medieval worlds

comparative & interdisciplinary studies

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Volume 2016.3

medieval worlds
comparative & interdisciplinary studies

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Der Wissenschaftsfonds.

Cover design, layout: Anneke Gerloff

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Editor's Preface

Walter Pohl

Since its launch ›Medieval Worlds‹ has become well-established, and attracts a rising number of visitors and downloads. Currently, it is indexed by CrossRef, ERIH PLUS, EZB and DOAJ, and we are in the process of extending our listings. If you want to stay informed about new issues and calls for papers, we invite you to sign up for our mailing list by using this link: http://medieval.vlg.oeaw.ac.at/index.php/medievalworlds/user/register.

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After two thematic issues volume 3 of ›Medieval Worlds‹ is the first open issue of the journal, and we are glad to have received a fair number of submissions of high quality. In this issue, we also launch the format of ›thematic clusters‹, which can consist of smaller or larger groups of papers addressing a common topic from different regional and/or disciplinary angles. This time, the topic is ›Tribes, ethnicity and the nation‹; it will be continued in issue 5 with a further group of papers. Clusters of papers, or ideas for them, can of course also be submitted. For the time being, we will have open calls for the July issue, and a thematic issue in December. Issue 4, due out 1 December 2016, will deal with history, archaeology and genetics, and with the methodological problems raised by their interdisciplinary collaboration. For issue 5 (2017), an open call has been announced. Besides, we also invite project presentations and conference reports in the field of medieval comparative and global history.

Charlemagne's ›Jihād‹ Revisited: Debating the Islamic Contribution to an Epochal Change in the History of Christianization

Daniel G. König*

In 2006, Yitzhak Hen published an article under the title »Charlemagne's Jihad«, proposing that Charlemagne's policy of forced conversion of the Saxons – the earliest combination of conquest and forced conversion in the history of Christianity – had actually been modelled on a typically ›Islamic‹ approach to other religious groups. Hen argued that Charlemagne's expedition to Zaragoza in 777-778 as well as his reception of Hispanic refugees such as Theodulf at court acquainted the Frankish king with this Islamic approach which was then duly applied to the Saxons. The primary aim of the article is to raise and – at least partially – answer questions that arise from Hen's hypothesis. The first part of the article is thus dedicated to questioning if Islam of the late eighth century had already developed a systematic approach to non-Muslim religions that could be adopted by external observers. Even if Islam had already developed clear principles of dealing with other religions in the period under investigation, it cannot be taken for granted that the Carolingians and their informants were aware of these principles. The second part of the article then examines what Charlemagne and his entourage could have known about the Muslim treatment of non-Muslims. Since Hen's entire argument hinges on specific passages of the *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae* which he defines as ›Islamic‹, this part of the article also discusses if these passages clearly reflect Islamic influence or rather build on previous Christian methods of dealing with other religions and of promoting the expansion of Christianity. Against this backdrop, the conclusion takes into account the possible historical causes for the Carolingian merging of conquest and forced conversion.

Keywords: Charlemagne; Saxons; forced conversion; Islam; Islamic influence; cultural transfer; Carolingian-Umayyad relations; al-Andalus; Spanish March

Charlemagne's forced conversion of the Saxons represents a landmark in the late antique and early medieval process of Christianization. For the first time in the history of Christianity, the latter was imposed during an outright conquest.[1]

Religious coercion had, of course, already existed in the Roman Empire, even before Christianity became the official religion. In the middle of the third century, the emperors Decius and Valerian tried to force Christians to participate in the imperial cult, whereas Diocletian and Galerius launched a persecution of Manichaeans and Christians at the beginning of

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1 Cf. Fletcher, *Conversion of Europe*, 216; Becher, Gewaltmission, 329.

the fourth century.[2] A period of religious ambiguity after Constantine I's rise to power ended with the legal abolition of non-Christian cults by Theodosius I in the 380s. In various sectors of society, this legal framework backed groups who took violent measures against religious non-conformists: the pogrom against the Jews of Minorca in 418 that resulted in the latter's mass conversion to Christianity as well as pope Leo's I campaign against the Manichaeans of Rome in the years 443-45 may serve as two examples.[3] All these forms of religious coercion have one thing in common, however: they were directed against the empire's own subjects. Being in a rather defensive position in Late Antiquity, the Empire never seems to have sought to impose Christianity on extra-imperial populations by the means of warfare.[4]

Among post-Roman elites, Christianity spread mainly by missionary efforts: Gothic groups had been exposed to the preaching of Ulfilas and his disciples and ultimately adopted a form of Christianity during the process of settling within the imperial borders. This also applies to other warrior elites who took over rule in former provinces of the Roman Empire, including the Spanish Sueves, the Burgundians, and the Vandals. In one way or the other, these groups were exposed to Gothic proselytism and accordingly adopted the Gothic variant of so-called ›Arianism‹,[5] which they maintained until they either succumbed to the religious influence of the local Romanized population – the case of the Burgundians and Visigoths – or were swallowed up by a larger polity professing the faith of Nicaea – the case of Vandal North Africa. The Franks, in turn, accepted the Nicaean faith directly, as did various Anglo-Saxon leaders, the latter addressed directly by missionaries sent by Pope Gregory I to the British Isles. Thanks to the establishment of monastic communities by itinerant *peregrini*, Christianity was strengthened in all parts of the former Western Roman Empire in the course of the seventh century.[6] Late Roman and post-Roman processes of Christianization often involved a certain degree of coercion: ruling elites generally adopted Christianity first and then contributed to enforcing its adoption among their less powerful peers as well as among the remaining recalcitrant subject populations.[7] Notwithstanding, Christianity was never imposed by force of arms until the Saxons were forced to accept it as a consequence of what might be justifiably termed a conquest or even an annexation of their society at the hands of Frankish elites.

Scholarship has traditionally explained this new link between conquest and Christianization as an inner-Christian phenomenon. Specialists of the Carolingian period and of early medieval processes of Christianization thus pointed to the special circumstances of the Frankish conquest of Saxony. Continuous tensions between Franks and Saxons dating from a period preceding the rule of Charlemagne drove the latter to attempt the conquest of Saxony. In

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2   Cf. Vogt, *Religiosität der Christenverfolger*.

3   König, *Bekehrungsmotive*, 31-33, 374-387.

4   The only exception to this rule may have been Constantine's victory against Gothic groups in the 330s which, according to Sokrates and Sozomenos, allegedly persuaded the defeated Goths to accept Christianity. See König, *Bekehrungsmotive*, 47, with further literature. Apart from the fact that the veracity of this account can be questioned, it is not really comparable to the Carolingian case: if at all, Constantine made religious use of a single victory. He neither annexed Gothic territory, nor systematically imposed a Christian ecclesiastical administration on the latter.

5   Cf. Schäferdiek, Gotisch-arianische Mission, 203-222; Schäferdiek, Anfänge des Christentums, 295-310.

6   Brown, *Rise of Western Christendom*, 3-234; Padberg, *Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter,* 15-87; Fletcher, *Conversion of Europe*, 1-192; König, *Bekehrungsmotive*, 43-99.

7   Cf. Dumézil, *Racines chrétiennes de l'Europe*.

this context, Christianization continued a missionary policy already implemented within the Frankish realm and vis-à-vis its Frisian neighbours, but also served as a tool to break Saxon independence and to impose the new Frankish administration. Particularly drastic measures such as the killing of Saxons in Verden or the punishments for religious transgressions as formulated in the *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae* were rated as brutal overreactions to Saxon assaults in 782. They were interpreted as desperate decisions taken by a Frankish ruling elite exasperated by a war that, all in all, lasted almost three decades and was accompanied by parallel military engagements on all fronts of the Carolingian realm.[8] The combination of conquest and forced conversion resulted from what various scholars summarily describe as the collaboration of a ›new‹ church and a ›new‹ political system.[9]

This explanation recalls Carl Erdmann's effort to explain the emergence of the crusading idea by claiming that the synthesis of warrior elites and Christianity in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages contributed to a militarization of Christianity, an explanation nuanced by Friedrich Prinz and further developed by James Russell.[10] Jan Assmann's hypotheses on the »price of monotheism«, however, raised the question of whether the hitherto prevalent image of a Christian religion militarized due to its adoption by warrior elites idealizes the peaceful character of ancient and late antique Christianity. According to Assmann, recently backed by Philippe Buc,[11] the clear distinction between true and false, characteristic of all monotheistic religions, is responsible, not only for what Assmann calls »the invention of paganism«,[12] but also for various acts of violence committed by adherents to monotheistic religions in the name of religious truth.[13] In this way, the previous responsibilities are reversed: the violent mentality of post-Roman warrior elites did not awaken the aggressive potential of Christianity; rather, thanks to Christianity's latent aggression, the military feats of a post-Roman warrior elite acquired a religious dimension: consequently, Charlemagne's conquest of Saxony was spelt out in the symbolic language of expansionist monotheistic universalism.[14]

In 2006, Yitzhak Hen introduced a radically new explanatory model to this discussion by proposing that Charlemagne's decision to convert the Saxons by force had actually been inspired by the king's encounter with Islam.[15] According to Hen, Charlemagne became acquainted with the king with an Islamic system of subjecting other religious groups during his expedition to Spain in 777-778 he. Supported and counselled by Hispanic refugees to the Frankish realm such as Theodulf of Orléans, Charlemagne decided to convert the Saxons by force. This decision, Hen claims, was taken in 795, the year to which he redates the particularly harsh *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*,[16] a document assigned to the period 775-90

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8   See, for example, Kahl, Karl der Große, 49-131; Padberg, *Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter*, 89-97; Fletcher, *Conversion of Europe*, 194-222; Wood, *Missionary Life*, 58; Becher, Gewaltmission, 321-329.

9   Brown, *Rise of Western Christendom*, 275; Padberg, *Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter*, 97; Fletcher, *Conversion of Europe*, 194-195, 215-216, 221-222.

10 Erdmann, *Entstehung des Kreuzzuggedankens*, 16-18. Further thoughts on this synthesis in Prinz, *Klerus und Krieg im frühen Mittelalter*; Russell, *Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity*, 212.

11 Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror*.

12 Assmann, Mosaic Distinction, 48-67.

13 Assmann, *Mosaische Unterscheidung*, 11.

14 On religion as a symbolic language, see Voegelin, *Order and History*, 1-12; applied to the late antique and early medieval context in König, Öffentlich religiöse Auseinandersetzungen, 30-44.

15 Hen, Charlemagne's Jihad, 33-52.

16 Hen, Charlemagne's Jihad, 38-40.

by the editor Alfred Boretius,[17] to the year 782 by traditional scholarship.[18] In 795, Alcuin, the principal opponent to Charlemagne's policy of forced conversion, was removed from the centre of power, thus leaving the floor to Theodulf who – consciously or unconsciously, this remains open – ushered in a new policy of forced conversion by following ›Islamic‹ principles of dealing with subjected peoples of other religion. Alcuin was only able to formulate his opposition to this new policy in writing, as various letters from the year 796 suggest, which were written to various influential courtiers as well as to the king himself.[19] On this basis, Hen concludes:

> The exceptional, brutal policy of the Capitulatio did not emerge ex nihilo; it was deeply rooted in the political as well as the religious ideology that characterized al-Andalus at the time. The fact that within less than two years from its publication [i.e. 795 CE, according to Hen], the Capitulatio was replaced by the more lenient Capitulare Saxonicum, suggests that the new politico-religious notions embedded in it were indeed strange and did not accord with the main stream of Carolingian political thought. It was an alien concept that did not fit the Carolingian reality, and hence it was discarded without any qualms shortly after its faults were exposed by Alcuin. (...) It was the language of jihad, brought to the Frankish court by Spanish Christians who sought refuge in the Frankish kingdom, if not by Theodulf of Orléans himself.[20]

Thus, Hen introduced a new and far-reaching explanation to the discussion sketched out above. Thanks to what Hen terms a »migration of ideas«, Islam had left its imprint on the spread of Christianity beyond the borders of the former Roman Empire. According to this explanatory model, neither the mentality of a warrior elite, nor the latent aggressive universalism of Christianity, but Islam has to be held responsible for the fact that the diffusion of Christianity acquired a new, hitherto unknown, violent dimension.

The primary aim of the present article is to raise and – at least partially – answer questions that arise from Hen's hypotheses and the premises they are built on. Hen seems to believe that Charlemagne's informants were able to present the king with a clear-cut description of how Muslims dealt with adherents of other religions. It is not self-evident, however, that Islam of the late eighth century had already developed a systematic approach to non-Muslim religions that could be adopted by external observers. The first part of the article is thus dedicated to a sketch of the scholarly debate on this subject as well as the principle features of the Arabic-Islamic subjection of non-Muslim societies in the western Mediterranean.

Even if Islam had already developed clear principles of dealing with other religions in the period under investigation, it cannot be taken for granted that the Carolingian elite was aware of these principles. Hen correctly suggests that the Carolingians knew much more about Muslim al-Andalus than is usually acknowledged, but neglects to define this knowledge in concrete terms. The second part of the article is thus dedicated to understanding what Charlemagne and his entourage could have known about the Muslim treatment of non-Muslims. Hen's entire argument hinges on specific passages of the *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*, which he defines as clearly influenced by ›Islamic‹ thought. Consequently, this part of the article also discusses if these passages clearly reflect Islamic influence or rather build on previous Christian ways of dealing with other religions and of organizing and administrating Christianity.

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17   *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*, ed. Boretius, 68.

18   Cf. Schubert, Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae, 5-11.

19   Hen, Charlemagne's Jihad, 44-49.

20   Hen, Charlemagne's Jihad, 49-50.

The emergence of an Islamic system of religious hierarchization

The idea that Islamic principles of dealing with adherents of other religions could inspire political decisions in neighbouring non-Muslim societies builds on the premise that, from the beginning of the Arabic-Islamic expansion onwards, the Muslims established a clear system of religious hierarchization in the societies they subjected. This system as well as the principles that governed it would have to be clearly and explicitly formulated, clearly implemented and thus clearly observable from the external point of view, not only of those non-Muslims affected by it, but also of non-Muslims otherwise uninvolved in the Islamic administration of multireligious communities who depended on second-hand information.

The Muslim subjection of the Middle East and the so-called Pact of ʿUmar

Hen's description of this Islamic system is based on one primary source, the so-called *Pact of ʿUmar*, as well as on secondary literature characterized by the quest of understanding the Islamic treatment of other religions from a systemic point of view.[21] Some of this literature resorts to a moral critique that focuses exclusively on the system's disadvantages for non-Muslims.[22] The literature's systemic approach does not deny, but tends to obscure that the Islamic legal system consists of a huge body of multiple and occasionally contradictory opinions that reacted to changing historical circumstances and thus evolved over the centuries. This applies, in particular, to the three centuries following the Arabic-Islamic expansion: in the seventh to ninth century, many legal opinions were formulated for the first time and only slowly became part of an increasingly systematized, but nonetheless pluralistic corpus of quasi-canonical juridical texts.[23]

Milka Levy-Rubin has demonstrated that Islamic legal opinions regarding the Muslim treatment of subjected non-Muslims have to be positioned within this process of legal evolution. As already emphasized by Albrecht Noth, the flexibility of early surrender agreements contributed to the middle- and long-term success of a process of expansion which allowed an Arab minority to take control over a region stretching from the Iberian Peninsula to Central Asia within approximately 120 years.[24] The rights of the subjected populations were generally established, not primarily along religious lines, but with regards to the question if the population in question had been subjected to Muslim rule as a result of force (ʿanwatan) or by negotiated peace agreement (ṣulḥan). Although the former variant elicited punitive actions such as enslavement, confiscations etc., the Muslim conquerors generally left the religious life of the subjected populations untouched. The conquered received a security guarantee (amān) in exchange for the payment of taxes (jizya, kharāj)[25] and acquiesced to measures that ensured their loyalty to the new overlords. These procedures are reminiscent of post-conquest stipulations imposed on conquered populations by non-Muslims in the pre-Islamic period, e.g. Romans, Byzantines and Sassanids. It is thus questionable, if measures taken in the immediate aftermath of

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21 Tritton, *Caliphs and their non-Muslim Subjects;* Dennet, *Conversion and the Poll-Tax*; Khadduri, *War and Peace*, 175-202; Friedman, *Freedom and Coercion in Islam.* Among the works missing in Hen's article are Fattal, *Statut légal des non-musulmans*; Kallfelz, *Nichtmuslimische Untertanen im Islam*; Planhol, *Minorités en Islam.*

22 Ye'or, *Dhimmi.*

23 Cf. Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence.*

24 Noth, Der frühe Islam, 63-67. Also see Donner, Islamic Conquests. Kennedy, *Great Arab Conquests*, 34-65, rather stresses the early Muslims military prowess, religious dedication and fighting spirit.

25 These two kinds of taxes, the *jizya* usually referred to as poll tax, the *kharāj* as land-tax, were not yet clearly distinguised in the early years following the conquest, cf. Cahen, Djizya; Cahen, Kharādj.

the Muslim conquest of a specific locality were necessarily based on a legal system or even a clear-cut conception of religious hierarchization.[26] Corresponding doubts are reinforced if one does not regard the expanding Muslims as a monolithic body of dogmatically streamlined fanatics following the call to military *jihād*,[27] but as a militarized and religiously motivated but dogmatically still rather flexible monotheist reform movement.[28]

Depending on the circumstances that characterized the settlement of the new Muslim ruling elites in the conquered territories, different forms of cohabitation emerged. Muslim settlement took place in three major variants: (1) in places originally inhabited by non-Muslims and taken by force, Muslim dominance was fully established; (2) in places originally inhabited by non-Muslims but subjected peacefully, Muslim dominance was tempered by the necessity of respecting certain privileges of the subjected population agreed upon during the negotiations of surrender; (3) in newly founded military encampments (*amṣār*), initially only populated by Arabs, Muslims were dominant numerically. However, in the centuries following their establishment, even these military camps were increasingly populated by non-Muslims. Thus, cohabitation and intensifying interaction confronted Muslims from the Arabian Peninsula with the modes of life and religious customs of various subjected societies and began to affect the legal framework characteristic of the respective situation of conquest: since Muslims were a minority living among a majority of non-Muslims in all conquered territories, they had to prevent the religious assimilation of the Muslim population into the surrounding non-Muslim environment. This provoked various legal debates concerning the rights of non-Muslims under Muslim rule, the necessity of respecting the original clauses of peace agreements, and ultimately led to the formulation of laws of segregation in the course of the eighth century. These seem to have been increasingly canonized in the late eighth and ninth century.[29]

The document known as the *Pact of ʿUmar* has to be placed into this context. The *Pact of ʿUmar* is often unreflectingly ascribed to the second caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (ruled 13-23/634-44) and regarded as the prime normative text that defined the Muslim stance towards subjected non-Muslims for centuries to come. Careful study of the attested versions of the document has brought to light, however, that it can probably not be assigned to the early period of Muslim expansion, but has to be regarded as one among several products of the legal debates and the processes of legal systematization mentioned above, that increasingly gained importance in the course of the ninth century.[30]

The legal development sketched out above has mainly been reconstructed on the basis of source material produced in the Middle East, under Muslim control since about the middle of the seventh century. It would not be justified to generalize by automatically applying these findings to all territories under Muslim control. This holds particularly true for the Muslim West, which was brought under Muslim rule slightly later than the Middle East, North Africa

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26 Levy-Rubin, *Non-Muslims*, 8-57. Cf. Noth, Verträge, 282-314.

27 See Tyan, Djihād, for a traditional and systemic appraoch, and Crone, *Thought*, 363-385, for a wider definition of this multifaceted concept.

28 Donner, Conquests, 28-51.

29 Levy-Rubin, *Non-Muslims*, 58-87. Cf. Noth, Abgrenzungsprobleme zwischen Muslimen und Nicht-Muslimen, 290-315; Cahen, Djizya, 559-562.

30 Levy-Rubin, *Non-Muslims*, 86-87; Cohen, What was the Pact of ʿUmar, 100-157; Miller, *From Catalogue to Codes to Canon*.

being subjected in the course of the seventh century, the Iberian Peninsula invaded in 711. Until around the middle of the ninth century, the Muslim West was dependent on various cultural imports, including legal traditions, from the Middle Eastern heartlands of Islam.[31]

Hen's assumption that the Carolingians received most of their knowledge about Islam from the Iberian Peninsula seems plausible: Carolingian relations with the Muslim Middle East amounted to one exchange of ambassadors with the Abbasid caliph al-Manṣur under Pippin the Short around 768, another one with Hārūn al-Rashīd under Charlemagne around 800 CE as well as some scarcely attested long-distance trade.[32] As will be shown shortly, Carolingian relations with al-Andalus were much more intense. Consequently, it is of utmost importance to understand the specificities of the situation of non-Muslims under Muslim rule in the Muslim West by providing an overview on the processes of subjection and religious hierarchization that affected the two population groups in contact with the Frankish sphere, i.e. North African Berbers and the Romanized population of the former Visigothic realm.

The Muslim subjection of Berber North Africa
Even if we accepted that the Carolingian elite could have drawn back on ›foreign‹ inspiration to come to a decision on how to subject a neighbouring region, we have to acknowledge that the expanding Franks and the expanding Muslims did not necessarily face the same type of societies. In Saxony, the Carolingians had to deal with a society that we could define as agrarian, non-urbanized, nonliterate, polytheistic and with a rudimentary administration. If the Carolingian elite were in search for inspiration on how to deal with the Saxons at all, they would have needed a blueprint for dealing with tribally organized polytheistic societies. In and around the Mediterranean, the Muslims mainly encountered urban, literate and, in comparison, effectively administrated pluri-religious societies, and only very few groups that had not yet been fully integrated into the folds of Judaeo-Christian monotheism. The only significant and politically organized populations that had neither fully succumbed to Judaism nor to a Romanized form of Christianity were the so-called Berbers, various tribal societies that controlled the hinterland of the Romanized urban coastline of northwestern Africa.

Arabic-Islamic sources, all of them written at least one and a half centuries after the period of conquest, if not later, credit some Berber groups with having adopted Judaism prior to Islam,[33] others with being Christian,[34] others with being »unbelievers« (*kuffār*)[35] or »Magians« (*ʿalā dīn al-majūsiyya*).[36] Some sources, such as al-Balādhurī's (d. 279/892) history of

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31 Cf. Makkī, Ensayo sobre las aportactiones orientales, 65-92; Dhū ʾn-Nūn Ṭāha, Importance des voyages scientifiques, 39-44; Peña Martín (ed.), *Iraq y al-Andalus*. For the economic dimension of this cultural reorientation of the Iberian Peninsula see Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain*, 3-5.

32 McCormick, Pippin III, 221-241; Borgolte, *Gesandtenaustausch*; König, *Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West,* 198-201.

33 E.g. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), *Tārīkh,* ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, 140: »kāna baʿḍ hāʾulāʾ al-Barbar dānū bi-dīn al-yahūdiyya«; further sources in Hirschfeld, Problem of Judaized Berbers, 313-339.

34 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871), *Futūḥ Miṣr,* ed. Torrey, 201, dealing with the »non-Arabs of Ifrīqiya« (*ʿajam Ifrīqiya*), speaks of »Berbers who pertained to the Christian religion as they did« (*man aqāma ʿalā l-naṣrāniyya maʿahum min al-Barbar*); also see Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, 140-141. The diffusion of Christianity among a few Berber groups in pre-Islamic times is also suggested by linguistic evidence. Kossmann, *Arabic Influence on Northern Berber*, 66-67, 71-72, 80-81, for example, pointed to the fact that Berber variants used in regions adjacent to the (former) Roman province of *Africa* use a term resembling the Latin ›Easter‹ (*pascha*) to denominate the Islamic breaking of the fast of Ramaḍān (*īd al-fiṭr*).

35 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 199: »qātala al-Barbar wa-hum kuffār«.

36 Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, 142.

the expansion, completely ignore the Berbers' pre-Islamic religion, describe their subjection mainly in military terms and point to the large number of Berber captives taken.[37] Since it is not possible in this context to present and discuss the discrepancies of individual sources, we may content ourselves with reviewing the variants of submission documented in these sources.

After being obliged by the conqueror ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to pay a poll tax (*al-jizya*) of 13.000 dīnār, the Lawāta, i.e. religiously undefined Berber inhabitants of the Cyrenaica (*Barqa*), received the permission to pay this tax by handing over their children to the Arabs around 641.[38] A certain Kusayla, credited with having led an alliance of Byzantines (*al-Rūm*) and Berbers against ʿUqba b. Nāfiʿ in the early 680s, is either mentioned in the same context as Berbers defined as »unbelievers«,[39] or identified as a Christian who converted to Islam at the invitation of the Muslim conqueror Abū l-Muhājir, but apostatized later.[40] The »queen of the Berbers« (*malikat al-Barbar*) called »the priestess« (*al-kāhina*), who spearheaded the last wave of resistance against the Arab invaders at the end of the seventh century, is not associated with a specific cult by some, but credited with second sight and with swearing by what she defines as »my God« (*wa-ilāhī*).[41] Others claim that she may have adhered to Judaism.[42] When she foresees her own death in battle, she ensures that her two sons are sent to the appointed governor of the Maghreb, Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān, who takes them under his protection (*wa-akhadha li-abnayhā bi-amānan*), entrusting the elder son with leadership over a group of Berbers from the tribe of al-Butr.[43] According to one source, Ḥassān bin al-Nuʿmān

> imposed the *kharāj* [i.e. the land tax] upon the non-Arabs of Ifrīqiya (*ʿajam Ifrīqiya*) and whoever among the Berbers who pertained to the Christian religion as they did, most of the ordinary population being from the [tribe of] al-Barānis except for a few from [the tribe of] al-Butr.[44]

Others state that he only accepted the Berbers' surrender and conversion to Islam under the condition that they provided the Arabs with a specified number of warriors.[45] Such a treatment of Berber groups is also ascribed to Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, who succeeded Ḥassān bin al-Nuʿmānas as governor of Ifrīqiya, moved further westward and subjected various Berber groups at the beginning of the eighth century. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr appointed a certain Ṭāriq b. Ziyād over a host of Berbers and Arabs that initiated the invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 711.[46] On the topic of the conversion of the Berbers, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) concludes:

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37 Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. de Goeje, 224-231.

38 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 170; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. de Goeje, 224-226.

39 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 198-200.

40 Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, 142.

41 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 201.

42 Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, 140. Cf. Hirschfeld, Problem of the Judaized Berbers, 317.

43 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 201; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, 143.

44 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 201: »wa-waḍaʿa al-kharāj ʿalā ʿajam Ifrīqiya wa-ʿalā man aqāma maʿahum ʿalā l-naṣrāniyya min al-Barbar wa-ʿāmatuhum min al-Barānis illā qalīlan min al-Butr«; trans. by the author. Almost identical in Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, 143.

45 Ibn ʿIdhārī al-Marrākushī (d. after 712/1312-13), *Al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 1, 38; cf. Lévi-Provençal, Recit de la conquête, 41-42; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, 143.

46 Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, vol. 1, 42; cf. Lévi-Provençal, Recit de la conquête, 41-42; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, 144.

The Berbers apostatized twelve times between Tripolis and Tanger, and their Islam did not become firm until Ṭāriq and Mūsā b. Nuṣayr crossed over to al-Andalus after the subjection of the Maghreb, and in the name of *jihād* a great number of footsoldiers and leaders of the Berbers also crossed. They settled there from the conquest onwards, and, during this time, Islam became an integral part of the Maghreb and the Berbers complied to its rule, and the word of Islam became firmly entrenched among them, and they lost sight of apostasy. Then khārijism took root among them, and they embraced it, having received it from mobile Arabs who had been exposed to it in Iraq. So the number of their (sectarian) groups multiplied, and their ways branched out.[47]

In sum, Arabic-Islamic historiography suggests that most Berber groups subjected by the expanding Arabs were, in their majority, not treated as monotheists with the same rights as urban Romanized Christians, but rather as polytheists who were offered the two options of either battle or subjection and conversion. On this basis, scholarship has reconstructed a process of subjection that only enabled few Berber groups already adhering to a form of monotheism to retain a pre-Islamic religion.[48] Notwithstanding, the abovementioned variants of submission show that the Arabs' treatment of the Berbers did not amount to the mechanistic application of religious principles, but seems to have been dictated by the Arabs' need for human resources: seemingly non-monotheist Lawāta were given the possibility of paying the poll tax in slaves, whereas most other Berber groups were integrated into the Muslim host immediately upon subjection. In due course, these Berber groups formed an important part of the troops that invaded the Iberian Peninsula in 711. However, the »ambiguity in their status as tribute-paying subjects and militant members of the community of their conquerors«, as Michael Brett and Elisabeth Fentress put it,[49] is one important factor that has to be held responsible for the outbreak of the great Berber revolt in the 740s, as well as the Berber endorsement of heretic forms of Islam such as *khārijism* in the late eighth and ninth centuries, all of which were characterized by a loosening of the tie between Arab ethnicity and religiously legitimized rule.[50] In view of the emergence of these ethno-regional manifestations of Islam, it seems too simple to claim with Maya Shatzmiller that »Berber conversion remained a sore point in Berber/Arab relations and in the Berber communal and national memory for many years.«[51] Although the rapid process of formal conversion via military integration certainly did not lead to an immediate and profound Islamization of Berber groups, Berber resistance of the 740s and later was not directed against Islam as such, but against Arab domination.

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47 Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, ed. Zakkār and Shaḥāda, vol. 6, 144: »inna l-Barbar irtaddū ithnatay ʿashrata marra min Ṭarābulus ilā Ṭanja, wa-lam yastaqirr islāmuhum ḥattā ajāza Ṭāriq wa-Mūsā bin Nuṣayr ilā l-Andalus baʿda dawkh al-Maghrib wa-ajāza maʿahu kathīr min rijālāt al-Barbar umarāʾuhum bi-rasm al-jihād. fa-istaqarrū hunālik min ladan al-fatḥ, fa-ḥaynaʾidhin istaqarra al-islām bi-l-Maghrib wa-adhʿana al-Barbar li-ḥukmihi, wa-rasakhat fīhim kalimat al-islām wa-tanāsū al-ridda. thumma nabaḍat fīhim ʿurūq al-khārijiyya fa-dānū bihā, wa-laqanūhā min al-ʿArab al-nāqila miman samaʿahā bi-l-ʿIrāq. wa-taʿaddadat ṭawāʾifuhum wa-tashaʿʿabat ṭuruquhā (...)«; trans. by the author.

48 Cf. Basset and Pellat, Berbers, 1178-1179; Brett, Arab Conquest, 505-522; Norris, *Berbers in Arabic Literature*, 44-79; Abun-Nasr, *History of the Maghrib*, 26-42; Dhanun Taha, *Muslim Conquest and Settlement*, 55-83; Brett and Fentress, *Berbers*, 81-88; Rouighi, Berbers of the Arabs, 67-101.

49 Brett and Fentress, *Berbers*, 87.

50 Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*, 54-65.

51 Shatzmiller, *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World*, 338.

The Muslim subjection of the Iberian Peninsula

The creators of al-Andalus did not have to deal with paganism anymore. The Visigothic realm of the seventh and early eighth centuries was certainly not effectively administrated, but featured a centralized form of government characterized by a very close cooperation between the royal elite and the church.[52] Some remnants of pre-Christian polytheism had probably survived several centuries of Christianization.[53] However, Christian aggression in the decades preceding the Muslim invasion was primarily directed against Jews.[54] In all probability, the invading Muslims encountered mainly Christians and Jews when they took over power after 711.

A rapid evaluation of contemporary Latin-Christian chronicles and later Arabic-Islamic historiography produced in Muslim al-Andalus suggests, however, that the Muslim treatment of adherents to non-Muslim religions on the Iberian Peninsula evolved in a way that is comparable to the development reconstructed by Milka Levy-Rubin with regards to the Middle East.[55]

Both contemporary Latin-Christian as well as later Arabic-Islamic sources suggest that collaboration played an important role in facilitating the conquest. They mention several Christians and Jews of North African as well as of Iberian provenance who supported the Muslim advance in one way or another.[56] The Muslim takeover of Iberian cities and territories seems to have taken place peacefully in some cases, but was characterized by violence in other cases:[57] the Hispano-Latin *Chronicle of 754* classifies the surrender agreement negotiated in connection with the conquest of Toledo around 93/712 as »an evil and fraudulent peace« (*pace fraudifica male*).[58] According to the anonymous chronicle *Akhbār majmūʿa*, the surrender agreement concluded after the violent conquest of Mérida in 94/713 stipulated that the possessions of all inhabitants who had died during the conquest or fled to the north together with the properties and valuables of the city's churches were to belong to the victorious Muslims.[59] Evoking the terrors of the conquest of Zaragoza in 95/714, the Hispano-Latin *Chronicle of 754* claims that

> some of the cities that remained sued for peace under duress and, after persuading and mocking them with a certain craftiness, the Saracens granted their requests without delay.[60]

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52   Cf. King, *Law and Society*, 16-21; Anton, König und die Reichskonzilien, 257-281.

53   McKenna, *Paganism and Pagan Survivals*, 108-146.

54   König, *Bekehrungsmotive*, 405-413.

55   For a detailed analysis of the Muslim conquest and settlement of the Iberian Peninsula in the eighth century see Lévi- Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, vol 1; Chalmeta Gendrón, *Invasión e islamización*; Manzano Moreno, *Conquistadores, emires y califas*; and, from a perspective emphasizing literary criticism: Hernández Juberías, *Península imaginaria*; Clarke, *Muslim Conquest of Iberia.*

56   See König, *Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West,* 47 notes 143 and 144 for a list of sources.

57   Cf. Chalmeta Gendrón, *Invasión e islamización*, 206-213.

58   *Continuatio hispana*, § 70, ed. Mommsen, 353; trans. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, § 54, 132.

59   *Akhbār majmūʿa*, ed./transl. Lafuente y Alcántara, 16 (AR), 29 (ES).

60   *Continuatio hispana*, ed. Mommsen, § 71, 353: *pacem nonnulle civitates, que residue erant, iam coacte proclamitant adque suadendo et inridendo astu quoddam, nec more, petita condonant*; trans. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, § 54, 133.

According to all extant versions as well as all references to the so-called *Treaty of Tud-mīr*, possibly concluded 96/715 with the Visigothic noble Theodemir/Tudmīr, the Muslims guaranteed security and religious freedom to the Christian population of Orihuela, Baltana, Alicante, Mula, Villena, Lorca and Ello in exchange for the payment of specified taxes and the fulfillment of precautionary measures ensuring that the subjected population did not give shelter to potential enemies.[61]

The period of Andalusian governors (c. 715-56) saw the first steps at administrating the newly conquered territory. The *Chronicle of 754* associates ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mūsā (ruled c. 94-97/713-716) with the conclusion of the Treaty of Tudmīr and the exaction of the earliest taxes.[62] His successor al-Ḥurr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafī (ruled c. 97-100/716-719) is said to have sent judges through Spain, exacted taxes and given back possessions to Christians as to ensure fiscal revenues.[63] The *Chronicle of 754* attributes further fiscal measures as well as the distribution of booty to al-Samḥ b. Mālik al-Khawlānī (ruled c. 100-102/719-21)[64] who, in the chronicle *Akhbār majmūʿa*, is credited with having systematically gathered information about the status of the different territorial acquisitions, i.e. the question if they had sur-rendered peacefully or had been taken by force.[65] His successor ʿAnbasa b. Suḥaym al-Kalbī (ruled c. 102-107/721-26), the *Chronicle of 754* claims, then doubled the Christians' taxes.[66] The following governor, Yaḥyā b. Salāma al-Kalbī (ruled c. 107-10/726-28), is criticized by the chronicler for having created unrest by restoring property to the Christians that had pre-viously been held by Berbers and Arabs.[67] The governor ʿAbd al-Malik b. Qaṭan al-Fihrī (ruled c. 114-16/732-34) is criticized for having allowed his judges to exact too many taxes.[68] His successor ʿUqba b. Ḥajjāj al-Salūlī (ruled c. 116-23/734-41) is presented as having enforced

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61   The *Treaty of Tudmīr* is cited in the following sources: al-ʿUdhrī, *Tarṣīʿ al-akhbār*, ed. al-Ahwānī, 4; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār,* ed. ʿAbbās, 132, trans. O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain*, 94; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyāt al-mul-tamis*, ed. Codera and Ribera, 259; trans. Constable (ed.), *Medieval Iberia*, 37-38. Moreover, it is mentioned in *Continuatio hispana*, ed. Mommsen, § 79, 356; regarded as an interpolation by Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 151 n. 180. The treaty is also mentioned in *Akhbār majmūʿa*, ed./trans. Lafuente y Alcántara, 12-13 (AR), 26 (ES). In spite of all these references, the authenticity of the document is questioned by Molina, Tudmīr, 584-585. However, the arrangement described in the sources is generally regarded as plausible by scholars, cf. Chalmeta Gendrón, *Invasión e islamización*, 121, 206-209; Manzano Moreno, *Conquistadores, emires y califas*, 43, 46, 53, 65, 67, 70, 106-109, 112, 117, 121, 143, 263, 265-267, 278, 454.

62   *Continuatio hispana*, ed. Mommsen, § 79, 356: *omnem Spaniam per annos tres sub censuario iugo pacificans;* trans. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, § 59, 135.

63   *Continuatio hispana*, ed. Mommsen, § 80, 356: *Alaor per Spaniam lacertos iudicum mittit (…) Spaniam ulterio-rem vectigalia censiendo conponens;* § 81, 356: *resculas pacificas Christianis ob vectigalia thesauris publicis inferenda instaurat*; trans. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, § 62, § 64, 136-137.

64   *Continuatio hispana*, ed. Mommsen, § 56, 358: *ulteriorem vel citeriorem Iberiam proprio stilo ad vectigalia inferenda describit, preda et manualia vel quidquit illud est, quod olim predaviliter indivisum retemtabat. in Spania gens omnis Arabica sorte sociis dividendo partem ex omni re mobili et inmobili fisco adsociat;* trans. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chron-iclers*, § 69, 138.

65   *Akhbār majmūʿa*, ed./transl. Lafuente y Alcántara, 23-24 (AR): »fa-waḍaʿa yadan fī l-suwāl [sic] ʿan al-ʿanwa li-yu-mayyizahu min al-ṣulḥ«, 35 (ES).

66   *Continuatio hispana*, ed. Mommsen, § 90, 359: *vectigalia Christianis duplicata exagitans;* trans. Wolf, Conquerors, § 74, 140.

67   *Continuatio hispana*, ed. Mommsen, § 92, 359: *acri ingenio Ispanie Saracenos et Mauros pro pacificis rebus olim ablatis exagitat atque Christianis plura restaurat;* trans. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, § 75, 141.

68   *Continuatio hispana*, ed. Mommsen, § 108, 362: *Iudicesque eius prerepti cupiditate;* trans. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, § 81, 146.

law and order, as having ordered a census to be taken of the entire population, as having sys-tematically enriched the fisc and as having judged everyone according to his own law.[69] The early 740s were marked by a civil war brought about by the Berber uprising in al-Andalus and North Africa as well as the arrival of new Arab troops from Syria. According to the *Chronicle of 754*, the governor Abū l-Khaṭṭār al-Ḥusām b. Ḍirār al-Kalbī (ruled 125-27/743-45) unjustly demanded the payment of additional taxes from Athanagild, the son of the abovementioned Theodemir/Tudmīr. In view of the recent arrival of Syrian forces, the sum of 27.000 *solidi* was produced within three days. Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1375) claims that the distribution of the share of taxes to these newly arrived military units was effected by a certain Arṭabās, defined in this context as »*comes* (*qūmis*) of al-Andalus, leader of the non-Arabs under pro-tection and exactor of their taxes for the amīr-s of the Muslims«.[70] It is not clear, however, if Arṭabās already fulfilled this institutional function, not yet mentioned in the *Chronicle of 754*, during the governorship of Abū l-Khaṭṭār: according to Ibn al-Qūṭiyya (d. 367/977), Arṭabās, son of the former Visigothic king Vitiza, was appointed *qūmis* around a decade later under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I (ruled 138-72/756-88).[71] In any case, the effects of the civil war seemingly prompted the last Andalusian governor Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī (ruled c. 129-38/746-56) to carry out a new population census and to erase the names of (deceased) Christian taxpayers from the public records.[72]

This list of activities, recorded in their majority by a contemporary Latin-Christian chron-icler,[73] suggests that the Andalusian governors of the first half of the eighth century estab-lished a rudimentary fiscal system on the Iberian Peninsula.[74] This fiscal system cannot be regarded as stable, however: even after the surrender status of each community had been assessed, the amount of taxes could vary from governor to governor, some of whom seem to have exploited the Christian subject population, while others protected their posses-sions. In addition, demographic factors resulting from the arrival of new groups and high mortality rates necessitated adapting the tax registers and the methods of distribution in use. Latin-Christian and Arabic-Islamic sources both suggest that the measures taken were characterized by a certain degree of flexibility necessary to ensure the regular flow of fiscal revenues in a situation of political instability. Even if we believe that the late period of gover-nors witnessed the emergence of a quasi-institutional arrangement between conquerors and conquered, the latter represented by the *qūmis*, the scant information at our disposal does not allow to verify how far the latter's influence extended into the subjected Christian society

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69 *Continuatio hispana*, ed. Mommsen, § 109, 362-363: *descriptionem populi facere imperat atque exactionem tributi ardue agitat. perversos Spanie vel diversis vitiis implicatos ratibus adpositis maria transvolat, fiscum ex diversis oc-casionibus promptissime ditat, austerius et omni occulta datione perseverat; neminem nisi per iustitiam legis proprie damnat (...)*; trans. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, § 82, 146-147.

70 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Iḥāṭa*, ed. ʿInān, vol. 1, 103: »qūmis al-Andalus wa-zaʿīm ʿajam al-dhimma wa-mustakhrij kharā-jihim li-umarāʾ al-muslimīn«.

71 Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Tārīkh iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, ed. al-Ibyārī, 58: »wa-walāhu al-qimāsa, fa-kāna awwal qawmas bi-l-Andalus«; cf. Chalmeta Gendrón, Ḳūmis, 376.

72 *Continuatio hispana*, ed. Mommsen, § 131, 366: *iste descriptionem ad suggestionem residui populi facere imperat atque ut eos, quos ex Christianis vectigalibus per tantas eorum strages gladius iugulaverat, a publico codice scriniarii demerent licet peculando, sollicite imperat*; trans. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, § 91, 156.

73 On this chronicler see Cardelle de Hartmann, Textual Transmission of the Mozarabic Chronicle, 17-19.

74 Chalmeta Gendrón, *Invasión e islamización,* 237-341.

of the Iberian Peninsula, especially if we account for regional discrepancies brought about by different circumstances of conquest, varying settlement patterns and forms of regional and local rule.[75]

Since the extraction of fiscal resources from a recently subjected population is a common feature of probably every conquest, we must ask if the payment of taxes was explicitly understood as having a religious dimension by the affected population. The *Chronicle of 754*, as cited above, defines the fiscal territory in geographical terms as *Spania* or *Iberia*, the taxpayers as *Christiani*. It thus suggests that the payment of taxes was in some way linked to the religion of the tax payers, especially considering that this collective term never appears in those parts of the chronicle that describe the Iberian Peninsula before the Muslim invasion.[76] The fact that the subjected inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula probably understood from an early period onwards that they paid taxes as Christians to non-Christian conquerors,[77] does not allow us to infer that the Andalusian governors legitimized the fiscal system in religious terms vis-à-vis the subjected population or imposed a rigid system of explicitly formulated Islamic norms on the conquered society. Later Arabic-Islamic sources on this period use the terminology of *dhimma*, *dhimmat Muḥammad* or even *dhimmat Allāh*, but do not all employ the term *jizya*, usually regarded as an essential feature of the Islamic system of religious (including fiscal) hierarchization. In general, these historiographical sources focus on the establishment of a link between the payment of taxes and resulting »protection« (*dhimma*), but do not dwell on the religious character or the religious justification of extracting fiscal resources.[78]

Whereas those involved and affected probably understood that the Muslim extraction of taxes from non-Muslim subjects was not only based on the dichotomy of conquerors and conquered, but also on their religious alterity, a legal system providing an explicit Islamic justification of this relationship does not seem to have existed under the rule of the Andalusian governors. Al-Khushanī (d. 371/981), author of a *History of the Judges of Córdoba*

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75 Cf. Chalmeta Gendrón, *Invasión e islamización*, 157-60, 347-84; Manzano Moreno, *Conquistadores, emires y califas*, 121-188, 239-362.

76 The *Continuatio hispana*, ed. Mommsen, acknowledges that Muḥammad was seen as a prophet (§ 12, 338: *propheta eorum*), refers to *urbes Romanas* (§ 15, 339) in connection with Sisebut's subjection of Iberian cities held by the Byzantines, and generally defines the pre-Muslim Iberian Peninsula in geographical (*Iberia, Hispania, Yberie, Spania, Spanii*, cf. § 15-16, 26, 36, 65, pages 339, 341, 351) or ethno-political terms, either speaking of the »realm of the Goths« or linking the ethnonym »Gothi« to the accession of a new king (*regnum Gothorum, regnum Wisegothorum, reges Gothorum, Gothi,* cf. § 18-19, 21, 23, 26, 35, 46, 49, 53, 58, 67, 71, 74, pages 340-341, 343, 348-350, 352-354). »Christiani« are only mentioned in ecclesiastical contexts (§ 22, 340: *Christianis mentibus*; § 54, 350: multiplici *Christianorum collegio clero*). The only other ethnic term used for groups on the Iberian Peninsula is »Basques« (§ 36, 343: *Vasconum*).

77 In the case of the *Chronicle of 754*, the relative absence of information on the Muslim conquerors' religion has prompted Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 35-41, to believe that the chronicler deliberately avoided dealing with a topic that could have caused frictions with the Muslim authorities.

78 On the Qurʾānic term *jizya*, see Qurʾān 9:29. Cf. Cahen, Djizya, 559-562. The following sources all mention the concept of *dhimma*, linked to God and Muḥammad, but not the term *jizya*: al-ʿUdhrī, *Tarṣīʿ al-akhbār*, ed. al-Ahwānī, 4: »anna lahu ʿahd Allāh wa-mīthāquhu wa-mā baʿatha bihi anbiyāʾuhu wa-rusuluhu, wa-anna lahu dhimmat Allāh ʿazz wa-jall wa-dhimmat Muḥammad (...).«; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, ed. ʿAbbās, 133: »wa-inna lahu ʿahd Allāh wa-dhimmatuhu wa-dhimmat nabīhi (...).«; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughyāt al-multamis*, ed. Codera and Ribera, § 675, 259: »wa-inna lahu ʿahd Allāh wa-dhimmatuhu wa-dhimmat nabīhi (...).« Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa*, ed. ʿInān, vol. 1, 103, uses the terms *dhimma* and *kharāj*: »zaʿīm ʿajam al-dhimma, wa-mustakhrij kharājihim«, as well as »the riches of the non-Arab people under protection« (*amwāl ahl al-dhimma min al-ʿajam*).

(*Tārīkh al-quḍāt bi-Qurṭuba*), only knows three judges of Córdoba active in this period – i.e. Mahdī b. Muslim, ʿAnṭara b. Filāḥ and Muhājir b. Nawfal al-Qurāshī. In each case, however, he only provides rather superficial information on their activities. The earliest Andalusian judge, Mahdī b. Muslim, is said to have been appointed by the Andalusian governor ʿUqba b. Ḥajjaj al-Salūlī (ruled c. 116-23/734-41), and also was mentioned by the *Chronicle of 754* to have enforced the law.[79] According to al-Khushanī, the governor explained in detail to the newly appointed judge how he should carry out his office. This ›catalogue of ethical behaviour‹ does not refer to any source of legal authority except for the Qurʾān, the *sunna* as well as undefined books, not yet to any legal school of thought.[80] Although the authenticity of such a document may be doubted, it nonetheless proves that al-Khushanī regarded the middle of the eighth century as a period in which the foundations of a legal system in al-Andalus were laid down. Al-Khushanī treats the succeeding two judges superficially, and obviously did not dispose of much information.[81] He proffers more details on Yaḥyā b. Yazīd al-Tūjībī, the judge of Córdoba witnessing the transition of power from the last Andalusian governor, Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī (ruled c. 129-38/746-56), to the first Umayyad amīr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I (ruled 138-72/756-88). Not even then, however, does he mention any involvement of this judge in the affairs of the subjected population.[82]

Although the increasingly systematic exaction of taxes and the appointment of judges in Córdoba clearly shows that Muslim al-Andalus in the period of the governors developed administrative mechanisms, a systematized legal system only seems to have been introduced in the second half of the eighth century, that is after the coup d'état and foundation of the emirate of al-Andalus at the hands of the Umayyad refugee ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I (ruled 138-72/756-88),[83] the latter credited, as we have seen, with the creation of an institutional mediator between the subjected population and the Muslim authorities.[84] We should consider in this context, that – even in the Middle Eastern heartlands of Islam – the transition from oral legal traditions to what Joseph Schacht defined as »the literary period« of Islamic law only seems to have taken place in the second century of the *hijra*, i.e. the second half of the eighth century.[85] The earliest Middle Eastern authorities of Islamic law – i.e. Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774), Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) – were active in the period around 750 that witnessed both the accession to power of the Carolingians and the Umayyads of al-Andalus. According to al-Khushanī, it was a certain Ziyād b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, also known as Shabṭūn (d. 193/809 or 199/815), who first introduced the legal sciences (*al-fiqh*) and the legal distinction between what is permitted and forbidden (*al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām*) to al-Andalus.[86] Ibn al-Qūṭiyya (d. 367/977) credits him and his contemporary al-Ghāzī b. Qays (d. 199/815) with the introduction of

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79 Al-Khushanī, *Kitāb al-quḍāt* ed./trans. Ribera, 18-23 (AR), 23-30 (ES). Cf. *Continuatio hispana*, ed. Mommsen, § 109, 362-363.

80 Al-Khushanī, *Kitāb al-quḍāt*, ed./trans. Ribera, 19-23 (AR), 24-30 (ES), with references to the Qurʾān and the *sunna* on page 20 (AR), 24-25 (ES), to undefined books on page 23 (AR), 29 (ES).

81 Al-Khushanī, *Kitāb al-quḍāt*, ed./trans. Ribera, 23-27 (AR), 30-35 (ES).

82 Al-Khushanī, *Kitāb al-quḍāt*, ed./trans. Ribera, 27-29 (AR), 35-37 (ES).

83 Fierro, Introduction of ḥadīth in al-Andalus, 73-74.

84 Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, ed. al-Ibyārī, 58.

85 Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, 176-179.

86 Al-Khushanī, *Kitāb al-quḍāt*, ed./trans. Ribera, 50 (AR), 61 (ES); cf. Fierro, Introduction of ḥadīth in al-Andalus, 73.

Mālikī law, specifically the latter's legal compilation *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, to al-Andalus.[87] It is in this period, Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076) claims, that the legal school of al-Awzaʿī, described by Schacht as displaying a still rudimentary form of systematic reasoning,[88] was sidelined by Mālikī law,[89] which then became firmly entrenched in the Umayyad emirate in the first half of the third/ninth century,[90] more specifically during the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (ruled 206-38/822-52). In the words of Eduardo Manzano Moreno:

> In a moment that can be dated very approximatively to the emirate of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II, Córdoba witnessed unprecedented efforts to import the principles of Muslim practices and norms from the Orient. At this moment one still cannot speak of a network of Andalusī ʿulamaʾ as is evident from the fact that only a handful of Andalusī teachers can be ascribed to the period between the end of the eighth and the first decades of the ninth centuries (second-third century of the hijra). However, a hundred years having passed after the conquest, an enormous interest to become acquainted with the theoretical, practical and juridical foundations of Islam arises in al-Andalus. Over the years, this initial interest becomes a veritable torrent of people who engrossed themselves in religious knowledge.[91]

Manzano Moreno's evaluation is seconded by Janina M. Safran, according to whom the need to keep Muslims distinguishable from a non-Muslim majority in an increasingly organized polity and society of al-Andalus gave rise to the motivation to formulate clear legal principles defining the boundaries between Muslims and non-Muslims.[92] Consequently, it comes as no surprise that explicit and concrete stipulations of how to deal with the subjected non-Muslim population including their, at least partially, religious justification, only become accessible in textual form in the Andalusian reading (*riwāya*) of of Mālikī law by Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī (d. 234/848), a contemporary of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II.[93] Referring to a directive by the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (ruled 99-101/717-20), negotiated surrender agreements, authoritative tradition (*sunna*) and more recent opinions of legal authorities, the text explains and justifies the relationship between conquerors and conquered in the following way:

> Yaḥyā related to me from Mālik that he had heard that ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz wrote to his governors telling them to relieve any people who payed the *jizya* from paying the *jizya* if they became Muslims. Mālik said: »The *sunna* is that there is no *jizya* due from women or children of people of the Book, and that *jizya* is only taken from men who have reached puberty. The people of *dhimma* and the Magians do not have to pay any *zakāt* on their palms or their vines or their crops or their livestock. This is because *zakāt* is imposed on the Muslims to purify them and to be given back to their poor, whereas *jizya* is imposed on the people of the Book to humble them. As long as they are in the country they have agreed to live in, they do not have to pay anything on their property except the *jizya*. If, however, they trade in Muslim countries, coming and going in them, a tenth is taken from what they invest in such trade. This is because *jizya* is only imposed on them on conditions, which they have agreed on, namely that they

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87   Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Tārīkh iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, ed. al-Ibyārī, 56, 62; cf. Fierro, Introduction of ḥadīth in al-Andalus, 73.

88   Schacht, al-Awzaʿī. Cf. Watt and Cachia, *History of Islamic Spain*, 54-55, on the introduction and replacement of the *madhhab* of al-Awzaʿī in al-Andalus.

89   Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis* [II-1], ed. Makkī, fol. 119b, 199-200; cf. Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus*, 46.

90   Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *Tārīkh iftitāḥ al-Andalus*, ed. al-Ibyārī, 63-64, 70; cf. Fierro, Introduction of ḥadīth in al-Andalus, 74.

91   Manzano Moreno, *Conquistadores, emires y califas*, 371, trans. by the author.

92   Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus*, 35-80.

93   On Yaḥyā b. Laythī see Fierro, El Alfaquí Beréber, 269-344.

will remain in their own countries, and that war will be waged for them on any enemy of theirs, and that if they then leave that land to go anywhere else to do business they will have to pay a tenth. Whoever among them does business with the people of Egypt, and then goes to Syria, and then does business with the people of Syria and then goes to Iraq and does business with them and then goes on to al-Madīna, or Yemen, or other similar places, has to pay a tenth. People of the Book and Magians do not have to pay any *zakāt* on any of their property, livestock, produce or crops. The *sunna* still continues like that. They remain in the religion they were in, and they continue to do what they used to do. If in any one year they frequently come and go in Muslim countries then they have to pay a tenth every time they do so, since that is outside what they have agreed upon, and not one of the conditions stipulated for them. This is what I have seen the people of knowledge of our city doing.[94]

In sum, al-Andalus of the eighth and ninth centuries went through a process of legal systematization that is comparable to the one described by Milka Levy-Rubin for the Middle East of the seventh and eighth centuries. In the last quarter of the eighth century, i.e. the time when Charlemagne was occupied with the conquest of Saxony, a clear-cut Islamic system of dealing with non-Muslims laid down in canonical texts did not exist on the Iberian Peninsula. From this point of view, Hen's assumption that the Carolingian court of the late eighth century could have been inspired by an explicitly formulated Islamic system of religious hierarchization, in particular the so-called *Pact of ʿUmar*, seems highly questionable.[95]

Carolingian knowledge about the Muslim treatment of non-Muslims

It is certain, however, that the Carolingians were aware of the Muslim conquest of the Iberian Peninsula and of the fact that the population of the former Visigothic realm was now subject to a new ruling elite. It is highly probable that, in the period between the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 711 and the beginning of the Saxon campaigns in the 770s, the ruling elites of the Frankish realm had formed some kind of image of the living conditions under Muslim rule. To find out what the Carolingians perceived as the Muslim treatment of non-Muslims in al-Andalus, it is necessary to turn to Latin-Christian sources produced under Frankish rule.

The Carolingians first came into contact with the Muslims of al-Andalus when their quest of extending their influence to Aquitaine intersected with the earliest Muslim raids into southern Gaul. The ensuing relations have been treated extensively by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAlī al-Ḥajjī as well as Philippe Sénac,[96] and are documented not only in largely contemporary Latin, but also

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94 Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), *Al-muwaṭṭaʾ bi-riwāyatihi Yaḥyā al-Laythī* (d. 234/848), ed. Salīm bin ʿAbd al-Hadālī as-Salafī, Book 17 (*kitāb al-zakāt*), ḥadīth 673 (45), 293: »wa-ḥaddathanī ʿan Mālik annahu balaghahu anna ʿUmar bin ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, kataba ilā ʿummālihi an yaḍaʿū al-jizya ʿamman aslama min ahl al-jizya ḥīna yuslimūn: qāla Mālik maḍat al-sunna an lā jizya ʿalā nisāʾ ahl al-kitāb wa-lā ʿalā ṣibyānihim wa-anna l-jizya lā tuʾkhadh illā min al-rijāl alladhīna qad balaghū al-ḥulum wa-laysa ʿalā ahl al-dhimma wa-lā ʿalā l-Majūs fī nakhīlihim wa-lā kurūmihim wa-lā zurūʿihim wa-lā mawāshīhim ṣadaqa li-anna l-ṣadaqa innamā wuḍiʿat ʿalā l-muslimīn taṭhīran lahum wa-raddan ʿalā fuqarāʾihim wa-waḍaʿat al-jizya ʿāhā ahl al-kitāb ṣaghāran lahum fa-hum mā kānu bi-baladihim alladhīna ṣālaḥū ʿalayhi laysa ʿalayhim shayʾ siwā l-jizya fī shayʾ min amwālihim illā anna yattajirū fī bilād al-muslimīn wa-yakhtalifū fīhā fa-yuʿkhadh minhum al-ʿushr fīmā yadīrūna min al-tijārāt wa-dhālik annahum innamā wuḍiʿat ʿalayhim al-jizya wa-ṣālaḥū ʿalayhā ʿalā an yuqarrū bi-bilādihim wa-yuqātil ʿanhum ʿadūwuhum fa-man kharaja minhum min bilādihi ilā ghayrihā yatjar ilayhā fa-ʿalayhi al-ʿushr (...) wa-hādhā alladhī adraktu ʿalayhi ahl al-ʿilm bi-baladinā«; translation adapted from http://ahadith.co.uk/permalink-hadith-669 (retrieved on 17 May 2016).

95 A point already underscored by Nelson, Religion and Politics, 24.

96 El-Hajji, *Andalusian Diplomatic Relations*; El-Hajji, Political Relations of Andalusian Rebels, 56-70; Sénac, *Musulmans et Sarrasins*; Sénac, *Carolingiens et al-Andalus*.

in later Arabic-Islamic sources.[97] The extant sources suggest several possibilities by which the Carolingian ruling elite of the late eighth century could have been informed about the living conditions of non-Muslims under Muslim rule in al-Andalus and even North Africa.

Pathways of transmission

The earliest Muslim raids into Frankish territory took place in the 720s.[98] An ambivalent figure in this context is Eudo, the *dux* of Aquitaine, who is credited with having defended the Frankish realm from Saracen attacks in some sources, accused of collaboration with the latter in other sources.Two Hispano-Latin chronicles claim that Eudo's troops routed the Muslims at Toulouse, killing their governor al-Samḥ (ruled c. 100-02/719-21).[99] In the *Liber pontificalis*, Eudo even appears as the person responsible for defending the Frankish realm from the Saracen onslaught in 725-26.[100] Sources produced in the Carolingian orbit, in turn, accuse Eudo of having incited either the same or a later Muslim incursion into the Frankish realm.[101] Paul the Deacon points to tensions between Eudo and Charles Martel. In line with earlier sources claiming that Eudo was eventually forced to call Charles for help, he states that both joined forces against the Saracens around 732.[102]

Regardless of his exact loyalties, Eudo had the possibility of acquiring and transmitting information, not only about the Muslim conquerors of the Iberian Peninsula, but also about the Arab treatment of Berbers on the Iberian Peninsula and, possibly, in North Africa. According to the Hispano-Latin *Chronicle of 754*, he married one of his daughters to a Berber chief (*unus ex Maurorum gente*) called »Munnuz« to forestall Muslim attacks against the Frankish realm. Munnuz, in turn, seems to have collaborated with Eudo to achieve independence from Arab rule in a period preceding the great Berber revolt. Munnuz rebelled against the new Andalusian governor ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghāfiqī (ruled 112-14/730-32) in 731, but was captured and beheaded, whereas Eudo's daughter was received honourably by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and then sent to the caliph in Damascus.[103] It is unclear how this information relates to the report provided by the *Gesta episcoporum Autissiodorensium* which mention that Aimo, the ruler of Zaragoza, broke a marriage alliance involving Eudo's daughter Lampagia.[104] All sources referring to Eudo agree, however, that he was, in some way or another, enmeshed in the complex frontier situation in the border zone between al-Andalus and the Frankish realm.[105] Since Eudo is credited with having eventually collaborated with Charles Martel in all sources, we may surmise that the knowledge he acquired about circumstances under Muslim rule would have been transmitted to the leading Carolingian of his day.

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97 König, *Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West,* 189-201.

98 Sénac, *Carolingiens et al-Andalus*, 11-17; König, *Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West*, 190-192.

99 *Continuatio byzantia-arabica/Continuatio hispana*, § 40/§ 86, ed. Mommsen, 358; *Chronicon Moissiacense*, a. 715, ed. Pertz, 290.

100 *Liber pontificalis* 91 (Gregorius II, sed. 715-731), § 182 (§ XI), ed. Duchesne, vol. 1, 401.

101 *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici continuationes*, c. 13, ed. Krusch, 175; *Annales Fuldenses*, a. 725, ed. Pertz and Kurze, 2; *Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium*, ed. Loewenfeld, 9.29; *Annales Mettenses priores*, a. 732, ed. de Simson, 27.

102 Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 6.46, ed. Waitz, 233; *Continuatio hispana*, § 103-04, ed. Mommsen, 361; *Chronicon Moissiacense*, a. 732, ed. Pertz, 291.

103 *Continuatio hispana*, § 102, ed. Mommsen, 361; cf. Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers*, 144, n. 154.

104 *Gesta episcoporum Autissiodorensium*, ed. Waitz, 394.

105 Sénac, *Carolingiens et al-Andalus*, 17-31.

Eudo was not the only potential transmitter of information. Other members of local elites in Aquitaine also seem to have collaborated with the Muslims. Certain chronicles even claim that the region of Avignon fell to the Saracens in 737 »because of treason committed by the local ruling elites.«[106] Moreover, we should consider that Muslim forces soon took control of parts of southern Gaul, including the city of Narbonne and the region around Arles, thus establishing relations with the local population.[107] An early counter-campaign conducted by Charles Martell seems to have been unsuccessful.[108] The Muslims of Narbonne were expelled by his son Pippin who, after his victory around 752, was hampered in his quest of protecting Narbonne by the rebellious *dux* of Aquitaine, Waifar, around 761-762.[109] Pippin, however, did not only engage in hostilities with Muslims, but also received Saracen envoys – one from the governor of Girona and Barcelona,[110] another from Abbasid Baghdad, thus initiating Latin-Christian diplomatic relations with the Islamic sphere. Since the Abbasid delegation wintered in the city of Metz, there must have been ample opportunities for exchange.[111] Thus, even before Charlemagne assumed power or ventured into the so-called Spanish March, the Carolingians had access to various sources of information on living conditions under Muslim rule.

Charlemagne's involvement in northeastern Spain intensified this flow of information. It brought him into direct negotiations with various dissident representatives of Muslim authority on the Iberian Peninsula, i.e. when »Saracens« from the northern part of the Iberian Peninsula allegedly submitted to him in 777,[112] when Ibn al-Aʿrābī and Ibn Yūsuf visited Charlemagne's court in the same year,[113] allegedly presenting the king with the cities they governed[114] and persuading him to intervene in Spain.[115] Moving into the so-called Spanish March, Charlemagne and his entourage engaged with various Muslims, including hostages taken in Zaragoza.[116] The ensuing period witnessed an intensification of contact with the northeastern parts of the Iberian Peninsula: as we will see shortly, the earliest settlement of Hispanic refugees in Carolingian territory took place in the 780s. Moreover, Charlemagne's campaign led to Carolingian interest in the so-called ›Adoptionist heresy‹. Felix of Urgel, of whom Alcuin claims that he has »never

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106 *Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium* 10, ed. Loewenfeld, 32: *per fraudem quorundam provintialium comitatum illum; Annales Mettenses priores* 10, a. 737, ed. de Simson, 29; cf. *Chronicarum qui dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici continuationes* 20, ed. Krusch, 177.

107 *Chronicon Moissiacense*, a. 715, ed. Pertz, 290.

108 *Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium* 10, ed. Loewenfeld, 32; *Chronicarum qui dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici continuationes* 20, ed. Krusch, 177; Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 6.54, ed. Bethmann and Waitz, 237.

109 *Annales Mettenses priores*, a. 752, ed. de Simson, 43; *Chronicarum qui dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici continuationes* 44, ed. Krusch, 188; *Chronicon Moissiacense*, a. 752 and 759, ed. Pertz (MGH SS 1), 294; cf. Sénac, *Carolingiens et al-Andalus*, 37-40.

110 *Annales Mettenses priores*, a. 752, ed. de Simson, 43, 13.

111 *Chronicarum qui dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici continuationes*, cap. 51, ed. Krusch, 191; cf. McCormick, Pippin III, 221-241.

112 *Annales Mettenses posteriores*, a. 777, ed. de Simson, 99.

113 *Annales Mettenses priores*, a. 777, ed. de Simson, 65; *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 777, ed. Pertz and Kurze, 48.

114 *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*, a. 777, ed. Pertz and Kurze, 49.

115 *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*, a. 778, ed. Pertz and Kurze, 51: *ex persuasione praedicti Sarraceni*; cf. *Annales Mettenses priores*, a. 778, ed. de Simson, 66, where the initiative resides with the Hispanic Christians.

116 *Annales Mettenses posteriores*, a. 778, ed. de Simson, 99; *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*, a. 778, ed. Pertz and Kurze, 51; *Chronicon Moissiacense*, a. 778, ed. Pertz, 296.

seen a disputation of Felix with a Saracen, nor has it taken place in our presence«,[117] was summoned to the presence of the king in 793.[118] At the end of the eighth century, various embassies from Alfonso II of Asturias reached the Carolingian court.[119]

Even if we assume that some of this information recorded in Carolingian chronicles aspires to legitimize Charlemagne's Hispanic campaign and to enlarge the prestige of the king, it nonetheless provides ample evidence for the fact that various pathways of transmission provided Charlemagne with information about the political situation and the living conditions of Christians in Muslim al-Andalus.

Carolingian sources on living conditions under Muslim rule
Having established this, we may turn to the question how living conditions under Muslim rule were evaluated in Latin sources produced within the Frankish realm. Although Muslim rule is not depicted positively, it is not clearly associated with the Muslims' religion until the very late eighth century, if not the reign of Louis the Pious.

The *Annales Mettenses priores* depict Pippin's conquest of Narbonne in 752 as an act by which the king »liberated the Christians from service to the Saracens.«[120] The *Chronicle of Moissac* notes that the situation of Christians and Jews deteriorated extremely in the reign of the first Umayyad amīr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I. The latter is described as »the cruellest of all kings of the Saracens who were in Spain before him.« He is depicted as having »oppressed the Christians and Jews of Spain by demanding so much tribute that they sold their sons, daughters and servants, the few remaining suffering from penury.« One could interpret this passage as a clear acknowledgement of the early Umayyad establishment of a rigidly enforced *dhimma*-system. One should take note of the fact, however, that, according to the chronicler, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was equally cruel to Saracens and Moors, killing many of them, including the former governor Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī, the latter's sons as well as his own brother, thus leaving Spain in turmoil and depopulated to his son Hishām, the latter equally depraved.[121] When Charlemagne set out on his campaign to the Iberian Peninsula, the *Annales Mettenses posteriores* tell us that he was »moved by the pleas and complaints of the Christians who were under the yoke of the Saracens in Spain«;[122] *the Annales Mettenses priores* specify »the yoke of the evil Saracens«.[123] With regards to these sources, it is very

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117 Alcuinus, *Epistolae* 172, ed. Dümmler, 284: *Disputationem itaque Felicis cum Sarraceno nec vidi nec apud nos inventa est.*

118 *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*, a. 793, ed. Pertz and Kurze, 95; cf. *Chronicon Moissiacense*, a. 794, ed. Pertz, 300-301.

119 Einhardus, *Vita Karoli Magni* 16, ed. Holder-Egger, 19.

120 *Annales Mettenses priores*, a. 752, ed. de Simson, 43: *Christianos de servitio Sarracenorum liberavit.*

121 *Chronicon Moissiacense*, a. 793, ed. Pertz, 300: *His temporibus regnabat in Spania Exam, filius Abderraman Ibn-Mavia. Iste Ibin-Mavia debellavit Iusseph-Ibin-Abderraman et occidit eum et filios eius, regnavitque pro eo in Spania annis 33 menses 4. Hic crudelior omnibus regibus Sarracenorum fuit qui ante eum fuerunt in Spania, diversis cruciatibus interemit innumerabiles Sarracenos et Mauros, filium quoque patris sui, fratrem suum, truncatis manibus et pedibus igni cremare iussit. Christianos in Spania et Iudaeos in tantum tributa exigendo oppressit, ut filios suos et filias suas atque mancipia venderent, et pauci relicti penuria afficerentur; et per pressuram ipsius tota Spania conturbata et depopulata est. Mortuus est autem Ibin-Mavia, et regnavit Exam filius eius pro eo, fecitque malum sicut fecerat pater eius.*

122 *Annales Mettenses posteriores*, a. 778, ed. de Simson, 99: *motus precibus et querelis Christianorum, qui erant in Hispania sub iugo Sarracenorum.*

123 *Annales Mettenses priores*, a. 778, ed. de Simson, 66: *motus precibus, immo quaerelis Christianorum, qui erant in Hispania sub iugo sevissimorum Sarracenorum (...) exercitum in Hispaniam duxit.*

difficult to judge, if Charlemagne and his entourage really regarded the Muslims as so evil as to become involved in an additional campaign or if the chroniclers depicted the Saracens as evil in the hope of justifying Charlemagne's failed Spanish adventure. It is clear, in any case, that all sources treated so far oppose religiously undefined conquerors to Christian and Jewish subjects: the religious status of the former is not clear; the existence of a system of religious hierarchization suggests itself, but is not explicitly mentioned.

Charlemagne's entourage did not view the Muslims favourably. In a letter written around 786, Alcuin defines hypocrisy as a ›Saracen‹ trait.[124] Around 790, Alcuin lauds the king's *duces* for having fought against the Saracens in Spain and bewails that the latter controlled great parts of Asia and Africa.[125] Theodulf, proposed by Hen as Charlemagne's prime informer about the situation of non-Muslims under Muslim rule on the Iberian Peninsula, rarely mentions Arabs or Saracens in his works. A poem about insatiable greed and avarice features a list of oriental gifts, some of them defined as Arab.[126] In other poems the ethnonym Arab is linked to negative attributes such as »sinister« (*ater*, *torvus*).[127] A poem directed at Charlemagne calls on Córdoba to endow its treasures to someone who deserves it, and orders Arabs, compared to the Avars, to bow their necks at the feet of the king.[128] The *Capitulare de imaginibus* in the *Libri Carolini*, generally attributed to Theodulf,[129] claims that »Arab wolves have jeered by appearing as if they had clothed themselves in sheepskins and, having bypassed the truth, have accepted the lie (...).«, thus reproducing an extract from the acts of the second council of Nicaea (787).[130] A farewell poem to Louis the Pious contains the wish that Moors and Arabs may give way to him.[131] The general tone of Theodulf's references to Arabs, Saracens etc. implies that he was not sympathetic to Muslims, was aware that they followed a ›wrong‹ kind of ›truth‹, and endorsed a Carolingian policy of engaging in hostilities with Muslim al-Andalus. Such an attitude would not have been held by someone who regarded the Muslim system of administrating multireligiosity as worth emulating. As Janet Nelson put it: »Theodulf, the refugee from Spain, makes an improbable jihadi.«[132]

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124 Alcuinus, *Epistolae* 3, ed. Dümmler, 22: *Nono capite, ut nullus ex ecclesiasticis cibum in secreto sumere audeat, nisi prae nimia infirmitate, quia hypocrisis et Saracenorum est.*

125 Alcuinus, *Epistolae* 7, ed. Dümmler, 32: *Etiam et eiusdem christianissimi regis duces et tribuni multam partem Hispaniae tulerunt a Saracenis, quasi trecenta milia in longum per maritima. Sed heu pro dolor, quod idem maledicti Saraceni, qui et Aggareni, tota dominantur Affrica, et Asia maiore maxima ex parte. De quorum egressione tue venerande prudentiae dudum, ut estimo, scripsi.*

126 Theodulfus Aurelianensis, *Carmina* 7.11, ed. Dümmler, 461: *Atque Eudaemonicus munera portet Arabs. // Si veniat Bagatat Agarenis rebus onusta, / Urbs et Achaemeniis quae fuit alta locis. // Tigris et Euphrates quod habet, Iordanis et ipse, / Atque Palaestinus fert benedictus ager.*

127 Theodulfus Aurelianensis, *Carmina* 28., v. 173-176, 211-212, ed. Dümmler, 498-499: *Alter ait: Mihi sunt vario fucata colore / Pallia, quae misit, ut puto, torvus Arabs.* Theodulfus Aurelianensis, *Carmina* 29, v. 15, ed. Dümmler, 518: *Aut fucata nitens, quas habet ater Arabs.*

128 Theodulfus Aurelianensis, *Carmina* 25, v. 41, ed. Dümmler, 484: *Adveniunt gentes Christo servire paratae, / Quas dextra ad Christum sollicitante vocas. // Pone venit textis ad Christum crinibus Hunnus, / Estque humilis fidei, qui fuit ante ferox. // Huic societur Arabs, populus crinitus uterque est, / Hic textus crines, ille solutus eat. // Cordoba, prolixo collectas tempore gazas / Mitte celer regi, quem decet omne decens. // Ut veniunt Abares, Arabes Nomadesque venite, / Regis et ante pedes flectite colla, genu. // Nec minus hi, quam vos, saevique trucesque fuere, / Sed hos qui domuit, vos domiturus erit.*

129 Cf. Freemann, *Theodulf of Orléans.*

130 *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum (Libri Carolini)* 4.22, ed. Freemann and Meyvaert, 542: *et lupi Arabici exsistentes pellem ovium subsannaverunt indueri et veritatem praetereuntes mendacium amplexi sunt (...).*

131 Theodulfus Aurelianensis, *Carmina* 39, v. 9, ed. Dümmler, 531: *Maurus tibi cedat Arabsque.*

132 Nelson, Religion and Politics, 24.

Sources providing further insight into the Carolingian perception of the Muslim treatment of non-Muslims stem from the period when the issue of subjecting the Saxons was essentially solved from a Carolingian perspective. Apart from a diploma issued in 795 for a Iohannes from the *pagus* of Barcelona, granting him possessions near Narbonne for having fought against »heretics or Saracen infidels« (*ereticos sive Saracenos infideles*),[133] Charlemagne's *Praeceptum pro Hispanis* dating from 812 represents the first royal document that explicitly deals with Hispanic refugees in the Frankish realm.[134] It speaks of »our Spaniards who have come from Spain relying on us«,[135] but refrains from depicting their former living conditions under Muslim rule. The aim of the document, directed at the local *comites* of the so-called Spanish March responsible for these refugees,[136] is to protect the latter from the *comites'* oppression and fiscal exploitation.[137] These Spaniards had apparently arrived in the Frankish realm around thirty years before the document was issued,[138] i.e. in the late 770s or early 780s. We must thus conclude that these *Hispani* were not refugees from the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula which had affected the latter's northern region already in the second decade of the eighth century. Rather, their flight seems to have been related to regional turbulences in the late 770s, i.e. the rebellions of various local Muslim governors against Umayyad Córdoba that allowed Charlemagne to intervene in 777-78. Not all *Hispani* seem to have been Latin Christians: among the persons who had complained to the king, thus eliciting his written reaction, we find two men carrying the name »Zoleiman« (Ar. *Sulaymān*) and »Zatamileteis« (Ar. *Saʿdūn*?).[139] Consequently, we must thus ask ourselves if these refugees were fleeing Muslim domination, as not only Hen, but also Philippe Depreux, Xavier Gillard and Philippe Sénac purport, or rather an unstable political situation and constant military activity in a region claimed simultaneously by the Umayyads of Córdoba, local potentates and Carolingian elites.[140] This also applies to the more prominent Hispanic refugees such as Theodulf of Orléans and Agobard of Lyon, both of whom are assumed to have settled in the Frankish realm

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133 *Diploma 179*, ed. Mühlbacher, 241-242. Cf. Gillard and Sénac, À propos de quelques *Hispani*, 165-166, 167.

134 See the deliberations of Depreux, Préceptes pour les *Hispani*, 23-24, concerning the question, if Charlemagne had already issued decrees immediately after his Spanish campaign, a hypothesis formulated by several Spanish and Catalan scholars.

135 *Praeceptum pro Hispanis* (2 April 812), ed. Boretius, § 76, 169: *Ispanos nostros, qui ad nostram fiduciam de Ispania venientes.*

136 *Praeceptum pro Hispanis* (2 April 812), ed. Boretius, § 76, 169: *quia isti Ispani de vestra ministeria.*

137 *Praeceptum pro Hispanis* (2 April 812), ed. Boretius, § 76, 169: *quod multas oppressiones sustineant de parte vestra et iuniorum vestrorum, et dixerunt, quod aliqui pagenses fiscum nostrum sibi alter alterius testificant ad eorum proprietatem et eos exinde expellant contra iusticiam et tollant nostram vestituram, quam per triginta annos seu amplius vestiti fuimus et ipsi per nostrum donitum de eremo per nostram datam licentiam retraxerunt. Dicunt etiam, quod aliquas villas, quas ipsi laboraverant, laboratas [ab] illis eis abstractas habeatis et beboranias illis superponatis et saiones, qui per fortia super eos exactant. (...) Propterea has litteras fieri precepimus atque demandamus, ut neque vos neque iuniores vestri memoratos Ispanos nostros (...) nullum censum superponere presumatis neque ad proprium facere permittatis, quoadusque illi fideles nobis aut filiis nostris fuerunt, quod per triginta annos habuerunt per aprisionem, quiti possideant eilli et posteritas eorum et vos conservare debeatis.*

138 *Praeceptum pro Hispanis* (2 April 812), ed. Boretius, § 76, 169: *nostram vestituram, quam per triginta annos seu amplius vestiti fuimus (...) quod per triginta annos habuerunt per aprisionem*; cf. Gillard and Sénac, À propos de quelques *Hispani*, 166.

139 Gillard and Sénac, À propos de quelques *Hispani*, 168, on the possible identity of these men.

140 Gillard and Sénac, À propos de quelques *Hispani*, 166, emphasize »que c'est le contexte politique et militaire qui détermina le rythme de la migration«, but assume – in spite of the lack of evidence – that these refugees were made up of people »refusant la domination musulmane«. In the same vein, Depreux, Préceptes pour les *Hispani*, 23, claims: »Ces *Hispani* avaient fui la domination de l'émirat d'al-Andalus pour se réfugier sous la tutelle, franque, c'est-à-dire sous une tutelle chrétienne.«

in about the same period, i.e. the 780s, as well as Prudentius of Troyes, assumed to have left the Iberian Peninsula later. Yet concrete and reliable evidence about the time and motivation of migration is lacking in all three cases.[141]

The Hispani are mentioned again in the *Constitutio de Hispanis* issued by Louis the Pious in 815.[142] Again, the document was issued because the local authorities had failed to respect the rights of Hispanic refugees already spelt out in Charlemagne's *Praeceptum* of 812. As opposed to the latter document, Louis' *Constitutio* clearly spells out the refugees' motivation for seeking refuge in the Frankish realm.

> Since we believe«, Louis wrote, »that it cannot have escaped your notice how, because of the unjust oppression and the cruel yoke which the people of the Saracens, most inimical to Christianity (*inimicissima Christianitati*), has imposed upon their necks, a number of men have fled to us from parts of Spain after leaving behind their own dwellings and possessions which belonged to them from hereditary right, and have settled in Septimania and in that part of Spain which has been left deserted by our margraves, and – eluding the power of the Saracens – have subjected themselves to our dominion by their free and obvious will, we want to make known to all of you that we have decreed that these men, received under our protection and defence, shall maintain their liberty.«

In this context, Louis not only mentions Hispani, »who reside in these places at present«, but also Hispani who, »until this time will have sought refuge under our custody from the power of their enemies.[143]

As already noted by Philippe Depreux, the tone of this document is much harsher and clearly defines the Saracens as enemies of Christianity.[144] This accords well with other sources produced under the rule of Louis the Pious, such as Ermoldus Nigellus' poem of praise (written c. 823-30): it does not only feature the story of the Frankish soldier Datus who witnesses how his mother was killed by a cruel Saracen,[145] but also claims that Louis the Pious legitimized military action against the Muslims by pointing to their refusal to accept Christianity:

> If this people venerated God and pleased Christ, / and were bewetted with the unction of holy baptism, / then we would be obliged to conclude peace, and to hold this peace, / so that it could be joined, through God, with religion. / But it remains execrable and spurns our / Salvation, and follows the orders of the demon.[146]

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141 Cf. Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur*, vol. 1, 288 (Theodulf), 415 (Agobard); Girgensohn, *Prudentius und die Bertinianischen Annalen*, 1.

142 *Constitutio de Hispanis prima*, ed. Boretius, § 132, 261-263.

143 *Constitutio de Hispanis prima*, ed. Boretius, § 132, 261: *Sicut nullius vestrum notitiam effugisse putamus, qualiter aliqui homines propter iniquam oppressionem et crudelissimum iugum, quod eorum cervicibus inimicissima Christianitati gens Sarracenorum imposuit, relictis propriis habitationibus et facultatibus quae ad eos hereditario iure pertinebant de partibus Hispaniae ad nos confugerunt, et in Septimania atque in ea portione Hispaniae quae a nostris marchionibus in solitudinem redacta fuit sese ad habitandum contulerunt, et a Sarracenorum potestate se subtrahentes nostro dominio libera et prompta voluntate se subdiderunt, ita ad omnium vestrum notitiam pervenire volumus, quod eosdem homines sub protectione et defensione nostra receptos in libertate conservare decrevimus. (...) Sed liceat tam istis Hispanis, qui praesenti tempore in praedictis locis resident, quam his qui adhuc ad nostram fidem de iniquorum potestate fugiendo confluxerint et in desertis atque in incultis locis per nostram vel comitis nostri licentiam consedentes aedificia fecerint et agros incoluerint, iuxta supradictum modum sub nostra defensione atque protectione in libertate residere (...)*; trans. by the author.

144 Depreux, Préceptes pour les *Hispani*, 23. On the question if Louis thus used a concept of »Christendom« opposed to a »Saracen«, i.e. Islamic sphere, see Geelhaar, *Christianitas*, 332, n. 84.

145 Ermoldus Nigellus, *Carmen in honorem Hludowici*, 1, v. 207-266, ed. Dümmler, 11-13.

146 Ermoldus Nigellus, *Carmen in honorem Hludowici*, 1, v. 281, ed. Dümmler, 13: *Si gens ita deum coleret, Christoque placeret, / Baptismique foret unguine tincta sacri, / Pax firmanda esset nobis, pax atque tenenda, / Coniugi ut possit relligione deo. / Nunc vero execranda manet, nostramque salutem / Respuit, et sequitur daemonis imperia. / Idcirco hanc nobis pietas miserata tonantis / Servitii famulam reddere namque valet; ; trans. Kedar, Crusade and Mission, p. 7*

Notwithstanding, documents attributed to Louis the Pious do not necessarily bespeak a sweeping condemnation of the Muslim faith on the part of the king. The *Constitutio de Hispanis secunda*, issued 10 February 816, also mentions Hispani, »who have eluded the power of the Saracens and have sought refuge under our or our father's custody«,[147] but refrains from the polemics characteristic of the document issued one year earlier. Even more interesting is a letter written by Louis around 830 to the entire people of Mérida (*cuncto populo Emeritano*). It is unclear, if this letter, referring to Jesus Christ in the *Invocatio*, was really addressed to all religious groups which, in the 820s, must have populated the city of Mérida. In the letter, the king refers to an unjust form of tribute exacted from the city's populace by the ruling amīr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (ruled 206-38/822-52) and introduced by his father al-Ḥakam I (ruled 180-206/796-822):

> We have heard of your tribulation and the multifaceted fears which you have endured because of the cruelty of King Abdiraman who, because of his insatiable greed for your possessions, which he has tried to take away from you, has often oppressed you violently. As we have learned, his father Abolaz had already done the same thing, who forced you to pay an unjustly imposed tax (*censum*) to him, of which you were not the debtors, thus transforming you from friends into foes and from obedient subjects of his to disobeying rebels because he wanted to deprive you of your liberty as well as burden and humiliate you with unjust taxes and tributes.[148]

Louis the Pious, involved in the affairs of Aquitaine and northeastern Spain from an early age onwards, was probably better informed about affairs of the Iberian Peninsula than his late father. The documents cited above suggest, moreover, that he may have been ideologically more averse to the Saracens whom he seems to have regarded as enemies of the Christian faith. The tribute exacted by these Saracens and explicitly mentioned by Louis is not defined, however, in religious terms, but simply as a form of oppression. According to his letter to the populace of Mérida, Louis associated this oppression, not with Islam, but with a specific period and individual rulers who destroyed pre-existing friendly relations existing up to the early reign of al-Ḥakam I by exacting unjust and humiliating forms of tribute. Thus, as late as 830, there is still no indication that the ruler of the Frankish realm had a clear conception of Islam, nor of a specifically Islamic system of dealing with non-Muslims.

The definition of the Saracens as enemies of Christianity, first formulated by Louis the Pious in 815, was taken up again by Charles the Bald in his *Praeceptum pro Hispanis* of 844, explicitly modeled on the earlier documents of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious.[149] The Christian dimension of receiving Spanish refugees is much stronger, however, as already

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147 *Constitutio Hludowici de Hispanis secunda* (10 Feb. 816), ed. Boretius, no. 133, 263: *Hispani, qui de potestate Sarracenorum se subtraxerunt et ad nostram seu genitoris nostri fidem se contulerunt (…)*; trans. by the author.

148 Einhartus, *Epistolae* 12, ed. Hampe, 115-116: *Audivimus tribulationem vestram et multimodas angustias, quas patimini per crudelitatem regis Abdiraman, qui vos per nimiam cupiditatem rerum vestrarum, quas vobis auferre conatus est, sepissime violenter oppressit. Sicut et patrem eius Abolaz fecisse conperimus, qui iniustis superpositionibus censum, cuius debitores non eratis, sibi vos solvere cogebat et propter hoc de amicis inimicos et de obedientibus sibi contrarios atque inobedientes effecerat; quia et libertatem vobis tollere et iniustis censibus ac tributis vos honerare atque humiliare molitus est*; trans. by the author.

149 *Praeceptum pro Hispanis* (11 June 844), ed. Boretius, § 256, 259: *crudelissimum iugum inimicissimae christiani nominis gentis Sarracenorum evitantes … ab eorumdem Sarracenorum potestate se subtrahentes«, 260: »qui adhuc ad nostram fidem de iniquorum potestate fugiendu confluxerint.*

noted by Philippe Depreux: Charles the Bald emphasizes the religious dimension of giving assistance to fellow Christians,[150] demands that the Hispani should be received as belonging to the »unity of the faith«,[151] and decrees that the Hispani should be protected »by all faithful of the holy church of God«.[152]

In sum, it is possible to validate Hen's hypothesis that the Carolingians were much better informed about the situation of Christians in al-Andalus than can usually be gleaned from general accounts of the Carolingian era that do not focus, as does Philippe Sénac, on relations with Muslim Spain, or from general studies of Latin-Christian images of Islam that rarely provide a detailed description of Carolingian perceptions of Islam.[153] It may be added that the few existing studies on the Carolingian perception of Islam highlight that the latter cannot be reduced to negative stereotypes.[154] Corroborating these studies, analysis of the aforementioned sources procured the following results: Carolingian elites before, in and after the time of Charlemagne were very aware of the Muslim presence on and beyond the Iberian Peninsula, generally deemed hostile, but dealt with pragmatically if necessary. Carolingians, at the latest from Charlemagne onwards, were aware of the fact that the so-called Saracens were not Christians, but either heretics or infidels.[155] However, an explicit definition of the latter as anti-Christian non-Christians only appears in the reign of Louis the Pious, that is, long after the Carolingian takeover of Saxony.[156] Although Carolingian sources frequently mention tribute exacted from non-Muslims by Muslim authorities and, in sources post-815, even link the oppressive exercise of Saracen power and authority, including the exaction of tribute, to the Saracens' anti-Christian attitude, the extant texts do not betray a Carolingian awareness of a religiously justified Islamic system of religious hierarchization and taxation.

It is very difficult to form a judgement on the question of whether Charlemagne and his entourage regarded the Saracens as a deviant religious group subjecting and oppressing Christians and Jews by exacting tribute from them for religious reasons, or whether they merely regarded the Saracens as just another variant of non-Christianized foreign conquerors who, not being part of the political-ecclesiastical system of the Frankish realm, were not entitled to subject (Latin) Christians. Both the *Chronicle of Moissac* and Louis the Pious' letter to the people of Mérida suggest a Carolingian awareness of fluctuations in the Saracen treatment of subjected Christians and Jews. The fact that succeeding Umayyad rulers are evaluated differently implies that the Carolingian observers did not regard Muslim al-Andalus as a society functioning according to a uniform legal system, but rather as a society in which the situation of the subjected Christian population largely depended on the indi-

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150 *Praeceptum pro Hispanis* (11 June 844), ed. Boretius, § 256, 259: *quatenus et nostra regalis conservatio constructa atque innovatio in eorum bene gestis operibus exaltationi ecclesiae pretioso Christi sanguine redemptae et ministret augmentum et animabus eorum ac nostrae proficiat semper in emolumentum.*

151 *Praeceptum pro Hispanis* (11 June 844), ed. Boretius, § 256, 259: *sicut in unitate fidei.*

152 *Praeceptum pro Hispanis* (11 June 844), ed. Boretius, § 256, 260: *ab omnibus fidelibus sanctae Dei ecclesiae*; cf. Depreux, Préceptes pour les *Hispani*, 23.

153 Cf. Daniel, *Islam and the West*; Southern, *Western Views of Islam;* Sénac, *L'Occident face à l'Islam*; Tolan, *Saracens.*

154 Mohr, *Wissen über den Anderen*, 68-75, 251-260, 294-298; Goetz, Sarazenen als Fremde, 39-66; Goetz, *Wahrnehmung anderer Religionen*, vol. 1, 233-410; Bade, Vorstellungen vom Islam und den Sarazenen, 89-120; Bade, *Christlich-abendländische Wahrnehmung vom Islam*, 83-119.

155 *Diploma* 179, ed. Mühlbacher, 241-42: *ereticos sive Saracenos infideles.*

156 Also see Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, 9-13.

vidual non-Christian ruler. This accords with the fact that, in the Frankish realm, the ear-liest Latin sources describing concrete features of Muslim religion and society date from the tenth century.[157]

In spite of numerous military confrontations, the taking of captives and hostages, diplo-matic exchange and other forms of communication and information transfer, early Carolin-gian images of Muslim society still seem to have been rather vague. Carolingian sources do not suggest that Charlemagne and his entourage clearly understood the functioning of the Islamic society of al-Andalus. This raises the question how they could have adopted a reli-giously defined hierarchized fiscal system from a society they only dimly understood. Since it is equally impossible to claim that the Carolingian elite around Charlemagne idealized or admired the so-called Saracens, we must ask ourselves why the Carolingians should have wanted to adopt the latter's religiously defined hierarchized fiscal system. If one really insis-ted on a migration of ideas from al-Andalus to the Carolingian court under the circumstances sketched out above, then this transcultural inspiration would would have had to have taken place unconsciously.

The Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae: Islamic or Christian influences?
Hen's entire argument that this migration of ideas took place, hinges on specific passages of the *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae* which he defines as ›Islamic‹. According to Hen, the

> decree has no precedent in the history of the Christian mission, and it seems to be more than a faint echo of the Islamic concept of *jihad*. I would like to suggest that it was indeed the notion of *jihad*, with which, no doubt, Theodulf was familiar, that stood behind the formulation of the *Capitulatio*'s forced conversion policy.[158]

Closer analysis reveals, however, that the *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae* does not re-flect a clear-cut Islamic system of dealing with infidels. Even if we assumed an Islamic influ-ence, then the *Capitulatio* would contain a very particular mixture of ›Islamic‹ principles of treating non-Muslims.

The *Capitulatio* includes the threat of capital punishment for those refusing to be bap-tized, a ruling Hen leads back to the ›Islamic principle‹ of offering the choice between death or conversion to non-monotheists.[159] Its primary source is Qurʾān 9:5, that orders its rea-ders to aggress and kill those who associate something with God (*al-mushrikūn*), generally defined as polytheists, unless they repent, pray and pay the Muslim alms tax (*zakāt*). This call to forced conversion is attenuated to a certain degree, in that it (1) forms part of the only Qurʾānic sūra not introduced by the *basmallah*, i. e. the invocation »in the name of God, the most gracious, the merciful«; (2) is clearly linked to the historical context of the early Mus-lims' conflict with the Meccans (9:1); (3) is surrounded by verses which require believers to respect treaty obligations with polytheists who have kept their pledges (9:4); and grants asylum and a safe-conduct to polytheists who seek refuge with the Muslims without forcing them to convert (9:6). In consequence, the inner-Muslim theological and juridical debate

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157 Iohannis abbas s. Arnulfi, *Vita Iohannis abbatis Gorziensis*, c. 119-123, ed. Pertz, 371-372, describes Muslim social customs in al-Andalus encountered by the Ottonian envoy John of Gorze in Córdoba. Rodulfus Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque* 1.9, ed./trans. France, 20-22, describes the abduction of Maiolus, abbot of Cluny, and comments on the Saracens' acknowledgement of biblical prophets in this context.

158 Hen, Charlemagne's Jihad, 47.

159 *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae* 8, ed. Boretius, 69; cf. Hen, Charlemagne's Jihad, 47.

about these verses cannot be reduced to one single opinion on the correct Muslim conduct vis-à-vis non-monotheist non-Muslims.[160] In the case of the Berbers, these Islamic principles seem to have been implemented by either demanding tribute from monotheist and non-monotheist Berbers or by forcing them to become part of the Muslim army. The ruling of the *Capitulatio* is much more precise and leaves no interpretative options.[161]

The *Capitulatio* also obliges the Saxons to pay the tithe, a religious tax Hen wrongly equates with the *jizya*, i.e. the Muslim poll tax requisitioned from adherents to non-Muslim monotheistic ›people of the book‹, instead of regarding it as the equivalent to the *zakāt*, i.e. the (alms) tax required to be paid by (newly converted) Muslims.[162] In the Frankish realm of the eighth century, the tithe was not yet universally established. However, it had already been declared obligatory by several ecclesiastical authorities in and outside the Frankish realm in pre-Islamic times.[163] To impose this tax, there was no need to draw on external inspiration, the more so as Alcuin's argument against the imposition of the tithe on the Saxons does not question its existence as such, but only its imposition on the newly converted.[164]

Hen believes that the Frankish legislator's satisfaction with seeing that the churches of Saxony receive greater honour than the temples of idols can be traced back to Islamic principles of prohibiting the construction and repair of synagogues and churches as well as of ensuring the greater height, higher visibility and prestige of Muslim edifices in hierarchized pluri-religious societies under Muslim rule.[165] Apart from the Christianized Saxons who collaborated with the Franks, the religious landscape in Saxony at the end of the eighth century was dominantly non-monotheist. Had the Carolingian elite around Charlemagne looked for a system of how to deal with pagans, why did they deem it necessary to adapt Islamic rules for dealing with non-Muslim monotheist places of worship to pagan Saxon ›temples‹ – if sites such as the Irminsul, destroyed by the Frankish conquerors at the very beginning of the Saxon Wars, can be regarded as ›temples‹? The discrepancy between the multi-religious urban environment that gave rise to Muslim legal norms and the situation in Saxony makes a »migration of ideas« seem implausible.

Finally, Hen interprets the Capitulatio's granting of church asylum as an inversion of a Muslim prohibition to give shelter to Muslim enemies in churches.[166] Why would a Muslim precautionary measure ensuring that subjected populations did not use Christian places of worship to give shelter to potential enemies inspire the establishment of the institution of church asylum in Saxony, especially considering that the issue of church asylum is already

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160 Cf. Crone, *Thought*, 370-372.

161 *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae* 8, ed. Boretius, 69: *Si quis deinceps in gente Saxonorum inter eos latens non baptizatus se abscondere voluerit et ad baptismum venire contempserit paganusque permanere voluerit, morte moriatur*; cf. Hen, Charlemagne's Jihad, 47.

162 *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae* 17, ed. Boretius, 69; cf. Hen, Charlemagne's Jihad, 48.

163 Puza, Zehnt, 499-500; Toneatto, Dîme et construction, 65-86; Devroey, Introduction de la dîme obligatoire, 87-106.

164 Alcuin, *Epistolae* 110, ed. Dümmler, 158: *Scimus, quia decimatio substantiae nostrae valde bona est: sed melius est illam amittere quam fidem perdere. Nos vero, in fide catholica nati nutriti et edocti, vix consentimus substantiam nostram pleniter decimare; quanto magis tenera fides et infantilis animus et avara mens illarum largitati non consentit.*

165 *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae* 1, ed. Boretius, 68: *Hoc placuit omnibus, ut ecclesiae Christi, que modo construuntur in Saxonia et Deo sacratae sunt, non minorem habeant honorem sed maiorem et excellentiorem quam vana habuissent idolorum*; cf. Hen, Charlemagne's Jihad, 48

166 *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*, c. 2, ed. Boretius, 68; cf. Hen, Charlemagne's Jihad, 49.

discussed in detail in pre-Islamic sources such as the *Theodosian Code*?[167] In the same context, Hen interprets the phrase »concedatur ei vita et omnia membra« as referring to the so-called *ḥadd*-punishments of Islamic law, that stipulate death or mutilation in certain cases,[168] without considering that both capital punishment and mutilation are integral features of Roman and post-Roman law.[169]

If we believed that Theodulf and Charlemagne were inspired by a Muslim system of legal thought, especially with regards to the position of non-Muslim religious groups within Muslim dominated societies, we would have to concede that they took an enormous amount of creative liberty when adapting this allegedly Islamic system to circumstances in Saxony. They would have reinterpreted, strongly modified and creatively mixed principles of dealing with pagans (forced conversion), non-Muslim monotheists (poll tax, building and repairing of churches and synagogues, church asylum) as well as with Muslims and non-Muslims alike (*ḥadd*-punishments). What Hen classifies as a the product of a »migration of ideas« would thus amount to a garbled mixture of legal principles, which again could not be assigned to a clear-cut Islamic system of dealing with other religions.

All in all, we may ask ourselves, why the Franks, assiduous compilers of Roman and vernacular legal traditions, should have needed the inspiration of Islamic norms and laws. Many of the rulings formulated in the *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae* could be explained as essential features of legislative action by right of conquest: many of the rulings of the *Capitulatio* serve to assure the conquerors' control of the newly acquired territory, while serving the enforcement of Christianity. According to Janet Nelson,

> Charlemagne needed no external inspiration to legitimise war, whether against Saxons, Slavs, Avars or anyone else. The Christian Church had already provided such legitimisation long since, couching it, naturally, in terms of defence of the Church. It hadn't taken the young Charlemagne long to appreciate the political and economic benefits of religiously-sanctioned plundering.[170]

The argument that Charlemagne moved in a Christianized sphere that provided ample justification for the forced conversion of Saxony is seconded by various scholars who point, not only to Roman legal traditions,[171] but also to contemporary eschatological interpretations of Christianity,[172] as well as to the contemporary belief that Charlemagne's use of violence was justified from a Christian point of view. As Rachel Stone has recently stressed, eighth-century texts »repeatedly justify or take for granted aggressive warfare against both Christian and non-Christian opponents«. In this context she points to the *De conversione Saxonum carmen*, dated 777, that depicts a Carolingian king who, based on »the strength of virtues, through javelins smeared with gore«, »dragged the forest-worshipping legions into the kingdom of heaven.«[173]

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167 *Codex Theodosianus* 9. 45, ed. Mommsen.

168 *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*, c. 2, ed. Boretius, 68; cf. Hen, Charlemagne's Jihad, 49. On *ḥadd*-punishments see Carra de Vaux *et al.*, Ḥadd, 20-22.

169 Geary, Judicial Violence and Torture, 81-82; cf. Körntgen, Heidenkrieg und Bistumsgründung, 283-287.

170 Nelson, Religion and Politics, 23.

171 Cf. Körntgen, Heidenkrieg und Bistumsgründung, 282-287.

172 Ehlers, Jihad oder Parusieverzögerung 151-173.

173 *De conversione Saxonum carmen*, v. 45-47, ed. Dümmler, 381: *Per vim virtutum, per spicula lita cruore / ... / Traxit silvicolas ad caeli regna phalanges*, trans. Stone, *Morality and Masculinity*, 73.

Considering the Latin-Christian tradition of justifying the use of force to eradicate non-Christian cults and to impose a Christian system of beliefs, cult and administration,[174] the idea that Charlemagne may have been inspired by an Islamic system of religious hierarchization and *jihād*, seems very far-fetched. A few well-known examples will suffice: Emperor Theodosius I (d. 395) is credited repeatedly with having instigated the destruction of ›pagan‹ cult sites.[175] In 408, Augustine argued in a letter to Vincentinus that it did not matter if someone was forced to do something, but if he was being forced to do something good or bad.[176] In the same year, the Emperor Honorius ordered the destruction of all pagan altars as well as the confiscation of all temples under his dominion.[177] Various Merovingian saints are credited with violence against pagan cult sites,[178] while individual Merovingian, Visigothic and Lombard kings are credited with the forced conversion of Jews.[179] As argued at the beginning of this article, these instances of linking coercion and conversion were intra-societal phenomena. We should not forget, however, that the idea of taking up arms against a neighbour not considered as adhering to the ›true‹ faith, in this case ›heretic‹ Visigoths, was already ascribed to one of Charlemagne's predecessors, i.e. the Merovingian King Clovis, by Gregory of Tours.[180]

Conclusions

The previous deliberations have shown that it is rather difficult to invalidate the most prevalent explanatory models that try to make sense of Charlemagne's forced conversion of the Saxons. There certainly exist enough arguments to prove that the Carolingian combination of conquest and forced conversion was the result of a particular historical constellation in which several factors contributed to the military escalation of relations between Franks and Saxons. Given the prominent role of (missionary) Christianity in Carolingian administration and its political legitimization of Carolingian rule, it can probably be regarded as inevitable that Christianity and the church would have become involved – in one way or the other – in the expansion of the Frankish realm. Given the previous history of Christian violence against non-Christian or deviant Christian groups as well as the history of justifying corresponding activities, the decision to spread Christianity by force can thus be regarded as a ›potential option‹ in the progressing history of Christianization that would have been chosen sooner or later by the one or the other Christian warlords seeking to justify conquest and to make use of ecclesiastical administration to establish control over newly acquired territory, doing all this while maybe even acting in

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174 Cf. Maier, Compelle intrare, 55-69.

175 Ambrosius, *De obitu Theodosii oratio* 4, ed. Faller, 373: *Theodosius, qui – supplantavit perfidiam tyrranorum, qui abscondit simulacra gentium; omnes enim cultus idolorum fides eius abscondit, omnes eorum ceremonias obliteravit; ibid., 38, 391: qui sacrilegos removit errores, clausit templa, simulacra destruxit.*

176 Augustine, *Epistola 93 ad Vincentinum donatistam*, ed. Goldbacher, 338, 349-350.

177 Codex Theodosianus 16.10, 19 (Nov. 407/08), ed. Mommsen and Mayer: *Templorum detrahantur annonae et rem annonariam iuvent expensis devotissimorum militum profuturae. (..) Aedificia ipsa templorum, quae in civitatibus vel oppidis vel extra oppida sunt, ad usum publicum vindicentur, arae locis omnibus destruantur omniaque templa in possessionibus nostris ad usus adcommodos transferantur (..).*

178 König, Christliche ›Helden‹ und Gewalt, 487-489.

179 Isidorus Hispalensis, *Historia Gothorum Wandalorum Sueborum* 60, ed. Mommsen, 291; *Chronicae quae dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici continuationes* 4.65, ed. Krusch, 153; *Carmen de sinodo Ticinensi*, v. 3-10, ed. Bethmann and Waitz, 190.

180 Gregorius Turonensis, *Libri historiarum decem*, 2.37, ed. Krusch and Levison, 85.

›good faith‹. After all, Christianity was the symbolic language of the day, a symbolic language that permeated, or at least tried to permeate, all sectors of society, including the military.

Against this backdrop, the question of responsibility seems rather secondary: early medieval warrior elites would have engaged in conquest in any case, regardless of the presence of a new monotheistic belief system. Forces of conquest do not need monotheism to become active. This observation relativizes the hypotheses of Assmann and Buc to a certain degree: monotheistic religions cannot be held responsible for an increase of violence in the history of humankind. They certainly provided new and original forms of justifying violence, oppression and subjection. All in all, however, they just became part of the all too human game of exercising power over others in innumerable variants: before the forceful emergence of monotheistic ideas in early Antiquity, e. g. in the pre-Israelite Middle East, and outside their sphere of influence, e.g. the Roman-Celtic sphere or China, humans have also conquered, subjected and exerted violence in many ways.

Such a relativist stance seems unsatisfying, however. Charlemagne's forced conversion of the Saxons is certainly interesting from the perspective of a historian trying to understand the manifestations and to trace the development of a specific variant of monotheistic ideas. Regarded from an evolutionary point of view, it is interesting to see how a complex set of ideas (the teachings of Jesus and their Pauline interpretation) became an integral and directing part of several social bodies (early Christian groups), expanding and infiltrating a larger sociopolitical and economic system (the Roman Empire) and eventually moving beyond this embryonic body social by taking on the variant forms of missionary and even conquering Christianity. In this context, it is noteworthy that both the Carolingian conquest of Saxony and the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula led to the emergence of flourishing societies which, on the whole, professed the faith imposed on them while becoming loci of extremely high cultural activity and productivity. Rather than justifying or even encouraging the combination of violence and religious coercion, this observation should lead us to accept that radical, violent changes in a political and religious system are not only destructive, but create new means of cultural expression, among other things by connecting hitherto peripheral regions to new centres of cultural productivity.

To those empathizing with the Christian ideal of improving mankind, Charlemagne's forced conversion of the Saxons may seem shocking and in need of explanation: it seems to fall out of line with a process of Christianization which, until this point, seems to have been fairly ›peaceful‹. Such a view of the late antique process of Christianization tends to ignore, however, that, far from continuing in the footsteps of the powerless Judaeo-Christian minority of the first two centuries CE, late antique Christianity became an increasingly powerful tool of Roman and post-Roman politics that exerted a high degree of structural violence. This is not the place to discuss if either the Muslim subjection of the greater parts of the Mediterranean and the Middle East in the seventh and eighth centuries, or the structural violence exerted by the Muslim elites ruling after this process of subjection, were ›more violent‹ than the late antique and early medieval process of Christianization. It seems worthwhile to note, however, that in the *longue durée* of approximately 1300 years of Christian and Muslim conquest and religious integration, the expanding Christian power of the Norman-Staufen-Angevin Mezzogiorno, the Reconquista and the Spanish conquest of Central and Southern America tended to speak the language of religious conformity, whereas Islamic regimes expanding to subsaharan Africa, India and Malaysia, tended to insist, if in power, on a more or less rigid sociopolitical and religious hierarchy that ensured Muslim sovereignty. In both cases, physical and structural violence played an important role in establishing and maintaining the respective system.

The degree to which both systems inspired each other is the topic of a huge debate that covers various fields of expertise. These range from the relationship between late antique Christian and early Islamic theology,[181] Andalusian and troubadour poetry,[182] the Islamic concept of *jihād* and the Christian concept of crusades,[183] the Islamic *ribāṭ* and the Christian military orders[184] to that between the Islamic *madrasa* and the European-Christian university.[185] In all these cases, prominent scholars have either endorsed or questioned the idea that a ›migration of ideas‹ or, to use another technical term, a ›cultural transfer‹ had taken place. In most cases, however, it seems difficult to arrive at a final conclusion: in each case, the parallels as well as the differences are striking enough to maintain the conscientious scholar in a precarious and constantly oscillating balance of simultaneously endorsing and refuting the prevalent views in question – a problem apparent to everyone engaging with Jörg Feuchter's, Friedhelm Hoffmann's and Bee Yun's edited volume *Cultural Transfers in Dispute*.[186]

At the end of his argument that Charlemagne's forced conversion of the Saxons was inspired by the Islamic concept of *jihād* and religious hierarchization, Yitzhak Hen rightly asks scholars to question their »bold tendency to dismiss instantly any Muslim influence on the cultural, religious, and political history of early medieval Francia«,[187] an assertion with which most accomplished scholars in the field of Andalusian-Carolingian relations, including Abdurrahman Ali El-Hajji, Philippe Sénac and others, would probably agree. If Charlemagne's forced conversion of the Saxons was inspired by Andalusian Islam, however, is another question. This article has tried to show that, while such an influence cannot be ruled out completely, given the close connections between al-Andalus and the Frankish realm, it does seem highly implausible. In the period under scrutiny, Andalusian Islam was only beginning to establish a more or less clearly structured system of religious hierarchization. The evidence of the Carolingian sources does not allow us to trace the migration of a legal concept of religious hierarchization. Last but not least, the *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae* cannot be regarded as a manifestation of ›Islamic‹ thought. Rather, Hen's analysis of the document resorts to hypotheses that seem, all in all, far-fetched, sometimes illogical, and, in many cases, built on false premises, including very ahistorical and imprecise notions of the concepts of *jihād*, *jizya* and *dhimma*. Every feature of the document can be explained in alternative ways that do not need to resort to an external Islamic inspiration, especially if the preceding history of Christianization is considered. If we still insist on the possibility of a migration of ideas against this backdrop, then we would have to consider that the Muslim conquerors of al-Andalus and the Christian conquerors of Saxony were inspired by the same *Zeitgeist*, the latter strongly marked the symbolic language of expanding universal truth. Such an interpretation, however, would not be very far from Assmann's and Buc's assessment of the expansionist character of universalist monotheism, a form of belief firmly entrenched in the

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181 Rudolph, *Westliche Islamwissenschaft im Spiegel muslimischer Kritik*, 83-108.

182 Menocal, Close Encounters in Medieval Provence.

183 Noth, Heiliger Krieg und Heiliger Kampf.

184 Feuchter, Islamic Ribat.

185 Makdisi, *Rise of Colleges*; cf. Geelhaar, Medieval West.

186 Feuchter *et al.* (eds.), *Cultural Transfers in Dispute*.

187 Hen, Charlemagne's Jihad, 51.

Euromediterranean of the seventh and eighth centuries and manifesting itself in different variations which were built on the same Judaeo-Hellenistic foundations, but not necessarily directly related to each other.[188] It is at this point that conscientious historical research has to admit that, from a methodological point of view, thinking in plausible alternatives seems more sound than insisting on one, and only one interpretation of a historical constellation. We have to admit, after all, that we cannot see but the tip of the iceberg.

188 Cf. Dawson, Oswald Spengler, 386.

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Venerating St. Michael the Archangel in the Holy Roman Empire and in Bulgaria, 10th–11th Centuries: Similarities, Differences, Transformations

Tsvetelin Stepanov*

The interest in the relations between Bulgaria and the Ottonians has existed for a long time and has recently intensified.[1] This article, however, shall not discuss this topic, but will instead explore the phenomenon of the cult of St. Michael the Archangel, with the goal of examining it within the framework of Christian Europe during the early Middle Ages, where the Bulgarians will be viewed as representing its *east* and the Germans its *west*, respectively.

Keywords: St Michael the Archangel; early medieval Bulgaria; Holy Roman Empire; Monte Gargano; Bamberg

A single article could hardly encompass and interpret all the possible aspects and manifestations of the worship of St. Michael the Archangel in the Holy Roman Empire and in the Bulgarian lands during the early Middle Ages. This *a priori* suggests the need for some kind of selection of the available documents and accounts, as well as for some preliminary provisions to be made. The first of which, for instance, is related to the fact that the independent Bulgarian kingdom ceased to exist after 1018, when Byzantium conquered the Bulgarian lands, after an exhausting struggle that lasted for more than four decades. Secondly, after 1054, the Bulgarians and the inhabitants of the Holy Roman Empire followed, at least ›on paper‹, two different denominations of the Christian faith, which nonetheless did not prevent them from worshipping the same Archangel, St. Michael, during the years of the most expansive spread of his cult especially in western Europe, i.e. from the mid-tenth to the mid-eleventh century.[2] And thirdly, it seems that the anticipation of the End of Days to occur around the year 1000 (or in 992, according to the eastern Church and the so-called Constantinople era, in particular) was typical not only for the *west*, but also for the *east* (referring in this case to the Bulgarians and the Byzantines, since Byzantium and Bulgaria were the two legitimate empires of the Christian East after 927).[3] Moreover, after Pseudo-Methodius of Pathara wrote

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1 Gjuzelev, Bulgaren und Deutsche in Zeitalter der Ottonen; Гюзелев, Българските пратеничества при германския император Отон I.

2 Callahan, Cult of St. Michael the Archangel.

3 Magdalino, The Year 1000 in Byzantium, 241; Степанов, *В очакване на Края.*

his *Apocalypse* (probably in 691/2),[4] the end of the world by definition became primarily associated with the so-called last (Roman) emperor and, respectively, the last empire.[5] And since this *End* was also linked to the so-called final battle between the forces of *good* and *evil*, i.e. between Jesus Christ and the Antichrist, and the heavenly forces were to be led into battle namely by St. Michael the Archangel (Rev. 12: 7-9), it would be only logical that both the Bulgarians and the inhabitants of the Holy Roman Empire would assign a special role to St. Michael the Archangel in this heavenly plan and that all this would be duly reflected in the texts, rituals, ceremonies, and the visualizations of that age.

The Byzantines, whom the Bulgarians were culturally affiliated with, showed an increased interest in St. Michael the Archangel not only prior to 992, but also before the year 1092, which too was laden with certain expectations regarding the impending *End*. Within the borders of Byzantium in Asia Minor was located the sanctuary at Chonae, which was the site of pilgrimage and festivals celebrating St. Michael the Archangel at least until the late twelfth century.[6] Thus, Symeon the Metaphrast (d. ca. 1000) created a version of the well-known *Miracle at Chonae* which was related namely to St. Michael the Archangel. In the eleventh century, another great Byzantine philosopher, Michael Psellos (1018-1081), reflected on miracles in the most famous sanctuary of the Archangel in Western Europe, the one at Monte Gargano (situated in today's Puglia, Italy), as well as in the sanctuary in Asia Minor. The story of the miracle of St. Michael the Archangel appeared once more, at the end of the tenth century or, more probably, at the beginning of the eleventh century, again in Byzantium, but this time in the *Menologion* of Basileus Basil II (976-1025).[7] Moreover, Byzantium's capital, Constantinople – ›the centre of the world‹, also called the ›eye of the Universe‹, had several patrons: Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary (the Theotokos), the holy warrior-martyrs and alongside them, of course, St. Michael the Archangel. Just like in the West, and starting from the ninth century onwards, the latter became especially significant for the Byzantines in his role as leader of the celestial army[8] and as a symbol of imperial victory, in addition to his oldest function as a healer.[9]

And lastly, but not least in importance, western Europe read the same *Revelation* of Pseudo-Methodius of Pathara, called by B. McGinn »the crown of Eastern Christian apocalyptic literature«,[10] in Latin, beginning from the first decades of the eighth century,[11] while the

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4   Reinink, Pseudo-Methodius und die Legende vom römischen Endkaiser. The Syriac version is edited by Reinink, Syrische Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius. The Greek and Latin versions are edited by Aerts and Kortekaas, *Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius*.

5   Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 151-184; Reinink, Syrische Wurzeln der mittelalterlichen Legende vom römischen Endkaiser; Reinink, Pseudo-Methodius und die Legende vom römischen Endkaiser; Reinink, Ps.-Methodius; McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 70-71.

6   Peers, *Subtle Bodies*, 178; Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 20, 33, n. 165.

7   Peers, *Subtle Bodies*, 157-159; Basil, *Menologium Basilianum,* ed. Migne, 33 CD; Michael Psellus, *Oratio in Archangelum Michaelem*, ed. Fisher, 230-256. On the expectations of the end of the world around AD 1000 in Byzantium, see Magdalino, History of the Future and Its Uses; Magdalino, Prophecies on the Fall of Constantinople; Magdalino, End of Time in Byzantium.

8   Walter, *Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art*, 277, 293; Kazhdan, Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, 1360.

9   See Rohland, *Erzengel Michael*; Arnold, *Footprints of Michael the Archangel*, chapter 3.

10 McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 70.

11 See McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 72; for a discussion of the oldest known Latin manuscript of Pseudo-Methodius, see Kortekaas, Transmission of the Text of *Pseudo-Methodius*; the second Latin redaction of that same text is edited by Prinz, Frühe abendländische Aktualisierung.

Bulgarians got acquainted with his work from the tenth century onwards, although they read it in Old Bulgarian (Old Church Slavonic).[12] This is namely the text that contains the well-known scene with the already mentioned ›last emperor‹ who, shortly before the arrival of the Antichrist, was supposed to go to Golgotha and leave there his crown and sceptre, stretching out his hands to heaven.[13] It is therefore quite clear why for the Germans and the Bulgarians these paradigmatic, archetypical *loci/topoi* (last emperor, Golgotha, crown, scepter) stood at the base of several real or imaginary acts of their rulers, which will be discussed a bit later. The review of these and other similarities and differences in the afore-mentioned cult enables us to seek possible points of intersection in the worship of St. Michael the Archangel in the two European states (or regions) in question. It also gives us the opportunity to attempt to outline some constant characteristics as well as possible transformations and the emergence of new ›roles‹ assigned to the sainted archangel by the Germans and Bulgarians before the end of the early Middle Ages.

Otto III, Henry II and the cult of St. Michael the Archangel: symbolic acts on the threshold between two millennia.

By the mid-tenth century until the end of it, a number of texts appeared in western Europe which were directly related to the End of Time, which was expected to come in the year 1000.[14] The pressure brought on by this anticipation is best seen among the regular clergy, and more specifically among some members of the intellectual elite at that time, especially those who acted as advisers, one way or another, to the kings and, in particular to the Ottonian emperors. The latter is not surprising given the direct connection between concepts such as the (Christian) *empire*, the *chosen people/people of God*, the *salvation of souls on Judgment Day*, the *unclean people (of) Gog and Magog* and the like. Emperors were viewed by many learned men as directly responsible for the salvation of the souls of ›the God's chosen people‹ and the survival of the empire in such ›tense times‹ before the impending *End*. Most of these rulers perceived their role as a solemn responsibility of the highest possible order in the value scale of the Christian world. In this regard, of utmost importance for us are several symbolic acts made by Emperor Otto III (983-1002), who ascended the throne of the Holy Roman Empire at the tender age of three; these acts were all made just before the year 1000, during the year itself or directly afterwards.[15]

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12 Thompson, Slavonic Translations of Pseudo-Methodius, esp. 144; Йовчева и Тасева, Преславска лексика в превода на Псевдо-Методиевото Откровение; Йовчева и Тасева, Двата старобългарски превода на Псевдо-Методиевото Откровение; Тъпкова-Заимова и Милтенова, *Историко-апокалиптичната книжнина*, 161; Милтенова, Откровение на Методий Патарски; also see Tăpkova-Zaimova and Miltenova, *Historical and Apocalyptic Literature*; Biliarsky, *Tale of the Prophet Isaiah*.

13 Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 180.

14 There are many books and articles on this problem. On the letter of the abbot from Montier-en-Der, see Konrad, *De Ortu et tempore Antichristi*; Adso Dervensis, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi necnon et tractatus qui ab eo dependunt*, ed. Verhelst; Verhelst, Adso of Montier-en-Der; on the so-called letter referring to the Hungarian incursions before the year 1000, see Huygens, Un témoin de la crainte; on the attitude towards that same year amongst the Anglo-Saxons and with regard to such an author as was Ælfrik, in particular, see Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages* 150 ff.

15 On the reign of Otto III a classical study is Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio,* 87-187.

Otto III's acts do not have the nature of trivial, mundane activities. These acts bear a powerful symbolic significance, undoubtedly influenced by the cult of St. Michael the Archangel, which had a strong presence in the western parts of Christian Europe before and directly after 1000 AD.[16] This cult remained a fundamental part of western Christianity up until the twelfth century when it was gradually replaced by the cult of the Virgin Mary. Such specificity is easily explained given the fact that according to the Bible, the heavenly forces were to be led into the final battle against ›the forces of darkness‹ before the *End* by St. Michael the Archangel himself. Did this cult of the Archangel have a similar dimension in the eastern part of Europe at that time and, in particular, in the two Christian empires there, namely the Byzantine one and that of the Bulgarians? This question is much too complex and would require focused and thorough research that cannot be undertaken within the scope of this article. I would therefore simply like to point out the noteworthy fact that the mother of Otto III was of Byzantine origin and was called Theophano;[17] he nevertheless was surrounded mainly by intellectuals and ascetics with ties to the western Church.

It is well known that on the feast day of St. Michael the Archangel it is customary to read passages from the *Apocalypse* – something generally not typical for the other feast days of the liturgical year. Another detail also worth keeping in mind: the notion of St. Michael the Archangel as the master of the scales of justice which weigh the souls on the Day of Judgment began to take form during the ninth century.[18]

Following Peter Bitsilli [Bicilli], let me note that as a cultural period, the Christian Middle Ages were »governed« by hierarchy and symbolism. According to him, these two traits can be found everywhere – in science, literature and the visual arts of this period, as well as in the perception of the world in its entirety.[19] The symbolic way of thinking, continues Bitsilli, bridges the gap that divides the two worlds – the visual one, i.e. the one of experience, with the invisible (or heavenly) one.[20] Bitsilli's observations are undoubtedly true; and I would expand the two above-mentioned trends with a third, or rather a factor typical of that era – the conservative tradition. Tradition is nothing more than a specific *memory* which is repeated continuously with the help of the corresponding (symbolic) rituals or texts and images within a given collective, society, or even people; often, however, it is also renovated. Furthermore, each symbolic act, especially if it is made by an emperor, at a symbolic place and at a symbolic time, must be correctly read also as a message for the future and, possibly, as an attempt at *renewal*, a renovation (*renovatio*) of the empire.

So, what can be derived from some of the symbolic acts of Otto III, who was undoubtedly influenced by the Sibylline eschatological traditions of the Apennines? Those traditions expectedly received a significant boost on the peninsula during the tenth century, which was much more visible when compared with the same traditions in the Frankish kingdom and the lands populated by Germans. Before attempting to answer this question, it would be logical to outline at least in general these symbolic acts, along with their chronology and some of

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16   See esp. Callahan, Cult of St. Michael the Archangel, 181-204.

17   Jenkins, Byzantium, 321-325; Ciggaar, Byzantium and its Neighbors, 266; for more details, also see Euw and Schreiner, *Kaiserin Teophanu*; Davids, *Empress Theophano*; on dynastic marriages on the eve of the year 1000 esp., see Shepard, Marriages towards the Millennium.

18   Fried, Awaiting the End of Time, 59.

19   Бицилли, *Элементы средневековой культуры,* 12, 14-15.

20   Бицилли, *Элементы средневековой культуры*, 21.

their specific *loci/topoi*. Moreover, they should be placed in the overall context of Otto III's rule in the period directly preceding and following the year 1000, in particular between 996 and 1002. Some of them had projections even later on, during the rule of his successor Henry II (1002-1024), this time not only concerning the ideas of *renovatio imperii*, but also regarding another year, tensely anticipated by the Christians in the western part of Europe: the year 1033 (as a sum of the year 1000 and the 33 years of the earthly life of Jesus, the so-called *Annus Passionis*).

Johannes Fried is inclined to view as highly probable the existence of a direct connection between the discussion regarding the End of Time and the imperial programme for the ›renovation‹ of the empire at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries, since the number and quality of such references, and primarily with regard to the name of Otto III, is truly impressive.[21] This is not quite uncontroversial, as Levi Roach has recently pointed out, the sources from the time of Otto III's reign over the empire of the west do not explicitly state anything in this regard. Nevertheless, as Roach also admits, the cumulative effect of the sources dating mostly from the period from 996 to 1002 does imply certain conclusions precisely in the direction of adherence to the expectations for the End of Time.[22]

First of all, in 996, when the still quite young Otto III was preparing for his imperial coronation in Rome (on 21 May 996), he wore a cloak decorated with scenes from the *Apocalypse* of St. John the Apostle. This information can be found in the *Miracula S. Alexii*. It also contains an important addition: when the ceremony was over, Otto III bestowed this clearly significant cloak to the monastery of Saints Boniface and Alexius on the Aventine: Otto III obviously began his imperial reign with eschatological considerations in mind.[23] This is the earliest evidence of the depiction of such images outside of the illumination tradition. The so-called *Bamberg Apocalypse*, one of the several famous manuscripts from Reichenau that is perhaps the emblematic example of the illumination art-form and that in many ways has given rise to the trend of depicting the *Apocalypse* in miniatures, was probably dedicated to Otto III. This codex (*Bamberg Staatsbibliothek Msc. Bibl.* 140) contains the oldest depiction of Antichrist outside of the tradition of Beatus of Liébana and also implies definite apocalyptic conceptions.[24]

Another codex from Bamberg includes two manuscripts (*Bamberg Staatsbibliothek MSS* 22 and 76), that are combined into one body and were most probably also a part of Otto III's library.[25] A further observation regarding the monastery of Saints Boniface and Alexius in Rome can be added here. It served as a sanctuary (in the late 980s and the early 990s) to none other than one of the most important figures that helped Otto III impose new cults in Europe –Adalbert (Vojtěch) of Prague, who would later be made a saint.[26]

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21   For more details, see Fried, Awaiting the End of Time, 40 ff.; on Otto, see also Görich, *Otto III. Romanus Saxonicus et Italiscus.*

22   Roach, Emperor Otto III and the End of Time, 78, n. 11.

23   Roach, Emperor Otto III and the End of Time, 78.

24   See Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 2, 10-24, 215-228; Fried, Awaiting the End of Time, 40-41; Roach, Emperor Otto III and the End of Time , 86.

25   Roach, Emperor Otto III and the End of Time, 85.

26   Roach, Emperor Otto III and the End of Time, 79. For St. Adalbert and his deeds, also see Флоря, Христианство в Древнепольском и Древнечешском государстве, 196, 211-224, 226-236, 240-242, 245, 248, 254-255, 258-264; Wood, *Missionary Life,* 207-225; Кузнецова, Миссии латинской церкви, 50-52, 56.

Otto III made an extremely important penitential visit to a place in western Europe that was truly emblematic at the time – Monte Gargano, Apulia (today's Puglia in Southern Italy). It was made precisely at the beginning of 999, and what is more, during Lent. This Christian centre has a long history; it had been used by the Langobards/Lombards for their political and religious legitimation after they had settled in Italy. It is also the site of a major pilgrimage centre related to the cult of St. Michael the Archangel that held great significance in Europe during the early Middle Ages. As was already mentioned, the latter was directly connected to the Second Coming of Christ. The story of the miracle in Monte Gargano dates from the eighth or ninth century, while its Greek version probably emerged in the late ninth or the early tenth century, i.e. during the Byzantine *reconquista* of these territories.[27]

During the period between the tenth and the eleventh centuries, Monte Gargano was at the height of its influence among the Christians. The aura of this holy centre spread far and wide not only among the senior clergy who visited the site during the tenth century (for instance, Odo of Cluny, John of Gorze, William of Volpiano), but also among the ordinary pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem – many of them, especially Normans and Catalans, stopped there to worship St. Michael the Archangel.[28] The centre of the cult of St. Michael the Archangel at Mount Gargano had gained such great spiritual influence by the tenth and eleventh centuries that similar sanctuaries in the Apennines and in other regions of eastern Europe actually began to imitate its location and the form of its shrine.[29] For instance, the erection of the Mont-Saint Michel Abbey in Normandy on a rocky mount is a self-conscious act of modelling in accordance with the ›matrix‹ set by the sanctuary at Monte Gargano. Moreover, this imitation model was further achieved by other conscious measures: the direct ›import‹ of monks from Monte Gargano, as well as the transferring of a part of the altar stone as a relic from Gargano.[30] In many parts of western Europe, church buildings that were almost identical in shape and were raised on hills and mountain tops became a symbol of the presence and the protection of St. Michael the Archangel.[31]

Otto III started his journey to Monte Gargano at the insistence of the venerable ascetic St. Nilus.[32] This journey should also be viewed in the context of the spiritual influence wielded by Otto III's entourage during the last three years of his life. A group of prominent intellectuals and trusted ascetics who probably drew his attention to the apocalyptic literature with regard to the year 1000. According to Jean-Marie Sansterre, this austere act, along with the subsequent penitential journeys of the emperor, could all be viewed as an essential part of the renovation.[33] It can be assumed with good reason that this *renovation* of the empire was intended to somehow delay the coming of the *End of Time*, since the existence of the empire in the west was seen as a fundamental condition for the continued existence of this world.

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27   Peers, *Subtle Bodies*, 166.

28   Callahan, Cult of St. Michael the Archangel, 185, n. 32-34; cf. France, Occasion of the Coming of the Normans.

29   Peers, *Subtle Bodies*, 170; details, see in Otranto and Carletti, *Il santuario di S. Michele arcangelo*, 57-71.

30   Peers, *Subtle Bodies*, 170.

31   Peers, *Subtle Bodies*, 171.

32   *Vita de S. Nilo*, quoted after Callahan, Cult of St. Michael the Archangel, 185, n. 35; for the meeting between St. Nilus and the emperor, see Дюби, *Времето на катедралите*, 99.

33   For the influence of the ascetics over Otto III, see Sansterre, Otton III et les saints ascètes.

It should be noted in particular that on this penitential journey the emperor crossed the distance from Rome to Monte Gargano barefoot, just as each pilgrim is expected to make his way to the Golgotha – barefooted, in the literal and figurative senses of the word. Actually, this practice is much more ancient in origin. In the *Book of Exodus* in the Old Testament God explicitly tells Moses, showing him the Unburnt Bush: »Do not come any closer,« God said. »Take off your sandals, for the place where you are standing is holy ground« (*Exodus* 3:5). The Greek philosophers as well as the sages of ancient Greece in general did not fail to draw attention to this practice. They also emphasized the need to appear barefoot before the sacred sites and the places of their secrets and mysteries. Iamblichus, for instance, instructed (in *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 82-86) that »One should sacrifice and worship barefoot«.[34]

The series of similar symbolic acts was continued with a mutual penitential withdrawal by Otto III and Franco of Worms, with whom the emperor travelled to Subiaco where he laid the foundations of a church of St. Michael the Archangel and St. Adalbert of Prague. Upon his return at the end of the summer of 999, Otto III convened a meeting with his main councillors in the Abbey of Farfa (located north of Rome) and announced that he had planned some extraordinary events for the coming year 1000.[35] According to Levi Roach, this meeting had a very important contextual significance with regard to the future. The emperor issued two documents for the Abbey of Farfa, one of which ended with a striking spiritual sanction. It contained a threat to anyone who dared to break the privileges given, namely that they, together with Otto III (!), would answer for their deeds on Judgement Day. Such phrasing is quite unusual for the charters issued in Italy in the name of Otto III, but it sounds logical in the context of the emperor's penitential acts in the preceding months.[36]

Another act of Otto III also carried an emblematic quality, since it is again part of the same behavioural ›network‹ of actions. While in Aachen, the capital of Charlemagne's (†814) empire, Otto III ordered the emperor's tomb to be opened, thus obviously signalling a connection between his own authority and the legacy of the first Frankish, but also Roman, emperor since 476. All this was fully in line with the Otto's plans for *Renovatio imperii*.[37] Here, one can undoubtedly also see the influence of the so-called Legend of Charlemagne,[38] which presented the Frankish-and-Roman emperor in the light of ›the last emperor‹ concept that emerged at the very end of the seventh century (most probably around 691/692 in Northern Mesopotamia, according to Gerrit Reinink) and was developed in the *Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Methodius of Pathara.[39] In it, Charlemagne is presented as directly connected to Jerusalem, as can very well be expected in the light of the Pseudo-Methodius tradition in the west after the beginning of the eighth century. This connection is not surprising in the light of a story

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34   Кашъмов и Панчовски, Питагор и питагорейците, 101.

35   Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, 130-131; Roach, Emperor Otto III and the End of Time , 87.

36   Roach, Emperor Otto III and the End of Time, 87, 89.

37   See Folz, Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne, 76-93; Флоря, Христианство в Древнепольском и Древнечешском государстве, 250; Roach, Emperor Otto III and the End of Time, 91 ff.

38   Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne*, 76-93; for details on the eschatological perspective and motivation behind some of Charlemagne's reforms, see Latowsky, Charlemagne as Pilgrim; Alberi, ›Like the Army of God's Camp‹; Gabriele, *Empire of Memory.*

39   Amongst so many studies on this issue, see for instance Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 151-184; Mc-Ginn, *Visions of the End*, 32-36; Reinink, Pseudo-Methodius und die Legende vom römischen Endkaiser, 82-111; Reinink, Ps.-Methodius, 149-187; Reinink, Romance of Julian Apostate.

that appeared in the *Chronicle* of Benedict of Monte Soracte, compiled in a monastery not far from Rome (perhaps not coincidentally), again in the late tenth century. According to this legend, Charlemagne did, in fact, visit Jerusalem during his lifetime, but before leaving Italy he, along with his whole entourage, stopped at Monte Gargano to receive the blessing of St. Michael the Archangel.[40] Could it be that Otto III was deliberately trying to present himself as following in the footsteps of his renowned predecessor in his journey to Monte Gargano? This could very well be the case, especially if one recalls that Otto III had wanted to place his crown on the Golgotha hill, exactly as predicted by Pseudo-Methodius of Pathara – along with having the intention of ordering for himself to be buried in Aachen, near the tomb of the western Roman Empire's re-newer, Charlemagne.[41]

Let us now take a look at another holy site of the cult of St. Michael the Archangel – that of San Michele della Chiusa. It is located in Piedmont near Turin, and was the other significant *locus/topos* of worship of St. Michael the Archangel by the Christian world in Italy at that time. Here, on the peak of a high mount, St. Giovanni Vincentius, the bishop of the Ravenna region, who later became a hermit in the mountain near Chiusa, built a church around 987, i.e. again shortly before the anticipated End of Time in the year 1000. The church was erected quickly after his visions of fire descending from the sky and of St. Michael the Archangel. Both visions were linked to the hill which St. Giovanni later named ›Pirchiriano‹ (from the Greek *pyr kyriou*, i.e. ›Divine Fire‹ or ›Fire of God‹). Shortly afterwards, the church was consecrated by the bishop of Turin Amizo (c. 988 – c. 1002). The legend of this link between the church and the Divine Fire quickly spread far and wide and later became instrumental for the great fame of Chiusa. As a result, by 999 a monastery was also built there, founded by Hugo of Montboissier, a pilgrim living in the Auvergne who undertook this pious act in an attempt to atone for his sins. Hugo chose Chiusa near Turin because of its ideal location with regard to the constant flow of worshippers travelling from Francia to Rome.[42]

The centres of worship of St. Michael the Archangel in the German lands of the Holy Roman Empire were equally popular during the aforementioned period. The one in Hildesheim, for instance, quickly became ›the art capital of Northern Europe‹, preserving various masterpieces of early medieval western European art created during the reign of Otto III. Among them are the famous bronze doors, a special column decorated with scenes from the life of Jesus Christ, and a reliquary containing a piece of the Golgotha cross. The latter was donated to the church personally by Otto III in 993, when his own mentor Bernward ceased his spiritual guidance of the young emperor in order to become a bishop. Shortly before passing away in 1022, Bernward consecrated the cathedral where soon afterwards his body was put to rest. The interesting thing is that his tomb contained signs which undoubtedly point to his special attitude towards the Day of Judgment, just as was the case with his contemporaries, the emperors Otto III and Henry II (1002-1024), whom Bernward faithfully served for so many decades.[43]

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40 Benedicti Sancti Andreae Monachi, *Chronicon*, chapter 23, quoted after Callahan, Cult of St. Michael the Archangel, 185, n. 39.

41 See Sansterre, Otton III et les saints ascètes, 403-407; Fried, Awaiting the End of Time, 59; Callahan, Cult of St. Michael the Archangel, 185; for some ideas of Otto III and their symbolic realization, also see Warner, Ideals and Action in the Reign of Otto III.

42 *Chronica monasterii Sancti Michaelis Clusini*, quoted after Callahan, Cult of St. Michael the Archangel, 186.

43 Steinen, Bernward von Hildesheim über sich selbst; Callahan, Cult of St. Michael the Archangel, 187.

Another centre of worship of St. Michael the Archangel in the German lands was Bamberg, which was under the special supervision and care of Henry II, since in 1007 he ordered a special diocese to be created there. In 1012, on his fortieth birthday, the emperor personally attended the consecration of the cathedral and dedicated the main altar to the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Michael the Archangel, and St. George.[44] The cathedral and Bamberg as a whole were the centres of the sacred imperial imagery during Henry II's reign, which is why he ordered some of the most beautiful manuscripts with miniatures created both in his time and the time of his predecessors to be stored precisely there. Amongst them are the *Gospels of Otto III*, considered by some historians to be the culmination of the Ottonian miniature painting, as well as the *Pericopes Book of Henry II*, which Henry Mayr-Harting calls »the apogee of angelic power in Ottonian art«. A definite addition to these is the outstanding *Bamberg Apocalypse*, created around 1000.[45]

Also in Bamberg and with the support of Henry II, Bishop Eberhard founded a new Benedictine centre that was again named after St. Michael the Archangel – Michaelsberg. The event took place in 1015 and the location chosen was once more a high hill situated above the town. Shortly before leaving for the Apennines (in 1022, for a visit to Monte Gargano), the Emperor Henry II, together with some clerics, participated in the consecration of the monastery church of St. Michael the Archangel in 1021. It is very likely that precisely on that occasion Henry II presented the church with a golden *antependium* for its main altar, which was subsequently stored in Basel. This famous work of art depicts Christ, with St. Michael the Archangel and St. Benedict of Nursia standing by his right side, and on his left – the archangels Gabriel and Raphael. The small figurines of Henry II himself and his wife Kunigunde positioned by the feet of Christ are an interesting addition to the scene. Christ himself is marked by an inscription on his head through the prism of *Apocalypse* 19:16 – as King of kings. The art and imagery, a product of Bamberg's creativity at that time, obviously exude expectations of the impending *End*.[46]

It is thus clear that by early eleventh century, at least four big centres of worship of St. Michael the Archangel were located in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire in the West. If we add the great cathedral of *Mont-Saint-Michel* in Normandy,[47] as well as the churches in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, Ireland and elsewhere,[48] it becomes quite clear that the worship of the most significant archangel – with regard to Judgment Day – in the West expectedly culminated precisely between the mid-tenth and the mid-eleventh centuries.[49]

Earlier on, I pointed out Otto III's special connection to the cult of St. Adalbert of Prague, which was also directly related to the emperor's journey to Gniezno (Poland) in the year 1000. It should also be noted that this particular journey was again made during Lent. The

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44   Callahan, The Cult of St. Michael the Archangel, 187.

45   Details, see in Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 1, chapter 4, 157-178, 179-201; vol. 2, chapter 1, 11-24, 45-48; Mayr-Harting, H., Apocalyptic Book Illustration, esp. 195-211.

46   Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, vol. 1, 66; Callahan, Cult of St. Michael the Archangel, 188.

47   The place was associated with St. Michael the Archangel already in eighth century and later, after 966, it became a Benedictine monastery; on this cult in the French lands, see Vincent and Vincent, Culte et sanctuaires de saint Michel.

48   See further Callahan, Cult of St. Michael the Archangel, 188-189, and Picard, La diffusion du culte de saint Michel; for the legends about St. Michael the Archangel in medieval England, see Johnson, *Saint Michael the Archangel in Medieval English Legend,* and also Jones, Cult of Michael the Archangel in Britain.

49   For different characteristics of this cult in Western Europe, see Bouet and Otranto, *Culto e santuari di San Michele.*

connection between the visits to Monte Gargano and to Subiaco in 999 is indeed quite obvious: in between other matters he had to attend to, the emperor went to pray at the grave of St. Adalbert located in Gniezno.[50] Upon his return, the emperor spent the Feast of the Assumption (15 August 1000) in Rome, where people from the procession bore images of the Blessed Virgin Mary, as well as the famous icon of Christ, known as the ›Acheropita‹ and stored in the Sancta Sanctorum of the Lateran Palace. Such processions, carrying icons of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary, were also held outside of Rome, indirectly reflecting the sentiments and expectations that prevailed in the Italian Peninsula in the summer of 1000. Moreover, this procession bore overt references to similar ceremonial processions with icons of the Blessed Virgin and Jesus Christ held on the streets of Constantinople, where the icon of the Holy Mother/*Theotokos* seemed to pass by the icon of her son. Regarding, furthermore, the purposely sought parallelism between the empires of the east and the west, a special hymn was created for the occasion – *Carmen in assumptio sanctae Mariae in nocte quando tabula portatur*, that presented the actual encounter between the East and the West with the words, *dat scola Greca melos et plebs Romana susurros*. Although the actual name of the Holy Mother (Mary) was rarely used in Byzantium, the assimilation of Byzantine traditions further on in its text is clearly visible, since the form mostly used is the typically Byzantine ›Theotokos‹ (Mother of God).[51] Some assume that all this was done deliberately, as a sign of respect to the Greek-speaking community living in the Eternal City, as well as to the numerous monasteries with Byzantine monks located inside the city.[52]

Shortly before the year 1000, however, something unexpected occurred. It needs to be addressed at least briefly. It is undoubtedly an important event, since it is associated with the inherently symbolic *place*, Rome. Almost immediately after the emperor left the city, the people there, led by Crescentius de Nomentana, rebelled and appointed an (anti)pope, the Greek-speaking Johannes Philagatos, who originated from southern Italy and was close to the mother of Otto III.[53] In the *Annals of Quedlinburg* (*Annales Quedlinburgenses*, s.a. 998) these events from 996-997 have been interpreted from an apocalyptic point of view: such an approach is evident from the labelling of Crescentius as a ›minister of Satan‹.[54] Moreover, these *Annals* were written on the basis of the now-lost *Annales Hildesheimenses majores*, a set of annals from the same period kept at Hildesheim. Hildesheim's bishop at that time was Bernward, who, as we have seen, had close ties with the imperial court. Gerbert of Aurillac, himself a councillor to the ruler, may have also contributed to such an attitude towards Crescentius, whom he attacked with the words *membrum diaboli* even prior to the events in question. On the basis of these accounts Levi Roach concludes that the events following 997 have spurred at least some degree of apocalyptic »disquiet« within the imperial court circles.[55]

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50   For a thorough analysis, see Althoff, *Otto III*, 126-132.

51   Fried, Awaiting the End of Time, 41; Ciggaar, Byzantium and its Neighbors, 267.

52   Ciggaar, Byzantium and its Neighbors, 267.

53   Ciggaar, Byzantium and its Neighbors, 267; Roach, Emperor Otto III and the End of Time, 81.

54   Roach, Emperor Otto III and the End of Time, 82.

55   Roach, Emperor Otto III and the End of Time, 82-83.

In 998 Otto III took back Rome and ordered Johannes Philagathos to be blinded and expelled from the city,[56] and for Crescentius to be killed and his body put on display. Such brutal action against these prominent rebels does not fit in any way with the tradition of the (generally) merciful politics of the Ottonian emperors, so this pitiless act by Otto III has always troubled historians. In the opinion of Levi Roach, it could be successfully interpreted through apocalyptic rhetoric: if the emperor viewed this confrontation in the Holy City of Rome in terms of the cosmic battle against the approaching Antichrist, then the lack of mercy on his part could easily be explained – Otto thought that he was not dealing with ordinary rebelling men, but with ›ministers of Satan‹ and ›heresiarchs‹.[57]

Whatever the reason behind this brutal decision, one thing is clear: 997-998 was the time when Otto III surrounded himself with the circle of advisers that grew to be so instrumental for the decisions he would make during the next phase of his reign. That was also the moment when his programme of *Renovatio imperii* was put into motion, a programme regarding which there is plentiful and eloquent evidence. For instance, Otto III began using lead seals for his charters rather than the wax ones preferred by his predecessors. It was hardly coincidental then that these lead bulls had ›renovatio imperii‹ inscribed on them. Although it would be difficult to agree with Percy E. Schramm's assertion that this programme for the renovation of the empire was coherent and consciously structured in advance,[58] there is no doubt that its focus visibly oscillated between Rome and Aachen: it is clearly imperial in its essence. Equally clear is that the emperor was interested in eschatology, not so much for itself, but with regard to the mental and symbolic connections that it allowed him to draw between imperial Rome, the Carolingian imperial past and the End of Time.[59] It is hardly coincidental that Otto III gifted so many costly works of art to the treasury at Aachen,[60] or that Henry II subsequently found it appropriate to transfer some of them to Bamberg.[61] In this respect, however, the practice of transferring expensive works of art with a specific symbolic meaning and ideological subtext should not be considered a novelty since it was known in the West but also in earlier times; one such example is the so-called *Codex Aureus* of Charles the Bald, which was taken from the treasury of Saint-Denis Abbey and given to St. Emmeram Abbey (Regensburg) by Arnulf of Carinthia.[62]

The conclusions that can be drawn from all of the above can be summed up as follows. The cult of St. Michael the Archangel in western Europe and, in particular, in the Holy Roman Empire on the threshold between the first and the second millennium was clearly in direct interdependence with the notion of the sacred role of the western empire's capital centres. Quite understandably, a special role was allocated to Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), the main capital of the first emperor of the West after 476, Charlemagne. The various visits that Emperor Otto III made to places related to the cult of St. Michael the Archangel and the capital centres of the empire (Aachen, Quedlinburg), along with the archetypical symbol of the City of Rome

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56 Ciggaar, Byzantium and its Neighbors, 267.

57 Roach, Emperor Otto III and the End of Time, 83; cf. also Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, 199-203.

58 See criticism in Roach, Emperor Otto III and the End of Time, 84.

59 Roach, Emperor Otto III and the End of Time, 101.

60 For details, see Garrison, *Ottonian Imperial Art and Portraiture*, chapter 2.

61 Garrison, *Ottonian Imperial Art*, chapter 4.

62 Garrison, *Ottonian Imperial Art*, 127, 155.

(albeit briefly, Otto III even settled to live there) shortly before or during the year 1000 were most probably aimed at creating a grid pattern of *places* and *images* directly connected to the idea of Doomsday and the notion of the renovation of the empire (*renovatio imperii*).

In contrast to his predecessor, Henry II strove to accentuate not so much the Roman imperial heritage as the *renovation* of the notion of the durability of the Frankish kingdom. This notion had already appeared in the mid-tenth century in a letter by Adso, abbot of Montier-en-Der (in northeastern Francia), to the Frankish queen Gerberga. The latter was the wife of the Frankish king Louis IV (936-954), the ruler of western Francia.[63] The work of the abbot of Montier-en-Der bore the title ›De ortu et tempore Antichristi‹ and rapidly became a fundamental text for the legend of the Antichrist in the West. According to Adso, this world could not end as long as the Frankish kings held power. It was true that the old Roman Empire had been eradicated, the abbot wrote in his letter to Gerberga, but after the coronation of Charlemagne in 800 the Franks had become both *de facto* and *de jure* its successors and until the Frankish kings were on the throne, this Roman heritage could not be destroyed. In other words, Frankish stability was a condition for postponing the arrival of the Judgement Day and the coming of the Antichrist. Following Pseudo-Methodius of Pathara, Adso continued: the last Frankish king would also be ›the last emperor‹ before the *End* and the final battle between *good* and *evil*. He would willingly leave his crown and sceptre in Jerusalem as a the sign that the Christian Roman Empire had come to its end.[64] So Adso suggests, in a visionary way, that there exists continuity between the Roman and the Frankish realms. The very existence of an *empire*, first *Roman* and then *Christian*, therefore postpones the eschatological end of time.[65] Robert Konrad, however, draws attention to an important characteristic of Adso's writings: his text never refers to the *centre* Rome, only Jerusalem,[66] although the empire Adso envisioned is both Roman and Christian.

Henry II, however, did not fall behind his direct predecessor in terms of the special worship of the image of St. Michael the Archangel and his expected salvational role before the anticipated *End of Time*. It is clear, then, that these symbolic acts on the threshold between the tenth and the eleventh century, made by two of the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, should be completely understandable given the fact that every *end* contains the potential for a new beginning, a *renovation*.

The Cult of Saint Michael the Archangel in the Bulgarian Lands: Realia and Symbolic Transformations.

Let us first take a look at the *realia* from the late ninth century onwards.

First of all, the Basileus Michael III (842-867) became godfather to Prince Boris I of Bulgaria (852-889; d. 907) at his baptism in 864, enabling the name *Michael* to become symbolically meaningful in Bulgaria after 864,[67] since Saint Michael the Archangel became the

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63 There are many studies on this topic. For instance, see McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 82-84; Magdalino, Prophecies on the Fall of Constantinople, 46; Истрин, *Откровение Мефодия Патарского и апокрифические видения Даниила,* 16.

64 Verhelst, Adso of Montier-en-Der, 82-83.

65 Verhelst, Adso of Montier-en-Der, 84.

66 Konrad, *De Ortu et tempore Antichristi*, 92-94.

67 More, see in Степанов, *Михаил, Петър, Йоан, Асен,* 30-38.

patron saint (or, better yet, the celestial protector) and baptizer of the Bulgarian prince,[68] similar to his godfather, the Byzantine basileus. It is also hardly coincidental that one of the grandsons of Boris-Michael and son of the Bulgarian Tsar Simeon (893-927) bore the name of his grandfather, Michael.

Secondly, the construction of Bulgarian churches and monasteries dedicated to Saint Michael the Archangel began as early as the late ninth and the early tenth centuries.[69] Many of them were, of course, established during the period of Byzantine rule over certain parts of the Balkans. Such is probably the case with some of the numerous churches dedicated to Saint Michael the Archangel in the Ohrid – Prespa region (modern Republic of Macedonia), which can also be confirmed by local toponyms and microtoponyms.[70] During the second half of the ninth and in the tenth centuries, however, this same region became part of Bulgaria. To illustrate my point, I would like to specify at least some of these churches and shrines, although a strict timeline of the dedication of some of them cannot be established: a church dedicated to Saint Michael the Archangel can be found in Asamati village, situated on the eastern (Macedonian) coast of the Prespa Lake; such churches are also present in the villages Pretor (near Asamati), Pustets (on the Albanian side of the lake) and Arvati. On the southern (Albanian) shore of the lake, next to Zaroshka village, is the cave church of the archangel, which is part of a modest medieval monastery; another church, dedicated to Saint Michael the Archangel, is located in Braichino village, also on the eastern shore of the Prespa Lake.[71]

Two monasteries also dedicated to the archangel should be added to this list. The first one is located on the southern shore of the Ohrid Lake, next to Ljubanishta village, and was founded by St. Naum of Ohrid in ca. 905; the donator for its construction was the Bulgarian prince, Boris-Michael.[72] The second monastery is of the cave (rock) type and was founded no later than the thirteenth century; it is situated on the northern shore of the Ohrid Lake, near Radozhda village.[73]

A few churches named after the archangel can be found in the outskirts of the city of Struga (in modern Macedonia): near Dolna Belitsa village, as well as the villages Tashmarunishta and Brchevo, although in the latter two cases the dating is somewhat uncertain. And lastly, the city of Ohrid also had a modest church dedicated to Saint Michael the Archangel during the seventeenth century; it was located not far from the church of Theotokos Perivlepta (the Virgin of Perivlepta).[74] Whether it was established during Bulgarian rule in the region, however, is difficult to say. Be that as it may, the conclusion of A. Pentkovskii seems quite logical:

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68   Чешмеджиев, Към въпроса за култа на архангел Михаил в средновековна България, 55, 61; Чешмеджиев, Към въпроса за култа на княз Борис-Михаил, 174.

69   Чешмеджиев, Към въпроса за култа на архангел Михаил, 55-56; Чешмеджиев, Към въпроса за култа на княз Борис-Михаил, 174.

70   Пентковский, К истории славянского богослужения византийского обряда в начальный период, 117-146, esp. 121.

71   Пентковский, К истории славянского богослужения византийского обряда в начальный период, esp. 121-122.

72   Иванова, *Стара българска литература*, Т. 4: Житиеписни творби , 80, 83.

73   Златарски, Към историята на манастира »Св. Наум« в Македония, 1-5; Чешмеджиев, Към въпроса за култа на архангел Михаил, 55; Пентковский, К истории славянского богослужения византийского обряда в начальный период, 122.

74   Снегаров, *История на Охридската архиепископия*, 529; Пентковский, К истории славянского богослужения византийского обряда в начальный период, esp. 122.

in the Middle Ages, it was customary to dedicate churches and monasteries to St. Michael the Archangel (or to him and other heavenly forces) in the Ohrid-Prespa region; this practice was also a result of an older local tradition. The dedication of the monastery church of St. Clement of Ohrid (d. 916) to the same archangel possibly provided a secondary influence in this direction, which was also replicated at the minster of the St. Naum of Ohrid Monastery. Furthermore, the monastery of St. Clement of Ohrid was actually the first Slavic (i.e., Old Bulgarian) monastery built in this area.[75] This is also confirmed by the *Encomium on the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel*, written by St. Clement of Ohrid, which was related to the liturgy on the Feast of the renovation (the annual revival of the day of consecration) of the church of St. Michael the Archangel.[76]

What possible reasons might there be for the existence of two similar monasteries, both of them situated on the Ohrid Lake, with churches dedicated to the same archangel? A. Pentkovskii does not fail to mention that a connection to the previous Moravian-Pannonian tradition and the cult of St. Michael the Archangel, typical for western Europe, is highly plausible. Such a tradition would most probably also have been well-known to St. Clement of Ohrid.[77] At the same time, the idea that the construction and subsequent dedication of these churches was directly linked to Boris-Michael seems much more credible to him. The Bulgarian prince granted to Clement the land on which the monastery was erected, also providing him with financial aid to establish an Old Bulgarian literary school in the Kutmichevitsa region (nowadays these lands are located in south Albania and southwest Macedonia, but centuries ago they were part of the Bulgarian state). It is therefore quite reasonable to conclude that this was the a monastery donated by the Bulgarian ruler; similarly, the monastery of St. Naum had the same status, since Prince Boris-Michael was its chief donor as well.[78] Furthermore, the two monasteries were probably part of an entire ›Slavic‹ project of the Bulgarian prince, which, after 886 and the arrival of the disciples of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Bulgaria, also included the establishment of Slavic (Old Bulgarian) language schools, as well as Slavic liturgy and education. Thus, the dedication of the monasteries of St. Clement and St. Naum to St. Michael the Archangel could initially be an allusion to their special status and royal patronage, and over the years it probably became a ›sign‹ for the Old Bulgarian monasticism and Slavic language liturgy practiced there.[79]

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75 Пентковский, К истории славянского богослужения византийского обряда в начальный период, esp. 123; also see Kostova, St. Kliment of Ohrid and His Monastery.

76 Куев, Един необнародван препис от Климентовото слово за Михаил и Гавриил, 222-223; Куев, Похвално слово за Михаил и Гавриил; Пентковский, К истории славянского богослужения византийского обряда в начальный период, esp. 426; *Пентковский,* К истории славянского богослужения византийского обряда в начальный период, esp. 123; also see Велинова, Климент Охридски; Ангушева-Тиханова, Риторически жанрове, 151-152.

77 Пентковский, К истории славянского богослужения византийского обряда в начальный период, esp. 124 and notes 33, 34, 35.

78 Пентковский, К истории славянского богослужения византийского обряда в начальный период, 429; Пентковский, К истории славянского богослужения византийского обряда в начальный период, 125.

79 For the specific features of this ›project‹, see Пентковский,К истории славянского богослужения византийского обряда в начальный период, 126, 134-135, 141.

The tradition of dedicating churches to St. Michael the Archangel could also be observed early on in the lands along the Bregalnica River, which is located in Macedonia today, but, prior to 1018, was a permanent part of the Bulgarian kingdom. In any case, in the eleventh century a monastery dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel was established here by St. Gabriel of Lesnovo, on the Upper Zletovska River that flows into the Bregalnica River.[80] And, as has been long known, St. Gabriel of Lesnovo was one of the four most famous Bulgarian anchorite saints from the western parts of Bulgaria precisely in the period between the tenth and the eleventh centuries.[81]

Some Bulgarian scholars are even willing to allow for the existence of a church dedicated to the *archistrategos* Michael in the capital city of Preslav after 893, claiming that it was ›among the main churches of Preslav‹.[82]

Thirdly, after the arrival of the disciples of the Saints Cyril and Methodius in Bulgaria, a number of official texts emerged, written in Old Church Slavonic and marking the special role of St. Michael the Archangel in the Christian world. Some of them (for instance, the *Service for St. Michael the Archangel* in its initial version) were most probably created already during the Moravian mission, maybe by St. Cyril (Constantine-Cyril the Philosopher) himself.[83] Among these writings which appeared in Bulgaria after 886 and were associated with November 8 – the feast called the Synaxis of the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel – were the already mentioned *Encomium on the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel* by St. Clement of Ohrid,[84] the *Canon of the Archistrategos Michael* by Constantine of Preslav,[85] as well as the translation of the Archippus version of the *Miracle at Chonae* (Greek original BHG Nr. 1282), that is of the legend of the miracle with which St. Michael the Archangel saved from the pagans the shrine dedicated to him at Chonae, in Phrygia.[86] The authorship of a sermon called *On Angels* and known in five copies, the earliest of which is in MS 1039 from the National Library ›St. St. Cyril and Methodius‹ in Sofia, remains questionable.[87] According to Klimentina Ivanova, it could be identified as the work of someone from the inner circle of St. Clement of Ohrid, although some inconsistencies remain.[88]

Fourthly, after the mid-eleventh century (*terminus post quem* 1041, the Bulgarian uprising led by Petar Delyan), a number of historical-apocalyptic texts dealing with the End of Days, anticipated around 1092, appeared in the Bulgarian lands, in particular in the areas around the contemporary cities of Sofia (the medieval Sredets), Kyustendil (the medieval

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80 Пентковский, К истории славянского богослужения византийского обряда в начальный период, 134, 139.

81 Stepanov, Memory and Oblivion in the Christian East, esp. 349.

82 Кожухаров, Пети достоитъ архистратига, 62; also see Чешмеджиев, Към въпроса за култа на архангел Михаил, 55 f.

83 Атанасова, Разпространението на произведенията за архангел Михаил, 104 f., n. 6.

84 *Климент Охридски*, 238-286; Иванова, *Bibliotheca hagiographica Balcano-Slavica,* 287-288, text no. 7; Атанасова, Разпространението на произведенията за архангел Михаил, 105-106.

85 Кожухаров, Пети достоитъ архистратига, 59-62; Кожухаров, Константин Преславски. Канон за архистратига Михаил.

86 Атанасова, Разпространението на произведенията за архангел Михаил, 107-110; Иванова, *Bibliotheca hagiographica*, 187-188, text no. 3.

87 Атанасова, Разпространението на произведенията за архангел Михаил, 106-107.

88 Иванова, *Bibliotheca hagiographica*, 288-289, text no. 9.

Velbazhd), Pernik, Strumitsa (nowadays located in the Republic of Macedonia).[89] These texts spoke of the special God-given role the Bulgarians had before Judgment Day. The Bulgarians, therefore, viewed themselves as predestined to save the world in the Last Days and before the second coming of Christ.[90] Of special significance to them was the so-called Bulgarian Apocryphal Chronicle (*Skazanie/Tale of the Prophet Isaiah, how he was taken up by an angel to the seventh heaven*),[91] where the people of Israel are substituted by the Bulgarian people: they were righteous before God and, although suffering under foreign rule after 1018, they remembered their glorious past and awaited the Messiah.[92]

The appearance in these historical-apocalyptic texts of the singular figure of ›Michael Khagan‹, modeled according to the cliché/type of the ›last emperor/king [Michael]‹ in the text *And this is Interpretation of Daniel* can also be seen as one such symbolic transformation.[93] It is evident from the context of this and other sources in the same genre that there is a mixing of actual Byzantine emperors with this name, especially Michael III (d. 867), but since the texts are in fact compilations from the Bulgarian confines, alongside the Byzantine emperors should be added the name (and deeds) of the Bulgarian baptizer Boris-Michael (852-889; d. 907). Thus, these specific Bulgarian texts contain a ›composite‹ figure that blends into a single whole the *conversion to Christianity*, i.e. the original *beginning* (on the way to the salvation of souls) with the *end*. According to the medieval Christian way of thinking, it would only be logical for the *beginning* and the *end* to be in the same place (the Promised Land, presumably) and for a single person to be involved in both. That is Michael, in his role as both baptizer (the *beginning*) and ›the last king‹ shortly before the End of Days.

Of particular interest is the title given to this ›last king‹ Michael –khagan. It undoubtedly has a deep symbolic meaning, since no Byzantine, Bulgarian or any other written source dating from the ninth and tenth centuries has endowed Boris-Michael with such a title.[94] As is well known, in the steppes of Eurasia this title had the meaning of ›emperor‹, ›shahanshah‹ or ›tzar‹. Therefore, the message here could be interpreted in the following ›key‹: at the end of the eleventh century the Bulgarians had already lost their kingdom (i.e. the empire), but since they had arrived in southeastern Europe from the steppes around the Black Sea, where, at least from the mid-sixth century onwards, the supreme title used was ›khagan‹, it would be only logical for the ›last king‹ to carry the same title. This is a kind of double legitimization

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89 Details, see in Тъпкова-Заимова и Милтенова, *Историко-апокалиптичната книжнина*, 32; Моллов, *Мит. Епос. История.,* 190; Tăpkova-Zaimova and Miltenova, *Historical and Apocalyptic Literature in Byzantium*, 22; Stepanov, Memory and Oblivion in the Christian East, 346-347; Stepanov, *Invading in/from the ›Holy Land‹*, 61.

90 Details referring to the apocalyptic notions in the Bulgarian lands, see in Stepanov, *Invading in/from the ›Holy Land‹*, 51-63.

91 Каймакамова, Български апокрифен летопис и значението му за българското летописание; Тъпкова-Заимова и Милтенова, *Историко-апокалиптичната книжнина*, 192-206; Tăpkova-Zaimova and Miltenova, *Historical and Apocalyptic Literature in Byzantium*, 274-300; Каймакамова, Историографската стойност на Български апокрифен летопис; Biliarsky, *Tale of the Prophet Isaiah*.

92 Ivanova, Мессианские мотивы в болгарской книжности, p. 69.

93 Тъпкова-Заимова и Милтенова, *Историко-апокалиптичната книжнина,* 31, 33, 125, 135, 142; Tăpkova-Zaimovaand Miltenova, *Historical and Apocalyptic Literature in Byzantium*, 149, 173, 178, 181; also see, Венедиков, Легендата за Михаил каган, 183; Гергова, Борис-Михаил, Михаил Каган и Михаил Воин; on the problems with the qagan title amongst the Bulgars, see the discussion in, Степанов, Развитие концепции сакрального царя у хазар и болгар эпохи раннего Средневековья; Stepanov, Rulers, Doctrines, and Title Practices in Eastern Europe; Curta, Qagan, Khan or King; Stepanov, From Steppe to Christian Empire, and Back.

94 Details, see in Stepanov, From Steppe to Christian Empire, and Back.

of Bulgarian royal power which had been lost after 1018: firstly *via* the Christian beginning and end (encoded in the name Michael and the implied conversion to Christianity in 864/5, and, respectively, his function as the ›last king‹), and secondly *via* the supreme title of the steppes (khagan).[95]

A significant fact worth remembering is that the various Greek versions of the original text of the *Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Methodius of Pathara all contain the explicit reference to »the tzardom of Turks and Avars« as one of the so-called world kingdoms, which – according to the archetypal scheme – will replace one another before the End of Time. In one of these translations, the Avars have been substituted by »Bulgars«.[96] Hence, the unknown Bulgarian authors of historical-apocalyptic works from the late eleventh century onwards were able to obtain direct information from the *Apocalypse* in its original versions in Greek that mentioned the Turks and Avars. The rulers of both were indeed titled ›khagans‹. Thus, the anonymous Bulgarian scribes were quickly able to ›invent‹ and present the same title as a *realia* to the Bulgars before 864.[97] The next step was easily done – to add to the title the name of Michael, which carried connotations of a *beginning* and an *end*.

To conclude, within the period specified in the article's title, certain differences could be found in the strategies for worshipping St. Michael the Archangel in the Holy Roman Empire and in Bulgaria. In both places during the tenth century the local central authorities were interested in promoting this cult. In the Holy Roman Empire heavy use was made of the symbolism surrounding Monte Gargano, through the personal pilgrimages there of at least two emperors, Otto III and Henry II, as well as through the dissemination of texts related to the miracle of Monte Gargano (*Apparitio S. Michaelis in Monte Gargano* dates from the eighth or the ninth century, and was translated into Greek in the late ninth or the early tenth century)[98] and that in Chonae. Within the borders of Bulgaria, however, there was no single significant sanctuary of St. Michael the Archangel similar to the ones in the empire of the Ottonians, and in western Europe as a whole. There was therefore no strongly manifested worship of St. Michael the Archangel in the tenth and eleventh centuries in the Bulgarian lands, like that which existed in the west. In Bulgaria, during the first relative phase (the end of the ninth to the first half of the tenth century), a different strategy was generally implemented in the princely/royal court and among the learned men: to connect the name of the holy archangel with the sacred Slavic writing/language; the creation of the *Canon, Sermon* and the *Encomium* in his honor is no coincidence. The numerous churches and monasteries, erected and dedicated to the Archangel, especially in the central and southwestern territories of Bulgaria at the time, should also be mentioned; in this particular sense this strategy looks similar to the one implemented in the Holy Roman Empire.

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95   Stepanov, From Steppe to Christian Empire, and Back.

96   Tixonravov, *Pamjatniki otrečennoj russkoj literatury*, Vol. 2, 213-226, 237; Истрин, *Откровение Мефодия Патарскаго*, 18, 79, 172-173; Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 25, n. 32, 36-51, esp. 43 f.; also see, Stepanov, From Steppe to Christian Empire, and Back.

97   Details, see in Stepanov, From Steppe to Christian Empire, and Back.

98   Peers, *Subtle Bodies*, 166; Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1360.

During the second phase, after 1041 and before the End of Time anticipated around 1092, and especially in the lands around Sredets, Pernik, Velbazhd and Strumitsa, there was an explosive spread of the notion of Michael as ›the last king‹ before the coming of the Antichrist, as well as of his direct association with a specific figure known by the name (and title) of ›Michael Khagan‹. The figure of ›Tzar Michael‹ can be found also in other Bulgarian apocalyptic texts, including *Talkuvanie/Interpretation of Daniel*, *Videnie/Vision of Daniel* and *Skazanie/Tale* [known also as *Narration*] *of Isaiah*.[99] At the same time, however, one has to note the contamination of that figure, or rather its title, *khagan*, with the alias of the rebellious Petar Delyan. Thus, the same type of texts contain the combination ›Gagan Odelyan‹, with the respective paragraph in ›*Skazanie/Tale of the Prophet Isaiah how he was taken up by an angel to the seventh heaven*‹ (known also as Bulgarian Apocryphal Chronicle) being as follows: »Then another tzar came out, by the name of Gagan, and his nickname was Odelyan, a very handsome one. He took over the Bulgarian and the Greek tzardom.«[100] In another text, ›*Skazanie/Tale* [known also as *Narration*] *of the holy Prophet Isaiah about the years to come and the tzars*, *and the coming Antichrist*‹, that same tzar, numbered the thirty-eighth tzar and called ›Odolyan‹, is rendered ›Gagen‹, while the fortieth tzar there is named ›Michael‹.[101]

It is obvious that with the help of this unique figure the unknown learned Bulgarians have assigned a special role to their Bulgarian countrymen before the End of Days. The Bulgarians, despite losing their tzardom after 1018, are presented as God's chosen people, i.e. as a people with a mission before the coming of Judgment Day, and precisely for this reason being connected to St. Michael the Archangel and, of course, to ›the last king‹ bearing the same name, Michael. The Bulgarian lands around Sredets, Pernik, Velbazhd and Strumitsa were seen through the prism of the Holy Land, and perceived as the (imagined) ›centre‹ of the Christian empire. With regard to this, the frequent incursions after the 1030s (and especially after 1048) of the Pechenegs were a significant factor, whom the anonymous Bulgarian scribes identified through the biblical topos of the ›unclean people (of) Gog and Magog‹ and their role before the End of Time. Hence, during the eleventh century a lot of the Bulgarian lands were (assertively) presented in the historical-apocalyptic literature as the place of the last battle between the forces of good and evil before the Last Judgment.[102]

It is also worth stressing that in the Greek translations of the *Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Methodius and in the prophetical texts associated with Daniel and Isaiah ›the last emperor‹ is mentioned once as John, or is given no name at all.[103] Only in one Latin text, namely the Latin version of the *Tiburtine Sibyl*, that same ›last emperor‹ is named Constans. In both the Byzantine and western tradition he is otherwise nameless and without physical character-

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99 Тъпкова-Заимова и Милтенова, *Историко-апокалиптичната книжнина*, 66-67.

100 Biliarsky, *Tale of the Prophet Isaiah*, 10-27, esp. 21; also see, Тъпкова-Заимова и Милтенова, *Историко-апокалиптичната книжнина,* с. 198, 202 and n. 43; Tăpkova-Zaimova и Miltenova, *Historical and Apocalyptic Literature in Byzantium*, 284, 289, 295 and n. 43.

101 Тъпкова-Заимова и Милтенова, *Историко-апокалиптичната книжнина*, 150-152, 155-157 and n. 9, 10, 27; Tăpkova-Zaimova and Miltenova, *Historical and Apocalyptic Literature in Byzantium*, 198-203, 206-209, 211-214.

102 For details, see Stepanov, From Steppe to Christian Empire, and Back, 363-377; Stepanov, *Invading in/from the ›Holy Land‹*, 51-63.

103 Истрин, *Откровение Мефодия Патарскаго*, 180-181.

istics (except again for the Latin *Tiburtine Sibyl*).[104] Thus, the permanent introduction of the name Michael, together with the title of khagan, is obviously a Bulgarian invention with a very clear – apocalyptic, as well as eschatological – subtext. The name and title could best be associated with the actual Bulgarian ruler Boris-Michael,[105] who not only baptized the Bulgarians in 864/5, and in doing so renewed the state and its culture, but also had a direct connection to the past and traditions of the Steppe empire[106]. So here we see a truly original solution made by the anonymous Bulgarian scribes from the eleventh century, who managed to combine in a single real-and-imaginary whole the two heritages – the Christian one (St. Michael the Archangel and St. Tzar Boris-Michael) and the pagan one (the steppe).

104 Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 152, 154-155.

105 Тъпкова-Заимова и Милтенова, *Историко-апокалиптичната книжнина,* 67, 69.

106 For other possible rulers named Michael, cf. Истрин, *Откровение Мефодия Патарскаго*, 182-184; Тъпкова-Заимова и Милтенова, *Историко-апокалиптичната книжнина*, 67-68, and n. 15, 16.

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Could Isidore's Chronicle Have Delighted Cicero? Using the Concept of Genre to Compare Ancient and Medieval Chronicles

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Richard W. Burgess and Michael Kulikowski's *A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre from its Origins to the High Middle Ages* (Volume I in the authors' planned series *Mosaics of Time: The Latin Chronicle Traditions from the First Century BC to the Sixth Century AD*) posits that medieval studies has neglected to engage in a systematic, historically-informed reflection on the genre of chronicles. The present article asserts that this challenge to the field presents a unique opportunity for an interdisciplinary discussion of wide scope and lasting duration. I thus argue that Burgess and Kulikowski's larger points may be reconciled with current scholarship on medieval chronicles by updating the theoretical premises that underlie our identification of historical genres. I aim to contribute to the discussion by turning to a consensus in current theoretical work, that genre is best discussed as a description of the way texts and their readers communicated. The article concludes by applying this hypothesis to an experiment in comparison: if it is not the differences but the similarities that stand out when Cicero and Isidore of Seville's respective meditations upon chronicles are set side by side, then what are the implications for our methods of reconstructing the significance of chronicles in their own milieus?

Keywords: chronicle; history; Isidore of Seville; Cicero; genre

Preface: a question

In this article I would like to pursue a question in dialogue with a recent publication. The publication is Richard W. Burgess and Michael Kulikowski's *A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre from its Origins to the High Middle Ages*, volume 1 of an intended four-volume series: *Mosaics of Time: The Latin Chronicle Traditions from the First Century BC to the Sixth Century AD*. My question is the following. There seems to be a growing consensus that medieval chronicles were and did something unique, something that is not captured by reading them as a period in the history of history-writing. To date, Burgess and Kulikowski's work goes furthest in offering this desired deep history of chronicle-writing *in se*. And yet, Burgess and Kulikowski intentionally frame their work in an antithetical relationship to medievalists' accounts of medieval chronicles and annals. Granting this: can Richard W. Burgess and Michael Kulikowski's *Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre* nevertheless provide a productive point from which scholars of the early Middle Ages could better explicate the »medieval chronicle genre« on its own terms? Is it possible to establish a productive consensus between recent work on medieval chronicles, and Burgess and Kulikowski's thesis?

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Why we need an account of the ›chronicle genre‹

As regards historical writings, while medievalists have indeed sought to disassociate ›chronicle‹ from ›history‹, the Middle Ages remain that period which saw the dominance of the medieval *version* of history-writing – chronicles – over proper histories. Medievalists do assert and remind each other that chronicles are not histories. Nevertheless, without a clear articulation of what chronicles *did*, even we struggle to apply the principle, still finding ourselves in tautological discussions that begin and end with the notion that chronicles really are not very good histories, and still fighting the looming spectre of anachronism: why did the Middle Ages not do things better?

There is no question that important studies have been marching us steadily towards better appreciation and understanding of late antique or early medieval Latin and Greek chronicles *in se*. However, chronicles primarily receive resuscitation on an *individual* basis, one-at-a-time. Our improved readings have not yet written out how we might disentangle chronicles, as a body of literature, from the history of histories. We need a method of reading that crosses the late antique and early medieval, crosses between east and west, and provides us with a good notion of what it is – what it is *exactly* – that chronicles, as a genre, do and did with time, at different times. How did chronicles make meaning? It is with this perspective that I turn to *A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre* for a coherent »chronicle genre« distinct from the history of history-writing, for chronicles *not* as An (unfortunate) Way Medievals Wrote History, but as nothing more nor less than chronicles.

How now, an answer? The argument of a historical introduction to the chronicle genre

A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre certainly moves the discussion towards this end. Richard W. Burgess and Michael Kulikowski (hereafter RB and MK) insist that chronicles are unique, meaningful, have a long and very respectable literary pedigree, and *as a genre*, a socio-political role in their communities. RB and MK's treatment of chronicles crosses both the east-west (i.e., Latin-Greek) and the ancient-medieval divides. They challenge medievalists to take into account the ancient formulation of the genre, and challenge classicists to both accord the genre its place in classical literature, and to more fully account for ancient chronicles' medieval afterlives and transmission:

> The first Latin chronicles, as we have seen, were the product of Rome's highest intellectual circles. They were written, read, and enjoyed by the intellectual and literary giants of the time. ... Chronicles were not to be judged against Livy or Tacitus, nor even against Florus or Eutropius, and we ought not to do so either. Chronicles are what they are, and must be judged on that basis, not in comparison with anything else.[1]

RB and MK equip scholars to see people in the ancient world – *literati* as well as *hoi polloi* – appreciating chronicles for what they were. On what exact terms, then, do RB and MK define the specific »job« that chronicles were »meant to do«?[2]

The title of RB and MK's planned series of volumes is *Mosaics of Time: The Latin Chronicle Traditions from the First Century BC to the Sixth Century AD*, while the single volume under consideration here is: *A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre from its Origins to the High Middle Ages*. Thus RB and MK's historical account does not focus on »Latin Chronicle

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1 Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 274. RB and MK repeatedly bring this point before their fellow classicists with lines such as: »If one of Rome's greatest minds [Cicero] could delight in a chronicle, there is no reason why we cannot as well«, ibid., 7, and see 94.

2 »The chronicle survived as a genre for thousands of years ... it had evolved perfectly to do the job it was meant to do«, Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 274.

Traditions« but on »The Chronicle Genre«. Accordingly, Chapter One (»Early Chronicles«) establishes the genre ›historically‹, meaning the first texts that constitute proper, or true, chronicles are identified in time and place, and their characteristics constitute RB and MK's definition of the genre *ex origines*. The phrase that RB and MK most often use to distinguish texts with these proper (or full) characteristics is ›True‹ or ›Ancient Greek Chronicle‹.[3]

After Chapter One, the argumentative thrust of *A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre* takes a pause, only to be truly resumed in Chapter Six.[4] There is a unique common purpose binding the first and the last chapter; if Chapter One establishes where we can historically identify and so define chronicles, then Chapter Six uses this definition to determine the limits: where and when did the Ancient Chronicle *cease to be*?[5] Chapter Six answers: the sixth century was the last time a ›True‹, ›Ancient Greek‹ chronicle would be produced in the Greco-Latin Mediterranean-European world (John of Biclar and Victor of Tunnuna represent the end point). And so the shocking conclusion is drawn: ›medieval‹ works regularly regarded as chronicles – the Latin *Chronica* of Isidore of Seville and the *De Temporum Ratione* of Bede, or the Greek *Chronographia* of George Synkellos and *Chronicon* of Theophanes the Confessor – presented events framed by time, but were not truly chronicles.

RB and MK arrive at this stringent assertion by sorting out a definitive nomenclature, and applying it. For a chronicle to be a chronicle, there must be a »chronographic framework« organizing the text;[6] the content must also have a certain minimalist aesthetic or »paratactic style«;[7] and finally, there is the internal logic of the content, wherein »causal relations are generally absent, individual entries related to one another by (using Barthes' distinction) *consécution* not *conséquence*.«[8] For RB and MK, all of this is encapsulated in a Ciceronian quotation, with which they begin and end their volume. I will engage with this passage below, but for now: *A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre* emphasizes that Cicero delighted in a chronicle because there he found the past *in uno conspectu*, as »at a glance.«

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3   It is essential to note the »Ecumenical Vocabulary« in the »Addendum« to the sixty-page argument of Chapter 1, Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 59-62. RB and MK rely on this terminology when they analyse any given work, and so readers interested in skipping to the discussion of a particular chronicle must keep a finger to this three-page summary of terms.

4   I describe the content of the book with an eye towards the over-arching argument. Readers interested in more detailed summaries should consult the reviews already available, an updated list of which is maintained on the Brepols website devoted to *A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre*: http://www.brepols.net/Pages/ShowProduct.aspx?prod_id=IS-9782503531403-1 (retrieved 3 June 2016).

5   The authors begin the sixth chapter: »As we move to a discussion of the chronicle genre in the Middle Ages, it will be useful to remind the reader of our discussion of genre and nomenclature in Chapter 1«, Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 189. Over half of the core content of the book (142 out of 274 pp.) is contained in these two chapters.

6   »... the chronographic framework... the chronographic constraints... the subordination of content to the chronographic framework [which] can be retained even where there is no content to report.« Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 190.

7   »[T]he brevity with which content is recorded is another key characteristic of the genre and tends to lead to a paratactic style that renders it difficult or impossible to distinguish the relative importance of any individual item of content or the relationship (if any) of one entry (or ›annal‹) to another.« Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 190.

8   Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 190, and see 23.

If we turn back to Chapters Two through Five, we might note their role in this thesis, elucidating the way that Roman society under the Principate and Early Empire came to express Ciceronian delight in chronicle-like approaches to knowledge of the past by producing chronicleesque spin-off genres such as *consularia*, calendars, and ›local‹ chronicles.[9] RB and MK synthesize this material to argue that the composing of calendars and *consularia* relate to a chronicling *impulse*, an interest in seeing the past (even if it is only the recent, localized past) *in uno conspectu*.

In sum, I would distinguish two arguments made by RB and MK's *Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre*. The first is their new hypothesis: the chronicle genre had a continuous millennium of importance, and even influence, from ca. 5/400 BC: a much richer story than either ancient or medieval historical and literary scholars have heretofore acknowledged. This provocative *longer* history of chronicle-writing certainly convinces me that scholarship on the reading and writing of medieval chronicles has something to gain by considering how Demetrius of Phaleron, Phlegon of Tralles, and Atticus created and transmitted an ancient way of thinking.[10]

The second argument, however, challenges a premise held by medievalists in general. RB and MK insist that the set of characteristics scholars indicate with the term »chronicle« should not be defined by the (more numerous) medieval texts to which we might assign the title, but instead »chronicle« should be reserved for texts with the (more originary) ancient characteristics: post-seventh-century texts should not be entitled »chronicle«. The remainder of this essay engages with the terms of this sustained argument (as set out in Chapter One and applied in Chapter Six), by which the authors seek to identify exactly when the True or Ancient Greek Chronicle disappeared from Greek and Latin literature.

I argue, contra RB and MK, that we must not relinquish the ›medieval chronicle‹. On the one hand, the idea is impractical. Only a terminological dictatorship could stop ›annal‹ and ›chronicle‹ from being used to rather casually encompass a variety of historical writings across the millenium of the ›Middle Ages‹ (as in G. Dumphy's Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle). On the other hand, one compelled by the spirit of RB and MK's argument for terminological sensitivity (as I am), could still extend the story of the chronicle-writing tradition through other means than raising up definitive ancient examples to the denigration of the medieval or Byzantine.[11] I propose instead to adopt RB and MK's account of the ancient tradition, but to extract the premise that one set of specific characteristics, based on certain formative texts from the ancient (Greek-speaking) world, *is* what »chronicle« *was*. I propose to do this by challenging RB and MK's idea of genre, and by proposing an alternative to their reading of the key phrase in Cicero's *Brutus* – in *uno conspectu*.

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9   Hence the reader will find these chapters' arguments – that chronicles provided a »democratization« of the past – an enjoyable challenge to more standard histories of Latin Literature.

10   Understanding chronicles as »the only ancient literary genre that has a direct and continuous history from antiquity into the medieval era in both the Latin and the Greek worlds« (Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 189) implies »that the writing of history in the Middle Ages [should not be seen] as *sui generis*, but as a direct continuation of all that went before«, ibid., 35.

11   *A Historical Introduction* pushes so strongly against the widespread non-specific use of ›chronicle‹ and ›annal‹ that RB and MK build from their previous call for scholars to stop calling annals, ›annals‹, to here insist that we should not call them ›chronicles‹ either; see: Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 12-20; 189-190. I cannot agree with the authors on this point, but one should also consult the authors' earlier argument in Burgess and Kulikowski, Medieval Historiographical Terminology, especially 169-170.

In uno conspectu: An alternative reading of Cicero's ›definition‹ of chronicle
RB and MK's *A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre* establishes a paradigmatically non-classical, ›medieval‹ item – the chronicle – as a literary genre of the classical world, in no small part by drawing upon classical Latin's classic Latinist. Cicero left us a positive assessment of a chronicle, as a chronicle, most particularly in the summation of the prefatory discourse to his *De claris oratoribus liber qui dicitur ›Brutus‹*.[12] To hone in on the core of Cicero's positive evaluation of a chronicle, RB and MK focus on a result clause at the end of a discussion in which the character Cicero explained his appreciation of Atticus' chronicle to Atticus and Brutus:

> … *ut explicatis ordinibus temporum* uno in conspectu *omnia uiderem*.[13]

Cicero's statement is referred to throughout *A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre*: it inspires the conclusion, and is the introductory epigraph, where the clause is translated in functional grammatical isolation:

> I could see everything in chronological order *at a single glance*.[14]

RB and MK interpret Cicero's phrase as answering an implied question: what *defines* a chronicle as unique? The authors answer: a true chronicle exhibits the Ciceronian idea of »everything in chronological order *at a single glance*«, by giving a reader »the ability to see history *uno in conspectu*.«[15] Then from this premise comes the conclusion: »The *purpose* of the chronicle was to organize those memories and put everything in its proper chronological relationship to everything else.«[16] *A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre* thus deploys phrases such as »organize everything« and »at a single glance« (*in uno conspectu*) as the True Chronicle Test for any prospective candidate for the genre.

Making it impossible for classicists to dismiss ancient chronicles, and encouraging medievalists to incorporate Cicero's analyses are *desiderata*, but to achieve these ends RB and MK have approached the passage from *Brutus* with a definition of genre whereby originary characteristics are definitive, and are the standards to which later works must aspire. That is, RB and MK's view holds a genre's ontology to be contingent (the ›chronicle‹ has *come into* being), but maintains that the species can only ever slightly evolve before distinction becomes significant difference. This approach to genre maintains analytic clarity at the expense of preserving the terms authors and readers in the past chose for themselves.[17] Before

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12 *De claris oratibus* (composed ca. 46 BC) is a history of Roman oratory via dialogue in which Brutus and Atticus ask Cicero to describe orators' works up to their time, of course defending Cicero's own oeuvre along the way.

13 Cicero, *Brutus*, ed. Malcovati, 4.16-17.

14 Epigraph to Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*.

15 Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 93-94. »This Ciceronian idea of ›uno in conspectu‹, then, lies at the very heart of what a chronicle is […]. If it isn't brief, it isn't a chronicle«, ibid., 27.

16 Emphasis by the author. Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 25.

17 »[We] are not in any way claiming that anyone in antiquity used these [generic] terms in this way«, Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 9. See the authors' brief discussion on genre on pages 8-10. RB and MK do see chronicles characterized by a particular relationship between author, reader, and text (ibid., 23-25 or 33-34, where the titular metaphor of chronicles as »mosaics of time« is explored). Confusingly, between these two passages, RB and MK first state that all chronicle entries are »in conceptual isolation« while then later insisting on Hayden White's famous analysis in White, Value of Narrativity, that any lack of narrative or »plot« is merely *apparent* for chronicles »possess an overall- or ›macro-narrative‹ which is implicit in the totality of chronology, events, and individuals accumulated in a text.«, Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 33.

I offer a critique of RB and MK's use of Brutus in service of their approach to genre I would like to note that I intend for my critical discussion of this issue to detract in no way from the significance of RB and MK's work. I seek, rather, to pick up on the authors' stated goal: to provoke conversation.[18]

Turning to the already-mentioned passage from the beginning of Cicero's *Brutus*, we find that in context Cicero's character was not providing a literary taxonomy of »the chronicle«, but answering a specific question from Atticus about the effect of, specifically, *his own* chronicle. As the dialogue gets under way, we find the three friends in question – Cicero, Atticus, and Brutus –discussing the letters they had recently exchanged. Cicero soon turns his attention to the chronicle that Atticus sent with his letter. The interlocutor, Brutus, notes that Cicero had been mired in despair and asserts that the effect of Atticus' *Chronicle* upon Cicero – of delight (*delectatio*) – is unique. Cicero agrees but clarifies that the work was a delight insofar as it provided the restoration of his *salus*.

> *Istae vero, inquam, Brute, non modo delectationem mihi, sed etiam, ut spero, salutem adtulerunt.*[19]
> (Indeed, Brutus; I mean that those [writings] not only brought me delight, but also – as I hoped – brought well-being.)

Reading Atticus' *Chronicle* brought about *salus* (›well-being‹) by, as Cicero's *dramatis persona* states, lifting his spirits out of a particular kind of sickness – a political despondency, or a depression about the state of the Republic. This healing did indeed delight Cicero, but the point that the dialogue emphasizes is that Atticus' chronicle saved Cicero from his despair.[20]

Upon having his work so roundly praised, Atticus asked Cicero to explain these positive effects via a summative question, a ›reading‹ of the dialogue thus far.

> *... sed quid tandem habuit liber iste, quod tibi aut novum aut tanto usui posset esse?*[21]
> (... but what could that book hold, that could possibly be to you either new, or so useful?)

Cicero could have refuted Atticus, and insisted upon the idea of ›delight‹, but instead he agreed with the author's supposition: *newness* and *usefulness* were the chronicle's significant attributes:

> *Ille vero et nova ... mihi quidem multa et eam utilitatem quam requirebam,*
> *ut explicatis ordinibus temporum uno in conspectu omnia viderem.*[22]
> (Indeed it certainly [provided] both many things new to me, and this use which I required: the order of times having been explicated, I could see all in one comprehensive view.)

18　RB and MK gave medievalists a preview of their thesis well in advance (Burgess and Kulikowski, History and Origin), and in Historical Introduction devote sincere passages towards inviting scholarly debate over the issues they raise as on page 8, with another remarkable example of a truly conversation tone, page 10. The book's structure makes good on this sentiment: the authors lay out their terminology and its rationale (ibid., 59-62) and are so concerned to expose their reasoning on key issues as to provide not only extensive appendices (ibid., 275-355), but *an appendix to the footnotes* (ibid., 357-382).

19　Cicero, *Brutus*, ed. Malcovati, 4.10-11.

20　Cicero used an exchange, in which Brutus sought to clarify which work they were discussing, to re-emphasize the point about his *salus*: ... *dico librum mihi saluti fuisse* (... I mean the book has been salvation for me), Cicero, *Brutus*, ed. Malcovati, 4.20-21.

21　Cicero, *Brutus*, ed. Malcovati, 4.13-14.

22　Cicero, *Brutus*, ed. Malcovati, 4.25-27.

Here, then, is the phrase so important to RB and MK's generic history, but it follows Atticus' query as to whether the *Chronicle* had confronted Cicero with something new and useful. Cicero strongly affirmed the idea by retaining Atticus' binary structure in his response (his »et ... et« corresponds to Atticus' »aut ... aut«), verifying that the proposal was accurate: the chronicle had provided something new and useful, in restoring well-being.[23]

It seems inappropriate to excerpt a definition from any one portion of this exchange, or especially to neglect any of the effects that Cicero emphasized throughout the imagined discussion.[24] Instead, I would sum up the dialogue's prognosis of the connection between Atticus' *Chronicle* and Cicero's mood as follows. Atticus' *Chronicle* presented everything in its ordained temporal place and in a single scope: a new way of seeing old information. This presentation proved useful, alleviating despondence over the state of the world; the experience of the cure brought delight.

Newness, well-being, delight, and usefulness: all had to do with each other, and all came into play in the encounter between one reader and Atticus' chronicle at a specific historical moment. Atticus had not asked what was ›new or useful‹ about chronicles in general, but what had been useful and new *for Cicero*. Cicero had needed a remedy that would lift his spirits, and the chronicle had conveyed just that: a new perspective on the world. For RB and MK, Cicero's »delight« derived from the ludic possibilities enabled by the chronicle's presentation of the past, a presentation which facilitated a kind of »play« with information;[25] while not denying that this idea is present to a degree, in my reading (by contrast) *Brutus* emphasized how Atticus' *Chronicle* had directly and precisely matched a particular need, usefully saving Cicero from despair. The »delight« Cicero had experienced was not posited as a universal effect of seeing things *in uno conspectu*, but was linked with the experience of a pleasant remedy, or cure, for political malaise. *Brutus* presented Atticus' chronicle as a text that incited readers to rethink their world, to rethink time, to confront old things in a new light, to surprise, shock, even reveal.

My more ›subjective‹ reading of Cicero's comments is rooted in an approach to genre that incorporates function and audience into its description. In what follows I would like to identify how my contextualized reading of the *Brutus* passage is in dialogue with a now well-established »turn« in genre theory concerned with ascertaining *how texts work* in dialogue with their readers. That is, current genre theory encourages us in the same direction as this reading of *Brutus*: the *effect* on particular readers in specific situations has to be a part of what makes any chronicle, a chronicle.

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23 Brutus explicitly repeated the keyword – *salutem* – and asked Cicero to clarify. Cicero explained: *An mihi potuit, inquam, esse aut gratior ulla salutatio aut ad hoc tempus aptior quam illius libri, quo me hic adfatus quasi iacentem excitavit?* Cicero, *Brutus*, ed. Malcovati, 4.11-13.

24 Cicero's response and Atticus' summary come within a series of binary alternatives on the *chronicle*'s effects: from salvation and delight, to welcome and seasonality, and finally to newness and use; I read these grammatical binaries as building up to the final clause of Cicero's response.

25 For RB and MK the chronicle's design allowed someone like Cicero to »visibly delight in hopscotching across the years«, Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 94.

Bringing Genre Theory to A History of the Chronicle Genre

By drawing connections between an identifiable consensus in genre theory and my analysis of the passage from Cicero's *Brutus*, I hope to establish a way for RB and MK's larger thesis to re-interrogate the early medieval chronicles we thought we understood. In order to provide what I am calling a ›consensus‹ in contemporary genre theory, I will survey four highly accessible works from the field of genre studies published in English over the last twenty years: Daniel Chandler's 1997 *An Introduction to Genre Theory*; David Duff's *Modern Genre Theory* (2000); John Frow's *Genre: An Introduction* (2005); and, Anis Bawarshi and Mary Jo Reiff's *Genre: An Introduction to History, Theory, Research, and Pedagogy* (2012). I limit myself to these introduction-level anglophone texts in order to illustrate that despite differences between these authors' interests (connecting semiotics and film; historicizing genre criticism; formulating genre as textual cues to readers; teaching genre as writing), they present a remarkably stable consensus from within the field on the parameters within which analysis of genre now takes place.

As applies to the topic at hand, Daniel Chandler's *An Introduction to Genre Theory* (1997, updated 2000), pointed out problems with the same ›traditional‹ approach to genre which seems to characterize RB and MK's taxonomy of the chronicle. This »approach sees genres as ›true‹ in some sense, but in doing so it falls prey to the ›empiricist's dilemma‹«.[26] The dilemma appears in *A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre* when, in order to identify the characteristics of ›chronicles‹, RB and MK isolate the texts that are chronicles on the basis of the characteristics that make them ›chronicles‹: these texts are chronicles, and ›chronicles‹ are these texts.

Chandler's alternative approach points to Reader Response Theory: »if we are studying the way in which genre frames the reader's interpretation of a text then we would do well to focus on how readers identify genres rather than on theoretical distinctions.«[27] Chandler goes on to assert that not only must we incorporate the responses of readers when we discuss genre, readers must be the ones who ultimately define the genres.[28] In other words: »one way of defining genres is as ›a set of expectations‹«, which regulate the »desire, memory and expectation« of the reader.[29] Thus, »genres are not simply features of texts, but are mediating frameworks between texts, makers and interpreters.«[30] Chandler gives us ›genre‹ as a dynamic, oft-changing »intertextual concept«,[31] a phenomenon of time and place which concerns readers' encounters with texts more than texts *in se*.

To understand how the field arrived at the idea that »genres need to be studied as historical phenomena,« we might turn to David Duff's collection *Modern Genre Theory* (2000).[32] What Chandler criticized as a »traditionalist« approach, Duff more precisely labels a »formalist« or »taxonomic« approach to genre which saw an ontology in generic categories, and which subsumed textual items as either »members« or outliers of these generic categories.[33]

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26 Chandler, *Introduction*, 2.

27 Chandler, *Introduction*, 3

28 Pointing to the »Wittgenstein-ian« idea of »family resemblances« instead of definitional features, a move often attributed to Alistair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*.

29 Chandler, *Introduction*, 8, 9.

30 Chandler, *Introduction*, 8.

31 Chandler, *Introduction*, 6.

32 Chandler, *Introduction*, 4.

33 Duff, *Modern Genre Theory*, 18.

Duff's narrative depicts twentieth-century critics' deconstructions of this approach as conceptually building up to or emitting from the possibility (memorably expressed by Derrida's assertion that texts »participate« in genres) that, in the end, every text may be *sui generis*.[34] One of Duff's illustrations of that process dwells upon Tzvetan Todorov's *Genre as Discourse* as a response to Maurice Blanchot's *Le Livre à venir* (1959). Blanchot had posited that »a book no longer belongs to a genre; every book stems from literature alone«,[35] which Todorov glossed to mean: »there is no intermediate entity between the unique individual work and literature as a whole, the ultimate genre.«[36] Todorov then pushed back, arguing that while »a genre, whether literary or not, is nothing other than codification of discursive properties«, genre was still some*thing*.[37] Todorov then pursued an idea which would become a part of the widely accepted premise I am positing we should incorporate: to the degree that they ›exist‹, genres are extant in the communicative relationship *between* readers and authors: »readers read in function of the generic system, with which they are familiar ... [though] they do not need to be conscious of this system.«[38]

For Duff, genre theory – having absorbed the idea that genre should »serve« individual texts rather than govern them – has moved on from pure critique, »and a degree of consensus is beginning to emerge about both the possibilities and the limitations of the concept of genre.«[39] Duff sees his field carrying on with the idea that »genre« is best understood as a communicative act. Or, as the medievalist Hans Robert Jauss insisted in 1982: by »genre« we should mean »a preconstituted horizon of expectations« which was »ready at hand ... to orient the reader's (public's) understanding and to enable a qualifying reception.«[40] To identify genre means to describe exchanges between readers and texts in particular moments.

Building directly on the work of Gerard Genette, John Frow's 2005 piece *Genre: An Introduction* (in Routledge's »New Critical Idiom« series) contributes a useful discussion of genre as a description of how readers organize knowledge in these exchanges between reader and work. Frow's focus is on »generic cues« which evoke how »...the move from what is said to what is implied is shaped in particular ways by the social codes of genre«.[41] The reader understands or experiences genre »in terms of particular historical codifications of discursive properties.«[42] In all of this, there is an insistence on *ongoing* generic contingency: »the order formed between and among genres should be regarded as a historically changing system rather than as a logical order.«[43]

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34 Referring to Derrida's The Law of Genres, in Duff, *Modern Genre Theory*, 230; discussed by Duff on pages 5-6 and 14. See also the similar discussion in Bawarshi and Reiff, Genre, 20-22. The critical reactions are labelled variously by Duff as »post-romantic«, »structuralist«, »post-structuralist«, and »historical«.

35 Quoted by Todorov, Origin of Genres, in Duff, *Modern Genre Theory*, 195.

36 Todorov, Origin of Genres, in Duff, *Modern Genre Theory*, 194.

37 Todorov, Origin of Genres, in Duff, *Modern Genre Theory*, 198; the point is discussed further by Duff, Modern Genre Theory, 17-18.

38 Todorov, Origin of Genres, in Duff, *Modern Genre Theory*, 200; discussed by Duff, *Modern Genre Theory*, 18-19.

39 Duff, *Modern Genre Theory*, 15.

40 Jauss, Theory of Genres, in Duff, *Modern Genre Theory*, 131.

41 Frow, *Genre*, 80.

42   Frow, *Genre*, 71.

43 Frow, *Genre*, 70 and 71. That is: »[S]uch an approach makes it possible to bring together the categories of a poetics with those of the historical event: if genres are actual and contingent forms rather than necessary and essential forms, they are nevertheless not arbitrary«, ibid., 71.

For our purposes, Anis Bawarshi and Mary Jo Reiff's 2012 work, *Genre: An Introduction to History, Theory, Research, and Pedagogy*, emphasizes agreement on this point amongst genre theorists. Bawarshi and Reiff's publication is a handbook on teaching writing *through* genre theory, an impossible proposition unless genre theory contains fairly stable content. In Bawarshi and Reiff's summation, genres emerge and respond to »socio-historically situated exigencies«: »texts do not *belong* to a genre, as in a taxonomic relation; texts *participate* in a genre, or more accurately, several genres at once.«[44] To put it as colloquially as possible: »[Genres] function as conventionalized predictions or guesses readers make about texts«, which do *change* because they are categories which »we *impute* to texts.«[45]

In sum: over the course of the last half century, critical work on genre has come to hold that to describe genre is to identify the particular way texts and audiences *worked* with and upon each other to create and modify patterns of reading. This consensus is perhaps put most succinctly by Frow's assertion that »the mode of the existence of genres is social.«[46] That is, genres are *both* »models of writing« for authors *and* the »horizon of expectations« for readers. Any account of genre must reckon with both sets of phenomena within the dialogic relationship between texts and readers. I hope it now seems plausible that Cicero's key i*n uno conspectu* passage also points us in this same direction. We should extend the scope of what belongs within the chronicle genre beyond definitive characteristics, to a consideration of *how* Atticus' chronicle (for instance) made an impact by working both with and against Cicero's preconception of the genre. Let us now apply this hypothesis by proposing an alternative reading of the key turning point in RB and MK's *Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre*: Isidore of Seville's seventh-century *Chronica*.

Why do RB and MK reject Isidore's Chronica as a chronicle?

The *Chronica* of Isidore of Seville plays an important role in RB and MK's *A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre*.[47] The *Chronica* is the earliest work which RB and MK emphatically state *is not* a chronicle, but which *is* universally regarded as a chronicle by medievalists. As such RB and MK build their case for absolute differences between the »ancient chronicle« and the (chronicle-like) »medieval chronicle epitome« upon Isidore's *Chronica*. RB and MK grant that Isidore's work would pass a superficial test for a chronicle since it works with a chronology: the »chronology of the six ages of the world is fully incorporated into the working out of the text.«[48] However, for RB and MK, a chronology does not make a chronicle.[49] Indeed, RB and MK's conclusion is anticipated in their description of the *Chronica*'s chronology as a »chronology *of the six ages*«. In RB and MK's reading, Isidore's summing up of all times (*temporum summa*) in Augustine's »six ages« chronology was a direct evocation of »divine planning«, an approach to time with an implicit narrative.[50] For RB and MK,

44 Bawarshi and Reiff, *Genre*, 16. As the authors go on to articulate, genre ›exists‹ for the critic, but genre is posterior to the act of communication between reader and text: »there is always a genre and genres, yet such participation never amounts to belonging«, ibid., 21.

45 Bawarshi and Reiff, *Genre*, 23, quoting (in part) from Frow, *Genre*.

46 Frow, *Genre*, 69.

47 Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 192-201.

48 Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 200.

49 »The presence of a chronology does not make a work a chronicle« even if »Isidore clearly believed that he was working within the ancient chronicling tradition«, Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 198.

50 Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 199. Isidore »invented a new type of chronicle... a new tradition of universal epitome«, ibid., 192.

a text with an indelibly ›Christian‹ chronological structure, could not be an ancient Greek chronicle.[51] RB and MK thus accuse Isidore's *Chronica* of not standing on the order of time alone, but of being governed by a narrative of connected events.[52]

It is not clear to me that RB and MK are entirely even-handed with their insistence that a ›Christian‹ plot undermines reading Isidore's *Chronica* as a chronicle. RB and MK posit early on that their »ecumenical« approach to chronicles applies an »ecumenical vocabulary« to »five stages in the development of the chronicle«, from »Near Eastern« through »Medieval.«[53] Nevertheless, in contrast to the rest of these »stages«, it is only the »Medieval« that could not produce any real chronicle, but managed only the »chronicle epitome.« This is despite the fact that RB and MK make concessions to the possibility of particular works »bending« genre while still remaining a chronicle.[54] It is also despite the fact that the argument for Isidore's *Chronica* being »a new type of chronicle« requiring a new generic label (»chronicle epitome«) relies on seeing Isidore's use of »Augustine's theory of the six ages of the world« as importing the foreign substance of narrative into chronography, even though RB and MK had earlier conceded (following Hayden White) that any chronicle must have some kind of »plot«, an »overall or ›macro-narrative‹.«[55] Isidore went *just* too far, his *Chronica* »*more visibly evocative* of *divine* planning than was the succession of *human* empires that had structured the work of Eusebius-Jerome.«[56]

If there is a real difference here, it is very subtle. It is so subtle that it is not at all clear to me that this analysis reflects the logic of the *Chronica*'s use of the »six ages«, nor that it successfully captures the ability of the *Chronica* to subtly (rather than overtly) guide its readers into particular insights about the reckoning of time *in se*– a characteristic which at one point RB and MK convincingly insist is what makes a chronicle a chronicle, and which I have proposed must be emphasized as a more sure signal of the genre.[57] Finally, reading Isidore's *Chronica* as being more governed by a *narrative of time's progress* than by *time itself* contradicts the evidence we have from Isidore's own reading of the *Chronica* in his *Etymologiae*.[58] In what follows, I look to propose an early medieval »reading« of Isidore's *Chronica* by approaching Isidore's *Etymologiae*, *not* as a *version*, but as a *reading* of the *Chronica*.[59]

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51 See *Historical Introduction*, 34-35 on this ›Christian‹ perspective.

52 »Isidore's linear structure shows time moving along a single axis, rather than the multiple axes of the early sections of Eusebius-Jerome«, ibid., 200.

53 Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 18-19.

54 See the discussion of Cassiodorus' *Consularia* exhibiting enough characteristics of both »chronicle« and »consularia« to be both at the same time on Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 42-43 and 58.

55 Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 199 and 33.

56 Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction,* 199-200. Emphasis by the author. Isidore's ideology was »rather more Byzantine and medieval« than Eusebius' Chronological Canons with »an emphasis on the majesty of the ruler and the necessity of obedience to him«, Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 199.

57 See RB and MK's brilliant passage beginning with: »The reader is still required to pick out and isolate the narrative … the work is done by the reader,« Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 24.

58 Isidore initiates his discussion of *chronica* by claiming *mimesis* of one of RB and MK's paradigmatic chronicles, the *Chronici Canones* (or *Chronica*) of Eusebius of Caesarea: *Apud Graecos Eusebius Caesariensis episcopus edidit, et Hieronymus presbyter in Latinam linguam convertit.*, Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. Lindsay, v.xviii.11-13 (»Among the Greeks Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, compiled such a work, and the priest Jerome translated it into Latin.«, Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed./trans. Barney *et al.*, 125 col. B). RB and MK spend their third chapter painstakingly proving Eusebius' work was an ›Ancient Greek Chronicle‹. See the key conclusions: Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 122-126.

59 Contra the conclusion that in the *Etymologiae*, Isidore only presents »a heavily compressed epitome of the later, longer version of the chronicle«, Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 199.

Isidore's Chronica communicated something »new« and »useful« about the reckoning of time.
There are good reasons why RB and MK do not spend a great deal of time with the version
of the *Chronica* epitomized in Isidore's *Etymologiae (ca. 628)*. As do all scholars, RB and MK
privilege the two »full« versions of the *Chronica* (the first produced c. 615 under King Sise-
but, and the second produced a decade later in c. 626 after King Suinthila's accession requi-
red an update), for undoubtedly these longer instantiations are the fuller textual artefacts.[60]
Nevertheless, based on my re-reading of Cicero and my incorporation of genre theory, I
would argue that we should not build our analysis of the text on *our* reading of the *Chronica*
so much as evidence for how it *was* read: Isidore himself analysed the generic category of
chronica more extensively and comprehensively than any other early medieval author, and
his framing of the *Chronica* within his *Etymologiae* is key material for a generic history. We
must take this evidence seriously.

The most recent scholarly study of Isidore's *Etymologiae* (John Henderson's *The Medieval
World of Isidore of Seville*) draws an entirely different conclusion from RB and MK as to what
Isidore thought *chronica* did. To elucidate the key points, Henderson insists that the unusual
and enigmatic nature of the *Etymologiae* makes it nigh on impossible to identify what the text
communicated without paying careful attention to framing, order, and the context of particu-
lar discussions; we must embrace the *Etymologiae*'s spectacular web of associative meanings,
its tapestries of form and content. Thus we must first note that in the *Etymologiae*, we find that
Isidore physically separated his discussion of texts governed by »narrative« (*narratio*) from his
discussion of *chronica*, setting the former in Book I, the latter in Book V. Isidore's comments
on narrative texts – »On Grammar« – concluded the first part of the *Etymologiae*'s tripartite
opening discourse on the *trivium* (a book was devoted to each of Grammar, Rhetoric, and
Dialectic) with his explication of *historia*. To set up the concept's etymology, Isidore worked
through the interplay between form and method. *Historia* was first an over-arching genre de-
noting all narrative accounts of past occurrences: »a *narratio* of deeds accomplished; through
it what occurred in the past is sorted out.«[61] Isidore did not leave his discussion here (with *his-
toria* indistinguishable from *annales*, for instance), but clarified *historia*'s uniqueness through
a further, methodological, distinction: *how* did works called *historia* »sort out« the past? *From*
what sorts of things would an author construct and compose *historiae*? *Historia* (like *annales*)
worked in years, but (unlike *annales*), a *historia* was constructed with a much more reliable
epistemology: investigation of things seen.[62] Having conjured up both form and method in his
reader's mind, Isidore provided the central idea of *historia*:

> *Historia* is so called from the Greek term ἱστορεῖν, that is, from ›seeing‹ or from ›kno-
> wing‹ … we grasp with our eyes things that occur better than what we gather from our
> hearing, since what is seen is revealed without falsehood.[63]

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60 On the two versions, see Koon and Wood, *Chronica Maiora*, 3-5.

61 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed./trans. Barney, 67, col. A (*Historia est narration rei gestae, per
    quam ea, quae in praeteritio facta sunt, dinoscuntur*. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. Lindsay, i.xli.18-19).

62 I have already noted RB and MK's directive to medievalists: cease using the term »annals« (n. 11, above). Isidore's
    distinction here is a counterpoint, though RB and MK are not the first to elide Isidore's comparisons between
    »historia«, »annales«, and »chronica« (see: Deliyannis, Introduction, 3-6).

63 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed./trans. Barney *et al.*, 67, col. A (*Dicta autem Graece historia
    ἀπὸτοῦ ἱστορεῖν id est a videre vel cognoscere. … Melius enim oculis quae fiunt deprehendimus, quam quae auditione
    colligimus. Quae enim videntur, sine mendacio proferuntur*. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. Lindsay, i.xli.19-20,
    22-24).

And then Isidore again emphasized the point, this time with a comparison:

> *Historia* is of those times that we have seen, but annals are of those years that our age has not known.[64]

Annales concerned themselves with the remote past and so had to be constructed using written records *only*. *Historia* worked with living memory. *Historia* alone both worked in the greatest unit of time (years), *and* relied on living memory to construct its account.[65]

By implication, if Isidore thought a narrative of the »six ages« governed *chronica*'s logic, he would have categorized it under *historia* as a kind of *annales*, but Isidore did not. Instead, Isidore read *chronica* – still awaiting the reader to arrive in Book V, »On Laws and Times« – to be ordered by a different rationale. What was that rationale? What was the form and the epistemology of a *chronica*? What did a *chronica* do? Isidore would brook no whiff of *narratio* in his explanation. Isidore's opening asserted that writing a *chronica* was primarily a kind of organization of the reckoning and periodization of time itself, an ordering of »the succession of times« (*series temporum*).[66] Isidore explained that »times«, here, denoted all measured lengths: from moments and hours, days and nights, to weeks, months, solstices, equinoxes, seasons, years, Olympiads, Jubilees, and finally to periods and ages (*saecula et aetates*).[67] We must thus understand the abbreviated version of Isidore's own *Chronica* – the »epitome« provided at the end of Book V – as fulfilling these explanations: the division of time into ages stood upon the ordering of time from moment to moment. A *chronica* was not an *account* of the past, but the result of an *organization*, an *ordering*, of time itself.[68]

As Henderson points out, we must also bear in mind that – in the only such instance in the entire work – Isidore's reader was not told what »chronica« meant: his »epitome« of the *Chronica* replaced the expected etymology. Henderson guesses why: »This block of writing will consist of nothing but *origins*, since its dates all tell where a piece of the cultural encyclopedia came from, in telling us when it entered the archive.«[69] In other words: the »chronicle epitome« is the etymology, for *Chronica* provides the »etymology« for etymology itself. For Isidore, *Chronica* is the originary origin story. *Chronica* establishes the past into which narrative writes.

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64   Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed./trans. Barney *et al.*, 67, col. B (*Historia est eorum temporum quae vidimus, annales vero sunt eorum annorum quos aetas nostra non novit.* Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. Lindsay, i.xliv.23-25).

65   Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. Lindsay, i.xliv.18-22. »*Annales* are the actions of individual years, for whatever domestic or military matters, on sea or land, are worthy of memory are treated year by year in records they called ›annales‹ from yearly deeds ... *Annales* are of those years that our age has not known.«, Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed./trans. Barney *et al.*, 67, col. B.

66   Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. Lindsay, v.xxviii.11.

67   Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. Lindsay, v.xxviii-xxxviii.

68   Bede's »Chronicle« is another example of the point, though scholars rarely dwell on the fact that Bede's »Chronicle« is Chapter 66 in a treatise on time's order (*De Temporum Ratione*): only after sixty-five chapters of instruction in the mechanics of temporal reckoning does Bede apply this reckoning to the writing of a *chronica*. See now: Palmer, Ends and Futures.

69   Henderson, *Medieval World of Isidore of Seville*, 93: »*Here* there will be never an etymology. Not one.« Neither does Isidore provide an *exemplum* of any other text type.

If we recall Isidore's discussion of the division of time – from »second« to »age« – we might note that Isidore begins with the quantifiably measurable, and ends with the cultural-political: from »moment« to »historical period«. Is this not evidence for RB and MK's position, that Isidore snuck narrative into time's structure? No, for by engaging directly with the implicit narrative of the idea of »ages«, the *Etymologiae* unpacked an argument that sought to liberate time from the political, even as it pointed out the politics implicit in *any* reckoning of time. As Henderson shows, Isidore noted that Augustus Caesar had created the notion of an age, an epoch (*»era«*) through a census that established itself as both *date* and *fiscal deadline*: »[Augustus] designated and dated his first tax assessment (*census*) as the year dot, for, in this epoch-making moment, legally/legibly ›writing the Roman world‹ meant ›the whole world contributing its earnings [aera] to the exchequer‹ – hence the term ›era‹ [aes] (5.36.4).«[70]

Isidore's march through a chronographer's calculations proceeded unblinkingly from »material« to »political« reckoning. And not just *any* political, but the pan-cultural Mediterranean past of Roman Imperium. Isidore exposed the great temporal concept – the »age« – as a homogenization of politics and past. This was an established fact, but Isidore wanted to say something yet more explicit. Again, I quote from Henderson's rendering of Isidore's critique:

> Here is the point where Time must stand up to be counted, big time: *aetas* is indeed a concept, for this complex term homologizes, for a start, (its own) 3 dimensions, and then runs on, exponentially, ad infinitum – for »age« starts as the truly-reckoned lifespan of human, becomes humankind's reckoning of its »Ages«, but in its encompassing flexibility will then come to be eternity, where actual reckoning, and the story that is reckoned, come to the same thing.[71]

Isidore's reading of his own Chronica is on the same plane as the Ciceronian injunction we earlier proposed: to reveal time and so the world, anew. Time is not story, but it is a sort of writing. The *Etymologiae* proved that time is the *writing* of universe as law is the writing of society, that the reckoning of time »homologizes.« »Time, in *this* strange iconic writing stakes out, *and narrates*, the first six stages of human history in a distinctive idiom all of its own.«[72] That is, the textual logic (*graphos*) of a *chronica* was the order of events in time (*chronos*).

Why, then, did Isidore epitomize time into Christian ages if his true focus was the reckoning of time *in se*? Isidore's analysis and epitome laboured to show just *how much* the reckoning of time was, and is, political. The insight of the *Chronica* into the nature of reckoned or calculated time – »There *is* no record without *regnum*«[73] – was a fundamentally post-Augustan insight insofar as it was an insight that (chronologically speaking) Atticus could not have had: Augustus' imperious »homologizing« of time and empire had not yet occurred. Nevertheless, this does not, in my reading, taint it as a non-chronicle. Isidore's lesson, his *Chronica*'s revelation, was that eternity (Henderson's »big time,« or time-as-such), would outshine empire (reckoned time). Reckoned time may be governed by empire and regnum, but big time »will *out*« (Henderson) in the literal sense that reckoned time will end, but big time – ›eternity‹ – will be.

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70 Henderson, *Medieval World of Isidore of Seville*, 90.

71 Henderson, *Medieval World of Isidore of Seville*, 91.

72 Henderson italicizes *narrates* for reasons that should by now be clear, Henderson, *Medieval World of Isidore of Seville*, 93.

73 Henderson, *Medieval World of Isidore of Seville*, 95.

As Jamie Wood recently pointed out, the »murky circumstances« and outright »iniquita-tes« of the Visigothic successions from Sisibut to Suintila to Sisenand foreground the poli-tical and moral agenda of the bishop of Seville's historical writings.[74] The *Etymologiae* lends itself to being read in light of at least as much political angst as enveloped Cicero's *Brutus*. In the *Etymologiae*'s epitome, Isidore left a reading *in nuce* of his own *Chronica*, a »Ciceronian« unveiling which – for any reader willing to work it out for themselves – provided a message of comfort (*salus*) to all despairing of hope in political life. We cannot account for this messa-ge concerning the nature of reckoned time, and what political man should make of it, unless we allow this work to be grounded *in time* for a particularly contextualized readership. Isi-dore may have been an overly generous reader of his own text, but can we cannot ignore his precious account. Isidore read his own *Chronica* as a disruption of habituated thinking about time in the world, a disruption of accepted accounts of the nature of political time. Isidore read his *Chronica* as showing time within politics, and time outside of politics: an insight into time which Cicero would certainly have agreed was both *new* and *useful* for well-being.

Conclusion: And if a work of art has no effect? Titles, and genres, and reading
Historia, *Annales*, *Chronica*. These words are at once titles of works and names of perceived genres, and this conjunction makes these words matter a great deal. We often do not know what titles medieval authors gave to works, nor sometimes even the titles works circulated un-der. But every item needs a label, and so contemporary scholarly practice gives every work an *ad hoc* title-label identical with the work's imagined literary genre. These genres are, then, the ordered literary realms in which we understand ancient, ambiguous textual entities to functi-on (or have functioned). Our title-label-genres thus construct an associative web of like-titled works and so reiterate the preconceived genre from which each title arose. And so, modern titles of medieval works are primarily a cue from *Scholar ›X‹* to *Scholar ›Q‹* of the genre in which we read *Work ›P‹*; titles mark medievalists telling each other how to think about a work, and through this process we predetermine the comparative frame in which we read any text. Once a work has a title it is extremely difficult to ›unthink‹ work from genre-title, especially acknowledging titles as established practices of scholarly reading: our understanding of ›His-tory‹, ›Annal‹, and ›Chronicle‹ have become the realms of possibility within which we permit works to matter.

It is not only possible, but needful, to work ourselves out of this constricting feedback loop. Medievalists have insisted to each other that we should think about (medieval) chro-nicles differently from ›history‹, but how to do this at the level of genre has proven rather elusive. RB and MK's *A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre* offers a significant step forward in this discussion and, as I have argued, by engaging with the authors' claims we can step even further. There is value in having more medievalists thinking about medie-val chronicles as a genre stretching back into the ancient world, if only for the intellectual connections this would facilitate between scholars working on the innovative ways ancient authors portrayed their thinking about time, and knowledge.[75]

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74 Wood, *Politics of Identity*, 74 and 144. Wood describes the relationship between Isidore's place in the political world of his day and the *Etymologiae* with such compelling comments as »the *Etymologiae* thus framed Isidore's entire project to position Visigothic Spain at the centre of the early medieval knowledge economy«, ibid., 77.

75 For instance: Lianeri, *Western Time of Ancient History*; König and Woolf, *Encyclopedism from Antiquity*.

The stakes here are greater than field-specific. As we continue to wrestle with ideas like ›Global‹ and ›Deep‹ History, it would be worth reflecting on why, when our ancient and medieval cousins attempted parallel projects, they made a hard turn away from the investigative genre of *historia*; history-writing – whether ancient, late antique, early, central, or later medieval – limited itself to fields far smaller than the global. This is not to say that there were not attempts to *encapsulate* ›the world‹– a striking number of authors constructed a ›big past‹. But the great majority of ancient and medieval writers who considered human kind on a cosmological scale turned first to the issue of time, and produced *chronica*. Did Early Medieval authors realize that if they asked *historia* to contain the world, it would stretch and break? That the new wine would simply spill from the old skins? If nothing else, it seems appropriate to take a very critical look at the nature of our interest in ›worlding‹ the past. If we search for ›world history‹ without truly reconsidering ›world time‹, are we pursuing a methodological non sequitur?

At the least, we must back away from our conceptual standoff with the past; as Burgess and Kulikowski have shown, we must stop reading chronicles as histories, and start reading chronicles as chronicles. By my reckoning, the way towards this end must now *also* embrace an understanding of genre more concerned with the effects a text had upon its contemporary readers. To do this, we cannot obscure the slim evidence we have for how ›ancient‹ and ›medieval‹ people thought about the works they read. We cannot abandon evidence of how – for instance – people like Isidore of Seville attempted to distinguish terms such as »annals«, »history«, or »chronicle«.

The medievalist H. R. Jauss was quoted briefly above as expressing the concern that scholars see »the history of literary genres as a temporal process of the continual founding and altering of horizons«, a history which possesses enough dynamism to incorporate works that would completely upset the generic expectations at any given time. Jauss claimed that any such expectation-upsetting work must *not* be seen as a failure to its own genre, but as a dynamic and ingenious

> masterwork definable in terms of *an alteration of the horizon of the genre* that is as unexpected as it is enriching. ... [Masterworks] may change with the history of their effects and later interpretations, and thereby may also differently illuminate the coherence of the history of their genre that is to be narrated.[76]

Whether or not Jauss' term ›masterwork‹ is the most appropriate is not central to my point here. The point is rather Jauss' enthusiasm for scholars to adopt comparative approaches that truly and honestly incorporate the possibility of understanding difference as ingenious creativity.

Cicero's *Brutus* provided us with a proposition of the effect which a chronicle ›masterwork‹ might have been expected to produce: chronicles could offer a new encounter with time, an »alteration of the horizon«. Granting this, wouldn't we expect that, in order to *continue* making that same Ciceronian restoration-via-provocation, in order to translate the *effect* of the chronicle into new times and places, the tired, millennium-aged chronicle form would have to change? If a fundamental characteristic of a chronicle was to make a reader re-think their world by re-presenting time, would it not be necessary that five hundred years

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76 Emphasis by the author. Jauss, Theory of Genres, in: Duff, *Modern Genre Theory*, 132.

after Atticus' chronicle so surprised and delighted Cicero, a work seeking to portray time to the same effect would have to do so differently? Would the new, updated form not still be a ›chronicle‹ for its own day? In short: instead of viewing Isidore's *Chronica* and other similar ›medieval‹ works as failures of the Ancient Greek Chronicle genre, should we not view them as Jauss-ian »masterworks« extending that powerful genre with Eusebian brilliance? Let us adopt RB and MK's account, but with the altered hypothesis that medieval chronographers *updated* chronicles to »new horizons«. To provoke their readers to re-think time, successful chronicles re-invented the reckoning of time their readers took for granted.[77] Chronicles – to re-deploy one of RB and MK's conclusions – »had evolved«, and they were bound to *keep evolving* if only that they might persist in doing »their job«.[78]

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77   As Bawarshi and Reiff propose (*Genre*, 21), we might understand genre as »a powerful, ideologically active, and historically changing shaper of texts, meanings, and social actions … both organizing *and* generating kinds of texts and social actions, in complex, dynamic relation to one another.«

78   Burgess and Kulikowski, *Historical Introduction*, 274.

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Acculturation and Elimination: Europe's Interaction with the Other (Fourteenth–Sixteenth Century)

Thomas Ertl and Markus Mayer*

This article examines the cultural contact between the core countries of western Europe and the European periphery. With the examples of Caffa, Ceuta and Dublin, it identifies the different methods and patterns utilised by persons from the core countries of Western Europe upon interaction with foreign peoples before the period of early modern expansion. The various types of interaction are discussed on the basis of Tzvetan Todorov's theses on European expansion in America. Were Europeans such successful conquerors because they were masters of differentiating techniques of transcultural hermeneutics? This is the key question we would like to address here.

In the spring of 1519, Hernán Cortés landed on the coast of Mexico with a fleet of eleven ships and 670 men. The governor of Cuba had sent him to explore the alleged gold-abundant mainland and to claim it for the Spanish crown. On 8 November, Cortés reached the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán. Although the Aztec ruler Moctezuma II received the foreigners warmly at first, the relationship between the Spaniards and Indians rapidly deteriorated. The capture of Moctezuma further inflamed the atmosphere. Violent conflicts soon broke out and half of the Spanish army fell when trying to flee the city during the *Noche Triste* on 30 June 1520. Nevertheless, Hernán Cortés soon returned, conquered Tenochtitlán and made the city the centre of the expanding Spanish colonial empire in Central America.[1]

To this day, there is something puzzling about the capture of Mexico: how can it be explained that Cortés, with a few hundred men, was able to succeed in conquering the Aztec Empire with its several hundred thousand warriors? Normally, Moctezuma's hesitant manner, internal conflict among the Indian tribes, the Europeans' technical and military-based superiority and the transmission of germs are named as reasons for the Europeans' success. But do these indisputable advantages suffice for a complete explanation? In a well-known study, Tzvetan Todorov puts forward the argument that these factors could only be fully effective because of another phenomenon: the specific European style of interacting with a foreign culture. According to this argument, the Europeans were masters of differentiating techniques of a type of transcultural hermeneutics. These techniques were seldom of academic interest only, but could be used for a variety of purposes in different situations. The most

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1 For details on the conquest of Mexico, cf. Hassig, Collision of Two Worlds.

obvious situation was the conquest. For Todorov, the reason for this intellectual and practical flexibility lies in the medieval heritage of Europe. European culture is characterised by cultural heterogeneity and intercultural exchange processes in a unique way. This has led to the fact that, »consciously or not, its [the culture's] representative must make a whole series of adjustments, translations, and occasionally very arduous compromises which allow him to cultivate a spirit of accommodation and improvisation destined to play so decisive a role in the course of the conquest.«[2]

The theory of the special ability of the Europeans – meaning here the Latin Christians of western Europe – to interact with foreign cultures, or more specifically, to manage them, to subdue them both intellectually and practically and to come out on top can be discussed from different viewpoints.[3] It can be questioned whether Hernán Cortés and his troops were actually representative of the Spanish conquest of the Americas or if the Spanish course of action in Central and South America was typical for the European conquests overseas.[4] One could also ask if such a historical discourse leads to portraying non-European cultures as homogenous entities. From a medieval perspective, the importance of Todorov's thesis for research on the early modern period should not be examined here. Instead, the paper will focus on the European Middle Ages and question whether this epoch could have actually laid the foundation for Europe's interaction with the other after 1500 as well.[5] The main question should therefore be whether there are actually specific European forms of interaction with the other. Can a discussion of the medieval situation reveal something to us about the character of western Europeans and their expansion?[6]

A question of this kind can only be approached with examples. Three cities were therefore chosen that lay on the outer edges or beyond the borders of Europe and were sites of intercultural contact in the late Middle Ages. Our tour through the periphery of Europe leads us from Caffa in the southeast to Ceuta in the southwest up to Dublin in the northwest. The three examples are intended to provide the empirical foundation needed to generally reflect on Europe's interaction with the other at the end of the Middle Ages.[7]

Caffa

The first site is the city of Caffa, on the southeastern coast of the Crimean Peninsula. The Genoese had founded the city after the end of the Latin Empire in Constantinople shortly after 1270.[8] Their amicable understanding with the Byzantine emperor, whom they had helped on the throne only a few years prior, and with the Mongolian Khan of the Golden Horde had made the resettlement of the ancient port town possible. Until the handover to the Ottomans in 1475, the city of Caffa was the most important trading post for the Genoese on the Black

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2   Todorov, *Conquest of America*, 109. On Todorov's later view on the interaction of peoples and cultures, cf. Todorov, *Angst vor den Barbaren*. On Todorov's idea of man, cf. Goodheart, Tzvetan Todorov's Humanism.

3   Osterhammel, Kulturelle Grenzen in der Expansion Europas, 102-103.

4   For a comparison of the Spanish actions in Central America with the Portuguese arrival in China in 1517/20, see Gruzinski, *Eagle and Dragon*.

5   For different examples of how the foreigner or the ›other‹ was dealt with in urban environments especially, cf. Keene, Introduction.

6   Schneidmüller, Fitting Medieval Europe into the World.

7   On the European perception of foreign peoples in the Middle Ages, cf. Reichert, *Begegnungen mit China*; Schmieder, *Europa und die Fremden*.

8   Balard, Caffa e il suo porto, 447.

Sea. In its glory days, it consisted of up to 20,000 inhabitants.[9] The first signs of prosperity reached the city at the end of the thirteenth century, after the pope had forbidden trade with the Muslims and the *Pax Mongolica* provided for relatively open trade in Asia. In these decades, Caffa was the gateway for intercontinental trade, where, in particular, spices and silk from the East were traded for textiles and manufactured goods from the West. In the second half of the fourteenth century, however, regional trade with the Russian principalities and the Golden Horde became more prominent. Fur, grain and slaves were the most important commodities of this time.[10] Caffa profited therefore from its position at the gateway of several trading routes in the east to Asia and in the north to Russia.[11] The Genoese had always been aware of Caffa's prominent position on the junction between Asia and Europe. They therefore named their outpost in the East *Genuensis civitas in extremo Europae*.[12]

The special geographic location led to the city being well-fortified. In the thirteenth century, it was surrounded by palisades and trenches, which nevertheless did not hold up against a Mongolian siege in 1308.[13] Caffa was destroyed and had to be rebuilt in the following years.[14] A great amount of time and money was invested in the new defensive fortification: a stone wall with trenches in front was built around both the old city centre and around the new part of the city during the fourteenth century. The outer of the two rings was more than five kilometres long. The success of these measures became apparent in the middle of the fourteenth century, when several Mongol attacks could be warded off. What is probably the most famous attempt by the Mongols to capture the city ended in 1346, with the well-known spreading of the plague into Europe.[15] However, after 1453 and the takeover of the colony by the *Banca di San Giorgio*, expenditure in defensive fortifications petered out. When the Ottomans stood before the gates of Caffa in 1475, the opposition was only slight. [16]

A colourful mix of people lived together in Caffa, a mix in which the Italians from Genoa and the Ligurian coast were never the absolute majority;[17] in fact, they weren't even the largest community there.[18] Balard estimates that the number of Latin Christians (not only Genoese) was just 20% of the total population.[19] Up into the 14th century, the Greeks were the largest ethnic group.[20] However, the Armenian community grew so rapidly that, at the beginning of the 15th century (which was also the point when they began to more strongly leave their mark literarily),[21] they surpassed the Greeks in number and soon accounted for more than half of

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9   Veinstein, From Italians to Ottomans, 223.

10 Slater, Caffa, 272. On the slave trade, cf. Meltzer, *Slavery*, 227-231.

11 Balard, Caffa il suo porto, 449-450.

12 Balard, Genuensis civitas in extremo Europae, 143.

13 Balard, Caffa il suo porto, 448.

14 On the topographic location and the fortifications of Caffa, cf. Balard, Genuensis civitas in extremo Europae, 143-145.

15 Slater, Caffa, 271.

16 Balard, Notes sur la fiscalité génoise, 225.

17 Slater, Caffa, 274.

18 Balletto, Brevi note su Caffa genovese, 454-455.

19 Balard, Les Orientaux à Caffa au XVe siècle, 225.

20 Balard, Orientaux à Caffa au XVe siècle, 229.

21 Rapti, Recul ou modernité, 47-48.

the total population. In the mid-fifteenth century, the consul of Caffa wrote to Genoa about this population shift: »The city is mainly inhabited by Armenians, who are obedient to the city authorities and are good tradesmen and therefore bring the city a good profit.«[22]

The Greek and Armenian settlements were built around their own churches in the outer city, although they were also sometimes in the old city centre (which had originally been intended as a place of residence for Italians only).[23] Clearly, the Latins could never quite fill up the area set aside for them.[24] Both groups had various professions: there were tradesmen and shopkeepers among them, as well as merchants with international contacts. In addition to these two large communities of the Christian faith, there were also eastern Christians in Caffa, especially Georgians, Russians, Hungarians, Bulgarians and others, as well as a small Jewish community that lived in their own quarter, *Giudecha*.[25] The Turkish and Mongol community was partly in the city, partly in the walled outskirts of the city, which, based on the settlement area, was of a considerable size; it rarely appears in the written sources, however.[26] Overall, the Genoese strove to separate the ethnic groups geographically and to subject them to their observable authority by occupying the geographical centre of the city. The result was a »ville quasi-coloniale.«[27]

In order to maintain their dominance over the non-Latin majority, the Genoese made use of a balancing and »see-saw« policy, which was not without its compromises. This is clearly shown, for example, in the urban framework of the city. During the rebuilding of the city after 1308, the Genoese attempted to separate the different ethnicities and to allocate each of them to closed-off areas in the city. With the Mongols and Jews, these measures likely succeeded without major effort. The eastern Christians, however, who had initially lived in homogenous groups around their churches as well, soon began to mix with the Latin people. They bought houses in the inner city, while at the same time several of the Latin people also settled in the outer city. Thus an urban framework based on social-economic possibilities began to superimpose an older framework based on ethnic considerations.[28]

The Genoese also had to rely on the locals for the administration of the city, particularly after the colony passed into the hands of the *Banca San Giorgio*.[29] Local dignitaries (*caput centenarii*) presided over the Greek and Armenian parts of the city, which were named after the Genoese model *contrada*.[30] These dignitaries were appointed and paid by the Genoese. They were responsible for administrative and fiscal matters as well as for the recruitment of guards for the city walls.[31] Translators and two scribes were hired for communication across the language barriers: a *scriba litterarum grecarum* and a *scriba litterarum saracenarum*.[32]

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22   Balard, Orientaux à Caffa au XVe siècle, 225.

23   Balard, Orientaux à Caffa au XVe siècle, 227.

24   Balard, Caffa e il suo porto, 448-449.

25   Balard, Orientaux à Caffa au XVe siècle, 231.

26   Balard, Genuensis civitas in extremo Europae, 144.

27   Balard, Habitat, ethnies et métiers, 132.

28   On the organisation of the individual groups and the mixing of eastern and Latin Christians, cf. Balard, Orientaux à Caffa au XVe siècle, 233-238.

29   Balard, Caffa e il suo porto, 448.

30   Balard, Orientaux à Caffa au XVe siècle, 229.

31   Balard, Orientaux à Caffa au XVe siècle, 227.

32   Balard, Orientaux à Caffa au XVe siècle, 233.

Proclamations by the public authorities were read out both in Latin and *in lingua tartarica*.[33] Furthermore, the Turks and Mongols who lived in Caffa and paid a special head tax were still under the control of the Khan of the Golden Horde as well. A special envoy protected the Khan's interests in Caffa, levying taxes in the Mongol community (*commercium canlu-chorum*) as one of his duties.[34] In the official Genoese documents, the distrust towards fellow non-Christian citizens appears repeatedly: it was forbidden for them to house Mongols from the Kingdom of the Golden Horde in the city, they were not allowed to accept presents from Mongols not from the city and they also could not carry weapons.[35] They were mostly referred to as Saracens and not as Turkic or Tatars. Religion, not ethnicity, was thus the decisive criterion for demarcation.[36]

Despite all the compromises, the Genoese always kept their leadership role: representatives of other ethnic groups did not belong to the *familia* of the consul, but worked only in subordinate positions of the municipal central administration.[37] In order not to be dependent on local forces in the military sector, mercenaries were recruited in Latin western Europe. However, due to a lack of money, the Italians and the western Europeans were only half of the military contingent in the middle of the fifteenth century.[38] The superiority of the Italians and their separation from the local people was therefore an agenda that had been developed in the early years of the colony that, however, could not be maintained over several centuries. The cross-cultural mix which was the result of the steady coexistence of different ethnicities was too strong for that. The mutual influence was architecturally visible among the fourteenth-century church buildings, which displayed a uniformity in Caffa that embraced all denominations; their decorative elements originated to a large extent from the oriental-Seljuk stylistic elements.[39] People married across the faith boundaries as well. As is apparent from a 1381 payroll of the rowers on the municipality's ships, out of 87 men from the west, eleven (ca. 14%) were married to oriental women. This includes both Greek and Armenian as well as Mongolian women.[40] Due to the fact that the immigration of males from the west was significantly heavier, it can be assumed that marriages or other forms of relationships between Latin Christians and local women were widespread. Interestingly enough, there is no known example of a marriage between a western European woman and a local Crimean.

Finally, it cannot be excluded that the famous *Codex Cumanicus*, which includes a Latin-Persian-Cuman dictionary, originated in Caffa or was at least used there.[41] Therefore, it can be said that overall, Caffa is an example of an extensive peaceful expansion of Latin Christians, who, as the minority, had to come to an arrangement with foreign peoples in a distant land, but also strove to preserve their Genoese-Catholic identity and leadership position. The situation in Ceuta on the Moroccan Mediterranean coast was completely different. We now come to our second example.

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33 Balard, Orientaux à Caffa au XVe siècle, 231-232.

34 On the diplomatic ties with the Golden Horde, cf. Petti Balbi, Caffa e Pera a metà del Trecento, 218-223.

35 Balard, Orientaux à Caffa au XVe siècle, 232. The legal situation of the individual groups was often difficult as well. On this, cf. the examples from: Balletto, Caffa genovese al fine del Trecente.

36 Balard, Orientaux à Caffa au XVe siècle, 232.

37 Balard, Orientaux à Caffa au XVe siècle, 235.

38 Balard, Orientaux à Caffa au XVe siècle, 235-236.

39 Bulgakova, Islamisch-christlicher Kulturkontakt im nördlichen Schwarzmeerraum.

40 Balard, Genuensis civitas in extremo Europae, 148.

41 Schmieder, Welt des *Codex Cumanicus*, 289.

Ceuta

On St. Jacob's Day in 1415, the Portuguese fleet went on a military expedition. King John I led the endeavour himself, and several of his sons were also on board the ships. The royal fleet navigated through the Strait of Gibraltar and, on 21 August, dropped anchor off the Moroccan coast.[42] Despite a storm that made disembarkation difficult, the Portuguese stormed and conquered the Muslim city of Ceuta that day.[43] Until then, the city, which was on a peninsula, had been one of the most important trade ports on the Maghrebi coast and was equally controlled by Muslim and Christian ships. In addition to its position as a centre of trade, control of Ceuta was strategically important, as the strait between the Mediterranean and Atlantic could be controlled from the city.[44]

In the days after the conquest, the Portuguese plundered the city. The Muslim population of approximately 20,000 people was killed. The only people who escaped death were those able to flee inland in time.[45] In contrast to earlier expeditions, King John I decided not to leave the plundered Ceuta immediately, but instead to occupy it permanently and make it an outpost of his empire. Entrusted with this task was the king's son Henry, who began his career as a promoter of maritime expansion with the journey to Ceuta, a journey which gave him his nickname »the Navigator«.[46] However, supplying the city proved to be difficult. There was a lack of money and people. In order to permanently maintain the desired contingent of 3,000 men, convicts, who could trade their prison sentence or galley slavery for military service in exile, were soon sent to Ceuta.[47] In spite of this, the desired contingent was never reached.[48] To financially support the exclave, special taxes were imposed nationwide and a *Casa de Ceuta* was founded with its headquarters in Lisbon. It was the model for all subsequent establishments of this type for overseas territories.[49] Nevertheless, Ceuta remained a losing transaction for the Portuguese crown during the entire fifteenth century.[50]

The plundered city was completely taken over by the Christian conquerors. All mosques were converted into churches.[51] The first monks from the Franciscan order soon settled in the city, which Pope Martin V made into a diocese in 1418.[52] As of 1451, the Dominicans also had a settlement in the city,[53] and, in the sixteenth century, the Jesuits did as well.[54] The concern for the Church and for Christianity had accompanied and shaped the conquest of Ceuta from the very beginning. The Portuguese king himself stylised his campaign as a crusade and as a continuation of the Reconquista.[55] At the Council of Constance, Portuguese envoys

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42   Vogt, Crusading and Commercial Elements, 287.

43   Mendes Drumond Braga and Drumond Braga, *Ceuta Portuguesa* ,24.

44   Selentiny, *Aufstieg und Fall*, 21.

45   Paviot, Les Portugais et Ceuta, 430.

46   On the administration of the city, cf. Mendes Drumond Braga and Drumond Braga, *Ceuta Portuguesa*, 99-107.

47   For the sentences for which one could be sent to Ceuta, cf. Paviot, Portugais et Ceuta, 430-431.

48   Mendes Drumond Braga and Drumond Braga, *Ceuta Portuguesa*, 53.

49   Paviot, Portugais et Ceuta, 428.

50   Vogt, Crusading and Commercial Elements, 298-299.

51   In the Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta, *Gomes Eanes de Azurara* gives an account of the first mass held in the former mosque of Ceuta. cf. Newitt, *Portuguese in West Africa*, 25-28.

52   Mendes Drumond Braga and Drumond Braga, *Ceuta Portuguesa*, 143.

53   Mendes Drumond Braga and Drumond Braga, *Ceuta Portuguesa*, 150.

54   Mendes Drumond Braga and Drumond Braga, *Ceuta Portuguesa*, 153.

55   Vogt, Crusading and Commercial Elements, 287.

praised the capture of the city and described it as the »gateway to the control and conversion of all of Muslim Africa.«[56] The pope agreed and published several Crusade Bulls in which he promised the conquerors and their supporters full indulgences. This interpretation of conquest, with the help of the pope and court chronicles, would continually accompany further expansion – and not only that of the Portuguese.[57]

In addition to religious motives, the attack on Ceuta was also based on political and economic interests. The city was a rich centre of trade and an endpoint of the caravan routes from the gold countries in the south of the Sahara.[58] The Portuguese chronicler Gomes Eanes Zurara documented the belief of the economic prosperity of Ceuta when he characterised the city as a »big, rich and beautiful city« in the mid-fifteenth century.[59] This assessment was likely somewhat exaggerated, as Ceuta was not an interregional trade centre.[60] However, – and this was not an isolated case in the history of European expansion – these were the dreams and images of the fabulous wealth of foreign countries that fired the imagination of the explorers and conquerors and led them to become crusaders. Henry the Navigator held tight to Ceuta and, in the following years, supported all attempts at expanding Portuguese rule in North Africa. Morocco remained his most important area of activity before the expeditions in the Atlantic. His goal was to conquer North Africa and »win it back« for Christianity.[61] This plan was more important than the interaction with the local peoples. In the years after 1415, the Portuguese pushed the Muslims who lived on the periphery of the city farther and farther out. An uninhabited barrier arose between the religious communities.[62] However, the Portuguese continued to maintain diplomatic contacts and trade relations with the Muslim empires in the western Mediterranean. Furthermore, Ceuta was not always a completely monoethnic city. At times, the city formed a place of refuge, especially for Moriscos and for converted Sephardic Jews who had fled from the Iberian Peninsula before the Inquisition.[63] Like many other port cities, Ceuta also attracted a bright mix of traders and sailors from all of Europe.[64] However, this mix of people was hardly reflected in the city's administration.[65]

Ceuta was therefore not a peaceful area of contact like Caffa was, but instead was completely integrated into the governmental and economic system of the Portuguese kingdom. The local people were forced to flee or were murdered. An intercultural coexistence, such as in Caffa and in many places on the Iberian Peninsula itself, was ruled out from the very beginning. The model of Ceuta is therefore fundamentally different from the model of Caffa. A third type of path was taken in Dublin, our last example.

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56 Witte, Bulles pontificales et l'expansion portugaise, 689-690.

57 Paviot, Portugais et Ceuta, 429.

58 Vogt, Crusading and Commercial Elements, 290-292.

59 Eanes de Azurara, Conquête de Ceuta, 15.

60 Vogt, Crusading and Commercial Elements, 298.

61 Selentiny, *Aufstieg und Fall*, 34-35.

62 Gozalbes Cravioto, Las fortificaciones de la Ceuta medieval, 402.

63 Mendes Drumond Braga and Drumond Braga, *Ceuta Portuguesa*, 66-70.

64 Mendes Drumond Braga and Drumond Braga, *Ceuta Portuguesa*, 64-65.

65 For the large number of different nations in Ceuta around 1600, cf. Mendes Drumond Braga and Drumond Braga, *Ceuta Portuguesa*, 177-178.

Dublin

At first glance, Ireland does not necessarily seem to be a border region of Europe, but rather a part of Latin Europe. However, in the Middle Ages, this was only true for the religious organisations, and even there, the Irish church first placed itself under the dominion of Rome in the twelfth century (if only formally).[66] Until then, the Irish church had operated as independent organisation, which differed from the western Roman Church through the strong monastic element in particular. However, Ireland showed itself as a border region much more in the societal domain than in religious matters. If the term »Latin Europe« is placed in a wider context and not only describes a religious dimension but an entire model of society that defines itself through commonalities such as the development of the feudal system or the significance of the Roman heritage in the legal or linguistic sector, then Gaelic-Irish society appears to be significantly outside of this system. Irish society is characterised by the high significance of clanship, its own legal and literary tradition and a strong isolation from the rest of Europe. In Gaelic areas, after a short time, the Latin language lost its importance[67] compared to the Irish language.[68] It wasn't until the Anglo-Norman conquest in the twelfth century that defining characteristics of Latin Europe, such as the feudal system, arrived on the island. However, these characteristics only caught on in the areas under undisputed Anglo-Norman rule at first. Many areas of Ireland remained almost completely untouched by them for centuries. When these parameters are considered, Christian Ireland can be regarded as a border region of Latin Europe.

In 1169, Anglo-Norman nobles travelled from south Wales to Ireland in support of a local Irish king and conquered a part of the island, thanks to their military superiority.[69] The immigrants spoke French and belonged to an international feudal upper class. Some of these nobles also had property in Wales, England, Normandy or southern France.[70] They did not fight for any crown, but rather to expand their own property. However, as they were vassals of the English king Henry II, Henry came to Ireland in 1171, accepted the homage of his barons and governed church matters at a synod.[71] As of this visit, Ireland was classified as a lordship of the English king, despite only periodic rule.[72]

The Anglo-Norman barons covered the land with a network of feudalism, at the same time as the representatives of the crown attempted to create a sweeping administrative organisation. However, the only areas that were actually conquered and ruled over were individual, relatively populated fertile regions in the east and south of the island, which slowly became smaller with time. The centre of the Anglo-Norman and later English rule was the *Pale*, an area around Dublin that was the most heavily influenced by the new Anglo-Norman rule.[73]

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66 Melville and Staub, *Enzyklopädie des Mittelalters*, vol. 2, 343.

67 Hughes, Irish Church, 645.

68 On the history of Latin in the early Middle Ages in Ireland, cf. Ó Cróinín, Hiberno-Latin Literature to 1169. On the development of the Irish language, cf. Russell, ›What was the best of every language‹; Scott, Latin Learning and Literature in Ireland, 934-936.

69 Duffy, Ireland's Hastings, 77-80.

70 For a successful case study on the de Verduns, one of these Norman families who had property in Normandy, in England, in Ireland and in Wales, cf. Hagger, *Fortunes of a Norman Family*.

71 Duffy, Ireland's Hastings, 80-81.

72 For the exact sequence of events, cf. Martin, Allies and an Overlord.

73 On the development of the *Pale* in the fifteenth century and its continuous decline, cf. Cosgrove, Emergence of the Pale.

On large parts of the island, the old Irish clans still retained their power. The Gaelic legal system and the traditional social structure with the clientelism of the big families continued: the native Irish were still not considered subjects of English law, but were classified as serfs (*betaghs*).[74] In fact, the English crown only had direct influence on the happenings in Ireland on the east coast. Even there, however, many nobles pursued a very independent policy that often conflicted with the royal policy. Individual noble families, especially the Earls of Kildare, used the weakness of the English monarchy in the time of the War of the Roses and the early Tudor period to free themselves from it.[75]

In the course of the fourteenth century, the clear lines between natives and immigrants dissolved. In Gaelic regions where the conquerors had little power and could hardly maintain cohesion with their own people, they soon married into the big Irish families and conformed to the language, clothing, manners and ways of life of the Irish people.[76] These families, some completely immersed in Gaelic society, also opposed every strong influence the English king had and were referred to as *English Rebels*. They were thus not only put on the same level as the *Irish Enemies*, the Gaelic Irish, but often despised even more strongly. [77]

Since the late thirteenth century, the Irish Parliament, which was only responsible for the English inhabitants of Ireland, and the English Parliament had issued laws against these »degenerated English« who spoke Gaelic, associated with the Irish bards, rode without saddles, wore their hair and beard in the Irish way and dressed like the locals.[78] However, the sanctions (through which the Irish Parliament wanted to enforce the unity of the Anglo-Norman barons) were only effective in a core area of English colonisation. Even there, they usually only retained their effect for a short time. In the places where individual immigrants lived among the Irish, the immigrants assimilated as they had before. As the power of the Anglo-Norman feudal lords disappeared, Gaelic society regenerated and re-established itself in the territories that had previously been lost. Even on the borders of the *Pale*, there were hardly any actual distinguishing factors between the English and Irish in the fifteenth century. Even strict regulations on clothing changed this only slightly.[79]

The outpost of English rule was Dublin, which had been fortified as a naval base in the ninth century by the Vikings[80] and had presented itself as a multicultural city where Scandinavian and Irish elements intermixed from the very beginning. The ethnic shifts in Ireland have characterised the development of the city since this time. After the Anglo-Norman invasion, Henry II granted the biggest city of Ireland (which was already considered the centre of the island) a town charter,[81] meaning Dublin became the first city in Ireland to be directly under the English crown. The late medieval image of the city was strongly shaped by the English: The cathedral *Christ Church (Holy Trinity)* and Dublin Castle (start of construction:

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74 Lydon, *Making of Ireland*, 73.

75 On the hegemony of the Earls of Kildare, which was not crushed until the reign of Henry VIII, cf. Quinn, Aristocratic Autonomy; Quinn, Hegemony of the Earls of Kildare.

76 Lydon, *Making of Ireland*, 80.

77 Clarke, Decolonization, 180.

78 The *Statute of Kilkenny* offers an example of this, cf. *Statute of the Fortieth Year of King Edward III*, trans. Hardiman.

79 On this cf. Cosgrove, Gaelic Resurgence and the Geraldine Supremacy.

80 Halpin, Development Phases in Hiberno-Norse Dublin, 102-104.

81 Duffy, Ireland's Hastings, 69 and 76; Watt, Dublin in the Thirteenth Century, 152.

1204) were built in the decades after the invasion.[82] A new bridge over the Liffey was built (ca. 1215) and the harbour area was raised, meaning that the area for building was expanded.[83] Suburban settlements developed on all sides of the city.

The coexistence of different ethnicities in Dublin clearly reflected the English-Irish history of the late Middle Ages. In spite of the acculturation processes in many parts of the country, in Dublin, the English tried to keep to themselves. After 1171, the Celtic-Scandinavian population, which was composed of a mixture of Gaelic Irish and descendants of the Vikings from Scandinavia (and is usually referred to as Hiberno-Norse), were soon pushed to the suburb of Oxmantown (east-man-town) beyond the bridge.[84] In the time that followed, the Anglo-Norman citizens who settled within the walls acquired a series of rights and privileges that the larger English cities had also received.[85] The seat of the archbishop had been exclusively occupied by Englishmen since the invasion. Immigrants from France and Flanders also settled in the city, as did an Italian community in exile, which consisted mainly of members of the great Italian trading companies. They had come to Ireland in the service of the pope and king and dominated the Irish involvement in the international trade of goods and money, at least in the thirteenth century.[86]

Citizenship and membership in all the trade guilds were limited to people of »English« origin.[87] The practice of separating the ethnic groups was intensified again in the mid-fifteenth century, as the influence on large parts of the country was steadily weakening. At that time, it was stipulated that all Irish who lived in the city had to leave within four weeks. Only those who had already lived in Dublin for more than twelve years were exempt. If they did not comply, there was the threat of property confiscation and imprisonment. The Irish were only allowed to reside in the *Irishtown* outside of the city walls. However, in actuality, many Irish likely lived in the city and its sprawling suburbs.[88] In the sixteenth century, there were once more so many Irish in the city that the English complained that Irish Gaelic would compete with English as the everyday language.[89]

The situation in Dublin thus shows parallels with both Caffa and Ceuta. As in the North African city, the Latin Christians came to Dublin as military conquerors and expelled the local inhabitants from the city. As in Caffa, despite multiple attempts to implement strict ethnic divisions, a limited coexistence and co-operation with the oriental and Gaelic Christians was nevertheless allowed in the subsequent period. Unlike the southern cities, however, Dublin was the outpost of extensive colonisation and was the undisputed centre of the island.[90]

Which conclusions can now be drawn from these three examples and how can the late medieval interactions of Latin Christians with peoples at or beyond the borders of Europe be characterised?

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82 Simms, Dublin, 252-254.

83 Wallace, Dublin's Waterfront at Wood Quay.

84 Simms, Dublin, 249 and 252. On the significance and development of Oxmantown, cf. Purcell, City and the Suburb.

85 Watt, Dublin in the Thirteenth Century, 152-153.

86 Down, Colonial Society and Economy, 483-484.

87 Watt, Dublin in the Thirteenth Century, 156.

88 Watt, Dublin in the Thirteenth Century, 156-157.

89 On the significance of the Irish in Dublin and its suburbs, cf. Purcell, City and the Suburb, 203-206.

90 Watt, Dublin in the Thirteenth Century, 151.

Conclusion

For the description and interpretation of the interaction between Latin Christians and other peoples or religions in the late Middle Ages, four particularly important points become apparent:

1. The Latin Christians had a type of superiority thinking. Other peoples and religions were classified as inferior. Both ethnic and religious criteria could be used as factors of differentiation and shape intercultural interactions. Examining the history of the perception of the foreigner can provide support for this observation.[91] However, even the mere portrayal of the concrete situations of interaction and their effects illustrate this idea. Based on this type of foundation, war, conquest, separation and murder could be considered reasonable treatment towards non-Christians and Christians alike. Incidentally, the categories of distinction and the mechanisms of repression that were practiced on the borders of Europe do not appear to have differed significantly from the practices within the continent.[92]

2. Interaction with foreign peoples did not only create categories of inclusion and exclusion, but also contributed to identity formation. Through these interactions, cultural-religious entities as well as differences between civilising entities were constructed and interpreted as God-given facts. Latins, Franks, Genoese, Portuguese and English were such categories of descriptions for one's self; Greeks, Saracens, Moors, Tartars and Irish were usually pejoratively-used descriptions for others. Europe and Roman Catholic *christianitas* were also terms and images that were used in this identity discourse. The essential understanding of people, culture and religion served to order the world and to legitimise one's own actions. All forms of transcultural existence were suppressed or explicitly fought against. Even in areas of contact, clear-cut borders were sought.

3. When Christians of western Europe left their homelands and made contact with other peoples, it was due to various motives. Always present and at the forefront was the pursuit of political power and material gain. While the royalist historiography of Portugal highlighted the spread of Christianity, Alvise Cadamosto, an Italian in Portuguese service, spoke more of the honour and gain that drove him and his fellow sailors.[93] The regulations in the border areas of Europe led to proto-colonial economic systems in which the periphery was oriented towards the centre. This is easy to see in Ireland, whose surplus – in times when it was achieved – was immediately sent to England to finance the king.[94] Therefore, in the mid-sixteenth century at the latest, Ireland became a sort of testing ground for the later colonial economic policies of England.[95]

4. The variety of the forms of interaction – shown here by the three selected examples – is large and ranges from acculturation to annihilation. In practice, the interactions appear to have been strongly guided by pragmatic and success-oriented thoughts, in which the programmatic principles were rarely fully and permanently realised. This is accompanied by a flexible ability to adapt to the particular situation of interaction. For the description and typology of these culture contacts, models of historical research can be used. Jürgen Osterhammel's ideas on the cultural borders in the expansion of Europe also appear to be

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91   Schmieder, »… sie sind ganz normale Menschen«.

92   On how minorities were dealt with in the German-speaking realm, for example, cf. Schmieder, Various Ethnic and Religious Groups.

93   Cadamosto, *Cadamostos Beschreibung von Westafrika*, chapter 2.

94   Lydon, Expansion and Consolidation of the Colony, 175-178.

95   On the economy of Ireland around 1600, cf. Butlin, Land and People.

helpful for the topic of medieval relations. Osterhammel includes the following forms in the basic repertoire of the interaction with the foreigner: inclusion, accommodation, assimilation, exclusion, segregation, extermination – and states that the Europeans had practiced each of the six basic forms in the process of expansion.[96] Such taxonomy of forms of cultural interaction could also be helpful for medieval research.

Lastly, there remains the question: what is specific or perhaps even unique to the behaviour of western Europeans towards foreign peoples? Perhaps, along with Tzvetan Todorov, one could identify the adaptability practiced in certain situations as typically European and attribute it to the large European wealth of experience of intercultural interactions. Then one could also agree with Todorov's thesis that in the Middle Ages, the intellectual skills for cultural interactions were developed that were important for the early modern expansion. On the other hand, the question arises of whether expanding powers in all time periods – such as the Romans and Chinese of Antiquity or the Arabs and Mongols in the Middle Ages – behaved in similar pragmatic, adaptable and success-oriented ways. The constant interactions with foreign cultures and their situation-dependent forms appear to have belonged to the history of every civilisation. There is also the question of whether »the Latin Christians« are even a reasonable subject of study. With this question, the field of medieval studies faces a problem that early modern research is also familiar with when analysing the differences between Spanish, English and French expansion in America.

Therefore, Todorov's hypothesis does not seem entirely convincing for the Middle Ages. However, it has – and this is a distinguishing feature of a good thesis – the potential to raise further awareness of the issue, to encourage the comparison between European and non-European expansion methods and to strengthen epoch-spanning collaboration in the field.

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96 Osterhammel, Grenzen, 121.

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A Chosen Missionary People?
Willibrord, Boniface,
and the Election of the *Angli*

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Abstract: In the seventh and eighth centuries, missionaries from Anglo-Saxon England travelled to the continent with the aim of spreading the gospel among its Germanic peoples. This movement has been seen as a response to a sense of collective vocation tied to the belief that the English were God's chosen people. This article combs sources associated with the circles of the missionaries Willibrord (d. 739) and Boniface (d. 754) for evidence of such a belief. It breaks down the concept of ethnic election with a missionary purpose into its separate components to be analysed in turn. In the first section, it is argued that Anglo-Saxon missionaries saw themselves as belonging to the *Angli*, a people united by faith, homeland, and bonds of kinship. The second section presents evidence that the missionaries viewed their own people and its church as specially favoured by God; this favour was tied to the maintenance high standards of belief and practice. The final section considers whether this sense of election acted as a motivator for Anglo-Saxon missionary efforts. It concludes that, despite subsequent claims to the contrary by their contemporaries and successors, the missionaries themselves did not specifically connect the special status of their people with the purpose of evangelism.

Keywords: Anglo-Saxons; mission; Willibrord; Boniface; ethnicity; divine election

Introduction

Late in the eighth century, Alcuin (c. 735–804), scholar, poet and educator at Charlemagne's courts, wrote a poem extolling the virtues of his native Northumbria. Although his interest was primarily local, at one point his focus expands to the English people more generally, and their role in the conversion of the peoples of the continent:

> This race of ours, mother of famous men,
> did not keep her children for herself, (…)
> but sent many of them afar across the seas,
> bearing the seeds of life to other peoples.[1]

The following verses outline the efforts of missionaries to Frisia and Saxony in the late seventh and early eighth centuries. Alcuin's words suggest that the missions were something of a national project, a suggestion that is echoed in the work of modern scholars who view the work of Anglo-Saxon missionaries as the extension of a widely shared English preoccupation

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1 *Nec gens clarorum genetrix haec nostra virorum,/ quos genuit soli sibimet tunc ipsa tenebat, … sed procul ex illis multos trans aequora misit,/ gentibus ut reliquis praeferrent semina vitae.* Alcuin, *Versus de patribus, regibus et sanctis Eboracensis ecclesiae* ll. 1008-1009, 1011-1012, ed./trans. Godman, 82-83.

with continental mission, which was seen as »a national undertaking of the whole English people.«[2] More specifically, the missionaries' decision to engage in the work of evangelism has sometimes been understood as being based on their belief that the Anglo-Saxons had been divinely chosen and called to advance the gospel to the ends of the earth.[3]

The argument for this position does not usually begin with the missionaries themselves, but with the Northumbrian monk and prolific author Bede (672/3–735). Reading his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* as a historiographical exploration of what it means to be the English people of God, many scholars conclude that he believed the English people had been divinely chosen and called.[4] That missionary activity was essential to this national identity as a chosen people, is supported by two lines of reasoning. First, Bede contrasts the English with the Britons, who had in the past been the recipients of special divine favour, but had lost that favour – and with it their control of Britain – because of their wickedness.[5] Bede reckoned the Britons' failure to evangelize the Anglo-Saxons who came to inhabit Britain with them as one of their most grievous sins.[6] He thus implies that divine election comes with a missionary responsibility. Second, an account of the early Anglo-Saxon missions forms a major component of the concluding part of Bede's narrative, so that the arc of English history as divinely ordained included and culminated in bringing the gospel to other peoples.[7] The popularity of Bede's work among his near contemporaries suggests that his narrative struck a chord, which in turn indicates that his ideas about the English as a chosen missionary people were more widely shared.[8] The efforts of Anglo-Saxon missionaries can thus be interpreted through the framework provided by Bede: Nicholas Howe, for instance, has argued Boniface's missionary activities provided the practical counterpoint to Bede's theoretical argument for the election of the English and their »destiny as a missionary people.«[9]

However, this interpretation of Bede has been challenged. Sarah Foot, though convinced that Bede saw the English as »specially chosen and beloved by God«, denies that their special status is linked in his mind to the Christianization of continental pagans.[10] She argues that Bede considered the mission of the church complete with the conversion of the British Isles, since the faith had now reached the farthest corners of the world.[11] Going one step further, George Molyneaux has recently challenged the idea that Bede presented the *Angli* as

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2   Levison, *England and the Continent*, 92.

3   Howe, *Writing the Map*, 107, 137.

4   Particularly influential is the work of Patrick Wormald, who argued repeatedly for Bede's central role in developing and promoting the idea of the English people, including a vision of the English as divinely chosen: Wormald, Venerable Bede, esp. 213-218 and 224-227; Wormald, Bede, the *Bretwaldas* and the Origins; Wormald, Engla Lond. See also Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking*, 49-71; Howe, *Writing the Map*, 50; Foot, Making of *Angelcynn*; Smith, *Chosen Peoples,* 116-117, 144-145; Harris, *Race and Ethnicity*, 45-51; Scheil, *Footsteps of Israel*, 106-109; Zacher, *Rewriting the Old Testament*, 25-28; Wood, Who Are the Philistines?

5   Murray, Bede and the Unchosen Race; Foley and Higham, Bede on the Britons.

6   Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* 1.22, 2.2, 5.22, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 68-69, 134-143, 554-555.

7   Bede, Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum 5.9-11, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 474-487; Tugène, L'histoire ecclésiastique, 142-145; Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 181; Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking*, 68-69, 108-124; Howe, *Writing the Map,* 137.

8   Hastings, *Construction of Nationhood*, 39.

9   Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking*, 125.

10   Foot, *Bede's Church,* 16.

11   Foot, *Bede's Church,*, 10-11.

a chosen people at all.[12] Challenges such as these have shaken the Bedan foundations under the idea that the English missions of the seventh and eighth centuries were the result of an Anglo-Saxon myth of ethnic election.

This article seeks to open up a new angle on the questions whether the Anglo-Saxons considered themselves God's elect, and whether such a belief can have contributed to their missionary drive, by setting Bede aside and focusing on the missionaries themselves. It concentrates on the circles of Willibrord (658–739) and Boniface (c. 675–754). Willibrord was a Northumbrian, educated at York and in Ireland, who set out to missionize the pagans of Frisia in the 690s; Boniface, born Winfrith, a West-Saxon who first worked alongside Willibrord (719–721) and later headed his own missionary efforts in Hesse and Thuringia, in addition to acting, from 738, as papal legate to the Frankish church. I argue that, on the one hand, these missionaries viewed the English people, united by their common descent, homeland, and faith, as divinely favoured in a special way, and therefore called to uphold high standards of belief and practice. On the other hand, however, that favour is not unequivocally claimed as exclusive to the English, nor is it explicitly connected to the missionaries' work of conversion.

Anthony Smith has described a myth of ethnic election as a widely shared belief that a people is chosen and set apart to stand in special relation to God and to fulfil a special role in providential history. His work identifies two models of ethnic election, the covenantal and the missionary, though the latter model presupposes and extends the former.[13] Chosen peoples are marked by the receipt of a divine promise, a calling to live by a sacred law and collectively uphold a high standard of truth and morality, and, in the case of the missionary type, to transform the world around them according to God's will. If they fulfil their calling, they are rewarded with divine favour; if they fail to do so, they are punished by the withdrawal of that favour.[14] While unmistakable claims to be a chosen people in the sense described by Smith were made by several nations in the modern era, attempts to trace the roots of these claims back to the Middle Ages are fraught with difficulty. Focusing on the Franks, Mary Garrison has problematized and historicized early medieval notions of ethnic election, showing that Frankish claims to be a new chosen people were the product of contested and protracted developments.[15] Ethnic election as a concept is difficult to trace in part because it is tangled up with broader notions of the church as a whole as the elect people, a theme that finds its origins in the New Testament and reverberates through the centuries that follow.[16]

Because the idea of a chosen missionary people is inherently multilayered, and did not spring into being fully formed and unchallenged, we should not be surprised to find a lack of explicit and coherent articulations of the belief that the English were chosen by God for the purpose of missionizing other peoples. Nor, however, can we conclude from this that the Anglo-Saxons had no sense of being chosen and called to mission. This article deconstructs

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12 Molyneaux, Old English Bede; Molyneaux, God's Elect.

13 Smith, *Chosen Peoples*, 49, 95-96. Smith characterized the English as an outwardly oriented »missionary people« but not on the basis of developments during the Anglo-Saxon period: 115-123.

14 Smith, *Chosen Peoples*, 50-51, 95.

15 Garrison, Franks as the New Israel; Divine Election for Nations.

16 For the Christian appropriation of the narrative of the chosen people from the Hebrew Bible with particular reference to 1 Peter 2.9-10, see Horrell, ›Race‹, ›Nation‹, ›People‹; Beentjes, ›Holy People‹. For early Christian writers, see Lieu, Race of the God-Fearers; Buell, *Why This New Race*.

the idea of a chosen missionary people to examine each layer in turn. It first discusses the criteria Anglo-Saxon missionaries used to define ethnic groups, particularly their own. Then follows a survey of evidence that the missionaries believed their own people to be specially chosen or favoured by God. Only then is the question addressed whether being the recipient of divine favour also included an element of missionary purpose.

People

The nature of early medieval ethnicity has been the subject of considerable debate.[17] It is clear from a historical perspective that ethnic groups are not stable entities moving through history, but they form, change, and disappear over time as individuals accept, rewrite, or reject narratives that connect them to others.[18] But although ethnic groups are constructed, they are built on a foundation of perceived commonalities – some of which were believed to be inborn.[19] Scholars have proposed several features that may have acted as ethnic markers and so contributed to the formation of ethnic groups in the early middle ages, including language, custom, religion, homeland, and (supposed) ancestry.[20] Which of these features did the Anglo-Saxon missionaries consider salient? With whom could they imagine themselves a community? This article cannot treat these questions exhaustively, but it is necessary to give them some consideration, since whether Willibrord, Boniface, and others like them considered themselves as representatives of a chosen missionary people will depend in large part on who they saw as ›their people‹, and why. I argue that they identified themselves with the *Angli*, a people united by faith, ancestry, and homeland.

As noted above, early Christian writers had sometimes framed Christianity itself as an ethnicity. Something of that tradition is reflected in the way our missionary sources construct the binary Christian-pagan. ›The pagans‹ form their own catch-all category for all non-Christian peoples in more than one list of ethnic groups in Boniface's letters.[21] The idea of a collective that might be termed ›the Christian people‹, however, is never fully articulated, despite hints at a unity that binds all Christians together. In one of the (pseudo-)Bonifatian sermons we find that the community of faith transcends earthly boundaries and makes all Christians ›neighbours‹ and ›brothers‹— perhaps implying that geography and earthly descent cannot function as boundary markers between peoples within the universal church.[22] In a letter to Archbishop Nothelm of Canterbury, Boniface notes that »it is well established that by holy baptism we all become sons and daughters, brothers and sisters of Christ and the Church.«[23] Although this might seem to stress the importance of religious commonality,

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17 For an overview, see Pohl, Conceptions of Ethnicity; for the Anglo-Saxons, see Frantzen, *Anglo-Saxon Keywords*, s.v. »Race.«

18 Geary, Ethnicity as a Situational Construct.

19 Pohl, Introduction: Ethnicity, Religion and Empire, 10.

20 Geary, Ethnicity as a Situational Construct; Bartlett, Medieval and Modern Concepts. On the Anglo-Saxons, see among others Reynolds, What Do We Mean by Anglo-Saxon; Hines, Becoming of the English; Foot, Making of *Angelcynn*; Charles-Edwards, Making of Nations; Brooks, Canterbury; Yorke, Anglo-Saxon Origin Legends.

21 Boniface, *Epistola* 73, 78, ed. Tangl, 151 ll. 16-17, 171 ll. 17-18.

22 *Si forte quislibet quaerat sit proximus, sciat omnem Christianum recte proximum dici, quia omnes in baptismo filii Dei sanctificamur, ut fratres simus spiritualiter in charitate perfecta*, (Pseudo)-Boniface, *Sermones (Pseudo)-Bonifatii*, PL 89, col. 857D.

23 *... quando omnes in sacro baptismate Christi et ecclesiae filii et filiae fratres et sorores esse comprobemur*. Boniface, *Epistola* 33, ed. Tangl, 58, ll. 8-10, trans. Emerton, *Letters of Saint Boniface*, 41.

Boniface's point in this letter is actually the opposite: he is reacting against the reification of spiritual bonds that creates obstacles to marriage between biologically unrelated individuals. The church-as-people motif of early Christian literature is thus not taken up. Nevertheless, faith remains connected to ethnicity. It is taken for granted that a people would have a common faith, and that conversion means collective conversion. Bishop Torthelm of Leicester urged Boniface to »make haste... to gather [the Saxons] together and dedicate them to Christ as a new people.«[24] The missionaries' own people is also united by a shared faith: the roots of the English church in the Roman mission are recalled in several of Boniface's letters, and the strong Christian faith of the English people is praised in missionary hagiography.[25]

Bonds of kinship, whether real or imagined, were equally important to the unity of a people. Kinship is, in both Latin and Old English, etymologically implied in the very words for ›people‹, and biblically literate missionaries would also have been familiar with the Genesis account of how Noah's offspring became progenitors of all the world's peoples, »according to... their families in their nations«.[26] It comes as no surprise, then, to find ancestral ties featuring as ethnic markers in Boniface's correspondence. In perhaps his most famous letter, written to secure support for his mission among the Saxons, he addresses himself to everyone »of the lineage and stock of the English« (*de stirpe et prosapia Anglorum*) and identifies himself as »born of that same race« (*procreatis eiusdem generis*), suggesting a commonality among all the Anglo-Saxons based on common descent.[27] Similarly, the consortium of bishops that signed Boniface's letter to Herefrid identified itself as »born of the English people« (*de... Anglorum gente nati*).[28] The English people is thus presented as a collective into which one is born, and to which one belongs on account of one's lineage.

Lastly, the missionaries' self-identifications frequently make reference to their homeland, and the keen sense of separation from it which they experienced. Willibrord's autobiographical note in the Echternach Calendar begins by recording that he »came from beyond the sea« (*veniebat ultra mare*).[29] Boniface calls himself an »exile in Germany« (*exul Germanicus*), and paints his mission as a long voyage or pilgrimage on which his companions are fellow-pilgrims.[30] One of his favourite images for his mission is that of a ship drifting on the ocean:

> I urge you to implore for me our merciful God, who is the author of our wanderings, that He will hold our frail vessel in His guiding and protecting hand, preserve it from the waves of German tempests, and bring it safely to the peaceful shore of the heavenly Jerusalem.[31]

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24 *Festinet... uti novum christo populum coacervare et dedicare.* Torthelm of Leicester, *Epistola* 47, ed. Tangl, 76 ll. 18–20.

25 Boniface, *Epistola* 33, 50, 73 ed. Tangl, 57-58, 84, 152; *Vita Lebuini antiqua* 1, ed. Hofmeister, 791: *Anglorum patria, quae beati papae Gregorii studio ad Christianitatem perducta est, in fide Christi semper religiosissima erat.*

26 Genesis 10.5.

27 Boniface, *Epistola* 46, ed. Tangl, 74 ll. 25-26.

28 Boniface, *Epistola* 74, ed. Tangl, 157 ll. 2-3.

29 *Calendar of St Willibrord*, ed. Wilson. The note is found on plate XI in Wilson's facsimile (folio 39b), the transcription on page 11 and notes at 42-43. On the identity of the scribe: Howlett, Willibrord's Autobiographical Note.

30 Boniface, *Epistola* 30, ed. Tangl, 54 l. 11.

31 *... ut pius Dominus, qui cause est peregrinationis nostrae, navem fragilitatis nostrae, ne fluctibus Germanicarum tempestatum submergatur, dextera sua protegente et gubernante inlesam custodiendo ad caelestis Hierusalem litus tranquillum perducat.*« Boniface, *Epistola* 38, ed. Tangl, 63 ll. 11-15, trans. Emerton, *Letters of Saint Boniface*, 44.

The expanse of sea separating Boniface from his homeland is likewise a recurring theme in his correspondence. Both he and his friends in Britain were acutely aware of the voyage over land and water needed to enable communication between them. Abbess Eangyth and her daughter Heaburg write that Boniface is divided from them by »a wide expanse of sea and land« (*longo intervallo terre marisque*).[32] The contrast between those who remain in their »native land« (*patrius*) and those who have left their »native shores« (*patria litora*) on pilgrimage runs throughout the letter. By characterizing themselves as exiles and pilgrims, the missionaries tacitly posit their continuing connection to the homeland from which they are separated, and to its inhabitants.[33] That homeland is primarily defined by the sea that surrounds it, so that the whole of Britain, rather than any specific kingdom or province within it, is in view.

Summing up, for the Anglo-Saxon missionaries, perceptions of who together formed a people were shaped by religion, genealogy, and geography. Theirs, correspondingly, was a Christian, Germanic, Britain-dwelling people – a people ever more frequently called by the name *Angli*, which had once belonged to a smaller collective but now was applied more broadly. Although Boniface is a ›Saxon‹ according to Bede's threefold division of the Anglo-Saxon peoples into Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, he does not hesitate to describe himself as belonging to the *gens Anglorum*, nor does he acknowledge any ethnic boundaries between himself and his correspondents of ›Anglian‹ or ›Jutish‹ stock. The ethnonym *Saxones* underwent a similar broadening, but became the less popular choice for designating this ›English‹ collective, quite possibly because of a desire to emphasize the difference between the Anglo-Saxons and the pagan Germanic peoples of the continent.[34]

Chosen people: objects of divine favour
Sources connected with the Anglo-Saxon missions to the continent make no explicit claims that the *Angli* are a ›new Israel‹ or chosen people. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that Anglo-Saxon missionaries viewed their own people and especially the English church as enjoying a special status. Some of the clearest indications are found in a letter from Boniface to King Æthelbald of Mercia. The letter was composed towards the end of the 740s, and signed by seven bishops besides Boniface himself. It was carried to Britain with accompanying letters to Archbishop Ecgbert of York, who was asked to emend the letter, and to the local priest Herefrid, who was asked to read and explain it to the king.[35] The effort Boniface put into the composition and transmission of this letter was not without reason: the letter's purpose was to reprimand the king for his (sexual and political) sins. Boniface painted a bleak picture of the future of the English if Æthelbald were to persist in his errant ways:

> »This is held to be a shame and a disgrace, not by Christians only but even by pagans. [...] If the English people, as is reported here and as is charged against us in France and Italy and even by the heathen themselves, are scorning lawful marriage and living in wanton adultery like the people of Sodom, then we must expect that [...] the

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32 Eangyth and Heaburg, *Epistola* 14, ed. Tangl, 25 ll. 1-3, trans. Emerton, *Letters of Saint Boniface*, 16.

33 On the exile motif in Boniface's letters, see also Clay, *In the Shadow of Death*, 271-277.

34 Pohl, Ethnic Names and Identities, 19-20; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World*, 50-51.

35 Boniface, *Epistolae* 74-75, ed. Tangl, 155-158. For a reflection on the relationship between preserved text and the oral (and vernacular) communication between Herefrid and Æthelbert, see Scior, Stimme, Schrift und Performanz.

whole race will become debased and finally will be neither strong in war nor steadfast in faith, neither honored among men nor pleasing in the sight of God. So it has been with the peoples of Spain and Provence and Burgundy. They turned thus away from God and lived in harlotry until the Almighty Judge let the penalties for such crimes fall upon them through ignorance of the law of God and the coming of the Saracens.«[36]

At first glance, this passage suggests that the English are on equal footing with the other Christian peoples of Europe, indeed it is implied that at the moment they compare rather unfavourably with the Franks and Italians where moral rectitude is concerned. However, the doom which Boniface saw hanging over the English was a loss of the status which, so the threat implied, they currently still possessed. They had until then been, and, if Æthelbald repented, would continue to be, »strong in war« and »steadfast in faith«, »honoured among men« and »pleasing in the sight of God«. National honour and national shame are flip sides of the same coin.[37] The moral standards and reputation of the English are addressed in a number of other letters also: the moral standing of the *Angli* is a theme in a letter to Archbishop Cuthbert of Canterbury, and in the letter to Herefrid that accompanied the missive for Æthelbald, Boniface and the other senders wrote that »[t]he well-doing and the fair fame of our race is our joy and delight; their sins and their evil repute fill us with grief and sorrow« (*Bonis et laudibus gentis nostrae laetamur et gaudemus, peccatis autem eius et vituperationibus eius tribulamur et contristamur*).[38] This dynamic of divine favor and retribution in response to the moral standing of the people and its leaders closely resembles the covenantal form of ethnic election as described by Smith.[39]

Other passages in the letter to Æthelbald underscore the favoured position of the *Angli* by recalling their illustrious history as a godly people.[40] Boniface and his co-signatories prayed that God would keep Æthelbald »safe and steadfast in faith and works before God and in the leadership of the people of Christ« (*sospites et in fide stabiles et in operibus coram Deo rectos in principatu christiani populi*), clearly signalling divine approval of Æthelbald and the »people of Christ« over whom he rules.[41] The opening lines of the letter address Æthelbald as »gloriously governing the empire of the English« (*inclita Anglorum imperii sceptra gubernanti*).[42] No doubt this was an exaggeration intended to flatter the letter's recipient, but even so the language recalls the imperial grandeur of Rome and implies that the *Angli* are its heirs.[43]

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36 *Quod non solum a christianis, sed etiam a paganis in opbrorium et verecundiam deputatur. [...] Si enim gens Anglorum, sicut per istas provincias devulgatum est et nobis in Francia et in Italia inproperatur et ab ipsis paganis inproperium est, spretis legalibus conubiis adulterando et luxoriando ad instar Sodomitane gentis foedam vitam vixerit, [...] aestimandum est [...] ad extremum universam plebem ad deteriora et ignobiliora vergentem et novissime nec in bello saeculari fortem nec in fide stabilem et nec honorabilem hominibus nec Deo amabilem esse venturam. Sicut aliis gentibus Hispaniae et Prouinciae et Burgundionum populis contigit; quae sic a Deo recedentes fornicatę sunt, donec iudex omnipotens talium criminum ultrices poenas per ignorantiam legis Dei et per Sarracenos venire et sęrvire permisit.* Boniface, *Epistola* 73, ed.Tangl, 150-151, trans. Emerton, *Letters of Saint Boniface*, 105-106.

37 »National shame« is mentioned in this context by Wormald, Bede, the *Bretwaldas* and the Origins, 119.

38 Boniface, *Epistola* 78, 74, ed. Tangl, 161-170, 156 ll. 4-6, trans. Emerton, *Letters of Saint Boniface*, 109.

39 Smith, *Chosen Peoples*, 50-51.

40 Boniface, *Epistola* 73, ed. Tangl, 152.

41 Boniface, *Epistola* 73, ed. Tangl, 147 ll. 7-9, trans. Emerton, *Letters of Saint Boniface*, 103.

42 Boniface, *Epistola* 73, ed. Tangl, 146 ll. 24-25.

43 Contrast Boniface's letter to Pippin which addresses him more soberly as »*domino excellentissimo... regi Francorum.*« Boniface, *Epistola* 107, ed. Tangl, 233 l. 1.

Personal connections provide another piece of evidence to suggest a sense that the *Angli* were a specially favoured people. Unlike Irish missionary pilgrims, English missionaries did not sever all ties with their past life, but remained embedded in their social networks, keeping open the possibility of return, and using their connections to secure moral and practical support.[44] They frequently invited others from England to participate in the mission or take on leadership roles in newly established dioceses and monasteries, favouring their compatriots over locally trained religious. Willibrord himself came to the continent at the suggestion of another English missionary, Ecgbert (639–739), who had already been attempting to coordinate a Frisian mission for some time.[45] Clerics from Willibrord's circle, upon choosing Swithberht for their bishop, sent him to England for ordination – a decision that has yet to be satisfactorily explained, but says something of the close links maintained between the missionaries and the Anglo-Saxon church.[46] Boniface's earliest biographer writes that »[f]rom Britain an exceedingly large number of holy men came to his aid.«[47] Similarly the author of the Life of Leoba recalls that Boniface »sent messengers and letters to England, his native land, summoning from different ranks of the clergy many who were learned in the divine law and fitted both by their character and good works to preach the Word of God.«[48] Boniface himself informed Fulrad (abbot of St Denis, 750–784) that his fellow-workers were »nearly all foreigners« (*pene omnes peregrini*), and his most trusted associates were Englishmen like himself.[49] These included Denehard, who acted repeatedly as Boniface's messenger and was his representative to the Roman synod of 745, and Lull, whom Boniface appointed as his successor.[50] After establishing three new dioceses in 741 or 742, Boniface consecrated at least two Englishmen to serve as diocesan bishops: Burchard for Würzburg and Wintan for Büraburg.[51] The identity of the third bishop, appointed to Erfurt, is unknown. Perhaps Boniface originally had the West-Saxon Willibald in mind, whom he consecrated bishop at this time, but Willibald left the region to found a monastery in Eichstätt.[52] Boniface's monastic foundations were likewise headed by English men and women: the house at Tauberbischofsheim was entrusted to Leoba (d. 782), with whom he had corresponded while she was still in England; his monastic foundation at Fritzlar was placed under the leadership of

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44   Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World*, 67, 72-75.

45   Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* 5.9-10, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 474-485; Mayr-Harting, Ecgberht.

46   Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* V,11, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 484-487; Ziegler, Ripon Connection.

47   *Et ex Brittaniae partibus servorum Dei plurima ad eum [...] convenerat multitudo*, Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii* 6, ed. Levison, 34, trans. Talbot, *Anglo-Saxon Missionaries*, 47.

48   *... in terram Anglorum, unde ipse ex parentibus erat, legatos et epistolas misit atque ex diverso clericorum ordine nonnullos accersivit doctos lege divina et ad praedicationem verbi vitae merito morumque probitate idoneos, quorum adminiculo iniunctam sibi legationem non segniter administravit*. Rudolf of Fulda, *Vita Leobae* 9, ed. Waitz, 125 ll. 40–42, trans. Talbot, *Anglo-Saxon Missionaries*, 213.

49   Boniface, *Epistola* 93, ed. Tangl, 213 l.11.

50   Denehard and Lull describe themselves to Abbess Cuniberg in Britain as her »fellow countrymen« (*vernaculi*) who »went over to the German peoples« (*ad Germanicas gentes transivimus*) after the death of their relatives. They ask her to send still others over to them. Denehard, Lull and Burchard, *Epistola* 49, ed. Tangl, 78-80; Emerton, *Letters of Saint Boniface*, 53-54.

51   Boniface reports these events in *Epistola* 50, ed. Tangl, 81. Wintan signed Boniface's letter to king Æthelbert and the accompanying letter to Herefrid, in which the authors identify themselves as »born and bred of that same English stock« (*de eadem Anglorum gente nati et nutriti*). Boniface, *Epistola* 74, ed. Tangl, 156 ll. 2-3; Burchard is, together with Lull and Denehard, author of the letter to Cuniberg, *Epistola* 49, ed. Tangl, 78.

52   Larrington, Willibald.

Abbot Wigbert (d. ca. 737) and succeeded on Boniface's orders by Tatwin, both of whom bear English names.[53] The tendency to favour Anglo-Saxons for positions of influence expresses a subtle sense of superiority, and a greater trust in the orthodoxy and capability of English missionaries than in those of local leaders.

We must at this point address an alternative explanation for the missionaries' preference for English company: that they were drawing on their family networks. This is the interpretation put forward by Ian Wood, who argues that the two waves of missionaries, centred on Willibrord and Boniface respectively, correspond with two kin groups. He sees the missions not as a national but as a familial enterprise.[54] While it is true that some members of the missionary circles were related to one another – we know for instance that Leoba was related to Boniface, and so were Willibald, Wynnebald, and Hygeburg, who were involved in the missions in the mid to late eighth century – it is equally clear that some of those who became fellow missionaries were initially strangers to one another.[55] Several letters in the Bonifatian correspondence testify to the connections forged between unrelated individuals in the course of the missions.[56] Boniface and Willibrord, though they worked together closely for several years, were not related to one another and had spent their formative years in different parts of Britain. The ongoing recruitment of English missionaries must therefore point to a sense of commonality that encompassed not just the kin group, but the *Angli* at large.

This impression is strengthened by the fact that Anglo-Saxon missionaries showed a marked preference for English customs as well as for English individuals. Peter Brown characterized Boniface as one who »brought from the ›micro-Christendom‹ of Saxon Britain a blueprint of ›correct‹ Christianity which he was quite prepared to impose on the ancient Christianity of Continental Europe.«[57] Many (though not all) of the abuses he found in the Frankish church could perhaps be better described as local traditions that were at odds with his own.[58] It is telling that several of the opponents Boniface considered heretics of the worst sort could count on considerable support from their own churches. As an example we might consider the Irishmen Clemens and Virgil whose ideas, insofar as we are able to reconstruct them, seem to be in line with broader tendencies and concerns in the Irish church, and to some degree had gained currency among the Franks.[59] The Frankish bishop Adalbert, whom Boniface condemned, had gained a significant following among the people of Francia, who viewed him as »a most holy apostle… a patron and intercessor, a doer of righteousness and worker of miracles.«[60] Cases such as these reveal the extent to which Boniface's sense of ›correct‹ conduct and doctrine was the product of his English background.

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53   Boniface, *Epistola* 29, 40, ed. Tangl, 52-53, 64-65.

54   Wood, *Missionary Life*, 91-92.

55   Rudolf of Fulda, *Vita Leobae* 10, ed. Waitz, 126; Hygeburg of Heidenheim, *Vita Willibaldi* prologue, 3, ed. Holder-Egger, 87, 90; Hygeburg of Heidenheim, *Vita Wynnebaldi* 4, ed. Holder-Egger, 109.

56   For instance: Eangyth and Heaburg, *Epistola* 14, ed. Tangl, 26 ll. 11-19, commend a certain Denewald to Boniface, indicating that he needed an introduction provided by a mutual friend. Denehard, Lull and Burchard, *Epistola* 49, ed. Tangl, 78-79, seem to suggest that they did not know Boniface before setting out for the continent; they also indicate that they only left Britain after their relatives had died. Wihtberht, *Epistola* 101, ed. Tangl, 224 ll. 10-21, recalls the warm welcome he received from Boniface, but his language does not suggest any prior acquaintance with him.

57   Brown, *Rise of Western Christendom*, 423-424.

58   Jong, Bonifatius; Keep, Cultural Conflicts, 48.

59   Carey, Ireland and the Antipodes; Meeder, Boniface and the Irish Heresy of Clemens.

60   *... sanctissimum apostolum... patronum et oratorem et virtutem factorem et signorum ostensorem*. Anonymous, *Epistola* 59, ed. Tangl,111 ll. 11-13, trans. Emerton, *Letters of Saint Boniface*, 79.

Although Willibrord seems to have been more comfortable than Boniface fusing together elements from Anglo-Saxon, Irish and Frankish traditions, he, too, unconsciously favoured the ways of the church in which he was brought up.[61] Bede informs us, based on an eye-witness report by Acca of Hexham (d. 740), that Willibrord had relics of King Oswald of Northumbria (634–642) with him in Frisia, and was able to report miracles that took place in connection with them.[62] Willibrord's calendar lists over a hundred saints, but local Frankish saints make up only a small minority while there is a strong presence of insular saints.[63] The loyalty of Anglo-Saxon missionaries to English customs is revealed by the impact of English customs on the shape of Christian practice in the areas where Anglo-Saxon missionaries worked – for instance, in the adoption of private penance on the continent, and in Frankish liturgy.[64]

Not only specific English practices and beliefs were exported by the Anglo-Saxon missionaries, but also the general structure of the English church. That structure encompassed a geographic organization in which churches were spread regularly across the landscape, and an episcopal government under archbishops who oversaw the church of a whole *gens*, themselves appointed by and accountable to the pope.[65] Joanna Story has argued that the presence in Willibrord's calendar of two letters from Pope Honorius (625–638) regarding the establishment of the archiepiscopal see of York indicates that Willibrord may have wanted to shape his own archbishopric of Frisia after the pattern of that of Northumbria.[66] Boniface inspired by the example of the English church, made much of the need for regular synods, and the Frankish synods conducted under his leadership »no doubt employed the English […] procedures to which he was already accustomed.«[67] The continental churches, both new and old, were thus to be organized according to the model provided by the English church. The Anglo-Saxon missionaries' maintenance of strong links to their homeland and their loyalty to its customs indicate that they felt the English people to be somehow special, exemplary. Though they presented themselves as upholding universal standards of orthodoxy, it was in fact the English church that most often set the norm, whether for doctrine, liturgy, pastoral care, or ecclesial organization.[68] The *Angli* are thus treated as heirs and present guardians of the truest Christian tradition.

This sense of the special position of the *Angli* remained largely unarticulated. We might account for this by recalling the dependence of the missionaries' work on the goodwill of Frankish rulers.[69] In this context, claims to be representatives of a chosen people set apart from and above the other Christian peoples of Europe could only have served to alienate those

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61 Wood, *Missionary Life*, 80; Hen, Liturgy of St Willibrord, 54.

62 Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* 3,13.

63 Hen, Liturgy of St Willibrord, 54; Gerchow, *Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen*, 199-212, esp. 200.

64 Meens, Frequency and Nature; Hen, Rome.

65 Clay, Saint Boniface's Pastoral Strategy; Levison, *England and the Continent*, 59 and passim. On the unique character of the Anglo-Saxon higher episcopate in this period, see Thacker, Gallic or Greek?

66 Story, Bede, Willibrord and the Letters of Pope Honorius I.

67 McKitterick, *Frankish Church*, 12. On the relationship between Boniface's »German« synod and the English synod at Clofesho, see Vollrath, *Synoden Englands*, 150-156; Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils*, 102–110.

68 Innes, ›Immune from Heresy‹, 105-106.

69 Boniface, *Epistola* 63, ed. Tangl, 129-130; Wood, *Missionary Life*, 57. On Willibrord's relationship with the Pippinids and Carolingians see Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, 33-35; Angenendt, Willibrord im Dienste der Karolinger, 67-82. For the charters granting land to Willibrord, see Wampach, *Geschichte der Grundherrschaft Echternach*.

upon whom their work relied. It is hardly surprising that the clearest suggestions that the *Angli* are the recipients of special divine favour are made in a context where the audience is likely to find such notions appealing: in communications to the leaders of the English people and church. The promise of divine favour and the fear of divine retribution are expertly wielded to exhort Æthelbald to repent. Yet the favour bestowed upon the *Angli* is not strictly exclusive to them, nor is it unconditional: the Mercian monarch is warned by the fates of other kings and nations who had once enjoyed God's favour but lost it when they spurned his law. The *Angli* may be specially favoured, but the favour comes with and is contingent upon the requirement that they uphold high standards of orthodoxy and morality.

Purposed election: chosen for mission?

If there are indications that Anglo-Saxon missionaries felt the English people and church to hold a special and favoured position before God because they had received and upheld the tradition of apostolic orthodoxy, did such a position bring with it an obligation to engage in missionary work? This notion does not feature as a rationale for the missionaries themselves in the sources produced by the circles of Willibrord and Boniface. In the Bonifatian correspondence, the closest we come to the articulation of a sense that the missions were an answer to a collective calling is in a letter from Cuthbert of Canterbury to Lull, Boniface's successor as bishop of Mainz, prompted by Boniface's death in 754. Cuthbert reported that a recent council of the English church had decided to honour Boniface as a patron saint alongside Gregory the Great and Augustine of Canterbury. He rejoices, he says, »that the English people [...] merited to laudably send forth such a distinguished soldier of Christ.«[70] By placing the great missionary brought forth by England on a par with those who first brought (Roman) Christianity to the Anglo-Saxons, and taking these three as the special patrons of the Anglo-Saxons, Cuthbert made the spreading of the gospel as central to Anglo-Saxon Christian identity as receiving it, and suggested that Boniface's efforts were not only to his own credit, but also reflected well upon his compatriots, of whom he was claimed to be a representative – first on earth, and now in heaven. We hear a similar note of national pride in Alcuin's excursus on the English missions in his poem on York which was cited at the beginning of this article, and we can assume he expected his audience, the »young men of York« (*Euboricae… iuventus*), to share the sentiment.[71] This suggests that at least some of the missionaries' contemporaries and successors saw their work as part of a larger narrative.

However, what evidence we have for the motivations of the missionaries themselves suggests that they understood their work as a response to a general Christian calling, rather than a specific calling of the *Angli*, to missions. Boniface must have been aware, as was Cuthbert, of similarities between himself and the missionary Augustine. That much can be inferred from his interest in Gregory's *Libellus*, which offered practical advice to the Roman missionaries in Kent at the turn of the seventh century.[72] As noted above, Nicholas Howe has argued that Boniface actively sought to pattern his own mission after that of Augustine, and, by going from island to continent just as Augustine had gone from continent to island, presented himself and his work as the completion of Augustine's mission.[73] These suggestions are part

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70   *… quod tam [...] egregium Christi militem [...] gens Anglorum advena Brittania meruit [...] laudabiliter emittere.* Cuthbert, *Epistola* 111, ed. Tangl, 239-240.

71   Alcuin, *Versus de patribus, regibus et sanctis Eboracensis ecclesiae* l. 1409, ed./trans. Godman, 110.

72   Boniface, *Epistola* 33, ed. Tangl, 57; see also Elliot, Boniface, Incest, and Gregory I's Libellus.

73   Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking*, 127-128, 130-133, 140.

of Howe's larger argument that the Anglo-Saxon missions of the eighth century were seen by contemporary Anglo-Saxons as the necessary counterpart to their people's migration from the continent to Britain and subsequent conversion. In this interpretation, Boniface and other missionaries saw themselves as »representative[s] of a converted Germanic people« who desired, indeed felt obligated, to complete the divinely fore-ordained trajectory of their people's history through »return migration«.[74] But while it is clear that Boniface was interested in Augustine's mission and deeply invested in the link that began with him between the English and the Roman church, the far more obvious pattern for his self-understanding as a missionary is provided by the Scriptures. Boniface's descriptions of his own missionary work are peppered with quotations from the letters of Paul.[75] Boniface's concerns that he would be found spiritually childless echo the words put in his mouth by Gregory III: »Here am I, and the children you have given me« (*Ecce ego, et pueri, quos dedisti mihi*), words which are drawn from the epistle to the Hebrews (2.13).[76] Maintaining the biblical register, Boniface wrote that he did not want to »hide his talent« (*abscondito talento*, cf. Matthew 25.25) or have his work prove »unfruitful« (*infructuosi*, cf. Titus 3.14).[77] Willibrord, too, is reported to have modeled himself after the first apostles by setting out in a group of twelve, and the sole scrap of writing from his own pen says of his motivation only that he undertook his missionary work »in the name of God« (*in nomine Dei*).[78] The key themes that emerge from the missionaries' own accounts of their work are thus the mission of the church as a whole, and their own personal spiritual formation.

Boniface's famed letter to »all Catholics of the English race« (*omnibus catholicis ... de stirpe et prosapia Anglorum*) does indicate that he believed mission ought to have been a widely shared concern among his compatriots.[79] His appeal to the *Angli* as an ethnic community is, however, not primarily intended to inspire a general missionary zeal, but specifically to garner support for his project of converting the Saxons with whom the addressees are so movingly described as sharing »blood and bone« (*De uno sanguine et de uno osse sumus*).[80] The appeal to this shared origin features in other letters, too. Clay has demonstrated that Boniface used the adjective ›*germanicus*‹ in his correspondence to evoke »powerful connotations that resonated especially with readers who located the primeval origins of their own *gens* in Germania itself.«[81] The emphasis on the conversion of the continental peoples to whom they felt ethnically closest, suggests that these pagan peoples may have been considered in some sense ›elect‹ as well: destined to receive the gospel and share with the *Angli* in God's favour. It is interesting in this connection to note Torthelm's description of Boniface's prospective

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74   Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking*, 141-142, 125.

75   E.g. Boniface, *Epistola* 65, ed. Tangl, 137-138; Boniface, *Epistola* 76, ed. Tangl,158-159. Gregory II charged Boniface to imitate the apostles: Gregory II, *Epistola* 24, ed. Tangl, 42.

76   Gregory III, *Epistola* 45, ed. Tangl, 74 l.1; Boniface, *Epistola* 67, ed. Tangl,140 ll.3-4.

77   Boniface, *Epistola* 67, ed. Tangl, 140 ll. 4-6. On Boniface's missionary terminology, see Clay, *In the Shadow of Death*, 238-248, with Appendix 1, 405-410.

78   Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* 5.10, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 480-481; Alcuin, *Vita Willibrordi* 5, ed. Levison, 120; *Calendar of St Willibrord*, ed. Wilson, 11.

79   Boniface, *Epistola* 46, ed. Tangl, 74 ll. 24-25. However, it may not have been: Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World*, 8.

80   Boniface, *Epistola* 46, ed. Tangl, 75 l. 6.

81   Clay, *In the Shadow of Death*, 269.

converts in Saxony as »our people« (*gens nostra*).[82] By stretching ethnic boundaries to include the continental peoples to whom they are linked by common ancestry and erstwhile homeland, those Anglo-Saxons who were favourably disposed towards continental missions could make a case for the inclusion of the pagans of *Germania* among God's elect.[83]

A sense of collective calling as a people does not, therefore, emerge as a factor that drove Anglo-Saxons like Willibrord and Boniface to undertake missions to the continent. One might argue, however, that there is a sense in which the belief that the *Angli* were spiritually superior to other peoples was a necessary premise on which missionary work could be based. As I argue above, the missionaries do demonstrate such a sense of superiority and seem to envision an exemplary role for the English church. However, there is no suggestion that failure to engage in mission would lead to the withdrawal of divine favour from the *Angli* in the same way that (ongoing and publicly sanctioned) immorality would. Mission was therefore not part and parcel of the special status of the English, even though perhaps some of the missionaries were inspired by a belief that if the *Angli* were a chosen people, then so must be their continental cousins, and therefore destined to embrace the faith.

Concluding Remarks

The evidence for a belief in a divine election of the *Angli* is often indirect and open to multiple interpretations. However, the suggestion that the Anglo-Saxon missionaries held such a belief holds significant explanatory power. It provides a mechanism through which we can understand not only specific references to divine favour and retribution, but also the consistent favouring of English persons and practices over continental ones. Although this belief remained unarticulated, and indeed may have been largely unconsciously held, it nevertheless appears to have been very real in its practical outworking. Missionaries from the circles of Willibrord and Boniface treated the *Angli* as a divinely favoured people, even if they did not always speak of them as such. The themes of national pride and shame, and indeed references to any sense of ethnic identity as expressed through bonds of kinship and homeland, are most clearly present in texts written for English audiences. This holds true both for the texts produced by the missionaries themselves, and for later commemorative texts. In his poem intended for a Northumbrian audience, Alcuin stressed the ethnicity of the missionaries, but in his *Life of Willibrord*, written for the community at Echternach, he focused on the family connections of the saint and the place of his missionary work in Christian, rather than in a national history.[84] Cuthbert, writing to his compatriot Lull, made Boniface the patron of the *Angli*; Willibald's *Life of Boniface*, aimed at a wide readership across western Europe, foregrounds the connections with Rome, with the Frankish establishment, and with Mainz.[85] The diversity of lenses through which the missions could be viewed serves as a reminder that the missionaries were embedded in many social groups, of which the ethnic group known as the *Angli* was only one. As they came to be venerated as saints and martyrs, many attempts

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82 Torthelm of Leicester, *Epistola* 47, ed. Tangl, 76 l. 10.

83 But compare Boniface, *Epistola* 38, ed. Tangl, 62 ll. 22-27, for an alternative angle: *Petimus quoque, ut pro Germanicis gentis ... intercedere curetis, rogantes Dominum, qui pro totius mundi salute proprium sanguinem fudit et ›vult omnes homines salvos fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis venire‹, ut eas ad agnitionem et ad gremium matris aecclesiae convertat.*

84 Rambridge, *Alcuin's Narratives of Evangelism*.

85 Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, prol. 2 ll. 27-29.

were made to claim a special connection with them and bask in their reflected glow. One particularly striking example occurred centuries later, when the Frisians came to see Willibrord and Boniface as a new Moses and Joshua who had led them, the chosen people, from pagan bondage to Christian freedom.[86] In this tradition, Willibrord even came to be viewed as a Frisian, entirely removed from his English context.[87] This recasting of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries as heroes in another national story altogether serves to show how easily the original motivations and experiences of the missionaries themselves can be lost in retrospective interpretations. Although the missionary circles of Willibrord and Boniface seem to have felt that their people enjoyed a special status, their missions were understood against a far wider backdrop.

86   Bremmer, Willibrord through Anglo-Saxon and Frisian Eyes, 13-14.
87   Bremmer, Willibrord through Anglo-Saxon and Frisian Eyes, 18.

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Heroic History, Disruptive Genealogy: Al-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī and the Historical Formation of the Shākir Tribe (Wāʾilah and Dahm) in al-Jawf, Yemen

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Genealogies are emic forms of social representation among many tribes in the Arab world. The formability of these genealogies for the purposes of politics and alliances is a common phenomenon. It becomes particularly obvious if one looks at the case of the Shākir tribe and its main divisions Wāʾilah and Dahm in the region of al-Jawf in northernmost Yemen. A comparison of their tribal genealogies and settlement areas in the tenth century CE, as described by the Yemeni scholar and historian al-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī, with their tribal structures and territories in the twenty-first century shows the enormous extent of change to which the Shākir, especially Dahm, have been subject in the past millennium. These changes seem to reflect in part the continuous immigration of external tribal groups to which the fringes of the Rubʿ al-Khālī desert have historically been exposed, and their inclusion into the local societies and thus the evolving genealogy of Shākir. These elements of residential discontinuity and mobility contrast with the more general pattern of territorial continuity and stasis prevailing in the central areas of Yemen. Yet the genealogy of Shākir proved to be more open towards these intrusive groups than towards the original inhabitants of the area itself: in contemporary al-Jawf remain descendants of ancient groups who are considered the aboriginal inhabitants of the area and who were neither given equal status to Shākir nor included into the Shākir genealogy. Seen in this light, the genealogies and semi-legendary traditions of al-Hamdānī's *al-Iklīl* also served to evoke a vision of community and of common identities among the heterogeneous societies of South Arabia and to legitimize them as heirs of a country and its history, which in parts was not inherently their own.

Keywords: Al-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī; genealogy; tribe; Bedouins; South Arabia; Yemen

The politics of genealogy

Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Yaʿqūb al-Hamdānī (d. 945 CE) belongs to the most outstanding of Yemen's scholars and historians of the early medieval period. In his works *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-ʿArab* and the extant parts of *al-Iklīl* he describes the physical and tribal geography of the southern Arabian Peninsula, its historical monuments and the genealogies (*nasab, pl. ansāb*) of the South Arabian tribes, thus outlining the salient features of specific South Arabian

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identities.[1] His quest for the construction of South Arabian identities was in part a response to the creation of ideologically driven genealogies among the Arabs of the north, such as the genealogical work *Jamharat al-nasab* compiled by Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 819), which had systematized the tribes of northern Arabia and »united« them under the symbol ʿAdnān, the putative common ancestor of the Northern Arabs.[2] By way of contrast to such endeavours, this also prompted an increased need for genealogical self-identification and self-representation among the Arabs of the South.

When it comes to the roles of genealogies in al-Hamdānī's oeuvre, Heiss' elaborate dissertation on »Tribale Selbstorganisation und Konfliktregelung« (1998) in the Ṣaʿdah area is the scholarly standard from where one has to start. On the basis of the information available in al-Hamdānī's works, Heiss investigates the phenomenon of formability of genealogies taking the example of the sedentary population of the Ṣaʿdah basin, among whom the formability of genealogies served as an important means of conflict resolution and conflict avoidance. In addition, al-Hamdānī's construction of the political identities of the South Arabian tribes had two core elements. Firstly, the most accurate possible recording of the territory of the South Arabians and the description of their landscape of historical monuments, which was intended to illustrate the depth of South Arabian history and to attest the equal or even superior antiquity of the South Arabian tribes in comparison to the tribes of the North.[3] Secondly, al-Hamdānī depicts the tribes of southern Arabia genealogically as the descendants of Qaḥṭān, the brother of ʿAdnān and legendary progenitor of the tribes of southern Arabia and symbol of unity of the »original« or »Arabian« Arabs (*al-ʿarab al-ʿāribah*), whose bloodline accordingly is deemed purer than that of the »spurious« or »Arabicized« Arabs (*al-ʿarab al-mustaʿribah*) of the North.[4]

Thus al-Hamdānī's genealogical classifications and memory of the past stimulated the growth of something akin to common identities among the tribes of South Arabia and fathered a type of local historiography that was a combination of topography, cultural history, and genealogy. Al-Kalbī's and al-Hamdānī's genealogical works mark the completion of the codification of Arab genealogies. The distinguishing feature of their voluminous genealogical compilations is the attempt to provide the agnatic lineages not only of certain families or tribes, but rather to portray the structure and kinship system of broad regions of the Arabian Peninsula. It is thus clear that these genealogical superstructures in many, if not most cases, are constructs in the service of political ends. Through its dynamics, variability and

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[1]   *Note on transliteration:* For transcribing Arabic, I have used the system of the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies (IJMES)* for both written and spoken words. Common words, such as Yemen and Saudi Arabia, are given in an Anglicized version. The Arabic *bin* or *ibn* (»son of«), where it comes between two names, has been given as simply *b.* throughout. Initial *ḥamzah* is unmarked.

   Al-Hamdānī conceptualized *al-Iklīl* as an encyclopaedia of knowledge specifically related to South Arabia. It included ten volumes, of which only the first, second, eighth and tenth volumes are extant. For an overview of the various manuscripts and printed editions of *al-Iklīl* and *Ṣifah Jazīrat al-ʿArab*, see Heiss, *Tribale Selbstorganisation und Konfliktregelung*, 21-33.

[2]   See the commentated edition by Caskel, *Ğamharat an-nasab*.

[3]   Duri, *Historical Writing*, 130-135; Mahoney, *Cultural Heritage*.

[4]   Caskel, *Ğamharat an-nasab*, 1, 19-21, 40; Piotrovsky, *Al-Hamdani and the Qahtanide Epos*.

continuous ability to change, tribal *nasab* indeed represents a special case of genealogy.[5] The changeability of tribal genealogies for the purposes of politics and alliances is a common phenomenon throughout the Arab world. Studies on tribal genealogy show that descent lines are in most cases the results of manifold processes of tribal fusion and fission and sometimes even pure constructs. The dynamic character of genealogy and agnatic lineages and its significance for the development of *ʿaṣabiyyah* (»solidarity group« or »esprit de corps«) and collective alliances is demonstrated for tribal societies throughout the Arab World, as shown in the pioneering contributions to this subject which assess and contextualize the notion of tribes in anthropological and historical analyses of Arab societies.[6] Tribal structures and genealogies are seldom stable, but rather dynamic and deformable so that new political constellations, alliances and territorial changes can be facilitated by genealogical alignments. In many cases genealogy follows a politics of »must have been« rather than biological facts.[7]

What I wish to do here is to look into a special case among the tribes of Qaḥṭān described by al-Hamdānī in the tenth volume of *al-Iklīl*, namely Shākir or al-Shākiriyyūn dwelling in the area of al-Jawf and its environments at the fringe of the vast Rubʿ al-Khālī desert. I will discuss the nature of their historic tribal divisions as depicted by al-Hamdānī in the tenth century, as well as the changes Shākir exhibited over the past millennium. The comparison of the tribal structure and settlements of Shākir in the tenth century CE with their contemporary tribal structure and settlements in the twenty-first century shows the enormous extent of change and dynamization of *nasab* to which Shākir have historically been exposed. It will be shown that to a certain degree the changes in the Shākir's genealogical representations have been triggered by a continuous influx of immigrant groups from areas elsewhere at the fringes of the Rubʿ al-Khālī. Indeed during my fieldwork I experienced that tribal oral tradition in al-Jawf displays a record of immigration including explicit references to external encounters and interdependencies between regional and immigrant »foreign« groups from other areas. Shākir's frequent encounter with immigrant groups and their ability to absorb them into their *nasab* is not only a key feature of the past millennium; the consideration of

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5   Tribal genealogy herein differs from the genealogy of the descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad, the so-called *Ahl al-Bayt* or *Āl al-Bayt*. Although the genealogy of the *Ahl al-Bayt* also serves the definition of group membership, this membership is immutable and can only be acquired by birth (Heiss, *Tribale Selbstorganisation und Konfliktregelung*, 89-90; vom Bruck, *Islam, Memory, and Morality in Yemen*, 102-127 and passim). Also many senior lineages among tribal leaders (pl. *mashāyikh*) and tribal judges (pl. *quḍāʾ*) maintain impressive family genealogies for some dozen generations. Here the knowledge of genealogies is essential for political reasons (Gingrich, *Agrarkalender der Munebbih*, 133-136; Weir, *Tribal Order*, 97-101; Dresch, *Tribes, Government, and History,* 102, 154 n. 21, 207 and passim; Dresch, *Position of Shaykhs*, 36-37.

6   On anthropological elaborations of nasab in Yemen, see Bédoucha, *Tribu sédentaire* and *Cercle des proches*; Brandt, *Khawlān and Jumāʿah*; Dresch, *Tribes, Government, and History*, 320-360, and *Tribes of Ḥāshid-wa-Bakīl*; Gingrich, *Agrarkalender der Munebbih*, 145-159, *Südwestarabische Sternenkalender*, 13-17, *Konzepte und Perspektiven*; Heiss, *Tribale Selbstorganisation und Konfliktregelung*; Wilson, *Al-Hamdānī's Description of Ḥāshid and Bakīl*. On nasab in further (Arab and non-Arab) tribal societies, see Bonte, *Egalité et hiérarchie*; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*; Conte, *Entrer dans le sang;* Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer*; Hamès, *Filiation généalogique* and *Chefferie tribale*; Kennedy, *From Oral Tradition to Written Record*; Landau-Tasseron, *Adoption and Status of Allies*; Ould Cheikh, *Tribu*; Peters, *Proliferation*; Szombathy, *Genealogy in Medieval Muslim Societies* and *Roots of Arabic Genealogy*.

7   Kennedy, *From Oral Tradition to Written Record*. In some cases the grafting of genealogies reaches such an extent that Szombathy sums up somehow indignantly that »genealogy« seems to be a translation error of the term *nasab,* suspecting that the term *nasab* actually means »relations« rather than »genealogy« (Szombathy, *Roots of Arabic Genealogy*).

findings from archeology suggests that al-Jawf's history of invasion dates further back to the time before the beginning of the Common Era. It will be shown that its geographic position at the fringes of the Empty Quarter perhaps makes this record of immigration more relevant than in other areas further to the west. In itself, al-Jawf indicates a specific case among a greater diversity of regional variations which also include fewer records of such immigration stories. Given the heterogeneity of Shākir tribe, both the stringent genealogies recorded by al-Hamdānī and his efforts to portray Shākir as the heirs of al-Jawf's splendid history, thus resemble constructs of a project which strives to create a vision of community and common identities in terms of genealogy and lore.

The Shākir Saga

The task of providing a picture of Upper Yemen in the early Islamic period is fraught with difficulties. The primary sources for late antiquity and the early Islamic period of Yemen are few. To the sources of this era, in addition to the extant works of al-Hamdānī, belongs the *Sīrat al-Hādī ilā al-Ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn* by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allah al-ʿAbbāsī al-ʿAlawī which deals with the arrival and the life of the first Zaydī imām in Yemen, Yaḥyā al-Hādī ilā al-Ḥaqq (d. 911), and his attempts to establish his rule over the Qaḥṭānī tribes in Yemen's north.[8]

Both al-Hamdānī's and al-ʿAlawī's works are stylized, but both in different ways. The *Sīrah* describes Imām al-Hādī's efforts to uphold and extend his sway in the northernmost parts of Yemen and to spread Zaydī religion and *sharīʿah* law among the tribes. The imām and his followers encountered hostility and opposition in the tribal society of the Northern Highlands. In the *Sīrah* the tribes are sometimes allies, and sometimes they are the adversaries of the imām, whose tribal opponents were regarded the enemies of Islam.[9] Al-Hādī's fourteen-year reign, though propitiously launched, thus resembled one of constant warfare to restore discipline over rebellious tribes, to halt renewed intertribal hostilities, and to extend Zaydī influence. The biography of al-Hādī is only the beginning of a long tradition of Yemeni historiography in which the tribes hardly appear except as they oppose or support a succession of imāms. Later historiographies, in their zeal to establish the new faith, attempted to stamp out all vestiges of paganism from South Arabia and everything that had its roots in the old order, which was to usher in the Dark Ages of the Jāhiliyyah.

In contrast, al-Hamdānī's account is the first and the last extant work to deal with tribes in terms of *furūsiyyah* (horsemanship, chivalry, skill at arms). He portrays the descendants of Qaḥṭān as South Arabian heroes, chivalrous warriors or horsemen (*fursān*), brandishing their swords, moving about the land and seeking honour in glorious battles and through poetry. The concept of *furūsiyyah* is the organising theme of the tenth volume of *al-Iklīl* which deals with the genealogy and segmentation of the tribes of Hamdān. A great number of horsemen, heroes and noble dynasties appear in al-Hamdānī's works, the lords of al-Duʿām (Bakīl) and al-Daḥḥāk (Ḥāshid) being the most prominent.[10]

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8   Arendonk, *Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat*.

9   Gochenour, *Penetration of Zaydī Islam*; Heiss, *Tribale Selbstorganisation und Konfliktregelung*, 7, 10.

10 On Upper Yemen's power structures in the Early Islamic period, see Wilson, Al-Hamdānī's Description of Ḥāshid and Bakīl; and Gochenour, *Penetration of Zaydī Islam*.

Al-Hamdānī's writings are illuminated by the last rays of a splendid world which was al-ready exposed to decay. The semi-legendary traditions of the eighth volume of *al-Iklīl* on the historical monuments of South Arabia are a particularly rich repertoire of myths and collective memories. By conjuring the spirits of the past, it mirrors the charmed world of a mythical past: a world of magic places, ruins, peaks and wells inhabited by *jinn*, ancient divinations, supernatural ordeals and magic talismans. Since it was customary among the kings of an-cient South Arabia to entomb with the dead their abundant riches, those who went out to the tombs to secure their buried treasures found inscribed tablets in the graves attached to the withered mortal remains of their putative ancestors. Their ancestors spoke to them through these tablets in a language of vanitas and reminded them of the transience of earthly life; the second part of the eighth volume of *al-Iklīl* resembles a meditation on the ephemeral nature of life itself. This may seem morbid at first sight, but the suggestion of vanitas and memento mori themes in *al-Iklīl* is deceptive: at the time of al-Hamdānī the dead forefathers and their mortal remains enjoyed a venerable physical existence far beyond death and connected the living with the glorious past of their country and their dead putative ancestors.

In his *Ṣifah*, al-Hamdānī has handed down a poem by a knight of Hamdān tribe who wrote it, probably towards the end of the pre-Islamic period, about the town of Maʿīn, the ancient capital of the pre-Islamic Minaean kingdom based in the area of al-Jawf.[11] This poem portrays the people of al-Jawf as heirs and protectors of the withered Minaean kingdom and as members of an elite that was chosen to continue its ancient history. What follows is an extract from the poem:

> Ours are the best horses in the world
> We are wearing shining armour
> And carry swords we inherited from ʿĀd
> We shall protect the Jawf as long as Maʿīn exists
> Down there in the valley, opposite ʿArda!
> Should anyone wish to take it from us we shall pursue him
> To the heights of Yamāmah and Jarādah
> If need we shall sleep with the foxes
> And with the foxes in their lair
> And a meal we shall prepare
> From what is left of their prey. [12]

The continuous reference to the interconnection between the living and their dead putative ancestors inspires pride and a feeling of togetherness, in the case of this poem directly harken-ing back to the prosperity of the Minaean kingdom based in al-Jawf. Numerous other poems and verses tell us of the courageousness and heroism of the chivalrous horsemen of Qaḥṭān pedigree. Yet among all these noble heroes of Qaḥṭānī descent al-Hamdānī identifies Duhmah, the descendants of Shākir b. Bakīl, as the bravest. In his *Ṣifah* in the chapter on the »Marvels of Yemen, which have no equal in other countries«, al-Hamdānī mentions Duhmah separately:

> Jabal Baraṭ. Its people are the bravest of Hamdān, protectors of women and defend-ers of those entrusted to their protection [...] They are called the Quraysh of Hamdān.[13]

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11 Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, 167.

12 Translation by Ghānim, *Yemeni Poetry*, 160.

13 Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, 194-195.

Al-Hamdānī's descriptions of Duhmah encapsulate and exemplify qualities that pertain to the South Arabian horsemen of Qaḥṭān pedigree mentioned in the panegyric poetries by early Yemeni poets.[14] The people of al-Jawf serve as a metaphor for courageousness and grandeur, embodying timeless qualities which still pertain to the ideals of the tribal societies of Yemen: honour, strength, and the idea of noble protection of the weak. A tribesman is expected to be *sharīf*, *qawī*, *māniʿ*, *i.e.* noble, strong, and able to protect. These attributes are inseparable, and they apply as much to the tribe as to the particular man.[15] Yet in his description of Duhmah, al-Hamdānī does not omit the downside of their heroism, describing Duhmah and Wāʾilah as indomitable avengers whose exaggerated code of honour at times turned into rancorous deeds:

> In our time the number of deaths between Duhmah and their sister (tribe) Wāʾilah, both descendants of Shākir, reached 300 men. One noble was killed for another. This happened because of a protégé of Wāʾilah whom Duhmah had killed. They were the fiercest enemy who assailed them.[16]

Al-Hamdānī elaborates in his works the genealogies of the Qaḥṭānī tribes of South Arabia who are divided into two major groups, namely the descendants of Ḥimyar (*qabāʾil ḥimyariyyah*) and Kahlān (*qabāʾil kahlāniyyah*). Ḥimyar became progenitor of the major descent groups or confederations of Quḍāʿah and al-Humaysaʿ; Kahlān became progenitor of the confederations of Hamdān, al-Azd and Madhḥij. The descendants of Hamdān further subdivide into Ḥāshid and Bakīl. All these tribes further subdivide extensively. Their perceived common ancestry corresponds to the common visual representation of tribes as »segmentary groups«: tree-like structures, which divide and subdivide in the manner of the branches of a tree, though there is no central and pre-eminent trunk, all branches being equal *(Fig. 1)*.[17]

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14 Jāzim and Arbach, *Mérites véritables.*

15 Serjeant, *South Arabia*, 227-228; Dresch, *Tribes, Government, and History*, 38-74, 117-136.

16 Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, 194-195.

17 The segmentary model was introduced by Evans-Pritchard with regard to the Cyrenaican Bedouins and further elaborated by Gellner for the Berbers of the High Atlas. The socio-political implications of the segmentary model have been challenged by several anthropologists and are now considered defunct (Caton, *Power, Persuasion, and Language*; Bonte, *Egalité et hiérarchie*; Weir, *Tribal Order*, 3-4 with regard to Yemen; for an overall discussion see Gingrich, *Prophet's Smile* and *Galactic Polities*). Segmentary trees are, however, useful for illustrating the tree-like pattern of the structural organization of a tribe.
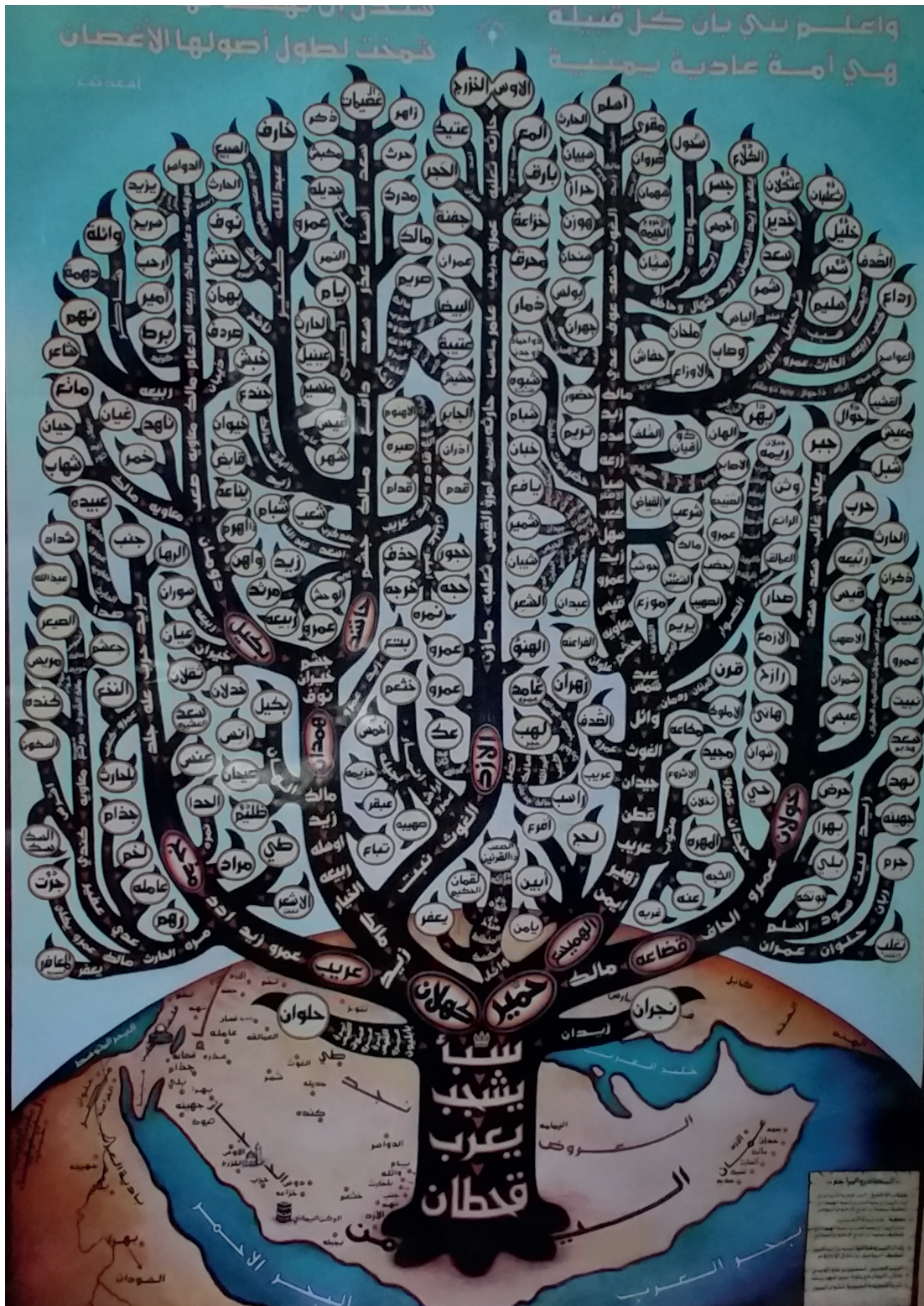
Fig. 1: Descendants of Qaḥṭān according to al-Hamdānī (Illustration: Ministry of Culture, Yemen)

Figure 1 depicts the progeny of Qaḥṭān according to al-Hamdānī. Whereas a tree is often used to illustrate the genealogy of individuals and groups, Arab genealogists' terminology seldom refers to trees but focuses on the visual metaphor of the human skeleton and the human body as the common mode of representing kin groups, such as *baṭn* (pl. *buṭūn*, lit. inner part, belly), *fakhdh* (pl. *afkhādh*, lit. *tigh*), *faṣīlah* (pl. *faṣāʾil*, lit. lower leg) etc.[18] Al-Hamdānī, too, introduces this terminology for tribal segments and subdivisions in *al-Iklīl*, yet he rarely uses this taxonomy in his following elaborations.[19] Al-Hamdānī's terminology for describing tribal structures and affiliations is rather simple and largely confined to the term *baṭn* (in the sense of »tribal segment«) and *banū* (descent group).[20] Figure 2 roughly visualizes the major descent lines of Qaḥṭān.
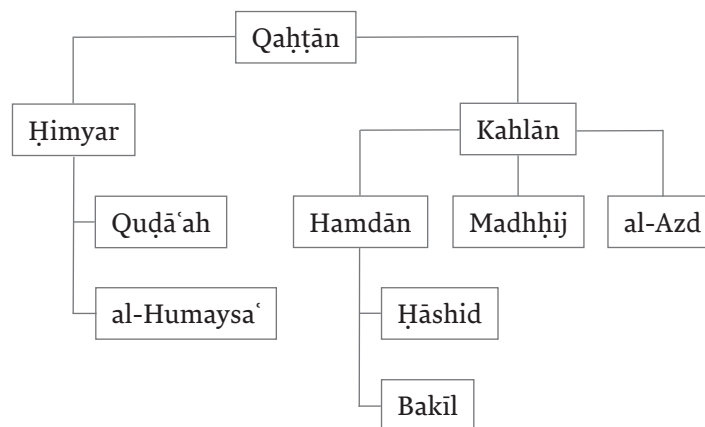

Fig.2: Progeny of Qaḥṭān (simplified) according to al-Hamdānī

In the tenth volume of *al-Iklīl*, al-Hamdānī defines Shākir as a descendant of Bakīl, his pedigree being Shākir b. Rabīʿah b. Mālik b. Rabīʿah b. al-Duʿām b. Mālik b. Muʿāwiyah b. Ṣaʿb b. Dawmān b. Bakīl; the brothers of Shākir are Nihm and Shāʾir.[21] Shākir begat Amīr, Duhmah, Wāʾilah, al-Ḥārith, and Yashkur. Figure 3 provides an overview of Shākir's descendants of the first four generations according to al-Hamdānī; in the time of al-Hamdānī some segments of Shākir already included far more generations as are shown in figure 3.

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18 Varisco, Metaphors and Sacred History, 141-144.

19 Heiss, *Tribale Selbstorganisation und Konfliktregelung*, 94-95.

20 The same applies to the genealogical work of al-Kalbī; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, 1, 23.

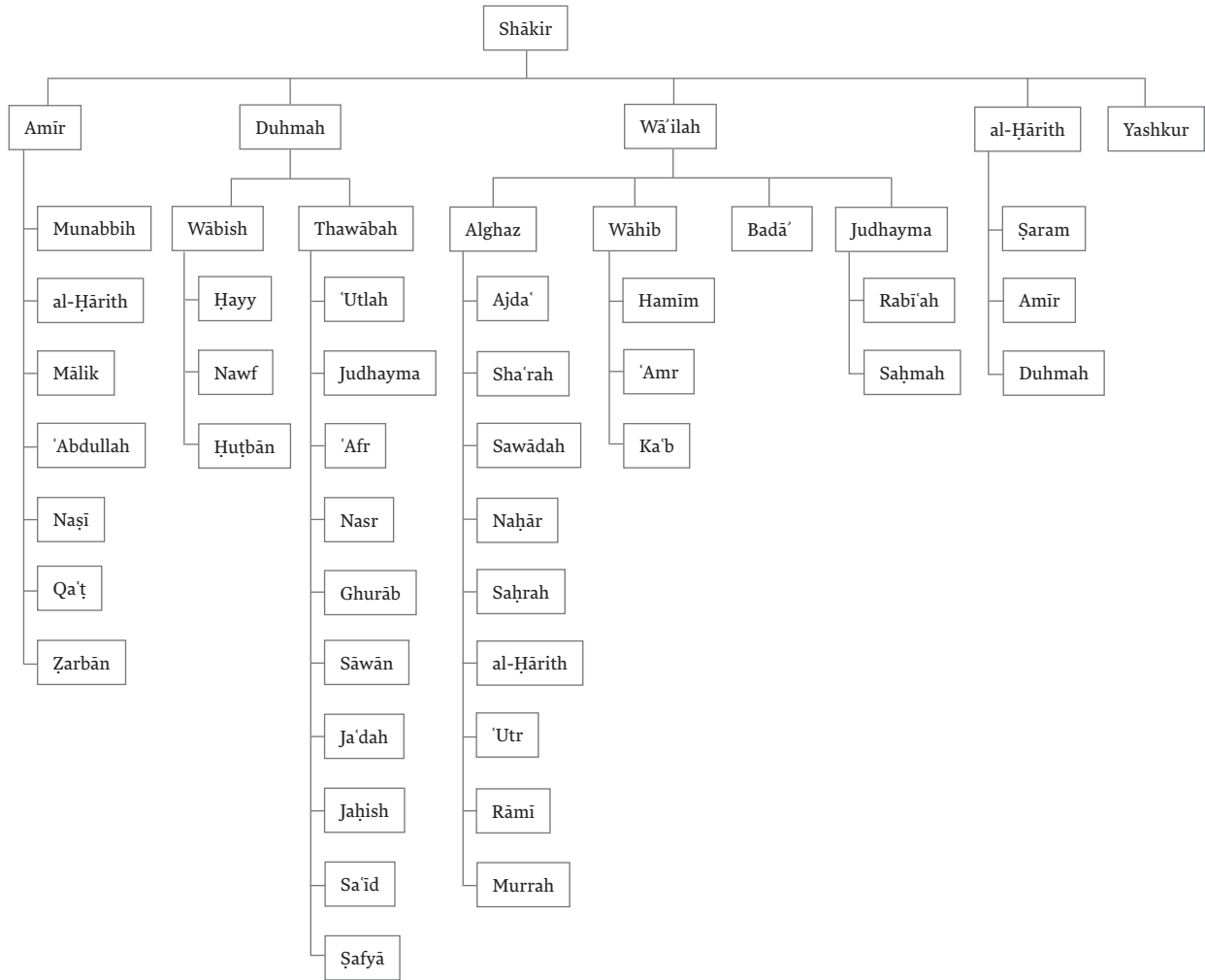21 Al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl* 10, 237-244.

Shākir

Amīr — Duhmah — Wāʾilah — al-Ḥārith — Yashkur

Amīr: Munabbih, al-Ḥārith, Mālik, ʿAbdullah, Naṣī, Qaʿṭ, Ẓarbān

Duhmah: Wābish — Thawābah

Wābish: Ḥayy, Nawf, Ḥuṭbān

Thawābah: ʿUtlah, Judhayma, ʿAfr, Nasr, Ghurāb, Sāwān, Jaʿdah, Jaḥish, Saʿīd, Ṣafyā

Wāʾilah: Alghaz — Wāhib — Badāʾ — Judhayma

Alghaz: Ajdaʿ, Shaʿrah, Sawādah, Naḥār, Saḥrah, al-Ḥārith, ʿUtr, Rāmī, Murrah

Wāhib: Hamīm, ʿAmr, Kaʿb

Judhayma: Rabīʿah, Saḥmah

al-Ḥārith: Ṣaram, Amīr, Duhmah

Fig. 3: Progeny of Shākir according to al-Hamdānī

Al-Hamdānī hands down the names of two sons of Duhmah b. Shākir: Wābish and Tha-wābah. Wābish begat Ḥayy, Nawf, and Ḥuṭbān, these *buṭūn* were called Banū Wābish. Tha-wābah begat ten sons: ʿUtlah, Judhaymah, ʿAfr, Nasr, Ghurāb, Sāwān, Jaʿdah, Jaḥish, Saʿīd and Ṣafyā. These ten sons became progenitors of descent groups retaining their progenitor's name: ʿAfr begat the descent group of the ʿUfūr (pl. of ʿAfr), Nasr begat the Nusūr, Ghurāb be-gat the Ghurābah, Jaʿdah begat the Jaʿūd, and Safyā's offspring was called Safyāt, etc. Among the descendants of Ḥuṭbān b. Wābish (Banū Ḥuṭbān) al-Hamdānī mentions a certain Qays b. al-Arqaṭ b. al-Ḥārith, who fought as a horseman (*fāris*) in the front ranks of the Islamic conquerors against Persia in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah (636 CE); in Yemen itself Duhmah did not play a significant role in the spread of Zaydism in the early medieval period.[22] On ʿAmrū b. al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Nuʿmān of Banū Ḥuṭbān, al-Hamdānī tells us that he was the one who »forged the alliance between them and the Hamdān«.

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22   Gochenour, *Penetration of Zaydī Islam*, 326.

Al-Hamdānī reported that the Duhmah were in constant conflict with their sister tribe, the Wāʾilah. In the tenth century, Wāʾilah also formed a powerful group; the descendants of Wāʾilah were Alghaz, Wāhib (or Wahb), Badāʾ, and Judhaymah: four *buṭūn*. Wāʾilah was a prosperous tribe of which al-Hamdānī handed us a large amount of descendants: Alghaz begat Ajdaʿ, Shaʿrah, Sawādah, Naḥār, Saḥrah, al-Ḥārith, and ʿUṭr (whose descendants were called al-ʿUṭūr), Rāmī (Banū Rām), Murrah, and (a second) al-Ḥārith.[23] The al-ʿUṭūr changed their affiliations and adopted the genealogy of a much younger branch of Wāʾilah, namely Judhaymah b. Zayd b. ʿUmayrah b. Badāʾ b. Wāʾilah; al-Hamdānī does not mention any reasons for this process. Wāhib begat Hamīm, ʿAmr, and Kaʿb. Badāʾ begat ʿUmayrah, Zayd, and al-Qaṣāṣ. Judhaymah begat Rabīʿah and Saḥmah. Al-Hamdānī mentions the names of many other *buṭūn*, some of them listed by name and praised for their honour (*sharaf*) and lordship (*siyādah*). Another person, namely Judhaymah b. Wāʾilah (jr.) b. Rabīʿah b. Judhaymah b. Wāʾilah, went down in history as the man who »provoked the war with the Quḍāʿah«. In contrast to Duhmah, Wāʾilah often played a significant part in the politics of Zaydī affairs.[24]

The third son of Shākir was Amīr b. Shākir, who begat al-Ḥārith, Munabbih, Mālik, ʿAbdullah, Naṣī, Qaʿṭ and Ẓarbān. Al-Hamdānī only passes down the descendants of al-Ḥārith b. Amīr and of Munabbih b. Amīr. Al-Ḥārith begat the Banū ʿAbd, who further descended into the *buṭūn* of Banū ʿUthmān, Banū Sayf, Banū Mālik, Banū Nimrah and Banū al-Dhawwād. Munabbih begat ʿĀmir, and ʿĀmir begat Akhnas, Naṣr, Muḥammad and ʿAlī; the descendants of ʿĀmir b. Munabbih were called the Banū ʿĀmir b. Munabbih.[25] In the ESA period,[26] the Amīr had been a large and powerful tribe.[27] In the tenth century, however, the Amīr were obviously in decline; al-Hamdānī mentioned that by his time the Amīr were already an extinct part of Shākir (*athrā Shākir*). In most cases al-Hamdānī refers to Amīr in the same breath with Wāʾilah. Indeed the *Balad Shākir* (the territory of the Shākir) in parts corresponded to the pre-Islamic territory of the Amīr.[28]

The main settlement area of the tribes of Shākir, consisting of Duhmah, Wāʾilah, Amīr and al-Ḥārith, were the western and northern parts of al-Jawf and the area between northern al-Jawf and the oasis of Najrān. Al-Jawf is the name of a vast territory whose boundaries are roughly defined to the west by the Baraṭ plateau and to the south by the southern tributaries of Wādī Jawf.[29] To the north and east the territory of al-Jawf extends into the Ghāʾiṭ, as the southwestern fringe of the Rubʿ al- Khālī desert (literally, the Empty Quarter) was called at the time of al-Hamdānī. The Rubʿ al-Khālī itself bore the name al-Dahnāʾ. The area of al-Jawf is dominated by three Wādīs draining into the Ghāʾiṭ: the contiguous Wādīs Khārid and Khabash, the Wādī Madhāb, which passes along its course in the Wādī Jawf, and the Wādī Khabb, all of them still bearing the same names as in al-Hamdānī's time.

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23   Among the sons of Alghaz, al-Ḥārith is mentioned twice.

24   Gochenour, *Penetration of Zaydī Islam*, 326.

25   At the time of al-Hamdānī, Munabbih was a common name that has been retained until today. A sub-tribe of the Shahrān is called Munabbih (Philby, *Arabian Highlands*, 119, 133), as well as a member tribe of the Khawlān b. ʿĀmir (Khawlān Quḍāʿah) in the highlands west of Ṣaʿdah city (Gingrich, *Agrarkalender der Munebbih* and *Südwestarabische Sternenkalender*).

26   The cultures of pre-Islamic South Arabia are attested for us almost exclusively by Epigraphic South Arabian (ESA) sources, hence the use of ESA hereinafter for the phenomena of these cultures.

27   Von Wissmann, *Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Südarabien*, 80-206.

28   Von Wissmann, *Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Südarabien*, 81.

29   The southern border of al-Jawf has no distinctive topographical features, but rather is defined by the border between the tribal territories of Bakīl and Madhḥij.

The main settlement area of the tenth-century Duhmah was Jabal Baraṭ, a steep-sided granite plateau (altitude about 2,000 meters) in the extreme west of al-Jawf, which roughly extends 40 km north to south and 60 km west to east.[30] To its east Jabal Baraṭ falls away into broken terrain before the desert begins in earnest. Originally Baraṭ (as well as Kitāf and Nushūr, regions which belong to the settlement area of Wāʾilah) was a personal name: al-Hamdānī identifies Baraṭ, Kitāf and Nushūr as the sons of Karīm b. al-Duʿām al-Akbar, this group also being called Banū Karīm.[31] The combination of place and genealogy by homonymy is not unusual: people or group names can also be place names and therefore have topographical significance. In al-Hamdānī's accounts the toponyms are almost always derived from personal names, but less frequently vice versa. The personal names used as toponyms commonly refer to the residence of the eponymous group.[32] As usual when discussing tribal residents of his times, al-Hamdānī presents their affiliations as if – by a certain necessity – going back to an eponymous ancestor, who »gave« his name to his descendants and, thereby, to their territory. However, Heiss has shown that in other regions, notably the Ṣaʿdah area further to the west, it may also have happened the other way round – i.e. a territorial unit arriving at such a level of coherence that an ancestral name had to be »found« for them that somehow related to the territory in question. Al-Hamdānī obviously was aware that this had happened on certain occasions, as when he refers to »Rāziḥ« as a territorial unit with only a vague indication of an eponymous ancestor.[33]

In the *Ṣifah*, in the chapter on the »Marvels of Yemen, which have no equal in other countries«, al-Hamdānī refers to Jabal Baraṭ:

> Jabal Baraṭ. Its inhabitants are Duhmah of Shākir b. Bakīl. Its summit is wide, it is considered a country. Its crops are irrigated by abundant rainfall and by irrigation systems, the nawā iḥ. One who was collecting the ʿAlīd tithe told me about 5000 parts. [...] The summit of Baraṭ is one of the healthiest and most pleasant parts of Yemen, and one with the most equable climate. It is situated between the Ghāʾiṭ and the Najd.[34]

Al-ʿAlawī's description, as used by van Arendonk, shows that prior to the Islamic period the high plateau of Jabal Baraṭ was a natural fortress beyond the control of external powers.[35] At the time of Imām al-Hādī it could be accessed only by few paths. Thus al-Hādī had to be content with a punitive campaign to the northern foot of the Baraṭ massif, after which Duhmah allegedly surrendered and promised to pay taxes.

Wāʾilah and Amīr inhabited closely aligned areas between Jabal Baraṭ and the oasis of Najrān where their territory bordered on that of Yām (another tribe of Hamdān stock dwelling in the Najrān region) in the north and east, partly overlapping with Yām's domains.[36] Wāʾilah were frequently in conflict with their northeastern neighbours, Yām, and their southern neighbours, Duhmah.[37] The territory of Wāʾilah was defined by the Wādīs Amlaḥ, Ruḥūb,

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30   Dresch, *Rules of Baraṭ,* 49-53.

31   Al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl* 10, 237.

32   Wilson, *Gazetteer*, 17-18; Heiss, *Tribale Selbstorganisation und Konfliktregelung*, 75-76.

33   Heiss, *Tribale Selbstorganisation und Konfliktregelung*, 75.

34   Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, 194-195. By Najd al-Hamdānī here means the central highlands of Yemen, not to be confused with the Najd of Saudi Arabia.

35   Van Arendonk, Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat, 132-133.

36   Al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl* 10, 115.

37   Gochenour, *Penetration of Zaydī Islam*, 325.

Kitāf, al-Aqīq, al-ʿAṭf (today: al-ʿAṭfayn) and al-Faqārah, all of them draining into the Ghāʾiṭ, i.e. the Rubʿ al-Khālī.[38] The Wādī Ḍadakh (at the confluence of its tributaries al-ʿAṭf and al-Faqārah) further to the east belonged to Amīr.[39]

In the eighth volume of *al-Iklīl*, al-Hamdānī describes the famous pre-Islamic monuments of al-Jawf which originated from the time of the Kingdom of Maʿīn and most of which were already desolate and abandoned in the tenth century.[40] These include the ancient cities of Maʿīn and Barāqish, both of which are located in the lower extremity of al-Jawf, facing each other at the foot of Jabal Haylān. Al-Hamdānī tells us of changing tribal occupations of these places. The ownership of Barāqish, for instance, changed from the hands of Hamdān to their rivals, Murād (a Madhḥij section). In other cases, such as the castle of Rawthān, settlements were abandoned due to infighting within the same tribe.

Al-Hamdānī praises al-Jawf, which today in large parts resembles a sea of shifting sand, as a fertile region, well irrigated and rich in trees, describing its climate as favourable and fruitful.[41] He mentions »wonderful wells«, including the deep Sarāqah well in lower al-Jawf, then belonging to Murād, whose water was »delicious and very sweet«.[42] In the area of al-Razm he mentions »large fields that produce 20,000 *dhahab*, and even those that produce 30,000 *qafīz*«[43]. The inhabitants of al-Jawf were also noted as breeders of fine horses, a reputation reflected in Yemen's horse varieties listed in al-Hamdānī, such as *al-khayl al-jawfī* and *al-khayl al-ʿansī*.[44] Today certain tribal groups in al-Jawf still breed horses.[45] Interestingly, these horses are ascribed genealogies of their own, and the histories of their bloodstock are intertwined with those of their owners.[46]

In addition to Shākir various other groups could be found in tenth-century al-Jawf: Arḥab, Nihm, Sufyān and Murhibah for instance, whose centres of settlement were actually elsewhere further to the west, but who were also present in al-Jawf. Notably Nihm controlled areas in central and southern al-Jawf. Madhḥij were present mainly through Murād, at the time of al-Hamdānī, however, not at full strength. In the tenth century, Madhḥij were already a loosely associated federation whose member tribes were living in widely separated areas, in ʿAsīr and Najrān, on the eastern slope, and on the southern plateau of the northern highlands.[47] Murād, the strongest Madhḥij tribe in the early Islamic period, resided entirely

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38 Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, 168.

39 Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, 168.

40 Al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl* 8: 105-114.

41 Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, 168.

42 Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, 200-201.

43 Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, 200.

44 Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, 200-201.

45 Brandt, *Goldenes Zeitalter des Jawf*.

46 Arabian tribes, who prize their horses dearly, do distinguish a number of lines and sublines of thoroughbred (*aṣīl*) horses, although to label the use of these »family-names« as genealogy would be a massive exaggeration. However, the Ḥamdānī bloodstock of the *aṣīl* Arab horses does not derive etymologically from Hamdān, and some historians argue that the Arab thoroughbred horse originally came from the north of Arabia. Arab legend, however, insists that the Arab horse came from Yemen, possibly taken in a *ghazw* (raid) by the Muṭeyr tribe (Peter Upton, pers. comm., July 2014). Also, al-Kalbī wrote about the Arab horse; his extant works include *Al-Khayl* (»Horses«), which contains short accounts of famous horses and poems on horses.

47 On processes of tribal fusion of Khawlān Quḍāʿah tribes with Madhḥij segments in the Jīzān and ʿAsīr regions, see Gingrich, *Agrarkalender der Munebbih*, 145-159; *Südwestarabische Sternenkalender*, 13-17; *Konzepte und Perspektiven*.

in the deserts of the eastern slope. Murād had a high percentage of nomads in its numbers.[48] Originally they were a Bedouin tribe in northeastern Yemen which dissolved around the sixth century as a socio-political unit, yet remained connected by the cult of Yaghūṭ.[49]

The coexistence of these groups seems to have been uneasy. Al-Hamdānī refers to a series of famines, droughts and plagues that presumably touched off tribal migrations. The struggle for land and resources forced many groups to leave their home areas and to intrude territories which then belonged to other tribes. Al-Jawf also witnessed constant strife and fighting between the then more sedentary Hamdān groups living there and Murād which comprised greater proportions of nomadic members. Murād and Hamdān were engaged in countless battles over supremacy and hegemony in al-Jawf. Undoubtedly these tensions had begun to seriously disrupt the agriculture that had been practiced in the once fertile lands of al-Jawf, and this disruption began to exert social pressures on the Hamdān tribes in al-Jawf to expand or perish. The antagonism between the tribes of Hamdān and Madhḥij pre-dated the decisive battle between them that was fought at the time of the Prophet Muḥammad in 2 H/622 CE in the area of al-Razm in lower al-Jawf, which al-Hamdānī praised for its fertility. The battle of al-Razm appears to have been the last time Madhḥij functioned as a confederation. After they suffered a bitter defeat, Murād withdrew from al-Jawf to Maʾrib and Ḥarīb and announced their conversion to Islam.[50]

Contemporary Shākir
A glance at the tribal structure and settlement areas of the contemporary Shākir reveals that over the past thousand years they were subject to enormous changes. Duhmah became Dahm, and Shākir became the eponym of today's moieties Wāʾilah and Dahm. Amīr, al-Ḥārith and Yashkur, who already had a weak position in the tenth century, are extinct.[51] The five fifths of historic Shākir have thus evolved into a system of moieties; a structural symmetry which can be found among many tribal societies of Yemen and beyond.
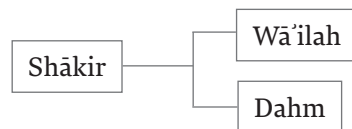

Fig. 4: Contemporary Shākir

By the twenty-first century, Dahm consists of seven sevenths which are, again, organized in a system of moieties: Abnāʾ Nasr (lit. sons of Nasr, adj. *nasrī*) and Abnāʾ ʿAmrū (adj. *ʿamrī*). The *nasrī* tribes are Dhū Ghaylān, Āl Sālim, Āl Sulaymān and al-Muḥāshimah. The *ʿamrī* tribes comprise Āl ʿAmmār, al-ʿAmālisah, and Banū Nawf. The genealogical nexuses Nasr and ʿAmrū are the points at which the genealogies of the contemporary segments of Dahm »meet«; they are purely genealogical constructs and do not express political alliances.[52]

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48 Gochenour, *Penetration of Zaydī Islam*, 332; Caskel, *Ğamharat an-nasab*, 2. 61-65; Robin, Pénétration des Arabes, 74-75.

49 Caskel, *Ğamharat an-nasab*, 2, 64.

50 Caskel, *Ğamharat an-nasab*, 2. 62 n.4. For an overview of the references to Madhḥij in the scientific literature, see Smith, *Maḏḥiḏj*. On further details regarding al-Hamdānī's account of Madhḥij see Mahoney, *Political Construction of a Tribal Genealogy*.

51 The tribal group called al-Ḥārith settling near Najrān, however, traces its descent to Madhḥij, see Heiss, *Tribale Selbstorganisation und Konfliktregelung*, 157-158; al-Ḥajrī, *Majmuʿ buldān*, 1: 208.

52 In this respect, Dahm differ from Khawlān Quḍāʾah whose moieties Yahāniyyah and Furūd simultaneously provide patterns for political alliances (Gingrich, *Agrarkalender der Munebbih*, 158-166; Brandt, *Khawlān and Jumāʿah*).

Duhmah's historical moieties, Wābish and Thawābah, are extinct. Thawābah may have sustained themselves in the name of the shaykhly lineage of Dhū Zayd b. al-Maḥlaf of Dhū Muḥammad, one of Dhū Ghaylān's moieties.[53] Nawf b. Wābish b. Duhmah became the progenitor of Banū Nawf, one of the sevenths of contemporary Dahm. Ḥuṭbān b. Wābish b. Duhmah is said to be still extant as a minor segment of Dhū Ḥusayn, settling to the east of Baraṭ in the Wādī Khabb region.[54] According to tribal tradition another part of Ḥuṭbān emigrated from al-Jawf and fused with the genealogy of Murād (Madhḥij). The descendants of ʿUtlah b. Thawābah b. Duhmah are extant, too, appearing as al-ʿUtlāt among the sub-segments of Dhū Muḥammad.[55] Both Ḥuṭbān and ʿUtlāt morphed from prominent senior descendants of Duhmah into tiny »junior« positions far down in the pedigree.

The numerous other groups referred to by al-Hamdānī in the tenth century are extinct. The reasons can be many. Famines, droughts and plagues may have caused extinction to the extent that whole lineages have petered out. Other groups may have moved elsewhere. The »deep fall« of Ḥuṭbān and al-ʿUtlāt from the superior levels of tribal segmentation into the minor segments of Dhū Ḥusayn respectively Dhū Muḥammad may be explained by the fact that lineage rumps of groups which are threatened with marginalization have the tendency to fuse with a collateral lineage (and in so doing fuse their resources with those of the adopting lineage), or for a numerically more powerful lineage group to take it over by force. This process has been observed in other tribal societies, such as the Cyrenaican Bedouin.[56] On the other hand, the rise of Nawf is an example for the foreshortening of genealogy, i.e. the process that certain names (here: Wābish) come to be omitted in the structure below the name of the founding ancestor. These processes of »telescoping« (an expression by Evans-Pritchard), i.e. the foreshortening or extension of genealogies, are characteristic genealogical features among many tribes, also observed among the Nuer and the Cyrenaican Bedouin.[57]

In addition to Banū Nawf, six other midsize segments of Dahm have emerged in the last millennium: Dhū Ghaylān, Āl Sulaymān, Āl ʿAmmār, al-ʿAmālisah, Āl Sālim, and al-Mahāshimah, each of them linked with the genealogy of Dahm through the eponym of its respective moiety (Naṣr or ʿAmrū). Dhū Ghaylān are reckoned sons of Muḥammad b. Shaʿbān b. Naṣr b. ʿAmrū b. Dahm, al-Mahāshimah are reckoned sons of Masʿūd b. Naṣr b. Dahm, Āl ʿAmmār are reckoned sons of ʿAmrū b. Dahm, etc.

Today the best known and politically most important segment of Dahm, Dhū Ghaylān with its moieties Dhū Ḥusayn and Dhū Muḥammad, emerged only after the tenth century. Supporting evidence for their formation is thin; the names Dhū Muḥammad and Dhū Ḥusayn seem not to be attested until about 1600 CE.[58] Local oral tradition suggests a formation in late medieval times and identifies Ghaylān as a wartime leader of Dahm, who united a part of his tribe in a period of acute conflict with their sister tribe and rival Wāʾilah, forming a stable group which was then referred to as Dhū Ghaylān. In this way these events (i.e. a particular episode of the eternal conflict between Dahm and Wāʾilah) were transformed in both legend and genealogy: genealogy has taken over the function of historiography. Also this principle

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53　Dresch, *Tribes, Government, and History*, 90.

54　Al-Ḥajrī, *Majmuʿ buldān*, 1. 114.

55　Al-Ḥajrī, *Majmuʿ buldān*, 2. 575.

56　Peters, *Proliferation*.

57　Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer,* 198-199; Peters, *Proliferation*.

58　Dresch, *Tribes, Government, and History*, 324-325.

of »selective memory« is common practice in regard to tribal genealogies, because, as Caskel put it, the »youngsters« had to know who among their ancestors and relatives had led the major wars and who had been killed by whom, and whose death had to be avenged on whom.[59] In this way many ancient heroes and leaders have gone down in the genealogies of their tribes. The addition of certain ancestors is often associated with the omission of others. Bonte has called this basic method of genealogical manipulation »selective amnesia«, i.e. the deliberate omission of less than prestigious ancestors from one's genealogy and a careful selection of the most illustrious forebears to include in the genealogy, a common manoeuvre that is aimed at maximizing the social prestige that can be accumulated from real or putative descent.[60]

Because of its inherent contradictions and unclear affiliations, it is always a kind of gamble to fix a tribal structure in writing. The structure of contemporary Dahm features many ambiguities. For instance, the precise segmentary status of Ḥuṭbān and al-ʿUtlāt as components of contemporary Dhū Ḥusayn respective Dhū Muḥammad has proven to be rather elusive. Another example is al-Maʿāṭirah. The position and lineage of al-Maʿāṭirah is disputed and it is almost impossible to reach an agreed upon lineage and structure for al-Maʿāṭirah. Al-Ḥajrī and al-Maqḥafī trace the tribe through Dhū Ghaylān and Dhū Muḥammad.[61] Dresch argues that al-Maʿāṭirah functions as a »sixth fifth« of Dhū Muḥammad.[62] One of my fieldwork sources told me that al-Maʿāṭirah descends directly from Dhū Ghaylān, thus speaking of themselves as a »brother« of Dhū Muḥammad and Dhū Ḥusayn. Considered from the genealogical point of view, ʿIyāl Surayḥ (lit. children of Surayḥ) also belong to Dhū Ghaylān, a tribe settling east of ʿAmrān city and normally reckoned a constituent tribe of the Bakīl confederation, and thus omitted in figure 5. ʿIyāl Surayḥ are descendants of Surayḥ b. Ghaylān b. Nasr b. Dahm, the »brothers« of Surayḥ are thus Dhū Ḥusayn and Dhū Muḥammad in Ghaylān b. Nasr b. Dahm.

The remaining segments of present-day Dahm are not mentioned by al-Hamdānī; they were either not yet existent or were added later to Dahm from other, dissolving Shākir genealogies. Yet no evidence could be found (which does not mean that it does not exist) for descendants of the now defunct Amīr and al-Ḥārith lineages having fused with the genealogy of other branches of Dahm, a process that regularly took place among other tribes of Qaḥṭānī descent.[63] Certainly, some of the other groups of Hamdān pedigree who already lived during the tenth century in al-Jawf (Nihm, Arḥab, Sufyān, Murhibah, etc.) morphed into the genealogy of Dahm. As Dresch pointed out, among Dahm one finds sections with the names of tribes elsewhere.[64] Al-Hudhayl, a conspicuous section name in Sufyān, recurs in Dhū Muḥammad; Sufyān's Abnāʾ al-Marzūq echo al-Marāzīq of Nawf, etc. In both Dhū Muḥammad and Dhū Ḥusayn one finds many distinctive family or section names which occur in other tribes.

59 Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, 1: 35.

60 Bonte, *Egalité et hiérarchie*.

61 Al-Ḥajrī, *Majmuʿ buldān*, 1: 111-112; and al-Maqḥafī, *Mausūʿat al-ʿalqāb*, 1566-1567.

62 Dresch, *Rules of Baraṭ*, 29-33.

63 Brandt, *Khawlān and Jumāʿah*.

64 Dresch, *Rules of Baraṭ*, 57.

In addition, a considerable part of the groups that do constitute contemporary Dahm can look back on an origin from outside al-Jawf. Local oral tradition has it that numerous tribal groups from Ḥaḍramawt, Shabwah, the inner-Arab Najd and ʿAsīr (the latter two today situated in Saudi-Arabia) have migrated into al-Jawf. As locals put it, Dahm do not descend from (*la yanḥadir min*) a single descent, but go back to more than one tribe. In itself, this pattern of a tribal composite group of plural origins already occurred in al-Hamdānī's times[65]; the various tribal groups of composite origins were rather the norm than the exception, and obviously in the twenty-first century this still is the case.

These claims are sometimes more, sometimes less precise. To give a few examples: Āl al-Shāyif of Dhū Ḥusayn immigrated from Bīshah (ʿAsīr), Āl al-ʿAnsī of Dhū Muḥammad originate from ʿAns b. Madhḥij, and Āl Ḥamad of Dhū Ḥusayn immigrated from Wādī Ṭuwayq in today's Saudi Arabia, a large Wādī more or less part of the wider neighbourhood of Qaryat al-Fāw, the historic capital of Kinda and Madhḥij.[66] Around Baraṭ it is said that there are numerous families of Dhū Muḥammad and Dhū Ḥusayn who originally came from Najrān, ʿAsīr, and other regions, but there seems no agreement on exactly who they are or when they came.[67] All of them are now united under the umbrella of the Shākir genealogy where they occupy a well-founded, albeit fictional place.

Also Hamdān al-Jawf and its eight tribes al-Faqmān, Āl Kathīr, Āl Ḥadījān, al-Ḥirjah, Āl ʿAbīd, al-Khawāṭirah, Āl Zāmil, and al-Shujn, who are now installed in the lower Jawf around al-Jawf's modern main administrative centre al-Ḥazm, is often identified as a tribe of Dahm. The members of the Hamdān al-Jawf tribe, however, see themselves as an independent tribe of Hamdān pedigree which neither descends from Dahm nor from Shākir, and moreover, neither belongs to Bakīl nor to Ḥāshid. The genealogy of Dahm »meets with Hamdān al-Jawf in Hamdān b. Zayd«, as informants put it. Yet by territorial proximity and alliance policy Hamdān al-Jawf is today close to Bakīl and in particular to Dahm b. Shākir. According to local sources from this very group Hamdān al-Jawf, too, is a gathering, a conglomerate of groups with and without Hamdān genealogy. Many elements of Hamdān al-Jawf trace their descent to regions further east. The descent of Āl al-Shujn, for instance, goes back (*taʿūd ilā*) to the Ḥaḍramī Nahd tribe. The Āl ʿAlī and Āl Ṣāliḥ of al- Ḥirjah have roots in Shabwah, and the Āl al-Makkī of Āl Zāmil originate from Murād.

Also the genealogy and tribal structure of Dahm's sister tribe Wāʾilah have undergone radical transformations and resemble only remotely those of the tenth century. The historic fourths of tenth-century Wāʾilah (Alghaz, Wāhib, Badāʾ and Judhayma) have morphed into moieties, namely Rijāl ʿUlah (adj. *ʿalhānī,* lit. descendants of ʿAlhān) and al-Shaʿrāt (adj. *shaʿrī*). The linages of Badāʾ b. Wāʾilah and Wāhib b. Wāʾilah have petered out. The other two eponyms, Judhaymah and Alghaz, have been eradicated by »selective amnesia«, yet oral tradition traces the descent of Rijāl ʿUlah through the lineage ʿAlhān b. Wāʾilah b. Rabīʿah b. Judhaymah b. Wāʾilah b. Shākir, thus linking them with Judhaymah b. Wāʾilah, one of the fourths of historic Wāʾilah. Al-Shaʿrāt, Wāʾilah's other moiety, are the collective form of historic Shaʿrah, the son of Alghaz, and indeed the contemporary al-Shaʿrāt trace their descent though al-Shaʿrah b. Alghaz b. Wāʾilah b. Shākir.

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65 Heiss, *Tribale Selbstorganisation und Konfliktregelung*, 125-164.

66 The Kinda are a tribe of South Arabian origin. Some Kinda groups migrated around the seventh century CE from Ḥaḍramawt to the western part of Yemen, Central and North Arabia, and Egypt; cf. Olinder, *Kings of Kinda*; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, 1. 33; 2. 47-53; Bamyeh, *Nomads of Pre-Islamic Arabia*. On Qaryat al-Fāw see al-Ansari, *Qaryat al-Faw*.
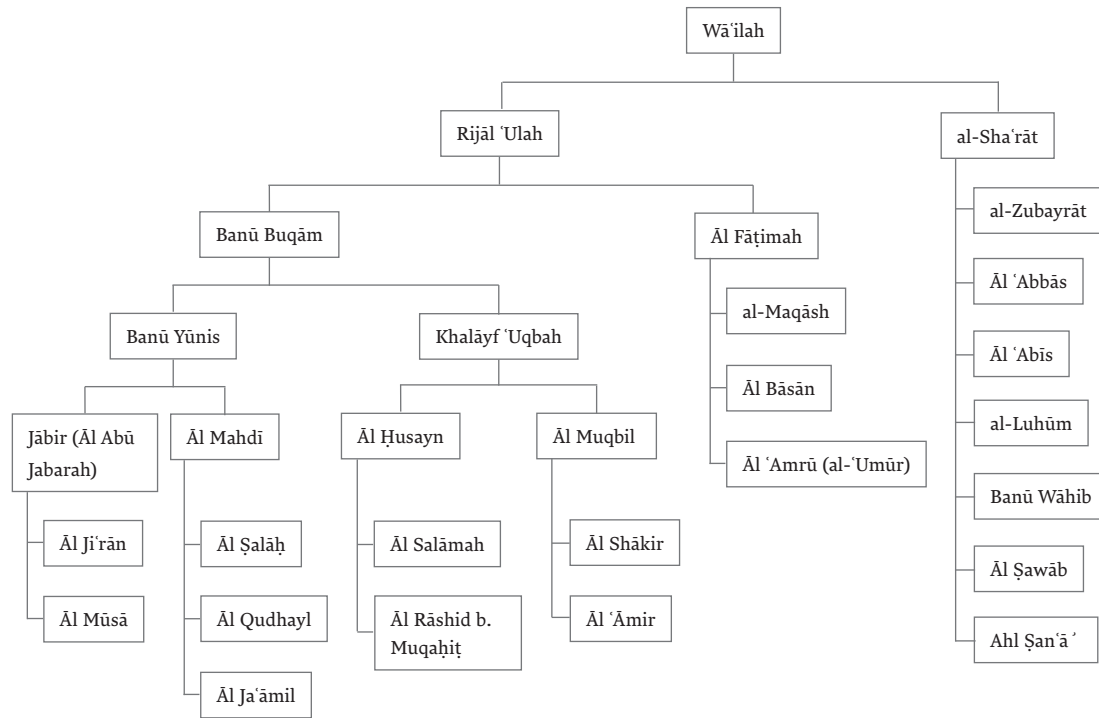
67 Dresch, *Rules of Baraṭ*, 57.

Fig. 6: Contemporary Wāʾilah (simplified)

All branches shown in this structure further subdivide extensively. Local sources among Wāʾilah indicate that the descent groups Rijāl ʿUlah and Shaʿrāt are the result of intra-tribal fusions and fissions. Banū Wāhib for instance, a segment of the contemporary Shaʿrāt, are identical with Banū Wāhib of historical Wāʾilah, Wāhib thus actually being the uncle of Shāʾir and not his son. These shifting affiliations are not unusual; Arab genealogies feature many examples of these adjustments and re-alignments of ancestors and tribal divisions for the sake of changed alliances (*taḥālifāt*) within a tribe.[68]

Also the structure of contemporary Wāʾilah offers plenty of surprises. For instance, among Wāʾilah one can find several exceptions to the rule that the agnatic lines of descent are never interrupted by women. However, one of the moieties of Rijāl ʿUlah bears the name of a woman: Āl Fāṭimah. Oral tradition has it that Fāṭimah was one of Buqām's two wives. The sons of Buqām and his first wife formed the Banū Buqām segment. The sons of Buqām and his second wife Fāṭimah (Maqāsh, Bāsān, ʿAmrū) became a separate lineage called the Banū Fāṭimah or Āl Fāṭimah.

The principle of maternal ancestry appears several more times among Wāʾilah. Āl Dāyil b. Fayṣal of Āl Abū Jabārah in the extreme east of Wāʾilah territory are one of Wāʾilah's senior shaykhly lineages. They belong to the supreme judicial authorities (sing. *marāghah*) of Bakīl in customary law (*ʿurf*).[69] The incumbent shaykh of this lineage does not only bear the title Ibn Dāyil b. Fayṣal, but also the byname (*laqb*) Ibn al-Qāyfiyyah. Oral tradition identifies

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68 Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, 1. 69; Brandt, *Khawlān and Jumāʿah*.

69 Brandt, *Inhabiting Tribal Structures*.

Qāyfiyyah as a daughter of a *sharīf*[70] from al-Jawf who had married into the Dāyil b. Fay-ṣal shaykhly lineage. According to tradition, the father of Qāyfiyyah had been killed by the neighbouring Yām tribe, with which Wāʾilah historically maintain as precarious relations as with Dahm.

Interestingly, some tribal sources also reckon the ancient eponyms Duhmah and Wāʾilah having been women. In contrast, al-Hamdānī refers to them as men (i.e. sons of Shākir).[71] According to oral tradition, Duhmah and Wāʾilah were the wives of Shākir. In fact, the mas-culine form Wāʾil appears frequently in al-Hamdānī's genealogical compendium, whereas the feminine form Wāʾilah only appears in the case of Shākir. Caskel points out that these ancestral women can be found almost exclusively at higher levels of genealogies, where they barely could be known personally to their descendants.[72] Such ancestral women usually come from other tribes, because »open« marriage policy towards other groups and tribes and al-liances with other tribes were often cemented by marriage, causing considerable growth in the size of a tribe.[73] The woman's name is retained in the genealogy in order to strengthen solidarity with the other tribe. If, then, half-brother differentiation or full sibling unity is to be shown genealogically, the obvious way in which this can be done is to use a maternal name in the genealogy. This can be effected by clustering the groups around the name of the mother, thereby making the two clusters of groups stand in the relationship of paternal half-brothers. Thus the appearance of ancestresses in *nasab* reinforces alliances with other tribes while simultaneously it does not deny patrilineality; on the contrary, it serves in a sense to reinforce it.

Today the *Balad Shākir* is both far larger and more homogeneous than in the tenth cen-tury. Wāʾilah have expanded to include also the former territory of Amīr. Wādī Ḍadakh, which formerly belonged to Amīr, is now called Wādī Āl Abū Jabārah and inhabited by Wāʾilah's homonymous segment Āl Abū Jabārah of Rijāl ʿUlah. The main settlement area of Dahm has expanded enormously and comprises now the largest part of al-Jawf. Beginning in al-Jawf's extreme northwest area at the Baraṭ plateau, a combination of Dhū Muḥammad and closely aligned al-Maʿāṭirah constitutes the majority of Baraṭ's residents; another enclave of Dhū Muḥammad can be found in lower al-Jawf within the settlement area of Dhū Ḥusayn. The territory of Dhū Ḥusayn is enormous and stretches from the border line with adjoining vil-lages of Dhū Muḥammad at Baraṭ to the southern edge of Wādī al-Jawf and an indeterminate distance eastward into the vast space of the Empty Quarter. Dresch notes that further east-ward still, Dahm make extravagant claims about what their territory might cover and if one asks where the furthest borders of Dahm are, then one is sometimes told Qatar.[74] More real-

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70　I.e. a member of the Ashrāf tribe. The Ashrāf tribe claims direct descent from the Prophet Muḥammad. Despite maintaining a degree of independence from the tribal environment within which they live, the Āl Ashrāf none-theless maintain many of the structural characteristics of a conventional tribe (vom Bruck, *Islam, Memory, and Morality in Yemen*, 141-142).

71　Many other names referred to by al-Hamdānī in regard to Wāʾilah's medieval tribal structure, such as Nawf, Shaʿrah, Sawādah, Naḥār, Saḥrah, etc., could also be women.

72　Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, 1. 52-53. See also Peters, *Proliferation*, who observed that the Bedouin of Cyrenaica claim that they are all descendants of a unique ancestress. In this case female names can be used to show a greater notion of cohesion than the mere use of male names, and the significance of a female name placed at the apex of the Cyrenaican genealogy is that it is the symbol of full-brother unity at the highest political level.

73　Peters, *Proliferation*; Bonte, *Egalité et hiérarchie*; Landau-Tasseron, *Status of Allies*.

74　Dresch, *Rules of Baraṭ*, 43.

istically, the meeting point of Dahm as a whole with Āl Murrah (the Yām section) and Ṣayʿar (a Saudi desert tribe of Kinda pedigree) is near Sharūrah, just north of today's Saudi-Yemeni border at the longitude of central Ḥaḍramawt.

Banū Nawf reside in a vast area which begins only a few kilometres east of al-Ḥazm, al-Jawf's main commercial and administrative centre, and covers the entire southeastern (lower Khabb wa al-Shaʿf area) and eastern al-Jawf. Al-Mahāshimah controls a territory in the northern Khabb wa al-Shaʿf area near Yemen's border with Saudi Arabia. The settlement areas of the four midsize tribes Āl ʿAmmār, Āl Sālim, Āl Sulaymān and Āl ʿAmālisah are located in eastern Ṣaʿdah governorate north of the Baraṭ plateau. Āl ʿAmmār and Āl Sālim are two smaller enclaves a few miles south and southeast of Ṣaʿdah city in the Ṣaʿdah basin which is dominated by the Saḥār tribe of the Khawlān b. ʿĀmir confederation (Khawlān Quḍāʿah). Al-ʿAmālisah and Āl Sulaymān form a buffer zone north and northeast of Jabal Baraṭ between the territory of Dhū Muḥammad and Wāʾilah.

In the tenth century, Sufyān had a strong presence in northern al-Jawf[75] but were then displaced due to a conflict with Dhū Ḥusayn. Tribal oral tradition has it that »once upon a time« (*fī yawm min al-ayyām*) Dhū Ḥusayn abducted a shepherdess of Sufyān. In turn Sufyān, led by Ḥaydar, the eponymous ancestor of today's shaykhly lineage of Sufyān's Ruhm moiety, attacked Dhū Ḥusayn. In the ensuing battles, Sufyān killed 112 of Dhū Ḥusayn, whereas Dhū Ḥusayn killed seventy of Sufyān, among them Sufyān's wartime leader Ḥaydar. Thus the death of forty-two victims still had to be avenged by Dhū Ḥusayn on Sufyān (*wa min hunāʾ baqiya li-Dhū Ḥusayn ithnān wa ʿarbaʿūn qatīl thaʾr ʿind Sufyān*). Sufyān then withdrew from northern al-Jawf and entrenched themselves, so that none of them would be killed in the name of revenge, and Dhū Ḥusayn took the territory of Sufyān in al-Jawf as material compensation for the unavenged death of forty-two of their members.[76]

Today only a few other groups outside the genealogy of Shākir are dwelling in al-Jawf. The largest are Hamdān al-Jawf, who are centred around al-Ḥazm and are closely associated with Dahm. In addition two smaller enclaves of the Ashrāf tribe are settling in lower-al Jawf, their main settlement area being located in the Maʾrib area further to the south.

These territorial demarcations should not detract from the fact that it is not always possible to define the territories of tribal groups in al-Jawf. As one of few tribes in Yemen, Dahm today comprises a significant proportion of nomadic members who have a different system of territories and borders in comparison to the sedentary tribes further to the west, i.e. their tribal territories are not made up of exhaustive and exclusive section-territories. In many places in al-Jawf a distinction between sedentary and nomadic groups is impossible. Steffen in his survey of al-Jawf in the 1970s encountered fully sedentary farmers, permanently migrating cattle breeders (Bedouins) and all kinds of organizational forms between these two elementary life styles.[77] Even within one single tribal segment there were different divisions, some of which were fully settled, some semi-Bedouin and other Bedouin. According to Steffen, the average percentage of Bedouins in al-Jawf was 25%, in some areas such as the Wādī Khabb 40%, among Dhū Zayd of Dhū Muḥammad even 80%. No statistics are available for Wāʾilah; al-Ḥajrī, however, also refers to some segments of Wāʾilah as *badū*.[78]

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75 Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, 110.

76 Boundary disputes between the Sufyān and segments of Dhū Ghaylān are still active; see Dresch, *Tribes, Government, and History*, 259, 321, 338.

77 Steffen, *Yemen*, 2. 121-124, 198.

78 Al-Ḥajrī, *Majmuʿ buldān*, 2. 477.

Entanglement and rejection

The formative process of Shākir mirrors the genealogists' findings that it is not always descent that shapes the political and territorial relations of tribes and tribal segments, and that frequently descent and genealogy are rather the vocabulary through which such relations are expressed, regardless of, and often in contradiction to, known biological facts. Bonte has called these types of non-genealogical solidarities prevalent in tribal communities which are expressed in genealogical terms »parenté élective«.[79] Heiss has further analysed the ways in which these forms of genealogical reasoning functioned according to al-Hamdānī, how they could be manipulated, altered or elaborated according to new constellations, and how they served specific needs and interests.[80]

In addition to this quite common feature, however, the formative process of the Shākir tribe features two special and interrelated characteristics. Firstly, the enormous changes to which parts of Shākir's tribal structure, genealogy and territory have been subjected since the tenth century, and secondly, the notably large number of immigrant groups who fused with the genealogy of Shākir (especially Dahm).

The relation between these phenomena can better be understood if we look back beyond the tenth century, upon the history of Yemen's pre-Islamic kingdoms. The society of the South Arabian kingdoms of the ESA period differs in important respects from that of the tenth century. The evidence from the inscriptions of the pre-Islamic South Arabian societies suggests that descent and lineage were of little importance to the bearers of the ESA cultures: its communities were first and foremost territorial units and farming populations in which long elaborate pedigrees were unknown.[81] Dostal outlines a »dynastic« source of genealogical unilineality as rooted in pre-Islamic South Arabian rulers' dynastic ambitions towards legitimizing continuity.[82] According to Dostal, the evolution of patrilineal genealogy takes place at the same time as the consolidation and development of institutions of centralized governance during the last centuries before the Common Era, and thus would appear to be an endogenous process. Dostal argues also that the spread of monotheistic religions may have played its part in the development of such a high level of patrilineality, as their norms are based on the concept of patrilineality which helped to consolidate that level of patrilineal ordering of kinship which had already been attained.

Others, in contrast, assume that the system of patrilineal genealogical representation has been imported by nomadic »Arabs« to Yemen: intrusive tribes from inner-Arabia and the outskirts of the vast Rubʿ al-Khālī desert, to whose onslaught the South Arabian kingdoms were increasingly exposed since the last centuries before the Common Era.[83] Initially the ancient South Arabian kingdoms could absorb and exploit the Arabs' boldness and pugnacity for their own purposes; from the middle of the first millennium CE, however, the intrusive Arabs deployed a force that contributed to the decline of the already ailing South Arabian kingdoms.[84] These intrusive Arabs may have brought with them the *nasab* tradition which

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79   Bonte, *Egalité et hiérarchie*.

80   Heiss, *Tribale Selbstorganisation und Konfliktregelung*.

81   Beeston, *Kingship in Ancient South Arabia*, 258; Robin, *Hautes-terres du Nord-Yémen*, 1. 71-73; Höfner, *Beduinen*, 62.

82   Dostal, *Transition from Cognatic to Unlinear Descent Systems*, 47-62.

83   Höfner, *Beduinen*, 60-68; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, 1. 20; Robin, *Pénétration des Arabes*.

84   Robin, *Pénétration des Arabes*.

had been previously unknown in this form in Yemen, and which was gradually taken over, in varying degrees, by the domestic population. Thus between the ESA period and that of al-Hamdānī a major change in social organization (or »culture shift«, as Beeston called it) had taken place, the shift from *shaʿb* to *qabīlah*, a shift from an idiom of territory to one of shared descent. This more or less continuous invasion resulted in »bedouinized« parts (*ʿarab*) and non-»bedouinized« parts (*aḥmūr*, i.e. »Ḥimyarites«) of Hamdān; as far back as the sixth century Shākir were, together with Ḥajūr, Yām, Wādiʿah, Dālān, ʿUdhar, Khārif, Arḥab, Murhibah and Nihm, reckoned *ʿarab*.[85]

This uniform *nasab* tradition, however it was brought about, did not comply with many of the components of Yemen's population. In many regions of Yemen territoriality remained a basic principle since large parts of Yemen's tribal system, as compared with many others in the Middle East, remained characterized by an apparent longevity of toponyms and territorial boundaries as opposed to the respective resident population, many of them emigrated from or migrated into these territories quite frequently.[86]

We can, however, perceive a noticeable difference between the sedentary tribes of central and western Yemen and tribes of al-Jawf. The eastern location of Shākir at the fringe of the Rubʿ al-Khālī desert and the gateway of ancient trade and travel routes between South and North Arabia makes the record of immigration among them more relevant than among groups further to the west. The considerable number of immigrant groups that have joined Shākir since the tenth century, in particular Dahm, suggests that the historic movement that drove nomadic desert tribes to al-Jawf did not stop in the tenth century but rather continued long after it. The genealogical and territorial changes we have observed among Shākir tribes were thus in parts the result of internal developments and regroupings (according to Dresch's »Rubik's cube« pattern) and in parts the consequence of the continuous penetration of external groups from elsewhere into al-Jawf and other areas at the fringe of the Rubʿ al-Khālī, a process similar to that which Dussaud has carefully analysed on the Syrian side.[87]

Thus al-Jawf seems to indicate a specific case among a greater diversity of regional variations, which also include fewer records of such immigration stories and territorial changes. The impact of immigrants on the tribal society of Shākir and their genealogy, structure and territoriality appears to have been greater than on the tribes to the more westerly areas in the central, rugged highlands of Yemen. The rugged terrain of the interior highlands of Yemen has been a factor contributing to the stability of the tribal areas. Wilson argues in his exploration of Ḥāshid and Bakīl in the central parts of the highland plateau - roughly between the city of Sanaʾa in the south and Khaywān in the north - that substantial traces of the pre-Islamic tribal order continued to exist well into the Islamic period, and also over the past ten centuries Wilson found little evidence of major tribal movements in that area; his overwhelming impression was one of remarkable continuity and minimal change, even if tribal affiliations have from time to time altered or developed.[88] Dresch, too, stresses the importance of structural continuity and territorial fixity for most of the tribes of Hamdān in the central highlands; yet he also noted the exception to this rule in al-Jawf.[89] In other areas of the cen-

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85 Caskel, *Ğamharat an-nasab*, 2. 47.

86 Dresch, *Tribes of Ḥāshid-wa-Bakīl*, 9-10; Weir, *Tribal Order*, 2; Gingrich, *Multiple Histories*.

87 Dussaud, *Pénétration des Arabes*.

88 Wilson, Al-Hamdānī's Description of Ḥāshid and Bakīl, 96.

89 Dresch, *Ḥāshid-wa-Bakīl* and *Tribes, Government, and History*, 324.

tral highlands, such as among the member tribes of the Khawlān b. ʿĀmir (Khawlān Quḍāʿah) confederation, the changes between the tenth and the twenty-first centuries can often also be explained as results of intra-tribal fusions and fissions,[90] although here also were larger movements of tribes and tribal segments, movements that have left their traces in the collective memory and the genealogies of the tribes.[91] This explains why many present day tribes of the central highlands of Yemen claim always to have been where they now are. In the central highlands there is little rhetoric whatsoever of conquest or major displacement, and disputes over borders, for example, are mostly spoken of as a »renewal« of lines that already existed.[92] In short, even during al-Hamdānī's time and throughout the centuries that have passed since then, in these central areas a remarkable territorial continuity and stasis prevails that is contrasted by stronger elements of residential discontinuity and mobility.[93]

Certainly in the way that the affiliations of tribal groups changed hands one also can see other factors, for example politics (in fact, struggles for power) intruding on the formal alignments of tribal groups. At the time of al-Hamdānī parts of Yemen were dominated by a number of rulers and chieftains who had risen to power as ʿAbbāsid control over Yemen had diminished. In the Ṣaʿdah area the first Zaydī imām, al-Hādī ilā al-Ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn founded the Zaydī *dawlah* and a dynasty which was to rule in parts of Yemen until 1962. In other areas, in which the authority of these dynastic rulers was not felt, tribal leaders held sway.[94] In the decades and centuries after al-Hamdānī numerous dynasties throughout Yemen gained power, competed with each other and controlled dominions of varying size: the Ziyādids, the Yuʿfirids, the Ṣulayḥids, the Hamdānid Sultans, the Mahdīds, the Ayyūbīds, Rasūlids, Ṭāhirīds, etc.[95] Historically Yemen witnessed Abyssinian, Persian and Ottoman invasions and finally the expansion of Wahhābīs at its northern borders. Yet many of these political currents and struggles certainly had a greater impact on the central parts of Yemen than on the somewhat »peripheral« area of al-Jawf, since for long periods of history al-Jawf was in some ways remote and politically closer to the Najrān oasis and valley, a region of great historical importance, than to the central parts of Yemen.[96] It would, however, hardly be surprising if parts of al-Jawf also became caught up eventually in the currents and counter-currents of political competition, and if the interventions of these powers and the resulting conflicts, alliances and oppositions contributed to further reshuffles among tribal categories in al-Jawf.

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90 Gingrich, *Agrarkalender der Munebbih*, 145-158; Heiss, *Tribale Selbstorganisation und Konfliktregelung*; Brandt, *Khawlān and Jumāʿah*.

91 For instance, the migration of a part of Khawlān from the Ṣirwāḥ area to the Ṣaʿdah basin (Heiss, *Landnahme der Ḫawlān* and *Tribale Selbstorganisation und Konfliktregelung*, 107-122; Brandt, *Khawlān and Jumāʿah*) and the migration of Madhḥij groups to Jīzān and ʿAsīr (Gingrich, *Agrarkalender der Munebbih*, 145-159, *Südwestarabische Sternenkalender*, 13-17, and *Konzepte und Perspektiven*). Also the contemporary Rāziḥ of Khawlān Quḍāʿah imagine themselves as being a land of people descended mostly from immigrants seeking work in agriculture or trade in the fertile Rāziḥ region (Weir, *Tribal Order*, 52-53), a conception which may, however, also constitute a distant echo of the Khawlān's grand migration from Ṣirwāḥ to Ṣaʿdah during the pre-Islamic Period.

92 Dresch, *Tribes of Ḥāshid-wa-Bakīl*, 11.

93 Gingrich, *Multiple Histories*.

94 Gochenour, *Penetration of Zaydī Islam*; Smith, *Early and Medieval History of Ṣanaʿāʾ* and *Political History of the Islamic Yemen*.

95 Smith, *Political History of the Islamic Yemen*, 129-139 and *Medieval History of Ṣanaʿāʾ*, 49-67; Serjeant, *Modern History of Ṣanaʿāʾ*, 68-107.

96 Tuchscherer, *Imams notables et bédouins*; al-Marih, *Najran*.

Only one group has not been included into the genealogy of Shākir. This group is locally referred to as *manūʿ* or *qabāʾil al-wasaṭ*. The *manūʿ* live scattered among several segments of Dahm; their exact number is unclear. In Baraṭ many suppose that *manūʿ* until fairly recently made up a third of the Baraṭ plateau's settled population.[95] The *manūʿ* are sedentary farmers and sharecroppers and subdivide into numerous groups which are loosely aligned with the tribal structures of the host group on whose territory they live. Unlike other low-status groups such as butchers or musicians, *manūʿ* are reckoned tribesmen, yet not of full but rather subordinate tribal status. Dresch observed that *manūʿ* cannot make undertakings to escort or protect others in their own name.[96] Local sources from the Baraṭ region mentioned to me that the *manūʿ* neither interfere in Dahm's meetings, nor do they play a role in Dahm's contracts or participate in Dahm's wars.

Although the *manūʿ* are reckoned tribesmen and attach to the structure of Dahm they remain genealogically apart; locals speak of *ʿadam intisābi-him ilā Dahm*, i.e. their non-accession to the genealogy of Dahm. They remain apart from Dahm without having an independent genealogy of their own. Local tradition regards the *manūʿ* as the descendants of the indigenous sedentary population of al-Jawf, who had been settling in al-Jawf even before the installation of the Duhmah. The by-name (*laqb*) which refers to all of them is Banū Hilāl (i.e. not »noble« Arabs of Qaḥṭānī stock). The word is that a large part of them left Yemen and took part in the Muslim Conquests of the early Islamic period. Dresch, in contrast, was told that the *manūʿ* may have been left behind in Yemen at the great migration which followed the collapse of the Maʾrib dam.[97] Both versions make sense, because the penetration of external groups in al-Jawf would certainly not have had the same magnitude if the vast irrigated foothills bordering the desert areas did not decline: many people who inhabited these regions before the Common Era indeed formed a shield against them.[98] Supporting evidence for the formation of the *manūʿ* is thin; yet it appears as if the *manūʿ* have their origin in the distant past of the ESA period, in which a tribe or a group did not need to know it's very origin and thus the extent of its »consanguinity« with other groups and tribes. With due caution, the *manūʿ* can be regarded an anachronism, a vestige of the major change in social organization – the »culture shift«, as Beeston (1972) called it – between the ESA period and that of al-Hamdānī, i.e. the shift from *shaʾb* to *qabīlah*, the shift from the idiom of territory to the idiom of shared descent.

Some of the *manūʿ* are quite wealthy and in theory they could enter into marriage relations with Dahm, but in practice this hardly happens. Tribesmen of Dahm may marry women of the *manūʿ* but they refuse to give their females to them.[99] The non-exchange of women indicates

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95 Dresch, *Rules of Baraṭ*, 37.

96 Dresch, *Rules of Baraṭ*, 35.

97 Dresch, *Rules of Baraṭ*, 37.

98 Robin, *Pénétration des Arabes*.

99 An interesting comparative case is the difference in status between the *sādah* (sing. *sayyid*) and the tribes. The *sādah* are an immigrant community living in tribally oriented areas, and genealogical rigidity seems to have been an appropriate strategy to enable the *sādah* to survive as a coherent group (Puin, *Yemeni hijrah Concept of Tribal Protection*, 484). But although the *sādah* sustain their exclusive status within these parts of Yemeni society through the principles of patrilineality and endogamy, endogamy is practiced much more stringently regarding the sharīfahs (female descendants of the prophet); for *sādah* it is quite legitimate to marry tribal women, and their offspring will then be in turn of *sayyid* stock. For marriage patterns between tribes and *sādah*, see Serjeant, *South Arabia*, 227, 238-239; Gingrich and Heiss, *Ethnographie der Provinz Ṣaʿda,* 19; Gingrich, *How the Chiefs' Daughters Marry*; Mundy, *Domestic Government*, 48, 173-175; vom Bruck, *Islam, Memory, and Morality in Yemen*, 131-162.

the absence of equality between Dahm and the *manūʿ*, i.e. the *manūʿ* are not reckoned fully *ḥalāl* by Dahm. Heiss has elaborated in regard to groups without common genealogy among the historic Khawlān Quḍāʿah based in the Ṣaʿdah area that the word *ḥalal* (in addition to being known from the religious-legal sphere meaning »allowed«, e.g. the meat of ritually slaughtered animals) can also have the meaning of equivalence between people and tribal groups, an equivalence that manifests itself in the possibility of entering into mutual marital relationships, which are an important prerequisite for the fusion of genealogies.[100] Dahm tribesmen justify the absence of mutual marital relationship with *manūʿ* by saying that *manūʿ*, albeit tribesmen, are »weak« (*mustadaʿf*) both in numerical terms and in terms of power, i.e. the *manūʿ* cannot provide the same protection (of family members, in-laws, guests, protégés, etc.) like a full tribesman of Dahm.

The genealogical exclusion of the *manūʿ* is remarkable because as a rule of thumb, we have seen, small and weak tribal groups were frequently accepted as allies by larger, presumably stronger ones. These groups were fully integrated in Dahm's *nasab* and society; in fact they disappeared into the host group (Dahm) and eventually came to be viewed as the host's agnates. Yet in the case of the *manūʿ* their perceived weakness is often cited as a reason for the fact that the *manūʿ* – in contrast to the lineage rumps of other tribal groups which were threatened with marginalization or even extinction – did not fuse with collateral lineages of Dahm and could not manage to adopt Dahm genealogy in order to become a coequal part of the dominant group's tribal law and status. In consequence the *manūʿ* retained their separate identities for centuries. Such cases of differentiation within the same tribal status group are rare, but they occur; cases are documented among the historic Khawlān Quḍāʿah in Yemen, Quraysh in Ḥijāz, and for Ṣulubbah in Northern Arabia.[101] Among these groups the social class-system is so firmly rooted that it is not even possible for Islam to carry through its demands for its abolition.[102]

In the eyes of Dahm, *manūʿ* do not embody – whether rightly or wrongly is questionable – those qualities for which al-Hamdānī and the early Arab poets praise South Arabia's horsemen of Qaḥṭānī origin. *Manūʿ* do not belong to this class of heroes, who were accruing honour and glory as rider-warriors on horseback (also horses being an animal that appears and spreads rather late in Yemen[103]). As we have seen, a tribesman is expected to be *sharīf, qawī, māniʿ, i.e.* noble, strong, and able to protect the weak, and Duhma/Dahm perfectly encapsulate and exemplify these qualities. In fact up to our time these attributes are the blueprint for the tribal status and honour of the tribesmen of Dahm, who were still dreaded during the 1960s civil war in Yemen for being the »toughest fighting material in the Yemen [...], generally feared for their lawlessness and rapacity«.[104] And Dahm are not just any host tribe, according to al-Hamdānī they belong to the most prestigious and strongest tribes of Qaḥṭān. Al-Hamdānī himself compared Duhmah with Quraysh in Mecca. Al-Hamdānī's language of honour and chivalry is therefore both inclusive and exclusive, it provides responses to the questions »Who we are?« as well as »Who is not like us?« and, relatedly, »Who does not belong to us?«

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100 Heiss, *Tribale Selbstorganisation und Konfliktregelung*, 132.

101 Heiss, *Tribale Selbstorganisation und Konfliktregelung*, 92; Landau-Tasseron, *Status of Allies*; Dostal, *Evolution of Bedouin Life,* 14.

102 Dostal, *Evolution of Bedouin Life*, 14.

103 Robin, *Pénétration des Arabes*, 88.

104 Schofield, *Boundary disputes*, 707.

It is, however, intriguing that a considerable part of Shākir – and of Dahm in particular – do not seem to be the original inhabitants of the country, of which heroes and heirs they are praised by al-Hamdānī. At the time of al-Hamdānī the Duhmah were already a product of massive immigrations of tribes from elsewhere, a constant flux of populations, which still continued far beyond the tenth century. Seen in this light, the Qaḥṭān symbol of unity as well as the genealogies, panegyric poetries and semi-legendary traditions of al-Hamdānī's *al-Iklīl* served to evoke a vision of community and common identities among the heterogeneous societies of South Arabia and to legitimize them as heirs of a country and its splendid history, which in parts was not inherently their own.

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The Political Agency of Kurds as an Ethnic Group in Late Medieval South Arabia

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Kurds began to arrive to South Arabia as soldiers for the Ayyubid conquest at the end of the sixth/twelfth century,[1] and continued in this military role for the Rasulid dynasty for the next few centuries. Over the course of this period, references to Kurds in chronicles indicate their increasing autonomy as independent mercenaries who rebelled against the Rasulids and aligned with the northern Zaydis. At the same time, they are also shown to have established a prominent community in the central highlands, which eventually bifurcated, merged with the family of the Zaydi Imam through marriage, and then seemingly disappeared from chronicles altogether. This article examines more closely the role of ethnicity in the promotion and maintenance of the Kurds as an influential group in the late medieval political landscape of South Arabia alongside other ethnic groups such as Arabs and Turks, as well as why the apparent deterioration of the Kurds' ethnic cohesion appears to have led to the end of reports about them in the Yemeni historical record at the end of the eighth/fourteenth century.

Origins

Just before Salāḥ al-Dīn became the first sultan of the Ayyubid dynasty in Egypt, his brother, Turānshāh, set foot on the northern Red Sea coast of South Arabia in 569/1173. After already having undertaken an initial military campaign to Nubia, he turned his attention to Yemen, motivated in part by the great wealth to be gained from tax revenues on its fertile landscape and the high-traffic trade passing between the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. Over the course of the next year, Turānshāh led a campaign down the coastline to Aden and then into the highlands until Sanaa. This military offensive effectively deposed the local dynasties scattered across Lower Yemen and laid the foundation for a gradually more unified rule of the region for nearly the next three centuries: first under the Ayyubids from 569/1173 to 626/1229, and then under the Rasulids, originally a family of officers in the Ayyubid military, from 626/1229 to 858/1454.

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1 Centuries and dates are given in the form of the *hijrī* (AH)/*mīlādī* (AD) calendars.

The Ayyubids were a Kurdish family, originally from present day Armenia, although some of their genealogies trace their roots back to Arab origins much like a seventh/thirteenth-century genealogy of the Turkoman Rasulids.[2] The Ayyubid military that came to Yemen mainly consisted of a mixture of Turkish and Kurdish groups, often collectively described as *ghuzz* in texts written by Arab authors. Originally referring to Turkish Oghuz (an already ambiguous term), *ghuzz* came to be used as an even more general nomenclature for these non-Arab groups. The term *ghuzz* is found in earlier historical literature of medieval South Arabia.[3] But its use becomes much more prominent in the later part of the medieval period as is found, for example, in the title of the seventh/thirteenth-century chronicle describing the Ayyubid occupation and the reigns of the first two sultans of the subsequent Rasulid dynasty: *The Book of the Valuable Necklace of the Reports of the Ghuzz Kings in Yemen*.[4] Henceforth, *ghuzz* then continues to appear in medieval Yemeni chronicles and administrative texts as a common vague ethnic denominator for soldiers in the militaries of the Ayyubids and Rasulids.[5] Unfortunately, at the same time it also largely obscures a more precise understanding of these soldiers' ethnic identity. Even so, there are, thankfully, some exceptions to this pattern that specifically designate individuals or groups as Kurds (*akrād*) and Turks (*atrāk*).

References to specifically Turkish individuals in these medieval texts are regrettably few in number. Nonetheless, they do provide a nuanced, albeit limited, window into the varied roles and alliances they undertook in medieval Yemen. For example, on the one hand, in 601/1205, after the Ayyubids had won a series of battles in the northern highlands, a pro-Ayyubid Turk named Asad al-Dīn Qarāsunqur presented to the Ayyubid ruler Atābak Sunqur a cohort of the Zaydi Imam ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza to be expelled from Saʿda.[6] While on the other hand, in 611/1215, the Turkish prince ʿAlim al-Dīn Sunqur was among a group of *ghuzz* who defected from the Ayyubids and took a pledge with the *imam*.[7] Beyond the military there are also glimpses into the world of Turkish women in two reports. In 598/1202, a Turkish female slave, along with four marble slabs featuring a picture of an ancient house in Makka, was presented to Zaydi Imam ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza by Shihāb al-Jazarī as an act of goodwill after they had formed a new pact.[8] Then, as a possible follow-up in 619/1222, a report mentions

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2   Al-Ashraf ʿUmar, *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb*, ed. Zettersteen. The Rasulid historian al-Khazrajī further builds upon this genealogical claim of South Arabian origins (Al-Khazrajī , *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, ed. al-Ḥibshī, 61-62). He states that a South Arabian tribe migrated to Syria, where one of its members converted to Christianity and then moved to Anatolia where his descendants married and assimilated into a local Turkoman tribe. After converting back to Islam, the progeny of this family moved to Iraq where one of them became a messenger (*rasūl*) for the Abbasid caliph. Hence, the title of this occupation became the basis of the family name for the Rasulids.

3   The sixth/twelfth-century historian ʿUmāra states that Jayyash b. Najāḥ invited a group of *ghuzz* to Yemen in order to fight the Sulayhid Sabāʾ b. Aḥmad. Seeing that his own power may be threatened by their large numbers, he ordered them to be poisoned. The few survivors among them settled down in the Tihama (ʿUmāra, *Tārīkh al-Yaman*, ed./trans. Kay, 77). A later Zaydi chronicler puts this event in the year(s) 486/1093-4 (al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, ed. ʿĀshūr, 278).

4   Ibn Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-simṭ al-ghālī al-thaman fī akhbār al-mulūk min al-ghuzz bi-l-Yaman*, ed. Smith.

5   For example, the price of a dinar and a half is given for a *ghuzz* shield among other items of armory in a seventh/thirteenth century collection of Rasulid administrative documents (*Nūr al-maʿārif*, ed. Jāzim, 57).

6   Ibn Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-simṭ*, ed. Smith, 122.

7   Ibn Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-simṭ*, ed. Smith, 163.

8   Ibn Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-simṭ*, ed. Smith, 87.

the marriage of a Zaydi jurist to a Turkish woman who was among the slaves of the Zaydi *imam*.[9] In contrast to this small number of explicit mentions of Turks, the larger amount and breadth of references to Kurds in the singular and plural allows for a more extensive examination of what we may understand about the role of this ethnic group in the context of medieval South Arabia.

Recent research on Kurds in the medieval period has concentrated on the changes in the usage and meaning of the term over time and geographic space.[10] In the early medieval period, the term Kurd appears to denote ethnographic attributes that reflect a nomadic way of life, but by the fifth/eleventh century it is more clearly utilized as an ethnonym in distinction to, for example, Arabs and Turks. This development may be correlated to the wider role that Kurds played in the politics and society of the Islamic world, as is most clearly evidenced in the rise of the Kurdish Ayyubids, although the dynasty's ethnicity does not seem to have been emphasized until the following Mamluk period.[11] In any case, the emergence of Kurds as an ethnic group in the late medieval period, who were distinguished through their increased agency and involvement in the military and politics, is likewise mirrored in South Arabia. In this case study, I argue that the reason for the higher visibility of the Kurds in Yemeni chronicles is related to their clear, albeit inconsistent, political actions of increased autonomy away from the powerful, yet floundering Ayyubids and Rasulids and their gradual allegiance to the rising Zaydis. In this way, an approach to exploring the Kurds as an ethnic group in South Arabia is through Walter Pohl's focus on situations of conflict described in chronicles as important contexts for tracing medieval ethnic identities through their collective actions.[12] More broadly, this relational and interactive approach to ethnicity emerges from Frederick Barth's concept that ethnic groups are primarily maintained through their continual actions to uphold their boundaries against other groups and the state and Thomas Hylland Eriksen's emphasis of ethnicity as developed through joint contact between different groups rather than properties that a group developed on their own.[13] Ethnic identity thus is situational and performative, as well as intersects and overlaps with other types of identity (e.g., religious, familial, regional, etc).[14] For the rest of this article, I will focus on examples in the chronicles of how the Kurds' individual, collaborative, and collective actions within this political arena implicitly built up their ethnic cohesion and increasingly maintained the boundaries of their community until they seemingly disappear from the historical record at the end of the eighth/fourteenth century.

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9   Ibn Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-simṭ*, ed. Smith, 179. It may be speculated that this woman could have been the same one previously mentioned, but it is not explicitly stated in the report to which Zaydi imam the slaves belonged. Imam ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza already had died in 613/1217, but no new name for an Imam is given in the chronicle at this point so the report may be indicating an event that had happened previously to the year in which it appears. In any case, there is no other information given that could lead to any firm conclusion about or identification of the Turkish woman either way.

10 For example, see: Conermann, Volk, Ethnie oder Stamm; James, Arab Ethnonyms; Özoğlu, *Kurdish Notables and the Ottoman State*, 21-31.

11 James, Arab Ethnonyms, 710-711.

12 Pohl, Introduction – Strategies of Conflict, 45.

13 Barth, Introduction, 9-38; Eriksen, Ethnicity and Nationalism.

14 Gingrich, Envisioning Medieval Communities, 32-35.

Fickle Mercenaries

While Kurds were part of the Ayyubid military in their initial appearances in Yemeni medieval chronicles, often they are shown to not maintain allegiance to their leaders. Ḥakū b. Muḥammad was a Kurdish officer for the Ayyubid military who worked with al-Shihāb al-Jazarī.[15] Described as a man great in courage, cleverness, audacity, and the practice of combat, he was entrusted with and greatly succeeded in handling problems in the rural areas and forts around Sanaa for al-Jazarī. Ḥakū, however, secretly realigned himself to the Zaydi *ashraf* and Imam ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza in 594/1198, and subsequently maintained loyalty, »internally for the Imam but externally for the *ghuzz*.«[16] Hence, Ḥakū began to carve a new political identity for himself away from his allegiance to the Ayyubids and towards a new relationship with the Zaydis. Although at this point it would be over-reaching to associate this realignment with his Kurdish ethnicity, as will be seen in numerous examples in the rest of this article, it does concisely start to introduce the desires for increased political agency and autonomy for which the Kurdish community strove over the course of the following two centuries. Additionally, the phrasing of this statement demonstrates the conflation and vagueness of the term *ghuzz* in late medieval Yemen as an indicator of both political and ethnic identity, with the former connotation here emphasized. Over the course of the year, Ḥakū proceeded to openly work with the Zaydi Imam against the Ayyubid expansion to the north until his death at the hands of other *ghuzz* in Rabīʿ II 595/February 1199.[17] As a substitute, a few months later the Imam would summon to his side another Kurd, Haldrī b. Aḥmad al-Marwānī, from the Tihama.[18]

During this period the Tihama Plain on the Red Sea coast became the center of Kurdish dissent against the Ayyubids. This is most emphatic in 598/1201 when it was the location, just outside of the city of Zabid, where the Kurds assassinated the Ayyubid ruler al-Muʿizz Ismāʿīl b. Ṭughtakīn.[19] It is reported that a Kurdish man named Hindawh and his brother knocked the sultan from his mule, beat him with his own sword, and then beheaded him. The strong hatred by the Kurds in this region toward al-Muʿizz is clearly palpable as the two men were neither condemned by his soldiers nor the other Kurds. Rather, only the personal servant of al-Muʿizz had to be chased down and slain. Furthermore, upon their arrival back to Zabid, it is described that when his decapitated head was presented, a Kurdish woman rotated it to the right and left and then slapped his cheek and face. It is then explained that not only was she was the wife of one of the men who killed al-Muʿizz, but also that she had encouraged it because he had slain their son shortly before his own death.

Following this assassination, Atābak Sunqur, the next Ayyubid ruler in Yemen, initially made peace with the Kurds and did not punish them, largely due to the fact that al-Muʿizz himself wanted to kill Sunqur right before his death. But after a few years, dissension within the Ayyubids grew, as demonstrated by a new alliance that had formed between Shihāb al-Jazarī, an Ayyubid prince in Sanaa, and the Zaydi Imam ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza in 958/1202. At these meetings, Hishām, a Kurd who was assisting the prince, presented robes to the *imam*.

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15 Ibn Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-simṭ*, ed. Smith, 45-48.

16 Ibn Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-simṭ*, ed. Smith, 46.

17 Ibn Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-simṭ*, ed. Smith, 57-60, 62-64.

18 Ibn Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-simṭ*, ed. Smith, 67. The vowelization of his name is uncertain.

19 Ibn Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-simṭ*, ed. Smith, 80-83; Idrīs al-Ḥamzī, *Tārīkh al-Yaman*, ed. al-Mudʿij, 92-93; al-Khazrajī, *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, ed. al-Ḥibshī, 63; Anonymous, *Tārīkh al-dawla al-Rasūliyya*, ed. al-Ḥibshī, 3; al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, ed. ʿĀshūr, 357-358).

Shortly after, the *imam* received further allegiance from groups across Yemen including the Kurds in the Tihama. This was communicated in a letter by two of them, al-Qarābilī and al-Daqīq, who were stated to also have been part of the group that was present at the assassination of al-Muʿizz.[20] Consequently, by 599/1203, Sunqur's tolerance for the Kurdish population in the Tihama seems to have declined because he attacked Zabid where current leaders of the Kurds (including al-Qarābilī, al-Daqīq, and Hishām al-Kurdī) were located.[21] In the end, among these leaders, only al-Qarābilī survived. Instead of killing him, Sunqur decided to banish him into exile in Baghdad. This merciful act, however, was questioned by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, the Ayyubid sultan of Egypt and Syria at the time. In a letter to Sunqur, he reproached him for allowing al-Qarābilī to live, acerbically inquiring: »How could you cut off the tail, but leave the head intact?«[22]

After this massacre, the remaining Kurdish population may have been pacified. But during this period there are only a couple of brief reports in the chronicles explicitly about Kurds to support this conclusion. In 611/1214, a group of *ghuzz* in the Ayyubid army, including the Kurdish officer Muḥammad b. Mūsā, is stated to have travelled from Sanaa to Dhamar.[23] Also, in the same year, the Kurd Sāliḥ b. Hishām was granted the territory of Dhamar to administer. Nonetheless, later on that year, a group of *ghuzz* who defected from the Ayyubids and made a pact with the Zaydi imam, which I previously described to have contained a Turkish prince, also included the Kurdish prince Shams al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Badhal.[24] This report is important to remind us that the Kurds were not the only insubordinate soldiers in the Rasulid military. Nor did the historians of these chronicles implicitly designate the Kurds as solely the ones to take up the nefarious role of violent insubordination in contradistinction to the broader *ghuzz* soldiers, as is found in the writing from other parts of the Islamic world during this period.[25] Rather, the *ghuzz* in general also are mentioned as participating in such insurgencies. For example, during a 674/1275 revolt led by the Zaydis in Sanaa who were threatening to take over the wider regions of the central highlands, ʿAlī ʿAbd Allāh carefully addressed the crowd of gathered fighters in a plea for unity: »All of you shoot from one bow, [regardless if you are] the Imam or the follower, Arab or *ghuzz*.«[26] This statement also provides an example of the historian's maintenance in the text of the trope which projects a paralleled dichotomy between the two groups of the Arabs and the *ghuzz*. That is, in this case, the term *ghuzz* appears to relate more towards its association with ethnicity than a separate political allegiance, in contrast to the statement about Ḥakū above.

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20 Ibn Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-simṭ*, ed. Smith, 87-88.

21 Ibn Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-simṭ*, ed. Smith, 100-104.

22 Ibn Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-simṭ*, ed. Smith, 104.

23 Ibn Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-simṭ*, ed. Smith, 155.

24 Ibn Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-simṭ*, ed. Smith, 163.

25 Kurds were commonly stereotyped as wildly violent and insubordinate in medieval descriptions (James, Arab Ethnonyms, 702-704).

26 Ibn Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-simṭ*, ed. Smith, 486; Al-Khazrajī, *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, ed. al-Ḥibshī, 238.

Further Rebellions and Greater Autonomy

After nearly a century, a reemergence of Kurds playing a more prominent role in the political dynamics of late medieval South Arabia occurred when a group of them undertook one of the biggest and most prolonged rebellions in Rasulid history from 709/1309 to 713/1313.[27] The rebellion began under a misapprehension when Rasulid prince Sayf al-Dīn al-Tughrī arrived to Dhamar in 709/1309 with a detachment of troops in order to collect the regional taxes. During this visit the Kurds grew suspicious and mistakenly believed the soldiers instead had been summoned in order to seize them. As a result, in the middle of the night the Kurds first incapacitated the horses at the garrison's camp outside of the city, and then proceeded to besiege the palace of the sultan at the city gate where al-Tughrī was boarded. At first, the Rasulid soldiers were able to drive the Kurds away, but eventually the majority of the soldiers dispersed after al-Tughrī refused multiple requests to retreat with them. In the morning, al-Tughrī finally emerged from the palace under the pretense of a truce with the Kurds, but was quickly slaughtered along with his brother-in-law, his secretary, the governor (*wālī*) of Dhamar, and four remaining soldiers. Afterwards, the Kurds pillaged the abandoned military camp and took all of their horses and equipment.

When the fleeing soldiers reached Sultan al-Muʾayyad in the Rasulid capital of Taʾizz, he compensated them for their losses and prepared a double-pronged attack involving Rasulid forces coming from the north and south. When they arrived back to Dhamar, however, they discovered that the Kurds had fled to Wādī al-Ḥarr in the northern part of the Dhamar Plain as well as had taken over and provisioned the nearby fortress of Hirrān. For three days a battle ensued until the Kurds fled to the north and the Rasulid armies returned to Dhamar. During this time, however, the Kurds also had been in correspondence with the Zaydi Imam Muḥammad b. al-Muṭahhar. Hearing of the conflict, his forces, composed of local Arab tribes, had also begun to attack Sanaa. Hence, even after the sultan finally arrived to stabilize first Dhamar and then Sanaa, the Rasulids had to continue to fight with the colluding Kurds and Zaydis for the remainder of the year at various locations in the northern highlands.

Not until October of 710/1310 was a truce made between Sultan al-Muʾayyad and the Kurds, who finally submitted on the condition that they could continue to occupy the fortress of Hirrān near Dhamar in exchange for five hostages to remain with the Rasulids in Lower Yemen.[28] Two years later, however, a separate peace agreement was reached between Imam Muḥammad b. al-Muṭahhar and Sultan al-Muʾayyad. This removed any protection the Zaydi imam provided for the Kurds, making them vulnerable to further attacks by the Rasulids. Consequently, in 712/1312, Sultan al-Muʾayyad arrived with two hundred horsemen and a contingent of Arab foot soldiers, and was also joined by a Rasulid officer who brought his own forces from Sanaa.[29] In response, the Kurds sought out a local Arab shaykh to intervene,

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27   Idrīs al-Ḥamzī, *Tārīkh al-Yaman*, ed. al-Mudʿij, 141-143; Ibn ʿAbd al-Majīd, *Bahjat al-zaman*, eds. al-Ḥibshī and al-Sanabānī, 259-261; al-Khazrajī, *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, ed. al-Ḥibshī, 445-465. There may be significance for the lack of references to Kurds during the long reign of the Rasulid Sultan al-Muẓaffar in both Ibn Ḥātim and the rest of the Rasulid chronicles, but this remains uncertain. From an authorship perspective, this was the period during which Ibn Ḥātim was directly involved in Rasulid political affairs, so he would have been aware of any events involving Kurds. Thus, if these did occur, there is no obvious reason why he would have purposely edited them out of this very extensive and detailed section of his chronicle.

28   Idrīs al-Ḥamzī, *Tārīkh al-Yaman*, ed. al-Mudʿij, 143; Ibn ʿAbd al-Majīd, *Bahjat al-zaman*, ed. al-Ḥibshī and al-Sanabānī, 265; Al-Khazrajī, *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, ed. al-Ḥibshī, 452-453.

29   Idrīs al-Ḥamzī, *Tārīkh al-Yaman*, ed. al-Mudʿij, 145-146; Ibn ʿAbd al-Majīd, *Bahjat al-zaman*, ed. al-Ḥibshī and al-Sanabānī, 268; Al-Khazrajī, *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, ed. al-Ḥibshī, 460.

and a truce was settled based on the conditions that reveal further details of their, at least current, geographical distribution. First, the Kurds should not enter Dhamar nor the nearby town of Rada' to the east. Second, the Kurds must evacuate the province of Sanaa. And, third, their hostages should still remain with the Rasulids at al-ʿArūs. After this agreement was settled, Sultan al-Muʾayyad sent a new governor to Dhamar. In the following year, however, the sultan was still not satisfied, although unfortunately no details are given in the chronicles as to why. He ordered his governor to attack the Hirrān citadel using a catapult, resulting in its destruction.[30] While the Kurds murdered the governor of Sanaa in retaliation, they once again decided to surrender unconditionally. This time another Arab shaykh wrote on their behalf to the sultan, who in turn granted them amnesty, and the Kurds returned to Dhamar.

In this series of episodes, it is clear that the Kurds at this point have well-established themselves in the central highlands as a powerful, although not yet fully autonomous, population. While they were making new alliances with the Zaydis, evidently these were not very strong ones. Over the next few decades, however, the Kurds went on to situate themselves as more independent mercenaries that fought for both of the opposing forces of the Rasulids and Zaydis. In this way, they begin to appear to act along more pragmatic lines instead of showing consistent loyalty to any other group, much like the ambivalent actions of various Arab tribes at this time. In 723/1323, for instance, a large force of Kurds joined a rebellious Rasulid prince in his siege of Taʾizz against the new Sultan al-Mujāhid.[31] But then in 724/1324, Kurds fought for Sultan al-Mujāhid in the western highlands against this same rebellious movement.[32] Even more revealing, still, is what occurred in 726/1325 when they were again fighting with the sultan against rebels in the area of Aden.[33] Here apparently new doubts in their loyalty to him were beginning to show. At first, Sultan al-Mujāhid became suspicious of them when a kidnapping of the son of an officer took place, although no direct explanation is given in the chronicles as to how or why the Kurds would be connected to this. Later, the sultan left the area altogether when news arrived of the approach of the Zaydi Imam Muhammad b. al-Mutahhar with reinforcements for the opposing side, and Sultan al-Mujāhid feared that the Kurds would consequently change their allegiance. Nevertheless, this trust seemingly was not yet entirely destroyed. Four years later in 1329, a report lists Kurdish horsemen among the parts of the sultan's military as they rode together to Taʾizz, along with Turks (*atrāk*), Arab tribesmen, and Zaydi *ashrāf*.[34] Interestingly, for whichever reason by the author of the chronicle, in this passage, instead of using the more broad term of *ghuzz*, specific ethnonyms are given for both the Kurds and Turks.

Yet, a turning point in the relationship between the Kurds and the Rasulids came in the next decade in 739/1338, when a second rebellion took place in Dhamar.[35] In an apparent response to local unrest not directly reported in the chronicles, Sultan al-Mujāhid sent to Dhamar four hundred horsemen and eleven thousand foot soldiers equipped with a catapult, who successfully retook control of the city and the nearby fortress of Hirrān. Nonetheless,

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30 Idrīs al-Ḥamzī, *Tārīkh al-Yaman*, ed. al-Mudʾij, 146-147; Ibn ʿAbd al-Majīd, *Bahjat al-zaman*, ed. al-Ḥibshī and al-Sanabānī, 277; al-Khazrajī, *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, ed. al-Ḥibshī, 464-465.

31 Al-Khazrajī, *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, ed. al-Ḥibshī, 519.

32 Al-Khazrajī, *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, ed. al-Ḥibshī, 529.

33 Al-Khazrajī, *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, ed. al-Ḥibshī, 549-550.

34 Al-Khazrajī, *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, ed. al-Ḥibshī, 564.

35 Al-Khazrajī, *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, ed. al-Ḥibshī, 577-578.

afterwards, a new governor was appointed whose conduct was so bad that it provoked another much more successful rebellion. After the Kurds drove the governor away back to Taʾizz, the Rasulids did not return to Dhamar, except for one unsuccessful punitive campaign into the region almost forty years later. Thus, from here, a new phase began for the Kurds as they increasingly became intertwined with the Zaydis, although did not yet entirely disassociate themselves from the Rasulids.

Bifurcation and Reorientation

As we move into this phase, reports from Zaydi biographies and chronicles as an additional source to the Rasulid texts, allow us to understand the structure and non-military practices of the Kurdish population with a bit more depth. While the Zaydi imams had been intermittently making attempts to establish their own authority in the Dhamar Plain since the arrival of the first Imam al-Hādī in 284/897, not until the mid-eighth/fourteenth century were more measured strategies attempted. In 750/1349, Imam al-Mahdī ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, ostensibly in an attempt to avoid the same problems that led to the exit of the Rasulids from Dhamar just a decade earlier, made a truce with the local Kurds, who are now reported to consist of the Banī Asad and the Banī Shukr.[36] Beyond this preemptive measure, in order to create even closer and stronger ties to this local population, his son al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad married a local woman named Fāṭima. A daughter of the Kurdish prince al-Asad b. Ibrāhīm, she would become mother of the future Zaydi Imam al-Manṣūr ʿAlī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Additionally, it is reported that she sponsored in 776/1374-5 the construction of a mosque in Sanaa, now named the mosque of al-Abhar but originally known as the mosque of Bint al-Amīr.[37] We next hear of Zaydi-Kurdish relations in 754/1353, when the Kurdish leader al-Asad b. Ibrāhīm went to Saʾda in the northern highlands seeking help from Imam al-Mahdī ʿAlī against the rival Kurdish group of the Banī Shukr.[38] In response to this plea, the *imam* descended to Dhamar, took the Banī Shukr under custody, and imprisoned them in the fortress of Hirrān. Then, at this time, Imam al-Mahdī ʿAlī and his son are reported to have finally settled in Dhamar.

Despite this more intricate relationship with the Zaydis, there are still reports from the Rasulid chronicles of Kurds in the Rasulid military, starting in the same year of this Zaydi settlement.[39] Here the Kurdish horsemen are stated to have participated in a Rasulid campaign in the southern highland region of Mikhlāf, but flee back to Dhamar when the sultan's camp was ambushed by men from the Arab tribe of Shiʾr. Then in 764/1362[40] and 765/1363[41], Kurds are again said to have accompanied Rasulid officers in their travels to, respectively, Taʾizz and Zabid. This latter report, however, is the last time Kurds specifically are mentioned

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36 Al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, ed. ʿĀshūr, 515. These Kurds recently have been speculated to be the remains of the original Ayyubid campaign by Tūrānshāh in 569/1174 (Al-Ḥalū, Dhamār fī al-tārīkh al-ḥadīth, 185). Additionally, it is should be emphasized that the descriptions of these two factions as »Banī«, possibly insinuating that they had a type of tribal or genealogical structure, should be received with caution because this descriptor comes from a Yemeni historian and not the Kurds themselves. How they precisely called and conceived of the division and composition of these two groups remains unknown.

37 Lewcock *et al.*, Smaller Mosques of Ṣanʿāʾ, 370-371.

38 Al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, ed. ʿĀshūr, 517.

39 Al-Khazrajī, *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, ed. al-Ḥibshī, 609-610.

40 Anonymous, *Tārīkh al-dawla al-Rasūliyya*, ed. al-Hibshī, 29.

41 Al-Khazrajī, *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, ed. al-Ḥibshī, 642.

in the sources to be associated with the Rasulid military. Perhaps, this is due to the political tension created when the new Zaydi Imam al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn began to make raids into the Rasulid highland and coastal territory of Lower Yemen in 776/1374 and 777/1375.[42] In response, the new Rasulid Sultan al-Afḍal al-ʿAbbās reacted by sending a large group of soldiers to ransack the Dhamar Plain in January of the next year, but this pillaging was put down by July, ending in a massacre of the Rasulid soldiers and the seizure of their leader.[43] This was the final raid of Rasulid forces into the Dhamar Plain. Curiously, however, Kurds are not specifically mentioned in these reports, nor in another report of a further Zaydi campaign that led all the way to Aden in November 789/1387.[44] Instead, the final report involving Kurds in medieval Yemeni sources appears in 791/1388 when the death toll of a failed Zaydi siege of the city of Zabid included, within the Zaydi ranks, a Kurdish chief who was a brother-in-law or father-in-law of the *imam*.[45] Although this is not directly stated, the married sister may have been the previously mentioned Fatima, but there is no other name given for the fallen Kurd. Conversely, *ghuzz* soldiers are mentioned twice more in the ninth/fifteenth century.[46]

Layered Agency and Apparent Assimilation

The case of Kurds in medieval South Arabia provides a unique historiographic reconstruction of the appearance and disappearance of an ethnic group. While it may be attributed to the various ways different historians wrote their histories, a fascinating build-up can be seen in the story of their accumulative agency as a political force. In the beginning, reports are mainly framed around Kurdish individuals, separately and in collaborative action, at first absconding away from their military allegiances to the Ayyubids and then outright rebelling against them. In the second act, the Kurdish community as a whole is described as revolting against the Rasulid governors and sultans until they effectively achieved independence. Then, in the final act, separate groups within the Kurdish community are revealed to be in dispute, which leads them seek outside resolution from the Zaydis. Hence, there appears to be a clear historicity for the diverse layers of agency and people within the Kurdish community, interacting with themselves and outsiders, as it slowly cohered together. Boundaries for this ethnic group were laid down and repeatedly fought for as their political currency rose in diverse conflicts across South Arabia.

So, what happened to the Kurds? Unfortunately, there does not seem to be a clear answer to this question. But an educated guess may be offered based on their overall narrative arc as found in the chronicles. After the Kurds initial entrance into South Arabia as professional soldiers, reports show their gradual distancing from acting as subordinates to the Ayyubids and Rasulids, and slow development into establishing a more independent autonomy in the central highlands. Here they increasingly appear to act with no clear loyalties within

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42   Al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, ed. ʿĀshūr, 525.

43   Al-Khazrajī, *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, ed. al-Ḥibshī, 670; al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, ed. ʿĀshūr, 525-526.

44   Al-Khazrajī, *Al-ʿuqūd al-luʾluʾiyya*, ed. al-Ḥibshī, 711.

45   Anonymous, *Tārīkh al-dawla al-Rasūliyya*, ed. al-Hibshī, 48. The last references to Kurds by the ninth to tenth/fifteenth to sixteenth-century Tahirid historian Ibn al-Daybaʿ is in 726/1325 (Ibn al-Dayba , *Kitāb qurrat al-ʿuyūn*, ed. al-Akwaʿ, 432), and by the eleventh/seventeenth-century Zaydi chronicler al-Ḥusayn is in 764/1362 (Al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī,* ed. ʿĀshūr, 519).

46   An anonymous Rasulid chronicle has reports about *ghuzz* soldiers in 822/1419-20 and 837/1433-34 (Anonymous, *Tārīkh al-dawla al-Rasūliyya*, ed. al-Hibshī, 108-109, 161).

the political landscape in a way that echoes the pragmatism of the local Arab tribes in the chronicles. Soon, however, there are descriptions from Zaydi sources of the bifurcation of the Kurdish population into the Banī Asad and the Banī Shukr, and then the integration of the former with the Zaydis through political truces and marriage, which is emphasized in the final report about them. Hence, in the broader terms, it may be proposed that the Kurds became assimilated and absorbed into Yemeni society where their ethnicity no longer was an important part of their identity nor directly connected to their actions. This sort of social transformation is described in earlier works of Yemeni history, where a tribe merged or became absorbed into another tribe.[47] Here I do not wish to conflate the ideas of an ethnic group and tribe in the South Arabian context, but rather merely emphasize the concept of social assimilation and absorption to have precedent in this history.[48] Thus, this relatively short window of explicit reports seems to point to an overall story of the emergence, cohesion, and eventual dissolution of the Kurds as a specific ethnic group within Yemeni society as a whole.

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47 For example, in the fourth/tenth century al-Hamdānī states that in the process of the expansion of the Madhḥij tribal confederation into the Yemeni central highlands local tribes entered (*dakhalū fī*) or became Madhḥij (*yata-madhḥajūn*) (Al-Hamdānī, *Al-Iklīl*, ed. al-Akwaʿ, 2:50-51, 123; ibid., *Ṣifat jazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. al-Akwaʿ, 180).

48 Andre Gingrich has discussed a comparison of tribes and ethnic groups in South Arabia, emphasizing the former's tendency toward social distance, while the latter does not necessarily imply it (Gingrich, Envisioning Medieval Communities, 35-39). Nonetheless, there seems to be many similarities and intersections between both of these types of social identification. Unfortunately, in the case of the Kurds in the late medieval period, there is not enough information for a more thorough analysis on this matter. But rather, there are only faint clues, such as the external description by a non-Kurdish historian of the separation of the Kurdish community into two groups using tribal terminology (*banī*), which may be more directly translated as sons or descendants. A similar problem of external descriptions of Kurdish groups as tribes arises when another non-Kurdish seventh/thirteenth-century Yemeni historian, al-ʿArashānī, describes a group in Yemen called Shānkān as »one of the tribes [*qabāʾil*] of the Kurds who belong to the Arabs« (Heiss and Hovden, Political Usage, 69). But in this case there is a clear ideological message in his declaration because he goes even further and ascribes the Kurdish group a northern Arab genealogy (Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān), making them closer but still separate from the southern Arabs of Yemen.

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Making Ends Meet:
Cross-Cultural Perspectives on the End of Times in Medieval Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism

Anna Frauscher, Jelle Wassenaar, Veronika Wieser*

The conference *Making Ends Meet* took place from 24 to 26 September 2015 in Vienna, Austria. It was organized by Vincent Eltschinger, Directeur d'études / École Pratique des Hautes Études (Section des sciences religieuses, Paris) and Veronika Wieser, VISCOM co-ordinator/ researcher, Institute for Medieval Research (Austrian Academy of Sciences) in line with the SFB F 42 VISCOM (›Visions of Community. Comparative Approaches to Ethnicity, Region and Empire in Christianity, Islam and Buddhism, 400-1600 CE‹).[1]

This conference originated from a series of joint activities of VISCOM scholars and associated researchers from the fields of History, Social Anthropology, Tibetology, Indology, Buddhist and Iranian Studies who started to comparatively address the question how eschatological visions affected religious communities and political structures in Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism.[2]

In their introduction, **Vincent Eltschinger** and **Veronika Wieser** outlined the main questions and goals of the conference. The conference aimed to produce a more nuanced understanding of how eschatological thought influenced and factored into the political and religious perception and self-definition of medieval communities and individuals, and of how notions of an imminent end shaped a community's identity, perception of other communities and an individual's perspective towards life and the world. Eltschinger and Wieser stressed that cross-cultural comparison was central in their analytic approach. They had decided not to analyze microsystems of thought or stay within their own disciplines, but rather to broaden the perspective. In the sessions, they were bringing together central eschatological topics such as death, the afterlife, the end of time, musings about the transience of the world or an

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empire, considering them all as integral to visions of the Last Things rather than as separate phenomena. The conference's papers offered overarching perspectives on the different types of eschatology in different religions as well as presentations that focused on single sources, individuals or specific local contexts. They analyzed cultures of eschatology that were formed in between universal, polytheistic, individual, collective, particular, regional conceptions of religion and history, with regard to literary traditions, manuscript transmission, social and cultural practices, rituals, images, bodies and empires.

Eltschinger and Wieser argued that bringing together historians, anthropologists and theologians should help us to reflect on eschatology as a human experience and on the relationship between God(s) and humans. This broadened approach would enable them to work towards a more differentiated view on eschatological notions in general.

The first five papers of the conference were grouped under the term of *Exchanges* and paid special attention to regions where shared traditions between different religious communities or geographical areas would overlap. In her presentation, **Faustina Aerts-Doufikar** (University of Amsterdam) concentrated on the various uses of Gog and Magog in the Christian and Islamic world referring to medieval as well as to modern interpretations. She emphasized that the apocalyptic peoples Gog and Magog, which were first described in the Old Testament (Ez 38-39), played an important role in the eschatological beliefs in Europe, Asia Minor and Africa during the early Middle Ages. She demonstrated that Gog and Magog motives could be found in Christian and in Islamic maps, which highlighted the importance of this motif for medieval societies. According to Aerts-Doufikar, in Christian and Judaic traditions the use and belief in Gog and Magog diminished in the sixth and seventh centuries and was adapted to changed political contexts. In the later literary and geographic traditions, new narratives emerged so that the origin of the apocalyptic peoples could also be found further in the Middle East.

In his paper, **Bernhard Scheid** (Austrian Academy of Sciences) explained the different concepts of death, pollution and afterlife in the two Japanese religions: In Buddhism and Shintō. In Shintō death was seen as a form of severe pollution and its priests were unable to deal with death due to the strong notion of death taboos, whereas in Buddhism, one was expected to take care of the seriously ill and to perform elaborate funeral rites. Therefore, Buddhist priests were seen as specialists who could overcome these taboos and thus influence a person's afterlife. This created an interdependence between Buddhism and Shintō, in which the topic of death was expressed in a complex system of rituals, ceremonies and doctrine. **Martin Treml** (Center for Literary and Cultural Research, Berlin) provided insights on Jacob Taubes, ›Gründungsprofessor‹ for Jewish Studies at the Free University of Berlin in 1962, his conception of eschatology and the differences and overlaps between Christianity and Judaism. In his works, most importantly in his thesis *Occidental Eschatology* (1947), Taubes contributed greatly to the scholarship of apocalyptic thinking and messianic gnosticism. Treml explained how Taubes understood eschatology and its 2000-year-long Jewish-Christian traditions, not only as a mere historical phenomenon but also as defined by the dialectic of secularization and resacralization. Due to the impact of eschatology on the doctrines of the two religions, it should be considered as a ›Lebensform‹. The belief and certainty of liberation from crisis or catastrophe was transformed into an explosive messianism, which is rooted in Judaism, and into a cosmic belief in the End Times characteristic of Catholicism.

In the third century CE, a new religious school of thought emerged in the Middle East, *Manichaeism*. In his paper, **Johannes van Oort** (University of Pretoria) presented a new sketch of Manichaean eschatology, while giving an overview of the life of the prophet Mani and his teachings, and explaining the manuscripts traditions with regard to the discovery of new texts. As Mani was raised in a Jewish-Christian community, his ideas reflected widespread teachings of both religions. Jesus held a central position in Manichaean eschatology and narratives such as the Great War, Antichrist and the Last Judgment also became fundamental to its beliefs. Van Oort explained that the main difference between Manichaeism, Christianity and Judaism could be found in the conception of time and place of the End Times. The basic idea was that the end would be imminent, as the time of God had already started. Mani considered himself the Last Prophet who testified to the beginning of the destruction of the known world. The two sessions on *Exchanges* were concluded with a presentation by **Uta Heil** (University of Vienna) who outlined the main characteristics of Christian apocalyptic literature dealing with either the end of the world or of an individual. Key aspects for a text to be classified as apocalyptic were content/form, cosmology and its historical dimensions. Christian apocalyptic literature referred on the one hand to existing biblical traditions and on the other hand concentrated on the aspect of revelation. Heil stressed that in early Christian communities apocalyptic texts were considered as heretical, wrong and deceitful by Church Fathers who considered Jesus Christ to be the only real, true teacher.

Guy Lobrichon's (University of Avignon) presentation opened the following session on *Cultures of Eschatology*. Lobrichon offered a compelling grand narrative of developments of eschatology in European medieval thought and exegetical traditions from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries. Lobrichon's presentation drew on a wide range of sources, from liturgy, exegesis, hagiography, annals and material culture. He discussed key topics of eschatology such as fear of death, moral improvement, justice, equality on earth, which not only concerned individuals and prophets but also medieval society in general. From the seventh century onwards, ecclesiastical elites began to specialize in apocalyptic literature, becoming ›the best managers of the present and the best guarantors of the future‹ in the Carolingian era. By the twelfth century, however, the focus had changed. The fight between the forces of good and evil was taken over by worldly warriors, while monks prayed for and contemplated the fulfilment of time. **Florian Schwarz** (Austrian Academy of Sciences) then presented an analysis of the role and importance of eschatology and millenarianism in Islamic local, communal, and imperial contexts. He argued that different eschatological models could lead to conflicts between various Muslim communities and stressed the diversity of Islamic millenarian expectations. He concluded with a discussion about the possible existence of globally circulating messianic motives and expectations by showing an intriguing western early modern eschatological illustration, which was adapted by an Arabic author.

The final session on Thursday was dedicated to *Scripture and Authority*. **Michael Sommer** (University of Halle) started with a paper on John of Patmos' Revelation, its use of biblical traditions and motifs. Sommer argued that his text did not primarily reflect a conflict between the seer and Roman imperial politics, but between different Christian communities in Asia Minor. He showed that the book mirrored conflicts and rivalries between early Christian identities and stressed that Revelation should be read less as criticism directed specifically against the Roman Empire but against political structures in general. **Cinzia Grifoni** and **Clemens Gantner** (Austrian Academy of Sciences) followed with a joint paper on the wide reception of Pseudo-Methodius' *Revelations* in the west, from the first Latin translation in the 720s up to the seventeenth century. A large part of the text, which was originally written

in Syriac, was heavily abridged in some medieval Latin translations, but the section predicting a conflict between the ›Romans‹ and the Saracens/Arabs was transmitted wholly in all recensions. The codex St Gallen SB 238 was offered as an interesting new textual witness of the third Latin recension. Due to its display of simplified terms and stereotypes, the *Revelations* remained an important narrative in western apocalyptic thought for over a thousand years. The text was even printed in a summarized form on a 1683 pamphlet reacting to the Ottoman invasion. **Pavlína Rychterová** (Austrian Academy of Sciences) presented a text from a highly influential late Medieval Latin author, the *Vade mecum in tribulatione* (1356) written by John of Rupescissa during his imprisonment in Avignon. After an overview of Rupescissa's tumultuous life, Rychterová explained his role in Franciscan spiritual writings, eschatological prophecy, and political discourse. She argued that his imprisonment in Avignon was the point of departure for all of his successful works and that his personally experienced persecution and the literary constructed one were closely related in his works. She explained that the *Vade mecum in tribulatione* was widely circulated, being translated into seven vernacular languages. These vernacular versions offer important insights on church reforms and developments in the fifteenth century.

The second day was opened with a session on *Afterlives and Other Worlds*. **Zsoka Gelle** (Eötvös Loránd University) introduced the audience to Buddhist eschatology. Although Buddhist scriptures describe the universe and all sentient beings as being subject to a cycle of rebirths without beginning and end, they comprise eschatological elements insofar as these cycles eventually come to an end on cosmic and on historical levels. Gelle specifically focused on the prophecy of the ›General Description of the Hidden Lands‹ by Rigzin Gödem, a famous teacher who lived in the second half of the 14th century. The text describes signs of the Age of Decline such as moral laxness in the monastic community, political instability and an increasing lack of mindfulness. It urges Buddhist practitioners to escape the times of chaos and the final battle, hide in the ›Hidden Lands‹ as places of salvation and start a new era of improved morality. **Eirini Afentoulidou** (Austrian Academy of Sciences) continued with a description of Byzantine Christian beliefs about heaven and afterlife. In many Byzantine texts, the souls of the deceased undertake a journey to heaven, passing different tollhouses while adverse powers, military opponents, demons or toll keepers try to hinder their ascent. At each tollhouse, which is guarded by a demon, the soul and its accompanying angel have to answer questions and pay for unconfessed sins. These narratives about aerial tollhouses in the space between heaven and earth reflect worldly power relations and earthly life. Unlike in apocalyptic literature, God is not present in the accounts of the tollhouses. At the end of the morning session, **Frederick Chen** (Sheng Yan Research Fellow in Chinese Buddhism at the National Chengchi University) returned to the topic of Buddhism, focusing on ancient Chinese beliefs and popular traditions. He argued that the concept of an afterlife journey with obstacles that had to be overcome also existed in early Chinese beliefs. It was integrated and adapted in Buddhism when the religion was introduced in China. Purgatory and repentance liturgies, burial objects and documents show that the afterlife journeys mirrored, quite similarly to the Byzantine tollkeepers, Chinese imperial bureaucracy.

In the next session on *Death and Resurrection* **Jane Baun** (University of Oxford) compared early medieval Byzantine otherworld visions, such as *The Apocalypse of the Theotokos* and *The Apocalypse of Anastasia*, with their late antique predecessors and demonstrated a clear shift in eastern Christian conceptions of the Other World and its workings. Baun argued that this change was conditioned by the lived experience of one of the great imperial bureaucratic systems of the pre-modern world. **Pia Bockius** (Freie Universität Berlin) analyzed the role of

saints' cults and miracles in perceptions of the afterlife in western Europe. She demonstrated how in Gregory of Tours' works the veneration of saints and their relics and the belief in the divine power working through them were closely connected to ideas about life after death. Contrary to the idea of the *corpus incorruptum*, miracles that were worked by the saints through their relics were interpreted both as signs of the power of God and as signs that the saints were already in heaven. For Gregory these two notions confirmed his belief that the body we use on earth was not the same body that was resurrected, and that God could recreate the body if he wanted to. The session was completed by **Roberto Tottoli** (University of Naples), who gave a paper on death, eschatology and the lives of the prophets according to Islam. The stories about the lives of the prophets preceding the advent of Muhammad were quoted in every literary genre of Islamic literature starting from the Qur'ān. Among these conceptions and beliefs, a particular focus is placed on questions of the fear of death, the relations of the prophets to the angel of Death and on the condition of their corpses in their tombs. In Islamic literature prophets were depicted as being afraid of death, yet they were not corrupted by it and accepted it as part of God's will. An interesting point, which was discussed after the presentation, was that Jesus, the Messiah, is seen as a perfect Muslim. Although his role in judgment is the most important one compared to the other prophets, he does not stand above Muhammad.

After the break the first of two sessions on *Empires* kicked off. First **James Palmer** (University of St Andrews) set out to establish a framework for comparing apocalyptic micro-cultures in the western tradition, building critically on methodological tools used in religious studies and history. He addressed a crucial methodological question: to what extent can we refer to a single western apocalyptic tradition? Palmer approached this question presenting three case studies, all situated in early medieval Iberia: the Adoptionist dispute of the late eight century; ninth-century anxieties and debates on the so-called Martyrs of Córdoba; and a prophetic text about Gog. These examples showed that Iberian writers had a wide repertoire of apocalyptic, eschatological, and prophetic models at their disposal, which could be employed according to specific needs. On the one hand, Palmer argued, this situational use of apocalyptic thinking shows that comparative history should look beyond just the millennarian model, while on the other hand historians should be aware that much of this rhetoric was about heresy and conflict, which made it inherently polemic. The topic of eschatology, conflict and violence was explored further by **Philippe Buc** (University of Vienna) who compared the concept and understanding of eschatology in the first two crusades, referring to the Hussite Movement and the Reformation as well. Buc showed how eschatological expectations could on the one hand spur holy war, but also lead to doubts about it. After the failure of the first crusade, in the light of the non-coming of the End these expectations were demoted to a partial fulfilment of later attempts at conquering the pagans or were re-interpreted as deeds of the Antichrist. **Eirik Hovden** (Austrian Academy of Sciences) presented the example of a Yemeni village around 1200 CE, which had been struck by a terrible hailstorm, in order to analyze the ways this incident was interpreted and used. According to the author of the story, who was also the local *imam*'s secretary, this hailstorm was not at all coincidental but a divine punishment for the village's hosting of a heterodox, Muṭarrifiyya religious preacher. This event spurred the author to simplify complicated theological debates and make them accessible for a wider audience. The villagers were to understand that the hailstorm did not only reveal the deception of heterodox ideas, but also that, if they obeyed the *imam*, rain and prosperity would come.

The second *Empires* session was introduced by **Graeme Ward** (Austrian Academy of Sciences), who gave a paper on the reception of Orosius' *Histories against the pagans* in the post-Roman Empire of the Carolingians. Discussing the exegetical work of Paschasius Rad-

bertus and Hrabanus Maurus, he showed how Orosius' text was used to make sense of the Biblical past, the Carolingian present and eschatological future. **Stephen Shoemaker** (University of Oregon) addressed the relations between apocalyptic interpretations and Empire. In his paper he analyzed the apparent ambivalence of the urgent eschatology revealed by the Qur'ān and other early Islamic sources on the one hand, and the determination of Muḥammad and his followers to expand their religious policy and establish an empire on the other. He argued that the political concepts of eschatology circulating in the Byzantine Empire during the sixth and early seventh centuries indicated that these two beliefs went hand in hand. These notions offered an important contemporary precedent for the construction and use of imperial eschatology that seems to have been fueled by the rise of Islam.

The first session on Saturday was entitled *Last Days*. **Kurt Appel** (University of Vienna) revisited the topic of apocalypse on a theoretical level. He argued that apocalyptic narratives could be understood as a hinge between time and its end. He presented a cross-referenced analysis of the Apocalypse of John and Giorgio Agamben's philosophy focusing on the transmission of images and representations. Therein he addressed questions of a traditional, biblical understanding of time, which had shaped western concepts of history for the past centuries, and reinterpreted apocalyptic images and the figure of the zombie against the backdrop of the modern theories of Hegel, Kant and Agamben. **Miriam Czock** (University of Duisburg-Essen) continued with questions about the perception of time and its end in medieval Christianity. She stressed the importance of the expectation and fear of the Last Judgment, which was then perceived to be imminent, as an important but often overlooked factor in Carolingian ideas about the Christian way of life as well as specific approaches to time. Czock argued that Carolingian ecclesiastical reforms were not primarily designed as long-term reactions to problems, but based on the idea of justice, for a just ruler could be sure of a place in heaven. A demand for perfection and completion as preparation for the end of the world was central in these notions. Concluding the morning session, **Ann Christys** (independent scholar) provided an insight into eschatological beliefs in medieval al-Andalus. She concentrated on the work of Abd al-Malik ibn Habīb, who introduced the hadīth to the region. Contrary to the Qur'ān, which mainly contains descriptions of heaven and hell, the literature of the hadīth provides narratives of the Last Days. In his *Description of Paradise*, Ibn Habīb worked with an exegesis of references to Paradise in the Qur'ān. In his *History*, he gave an apocalyptic warning of the fate awaiting the Muslims in Spain, where some of the events of the Last Days were expected to take place. **Domenico Agostini** (The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute) gave the first paper in the following session *Life after the End*. He discussed the two different eschatological models of afterlife, which coexisted in Zoroastrianism: the earlier ›eternal‹ model comprised ideas of an ideal, purified earth and an universal resurrection that would follow the End of Days with the destruction of all evil on earth. The latter model was represented by a temporary, not eternal, hell, paradise, and middle abode. Individuals were assigned to these different stations according to their good and evil deeds during their lives on earth. Agostini explained how the idea of a ›temporary‹ afterlife emerged in Zoroastrian thought and pointed out the possible influence of the apocryphal apocalypses of Peter and Paul. In his paper, **Christian Lange** (Utrecht University) addressed concepts of paradise and hell in Islam, which provided a concrete blueprint for the interpretation of this-worldly realities and the organization of Muslim society. In his examples, Lange highlighted three areas in which the medieval Muslim discourse of paradise and hell manifested itself: topography, architecture, and ritual. He showed for instance that cities were built and

described as ›places of heaven on earth‹ claiming that such divine imagery truly and fully took place on earth. This phenomenon was frequently accompanied by struggles over the political centre of the Muslim world, between cities in Syria and the Arabian Peninsula. In the final paper of this session, **Marc Tiefenauer** (University of Lausanne) described death and death rituals in ancient Indian texts. In the earliest of these texts, death was originally perceived to be a definitive ›end‹. In the sixth and fifth centuries BCE the ideas of reincarnation and karma were introduced into ancient Indian beliefs and later became a new paradigm in Buddhism, Brahmanism, and Jainism. Tiefenauer argued that at a very early point the concept of reincarnation was counterbalanced with devotion, which would play a central role in the religions of the Indian subcontinent until the arrival of Islam. The final session of the conference, *Adaptions*, concluded with three papers on the early medieval West. **Marilyn Dunn** (University of Glasgow) surveyed ideas on afterlife, judgment and on the teachings about soul and body during the period of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. She argued that the complex Christian ideas about the afterlife had to be adapted in order to be made comprehensible and attractive to peoples whose original religions centered on the here-and-now. **Rutger Kramer** (Austrian Academy of Sciences) then discussed eschatological notions in early ninth-century Francia, applying Foucault's concept of the ›paradox of pastoral power‹ to the *Institutio Canonicorum*, the Redon Cartulary (based on the Formulary of Tours) and the writings of Agobard of Lyon. Faced with the interdependence of purity, power, and politics, these authors used eschatological imagery as a way to reflect on and consolidate their authority. Kramer argued that the threat of the imminent end of world could have been used as an encouragement for not just the audience, but also for the authors, to do good deeds and to lead morally correct lives. **Immo Warntjes** (University of Belfast) concluded the conference with his fittingly titled paper ›The Final Countdown‹, discussing various seventh- and eight-century manuscripts, which included countdowns to the end of the sixth millennium. At least fourteen countdowns considered it to coincide with the year AD 799/800. Warntjes traced the transmission of these texts from Ireland, through Burgundy, to Northern Italy. He argued that these countdowns were not primarily computed out of fear of an imminent end but because they were part of the medieval tradition to calculate Easter.

The conference's presentations have shown how in the medieval West as in the East eschatology has been part of the foundation upon which societies were built. Over the course of the Middle Ages, these notions were the subjects of numerous controversies, connecting church authorities, theologians, ascetics, historians, politicians, radical thinkers, reformers or prophets of doom with each other in an eschatological discourse. For medieval societies, eschatological thought did not only comprise doctrinal expressions and disputes but was a matter of balancing political power and social cohesion. Apocalyptic literature certainly contained a revolutionary potential, and the question that occupied the minds of many medieval ecclesiastical authorities was how to integrate this potential into a community's identity while at the same time raising awareness of any potential challenges that it may pose for the community. The papers presented compared with each other not only different visions of the End Times in various cultural and religious areas but also highlighted the social dynamics and discursive strategies behind these ideas.