15<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek – 1099, fols 175r-242v (15<sup>th</sup> century)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

A. Kern, 'Der "Libellus de notitia orbis" Iohannes III (de Galonifontibus?) O.P. Erzbishofs von Sulthanyeh', *Archivium Fratrum Praedicatorum* 8 (1938) 81-123, pp. 95-123 (partial critical edition based on the Graz and Leipzig MSS)

## STUDIES

Kern, 'Der "Libellus de notitia orbis" Iohannes III', pp. 81-94

Chiara Casali



# Al-Raqilī

Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Umar al-Raqilī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; probably mid-14<sup>th</sup> century

PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown

DATE OF DEATH 1405

PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

## BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā l-Raqilī, whose *laqab* is also given as al-Raqilī and al-Rāqilī. He came either from Spain or Morocco, and probably not long before 1360 converted from Judaism to Islam. In typical manner, he then wrote against his former coreligionists.

Al-Raqilī is best known for his rejection of Judaism, *Taṣyīd al-milla* ('Confirmation of the community'), which he wrote in 1360 following his conversion to Islam. In this he calls upon Jews to believe in Jesus and Muḥammad as prophets, and among other arguments adduces biblical predictions, including the Paraclete verses from John 14-16, to support the points he makes.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary* —

*Secondary*

A. Chejne, *Islam and the West. The Moriscos, a cultural and social history*, Albany NY, 1983, pp. 82-83 (giving his name as al-Rāqilī)

Brockelmann, *GAL S ii*, p. 356 (giving his name as al-Raqilī)

M. Asín Palacios, 'Un tratado morisco de polemica contra los judios', in G. Maspero (ed.), *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg, 1844-1908*, Paris, 1909, 343-66

M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden*, Leipzig, 1877, pp. 34, 83 (giving his name as al-Raqilī)

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Mujādala ma‘ al-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā*, ‘Disputation with the Jews and Christians’

DATE Unknown; before 1405

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

Assuming that al-Raqilī wrote *Taʿyīd al-milla* soon after his conversion, as a statement about the errors in his former religion and a recantation of it, this disputation must have come later. He may have intended it as a fuller and more comprehensive refutation of Judaism than his earlier work, together with an examination of the weaknesses and errors in Christianity.

It appears that the work has not been studied, though given the character of the arguments in *Taʿyīd al-milla*, this also probably employs familiar anti-Christian arguments derived from earlier works.

## SIGNIFICANCE

It is not possible to say what the work’s significance is, though it may contain many of the arguments found in the earlier *Taʿyīd al-milla*, and others known from earlier Muslim authors in the Maghreb.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – 1668 (date unknown; listed in Brockelmann, *GALS* ii, p. 356)

EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

David Thomas

# Ibn Khaldūn

Wāli l-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad  
ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr Muḥammad  
ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Khaldūn

DATE OF BIRTH 27 May 1332  
PLACE OF BIRTH Tunis  
DATE OF DEATH 16 March 1406  
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

## BIOGRAPHY

Ibn Khaldūn is most famous for his *Muqaddima* ('Introduction'), which exists both as a separate work and as part of the work which it introduces, *Kitāb al-‘ibar* ('The book of examples'), both described below. Ibn Khaldūn's lengthy autobiography *Al-ta'rif bi-Ibn Khaldūn wa-riḥlatihi gharban wa-sharqan* ('Information on Ibn Khaldūn and his travels in the West and the East') is the major source of information about his life, and forms the final section of *Kitāb al-‘ibar*.

He was born in 1332 in Tunis, the son of a family that traced its origins back to the Hadramawt, but which had spent centuries in Seville before moving to North Africa around a century before his birth. After a thorough education, at 17 he lost both parents to the Black Death. In the following years he moved to Fes, Granada, back to Algeria, and returned to Tunis at the age of 47. This itinerant lifestyle resulted from his varied allegiances to the rulers of minor kingdoms in the Maghreb and Granada. As their fortunes and popularity – or sometimes Ibn Khaldūn's own – rose and fell, it proved expedient for him to move. His main contact with Christian circles during this time was his delicate diplomatic mission on behalf of Muḥammad V, Naṣrid emir of Granada, to Pedro the Cruel of Seville in 1364. However, this contact was diplomatic, with no indication that religious topics were raised in a way that leaves explicit traces in Ibn Khaldūn's writings.

He composed the renowned *Muqaddima* during a four-year sojourn, from 1375 to 1379, in the castle of Ibn Salāma in present-day Algeria, revising it frequently later in life. This work seeks to explain the unfolding of historical laws and processes, dealing with different types of civilization, both in general terms, and in discussing nomadic peoples, forms

of government, urban and rural cultures, different professions, and the range of intellectual disciplines.

The *Muqaddima* forms the introduction to his longer, but ultimately less famous *Kitāb al-‘ibar*, which Ibn Khaldūn completed on his return to Tunis. This work is divided into three parts, the first being the *Muqaddima*. The second ranges widely, dealing first with the history of pre-Islamic Arabs, Babylonians, Nabateans, Copts, Israelites and Jews. It then discusses early Christianity, the Persians, Greeks, Romans, and other nations, before moving on to Islamic history, from its rise through to dynasties at the time of Ibn Khaldūn. The third part deals with North African peoples, and concludes with Ibn Khaldūn’s autobiography.

Following opposition in Tunis, Ibn Khaldūn decided to start anew in Cairo, moving in 1382 and remaining there until his death. He lost his wife and five daughters in a shipwreck when they later followed him to Cairo. He also had two sons who travelled separately and survived, a fact which he omits from his autobiography, illustrating its often impersonal style. In Cairo, he was six times appointed Mālīkī qadi, and his reputation for unbending rigor and refusal to favor the powerful regularly caused him to be dismissed from office. Famously, in 1401 while in Damascus, he had the opportunity to meet the Mongol leader Timur-i Leng, who was encamped outside the city. He spent a month in discussions with him, these episodes concluding his autobiography.

Besides the works mentioned above, Ibn Khaldūn also wrote other, lesser works, most of which are lost. The remaining extant works are his epitome of the metaphysics of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Lubāb al-muḥaṣṣal*, which he completed at 18 years of age, and his work on mysticism, *Shifā’ al-sā’il*, a critique of Ibn ‘Arabī.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

- Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-ta’rīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn wa-riḥlatihi gharban wa-sharqan*, ed. Muḥammad Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī, Cairo, 1951 (repr. in *Kitāb al-‘ibar*, ed. Y. Dāghir, 7 vols, Beirut, 1956-61, vii, pp. 793-1224)
- Ibn Khaldūn, *Le livre des exemples*, trans. A. Cheddadi, 2002, pp. 52-248 (French trans. of *Al-ta’rīf*)
- Al-Sakhawī, *Al-ḍaw’ al-lāmi’ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi’*, 12 vols, Cairo, 1934-36, iv, pp. 145-49 (excerpts from biographical accounts by Ibn Khaldūn’s students and contemporaries)

*Secondary*

Much work has been carried out on Ibn Khaldūn. The most important publications are:

- A.J. Fromherz, *Ibn Khaldun. Life and times*, Edinburgh, 2010 (the most extensive English account of Ibn Khaldūn's life)
- S. Māmani, *Ibn Khaldūn wa-'ilm al-ijtimā' al-insānī, 'alā ḍarb binā' al-ma'rifa l-'ilmiyya wa-ḥaḍārat al-insān*, Safaqis, 2010
- M. Khalifi, *Al-Maghrib wa-Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn, aw dhayl 'alā l-Muqaddima*, Rabat, 2008
- H. Ismail, *Al-dalālāt al-ḥaḍāriyya fī lughat al-Muqaddima 'ind Ibn Khaldūn*, Beirut, 2007
- S. Dale, 'The last Greek and the first annalistic historian', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 38 (2006) 431-51
- A. Cheddadi, *Ibn Khaldūn et le science de la civilisation*, Paris, 2006
- G. Martinez-Gros, *Ibn Khaldūn et les sept vies de l'islam*, Arles, 2006
- F. Baali, *The science of human social organization. Conflicting views on Ibn Khaldūn's (1332-1406) Ilm al-umran*, Lewiston NY, 2005
- M. Talbi, *Ibn Khaldūn et l'histoire*, Tunis, 2005
- M. Campanini (ed.), *Studies on Ibn Khaldūn*, Milan, 2005
- Z. Ahmad, *The epistemology of Ibn Khaldūn*, London, 2003
- R. Simon, *Ibn Khaldūn. Tortenelementumany es birodalmisay*, Budapest, 1999 (trans. as *Ibn Khaldūn. History as science and the patrimonial empire*, Budapest, 2002)
- F. Rosenthal, 'Ibn Khaldūn's biography revisited', in I. Netton (ed.), *Studies in honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth*, vol. 1, Leiden, 2000, 40-63
- A. Cheddadi, *Ibn Khaldūn revisité*, Casablanca, 1999
- M. Brett, *Ibn Khaldūn and the medieval Maghrib*, Aldershot UK, 1998
- E. Assaf, *Ibn Haldun in Ägypten*, Pfaffenweiler, 1993
- F. Rosenthal, 'Ibn Khaldūn in his time', in B. Lawrence (ed.), *Ibn Khaldūn and Islamic ideology*, Leiden, 1984, 14-26
- M. Talbi, art. 'Ibn Khaldūn', in *El2*
- A. Al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldūn. An essay in reinterpretation*, London, 1982
- A. Al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldūn in modern scholarship. A study in orientalism*, London, 1981 (pp. 231-318 present the most comprehensive bibliography of works by and on Ibn Khaldūn up to 1979)
- W. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt*, Berkeley CA, 1967 (pp. 7-12 give a valuable listing of Arabic editions of Ibn Khaldūn's works, of translations into a wide variety of languages, and of external Arabic sources for Ibn Khaldūn's life)
- F. Rosenthal, 'Ibn Khaldūn's life', in *The Muqaddima*, pp. xxix-lxvii
- W. Fischel, 'Ibn Khaldūn's *Autobiography* in the light of external Arabic sources', in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, 2 vols, Rome, 1956, i, 287-308

W. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn and Tamerlane*, Berkeley CA, 1952 (pp. 29-48 give an English trans. of the last three chapters of *Al-ta'rif*)

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Kitāb al-‘ibar wa-dīwān al-mubtada’ wa-l-khabar fī ayyām al-‘Arab wa-l-‘ajam wa-l-Barbar wa-man ‘āṣarahum min dhawī l-ṣultān al-akbar*, ‘The book of examples and archive of early and subsequent history, dealing with the political events concerning the Arabs, non-Arabs and Berbers and the supreme rulers who were contemporary with them’

*Kitāb al-‘ibar* ‘The book of examples’

DATE Late 1370s, and later revised by Ibn Khaldūn

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

#### DESCRIPTION

*Kitāb al-‘ibar* contains within it Ibn Khaldūn’s most famous work, the *Muqaddima*. The latter became a famous work in its own right, and therefore exists in editions printed separately, as well as forming part of editions of *Kitāb al-‘ibar* as a whole. The following entry deals with them separately beginning with the *Muqaddima*, since it forms the introduction to *Kitāb al-‘ibar*. References to the *Muqaddima* are to the Quatremère edition, and Rosenthal’s translation, which indicates Quatremère’s pagination. References to *Kitāb al-‘ibar* refer to the Būlāq 1867 edition.

#### The *Muqaddima*:

While Muslim-Christian relations are far from the main subject of the *Muqaddima*, scattered but significant remarks reflecting Ibn Khaldūn’s views of Christianity can be harvested. At the outset, Ibn Khaldūn makes the standard assertion that Muḥammad is mentioned in the Torah and the Gospel (i, p. 2; trans. i, p. 4). These works are different from the Qur’an in that their ideas were revealed, but in ordinary words, and therefore they do not have the quality of inimitability that marks out the Qur’an (i, p. 172; trans. i, p. 192). Yet Ibn Khaldūn is well known for making extensive use of the Hebrew Bible as an historical source for information on the Israelites. His only direct quotation from the Hebrew Bible is

Exodus 20:5, which he uses to support his famous four-generation theory of the rise and decline of dynasties (i, pp. 249-50; trans. i, pp. 280-81). Another notable comment on the status of the Bible in the *Muqaddima*, not found in all manuscripts or printed editions, relates to the issue of corruption of the scriptures, and states that custom dictates that Jews and Christians would not have altered revealed scripture (i, pp. 12-13; trans. i, pp. 20-21). Ibn Khaldūn's understanding of the biblical canon is that the Hebrew Bible includes the Book of Judith, the Books of the Maccabees, and the Book of Jesus ben Sira. The New Testament includes the Book of Clement (i, p. 419; trans. i, pp. 477-78; cf. also *Kitāb al-'ibar* ii, pp. 197, 200, 218). Various suggestions have been made as to the exact origin of Ibn Khaldūn's concept of the biblical canon.

Not all of Ibn Khaldūn's comments on the Bible are equally positive. He downgrades the status of the New Testament: rather than being 'pure revelation' it combines the words of Jesus and the Apostles (i, p. 419; trans. i, p. 477).

The *Muqaddima* also comments on Christianity, the life of Jesus, the Apostles and the early Church in outline form (i, pp. 415-22; trans. i, pp. 472-81). Christianity, like Judaism, has no obligation to take control of other nations, in contrast to Islam, in which *jihād* is a religious duty. This is related to the fact that the two earlier faiths do not have a mission that applies to all peoples, again in contrast to Islam. Furthermore, Ibn Khaldūn states that he resists describing Christian doctrines since they are unbelief (i, pp. 421-22; trans. i, p. 480), though he does describe them in *Kitāb al-'ibar*. Such shifts in Ibn Khaldūn's attitude are not surprising, given the continuous revisions to which he subjected his works, while his greater engagement with Christian doctrines may reflect his long years in Egypt, where he would have been more fully exposed to the Christian presence.

#### *Kitāb al-'ibar:*

Ibn Khaldūn adds a further comment on the status of the Hebrew Bible (ii, p. 6; trans. Whittingham, *Value*, pp. 217, French trans. in Urvoy, 'Ibn Ḥaldūn et la notion d'altération des textes bibliques', pp. 170-71). Here he states that the Jews cannot have deliberately altered the text, since the Qur'an would not then state that 'They have the *Tawrāt*, in which is the judgement of God' (Q 5:43), though it is possible that mistaken figurative interpretations or scribal errors have affected the understanding and transmission of the text.

As part of the coverage of pre-Islamic peoples, *Kitāb al-ʿibar* gives accounts of the history of the Israelites, using the Hebrew Bible as a main source, and accounts of early Christianity that draw on Muslim writers, the New Testament, apocryphal gospels, and Christian historians such as Ibn al-ʿAmīd (d. after 1280; see *CMR* 4, pp. 566-71) and Paulus Orosius (d. 5<sup>th</sup> century). While not uncritical of the Muslim historian al-Masʿūdī (d. 956) (q.v.), Ibn Khaldūn also seems to have been inspired at a fundamental level by his approach of gathering extensive information on other religions and cultures. *Kitāb al-ʿibar* also offers a description (ii, pp. 143-53, Būlāq edition) of the life of Jesus and the early Church. Sources named by Ibn Khaldūn in this section include the Qurʾan and well-known Muslim writers such as al-Ṭabarī, but also the Gospel of Matthew. However, Ibn Khaldūn's favorite Christian source is not Matthew but a work he labels 'The book of James son of Joseph the carpenter', most likely the Protoevangelium of James. The shape of the account of Jesus' life reflects the Qurʾan in its close attention to his early life. There is very little on the crucifixion, other than to deny it, quoting Q 4:157, and nothing on the resurrection. Ibn Khaldūn therefore combines a certain engagement with named Christian sources with a resistance to presenting Christian beliefs as Christians understand them. Overall, despite his interesting range of sources, this account of the life of Jesus does not venture beyond standard Muslim statements; any non-Muslim sources are used to contribute to an account that stays safely within Qurʾanic boundaries. At the close of this section (ii, pp. 152-53), he also discusses the distinctions between Melkite, Jacobite and Nestorian Christianity.

Ibn Khaldūn also presents accounts of peoples who came to form parts of the early Church, and of later developments up until his own time. He discusses the Copts (ii, pp. 74-78), and then in a long section (ii, pp. 184-236) describes the Greeks, Romans and, Byzantines. He comments on the crusades, mentions the early Church councils and creeds, and concludes with the Goths in al-Andalus up to the time of the Islamic conquest.

It is fair to say (König, 'The Christianisation of Latin Europe', p. 467) that Ibn Khaldūn's knowledge of Europe's Christianization reflects that of the typically well-educated Muslim of his age. There is a certain knowledge of the Rome of late antiquity, and of the crusades, but little about what lay in between.



## SIGNIFICANCE

Ibn Khaldūn made extensive use of the Hebrew Bible as an historical source, implying equally extensive acceptance of its usefulness, and thus reliability. Yet this, and his relatively positive general comments about the Bible, seem to have had little influence either at the time or subsequently. This is partly because they are made in passing, rather than as the basis of an extended argument. Interestingly, they go against the flow of much more negative Muslim views of the Bible, which became particularly prevalent following the work of Ibn Ḥazm (q.v.) in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. In addition, it is clear that Ibn Khaldūn strongly discouraged enquiry into the Bible or Christian beliefs and practices, at least for the vast majority of people, even though he demonstrates a certain level of at least intellectual curiosity. It is perhaps the scholar's desire to give a complete account of what he considers relevant to his overall task that led him to describe aspects of a faith that for him seems to have been of only historical interest. His years in Egypt enabled him to access considerable literature on Christianity, but did not apparently lead to personal interactions of any significance with Christians.

## MANUSCRIPTS

See A. Badawi, *Mu'allafāt Ibn Khaldūn*, Cairo, 1962 (Tripoli, Libya, 1979), pp. 43-166.

For a discussion on MSS of the *Muqaddima*, see Rosenthal's introduction to his translation, pp. lxxxviii-xcix; and on MSS of the *Kitāb al-ībar*, see Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn and Tamerlane*, pp. 7-14.

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

There are many publications of extracts from *Kitāb al-ībar*. Only complete editions and whole or partial translations are mentioned here.

*Kitāb al-ībar*, trans. H. Ilāhabādī and M. Na'im, 6 vols, Karachi, 2004 (complete Urdu translation)

A. Ferré, 'Le chapitre du Kitāb al-ībar d'Ibn Ḥaldun sur les débuts du christianisme', in *Recueil d'articles offert à Maurice Borrmans*, Rome, 1996, 55-69 (pp. 58-69 give a French trans. of the ch. on Jesus and early Christianity)

*Peuples et nations du monde*, trans. A. Cheddadi, 2 vols, Paris, 1986 (extracts in French, including trans. of 'L'histoire de Moïse', pp. 175-88 = 'Ibar ii, pp. 81-87; 'Les Rum: Grecs, Romains et Byzantins', pp. 222-24 = 'Ibar ii, p. 184; 'Byzance et l'empereur Constantin', pp. 225-29 = 'Ibar ii, pp. 210-12; 'Les Francs et Byzance jusqu'au XIVe siècle', pp. 229-34 = 'Ibar ii, pp. 232-34)

*Kitāb al-‘ibar*, 7 vols, Būlāq, 1867 (vol. i comprises the *Muqaddima*);  
repr. as *Ta’rīkh al-‘Allama Ibn Khaldūn*, 7 vols, Beirut, 1956-59; also  
repr. as *Kitāb al-‘ibar*, 7 vols, Beirut, 1992

The *Muqaddima* as a separate work (there are very many reprints and  
translations; only a selection is given here):

*Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn*, ed. D. al-Juwaydī, Beirut, 1995

*Ibn Chaldūn. Abhandlung über die Künste: der 5. Abschnitt aus dem  
Buch Muqaddima* (‘Prolegomena’), ed. W. Hein, Innsbruck, 1988  
(Arabic text and German trans.)

*Discours sur l’histoire universelle*, trans. V. Monteil, 3 vols, Paris, 1967-68,  
(1978<sup>2</sup>) (French)

*Ibnī Khalādūna kā mukaddama*, trans. R. Abbas, Lucknow 1961  
(Hindi)

*Ibn Khaldun. Os prolegōmenos ou filosofia social*, trans J. and B. Khoury,  
3 vols, São Paulo, 1958-60 (Portuguese)

*The Muqaddimah. An introduction to history*, trans. F. Rosenthal,  
3 vols, London, 1958 (1967<sup>2</sup>) (English)

*Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn*, ed. ‘A. al-Wāḥid Wāfi, Cairo, 1957

*Muqaddamah-i Ibn Khaldūnimah*, trans M. Guonābādīy, 2 vols, Tehran,  
1957-58 (Farsi)

*Ibn Halduni mukaddime*, trans Z. Ugan, 3 vols, Ankara-Istanbul, 1954  
(Turkish)

*Ibn Chaldoun. Ausgewählte Abschnitte aus der Muqadimma*, trans.  
A. Schimmel, Tübingen, 1951 (German, extracts)

*Ibni Khaldun. Muqaddima*, trans A. Allahabad and A.-R. Shams  
ul-Ulema, 3 vols, Lahore, 1924 ff. (Urdu)

*Prologomènes historiques d’Ibn Khaldoun*, trans. W. de Slane, 3 vols,  
Paris, 1862-68 (French)

*Prologomènes*, ed. E. Quatremère, 3 vols, Paris, 1858

*Muqaddima*, Būlāq, 1857

#### STUDIES

Those works concerned with Christians are:

M. Whittingham, ‘The value of *tahrīf ma’ nawī* (corrupt interpretation)  
as a category for analysing Muslim views of the Bible. Evidence  
from *Al-radd al-jamīl* and Ibn Khaldūn’, in *Islam and Christian-  
Muslim Relations* 22 (2011) 209-22

D. König, ‘The Christianisation of Latin Europe as seen by medieval  
Arab-Islamic historiographers’, *Medieval History Journal* 12 (2009)  
431-72

- D. Urvoy, 'Ibn Ḥaldun et la notion d'altération des textes bibliques', in M. Fierro (ed.), *Judios y musulmanes en al-Andalus y el Magreb. Contactos intelectuales*, Madrid, 2002, 165-78
- A. Ferré, 'Le chapitre du Kitab al-'ibar d'Ibn Ḥaldūn sur les débuts du christianisme', in *Recueil d'articles offert à Maurice Borrmans*, Rome, 1996, 55-69
- A. Ferré, 'Les sources judéo-chrétiennes de l'histoire d'Ibn Khaldun', *Revue de l'Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes* 58 (1995) 223-43
- J. Cuoq, 'La religion et les religions (Judaïsme et Christianisme) selon Ibn Khaldoun', *Islamochristiana* 8 (1982) 107-28
- W. Fischel *Ibn Khaldun in Egypt*, 1967 [see pp. 109-55 on Ibn Khaldūn as 'Historian of non-Islamic monotheistic religions']
- W. Fischel, 'Ibn Khaldūn's use of historical sources', *Studia Islamica* 14 (1961) 109-19
- W. Fischel, 'Ibn Khaldūn and al-Mas'ūdī', in S.M. Ahmad and A. Rahman (eds) *Al-Mas'udi millenary commemoration volume*, Aligarh, 1960, 51-59
- W. Fischel, 'Ibn Khaldūn. On the Bible, Jews and Judaism', in S. Löwinger, A. Scheiber and J. Somogyi (eds), *Ignace Goldziher memorial volume*, Part 2, Jerusalem, 1958, 147-71
- A. Baumstark, 'Der Bibelkanon bei Ibn Chaldun', *Oriens Christianus* 4 (1904) 393-98

Martin Whittingham

## Matt'ēos Ĵulayec'i

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1350
PLACE OF BIRTH	Julfa (Ĵulfa)
DATE OF DEATH	About 1421
PLACE OF DEATH	Tat'ew, Siunik'

### BIOGRAPHY

Matt'ēos Ĵulayec'i, one of the most prolific Armenian commentators, is often referred to as a disciple of Gregory of Ta'tew (q.v.). He is best known for his radical opposition to Catholic Unitarians and Muslims. Matt'ēos was a native of Julfa (or Ĵulfa) situated on one of the main trade routes in the south-west of the present Republic of Armenia on the River Araxes. He studied at the Monastery of Aprakuni, and traveled extensively judging from his knowledge of the cultures, dialects, customs, particular illnesses and crafts in many locations in Asia Minor, even Constantinople. Around 1390 he was at the monastery on the Island of Alt'amar on Lake Van, where he wrote his major polemical work *Vasn Harc'manc' Anorinac' Zanzan Patasxanin* ('Various responses to the questions of the infidels'). In 1393 he was at the Monastery of Tanjaparax near Tat'ew on the mainland, and two years later he settled at the great Monastery and School of Tat'ew nearby. After the death of Gregory of Ta'tew in 1409 (or 1411), his teacher and director of Tat'ew, and in accord with the latter's decision some years earlier, Matt'ēos took over the directorship, always as a modest *vardapet*. His short literary career began in 1391 and ended in 1411. He died shortly before 1422.

In his homilies, Matt'ēos complains of 'hard and bitter' times under the Mongols. Otherwise, his works contain valuable information about cities, urban societies, classes, princes, clergy, and Mongol times in general. He is the author of a dozen works, mainly commentaries, interpretations and homilies, none of which are published or translated. A complete list of his works is found in Xaç'ikean and in Oskean, both cited below.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

See Matt'ēos's works for details of his movements.

*Secondary*

- S.B. Dadoyan, *The Armenians in the medieval Islamic world. Paradigms of interaction seventh-fourteenth centuries*, 3 vols, New Jersey, 2011-13, iii, *Medieval cosmopolitanism and images of Islam, thirteenth to fourteenth centuries*
- S.B. Dadoyan, 'Islam and Armenian polemical strategies at the end of an era. Matt'ēos Ĵulayec'i and Grigor Tat'ewac'i', *Le Muséon* 114 (2001) 305-26
- H. Oskean, *Step'anos Roška and Matt'ēos Ĵulayec'i*, Vienna, 1968
- L. Xaç'ikean, 'Life and works of Matt'ēos Ĵulayec'i', *Banber Matenadarani* 3 (1956) 57-84
- L. Xaç'ikean (ed.), *XIV Dari Hay Yišatakaraner* ['Fourteenth-century Armenian colophons'], Yerevan, 1950
- L. Xaç'ikean (ed.), *XV Dari Hay Yišatakaraner* ['Fifteenth-century Armenian colophons'], vol. 1 (1401-1450), Yerevan, 1955
- N. Akinean, *Gavazanagirk' Kat'oghikosac' Att'amar* ['Book of Catholicoi of Att'amar'], Vienna, 1920

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Matt'ēos Vardapeti vasn Harc'manc' Anorinac' Zanzan Patasxanin zor Xndreal Barepaštn Abisołom Mec Tanutērn Širyanay*, 'Various responses to the questions of the infidels by Matt'ēos Vardapet requested by the great lord of Širyan the pious Abisołom'

DATE About 1392

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

## DESCRIPTION

*Vasn Harc'manc' Anorinac' Zanzan Patasxanin* is a relatively short text of around 3,000 words. Matt'ēos takes up seven questions raised by the 'infidels', or Muslims, and answers each one systematically. As the title says, he wrote the work in response to a request by the *tanutēr* (lord, a member of the lesser aristocracy that appeared after the 10<sup>th</sup> century) of the village of Širyan, who had been provoked by harassments and accusations of unbelief by a Persian cleric, Mulla Dānishmand 'Alī. At this time, Mongol pressures on the Christians had reached unprecedented levels, and both compulsory and voluntary conversions had increased. According to Matt'ēos and Gregory of Ta'tew, 'heresies' also proliferated. Consequently, says Matt'ēos, 'it is the duty of all Christians to learn to formulate

moderate answers to the questions [or objections] of the infidels, because they are often subjected to the abusive words of the *aylazgik'* [Muslims], also because as in the past, the heresies [*herjwacotk'*] have flourished and multiplied... [among them are] the Muslim peoples [*tajik azg*] who are remnants of the heresies of Arius and Cerinthus. They deny the Trinitarian Persons of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit and [in particular] the divinity of Christ... These [Muslims] follow the Prophet *Mahmēd* and his evil beliefs.'

The seven Muslim questions discussed in the work are: describing Christ as the son of God; implying that God took a wife and had a son; proclaiming the divinity of Christ; rejecting the prophethood of Muḥammad; rejecting circumcision, hence the 'impurity' of Armenians; rejecting ablution; prostrating towards the east, hence pagan sun worship; and rejecting the fast of Ramaḍān. Like many Christian polemicists before him, Matt'ēos retells the legend of Muḥammad's meeting with Baḥīrā and accuses him of being an Arian. And then, employing basic Aristotelian logic and scholastic arguments, he goes on to demonstrate the rationality and morality of Christianity, as opposed to the absurdity and inconsistency of Islamic beliefs and practices.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

After 750 years of Muslim rule and coexistence between Christians and Muslims, *Vasn Harc'manc'* was the first polemical and apologetic treatise written in Armenian. Within five to six years it was followed by Gregory of Ta'tew's (q.v.) extensive treatise known as *Ĕnnḍēm Tajkac'*, 'Against the Tajiks' (believed to be part of his monumental *Girk' Harc'manc'*, or 'Book of questions' completed before 1400). Apart from the latter's formal elaboration and intellectual sophistication, the basic themes and strategies in both texts are identical.

Previously, all references in Armenian writings to either political or cultural Islam were in the context of what may be called the Armenian biographical cycle of the Prophet Muḥammad. Otherwise, as the faith of the 'oppressors', Islam was virtually disregarded in apocalyptic and anti-heretical contexts.

The themes and polemical strategies employed by Matt'ēos and Gregory of Ta'tew closely follow earlier polemical-apologetic traditions. The works of John of Damascus (q.v.) in particular were familiar in Armenian monastic schools, and Latin polemical texts in translation became available through the Benedictine and other Catholic missionaries who worked in Cilicia as well as eastern Armenia during the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

While Matt'ēos, the less sophisticated of the two authors, formulates the questions as 'accusations of blasphemy' addressed by the Muslims to the Armenians, Gregory presents them as fallacies or 'confusions' (*molorut'ivn*) of the Muslims. They both use the question-response (*su'āl-radd*) format that was common to the Arab Christian and Muslim polemical traditions, and their declared motive is to instruct and 'arm' the reader against the threat of Islam as a rival religious culture and way of life. Their objective is therefore to show the Christians that their faith is superior and true in every sense and that it is the Muslims who are the 'blasphemers' (*kuffār*) and not the Christians, even though the latter are accused of *kufṛ* and persecuted.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Yerevan, Mashtoc' National Manuscript Library (Matenadaran) –  
3854 fols 107-113v (1471)  
MS Yerevan, Mashtoc' National Manuscript Library (Matenadaran) –  
MS 969 (formerly MS Eĵmiacin 956) (1720-21)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

#### STUDIES

- Dadoyan, *The Armenians in the medieval Islamic world*, iii  
Dadoyan, 'Islam and Armenian polemical strategies at the end of an era'

### *Yarec'an sut Margarēk*, 'There arose false prophets'

DATE About 1400-10

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

#### DESCRIPTION

*Yarec'an sut Margarēk* is a short sermon in classical Armenian mixed with vernacular phrases, idioms and terms (it is to be found in *K'arozner*, 'Homilies'). It is a direct assault on the person and teachings of Muḥammad as a 'false prophet'. Matt'ēos defines seven conditions for 'true prophethood': foreknowledge, altruism, signs, credibility, originality, moral teachings, and personal example. With direct references to the life and teachings of Muḥammad as he saw them, he takes up each 'condition' and tries to demonstrate that the founder of Islam, who forced himself upon people by 'threats and death, like Tamerlane', does not qualify.

In his discussion about the 'hypocrisy' and 'lies' of Muḥammad, there is a passing comment about an unidentified and most probably syncretistic, pro-Muslim Armenian mystical/Sufi-style group; this a rare and valuable reference, though the Islamic sympathies of all Armenian sects from the 8<sup>th</sup> century onwards is a fact. 'Faking faith and piety', says Matt'ēos, these people 'wander around aimlessly, dressed in black, barefoot and half starved. They despise each other and the Christians [or the Armenians]. There are many of them, and the only way to get rid of them is extermination by the sword, because they mislead the world by making salvation accessible to everyone.'

## SIGNIFICANCE

This work has very little if any theoretical contribution to polemical-apologetic literature, either Armenian or Christian in general. The derogatory remarks about the life and teachings of the Prophet contained in it were very common in Latin literature in particular. However, in its blunt style, vocabulary and direct reports about the times, this sermon reveals aspects of social interactions rarely found in other works of the time or of earlier periods. In particular, the paragraph about the mystical group reveals less hostility and intransigence than Matt'ēos' hostile remarks might suggest. It might trigger an entire study into such mystical groups in Armenian society as late as the 15<sup>th</sup> century. There are hints at this phenomenon in many primary texts, but no studies have so far been carried out.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Yerevan, Maštoc' National Manuscript Library (Matenadaran) –  
2229, fols 185v-190v (date unknown)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS —

## STUDIES

Dadoyan, *The Armenians in the medieval Islamic world*, iii

Dadoyan, 'Islam and Armenian polemical strategies at the end of an era'

**Seta B. Dadoyan**



# Manuel II Palaeologus

Manuël Palaiologos

DATE OF BIRTH 27 June 1350  
PLACE OF BIRTH Constantinople  
DATE OF DEATH 21 July 1425  
PLACE OF DEATH Constantinople

## BIOGRAPHY

Manuel Palaeologus was the second son of Emperor John V Palaeologus (1341-91) and Helen Cantacuzena. In 1369, John V appointed him as administrator in Thessaloniki. In the winter of 1370/71, he travelled to Venice to rescue his father from his financial difficulties and to facilitate his return to Constantinople.

After suppressing the revolt led by Andronicus IV Palaeologus and Sawji Celebi against John V and Sultan Murad I (1362-89), the line of succession was transferred to Manuel and he was declared emperor on 25 September 1373. However, in the summer of 1376, he and his father were taken prisoner by Andronicus IV, who had returned to Constantinople, and in May 1381 John V had to transfer the line of succession back to Andronicus IV and his son, John VII (Dölger, *Regesten* V, no. 3171).

Manuel left Constantinople and ruled over Thessaloniki without his father's consent from the autumn of 1382 and was able to defend it against Haireddin Paşa until April 1387 (*Symbouleutikos pros tous Thessalonikeis*; Letters 3-11). After the fall of Thessaloniki, he was not allowed to return to Constantinople until 1390, when his father again recognized him as his successor. He then drove John VII, the son of Andronicus IV, who had died on 25 June 1385, out of the city.

Manuel was visiting the court of Bayazid I (1389-1402) in Bursa when his father died on 16 February 1391, and he rushed to Constantinople to take power. As early as 8 June 1391, he had to leave the capital again to serve with Byzantine troops under the sultan. He continued with them through the summer of 1391 and, from October to December, he and his soldiers lay in winter quarters in Angora (today Ankara), where he was billeted on a *müderri*, a teacher of Islamic theology. His *Dialogos, hon epioesato meta tinos Persou* ('Dialogue with a Persian') resulted from conversations with this *müderri*. Following his return to Constantinople

on 5 January 1392, he married the Serbian princess Helene Dragash, and they were crowned on 11 February 1392.

Relations with Bayazid broke down in 1393 and, from the spring of 1394, Bayazid set a blockade against Constantinople. Manuel was only able to hold out with the help of Venetian ships, which secured the sea routes. They were re-enforced by the crusaders of King Sigismund of Hungary (1387-1437) after they had been defeated at Nicopolis on 25 September 1396. Manuel was encouraged to travel to the West to mobilize further military support.

Before he left, Manuel was reconciled with his nephew, John VII Palaeologus, and entrusted him to rule in his absence. From December 1399, he visited Milan and Paris, sent envoys to Navarra and Aragon, and travelled to England to meet King Henry IV.

Manuel II was back in Paris when Timur-i Leng (1370-1405) and his Mongols resoundingly defeated Bayazid's army at Angora and took the sultan prisoner (28 July 1402). This forced the Ottomans to seek reconciliation with the Byzantines and in February 1403 Bayazid's son, Süleyman, returned to them Thessaloniki, the islands of Skiathos, Skopelos and Skyros, and the harbor towns on the Black Sea coast of Bulgaria, and also relieved them from the payment of tribute (Dölger, *Regesten V*, no. 3201).

In the ensuing power struggle for the sultanate between Bayazid's sons, Manuel supported first Süleyman, and then Mehmed against their brother Musa. It seems probable that Musa undertook an offensive against Constantinople with his army in 1411/12. This situation, which at times was very menacing, led Manuel to compose a *Kanōn paraklētikos*, addressed to the Mother of God, requesting her to free her own city from the oppression of the enemy, as she had in former times.

Manuel made an alliance with Mehmed in the spring of 1412 (Dölger, *Regesten V*, no. 3332), and Mehmed's army was transported on Byzantine ships from Skutari to Europe. On 5 July 1413, with Manuel's help, Mehmed I (1413-21) defeated Musa at Çamurlu in the west of Bulgaria and gained supreme rule.

From 1421 onwards, Manuel increasingly entrusted rule to his eldest son (later John VIII). He probably died on 21 July 1425, and was buried in the Pantokrator monastery.

Manuel kept up correspondence with members of his family and leading figures in the capital throughout his life, and 62 of his letters from the years 1365-1417 are known. In them he repeatedly refers to the struggle between Byzantium and the Ottomans, and records his dislike for

Bayazid I. (He pointedly expresses this in two dialogues written in 1402-3, following Bayazid's capture by Timur-i Leng, in which he imagines Timur humiliating Bayazid for allowing himself to be defeated, and mocks Bayazid for his vainglory; see Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, pp. 246, 513-14.) He also discloses his distaste for the Prophet Muḥammad as a disciple and general of Satan, and for Islam as a faith impregnated with stupidity and falsehood (Letter 31).

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### Primary

- The letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*, ed. and trans. G.T. Dennis (*Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae* 8), Washington DC, 1977
- E. Legrand (ed.), *Lettres de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue*, Amsterdam, 1962 (repr. of the Paris edition, 1893)
- R.-J. Loenertz O.P. (ed.), *Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance*, 2 vols (*Studi et Testi* 186, 208), Vatican City, 1956, 1960; trans. F. Tinnefeld (German), *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*, 4 vols (*Bibliothek der Griechischen Literatur* 16, 33, 50, 60), Stuttgart, 1982-2003
- Giovanni Cananos, L'assedio di Costantinopoli*, ed. and (Italian) trans. E. Pinto, Messina, 1977
- C. Dendrinos, 'An unpublished funeral oration on Manuel II Palaeologus (d. 1425)', in C. Dendrinos et al. (eds), *Porphyrogenita. Essays on the history and literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in honour of Julian(a) Chrysostomides*, Aldershot, 2003, 423-56
- Bessarion, *Monōdia epi tō makariō kai aoidimō basilei tō kyrō Manouēl tō Palaiologō, tō dia tou theiou kai angelikou schematos metonomasthenti Matthaïō monachō*, in S.P. Lampros (ed.), *Palaiologeia kai Peloponnesiaka*, vol. 3, Athens, 1926, 284-90 (Latin translation in *PG* 161, cols 615A-620D)
- Makarios Makres, 'Grabrede auf den Kaiser Manuel II. Palaiologos (*Monodia pros ton autokratora kyr Manouel ton Palaiologon*)', in A. Sideras (ed.), *25 unedierte byzantinische Grabreden*, Thessaloniki, 1990, 299-307
- Ducas, *Historia Turcobizantina (1341-1462)*, ed. V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1958, pp. 70-237; trans. H.J. Magoulias, *Decline and fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks*, Detroit MI, 1978, pp. 79-164
- R. Maisano (ed. and trans.), *Giorgio Sfranze, Cronaca (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 29)*, Rome, 1990, pp. 4-31; trans. M. Philippides, *The fall of the Byzantine Empire. A chronicle by George Sphrantzes, 1401-1477*, Amherst, 1980, pp. 21-30

Laonicus Chalcocondyles, *Historiarum demonstrationes*, ed. E. Darkó, vol. 1, Budapest, 1922, pp. 55-205, vol. 2, Budapest, 1923, pp. 1-13; trans. (incomplete) N. Nicoloudis, *Laonikos Chalkokondyles, a translation and commentary of the 'Demonstrations of Histories'* (*Historical Monographs* 16), Athens, 1996

*Secondary*

K.-P. Matschke, *Das Kreuz und der Halbmond. Die Geschichte der Türkenkriege*, Düsseldorf and Zurich, 2004, pp. 57, 70, 95, 107-8, 111, 132-33

O. Kresten, 'Correctiunculae zu Auslandsschreiben byzantinischer Kaiser des 15. Jh.', *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 41 (1999) 267-310, pp. 267-92 (a letter of Manuel II to the Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Faraj, dated March 1411)

A. Sideras, *Die byzantinischen Grabreden. Prosopographie, Datierung, Überlieferung, 142 Epitaphien und Monodien aus dem byzantinischen Jahrtausend* (*Wiener Byzantinistische Studien* 19), Vienna, 1994, 316-20, 344-45, 361-62

D.M. Nicol, *The last centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453*, Cambridge, 1993<sup>2</sup>, pp. 275, 276, 282-88, 292, 296-338

Art. 'Palaiologos, Manuel II', in *PLP*, no. 21513

R.-J. Loenertz, 'L'exil de Manuel Paléologue à Lemnos', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 38 (1972) 116-40

D.M. Nicol, 'A Byzantine emperor in England. Manuel II's visit to London in 1400-1401', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 12 (1971) 204-25 (repr. in D.M. Nicol, *Collected studies I. Byzantium. Its ecclesiastical history and relations with the western world*, London, 1972, no. X)

J.W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425). A study in late Byzantine statesmanship*, New Brunswick NJ, 1969

T. Khoury, 'L'empereur Manuel II Paléologue (1350-1425). Essai bibliographique', *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 18 (1968) 29-49

P. Schreiner, 'Hochzeit und Krönung Kaiser Manuels II. im Jahre 1392', *BZ* 60 (1967) 70-85

T. Khoury, 'L'empereur Manuel II Paléologue (1350-1425). Esquisse biographique', *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 15 (1965) 127-144

G.T. Dennis, *The reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382-1387*, Rome, 1960

H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaften* 12, 2.1), Munich, 1959, pp. 747-49

F. Dölger and P. Wirth (eds), *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453*, 5 vols, Munich, 1924-77

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Symbouleutikos pros tous Thessalonikeis*, 'Discourse of counsel to the Thessalonians'

DATE Most probably autumn 1383

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

After the siege of Thessaloniki by the Ottoman army at the end of September/beginning of October 1383, the Ottomans demanded the inhabitants' submission to the sultan and payment of tribute. Manuel called the inhabitants of the city together (*sylogos*) and outlined the measures they should take in order to avoid such a humiliation. The surrounding towns, he said, had been conquered because they had not given one another support. The Thessalonians should remember that they were Romans and descendants of Philip and Alexander the Great, who had conquered Persians, Scythians, Paiones, Celts and countless other peoples. It would be a disgrace to accept this demand, since the barbarian Ottomans eventually intended to make the Thessalonians their slaves. Even though some cowards might be prepared to submit, he was convinced that the majority of the people would rather die than endure the barbarian yoke, for the Ottomans were brutal to those they conquered, and the townspeople would have to endure blasphemy against their faith without opportunity to speak out, and to take part in godless acts with great pain.

Negotiations with the barbarians, he said, should not be rejected altogether but should have the goal of securing an agreement that would guarantee real freedom for the town. To achieve this, the inhabitants should be prepared to suffer and fight untiringly. It would be better to use their wealth for the defense of the town than to give it up as tribute to the enemy. In this, they could expect help from their patron saint, the holy Demetrius, who had made victories over the barbarians possible so often in the past.

If the negotiations with the barbarians failed, this could mean that God had hardened the hearts of the Ottomans as he did with Pharaoh, in order to reveal his power over them unequivocally. God never deserts those whose case is just and who, like the inhabitants of Nineveh, genuinely repented.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Manuel's speech shows the kind of arguments, including reminders of religious precedents and appeals to faith, by which the Byzantine leaders

hoped to awaken resistance against the Turks in an apparently hopeless situation. It also shows that parts of the population of Thessaloniki were in favor of submitting to Ottoman rule, which they thought would guarantee their life and property, rather than take part in a struggle with a doubtful outcome. This sector of the population finally won in the spring of 1387, and forced Manuel and his followers to withdraw from the town.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Gr. 3041, fols 47-51 (15<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Vat – Barberini Gr. 219, fols 9-14 (15<sup>th</sup> century)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

B. Laourdas, 'Ho symbouleutikos pros tous Thessalonikeis tou Manuēl tou Palaiologou', *Makedonika* 3 (1955) 290-307, pp. 295-302

## STUDIES

Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, pp. xxii, 53, 415-16, 431, 434

Khoury, 'L'empereur Manuel II Paléologue (1350-1425). Essai bibliographique', pp. 38-40

Denis, *Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica*, pp. 80-85

Laourdas, 'Ho "symbouleutikos" pros tous Thessalonikeis'

*Tou eusebestatou kai philochristou basileōs Manuēl tou Palaiologu pros ton peripothēton autou adelphon, paneutychestaton despotēn, Porphyrogennēton Theodōron ton Palaiologon dialogos, hon epoiēsato meta tinos Persou tēn axian Muterizē en Ankyra tēs Galatias*, 'Dialogue of the most pious and Christ-loving Emperor Manuel Palaeologus, addressed to his beloved brother, the most successful Lord Theodore Palaeologus, the purple-born, which he held with a certain Persian, the worthy Mouterizes, in Ankyra of Galatia'  
*Dialogos meta tinos Persou*, 'Dialogue with a Persian'

DATE 1392/93

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

Manuel II's 26 dialogues with a Persian (300 pages in the Trapp edition; 3 volumes of 371, 333 and 253 pages in the Förstel edition) are without doubt authentic. While they are not a word for word account of the conversations that took place over a period of 20 days through the autumn of 1391 in the home of the *müderris* in Angora (today Ankara), they are certainly based on extensive diary entries that the emperor evidently wrote at the time. It is significant that Manuel presents his Muslim interlocutor and his sons as highly intellectual and humanly pleasant representatives of their religion, and allows them, at least the *müderris*, extensive utterances (e.g. in Dialogues 2, 7, 8 and 15).

In the first *Dialogue*, the emperor defends the authenticity of the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Old Testament, against the accusation of falsification, and Christian teachings concerning the immortality of angels. In *Dialogues* 2 and 3, he polemicizes mainly against the all too carnal Muslim picture of paradise. He discusses at great length the question posed by the *müderris* about true salvation, which mankind can only find in God. He opposes the idea that animals can be thought rational, and stresses that mankind alone is capable of self-control and abstract thought, has the freedom to choose between good and evil, and can express thought in language.

In *Dialogue* 5, Manuel II critically discusses the ascension to heaven ascribed to Muḥammad, the miracles of the split apple and the division of the moon, and the story of the angels Hārūt and Mārūt.

The *müderris'* protest that Christians are in a difficult situation because, like the Jews, they refuse to follow Islam, causes Manuel to respond that the Jews were unable to fulfil their law as far as it concerned worship because they had lost Jerusalem and the temple. This is not the case with the Christians. History, with the continual rise and fall of kingdoms, does not allow conclusions to be drawn concerning the truth of a religion, since military and political success is not the result of moral superiority and orthodoxy but rather the result of a rational ability to weigh up advantages and disadvantages and of ambition and daring. Even if Byzantium at the moment is in a bad situation, there are powerful Christian nations in the West, who are superior to the Muslims. Christ left his followers, whom Muslims also consider holy men, in no doubt that following him would mean suffering in this world, and that on earth no happiness can exist for ever.

In *Dialogue* 6, Manuel picks up the *müderris'* idea to compare the life-style and laws of Moses and Muḥammad. Against the *müderris'*



expectation, the comparison turns out badly for Muḥammad. As Manuel says, there is no confirmation of him from other prophets or exceptional miracles. His life-style, with its lust for power and sexual excesses, reveals more bad than good deeds. On the other hand, Muslims admit that Christ was the son of a virgin, and performed miracles beyond compare.

*Dialogue 7* can certainly be considered one of the most important parts of the work. Here the emperor above all criticizes Muḥammad as brutal, stressing that God does not approve of the shedding of blood and that one may only try to convert others by conviction, not by force. The *müderris* describes Muḥammad's laws as a compromise between the laws of the Jews, which are inadequate, and the laws of the Christians, which he considers too demanding, asking more than people can give. As examples of Christian demands that expect superhuman feats from believers, the *müderris* names love of the enemy, giving up possessions for others, and celibacy. In reply, Manuel points out God's help in the fulfillment of the commandments, and his promise of the heavenly kingdom, which is available to those who follow Christ's commandments not because they fear punishment but out of conviction. In contrast, he says, many of Muḥammad's laws, such as the restriction on pork, have been adopted from Moses' law, but Muḥammad was not capable of taking over the best things for his law from Moses and Christ's law.

*Dialogue 8* sees Manuel rejecting the *müderris'* assertion that Muḥammad is the comforter (Paraclete) promised in the Gospel of John. This cannot be true, since Muḥammad was not sent by God, did not glorify Christ and was not himself God, as the Holy Ghost is.

Manuel explains in *Dialogue 9* that the spirits of men and even angels are incapable of discerning the nature and depth of matter, but that humans can nevertheless at least arrive at a correct understanding about God from his works.

*Dialogues 10-19* and *21-24* are devoted to an explanation and defense of the Christian teaching about the Trinity, the unity of God and man in the person of Jesus Christ, and the redemption of man through God's Incarnation in Christ. Redemption could not be effected by the law alone, as the *müderris* claims; in the light of man's tendency towards evil it is only possible by direct godly intervention, for the existence of a law does not guarantee its observance and fulfillment. The emperor points out, in response to the *müderris'* question as to why God should take so much trouble for mankind, that men are made in the image of God, which they alone possess, showing that man's nature is essentially good.



In *Dialogue* 20, Manuel II dismisses the *müderris*' criticism of the veneration of images in the Orthodox Church. In the concluding *Dialogues* 25 and 26, he defends the veracity of the witness of the Apostles to Christ, questioned this time not by the *müderris* but by other Turks who have been present at the previous conversations. Through God's help, the life of the Apostles agreed with their teaching. They proved to be steadfast and in their deaths as martyrs they testified to the truth of what they taught.

Manuel reports that the *müderris* did finally profess Christianity and promised to come to Constantinople, but he does not claim that he really converted him. He explains this failure by saying that his interlocutor could not ultimately abandon his ancestral faith and his familiar surroundings.

Manuel's main source in these dialogues were the Apologies and Speeches against Islam of his grandfather, John/Joasaph Cantacuzenus (q.v.), to whom he explicitly refers in the introduction. He had also studied older Byzantine anti-Islamic polemics though, according to Trapp, he hardly refers to them. Manuel, of course, had known Islam since his childhood, though clearly, most of what he reports about the teaching of Islam in these dialogues really does come from the *müderris* and other Muslims. As Trapp says, Manuel's dialogues differ from older Byzantine anti-Islamic polemics by showing 'a high degree of independence' (Trapp, *Manuel II., Dialoge*, p. 86\*).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

This work is not only the last great work by a Byzantine author on Islam but also the high point as far as quality is concerned, in the Byzantine theological discussion about Islam. It is an extensive apologetic-polemic discussion of Islam on a very high theoretical level.

In the *Dialogues* Manuel II, as highest law maker, teacher and defendant of Greek Orthodox Christianity, in the long tradition of emperors molded on the pattern of the Apostles (Constantine, Marcian, Justinian, Leo VI the Wise, Alexius I Comnenus, Theodore II Ducas Lascaris, John/Joasaph Cantacuzenus), encounters the representative of Islam, who is pressed into the role of pupil and is finally forced, at the end of the 26 dialogues, to consent to Manuel's expositions or to remain silent (as a sign of capitulation). They are, therefore, evidence of the emperor's claim, as representative of Greek thinking and Christian belief, that he is spiritually superior to the Turkish conqueror Bayazid I, a claim which is not unjustified. Bayazid I, in contrast, can only point to his military

successes over the Byzantines as proof of his superiority, which in the light of fortune (*tyche*) in world history and the everlasting ups and downs of kingdoms and peoples, are of no value. As far as Manuel was concerned, his Ottoman counterpart, Bayazid I, personified for his time precisely the ideal of a barbarian tyrant ruled by his passions, pictured by Herodotus in the archetype of the Achaemenid ruler Xerxes. Considering that Manuel himself personified Byzantine spiritual-theological superiority, he had every right to hope that a change in fortune (*tyche*) would resurrect Byzantium to its former greatness, despite the outward plight of the empire.

Recently, Manuel's *Dialogues* have been surprisingly topical: in a speech at the the University of Regensburg on 12 September 2006, Pope Benedict XVI quoted words from *Dialogue 7* concerning the violence of Muḥammad (Benedikt XVI, *Der Glaube ist einfach! Ansprachen, Meditationen und Predigten während des Besuches in Bayern*, ed. E. von Gemmingen, Leipzig, 2006, pp. 104-8). This caused great indignation in the Islamic world and, in 2007, evoked *A common word*, an unprecedentedly constructive and forward-looking letter, from a large group of Muslim scholars.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

The MSS are listed in Trapp, *Manuel II. Palaiologos*, *Dialoge mit einem 'Perser'*, pp. 51\*-53\*.

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

*Kaiser Manuel II. Palaiologos, Dialog über den Islam und Erziehungsratschläge. Mit drei Briefen König Sigismunds von Luxemburg an Manuel II.*, ed. W. Baum, trans. R. Senoner (*Texte der Weltliteratur* 1), Vienna, 2003 (German trans. of *Dialogues* 1-7)

*Manuel II. Palaiologos, Dialoge mit einem Muslim*, ed. K. Förstel, 3 vols (*Corpus Islamo-Christianum* 4/1-3), Würzburg, 1993, 1995 and 1996 (complete edition of the Greek text with an excellent German trans.)

*Manuel II Paléologue, Entretiens avec un Musulman, 7e Controverse*, ed. and trans. T. Khoury (*Sources Chrétiennes* 115), Paris, 1966 (edition and French trans. of *Dialogue 7*)

E. Trapp (ed.), *Manuel II. Palaiologos, Dialoge mit einem 'Perser'* (*Wiener Byzantinistische Studien* 2), Vienna, 1966 (first complete edition of the Greek text)

## STUDIES

- L. Nilsson and D. Westberg, 'Bysantiska dialoger med Islam (Byzantine dialogues with Islam)', *Dragomanen* 10-11 (2006-7) 182-86 (with a summary in English)
- S.W. Reinert, 'Manuel II Palaeologos and his müderris', in S. Čurčić and D. Mouriki (eds), *The twilight of Byzantium. Aspects of cultural and religious history in the Late Byzantine Empire. Papers from the Colloquium held at Princeton University 8-9 May 1980*, Princeton NJ, 1991, 39-51
- N. Mitru, 'Morala islamică oglindita in lucrarea Diálogos a lui Manuel al II-lea Paleologul (1391-1424)', *Ortodoxia* 24 (1972) 459-44
- Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, pp. xxiv, 97, 439
- Khoury, 'L'empereur Manuel II Paléologue (1350-1425). Essai bibliographique', 45-47
- Trapp, 'Der Sprachgebrauch Manuels II. in den Dialogen mit einem "Perser"', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistischen Gesellschaft* 16 (1967) 189-97
- E. Voordeckers, 'Les entretiens avec un Perse de l'empereur Manuel II Paléologue (A propos de deux éditions récentes)', *Byzantion* 36 (1966) 311-17
- W. Eichner, 'Die Nachrichten über den Islam bei den Byzantinern', *Der Islam* 22/23 (1935/36) 133-62, 197-244, pp. 134 no. XV, 142, 216-19
- H. Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 114)*, Rome, 1937, 58-63

*Kanōn paraklētikos eis tēn hyperagian hēmōn  
Despoinan Theotokon hyper tōn nun peristaseōn,  
'Canon to our most holy Lady, the Mother of God,  
for aid in the present circumstances'*

DATE 1411-12

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

In this hymn, Manuel prays to the Mother of God to free the people of God from misfortune, and to accord her city victory over the enemy. He asks her to cause the hostile *khan* (*chaganos*), who is attacking the

city so brutally, to disappear just as his father did (the *khan* is evidently the Ottoman Musa, his father Bayazid I). If the Mother of God frees her own people from the enemy, she will not be doing anything new, for she has been accustomed to protect her city Constantinople in earlier times. The emperor prays to her again to tear her people out of the hand of the enemy, many of whom are unbelievers, to free them from the madness of the enemy, who are like wild animals, to destroy by her intervention the power of the hostile tyrant, as with the Amalekites, and to allow the people of Constantinople to set up monuments to victory, as she did their ancestors.

## SIGNIFICANCE

This hymn is one of the few pieces of evidence for the attack of the Ottoman pretender Musa on Constantinople in the years 1411 and 1412.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Gr. 3041, fols 104r-104v (15<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Vienna, National Library – Philologicus graecus 42, fols 147v-150r (15<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Rome, Pontificio Collegio Greco – 11, fols 82-84 (15<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Abbey of Grottaferrata, Abbey Library – Graecus 161, fols 72r-74v (15<sup>th</sup> century)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

E. Legrand (ed.), *Lettres de l'empereur Manuel Paléologue*, Paris, 1893 (repr. Amsterdam, 1962), pp. 94-102

*PG* 106, cols 107-10 (Latin trans.)

## STUDIES

Dennis, *Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*, pp. 160-63 no. 57, particularly p. 162 annotation 1

Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, pp. 432, 436, 438

Khoury, 'L'empereur Manuel II Paléologue (1350-1425). Essai bibliographique', p. 43

T. Stratmann, 'La Théotokos, prémices des justifiés', *Irénikon* 27 (1954) 122-41

## Fray Anselmo Turmeda

‘Abd Allāh al-Tarjumān, ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd Allāh  
al-Tarjumān al-Mayūrqī al-Muhtadī (al-Tūnisī), Turmeda

DATE OF BIRTH    Approximately 1352  
PLACE OF BIRTH    Palma de Mallorca  
DATE OF DEATH    Between 1424 and 1430  
PLACE OF DEATH    Tunis

### BIOGRAPHY

Anselmo Turmeda (Ancelm Turmeda in Catalan) was born in Palma, Mallorca. According to the *Tuhfa*, at the age of six he started to study the Gospel with a learned priest, and two years later he started on Greek (‘the language of the Gospel’) and also logic.

At the age of 14 he went to the University of Aragon in Lerida to study natural sciences and astrology, and when he was 20 he probably moved to Paris for four years. Next, he says, he went to Bologna, where he continued his studies for ten years until the age of 35, being made a Franciscan friar in Palma Cathedral on 4 June 1379. In Bologna he studied theology and the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard with a priest whom, in the *Tuhfa*, he calls *M-r-t-i-l*. And here, possibly six years after he started, he converted to Islam, following a university disputation about the identity of the Paraclete.

After this conversion, Turmeda first went to Mallorca, then Sicily and then Tunis. Once there, he made a formal conversion before the king and adopted the name ‘Abdallāh (it is presumably his new name that has prompted a number of scholars to speculate that he is the ‘Abdallāh al-Asīr referred to by Muḥammad al-Qaysī [q.v.] in his polemic against Christianity, though as Van Koningsveld and Wiegers point out, the great difference in dates makes this impossible; see Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, ‘The polemical works of Muḥammad al-Qaysī’, p. 193, and n. 106, and also A. Chejne, *Islam and the West. The Moriscos*, Albany NY, 1983, pp. 82, 85). He married and had children, and took a job in the customs office as translator, remaining there until the end of his life. During this period, he worked as translator in the military expeditions of the ruler Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad (r. 1370-94), and after Abū l-‘Abbās’ death, his son Abū Fāris ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (r. 1394-1434) confirmed him in his position.

Apart from the *Tuḥfa*, ‘Abdallāh al-Tarjumān wrote several other works, including his celebrated *Libre del bons amonestaments* (‘Book of good advice’), an adaptation of the Italian *Dottrina dello Schiavo di Bari*, and *Cobles de la divisió del regne de Mallorques* (‘Stanzas on the division of the kingdom of Mallorca’), both poems written in Catalan in the same year, 1394. His *Profecies* (‘Prophecies’) is also a poem in Catalan, in which religious and political problems are prophesied for the Christian kingdoms. It could be at the age of 60, between 1417 and 1418, that he wrote his masterpiece in Catalan, *Disputa de l’ase contra Frare Anselm Turmeda sobre la natura y noblesa dels animals* (‘Dispute of the donkey against Brother Anselm Turmeda about the nature and nobility of animals’).

‘Abdallāh al-Tarjumān died in Tunis sometime between 1424 and 1430.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### Primary

Anselmo Turmeda, *Al-tuḥfa*, ed. and trans. M. de Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda* (‘Abdallāh al-Tarjumān’) y su polémica islamo-cristiana, Madrid, 1994<sup>2</sup>

#### Secondary

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

De Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda*, pp. 11-42

M. de Epalza, *Anselm Turmeda*, Palma of Mallorca, 1983 (in Catalan)

M. de Epalza and I. Riera, *Anselm Turmeda. Autobiografia i atac als partidaris de la Creu*, Barcelona, 1978 (in Catalan)

M. de Epalza, ‘Notes pour une histoire des polémiques antichrétiennes dans l’Occident musulman’, *Arabica* 18 (1971) 105

M. de Epalza, ‘L’auteur de la “Tuḥfat al-arīb”, Anselm Turmeda (Abdallāh al-Tarjumān)’, *IBLA* 28 (1965) 261-90

M. de Epalza, ‘Nuevas aportaciones a la biografía de fray anselmo Turmeda (Abdallah al-Tarchuman)’, *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 38 (1965) 87-158

J. M. Probst, ‘Fra Anselm Turmeda et sa conversion à l’Islamisme’, *Revue Hispanique* 38 (1916) 464-96

A. Calvet, *Fray Anselmo Turmeda, heterodoxo español*, Barcelona, 1914

J. M. Miret i Sans, ‘Vie de Fray Anselmo Turmeda’, *Revue Hispanique* 24 (1911) 261-96

A. Berbrugger, ‘Abdallah Teurdjman, renégat de Tunis en 1388’, *Revue Africaine* 5 (1861), 261-75

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Tuḥfat al-adīb fī l-radd ‘alā ahl al-ṣalīb,*  
 ‘The cultured man’s gift, in refutation of  
 the people of the Cross’

DATE Before 1420

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

The work is divided into three sections: the first contains an autobiography, the second a history of Tunisian rulers of Turmeda’s time, and the third is a long refutation of Christianity. This contains a number of classical arguments, including: Islam as the true religion and Christianity as aberrant; corruption of scripture; Jesus as human and not divine; the real identity of the Paraclete.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Turmeda’s work is most significant for the rich information it gives concerning the genre of polemics and the topics it includes. Particularly interesting are the sources used: the Qur’an, Hadith literature, earlier polemicists such as ‘Alī al-Ṭabarī (q.v.) and al-Jāḥiẓ (q.v.) among others, and also Christian sources such as the Bible, the early apologists, and later authors.

## MANUSCRIPTS

See de Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda*, pp. 173-75, and cf. pp. 176-78.

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

De Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda*

*Autobiografia i atac als partidaris de la creu per Anselm Turmeda*, ed. and trans. (Catalan) M. de Epalza and I. Riera, Barcelona, 1978

*La Tuḥfa, autobiografia y polémica islámica contra el Cristianismo de ‘Abdallāh al-Tarḡumān (fray Anselmo Turmeda)*, ed. M. de Epalza, Rome, 1971

J. Spiro, ‘Le présent de l’homme lettré pour refuter les partisans de la croix par Abd Allah le Drogman’, *Revue Tunisienne* 13 (1906), 19-101 (partial trans.)

*Tuḥfat al-arīb* [sic] *fī l-radd ‘alā ahl al-ṣalīb*, Cairo, 1904

*Tuḥfat al-arīb* [sic] *fī l-radd ‘alā ahl al-ṣalīb*, Cairo, 1895

*Tuḥfat al-arīb* [sic] *fī l-radd ‘alā ahl al-ṣalīb*, Istanbul, 1886

- J. Spiro, *Le présent de l'homme lettré pour refuter les partisans de la croix par Abd Allah le Drogman*, Paris, 1886
- J. Spiro, 'Le présent de l'homme lettré pour refuter les partisans de la croix par Abd Allah le Drogman', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 12 (1885) 68-89, 179-205, 278-301
- Tuhfat al-arīb* [sic] *fi l-radd 'alā ahl al-ṣalīb*, Istanbul, 1874
- Tuhfat al-arīb* [sic] *fi l-radd 'alā ahl al-ṣalīb*, s.l., 1873
- For the many modern translations of the work, see M. de Epalza, 'Traduccions persa, turca, alemanya i catalana de la "Tuhfa" de Turmeda', in *Homenatge a Francesc de B. Moll*, 3 vols, Barcelona, 1979-80, iii, 141-44 (in Catalan).

## STUDIES

- De Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda*, pp. xv-xxiv, 11-188
- M. de Epalza, 'Conversió i narrativa oral islàmica a les narracions literàries autobiogràfiques d'Anselm Turmeda (Abdallah At-Tarjuman)', in *IX Colloqui internacional de llengua i literatura Catalanes, Alacant-Elx 9-14 de setembre de 1991*, Alicante, 1991, 79-82
- A. Chejne, *Islam and the West. The Moriscos*, Albany NY, 1983, pp. 82-85
- A. Guy, 'L'oecumenisme critique de Turmeda (Abdallah le drogman) dans la Tuhfa', in *Miscellanea Medievalia... Albert Zimmermann*, Berlin, 1981, 1020-25
- J. Samsó, 'Turmediana: I. Trasfondo cultural islámico en la obra catalana de Anselmo Turmeda. II. En torno a la *Tuhfa* y al *Libre de Bons amonestaments*', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 34 (1975) 51-85

**Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala**



# Centō of the true emperor

DATE OF BIRTH   Unknown  
PLACE OF BIRTH   Unknown  
DATE OF DEATH   Unknown  
PLACE OF DEATH   Unknown

## BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known of the anonymous redactor of this work on the sleeping emperor who will come as liberator. He was active just before or after the Ottoman overthrow of Constantinople in 1453, and had not given up hope that the Byzantine state and its ruler would be restored.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*   —

*Secondary*   —

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Peri tou thrēlloumenou ptōchou kai eklektou basileōs*,  
'About the famous, poor and chosen emperor',  
'Centō of the true emperor'

DATE   mid-15<sup>th</sup> century  
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE   Greek

## DESCRIPTION

Although no manuscripts of the *Centō of the true emperor* survive from before 1453, it must be earlier than this date. It is usually found together with the *Oracula Leonis* (q.v.), though neither work was widely known before the Ottoman overthrow of Constantinople.

Like the *Oracles of Leo*, the *Centō* is concerned with the advent of the Last Emperor, whose appearance will signify the end of Ottoman rule: 'He will be represented [as] anointed and will march out against the Ishmaelites and defeat them' (ed. Brokkaar, p. 92). Possibly composed in the 14<sup>th</sup> or early 15<sup>th</sup> century, it is not merely a paraphrase of the *Oracles*

(as Lambeck and others believed), for it uses its own sources to develop an eschatological topography of Constantinople centered on the actions of the emperor at his advent.

## SIGNIFICANCE

The historical importance of the *Cento* and the *Oracula Leonis* lies in their reception after 1453. The prophecy of a liberator-king who would destroy the Ottoman supremacy fascinated Christians under Muslim rule, as well as Europeans. The marvellous illustrated manuscripts of the works from the 16th century by Barocci and Klontzas are of special importance for art historians.

## MANUSCRIPTS

For the 40 or so MSS, all after 1453, see the lists in Vereecken and Hadermann-Misguich, *Les Oracles de Léon le Sage*, p. 51 with n. 66, and Mioni, 'Gli oracoli dello Pseudo-Leone', pp. 295-97, 299-301. The MS tradition remains unstudied.

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

*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

J. Vereecken and L. Hadermann-Misguich (eds), *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 *Ἀποθήκη. 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 *Ἀφιέρωμα στη μνήμη τοῦ Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη*, Thessaloniki, 1960, 155-88

N.A. Beēs, 'Peri tou historōmenou chrēsmologiou tēs Kratikēs Bibliothēkēs tou Berolinou (Codex Graecus fol. 63 = 297) kai tou thrylou tou "Marmarōmenou Basilia"', *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 13 (1936/1937) 203-244, λζ

E. Legrand, *Les Oracles de Léon le Sage. La bataille de Varna. Le prise de Constantinople*, Paris, 1875

- 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 *Endzeiten. Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen*, ed. W. Brandes and F. Schmieder, Berlin, 2008, 157-200
- K. Mesler, 'Imperial prophecy and papal crisis. The Latin reception of *The prophecy of the true emperor*', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 61 (2007) 371-415
- K. Kyriakou, *Oi istorhymenoi chrismoi tou Leonos tou Sofou*, Athens, 1995
- D.M. Nicol, *The immortal emperor. The life and legend of Constantine Palaiologus, last emperor of the Romans*, Cambridge, 1992
- A. Pertusi, *Fine di Bisanzio e fjine del mondo*, Rome, 1988
- A. Rigo, 'Alcuni appunti sugli oracoli bizantini attributi all' imperatore Leone il Saggio (886-912) e Venezia', *Ateneo Veneto* 26 (1988) 205-24
- P. Karlin-Hayter, 'Le portrait d'Andronic I Comnène et les *Oracula Leonis Sapientis*', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 12 (1987) 101-16
- P. Alexander, *The Byzantine apocalyptic tradition*, Berkeley CA, 1985
- E. Mioni, 'Gli oracoli dello Pseudo-Leone (tre carmi dell'età dei Paleologi)', in *Lirica greca da Archiloco a Elitis. Studi in onore di Filippo Maria Pontani*, Padua, 1984, 291-308
- P. Alexander, *Religious and political history and thought in the Byzantine Empire. Collected studies*, London, 1978
- M. Reeves, 'Some popular prophecies from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries', *Studies in Church History* 4 (1971), 107-34 (repr. in M. Reeves, *The prophetic sense of history in medieval and Renaissance Europe*, Aldershot, 1999)
- A.D Komines, 'Παρατηρήσεις εις τους Χρησμούς Λέοντος του Σοφού', *Epetēris Etaireias Buzantinōn Spoudōn* 30 (1960/61) 398-412
- C. Mango, 'The legend of Leo the Wise', *Zbornik radova vizantiloškog instituta* 6 (1960) 59-93 (repr. in 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**

# Joseph Bryennius

Iōsēph Bryennios

DATE OF BIRTH 1340/1350  
PLACE OF BIRTH Possibly Constantinople  
DATE OF DEATH 1431  
PLACE OF DEATH Constantinople

## BIOGRAPHY

Joseph Bryennius, born sometime between 1340 and 1350, probably in Constantinople, was a Byzantine Hesychast monk and preacher. From 1382/83 to 1402/3 he lived in Crete, which was then under Venetian rule, and worked as a missionary for the Orthodox Church. His strict Orthodox views brought him into conflict with the Venetian ruling class and he had to flee from the island. He went back to Constantinople and served as court preacher, living first in the Monastery of Stoudiou (1402-6) and later in the Charsianeites Monastery (1416-27). In 1406, he was sent to Cyprus as *topoteretēs* of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Matthew I, to negotiate a union with the Cypriot church, but the negotiations failed. Back in Constantinople, he became an important figure in the discussion about the union of the churches, which he violently rejected.

Working as a preacher for a great part of his life, Joseph wrote a considerable number of homilies, which are an important source for the social history of his time. In the context of the discussions concerning church union, he recorded three *dialexeis* (dialogues) with adherents or sympathizers of the Latin Church and wrote a number of treatises defending the Orthodox doctrine concerning the Holy Trinity and the procession of the Holy Spirit. As a supporter of Gregory Palamas (q.v.), he argued that the Light of Tabor was uncreated. Among his works we also find the dialogue (*dialexis*) with a Muslim that is under discussion here. Bryennius died in 1431.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

*Iōsēph monachou tou Bryenniou ta heurethenta*, ed. E. Boulgares and T. Mandakases,  
3 vols, Leipzig, 1768-84

- ‘Iōsēph Bryenniou Praktika Synodou en Kyprō’, in *Ho en Kōnstantinoupolei Philologikos Syllogos, Parartēma tou 17. tomou*, Constantinople, 1886, 48-51
- ‘Iōsēph Bryenniou epistolai treis’, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra. Zapiski istoričeskogo filologičeskogo fakulteta S. Peterburga univērsiteta* 95 (1909) 292-97
- N.B. Tomadakes, *Ho Iōsēph Bryennios kai hē Krētē kata to 1400. Meletē philologikē kai historikē*, Athens, 1947
- ‘Iōsēph Bryenniou anekdota erga krētika’, ed. N.B. Tomadakes, *Epetēris Etaireias Byzantinōn Spoudōn* 19 (1949) 130-54
- ‘Iōsēph tou Bryenniou meta tinos ismaēlitou dialexis’, ed. A. Argyriou, *Epetēris Etaireias Byzantinōn Spoudōn* 35 (1966-67) 141-95
- ‘Iōsēph Bryenniou dēmēgoria peri tou tēs poleōs anaktismatos’, ed. N.B. Tomadakes, *Epetēris Etaireias Byzantinōn Spoudōn* 36 (1968) 1-15
- ‘Ho Iōsēph Bryennios peri zōgraphikēs’, ed. N.B. Tomadakes, *Epetēris Etaireias Byzantinōn Spoudōn* 36 (1968) 16-18, p. 16
- ‘Iōsēph Bryenniou peri mnēmosynou tou papa’, ed. N. Ioannides, *Ekklēsiastikos Pharos* 65-66 (1983-84) 234-39
- ‘Iōsēph monachou tou Bryenniou epistolai 30 kai hai pros auton 3’, ed. N.B. Tomadakes, *Epetēris Etaireias Byzantinōn Spoudōn* 46 (1983-86) 279-364

#### Secondary

- P. Gounarides, ‘Iosēph Bryennios, prophētēs tēs katastrophēs’, in T. Kioussopoulou (ed.), *1453. Hē halōsē tēs Kōnstantinoupoleōs kai hē metabasē apo tous mesaionikous stous neōterous chronous*, Herakleio, 2005, 133-45
- H. Bazini, ‘Une première édition des oeuvres de Joseph Bryennios. Les traités adressés aux Crétois’, *Revue des Études Byzantines* 62 (2004) 83-132
- D.A. Rees, ‘Joseph Bryennios and the text of Marcus Aurelius’ *Meditations*’, *The Classical Quarterly* 50 (2000) 584-96
- V.V. Ševčenko, ‘Spasen zapustičestvom bogorodicy (Iosif Vriennij ob osade Konstantinopolja v 1422 g.)’, in *Mir Pravoslavija. Sbornik naučnych statej*, Volgograd, 1997, 47-95
- V.V. Ševčenko, ‘Tomaizm i bogoslovskie vozzrenija Iosifa Vriennija (k postanovke problemy)’, in *Christianstvo. Vechi istorii. Materialy naučnoj konferencii, posvjaščennoj mo-letiju so dnja blazhennoj končiny svjatogo ravnopostol'nogo Mefodija*, Volgograd, 1996, 17-21
- A.-M. Talbot, art. ‘Bryennios, Joseph’, in *ODB*
- N. Ioannides, ‘Ho Iōsēph Bryennios. Bios-ergo-didaskalia’, Athens, 1985 (Diss. University of Athens)
- E. Konstantinou, art. ‘Bryennios, Joseph’, in R.-H. Bautier et al. (eds), *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 10 vols, Munich, 1980-99, ii, 799
- G. Patacsi, ‘Joseph Bryennios et les discussions sur un concile d’union (1414-1431)’, *Klērnomia* 5 (1978) 73-96

Art. 'Bryennios, Iōsēph', in *PLP*

N.B. Tomadakis, *Iōsēph Bryennios. Syllabos Byzantinōn meletōn kai keimenōn*, Athens, 1961, pp. 491-611

N.B. Tomadakis, 'Meletēmata peri Iōsēph Bryenniou', *Epetēris Etaireias Byzantinōn Spoudōn* 29 (1959) 1-33

R.-J. Loenertz, 'Pour la chronologie des œuvres de Joseph Bryennios', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 7 (1949) 12-32

N.B. Tomadakes, *Ho Iōsēph Bryennios kai hē Krētē kata to 1400. Meletē philologikē kai historikē*, Athens, 1947

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Tou sophōtatou Bryenniou monachou meta tinos Ismaēlitou dialexis*, 'The dialogue of the most wise monk Bryennius with a Muslim'  
*Meta tinos Ismaēlitou dialexis*, 'Dialogue with a Muslim'

DATE Unknown; possibly after 1420 in the later years of Bryennius's life

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

### DESCRIPTION

Bryennius's *Meta tinos Ismaēlitou dialexis* is his only work concerning Christian-Muslim relations. We have no direct information on the date of its composition, but as Bryennius is presented as a well-known scholar and teacher living in Constantinople, Argyriou supposes the dialogue to be one of his later works ('Dialexis', p. 144). In his 1966 edition, the work comprises 37 pages, which contain numerous footnotes. There seems to be no doubt in modern scholarship concerning its authenticity.

The work itself can be seen as an apology for the Christian faith and (following Argyriou) it depicts a fictitious conversation between the monk Bryennius and a *talasimanis* (teacher of the Muslim faith) called Ismail, who is said to come from Laodicea. The conversation takes place at Bryennius' home, presumably one of the monasteries he lived in.

The dialogue begins with Ismail's announcement that he wants to ask Bryennius some questions about the Christian faith. Thus, it is clearly structured as a question-and-answer game, covering only topics of the Christian, not the Muslim faith. The Muslim very rarely abandons his role as the conversational partner posing the questions. Following Argyriou,

it can be divided into three major parts. The first deals with the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, the reasons for it and how it could have taken place. The scholars discuss the possibility of different ways of salvation. Why did God not send an angel or save humans simply by ordering them to be good? This, Bryennius says, is not possible as humans in their freedom have chosen evil and so Jesus Christ can only offer them an opportunity to change their ways but cannot dictate it against their free will.

The last major question in this first part concerns the Incarnation itself and how it can be conceived. The Muslim at first insists on an explanation, but Bryennius refuses to give an answer and says that this question is beyond human understanding, as everything concerning the mysteries of God must logically be.

The second and longest part of the conversation covers various questions concerning the salvation of humankind and the Day of Judgement. Answering questions such as why human beings still die even after Christ's appearance, and why Jesus did not come into the human world earlier, Bryennius explains the Orthodox doctrine of salvation. In the course of his explanations the conversation also focuses on doubts common among Christians of the time (see Argyriou, 'Dialexis', p. 146), such as why Islamic countries were thriving while Christians in the Mediterranean seemed to be doomed. Bryennius assumes that God is punishing the Byzantines for their sins and their faithlessness. When he succeeds in explaining why it is impossible for a human being to have a definitive and unchanging destiny (a belief that was widespread in the Muslim world, see Argyriou, 'Dialexis', p. 187, n. 1), the Muslim declares himself convinced of the truth of the Christian faith.

Nevertheless, he asks Bryennius for an explanation of the Holy Trinity. Thus, the third part of the dialogue comprises an exposition of traditional arguments explaining this doctrine, such as the identification of Christ with the Word (Logos) of God, and the differentiation between the three hypostases (*nous* [mind] – God the Father, *logos* [word] – Jesus Christ, *pneuma* [spirit] – Holy Spirit) and the single nature (*physis*) of God.

In the end, the Muslim demands to know how he can lead a good life as a Christian and requests baptism.

This *Dialogue with a Muslim* does not have any direct relation to other works by Joseph Bryennius, but as many of his works defend the Orthodox faith (mostly against the Latins), it fits in with the general character of his oeuvre. At the same time, it is part of a long tradition of more or less fictitious dialogues defending the Christian faith against



Islam. Most of the arguments used are traditional and can be found in other authors, such as John of Damascus (q.v.), Euthymius the Monk (q.v.), John VI Cantacuzenus (q.v.) and Manuel II Palaeologus (q.v.).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The dialogue itself, as well as various other works written on the same topic in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, demonstrates the importance of dealing with Islam for Orthodox Christians. At a time when Muslim rulers were conquering many former Christian territories, an affirmation of one's own faith was important. It seems the function of the text was just this, rather than providing Christians with arguments for real discussions with Muslims. At the same time, the respectful and polite tone of the conversation makes it clear that the work does not aim to be polemical. The fact that a monk is presented as having held a conversation with a Muslim shows that contact and communication between adherents of the two religions was possible at this time.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Rome, Santa Maria in Vallicella, Library – 27 (B 128), fols 142r-156r (15<sup>th</sup> century; the only MS with a full text of the dialogue)

MS Athens, Benaki Museum – Alexios Kolybas Collection 49, fols 62r-79r (1750)

MS Patmos, Library of St John the Theologian – 415 (YIE'), at the end of the codex (early 18<sup>th</sup> century)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

'Iōsēph tou Bryenniou meta tinos ismaēlitou dialexis', ed. A. Argyriou, *Epetēris Etaireias Byzantinōn Spoudōn* 35 (1966-67) 141-95, pp. 158-95

#### STUDIES

'Iōsēph tou Bryenniou meta tinos ismaēlitou dialexis', ed. Argyriou, pp. 141-57

**Miriam Salzmann**

# The Martyrology of Vardan Bałiřec'i

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH    Approximately 1380s  
PLACE OF BIRTH    Armenia  
DATE OF DEATH    Unknown  
PLACE OF DEATH    Unknown

## BIOGRAPHY

The author does not identify himself/herself in the narrative. However, the self-deprecating self-references, appeal for divine inspiration to direct the narrative, and familiarity with the conventions of the genre and the contours of the Christian-Muslim debate, suggest that the martyrology was composed by a monk or vardapet (doctor of theology) at one of the monasteries in the neighborhood of Bitlis 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'iwn Vardanay Bałiřec'woy,*  
"The Martyrology of Vardan Bałiřec'i"

DATE    About 1421  
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE    Armenian

## DESCRIPTION

The work is about a Christian Armenian named Vardan from the village of Tatvan on the southern shore of Lake Van. It documents his transition from married layman and family man to that of zealous aspirant, wandering from monastery to monastery to benefit from the spiritual

counsel of the elders. In the course of his wanderings, he finally arrived at the Kurdish emirate of Bitlis. Being informed that the emir Shamshaddin of the Rusaki dynasty was antagonistic towards Christians and intent on compelling them to convert to Islam, he decided, to the amazement of his local co-religionists, to confront the ruler and engage him in debate. The first encounter ended with the perturbed emir ordering Vardan to be incarcerated and subjected to torture for three days.

As the ensuing discussion produced no change in his perspective, the emir transferred him to the qadi who argued, against Vardan's remonstrations, that he had accepted Islam in the emir's presence, and since he now renounced it he must suffer the death sentence. Accordingly, he was led outside the city and beaten by the mob with sticks and swords, and ultimately stoned to death. Later, the Christian community removed his body for burial, and his relics were reportedly the source of many cures. The martyrdom took place on Saturday, 4 January, 1421.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The account deserves particular attention for its presentation of an unusual case of Armenian Christian anti-Islamic polemic in the zealous Vardan's initiative of challenging the emir of Bitlis over his perceived anti-Christian animus, rather than the typical situation of a Christian engaging in apologetics in response to Muslim attack. The protagonist reveals knowledge of the main contours of the Christian-Muslim debate, embracing arguments that affirm commonalities (including references to Jesus in the Qur'an) and also other formulations deliberately calibrated to mark diversity, such as the joint affirmation of Christ's divinity and Incarnation. The strategy he employs is also interesting for its application of logic to try to relativize the import of the emir's counterclaims.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts, Yerevan:

M1517, fols 169v-171r (16<sup>th</sup> century)

M1502, fols 463r-465r (1651)

M1501, fols 498r-500r (post-1655)

M1516, fols 198v-201r (pre-1681)

M1509, fols 473v-475v (1685)

M1532, fols 470v-472r (1695)

M1534, fols 494v-496r (1695)

M3783, fols 399v-400v (1704)

M3786, pp. 782-85 (1713)

M1533, fols 413v-414v (1725-30)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

- K. Ter-Davtyan, *Novie armyanskie mucheniki (1155-1843), perevod, pre-dislovie i primečaniya*, Yerevan: Nairi Publications, 1998, pp. 91-95, 276 (Russian trans.)
- K. Ter-Davtyan, *Armyanskie zhitiya i muchenichestva V-XVII vv.*, Yerevan, 1994, pp. 382-88 (Russian trans.)
- Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerā (1155-1843)*, Vałaršapat, 1903, pp. 232-43 (critical edition)
- Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerā (žotovrdakan hratarakut'ıwn)*, vol. 1, Vałaršapat, 1902, pp. 148-54 (edition lacks critical apparatus)
- Yaysmawurk' əst kargi əntrelagoyn ōrinaki yaısmawurac' Tēr Israyēli*, vol. 1, Constantinople: Pōlos Srapean Press, 1834, pp. 9-10 (edition)
- Girk' or koč'i aısmawurk' or parunakē yink'ean zčar's varuc' srboc'*, Constantinople: Grigor Marzuanec'ı Press, 1730, pp. 570-72 (edition)
- Yaysmawur or əst patšacı awur ıwrum ənt'ernun surb eketec'in*, Constantinople: Astuacatur Kostandnupolsec'ı Press, 1706, pp. 833-36 (edition)

## STUDIES

- K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er evvkayabanut'yunner (V-XVIII dd.)*, Yerevan: Nayri, 2011, pp. 338-39
- K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *XI-XV dareri Hay vark'agrut'yunə*, Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1980, pp. 112, 118, 154
- H. Ač'arıyan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri bařaran*, vol. 5, Yerevan: State University Publication, 1962, p. 99
- M. C'amč'ean, *Patmut'ıwn Hayoc' i skzbanē ařxarhis minč'ew c'am Tearn 1784*, vol. 3, Venice: Petros Valvazeanc' Press, 1786, pp. 441-43

S. Peter Cowe

# John Cananus

Iōannēs Kananos

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; after 1422
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

## BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about John Cananus except what can be inferred from his account of the Ottoman siege of Constantinople in 1422, of which he was an eyewitness. It is unknown whether he was a relative of Lascaris Cananus, the author of a short description of a journey through northern Europe, who also lived in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. It is not impossible that the two were in fact the same person.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

Giovanni Cananos, *L'assedio di Costantinopoli*, ed. E. Pinto, Messina, 1977

### *Secondary*

- M. Serrano Espinosa, 'Testimonios occidentales y griegos previos a la Caída: C. Buondelmonti y I. Kananos', in E. Motos Guirao (ed.), *Constantinopla. 550 años de su caída*, Granada, 2006, 323-34
- G. Makris, 'Die Beschreibung der Nordlandreise des Laskaris Kananos (Codex Vindob. histor. gr. 113)', in V. Lica and D. Nedu (eds), *Historiae diversitas. Festschrift für Vladimir Iliescu*, Galați, 2006, 179-214
- T. Hägg, 'A Byzantine visit to Bergen. Laskaris Kananos and his description of the Baltic and North Sea region', *Graeco-Arabica* 9/10 (2004) 183-95
- PLP*, no. 10891
- H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol. 1, Munich, 1978, pp. 482-84

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Diēgēsis peri tou en Kōnstantinoupolei gegonotos polemou*, 'Narration of the fighting that took place in Constantinople'

DATE Soon after 1422

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

Cananus's entire *diēgēsis* is devoted to Murad II's siege of Constantinople in 1422. He starts with forays against the city's surroundings by an Ottoman force of 10,000 and the beginning of the siege on 6 June. Ten days later Sultan Murad arrives with a second force made up of warriors from many Muslim countries who had responded to his appeal. One major participant, called 'Mērsaitēs' and described as the 'patriarch of the Turks', exercises great authority in the army and determines the date of attack by sand divination (*ta ramplia*). Hammer-Purgstall convincingly identifies this figure as Sayyid Bukhārī, known as Emir Sultān (d. 1429), who was held in high esteem by Bayazid I and married to his daughter. This is generally accepted in Ottoman studies, though others have vaguely referred to the protagonist as a Persian dervish Mersait (Werner), a certain Mirsaites pretending to be the envoy of Allāh (Djurić) or as 'patriarch of the Turks' (*PLP*). The name Mērsaitēs is explained variously as Mir-Sayyid (Mordtmann), *amīr* Sayyid (*PLP*), or as derived from the title *murshid* (Philippides and Hanak, p. 557).

Cananus contrasts the Turks' aggressive confidence with the uncertainty prevalent among the Greeks and the Emperor Manuel II's severe illness. The attack is launched, but the situation changes abruptly when the Greek force is suddenly mobilized, including women, clergy, and even the most holy *pneumatikoi*. Finally, on 24 August, the Turks are forced to retire, and the Byzantines destroy their siege engines. Cananus concludes by explaining that this sudden change of fortune was brought about by the miraculous appearance of a woman, the Virgin Mary herself, on the walls of the city, as even Turks testified. He concludes by inviting his audience to give thanks to God for the salvation of the city.

## SIGNIFICANCE

The work can be classified as a miracle account, though Cananus also shows vivid interest in political and religious characteristics of the Ottomans, making his account a significant witness to late Byzantine

perceptions of Islam and Muslims. He sometimes calls them 'infidels' (*asebeis*), but also *Agarēnoi* and most often *Mousoulmanoī*. His portrayal of the *amēras* Murad aiming at universal dominion (*kai hypo tēn exousian autou agetai hapas ho kosmos*, ed. Pinto, 1977, p. 56, l. 66), and of traders (*pragmateutai*) and Islamic 'monks' (*Tourkokalogeroi*), who are driven by the hope of carrying off nuns (p. 60, ll. 175-77), in the Muslim army, turns the military confrontation into a struggle of religious norms and moral beliefs.

Cananus emphasizes this by having the Turks fulminate against the Byzantine patriarchs and emperors, as well as Christ and the saints (p. 64, ll. 268-72), before the siege begins, and by making Mērsaitēs a figure of immense authority among the Turks, not only because of his powers of divination and foretelling, but also because of his claimed descent from Muḥammad, who is repeatedly called '*rasoul Machoumetē*' (e.g. pp. 61-62). Religious symbolism plays a role when Mērsaitēs is portrayed as riding on a mule (*hemionos*) and regarded by the Turks as an angel, and when Murad, whose sister 'lives together' with Mērsaitēs, obeys his commands. Cananus's intention is unequivocal: to demonstrate how an enemy who believes in the power of magic practices is defeated through divine intervention in favor of Christians who cannot rely on military force alone.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vat – Gr. 579, fols 355r-366r (15<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale – III B 26, fols 1-10 (16<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana – 181 (Allacci XCI 19), fols 19r-22r (17<sup>th</sup> century)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Giovanni Cananos, *L'assedio di Costantinopoli*, ed. E. Pinto, Messina, 1977

Johannis Canani, *De Constantinopolis obsidione*, ed. E. Pinto, Naples, 1968

PG 156, cols 61-82

Johannes Cananus, 'Narratio de bello Constantinopolitano anni ab orbe condito 6930, Christi 1422', in I. Bekker (ed.), *Georgius Phrantzes, Ioannes Cananus, Ioannes Anagnostes (Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae)*, Bonn, 1838, 457-79

Johannes Cananus, 'Narratio de bello Constantinopolitano', in L. Allatius (ed.), *Georgii Acropolitae magni logothetae historia*, Paris, 1651, 187-99

## STUDIES

- M. Philippides and W. Hanak, *The siege and the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Historiography, topography, and military studies*, Farnham, 2011, pp. 494-97, 557 n. 23
- N. Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins. Politics and society in the late Empire*, Cambridge, 2009, pp. 187-90, 206
- Serrano Espinosa, 'Testimonios occidentales y griegos previos a la Caída'
- E. Pinto, 'Tecniche belliche e metafore nel De Constantinopolis obsidione di Giovanni Cananos', in P. Radici Colace and A. Zumbo (eds), *Atti del Seminario Internazionale di studi Letteratura scientifica e tecnica greca e latina (Messina, 29-31 ottobre 1997)*, Messina, 2000, 359-64
- M. Dobre, 'Relații politice occidentale în viziunea istoricilor bizantini din secolul al XV-lea', *Analele Universității București – Istorie* 47 (1998), 45-63
- H. Algül and N. Azamat, art. 'Emîr Sultan', in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*<sup>2</sup>, vol. 11, Istanbul, 1995, 146-48
- D.M. Nicol, *The last centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453*, Cambridge, 1993<sup>2</sup>, pp. 332-33
- C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul, 1990, pp. 94-95
- E. Werner, *Die Geburt einer Großmacht – die Osmanen (1300-1481)*, Weimar, 1985<sup>4</sup>, pp. 243-45
- I. Djurić, *Il crepuscolo di Bisanzio 1392-1448*, Rome, 1995, pp. 116-17 (trans. of *Sumrak Vizantije: vreme Jovana VIII Paleologa, 1392-1448*, Belgrade, 1984)
- J.W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425). A study in late Byzantine statesmanship*, New Brunswick NJ, 1969, pp. 358-66
- J.H. Mordtmann, art. 'Emîr Sulţân', in *EL2*
- M.E. Colonna, *La tradizione manoscritta della Diēgēsis di Giovanni Cananos*, Naples, 1959
- M.E. Colonna, 'Sulla Diēgēsis di Giovanni Cananos', *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Napoli* 7 (1957) 151-66
- Z. Taşlıklioğlu, 'II. Murad'ın İstanbul muhasarası hakkında bir eser', *Tarih Dergisi* 8 (1956) 209-26
- N.A. Bees, 'Eis Iōannēn Kananon', *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 20 (1913) 68
- J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches grossentheils aus bisher unbenützten Handschriften und Archiven*, vol. 1. 1300-1453, Pest, 1827, pp. 410-15



## Arak'el Bališec'i

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1380
PLACE OF BIRTH	Poř, a village near Lake Van
DATE OF DEATH	1454
PLACE OF DEATH	Bitlis

### BIOGRAPHY

Arak'el Bališec'i developed many of his skills as a poet, cleric, pedagogue, and musician under the tutelage of one of the most famous Armenian scholars of his time, Grigor Xlat'ec'i, celebrating his martyrdom in a verse lament of 1425, and expatiating more broadly on his life and exploits in a *vita* the following year (*Patmutiwn k'aj ew tiezeraloys vardapetin Grigori Xlat'ac'woy*). However, his first literary work was the martyrology of the vardapet Step'annos and priest Petros of Xizan of 1424. Later in life, he also produced versions of the lives of the founders of Armenian Christianity in the 4<sup>th</sup> century (e.g. *Patmut'iwn srboyn Grigori mer Lusaworč'in* and *Nerbotean talač'ap'akan i veray varuc' mecin Nersesi*).

Most of his output is in verse, including compositions in the *tał, ganj* (e.g. one devoted to the life of St Barbara, which he wrote in Mardin in 1438: *Nerbotean ganj i veray eřjanik kusin Vařvařeay*), *otb* (lament) and other genres, primarily on Christian themes, many of which remain in manuscript form and await publication. His special forte was the production of extended versified versions of existing prose narratives on spiritual themes, abbreviating the structure and often simplifying the linguistic register to render the material more accessible to a wider readership (e.g. his versification of the Infancy Gospel). In this regard, his versification of the legend of Barlaam and Yoasaph (*Tał Yovasap'u*, 1434) deserves particular mention. This work is a Christianized form of the tale of the enlightenment of the Buddha, which spread into most of the languages of the Near East from the 8<sup>th</sup> century onwards, and its popularity among the Armenian community is testified by the existence of three prose versions. The presence of neumes and other indications in some manuscripts of Bališec'i demonstrate the poem was intended not only to be read, but also for performance. Most of it would have been intoned, while certain sections were provided with a melody and would have been sung directly. His longest and most ambitious composition

was a lament on the fall of Constantinople in 1453 in which, according to the conventions of the genre, he contrasts the city's current parlous state with its glorious past. However, in the conclusion he seeks to console readers with the hope that its political fortunes will once again improve and achieve liberation, weaving into his narrative the parallel condition of Armenia and expressing the hope that it too would gain independence from foreign rule.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

Most of the data concerning Arak'el's life emerge from his own works.

#### *Secondary*

- K. Ter-Davt'yan, *XI-XV dareri Hay vark'agrut'yunə*, Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1980, pp. 94-95
- A. Lazinyan, *Arak'el Bališec'i: XV d. usumnasirut'yun, k'nnakan bnagrēr ew canot'agrut'yunner*, Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1971
- A. Lazinyan, 'Arak'el Bališec'i', *Lraber Hasarakakan Gitut'yunneri* (1966) 82-89, no. 11
- A. Lazinyan, 'Arak'el Bališec'u 'Tal Yovasap'u' poemə', *Patmabanasirakan Handes* (1965) 201-11, no. 4
- M. Abelyan *Haykakan matenagitut'yun*, vol. 1, Yerevan, 1959, pp. 1106-43
- L. Ališan, *Hayapatum*, Venice, 1901, p. 126
- G. Zarbhanalean, *Nor matenagrut'wn*, Venice: St Lazar's Press, 1878, pp. 169, 248-50

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Vkayabanut'wn Step'annosi vardapeti ew Petrosi kahanayi Xizanc'woy*, 'Martyrology of Step'annos the vardapet and Petros the priest of Xizan'

DATE 6 August, 1424

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

#### DESCRIPTION

The narrative highlights the collective dimension of religious identity within the community of faith and the impact that change in individual affiliation carries within that setting. Its protagonists are two Armenian clerics, the married priest Petros, himself son of a priest, from Xizan/Hizan, a city on the western shore of Lake Van with a thriving Armenian

population at this time, and the celibate vardapet Step'anos of the nearby monastery of Gamaliël. For reasons and in circumstances the author does not specify, they both decide to renounce their faith. This produces great soul-searching within the Armenian Christian community and has the effect of inducing some vulnerable members to take similar action. Subsequently regretting their decision, they journey to the city of Bitlis, north-east of the lake, presumably because of its majority Armenian population, which would both offer support in this transitional phase and take encouragement from the clergy's re-embracing of their faith.

Receiving spiritual succor en route at the monastery of Barijor over the Feast of the Ascension, the two return to Xizan and loudly witness to Christ and denounce Islam and the role of the Prophet Muḥammad along the streets, affirming that they were misguided in converting earlier and arguing that they have now severed their allegiance. So eccentric is their behavior that the Muslims ask whether they are not drunk or mad. When they persist, the crowd beat the priest Peter to death with clubs, sparing Step'anos in case he might relent. However, as the latter continues to denounce Islam, the qadi intervenes to strike him on the head, while the vardapet reciprocates by hitting the qadi firmly in the face. At this point, the crowd move against him with lethal force, wielding axes and swords, stones and sticks. They then take the bodies to burn them, refusing a large payment from the Christian community to desist from this. However, as the bodies do not ignite, they are compelled to dismember them before throwing them into the flames, and the author remarks that the area is permeated with a sweet fragrance. The martyrdom took place on Friday, 2 June 1424.

The author integrates into the narrative an example of the immediate impact of the two men's martyrdom on another apostate Armenian named Step'anos, from the village of Sorb in the Xorĵ region, who is moved by it to reaffirm his original faith. For this he is intercepted nine days after their death and pressured to reverse his decision and return to Islam, but he resists, in part thanks to his mother's support. At this, the crowd turn on him and beat him to death, after which the Christians take his body and give it burial in the village.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

As the author is a poet, his treatment of the topic differs from most prose compositions in this genre by the degree of rhetorical embellishment it receives, abounding in simile and metaphor – in particular, comparison of various facets of the martyrs' role and actions to the rose – as well as diverse patterns of theme and variation expressed in balancing phrases.

Although it is not unusual for writers to parallel medieval martyrs with their paleo-Christian counterparts before the faith was declared legal under Roman law, it is much less common for precursors of the recent past to play a role in such narratives. However, in this case the precedent of a group of Ethiopian clergy who, after a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, decided to visit various monasteries of the Armenians, their co-religionists within the Ancient Oriental Orthodox confession, significantly advances the action, as they were also martyred in Xizan only three years earlier, and the visit to the Monastery of Barijor, where their relics reposed, greatly contributed to the current martyrs' spiritual and psychological preparation for the ordeal that awaited them.

A third atypical feature of the narrative is Step'anos vardapet's retaliation against the qadi's beating him by defiantly striking the latter in the face. The norm of non-violent passivity in response to torture by state-sanctioned officials, which is the standard attitude of martyrs in most circumstances outside the battlefield, is here contravened in part because of the special circumstances of the case. In many, if not most, cases, martyrs are innocent of the charges made against them and hence are exercised to establish their righteousness. However, in this instance the two plaintiffs are clearly aware that their rejection of the Islam they had embraced is illegal and subject to punishment, and thus their return to Xizan is a move calculated to redeem them in the eyes of the Christian community for the offense their apostasy had caused. Hence, rather than meekly submitting to their penalty, they choose to be as obstreperous as possible in order to display the conviction with which they hold their faith and to distance themselves from Islam by entering the ideological offensive against it.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M4520, fols 836r-843v (16<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M3786, pp. 775-79 (1713)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

K. Ter-Davtyan, *Novie armyanskie mucheniki (1155-1843), perevod, predislovie i primečaniya*, Yerevan: Nairi Publications, 1998, pp. 96-103, 276 (Russian trans.)

K. Ter-Davtyan, *Armyanskie žitija i muchenichestva V-XVII vv.*, Yerevan, 1994, pp. 382-88 (Russian trans.)

Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, Vałaršapat, 1903, pp. 245-62 (critical edition)

- Y. Manandean and H. Ač'aġean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (žotovrdakan hratarakut'iwñ)*, vol. 1, Vałaršapat, 1902, pp. 156-68 (edition lacking critical apparatus)

## STUDIES

- K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkayabanut'yunner (V-XVIII dd.)*, Yerevan: Nayri, 2011, pp. 342-44
- Ter-Davt'yan, *XI-XV dareri Hay vark'agrut'yuna*, p. 118
- H. Ačaiyan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri bařaran*, vol. 4, Yerevan: State University Publication, 1948, p. 654
- M. Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, Constantinople: V. & H. Tēr-Nersesean Press, 1927, col. 2057

S. Peter Cowe

# Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr

Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Qādirī  
l-Ḥanbalī l-Ḥamawī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; presumably late 14<sup>th</sup> century  
PLACE OF BIRTH Ḥamāh, Syria  
DATE OF DEATH Uncertain; after 1428  
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

## BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about this Syrian Ḥanbalī, and even his name is not entirely certain. Steinschneider is unable to read some elements in the unclear manuscript, and it is Brockelmann who provides the full form given here.

The contents of this work suggest that this Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr was thoroughly versed in the traditional Islamic sciences, and well-read in the works of earlier Islamic scholars.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary* —

*Secondary*

Brockelmann, *GAL* ii, p. 107

M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden*, Leipzig, 1877, pp. 394-96

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn al-ḥayārā, ‘alā mā warada min al-nahy ‘an al-tashbīh bi-l-Naṣārā, ‘Warning to those who are confused and neglectful, on the prohibition handed down against resembling Christians’*

DATE 1428

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

This short work, less than 10 folios long, is concerned to emphasize the distinctions between Muslims and Christians, and to remind Muslims who appear too lax in following the teachings that prohibit over-familiarity and copying, particularly with regard to religious observances and festivals.

Aḥmad adduces verses from the Qur'an and Hadiths, and he also cites earlier scholars, among them, understandably, Ibn Taymiyya (q.v.). He also refers to the Maghribī scholar Ibn Barrajān's (d. 1141) *Kitāb sharḥ asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā* (q.v.), which was known for its use of biblical quotations in its exposition of the divine names. Aḥmad presumably disapproved of such unselfconscious borrowing because it blurred the distinctions he was attempting to stress.

## SIGNIFICANCE

The work witnesses to a concern with emphasizing religious differences for which parallels can be found in works by legal and religious experts throughout the Islamic world. It thereby attests to what must have been habitual sharing between Muslims and Christians, to the extent that for some there were no real differences between themselves and their religious neighbors. Outside the sphere of dogmatism, the teachings of the faith were evidently seen as presenting few obstacles to the fulfillment of needs and pursuit of aims that Muslims and Christians recognized in common.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Berlin, Berlin State Library – 2105, fols 29-38v (1428)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS —

## STUDIES

Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, p. 395

David Thomas

# John Anagnostes

Iōannēs Anagnōstēs

DATE OF BIRTH	End of the 14 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Probably in Thessaloniki
DATE OF DEATH	After 1430
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

## BIOGRAPHY

The little that is known about John Anagnostes is derived from his own work.

He was probably a member of the lower clergy (*anagnōstēs*) in Thessaloniki in the period of the Venetian occupation in the 1420s. He belonged to the supporters of the Metropolitan of Thessaloniki, Symeon (1416-29). After the capture of the city by the Ottomans on 29 March 1430, he was taken captive. A few months later, he returned to Thessaloniki, together with a thousand others.

Tsaras (*Hē teleutaia halosē*, pp. 36-37) has suggested that this John may have been John, son of Hodegetrianus Castorianus, though this can only be speculation.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

John Anagnostes, *Diēgēsis peri tēs teleutaia halōseōs tēs Thessalonikēs syntethēsa pros tina tōn axiologōn pollakis aitēsanta peri tautēs, en epitomō*, ed. G. Tsaras, *Iōannou Anagnōstou Diēgēsis peri tēs teleutaia halōseōs tēs Thessalonikēs. Monōdia epi tē halōsei tēs Thessalonikēs*, Thessaloniki, 1958

### Secondary

C. Messēs and P. Odorico, *Chronika tōn halōseōn tēs Thessalonikēs. Iōannēs Kaminiatēs, Eustathios of Thessalonikē, Iōannēs Anagnōstēs*, Athens, 2009, pp. 43-51

P. Odorico, *Thessalonique, chroniques d'une ville prise. Jean Caminiatēs, Eustathe de Thessalonique, Jean Anagnostes*, Toulouse, 2005, pp. 34-41

A.M. Talbot, art. 'John Anagnostes', in *ODB*

G. Tsaras, *Hē teleutaia halōseōs tēs Thessalonikēs (1430). Ta keimena metaphrasmēna me eisagagōgiko sēmeiōma kai scholia*, Thessaloniki, 1985, pp. 35-38



- J. Karayannopoulos and G. Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324-1453)*, 2 vols (*Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa* 14), Wiesbaden, 1982, i [Hauptquellen], p. 522
- H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachige profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols, Munich, 1978, i [Philosophie, Rhetorik, Epistolographie, Geschichtsschreibung, Geographie], pp. 484-85
- G. Tsaras, *Iōannou Anagnōstou Diēgēsis peri tēs teleutaias halōseōs tēs Thessalonikēs. Monōdia epi tē halōsei tēs Thessalonikēs*, Thessaloniki, 1958

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Kata dynamin monōdia epi tē halōsei tēs Thessalonikēs*, 'A lament on the capture of Thessaloniki according to my abilities'

DATE After 29 March 1430

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

#### DESCRIPTION

Tsaras (*Hē teleutaia halosē*, xiii-xviii) argues that the Monody (pp. 70-76 in his edition) is not by John Anagnostes but a later redactor.

It is a lament on the fate of Thessaloniki and the loss of its churches and monasteries. The author shows his distress at the image of the destroyed city.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The work registers the sentiments of the Christian population of Thessaloniki after its capture by the Ottomans.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vat – Gr. 172 (formerly 1042), fols 136v-138v (15<sup>th</sup> century; it is used by Tsaras, who wrongly considered it to be the only MS of the work)

MS Vat – Barb. Gr. 241 fols 109v-111v (17<sup>th</sup> century)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Messēs and Odorico, *Chronika tōn halōseōn tēs Thessalonikēs. Iōannēs Kaminiatēs, Eustathios of Thessalonikē, Iōannēs Anagnōstēs*, Athens, 2009, pp. 352-56 (Modern Greek trans.)

N. Moniou, *Thessalonikē 1423-1430. Hē Venetokratia kai hē teleutaia halōseō apo tous Tourkous*, Athens, 2006, pp. 180-87 (Modern Greek trans.)

- P. Odorico, *Thessalonique, chroniques d'une ville prise. Jean Caminatès, Eustathe de Thessalonique, Jean Anagnostes*, Toulouse, 2005, pp. 292-95 (French trans.)
- G. Tsaras, *Hē teleutaia halōsē tēs Thessalonikēs (1430). Ta keimena metaphrasmena me eisagagōgiko sēmeiōma kai scholia*, Thessaloniki, 1985, pp. 153-56 (Modern Greek trans.)
- G. Tsaras, *Iōannou Anagnōstou Diēgēsis peri tēs teleutaias halōseōs tēs Thessalonikēs. Monōdia epi tē halōsei tēs Thessalonikēs*, Thessaloniki, 1958, pp. 70-77 (edition and Modern Greek trans.)
- PG 156, cols 628-32
- Ioannis Anagnostae, Monodia de excidio urbis Thessalonicensis*, ed. I. Bekker, *Georgius Sphantzes, Ioannes Cananus, Ioannes Anagnostes (Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae 19)*, Bonn, 1838, pp. 529-34

## STUDIES

- Russell, *St Demetrius of Thessalonica*, pp. 133-45
- Kaltsogiannē, Kotzampasē and Paraskeuopoulou, *Hē Thessalonikē stē byzantinē logotechnia*, pp. 76-78
- Tsaras, *Hē teleutaia halōsē tēs Thessalonikēs (1430)*, p. 153
- Tsaras, *Iōannou Anagnōstou Diēgēsis peri tēs teleutaias halōseōs tēs Thessalonikēs. Monōdia epi tē halōsei tēs Thessalonikēs*, Thessaloniki, 1958

*Diēgēsis peri tēs teleutaias halōseōs tēs Thessalonikēs syntetheisa pros tina tōn axiologōn pollakis aitēsanta peri tautēs, en epitomō*, 'The account by John Anagnostes of the last capture of Thessalonica, composed for a person of importance who has often asked for it, in an abbreviated form'

DATE Some years after 29 March 1430

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

The work, which covers pages 2-68 in Tsaras' edition, is an eye-witness account of the sack of the city of Thessaloniki. Tsaras (*Hē teleutaia halōsē*, pp. xiii-xviii) argues that John's own account stops suddenly with the capture of the city, and that it was later completed by another writer

who also composed the Monody (see below). This cannot be proved with certainty.

John describes vividly the capture of Thessaloniki by Murad II, showing that he is intimate with the situation inside the city, the anti-Latin sentiments of the inhabitants and the failure of the Venetians to strengthen the defenses. He refers to the Ottoman siege techniques and their calls to surrender the city, and he (or the later redactor) offers a clear picture of the captives' fate, and the later history of Thessaloniki, contrasting Murad II with Turks who did not support his decision to return some of the previous inhabitants to the city.

John makes no specific remarks about Islam, and attributes the destruction of churches and relics simply to the search for booty. He does, however, explicitly mention the Turks' impious treatment of the relics of Ss Demetrius and Theodora of Thessaloniki. Interestingly, he notes that the Turks acknowledged the therapeutic power of holy oil.

Compared with other Byzantine, Latin and Turkish authors of the period, John's account is the most detailed and personal. It is also generally more reliable than others.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

John Anagnostes offers an eye-witness testimony to the crucial year 1430 and the fate of Thessaloniki shortly afterwards.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vat – Gr. 172 (formerly 1042), fols 97-136 (15<sup>th</sup> century; this was used by Tsaras, who thought it was the only MS containing Anagnostes' account)

MS Vat – Barb. Gr. 241 fols 1-31 (17<sup>th</sup> century)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Messēs and Odorico, *Chronika tōn halōseōn tēs Thessalonikēs*, pp. 311-52 (modern Greek trans.)

J.R. Melville-Jones, *Venice and Thessalonica 1423-1430. The Greek accounts (Archivio del Litorale Adriatico 8)*, Padua, 2006, pp. 149-79 (English trans.)

N. Moniou, *Thessalonikē 1423-1430. Hē Venetokratia kai hē teleutaia halōsē apo tous Tourkous*, Athens, 2006, pp. 106-79 (modern Greek trans.)

P. Odorico, *Thessalonique, chroniques d'une ville prise. Jean Caminatès, Eustathe de Thessalonique, Jean Anagnostes*, Toulouse, 2005, pp. 257-91 (French trans.)

M. Kekropoulou, *Iōannēs Anagnōstēs, Diēgēsis peri tēs teleutaias halōseōs tēs Thessalonikēs*, Athens, [1997], pp. 15-141 (modern Greek trans.)

*Johannis Anagnostis, Selânik (Thessaloniki)'in son zapti hakkinda bir tarih (Sultan II. Murad dönemine ait bir Bizans kaynağı)*, M. Delilbaşı, Ankara, 1989 (Tsaras' text and Turkish trans.)

G. Tsaras, *Hē teleutaia halōsē tēs Thessalonikēs (1430). Ta keimena metaphrasmēna me eisagagōgiko sēmeiōma kai scholia*, Thessaloniki, 1985, pp. 38-69 (modern Greek trans.)

Tsaras, *Iōannou Anagnōstou Diēgēsis peri tēs teleutaias halōseōs tēs Thessalonikēs* (edition and modern Greek trans.; on the problems of this edition, see the review by J. Irmscher in *BZ* 52 [1959] 364-67)

*PG* 156, cols 588-628

*Ioannis Anagnostae, De extremo Thessalonicensi excidio*, ed. I. Bekker, *Georgius Sphrantzes, Ioannes Cananus, Ioannes Anagnostes (Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae 19)*, Bonn, 1838, pp. 481-528

#### STUDIES

E. Russell, *St Demetrius of Thessalonica. Cult and devotion in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 2010, pp. 133-45

Melville-Jones, *Venice and Thessalonica*, pp. 145-47

E. Kaltsogiannē, S. Kotzampasē and E. Paraskeuopoulou, *Hē Thessalonikē stē byzantinē logotechnia. Rhētorika kai hagiologika keimena (Byzantine Texts and Studies 32)*, Thessaloniki, 2002, pp. 74-76

Messēs and Odorico, *Chronika tōn halōseōn tēs Thessalonikēs*, pp. 43-51

Odorico, *Thessalonique, chroniques d'une ville prise*, pp. 34-41

S. Vryonis, 'The Ottoman conquest of Thessaloniki in 1430', in A. Bryer and H. Lowry (eds), *Continuity and change in late Byzantine and early Ottoman society. Papers given at a Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1982*, Birmingham, 1986, 281-321

Karayannopoulos and Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324-1453)*, p. 522

Hunger, *Die hochsprachige profane Literatur der Byzantiner* i, pp. 484-85

Tsaras, *Iōannou Anagnōstou Diēgēsis peri tēs teleutaias halōseōs tēs Thessalonikēs*

# Andrea Biglia

Andrea Bilius, Billia, de Biliis, de Beliiis, Biglio

DATE OF BIRTH About 1395  
PLACE OF BIRTH Milan  
DATE OF DEATH 27 September 1435  
PLACE OF DEATH Siena

## BIOGRAPHY

Andrea Biglia was an Italian humanist churchman, academic, historian, and political commentator of the early 15<sup>th</sup> century. The author of a history in 12 books of *The decline of Christianity in the East*, he was the first Renaissance humanist to treat the history of Islam and the Islamic empires of the Near East in any detail. Born in Milan around 1394, he joined the Order of Augustinian Hermits in 1412 and in the next year began his studies in philosophy at Padua. In September 1418, he was lecturing on ethics, poetics, and rhetoric at the Florentine *studium*. He was probably ordained a priest in this period. In 1423, during a time of political tension between Milan and Florence, Biglia moved to Bologna in order to continue his studies at the university there. He took his master's degree around 1425 and went on to lecture on natural and moral philosophy between 1426 and 1428. After riots broke out in Bologna in the summer of 1428, Biglia left the city. In summer 1429, he accepted a contract to teach at the University of Perugia, but by October had moved to Siena to lecture at the university there. At Siena, Biglia lived in the Augustinian monastery of San Agostino, and in 1432 he was appointed *magister regens* of the Order in the province of Siena. On 24 September 1435, he was appointed provincial vicar. He died only three days later, however, after a sudden outbreak of bubonic plague.

Biglia was an enthusiastic student of Italian humanism, the educational movement dedicated to the study and imitation of the literature of Greek and Roman Antiquity. In his peripatetic academic career, he made the acquaintance of most of the leading humanist scholars of his day: Gasparino Barzizza, Vittorino da Feltre, Francesco Filelfo, Pier Candido Decembrio, Niccolò Niccoli, Leonardo Bruni, Ambrogio Traversari, Leon Battista Alberti, Giovanni Aurispa, Antonio Panormita, and Tommaso Parentucelli, the future Pope Nicholas V. Among his students at

Siena was Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the future Pope Pius II, who later remembered him as a distinguished *historiarum scriptor* (historian). Biglia was also renowned for his rhetorical gifts, and was chosen on several important occasions to deliver sermons and orations at conventions of his Order and for his patron Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan. He was also a prolific scholar. Fluent in Latin, Greek, and possibly Hebrew, he produced translations of Aristotle, a history of Milan (*Rerum mediolanensium libri novem*) in imitation of Leonardo Bruni's more famous history of Florence, occasional pieces in praise of St Augustine and his Order, and a number of pamphlets addressing the ecclesiastical and political troubles of contemporary Italy. All told, he is known to have written some 63 different works.

Biglia's conservative temperament made him a critic of popular religious movements, including the preaching of the Franciscan Bernardino of Siena, and a stern proponent of church reform. He was deeply critical of the schisms that had recently racked the Western Church and supported the conciliar movement that sought to implement reforms and restrain the power of the papacy. As a native of Milan, Biglia was particularly suspicious of the Venetian Pope Eugenius IV (r. 1431-47) and expressed high hopes for the Council of Basel, convened by a group of cardinals seeking to place limits on Eugenius' actions. Biglia dedicated many of his political works to various of the council fathers at Basel. He also expressed praise for the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund, who supported the Council and in 1432 entered Italy intending to make peace among the feuding republics and principalities as a prelude to his imperial coronation in Rome.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II), *De viris illustribus*, ed. A. van Heck, Vatican City, 1991

Ambrogio da Cora, *Defensorium ordinis fratrum heremitarum S. Augustini responsivum ad maledicta canonicorum regularium congregationis Frisonarie*, Rome, 1481, fols 111r-v

F. Argelati, *Bibliotheca scriptorum Mediolanensium*, Milan, 1745, vol. 1.2, cols 159-61

### *Secondary*

M. Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance historical thought*, Cambridge MA, 2008, pp. 169-91

- T. Foffano, 'I libri di un agostiniano umanista. Andrea Biglia', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 46 (2005) 119-48
- M. Meserve, 'Italian humanists and the problem of the crusade', in N. Housley (ed.), *The crusade in the fifteenth century. Message and impact*, London, 2004, 13-39
- J. Schnaubelt, 'Andrea Biglia (c. 1394-1435), his life and writings', *Augustiniana* 43 (1993) 103-59
- G. Fioravanti, 'I *Commentarii historici de defectu fidei et orientis* di Andrea Biglia', *Rinascimento* 2<sup>nd</sup> ser. 19 (1979) 241-46
- J. Schnaubelt, 'Prolegomena to the edition of the extant works of Andrea Biglia, OSA (d. 1435)', *Analecta Augustiniana* 40 (1977) 141-84, pp. 143-45
- J. Schnaubelt, 'Andrea Biglia (c. 1394-1435), Augustinian friar and Renaissance humanist. A critical edition of four orations with introduction, translations, commentary, and appendices', Washington DC, 1976 (Diss., Catholic University of America)
- D. Webb, 'Andrea Biglia at Bologna, 1424-7. A humanist friar and the troubles of the Church', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 49 (1976) 41-59
- D. Webb, 'The decline and fall of Eastern Christianity. A fifteenth-century view', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 49 (1976) 198-216
- R. Arbesmann, 'Andrea Biglia, Augustinian friar and humanist (d. 1435)', *Analecta Augustiniana* 28 (1965) 154-85
- 'Biglia, Andrea', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, 1960-, x, 413-15
- R. Sabbadini, 'Andrea Biglia (Milanese), frate Agostiniano del sec. XV', *Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere* 2<sup>nd</sup> ser. 39 (1906) 1087-1102

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Commentarii historici de defectu fidei in oriente*,  
'Commentaries on the decline of the faith in  
the East'

*Commentarii historici de detrimento fidei et orientis*,  
*sive de origine Turcharum; De origine Turcharum*,  
'On the origin of the Turks'

DATE 1432-35

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

#### DESCRIPTION

Late in 1432 or early in 1433, as the Council of Basel was underway and after the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg had entered Siena, Biglia began work on his second major historical study, *Commentarii de*

*defectu fidei in oriente*, a 12-book history of the decline of Christianity in the East. Although the title suggests a survey of Christian institutions and practices, Biglia's *Commentaries* in fact offer a mostly political history of the formerly Byzantine Near East from the rise of Muḥammad and the Arab conquests of the 7<sup>th</sup> century down to the reigns of Timur-i Leng and Barqūq at the start of the 15<sup>th</sup>. As Biglia explains in his preface to the work, after Sigismund entered Siena in July 1432, he commissioned the university professor to translate two letters written in Greek which had been sent to the imperial chancery from Christian princes in the East. The job led Biglia to marvel that there were still Christians in such distant parts and to wonder how they had managed to preserve their faith. In reply, Biglia says, Sigismund then produced a book that recounted the history of those far-flung Christian regions, and suggested that Biglia recast its contents in a modern idiom for the benefit of his compatriots. The book was almost certainly the 14<sup>th</sup>-century *Flos historiarum terrae orientis* by the Cilician Armenian prince Hetoum of Korikos, which is indeed a major source for Biglia's *Commentaries*.

But Biglia did more than simply rework the *Flos historiarum*. His *Commentaries* fill 12 books, of which only the first five rely on Hetoum. Drawn from Books II and III of the *Flos*, Biglia's Books I-V cover events in the Near East from the appearance of Muḥammad to the death of Hetoum's contemporary, the Mongol Ghazan, in 1304. In these books, Biglia supplements Hetoum with information taken from the chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor (q.v.) (in the translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius [q.v.]). In Books VI-IX, Biglia carries his story forward into the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Here he adapts material from two biographies of Islamic rulers, Timur and the Mamluk Sultan Barqūq, both written by the Sienese merchant and traveler Beltramo de' Mignanelli. In Books X and XI, Biglia takes up the theme of the crusades, offering a summary history from their inauguration in 1095 to the fall of Acre in 1291, which shows debts to William of Tyre (q.v.) as well as, possibly, the 12<sup>th</sup>-century *Itinerarium regis Ricardi*. Finally, Book XII recounts the events of Sigismund's own career and ends with his coronation in 1433.

The events described in the preface and Book XII help to fix the date of composition. Biglia must have started the work after July 1432, when Sigismund entered Siena, and brought it to its completion sometime after 31 May 1433, the date of the emperor's coronation in Rome, and before his own death in September 1435. The work survives in only two late-16<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts, both derived from an earlier lost archetype. In Vat Lat. 5298, the work occupies some 70 large folio pages. Although Biglia



credited the emperor with giving him the idea – and main source text – for his book, Biglia did not dedicate the work to him, but instead took the curious step of addressing each of the 12 books to a separate dedicatee. The preface and first book were dedicated to Jean de la Rochetaillé, cardinal of Rouen and a leading member of the Council of Basel, while other books carry dedications to other cardinals of the Council, the imperial chancellor Kaspar Schlick, a *condottiere* serving the duke of Milan, and a diplomat in Sigismund's service. As Diana Webb has shown, all these figures were involved in the political stalemate that developed after Sigismund's entry into Italy at the invitation of Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan. Biglia's historical survey of the problems afflicting Christianity in the East, culminating with a history of the Christian crusades and the coronation of the newest Holy Roman Emperor, seems intended to encourage unity among the powers of Western Christendom as a prelude to a new crusade. However, Biglia's estimation of Sigismund seems to have declined after their initial meeting, and at the end of the work he comments quite negatively on the new emperor's failings. In Biglia's view, Sigismund had become too involved in local Italian quarrels and had cut unsavory deals in order to secure his coronation at the hands of the pope. His machinations had allowed dissension between himself, the pope, and the Council of Basel to fester. The unity and peace for which Biglia hoped seemed as impossible as ever, with Christendom doomed never to recover its ancestral lands.

Taken in its contemporary context, Biglia's history of the rise of Islam in the East offers both a compelling historical narrative (how did Eastern Christians fall away from their faith?) and more abstract political and social analysis (how do religions and states in general rise and fall?). Although he concentrates on the East, much of what he says seems applicable to the West as well.

Biglia offers a view of Islam that is in many ways entirely conventional for a Western Christian observer of the late Middle Ages: he characterizes Muḥammad as 'a horrible beast of hell', who used cheap tricks to make himself seem a prophet, and copied elements of Christian and Jewish doctrine and practice in order to win converts to his cause. Islam was a dangerous and seductive *superstitio* that had corrupted and enslaved the formerly free people of the ancient Roman East. But unlike many of his medieval predecessors, Biglia was an enthusiastic student of classical historiography (as recently revived by his Italian humanist compatriots). This perspective led him to spend at least as much time discussing the secular, political history of the Arab conquests and the later Islamic

states that succeeded them as he spent on more conventional religious polemic. In Biglia's view, the real source of the Arabs' success was not Muḥammad's seductive cult, but rather the political weakness of the late Roman Empire. Stretched thin and governed by incompetents, the 7<sup>th</sup>-century empire failed to command the loyalty of its subjects. Especially problematic was the separation of the political capital from the Holy See. When Constantine transferred the seat of the empire away from the seat of the Church, the move debased both institutions. Christianity grew susceptible to heresy from within and assaults from without, and the faithful did not know where to turn for leadership or inspiration. Muḥammad, by contrast, inspired in his followers *both* religious fervor and political pride, so that 'spurred by both anger and religious zeal, they proclaimed their independence'. The Arab invasions of Byzantine lands were driven by political or even nationalistic impulses at least as much as by religious antagonism.

Biglia has no sympathy for Muslim doctrines, and he expresses equal disdain for the Arabs as an ethnic group. He characterizes the prehistoric Arabs as nomadic barbarians who had never 'participated' in the glories of classical civilization, and by contrast he praises the ancient empires of Egypt and Persia as noble and civilized – worthy counterparts of Greece and Rome. Together, these ancient empires had ensured peace and stability throughout the world; once they began to decline, the way lay open for upstart barbarian nations like the Arabs (and, later, the Mongols) to dominate. When they took over, the native populations of the Near and Middle East lost their love of liberty, their sense of political dignity, and their innate *humanitas*. In other words, the success of Islam in the East was as much a sign of political and cultural weakness as it was of apostasy or heretical belief. (Incidentally, Biglia seems to have considered the Turks to be indigenous inhabitants of Asia Minor, descendants of ancient Anatolian tribes, and he therefore leaves them out of this historical polemic. He praises the Seljuk Turks for beating back the Arabs and mourns their eventual defeat at the hands of the Mongols.)

The overall tone of Biglia's work is pessimistic, for he sees no way of reversing the cultural and political decline in the East, especially given the chaotic state of political and ecclesiastical institutions in the contemporary West. Overall, the *Commentaries* seem to have been written not to encourage a new crusade, but rather as a cautionary tale for secular and church leaders closer to home. The fall of the ancient Roman Empire and the rise of Islam in the East demonstrated the need for reform in the West, in both the political and ecclesiastical spheres.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Biglia was the first Renaissance historian to take an interest in Islamic history. His approach to the subject was characteristic of the historiography of his age. As a student of classical Antiquity, Biglia adopted for himself the preoccupations of classical historiography with its emphasis on political and military events, the character of princes and generals, the rise and fall of empires, and the importance of human agency (rather than divine providence or intervention) in the unfolding of human events. Writing in imitation of classical historians such as Livy and Sallust, Biglia presented a fairly accurate and even-handed account of the rise of Muḥammad, the Arab conquests, and the later history of the medieval Middle East, including the crusades. His *Commentaries* contain a great deal of accurate historical information, carefully culled from earlier Latin sources, which together amount to one of the most exhaustive surveys of Islamic history that had yet been produced in the Latin West. Biglia avoided sensational rhetoric and showed little interest in traditional anti-Muslim polemic; nevertheless, his work is guided by powerful moral concerns. Like his medieval predecessors, he considered Islam an evil phenomenon. The innovation in his work is that he interpreted the rise of Islam as an indicator of political and cultural weakness in the Byzantine East, rather than religious apostasy.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vat – Lat. 5298, fols 83r-118v (date unknown)

MS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica – 1136 (S 45), fols 1r-84v (date unknown)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

Schnaubelt, *Andrea Biglia (c. 1394-1435). Augustinian friar and Renaissance humanist*, Appendix III (prefatory letter only)

## STUDIES

T. Foffano, 'Per l'edizione dei *Commentarii historici de detrimento fidei in oriente* di Andrea Biglia', *Aevum* 84 (2010), 609-16

Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance historical thought*, pp. 169-91

Foffano, 'I libri di un agostiniano umanista. Andrea Biglia', pp. 134-36

Meserve, 'Italian humanists and the problem of the crusade'

Schnaubelt, 'Andrea Biglia (c. 1394-1435), his life and writings'

Fioravanti, 'I *Commentarii historici de defectu fidei et orientis* di Andrea Biglia'

Schnaubelt, 'Prolegomena to the edition of the extant works of Andrea Biglia, OSA (d. 1435)', pp. 143-45

- Schnaubelt, *Andrea Biglia (c. 1394-1435), Augustinian friar and Renaissance humanist*
- Webb, 'Andrea Biglia at Bologna, 1424-7. A humanist friar and the troubles of the Church'
- Webb, 'The decline and fall of Eastern Christianity. A fifteenth-century view'
- Arbesmann, 'Andrea Biglia, Augustinian friar and humanist (d. 1435)'
- 'Biglia, Andrea', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*
- Sabbadini, 'Andrea Biglia (Milanese), frate Agostiniano del sec. XV'
- E. Narducci, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Biblioteca Angelica olim coenobii Augustini de urbe*, Rome, 1893, 474-75

Margaret Meserve

# Barsbāy

Al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Barsbāy

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown  
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown  
DATE OF DEATH 7 June 1438  
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

## BIOGRAPHY

Of Circassian origin, Barsbay belonged to the *mamlūks* of Sultan Barqūq (d. 1399). He served as Grand Chancellor (*dawādār kabīr*) under Sultan Ṭaṭar (d. 1421), became regent (*niẓām*) for the latter's son Muḥammad (1421-22), and finally became sultan himself in April 1422. Although the judgements on his rather long reign differ greatly, he was definitely an energetic ruler who aimed at the consolidation of state finances in Egypt, and did not turn away from conflicts, either with competing Islamic powers such as the Timurids and Aq Quyunlu or with Christians. Shortly after his accession in 1422, in response to acts of piracy from Christian powers he ordered the arrest of Christian merchants and the closure of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. In 1426, he undertook a successful military campaign against Cyprus and captured the king, whom he brought to Egypt. He died during a plague in 1438.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

See the bibliography in Darrag, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay*.

### *Secondary*

- A. Clot, *L'Égypte des Mamelouks 1250-1517. L'empire des esclaves*, Paris, 2009  
M. al-Sharqāwī, *Barsbāy wa-sīyāsātāhu l-dākhiliyya wa-al-khārijīyya*, Cairo, 2007  
J. Meloy, 'Economic intervention and the political economy of the Mamluk state under al-Ashraf Barsbāy', *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9 (2005) 85-103  
J. Meloy, 'Imperial strategy and political exigency. The Red Sea spice trade and the Mamluk sultanate in the fifteenth century', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123 (2003) 1-19  
H. Sievert, *Der Herrscherwechsel im Mamlukensultanat. Historische und historiographische Untersuchungen zu Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī und Ibn Taḡribirdī*, Berlin, 2003, esp. pp. 83, 93-94

- M.A. Ashqar, *Al-malḥama l-Miṣriyya. ‘Aṣr al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisa wa-radd al-i’tibār fī ‘ahd Barsbāy, 767-829 H/1365-1426 M*, Cairo, 2002
- J.-C. Garcin, ‘The regime of the Circassian Mamluks’, in C. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Egypt*, Vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640-1517*, Cambridge, 1998, 290-317
- E. Ashtor, ‘Le monopole de Barsbay d’après des sources vénitiennes’, *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 9 (1979) 551-72
- J.B. Glubb, *Soldiers of fortune. The story of the Mamluks*, London, 1973, pp. 319-33
- A. Darrag, *L’Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay, 825-841/1422-1438*, Damascus, 1961
- A. Wiet, art. ‘Barsbay’, in *El2*
- R. Orsatti, ‘Tratado de paz entre Alfonso V de Aragón y el sultán de Egipto, al-Mālik al-Ašraf Barsbāy’, *Al-Andalus* 4 (1939) 333-89
- M. Sobernheim, ‘Das Zuckermonopol unter Sultan Barsbāy’, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Verwandte Gebiete* 27 (1912) 75-84

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Pittakion tou soultanou tou Kareos pros ton basilea Rhōmaiōn*, ‘Letter of the sultan of Cairo to the emperor of the Romans’

DATE Between 1422 and 1437 (possibly May 1437)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

#### DESCRIPTION

The text of this letter has only been preserved in a Greek translation, which might, however, originate from the sultan’s court itself; it is probable that the Melkite patriarchate of Alexandria was involved in its drafting (cf. Korobeinikov, ‘Diplomatic correspondence’, pp. 66-67). The letter is sent in the name of a sultan named *Apounaser Pourēsp* (ll. 12), who has convincingly been identified as Barsbay by Moravcsik (‘Grečeskaja gramota’), and is addressed to an emperor named John Palaeologus, who must be John VIII (r. 1421-48). Its date is given in the abridged form ‘*mēni Maiō 29’ etous*’ (l. 77), which is usually understood as referring to 29 May of a non-specified year, leaving a broad timespan to date the diplomatic contact that brought about the letter. Its contents are largely shaped by conventions and formulas, including greetings to the recipient, thanks for the imperial letter that has been received, for the embassy of Andronicus Iagaris that has come to the sultan’s court and for the emperor’s gifts, especially the falcons (l. 54: *ta ornea*). The probable reason for this mission from Constantinople is mentioned only briefly,

'because of the churches, the patriarchs and the Christians' (l. 52-53), and the sultan assures the emperor that they are in a sound state (l. 63: *enai kala*) and that they will receive the habitual treatment by the sultan's governors and judges. The ambassador is sent back, accompanied by a 'letter of friendship' from the sultan and a present (*kaniskion*).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The document is one of only three letters of Mamluk sultans to Byzantine emperors known in their full text, the other two belonging to the 14<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Korobeinikov, 'Diplomatic correspondence', p. 60). It shows that Byzantine-Mamluk relations continued into the last decades of the Byzantine Empire. Furthermore, it bears striking similarities in wording and contents to a letter from Emperor Manuel II to Sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj in 1411, which is cited by al-Qalqashandī (cf. Kresten, 'Correctiunculae', pp. 267-92). Although this suggests a rather conventional exchange between the two rulers about the situation of Christians under Mamluk rule, there are several specific political contexts that might have caused Iagaris' mission: a Byzantine embassy in 1426 to prevent the sultan's invasion of Cyprus (cf. Moravcsik, 'Grečeskaja gramota', p. 114), common interests against the Ottomans (cf. Helfer, *Johannes VIII. Palaiologos*), or the emperor's unsuccessful effort in 1436/37 to obtain the sultan's permission for the Eastern patriarchs to participate in the Council of Ferrara-Florence. The year 1437 corresponds to 6929 of the Alexandrian era, thus perhaps enabling an alternative interpretation of the abridged date.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Gr. 1170, fols 5r-7r (16<sup>th</sup> century)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

F. Dölger and P. Wirth, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, vol. 5, Munich, 1965, p. 110, n. 3405

G. Moravcsik, 'Grečeskaja gramota mamljuškogo sultana vizantijskomu imperatoru', *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 18 (1961) 105-15, pp. 107-8

#### STUDIES

D.A. Korobeinikov, 'Diplomatic correspondence between Byzantium and the Mamluk sultanate in the fourteenth century', *Al-Masāq* 16 (2004) 53-74

O. Kresten, 'Correctiunculae zu Auslandsschreiben byzantinischer Kaiser des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 41 (1999) 267-310

- W. Helfer, *Johannes VIII. Palaiologos. Eine monographische Dokumentation*, Vienna, 1969 (PhD diss., University of Vienna), p. 83-86
- Moravcsik, 'Grečeskaja gramota'
- G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica I. Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker*, Berlin, 1958<sup>2</sup>, p. 254

Sebastian Kolditz



# Martyrology of the Youth Yovhannēs Xlat‘ec‘i

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH Late 14th century

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 origin and background. On the basis of the norms of 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 Xlat‘/Ahlat not long after the events he documented. L. Xač‘ikyan argues that the reference to a T‘ovma vardapet in MS M5313 is to be interpreted as applying to the well-known contemporary historian T‘ovma Mecop‘ec‘i (born 1376-79, died 1446), an attribution he argues on stylistic and linguistic grounds.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

The only source directly associated with the author is the martyrology itself.

### *Secondary*

L. Xač‘ikyan, *T‘ovma Mecop‘ec‘i Patmagrut‘yun*, Yerevan: Maga‘at‘, 1999, pp. li-lij

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Vkayabanut‘iwn Yovhannēsi mankan Xlat‘ec‘woy,*  
‘Martyrology of the youth Yovhannēs Xlat‘ec‘i’

DATE About 1438

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

## DESCRIPTION

The text relates the case of a 20-year-old Christian Armenian youth, Yovhannēs, from the important city of Xlat'/Ahlāt on the western shore of Lake Van. Trained as a bard, he was much sought after for his art by both the Christian and Muslim communities, and he frequently performed at festivities for the local emir Sayf al-Din. His fame generated negative press among the Kurds, some of whom calumniated him before the emir's son. The latter summoned Yovhannēs to their castle, and there he charged him with having intercourse with a local Muslim dancer and singer. This, he argued, meant that he must either accept Islam or face the death penalty.

When the youth refused to do this, maintaining that he was a servant of Christ and that he would not have approached someone impure but would rather preserve his purity until he was married in church, the emir's son became angry and ordered four men to throw him off the castle parapet. Unable to overpower him, they began applying bastinado, then bound his hands and feet and put him in prison. During the night, however, he accepted their promises of honors in return for his renouncing his faith, and next morning before the emir he was mounted on a horse and led through the city to great fanfare in open acknowledgment of his conversion. Nevertheless, later the same day he repented of his decision and contacted the priests to send him communion, as he wanted to accept martyrdom. They, however, ignored his request, calling him an unbeliever and apostate. At this, the youth composed a long lament which he sang, bewailing all the grief he had caused his family and co-religionists. Then he sold all his goods, gave the proceeds to the poor, and abstained completely from food and drink for five days during the pre-Lenten Armenian preparatory fast. During this time, two leading Muslim officials asked him to accompany them to the mosque and partake of a meal, and, on his refusal, denounced him to the qadi as a Christian who had deceived them and contravened their laws. They determined to approach him at the beginning of Ramaḍān and compel him to accept circumcision or face the penalty.

Accordingly, they took him from his parents' house on the final Saturday before Lent, first before the qadi and then the emir, who demanded that he again renounce Christianity and be circumcised. As the youth refused, he experienced a vision of the Trinity coming to support him, and those around him observed his cheeks burn as if with fire and his eyes shine radiantly. When he denounced the Prophet, the mob began to attack him with stones, swords and clubs, breaking open his skull.

The crowd, amazed at his powers of endurance, consulted the qadi who ordered them to carry out the death sentence by stoning him. At that point, the crowd pleaded with him to comply with the qadi's pronouncement, to which the youth replied that he wanted to go to him at the place where he had publicly renounced his faith. However, once there he again affirmed his Christian loyalty, provoking the populace to stone him to death, after which they burned his remains in the town center. That night a brilliant light appeared over the scene. Three days later the emir permitted the Armenian community to bury his body in the local church. The martyrdom took place on Saturday, 22 February 1438.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The narrative is of particular interest for its focus on the social importance of the professional bard, a figure who straddles the religious divide to serve both Christian and Muslim communities, performing at various sorts of festivities. In this way, Yovhannēs gained the favor of the Kurdish emir of Xlat'. Earlier we read of this type of performer entertaining Armenian kings and dynasts, and subsequently some of them were employed at foreign courts, such as Sayat' Nova in the service of Erekle II of Eastern Georgia in the 1750s, or T'ujjar at the Sublime Porte in Istanbul under Sultan Abdülmecid I (r. 1839-61). Naturally, such singers, usually accompanying themselves on a stringed instrument, apprenticed themselves to a master to learn the diverse skills required. From the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards, a new tradition of bardic composition with a heightened emphasis on the theme of love arose (this was associated with the term *ašik*), which was mostly diffused in a Turkic language environment. Consequently, it is recorded that several Christian Armenian exponents of the art studied with Muslim Turkish masters.

It is striking that, though this type of bard was often the object of censure in ecclesiastical writers and canonical formulations for performing bawdy and drinking songs, here the author states that the protagonist would freely incorporate elements of Armenian liturgical music in his repertoire, even before Muslim audiences. At the same time, his easy familiarity with the conventions of Muslim composition allows him to prevaricate with the Islamic officials who press him to share table fellowship with them during a strict Armenian fast by maintaining that he has determined to devote himself for several days to Khidr, regarded as the source of poetic inspiration in that tradition, thereby earning himself some days reprieve before he is again pressured to declare his religious identity.

It is also noteworthy that a pivotal role in the narrative is played by a professional female dancer. Such a figure is attested in the Near East from very early on, and her social and artistic significance in the Middle Ages is affirmed in both Christian and Muslim sources. The Muslim individual mentioned here is also presented as an accomplished singer. In an Armenian context, we possess the names of several women singers, but their compositions have not survived.

A third factor underscoring the distinctiveness of the two religious communities around the time of the martyrdom is the significant coalescence of the main annual period of fasting in both traditions. The events coincided with the transition from Mardi Gras to the beginning of Lent on the one hand, which that year also witnessed the onset of Ramaḍān, resulting in the two communities becoming engrossed in ceremonies and practices that intensified religious fervor and individual striving, as well as reinforcing communal norms and identity.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M5313, fol. 583v (1465)
- MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M1511, fols 501r-502v (pre-1681)
- MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M1507, fol. 268r (17<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M3783, fols 284r-285v (1704)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- Knarik Ter-Davtyan, *Novie armyanskie mucheniki (1155-1843), pervod, predislovie i primechaniya*, Yerevan: Nairi Publications, 1998, pp. 108-11, 278 (Russian trans.)
- Knarik Ter-Davtyan, *Armyanskie zhitiya i muchenichestva V-XVII vv.*, 1994, pp. 389-93 (Russian trans.)
- Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, Vałaršapat, 1903, pp. 284-98 (critical edition)
- Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (žotovrdakan hratarakut'iwn)*, vol. 1, Vałaršapat, 1902, pp. 183-89 (edition lacks critical apparatus)

#### STUDIES

- K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkayabanut'yunner (V-XVIII dd.)*, Yerevan: Nayri, 2011, pp. 346-48

- K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *XI-XV Dareri Hay vark'agrut'yunə* [Armenian hagiography of the 11<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries], Yerevan, 1980, p. 154
- Hrač'ya Ačaiyan, *Hayoc' anjanunneri bararan*, Yerevan: State University Publication, vol. 3, 1946, pp. 651-52
- Małak'ia Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, Constantinople: V. & H. Tēr-Nersesean Press, 1927, col. 2089

S. Peter Cowe

## Life of George the Younger

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; possibly late 14 <sup>th</sup> or early 15 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; probably Adrianople in Thrace
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

### BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about the author of this account. From the text itself it can be inferred that he was most probably a Greek-speaking Christian. In early 1437, he was living in Adrianople (modern Edirne), which was at that time the capital of the Ottoman Empire, and in March of that year he witnessed the martyrdom of a Christian named George, who was tried and interrogated by various Ottoman officials and finally killed by a Muslim crowd. He later wrote a description of what he saw.

The stylistic features and contents of the text indicate that its author was well educated, with good knowledge of theological literature and Orthodox Christian teachings. There is no clear evidence that he was a cleric. Although the text has many orthographical errors, missing words, etc., this can be ascribed to the inadvertence of the copyist rather than to the author's lack of education. There is no evidence that the original language was not Greek.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

Synaxaristēs neomartyrōn. *Ergon psychōphelestaton kai sōtēriōdestaton, periechon martyria 150 kai pleon Neophanōn Hagion Martyrōn tēs Orthodoxou tou Christou Ekklēsiās mas tōn etōn 1400 eōs 1900 meta Christou*, ed. M. Notaras, Thessaloniki, 1984, 403-13

Partenii episkop Levkiiski, *Zhitiia na bŭlgarski svetsti*, vol. 2, Sofia, 1979, 34-40

A. Mikhaïlov, 'Edin neizvesten sofiiski mŭchenik', *Starobŭlgarska Literatura. Izsledvaniia i Materiali* 1 (1971) 407-11

C.G. Patrinelēs, 'Mia anekdotē diēgēsē gia ton agnōsto neomartyra Geōrgio († 1437)', *Orthodoxos Parousia* 1 (1964) 67-73

#### *Secondary*

C. Temelski, art. 'Georgii', in *Pravoslavnaia ěntsiklopediia*, Moscow, 2000-  
Mikhaïlov, 'Edin neizvesten sofiiski mŭchenik', p. 404

Patrinelēs, 'Mia anekdotē diēgēsē gia ton agnōsto neomartyra Geōrgio († 1437)', pp. 66-67

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Diēgēsis martyros en tois hēmeterois martyrēsantos chronois*, 'Account of a martyr who witnessed [to Christ] in our days'

DATE Between 26 March 1437 and June 1439

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

#### DESCRIPTION

The account has been preserved only in codex Marcianus II 50, a Greek manuscript from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Although this text was already known to earlier scholars, such as H. Delehayé ('Catalogus codicum', pp. 209-10) and F. Halkin (*BHG* 3, p. 30, no. 2160), it was only edited for the first time in 1964 by C. Patrinelēs ('Mia anekdotē', pp. 67-73). All modern translations and editions of the account are based on this edition.

The anonymous author gives an extensive account of George's martyrdom, which shows many aspects of Christian-Muslim relations in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. George (Geōrgios) was a handsome, well-educated, 30-year-old Orthodox Christian from Sofia. He was a soldier by profession, and he probably served in the Ottoman army. In March 1437, he was in the city of Adrianople, and one day he went to a Muslim bow-maker's shop to have his bow mended. He became involved in a quarrel with the bow-maker over religious matters. The craftsman declared that Jesus Christ was only an ordinary man, at which George became very angry and defended the divine nature of Christ and also blasphemed loudly against Muḥammad, saying he was even lower than a dog. When Muslims in the market-place heard this, they fell upon George and began to beat him, but he repeated his insults. They eventually tied his bow string around his neck and bound his hands (Patrinelēs, 'Mia anekdotē', pp. 67-68, ll. 17-55).

They took him to a series of government officials, but he refused to recant and continued his insults (Patrinelēs, 'Mia anekdotē', p. 69, ll. 76-77; Vaporis, *Witnesses for Christ*, p. 34). He was put in prison, with the crowd demanding his execution by burning, and in prison he was tortured (Patrinelēs, 'Mia anekdotē', p. 69, ll. 78-101).

The next day, many leading religious scholars came to the 'first leader' (*hēgemōn ho prōtos*), probably the grand vizier, Koca Mehmed Nizamuddin Pasha (1429-38), and demanded action (Patrinelēs, 'Mia anekdotē', p. 70, ll. 110-21; Vaporis, *Witnesses for Christ*, p. 34). The vizier had George brought before him and questioned him personally, but to no avail. He ordered him to be whipped, but the crowd clamored against his decision so that he was forced to give George over to them, saying: 'Take him and judge him according your own law' (Patrinelēs, 'Mia anekdotē', p. 70, ll. 146-47). The crowd took him and burned him, the next day scattering his ashes in the wind so that they could not be gathered up and venerated. Nevertheless, miracles began to happen at the place of his execution that very night (Patrinelēs, 'Mia anekdotē', pp. 70-72, ll. 147-226).

Although some modern scholars refer to this text as a *Vita/Life* (Vaporis, *Witnesses for Christ*, p. 33; Zachariadou, 'The Neomartyr's message', p. 61), it was actually not intended for liturgical use, because the author often narrates in the first person. It is not known whether George was recognized as a saint as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> century, although in the 1970s and 1980s the account of his martyrdom was included in a collection of Lives of Bulgarian saints and in a Greek Orthodox *Neomartyrologion* (*Zhitiia na bŭlgarski svettsi*, pp. 34-40; *Synaxaristēs neomartyrōn*, pp. 403-13). Today, he is known as either St George the Younger (to distinguish him from the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup>-century St George of Lydda) or St George the Elder of Sofia (to distinguish him from two 16<sup>th</sup>-century neomartyrs from Sofia with the same name), or even St George of Adrianople (see Temelski, 'Georgiï'; A. Mikhaïlov, 'Edin neizvesten sofiiski mŭchenik', p. 403). He is one of the earliest known neomartyrs of the Orthodox Church (see Vaporis, *Witnesses for Christ*, pp. 1-30).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The account has two main points of significance. First, it shows that Christians and Muslims could interact peacefully and justly. As a Christian, born as a *dhimmī*, George was able serve as a soldier in the Ottoman army (this fact is also recorded by other Byzantine authors such as George Sphrantzes; see Karlin-Hayter, 'La politique religieuse', p. 358, n. 1), and apparently of his own free volition. Also, it appears that some secular members of the Ottoman administration, such as the grand vizier, could be just, reasonable and patient in the process of the trial of a Christian (see Zachariadou, 'The Neomartyr's message', p. 61-62, n. 35), although since the action of the vizier is like that of Pontius Pilate, it can



be argued that the whole account of George's trial is constructed along the lines of Christ's Passion (J. Pahlitzsch, 'Byzantine saints in Turkish captivity'; Karlin-Hayter, 'La politique religieuse', pp. 353-55).

Second, the account shows that religious differences were sensitive points of controversy between Christians and Muslims. In the quarrel between George and the bow-maker, differences regarding the persons of Jesus and Muḥammad take center stage, while the Muslim religious leaders are merciless, intransigent and fanatical, calling for the harshest punishment to be imposed on George, arranging his execution and ensuring that his remains are destroyed (see Zachariadou, 'The Neomartyr's message', p. 62; Karlin-Hayter, 'La politique religieuse', pp. 353-58). Incidentally, the mention of Christian converts among the Muslim crowd is significant evidence of voluntary conversion to Islam among the native population in Thrace during the first century of Ottoman rule in the Balkans (see Patrinelēs, 'Mia anekdotē', p. 71, n. 1).

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana – Marcianus II 50, fols 235r-242r (16<sup>th</sup> century)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

M.N. Vaporis, *Witnesses for Christ. Orthodox Christian neomartyrs of the Ottoman period 1437-1860*, Crestwood NY, 2000, pp. 32-36 (partial trans. with many inaccuracies)

Synaxaristēs neomartyrōn. *Ergon psychōphelestaton kai sōtēriōdestaton, periechon martyria 150 kai pleon Neophanōn Hagion Martyrōn tēs Orthodoxou tou Christou Ekklēsiās mas tōn etōn 1400 eōs 1900 meta Christou*, Thessaloniki, 1984, pp. 403-13 (the account of George's martyrdom is taken from Patrinelēs)

Parteniī episkop Levkiīski, *Zhitiia na bŭlgarski svetsti*, vol. 2, Sofia, 1979, pp. 34-40 (Bulgarian trans.)

Mikhailov, 'Edin neizvesten sofiīski mŭchenik', pp. 407-11 (taken from Patrinelēs)

C.G. Patrinelēs, 'Mia anekdotē diēgēsē gia ton agnōsto neomartyra Geōrgio († 1437)', *Orthodoxos Parousia* 1 (1964) 67-73 (annotated edition)

#### STUDIES

J. Pahlitzsch, 'Byzantine saints in Turkish captivity in 14<sup>th</sup> century Anatolia', in G. Christ (ed.), *Union in separation. Trading diasporas in the eastern Mediterranean (1200-1700)*, (forthcoming)

C. Temelski, art. 'Georgii'

- Vaporis, *Witnesses for Christ*, pp. 32-36, 44
- E.A. Zachariadou, 'Religious dialogue between Byzantines and Turks during the Ottoman expansion', in B. Lewis (ed.), *Religionsgespräche im Mittelalter*, Wiesbaden, 1992, 289-304, p. 290
- E.A. Zachariadou, 'The Neomartyr's message', *Deltio* 8 (1990/91) 61-62
- A. Mikhaïlov, 'Edin neizvesten sofiiski müchenik', *Starobŭlgarska literatura. Izsledvaniia i materialii* 1 (1971) 403-11, pp. 403-6
- P. Karlin-Hayter, 'La politique religieuse des conquérants Ottomans dans un texte hagiographique (a. 1437)', *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 353-58
- C. G. Patrinelēs, 'Mia anekdotē diēgēsē gia ton agnōsto neomartyra Geōrgio († 1437)', *Orthodoxos Parousia* 1 (1964) 65-74
- P. Wittek, 'Chiones', *Byzantion* 21 (1951) 421-23
- F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3 vols, Brussels, 1957 (*Subsidia Hagiographica* 8a), iii, p. 30, no. 2160
- H. Delehaye, 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum bibliothecae D. Marci Venetiarum', *Analecta Bollandiana* 24 (1905) 209-10

Kostadin Sokolov

# Al-Maqrīzī

Taqī l-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī  
ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī

DATE OF BIRTH Approximately 1364-65

PLACE OF BIRTH Cairo

DATE OF DEATH January-February 1442

PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

## BIOGRAPHY

Al-Maqrīzī was born in Cairo in 1364-65 to a family of Syrian origin on his father's side. The family can only recently have moved, as it was his father who decided to leave his native city of Damascus for Cairo. The quarter where the family chose to live and where al-Maqrīzī spent most of his life, *ḥārat Barjawān*, was situated in the heart of the city, close to the place where the Fatimid palaces had once stood.

Although educated as a Ḥanafī, to which legal school relatives on his mother's side belonged, he decided to become a Shāfi‘ī at the age of 20, shortly after his father's death. The reasons for this change remain unknown. It has been suggested that it might have been a strategic change due to the preeminence of the Shāfi‘ī legal school in the intellectual and political milieu, but this does not explain al-Maqrīzī's lifelong bias against the Ḥanafīs, which permeates his works, or his behavior towards some representatives of his former school, such as his contemporary, al-‘Aynī (d. 1451). Being born into a scholarly family, al-Maqrīzī received a classical education, studying Hadith, law, grammar and the various readings of the Qur’an.

In his early twenties, he started his career as a secretary in the chancellery, a position previously held by his father. This was the beginning of his career in a professional world where success was impossible without the patronage of the emirs. His advancement was fast and successful, and he even managed to gain direct access to Sultan Barqūq himself. But anyone accepting to play according to the rules of patronage that applied under the Mamluks could not be unaware that even strong support would not last a lifetime. Al-Maqrīzī started to experience this at the very end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (1399), when he was appointed as inspector of markets (*muḥtasib*), an important and prestigious post. Though

it was not a stable position (but what was in those times?), al-Maqrīzī certainly hoped he would remain in it longer than the mere five months that passed before he was replaced by al-ʿAynī. It did not take too long for al-Maqrīzī to regain his position (February 1400), then lose it again (October 1400) in favor of al-ʿAynī, whom he looked on as his opponent for the rest of his life.

In following years, al-Maqrīzī was to enjoy a renewed period of patronage, even succeeding in maintaining a certain degree of intimacy with the new sultan, Barqūq's son Faraj. In 1408, he accompanied the sultan to Damascus, where he was appointed to various positions. His stay there lasted about five years, though he continued to travel between the Syrian and Egyptian capitals. Upon his return to his birthplace, he decided to retire from public life and devote himself entirely to the writing of history. In the meantime, he had already finished the first version of *Al-khiṭaṭ* and two books dealing with the history of Egypt from the Muslim conquest up to the end of the Fatimid period (*ʿIqd jawāhir al-asfāṭ* and *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*). At that time, his historical project was clearly outlined: to cover the history of his native country to his own time.

His retirement coincided with his withdrawal from the academic rat race, and his life is often described as being marked by ascetism (*zuhd*), a quality that characterized him until his death. His burial place, which he himself specifically chose, is in the cemetery of the mystics, outside the gate of Cairo. His negative evaluation of the system of Mamluk patronage led to a political bias against his former masters, whom he depicts in harsh terms in his chronicle of their rule (*Al-sulūk*). He does not refrain from condemning some Mamluk practices that he regarded as anti-Islamic (for instance, the application of Mongol rules presumably preserved in the *Yāsa*).

Al-Maqrīzī performed the pilgrimage to Mecca several times (1388 and 1422) and on four occasions (1382, 1386, 1431, 1436) extended his stay to several months. During the last of these stays, he collected material that he used upon his return to Cairo to compose short treatises dealing with remote places, such as the Ḥaḍramawt and Abyssinia.

His attitudes towards Christians, as expressed in his books, are generally critical. As to converts, he considered that they were problematic in that their offspring later married daughters and sons of traditional Muslim families of Arab origin and occupied religious positions, thus holding power over Muslims without truly knowing their way of life in its real meaning. His works are considered a mine of information on Christians in all periods, and even his biographical dictionaries (*Al-ta'rikh al-muqaffā*

*l-kabīr* and *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīda fī tarājīm al-aʿyān al-mufīda*) provide details about the Copts and converts.

His views on religion and his love of Hadith caused some of his contemporaries to view him as a *Zāhirī* (adept of the legal school of Ibn Ḥazm), i.e. a literalist. It appears that, on theological issues, he was closer to the *Ḥanbalīs*, since he praised one of their greatest representatives in the Mamluk period, Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328), with whom he shared a disparaging assessment of Mamluk rule. His profession of faith (*Tajrīd al-tawḥīd al-mufīd*) testifies to his high estimation of *Ḥanbalī* views, since it is full of hidden references to the works of Ibn Taymiyya's disciple, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1350).

Al-Maqrīzī died alone in his home in January-February 1442, having outlived his wife and sons. His nephew inherited his belongings, among them his autograph manuscripts.

#### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

##### Primary

- Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr bi-abnāʾ al-ʿumr*, ed. Ḥ. Ḥabashī, 4 vols, Cairo, 1969-72, iv, pp. 187-88
- Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-majmaʿ al-muʿassis li-l-muʿjam al-mufahris*, ed. Y.ʿA. al-R. al-Marʿashlī, 4 vols, Beirut, 1992-94, iii, pp. 58-60
- Ibn Fahd, *Muʿjam al-shuyūkh*, ed. M. al-Zāhī and Ḥ. al-Jāsir, Riyadh, 1982, p. 63
- Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Al-manḥal al-ṣāfi wa-l-mustawfi fī baʿd al-wāfi*, ed. M.M. Amīn *et al.*, 13 vols, Cairo, 1985-2009, i, pp. 415-20
- Al-Biqāʾī, *Unwān al-zamān bi-tarājīm al-shuyūkh wa-l-aqrān*, ed. Ḥ. Ḥabashī, 5 vols, Cairo, 2001-, i, pp. 109-10
- Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ ʿan ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, 12 vols, Cairo, 1934-36, ii, pp. 21-25
- Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-tibr al-masbūk fī dhayl al-sulūk*, ed. N.M. Kāmil *et al.*, 4 vols, Cairo, 2002-7, i, pp. 70-78

##### Secondary

- F. Bauden, 'Al-Maqrīzī', in R.G. Dunphy (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the medieval chronicle*, 2 vols, Leiden, 2010, ii, pp. 1074-76
- Mamlūk Studies Review* 7 (2003) [proceedings of the international conference *The Legacy of al-Maqrīzī (1364-1442)*, University of Notre Dame, 28-29 September 2001]
- A.F. Broadbridge, 'Academic rivalry and the patronage system in fifteenth-century Egypt. Al-ʿAynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī', *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (2003) 85-107

- I. Perho, 'Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrī Birdī as historians of contemporary events', in H. Kennedy (ed.), *The historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950-1800)*, Leiden, 2001, pp. 107-20
- U. Haarmann, 'Al-Maqrīzī, the master and Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudṣī, the disciple. Whose historical writing can claim more topicality and modernity?', in H. Kennedy (ed.), *The historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950-1800)*, Leiden, 2001, pp. 149-65
- S. 'Āshūr, 'Adwā' jadīda 'alā l-mu'arrikh Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī wa-kitābātihī', *Ālam al-Fikr* 14 (1983) 165-210
- F. Rosenthal, art. 'al-Maqrīzī', in *EL*
- M.M. Ziyāda et al., *Dirāsāt 'an al-Maqrīzī*, Cairo, 1971
- Brockelmann, *GAL* ii, pp. 47-50, 675; *S* ii, pp. 36-38

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Al-sulūk li-ma'rifat al-duwal wa-l-mulūk*, 'The path to knowledge about dynasties and kings'

DATE Shortly before 1421

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

#### DESCRIPTION

It is not known precisely when al-Maqrīzī started working on this chronicle, though it was after he had finished writing the chronicles dealing with earlier periods (*Iqd jawāhir al-asfāt fī akhbār madīnat al-Fuṣṭāt*, from the Muslim conquest of Egypt to the Ikhshīdīd dynasty, and *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā' bi akhbār al-a'imma al-khulafā'*, covering the Fatimid dynasty), i.e. shortly before 1421. By 1428, the reputation of the book had already crossed the frontiers of the Mamluk realm, as a copy of it was requested by Timur-i Leng's son, Shāh Rukh. Al-Maqrīzī continued working on it until a few months before his death (the chronicle ends with the last month of the year 844 AH/April 1441).

The chronicle starts with the year 1171, when the Ayyubids seized power in Egypt, and then proceeds with their successors, the Mamluks. As the author explains in the introduction, the work is devoted to the Kurds and the Turks, who controlled Egypt until his own time. Before starting the chronicle, he sets the origins of these groups in a general framework, starting from the pre-Islamic period. He then speaks of the Buyids and Seljuks, which brings him to Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn), who took control of Egypt and started the dynasty of the Ayyubids.

Being annalistic in character, the chronicle is organized in sections, each corresponding to one year. Each section reports events in monthly chronological order and ends by referring to the most prominent persons who died in the course of the year. The author informs his reader that these obituaries are not intended to be comprehensive, as he is at the same time composing a biographical dictionary (not named in the introduction but to be identified as *Al-ta'rikh al-muqaffā l-kabīr*, an unfinished project that extended to 16 volumes at al-Maqrīzī's death, and of which several autograph volumes have been preserved). The focus is obviously on the events that took place in Egypt and Syria, but data are also provided about surrounding realms and not infrequently about countries even further away, such as al-Andalus and India.

Christian-Muslim relations are mostly treated in the period concerning the crusades, but there is also information about diplomatic relations with the Latin states and Ethiopia, and about the *Reconquista* in the Iberian Peninsula.

Locally, al-Maqrīzī reports on all sorts of problems related to the Copts, documenting the destruction of churches and monasteries resulting from riots between Copts and Muslims, and the consequences of the harsh policy towards Christians, including the edicts banning the employment of Christians in the government administration and the various exactions, vexations and humiliations regarding dress codes, access to public buildings (such as baths) and means of travel (Christians had to ride asses rather than horses).

Conversion of Copts to Islam (and in some very rare cases the conversion of Muslims to Christianity) are also reported. Al-Maqrīzī generally expresses his feeling towards conversions to Islam in positive terms, but he sometimes stresses that converts could behave brutally towards their former coreligionists. Some of them are also described as taking their revenge on Muslims.

The book also details the problems caused by the presence of Latin merchants, mainly in Alexandria, Cairo and Damascus.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The importance of this chronicle for the study of Christian-Muslim relations was recognized very early by various Orientalists, who edited and translated pertinent passages. Several of the sources used by al-Maqrīzī (though not named) have now been identified, published and studied, which somewhat detracts from the value of *Al-sulūk* as evidence for events that al-Maqrīzī did not witness himself. However, the work

remains one of the best sources for the Mamluk period, and al-Maqrīzī's interest in the fate of the Jewish and Christian communities makes this text an essential reference.

MANUSCRIPTS

1. Autograph:

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Yeni Cami 887 (vol. 1)

2. Copies:

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Aya Sofya 3369, 3374 (1429; vols 1-2)

MS London, BL – OR 2902 (1444; vol. 2)

MS Vat – Ar. 725 (1450; vol. 2)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Fatih 4381-4390 (1474-76; 11 vols out of 13 – vols 1 and 13 lacking)

MS Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek – 1620 (1487; vol. 4)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Aya Sofya 3372 (1489; vol. 4)

MS Cambridge, University Library – Qq.41 (15<sup>th</sup> century; covers the years 831-44 AH)

MS Cambridge, University Library – Qq.276 (15<sup>th</sup> century?; vol. 1)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 1728 (15<sup>th</sup> century; years 801-822 AH)

MS Dublin, Chester Beatty Library – 4102 (15<sup>th</sup> century?; vol. 8)

MS Istanbul, Köprülü Library – Fazıl Ahmad Pasha 1137 (15<sup>th</sup> century?; vol. 2 out of 8)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Aya Sofya 3373, Fatih 4378, Aya Sofya 3371, 3376 (15<sup>th</sup> century?; complete set)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Ashir Efendi 247, Aya Sofya 3370, 3375, Fatih 4380 (15<sup>th</sup> century?; complete set)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Fatih 4377, 4379 (15<sup>th</sup> century; vols 1 and 3)

MS Istanbul, Topkapı Saray – 2928 (15<sup>th</sup> century; complete set in 4 vols)

MS Damascus, National Library – 7304 (16<sup>th</sup> century?; vol. 1)

MS London, BL – Or. 9542 (16<sup>th</sup> century?; vol. 4)

MS Suhag, Rifā'a Rāfi' al-Ṭaḥṭāwī Library – 6 *Ta'rikh* (16<sup>th</sup> century?)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 1726, 1727 (1631 and 1532; complete set)

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Poc. 293 (date unknown; vol. 1)

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Marsh 287 (date unknown; years 567-761 AH)

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Marsh 260 (date unknown; years 760-810 AH)



- MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Bodl. 458 (date unknown; years 807-830 AH)
- MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Marsh 121 (date unknown; years 831-844 AH)
- MS Vat – Ar. 759 (date unknown; vol. 2)
- MS Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek – 1621 (date unknown; fragment of 20 fols for the years 584-92 and 644-48 AH)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

- Ed. M.‘A. al-Q. ‘Atā, 8 vols, Beirut, 1997 (commercial edition)
- R.J.C. Broadhurst, *A history of the Ayyūbid sultans of Egypt*, Boston MA, 1980 (English trans. of the years 1174-1251)
- Ed. M.M. Ziyāda *et al.*, 4 vols, Cairo, 1934-73 (critical edition)
- É. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l’Égypte*, 2 vols., Paris, 1837-45 (French trans. of the years 1174-1309)
- É. Quatremère, ‘Mémoire historique sur l’état du christianisme sous les deux dynasties des princes Mamlouks’, in É. Quatremère, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l’Égypte et sur quelques contrées voisines*, 2 vols, Paris, 1811, ii, 220-66 (French trans. of passages related to the Christians under Mamluk rule)

## STUDIES

- A. Levanoni, ‘Al-Maqrīzī’s account of the transition from Turkish to Circassian Mamluk sultanate. History in the service of faith’, in H. Kennedy (ed.), *The historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950-1800)*, Leiden, 2001, 93-105
- I. Pareit, ‘The contribution of al-Maqrīzī to the description of the burning of Miṣr al-Fuṣṭāṭ’, *Al-Masāq* 11 (1999), 69-108
- D.P. Little, *An introduction to Mamlūk historiography. An analysis of Arabic annalistic and biographical sources for the reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā’ūn*, Wiesbaden, 1970
- S.G. Massoud, *The chronicles and annalistic sources of the early Mamluk Circassian period*, Leiden, 2007

*Al-mawā‘iẓ wa-l-i’tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār; Al-mawā‘iẓ wa-l-i’tibār; Al-khiṭaṭ*, ‘Admonitions and reflections on the quarters and monuments’

DATE The first version was started around 1408 and completed around 1413; the second version was completed shortly after 1428.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

This work may be described as a topographical and archaeological description of Egypt in general and of Cairo in particular. Though the way was paved by authors who preceded al-Maqrīzī, and particularly by two of his contemporaries at the very beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, *Al-khiṭaṭ* is generally recognized as a milestone in the writing of the history of Egypt from the point of view of its buildings. No other book ever reached the same level of comprehensiveness. However, it has now been demonstrated that the work of al-Maqrīzī's predecessors was instrumental in making it possible for him to achieve this result. It is also worth mentioning that he omitted, whether deliberately or not, to record hundreds of monuments, even including some built during his own lifetime.

The book is divided into two main parts, the first tracing the history of Egypt and its capital from the pre-Islamic period up to the Mamluks, and the second devoted to the capital's various quarters and the main buildings in them.

As part of his plan to retrace the monumental history of the country and its capital, the end of the book is dedicated to Egypt's other two religious communities: the Jews and the Copts. The latter are dealt with in great detail. The main sections of this part are: 1. the origin of the Copts; 2. their beliefs prior to their conversion to Christianity; 3. their conversion to Christianity; 4. their history under Islam, including two subsections where al-Maqrīzī describes the various heterodoxies and the question of the nature of God and Christ as held by each of these, and the festivals of the Copts; 5. their monasteries; 6. their churches.

Other references to events that concerned the Copts (such as the massive conversions to Islam as a consequence of persecutions) are scattered through the first part of the book and are in need of being reassessed.

## SIGNIFICANCE

The importance of the part dealing with the Copts was soon recognized in the West, and it was not long before it was published and translated into various languages. Al-Maqrīzī drew on a myriad of sources, some of which are now considered lost, and these give his work its significance. For the Copts, he did not refrain from using Christian sources such as the works of al-Makīn ibn al-'Amīd (q.v.) and Sa'īd ibn al-Baṭrīq (q.v.). Since some of his sources, such as al-Shābushtī (d. 988; q.v.) on monasteries, have now been identified and published, this part has clearly lost some of its attractiveness for scholars interested in the history of Christianity in Egypt during the Islamic period. Nonetheless, *Al-khiṭaṭ* remains a first-hand source for descriptions of Christian buildings and for conversion to Islam during

the author's lifetime. Recent research has shown that his statements regarding the waves of conversion had been misinterpreted by modern scholarship.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

More than 200 copies are known to date, though no exhaustive list of MSS has been made since Wiet published his list in the introduction to his uncompleted critical edition started 100 years ago. Only autograph copies that have been identified in recent years are listed below.

First version:

MS Istanbul, Topkapı Saray – 1472 (covers material found in vol. 2 of the final version)

MS Istanbul, Topkapı Saray – 1405 (covers material found in vols 3-4 of the final version)

Final version:

MS Ann Arbor, Michigan University Library – Isl. 605 (vol. 3)

A preliminary redaction of the part regarding Coptic festivals is also found in al-Maqrīzī's notebook: MS Liège, University Library – 2232, fols 186-185v. (Although the source is not mentioned, it appears that al-Maqrīzī relied on al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-arab*, which is dependent on al-Waṭwāt's *Manāhij al-fikar wa-mabāhij al-ibar.*)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

A.F. Sayyid, *Al-mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fi dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, 5 vols, London, 2002-4

G. Wiet, *Al-mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fi dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār*, 5 vols (incomplete edition), Cairo, 1911-27 (repr. Frankfurt, 1995)

U. Bouriant and P. Casanova, *Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte*, 4 vols, Cairo, 1895-1920 (French trans. of most of vol. 1 in the Būlāq ed., pp. 1-397)

Ed. Būlāq, 1853 (1270 A.H.), 2 vols

Part dealing with the Copts:

R. Griveau, 'Les fêtes des coptes', *Patrologia Orientalis* 10 (1915) 313-43 (French trans. of the section dealing with Coptic festivals in *Al-khiṭaṭ*, Būlāq ed., ii, p. 501; London ed., iv/2, pp. 1023-24)

L. Leroy, 'Les couvents des chrétiens', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 13 (1908) 33-46, 192-204 (French trans. of the section dealing with Coptic monasteries in *Al-khiṭaṭ*, Būlāq ed., ii, pp. 501-10; London ed., iv/2, pp. 1025-59)

- L. Leroy, 'Les églises des chrétiens', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 12 (1907) 190-208, 269-79 (French trans. of the section dealing with Coptic churches in *Al-khiṭaṭ*, Būlāq ed., ii, pp. 510-19; London ed., iv/2, pp. 1060-86)
- M. Iskandar, *Al-qawl al-ibrizī li-l-'allāma l-Maqrizī*, Cairo, 1898 (repr. Cairo, [1998]); collection of passages related to the Copts and their religion)
- S.C. Malan, *A short history of the Copts and of their church translated from the Arabic of Tāqi-ed-Dīn El-Maqrizī*, London, 1873 (English trans. of part of the chapter dealing with Copts in *Al-khiṭaṭ*, Būlāq ed., ii, pp. 480-500; London ed., iv/2, pp. 968-1021)
- F. Wüstenfeld, *Macrizi's Geschichte der Copten. Aus den Handschriften zu Gotha und Wien mit Übersetzung und Anmerkungen*, Göttingen, 1845 (edition and German trans. of the full chapter dealing with the Copts in *Al-khiṭaṭ*, Būlāq ed., ii, pp. 480-519; London ed., iv/2, pp. 964-1086)
- H.J. Wetzer, *Taki-eddini Makrizii Historia Coptorum Christianorum in Aegypto Arabice, edita et in linguam latinam translata*, Solisbaci: In Libraria J.E. de Seideliana, 1828 (edition and Latin trans. of the chapter dealing with the conversion of the Copts to Christianity and the section regarding the Zuhra church in *Al-khiṭaṭ*, Būlāq ed., ii, pp. 482-501, 512-17; London ed., iv/2, pp. 968-1024, 1066-76)

## STUDIES

- N. Gardiner and F. Bauden, 'A recently discovered holograph fair copy of al-Maqrizī's *al-Mawā'iz wa-al-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-al-āthār* (Michigan Islamic MS 605)', *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 2 (2011) 123-31
- F. Bauden, 'Maqriziana IX: Should al-Maqrizī be thrown out with the bathwater? The question of his plagiarism of al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ* and the documentary evidence', *Mamlūk Studies Review* 14 (2010) 159-232
- N. Rabbat, 'Al-Maqrizi and his pioneering book Al-Khitat', *Ḥadīth al-Dār/Hadeeth ad-Dar: the Journal of Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah* 23 (2007) 51-55
- F. Bauden, 'Maqriziana I: Discovery of an autograph manuscript of al-Maqrizī. Towards a better understanding of his working method, description: section 2', *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10 (2006) 81-139, pp. 132-33
- T. El-Leithy, *Culture and conversion in medieval Cairo, 1293-1524 A.D.*, 2 vols, Princeton NJ, 2005 (PhD diss., Princeton University)

- N. Rabbat, 'The medieval link. Maqrizi's khitat and modern narratives of Cairo', in N. Al-Sayyad, I.A. Bierman and N. Rabbat (eds), *Making Cairo medieval*, Lanham MD, 2005, 29-47
- A. Raymond, 'Al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* and the urban structure of Mamluk Cairo', *Mamluk Studies Review* 7 (2003) 145-67
- C.F. Petry, 'Al-Maqrīzī's discussion of imprisonment and description of jails in the *Khiṭaṭ*', *Mamluk Studies Review* 7 (2003) 137-43
- S. Jarrar, 'Al-Maqrizi's reinvention of Egyptian historiography through architectural history', in D. Behrens-Abouseif (ed.), *The Cairo heritage. Essays in honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim*, Cairo, 2000, 31-53
- N. Rabbat, 'Al-Maqrizi's *Khitat*. An Egyptian *lieu de mémoire*', in D. Behrens-Abouseif (ed.), *The Cairo heritage. Essays in honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim*, Cairo, 2000, 17-30
- H. Lutfi, 'Coptic festivals of the Nile. Aberrations of the past?', in T. Philipp and U. Haarmann (eds), *The Mamlūks in Egyptian politics and society*, Cambridge, 1998, 254-82

*Al-ilmām bi-akhbār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥubsh min mulūk al-Islām*, 'The knowledge of the history of the Muslim kings in Abyssinia'

DATE April-May 1438

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This is one of the small treatises composed by al-Maqrīzī at the very end of his life. In the introduction, he specifies that it is based on oral testimonies he received while in Mecca in the year 839 AH (1436). He states that his informants were Muslims living in Abyssinia who had come to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage. The opuscle mainly deals with the description of the various kingdoms of which Abyssinia was composed, as al-Maqrīzī's aim was to detail the various states in that part of the world that were ruled by Muslims. However, he could not refrain from speaking of the conflicts that brought the Muslim leaders into opposition with the Hati, the Christian king of Amhara. Most of the information included concerns the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

## SIGNIFICANCE

The treatise is regarded by the historians of Ethiopia as one of the earliest and most detailed accounts of the area at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Al-Maqrīzī did not rely on written sources for this, but rather on oral testimonies from indigenous people, which makes his treatise a source of first-hand information.

## MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Leiden, University Library – Or. 560, fols 96-102v (with autograph corrections and emendations)  
 MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Atf Efendi 2814, fols 176-184v (1632)  
 MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Library – 4937, fols 302-316v (1674)  
 MS Istanbul, Beyazıt Library – Veliüddin 3195, fols 144v-152 (1689-90)  
 MS Leiden, University Library – Or. 1152, fols 3-10v (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Paris, BNF – 4657, fols 220v-231 (18<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Cairo, National Library – 500 *Ta'rikh*, fols 1v-11 (date unknown)  
 MS Cairo, National Library – 1127 Taymūr (date unknown)  
 MS Cairo, al-Azhar University Library – 42690, 10 fols (date unknown)  
 MS Ḥurayda, Yemen, Private Library al-ʿAṭṭās – 12 fols (date unknown)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

- M. Kropp and F.-C. Muth, Leiden (in preparation; definitive edition with German trans. for the *Bibliotheca Maqriziana* project, Brill)  
 ʿA. al-N. ʿAbd al-Naʿīm, Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya li-l-Turāth, 2006 (commercial edition)  
 R.M. al-Badrī and A.M.Q. al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, in *Rasāʾil al-Maqrīzī*, Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1998, pp. 229-44 (commercial edition)  
 G.W.B. Huntingford, 'The book of the true knowledge of the history of the Moslem kings in Abyssinia. Translated from the Latin version of F.T. Rinck (1790)', s.l., 1955 (typescript; English trans.)  
 Ed. Cairo, 1900  
 Ed. Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Taʿlīf, 1895  
 T.F. Ehrmann, *P. Hieronymus Lobo's, eines portugiesischen Jesuiten, Reise nach Habessinien und zu den Quellen des Nils. Aus dem französischen mit einer Einleitung, Anmerkungen, Zuzätzen, zweifachem Anhang, und einer Beschreibung von Habessinien, vermehrt und herausgegeben*, Zürich: Drell, Gessner, Füssli und Compagnie, 1794, pp. 263-300 (German trans.)

F.T. Rinck, *Macrizi Historia Regum Islamiticorum in Abyssinia. Interpretatus est et una cum Abulfedae Descriptione regionum nigritarum e codd. Biblioth. Leidensis Arabice edidit*, Leiden: Apud Sam. et Joh. Luchtmans, 1790 (edition and Latin trans.)

## STUDIES

- I. Guidi, 'Sul testo del *Ilmâm d'al-Maqrîzî*', in *Centenario dalla nascita di Michele Amari*, Palermo, 1910, 387-94
- F-C. Muth, 'A globe-trotter from Maghrib in al-Maqrîzî's booklet on Ethiopia. A footnote from some Arabic sources', *Afrique et Histoire* 4 (2005) 123-31

### *Al-khabar 'an al-bashar*, 'The history of humankind'

DATE Started shortly after 1433, completed in 1442

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

*Al-khabar 'an al-bashar* is the last major work al-Maqrîzî compiled. He devoted the last years of his life to it after he had completed another major work, his biography of the Prophet (*Imtâ' al-asmâ'*). Conceived as an introduction (*madkhal*) to this latter work, *Al-khabar* consists of a history of mankind. It starts with the creation of the world, a geographical account of the earth divided into seven zones, and remarks about chronology. It continues with the appearance of the first human, Adam, and his offspring, and this leads al-Maqrîzî on to the ancestors of the Arabs and the several tribes to which they gave rise. This is all covered in volume 1. Volumes 2, 3 and 4 are devoted to the Arabs before Islam, tackling issues such as their genealogy, customs, religion and institutions. Al-Maqrîzî then concentrates on other peoples, focusing on the Persians, the Jews, the Greeks, the Byzantines and the Latins (vol. 5). The last volume deals with the prophets in general, and those mentioned in the Qur'an and in the Bible.

Al-Maqrîzî's aim in writing this history of mankind is explicitly stated in the introduction (MS Aya Sofya 3362, fols 4v-5): to distinguish the Arabs from other peoples. Given that the Prophet Muḥammad was a Hashimite, a Qurayshite and an Arab, and that God singled out the Banū Hāshim through the birth of the Prophet into their clan, it is essential to have a fair knowledge of the Arabs in order to show how the Hashimites should be appreciated and respected.



Still unpublished, *Al-khabar* is a source of exceptional quality due to the numerous sources used, many of which are now considered lost. However, as with many of his other works, al-Maqrīzī does not systematically reference his sources, which sometimes prevents identification with certainty. With the subjects it covers, it is also a further example of al-Maqrīzī's interest in other religions and the history of other peoples who were not necessarily part of *Dār al-Islām*, including in the pre-Islamic period. As demonstrated by M. Lecker ('Idol worship'), the section dealing with the idols worshipped by the Arabs represents one of the best sources on the subject. This may also be said of the book as a whole.

Aspects of Christian-Muslim relations appear in the last two volumes (5-6). In the penultimate volume (MS Fatih 4340), there is a chapter devoted to the Greeks and the Byzantines (fols 233-264v) where al-Maqrīzī relates the history of the Greek people from Antiquity to his own time, thus including the Byzantines. He then proceeds with the Franks, whose conquest of the territories under Byzantine rule is also recounted. One of the most interesting parts of this section (fols 259-263v) is al-Maqrīzī's contemporary account of the Latin states surrounding the Mediterranean, including the Italian and Iberian peninsulas, France and the islands (Sicily, Sardinia). The most compelling feature of this section is al-Maqrīzī's focus on the political systems current in the various states, demonstrating that he was concerned with other forms of power different from that found in Muslim lands. Though no source is quoted in this section, it may be deduced that he was informed orally and that his informant must have come from the Italian peninsula. Their meeting must have taken place shortly after 1414, because that is the last date referred to in this section concerning political events in the various states mentioned.

The information in the last volume (MS Fatih 4341) is of a different nature but also refers to Christians. Here, al-Maqrīzī relates the stories of the prophets, among them John the Baptist, the Virgin Mary, Joseph and Jesus. For Jesus, the data are organized in various sections whose titles appear in the margin: the annunciation and the pregnancy (fol. 202), the duration of the pregnancy (fol. 202v), the date of the delivery (fol. 202v), the birth (fol. 203), the meaning of the word 'Christ' (fol. 203v), the words Jesus spoke as a child (fol. 203v), a physical description of him (fol. 204), the flight to Egypt (fol. 204v), his miracles (205), his prophecies (fol. 206v), the Apostles (fol. 209v), his homilies (fol. 211), his resurrection (fol. 216v), Pentecost (fol. 219v), the meaning of Jesus' name (fol. 220), the meaning of the word 'God' (fol. 220), the meaning of



the Holy Spirit (fol. 220v). Al-Maqrīzī then proceeds with the question of the nature of Christ and the dissensions it created among Christians (fol. 221). Two final sections describe the apostolic mission and the spread of Christianity (fol. 233), and the fate of the Apostles after the resurrection (fol. 237). He concludes this chapter with matters pertaining to anti-Christian polemic, essentially the question of the nature of Christ (fols 240-244). It is in these parts that his discourse is the harshest, explaining that Christian teachings are pure blasphemy and that the only thing that is true and acceptable to sane minds (*al-ʿuqūl al-salīma*) is what is said in the Qur'an.

Al-Maqrīzī does not always cite sources openly, but it can be seen that he mainly refers to Islamic authorities, such as al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Ṭabarī and Ibn ʿAsākir. He also mentions that he had access to the Gospels of Matthew and Luke as well as the pseudepigraphical Gospel of James and a Synaxarion (*Siniksār*). Sometimes, he also cites the Christian author al-Makīn ibn al-ʿAmīd (q.v.).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Volumes 5 and 6 certainly deserve to be edited, translated and studied in fuller detail. It is rare for 15th-century authors to show such interest in Christians and the Bible (see e.g. the entry on al-Biqāʿī), and there can be no doubt that al-Maqrīzī's contribution to the debate is quite stimulating, given his stature as a historian better known for his works on the history of Egypt.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

##### 1. Autographs:

- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Aya Sofya 3362 (vol. 1)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Fatih 4338 (vol. 3)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Fatih 4339 (vol. 4)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Fatih 4340 (vol. 5)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Fatih 4341 (vol. 6)

##### 2. Copies:

- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Aya Sofya 3366 (1473-74; vol. 6)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Aya Sofya 3363 (15<sup>th</sup> century?; vol. 2)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Aya Sofya 3364 (15<sup>th</sup> century?; vol. 2)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Aya Sofya 3365 (15<sup>th</sup> century?; vols 4-5)

MS Tunis, National Library – 3558 (16<sup>th</sup> century?; vol. 1)

MS Strasbourg, University Library – 4244 (19<sup>th</sup> century?; vol 2)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

The work is unpublished, though it is part of a publication project (several chapters are being edited for the *Bibliotheca Maqriziana*).

STUDIES

F. Bauden, 'An unpublished description of Latin states from the beginning of the 9th/15th c.' (forthcoming)

F. Bauden and A. Ghersetti, 'The *Luġat al-ʿArab* according to al-Maqrīzī in *al-Khabar ʿan al-bašar*' (forthcoming)

M. Lecker, 'Idol worship in pre-Islamic Medina (Yathrib)', *Le Muséon* 106 (1993) 331-46

F. Tauer, 'Zu al-Maqrīzī's Schrift *al-Ḥabar ʿan al-bašar*', *Islamica* 1 (1925) 357-64

**Frédéric Bauden**

# The Life of Patriarch Matthew I

DATE OF BIRTH	Possibly mid-14 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Egypt
DATE OF DEATH	After 1408
PLACE OF DEATH	Egypt, perhaps the environs of Cairo (e.g. Dayr al-Khandaq)

## BIOGRAPHY

We do not know the name of the author of a funeral oration (*marthiya*) and biography (*sīra*) for Coptic Patriarch Matthew I (the 87<sup>th</sup> patriarch, 1378-1408). From the text itself it can be deduced that he was a pious and articulate Coptic monk or clergyman who was close to the patriarch and in a position to begin writing his biography even before his death – which, the author informs us, the holy man Anbā Ruways (1334-1404; q.v.) urged him to do, going so far as to give him a pen and paper. Kāmil Šāliḥ Nakhla has suggested that the author of the biography was the bishop of [Dayr] al-Khandaq, where both Anbā Ruways and Patriarch Matthew were buried (cited in den Heijer, *Mawhūb*, p. 13).

Graf (*GCAL* ii, p. 456) attributes the funeral oration and biography to the hegumenos (*al-qummuṣ*) Ibrāhīm of Ṭūkh al-Našārā, based on the presence of that author's *maymar* on the death of the patriarch Anbā Mattā in MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Hist. 47 (Graf 468, Simaika 622), fols 1r-3v (1658). Others have followed him in this. However, this attribution is a mistake: the Cairo manuscript's *maymar* is the funeral oration for Patriarch Matthew *the Third* (the 100<sup>th</sup> patriarch, 1621-46); see already Simaika, *Catalogue* ii, p. 281. It was Matthew *III* who hailed from Ṭūkh al-Našārā (as is stated in the *incipit* reproduced in Graf, *Catalogue*, p. 178), and who died on 31 March 1646, which was the Saturday of Lazarus (eve of Palm Sunday), the day appointed for the reading of the *maymar*.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

For the MSS and edition, see below. For Anbā Ruways' urging the author to write, see Kāmil Šāliḥ Nakhla, *Silsilat Tārīkh al-bābāwāt baṭārikat al-kursī l-Iskandārī*, fasc. 3, *Al-Bābā Mattā'us al-awwal*, Dayr al-Suryān, 1952, pp. 73-74 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Cairo, pp. 52-53).

*Secondary*

- Athanāsīyūs al-Maqārī, *Fihris kitābāt ābā' kanīsat al-Iskandariyya. Al-kitābāt al-'arabiyya*, 2 vols (*Maṣādir ṭuqūs al-kanīsa* 1.8-9), Cairo, 2012, ii, pp. 798-99 (follows Graf, *GCAL*)
- A. Wadi, 'Introduzione alla letteratura arabo-cristiana dei Copti', *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea* 29-30 (1996-97) 456 (attributes the funeral oration to *al-qummuṣ* Ibrāhīm of Ṭukh al-Naṣārā, but the biography to the bishop of al-Khandaq)
- J. den Heijer, *Mawhūb 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. 13 (reports the opinion of Nakhla, *Kitāb tāriḫ wa-jadāwil*, that the author was the bishop of al-Khandaq)
- Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 456 (attributes the entire work to *al-qummuṣ* Ibrāhīm of Ṭukh al-Naṣārā)
- Kāmil Ṣāliḥ Nakhla, *Kitāb tāriḫ wa-jadāwil baṭārikat al-Iskandariyya l-qibt*, [Cairo], 1943, pp. 43-45 (not seen)
- Graf, *Catalogue*, p. 178 (on MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate, Hist. 47 and its *maymar* on Patriarch Matthew [III], whom Graf misidentifies as Matthew I)

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Maymar min ajl intiḡāl abīnā l-sayyid al-baṭriyark Anbā Mattā'us*, 'Treatise on the occasion of the passing of our father the patriarch Anbā Mattā'us';  
 'The Life of Patriarch Matthew I'

DATE Perhaps 1409, certainly before 1445

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

The *Life* of Patriarch Matthew I is the most extensive patriarchal biography in our possession for any Coptic patriarch of the Mamluk or early Ottoman period. In MS Paris – Ar. 145, its title is given as *Maymar min ajl intiḡāl abīnā l-sayyid al-baṭriyark Anbā Mattā'us wa-dhikr intiḡāl awlādih al-shuhadā' al-mustashhadīn fī zamānihi . . .* ('Treatise on the occasion of the passing of our father the patriarch Anbā Mattā'us, and the commemoration of the passing of his children, the martyrs who were martyred in his time'). In the manuscript tradition, the life 'proper' is introduced by a funeral oration, and ends with a list of the 49 martyrs of Matthew's days, before its homiletic conclusion. Neither the introduction nor the martyr-list and conclusion are included in the well-known edition of the

*History of the patriarchs of Alexandria* (ed. Khater and Burmester), which even so is a substantial biography occupying 22 pages of Arabic text and 37 pages of English translation. Fortunately, both introduction and conclusion were published by Kāmil Šāliḥ Nakhla (an additional 13 pages of Arabic text), so that the entire work is available in print. In addition, another recension of the work (without the funeral oration) has been preserved in the *History of the fathers, the patriarchs* attributed to Yūsāb of Fuwwa (q.v.). A new edition of the entire work, more critical and fully translated, is to be desired.

The text's own implication is that it was composed shortly after the death of the patriarch, incorporating biographical materials compiled in advance. In support of an early date is the note in MS Paris – Ar. 145, fol. 143r, that the manuscript was copied from a manuscript of 1445-46.

The *Life* portrays Matthew as a holy man who was unwillingly elevated to the office of patriarch, but who then, as patriarch, vigorously pursued the welfare of the Christian community – and, indeed, the welfare of the poor of whatever confessional background. Born around 1336 near al-Ashmūnayn, Matthew began his monastic practices early, was ordained priest at the tender age of 18, and lived as a monk at the Monastery of St Antony in Jerusalem, and finally, in the greatest austerity, outside Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ. Chosen patriarch in 1378, he became known for his piety and almsgiving; indeed, his 'almsgiving' at times amounted to major projects of poor-relief, especially in times of famine. While the *Life* makes much of his humility (e.g., his willingness to work alongside menial laborers or to tend the dying), it also portrays him as a clairvoyant wonder-worker who conversed with the Virgin Mary and who had the authority to curse the miserly or tyrannical and to 'bind' saints to come to his or the community's aid.

There is much in the *Life* that has a bearing on the history of Christian-Muslim relations. For example, Patriarch Matthew regularly had dealings with the ruling authorities: according to the text, relations with Sultan al-Zāhir Barqūq (r. 1382-99) were good, but Barqūq's usurpers and successors were tyrants, who on several occasions arrested the patriarch in order to extract funds. The text's greatest contribution to the history of Christian-Muslim relations, however, is probably its list of 49 martyrs who died during Matthew's patriarchate. This list is an extraordinarily important piece of evidence that, together with other sources (especially *The Life of Marqus al-Anṭūnī*, q.v.; additions to the Copto-Arabic *Synaxarion*, q.v.; and al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk*, q.v.), allow us to piece together the story of a wave of voluntary martyrdom that began in 1380 and lasted

into the 1390s (see Wadi, 'Quarantanove martiri'; El-Leithy, *Coptic culture and conversion*, ch. 3; Swanson, *The Coptic papacy*, ch. 8).

Patriarch Matthew himself became a kind of martyr. Accused by the *amīr* Jamāl al-Dīn of treacherous contacts with the Ethiopian king (another *topos* of Christian-Muslim relations in Egypt), and about to be arrested and held for an enormous ransom, Matthew prayed for deliverance for himself and his community. His prayer was answered when he died peacefully on 5 Ṭūba AM 1125 (31 December 1408). According to the funeral oration that introduces the *Life*, Matthew was received with joy into heaven, where he was reunited with 'his children the martyrs'.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Together with the *Lives* of his older contemporaries Marqus al-Anṭūnī (q.v.), Ibrāhīm al-Fānī (q.v.), and Anbā Ruways (q.v.), the *Life of Patriarch Matthew* provides a remarkable picture (from a Coptic point of view) of Egyptian society in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, and gives insight into how the Coptic community struggled to maintain its life and identity in very difficult times. The story of the 49 (voluntary) martyrs is a dramatic episode in the history of Christian-Muslim relations that demands careful analysis and comparison with that of the martyrs of Cordova more than five centuries earlier (see the entries for Speraindeo, Paul Alvarus, and Eulogius of Cordova in *CMR* 1).

#### MANUSCRIPTS

##### 1. The Life of Patriarch Matthew I as an independent text:

See Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 456, and add the St Macarius MSS from U. Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dayr Abū Maqâr. Inventaire (Cahiers d'Orientalisme* 11), Geneva, 1986, and U. Zanetti, 'Supplément à l'Inventaire des manuscrits de Saint-Macaire', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 45 (2006) 153-95; or Athanāsiyūs, *Fihris* ii, pp. 798-99. The resulting list is as follows:

MS Birmingham, University Library – Mingana Syr. 369, fols 71r-76r (1481, Karshūnī; the *marthiya*)

MS Cairo, Church of the Virgin in Ḥārat Zuwayla (MS of 1525, not further specified, used by Kāmil Ṣāliḥ Nakhla in *Silsilat Tārikh al-bābāwāt*)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 132, fols 32r-58r (1629)

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 145, fols 77r-143r (1641; copied from a MS of 1445-6)

MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Monastery of St Macarius – Hag. 73 (Zanetti 486), fols 355v-440r (17<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Monastery of St Macarius – Hag. 45 (Zanetti 411), fols 25v-54r (1739)

MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Monastery of St Macarius – Hag. 81 (Zanetti Suppl. 44), fols 33-70 (19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century)

2. The Life of Patriarch Matthew I as incorporated into the *History of the patriarchs*:

MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – Hist. 1 (b) (Graf 135, Simaika 94), fols 236v-276r (13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century; *Lives* 57-112; basis of the edition of Khater and Burmester)

The following MSS of the *History of the patriarchs* should also be checked for the Life of Patriarch Matthew I (or an abridgement of it):

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 306 (17<sup>th</sup> century; *Lives* 75-99)

MS London, BL – Or. 1338 (1736; abridgement of *Lives* 1-76, 87, 103-4)

MS Vat – Ar. 686 (1737; abridgement of *Lives* 1-105)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Hist. 15 (Simaika 675) (19<sup>th</sup> century; *Lives* 1-113)

MS Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate – Theol. 287 (Graf 540, Simaika 540) (19<sup>th</sup> century; *Lives* 77-103)

MS London, BL – Or. 1011 (19<sup>th</sup> century; *Lives* 77-108)

3. The Life of Matthew I as incorporated into the *History of the fathers, the patriarchs* attributed to Bishop Yūsāb of Fuwwa:

MS Wādī l-Naṭrūn, Dayr al-Suryān – Mayāmir 258, fols 171v-188v (date unknown; basis of the edition of Ṣamūʿil and Nabīh Kāmil)

MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – register no. 5328 (Hist. 517, formerly Hist. 841) (1942; a copy of the previous MS)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

There is no unified edition of the funeral oration and biography of Matthew I as it is found in a MS such as Paris Ar. 145. Nevertheless, the entire text has been published and may be read as follows:

Part 1. The funeral oration (*marthiya*):

K.S. Nakhla, *Silsilat Tārīkh al-bābāwāt baṭārikat al-kursī l-Iskandārī*, fasc. 3, *Al-Bābā Mattāʿus al-awwal*, Dayr al-Suryān, 1952, pp. 66-74; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Cairo, pp. 47-53

Part 2. The biography of the saint:

A. Khater and O.H.E. Khs-Burmester, eds, *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, known as The history of the holy Church, by Sawīrus ibn al-Muḩaffaʿ, bishop of al-Ašmūnīn*, vol. III, part iii (*Textes et Documents* 13), Cairo, 1970, pp. 136-58 (Arabic pagination: text), pp. 235-71 (Latin pagination: English trans.)

Part 3. Mention of the 49 martyrs, and conclusion:

K.S. Nakhla, *Silsilat Tārīkh al-bābāwāt* iii, Dayr al-Suryān, 1952, pp. 62-65; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Cairo, pp. 44-48

Another recension of Parts 2 and 3 is found in the *History of the patriarchs* attributed to Yūsāb of Fuwwa:

Ṣamū'īl al-Suryānī and Nabīh Kāmil (eds), *Tārīkh al-abā' al-baṭārika li-l-anbā Yūsāb usquf Fuwwa*, [Cairo], [c. 1987], pp. 184-202

#### STUDIES

Athanāsīyūs al-Maqārī, *Fihris kitābāt ābā' kanīsat al-Iskandariyya. Al-kitābāt al-'arabiyya*, 2 vols (*Maṣādir tuqūs al-kanīsa* 1.8-9), Cairo, 2012, ii, pp. 798-99 (adds the St Macarius MSS to Graf's list)

M.N. Swanson, *The Coptic papacy in Islamic Egypt (641-1517)*, Cairo, 2010, pp. 107-17, 133-34

T. El-Leithy, *Coptic culture and conversion in medieval Cairo, 1293-1524 AD*, Princeton NJ, 2005 (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University), esp. ch. 3, pp. 101-39, 'Martyrdom and apostasy in the late 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century'

A. Wadi, art. 'Matteo I', in J. Nadal Cañellas and S. Virgulin (eds), *Bibliotheca sanctorum orientalium. Enciclopedia dei santi. Le chiese orientali*, 2 vols, Rome, 1998-99, ii, cols 469-72 (with extensive bibliography of Arabic-language publications from Egypt)

A. Wadi, art. 'Quarantanove martiri', in Nadal Cañellas and Virgulin, *Bibliotheca sanctorum orientalium* ii, cols 866-68

A. Wadi, 'Introduzione alla letteratura arabo-cristiana dei Copti', *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea* 29-30 (1996-97) 456

Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 456

Mark N. Swanson



## Pedro de la Cavallería

DATE OF BIRTH	Around 1400
PLACE OF BIRTH	Saragossa, Spain
DATE OF DEATH	Around 1470
PLACE OF DEATH	Saragossa, Spain

### BIOGRAPHY

The Cavallería family converted from Judaism to Christianity as a result of the Dispute of Tortosa. It is known that King Fernando I acted as godfather to Pedro's brother Bonafós, and that Bonafós married the Christian Leonor de la Cabra. The only known details about Pedro's own early life are given in the introduction to his *Zelus Christi*. This says that he was trained in Latin, Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic, and that he had already participated in disputes. So it must be assumed that by the year 1414, when he wrote this, he was already an adult. His family obtained a number of privileges from the Aragonese kings in the years following, partly because of their high position and partly because of their conversion. Pedro acted as counsellor to Alfonso V of Aragon and commissioner for Queen Maria in the cortes of Monzón and Alcañiz (1436-37). He was appointed *maestre racional* of Aragon and fiscal attorney (*procurador fiscal*) to the king. As part of his work as a leading lawyer, he helped in the compilation of the observances and customs of Aragon by the Great Juror (Justicia de Aragon) Martín Díez de Aux (*Observantiae consuetudinerque regni Aragonae*, 1437).

In the decade between 1450 and 1460, Cavallería started a campaign to cut himself off from his Jewish connections: he tried to have his marriage to a Jew annulled in Rome; he wrote his polemic treatise against Jews and Muslims to defend and spread the faith of Jesus Christ; and, following attacks on the minorities around 1455, he asked a group of nobles and friars for a testimony stating that his origins and those of his family were irreproachable regarding the purity of his Christian faith. It seems his strategy was successful, as he appears in legal records of Saragossa as a juror (*jurado*) in 1462.

The date of his death remains unclear: one version has him murdered by the Cerdán family after an unfavorable sentence on 26 October 1465. However, it has been accepted by other chroniclers and historians since the 15<sup>th</sup> century that Alonso de Palencia met him when Cavallería

was commissioned by King John II of Aragon to arrange the marriage between Isabel of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon in May 1469.

Despite his efforts to cover his *converso* origins, one of the witnesses at the Cavallerías' trial by the Inquisition (1480) reported that at the time of the plague, when Pedro de la Cavallería and his family moved to the countryside, Pedro used to visit Jewish families and enjoy the Saturday meal with wine and *hamin*; he said the responses to the prayers, spoke in Hebrew to the host, and discussed the Torah. Cavallería apparently claimed that his position at court caused him great pain, although it protected him from Christians.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

*Tractatus Zelus Christi contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et infideles* (see below)

J. Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, 20 books, Sarragossa, 1976-80, book 15, §§ 50, 55

#### *Secondary*

D. Nirenberg, 'El concepto de raza en el estudio del antijudaísmo ibérico medieval', *Edad Media: Revista de Historia* 3 (2000) 39-60

A. Echevarria, *The fortress of faith. The attitude towards Muslims in fifteenth-century Spain*, Leiden, 1999

M.I. Falcón Pérez, 'El patriciado urbano de Zaragoza y la actuación reformista de Fernando II en el Gobierno Municipal', *Aragón en la Edad Media* 2 (1979) 245-98

Art. 'Cavallería', in *Encyclopedia judaica*, Jerusalem, 1972-78

F. Vendrell de Millás, 'Aportaciones documentales para el estudio de la familia Cavallería', *Sefarad* 3 (1943) 115-54

M. Serrano y Sanz, *Orígenes de la dominación española en América*, Madrid, 1918

M. Serrano y Sanz, 'El linaje hebraico de La Caballería, según el Libro Verde de Aragón y otros documentos', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 73 (1918) 160-84

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Tractatus Zelus Christi contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et infideles; Zelus Christi*, 'Tractate of the avid follower of Christ against Jews, Saracens and infidels'

DATE 1450

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

## DESCRIPTION

Cavallería dedicated this work to those who had seen him participate in disputes and who had told him that the doctrines of Moses and Islam were easier to believe than the doctrine of Christianity. Throughout the treatise the two main subjects on which he focuses in his arguments against both Jews and Muslims are the teaching about Christ, and the question of divine providence. In the first part, he addresses both groups together in order to explain the Christian faith using the same arguments, an approach he defends by saying that the three religions have the same scriptures. In fact, he tries to use arguments from Islam, such as the role of Mary as mother of Jesus Christ, to confirm Christian theological doctrine in order to persuade Jews that their prophecies have been fulfilled. Further on, he discusses the role of Muḥammad in the history of salvation, and whether he was foretold by the prophets of either the Old or the New Testament, as a king or as the Antichrist.

He devotes the second part to the 'refutation of the sect of Muḥammad'. First, he summarizes the parts of Christian doctrine with which Muslims disagree: the Incarnation and the role of Jesus in the Qur'an; eschatology; the Trinity; the charge that the Bible has been altered by the Christians; the question of Jesus being the Son of God and not just a man; the crucifixion; and finally miracles. All his explanations employ quotations from the Qur'an, though he does not say whether he is using a Latin or an Arabic text. The last part of his argument discusses the role of Muḥammad as prophet, including Muḥammad's claim that his only miracle was to dictate the Qur'an. In this, Cavallería differs greatly from other writers, who insisted on attributing other miracles to Muḥammad.

## SIGNIFICANCE

*Zelus Christi* is a good example of the level that polemics could reach in the learned circles of *conversos* during the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Its main target is Judaism, so Muslims appear as a parallel, presented in order to correct Jewish ideas about Christ, to contribute to the development of Christian history until the end of time, and as a source of material for the assessment of Christian dogmas. In consequence, the main subjects are framed as a polemic against Judaism, not against Islam. The fact that Cavallería decided not to treat Judaism and Islam separately hinders the reader at some points. However, he does manage to bring in the main issues of the Qur'an versus the Bible, prophethood, and the Trinity, though all of them very briefly. The fact that he was not a clergyman perhaps explains why his quotations from the New Testament are fewer and less consistent

than quotations from the Old Testament and authors such as Ibn Rushd and Rabbi Abraham ibn Ezra, which are used freely.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya – 100 (1475)

MS Paris, BNF – Latin 3362 (15<sup>th</sup> century)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS —

## STUDIES

Echevarria, *The fortress of faith*

**Ana Echevarria**

# Francesco Filelfo

Franciscus Philelphus, Franciscus Philelfus,  
Franciscus Filelfus, François Filelfe

DATE OF BIRTH 25 July 1398

PLACE OF BIRTH Tolentino

DATE OF DEATH 31 July 1481

PLACE OF DEATH Florence

## BIOGRAPHY

Francesco Filelfo was a prominent Italian humanist of the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, author of numerous poems, dialogues, philosophical treatises, histories, orations, commentaries, and letters. After an early period of employment and study in Constantinople in the 1420s, he became an outspoken advocate for a new European crusade against the Ottoman Turks and wrote several polemical orations and letters in support of the project.

Born in Tolentino in the Marche of central Italy, Filelfo was educated at the University of Padua, but he soon departed to lecture on philosophy in Venice. Following the example of his friend, Guarino da Verona, he travelled to Constantinople to study Greek. Employed as a secretary first to the Venetian ambassador and later at the imperial court, Filelfo remained in Constantinople from 1420 to 1427, studying Greek under Johannes Chrysoloras and eventually marrying his daughter. He was involved in several Venetian and Byzantine diplomatic missions, including an embassy to the Ottoman Sultan Murad II. On his return to Italy in 1427, Filelfo embarked on a peripatetic academic career, teaching at the universities of Bologna, Florence, Siena, and then Bologna again, until Duke Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan appointed him to the chair of rhetoric at Pavia in 1440. In Milan, Filelfo lectured at the university while also serving as court poet and orator to Filippo Maria Visconti and his successors, the Sforza dukes. An abrasive and outspoken character, Filelfo embroiled himself in academic quarrels with many of the leading humanist scholars of his day. Thanks to some ill-chosen political gambits, he made enemies of the Medici of Florence and, for a time, Popes Pius II and Paul II. Some libellous epigrams he circulated in the months

after the death of Pius II provoked such outrage that Francesco Sforza threw him into prison for several months.

Despite these many scrapes, it was also during these years that Filelfo began to campaign most vociferously for a new crusade. He wrote long open letters to princes and prelates of Italy and northern Europe warning them of the threat the Ottoman Turks posed to Christendom and the need for a coordinated European response. Among his longest essays are his letter to King Wladyslaw III of Hungary and Poland of 1444 (on the eve of the Crusade of Varna), his letter to King Charles VII on the occasion of the death of Murad II in 1451 (treated below), his oration on behalf of Francesco Sforza at the Congress of Mantua in 1459 (a meeting of Christian princes called by Pius II to organize a crusade in response to the Ottoman capture of Constantinople in 1453), and a series of crusading letters he wrote to each Venetian doge on the occasion of his election in the 1450s, '60s, and '70s. In these letters and orations, Filelfo rang the changes on various familiar crusading themes – the barbarity of the Muslim foe, the dangers they posed to Christians in both the East and the West, the need for strong European leadership, and the easy victories that would come if only his princely readers would throw their support behind the cause. Filelfo frequently included scholarly digressions on the origins and early history of the Ottoman Turks, historical essays which feature an uneasy combination of genuine erudition and undisguised polemical cant. Filelfo drew on a broad range of Byzantine and medieval Latin chronicles and knew more than perhaps any other 15<sup>th</sup>-century Western European about the early history of the Turks and their role in the spread of Islam across the Byzantine East. But Filelfo used that knowledge to paint a dark portrait of the Turks as violent barbarians – bandits and marauders with no claim to rule over the civilized world. In most of his letters, Filelfo paid less attention to the specifically Islamic character of the Turks, preferring to stress their barbarous origins and primitive culture. But in his letter to Charles VII of France of 1451, he does include a lengthy discussion of the origins of Islam, the careers of Muḥammad and the early caliphs, and the process by which the Turks embraced Islam and came to rule over much of the Islamic world.

Despite several unsuccessful attempts to secure employment in Naples, Rome, Bologna, Paris, and elsewhere, Filelfo remained in Milan until 1475, when he took up an appointment to teach Greek and Latin rhetoric in Rome. He quickly fell foul of his patron Pope Sixtus IV, however, and returned to Milan in 1476. He then departed again in 1481 for Florence, where Lorenzo de' Medici had appointed him to lecture on

Greek at the Florentine Studio. He was in Florence for only two weeks before he fell ill and died at the age of 83.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

- MS Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana – 873  
 Francesco Filelfo, *Epistolarum familiarum libri XXXVII*, Venice, 1502  
 E. Legrand, *Cent-dix lettres grecques de François Filelfe*, Paris, 1892  
 Vespasiano da Bisticci, *The Vespasiano memoirs. Lives of illustrious men of the XVth century*, trans. W. George and E. Waters, New York, 1963 (repr. Toronto, 1997, 408-9)

#### *Secondary*

- M. Meserve, 'Nestor denied. Francesco Filelfo's advice to princes on the crusade against the Turks', *Osiris* 25 (2010) 47-65  
 W.S. Blanchard, 'Patrician sages and the humanist cynic. Francesco Filelfo and the ethics of world citizenship', *Renaissance Quarterly* 60 (2007) 1107-69  
 J. de Keyser and L. Silvano, 'Per un regesto dell'epistolario greco-latino di Francesco Filelfo', *Medioevo Greco* 6 (2006) 139-43  
 T. Ganchou, 'Les ultimaes voluntates de Manuel et Iôannès Chrysolôras et le séjour de Francesco Filelfo à Constantinople', *Bizantinistica* 7 (2005) 195-285  
 S. Papacostea, 'Un umanist Italian, ambasador în slujba Bizanțului, prin Moldova lui Alexandru cel Bun', in D. Nazare, R. Nazare and B.F. Popovici (eds), *In honorem Gernot Nussbächer*, Braşov, 2004, 133-41  
 A. Danilo-Aguzzi, 'Francesco Filelfo of Tolentino', in P.G. Bietenholz and T.B. Deutscher (eds), *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, 3 vols, Toronto, 2003, ii, 31-33  
 P. Viti, art. 'Filelfo, Francesco', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, 1960-, vol. 47, 613-26  
 M. Beltramini, 'Francesco Filelfo e il Filarete. Nuovi contributi alla storia dell'amicizia fra il letterato e l'architetto nella Milano sforzesca', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 1-2 (1996), 119-25  
 F. Caglioti, 'Francesco Sforza e il Filelfo Bonifacio Bembo e "compagni". Nove prosopopee inedite per il ciclo di antichi eroi ed eroine nella Corte Ducale dell'Arengo a Milano (1456-61 circa)', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 38 (1994), 183-217  
 V. Rossi, *Il quattrocento*, ed. A. Balduino, Padua, 1992, 107-10  
 D. Robin, *Filelfo in Milan. Writings 1451-77*, Princeton NJ, 1991  
 R. Avesani et al. (eds), *Francesco Filelfo nel quinto centenario della morte*, Padua, 1986  
 G. Resta, 'Francesco Filelfo tra Bisanzio e Roma', in R. Avesani et al. (eds), *Francesco Filelfo nel quinto centenario della morte*, Padua, 1986, 1-60

- V.R. Giustiniani, 'Lo scrittore e l'uomo nell'epistolario di Francesco Filelfo', in R. Avesani et al. (eds), *Francesco Filelfo nel quinto centenario della morte*, Padua, 1986, 249-74
- D. Robin, 'A reassessment of the character of Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481)', *Renaissance Quarterly* 36 (1983) 202-24
- J. Kraye, 'Francesco Filelfo on emotions, virtues and vices. A re-examination of his sources', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 43 (1981) 129-40
- J. Kraye, 'Francesco Filelfo's lost letter *De ideis*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42 (1979) 236-49
- G. Zippel, 'Il Filelfo a Firenze (1429-1434)', in G. Zippel (ed.), *Storia e cultura del Rinascimento italiano*, Padua, 1979, 215-53
- G. Gualdo, 'Francesco Filelfo e la curia pontificia. Una carriera mancata', in *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 1979, 189-236
- R.G. Adam, *Francesco Filelfo at the court of Milan (1439-1481). A contribution to the study of humanism in Northern Italy*, Oxford, 1974 (Diss., University of Oxford)
- E. Garin, *L'età sforzesca dal 1450 al 1500 (Storia di Milano 7)*, Milan, 1956, pp. 541-97
- L. de Feo Corso, 'Il Filelfo in Siena', *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, n.s. 11 (1940) 181-209, 292-316
- L.A. Sheppard, 'A fifteenth-century humanist, Francesco Filelfo', *The Library*, 4<sup>th</sup> ser. 16 (1935) 1-26
- G. Benaducci, 'Prose e poesia volgare di Francesco Filelfo', *Atti e Memorie della Reale Deputazione di Storia Patria per le province delle Marche* 5 (1901) xlvi-262
- G. Benaducci, 'Contributo alla bibliografia di F. Filelfo', *Atti e Memorie della Reale Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province delle Marche* 5 (1901) 461-535
- C. de Rosmini, *Vita di Francesco Filelfo da Tolentino*, 3 vols, Milan, 1808

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Epistola ad Carolum VII regem Francorum*, 'Letter to King Charles VII of France'

DATE 17 February 1451

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

#### DESCRIPTION

Filelfo wrote his letter to Charles VII in February 1451, shortly after hearing news of the death of the Ottoman Sultan Murad II. Other correspondence from the period shows that Filelfo was angling for a position at the French court, and the letter brims with flattery and praise for the



French king, whom Filelfo identifies as the only prince in Christendom who can successfully prosecute a war against the Turks. The letter fills ten large folio pages of the 1502 edition of his familiar letters. It is the longest and most detailed of his crusade letters and includes, among many other themes, a polemical account of the origins and spread of Islam. In the letter, Filelfo praises King Charles and the French nation as a whole as the bravest warriors in Christendom and the greatest champions of previous crusades. He recalls earlier French kings, from Charles Martel and Charlemagne to St Louis, who triumphed over the Saracens, and encourages Charles VII to emulate their devotion to the defense of the faith. He calls on Charles to lead a new crusade against the Turks to drive them out of the Balkans and Asia Minor.

In the course of the letter, Filelfo gives several accounts of the Muslim foe he hopes Charles will confront. Early on, he distinguishes between Turks and Saracens: the Saracens were the early conquerors of Islam, who captured Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, all 'thanks to our negligence'. (The fecklessness of earlier Christian leaders is a constant theme in Filelfo's crusade writing, intended to spur the present reader to a greater sense of dedication to the cause.) The Turks, by contrast, were an entirely different race, the descendants of barbarous Scythians who had erupted from the Caucasus, invaded Persia and Media, and eventually conquered territory from Asia Minor all the way to the Adriatic Sea. Later in the letter, however, Filelfo tries to draw connections between the early Arab conquerors, the 'Saracens' whom the crusaders encountered in Palestine and Egypt, and the contemporary Ottoman Turks. He does so in a lengthy digression that treats the life and career of Muḥammad, the early Arab conquests around the Mediterranean and in Persia, the conflicts with Frankish crusaders in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, and finally the emergence and rapid expansion of the Ottoman Empire.

In his life of Muḥammad, Filelfo includes almost every topic from the medieval Latin polemical biography: he was a poor boy of little account, kidnapped by the Saracens and indentured to a camel trader, Abdimoneplis, who treated him as his own son. The camel trade took him through Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, where he learned – and learned to pervert – much Jewish and Christian doctrine. He possessed great physical strength, personal charisma, and a wicked will; he soon became a ferocious bandit. He had many companions in crime whom he kept loyal with gifts of plunder. Later he married a rich widow. Because of his excessive drinking and feasting, he developed epilepsy and feigned

conversations with an angel in order to disguise his fits as ecstasies. Urged on by a corrupt monk named Sergius or perhaps Matthias, he began to preach to his compatriots and claimed to be a prophet of God. He devised various stunts to persuade his followers he was receiving divine revelations: he made it seem that a dove had come to whisper messages to him by hiding birdseed in his ear; he trained a bull, with a copy of the Qur'an tied to its horns, to approach him on hearing a secret signal, so as to claim that the book (which he and Sergius had together concocted) was of miraculous origin. He soon began to launch attacks on the borders of the Roman Empire. The entire portrait is intended to represent Muḥammad in as poor a light as possible, and especially to stress the seductive and deceptive nature of the 'law' that he preached to his followers and used to ensure their allegiance.

After Muḥammad and his followers attacked and conquered Damascus, they turned to Persia. The Persian King Chosroes II had contracted Turkish mercenaries to defend his kingdom, and these Turks defeated Muḥammad and his followers in battle, inflicting a grave injury to Muḥammad's face. There are several inaccuracies in this account – not least the fact that the Arab conquest of Syria and Persia took place after the death of Muḥammad. Filelfo's intention seems to have been to insert the Turks into the story of the Islamic conquests at the earliest possible moment, and then to make them seem the conquerors of the Arabs. Therefore, the history of all later 'Saracen' conquests is in fact the story of Turkish expansion. The implication is that the Franks and later the French, for as long as they have ridden out to battle the Saracen foe, have in fact been fighting the Turks. Frankish crusaders battled the Seljuks in the East; Saladin was the first of the Ottoman emirs. Given the long history of Turkish domination over the Islamic world, King Charles VII should not hesitate to continue in the tradition of his ancestors and lead a new crusade against the Ottomans.

Elsewhere in the letter, Filelfo tries yet other rhetorical gambits. He notes that the Turks only converted to Islam for cynical reasons, because it would help them to command the allegiance of the Arabs. Their hold over their subjects was tenuous. They had not progressed far from their barbarian origins – they were still a vicious, disorganized rabble. The conquests of Timur-i Leng had seriously weakened the Ottoman state, which was ripe for conquest. The death of Murad II left the empire in the hands of a weak and untested boy, the new Sultan Mehmed II. The Turks pretended to be the heirs of the Trojans, but, like all French kings, King

Charles was a true descendant of the royal house of ancient Troy, and so had a right and duty to reconquer his ancestral territory in Asia Minor.

Filelfo drew on various sources for his information on the history of Islam, including the *Chronographia* of Theophanes (q.v.), possibly in the translation of Anastasius Bibliothecarius (q.v.), and the *Commentaries* of Andrea Biglia (q.v.), who derived much of his information from Hetoum of Korikos. Details on the life of Muḥammad and the early Arab conquests may derive from the *Historia orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry (q.v.). Though there is much in these medieval sources that is garbled or inaccurate, Filelfo does not simply reproduce earlier misapprehensions, but often actively distorts his sources in order to present the Turks in the worst possible light. Filelfo had rehearsed some of these themes in his 1444 letter to King Wladyslaw III of Poland and Hungary, and would repeat many of his observations on the Scythian origins and present barbarity of the Turks in his later crusade orations and letters. However, nowhere else does he expand at such length on the origins of Islam and the history of the 'Saracens', a move prompted no doubt by the rhetorical challenge of persuading a French king to take up the long-discarded cause of crusade.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Filelfo's letter circulated widely among Italian humanists as part of his collected familiar letters, which were often read for their rhetorical quality as much as for their content. They were printed for the first time in 1473 and reprinted in over 20 subsequent editions, until the publication of a more complete edition in 1502, which remains the most accessible version of the text.

Filelfo's 1451 letter is one of the earliest and longest humanist tracts advocating a new crusade against the Turks. Filelfo here developed a number of historical, rhetorical, and polemical points, which would be repeated by countless Italian humanists in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Chief among these are the Scythian origins and barbarous character of the Ottomans, their illegitimate conquest of Christian territory in Asia Minor and Eastern Europe, the failures of past Christian princes to do anything to contain them, and the need for decisive action at the present moment in order to forestall further Turkish expansion into Western Europe. Writing in the classicizing idiom of Renaissance humanism, Filelfo frequently makes comparisons with classical precedents, comparing Charles VII to Alexander or Caesar, and the Turks to the barbarous Scythians, Persians, or Parthians who threatened the

security of ancient Greece and Rome. The effect was to present the Ottoman Turks as a political threat to the states of Europe as well as an infidel foe who endangered the salvation of those they conquered. At the same time – most likely because he was addressing the ‘most Christian’ king of France – Filelfo also integrated a number of arguments from the medieval tradition of anti-Muslim polemic, including the hostile biography of Muḥammad and numerous comments on the seductive and heretical character of Islam. Even here, however, his portrait of Muḥammad reads as something of a political biography, with as much emphasis placed on his banditry and military actions against Byzantium as on erroneous or heretical preaching. The argument as a whole was that Arabs and Turks alike had long acted as dangerous, unstable elements, threatening the political stability and security of the Mediterranean world. The only solution was for a Christian prince to take up the crusading cause and restore the political equilibrium that had existed in the East before the onslaught of the Arabs and the Turks.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana – 873 (date unknown)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Francesco Filelfo, *Epistolarum familiarum libri XXXVII*, Venice, 1502, fols 55r-59v (the most reliable and accessible version of the text)

*Orationes tres contra Turcos*, Strassburg, about 1497 (Filelfo’s letter is here published as a tract alongside orations by Filelfo and Pope Pius II delivered at the 1459 Congress of Mantua)

Francesco Filelfo, *Epistolae*, Venice, 1473 (first of over 20 15<sup>th</sup>-century editions of Filelfo’s letter book)

#### STUDIES

M. Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance historical thought*, Cambridge MA, 2008, 45, 85-6, 191-97

J. Hankins, ‘Renaissance crusaders. Humanist crusade literature in the age of Mehmed II’, *DOP* 49 (1995) 111-207, pp. 121, 138-40

D. Robin, *Filelfo in Milan. Writings, 1451-1477*, Princeton NJ, 1991, 82-85, 88-90

F. Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his time*, ed. W. Hickman, trans. R. Mannheim, Princeton NJ, 1978, 67-68

A. Pertusi, ‘I primi studi in Occidente sull’origine e le potenze dei Turchi’, *Studi Veneziani* 12 (1970) 465-552, pp. 469-71

- L. Gualdo Rosa, 'Il Filelfo e i Turchi. Un inedito storico dell'Archivio Vaticano', *Università di Napoli. Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia* 2 (1964-68) 109-65, pp. 111-14
- R. Schwoebel, *The shadow of the crescent. The Renaissance image of the Ottoman Turk*, Nieuwkoop, 1967, 150-52

**Margaret Meserve**

# Gomes Eanes de Zurara

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1405
PLACE OF BIRTH	Uncertain; perhaps Santarém
DATE OF DEATH	1473 or 1474
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

## BIOGRAPHY

The illegitimate son of a canon of Coimbra and Evora, Gomes Eanes de Zurara worked at the court of King Duarte of Portugal (1433-38) as a curator of the royal archives. During the reign of Afonso V (1438-81), he was knighted and eventually became the kingdom's chief chronicler. He composed a number of chronicles narrating the reigns of the Portuguese kings and in particular their conquests in North Africa (in one of these, *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta*, ed. R Brasil, Lisbon, 1992, pp. 271-76 [trans. M. Newitt, *The Portuguese in West Africa, 1415-1670*, Cambridge, 2010, pp. 25-28], he describes how, after the Portuguese capture of Ceuta in 1415, King Duarte ordered the mosque to be cleaned through and a solemn mass to be celebrated there). Afonso named him head of the royal library in the Alcáçova palace; in June 1454, he became head of the royal archives.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

Zurara, *Chronica de Dom Pedro de Meneses*, in *Colecção de libros inéditos de história portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1792

Zurara, *Crónica da tomada de Ceuta por el Rei Dom João I*, ed. F Estees Pereira, Lisbon, 1915

### *Secondary*

M. Morán Cabanas, 'A propósito da erudição greco-latina e da imagística na Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta, de Gomes Eanes de Zurara', *Troianalexandrina. Yearbook of Classical Material in Medieval Literature* 4 (2004) 163-86

M. Brocardo, 'Editar uma Crónica de Zurara', *Cahiers de Linguistique Hispanique Médiévale* 20 (1995) 257-67

L. de Sousa Rebelo, 'Providencialismo e profecia nas crónicas portuguesas da expansão', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 71 (1994) 67-86

- M. da Silva Castelo Branca, 'Uma reabilitação histórica', *Boletim de Filologia* 30 (1985) 55-67
- J. Barradas de Carvalho, *A la recherche de la spécificité de la Renaissance Portugaise. L'Esmeraldod e Situ Orbis' de Duarte Pacheco Pereira et la littérature portugaise de voyages à l'époque des grandes découvertes. Contribution à l'étude de la pensée moderne*, 2 vols, Paris, 1983, i, 276-77, 280-320

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Crónica do descobrimento & conquista da Guiné;* *Crónica do Guiné*, 'Chronicle of the discovery and conquest of Guinea'

DATE 1453

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Portuguese

#### DESCRIPTION

Zurara composed his chronicle at the behest of King Afonso V of Portugal, to whom he dedicates the work. He relates the history of the expeditions along the west coast of Africa between 1434 and 1447, emphasizing the role played by the Portuguese kings and in particular by Prince Henry 'the Navigator'. He describes how Prince Henry was driven by desire for glory, ambition for the expansion of Portuguese power, and desire to expand Christendom by defeating 'Moros'. Indeed, the term 'Moro' is used quite loosely to encompass all of the Africans that the Portuguese encounter, with no fine distinctions between Muslims and animists. Nowhere does he express any knowledge of or interest in their religious practices or beliefs.

Zurara also describes the importance of economic considerations: some of the expeditions fished, others conducted trade, and others took captives to sell as slaves. Zurara describes a number of these raids. Typically, the Portuguese arrived at night, disembarked, and quietly encircled the village. Then, shouting 'Portugal! Santiago! Saint Georges!' they attacked, killing those who resisted and capturing the rest, taking them to the ship in long boats for the long return trip to Portugal, where they were sold. For Zurara these actions are part of the holy wars against 'Moros' and as such are wholly justified. What is more, the slaves, although distraught to be separated from their loved ones, learned of the Christian religion, and many indeed became better Christians than many Portuguese. God has no doubt reserved a great reward for those who brought this about, Zurara piously intones.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Zurara's text provides a vivid example of how, in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Iberia, the ideology of crusade could be employed to justify wars of conquest in Africa and even slaving raids. Given the important role that Zurara played as official chronicler to King Afonso V, this point of view no doubt corresponded to that of Portuguese royalty itself. Zurara was read and used by later writers on Iberian expansion in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, notably Valentim Fernandez and Bartolomé de la Casas.

## MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Codex Hispanus 27 (1506; the so-called 'Manuscrito de Valentim Fernandes', containing a Latin translation of Zurara by Valentim Fernandes)
- MS Paris, BNF – Portugais 42 (16<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional – 2424, paper (17<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Codex Hispanus 102, paper (18<sup>th</sup> century)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

- J. Pereira da Costa (ed.), *Códice Valentim Fernandes*, Lisbon, 1997 (modern Portuguese trans. of Schmeller's transcription of MS Munich 27)
- R. Brasil (ed.), *Crónica do descobrimento & conquista da Guiné*, Lisbon, 1989 (uncritical edition with little information on the manuscripts)
- L. Bourdon (trans.), *Chronique de Guinée*, Dakar, 1960 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition Paris, 1994)
- T. de Sousa Soares (ed.), *Crónica dos feitos notáveis que se passaram na conquista da Guiné por Mandado do Infante D. Henrique*, 2 vols, Lisbon, 1978-81
- J. de Bragança (ed.), *Crónica do descobrimento & conquista da Guiné*, 2 vols, Porto, 1937
- E. Prestage, *The Chronicles of Fernão Lopes and Gomes Eannes de Zurara, with translated extracts and seven illustrations*, Watford, 1928
- J. Schmeller (ed.), *Über Valentim Fernandez Aleman und seine Sammlung von Nachrichten über die Entdeckungen und Besitzungen der Portugiesen in Afrika und Asien bis zum Jahre 1508, enthalten in einer portugiesischen Handschrift der Königl. Hof- und Staats-Bibliothek zu München (Cod. Hisp. 27), Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der Königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 7 (3), 1847 (edition of Valentim Fernandez's 16<sup>th</sup>-century Latin trans.)



J. Aillaud (ed.), *Chronica do descobrimento e conquista de Guiné*, Paris, 1841 (edition based on Paris MS)

## STUDIES

- P. Heitlinger, 'Manuscrito de Valentim Fernandes', *Cadernos de Tipografia e Design* 13 (2008) 35-36
- D. Lahon, 'Black African slaves and freedmen in Portugal during the Renaissance. Creating a new pattern of reality', in T. Earle and K. Lowe (eds), *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, Cambridge, 2005, 261-79
- J. Blackmore, 'The Moor and the topography of (mis)reading in Zurara', *Hispanófila. Literatura-ensayos* 128 (2000) 103-12
- V. Verrier, 'De la Chronique de Zurara aux Voyages de Ca' da Mosto. Deux regards croisés sur l'Afrique du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Taira* 8 (1996) 63-79
- P. Hair, 'The early sources on Guinea', *History in Africa* 21 (1994) 87-126
- M. Barradas de Carvalho, *L'idéologie religieuse dans la 'Cronica dos feitos de Guiné' de Gomes Eanes de Zurara*, Lisbon, 1956

**John Tolan**

## *Ḥujaj al-milla l-Ḥanīfiyya wa-jawāb kull su'āl*

'Proofs for the Ḥanīfī community and an answer  
to every question'

DATE 1455

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

### DESCRIPTION

While not excessively long, at 63 folios *Ḥujaj al-milla* is not insubstantial, though according to Fritsch, *Islam und Christentum*, pp. 36-38, it is of questionable quality because it repeats many familiar issues and themes from earlier times. A note indicates that it was written in 1455 for Mehmed II, only two years after he had conquered Constantinople.

The work comprises three parts, in the first of which Christians take the lead (the author cites as precedent the dialogue that Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī [q.v.] held with the emperor during his embassy to Constantinople), and in the other two the Muslim case is put. The first part, which occupies about half of the whole, is made up of 33 questions supposedly asked by Christians, together with the author's answers. These cover such topics as abrogation of one faith by another, the universal dimension of Muḥammad's prophethood, and the divinity of Christ, each less likely to have come from an actual interlocutor than the author himself.

The much shorter second part constitutes a proof of the prophethood of Muḥammad based on his miracles and supremely the Qur'an, and the even shorter third part, which is incomplete, lists ten groups who oppose prophethood in principle and presents brief answers in response.

### SIGNIFICANCE

Since this work was ostensibly intended for someone whose knowledge of Christian beliefs and the technicalities of Muslim arguments against them may well have been limited, its rather elementary character is maybe not surprising. While it may lack in originality, it attests to the range of popular attitudes towards Christianity. It also gives indications of what understanding of it Ottoman Muslims held in the aftermath of the conquest of Constantinople, and also to the possible need they felt to find out about it, to see how it differed from their own, and how to respond to it.

## MANUSCRIPTS

See Fritsch, *Islam und Christentum*, p. 36, for details of MSS in Leiden and Paris.

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS —

## STUDIES

- E. Fritsch, *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter*, Breslau, 1930, pp. 36-38  
M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden*, Leipzig, 1877, pp. 42-43

David Thomas

# Nicholas of Cusa

Nicholas of Kues, Nicolaus Cusanus

DATE OF BIRTH 1401  
PLACE OF BIRTH Kues  
DATE OF DEATH 11 August, 1464  
PLACE OF DEATH Todi, Italy

## BIOGRAPHY

Nicholas was born in Kues (Bernkastel-Kues) on the river Mosel in Germany. He first studied in Heidelberg and then went on to Padua for law, and Cologne for theology. He was ordained a priest and entered the service of the papal legate Cardinal Giordano Orsini. In 1433 he participated in the Council of Basel, where he met Juan de Segovia (q.v.) and discussed with him Islam and the Qur'an; it was at Basel that he obtained a copy of Robert of Ketton's (q.v.) translation of the Qur'an, a copy which he annotated (see Biechler, 'Nicholas of Cusa and Muhammad'). In the same year, Nicholas wrote *De concordantia catholica*, a blueprint of reform for the church and the Holy Roman Empire through conciliarism. He subsequently took up the papal cause in negotiations with the empire, and was named cardinal by Pope Nicholas V in 1448.

Nicholas was a prominent humanist and author of a large number of philosophical and theological works in Latin. A skilled philologist and a meticulous historian, Nicholas demonstrated the inauthenticity of the *Donation of Constantine* and the false *Decretals*. His works on Islam reflect his critical humanist approach to texts (demonstrated in his analysis of the Qur'an in the *Cribratio*), and his inclination to seek consensus via dialogue that he learned from conciliarism.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

T.M. Izbicki (ed.), *Nicholas of Cusa. Writings on church and reform*, Cambridge Mass, 2008

*Nicolai de Cusa opera omnia iussu et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Heidelbergensis ad codicum fidem edita*, 22 vols, Hamburg, 1932-86

*Secondary*

- M. Wantanabe, *Nicholas of Cusa. A companion to his life and his times*, Farnham, 2011
- E. Meuthen, *Nicholas of Cusa. A sketch for a biography*, Washington DC, 2010
- C. Catà, *La croce e l'inconcepibile. Il pensiero di Nicola Cusano tra filosofia e predicazione*, Macerata, 2009
- A. Fidora and P. Renner (eds), *Ramon Llull und Nikolaus von Kues*, Turnhout, 2005
- C. Bellitto, T.M. Izbicki and G. Christianson (eds), *Introducing Nicholas of Cusa. A guide to a Renaissance man*, New York, 2004
- C. D'Amico and J. Machetta, (eds), *El problema del conocimiento en Nicolás de Cusa. Genealogía y proyección*, Madrid, 2004
- C. Miller, *Reading Cusanus. Metaphor and dialectic in a conjectural universe*, Washington DC, 2003
- H. Bond (ed.), *Nicholas of Cusa. Selected spiritual writings*, New York, 2002
- K. Yamaki (ed.), *Nicholas of Cusa. A medieval thinker for the modern age*, London, 2001
- K. Flasch, *Nikolaus von Kues. Geschichte einer Entwicklung*, Frankfurt, 1998
- A. Szennay, 'Viele Wege führen zu Gott? Wahre und falsche Toleranz im Glauben. Nicolaus Cusanus als Vorkämpfer der ökumenischen Bestrebungen', in G. Békés, A. Szennay and A. Somorjai (eds), *Miscellanea Gerardo J. Békés OSB octogenario dedicata*, vol. 1, *Unum omnes in Christo in unitatis servitio*, Pannonhalma, 1995, 335-54
- B. Helander, 'Cusanus als Wegweiser zur Eintracht', in G. Piaia (ed.), *Concordia Discors. Studi su Niccolò Cusano e l'umanesimo europeo offerti a Giovanni Santinello*, Padua, 1993, 199-216
- J. Biechler, 'Three manuscripts on Islam from the library of Nicholas of Cusa', *Manuscripta* 27 (1983) 91-100
- K. Jaspers, *Nikolaus Cusanus*, Munich, 1964
- M. de Gandillac, *La philosophie de Nicolas de Cues*, Paris, 1941
- E. Vansteenbergh, *Le cardinal Nicolas de Cues (1401-1464)*, Paris, 1920

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*De pace fidei*, 'On the peace of faith'

DATE 1453

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

## DESCRIPTION

Nicholas wrote *De pace fidei* in the aftermath of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. It takes the form of a heavenly vision in which the narrator witnesses a dialogue between 17 wise men from various religions and

diverse regions of the world, who are questioned by the Supreme King (also called *Verbum*, the Word).

The work is very unlike earlier fictitious dialogues in which Jews, Christians and Muslims argue about doctrinal or ritual differences, in that here the emphasis is on the unity of belief and purpose among the sages. Their faith and religion are one, under a diversity of rites (*una religio in rituum varietate*), and the capacity to understand this unity and to respect the diversity could lead to a greater understanding of God and the achievement of peace among people of different religions. Indeed, Nicholas places the clearest statement of this unity in the mouth of his Arab sage, in a saying that was attributed to Muḥammad in Nicholas' manuscript copy of the 12<sup>th</sup>-century *Lex sive doctrina Mahumeti* (q.v.): 'The law or faith of all is one, but the rites of the different prophets were undoubtedly different' (see Biechler, 'A new face toward Islam').

#### SIGNIFICANCE

*De pace fidei* is a unique work, and it bears the mark of Nicholas' conciliarism. In the heady early days in Basel, conciliarists dreamed, through careful and respectful negotiations, of achieving an end of divisions within the Catholic Church, the reconciliation of pope and Holy Roman emperor, and the allegiance of the Greek Orthodox Church with Rome. In *De pace fidei*, Nicholas takes this dream to its ultimate conclusion: a dialogue between the world's wise men who can agree to the essential unity of their creeds and accept a diversity of practice.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

For the 13 extant MSS of the work, see Klibansky and Bascour (eds), *De pace fidei*, pp. xiii-xxvi.

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

*La paix de la foi suivi de Lettre à Jean de Ségovie*, trans. (French) H. Pasqua, Paris, 2008

*La paz de la fe; Carta a Juan de Segovia*, trans. (Spanish), V. Sanz Santacruz, Pamplona, 1996

*Nicholas of Cusa's De pace fidei and Cribratio alkorani. Translation and analysis*, trans. J. Hopkins, Minneapolis MN, 1994<sup>2</sup>, pp. 33-71

*Nicholas of Cusa on interreligious harmony. Text, concordance and translation of De pace fidei*, ed. and (English) trans. J. Biechler and H.L. Bond, Lewiston NY, 1990

*Der Friede im Glauben*, ed. and trans. (German) D. and W. Dupré, in *Nikolaus von Kues, Die Philosophisch-theologischen Schriften*, vol. 3, Vienna, 1989, 705-97

*La paix de la foi*, trans. (French) R. Galibois, Sherbrooke, 1977  
*Nicolai de Cusa opera omnia iussu et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum  
 Heidelbergensis ad codicum fidem edita*, vol. 7. *De pace fidei cum  
 Epistola ad Ioannem de Segovia*, ed. R. Klibansky and H. Bascour,  
 Hamburg, 1959 (critical edition of Latin text)

Four editions between 1488 and 1565 are described by Klibansky and Bascour, pp. xxix-xxxii.

#### STUDIES

- G. Piaia, 'Un'arma a doppio taglio? Sul nesso filosofia-teologia nel *De pace fidei* di Nicolò Cusano', *Rinascimento* 48 (2008) 47-60
- C. Vasoli, 'Dal *De pace fidei* alla dieta di Mantova', in A. Calzona et al. (eds), *Il Sogno di Pio II e il viaggio da Roma a Mantova*, Florence, 2003, 457-80
- Hopkins, *Nicholas of Cusa's De pace fidei and Cribratio alkorani*, pp. 3-13
- J. Quillet, 'La paix de la foi. Identité et différence selon Nicolas de Cues', in G. Piaia (ed.), *Concordia Discors. Studi su Niccolò Cusano e l'umanesimo europeo offerti a Giovanni Santinello*, Padua, 1993, 237-50
- L. Valcke, 'Il *De pace fidei*. Niccolò de Cusa ed Enea Silvio Piccolomini', in L. Rotondi Secchi Tarugi (ed.), *Pio II et la cultura del suo tempo*, Milan, 1991, 301-12
- J. Pedersen, 'The unity of religion and universal peace. Nicholas of Cusa and his *De Pace Fidei* (1453)', in B. McGuire (ed.), *War and peace in the Middle Ages*, Copenhagen, 1987, 195-215
- W. Heinemann, *Einheit in Verschiedenheit. Das Konzept eines intellektuelle Religionenfriedens in der Schrift 'De pace fidei' des Nikolaus von Kues*, Altenberge, 1987
- R. Klibansky, 'Die Wirkungsgeschichte des Dialogs *De pace fidei*', *Mitteilungen und Forschungsbeiträge der Cusanus-Gesellschaft* 16 (1984) 113-25
- J. Pelikan, 'Negative theology and positive religion. A study of Nicholas Cusanus' *De pace fidei*', *Prudentia. Journal for Intellectual History of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, supp. volume, Auckland, 1981, 65-77
- M. Arduini, '*Ad hanc supermirandam harmonicam pacem*. Riforma della Chiesa ed ecumenismo religioso nel pensiero di Nicolò Cusano: il *De pace fidei*', *Rivista di Filosofia Neo-scolastica* 72 (1980) 224-42

R. Imbach, 'Einheit des Glaubens. Spuren des Cusanischen Dialogs *De pace fidei* bei Heymericus de Campo', *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 27 (1980) 5-23

### *Cribratio Alchorani*, 'Sifting the Qur'an'

DATE 1461

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

#### DESCRIPTION

The *Cribratio* is the fruit of long and careful studies of Islam: Nicholas had read Robert of Ketton's translation of the Qur'an together with various Latin works of anti-Muslim polemic, and had conducted a series of discussions and correspondence with other scholars interested in Islam, in particular with Juan de Segovia (q.v.). In many ways, in this analytical exploration of the Qur'an, he repeats the errors and the hostility of earlier polemicists, notably in his caricatures of Muslim beliefs and rituals and in his portrayal of Muḥammad. Yet his aim is distinct: it is to 'sift' the Qur'an in order to identify nuggets of truth and wisdom. His approach is essentially positive; he differs from many of his predecessors and contemporaries in his efforts to find a *pia interpretatio* ('pious interpretation') to Muḥammad's intentions and to Muslim doctrines and practices.

Nicholas judges that where the Qur'an differs from the Bible, this was the result of Muḥammad's ignorance of Christ, not hostility. The Qur'an's rejection of the Trinity is best understood as a refusal of polytheism and idolatry, and in the same way Muḥammad did not teach the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ because he felt it would compromise his attempts to lead idolatrous Arabs to strict monotheism. Where other polemicists had perceived Muḥammad's malignancy and mendacity, Nicholas sees a laudable (if at times misplaced) attempt to lead infidels to true faith.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

In an age of renewed virulent polemics against Islam and of humanists' caricatures of Turks as Scythian barbarians, the thoughtful and irenic treatises of Nicholas of Cusa and Juan de Segovia stand out. Nicholas attempts to find in the Qur'an the confirmation of Christian truth, and tries to explain away its rejection of such essential Christian doctrines as the Incarnation and crucifixion of Christ.



The work was known among a small circle of humanist scholars, mostly through its early printed editions. Theodor Bibliander included it in the anthology of anti-Muslim texts he published in Basel in 1543.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

For descriptions of the six extant 15<sup>th</sup>-century MSS, see Hagemann's 1986 edition, pp. xxi-xxiii.

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

H. Pasqua (trans.), *Le Coran tamisé*, Paris, 2011 (Latin text and French trans.)

Hopkins, *Nicholas of Cusa's De pace fidei and Cribratio alkorani*, pp. 75-189

E. Hoffmann, P. Wilpert and K. Bormann (trans), *Sichtung des Korans*, 3 vols, Hamburg, 1989-93 (Latin text from Hagemann's edition with German trans.

*Prüfung des Korans*, D. and W. Dupré, trans, in *Nikolaus von Kues, Die Philosophisch-theologischen Schriften*, vol. 3, Vienna, 1989, 799-817 (Latin text and German trans.)

*Nicolai de Cusa opera omnia iussu et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Heidelbergensis*, vol. 8. *Cribratio Alkorani*, ed. L. Hagemann, Hamburg, 1986 (critical edition)

Five early editions (1488-1565) are described in Hagemann's edition, pp. xxv-xxix.

#### STUDIES

C. Bonmariage, 'Houris et autres jouvenceaux. Les promesses du Paradis comme lieu d'analyse de la lecture du Coran par Nicolas de Cues', in J.-M. Counet and S. Mercier (eds), *Nicolas de Cues. Les méthodes d'une pensée*, Louvain, 2005, 23-32.

W. Knoch, 'Verteidigung als Annäherung? Die Auseinandersetzung des Nikolaus von Kues mit dem Islam im Spiegel der *Cribratio Alkorani*', in J. Aertsen and M. Pickavé (eds), *Herbst des Mittelalters? Fragen zur Bewertung des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts (Miscellanea Mediaevalia 31)*, Berlin, 2004, 393-405

L. Hagemann, 'Die "letzten Dinge" in der Sicht des Korans. Sterben und Weiterleben in islamischer Deutung', *Mitteilungen und Forschungsbeiträge der Cusanus-Gesellschaft* 23 (1996) 119-38

Hopkins, *Nicholas of Cusa's De pace fidei and Cribratio alkorani*, pp. 14-29

- J. Hopkins, 'The role of "pia interpretatio" in Nicholas of Cusa's hermeneutical approach to the Koran', in G. Piaia (ed.), *Concordia Discors. Studi su Niccolò Cusano e l'umanesimo europeo offerti a Giovanni Santinello (Medioevo e umanesimo 84)*, Padua, 1993, 251-73
- T. Izbicki, 'The possibility of dialogue with Islam in the fifteenth century', in G. Christianson and T. Izbicki (eds), *Nicholas of Cusa in search of God and wisdom. Essays in honour of Morimichi Watanabe by the American Cusanus Society*, Leiden, 1991, 175-183
- J. Biechler, 'A new face toward Islam. Nicholas of Cusa and John of Segovia', in G. Christianson and T. Izbicki (eds), *Nicholas of Cusa in search of God and wisdom. Essays in honour of Morimichi Watanabe by the American Cusanus Society*, Leiden, 1991, 185-202
- J. Biechler, 'Nicholas of Cusa and Muhammad. A fifteenth-century encounter', *Downside Review* 101 (1983) 50-59

### *Epistola ad Ioannem de Segovia*, 'Letter to Juan de Segovia'

DATE 29 December 1454

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

#### DESCRIPTION

Juan de Segovia had written to Nicholas in 1454, in the wake of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, to try to enlist him in his attempt to organize a *contraferentia*, or conference, between Christian and Muslim leaders to debate the faith, or more precisely 'to pierce the heart of the Saracens with the sword of the Divine Spirit'.

In his response to Juan, Nicholas approves of the idea: Islam spreads by the sword, he says, whereas Christianity is the religion of peace, so we should oppose the Turk with the arms of peace. The conference that Nicholas imagines, with representatives from various Christian groups that live under Muslim rule and are familiar with Muslims, would favour the participation of laymen rather than priests (because, he says, the Turks are more likely to trust them). It represents a practical attempt to realize the irenic dialogue he had presented in idealized form in *De pace fidei*.

## SIGNIFICANCE

This exchange shows that the two friends, who had together studied the Qur'an in Basel, still harboured hopes of advancing the cause of peace between the Ottomans and Catholic Europe through peaceful dialogue. Their ideas were to find few proponents and to have no impact.

## MANUSCRIPTS

The text is extant in two MSS, both of which belonged to Juan of Segovia (d. 1458):

MS Salamanca, Biblioteca universitaria – cod. 55

MS Vat – Lat. 2923.

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

*La paz de la fe. Carta a Juan de Segovia*, trans. V. Sanz Santacruz, Pamplona, 1996

*La paix de la foi suivi de Lettre à Jean de Ségovie*, trans. H. Pasqua, Paris, 2008

## STUDIES —

**John Tolan**

# Juan de Segovia

Juan Alfonso de Segovia

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1390
PLACE OF BIRTH	Probably Segovia, Castile
DATE OF DEATH	May 1458
PLACE OF DEATH	Aiton, Savoy

## BIOGRAPHY

Juan Alfonso de Segovia, more commonly known as Juan de Segovia, began his studies at Salamanca in about 1407. Although later histories sometimes added the surname González, no contemporary documents support this. Vatican records of his activity identify him as Johannes Alfonsus, presbyter Segobiensis. Nothing is known about his family background. At Salamanca, he earned a masters degree in theology and served on the faculty. Although his later works on the subject of Islam and the proper Christian stance toward Muslims are more developed and have received more attention, it is clear that his interest in such topics was present earlier. Even though their main focus is on other issues, the only extant works from his Salamanca years – *Repetitio de superioritate et excellentia supremæ potestatis ecclesiasticæ et spiritualis ad regiam temporalem* (1426) and *Repetitio de fide catholica* (1427) – reveal that he was already thinking about the goal of converting Jews and Muslims to Christianity, and about what made members of these other faith traditions adhere to them.

Two encounters in 1431 had a profound impact on Juan's later thought. The first occurred in July, when he was at the royal court on university business. Also present was a prince from Granada, whom he approached with a request that the prince send a member of his guard so that Juan could have a discussion with a learned Muslim about his beliefs. When the prince responded that no Muslim dared engage in such a conversation, he offered to meet the man in private. The future king told Juan that there were 'cantors' among his entourage, but no one qualified to discuss their religion.

Juan de Segovia's second attempt at such a conversation was more successful. In October, he met with a Granadan ambassador whose business had taken him to the royal court. He asked the ambassador why

he frequently used God's name to swear (probably 'por Dios', the Castilian equivalent of *wa-llāhi*). The man responded angrily, and there followed a long conversation in which the Granadan accused Christians of polytheism, among other things, and Juan strove to explain the Christian doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. Reportedly, the man returned several times for further discussion, even bringing along a Spanish *faqih*.

Later that year, Juan left Salamanca for business in Rome and never returned. He was present at the Council of Basel in 1433 and became one of its most active and prolific participants. After the council dissolved itself in 1451, Juan retired to the alpine territory of Savoy, spending most of his remaining years in a small monastery in Aiton. After the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, he abandoned various writing projects and turned to writing lengthy letter-treatises to prominent thinkers, all of whom he knew personally, in which he argued that Christian Europe should reject war as a response to the Turkish aggression and seek instead to convert Muslim enemies by peaceful persuasion. In these letters, he described his conversations in 1431 with Muslims in Castile. He thought that, with proper explanations, Muslims could be persuaded of the truth of Christianity. He found further support for this argument in the Council of Basel's success in negotiating an end to the Hussites' armed rebellion through peaceful persuasion.

These letter-treatises include works sent to Cardinal Juan de Cervantes (*De mittendo gladio* and *Liber de praeclara notitia*, 1453-57), Nicholas of Cusa (letter dated 2 December 1454), and Burgundian theologian Jean Germain (18 December 1455). Juan also wrote much shorter letters to Guillaume d'Orlye (probably – the recipient is not named) in 1457 or 1458 and to Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who would soon become Pope Pius II, in 1458. In all these, he argued that rational persuasion could succeed, and that this approach was the one most faithful to Christ's call to love one's enemies and his own example of not responding violently to his killers. Besides, crusading had not worked.

Juan de Segovia believed that Christians were woefully misinformed about Islam, and he attributed this to the scarcity of reliable translations of the Qur'an. Long efforts to find a better translation finally resulted in a remarkable collaboration with the Spanish *faqih* Yça Gidelli (q.v. under Içe de Gebir) in the winter of 1455, whom he paid to travel to Aiton and produce a fresh translation. Gidelli rendered the Arabic into Castilian, and Juan produced the Latin. This trilingual edition is no longer extant, except for its preface. Afterwards, Gidelli continued their discussion

about faith by sending Juan a list of 12 doubts or challenges to Christianity and a demand that Juan answer them. Juan began a reply, and probably also a theological treatise entitled *Elucidatorium precipue ueritatis catholice fidei. Jesum, Marie filium, esse uerum Dei filium Deumque uerum*, but these were never sent due to his failing health.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

- De gladio divini Spiritus in corda mittendo Sarracenorum* (1453-57), MS Sevilla, Biblioteca Colombina – 7-6-14, fols 11r-110v (fols 19-20v contain a discussion of the conversations with Muslims in 1431)
- Prefatio Johannis de Segobia in translationem noviter editam ex arabico in latinum vulgareque hispanum libri Alchorani* (1456), MS Vat – Cod. lat. 2923, fols 186r-196r, and a much later copy in MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 9250, fols 107r-121v (complete text in Cabanelas, pp. 279-302)
- Letter to Nicholas of Cusa, 2 December 1454, MS Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca – 19, fols 168r-184r, and MS Vat – Cod. lat. 2923, fols 4r-35r (excerpts are published in Cabanelas, pp. 303-10)
- Donatio inter vivos*, ed. B Hernández Montes, *Biblioteca de Juan de Segovia. Edición y comentario de su escritura dedonación*, Madrid, 1984, esp. pp. 75-84 and 113-15 (this work has superseded Julio González, *El maestro Juan de Segovia y sus biblioteca*, 1944)

### Secondary

- Studies of Juan de Segovia's ideas about Islam:
- A.M. Wolf, *Fighting for peace. Juan de Segovia and Islam in the fifteenth century* (tentative title), Notre Dame Ind, 2014
- T. Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom, 1140-1560*, Philadelphia PA, 2007, pp. 178-98
- D. Cabanelas Rodríguez, E. Molina López and C. Castillo Castillo, *Juan de Segovia y el problema islámico*, Granada, 2007
- L. Rouhi, 'A fifteenth-century Salamanca's pursuit of Islamic studies', in C. Robinson and L. Rouhi (eds), *Under the influence. Questioning the comparative in medieval Castile*, Leiden, 2005, 21-42
- A.M. Wolf, 'Precedents and paradigms. Juan de Segovia on the Bible, the Church, and the Ottoman threat', in T. Heffernan and T. Burman (eds), *Scripture and pluralism. Reading the Bible in the religiously plural worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Leiden, 2005, 143-60
- A.M. Wolf, *Juan de Segovia and Western perspectives on Islam in the fifteenth century*, 2003. Minneapolis and St Paul (PhD diss., University of Minnesota)
- A. Echevarria, *The fortress of faith. The attitude towards Muslims in fifteenth century Spain*, Leiden, 1999

- J. Biechler, 'A new face toward Islam. Nicholas of Cusa and John of Segovia', in G. Christianson and T. Izbicki (eds), *Nicholas of Cusa in search of God and wisdom. Essays in honor of Morimichi Watanabe by the American Cusanus Society*, Leiden, 1991, 185-202
- T. Izbicki, 'The possibility of dialogue with Islam in the fifteenth century', in G. Christianson and T. Izbicki (eds), *Nicholas of Cusa in search of God and wisdom*, 175-83
- I. Vásquez Janeiro, 'En torno a la biblioteca de Juan de Segovia (+1458)', *Antonianum* 60 (1985) 670-88
- D. Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Juan de Segovia y el problema islámico*, Madrid, 1952 (repr. by Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2007)
- N. Daniel, *Islam and the West. The making of an image*, Oxford, 1951, pp. 306-7
- R. Haubst, 'Johannes von Segovia im Gespräch mit Nikolaus von Kues und Jean Germain über die göttliche Dreieinigkeit und ihre Verkündigung von den Mohammedanern', *Munchener Theologische Zeitschrift* 2 (1951) 115-19

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Epistola ad cardinelem Sancti Petri [Nicholas of Cusa] quod deceat per viam pacis et doctrinae quam gladii ad Sarracenorum conversiones*, 'Letter to the cardinal of Saint Peter [Nicholas of Cusa] concerning how the way of peace and doctrine is more fitting than the sword for the conversions of Saracens'

*Epistola ad cardinelem Sancti Petri*, 'Letter to Nicholas of Cusa'

DATE 2 December, 1454

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

#### DESCRIPTION

This is a letter-treatise to Juan de Segovia's former colleague at the Council of Basel, Nicholas of Cusa (q.v.). In the 1430s, Nicholas had assisted Segovia in the latter's efforts to obtain copies of the Qur'an, and the two apparently shared an interest in learning about Islam. Although they were then friends and fellow conciliarists, they later became opponents when Nicholas of Cusa changed his allegiance and became a vocal supporter of papal power in the struggle between council and pope. Nonetheless,

here Segovia praises Nicholas's character and expresses his certainty that their friendship was unshaken. He also requests discretion from Nicholas, asking him not to divulge anything about his proposal for peace and dialogue to others without consulting with him. He explains that his ideas about a *via pacis et doctrinae* had been formed three decades earlier, but that the recent capture of Constantinople by the Turks had motivated him to write them down and make them more public.

In this letter-treatise, he discusses how Muslims might be won over to Christianity (and consequently stop waging wars on Christians) through teaching and persuasion. Although Cabanelas and others have sometimes referred to this *via pacis et doctrinae* as if it were laid out in Segovia's work in a step-by-step fashion, no such clear blueprint is offered. Components of his thought on this are scattered throughout his works. In this letter-treatise written for Nicholas of Cusa, he relies heavily on scripture to argue that preaching was the method employed by Christ and the Apostles, and that God worked alongside them by confirming their preaching with signs. According to Segovia, historical precedent also recommended a peaceful approach rather than war, since wars have not had the effect of converting anyone. Preachers would not be allowed to preach in Muslim lands, so the *via pacis et doctrinae* could not proceed through preachers. Instead, he proposes that an annual delegation of European notables be sent to speak with Muslim rulers and persuade them of the truth of Christianity. Segovia thought that the Qur'an enjoined Muslims to wage war on unbelievers, but that it also enjoined them to seek peace, so they would not reject a delegation coming to discuss peace.

The Christians' main task would be to convince Muslims that their notions of Christianity were mistaken, and that Christians were not, in fact, unbelievers. Segovia suggests to Nicholas some methods by which Christians might persuade Muslims, and these sections are some of the most interesting in the letter because they reveal what he knew and thought about Muslim perceptions of Christianity and about the teachings of Islam. For instance, he was intent on explaining the Trinity in a way that would make it understandable to Muslims, and he thought that referring to God as acting through the Word might bear fruit. Also, he knew that Muḥammad did not consider himself as the founder of a new religion, only as one calling people to return to the faith of Abraham. He knew that circumcision was not Qur'anic, and explored why Muslims practice it anyway. He also thought Christians should be prepared to respond to the charge that they ate their God (in the Eucharist) and engaged in idolatry by worshipping their priests. Along the way, he



ponders the mystery of how Islam spread so quickly. Overall, the text reveals a curious juxtaposition of standard Western polemical fare (carnality of Islam, Beelzebub as Muḥammad's inspiration, criticisms of the Muslim view of Paradise, etc.) with a fresh perspective and earnest engagement with the question of what would persuade Muslim interlocutors of the truths of Christianity.

All of Segovia's works promoting his *via pacis et doctrinae* were written in the last few years of his life, in response to the news of the fall of Constantinople. He apparently considered this letter a distillation of his main points, because he subsequently sent it to the Burgundian theologian Jean Germain and to an unnamed friend (probably Guillaume d'Orlyé). The general argument in all of his later works on this subject is the same; the longer ones contain more references to scripture, the Qur'an, and theological works. Although these works take their place within the corpus of Christian polemic against Islam, they are equally a polemic against crusading when many contemporaries were calling for crusade.

Nicholas of Cusa responded favorably to Segovia's letter.

Manuscripts of the work extend to between 12 and 16 folios.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Although Segovia's plans for achieving peace bear some resemblance to later writers' ideas, perhaps most notably those of Erasmus, there is no evidence that his writings directly influenced anyone else's. His ideas on this subject were not widely diffused.

The greatest significance of this work lies in that it reveals of the thought processes of a late medieval thinker who was influenced both by a polemical tradition and by personal contacts with Muslims as he pondered Islam and considered how best to persuade Muslims. It is of interest to those who study conversion efforts, polemic, and Christian readings of the Qur'an and the Bible.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria – 19, fols 168r-84r (undated, but 15<sup>th</sup>-century hand)

MS Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria – 55, fols 126r-38v (contains autograph corrections) and 140r-55r (undated)

MS Vat – Lat. 2923, fols 4r-35r (undated; in the same hand as Salamanca 19)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

There are no full-length modern editions.

Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Juan de Segovia y el problema islámico*, pp. 303-10, contains the titles of the 21 chapters and the conclusion of the letter.

The forthcoming book by Anne Marie Wolf (Notre Dame Ind, 2014) will contain an excerpt and accompanying English translation of the passage in which Segovia describes the delegation he proposed sending to the Muslim world and its likely benefits.

## STUDIES

A.M. Wolf, *Fighting for peace. Juan de Segovia and Islam in the fifteenth century* (tentative title), 2014

Echevarria, *The fortress of faith*

Biechler, 'A new face toward Islam'

Izbicki, 'The possibility of dialogue with Islam in the fifteenth century'

Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Juan de Segovia y el problema islámico*

*Replica magnaee continentiae ad episcopum  
(Johannem Cabilonensem), 'Lengthy reply to Bishop  
Jean Germain'*  
*Replica ad Johannem Cabilonensem, 'Reply to Jean  
Germain'*

DATE 18 December, 1455

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

## DESCRIPTION

Jean Germain was a theologian closely associated with the Burgundian court of Philip the Good. Like Nicholas of Cusa, he had been at the Council of Basel, where Juan de Segovia had made his acquaintance.

In July of 1455, a Carmelite monk from Burgundy visited Juan at the priory in Aiton in Savoy where he had retired, and had brought greetings from Germain and news about his writings. One of these was Germain's *Débat du chrétien et du sarrazin*. Within days, Juan wrote to him, telling him that he had heard of his interest in Islam and that he himself had also been considering this issue and had already written to Nicholas of Cusa of his ideas for peacefully converting Muslims and received a positive response. He included a copy of his letter-treatise to Nicholas and asked for Germain's opinion as well. That opinion came in two letters, dated in September only days apart. Although Germain's letters are not extant, we know from Juan's reply that he was deeply critical, even dismissive,

of Juan's proposals for achieving peace with Muslims, and that Germain proposed that the two engage in further discussion of this matter by letter. Juan's response was lengthy and well thought out. Germain never replied to it, a fact Juan later noted with annoyance even as he suggested that Germain knew there was no adequate rejoinder.

In the introductory section of the letter, Juan dismisses predictions, based on biblical readings, that the Duke of Burgundy would defeat Islam as false prophecy, a mere human invention, and a faulty method of reading scripture. This is followed by a point-by-point refutation of nine arguments that Germain must have advanced in favor of crusading, then an answer to almost 30 objections that Germain apparently raised to Juan's own proposals, as contained in the letter to Nicholas of Cusa. In a speech in 1437, Germain urged listeners at the court of Burgundy to follow in the footsteps of the crusaders Godfrey of Bouillon and Philip of Alsace, count of Flanders, who had participated in the siege of Acre. If he repeated the glories of their exploits to Juan in his September letters, he must have been stung by Juan's point that the crusaders ultimately accomplished nothing. They did not hold the land for long, and no major conversions resulted. Juan recounted the failure of military interventions to bring about conversions, using examples from history and the Bible. Although he noted that Germain had called his proposals 'difficult, not useful, dangerous, and scandalous', he argued that Christ would supply the necessary words and wisdom for the task, that this mission was no more dangerous than Christ sending his Apostles out as sheep among wolves, and that it would in fact be less dangerous than war. Christians could, however, take up the sword that was the word of God; when Muslims heard this word, great results would follow.

The *via pacis et doctrinae* that Juan of Segovia had promoted in his letter to Nicholas of Cusa is also the central focus of his persuasive efforts in this letter, and accounts of his conversations with Muslims in Castile in 1431 are here given prominent place. Nonetheless, this much longer work does more than merely repeat arguments presented elsewhere. In the process of refuting Germain, he discusses many other issues that may be of interest to scholars working on topics other than Muslim-Christian relations, including the way the Bible should (and should not) be read. We also read, in a passage where he tells Germain that he is writing to a Spaniard who does not need to be reminded of the military threat that Muslims could pose to Christian regions, that Spaniards regard Muslims as better servants than Jews because they are more obsequious.

Juan also recounts that he had recently received a number of books related to Islam, a reference to the arrival of Muslim scholar Içe de Gebir in Aiton a mere two weeks before this reply to Germain was finished. It is interesting that Juan, whose joy at Içe's arrival is unmistakable in other writings, did not tell Germain how he had recently come to have these books that Içe had brought with him.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Juan of Segovia's campaign against crusading did not find wide acceptance. His ideas are significant for what they reveal of one man's unconventional thoughts on the matter, rather than for their influence.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria – 55, fols 161r-212r (undated, but 15<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana – Vat. lat. 2923, fols 41r-136v (undated, but 15<sup>th</sup> century)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

No complete modern edition exists. A brief excerpt is included in Cabanelas, pp. 331-35.

## STUDIES

Wolf, *Fighting for peace* (tentative title), 2014

A.M. Wolf, 'Pleas for peace, problems for historians. A 1455 letter from Juan de Segovia to Jean Germain on countering the threat of Islam', in M. Ragnow and W. Phillips (eds), *Religious conflict and accommodation in the early modern world*, Minneapolis MN, 2011, 55-68.

Echevarria, *The fortress of faith*

*De mittendo gladio divini Spiritus in corda  
Sarracenorum; De mittendo gladio, 'On driving the  
sword of the Holy Spirit into the hearts of  
the Saracens'*

DATE 1453-57

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

## DESCRIPTION

This is the first work that Juan de Segovia wrote to a former colleague following the fall of Constantinople in 1453, even though it was not the

first to be circulated. The intended recipient was Juan de Cervantes, an associate of whom had informed Juan of this news. At the time, Cervantes was serving as archbishop of Seville, a diocese bordering the Muslim kingdom of Granada. In earlier years, both men had been at the Council of Basel, and Juan was a member of Cervantes' entourage for a time. Cervantes died later in 1453 and never saw this work, to which Juan referred repeatedly over the course of several years. He wrote that it expanded into two volumes, and that the second bore the title *De praeclara notitia veritatum necessarium catholicae fidei*. That second volume is not extant.

*De mittendo gladio* extends to 110 folios. Its goal is to provide methods by which Muslims might be persuaded of the truth of Christianity and of the irrationality and error of the Qur'an. The treatise begins by enumerating the reasons why Muslims wage war on Christians. Chief among them is that their law enjoins them to wage war on idolaters and unbelievers. It is necessary, in order to end the wars and simply to offer public witness, that Christians defend the honor of Christ and make their true beliefs known. Early on in the treatise, Juan describes his conversations with the ambassador from Granada, and explains that Muslims live in blindness about what Christians truly believe. He marvels that Christians, when they send ambassadors to Muslims with splendid entourages to deal with temporal matters, have not seen fit to send a few simple preachers to the Saracens, as Christ sent his Apostles.

Several chapters are then dedicated to various 'errors' in the teachings of Islam. These range from errors about the Incarnation and the Trinity, which are related to the Arian and Nestorian heresies, to the repetition of some of the standard stock of Christian polemic against Islam, such as the charge that it encourages sexual promiscuity and offers sordid pleasures in Paradise. Segovia explains that Muslims have no sacraments, they deny the divinity of Christ and his role as mediator, they live under the law of nature and not that of grace or scripture, and they heap praises on Muḥammad even though he performed no miracles. He tells of the rapid spread of Islam, and of the fact that the entire religion rests on two assertions: that God is one, and that Muḥammad was God's Prophet. Juan writes that Christians should insist that Muslims prove that Muḥammad was God's Prophet. He points out that unbelievers have never been converted to the faith through war, enlisting examples from the Book of Kings and the Bohemians, among others. The later pages of the work express how fitting it would be that Christians, who take the

living Word of God as their origin, should strive for peace through teaching and instructing the ignorant.

Hernandez Montes (*Obras*, p. 312) states that the sole extant copy of this work was the copy that Segovia sent to Cervantes, but Alvarez Marquez (*Manuscritos localizados*, p. 89) offers a convincing case that this copy was in fact donated to Seville's Biblioteca Colombina by Christopher Columbus's brother, Hernando.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

This work was never received by its addressee, and only one copy is extant, although others once existed. It has not been identified as a work cited elsewhere. Its main significance may lie in that writing it helped Juan de Segovia to gather his thoughts on arguments that might be effective with Muslims. These thoughts appear in more condensed form in his letter to Nicholas of Cusa, which he also forwarded to Jean Germain. Juan's proposals for a *via pacis et doctrinae*, which he advanced in all of these works, were never adopted by European leaders or, it seems, seriously entertained among Christian intellectuals.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Seville, Biblioteca Colombina – 7-6-14, fols 1-110v (probably dates to close to the time it was written; not an autograph, but it appears to be in the same hand as extant MSS of other works by Segovia in these years)

For an account of other copies formerly in existence, see Hernandez Montes, *Obras*, pp. 312-13, and the same author's *Biblioteca de Juan de Segovia*, pp. 90, 113.

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Johannes de Segovia, *De gladio Divini Spiritus in corda mittendo Sarracenorum*, ed. and (German) trans. U. Roth (*Corpus Islamo-Christianum, Series Latina* 7), Wiesbaden, 2012

Cabanelas Rodriguez, *Juan de Segovia y el problema islamico*, appendix I (pp. 264-72) contains the chapter titles for each of the 38 chapters in the work.

#### STUDIES

M. del Carmen Alvarez Marquez, *Manuscritos localizados de Pedro Gomez Barroso y Juan de Cervantes, arzobispos de Sevilla*, Alcala de Henares and Sevilla, 1999

B. Hernandez Montes, *Biblioteca de Juan de Segovia. Edicion y comentario de su escritura de donación*, Madrid, 1984

- B. Hernandez Montes, *Obras de Juan de Segovia (Repertorio de Historia de las Ciencias Eclesiasticas en Espana 6, siglos I-XVI)*, Salamanca, 1977

*Prefacio in translationem noviter editam ex Arabico in Latinum vulgareque Hyspanum libri Alchorani; Prefacio, 'Preface to a newly produced translation of the book of the Qur'an from Arabic into Latin and common Spanish'*

DATE 1456 or 1457

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

The arrival of the prominent Castilian *faqīh*, Yça Gidelli (sometimes rendered Içe de Gebir, but see the discussion in Wieggers, *Spanish literature*, p. 14) in Aiton in the French Alps, to complete a new translation of the Qur'an from Arabic, represented a major triumph in Juan de Segovia's long efforts to obtain a more faithful translation, which had begun at least as early as 1437. Gidelli spent about three months in the priory at Aiton, arriving on 5 December 1455. In this Preface, Juan de Segovia describes his previous efforts to obtain a suitable translation and the benefits he expects to ensue from this volume. He explains that wars between Muslims and Christians were due to a 'difference in their laws', and the fact that Muslims have false understandings of Christians' beliefs due to what they learn in the Qur'an. If Christians could succeed in convincing Muslims that the Qur'an is not reliable, there would be a chance for peace. As he proceeds in this discussion, he quotes the Bible frequently, and sometimes also the Qur'an.

The Preface is remarkable for many reasons, which Burman (*Reading the Qur'ān in Latin Christendom*) explores. Apart from the directly polemical interest Juan had in this text, the Preface betrays keen intellectual interest in the Arabic language and in the way Muslims themselves viewed their sacred book. For example, he discusses various features of the Arabic alphabet, the way the vowels were written as marks above or below the letters and in different colors, some differences between Latin and Arabic syntax, the organization of the Qur'an, and the fact that even among Muslims those learned enough to read the Qur'an were rare. The

Preface relates that Gidelli worked for 12 hours a day, except on Muslim festivals, and that he sometimes interrupted his sleep to do so. He retained a copy of his translation into Spanish, which required the hiring of an additional scribe, and departed for home as soon as he could, explaining to Juan that he had recently married and wanted to return to his wife. He promised to send his unmarried brother to answer questions as Juan made the translation into Latin. Juan also wanted further instruction in Arabic, lamenting that when Gidelli left he understood the letters, but not the other markings or the meaning, and that he also had hoped to engage in discussion about religious beliefs. The brother never arrived, and the Preface also relates Juan's frustrated search to find someone else who could travel to Aiton to assist him.

The translation itself is no longer extant. According to Juan de Segovia's description of it in the inventory of his books made shortly before his death, it contained the Arabic alongside translations into Latin and Castilian.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

This text is all that remains of the trilingual Qur'an that Juan de Segovia strove to produce. It is a rare first-person account of a Christian scholar's encounter with the text and with a *faqih* at work, as Burman describes. The Preface supports Burman's observation that some Christian thinkers were genuinely interested in the Qur'an, not only for its polemical value, but as intellectuals fascinated by texts and language. İçe de Gebir was an interesting figure in his own right (see Wiegiers, *Islamic literature*) and played a significant role in the Muslim community in Castile, and this text is one of the sources relevant to his career.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca – 211 (lost)

MS Vat – Lat. 2923, fols 186r-196r (undated, but 15<sup>th</sup>-century hand; this is the version given in Cabanelas, *Juan de Segovia*)

A much later manuscript version is in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional – 9250, fols 107r-21v.

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

D. Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Juan de Segovia y el problema islámico*, pp. 279-302 (complete text)

The letter from Yça Gidelli accepting Segovia's terms for this commission has also been published and translated; see Wiegiers, *Islamic literature*, pp. 230-35.



## STUDIES

- Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān in Latin Christendom*, pp. 178-98 (most extended discussion of this text)
- L. Rouhi, 'A fifteenth-century Salamancan's pursuit of Islamic studies', in C. Robinson and L. Rouhi (eds), *Under the influence. Questioning the comparative in medieval Castile*, Leiden, 2005, 21-42
- J. Martínez-Gazquez, 'El prólogo de Juan de Segovia al Corán (Qur'ān) trilingüe (1456)', *International Journal of Medieval and Humanistic Studies* 38 (2003) 389-410
- Echevarría, *The fortress of faith*, pp. 39-40
- G. Wieggers, *Islamic literature in Spanish and Aljamiado. Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), his antecedents and successors*, Leiden, 1994, pp. 146-50
- Hernández Montes, *Biblioteca de Juan de Segovia*, pp. 107-8, 285-87
- Hernández Montes, *Obras de Juan de Segovia*, pp. 337-39 (an annotated catalogue of Juan de Segovia's works)
- Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Juan de Segovia y el problema islámico*, pp. 160-64

Anne Marie Wolf

# Bertrandon de la Broquière

Bertrandon de la Broquière

DATE OF BIRTH About 1400  
PLACE OF BIRTH Perhaps Broquière, Garonne  
DATE OF DEATH 9 May 1459  
PLACE OF DEATH Lille

## BIOGRAPHY

Almost everything that is known about Bertrandon derives from his *Voyage d'Oultremer*. He was probably born to a minor noble family in the Guyenne. He first appears in archival sources in 1418, in the service of Archambaud de Foix, lord of Navailles, who was murdered along with his lord Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy, on 10 September 1419. Bertrandon went into the service of the new duke Philip the Good as *écuyer trenchant* (carver) in 1421; he became head carver (*premier écuyer trenchant*) in 1426. A close confidant of the Duke, he carried out diplomatic missions for him to Brussels and to the French king, Charles VII. He performed military duties for the duke, who gave him responsibility over several fortresses. In 1442 the duke gave him the hand of Catherine de Bernieulles, a rich Artois heiress.

Duke Philip entertained various projects for crusades against the Turks; in order to obtain intelligence about the state of the Ottoman Empire, he commissioned Bertrandon to travel overland across the empire – from Jerusalem to Vienna and home to Burgundy. After his return, Bertrandon put down in writing the narrative of his travels, the *Voyage d'Oultremer*.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

See the list of works following the *Voyage d'Oultremer*.

### *Secondary*

See the list of works following the *Voyage d'Oultremer*.

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Voyage d'Oultremer*, 'Journey to the East'

DATE 1455-59

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Old French

## DESCRIPTION

Bertrandon describes how in 1431 he set off with a group of European pilgrims to Jerusalem, and made the standard pilgrimage visits in the company of Franciscan friars stationed in the East. Yet, instead of returning by sea with his companions, he set off for Damascus, where he found a caravan of returning Meccan pilgrims bound for Istanbul and negotiated his passage with them. For months, Bertrandon shared the life of his Turkish companions, eating cones of pita filled with yogurt, getting drunk with them on wine bought from Christian merchants. He came to look like them as well, dressed as he was in clothes he had purchased in the *souq* in Damascus: in Anatolia, onlookers kissed his hand as the caravan passed by, thinking him a returning *hajji*. He even developed the prejudices of his Turkish companions: Turks, he affirms, are trustworthy, but Greeks are liars and Arabs thieves. When he takes leave of his companion and protector 'Mehmet the Mamluke', he praises him as a true and generous friend and protector.

Bertrandon is a sharp observer, and gives detailed descriptions of, for example, the rites of the *hammam*, and how the Turkish women make pita bread. He describes how his Turkish companions perform ablutions and make prayers, without the slightest hint of polemic or disdain; they in turn express surprise and delight in seeing how Bertrandon prays. He gives a detailed description of Sultan Murad II, whom he saw in January 1433. He relates how Ibrahim Bey of Konya receives with pomp and ceremony the ambassador of King John II of Cyprus. Bertrandon does occasionally directly address the purpose of this 'spying' expedition, discussing the solidity of the Ottoman military forces, the defense of certain strongholds, and so on. Yet these passages only seem to highlight the tone of fascination and at times delight that dominates his text. He describes a world where cultures, languages and religions are inextricably intertwined. He meets Genoese and Venetian merchants who supply Circassian slaves to the Ottomans. He meets a young Cypriot named Anthony who, having been caught in bed with a Muslim beauty, had to apostatize. He affirms that Ibrahim Bey, whose mother was Greek, had been baptized in the Greek rite, and that many of the Turkish beys had

also been baptized in the Greek rite 'to prevent themselves from stinking'. He is moved by the tears of a Hungarian noblewoman held captive in Ottoman Serbia. At the end of his narrative, he describes, with pride, how he reached the court of Burgundy and presented himself to the duke dressed in the clothes he had bought in Damascus.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The *Voyage d'Oultremer* is one of the most vivid and candid texts among the many travel and pilgrimage narratives of the late Middle Ages. While many texts of the genre are derivative and offer polemical portraits of Muslims, Bertrandon shows fascination and affection for the Turks around him. His text was well known to other 15<sup>th</sup>- and 16<sup>th</sup>-century writers who were interested in the Turks.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal – 4978, fols 153-259 (15<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Paris, BNF – Français 5593 (15<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Paris, BNF – Français 5639 (15<sup>th</sup> century; formerly in the library of the dukes of Burgundy)
- MS Paris, BNF – Français 9087 (late 15<sup>th</sup> century; produced for Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- H. Basso (trans.), *Le voyage d'orient. Espion en Turquie*, Toulouse, 2010 (modern French)
- I. Arda (trans.), *Bourgogne Dükü Philippe le Bon'un müşaviri ve baş écuyer trançant'ı Bertrandon de La Broquièrén Denizaşırı seyahati*, Istanbul, 2000 (Turkish)
- S. Cappellini, *Le Voyage d'oultre mer de Bertrandon de la Broquière (1432-1433)*, Ann Arbor MI, UMI dissertation services, 1999
- G. Kline (trans.), *Voyage d'Outremer*, New York, 1988
- M. Rajičić, *Putovanje preko mora*. Beograd: Naučna knjiga, Belgrade, 1950 (Serbian)
- C. Schefer, *Voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière*, Paris, 1892 (repr. Farnborough UK, 1972, Frankfurt, 1994)
- T. Johnes (trans.), *The Travels of Bertrandon de la Broquière, counselor and first esquire carver to Philippe Le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, to Palestine and his return from Jerusalem overland to France, during the years 1432 and 1433*, Hafod, 1807 (repr. London, 1848; trans. of the French trans. of Legrand d'Aussy)

- P. Legrand d'Aussy (trans.) in *Mémoires de l'Institut National des Sciences et Arts. Littérature et beaux-arts* 5, 1804 (partial trans. into modern French)

## STUDIES

- M. Barsi, 'Constantinople à la cour de Philippe de Bon (1419-1467). Compte rendus et documents historiques', in L. Nissim and S. Riva (eds), *Sauver Byzance de la barbarie du monde*, Milan, 2004, 131-95
- J. Paviot, *Les ducs de Bourgogne, la croisade, et l'Orient (fin XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Paris, 2003
- I. Olivier, 'Le *Voyage d'Outremer* de Bertrandon de la Broquière', *La Toison d'Or* 1 (2002) 9-20
- M. Angold, 'The decline of Byzantium seen through the eyes of Western travelers', in R. Macrides (ed.), *Travel in the Byzantine world*, Aldershot UK, 2002, 213-32
- J. Guéret-Laferté, 'Le livre et la croisade', in M.-T. Caron and D. Clauzel (eds), *Le banquet du faisan, 1454. L'Occident face au défi de l'Empire ottoman*, Arras, 1997, 107-14
- S. Csernus, 'A XV. századi francia útleírások Magyarország képe', in I. Békési (ed.), *Régi és új peregrináció Magyarok külföldön, külföldiek Magyarországon*, Budapest, 1993, 1006-19
- J. Paviot, 'Cuisine grecque et cuisine turque selon l'expérience des voyageurs (XV<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles)', *Byzantinische Forschungen. Internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik* 16 (1991) 167-77
- M. Izeddin, 'Deux voyageurs du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle en Turquie. Bertrandon de La Broquière et Pero Tafur', *Journal Asiatique* 239 (1951) 159-74

John Tolan

# Juan de Torquemada

DATE OF BIRTH	Around 1388
PLACE OF BIRTH	Possibly Valladolid
DATE OF DEATH	26 September 1468
PLACE OF DEATH	Rome

## BIOGRAPHY

Born into a family of *converso* origins, Juan de Torquemada became a Dominican in the convent of St Paul in Valladolid. As a member of the Castilian delegation to the Council of Constance in 1417, he was able to meet the most outstanding theologians of his time and start his contacts in the Roman Curia. He obtained his *licentia* at the College of St Jacques in Paris in 1424, and his Masters of Theology the next year. He rose to become prior of his *casa mater* of Valladolid, and later of St Peter Martyr in Toledo, and then in 1431 Pope Eugenius IV called him to Rome as Master of the Sacred Apostolic Palace, and soon after he was appointed papal theologian at the Council of Basel, which he helped to prepare. This was the beginning of Torquemada's intense career as a member of the Roman Curia. Subsequent popes used his theological skills to prepare speeches and treatises that served the official policies of the pontificate. Torquemada's first task was to persuade Charles VII of France to support Eugenius IV against Felix V, and to sign a peace treaty with the King of England so that both could engage in the war against the Turks. His recompense was appointment as cardinal. After the defeat of the Turks at Varna in 1444, Torquemada was a member of the commission in charge of accepting the submission of 'Abdallāh, Bishop of Edessa, to the Roman Church. As a result, he wrote a new formulation of the Syrian creed that was translated into Arabic.

The riots against *conversos* in Castile and the claims made by the victims to the pope provoked Torquemada's work *Tractatus contra madianitas et ismaelitas* (1450), in which he defends the nobility of Jews and attacks his enemies, including the Castilian rebels who had issued the statute that provoked the riots. He had his own sources of information about the events – the dean of the cathedral of Toledo had already sought his advice – and of course he had personal reasons to support the *conversos*. In the following years, Torquemada promoted the reformation and

foundation of Dominican houses in Castile, continued to receive titles and donations from Calixtus II, wrote one of his great contributions, the *Commentaries* to Gratian's *Decretum*, and worked to promote the canonization of St Vincent Ferrer. His efforts to get John II of Castile involved in a crusade against the Turks were in vain.

It was finally Pope Pius II who gave him an Iberian see, that of Orense and Mondoñedo (1460). At this time, Torquemada was one of the firm supporters of the crusade that was being planned. As adviser to the pope, he attended the Council of Mantua, for which he was asked to compose his treatise *Contra errores perfidi Machometi*, both for the council itself and for those Christians who lived as subjects or slaves of the Turks. He himself states that he wrote in a hurry, not so much to tell Muḥammad's history as to demonstrate that the religion he proclaimed contained the errors of all the heretics. Pius II's three-hour address at the beginning of the Council was based on this work. When preparations for the crusade started, Torquemada gave 2000 gold coins for the ransom of captives, and offered to pay for 100 armed foot soldiers for a year as a contribution to the enterprise. Ultimately, his sacrifice was not necessary, owing to the pope's death and the end of the expedition.

A few years later, old and ill, Torquemada resigned most of his privileges and was assigned a pension that barely covered his expenses. He died in debt in the convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

Juan de Torquemada, *Tractatus contra madianitas et ismaelitas. Defensa de los judíos conversos*, ed. N. López Martínez and V. Proaño Gil, Madrid, 1957  
 Fernando del Pulgar, *Claros varones de Castilla*, ed. R.B. Tate, Oxford, 1971

### *Secondary*

- A. Echevarria, 'The polemic use of the crusades in fifteenth-century literature of the mendicant orders in Spain', in *The crusades. Other experiences, alternate perspectives*, ed. K.I. Semaan, Binghamton NY, 2003, 141-60  
 A. Echevarria, *The fortress of faith. The attitude towards Muslims in fifteenth-century Spain*, Leiden, 1999  
 R. Hernández Martín, 'El poder en Juan de Torquemada', *Ciencia Tomista* 122 (1995) 43-83  
 R. Hernández Martín, 'Juan de Torquemada, su doctrina socio-política', *Cuadernos Salmantinos de Filosofía* 22 (1995) 81-116  
 R. Hernández Martín, 'Juan de Torquemada: vida, escritos, bibliografía', [http://angarmegia.com/juan\\_de\\_torquemada.htm](http://angarmegia.com/juan_de_torquemada.htm) (accessed 9 July 2010)

- T.M. Izbicki, *Protector of the faith. Cardinal Johannes de Turrecremata and the defense of the institutional Church*, Washington DC, 1981
- V. Beltrán de Heredia, 'Noticias y documentos para la biografía del cardenal Juan de Torquemada', *Achivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 30 (1960) 53-148
- N. López Martínez, *Los judaizantes castellanos y la Inquisición en tiempos de Isabel la Católica*, Burgos, 1954
- P. Theews, *Jean de Turrecremata. La relation entre l'Église et le pouvoir civil, d'après un théologien du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Louvain, 1943

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Contra principales errores perfidi Machometi; Contra errores*, 'Against the principal errors of the perfidious Muḥammad'

DATE 1459

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

#### DESCRIPTION

In this work, which Torquemada wrote at the request of the pope as a preliminary report for the Council of Mantua, he follows a traditional scheme. After a few details about Muḥammad's life, his prophethood and the nature of the Qur'an, the core of the treatise deals with the main arguments to refute Islam. Following this, Torquemada sets out 12 characteristics of Christianity that should move Muslims to convert. But since conversion seems far from being attained, he also appeals to Christian princes and the legates to the Council, using both religious and political reasons. He exhorts them to mount a crusade for love of Jesus Christ and zeal for his honor, for love of the Christian *res publica* that they were bound to protect, for their own pride and glory and for the great reward promised to those who undertook to fight. The most moving part of the argument in the work, at the end, links the crusading ambitions of Pope Pius II (q.v.) and the sufferings of those recently dispossessed by the Turks.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Torquemada's position in the Roman Curia made the impact of the *Contra errores* immediate and strong but, since it was written in haste away from the main libraries of Rome, at the same time it lacked thoroughness and accuracy. This explains why the sources used are mainly biblical texts, Isidore of Seville and St Augustine, rather than the long Dominican tradition of polemics against Islam.



For these reasons, the treatise is not original or groundbreaking, though it must be considered as the main basis of propaganda employed by Pius II to stir up crusading zeal. It was widely read and quoted, not only by the pope himself as the first reference for his speeches at the Council of Mantua, his letter to Mehmed II and his other humanist literary endeavors, but also by Nicholas of Cusa (q.v.), who had exchanged ideas with Torquemada during the commission to judge the Bohemian-Hussite issue, in his *Cribratio Alchorani*. The link between the two men would have been effected by Juan de Segovia (q.v.), who was one of the first great intellectuals Torquemada encountered at the Council of Constance, when he was still being trained in ecclesiastical diplomacy.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional España – Lat. 264 (15<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 1440 (15<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Vat – Lat. 974 (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Vat – Lat. 976 (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Vat – Lat. 1043 (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

C. del Valle (ed.), *Tratado contra madianitas e ismaelitas de Juan de Torquemada*, Madrid, 2002

N. López Martínez and V. Proaño (eds), *Tractatus contra madianitas et ismaelitas*, Burgos, 1957

#### STUDIES

Echevarria, 'The polemic use of the crusades in fifteenth-century literature'

Echevarria, *The fortress of faith*

Ana Echevarria

# Alonso de Espina

Alfonso de la Espina

DATE OF BIRTH	Around 1412
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	Between 1461 and 1464
PLACE OF DEATH	Probably Madrid

## BIOGRAPHY

Alonso was a Franciscan friar, and well known as a scholar, master in theology and preacher in the kingdom of Castile under John II and Enrique IV. His public life proper started in Salamanca, where he was regent of studies at the convent of St Francis, acting as the Faculty of Theology for Salamanca University. In 1453, he was in Valladolid and heard the confession of the Constable Álvaro de Luna on his way to the gallows, and there he started his preaching career with the *Sermones del nombre de Jesús* ('Sermons on the name of Jesus'). He was appointed to preach Pope Calixtus III's first crusade bull for the Peninsula in 1456-57, and in 1459 he preached his *Sermones plures de excellentia nostræ fidei* ('Sermons on the excellence of our faith'). His sermons were a preparation for his great work, the *Fortalitium fidei*, started around 1459 as a result of his interest in the question of the Jews in Spain, after his encounter with some Benedictine monks who informed him about the expulsion of the Jews from France.

Alonso was frustrated by the fruitless attempts to convert the Jews, and by the failure of the Jews to accept the Christian faith. The first time he approached the Jewish problem, he tried unsuccessfully at the High Court of Valladolid to have a Jew condemned for the death of a child. In 1461, he wrote to the general of the Jeronimite order, Alonso de Oropesa, about the disorders in society, and urged King Henry IV to approve of an inquisition in his kingdom. Together with the friar Hernando de la Plaza, he attempted to prove that 100 *conversos* had been circumcised, but their case failed for lack of proof.

Alonso appears to have been murdered by the Arias Dávila family in 1486 as a result of his ceaseless persecution of *conversos* and Jews. He was taken to the convent of St Dominic, and died in the presence of the writer and Bishop Alonso de Cartagena.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

*Fortalitium Fidei*, MS Burgo de Osma, Cathedral – 154

C. Carrete Parrondo (ed.), *Fontes Iudaeorum Regni Castellae* 4, Salamanca, 1986, 79-80, 145-46

'Crónica de Juan II', in *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, ed. C. Rosell, Madrid, 1953

Alonso de Palencia, *Crónica de Enrique IV*, ed. A. Paz y Meliá, Madrid, 1973-75

*Secondary*

A. Echevarria, *The fortress of faith. The attitude towards Muslims in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Spain*, Leiden, 1999

A.M. Ginio, *La forteresse de la foi. La vision du monde d'Alonso d'Espina, moine espagnol*, Paris, 1998

N. Round, 'Alonso de Espina y Pero Diaz de Toledo. Odium theologicum y odium academicum', in A. Vilanova (ed.), *Actas del X Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*, 4 vols, Barcelona, 1992, i, 319-30

J. Edwards, 'Fifteenth-century Franciscan reform and the Spanish conversos. The case of Fray Alonso de Espina', in J. Loades (ed.), *Monastic studies. The continuity of tradition*, Bangor, 1990, 203-10

B. Netanyahu, 'Alonso de Espina. Was he a new Christian?', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 43 (1976) 107-65

J. García Hernando, 'El problema judío en fray Alonso de Espina', *Estudios Segovianos* 39 (1961) 461-98

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Fortalitium fidei, contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et alios Christianae fidei inimicos*, 'The fortress of faith, against Jews, Saracens and other enemies of the Christian faith'

DATE 1459-61

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

## DESCRIPTION

The *Fortalitium fidei* consists of five books, written to warn Christians of the evil of the enemies of their faith: heretics, Jews, Muslims and witches and demons. Each book is divided into 12 *considerationes*, each of these containing a number of chapters. Military metaphors are used throughout the book to depict the attacks of the enemies of Christianity and

the ways in which Christians should address them: thus, the 'fortress of faith' is an image of the Catholic Church, Christians are defended by the 'armor' of their faith, by means of spiritual 'weapons', and so on.

Book 1 explains the basics of Christianity and depicts God as the 'fortress' of the faithful, giving the title for the whole treatise. The metaphor of this tower and its siege by the enemies of Christianity – and of 'this miserable Spain', as Alonso puts it – is used throughout the work. For each problem he itemizes, he proposes a different solution: an inquisition against the heretics, expulsion for the Jews, a final crusade against the Muslims, and interior struggle against demons. Most of these projects were realized in the decades following his death, showing his influence, or maybe his foresight, about the course of history.

Book 2 lists the categories of heretics and defines their errors, enabling heretical behavior to be identified when it is encountered; Book 3 presents arguments against the Jews; and Book 4, which in the Franciscan style is full of missionary zeal, mixing the urge to convert with crusading fervor, is against the Muslims. It starts with an account of Muḥammad's life and deeds, and a discussion of the signs of his prophethood, based on Latin biographies of him (cons. 1-3, 6). There follow theological proofs of the superiority of Christianity over Islam, based in the arguments by Ramon Martí (q.v.) and Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (q.v.) (cons. 4-5, 8), and then Alonso explains the historical success of Islam. In the beginning it was powerful, but then came the crusades as the Christian response, and it will end as prophecies are fulfilled (cons. 7, 9-10, 12). Alonso includes in this book a list of legal material concerning Muslims under Christian rule (cons. 11).

The work is completed with Book 5, on war against demons and witchcraft.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The main features of the *Fortalitium fidei* are encyclopedic knowledge, care for theological definition and characterization of theological problems, rather than originality. This was precisely the key to its success as a catalogue or manual for inquisitors in the early modern period, as is shown by the number of manuscripts of it, and the number of editions printed at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (*incunabula* from Strasbourg 1471, Nürnberg 1485, Lyons 1487, Nürnberg 1494, Lyons 1525). The anti-Semitic propaganda in the book distinguishes Alonso as one of the fiercest polemicists of his time against Jews, contrasting with his attitude towards Muslims, which is softer and based on the current ideas about

crusading that can be found in Jacques de Vitry (q.v.) and Raymond Lull (q.v.).

These two books of the *Fortalitium fidei*, against Jews and Muslims, had a strong influence on the work of the Spanish Inquisition against *conversos* in 16<sup>th</sup>-century Spain. Similarly, the two books on heretics and demons were vital for inquisitors working in Flanders, France, Germany and England, thus explaining the diffusion of the work throughout Europe.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Burgo de Osma, Cathedral – 154 (1468)
- MS Madrid, Biblioteca Real – Latin 7497 (around 1470)
- MS Magdeburg, Dom-Gymnasium – 228 (1471)
- MS Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I – Latin 156-157 (1470-80)
- MS Madrid, Biblioteca Real – Latin 9524 (1470-80)
- MS London, BL – Royal 17.F.VI-VII (around 1480; French trans.)
- MS Madrid, Biblioteca Real – French 9007 (1480-1500)
- MS Paris, BNF – Français 200067-20069 (15<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS London, BL – Royal 19.E.IV (15<sup>th</sup> century; French trans.)
- MS Vienna, Austrian National Library – Latin 4045 (15<sup>th</sup> century)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- A.M. Ginio, *De bello Iudaeorum, fray Alonso de Espina y su 'Fortalitium fidei'*, Salamanca, 1998 (*Fontes Iudaeorum Regni Castellae* 8) (partial edition)

#### STUDIES

- S.J. McMichael, 'The end of the world, Antichrist and the final conversion of the Jews in the *Fortalitium fidei* of friar Alonso de Espina (d. 1464)', *Medieval Encounters* 12 (2006) 224-73
- Echevarria, *The Fortress of faith*
- J.M. Monsalvo Antón, 'Algunas consideraciones sobre el ideario anti-judío contenido en el Libro III del *Fortalitium fidei* de Alonso de Espina', *Aragón en la Edad Media* 14-15 (1999) 1061-88
- A. Meyuhás Ginio, *De bello iudaeorum, fray Alonso de Espina y su Fortalitium fidei*, Salamanca, 1998
- Ginio, *La forteresse de la foi*
- A. Meyuhás Ginio, 'The fortress of faith – at the end of the West. Alonso de Espina and his *Fortalitium fidei*', in O. Limor and G.G. Stroumsa (eds), *Contra Iudaeos. Ancient and medieval polemics between Christians and Jews*, Tübingen, 1996, 215-37

- S.J. McMichael, *Was Jesus of Nazareth the Messiah? Alphonso de Espina's argument against the Jews in the Fortalitium fidei (c. 1464)*, Atlanta GA, 1994
- A.M. Ginio, 'The conversos and the magic arts in Alfonso de Espina's *Fortalitium fidei*', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 5 (1990) 169-82
- M. Esposito, 'Notes sur le *Fortalitium fidei* d'Alphonse de Spina', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 43 (1948) 514-36
- B. Netanyahu, 'Alonso de Espina. Was he a new Christian?' *Mediterranean Historical Review* 43 (1976), 107-65 (repr. B. Netanyahu (ed.) *Toward the Inquisition. Essays on Jewish and converso history in late medieval Spain*, Ithaca NY, 1997, 43-75

Ana Echevarria

# Pius II

Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini

DATE OF BIRTH 18 October, 1405  
PLACE OF BIRTH Corsignano (Pienza), Italy  
DATE OF DEATH 14 August, 1464  
PLACE OF DEATH Ancona, Italy

## BIOGRAPHY

Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini was a humanist, diplomat and clergyman. Born to exiled Sienese nobles, he was raised in Corsignano (later renamed Pienza) and educated in classical studies and law at the studio in Siena. In 1431, he travelled to Basel, where he would serve for the next 11 years as a secretary to various clergymen attending the Council. In 1442, he joined the imperial chancery of Frederick III, and spent much of his time in Austria. During his employment with the council and chancery, he travelled on several diplomatic missions to England, Scotland, France, Italy and various areas of the Holy Roman Empire. After taking his fill of worldly pleasures, including siring at least two illegitimate children, Aeneas took holy orders in late 1446. Upon joining the clergy, he rapidly rose through its ranks. In 1447, he became Bishop of Trieste and in 1450, Bishop of Siena. He was created cardinal by Pope Calixtus III in 1456. Two years later, he succeeded Calixtus as pope, taking the name Pius II – a reference to the Virgilian hero ‘pius Aeneas’ that was not lost on his contemporaries.

During his pontificate, Pius worked to bring order to the papal states and to Italy. His support of Ferrante of Naples, King Alfonso’s bastard son, helped keep French armies out of the peninsula. He also became a patron to his home town, renaming it after himself and transforming it into a rationally planned Renaissance town. His greatest efforts, however, were geared toward halting the Ottoman advance by means of a crusade. Aeneas had written passionately about the Turks since the 1430s, particularly after Constantinople was captured in May 1453. As pope, he called the Diet of Mantua in 1459 in the hope of organizing a multi-state campaign. Bickering and mistrust between the self-interested states, however, ensured that little was accomplished – only Venice and Burgundy committed forces and ships. Pius decided to lead the crusade

personally, perhaps in an effort to shame Christian princes to follow him, but he succumbed to illness and died at the port of Ancona in 1464 before it could depart.

Aeneas wrote extensively about the Ottoman Empire and the history and culture of the Turks. These subjects appear frequently in his letters, particularly those written during his service to Frederick III. Three crusade orations following the fall of Constantinople in 1453 also discuss the Turks at length, as do his treatises *Asia* and *Europa*. In addition, a handful of Aeneas's works discuss Islam specifically. Brief references to the rise of Islam appear in his oration at the Congress of Mantua (1459) and his autobiography, *The commentaries* (Book II: 1); Pius's letter to Mehmed II (1461, described below), by contrast, is his only work mainly devoted to the subject of Islam.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Commentaries*, ed. M. Meserve and M. Simonetta, 2 vols, Cambridge MA, 2003, 2007

Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Der Briefwechsel des Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini*, ed. R. Wolkan in *Fontes rerum austriacarum*, vols. 61, 62, 67, 68, Vienna, 1909-18

Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Opera quae extant omnia*, Basel, 1571

Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Reject Aeneas, accept Pius. Selected letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)*, intro. and trans. T. Izbicki, G. Christianson and P. Krey, Washington DC, 2006

#### *Secondary*

There are hundreds of studies of Pius II. Some of the most important are:

E. O'Brien, *The anatomy of an apology. The war against conciliarism and the politicization of papal authority in the Commentarii of Pope Pius II*, Providence RI, 2005 (PhD diss., Brown University)

N. Bisaha, *Creating East and West. Renaissance humanists and the Ottoman Turks*, Philadelphia PA, 2004

N. Bisaha, 'Pope Pius II and the crusade', in N. Housley (ed.), *Crusading in the fifteenth century. Message and impact*, New York, 2004

J. Helmroth, 'The German Reichstage and the crusade', in Housley (ed.), *Crusading in the fifteenth century*, New York, 2004

Z. von Martels and V. Arjo (eds.), *Pius II 'El Più Expeditivo Pontefice'. Selected studies on Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini*, Leiden, 2003

L. Tarugi (ed.), *Pio II e la cultura del suo tempo*, Milan, 1991

K. Setton, *The papacy and the Levant 1204-1571*, 4 vols, Philadelphia PA, 1978, ii



R. Mitchell, *The laurels and the tiara*, New York, 1963

B. Widmer, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Papst Pius II*, Basel, 1960

C.M. Ady, *Pope Pius II*, London, 1913

G. Voigt, *Enea Silvio de Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite und sein Zeitalter*, Berlin, 1856-63

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### Letter to Mehmed II

DATE 1461

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

#### DESCRIPTION

Pius's letter to Mehmed II, which he wrote in 1461, is a long and controversial work, whose ostensible goal is to offer the sultan papal support and political legitimacy in exchange for his baptism. Separated by Baca into 19 sections or books, the first three books offer tactical reasons why conversion to Christianity would increase Mehmed's political power, as well as historical examples of rulers who profited from such a move. Books 4 to 17 explicate the righteousness of Christianity and the errors of Islam using scripture, Church Fathers and polemical Christian treatises which repeat numerous misconceptions about Islam alongside more accurate interpretations. The final two books, urging Mehmed to embrace Europe's superior culture as well as its religion, contain secular arguments concerning civility and barbarism.

The inviting tone of many passages in the letter stands in direct opposition to everything else Pius wrote about the Turks. He praises Mehmed as an 'excellent man' whose 'nature is good', and expresses deep concern for the sultan's salvation (Baca, p. 38). He even acknowledges, moreover, how far Christians have fallen from the precepts of the teachings of Christ with their religious disunity and wars amongst themselves. This attitude of conciliation, however, is replaced by confrontation and hostility as Pius shifts to an examination of Islam. Using Juan de Torquemada (q.v.) as his main source, he invokes numerous medieval polemical charges against Islam. Starting from the commonplace that Muḥammad was a charlatan who invented a new religion with the help of a Christian monk, he portrays the attractions of Islam as carnal and irrational. Muḥammad, he asserts, seduced the Arabs by giving free rein on earth to 'adultery, fornication, [and] serving the belly', and by promising 'all that the flesh desires' in the afterlife (Baca, pp. 89, 61). After such an

inauspicious founding, the religion, Pius argues, is maintained by both the sword and the prohibition of debate or challenge (i.e., 'reason') (pp. 88, 89). In short, scholars studying the influence of medieval stereotypes of Islam will find much of interest in Pius's letter to Mehmed.

Where Pius, perhaps, shows more innovation, is in his humanistic emphasis on the achievements of Western culture in contrast to those of Islam and even Eastern Christianity. This is seen in Book 1, where he praises the greatness of spirit, manliness and martial strength of the Western Europeans, as opposed to the weakness of the schismatic Eastern Christians whom Mehmed has conquered (Book 2). He also touts the intellectual wonders of Europe where, 'the study of the liberal arts flourishes', contrasting this shining image to one of darkness and ignorance in the East, where 'ever since the Law of Muḥammad won the day, few have attained renown for revealing the secrets of nature' (Baca, p. 91).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The pope's purpose in writing the letter has been a subject of long scholarly debate. It is difficult to determine how serious an exercise this was, since there is no evidence that Pius sent it or even intended to send it. Numerous manuscripts of the letter survive, and it was printed as early as 1470, but the piece only circulated in Europe. As I argued in 2001, a close reading of the letter along with other documentary evidence strongly suggests Pius had no interest in reaching out to the sultan, much less in offering him baptism and legitimacy. According to this logic, the piece was likely a rhetorical exercise on the faults of Islam and the merits of Christianity and European culture; it may also have been intended as propaganda to exert pressure on Christian princes to support the crusade and prevent the pope from wooing Mehmed, which would have been a blow to their own authority and claims. For slightly different reasons, Georg Voigt, Franco Cardini and Robert Schwoebel have also argued that the letter was intended only for Christian readers. Some scholars, however, take the letter at face value. Benjamin Weber and James Hankins hold that it fits within the medieval tradition of papal overtures to non-Christian rulers. Other scholars who see it as a sincere, if brief, change of heart include R.W. Southern, R.J. Mitchell, Kenneth Setton, Franz Babinger and Franco Gaeta.

It was once thought that Pius's greatest source of inspiration for the letter was Nicholas of Cusa's more irenic works, *De pace fidei* (c. 1453) and *Cribratio Alkorani* (1461) (q.v.). Gaeta, however, has shown that the most direct model was Juan de Torquemada's fiercely polemical *Contra*

*principales errores perfidi Machometi*, from which Pius liberally quotes. Thus, the letter provides scholars with a rich opportunity to examine the marriage of medieval polemic and humanist rhetoric. Given its popularity, it should also be studied as an influential source on Christian perceptions of Islam in the Renaissance.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

Glei and Köhler, *Epistola ad Mahumetem*, pp. 98-114, give a full list of the 40 MSS and five early editions of the letter, together with a reconstruction of the relationships between them.

Among these, the following are significant:

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 3648A, fols 1r-53r (15<sup>th</sup> century)

MS El Escorial – C.II. 9, fols 68r-109r (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Paris, BNF – Lat. 3648C, fols 1r-55v (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Vienna, Austrian National Library – 3389, fols 40r-79v (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

*Epistola ad Mahumetem*, ed. and (German) trans. R. Glei and M. Köhler, Trier, 2001

*Epistola ad Mahomatem II (Epistle to Mohammed II)*, ed and trans. A. Baca, New York, 1990

*Opera quae extant omnia*, Basel, 1571

#### STUDIES

M. Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance historical thought*, Cambridge MA, 2008

B. Weber, 'Conversion, croisade, et œcuménisme à la fin du moyen âge. Encore sur la lettre de Pie II a Mehmed II', *Crusades* 7 (2008) 181-97

N. Bisaha, 'Pius II's letter to Mehmed II. A reexamination', *Crusades* 1 (2002) 183-200

J. Hankins, 'Renaissance crusaders. Humanist crusade literature in the age of Mehmed II', *DOP* 49 (1995) 111-20

F. Cardini, 'La repubblica di Firenze e la crociata di Pio II', *Rivista Storica della Chiesa in Italia* 33 (1979) 3-32

F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit. Weltenstürmer einer Zeitenwende*, Munich, 1953 (trans. R. Manheim, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his time*, Princeton NJ, 1978)

Setton, *The papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, ii

- F. Gaeta, 'Alcune osservazioni sulla prima redazione della "lettera a Maometto"', in D. Maffei (ed.), *Enea Silvio Piccolomini Papa Pio II*, Siena, 1968, 177-86
- R. Schwoebel, *The shadow of the crescent. The Renaissance image of the Turk (1453-1517)*, New York, 1967
- F. Gaeta, 'Sulla "Lettera a Maometto" di Pio II', *Buletino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo e Archivio Muratoriano* 77 (1965) 127-227
- R. Southern, *Western views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge MA, 1962

**Nancy Bisaha**

# Içe de Gebir

Yça Cuidili, Yça Gidelli

DATE OF BIRTH	Early 15th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Probably Castile
DATE OF DEATH	Second half of the 15 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

## BIOGRAPHY

Içe, whose *nisba* possibly derives from the Arabic al-Shādhili, a member of the Shādhiliyya Sufi order, was a *faqīh* (Sp. *alfaquí*) in Segovia (Castile), a city that had important Muslim and Jewish *aljamas*. The earliest evidence about him suggests that, in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, he was for some time part of the official religious and Islamic judicial hierarchy, which consisted of an *alcalde mayor* (judge) and beneath him local *alcaldes* in the towns and other places (Wieggers, *Islamic literature*, p. 147, document edited in Sáez, *Collección diplomática*, doc. 161). It seems likely that, from the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the Mudejars of Segovia no longer recognized the authority of the *alcalde mayor* who was set over all the Mudejars of Castile, and after a number of internal conflicts, which resulted in the death of some members of the community and the emigration to Granada of a number of Segovian Mudejars, the Castilian King granted them the concession of being judged by the ordinary local Christian justice (Molénat, 'À propos d'Abrahen Xarafi', pp. 161, 171; Echevarría Arsuaga, 'Las aljamas mudéjares castellanas'). The conflicts were very likely connected with Içe, but direct historical evidence for his role in them is lacking.

In 1455-56 Içe travelled to Aiton (Savoy), where he translated the Qur'an into Castilian at the request of the theologian Juan de Segovia (1393-1458) (q.v.). Echevarría believes that a certain Omar *alfaquí*, who in 1480 was granted a royal permit to travel to Granada to accompany back to Segovia a group of Segovian Mudejars who had emigrated from the city at the time of the conflicts mentioned above, was Içe's brother. He did indeed have a brother who was an *alfaquí* like himself.

The translation that Içe made (as well as Juan's trilingual Qur'an) has long been considered lost (see López Morillas, *El Corán de Toledo*, and

the literature referred to by her). However, Roth and Gleis ('Die Spuren') have recently identified some unidentified fragments as small parts of the Latin translation made by Juan de Segovia on the basis of Içe's Spanish version (MS Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, 7-6-14, f. 21r) that resulted in the trilingual Qur'an Juan wanted for his mission to peacefully convert the Muslims (*per viam pacis et doctrinae*).

Içe's best known work is the *Breviario Sunní*, which was written in Segovia in 1462. In it, he sets out that his motive for writing this work in Castilian (i.e. the vernacular) was related to his reason for translating the Qur'an into Romance. This was the decline of Muslims living under Christian rule, their loss of wealth as a result of heavy tax burdens, the loss of (Arabic) learning, and 'calumnies'.

Içe's writings circulated among the Castilian nobility. The inventory of the library of the Duchess of Arévalo, Leonor de Pimentel, made up in 1468, mentions two works by him, one described as 'written by don Yça Guidili, *faqih* of the Moors [sic] of Segovia, which he wrote against the faith, to which Juan Lopes responds' (*Libro de coberturas de cuero morado de don Yça Guidili alfaqui de los moros de Segovia, que hiso contra la fe, al qual responde frey Juan Lopes*, document from Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Osuna 216/6 [2], inventario Béjar, edited in Ladero Quesada and Quintanilla Raso, 'Bibliotecas'). We are probably dealing here with a polemic by a theologian who can be identified as the Dominican Juan López de Salamanca (c. 1389-1479) (Wieggers, *Islamic literature*, pp. 135-39). The historian Gil González Dávila consulted this response in 1717 in the library of the Augustinian convent in Salamanca and describes it as 'a treatise by Juan López against another, written by a Moorish inhabitant of Segovia, Cidili. The scholar had tried to make him [Içe] a child of the light, but did not succeed, because Cidili preferred to remain in the mist and blindness of his sect'.

The second book is 'a manuscript by Don Caguidili, mufti of the Moors of Segovia' (*Libro de coberturas moradas escripto de mano ques el que hiso Don Caguidili mofti de los moros de Segovia*); this may refer to the *Breviario Sunní*. It is interesting to observe the title 'mofti' (Ar. *muftī*). The title suggests that Içe gave fatwas, though none are known. The fact that the duchess's library included these works indicates that they circulated in Latin script (unlike the more usual Aljamiado). Içe wrote a number of other, less important religious works, all probably in Castilian (see Wieggers, *Islamic literature*, pp. 69-150).

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

- A. Jiménez Moreno (ed.), *Juan López de Salamanca, Los Evangelios moralizados*, Salamanca, 2004 (with an extensive introduction)
- Suma de los mandamientos y devedamientos de la santa ley y sunna*, ed. P. de Gayangos, in *Memorial Histórico Español*, vol. 5. 1853, 247-417
- C. Koester, *Die Aljamiado-Handschrift J 1 de la Junta. Edition mit Sprachwissenschaftlichem Kommentar und Vergleich nebst Glossar unter Berücksichtigung von MS 2076 de la Biblioteca Nacional*, Ratingen, 1993 (Diss., University of Tübingen)
- Collección diplomática de Sepúlveda, I (1076-1454)*, ed. E. Sáez, Segovia, 1956, doc. 161 (letter by Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Qaysī)
- G.A. Wieggers, *Islamic literature in Spanish and Aljamiado. Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), his antecedents and successors*, Leiden, 1993 (letter by Içe de Juan de Segovia, pp. 230-35)
- D. Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Juan de Segovia y el problema islámico*, Madrid, 1952 (repr. Granada, 2007)

*Secondary*

- C. López Morillas, *El Corán de Toledo. Edición y estudio del Manuscrito 235 de la Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha*, Oviedo, forthcoming
- U. Roth and R. Gleis, 'Die Spuren der lateinischen Koranübersetzung des Juan de Segovia- alte Probleme und ein neuer Fund', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch* 11 (2009) 109-54
- L. Rouhi, 'A fifteenth-century Salamanca's pursuit of Islamic studies', in C. Robinson and L. Rouhi (eds), *Under the influence. Questioning the comparative in medieval Castile*, Leiden, 2005, 21-42
- A.M. Wolf, *Juan de Segovia and Western perspectives on Islam in the fifteenth century*, University of Minnesota, 2003 (Diss., University of Minnesota)
- A. Echevarría Arsuaga, 'De cadí a alcalde mayor. La elite judicial mudéjar en el siglo XV', *Al-Qanṭara* 24 (2003) 139-68 (part I); 273-90 (part II)
- A. Echevarría Arsuaga, 'Las aljamas castellanas en el siglo XV. Redes de poder y conflictos internos', *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie 3, Historia Medieval* 14 (2001) 93-112
- A. Echevarría Arsuaga, *The fortress of faith. The attitude towards Muslims in fifteenth-century Spain*, Leiden, 1999
- J.-P. Molénat, 'À propos d'Abrahen Xarafi. Les *alcaldes mayores de los moros de Castille* au temps des rois catholiques', in *VII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo. Actas*, Teruel, 1999, 175-84
- C. López Morillas, 'Lost and found? Yça of Segovia and the Quran among the Mudejars and Moriscos', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 10 (1999) 277-92
- Wieggers, *Islamic literature in Spanish and Aljamiado. Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), his antecedents and successors*

- L.P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain 1250 to 1500*, Chicago, 1990, pp. 78-97
- G.A. Wieggers, 'Isà b. Jâbir and the origins of Aljamiado literature', *Al-Qanṭara* 11 (1990) 155-91
- M.A. Ladero Quesada and M<sup>a</sup>.C. Quintanilla Raso, 'Bibliotecas de la alta nobleza castellana en el siglo XV', in Casa de Velázquez, *Livre et lecture en Espagne et en France sous l'ancien régime, Colloque de la Casa de Velázquez*, Paris, 1981, 45-59
- L.P. Harvey, 'El Mancebo de Arévalo y la literatura aljamiada', in *Actas del Coloquio internacional sobre literatura aljamiada y morisca*, Madrid, 1978, 21-41
- L.P. Harvey, *The literary culture of the Moriscos 1492-1609. A study based on the extant manuscripts in Arabic and Aljamía*, Oxford, 1958 (Diss., University of Oxford)
- D. Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Juan de Segovia y el problema islámico*, Madrid, 1952 (repr. Granada, 2007)

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Suma de los mandamientos y devedamientos de la santa ley y sunna*, 'Summa of the commands and interdictions of the holy Law and Sunna'  
*Breviario Sunnî; Kitāb (or Libro) Segoviano*,  
 'The Segovian book'

DATE 1462

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Castilian

#### DESCRIPTION

*Breviario Sunnî* is the name given by the author himself (as mentioned in its preface). At the very beginning, the title *Suma de los mandamientos y devedamientos de la santa ley y sunna* ('Summa of the commands and interdictions of the Holy Law and Sunna') appears. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century it was also known as the *Kitāb (or Libro) Segoviano* ('The Segovian book') and alternatively the *Çum Segoviano* ('Segovian summa'), clearly derived from the place where it was written. The work, in 60 chapters, starts with the creed (ʿaqīda), entitled *los trece artículos de la fe* ('the 13 articles of the faith'), a chapter dealing with ethical maxims, and a summary of basic issues in *fiqh*, both *ʿibādāt* (individual devotional obligations) and *muʿāmalāt* (social relations), according to the Mālikī school of law. Even though none of the extant manuscripts is dated, they all include a



reference to the fact that the work was written by Içe in Segovia in 1462. None of the manuscripts includes a list of titles of the 13 works on which the author based himself. This suggests that the surviving manuscripts, which were all copied in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, do not present texts that are close to the original. Feliciano has discovered a new manuscript in Mexico (Feliciano Chaves, *Yça Gidelli y la Nueva España*’).

There is still only one edition, by Gayangos, published in 1853. Of the six manuscripts known today, only one is written in Arabic characters (J 1). Both MS 2076 of the BNE and the Mexican manuscript were copied in the context of the Inquisition, when the text was used as an accessible source of information about the Islamic practices and beliefs of Moriscos, the descendants of the Mudejars who had been converted under duress to Christianity from 1499 onwards, apparently not only in Spain, but also in the New World.

Even though the *Breviario Sunní* is a religious work that deals with Islam, and not explicitly with Christianity, the influence of Christian ideas is noteworthy in several respects. In the chapter on ethics, relations with Christians are referred to. For example, according to one of the maxims, it is not permitted to live in the abode of the unbelievers. This statement reflects current reservations among Mālikī scholars with regard to living as a Muslim in Christian territory. On the other hand, Içe states that one should be faithful to one’s lord even though he is not a Muslim, ‘because he will become your heir should you have nobody else to inherit from you’. It was the custom in Castile, though certainly not in Granada, that non-Muslim lords inherited from Muslims who died childless.

Notable influence of Christian writings is also found in the next section, which includes Içe’s *Thirteen articles of the faith*, of which the form and partly the contents are remarkably close to those of an Islamic creed described in Ramon Lull’s (1232-1315) (q.v.) *Book of the Gentile and the three sages*, and in ch. 60, concerning the doctrine and degrees in which the world is governed, which shows the influence of Enrique de Villena’s *Twelve labors of Hercules*, written in Catalan in 1417 (see Harvey, ‘The thirteen articles of the faith’). There is a noteworthy eschatological focus in the last chapters, viz. the chapter about eschatology, *las señales del día del juyzio y fin deste siglo* (ch. 58), and about repentance, which includes an invocation (*du‘ā*) to be said to obtain forgiveness, and the categorization of world history into seven periods, closely related to a similar division as found in the commentary on the Apocalypse of John by Beatus of Liébana.

The work on the whole can be seen as a simple treatise on theology and *fiqh* in the Romance vernacular, comparable to the well-known *Risāla* by the Mālikī scholar Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, the influence of which is quite conspicuous.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The contemporary significance of the *Breviario Sunnī* and the other two works discussed, the polemic with Juan López de Salamanca, and the translation of the Qur'an made for Juan de Segovia, was that here a *faqīh* (who was even called master mufti of all Castilian Moors) of one of the most important *aljamas* of Castile, that of Segovia, used the vernacular for writing a book on Islamic subjects in a non-Muslim environment, in which he deals with religious ideas current in that society. He influenced later Morisco authors a great deal, and we find traces of his work among them even after the Moriscos were expelled from Spain in 1609 (Harvey, 'El Mancebo'). That Içe wrote against Christianity was most unusual, because it was forbidden for Muslims and Jews to propagate their faiths. There may well be a relation between the writing of the *Breviario Sunnī* and the application of Islamic law by local Christian judges, which was the custom in Segovia from c. 1450 onwards.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Mexico City, Archivo General de la Nación, Ramo Inquisición – 158 (54): 1, pp. 1-109 (16th century)
- MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España – 2076, fols 2r-72r (second half of the 16th century)
- MS Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia – 11/9396, fols 1-199v (late 16th century)
- MS Madrid, Biblioteca Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas – J 1, fols 1v-218r (late 16th century; in Arabic script, i.e. Aljamiado)
- MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España – 6016 (end of the 16th century)
- MS Madrid, Biblioteca Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas – J 60, fols 1-89v (early 17th century)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- Suma de los mandamientos y devedamientos de la santa ley y sunna*, ed. P. de Gayangos, in *Memorial Histórico Español*, vol. 5, 1853, pp. 247-417
- Koester, *Die Aljamiado Handschrift J 1 de la Junta*

## STUDIES

M.J. Feliciano Chaves, 'Yça Gidelli y la Nueva España. Un manuscrito del "Breviario Sunni" en el Archivo General de la Nación (México, D.F)', *Aljamía* 13 (2001) 48-51

Wiegers, *Islamic literature in Spanish and Aljamiado*

Harvey, *Islamic Spain 1250 to 1500*, pp. 78-97

Wiegers, 'Isà b. Jâbir and the origins of Aljamiado literature'

L.P. Harvey, "'The thirteen articles of the faith" and "The twelve degrees in which the world is governed". Two passages in a sixteenth-century Morisco manuscript and their antecedents', in F.W. Hodcroft et al. (eds), *Medieval and Renaissance studies on Spain and Portugal in honour of P.E. Russell*, Oxford, 1981, 15-29

Harvey, *The literary culture of the Moriscos 1492-1609*

**Gerard Wiegers**

## Doucas

DATE OF BIRTH About 1400  
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; most probably western Asia Minor,  
perhaps Ephesus  
DATE OF DEATH About 1470; certainly after 1462  
PLACE OF DEATH Probably Lesbos

### BIOGRAPHY

Although Doucas's Christian name is unknown, it may be supposed that it was Michael, because that was the name of his grandfather. The first knowledge we have of him is that, in 1421 and the years that followed, he was living in the Genoese colony of Nea Phokaia (near Smyrna), where, as an educated man, versed in Italian and Turkish, he was a secretary of the Genoese *podestà* Giovanni Adorno, and thus also occupied with diplomatic correspondence. Later, probably after the Ottoman occupation of Nea Phokaia in 1455, he lived on Lesbos (probably in its capital Mitylene/Mytilene), which had been ruled by members of the Genoese family of Gattilusi since 1355. It was on Lesbos that he wrote his *History*, or at least its latter parts. He was a convinced supporter of church union; in his eyes the Orthodox (anti-unionist) Christians were schismatics.

Being in the service of the Gattilusi lords of Lesbos, Doucas was on several occasions sent on diplomatic missions: in 1451, 1455 and 1456 to Adrianople (which in 1451 was still the Ottoman capital), in 1452 to Didymoteichos, and in December 1455 to Constantinople. During his mission to Adrianople in 1455, he had to pursue Sultan Mehmed II, who was fleeing from the bubonic plague, via Philippoupolis (Plovdiv) to Zlatica (Izladi) in order to meet him. It has often been claimed that he visited Constantinople shortly after its fall in 1453, but (contrary to the claims of Kotzabassi, 'Ist der Kopist des Geschichtswerkes von Dukas selbst?', p. 682, and Rosenqvist, 'Die byzantinische Literatur') this is unproven.

In his work, he often alludes to the Bible, especially the Old Testament, and seems to have known (at least in part) the historical works of Nicetas Choniates (q.v.), Nicephorus Gregoras (q.v.) and John Anagnostes (q.v.). On Doucas's knowledge, ownership and use of manuscripts besides MS Paris Gr. 1310, see Kotzabassi, 'Ist der Kopist des Geschichtswerkes von Dukas Dukas selbst?'

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

Doucas's *History* is the only source for his life, work and thought. That his work was accomplished in several stages becomes clear from certain contradictions in contents and chronology. For instance, in ch. 45 the Ottoman occupation of New Phokaia in 1455 is mentioned, although in ch. 25 the town is called 'protected by God' (cf. Flusin, 'Prédications et prophéties dans l'oeuvre de Doucas', p. 356).

### *Secondary*

Introductions to recent editions and translations of Doucas's *History* give good biographical accounts. See also the encyclopaedia entries and the works by Grecu, Moravcsik, Krasavina (1973), Karayannopoulos-Weiss, Hunger, Reinsch (2009) and Preiser-Kapeller listed below.

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### 'History'

DATE After 1462

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

#### DESCRIPTION

Doucas's *History* does not appear to have had a formal title. In the single manuscript, which is most probably a fair copy written by Doucas himself or a close collaborator (cf. Kotzabassi, 'Ist der Kopist des Geschichtswerkes von Dukas Dukas selbst?', p. 683), the text begins on fol. 288r without any heading. The initial letter of the opening paragraph is elaborately formed and no leaf is missing at this point (as has often been maintained previously). It is clearly incomplete at the end, however, for it finishes abruptly on fol. 391r, and the Old Italian translation has to be consulted for the missing parts. The work was originally conceived as a world chronicle, containing in its first part (trans. Magoulias, ch. 1.1-6) a history from Adam to the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204. The second part (ch. 2. 1-5) contains a very short overview of the Nicean period 1204-61, followed by a concise description of the reigns of the early Palaeologi from the usurper Michael VIII (1259-81) to the young John V and his rival John VI Cantacuzenus (1347-54), whose cooperation with the Turks under Orhan prepared the way for the latter to cross from Asia Minor to Europe in 1354. The third part (chs 3-42) comprises the main substance of the work. Mostly well-informed, it deals, often in great detail, with the history of the late Byzantine Empire, with

particular attention to Byzantine-Ottoman relations in the period 1347-1453. The final chapter of this part (42) is a lament (*threnos*) on the fall of Constantinople. The fourth and last part (chs 43-45) deals with Mehmed II's reign from 1453 to his occupation of Lesbos in 1462.

The *History* deals extensively with the increasing involvement of Seljuk and Ottoman Turks, and also Mongols, in the history of the Byzantine Empire and its neighbors Bulgaria, Hungary and Serbia and the principalities of the Albanians and Rumanians (Vlachs). Thus, it mainly focuses on the decline of the empire on account of the Turkish-Ottoman expansion that finally led to the fall of Constantinople in May 1453. From about 1341 onwards, it is increasingly based on information imparted by Doucas's father and later on what he himself learned and perceived while acting as secretary and diplomat in the service of the Gattilusi. This gives the work a high degree of authenticity.

Doucas typically regards the Turks as untrustworthy, tyrannical, and lost in their impious religion. He sees them as God's instruments of punishment against the Byzantines, in particular for Michael VIII Palaeologus's overthrow of John IV Lascaris (ch. 6.2, and cf. ch. 5.5.), and he warns that the enemy will continue their pressure 'until we receive the fear of God in our hearts. [...] God has rightly and justly ordained that we should be delivered to the impious to be chastened by them' (ch. 23.8).

An intriguing detail concerns the Turk Bürklüdje Mustafa, a Muslim sectarian, who, Doucas says, 'guilefully sought to win the friendship of the Christians' and 'expounded the doctrine that anyone among the Turks who contended that the Christians are not God-fearing, is himself ungodly' (ch. 21.10-15). He apparently saw few differences between the beliefs of Christians and Muslims. On the other hand, Doucas reports on the forceful conversion of the Byzantine Christian Michael Pyllis, who served as interpreter at the Ottoman court (ch. 28.5).

In his references to Ottoman rulers, he judges them by their treatment of Christians and their attitude towards them. He describes Bayazid I, who was 'a persecutor of Christians [*christianomáchos*] like no other around him' and 'a most ardent disciple of Muḥammad, whose unlawful commandments were observed to the utmost', as contriving 'intrigues and machinations against the rational flock of Christ' even by night (ch. 3.4). And he reports that, in 1399, at Bayazid's demand, Emperor John VII introduced a qadi into Constantinople to decide legal disputes between Byzantines and Turks according to 'Arab law' (ch. 15.1). A similar demand, made of John VII's father, Emperor Manuel II in 1391, had been refused (ch. 13.5). Mehmed II was even worse than Bayazid. In

the way he falsely concluded treaties with Constantine XI, he showed he was 'the Antichrist before the Antichrist, the spoiler of the flock of my Christ, the enemy of the Cross'. 'By donning the mask of friendship, the disciple of Satan transformed himself into a serpent', for he 'swore by the god of the false prophet, the prophet whose name he bears, and on his vile books, and by angels and archangels to devote himself [...] to the cause of amity and concord' with the Byzantines, though, when they realized that he intended to erect the fortress of Rumeli Hisar, the Byzantines knew they were living in the 'days of Antichrist' (ch. 34.5; on Turkish guile, see further ch. 21.10-15), and compared their own predicament with the *ultima visio Danielis*, when Mehmed would 'enter the City and destroy and enslave her inhabitants, trample upon the blessed sacraments, demolish the holy churches' with their relics of the saints and martyrs (ch. 34.6). But Doucas is not unremittingly harsh about every Turkish ruler: when Murad II was dying, he says, the sultan suffered less than his father Mehmed I, in part because of his sympathy for the indigent, 'not only those of his own nation and impious faith but also for Christians'. Acting as the 'infallible eye of God', he prosecuted only those Christians who 'resorted to the violation of treaties and the breaking of oaths'; with anger that 'was not intemperate', he 'justly punished' them (ch. 33.6).

Doucas makes it plain that not all people in Constantinople were of one mind about the impending catastrophe. He relates how the attempt to save the city 'from the hands of Nebuchadnezzar' by seeking Church union at the Council of Florence divided minds. The Orthodox, led by the monk (George) Gennadius Scholarius (q.v.), maintained that the supporters of union had 'removed' themselves 'from the hope of God' and, 'together with the City which will soon be destroyed', had abandoned their piety. Yet, Doucas sarcastically comments, the common Orthodox populace who anathematized the Unionists, went 'into taverns', drank 'unwatered wine [...] to the intercession of the icon of the Mother of God' and 'beseeched her to protect and defend the City against Mehmed as she had done in the past against Chosroes and Chagan and the Arabs'. (ch. 36.1-6). While certain (Unionist) inhabitants hoped that the besieged city 'would be delivered into the hands of the Latins, who call upon Christ and the Theotokos, and not thrown into the clutches of the infidel', the Grand Duke Loucas Notaras dared to say: 'It would be better to see a turban of the Turks reigning in the center of the City than a Latin imperial crown' (ch. 37.10, trans. Magoulias, p. 210, corrected according to Reinsch, 'Lieber den Turban als was?', p. 388; cf. ch. 37.19).

After the fall of Constantinople, Doucas laments that the Pantokrator Monastery was taken over by fullers and shoemakers and the Monastery of the Mangana by dervishes, ‘while all the others [sc. monasteries] were occupied by Turks with their wives and children’ (ch. 42.13).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The *History* is important as a close, first-hand source for the events that led up to the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The attitude it expresses towards the Turks differs little from that of earlier Byzantine historians, including many of those upon whom it depends. It sees them as followers of a godless religion and implacable enemies of the true beliefs of Christianity, and also as the means by which God punishes the Byzantines for their divisions and their sinful ways.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Gr. 1310 fols 288r-391r (15<sup>th</sup> century; this was most probably written by Doucas himself or a close collaborator; it ends abruptly and is clearly incomplete, the missing part being supplied by the Old Italian translation; see Bekker (ed.), *Ducae Michaelis Ducae nepotis* below)

For further (less important) MSS, see Pertusi, *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, p. 161.

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- J. Melville-Jones, *Venice and Thessalonica 1323-1430*, vol. 2. *The Greek accounts* (*Archivio del Litorale Adriatico* 8), Padua, 2006, pp. 35-73 (English trans.)
- J. Dayantis, *Doukas, histoire turco-byzantine. Introduction, traduction et commentaire*, Lille, 2004 (French trans.)
- B. Καράλης, [Μιχαήλ] Δούκας, *Βυζαντινοτουρκική ιστορία. Μετάφραση-Εισαγωγή-Σχόλια* (Κείμενα βυζαντινής ιστορίας 7), Athens, 1997 (Modern Greek trans.)
- H. Mihăescu et al. (eds), *Izvoarele istoriei României*, vol. 4. *Scritorii și acte bizantine secolele IV-XV/Fontes historiae Daco-Romanae IV. Scriptores et acta imperii Byzantini saeculorum IV-XV*, Bucharest, 1982, pp. 417-37 (excerpts from chs 15, 19-24, 27, 29, 30, 32-34, 38 and 45 (Greek text, annotated Rumanian trans. [according to Grecu])
- A. Pertusi (ed.), *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, vol. 2. *L'eco nel mondo*, Verona, 1976, pp. 160-93 and 452-56 (excerpts from chs 35, 39 and 40, text and Italian trans.)



- H.J. Magoulias, *Decline and fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks by Doukas. An annotated translation of 'Historia Turco-Byzantina'*, Detroit MI, 1975 (English trans.)
- K. Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde 5.-15. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols in 1, Hildesheim, 1973 (repr. of the first edition Leipzig, 1912), ii, pp. 44-45, 47-48, 132 (excerpts from chs 15, 21, 30, 33; German trans.)
- J.R. Melville Jones, *The siege of Constantinople 1453. Seven contemporary accounts*, Amsterdam, 1972, pp. ix-x, and 56-116 (chs 33-42; English trans.)
- V. Grecu (ed.), *Ducas. Istoria turco-bizantină (1341-1462), ediție critică/Ducaea Historia turcobyzantina (1341-1462)*, Bucharest, 1958 (first critical edition and Rumanian trans.; a new critical edition to appear in *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* is in preparation by S. Kotzabassi, Thessaloniki)
- A.A. Stepanov, 'Vizantijskie istoriki Duka i Frandzi o padenii Konstantinopolja. Perevod i predislovie', *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 7 (1953) 384-430, pp. 388-410 (chs 35-40; Russian trans.)
- N.B. Tomadakēs, *Douka–Kritoboulou–Sphrantzē–Chalkokondylē. Peri halōseōs tēs Konstantinoupoleōs (1453). Synagogē keimenōn meta prologou kai biographikōn meletēmatōn peri tessarōn historiographōn*, Athens, 1953, pp. 15-34, 35-74 (introduction and reprint of excerpts from chs 33-42, based on Bekker's edition, pp. 223-315)
- PG 157, cols 749-1166 (reprint of Bullialdus's edition)
- I. Bekker (ed.), *Ducaea Michaelis Ducaea nepotis historia Byzantina*, Bonn, 1834 (slightly emended Greek text, based on MS Paris. Gr. 1310, and Bullialdus's edition, together with Bullialdus's Latin trans. Bullialdus introduced the division into chapters and paragraphs; Bekker's text is followed, on pp. 349-512, by his edition of the more complete anonymous Old Italian translation contained in Cod. Marc. Ital. VI 83 (5977) fols 1-133v (15<sup>th</sup> century), which gives on p. 512 the final section of Doucas' text)
- I. Bullialdus, *Ducaea . . . Historia Byzantina*, Paris, 1649 (repr. Venice, 1729)

## STUDIES

- S. Kotzabassi, 'Autograph oder Übersetzung? Überlegungen zur Neuedition des Geschichtswerkes von Dukas', in *Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Sofia 22-27 August 2011*, vol. 2. *Abstracts of round table communications*, Sofia, 2011, p. 36

- M. Philippides and W.K. Hanak, *The siege and the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Historiography, topography and military studies*, Farnham, 2011, p. 41 (and see index)
- L.M. Hoffman, art. 'Doukas', in *The encyclopaedia of the medieval chronicle*, 2 vols, Leiden, 2010, i, pp. 548-49
- J. Preiser-Kapeller, 'Sive vincitur Hungaria... Das Osmanische Reich, das Königreich Ungarn und ihre Nachbarn in der Zeit des Matthias Corvinus im Machtvergleich nach dem Urteil fünf griechischer Quellen', in C. Gastgeber et al. (eds), *Matthias Corvinus und seine Zeit*, Vienna 2010, 36-62, pp. 39-41, and *passim*
- M. Popović, Mara Branković. *Eine Frau zwischen dem christlichen und dem islamischen Kulturkreis im 15. Jahrhundert*, Mainz, 2010, p. 12 (and see index)
- M. Nikolić, *Vizantijski pisci o Srbiji (1402-1439)/The Byzantine writers on Serbia (1402-1439)*, Belgrade, 2010, pp. 19-20 (and see index)
- E. Mitsiou, 'John Hunyadi and Matthias Corvinus in the Byzantine sources. With an excursus on the "Greek poem on the Battle of Varna"', in C. Gastgeber et al. (eds), *Matthias Corvinus und seine Zeit. Europa am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit zwischen Wien und Konstantinopel*, Vienna, 2010, 209-29, p. 209 and *passim*
- V. Angelov, 'Bälgarskite zemi v predstavite na vizantijskite istorici ot XV v.', in I. Jordanov (ed.), *Pätuvanijata v srednevekovna Bälgarija*, Veliko Tärnovo, 2009, 265-72
- D.R. Reinsch, 'Mehmet der Eroberer in der Darstellung der zeitgenössischen byzantinischen Geschichtsschreiber', in N. Asutay-Effenberger and U. Rehm (eds), *Sultan Mehmet II. Eroberer Konstantinopels. Patron der Künste*, Cologne, 2009, 15-30
- S. Mes(anović?) and A. S(impson), art. 'Doukas', in A.G. Savvides, B. Hendrickx and T. Sansaridou-Hendrickx (eds), *Encyclopaedic Prosopographical Lexicon of Byzantine History and Civilization*, Turnhout, 2007-, ii, 369-70
- J.O. Rosenqvist, *Die byzantinische Literatur. Vom 6. Jahrhundert bis zum Fall Konstantinopels 1453*, Berlin, 2007, pp. 179-80
- M. Nikolić, 'Srpska država u delu vizantijskog istoričara Duke', *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 44 (2007) 481-91
- R.B. Bуганов, art. 'Duka', in *Pravoslavnaja Ėnciklopedija*, vol. 16, Moscow, 2007, 326-27

- B. Flusin, 'Prédictions et prophéties dans l'oeuvre de Doucas', in P. Odorico, P. Agapitos and M. Hinterberger (eds), *L'écriture de la mémoire. La littérature de l'historiographie (Dossiers Byzantins 6)*, Paris, 2006, 353-73
- S. Kotzabassi, 'Ist der Kopist des Geschichtswerkes von Dukas Dukas selbst?', *BZ* 96 (2003) 679-83
- M.-H. Congourdeau, 'Byzance et la fin du monde. Courants de pensée apocalyptiques sous les Palaeologues, les traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople', in B. Lellouch and S. Yerasimos (eds), *Actes de la table ronde d'Istanbul (13-14 avril 1996) (Varia Turcica 33)*, Paris, 1999, 55-97, pp. 63-64
- S.W. Reinert, 'The Muslim presence in Constantinople, 8<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Some preliminary observations', in H. Ahrweiler and A.E. Laiou (eds), *Studies on the internal diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, Washington DC, 1998, 125-50, p. 145
- J. Koder, *Aigaion Pelagos (Die nördliche Ägäis) (Tabula Imperii Byzantinae 10)*, Vienna, 1998 (entries on 'Lesbos' and 'Mityléné')
- D.R. Reinsch, 'Lieber den Turban als was? Bemerkungen zum Dictum des Lukas Notaras', in C.N. Constantinides et al. (eds), *ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝ. Studies in honour of Robert Browning*, Venice, 1996, 377-89
- A. Ducellier, *Chrétiens d'orient et islam au moyen âge VII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1996, 23-24, and *passim*
- J. Koder, art. 'Dukas', in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 3, Freiburg, 1995, col. 400
- M. Balivet, *Islam mystique et révolution armée dans les Balkans ottomans. Vie du cheikh Bedreddin, le 'Hallâj' des Turcs (1391-1452) (Cahiers du Bosphore 12)*, Istanbul, 1995
- A.M. Talbot, art. 'Doukas', in *ODB*
- C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul, 1990, p. 6 and *passim*
- P. Schreiner, art. 'Dukas', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 3, Munich, 1986, cols 1444-45
- E. Werner, *Die Geburt einer Großmacht. Die Osmanen (1300-1481)*, Vienna, 1985, p. 111 and *passim*
- I. Djurić, *Sumrak Vizantije*, Belgrade, 1984, pp. 6-7 and *passim*
- E. Zachariadou, *Trade and crusade. Venetian Crete and the emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300-1415)*, Venice, 1983, p. 85 and *passim*
- J. Karayannopoulos and G. Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324-1453)*, vol. 2, Wiesbaden, 1982, p. 519, no. 542  
*PLP*, no. 5685

- H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol. 1, Munich, 1978, pp. 490-94 (with bibliography)
- P. Wirth, art. 'Dukas', in *Biographisches Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas*, vol. 1, Munich, 1974, p. 446
- S.K. Krasavina, 'Mirovozzrenie i social'no-političeskie vzgljady vizantijskogo istorika Duki', *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 34 (1973) 97-111
- J.A. Papadrianos, 'L'historien byzantin Doucas et les Serbes', *Cyrillic-methodianum* 1 (1971) 113-20
- S.K. Krasavina, 'Duka i Sfrandzi ob unii pravoslavnoj i katoličeskoj cerkvej', *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 27 (1967) 142-52
- M. Dinić, 'Duki prevodilac o boju na Kosovu', *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 8 (1964) 113-20
- V. Laurent, art. 'Doucas', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, Paris, 1912-, xiv, cols 739-40
- G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. 1. *Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Turkvölker*, Berlin, 1958, pp. 247-49 (with complete bibliography from 1852)
- A.S. Stepanov, 'Trud Duki, kak istočnik po istorii vosstanija Berklidži Mustafy načala XV v.', *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 5 (1952) 99-104
- V. Grecu, 'Pour une meilleure connaissance de l'historien Doukas', *Memoiral Louis Petit. Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie Byzantines*, Bucharest, 1948, 128-41
- W. Miller, 'The historians Doukas and Phrantzes', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 46 (1926) 63-67
- E. Černousov, 'Duka, odin iz istorikov konca Vizantii. Opyt charakteristiki', *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 21 (1915) 171-221

Günter Prinzing

# Martyrology of Yovhannēs Bishop of Tarōn

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH    Approximately 1420s  
PLACE OF BIRTH    Presumably the village of Poř near Bitlis  
DATE OF DEATH    Unknown  
PLACE OF DEATH    Unknown

## BIOGRAPHY

No details regarding the author are preserved beyond his composition of this martyrology in Bitlis in 1463.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

The only source directly associated with the author is the martyrology itself.

### *Secondary*

- H. Ačāryan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri bařaran*, vol. 3, Yerevan: State University Publication, 1946, p. 283  
M. Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, Constantinople: V. & H. Tēr-Nersesean Press, 1927, col. 2171  
L. Pērlhalehmean, *Nōtark' Hayoc'*, Constantinople: Nřan Pelpelrean Press, 1883, pp. 199, 213, 230

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Vkayabanut'iwn Yovhannēs episkopos Tarōnoy,*  
'Martyrology of Yovhannēs Bishop of Tarōn'

DATE    About 1463  
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE    Armenian

## DESCRIPTION

The text sets the scene by sketching the protagonist's background. Originating in the village of Hořablur in the region of Tarōn/Muř, the youth Yovhannēs had studied from an early age at the famous monastery of St John the Precursor, the first seat of the chief Armenian hierarch in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, finally being elevated to the position of abbot and bishop of

the diocese of Tarōn. Once installed, he began restoring the monastic churches, beginning with that of St John, and then moving on to the main church of St Stephen, embellishing them both.

This renewal activity had the impact of provoking local Kurds (in other versions disgruntled monks are also cited in this role) to calumniate him to the local authorities, to the effect that he had destroyed a mosque to provide building materials for the restoration. At this, he was arrested by the local emir Xalil and transferred to the higher jurisdiction of Sharaf, emir of Bitlis of the Rusaki dynasty, for him to investigate the charge. Without actually trying the case, Sharaf consigned the bishop to the executioners, who removed him from the tribunal, stripped him, put a noose around his neck, and led him to an eminence to await further instructions.

Meanwhile, the bishop called a priest to hear his confession, after which he took communion, offered the thanksgiving prayers, and returned to the soldiers. They tried to make him convert and threatened physical violence if he refused. When he forthrightly confessed his faith and condemned their religion, they dragged him through the city center to the citadel gate, where a huge crowd assembled. There, as they ignited a fire, they continued to press him to convert, offering various inducements including cancelling the charges against him, again to no avail. They beat him with swords and threw him into the fire, only to remove him to face the final ordeal, piercing him in the side with a sword before stoning him to death. Although the emir of Bitlis granted the Christians permission to bury him, the Muslim crowd would not allow them access until the archbishop of the city appeared with an entourage and brought his remains to the main church of St Sargis, laying them to rest before the altar. The martyrdom took place on Tuesday 19 April 1463.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Although it is not unusual in such instances for a local official to refer the case to his superior for review, it is extremely rare that the latter would deliver such summary judgment without due process. Similarly, it is highly irregular that nowhere in the narrative is there any mention of any participation of a qadi in the tribunal.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Yerevan, Maštoc<sup>c</sup> Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M1516  
fols 500v-501r (pre-1681)

MS Yerevan, Maštoc<sup>c</sup> Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M3783  
fols 370v-371r (1704)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

- K. Ter-Davtyan, *Novie armyanskie mucheniki (1155-1843), perevod, pre-dislovie i primechaniya*, Yerevan: Nairi Publications, 1998, pp. 112-14, 278 (Russian trans.)
- Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, Vałaršapat, 1903, pp. 299-304 (critical edition)
- Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (žotovrdakan hratarakut'ivn)*, vol. 1, Vałaršapat, 1902, pp. 190-93 (edition lacks critical apparatus)

## STUDIES

- K' Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkayabanut'yunner (V-XVIII dd.)*, Yerevan: Nayri, 2011, pp. 349-50
- H. Ač'aryan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri bařaran*, vol. 3, Yerevan: State University Publication, 1946, pp. 669-70
- M. Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, Constantinople: V. & H. Tēr-Nersesean Press, 1927, col. 2170
- Garegin Sruanjteanc', *T'oros Ałbar*, vol. 2, Constantinople: Eħia M. Tntesean Press, 1884, p. 307
- L. Pērlaleħmean, *Nōtark' Hayoc'*, Constantinople: Nšan Pełpeħrean Press, 1883, pp. 210-14, 215-16
- M. C'amč'ean, *Patmut'ivn Hayoc' i skzbanē ařxarhis minč'ew c'am Tearn 1784*, vol. 3, Venice: Petros Valvazeanc' Press, 1786, p. 515

S. Peter Cowe

# Laonicus Chalcocondyles

Laonikos (Nikolaos) Chalkokondylēs (Chalkokandylēs,  
Chalkokandēles)

DATE OF BIRTH    Approximately 1423  
PLACE OF BIRTH    Athens  
DATE OF DEATH    After 1464  
PLACE OF DEATH    Unknown

## BIOGRAPHY

Laonicus (Nikolaos) Chalcocondyles was born in about 1423 in Athens, which at this time was under the rule of the Florentine Acciaiuoli family. In 1435, his father George was serving as envoy of Antonio I Acciaiuoli's widow to Sultan Murad II to gain lordship over Athens for her, but he was arrested by the Ottomans. After a flight to Constantinople, he was captured by the sultan again before he was able to escape to the Byzantine Peloponnese (Morea). There, in Mystras, his son Laonicus had been studying since about 1440 with the famous scholar George Gemistus Plethon.

In 1446, Laonicus (or again his father) served as envoy to Sultan Murad II on behalf of Constantine Dragases Palaeologus (later Emperor Constantine XI), the Despot of the Morea, and was detained by the Ottomans for some time in Serrai in Macedonia. In June 1447, Laonicus was certainly in Mystras, the capital of Morea, where he met Cyriacus of Ancona, who praised the young man's knowledge of Greek and Latin (Harris, 'Laonicus Chalkokondyles and the rise of the Ottoman Turks', p. 168).

Apart from these minor details, nothing certain is known about Laonicus' life. When his father migrated to Italy, where Demetrius Chalcocondyles (probably Laonicus' cousin) had been working as a teacher of Greek since 1449, Laonicus presumably remained in the Aegean region. He was not an eyewitness to the Ottoman capture of Constantinople in 1453, but it may be supposed that he lived there later under Ottoman rule, which would explain his evident use of Turkish informants from the government administration for his work (Baştav, 'Die türkischen Quellen'; Vryonis, 'Laonikos Chalkokondyles', p. 427; Reinsch, 'Mehmet der Eroberer', p. 19; Kaldellis, 'The date'). However, other scholars have pointed



out his 'non-Constantinople-centered' view of the world as an indication that he may never have been there (Harris, 'Laonikos Chalkokondyles and the rise of the Ottoman Turks', p. 158). He has been identified with a priest named Laonicus on Crete (Darkó, 'Neue Beiträge'), but this remains unproved.

In the ten books of his *Apodeixeis historiōn*, Laonicus Chalcocondyles covers the period between 1298 and 1463/64 (the time of the Venetian-Ottoman war); his central topic is the rise of the Ottomans. It was believed that some passages in this work referred to events up to 1487 (thus indicating a date for his death in about 1490), but this has been disproved, while it is evident that much of his information on events beyond the Aegean region dates from before the mid-1450s (Wurm and Gamillscheg, 'Bemerkungen'; Kaldellis, 'The date').

Chalcocondyles finished his work in 1463/64 and some passages on the history of Trebizond were added by a later interpolator. This may have been the philosopher George Amiroutzes, who came from Trebizond to the court of Sultan Mehmed II (Kaldellis, 'The interpolations').

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

*Laonikos Chalkokondyles, Historiarum demonstrationes*, ed. E. Darkó, 2 vols, Budapest 1922-27

### Secondary

A. Kaldellis, 'The interpolations in the Histories of Laonikos Chalkokondyles', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 52 (2012) 259-83

A. Kaldellis, 'The date of Laonikos Chalkokondyles' Histories', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 52 (2012) 111-36

D.R. Reinsch, 'Mehmet der Eroberer in der Darstellung der zeitgenössischen byzantinischen Geschichtsschreiber', in N. Asutay-Effenberger and U. Rehm (eds), *Sultan Mehmet II. Eroberer Konstantinopels – Patron der Künste*, Cologne, 2009, 15-30

F. Kirlidökme Mollaoğlu, 'Laonikos Chalkokondyles'in Hayatı ve Tarihi', *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 21 (2007) 41-57

F. Kirlidökme Mollaoğlu, *Laonikos Chalkokondyles'in Kroniği ve Değerlendirilmesi (V.-VII. Bölümler)*, Ankara, 2005 (Diss., University of Ankara), pp. 21-54

J. Harris, 'Laonikos Chalkokondyles and the rise of the Ottoman Turks', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 27 (2003) 153-70

*PLP*, nos. 30510-12

- A. Markopulos, 'Das Bild des Anderen bei Laonikos Chalkokondyles und das Vorbild Herodot', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 50 (2000) 205-16
- D.G. Kampouroglou, *Oi Chalkokondylai*, Athens, 1996
- H. Wurm and E. Gamillscheg, 'Bemerkungen zu Laonikos Chalkokondyles', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 42 (1992) 213-20
- N. Nikoloudēs, 'Hē zōē tou historikou Laonikou Chalkokondylē hypo to prisma neōterōn ereunōn', *Tetramēna* 49 (1992) 3386-94
- A.M. Talbot, art. 'Chalkokondyles, Laonikos', in *ODB*
- M. Cazacu, 'Les parentes byzantines et Ottomanes de l'historien Laonikos Chalkokondyles (c. 1423-c.1470)', *Turcica* 17 (1984) 95-114
- J. Karayannopoulos and G. Weiss *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324-1453)*, 2 vols, Wiesbaden, 1982 (*Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa* 14), i Hauptquellen, pp. 519-20
- H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachige profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols, Munich, 1978, i [Philosophie, Rhetorik, Epistolographie, Geschichtsschreibung, Geographie], pp. 485-86
- A. Wifstrand, *Laonikos Chalkokondyles, der letzte Athener. Ein Vortrag*, Lund, 1972
- G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 vols, Berlin, 1958, i [Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Turkvölker], pp. 391-97
- J. Darkó, 'Neue Beiträge zur Biographie des Laonikos Chalkokandyles', *BZ* 27 (1927) 276-85
- J. Darkó, 'Zum Leben des Laonikos Chalkokondyles', *BZ* 24 (1923-24) 29-39
- W. Miller, 'The last Athenian historian: Laonikos Chalkokondyles', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 42 (1922) 36-49

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Apodeixeis historiōn*, 'Demonstrations of histories'

DATE 1463/64

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

#### DESCRIPTION

The ten books of the *Apodeixeis historiōn* cover the period from 1298 to 1463 (ed. Darkó, *Historiarum demonstrationes*, i, pp. 1-205; ii, pp. 1-307). Laonicus' main topic is the rise of the Ottomans from their first appearance in western Asia Minor to the emergence of an empire which replaced Byzantium, seeking reasons for this phenomenon in a way similar to his model, Herodotus. Almost the whole of his work is therefore of central interest for the history of Christian-Muslim relations and their interpretation at the time when he was writing.

In contrast to other Greek historians of the period, Chalcocondyles has been praised for his 'remarkable fairness to a traditional enemy', while it has also been pointed out that he 'wholly lacked both the manifest ignorance of other societies, which had been a feature of Byzantine historiography, and the fanatical hatred of the Turks that occurs in the work of Doucas and others. On the contrary, Chalcocondyles was well-informed about the Ottomans and their methods of government' (Harris, 'Laonikos Chalkokondyles and the rise of the Ottoman Turks', pp. 161-62).

Chalcocondyles does not depict the Ottomans as a mere instrument of God's wrath against the Byzantines, but attributes their rise to a combination of fate (*tychē*) and virtue (*aretē*), thus rejecting traditional Christian as well as classical Greek explanatory models (*Historiarum demonstrationes*, i, p. 3-4); this has been attributed to his education by George Gemistus Plethon and his presumed knowledge of classical and contemporary Latin literature (Markopulos, 'Das Bild des Anderen', pp. 206-7; Harris, 'Laonikos Chalkokondyles and the rise of the Ottoman Turks'). He describes the virtue, wisdom and energy of Ottomans such as Osman (*Historiarum demonstrationes*, i, p. 13) and Murad I (*Historiarum demonstrationes*, i, pp. 44, 51); he even praises the bravery and energy of Sultan Bayazid and attributes his ultimate downfall to the eclipse of his virtues by hubris (*Historiarum demonstrationes*, i, pp. 139, 152). Chalcocondyles observes the same process taking place in his own contemporary, Sultan Mehmed II, who is depicted more negatively (after the model of Herodotus' Xerxes). He always calls him *basileus*, the traditional term for the Byzantine emperor, though he also does this with other Christian and Muslim rulers such as Tamerlane and earlier Ottoman emirs and sultans (*Historiarum demonstrationes*, ii, pp. 158, 166-68; Reinsch, 'Mehmed der Eroberer').

Chalcocondyles displays particular knowledge about the institutions and finances of the Ottoman Empire, which he himself says he received from secretaries of the sultan (*Historiarum demonstrationes*, i, pp. 92-93; ii, pp. 7-10, 114-15, 276-77; Markopulos, 'Das Bild des Anderen', pp. 209-10). Despite a strong archaistic tendency in his Greek, including the attempt to translate foreign words (*neēlydes* for the Janissaries, for instance), Chalcocondyles also uses a large number of Turkish terms, further indicating his familiarity with the Ottoman administration, as well as his knowledge of Turkish (Zographopulos, *O Laonikos Chalkokondylēs*; Vryonis, 'Laonikos Chalkokondyles and the Ottoman budget'; Baştav, 'Die

türkischen Quellen des Laonikos Chalkokondylas'; Nimet, *Die türkische Prosopographie*).

In addition to the Ottomans, he also reports in various excursuses on Turks and Mongols in Central Asia and Iran (*Historiarum demonstrationes*, i, pp. 23, 104-5, 110, 118-20, 124, 129, 135, 139, 146-47, 152-53, 156; ii, pp. 21, 145, 219), the empire of Tamerlane and his successors (i, pp. 52, 78, 98-112), the Mamluks in Egypt (i, p. 131), the Golden Horde in Russia (iv, pp. 118-22, 126-28) and Islamic rule on the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa, as well as the Reconquista (i, pp. 81-82; ii, p. 51) (see the summary of his information on the Turks in Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, i, pp. 395-96).

Chalcocondyles' account of the rise and development of Islam is considered to be 'remarkably fair and knowledgeable'. He gives an account of the deeds of Muḥammad, whom he calls *nomothetēs*, 'lawgiver', and praises the quality of his teachings (*Historiarum demonstrationes*, i, p. 112), describes essential doctrines and practices of Islam, such as strict monotheism, daily prayer, almsgiving, fasting, pilgrimage, circumcision, the prohibition of wine and pork, marriage laws and customs, and the belief in pre-destination (i, pp. 113-15; ii, pp. 129-30; Markopulos, 'Das Bild des Anderen', p. 215), and outlines the spread of Islam across Asia, Africa and Europe under the first caliphs and later among the Turks and Mongols (i, pp. 115-18). He also recounts in some detail the celebrations for the circumcision of the sons of Mehmed II (ii, pp. 194-96).

In addition, Chalcocondyles describes Muslim veneration of Jesus as a prophet and of the Virgin Mary, and the role Muslims attribute to Jesus on the day of judgment (i, pp. 114-15). At the same time, he mentions the Muslim habit of enslaving all non-Muslims apart from Armenians, because an Armenian is said to have predicted that Muḥammad's glory would spread over the entire world (i, p. 115).

It should be said that, despite his objective approach to historical writing, at the start of his work Chalcocondyles expresses his belief in the worldwide significance of the Greek language and learning, and his hopes for the restoration of a Greek empire (i, pp. 1-2; Markopulos, 'Das Bild des Anderen', p. 208; Reinsch, 'Mehmed der Eroberer', p. 20).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Laonikos Chalcocondyles demonstrates a remarkably objective approach to the description of Islam and Christian-Muslim relations, combined with a uniquely accurate knowledge of Muslim beliefs and practices and Ottoman governmental institutions. At the same time, a date for

the composition of the *Apodeixeis* in 1463/64 'would make Laonikos Chalkokondylēs one of the earliest sources for Ottoman history in any language' (Kaldellis, 'The date', p. 135). Laonicus' history enjoyed wider dissemination than the works of the three other important historians of the fall of Byzantium, Doucas, Critoboulus and Sphrantzes (surviving in almost 30 manuscripts), and was also received in western Europe as the most important of them, especially after a Latin translation was published in 1556 (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, i, p. 394). In modern scholarship, the work is widely used by Byzantinists, but less so by scholars of Islamic and Ottoman history (cf. Kaldellis, 'The date', pp. 134-35).

#### MANUSCRIPTS

Almost 30 MSS of the work exist, dated from between about 1470 and 1575; the two earliest are Paris Gr. 1780 (from before 1470) and 1781 (about 1500), which were both copied from a common lost original (called ω), as H. Wurm has demonstrated (Wurm, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung*, provides a detailed survey of all the MSS; and cf. Darkó, *Historiarum demonstrationes*, i, pp. xiii-xxv; Kaldellis, 'The interpolations').

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

The work was translated into Latin and French in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and the first edition of the Greek text was published in 1615 (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, i, p. 394); only modern editions and translations are listed below:

- A. Kaldellis, *Laonikos Chalkokondyles, The Histories*, Washington DC, 2013, forthcoming (Greek text and English trans.)
- F. Kirlidökme Mollaoğlu, *Laonikos Chalkokondyles'in Kroniği ve Değerlendirilmesi (V-VII. Bölümler)*, Ankara, 2005 (Diss., University of Ankara; Turkish trans. of books V-VII)
- N. Nikoloudēs, *H' Laonikos Chalkokondyles Byzantiou Alōsis (Apodeixeis Istorion, VIII, 380B [201P]-403B [214P])*, Athens, 1997 (Greek text and modern Greek trans. of book VIII)
- N. Nicoloudis, *Laonikos Chalkokondyles. A translation and commentary of the 'Demonstrations of histories' (Books I-III)*, Athens, 1996 (not entirely reliable)
- J. Kalivoda and R. Dostálová, *Chalkokondyles, Laonikos. Poslední zápas Byzance*, Prague, 1988 (Czech trans.)
- A. Pertusi, *La caduta di Constantinopoli. L'eco nel mondo*, 2 vols, Verona, 1976, ii, pp. 194-227 (Greek text and Italian trans. of parts of book VIII)

- J.R. Melville Jones, *The siege of Constantinople 1453. Seven contemporary accounts*, Amsterdam, 1972, pp. 42-55, 201-14 (English trans. of parts of book VIII)
- F. Grabler and G. Stökl, *Europa im XV. Jahrhundert von Byzantinern gesehen*, Graz, 1965 (*Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber* 2), pp. 13-97 (German trans. of the excursions on western and eastern Europe)
- Laonikos Chalkokondyles, *Historiarum demonstrationes*, ed. E. Darkó, 2 vols, Budapest, 1922-27 (standard edition)
- K. Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde (5.-15. Jhd.)*, 2 vols, Leipzig, 1912 (German trans. of various excerpts, among them on the Ottomans and Islam)  
 PG 159, cols 13-556 (edition and Latin trans.)  
*Laonicus Chalcondyles Atheniensis Historiarum libri*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn, 1843 (edition)

## STUDIES

- A large number of studies are devoted to this work. Those relevant for Chalkokondyles' depiction of Islam are listed below:
- A. Kaldellis, 'The interpolations in the Histories of Laonikos Chalkokondyles', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 52 (2012) 259-83
- A. Kaldellis, 'The date of Laonikos Chalkokondyles' Histories', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 52 (2012) 111-36
- F. Kirlidökme Mollaoğlu, 'Laonikos Chalkokondyles on the Ottoman sultans', in *Proceedings of the 22nd international congress of Byzantine studies*, vol. 3, Sofia, 2011, 83-84
- J. Preiser-Kapeller, 'Sive vincitur Hungaria... Das Osmanische Reich, das Königreich Ungarn und ihre Nachbarn in der Zeit des Matthias Corvinus im Machtvergleich im Urteil fünf griechischer Quellen', in C. Gastgeber et al. (eds), *Matthias Corvinus und seine Zeit. Europa am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit zwischen Wien und Konstantinopel (Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 27)*, Vienna, 2011, 37-62
- F. Kirlidökme Mollaoğlu, 'Chalkokondyles'in Anlatımına Göre Sultan II. Murad'ın Tahta Çıkışı', *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 29/47 (2010) 217-26
- D.R. Reinsch, 'Mehmet der Eroberer in der Darstellung der zeitgenössischen byzantinischen Geschichtsschreiber', in N. Asutay-Effenberger and U. Rehm (eds), *Sultan Mehmet II. Eroberer Konstantinopels – Patron der Künste*, Cologne, 2009, 15-30
- N. Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins. Politics and society in the late Empire*, Cambridge, 2009

- E. Özbayoğlu, 'Bizans ve batı kaynakları', in *550. Yılında Fetih ve İstanbul, 14-15 Haziran 2003*, İstanbul, 2007, 105-46
- F. Kirlidökme Mollaoğlu, 'Laonikos Chalkokondyles'in Hayatı ve Tarihi', *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 21 (2007) 41-57
- F. Kirlidökme Mollaoğlu, *Laonikos Chalkokondyles'in Kroniği ve Değerlendirilmesi (V.-VII. Bölümler)*, 2005 (Diss., University of Ankara)
- J. Harris, 'The influence of Plethon's idea of fate on the historian Laonikos Chalkokondyles', in L. Benakis and C. Baloglou (eds), *Proceedings of the international congress on Plethon and his time, Mystras, 26-29 June 2002*, Athens, 2003, 211-17
- J. Harris, 'Laonikos Chalkokondyles and the rise of the Ottoman Turks', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 27 (2003) 153-70
- K. Zographopoulos, *O Laonikos Chalkokondylēs kai oi apopseis tou gia tous Othōmanous Tourkous*, Xanthe, 2002
- A. Markopoulos, 'Das Bild des Anderen bei Laonikos Chalkokondyles und das Vorbild Herodot', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 50 (2000) 205-16
- H. Wurm, 'Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der *Apodeixeis Historiōn* des Laonikos Chalkokondyles', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 45 (1995) 223-32
- H. Wurm, 'Der Codex Monacensis gr. 370A. Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des Laonikos Chalkokondyles', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 44 (1994) 455-62
- M. Morfakidis, 'La Península Ibérica en la obra de Calcocondilas', *Erytheia* 6 (1985) 69-82
- J. Karayannopoulos and G. Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324-1453)*, 2 vols, Wiesbaden, 1982 (*Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa* 14), i [Hauptquellen, allgemeine Quellenlage], pp. 519-20
- K.E. Müller, *Geschichte der antiken Ethnographie und ethnologischen Theoriebildung von den Anfängen bis auf die byzantinischen Historiographen*, 2 vols, Wiesbaden, 1972-80, ii, pp. 489-99
- H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachige profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols, Munich, 1978, i [Philosophie, Rhetorik, Epistolographie, Geschichtsschreibung, Geographie], pp. 485-90
- S. Vryonis, 'Laonikos Chalkokondyles and the Ottoman budget', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 7 (1976) 423-32
- S. Vryonis Jr, 'Evidence on human sacrifice among the early Ottoman Turks', *Journal of Asian History* 5 (1971) 140-46



- H. Ditten, *Der Russland-Exkurs des Laonikos Chalkokondyles* (*Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten* 39), Berlin, 1968
- Ş. Baştav, 'Die türkischen Quellen des Laonikos Chalkokondyles', in F. Dölger and H.-G. Beck (eds), *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses München 1958*, Munich, 1960, pp. 34-42
- F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer. Weltenstürmer einer Zeitenwende*, Munich, 1959
- G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 vols, Berlin 1958, i [Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Turkvölker], pp. 391-97
- E. von Ivanka, 'Der Fall Konstantinopels und das byzantinische Geschichtsdenken', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 3 (1954) 19-34
- A. Nimet, *Die türkische Prosopographie bei Laonikos Chalkokandyles*, Hamburg, 1933

**Johannes Preisler-Kapeller**



# Benedetto Accolti

(Messer) Benedetto di messer Michele di Santi di Grazia  
Accolti, Benedictus Aretinus, Benedetto d'Arezzo,  
Benedictus Accoltus

DATE OF BIRTH 1415  
PLACE OF BIRTH Arezzo  
DATE OF DEATH 26 September, 1464  
PLACE OF DEATH Florence

## BIOGRAPHY

Benedetto Accolti was descended from two Aretine legal dynasties. Although the Accolti (as well as his mother's family the Roselli) were leading citizens of Arezzo, his father (also a lawyer) emigrated to Florence, and Benedetto lived up to family expectations by taking degrees himself in civil and canon law from the University of Bologna and by establishing a flourishing legal practice in Florence; in 1446 he married the daughter of a prominent Florentine politician and lawyer, Carlo Federighi. Arezzo had a powerful tradition of humanist studies, stretching back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and Accolti received a humanist education at Arezzo's grammar school. He established close ties with other Aretine humanists, including Leonardo Bruni, Carlo Marsuppini and Girolamo Aliotti, and in his youth he composed several vernacular poems showing substantial borrowing from classical authors such as Cicero and Ovid.

Although successful as a lawyer and as a university teacher of law in Florence, Accolti did not have a deep theoretical interest in law (unlike his uncle Antonio Roselli and his brother Francesco Accolti). In 1447 he made an unsuccessful attempt to join the papal curia under the new humanist pope, Nicholas V, and in 1458, following the enforced retirement as chancellor of Florence of the septuagenarian and renowned humanist Poggio Bracciolini, Accolti was elected First Chancellor of Florence. The Florentine chancellorship was traditionally occupied by important humanists, and Accolti was the first lawyer to hold the office. The main duty of the First Chancellor was to write letters on behalf of the Florentine government in support of Florentine diplomatic policy. Accolti owed his election to the influence of important Florentine politicians, especially his legal colleague Otto Niccolini. There is no evidence

that he enjoyed the particular support of the dominant Medici family or of the leader of the Florentine regime, Cosimo de' Medici; in fact, he was elected at a time when the Medici regime was collapsing and by a government notably hostile to the Medici. A few months after his election as chancellor, the Medici regime regained full control in Florence, and Accolti made it a top priority to win the family's favor. Florentine chancellors had traditionally been important authors of Latin humanist works, and Accolti soon followed suit. His first humanist composition as chancellor was a dialogue debating the superiority of the ancients or moderns, Accolti vigorously supporting the claims of the latter. The work, written between the summer of 1462 and November 1463, was dedicated to Cosimo de' Medici.

Unlike several earlier Florentine chancellors, Accolti was a deeply religious individual; his early vernacular poetry was filled with passionate Christian sentiments and repeatedly affirmed orthodox Christian doctrines. During his chancellorship of Florence from 1458 to 1464, the pope, Pius II, was attempting to launch a crusade against the Turks, and Accolti became an ardent supporter of this policy. The Florentine government was officially in support of the crusade, as were the Medici family, although they were unwilling to offer unilateral endorsement; it was only when Venice declared war on the Turks in 1463 and there were fears lest Pius II should deliver himself totally to the Venetians, that Florence and the Medici gave full backing to the crusade.

It was at this point that Accolti undertook to write his history of the First Crusade, intended to hold up the deeds of the first crusaders to inspire his contemporaries to join Pius' holy war. Cosimo de' Medici was on his deathbed when the work was finished, and it was dedicated to his son and successor, Piero. After Pius' death in August 1464, the crusade collapsed. Accolti himself died unexpectedly soon afterwards, and was buried in the Florentine church of Santissima Annunziata.

#### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

##### *Primary*

- Benedetto Accolti, *Dialogus de praestantia virorum sui aevi*, in G. Galletti (ed.), *Philippi Villani liber de civitatis Florentiae famosis civibus*, Florence, 1848, pp. 105-28 (presentation copy: MS Florence Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pl. 54.8)
- E. Jacoboni, 'Le rime di Benedetto Accolti d'Arezzo', *Studi di Filologia Italiana* 15 (1957) 241-302
- Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le vite*, ed. A. Greco, 2 vols, Florence, 1970-76, i, pp. 595-98

*Secondary*

R. Black, *Benedetto Accolti and the Florentine Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1985

R. Black, 'Benedetto Accolti. A portrait', in C.S. Celenza and K. Gouwens (eds), *Humanism and creativity in the Renaissance. Essays in honor of Ronald G. Witt*, Leiden, 2006, 61-83

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*De bello a Christianis contra barbaros gesto; De bello*, 'On the war fought by the Christians against the barbarians'

DATE May-July 1464

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

## DESCRIPTION

Accolti's history of the First Crusade, consisting of 92 pages (in the *Recueil des historiens des croisades*) and of 111 folios (in the presentation manuscript, Florence Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Pl. 54.6), was his longest work. He begins the first book with an account of the rise of Islam and the loss to Christianity of the holy lands, and goes on to recount Peter the Hermit and Pope Urban II's efforts to launch a crusade, including a version of Urban's famous oration at Clermont in 1095. He then describes the abortive expeditions of Peter the Hermit, Walter the Penniless and Gottschalk, and ends the first book with Bohemond, the Norman prince of Taranto, taking the cross and delivering a long oration to persuade his compatriots to follow his lead. In the second book, after describing the journey to the East of the main crusading armies under Bohemond and Godfrey of Bouillon, Accolti gives an account of the siege and capture of Nicea, whose Muslim governor is portrayed delivering an impassioned oration to rouse his subjects to withstand the Christian onslaught. There then follows a long digression on Baldwin of Bouillon's success in winning a principality in Armenia, and an account of the journey of the main crusading force to Antioch; the second book concludes with an oration by Godfrey to the crusading army before the walls of Antioch. The main event of the third book is the siege and capture of Antioch by the crusaders, after which Accolti describes the unsuccessful attempt by a large Muslim force to recapture the city. Then, following a long oration of thanksgiving delivered to the crusaders by the papal legate, Adhemar of le Puy, the third book concludes with an account of the crusaders' efforts to consolidate their conquests round Antioch. The final book

opens with the march of the crusading army to Jerusalem and includes a detailed description of Judea and Jerusalem itself; with the successful outcome of the crusades and the election of Godfrey as the first Latin king of Jerusalem, Accolti points out the virtues of unity among political leaders in an oration by the count of Flanders. The fourth book closes with an account of Godfrey's premature death and a summary of the history of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem up to 1187, when Jerusalem was recaptured by Saladin.

Accolti offers a completely negative picture of Islam, described as the ruin and plague of mankind. Muḥammad was knowledgeable, crafty, morally corrupt and deceitful; Islam encouraged moral depravity, in contrast to Christian virtue. Under Muslim rule, Christian holy places were subjected to sacrilege and their Christian inhabitants suffered hardships; for him, the Muslims were cruel and blasphemous heretics. Accolti's portrait of Muslims resembles the picture he painted in his official letters written as chancellor of Florence in support of the crusade, as well as the crusading apologetics of his contemporaries (for details, see Black, *Benedetto Accolti*, pp. 226-40, 259-76). Accolti had briefly mentioned the First Crusade and the achievements of the first crusaders in his dialogue (ed. Galletti, p. 112; MS Florence Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Pl. 54. 8, fols 17v-18r), and this passage can be regarded as the seed of his subsequent history.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

As a source for the history of the First Crusade, Accolti's *De bello* has no value: it is a work of rhetorical history, typical of humanist productions. Accolti made no effort to collate his sources, to verify their accuracy or to check one account against another; he invented large sections of his narrative, and his version is otherwise wholly derivative, based on sources which themselves were derivative.

It has sometimes been believed that growing commercial interests in the East led Florence to oppose efforts to launch a crusade after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. However, as a Christian city headed by a devout Christian in the person of Cosimo de' Medici, Florence could not ignore the call to crusade of a truly determined pope such as Pius II. Accolti's support for the crusade was more than an official duty; he had a profound personal concern for the plight of Eastern Christianity. He was writing in the tradition of enthusiastic support for pilgrimage and crusade to the holy lands long established in Tuscany and by no means moribund in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. There was a circle of ardent crusading enthusiasts in Florence, centering on Agnolo and Donato Acciaiuoli,

with whom Accolti can be connected. Accolti's *De bello* was a typical work of humanist apologetics, written in support of contemporary efforts to launch a crusade.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana – Pl. 54.6 (1464; the presentation copy – see f. 111v)
- MS Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal – 670 (104 H. L.) (15<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS New York, Pierpont Morgan Library – 475 (15<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Split, Naucna Biblioteka – M. 169 (15<sup>th</sup> century; fragmentary: end of Book I, all of Books II and III, beginning of Book IV)
- MS Windsor, Eton College Library – 190 (1501)
- MS Berne Stadtbibliothek – X. 240 (variants indicated by Jacques Bongars in the margins of a copy of the Basel 1544 edition of *De bello*, according to a lost manuscript belonging to the English ambassador to Venice in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Genoa, Archivio storico comunale – 172, 153 fols (18<sup>th</sup> century)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- Benedetto Accolti, *De bello a Christianis contra barbaros gesto* (RHC Occ. 5), Paris, 1895, pp. 529-620
- Benedicti Accolti, *De bello a Christianis contra barbaros gesto*... ed. Thomas Dempster, rev. Henricus Hofsnider, Groningen: Jacobus Sipkes, 1731
- Benedicti Accolti, *De bello a Christianis contra barbaros gesto pro Christi sepulchro & Iudea recuperandis libri IIII*, ed. Thomas Dempster, Florence: Zanobi Pignoni, 1623
- Yvonis Duchatii Trecensis. Belli sacri a Francis, aliisque Christianis, adversus barbaros gesti, pro Sepulchro & Iudaea recuperandis, narrationes quatuor. Ex Latinis Guilelmi Tyri Episcopi, sed maxime Benedicti de Acoltis Aretini excerptae*, Paris: Jean Petit-Pas, 1620 (Greek trans. of excerpts)
- Harengues militaires, et concions de princes, capitaines, ambassadeurs, et autres manians tant la querre que les affaires d'Etat... recueil lies & faictes Françoises par Francoys de Belle-Forest*, Paris: Nicolas Chesneau, de l'imprimerie de Nicolas Bruslé, 1572 (French trans. of the speeches only)
- Der Histori von dem heerzuge Christen namens zu errettung des heyligen lands, durch Benedictum von Areto bescheiben*, trans. (German) Heinrich von Eppendorff, in idem, *Kriegsübung dess... Römischen Kaisers Julij*... Strassburg: Georg Messerschmidt, 1551, fols lxxxi-cxxxix

- Benedetto Accolti, *La guerra fatta da Christiani contra barbari per la ricuperatione del sepulcro di Christo et della Giudea*, trans. (Italian) Francesco Baldelli da Cortona, Venice: Gabriel Giolito da Ferrara, 1549
- J. Gast (ed.), *De bello contra barbaros a Christianis gesto, pro Christi sepulchro & Iudaea recuperandis, Benedicti de Acoltis Aretini libri IIII*, Basel: Robert Winter, 1544
- Benedicti de Acolti Aretini, *De bello a Christianis contra barbaros gesto pro Christi sepulchro et Iudaea recuperandis Libri IIII*, Venice: Bernardino dei Vitali, 1531

## STUDIES

- R. Black, 'Benedetto Accolti. A portrait', in C. Celenza and K. Gouwens (eds), *Humanism and creativity in the Renaissance*, Leiden, 2006, 61-83, pp. 74, 76-77, 82
- G. Gianluca Cicco, 'Benedetto Accolti e la diplomazia fiorentina all'indomani della conquista turca di Costantinopoli', *Schola Salernitana. Annali* 10 (2005) 251-67
- N. Bisaha, *Creating East and West. Renaissance humanists and the Ottoman Turks*, Philadelphia, 2004, pp. 27-30, 72, 78, 162, 166-70, 179
- J. Hankins, 'Renaissance crusaders. Humanist crusade literature in the age of Mehmed II', in J. Hankins, *Humanism and Platonism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols, Rome, 2003, i [Humanism], 293-424, pp. 294, 298, 300, 310, 314
- F. Cardini, 'La crociata nel pensiero di Benedetto Accolti "il Vecchio"', *Atti e memorie della Accademia Petrarca di lettere, arti e scienze*, n.s. 57 (1995) 293-99
- R. Black, *Benedetto Accolti and the Florentine Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 225-329
- R. Black, 'Benedetto Accolti and the beginnings of humanist historiography', *English Historical Review* 96 (1981) 36-58
- R. Black, 'La storia della prima crociata di Benedetto Accolti e la diplomazia fiorentina rispetto all'Oriente', *Archivio Storico Italiano* 131 (1973) 3-25
- E. Fueter, *Storia della storiografia moderna*, trans. A. Spinelli, Milan, 1970, pp. 30-31
- H. Hagen, 'Eine neue Handschrift von Benedetto Accoltis Geschichte des Kreuzzuges', *Vierteljahrsschrift für Kultur und Literatur der Renaissance* 1 (1885) 134-36

# Alvise da Ca' da Mosto

Alvise Cadamosto

DATE OF BIRTH Between 1426 and 1432  
PLACE OF BIRTH Venice  
DATE OF DEATH 16 July, 1483  
PLACE OF DEATH En route to Rovigo, Italy

## BIOGRAPHY

Alvise da Ca' da Mosto was a 15<sup>th</sup>-century Venetian merchant-navigator, best known for his travels to and account of the Upper Guinea coast. Ca' da Mosto is thought to have been born in Venice between 1426 and 1432 as one of the sons of a nobleman, Giovanni da Ca' da Mosto (Verrier, *Voyages en Afrique noire*, p. 7; Crone, 'Introduction', pp. xxx-xxxii). Owing to intrigues involving his father, the family fell into disgrace and had to leave Venice. Verrier (*Voyages en Afrique noire*, pp. 8-10) and Prestage (*The Portuguese pioneers*, p. 94) hypothesize that this development may have contributed to Alvise da Ca' da Mosto's decision to seek his fortune elsewhere and offer his services to the Portuguese Prince Henry.

Ca' da Mosto made two voyages to the west coast of Africa in the service of Prince Henry, most probably in the years 1455 and 1456 (Verrier, *Voyages en Afrique noire*, p. 11; Crone, 'Introduction', pp. xxi, xxv). En route to Guinea, Ca' da Mosto linked up with the Genoese captain, Antoniotto Usidomare, who accompanied him on both African voyages. During the first journey, the men explored the area of present-day Senegal and the Gambia. During their second journey, they travelled and traded as far south as the Rio Grande (the present-day River Geba in Guinea-Bissau). Blown off course by a storm during the second voyage, the two men 'discovered' the Cape Verde Islands, though this feat was also claimed by others, such as Diogo Gomes (q.v.) and Antonio da Noli (Cadamosto, *The voyages*, pp. 63-65; Diffie and Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire*, pp. 103-7; Crone, 'Introduction', pp. xxxvi-xlii).

After his return from Guinea, Ca' da Mosto lived in Portugal for a number of years. In 1463 or 1464, he resettled in Venice and seems to have pursued a diplomatic career (Crone, 'Introduction', p. xxx). He died in 1483, while on an official diplomatic mission (Crone, 'Introduction', p. xxxii).

Ca' da Mosto recorded his West African observations in a treatise entitled *Navigazioni*; it is unclear when exactly he wrote this work (Crone, 'Introduction', p. xxxii). The text was first published in 1507, after Ca' da Mosto had died, as the opening text in Fracanzio da Montalboddo's *Paesi novamente ritrovari*. Ca' da Mosto has at times also been credited with the compilation of an anonymous chart, giving sailing directions for the Mediterranean and the ports of western Europe (Crone, 'Introduction', p. xxxvi; Da Mosto, *Il portolano*, p. 540).

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

G.R. Crone (trans. and ed.), *The voyages of Cadamosto and other documents on western Africa in the second half of the fifteenth century*, London, 1937 (repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1967)

#### *Secondary*

F. Verrier (ed.), *Voyages en Afrique noire d'Alvise Ca' da Mosto (1455 et 1456)*, Paris, 2003, 'Introduction', pp. 7-21

J.K. Hyde, 'Ethnographers in search of an audience', in D. Waley (ed.), *Literacy and its uses. Studies on late medieval Italy*, Manchester, 1991, 162-216

F.C. Lane, *Venice. A maritime republic*, Baltimore MD, 1991

B.W. Diffie and G.D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire 1415-1580*, Minneapolis MN, 1977

W. Brulez, 'Les voyages de Ca' da Mosto et le commerce guinéen au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 39 (1969) 311-26

C. Verlinden, 'Navigateurs, marchands et colons italiens au service de la découverte et la colonisation portugaise sous Henri le Navigateur', *Le Moyen Âge* 64 (1958) 467-97

Crone (ed.), *The voyages of Cadamosto*, 'Introduction', pp. xi-xliv

E. Prestage, *The Portuguese pioneers*, London, 1933

A. da Mosto, 'Il navigatore Alvise da Mosto e la sua famiglia', *Archivio Veneto* 2 (1927) 168-259

A. da Mosto, *Il portolano attribuito ad Alvise da Ca' da Mosto*, Rome, 1893

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

#### *Navigazioni*, 'The voyages of Cadamosto'

DATE Probably between 1463 and 1468 (based on cartographic evidence)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian



## DESCRIPTION

Though it is unclear when exactly Ca' da Mosto wrote his *Navigazioni*, it is generally assumed that he wrote the text after he had settled back in Venice, probably between 1463 and 1468. Parts of the text may have been composed earlier, since there are indications that he perhaps used the logbook of his voyages as the basis for what he wrote (Crone, 'Introduction', p. xxxiii).

*Navigazioni* has been transmitted in four different versions: a non-autographed manuscript from the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century; a non-autographed manuscript from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century; an edition published in 1507 in Vicenza as part of Fracanzio da Montalboddo's anthology *Paesi novomenti ritrovati*; an edition published in 1550 in Venice as part of the first volume of Giovanni Battista Ramusio's anthology *Navigazioni e viaggi*. The two manuscripts are kept in the Biblioteca Marciani in Venice.

The information contained in *Navigazioni* was highly valued by Ca' da Mosto's contemporaries and was translated into a variety of European languages as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Since then, it has been reprinted and translated many times (Verrier, *Voyages en Afrique noire*, p. 204).

*Navigazioni* describes Ca' da Mosto's journeys to the west coast of Africa, in particular the Senegambia. It narrates that during his first journey (c. 1455) he visited Madeira, the Canary Islands and Senegal, and the text gives elaborate descriptions of the environment and the customs and practices of people he encountered. Of especial interest are his depictions of Islam in northern Senegal. He describes how the Azanaghi (Sanhaja) had spread Islam among the Wolof and notes that the chiefs in particular seemed to have converted to Islam (Ca' da Mosto, *The voyages*, p. 31). He also recounts his month-long stay with Budomel, the *damel* (king) of Cayor, at whose court he was invited to attend prayers in the mosque. He relates his observations of the prayer rituals as well as describing a conversation he had with Budomel afterwards, discussing the merits of Christianity and Islam. The conclusion was that Budomel thought both religions good, but that Islam would ensure his entry to paradise in the hereafter (Ca' da Mosto, *The voyages*, pp. 40-41).

The descriptions of the second journey to Guinea (c. 1456) are brief. They relate Ca' da Mosto's unsuccessful attempts to trade on the River Gambia as well as his successful trading on the Rio Grande, followed by a description of the discovery of the Cape Verde Islands.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Ca' da Mosto's *Navigazioni* is of threefold significance. First, it gives an account of the spread and substance of Islam among the Wolof in mid-15<sup>th</sup>-century Senegal. Second, it gives an eye-witness account of the *ṣalāt*, as performed in mid-15<sup>th</sup>-century Senegal. Third, it contains one of the oldest known Christian-Muslim dialogues in West Africa.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana – Ital. VI. 454 (second half of 15<sup>th</sup> century; often called manuscript A)

MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana – Ital. VI. 208 (early 16<sup>th</sup> century; often called manuscript B)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

N. Ankenbauer, *Paesi novemente ritrovati – Neue unbekante landte. Eine digitale Edition früher Entdeckerberichte*, Wolfenbüttel, 2012

F. Verrier, *Voyages en Afrique noire d'Alvise Ca' da Mosto (1455 et 1456)*, Paris, 2003

F. da Montalboddo (ed.), *Itinerarium Portugallensium. Reprodução fac-similada da edição princeps (Milão, 1508)*, ed. Luís De Matos, Lisbon, 1992

M.P. Laurent du Terte, 'Les navigations atlantiques du Vénitien Alvise da Mosto et la navigation du Portugais Pedro de Sintra, écrites par Alvise da Mosto', Paris, 1986 (Diss., University of Paris I; edition and French trans.; online: <http://www.iict.pt/imagens/211.pdf>)

M. Milanesi, *Navigazioni e viaggi*, vol. 1, Turin, 1978

R.A. Skelton and G.B. Parks, *Navigazioni e viaggi*, vol. 1, Amsterdam, 1967

T. Gasparini Leporace, *Le navigazioni del veneziano Alvise da Mosto (Il nuovo Ramusio)*, Rome, 1966

V.M. Godinho, *Documentos sôbre a expansão portuguesa*, vol. 3, Lisbon, 1956

Crone (ed. and trans.), *The voyages of Cadamosto*

J.F. Machado and D. Peres, *Viagens de Luis de Cadamosto e de Pedro de Sintra*, Lisbon, 1948 (repr Lisbon, 1988; edition and Portuguese trans.)

J.M. da Silva Marques, *Descobrimientos portugueses*, vol. 1, Lisbon 1944

G.C. Rossi, *Navegações de Luís de Cadamosto*, Lisbon, 1944

G.B. Ramusio (ed.), *Navigations et voyages XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, traduit de l'italien par le Général Langlois et M.J. Simon*, Paris, 1933

- R. Caddeo, *Le navigazioni atlantiche di Abvise da Cà da Mosto [Luigi Cadamosto], Antoniotto Usodimare e Niccoloso da Recco*, Milan, 1929
- C. Schefer, *Relation des voyages à la côte occidentale d'Afrique d'Abvise da Ca' da Mosto, 1455-1457*, Paris, 1895 (online: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1048998>)
- R. Kerr and F.A.S. Edin, *A general history of voyages and travels, arranged in systematic order, forming a complete history of the origin and progress of navigation, discovery and commerce by sea and land, from the earliest ages to the present time*, vol. 2, Edinburgh, 1811, pp. 200-57 (English trans. of Cadamosto's first journey)
- T. Astley (ed.), *New general collection of voyages and travels*, London, 1745, (repr. London, 1968)
- G.B. Ramusio, *Il viaggio di Giovan Leone e le navigazione d'Abvise da Ca da Mosto, di Pietro di Cintra, di Anone, di un piloto portoghese e di Vasco di Gama*, ed. L. Plet, Venice, 1837 (online: <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433082449020;seq=1;view=1up>)
- G.B. Ramusio (ed.), *Primo volume della navigazioni e viaggi*, Venice, 1588 (fourth revised edition; repr. Venice, 1606 and 1613; online: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k58780b>)
- G.B. Ramusio (ed.), *Historial description de l'Afrique, tierce partie du monde*, ed. and trans. J. Temporal, Lyon, 1556
- G.B. Ramusio (ed.), *Primo volume della navigazioni e viaggi*, Venice, 1563 (third revised edition)
- G.B. Ramusio (ed.), *Primo volume della navigazioni e viaggi*, Venice, 1554 (second revised edition)
- G.B. Ramusio, *Primo volume della navigazioni e viaggi nei quali si contiene la descrizione dell'Africa, et del paese del Prete Ianni, con varii viaggi dal Mar Rosso a Calicut, & infin all'isole Molucche, dove nascono le spetierie, et la navigatione attorno il mondo*, Venice, 1550
- J. Huttich and S. Grynaeus, *Novus orbis regionum et insularum veteribus incognitarum*, Basel, 1532 (repr. Paris, 1532)
- F. da Montalboddo (ed.), *Paesi novamente ritrovati per la navigatione di Spagna in Calicut. Et da Albertutio Vesputio Fiorentino intitulado Mondo Novo*, Venice, 1521 (revised edition)
- F. da Montalboddo (ed.), *Paesi novamente ritrovati & Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Fiorentino intitulado*, Milan, 1519
- F. da Montalboddo (ed.), *Paesi novamente ritrovati per la navigatione di Spagna in Calicut. Et da Albertutio Vesputio Fiorentino intitulado Mondo Novo*, Venice, 1517 (revised edition)

- F. de Montalboddo (ed.), *Le nouveau monde et navigacions faictes par Emeric de Vespuce, Florentin*, trans. M. de Redouer, Paris, 1516
- F. de Montalboddo (ed.), *S'ensuyt le nouveau monde et navigations faictes*, trans. M. de Redouer, Paris, 1515 (repr. Princeton NJ, 1916; online: <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.32106000558848;seq=7;view=1up>)
- F. da Montalboddo (ed.), *Paesi novamente ritrovati. Et Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino intitulado*, ed. J.A. Scinzenzeler, Milan, 1512
- F. da Montalboddo (ed.) *Paesi novamente ritrovati et Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino intitulado*, Milan, 1508 (reproduced in facsimile from the McCormick-Hoe copy in Princeton University Library, Princeton NJ, 1916)
- F. da Montalboddo (ed.), *Nye unbekande lande unde eine nye werldt in korter vorgegangener tydt gefunden*, trans. H. Ghetelen, Stüchss, 1508
- F. da Montalboddo (ed.), *Itinerariu[m] Portugalle[n]siu[m] e Lusitania in India[m] [&] inde in occidentem [&] demum ad aquilonem*, trans. J.A. Scinzenzeler, Milan, 1508
- F. da Montalboddo (ed.), *Neue unbekante landte und ein neue weldte in kurtz verganger zeythe erfunden*, trans. J. Ruchamer, Nürnberg, 1508 (repr. Stuttgart, 1980)
- F. da Montalboddo (ed.), *Paisi novamente ritrovare et novo mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino intitulado*, Vicenza, 1507 (chs 1-47) (online: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k58988n/fi.image>)

## STUDIES

- V. Verrier, 'De la Chronique de Zurara aux Voyages de Ca' da Mosto. Deux regards croisés sur l'Afrique du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Taira* 8 (1996) 63-79
- J. Devisse, 'L'Afrique Noire dans le regard des découvreurs européens', in *Découvertes européennes et nouvelle vision du monde (1492-1992)*, s.n., Paris, 1994, 127-40
- P.E. Russell, '“Veni, vidi, vici”. Some fifteenth-century eyewitness accounts of travel in the African Atlantic before 1492', *Historical Research* 66 (1993) 115-28
- L. Minervini, 'L'Africa nera del Rinascimento. Viaggiatori, lingue e popoli', *Belfagor* 47 (1992) 577-92
- A. Mauro, 'Il viaggio raccontato. Le quarto version della navigazioni di Alvise da Ca' da Mosto', *Mare Liberum* 2 (1991) 161-76

- B.W. Diffie and G.D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire 1415-1580*, pp. 96-102
- J.W. Blake, *European beginnings in West Africa. 1454-1578*, London, 1977, pp. 1-25
- R. Almagià, 'Intorno ad un manoscritto dei viaggi di Alvise da Mosto', *Rivista Geografica Italiana* 39 (1932) 169-76

**Martha Frederiks**

## Gennadius II Scholarius

Gennadios II Scholarios, Geōrgios Kourtesēs Scholarios  
(monastic name Gennadius)

DATE OF BIRTH Between 1400 and 1405  
PLACE OF BIRTH Constantinople  
DATE OF DEATH Before October 1474  
PLACE OF DEATH Monastery of St John Prodromos (the Baptist),  
Mount Menoikeus near Serres, Macedonia

### BIOGRAPHY

Born in Constantinople between 1400 and 1405, Georgius Scholarius studied under Marcus Eugenicus (later metropolitan of Ephesus), John Chortasmenus, Joseph Bryennius, and Macarius Macres. He had a good knowledge of Latin and Western scholastic theology, and he either paraphrased or translated many of Thomas Aquinas's works. In 1435, Emperor John VIII Palaeologus (1425-48) appointed him 'general judge of the Romans'. From the spring of 1438, he participated in the Council of Ferrara and Florence as a member of the Byzantine delegation. At that time he favored a union of the Orthodox Church with the Papacy, but he left Florence in June 1439, together with the despot Demetrius Palaeologus, before the document of union was signed (5 July 1439).

Influenced by his former teacher, Marcus Eugenicus, between 1440 and 1445 Gennadius developed into a strong opponent of Church union and, after the death of Marcus Eugenicus in June 1445, he led the anti-unionist-party in the Greek Church.

In 1450, Georgius became a monk at the monastery of the Theotokos Nea Peribleptos, taking the monastic name of Gennadius.

Following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople on 29 May 1453, he and his nephew, Theodore Sophianus, were captured, enslaved and deported to Adrianople, but in September 1453 Gennadius was freed by the order of Sultan Mehmed II (1451-81) and returned to Constantinople. On the sultan's orders, Gennadius was ordained deacon, priest and bishop, and on 6 January 1454 he was elected Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. He only served one term of office as patriarch, however (Blanchet, 'Georges Gennadios Scholarios a-t-il été trois fois patriarche de Constantinople?'), resigning before May 1456 and retiring to the

monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos. He writes at length about the capture of the city and his own election and resignation in a letter dated 1454; see Petit, Sideridès and Jugie (eds), *Hapanta ha heuriskomena/Oeuvres complètes*, iv, pp. 211-31. From 1457, he settled permanently in the monastery of St John Prodromos (the Baptist) on Mount Menoikeus near Serres in Macedonia.

Gennadius probably died in 1472; Theophanes of Medeia, who himself died before October 1474, mentions him as already dead.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

*Gennadios ho Scholarios, Hapanta ta heuriskomena/Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, ed. L. Petit, X.A. Siderides and M. Jugie, 8 vols, Paris 1928-36: i, pp. 283-94, 'Lamentation on the misadventures of his life' (June 1461); i, pp. 376-89, 'Defence against the accusation of Latinism' (c. 1440/41); iv, pp. 211-31, 'Letter on the conquest of Constantinople' (before October 1454); iv, pp. 264-74, 'Justification concerning his silence' (c. 1466/67); iv, pp. 398-503, his correspondence

*Documents relatifs au Concile de Florence*, vol. 2. *Oeuvres anticonciliaires de Marc d'Éphèse, Documents vii-xxiv*, ed. L. Petit, Paris, 1923, pp. 460-70, nos 16 and 17; pp. 486-91, nos xxiii, B and C (correspondence between Marcus Eugenicus and Scholarius, and a dialogue between the dying Eugenicus and Scholarius)

Jean Darrouzès, 'Lettres de 1453', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 22 (1964) 72-127, pp. 101, 122-23

Ducas, *Historia Turcobizantina (1341-1462)*, ed. V. Grecu, Bucharest, 1958, pp. 267 (xxxi, 3), 315 and 317 (xxxvi, 3), 323 (xxxvii, 5), 329 (xxxvii, 10) (trans. H.J. Magoulias, *Decline and fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks*, Detroit MI, 1978, pp. 180, 204-5, 208, 210-11)

*Critobulus Imbriota, Historia*, ed. D.R. Reinsch (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 22), Berlin, 1983, pp. 90-91 (III, 2) (trans. C.T. Riggs, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Kritovoulos*, Westport CT, 1970, pp. 94-95; trans. [German], *Mehmet II erobert Konstantinopel. Die ersten Regierungsjahre des Sultans Mehmed Fatih, des Eroberers von Konstantinopel 1453*, ed. D.R. Reinsch, Graz, 1986, pp. 144-45)

C.G. Patrinelis, *Ho Theodōros Agallianos tautizomenos pros ton Theophanēn Mēdeias kai hoi anekdotoi logoi tou*, Athens, 1966, pp. 91-152 (edition of Agallianos, *logoi* 1 and 2)

*Ekthesis chronikē*, in S.P. Lampros (ed.), *Ekthesis chronica and Chronicon Athēnarum*, London, 1902, pp. 18-20

- Historia politikē Kōnstantinoupoleōs apo tou 1391 heōs tou 1578 etous Christou*, in I. Bekkerus (ed.), *Historia politica et patriarchica Constantinopoleos/Epirotica*, Bonn, 1849, pp. 27-32 (with Latin trans.)
- Patriarchikē Kōnstantinoupoleōs historia apo tou 1454 heōs tou 1578 etous Christou*, in I. Bekkerus (ed.), *Historia politica et patriarchica Constantinopoleos/Epirotica*, Bonn, 1849, pp. 80-94, 119-24 (with Latin trans.)

*Secondary*

- M.-H. Blanchet, *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios (vers 1400-vers 1472). Un intellectuel orthodoxe face à la disparition de l'Empire byzantin* (*Archives de l'Orient Chrétien* 20), Paris, 2008
- F. Tinnefeld, 'Georgios Gennadios Scholarios', in C.G. Conticello and V. Conticello (eds), *La Théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, II (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> s.), Turnhout, 2002, 477-549 (complete list of Scholarius's works and bibliography, pp. 492-533)
- G. Karamanolis, 'Plethon and Scholarios on Aristotle', in K. Ierodiakonou (ed.), *Byzantine philosophy and its ancient sources*, Oxford, 2002, 253-82
- M.-H. Blanchet, 'Georges Gennadios Scholarios a-t-il été trois fois patriarche de Constantinople?' *Byzantion* 71 (2001) 60-72
- A. Angelou, 'Ho Gennadios Scholarios kai hē halōsē' [Gennadios Scholarios and the fall of Constantinople], in E. Chrysos (ed.), *Sylogikos tomos Hē Halōsē tēs poleōs*, Athens, 1999<sup>2</sup>, 99-132, 358-60
- E.A. Zachariadou, 'Les notables laïques et le patriarcat oecuménique après la chute de Constantinople', *Turcica* 30 (1998) 119-34
- S. Vryonis Jr, 'The Byzantine patriarchate and Turkish Islam', *Byzantinoslavica* 57 (1996) 69-111
- Art. 'Scholarios, Geōrgios Kurtēsēs', in *PLP*, no. 27304
- T. Laitila, 'Patriarch Gennadios II (1454-1456) and the making of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the context of Sultan Mehmed II's policy', *Byzantium and the North. Acta Byzantina Fennica* 4 (1988-89) 51-76
- G. Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453-1821)*, Munich, 1988, pp. 81-83 (bibliography)
- C.M. Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon. The last of the Hellenes*, Oxford, 1986, pp. 237-68, 270-72, 277-309, 312-21, 356-65
- T.N. Zēsēs, *Gennadios B Scholarios. Bios – syngrammata – didaskalia* (*Analekta Blataδōn* 30), Thessaloniki, 1980
- A. Bakalopoulos, *Historia tou Neou Hellēnismou. Tourkokratia 1453-1669*, vol. 2, Thessaloniki, 1976, pp. 158-69, 172-85
- G. Podskalsky, 'Die Rezeption der thomistischen Theologie bei Gennadios II. Scholarios (ca. 1403-1472)', *Theologie und Philosophie* 49 (1974) 305-23
- A. Papadakis, 'Gennadius II and Mehmed the Conqueror', *Byzantion* 42 (1972) 88-106
- C.J.G. Turner, 'The career of George-Gennadius Scholarius', *Byzantion* 39 (1969) 420-55



- S. Runciman, *The Great Church in captivity. A study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the eve of the Turkish conquest to the Greek War of Independence*, Cambridge, 1968, 165-85
- C.J.G. Turner, 'George-Gennadius Scholarius and the Union of Florence', *Journal of Theological Studies*, ns 18 (1967) 83-103
- C.J.G. Turner, 'Pages from Late Byzantine philosophy of history, v. George Gennadius Scholarius', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 57 (1964) 365-73
- J. Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence and other essays*, Oxford, 1964, pp. 79-94
- G. Hering, 'Das islamische Recht und die Investitur des Gennadios Scholarios', *Balkan Studies* 2 (1961) 231-56
- K. Bonis, 'Gennadius Scholarius, der erste Patriarch von Konstantinopel nach der Eroberung (1454), und seine Politik Rom gegenüber', *Kyrios* 1 (1960/61) 83-108
- H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich, 1977<sup>2</sup>, pp. 760-63

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Gennadiou tou patriarchou epi tē halōsei tēs poleōs kai tē paraitēsei tēs archierosynēs*, 'Gennadius the Patriarch on the capture of the city and resignation from the archiepiscopate'

DATE Late summer or autumn 1454 (before October)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

#### DESCRIPTION

According to Blanchet, Scholarius wrote this work in his new official residence, the monastery of Theotokos Pammakaristos, in the late summer or autumn of 1454. It concerns the fall of Constantinople and his intention to resign as patriarch. He begins by apologizing for his long silence about the fall of the city and its consequences, and acknowledges that there is no need for a detailed description of what happened. He himself endured the same fate as other people, being taken captive by the Ottomans. His friends refused to ransom him, but the sultan (*despotēs*) himself saved him, buying his freedom and personally conducting him to Constantinople, giving him a monastery and returning to the Christians their churches. Finally, many bishops from Asia and Europe met together in synod, and there he was elected patriarch after being ordained deacon,

priest and bishop. However, his elevation brought him much hostility, suffering and trials, so that his life is filled with bitterness (ch. 10).

He allowed himself to be driven into hectic activity (*philopragmosynē*) because he hoped that he could be useful to his community (ch. 11). As a result, the unexpected restoration of the Church in Constantinople and throughout the empire, was in his view a true miracle of God (*arrētos kai hyperphya thaumaturgia*). Since his community nevertheless rejected his help and intrigued against him, he decided to return to the monastic life, but a decision of the sultan prevented this (*hē tou despotou gnōmē*), and he is now prevented from abdicating and retreating into privacy (chs 12-13).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

This is a work of supreme importance for the information it provides about Scholarius's fate before, during and after the capture of Constantinople. It is even more important for what it says about his relationship with the sultan, and about his active support for the restoration of the Patriarchate of Constantinople as an institution of fundamental importance to the Greek Orthodox population of the Ottoman Empire.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – 1289, fols 81r-93r (between 1455 and 1474; according to Jugie, the earliest of Scholarius's autographs)

MS Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino – Gr. CLXXIX.b.II.33, fols 74r-81r (date unknown)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

*Hapanta ha heuriskomena/Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Petit, Sideridès and Jugie, iv, pp. 211-31

'Lettera pastorale sulla presa di Costantinopoli', in A. Pertusi (ed. and trans.), *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, vol. 1. *Le testimonianze dei contemporanei*, Milan, 1976, pp. 240-53 (incomplete Italian trans.)

'Carta sobre la toma de la Ciudad' (trans. P. Bádenas de la Peña), in P. Bádenas de la Peña and I. Pérez Martin (eds), *Constantinopla 1453. Mitos y Realidades*, Madrid, 2003, pp. 567-72 (incomplete Spanish trans.)

#### STUDIES

Blanchet, *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios*, pp. 68, 70, 74, 78-79, 91, 107, 109, 112, 114, 128-35, 159, 194-98, 200-1, 478, 486, 489, 496-99

Tinnefeld, 'Georgios Gennadios Scholarios', p. 505 no. 66

Vryonis, 'The Byzantine patriarchate', pp. 83, 96-97

Zēsēs, *Gennadios B Scholarios*, pp. 337-38

Turner, 'Pages from late Byzantine philosophy of history', pp. 368-69

*Peri tēs monēs hodou pros tēn sōtērian tōn  
anthrōpōn*, 'On the only way to salvation for  
humankind'

DATE 1455/56

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

Gennadius wrote this treatise at the request of Sultan Mehmed II. The sultan visited him at his new patriarchal residence in the Pammakaristos monastery in 1455, and asked detailed questions about the Christian faith. At the end of the conversation, Mehmed charged him to write down what he had said and to send it to him.

Gennadius begins diplomatically by commenting that nobody can please God without the right faith, although the path that leads to salvation is disputed and only on the last day will the truth be disclosed. But what he goes on to say rather contradicts this by promoting Christianity as the only true religion. He explains that the ultimate goal of existence is the enjoyment of God, and that this is possible through following the guidance of the unwritten law of nature. However, through the sin of the first man, the ability to follow this law was lost and mankind fell into wickedness and idolatry. God gave a written law through Moses, while some of the Greek philosophers also perceived God and in part led morally exemplary lives, and then came the perfect law, the law of the Gospel, given only by Jesus Christ. The coming of this law and the Incarnation of Christ was predicted not only by Moses and the prophets, but also by Greek oracles and the wise among the Greeks and Egyptians.

By the law of Christ, people have found their way to salvation and to an ethical way of life. Therefore, Christians believe that the law of the Gospel is the only way to salvation. In addition, they believe in the Trinity and the Incarnation of God in Christ as true man and true God. This being the case, it is impossible that another law claiming to have come from God can be authentic – Gennadius refrains from referring specifically to Islam here. The law of Christ has remained unchanged, and even Christian heresies, despite their disagreement over doctrine, have based

themselves on the same Gospels as the Church. If some seek to claim that the Gospel has been altered, they can provide no convincing evidence, and Christians can, in fact, prove convincingly that the Gospel they hold is unchanged (*ametapoiēton*).

## SIGNIFICANCE

Despite the dominance of the Ottomans and his own personal dependence on the sultan, in this treatise Gennadius presents Christian teachings in detail and with uncompromising clarity. While he does not explicitly mention Islam by name, he evidently finds it wanting. The simple consequence of his argument is that, since the Gospel comes from God, Islam and the Qur'an cannot come from him because they differ from it.

## MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Paris, BNF – 1289, fols 118r-128v (between 1455 and 1474; according to Jugie, Gennadius's first draft)
- MS Paris, BNF – 1294, fols 50r-61r (between 1455 and 1474; Gennadius's own copy)
- MS Mount Athos, Monastery of Pantokrator – 127, fols 38r-49r (between 1455 and 1474; Gennadius's own copy)
- MS Mount Athos, Monastery of Iberon – 388, fols 823v-826r (16<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Athens, National Library – Codex 35, fols 247-266 (17<sup>th</sup> century; formerly in the Library of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre, Constantinople)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

*Hapanta ha heuriskomena/Oeuvres complètes* iii, pp. 434-52

## STUDIES

- Blanchet, *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios*, pp. 102-6, 479, 486
- Tinnefeld, 'Georgios Gennadios Scholarios', pp. 502 no. 49, 530-31
- A. Argyriou, 'La littérature grecque de polémique et d'apologétique à l'adresse de l'islam au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 12 (1987) 251-77, pp. 261-64
- Zēsēs, *Gennadios B Scholarios*, pp. 314-15
- H. Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner*, Rome, 1937, pp. 63-65
- M. Jugie, 'Écrits apologétiques de Gennade Scholarios à l'adresse des musulmans', *Byzantion* 5 (1929-30) 295-314, pp. 296-98

*Peri tēs monēs hodou pros tēn sōtērian tōn anthrōpōn. Deuteron edothē touto, ezētēthē gar anti tou prōtou, syntomōteron kai saphesteron, 'On the only way to salvation for humankind. This was given as a second version, because it was ordered in a shorter and clearer version than the first'*

DATE 1455/56

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

Mehmed thought that the original 'On the only way to salvation for humankind' was too long and bulky and requested a shorter version. Gennadius therefore wrote this shorter version, probably in 1455 or the beginning of 1456, summarizing the most important Christian beliefs (the full title in manuscripts of the Ottoman Turkish translation is: *Tou sophōtatou kai logiōtatou kai timiōtatou kyrou Gennadiou tou Scholaroiu kai patriarchēs Kōnstantinoupoleōs kai Neas Rōmēs homilia rētheisa peri tēs orthēs kai amōmētou pisteōs tōn Christianōn pros tous Agarēnous, erōtētheis gar para tou amēra soultan Mechemet, 'Homily of the most wise and most educated and most honorable Lord Gennadius Scholarius, patriarch of Constantinople and New Rome, addressed on the true and unblemished faith of the Christians to the sons of Hagar, in response to the Emir Sultan Mehmed'). He gave it the form of a confession of faith, beginning each of its 12 articles with *pisteuomen*, 'We believe'.*

In articles 1-4, he treats the doctrine of God as the creator of all things, one and three. From his being proceed the Word (*logos*) and the Spirit (*pneuma*), like light and heat from a fire. Christians believe in one triune God, just as Jesus taught them.

In articles 5-10, he sets out the doctrine of Christ, the uniting of the divine and human natures in him, his Incarnation, crucifixion and death. After his resurrection, he was raised to heaven, and from there he will come again to judge the world.

In article 11, Gennadius sets out the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, the final judgement and life after death. The souls of the blessed will need neither food nor clothes, and their existence will be free from all kinds of physical pleasure.

In article 12, Gennadius adds seven important statements to give plausibility to the truth of Christianity. Christ was foretold by the Jewish prophets, the oracles of the Greeks, and the astrologers of the Persians and Greeks. By the grace of God, all scriptures agree on this. As both ordinary people (*idiōtai*) and also the clever and wise (*hoi phronimoi kai hoi sophoi*) accepted the new faith, the errors of the heathen disappeared. Christianity contains nothing that is impossible or contradictory and leads people to the love of God and to eternal life. All those who embraced it and lived according to it received copious gifts of grace (*megala charismata*) from God and performed many mighty deeds in the name of Jesus. Objections to the Christian faith can easily be refuted by the use of reason. All pagan kings and rulers who fought against it during the first 318 years of its existence were powerless. Christianity triumphed then, it still does, and will continue to do so until the coming of the Lord.

The confession was translated into Ottoman Turkish for Mehmed.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

As in the longer version of this confession, here Gennadius makes clear that only Christianity leads to eternal life, and again insists that criticism and persecution have no power against it because its continuing existence is not dependent on earthly power. In his emphatic rejection of all physical pleasures in the hereafter, he makes an indirect but definite criticism of Islamic eschatology.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

Original Greek text:

MS Paris, BNF – Graecus 1294, fols 61r-64r (between 1455 and 1474; Gennadius's autograph)

MS Mount Athos, Monastery of Pantokrator – 127, fols 49r-51r (between 1455 and 1474; Gennadius's autograph)

MS Mount Athos, Great Lavra – Codex E. 84, fols 10r-14r (between 1455 and 1474; Gennadius's autograph)

Ottoman Turkish translation in Greek characters:

MS Vat – Reginae Suecorum Graecus 43, fols 174v-186r (16<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Vat – Reginae Suecorum Graecus 74, fols 1r-22v (16<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Milan, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana – Graecus 641 (P 123 Supplementi), fols 102r-109r (16<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Paris, BNF – Graecus 1296, fols 1r-23v (16<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Mount Athos, Monastery of Iberon – 205, fols 172r-184r (17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Paris, BNF – Supplementi Graeci 80 (1762/63)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

*Hapanta ha heuriskomena/Oeuvres completes*, ed. Petit, Siderides and Jugie, iii, pp. 453-58

*Patriarchikē Kōnstantinoupoleōs historia apo tou 1454 heōs tou 1578 etous Christou*, in I. Bekkerus (ed.), *Historia politica et patriarchica Constantinopoleos/Epirotica*, Bonn, 1849, pp. 83-93

W. Gass, *Gennadius und Pletho*, Breslau, 1844, pp. 3-15

M. Crusius, *Turcograeciae libri octo*, vol. 2, Basle, 1584, pp. 109-20 (repr. in *PG* 160, cols 333-52)

Ottoman Turkish translation:

T. Halasi-Kun, 'Gennadios' confession of faith', *Archivum Ottomanicum* 12 (1987-92) 5-103, pp. 20-37 (edition and trans.)

A. Papadakis, 'Gennadius II and Mehmet the Conqueror', *Byzantion* 42 (1972) 100-6 (English trans.)

H. Schaefer, 'Das Bekenntnis des hochweisen und ehrwürdigen Herrn Gennadios Scholarios, Patriarchen von Konstantinopel, dem Neuen Rom, von dem rechten und untadeligen Glauben der Christen, an die Hagarsöhne', in *Wort und Mysterium. Der Briefwechsel über Glauben und Kirche 1573 bis 1581 zwischen den Tübinger Theologen und dem Patriarchen von Konstantinopel*, Witten, 1958, pp. 231-36 (German trans.)

STUDIES

Blanchet, *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios*, pp. 104-6, 479, 486

Tinnefeld, 'Georgios Gennadios Scholarios', pp. 502-3 no. 50, 531

Argyriou, 'La littérature grecque de polémique et d'apologétique à l'adresse de l'islam au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle', pp. 263-64

Zēsēs, *Gennadios B Scholarios*, pp. 315-16

A. Decei, 'Versiunea turcească a Confesiunii Patriarhului Ghennadie II Scholarios, scrisă la cererea sultanului Mehmet II [Turkish translation of the Confession of Patriarch Gennadios II Scholarios, written at the order of Sultan Mehmet II]', in *Omagiu Nicolae Bălan*, Mitropolitul Ardealului, Sibiu, 1940, pp. 372-410

Jugie, 'Écrits apologétiques', pp. 302-11

*Tō timiōtatō en monachois kyr Maximō kai pasi tois enaskoumenois tē hagia monē tou Sina hosiōtatois hieromonachois kai monachois, 'Letter to the most honourable monk Maximus and to all the most holy monk-priests and monks training in virtue in the monastery of Sinai'*

DATE Between 1454 and 1456

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

In this letter, Gennadius replies to complaints voiced by the monks of St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, who object to pilgrims from the Latin and Armenian churches receiving communion at their liturgies, and to the sin of purchasing ecclesiastical offices, which they witness in the Constantinople and Jerusalem churches. He explains to them that, in these changed times, it is necessary to put up with practices that would earlier not have been tolerated. Some bishops no longer have the authority to maintain correct standards, and others who transgress deliberately will be judged by God.

Gennadius points out that, through the fall of the empire, Christianity has again returned to the conditions that existed before the time of Constantine the Great (306-37). After Constantine, it was possible to uphold canon law and a rich liturgical life, but now the empire has disappeared and the Church has lost its freedom. Therefore, Christians under Ottoman rule should not take offense that church life can no longer be conducted with canonical and liturgical precision. As in the time of the martyrs, the Church must patiently and steadfastly preserve the faith; bishops should only teach what is right and not celebrate services with heretics and schismatics.

SIGNIFICANCE

This letter sheds light on the state of the Church after the fall of Constantinople, and the abuses that prevailed. While Gennadius deprecates illegal practices such as simony, he is unable, even as patriarch, to take action against them, and judges it wise to accept certain abuses in order to preserve peace.



## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Graecus 1295, fols 1-7 (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Mount Athos, Great Lavra – Ω. 43, fols 58-60 (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Mount Athos, Great Lavra – Λ. 7, fols 42v-52v (16<sup>th</sup> century)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

*Hapanta ha heuriskomena/Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Petit, Sideridès and Jugie, iv, pp. 198-206

## STUDIES

Blanchet, *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios*, pp. 119-21, 160, 164-65, 166-67, 486

Zēsēs, *Gennadios B Scholarios*, pp. 331-32

### *Gennadiou thrēnos*, ‘Gennadius’s lamentation’

DATE June 21, 1460

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

In this work, Gennadius laments not only his personal fate but also that of his people. He does not know what he should complain about more, the physical enslavement of the Greeks or the corruption of their souls, the excesses of the barbarians or the errors in the souls of the faithful, the humiliation of the Church or the folly of its leaders. Many Christians fall away day by day, while those who adhere to Christianity ignore the canons of the Church and lead a life without any real faith, not least because they are not given guidance from the pulpit. The clergy are uneducated and are unable to celebrate worship properly or offer prayer effectively.

Gennadius observes that, although before the Ottoman conquest Constantinople was impoverished with only a small population, the inhabitants were free and their religious needs well cared for. With the fall of the city, he has lost not only his relatives, friends and students, but also his books, and the economic and cultural wealth of the city has perished with the demise of the court. Many scholars have disappeared or fled to Italy or Russia, so that the Greeks have lost their fatherland (*patris*). Constantinople, once the capital of Christianity and the originator of many of its teachings, rituals and laws, is not only in ruins but is also emptying of science and education. Nor are the commandments of Christ and longer preached or respected.

Although he is desperate, Gennadius remembers the faith and piety of his mother, and he takes refuge in Christ.

## SIGNIFICANCE

This is an impressive testimony to the impoverishment of cultural and literary life that had resulted from the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. With the disappearance of the imperial court, the stage for philosophical and theological discussion and for artfully composed speeches was lost; with many scholars leaving, there was no one to pass on the Greek cultural heritage; and without education the clergy were unequipped to carry out their liturgical and pastoral duties.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – 1289, fols 95-102 (between 1455 and 1474; Gennadius's autograph)

MS Paris, BNF – 1294, fols 167-175 (between 1455 and 1474; Gennadius's autograph)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

*Hapanta ha heuriskomena/Oeuvres completes* i, 283-94

## STUDIES

Blanchet, *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios*, pp. 74, 109, 161-62, 165-66, 487, 499-502

Tinnefeld, 'Georgios Gennadios Scholarios', p. 507 no. 76

S. Vryonis Jr, 'The Byzantine patriarchate', pp. 98-102

Zēsēs, *Gennadios B Scholarios*, pp. 336-37

*'Sur la rareté des miracles au temps présent'*  
(title in the modern edition), 'On the rarity of  
miracles in the present time'

DATE Between about 1457 and 1470, possibly 1460

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

Little is known about the circumstances of this work. Its original title (if it had one) is lost, and there is uncertainty about the time of writing. Vryonis suggests between 1457 and 1470, while Blanchet dates it to about 1460. When he wrote it, Gennadius evidently had in mind Christians whose faith had been thrown into doubt.

He begins by reflecting a view expressed by many, that, while in earlier times God sent miracles to lead unbelievers to faith and to encourage the faithful, this does not happen now. He is realistic in his response: unbelievers would not accept Christianity even if they witnessed miracles, and this is the case with the Muslims, despite the fact that they possess teachings about Jesus better than those of the Jews. Muslims, he says, are quite prepared to cooperate with Christians as long as it is in their own interests, and they do not subjugate Christians out of religious hatred, but merely in order to strengthen their own positions as rulers. Indeed, as long as they are secure in their rule, they give their Christian subjects almost unrestricted freedom of religion.

## SIGNIFICANCE

This relatively short work offers some instructive insights into personal relations after the Ottoman defeat of the Byzantines. Gennadius makes plain that the Ottomans are not interested in converting their Christian subjects, but only in compelling Christians to acknowledge their rule and to acquiesce to their designs. To him it is a cause of regretful resignation that, while they show interest in learning about Christianity and do not mind if Christians talk openly about faith, they do not have any further desire for it.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Graecus 1294, fols 176-189 (Gennadius's autograph)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

*Hapanta ha heuriskomena/Oeuvres completes* iii, pp. 368-90

## STUDIES

Blanchet, *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios*, pp. 107-9, 135, 160-61, 487

Tinnefeld, 'Georgios Gennadios Scholarios', p. 501 no. 45

Vryonis, 'The Byzantine patriarchate', pp. 103-4, 107-9

*Erōtēseis kai apokriseis peri tēs theotētos tou Kyriou hēmōn Iēsou Christou*, 'Questions and answers concerning the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ'

DATE 1470

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

In this work, Gennadius reports a conversation he had with two senior Turkish officials (*hoi ta megista dynamenoi*), before whom he was requested to appear at the end of May 1470. At the meeting, which took place on a country estate in the vicinity of Serres, the two Turks address a series of questions to him about Christian beliefs in Jesus Christ.

They start by asking why Christians worship Jesus Christ, son of Mary, as God. Gennadius refers to the testimonies of the men to whom God revealed this, arguing that, while one must beware of false prophets, in this Christians were never victims of a mischievous deception. Muslims themselves have good teachings about Jesus (*agathēdoxa*), because they regard him as a holy man (*anthrōpos hagios*) and prophet (*prophētēs*), and call him the word and breath of God (*logos Theou kai pnoē Theou*). Furthermore, the Gospel shows that Jesus revealed himself as son of God, and his manner of life and miracles proved that this claim was true, though only the authentic Gospel should be followed, not the false Gospel in circulation among Muslims. There are numerous reasons to accept Christian doctrine, among them Christ's prophecies and miracles, the miracles of the Apostles, the wonderful spread of Christianity despite long and violent persecution, the agreement between Christianity and reason, the commitment of the martyrs, the prophecies of the Old Testament and the statements in the Sibylline Oracles.

To the objection of one of the Turks that the Incarnation of Christ was an impossibility, Gennadius responds that although this is impossible for created human nature it is possible for the uncreated and omnipotent Deity. Indeed, God makes all things with ease, creating the entire world from nothing and shaping human nature out of his sheer goodness.

Finally, the Turks pose the question of how the uniting of divinity and humanity in Jesus Christ can be understood, and whether the Incarnation was necessary. They ask Gennadius to send them the two treatises on the Christian faith that he had written for the sultan, and since it was now evening they let him go, telling him that they intend to speak with him further.

## SIGNIFICANCE

This exchange shows that some Turks were interested in the problem of the Incarnation and the uniting of divine and human in Christ. It also shows that even after his resignation as patriarch, Gennadius was regarded by the Ottomans as the leading Christian scholar and theologian.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Paris, BNF – Graecus 1289, fols 260-269 (between 1455 and 1474)

MS Mount Athos, Monastery of Pantokrator – 127 fols 190-210 (between 1455 and 1474)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

*Hapanta ha heuriskomena/Oeuvres completes* iii, pp. 458-75

## STUDIES

Tinnefeld, 'Georgios Gennadios Scholarios', p. 503 no. 51

Zēsēs, *Gennadios B Scholarios*, p. 316

Jugie, 'Écrits apologétiques', pp. 311-14

**Klaus-Peter Todt**

# Al-Sakhāwī

Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Khayr Muḥammad  
ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī

DATE OF BIRTH 1427/28  
PLACE OF BIRTH Cairo  
DATE OF DEATH 1497  
PLACE OF DEATH Medina

## BIOGRAPHY

Al-Sakhāwī was active in scholarly circles in Cairo in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century. His family originated in the village of Sakhā in the Nile Delta, and had migrated to the capital in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century. He studied under Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 1449), together with Abū l-Ḥasan Ibrāhīm al-Biqā‘ī (d. 1480; q.v.), whose enemy and unrelenting critic he was to become.

Al-Sakhāwī specialized in the qur’anic sciences, and was also known as a biographer. His *Al-ḍaw’ al-lāmi’ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi’*, one of his main achievements, is an important source for the lives of Islamic scholars in the classical period. His *Al-i’lān bi-l-tawbikh li-man dhamma ahl al-ta’rikh* contains his complaints against what he regarded as severe shortcomings in contemporary Hadith studies, exhibiting some of the same criticisms of scholarly activities as those levelled by such leading figures as Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505).

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-ḍaw’ al-lāmi’ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi’*, 12 vols, Cairo, 1934-36, viii, pp. 2-32

Al-Sakhāwī, *Irshād al-ghāwī bal is‘ād al-ṭālib wa-l-rāwī bi-tarjamat al-Sakhāwī*, unpublished MS Leiden, University Library – Cod. Or. 2366

Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, 8 vols, Cairo, 1931-32, viii, pp. 15-17

### Secondary

W.A. Saleh, *In defense of the Bible. A critical edition and an introduction to al-Biqā‘ī’s Bible treatise*, Leiden 2008, pp. 8-11 (for al-Sakhāwī’s relations with al-Biqā‘ī)

- Mashhūr Āl Salmān and Aḥmad al-Shuqayrāt, *Mu'allafāt al-Sakhāwī*, Beirut, 1998, p. 18
- C.F. Petry, art. 'Al-Sakhāwī', in *Elz*
- R.S. Humphreys, *Islamic history. A framework for inquiry*, Princeton NJ, 1991, ch. 8
- B. Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration dans l'état militaire mamlūk (ix<sup>e</sup>/xv<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Damascus, 1991, pp. 15-24
- H. Lutfi, 'Al-Sakhāwī's *Kitāb al-nisā'* as a source for the social and economic history of Muslim women during the fifteenth century A.D.', *The Muslim World* 71 (1981) 104-24
- C.F. Petry, *The civilian elite of Cairo in the later Middle Ages*, Princeton NJ, 1981, pp. 5-14
- F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden, 1968<sup>2</sup>, pp. 263-529 (trans. of al-Sakhāwī's *Al-i'lān bi-l-tawbikh li-man dhamma ahl al-ta'rikh*)

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Al-aṣl al-aṣīl fī taḥrīm al-naql min al-Tawrāt wa-l-Injīl*, 'The genuine reason for the prohibition against quoting from the Torah and Gospel'

DATE About 1470

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

#### DESCRIPTION

The work has not survived, and is known only from a reference made by al-Sakhāwī in his *Al-ḍaw' al-lāmi'*. It was part of the controversy raised by al-Sakhāwī's former schoolmate, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Biqā'ī (q.v.), when the latter incorporated long passages from the Bible in his Qur'an commentary, which he started in 1456.

Al-Biqā'ī appears to have attracted as many enemies as friends among the scholarly elite of Cairo, where he was known for his intellectual attainments and also his vituperative attacks on others. Sometime in the late 1460s, the scholar Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Kinānī, known as Ibn al-Qaṭṭān (d. 1475), clashed with him, and enlisted the help of al-Sakhāwī to get the better of him in the ensuing controversy. Al-Sakhāwī responded with this work, which predictably took the opposing position to al-Biqā'ī in stressing the corrupt nature of the books of the Bible.

It is not possible to give details about the contents of the book, except to say that it must have explained why the biblical books could not be trusted and the nature of their corruption, and it very likely included detailed polemic against al-Biqā'ī.

## SIGNIFICANCE

The work presumably reiterated reasons long acknowledged among Muslims and already familiar to its readers for not trusting the Bible. It could have represented the position accepted by many in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century.

## MANUSCRIPTS —

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS —

## STUDIES

Saleh, *In defense of the Bible*, p. 32

Āl Salmān and al-Shuqayrāt, *Mu'allafāt al-Sakhāwī*, pp. 42-43

M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache, zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden, nebst Anhängen verwandten Inhalts*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 21

David Thomas



# Dionysius the Carthusian

Denys the Carthusian; Denys van Rijkel;  
Denys van Leeuwen

DATE OF BIRTH 1402/3  
PLACE OF BIRTH Rijkel, Limburg, now in Belgium  
DATE OF DEATH 1471  
PLACE OF DEATH The Carthusian monastery of Roermond,  
Limburg, now in the Netherlands

## BIOGRAPHY

Dionysius was born in the small village of Rijkel in the first years of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. He attended a prestigious school in Zwolle from 1415 and, after finishing there in 1417, decided to become a monk. At his age, he was too young for the Carthusians, so he went to study philosophy and theology, particularly the works of Thomas Aquinas (q.v.) and Thomism in general, at university in Cologne, where he stayed until 1424, emerging as a Master of Arts.

Following his studies, he joined the Carthusian monastery of Roermond, where he was to live for the rest of his life, apart from his ventures into the wider world. His intellectual fervor remained with him throughout this period, and he wrote vast numbers of works, including commentaries on every book of the Bible and on the works of Aquinas, as well as hundreds of others. He also corresponded with and seems to have had a great admiration for Nicholas of Cusa (q.v.), and on at least one occasion accompanied him on preaching tours for a crusade against the Turks.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

K. Emery, *Dionysii Cartusiensis opera selecta*, 2 vols, Turnhout, 1991, i, pp. 54-118

### *Secondary*

A. Palazzo, 'Ulrich of Strasbourg and Denys the Carthusian (II). Doctrinal influence and implicit quotations', *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale* 48 (2006) 163-208

- G.F. Guldentops, 'De kluisenaar politiseert. Dionysius de Kartuizer over individu en gemeenschap', *Millenium* 18 (2004) 69-82
- C. Trottman, 'Trois regards chartreux sur la contemplation au coeur du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle', in J.A. Aertsen and M. Pickavé (eds), *Herbst des Mittelalters? Fragen zur Bewertung des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 2004, 558-93
- K. Emery, 'Denys the Carthusian', in J.E. Garcia and T.B. Noone (eds), *A companion to philosophy in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 2003, 243-44
- G. Roth, 'Dionysius der Kartäuser. Seine Discretio spirituum im Vergleich mit der gegenwärtigen Religionspsychopathologie', in J. Hogg, A. Girard and D. Le Blévec (eds), *Die Kartäuser und die Künste ihrer Zeit*, Salzburg, 2001, 105-10
- S.D. Moore, 'The Song of Songs in the history of sexuality', *Church History* 69 (2000) 328-49
- K. Emery, 'The matter and order of philosophy according to Denys the Carthusian', in J.A. Aertsen and A. Speer (eds), *Was ist Philosophie im Mittelalter?*, Berlin, 1998, 667-79
- D. Turner, 'Why did Denys the Carthusian write *Sermones ad saeculares?*', in C. Muessig (ed.), *Medieval monastic preaching*, Leiden, 1998, 19-35
- Emery, *Dionysii Cartusienensis opera selecta*, i, pp. 15-38
- H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'écriture*, 4 vols, Paris, 1959-64, iv, pp. 363-67
- A. Stoelen, 'Denys le Chartreux', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, ed. M. Viller et al., 17 vols, Paris, 1932-95, iii, pp. 430-49
- D.A. Mougél, *Denys le Chartreux, 1402-1471: sa vie, son rôle. Une nouvelle édition de ses ouvrages*, Montreuil-sur-mer, 1896
- P. Albers, 'Dionysius de Kartuizer en zijn Werken', *Studen op Godsdienstig, Wetenschappelijk en Letterkundig gebied* 29 (1877) 203-55

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Contra perfidiam Mahometi*, 'Against the perfidy of Muḥammad'

DATE Around 1452

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

#### DESCRIPTION

This work was commissioned as part of a preaching tour conducted by Nicholas of Cusa (q.v.) across Germany in the early 1450s in an attempt to raise support for a crusade against the Ottomans. The tract itself contains two main sections; the first is devoted to refuting the charges levelled against Christianity in the Qur'an, while the second is an attack on Muḥammad himself.

The work seems to be based primarily on earlier writings on the subject from various medieval writers, as far back as John of Damascus. Dionysius particularly used the works of the *Collectio Toletana*, Peter of Cluny (q.v.) and John Mandeville (q.v.), but also some works of Muslim authors. The image of Muḥammad that is created through the piecing together of various works results in him being seen in two traditional ways – pseudo-prophet and heretic, as well as in two relatively new ways – on the one hand a libertine, and on the other an ignorant fool.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

As a commission for a crusade preaching tour, the piece demonstrates the extent to which religious justification for crusading was required in Europe during the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century. It also demonstrates how ancient charges against Islam were recycled for new circumstances, while new ones were also brought.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

For an exhaustive list, see Emery, *Dionysii Cartusienensis opera selecta*, pp. 54-118

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

*Doctoris ecstatici D. Dionysii Cartusiani opera omnia*, s.n., 47 vols, s.l., 1896-1913, xxxvi, pp. 233-442

#### STUDIES

- S. Martinez Sandoval, 'La figura de Mahoma en Contra perfidiam Mahometi de Dionisio Cartujano. Una aproximación', in J. Hogg, A. Girard and D. le Blévec (eds), *Kartäusische Kunst und Architektur mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kartausen Zentraleuropas, 1. Länderübergreifender internationaler Kongress für Kartäuserforschung Aggsbach (NÖ, Austria) 10.8-31.8 und Brno/Brünn (CZ) 1.9.-4.9.2005* (*Analecta Cartusiana* 207), Salzburg, 2006, 157-72

*Dialogus disputationis inter Christianum et Sarracenum*, 'Dialogue of a dispute between a Christian and a Muslim'

DATE Mid-15<sup>th</sup> century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

## DESCRIPTION

This tract is an (almost certainly fictitious) account of a dispute between a Christian and a Muslim. In style it follows quite closely earlier Eastern Christian works in the genre of 'the monk in the emir's *majlis*', although it transposes the debate to Europe. As might be expected, the Muslim eventually acknowledges the correctness of Christianity.

## SIGNIFICANCE

The style of this tract shows how Eastern Christian responses to Islam continued to be utilized by their co-religionists in western Europe, and this in turn suggests that Islam was being seen as an ongoing threat to the established order in Western Europe at the time.

## MANUSCRIPTS

For an exhaustive list, see Emery, *Dionysii Cartusienensis opera selecta*, i, pp. 54-118

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

*Doctoris ecstatici D. Dionysii Cartusiani opera omnia*, xxxvi, pp. 455-99

## STUDIES —

**Alex Mallett**

# The Martyrdom of Rizq Allāh ibn Nabaʿ of Tripoli

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; possibly early 15 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; perhaps near Tripoli (Ṭarābulus al-Shām)
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; after 1477
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; perhaps near Tripoli

## BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about the author of the *Martyrdom* of Rizq Allāh ibn Nabaʿ of Tripoli other than what can be deduced from the text itself: that he was a 15<sup>th</sup>-century Melkite Christian, perhaps from the region of Tripoli (Ṭarābulus al-Shām, today in Lebanon).

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary* —

*Secondary* —

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### ‘The Martyrdom of Rizq Allāh ibn Nabaʿ of Tripoli’

DATE After 1 February 1477

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

#### DESCRIPTION

Thanks to Ṭūmā Bīṭār, *Al-qiddīsūn al-mansiyyūn*, it is possible to report on the *Martyrdom* of Rizq Allāh ibn Nabaʿ of Tripoli as it appears in three manuscripts (its original title has not been published). Rizq Allāh, a native of Damascus, was a Christian who served Azdemur, *nāʿib* of Tripoli, in a secretarial and administrative capacity. The governor (*wālī*), who greatly admired Rizq Allāh, wanted him to convert to Islam. However, neither gentle inducements nor threats of violence would sway Rizq Allāh from his Christian faith, which he confessed with boldness.

(Several speeches by the martyr, including his final prayer, are presented in the text.) Frustrated by Rizq Allāh's obstinacy, the governor eventually ordered his execution, and he was beheaded outside the city. An attempt to burn his body was foiled by a downpour of rain, and Christians were able to recover the body and remove it to Cyprus, where it was buried in the sanctuary of a church. The date of Rizq Allāh's execution is given as 1 February 6985 in the Era of the World, or 1477. Ṭūmā Bīṭār (*Al-qiddīsūn al-mansīyyūn*, p. 270) notes that this date fits with the period during which Azdemur ibn Mazīd was the Mamluk *nā'ib* in Tripoli, between 1475 and 1479.

Complications arise when this *Martyrdom* is compared with one of the manuscripts of the Melkite *synaxaria* (q.v.), MS Paris Ar. 254 (15<sup>th</sup> century), where the commemoration of Rizq Allāh on 1 February and the martyrdom story just told are both preserved – but separated from one another! According to the notice for 1 February, Rizq Allāh ibn Naba' got into trouble with a Muslim colleague who demanded money from him and resorted to torture in order to obtain it; Rizq Allāh's oath 'by the Son of God' so infuriated his tormenter that he put him to death (Sauget, *Premières recherches*, pp. 344-45). As for the Christian who refused blandishments to convert to Islam and was eventually decapitated outside the city, according to the same codex he was the priest Iṣḥāq of Ḥamā, commemorated on 21 August (Sauget, *Premières recherches*, pp. 427-29). It is difficult to judge whether one *Martyrdom* (that of Rizq Allāh, in the form presented by Ṭūmā Bīṭār) was somehow divided into two, or whether two originally independent *Martyrdoms* (reflected in MS Paris Ar. 254) were conflated into one.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Stories of Christian martyrs under Islamic rule, especially when incorporated into liturgical books such as the *synaxaria* and rehearsed at annual festivals, were powerful tools for exhorting Christians to courageous adherence to their faith, regardless of circumstances, and, thereby, of reinforcing communal boundaries.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

Ṭūmā Bīṭār, *Al-qiddīsūn al-mansīyyūn*, p. 268, briefly lists three MSS, which are further described at pp. 601-2:

MS Dayr 'Aṭīyya – 35 (15<sup>th</sup> century?)

MS Ḥīms, Orthodox Metropolitanate – 19 (restored in 1542; but the *Martyrdom* is an addition to the original MS)

MS Ḥimṣ, Orthodox Metropolitanate – 20 (undated; the *Martyrdom* is an addition to the original MS)

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES

Ṭūmā Bīṭār, *Al-qiddīsūn al-mansiyyūn fī l-turāth al-Anṭākī*, Beirut, 1995, pp. 263-64 (a helpful paraphrase of the text), 268-70 (notes on the text); 494-500 (compares the *synaxarion* entry for Iṣḥāq of Ḥamā with the *Martyrdom* of Rizqallāh of Tripoli)

J.-M. Sauget, *Premières recherches sur l'origine et les caractéristiques des synaxaires melkites (XI<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (*Subsidia hagiographica* 45), Brussels, 1969 (reproduces the notices for the commemorations of Rizq Allāh of Tripoli and Iṣḥāq of Ḥamā from MS Paris Ar. 254, at pp. 344-45 and 427-29, respectively)

Ḥabīb Zayyāt, 'Shuhadā' al-Naṣrāniyya fi l-Islām', *Al-Mashriq* 36 (1938) 459-65, p. 461 (reports the notice about Rizq Allāh in MS Paris Ar. 254, and attempts – probably incorrectly – to identify the *nā'ib* Azdemur and date the story to 1363-65)

Mark N. Swanson

# George Sphrantzes

Geōrgios Sphrantzēs

DATE OF BIRTH 30 August 1401  
PLACE OF BIRTH Probably Constantinople  
DATE OF DEATH After May 1477  
PLACE OF DEATH Corfu

## BIOGRAPHY

Biographical data referring to George Sphrantzes are entirely derived from his own memoirs. He belonged to an aristocratic family of late Byzantium with close connections to the imperial court, where his uncle served as instructor of the later Despot and Emperor Constantine XI. This circumstance forms the background of his personal relationship with Constantine from childhood onwards. After the death of his parents, Sphrantzes entered palace service as a chamberlain (*kelliōtēs*) to Manuel II in 1418, a function he exercised until the death of the old emperor in 1425. He thus obtained an excellent insight into the mechanisms of late Palaeologan politics and the various stances taken towards the Ottomans.

During the absence of John VIII in the West, Sphrantzes took part in a mission to Sultan Murad II to arrange peace between the Ottomans and Byzantium in February 1424. After spending some time in the retinue of John VIII, he changed to the service of the Despot Constantine, whom he accompanied during the wars of the late 1420s against the Frankish rulers on the Peloponnese. He fell into Frankish captivity for several months in spring 1429 during the Greek siege of Patras, but finally received the governorship of this city after its surrender in 1430. In the early 1430s and the early 1440s, Sphrantzes undertook several diplomatic missions on behalf of his master, among them embassies to the sultan, to Constantinople (where he received the honorific title of *Prōtobestiariētēs* in 1432), to Athens and to Lesbos. In 1436, he was sent to the sultan to support the position of Constantine in his struggle against his brother Theodore, despot of Mistras, and, during the emperor's stay at the Council of Florence, he assisted his master, who had been appointed regent in Constantinople (1437-40).



Sphrantzes was involved in diplomatic activities during the preliminaries of the Varna Crusade, and held the governorship of major cities in Constantine's dominions: Selymbria in 1443 and Mistras in 1446. During Constantine's imperial reign (1449-53), Sphrantzes remained one of his most intimate collaborators, entrusted with diplomatic missions to Trebizond and Georgia (1449-51) to arrange a new marriage for the emperor. At court, however, his influence seems to have been limited, and his personal relationship with the famous *Mesazōn* Loucas Notaras rather strained: thus, Sphrantzes could only be promoted to the post of *Megas Logothetēs* by the emperor in secret.

When the Ottomans conquered Constantinople in 1453, he was taken captive, but was ransomed and later entered the court of Despot Thomas Palaeologus on the Morea. Owing to the mutually destructive conflicts between the despots Thomas and Demetrius, he went to Venetian Modon in 1458, and finally to Corfu in August 1460. This island became his permanent home for the rest of his life, although he visited Rome and Venice in 1466. As a convinced Orthodox Christian, he established residence at the *kathisma* (a small monastic establishment) of Hagios Nikolaos belonging to the 'Congregation of the 32 priests' early in 1462. In 1468, his deteriorating health led him to become a monk (under the name Gregory), though he continued to be an attentive observer of events in Greek Romania until his death in 1477.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

Giorgio Sfranze, *Cronaca*, ed. R. Maisano (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 29), Rome, 1990 (edition and Italian trans.)

### *Secondary*

M. Nikolić, 'Georgios Sphrantzes or how to become an archon in Byzantium in the XVth century', *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 47 (2010) 277-89

A.G. Savvides, *Five Byzantine historiographical figures: Prokopios, Michael Psellos, Anna Komnene, John Kinnamos, George Sphrantzes. A contribution on the historiographers and their times*, Thessaloniki, 2001

D.M. Nicol, *The immortal emperor. The life and legend of Constantine Palaiologos, last emperor of the Romans*, Cambridge, 1992

*PLP*, no. 27278

R. Maisano, 'Lo storico Giorgio Sfranze dentro e fuori i confini della storia', *Italienika* 1 (1988) 111-22

A. Savvides, *Geōrgios Sphrantzēs (Phrantzēs). Ho byzantinos historiographos tu 15. aiōna*, Athens, 1983

- H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol. 1, Munich, 1978, pp. 494-99
- V. Grecu, 'Georgios Sphrantzes. Leben und Werk. Makarios Melissenos und sein Werk – Die Ausgabe', *Byzantinoslavica* 26 (1965) 62-73
- V. Laurent, "'Sphrantzes" et non "Phrantzes"', *BZ* 44 (1951) 373-78
- V. Laurent, 'Sphrantzès et non Phrantzès – à nouveau!', *REB* 9 (1951) 170-71
- R. Guillard, 'Le protovestiarite Georges Phrantzès', *REB* 6 (1948) 48-57

#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Oiktros Geōrgios Sphrantzēs [...] tauta egrapsen hyper tōn kath heauton kai tinōn merikōn gegonotōn en tō tēs athlias zōēs autou chronō*, 'The miserable George Sphrantzes [...] has written the following about his own concerns and some events in the time of his own arduous life'

*Chronicon minus*, 'Minor chronicle'

DATE Written up to 1477 (last entry)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

#### DESCRIPTION

The reception of Sphrantzes' work has been deeply influenced by the so-called *Chronicon maius*, a compilation produced by Macarius Melissenos, metropolitan of Monembasia (d. 1585), but attributed to Sphrantzes. In this work, Macarius consciously transformed Sphrantzes' personal memoirs into a historiographical framework. This compilation received a far broader manuscript distribution than Sphrantzes' original text, which was consequently edited for the first time only in 1837 and classified as *Chronicon minus*, by contrast with the *Chronicon maius*. It was another century until first doubts about the authenticity of the *Chronicon maius* were expressed by its editor, I. Papadopulos. Subsequently, R.-J. Loenertz buttressed Papadopulos' position and revealed the *Maius* as a 16<sup>th</sup>-century forgery, written with the help of various historiographical works, such as those of Nicephorus Gregoras (q.v.) and Laonicus Chalkokondyles (q.v.).

Thanks to this, Sphrantzes' work is still often referred to as a chronicle, although it resembles a collection of personal memoirs based on a diary, substantially reworked by the author himself. It comprises both historical

events and private notes concerning the birth of children and the death of relatives and friends, but primarily lively episodes from Sphrantzes' own political activities. This information is given in annalistic order, extending from 1401 to 1477, in most cases reliably dated. The more detailed accounts, however, only start from 1414 since, as Sphrantzes explicitly states, his memory did not reach back any further and he limits himself to mere allusions and keywords for the first years. The course of events is sometimes interrupted by excurses, such as the short hagiographical composition on St Thomais (ch. 18), and the author's reflections on the Council of Florence (ch. 23), and on the offices of the court (ch. 34). The very intimate character of the composition is underlined by one of the last entries, a long prayer and personal confession (ch. 48.1-3), and also by the literal insertion of his monastic vow (ch. 45.4). Written in a form of Greek close to the spoken language, Sphrantzes' work does not show any historiographical ambition, but gives a vivid insight into the political horizons of a member of the late Byzantine political elite very close to the last emperor.

Sphrantzes gives much direct and indirect information about relations between Byzantines and Ottomans. He includes a list of Ottoman rulers (*Atoumalidai*) from Ertoghrul to Mehmed II (ch. 1), who are always called emir (*amēras*), reserving the title of sultan (*soultanos*) for the Mamluk ruler. The memoirs contain essential information about military confrontations between Greeks and Turks, e.g. on the various reconstructions and re-destructions of the Hexamilion wall between 1415 and 1463 (chs 4.1; 12.1; 26.3; 28.3; 42.7), and on two of the Ottoman pretenders called Mustafa during the reigns of Mehmed I and Murad II. On the other hand, Sphrantzes seems to avoid detailed descriptions of the siege of Constantinople in 1422 and the fall of the city in 1453 (cf. the short treatment in ch. 35.5-9 in contrast to the *Chronicon maius*) – in fact, Carroll assumes the existence of a lost genuine version of the siege account as the base for the respective parts of the *Chronicon maius*. On the other hand, Sphrantzes gives a remarkable account of the encounter between Manuel II and Mehmed I in 1420 or 1421, when the emperor organized the transfer of the sultan by ship from Europe to Asia. Sphrantzes refers to the deep suspicion that had arisen among Byzantine nobles about the sultan's motives, but shows Manuel II insisting on the strict observance of the mutual oaths of security between the two rulers and gives a detailed description of the encounter.

The amount of information given by Sphrantzes on his own diplomatic missions to the Ottoman court varies considerably: for 1424 he only

mentions the names and specific qualifications of the members of the Byzantine peace delegation. A more detailed account refers to his conversation with the vizir Ibrahim Pasha in 1429 concerning the question of Patras (ch. 20.5), but he remains completely silent on the objective of his missions during the preparation of the Varna crusade on behalf of the Despot Constantine (ch. 26). The abandonment of another Ottoman siege of Constantinople in 1438 is credibly attributed to the vizir Khalil Pasha, who argued in favor of a strict observance of the oaths given to the Byzantines (ch. 23.10-11). Beyond these encounters, Sphrantzes is an important witness to the stages of Ottoman military expansion in general, especially for the years after 1453.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Sphrantzes gives numerous historical details and precise datings for the history of Byzantine-Ottoman relations in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. This information is expressed in a rather neutral manner, although Sphrantzes does not conceal his Orthodox convictions and usually refers to the Muslims as infidels (*asebeis*). He thinks the term *Mousoulmanos* is equivalent to the name Sulayman (ch. 3), and his insight into Islamic religious practice and doctrine is no deeper. He only once refers to the Prophet Muḥammad, in an anecdotal context that is certainly based on personal observances, noting that the Turks coming to Constantinople with the pretender Mustafa in 1422 found a profound similitude between the Emperor Manuel II suffering from apoplexy and their prophet (ch. 11.2). On the other hand, the *Memoirs* include singular references, especially about diplomatic relations between the Byzantine authorities and the Ottomans. Sphrantzes emphasizes the crucial role played by oaths of security in the establishment of a *modus vivendi* between the two sides: prominent protagonists such as Manuel II and Khalil Pasha strongly advocated their strict observance.

Sphrantzes' description of the proceedings observed during the encounter between Manuel II and Mehmed I on two ships in the straits near Constantinople is particularly important (ch. 7.1-3), as it gives an insight into the complex character of Byzantine-Ottoman interaction in the decades before the Fall of Constantinople. Referring to Murad II's widow, Mara Branković, who was proposed as a bride for Constantine XI, Sphrantzes also reflects on the status of the *amērissa*, who retained her Christian faith and declined the imperial offer because of her vow to dedicate her life to God if she were to return to liberty from the Ottoman court (ch. 31.11). Her marriage to Murad is thus considered as a kind of captivity.

However, Sphrantzes' judgements are not one-sidedly in favor of Christian actors but do include severe condemnations of members of the Byzantine, especially Peloponnesian, elite and their behavior, among them Matthew Asanes (chs 39.3, 44.1) and an *archōn* Crocondyles (ch. 40.9). Among the Ottoman grandees, Turachan above all is portrayed in a sympathetic way (ch. 22), while Mehmed II is once explicitly called the enemy of the Christians from his very childhood (*paidiothen echthros tōn Christianōn*, ch. 30.5). Nevertheless, the author recognizes his supreme power as the mightiest man on earth and as a judge installed by God himself (cf. chs 39.3, 39.11). On the other hand, Constantine XI figures as a martyr (ch. 35.10). The generally very rich information on interreligious communications given by Sphrantzes still awaits comprehensive treatment (cf. Maisano 2003).

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale – XVI A. 10, fols 1-86 (between 1577 and 1582)

MS Vat – Ottob. Gr. 260, fols 113r-206v (between 1569 and 1588)

MS Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale – Gr. 246 (alternatively Cod. B. VI. 20), fols 1-50r (17<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana – Allacci LXXII fasc. 4 (mid-17<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Vat – Barb. Gr. 175/176 (end of 17<sup>th</sup> century)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

*Istanbul'un fethinin Bizanslıson tanığı. Yorgios Sfrancis'in anıları* – Chronicon minus, trans. L. Kayapınar, Istanbul, 2009 (Turkish trans.)

*Geōrgiou Sphrantzē brachy chroniko (Keimena byzantinēs historiographias 15)*, trans. D.I. Moniou, Athens, 2006 (modern Greek trans.)

*Paleologo. Grandezza e caduta di Bisanzio. Giorgio Sfranze*, ed. R. Maisano, Palermo, 2008 (Greek text based on the edition of 1990 with revised Italian trans.)

*Giorgio Sfranze, Cronaca*, ed. R. Maisano (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 29), Rome, 1990 (main edition and Italian trans.)

*The fall of the Byzantine Empire. A chronicle by George Sphrantzes (1401-1477)*, trans. M. Philippides, Amherst, 1980

A. Pertusi (ed.), *La caduta di Costantinopoli. Le testimonianze dei contemporanei*, vol. 1, Milan, 1976, pp. 214-25 (section referring to the fall of Constantinople)

*Georgios Sphrantzes, Memorii 1401-1477, în anexă Pseudo-Phrantzes: Macarie Melissenos, Cronica 1258-1481*, ed. V. Grecu, Bucarest, 1966 (first critical edition and Romanian trans.)

PG 156, cols 1025-1080 (Franz's edition)

*Georgii Phrantzae Chronicon parvum rerum sui temporis*, ed. J. Franz, in A. Mai, *Classicorum auctorum e Vaticanis codicibus editorum*, vol. 9, Rome, 1837, pp. 1-100

#### STUDIES

- M. Philippides and W. Hanak, *The siege and the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Historiography, topography, and military studies*, Farnham, 2011, pp. 139-91, 359-73
- N. Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins. Politics and society in the late Empire*, Cambridge, 2009
- A. Rhoby, 'Eine Inschrift auf einem Sarkophagdeckel aus Beroia in der *Chronik* des Georgios Sphrantzes', *Byzantion* 77 (2007) 394-98
- D.R. Reinsch, 'Reichsidee und Sprache nach der Halosis. Georgios Amirutzes und Georgios Sphrantzes', in S. Kolditz and R.C. Müller (eds), *Geschehenes und Geschriebenes. Studien zu Ehren von Günther S. Henrich und Klaus-Peter Matschke*, Leipzig, 2005, 329-35
- R. Maisano, 'Ottomani e Bizantini al tempo di Mehmed I nella *Cronaca* di Giorgio Sfranze', in U. Marazzi (ed.), *Turcica et islamica. Studi in memoria di Aldo Gallotta*, vol. 1, Naples, 2003, 491-99
- R. Romano, 'Sul prologo della *Cronaca* di Giorgio Sfranze' in Romano, *Parerga. Contributi filologici*, Naples, 2003, 50-51
- R. Maisano, 'L'immagine dei "barbari" nella *Cronaca* di Giorgio Sfranze', in R. Morabito (ed.), *Studi in onore di Riccardo Picchio*, Naples, 2003, 133-41
- J. Malherbe, *Constantin XI. Dernier empereur des Romains*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 2001
- T. Ganchou, 'Le mésazon Démétrius Paléologue Cantacuzène a-t-il figuré parmi les défenseurs du siège de Constantinople (29 mai 1453)?', *REB* 52 (1994) 245-72
- D.M. Nicol, *The immortal emperor. The life and legend of Constantine Palaiologos, last emperor of the Romans*, Cambridge, 1992
- C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul, 1990
- R. Maisano, 'L'opera memorialistica di Sfranze dentro e fuori i confini della storia', *Italoellenika* 1 (1988) 111-22
- R. Maisano, 'Riconsiderazioni sul testo delle *Memorie* di Giorgio Sfranze', in *Talariskos. Studia graeca Antonio Garzya sexagenario a discipulis oblata*, Naples, 1987, 363-90

- R. Maisano, 'Il contributo della tradizione indiretta al testo delle *Memorie di Sfranze*', in I. Gallo (ed.), *Miscellanea filologica*, vol. 1, Salerno, 1986, 179-91
- E. Werner, *Die Geburt einer Großmacht. Die Osmanen (1300-1481)*, Weimar, 1985<sup>4</sup>
- I. Djurić, *Sumrak Vizantije. Vreme Jovana VIII Paleologa, 1392-1448*, Belgrade, 1984
- M. Carroll, 'A minor matter of imperial importance in the Sphrantzes *Chronicle*', *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 88-93
- D.A. Zakythenos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*, ed. C. Maltezos, 2 vols, London, 1975
- M. Carroll, 'Notes on the authorship of the "sieve" section of the *Chronicon maius* of Pseudo-Phrantzes Book III', *Byzantion* 41 (1971) 28-44; 42 (1972) 5-22; 43 (1973) 30-38
- J.W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425). A study in late Byzantine statesmanship*, New Brunswick NJ, 1969
- V. Grecu, 'Georgios Sphrantzes. Leben und Werk. Makarios Melissenos und sein Werk. Die Ausgabe', *Byzantinoslavica* 26 (1965) 62-73
- V. Grecu, 'Das Memoirenwerk des Georgios Sphrantzes', in *Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des études byzantines*, vol. 2, Belgrade, 1964, 327-41
- G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica I. Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker*, Berlin, 1958<sup>2</sup>, pp. 282-88
- I.B. Papadopoulos, *Hai peri Geōrgiu Phrantzē diatribai*, ed. O. Lampsidēs, Athens, 1957
- F. Dölger, 'Ein literarischer und diplomatischer Fälscher des 16. Jahrhunderts. Metropolit Makarios von Monembasia', in Dölger, *Byzantinische Diplomatie*, Ettal, 1956, 371-83
- R.-J. Loenertz, 'Autour du *Chronicon maius* attribué à Georges Phrantzès', in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, vol. 3 (*Studi e Testi* 123), Vatican City, 1946, 273-311 (repr. in R.-J. Loenertz, *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca*, ed. P. Schreiner, Rome, 1970, 3-44)
- R.-J. Loenertz, 'La date de la lettre IX de Manuel Paléologue et l'inauthenticité du *Chronicon maius* de Georges Phrantzès', *Echos d'Orient* 39 (1940/42) 91-99
- N. Iorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches nach den Quellen dargestellt*, 2 vols, Gotha, 1908-9 (repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1990)



# Al-Biqā'ī

Burhān al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umar ibn al-Ḥasan  
al-Rubāṭ al-Biqā'ī

DATE OF BIRTH 1406/7  
PLACE OF BIRTH Khirbit Rūḥa, Lebanon  
DATE OF DEATH 1480  
PLACE OF DEATH Damascus

## BIOGRAPHY

Al-Biqā'ī was born in a small village in the Lebanese mountains. Following a feud in 1418, in which some of his closest male relatives, including his father, were killed, his mother fled with him to Damascus. There he started his education, which he continued in Jerusalem, Alexandria and Cairo. In the Mamluk capital, where he arrived in 1431, he studied the Qur'anic sciences under Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 1449), together with Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī (d. 1492; q.v.), who was to become his deadly enemy, and he also came to know Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505).

Al-Biqā'ī lived in Cairo for the greater part of his life, rising to the position of Qur'an commentator in the Zāhir mosque, becoming an intimate of several sultans and accompanying them on armed expeditions, and achieving celebrity as a scholar and book collector. He was also notorious for his invective against anyone who contradicted him or crossed him. He attracted immense opposition for his extensive use of quotations from the Bible in *Nazm al-durar*, the massive Qur'an commentary that he began in 1456, and also for his condemnation of the poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 1235) and the mystic Ibn 'Arabī (d. 1240; q.v.), whose teachings he thought blurred the distinction between God and the creation and were tantamount to unbelief. His opponents got the better of him in this dispute, and the public disgrace of his defeat forced him to withdraw from public life in Cairo.

He moved to Damascus in 1475, but even there he attracted opposition when he attacked the teachings of the great al-Ghazālī (d. 1111; q.v.) as un-Islamic. He was ostracized, and he died in obscurity.



## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

Al-Biqā'ī, *'Unwān al-zamān bi-tarājim al-shuyūkh wa-l-aqrān*, ed. Ḥasan al-Ḥabashī, 4 vols, Cairo, 2001-, ii, pp. 61-85 (al-Biqā'ī's autobiography, written when he was only 32)

Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-ḍaw' al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'*, 12 vols, Cairo, 1934-36, i, pp. 101-11  
Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī al-zuhūr fī waqā'ī al-duhūr*, ed Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, 5 vols, Cairo, 1963, iii, pp. 50, 89

*Secondary*

W.A. Saleh, *In defense of the Bible. A critical edition and an introduction to al-Biqā'ī's Bible treatise*, Leiden 2008, pp. 7-20

W.A. Saleh, 'A fifteenth-century Muslim Hebraist. Al-Biqā'ī and his defence of using the Bible to interpret the Qur'an', *Speculum* 83 (2008) 629-54, pp. 635-36

W.A. Saleh, 'Sublime in its style, exquisite in its tenderness. The Hebrew Bible quotations in al-Biqā'ī's Qur'an commentary', in T. Langermann and J. Stern (eds), *Adaptations and innovations*, Paris, 2007, 331-47

Li Guo, 'Tales of a medieval Cairene harem. Domestic life in al-Biqā'ī's autobiographical chronicle', *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9 (2005) 101-21

Muḥammad Ajmal al-Iṣlāḥī, *Fihrist muṣannafāt al-Biqā'ī 'an nuskha manqūla min khaṭṭih*, Riyadh, 2005, pp. 19-57 (gives references to earlier biographies)

Li Guo, 'Al-Biqā'ī's chronicle. A fifteenth century learned man's reflection on his time and world', in H. Kennedy (ed.), *The historiography of Islamic Egypt, c. 950-1800*, Leiden, 2001, 121-48, pp. 121-26

A.D. Knysh, *Ibn'Arabī in the later Islamic tradition. The making of a polemical image in medieval Islam*, Albany NY, 1999, pp. 209-23

T.E. Homerin, *From Arab poet to Muslim saint. Ibn al-Fāriḍ, his verse and his shrine*, Columbia SC, 1994, pp. 55-75

E.L. Ormsby, *Theodicy in Islamic thought. The dispute over al-Ghazālī's 'Best of all possible worlds'*, Princeton NJ, 1984, pp. 135-60

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Al-aqwāl al-qawīma fī ḥukm al-naql min al-kutub al-qadīma*, 'Just words on the permissibility of quoting from the ancient books'

DATE 1475

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

Al-Biqā'ī felt driven to write this defense as a result of the criticisms he was receiving about his use of the Bible in his Qur'an commentary (see Saleh, *In defense of the Bible*, pp. 24-33, for the complex of events that led up to the decision). He began it in Cairo in 1469 and continued to work on it in Damascus until its full publication in 1475. It comprises a brief preface and introduction, followed by eight chapters and a substantial conclusion, in all 130 pages in Saleh's edition.

In the preface and introduction, al-Biqā'ī explains his reason for writing as his inability to remain silent in face of the fierce criticisms that his use of the Bible in his commentary was attracting. He sees his enemies as motivated by jealousy rather than by any professional considerations, and expresses shock at their actions because he is not doing anything new, but is simply quoting from the Bible in order to show Jews and Christians that they have misunderstood it.

In ch. 1, he demonstrates the wealth of support he has received for the methods he has followed, quoting from colleagues who argue that it is not only allowed but recommended to give passages from the parts of the Bible that have not been corrupted, so much so that there is more or less a consensus that the procedure is permitted. Then, in chs 2-4, he shows that it is sanctioned by the Qur'an and the customary practice of Muḥammad and his Companions.

In ch. 5, al-Biqā'ī engages directly with the main criticism of his opponents, that the consensus within Islam rules against using the Bible because it is corrupt. His reply is that the actual judgment agreed upon in Islam is that it is only wrong to use the parts of the Bible that are known to be corrupt. Just as it is allowed to quote weakly attested Hadiths as long as their status is made clear, so it is permissible to quote even corrupt parts of the Bible as long as their status is clearly indicated. Here, he is implying that Muslims can judge the parts of the Bible that have not suffered from corruption, and is opening the possibility of widespread use of the Bible to support the teachings of Islam. In ch. 6, he adds authority to this argument by citing scholars from throughout Islamic history who have used the Bible in the way he has.

In chs 7 and 8, he addresses the question of whether the Bible has been corrupted, and ranks himself with those who regard only parts of it as corrupt, in distinction from those who think all or most, or none of it is corrupt. He affirms that the criterion by which to judge biblical passages is the Qur'an.

In the conclusion, which is the most extensive part of the whole work, al-Biqā'ī defends the qualities of his *tafsīr*; he says almost nothing here about the legitimacy of using the Bible.

It is important to note that, in his original draft of the *Aqwāl*, al-Biqā'ī tries to support his position by drawing a comparison between the Bible and the *ḥadīth qudsī*, which purport to be divine utterances but are not part of the Qur'an (see Saleh, 'A fifteenth-century Muslim Hebraist', pp. 651-62). Although they are generally regarded as weakly attested, they are nevertheless popularly accepted as words from God. By analogy, he argues, the Bible can also be accepted as words from God, even though its status can never be as secure as that of the Qur'an. In fact, the whole corpus of Hadiths shares this uncertain status because of the mode of its transmission, so Muslims really have little reason to reject the Bible. He excised this whole argument from the final published version, evidently admitting just how radical his comparison was, and how inflammatory it would appear to his opponents.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The *Aqwāl al-qawīma* is clearly an unusual work, not least because it mounts a defense of Muslim use of the Bible against all the accepted norms of the time in which it was written. But it is not, maybe, as singular as it first appears to be. While it evidently accepts the Torah and Gospel as in part the original *Tawrāt* and *Injīl* to which the Qur'an refers, it presents the Qur'an as the criterion for judging what is original and of value. Thus, it intimates that the only means by which the true meaning of the Bible is to be accessed is through the hermeneutical key of the Qur'an. In itself, the Bible cannot be relied upon, because its overall unreliability prevents certainty about any of its parts.

While he may have gone against the attitudes of his own day, in arguing along these lines al-Biqā'ī is not very different from a figure such as the 9<sup>th</sup>-century convert 'Alī l-Ṭabarī (q.v.), who in his *Kitāb al-dīn wa-l-dawla* shows that the Bible attests to the coming of Muḥammad and Islam if only it is interpreted according to norms set within Islam, or from the *Radd al-jamīl*, attributed to al-Ghazālī (q.v.), which interprets the Gospel of John according to Islamic norms. His procedure also recalls the Christian bishop, Paul of Antioch (q.v.), who somewhere around the year 1200 shows in his *Letter to a Muslim friend* that the Qur'an supports all the teachings of Christianity as long as it is read according to the norms set by the Bible. In each of these works, the author is able to find a place for the scripture of the other by detaching it from the other tradition and making it part of his own.

Maybe the most important point about this unusual work is that it attests to some slight diversity in Muslim attitudes towards the Bible in the Mamluk era, and more significantly shows how the great majority of Muslims were not only completely indifferent to the text but thought it a sin to study it or examine it in any way.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

For the four MSS of the work, one of which bears marginal notes and insertions by al-Biqā'ī himself, see Saleh, *In defense of the Bible*, pp. 37-46, and 'A fifteenth-century Muslim Hebraist', p. 639 n. 44.

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Saleh, *In defense of the Bible*, pp. 61-191

Ed. Muḥammad Mursī al-Khūlī, *Majallat Ma'had al-Makhṭūṭāt al-'Arabiyya* 26 (1980) 37-96 (partial edition)

#### STUDIES

Saleh, *In defense of the Bible*, pp. 24-35

W.A. Saleh, 'A fifteenth-century Muslim Hebraist', pp. 638-54

M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache, zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden, nebst Anhängen verwandten Inhalts*, Leipzig, 1877, pp. 391-93

### *Nazm al-durar fī tanāsub al-āyāt wa-l-suwar*, 'The string of pearls, on the harmonious relationship of verses and chapters'

DATE 1456-77

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

#### DESCRIPTION

Al-Biqā'ī began *Nazm al-durar* in 1456. At the end of the last volume, he explains that he published it in serial form over 14 years and then took another ten years to polish it before its final publication (Saleh, *In defense of the Bible*, pp. 21-22). It marks a decisive shift in exegesis of the Qur'an, for not only does it seek to demonstrate that each *sūra* is a coherent literary unit that gives the verses within it their individual meaning, but it also makes copious use of the Bible, much more than any previous *tafsīr*. From the start, these innovations attracted criticisms, the former because it appeared to rely solely on al-Biqā'ī's own judgments rather than on earlier authorities, and the latter because it employed a scripture that was regarded as corrupt to explain and expand the meaning of

the sacred text. Since al-Biqā'ī responded to his critics as he went along, his completed *tafsīr* consists of both his original commentary and also justifications that he added at later stages. His justifications for using the Bible (which he amplifies much more fully in *Al-aqwāl al-qawīma*) amount to the fact that the Qur'an recommends its use in response to accusations from the People of the Book, though since by its nature the *tafsīr* was intended almost entirely for Muslims, this is hardly a convincing reason.

Al-Biqā'ī quotes from the Bible at points where it explains and amplifies the text of the Qur'an, seemingly indifferent to accusations against its integrity. He does not, in the first instance defend his method, and if any general attitude can be deduced it is that the Bible agrees with the Qur'an as long as the earlier text is read in the light of the later. He evidently regards the Bible as a great support to the Qur'an, and even appears to enjoy it, for he quotes passages at much greater length than is necessary for explanation, often giving whole sequences of chapters at once. But he is not uncritical, for, as Saleh points out, in his first quotation from the opening chapters of Genesis he omits 2:1-3 with its reference to God resting ('A fifteenth-century Muslim Hebraist', p. 637 and n. 38, but see 'Sublime in its style', p. 342).

The text of the Bible he used most often was an Arabic translation he had chanced upon, though he also used two others on occasion (see Saleh, 'Sublime in its style', pp. 333-34). He evidently knew the Bible extremely well, because he was frequently able to bring to bear on a particular point of exegesis parallel quotations from a number of different books. With regard to the Gospels, which are the only part of the New Testament he employed, he produced what is in effect a harmony of the life of Jesus, using Matthew as his base text and adducing passages from the other Gospels to amplify it (Saleh, *In defense of the Bible*, pp. 23-24; 'An Islamic Diatessaron'). The ease with which he was able to move around the Bible suggests that he read it as much for interest and even pleasure as for the immediate purpose of elucidation.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

This commentary is almost unique in the history of early and classical Islam in its extensive use of biblical quotations. The opposition it stirred up as soon as its first parts were published is evidence of this unexpected approach, since it appears to acknowledge the integrity of the Bible as support and explanation for the Qur'an.

As Walid Saleh points out, al-Biqā'ī was not sympathetic towards either Christians or Jews and should not be seen as 'a man of interreligious dialogue avant la lettre' ('A fifteenth-century Muslim Hebraist', pp. 636-37), so his reasons for making such extensive use of the Bible cannot be explained in straightforward terms. Saleh suggests that he was simply impressed by what he read when he came across a translation by chance: 'it is as if the Bible forced itself upon al-Biqā'ī despite himself'. It might indeed have been the case that he liked and admired the Bible, and thought it a suitable adornment to his work as well as an accessible explanation for points in the Qur'an that would otherwise remain obscure (see Saleh, 'Sublime in its style', p. 347).

#### MANUSCRIPTS

For the known MSS, see Brockelmann, *GAL* ii, p. 142, S ii, p. 178. The Hyderabad edition (see vol. 1, pp. 1-2, nn. 1-5) is based on four MSS in libraries in Rabat, Medina, Cairo and Damascus.

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

*Naẓm al-durar fī tanāsub al-āyāt wa-l-suwar*, 22 vols in 11, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1969-84 (reissued Cairo, 1992, and extensively reprinted elsewhere)

#### STUDIES

- W. Saleh and K. Casey, 'An Islamic Diatessaron. Al-Biqā'ī's harmony of the four Gospels', in S. Binay and S. Leder (eds), *Translating the Bible into Arabic. Historical, text-critical and literary aspects*, Beirut, 2012, 85-115
- W. Saleh, "Sublime in its style, exquisite in its tenderness". The Hebrew Bible quotations in al-Biqā'ī's Qur'an commentary', in *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*, ed. Y. Tzvi Langermann and J. Stern, Turnhout, 2007, 331-47
- Maḥmūd Sa'd, *Al-imām al-Biqā'ī. Jihāduhu wa-minhāj ta'wilihi balāghat al-Qur'an al-karīm*, Cairo, 2002
- Mashhūr Mushāhira, *Al-tanāsub al-qur'ānī 'inda l-imām al-Biqā'ī. Dirāsa balāghiyya*, Amman, 2001
- Necati Kara, *Bikâî ve tefsîrindeki metodu*, Van, Turkey, 1994
- H. Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined worlds. Medieval Islam and Bible criticism*, Princeton NJ, 1992, pp. 128-29

# The Battle of Szabács

## *Szabács Viadala*

DATE 1476-77

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Hungarian

### DESCRIPTION

This poem in rhymed couplets survives as a fragment on a single leaf of paper, 300 x 220 mm, located in Budapest (National Széchényi Library – Mny 2, Kat. sz. 57). It was discovered in 1871 in the archive of the Csicsery family (in Csicsér) by Deszö Véghely. The paper, probably made in Venice (see Imre, *A Szabács viadala*, p. 279), the gall ink and the handwriting correspond closely to the time of the events themselves and allow a dating of 1476 or very soon thereafter. The leaf had been folded in quarters, and preservation work was carried out in 1972. The text is written in two columns on both sides of the leaf, with approximately 40 lines per column. The fragment is 150 lines long and lacks the opening section. It is not possible to estimate how much is missing. There are interlinear corrections of words and insertions in the margins, all in the same hand. There is nothing to indicate the identity of the author.

The poem describes the siege in which Matthias I Hunyadi, King of Hungary, successfully recovered the important fortress of Szabács (Šabac, Serbia) from the Turks in January-February, 1476, during his campaign on the Sava River. The siege took place during the reign of Sultan Mehmed II (1451-81). The poem refers to at least three historical individuals by name: Paul Kinizsi, who served the king as captain general of the lower parts of the Kingdom of Hungary, Simon Várdai, who was killed during the battle, and the Turkish commander, Ali Beg, who appeared with reinforcements but withdrew.

At least ten but possibly many more lines are missing from the beginning of the poem. The narration picks up with Kinizsi, King Matthias's captain general, assessing the fortress of Szabács and the forces needed to lay a successful siege. After reporting to the king, who is encamped at Belgrade, Kinizsi collects his men and sends boats from the Danube up the Sava River and into the moat surrounding the fortress. The assault on the walls begins and both sides suffer losses. The Turks fire fast and relentlessly, inflicting losses on the Hungarians and Czechs.

These losses prompt the poet to launch into the topic of death. The king's soldiers who fall are in heaven or purgatory, for God loves them all. The poet asks his audience to pray for the fallen and to give thanks to God for help and success in this battle. He praises the valor of the men, who all carried out brave deeds in response to the king's exhortations. Their steadfastness under the heavy barrage will earn the Hungarians a fine reputation. The poet next describes the many deaths of the defenders, because the Turks put up a strong defense from inside the fortress, and then he falls into emotional invective against the Turkish soldiers: 'O those wretched, base, obstinate ones, of what use is their arrogance? They are dying of recklessness and not in warrior-like boldness.'

Next the narrator shifts to reporting Ali Beg's arrival with his elite cavalry. The bey stops at a mound outside Szabács to address the Turks inside, but Matthias has the drummers and trumpeters play loudly and the fighters shout so that Ali Beg cannot communicate with the troops inside. Ali Beg's troops are afraid to go into combat and withdraw. Thus, after the first assault, the battle goes badly for the defending Turks.

When the defenders realize that no aid is forthcoming, one young Turk escapes from Szabács. He hurries to the king and points out to him the most vulnerable point in the castle walls. The defenders are unable to inform the sultan of the gravity of their situation. The besiegers soon breach the walls and intense fighting breaks out. With rapid firing all around them, the Turks consult together and decide to negotiate a surrender by appealing for clemency and offering to leave all their military equipment inside the castle intact, while requesting to be allowed to choose to serve either the sultan or the Hungarian king. No other king can match worthy Matthias for his generosity and clemency towards the enemy. Thus the Turks surrender. This adds to Matthias's glory. He leaves many canons inside the fortification, strengthens the walls, and leaves troops to protect it.

Finally, the king returns happily to Buda with the Turks following him. In Buda, people see Turks in the streets wearing expensive clothing and standing respectfully at court and in the market. The sultan hears of this and falls into a rage.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The poem itself is important as the first extant example of secular Hungarian literature. That it was composed very soon after the battle is not in doubt. Although the author is unknown, the text reveals a poet well versed in military terminology and action; he uses terms that appear for



the first time in Hungarian in this text. Some scholars read the poem as such a vivid description of the siege that they think the poet may have actually taken part, and thus the poem is accepted by historians as an accurate account of the events. However, when compared with songs by later poets who did indeed participate in fighting, this account is less precise in its description of the action.

Placing the poem in a literary context is difficult because it is unique, having no parallels in Hungarian versification or genre. We know nothing of the context of composition or the intended audience. The language is typical of the period and datable to the battle. The poem is written in rhymed couplets using a regular decasyllabic meter that is rare in Hungarian poetry. Most couplets form a complete sentence. Questions of style, grammar and syntax have been raised because constructions are at times unidiomatic, hypergrammatical and verbose (See Bognár and Horváth, 'Szabács viadala', p. 152). The poet often fails to indicate shifts in perspective so that the reader at times does not know whether he is speaking of the defenders or the attackers (Nyiri, 'A "törlejt", a Szabács Viadal'; also Bognár and Horváth, 'Szabács viadala', p. 152). This is certainly a difficult text. Written Hungarian poetry is extant only from the 16<sup>th</sup> century (with one exception), yet this is very clearly a written, not an oral, composition. It is distinguishable from Hungarian oral songs because it lacks the thematic parallelism and formulaic, paratactic structure of oral poetry current at this time.

Referring to phonological and grammatical peculiarities that might be Germanisms, some scholars have suggested that the author could have been an educated German speaker who knew Hungarian well but imperfectly (Imre, *A Szabács viadala*, p. 26). Indeed, examples of Germans writing in Hungarian are extant from this period, and the thesis has merit because it would also help explain the use of a genre unfamiliar in Hungary at this time. The foremost characteristic of the poem is the description of a current event, but because it is a fragment, the genre is unclear; it may be simply a piece out of a much longer historical song or even a chronicle. This type of event song, albeit in stanzaic form, is known throughout Europe and was quite popular in German-speaking areas, as were vernacular chronicles in rhymed couplets.

The poet certainly takes the side of the Hungarians, and yet his account of the siege and defense of the fortress is relatively neutral and even-handed. Regarding the image of soldiers, we do not find the usual attempt to praise one side and vilify the other. Hungarian bravery is not demonstrated by claiming the enemy army has overwhelming

numbers or any other special advantage. Rather, when one party attacks, the other responds with equal ferocity. Both sides suffer casualties and the poet regrets them all, though not in equal measure. The heroism of the Hungarians wins them renown, but the deaths of the enemy are also seen as regrettable. The young Turkish defector is not criticized, possibly because the text has already stated that the Turks can no longer defend their position.

For a time when crusading arguments were part of the poet's toolkit, Christian-Muslim hostility is surprisingly lacking. In fact, the Turks are never designated as pagans or Muslims. To be sure, the Hungarians are praised for valor and for doing credit to their king, and we are assured, when they die, that they are in heaven or purgatory because God loves them. However, just a few lines later, when the poet inveighs against the Turks, who are dying in large numbers, a comparison with the Hungarians is implied: the Turkish deaths are not only sad but, since any mention of God or religion is absent, they also appear alone and forsaken (without divine aid). At the same time, the poet does not demonize them as is often the case in poetry from the 16<sup>th</sup> century and no attempt is made to claim that one group is intrinsically superior to the other in religion or culture. Implied criticism of Turkish soldiers obviously occurs in the scene where Ali Beg's cavalry does not come to the aid of the defenders in the fortress. However, this remains an undeveloped single incident revealing the cleverness of King Matthias' troops at intimidating the enemy.

Finally, the non-judgmental, matter-of-fact tone of the entire poem allows the reader to accept more easily the rather remarkable resolution. Matthias shows clemency, and some of the Turks actually merge with his army and appear in the streets of Buda and at Matthias's court. It is known that Matthias's army was multi-ethnic in composition. Nevertheless, the very idea that Turkish soldiers would voluntarily merge with the army and serve the Hungarian king openly and honorably in what is apparently the court guard is highly unusual in vernacular Hungarian poetry. Nothing like it exists in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Budapest National Széchényi Library – Mny 2, Kat. sz. 57 (1476 or soon after)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

<http://syrena.elte.hu/og/historia/szabacs.html>

[http://nyelvemlekek.oszk.hu/adatlap/szabacs\\_viadala](http://nyelvemlekek.oszk.hu/adatlap/szabacs_viadala)

- J. Molnár and G. Simon, 'Szabács viadala (1476)', *Magyar nyelvemlékek*, Budapest, 1975, pp. 95-101
- S. Imre, *A Szabács viadala*, Budapest, 1958, pp. 18-21
- L. Vargyas, *A magyar vers ritmusa*, Budapest, 1952, pp. 115-18
- K. Thaly, 'Szabács Viadalja', *Századok* 6 (1872) 8-22

## STUDIES

- P. Bognár and I. Horváth, 'Szabács viadala', in E. Madas (ed.), *Latiatuc feleym ...' Magyar nyelvemlékek a kezdetektől a 16. század elejéig. Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár kiállítása 2009. Október 29.-2010. Február 28.*, Budapest, 2009, pp. 151-55
- F. Sebők, 'A szabács viadala Egy XV századi verses kronika mint hadtörténeti forrás', *Hadtörténelmi közlemények* 122 (2009) 203-7
- L. Veszprémy, 'Szabács ostroma (1475-1476)', *Hadtörténelmi közlemények* 122 (2009) 39-61
- L. Hadrovics, 'Magyar-délszláv szellemi kapcsolatok a középkorban', *Magyar Nyelvőr* 123 (1999) 46-58
- I. Bitskey, *Eszmék, Művek, Hagyományok. Tanulmányok a magyar reneszansz es barokk irodalomról*, Debrecen, 1996
- A. Nyiri, 'A "törlejt", a Szabács Viadal, a módszer es egy stiláris kérdés', *Magyar Nyelv* 59 (1963) 162-71
- S. Imre, *A Szabács viadala*, Budapest, 1958
- L. Vargyas, 'A középkori magyar vers. Szabács viadala (szabad ütem, kötött szótagszám)', in Vargyas, *A magyar vers ritmusa*, 92-135

Maria Dobozy

# Martyrology of the Confessor Step'annos

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH Mid-15<sup>th</sup> century  
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 origin and background. On the basis of the norms of this type of narrative, one might plausibly argue that the martyrology was composed by a monk or vardapet (doctor of theology) at the monastery of Tat'ew or another in the neighborhood 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'iwn Step'annosi xostovanoti  
ark'episkoposi Tat'ewu, k'erordwoy iwroy ew  
mōrelbōrordwoy norin, 'Martyrology of the  
Confessor Step'annos, Archbishop of Tat'ew,  
his nephew, and his cousin'*

DATE About 1483  
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

## DESCRIPTION

The work raises the issue of the limits of Christian hierarchical jurisdiction under Muslim rule, presenting the case of the confessor Step'annos,

archbishop of Tat'ew, of noble family, who intervened in the case of a monk from his monastery who had fallen in love with a girl in a local village and had approached the qadi in a nearby Muslim village to accept Islam. However, the archbishop rode to the village with a large number of Muslim servants and forcibly returned the monk to the monastery, placing the girl in a nunnery. This had occurred during the rule of Uzun Hasan, Aq Qyunlu ruler of Tabriz (r. 1453-78). Some years later, in the reign of his younger son Y'aqub (1479/80-90/91), some Muslims sought reprisals for the archbishop's high-handed interference and brought charges against him before Y'aqub's elder brother Xalil/Khalil, who, having lost power to his brother at the Battle of Khoy, now served as the atabek of his children.

Khalil summoned the archbishop to Tabriz as if to honor him, and so the archbishop set off in the company of his nephew, who was a bishop, and a cousin, who was a monk. At first Khalil begged him to sit on his throne as a sign of honor, and he offered to give him his daughter in marriage if he converted to Islam. He then actually commanded the archbishop to do this, taking an oath to confirm the order. The archbishop refused, and the three Christians were then imprisoned for three days, followed by a further twelve, after which they boiled the bishop in a tub of water on one side of the hall and burned the monk to death in a large fire on the other side. The archbishop was returned to prison for two or three days, while the Christian community paid for the bodies of the martyrs and buried them in Tat'ew. They also attempted to ransom the archbishop, but Khalil refused to accept the money because of his oath.

A year later, the archbishop was again interrogated, after which his teeth were pulled out, he was beaten on the head, and returned to prison. Later, he had his flesh removed in 60 places and was sent back to his cell until his wounds healed. On another occasion, he was tied up and burned on different parts of his body. All in all, he spent five years in prison enduring various types of torture. Finally, Khalil consulted a mullah on the sort of treatments employed by earlier kings. The mullah ordered the archbishop's head to be shaved, his skull perforated in several places and honey applied to the wounds, causing him to lose consciousness.

Ultimately, the archbishop's sister asked the Bakum/Begum, the ruler's mother, to intercede for him to be granted a swift death. The Bakum sent the overseer of her household to Khalil, instructing him to release the archbishop. Despite Khalil's protests about his oath, she had the archbishop removed from his authority and sent him back to the monastery.

Significantly, the archbishop was annoyed at his sister's intervention, which had prevented his martyrdom. The following year he went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and he continued to live at the monastery for several more years.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The narrative highlights the fact that many of the Armenian sees in the medieval period were occupied by scions of the local aristocratic houses. The metropolitan see of Siwnik', with its center at the Monastery of Tat'ew, had long been the prerogative of the Orbēlean family, to which Step'annos may have belonged. Their personal domain had gradually been eroded by the 15<sup>th</sup> century, though under Islamic rule the lands they had bequeathed to the church were generally preserved as a religious trust (*waqf*). This explains the large retinue of servants the archbishop could call on to execute his plan to return the errant monk to his monastic calling and the respect in which he was held in the region. Similarly, as the senior representative of the Armenian community in the south of Armenia and the north of Iran, he enjoyed high status at the court in Tabriz. However, while he would have possessed broad jurisdiction over his people's internal affairs, he was clearly regarded as overstepping the bounds of his office in employing force against one of his monks who had converted to Islam.

The work also sheds interesting light on the demography of the region of Siwnik'. Unlike parts of Anatolia, where Christian and Muslim communities would inhabit the same village, in this region it appears that the incoming Turkmen settlers kept to themselves. (This situation largely continued until the late Soviet period, when the upsurge of nationalist ideologies led to their migration to Azerbaijan.)

The third striking phenomenon underscored by the piece is the effectiveness of informal women's networks across the religious divide. Khalil yielded to his mother's representative despite his scruples over the sanctity of the oath he had sworn, which had earlier prevented him from accepting the large sum the Armenian magnates were offering to secure their archbishop's release. Significantly, the archbishop did not appreciate his sister's efforts on his behalf, which had deprived him of the martyrdom that his theological formation and social awareness motivated him to pursue.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M3786,  
pp. 750-53 (1713)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

- K. Ter-Davtyan, *Novie armyanskie mucheniki (1155-1843), perevod, pre-dislovié i primechaniya*, Yerevan: Nairi Publications, 1998, pp. 123-26, 280 (Russian trans.)
- K. Ter-Davtyan, *Armyanskie zhitiya i muchenichestva V-XVII vv.*, 1994, pp. 394-98 (Russian trans.)
- K. Ter-Davtyan, *Armyanskie zhitiya i muchenichestva V-XVII vv.*, 1973, pp. 282-87 (Russian trans.)
- Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, Vałaršapat, 1903, pp. 313-19 (critical edition)
- Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (žotovrdakan hratarakut'awn)*, vol. 1, Vałaršapat, 1902, pp. 202-7 (edition lacks critical apparatus)
- L. Ališan, *Sisikan*, Venice: St Lazar's Press, 1893, pp. 526-28 (edition)

## STUDIES

- K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkayabanut'yunner (V-XVIII dd.)*, Yerevan: Nayri, 2011, pp. 352-54
- H. Ačaiyan, *Hayoc' anjanunneri bařaran*, vol. 4, Yerevan: State University Publication, 1948, p. 669
- M. Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, Constantinople: V. & H. Tēr-Nersesean Press, 1927, col. 2198

S. Peter Cowe

# Martyrology of Mirak' Tawrizec'i

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH Mid-15<sup>th</sup> century  
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 origin and background. On the basis of the norms of 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 Tabriz 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 Mirak'ay Tawrizec'woy,*  
'Martyrology of Mirak' Tawrizec'i'

DATE About 1486  
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

## DESCRIPTION

The text presents the figure of Mirak' T'awrižec'i, an upstanding Christian Armenian magnate of Tabriz and generous benefactor, who frequently functioned as an intercessor for his co-religionists, first at the Qara Quyunlu and then Aq Quyunlu court, of which various examples are given.



During the reign of the Aq Qyunlu ruler Y'aqub (1479/80-90/91), one of his courtiers, Mēhti, grew increasingly influential and felt empowered to act when he was pressed by various Persians/Turkmens to remove the Armenian as an affront to Islam because he had managed to secure the protection of a church in the city that Muslim officials had attempted to have demolished. Mirak' received news of the plan on Wednesday of Holy Week. The following day he received holy communion, and on the Friday Mēhti approached him armed and on horseback at the door of his store, demanding that he convert to Islam. When Mirak' refused, a crowd that had gathered began striking his head, shoulders, and arms. Then Mēhti dismounted, decapitated him, lifted his head with the tip of his sword, carried it through the bazaar, and cast it down at the door of his mother's house.

At that point, a mob took matters into their own hands and fell upon the Armenian church to demolish it. Meanwhile, the Christians appealed to the Bakum/Begum to intervene. When she informed her son, he sent his doorkeeper, Vēli beg, with an armed force to fire arrows into the crowd to disperse them. They then conveyed Mirak' 's body to the church. A large contingent of clergy had gathered there for the Easter celebrations, including Yakob vardapet from the Armenian monastery of St Thaddeus. They held a vigil before performing the burial rites.

The troops also arrested Mēhti and brought him before Y'aqub, where Mēhti argued that Mirak' had opposed him and had not glorified the Prophet's name. The ruler argued that the power conferred upon Mēhti had emboldened him to perpetrate the act and responded by throwing a brick at his face. Thereupon, the royal troops belabored Mēhti with sticks and stones, finally decapitating him and taking his head to Mirak' 's son as a token of Y'aqub's justice, and then displaying it in the market, while his body was cast outside the city wall to be eaten by wild beasts.

The next episode involves an eminent courtier, Ghasum/Qāsim, who had held the position of vizier under Y'aqub's father Uzun Hasan, and was always present at the deliberations of the *divan*. Perturbed at the pomp with which the Armenians buried Mirak' and concerned at the treatment of Mēhti, he gathered a force of 20,000 men, who raised Mēhti's body above their heads and went in procession to bury him, proclaiming him a martyr (*shehīd*). On being apprised of this development, Y'aqub dispatched Vēli beg with a force to remove the mourners' blue turbans and interrupt the procession. Qāsim was arrested together with five high officials who had joined him, and was executed by his master, while the others had their faces disfigured, were set on pack animals and

paraded round the city before meeting a similar fate. The author ascribes the turn of events to divine providence. The martyrdom took place on Good Friday, 24 March 1486.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

In setting the scene for the protagonist's benefactions, the author broaches some important contemporary issues involving Christian-Muslim relations in the region. One of these relates to two campaigns the Qara Quyunlu ruler Muzzafar al-Din Jahan Shah ibn Yusuf (d. 1467) launched against the Georgians in the 1440s in retaliation for the latter's refusal to pay their tribute obligation. In the first of these (1440), Jahan Shah destroyed the city of Samshvilde and attacked the capital Tbilisi, bringing back many captives. This seems to be the background to the reference that Mirak' ransomed many Georgian men and women with silver and gold and allowed them to return home. The other is associated with an Armenian church (three of which were destroyed by Muslims under Jahan Shah by the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century) that Mirak' had rebuilt at the cost of several bribes to officials. The author notes that on various occasions mullahs had attempted to have this church demolished again, but they encountered official opposition procured by even more lavish gifts from the Armenian magnate. It seems clear that Mirak's largesse and economic impact were responsible for securing his status with the ruler Y'aqub, which was typical of Aq Quyunlu policy toward the merchant class.

Aq Quyunlu leaders frequently entered into relations with Christian states, the most famous being Uzun Hasan's appeal for Venetian aid against Ottoman encroachment. In addition, several of the leaders' wives were Greek princesses. One of these was Uzun Hasan's spouse, Theodora Megale Comnena, often referred to as Despina Hatun, the daughter of the Emperor John IV of Trebizond. She is the Bekam/Begum alluded to in the text, who acted as mediator between the Armenian community and her son Y'aqub. Her informal assistance is noted in other Armenian martyrologies of the period.

The timing of Mēhti's retaliation against the Armenian magnate may have been prompted by the forthcoming celebration of Easter, the highpoint of the Christian liturgical year, perhaps with the intention of overshadowing the elaborate rites and spiritual fervor with the presumed conversion or death of one of the community's most influential representatives. The author certainly elaborates on the parallels between the circumstances of Mirak's death and Jesus' passion. Thus the Muslim

decision on Wednesday to pursue Mirak' is likened to the Jewish religious leaders plotting against Jesus, his receiving communion on Thursday is viewed as in continuity with the Last Supper and his slaying on Friday with the crucifixion, and the hymns of the vigil commemorating Jesus' burial are seen as preparation for Mirak' 's laying to rest next day. The author also develops his protagonist's sainthood as a prefiguration of the resurrection, the main theme of Easter.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M1516,  
fols 498v-499r (pre-1681)
- MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M3786,  
fols 843-847 (1713)
- MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M3783,  
fols. 334r-335r (1794)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- K. Ter-Davtyan, *Novie armyanskie mucheniki (1155-1843), perevod, pre-dislovie i primechaniya*, Yerevan: Nairi Publications, 1998, pp. 128-31, 280-81 (Russian trans.)
- K. Ter-Davtyan, *Armyanskie zhitiya i muchenichestva V-XVII vv.*, Yerevan, 1994, pp. 399-405 (Russian trans.)
- K. Ter-Davtyan, *Armyanskie zhitiya i muchenichestva V-XVII vv.*, 1973, pp. 288-95 (Russian trans.)
- Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, Vałaršapat, 1903, pp. 322-28 (critical edition)
- Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (žotovrdakan hratarakut'awn)*, vol. 2, Vałaršapat, 1902, pp. 3-8 (edition lacks critical apparatus)

#### STUDIES

- K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkayabanut-šunner (V-XVIII dd.)*, Yerevan: Nayri, 2011, pp. 355-59
- K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *XI-XV Dareri Hay vark'agrut'yunə* [Armenian hagiography of the 11<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries], Yerevan, 1980, pp. 13, 103
- H. Ač'arian, *Hayoc' anjanunneri bařaran*, vol. 3, Yerevan: State University Publication, 1946, p. 351
- L. Ališan, *Ayrarat*, Venice: St Lazar's Press, 1890, p. 329
- M. Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, Constantinople: V. & H. Tēr-Nersesean Press, 1927, col. 2215

# János Thuróczy

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1435
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; probably Turóc county, Hungary
DATE OF DEATH	1488 or 1489
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

## BIOGRAPHY

János Thuróczy was born into a modestly-endowed lesser noble family whose land lay predominantly in the county of Turóc in northern Hungary. The date of his birth is unknown, but from what is recorded of his life (he appears for the first time in the sources in 1459) it was probably around 1435. Nothing is known of his youth or education, though we may suggest that he learned Latin at a church school, that he had no Greek and that he did not attend a university. That he should embark upon a career as a notary was not unusual for men of his social background. By 1467 he had been appointed clerk at the court of the judge royal in Buda, in which capacity he was employed for much of his career, with the exception of a spell (from 1470 to 1475) as notary at the Premonstratensian convent of Ipolyság. In 1486, at about the age of 50, he was appointed protonotary (deputy judge). This was a clear indication of the esteem in which he was held and, for a man of his social rank, it was probably as high as he could rise.

Thuróczy the chronicler emerged from the intellectual world of Buda's central law courts and chancelleries, his historical interests and literary ambitions stimulated and sustained by his professional duties, by the accessibility of official records and, as he tells us, by lively discussion with colleagues. There was at this time a real need for a history of the Hungarians that offered a continuous narrative from the distant past, which was comprehensive in coverage and, above all, up-to-date. No contemporary historians had been at work in Hungary since János Küküllei completed his *Gesta* of Louis the Great (d. 1382) in the 1390s. The paucity of recorded knowledge on the more recent past had been highlighted by the publication in 1473 of András Hess's *Chronica Hungarorum* (otherwise known as the *Buda chronicle* after the place of publication), a work that had very little to say about the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Encouraged by his senior colleagues, initially István Hásságyi the protonotary, and later

Tamás Drági the 'Personal' (supreme judge), Thuróczy began work on a history of the Hungarian people up to the reign of Matthias Corvinus (1457-90) in about 1480 and had brought it to completion by 1488, when it was published in printed editions in Brno and Augsburg. (There are two versions of the text: the complete chronicle, published by both presses, and a modified version, printed only in Augsburg, which omitted Austria from Matthias Corvinus's titles and heraldic arms and, towards the end, cut the account of the occupation of Vienna and Wiener Neustadt in 1487.) The drying up of documentary references to Thuróczy in 1488 and mention of a new protonotary in the sources during the summer of 1489 suggest that the chronicler died during one or other of these years.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

András Hess, *Chronica Hungarorum*, ed. J. Horvath, Budapest, 1973 (facsimile with Hungarian trans.)

Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, vol. 1, textus, ed. E. Galántai and G. Kristó, Budapest, 1985 (*Bibliotheca scriptorum medii recentisque aevorum*, Series nova 7)

#### *Secondary*

János Thuróczy, *Chronicle of the Hungarians*, trans. F. Mantello, ed. P. Engel, Bloomington IN, 1991, pp. 1-20 (foreword)

P. Engel, 'Thuróczy János és krónikája', in János Thuróczy, *A magyarok knónikája*, ed. János Horváth, Budapest, 1986, pp. 407-20

Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, vol. 1, ed. Galántai and Kristó, pp. 9-11 (preface)

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

#### *Chronica Hungarorum*, 'Chronicle of the Hungarians'

DATE 1488

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE LATIN

#### DESCRIPTION

Thuróczy's *Chronica Hungarorum*, as printed, is composed of four separate works (each with its own preface) that have been stitched together end to end, thereby covering the history of the Hungarians in four parts of unequal length: from the earliest times to 1342 (129 chapters of the 1985

edition), 1342 to 1382 (55 chapters), 1382 to 1386 (9 chapters), and 1387 to 1487 (68 chapters). The first three parts are heavily dependent on existing texts, the second being a straight copy of Küküllei's *Gesta*, the third a prose reworking of a verse history by the Venetian, Lorenzo Monaci. But from the accession of Sigismund (1387-1437), Thuróczy's chronicle becomes an independently written work. It is in this, the fourth, section of the chronicle that the Ottoman Turks appear for the first time in Thuróczy's narrative. Küküllei had not mentioned them explicitly in his account of Louis the Great's reign, and so at the start of the chapter (203) that reaches a sanguinary climax on the field of Nicopolis in 1396, Thuróczy had to explain how it was that the Turks had established themselves in the Balkans in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century.

For Thuróczy, reconstructing the period 1387-1487, including its important though fluctuating, Ottoman component, represented a considerable challenge. In the absence of existing historical narratives, he had to rely upon other, more fragmentary and disparate sources of information. Of particular importance to him was the oral testimony of contemporaries who were able to draw upon memories of past events. In his preface, Thuróczy mentions the recollections of Mihály Ország (d. 1484), whose career at the royal court began in the 1420s, culminating in his long tenure of the office of palatine (1458-84) under Matthias Corvinus. We also know that Thuróczy consulted, if selectively, the copies of royal charters that had been preserved in the royal chancellery. From a chronicler's point of view, the value of these documents lay in the fact that they included narratives, sometimes lengthy and detailed (though chronologically imprecise), in which the meritorious deeds of the grantees were recorded. The purpose of such *narrationes* was to legitimize royal donations for posterity, but their regular appearance in charters meant that, from the early 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards, they became an important repository of historical memory, existing alongside chronicles but different in focus, and continuing to be drawn up during 'the century without historiography'. Additionally, Thuróczy made use of popular oral tradition and (presumably dipping into the riches of the Corvinian Library) quoted a selection of classical authors and contemporary humanists, including Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II; q.v.).

The distinctive qualities of Thuróczy's sources and the overall unevenness of them, combined with the preoccupations that, as a loyal servant of King Matthias Corvinus and a historian whose sensibilities were more 'medieval' than humanist, he shared with his intellectual circle, affected the character of his chronicle in fundamental ways, both in general and

in what it has to say about the Turks and the Ottoman-Hungarian wars in particular. On the one hand, sources and mindset have resulted in a narrative that is dramatic and, on occasion, detailed (concerning the names of people and places, for example), but also often imprecise or unreliable in dating and chronology, and sometimes (at least to the modern eye) indiscriminating or naïve in its emphases and judgements. These characteristics, together with invented scenes and speeches, are particularly evident in Thuróczy's coverage of Sigismund's 50-year reign, which for a chronicler working in the 1480s was largely beyond living memory. On the other hand, there is an unmistakable political agenda underpinning the whole of the fourth section of Thuróczy's chronicle, namely the vindication of King Matthias Corvinus's rise to power and the celebration of his rule. Written from the governmental and judicial heart of the kingdom, this is Hungarian history viewed as political process and, shot through with intrigue, betrayal and revenge as it was, that process could be turbulent. In the hands of weak or self-serving rulers and magnates, it had all too often disintegrated into civil war, with consequences that had been quite as grave for the Hungarian people as the damage wrought by marauding foreign armies (chs 229, 243-44). Indeed, one of Thuróczy's recurrent themes is how political rivalries and civil war created conditions that could be exploited by hostile neighbors and parasitic foreign mercenaries (chs 203, 207, 226, 229-30, 241, 243-44). It is, moreover, the convergence of internal and external threats in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, and the decisive defeat of both, that form the climax of Thuróczy's narrative. From János Hunyadi's triumph over the Turks at Belgrade in 1456 and the political drama that followed emerged a young king, János's second son, Matthias, who, being at the peak of his power when Thuróczy's chronicle went to press, is portrayed as an ideal ruler, a commanding figure who was as astute a politician as he was brilliant a soldier (chs 260-62).

Such was the significance of the Ottomans' expanding territorial and cultural presence in south-eastern Europe during the late medieval period that we would expect the Turks to play a center-stage role in Thuróczy's narrative. At times, the Turks are indeed presented as a formidable, menacing enemy, a threat not only to the Hungarian people but to Christendom at large. But, overall, this is an intermittent threat, which figures in fewer than 30 of the 68 chapters in this section of the chronicle. Moreover, it is a threat that Thuróczy brings to the forefront of his story when it is needed to drive forward his central theme: the rise and triumph of the Hunyadi dynasty, the father successfully resisting the Turkish advance, the son ultimately containing it. Earlier, in stark



contrast with that achievement, it is the failings of Matthias's predecessors that are emphasized. Sigismund was roundly defeated by the Turks at Nicopolis (ch. 203) and Golubac (ch. 208), Albert (1437-39) could not prevent the demobilization of his army (ch. 222), Wladislas III (1440-44) lost the battle of Varna – and his life – through impetuosity (ch. 237), and Ladislas V (1440-57) fled Hungary at the news of Mehmed II's offensive in 1456 (ch. 250).

Given Thuróczy's purpose and the patchiness of his sources, it is not surprising that there is much error, imprecision and omission in his treatment of the Ottoman-Hungarian wars. Chronological slips are numerous. Sultans are misidentified. Even the most momentous of developments, Sultan Bayazid I's defeat by Tamerlane in 1402 and the consequent temporary halt to Ottoman expansion, passes without comment. But a pattern does emerge in Thuróczy's narrative. Initially, the Turks are presented as one among several of Hungary's troublesome and opportunistic neighbors, content to become the hired allies of the Wallachians (ch. 201) or Bosnians (ch. 211), or of a rival faction (chs 207, 212), or to operate through a puppet ruler (ch. 213). At this time, the threat that they posed to Hungary was principally that of the marauder (chs 207, 213, 231-33), some of whose plundering raids left long-enduring scars on the landscape (as in Szerém county: ch. 207). The raiding was to continue, but in 1439-40 Sultan Murad II set his sights on invasion and conquest, via the key to Hungary's southern frontier defenses, Belgrade (chs 215, 222, 230), an ambition that was revived in 1456 by his son Mehmed II (ch. 250).

Judging by his narrative, Thuróczy's knowledge of the Ottoman Turks' institutions, culture and religion was limited. A modern historian will find little awareness of the distinctiveness of the Ottoman military machine, apart from its size. There is no explicit comment on the types of Turkish troops deployed by the sultan or the tactics they employed, and so these issues play no part in the explanation of military outcomes. For the most part, Thuróczy's descriptions of battle are conventional, formulaic and repetitive, qualities that are reflected in the correspondingly interchangeable combat-scene woodcuts that illustrate the printed editions of 1488. If the Hungarians lost a battle, it was the consequence of rashness or confusion in their own ranks (chs 203, 211, 237). If they won, it was through surprise (chs 213, 245) or the brute force of a well-timed frontal assault (chs 227, 232, 235). Ingenuity might be appropriate for siege operations (chs 230, 243), but on the battlefield it was physical strength and courage that counted. This was the key to Hunyadi's success; indeed, we are told that he was not blamed for the defeat at Kosovo



Polje in 1448 because it had not been the consequence of a failure of courage (ch. 242). If such ideas are wholly typical of a medieval chronicler, so too are Thuróczy's references to portents (chs 237, 251) and miracles (chs 212, 255), his delight in recording how those 'puffed with pride' met with disaster (chs 203, 232, 250), and above all his insistence that, ultimately, victory in battle was 'divinely granted'. Reduced to its essentials, causation for Thuróczy was a matter of God's will and purpose. This was shown at Belgrade in 1456, when Mehmed II, who arrogantly aspired to rule the world, 'was decisively defeated by divine judgement at the hands of a rustic band that were better with hoes than weapons' (ch. 250). On occasion, divine judgement found against the Christians, the most notable instance being the defeat at Varna in 1444, which occurred after the Hungarians had launched a new offensive in breach of a ten-year truce that had been confirmed by oath. Cardinal Cesarini had argued that a promise made to infidels was not binding and, indeed, that to uphold the oath in these circumstances would be an insult to God, who had already granted victories over 'the enemies of the Church's religion'. But, for Thuróczy, oath breaking, a 'forbidden deed', could only lead to 'divine retribution'. 'Would that these oaths had never been sworn!' (chs 236-37, cf. chs 249, 254)

Thuróczy has nothing to say about the doctrines or religious practices of Islam. Indeed, throughout his account of Sigismund's reign, there is little explicit differentiation of the Turks on religious grounds. At this time, the Hussites of Bohemia and their 'noxious corruption of heretical wickedness' posed a more immediate threat at the heart of Christendom (chs 209-10). It is only from the 1440s that the Turkish raids and conquests are characterized as a 'great persecution of the Christian religion' (chs 231, 247, 249); and it is at this point too, which coincides with Hunyadi's rise to prominence, that the Turks become a battlefield opponent whose religious difference matters. As pagans, they were put to the sword rather than taken prisoner by the Hungarians, who themselves preferred 'to die rather than suffer the torments of captivity' (chs 232, 235). But it is notable that, from the perspective of the 1480s, the religious threat posed by the Turks is perceived primarily in terms of the damage that could be inflicted on Hungarians by plundering raids: the killing or enslavement of Christians and the destruction of their property (chs 231, 247). The threat that apostasy and conversion to Islam would pose to the religious identity of Hungary is not explicitly considered, presumably because, at the height of Matthias Corvinus's power, the possible consequences of Turkish conquest were not openly discussed within Thuróczy's circle.

Nor is this issue broached in connection with the Ottomans' territorial conquests in the Balkans (chs 203, 222). The tone of Thuróczy's narrative admittedly darkens when he reaches the mid 1450s, but the crisis proves to be short-lived. Thus, in his description of the fall of Constantinople in 1453, a 'disaster' for Christianity in which the tombs of saints were desecrated and the civilian population subjected to the 'brutality and wickedness [of] a rabid enemy', it is possible to detect a very real unease (ch. 249). Such was the perceived threat to Christian Europe at that time that Pope Nicholas V (1447-55) proclaimed a crusade (ch. 247), while news of Mehmed II's intention to storm Belgrade and invade Hungary caused 'practically the whole of Christendom to become very anxious and apprehensive' (ch. 250). But following the defeat of the Turks at Belgrade, which is said to have brought 'joy to all adherents of the Christian religion' (ch. 253), Thuróczy documents no further threats of comparable magnitude.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The part of his chronicle that Thuróczy compiled and wrote himself, which spans the century from 1387 to 1487, was the first historical work of Hungarian provenance to cover that period and the Hungarian-Ottoman wars that were one of its central features, and the only one to do so independently. We should not be surprised to find that Thuróczy displays no understanding of Sigismund's strategy for resisting the Turks before or after Nicopolis, nor that, for the course of individual campaigns, such as those culminating in the disastrous defeats at Nicopolis and Varna, more revealing accounts were penned by non-Hungarian contemporaries. But although in some ways disappointing as a source of information on Christian-Muslim relations in a region that was, at that time, the most belligerent interface between Christendom and Islam, Thuróczy's narrative is nevertheless invaluable. For what he offers is a view of the Ottoman threat written from the self-confident governmental centre of Matthias Corvinus's empire when that king was at the height of his power in the 1480s: a view that, because it was published 1488, is wholly unaffected by what happened after the king's sudden death in 1490. The Ottoman advance had been contained. There is nothing to suggest anxiety that Hungary might face destruction at the hands of the Turks at some time in the future, still less that it was somehow inevitable, a view that tends to color modern historiography. Indeed, in Thuróczy's narrative, the Ottoman presence in the Balkans is seen as neither the most pressing nor the most time-consuming of Matthias's military commitments

(chs 260-62). Having, at the start of his reign, 'routed a large army of Turks' that had been ravaging Szerém county, the king's later campaigns against the Turks were fought in the neighboring territories of Bosnia and Serbia to the south of Hungary. Mehmed II had never dared 'to try this king's power in a pitched battle' (ch. 262).

#### MANUSCRIPTS

None. The MS used for the preparation of the printed editions has not survived.

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

János Thuróczy, *Chronicle of the Hungarians*, trans. Mantello, ed. Engel (trans. of the fourth part of the chronicle, 1387-1487)

Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, vol. 1, textus, ed. Galántai and Kristó (chapter references, above, relate to this edition)

Ioannes Georgius Schwandtnerus (ed.), *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres ac genuini*, vol. 1, Vienna, 1766, pp. 47-366

Ioannes Georgius Schwandtnerus (ed.), *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres, ac genuini*, vol. 1, Trnava, 1765, pp. 61-481

Ioannes Georgius Schwandtnerus (ed.), *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres, ac genuini*, vol. 1, Vienna, 1746, pp. 39-291

Jacobus Bongarsius (ed.), *Rerum Hungaricarum scriptores varii historici et geographici*, Frankfurt, 1600, pp. 1-177

Johannes de Thwroc, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Brno, 1488

Johannes de Thwroc, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Augsburg, 1488

János Thuróczy, *A magyarok krónikája*, ed. Horváth (Hungarian trans. accompanied by a facsimile of 1488 Augsburg edition)

#### STUDIES

C. Imber (ed.), *The crusade of Varna, 1443-45*, Aldershot, 2006, pp. 36-39

L. Veszprémy, 'Chronicles in charters. Historical narratives (*narrationes*) in charters as substitutes for chronicles in Hungary', in E. Kooper (ed.), *The medieval chronicle III*, Amsterdam, 2004, pp. 184-99

G. Kristó, *Magyar historiográfia I. Történetírás a középkori Magyarországon*, Budapest, 2002, pp. 109-14

L. Veszprémy, 'Some remarks on recent Hungarian historiography of the crusade of Nicopolis (1396)', in Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky (eds), *The crusades and the military orders. Expanding the frontiers of medieval Latin Christianity*, Budapest, 2001, 223-30

Engel, 'Foreword', in János Thuróczy, *Chronicle of the Hungarians*, trans. Mantello, ed. Engel, pp. 1-20

- Engel, 'Thuróczy János és krónikája'
- Z. Soltész, 'A Thuróczy-krónika és kiadásai', in János Thuróczy, *A magyarok krónikája*, ed. J. Horváth, Budapest, 1986, 421-39
- Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, vol. 1, textus, ed. Galántai and Kristó, pp. 9-11 ('Praefatio')
- Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, vol. 2, commentarii.  
1. Ab initiis usque ad annum 1301; 2. Ab anno 1301 usque ad annum 1487, ed. E. Mályusz with G. Kristó (*Bibliotheca scriptorum medii recentisque aevorum, Series nova* 8-9), Budapest, 1988
- R.C. Hoffman, 'Outsiders by birth and blood. Racist ideologies and realities around the periphery of medieval European culture', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 6 (1983) 3-34 (repr. in J. Muldoon and F. Fernandez-Armesto (eds), *The medieval frontiers of Latin Christendom*, Aldershot, 2008)
- E. Mályusz, 'La chancellerie royale et la rédaction des chroniques dans la Hongrie médiévale', *Le Moyen Age* 75 (1969) 51-86, 219-54
- E. Mályusz, *A Thuróczy-krónika és forrásai*, Budapest, 1967
- T. Kardos, 'Thuróczi János Magyar Krónikája', in J. Thuróczi, *Magyar Krónika (Monumenta Hungarica I)*, Budapest, 1957, pp. 7-37
- C.A. Macartney, *The medieval Hungarian historians. A critical and analytical guide*, Cambridge, 1953
- E. Mályusz, *Thuróczy János krónikája*, Budapest, 1944 (Diss., Budapest)
- J. Kaszák, *Thuróczy János élete és krónikája*, Budapest, 1906 (Diss., Budapest)
- E. Varjú, 'A Turóczi-krónika kiadásai és a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum könyvtárában őrzött példányai', *Magyar Könyvszemle*, new series 10 (1902) 362-402
- F. Toldy, 'Turóczi krónikája különféle kiadásai', *Új Magyar Múzeum* 1-2 (1850-51) 386-93

Andrew Ayton

# Roberto da Lecce

Roberto Caracciolo de Lecce

DATE OF BIRTH 1425  
PLACE OF BIRTH Lecce, Italy  
DATE OF DEATH 6 May, 1495  
PLACE OF DEATH Lecce, Italy

## BIOGRAPHY

Roberto da Lecce is considered, along with Giovanni da Capistrano (1386-1456) and Giacomo dalla Marca (1393-1476), one of the most popular preachers of the so-called 'second wave' of 15<sup>th</sup>-century Franciscan preachers, who followed in the wake of the much admired Bernardino da Siena (1380-1444). Roberto was educated by the Conventual Franciscans, professed vows with the early Observants (a reform movement), and returned to the Conventuals in 1452, staying with them until his death in 1495. He was known for preaching in the style of Bernardino and in fact borrowed from Bernardino in his earlier sermons. He was called a 'second Apostle Paul' because of his highly successful preaching tours throughout Italy.

On 29 May 1453, the Turkish forces under Mehmed II ('Maometto II' in Roberto's sermons) conquered Constantinople. Less than two months later, on 8 July, this news was announced to the Roman population by Roberto da Lecce in a sermon. On 30 September of the same year, Pope Nicholas V (1447-55) called for a crusade against the Turkish aggressors. In 1457, two years after Giovanni da Capistrano and certain other friars were chosen to be crusade preachers, Roberto was appointed a preacher of the crusades against the Turks and a collector of funds for the crusades (*collettore apostolico*). In addition, Roberto was sent by Pope Callixtus III (1455-58) as apostolic delegate (*Nunzio pontificio*) to the State of Milan and Monferrato. As a preacher, Roberto was known to be quite dramatic in his presentation, as were Bernardino da Siena and other Franciscan preachers of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. On one occasion when preaching a crusade sermon, Roberto took off his habit and revealed a coat of arms beneath it. Although he was known more for general penitential sermons, he spent various times in his preaching career as a crusade preacher. For

example, in 1463-64 he preached the crusades in such cities as Treviso, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, and Crema.

Several collections of Roberto da Lecce's sermons have been edited and published, including the Latin series he preached in Lent 1455 in Padua (*Quaresimale Padovano*), the vernacular sermons he preached in Venice in 1474 (*Quaresimale in volgare*), and his collection of sermons entitled *Specchio della fede*. Roberto treated many subjects related to Christian life (e.g., sin, vices and virtues, conversion, the grace of God, the sacraments, and the last judgment), though the majority of the sermons are devoted to penitential themes that were intended to move his Christian audience to an ongoing conversion from worldly pride and corruption to a humble and obedient submission to God and service to neighbor.

Roberto did not address his Christian audience on Christian themes alone, but also preached against Jews and other unbelievers, as well as against corrupt and worldly Christians, who were perceived to be threatening not only Italy but all of Christendom. Since the major external threat to Christendom was the Ottoman Empire, Roberto dedicated at least two sermons to Muḥammad and Islam, one in Italian in the 'primo mistero' section of the *Specchio della fede* (1480s) and another in Latin within the *Sermones quadragesimales de penitentia* (1470-71). None of the content of these two sermons appears to be original. Roberto borrowed previous Christian anti-Muslim polemical literature and transformed it by putting it into sermon form; nevertheless, these sermons are crucial inasmuch as they recast previous polemical literature, which was read only by a select group of Christian readers, into sermons for the general populace. They were written down and made available to other preachers. Since many of the polemical texts written in the Middle Ages were read by only a select group of Christian readers, this material now became public knowledge through Roberto's preaching to the masses in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Italy.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

Information about Roberto comes mainly from his sermons. On these, see Esposito (ed.), *Opere in volgare*, pp. 50-62 (incunabula and early printed works), 62-66 (manuscripts).

*Secondary*

- O. Visani, 'Giacomo della Marca e Roberto da Lecce. Due grandi operatori culturali a confronto', *Picenum Seraphicum* 20 (2002) 33-47
- O. Visani, 'Roberto Caracciolo e i sermonari del secondo Quattrocento', *Franciscana* 1 (1999) 275-317
- M. Bigaroni, 'B. Francesco Beccaria da Pavia e fra Roberto Caracciolo. Precisazioni cronologiche', *Archivum Franciscarum Historicum* 89 (1996) 251-62
- O. Visani Ravaioli, 'Testimonianze della predicazione di Roberto da Lecce a Padova', in *Predicazione francescana e società veneta nel quattrocento*, Padua, 1995<sup>2</sup>, 185-220
- E. Esposito (ed.), *Roberto Caracciolo, Opere in volgare*, Galatina, 1993, pp. 9-79, Introduzione: Il Quaresimale in volgare di Fra Roberto Caracciolo da Lecce
- O. Visani, 'Un nuovo testimone del Quaresimale padovano del 1455 di Roberto da Lecce', *Il Santo* ser. II, 30 (1990) 157-79
- E.-V. Telle, 'En marge de l'éloquence sacrée aux 15<sup>e</sup> et 16<sup>e</sup> siècles. Érasme et Fra Roberto Caracciolo', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 43 (1981) 449-70
- O. Visani, 'Un imitatore di Bernardino da Siena: Roberto Caracciolo', *Rinascimento* 21 (1981) 213-28
- L. Gasparri, 'Sulla tradizione manoscritta delle prediche di Roberto da Lecce (con due sermoni inediti)', *Archivum Franciscarum Historicum* 73 (1980) 173-225
- L. Gatto, 'I temi escatologici nelle prediche di Roberto Caraccioli da Lecce', in *L'attesa dell'età nuova nella spiritualità della fine del Medioevo, Atti del convegno del 16-19 ottobre 1960*, Todi, 1962, pp. 249-61
- B. Serafino, *Fra Roberto Caracciolo da Lecce. Predicatore del secolo XV (Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, Theses ad Lauream 43)*, Isola del Liri, 1947

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*La infidelita di Macomethani*, 'The infidelity of the followers of Muḥammad'

*Infidilitas Mahumathanorum que ortus in Saracenis*, 'The infidelity of the followers of Muḥammad which has originated among the Saracens'

DATE 1480s

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian

## DESCRIPTION

*La Infidelita di Macomethani* (in *Specchio della Fede*)

After some introductory remarks about the origins of Muḥammad, the major issue of the first of the three sections of Roberto's Italian sermon on Islam is concerned with the *mi'rāj* – Muḥammad's journey by night to Jerusalem and his ascent to heaven. The second section begins by asking why this 'bestial and erroneous sect' was able to draw in so many people. Roberto cites Thomas Aquinas and his *Summa contra Gentiles* (q.v.), where he says that Muḥammad seduced people by promises of carnal pleasures and by falsifying the Old and New Testaments for his own aggrandizement. Roberto goes on in this section to show that the doctrines of the Trinity and the divinity and humanity of Christ are based on scripture, and then to discuss the nature of the soul and body in the afterlife and the Islamic vision of paradise. The third section concerns the Islamic practice of polygamy, a very common theme in medieval Christian polemical literature.

Like his Italian sermon, Roberto's Latin sermon on Muḥammad and the Muslims has three parts. The first deals with the 'seductions' of Muḥammad, in which Roberto details the corrupt origins of Muḥammad and his followers, and the main theological issues between Muslims and Christians. This section is clearly intended to show that the two religions are divided by many theological positions and practices. It also includes a long exposition of the cruelties of the Ottoman Turks, based on accounts of their conquests of the Christian East, as representative of Muslim behavior towards Christians. Roberto then tries to answer the question of why this is happening and whether it has been prophesied.

The second part of the sermon concerns the question of whether those who do not have faith can perform any good action or whether whatever unbelievers do constitutes sinful action (also addressed by Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, II, II, 10.4). The third part concerns what Christians need to avoid because of the dangers posed to them by Muslims, including selling them arms, ships, and other military equipments. The right to carry out any trade with Muslims is reserved for the pope, and those who trade with Muslims commit sin.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Roberto da Lecce's two sermons must be read in the context of Christendom's struggle against the Ottoman threat, which was vividly present to Christians living in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, especially the latter part of it when the Ottoman Turks were threatening to invade Italy. The main thrust of works written at this time was to respond to the danger of the Muslim



presence in Europe, call Christians to reform their own lives and warn about the dangers of Islam, or to convert Muslims to Christian truth.

All of Roberto's material appears in earlier works of polemical literature and theological treatises. What we see in these sermons is the continuation of standard medieval anti-Muslim polemics. There is no evidence of his having had any actual contact with Muslims, nor does he ever express a desire to learn more about the Qur'an or Islam in general, unlike his contemporaries Nicholas of Cusa (q.v.) and Juan de Segovia (q.v.).

What Roberto gave his audience was a standard view of Muḥammad and Islam that was intended to make Christians aware of the essential teachings of Islam, and to help them understand that this heretical sect was a real threat to Christendom. These two sermons would have appeared as part of a series calling for the on-going conversion of Christians from their sinful lives. Islam and Christian sinfulness were therefore threats that could only be thwarted by the conversion of Muslims to Christian truth and by the continual conversion of Christians to this same truth.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria – 806 (date unknown)
- MS Foligno, Biblioteca Iacobilli – Latino C.VIII 16 (date unknown)
- MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Lat. 13412 (date unknown)
- MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Lat. 18319 (date unknown)
- MS Berkeley, Bancroft Library – UCB 89 (date unknown)
- MS Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria – Aldini 408 (date unknown)
- MS Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale – Gesuitico 453 (date unknown)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Early editions of the sermons, all listed in *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia*, 6 vols, Rome, 1943-81 (*IGI*), and *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, Leipzig, 1925- (*GW*):

#### *Sermones quadragesimales de penitentia* –

- Rome, Conrad Swynheym and Arnold Pannartz, 17 November 1472 (*IGI* 2473, *GW* 6065)
- Venice, Bartolomeo da Cremona, 1472 (*IGI* 2469, *GW* 6064)
- Venice, Franz Renner, 1472 (*IGI* 2471, *GW* 6063)
- Venice, Franz Renner, 1473 (*IGI* 2470, *GW* 6062)
- Cologne, Ulrich Zell, 1473 (*IGI* 2476, *GW* 6067)
- Strasburg, Henricus Ariminensis, c. 1473 (*IGI* 2474, *GW* 6066)
- Basil, Bernard Richel and Michael Wenssler, 1475 (*IGI* 2477, *GW* 6070)

Naples, Mattia Maravo [Olmutz], 1479 (*IGI* 2480, *GW* 6076)  
Strasburg, George Husner, c. 1479 (*IGI* 2479, *GW* 6074)

*Specchio della Fede* –

Venice, [Giovanni Rosso], ed. Giovanni di Lorenze, after 4 November  
1495 (*IGI* 2507, *GW* 6115)  
Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Concordi di Rovigno (*Inc. Silv.* 109)  
Civica Biblioteca 'A. Mai' di Bergamo (*Inc.* 3/17)

STUDIES

There are no studies on these sermons. Scholars have either been unaware of them or been more interested in themes such as penance, salvation, and eschatology in Roberto's works.

**Steven J. McMichael**

# King Matthias of Hungary

Matthias Hunyadi, Matthias Corvinus, Corvinus Mátyás

DATE OF BIRTH 23 February 1443  
PLACE OF BIRTH Kolozsvár, Hungary, present-day Cluj, Romania  
DATE OF DEATH 6 April 1490  
PLACE OF DEATH Vienna

## BIOGRAPHY

Matthias Corvinus was king of Hungary from 1458 to 1490. In contrast with his father, John Hunyadi, he is often accused of neglecting the Turkish threat for the quest for grandeur, relegating defense against the Ottomans to the background and wasting energy in pointless conquests elsewhere. He did not lead large-scale crusades and, despite organizing a formidable mercenary army, he fought few wars against the Ottomans. He faced the sultan's main army only once, at Câmpul Pâinii in 1479, and took part in only three campaigns. He did not assist Venice and the Aq Quyunlu Sultan Uzun Hassan in their joint venture against the Turks, though he was the only ruler to send troops to relieve Otranto, the Turkish bridgehead in southern Italy, and free the papacy from immediate danger.

Matthias recognized that his country was not a match for the Ottoman Empire in either military equipment or material resources, and he was primarily concerned to maintain a *modus vivendi*. In 1483, he made peace and was blamed for colluding with the Ottomans. Indeed, the tone of some of his letters to the sultan goes beyond formal diplomatic cordiality to suggest he was writing to a political partner. He speaks of 'a mutual understanding for peace', and wishes to put an end to discord 'and work jointly to increase our territories'. He did in fact fight against the Turks, but only indirectly and on a limited scale. Learning from his father's experiences, he avoided direct confrontation and launched offensives in winter. He provided auxiliary forces and aids to Stephen III of Moldavia to help him defeat the Turks at Vaslui in 1475. In Bosnia, he organized military defense zones and garrisoned fortresses. His cautious diplomacy saved the country from destruction for about 50 years.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

- [János Thuróczy] Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, ed. E. Galántai and G. Kristó, 2 vols, Budapest, 1985
- Petrus Ransanus, *Epithoma rerum Hungararum id est annalium omnium temporum liber primus et sexagesimus*, ed. P. Kulcsár, Budapest, 1977
- [Antonio Bonfini] Antonius de Bonifinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, ed. I. Főgel, B. Iványi and L. Juhász, 4 vols, Leipzig, 1936-41
- [Galeotto Marzio] Galeottus Martius Narniensis, *De egregie, sapienter, jocose dictis ac factis regis Matthiae ad Ducem Iohannem eius filium liber*, ed. L. Juhász, Leipzig, 1934
- [Galeotto Marzio] Galeottus Martius Narniensis, *Epistolae*, ed. L. Juhász (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum*), Budapest, 1930

*Secondary*

There are hundreds of studies of King Matthias' life. Among the most important, and those focused on his relations with the Muslims, are:

- L. Veszprémy, 'Szabács ostroma (1475-1476)', *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* 122 (2009) 36-61
- G. Ágoston, 'The Ottoman challenge. The conquest of Constantinople and military expansion in Europe, 1350-1550s', in M. Bennett (ed.), *The medieval world at war*, New York, 2009, pp. 205-25
- A. Kubinyi, *Matthias rex*, Budapest, 2008
- P. Farbaký et al. (eds), *Matthias Corvinus, the king. Tradition and renewal in the Hungarian royal court 1458-1490*, Budapest, 2008
- S. Papp, 'Ștefan cel Mare, le roi Matthias et l'empire ottoman', in F. Bilici, I. Candea and A. Popescu (eds), *Enjeux politiques, économiques et militaires en Mer Noire (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle). Etudes à la mémoire de Mihail Guboglu*, Brăila, 2007, 363-90 (reprinted in Hungarian as 'Ștefan cel Mare, Mátyás Király és az Oszmán Birodalom', *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* 121 [2008] 303-25)
- A. Simon, 'Anti-Ottoman warfare and crusader propaganda in 1474. New evidence from the archives of Milan', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 46 (2007) 25-39
- G. Rázsó, 'Military reforms in the fifteenth century', in B.K. Király and L. Veszprémy (eds), *A millennium of Hungarian military history*, New York, 2002, 54-83
- P. Engel, *The realm of St Stephen. A history of medieval Hungary 895-1526*, ed. A. Ayton, London, 2001
- A. Kubinyi, *Matthias Corvinus. Die Regierung eines Königreichs in Ostmitteleuropa, 1458-1490*, Herne, 1999
- J.K. Hoensch, *Matthias Corvinus. Diplomat, Feldherr und Mäzen*, Graz, 1998
- G. Székely, 'Kaffa, a Kaukázus-vidék és Kelet-Anatólia a Hunyadiak politikájában', *Világtörténet: Egyetemes történeti folyóirat* 16 (1994) 6-13

- G. Székely, 'Sikerek és ellentmondások Mátyás két imperium elleni politikájában', in F. Glatz (ed.), *A tudomány szolgálatában. Emlékkönyv Benda Kálmán 80. születésnapjára*, Budapest, 1993, 33-40
- G. Barta (ed.), *Mátyás király 1458-1490* [King Matthias], Budapest, 1990
- P.E. Kovács, *Matthias Corvinus*, Budapest, 1990
- G. Rázsó, 'Die Türkenpolitik Matthias Corvinus', *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1986) 3-50
- I. Ackerl, *König Matthias Corvinus. Ein Ungar, der in Vienna regierte*, Vienna, 1985
- J.M. Bak and B.K. Király (eds), *From Hunyadi to Rákóczi. War and society in late medieval and early modern Hungary*, New York, 1982
- P.F. Sugar, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman rule, 1354-1804*, Seattle WA, 1977
- K. Nehring, *Matthias Corvinus, Kaiser Friedrich III. und das Reich. Zum hungarisch-habsburgischen Gegensatz im Donauraum*, Munich, 1975 (1989<sup>2</sup>)
- C. Csapodi, *The Corvinian library. History and stock*, Budapest, 1973
- V. Fraknói, *Hunyadi Mátyás király 1440-1490* [King Matthias Hunyadi], Budapest, 1890

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### The crusading letters of King Matthias

DATE 1458-90

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

#### DESCRIPTION

Matthias wrote about 140 crusading letters, mostly to the papacy, the kings of France and Naples, the Holy Roman Emperor and the Imperial Diet, and Venice. He regarded correspondence as an important royal political function. Between his accession in 1458 and 1471 he was the author of a quarter of the letters from his Chancery, and between 1472 and 1490 three-quarters. Galeotto Marzio, a court humanist, relates that he 'did not only dictate but checked and read all of his letters through, and wrote brief pieces in his own hand'.

Matthias sent detailed reports, even from his camps, all over Europe about his and the Ottomans' military activity. Some go beyond normal diplomatic correspondence, and are long, consciously constructed accounts intended for public circulation in the style of Renaissance newsletters or *Zeitungs*, sometimes with eye-witness reports enclosed. They give touching illustrations of the Turkish peril, lamenting, in the normal way of Renaissance rhetoric, the Ottoman marauders 'laying

waste to the countryside by fire and sword' – even when there was no fighting at all.

Matthias was expected to follow in the course of his father. Eulogies praised the new *athleta Christi*, who would drive the Ottomans out of Europe. The popes envisaged that Matthias would pursue the *recuperatio* of the Holy Land and exterminate the *secte Machometice*. In his correspondence, he shows he was striving hard to measure up to these expectations. He stresses his 'firm deliberation' to 'fight the Turks, our eternal enemies' and built upon his 'paternal heritage', which prompted him 'to protect the Christians'. He was committed to the heritage of Giovanni da Capestrano, who 'extirpated the fear out of our souls'. The popes enthusiastically acclaimed these slogans and saw 'he had his father's virtue so deeply rooted in his soul that it can never be torn away'. For Callixtus III, 'a heat of a celestial flame was beaming out of his letters'.

Matthias skilfully used the instrument of the anti-Turkish war to gain the favor of the Holy See and exploited it to his full benefit. He extolled himself as though he were continuing steadfastly to deliver blows against the Turks. He boasted about the capture of Szabács (Šabac) in 1476, making it appear a formidable fortress although it was an insignificant wooden castle, albeit with some strategic significance. This kind of propaganda was not uncommon for the time, and rulers were not averse to slogans such as 'taking pains assiduously for the *negotium Dei*', so Matthias' 'innate desire to fight' was in line with contemporary rhetoric.

Matthias relied strongly on the symbolic frontier concept of Hungary as the 'shield and bulwark of Christendom' (*scutum et antemurale totius Christianitatis*). He warned that the Turks 'prepared against Christendom'; he complained that he 'did not receive any help just words', and 'shed his blood not to his own advantage' but 'to prevent the grievous misfortunes that would befall Christianity'; he asserted that Hungary was making a sacrifice, 'left alone to take on the task of keeping the Ottomans back upon ourselves'; and he warned about his fears that, 'our strength being on the ebb', should he fail 'a gate would open' towards the West.

He wrote many exhortations. He appealed for auxiliary troops from the Imperial Estates, pressing them hard to take 'the opportunity given by God'. He condemned the 'hectoring fire-eater' knights who proclaimed solemn oaths but were of no real assistance. He declared that he himself was 'neither slack nor idle', and he reproached the 'slothful and indolent' Westerners. He realized that he could not count on substantial forces, and thus sought financial aid – customs exemption from Venice,

grain from Naples. In response, Hungary did receive papal aid totaling 320,000 gold florins up to 1484, and roughly the same from Venice up to 1476. But this was less than the defense expenditure for one year, and fell short of the expenses needed for a war. He spelt out that 'the aid did not enable him to continue the war' on his own. He protested against the jealous machinations that did nothing to deliver him the 'trump', the Ottoman Prince Cem. He reprimanded the Habsburgs and the Jagiellonians, who with their 'intrigues interfere with my plans'. He blamed Emperor Frederick III for stabbing him in the back while on campaign, and for purposely holding back imperial aid. He asked the pope to put his country under papal patronage, and to excommunicate the Emperor if he attacked it while he was away on crusade. At the same time, he complained to the papacy for 'beguiling him with vain promises', not calling Christendom to arms and delaying sending aid. He foresaw fatal losses 'if the aid was late', and charged Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII with deliberately refusing to give funds.

Matthias' letters show that he was working to forge a grand coalition of forces against the Ottomans, including the Aq Quyunlu Turko-men, Egypt, Trabizond and France. He wrote about military schemes, e.g. his 1488 plan to forge along the Pontic coast supported by a fleet. He assigned garrisons to key fortresses: '8,000 men are needed to protect the territories where the Turks can break into the lands of the emperor and the Venetians.' He tried to make the West, still day-dreaming of the *recuperatio*, realize the extent of the actual necessities and defense tasks: 'for a great passage 10,000 horsemen and infantrymen of the same number are needed'; 'to keep our gains in the long run and protect ourselves from sea to sea we have to maintain a standing force of 20,000 cavalrymen for six years.' He called for fortresses, permanent garrisons and regularly paid professionals who were trained in siege warfare.

It might seem that Matthias' determination was feigned, a tool of propaganda machinery designed to deceive. Yet it was not only a rhetorical device with which to blackmail the Holy See. He faced unceasing confrontation, and recognized that Hungary could not withstand a substantial assault alone, so he sought defense alternatives. One of these was this wide-scale correspondence to raise funds and find allies.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Matthias' letters, some of them Humanist *epistolae*, show how he turned Christian ideology to his own advantage. They were precisely calculated to create the impression of an uncompromising resolution to fight: the

great sacrifice of Hungary as the bulwark of Christendom; overstated excuses and obstacles; exhortation and the lack of response; reproach for the lethargy of princes and the false hopes raised by popes; presentation of himself as the new *zelator ecclesiae*. He knew the propaganda value of 'warding off the Ottomans' advance', but his zeal existed not only in ideology. His letters, and especially the realistic defense schemes outlined in them, were to make Christendom aware it was under assault.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

Matthias Corvinus' correspondence has never been fully catalogued. Very few of his letters have survived in original form, since a considerable number of the official Hungarian chancery archives perished in the Ottoman conquest, while most of the letters sent to foreign rulers were not kept, and only copies or drafts remained in the chancery, some of which were copied into formularies (e.g. *Stylus cancellariae Mathiae I. Regis*) or epistolaries from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, some of them during Matthias' lifetime. A number of manuscript volumes of these 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup>-century epistolary collections, mainly relating to Matthias' foreign affairs, remained intact but were only discovered and published in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, most of the originals of Matthias' diplomatic letters are held in foreign archives, mainly those of the addressees.

The cataloguing of the letters was started at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Vilmos Fraknói (*Mátyás király levelei*, see below), but only two volumes of the three originally planned were published, and the work has not been finished. Letters were collected from dozens of archives and libraries throughout Europe, but there are still a great number in which letters might still be found. It is very difficult to identify several of the letters published in Fraknói's collection, since he did not add full information and exact references regarding the holdings. A number are known only in Fraknói's copy, and the originals seem no longer to exist.

After the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Matthias' correspondence was not studied, and the only further collection, made by Jolán Balogh, was destroyed in the siege of Budapest in World War II. For a few years now a new effort has been made by Gyula Mayer, the editor of a new edition of Vilmos Fraknói's collection, to finalize and catalogue all the letters known, but the list is far from complete. This means that no single catalogue is available. Below are listed the major archives and MSS collections, and the libraries in which they are held. The task of bringing together full information about them remains to be done.

In the list below, the most important collections are placed first.



Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Könyvtára, Kézirattár [Loránd Eötvös University Library, Budapest, Manuscripts Collection]:

The Pozsony [Pressburg, Bratislava] Manuscript, G 4 62 (1478-87)

MS Kaprinai Gyűjtemény – Collectio Kaprinaiana 4 no. 74, pp. 108-11, 115-19, 121; 4 no. 101, pp. 167-72, 201-5; 27 no. 45, pp. 105-7; 27 no. 47, pp. 121-22; 27 no. 80, pp. 148-49; 38 no. 69, pp. 121-22 (1462-88)

MS Kassa [Košice], Miestne Pracovisko Matice Slovenskej, Jasov [The Headquarters of Matica Slovenska in Jasov] (formerly known as Formulare Jaszoviense/the Formulary Book of Archbishop Miklós Oláh, Library of the Premonstratensian Provostry of Jászóvár/Jasov, Slovakia [Knížnica jasovských premonštrátov]) no. 78, fols 49r-v, 53r-54r, 55v, 59r-v, 60r-61v, 62r-63v, 71r-v, 73r, 73v-74v, 100v, 131v-133r, 149r-150r, 194r-v, 195r, 196r-197r, 199r-200r, 201r-202r (1466-83; MOL copy: DF 282621)

Magyar Országos Levéltár (= MOL), X szekció, Filmtár. Karl Nehring gyűjtése [Hungarian National Archives, Section X, Karl Nehring Collection], nos 30173-75 (1458-90)

A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára. Kézirattár és Régi Könyvek Gyűjteménye [The Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books], The Simonyi Collection, MS 4994, fols 29r, 30r, 31r, 35r; MS 4942, fol. 71 (1474)

Masaryk University Library, Brno / Universitní knihovny: Mk 9, mikulovský rukopis, formerly held at the Dietrichstein Library/ Dietrichsteinské knihovne, Mikulov, Nikolsburg, Czech Republic *Relationes Italice, Regionum diversarum conditiones complectentes, a legatis Venetorum descriptae*, no. 1-121, fols 210r-283r (1478-82; a 16<sup>th</sup>-century copy of Matthias' chancery register – the Nikolsburg Codex)

Esztergom, The Haager/Hager Codex or Esztergomi Leveleskönyv/ Esztergom Formulary, Esztergom Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár [Archiepiscopal Library], MS II 393: *Epistolae Matthiae Corvini, Wladislai II et Petri de Várad*, Colligatum 1, fols 1-131 (1460-68)

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Kézirattár [National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Manuscripts Collection]:

*Mathiae regis Ungariae litterarum paria*, Fol. Lat. 2317, fols 1-20 (1458-62)  
*Epistolae aliquot Mathiae I Hungariae regis, Andreae Duditii* [Dudith],  
*et aliorum*, Quart. Lat. 759 (1458-62)

*Tractatus quidam et epistolae divi quondam Matthiae primi Hungariae etc. regis ad summos pontifices, praelatos, reges et principes scriptae* . . . , Fol. Lat. 1668 (1462-68; a copy of the Haager/Hager Codex)

- Manipvlvs diplomaticvs priuilegiorum, decretorum, diplomatum, mandatorum, statutorum, variique argumenti litterarum, quae Mathias I. rex Hungarorum elargitus est*, Fol. Lat. 2319, fols 1-200 (1468)
- Ladislai vetesy... oratio ad... Sixtum IIII. pro prestanda obediencia nomine... Mathie... Regis. 2. Feria 1475. Intuenti mihi penitusque x concitauit ad arma. Finis*, Cod. Lat. 210, fols 2-7 (1475; attributed to Ladislaus Vetési)
- Mathiae I regis Hungariae epistolae plerumque ineditae*, Fol. Lat. 1669, fols 1-260 (1462-81; copy of the Haager/Hager Codex)
- Epistolae Mathiae I Hungariae regis, quae ex codicibus impressis exscriptae sunt*, Fol. Lat. 1670, fols 1-381 (1462-81; copy of the Haager/Hager Codex)
- Diplomata nonnulla et litterae selectae ex codice epistolari Mathiae Corvini Schwandtneriano*, Fol. Lat. 2229, fols 1-44 (1462-81; The Georg Schwandtner MS)
- Mathiae I regis Hungariae litterarum collectio*, Fol. Lat. 2923, fols 1-8v (1458-82)
- Fol. Lat. 1656 (1474-84)
- Epistolae Mathiae regis Hungariae ad summum pontificem Romanum, Turcarum item et Romanorum imperatores necnon diversos reges et magnates...* Fol. Lat. 1667, fols 1-147r (1462-89)
- Epistolae correspondentiales a Turcarum imperatore Bajazete [Bajazid II] item papa [Paul II] collegio cardinalium et Friderico [III] imperatore ad Mathiam Corvinum regem Hungariae anno 1478, emanatae et vicissim Mathiae regis cum iisdem ac aliis fotae item oratio de Mathia eodem rege Hungariae recitata nec non litterae Turcarum imperatoris [Mehmed IV] ad regem Hungariae Leopoldum [I] anno 1661 missae*, Fol. Lat. 2665, fols 4v-5v, 28v, 31v, 33, 38, 46v, 53, 56, 62, 64v (1478)
- Miscellanea historica Hungarica et Germanica*, Fol. Lat. 1560, fols 243v-44r (1467)
- Epistolae Matthiae Corvini*, Fol. Lat. 2318, fols 1-61
- Formulae litterarum, adhibitis litteris Matthiae I et Wladislai II regum Hungariae*, Fol. Lat. 3704, fols 1-189
- Collectanea actorum publicorum, epistolarum, opusculorum litterarium, item analectorum variorum maximam partem res Hungaricas saeculorum XV-XVII spectantium*, Fol. Lat. 3948, fols 26-58

*Nicolai Istvánffy codex rerum Hungaricarum*, Fol. Lat. 2275, fols 56-82  
(*Litterae regis Sigismundi et Matthiae*), fols 83-131 (*Epistolae regis  
Matthiae, nec non ad regem Matthiam exaratae*)

*Epistolarium regis Matthiae, per Franciscum Waraliensem* [Váraljai] *ex  
Transilvania anno 1555 allatum*, Fol. Lat. 4140, fols 1-68

*Extractus epistolarum Mathiae regis Hungariae ad Summum Pontif-  
icem et ad alios non-nullos, nec non Pontificis ad eundem exara-  
tarum*, Fol. Lat. 4332 (written by Ferenc Váraljai under the name  
of King Matthias)

*Mathiae Corvini regis Hungariae epistolae*. Quart. Lat. 755, fols 1-74

*Epistolarium* of Matthias in the Archives of the Zichy family at Zsély  
[Želovce, Slovakia] (compiled by Pál Lukcsics in the 1930s in his  
unpublished writings at the Magyar Tudományok Akadémia Könyv-  
tára, Kézirattár és Régi Könyvek Gyűjteménye [The Library of the  
Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Department of Manuscripts and  
Rare Books], Kt. MS 4930) (1478-82; whereabouts of the original not  
known)

Magyar Tudományok Akadémia Könyvtára, Kézirattár és Régi Könyvek  
Gyűjteménye [The Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.  
Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books], Kt. MS Tört. 2 172/I, 2  
172/II (copies of the Haager/Hager Codex)

Národní knihovna České republiky, Praha, *Oddělení rukopisů a starých tisků*  
[National Library, Prague, manuscripts and early printed books],  
XXIII D 163; XXIII D 172, pp. 730-32, 733-35, 735-37 (1470; the Stern-  
berg Codex)

Egri Érseki Könyvtár [Library of the Archbishopric of Eger], *Collectio mis-  
cellaneorum* II, Vv. 29 (1478-85; 18<sup>th</sup>-century copies – the Eger Fragment)

The Janus Pannonius corpus: The editors of the first publications in the  
18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries did not distinguish between Matthias' own let-  
ters and his state correspondence. They labelled them all as 'letters  
of King Matthias', even though many were from the royal chancery.  
During the first half of his reign, Matthias' letters were written in his  
name mainly by János Vitéz de Zredna, Archbishop of Esztergom, and  
'Janus Pannonius', János Csezmicei, bishop of Pécs. (In the first years  
of the second part of his reign, 1474-84, the influence of Péter Váradí,  
Archbishop of Kalocsa, is also to be felt.) The authorship and hand-  
writing of most of the Janus Pannonius letters has been identified.

Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest, Q szekció, Mohács előtti gyűjtemény,  
Diplomatikai Levéltár (=DL) [Hungarian National Archives, Section  
Q, Collection of charters before the battle of Mohács, 1526] 50404,

- fols 4-121, nos 1-3, 5-6, 9-10, 12-17, 22-23, 25-29, 36-42, 44-71, 74-76, 78-79, 81, 83-84, 88, 95, 99, 101-2, 104, 106-8 (1462-66, 1480-83; the Héderváry Codex)
- Seville, Biblioteca Colombina y Capitulár – ‘Second Seville Janus Pannonius Codex’ or Seville Epistolary, *Ioannis Pannonii Episcopi opera* [S II], 82-4-8, fols 1-111, nos 5-7, 9, 11-14, 16-21, 25-34, 36-37, 40-41, 44, 46, 48-57, 60-73, 76-98 (1465-70; photocopy: MTAK Kézirattár és Régi Könyvek Gyűjteménye [The Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books] MS 1368/I-II)
- Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Könyvtára, Kézirattár [The University Library of the Loránd Eötvös University, Budapest, Manuscripts Collection] – Collectio Prayana, Coll. Pray IX/18, fols 1-12, nos 1, 8-20 (1464-65)
- Letters written in the name of Matthias by János Vitéz de Zredna, Lord Chancellor, Archbishop of Esztergom, are to be found in János Vitéz de Zredna, *Epistolae et orationes*, in the National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Fol. Lat. 1668, and the Héderváry Codex, MOL Budapest, DL 50404 (1462-64)
- In archives, MS collections and holdings where letters have not been fully catalogued, only the general data of the collection are given, or certain examples referred to:
- MS Ancona, Biblioteca Comunale Camillo Albertini – Cronaca di Ancona, fols 12v-14v (1487)
- MS Augsburg, Stadtarchiv Augsburg – Literalienammlung, Literalien 1476-11-9; 1480-7-11; 1480-4-13 (1476-80)
- Budapest, Magyar Országos Levéltár, Q szekció, Mohács előtti gyűjtemény, Diplomatikai Levéltár [Hungarian National Archives, Section Q, Collection of charters before the battle of Mohács, 1526] (1458-90)
- Budapest, Magyar Országos Levéltár, U szekció, Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény [Hungarian National Archives, Section Q, Collection of photos of charters] (1458-90; several copies of letters of foreign provenance, though a number are still missing and the correspondence with copies in other collections has not yet been fully catalogued)
- Budapest, Magyar Országos Levéltár, Bécsi Levéltárból kiszolgáltatott iratok [Documents received from Viennese Archives] – I 7 Kollár-gyűjtemény [Kollár Collection] no. 32, appendix pp. 473-76 (1484; the first Kollár Codex)

- Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek / Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek – Handschriftenabteilung, Hs 3308, fols 7r-7v, 9r-v (1480)
- Florence, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Repubblicani – Archivio Mediceo avanti il Principato Filza 45/316, 326; 47/1, 111; Carte Stroziane 1 Filza III, Carta 152 (1475-79)
- Leipzig, Universitäts-Bibliothek – Handschriftenabteilung MS 1092, fols 264r-v; MS 1327 fols 55v, 301r, 321r, 322v-324r; MS Civ. 377 (II fol. 10a) fol. 317v (1465, 1468, 1470, 1474)
- Linz, Stadtarchiv – Freistadt Urkunden nos 802, 823 (1469-71); Eferding Riedegg Urkunden 1824, 1825, 1927 (1480, 1486)
- Mantua, Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga – Lettere di Matteo Corvino E.V. no. 3 (1472-89)
- Milan, Archivio di Stato di Milano – Archivio Ducale, Visconteo-Sforzesco, Albania, Slavonica e Ungheria 1450-90, Carteggio 355, 640, 642, 1250 (1477-89)
- Modena, Archivio di Stato di Modena – Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancelleria Sezione estero, Carteggio con principi esteri, bb. 641 (1123-1795), Fuori d'Italia, Ungheria e Boemia Busta 2 (1454-90); Carteggi di oratori, agenti e corrispondenti presso le corti detti anche Carteggio ambasciatori, bb. 1, 6, 9, 9; Ambasciatori, Agenti e Corrispondenti Estensi, Italia, Napoli, Busta 5; Ebd. Italia, Milano, Busta 5, 6; Fuori d'Italia, Ungheria, Busta 1, 4, 7 (1479-90)
- Munich, Bayerische Hauptstaatsarchiv – Fürstenbücher Bd. 11 fol. 144 (1470) Fürstensachen fol. 19v no. 262/II/33, no. 957; fol. 96 no. 262/11 (1471, 1478); Pfalz-Neubürg-Lehen Urkunden 1261 (1477)
- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Handschriftenabteilung, Cod. Lat. 443, fols 182v-183r (1479)
- Nuremberg, Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Altbestände: Fürstentum Brandenburg-Ansbach: Brandenburgisches Archiv: Herrschaftliche Bücher no. 49, fols 170a r-170b r, no. 49, fol. 167r-v; no. 49, fol. 416r-v; Reichsstadt Nürnberg: D-Urkunden /D-Lade, no. 640; Päpstliche und fürstliche Privilegien, nos 323-25, 357; Laden des Siebenfarbigen Alphabets no. 3437 (1470-81)
- Paris, BNF – Mélanges Colbert 396, fol. 688 (1471)
- Vatican – Archivum Secretum Vaticanum, Codex privilegiorum s. Romanae ecclesiae II, fol. 107

Venice, Archivio di Stato di Venezia – Bolle ed atti della curia Romana, Busta XXIX, nos 1-37; Libri commemorali 15, fols 88, 91; Libri commemorali 17, fol. 125v.; Coll. Podocataro 555, 564; Senato, Deliberazioni Segrete, Fasc. 21, 26, 30, 31, 33, 34 (1463-88)

Venice, Biblioteca Marciana – Codici Latini, 3483, 3621, 3622, 3625, 4143

Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs (1458-90):

Sonderbestände Schlossarchiv Grafenegg Handschriften no. 2, fol 183r  
Habsburg-Lothringisches Familienarchiv Familienkorrespondenz A II. Erzherzoge u. Erzherzoginnen, Karton 38, Konv. 'Erzherzog Sigismund von Tirol', fol 32

Reichsarchive Reichshofkanzlei Fridericiana Kt. 2, Konv. 7, fols 23v-24r; Kt. 2, Konv. 7. fol. 40r; Kt. 4, Konv. 2, fol. 69; Kt. 2, Konv. 4, fol. 69; Kt. 6, Konv. 1, fols 103-4; Urkundenabteilung: Allgemeine Urkundenreihe 1463 VII 19; 1468 XI 3; 1470 II 9; 1472 II 25; 1472 V 17; 1472 IX 8; 1474 III 12; 1477 VI 12; 1479 VII 21; 1479 IX 20; 1479 XII 15; 1480 IX 19; 1482 III 16; 1488 V 12; 1488 VI 5

Ungarische Urkundenabteilung Handschriftenabteilung: Ungarische Akten, Allgemeine Akten Fasc. 1, Konv. A, fols 19-24; Konv. B. 1423-1518, fol. 67r-v; Konv. B, fols 71-76; Kt. 6. Konv. 1, fols 91-94; 1, Konv. B. 1423-1518, fol. 116r-v; Kt. 6. Konv. 2, fols 13-14; Kt. 6. Konv. 2, fol. 8r-v; Hungarica 1, fol. 116

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Handschriftensammlung, Cod. 3204, 3274, 4975 fol. 411r-v; Cod. 7864. fol. 35v-r; Cod. 7846. fol. 29r-v; Cod. S. n. 1912, fols 41v-45 (1464-65, 1477, 1481-90)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

A large number of Matthias' crusading letters have been published (some in abridged versions), though many remain in various archives.

*A Héderváry-kódex. Mátyás király leveleskönyve a Héderváry család egykori könyvtárából*, [The Héderváry Codex. Matthias' letter-book from the family library of Héderváry] facsimile edition, ed. G. Rácz, Budapest, 2008

[Janus Pannonius] *Iani Pannoniiopera omnia*, Budapest, 2002 (CD-ROM)

*Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, ed. F. Zimmermann et al., 7 vols, Hermannstadt [Sibiu]-Köln, 1892-1991, vii [1476-86]

- Monumenta Historica episcopatus Zagrabienensis saec. XII. & XIII. Povjestni spomenici Zagrebačke Biskupije XII. i XIII. stoljeća*, vols 1 and 2, ed. J.B. Tkalčić, vols 5-7, ed. A. Lukinović, Zagreb, 1990-2004, (*Croatica Christiana—fontes* 21; *Monumenta Historica* 3), vii [1441-65]
- Mátyás király levelei 1460-1490 [Letters of King Matthias], ed. S.V. Kovács, Budapest, 1986
- Regesten Kaiser Friedrichs III. (1440-1493) nach Archiven und Bibliotheken geordnet*, ed. H. Koller, P.-J. Heinig, A. Niederstätter [et alii], 25 vols, Vienna, 1982-2010 (*Regesta Imperii* 13)
- J. Sopko (ed.), *Stredoveké latinské kódexy v slovenských knižniciach. Codices Latini medii aevi bibliothecarum Slovaciae*, 2 vols (*Dokumentácia: Katalógy špeciálnych tlačí*), Martin, 1981-82
- I. Vitéz de Zredna, *Opera quae supersunt*, ed. I. Boronkai, Budapest, 1980
- K. Nehring, 'Quellen zur ungarischen Aussenpolitik in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Levéltári Közlemények* 47 (1976) 87-120; 247-67
- K. Nehring, 'Angaben zu einer unveröffentlichten Kopie eines Registers aus der Kanzlei von Matthias Corvinus', *Levéltári Közlemények* 43 (1972) 85-96
- Magyar humanisták levelei* [Letters of Hungarian Humanists], ed. S.V. Kovács, Budapest, 1971
- G. Hazai, 'Urkunde des Friedensvertrages zwischen König Matthias Corvinus und dem türkischen Sultan 1488', *Veröffentlichungen der sprachwissenschaftlichen Kommission der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 5 (1965) 141-45
- [Galeotto Marzio] Galeottus Martius Narniensis, *Epistolae*, ed. L. Juhász, Budapest, 1930 (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum*)
- Acta Beatrici. Aragóniai Beatrix magyar királyné életére vonatkozó okiratok* [Documents relating to the life of Beatrice of Aragon, Queen of Hungary], ed. A. Berzeviczy (*Monumenta Hungariae Historica* 1, *Diplomataria* 29), Budapest, 1914
- Monumenta Romana episcopatus Vespriensis. A veszprémi püspökség római oklevéltára, 1103-1526. Közrebocsátja a római magyar történeti intézet*, ed. V. Fraknói and J. Lukcsics, 4 vols, Budapest, 1896-1907, iii [1416-92]
- Analecta nova ad historiam renascentium in Hungaria litterarum spectantia, ex scriptis ab Eugenio Ábel*, ed. S. Hegedűs, Budapest, 1903



- L. Óváry, *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történelmi Bizottságának oklevél-másolatai* [The charter-copies held at the Historical Commission of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences], 3 vols, Budapest, 1890-1901
- V. Fraknói, *Oklevéltár a magyar királyi kegyuri jog történetéhez* [Collection of charters on the history of *ius patronatus* in Hungary], Budapest, 1899
- Politische Correspondenz des Kurfürsten Albrecht Achilles*, ed. F. Priebatsch, 3 vols, Leipzig, 1894-97
- A nagykárolyi gróf Károlyi család oklevéltára. Codex diplomaticus comitatum Karolyi de Nagy-Karoly*, ed. K. Géresi, 5 vols, Budapest, 1882-97, ii [1414-89]
- Mátyás király levelei. Külügyi osztály. Mathiae Corvini Hungariae Regis epistolae exterae. 1458-1490*, [The letters of King Matthias], ed. V. Fraknói, 2 vols, Budapest, 1893-95 [2008<sup>2</sup>: ed. G. Mayer]
- Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti, 1392-1501*, ed. J. Szujski, A. Sokołowski and A. Lewicki, 3 vols (*Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia* 12-14), Cracow, 1876-94, i/2 [1444-92], iii [1392-1501]
- Acta Bosnae potissimum ecclesiastica cum insertis editorum documentorum registis ab anno 925 usque ad annum 1752*, ed. P.E. Fermežin (*Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 23), Zagreb, 1892
- Mathiae Corvini Hungariae regis epistolae ad Romanos Pontefices datae et ab eis acceptae. Mátyás király levelezése a római pápákkal. 1458-1490*, ed. V. Fraknói (*Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni illustrantia* 1/6), Budapest, 1891 [2000<sup>2</sup>: ed. A. Várszegi and I. Zombori]
- Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor: 1451-1510*, ed. Nicolae Densușianu (*Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor culese de Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki* 2,2), Bucharest, 1891
- C. Grünhagen and H. Markgraf (eds), *Lehns- und Besitzurkunden Schlesiens und seiner einzelnen Fürstenthümer im Mittelalter*, 2 vols, Leipzig, 1881-83
- Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium. Listine o odnosajih izmedju juznoga Slavenstva i mletacke Republike*, ed. S. Ljubić, 12 vols, Zagreb, 1878-82
- Magyar Diplomáciai Emlékek Mátyás király korából, 1458-90* [Hungarian diplomatic memorials from the age of King Matthias], ed. I. Nagy and A. Nyáry, 4 vols (*Monumenta Hungariae Historica* 4, *Acta extera*), Budapest, 1875-78



- F.M. Mayer, 'Über die Abdankung des Erzbischofs Bernhard von Salzburg und den Ausbruch des dritten Krieges zwischen Kaiser Friedrich III. und König Matthias von Ungarn (1477-1481)', *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte* 55 (1877) 169-246
- Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia maximam partem nondum edita ex tabulariis Vaticanis*, ed. A. Theiner, 2 vols, Rome, 1863-75
- Politische Correspondenz Breslaus im Zeitalter Georg von Podjebrad*, ed. Hermann Markgraf, 2 vols (*Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum* 8-9), Wrocław, 1873
- Frankfurts Reichskorrespondenz, nebst andern verwandten Aktenstücken von 1376-1519*, ed. J. Janssen, 2 vols, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1863-72, ii [Aus der Zeit Kaiser Friedrichs III. bis zum Tode Kaiser Maximilians I. 1440-1519]
- A.P. von Segesser, *Die Beziehungen der Schweizer zu Mathias Corvinus, König von Ungarn in den Jahren 1476-1490*, Lucerne, 1860
- Monumenta Serbica spectantia historiam Serbiae, Bosnae, Ragusii*, ed. F. Miklosich, Vienna, 1858
- J. Teleki, *Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon* [The age of the Hunyadis in Hungary], 12 vols, Pest, 1852-57
- C. Höfler, *Das kaiserliche Buch des Markgrafen Albrecht Achilles. Vorkurfürstliche Periode 1440-1470* (*Quellensammlung für fränkische Geschichte* 2), Bayreuth, 1850
- J. Chmel, *Regesta chronologico-diplomatica Friderici III. Romanorum Imperatoris (Regis IV.)*, Vienna, 1838-40
- J. Chmel, *Materialien zur österreichischen Geschichte. Aus Archiven und Bibliotheken*, Linz, 1832-38
- J. Koller, *Historia episcopatus quinque ecclesiarum*, 7 vols, Bratislava, 1782-1812
- M.G. Kovachich, *Formulae solennes styli*, Pest, 1799
- [Janus Pannonius] *Iani Pannonii opusculorum pars altera, in qua exhibentur pauca quaedam e Plutarcho et Demosthene in latinum eodem interprete translata; nec non orationes ejus et epistolae...; quibus appendicis loco subjunguntur auctoris vitae a variis consignatae*, Utrecht, 1784
- I. Kaprinai, *Hungaria Diplomatica temporibus Mathiae de Hunyad Regis Hungariae*, 2 parts, Vienna, 1767-71
- Epistolae Matthiae Corvini regis Hungariae*, 4 vols, Košice, 1743-44

J.J. Müller, *Des Heil. Römischen Reichs, Teutscher Nation, ReichsTags Theatrum, wie selbiges unter Keyser Friedrichs V. allerhöchsten Regierung von Anno 1440 bis 1493 gestanden*, Jena, 1713

## STUDIES

- J.M. Bak, 'Hungary and crusading in the fifteenth century', in N. Housley (ed.), *Crusading in the fifteenth century*, Basingstoke, 2004, 116-27
- N. Housley, *Religious warfare in Europe*, Oxford, 2002
- P.E. Kovács, 'Hungary, the Ottomans and the Holy See. 1437-1490', in *A thousand years of Christianity in Hungary. Hungariae Christianae millennium*, ed. M.A. de Angelis, P. Cséfalvay and I. Zombori, Budapest, 2001, 69-78
- J. K. Hoensch, *Matthias Corvinus. Diplomat, Feldherr und Mäzen*, Graz, 1998
- M.D. Birnbaum, *The orb and the pen. Janus Pannonius, Matthias Corvinus and the Buda court*, Budapest, 1996
- Matthias Corvinus and the Humanism in Central Europe*, ed. T. Klaniczay and J. Jankovics (*Studia Humanitatis* 10), Budapest, 1994
- N. Housley, *The later crusades, 1274-1580. From Lyons to Alcazar*, New York, 1992
- K. Nehring, 'Mátyás külpolitikája [Matthias' foreign policy]', in G. Barta (ed.), *Mátyás király 1458-1490*, Budapest, 1990, 104-17
- G. Rázsó, 'Hunyadi Mátyás török politikája', [Matthias' Turkish policy] in G. Rázsó and L.V. Molnár (eds), *Hunyadi Mátyás. Emlékkönyv Mátyás király halálának 500. Évfordulójára*, Budapest, 1990, 149-200
- M.D. Birnbaum, 'Humanism in Hungary', in A. Rabil Jr. (ed.), *Humanism beyond Italy*, 2 vols, Philadelphia PA, 1988, 293-334, ii [*Renaissance humanism. Foundations, forms, and legacy*]
- Z. Teke, 'Az itáliai államok és Mátyás [The Italian states and Matthias]', in Rázsó and Molnár (eds), *Hunyadi Mátyás*, 245-76
- C. Csapodi, 'The Janus Pannonius codices of Sevilla and the tradition of Janus texts', *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 23 (1981) [1982] 138-55
- C. Csapodi, *A Janus Pannonius-szöveghagyomány [The Janus Pannonius textual heritage] (Humanizmus és reformáció 10)*, Budapest, 1981
- J. Buzási, *A birodalmi levéltárak magyar vonatkozású iratai*, 2 vols, Budapest, 1979
- F. Szakály, 'Phases of Turco-Hungarian warfare before the Battle of Mohács (1365-1526)', *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 33 (1979) 65-111

- K.M. Setton, *The papacy and the Levant*, 2 vols, Philadelphia PA, 1976-78
- K. Nehring, 'Mátyás külpolitikája [Matthias' foreign policy]', *Történelmi Szemle* 11 (1978) 427-39
- K. Nehring, *Matthias Corvinus, Kaiser Friedrich III. und das Reich. Zum hunyadisch-habsburgischen Gegensatz im Donauraum*, Munich, 1975 [1989<sup>2</sup>]
- J. Horváth, 'Mátyás király nyugati diplomáciája [Matthias' Western diplomacy]', in I. Lukinich (ed.), *Mátyás király. Emlékkönyv születésének ötszázéves fordulójára*, 2 vols, Budapest, 1940, i, 71-94
- F. Galla, 'Mátyás király és a Szentszék [Matthias and the Holy See]', in Lukinich (ed.), *Mátyás király*, i, 95-170
- H. Triesel, 'Unbekannte Matthias-Corvinus-Briefe der Dietrichstein-schen Schloßbibliothek in Nikolsburg', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 48 (1934) 449-53
- V. Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetése a római Szentszékkal* [Hungary's ecclesiastical and political relationships with the Holy See], 2 vols, Budapest, 1902
- V. Fraknói, 'Pecchinoli Angelo pápai legátus Mátyás udvaránál (1488-1490) [A. Pecchinoli papal legate at the court of Matthias]', *Katholikus Szemle* 12 (1898) 373-425; 529-66
- V. Fraknói, *Hunyadi Mátyás király 1440-1490* [King Matthias Hunyadi], Budapest, 1890

Attila Barany

# The Beauchamp pageants

Unknown author

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The Beauchamp pageants; The Beauchamp pageant; The pageants of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick; The pageant of the birth, life, and death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick; The Warwick manuscript

DATE Between 1483 and 1492; perhaps before 1487

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Middle English

### DESCRIPTION

The *Beauchamp pageants* depict the life of Richard Beauchamp, fifth Earl of Warwick, from his birth in 1382 until his death in 1439. The work is made up of 53 drawings, each accompanied by a brief descriptive note in Middle English, and fills 28 folios. The drawings are in brown ink on top of pencil and the descriptions are in ink. Two genealogical tables are also included.

Folios 5-12 recount the earl's pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1408. The *Pageants* testify to the prestige Christian nobles accorded such travels, since the pilgrimage journey accounts for a sizeable portion of the work (15 of the 53 illustrations). Seven illustrations (fols 8-11) depict the earl's departure from Venice, his reception by the Patriarch of Jerusalem's deputy, his visit to the Holy Sepulcher, his interactions with 'Sir Baltirdam, a noble lorde, the soldans lieutenant' (fol. 9v), and the earl's eventual return to Venice. The work portrays the traditional pilgrimage route to the Holy Land in the earl's day, the obtaining of a licence in Jerusalem 'to commune in deu fourme with the hethen people', and the provision of advice 'howe with them he shulde be demeaned' (fol. 8v). One drawing depicts the earl making an offering at the Holy Sepulcher and leaving his shield there as evidence of his visit. Three other illustrations represent meetings and exchanges of gifts between Earl Richard and the Muslim Sir Baltirdam. During a dinner that he hosts for Earl

Richard, Sir Baltirdam distributes silks, cloth of gold, and jewels to his English guests, honors the earl's chaplain, and confesses to Richard his secret attraction to Christianity. Earl Richard hosts a return feast during which he gives the Muslims gifts of fine English cloth. The depiction of a noble exchange of gifts, hospitality, and conversation presents a vision of aristocratic solidarity across religions, and implies that both Christians and Muslims value chivalric largesse. The suggestion of covert attraction to Christianity gestures toward Muslim knowledge of Christianity, while privileging Christianity over Islam.

The earl's pilgrimage to the Holy Land is attested in historical records (e.g. the *Calendar of the close rolls 1405-09* and *1409-13*, and the *Calendar of state papers Venice*), and the *Pageants* are known for their accuracy in recording events in the earl's life, although they do occasionally misrepresent the historical record in order to cast the earl in a more heroic light (Sinclair, *The Beauchamp pageant*, pp. 11, 13; Liu, 'Richard Beauchamp and the uses of romance', p. 280). The pilgrimage did occur, but the details of the earl's interactions with Muslims in Jerusalem have not been verified, and the factual accuracy of the depiction of Muslims is questionable. As Sinclair notes, visually 'the artist has adapted the European styles with which he was familiar by combining them with realistic details, such as beards and turbans, or by adding inventions of his own' (Sinclair, *The Beauchamp pageant*, p. 87). The suggestion of Sir Baltirdam's covert attraction to Christianity seems rather suspect (ibid., p. 88), as does the statement that Sir Baltirdam invited Earl Richard to dinner because he 'was lynally of blode descended of nole [sic] Sir Gy of Warrewik [a romance hero], whose lif they hadde there in bokes of their langage' (fol. 9v).

The *terminus a quo* of 1483 is assigned to the work based on the depiction of Richard III (r. 1483-85) as a king in one of the genealogical tables. The *terminus ante quem* of 1492 is assigned because it is the year of the death of Anne Beauchamp, Earl Richard's daughter and the presumed patron of the *Pageants* (Sinclair, *The Beauchamp pageant*, pp. 1, 13). Scott ('The Beauchamp pageants', p. 64) suggests the document may have been part of Anne's appeal for restitution of her confiscated estates, and may therefore have been produced before 1487, the year Henry VII restored her inheritance.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The *Pageants* indicate the importance European noblemen accorded pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The work demonstrates the ways in which

such travels to the Muslim world, even when peaceful, advanced Christian chivalric self-fashioning. The depiction of strictures surrounding Christian-Muslim interaction testifies to a desire to manage cross-cultural encounters, even as the encounter itself suggests the occasionally amicable nature of interactions between 15<sup>th</sup>-century Christian pilgrims and Muslim inhabitants of the Holy Land (see H.F.M. Prescott, *Jerusalem journey. Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the fifteenth century*, London, 1954, pp. 193-97). Finally, the text's mingling of historical fact and what appear to be imaginative details (covert Christian beliefs, Arabic circulation of an English romance) indicates the ways in which imagined cultural encounters between Muslims and Christians were read into historical Christian experiences of the Muslim world.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS London, BL – Cotton Julius E iv article 6 (1483-92)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

A. Sinclair, *The Beauchamp pageant*, Donington, 2003 (facsimile, edition/transcription, extensive commentary and introduction)

*Pageant of the birth, life and death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick KG, 1389-1439*, ed. Viscount Dillon and W.H. St John Hope, London, 1914

*The pageants of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, reproduced in facsimile form from the Cottonian ms Julius E IV in the British Museum*, ed. William, Earl of Carysfort, Oxford, 1908 (*Roxburghe Club* 150)

J. Strutt, *Horde angel-cynnan*, 2 vols, London, 1775, ii, p. 121 (transcription and illustrations)

#### STUDIES

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

M. Driver, "'In her owne persone semly and bewteus". Representing women in stories of Guy of Warwick', in A. Wiggins and R. Field (eds), *Guy of Warwick. Icon and ancestor*, Woodbridge, 2007, 133-53

D. Griffith, 'The visual history of Guy of Warwick', in Wiggins and Field (eds), *Guy of Warwick. Icon and ancestor*, 110-32

Y. Liu, 'Richard Beauchamp and the uses of romance', *Medium Ævum* 74 (2005) 271-87

G.A. Lester, 'Chaucer's Knight and the Earl of Warwick', *Notes and Queries* 226 (n.s. 28.3) (1981) 200-2

- R. Knowles, 'The Beauchamp pageant', *Blanc Sanglier* 14 (1980) 19-23
- K. Scott, 'The Beauchamp pageants', in K. Scott, *The Caxton Master and his patrons*, Cambridge, 1976, 55-66
- E.M. Thompson, 'The pageants of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, commonly called the "Warwick manuscript"', *Burlington Magazine* 1 (1903) 151-64

Siobhain Bly Calkin

## *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus*

‘Description of the country of al-Andalus’; *Tārīkh al-Andalus*, ‘History of al-Andalus’

DATE Mid-14<sup>th</sup> – late 15<sup>th</sup> century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

### DESCRIPTION

*Dhikr bilād al-Andalus* is divided into two distinct parts, on the geography of the Iberian Peninsula and on the history of al-Andalus. The historical section, with which this entry deals, occupies 43 folios of the sole complete known manuscript, two other copies being incomplete.

The original title of the work is unknown. The name by which it is known was given on account of the beginning of the text, which runs *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus wa-faḍlihā wa-ṣifātihā* (‘Description of the country of al-Andalus, of its excellence and its qualities’). Būbāya suggests that the title should be *Tārīkh al-Andalus* (‘History of al-Andalus’) on the basis of references to *ṣāhib al-tārīkh* (‘the author of the history’), but these have been shown to be references to the author of another work.

The name of the author is also unknown, as is the exact time when he put the different materials together in a compilation. The two editors of the *Dhikr* concur in dating the compilation to between the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, but they disagree as to where it was composed. In Molina’s opinion, the compiler may have worked in Fes since he shows good knowledge of this city, in contrast to his ignorance of the Iberian Peninsula. Būbāya, on his part, thinks that the author lived in Granada between 717 AH [1318 AD], the last year mentioned in the text, and the city’s fall to the Christians. F. Velázquez Basanta has identified the author as Ibn Juzayy (d. 1356), but the main arguments on which his hypothesis is based have been demolished by the finding of a complete copy.

The historical section, which contains brief though significant textual similarities to *Rawḍ al-qirṭās* by the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Fes chronicler Ibn Abī Zarʿ (q.v.), covers the period from the Flood to the to the fifth Naṣrid ruler Ismāʿīl I (r. 1314-25).



## SIGNIFICANCE

The *Dhikr* is a compilation of fragments of unequal value, legends mingling with seemingly historical events. Furthermore, some events are dealt with at length whereas others receive only scant attention. Its importance mainly lies in the fact that it contains a great many fragments from earlier works, some of which are totally or partially lost, such as the *Muqtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān (q.v.) and *Tarṣīʿ al-akhbār* of al-ʿUdhri (q.v.). In addition, it provides some material previously unknown, such as the lists of the legendary *afāriqa* and *ishbān* kings, and the longest extant list of Almanzor's campaigns (up to 56) against Christian lands.

Some attention is paid to Christian-Muslim relations, providing valuable information on both the peaceful and hostile relationship between the rulers of al-Andalus and their Christian neighbors (incursions into enemy territory, embassies, exchange of presents, etc.) throughout the long period covered. In this respect, we are told about the Muslims' early treatment of Iberian Christians: sharing of churches, the infrequent destruction of churches, legal/social restrictions, taxes, etc. Later, as the Christian kingdoms advanced, the story is reversed and the Muslim rulers agree to pay an annual tribute in return for peace and survival.

## MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Rabat, Bibliothèque Royale – 1528, fols 46-108 (date unknown, though probably a modern copy; historical section in fols 65-108)
- MS Rabat, Bibliothèque Generale – 85 *jīm* (date unknown, though probably a modern copy; lacking the second folio and an indeterminate number of final folios)
- MS Rabat, Bibliothèque Royale – 558 (date unknown; probably a modern copy of MS 85 *jīm*, with same lacunae and errors)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

- ʿA.Q. Būbāya, *Tārikh al-Andalus li-muʿallif majhūl*, Beirut, 2007 (edition based on the three extant MSS)
- L. Molina, *Dikr bilād al-Andalus li-muʿallif majhūl. Una descripció anónima de al-Andalus*, 2 vols, Madrid, 1983 (edition and Spanish trans. based on the two incomplete manuscripts which end in the year 419 AH/1028 AD)
- P. Balañà i Abadia, 'Toponímia aràbigocatalana. Lleida, Tortosa i Tarragona segons un manuscrit àrab inèdit de la Biblioteca Reial de Rabat', *Treballs de la Secció de Filologia i Història Literària* 2 (1981) 69-91 (edition of the fragments devoted to Catalonia)

- L. Molina, 'Las campañas de Almanzor a la luz de un nuevo texto', *Al-Qanṭara* 2 (1981) 209-63 (edition of the fragment devoted to Almanzor's campaigns)
- F. Castelló Moxó, 'Descripción nueva de Córdoba musulmana. Traducción y notas', *Anuario de Filología* 2 (1976) 123-54 (Spanish trans. of the chapter concerning Cordova)
- Ḥ. Mu'nis, 'Riwāya jadīda 'an fath al-Muslimīn li-l-Andalus. Da'wa ilā tardīd al-naẓar fī l-mawḍū', *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos* 18 (1974-75) 79-130 (edition of the passage dealing with the conquest of al-Andalus)
- Ḥ. Mu'nis, 'Waṣf jadīd li-Qurṭuba l-Islāmiyya', *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos* 13 (1965-66) 161-81 (edition of the chapter concerning Cordova)

## STUDIES

- M. Penelas, art. 'Dīkr bilād al-Andalus', in *Biblioteca de al-Andalus Būbāya, Tārīkh al-Andalus li-mu'allif majhūl*, pp. 6-39
- F.N. Velázquez Basanta, 'Un texto de Yūsuf III sobre la génesis de la *Iḥāta* que nos da la clave para conocer al autor del *Dīkr bilād al-Andalus*', *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos, Arabic and Islam* section 56 (2007) 225-43
- M.'A.A. 'Inān et al., *Fahāris al-khizāna al-ḥasaniyya, I: Fihris qism al-tārīkh wa-kutub al-riḥalāt wa-l-ijāzāt*, Rabat, 2000, pp. 196-98
- M. Ibn Sharīfa, 'Zāhirat al-makhṭūṭāt majhūlat al-mu'allif: al-makhṭūṭāt al-tārīkhiyya wa-l-juḡhrāfiyya mithālan', in R. al-'Inānī (ed.), *Dirāsāt al-makhṭūṭāt al-islāmiyya bayna i'tibārāt al-mādda wa-l-bashar. A'māl al-mu'tamar al-thānī li-Mu'assasat al-Furqān li-l-Turāth al-Islāmī*, London, 1997, 207-27, p. 211
- L. Molina, *Dīkr bilād al-Andalus li-mu'allif majhūl*, i, pp. xiii-xxxii; ii, pp. 231-347
- L. Molina, 'Las campañas de Almanzor. Nuevos datos', *Al-Qanṭara* 3 (1982) 467-72
- Balañà i Abadia, 'Toponímia aràbiga-catalana. Lleida, Tortosa i Taragona'
- Molina, 'Las campañas de Almanzor a la luz de un nuevo texto'
- M.'A.A. 'Inān, *Fahāris al-khizāna al-malakiyya, I: Fihris qism al-tārīkh wa-kutub al-riḥalāt*, Rabat, 1980, pp. 181-82
- Mu'nis, 'Riwāya jadīda 'an fath al-muslimīn li-l-Andalus'
- Mu'nis, 'Waṣf jadīd li-Qurṭuba l-islāmiyya'

# Diogo Gomes

Diogo Gomes de Sintra, Diogo Gomes de Cintra

DATE OF BIRTH	Early 15 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; Portugal
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; between 1482 and December 6, 1502
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; possibly Sintra

## BIOGRAPHY

Diogo Gomes was a 15<sup>th</sup>-century Portuguese explorer, best known for his exploration of the Gambia estuary and his claim to have ‘discovered’ the island of Santiago, Cape Verde (Gomes, *De la première découverte*, p. 54).

Few biographical details about Gomes are known with certainty. He is thought to have been born in Portugal in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century; estimates for his date of birth range from c. 1402 to c. 1420 (Monod *et al.*, ‘Introduction’, p. 7; Crone, ‘Introduction’, p. xxiv). For a substantial part of his life, Gomes seems to have worked in the service of Prince Henry the Navigator, albeit in various functions (Crone, ‘Introduction’, p. xxiv).

At the instigation of Prince Henry, Gomes undertook a number of exploratory voyages. Destinations included Madeira, Arguin Island and Cape Verde, as well as some of the rivers of the Guinea coast: the Geba, the Gambia and the Saloum. In 1459, Gomes was appointed warden at the castle of Sintra, a post he held until at least 1480 (Monod *et al.*, ‘Introduction’, p. 7; Oliveira, *As missões de Diogo Gomes*, p. 808).

It is unclear when Gomes died. Legal documents indicate that he was still alive in 1482, while a document dated 6 December 1502 gives instructions that his widow Isabella was to receive two annuities as a pension (Monod *et al.*, ‘Introduction’, p. 8). Gomes must therefore have died before 6 December 1502, possibly earlier that same year (Blackmore, *Moorings*, p. 55).

Gomes did not personally write an account of his voyages but is said to have related his memoirs of the Guinea coast to the German cartographer Martin Behaim, who recorded them. The Gomes-Behaim narrative was edited (and possibly translated) by the German printer Valentim Fernandes and, under the title *De prima iuentione Gujnee*, included in what is now known as the *Codex Valentim Fernandes*, a collection of

Portuguese 15<sup>th</sup>-century voyages published in 1506 (Monod *et al.*, 'Introduction', pp. 8-9).

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

Diogo Gomes, 'The voyages of Diogo Gomes', in G.R. Crone (ed.), *The voyages of Cadamosto and other documents on western Africa in the second half of the fifteenth century*, London, 1937 (repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1967), 91-102

Diogo Gomes, *De la première découverte de la Guinée récit par Diogo Gomes (fin XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, ed. T. Monod, R. Mauny and G. Duval, Bissau, 1959 (Latin and Portuguese)

#### *Secondary*

J. Blackmore, *Moorings. Portuguese expansion and the writing of Africa*, Minneapolis MN, 2009

A. de Oliveira, *As missões de Diogo Gomes de 1456 e 1460. Estudos em homenagem a Luis Antonio de Oliveira Ramos*, Porto, 2004, 805-14

Diogo Gomes, *De la première découverte de la Guinée récit par Diogo Gomes*, ed. Monod *et al.*, 'Introduction', pp. 7-10

A. Teixeira da Mota, 'Diogo Gomes, primeiro grande explorador do Gâmbia (1456)', in *Actas da 2<sup>a</sup> conferência internacional dos Africanistas Ocidentais*, Lisbon, 1950, 309-17

Crone (ed.), *The voyages of Cadamosto and other documents on western Africa*, 'Introduction', pp. xi-xliv

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

#### *De prima iuentione Gujnee*, 'The voyages of Diogo Gomes'

DATE Late 15<sup>th</sup> century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

#### DESCRIPTION

*De prima iuentione Gujnee* is the written account of Diogo Gomes' memoirs concerning his voyages to Guinea, narrated to the cartographer Martin Behaim (Gomes, *De la première découverte*, pp. 12-13) and edited by Valentim Fernandes. Behaim's interviews with Gomes are said to have taken place many years after the actual journeys, possibly c. 1482 or even later (Crone, 'Introduction', p. xxiv; Macpherson, 'Pre-Columbian discoveries', p. 64). Some scholars, such as Blackmore, think that Behaim

recorded Gomes' narrative in Latin (Blackmore, *Moorings*, p. 55). Others, such as Crone, maintain that Behaim noted the narrative down in German and assume that Fernandes later translated the text into Latin (Crone, 'Introduction', pp. xiv, xlv). All sources agree that the text was recorded many years after the event and point out that certain passages seem confused, at times even inaccurate (Crone, 'Introduction', p. xxiv; Monod *et al.*, 'Introduction', p. 9).

The main thrust of *De prima iuentione Gujnee* is formed by Gomes' voyages to the Guinea coast. During the first voyage, which probably took place c. 1456 or 1457 (Crone, 'Introduction', p. xxv; Oliviera, *As missões de Diogo Gomes*, p. 812), Gomes' caravels travelled as far south as the Geba river in Guinea Bissau and explored the Gambia estuary up to the trading-town of Cantor (Kuntaur). During the voyage, Gomes established contacts with various chiefs along the Gambia River and gathered information about (gold) trade routes to Timbuktu and Kukia. He also learned that the Senegal River was not connected to the Niger (Gomes, *De la première découverte*, p. 36). The dates for Gomes' second voyage to the Guinea coast range from 1458 to 1462 (Crone, 'Introduction', p. xxvi; Monod *et al.*, 'Introduction', p. 7; Diffie and Winnius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire*, p. 107). During his second journey, Gomes explored the land north of the Gambia estuary, called the land of the Barbacins (the present-day Sine-Saloum region in Senegal), and claims to have discovered Santiago Island, Cape Verde.

Most significant with regard to Christian-Muslim relations is Gomes' account of a dialogue that he says took place during his first journey. He relates that, when he paid his respects to the *Nomymans* (Niumi *mansa*), a chief on the north bank of the Gambia River, the *mansa* was accompanied by a Muslim scholar, described as 'a certain Bishop there of his native church'. During the encounter, the Muslim scholar questioned him about 'the God of the Christians' and Gomes questioned the scholar about Muḥammad. According to Gomes' narrative, the *mansa* was so impressed by Gomes' exposition of the Christian faith that he sent the Muslim scholar away, forbade henceforth any utterance of the name of Muḥammad in his kingdom and asked to be baptized. Though Gomes himself declined this honor, he promised to convey the *mansa's* request for baptism (as well as for a falcon, some rams, some masons and a number of other things). He also assured the *mansa* that Prince Henry would send priests to Niumi, in addition to all the other things requested (Gomes, 'The voyages', pp. 97-98).

## SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of *De prima iuentione Gujnee* is threefold. First, it is one of the oldest documents that testify to an exchange between a Muslim and a Christian about matters of faith in West Africa. Second, the text attests that, as early as the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, Muslim scholars were present at the courts of chiefs in the Senegambia and were members of their entourage. Third, the document shows that Mandinka chiefs such as the Niuni *mansa* viewed allegiances to Islam and Christianity as malleable, shifting or de-emphasizing loyalties to bring about economic or political gains.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Codex Hisp. 27 (1507; Valentim Fernandes Codex)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

Diogo Gomes de Sintra, *A relação dos descobrimentos da Guiné e das Ilhas, in Documentos sobre a expansão portuguesa*, ed. V. Magalhães Godinho, Lisbon, 1945

Diogo Gomes, *De la première découverte de la Guinée récit par Diogo Gomes (fin XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, ed. Monod et al.

Diogo Gomes, 'The voyages of Diogo Gomes', in Crone (ed.), *The voyages of Cadamosto*, pp. 91-102

Diogo Gomes, 'As relações do descobrimento da Guiné e das ilhas dos Açores, Madeira e Cabo Verde, versão do latim por Gabriel Pereira', *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* 17 (1898-99) 267-93

L. Cordeiro, 'Diogo d'Azambuja', *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* 11 (1892) 172-249

R.H. Major, *Life of Prince Henry of Portugal*, London, 1868, pp. 64-65, 287-99, 303-5 (partial English trans.)

J.A. Schmeller, *Ueber Valentī Fernandez Alemā und seine Sammlung von Nachrichten über die Entdeckung und Besitzungen der Portugiesen in Afrika und Asien bis jahre 1508, enthalten in einer gleichzeitigen portugiesischen Handschrift der Königliche Hof- und Staats-Bibliothek zu München*, Munich, 1847, pp. 1-73

## STUDIES

A.C. Macpherson, 'Pre-Columbian discoveries and exploration of North America', in J.L. Allen (ed.), *North American exploration. A new world disclosed*, Lincoln NE, 1997, 13-70

B.W. Diffie and G.D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire. 1450-1580*, Minneapolis MN, 1977

R. Rainero, *La scoperta della costa occidentale d'Africa. Nella relazioni di Gomes Eanes de Zurara, Diogo Gomes, Eustache de la Fosse, Valentim Fernandes e Duarte Pacheco Pareira*, Milan, 1970

**Martha Frederiks**

# Kīrillus al-Lādhiqī

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Perhaps Latakia
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH	Perhaps Latakia

## BIOGRAPHY

Kīrillus al-Lādhiqī had the ecclesiastical rank of deacon (*shammās*). According to Sbath (*Fihris*, supp., pp. 28-29), he was a 'Greek Orthodox' (or Melkite) cleric of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Sbath goes on to list the titles of two apologetic works of his found in a manuscript of 1513; see below.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary* —

*Secondary*

Graf, *GCAL* ii, p. 89

Sbath, *Fihris*, supplément, pp. 28-29

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Maqāla fī intishār al-Injīl wa-l-Naṣrāniyya fī l-‘ālam*,  
'Treatise on the spread of the Gospel  
and Christianity in the world'

DATE Possibly 15<sup>th</sup> century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

### DESCRIPTION

From its title, one can surmise that this work was an apology of the 'true religion' variety, attempting to show that Christianity did not spread for humanly comprehensible reasons, but because of divine power.

### SIGNIFICANCE

The notice of this title in Sbath's catalogue is a small indication of the continuing attraction of apologies of the 'true religion' variety, long after the genre was developed in the 9<sup>th</sup> century.



## MANUSCRIPTS

According to Sbath, Shukrī Naḥḥās of Aleppo possessed a manuscript dated 1513 containing this work; Sbath, *Fihris*, supplément, p. 28 (no. 2652).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

*Maqāla fī irtifāʿ al-ṣalīb al-karīm wa-intiṣārihi ʿalā  
l-ʿālam*, ‘Treatise on the elevation of the noble  
Cross and its victory over the world’

DATE Possibly 15<sup>th</sup> century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

The title indicates a work of apologetic, perhaps focusing on miracles performed by the sign of the cross.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Since the contents of the work are unknown, we must hope that a copy can be found.

## MANUSCRIPTS

According to Sbath, Shukrī Naḥḥās of Aleppo possessed a manuscript dated 1513 containing this work; Sbath, *Fihris*, supplément, p. 29 (no. 2653).

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

Mark N. Swanson

# Konstantin Mihailović

Konstantin Mihailović of Ostrovica; Konstantin,  
son of Mihail Konstantinović of Ostrovica; Muslim name:

Ishaq Kahya

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1435
PLACE OF BIRTH	Ostrovica, or Ostrvica
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; before 1500
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; possibly in Poland

## BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about Konstantin's early years. He was born in Ostrovica (or Ostrvica), which may be either the town of that name about 65 kilometers south of Belgrade near Rudnik, or another town further south, close to Novo Brdo, between Nerodimlja and Sirinić. The young Konstantin and his two brothers were captured and enslaved by Sultan Mehmed II in 1455, at the end of the siege of Novo Brdo. He entered the service of the sultan and was forcibly converted to Islam, taking the name Ishaq Kahya. He seems to have served in the palace for some time and, though he never says so, he very probably became a Janissary, because he describes several of Mehmed II's military campaigns as a first hand witness, including the siege of Belgrade, the conquest of Morea, the campaign against Trebizond, the Wallachian campaign against the voivode Vlad Drakul, and the Bosnian campaign against King Stepan Tomašević. Although it is not certain that he was actually present at all of these (and even more doubtful with regard to the conquest of Constantinople, which he also describes), it is nevertheless likely that he did take part in the campaigns in Wallachia and Bosnia.

After the conquest of Bosnia in 1463, Konstantin was made governor of the small fortress of Zvečaj, on the river Vrbas. When King Matthias Corvinus (q.v.) of Hungary captured the fortress in the same year, he was taken prisoner and was able to return to the Christian world. Nothing sure is known about his life after that. He may possibly have gone to Hungary, Bohemia and Moravia, and he most probably finally settled in Poland. His *Memoirs* are his only work.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

The only source for Konstantin's life is his own work.

*Secondary*

See below.

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Kronika turecka* (Czech), 'Turkish chronicle'  
*Pamiętniki Janczara* (Polish), 'Memoirs of a  
 Janissary'

DATE Between 1497 and 1500, with some parts added after the author's death

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Serbian

## DESCRIPTION

The *Memoirs* are divided into 48 very short chapters and a final note. The surviving manuscripts are in Czech and Polish, though the lost autograph was in Serbian. Konstantin begins by giving information about the religion of the Muslims – the 'ignoble heathens', their history, buildings, ceremonies and institutions, a portrayal that is not only untrustworthy but also peculiar, and perhaps the result of Konstantin's experience as a Janissary (chs 1-8). There follows a history of the Ottoman sultans down to the reign of Bayazid II (1481-1512). The reign of Mehmed II is particularly well developed, especially the years 1455-63, corresponding to Konstantin's time in the sultan's service, with a description of several of his campaigns in both Asia and Europe (chs 9-37). In this part are included some autobiographical data and first-hand notations (in particular in ch. 27), which provide the only justification for the title *Memoirs* for a book that is more a treatise on the Turks than an autobiography. The last part is a description of the organization of the Ottoman state and its main institutions, in particular its military units, their recruitment and their ways of fighting (chs 38-48). The final note is an exhortation to the Hungarian and Polish kings to unite their powers against the Turks.

This concluding message puts the whole work in its true light. It is by no means a purely autobiographical narrative, but must be considered as a political and ideological undertaking, to prepare for a grand coalition of the two Jagellonian royal brothers, King John-Albert of Poland (1492-1501), and King Václav II of Bohemia (1471-1516) and Hungary (1490-1516). This

purpose provides a credible explanation for the existence of the Polish and Czech versions of the text. The struggle against the Turks necessitated better knowledge of the enemy, in particular as far as his strengths and weaknesses in the military field were concerned. Several chapters, especially in the third part, fulfil this aim explicitly.

In light of this, even if there is no reason to question the historical reality of the figure of Konstantin and the autobiographical details he supplies, it is certain that elements outside his direct experience were also introduced, possibly by one or several other authors. In other words, Konstantin's own experiences, authentic as they may be, were employed both for the valuable information they could give and for the support that an eye-witness could bring to the whole political project that was envisaged. Consequently, the book is not a discussion about theological or historical aspects of Christian-Muslim relations, but a portrayal of these relations in action, as it were, through the emblematic case of a Christian victim enslaved by the Turks like so many others, and through the accounts of cruel wars waged by the sultans against the Christians. It served as a preparation and stimulus for Christian revenge.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Evidence for the success and long-lasting impact of the work is provided by the fact that a relatively high number of manuscripts have survived in two Slavonic languages. Conceived as a tool in the struggle between Christianity and Islam at a time when the Ottoman threat was at its most acute, the work offered to an eastern European Christian audience a better knowledge of Muslim and Turkish realities. The *Memoirs* remain a major piece of Slavonic literature of the time, as well as one of the main sources on the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. They have continued to be used and quoted by historians to the present day. If some information given by Konstantin can be compared to other contemporary data, other details are unique, making them both particularly exciting and problematic.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

See the list of manuscripts in Stolz and Soucek, *Konstantin Mihailović. Memoirs of a Janissary*, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

Fifteen manuscripts in Polish and Czech from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries are known (two are lost). Of these, the Czech manuscript from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century in the Czech Museum, Prague, is generally agreed to be the oldest.

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

- Bir Yeniçerinin Haturati, çeviren ve yayıma Hazırlayan Kemal Beydilli*, Istanbul, 2003 (Turkish trans.)
- Konstantin Mihailović, Memoirs of a Janissary*, trans. B. Stolz, historical commentary and notes by S. Soucek, Ann Arbor MI, 1975 (trans.)
- Memoiren eines Janitcharen oder Türkische Chronik*, trans. R. Lachmann, commentary by C.-P. Haase, R. Lachmann and G. Prinzig, Graz, 1975 (German trans.) (repr. Paderborn, 2010)
- Konstantin Mihailović iz Ostrovice, Janičarove uspomene ili turska hronika*, ed. and trans. Đ. Živanović, (*Brazde, posebna serija* 5), Belgrade, 1966 (Serbian trans.) (repr. Belgrade, 1986)
- Konstantin Mihailović iz Ostrovice, Janičarove uspomene ili turska hronik*, ed. and trans. Đ. Živanović (*Srpska akademija nauka, Spomenik* 107, *Odeljenje društvenih nauka, Nova serija* 9), Belgrade, 1959 (Serbian trans.)
- Pamiętniki Janczara czyli Kronika Turecka Konstantego z Ostrowicy napisana między r. 1496 a 1501*, ed. J. Łoś (*Wydawnictwa Akademii umiejętności w Krakowie, Biblioteka pisarzy polskich* 63), Cracow, 1912 (Polish edition)
- Mijaila Konstantinovića, Srbina iz Ostrvice, Istorija ili ljetopisi turski, spisani oko godine 1490*, ed. and trans. J. Šafařík (*Glasnik srpskog učenog društva* 1, no. 18), Belgrade, 1865, pp. 25-188 (Serbian trans.)
- Pamiętniki Janczara Polaka przed rokiem 1500 napisane*, ed. A. Gałęzowski (*Zbiór pisarzy Polskich, Część druga* 5), Warsaw, 1828; *Pamiętniki Janczara przed rokiem 1500 napisane*, ed. J.K.H. Załuski, Sanok, 1857<sup>2</sup>; Sanok, 1868<sup>3</sup> (Polish edition)
- Hystorya neb Kronyka Turecka od Michala Konstantina z Ostrowicze Ráca Neb Bosnáka někdy od Turkůw zagatého a mezi Jančare daného wěrně a prawě sepsana*, ed. Alexander Augedsky, Litomyšl, 1565, 1581 (Polish edition)
- Kronyka česká*, ed. Václav Hájek, Prague, 1541 (Czech edition)

## STUDIES

- C. Sakallı, 'Anılar içinde Tarih, Tarih içinde Anılar. Bir Yeniçerinin Anıları', *Toplumsal Tarih* 16/95 (2001) 21-29
- M. Najbar, '“Pamiętniki Janczara czyli kronika turecka” Konstantego z Ostrowicy jako memoriał wzywający do jedności świata chrześcijańskiego' in U. Borkowska (ed.), *Uniwersalizm i regionalizm w kronikarstwie Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej. Średniowieczepoczątek czasów nowożytnych*, Lublin, 1996, 233-44

- K. Inan, 'Osmanlılara dair layıkıyla değerlendirilmeyen bir kaynak. Konstantin Mihailoviç ve eseri', *I. Türk Tarihi ve Edebiyatı Kongresi, 11-13 sept*, Manisa (Turkey), 1996
- V.L. Ménage, review of Stolz and Soucek, *Konstantin Mihailovič. Memoirs of a Janissary* 1975, *BSOAS* 40 (1977) 155-60
- G. Jovanović, *Studia nad językiem 'Pamiętników janczara'*, Cracow, 1972
- A. Danti, 'Ani janczar, ani autor Kroniki tureckiej? (W sprawie Konstantego Michailowicia z Ostrowicy)', *Pamiętnik Słowański* 19 (1969) 101-13
- A. Danti, 'Od Kroniky Turecké k Pamětnikom Janczara', *Slavia* 38 (1969) 351-72
- A. Danti, 'Contributi all'edizione critica dei *Pamětniki Janczara*', *Ricerche Slavistiche* 16 (1968) 126-62
- A. Danti and Gordana Jovanović, 'Siedemnastowieczna przeróbka *Pamětników Janczara* w świetle pięciu nowych rękopisów', *Ruch Literacki* 9 (1968) 223-29
- G. Jovanović, review of Živanović, *Konstantin Mihailovič iz Ostrovice* 1966, *Ruch Literacki* 9 (1968) 242-44
- S. Subotin, review of Živanović, *Konstantin Mihailovič iz Ostrovice* 1959, *Pamiętnik Słowański* (1964) 244-55
- G. Jovanović and A. Danti, 'La rielaborazione secentesca dei *Pamětniki Janczara* alla luce di cinque nuove copie', *Ricerche Slavistiche* 14 (1966) 42-52
- S.M. Ćirković, review of Živanović, *Konstantin Mihailovič iz Ostrovice* 1959, *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 1-2 (1961) 123-25
- N. Radojčić, 'Srpsko ili strano delo?', *Letopis Matice Srpske* 386 (1960) 426-34
- F. Babinger, 'Der Quellenwert der Berichte über den Einsatz von Belgrad am 21/22 juli 1456', *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 1957, Heft 6*, 263-310)
- B. Ćirić, 'Próba nowego spojrzenia na *Pamětniki Janczara*', *Pamiętnik Literacki* 43 (1952) 140-70
- A. Brückner, 'Wremennik serbskoturecki', *Slavia* 2 (1923-24) 310-26
- Čeněk Žibrt, review of Łoś, *Pamětniki Janczara*, 1912, *Časopis Musea království českého* 87 (1913) 203-5
- Čeněk Žibrt, 'Michala Konstantina z Ostrovice Historia neb Kronika Turecka 1565, 1581', *Časopis Musea království českého* 86 (1912) 424-54

Jan Łoś, 'Pamiętniki Janczara (Kronika turecka Konstantego z Ostrowicy)', *Rozprawy Wydziału filologicznego Akademii Umiejętności* 51 (1912) 1-72

Josef Jireček, 'Paměti turecké Mich. Konstantinoviče z Ostrovice', *Rozpravi z oboru historie, filologie a literatury* 1 (1860) 1-9

**Gilles Veinstein**

## Petrus de Pennis

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; perhaps 14 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Probably Italy
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; 14 <sup>th</sup> or 15 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

### BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about Petrus de Pennis. He identifies himself as a Dominican friar, and the name 'Pennis' perhaps refers to the town of Penna in Calabria; his Latin vocabulary certainly suggests an Italian origin. He is the author of a tract against the Talmud (*Liber contra Judaeos, nomine Talamoth*), a treatise on the incarnate Word (*Tractatus de notitia Verbi incarnate*), and a *Libellus de locis ultramarinis*, a largely derivative description of the history and geography of the Holy Land based in good part on Jacques de Vitry (q.v.).

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

Petrus de Pennis, *Libellus de locis ultramarinis*, ed. C. Kohler, 'Le libellus de locis ultramarinis de Pierre "de Pennis"', *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 9 (1902) 313-83 (available on <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k2208235/f316.image.r=Revue%20de%20l%27orient%20latin.langFR>)

#### *Secondary*

T. Kaeppli, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum medii aevi*, vol. 3, Rome, 1980, pp. 249-51  
J. Quéatif and J. Echard, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*, vol. 1, Paris, 1719, pp. 569-70

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Tractatus contra Alchoranum et Mahometum*,  
'Treatise against the Qur'an and Muḥammad'

DATE 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> century  
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin



## DESCRIPTION

Petrus de Pennis reworks material from earlier Latin writers, particularly Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (q.v.): much of his material is lifted directly from Riccoldo's *Contra legem Sarracenorum*. But he does this reworking with his own goal in mind – to show that the Qur'an was the word not of God, but of the devil. He presents the devil as the principal author of the Qur'an, and the 'false prophet' Muḥammad as the 'instrumental author'.

His treatise is a refutation of the Qur'an in 15 chapters. He begins by narrating the life of Muḥammad from various sources that he does not cite by name, merely mentioning 'some books relate that...' or 'elsewhere one reads that...'. He recycles various common hostile legends (absent from Riccoldo's text): Muhammad's supposed epilepsy, his training a dove to eat grains from his ear, etc. He affirms that Muḥammad was illiterate (*idiota*) and received help from heretical Jews and Christians, principally the monk Sergius.

The subsequent chapters of the treatise relate the 'errors' and 'lies' of the Qur'an concerning the Trinity, the Incarnation, the divine nature of Christ, the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, and angels. He denounces the Muslim conception of heaven and the 'incredible visions' that Muḥammad claims to have had (as found in the *mi'rāj* traditions). He asserts that the Qur'an contradicts itself and, in his final chapter, seeks to show that the Qur'an contains proof of the superiority of the Gospels, which all Saracens should obey.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Petrus' tract shows the continued interest in mission, or at least refutation of Islam, in Dominican circles. It depends heavily on Riccoldo, and also on Petrus Alfonsi's (q.v.) *Dialogi*, and it reveals that Petrus de Pennis' own knowledge of the Qur'an and of Islam is inferior to that of his principal sources. For example, in recopying a passage from Petrus Alfonsi concerning the *hajj*, he inserts after the word Mecca, *ubi iacet corpus Machometi* ('where Muḥammad's body lies'), thus repeating a common error that is absent from his sources.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Rome, Archivio Generale dell'Ordine dei Predicatori – XIV.28b, fols 155r-200r (after 1428)

MS Graz, Universitätsbibliothek – 655, fols 237v-259r (after 1436)

MS Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek – Theol. 115 (1440)

MS Vat – Barb. Lat 856, fols 225v-246 (1486)

MS Bayeux, Bibliothèque du Chapitre – 42 (15<sup>th</sup> century)

- MS Paris, BNF – Lat 3646, fols 13v-46v (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale – 392 (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Vat – Lat. 976, fols 51v-70v (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Vat – Ottob. Lat 1918 (1607)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS —

## STUDIES

- E. Panella, 'Ricerche su Riccoldo da Monte di Croce', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 58 (1988) 5-85, pp. 77-85  
 N. Daniel, *Islam and the West. The making of an image*, Edinburgh, 1960  
 E. Cerulli, *Il Libro della scala e la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina Commedia*, Vatican City, 1949, p. 347

**John Tolan**

## Two Syriac fragments

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Syriac

### DESCRIPTION

In two manuscript miscellanies in the Mingana Collection at the University of Birmingham are to be found two brief fragments written in different hands and of different origin. Both are in Karshūnī and partly illegible. In the first, which is ‘against those who deny the cross’ (*miltā lūqbal aīlayn d-gādpīn ‘al slībā*), the Christian interlocutor remarks that Muslims believe the Word of God is created and a servant (cf. Q 4:171-72). The second fragment is a discussion between a monk, whose name is not mentioned, and a Muslim called al-Bāhīlī, apparently a different person from the al-Bāhīlī who plays a role in the discussion with Abraham of Tiberias (q.v.).

It is impossible to suggest a date of composition for either work. Neither the implied criticism in the first, which is well-known throughout the classical Islamic period, nor the name of the Muslim participant in the second, conceivably the early-10<sup>th</sup>-century Mu‘tazilī Abū ‘Umar Muḥammad al-Bāhīlī, who wrote a defense of Muḥammad (q.v.), but possibly someone else who traced his lineage from the Bāhila tribe, is sufficient to allow even speculation.

### SIGNIFICANCE

The brevity of these fragments does not permit any comments about the originality or significance of the arguments in them.

### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Birmingham, University Library – Mingana 105, fols 31r-32v (1832-33)

MS Birmingham, University Library – Mingana 184, fols 153v-155r  
(undated)

### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

### STUDIES

The fragments are listed in:

L. Sako, ‘Bibliographie du dialogue islamo-chrétien. Auteurs chrétiens de langue syriaque’, *Islamochristiana* 10 (1984) 273-92, p. 290

A. Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of manuscripts*, vol 1. *Syriac and Garshūni manuscripts*, Cambridge, 1933, cols 256, 408

Addenda and corrigenda to *CMR* 1-3



## *Life of Simeon of the Olives*

Eyyüb of Bēth Man'em

DATE OF BIRTH	Mid-7 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Bēth Man'em, south-east of Midyat in Ṭūr 'Abdīn
DATE OF DEATH	Mid-8 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

### BIOGRAPHY

A few biographical details about Eyyüb are given in his *Life of Simeon of the Olives*. There it is related that his family, among whom were many scribes, came originally from Ḥabsenus, but because of local disturbances and also in order to be near the monastery of Qartmīn in Ṭūr 'Abdīn, they moved to the village of Bēth Man'em, south of the monastery. Eyyüb himself was a nephew of Mār Dawīdh (David), who was himself the son of Simeon of the Olives' sister, and he was therefore the great nephew of the subject of his *Life*. Since Simeon was born in 624, Eyyüb must have been active between about 650 and 750.

Palmer (*Monk and mason*, p. 162) argues that a late redactor, seeing in the *Calendar of Ṭūr 'Abdin* that there was a Bishop David of Ḥarrān and not realizing that he lived in the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, identified him with Simeon's sister's son Mār Dawīdh. This identification and dating would place Eyyüb in the late 9<sup>th</sup> and early 10<sup>th</sup> century, where Barṣawm (*The book of scattered pearls*) in fact puts him, though this is unlikely.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

For details about Eyyüb, see his *Life of Simeon of the Olives*.

#### *Secondary*

A.N. Palmer, 'La montagne aux LXX monastères. La géographie monastique du Ṭūr 'Abdin', in F. Jullien (ed.), *Le monachisme syriaque*, Paris, 2010, 169-259

J. Tannous, *Syria between Byzantium and Islam. Making incommensurables speak*, Princeton NJ, 2010 (PhD diss., Princeton University), pp. 236, 270, 274, 277, 318-19, 326, 365-66, 370-73

R. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as others saw it*, Princeton NJ, 1997, pp. 168-71

A.N. Palmer, *Monk and mason on the Tigris frontier. The early history of Ṭūr ‘Abdīn*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 6-7, 159-65, 176, 252

S. Brock, 'The Fenqitho of the monastery of Mor Gabriel', *Ostkirchliche Studien* 28 (1979) 168-82, pp. 174-82

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Tash’itā d-qaddīshā rām ba-gbayyā mār(y) Shem’ūn d-zaytē*, 'The story of St Simeon of the Olives, exalted among the elect'

DATE Unknown; probably first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, with later additions

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Syriac, with occasional passages in Karshūnī

### DESCRIPTION

According to the Paris MS, the full title of this work is *Tash’itā d-qaddīshā rām ba-gbayyā mār(y) Shem’ūn d-zaytē d-hū itawhy men Ḥabsenūs qastrā mshammahtā ba-thūm atrā da-mḥallemāyē* ('The story of St Simeon of the Olives, exalted among the elect, who is from the famous fort of Ḥabsenus on the border of Mḥallemī territory'). The title in the Mardin MS appears to have been the same, but it contains a short lacuna. The Midyat MS omits two words and calls Ḥabsenus a *qrītā* ('village').

The work, which is 57-58 folios in the Paris MS, 34 pages in the Mardin MS, 61 pages in the Midyat MS, and 28 pages in Dolabānī's 1959 edition, is not a standard saint's life but a mixture of different genres: encomium, in which the achievements of predecessors and even of remote successors in office are attributed to the hero; hagiography, in which traditional ascetic practices and miracles are attributed to the hero, though not as consistently as in a standard saint's life; chronicle, stressing realistically enough Simeon's great talent as a somewhat unscrupulous entrepreneur; folk-tale, with no edifying moral at its center. It has certainly been edited since it was first written, perhaps on more than one occasion. It now includes notes on the history of Haytum Castle down to the year 972, which were presumably inserted after the *Life* was brought from Ḥarrān to Ṭūr ‘Abdīn in the early 11<sup>th</sup> century.

The part that deals with Christian-Muslim relations is short, fols 166r-170v of the Paris MS, pp. 214-22 of the Mardin MS, and pp. 313-25 in the Midyat MS. It tells of a debate between Simeon and some Muslim scholars in the presence of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn (this was originally

written in Karshūnī). Simeon refutes them all, and also the Jews and Nestorians, out of their own scriptures. As a result, al-Ma'mūn favors him and calls him Abī (*sic*) Qurra. He grants him an escort of 1,000 men, and orders his minister Ma'afna ibn Ja'far to give him a diploma (*sigilion*), which assures him of preferential treatment wherever he goes in the caliph's dominions. This episode must be a later addition, since it takes the action of the *Life* into the early 9<sup>th</sup> century. It is generally regarded as an interpolation featuring the Melkite bishop and scholar Theodore Abū Qurra (q.v.; see also *The debate of Theodore Abū Qurra*, *CMR* 1, pp. 556-64). Perhaps because of Simeon's dialectical abilities and his association with Ḥarrān, this conflation with Theodore, bishop of Ḥarrān and noted religious disputer, was easy enough for the later West Syrian tradition to make.

The *Life* continues: 'On returning from Baghdād [Simeon] built the church of St Theodore Martyr inside the east gate of Nisibis on the site of the ancient basilica of St Febronia.' With this sentence, the author connects the anachronistic interpolation featuring Theodore Abū Qurra with the continuation of the original partly historical narrative. It then goes on to say: 'Again, in honour of the king (*malkā*) of the Muslims (*ṭayyāyē*) and to predispose them in his favor, he built beside the church [of St Theodore] a large and beautiful mosque (*masgdā*), which he adorned with great respect. He also gave a luxurious banquet in the city, which was paid for by the church as a means of pleasing the Muslims, the legal experts (*paqihē*) and the imams (*mṣallyānē*) who frequented the mosque [the Paris MS, f. 176r, gives this in Ṭūroyo as *lu-jami'*]. For services of this kind Simeon of the Olives was praised, honoured, loved by all the Muslims; they helped him in everything that he did. Moreover, the rulers (*shallitānē*) of the Muslims gave him gold and silver and other gifts to distribute [to those in need]' (Section 27 of Tannous' unpublished translation) – thanks to which he acquired the nickname 'St John the almsgiver' (*mār Yoḥannān mraḥmānā*). 'After building that school (*madrashtā*; MS Paris, fol. 177v: *madrasa*) of the Muslims, he built [with the support of the Muslims against East Syrian opposition] many religious institutions in Nisibis, endowing them with commercial institutions such as shops, mills, public baths and inns, to provide them with an income.'

#### SIGNIFICANCE

This is one of the few West Syrian (Monophysite) pieces of hagiography written in the Islamic period, and it therefore represents a valuable testimony to the situation of the Syrian Orthodox under early Islamic rule.



It also demonstrates the strength of West Syrian feeling against the East Syrians, in that they were prepared to bribe the Muslims to permit them to build in a city that was a traditional East Syrian stronghold, and not only a church for themselves but also a mosque.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Paris, BNF – Syr. 375, fols 152r-210r (undated, but probably older than the Mardin MS)
- MS Mardin, Syrian Orthodox Church of the Forty Martyrs – 8/259, pp. 203-47 (fols 105r-127r) (1916)
- MS Damascus, Monastery of Mār Afrēm, M'ārat Sayyidnāya – Syrian Orthodox Patriarchal Collection 9/16 (1954; see Y. Dolabani et al., 'Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque du patriarcat syrien-orthodoxe à Homs [aujourd'hui à Damas]', *Pd'O* 19 [1994] 555-661, p. 596)
- MS Midyat, Syrian Orthodox Church of Mār Barṣawmā – pp. 298-359 (July 1955; main contents: the *Lives* of Mār Barṣawmā and of Mār Simeon of the Olives, copied out by Chorepiscopus Nu'man Aydın for this church)

#### EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

- Philoxenos Yoḥannān Dolabānī, *Maktabzabnē d-ūmrā qaddishā d-qartmīn* (sic) ['History of the holy abbey of Qartmīn'], Mardin: Ḥekmtā Press, 1959, pp. 125-58 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition Glane, The Netherlands: Bar-Hebraeus Verlag, 1991, pp. 81-100; repr. Piscataway NJ, 2011) (This edition takes great liberties with the original version, for example, editing out the banquet given by Simeon at the expense of the West Syrian Church in Nisibis for the powerful Muslims whose permission Simeon needed to encroach on the East Syrians' territory within the city walls.)

A.N. Palmer is currently preparing an edition with help from E. Aydın. J. Tannous is preparing a translation of this edition.

#### STUDIES

- D. Bertaina, *Christian and Muslim dialogues. The religious uses of a literary form in the early Islamic Middle East*, Piscataway NJ, 2011, pp. 212-28
- Y. Bilge, *1600 yıllık gelenek Mor Gabriel manastırı*, Istanbul, 2011, pp. 119-23
- Palmer, 'La montagne aux LXX monastères'  
Tannous, *Syria between Byzantium and Islam*

- D. Bertaina, *An Arabic account of Theodore Abu Qurra in debate at the court of Caliph al-Ma'mun. A study in early Christian and Muslim literary dialogues*, Washington DC (PhD diss., Catholic University of America), pp. 365-70
- I. Dick, *Mujādalat Abī Qurra ma'a l-mutakallimīn al-Muslimīn fī majlis al-khalīfa l-Ma'mūn*, Aleppo, 2007, pp. 121-24
- Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as others saw it*
- F. Briquel-Chatonnet, *Manuscrits syriaques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (nos 356-435, entrés depuis 1911), de la Bibliothèque Méjane d'Aix-en-Provence, de la Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon et de la Bibliothèque nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg: Catalogue*, Paris, 1997, pp. 58-59
- Palmer, *Monk and mason on the Tigris frontier*, pp. 6-7, 159-65, 176, 252
- F. Briquel-Chatonnet, 'Note sur l'histoire du monastère de Saint-Gabriel de Qartamin', *Le Muséon* 98 (1985) 95-102
- Brock, 'The Fenqitho of the Monastery of Mar Gabriel in Tur 'Abdin', pp. 174-79 (summary of Dolabānī's text)
- Moran Mor Ignatīyos Afrēm Barṣawm, *The book of scattered pearls* [in Arabic], 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Aleppo, 1956 (trans. M. Moosa, Piscataway NJ, 2003, pp. 397-98, no. 171)

Andrew Nicholas Palmer and Jack Tannous

# Jawsep Hazzāyā

DATE OF BIRTH	Between 710 and 713
PLACE OF BIRTH	Nimrūd, in the vicinity of Nineveh
DATE OF DEATH	Last quarter of the 8 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF DEATH	Probably the Monastery of Rabban Bōktīshō', Qardū, today south-eastern Turkey

## BIOGRAPHY

Jawsep was of Persian origin; his father was the head of the Mobeds of Nimrūd. At the age of seven, he was seized by pillaging Arabs and was sold as a slave to a Muslim Arab in Singar (north-east Iraq). Three years later, he was sold to a Christian master in Qardū (south-east Turkey), where Jawsep became attracted to the ascetic life, and his master set him free to become a monk. He spent the rest of his life in a series of monasteries and hermitages, all located in today's northern Iraq or in Qardū. He was an influential author of mystical theological works, and some of his ideas were highly controversial. In 786 (or 790), either shortly before or after Jawsep's death, a general synod of the East Syrian Church under the Catholicos Timothy I (q.v.) condemned his works as unorthodox.

The main topic of these works is the monk's inner development. Unsurprisingly, hardly any references to contemporary historical developments that could concern Islam or Muslims are to be found in his published writings. The apocalyptic section of his unedited treatise *On providence* is the exception.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

Ishodnah of Basra, *Livre de la chasteté*, ed. P. Bedjan, Paris, 1901

*Eliae Metropolitanæ Nisibeni opus chronologicum*, ed. E.W. Brooks, vol. 1 (CSCO Syr. 21), Paris, 1910

J. Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, vol. 3, Rome, 1728

*Secondary*

A complete bibliography on the author and his works is given in G. Kessel and K. Pinggéra, *A bibliography of Syriac ascetic and mystical literature*, Leuven, 2011, pp. 157-64.

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Mēmṛā d-al kyān itūtā w-al pūrshānā da-qnōmē da-lītāyūtā w-al dīlāyāthōn w-al hwāyāh da-brītā w-al dīnā w-al baṭlūtēh w-mraḥmānūtēh d-māran alāhā, w-al ḥubbā d-ḥwī ba-ḥrāyat zabnē twāt mlīlē w-al medem d-šar twāthōn, men shūrā brīthōn wa-damā l-shūlāmā*, ‘A memra on the nature of the [divine] essence, on the distinction between the hypostases of the Trinity and on their attributes, and on the genesis of creation, on [divine] judgment and on the care and mercifulness of God our Lord; and on the love He showed towards rational beings in recent times, and on what He has done for them, from the beginning of their creation until the consummation’; ‘On providence’

DATE Last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Syriac

## DESCRIPTION

Jawsep Hazzāyā’s tractate *On providence* consists of two unequal parts: the first contains a very short summary of the essentials of the Christian faith such as the doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation, a treatment of some exegetical problems arising from the Book of Genesis, and a lengthy treatise on Enoch and Elijah, the soteriological importance of their leaving this world without dying, and their present dwelling and state of existence. The second part, which covers approximately one fifth of the work (23 out of 129 manuscript pages), is the apocalyptic section, a long digression beginning with the question of Elijah’s eschatological role.

It is in this apocalyptic section that certain indirect but unambiguous allusions to contemporary (third quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century) Christian-Muslim relations can be found. The author presents the 'Devastator' (Antichrist) demanding 'adoration alone', and not taxes, on pain of death. This results in a rapid decrease of the faithful, almost to extinction. This stage of the eschatological scenario is the present time, for the present is also characterized by a decline in the number of the faithful and a large number of martyrs, those who have resisted apostasy. Finally, a dramatic appeal is directed to those who have apostatized and now want to repent, encouraging them to do so without any doubt about receiving forgiveness and with no fear of losing their earthly lives.

In northern Mesopotamia, where Jawsep spent his entire life, the last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century was a time when the most rapid process of Islamization and Arabization was beginning. Thus, this short apocalypse must be seen as his interpretation of these ongoing developments which were transforming the world around him.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

This part of *On providence* is one of the very few extant sources of its time that give an idea about how Christians in northern Mesopotamia saw the accelerated Islamization of their region. It is also of interest for the literary history of the Christian apocalyptic reaction to Islam, which had begun in the 7<sup>th</sup> century with the writings of Pseudo-Methodius (q.v.) and the anonymous author of the *Eddesene Apocalypse* (q.v.).

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Baghdad, Library of the Chaldean Monastery – Syr. 680 (1289; formerly Alqōsh – 237)

#### EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

The text has not yet been published; an edition is in preparation.

#### STUDIES

R. Beulay, 'Des centuries de Joseph Ḥazzaya retrouvées?', *Pd'O* 3 (1972) 5-44

E.J. Sherry: 'The life and works of Joseph Hazzaya', in W. McCullough (ed.) *The seed of wisdom. Essays in honour of T.J. Meek*, Toronto, 1964, 78-91

J.-M. Vosté, 'Recueil d'auteurs ascétiques nestoriens du VII<sup>e</sup> et VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Angelicum* 6 (1929) 143-206

A. Scher, 'Joseph Ḥazzaya, écrivain syriaque du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 3 (1910) 45-63

# The Horoscope of Stephanus of Alexandria

(Pseudo-)Stephanus of Alexandria

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; possibly Egypt
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; possibly Egypt

## BIOGRAPHY

A text known as the *Horoscope of Islam* is pseudepigraphically attributed to Stephanus of Alexandria, a late 6<sup>th</sup>- early 7<sup>th</sup>-century teacher of philosophy, astrologer and commentator on Aristotle. Little is known about his life. According to some sources, he was summoned to Constantinople by the Emperor Heraclius (r. 610-41) as a teacher of philosophy. It is believed that he might have also practiced astrology at the emperor's court.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

John Moschus, *Pratum spirituale* 77, PG 87, col. 2929

Theophylact Simocatta, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn, 1834, p. 24

Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn, 1838, p. 338

### *Secondary*

A. Lumpe, 'Stephanos von Alexandria und Kaiser Herakleios', *Classica Mediaevalis. Dissertationes* 9 (1973) 150-59

A. Lumpe, 'Stephanos von Alexandria (Stephanus Philosophus)', *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 10, Herzberg, 1995, cols 1406-9

W. Wolska-Conus, 'Stéphanos d'Athènes et Stéphanos d'Alexandrie. Essai d'identification et de biographie', *Revue des Études Byzantines* 47 (1989) 5-89

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Stephanou philosophou Alexandreos apotelesmatike pragmateia pros Timotheon ton autou matheten, prophasen men ehousa ten neophane kai atheon nomothesian tou Moamed, polla de kai alla ton mellonton proagoreuoussa*, 'By Stephanus, the philosopher of Alexandria, a complete treatise to his student, Timotheus, having as its pretext the recently appeared and godless legislation of Muḥammad but also foretelling many other things to come'

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

The treatise begins with a general introduction to certain basic principles of astrology. It explains that the planets influence political and social affairs on earth, and that the order of the cosmos lies under God's control.

After this theoretical introduction, Stephanus recounts his meeting with an Arab merchant, a certain Epiphanius. Epiphanius reports the appearance of a person called Muḥammad, who claims to be a prophet, in the desert of Ethrib (Yathrib). This man comes from the tribe of Quraysh and belongs to the genealogy of Ishmael. He promises to those who believe in his teachings victory in warfare as well as the delights of paradise.

Epiphanius urges Stephanus to predict the progress and duration of this new 'nation' (there is no mention of Islam as a new faith). So Stephanus consults the stars and says that this nation will be very successful in warfare, will enslave many nations and will establish a new rule. It will forbid the consumption of wine and of pork, practice circumcision and be lascivious and immoral. It will observe Friday as a holiday, practice ablutions and follow its own marriage customs. He further predicts that it will dominate Egypt, Libya, Palestine and Syria, as well as Cilicia, Cappadocia, Armenia, Iberia, Colchis and Scythia. It will destroy the Persians and rule over the entire East, but will not be able to subdue the

Romans (i.e. the Byzantines). It will become involved in internal strife, will be successful at trade, but will not be able to rule the seas. At the end, Stephanus lists 24 rulers of this nation, along with a brief physical and psychological description of each and some 'historical' information on their rule (this permits 21 of these rulers, from Muḥammad to the Abbasid caliph al-Hādī [r. 785-86], to be identified). This nation will eventually lose its force, while the Romans will recover their strength and will overpower Islam.

Epiphanius reports that Muḥammad appeared in the desert of Yathrib in the month of Pharmouti, or April, of the year 932 of the era of Philip (= 609 CE). Usener (*Kleine Schriften*, p. 263) believes that this is an error and that this is actually a reference to the Seleucid era (= 621 CE), although Neugebauer and van Hoesen (*Greek Horoscopes*, p. 158) say this date does indeed correspond to 609 CE, and link it to the Islamic tradition that Muḥammad received his first revelation in the month of Ramaḍān 610.

Concerning the date of the work, it appears that the planetary conjunctions consulted for the horoscope correspond to 1 September 621, exactly one year before the date of the *hijra*, 20 September 622 (see Neugebauer and van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes*, p. 189, and M. Papatthanassiou, *The occult sciences*, p. 200). While the references to Islamic practices and the extent of its rule, and also the list of rulers stretching as far as al-Hādī, point to a date in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century at the earliest for the work as it now is, Papatthanassiou (*The occult sciences*, pp. 193-203) suggests that the introductory part at least might be by Stephanus of Alexandria and so from the early 7<sup>th</sup> century, and in support of this H. Usener points out that Vatican codex 1059, from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, identifies Stephanus of Alexandria with Stephanus the astrologer of Heraclius and author of the 'horoscope of Islam' (see *Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum* iii.3, p. 69; *Kleine Schriften*, p. 255). However, F. Cumont (*Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum* ii, p. 181), H.-G. Beck (*Vorsehung*, p. 68) and more recently D. Pingree (*Classical and Byzantine astrology*, pp. 238-39) attribute the work to a different 8<sup>th</sup>-century writer with the same name, who was known to have composed an astrological treatise.

Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century (*De administrando imperio* XVI, ed. Bekker, p. 93), George Cedrenus in the 11<sup>th</sup> century (*Chronography*, ed. Bekker, p. 717), and Leo the Grammarian in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (*Chronography*, ed. Bekker, pp. 152-53) all quote an astrological treatise on the fate of Islam attributed to Stephanus of Alexandria.



Thus, the *Horoscope*, or a version of it, was widely known in the Byzantine world as a work by this eminent astrologer of Late Antiquity.

The use of the Egyptian calendar indicates the possible Egyptian provenance of the text or of its author.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The *Horoscope* demonstrates good knowledge of Islamic history, customs and practices. It generally presents details about them with detachment, though it hints that they are flawed. While it portrays Islam as a new nation, it does not mention that it is a distinct religion. And it foresees its failure and defeat by resurgent Byzantium as an inevitable outcome of cosmic influences. In these respects, it reveals a certain antipathy.

The text is related to similar roughly contemporary astrological treatises, such as the works attributed to the Persian Jewish astrologer Māshā'allāh, and the Muslim polymath al-Kindi (q.v.), that explain the history of Islam from planetary conjunctions based on the date of the birth of Muḥammad and the *hijra*. Thus, despite its latent polemical character, it bears evidence of early inter-cultural exchanges between Abbasid and Byzantine astrologers and scholars.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana – Plut. 28.13, fols 240-247  
(14<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana – Plut. 28.14, fols 162-169  
(14<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana – Plut. 28.16, fols 258-268  
(14<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria – C.VII.10 (Zuretti 28),  
fols 029-34 (14<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana – Gr. 336, fols 226v-275  
(14<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Vat – Barb. gr. 127, fols 63-70 (15<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Paris, BNF – Gr. 2419, fols 72-76v (15<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – phil. gr. 108, fols  
292v-299 (16<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Monacensis – 105, fols 223-233  
(16<sup>th</sup> century)

#### EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

O. Neugebauer and H.B. van Hoesen, *Greek horoscopes*, Philadelphia PA, 1959, pp. 158-59 (trans. of a small part)

H. Usener, *De Stephano Alexandrino commentatio*, Bonn, 1880 (= *Kleine Schriften*, 4 vols, Leipzig, 1912-14, iii, pp. 247-322) (edition)

## STUDIES

- P. Magdalino, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues. La science entre le dogme et la divination à Byzance, VII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 2006
- M. Papathanassiou, 'Stephanos of Alexandria. A famous Byzantine scholar, alchemist and astrologer', in P. Magdalino and M. Mavroudi (eds), *The occult sciences in Byzantium*, Geneva, 2006, 163-203, pp. 189-201
- R. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as others saw it*, Princeton NJ, 1997, pp. 303-5
- M. Papathanassiou, 'Stephanou Alexandreos apotelesmatiki pragmateia i oroskopio tou Islam' [The Apotelesmatiki Pragmateia by Stephanus of Alexandria, or A horoscope of Islam], in *Oi epistimes ston Elliniko horo* (The sciences in the Greek world), Athens, 1997, 107-17
- C. Sode, 'Untersuchungen zu *De administrando imperio* Kaiser Konstantins VII. Porphyrogenetos', *Varia V (Poikila Byzantina 13)*, Bonn, 1994, 149-260, pp. 240-54
- A. Tihon, 'L'astronomie à Byzance à l'époque iconoclaste', in P. Leo Butzer and D. Lohrmann (eds), *Science in Western and Eastern civilization in Carolingian times*, Basel, 1993, 181-203, pp. 184-85
- G. Dagrón, 'Les diseurs d'événements. Réflexions sur un "thème astrologique" byzantin', in *Histoire et société. Mélanges offerts à Georges Duby. IV. La mémoire, l'écriture et l'histoire*, Aix-en-Provence, 1992, 58-65
- M. Papathanassiou, 'Stephanus of Alexandria. Pharmaceutical notions and cosmology in his alchemical work', *Ambix* 37 (1990) 121-33
- D. Pingree, 'Classical and Byzantine astrology in Sassanian Persia', *DOP* 43 (1989) 227-39
- D. Pingree, 'Historical horoscopes', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 82 (1962) 487-502
- H.-G. Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner*, Rome, 1937, pp. 68-69
- F. Cumont (ed.), *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, vol. 2. *Codices Venetos*, Brussels, 1900, pp. 181-86

Emmanouela Grypeou

# Anonymous Recension of Pseudo-Methodius

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; possibly Swabia or Bavaria
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; mid or late 8 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

## BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about the anonymous reviser of the Latin *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*. In his edition of the recension, Otto Prinz suggests that the reviser was a monk, since the work opens by addressing readers as 'brothers' (*fratres*). He may, in fact, have belonged to the monastic community of St Gall, whose library originally held the oldest extant manuscript (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, C 65), which dates from the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

Prinz further suggests that the reviser may have been Swabian or Bavarian, since he lists the nations once subject to the Roman Empire as 'Africans, Spanish, Gauls, Germans, Sueves, Britons and Bavarians'. The inclusion of the last three ethnic groups was not strictly necessary since they would have fallen under the broader category of 'Germans'. Also on intra-textual grounds, he seems to have written in the second quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, when Iberian Muslims occupied parts of Aquitaine and Francia.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

See below.

### *Secondary*

See below.

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Liber Methodii episcopi ecclesiae paterensis et martiris Christi*, 'Book of Methodius, bishop of the church of Patara and martyr of Christ'; 'Anonymous recension of Pseudo-Methodius'; 'Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius'; 'Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius'

DATE 8<sup>th</sup> century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

## DESCRIPTION

This recension, which is based on the earlier Latin translation from the Greek translation of the original Syriac *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* (q.v.), makes various alterations regarding the Muslim conquests. Most radically, whereas its Latin antecedent promised a swift reversal of Muslim assaults on Christendom, the recension anticipates further conquests, prophesying that western European lands would fall to Muslim invaders.

The oldest extant manuscript (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek – C 65) contains copious grammatical and toponymic errors (many of them corrected in later manuscripts), but it also makes deliberate revisions to the earlier Latin translation. The first significant change occurs in the discussion of the exodus of the 'sons of Ishmael' from the desert and their migration into nearby kingdoms in biblical antiquity. The recension explains that the Ishmaelite conquests fulfilled God's promise to Ishmael that he would build tabernacles near his brothers (Genesis 16:12), conflating the two meanings of the word *tabernaculum* to say that they set up military camps rather than portable temples. Following an Israelite victory against the Ishmaelites, the recension then omits much of its source material, skipping ahead to the next mention of the Ishmaelites, when they were to plague the world until their defeat by Roman Christians. By making this elision, the reviser excises the histories of the four world empires of the Persians, Babylonians, Greeks and Romans. The recension moves the Muslim conquests from the seventh to the sixth millennium, and it sometimes calls the Ishmaelites *Sarraceni*, the word most commonly used to denote Muslims in medieval Latin texts.

The recension endorses the base text's argument that God has given the Ishmaelites license to punish Christians for their sins. The reviser even refers to the culpable parties in the first person: 'God delivered us into the hands of barbarians because we forgot the rule of the Lord.' In contrast to its source, however, which blames the subjugation of Christian cities on sexual sins (citing Romans 1:26-27), the recension does not specify the kinds of sins that prompted the incursions. Also absent is the pericope that assured readers that God promoted Muslim armies not because he favored them but because of their victims' wickedness (Deuteronomy 9:4-6). Where the original text warned that many Christians would apostatize during the persecutions, the recension relates that many will prove their faith through martyrdom.

The reviser does not hesitate to correct Pseudo-Methodius' prophecies on the basis of more recent historical events. The absence of Spain from the original litany of captured places necessitates an acknowledgment that 'Spain will perish by the sword, and its inhabitants will be led away captives'. Furthermore, 'Gaul, Germany and Aquitania will be consumed by many battles, and many captives will be led away from them'. In the Zurich manuscript, the predictions also cover Italy, some parts – but not all – of which will fall to the Muslims. (In one of its many grammatically awkward phrases, the recension prophesies that *Romana gentes non capietur*. The section on Italy disappears from almost all later manuscripts, but in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century a copyist transformed the massacre of Romania into the massacre of the Romans, an emendation that became normative in subsequent manuscripts. In the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, after the Ottomans had seized the remnant of the Roman Empire, the passage on the partial capture of Italy reappears in some manuscripts).

The description of the conquest of Spain clearly reflects the political circumstances of the reviser's time, and the 'many battles' in Gaul and Aquitania must refer to those fought between the Muslims and the Franks and Aquitanians from 720 to 740. The grounds for including Germany and Italy are less evident, though in addition to recent events, eschatological thinking probably also contributed to the predictions that Muslims would invade these realms. The original text of Pseudo-Methodius had identified the Muslim conquests with the revolt that would precede the coming of Antichrist (2 Thessalonians 2:3), and so the reviser, aware that previous exegetes had interpreted this prophesied revolt as a reference to the fall of the Roman Empire, may have expected the Muslim conquests to overwhelm the former provinces of the western Roman Empire as well. Elsewhere in the text, the reviser makes a point of adding the

Spanish, Gauls and Germans (along with Sueves, Britons and Bavarians) to the list of nations subject to Rome, perhaps in allusion to the imagined relationship between the Roman and Ishmaelite dominions.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The recension's catastrophist reading of 8<sup>th</sup>-century events provides a perspective rarely seen among contemporary European writers north of the Pyrenees. It had no discernible impact until the 12<sup>th</sup> century, though it was the most widely read version of Pseudo-Methodius in the high and later Middle Ages. Lambert of Saint-Omer incorporated it into his *Liber Floridus* (c. 1120), in which he proclaimed that the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem fulfilled Pseudo-Methodius' prediction that a king of the Romans would subdue the Ishmaelites.

The crusades sparked an interest in the text that climaxed in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when readers mined it for clues to the outcome of Ottoman expansion in the Mediterranean. The recension's impact on medieval Christian eschatology, crusading ideology, and views of the role of Islam in sacred history warrants further study.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

- MS St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek – 569, fols 252-257 (10<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – 492, fols 3v-8v (10<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS London, BL – Royal 5. F. XVIII, fols 29v-32v (11<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Bodl. 163, fols 245r-248v (early 12<sup>th</sup> century);
- MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Laud Misc. 270, fols 213r-215v (early 12<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Oxford, St John's College – 128, fols 217v-223r (early 12<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Paris, BNF – lat. 13700, fols 144v-148r (end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS London, BL – Add. 34018, fols 94v-96v (13<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS London, BL – Cotton Vespasian E. III, fols 136-139r (13<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS London, BL – Royal 8.F.VIII, fols 306r-308r (13<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Musaeo 62, fols 135v-137v (13<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Vat – Ottob. lat. 222, fols 397r-398r (13<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Oxford, Magdalen College – 53, fols 207-211 (miscellany comprised of parts made in the 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries)
- MS Vat – Palat. lat. 1357, fols 154r-159v (13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Vat – Vat. lat. 3822, fols 26v-27v (13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS London, BL – Cotton Titus D. III, fols 138r-142r (early 14<sup>th</sup> century)
- MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional – 9731, fols 180r-182v (early 14<sup>th</sup> century)

- MS Paris, BNF – lat. 7400 A, f. 21v (14<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Paris, BNF – lat. 14503, fols 245r-247r (14<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Vat – Reg. lat. 553, fols 169-70 (14<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Oxford, Merton College – 13, fols 51v-53r (14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries)  
 MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Bodl. 867, fols 299r-305v (early 15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Cambridge, University Library – Dd. XV. 15, fols 153r-160v (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS London, BL – Sloane 289, fols 85r-88r (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Rawlinson D 520, fols 12v-18v (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Oxford, Corpus Christi College – 330, fols 159r-163v (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Oxford, Trinity College – 3, fols 246v- (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Oxford, University College – 99, fols 238-250 (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka – Rehdiger 280, fols 37r-39r (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Oxford, St John's College – 182, fols 128v- (mid- to late 15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Vat – Reg. lat. 219, fols 1r-9r (16<sup>th</sup> century)

Autograph manuscript of Lambert of St Omer's *Liber Floridus*:

MS Ghent, Gandensis – 92, fols 217r-219v (early 12<sup>th</sup> century)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

'Eine frühe abendländische Aktualisierung der lateinischen Übersetzung des Pseudo-Methodios', ed. O. Prinz, *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 41 (1985) 6-17

Lambert of St Omer, *Epistola Methodii de Antichristo*, ed. A. Derolez in *Lamberti S. Audomari canonici, Liber Floridus*, Ghent, 1968, pp. 433-38

'The short Latin text of the *Revelations*', ed. C. d'Evelyn, 'The Middle-English metrical version of the *Revelations* of Methodius; with a study of the influence of Methodius in Middle-English writings' [Appendix], *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 33 (1918) 135-203, pp. 192-203

#### STUDIES

J.E. Wannemacher, *Hermeneutik der Heilsgeschichte. Zur Frage der Echtheit von De Septem Sigillis*, Boston MA, 2005

H. Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit. Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjährigen Weissagung (Mittelalter-Forschungen 3)*, Stuttgart, 2000, pp. 136-43

W.J. Aerts and G.A. Kortekaas (eds), *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 569-70)*, Louvain, 1998, introduction and notes

- M. Laureys and D. Verhelst, 'Pseudo-Methodius, *Revelationes*. Textgeschichte und kirtische Edition. Ein Leuven-Groninger Forschungsprojekt', in W. Verbeke, D. Verhelst and A. Welkenhuysen (eds), *The use and abuse of eschatology in the Middle Ages*, Leuven, 1988, 112-36
- R. Rusconi, '“Ex quodam antiquissimo libello”. La tradizione manoscritta delle profezie nell'Italia tardomedievale: dalle collezioni profetiche alle prime edizioni a stampi', in W. Verbeke, D. Verhelst and A. Welkenhuysen (eds), *The use and abuse of eschatology in the Middle Ages*, Leuven, 1988, pp. 441-72
- J. Adamek, *Vom römischen Endreich der mittelalterlichen Bibelerklärung*, Munich, 1938
- D'Evelyn, 'The Middle-English metrical version of the *Revelations* of Methodius'
- E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen. Pseudo-Methodius, Adso und Die tiburtinische Sibylle*, Halle, 1898 (repr. Turin, 1976)

Leah Giamalva



## *Kitāb al-majāll*

‘Book of the rolls’; *Jalayān Buṭrus*, ‘Apocalypse of Peter’

Alternative attested titles:

*Iktishāf Shim‘ūn*, ‘Apocalypse of Simon’; *Kitāb al-asrār*, ‘Book of the secrets’; *Kitāb al-sarā’ir al-maktūma*, ‘Book of the hidden secrets’; *Kitāb al-fawā’id*, ‘Book of benefits’; *Kitāb al-kamāl*, ‘Book of perfection’

DATE Unknown; a layered text possibly going back to the late 9<sup>th</sup> century; one early recension may be dated in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

### DESCRIPTION

*The book of the rolls* or *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* is transmitted in numerous Arabic and Karshūnī manuscripts. Its original language is Arabic, and it is probably among the earliest Christian pseudepigrapha originally composed in that language. It demonstrates a strong interest in the fate of Egypt, and betrays familiarity with Coptic customs and traditions. Thus, Egypt is the most probable place of origin, though the numerous Karshūnī manuscript witnesses attest to the popularity of the text in Syria as well; Roggema argues for the possibility of the text’s Syrian origin (‘Biblical exegesis’, pp. 136-37). Soon after its composition, the work was translated into Ge‘ez under the brief title *Qālementos* (‘Clement’).

The text is extant in three main recension groups. The first and oldest of these does not provide any numbering and mentions that the book is preserved in Rome. The second divides the text into about 90 chapters and states that it was kept in the residence of the bishop of Nicosia in Cyprus. The third presents the text in eight main sections. Mingana notes that the more recent versions do not simply transmit earlier recensions, but develop into ‘three totally different works’ (‘Apocalypse of Peter’, p. 94).

The work is very probably a compilation. It claims to be a revelation of Jesus as given to the Apostle Peter, who passed it on to Clement of

Rome. It can be divided into three main parts, which must have originated in different periods. The first part, under the title *Kitāb al-majāll* or *The Book of the Rolls, one of the Books of Clement*, was originally edited and translated by Margaret Dunlop Gibson from a Sinai manuscript which dates to the 10<sup>th</sup> century at the latest (Sinai Ar. 508), and belongs to the oldest manuscripts of the first recension. It includes an Arabic version of the Syriac *Cave of treasures*, together with a compendium of major biblical stories, mainly from the Old Testament, that focus on genealogies, ending with the genealogy of Mary and a defense of her virginity. It also includes an Arabic version of the Syriac *Testament of Adam*.

The second and third parts of the work, which were published by Mingana in 1931, focus on heavenly revelations and apocalyptic prophecies. The second part deals with the Godhead and the nature of the angels according to their various ranks, the creation and fall of Adam and Eve, a description of Paradise, and moral exhortations. The third part narrates at length and in cryptic language the history of Islamic rule set within an apocalyptic narrative framework. It includes a list of 70 heresies and a list of Roman emperors down to the beginnings of Islam. This is followed by an account of the Antichrist, and the text concludes with a discussion of early church regulations and practices, and an account of the Apostle Paul in Rome.

The text relies heavily on the Book of Daniel and Revelation and is not directly related to the much earlier Greek/Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter*, though it does share with it an emphasis on eschatology. Bousset notes a possible dependence on the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* (q.v.) and the Arabic *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra* (q.v.), as well as the use of shared motifs, in particular animal symbols for the succession of world empires and 'the lion's whelp' (*jarw al-asad*) as a title for the idealized Christian ruler. Further common motifs, such as the explanation of the apocalyptic number 666 as a reference to Muḥammad, can be found in the Copto-Arabic *Letter of Pseudo-Pisentius* (q.v.). Furthermore, in its concern for the fate of the Church and believers the work has much in common with Copto-Arabic political apocalypses, such as those of *Pseudo-Athanasius* (q.v.) and *Samuel of Qalamūn* (q.v.).

It used to be thought that the work comes from the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century on account of what were considered to be cryptic references to political events in Byzantine and early Islamic history (see Dillmann, *Bericht*, pp. 201-5), though as Hoyland notes, 'We have no Christian Arabic writing from such an early date' (*Seeing Islam*, p. 293). However, recent studies have suggested the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the date of

the earliest attestation of a manuscript of the apocalyptic part (in Paris Ar. 76, dated 1336/37, from a *Vorlage* dated to 1288, but ultimately from a *Vorlage* written in the year 1176/77). This would reflect political events relating to the Seljuq-Fatimid wars in Egypt (Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, p. 294). Another suggestion places the text in Egypt in early Fatimid times (mid- or late 10<sup>th</sup> century), owing to a perceived dependence on the *Letter of Pisentius*, which is commonly dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Griveau, 'Notes sur la lettre de Pisuntios', p. 443). According to Assemani, some manuscripts contain information about the Muslim conquest of Tripoli (1289) and Acre (1290) (Bratke, 'Handschriftliche Überlieferung', p. 461). Mingana notes additions that can be dated up to the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Graf, *GCAL* i, p. 287).

A number of manuscripts mention that the text was found in Nicosia. This location could indicate a connection with the crusades. Indeed, Jacques de Vitry (q.v.), bishop of Acre, in a letter to Pope Honorius III dated 1210, refers to an Arabic book that he regards as very ancient, entitled *Revelationes beati Petri apostoli e discipulo eius Clemente in uno volumine redactae*, which predicted the end of the rule of the Saracens. He says that it had been given to him by *Suriani* in Palestine. Furthermore, around the time of the conquest of Damietta in November 1219, Oliver of Paderborn (d. 1227; q.v.) writes about the popularity of an Arabic 'book of Clement' that appears to describe this text very closely, while Shams al-Ri'āsa Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar (d. 1324; q.v.) also refers to a book by Clement, the disciple of Peter, which is known as 'The book of secrets'.

The account of Islamic rule in the third part is particularly extensive and cryptic in character. It presents a long succession of very loosely connected apocalyptic prophecies about the collapse of Islamic rule, with repeated allusions to the various historical periods and mysterious kings and their differing treatment of Christians. At the end of time, 'the lion's whelp' will appear, a victorious Christian king who will besiege the Muslims and restore the Christian faith. The Muslims are not mentioned directly, but by allegorical or biblical names such as 'the sons of Ishmael', 'the sons of Kedar', 'the sons of the tares', or 'the sons of the wolf'.

The text gives only the first letters of the names of the rulers of the 'barbaric nation', followed by details about their rules, lives, and sometimes deaths. There also appears to be a description of the character and physical appearance of Muḥammad, and an allusion to the story that he was taught by a heretical Christian. Not only individuals but sometimes places escape identification, though there is a clear emphasis on

the centrality of Jerusalem and the need to recapture it and restore its ruined churches.

There have been many attempts to identify the rulers mentioned. Dillmann (*Bericht*) sees the wars between the King of the East and the King of the West as references to the battles between the Umayyads and Abbasids in the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century. Certain Abbasid caliphs have also been named (e.g. al-Mutawakkil; see Roggema, 'Biblical exegesis', pp. 145-46), while the victorious 'lion's whelp' has been identified as the Emperor Constantine V (r. 741-75), whose successful campaigns against the Muslims may have rekindled the hopes of a final Byzantine victory among Christians within the Islamic Empire.

Although the Muslims are never named as such, the text betrays some familiarity with Islamic theological arguments, and it possibly reflects elements of the early development of Christian-Muslim debate. Its description of Muslims is typically hostile, including vivid accounts of their desecration and destruction of churches, open contempt for Christians and their faith, periods of harsh persecution and forced conversions, as well as of defections to the new faith. It regards Islamic rule as a chastisement because of the Christians' sins, and it criticizes Christians' use of Arabic, their adoption of Muslim customs, and marriage with Muslims, and condemns Islamic worship, laws and morals.

Until a critical edition of this compelling and monumental work of Eastern Christianity becomes available, the interpretation of its apocalyptic symbols and ideas, as well as suggestions about dating and provenance, must remain tentative.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

*The book of the rolls/Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* is probably the first Christian pseudepigraphon originally composed in Arabic, and is an important witness to the continuation and adaptation of Christian pseudepigraphical literature in the context of new political, historical and cultural conditions. It demonstrates knowledge of Islamic customs and tenets of faith and alludes to elementary Muslim-Christian theological encounters. It refers to the various challenges that Islamic rule posed to the Christian population during various historical periods and in many areas of the East. The text emphasizes that these challenges are to be met by the strictest separation from all things Islamic in the hope of a reversal, when the Christian faith will again have dominance.

The popularity and importance of the text is attested by the numerous recensions and versions that were made, as well as citations in later Arabic and Latin works.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

For a survey of the known MSS, see E. Bratke, 'Handschriftliche Überlieferung des Petrus Apokalypse', *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie* 36 (1893) 454-93

Graf, *GCAL* i, pp. 289-92

#### EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

A. Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies* 3, Cambridge, 1931: introduction, pp. 93-100, 209-15, 349-56; trans., pp. 100-52, 215-82, 356-407; facsimile, pp. 153-208, 283-348, 408-49 (second and third parts)

M.D. Gibson, *Studia Sinaitica No. VIII. Apocrypha Arabica*, London, 1901 (text and trans., first part)

#### Ethiopic recension:

A. Bausi, *Qalementos etiopico. La rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente I libri* 3-7, Rome, 1992

A. Dillmann, 'Bericht über das äthiopische Buch Clementinischer Schriften', *Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 17-19 (1858) 185-226

S. Grebaut, 'Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 16 (1911) 78-84, 167-75, 225-33; 17 (1912) 16-31, 133-44, 244-52, 337-46; 18 (1913) 69-78; 19 (1914) 324-30; 20 (1915-17) 33-37, 424-30; 21 (1918) 246-52; 22 (1919) 22-28, 113-17, 395-400; 26 (1927/28) 22-31

#### STUDIES

B. Roggema, *The legend of Sergius Bahira. Eastern Christian apologetics and apocalyptic in response to Islam*, Leiden, 2009, see Index, p. 566, under *Apocalypse of Peter* (focuses primarily on the motif of Muḥammad's heretical teacher)

E. Grypeou, 'The re-written Bible in Arabic. The paradise story and its exegesis in the Arabic Apocalypse of Peter', in D. Thomas (ed.), *The Bible in Arab Christianity*, Leiden, 2007, 113-29

B. Roggema, 'Biblical exegesis and interreligious polemics in the Arabic Apocalypse of Peter. The Book of the Rolls', in D. Thomas (ed.), *The Bible in Arab Christianity*, Leiden, 2007, 131-50

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. 291-94

- Graf, *GCAL* i, pp. 283-92 (cites early authors who mention the work, among them Abū l-Barakāt, Jaques de Vitry, Oliver of Paderborn and Assemani)
- C. Conti Rossini, 'Il libro dello Pseudo-Clemente et la crociata di Damietta', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 9 (1921-23) 32-35
- R. Griveau, 'Notes sur la lettre de Pisuntios', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 19 (1914) 441-43
- F. Nau, 'Clementins (Apocryphes) II. L'Apocalypse de Pierre ou Clément', in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, 15 vols, 1906-8, iii, 216-19
- W. Bousset, *Der Antichrist in der Überlieferung des Judentums, des neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche*, Göttingen, 1895, pp. 45-49
- Bratke, 'Handschriftliche Überlieferung des Petrus Apokalypse'
- P. de Lagarde, *Mittheilungen IV*, Göttingen, 1891, pp. 6-16
- M. Steinschneider, 'Apocalypsen mit polemischer Tendenz', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 28 (1874) 627-59

Emmanouela Grypeou 2012

# Al-Mu'ayyad bi-Llāh

Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī l-Buṭḥānī,  
al-Mu'ayyad bi-Llāh

DATE OF BIRTH 944  
PLACE OF BIRTH Āmul, Ṭābaristān  
DATE OF DEATH 1020  
PLACE OF DEATH Langā

## BIOGRAPHY

The Imām al-Mu'ayyad bi-Llāh came from a family of Iranian Imāmī Shī'īs, though he and his brother came under Zaydī influence. He first studied *fiqh* and Baghdad Mu'tazilī *kalām* with his uncle in Baghdad, and also Basra Mu'tazilī *kalām* with the leader of the Basra school, Abū 'Abdallāh al-Baṣrī (d. 980; q.v.). Through the latter, he would have come to know leading intellectuals of the day, among them 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī (d. 1025; q.v.), his fellow student under Abū 'Abdallāh. Al-Mu'ayyad later studied under 'Abd al-Jabbār when the latter moved to Rayy in 977, and together with him he joined the circle of the Būyid vizier al-Šāḥib ibn 'Abbād (d. 995). In 990 he claimed the Zaydī imamate.

In addition to the *Kitāb ithbāt nubuwwat al-nabī*, al-Mu'ayyad is known mainly for legal works (see Schwarb, *Handbook*, no, 313).

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

Yahyā ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Jurjānī l-Shajarī, *Sīra*, ed. Šāliḥ 'Abdallāh Qurbān, Sana'a': Mu'assasat al-Imām Zayd ibn 'Alī l-thaqāfiyya, 2003; ed. Muḥammad Kāzīm Raḥmatī in *Mūrāth-i Bahāristān (Majmū'a-yi 13 risāla)*, Tehran, 2009, pp. 305-88

### Secondary

G. Schwarb, *Handbook of Mu'tazilite authors and works*, Leiden, forthcoming  
S. Schmidtke, 'Biblical predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad among the Zaydis of Iran', *Arabica* 59 (2012) 218-66, pp. 219-20  
W. Madelung, art. 'Alids of Ṭabarestān, Daylamān, and Gīlān', in *Elr*  
Ḥ. Anṣārī, 'Al-Imām al-Mu'ayyad bi-Llāh al-Hārūnī. Fatāwā wa-ajwibat masā'il wa-istiftā'āt wujjihāt ilayhi fī l-radd 'alā l-Bāṭiniyya wa-ghayrihā min al-masā'il', *Al-Masār* 11/3 (2010) 57-72

W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm und der Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin, 1965, pp. 177-78

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Kitāb ithbāt nubuwwat al-nabī*, 'Confirmation of the prophethood of the Prophet'

DATE Unknown; before 1020

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

#### DESCRIPTION

As outlined by Sabine Schmidtke (on whose article this entry largely relies), the work is divided into four main parts. It begins with an introduction, in which al-Mu'ayyad takes up what appears to have been a pre-occupation with the Bāṭinīs, whom he attacks for their criticisms of the miracles attributed to Muḥammad, and then it deals successively with: the inimitability of the Qur'an; the miracles of Muḥammad; biblical predictions of Muḥammad; material for Muḥammad's biography.

The third of these, *Bāb dhikr mā wujida fī l-kutub al-muqaddima min al-bishārāt bi-l-nabī* ('Mention of the prophecies of the Prophet to be found in earlier books'), is of particular interest because it contains 17 quotations from the Hebrew Bible and Gospels. These show clear similarities to collections in earlier works, but no direct dependence.

Schmidtke's analysis of these quotations and the interpretations accompanying them shows that they bear resemblances to equivalent quotations in 'Alī l-Ṭabarī's *Kitāb al-dīn wa-l-dawla* (q.v.) and Ibn Qutayba's *A'lām al-nubuwwa* (q.v.), both from the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore, successive correspondences with Ibn Qutayba indicate a close relationship between the two, though a number of significant differences, as well as additional material not found in the earlier author, rules out direct dependence ('Biblical predictions', pp. 222-30). Schmidtke's conclusion is that al-Mu'ayyad had access to translation traditions that preceded or ran parallel to these earlier sources (p. 230), which allows the alternatives that these traditions were either used independently by Ibn Qutayba and al-Mu'ayyad or based on Ibn Qutayba and amplified by the time al-Mu'ayyad came to use them.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

This work shows the continuing vigor of the *dalā'il al-nubuwwa* genre in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and the integral place of biblical quotations within



it, though there is no reason to think that it reflects continuing direct encounters with Christians rather than employment of motifs that were becoming formalized parts of an apologetic tradition.

This tradition was continued by al-Mu'ayyad's companion and fellow student of 'Abd al-Jabbār, Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Ismā'īl al-Shajāri l-Jurjānī, the Imām al-Muwaffaq bi-Llāh (d. after 1029). As Schmidtke shows, in his *Kitāb al-iḥāṭa* he repeats al-Mu'ayyad's quotations more or less *verbatim*, though in a different arrangement and with his own added interpretations ('Biblical predictions', pp. 251-65).

#### MANUSCRIPTS

Details of the five MSS of the *Kitāb ithbāt nubuwwat al-nabī* (four of them containing the third part) are given in Schmidtke, 'Biblical predictions', pp. 232-34.

#### EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Schmidtke, 'Biblical predictions', pp. 234-51 (part three, based on four MSS)

Ed. 'Abd al-Karīm Aḥmad Jadabān, Ṣa'da, Yemen: Maktabat al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 2003 (based on MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub – *Ilm al-kalām* 1567)

Ed. Khalīl Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Ḥajj, Cairo: Dār al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1979 (based on the Cairo MS)

#### STUDIES

Schmidtke, 'Biblical predictions', pp. 222-31

David Thomas

# Ṣāliḥ ibn Saʿīd al-Masīḥī

Christodoulos (monastic name)

DATE OF BIRTH	About 980
PLACE OF BIRTH	Jerusalem
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; about 1050
PLACE OF DEATH	Probably Mount Sinai

## BIOGRAPHY

Ṣāliḥ ibn Saʿīd's life can be reconstructed as follows. He was born into a Melkite Christian family in Jerusalem, perhaps in about 980, and moved to Egypt at the age of nine when his father became a Fatimid civil servant (*fi khidma maʿa l-salāṭīn*). During al-Ḥākim's persecution of non-Muslims, Ṣāliḥ, who had initially been a secretary (*kātib*) and administrator (*mutaṣarrif*) in al-Ḥākim's service, fled Egypt (probably with the majority of refugees in 1013-14) and traveled to Edessa and then to Dayr Qunnī in Iraq to venerate saints' relics. Driven by a sense of mission, he also journeyed extensively in Syria (Damascus) and Palestine (Tiberias, and then along the coast, all the way to al-Jifār, i.e. the northern coastline of Sinai), preaching and 'strengthening' the Christian communities there. As we know from his two surviving colophons, during the years 1017-23 he resided in Damascus. It is possibly there that he became a monk, with the name Christodoulos (provided in MS Sinai – Ar. 1), and was ordained priest.

After his ordination, he returned to his native city of Jerusalem, spending another five years there. During his sojourn in Jerusalem, he served liturgies at the newly rebuilt Church of the Holy Sepulcher. He was in contact with three bishops (all of them otherwise unknown), Anbā Ayyūb (Job), the bishop of al-Ṣanamayn in Syria, Anbā Quzmā (Cosmas) of Tyre and Anbā Lāwun (Leo) of the Holy River Jordan.

Apparently, life in Jerusalem with its intense social tensions, amply reflected in Ṣāliḥ's writings, was too much for him to handle. Thus, he ended his life as a monk on Mount Sinai. It is quite possible that he was put in charge of the monastery's library. It was in this library that, already as an old man, he would fill up empty spaces in manuscripts with edifying notes and recollections. Together with his colophons, these marginal

notes (discussed below) are the only surviving source on his life. Şāliḥ / Christodoulos is not mentioned by any contemporary or later author.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

Şāliḥ's marginal notes:

MS Sinai – Ar. 1, fol. 148v

MS Sinai – Ar. 2, fol. 246v

MS Sinai – Ar. 309, fols 217v-218r, 236v-238r

MS Sinai – Ar. 436, fol. 384r-v

MS Sinai – Ar. 589, fol. 68r-v

Şāliḥ's colophons:

MS Sinai – New Finds, Ar. paper 51 (Damascus, 1017; reproduced in I.E. Meimarēs, *Katalogos tōn neōn arabikōn kheirographōn tēs Hieras Monēs Hagias Aikaterinēs tou Horous Sina*, Athens, 1985, Greek section, pp. 132-33, illustrations 120-1; see also illustration 122)

MS Sinai – Ar. 495, fols 81r-82r (Damascus, c. 1023; cf. its *membrum disiectum*, MS Birmingham, University Library – Mingana Collection, Chr. Ar. 182)

MS Sinai – Ar. 558 and MS Sinai – New Finds, Ar. Parchment 41 (see Meimarēs, illustration 38) may also have been copied by Şāliḥ (there are some similarities with his hand), but unfortunately they have no surviving colophons.

#### *Secondary*

M.N. Swanson, 'Three Sinai manuscripts of books "of the master and the disciple" and their *Membra Disiecta* in Birmingham', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 65 (1999) 347-61, pp. 355-56 (on Şāliḥ's colophon in MS Sinai – Ar. 495)

A. Drint (trans.), *The Mount Sinai Arabic version of IV Ezra* (CSCO 564, *Scriptores Arabici* 49), Louvain, 1997, pp. xxvi-xxxii

[S.]K. Samir, 'L'ère de l'Incarnation dans les manuscrits arabes melkites du 11<sup>e</sup> au 14<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 53 (1987) 193-201, pp. 194-95 (on dating Şāliḥ's colophon in MS Sinai New Finds – Ar. paper 51)

Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.1, p. 318

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

#### Marginal notes

DATE Mid-11<sup>th</sup> century (written late in life)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

Nine marginal notes by Şāliḥ ibn Saʿīd (one, two, or three pages each in length) have so far been identified and deciphered.

1. On the last folio of MS Sinai – Ar. 1, there is a note entitled ‘A wondrous report that strengthens the faith’ (*khabar ‘ajīb yuqawwī l-īmān*). Şāliḥ describes the persecutions of Christians at the hands of the Fatimid Caliph al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh (whose name means ‘he who rules with God’s authority’). Sarcastically, Şāliḥ calls the caliph, instead, al-Ḥākim *bi-ghayr* amr Allāh, ‘he who rules *without* God’s authority’. Then he describes how God guided him to study Christian and secular sciences, and how he journeyed through Syria and Palestine, strengthening the Christian communities there. Finally, he tells us that he saw an ‘astonishing spectacle’ (*amran faẓīʿan*) in Damascus, though here the note tantalizingly breaks off and no more is said about what this was.

2. The second note (MS Sinai – Ar. 2) is entitled ‘A wondrous sign that occurred in the days of the Old Testament, which renders abundant praise to God...and manifests His justice according to the law of His people’. It relates the story of an adulterous woman who was to be subjected to the ‘bitter water test’ (Numbers 5:11-31). To protect herself, she asked her twin sister to stand in for her. The sister drank the ‘bitter water’ and remained unaffected by it. Yet, when the adulterous woman kissed her, the water ‘leaped from the sister’s mouth straight into the adulterous woman’s mouth’, and she died on the spot. The story, which Şāliḥ heard from an acquaintance, presumably a fellow-Christian, has its ultimate origin in a Rabbinic Midrash (*Midrash Tanhuma*, Parashat Naso, 6 and parallels).

3. A third note (MS Sinai – Ar. 309) is entitled ‘A miracle that happened in Iraq’ (*‘ajab jarā fi l-‘Irāq*). It relates how, during al-Ḥākim’s persecutions (al-Ḥākim is again called ‘al-Ḥākim *bi-ghayr* amr Allāh’), Şāliḥ fled to Edessa to venerate the tomb of the Apostle Thaddaeus (Mār Addai). Later, he traveled to Iraq to venerate the relics of Thaddaeus’ disciple and the ‘illuminator of Iraq’ (*mutalmidh al-‘Irāq*) St Cyrus (Mār Mārī; ‘Kūrus’ is evidently an attempt to translate Mārī’s name from Syriac into Greek). During the annual festival (‘īd) at the saint’s tomb at the monastery of Dayr Qunnī (about 100 miles south-east of Baghdad (cf. J.-M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, 3 vols, Beirut, 1965-68, iii, pp. 187-93), an ‘ignorant Muslim’ (*jāhil min al-Islām*) cast a scorpion into the church so that it would sting Christian worshippers. Remarkably, the scorpion did nothing, yet when the Muslim stretched out his own hand, the scorpion

stung him. A sip of holy water, blessed at the saint's tomb, miraculously restored him to health and, as Şāliḥ concludes, 'everyone present at the festival, both Christians and outsiders (*Naşrānī wa-barrānī*), glorified God.'

4. Another interesting note (also in MS Sinai – Ar. 309) focuses on Jewish prayer on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem – a practice attested also in some Jewish documents from the Cairo Genizah (cf. M. Gil, *A history of Palestine, 634-1099*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 626-29). The note is entitled 'Lifegiving [or 'amazing', if the text is corrected to *'ajība*] matters from God concerning the Jews that I have investigated'. Şāliḥ is highly critical of the Jewish practice, for the following reasons. First, he says Jews pray near an 'ancient structure' (*binya 'atīqa*) that used to be a pagan temple built by King Solomon for one of his concubines. Second, the place itself is ritually impure because 'for over a thousand years' the Jews had no priests to purify it. Finally, Jewish prayer on the Mount of Olives is conducted facing the west rather than the east, which is the proper practice. Significantly, according to Şāliḥ, the location of Jewish prayer on the Mount of Olives had formerly been in Christian hands. It was only during the Muslim period that, crippled by the heavy land-tax (*kharāj*), the patriarch of Jerusalem was forced to sell 'valuable villages and estates' (*diyā' wa-amlāk ḥasana*) to Muslim overlords. These properties subsequently fell into the hands of Jews who bought them from the Muslims.

5. A fifth note (MS Sinai – Ar. 436) provides another 'Wondrous report that strengthens the faith', related on the authority of a certain Anbā Ayyūb, the otherwise unknown bishop of al-Şanamayn (Syria). This note is essentially an eyewitness account of how the Jarrāḥid chief Mufarrij ibn Daghfal ibn al-Jarrāḥ – the leader of an anti-Fatimid revolt in Palestine – treated the Christians. According to this report, he treated Anbā Ayyūb with utmost respect, 'the way a Christian would' (*yukrimunī ka-karāmat Naşrānī*). Remarkably, Mufarrij also called Christians 'the salt of the earth', and at one point even attended a divine liturgy in Anbā Ayyūb's church and was seen whispering prayers and glorifying God. (Şāliḥ's report also contains details on the governor of Tiberias, Bishāra, though this part of his note has been, unfortunately, incredibly difficult to decipher.)

6. The sixth note (MS Sinai – Ar. 589) is entitled 'A disgraceful spectacle that I saw from a despicable man from a despicable, worthless and conceited community'. It speaks about Jacobite Christians – the arch-rivals of the Melkites – and their behavior in the Church of the Holy

Sepulcher in Jerusalem. According to Şāliḥ, the Jacobites resorted to an unconventional trick to convince the Melkite faithful that theirs was the true faith. They claimed that, when they took communion, the consecrated gifts would actually turn into flesh in their mouths. In order to prove this, after an Easter celebration, a Jacobite, surrounded by a crowd of onlookers, demanded that Şāliḥ hand him the paten (*disqun*) so that he could spit out the piece of flesh for everyone to see. In response, Şāliḥ called him a liar and, together with other priests, chased him out of the church.

7. The seventh note (MS Birmingham – Mingana Chr. Ar. Add. 142) speaks of an otherwise unknown neo-martyr, 'John the beloved' (Yūḥannā al-ḥabīb), from Sicily, obviously so named so after St John the Evangelist, the 'beloved disciple' of Christ. Şāliḥ relates that he heard the story of his martyrdom from a school teacher (*mu'allim al-ṣibyān*) from Sicily, whom he met at the tomb of St Mark (presumably, the temporary location of the head of St Mark at the Monastery of St Macarius in Scetis). This John the Beloved was a Christian physician at the court of the ruler of Sicily, named only as Ibn Abī l-Ḥusayn (a typical reference to members of the Kalbid dynasty). A certain Arab nobleman, who was a descendent of Muḥammad (*sharīf*), invited John to embrace Islam, but he refused this, saying that 'to follow Christ, who is the Word of God, is better than to follow your ancestor [Muḥammad]'. He was then tried for blasphemy and – despite the ruler's attempt to allow him to escape – was, apparently, lynched by the mob.

8.-9. The last two notes (MS Sinai – Ar. parchment 1) are anti-Jewish in content and only fragmentarily preserved. One of them speaks of a relative (?) of the head of the Jewish community in Tyre who converted to Christianity and was hiding his faith out of fear of persecution. The other relates how the devil 'played a trick' with the Jews.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Şāliḥ's notes are significant for a number of reasons. First, they contain a remarkable amount of autobiographical material, which makes them a precious and uniquely personal source on medieval Arab Christianity. Second, Şāliḥ's recollections shed an interesting light on how ordinary Christians, who were neither socially privileged nor particularly educated, 'experienced life' in early 11<sup>th</sup>-century Egypt, Syria and Palestine. They show that communal affiliation was the primary factor in an ordinary Christian's identity. Thus, it is as an Arabic-speaking Orthodox Christian – a Melkite – that Şāliḥ defines himself against the various 'others': Jews,

Muslims and Jacobites. Complementing the material from the Jewish Cairo Genizah, with which they are contemporary, Şāliḥ's notes offer a vivid picture of the complex web of inter-communal relations in Egypt, Syria and Palestine in the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

As far as relations with Muslims are concerned, these notes provide a wealth of incidental – and as such all the more valuable – information that supplements what is known from other sources. The derogatory references to al-Ḥākim as 'he who rules *without* God's authority' (Marginal notes 1 and 3) reflect Christian attitudes to the 'mad caliph' in the wake of his unprecedented persecutions of non-Muslims.

The 'scorpion miracle' (Marginal note 3) bears witness to the remarkable fact that, despite occasional confrontations with 'ignorant Muslims', Christian festivals at saints' shrines attracted a diverse audience, with both Christians and 'outsiders' (i.e. Muslims) in attendance. There is little doubt that Muslim attendance at such festivals had an impact on the nascent Muslim cult of Şūfī saints (*awliyā'*). Significantly, Şāliḥ frequently uses the terms *baraka* ('blessing') and *tabāraka* ('took a blessing' [from a saint's shrine, relic, etc.]), which were to have a long life in the Şūfī tradition.

The passage on Jewish prayer (Marginal note 4) informs us of the heavy land-tax (*kharāj*) imposed on the Patriarchate of Jerusalem by the Muslim rulers and shows how properties in Jerusalem changed hands over time as a result of fiscal, political and social factors. It also sheds light on the social tensions between Christians and Jews in the Holy City and on how Muslim policies were seen as being indirectly beneficial to Jews, much to the indignation of Jerusalem's Christian population.

The unique report about the Jarrāḥid chieftain Mufarrij ibn Daghfal (Marginal note 5) supplements what we know from other sources about Mufarrij's pro-Christian stance. It was he who, in 1011-13, assisted the Christian community in Jerusalem to rebuild the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, demolished only two years earlier, in 1009, on al-Ḥākim's orders. These pro-Christian (and, it seems, especially pro-Melkite) policies must have had a political significance at the time: by appeasing the Christian populations (Christians were probably still in the majority in Palestine), Mufarrij must have hoped to enhance his power base in his revolt against the Fatimids, as well as to secure the Byzantine emperor's support (cf. V.R. Rozen, *Imperator Vasilij Bolgarobojsa*, St Petersburg, 1883, pp. 354-56). Şāliḥ's report thus sheds light on the unexpected role Palestinian Christians played in the Fatimid-Jarrāḥid power struggle.

Finally, the note on the martyrdom of John the Beloved of Sicily (Marginal Note 7) tells the story of an otherwise unknown Christian neo-martyr who resisted a Muslim nobleman's attempt to coerce him to convert to Islam. It sheds light on the mechanisms of Islamization in Sicily, on the connections between Egypt and Sicily in the Fatimid period, and on the circulation of martyrdom stories through personal encounters in pilgrimage centers across the Mediterranean.

MANUSCRIPTS

Şāliḥ ibn Sa'īd's marginal notes have so far been identified and deciphered in seven 9<sup>th</sup>- and 10<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts (mostly biblical and patristic in content). All the notes are 11<sup>th</sup>-century autographs.

MS Sinai – Ar. 1, fol. 148v (the note is truncated at the end; there is also a short blessing by Şāliḥ on this folio)

MS Sinai – Ar. 2, fol. 246v (also includes minor annotations by Şāliḥ on fols 1r, 4r, 9r, 23r, 60r, 78v, 103r, 107r, 108v etc.)

MS Sinai – Ar. 309, fols 217v-218r, 236v-238r (also includes minor annotations by Şāliḥ on fols 48r and 180v)

MS Sinai – Ar. 436, fol. 384r-v (the note is poorly preserved and truncated at the end)

MS Sinai – Ar. 589, fol. 68r-v

MS Sinai – New Finds, Ar. parchment 1, fols 0v, 1v (I am grateful to Jack Tannous for a copy of this MS)

MS Birmingham, University Library – Mingana Collection, Chr. Arab. Add. 142 (Mingana's catalogue 244), fols 1v-2r (a fragment originally from Sinai)

The following manuscript also contains Şāliḥ's notes. However, they are illegible in microfilm, with the exception of one title: 'The way in which the House of God [=the Temple in Jerusalem] was destroyed for the first time' (*fann al-kharāb al-awwal li-bayt Allāh*).

MS Sinai – Ar. 7, last folio and a half (also includes minor annotations by Şāliḥ; it is noteworthy that this MS was copied by the same hand and in the same format as MS Sinai – Ar. 589 – see A. Drint, 'IV Ezra in Sinai Arabic 589. The origin of an early Arabic version', *Pd'O* 18 (1993) 31-44, pp. 37, 44)

The note in the following MS is also illegible:

MS Vat – Ar. 71, last folio



Minor annotations and a table of contents added by ŞāliḤ are preserved in the following three MSS:

MS Sinai – Ar. 520

MS Sinai – New Finds, Ar. paper 17 (the table of contents is partially reproduced by Meimarēs, *Katalogos tōn neōn arabikōn kheirographōn*, Greek section, p. 118, illustration 91, verso side)

MS Bryn Mawr – BV 69

It is hoped that more of ŞāliḤ ibn Sa'īd's notes will be recovered and deciphered in the future.

#### EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Drint (trans.), *The Mount Sinai Arabic version of IV Ezra*, pp. xxix-xxxii (an unreliable edition and translation of Marginal note 6)

A.S. Atiya, *Catalogue raisonné of the Mount Sinai Arabic manuscripts* [in Arabic], Alexandria, 1970, pp. 18-19 (a partial transcription of Marginal note 1)

#### STUDIES

Drint, *The Mount Sinai Arabic version of IV Ezra*, pp. xxvi-xxix

A. Drint, 'The Mount Sinai Arabic version of IV Ezra. Characteristics and relevance of an early Arabic translation of the Syriac text,' *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 58 (1992) 401-22, p. 403, n. 11

R.A. Stapleton, *An edition of the Book of Daniel and associated Apocrypha in Manuscript Sinai Arabic 1*, Waltham MA, 1989 (PhD Diss., Brandeis University), p. 371

Nasrallah, *HLMEM* iii. 1, p. 318

Alexander Treiger

# Abū Ya‘lā ibn al-Farrā’

Abū Ya‘lā Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad  
ibn Khalaf ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Farrā’

DATE OF BIRTH 27 or 28 April 990

PLACE OF BIRTH Iraq?

DATE OF DEATH 14 August 1066

PLACE OF DEATH Baghdad

## BIOGRAPHY

Abū Ya‘lā is one of the great historical authorities of the Ḥanbalī *madhhab* of Sunnī law, to whose adherents he has often been known simply as ‘the qadi’. Born into a scholarly family – his father had been a Ḥanafī jurist and notary – he was trained in Ḥanbalism by the renowned jurist Ibn Ḥāmid (d. 1012). As his reputation for intelligence and devoutness grew, he came somewhat reluctantly to the notice of the caliphs al-Qādir and al-Qā’im, whom he served as, among other things, a qadi in the caliphal palace. Jurisdiction over Ḥarrān and Ḥulwān was eventually added to his assignment. His deep piety and the esteem in which he was held are indicated by the conditions he was able to attach to this service; these exempted him from various official and public appearances and from much direct contact with the Būyid sultans. Later in life, he was a much sought-after teacher, especially of Hadith.

Abū Ya‘lā authored books on a variety of religious topics, most prominent among which are exegesis, law and theological polemic against such Muslim groups as the Ash‘arīs, Karrāmīs and Bāṭinīs. Some of his works doubtless bore indirectly upon Christian-Muslim relations, such as his *Decisive proof that infidels remain eternally in hell*, which does not seem to have survived. Of more definite relevance is his work of juristic rulings pertaining to politics, *Al-aḥkām al-sultāniyya*. This work stands in a close but incompletely understood textual relationship to that of Abū Ya‘lā’s Shāfī’ī contemporary al-Māwardī, which bears the same title. It treated such questions as whether a non-Muslim ought to be eligible for employment as a state official, how the *jizya* is to be collected (from the Christians of Banū Taghlib, among others), the observance of conquest treaties, and the 11 things that resident non-Muslims (*dhimmīs*) must refrain from doing. These last are reminiscent of, but not perfectly

congruent with, parts of the so-called 'Pact of 'Umar' (q.v.). The author discusses the unresolved question of whether a number of other matters seemingly related to that document are obligatory (*wājib*) or merely desirable (*mustaḥabb*). The recovery of quotations from Abū Ya'ālā's *Shurūṭ ahl al-dhimma* (below) might shed light on his views about these matters.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### Primary

Ibn Abī Ya'ālā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*, ed. 'A. al-'Uthaymīn, 3 vols, Riyadh, 1999, iii, pp. 361-426 (encomiastic treatment by Abū Ya'ālā's son; editor notes 16 additional pre-modern biographical sources)

Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Madīnat al-salām*, ed. B.'A. Ma'rūf, 17 vols, Beirut, 2001, iii, pp. 55-56, no. 679

#### Secondary

H. Laoust, art. 'Ibn al-Farrā', in *EI2*

Brockelmann, *GAL* i, p. 502; *S* i, p. 686

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Shurūṭ ahl al-dhimma*, 'Conditions pertaining to the *ahl al-dhimma*'

*Bayān mā yalzam ahl al-dhimma fi'luhu*, 'An explanation of what is incumbent upon *ahl al-dhimma*'

*Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*, 'Rulings concerning *ahl al-dhimma*'

DATE Mid-11<sup>th</sup> century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

#### DESCRIPTION

Since no manuscript of the *Shurūṭ ahl al-dhimma* itself has been studied, many details are unknown, among them its length, the range of its contents, its intended audience, and the reasons for its composition. It doubtless treated the legal framework of the compact (*dhimma*) that, in the theory of the Muslim jurists and sometimes in fact, regulated many aspects of life for Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians and Sabians wherever Islam was ascendant. Quotations and hints as to content can be

gleaned from a handful of medieval works and from the publications of at least one modern writer (Ḥabīb Zayāt), who had access to what is likely (though not certain) to be a manuscript of the same work (calling it *Bayān mā yalzam ahl al-dhimma fi'luhu*, a title very close to that given by al-Subkī). The ascription of a work on *dhimma* laws to Abū Ya'īlā is fairly unproblematic, since his son lists the *Shurūṭ ahl al-dhimma* among the titles of his oeuvre. It cannot at present be excluded, however, that he wrote more than one such work.

From surviving quotations we can gather that the work(s) encouraged the humiliation of non-Muslims in order to hasten their conversion; ruled that displaying the cross and the Christian scriptures amount to denying (*takdhīb*) the Prophet Muḥammad; argued that the *zunnār* (distinguishing belt worn by non-Muslims) was a mark of humiliation since it was worn by slaves and servants; stressed the necessity of non-Muslims wearing distinguishing clothing (*ghiyār*); discussed footwear and dress in the public bath; contained a version of the 'Pact of 'Umar' (q.v.); and discouraged the employment of non-Muslims as state officials. Al-Subkī also notes that the work of Abū Ya'īlā contained a transcript of a document from an early 10<sup>th</sup>-century qadi to a vizier of the Caliph al-Muqtadir concerning the legal status of non-Muslims.

Abū Ya'īlā's work exemplifies a genre that reached its apogee three centuries later in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma* (q.v.). Still earlier examples are the works of Ibn Zabr (d. 940), which survives, and Abū l-Shaykh al-Iṣbahānī (d. 979), which is lost. As a Ḥanbalī, Ibn al-Qayyim would have had more use for the work of his forebear Abū Ya'īlā, and it is likely that he echoed ideas that were already expressed in it. Ibn al-Qayyim does not, however, quote from the work of Abū Ya'īlā by its known titles; his quotations of other works by Abū Ya'īlā – *Al-ta'liq* and *Al-mujarrad* – resemble the discussion in *Al-aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

*Shurūṭ ahl al-dhimma* is not much known in modern scholarship, nor was it widely influential before the modern period. What significance it has arises from the prominence of its author and from its status as a fairly early example of the genre of juristic works treating exclusively non-Muslim issues.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

Ḥabīb Zayāt (d. 1954) appears to have had access to or possession of a manuscript (described as *makhṭūṭ 'indanā*).

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS —

## STUDIES

- Ibn Abī Ya'īlā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*, iii, p. 384 (reference to a *Shurūṭ ahl al-dhimma*)
- Al-qawl al-mukhtār fī l-man' 'an takhyīr al-kuffār* (q.v.), in a *majmū'* (collected volume), lithograph, Cairo, 1856 or 57, 90-168, pp. 113 (quotes a work by Abū Ya'īlā entitled *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*)
- Taqī l-Dīn al-Subkī, *Fatāwā l-Subkī*, ed. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Qudsī, 2 vols, Cairo, 1936-38, ii, pp. 389, 400-1 (quotes a work by Abū Ya'īlā entitled *Kitāb mā yalzam ahl al-dhimma fī'luhu*)
- Ḥ. Zayāt, 'Simāt al-Naṣārā wa-l-Yahūd fī l-Islām', *Al-Machriq* 43 (1949) 161-253, pp. 174, 180, 200, 224, 234, 246, 247, 249, 250 (quotes a manuscript of a work by Abū Ya'īlā entitled *Bayān mā yalzam ahl al-dhimma fī'luhu*; note that *kitāb* and *bayān* have graphical similarities)
- 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) pp. 216, 270 (annotated translation of al-Subkī's work)

Luke Yarbrough

## Michael al-Sim‘ānī

Michael al-Sim‘ānī, Michael of the Monastery of St Symeon  
of the Wondrous Mountain near Antioch

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; probably about 1040

PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; probably Antioch

DATE OF DEATH Unknown; probably ca. 1100

PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; probably Antioch

### BIOGRAPHY

Michael al-Sim‘ānī is the author of the extant Arabic recension of the *Vita* of St John of Damascus. Little is known about his life, other than what he tells us in the important prologue to the *Vita* (extant only in some of the manuscripts; see below). There he calls himself ‘monk and priest’ and recounts the miracle of the Antiochene Christians’ (and his own) deliverance from death at the hands of the Seljuq Sultan Sulaymān ibn Quṭulmish, through the intercession of St Barbara and St John of Damascus on the day of their feast, 4 December 1084. Michael’s affiliation with the famous monastery of St Symeon of the Wondrous Mountain (*Dayr Mār Sim‘ān al-‘ajā’ibī*) near Antioch is confirmed by the colophon of Eprem Mtsire’s Georgian translation of the Arabic *Vita* (see below).

Bacha, *Sīrat al-qiddīs Yūḥannā l-Dimashqī l-aṣṭīyya*, p. 6, indicates that there are multiple references to Michael’s Arabic *Vita* in the writings of the Patriarch of Antioch, Macarius III Ibn al-Za‘īm (r. 1647-72). According to Bacha, Macarius ascribes the Arabic *Vita* to ‘Michael the monk’, and on one occasion indicates that he was ‘assisted’ by John, Patriarch of Antioch. The Seljuq conquest of Antioch is mentioned (possibly with reference to Michael’s prologue) in Macarius’ still unpublished *Explanation of the names of the patriarchs of Antioch* (MS St Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts – B1227, no. 23, p. 177); see C.-M. Walbiner, ‘The city of Antioch in the writings of Macarius ibn al-Za‘īm (17<sup>th</sup> century)’, *ARAM* 11–12 (1999–2000) 509–21, p. 519, n. 45.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

- K. Kekelidze, 'Gruzinskaja versija arabskago zhitija Ioanna Damaskina', *Khristianskij Vostok* 3 (1914) 119-74, pp. 173-74 (repr. in K. Kekelidze, *Ètiudy po istorii drevnegruzinskoj literatury / Etiudebi dzveli k'art'uli literaturis istoriadan*, Tbilisi, 1961, vii, 136-76, pp. 175-76); cf. French trans. in B. Flusin, 'De l'arabe au grec, puis au géorgien. Une vie de saint Jean Damascène', in G. Contamine (ed.), *Traduction et traducteurs au moyen âge. Actes du colloque international du CNRS*, Paris, 1989, 51-61, p. 51 (Eprem Mtsire's colophon)
- C. Bacha, *Sīrat al-qiddīs Yūhannā l-Dimashqī l-aṣṭiyya / Biographie de Saint Jean Damascène. Texte original arabe*, Harissa, 1912, pp. 7-10 (Arabic text of Michael's prologue)

*Secondary*

- Pravoslavnaja Èntsiklopedija*, 28 vols to date, Moscow, 2000-, xxiv, pp. 58-60
- R.D. Portillo, 'The Arabic *Life* of St John of Damascus', *Pd'O* 21 (1996) 157-88, pp. 166-69, 171-73
- V.V. Krivov, 'Araby khristiane v Antiokhii X-XI vv.', in D.E. Afinogenov and A.V. Murav'ev (eds), *Traditsii i nasledie khristianskogo Vostoka / Traditions and heritage of the Christian East*, Moscow, 1996, 247-55, pp. 253-55
- Flusin, 'De l'arabe au grec, puis au géorgien. Une vie de saint Jean Damascène' Graf, *GICAL* ii, pp. 69-70

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Waṣf sīrat Abīnā l-nabīl fī l-abrār al-mashhūr fī l-qiddīsīn al-akhyār al-anbā Yūhannā l-qiss al-Dimashqī l-mukannā bi-mujrī l-dhahab,*

'An account of the life of our noble and pious Father, the famous and excellent saint Anbā John, the priest of Damascus, called Flowing with Gold [=Gr. Chrysorrhoeas]'; 'The Arabic *Vita* of St John of Damascus'

DATE After 1085

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

Michael al-Sim'ānī's Arabic *Vita* of St John of Damascus occupies 23 pages in Bacha's edition and 12 folios in the oldest manuscript (MS Vat – Ar. 79).

In its complete form, it includes an important prologue, the main body of the *Vita*, and a short epilogue with a supplicatory prayer to St John of Damascus. Many manuscripts of the *Vita* (including some of the oldest: MS Vat – Ar. 79; MS Sinai – Ar. 531; etc.) omit Michael's prologue, and some omit his epilogue as well. This is easily explained by the fact that the *Vita* was meant to be used liturgically on the annual feast of the saint (4 December), and the autobiographical details provided in Michael's prologue could be dispensed with in liturgical use.

As Michael recounts in the prologue, after the Seljuq Sultan Sulaymān ibn Quṭulmish attacked Antioch on Sunday, 1 December 6593 AM (=1084 CE), he quickly captured the city and massacred the entire population. Only those who escaped to the citadel (*qalʿa*; on Mount Silpius) managed to survive. Michael himself hid from the Turks in an empty building in Antioch. On Tuesday night, 3 December, he left his hiding place, climbed up the mountain, and reached the citadel on the morning of Wednesday, 4 December, the feast of St Barbara and St John of Damascus. When he was about to enter the citadel, he saw a group of Antiochene citizens and a detachment of Turks from the fortress of Artāḥ, who were allies of the Antiochenes, coming down to attack Sulaymān. They were quickly defeated, and Sulaymān's troops conquered the citadel and took all the citizens there, including Michael himself, as captives. In this terrible moment, Michael offered prayers of supplication to the saints of the day, St Barbara and St John of Damascus. Then a miracle happened: Sulaymān's heralds announced that he was pardoning all the captives and granting them permission to return safely to their homes.

A year later, in December 1085, Michael sought out information on St John of Damascus and, to his great surprise, discovered that there was no detailed account of John's life either in Greek or in Arabic. (This cannot be correct, as we shall see shortly.) He then decided to gather all the information available to him from sporadic references in written sources, and arrange it together in a coherent narrative.

The main part of the *Vita* recounts the (largely legendary) narrative of John of Damascus' life. According to the *Vita*, John was the son of Manṣūr ibn Sarjūn, who was the governor (*basilikos*) in charge of fiscal administration of the province. Together with his foster-brother, Cosmas the Melodist, John received his philosophical education at the hands of the freed slave Cosmas the Calabrian. After the death of his father, Manṣūr, John became the personal secretary of the emir of Damascus. At this time, Iconoclasm raged in Byzantium. John attacked the iconoclasts in his writings and defended the veneration of icons. Upon hearing this, the



iconoclast Emperor Leo III (r. 717-41) arranged for a letter to be forged in John's name, in which 'John' instructed the Byzantine emperor on how to attack the Muslims in Syria. He had this sent to the emir of Damascus along with his own commentary, seeking to harm John. The emir summoned John and accused him of treason. Despite John's protestations to the contrary, the emir ordered him to be thrown in prison and his right hand cut off, but through the intercession of the Mother of God his hand was miraculously healed. Upon hearing this, the emir freed John and granted his request to retire to the famous monastery of Mar Sabas in the Judean desert. At the monastery, John's spiritual father initially forbade him to compose poetry. Yet when a certain elderly monk died, the monk's brother persuaded John to compose a *troparion* (liturgical hymn) for the departed. It was only after John carried out the difficult penance of cleaning the monastery's lavatory that his spiritual father relented and, following a request from the Mother of God herself who appeared to him in a vision, permitted John to compose liturgical poetry for the glory of God.

Michael then speaks about John's canons (on which see A. Louth, *St John Damascene. Tradition and originality in Byzantine theology*, Oxford, 2002, ch. 9, pp. 252-88), his 'discourses on the Orthodox faith and on the Incarnation of the pre-eternal Word' (i.e. his *Exposition of the Orthodox faith*), his refutations of Iconoclasm and other heresies, and the work *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (falsely attributed to John; see below). Finally, he provides a lengthy quotation from the *Life of St Stephen the Younger* (BHG 1666; written by Stephen the Deacon in 808), in which this saint, an opponent of iconoclasm and a prominent iconodule martyr (d. 767), had praised John of Damascus.

It is a complex question how Michael's Arabic *Vita* relates to the Greek *Vita* that is attributed to a certain John, Patriarch of Jerusalem (BHG 884). This Greek *Vita* indicates that it is based on an earlier document, 'crudely written... in Arabic language and characters' (PG 94, 433B; cf. 489A). Given the similarities between the Greek and the Arabic *Vitae* in both structure and content, the editor of Michael's text, Constantin Bacha, came to believe that Michael's *Vita* was the 'original' Arabic *Life* on which the Greek *Vita* was based (hence the words '*al-aṣliyya* / *original*' in the title of Bacha's edition).

Though some scholars have defended this view, this scenario has now been shown to be untenable, given that the earliest manuscript of John's Greek *Vita* has been securely dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> century (H. Hunger,

*Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol. 1, Vienna, 1961, p. 261), with the conclusion that the Greek *Vita* must pre-date Michael's text. The author of the Greek *Vita* would thus have to be John VI of Jerusalem (r. c. 838-42) or John VII of Jerusalem (r. 964-66). (There is no reason to discount John VI as a possible author, as is done in much of modern scholarship.)

Another intriguing possibility, suggested by the fact that John of Damascus' struggle against Iconoclasm is a prominent theme in the Greek (and Arabic) *Vita*, is that the Greek *Vita* was written by a Palestinian émigré monk in Constantinople, under the pen name of the contemporary Patriarch of Jerusalem, John VI. (It could be significant that John VI's tenure as patriarch coincides precisely with the end of the second period of Iconoclasm.) This scenario would dovetail well with Sidney Griffith's observation that 'iconodule propagandists seem to have been responsible for much of the "news" of Jerusalem in Constantinople in the first half of the ninth century, and they seem to have fabricated a good bit of it' (S.H. Griffith, 'Byzantium and the Christians in the world of Islam. Constantinople and the church in the Holy Land in the ninth century', *Medieval Encounters* 3 (1997) 231-65, p. 237). Though not exactly 'fabricated', the Greek *Vita* of John of Damascus could have been one of the documents produced in this circle.

Can Michael's Arabic *Vita* be based on the Greek *Vita*? This, too, seems unlikely, given that Michael's text is written in idiomatic Arabic and makes no effort to transmit the Greek *Vita*'s literary embellishments, e.g. plays on words specific to the Greek text. Moreover, as the author of the Greek *Vita* indicates, he relied on an earlier ('crudely written') Arabic account of John of Damascus' life. It seems likely that Michael would also have had access to and relied on that same source. It therefore follows that the Greek *Vita* and Michael's text share a common source: the now lost Arabic 'Ur-*Vita*'. This common source, presumably written in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, accounts for the significant similarities between the Greek and Arabic *Vitae*. Both (Pseudo?)-John of Jerusalem, writing in Greek in the 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> century, and Michael al-Sim'ānī, writing in Arabic in the 11<sup>th</sup>, would have re-worked this common source in different ways.

Michael's adaptations might have been relatively minor, and his recension may faithfully preserve large segments of the 9<sup>th</sup>-century text. Still, the widespread view that Michael did not modify the Arabic Ur-*Vita* at all, but simply added the prologue and passed it as his own work is untenable, given that at least some passages in Michael's Arabic *Vita* are

demonstrably his additions. One such example is Michael's reference to *Barlaam and Ioasaph* as a work of John of Damascus (ed. Bacha, p. 24; see B. Flusin, 'De l'arabe au grec, puis au géorgien', p. 53). This reference is absent from the Greek *Vita* and must have been absent from the Arabic *Ur-Vita* as well, given that, as we now know, the Greek *Barlaam and Ioasaph* is a much later work, likely written by the Georgian author Euthymius the Hagiorite c. 980 (see R. Volk, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, VI/1, Berlin, 2009, pp. 73-87; it may be noted in passing that Volk also argues convincingly that Euthymius the Hagiorite was the real author of the Greek *Life of Theodore of Edessa*).

Michael's Arabic *Vita* of St John of Damascus was soon translated into Georgian by the famous Georgian translator Eprem Mtsire (d. before 1103), active at the same monastery of St Symeon of the Wondrous Mountain with which Michael himself was affiliated. (Conceivably, Eprem could have known Michael in person.) According to Eprem's colophon appended to his Georgian translation, he was not translating from Arabic directly, but using a Greek intermediary by Samuel, metropolitan of Adana. We do not know much about this Samuel, except that he is mentioned in one of Nikon of the Black Mountain's letters (Flusin, 'De l'arabe au grec, puis au géorgien', p. 54, n. 1). Nikon of the Black Mountain, Michael al-Sim'ānī, Samuel of Adana and Eprem Mtsire would all seem to have belonged to closely related circles, affiliated with Byzantine Antioch and the Monastery of St Symeon of the Wondrous Mountain in the late 11<sup>th</sup> century.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The prologue to Michael al-Sim'ānī's Arabic *Vita* is highly significant as an eyewitness account of the Seljuq conquest of Antioch in 1084. (For a convenient list of sources on the Seljuq conquest of Antioch, see K.-P. Todt, 'Region und griechisch-orthodoxes Patriarchat von Antiocheia in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit (969-1084)', *BZ* 94 (2001) 239-67, p. 244, n. 21.) Michael provides precise details on the date and the logistics of the conquest, indicating that the lower city was conquered first and its population massacred, and that the citadel was conquered at a later stage, following a failed counter-attack, in which, significantly, Turkish mercenaries from a nearby fortress were invited to fight alongside the Antiochenes. We learn also that in such tragic circumstances, the Christian inhabitants of the city were at the mercy of the conquerors and could only hope for the intercession of the saints.

The main part of the *Vita* – much of which, as discussed, presumably goes back to the 9<sup>th</sup>-century 'Ur-*Vita*' – is an important witness to how a Christian author in the 9<sup>th</sup> century (as well as Michael in the 11<sup>th</sup>) imagined relations between the Muslim rulers and their Christian subjects in the Umayyad period. The *Vita* argues that the Christian subjects were viewed with suspicion as potential traitors, that their loyalty to the Muslim authorities was questioned, and that they could have been severely punished on allegations of treason. In addition, intrigues involving Byzantine iconoclasts (according to the *Vita*, the iconoclast Emperor Leo III himself) could have also adversely affected Muslim attitudes towards Christians. The Christian author of the *Vita* thus argued that Christians in the Umayyad period felt themselves to be between the hammer of Iconoclasm and the anvil of Muslim rule.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

Michael's Arabic *Vita* is extant in the following eight manuscripts:

MS Vat – Ar. 79, fols 328r-339v (1223; copied by Bīmīn al-Sīqī in Damascus; omits Michael's prologue)

MS Sinai – Ar. 317, fols 438v-448v (1223; also copied by Bīmīn al-Sīqī; omits Michael's prologue)

MS Sinai – Ar. 531 (1232), fols 191v-217r (omits Michael's prologue and epilogue)

MS Sinai – Ar. 398 (1258; life of St John of Damascus as part of the Menologion for December; it remains to be verified whether it is identical with Michael's *Vita* – interestingly, this MS was copied in Antioch)

MS Sinai – Ar. 448, fols 17v-24r (13<sup>th</sup> century; includes Michael's prologue and epilogue)

MS Aleppo, Fondation Salem – Ar. 304 [Sbath 1112], fols 100r-114v (16<sup>th</sup> century; includes Michael's prologue)

MS Gotha – Ar. 2882, fols 63r-79r (16<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 617, fols 120v-137r / pp. 236-69 (1697)

The following manuscripts are currently inaccessible:

MS Aleppo, private collection of the Greek Catholic priest Khuḍarī (1572; Sbath, *Fihris* iii, p. 183, no. 2327; a 'long life', possibly not identical with Michael's *Vita*)

MS Paris (?), private collection of the heirs of Joseph Nasrallah (1637)

- MS Kafr Buhum (1646, copied by Jibrā'īl ibn Qusṭanṭīn, the grandson of the bishop of Ḥamāh Gregory and a friend of Paul of Aleppo; the manuscript was used by Bacha in his edition; included Michael's prologue, but lacked two folios)
- MS Homs (an 'ancient' manuscript, used by Bacha in his edition; missing beginning and end)
- MS Aleppo, private collection of the Greek Catholic priest Rūfā'īl Rabbāṭ (Sbath, *Fihris* iii, p. 183, no. 2328)
- MS Aleppo, private collection of the Greek Catholic priest Mīkhā'īl Shaḥḥūd (Sbath, *Fihris* iii, p. 183, no. 2328)

The oldest MS of the Greek *Vita*, ascribed to John of Jerusalem (*BHG* 884), is MS Vienna – Phil. gr. 158, fols 109r, 108v-r, 110v-r, 107v-r (10<sup>th</sup> century underwriting of a palimpsest; the text corresponds to *PG* 94, cols 432-444C5); see H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol. 1, Vienna, 1961, p. 261. For other Greek MSS, see M. Gordillo, 'Damascenica, I. Vita Marciana, II. Libellus Orthodoxiae', *Orientalia Christiana* 8 (1926) 45-104, p. 49.

For the manuscripts of the Georgian translation, see K. Kekelidze, 'Gruzinskaja versija arabskago zhitija Ioanna Damaskina', *Khristianskij Vostok* 3 (1914) 119-74, pp. 126-32.

#### EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

- R.D. Portillo, 'The Arabic *Life* of St John of Damascus', *Pd'O* 21 (1996) 157-88 (English trans.)
- K. al-Yāzījī, *Yūḥannā al-Dimashqī. Ārā'uhū l-lāhūtiyya wa-masā'il 'ilm al-kalām*, Beirut, 1984, pp. 19-68 (semi-critical edition of the Arabic text; I am grateful to John Lamoreaux for this reference and a copy of this edition)
- P. Kawerau, *Christlich-arabische Chrestomathie aus historischen Schriftstellern des Mittelalters*, vol. 2. *Übersetzung mit philologischem Kommentar* (CSCO 385 = Subsidia 53), Louvain, 1977, pp. 34-50 (German trans. of Michael's prologue and another section of the *Vita*)
- P. Kawerau, *Christlich-arabische Chrestomathie aus historischen Schriftstellern des Mittelalters*, vol. 1/1. *Texte* (CSCO 370 = Subsidia 46), Louvain, 1976, pp. 11-17 (reprint of Michael's prologue and another section of the *Vita* from Bacha's edition)

- K. Kekelidze, 'Gruzinskaja versija arabskago zhitija Ioanna Damaskina', *Khristianskij Vostok* 3 (1914) 119-74 (edition and Russian trans. of the late 11<sup>th</sup>-century Georgian trans. by Eprem Mtsire from a lost Greek intermediary by Samuel of Adana)
- G. Graf, 'Das arabische Original der *Vita* des hl. Johannes von Damaskus', *Der Katholik* 93 (1913) 164-90 and 320-31 (German trans.; repr. G. Graf, *Christlicher Orient und schwäbische Heimat. Kleine Schriften*, 2 vols, Beirut, 2005, i, pp. 370-415)
- A.A. Vasil'ev, 'Arabskoe zhitie sv. Ioanna Damaskina', in *Polnoe sobranie tvorenij sv. Ioanna Damaskina*, vol. 1, St Petersburg, 1913, pp. 1-22 (Russian trans.; also printed separately under the title *Arabskaja versija zhitija sv. Ioanna Damaskina*, St Petersburg, 1913; repr. St Petersburg, 2010)
- C. Bacha, *Biographie de Saint Jean Damascène. Texte original arabe*, Harissa, 1912 (*editio princeps* of the Arabic *Vita*)
- [Pseudo-]Ibn al-Shiḥna, *Al-durr al-muntakhab fi tāriḫ mamlakat Ḥalab*, ed. J.E. Sarkīs, Beirut, 1909, pp. 212-13 (edition of Michael's prologue; not seen)
- PG 94, cols 429-89 (the most accessible edition of John of Jerusalem's Greek *Vita*)

## STUDIES

- Pravoslavnaja Èntsiklopedija*, xxiv, pp. 58-60
- J. Pahlitzsch, *Graeci und Suriani im Palästina der Kreuzfahrerzeit. Beiträge und Quellen zur Geschichte des griechisch-orthodoxen Patriarchats von Jerusalem*, Berlin, 2001, pp. 311-12
- V.V. Krivov, 'Araby khristiane v Antiokhii X-XI vv.', in D.E. Afinogenov and A.V. Murav'ev (eds), *Traditsii i nasledie khristianskogo Vostoka / Traditions and heritage of the Christian East*, Moscow, 1996, 247-55, pp. 253-55
- Flusin, 'De l'arabe au grec, puis au géorgien. Une vie de saint Jean Damascène'
- Nasrallah, *HMLEM* iii.1, pp. 334-36; cf. pp. 103-4
- D.J. Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam. The 'heresy of the Ishmaelites'*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 32-35
- B. Hemmerdinger, 'La *Vita* arabe de saint Jean Damascène et BHG 884', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 28 (1962) 422-23
- J.M. Hoeck, 'Stand und Aufgaben der Damaskenos-Forschung', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 17 (1951) 5-60, pp. 6-13
- Graf, *GICAL* ii, pp. 69-70

- D. Fecioru, *Viața sfântului Ioan Damaschin. Studiu de istorie literară creștină*, Bucharest, 1935 (not seen)
- M. Gordillo, 'Damascenica, I. Vita Marciana, II. Libellus Orthodoxiae', *Orientalia Christiana* 8 (1926) 45-104, pp. 48-57
- M. Jugie, 'La vie de S. Jean Damascène', *Échos d'Orient* 23 (1924) 137-61
- P. Peeters, review of Graf, 'Das arabische Original' and Bacha, *Biographie*, *Analecta Bollandiana* 33 (1914) 78-81

**Alexander Treiger**

# Abū l-Qāsim al-Anṣārī

Abū l-Qāsim Salmān ibn Nāṣir al-Anṣārī l-Naysābūrī

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1040
PLACE OF BIRTH	Arghiyān near Nīshāpūr
DATE OF DEATH	1118
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; presumably in or near Nīshāpūr

## BIOGRAPHY

Born near Nīshāpūr, Abū l-Qāsim al-Anṣārī studied in Khurasān with some of the leading scholars of his day, including Abū l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (d. 1072), under whom he studied *taṣawwuf*, and Abū l-Ma‘ālī l-Juwaynī (d. 1085; q.v.), from whom he learned Ash‘arī *kalām* and to whose *Irshād* and *Al-shāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn* his own theological writings are indebted. He would have studied under al-Juwaynī alongside Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111; q.v.). He went on the *ḥajj*, visited Baghdad and spent some time in Damascus, before returning to his home. Among his students was Abū l-Fatḥ al-Shahrastānī (q.v.), whose fame grew so much that Abū l-Qāsim was often known as his teacher rather than as a scholar in his own right.

Abū l-Qāsim was known for works on Shāfi‘ī jurisprudence, mysticism and Ash‘arī *kalām*, among which his *Sharḥ al-Irshād* was a commentary on al-Juwaynī’s major work.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

See works listed by Gilliott in *EI3*, and by ‘Abd al-Hādī, p. 37.

### Secondary

C. Gilliott, art. ‘al-Anṣārī, Abū l-Qāsim’, in *EI3*

*Al-ghunya fī l-kalām*, ed. Muṣṭafā Ḥusayn ‘Abd al-Hādī, Cairo, 2010, pp. 37-54



## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Al-ghunya fī l-kalām*, 'The indispensable, on theology'  
*Kitāb al-ghunya fī uṣūl al-dīn*, 'The indispensable,  
 on the principles of religion'

DATE After 1094

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

*Al-ghunya fī l-kalām* is a substantial theological treatise in three parts, only the first of which has so far been published. This is more than 350 pages long. Its subject is the existence and nature of God and, following the precedent of earlier works of this kind, it begins with an epistemological introduction, and then a proof of the contingency of the world and the need for a Creator. This is followed by a long set of proofs about the being of God, divided into four sections: attributes that must be predicated of God; attributes that cannot be predicated of him; his oneness; the nature of his attributes. Arguments against the Christians (*al-kalām 'alā l-Naṣārā*) are included in the second section, as part of the wider proof that what is divine cannot be characterized in the same way as substances, and in consequence its main emphasis is on the logical status of teachings about the Trinity and the Christian claim that the human Jesus could be divine (ed. 'Abd al-Hādī, pp. 445-55). As is normal in *kalām* works of this kind, the argument is presented in the form of questions and answers; however, there are few indications that these result from actual contact with Christians, and clear signs that they are a synthesis of points from earlier polemics.

Abū l-Qāsim begins by questioning what Christians mean by God as substance and by the hypostases, at each turn showing that the reasons they give are erroneous. Then he moves on to show that the hypostases cannot be limited to three, and further that the explanations given for the Incarnation do not withstand examination.

He follows this with a succession of arguments that appear to be brief summaries, sometimes no more than hints, of points found in earlier polemical works. These include the relationship between the substance and hypostases (whether they are identical or not); the being who was actually crucified (in response to the denial that this was Jesus in Q 4:157 Christians adduce other verses that suggest he did die); Jesus' miracles as signs of his divine power (Moses' miracles are as impressive but he is regarded as only human); and the confirmation in Q 4:171 that Jesus

was God's Word and Spirit (but this is a wrong interpretation that arises ultimately from misinterpretations of the Gospel, of which examples are given). Even the Arian view that Jesus was no more than God's adopted son cannot be accepted. Each of these is treated succinctly and dismissively, without any hint that they are convincing or cause difficulties for Muslim thought.

Of great interest in these few pages are what appear to be borrowings from earlier works. For example, the question of the relationship between the divine substance and hypostases (pp. 449-50), and also the more fleeting reference to the analogy between the Incarnation and a face reflected in a mirror (p. 448), first appear in the 9<sup>th</sup>-century author Abū 'Īsā l-Warrāq (q.v.) and are taken up by al-Bāqillānī in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, while the comparison with Jesus and Moses' miracles (p. 453) is referred to by al-Māturīdī (q.v.) and also al-Bāqillānī. Abū l-Qāsim evidently draws on this legacy, though he remains silent about what his immediate sources may have been.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

This brief survey of Christian doctrines, centered mainly on the implications they contain of associations between God and physical beings, forms only a minor element of the *Ghunya* as a whole, and it contains few signs of direct engagement with Christians or their continuing attempts to defend the intellectual admissibility of their beliefs. Rather, as in the treatises of earlier Muslim theologians such as al-Bāqillānī, 'Abd al-Jabbār and al-Juwaynī, its presence mainly serves to demonstrate the error of alternatives to the Muslim doctrines that are discussed before it in the work. While traces of attempts by Christians to explain or uphold their doctrines are present, Abū l-Qāsim clearly does not regard these as important enough to deserve more than a sentence or two in reply, because for him their main purpose is to strengthen his own construction of theology by exhibiting the mistakes in attempts to do otherwise.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Istanbul, Ahmed III (Enderūn) Library – 1916 (1196)

#### EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

Ed. Muṣṭafā Ḥusayn 'Abd al-Hādī, Cairo, 2010 (edition of the first part, *al-ilāhiyyāt*)

#### STUDIES

Ed. 'Abd al-Hādī, pp. 55-211

# Al-Māzarī

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Umar  
ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭamīmī l-Māzarī

DATE OF BIRTH Probably 1061  
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; though it has been convincingly  
argued that it was in Ifrīqiya  
DATE OF DEATH 1141  
PLACE OF DEATH Al-Mahdiyya, modern Tunisia

## BIOGRAPHY

Despite his *laqab*, which refers to the town of Māzar on the southern coast of Sicily, it seems al-Māzarī was born in Ifrīqiya to a father who had emigrated from the island before the Norman conquest. He pursued his studies in Sfax and either Mahdiyya or Sūs, and became the chief Mālikī scholar of Mahdiyya, attracting students from all over North Africa. He wrote a number of works, including a commentary on Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* entitled *Al-mu‘lim bi-fawā’id Muslim*, and a commentary on al-Juwaynī’s *Al-burhān*.

The period of al-Māzarī’s life in Ifrīqiya coincided with a time of great political upheaval in both Sicily and North Africa, and he was instrumental in helping Muslim refugees from Sicily upon their arrival in North Africa. This aid has been widely contrasted with the lack of concern shown by the 16<sup>th</sup>-century scholar al-Wansharīsī towards immigrants from Muslim Spain.

In addition to his fatwa on the status of Muslim judges operating under non-Muslim rule, al-Māzarī also issued a number of others which permitted trade with Norman Sicily, although one discouraged travel there in order to buy food.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

Al-Māzarī, *Fatāwā l-Māzarī*, ed. al-Ma‘mūrī, Tunis, 1994

Al-Burzulī, *Fatāwā l-Burzulī*, ed. M. al-Hila, 7 vols, Beirut, 2002, i, pp. 595-98, iii, pp. 462-64, v, p. 272

- Al-Wansharīsī, *Asnā l-matājir fī bayān aḥkām man ghalaba ‘alā waṭanihi l-Naṣārā wa-ma yuhājir, wa-ma yatarattabu ‘alayhi min al-‘uqūbāt wa-l-zawājir*, ed. Ḥ. Mu’nis, Cairo, 1996, pp.1-63 (originally published in *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islamicos en Madrid*, 5 [1957])
- Al-Wansharīsī, *Al-mi’yār al-mu’rib wa-l-jāmi’ al-mughrib ‘an fatāwā ahl Ifrīqiyyā wa-l-Andalus wa-l-Maghrib*, ed. M. al-Ḥajjī 13 vols, Rabat, 1981-83, viii, pp. 207-8

### Secondary

- J. Hendrickson, *The Islamic obligation to emigrate. Al-Wansharīsī’s Asnā al-matājir reconsidered*, Emery, 2009 (Diss., Emery University), pp. 201-5
- Al-Māzarī, *Fatāwā l-Māzarī*, pp.11-13, introduction
- A.M. Turki, ‘Consultation juridique d’al-Imam al-Mazari sur le cas des Musulmans vivant en Sicile sous l’autorité des Normands’, *Melanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph* 50 (1984) 691-704
- H.R. Idris, ‘L’École Mālikite de Mahdia. L’Imām al-Māzarī (m. 536H/1141)’, in *Études d’orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, 2 vols, Paris, 1962, i, pp. 153-63
- H.H. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, *Al-Imām al-Māzarī*, Tunis, 1955

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Fatwā*, ‘Legal opinion’

DATE First half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

#### DESCRIPTION

This fatwa is contained in al-Wansharīsī’s (q.v.) *Asnā l-matājir*, the later scholar using it as a foil for his own opposing opinion concerning the permissibility of remaining in territory that has been conquered by non-Muslim forces and is now *dār al-ḥarb*. The fatwa discusses the two related questions of whether it is permitted to remain in formerly Muslim territory, and whether the opinions of judges who have been appointed by infidel rulers are valid.

In answer to the first question, al-Māzarī declares that in the case of judges who have been forced to remain, or if they have good reason to do so, then that is to be accepted. If they are unaware of the general rule of not staying in infidel territory, then they are compromised as Muslims. For those who go to trade and so live under non-Muslim rule for a period, there is a lack of consensus, while those who reside in infidel territory for unknown reasons must be given the benefit of the doubt.

Responding to the second question, al-Māzarī states that a judge who is appointed by an infidel can be accepted, and his judgments upheld.

## SIGNIFICANCE

The question posed to al-Māzarī and his response, together with the controversies that have followed it across the centuries, demonstrate the difficulties presented to Muslims in the medieval period by the first losses of territory during the Christian re-conquest of areas of Europe.

## MANUSCRIPTS —

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Hendrickson, *The Islamic obligation*, pp. 373-76 (trans.)

Al-Wansharīsī, *Asnā l-matājir*, ii, pp. 133-34 (abridged edition)

M. Brett, 'Muslim justice under infidel rule. The Normans in Ifriqiya, 517-555H/1123-1160AD', *Cahiers de Tunisie* 43 (1995) 1-26, pp. 4-5 (repr. in M. Brett, *Ibn Khaldun and the medieval Maghrib*, Aldershot, 1999, no. XIII) (trans.)

*Fatāwā l-Māzarī*, pp. 365-66 (edition)

Turki, 'Consultation juridique' (edition and French trans.)

Al-Wansharīsī, *Mi'yār*, x, pp. 107-9 (full edition)

## STUDIES

A. Metcalfe, *The Muslims of medieval Italy*, Edinburgh, 2009, pp. 176-77

Hendrickson, *The Islamic obligation*, pp. 205-35

Brett, 'Muslim justice', pp. 5-6

A.M. Turki, 'Fatwā l-Imām al-Māzarī fi l-Musulmīn al-muqīmīn bi-Ṣiḡilliyya fi ḥamāyat al-Nurmān', in *Qaḍāyā thaqāfiyya min ta'riḫ al-gharb al-Islāmī. Nuṣūṣ wa-dirāsāt*, Beirut, 1988, 61-80

Alex Mallett

## Roger II of Sicily

DATE OF BIRTH	22 December 1095
PLACE OF BIRTH	Mileto, Calabria, Italy
DATE OF DEATH	26 February 1154
PLACE OF DEATH	Palermo

### BIOGRAPHY

Roger was a member of the ruling dynasty of Normans who had conquered much of southern Italy and Sicily during the late 11<sup>th</sup> century. On the death of his brother, Simon de Hauteville, in 1105, Roger became Count of Sicily, ruling independently upon his maturity in 1112, as well as claiming Calabria. On the death of the Norman ruler of Apulia in 1127, Roger claimed that as part of his territory as well, although his attempts to unify Sicily and Apulia were resisted by both the pope, who declared a crusade against him, and the people of Apulia. This was unsuccessful, and Roger was recognized as duke of Apulia in 1128 before being crowned king of Sicily by the antipope Anacletus II in 1130. This highly controversial act led to a ten-year war in southern Italy in which Roger was pitted against a coalition of forces from across southern Europe, including the army of the German emperor and soldiers from the Byzantines. Following the death of Anacletus II in 1138, Pope Innocent II personally led an army against Roger, but was captured by Roger's son. Innocent then recognized Roger as king of Sicily, as well as duke of Apulia and prince of Capua, thus acknowledging his rule over southern Italy and Sicily and bringing him into the mainstream of European politics, which began what is referred to as the 'golden age' of Norman Sicily. This continued until Roger's death in 1154.

Roger ruled over an extremely diverse population, particularly in Sicily. Normans, Arabs, Sicilians, Greeks and Jews, professing Latin and Greek Christianity, Islam and Judaism, lived on the island, and his policy of employing Muslims and Christians in the royal palace, and elsewhere, produced some of the most important inter-cultural art, literature, architecture and philosophy from the whole medieval period. His kingdom is consequently often regarded as a case-study for Christian-Muslim co-existence.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

Roger II was one of the most important rulers of 12<sup>th</sup>-century Europe, and consequently is referred to in vast numbers of chronicles, letters, charters and other evidence. For a complete bibliography of these primary sources, see H.H. Houben, *Roger II. A ruler between East and West*, trans. G.A. Loud and D. Milburn, Cambridge, 2002, pp. 184-90

*Secondary*

There are hundreds of studies of the life of Roger. Among the most important are:

- A. Metcalfe, *The Muslims of medieval Italy*, Edinburgh, 2009, pp. 112-80
- G. Breccia, '“Magis consilio quam viribus”. Ruggero II di Sicilia e la guerra', *Medioevo Greco* 3 (2003) 53-67
- A. de Simone, 'Ruggero II e l'Africa islamica', in G. Musca (ed.), *Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo e le Crociate*, Bari, 2002, 92-129
- S. Fodale, 'Ruggero II e la Seconda Crociata', in G. Musca (ed.), *Il Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo e le Crociate*, Bari, 2002, 131-43
- Houben, *Roger II*
- P. Aubé, *Roger II de Sicile. Un normand en Méditerranée*, Paris, 2001
- H. Taviani-Carrozi, "Bien gouverner en temps de guerre comme en temps de paix". Le bon roi Roger de Sicile', in J. Paviot and J. Verger (eds), *Guerre, pouvoir et noblesse au moyen âge. Mélanges en l'honneur de Philippe Contamine*, Paris, 2000, 649-57
- E.M. Jamison, 'The Norman administration of Apulia and Capua, more especially under Roger II and William I, 1127-1166', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 6, Rome, 1917, 265-70 (repr. Aalen, 1987)
- E. Caspar, *Roger II (1101-1154) und die Gründung der normannisch-sicilischen Monarchie*, Innsbruck, 1904

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*The Assizes of Roger*

DATE Sometime between 1139 and 1154

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

## DESCRIPTION

The *Assizes* are the laws for Norman Italy issued by Roger sometime after his coronation. They were for a long time believed to be the same as the *Assizes of Ariano* mentioned by the chronicler Falco of Benevento in 1140, although it is now generally thought this is not the case. The *Assizes of Roger* are 44 laws (with an extra seven in the Monte Cassino manuscript)

for his territory and stipulations for the penalties for transgressing them, the majority of which were taken from Justinian's law codes, and are a precursor to the *Constitutions of Melfi* issued by the German Emperor Frederick II in 1230.

Three of these laws deal with Muslims. The first is to do with the interpretation of the other laws, and states: 'Because of the variety of different people subject to our rule, the usages, customs, and laws which have existed among them up to now are not abrogated unless what is observed in them is clearly in contradiction to our edicts here' (trans. Loud, p. 175). This implies that, since Islamic law must have been included in this, the Islamic legal system of *sharī'a* was confirmed under Norman rule, so allowing Muslims a large degree of autonomy.

The second relevant *Assize* states: 'No Jew or pagan (i.e. Muslim) shall dare either to buy or sell Christian servants, or to possess them by any title [whatsoever], or to hold them as a pledge' (trans. Loud, p. 178), and thus ensures Christian legal superiority over Muslims and Jews.

The final relevant *Assize* is about apostates from Christianity: 'We curse thoroughly those who apostatize from the Catholic faith. We pursue them with vengeance. We despoil them of all of their goods. We withdraw the protection of our laws from those who break a promise or vow, we abolish their right of inheritance and cancel their every legitimate right' (trans. Loud, p. 178). Such a law meant that Muslims who had converted to Christianity and then reverted to Islam were particularly at risk of being falsely accused of apostatizing, and so would become subject to all the punishments listed.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The *Assizes* demonstrate that the Muslims under Norman rule were generally left to live under Islamic law, as long as this did not conflict with the law of the Normans. This was much like the position of Christians under Islamic rule, and may point to the Normans borrowing such ideas from Muslims. It also gives a context for the fatwas of al-Māzarī, al-Wansharīsī and others, who gave their legal opinions on the permissibility of Muslims remaining in territory that had been conquered by Christian armies.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vat – Lat. 8782 (late 12<sup>th</sup> century)

MS Montecassino – Codice Cassinese 468 (early 13<sup>th</sup> century)



## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

'The Laws of King Roger II (ca. 1140s)', trans G. Loud in K.L. Jansen, J. Drell and F. Andrews (eds), *Medieval Italy*, Philadelphia PA, 2009, 175-86

O. Zecchino (ed.), *Le Assise di Ariano*, Cava dei Tirreni, 1984

'The Assizes of Roger', ed. F. Brandileone in his *Il diritto romano nelle leggi normanne e sveve del regno di Sicilia*, Rome, 1884, 89-138

## STUDIES

Metcalf, *The Muslims of medieval Italy*, pp. 150-52

K. Pennington, 'The Normans in Palermo. King Roger II's legislation', *Haskins Society Journal: Studies in Medieval History* 18 (2007) 140-67

Houben, *Roger II of Sicily*, pp. 135-47

O. Zecchino, 'Le assise di Ariano', in M. D'Onofrio (ed.), *I Normanni. Popolo d'Europa 1030-1200*, Venice, 1994, pp. 182-87

Matthew, *The Norman kingdom of Sicily*, pp. 184-88

Alex Mallett

# Ibn ‘Awf

Abū l-Ṭāhir Ismā‘īl ibn Makkī ibn Ismā‘īl ibn ‘Awf al-Zuhrī  
l-Kurashī l-Iskandarānī

DATE OF BIRTH 1092  
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; presumably Alexandria  
DATE OF DEATH October-November 1185  
PLACE OF DEATH Alexandria

## BIOGRAPHY

Ibn ‘Awf was an important Mālikī jurist in Ayyubid Egypt whose lineage went back to the Companion of the Prophet, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Awf. He was the stepson of the eminent Andalusī scholar Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 1126; q.v.), who had settled in Alexandria. He learnt under al-Ṭurṭūshī law and Hadith (al-Suyūṭī, i, p. 453), and studied with him in particular Mālik’s *Muwatta’* and Abū Dāwūd’s *Sunan* (Fierro, pp. 77-78). He also transmitted al-Ṭurṭūshī’s *Kitāb bīr al-wālidayn* (Fierro, p. 55).

Ibn ‘Awf was known for his piety and modesty, and he was highly esteemed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), who used to correspond with him and consult him on matters of law (see al-Ṣafadī, p. 185). He played an important role in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s reinstatement of the *ṣādīr*, an additional export tax exacted from Christian merchants, particularly Franks, at the Alexandrian frontier (*thaghr*), and was appointed to oversee the monthly distribution of the funds that were accrued (Ibn Farḥūn, i, pp. 293-94).

In 1138, Ibn ‘Awf was appointed to a teaching position at the newly founded *madrasa* in Alexandria by the anti-*dhimmī* Sunnī vizier of the Fatimid caliphate, Riḍwān ibn Walakhshī, who had a close relationship with him. (When Riḍwān tried to depose the Caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh, it was Ibn ‘Awf and two other scholars whom he consulted [see al-Maqrīzī, p. 167].) This was the first *madrasa* to be established in Egypt. The written statement of appointment issued by al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh and addressed to Ibn ‘Awf reveals that the school was initially named *al-madrasa l-Ḥāfiẓiyya* (al-Qalqashandī, x, – x, p. 458), but it subsequently came to be known as *al-madrasa l-‘Awfiyya* (Ibn Farḥūn, i, p. 293). He had many disciples, among them the Hadith scholar Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī (d. 1180). In addition, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and his sons are reported to have

studied Mālik's *Muwatta'* with him during their visit to Alexandria in February-March 1182 (Abū Shāma, ii, pp. 75-76; Ibn Khallikān, ii, p. 197; al-Suyūṭī, i, p. 453).

Ibn 'Awf is credited with many works, among the most significant being *Tadhkirat al-tafkīr fi uṣūl al-dīn*, 'Note of reflection on the foundations of belief', and *Al-radd 'alā l-mutanaṣṣir*, 'Refutation of the convert to Christianity'.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### Primary

- Abū Shāma, *Uyūn al-rawḍatayn fi akhbār al-dawlatayn*, ed. Aḥmad al-Baysūmī, 2 vols, Damascus, 1991-92, ii, pp. 75-76
- Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, trans. W. MacGuckin de Slane, 4 vols, New York, 2010, ii, pp. 197, 353
- Al-Ṣafadī, *Nakt al-himyān fi nukat al-'umyān*, Cairo, 1911, p. 185
- Ibn Farḥūn al-Mālikī, *Al-dībāj al-mudhahhab fi ma'rifat a'yān 'ulamā' al-madhhab*, ed. Muḥammad al-Aḥmad Abū l-Nūr, 2 vols, Cairo, 1972-76, i, pp. 292-95
- Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, 14 vols, Cairo, 1913-22, x, pp. 451-59
- Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā' bi-akhbār al-a'emma l-Fāṭimiyyīn al-khulafā'*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥilmī Muḥammad Aḥmad, 3 vols, Cairo, 1996, iii, pp. 166, 167
- Al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara fi-ta'rikh Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 2 vols, Cairo, 1967-68, i, pp. 452-53
- Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fi akhbār man dhahab*, 8 vols, Cairo, 1931-32, v, p. 238

### Secondary

- J.P. Berkey, *The formation of Islam. Religion and society in the Near East, 600-1800*, Cambridge, 2003, p. 198
- M. Fierro, *Abū Bakr al-Ṭurtūṣī (m. 520/1126). Kitāb al-ḥawādith wa-l-bida'*, *El libro de las novedades y las innovaciones*, Madrid, 1993, pp. 55, 77-78, 97
- Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, *A'lām al-Iskandariyya fi l-'aṣr al-Islāmī*, Cairo, 1965, pp. 105-27
- M. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache, zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden, nebst Anhängen verwandten Inhalts*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 126
- Ḥajjī Khalifa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn 'an asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn*, ed. G. Flügel, 7 vols, Leipzig, 1835-58, iii, p. 353

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Al-radd 'alā l-mutanaṣṣir*, 'Refutation of the convert to Christianity'

DATE Unknown; before 1185

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

This work, which bears the same title as a work ascribed to another Mālikī jurist, the Tunisian Ibn 'Abd al-Rafī' (d. 1333; q.v.) has not survived, though from a handful of references elsewhere it appears that Ibn 'Awf wrote it in response to an anti-Muslim polemic entitled *Al-fāḍih* ('Exposing disgrace'), in which the author, who had presumably abandoned Islam for Christianity, exposed inconsistencies within Muḥammad's legal dispensation (*sharī'a Muḥammadīyya*), such as contradictory statements about the permissibility of drinking wine. Ibn Farḥūn says that 'the Imām al-Rāzī' (presumably Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī) also wrote a refutation entitled *Qaṭ' lisān al-bā'ih* ('Stopping the traitor's tongue') (Ibn Farḥūn, i, p. 294) against this work, though nothing more is known about this (it cannot be al-Rāzī's *Munāzara fi l-radd 'alā l-Naṣārā*, which is partially extant [see *CMR* 4, pp. 63-65], because this work arose from a disputation between al-Rāzī and a leading Khwārazmian Christian scholar, who would not have been a convert).

## SIGNIFICANCE

It is likely that in this work Ibn 'Awf followed his teacher al-Ṭurṭūshī, who vigorously argued for the reinforcement of restrictions on Jews and Christians living under Muslim rule, though his work was also remembered in its own right. Writing a century later, for instance, Taqī l-Dīn al-Ja'farī (d. 1270; q.v.), himself the author of several polemical works, refers to it as one of the important sources he relied upon in his *Takhjīl man ḥarrafa l-Tawrah wa-l-Injīl* (ed. M. bin 'A.-R. Qadaḥ, 2 vols, Riyadh, 1998, i, p. 63). Later on, Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī (d. 1316; q.v.) mentions Ibn 'Awf among authors who wrote on the contradictions within the Gospels, and compares him with Ibn Ḥazm and al-Ja'farī, concluding that his work is the best, 'for it sufficiently quenches one's thirst on the matter' (*Al-ishārāt al-ilāhīyya ilā l-mabāḥith al-uṣūliyya*, ed. A-'Ā. Ḥasan, 3 vols, Cairo, 2002, ii, p. 68).

Al-Ṭurṭūshī had a prominent role in the transmission of the Pact of 'Umar as preserved in his *Sirāj*, which he also taught to his student Ibn

'Awf (see *CMR* 3, p. 393, where Ibn 'Awf is named Ismā'īl ibn Makkī ibn 'Īsā l-Zuhrī). Given that Ibn 'Awf interacted with eminent political figures of his time, such as the Fatimid vizier Riḍwān and more importantly the Ayyubid Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, his views, and this work, must have played a part in shaping socio-political and legal attitudes of the time.

MANUSCRIPTS —

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

**Lejla Demiri**

## Ma‘ānī ibn Abī l-Makārim

Ma‘ānī ibn Abī l-Makārim ibn Barakāt ibn Abī l-‘Alā’

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown, mid-12 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown, Egypt (possibly Miṣr, possibly al-Maḥalla)
DATE OF DEATH	After 1207, possibly after 1221
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown, Egypt (possibly Miṣr)

### BIOGRAPHY

Little is known about the author (or authors) of the entries for the 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> Coptic Orthodox patriarchs (Mark III ibn Zur‘a, 1166-89, and John VI, 1189-1216) in the well-known compilation known as the *History of the Patriarchs*. The entries were written in stages:

1. The first stage is dated Shawwāl AH 603 = Bashans AM 923 (= May 1207). In a colophon (misread in the edition, *History of the patriarchs* 3.2, p. 109 [text]/p. 182 [trans.]), we read: ‘The one who wrote (*kataba*), in his own hand and for himself, was Ma‘ānī ibn Abī l-Makārim ibn Barakāt ibn Abī l-‘Alā’.’ This appears to be the name of the author rather than of a copyist; he goes on to invite others to complete the biography of Patriarch John, still alive in 1207. Early in the work, the author informs us that he saw Patriarch Mark III before his consecration as patriarch, as he was living in his neighborhood in Miṣr = Old Cairo (p. 61/p. 102). He showed some interest in this patriarch’s Syrian background (see den Heijer, ‘Les patriarches coptes d’origine syrienne’, p. 59).
2. A second stage completes the biography of Patriarch John, reporting his death in 1216. In a personal note, the author mentions that he had resided in al-Maḥalla (p. 121/p. 202).
3. The same author, it appears, resumed writing on Monday, 17 Barmūda AM 937 = 12 April 1221 (p. 122/p. 204), in order to report on events since Patriarch John’s death (including the Copts’ failure to elect a new patriarch and the events of the Fifth Crusade).

Coptic historian Kāmil Ṣāliḥ Nakhla, taking these small pieces of evidence together, has identified Ma‘ānī [ibn] Abī l-Makārim (Nakhla in

fact calls him 'Ma'ānī Abū l-Makārim') as the (sole) author of these two *Lives*, and asserted that he was a Copt of the secretarial class from al-Maḥalla l-Kubrā, who possibly came from a family of Syrian origin that had settled there and blended in with the Coptic population. Whether this is correct, or whether we need to distinguish between a first author (of the first stage, completed in 1207; Ma'ānī ibn Abī l-Makārim from Old Cairo?) and a continuator (of the second and third stages, from 1216 and 1221 respectively; an anonymous author from al-Maḥalla?), is a matter requiring further study.

Whether one author or more, it is clear from the text that it is composed throughout by a person or persons well-connected within the Coptic Church; the author of the first stage had access to members of the patriarch's family (p. 61/p. 102); the father of the author of the third stage was one of the Coptic elders who attended Patriarch John VI upon his deathbed in 1216 (p. 122/p. 204). But in addition to attention to events within the church, these 'patriarchal biographies' follow the events of secular history very closely, in particular, the careers of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī and his successors, and their conflicts with the Latin crusaders.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

A. Khater and O.H.E. Khs.-Burmester (eds), *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian church, known as the History of the holy church, by Sawīrus ibn al-Muḥaffā', bishop of al-Ašmūnīn*, iii, pt. ii, Cairo, 1968 (text and English trans., separately paginated)

### *Secondary*

Athanāsīyūs al-Maqārī, *Fihris kitābāt ābā' kanīsat al-Iskandariyya. Al-kitābāt al-'arabiyya*, 2 vols (*Mašādir tuqūs al-kanīsa* 1.8-9), Cairo, 2012, i, pp. 308-9

J. den Heijer, 'Les patriarches coptes d'origine syrienne', in R. Ebied and H. Teule (eds), *Studies on the Christian Arabic heritage (Eastern Christian Studies 5)*, Leuven, 2004, 45-63, pp. 58-60

Wadi Abullif, 'Introduzione alla letteratura arabo-cristiana dei Copti' [in Arabic], *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea* 29-30 (1996-1997), 441-92, p. 473

J. den Heijer, *Mawḥūb ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Mufarriḡ et l'historiographie copto-arabe. Étude sur la composition de l'Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie*, Louvain, 1989 (CSCO 513 = subs. 83), p. 11

J. den Heijer, art. 'History of the patriarchs of Alexandria', in *CE*

Kāmil Ṣāliḥ Nakhla, *Silsilat Tāriḫ al-bābāwāt*, vol. 1, Dayr al-Suryān, 1952, p. 121; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Cairo, 2001, p. 86

Kāmil Ṣālīḥ Nakhla, *Kitāb tārīkh wa-jadāwil baṭārikat al-Iskandariyya al-qibt* [Cairo], 1943, pp. 43-45 (not seen)

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Siyar al-bī'a al-muqaddasa*, 'Biographies of the holy church'

*The history of the patriarchs of Alexandria, Lives*

73-74

DATE In stages over time, including the years 1207, 1216 and 1221

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

### DESCRIPTION

The *Lives* of Coptic Orthodox patriarchs Mark III ibn Zur'a (73<sup>rd</sup> patriarch, 1166-89) and John VI (74<sup>th</sup> patriarch, 1189-1216) are of substantial length, constituting a full volume (text and English translation) in the Cairo edition of the *History of the Patriarchs*. Nevertheless, this volume tells us surprisingly little about these patriarchs; much more space is devoted to political-military history, including the end of the Fatimid state and the careers of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī and his successors, up until the reign of al-Malik al-Kāmil and the Fifth Crusade.

The text contains a number of passages of interest to the student of Christian-Muslim relations. The first 'stage' of the text (from the year 1207; see the Biography, above) opens with a passage drawn from the apocalyptic *Fourteenth vision of Daniel* (see *CMR* 3, pp. 697-703), where it is striking that the Fatimids have been mapped onto the fourth beast of Daniel 7 (see Meinardus, 'New evidence'). By contrast, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn is portrayed favorably, even as one who acts in accordance with biblical injunctions by direct inspiration from God (*ilhām min Allāh*; *History of the patriarchs*, iii pt. ii, p. 82/p. 139). While the author records the trials of the Coptic community early on in the transition to Ayyūbid rule (including *ghiyar* legislation, removal of Christians from government positions, instances of rioting and church burning, and a number of high-profile conversions to Islam), he notes that, with the passage of time, the Coptic secretarial class returned to favor in the eyes of the ruling Ayyūbids, occupied sensitive positions and gained greatly in wealth and prestige (*History of the patriarchs*, pp. 97-98/pp. 164-66).

The second 'stage' of the text (from about 1216) likewise preserves passages of interest, especially with respect to church-state relations.



The long report on the provision of a *muṭrān* for the Ethiopian Church (pp. 109-15/pp. 184-93; Perruchon, 'Notes') illustrates the involvement of al-Malik al-Kāmil in the proceedings. Another series of anecdotes involves Coptic converts to Islam, one who makes trouble for the church and another who is called in as an independent expert witness (with an ability to read Coptic). The latter brought the former's malicious claims to naught, providing al-Malik al-Kāmil an opportunity to demonstrate his justice (pp. 117-20/pp. 197-202).

Finally, the third 'stage' of the text (from 1221) moves beyond the *Lives* of Mark III and John VI in order to report on the attempts to find a successor to Patriarch John after his death in 1216. (On this struggle, see the entries for 'Cyril III ibn Laqlaq' and 'Yūḥannā ibn Wahb' in *CMR* 4.) The major factions in the dispute appealed to different Muslim authorities – and the result was deadlock and the failure to choose a patriarch (p. 123-25/pp. 206-10).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The *Lives* of Coptic Orthodox patriarchs Mark III and John VI, as preserved in the *History of the patriarchs*, provide evidence of how the Ayyūbid rulers in Egypt dealt with their Christian subjects, as well as how certain (elite) Copts regarded their rulers. The text is an important witness to the Ayyūbid decision to employ Copts freely as financial administrators, a move of the greatest significance to the Coptic community at this historical juncture. The Coptic secretarial class developed the material and intellectual resources that contributed to an artistic and literary 'renaissance' in the 13<sup>th</sup> century – thus providing an important historical example of how a Christian community might thrive, at least for a season, within *Dār al-Islām*.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

See den Heijer, *Mawḥūb*, pp. 18-27. The oldest MSS are:

- MS Cairo, Coptic Museum – Hist. 1(B) (Graf 134, Simaika 94), fols 204r-233v (13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> c.; basis of the edition of Khater and Burmester)
- MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 302, fols 261v-286v (15<sup>th</sup> century; incomplete at end)
- MS Vatican City, BAV – Ar. 620 (17<sup>th</sup> century; with a text close to that of the Coptic Museum MS)

For other MSS from the 17<sup>th</sup> century and later, see den Heijer, *Mawḥūb*, pp. 23-27.

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

- A. Khater and O.H.E. Khs.-Burmester (eds), *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian church, known as the History of the holy church, by Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffa', bishop of al-Ašmūnīn*, iii, pt. ii, Cairo, 1968 (edition and English trans.)
- J. Perruchon, 'Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiopie. Extrait de la vie d'Abba Jean, 74<sup>e</sup> patriarche d'Alexandrie, relatif à l'Abyssinie (text arabe et traduction)', *Revue Sémitique* 6 (1898) 267-71, 366-72; 7 (1899) 76-88 (extract from the *Life* of Patriarch John VI, from MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 302, pp. 293-97 [sic], with French trans., plus commentary by F.M. Esteves Pereira)

## STUDIES

- Khater and Burmester, *History of the patriarchs* 3.2, pp. v-vii (brief summary of contents)
- O. Meinardus, 'New evidence on the XIV<sup>e</sup> Vision of Daniel from the History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian church', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 34 (1968) 281-309

The work has been used as a source for a variety of historical studies. In addition to Perruchon, 'Notes', the following may serve as examples:

- Kurt J. Werthmuller, *Coptic identity and Ayyubid politics in Egypt, 1218-1250*, Cairo and New York, 2010, passim (see notes referring to 'Patriarchs, vol. 3, pt. 2'; on the struggle to choose a new patriarch after the death of John VI)
- A.-M. Eddé, *Saladin (Grandes Biographies)*, Paris, 2008, pp. 17, 64, 467-69, 477, 499-501
- Den Heijer, 'Les patriarches coptes d'origine syrienne', pp. 58-60 (on the Syrian origins of Patriarch Mark III)
- Y. Lev, *Saladin in Egypt*, Leiden, 1999, esp. ch. 6, 'The non-Muslim communities', 185-93, pp. 188-90
- J.M. Powell, *Anatomy of a crusade, 1213-1221*, Philadelphia PA, 1986, pp. 130, 145-46, 186
- H.L. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit*, Wiesbaden, 1958, p. 16 (recognizes the work as the 'most important contemporary Christian source' for the reign of al-Malik al-Kāmil)

# Al-As‘ad ibn al-‘Assāl

Al-As‘ad Abū l-Faraj Hibat Allāh ibn al-‘Assāl

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; later 12 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Miṣr (Old Cairo) or Cairo
DATE OF DEATH	Between 1253 and 1259
PLACE OF DEATH	Miṣr or Cairo

## BIOGRAPHY

Al-As‘ad Abū l-Faraj Hibat Allāh ibn Abī l-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī Ishāq, known as Ibn al-‘Assāl, was one of the famous ‘Awlād al-‘Assāl’, four brothers who contributed greatly to the Copto-Arabic literary ‘renaissance’ of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. He was the full brother of al-Ṣafī (q.v.) and half brother of al-Mu‘taman (q.v.). He wrote less than these two brothers and has attracted less scholarly attention, but his output was significant, as will be seen below.

Al-As‘ad was married, and we know the name of one of his sons: Abū Shākir. It appears that al-As‘ad had some connection with the Ayyūbid authorities, and it was perhaps thanks to this that he was able to travel outside Egypt on several occasions. He himself informs us of a trip he made to Yemen (before April 1231). In 1230 he was in Damascus, where he copied manuscripts of the works of St John of Damascus – he was a skilled copyist – and bought other manuscripts for his library. We find him in Damascus again in 1231 and then in 1252-53. All these trips helped to enrich his library (*khizāna*), which he and others used in the composition of new works. The exact date of al-As‘ad’s death is unknown, but a manuscript of his translation of the Gospels from 1259 (MS Oxford, Bodleian – Huntington 188) speaks of him as one who has died.

Al-As‘ad’s works were original and varied, produced over a period including the years 1231-53. His masterpiece is the translation of the four Gospels from Coptic (from 1252-53), with an apparatus providing variants from other translations, from both within and outside the Coptic Church (see Wadi, ‘La traduction’; Samir, ‘La version arabe’). Other works include his *Ḥisāb al-abuqṭī* (‘The epect calculation’, on the date of Easter), *Muqaddima fī qawā‘id al-lughā l-qibṭiyya* (‘Introduction to Coptic grammar’), and *Urjūzāt* on legal and illegal marriages and inheritance law. In addition, sometime before 1235, he collaborated with Dā‘ūd ibn

Laqlaq al-Fayyūmī (later Patriarch Cyril III ibn Laqlaq, q.v.) and Būlus al-Būshī (q.v.) on *Kitāb al-i'tirāf* ('Confession', in 22 chapters).

The works mentioned above, while not quite meeting the criteria for individual inclusion in this bibliographical history, represent the output of a serious Christian scholar carrying out his work in an intellectual context decisively shaped by the Arabic language and Islamic faith. The critical translation of the Gospels, for example, was an attempt to make a faithful translation of these fundamental texts of the Christian faith *in good Arabic* that Muslims as well as Christians could appreciate. 'The exact calculation' does not limit itself to the specifically Coptic calendar, but takes the Islamic calendar into account as well. The Coptic grammar was part of an ongoing enterprise by Christian scholars to describe the *Coptic* language using the categories of *Arabic* grammatical science. An attention to marriage and inheritance law was incumbent upon *dhimmi* communities within *Dār al-Islām*, given the detailed bodies of Islamic jurisprudence in these areas. The work mentioned below, the *Maqāla fī l-nafs* ('Treatise on the soul', written in 1231), is a relatively small work – but one in which al-As'ad's engagement with the wider religious milieu is clear.

Al-As'ad is not listed among the Coptic writers in the bibliographical chapter of *Miṣbāḥ al-ḡulma* by Shams al-Ri'āsa Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar (q.v.). However, al-Shams mentions al-As'ad more than once elsewhere in the work.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

- G. Graf, 'Das Schriftstellerverzeichnis des Abū Ishāq Ibn al-'Assāl', *Oriens Christianus*, n.s. 2 (1912) 205-26, pp. 212-13
- Al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assāl, *Majmū' uṣūl al-dīn wa-masmū' maḥṣūl al-yaqīn* [*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. 1, §12; ii, ch. 60
- Shams al-Ri'āsa Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar, *Miṣbāḥ al-ḡulma fī iḏāḥ al-khidma*, ed. [S.K.] Samīr, Cairo, 1971, ch. 6, pp. 236, 259, 260
- S.J. Davis, *Coptic Christology in practice. Incarnation and divine participation in late antique and medieval Egypt*, Oxford, 2008, pp. 251-52, 256, 260
- M.N. Swanson, art. 'Al-As'ad ibn al-'Assal', in Gawdat Gabra (ed.), *Historical dictionary of the Coptic church*, Cairo, 2008, pp. 17-18, 279
- J. Assfalg, art. 'Assāl, Aulād al-', in *Kleine Lexikon des christlichen Oriens*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, ed. H. Kaufhold, Wiesbaden, 2007, 63-64

- A. Wadi, 'Al-As'ad ibn al-'Assāl. Introduzioni alla traduzione dei quattro Vangeli', *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea* 39 (2006) 47-120
- A. Wadi, 'Al-As'ad ibn al-'Assāl. Préface à la grammaire de la langue copte', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 44 (2005) 113-29
- A. Wadi, 'Liste chronologique des manuscrits de la Préface à la grammaire de la langue copte de al-As'ad ibn al-'Assāl', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 44 (2005) 130-32
- A. Wadi, 'La traduction des quatre Évangiles de al-As'ad ibn al-'Assāl', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 42 (2003) 127-36
- A. Elli, *Storia della chiesa copta*, vol. 2. *L'Egitto arabo e musulmano* (*Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographiae* 13), Cairo, 2003, pp. 167-68
- A.Y. Sidarus, 'Medieval Coptic grammars in Arabic. The Coptic *muqaddimāt*', *Journal of Coptic Studies* 3 (2001) 63-79, pp. 68-69
- A. Wadi, 'Introduzione alla letteratura arabo-cristiana dei Copti', *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea* 29-30 (1998) 491-41, pp. 465-66 (§ 48, 49)
- A. Wadi, *Studio su al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assāl* (*Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographiae* 5), Cairo, 1997, pp. 89-96 (8-page biographical essay)
- S. Rizkalla, 'From the Arabic Christian heritage: Awlād al-'Assāl', *Coptic Church Review* 17 (1996) 97-101
- S.K. Samir, art. 'Ibn al-'Assāl', in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, vol. 5, Freiburg, 1996, cols 381-82
- R.-G. Coquin, 'Langue et littérature arabes chrétiennes', *Christianismes orientaux. Introduction à l'étude des langues et littératures*, Paris, 1993, 35-106, p. 83
- [S.]K. Samir, 'La version arabe des Évangiles d'al-As'ad ibn al-'Assāl', *Pd'O* 18 (1993) 441-551
- J.S. Qanawātī (G.S. Anawati), *Al-Masīhīyya wa-l-ḥaḍāra l-'arabiyya*, Cairo, 1992, p. 276
- A. Wadi, 'La traduction des quatre Évangiles d'al-As'ad ibn al-'Assāl (XIII<sup>e</sup> s.)', *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea* 24 (1991) 215-24
- A.S. Atiya, art. 'As'ad Abū al-Faraj Hibat Allāh ibn al-'Assāl, al-', in *CE* i, pp. 282-83
- J. Assfalg, art. 'Assāl, Aulād al', in J. Assfalg and P. Krüger (eds), *Dictionnaire de l'Orient Chrétien*, Turnhout, 1991, 75-76
- A. Wadi, 'Bibliografia commentata sugli Aulād al-'Assāl, tre fratelli scrittori copti del sec. XIII', *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea* 18 (1985) 31-80
- [S.]K. Samir, 'Al-As'ad ibn al-'Assāl copiste de Jean Damascène à Damas en 1230', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 44 (1978) 190-94
- J. Assfalg, art. 'Assāl, Aulād al', in J. Assfalg and P. Krüger (eds), *Kleines Wörterbuch des christlichen Orients*, Wiesbaden, 1975, 52-53
- G. Giamberardini, 'Orientamenti teologici della Chiesa copta', *Antonianum* 47 (1972) 213-94, p. 223
- A.S. Atiya, art. 'Ibn al-'Assāl', in *El2*
- Ṣamū'īl Tawḍurūs, 'Awlād al-'Assāl', *Risālat al-Maḥabba* 19 (1953) 478-89

- Kāmil Ṣāliḥ Nakhla, *Silsilat Tāriḫ al-bābāwāt baṭārikat al-kursi l-Iskandarī*, fasc. 1, Dayr al-Suryān, 1951, pp. 116-17; 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Cairo, 2001, pp. 82-83
- Graf, *GICAL* ii, pp. 387-88, 403-7
- A.J.B. Higgins, 'Ibn al-'Assāl', *Journal of Theological Studies* 44 (1943) 73-75
- 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 XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles d'après les écrits d'Abu'l-Khair Ibn at-Tayyib et Abu'l-Barakat Ibn Kabar*, Rome, 1941, p. 16
- G. Graf, 'Die Koptische Gelehrtenfamilie der Aulād al-'Assāl und ihr Schrifttum', *Orientalia* NS 1 (1932) 34-56, 129-48, 193-204, pp. 34-56, 141-48
- L. Cheikho, *Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes chrétiens*, Beirut, 1924, pp. 11-12 (§ 33)
- G. Graf, 'Exegetische Schriften zum Neuen Testament in arabischer Sprache bis zum 14. Jahrhundert', *Biblische Zeitschrift* 21 (1921) 22-40, 161-69, pp. 38-39
- Filūthā'ūs Ibrāhīm, Introduction to Jirjis Filūthā'ūs 'Awad (ed.), *Al-Majmū' al-Ṣafawī. Kitāb al-qawānīn*, Cairo, 1908, p. kāf
- A. Mallon, 'Ibn al-'Assāl. Les trois écrivains de ce nom', *Journal Asiatique* 6 (1905) 509-29
- L. Cheikho, 'Nusakh 'arabiyya qadīma fī l-sharq min al-Injil al-ṭāhir', *Al-Machriq* 4 (1901) 97-109, pp. 99, 102-9
- Ramzī Tādrus, *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif al-qibṭiyya*, al-Minyā [1900?], p. 61

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

### *Maqāla fī l-naḥs*, 'Treatise on the soul'

DATE 4 June 1231

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

#### DESCRIPTION

The treatise, which occupies about 30 folios in the unique Vatican manuscript, is chiefly accessible due to the abridgment (*mukhtaṣar*) made by al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assāl in ch. 60 of his great theological compendium *Majmū' uṣūl al-dīn*. The description below is based on this abridgement.

The abridged treatise begins with the text of a question addressed by al-Amjad Abū l-Majd Faḍl Allāh ibn al-'Assāl (the often forgotten 'fourth' of the Aulād al-'Assāl, a well-to-do civil servant and Coptic notable) to his brother al-As'ad, concerning the destiny of souls after death but before the general resurrection. This request is dated March-April 1231.

On 4 June 1231, al-As'ad sent his brother a response. He structures it by setting up a series of exclusive disjunctions (the *taqsīm* of *kalām* discourse): either the rational soul exists or it does not; if it exists, then

either it survives after the death of the body or does not; if it survives, then either it is capable of feeling and understanding, or it is not; and if so capable, then either it receives its due of reward and punishment, or it does not. He then discusses the possibilities that have had their adherents:

1. That the rational soul does not exist – a view he attributes to certain Muslim contemporaries.
2. That the soul dies with the death of the human body. A subgroup here claims that *some* souls die with their bodies – a view al-As'ad attributes to 'most of the Jews and some of the philosophers'.
3. That the soul continues after death but cannot feel anything – a view of 'some Christians'.
4. That the soul persists after death and perceives the reward or the punishment that awaits it – the view of the generality of 'divine philosophers' (a category that could include the Muslim Neoplatonists) as well as 'the generality of the Christians', although the Christian version of this view has to distinguish carefully between this 'perception' of reward and punishment *before* the resurrection and its reality afterwards.

This last view is also that of al-As'ad, and he sets about making an argument for it, premise by premise, after which he responds to possible objections. The result is a good illustration of a Christian *kalām* argument: at the same time that it is dialectically structured and philosophically informed, it takes the Bible as an authority and can quote from Christian teachers including Faraj ibn Jirjis ibn Afrām 'the Jacobite', as well as the Church fathers St Basil and St Athanasius (or, in fact, from erotapokriseis works *attributed* to them).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The destiny of souls between bodily death and the final resurrection is a topic of concern to both Christian and Islamic theology. While al-As'ad writes as a Christian responding to a Christian's question, he makes specific allusion to the views of Muslims and Jews (which are more detailed in the unpublished Vatican manuscript than in the published *mukhtaṣar*; see Graf, 'Ein Traktat'). Furthermore, he makes his arguments in ways that would be accessible to Arabic-speaking intellectuals of any community. His treatise received a wide circulation thanks to the inclusion of an epitome of it as ch. 60 in his brother al-Mu'taman's *Majmū' uṣūl al-dīn*. It

deserves more careful study than it has thus far received – including an edition of the unabridged text as preserved in MS Vat. Ar. 145.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vat – Ar. 145, fols 5r-36r in the original Coptic numbering, or 1r-28r in the Western numbering (13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century; missing in the beginning) Sbath (*Fihris* i, p. 53, no. 410) indicates a *Maqāla fi l-nafs* in a MS once in the possession of the heirs of Karkūr Ṣā'igh of Aleppo. (Sbath attributes the text to a certain 'Abd al-Masīḥ, but this may be a confusion stemming from the Vatican MS, where the beginning of the text – and clear identification of the author – is missing.)

For MSS of al-Mu'taman's *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, 199-216

#### EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

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 (*Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographiae* 6a-6b, 7a-7b, 8-9), Cairo, 1998-2002, ii, ch. 60

#### STUDIES

Graf, *GCAL* ii, pp. 403-4

G. Graf, 'Ein Traktat über die Seele verfasst von Hibatallāh ibn al-'Assāl', *Orientalia* 9 (1940) 374-77 (important for its information about the text in MS Vat. Ar. 145, where an exact date of composition is provided; it was Graf who identified the Vatican text as the work of al-As'ad)

Awad Wadi



# Ibn Sabʿīn

Quṭb al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq ibn Ibrāhīm  
ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr al-ʿAkkī l-Mursī, Ibn Dāra

DATE OF BIRTH 1217-18  
PLACE OF BIRTH Murcia  
DATE OF DEATH 1269-71  
PLACE OF DEATH Mecca

## BIOGRAPHY

Born in Murcia, Ibn Sabʿīn was also known by the nickname of Ibn Dāra. He was a peripatetic philosopher and a Ṣūfī, who became involved in a relentless series of controversies that forced him constantly to keep moving from place to place. He did, however, attract a group of disciples, who were known as the Sabʿīniyya.

Ibn Sabʿīn studied in al-Andalus, where he specialized in legal studies (his master al-Shūdhī, who was a qadi, was forced to flee to Tilimsān) and also medicine and alchemy. His loyalty to Hellenistic thought caused him constant trouble there, and he was forced to take refuge in Ceuta (Sabta), where he arrived with a group of his disciples.

Such was his reputation that the governor, Ibn Khalāṣ, asked him to answer the philosophical questions sent by the Emperor Frederick II (d. 1250) to the Almohad Sultan ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Rashīd (1232-42). But the governor was not satisfied with his answers, and he expelled him from the city. Ibn Sabʿīn headed for Tunis, though his Aristotelian ideas again collided with the rigor of the *ʿulamāʾ* and he had to go on to Cairo. There, Sultan Baybars I was not well disposed towards him, and he embarked on his final journey to Mecca where he died, though not before more persecution at the hands of the Andalusī Quṭb al-Qaṣṭallānī (1217-88), who was living there.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

For a full list of sources, see A. Akasoy, art. 'Ibn Sabʿīn', in J. Lirola Delgado (ed.), *Enciclopedia de la cultura andalusí. Biblioteca de al-Andalus: De Ibn Saʿāda a Ibn Wuhayb*, Almería, 2007, v, p. 38

*Secondary*

- Akasoy, art. 'Ibn Sab'īn', in Lirola Delgado (ed.), *Enciclopedia de la cultura andalusí*, v, 29-38
- A. Faure, art. 'Ibn Sab'īn', in *El2*
- D. Cabanelas, 'Federico II de Sicilia e Ibn Sab'īn de Murcia. Las cuestiones Sicilianas', *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 4 (1955) 31-48
- L. Massignon, 'Investigaciones sobre Šuštari', *Al-Andalus* 14 (1949) 33-35
- L. Massignon, 'Ibn Sab'īn et la critique psychologique dans l'histoire de la philosophie musulmane', in *Mémorial Henri Basset*, 2 vols, Paris, 1928, ii, 123-30
- G.S. Colin, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Bādisī', *Al-Maḡṣad (Vies des saints du Rif)*, *Archives marocaines* 26 (1926) 47-49
- A.F. Mehren, 'Correspondance du philosophe soufi Ibn Sab'īn Abdou l-Haqq avec l'empereur Frédéric II de Hohenstaufen', *Journal Asiatique* 7, série 14 (1879) 341-454 (French trans. of Question IV)

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Al-kalām 'alā l-masā'il al-šiqillīyya*, 'Treatise on the Sicilian questions'

*Al-ajwiba al-yamaniyya 'an al-as'ila l-šiqillīyya*,  
'Yemeni answers to the Sicilian questions'

DATE Probably before 1242

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

Despite its title and the circumstances of writing, this work does not contain precise answers to the questions posed by the Emperor Frederick II, but instead appears to be a more general handbook for students of philosophy. It is divided into seven sections in which Ibn Sab'īn discusses some of the philosophical and theological problems of his time: a prologue, most likely written by one of his followers, three sections with answers to three questions raised by the emperor (Questions 2, 3 and 4), an appendix that comments on various concepts, and an epilogue. The core of the book consists of the prologue and the three sections that deal with the emperor's questions. The preface includes Ibn Sab'īn's answer to Frederick's first question, on the eternity of the world, through a series of comments on the concepts 'world' (*'ālam*), 'eternity' (*qidam*), 'creation' (*khalq*) and 'beginning' (*ibdā'*), among others. The second section is on 'divine science', presented according to the beliefs of the Ancients, the Greeks and the *Šūfis*; the third, on methodological

issues, is an explanation of Aristotle's categories; and the fourth is on the three types of 'soul' (*nafs*), vegetable, animal and rational, with an excursus on the conception of the soul among the *Barāhima* and the followers of metempsychosis, among others.

In sum, the work displays the range of Ibn Sab'īn's philosophical knowledge, with its strong influence of Aristotelian thought mingled with mysticism.

In addition to the interplay of theology and polemic in its responses to the issues raised by the emperor, the work offers a fascinating insight into what was known at this time about the sciences of antiquity, including arguments from Aristotelian logic as interpreted by al-Fārābī. Ibn Sab'īn's work gives informative insights into Almohad intellectual propaganda.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – I 465,5 (date unknown)

#### EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

L.M. Arvide Cambra, *Las Cuestiones Sicilianas*, Granada, 2009 (Spanish trans.)

A. Akasoy, *Die Sizilianischen Fragen*, Freiburg, 2005 (German trans. of fragments)

P. Spallino, *Le questioni siciliane. Federico II e l'universo filosofico*, ed. Aladdin Bakri, Palermo, 2002 (Italian trans.)

F. Sezgin (ed.), *Ibn Sab'īn (d. c. 1269) and his philosophical correspondence with the Emperor Frederick II*, Frankfurt am Main, 1999 (repr. of Yaltkaya's edition)

M. Grignaschi, 'Ibnu Sab'īn, al-kalāmu 'alā-l-masā'ili-ç-çiqiliyyati, Trattato sulle domande siciliane. Domanda II. Traduzione e commento', *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series 7(1955) 7-91 (Italian trans. of Question 2)

D. Cabanelas, 'Federico II de Sicilia e Ibn Sab'īn de Murcia. Las Cuestiones Sicilianas', *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 4 (1955) 48-64 (Spanish trans. of fragments)

Ibn Sab'īn, *Al-kalām 'alā l-masā'il al-şiqillīyya*, ed. Serefettin Yaltkaya, Beirut, 1941

Ibn Sab'īn, *Correspondance philosophique avec l'Empereur Frederic II de Hohenstaufen*, ed. Serefettin Yaltkaya, with an introduction by H. Corbin, Paris, 1941

S. Yaltkaya, *Sicilya cevapları İbni Sebi'in Sicilya Kralı ikinci Fedrikin felsefi sorgularına verdiği cevapların tercemesidir*, Istanbul, 1934 (Turkish trans.)

- M. Amari, 'Questions philosophiques adressées aux savants musulmans par l'empereur Frédéric II', *Journal Asiatique*, 5<sup>th</sup> series 1 (1853) 240-74 (French trans. of fragments)
- A.F. Mehren, 'Correspondance du philosophe soufi Ibn Sab'in Abdou l-Haqq avec l'empereur Frédéric II de Hohenstaufen', *Journal Asiatique*, 7<sup>th</sup> series 14 (1879) 341-454 (French trans. of Question IV)

## STUDIES

- P. Spallino, art. 'Ibn Sab'īn, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq', in H. Lagerlund (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Medieval Philosophy. Philosophy between 500 and 1500*, Dordrecht, 2011, 507-14
- A. Akasoy, 'Ibn Sab'īn's Sicilian questions. The text, its sources, and their historical context', *Al-Qanṭara* 29 (2008) 115-46
- A. Akasoy, art. 'Ibn Sab'īn', in J. Lirola Delgado (ed.), *Enciclopedia de la cultura andalusí*, v, pp. 34-35
- A. Akasoy, 'Las Cuestiones Sicilianas de Ibn Sab'īn. Filosofía y mística en la época Almohade', *Aljamía* 17 (2005) 92-95 (abstract of PhD diss.)
- A. Akasoy, 'Las respuestas de Ibn Sab'īn a las "Cuestiones Sicilianas" de Federico II y el Oeste del Mediterráneo en la primera mitad del siglo XIII', *Aljamía* 15 (2005) 72-76
- Abū Rīdah, 'Bayn al-Imbiraṭūr Frīdrīk al-Thānī wa-Ibn Sab'īn. Taḥlīl li-ajwibat al-faylasūf al-Muslim 'alā l-imbiraṭūr al-mustanīr. Ra'y Aristū fi qīdam al-'ālam', *Alifbā'* 16 (1994) 1-17
- D. Cabanelas, 'Federico II de Sicilia e Ibn Sab'īn de Murcia. Las Cuestiones Sicilianas', *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 4 (1955) 31-64 (with Spanish trans. of fragments)
- C. H. Haskins, 'Science at the court of the Emperor Frederick II', *The American Historical Review* 17 (1922) 688-89

Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala

# Yūsāb, bishop of Akhmīm

Yūsāb, bishop of Akhmīm

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; perhaps c. 1200
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; somewhere in Egypt
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; after 1260
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; perhaps Akhmīm

## BIOGRAPHY

We possess four fragments of information about a 13<sup>th</sup>-century Coptic Orthodox church leader named Yūsāb, bishop of Akhmīm in Upper Egypt:

1. Yūsāb, bishop of Akhmīm, participated in the preparation of the holy chrism (*myron*) during Holy Week 1257 (Munier, *Recueil*, pp. 34-35).
2. The superscription to Buṭrus al-Sadamantī's *Maqāla fi l-'aqīda* ('Treatise on belief'; q.v.) indicates that he wrote it at the request of his former monastic confrere Bishop Yūsāb of Akhmīm, and provides a date: 16 Bashans AM 976 [12 May 1260].
3. According to Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 74, a certain 'Yūsāb, *muṭrān* Akhmīm' was the author of four apologetic treatises found in a manuscript belonging to the *qummuṣ* 'Abd al-Masīḥ Ṣalīb al-Baramūsī l-Mas'ūdī; these will be listed below. Sbath assigns the author to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but this appears to be the result of a confusion with another author (see Athanāsiyūs, *Fihris* i, p. 364).
4. MS St Macarius, Bibl. 1 (Zanetti 1), fols 18r-22r, contains an Index to the Pentateuch by Yūsāb, bishop of Akhmīm. Athanāsiyūs (*Fihris* i, pp. 364-65) suggests that this work also can be attributed to the 13<sup>th</sup>-century bishop.

The first three fragments, and possibly all four, can probably be combined to give the following (admittedly rather speculative) picture. Yūsāb was a theologically-minded monk who was a confrere of the better-known Buṭrus al-Sadamantī (perhaps in a monastery of the Wādī l-Naṭrūn). He became bishop of Akhmīm for a period including the years 1257-60. Concerned for the proper instruction of his flock, he both requested a simple

explanation of Coptic teachings from his former confrere and composed works of his own.

### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

#### *Primary*

For the MSS and editions of Buṭrus al-Sadamantī, *Maqāla fī l-ʿaqīda*, see the entry on this work in *CMR* 4.

H. Munier, *Recueil des listes épiscopales de l'église copte*, Cairo, 1943, pp. 34-35 (reproducing information from MS Vat Copt. 44, fol. 100v)

#### *Secondary*

Athanāsīyūs al-Maḳārī, *Fihris kitābāt ābāʾ kanīsat al-Iskandariyya. Al-kitābāt al-ʿarabiyya*, 2 vols (*Maṣādir ṭuqūs al-kanīsa* 1.8-9), Cairo, 2012, i: pp. 363-65

Wadi Abullif, 'Introduzione alla letteratura arabo-cristiana dei Copti' [in Arabic], *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea* 29-30 (1996-97) 441-92, p. 470

[S].K. Samir, art. 'Yūsāb, fifteenth-century bishop of Akhmīm', in *CE*

Graf, *GICAL* ii, pp. 353 (on *Maqāla fī l-ʿaqīda*), 356 (on Yūsāb)

Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 74

### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

#### *Jidāl maʿ baʿḍ al-Muslimīn*, 'A controversy with one (some) of the Muslims'

DATE Unknown; mid- to late 13<sup>th</sup> century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

#### DESCRIPTION

This and the following titles reflect standard genres and topics of Christian-Muslim controversy. This first text was evidently the report of a debate.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Nothing can be said about the significance of this work.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

Inaccessible MS once in the possession of *al-qummuṣ* ʿAbd al-Masīḥ Ṣalīb al-Baramūsī l-Masʿūdī, according to Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 74 (no. 600)

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

*Bayān ṣiḥḥat al-diyāna l-masīḥiyya*, ‘Exposition of  
the soundness of the Christian religion’

DATE Unknown; mid- to late 13<sup>th</sup> century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This was an apologetic text of the True Religion genre.

SIGNIFICANCE

Nothing can be said about the significance of this work.

MANUSCRIPTS

Inaccessible MS once in the possession of *al-qummuṣ* ‘Abd al-Masīḥ Ṣalīb al-Baramūsī l-Mas‘ūdī, according to Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 74 (no. 601)

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

*Maqāla fī l-tathlīth*, ‘Treatise on the Trinity’

DATE Unknown; mid- to late 13<sup>th</sup> century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This was apparently an apology for the Christian doctrine of the Trinity.

SIGNIFICANCE

Nothing can be said about the significance of this work.

MANUSCRIPTS

Inaccessible MS once in the possession of *al-qummuṣ* ‘Abd al-Masīḥ Ṣalīb al-Baramūsī l-Mas‘ūdī, according to Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 74 (no. 602)

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS —

STUDIES —

*Maqāla fī ta’annus kalimat Allāh*, ‘Treatise on  
the Incarnation of the Word of God’

DATE Unknown; mid- to late 13<sup>th</sup> century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

This fourth treatise was an apology for the Incarnation.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Nothing can be said about the significance of this work.

## MANUSCRIPTS

Inaccessible MS once in the possession of *al-qummuṣ* ‘Abd al-Masīḥ  
 Ṣalīb al-Baramūsī l-Mas‘ūdī, according to Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 74  
 (no. 603)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS —

## STUDIES —

Mark N. Swanson



# *Destruction of the Cathedral of Our Lady Mart Maryam in Damascus*

Unknown

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown (probably before 1300)  
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown, possibly Damascus  
DATE OF DEATH Unknown (probably before 1300)  
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown, possibly Damascus

## BIOGRAPHY

Nothing is known about the author, other than that he was an eyewitness to the destruction of the Orthodox Cathedral of Our Lady Mart Maryam (*kanīsat al-sayyida Mart Maryam al-kāthūlikī*; *al-kāthūlikī* means ‘cathedral [church]’) in Damascus, which he describes in his only surviving work (discussed below). The chronology of this work is uncertain (see below), and therefore we cannot be sure when the author lived.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

### *Primary*

MS St Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts – B1220, fols 132r–134v (date unknown)

### *Secondary*

K.A. Panchenko, ‘Razrushenie damasskoj tserkvi Mart Marjam v 924g. Svidetel'stvo ochevidtса’ [‘The destruction of the Church of Mart Maryam in Damascus in 924. An eyewitness account’], *Simvol* 61 (2012) 339–56 (the only study of the text to date; dates the text to 924)

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Khabar ‘an iḥrāq kanīsat al-sayyida Mart Maryam al-kāthūlīkī bi-madīnat Dimashq wa-kharāb bāqī l-kanā’is wa-ikhrāj al-kahana minhā ‘urāh wa-nahb mā kāna bihā wa-mā kāna min al-maṣāyib al-‘aẓīma allatī aṣābat jamī‘ Naṣārā madīnat Dimashq, ‘An account of the burning of the Cathedral of Our Lady St Mary in Damascus, the destruction of other churches, the expulsion of priests robbed of their vestments [lit. ‘naked’], the plunder of church property, and the terrible calamities that befell all the Christians of Damascus’; ‘Destruction of the Cathedral of Our Lady Mart Maryam in Damascus’*

DATE Unknown (probably before 1300; see discussion below)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

The anonymous text *Destruction of the Cathedral of Our Lady Mart Maryam in Damascus* occupies three folios in the only surviving manuscript (MS St Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts – B1220). Unfortunately, the end of the text is missing, and – significantly – was already missing in the two ‘old Damascene manuscripts’ available to the 17<sup>th</sup>-century copyist, Paul of Aleppo. (Both of these old manuscripts are now lost.) This indicates that the text is of considerable antiquity. For Paul of Aleppo to describe the two Damascene manuscripts as ‘old’, they must have been 15<sup>th</sup>-century copies at the latest (Panchenko, ‘Razrushenie damasskoj tserkvi’, p. 340). Moreover, because – as Paul indicates (fol. 134v) – they broke off at the exact same spot in the narrative, they must both go back to an archetype (perhaps the author’s autograph) that had lost its last folios. For this to have happened, this archetype would have likely been some 200 years older still than the Damascene manuscripts; thus, we can infer that it dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> century (or earlier). It is therefore likely that the document itself is to be dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> century at the latest.

This seems to agree with Paul of Antioch’s own assessment of the document’s age. In the margins of the manuscript, Paul carefully copied

out excerpts from historical works that provide information on the three different times when the Cathedral of Mart Maryam (commonly known as the Maryamiyya) was burned or razed. These are: a section from the history of Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq (q.v.) on the destruction of the Cathedral by Muslim rioters in 924; an excerpt from the history of Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī (q.v.) on the burning of the Cathedral in 1009 (during al-Ḥākim's persecutions); and a section from Ibn Taghrībirdī's history on the destruction of the Cathedral in 1260 (in the Damascene riots following the Mongol defeat at 'Ayn Jālūt). Clearly, Paul must have thought that the text speaks of one or another of these three destructions. By contrast, he refrains from citing any historical source on the pillage and partial destruction of the Cathedral during Tamerlane's conquest of Damascus in 1401, though he knew something of the circumstances of Tamerlane's conquest from the brief account by the Patriarch of Antioch Michael II, written in 1404 while in exile in Cyprus (see Paul of Aleppo, *Voyage du patriarche Macaire d'Antioche*, ed. and French trans. B. Radu, *PO* 22.1, Paris, 1930, pp. 30-31; cf. Nasrallah, 'Damas et la Damascène', p. 52). (Later destructions of the Maryamiyya – the damage in the earthquake of 1759 and the destruction in the massacres of 1860 – are, of course, unknown to Paul, and are not relevant to the document under discussion.)

The *Destruction of the Cathedral of Mart Maryam* is, essentially, a lamentation over the loss of a landmark Christian holy site. The following features of the narrative stand out.

First, the author stresses that the destruction took place on Holy Saturday (the eve of Easter; the year is not specified). The Cathedral remained in flames until noon on Easter Sunday. Pillage and destruction continued for 15 more days, with two other churches (unknown from other sources) torn down as well: the church of the Savior (*kanīsat al-Ṣūtīrus*) and the church of St Sabas.

Second, the author calls the Cathedral the 'second Jerusalem'. This is an important theme in the *Destruction*, as the author compares the destruction of the Maryamiyya to the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem during the Persian conquest in 614. Interestingly, the Andalusian Muslim traveller Ibn Jubayr, who visited Damascus in 1184, also stresses that, among the Chalcedonian Orthodox (*al-Rūm*), the Maryamiyya is thought to be second only to Jerusalem (Nasrallah, 'Damas et la Damascène', p. 51). This comparison with Jerusalem must have been a point of pride to the Orthodox Christian Damascenes in this period, and so it is reflected in both texts.

Third, the author provides a valuable *ekphrasis* of the Cathedral before destruction, including its exact measurements (40 cubits high, 60 steps long, and 120 steps wide, together with its 'circumference', *dā'ira*, i.e. probably adjacent buildings), a description of the cupola, artwork, and woodwork, and information on the erstwhile richness of the sacristy and library. The library is said to have contained 'countless books, which had been there forever'.

Fourth, there is very little indication of why the Cathedral was destroyed and who destroyed it. The references are vague. Prior to the destruction, the author explains, 'Christians in the city of Damascus would wear nice clothes, the eyes [of all] would look towards them, and no one would do them any harm, but sin is the beginning of every affliction. . . . God wanted to try us and to show us how weak we are and how unstable is our condition', and so on Holy Saturday 'Satan moved his forces' to destroy the Cathedral. The author indicates, however, that though pillage and destruction were complete, they were not accompanied by a massacre: 'God has protected us and saved his people from death by the sword'.

Fifth, the author indicates that the Cathedral was built in the year 880 after the Incarnation (*li-l-tajassud al-ilāhī*; if the so-called 'Melkite era of the Incarnation' is meant, the actual date is 871-72 AD; see S.K. Samir, 'L'ère de l'Incarnation dans les manuscrits arabes melkites du 11<sup>e</sup> au 14<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 53 (1987) 193-201). He also gives the impression that this was very long ago. Obviously, this bit of information is inconsistent with historical facts. We know for certain that the Maryamiyya was built before the Muslim conquest, and the author himself says as much when he describes the cupola as going back to 'Roman/Byzantine times' (*mundhu zaman al-Rūm*). The obvious solution is to assume a mistake in the date: for example, to correct the era of the Incarnation to the Seleucid era. The year 880 of the Seleucid era would convert to 568-69 AD, certainly a possible date for the Maryamiyya's construction. Panchenko's alternative hypothesis ('Razrushenie damasskoj tserkvi', p. 348) is that 880 is the date of a major reconstruction of the Maryamiyya rather than the date when it was initially built; but this contradicts the text's specific indication that 880 is the time when construction began (*ibtidā' imāratihā*). Moreover, if the year 880 after the Incarnation were meant, and assuming (as Panchenko does) that the text refers to the destruction of the Maryamiyya in 924, i.e. only some 50 years later, it would not make sense for the author to speak of the year 880 as belonging to a distant past.

Let us return now to the complex question of the document's date. The forthcoming catalogue of Arab Christian manuscripts at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St Petersburg tentatively assigns it to the events of 924. As just mentioned, in his recent study – the only study of the document to-date – Konstantin Panchenko follows this opinion. There are, however, two difficulties with this dating. First, Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīq mentions that the destruction of the Maryamiyya took place in Rajab 312 AH, which corresponds to October 924. This is at odds with the author's specific indication that the destruction took place on Holy Saturday. This difficulty can, of course, be overcome if one supposes that Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīq is mistaken about the date. (This might be the case, and it is perhaps significant that in a hitherto unnoticed report, the Damascene Muslim historian Ibn 'Asākir dates the destruction of the Maryamiyya to 311 rather than 312 AH, though without indicating the month – see *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 80 vols, Beirut, 1995–2001, xxxi, pp. 78–79.) Second, in the (admittedly subjective) judgment of the present author, the language and style of the text are indicative of a period later than the early 10<sup>th</sup> century, as the text lacks any obvious archaic features.

Though 924 cannot at present be categorically ruled out, it is worthwhile to consider the alternatives. The date when the Maryamiyya was burned down on al-Ḥākim's orders is supplied by Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī (with some manuscripts specifying only the year, while others, containing perhaps Yaḥyā's later version of the text, specify both the year and the month). This is Rajab 399 AH, corresponding to 1–30 March 1009. Easter Sunday that year fell on 17 April, and Holy Saturday on 16 April, and so we are again facing a chronological discrepancy between the *Destruction* and a major historical work. However, in this case (as compared to 924), the discrepancy is relatively minor: only one month. If we are to assume that Yaḥyā's date is one month off (due perhaps to the carelessness of his source), both texts would be in agreement. (Notably, in the previous *hijrī* year, 398 AH, Holy Saturday did fall in Rajab.)

The third time the Maryamiyya was burned down was in 1260, shortly after the Mongol defeat at 'Ayn Jālūt, when Muslim rioters took revenge on the Christians for their insolence during the brief period of Mongol rule. (Reportedly, under the Mongol protection, Christians in Damascus had been triumphantly raising the crosses, cursing Islam, and pouring wine into mosques.) The battle at 'Ayn Jālūt took place on 3 September 1260, and one can assume that news of the Mongol defeat reached Damascus soon thereafter. The riots, therefore, must have broken out

already in September–October that year, as soon as the Mongol administration had fled the city. It seems unlikely that the Muslims would have ‘waited’ till the following Holy Saturday (23 April 1261) to take revenge and burn down the Christian cathedral.

Thus, 1009 emerges as perhaps the most likely date. One further consideration strengthens this impression. As argued by Marius Canard (‘La destruction de l’Église de la Résurrection’), al-Ḥākim’s order to demolish the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem – issued in 398 AH/summer 1008 AD (if we are to follow the Muslim historians, Ibn al-Qalānisī and others, rather than Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī’s somewhat different chronology) – was a reaction to the miracle of the Holy Fire, which takes place annually on Holy Saturday and which Muslims always suspected to be a fraud. Though the Holy Sepulcher itself was destroyed on the earliest possible occasion (hence not on Holy Saturday), it is perhaps not too far-fetched to suppose that the destruction of other major churches in the Fatimid caliphate – including the Maryamiyya – could have been specifically timed to coincide with the next Holy Saturday (399 AH/16 April 1009). If that is the case, this would give us additional reasons to believe that our text speaks of the destruction of the Maryamiyya in 1009 on al-Ḥākim’s orders. This conclusion must, of course, remain tentative, pending further research.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The text is highly significant as an eyewitness account to the destruction of a major Christian holy site by the Muslims. It provides unique information on the Maryamiyya Cathedral in Damascus as well as historical evidence on the techniques used to destroy Christian churches, which, as convincingly argued by Panchenko (‘Razrushenie damasskoj tserkvi’, pp. 352–53), are similar to those used elsewhere (e.g. in the destruction of the church in ‘Asqalān c. 940, according to Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī; ed. and French trans. I. Kratchkovsky and A. Vasiliev, *PO* 18.5, Paris, 1924, p. [21]/719). The account also shows the tremendous grief affecting the Christian community at the periodic destruction of their holy sites. In its eloquence and power, the text knows few rivals. (Sulaymān al-Ashlūḥī’s poem on the Mamluk conquest of Tripoli [q.v.] offers an interesting comparison; see Ray 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.)

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS St Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts – B1220, fols 132r-134v (1642; autograph of Paul of Aleppo; copied from two Damascene manuscripts, both truncated at the end and now both lost)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

An edition and an English translation are in preparation by the present author.

## STUDIES

V. Polosin, Vl. Polosin, N. Serikoff, and S. Frantsouzoff, *A descriptive catalogue of the Christian Arabic manuscripts, preserved in the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, MS B1220 (forthcoming; I am grateful to Nikolai Serikoff for generously sharing with me a copy of the unpublished text)

Panchenko, 'Razrushenie damasskoj tserkvi Mart Marjam v 924g. Svidetel'stvo ochevidtsa'

K.-P. Todt, 'Griechisch-orthodoxe (melkitische) Christen im zentralen und südlichen Syrien. Die Periode von der arabischen Eroberung bis zur Verlegung der Patriarchenresidenz nach Damaskus (635-1365)', *Le Muséon* 119 (2006) 33-88 (does not mention this text, but provides important background)

J. Nasrallah, 'Damas et la Damascène. Leurs églises à l'époque byzantine', *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 35 (1985) 37-58 and 264-76, pp. 50-53 (does not mention this text, but provides important background)

M. Canard, 'La destruction de l'Église de la Résurrection par le calife Hâkim et l'histoire de la descente du feu sacré', *Byzantion* 25 (1965) 16-43 (repr. in his *Byzance et les Musulmans du Proche Orient*, London, 1973, no. XX)

Alexander Treiger

# Giovanni da Carignano

Giovanni di Mauro da Carignano

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; possibly second half of the  
13<sup>th</sup> century  
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown; possibly Genoa  
DATE OF DEATH Between September 1329 and May 1330  
PLACE OF DEATH Genoa

## BIOGRAPHY

Giovanni di Mauro da Carignano was rector of the Church of San Marco in the port of Genoa, Italy, and practised cartography alongside his parish work. Very little is known about his life. He was probably born in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, since his name features for the first time in 1291, in a document of the diocesan archives of Genoa, which mentions his appointment as rector of San Marco. The exact date of his death is also unknown, but evidence from legal documents indicates that he died between September 1329 and May 1330 (Revelli, *Christophore Colombo*, pp. 450-52).

Carignano is best known for the Carignano chart, a renowned nautical chart giving directions and distances between ports that bears his signature. The chart survived into the 20<sup>th</sup> century and was kept in the Archivio di Stato in Florence, but it was destroyed in 1943 during the bombing of Naples, where the chart was on temporary display (Devisse and Mollat, 'Appeal to the Ethiopian', p. 115).

While working as rector in Genoa, Carignano is said to have interviewed a delegation of 30 Ethiopians who were on an official visit to the pope and *ad Hispaniarum regem* (this king's name is not given). Based on this first-hand evidence from the Ethiopians, Carignano is said to have written a *tractatus* on Ethiopia (see below). This treatise is no longer extant, but a brief abstract has survived in Jacopo Filippo Foresti of Bergamo's *Supplementum chronicarum*, printed in Venice in 1483. In the second edition of his chronicle from 1485, Foresti expanded the abstract with an account of the realms of Prester John, but this is generally not considered to have been part of the Carignano *tractatus* (Skelton, 'Ethiopian embassy', p. 215).



## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

Jacopo Filippo Foresti of Bergamo, *Supplementum chronicarum*, Venice, 1483 (second enlarged edition 1485)

*Secondary*

- J. Devisse and M. Mollat, 'Appeal to the Ethiopian', in D. Bindman and H.L. Gates Jr (eds), *The image of the Black in Western art. From the early Christian era to the 'Age of Discovery'. Africans in the Christian ordinance of the world*, Cambridge MA, 2010, 83-153
- C. Astengo, 'Giovanni da Carignano', in M. Quaini and L. Rossi (eds), *Cartografi in Liguria (secoli XIV-XIX). Dizionario storico dei cartografi Italiani*, Genoa, 2007, 45
- R.A. Skelton, 'Ethiopian embassy to Western Europe', in O.G. Crawford (ed.), *Ethiopian itineraries circa 1400-1525. Including those collected by Alessandro Zorzi at Venice in the years 1519-24*, Cambridge, 1958, 212-15
- E. Cerulli, 'Giovanni di Carignano e la cartografia dei paesi a sud dell'Egitto agli inizi del secolo XIV', in *Atti del XIV Congresso Geografico Italiano, Bologna, 1947*, Bologna, 1949, 507
- P. Revelli, *Christophore Colombo et la scuola cartografica Genovese*, Genoa, 1937
- A. Ferretto, 'Giovanni Mauro di Carignano. Rettore di S. Marco, cartografo e scrittore (1299-1329)', in *Miscellanea geo-topografica (Archivio del società Ligure di storia patria 52)*, Genoa, 1924, 31-54

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Tractatus quem mappam nominavit* (title given by Foresti), 'The Tractatus called a map'; 'Tractatus'

DATE Early 14<sup>th</sup> century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

## DESCRIPTION

Since no manuscripts of the *Tractatus* seem to have survived, it is unclear what precisely it comprised and what its original title was, or whether it had one. The text refers to an encounter between an Ethiopian delegation and Pope Clement V in Avignon. Its exact date is disputed but is often given as 1306, the year the delegation was dispatched from Ethiopia, though such an early date seems unlikely as Clement is known to have moved to Avignon in March 1309. Carignano seems to have interviewed the delegates on their return journey, while they were awaiting ship in Genoa. This would imply 1309 or 1310 as the earliest possible date for the document (Beckingham, 'An Ethiopian embassy', p. 340). A map by friar

Jordanus from 1321 seems to have used information from the work, locating Prester John in Ethiopia (Skelton, 'Ethiopian embassy', p. 213), which suggests it had been composed by this time.

According to some, such as Skelton ('Ethiopian embassy', p. 212), the *Tractatus* was 'a treatise on the government, customs and religious observances in Ethiopia'. Beckingham ('An Ethiopian embassy', p. 341) is of the opinion that the words *tractatus quem mappam nominavit* should be translated as 'the tractatus called a map', suggesting that Carignano did not write a treatise but that Foresti's words refer to a chart drawn by Carignano, supplemented by an elaborate explanatory legend. The abstract preserved in Foresti's *Supplementum chronicarum* is too brief to offer conclusive evidence. Foresti relates the story of the 1306 Ethiopian delegation when discussing the life of St Matthew, who is said to have been the apostle to the Ethiopians.

The Foresti summary mentions that Prester John was patriarch in Ethiopia. The emperor of Ethiopia is described as 'most Christian', having 74 kings and princes, including Muslims, paying allegiance to him. The Foresti abstract relates that in 1306 the Ethiopian emperor, whom Skelton ('Ethiopian embassy', p. 212) identifies as King Wedem Ar'ād (r. 1297-1313), sent a delegation of 30 envoys to Pope Clement V and to the king of Spain (no name mentioned), offering to aid the king in his battle against the 'infidels'. The delegation is said to have visited Pope Clement at Avignon, as well as the churches of Peter and Paul in Rome. No record exists of their contact with the king of Spain.

Foresti, based on Carignano, is the only source that mentions the 1306 Ethiopian embassy to Europe. Though Beckingham is, generally speaking, critical of Foresti and dismisses some of the material as legendary, he does not query the historicity of the Ethiopian delegation. Rather, pointing to a pseudo-epigraphic Italian letter of Prester John to Emperor Charles IV exhorting him to start a crusade against the Muslims, Ullendorf and Beckingham see evidence of a lingering European awareness of King Wedem Ar'ād; they suggest that the name of the author of the letter, who calls himself Voddomaradeg, is almost certainly a corruption of the name Wedem Ar'ād (Ullendorf and Beckingham, *The Hebrew letters of Prester John*, p. 8).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of the Carignano *Tractatus* is twofold. First, from his interview with the Ethiopian delegation Carignano seems to have concluded that the legendary Prester John lived in Ethiopia, and not somewhere in Asia. From Carignano's time onwards, Ethiopia replaces Asia

as home for this legendary ruler. Second, the text highlights attempts to forge international – and intercontinental – coalitions between rulers of various regions to curb Muslim expansion and Muslim rule. More particularly, it exemplifies how an Ethiopian emperor offered assistance to the king of the Spaniards in his *Reconquista*, no doubt expecting similar assistance when this might be required in Ethiopia. The delegation can possibly be best understood as part of a larger scheme to establish pacts between Ethiopia and Christian Spain, a scheme that lasted well into the 15<sup>th</sup> century, as is evidenced by a letter from Alfonso V of Aragon (1398-1458), written in 1427, proposing a double marriage of the Infanta Dona Juana and the Ethiopian King Yeshāq, as well as of the Infante Don Pedro and an unspecified Ethiopian princess. It is unclear whether the letter reached Yeshāq (Salvadore, 'The Ethiopian age of exploration', pp. 611-12).

#### MANUSCRIPTS

Lost

#### EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Foresti's *Supplementum chronicarum* was a popular book, and was reprinted in Brescia in 1485 and in Venice in 1486, 1490, 1492, 1503 and 1506. In 1513, the title was changed to *Supplementum supplementi chronicarum*. The book was also translated into Italian as *Supplemento della chroniche* (Venice, 1491) and in Spanish as *Summa de todas les cronica della mundo* (Valencia, 1510).

Y. Kamal, *Monumenta cartographica Africae et Aegypti*, 16 parts in 5 vols, Leiden, 1926-53, iv, fol. 1139

Skelton, 'Ethiopian embassy to Western Europe'

#### STUDIES

Devisse and Mollat, 'Appeal to the Ethiopian'

M. Salvadore, 'The Ethiopian age of exploration. Prester's John discovery of Europe 1306-1458', *Journal of World History* 21 (2010) 593-627

C.F. Beckingham, 'Ethiopia and Europe 1200-1450', in C.H. Clough and P.E.H. Hair (eds), *The European outthrust and encounter*, Liverpool, 1994, 77-97

C.F. Beckingham, 'An Ethiopian embassy to Europe c. 1310', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 34 (1989) 337-46

E. Ullendorf and C.F. Beckingham, *The Hebrew letters of Prester John*, Oxford, 1982

# *Life of Nicetas the Younger*

Unknown author

DATE OF BIRTH Sometime in the 13<sup>th</sup> century

PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown

DATE OF DEATH First half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY —

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary* —

*Secondary* —

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Athlēsis tou hagiou martyros Nikēta tou neou,*  
'Combat of the holy martyr Nicetas the Younger'

DATE First half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

Everything we know about Nicetas stems from this short text, which was originally part of an unknown Synaxarion, and extracted in an obviously abbreviated form. According to the manuscript, the extractor was the monk Pachomius, of whom nothing is known. Laurent points to Theodore Mouzalon (d. 1294), the first great *logothete* under Emperor Andronicus II, as the author of the life, because the subscription in the manuscript mentions him as author of a certain *logos* in honour of Nicetas.

Nicetas's birth name was Theodore, and he lived in Ankyra (Galatia) around 1300 under the rule of a certain Mas'ūd, who may be identified as the Seljuk Sultan Mas'ūd II (1282-1307). A reference to an emperor named Andronicus points to Andronicus II (1282-1328), rendering the time frame as 1282 to 1307.

As is stipulated in the text, the future martyr changed his name to Nicetas when he became *anagnōstēs* (lecturer), in honour of the martyr Nicetas the Goth. When he was about 20 years old, he travelled in the company of two merchants to Nyssa in Cappadocia to visit his maternal aunt, his sister and her husband. When they arrived it was Ramaḍān and they were seen drinking wine inside the city. They were brought before a *mukhtār*, who haughtily derided Nicetas' religion. Nicetas' line of defence was to say that the prohibition against wine was something new, and not a custom that Christians were expected to observe like Muslims. When he called Muḥammad a false prophet, the official became furious and had him whipped, and then condemned him and the two merchants to death at the stake.

A large gathering of Muslim locals came together at the execution site and tortured Nicetas with sharp knives, stones and clubs, wounding him severely. The mob offered them the choice of renouncing Christianity to save their lives, which the two merchants accepted. But Nicetas declined, instead preferring 'to enjoy martyrdom' on the very day of the feast of St Nicetas the Goth, his name patron. His aunt was shouting to him to save his life but he refused, at the moment of his death anathematizing Muḥammad and Islam, and praying to Christ.

When his parents learned of the events, they came to Nyssa. They put his remains into an urn, and in the presence of the bishop of Koloneia (modern Aksaray) they buried him in the church of St Gregory of Nyssa, where the lamp at his tomb shone for seven days without ceasing.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Although it is filled with an abundance of *topoi*, the *Life* does provide some limited evidence for the situation of the Christian communities in inner Anatolia around 1300, when the Seljuk sultanate was already in decline. The focal point and primary reason for Nicetas' execution is his disregard for Ramaḍān, and the differing customs of the countryside, although the *Life* also hints at his defiance of Islam as essentially leading to his public execution. The Muslim populace of the region is portrayed as a violent mob, insistent on the death penalty, while the officials show no signs of moderation. The local bishop, who oversees the interment of Nicetas' remains and initiates the veneration of him as a martyr, obviously exerted some form of ecclesiastical control over the area.

Laurent puts this *Life* into context with a letter of Patriarch Athanasius I, who frequently addressed the issue of absentee bishops in Anatolia. This particular letter, written during his second tenure (1303-9), was

directed to the metropolitans of Ankyra and Antioch of Pisidia. Although he gives no hint of a specific incident that prompted him to write, he complains that the absence of bishops was diminishing the protection of Orthodox Christian communities under Seljuk rule in this period.

The text bears witness to the importance of martyrdom for the identity and self-assurance of the Orthodox communities in Muslim Anatolia, and draws a sharp line between the Muslim authorities and population and the Christians of the area. Theological differences play no part in the conflict, but instead the different customs create friction, evoking familiar invectives. There is no atmosphere of mutual respect, but rather of intolerance.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – 290 (E 64 sup.), fols 219v-220v (15<sup>th</sup> century)

#### EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

H. Delehayé, 'Le martyr de saint Nicéas le jeune', in G.L. Schlumberger (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger, membre de l'institut, à l'occasion du quatre-vingtième anniversaire de sa naissance*, 2 vols, Paris, 1924, i, 205-11 (edition)

#### STUDIES

P. Maraval, 'Nysse en Cappadoce', *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 55 (1975) 237-47

V. Laurent, *Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1, Paris, 1971, pp. 490-91, no. 1704

S. Vryonis Jr, *The decline of medieval hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamization from the eleventh through the fifteenth century*, Berkeley, 1971, p. 361

H. Delehayé, *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine*, Brussels, 1966, pp. 307-13

F. Halkin (ed.), *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 5 vols, Brussels, 1957-84, iii, p. 53 nos 2302-3

F. Halkin, 'Suppléments Ambrosiens à la Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca', *Analecta Bollandiana* 72 (1954) 335-36

S. Salaville, 'Pour un répertoire des néo-saints de l'église orientale', *Byzantion* 20 (1950) 223-37

V. Laurent, 'Notes critiques sur de récentes publications', *Échos d'Orient* 31 (1932) 113-14

# Pere Marsili

Petrus Marsilius

DATE OF BIRTH	End of 13 <sup>th</sup> century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; probably Majorca
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

## BIOGRAPHY

The Dominican friar Pere Marsili is known primarily for his work *Cronice illustrissimi regis Aragonum domini Iacobi uictoriossimi principis*, a Latin version of the *Llibre dels fets* of King James I of Aragon (q.v.), written in Catalan. This translation into Latin was commissioned by King James II of Aragon, grandson of James I. It is also known by the short title *Liber gestorum regis Iacobi*, a title that coincides with the Catalan original text. The work was completed in 1313 and was given to the king in 1314.

The *Liber gestorum regis Iacobi* presents many variations from the original Catalan text and it must be considered as a different work, not a simple translation. These variations often concern religious information, such as divine signs attributed to King James, the consecration of churches and the importance of religious figures, especially Dominicans. Marsili's text also adds descriptions of places, most notably a greatly enlarged description of Majorca, which points to their origin.

Pere Marsili's relationship with Majorca is clear, for he was a member of the Dominican convent on the island, as is shown by some annotations in a manuscript, in which Marsili requests a copy of the text for the Dominican convent of Majorca. He is also known to have written a letter against a Majorcan Franciscan who converted to Islam (see below).

Abundant documentation regarding Pere Marsili in the years 1309 and 1310 indicates that he participated in an embassy from King James II to Pope Clement V appealing for support for the crusade against Almeria. His insistent attitude in the papal court brought punishment and exile in Montpelier. King James II made several attempts to obtain forgiveness for him from the pope.

Further documentation, though often dubious, gives information about Marsili for the years 1303, 1316 and 1327.

## MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

*Primary*

MS Barcelona Biblioteca Universitària – 64, f. 5r (1313)

H. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, vol. 2, Berlin, 1968, pp. 771-73, 778-79, 884, 887-90, 899

*Secondary*

M.D. Martínez San Pedro, *La crónica latina de Jaime I*, Almería, 1984, pp. 17-23

J. Paniagua, *El maestro Arnau de Vilanova, médico*, Valencia, 1969

J. Villanueva, *Viage literario a las Iglesias de España*, 22 vols, Madrid, 1803-52, xix, p. 321; xxi, p. 160

J.M. Quadrado, *Historia de la conquista de Mallorca*, Palma, 1850

## WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Littera cuidam apostate Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, prius uocato frater Andreas, postea uero, factus Sarracenus, uocabatur Abdalla*, 'Letter to an apostate of the order of Friars Minor, formerly called Andrew, but, when converted to Islam, called Abdallah'

*Epistola ad Abdalla, olim fratrem Andream*, 'Epistle to Abdallah, formerly Andrew'

DATE Unknown; first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

## DESCRIPTION

The *Epistle to Abdallah* is a rhetorical criticism of the weakness of the Franciscan Andrew for converting to Islam, accusing him of falling into the worst of faults.

Marsili supports his condemnation of Andrew's sin in converting with numerous biblical citations, calling it a monstrosity that deserves the greatest of rejections. He also fulminates against Islam, calling it, for example, a 'pseudo-sect' or 'leprosy'. The conversion of a Christian priest to Islam deserves utter rejection, not only by Christians, but also by Muslims and Jews.

Pere Marsili accuses Andrew of publicly attacking his former religion. News of his treachery has spread everywhere.



## SIGNIFICANCE

The *Epistle* describes a case similar to that of Anselm Turmeda (q.v.), a Majorcan Franciscan who converted to Islam in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and took the same name, Abdallah. The case of Turmeda is well known, while the case of Andrew, and Marsili's letter, have gone almost unnoticed.

The letter criticizes not only Islam, but also indirectly the policy of the Franciscans towards Islam. Marsili's suggestion that Abdallah is seeking martyrdom in order to save his soul seems an ironic argument against a former member of the Franciscans, many of whom were martyred in the Islamic world.

## MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek – Hamilton 33, fols 131r-133r (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale – 100, fols 218r-220r (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica – 627, fols 115v-117r (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Rome, Archivio Segreto Vaticano – Armadio 35, vol. 70, fols 191v-194v (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Vat – Ottobonianus Latinus 2938, fols 286r-290r (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Vat – Ottobonianus Latinus 3078, fols 131v-133v (15<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale – II, IV, 497, fols 186r-191v (16<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional – 620, fols 157v-161v (16<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Vat – Barberinus Latinus 2602, fols 182r-187r (16<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana – 358, fols 284r-292r (16<sup>th</sup> century)  
 MS Vat – Latinus 6092, fols 146r-149v (17<sup>th</sup> century)

## EDITIONS &amp; TRANSLATIONS

- A. Biosca, 'La carta contra el converso mallorquín Abdalá. Una obra inédita de Pere Marsili', *Frate Francesco* 78 (2012) 387-401

## STUDIES

- Biosca, 'La carta contra el converso mallorquín Abdalá'  
 J.N. Hillgarth, 'Mallorca como centro intelectual, 1229-1550', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 19 (1989) 205-11

Antoni Biosca

## CMR 1

pp. 1-19, **Introduction (David Thomas)**

p. 1, n. 2, additional reference: M. Levy-Rubin, *Non-Muslims in the early Islamic empire. From surrender to coexistence*, New York, 2011

p. 2, n. 3, additional references: S. Noble and A. Treiger (eds), *The Orthodox Church in the Arab world (700-1700). An anthology of sources*, DeKalb IL, forthcoming

D. Bertaina, *Christian and Muslim dialogues. The religious uses of a literary form in the early Islamic Middle East (Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 29)*, Piscataway NJ, 2011 (includes brief descriptions and discussions of a number of dialogue texts)

M. di Cesare, *The pseudo-historical image of the Prophet Muhammad in medieval Latin literature. A repertory*, Berlin, 2011

p. 9, n. 22, additional references: Athanāsīyūs al-Maqārī, *Fihris kitābāt ābā' kanīsat al-Iskandariyya. Al-kitābāt al-'arabiyya*, 2 vols (*Maṣādir ṭuqūs al-kanīsa* 1.8-9), Cairo, 2012; L. Demiri and C. Römer (eds), *Texts from the early Islamic period of Egypt. Muslims and Christians at their first encounter; Arabic papyri from the Erzherzog Rainer Collection, Austrian National Library*, Vienna, 2009

pp. 83-98, **Muslims in canon law, 650-1000 (David M. Freidenreich)**

p. 91, n. 22, update reference: D.M. Freidenreich, *Foreigners and their food. Constructing otherness in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic law*, Berkeley CA, 2011, (a revision of *Foreign food. A comparatively-enriched analysis of Jewish, Christian, and Islamic law*, New York, 2006 [Diss., Columbia University])

pp. 99-114, **Christians in early and classical Sunnī law (David M. Freidenreich)**

p. 104, n. 13, update references: M. Levy-Rubin, 'From early harbingers of *shurūt*. 'Umar to its systematic enforcement', in D.M. Freidenreich and M. Goldstein (eds), *Beyond religious borders. Interaction and intellectual exchange in the medieval Islamic world*, Philadelphia PA, 2012, 30-43

p. 104, n. 13, additional reference: M. Levy-Rubin, *Non-Muslims in the early Islamic empire. From surrender to coexistence*, Cambridge, 2011

p. 104, n. 15, lines 11-12, substitute: 'Levy-Rubin's forthcoming book' with '*Non-Muslims in the early Islamic empire*'

p. 111, n. 39, update reference: D.M. Freidenreich, *Foreigners and their food. Constructing otherness in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic law*, Berkeley CA, 2011.

p. 113, n.44, substitute: 'Thou shalt not eat with them' with 'Foreigners and their food'

p. 113, n.45, substitute: 'Thou shalt not eat with them' with 'Foreigners and their food'

p. 113, n. 45, update reference: 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), 'Re-evaluating Ibn Qayyim al-Ġawziyyah's literary stature. Religious and historical issues', *Oriente Moderno* 90 (2010) 85-104

pp. 139-44, **Sebēos, pseudo-Sebeos (Tim Greenwood)**

#### SECONDARY SOURCES

p. 140, additional reference: J.D. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a world crisis. Historians and histories of the Middle East in the seventh century*, Oxford, 2010, pp. 70-102 (latest study of the text, affirming its significance for 7<sup>th</sup>-century Middle Eastern history, including the figure and teaching of Muḥammad, the Islamic conquests and events in Jerusalem. This is ch. 3 of the book; confusingly however Howard-Johnston has elected to rename the text the *History of Khosrov*)

#### STUDIES

p. 143, additional reference: Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a world crisis*, pp. 70-102

pp. 154-56, **Adomnan of Iona (John Tolan)**

#### STUDIES AND SIGNIFICANT REFERENCES

p. 155, additional reference: J. Wooding (ed.), *Adomnán of Iona. Theologian, lawmaker, peacemaker*, Dublin, 2010

pp. 160-62, **The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ephrem (Harald Suermann)**

#### LIFE AND WRITINGS

p. 160, line 3, substitute 'Chalcedonian' with 'Jacobite (Reinink)'

#### SECONDARY SOURCES

p. 160, additional references: P.J. Alexander, *The Byzantine apocalyptic tradition*, Los Angeles CA, 1985, pp. 136-47

G.J. Reinink, 'Pseudo-Methodius and the pseudo-Ephreman sermo de fine mundi', in R.I.A. Nip et al. (eds), *Media Latinitas. A collection of essays to mark the occasion of the retirement of L.J. Engels (Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 28)*, Turnhout, 1996, 317-21

S. Rosenkranz, *Die jüdisch-christliche Auseinandersetzung unter islamischer Herrschaft: 7.-10. Jahrhundert* (*Judaica et Christiana* 21), Bern, 2004, pp. 186-208

E.J. van Donzel, A.B. Schmidt, and C. Ott, *Gog and Magog in early Eastern Christian and Islamic sources. Sallam's quest for Alexander's wall*, Leiden, 2010, 25-26

pp. 182-85, **The Apocalypse of Shenute (Jos van Lent)**

**STUDIES**

p. 185, additional reference: C. Jonn Block, *Expanding the qur'anic bridge. Historical and modern interpretations of the Qur'an in Christian-Muslim dialogue with special attention paid to ecumenical trends*, Exeter, 2011 (Diss., University of Exeter), p. 104 (challenges the date proposed in *CMR*)

pp. 186-89, **Symeon of Samosata (Andrew Palmer)**

**MANUSCRIPTS**

p. 189, insert after 'MS Jerusalem, Monastery of St Mark': the second of twin hagiographical volumes bound in red leather, shelfmark 199 (formerly 249), no. 83, fols 47r-65v (1732/33)

p. 189, additional reference: MS Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste – 281/8 (c. 1910; unfoliated copy of the above by the monk Ḥanna Dolabani, who restored the 12<sup>th</sup>-century MS)

pp. 193-202, **Anastasius of Sinai (A. Binggeli)**

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 199, additional reference: D. Caner, *History and hagiography from the late antique Sinai, including translations of Pseudo-Nilus' Narrations, Ammonius' report on the slaughter of the monks of Sinai and Rhaithou, and Anastasius of Sinai's Tales of the Sinai fathers* (*Translated Texts for Historians*), Liverpool, 2010

pp. 203-8, **The Letter of Leo III in Ghewond (Tim Greenwood)**

**STUDIES**

p. 207, additional reference: T.W. Greenwood, 'A reassessment of the *History of Lewond*', *Le Muséon* 125 (2012) 99-167, pp. 154-64 (This long study is a full reassessment of this text and its author. The specified pages examine the letter of Leo III, arguing that it is authentic and offering a context for its translation from Greek, its original language, into Armenian in the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, when Armenians were beginning to convert to Islam. It sets this in the context of the commentaries on John's Gospel by Nonnus of Nisibis and Proverbs by Hamam, both of which are

at pains to remind the faithful of New Testament promises, and to warn against the 'Jewish', by which is to be understood Muslim, threat to their Christian culture and inheritance.)

pp. 209-18, **John of Nikiou (Gianfranco Fiaccadori)**

**LIFE AND WRITINGS**

p. 209, para 3, line 4, insert after 'hierarchy': (The Coptic term *apotritēs* has now been traced to Greek *topotērētēs*, here 'representative of the patriarch', or even to *apo(topo)tērētēs*, also 'visitor' [Soldati, 'Copto *apotritēs*', pp. 134-36])

**PRIMARY SOURCES**

p. 210, additional reference: E. Porcher, *Vie d'Isaac, patriarche d'Alexandrie de 686 à 689, écrite par Mina, évêque de Pchati*, in *Patrologia Orientalis* 9, Paris, 1915 (repr. 1994), 36-37/354-55

**STUDIES**

p. 216, additional reference: A. Soldati, 'Copto *apotritēs*: greco *topotērētēs*?', *La Parola del Passato* 65 (2010) 127-36, pp. 134-36 (discussion concerning John of Nikiou and starting from the present entry)

pp. 253-55, **The Disputation of Patriarch John (Harald Suermann)**

**TITLE AND DATE**

p. 254, add to the end of the first paragraph: While an early dating is plausible, Davis, Orfali and Noble, *Disputation over a fragment of the cross*, argue on the basis of its literary character that the text was written shortly after the year 1000.

**MANUSCRIPTS**

p. 254, additional reference: MS Los Angeles, St Shenouda the Archimandrite Society - MLMS 21 (1755)

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 255, additional reference: S.J. Davis, B. Orfali and S. Noble (eds), *A disputation over a fragment of the cross. A medieval Arabic text from the history of Christian-Jewish-Muslim relations in Egypt*, Beirut, 2012 (edition and trans.)

pp. 256-60, **The Arabic Homily of Pseudo-Theophilus of Alexandria (Jos van Lent)**

**SIGNIFICANCE**

p. 259, para 3, lines 9-10, substitute: 'the *Apocalypse of Samuel*' and the *Letter of Pisentius*' with 'the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Samuel* and the *Letter of Pseudo-Pisentius* (see CMR 2, pp. 742-52 and 266-74 respectively)

**SIGNIFICANCE**

p. 259, add after last sentence: With its emphasis on the indigenous Egyptian origin and character of the miaphysite faith, the work may be a valuable source for reconstructing the development of Coptic identity in the Islamic period (see Van Lent, 'Réactions coptes').

**STUDIES**

p. 260, additional reference: J. van Lent, 'Réactions coptes au défi de l'islam. L'homélie de Théophile d'Alexandrie en l'honneur de St Pierre et de St Paul', in A. Boud'hors and C. Louis (eds), *Études coptes XII. Quatorzième journée d'études, Rome, 11-13 juin 2009*, Paris, 2012 (discusses the text in the light of recent debate on the development of Coptic identity)

pp. 261-67, **Movsēs Daskhurants'i / Movsēs Kaghankatuats'i (Tim Greenwood)**

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 262, additional reference: J.D. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a world crisis. Historians and histories of the Middle East in the seventh century*, Oxford, 2010, pp. 103-28 (the latest study of the text, affirming the significance of Book II for 7<sup>th</sup>-century Middle Eastern history, the rise of Islam and the evolving relationship between the caliphate and a Christian Caucasian principality. There is no discussion of Book III. This is ch. 4 of the book; confusingly, however, Howard-Johnston has continued to call the text the *History to 682*.)

**STUDIES**

p. 267, additional reference: Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a world crisis*, pp. 103-28

pp. 274-80, **The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Athanasius (Bernd Witte)**

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 278, additional reference: A. Capone, *Pseudo-Atanasio: Dialoghi IV e V sulla santa Trinità (CSCO 634)*, Leuven, 2011 (Greek text with Italian trans., Latin and Armenian versions)

pp. 295-301, **John of Damascus (Reinhold F. Gleib)**

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 297, additional reference: D.J. Sahas, 'Cultural interaction during the Umayyad period. The "circle" of John Damascenus', *Aram* 6 (1994) 35-66

**SIGNIFICANCE**

p. 299, para 2, lines 3-5, substitute: 'It formed the image of Islam, at least in the Greek world, for many centuries, and exerted wider influence

among Christian readers. Later writings often...’ with ‘It formed the image of Islam in the Greek world and exerted wider influence among Christian readers, at least until the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, when Latin influence became predominant through Demetrius Cydones’ translation of Riccoldo’s treatise *Contra legem Sarracenorum*. Before Cydones, authors often...’

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 299, additional reference: M. Op de Coul and M. Poorthuis, *Johannes Damascenus and Theodorus Abū Qurra. De eerste christelijke polemiek met de islam*, Zoetermeer, 2011, pp. 30-45 (Greek text from Kotter and Le Coz, with Dutch trans.)

pp. 309-13, **The Proto-fourteenth vision of Daniel** (Jos van Lent)

**STUDIES**

J. van Lent, ‘The fourteenth vision of Daniel’, *CMR* 3, pp. 697-703

pp. 314-16, **John the Stylite of Mār Z’urā at Sarug** (Harald Suermann)

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 315, additional reference: H. Suermann, ‘Ist Johannes, der Stylit von Liṭārb (al-Atāreb), Johannes, der Stylit von Mār Ze’ōrābei Sarug?’, in R. Voigt (ed.), *Akten des 5. Symposiums zur Sprache, Geschichte, Theologie und Gegenwartslage der syrischen Kirchen (V. Deutsche Syrologentagung) Berlin 2006 (Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia 9)*, Aachen, 2010, 225-34

pp. 322-26, **Joshua the Stylite of Zuqnīn** (Amir Harrak)

**STUDIES**

p. 325, additional reference: B.C. Landau, ‘The revelation of the Magi in the Chronicle of Zuqnin. The Magi from the East in the ancient Christian imagination’, *Apocrypha* 19 (2008) 182-201

pp. 330-33, **Fī tathlīth Allāh al-wāḥid** (Mark N. Swanson)

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 332, additional reference: M.N. Swanson, in S. Noble and A. Treiger (eds), *The Orthodox Church in the Arab world (700-1700). An anthology of sources*, DeKalb IL, forthcoming, ch. 1 (partial trans.)

pp. 354-59, **Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb** (David Thomas)

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 358, additional reference: M.N. Siddiqui, *Islam ka nizām-e-mahasil*, Lahore, 1966 (Urdu trans.)

## STUDIES

p. 358, additional reference: D. Streusand, 'Sir Hamilton A.R. Gibb, Abū Yūsuf, and the concept of Islamic civilization', in J. Pfeiffer and S.A. Quinn, in collaboration with E. Tucker (eds), *History and historiography of post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East. Studies in honor of John E. Woods*, Wiesbaden, 2006, 542-54

pp. 411-13, **The Prophecy of the nineteen Muslim kings (Jos van Lent)**

## STUDIES

p. 412, additional reference: J. van Lent, 'The Fourteenth vision of Daniel', *CMR* 3, pp. 697-703

p. 412, additional reference: J. van Lent, 'The Prophecies and exhortations of Pseudo-Shenute', *CMR* 5

pp. 437-38, **Sayf ibn ʿUmar (David Thomas)**

## SECONDARY SOURCES

p. 437, add to M. Hinds reference: (repr. in M. Hinds et al., *Studies in early Islamic history*, Princeton NJ, 1996, 143-59)

pp. 439-91, **Theodore Abū Qurra (John C. Lamoreaux)**

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

p. 449, additional reference: See S. Noble and A. Treiger (eds), *The Orthodox Church in the Arab world (700-1700). An anthology of sources*, DeKalb IL, forthcoming, ch. 2 (revised trans. of the first part of this treatise)

pp. 498-501, **The Martyrdom of Anthony (Rawḥ al-Qurashī) (David Vila)**

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

p. 500, additional reference: J. Lamoreaux, in S. Noble and A. Treiger (eds), *The Orthodox Church in the Arab world (700-1700). An anthology of sources*, DeKalb IL, forthcoming, ch. 4, part A (trans.)

## STUDIES

p. 501, additional references: A. Binggeli, 'Converting the caliph. A legendary motif in Christian hagiography and historiography of the early Islamic period', in A. Papaconstantinou et al. (eds), *Writing 'true stories'. Historians and hagiographers in the late antique and medieval Near East*, Turnhout, 2010, 77-103

T. Sizgorich, 'For Christian eyes only? The intended audience of the Martyrdom of Antony Rawḥ', *ICMR* 20 (2009) 119-35

J.-P. Monferrer-Sala, 'Šahadat al-qiddis Mar Antuniyus. Replanteamiento de la "antigüedad" de las versiones sinaíticas a la luz del análisis textual', *MEAH, Sección Árabe-Islam* 57 (2008) 237-67



pp. 510-14, **Ibn al-Kalbī (David Thomas)**

**STUDIES**

p. 513, additional reference: I. Toral-Niehoff, 'The 'Ibād of al-Ḥīra. An Arab Christian community in Late Antique Iraq', in A. Neuwirth, N. Sinai and M. Marx (eds), *The Qur'ān in context. Historical and literary investigations into the Qur'ānic milieu*, Leiden, 2010, pp. 323-47

pp. 515-32, **Timothy I (Martin Heimgartner)**

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

pp. 518-19, additional references: M. Heimgartner, *Der ostsyrische Patriarch Timotheos I. (780-823) und der Aristotelismus. Die aristotelische Logik und Dialektik als Verständigungsbasis zwischen den Religionen* (forthcoming)

M. Heimgartner, *Die Briefe 42-58 des ostsyrischen Patriarchen Timotheos I.*, (CSCO 644: edition; CSCO 645: introduction, German trans., and study), Leuven, 2012

V. Berti, 'Le débat sur la vision de Dieu et la condamnation des mystiques par Timothée Ier. La perspective du patriarche', in A. Desreumaux (ed.), *Les mystiques syriaques (Etudes syriaques 8)*, Paris, 2011, 151-76

M. Heimgartner, *Timotheos I., ostsyrischer Patriarch: Disputation mit dem Kalifen al-Mahdī* (CSCO 631, Syr 244: edition; CSCO 632, Syr 245: introduction, German trans., and study), Leuven, 2011, introduction, pp. xi-xxii (on Timothy's letters in general) (printed version of M. Heimgartner, *Die Disputation des ostsyrischen Patriarchen Timotheos [780-823] mit dem Kalifen al Mahdī*, Diss., Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg, 2006, pp. 1-26 [on Timothy's life and his letters in general])

M. Heimgartner, 'Zur Edition der Briefe 42-58 des ostsyrischen Patriarchen Timotheos (780-823)', in R. Voigt (ed.), *Akten des 5. Symposiums zur Sprache, Geschichte, Theologie und Gegenwartslage der syrischen Kirchen (V. Deutsche Syrologentagung), Berlin 14.-15. Juli 2006 (Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia 9)*, Aachen, 2010, 59-74

M. Heimgartner, 'Der ostsyrische Patriarch Timotheos in der Auseinandersetzung mit Nestorius von Bēt Nuhadrān und den Mystikern in seinem Umfeld', in M. Tamcke (ed.), *Gotteserlebnis und Gotteslehre. Christliche und islamische Mystik im Orient*, Wiesbaden, 2010, 71-82

A. Treiger, 'Could Christ's humanity see his divinity? An eighth-century controversy between John of Dalyatha and Timothy I, Catholicos of the Church of the East', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 9 (2009) 3-21

V. Berti, *Vita e studi di Timoteo I (†823) patriarca cristiano di Baghdad. Ricerche sull'epistolario e sulle fonti contigue*, Paris, 2009 (printed version

of V. Berti, *Contesto formative e vita culturale di Timoteo I, Pèatriarca della chiesa siro-orientale nell'Iraq dell'VIII secolo*, Diss., Università degli Studi di Padova, 2005)

V. Berti, 'Grazia, visione e natura divina in Nestorio di Nuhadra, solitario e vescovo siro-orientale († 800 ca.)', in *Annali di Scienze Religiose* 10 (2005), 219-57

J. Watt, 'Syriac translators and Greek philosophy in early Abbasid Iraq', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac studies* 4 (2004) 15-26

pp. 519-22, **To Sergius, Letter 40 (Barbara Roggema)**

**MANUSCRIPTS**

p. 521, additional references: MS Baghdad, Metropolitan Library of the Church of the East – 45

MS Baghdad, Metropolitan Library of the Church of the East – 41

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 521, additional reference: New edition with German trans by M. Heimgartner, (CSCO) (forthcoming)

pp. 522-26, **Letter 59 (Disputation with the Caliph al-Mahdī) (Martin Heimgartner)**

**SIGNIFICANCE**

p. 525, Additional note by Peter Cowe: The encounter between the Caliph al-Mahdi and the East Syrian Patriarch Timothy I probably in the year 782 is well known as marking the first formal Christian-Muslim debate. Hitherto, scholarly attention has focused on the voluminous description Timothy gives of the encounter in letter 59 and some abbreviated redactions of this material in Syriac, as well as (at latest count) six subsequent Arabic manuscripts published and others still in manuscript form. However, both of these sources labor under significant disadvantages since most of the objective evidence is late, the Syriac deriving directly or indirectly from a single codex of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, while much of the Arabic is even later. Scholars are thus compelled to date their redactional activity conservatively to the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries, at about four centuries remove from the original, thus leaving us largely in the dark regarding the contours and characteristics of the initial transmission process. However, it is precisely in the early period that the document would have been most seminal in helping mould the form of such debates, detailing the issues at stake, and outlining the strategies to be employed in mounting an effective Christian apology to Muslim queries.

Recently, an Armenian version of the dialogue has been identified in 13 manuscripts, the first of which is dated precisely to the year 981, making it currently the earliest extant witness in any language. This, in turn, provides a reasonable *terminus ante quem* for the work's Armenian translation by the early 10th century at the latest to allow for the text's diffusion. Together with the recent discovery of Arabic fragments in the Cairo Genizah around the 11th century, the Armenian version testifies to a much earlier date for the inception of the redactional process of adapting Timothy's material more to the needs of the school environment to train future generations of Christian controversialists to defend their creed not only in dialogue with Muslim counterparts, but also with the faithful of their own congregations who might consider realigning their affiliation either intellectually or out of social and financial concerns. A critical edition of the Armenian text is now in progress.

#### EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

p. 525, additional reference: M. Heimgartner, *Timotheos I, ostsyrischer Patriarch: Disputation mit dem Kalifen al-Mahdī* (CSCO 631, Syr 244: edition; CSCO 632, Syr 245: introduction, German trans., and study), Leuven, 2011

#### STUDIES

p. 526, additional references: K.J. Kuschel, 'Literarische Genese der Ringparabeln', in H. Küng, K.J. Kuschel and A. Riklin (eds), *Die Ringparabel und das Projekt Weltethos (Kleine politische Schriften 17)*, Göttingen, 2010, 51-72 (on the pearl parable pp. 56-58)

M. Heimgartner, 'Trinitätslehre beim ostsyrischen Patriarchen Timotheos (780-823) in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Islam', in M. Tamcke (ed.), *Christliche Gotteslehre im Orient seit dem Aufkommen des Islams bis zur Gegenwart (Beiruter Texte und Studien 126)*, Beirut, 2008, 69-80

M. Heimgartner, 'Die Disputatio des ostsyrischen Patriarchen Timotheos (780-823) mit dem Kalifen al-Mahdī', in M. Tamcke (ed.), *Christians and Muslims in dialogue in the Islamic Orient of the Middle Ages. Christlich-muslimische Gespräche im Mittelalter (Beiruter Texte und Studien 117)*, Beirut, 2007, 41-56

pp. 527-28, **To the priests and faithful of Basra and Hūballaṭ, Letter 34 (Barbara Roggema)**

#### MANUSCRIPTS

p. 528, additional reference: MS Baghdad, Metropolitan Library of the Church of the East – 45

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 528, additional reference: New edition with German trans. by M. Heimgartner (*CSCO*) (forthcoming)

**STUDIES**

p. 528, additional reference: V. Berti, 'Le débat sur la vision de Dieu et la condamnation des mystiques par Timothée I<sup>er</sup>. La perspective du patriarche', in A. Desreumaux (ed.), *Les mystiques syriaques (Études syriaques 8)*, Paris, 2011, 151-76, pp. 168-73

pp. 528-30, **To Mār Naṣr, Letter 35 (Barbara Roggema)**

**MANUSCRIPTS**

p. 529, MS Baghdad, Metropolitan Library of the Church of the East – 45

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 530, additional reference: New edition with German trans. by M. Heimgartner (*CSCO*) (forthcoming)

pp. 530-31, **To Mār Naṣr, Letter 36 (Barbara Roggema)**

**MANUSCRIPTS**

p. 531, MS, Baghdad, Metropolitan Library of the Church of the East – 45

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 531, additional reference: New edition with German trans. by M. Heimgartner (*CSCO*) (forthcoming)

pp. 544-49, **Abū l-Hudhayl al-‘Allāf (David Thomas)**

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 545, additional reference: S. Mourad, art. 'Abū l-Hudhayl', in *El3*

pp. 556-64, **The Debate of Theodore Abū Qurra (David Bertaina)**

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 562, additional references: W. Nasry, *The caliph and the bishop. A 9<sup>th</sup> century Muslim-Christian debate. Al-Ma'mūn and Abū Qurrah (Textes et Études sur l'Orient Chrétien 5)*, Beirut, 2008 (trans. and study; the publication of Nasry's critical edition is planned in the series *Patrimoine Arabe Chrétien*)

W. Nasry, *Abū Qurrah and al-Māmūn: al-Muḡāḍalah*, Rome, 2006 (Diss., PISAI)

**STUDIES**

p. 563, additional references: W. Nasry, 'Is there a relationship between *al-Muḡāḍalah* and Ḡami' *wujūh al-īmān?*', *Pd'O* 34 (2009) 61-79

W. Nasry, 'Abū Qurrah, al-Ma'mūn and Yaḥyā ibn Akṭam', *Pd'O* 32 (2007) 285-90

pp. 567-81, **Ḥabīb ibn Khidma Abū Rā'īta I-Takrītī (S. Toenies Keating)**

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 570, additional reference: M. Beaumont, *Christology in dialogue with Muslims. A critical analysis of Christian presentations of Christ for Muslims from the ninth and twentieth centuries*, Oxford, 2005, pp. 44-66 (focuses on Christological significance)

**STUDIES**

p. 572, additional reference: Beaumont, *Christology in dialogue with Muslims*, pp. 44-66 (focuses on Christological significance)

p. 575, additional reference: Beaumont, *Christology in dialogue with Muslims*, pp. 44-66 (focuses on Christological significance)

pp. 604-10, **'Ammār al-Baṣrī (Mark Beaumont)**

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 604, additional reference: S.L. Husseini, *Early Christian explanations of the Trinity in Arabic in the context of Muslim theology*, Birmingham, 2011 (Diss., University of Birmingham), pp. 207-85, 286-430

**STUDIES**

p. 607, additional reference: I.M. Beaumont, 'Debating the cross in early Christian dialogues with Muslims', in D.E. Singh (ed.), *Jesus and the cross. Reflections of Christians from Islamic contexts*, Oxford, 2008, 55-64

**STUDIES**

p. 609, additional reference: I.M. Beaumont, 'Debating the cross in early Christian dialogues with Muslims', in D.E. Singh (ed.), *Jesus and the cross. Reflections of Christians from Islamic contexts*, Oxford, 2008, 55-64

pp. 614-17, **Gregory Dekapolites (Daniel Sahas)**

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 617, additional reference: J. Lamoreaux, 'St George and a Muslim', in S. Noble and A. Treiger (eds), *The Orthodox Church in the Arab world (700-1700). An anthology of sources*, DeKalb IL, forthcoming, ch. 4, part C (trans.)

pp. 642-44, ***Liber pontificalis* (Deborah M. Deliyannis)**

**STUDIES**

p. 644, additional reference: F. Bougard and M. Sot (eds), *Liber, Gesta, Histoire. Ecrire l'histoire des évêques et des papes de l'Antiquité au XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Actes du colloque international organisé au Centre d'Etudes Médiévales*

*d'Auxerre les 25, 26 et 27 juin 2007*, Turnhout, 2009 (contains new studies and interpretations by Michel Sot, Rosamond McKitterick, Herman Geertman, Klaus Herbers, François Bougard, et al.)

pp. 664-68, **Isaac the Presbyter (Mark N. Swanson)**

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 668, additional reference: J. Zaborowski, 'Egyptian Christians implicating Chalcedonians in the Arab takeover of Egypt. The Arabic Apocalypse of Samuel of Qalamūn', *OC* 87 (2003) 100-15, pp. 103-7, 114-15

pp. 669-74, **ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī (David Thomas)**

**STUDIES**

p. 673, additional reference: T. Khalidi, *Images of Muhammad. Narratives of the Prophet in Islam across the centuries*, New York, 2009, pp. 186-89

pp. 684-87, ***The Martyrdom of ʿAbd al-Masiḥ* (David Vila)**

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 687, additional references: M.N. Swanson, 'Obscure text, illuminating conversation. The Martyrdom of Qays al-Ghassānī ('Abd al-Masiḥ)', *Currents in Theology and Mission* 35 (2008) 374-81 (trans.)

Y. Soffer, *The use of early literary tradition for expressing new realities. A case study of Christian Arabic hagiography under Islam*, Jerusalem, 2003 (Diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem; edition and trans. based on Sinai arabe 542 and including a collation of both later MSS, including Sinai arabe 396, which is *not* inaccessible: there is a microfilm of it in the National Library in Jerusalem)

**STUDIES**

p. 687, additional references: H. Brakmann, T. Chronz, and U. Zanetti, 'Der palästinische Rekonziationsritus für Apostaten: al-uṣmūn = ἰλασμός. Eine Anmerkung zur Passio des Martyrer-Abtes ʿAbd al-Masiḥ vom Sinai', *OC* 93 (2009) 109-12 (explains a puzzling word in the text)

A. Binggeli, 'L'hagiographie du Sinaï en arabe d'après un recueil du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle (Sinaï arabe 542)', *Pd'O* 32 (2007) 163-80, pp. 175-78 (argues for an Umayyad rather than ʿAbbāsīd dating for the martyrdom, and a possible 8<sup>th</sup>-century dating for the text)

pp. 706-12, **Al-Jāḥiẓ (David Thomas)**

**STUDIES**

p. 708, additional reference: T. Khalidi, *Images of Muhammad. Narratives of the Prophet in Islam across the centuries*, New York, 2009, pp. 179-82

**STUDIES**

p. 711, additional reference: H.E. Kassis, 'Critique of scriptures. Polemics of al-Jāhiz and Ibn Hazm against Christianity and Judaism', in Y. Schwartz and V. Krech (eds), *Religious apologetics – philosophical argumentation*, Tübingen, 2004, 237-50, pp. 241-43

pp. 746-50, **Al-Kindī (David Thomas)**

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 746, update reference: P. Adamson and P. Pormann, *The philosophical works of al-Kindī*, Karachi, 2012

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 748, insert page run: Adamson and Pormann, *The philosophical works of al-Kindī*, pp. 78-81 (trans.)

**STUDIES**

p. 748, additional reference: Adamson and Pormann, *The philosophical works of al-Kindī*, pp. 76-78

pp. 762-67, **Alī ibn Yahyā ibn al-Munajjim (Barbara Roggema)**

**STUDIES**

p. 767, additional reference: M.N. Swanson, 'A curious and delicate correspondence. The *Burhān* of Ibn al-Munajjim and the *Jawāb* of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq', *ICMR* 22 (2011) 173-83

pp. 768-79, **Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq**

**SECONDARY SOURCES (Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala)**

p. 770, additional references: S.H. Griffith, 'Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq and the *Kitāb ādāb al-falāsifah*. The pursuit of wisdom and a humane polity in early Abbasid Baghdad', in G.A. Kiraz (ed.), *Malphono w-rabo d-malphone. Studies in honor of Sebastian P. Brock*, Piscataway NJ, 2008, 135-60 (*Kitāb ādāb al-falāsifa* is the book that is referred to in the entry as *Nawādir al-falāsifa*)

M. Zakeri, 'Ādāb al-falāsifa. The Persian content of an Arabic collection of aphorisms', in E. Gannagé et al. (eds), *The Greek strand in Islamic political thought, Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 57 (2004) 173-90, pp. 186-87 (calls Ḥunayn's authorship of *Ādāb al-falāsifa* into question)

**STUDIES (Barbara Roggema)**

p. 779, additional reference: M.N. Swanson, 'A curious and delicate correspondence. The *Burhān* of Ibn al-Munajjim and the *Jawāb* of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq', *ICMR* 22 (2011) 173-83

pp. 791-98, *Al-Jāmi‘ wujūh al-īmān* (Mark N. Swanson)

**STUDIES**

p. 796, additional reference: W. Nasry, 'Is there a relationship between *Al-Muğādalāh* and *Ĝāmi‘ wuġūh al-īmān*?', *Pd'O* 34 (2009) 61-79

pp. 816-18, *Ibn Qutayba* (David Thomas)

**MANUSCRIPTS**

p. 818, additional reference: MS Damascus, Maktabat al-Asad al-Waṭaniyya – *Majmū‘* 955/6, fols 127r–159v (date unknown; see Yāsīn Muḥammad al-Sawwās, *Fihris makhtūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-zāhirīyya. ‘Al-Majāmi’*. *Al-qism al-awwal*, Damascus, 1403 (1983), p. 207, cited in Schmidtke, 'The Muslim reception of biblical materials', p. 252)

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 818, additional reference: S. Schmidtke, 'The Muslim reception of biblical materials. Ibn Qutayba and his *A'lām al-nubuwwa*', *ICMR* 22 (2011) 249-74 (partial edition of the Damascus MS)

p. 818, additional reference: T. Khalidi, *Images of Muhammad. Narratives of the Prophet in Islam across the centuries*, New York, 2009, pp. 177-79

pp. 821-24, *Ritual of abjuration* (Antonio Rigo)

**STUDIES**

pp. 823, additional reference: C. Simelidis, 'The Byzantine understanding of the qur'anic term al-Ṣamad and the Greek translation of the Qur'an', *Speculum* 86 (2011) 887-913, pp. 907-8

pp. 829-31, *Ibn Abī l-Dunyā* (David Thomas)

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 832, additional reference: L. Librande, 'Ibn Abī al-Dunyā. Certainty and morality', *Studia Islamica* 100/101 (2005) 5-42

pp. 863-65, *Ḥadīth Wāsil al-Dīmaṣḥī* (David Thomas)

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 865, add at end of section: There is a hitherto unnoticed version of the account in Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Rajā Mukhtār ibn Maḥmūd al-Zāhidī (d. 1260) *Al-risāla al-nāṣirīyya*, ed. Muḥammad al-Miṣrī, Kuwait, 1994, pp. 57-61 (see the entry on al-Zāhidī in *CMR* 4)



pp. 866-71, **Ghewond (Tim Greenwood)**

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 866, additional reference: T.W. Greenwood, 'A reassessment of the *History of Lewond*', *Le Muséon* 125 (2012) 99-167 (This long study is a full reassessment of this text and its author. It argues inter alia for the redating of the composition to the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, as maintained in the original *CMR* entry. It also argues that the work has a defensive quality to it in connection with Armenian cooperation with caliphal authorities. This relationship has evidently evolved over time – and hence allows us to see the impact of the Islamic world upon Armenia in the longer term. It also reflects concern about the conversion of Armenians to Islam at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.)

**STUDIES**

p. 870, additional reference: Greenwood, 'A reassessment of the *History of Lewond*'

pp. 876-81, ***The disputation of the monk Ibrāhīm al-Ṭabarānī* (Mark N. Swanson)**

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 880, additional reference: K. Szilágyi, in S. Noble and A. Treiger (eds), *The Orthodox Church in the Arab world (700-1700). An anthology of sources*, DeKalb IL, forthcoming, ch. 3 (partial trans.)

**STUDIES**

p. 880, additional references: K. Szilágyi, 'Christian learning about Islam in the early 'Abbāsid caliphate. The Muslim sources of the *Disputation of the monk Abraham of Tiberias*', in J. Scheiner and D. Janos (eds), *The place to go to. Contexts of learning in Baghdad from the eighth to tenth centuries* (forthcoming)

D. Rigue, 'The dialog attributed to Abraham of Tiberias. New research of his historical environment', *Pd'O* 34 (2009) 35-49

## CMR 2

pp. 15-27, **Muslim regard for Christians and Christianity, 900-1200 (David Thomas)**

p. 22, para 2, insert a note at the end of the first sentence, line 2, after 'proofs of prophethood': Two recent studies on this genre are G.S. Reynolds, *A Muslim theologian in the sectarian milieu. 'Abd al-Jabbār and the critique of Christian origins*, Leiden, 2004, pp. 178-83, and T. Khalidi, *Images of Muhammad. Narratives of the Prophet in Islam across the centuries*, New York, 2009, pp. 177-93

p. 23, n. 34, line 3, change to read: biblical prophecies about Muḥammad. On their relationship with similar prophecies in other works, see F. Taeschner, ...

pp. 29-72, **Christian–Muslim diplomatic relations. An overview of the main sources and themes of encounter (600–1100) (Nicolas Drocourt)**

p. 29, para 2, line 3, substitute: '1000' with '1100'

p. 29, n. 1, insert after 'Christine Darnaud': , Juan Signes Codoñer

p. 39, n.48, insert at end: ; concerning the embassy led by John of Gorze, see F.V. Fernández, 'Die Gesandtschaft des Johannes von Gorze nach Cordoba', in M. Puhle (ed.), *Otto der Große, Magdeburg und Europa. Band. I: Essays*, Mainz, 2001, 525-36

p. 40, n. 50, insert at end: ; T. Lazarri, 'La rappresentazione dei legami di parentela e il ruolo delle donne nell'alta aristocrazia del regno italic (secc. IX-X)', in C. La Rocca (ed.), *Agire da donne. Modelli e pratiche di rappresentazione (secoli VI-X)*, Turnhout, 2007, 129-49; G. Gandino, 'Aspirare al regno: Berto di Toscane', in La Rocca (ed.), *Agire da donne*, 249-68

p. 43, n. 64, insert: after 'al-Ḥimyari');: ; on the testimony of al-Ḥimyari, see C. Mazzoli-Guintard, 'La expansión islámica en la Península Ibérica: los datos de al-Ḥimyari', in L.A. García Moreno and M.J. Viguera Molins (eds), *Del Nilo al Ebro. I Estudios sobre las fuentes de la conquista islámica*, Alcalá de Henares, 2009, 245-66, pp. 262-63;

p. 44, n. 65, insert at end: To these two studies can be added two others that focus on Egypt and on Damascus respectively: A. Beihammer, *Quellenkritische Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Kapitulationsverträgen der Jahre 640-646*, Osterreichische Akademische der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 2000, and J.J. Scheiner, *Die Eroberung von*

*Damaskus. Quellenkritische Untersuchung zur Historiographie in klassisch-islamischer Zeit*, Leiden, 2010.

p. 44, n. 68, insert after 'commentary': , and references to numerous previous studies on that point

p. 44, n. 68, insert at end: For an explanation of the divisions within Egyptian Christian society during the Arab-Muslim conquests and the effects of the conquests on them, see E. Motos and J. Soto, 'Guerra, sociedad, economía y cultura en la Alejandría y en el Egipto disputados por bizantinos, persas y árabes. 602-642', in García Moreno and Viguera Molins (eds), *Del Nilo al Ebro*, 11-51, p. 44.

p. 47, para 2, line 12, substitute: '821' with '819'

p. 47, n. 85, insert at beginning: *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* 33), Bonn, 1838, pp. 49-64; *Iosephi Genesis regum libri IV*, vol. 2, ed. A. Lesmüller-Werner and I. Thurn (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 14), Berlin, 1978, p. 22-30;

p. 47, n. 85, substitute: 'pp. 31-32' with 'pp. 29-41'

p. 47, n. 85, insert at end: ed. A.P. Kazhdan et al., New York, 1991, to be completed by J. Signes Codoñer, *El período del Segundo iconoclasmo en Theophanes Continuatus. Análisis y comentario de los tres primeros libros de la crónica*, Amsterdam, 1995 (with references to other Greek and Syriac sources).

p. 48, n. 87, insert at end: A. Beihammer, 'Defection across the border of Islam and Christianity. Apostasy and cross-cultural interaction in Byzantine-Seljuk relations', *Speculum* 86 (2011) 597-651

p. 50, n. 96, insert at end: On the place devoted to Byzantine diplomacy faced with a divided Islam, see G. Martínez-Gros, 'L'Empire et ses états. Y eut-il des relations diplomatiques dans le monde islamique du haut moyen âge?', in *Le relazioni internazionali nell'alto Medioevo. Atti delle Settimane di Studio della fondazione centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo LVIII*, Spoleto, 2011 995-1018, pp. 1010-13.

p. 50, n. 97, insert at end: Beihammer, 'Defection', pp. 606-14 (with further references to his previous works on the topic of the first decades of Byzantine-Seljuk confrontations in Asia Minor).

p. 51, n. 99, insert at end: For thematic analyses of these diplomatic contacts, see E. Motos Guirao, 'Las relaciones entre al-Andalus y Bizancio', in A. Suárez Márquez (ed.), *Almería, puerta del Mediterráneo (ss. X-XII)*, Almería, 2007, pp. 161-201.

p. 51, n. 100, insert after 'pp. 251-52; G. Strano, 'A proposito dell'alleanza bulgaro-arabe contro Bisanzio al tempo di Romano I Lecapeno', *Miscelanea di Studi Storici* 15 (2008) 143-61, p. 148.

- p. 52, n. 102, substitute: 'three of them are' with 'see, among others'
- p. 52, n. 102, insert at end: ; W. Drews, *Die Karolinger und die Abbasiden von Bagdad. Legitimationsstrategien frühmittelalterlicher Herrscherdynastien im transkulturellen Vergleich*, Berlin, 2009.
- p. 52, n. 104, insert at end: For the religious aspects and links between Carolingians and the Church of Jerusalem, including diplomatic contacts, see the recent studies: K. Bieberstein, 'Der Gesandtenaustausch zwischen Karl dem Grossen und Harun ar-Rasid und seine Bedeutung für die Kirchen Jerusalems', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 109 (1993) 152-73, and M. McCormick, *Charlemagne's survey of the Holy Land. Wealth, personnel, and buildings of a Mediterranean church between Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Washington DC, 2011.
- p. 53, n. 107, insert at end: F. Bougard, '*Petitor et medius*. Le rôle de la papauté dans les relations internationales de Grégoire le Grand à Jean VIII', in *Le relazioni internazionali nell'alto Medioevo*, 299-339, pp. 333-35.
- p. 53, n. 111, substitute: 'two' with 'three'
- p. 53, n. 111, substitute: 'Haithabu and Ribe' with 'Haithabu, Ribe, and on the island of Zealand'
- p. 53, n. 111, insert at end: J. Shepard, 'Trouble-shooters and men-on-the-spot. The emperor's dealings with outsiders', in *Le relazioni internazionali nell'alto Medioevo*, 691-723, pp. 699-702, 712-13.
- p. 56, n. 120, insert at end: For the first military and diplomatic contacts between Arab-Muslims and Byzantines in Syria during the *futūḥ* and the way they were distorted by later Arabic writers, see T. Sizgorich, 'Do prophets come with a sword? Conquest, empire, and historical narrative in the early Islamic world', *American Historical Review* 112 (2007) 993-1015, pp. 1006-7.
- p. 59, n. 131, insert at end: on the episode of 1030, see N. Koutrakou, 'Psellus, Romanus III and an Arab victory beyond any reasonable expectation. Some remarks on Psellus's perception of foreign relations', *Graeco-Arabica* 11 (2011) 319-45.
- p. 59, n. 133, substitute: '2010' with '(forthcoming)'
- p. 60, n. 138, insert at end: see also M. Borgolte, 'Experten der Fremde. Gesandte in interkulturellen Beziehungen des frühen und hohen Mittelalters', in *Le relazioni internazionali nell'alto medioevo*, 945-992, pp. 973-83.
- p. 61, n. 141, insert after 'to the sources)': The ambassador Ibn Shahrām, who arrived in Constantinople in 981, might have been of Greek origin and could have spoken Greek; see A. Beihammer, 'Strategies of diplomacy and ambassadors in Byzantine-Muslim relations of the tenth and eleventh centuries', in A. Becker and N. Drocourt (eds), *Les ambassadeurs*,

*moyens humains de la diplomatie. Antiquité romaine et haut moyen âge*, Metz, 2012 (forthcoming).

p. 61, n. 144, insert at end: The hours preceding the famous battle of Mantzikert between Byzantines and Seljuk Turks provide examples of such diplomacy and exchanges of emissaries in a military context – and these examples are described in various sources (Greek, Arabic, Syriac, Armenian and Persian); see the translations by C. Hillenbrand, *Turkish myth and Muslim symbol. The Battle of Mantzikert*, Edinburgh, 2007.

p. 62, n. 146, insert at end: Intelligence and passing on of military or political information are linked, and ambassadors played a fundamental role in this; see N. Drocourt, 'Passing on political information between major powers. The key role of ambassadors between Byzantium and some of its neighbours', *Al-Masāq* 24 (2012) 91-112.

pp. 89-97, **Leo VI 'the Wise' (Eric McGeer)**

#### STUDIES

p. 96, additional references: G. Dagron, 'Byzance entre le *djihād* et la croisade. Quelques remarques', in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la Croisade. Actes du colloque universitaire international de Clermont-Ferrand (23-25 juin 1995)* (Collection de l'École française de Rome 236), Rome, 1997, 325-37

G. Dagron, 'Le combattant byzantin à la frontière du Taurus. Guérilla et société frontalière', in *Le combattant au moyen âge. XVIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès de la Société des Historiens médiévistes de l'Enseignement supérieur public*, Montpellier, 1991, 37-43

pp. 108-11, **Abū 'Īsā Aḥmad ibn al-Munajjim (David Thomas)**

#### SECONDARY SOURCES

p. 109, additional reference: M.N. Swanson, 'A curious and delicate correspondence. The *Burhān* of Ibn al-Munajjim and the *Jawāb* of Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq', *ICMR* 22 (2011) 173-83

pp. 184-7, **Al-Ṭabarī (David Thomas)**

#### EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

p. 187, correct editor's name to: Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Qudṣī

pp. 188-91, **Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī (David Thomas)**

#### SECONDARY SOURCES

p. 189, additional references: Abbas Zaryab, Maryam Rezaee and Farzin Negahban, art. 'Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī', in *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, Leiden,

2012 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-islamica/abu-al-qasim-al-balkhi-COM\\_0122](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-islamica/abu-al-qasim-al-balkhi-COM_0122)>

A. Dhanani, *The physical theory of kalām. Atoms, space, and void in Basrian Muʿtazilī cosmology*, Leiden, 1994, see index

pp. 196-99, **Abū Hāshim al-Jubbāʾī (David Thomas)**

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 197, additional reference: Mohammad Mojtahed Shabestari and Rahim Gholami, art. 'Abū Hāshim al-Jubbāʾī', in *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, Leiden, 2012 <[#](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-islamica/abu-hashim-al-jubbai-COM_0080)

pp. 200-9, **Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (Shin Nomoto and David Thomas)**

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 206, update reference: *Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī. The proofs of prophecy*, trans. T. Khalidi, Provo UT, 2012

p. 206, additional reference: T. Khalidi, *Images of Muhammad. Narratives of the Prophet in Islam across the centuries*, New York, 2009, pp. 189-92

**STUDIES**

p. 207, additional reference: Khalidi, *Images of Muhammad*

pp. 210-16, **Al-Ashʿarī (David Thomas)**

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 211, additional reference: Mohammad Javad Anvari and Matthew Melvin Koushki, art. 'Al-Ashʿarī', in *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, Leiden, 2012 <[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-islamica/al-ashari-COM\\_0300](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-islamica/al-ashari-COM_0300)>

pp. 224-33, **Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq (Uriel Simonsohn)**

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 226, additional reference: U. Simonsohn, 'The biblical narrative in the *Annales* of Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq and the question of medieval Byzantine-Orthodox identity', *ICMR* 22 (2011) 37-55

pp. 241-5, **Maḥbūb ibn Qusṭanṭīn al-Manbijī (Mark N. Swanson)**

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 244, additional references: J.C. Lamoreaux, in S. Noble and A. Treiger (eds), *The Orthodox Church in the Arab world (700-1700). An anthology of sources*, DeKalb IL, forthcoming, ch. 5 (trans. of a selection on the history of the Septuagint)

Agapius of Hierapolis, *Universal history*, trans. R. Pearse, at 'Early Church fathers – additional texts', online at [http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/agapius\\_history\\_01\\_part1.htm](http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/agapius_history_01_part1.htm); [http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/agapius\\_history\\_02\\_part2.htm](http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/agapius_history_02_part2.htm) (trans. from Vasiliev's French trans.)

#### STUDIES

p. 244, additional references: R. Kherawish, 'Eleazar y el gran ejército de Antíoco. Un excerptum del *Kitāb al-'Unwān* de Maḥbūb al-Manbijī', *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 9 (2012) 105-24 (edition, translation, and analysis of a short passage, with comment on Maḥbūb's sources)

G. Hoyland, *Theophilus of Edessa's Chronicle and the circulation of historical knowledge in late antiquity and early Islam* (*Translated texts for historians* 57), Liverpool, 2011

J. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a world crisis. Historians and histories of the Middle East in the seventh century*, Oxford, 2010, pp. 194-97

K. van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes from pagan sage to prophet of science*, Oxford, 2009, pp. 172-75

pp. 263-65, Nicetas Clericus (Thomas Pratsch)

#### STUDIES

p. 265, additional reference: T. Pratsch, 'Der Platz der Grabeskirche in der christlichen Verehrung im Osten', in T. Pratsch (ed.), *Konflikt und Bewältigung. Die Zerstörung der Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem im Jahre 1009* (*Millennium-Studien/Millennium-Studies* 32), Berlin, 2011, 57-66

pp. 266-74, *The Letter of Pseudo-Pisentius* (Jos van Lent)

#### DESCRIPTION

p. 270, para 3, line 21 insert after 'text.': Cf. the Sahidic Coptic parallel found in a version of the Life of the Virgin, where the doxology is attributed to the Melitians; see W.E. Crum, *Theological texts from Coptic papyri*, Oxford, 1913, 11-17, pp. 13-14 [thanks to Alberto Camplani for this information; on this doxology, see notably his 'In margine alla storia dei Meliziani', *Augustinianum* 30 (1990) 313-51, pp. 345-47].

pp. 288-92, Aḥmad al-Rāzī (Mayte Penelas)

#### SECONDARY SOURCES

p. 289, additional reference: L. Molina, art. 'Al-Rāzī, Aḥmad', *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*

p. 289, delete: A. Rei, *Memória de espaços e espaços de memória. De al-Rāzī a D. Pedro de Barcelos*, Lisbon, 2008

**DESCRIPTION**

p. 290, para 3, line 3, insert after 'which is also lost': (a revised version written around 1400 is extant).

**SIGNIFICANCE**

p. 291, para 2, line 1, substitute: 'The most significant element' with 'One of the most significant elements'

**STUDIES**

p. 291, additional references: L. Molina, art. 'Al-Rāzī, Aḥmad', *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*

A. Rei, *Memória de espaços e espaços de memória. De al-Rāzī a D. Pedro de Barcelos*, Lisbon, 2008

L.F. Lindley Cintra, *Crónica geral de Espanha de 1344*, 4 vols, Lisbon, 1951-90, i, *passim*

pp. 298-305, **Al-Mas'ūdī (David Thomas)**

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 302, additional reference: T. Khalidi, 'Mas'ūdī's lost works. A reconstruction of their content', *JAOS* 94 (1974) 35-41

pp. 306-311, **The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (Omar Ali-de-Unzaga)**

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 306, additional references: A. Hamdani, 'The Ikhwān al-Ṣafā': between al-Kindī and al-Fārābī', in Omar Ali-de-Unzaga (ed.), *Fortresses of the intellect. Ismaili and other Islamic studies in honour of Farhad Daftary*, London, 2011, 189-211

I.R. Netton, 'Private caves and public islands. Islam, Plato, and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'', in M. Elkaisy-Friemuth and J.M. Dillon (eds), *The afterlife of the Platonic soul. Reflections of Platonic psychology in the monotheistic religions*, Leiden, 2009

pp. 312-341, **Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (Maria Vaiou)**

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 313, additional reference: M. Vaiou, *Diplomacy in the early Islamic world. A tenth-century treatise on Arab-Byzantine relations*, London, 2009

pp. 351-57, **Theodosius the Deacon (Beate Zielke)**

**STUDIES**

p. 357, additional reference: Luisa Andriollo, 'Il De Creta capta di Teodosio Diacono fra Epos storico ed encomio imperiale', *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 47 (2010) 31-56



pp. 367-69, **Representative of Nicephorus Phocas (David Thomas)****LIFE AND WRITINGS**

p. 367, *Substitute for the third paragraph*: Since he wrote on behalf of the emperor, he must have been close to him. Ibn Kathīr says that he was one of Nicephorus' secretaries (*ba'ḍ kuttābih*) 'whom God had abandoned and humiliated', hinting that he thought he was a convert, and he refers to the poem as 'the forsaken, accursed Armenian poem' (*al-qaṣīda l-Armaniyya l-makhdhūla l-mal'ūna*), suggesting that he was Armenian in origin. Ibn Kathīr does not explain how he knows this.

**PRIMARY SOURCES**

Ibn Kathīr, *Al-bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, 14 vols, Beirut, 1932-39 (repr. Beirut, 1977), xi, p. 244

**DESCRIPTION**

*Substitute for the first sentence*: According to the Vienna manuscript, the poem comprises 54 verses written in *ṭawīl* meter (in al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, it is 49 verses, and in Ibn Kathīr, who says he takes it from Ibn 'Asākir, quoting it from the 10<sup>th</sup> century historian al-Farghānī's lost *Kitāb ṣilat al-ṣila*, it is 70 verses).

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 368, additional reference: *Qasīdat Imbarātūr al-Rūm Niqfūr Fūqās fī hijā' al-Islām wa-l-Muslimīn, wa-qaṣīdatā l-Imāmayn al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī wa-Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī fī l-radd 'alayh*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, Beirut, 1982, pp. 11-22 (from Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya wa-nihāya*, xi, pp. 244-47)

**STUDIES**

p. 369, additional reference: N.F. Hermes, 'The Byzantines in medieval Arabic poetry. Abu Firas' *Al-Rumiyyat* and the poetic responses of al-Qaffal and Ibn Hazm to Nicephorus Phocas' *al-Qasida al-Arminiyya al-mal'una* (The Armenian cursed ode)', *BYZANTINA SYMMEIKTA* 19 (2009) 35-61, pp. 52-53

pp. 370-72, **Al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī (David Thomas)****EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 372, additional reference: *Qasīdat Imbarātūr al-Rūm Niqfūr Fūqās fī hijā' al-Islām wa-l-Muslimīn, wa-qaṣīdatā l-Imāmayn al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī wa-Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī fī l-radd 'alayh*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, Beirut, 1982, pp. 28-35 (from al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*)

p. 372, substitute: 'Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, ii, pp. 181-84' with 'Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, ii, pp. 179-84'

**STUDIES**

p. 372, additional references: N. El Cheikh, 'The tenth century Byzantine revival. The Muslim literary reaction', in N. El Cheikh and S. O'Sullivan (eds), *Byzantium in early Islamic Syria*, Beirut, 2011, 147-60, pp. 154-57

N.F. Hermes, 'The Byzantines in medieval Arabic poetry. Abu Firas' *Al-Rumīyyat* and the poetic responses of al-Qaffal and Ibn Hazm to Nicephorus Phocas' *al-Qasida al-Arminiyya al-mal'una* (The Armenian cursed ode)', *BYZANTINA SYMMEIKTA* 19 (2009) 35-61, pp. 53-56

pp. 390-438, **Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī (Emilio Platti)**

**PRIMARY SOURCES**

p. 394, additional reference: R. Wisnovsky, 'New philosophical texts of Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī. A supplement to Endress' analytical inventory', in F. Opwis and D. Reisman (eds), *Islamic philosophy, science, culture, and religion. Studies in honor of Dimitri Gutas*, Leiden, 2012, 307-26 (edition of *incipits* and *explicit*s of 24 philosophical texts, thought to have been lost but recovered in codex Madrasa-yi Marwī 19).

pp. 446-50, **Al-Bāqillānī (David Thomas)**

**STUDIES**

p. 450, add to D. Thomas 'Christian voices' article: *JSAI* 36 (2009) 357-79

p. 450, additional work:

*Kitāb hidāyat al-mustarshidīn*, 'Guidance for those who seek direction'

**DATE** Unknown; before 1013

**LANGUAGE** Arabic

**DESCRIPTION**

This apparently major work has only fully come to light in recent years. It is not recorded by al-Bāqillānī's main medieval biographers, and it was largely overlooked until D. Gimaret published a section from it in 2009. It must certainly have ranked among al-Bāqillānī's most substantial works, since according to the 14<sup>th</sup> century author Abū 'Alī 'Umar al-Sakūnī it comprised 32 volumes (Schmidtke, 'Early Aš'arite theology', p. 43). Its date cannot be ascertained, though since it refers to a number of earlier works by al-Bāqillānī himself and other scholars, including Abū 'Abdallāh al-Baṣrī (d. 980) (q.v.), it is likely to be relatively late. It certainly post-dates the *Kitāb al-tamhīd*, which it mentions, and it is possible that its contents and structure mirrored those of the earlier work. But since only four parts are known to survive, nothing about this can be said with certainty. In the manuscripts of two of these four parts the title is given as

*Kitāb hidāyat al-mustarshidīn wa-l-radd ‘alā ahl al-bida’ wa-l-mulḥidīn* ('Guidance for those who seek direction and a refutation of innovators and heretics'), while in a third it appears as *Kitāb hidāyat al-mustarshidīn wa-l-muqni’ fi ma’rifat uṣūl al-dīn* ('Guidance for those who seek direction and satisfaction in understanding of the principles of religion') (Schmidtke, 'Early Aš‘arite theology', p. 42).

One surviving part of the work is the section on the justification for the sending of prophets, and Muḥammad in particular. At the beginning of this, al-Bāqillānī announces that he will not engage in a long discussion because he has already covered the issue in the *Kitāb al-tamhīd*, where he refuted the Barāhima, and then the Jews and Christians. He also reveals that in the earlier work he curtailed his arguments because his master Abū l-Ḥasan and other 'people of truth' (*ahl al-ḥaqq*) had already presented sufficient arguments against the different religions (Schmidtke, 'Early Aš‘arite theology', pp. 43-44, n. 22). He is evidently referring to the refutation of the Barāhima that follows the refutation of the Christians in the *Kitāb al-tamhīd*, and the ensuing proofs for the prophethood of Muḥammad based on the miraculous nature of the Qur'an which are presented in response to criticisms from Jews, Christians and others (ed. McCarthy, pp. 104-59; ed. al-Khuḍayrī and Abū Rīdah, pp. 96-129).

#### SIGNIFICANCE

This reference attests to a tradition of anti-Christian apologetic that stretches back from al-Bāqillānī to Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī and others (maybe the students of al-Ash‘arī who were al-Bāqillānī's teachers). If al-Bāqillānī's own contribution is representative of it, it appears to have focused primarily on the literary qualities evidenced within the Qur'an as evidence of its uniqueness and divine origins.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

See Schmidtke, 'Early Aš‘arite theology', pp. 39-42, for descriptions of the four MSS that contain surviving fragments of the work.

#### EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

D. Gimaret, 'Un extrait de la *Hidāya* d'Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī: Le *Kitāb al-tawallud*, refutation de la thèse mu'tazilite de la generation des actes', *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 58 (2009) 259-313, pp. 272-313 (edition of the *Kitāb al-tawallud*, on the relation between causes and effects, from one of the early volumes of the *Hidāya*)

## STUDIES

S. Schmidtke, 'Early Aš'arite theology. Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) and his *hidāyat al-mustaršidīn*', *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 60 (2011) 39-72

Gimaret, 'Un extrait de la *Hidāya* d'Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī', pp. 259-69

pp. 460-63 **The monk Mīnā (Mark N. Swanson)**

## STUDIES

p. 463, additional reference: M.N. Swanson, 'The *other* hero of *The martyrdom of Jirjis (Muzāḥim)*. Saywālā the confessor', *Coptica* 11 (2012) forthcoming (on the role of Jirjis' wife in the Martyrdom)

pp. 464-8, **Naẓīf ibn Yumn (Mark N. Swanson)**

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

p. 467, additional reference: N. Seleznyov, '“Poslanie o jedinstve” bagdad-skogo mel'kita v sostave èntsiklopedicheskogo “Svoda” arabojazыchnogo kopta XIIIv.' ['A Baghdadi Melkite author's "Epistle on the Union" preserved in a thirteenth-century Coptic encyclopedist's Arabic "Summa"'], *Gosudarstvo, Religija, Tserkov' v Rossii i za rubezhom* 3 (2010) 151-56 (Russian trans.)

pp. 472-4, **Abū 'Abdallāh al-Baṣrī (David Thomas)**

## SECONDARY SOURCES

p., 473, additional reference: J. van Ess, art. 'Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī', in *El2*, supplement, 1980

pp. 514-18, **Ibn Bābawayh (David Thomas)**

## SECONDARY SOURCES

p. 515, additional references: M. McDermott, art. 'Ebn Bābawayh (2)', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online edition, 6 December 2011, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ebn-babawayh-2>

H. Ansari, 'Une version incomplète du *Kitāb al-nubuwwa* d'al-Ṣadūq', in M. Ali Amir-Moezzi, M.M. Bar-Asher and S. Hopkins (eds), *Le shī'isme imāmite' quarante ans après. Hommage à Etan Kohlberg*, Turnhout, 2009, 49-53

Sa'īd ibn Hibat Allāh Rāwandī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*. *Al-ḥāwī li-aḥādīth kitāb al-Nubuwwa li-l-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq Abī Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī*, Qom, 2009

Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, *Kitāb al-Nubuwwa*, Tehran, 2002

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 518, additional references: Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd. The book of divine unity*, ed. J.A. Morrow et al., London, 2009

Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, *‘Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, Mashhad, 1993

‘Alī Akbar Ghaffārī and Ḥamīd Riḥā Mustafīd, *Tarjumah va matn-i ‘Uyūn akhbār al-Riḥā, ‘alayhi l-salām*, Tehran, 1993 (Persian trans.)

Ibn Babawayh, *‘Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, ed. Mahdī l-Ḥusayn Lājūrdī, Najaf, 1970

Ibn Bābawayh, *‘Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, s.l., 1970

Muḥammad Taqī ibn Muḥammad Bāqir Najafī Iṣfahānī, *Tarjama-i ‘Uyūn akhbār al-Riḥā*, s.l. [Tehran?], 1950 (Persian trans.)

Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, *‘Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, s.l. [Iran], 1939

Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, s.l. [Tabriz], 1800

pp. 519-21, **Al-Rummānī (David Thomas)**

**TITLE AND DATE**

p. 520, title of source, substitute: ‘Refutation’ with ‘Criticism’

pp. 526-31, **Abbo of Fleury (Elizabeth Dachowski)**

**PRIMARY SOURCES**

p. 527, additional reference: Aimoinus of Fleury, *Vie d’Abbon, Abbé de Fleury: Vita et passio sancti Abbonis*, in R.H. Bautier et al. (eds and trans), *L’Abbaye de Fleury en l’an mil (Sources d’Histoire Médiévale 32)*, Paris, 2004 (edition and French trans.)

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 527, additional reference: A. Dufour and G. Labory (eds), *Abbon, un abbé de l’an mil (Bibliothèque d’Histoire Culturelle du Moyen Age 6)*, Turnhout, 2008 (proceedings of a millennial conference on Abbo of Fleury)

pp. 585-93, ***Life of Theodore, Bishop of Edessa* (Klaus-Peter Todt)**

**BIOGRAPHY**

p. 585, line 2, insert after ‘bishop of Emesa’: (Note that in the Arabic version Basil is said to be the bishop of Manbij rather than of Homs.)

p. 585, insert as an additional paragraph at the end: It is possible that the author of the work was Euthymios of Mount Athos, the 10<sup>th</sup>-century Georgian monk behind the Greek Barlaam and Ioasaph. (This suggestion is raised by Robert Volk, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 6/1. *Historia animae utilis de Barlaam et Ioasaph*, Berlin, 2009, pp. 81-86.)

**SIGNIFICANCE**

p. 588, insert at the end: For the Georgian version, see: L. Datiashvili, 'The Life of Theodore of Edessa and the Abukura' [in Georgian], *Questions of Old Georgian Literature and Rustaveli Studies* 5 (1973) 144-74

p. 594-610, 'Abd al-Jabbār (Gabriel Said Reynolds)

**STUDIES**

p. 608, additional reference: T. Khalidi, *Images of Muhammad. Narratives of the Prophet in Islam across the centuries*, New York, 2009, pp. 204-7

pp. 617-23, Sulaymān al-Ghazzī (Samuel Noble)

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 619, additional reference: S. Noble, in S. Noble and A. Treiger (eds), *The Orthodox Church in the Arab world (700-1700). An anthology of sources*, DeKalb IL, forthcoming, ch. 6 (trans. of two *qaṣīdas*)

p. 622, Correct the reference to the edition by P. la Spisa to: P. la Spisa, *I trattati teologici di Sulaymān ibn Ḥasan al-Ġazzī*, 2 vols (CSCO 648-649 = ar. 52-53), Leuven, forthcoming (edition and Italian trans.)

pp. 627-32, *Kitāb al-majdal* (Mark N. Swanson)

**NAME AND DATES**

p. 627, add beneath the main title: 'Amr ibn Mattā l-Ṭirhānī (likely author)

**MANUSCRIPTS**

MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 211, fols 1v-54r and 64v-113v (1581; from ch. 4, *maṣābiḥ*)

MS Damascus, Orthodox Patriarchate – 269, fols 131r-160v (and possibly also 161r-171v) (1723; mostly from ch. 4, *maṣābiḥ*)

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 631, additional references: N. Seleznyov, "These stones shall be for a memorial". A discussion of the abolition of circumcision in the *Kitāb al-Mağdal'*, in B. Lourié and H. Jacobus (eds), *Mémorial Jaubert II* [provisional title], forthcoming (edition and English trans. of the section on circumcision)

*Al-majdal li-l-istibṣār wa-l-jadal*, ed. L. Saliba, Jubayl, Lebanon, s.d. (not seen; apparently an edition of ch. 5, section 7)

G. Putrus, *Mari Ibn Sulaiman. Al Magdal (la Tour), deuxième porte. Edition, traduction, étude*, Paris, 1975 (Diss., École pratique des hautes études, Sciences des religions, Paris) (edition and French trans. of ch. 2)

pp. 633-36, **Ibn Mattawayh (David Thomas)**

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 634, additional reference: Sa'īd Murād, *Ibn Mattawayh wa-arā'uhu al-kalāmiyya wa-l-falsafīyya*, Cairo, 1991

pp. 657-61, **Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Anṭākī (Mark N. Swanson)**

**STUDIES**

p. 661, additional reference: S. Slim, 'Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Anṭākī entre tradition et renouveau', *Pd'O* 34 (2009) 237-50

pp. 665-66, **Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (Herman G. B. Teule)**

**LIFE AND WRITINGS**

p. 665, additional paragraph at end of biography: [Note: Further study will probably confirm that this Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, who has been identified as a Christian because he is quoted as opposing certain Mu'tazilī and other Muslim doctrines and is mentioned by a Christian author, is in fact the 11th century Mu'tazilī theologian whose disagreements with mainstream Mu'tazilī positions were well known (see the entry in this volume, pp. 698-702, and also A. Sidarus, *Ibn al-Rahibs Leben und Werk*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1975, p. 135 n. 50).]

pp. 667-97, **Ibn al-Ṭayyib (Julian Faultless)**

**STUDIES**

p. 676, additional reference: S.A. Frantsuzov, 'Tolkovaja Psaltir 'Abdallaha ibn at-Tayyiba. Osobeenosti jazyka i sodержanija' ['Abd Allah ibn al-Ṭayyib's Commentary on the Psalter. Peculiarities of language and content], *Vestnik PSTGU*, Serija III. *Filologija* 4 (2008) 63-68

pp. 698-702, **Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (David Thomas)**

**BIOGRAPHY**

p. 699, additional paragraph at the end: The Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, whose work is cited by the 13th century Copt Abū Shākir ibn al-Rāhib (q.v.) in his *Kitāb al-burhān*, has been thought to be a Christian (see the entry in this volume, pp. 665-66). This is presumably because he is quoted as an opponent of certain Mu'tazilī and other Muslim doctrines, and is referred to by a Christian author. But since the arguments cited by Ibn al-Rāhib are identical with those of this Muslim theologian, whose disagreements with mainstream Mu'tazilī positions were well known, there is no reason to postulate an otherwise unknown Christian with an identical name

(see A. Sidarus, *Ibn al-Rahibs Leben und Werk*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1975, p. 135 n. 50).

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 699, last citation (Ibn al-Malāḥimī), add: (second edition, ed. W. Madelung, 2012)

**SIGNIFICANCE**

p. 702, additional paragraph at the end: Abū l-Ḥusayn's work continued to be used in some Muslim circles for centuries. As Sabine Schmidtke shows ('Biblical predictions'), the 13th-century Yemeni Zaydī scholar 'Abdallāh ibn Zayd ibn Aḥmad al-'Ansī (1196/97-1269) in his *Al-maḥajja al-bayḍā'* quotes a series of Old Testament predictions of Muḥammad that he acknowledges come from Abū l-Ḥusayn and ultimately from 'Alī l-Ṭabarī. It is likely that he derived them from an unidentified intermediary source, which may also have been used by the Iranian Imāmī theologian and jurist Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 1204) in his *Kitāb al-munqidh min al-taqlīd* (q.v.).

**STUDIES**

S. Schmidtke, 'Biblical predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad among the Zaydīs of Yemen (6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries)', in S. Elm, M. Pampaloni, and C. Tavolieri (eds), *Le vie del sapere in ambito siro-mesopotamico dal III al IX secolo (Orientalia Christiana Analecta special issue)*, 2012

pp. 703-13, **Grigor Magistros (Theo Maarten van Lint)**

**DESCRIPTION**

p. 710, Change the first sentence to read: '*Magnalia Dei* (also known as *Aṛ Manuč'ē*, though this has now been proven to be erroneous, and as *Hazartotean*), occupies between ...'

**STUDIES**

p. 713, additional reference: A. Terian, *Magnalia Dei. Biblical history in epic verse by Grigor Magistros (The first literary epic in medieval Armenian)*, Louvain, 2012

pp. 714-18, **'Afif ibn al-Makīn ibn Mu'ammal (Mark N. Swanson)**

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 717, additional reference: G. Troupeau, 'L'épître sur les croyances des chrétiens de 'Afif ibn Mu'ammal', in P. Canivet and J.-P. Rey-Coquais (eds), *Mémorial Monseigneur Joseph Nasrallah (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Études Arabes de Damas 221)*, Damascus, 2006, 233-55 (French trans.)



pp. 742-52, *The Apocalypse of Samuel* (Jos van Lent)

**STUDIES**

p. 750, additional reference: J.R. Zaborowski, 'Was the *Apocalypse of Samuel of Qalamūn* originally Arabic?', in *Proceedings of the ninth international congress of Coptic studies*, Cairo, 14-20 September 2008, (forthcoming; challenges the commonly assumed Coptic language origin of this apocalyptic work)

## CMR 3

### pp. 1-13, **Introduction**

p. 13, additions to Suggestions for further reading: M. Fierro, *The Almo-had revolution. Politics and religion in the Islamic West during the twelfth-thirteenth centuries*, Farnham, 2012

M. Fierro (ed.), *The new Cambridge history of Islam*, vol. 2. *The western Islamic world: eleventh to eighteenth centuries*, Cambridge, 2011

S. Boissellier, F. Clément and J. Tolan (eds), *Minorités et régulations sociales en Méditerranée médiévale. Actes du colloque réuni du 7 au 9 juin 2007 en l'Abbaye royale de Fontevraud, Maine-et-Loire*, Rennes, 2010

H. Laurens, J. Tolan and G. Veinstein (eds), *L'Europe et l'islam. Quinze siècles d'histoire*, Paris, 2009

J. Tolan, *L'Europe latine et le monde arabe au moyen âge. Cultures en conflit et en convergence*, Paris, 2009

### pp. 27-40, **Christians in early and classical Shī'ī law (David M. Freidenreich)**

p. 34, n. 27, update reference: D. Freidenreich, 'The implications of unbelief. Tracing the emergence of distinctively Shī'ī notions regarding the food and impurity of non-Muslims', *Islamic Law and Society* 18 (2011) 53-84

p. 36, n. 33, update reference: D. Freidenreich, 'Implications of unbelief'; see also D. Freidenreich, *Foreigners and their food. Constructing otherness in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic law*, Berkeley CA, 2011, pp. 157-63

### pp. 41-68, **Muslims in Western canon law, 1000-1500 (David M. Freidenreich)**

p. 56, n. 57, update last reference: D. Freidenreich, *Foreigners and their food. Constructing otherness in Jewish, Christian and Islamic law*, Berkeley CA, 2011, pp. 179-96

### pp. 73-80, **Al-Bīrūnī (Gotthard Strohmaier)**

#### SECONDARY SOURCES

p. 79, add after G. Strohmaier, 'The picture of the world in al-Bīrūnī's "Pharmacognosy"', *European Review* 16 (2008) 241-48: '(repr. in Strohmaier, *Zwischen Eurozentrismus und Islamismus. Mosaiksteine zu einem Bild arabisch-islamischen Erbes*, Wiesbaden, 2012, 81-86)

pp. 89-114, 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Antākī (Alexander Treiger)

**PRIMARY SOURCES**

p. 90, additional reference: S. Noble, in S. Noble and A. Treiger (eds), *The Orthodox Church in the Arab world (700-1700). An anthology of sources*, DeKalb IL, forthcoming, ch. 7 (trans. of two short texts, 'An essay containing ideas useful for the soul' and 'Refutation of the astrologers')

p. 90, update reference: S. Noble and A. Treiger, 'Christian Arabic theology in Byzantine Antioch. 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Antākī and his *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*', *Le Muséon*, 371-417 (includes critical edition and trans. of the *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*)

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 91, additional reference: H. Daiber, 'Graeco-Arabica Christiana. The Christian scholar 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl (11th c. AD) as transmitter of Greek works', in D.C. Reisman and F. Opwis (eds), *Islamic philosophy, science, culture, and religion. Studies in honor of Dimitri Gutas*, Leiden, 2012, 3-9

p. 91, update reference: S. Noble, 'The doctrine of God's unity according to 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Antākī (fl. ca. 1050)', *Pd'O* 37 (2012) 291-301

**STUDIES**

p. 98 update references: S. Noble and A. Treiger, 'Christian Arabic theology in Byzantine Antioch. 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Antākī and his *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*', *Le Muséon*, 371-417 (includes critical edition and trans. of the *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*)

S. Noble, 'The doctrine of God's unity according to 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Antākī (fl. ca. 1050)', *Pd'O* 37 (2012) 291-301

**MANUSCRIPTS**

p. 100, last line, delete: 'forthcoming'

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 100, update reference: S. Noble and A. Treiger, 'Christian Arabic theology in Byzantine Antioch. 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Antākī and his *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*', *Le Muséon*, 371-417 (includes critical edition and trans. of the *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*)

**MANUSCRIPTS**

p. 102, additional reference: MS Sinai – Ar. 456, fols 18v-60v (13<sup>th</sup> century; lacking the introduction and truncated at the very end)

p. 102, line 1, substitute 'eleven' with 'twelve'

p. 102, MS Damascus reference, replace: 'chs 9-17' with 'chs 9-53 and 64-71'

**DESCRIPTION**

p. 111, replace full text of section with the following: Ever since Graf's *GCAL*, it has been assumed that 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl authored a *Book of*

*lamps*. Graf and Nasrallah state that this work deals with dogmatic theology and ethics. Asad Rustum calls the *Book of lamps* Ibn al-Faḍl's 'most important work', which contains 'words of the wisemen, the prophets, and the holy apostles'. According to him, Ibn al-Faḍl 'divided it neatly into sections and gave numerous examples from the scriptures and the sayings of the philosophers'. Joseph Zaytun has recently indicated that in the last chapter of this work, entitled 'Divine Love' (*al-maḥabba al-ilāhiyya*), Ibn al-Faḍl cites a poem (*muwashshaḥa*) of the Arab Orthodox poet and bishop Sulaymān al-Ghazzī (fl. 1010), without however naming the latter.

Through the kind assistance of Dr Elie Dannaoui (University of Balamand), it has been possible to study the Damascus manuscript of the *Book of lamps* (MS Damascus, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – 269; year 1723). Significantly, the work is not identified in the manuscript as belonging to 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl. Moreover, contrary to all of earlier scholarship, this is not 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's work at all. Rather, this turns out to be a collection of excerpts from the 11<sup>th</sup>-century 'Nestorian' work *Kitāb al-Majdal* (on which see Mark Swanson's entry in *CMR* 2, pp. 627–32), particularly from its fourth division, entitled 'Lamps' (which I was able to consult in MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 190). The two other alleged manuscripts of 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's *Book of lamps*—MS Vat – Ar. 122 (year 1580) and MS Paris, BNF – Ar. 211 (year 1581), fols 64v–113v—also contain excerpts from *Kitāb al-Majdal*. This must be the case also with the only other reported manuscript of the *Book of lamps*: MS Aleppo, Collection of Greek Catholic merchant Jirjī Maḥlūm (Sbath, *Fihris* i, 50, no. 378; currently inaccessible). It turns out that 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl never wrote a *Book of lamps* at all, and the assumption that he did is an erroneous conjecture, which rests solely on the fact that the Damascus manuscript happens to contain *other* (authentic) works by 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl.

#### STUDIES

p. 113, additional reference: J. Nasrallah, 'Abdallah Ibn al-Faḍl (XI<sup>e</sup> siècle)', *POC* 33 (1983) 143–59, p. 157

pp. 117–20, Al-Ḥumaydī (Rachid El Hour)

#### STUDIES

p. 120, additional references: J. Sánchez Ratia, 'Ibn Hazm al-Andalusi, o el riguroso anhelo del absoluto', *Jabega* 97 (2008) 21–29

M. Amin Elgohary, 'Al-Zahrawi. The father of modern surgery', *Annals of Pediatric Surgery* 2 (2006) 82-87, p. 83

P. Guichard, *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista Cristiana. Los musulmanes de Valencia, siglos XI-XIII*, Valencia, 2001, p. 25

C. Adang, 'Zahiris of Almohade times', in M.L. Ávila and M. Fierro (eds), *Biografías Almohade II (Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus 9)*, Madrid, 2000, 413-79

M. Fierro, 'Revolución y tradición. Algunos aspectos del mundo del saber en época almohade', in M.L. Ávila and M. Fierro (eds), *Biografías Almohade II (Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de al-Andalus 9)*, Madrid, 2000, 131-65, p. 154

Al Makin, 'The influence of Zahiri theory on Ibn Hazm's theology. The cases of his interpretation on the anthropomorphic text "The hand of God"', *Medieval Encounters* 5 (1999) 112-20

P. López Pita, 'El Collar de la Paloma. Tratado sobre el amor y los amantes', *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie III. Historia Medieval* 12 (1999) 65-90

J. Martos Quesada, 'Los diccionarios biográficos como fuente para el conocimiento del mundo jurídico en al-Andalus. Características y reflexiones', *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* 9 (1998) 54-64, p. 53

C. de la Puente, 'Vivre et mourir pour Dieu. Oeuvre et héritage d'Abu Ali al-Sadafi (m. 514/1120)', *Studia Islamica* 88 (1998) 77-102, p. 83

Anwar G. Chejne, 'Ibn Hazm of Cordova on logic', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 104 (1984) 57-72, p. 64

pp. 121-26, **Al-Juwāynī (David Thomas)**

#### SECONDARY SOURCES

p. 122, additional reference: P.L. Heck, art. 'Jovayni, emām-al-Ḥaramayn' in *Elr*

#### STUDIES

p. 126, additional reference: D. Thomas, 'Christianity in Islamic theology. The case of al-Juwaynī', in C. Belo and J.-J. Pérennès (eds), *Mission in dialogue. Essays in honour of Michael L. Fitzgerald*, Louvain, 2012

pp. 137-45, **Ibn Ḥazm (Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala)**

#### MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

##### SECONDARY

p. 138, additional work: C. Adang, M. Fierro and S. Schmidtke [eds], *Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba. The life and works of a controversial thinker*, Leiden, 2013

**DESCRIPTION**

p. 144, additional paragraph: Ibn Ḥazm was not the only Andalusī scholar to respond to the Christian *qaṣīda*. According to Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, sometime in the next century Abū l-Asbagh ʿĪsā ibn Mūsā ibn Zarwāl al-Shaʿbānī al-Gharnāṭī also wrote a rebuttal in verse (*Fahrāsa*, ed. Muḥammad Fuʿād Maṣṣūr, Beirut, 1998, p. 409), though it has not survived.

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 145, insert at end of the first citation: '(from Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*)'  
 p. 145, additional reference: Ibn Kathīr, *Al-bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, 14 vols, Beirut, 1977, xi, pp. 247-52

**STUDIES**

p. 145, additional reference: J.M. Puerta Vélchez, 'Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Muḥammad, Obras', in *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, no. 141 in Ibn Ḥazm's works (trans. J. Rogers as 'Inventory of Ibn Ḥazm's works', in Adang, Fierro and Schmidtke [eds], *Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba. The life and works of a controversial thinker*, 683-760, p. 756)

**pp. 165-71, Ibn Ḥayyān (Mohamed Meouak)****SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 166, additional reference: V. Martínez Enamorado, 'Ibn Hayyan, el abanderado de la historia de al-Andalus', *Jábega* 97 (2008) 30-34

**STUDIES**

p. 169, additional references: M. Penelas and L. Molina, 'Dos fragmentos inéditos del volumen II del *Muqtabis* de Ibn Ḥayyān', *Al-Qanṭara* 32 (2011) 229-41

L. Molina, 'Técnicas de *amplificatio* en el *Muqtabis* de Ibn Hayyan', *Talia Dixit* 1 (2006) 55-79

N. Ḥasan, *Al-taʿrif bi-l-nuskha l-farīda min al-Muqtabis li-Ibn Ḥayyān al-Qurṭubī (180-232)*, Alexandria, 1996

M. al-Fāsī, 'Makhtūṭ jadīd min *Taʿrīkh* Ibn Ḥayyān', *Al-Thaqāfa* 6 (1972) 1-22

p. 169, correct A.A. El-Hajji reference to: A.A. El-Hajji, *Andalusian diplomatic relations with Western Europe during the Umayyad period (A.H. 138-366/A.D. 755-976)*

**pp. 172-75, Al-Bājī (Amalia Zomeño)****SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 173, additional reference: D.S Cucarella, 'Corresponding across religious borders. Al-Bājī's response to a missionary letter from France', *Medieval Encounters* 18 (2012) 1-35

**STUDIES**

p. 175, additional reference: Cucarella, 'Corresponding across religious borders'

pp. 176-81, **Al-ʿUdhri (Mayte Penelas)**

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 180, additional reference: F. de la Granja, *La Marca Superior en la obra de al-ʿUdhri*, Zaragoza, 1966 (Spanish trans. of reports on the Upper March)

pp. 182-204, **Gregory VII (Tomas Mastnak)**

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 185, additional reference: T. Förster, *Bonizo von Sutri als gregorianischer Geschichtsschreiber (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Studien und Texte)*, Hannover, 2011

pp. 249-56, **Gesta Francorum (Marcus Bull)**

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 254, additional reference: N. Dass, *The deeds of the Franks and other Jerusalem-bound pilgrims. The earliest chronicle of the first crusades, Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, Lanham MD, 2011 (edition and trans.)

pp. 280-86, **Yaḥya ibn Jarīr (Herman G. B. Teule and Mark N. Swanson)**

**STUDIES**

p. 286, additional reference: R.J. Mouawad, 'Un parallèle intéressant à propos du *Trisagion* entre le "Muršid" de Yaḥyā Ibn Ġarīr (XI<sup>e</sup> s.) et le Livre des 10 chapitres" de Thomas de Kfarṭāb (XI<sup>e</sup> s.)', *Pd'O* 28 (2003) 537-50

pp. 290-96, **The prophecy of Daniel to Athanasius (Jos van Lent)**

**STUDIES**

p. 296, additional reference: J. van Lent, 'Testament of our Lord (on the invasions of the Mongols)' *CMR* 4, pp. 774-49

pp. 297-300, **Raymond of Aguilers (Barbara Packard)**

**DESCRIPTION**

p. 299, para 2, line 3, addition after 'gift.': 'Furthermore, the copyist of this book evidently preferred Raymond's version of events; he made a note before Fulcher of Chartres' chapter on the Holy Lance stating that Raymond's account was better and more truthful.'

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

p. 300, additional reference: *Raymond d'Aguilers, Histoire des Francs qui prirent Jérusalem: chronique de la première croisade (1095-1099)*, trans. F. Guizot, Rennes, 2006

p. 300, substitute: 'Le *Liber de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. J. and I. Hill, Paris, 1969' with 'Raymond d'Aguilers, *Le 'Liber' de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. J.H. and L.L. Hill (*Documents Relatifs à l'Histoire des Croisades* 9), Paris, 1969 (translated as *Raymond of Aguilers, Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. J.H. and L.L. Hill, Philadelphia PA, 1968)

p. 300, substitute: 'Raymundi de Aguilers, canonici Podiensis historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem, RHC Occ. 3, pp. 231-309' with 'Raymundi de Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, RHC Occ. 3, 231-309'

## STUDIES

p. 300, additional references: M.G. Bull, 'The eyewitness accounts of the First Crusade as political scripts', *Reading Medieval Studies* 36 (2010) 23-37

T.S. Asbridge, 'The holy lance of Antioch. Power, devotion and memory on the First Crusade', *Reading Medieval Studies* 33 (2007) 3-36

E. Lapina, "'Nec signis nec testis creditur...". The problem of eyewitnesses in the chronicles of the First Crusade', *Viator* 38 (2007) 117-39, pp. 122-26, 131-32

J. France, 'Two types of vision on the First Crusade. Stephen of Valence and Peter Bartholomew', *Crusades* 5 (2006) 1-20

p. 300, additional references: M.G. Bull, 'Overlapping and competing identities in the Frankish First Crusade', in A. Vauchez (ed.), *Le Concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'Appel à la Croisade. Actes du College à l'Université Internationale à Clermont-Ferrand (23-25 Juin 1995)*, Rome, 1997, 195-211

E.A. Brown and M.W. Cothren, 'The twelfth-century crusading window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis. Praeteritorum enim recordatio futurorum est exhibitio', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986) 1-40, p. 18

pp. 301-6, **Hugh of Flavigny (Patrick Healy)**

## SECONDARY SOURCES

p. 302, additional reference: M. Lawo, *Studien zu Hugo von Flavigny (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Schriften)*, Hannover, 2010



pp. 307-11, 'Alī ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī (Niall Christie)

**STUDIES**

p. 310, additional reference: P.E. Chevedden, 'The view of the crusades from Rome and Damascus. The geo-strategic and historical perspectives of Pope Urban II and 'Alī ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī', *Oriens* 39 (2011) 257-329

pp. 318-22, Ibn Bassām (Mohamed Meouak)

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 319, additional reference: L. Álvarez, 'Ibn Bassām', in J.S. Meisami and P. Starkey (eds), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, 2 vols, London, 1998, i, p. 318

**STUDIES**

p. 321, additional references: T. Garulo Muñoz, 'La biografía de Wallāda. Toda problemas', *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* 20 (2009) 97-116

A. Schippers, 'Poetry and history in Ibn Bassām's *Daḥīrah*', in A. Pel-literri (ed.), *Magaz. Culture e contatti nell'area del Mediterraneo. Il ruolo dell'Islam*, Palermo, 2003, 281-89

E. García Gómez, 'Ibn Mammātī compendiador de Ibn Bassām', *Al-Andalus* 2 (1934) 329-36

F. Codera, 'Los manuscritos árabes de Aben Amira y Aben Bassam', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 14 (1889) 181-86

pp. 323-28, Makkīkhā ibn Sulaymān al-Qankānī (Herman G.B. Teule)

**MANUSCRIPTS**

p. 327, additional reference: See Gianazza, *Bref traité*, pp. 237-38

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 327, additional references: G. Gianazza, 'Bref traité sur la paternité et la filiation selon les chrétiens du patriarche Makkīkhā (1092-1109)', *Parole de l'Orient* 11 (1983) 235-55, pp. 241-55 (critical edition with French trans.)

G. Gianazza, 'Qawl mukhtaṣar fi l-ubuwwa wa l-bunuwwa li-l-Baṭrak Makkīkhā l-awwal (+1109)', in G. Gianazza, *Nuṣūs muktāra min kanīsat al-Mashriq (al-qurūn 11-14)*, Baghdad, 1999, pp. 61-76 (Arabic text)

**STUDIES**

p. 327, additional references: Teule, *A theological treatise*, p. 241  
Gianazza, *Bref traité*, pp. 235-240

Gianazza, 'Qawl mukhtaṣar', pp. 61-65

S.K. Samir, 'Bibliographie', *Islamochristiana* 2 (1976), pp. 222-23

Sbath, *Fihris* i, p. 48

**MANUSCRIPTS**

p. 328, Sbath, *Fihris* i; correct: p. 64 to p. 48

pp. 341-50, **Hugh of Fleury (Elisabeth Mégier and Martin de Ruiter)**

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 342, additional references: E. Mégier, 'Hugues de Fleury et les Amazones. Exemples de présence de la mythologie antique dans l'historiographie médiévale normande', in P. Baudin and M.A. Lucas-Avenal (eds), *L'historiographie normande et ses sources antiques. Actes du colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle, 7-10 octobre 2009* (forthcoming)

P. Bauduin, 'Hugues de Fleury et l'histoire normande', in D. Crouch and K. Thompson (eds), *Normandy and its neighbours, 900-1250. Essays for David Bates (Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 14)*, Turnhout, 2011, 157-74

M. Chazan, 'Les testaments de Charlemagne dans les chroniques françaises du moyen âge', in B. Karsten (ed.), *Herrscher- und Fürstentestamente im westeuropäischen Mittelalter*, Cologne, 2008, 331-59

G. Constable, 'L'idea di innovazione nel XII secolo', in G. Constable, G. Cracco, H. Keller and D. Quaglioni (eds), *Il secolo XII, la "renovatio" dell'Europa cristiana. Atti della XLIII settimana di studio*, Trento, 2003, 35-66

I. Heullant-Donat, 'Les prologues des chroniques universelles à la fin du moyen âge', in J. Hamesse (ed.), *Les prologues médiévaux. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'Academia Belgica et l'École Française de Rome avec le concours de la FIDEM, Rome 26-28 mars 1998*, Turnhout, 2000, 573-91

R.-H. Bautier, 'L'école historique de l'abbaye de Fleury d'Aimon à Hugues de Fleury', in Y. Bercé and P. Contamine (eds), *Histoires de France, historiens de la France. Actes du colloque international organisé par la Société d'Histoire de France, Reims 14-15 mai 1993*, Paris, 1994, 59-72

pp. 363-69, **Al-Ghazālī (Maha El Kaisy-Friemuth)**

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 365, additional reference: R. Gramlich, *Muḥammad al-Ġazzālīs Lehre von den Stufen zur Gottesliebe*, Wiesbaden, 1984 (translation of *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, Books 31-36; see index under 'Jesus')

p. 367, insert paragraph between paras 2 and 3: 'In a recent PhD thesis, Ines Peta argues that the author of *Al-radd al-jamīl* quotes the Gospels using the Alexandrian Vulgate, although this version is not used by any author, Christian or Muslim, before the 13<sup>th</sup> century. She also shows that in his undisputed works, al-Ghazālī quotes directly from the Gospels only three times, in each instance using a version other than the Alexandrian Vulgate.'

**STUDIES**

p. 369, additional reference: I. Peta, *Il Radd pseudo-ghazaliano. Paternità, contenuti traduzione*, Salerno, 2010 (Diss., Università degli Studi di Salerno)

pp. 370-74, *Historia Silense* (P. Henriet)

**NAME AND DATES**

p. 370, title, substitute: 'Historia Silense' with 'Historia Silensis'

p. 370, subtitle, substitute: 'Historia Silense' with 'Historia Silensis'

p. 370, subtitle, delete: 'The history of Silos'

**DESCRIPTION**

p. 371, para 1, line 10 substitute: 'it is completely the opposite' with 'it is quite different'

p. 372, para 1 line 7, delete: 'and thought of revenge'

**SIGNIFICANCE**

p. 372, para 3, line 8, insert after 'Lastly, it almost invents the character of the military saint': 'in Spain.'

**STUDIES**

p. 373, additional reference: *L'Historia 'legionensis' (dite 'Silensis')*. *Congress of Paris, 2-3 of December 2011, e-Spania* (online) (forthcoming)

pp. 375-78, *Ralph of Caen* (Barbara Packard)

**LIFE AND WRITINGS**

p. 375, para 1, line 2-3, substitute: '... educated at the cathedral school at Caen under the tutelage of...' with 'tutored by'

**DESCRIPTION**

p. 376, para 1, line 13-14, substitute: '... was accompanied...' with '... may have been accompanied...'

**STUDIES**

p. 378, additional reference: E. Lapina, '“Nec signis nec testis creditur...”. The problem of eyewitnesses in the chronicles of the First Crusade', *Viator* 38 (2007) 117-39, pp. 122-26

pp. 422-33 *Graindor de Douai* (Alex Mallett)

**DESCRIPTION**

p. 423, para 1, line 23, insert after 'Antioch'; 'and'

p. 424, para 5, line 8, insert line references: for Garsion's beard (ll. 4601-59) and line 9: for Gontier d'Aire's horse (ll. 3039-52)

p. 425, last line, insert after 'fragment': ', the Canso d'Antiocha'

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 427, additional reference: S.B. Edgington and C. Sweetenham, *The chanson d'Antioche. An old French account of the First Crusade*, Farnham, 2011 (trans.)

**STUDIES**

p. 427, additional reference: J.A. Nelson and E.J. Mickel (eds), *The old French crusade cycle*, 10 vols, Tuscaloosa, 1977-2003

p. 429, additional reference: J. Steane, *The archaeology of the medieval English monarchy*, London, 1993

pp. 434-39, *Digenes Akrites* (Elizabeth Jeffreys)

**STUDIES**

p. 438, additional reference: F. Moore, 'How to build a national epic. Digenes Akrites and the Song of Roland', in S.A. Stephens and P. Vasunia (eds), *Classics and national cultures*, Oxford, 2010, 199-216

pp. 444-50, *Matthew of Edessa* (Tara L. Andrews)

**STUDIES**

p. 449, additional reference: T.L. Andrews, *Prolegomena to a critical edition of the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa, with a discussion of computer-aided methods used to edit the text*, Oxford, 2009 (Diss. University of Oxford)

pp. 454-77, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* (Magali Cheynet)

**STUDIES**

p. 468, additional references: J.-C. Vallecalle (ed.), *Le livre de Saint Jacques et la tradition du Pseudo-Turpin. Sacralité et littérature*, Lyons, 2011

S. López Martínez Morás, 'Géographie et épopée dans la chronique de Turpin', *Jacobus. Revista de Estudios Jacobeos y Medievales* 23-24 (2008) 65-85

pp. 483-87, *William of Malmesbury* (John Tolan)

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 487, additional reference: *Willelmi Meldunensis monachi Liber super explanationem Lamentationum Ieremiae prophetae*, ed. M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson, Turnhout, 2011

pp. 497-507, *Hermann of Carinthia* (Óscar de la Cruz Palma and Cándida Ferrero Hernández)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

p. 502, additional reference: A. Arrivabene, *L'Alcorano di Macometto, nel qual si contiene la dottrina, la vita, i costumi e le leggi sue*, Venice, 1547, lib. I, caps II, III, IV, fols 1r-10v

## STUDIES

p. 502, additional reference: O. de la Cruz, 'Genealogías del Profeta Mahoma. Evolución en la literatura latina', in C.E. Prieto Entralgo (ed.), *Asturiensis regni territorium. Documentos y estudios sobre el período tardorromano y medieval en el noroeste hispano*, vol. 3, Oviedo, 2011, 205-23

p. 502, update reference: O. de la Cruz, 'Notas a la lectura del *Liber de generatione Mahumet* (trad. de Herman de Carintia, 1142-1143)', in *V Congreso internacional de Latin medieval Hispanico, Barcelona 7-10 de septiembre de 2009*, Florence, 2011, 197-212

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

p. 506, additional references: A. Arrivabene, *L'Alcorano di Macometto, nel qual si contiene la dottrina, la vita, i costumi e le leggi sue*, Venice, 1547, lib. I, cap. XII, fols 17r-24v

*Mahometis Abdallæ Filii theologia dialogo explicata, Hermanno Nellin-gaunense interprete. Alcorani epitome, Roberto Ketenense Anglo interprete. Iohannis Alberti Vuidmestadii iurisconsulti notationes falsarum impiarumq[ue] opinionum Mahumetis, quæ in hisce libris occurrunt. Iohannis Alberti Vuidmestadii Iurisc. ad Ludouicum Alberti F. Palatij Rhenani Comitum, Bauariæ utriusq[ue] Principem illustriss. optimumq[ue] Dicitio*, Johann Petreius, Norymberga, 1543, fols 275-305

## STUDIES

p. 506, additional reference: C. Ferrero Hernández, 'Difusión de las ideas islámicas a partir del Liber de doctrina Mahumet', in C.E. Prieto Entralgo (ed.), *Asturiensis regni territorium. Documentos y estudios sobre el período tardorromano y medieval en el noroeste hispano*, vol. 3, Oviedo, 2011, 191-204

pp. 508-19, Robert of Ketton (Óscar de la Cruz Palma and Cándida Ferrero Hernández)

## STUDIES

p. 512, additional reference: J. Martínez Gázquez, 'Las glosas en la primera traducción del *Alcoran latinus*', in M. Tischler and A. Fidora (eds), *Christlicher Norden Muslimischer Süden. Ansprüche und Wirklichkeiten von Christen, Juden und Muslimen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel im Hoch und Spätmittelalter*, Munster, 2011, 141-51

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 518, additional reference: A. Arrivabene (trans.), *L'Alcorano di Macometto, nel qual si contiene la dottrina, la vita, i costumi e le leggi sue*, Venice, 1547, lib. I, caps V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, fols 10v-17r

**STUDIES**

p. 518, additional reference: O. de la Cruz, 'Genealogías del Profeta Mahoma. Evolución en la literatura latina', in C.E. Prieto Entrialgo (ed.), *Arabes in patria Asturiensium*, Oviedo, 2011, 205-23

p. 518, substitute: 'O. de la Cruz, 'Notas de lectura a la Chronica mendosa et ridicula Sarracenorum (12th century)', in M. Tischler and A. Fidora (eds), *Christlicher Norden Muslimischer Süden. Die Iberischen Halbinsel Internationale Tagung 20-23 Juni 2007, Philosophisch-Theologische Hochschule Sankt Georgen*, Frankfurt (forthcoming)' with 'O. de la Cruz, 'Notas de lectura a la *Chronica mendosa et ridicula Sarracenorum*, siglo XII', in M. Tischler and A. Fidora (eds), *Christlicher Norden Muslimischer Süden. Ansprüche und Wirklichkeiten von Christen, Juden und Muslimen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel im Hoch und Spätmittelalter*, Munich, 2011, 153-63'

p. 520-23, **Abū Bakr ibn al-‘Arabī (Rachid El Hour)**

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 523, additional reference: Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Al-‘awāšim min al-qawāšim*, ed. ‘Ammār Ṭālibī, Cairo, 1997

**STUDIES**

p. 523, additional references: F. Tahtah, 'El sufismo en al-Andalus, entre la aceptación y el rechazo', in A. Carmona (ed. and trans.) *El sufismo y las normas del Islam. Trabajos del IV congreso Internacional de Estudios Jurídicos Islámicos. Derecho y Sufismo*, Murcia, 2006, 35-45, pp. 41-45

W. Ende, 'Sunni polemical writings on the Shi'a and the Iranian revolution', in D. Memashri, *The Iranian revolution and the Muslim world*, Boulder CO, 1990, 219-32, p. 227

pp. 529-37, **Euthymius the monk (Manolis Ulbricht)**

**STUDIES**

p. 536, additional reference: K. Förstel, 'Schriften zum Islam von Arethas und Euthymios Zigabenos und Fragmente der griechischen Koranübersetzung, Griechisch-deutsche Textausgabe', *Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 62 (2010) 394-97

pp. 542-48, **Al-Qāḍī 'Iyād (Delfina Serrano Ruano)**

**STUDIES**

p. 547, additional reference: M. Fierro, 'El tratado sobre el Profeta del cadí 'Iyad y el contexto almohade', in R.G. Khoury, J.P. Monferrer Sala and M. Jesus Viguera Molins (eds), *Legendaria medievalia en honor de Concepción Castillo Castillo*, Cordova, 2011, 19-34

pp. 549-54, **Al-Shahrastānī (David Thomas)**

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 550, additional reference: A. Guillaume, 'Christian and Muslim theology as represented by al-Shahrastānī and St Thomas Aquinas', *BSOAS* 13 (1950) 551-80

**EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS**

p. 552, *Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal*, ed. M.F. Badrān, [Saudi Arabia]: Aḍwā' al-Salaf, 2011

pp. 555-63, **Otto of Freising (Elisabeth Mégier)**

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 557, additional references: W. Goez, *Lebensbilder aus dem Mittelalter (Die Zeit der Ottonen, Salier und Staufer 3)*, Darmstadt, 2010

S. Bagge, 'German historiography and the twelfth-century renaissance', in B.K.U. Weller and S. MacLean (eds), *Representation of power in medieval Germany, 800-1500*, Turnhout, 2006, 165-88

N. Kersken, 'Bischöfe als Historiker. Geistliche Höfe als Zentren der Geschichtsschreibung im Mittelalter', in R. Schieffer and J. Wenta (eds), *Die Hofgeschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Europa, Projekte und Forschungsprobleme*, Torun, 2006, 171-89

S. Bagge, *Kings, politics and the right order of the world in German historiography, ca. 950-1150*, Leiden, 2002

L. Boje Mortensen, 'The glorious past. Entertainment, example or history? Levels of twelfth-century historical culture', *Culture and History* 13 (1994) 57-71

E. Mégier, *Christliche Weltgeschichte im 12. Jahrhundert: Themen, Variationen und Kontraste. Untersuchungen zu Hugo von Fleury, Ordericus Vitalis und Otto von Freising (Beihefte zur Mediaevistik hg. von Peter Dinzelsbacher 13)*, Frankfurt am Main, 2010

M. Kintzinger, 'Curia und curiositas. Kulturkontakt am Hof im europäischen Hochmittelalter', in H. Gaube, B. Schneidmüller and S. Weinfurter (eds), *Konfrontation der Kulturen? Saladin und die Kreuzfahrer*.

*Wissenschaftliches Kolloquium in den Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen Mannheim zur Vorbereitung der Ausstellung 'Saladin und die Kreuzfahrer', 3-4. November 2004, Mainz, 2005, 20-33*

B.J. Kedar, 'The Jerusalem massacre of July 1099', in *The western historiography of the crusades*, *Crusades* 3 (2004) 15-75

A. Knobler, 'Crusading for the Messiah. Jews as instruments for Christian anti-Islamic holy war', in M. Gervers and J.M. Powell (eds), *Tolerance and intolerance. Social conflict in the age of the crusades*, New York, 2001, 83-89  
 Otto Kresten, "'Pallida mors Saracenorum". Zur Wanderung eines literarischen Topos von Liudprand von Cremona bis Otto von Freising und zu seiner byzantinischen Vorlage', *Römische Historische Monatschrift* 17 (1975) 23-75

pp. 616-19, **Al-Yaḥṣubī (Rachid El Hour)**

**PRIMARY SOURCES**

p. 616, additional reference: Abū l-Ṭāhir al-Šilafī, *Al-sirr al-maṣūn fī mā ukrima bihi l-mukhlisūn*, ed. H. Ferhat, Beirut, 1998

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 617, additional reference: H. Ferhat, 'As-sirr al-masun de Tahir as-Sadafi. Un itinéraire mystique au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Al-Qanṭara* 16 (1995) 273-90

pp. 653-64, **Pfaffe Konrad (Maria Grazia Cammarota)**

**STUDIES**

p. 658, additional reference: M. Derron, 'Heinrich der Löwe als reuiger Büsser und Realpolitiker. Die Bedeutung der Psalmen im "Rolandslied" und eine neue These zu dessen Entstehung', *Germanistik in der Schweiz. Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Akademischen Gesellschaft für Germanistik* 7 (2010) 1-26 (suggests a dating of the *Rolandslied* after Henry the Lion's pilgrimage to Santiago, i.e. after 1182)

pp. 724-30, **Islamic 'Psalms of David' (David Vishanoff)**

**STUDIES**

p. 729, update reference: D. Vishanoff, 'An imagined book gets a new text. Psalms of the Muslim David', *ICMR* 22 (2011) 85-99

p. 729, additional reference: D. Vishanoff, 'Why do the nations rage? Boundaries of canon and community in a Muslim's rewriting of Psalm 2', *Comparative Islamic Studies* 6 (2010) 151-79



pp. 731-5, **Ibn al-Jawzī (Alex Mallett)**

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

p. 732, additional reference: A. Sabra, *Poverty and charity in medieval Islam*, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 22-25

pp. 748-49, **'The polemicist from the West' (David Thomas)**

**LIFE AND WRITINGS**

p. 748, para 2, change the last sentence to read: If this reasoning is correct, this dating is not unlikely since the preceding figure in the list (named in the Istanbul edition, col. 838, as al-Ṭurṭūsī, and in the Leipzig edition, iii, p. 353, as al-Ṭarsūsī) is probably to be identified as Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 1126) (q.v.), while the following figure (named in the Istanbul edition, col. 838, as Ibn 'Awf, and in the Leipzig edition, iii, p. 353, as Ibn 'Ūdh or 'Awdh) is probably al-Ṭurṭūshī's pupil Abū Ṭāhir ibn 'Awf (d. 1186) (q.v.).

pp. 759-63, **Tomos (Niccolò Zorzi)**

**STUDIES**

p. 761, additional references: Christos Simelidis, 'The Byzantine understanding of the qur'anic term al-Ṣamad and the Greek translation of the Qur'an', *Speculum* 86 (2011) 887-913, pp. 905-7

C. Høgel, 'An early anonymous Greek translation of the Qur'an. The fragments from Niketas Byzantios' Refutatio and the Anonymous Abjuratio', *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 7 (2010) 65-119, p. 117

# Index of Names

Numbers in italics indicate a main entry.

- Abbo of Fleury 742  
 'Abdallāh al-Asir 326  
 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī 748-49  
 'Abdallāh al-Tarjumān, *see* Fray Anselmo Turmeda 326-29  
 'Abd al-Jabbār 640, 642, 667, 743  
 Abra'ām (Ibrāhīm) al-Fānī 205, 226-28, 289, 399  
 Abū 'Abdallāh al-Baṣrī 741  
 Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad, 'Boabdil', emir of Granada 7, 15  
 Abū l-Asbagh 'Īsā ibn Mūsā al-Sha'bānī 751  
 Abū Bakr ibn al-'Arabī 759  
 Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar, Shams al-Ri'āsa 636, 685  
 Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī 735  
 Abū l-Hudhayl al-'Allāf 725  
 Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī 257, 744-45  
 Abū l-Qāsim al-Anṣārī 665-67  
 Abū Rā'īṭa, Ḥabīb ibn Khidma 726  
 Abū Ya'lā ibn al-Farrā' 651-54  
 Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb 720-21  
 Adomnan of Iona 716  
 Adrianople 2, 3, 145, 166, 170, 375, 376, 377, 469, 503  
 Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, *see* Pius II 359, 406, 407, 430, 448, 449, 450, 456-61, 491, 493, 559  
 'Afīf ibn al-Makīn ibn Mu'ammal 745  
 Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr 351-52  
 Aḥmad al-Rāzī 736-37  
 Aleppo 5, 11, 35, 37, 138  
 Alfonso II, king of Asturias 22  
 Alfonso III, king of Leon 22  
 Alfonso V, king of Aragon 7, 402, 708  
 Alfonso X, king of Aragon 49, 58  
 Alfonso Buonhombre 67-70  
 Alfonso de la Espina 451-55  
 'Alī al-Ṭabarī 328, 540, 641, 727, 745  
 Alvise da Ca' da Mosto 496-502  
 Amadeus VI of Savoy 2, 6, 8, 245, 246  
 'Ammār al-Baṣrī 726  
 Anastasius Bibliothecarius 361, 412  
 Anastasius of Sinai 717  
 Anatolia 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 12, 13, 14, 40, 106, 109, 214, 239, 363, 444, 551, 710, 711  
 Al-Andalus 6, 7, 15, 20, 21, 23, 27, 28, 29, 33, 34, 47-59, 184, 185, 305, 384, 593-94, 690  
*see also* Iberian Peninsula, Spain  
 Andrea Biglia 358-65, 412  
 Andronicus II Palaeologus, Byzantine emperor 71, 101, 133, 135, 165, 169, 709  
 Andronicus III Palaeologus, Byzantine emperor 71, 135, 165, 168, 169, 170, 239  
 Andronicus IV Palaeologus, Byzantine emperor 8, 166, 247, 314  
 Andronicus Igaris 367  
 Anselmo Turmeda, Fray 326-29  
 Apostles of Jesus 73, 92, 174, 304, 322, 393, 394, 433, 436, 438, 517, 610, 749  
 Aq Quyunlu Turkomen 12, 13, 366, 550, 553, 554, 555, 572, 576  
 Ārak'el Bališec'i 346-50  
 Armenia and the Armenians 5, 12, 13, 15, 200, 207, 216, 217, 229, 232, 233, 250, 251, 296, 309, 311, 312, 313, 339, 340, 346, 347, 348, 349, 361, 370, 371, 372, 373, 478, 485, 492, 513, 549, 551, 553, 554, 555, 624, 717, 730, 738  
 Armenian language 199, 207, 216, 231, 250, 310, 311, 312, 339, 347, 370, 478, 549, 553, 717, 724, 734, 738  
 Al-As'ad ibn al-'Assāl 684-89  
 Al-Ash'arī, Abū l-Ḥasan 257, 735, 740  
 Al-Asnawī, 'Imād al-Dīn 187-88  
 Al-Asnawī, Jamāl al-Dīn 130-32, 143, 188  
 Baḥīrā 80, 156, 157, 296, 311, 411, 610  
*see* Sergius  
 Al-Bāji 751-52  
 Al-Balkhī, Abū l-Qāsim 734-35  
 Al-Bāqillānī, Abū Bakr 257, 419, 667, 739-41  
 Barhebraeus 63, 194, 195  
 Barqūq, Sayf al-Dīn, Mamluk sultan 5, 10, 11, 283, 289, 361, 366, 380, 381, 398  
 Barsbay al-Ashraf, Mamluk sultan 6, 10, 366-69  
 Baršawmā l-'Uryān 96, 114-18, 121, 204, 287  
 Basel, Council of 359, 360, 362, 421, 430, 432, 435, 438, 447

- Bayazid I, Ottoman sultan 3, 8, 9, 171, 291, 314, 315, 316, 322, 325, 343, 471, 484, 561  
 Bayazid II, Ottoman sultan 4, 5, 604  
 Baybars I, Mamluk sultan 30, 39, 95, 120, 280, 690  
 Beauchamp, Richard, earl of Warwick 589-91  
 Benedetto Accolti 490-95  
 Bertrandon de la Broquiere 443-46  
 Al-Biqā'ī 394, 519, 520, 537-57  
 Al-Bīrūnī 747  
 'Boabdil', emir of Granada 7, 15  
 Boccaccio, Giovanni 76-87, 210  
 Boniface IX, pope 291
- Cape Verde Islands 496, 498, 596, 598  
 Catalans 25, 27, 31, 168  
 Catalan language 49, 262, 265, 326, 327, 466, 712  
 Ceuta 7, 68, 182, 415, 690  
 Charles VII, king of France 407, 409-12, 443, 447  
 Chaucer, Geoffrey 210-13  
 Clement V, pope 68, 706, 707, 712  
 Constance, Council of 447, 450  
 Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, Byzantine emperor 737  
 Constantine XI, Byzantine emperor 472, 481, 529, 533, 534  
 Constantinople 1, 2, 3, 4, 14, 25, 36, 41, 43, 71, 92, 101, 102, 104, 133, 137, 145, 151, 153, 165, 166, 168, 169, 189, 220, 239, 240, 245, 292, 296, 309, 314, 315, 322, 325, 330, 331, 334, 336, 342, 343, 367, 406, 469, 470, 471, 472, 481, 482, 503, 506, 507, 513, 529, 533, 623, 659, 733  
 Constantinople, fall of 1, 4, 8, 9, 14, 331, 347, 407, 419, 420, 422, 427, 430, 433, 434, 437, 456, 457, 471, 473, 481, 493, 503, 506, 507, 513, 514, 515, 530, 532, 533, 563, 566, 603  
 Corruption of the Bible 138, 140, 173, 257, 258, 296, 304, 306, 328, 404, 520, 539 *see tahrif*  
 Council of Basel 359, 360, 362, 421, 430, 432, 435, 438, 447  
 Council of Constance 447, 450  
 Council of Ferrara-Florence 3, 368, 472, 503, 529, 532  
 Council of Mantua 448, 449, 450  
 Council of Pisa 291, 292  
 Crusade of Varna 407, 530  
 Crusades 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 56, 153, 154, 211, 269, 270, 271, 305, 315, 361, 362, 363, 364, 384, 406, 407, 410, 411, 412, 413, 417, 430, 434, 436, 437, 443, 448, 449, 450, 451, 453, 454, 456, 457, 459, 491, 522, 523, 524, 547, 563, 566, 567, 572, 574-77, 631, 636, 671, 680, 707, 712  
 Cyprus 5, 6, 11, 13, 27, 30, 67, 269, 334, 366, 368, 527, 634, 700  
 Cyril III ibn Laqlaq, Coptic pope 682, 685
- Damascus 5, 11, 88, 119, 138, 142, 301, 380, 381, 384, 411, 444, 445, 526, 537, 539, 643, 645, 655, 665, 684, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 719, 731, 749  
 Dāniyāl al-Suryānī l-Mārdīnī 194-98  
 Dante Alighieri 57, 71, 77, 78, 81, 210  
 St Demetrius 318, 356  
 Demetrius Chalcocondyles 481  
 Demetrius Cydones 8, 175, 239-49, 720  
 Demetrius Palaeologus 9, 503, 530  
*Devshirme* 14, 220, 223  
*Dhimmis* 11, 15, 88, 90, 116, 117, 125-27, 131, 188, 281, 377, 651, 675, 685  
 Diogo Gomes 496, 596-600  
 Dionysius the Carthusian 522-25  
 Doucas 469-77, 486  
 Duarte, king of Portugal 415
- Edirne, *see* Adrianople  
 Ephesus 71, 73, 74, 469, 503  
 Ethiopia and Ethiopians 282, 283, 284, 285, 384, 390-91, 705, 706, 707, 708  
 Ethiopian church 94, 349, 682  
 Ethiopian king 11, 39, 281, 282, 284, 399  
 Euthymius the Monk 338, 759
- Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī 258, 301, 677  
 Fall of Constantinople 1, 4, 8, 9, 14, 330, 347, 407, 419, 420, 422, 427, 430, 433, 434, 437, 456, 457, 471, 473, 481, 493, 503, 506, 507, 513, 514, 515, 530, 532, 533, 563, 566, 603  
 Ferdinand II, king of Aragon 7, 403  
 Ferrara-Florence, Council of 3, 368, 472, 503, 529, 532  
 Fifth crusade 679, 681  
 First crusade 42, 491, 492-94  
 Florence 4, 76, 78, 83, 358, 359, 406, 407, 408, 490, 491, 493, 503, 705  
 Fourth crusade 470  
 Francesco Filelfo 358, 406-14  
 Fray Anselmo Turmeda 326-29, 714  
 Frederick II, Holy Roman emperor 30, 32, 456, 673, 690, 691

- Frederick III, Holy Roman emperor 456, 457, 576
- Gallipoli 2, 8, 102, 104, 166, 170, 246
- Gambia 496, 498, 596, 598, 599
- Gennadius Scholarius 14, 472, 503-18
- Genoa and the Genoese 9, 26, 27, 31, 76, 77, 84, 169, 291, 444, 469, 496, 705, 706
- George Sphrantzes 377, 486, 529-36
- Al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid 537, 540, 665, 755-56
- Ghāzī ibn al-Wāsiṭī 119, 126, 143
- Ghewond 730
- Giovanni da Carignano 705-8
- Gomes Eanes de Zurara 415-18
- Graindor de Douai 756-57
- Granada 1, 6, 7, 10, 15, 33, 48, 49, 52, 84, 182, 184, 300, 429, 430, 438, 462, 466, 593
- Gregory VII, pope 752
- Gregory XI, pope, 246
- Gregory Acindynus 135
- Gregory Dekapolites 726
- Gregory Palamas 7, 44, 101-8, 109, 110-12, 133, 134, 137, 166, 176, 334
- Gregory of Ta'tew 229-38, 309, 310
- Grigor Magistros 745
- Guillaume d'Orlye 430, 434
- Guinea 416, 496, 498, 596, 597, 598
- Ḥabīb ibn Khidma Abū Rā'īṭa 726
- Al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh, Fatimid Caliph 40, 124, 645, 648, 700, 702, 703
- Henry the Navigator, Prince 416, 496, 596, 598
- Hermann of Carinthia 757-78
- Hesychasm 101, 133, 135, 136, 137, 166
- Hetoum of Korikos 361, 412
- Holy fire, miracle of 174, 703
- Hugh of Flavigny 754
- Hugh of Fleury 755
- Al-Ḥumaydi 749-50
- Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq 729
- Hungarian language 544, 545, 546
- Hungary and the Hungarians 3, 4, 26, 39, 40, 244, 245, 407, 412, 445, 471, 544, 545, 547, 557, 558, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 572, 575, 576, 577, 603, 604
- Iberian Peninsula 1, 6-7, 10, 15-16, 24, 25, 28, 29, 47-59, 265, 384, 393, 417, 448, 485, 593, 594, 624, 628  
*see also* al-Andalus, Spain
- Ibn Abī l-Dunyā 729
- Ibn al-'Aṭṭār 214-15
- Ibn 'Awf 675-78, 762
- Ibn Bābawayh 741-42
- Ibn Bassām 754
- Ibn al-Durayhim 128, 138-44, 188
- Ibn Ḥayyān 751
- Ibn Ḥazm 124, 306, 382, 677, 750-51
- Ibn al-Jawzī 762
- Ibn al-Kalbī 722
- Ibn Khaldūn 25, 27, 28, 29, 33, 300-8
- Ibn Khammūna 63, 64-65
- Ibn al-Khaṭīb 182-86
- Ibn al-Maḥrūma 63-66
- Ibn Mattawayh 744
- Ibn al-Munajjim, Abū 'Īsā Aḥmad 734
- Ibn al-Munajjim, 'Alī ibn Yahyā 728
- Ibn al-Naqqāsh 123-29, 142, 143
- Ibn Qalāwūn, al-Malik al-Nāṣir, Mamluk sultan 116, 120, 121, 124, 126, 280, 282, 283
- Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya 126, 382, 653
- Ibn Qutayba 641, 729
- Ibn Sab'īn 690-93
- Ibn Taymiyya 29, 352, 382
- Ibn al-Ṭayyib 744
- Ibrāhīm (Abra'ām) al-Fānī, 205, 226-28, 289, 399
- İçe de Gebir, *see* Yça Gidelli 59, 430, 437, 440, 462-68
- Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' 737
- 'Imād al-Dīn al-Asnawī 187-88
- Incarnation of Christ 44, 111, 189, 196, 197, 231, 232, 296, 321, 337, 340, 404, 425, 430, 438, 508, 510, 517, 610, 621, 658, 666, 667, 696-97, 701
- Isaac the Presbyter 727
- Isabel, queen of Castile 7, 403
- Isidore Glabas 220-25
- 'Iyād, al-Qāḍi 760
- Jacques de Vitry 79, 154, 412, 454, 609, 636
- Al-Jāhīz, Abū 'Uthmān 328, 727-28
- Jamāl al-Dīn al-Asnawī 130-32, 143, 188
- James I of Lusignan, king of Cyprus 6, 10
- Janissaries 14, 223, 484, 603, 604-5
- János Thuróczy 557-65
- Jawsep Hazzāyā 620-22
- Jean Germain 430, 434, 435-37, 439
- Jesus Christ 32, 44, 45, 57, 69, 74, 78, 103, 104, 105, 106, 111, 137, 152, 155, 156, 173, 174, 175, 191, 192, 196, 197, 217, 232, 242, 248, 257, 258, 265, 269, 279, 280, 289, 296, 298, 304, 305, 311, 320, 321, 322, 328, 337, 340, 344, 348, 371, 376, 378, 387, 393, 394, 402, 404, 419, 425, 433, 436, 438, 449,

- 458, 471, 472, 485, 508, 510, 511, 514, 515,  
516-17, 542, 555, 556, 569, 610, 634, 647,  
666, 667, 710
- Jews 32, 47, 50, 51, 54, 58, 64, 65, 67, 68,  
69, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 105, 111, 137, 141, 143,  
152, 153, 154, 155, 166, 175, 176, 188, 189,  
214, 215, 231, 257, 264, 265, 294, 296, 298,  
299, 301, 304, 320, 321, 385, 387, 392, 402,  
403, 404, 423, 429, 436, 447, 451, 452, 453,  
454, 462, 467, 511, 539, 543, 556, 567, 610,  
617, 626, 647, 648, 652, 671, 673, 677, 688,  
713, 718, 740
- Jirjis ibn al-'Amid 'the younger' 119, 120,  
254-61, 387, 394
- John II, king of Aragon 403
- John II, king of Castile 448, 451
- John II, king of Cyprus 444
- John IV Lascaris, Byzantine emperor 471
- John IV, emperor of Trebizond 555
- John V Palaeologus, Byzantine  
emperor 8, 101, 102, 165, 166, 168, 170,  
171, 239, 244, 245, 247, 248, 314, 470
- John VI Cantacuzenus, Byzantine  
emperor 8, 39, 45, 101-2, 106, 112, 133,  
135, 137, 145, 165-78, 192, 239, 240, 243,  
322, 338, 470
- John VI, Coptic pope 95, 679, 681-82
- John VII, Coptic pope 121, 280
- John VII Palaeologus, Byzantine emperor  
314, 315, 471
- John VIII, Coptic pope 115
- John VIII Palaeologus, Byzantine  
emperor 9, 315, 367, 503, 529
- John IX, Coptic pope 282
- John XIII Glycys, Patriarch of  
Constantinople 133
- John XXIII, antipope 291
- John, king of England 269
- John Anagnostes 353-57, 469
- John, patriarch of Antioch 655
- John the Baptist 393
- John of Bourgogne 147, 148
- John Cananus 342-45
- John Cinnamus 37, 38, 41, 43
- John of Damascus 311, 338, 524, 656-60,  
684, 719-20
- John 'the Deacon' 284
- John of Gorze 22
- John, bishop of Heraclea 133
- John Hunyadi 3, 560, 572
- John Lydgate 78
- John Mandeville 147-64, 524
- John of Nikiou 718
- John of Orotin 229
- John of Outremeuse 147, 148
- John Scylitzes 36
- John the Stylite of Mar Z'urā 720
- John of Sulṭāniyya 291-97
- John Zonoras 37, 42
- John-Albert, king of Poland 604
- Joseph Bryennius 334-38, 503
- Joshua the Stylite of Zuqnīn 720
- Juan de Segovia 59, 421, 425, 427-28,  
429-42, 450, 462, 463, 467, 570
- Juan de Torquemada 447-50, 458, 459
- Judaism 57, 64, 65, 69, 111, 176, 232, 298,  
299, 304, 362, 402, 404, 410, 646, 671
- Al-Juwāynī, Abū l-Ma'ālī 665, 667, 668,  
750
- Kallioupolis 166, 246, 247 *see also*  
Gallipoli
- Al-Kindī, Abū Yūsuf 23, 626, 728
- Kirillus al-Lādhiqī 601-2
- Koca Mehmed Nizamuddin Pasha 377
- Konstantin Mihailović 603-8
- Kosovo, battles of 2, 3, 561
- Laonicus Chalcocondyles 44, 481-89, 531
- Leo III, Byzantine emperor 658, 661, 717
- Leo VI, Byzantine emperor 734
- Llull, Ramon 49, 58, 59, 265, 454, 466
- Long John of Ypres 147, 148, 150, 152
- Loucas Notaras 14, 472, 530
- Lydgate, John 78
- Ma'ānī ibn Abī l-Makārim 679-83
- Maḥbūb ibn Qusṭanṭīn al-Manbijī 735-36
- Al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-'Amid 'the  
elder' 254, 305, 387, 394
- Al-Makīn Jirjis ibn al-'Amid 'the  
younger' 119, 120, 254-61
- Makkikhā ibn Sulaymān al-Qankānī 754
- Mamluks 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 26, 27,  
30, 39, 44, 91, 115, 116, 117, 121, 123, 124, 126,  
130, 131, 139, 169, 170, 179, 188, 215, 254,  
258, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285,  
361, 368, 380, 381, 382, 383, 385, 387, 397,  
485, 527, 532, 537, 541, 703
- Al-Ma'mūn, Abbasid caliph 35, 36, 616,  
617
- Mantua, Council of 448, 449, 450
- Manuel I Comnenus, Byzantine  
emperor 41, 43
- Manuel II Palaeologus, Byzantine  
emperor 8, 9, 176, 240, 248, 292, 314-25,  
338, 343, 368, 471, 529, 532, 533
- Manuel Gabalas 71-75

- Manuel Sergopoulos 170  
 Al-Maqrīzī 380-95  
 Marīnid dynasty of Fes 6, 10  
 Mark III, Coptic pope 679, 681-82  
 Maronites 11, 12, 13, 21  
 Marqus al-Antūnī 180, 203-6, 227  
 Mary, the Virgin 32, 45, 152, 155, 175, 189, 196, 288, 296, 315, 324, 325, 343, 393, 398, 404, 472, 485, 517, 610, 635, 658  
 Al-Mas'ūdī 21, 23, 24, 305, 737  
 Matt'ēos Jūlayec'ī 309-13  
 Matthew I, Coptic pope 10, 96, 205, 227, 289, 396-401  
 Matthew I, patriarch of Constantinople 334  
 Matthew of Edessa 757  
 Matthew of Jughā 229, 232  
 Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary 544, 545, 547, 558, 559, 560, 563, 563, 572-88, 603  
 Al-Māzarī 668-70  
 Mehmed I, Ottoman sultan 3, 315, 472, 532, 533  
 Mehmed II, Ottoman sultan 4, 14, 411, 419, 450, 457, 458, 459, 469, 471, 472, 482, 484, 485, 503, 508, 510, 511, 532, 534, 544, 561, 562, 563, 564, 566, 603, 604  
 Mehmet the Mamluke 444  
 Michael al-Sim'ānī 655-64  
 Milan 4, 26, 315, 358, 359, 362, 406, 407, 566  
 Mongols 2, 3, 5, 12, 137, 142, 153, 168, 245, 292, 301, 309, 310, 315, 361, 363, 381, 471, 485, 700, 702, 703  
 The monk Mīnā 741  
 Morea 4, 481, 530, 603  
 Moriscos 16, 49, 54, 466, 467  
 Movsēs Daskhurants'ī 719  
 Al-Mu'ayyad bi-Llāh 640-42  
 Mudejars 10, 15, 51, 54, 59, 462, 466  
 Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī l-Faḍā'il 116, 119-22, 284  
 Muḥammad V, emir of Granada 6, 182, 300  
 Muḥammad, prophet 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 56, 57, 69, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 85, 88, 90, 104, 105, 106, 111, 112, 137, 156, 157, 158, 166, 173-76, 212, 232, 241, 242, 243, 248, 265, 269, 280, 296, 297, 298, 303, 311, 312, 313, 316, 320, 321, 323, 344, 348, 361, 362, 363, 364, 376, 378, 392, 404, 407, 410, 411, 412, 413, 419, 423, 425, 433, 434, 438, 448, 449-50, 453, 458, 459, 471, 485, 493, 523-24, 533, 539, 540, 567, 568-70, 598, 609-10, 612, 624, 625, 626, 635, 636, 641-42, 647, 653, 677, 710, 716, 740, 745  
 Muḥammad al-Qaysī 326  
 Murad I, Ottoman sultan 2, 3, 8, 171, 247, 248, 314, 484  
 Murad II, Ottoman sultan 3, 4, 9, 343, 344, 356, 406, 407, 409, 411, 444, 472, 481, 529, 532, 533, 561  
 Musa, Ottoman leader 9, 315, 325  
 Al-Nābulusi, 'Uthmān ibn Ibrāhīm 126, 143, 188  
 Naples 4, 24, 26, 76, 77, 78, 407, 456, 574, 576, 705  
 Naṣrīd dynasty of Granada 6, 10, 53, 300, 593  
 Naẓīf ibn Yumn 741  
 Nicea 103, 105, 109, 145, 189, 191, 192, 492  
 Nicephorus Gregoras 39, 44, 133-37, 164, 168, 469, 531  
 Nicephorus Phocas 36, 41, 42, 738  
 Nicephorus Phocas, representative of 738  
 Nicetas Choniates 43, 45, 469  
 Nicetas Clericus 736  
 Nicholas V, pope 358, 490, 563, 566  
 Nicholas of Cusa 421-28, 430, 432-34, 435, 436, 439, 450, 459, 522, 523, 570  
 Odoric of Pordenone 147, 148, 150, 154  
 Old French language 149, 294, 444  
 Orhan I, Ottoman ruler 2, 8, 9, 44, 104, 105, 109, 111, 145, 165, 166, 169, 170, 192, 470  
 Otranto 4, 572  
 Otto of Freising 760-61  
 Ottomans 1, 2-5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14-15, 39, 44, 102, 104, 106, 109, 112, 145, 146, 165, 166, 169, 171, 176, 189, 192, 220, 221, 223, 236, 245, 246, 248, 291, 315, 318, 319, 323, 325, 331, 342, 343, 353, 354, 356, 358, 375, 376, 377, 378, 397, 406, 407, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 420, 422, 427, 428, 443, 444, 445, 456, 457, 469, 471, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 503, 506, 507, 509, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 523, 529, 530, 532, 533, 534, 555, 559, 560, 561, 563, 567, 569, 572, 574, 575, 576, 577, 604, 605, 630, 631  
 Pact of 'Umar 90, 141, 188, 214-15, 652, 653, 677  
 Paolino Veneto 76, 77, 80  
 Paraclete 298, 321, 326, 328  
 Pedro de la Cavallería 402-5  
 Pere Marsili 712-14  
 Peter I of Lusignan, king of Cyprus 5

- Petrus de Pennis 609-11  
 Pfaffe Konrad 767  
 Pisa and the Pisans 10, 26, 27, 292  
 Pisa, Council of 291, 292  
 Pius II, pope 359, 406, 407, 430, 448, 449,  
 450, 456-61, 491, 493, 559  
 Poland 4, 407, 412, 603, 604  
 'The polemicist from the West' 762  
 Portugal and the Portuguese 4, 6, 7, 25,  
 83, 415, 416, 417, 496, 596, 597  
 Portuguese language 264, 416  
 Prester John 151, 153, 157, 707  
 Prince Henry the Navigator 416, 496,  
 596, 598  
 Pseudo-Sebeos 716  
 Pseudo-Shenute 278-86  
  
 Al-Qāḍī 'Iyād 760  
 Al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī 738-39  
 Qara Quyunlu Turkomen 12, 13, 553, 555  
 Qur'an 19, 69, 126, 138, 141, 155, 156, 175,  
 212, 214, 242, 248, 265, 303, 304, 305, 328,  
 340, 352, 380, 392, 394, 404, 411, 419, 421,  
 425-26, 428, 430, 432, 433, 434, 438,  
 440-41, 449, 462, 463, 509, 519, 520, 523,  
 537, 539, 540, 541-43, 570, 609-10, 641, 740  
  
 Ralph of Caen 756  
 Ramon Llull 49, 58, 59, 265, 454, 466  
 Al-Raqīlī, Abū Zakariyyā 298-99  
 Raymond of Aguilers 752-53  
*Reconquista* 7, 24, 28, 34, 48, 265, 384,  
 485, 708  
 Riccoldo da Monte di Croce 175, 241-43,  
 248, 453, 610  
 Robert of Ketton 59, 421, 425, 758-59  
 Roberto da Lecce 566-71  
 Roger II, king of Sicily 671-74  
 Al-Rummānī, Abū l-Ḥasan 742  
 Anbā Ruways 10, 180, 205, 227, 287-90,  
 396, 399  
  
 Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīq 702, 735  
 Al-Sakhāwī 519-21, 537  
 Saladin 26, 29, 32, 78, 83-84, 85, 86, 269,  
 270, 271, 383, 411, 493, 675, 678, 680, 681  
 Ṣāliḥ ibn Sa'īd al-Masiḥī 643-50  
 Sayf al-Dīn Barqūq, Mamluk sultan 5, 10,  
 11, 283, 289, 361, 366, 380, 381, 398  
 Sayf ibn 'Umar 721  
 Sebēos 716  
 Selim I, Ottoman sultan 5  
 Seljuks 2, 45, 363, 383, 411, 471, 709, 710,  
 711, 734  
  
 Senegal 496, 498, 499, 598  
 Serbia and the Serbs 2, 3, 102, 166, 171, 315,  
 445, 471, 544, 564  
 Serbian language 604  
 Sergius 80, 156, 157, 296, 311, 411, 610  
*see* Baḥīrā  
 Al-Sha'bānī, Abū l-Asbagh 'Īsā ibn  
 Mūsā 751  
 Al-Shahrastanī 665, 760  
 Al-Shāshī, al-Qaffāl 738-39  
 Sigismund, holy Roman emperor 359,  
 360, 361, 362  
 Sigismund, king of Hungary 3, 292, 315,  
 559, 561, 563  
 Spain 16, 29, 36, 47-59, 77, 182, 298, 402,  
 451, 453, 454, 466, 467, 630, 668, 707, 708  
*see also* al-Andalus, Iberian Peninsula  
 St Demetrius 318, 356  
 Step'anos Sebastac'ī 199-202  
 Al-Subkī, Taqī al-Dīn 88-91, 123, 653  
 Sulaymān al-Ashlūlī 703  
 Sulaymān al-Ghazzī 743, 749  
 Sulayman ibn Quṭlumish, Seljuk sultan  
 655, 657  
 Sulayman pasha, Ottoman ruler 2, 9,  
 44, 166  
 Al-Suyūṭī 188, 519, 537  
 Symeon of Samosata 717  
 Szabács 544-47, 575  
  
 Al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far 734  
*Tahrif* 138, 140, 173, 257, 258, 296, 304,  
 306, 328, 404, 520, 539  
*see* corruption of the Bible  
 Tamerlane 3, 5, 11, 12, 13, 44, 207, 216,  
 291-92, 294-95, 301, 312, 315, 316, 361, 383,  
 411, 484, 485, 561, 700  
 Taronites 105, 109-13, 175  
 Theodore Abū Qurra 617, 721, 725  
 Theodosius the Deacon 737  
 Theophanes the Confessor 361, 412  
 Theophanes of Nicea 189-93  
 Thessaloniki 2, 3, 7, 101, 102, 103, 106, 109,  
 166, 176, 220, 221, 239, 240, 248, 314, 315,  
 318, 319, 353, 354, 355, 356  
 Third crusade 268, 269, 271  
 Thomas Aquinas 78, 81, 239, 503, 522,  
 569  
 Timothy I 620, 723-25  
 Timur-i Leng 3, 5, 11, 12, 13, 44, 207, 216,  
 291-92, 294-95, 301, 312, 315, 316, 361, 383,  
 411, 484, 485, 561, 700  
 Toledo 49, 50, 51, 58, 68, 69, 447  
 Trebizond 4, 482, 530, 555, 603

- Trinity 43, 44, 57, 111, 155, 173, 232, 242,  
257, 296, 311, 321, 334, 337, 371, 404, 425,  
430, 433, 438, 508, 569, 610, 621, 666, 696  
Turkish language 510, 511  
Turmeda, Fray Anselmo 326-29  
Al-Ṭurṭūshī, Abū Bakr 142, 675, 677, 762
- Al-ʿUdhri 23, 594, 752  
Umur Beg, emir of Aydin 71, 73, 165, 169,  
170  
Urban II, pope 492, 754  
Urban V, pope 2, 6, 239, 248
- Venice and the Venetians 4, 6, 26, 31,  
240, 291, 292, 314, 406, 456, 472, 491, 496,  
498, 530, 544, 572, 574, 575, 576, 589,  
705  
Vincent of Beauvais 80, 151, 154
- Virgin Mary 32, 45, 152, 155, 175, 189, 196,  
288, 296, 315, 324, 325, 343, 393, 398, 404,  
472, 485, 517, 610, 635, 658  
Visconti, Filippo Maria, Duke of  
Milan 359, 362, 406
- Al-Wansharīsī 34, 668, 669, 673  
William of Malmesbury 757  
Wolof people 498, 499
- Al-Yaḥṣubī 767  
Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī 739  
Yaḥya ibn Jarīr 752  
Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṭākī 744  
Al-Yāʿqūbī 21, 23  
Yūsāb, bishop of Akhmīm 694-97  
Yça Gidelli, *see* Içe de Gebir 59, 430, 437,  
440, 462-68



## Index of Titles

Numbers in italics indicate a main entry.

- The account by John Anagnostes of the last capture of Thessalonica*, see *Diēgēsis peri tēs teleutaias halōseōs tēs Thessalonikēs* 355-56
- Account of a martyr who witnessed in our days*, see *Diēgēsis martyros en tois hēmeterois martyrēsantos chronois* 376-78
- Admonitions and reflections on the quarters and monuments*, see *Al-mawāʿiz wa-l-iʿtibār* 386-88
- Advisory address by Demetrius Cydones to the Byzantines*, see *Dēmētriou tou Kydōnou Rōmaiois Symbouleutikos* 244-46
- Advisory speech on Kallipolis*, see *Symbouleutikos heteros peri tēs Kallipoleōs* 246-47
- Against the perfidy of Muḥammad*, see *Contra perfidiam Mahometi* 523-24
- Against the principal errors of the perfidious Muḥammad*, see *Contra principales errores perfidi Machometi* 448, 449-50, 459-60
- Al-ajwiba al-yamaniyya ʿan al-asʿila l-ṣiqilliyya*, see *Al-kalām ʿalā l-masāʾil al-ṣiqilliyya* 691-92
- The all-embracing work, on reports about Granada*, see *Al-iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāta* 183, 184-85
- Anonymous recension of Pseudo-Methodius*, see *Liber Methodii episcopi ecclesiae paterensis et martiris Christi* 629-31
- Apocalypse of Peter*, see *Kitāb al-majāll* 634-39
- The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Athanasius* 719
- The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ephrem* 716-17
- Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* 284, 622, 629, 635
- Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* (Latin revision), see *Liber Methodii episcopi ecclesiae paterensis et martiris Christi* 629-31
- The Apocalypse of Samuel* 746
- The Apocalypse of Shenute* 717
- Apodeixeis historiōn* 483-86
- Apologiai tessares* 173-76
- Al-aqwāl al-qawīma fī hukm al-naql min al-kutub al-qadīma* 538-40, 542
- The Arabic homily of Pseudo-Theophilus of Alexandria* 718-19
- The Arabic Vita of St John of Damascus*, see *Wasf sīrat Abīnā . . . Yūḥannā l-qiss al-Dimashqī* 656-61
- Al-aṣl al-aṣūl fī taḥrīm al-naql min al-Tawrāt wa-l-Injīl* 520-21
- The Assizes of Roger* (king of Sicily) 672-73
- Athlēsis tou hagiou martyros Nikēta tou neou* 709-11
- Tou autou pros tous atheous Chionas dialexis* (Taronites) 110-12, 175
- Tou autou epistolē* (Gregory Palamas) 103-6, 175
- Tou autou homilia peri tēs harpagēs tōn paidōn* (Isidore Glabas) 222-223
- Barṣawmā al-ʿUryān, Life and miracles of* 114-18
- The Battle of Szabács*, see *Szabács Viadala* 544-47
- Bayān ṣiḥhat al-diyāna l-masīhiyya* 696
- The Beauchamp pageants* 589-92
- De bello a Christianis contra barbaros gesto* 492-94
- Boccaccio's notebook*, see *Zibaldone Magliabechiano* 77, 79, 80-81, 85
- Book of Clement* 304, 634, 635, 636
- The book of examples*, see *Kitāb al-ibar* 300-1, 303-6
- Book of Methodius*, see *Liber Methodii episcopi ecclesiae paterensis et martiris Christi* 629-31
- Book of questions*, see *Girkʿ Hartsʿmantsʿ* 231-33
- Book of the rolls*, see *Kitāb al-majāll* 634-39
- Book of the tradition and law of the Moors*, see *Llibre de la çuna e xara dels Moros* 262-63
- Breviario Sunnī* 463, 465-67

- The brief exposition on the verification of faith*, see *Mukhtaṣar al-bayān fi taḥqīq al-īmān* 256-59
- Canon to our most holy Lady, the Mother of God*, see *Kanōn paraklētikos eis tēn hyperagian hēmōn Despoinan Theotokon* 324-25
- Censure concerning the employment of dhimmīs*, see *Al-madhamma fi isti'māl ahl al-dhimma* 124, 125-27, 142, 143
- Centō of the true emperor*, see *Peri tou thrēlloumenou ptōchou kai eklektou basileōs* 330-33
- Chronica Hungarorum* 558-64
- Chronicle of the discovery and conquest of Guinea*, see *Crónica do descobrimento & conquista da Guiné* 416-17
- Chronicle of the Hungarians*, see *Chronica Hungarorum* 558-64
- The Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin* 757
- Chronicon minus* (George Sphrantzes) 531-34
- Clarification of The exposure of intrigues, regarding the prohibition against the repair of churches*, see *Īdāh kashf al-dasā'is fi man' tarmīm al-kanā'is* 89, 90
- Clement, Book of* 304, 634, 635, 636
- Coeur-de-Lyon Romances* 268-77
- Commentaries on the decline of the faith in the East*, see *Commentariū historici de defectu fidei in oriente* 360-64
- Commentariū historici de defectu fidei in oriente* 360-64
- Combat of the holy martyr Nicetas the Younger*, see *Athlēsīs tou hagiou martyros Nikēta tou neou* 709-11
- Conditions pertaining to the ahl al-dhimma*, see *Shurūṭ ahl al-dhimma* 652-53
- Confirmation of the prophethood of the Prophet*, see *Kitāb ithbāt nubuwwat al-nabī* 641-42
- Contra perfidiam Mahometi* 523-24
- Contra principales errores perfidi Mahometi* 448, 449-50, 459-60
- Controversy with one (some) of the Muslims*, see *Jidāl ma' ba'd al-Muslimīn* 695
- Copto-Arabic Synaxarion*, see *Kitāb al-Sinaksār* 92-100, 116
- The correct procedure and singular pearl*, see *Al-nahj al-sadid wa-l-durr al-farīd* 116, 119, 120-21
- Corte imperial* 264-66
- Cribratio Alchorani* 425-26, 450, 459
- Crónica do descobrimento & conquista da Guiné* 416-17
- The crusading letters of King Matthias* 574-77
- The cultured man's gift, in refutation of the people of the cross*, see *Tuḥfat al-adīb fi l-radd 'alā ahl al-ṣalīb* 326, 327, 328
- De bello a Christianis contra barbaros gesto* 492-94
- De mittendo gladio divini Spiritus in corda Sarracenorum* 437-39
- De origine Turcharum*, see *Commentariū historici de defectu fidei in oriente* 360-64
- De pace fidei* 422-23, 427, 459
- De prima iuentione Gujnee* 597-99
- Débat du chrétien et du sarrazin* (Jean Germain) 435
- The Debate of Theodore Abū Qurra* 725-26
- Decameron* 78, 81, 82-86
- Dēmētriou tou Kydōnou Rōmaios Symbouleutikos* 244-46
- Demonstrations of histories*, see *Apodeixeis historiōn* 483-86
- Description of the country of al-Andalus*, see *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus* 593-94
- Description of the world*, see *Libellus de notitia orbis* 295-97
- Destruction of the cathedral of our Lady Mart Maryam in Damascus*, see *Khabar 'an ihrāq kanīsat al-sayyida Mart Maryam al-kāthūlki bi-madīnat Dimashq* 699-703
- Dhikr bilād al-Andalus* 593-94
- Dialogue of a dispute between a Christian and a Muslim*, see *Dialogus disputationis inter Christianum et Sarracenum* 524-25
- Dialogue with a Muslim*, see *Meta tinos Ismaēlitou dialexis* (Joseph Bryennius) 336-38
- Dialogue with a Persian*, see *Dialogos meta tinos Persou* 319-23
- Dialogue of the same* (Gregory Palamas) with the godless chionai, see *Tou autou pros tous atheous dialogos disputationis inter Christianum et Sarracenum* 524-25
- Chionas dialexis* (Taronites) 110-12, 175
- Dialogos meta tinos Persou* 319-23
- Diēgēsis peri tou en Kōnstantinoupolei gegonotos polemou* 343-44

- Diēgēsis martyros en tois hēmeterois martyrēsantos chronois* 376-78  
*Diēgēsis peri tēs teletaias halōseōs tēs Thessalonikēs* 355-56  
*Digenes Akrites* 757  
*Discourse of counsel to the Thessalonians, see Symbouleutikos pros tous Thessalonikeis* (Manuel Palaeologus) 318-19  
*Disputatio Abutalib* 68-69  
*The disputation of Abu Talib, see Disputatio Abutalib* 68-69  
*Disputation with the Jews and Christians, see Mujādala ma' al-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā* 299  
*The disputation of the monk Ibrāhīm al-Ṭabarānī* 730  
*Disputation of Patriarch John* 718  
*On driving the sword of the Holy Spirit into the hearts of the Saracens, see De mittendo gladio divini Spiritus in corda Sarracenorum* 437-39
- Epistle to Abdallah, formerly Andrew, see Epistola ad Abdalla, olim fratrem Andream* 713-14  
*Epistola ad Abdalla, olim fratrem Andream* 713-14  
*Epistola ad cardinelem Sancti Petri* 432-35  
*Epistola ad Carolum VII regem Francorum* 409-13  
*Epistola ad Ioannem de Segovia* 427-28  
*Epistolē didaskalikē pros pantas tous hyp' autou poimanomenous Christianous* (Theophanes of Nicea) 191-93  
*Epistolē didaskalikē pros tous hiereis* (Theophanes of Nicea) 191-93  
*Epistolē pros tous Nikaiais* (Theophanes of Nicea) 191-93  
*Erōtēseis kai apokriseis peri tēs theotētos tou Kyriou hēmōn Iēsou Christou* 516-17  
*Euchē ekphōnēthēsai epi tē eis tēn Epheson eisodō hēmōn* 73  
*Exposition of the soundness of the Christian religion, see Bayān ṣiḥḥat al-diyāna l-maṣiḥyya* 696  
*The exposure of intrigues regarding the repair of churches, see Kashf al-dasā'is fi tarmīm al-kanā'is* 89-91
- Fatwā* (al-Māzarī) 669-70  
*Fi tathlith Allāh al-wāḥid* 720  
*Fortalitium fidei, contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et alios Christianae fidei inimicos* 452-54
- The fortress of faith, see Fortalitium fidei, contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et alios Christianae fidei inimicos* 452-54  
*Four apologies, see Apologiai tessares* 173-76  
*Four books of history, see Historion biblia tessara* 168-71  
*Four orations against Muḥammad, see Logoi tessares kata Moameth* 173-76  
*The fundamentals of religion, see Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn* 196-97  
*Fuṣūl al-qidr* 179-80
- Gennadius the Patriarch on the capture of the city, see Gennadiou tou patriarchou epi tē halōsei tēs poleōs* 506-7  
*Gennadiou tou patriarchou epi tē halōsei tēs poleōs* 506-7  
*Gennadiou thrēnos* 514-15  
*Gennadius's lamentation, see Gennadiou thrēnos* 514-15  
*The genuine reason for the prohibition against quoting from the Torah and Gospel, see Al-aṣl al-aṣl fi taḥrīm al-naql min al-Tawrāt wa-l-Injil* 520-21  
*Gesta Francorum* 752  
*Al-ghunya fi l-kalām* 666-67  
*Girk' Harts'mants'* 231-33, 311  
*Guidance for those who seek direction, see Kitāb hidāyat al-mustarshidīn* 739-41
- Ḥadīth Wāṣil al-Dimashqī* 729  
*Ḥawāshī* (Ibn Kammūna) 64-65  
*Al-ḥāwī l-mustafād* 256-59  
*hidāyat al-mustarshidīn, Kitāb* 739-41  
*Histoire de Tamerlan, see Les ordonnances de Temir Bey* 294-95  
*Historia Rhōmaikē* 136-37, 168  
*Historia Silense* 556  
*Historion biblia tessara* 168-71  
*History* (Doucas) 470-73  
*History of al-Andalus, see Dhikr bilād al-Andalus* 593-94  
*The history of humankind, see Al-khabar 'an al-bashar* 392-94  
*History of the patriarchs of Alexandria* 10, 284, 398, 679, 681-82  
*His homily concerning the carrying off of the children, see Tou autou homilia peri tēs harpagēs tōn paidōn* 222-223  
*The Horoscope of Stephanus of Alexandria* 624-26  
*Hujaj al-milla l-Ḥanīfiyya wa-jawāb kull su'āl* 419-20

- ‘ibar, Kitāb al-* 300-1, 303-6  
*Īdāh kashf al-dasā’is fi man‘ tarmīm al-kanā’is* 89, 90  
*Al-iḥāṭa fi akhbār Gharnāta* 183, 184-85  
*Al-ilmām bi-akhbār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥubsh min mulūk al-Islām* 390-91  
*Imperial court, see Corte imperial* 264-66  
*Important words about the treatment of the People of protection, see Al-kalimāt al-muhimma fi mubāsharat ahl al-dhimma* 130-32  
*The indispensable, on the theology, see Al-ghunya fi l-kalām* 666-67  
*La infidelita di Macomethani* 568-70  
*The infidelity of the followers of Muḥammad, see La infidelita di Macomethani* 568-70  
*The infidelity of the followers of Muḥammad which has originated among the Saracens, see Infidilitas Mahumathanorum que ortus in Saracenis* 568-70  
*Infidilitas Mahumathanorum que ortus in Saracenis* 568-70  
*Intimation about substitution concerning falsification of the Gospel, see Ta’rif al-tabdīl fi tahrif al-Injīl* 140  
*ithbāt nubuwwat al-nabī, Kitāb* 641-42  
*Islamic ‘Psalms of David’* 761  
  
*Al-jāmi‘ wujūh al-īmān* 729  
*Jidāl ma‘ ba’ḍ al-Muslimīn* 695  
*Journey to the East, see Voyage d’Oultremer* 444-45  
*Just words on the permissibility of quoting from the ancient books, see Al-aqwāl al-qawīma fi hukm al-naql min al-kutub al-qadīma* 538-40, 542  
  
*Al-kalām ‘alā l-masā’il al-ṣiqilliyya* 691-92  
*Al-kalimāt al-muhimma fi mubāsharat ahl al-dhimma* 130-32  
*Kanōn paraklētikos eis tēn hyperagian hēmōn Despoinan Theotokon* 324-25  
*Kashf al-dasā’is fi tarmīm al-kanā’is* 89-91  
*Kata dynamin monōdia epi tē halōsei tēs Thessalonikēs* 354  
*Kebra Nagast* 283, 285  
*Al-khabar ‘an al-bashar* 392-94  
*Khabar ‘an iḥrāq kanīsat al-sayyida Mart Maryam al-kāthūlīki bi-madīnat Dimashq* 699-703  
*Al-khiṭaṭ, see Al-mawā’iz wa-l-i’tibār* 386-88  
  
*Kitāb hidāyat al-mustarshidīn* 739-41  
*Kitāb al-‘ibar* 300-1, 303-6  
*Kitāb ithbāt nubuwwat al-nabī* 641-42  
*Kitāb al-majāll* 634-39  
*Kitāb al-majdal* 743, 749  
*Kitāb al-Sinaksār* 92-100, 116, 398  
*Kitāb uṣūl al-dīn* 196-97  
*The knowledge of the history of the Muslim kings in Abyssinia, see Al-ilmām bi-akhbār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥubsh min mulūk al-Islām* 390-91  
*Kronika turecka* 604-5  
  
*A lament on the capture of Thessaloniki, see Kata dynamin monōdia epi tē halōsei tēs Thessalonikēs* 354  
*Letter to the Christians of Nicea, see Epistolē pros tous Nikaias (Theophanes of Nicea)* 191-93  
*Letter to his church, see Tou autou epistolē (Gregory Palamas)* 103-6, 175  
*Letter to Juan de Segovia, see Epistola ad Ioannem de Segovia* 427-28  
*Letter to King Charles VII of France, see Epistola ad Carolum VII regem Francorum* 409-13  
*Letter of Leo III in Ghewond* 717-18  
*Letter to Mehmed II (Pope Pius II)* 458-60  
*Letter to the most honourable monk Maximus, see Tō timiōtatō en monachois kyr Maximō* 513  
*Letter to Nicholas of Cusa, see Epistola ad cardinelem Sancti Petri* 432-35  
*Letter of Pseudo-Pisentius* 736  
*Letter of the sultan of Cairo to the emperor of the Romans, see Pittakion tou sultanou tou Kareos pros ton basilea Rhōmaiōn (Barsbāy)* 367-68  
*Letter of teaching to all Christians under his pastoral care, see Epistolē didaskalikē pros pantas tous hyp’ autou poimanomenous Christianous (Theophanes of Nicea)* 191-93  
*Letter of teaching to the priests see Epistolē didaskalikē pros tous hiereis (Theophanes of Nicea)* 191-93  
*(Letter) of the Thessalonian when he was taken captive, see Tou Thessalonikēs hote healō (Gregory Palamas)* 103-6, 175  
*Letters (Demetrius Cydones)* 248-49  
*Letters (Manuel Gabalas)* 73-74  
*Letters (Nicephorus Gregoras)* 134-36  
*Libellus de notitia orbis* 295-97  
*Liber Methodii episcopi ecclesiae paterensis et martiris Christi* 629-31

- Liber pontificalis* 727  
*Libro de buen amor* 54, 55  
*The Life of Abra'ām al-Fānī*, see *Sīrat Anbā Abra'ām al-Fānī* 226-28, 289  
*The Life of Patriarch Matthew I*, see *Maymar min ajl intiqāl abinā l-sayyid al-baṭriyark Anbā Mattā'us* 397-99  
*The Life of the saint Anbā Furayj (Ruways)*, see *Sīrat al-qiddīs Anbā Furayj (Ruways)* 287-89  
*The Life and miracles of Barṣawmā al-'Uryān* 114-18, 287  
*The Life and miracles of Marqus al-Anṭūnī*, see *Sīrat Anbā Marqus al-Anṭūnī* 203-6, 288, 289, 398, 399  
*Life of Theodore, Bishop of Edessa* 742-43  
*The life of Timur*, see *Les ordonnances de Temir Bey* 294-95  
*Le livre de Jehan de Mandeville* 149-58  
*Le Livre des merveilles*, see *Le livre de Jehan de Mandeville* 149-58  
*Libre de la çuna e xara dels Moros* 262-63  
*Logoi tessares kata Moameth* 173-76
- Madāhiḍ al-ikrāh fi tanāquḍ al-Tawrah* 138  
*Al-madhamma fi isti'māl ahl al-dhimma* 124, 125-27, 142, 143  
*The Man of Law's tale* 211-12  
*Mandeville's travels*, see *Le livre de Jehan de Mandeville* 149-58  
*Manhaj al-ṣawāb fi qubḥ istiḥkāt ahl al-kitāb* 141-43  
*Manhaj al-ṣawāb fi taḥqīq al-murīd wa-l-murād* 141-43  
*Maqāla fi intishār al-Injīl wa-l-Naṣrāniyya fi l-'ālam* 601  
*Maqāla fi irtifā' al-ṣalīb al-karīm wa-intiṣārihi 'alā l-'ālam* 602  
*Maqāla fi l-nafs* 687-89  
*Maqāla fi ta'annus kalimat Allāh* 696-97  
*Maqāla fi l-tathlith* 696  
*The Martyrdom of 'Abd al-Masīh* 727  
*The Martyrdom of Anthony (Rawḥ al-Qurashī)* 721  
*Martyrdom of Rīzq Allāh ibn Naba' of Tripoli* 526-27  
*Martyrology of Archbishop Step'anos Sebastac'i*, see *Vkayabanut'awn Step'anos ark'episkoposi* 199-202  
*Martyrology of Awag Salmastec'i*, see *Vkayabanut'awn Awagi Salmastec'woy* 207-8
- Martyrology of the Confessor Step'anos, Archbishop of Tat'ew*, see *Vkayabanut'awn Step'annosi xostovanoti ark'episkoposi Tat'ewu, k'erordwoy iwroy ew mōrelbōrordwoy norin* 549-51  
*Martyrology of Mirak' Tawrizec'i*, see *Vkayabanut'awn Mirak'ay Tawrizec'woy* 553-56  
*Martyrology of Step'annos the vardapet and Petros the priest of Xizan*, see *Vkayabanut'awn Step'annosi vardapeti ew Petrosi kahanayi Xizanc'woy* 347-49  
*Martyrology of Tamar Mokac'i*, see *Vkayabanut'awn Tamaray Mokac'woy* 250-51  
*Martyrology of Vardan Bališec'i*, see *Vkayabanut'awn Vardanay Bališec'woy* 339-40  
*Martyrology of the youth Yovhannēs Xlat'ec'i*, see *Vkayabanut'awn Yovhannēsi mankan Xlat'ec'woy* 370-73  
*Martyrology of Yovhannēs Bishop of Tarōn*, see *Vkayabanut'awn Yovhannēs episkopos Tarōnoy* 478-79  
*Martyrology of Zak'aria, catholicos of Alt'amar*, see *Vkayabanut'awn Zak'ariayi, kat'otikosi Alt'amaray* 216-18  
*Matt'ēos Vardapeti vasn Harc'manc' Anorinac' Zanazan Patasxani* 310-12  
*Al-mawā'iz wa-l-'tibār* 386-88  
*Maymar min ajl intiqāl abinā l-sayyid al-baṭriyark Anbā Mattā'us* 397-99  
*Memoirs of a Janissary*, see *Kronika turecka* 604-5  
*Memorial of the holy martyr Theodore the Younger*, see *Mnēmē tou hagiou martyros Theodorou tou neou* 145-46  
*A memra on the nature of the [divine] essence and on the distinction between the hypostases of the Trinity*, see *Mēmra d-al kyān itūtā w-al pūrshānā da-qnōmē da-litāyūtā* 621-22  
*Meta tinos Ismaēlitou dialexis (Joseph Bryennius)* 336-38  
*Minor chronicle*, see *Chronicon minus (George Sphrantzes)* 531-34  
*De mittendo gladio divini Spiritus in corda Sarracenorum* 437-39  
*Mnēmē tou hagiou martyros Theodorou tou neou* 145-46  
*Mujādala ma' al-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā* 299

- Mukhtaṣar al-bayān fi taḥqīq al-īmān* 256-59  
*Muqaddima* 300-1, 303-6
- Al-naḥj al-sadīd wa-l-durr al-farīd* 116, 119, 120-21
- Narration of the fighting that took place in Constantinople*, see *Diēgēsis peri tou en Kōnstantinoupolei gegonotos polemou* 343-44
- Navigazioni* 497-99
- Naẓm al-durar fi tanāsub al-āyāt wa-l-suwar* 537, 540, 541-43
- Naẓm nafā'is 'uqūd al-durar al-zāhira fi hadm kanā'is al-Yahūd bi-Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira* 139
- Oracula Leonis* 330-31
- Oratio de non reddenda Callipoli*, see *Symbouleutikos heteros peri tēs Kallipoleōs* 246-47
- Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum*, see *Dēmētriu tou Kydōnou Rōmaiois Symbouleutikos* 244-46
- On the only way to salvation for humankind*, see *Peri tēs monēs hodou pros tēn sōtērian tōn anthrōpōn* 508-9
- On the only way to salvation for humankind. This was given as a second version*, see *Peri tēs monēs hodou pros tēn sōtērian tōn anthrōpōn. Deuteron edothē touto* 510-11
- The orders of Timur*, see *Les ordonnances de Temir Bey* 294-95
- Les ordonnances de Temir Bey* 294-95
- On the origin of the Turks*, see *Commentarii historici de defectu fidei in oriente* 360-64
- De origine Turcharum*, see *Commentarii historici de defectu fidei in oriente* 360-64
- The pacts of 'Umar concerning the Jews and Christians*, see *Al-'uhūd al-'umariyya fi l-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā* 214-15
- Pamietniki Janczara*, see *Kronika turecka* 604-5
- The path to knowledge about dynasties and kings*, see *Al-sulūk li-ma'rīfat al-duwal wa-l-mulūk* 383-85
- On the peace of faith*, see *De pace fidei* 422-23, 427, 459
- Peri tēs monēs hodou pros tēn sōtērian tōn anthrōpōn* 508-9
- Peri tēs monēs hodou pros tēn sōtērian tōn anthrōpōn. Deuteron edothē touto* 510-11
- Peri tou thrēlloumenou ptōchou kai eklektou basileōs* 330-33
- Pittakion tou sultanou tou Kareos pros ton basilea Rhōmaiōn (Barsbāy)* 367-68
- Prayer to be spoken at our entry to Ephesus*, see *Euchē ekphōnētheisai epi tē eis tēn Epheson eisodō hēmōn* 73
- Preface to a newly produced translation of the book of the Qur'an*, see *Prefacio in translationem noviter editam . . . libri Alchorani* 440-41
- Prefacio in translationem noviter editam . . . libri Alchorani* 440-41
- De prima iuentione Gujnee* 597-99
- The profitable compiler*, see *Al-hāwī l-mustafād* 256-59
- Proofs for the Ḥanīfi community*, see *Ḥujaj al-milla l-Ḥanīfiyya wa-jawāb kull su'āl* 419-20
- The prophecy of Daniel to Athanasius* 752
- The Prophecy of the nineteen Muslim kings* 721
- The Proto-fourteenth vision of Daniel* 720
- On providence*, see *Mēmra d-al kyān itūtā w-al pūrshānā da-qnōmē da-litāyūtā* 621-22
- Qawl Anbā Shinūda ra'īs al-mutawahhidin* 278-85
- Questions and answers concerning the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ*, see *Erōtēseis kai apokriseis peri tēs theōtētos tou Kyriou hēmōn Iēsou Christou* 516-17
- Al-radd 'alā l-mutanaṣṣir* 677-78
- On the rarity of miracles in the present time*, see *Sur la rareté des miracles au temps présent* 515-16
- Refutation of the convert to Christianity*, see *Al-radd 'alā l-mutanaṣṣir* 677-78
- Replica ad Johannem Cabilonensem* 435-37
- Reply to Jean Germain*, see *Replica ad Johannem Cabilonensem* 435-37
- Richard Coeur de Lion* 268-71
- The right way, on the infamy of employing Jews and Christians as scribes*, see *Manhaj al-ṣawāb fi qubḥ istiktāb ahl al-kitāb* 141-43
- Risāla fi 'adam istikhdam ahl al-dhimma*, see *Al-kalimāt al-muhimma fi muḃāsharat ahl al-dhimma* 130-32



- The rite of the jar*, see *Fuṣūl al-qidr* 179-80  
*Ritual of abjuration* 729  
*Al-riyāsa l-nāṣiriyya fi l-radd ‘alā man yu‘azzim ahl al-dhimma* 187-88  
*Roman history*, see *Historia Rhōmaikē* 136-37, 168
- Al-sayf al-maslūl ‘alā man sabb al-rasūl* 88  
*The saying of Abba Shenute, head of the recluses*, see *Qawl Anbā Shinūda raʿīs al-mutawahhidīn* 278-85  
*The Segovian Book*, see *Breviario Sunnī* 463, 465-67  
*Shurūṭ ahl al-dhimma* 652-53  
*Sifting the Qurʾan*, see *Cribratio Alchorani* 425-26, 450, 459  
*Sinaksār, Kitāb al-* 92-100, 116  
*Sirat Anbā Abraʾām al-Fānī* 226-28, 289  
*Sirat Anbā Marqus al-Anṭūnī* 203-6, 288, 289, 398, 399  
*Sirat al-qiddīs Anbā Furayj (Ruways)* 287-89  
*The story of St Simeon of the Olives*, see *Tashʿitā d-qaddishā rām ba-gbayyā mār(y) Shemʿūn d-zaytē* 616-18  
*The string of pearls, on the harmonious relationship of verses and chapters*, see *Naẓm al-durar fi tanāsub al-āyāt wa-l-suwar* 537, 540, 541-43  
*Al-sulūk li-maʾrifat al-duwal wa-l-mulūk* 383-85  
*Sur la rareté des miracles au temps présent* 515-16  
*The sword drawn against those who revile the Messenger*, see *Al-sayf al-maslūl ‘alā man sabb al-rasūl* 88  
*Symbouleutikos heteros peri tēs Kallipoleōs* 246-47  
*Symbouleutikos pros tous Thessalonikeis* 318-19  
*Synaxarion, Copto-Arabic*, see *Kitāb al-Sinaksār* 92-100, 116, 398  
*Szabács Viadala* 544-47
- Tanbih al-ghāfilīn al-hayārā* 351-52  
*Taʾrif al-tabdīl fi taḥrīf al-Injīl* 140  
*Tārikh al-Andalus*, see *Dhikr bilād al-Andalus* 593-94  
*Tashʿitā d-qaddishā rām ba-gbayyā mār(y) Shemʿūn d-zaytē* 616-18  
*Fi tathlīth Allāh al-wāḥid* 720  
*There arose false prophets*, see *Yarecʿan sut Margārēk* 312-13
- Tō timiōtatō en monachois kyr Maximō* 513  
*Tomos* 762  
*Tou Thessalonikēs hote healō* 103-6, 175  
*Tractate of the avid follower of Christ against Jews, Saracens and infidels*, see *Zelus Christi* 403-5  
*The Tractatus called a map*, see *Tractatus quem mappam nominavit* 705-8  
*Tractatus contra Alchoranum et Mahometum* 609-10  
*Tractatus quem mappam nominavit* 705-8  
*Treatise on the elevation of the noble cross and its victory over the world*, see *Maqāla fi irṭifāʿ al-ṣalīb al-karīm wa-intiṣārihi ‘alā l-‘ālam* 602  
*Treatise on the Incarnation of the Word of God*, see *Maqāla fi taʾannus kalimat Allāh* 696-97  
*Treatise against the Qurʾan and Muhammad*, see *Tractatus contra Alchoranum et Mahometum* 609-10  
*Treatise on the Sicilian questions*, see *Al-kalām ‘alā l-masāʾil al-ṣiqillīyya* 691-92  
*Treatise on the soul*, see *Maqāla fi l-naḥs* 687-89  
*Treatise on the spread of the Gospel and Christianity in the world*, see *Maqāla fi intishār al-Injīl wa-l-Naṣrāniyya fi l-‘ālam* 601  
*Treatise on the Trinity*, see *Maqāla fi l-tathlīth* 696  
*Triumphant control, in refutation of those who advance the status of client people*, see *Al-riyāsa l-nāṣiriyya fi l-radd ‘alā man yu‘azzim ahl al-dhimma* 187-88  
*Tuḥfat al-adīb fi l-radd ‘alā ahl al-ṣalīb* 326, 327, 328  
*Turkish chronicle*, see *Kronika turecka* 604-5
- Al-‘uhūd al-‘umariyya fi l-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā* 214-15  
*uṣūl al-dīn, Kitāb* 196-97
- Various responses to the questions of the infidels by Mattʿeos Vardapet*, see *Mattʿeos Vardapeti vasn Harcʿmancʿ Anorinacʿ Zanazan Patasxani* 310-12  
*Vita Ricardi regis primi* 268-71  
*Vkayabanutʿiwn Awagi Salmastecʿwoy* 207-8

- Vkayabanut'ıwn Mirak'ay Tawrizec'woy*  
553-56
- Vkayabanut'ıwn Step'anosi ark'episkoposi*  
*Sebastac'woy* 199-202
- Vkayabanut'ıwn Step'annosi vardapeti ew*  
*Petrosi kahanayi Xizanc'woy* 347-49
- Vkayabanut'ıwn Step'annosi xostovanoli*  
*ark'episkoposi Tat'ewu, k'erordwoy iwroy*  
*ew mörelbörordwoy norin* 549-51
- Vkayabanut'ıwn T'amaray Mokac'woy*  
250-51
- Vkayabanut'ıwn Vardanay Batišec'woy*  
339-40
- Vkayabanut'ıwn Yovhannēs episkopos*  
*Tarōnoy* 478-79
- Vkayabanut'ıwn Yovhannēsi mankan*  
*Xlat'ec'woy* 370-73
- Vkayabanut'ıwn Zak'ariayi, kat'otikosı*  
*Alt'amaray* 216-18
- Voyage d'Oultremer* 444-45
- The voyages of Cadamosto, see*  
*Navigazioni* 497-99
- The voyages of Diogo Gomes, see De prima*  
*iuentione Gujnee* 597-99
- On the war fought by the Christians against*  
*the barbarians, see De bello a Christianis*  
*contra barbaros gesto* 492-94
- Warning to those who are confused and*  
*neglectful, see Tanbih al-ghāfilin*  
*al-ḥayārā* 351-52
- Waşfsirat Abinā . . . Yūhannā l-qiss*  
*al-Dimashqı* 656-61
- Yarec'an sut Margarēk* 312-13
- Yemeni answers to the Sicilian questions,*  
*see Al-kalām 'alā l-masā'il*  
*al-şiqilliyya* 691-92
- Zelus Christi* 403-5
- Zibaldone Magliabechiano* 77, 79, 80-81,  
85



