

WESTERN EUROPEAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE
MUSLIMS BEFORE THE CRUSADES

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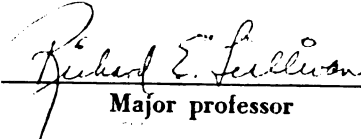
WESTERN EUROPEAN ATTITUDES
TOWARD THE MUSLIMS
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ABSTRACT

WESTERN EUROPEAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE MUSLIMS BEFORE THE CRUSADES

by James C. Waltz

Henri Pirenne's ideas regarding the significance of Muslim expansion into the Western Mediterranean have provoked much thought and writing regarding various aspects and impacts of that expansion. An important but unexplored question relevant to that expansion is: what were the attitudes of Western Europeans toward the Muslims prior to the crusades?

Very pronounced attitudes toward Muslims existed in the Byzantine Empire. Both John of Damascus and Theophanes wrote at some length about Muslims and discredited Muhammad's claim of revelation; John further ridiculed Islamic teachings, viewing Islam as a Christian heresy.

Investigation of documents written in Western Europe from the time of the hijra to the eve of the crusades reveals that Muslims were rarely mentioned in Western European writings, thus suggesting that Western Europeans were indifferent to if not ignorant of them. Furthermore hostility toward Muslims as persons of an alien and anti-Christian religion was practically non-existent. There is no evidence of serious interest in or understanding of Islam.

In the pre-crusade heartland—England and the Seine-Moselle-Rhine basin—the Muslims are rarely mentioned in the written records. In Italy and Spain alliances between Christians and Muslims were frequent,

as were battles. But in those lands, especially in Spain, some Christians sought to explain Muslim successes such as the conquest of Spain or the sack of Rome in 846 by deeming them God's punishment for Christian sins—a viewpoint which sometimes led them to modify history to support their theory. In Spain there were fierce outbursts of hostility against Islam in the mid-ninth century martyr's movement, and also heresies such as Felicianism which may have sought to accommodate Christian belief to Muslim faith.

Further investigation shows that much of what was said regarding Muslims in both East and West stemmed from pre-Islamic views of Arabs circulated in the West by St. Jerome and later applied to Muslims. Byzantine influence on Western thought regarding Muslims was exemplified by the translation of Theophanes' Church History and the Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius from Greek into Latin. Moreover Western views of Islam closely resembled the euhemeristic view of pagan religion held by the early Church Fathers. Thus Western Europe relied upon thought forms from previous ages and other cultures for viewing the Muslims rather than systematically investigating Islam.

More hostile attitudes toward Muslims become evident in Western Europe after 1000, particularly in connection with the Cluniac reform movement and the reforming popes of the late eleventh century. As the popes sought to fill the power vacuum created by the breakdown of secular leadership they encouraged hostility toward Muslims as their foreign policy. That hostility toward Muslims was an important element in the ideological domination the papacy came to exert over Europe.

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By

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ABBREVIATIONS

<u>ES</u>	<u>España sagrada</u> , ed. Enrique Florez <u>et al.</u> , 51 vols. (Madrid, 1747-1879).
<u>Mansi</u>	<u>Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</u> , ed. Joannes Dominicus Mansi, 31 vols. (Florence, 1759-98).
<u>MGH</u>	<u>Monumenta Germaniae historica</u> , ed. Georgius Heinrichus Pertz, Theodor Mommsen, <u>et al.</u> (Berlin, 1826 <u>ff.</u>).
<u>AA.</u>	<u>Auctores antiquissimi</u>
<u>Capit.</u>	<u>Capitularia</u>
<u>Ep.</u>	<u>Epistolae</u>
<u>LL.</u>	<u>Leges</u>
<u>PLAC.</u>	<u>Poetae Latinae aevi carolini</u>
<u>SS.</u>	<u>Scriptores</u>
<u>PG</u>	<u>Patrologiae cursus completus . . . series graeca</u> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857 <u>ff.</u>).
<u>PL</u>	<u>Patrologiae cursus completus . . . series latina</u> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844 <u>ff.</u>).
<u>RHF</u>	<u>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</u> , ed. Martin Bouquet <u>et al.</u> , 24 vols. (Paris, 1738-1904).

CHAPTER I

THE SETTING OF THE PROBLEM

Thanks to Henri Pirenne, the importance of Christian-Muslim relations in medieval history is no longer neglected. Prior to his time scholarly attention was focused largely upon the dramatic aspects of those relations—the crusades. Nineteenth century European nationalism and romanticism led many to turn eagerly to the crusades for evidences of past national glory, Christian power, and high adventure.¹ That concentration upon the crusades was accompanied by a failure to consider other periods of Christian-Muslim relations; the earliest centuries of Christian-Muslim contact were ignored.

Pirenne changed all that by propounding his now familiar thesis that it was the Muslim irruption into the Western Mediterranean that ended the dream of a restored Christian empire based upon Mare Nostrum, cut the ties between the Greek East and the Latin West, and forced the inhabitants of Western Europe to look and move northward and to develop a new, Western, civilization. So, Pirenne averred, ". . . without Mohammed Charlemagne would have been inconceivable."² That

¹See, for example, F. Wilken, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1807-32); J.F. Michaud, Histoire des Croisades, 5 vols. (Paris, 1817-22); H. von Sybel, Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1881); B. Kugler, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge (Berlin, 1881); and the romantic novels of Sir Walter Scott.

²Pirenne, Mohammed and Charlemagne, tr. by Bernard Miall from the tenth French edition (London, 1939), p. 234. That book, left unfinished at Pirenne's death in 1935, is the fullest exposition of his thesis, which first appeared in 1922 in an article in Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire. The thesis also permeates his other writings.

bold thesis provoked numerous responses, some favorable, others critical, but all concerned with the early medieval period and greatly expanding our knowledge of that period.³

Those studies have concentrated upon the economic aspects of the period, since Pirenne himself argued largely from an economic base. From that base he made numerous observations regarding cultural, social, and intellectual life, and those matters have received fuller attention in recent years.⁴ There are, however, other implications of the Pirenne thesis, particularly in the social-psychological sphere, which have yet to be explored. One such implication can be presented as a question: If, as Pirenne claims, Western Europe owes its orientation (or, more precisely, occidentation) to the Muslim irruption, how conscious were the Western Europeans of forming such a new entity? If they were conscious of the change that Pirenne professes to see, they may well have left written evidences of that change. And one might expect, on Pirenne's argument, to find such written evidences in conjunction with comments regarding the Muslims. That line of reasoning leads naturally to the question the present study seeks to answer: What were the attitudes of Western Europeans regarding the Muslims in the early Middle Ages?

✓ ³A valuable introduction to the Pirenne thesis is Alfred F. Havighurst, ed., The Pirenne Thesis: Analysis, Criticism, and Revision (Boston, 1958). A searching critique of the Pirenne thesis and the literature concerning it is William Carroll Bark, Origins of the Medieval World (New York, 1958).

⁴See, for example, Samuel Dill, Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age (London, 1926); Christopher Dawson, The Making of Europe (London, 1946; first published 1932); Max L.W. Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500-900, rev. ed. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1957).

Interest in the attitudes of Western Europeans toward Muslims has been increasing since Pirenne's day. In 1931 Dana Carleton Munro made "The Western Attitude toward Islam during the Period of the Crusades" the topic of his presidential address to the Medieval Academy of America.⁵ Carl Erdmann's noted work, Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens and Palmer Throop's Criticism of the Crusade also touch on the matter of attitudes.⁶ Two books dealing specifically with Western attitudes toward Muslims have appeared very recently. Norman Daniel's masterly study, Islam and the West: the Making of an Image, is a definitive treatment of Western European attitudes from the mid-twelfth to the mid-fourteenth century, while R.W. Southern has surveyed the whole history of those attitudes in his Harvard University lectures published under the title Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages.⁷ All those studies, however, have emphasized attitudes of the crusading era and have touched lightly, if at all, upon the period prior to the crusades. The present study considers those earlier attitudes.

The current interest in Western Christian attitudes toward Muslims is largely stimulated by the similarity of medieval Christian-Muslim confrontation with the East-West rivalry of the mid-twentieth century. In both cases differences which are essentially religious

⁵Published in Speculum, VI (1931), pp. 329-43.

⁶Carl Erdmann, Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens (Stuttgart, 1935); Palmer Throop, Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion (Amsterdam, 1940).

⁷Norman Daniel, Islam and the West: the Making of an Image (Edinburgh, 1960); R.W. Southern, Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, Mass., 1962).

(using the term in a broad sense to include what is often called ideology) separate East and West. That very similarity may lure the historian down either or both of two equally dangerous paths: he may read the problems of the present into the past, or he may seek from the past blueprints for present responses. The writer has been aware of those dangers; how well he has escaped them the reader will judge.

Since the religious posture of Western Europeans strongly affected their attitudes regarding Muslims, the writer's religious posture will doubtless influence the interpretation of those attitudes. The fact that the author is a Protestant Christian, and neither a Muslim nor a Roman Catholic Christian may prevent him from being fully sympathetic with either position, although he has sought to overcome those limitations.

To ascertain the attitudes of Western Europeans, it was necessary to read the writings of Western Europeans who lived between 620 and 1095, note what was said about Muslims, and what attitudes were expressed in those notices. Secondary works were then consulted for information regarding source criticism and historical developments. The resulting synthesis seeks to place the attitudes in their historical context. Use of the plural indicates that there were several distinct attitudes rather than one uniform attitude. Those attitudes tended to differ in different geographical regions, hence the chapters treat discrete geographical regions. Furthermore those attitudes changed over the four and one-half centuries under consideration; the changes are clear enough by the late eleventh century to justify our stopping there. Moreover certain significant events about that

time mark the beginning of a new era of relationships—the capture of Toledo by Spanish Christians (1085) and the coming of the Almoravids into Spain (1086), the conquest of Sicily by the Normans (begun in 1061), the battle of Manzikert (1071), and the papacy of Gregory VII (1073-85) which emphasized papal supremacy and the crusading idea. As noted above, the Western attitudes toward Muslims during the crusading era have been well studied; the present treatment, rather than reproducing those studies, ends where they begin—on the eve of the crusades.

An adequate understanding of Western Christian attitudes presupposes a knowledge of the two faiths as they confronted one another during the period 620-1070. By the end of the sixth century, Christianity had fought many significant battles of the faith, and had arrived at a fairly well-defined body of belief.⁸ It emphasized the triune God—Father, Son, and Spirit—although there was much disagreement regarding the precise formulation of trinitarian doctrine. Various heresies, by challenging the idea that Jesus Christ was both completely God and completely man, threatened trinitarian belief and occasioned several general church councils. Those heresies tended to arise in the wealthier and better-educated East, hence it is not

⁸ On medieval church history, see Kenneth S. Latourette, A History of Christianity (New York, 1953), and the same author's more detailed A History of the Expansion of Christianity, vol. II, The Thousand Years of Uncertainty (New York, 1938), for a Protestant view. From the Roman Catholic standpoint see Louis Brehier et René Aigrain, Gregoire le Grand, les États barbares et la conquête Arabe, 590-757 (Paris, 1947); Emile Amann, L'époque carolingienne (Paris, 1947); Auguste Dumas, L'Eglise au pouvoir des laïques, 887-1057 (Paris, 1948); and Augustin Fliche, La réforme gregorienne et la reconquête chrétienne, 1057-1123 (Paris, 1946). Each has an extensive bibliography.

surprising that Islam was frequently regarded as another in the series of eastern heresies.⁹ And it was in large measure because of heresy that the Muslim conquest of the Middle East was so easy; the attempt of the Eastern Emperor Heraclius to force Monotheletism upon the newly regained eastern provinces made his new subjects deeply dissatisfied with Byzantine rule and caused them to welcome the Muslims as deliverers.

Christians emphasized the sinfulness of man and the need for salvation which God had provided in Jesus Christ and which was mediated through the church by means of the sacraments. The sacramental system emphasized the role of the clergy, who dispensed the sacraments. The position of the clergy was further enhanced by the conclusion of the Donatist controversy, in which the principle of the indelible character of the priesthood was affirmed, by the fact that many governmental as well as spiritual functions were being exercised by bishops and archbishops, and by the increasing prestige of the papacy. Salvation by faith in Christ and participation in the sacraments brought one into the Kingdom of God, a condition in which one lived his earthly life under the rule of God, and hoped for a blissful existence with God after death.

Unfortunately for the Church, the improved position of the clergy often brought spiritual laxity, while laymen were likewise poorly informed about and poor practitioners of the faith. Although Benedictine monasticism sought to correct that situation, it was

⁹ It was so regarded by John of Damascus (see below, chapter II) and by later Western thinkers, as, for example, Oliver the Scholastic of Köln in his Historia Damiatina.

effective primarily with those who entered the monastery; clergy and laity outside the monastery were too often untouched by the Benedictine emphasis. Charlemagne and his successors sought to improve the spiritual quality of church practice but had little success; it remained for the Clunian reform movement to remedy matters.

Unity in the Church was difficult to maintain. From the earliest days a tendency toward theological speculation existed in the Eastern Church, while in the West men turned their attention to the practical matters of organization and administration. Under Justinian (527-65) the Eastern Church became subservient to the state in that relationship termed caesaropapism, while in the West the absence of any effective imperial authority provided the church almost complete freedom to develop as it desired. In the eighth century Eastern and Western Christians clashed over the question of the use of religious images—the iconoclastic controversy which not only split the Eastern Church severely but also widened the breach between East and West. In the ninth century disputes arose regarding the rightful patriarch of Constantinople and the matter of spheres of missionary influence in Eastern Europe. Those differences and others increased until in 1054 the breach became irreparable.

The Western Church was engaged in a serious struggle in the seventh and eighth centuries with the Celtic Christians, whose vigorous monastic and missionary life gave them a widespread influence in Western Europe and whose tendency to disregard papal authority made them appear a threat to the survival of Roman Catholicism.

Benedictine monasticism, however, eventually triumphed over the Celts. Heresies regarding Adoptionism and predestination, ambitious prelates, and manipulative secular rulers complicated the life of the Western Church in the eighth and ninth centuries. During the tenth and early eleventh centuries the papacy reached its nadir, while the Cluniac movement tried with increasing success to restore sound moral practice and spiritual supremacy to the Church. That movement came to fruition in the reforming popes of the late eleventh century, with success in the investiture controversy and papal leadership of the crusades.

Although Christianity emphasized a high moral standard, actual practice, by both clergy and laity, left much to be desired. The great wealth which the church amassed in the period under discussion is traceable in large measure to the desire of individuals fully aware of their wicked lives to make their satisfaction to God in the form of gifts to His Church. Christian perfection was expected of those who entered the monastery; demands on others were not so strict. At its best the church also had a social doctrine, opposing slavery and promoting charity; but the best was not often attained.

Western European Christians, then, were forced to deal with many problems of doctrine and practice, while at the same time they struggled to define the relationships between the spiritual and temporal spheres and to protect their territory from outside invaders. Such was the Christianity Islam encountered.

10

Islam was born in Arabia in the early seventh century. The Arabian nomads, whose blood loyalty led to fierce and frequent vendettas, had had a polydemonistic faith with some vague ideas of a supreme creator. Commercial activity brought Arabs with those beliefs and ideas into contact with followers of other southwest Asian religions—Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Christianity—and made the Arabs familiar with those faiths.

Islam was not, however, merely a combination of elements from those various faiths; it was rather the outcome of the revelations of God (Allah) to the Prophet Muhammad. Born to a cadet branch of the Quraysh, the leading family in Mecca, Muhammad was orphaned at an early age. Forced to take a job outside the family, he became commercial agent for the rich widow Khadijah, whom he subsequently married. Freed from the necessity of struggling for survival, Muhammad had time to meditate. He contemplated the social inequalities, class barriers, and materialism which commercial activity had created in his city of Mecca. In the course of his meditations the angel Gabriel spoke to him urging him to preach to the Meccans the messages he received in his moments of inspiration. That he proceeded to do.

His emphasis upon one, all-powerful, loving God who had implanted moral responsibility in man and would judge man at a final judgment

¹⁰ The best brief survey of Islam in English is H.A.R. Gibb, Mohammedanism: An Historical Survey, 2nd rev. ed. (London, 1961). On the Islamic peoples, see Philip K. Hitti, History of the Arabs from the Earliest Times to the Present, 7th ed. (London, 1960), and Carl Brockelmann, History of the Islamic Peoples, tr. Joel Carmichael and Moshe Perlmann (New York, 1944).

brought harsh persecution from the Meccans, including branches of his own Quraysh tribe. Although he succeeded in winning some converts, they were usually young men of little social standing, and the early death of some of his strong supporters in 619 weakened his position.

Fortunately for Muhammad, news of his activity had reached his mother's home city of Yathrib (later Medina). There three Jewish and two Arab tribes constantly competed for control. The city fathers sought out Muhammad as one who might restore order, and after lengthy negotiations Muhammad agreed to come. His journey from Mecca to Medina, the famous hijra (sometimes hegira) in 622, is celebrated as the birth date of Islam. In Medina he established a theocracy in which the will of God as revealed to and proclaimed by Muhammad was the law. He put economic pressure on Mecca which led to military conflict in which Medina was victorious. By 629 he succeeded in making a truce with the Meccans, soon won them to the new faith, and from that time until his death in 632 concentrated upon converting the various Arabian tribes to Islam.

Islam, the community of the submissive, is a total religion which is authoritative for both public and private life. Hence it became a political as well as a religious entity, the Qur'ān became not only a guide to individual conduct and the sacred scripture of the faith but also the law book for the state, and theologians exercised governmental functions.¹¹

¹¹The Arabic word for theologian is faqīh, a local judicial and administrative official is a qādi; the words are related. See Hitti, p. 326.

The doctrines of Islam are simple. There is one God, Allah, who is a real Being, unique, merciful, transcendent, creator, sustainer, judge, pardoner, and guide. He is the one reality to be feared and adored. This is an unqualified monotheism—"There is no God but Allah"—and therefore is in sharp contrast to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. The uniqueness of Allah, his complete otherness, made it impossible for Islam to bridge the gulf between man and God which Christianity held had been bridged by Jesus Christ. Allah sends angels and prophets as messengers to men; the Old Testament prophets and their books, as well as Jesus Christ, were accepted as divinely sent prophets, but Muhammad had the latest and most complete revelation of God. The divine message was to repent, believe in God, and do good, for the day of judgment is coming when all will be sent either to the Abode of Peace or to the Eternal Fire. That message of divine retribution for sinful living was at the center of Muhammad's preaching. If men followed the way of Allah, they would be saved.

There were five conditions for membership in the Islamic community, all of which were relatively easy to fulfill. First, one must have faith, which was expressed by repetition of the formula "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is the prophet of Allah."

Once one had made that affirmation he was and remained a Muslim;

unrepentant apostasy was punishable by death, a fact which has

always hindered Christian missionary efforts among Muslims. Second,

one must pray five times daily and in addition participate in congregational prayer weekly. Third, one must give a specified portion of

his income as alms for the care of the poor, a provision with

important economic effects. Fourth, one must fast during the month of Ramaḍān each year. Fifth, one must go once a year (for those far from Mecca, once in a lifetime) on pilgrimage to Mecca, to perform the ritual circumambulation of the Ka'aba.

There are also certain specific moral teachings in Islam. Wine and pork are forbidden, gambling, fraud, perjury, and slander are prohibited, and there are definite regulations regarding dowries, inheritances, and marriages. Jihād, the holy duty to spread the faith by whatever means, was also enjoined upon all Muslims.

Clearly Islam did not make excessive or unreasonable demands upon its adherents. Muhammad did not demand perfection or a continuing struggle to attain perfection, but rather asked for obedience to standards of conduct which were more advanced than the general state of morality at his time. His followers frequently used his own conduct and that of his companions as the standard against which to measure themselves—a practice which has sometimes deceived Westerners into calling the religion Mohammedanism.

* Islam clearly differed from Christianity in several important particulars. Theologically it was much simpler as it avoided the complex problems of Christology and Trinitarian theology. Religious practice was not so complex nor so demanding in Islam as in Christianity. There was no official clergy in Islam, in contrast to the highly developed clerical hierarchy in Christianity. Nor did Islam preach ascetic withdrawal as did Christianity. Intelligent and well-informed Muslim polemicists and apologists emphasized the

differences between the two faiths.¹² Thus Christians encountered in Islam a religion very different from their own.

That encounter occurred throughout the Mediterranean area. The tribes of Arabia united under the banner of Islam sought new outlets for the warlike spirit they had formerly vented upon one another, they needed new sources of income to replace that formerly gained by robbery, they were lured by the lush (to a desert-dweller) lands of the Fertile Crescent, and were possibly invited and certainly welcomed by the dissatisfied inhabitants of the provinces recently reconquered by the Eastern Roman Empire. Shortly after Muhammad's death in 632, Arab raiding parties entered Syria. In the ensuing warfare they easily vanquished the Byzantines (636), conquered Iraq in the following year, added Egypt to their possessions in 641, and subdued most of Persia by 650.

The Arab conquest was rendered easy by the granting of liberal peace terms.¹³ Surrender of weapons and the payment of a poll tax was required, but the inhabitants were usually left unmolested in the conduct of their religion and local government. However the

¹²On Islamic polemics and apologies, see Erdmann Fritsch, Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Geschichte der muslimischen Polemik gegen das Christentum in arabischer Sprache (Breslau, 1930), and the works therein cited.

¹³Here, for example, are the terms of surrender offered to Damascus. "In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful. This is what Khālid ibn-al-Walīd would grant to the inhabitants of Damascus if he enters therein: he promises to give them security for their lives, property and churches. Their city wall shall not be demolished, neither shall any Moslem be quartered in their houses. Thereunto we give to them the pact of Allah and the protection of His Prophet, the caliphs, and the believers. So long as they pay the poll tax, nothing but good shall befall them." Cited from al-Balādhuri, Futūḥ al-Buldān, ed. C. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), p. 121, tr. Philip K. Hitti, The Origins of the Islamic State (New York, 1916), p. 187, in Hitti, History of the Arabs, p. 150.

social inferiority inherent in that situation, as well as the effectiveness of Muslim missionaries, brought many conversions to Islam, which was not theologically far removed from the various Monophysite positions which had been popular in the East. Conversions from Islam to Christianity were, of course, extremely rare.

The Arabs moved beyond Egypt to the West, but were locked in mortal combat with the Berbers for nearly half a century before those fierce warriors were finally subdued and North Africa came under Arab rule. Most African Christians fled to European lands; that exodus plus conversions to Islam caused Christianity to disappear in North Africa. From Africa the Arabs moved into Spain, as we shall see later. An administrative center was established at Qayrawān, far from the Byzantine-controlled sea. Expansion also occurred in the East during the last half of the seventh century, with Arab armies pushing to the valleys of the Oxus, Jaxartes, and Indus.

Although conquest of such vast areas had proved easy, effective governing of them proved almost impossible. Despite the unity of a common religion and a common language, the Arabs proved unable to devise effective institutions for governing their empire. The history of the centuries following the conquest is a tale of repeated rebellions, schisms, and chaos. It is unnecessary to trace that decline in extensive detail, but the various states into which the Arab-Muslim empire divided and with which the Christians had to deal must be presented.

Much of the division stemmed from the struggle over the succession to the caliphate, that combination of head of state, supreme judge, leader in public worship, and commander-in-chief.¹⁴ In the years following Muhammad's death the caliphate had fallen to his relatives or close associates, but in 661, following the assassination of 'Ali by Kharijite malcontents, Mu'awiyah, governor of Syria, claimed the caliphate and his descendants maintained it as the Umayyad caliphate for nearly a century.¹⁵ The followers of 'Ali claimed that the Prophet's mantle rightfully belonged to the family of 'Ali; they formed the Shi'ites, who, along with Persian nationalists, various tribal groups, and others who felt non-Arabs were unfairly discriminated against by Umayyad rule, were welded together by the descendants of one al-Abbas into a force which overthrew the Umayyads and established the Abbasid caliphate in 750.¹⁶ The Abbasids moved their capital from Damascus to Baghdad, and remained rulers of a diminishing empire until the Mongol sack of Baghdad in 1258.

One Umayyad scion, 'Abd-ar-Rahmān, escaped the general massacre of his family which the Abbasids perpetrated, and established an

¹⁴Caliph is an anglicized word derived from the Arabic designation khalīfat Rasūl Allāh (successor of the Messenger of Allah).

¹⁵Kharijites (literally seceders [from 'Ali]) were a religious-political sect which emphasized military jihād and theological conservatism.

¹⁶Shi'ites (from Shi'a, literally partisans [of 'Ali]) hold that the only legitimate head of the Islamic community is a descendant of 'Ali, in opposition to the Sunnis (from sunna, meaning tradition or community practice) who hold the naming of a leader from a non-'Alid line legitimate.

Umayyad emirate (later caliphate) in Spain in 756.¹⁷ Into Morocco came a rebellious 'Alid, Idrīs ibn-ʿAbdullāh, who founded the first Shī'ite dynasty in history, the Idrīsids, who existed for almost two centuries (788-974) before succumbing to powerful Umayyad Spain. The appointment of Ibrāhīm ibn-al-Aghlab as governor of Tunisia in 800 led to the establishment of that area as an independent Aghlabite kingdom until 909, when it was overcome by Ismā'īlite propaganda and the Fāṭimid dynasty was established.¹⁸ In 969 the Fāṭimids also conquered Egypt, which had experienced three different ruling houses (Tūlūnids, 868-905; Abbasids, 905-35; Ikhshīdids, 935-69) in the preceding century. The conquered lands in the East likewise separated themselves from the Abbasid rule. So in a scant two centuries the great empire had almost completely disintegrated.

That disintegration seems to have affected the names by which Muslims were known in Western Europe. Those from Spain were often termed Mauri (Moors) while Aghlabids were usually designated Afri or Africanī. However Reinaud notes that medieval Christians confused Berbers, Africans, Carthaginians, Romans and Vandals, calling them Mauri, Afri, Poenī (Carthaginians), and Fusci (Negroes) indiscriminately.¹⁹

¹⁷Emirate comes from the term amīr, meaning governor.

¹⁸Ismā'īlites are named from the person they believe to have been the rightful seventh imām (leader in prayer, a term more non-political than caliph), Ismā'īl, a descendant of 'Alī. The Fāṭimids derive their name from 'Alī's wife, Muhammad's daughter Fāṭimah.

¹⁹Joseph Reinaud, Muslim Colonies in France, Northern Italy, and Switzerland, tr. Haroon Khān Sherwānī (Lahore, 1955), pp. 226-27.

There were other more general names which Europeans used to refer to Muslims, and we will note them here. The most common term is Saracen, which is apparently derived from the Latin Saracenus and the Greek Sarakenos. It was used before the rise of Islam, and referred to the nomads of Arabia Petraea (the northwest portion of Arabia) and the land between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. Others, however, see in it a corruption of the Arabic word sharqiyyun (oriental, easterner). Still others see it as a derivation from the name Sarah, the wife of Abraham.²⁰

More insulting, if less frequent, were the terms Agareni and Ishmaelites. These are derived, respectively, from Abraham's slave wife, Hagar, and the son of that union, Ishmael. Christians saw Isaac, the son of Abraham and Sarah, as the true son of God's promise, while Ishmael, according to God's angel, was "a wild ass of a man, his hand against every man and every man's hand against him . . . ,"²¹ and, as the son of a slave woman, of little value. Muslims, however, make no distinction between the son of a free woman and one born of a slave, so long as the father is free and acknowledges the child. Thus what the Christian deemed an insult was not so to a Muslim. "Further the Muslim writers attribute to Ishmael all that is related in the Bible about Isaac." Reinaud also notes that Christian authors "think that there is something humiliating" about the epithet Agareni.²²

²⁰Ibid., p. 225. See my further remarks on John of Damascus in the following chapter.

²¹Genesis 16.12 (Revised Standard Version). Genesis 16, 17, and 21 deal with Ishmael. See also Daniel, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

²²Reinaud, p. 225.

The spelling of these names and the names of Muslim personages varies widely, indicating an unfamiliarity with the Muslim world.

Another term frequently used of Muslims is paganus, pagan. While some Muslims were doubtless less than scrupulous in religious observance, the term pagan could only be applied to adherents of Islam by those who were ignorant of the facts or who forced the facts into preconceived patterns of thought (one who did not believe in the Christian God might be considered pagan on that account). And as pagan is used of other non-Christians besides Muslims, it is probable that it was a term used to refer to those who were not Christian, regardless of what their religious practice and belief might be.²³

Even the terminology, then, causes us to suspect that Western European Christians were ignorant and uninformed regarding Muslims and their religion. But Eastern Christians were in more intimate contact with Muslims and may have obtained more reliable information regarding them and may also have transmitted that information to the West. We turn, therefore, to an examination of the Byzantine contribution to Western European attitudes toward the Muslims.

²³Ibid., p. 236 ff.

CHAPTER II

BYZANTINE ATTITUDES

The Christians of the Byzantine Empire had the earliest, the longest, and in some ways the most intimate contacts of any Christians with the Muslims. As the East had been the source of most of the important thought of the Christian era, it was natural that the first thinking about the Muslims occurred there. We shall therefore investigate that thinking to ascertain the ideas formed of the Muslims so we may recognize any Eastern influence on Western Christian attitudes toward Islam.

Interaction between the two faiths was usual in those territories which the Muslims had conquered. Many Christian scholars both orthodox and heretical lived in those lands and close daily contact with learned Muslims brought a vigorous exchange of views and stimulated both Christian and Muslim thought. That was particularly true in Damascus, which was the birthplace both of Muslim theology and the foremost theologian of Eastern Orthodox Christianity—John of Damascus.¹

Yanah ibn Mansūr ibn Sergius, more familiarly known as John of Damascus (c.674-c.749) was the first Byzantine to write at length about the Muslims.² Little is known of his life. It seems that his

¹Hans Prutz, Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge (Berlin, 1883), pp. 28-29. All but one of the pre-crusade Muslim polemicists and apologists treated by Fritsch, op. cit., are from the East.

²John's life is sketched in Saint John of Damascus: Writings, tr. Frederic H. Chase Jr., vol. XXXVII of The Fathers of the Church (New York, 1958), introduction. Regarding John's views on Muslims, see Paul Khoury, "Jean Damascène et l'Islam," Proche Orient chrétien, VII (1957), 44-63; VIII (1958), 313-39.

father, Sergius, was a Christian tax-collector in Damascus for the Umayyads, and that John occupied that post after his father's death, serving under 'Abd al-Malik (685-705) and al-Walid (705-15). The latter's harsh policy toward Christians seems to have induced John to enter the monastery of Saint Sabbas near Jerusalem. There he practiced asceticism, studied the early Fathers, and was ordained to the priesthood shortly before 726. In the iconoclastic controversy he was a spokesman for the bishops outside the empire, staunchly opposing iconoclasm and secular interference in ecclesiastical matters and suffering reproach for his supposedly Saracen sentiments.³ When the furor over iconoclasm subsided the value of John's work was more fully appreciated; he has come to occupy the same position in Eastern Orthodoxy that Thomas Aquinas has in Roman Catholicism.

In part two of his Fount of Knowledge, entitled Heresies in Epitome: How They Began and Whence They Drew Their Origin, John includes a chapter on the Ishmaelites.⁴ While most of Heresies is borrowed from other writers, the chapter on the Ishmaelites, chapter 101, is original.

First of all, it is interesting to note that John considers Islam a heresy. From his residence in Damascus and his evident

³Council of the Palace of the Hieria, 753, in Mansi, XIII, 356.

⁴Heresies is accessible in the bilingual (Greek and Latin) edition of PG, XCIV, 677-780, which should be checked for printer's errors with the authoritative Sancti Joannis Damasceni Opera omnia quae extant, ed. Michel Lequien (Paris, 1712), vol. I. The chapter on the Ishmaelites has been translated by J.W. Voorhis, "John of Damascus on the Moslem Heresy," Moslem World, XXIV (1934), 391-98, and by Chase, op. cit., pp. 153-60. Subsequent quotations from the chapter are from Chase.

familiarity with both the Qur'ān and the Hadīth (tradition) John certainly knew Islam well, and yet did not consider it a distinctly different faith from Christianity. Perhaps there is a remnant of his hatred of iconoclasm in that; he certainly knew that the Muslims were quite as opposed to images of the deity as was Leo the Isaurian. But more important in his naming Islam a heresy is his belief that Muhammad derived it from Christian sources; he writes that Muhammad "after having chanced upon the Old and New Testaments and likewise, it seems, having conversed with an Arian monk, derived his own heresy."⁵ Subsequent scholarship has established the probability of Muhammad's knowing of the Christian teachings and of the Old Testament, but does not hold that Muhammad devised Islam by distorting Christianity. Here, however, the facts are not so important as what John believed the facts to be, and he clearly believed that Muhammad had wittingly "devised his own heresy."⁶

Regarding the origin of the Ishmaelites, John says:

They are descended from Ishmael, (who) was born to Abraham of Agar, and for this reason they are called both Agarenes and Ishmaelites. They are also called Saracens, which is derived from Σκάρδα κενή, or destitute of Sara, because of what Agar said to the angel: 'Sara hath sent me away destitute.'⁷

Hence he calls them Saracens or Ishmaelites, but rarely uses the

⁵ Writings, tr. Chase, p. 153.

⁶ For a thorough examination of John's reasoning, see Khoury, VIII, 313-39.

⁷ Writings, tr. Chase, p. 153. The biblical reference is to Genesis 16.8. Sozomen claims they were descended from Agar but called themselves descendants of Sara to hide their servile origin. Ecclesiastical History 6.38, PG, LXVII, 1412.

terms Islam and Muslim. Doubtless the former terms, used for centuries to designate inhabitants of northern Arabia, were more familiar.

✓ John is especially concerned to attack Muhammad's claims to divine revelation, and does so by ridicule, by challenging the lack of prophetic testimony to and performance of miracles by Muhammad, and by utilizing the dialectic approach of Eastern theology. Thus he says of Muhammad that

. . . having insinuated himself into the good graces of the people by a show of seeming piety, he gave out that a certain book had been sent down to him from heaven. He had set down some ridiculous compositions in this book of his and he gave it to them as an object of veneration.⁸

Obviously John denies the divine character of the revelation, the book is "his," Muhammad's, not God's. To contrast even more clearly the validity of Christian with the invalidity of Muslim revelation, he continues in this manner:

But when we ask: 'And who is there to testify that God gave him the book? And which of the prophets foretold that such a prophet would rise up?'— they are at a loss. And we remark that Moses received the Law on Mount Sinai, with God appearing in the sight of all the people in cloud, and fire, and darkness, and storm. And we say that all the Prophets from Moses on down foretold the coming of Christ and how Christ God (and incarnate Son of God) was to come and to be crucified and die and rise again, and how He was to be the judge of the living and dead. Then, when we say: 'How is it that this prophet of yours did not come in the same way, with others bearing witness to him? And how is it that God did not in your presence present this man with the book to which you refer, even as He gave the Law to Moses, with the people looking on and the mountain smoking, so that you, too, might have certainty?'— they answer that God does as He pleases. 'This,' we say, 'We know, but we are asking how the book came down to your prophet.' Then they reply that the book came down to him while he was asleep. Then we jokingly say to them that, as long as he

⁸ Writings, tr. Chase, p. 153.

received the book in his sleep and did not actually sense the operation, then the popular adage applies to him (which runs; You're spinning me dreams.).

When we ask again: 'How is it that when he enjoined us in this book of yours not to do anything or receive anything without witnesses, you did not ask him: 'First do you show us by witnesses that you are a prophet and that you have come from God, and show us just what Scriptures there are that testify about you'—they are ashamed and remain silent. (Then we continue;) 'Although you may not marry a wife without witnesses, or buy, or acquire property; although you neither receive an ass nor possess a beast of burden unwitnessed; and although you do possess both wives and property and asses and so on through witnesses, yet it is only your faith and your scriptures that you hold unsubstantiated by witnesses. For he who handed this down to you has no warranty from any source, nor is there anyone known who testified about him before he came. On the contrary, he received it while he was asleep.'⁹

He also uses ridicule in dealing with a work allegedly Muhammad's, The Camel of God. A large camel who became bloated from drinking too much water became wedged between two mountains where she was killed by those to whom she gave milk.

However, she had an offspring, a little camel, which, he says, when the mother had been done away with, called upon God and God took it to Himself. Then we say to them: 'Where did that camel come from?' And they say that it was from God. Then we say: 'Was there another camel coupled with this one?' And they say: 'No.' 'Then how,' we say, 'was it begotten? For we see that your camel is without father and without mother and without genealogy, and that the one that begot it suffered evil. Neither is it evident who bred her. And also, this little camel was taken up. So why did not your prophet, with whom, according to what you say, God spoke, find out about the camel—where it grazed, and who got milk by milking it? Or did she possibly, like her mother, meet with evil people and get destroyed? Or did she enter into paradise before you, so that you might have the river of milk that you so foolishly talk about? For you say that you have three rivers flowing in paradise—one of water, one of wine, and one of milk. If your forerunner the camel is outside of paradise, it is obvious that she has died of hunger and thirst, or that others have the benefit of her milk—and so your prophet is boasting idly of having conversed with God, because God did not reveal

⁹Ibid., pp. 154-55.

to him the mystery of the camel. But if she is in paradise, she is drinking water still, and you for lack of water will dry up in the midst of the paradise of delight. And if, there being no water, because the camel will have drunk it all up, you thirst for wine from the river of wine that is flowing by, you will become intoxicated from drinking pure wine and collapse under the influence of the strong drink and fall asleep. Then, suffering from a heavy head after sleeping and being sick from the wine, you will miss the pleasures of paradise. How, then, did it not enter into the mind of your prophet that this might happen to you in the paradise of delight? He never had any idea of what the camel is leading to now, yet you did not even ask him, when he held forth to you with his dreams on the subject of the three rivers. We plainly assure you that this wonderful camel of yours has preceded you into the souls of asses, where you, too, like beasts are destined to go. And there there is the exterior darkness and everlasting punishment, roaring fire, sleepless worms, and hellish demons.¹⁰

Such an argument seems designed rather to score debater's points than to deal meaningfully with basic issues. If John ever tried those arguments on actual Muslims, which appears doubtful, he undoubtedly learned that precisely the same arguments could be ✓directed against certain aspects of the Christian revelation. Not only were Christians like John blind to the weak points in the Christian position, they also failed to see deeper differences in the outlooks of the two faiths. With regard to revelation, for example, Daniel has noted that "For the Muslim, a revelation that responded to the circumstances of a particular moment was normal, whereas to the Christian mind such a thing seemed to be its own condemnation."¹¹

John appears to be so obsessed with the wrong-headedness of Muhammad's teaching that he fails to give any clear statements of

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 158-59.

¹¹ Daniel, p. 31.

Islamic belief and practice. He is, however, quite clear about the Muslim concept of Christ. Muhammad taught that God has not begotten, and that

the Christ is the Word of God and His Spirit, but a creature and a servant, and that He was begotten, without seed, of Mary the sister of Moses and Aaron. For, he says, the Word and God and the Spirit entered into Mary and she brought forth Jesus, who was a prophet and servant of God.¹²

That view of Christ caused the Muslims to designate the Christians

✓ Hetaeriasts, a label which John rejected in this fashion:

Moreover, they call us Hetaeriasts, or Associators, because, they say, we introduce an associate with God by declaring Christ to (be) the Son of God and God. We say to them in rejoinder: 'The Prophets and the Scriptures have delivered this to us, and you, as you persistently maintain, accept the Prophets. So, if we wrongly declare Christ to be the Son of God, it is they who taught this and handed it on to us.' But some of them say that it is by misinterpretation that we have represented the Prophets as saying such things, while others say that the Hebrews hated us and deceived us by writing in the name of the Prophets so that we might be lost. And again we say to them: 'As long as you say that Christ is the Word of God and Spirit, why do you accuse us of being Hetaeriasts? For the word, and the spirit, is inseparable from that in which it naturally has existence. Therefore, if the Word of God is in God, then it is obvious that He is God. If, however, He is outside of God, then, according to you, God is without word and without spirit. Consequently, by avoiding the introduction of an associate with God you have mutilated Him. It would be far better for you to say that he has an associate than to mutilate Him, as if you were dealing with a stone or a piece of wood or some other inanimate object. Thus, you speak untruly when you call us Hetaeriasts; we retort by calling you Mutilators of God.'¹³

He is, however, cognizant of the Qur'anic basis of the Muslim argument (Sura 5.116, rr.) which runs, according to John, thus:

And he says this, that when the Christ had ascended into heaven God asked Him: 'O Jesus, didst thou say: "I am the

¹² Writings, tr. Chase, pp. 153-54.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 155-56.

Son of God and God"? And Jesus, he says, answered: 'Be merciful to me, Lord. Thou knowest that I did not say this and that I did not scorn to be thy servant. But sinful men have written that I made this statement, and they have lied about me and have fallen into error.' And God answered and said to Him: 'I know that thou didst not say this word.'

✓ There are many other extraordinary and quite ridiculous things in this book which he boasts was sent down to him from God.¹⁴

✓ Muhammad's view of the crucifixion is mentioned but not refuted.

And he says that the Jews wanted to crucify Him in violation of the law, and that they seized His shadow and crucified this. But the Christ Himself was not crucified, he says, nor did He die for God out of His love for Him took him to Himself into Heaven.¹⁵

The Muslim charge of idolatry is returned upon the Muslims themselves for their use of the Ka'aba. John states:

They furthermore accuse us of being idolaters, because we venerate the cross, which they abominate. And we answer them: ✓ 'How is it, then, that you rub yourselves against a stone in your Ka'ba and kiss and embrace it?' Then some of them say that Abraham had relations with Agar upon it, but others say that he tied the camel to it, when he was going to sacrifice Isaac. And we answer them: 'Since Scripture says that the mountain was wooded and had trees from which Abraham cut wood for the holocaust and laid it upon Isaac, and then he left the asses behind with the two young men, why talk nonsense? For in that place neither is it thick with trees nor is there passage for asses.' And they are embarrassed, but they still assert that the stone is Abraham's. Then we say: 'Let it be Abraham's, as you so foolishly say. Then, just because Abraham had relations with a woman on it or tied a camel to it, you are not ashamed to kiss it, yet you blame us for venerating the cross of Christ by which the power of the demons and the deceit of the Devil was destroyed.' This stone that they talk about is a head of that Aphrodite whom they used to worship and whom they called Khabar. Even to the present day, traces of the carving are visible on it to careful observers.¹⁶

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 154.

¹⁵ Ibid. The relevant Qur'anic passage is Sura 4.156.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 156-57.

John's treatment of Muslim morality places the provisions for polygamy and divorce in an unfavorable light. In Sura 4, Muhammad

. . . plainly makes legal provision for taking four wives and, if it be possible, a thousand concubines--as many as one can maintain, besides the four wives. He also made it legal to put away whichever wife one might wish, and, should one so wish, to take to oneself another in the same way. Mohammed had a friend named Zeid. This man had a beautiful wife with whom Mohammed fell in love. Once, when they were sitting together, Mohammed said: 'Oh, by the way, God has commanded me to take your wife.' The other answered: 'You are an apostle. Do as God has told you and take my wife.' Rather--to tell the story over from the beginning--he said to him: 'God has given me the command that you put away your wife.' And he put her away. Then several days later: 'Now,' he said, 'God has commanded me to take her.' Then, after he had taken her and committed adultery with her, he made this law: 'Let him who will put away his wife. And if, after having put her away, he should return to her, let another marry her. For it is not lawful to take her unless she have been married by another. Furthermore, if a brother puts away his wife, let his brother marry her, should he so wish.'¹⁷

Other provisions of Muslim morality, which would doubtless offend Christian sensibilities, are stated fairly in the concluding paragraph:

He made it a law that they be circumcised and the women, too, and he ordered them not to keep the Sabbath and not to be baptized. And, while he ordered them to eat some of the things forbidden by the Law, he ordered them to abstain from others. He furthermore absolutely forbade the drinking of wine.¹⁸

In addition to the chapter in Heresies, John also prepared a guide for Disputation between a Saracen and a Christian, of which we have two versions, one apparently a later recension of the other.¹⁹ In the first version John begins with a discussion about Christ or

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 157.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 159-60.

¹⁹ PG, XCIV, 1585-96, seems to be the original and PG, XCVI, 1335-48, the revision. An English translation of the version in PG, XCIV, is J.W. Voorhis, "The Discussion of a Christian and a Saracen," Moslem World, XXV (1935), 266-73.

the Word of God (Verbum Dei) of whom the Saracen is supposed to say that on the basis of his Scripture the Word is uncreated to which the Christian rejoins that what is uncreated is God. If he answers created, then the Christian should ask him whether there was no Spirit or Word before God created them, a response which would leave the Saracen speechless and send him fleeing. John then observes: "Such disputations with Saracens are both thoroughly distasteful and useless."²⁰ He next expounds the nature of the Verbum Dei by means of cyriological (literal) rather than tropological (figurative) exegesis since the former gives sounder proof than the latter. The question of the Virgin Birth is dismissed by reference to the Scripture, the question of how the Word of God could have eaten, drunk, slept and been crucified is answered by saying that it was only the flesh which the Word took from Mary which was crucified.²¹ These arguments apparently satisfied John, and therefore he thought they would satisfy Muslims.

The second major issue discussed is that of good and evil: the former caused by God and the latter by free will. John disproves the idea that sexual reproduction is an evil created by God by showing that to be fruitful and multiply is not to sin by fornication and does not make God a cooperator in sin, but is rather God's plan, explained in Scripture, for perpetuating His creation. The Saracen finally agrees that God would not command something He did not will.

²⁰"Disceptantes enim sunt tales apud Saracenos, et omnino abominabiles et abjecti." PG, XIV, 1586-87.

²¹Ibid., 1587.

After John disposes of an objection to Christ because he received baptism from John, the Saracen is so awed he can ask no further questions.²²

The revision changes little—it begins with the question of good and evil, follows with the issues of baptism and incarnation, and concludes with the baptism of Christ and the vanquishing of the Saracen questioner. John's tone is sharper; he speaks of the Saracen's "deceitful lawgivers" and "false books," and terms heretics who affirm with the Saracens that the Word of God was created "despicable and infamous."²³

Although the disputation may have been useful as a theological exercise, it does not seem particularly useful for actual discussions with Muslims. John supplies little information regarding Muslim theology and religious practice, and never stresses the need for the salvation afforded in Jesus Christ and mediated through the church and the sacraments. One must conclude that John used few of the weapons available to him in the arsenal of Christian theology, and failed to gauge accurately the strength of the arguments against Christianity which a real Muslim would use. Nevertheless he exerted great influence upon subsequent Christian attitudes toward Islam, thus Daniel terms him the "real founder of the Christian tradition" of anti-Muslim attitudes.²⁴ The reader, by comparing subsequent

²²Ibid., 1595-96.

²³PG, XCVI, 1338, 1343.

²⁴Daniel, p. 3.

evidence with John's own statements, will be able to decide how true Daniel's statement is.

John's student, Theodore Abucara (father or bishop of Cara in Palestine), followed his master slavishly, even writing tracts against Islam in Arabic.²⁵ In one disputation he depicts a Muslim who, in trying to understand Christ and the Trinity, gives the statement of hypostases and unity which orthodox Christianity used. On the same basis (one God appearing in different hypostases) a Muslim admits there is only one scripture which appears in different books. Lack of signs and previous prophetic testimony are urged against Muhammad's claim to revelation, but the Muslim claims Christians have removed passages referring to Muhammad in the Gospels.²⁶ Theodore expressed his view in this way;

He Christ therefore, first foretold by Moses, demonstrated very convincingly with such great and numerous signs that He had come from God and solemnly proclaimed to his disciples: "The law and the prophets were until John the Baptist. He who has ears to hear, let him hear." Where then is your prophet? The answer is obvious.²⁷

And elsewhere he gives his opinion of Muhammad.

I answer that I hold Muhammad, the false prophet of the Agarenes, to be insane, since he gloried in his own lies. Moreover it is openly acknowledged that, moved by a demon sent to him from God,

²⁵Theodore's comments regarding Muslims are found in several brief and fragmentary disputations, hence no titles of his works are cited but only the relevant columns in PG.

²⁶PG, XC VII, 1583-84, 1527, 1543-47.

²⁷"Hic ergo a Moyse prius declaratus, cum tot tantisque signis sese a Deo venisse commonstrasset, discipulis suis spondit, dicens: "Lex et prophetae usque ad Joannem Baptistam. Qui habet aures audiendi, audiat." Ubi igitur est propheta vester? id obscurum non est." PG, XCIV, 1595-98.

he would shed the blood of those who affirmed the divine majesty in three persons and all those who would not say "God is alone or one solitary person who neither begot nor was begotten nor had any consort." These things moreover are insane theology, that he should deny the son of light and product of sanctification to be God, and that he should kill by the sword Christians who have benefited from that God as if they were lawless men and intriguers, and that he boasted that was God's command to him. But yet, when calmed by the sir, he withdrew, since he bore, like any man afflicted by a demon, harsh reproaches.²⁸

✓ However Theodore introduces some aspects of Muslim thought not found in John. For example, the Saracen in one disputation asks why the Christians recognize Christianity as superseding Judaism but do not recognize Islam as superseding Christianity (even the term Islam, Eslamismum, is used); Theodore answers with the preceding arguments regarding the validity of Muslim claims to revelation.²⁹ In discussing the crucifixion he notes the Muslim belief that those killed in Roman territory (that is, fighting non-Muslims) will go to paradise. Elsewhere he shows why one should have only one wife (the Muslim asks him to argue from common sense, ex communibus notionibus, * rather than Scripture), that the Father is consubstantial with the Son, and, by comparison with the digestive process, how communion bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ.³⁰

²⁸"Cui respondeo, hunc ipsum esse insanum Agarenorum pseudo-prophetam Mahometum, prout in propriis suis mendaciis gloriatur. Professus enim est velut a diabolo actus, se a Deo missum, ut effundat sanguinem eorum, qui affirmant, Numen divinum esse personis trinum; et omnium illorum, qui non dicunt: "Deus est solus seu solitarius unica persona constans, qui neque genuit, neque generatus est; neque consortem ullum habuit." Haec enim est insanientis theologia, ut genitorem luminis, et sanctificationis productorem neget esse Deum, et ut Christianos, qui hoc profitentur, tanquam injuriosos et calumniatores, gladio trucidet, idque sibi a Deo mandatum jactat. Attamen aere demulsa, concessit, ut eum, a quo homo ille a daemone agitatus se missum ferebat, insectarentur." PG, XC VII, 1546.

²⁹PG, XCIV, 1595-98.

³⁰PG, XC VII, 1551-62.

The records of the Eastern Church councils also give some indications of attitudes toward Muslims. In Action XI of the Third Council of Constantinople (680) we read that the emperor

. . . destroyed the prestige of all barbarians and especially the arrogance of the Saracens, who because of our sins had fallen upon us unexpectedly and plundered everything³¹ by cruel and ferocious means and wicked and profane audacity.

The notion that Muslim success was related to Christian sinfulness was to find echoes in the West, as we shall see.

Islam, with its hostility to representations of the deity, was readily linked with iconoclasm. At the Second Nicaean Council John of Anatolia reported that a Jewish magician inspired the caliph Yazid II (720-24) to destroy all images, promising him a long reign if he did so. The caliph followed the magician's advice and destroyed the images in Christian churches. He was imitated by Constantine, the false bishop of Nacolia, who with Bezer, a Syrian Christian who apostasized to Islam and later fled to the Byzantine Empire, greatly influenced the Emperor Leo in his iconoclastic attitude.³² Perhaps Leo sought a religious policy more acceptable to Muslims, Jews, and Monophysites. More probably he considered idolatry and religious quietism dangerous to the empire's spiritual welfare and military strength when Muslims were achieving such great successes.³³

³¹ . . . vigentia barbarorum omnium, maximeque Saracenorum supercilia confringat, qui ex nostris peccatis ex insperato nunc super nos surrexerunt, omniaque diripiunt crudeli ferinoque proposito, & impia profanaque audacia." Mansi, XI, 507.

³² Mansi, XII, 270, XIII, 197 ff. Gerhart B. Ladner, "Origin and Significance of the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy," Medieval Studies, II (1940), 129-32.

³³ Ladner, 133-39.

Whatever Leo's aims may have been, many Christian leaders were convinced a causal connection existed between the Muslims and icono-

clasm. Eastern bishops wrote the Patriarch Tarasius that Christ

"... enlightened the minds of those who sit in darkness and the shadow of death of malign error, that is, the impiety of the Arabs."³⁴

A popular tale depicted a Saracen who, seeking to mutilate an image by gouging out its eye, lost his own by divine action, and elsewhere Muslims are termed wolves among the Christian sheep, godless, and idolaters from whom God delivers the Christians.³⁵

Theophanes, who wrote his Chronographia in the first quarter of the ninth century, also had much to say about the Muslims. He uses the term Saracens to refer to Arabians before Muhammad's time, telling how some were converted to Christianity by a hermit, and of the fierce Saracen retaliation upon those converts. Sometimes the Saracens suffered severe military defeats.³⁶ But when he comes to Muhammad's time, Theophanes vigorously expresses his attitudes. According to him, there were some "misguided Hebrews" who thought Muhammad was the Messiah. Ten of them converted to his religion, but were awakened to their error when they saw him eating camel flesh—something no Messiah would do.³⁷

³⁴Mansi, XII, 1128; XIII, 555.

³⁵Mansi, XIII, 78-79, 605, 402, 741, 198, 456, 110, 616, 619.

³⁶PG, CVIII, 191, 414.

³⁷The camel is unclean for Jews because it chews the cud but does not part the hoof. Leviticus 11.4,8. The English translation of Theophanes' lengthy remarks concerning Muhammad in PG, CVIII, 683-88 is supplied by Gustave E. von Grunebaum, Medieval Islam: A Study in Cultural Orientation, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1953), pp. 44-45.

4 Theophanes seems to be ridiculing the Jews here: from the Christian viewpoint that the Messiah had already come in Jesus Christ it seemed both ridiculous and contemptuous for the Jews even to suppose that there could be another Messiah. Perhaps tying Muslims so closely with the Jews was an attempt to discredit both groups. One naturally wonders where Theophanes got his story. Could it be a garbled version of the invitation of the fathers of Yathrib to come to their city and restore order among the fighting tribes?

That seems likely, as Theophanes proceeds immediately to trace Muhammad's own tribal descent. In doing so, he differs noticeably from John of Damascus. According to Theophanes, Muhammad traced his descent through a most excellent tribe (Is ex praeclarissima tribu duxit originem) which went through Ishmael to Abraham. No mention is made of either Sara or Agar, and no stigma is applied to the descent through Ishmael. The fact that the Ismaelites were tent dwellers in the Midianite desert region is recorded, as is the fact that they engaged in trade by means of camels. However the expected scriptural references to the necessity for Ishmael and his offspring to be wanderers are not made.³⁸

Theophanes also relates the story of Muhammad's working for and marriage to Khadija, doing so in a manner which makes Muhammad appear to be a scheming, money-hungry young man, whose morality is further called into question by the fact that Khadija was related to him.

Since the aforementioned Mohammed was poor and an orphan to boot he decided to attach himself to a wealthy woman, a relative of

³⁸PG, CVIII, 683.

his, Hadija by name, in the capacity of an agent hired to take charge of her camels and to do business for her in Egypt and Palestine. Shortly thereafter having won the woman, who was a widow, by his open ways (liberiores ejus utens consuetudine) he took her for his wife and thus obtained possession of her camels and other property.³⁹

Again, as in John's writings, much stress is placed upon the weakness of Muhammad's claim to be a prophet. While relating the story of the misguided Jews, Theophanes states very clearly that those who accepted Muhammad's religion "forsook that of Moses, who had seen God," obviously implying that Muhammad had not seen God. Theophanes also relates that through mixing with Jews and Christians in Palestine Muhammad "got hold of some scriptures." He also allegedly contracted epilepsy; perhaps the reader was expected to understand that as God's punishment of the infidel for meddling with Holy Writ. The epilepsy provided Muhammad with the occasion for claiming revelation.

When his wife became aware of his condition she was sorely grieved that she, a woman of noble birth, was now tied to one who not only was poor but an epileptic. He undertook to placate her by saying: 'I am having the vision of an angel, Gabriel by name, and as I cannot stand his sight I lose my strength and fall to the ground.' But she had for her lover a monk who lived in these parts having been exiled for miscreancy. She told him all and also the name of the angel. And (this monk) wishing to convince her fully said to her: ~~He~~ has spoken the truth. For it is this angel who is sent out to all the prophets.' Accepting the word of the false abbot she believed him and announced to the other women of the clan that (her husband) was a prophet.⁴⁰

Clearly no credence is to be given Muhammad's claim to divine revelation. The author does not refer to the lack of signs or miracles as

³⁹ Ibid., 686.

⁴⁰ PG, CVIII, 686; von Grunebaum, pp. 44-45.

evidence of Muhammad's falsity, apparently he believes the "facts" themselves are sufficient to discredit Muhammad.

Theophanes concludes his section on Muhammad by briefly noting some of his teachings, carefully choosing those which put his subject in a bad light. Muhammad's emphasis on war is stressed by pointing out that his heresy gained control of Yathrib through war, that he had spent ten years spreading his message by war, and that he taught that he who killed or was killed by an enemy would enter paradise. Paradise itself was deplorably voluptuous.

He described Paradise as a place of carnal (joys), carousing, drinking and embracing of women. There would be a river of wine and honey and milk, and there would be women other than those they now had whose embrace would be long-lasting and of enduring pleasure. And he alleged other fables, immoral and foolish.⁴¹

But Theophanes notes some good in Muhammad's teaching—his followers were to "support one another and help the wronged."

He considers 'Umar's desecration of Jerusalem the abomination of desolation of which Daniel spoke, and elsewhere terms the Muslims adversaries of God, and notes God's aid in defeating them.⁴² And in the story of Peter, the metropolitan of Damascus, Theophanes can fully express his hostility to Islam. Peter, although warned by the authorities to refrain from attacking Islam, began to harangue a crowd of Arabs, saying:

Whoever does not believe in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, consubstantial and existing in unity of nature and trinity of persons, is blind in his mind's eye and destined to eternal punishment. Muhammad, your false prophet and precursor of antichrist, stands out in this way. Now therefore I bear

⁴¹PG, CVIII, 687-88; von Grunebaum, p. 45.

⁴²PG, CVIII, 694, 719.

witness before heaven and earth in the presence of all of you, in the hope of bringing some small measure of faith to you, that I solemnly deny his fabulous and delirious doctrine.

✓ When the listening Arabs remained unmoved, Peter continued:

Let Muhammad and his fabulous doctrine and all who believe in him be accursed. Immediately he was run through with a sword, and gained a martyr's crown.⁴³

Knowledge of the emphases of Theophanes is also valuable for our interest in Western European attitudes since one of the most important figures of ninth century Europe, Anastasius the Vatican librarian, prepared a condensed version of the Chronographia, which he termed Historia Ecclesiastica. Although his wording of the relevant passages in Theophanes is different and terser, the attitudes are not modified in the presentation. Migne has conveniently printed Anastasius' Historia in the same volume with Theophanes' Chronographia, which facilitates comparison.

§ There are some other less significant Byzantine works dealing with the Muslims. Gregory of the Decapolis (c. 817) wrote a sermon regarding a Muslim who became a Christian and a monk after trying to defile a Christian temple by leading camels into it. Subsequently

⁴³ . . . Qui non credit in Patrem, Filium et Spiritum sanctum consubstantialem et vivificam in unitate naturae personarum Trinitatem, is animae oculis occaecatus est, et aeterno supplicio dignus. Muamed falsus vester vates et Antichristi praecursor ejusmodi exstitit. Quamobrem si mihi nunc coelum et terram coram vobis obtestanti aliquatenus fidem adhibetis, fabulosam et deliram ejus doctrinam ejurate. . . ."

"Anathema Muamed et fabulosae ejus doctrinae credentibusque in eum omnibus. Extemplo gladii poenae suppositus, martyr declaratur." Ibid., 839-42.

the convert denounced the Muslim superstition and the false prophet Muhammad, and was martyred.⁴⁴

Bartholomew of Edessa authored an Elenchus or Confutatio Agareni and a Contra Muhammad in the ninth or early tenth century.⁴⁵ In the former, he viciously attacks Muhammad, describing him as

. . . godless, lawless, impious, and submissive to wicked dogmas. He took ten wives and sixteen concubines captive. . . . Moreover Muhammad was formed in sin by human seed, and he himself sinned and procreated children; how then can you say that he was Christ's brother when he was not only a sinner but also the most hostile foe of God as you must recognize and acknowledge; for before he embraced that religious life he was a thief, a robber, lurking by night upon the roads for those who should fall into the ambushes he had prepared and putting them to death violently. Meanwhile on account of his wives, and uncontrolled excess of coitus, he was accustomed to seek herbs which would pander to unbridled venery and libidinousness; even so he never obtained satiation of these depraved desires for which he was infamous throughout his life and the exercise and customary practice of which he held comparable to wealth and gain. . . . Wherefore, then, do you call him a prophet and apostle of God who was so impure, accused of contamination by all, a robber, unjust, a murderer, a rapist? . . . O impudent and shameless ones!⁴⁶

⁴⁴
PG, C, 1201-11.

⁴⁵
PG, CIV, 1383-1448, 1447-58.

⁴⁶
". . . sine Deo, sine lege; impie, et pessimis dogmatibus obnoxium. Quin et ipse duxit decem uxores, et sexdecim concubinas captivas. . . . Insuper Mahumet ex peccato et semine humano formatus est, et ille ipse peccavit et liberis procreandis operam didit; quomodo ergo dicis illum fuisse fratrem Christi; cum non solum fuerit peccator, sed infensissimus Dei hostis ut ipse agnoscis et confiteris; nam antequam vitam religiosam amplecteretur; erat fur, latro, nocturnus viarum insessor qui quamplurimos in insidias quos struxerat delapsos violenta morte peremit. Praeterea propter uxores, et impotentem intemperantem que coitum herbas solebat emere quibus venerem et libidinem effrenem conciliaret; adeo ut nunquam satiatu recederet ab istis pravis desideriis, quibus per totum vitae curriculum fuit obnoxius, usus istis moribus tanquam exercitio quo sibi lucrum et quaestum compareret. . . . Quare ergo prophetam et apostolum Dei vocatis illum qui fuit impurissimus, omni criminum labe contaminatus, latro, injustus, homicida, raptor. . . . O impudens et inverecunde!" Ibid., 1387.

Bartholomew also cites Muhammad's lack of signs and the lack of prophetic testimony concerning him. However in the Qur'ān Bartholomew found both truth and falsehood (vera et falsa dicere). He clearly follows the arguments and attitudes of John of Damascus, and since he reworks the same argument several times he contributes little that is new. He does, however, demonstrate an understanding of Muslim prayer practice, a good knowledge of the Qur'ān, and familiarity with the history of the rise of Islam.⁴⁷ In the Contra Muhammad, he discusses the Agareni-Saracen terminology in accordance with John's approach, points to Muhammad's collection of opinions from Jews, Arians, Nestorians and others, and generally follows John.

Nicetas of Byzantium, who wrote his Confutatio Falsi Libri quem scripsit Mohamedas Arabs at the end of the ninth century, attacks the Qur'ān in bitter language and prolix style, as this passage shows:

But what can surpass the insane stupidity of a man who says that Moses' sister was Christ's mother and that Christians were in the desert with Moses and above all in Solomon's Temple, in the age of Zachariah, the birth of Christ by a Virgin was predicted by the angels? From these narrations he imagined things to have a contrary order: Solomon preceded Moses, indeed Moses, Mary and Zachariah were contemporaries, several years after the building of the temple Moses wandered into the desert. O demoniac! O atheistic drunkard!⁴⁸ O miserable barbarians who believe such lying books divine.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 1390-98, 1406, 1438.

⁴⁸ "Sed quidnam nostrum de hominis dementia stuporem superabit, qui Moysis sororem dicit Christi Matrem? et cum Moyse Christianos in deserto fuisse? insuperque in Salomonis templo, Zachariae aetate, Virgini ab angelis partum Christi praedictum? ita ut ex his narrationibus res contrarium ordinem habere cogitandum sit; Salomonem Moyse antiquiorem; Moysem vero, Mariam, et Zachariam contemporales; et post plurimos a templi aedificatione annos Moysem in deserto erravisse. O daemoniacum! O atheismi crapula ebrium! O infelices barbaros, qui librum mendacia talia continentem divinum credunt." PG, CV, 727.

Various issues such as God as the cause of sin, marriage in paradise, and the diabolical rather than divine origin of the Qur'ān are also considered, but the influence of earlier writers, especially John of Damascus, is quite apparent.

Later Byzantine writers are almost entirely dependent upon the previously considered ones for attitudes regarding Muslims. Georgius Hamartolus' Chronicon (c. 914) and Georgius Cedrenus' Historiarum Compendium (c. 1058) are almost verbatim copies of Theophanes.⁴⁹ The Disceptatio cum Achmed Saraceno of Samonas, bishop of Gaza (c. 1056)⁵⁰ shows the influence of Theodore Abucara.

What influence did these Byzantine writers have upon Western attitudes toward Islam. Daniel, as noted earlier, views John of Damascus as the "real founder of the Christian tradition" of anti-Muslim attitudes. An earlier and highly respected scholar, Hans Prutz, expressed a different view.

The Byzantine theologians saw in Islamic monotheism nothing other than a treacherous enticement for the deliverance of the souls of weak believers to their ruin. They saw in Islam only a work of vile frauds; it appeared to them as a foolish, artfully created piece of fantasy rising out of fanatical infatuation. Nevertheless they had to face the fact that at certain points Islam and Christianity were in agreement. To explain these similarities they hit upon the fiction that Muhammad was a Christian from birth. This feature appears again and again in almost all Muhammad fables, which developed so plenteously in the Middle Ages. However medieval and especially Byzantine theologians did not overlook the relationships which existed between Islam and certain heretical Jewish sects.

We can already find these directions in the oldest Christian report we have regarding the rise of Islam; it comes from the

⁴⁹PG, CX, 863-74, and PG, CXXI, 807-15, respectively.

⁵⁰PG, CXX, 821-32.

Byzantine Theophanes and is excerpted by Anastasius the Vatican librarian in his Church History. . . . Theophanes' report, to which Anastasius' Church History gave a wider circulation, is the source of most medieval Muhammad fables.⁵¹

Since John and Theophanes had somewhat different attitudes toward the Muslims, it is important to learn which influenced Westerners more.

Marbury B. Ogle has illuminated the differences between the two Byzantines in his attempts to trace the literary antecedents of Petrus Comestor.⁵² Ogle discovered two streams of tradition regarding the term Saracen: the geographical-historical, which from the first century A.D. mentioned the Saracens as one of many Arabian tribes who occasionally raided Christian churches and monasteries; and the ecclesiastical, which began with Eusebius, emphasizing Saracen cruelty to and enslavement of Christians. Theophanes is a representative of

⁵¹"Die byzantinischen Theologen wollten in dem Monotheismus der Mohammedaner nichts sehen als ein trügerisches Lockmittel, um die Seelen der wankenden Gläubigen nur um so sicherer dem Verderben zu überliefern: sie sahen in dem Islam nur ein Werk schnöden Betruges und verschrrien ihn als ein unsinniges, künstlich geschaffenes Phantasiestück, entsprungen aus fanatischer Bethörung. Dennoch konnten auch sie nicht in Abrede stellen, dass der Islam in gewissen Punkten mit dem Christenthum übereinstimmte. Dies zu erklären, kam man zu der Fiktion, Mohammed sei von Geburt ein Christ gewesen. Dieser Zug kehrt in fast allen Mohammedfabeln, die im Mittelalter so üppig entwickelt sind, gleichmässig wieder. Aber auch die Beziehungen haben die mittelalterlichen und namentlich gleich die byzantinischen Theologen nicht übersehen, welche zwischen dem Islam und gewissen haretischen Sekten des Judenthums obwalten.

Diese Züge finden sich schon in dem ältesten christlichen Bericht, den wir über die Entstehung des Islam haben: er stammt von dem Byzantiner Theophanes und ist von dem römischen Bibliothekar Anastasius in seiner Kirchengeschichte excerptirt. . . . Auf diesen Bericht des Theophanes, der mit des Anastasius Kirchengeschichte weite Verbreitung fand, gehen die meisten Mohammedfabeln des Mittelalters als auf ihre Quelle zurück." Prutz, Kulturgeschichte, pp. 77-78.

⁵²Marbury B. Ogle, "Petrus Comestor, Methodius and the Saracens," Speculum, XXI (1946), 318-24.

the former tradition, while John of Damascus is an exponent of the latter one.

Hence hostility toward Saracens was the product of pre-Islamic centuries, and was directed against dwellers of a particular locality rather than those of a different religion. Perhaps there is also some of the hostility of the city dweller toward the nomad in these positions. Ogle, however, further notes that Jerome transmitted the ecclesiastical tradition to the West through his Commentaries and his translation of Eusebius' Chronicle.⁵³ Many Western commentaries followed Jerome; the works of John of Damascus, however, were not translated into Latin until the twelfth century.

⁵³Ogle conveniently gathers the relevant passages from Jerome.

On Ezekiel 25.1-7: "Scripture shows that . . . through the Midianites Ismaelites and Agarenes, who are now called Saracens, were assuming to themselves falsely the name of Sara ~~that~~ they might seem actually to be lords and of free birth."

" . . . quod . . . per Madianaeos Ismaelitas et Agarenos, qui nunc Sarraceni appellantur, assumentes sibi falso nomen Sarae quo (quod) scilicet de ingenua et domina videantur esse generati, scriptura significat."

On Isaiah 21.16-17: "Ismaelites ought to know that the book of Genesis teaches that Cedar and the Agarenes, who are wrongly called Saracens, were born of Ishmael."

"Ismaelitas debere intelligi liber Geneseos docet ex Ismaele Cedar et Agarenos qui perverso nomine Saracenos vocantur esse genitos."

Questions on Genesis 16.11-12: "Ismael, interpreted, means God hears . . . ; for rustic in Hebrew one writes PHARA, which is interpreted wild ass. That signifies moreover that his seed shall live in solitude, that is the Saracens who are scattered and have no fixed abode and attack all people who live beside the desert and are attacked by all."

"Ismael interpretatus, exauditio Dei . . . ; pro rustico (Vg.=fero) in Hebraeo scriptum habet PHARA, quod interpretatur onager. Significat autem semen eius habiturum in eremo, id est Saracenos vagos incertisque sedibus qui universas gentes quibus desertum ex latere iungitur incursant et impugnantur ab omnibus."

Ogle's argument about the role of Jerome in transmitting ideas regarding Muslims will appear stronger as we examine the work of Western Christians. The influence of Theophanes upon Anastasius and the ramifications of that will also be noted. It seems clear that these two strains were the significant ones in Byzantine influence upon the pre-crusade attitudes toward Muslims in Western Europe. Pirenne's thesis, of course, tends to preclude such Eastern influence upon the West in that period; if that influence was significant the thesis must be modified. Such matters will be taken up again in the concluding chapter of the present work. Before that, however, it is necessary to examine what the Western Europeans themselves felt and said about the Muslims. To that examination we now turn.

CHAPTER III

ITALY AND SICILY

The Byzantine Empire and the Muslims were in contact in another area which is more properly Western—Italy. Muslim attacks began there in the seventh century; Amari dates the first raid on Sicily in 652 and Gay holds that they raided the mainland as early as 671.¹ During the first half of the eighth century these raids continued; we have records of raids on Sicily in 703, 704, 720, 727, 729, 730, 733, 740, and 752, and on Sardinia in 704, 710, 735, and 752. Both islands were nominally under the control of the Byzantine Empire; however the pressure of the Muslims in the East plus internal struggles (especially the iconoclastic controversy) prevented the Byzantines from sending forces to defend their Western possessions. Despite a dramatic and decisive victory over the Muslim fleets off Cyprus in 747, the Byzantines essentially abandoned Corsica and Sardinia. The Muslim raids were at first part of Mūsa's plan to conquer North Africa; when that was achieved the Muslims likewise ignored Corsica and Sardinia for nearly two centuries.²

Byzantine weakness prompted the strong popes at the end of the eighth century, Adrian I (772-95) and Leo III (795-816), to work toward securing Byzantine Italian lands for the purpose of strengthening

¹Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 3 vols., 2nd ed. (Catania, 1933), I, 194-208. Jules Gay, *L'Italie Méridionale et l'Empire Byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile I^{er} jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867-1071)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1904), I, 15. Though old, these scholarly and skillful works remain standard.

²Archibald R. Lewis, *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean A.D. 500-1100* (Princeton, 1951), pp. 64, 69, 78 n. 122. Amari, I, 310.

the papacy. Though they obtained aid from Charlemagne for that purpose, other secular rulers were to seek those lands for themselves.³ But Sicily was much closer to the Aghlabids than to its other would-be possessors, hence it was they who were able to capitalize upon the troubled conditions in the island. Sicily was a valuable prize both because of its strategic geographical situation and its commercial significance; the commercial clauses in the truces of 805 and 813 between Aghlabids and Byzantine governors of Sicily strongly suggest that trade with Muslim North Africa was channeled through Sicily.⁴

The Muslim opportunity came in 827, when a revolt led by Euphemius, admiral of the Byzantine Sicilian fleet, brought the death of the Byzantine patrician Gregory. In hopes of bolstering his position, Euphemius invited the Aghlabids to establish a kingdom in Sicily, provided they recognized Euphemius' overlordship.⁵ The Muslims accepted, landed at Mazara on the southern shore, and immediately marched against Syracuse. The arrival of a joint Byzantine-Venetian fleet, coupled with a Carolingian attack on Bône, broke Muslim sea strength and saved the city. But the Muslims would not be denied; in 830 they besieged Palermo and captured it in the following year, and within five more years had military and commercial alliances with the Campanian cities, thereby reducing Byzantine strength in the Tyrrhenian Sea.⁶

³ Amari, I, 312-18.

⁴ Lewis, p. 113.

⁵ Amari, I, 367. See also Georg Lokys, Die Kämpfe der Araber mit dem Karolingern bis zum Tode Ludwigs II (Heidelberg, 1906), pp. 10-23.

⁶ Lewis, pp. 132-34; Erchemperti Historia Langobardorum, MGH, SS., III, 245.

Scarcely were they established in Sicily when they were invited into the affairs of mainland Italy. The duchy of Benevento and the duchy of Naples had lived in intermittent conflict for some time; in 836 Andre of Naples invited Sicilian Muslims to his aid against Sicard, Duke of Benevento.⁷ They served to create a diversion on the east coast and obtained the surrender of Brindisi in 838, perhaps with the aid of Cretan Muslims, but were soon ousted.⁸ Three years later, however, they returned, this time at the invitation of one Radelchis, who was struggling with Siconulf, brother of the now dead Sicard, for control of Benevento. Two bands of African and Sicilian Muslims came to Radelchis' aid; one in Calabria and Apulia occupied Taranto while another in Apulia established a base at Bari. They murdered many of the inhabitants of Bari, and enslaved others. Siconulf hired some Cretan Muslims to oppose his rival. Confusion increased as the Muslim bands began to fight with one another, carrying into Italy the old tribal feuds and clan disputes which had plagued their rule in Arabia, Africa, and Spain. They behaved as "condottieri di ventura del Quattrocento," and their masters were forced to rob churches and monasteries to pay them, which certainly did nothing to improve relationships with the Christians of the countryside.⁹

⁷Lewis, p. 135. For more detailed information see Giuseppe Pochettino, I Langobardi nell'Italia meridionale (570-1080), (Napoli, 1930), pp. 208-28.

⁸On the Cretan Muslims see E.W. Brooks, "The Arab Occupation of Crete," English Historical Review, XXVIII (1913), 431-43.

⁹The phrase is Pochettino's. Lewis, p. 135, ff., and Amari, I, 289, ff.

Thus the Muslims entered Italy at the invitation of Christian leaders who made alliances with them against other Christians. These Muslims were clearly opportunistic raiders rather than carefully scheming conquerors. The inhabitants apparently regarded them with the same hostility felt toward other destructive enemies.

The written records show no hatred of the Muslims as religious foes. Chronicon Casinense, for example, relates that the reason Muslims came to dominate Benevento was that Radelchis

. . . called to his aid Muslims from overseas, who besieged Bari for a long time, and quite unexpectedly in the dead of night captured that famous city. . . . The devastation of the Muslims among us was certainly very great.¹⁰

The tone of the passage is quite calm. The more incensed Erchempertus directed his hostility against both inviters and invited.

Meanwhile Sikonulf of Benevento, seriously harassed with numerous battles, summoned Spanish Ismaelites to his aid against the Libyan Agarenes of Radelchis, thus, as it is said, the evil tree is cut down by the bad axe. They, by alternately fighting with one another and with external foes supported their overseas location with captives of our own people of both sexes and all ages.

But when they were thus lacerating themselves with civil war it was the ruin of us all, and I say that from extreme anguish of heart and soul, largely because the degenerate Saracens of Benevento, whose king was Massari, destroyed everything completely,¹¹ reducing aristocrats to nothing and beating slaves with whips.

¹⁰" . . . in auxilium sibi transmarinas invitabit Saracenos, qui diu erga Barin **residentes, intempesta videlicet noctis hora more solito nominatam rapuerunt civitatem; . . . Saracenorum vastatio ut in nos utique sic nimium saeviret.**" MGH, SS., III, 225.

¹¹"Interea Siconolfus Beneventum crebris praeliis graviter affligebat, atque ut dici solet mala arbor, modo malus infigendus est cuneus, contra Agarenos Radelgisi Libicos Hismaelitas accivit, hisque invicem intestino et extero altercantibus bello, ultramarina loca captivis nostrae gentis diversi sexus et aetatis fulciebantur.

Set cum iugiter civili bello invicem inter se lacerarentur, essetque omnium perniciēs et ut ita dicam animae et cordis extrema perditio, maxime quia Saraceni Benevento degentes, quorum rex erat Massari, infra extraque omnia funditus devastavit, ita ut etiam optimates illius pro nichilo ducerent atque ut ineptos servulos taureis duriter flagellarent." Ibid., 247.

Partially as a result of the Muslim successes, trade routes in the eighth and ninth centuries came to center on Constantinople, which was reached no longer by the Rhone and southern France but rather by Italy via the Po Valley. That route change brought continuing decay to the coastal areas of southern France and Liguria.¹²

Meanwhile Muslim sea raids continued. In 813 a combined Spanish and African Muslim fleet defeated a Beneventan one, captured Lampedusa, and plundered Ponza and Ischia. Later other African Muslims harassed the coasts of Calabria from Reggio to Seminara. The defeat of Venice and the establishment of the Muslims in Bari and Taranto opened the Adriatic to Muslim raiders who captured and burned Ancona and Osero on the island of Gheroso in 840, and seized some Venetian merchantmen returning from Sicily. In 842 the Muslims defeated a Venetian squadron in the Gulf of Quarnero. The threat to the west Italian coast seemed so severe that Naples deserted its alliance with the Muslims and leagued with Amalfi, Gaeta, and Sorrento to defeat the Muslims off Point Licosa in 845 and force them to abandon their pirate nests. That forced the Muslims to look further afield for booty, hence in 846 they attacked Civita Vecchia and sacked the basilica of St. Peter and the cathedral of St. Paul at the very gates of Rome. They also descended upon Genoa, where they caused so much suffering that priests and monks took up arms to fight against them.¹³

¹²Lewis, pp. 125-26.

¹³Lewis, p. 135.

The attack on Rome might have galvanized Western Christians into action against the Muslims, but did not. It was noted throughout Western Christendom, almost the only event involving Muslims to be so widely noticed, but strong hostility is not present. Here, for example, is the entry in the Chronicon Casinense:

During these days Saracens landed at Rome, devastated the whole oratory of the most blessed prince of apostles Peter and the church of the blessed Paul, and annihilated many Saxons and a great many others of both sexes and all ages. And also in the month of September they likewise encamped at Gaeta, capturing the city walls and raiding the surrounding area.¹⁴

From persons so close to Rome, the unexcited tone of the notice is especially surprising. Another monk of Cassino, Erchempertus, had a somewhat different viewpoint. Influenced no doubt by the fact that Pope Sergius was a simoniac, he views the Muslims as God's chosen agents for punishment of the sinful pope and church. Certainly such a position is in keeping with the Biblical tradition of the Old Testament accounts of God's punishment of Israel's sins by an enemy. But the emphasis is upon the sinful conditions which prompted the punishment rather than the religious nature of the avengers. Erchempertus also is not alarmed to note that Salerno, Gaeta, Naples, and Amalfi maintained peace with the Muslims, and that a bishop, Athanasius, was instrumental in that arrangement. "But the just judgment of God. . .

¹⁴"His diebus Saraceni egressi Romam, horatorium totum devastaverunt beatissimorum principis apostolorum Petri beatique ecclesiam Pauli multosque ibidem peremerunt Saxones aliosque quamplurimos utriusque sexus et aetatis. Fundensemque capientes urbem, vicinaque depraedantes loca, Septembrio quoque mense secus Gaetam castrametati sunt." MGH, SS., III, 225.

began to afflict Naples gravely." It is not completely clear whether this judgment is caused by the Naples-Muslim alliance, or by Naples opposition to Benevento, or by other factors, although the first is certainly most likely.¹⁵

The pope sought aid from the Campanian cities against the Muslim fleet, and blessed the Christian ships before they gave battle. During the encounter a severe storm wrecked the Muslim fleet and the threat eased. Survivors were hanged or put to forced labor.

But once the direct threat of Moslem penetration of Italy's coast had been checked Naples and the neighboring cities again entered into close relations with their erstwhile Islamic foes, and for the next twenty years or more, relations between them and Palermo were friendly and peaceful.¹⁶

Byzantium was concerned about these developments in what it still considered its sphere of influence, and made overtures in 839 for a defensive alliance with the Franks.¹⁷ In the following year the Byzantine patriarch sought Venetian cooperation in clearing the Calabrian coast of the Taranto Muslims, but in the subsequent encounter the Muslims were victorious.¹⁸ Although the contenders for Benevento had agreed to a division of territory and a renunciation of alliances with the Saracens in 849, they still encouraged Muslim depredations.¹⁹

¹⁵"Sed justo Dei iudicio . . . coepit Neapolim graviter affligere." Erchemperti *Historia Langobardorum*, PL, CXXII, 763-70, 781. See also Louis Duchesne, *Les premiers temps de l'Etat pontifical* (Paris, 1898), p. 140.

¹⁶Lewis, p. 136.

¹⁷Frudentius Trecensis, *Annales*, MGH, SS., I, 432. MGH, Ep., V, 97. *Vita Hludovici Imperatoris*, MGH, SS., II, 636.

¹⁸Iohannis *Chronicon Venetum*, MGH, SS., VII, 17.

¹⁹Gay, I, 75.

Louis II, who after Lothair's death in 855 had undisputed authority, concentrated all his efforts upon Italy. He had already sponsored three fruitless expeditions into Italy in the previous decade in addition to encouraging the Campanian League to some naval victories against the foe. But Louis' failures and Muslim victories at sea against the Byzantines (in 858, 100 of 300 Byzantine ships were lost to the Muslims off Messian) suggest that if the Muslims had not been plagued by internal dissensions they might readily have gained control of all south Italy.²⁰ Louis needed naval power for any success, and lacking the support of the Campanian cities, he turned to the Byzantines. In 865-66 the emperor launched a full-scale assault on the Italian Muslims which eventually resulted, with Byzantine naval aid, in the capture of Bari in 871 and the subsequent ousting of the Muslims from nearly the whole peninsula. The Chronicon Casinense records a Muslim attack on a Benedictine monastery in 866 in which "the most execrable king Seodan drank from the sacred chalice and commanded incense to be made for him with the golden censers"²¹ But other reporters of the events are more matter-of-fact, except for the elaborate account given by Andrew of Bergamo, which suggests religious hostility toward the Muslims.²²

²⁰ Pochettino, p. 228, discusses at length the reasons for internal dissensions among the Muslims.

²¹ ". . . nefandissimus autem Seodan rex in sacris calicibus bibebat, et cum turibulis aureis incensum sibi fieri iubebat" Chronicon Casinense, MGH, SS., III, 229-30.

²² Chronica Sancti Benedicti, MGH, SS., III, 205-06; Ex Historiola Longobardorum Auctore Monacho Cassinensi, RHF, VII, 45; Andreae Bergomatis Chronicon, MGH, SS., III, 236-37.

Here, for example, is part of Andrew's account of warfare near
Bari.

The Saracen people came, destroyed our land, desolated cities, ravaged churches Then the lord emperor, moved by pity, . . . chose strong and most noble men—Otto of Bergamo and the bishops Oschis and Gariardus—and comforted them and said: "Go in the peace of Christ, faithful ones, may the good angel of the Lord go with you, that I may see you and your labors deserve the rewards I place before you. Then at once they went out with their missi, and where they went out they received the sacrament, and gathered to themselves more and more faithful people. And when they came to a certain valley where the Saracens, confident and fearless, were reaping the harvest with the captives they had, the Christians attacked them and killed many Saracens and freed the captives. Upon hearing these things their prince Cincimo left the city of Amantea, bravely preparing to meet them. And the Franks discovered them, and came upon them from all directions, causing a great slaughter of Saracens, and those who sought flight were pursued by Christians who continued killing them all the way to the city gate.

. . .

Cincimo indeed collected a multitude of Muslims from his and their own homeland, and with many expenditures of aid from the sultan proceeded with them to Bari. It was announced to them that the Christians would celebrate a great feast day, Christmas, and they said: "They worship their God on that day, they are unwilling to fight or even to take arms. We shall come upon them and capture them all with great ease." This counsel was made known to the lord emperor. Then it was announced that at the morning cockerow, at daybreak, the bishops and priests would celebrate the solemn mass, and the people would receive communion and benediction, and so they did. And Saracens went out seeking foes, and the Christians went out seeking them, and they came together in that place And when they came together, the Christian faithful prayed, saying: "Lord Jesus Christ, you have said: 'He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood remains in me and I in him.' Therefore if you are with us, who can be against us?" At once battle was joined, and along with the bravely intentioned fighters, a celestial host comforted the Christians; so that the pagans sought to turn and flee. However the Christians pursued them relentlessly and killed a multitude of the pagans In the following February . . . by the merciful help of God the Saracens were thoroughly conquered and an innumerable multitude were exterminated; because those who were not killed by the sword drowned in

the Vulturno River, while the remainder took flight. Thus God's judgment was fulfilled; those who were exalted had been humbled.²³

²³*Gens Sarracinorum venerunt, terra nostra dissipaverunt, civitates desolaverunt, aeclesias suffuderunt Tunc domnus imperator misericordia motus elegit strenuis et nobilissimis viris, Hotone de finibus Bergomensis, Oschis et Gariardus episcopis, et confortavit eos domnus imperator et dixit: It in pace fideles Christi, angelus Domini bonus comitetur vobiscum, ut et ego videam vos et labores quam bovis inpono merear! Tunc simul cum ipsis missis perrexerunt, et unde egerunt firmitatis sacramenta receperunt, et adunantes secum magis ac magis fideles populus. Cumque venerunt in quendam valle, ubi ipsis Sarracini, fidentes absque ullo timore, ammonam metentes, simul cum captivi quas habebant, tunc christiani inruentes super illos, et Sarracini quanti ibi invenerunt occiderunt, et captivi liberaverunt. Ut haec audivit eorum principe, Cincimo nomine, de civitate Amantea obviam eorum exiit, praeparatus viriliter. Et exinde Franci comperti sunt, et iungentes se hii ex una parte et illi ex altera, facta est strages magna Sarracinorum, qui fuga petiens; christiani vere post eos, interficientes usque ad portam civitatis.

. . . .
Cincimo vero de suis et patriae suae adiutorium colligentes multitudo Sarracini, iter pergentes, Bari secum euntes, multa dispendia adiutorium sladani. Erat eorum nunciatum, quod christiani celebrarent magnum diem festum, sicut erat, hoc est nativitas domini nostri Iesu Christi, dicentes: Deum suum colunt die illa; neque pugnaturi neque arma levaturi sunt. Eamus super illos, comprehendamus eos omnes in simplicitate sua! Hoc consilium domno imperatori nunciatum est. Tunc moniti, ut gallotinnio matutinis et summo diluculo episcopis et sacerdotibus missarum sollempnia celebrarent, et populus communionem vel benedictionem acciperent, sicuti et fecerunt. Et exierunt querentes Sarracini, et illis querentes Franci iuncti sunt in loco Cumque prope se coniungerent, fideles Christi oraverunt dicentes: Domine Iesu Christe, tu disisti: "Qui manducat carnem meam et bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet, et ego in eum;" ergo si tu nobiscum, quid contra nos? Statim commissum est praelium. Cumque forti intentione pugnantes, arma celestis confortavit Christianos; pagani vero terga vertentes fugire ceperunt. Christiani autem post eos cedentes, non cessabant, donec multitudo paganorum interficerent Sequenti mense Februario Dei adjuvante misericordia Sarracini devicti et debellati sunt multitudo innumerabiles; quia quod gladius non interemit, in fluvio Vulturno negati sunt, reliqui fuga vis evaderunt. Sic Dei iudicio complacuit; qui vererant exaltati, facti sunt humiliati."
MGH, SS., III, 236-37.

The Calabrian Muslims were in such straits that they had to seek aid from their compatriots in Sicily and Africa. While Louis sought more Byzantine naval aid to finish the task of ousting the Muslims from both the peninsula and Sicily, African Muslims landed at Taranto and moved through south Italy to Salerno, indicating the weakness of the Frankish control.²⁴ But both the Italian dukes and the Byzantines distrusted Louis' Italian ambitions; the former forced him to swear not to return to south Italy, while Basil I, upon Louis' death, took Bari (876). Now Taranto was the only Muslim outpost in Italy, but from it, or from Crete, came a Muslim squadron which in 875 raided Venice and burned the port of Comacchio at the mouth of the Po in what was to be the last Muslim raid in the upper Adriatic. The Muslim raids on the mainland kept their opponents sufficiently occupied so the Muslims could proceed with the conquest of Sicily; in 868 an attack on Syracuse had been repulsed by Byzantine naval aid, but in 878 the city fell to the Muslims. In 870 Malta fell to the Aghlabids, who now had effective control of the Mediterranean narrows.²⁵ So weak was the Frank position that Louis' successor renounced the Frank occupation of South Italy.

That opened the way for the efforts of Pope John VIII (872-82), that "generous and ambitious pontiff of vast idealism, of great activity,

²⁴The authenticity of the letter from which knowledge of Louis' request comes is doubted; see Louis Halphen, *Charlemagne et l'empire carolingien* (Paris, 1947), pp. 411-12, and A. Kleinclausz, *Charlemagne* (Paris, 1934), pp. 441-82.

²⁵Lewis, pp. 137-38.

and tortuous policy."²⁶ The struggles between the papacy and Constantinople, termed by Dvornik "the Photian schism," had weakened Frank-Byzantine relations, but the Holy See expressed great interest in ousting the Muslims, as is shown by Hadrian II's asking the nations reunited with Rome to pray for "our son Louis, that God may make the Saracens submit to him and we may finally have peace."²⁷ John VIII sought to detach the Italian cities from the agreement with the Saracens, but in 875 Amalfi, which had given him a small fleet to lead to victory over the Muslims at Cape Circe, renounced war with Muslims. He had greater success with the bishop of Capua and the prince of Salerno, whom he induced to break with the Muslims. But he could not stop Muslim depredations; in 876 one hundred Muslim ships landed at the mouth of the Tiber. John's letters contain repeated laments regarding the Muslim threat. He was delivered from his virtual captivity by Lambert of Spoleto and sought refuge and aid in France, paying tribute to the Muslims during his absence. Not until a sizable Byzantine flotilla began winning successes in 880 did the situation change. In 881 John persuaded Athanasius II, the duke-bishop of Naples, to break with the Muslims, and excommunicated him when he reneged. But John was assassinated in 882 (not because of his Muslim policy) and as the maritime states, interested in protecting their commerce, would not agree to war against the Muslims, the Byzantine

²⁶ "... generoso e ambizioso Pontefice, di vaste idealità, di grande attività e di tortuosa politica." Pochettino, p. 263. More on John VIII's activity is given in my chapter on the papacy.

²⁷ Cited in Gay, I, 83.

alliance was the only durable result of John's efforts. Even that accomplished little; before John died yet another concentration of Muslims was established on the Garigliano River near Mount Vesuvius.

Nicephorus Phocas reestablished Byzantine authority in south Italy, but the death of the emperor Basil I in 886 marked the beginning of a decline. Muslims defeated the Byzantine garrison at Bari in 887, and when the Duke of Spoleto left to seek the crown the dying Charles would leave the Muslims pounced on the defenseless territories. Muslim dissension and Christian bravery combined to put the Byzantines in control of the Straits of Messina for a short time, but a peace with Constantinople in 895 removed the Byzantines from Italian waters. By 902, despite revolts and fierce fighting, the Muslims had completed the conquest of Sicily. Still unsatisfied, the amir of Kayrawān took personal command of the Muslim forces and invaded Calabria, taking Reggio and advancing as far as Cosenza, striking terror throughout south Italy, but he contracted dysentery and died before the year ended. His grandson took control, accepted tribute, and left Italy.²⁸

As elsewhere, the Muslims treated their new subjects kindly. The jizyah, a poll tax, and the kharāj, a property tax, were levied on the dhimmis; the former was not required of a Muslim. Dhimmis were not to speak irreverently of the Qur'ān, the Prophet, Islam, or Muslim women, were not to proselyte, ring church bells or read the Gospels too loudly, build larger houses than Muslims, or in general act equal to Muslims. Such petty and annoying restrictions stimulated conversions to Islam.²⁹

²⁸ Gay, I, 146-58.

²⁹ Amari, I, 614-21.

By 902 Italy was threatened from both north and south. In 888 some Muslims had landed at Fraxinet in southeast Francia and had extended their sway throughout the lower Alps, where they controlled the passes into Italy and greatly interfered with trade and travel through the mountains.³⁰ Except for their infrequent raids into the Italian valleys, however, they posed a potential rather than an actual threat.³¹ Nevertheless, because of Christian weakness and dissensions they were to stay there nearly a century.

The Garigliano Muslims, however, conducted raids which alarmed the inhabitants of central Italy and caused the compilers of the Historiae Farfenses to consider them the judgment of God upon evil Christians.³² Indeed Muslims, whether from Garigliano or from remnants of former bands, ranged freely in the upper valleys of several Tiber tributaries, causing towns to be abandoned and churches to become ruins. The Byzantines, involved in the Bulgar wars and under weak rulers, offered no aid, so Pope John X sought with the margrave of Spoleto to clear the Tiber of Muslims. Rieti ousted the Muslims from the upper Arno, and victories by Nepi and Sutri forced the Muslims back upon Garigliano. Capture of that well-defended position required a combined land and sea attack. But Naples and Gaeta were wooed from

³⁰ Liudprandi Antapodosis, MGH, SS., III, 275.

³¹ The monks of Novalaise, who had been driven from their monastery by the Muslims, felt otherwise. Chronicon Novaliciense, MGH, SS., VII, 83, 108-22. For more material on Fraxinet see my chapter VI.

³² Historiae Farfenses, MGH, SS., XI, 532-33.

their Muslim alliances, the Byzantines supplied naval support, and in 916 the pope and the margrave led a united Christian force to victory.³³

There were, however, new Muslim attacks by the Fāṭimids; in 918 and 924 they attacked the Reggio area, sacked Orio in 925, and in 928 attacked Taranto. The Muslims were aided by the presence of two new groups in Italy, the Hungarians and the Slavs, and at least with the latter made some short-lived alliances. The Muslims, however, were not seriously interested in reconquest; they were quite willing to accept tribute. The Byzantines encouraged King Hugh of Italy to oust the Muslims from Fraxinet, but when he and they had almost accomplished that in 941 Hugh made peace to turn the Muslims against his rival.³⁴

At mid-century a civil war in Sicily ruined the grain supply and forced Sicily to obtain grain from the mainland, where Greek officials sought to profit from the distress. But peace was restored in 947 and the Sicilians renewed their depredations on the Italian coast. However the coming of the Byzantines led them to seek truces (947, 952, 955-56, 958, the last after a successful Byzantine sea raid on Reggio and Taormina).³⁵ In 960-61 the Byzantines regained Crete, which made possible the renewal of the battle against Sicily under better conditions, but with no better results, indeed a large Byzantine fleet

³³ Benedicti Chronicon, MGH, SS., III, 714. Gay, I, 155-62. Duchesne, pp. 210-12. See also Pietro Fedele, "La battaglia del garigliano dell'anno 915 ed i monumenti che la ricordano," Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXII (1899), 181-211.

³⁴ Liudprandi Antapodosis, MGH, SS., III, 331.

³⁵ Lewis, p. 151; Gay, I, 212-17.

was defeated off Messina in 965 and the Muslims were then unopposed for some time. With the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt relations with Byzantium became stabilized as both had a common enemy in Syria.³⁶

Nevertheless John Zimisces in 971 enjoined Venice not to trade with Muslim ports in such commodities as ship timber, iron and weapons. Peace with Byzantium also meant the Muslims were free to raid the Italian coasts, which they did almost annually.³⁷

Those troubled conditions tempted Otto II to add the south Italian lands to his realm, which he sought to do under the pretense of ousting the Muslims.³⁸ Otto went south in 982 with promises of Venetian aid, but it failed to materialize and his forces met humiliating defeat. Otto himself was nearly killed and barely managed to escape via a Byzantine ship; his chroniclers made the barest possible mention of the disaster. Otto's incursion destroyed the balance between the Italian principalities and the Byzantine themes, thus creating the confusion which the Normans were soon to exploit. Frequent Byzantine leadership changes made consistent policy impossible, while dependence on local militia made defense a myth. The Muslims returned to the attack, invading Calabria in 986 and 987 and extending their raids by 988 to Bari, which they briefly occupied in 1003. They were ousted in the following year by the Venetians.³⁹

³⁶Gay, I, 290-91, 324; Lewis, pp. 162, 199.

³⁷Lewis, p. 192.

³⁸Gay, II, 329-35, notes the pretense, citing Thietmar. The Monk of St. Gall, however, says Otto went south because he was "not content with his father's boundaries," MGH, SS., I, 80; Lewis, p. 193.

³⁹Lewis, pp. 193-94.

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Venice's widespread trade network and Byzantium's growing weakness gave the Italian city a place of leadership. The Mediterranean coast from Rome to the Pyrenees was also reviving, particularly after the ejection of the Fraxinet Muslims in 972. Genoa and Pisa were able to go on the offensive, raiding Reggio in 1005 and attacking Muslims in Sardinia in 1016. In 1034 Pisa attacked Bône itself. The fact that Egyptian and Tunisian Fātimids were so sharply divided that the Byzantines could make a treaty with the former promising non-interference in a Byzantine-Sicily war also highlighted Muslim weakness. George Maniaces led an attack against Sicily in 1039-40, but was shortly thereafter recalled for political reasons and the Byzantine foothold was soon eliminated. In 1050 Genoa and Pisa, at Leo IX's urging, ousted Spanish Muslim pirates from Sardinia and established some authority over Corsica. In 1063 Pisa sacked Palermo and in 1087 the two made an important raid on Mehdiya, landing forces, seizing the harbor and town, and gaining immense booty.⁴⁰

The coming of the Normans strengthened the Christian position. They appeared in 1016 to aid the Lombards either against the Greeks or the Muslims. By 1030 they had established a principality north of Naples. After convincing the papacy of Norman strength, Robert Guiscard in 1059 swore allegiance to the Holy See, terming himself "by the grace of God and St. Peter duke of Apulia and Calabria and, with their help, hereafter of Sicily." Clearly God, St. Peter, and implicitly the Holy See were expected to play an important role in defeating the Muslims.

⁴⁰Lewis, pp. 195-98, 220, 232-33; Gay, I, 417, 435, 451-52.

By 1061 the Normans had begun the conquest of Sicily by taking Messina, and the capture of Palermo in 1072 assured them of eventual success.⁴¹

Although the Normans were tolerant, it is possible to detect in their chronicles fierce hatred of the Muslims, but those works were written after the crusades had begun. In the life of Saint Nil (910-1005) more typical Italian conditions are related. A Muslim shared some food with the young man, and another kindly tried to dissuade him from the rigors of the monastic life. But in later years, Nil urged the Byzantine metropolitan Blanton, who frequently obtained the release of Christian prisoners from the Muslims because his sister had wed the African amir, to "shun that race of vipers."⁴²

XX Nil's strong statement, probably greatly influenced by the writings of earlier Byzantines and the bitter experiences in war-torn Calabria, is quite different from what we have seen so far in Italy. Trade relations, alliances, toleration in times of peace all belie the idea of a strongly hostile feeling based on religious differences. From the written record the same pattern is apparent; the Muslims are generally regarded like any other political opponent. In Italy, then, we must conclude that there was no widespread, deep-seated hostility toward Muslims; at least there is no evidence of it.

⁴¹ Charles H. Haskins, The Normans in European History (Boston and New York, 1915), pp. 198-209; Lewis, pp. 234-36. Guillelmi Apuli, De Rebus Gestis Normannorum in Sicilia, PL, CXLIX, 1057, 1081-82. Amato de Montecassino, Storia de'Normanni, Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, LXXVI, 13, 21-22.

⁴² Gay, I, 270, 281-82.

CHAPTER IV

SPAIN

Western Christians had their most extended contact with Muslims in Spain, where for nearly eight centuries adherents of the two faiths lived in close proximity.¹ Through that contact Western European civilization reaped great benefits in the rediscovery of much Greek philosophy, accretions of technological and scientific knowledge, and stimulation of literary developments. But the Muslim presence in Spain constituted a potential threat to Western Europe as well. And for Spanish Christians, Muslim rule in at least part of the Iberian peninsula was a fact with which they had to cope. Certainly their attitudes will be of interest. But what were those attitudes?

From the outset of their thinking about Islam, Spanish Christians were faced with the hard fact that the Muslims had conquered Christian Spain with relative ease. They devised, as we shall see, explanations for that fact. Actually the conquest was also a surprise to the Muslims. A Muslim raiding party headed by Tāriq landed in Spain in 711 to obtain booty and met the army of the Visigothic king Roderic. Since many Visigoths hated Roderic they refused to fight, hoping the Muslims would eliminate him and then leave. Roderic was easily defeated, but Tāriq, disregarding orders to return, moved inland.²

¹The most trustworthy accounts of the history of Muslim Spain are Reinhart P.A. Dozy, Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne jusqu'à la conquête de l'Andalousie par les Almoravides, 711-1110, 3^e ed. by Evariste Levi-Provençal, 3 vols. (Paris, 1932); and Evariste Levi-Provençal, Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1944).

²Dozy, Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature d'Espagne pendant le Moyen Age, 3^e ed., 2 vols. (Leyden, 1881), I, 58-61, 70-71.

He met little resistance; many inhabitants fled and others, especially Jews, were willing to make terms. Cordova, Malaga, and Toledo, the old Visigothic capital, fell within the year, and within another year the entire country was under Muslim control. Mūsa, Ṭāriq's commander, reprimanded him severely for disobeying orders and took personal command of the operations. He planned to exercise general supervision over Spain from Kayrawān, and therefore named his son as his personal representative in Spain, locating the capital at Seville.³

The conquerors respected the property of the inhabitants and also the established form of their religion but they did take over a few churches, confiscating the goods in them and converting them into mosques. They summoned councils and appointed and deposed bishops, naming Jews and Muslims to the vacancies or selling them to the highest bidder. Moreover they seized vacant lands and possessions left by those who fled, took arms and horses, held hostages, imposed tribute (which was doubled where resistance was strong) and sometimes garrisoned a town (often with Jews "whose hatred of the Christians was a sufficient guarantee of the loyalty towards the conquerors").⁴ Lands won by conquest or taken from the church were parceled out to Arabs, although one-third of that confiscated was kept for the state. Serfs were retained on these farms and Christian husbandmen were left unmolested; the latter even had the right to alienate property, which they could not do under the Visigoths. Christians paid the state a

³Dozy, Histoire, I, 270-75.

⁴Joseph T. Reinaud, Muslim Colonies in France, Northern Italy, and Switzerland, tr. Hārūn Khān Sherwānī (Lahore, 1955), p. 30.

poll tax, jizyah, graduated according to socio-economic status, and landed proprietors also paid kharāj, a tax on crops (about twenty per cent). The poll tax, but not kharāj, was remitted for converts to Islam. In general

The condition of the Christians under the Moslems, compared with what it had been formerly, was therefore not one of great hardship. The unbounded tolerance of the Arabs must also be taken into account. In religious matters they put pressure on no man. On the contrary, unless the Government was an exceptionally devout one—which was seldom the case—it had no particular desire to see the Christians converted to Islamism; this involved too great a loss to the treasury. The Christians were not ungrateful. They were under obligations to their conquerors for the tolerance and justice shown to them; and preferred their rule to that of, for instance, the Franks. Throughout the eighth century insurrections were accordingly very rare; in fact the chroniclers have recorded but one—that of the Christians of Peja, who seem to have been the tools of an ambitious Arab chieftain. Even the priests, during the early years, were not greatly discontented, although they had the best reason to be so.⁵

* If it be thought that the Arabist Dozy is too favorable to the Muslims, here is what Lévi-Provençal says of the post-conquest period:

The attitude of Spanish Islam toward Christians had scarcely changed during the succeeding centuries until the arrival of the Almoravids and the Almohades Persecutions were dictated not so much by the fanaticism of the princes as by concerns of political order. These communities were in effect the most active locale for nationalist movements. . . .⁶ The Umayyads moved then against rebels rather than infidels. *

⁵Dozy, Histoire, I, 277-78, tr. Francis Griffin Stokes from the second edition under the title Spanish Islam (New York, 1913), p. 235.

⁶"L'attitude de l'Islam hispanique vis-à-vis des chrétiens n'allait guère se modifier au cours des siècles suivants, jusqu'à l'arrivée des Almoravides et des Almohades. . . . Persecutions furent moins dictées par le fanatisme des princes que par des préoccupations d'ordre politique. Ces communautés étaient en effet le foyer le plus actif des mouvements de nationalisme. . . . Les Umayyades sévirent alors plus contre des rebelles que contre des infidèles." Évariste Lévi-Provençal, L'Espagne musulmane au X^e siècle (Paris, 1932), pp. 33-34.

Although the Muslim tolerance doubtless made the conqueror's yoke easier to bear, the Christians felt compelled to explain the reasons for the conquest. They could gain some understanding of the Muslims from reading Isidore of Seville's Etymologies.

The Saracens are so called either because they claim to be offspring of Sara, or, so the Gentiles hold, because they are of Syrian origin and thus are Syrians. They live largely in solitude. They are also Ismaelites, as the book of Genesis teaches, descended from Ismael. They are from Ismael's son Cedar. They are Agareni from Agar, who are, so we say, wrongly named Saracens, because they boast that they are the offspring of Sara.⁷

Their descendants would have difficulties in reading Isidore, however, for Arabic soon displaced Latin. As early as 724 the bishop of Seville translated the Bible into Arabic to aid both Christians and Muslims.⁸

The first Latin record of the conquest and subsequent events is a chronicle which continues Isidore of Seville's Chronicon to the mid-eighth century. Three versions of it exist: Continuatio Byzantina Arabica, Continuatio Hispana, and Continuatio Siclarensis.⁹ The first goes only to 741 and says more about Eastern affairs than the other two, which go to 754 and 720 respectively. Siclarense, probably written in Cordova under Muslim oversight, describes Muhammad:

A very great multitude of Saracens gathered together and invaded the provinces of Syria, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. Ruling over them was one Muhammad, born of a most noble tribe of that people,

⁷ PL, LXXXII, 333.

⁸ Juan de Mariana, Historia General de España, VII, 3, cited in Henry S. Gehman, "The Arabic Bible in Spain," Speculum, I (1926), 220.

⁹ The first two versions are given, on facing pages, in MGH, AA., XI, 323-69; the third in ES, VI, 421-32. For information on these and other sources of Spanish medieval history see Rafael Fallester y Castell, Las fuentes narrativas de la historia de España durante la edad media (417-1474) (Palma de Mallorca, 1908), pp. 24-28.

a truly prudent man, and something of a foreseer of future events (by the Devil's own art). . . .

Muhammad reigned ten years and died; they hold him in such great reverence that they assert him to be the prophet and apostle of God in all their sacraments and writings.¹⁰

While the others are not so flattering they also are not hostile.

For example the marriage of a Muslim prince to the widow of the

Gothic king is related, as is the marriage of the daughter of Duke

Eudo of Aquitaine to a Muslim, with no overtones of blame.¹¹ The

advances into Gaul are reported as are good deeds done by Muslims

to Christians. As Dozy notes, the writer, who is probably a churchman, did not express opposition to the Muslims for their religion;

✓ but as a Spaniard disliked seeing his land under foreign domination.

Indeed, he is much more favorably disposed to the Muslims than any

other Spanish writer prior to the fourteenth century.¹²

In unconquered Spain, no one wrote history for nearly two centuries. When, at the end of the ninth century, historical writing revived, the writers sought to answer the question which had troubled many Christians and had led many to embrace Islam: Why, if Christianity is the true faith, were the Christians defeated by the Muslims? The

¹⁰"Adgregata Saracenorum copiosissima multitudo, Syriae, Arabiae, & Mesopotamiae Provincias invaserunt, supra ipsos principatum tenens Mahmet nomine, de tribu illius Gentis nobilissima natus, prudens admodum vir, & aliquantum fururorum provisor gestorum (per arte del Diablo). . . .

Praedictus Princeps Saracenorum Mahmet expletis Regni sui annis X. vitae finem accepit: quem hactenus tanto honore & reverentia colunt, ut Dei Apostolum & Prophetam eum in omnibus Sacramentis suis esse, scriptisque, adfirmant." *ES*, VI, 424. The tendentious parenthetical expression is obviously later.

¹¹Pius E. Gams, *Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien* (Graz, 1874), II, pt. 2, 253, suggests that Christian-Muslim marriage was common.

¹²Dozy, *Histoire*, I, 278.

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Spaniards viewed the events of 711-12 as a judicial trial by battle in which victory proved one's cause right. Clearly the Christians, especially the clergy, could not admit that explanation, but it took them some time to find another. Finally, however, they proclaimed that the defeat was God's just punishment for the sins of the last Visigothic kings and the nobles and priests of that era. To fortify that line of argument the chroniclers had to falsify previous history, by making Roderic's predecessor, the able and good Witiza, seem a monster.¹³ But they could also find powerful scripture passages to support their position, notably the story of Cyrus whom God appointed as his avenger.¹⁴ The Chronicon Albeldense, compiled around 881, and continued by another in 883, reported:

Then the execrable Muhammad preached his worthless law to the foolish people. . . .

At this time an evil brood called out of the Saracen lands occupied Spain and captured the kingdom of the Goths, which they had until that time tenaciously possessed. The Christians wage war with them continually day and night until divine predestination commands their cruel expulsion. Amen. . . . Moreover those who remained, running from the sword of the Saracen host into the Libaminan mountains, were oppressed by the judgment of God, and the Asturian Kingdom earnestly entreated divine providence. . . .

The Saracens perversely think themselves to be from Sara, actually they are Agarenes from Agar and Ismaelites from Ismael. . . .

Spain under the Gothic rule is designated Gog; into which the Ismaelites entered on account of the crimes of the Goths and overthrew them by the sword and made them tributaries as they are at present. That is what the prophet said to Ismael: "Because you have abandoned God I shall abandon you and shall give you into the hand of Gog and he shall requite you after you afflict them for two hundred seventy years; they shall do to you as you do to them." Our hope is in Christ that when the two hundred seventy years since Spain was overrun are completed her enemies will be reduced to nothing and Christ's peace will be restored to the

¹³Dozy, Recherches, I, 15-19; Gams, II, pt. 2, 240 n.

¹⁴Isaiah 45.

Holy Church, because the times for the years are prepared.
 Because omnipotent God protects, the Catholic Church always
 arises better from the repeated bold attacks of enemies. Amen. 15

Here we see the influence of Isidore's views, the insulting of
 Muhammad, the will of God, and the referring of all these items to
 the relevant section of scripture.

Witiza and Roderic were slandered in Sebastian's Chronicon:

He [Witiza] indeed was shameful and morally disgraceful and like
 the horse and mule which are not intelligent, when he defiled
 himself with wives and many concubines, and that no ecclesias-
 tical censure might rise against him, he dissolved councils,
 barred canons, (and perverted the whole order of religion), and
 commanded bishops, priests and deacons to have wives. Such
 wickedness was indeed the cause of Spain's downfall: and because
 kings and priests abandoned God's law the whole Gothic people
 perished by the Saracen sword

Roderic. . . walked in Witiza's sins. . . . They called
 Saracens to their aid. . . . But those who brought destruction
 to the fatherland were killed by the Saracen sword. Yet when

15" Tunc nefandus Mahomat in Africam nequitiam legis stultis
 populis praedicavit. . . .

Istius tempore far malio terrae Sarraceni evocati Spanias occupant,
 regnumque Gothorum capiunt: quod adhuc usque ex parte pertinaciter
 possident: & cum eis Christiani die noctuque bella iniunt, & quotidie
 confligunt, dum predestinatio usque divina dehinc eos expelli crudel-
 iter jubeat. Amen. . . . Tunc etiam qui remanserunt, gladio de ipsa
 hoste Sarracenorum in Libamina monte ruente iudicio Dei opprimuntur:
 & Asturorum Regnum divina providentia exoritur. . . .

Sarraceni perversi se putant esse ex Sarra: Verius Agareni ab
 Agar, & Ismaelitae ab Ismaele. . . .

Terra quidem Gog Spertia designatur sub regimine Gothorum: in qua
 Ismaelitae, propter delicta gentis Gothicae, ingressi sunt, & eos
 gladio conciderunt, atque tributarios sibi fecerunt, sicuti praesenti
 tempore patet. Quod vero idem Propheta ad Ismaelem iterum dicit:
 Quia dereliquisti Dominum, & ego derelinquam te, & tradam in manu Gog,
 & reddet vicem tibi postquam afflixeris eos, CCLXX. tempora facient
 tibi, sicut fecisti ei. Spes nostra Christus est, quod completis
 proximiori tempore CCLXX. annis de quo Spaniam ingressi sunt, inimici
 ad nihilum redigantur, & pax Christi Ecclesiae Sanctae reddatur: quia
 tempora pro annis ponuntur. Quod praestet Deus omnipotens, ut inimic-
 orum crebro deficiente audacia, in melius semper crescat Catholicorum
 Ecclesia. Amen." ES, XIII, 448, 451-52, 463-65. The prophet is
 Ezekiel, chapters 38 and 39.

Roderic learned of their attack he went with the whole Gothic host to meet them in battle. But as Scripture says: "He runs in vain, whom iniquity precedes;" the priests either oppressed by the multitude of their sins or detected in the fraud of Witiza's sons, were driven in flight with the whole Goth host and died by the sword.¹⁶

And King Ramiro of Leon lamented in 844 that certain Christian princes:

. . . not disturbed by the Saracen infestation, arranged with them the execrable payments of returning to them yearly one hundred of the most excellently beautiful girls, fifty from the more noble Spaniards and fifty from the commoners. Oh how sad! and an example not to be followed! that for making of temporal and transitory peace Christianity is made captive to enlarge the luxury of the Saracens.¹⁷

In the same place Ramiro relates a vision of St. James promising to aid the Christians against the Muslims with a host of angels and guaranteeing that if they invoke God's name and his they would certainly triumph. After proper preparation, including confession

¹⁶ "Iste quidem probrosus, & moribus flagitiosus fuit, & sicut equus & mulus, quibus non est intellectus, cum uxoribus & concubinis plurimis se inquinavit: & ne adversus eum censura ecclesiastica consurgeret, Concilia dissolvit, Canones observavit, (omnemque Religionis ordinem depravavit) Episcopis, Presbyteris, & Diaconibus, uxores habere praecepit. Istud quidem scelus Hispaniae causa pereundi fuit: & quia Reges, & Sacerdotes legem Domini dereliquerunt; omnia agmina Gothorum Sarracenorum gladio perierunt. . . .

Rudericus. . . Iste nempe in peccatis Witizani ambulavit. . . . Sarracenos in auxilium petunt. . . . Sed ipsi qui Patriae excidium intulerunt, simul cum gente Sarracenorum gladio perierunt. Itaque cum Rudericus ingressum eorum cognovisset, cum omni agmine Gothorum eis praeliaturus occurrit. Sed dicente Scriptura: In vanum currit, quem iniquitas praecedat; Sacerdotum, vel suorum peccatorum ruole oppressi, vel filiorum Witizani fraude detecti, cum omnia agmina Gothorum in fugam sunt versi, & gladio deleti." ES, XIII, 480-81.

¹⁷ ". . . ne Sarracenorum infestationibus inquietarentur, constituerunt eis nefandos redditus de se annuatim persolvendos, centum videlicet puellas excellentissimae pulchritudinis, quinquaginta de nobilioribus Hispaniae, quinquaginta vero de plebe. Proh dolor! & exemplum posteris non observandum! pro pactione pacis temporalis, & transitoriae tradebatur captiva Christianitas luxuriae Sarracenorum explendae." Privilegium . . . a Rege Ranimiro I Ecclesiae S. Jacobi concessum, ES, XIX, 330.



and communion, Ramiro led his forces forth and, receiving the promised help, defeated the Muslims. Thus, after making the concessions to the church, he concludes by affirming "we shall obtain victory over the Saracens through God's mercy."¹⁸

In the ninth century, also, a most exceptional movement occurred among Christians in Muslim Spain. Although Christians had complete liberty of conscience, there were certain restrictions placed upon practice. If one parent was a Muslim the child was to be reared a Muslim. One who abjured Islam, or insulted the Prophet or the Muslim faith was liable to death if he continued to reject Islam. Such provisions, as well as the petty discriminatory regulations and the false information about Islam disseminated by Christian leaders irritated certain Christians. And since they could not oppose Islam with weapons, they sought to do so by becoming martyrs.

The martyr-seekers arose in Cordova under the leadership of Eulogius, a priest, and Alvarus, a layman. Both studied under the eloquent abbot Spera-in-Deo, who wrote a refutation of Islam (now lost) and instilled a lifelong hatred of that faith in his students. Their aspirations to martyrdom were stimulated by Perfectus, a Cordovan priest, who had termed Muhammad a "false prophet" and "the servant of Satan," and had consequently been executed on April 18, 850 (the termination of the Muslim fast month of Ramadān).

Perfectus' martyrdom led the Muslims to become more industrious in denouncing Christians who violated Islamic restrictions, while it induced the zealous Christians to seek martyrdom by reviling Muhammad,

¹⁸" . . . triumphum de Sarracenis per Dei misericordiam obtinuimus" Ibid., 335.

and eleven martyrdoms ensued in less than two months. Other Christians, fearful of the consequences, told the zealots it was better to remain at peace with the Muslims, to do good to enemies, that slanderers (even of Muhammad) would not enter the Kingdom of God, and that the martyrs were merely suicides. "Such were the arguments used not only by laymen but by the majority of the priests."¹⁹ Eulogius wrote his Memorialis Sanctorum to counter that argument by emphasizing the validity and spiritual value of the martyrs' approach.

To combat the movement, the Muslim government called an ecclesiastical council which forbade Christians from aspiring henceforth to martyrdom and led to the imprisonment of the leaders of the martyrs' movement, and the end of the disturbance.

Among the zealots "there flowed an undercurrent of deep suspicion of the nature of the Islamic religion, based on wilful misunderstanding. . . ."²⁰ They had strong leadership, and much of their writing has been preserved. In that writing they vigorously attacked the accommodators; hear Alvarus:

But there are some unworthy to be fervent, frigid in their love for the faith, terrified with an earthly fear of a swordstroke, who with no subdued voice but with raucous throat, with distended mouth, and with a contorted tongue disparage and revile with unbecoming insults the martyr movement of our time; and are willing as far as in them lies, to give the palm of victory to the devil.²¹

¹⁹ Dozy, Histoire, I, 337, following Eulogius, Memorialis Sanctorum, PL, CXV, 245. For fuller information, see Dozy, Histoire, I, 317-46.

²⁰ Allen Cabaniss, "Paulus Albarus of Muslim Cordova," Church History, XXII (1953), 100.

²¹ Indiculus luminosus, PL, CXXI, 516, tr. Carleton M. Sage, Paul Albar of Cordoba: Studies on His Life and Writings (Washington, 1943), p. 29, n. 2. See also Samsonis Abbatis Cordubensis, Apologeticus, ES, XI, 380-81.

They also, of course, attacked the Muslims. Alvarus entitled his work Indiculus luminosus, and Sage affirms:

The enigmatic title means that the author intends his book to be a bright light showing that Mahomet was a precursor of Antichrist, and that it is the duty of Christians to oppose him by every means.²²

Alvarus scored the sexual irregularities of the Muslims, and bemoaned the attraction that Arabic had for many (although his knowledge of the language influenced his style). Although he despaired of winning the Muslims to Christianity, he saw martyrdom as a proclamation of the Gospel to the Muslims who, he believed, had not yet heard it. He sought to prove that Muhammad fulfilled the Old Testament prophecies of Antichrist, further arguing that those Mozarabs who compromised with Islam bore the mark of the beast.²³

Eulogius, archbishop of Toledo, criticized Muhammad's sect and the physical nature of the Muslim paradise.²⁴ Elsewhere he calls Muhammad an "execrable and wicked prophet," (nefandum et scelerosum . . . vatem) and continued:

This man, whom you serve with great veneration and whose deceptive sect, elicited by the instigation of demons, you hold up to such great honor, we know to be a magician, an adulterer, and a liar, and his believers we confess sold into the snares of eternal perdition.²⁵

²² Sage, p. 28.

²³ PL, CXXI, 524-25, 537-40. See also his Transgressori Directa, PL, CXXI, 564-65. For the mark of the beast, see Revelation 13-14.

²⁴ Eulogius, Memorialis Sanctorum, PL, CXV, 737.

²⁵ "Virum hunc, quem vos summa veneratione excolitis, et cujus sectam praestigiosam, instinctu daemoniorum elicita tanto honore suscipitis, magum, adulterum, et mendacem esse cognovimus, ejusque credulos aeternae perditionis laqueis mancipandos confitemur." Epistola ad Willesindum Episcopum Pampilonensem, PL, CXV, 849-50.

Both Eulogius and Alvarus had very erroneous knowledge of Islam. Even though Alvarus lived in the Spanish Muslim capital of Cordoba, he could report to a friend that Muhammad

. . . promised he would be resurrected on the third day after his death, but his custodians neglected him and he was found and devoured by dogs. . . . He was buried in hell. . . .²⁶

And of Eulogius, Dozy relates that:

It was not to Arab writers that Eulogius, one of the most learned priests of the day, turned for information respecting the life of Mohammed. On the contrary, though doubtless sufficiently familiar with Arabic to read easily historical works in that language, he relied upon a Latin manuscript which chance had thrown his way in a monastery in Pamplona. . . . Those of their fellow Christians who were better informed in vain assured them that Mohammed had preached a pure morality; it was lost labour, for the ecclesiastics persisted in ranking Islamism with Roman paganism, and regarding it as a devil-begotten idolatry.²⁷

It must be remembered that the zealots were, much to their dismay, a minority. Many others, of course, converted to Islam. Between these extremes were many Christians who tried in various ways to accommodate to the rival faith, sometimes going so far as to embrace forms of anti-Trinitarianism, such as Adoptionism, Priscillianism, and Anthropomorphism. The case of Felix of Urgel, the most publicized of these heretics, will be treated in the chapter on the Franks. It might be useful, however, to note Cabaniss' penetrating observation here:

Significantly enough, these so-called heresies, attempts in the main to adjust the Christian doctrine of God with the severe monotheism of the Muslims, were broached by the hierarchy and thence filtered down to the faithful. . . . Since the prelates

²⁶ ". . . Morte vero interveniente cum se die tertia resurrecturum polliceretur, custodientium negligentia a canibus repertus est devoratus. . . . Sepultus est in infernum. . . ." Epistola Joannis Spalensis Alvaro Directa, PL, CXXI, 460.

²⁷ Dozy, Histoire, I, 319-20, tr. Stokes, pp. 269-71. See also Cabaniss, 109, n. 12.

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of Spain were usually approved by the conquerors and were wholly subservient to them, such a condition may be considered natural and normal.²⁸

Cabaniss cites, of course, no evidence for his statement that the "so-called heresies" were attempts to adjust Christianity to Islam, but it is certainly a likely supposition. One might also argue that the ultra-monotheistic heresies of the East had come to Spain to play their role. Whatever the cause, the outcome was certainly far from hatred of Islam in such circles.

The writings of the martyr movement, though they certainly would have aided the formation of anti-Muslim opinion elsewhere, do not seem to have had an audience beyond Spain. Indeed it is difficult to discern any influence upon later Spanish chroniclers before the twelfth century. Apparently the movement lived and died unto itself.

Toward the end of the ninth century one Ibn Ḥafṣūn declared war against the sultan and obtained allies among the Christians of Cordova, who hoped to rid themselves of a Count Servando, whose harsh, anti-Christian control of the city prompted the priests to call him "'crazy, shameless, arrogant, greedy, cruel, mulish, presumptuous;' . . . he opposed the will of the Eternal, and was the child of the devil."²⁹ But he joined Ibn Ḥafṣūn, and moderated his treatment of Christians.

When the forces met at Poley in April, 891, the sultan's troops jeered the foe as Christians (making no distinction between Christians and Muslims in the rebel ranks) and defeated them. All those in the castle who abjured Christianity would be spared, promised the sultan;

²⁸Cabaniss, 99-100, 109, n. 8.

²⁹Dozy, Histoire, II, 61, tr. Stokes, pp. 354-55.

but only one person was willing to take that step, and so a thousand Christians were beheaded.

Ibn Ḥafṣūn, undeterred, decided to embrace Christianity in 899, and began building new churches in the districts under his control. He showed confidence only in Christians and

Pobastro became the focus of a fanaticism as austere and gloomy as that which sixty years before had animated the monks of Cordova. . . . Now this zeal for Christianity with contempt for Islamism was a stumbling-block to many who had hitherto fought for national independence.³⁰

Nationalism had no regard for religious difference and many Muslims hated Arabs, but Ibn Ḥafṣūn's strong Christian emphasis solidified the Muslim opposition and religion became a hallmark of the opposing forces and the justification for atrocities. Dissension in the Muslim ranks made possible a Christian victory at Zamora in 901 "with the help of divine clemency."³¹

The death of Ibn Ḥafṣūn in 917 made it easier for the sultan to raid the Christians. Ibn Ḥafṣūn's son, Ja'far, thought his father had erred by espousing Christianity too strongly and hinted that he might be reconciled to the Muslims. "Shuddering at the thought of serving under an infidel, his Christian soldiers entered into a conspiracy . . ." and killed him. When the Muslims took Pobastro in 931 bigoted fakihs persuaded the sultan to exhume father and son; the bodies were sent to Cordova for public display, becoming "a

³⁰ Dozy, Histoire, II, 97-98, tr. Stokes, pp. 385-86.

³¹ Chronicon Sampiri Asturicensis Episcopi, ES, XIV, 447.

salutary warning to the ill-disposed, and a grateful spectacle for the eyes of true believers."³²

Northern Christians, poor and separated from the south by a deserted territory which formed a natural barrier, sought to intensify the Muslim dissensions by intriguing with the Berbers, who were their nearest neighbors and generally espoused nonconformist causes against the southern Arabs. As for the Christians

Their eyes were turned towards the South. Still so poor that, for lack of a coinage, they bartered commodities, and taught by their priests—to whom they were blindly devoted and whom they loaded with gifts—that war against the infidel was the surest means of gaining heaven, they would fain seek in wealthy Andalusia the blessings of this world and of the next. Could Andalusia escape their domination? If she succumbed, terrible would be the fate of the Muslims. Cruel and fanatical, the Leonese rarely gave quarter, when they captured a town they usually put all the inhabitants to the sword. Tolerance such as that accorded by the Muslims to Christians could not be expected of them. What would become of that brilliant and progressive Arab civilization, at the hands of barbarians who could not read; who had to call in "Saracens" when they wished to measure their fields; and who, when they mentioned a "library," meant thereby the Holy Scriptures?³³

In 918 a joint army from Leon and Navarre ravaged Majera and Tudela, but the Muslims attacked and the Christians, "hindered by sin," (peccato impediante) were defeated. 'Abd ar-Rahmān took personal command in 920 and carried the war to the Ebro, laying waste the land as he went and winning such a complete victory his troops had to burn captured goods they could not carry. Ordoño enjoyed some successes in 921 and 923 but in 924 'Abd ar-Rahmān's counterattack reduced

³² Ibn 'Idārī, al-Bayān al muḥrib, II, 209-10, cited in Dozy, Histoire, II, 108-10, tr. Stokes, pp. 392-95.

³³ Dozy, Histoire, II, 131-35, tr. Stokes, pp. 414-15. The citation probably tells as much about Dozy as about the Christians.

Navarre to impotence. Ordoño's death brought a struggle for the throne, which finally went to Ramiro II, who directed a fierce and implacable hatred against the Muslims. The latter defeated a Muslim force at Osma in 933, but in the next year the Muslims took the town, massacred all two hundred monks in the monastery of San Pedro de Cardena, and demolished Furgos, the capital of Castile. Ramiro's alliance with the Beni Hashim brought the latter a crushing defeat in 937. His alliance with Theuda, regent of Navarre, was more productive; in the subsequent battle of Simancas in 939 rebellion of Arab officers against a Slav commander created dissension which brought a Christian victory. So great was the success that the Christians became convinced of the eventual triumph of their faith; indeed news of the success spread throughout Europe.³⁴

Civil war between Castile and Leon dissipated the fruits of victory, and allowed the sultan time to fight the Fātimids in North Africa. In that latter struggle the sultan allied with Hugh of Provence, who sought revenge for a Fātimid attack on Genoa in 936, and treated with the Byzantine Empire which sought to wrest Sicily from the Fātimids, while remaining at peace with the French. Meanwhile Fernán Conzalez, who was seeking to separate Castile from Leon, had allied with Sancho of Navarre by 957, but Sancho's refusal to honor certain peace terms and his subsequent defeat by the Muslims cost him Fernán's support and his throne. Sancho and Theuda thereupon sought aid from Cordova. The caliph sent his most skilled physician-diplomat

³⁴Dozy, *Histoire*, II, 138-56; Dozy, *Recherches*, I, 155-70; Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, II, 62; Sampiro's *Chronicon*, *ES*, XIV, 452-54; *Annales Sangallenses*, *MGH*, *SS.*, I, 78; Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, *MGH*, *SS.*, III, 328.

(part of Sancho's problem was his obesity, which cost him respect) who cajoled the two to Cordova where they met the caliph in stately audience. The caliph promised to attack Leon while Sancho invaded Castile; that was done and by 960 a slenderer Sancho was in control.

The death of 'Abd ar-Rahmān induced the Christians to disregard their obligations to the Muslims and resume internecine warfare. Fernán transported Ordoño IV to the Muslims, from whom the deposed king sought help, going to such extremes as praying for the soul of 'Abd ar-Rahmān and wearing Umayyad white in Cordova. Ordoño's death in 962 prompted Sancho once again to disregard treaty obligations, but al-Ḥakam's quick attack forced him to seek peace in 966. Sancho soon died of poison, and the death of Fernán Gonzalez brought quieter times to the northern Christians.³⁵

Meanwhile al-Ḥakam's commander, Ibn Abī 'Āmir, by making Sunday a day of rest and favoring Christians over Muslims in disputes, was recruiting many Christians into his forces. Easy victories over Leon and a Leon-Castile-Navarre alliance prompted him to take the name by which he is usually known—Al-Manṣūr, the Victorious. His capture of Barcelona in 985, ending a long period of peaceful relations with the Franks, was explained by the Christians as being permitted by God because of their sins.³⁶ Leon was razed, Zamora captured, and when Bermudo of Leon sought to evade payment of tribute, Al-Manṣūr conducted

³⁵ Dozy, Histoire, II, 157-83.

³⁶ ". . . permittente deo, impediante peccata nostra. . . ." In a cartulary from the Barcelona cathedral, cited in Fidel Fita, "Destrucción de Barcelona por Almanzor," Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, VII (1885), 190; also in RHE, IX, 2.

in 997 a land-sea campaign which razed the church of Santiago de Compostela and brought the doors and bells of that church to Cordova for use in the construction of the new mosque. In 1002 he destroyed the monastery of St. Emilian, the patron saint of Castile (as James was of Leon) but died on the return march and, according to the *Chronicon Burgense*, "was buried in hell."³⁷ The monk of Silos said:

In those days divine worship was extinguished in Spain: the glory of Christ's servants was brought low: the treasures of the Church amassed in the course of centuries were all pillaged.³⁸

Such was Al-Mansūr's power that his demand for release of a Muslim woman enslaved at a church in Navarre prompted King Garcia not only to surrender her but also to destroy the church.³⁹ He married two Christian women, one of whom threatened him with divine punishment if he, a pagan, should touch her, a Christian.⁴⁰

Al-Mansūr was not caliph, which indicates that the caliphate was weak. The next three decades saw a continuing power struggle which the abolition of the caliphate in 1031 only formalized. Religious indifference was increasing, with many sceptical sects claiming there was nothing to choose among the various sects with regard to truth. Such weaknesses were soon to prove disastrous.

Nothing has been cited from the sources for the period since 900 because there is almost nothing to relate. The Council of Barcelona

³⁷" . . . sepultus est in inferno." *ES*, XXIII, 308.

³⁸*ES*, XVII, 329, cited in Dozy, *Histoire*, II, 265, tr. Stokes, p. 524.

³⁹Ibn 'Idārī, *al-Bayān al-muḡrib*, II, 320-21, cited in Dozy, *Histoire*, II, 267.

⁴⁰Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, II, 241; Dozy, *Recherches*, I, 184-201.

in 906 reaffirmed that the Muslim conquest had been the result of divine punishment for the sins of Christians.

Indeed by reason of their sins, those who then lived in those lands, that is, all of us, were given over by divine judgment to the barbarian sword. . . . ⁴¹

A bilingual (Latin and Arabic) calendar from Cordova for the year 961 notes the feasts of the ninth-century Cordovan martyrs, which apparently were celebrated without interference from the Muslims. Christian bishops also had entrance to the court; that we know because it was the bishop Reccamond who prepared this calendar and presented it to 'Abd ar-Rahmān III. There was also a special qādi (judge) for Christians. ⁴² And the abbess Flora recounted in her Memoratis calamitatibus a Muslim incursion which God permitted because of Christian sins in 1023. ⁴³

By the end of the eleventh century, the Spanish scene was changing. There are evidences of the rival faiths seriously examining one another in Ibn-Ḥazm's rational investigation of (and opposition to) "tritheism" (Christian Trinitarianism) and Samuel Marochianus' clarification of the Qur'ān's attitude toward Jesus and Mary. ⁴⁴ But such

⁴¹"Peccatis vero exigentibus illorum qui tunc habitatores erant illarum terrarum, ut omnes nostis, barbarico gladio divino iudicio traditi sunt. . . ." ES, XXVIII, 249.

⁴²On the calendar see Dozy, Le calendrier de Cordoue de l'Année 961 (Leyden, 1873).

⁴³ES, XXXVI, appendix, xxix.

⁴⁴On Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064), see Fritsch, op. cit., pp. 16, 129. Samuel Marochianus wrote in 1005 in Arabic which was not translated into Latin until 1339; he was a Jew who had converted to Christianity and wrote intelligently about all three faiths: Islam, Judaism, and Christianity. His remarks on the Muslims are in the concluding chapter of his De Adventu Messiae Praeterito, PL, CXLIX, 365-67.



intellectual efforts were overshadowed by the continuing reconquest activity. Fernando I, king of Castile and Leon, led attacks which recaptured several towns and with the aid of Frankish, Norman, and Italian knights took Barbastro in 1065.⁴⁵ Although Fernando died in 1068, Alfonso VI renewed the attack, and succeeded in reaching Tarifa on the southern coast and in recapturing Toledo, the old Visigothic capital, in 1085. That success led the Spanish Muslims to invite the fanatic Almoravids to their assistance, and opened a new chapter in Spanish history.

Thus Spain, like Italy, knew little hostility toward Muslims other than that of a political nature. However it had suggested at least two other attitudes: the active hostility on religious grounds which had characterized the martyrs' movement, and the view of the Muslims as God's chosen agents for the punishment of Christian sins. But because of Spain's few contacts with other areas of Western Europe, her attitudes remained without influence until the very late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

⁴⁵Prosper Boissonade, "Cluny, la Papauté, et la première grande croisade internationale contre les Sarrasins d'Espagne—Barbastro 1064-65," Revue des Questions Historiques, LX, 3 sér. XXI (1932), 257-99; and idem, "Le premier croisade françaises en Espagne," Bulletin Hispanique, XXXVI (1934), 5-28.

CHAPTER V

THE HEARTLAND: UNDER THE CAROLINGIANS

From the outlying European areas of Italy and Spain, we turn to consider the European heartland—the Frank-German-English area where early medieval Europe flourished. The heartland had contact with the Muslims in southern Francia, the Alps, and in Italy, but those contacts were sporadic and on the fringes of the area. Nevertheless there is much information regarding attitudes toward Muslims. Let us examine the contacts and the information.

The Spanish Muslims made incursions into the Languedoc in 718 as far as Nîmes without meeting any serious obstacle and the raiders returned with a large number of women and children as prisoners. The territories of Gothia and Septimania were ruled by Eudo, Duke of Aquitaine, who disliked the growing power of the Carolingian mayors of the palace and sought to prevent them from usurping authority. The mayors of the palace were interested in increasing their power in the Frankish heartland and so watched with indifference the northward progress of the Muslims, who consequently moved with impunity up the Rhone and Saone valleys into the heart of Burgundy. Provence and the Languedoc had to rely upon their own resources, the resistance offered by Spanish Christians, and the divisions among the Muslims for their survival.¹

As the glories of Spain spread throughout the Muslim world, poor families from Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and Africa began migrating

¹This paragraph and much of the following chronological material is from Reinaud, op. cit. See also Reginonis Chronicon, MCH, SS., I, 552.

there; to gain land for them attacks on southern France were renewed.² In 721 Amīr Al-Samh (Zama) took Narbonne and besieged Toulouse, the capital of Aquitaine. He was, however, killed in a battle with a relief party sent by Eudo. Toulouse was saved, and most of the recently conquered areas, except Narbonne, threw off the Muslim yoke. In the campaign the Muslims, provoked by the stubborn resistance offered by the Southern Franks, destroyed several monasteries. 'Ambisah (721-35) prosecuted the war with vigor, captured Carcassone and Nimes, and took much booty. Under his successor the invaders overran Septimania and ascended the Rhone as far as Autun and Dijon, destroying many churches and monasteries.³

In Southern France the invaders met with no sympathy from the inhabitants; indeed it was here that they encountered their first serious opposition. But Charles Martel could offer the southerners no assistance as he was fighting in the north, and Eudo, not feeling himself seriously threatened, hesitated to counterattack. So in 731 'Abd ar-Rahmān, the new governor of Spain, prepared an expedition. First he crushed Manuza, commander of the Muslim army of the Pyrenees, who had closely allied with Eudo and married the duke's daughter

²Chronicon Moissacense, RNF, II, 654.

³Annales Petaviani, MGH, SS., I, 7; Annales Alamannici, MGH, SS., I, 24; Annales Laureshamenses, MGH, SS., I, 24; Annales Nazariani, MGH, SS., I, 25; Annales Sangallenses Maiores, MGH, SS., I, 73; have, with slight variations, "Eudo drove the Saracens out of Aquitaine." Since such brief notices do not convey attitudes, the passages in the minor annals relating to a particular event are not cited.

Lampégie.⁴ Then he attacked Arles in 732. Eudo sought to prevent the invaders from crossing the Dordogne, but was so severely defeated that he had to call upon arch-enemy Charles Martel for aid. The Muslims ravaged the area around Poitiers, but in October, 732, Charles' army arrived.⁵ Battle began near Poitiers, but the maneuvering of the forces seems to have brought them near Tours. A raid by a Christian detachment, probably headed by Eudo, sent the Saracens scurrying to protect their booty; while Abd ar-Rahmān tried to restore order he was killed by a Christian arrow. With the coming of night the Muslims fled, destroying all monasteries they found en route to Spain. Heartened by the news of the Muslim defeat, Christians in northern Spain and the Pyrenees took up arms in hope of regaining independence.⁶

The new governor of Spain, 'Abd al-Malik (732-34) renewed the offensive, entering the Languedoc to strengthen the towns there. The

⁴ Several accounts argue that Eudo called the Muslims to his aid; see Annales Laurissenses Minores, MGH, SS., I, 114, and Fredegar's Continuer in RHE, II, 454-55, and notes. But those accounts seem to have been influenced by Charles Martel and his relatives, who sought to make Eudo appear treasonable; see Reinaud, p. 56, n. 1. On Eudo see Jean-François Pladé, "Eudes, duc d'Aquitaine," Annales du Midi, IV (1892), 145-97.

⁵ Several annals emphasize Charles' invoking of divine aid and his thanks to God for success. Annales Mettenses, MGH, SS., I, 325 has: "Charles, invoking the aid of Christ, attacked and delivered them with their king to death, and obtaining their spoils glorified the name of the Lord. . ." (Karolus . . . invocato Christi auxilio, intrepidus irrui, et eos cum rege eorum usque ad interuiccionem delevit; acceptisque spoliis eorum nomen Domini glorificans. . .).

⁶ Almost all the annals record the engagement; some note it occurred on the Sabbath. Bede has ". . . A dreadful plague of Saracens ravaged France with miserable slaughter; but they not long after in that country received the punishment due to their wickedness." Bede Venerabilis, Historia Ecclesiastica, in The Complete Works of the Venerable Bede, ed. J.A. Giles (London, 1843), III, bk. V, c. xxiii.

Muslim incursions created near anarchy; in Septimania and Provence, which had been deprived of government machinery since the fall of the Visigoths, certain ambitious men (e.g. Mauronte, "Duke of Marseilles") made themselves counts and dukes and, fearing both Charles and Eudo, ✓ allied themselves with the Muslims of Narbonne. The inhabitants of southern France, being of Gothic or Roman extraction, had little enthusiasm for their Frankish and Burgundian deliverers, and were further alienated by Charles' allowing the army, on whom his position ✓ depended, to rob churches and monasteries. Churchmen and southerners doubtless wondered whether the Northerners were preferable to the Muslims, since both committed the same acts.

In 734 Yūsuf, the Muslim governor of Narbonne, joined with Mauronte and crossed the Rhone, taking Arles and Avignon. Shortly thereafter, the Muslims renewed their attacks on the Dauphiné, occupying Vienne. Charles Martel launched a three-pronged counterattack in 737, capturing Avignon and severing communications between Spain and Septimania, but was called away by troubles with the Saxons and Frisians and could not retake Narbonne. He did, however, raze the fortifications of Nîmes, Beziers, Agde, and Maguelone to punish them for aiding the Muslims and to prevent the Muslims from reestablishing themselves there. That destruction, which ruined some remnants of Roman grandeur (e.g. the amphitheater at Nîmes), further alienated the southland. Charles returned to oust Mauronte from Provence and to occupy Marseilles, but his death in 741 weakened the Frank position in southern France.⁷ ✓

⁷Chronicon Moissacense, MGH, SS., I, 292; Lewis, p. 77. For destruction of monasteries and churches see Ado of Vienne, Chronicon in Aetates Sex Divisum, MGH, SS., II, 318-19.

The Muslim position was also weakened, however, by internal rivalry between Arabs and Berbers and the political wars which led to the Abbasid overthrow of the Umayyads. Many Muslim troops were withdrawn from the Languedoc, hence the rulers of towns there made numerous concessions to the Christians. In 752, Pepin, now the Frankish king, allied with Ansemundus, a local Goth lord, to retake control of all the towns except Narbonne, which was opened to Pepin's armies by a Christian revolt in 759.

That put an end to Christian-Muslim warfare in France for some time. The inhabitants of southern France, what few there were now, were grateful; the devastation had been extensive. Reinaud and others would have us believe that the Muslims were responsible; the Frenchman catalogues numerous monasteries, churches, and shrines which were looted and destroyed by the Muslims. Recent scholarship, however, suggests a different picture. Lewis maintains there was not much war damage in Muslim-Christian struggles in most parts of the Mediterranean world.

Only in Southern France was there any long and protracted campaigning. In this region between 717 and 752 there was heavy damage done by war. This devastation was largely the work, though, of the Carolingians and not of their Moslem opponents. It was the result, apparently, of deliberate effort on their part to break down opposition to their rule by the native population of Aquitaine and Languedoc.⁸

The battered cities remained in ruins, the economic lifeblood which had surged through them now trickled elsewhere. Charlemagne found it necessary to grant special privileges to induce individuals to settle in the southern coastal area, and the basis of their life was to be

⁸ Lewis, p. 88.

not commercial but agricultural.⁹ The destruction caused by the wars supposedly explains the lack of written evidence from southern France during the Carolingian period—what there was was destroyed. But Eladé has argued that such was not the case; rather foundations which desired to seem more ancient than they were attributed their establishment to a prewar date, and claimed intervening documents and records were destroyed in the wars.¹⁰ Such arguments are of course based upon the lack of evidence rather than evidence, but nevertheless provide reasons for doubting the alleged severity of the Muslim incursions. It was only natural, however, for Muslims to attack religious buildings, since they sought wealth which was usually readily available in a church or monastery.

Meanwhile changes occurred in Christian-Muslim relations because of the mid-eighth century changes of rulers. Pepin had become king of the Franks in 751, and the Umayyad 'Abd ar-Rahmān I (756-88) now ruled in Spain. The latter, fearing and hating the Abbasids, allied himself with their most persistent enemy, the Byzantine Emperor, while the Abbasids leagued with the Franks (thus stimulating a Franco-Syrian-Egyptian trade and the passage of pilgrims to the Holy Land). Peace reigned for nearly a decade, while Pepin intrigued with the governors of the Muslim frontier areas. Soon the amīrs of the northern provinces of Spain developed a policy "of seeking the help of the ruler of France whenever they were hard pressed by the Amīr of Cordova, and of flying

⁹See the excellent article by Imbart de la Tour, "Les colonies agricoles et l'occupation des terres désertes à l'époque carolingienne," in Mélanges Paul Fabre (Paris, 1902), p. 147 ff.

¹⁰Eladé, 179-86.

to the arms of the Amīr of Cordova whenever the Franks became too exacting."¹¹ Pepin's desire to play off the various northern governors against one another was aided by caliph Al-Mansūr's interest in regaining complete political and religious unity within the Empire; hence Pepin entered into direct negotiations with the new caliph by sending an embassy in 765 which returned three years later and wintered with the Frank king. The ambassadors returned home laden with gifts.¹²

Charlemagne (768-814) followed his father's policies regarding the Muslims. In addition he became the protector of Christianity, especially in the frontier provinces where he placed northern Spanish Christians under the care of southern Frank archbishops. Soon he obtained results: two Muslim governors from the Ebro region quarreled with Cordova and sought aid from Charlemagne in 777. Sulaimān, governor of Barcelona, assured Charlemagne of his own support and that of three other powerful Muslim leaders who had grievances against the current Spanish rulers for an expedition against the Umayyads. Charles, persuaded, announced a desire to liberate his co-religionists beyond the Pyrenees and set out in 778. But 'Abd ar-Rahmān I strengthened Iberia and in the Ebro basin Saragossa, Barcelona and Huesca formed an armed camp. The Basques, who controlled the passes, were still hostile to Charlemagne, although they had formally submitted to him; hence he was obliged to besiege Pamplona, the Basque stronghold. He sought to establish himself at Saragossa in order to guarantee possession of the Ebro line, but one of his erstwhile Muslim supporters now

*¹¹Reinaud, p. 103.

¹²Fredegar's Continuer, RHF, V, 8.

rejoined the Umayyads in Saragossa, and the Muslims repulsed the Frank army. At that juncture news came of a new Saxon threat, and Charles withdrew. On the return march the Basques attacked the rear of the Frank forces in the Pyrenees in the celebrated battle of Roncesvalles. The Muslims rose in fury against the Christians of northern Spain, forcing many of them to flee to the Frankish kingdom where they were resettled on the oft-ravaged land near Narbonne on condition of rendering military service.¹³

'Abd ar-Rahmān's son Hisham (788-96) sought to organize a veritable jihād against the Christians but it was only a small army which invaded France in 792. One part of the force achieved some success in the Asturias, the other marched into southern Francia, left defenseless by the withdrawal of Frank troops to fight the Avars and Lombards. The inhabitants left their homes to hide in caves or the nearby hills and the Muslims burned the suburbs of Narbonne, bypassed it, and proceeded toward Carcassonne. But William, Count of Toulouse, defeated them and forced them to withdraw to Spain.¹⁴

In 797 both Zaid, the Muslim governor of Barcelona, and Abdullah, whose nephew had failed in an attempt to seize the vacant throne, sought Charlemagne's aid in Spain. Meanwhile Louis, King of Aquitaine, received ambassadors from King Alfonso of Galicia and Asturias requesting all Christian forces to join against the common enemy, and from

¹³The annals gloss over the defeat at Roncesvalles. The Astronomer's Life of Emperor Louis says Charles "labored earnestly that he might aid the churches under the harsh Saracen yoke" (sub Sarracenorum acerbissimo iugo), MGH, SS., II, 608.

¹⁴Annales Laurehamenses, MGH, SS., I, 35; Annales Alamannici continuati, MGH, SS., I, 47; Annales Sangallenses maiores, MGH, SS., I, 75.

Hassan, the Amīr of Huesca, came an ambassador saying that he wished to live in peace and amity with the Christians.¹⁵ Louis heeded Alfonso's request and dispatched an army which devastated the area around Huesca while Alfonso enjoyed success in the Lisbon area; but Hakam (796-821), whose cruelty earned him the name Abdul 'Asī (Father of the Wicked), subjected Barcelona and wasted the lands of the Christians of the Pyrenees, massacring the men and enslaving the women and children. From their strongholds the Muslims could and did raid southern France easily. The most noxious of those strong points was Barcelona, which Louis besieged for seven months and finally captured in 801. Frankish possessions in Spain were then divided into two parts—the Septimanian March with its capital at Barcelona and the Gascon March further west.¹⁶

Meanwhile, continuing his father's ties with the Abbasids, Charlemagne exchanged embassies with the Abbasid caliph, Harūn ar-Rashid.

Those embassies evoked extensive comment from the chroniclers.

Einhard reported that

With Aaron, the King of the Persians, who ruled over all the East, with the exception of India, he entertained so harmonious a friendship that the Persian King valued his favour before the friendship of all the kings and princes in the world, and held that it alone deserved to be cultivated with presents and titles. When, therefore, the ambassadors of Charles, whom he had sent with offerings to the most holy sepulchre of our Lord and Saviour and to the place of His resurrection, came to the Persian King and proclaimed the kindly feelings of their master, he not only granted them all they asked but also allowed that sacred place of our salvation to

¹⁵Annales Alamannici continuati, MGH, SS., I, 48; Annales Lobienses, MGH, SS., XIII, 230; Annales Sithienses, MGH, SS., XIII, 36.

¹⁶Annales Einhardi, MGH, SS., I, 190.

be reckoned as part of the possessions of the Frankish King. He further sent ambassadors of his own along with those of Charles upon the return journey, and forwarded immense presents to Charles—robes and spices, and the other rich products of the East—and a few years earlier he had sent him at his request an elephant, which was then the only one he had.¹⁷

There is no doubt in Einhard's mind that Charles is the greater of the two rulers, indeed it seems one is to regard the gifts as tribute.

Charles' superiority is further indicated by the ease with which Harūn relinquishes the Holy Places to Frankish care. Einhard clearly did not know much about Harūn; the use of the term *king* rather than the more accurate *caliph* indicates that.

The Saxon poet's Life of Charles, which is a versification of Einhard's Annals, repeats the latter's description with almost no changes. Elsewhere the changes are more significant, especially in regard to Charles' relations with overseas Christians. Einhard's version of that matter is as follows:

. . . he also used to send money across the sea to Syria, to Egypt, to Africa—to Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Carthage—in compassion for the poverty of any Christians whose miserable condition in those countries came to his ears. It was for this reason chiefly that he cultivated the friendship of kings beyond the sea, hoping thereby to win for the Christians living beneath their sway some succour and relief.¹⁸

The Saxon poet provides this version:

. . . but he often sent ambassadors to foreign kingdoms with gifts for the Catholics [Christians] who were poor. He gave resources to the needy who lived in Egypt and Alexandria. Africa and Carthage knew his bounty. Syria found out that he was generous. More often to Jerusalem and to the other places which remain sacred because of the activities of Christ when he was in the flesh, Charles sent huge sums of silver and gold to

¹⁷ Einhard, Vita Karoli Magni, c. 16, MGH, SS., II, 451, tr. A.J. Grant, Early Lives of Charlemagne (London, 1926), pp. 28-29.

¹⁸ Ibid., c. 27, p. 43.

be given to the faithful poor. For this reason alone he formed friendships with the heather kings across the sea, in order that the faithful who were under their sway might receive aid from him.¹⁹

We see that the Saxon poet increases the amount and area of the aid, and the faithfulness of the recipients. In both, but especially the latter, we see an attempt to explain away or apologize for those diplomatic connections with the Muslim rulers; perhaps such relations would be considered sinful if not maintained for such Christian purposes. The Saxon poet also expressed disapprobation when he termed the Saracens "a nation fierce and troublesome in many places of the world both on land and sea. . . ."²⁰

The Monk of St. Gall, writing almost a century after the event, embellishes it greatly in order to glorify Charles:

* . . . envoys of the Persians were sent to him. They knew not where Frankland lay; but because of the fame of Rome, over which they knew that Charles had rule, they thought it a great thing when they were able to reach the coast of Italy. . . . They arrived in the last week of Lent, and, on their arrival being made known to the emperor, he postponed their presentation until Easter Eve. Then when that incomparable monarch was dressed with incomparable magnificence for the chief of festivals, he ordered the introduction of the envoys of that race that had once held the whole world in awe. But they were so terrified at the sight of the most magnificent Charles that one might think they had never seen king or emperor. . . . They . . . valued the privilege of clinging close to Charles, of gazing upon him, of admiring him, more than all the wealth of the east. . . .

These same Persian envoys brought the emperor an elephant, monkeys, balsam, hard, unguents of various kinds, spices, scents and many kinds of drugs: in such profusion that it seemed as if the east had been left bare that the west might be filled.²¹

¹⁹ Poeta Saxo, Liber V, MGH, SS., I, 276, tr. Mary E. Mc Kinney, The Saxon Poet's Life of Charles the Great (New York, 1956), pp. 98-99.

²⁰ Ibid., Liber IV, 263, tr. Mc Kinney, p. 76.

²¹ Monachi Sangallensis Cesta Karoli, Liber II, chapter 8, MGH, SS., II, 749-50, tr. Grant, op. cit., pp. 116-20.

Throughout the account Charles is made to appear the most magnificent of rulers, upon whom the envoys fawn ceaselessly. It is interesting to note the Monk's phrase "that race that had once held the whole world in awe;" apparently he feels they do so no longer. Indeed that state of affairs was foreshadowed, the monk felt, in another incident.

. . . The unwearied emperor sent to the emperor of the Persians horses and mules from Spain; Frisian robes, white, grey, red and blue; which in Persia, he was told, were rarely seen and highly prized. Dogs too he sent him of remarkable swiftness and fierceness, such as the King of Persia had desired, for the hunting and catching of lions and tigers. [In an ensuing chase the dogs were set after a lion and] . . . the German dogs caught the Persian lion, and the [Frankish] envoys slew him with swords of northern metal, which had already been tempered in the blood of the Saxons.

At this sight Haroun, the bravest inheritor of that name, understood the superior might of Charles from very small indications, and thus broke out in his praise: . . . "But in this way I will try to show my gratitude for his generosity. I will give that land (promised to Abraham) into his power; and I will rule over it as his representative. Whenever he likes or whenever there is a good opportunity he shall send me envoys; and he will find me a faithful manager of the revenue of that province."

Thus was brought to pass what the poet spoke of as an impossibility:—

"The Parthian's eyes the Arar's stream shall greet /
And Tigris' waves shall lave the German's feet":

for through the energy of the most vigorous Charles it was found not merely possible but quite easy for his envoys to go and return; and the messengers of Haroun, whether young or old, passed easily from Parthia into Germany and returned. . . . I could call on Germany to bear witness to my words; for in the time of your glorious father Lewis the land was compelled to pay a penny for every acre of land held under the law towards the redemption of Christian captives in the Holy Land; and they made their wretched appeal in the name of the dominion anciently held over that land by your great-grandfather Charles and your grandfather Lewis.²²

These writers clearly intended to glorify Charles as a great and most Christian king, as did the annalist who reported his restoration of sixty monks rescued from the Muslims to their island of Pantelleria

²²Ibid., chapter 9, 750-51, tr. Grant, pp. 122-25.

from whence they had been removed "contrary to all justice."²³ But in attempting to show us how greatly Charles awed the envoys, the Frankish authors leave us with the suspicion that it was really they, rather than the Muslims, who were awed.

Indeed it has been disputed whether missions actually were exchanged between Harūn ar-Rashid and Charlemagne.²⁴ Arabic records do not mention such contacts. Since we are concerned with attitudes, we are more interested in what Western Europeans said and believed about what happened than in the reality of those happenings. But there does seem to be a reality behind those notices, and as Runciman says:

The records of the patriarchate of Jerusalem covering this period do not survive; nor do the Moslem historians of the time make any reference to Charlemagne and any negotiations with him. This latter fact . . . does not necessarily disprove the existence of the negotiations.²⁵

He further suggests that the silence results from the Abbasid desire to keep their friendly dealings with the infidels unknown, especially, as Margouliouth observes, in view of the ineffectiveness of Charles' actions against the Spanish Umayyads.²⁶ Even so, it is difficult to believe that Harūn would give Charles a protectorate over the Holy Land, and impossible to suppose the latter could exercise it.

²³ Einhardi Annales, MGH, SS., I, 194.

²⁴ See, for example, A.A. Vasiliev, "Charles the Great and Harun al-Rashid," (in Russian) in Vizantinsky Vremennik, XX (1914); Einar Joranson, "The Alleged Frankish Protectorate in Palestine," American Historical Review, XXXII (1926-27), 241-61; and F.W. Buckler, Harun al-Rashid and Charles the Great (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), which contains a translation of W.W. Barthold, "Charles the Great and Harun ar-Rashid," from the Russian Khristianski Vostok, I (1912), 69-94.

²⁵ Steven Runciman, "Charlemagne and Palestine," English Historical Review, L (1935), 606-19.

²⁶ Runciman, 607; D.S. Margouliouth, review of Buckler, op. cit., History, XVII (1933), 353-54.

Such negotiation and possible alliance with the Muslims is but another in the series of such relationships we have noted in other areas of Christian-Muslim contact. The Christians clearly did not hate Muslims sufficiently to keep from aligning with them.

War continued in Aragon, Catalonia, and Navarre with the Muslims retaking the towns formerly held by the Franks in Aragon, although Louis regained Tortosa in 810. The Western Mediterranean islands also sought Charles' protection, even though they were nominally subject to the Byzantines. Consequently Charles, after becoming emperor, sought to strengthen his naval defenses by ordering the building of a thousand ships, strengthening the coastal defenses, and planning for two centers of seapower: the coast of the Spanish March and the Ligurian coast. From the latter Pepin in 806 sent a fleet which defeated the Muslims off Corsica and beat off Muslim attacks on Sardinia and Corsica in 808. In 809 the Muslims attacked Corsica on Easter Day, putting everything to fire and sword, while African Muslims attacked Sardinia. In 813 the Count of Ampourias destroyed a Muslim flotilla off Majorca and gave southern France respite from Muslim attacks for twenty-five years.²⁷

The naval revival, however, did nothing to restore the trade on which the Mediterranean cities depended. As noted earlier, trade between East and West moved via the Po Valley and Venice to and from Constantinople; from Andalusia to Naples the coast was deserted.

²⁷ Lewis, pp. 105-06; Annales Sithienses, MCH, SS., I, 37; Einhard, Vita Karoli Magni, c. 17, MCH, SS., II, 452.

Even traffic between the north and Rome used land routes. And with Charlemagne's death in 814, even the naval revival ceased.²⁸

During Charlemagne's reign, there was a revival of interest in learning and letters commonly termed the Carolingian renaissance. That stimulated, among other things, much historical writing; the various annals and chronicles from the period fill nearly two folio volumes of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica. But they have relatively little to say about the Muslims. The minor annals give only brief notices of events in very simple sentences; nothing can be gained from them except the knowledge that the event occurred. In longer annals and chronicles the picture is somewhat different. Some noted the distinction between Azareni and Saraceni, Fredegari's continuer added that Saracen was a corrupted form of the name Ismaelites, and the Muslim use of circumcision was reported.²⁹ A few briefly treat the battles between the Muslims and Byzantines in the East.³⁰ But the longer accounts, like the minor ones, are nearly identical to one another, and it is evident that copying rather than experience or knowledge accounts for much that is said.³¹ And the royal annals,

²⁸ Lewis, pp. 125-26.

²⁹ Annales Mettenses, MGH, SS., I, 320; Adonis Chronicon in Aetates Sex Divisum, MGH, SS., II, 317-18; Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium, MGH, SS., II, 282; Chronicon Universale, MGH, SS., XIII, 14; Fredegari Scholastici Chronicon, RHF, II, 438-39, 456-57.

³⁰ Reginonis Chronicon, MGH, SS., I, 551-53; Chronicon Universale, MGH, SS., XIII, 19; Fredegari's continuer, RHF, II, 444.

³¹ For the standard account of those relationships, see Gabriel Monod, Etudes critiques sur les sources de l'histoire carolingienne (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes: Sciences philologiques et historiques, t. CXIX), (Paris, 1898); and Louis Halphen, Etudes critiques sur l'histoire de Charlemagne (Paris, 1921).

which were of great influence upon nearly all writers, are a straight political narrative with no religious overtones; comments regarding Saxons are more frequent and harsher in tone than those regarding Muslims. That seems to indicate that the Frankish court considered Muslims, when it did so, as political rather than religious foes.

There are times, to be sure, when written records do express hostility. Ado decries the burning of monasteries and the spiritual desolation of Vienne caused by the failure to appoint a bishop to the Muslim-ravaged area, and is alarmed about "impious Saracens and perfidious Christians" contaminating the Holy Places in Italy.³² The Chronicon Moissacense denounces the actions of some Muslim rulers of Spain ('Abd ar-Rahmān, Hisham, and Abulaz) but does not link their cruel treatment of Christians to their faith.³³ An old inscription calls them infidels and attributes Charles' victory over them to God's help.³⁴ Fredegar's continuer calls them a "perfidious people" and details their destruction of churches.³⁵ The Muslim advances brought concern about the relics of saints: Charles sent envoys to Carthage to obtain the remains of St. Cyprian and other martyrs, and King Liutprand of Italy removed the remains of St. Augustine from Sardinia for fear of Muslim devastation.³⁶ In poetry, Theodulph termed the

³²"... impii Sarraceni ac perfidi christiani," Adonis Chronicon, MGH, SS., II, 318-19, 232.

³³In MGH, SS., I, 300, 307.

³⁴In RHF, V, 367.

³⁵In RHF, II, 454-55.

³⁶Charles' mission in Annales Lobienses, MGH, SS., XIII, 230-31; Liutprand's in Annales Xantenses, MGH, SS., II, 221.

Arabs "hairy people" (populus crinitus) and nomads, Sedulus Scottus emphasized their military defeats by those his poems praised, and Aymoin noted that "the Moorish trader desires silver farthings" (Mercator Maurum cupidi nummis argenti).³⁷

As protector of Christianity and defender of the faith, Charles became embroiled in a controversy which indirectly involved attitudes toward Muslims: the Adoptionist or Felician controversy.³⁸

We have noted that the Spanish church had problems. Under the Visigoths it was unacquainted with the ecumenical councils and their decisions, hence older thought forms and expressions dominated Mozarabic theology and liturgy. Moreover the Spanish church enjoyed autonomy; no pope had interested himself in Spanish religious affairs since Gregory I (590-604). Hence Elipand, archbishop of Toledo and primate of Spain, disliked the appointment of one Egila as archbishop without see to Spain in 769, for Egila's purpose could only be that of reform along the lines then being followed in Francia, which would mean increased papal control of Spanish church affairs.

Unfortunately for Egila, his zealous aide Migetius proved to be a theological incompetent as well as an irritating person, and certain churchmen whom he had offended found it easy to bring a process against him and condemn him, and thus by implication discredit Egila. Migetius seems to have intimated that the divinity was three corporal persons: the Father, David; the Son, Jesus; and the Spirit, Peter.

³⁷Theodulph in MGH, PLAC., I, 484; Sedulus Scottus in MGH, PLAC., III, 221; and Aymoin in MGH, PLAC., IV, pt. 1, 139.

³⁸The following material is taken from Émile Amann, L'époque carolingienne (Paris, 1947), pp. 129-35 ff.

Elipand and others argued against Migetius on the basis of the Mozarabic liturgy, in particular from the formula of assumptus homo—that the Divine Word had taken to itself a concrete, complete, active human nature—and freely used the term "adoption." Migetius was condemned from that adoptionist position.

Matters might have ended there, except that two Asturian monks became convinced that Elipand himself had heretical views. To defend against their accusation, Elipand sought the support of the noted churchman Felix of Urgel, and received it in 792.³⁹ Urgel was within Charles' domains and that ruler, determined to have orthodoxy, sponsored the Council of Ratisbon in 792, at which Felix was condemned. He regained his bishopric, however, and although again condemned continued to make trouble throughout Charlemagne's reign.

The heresy is of interest to us because it provoked certain anti-Muslim comment. Alcuin noted that "the chief fountain of this Spanish unbelief is the city of Cordoba."⁴⁰ And Amann observes that Leo III said of Felix several years later that "the pagan went among the pagans, where he partook of their ideas."⁴¹ Indeed Cabaniss has suggested that the heresy may be viewed as an attempt to accommodate Trinitarian Christianity to Islam's uncompromising monotheism.⁴²

³⁹ Allen Cabaniss, "The Heresiarch Felix," Catholic Historical Review, XXXIX (1953), 129-41.

⁴⁰ Cited in ibid., 136.

⁴¹ "Le payne s'enfuit chez les paiens, dont il partagerait les idées," Amann, p. 136.

⁴² Cabaniss, "Paulus Albarus," 99-100. Adoptionism's denial of the Son's equality with the Father was countered by the filioque clause in the creed.

Since Elipand, in Toledo, was under Muslim control, it may be that the Muslim authorities forced the view upon him, although Felix' support of it, even though he was not under Muslim authority, makes it unlikely.

Another religious issue involving Muslims was the iconoclastic controversy. While Greek iconodules claimed the iconoclasts were influenced by Muslims, the Westerners, in their lengthy correspondence regarding the matter, do not mention that idea. It seems plausible to affirm that the West knew little of Muslim theology; and one might argue that Western church reform shows that Christians knew their own faith too poorly to set it over against Islam.

Since the Carolingian Empire was really held together by Charlemagne, his death in 814 created problems. And his son and successor, Louis (814-40), although religious enough to merit the sobriquet "the Pious," was not the soldier and statesman his father had been. Consequently the empire began to disintegrate.

Louis failed to maintain the naval strength Charles had built, and in time

... resistance along the Southern French coast became so slight that Moslem pirates established themselves on the island of Camargue at the mouth of the Rhone in a semi-permanent base. From here they ranged inland and in 860 captured the Bishop of Arles. Perhaps they established themselves in similar semi-permanent fashion further down the shore at or near ruined Maguelone.⁴³

↑ In 838 or 839 a sizable Muslim fleet descended upon the country

⁴³ Lewis, pp. 146-47.

around Marseilles, taking possession of the suburbs and imprisoning all who could carry arms.⁴⁴

On land Louis sought to strengthen his southern defenses by granting deserted southern lands to Spanish refugees who in return were to render military service. In the precept regarding those refugees, Louis speaks of their

✓ . . . leaving their own habitations and resources which belong to them by hereditary right on account of the iniquitous oppression and the most cruel yoke which the Saracens, the people most inimical to Christianity, imposed upon their necks. . . .⁴⁵

The Goths, however, soon proved restive under Frankish rule and frequently returned to their former Muslim lords. Thus in 820 Bera, the governor of Barcelona, was accused of felonious conduct, which apparently involved siding with the Muslims. Shortly thereafter the Christians of Navarre made an alliance with the Muslims and handed Pamplona over to them. In 826 Louis proposed to aid the inhabitants of Merida in rebelling against Cordova, but while the Diet was considering the matter a Goth lord named Aizo, "who was perhaps allied with the Muslims," put himself at the head of the malcontents, ravaged the countryside, and defeated the Frankish army.⁴⁶ Hence Spain was almost entirely removed from Frankish control.

⁴⁴Annales Bertiniani, MGH, SS., I, 432.

⁴⁵" . . . propter iniquam oppressionem et crudelissimum jugum, quod eorum cervicibus inimicissima Christianitati gens Sarracenorum imposuit, relictis propriis habitationibus et facultatibus, quae ad eos hereditario jure pertinebant. . . ." Præceptum pro Hispanis, REH, VI, 470; also PL, CIV, 1013.

⁴⁶Reinaud, pp. 139-41; REH, VI, 379.

Well might Louis lament in 828 that

. . . it was to prune away our sins that the enemies of Christ's name made predatory incursions into this kingdom during the past year, burning churches, capturing Christians, and killing the servants of God, boldly, with impunity and indeed cruelly.⁴⁷

Louis' death in 840 led to struggles among his three sons for control of more territory, and in the ensuing confusion and strife many were led or forced to appeal to the Muslims for aid. In 848 even Pepin the younger sought Muslim aid in his struggle against his uncle Charles the Bald for the possession of the Languedoc, and soon forced the latter to sue for peace. The Muslims benefited from the confusion by wasting the environs of Arles in 842 and again in 850. Lothar, in a capitulary of 846, termed the Muslims "enemies of Christ" and "infidels," and linked the taking of the sacrament with success in defeating them.⁴⁸ Charles the Bald, who finally made peace with the Muslims in 864, reconfirmed Louis' grant of lands to the Spanish refugees, using the same terms Louis had used regarding Muslims.⁴⁹ But Charles' death in 877 left the Franks leaderless in the face of increasing Norman and Muslim threats, and it seemed that Europe's enemies might devour her. New leaders did arise, but not among the Carolingians.

Ninth-century historical writing, like that of the eighth

⁴⁷" . . . peccatis nostris deputandum est, quod inimici Christi nominis praelestio anno in hoc regnum ingressi depredationes, incendia ecclesiarum et captivationes christianorum et interfectiones servorum Dei audenter et impune, immo crudeliter, fecerunt." MCH, Capit., II, 4-5. A shorter version on the same pages lacks the passage.

⁴⁸Ibid., 67.

⁴⁹Mansi, XVIIIIB, 25-26.

century, had little to say about the Muslims. Thegan's brief life of Louis contains almost no mention of the Muslims; the Astronomer's more numerous notices convey no attitude unless it is the absence of any attitude.⁵⁰ The Annales Bertiniani, the ninth-century royal annals of the West Franks, are primarily concerned with Italian affairs. God's help is seen in the casting of the Muslims from Benevento, and God, the Lord Jesus Christ, and his apostles are judged responsible for the sudden storm which destroyed the Muslim fleet returning from the sack of Rome in 846.⁵¹ That raid itself was viewed as "an affliction of the Christians on account of their sins."⁵² Bodo, who had forsaken Christianity for Judaism, was denounced for trying to convince the Saracen king of Spain that

those remaining faithful to the Christian religion should either convert themselves to the Jewish insanity or the Saracen foolishness, or else be killed.⁵³

The Frankish monk Bernard gave a favorable view of Islam at the conclusion of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 865. He said

⁵⁰ Both lives are in MGH, SS., II, 585-604, 604-42, respectively. The Astronomer's life has recently been translated by Allen Cabaniss, Son of Charlemagne: A Contemporary Life of Louis the Pious (Syracuse, 1961).

⁵¹ Annales Bertiniani, MGH, SS., I, 440, 443.

⁵² "... afflictio christianorum propter scelera eorum. . . ." Annales Xantenses, MGH, SS., II, 228. See also Annales Fuldenses, MGH, SS., I, 365; and Annales Bertiniani, MGH, SS., I, 442.

⁵³ "... aut relicta christianae fidei religione ad Iudaeorum insaniam Sarracenorumve demeritiam se converterent, aut certe omnes interficerentur." Annales Bertiniani, MGH, SS., I, 442.

Christians and pagans here have such peace between themselves, that if I travel on the road and in the journey my camel or ass should die, and I should leave all my goods unguarded and go to a city to obtain another, when I return I shall find all as I left it. . . . In Romania truly there are evil men, for there many are thieves and robbers and therefore men wishing to go to Saint Peter cannot pass through there unless numerous and armed.⁵⁴

Here was no religious hostility of the kind that would characterize later relationships, but rather a sympathetic, objective report on actual conditions.

The translation of three saints from Cordova to Paris is the only northern notice of the persecution of 'Abdār-Rahmān and the martyrdoms of mid-ninth century Spain, which indicates a lack of knowledge of the activities of Eulogius and Alvarus and the zealots.⁵⁵

The Vita S. Ansberti speaks of "unspeakable Agarenes," while a fragment from the year 869 mentions "impious Saracens and treacherous Christians."⁵⁶ And there is this lament for the year 871:

The Holy City Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives and all the surrounding holy places were invaded and taken by the Muslims. Also the monks there in the service of God, were afflicted by diverse punishments and put in custody. Upon hearing all these things the faithful catholic worshippers said, "Lament priests, ministers of the Lord, and say, 'Spare O Lord, spare your

⁵⁴"Christiani et pagani talem pacem inter se positam habent ibi, ut si iter agerem et in itinere mortuus fieret meus camelus aut asinus, . . . et ibi relinquerem omnia mea sine custode et irem ad civitatem propter alium, ego, cum rediero, omnia mea illaesa inveniam. . . . In Romania vero mala fiunt, et ibi homines multi sunt fures et latrones, et ideo non possunt homines ad sanctum Petrum ire volentes per eam transire, nisi sint plurimi et armati." In Titus Tobler and Auguste Molinier, Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae, I, (Geneva, 1879), pp. 98-99.

⁵⁵RHE, VII, 354.

⁵⁶"nefardae gentis Agarorum. . . , " RHE, III, 617; ". . . impii Sarraceni et perfidi Christiani. . . , " RHE, VII, 225.

people lest the nations should dominate them and they say:
Where is their God?' "57

There was a continuing strain of interest in Muslims in the Biblical commentaries of the Carolingian period. The basic ideas which we have already noted in Jerome and Isidore of Seville were present in the early eighth-century work of the Venerable Bede.

In his comments on Genesis 16, Bede says:

It signifies that his seed shall live in isolation, that is the nomadic Saracens of wandering and uncertain abode, who have called forth against all those who live beside the desert and are embattled by all: but these things are old. Now, however, how greatly is his hand against all and all hands against him; as they impose his authority upon the whole length of Africa and hold both the greater part of Asia and some of Europe, hating and opposing all.⁵⁸

He makes much the same point in commenting on Song of Songs 1.

Kedar was Ismael's son, of whom it is said: his hand is against everyone and everyone's against him. His birth, and the hatred by everyone today of the Saracens who proceed from him, proves the truth of this prediction: and the troubled psalmist agrees when he says, I have dwelt with the inhabitants of Kedar, my soul was a dweller among many. With those who hate peace I will be peaceful. Nor moreover is it read that David bore any hatred for these Ismaelites, but willing to exaggerate the evil

57". . . Civitas sancta Ierusalem, et mons Oliveti, atque omnia loca sacra in circuitu a Sarracenis invasa et possessa sunt. Monachi quoque ibidem Domino famulantes, diversis poenis afflicti, atque in custodiam missi. Audite enim haec omnes catholicae fidei cultores dicentes: 'Florate sacerdotes, ministri Domini, et dicite: Parce Domine, parce populo tuo; ne dominantur eis nationes, et dicant: Ubi est Deus eorum?' " Annales Xantenses, MGH, SS., II, 234.

58"Significat semen ejus habitaturum in heremo, id est, Saracenos vagos, incertisque sedibus, qui universas gentes quibus desertum ex latere jungitur incursant, et expugnantur ab omnibus: sed haec antiquitus. Nunc autem in tantum manus ejus contra omnes, et manus sunt eorum contra eum; ut Africam totam in longitudine, sua ditione premant, sed et Asiae maximam partem, et Europae nonnullam omnibus exosi et contrarii teneant. Quod autem dicit: Figit tabernacula: morem gentis antiquum ostendit, quae in tabernaculis semper non in domibus habitare solebat." The Complete Works of the Venerable Bede, ed. J.A. Giles (London, 1844), VII, 105.

that he had suffered from Saul or his other adversaries he complained of the harassment of wicked people who could make peace with no man.⁵⁹

In treating Acts 7, he remarks that "the star of your God, Remphan . . . signifies moreover Lucifer, into whose cult the Saracen people were sold for the honor of Venus."⁶⁰ Elsewhere he speaks of Sara prefiguring the church and Agar the synagogue, the latter being interpreted as those who are in exile and ignorant of Christ's way.⁶¹ Bede had certainly read widely in earlier authors, and greatly influenced later writers.⁶²

Both Rabanus Maurus and Angelomus followed Bede almost verbatim in their biblical commentaries.⁶³ Paschasius Radbertus, however, goes further. Regarding the impending end of the world, he says:

⁵⁹"Cedar Ismaelis filius fuit, de quo dictum est: Manus ejus contra omnes, et manus omnium contra eum. Cujus praesagii veritatem, et exosa omnibus hodie Sarracenorum, qui ab eo exorti sunt, natio probat: et Psalmista angoribus obsessus affirmat, cum ait, Habitavi cum habitantibus Cedar, multum incola fuit anima mea. Cum his qui oderunt pacem, eram pacificus. Neque enim David aliquid odiorum ab ipsis Ismaelitis pertulisse legitur; sed volens exaggerare mala, quae patiebatur a Saule, vel caeteris adversariis ejus, se gentis improbitate vexari questus est, quae cum nullo hominum aliquando pacem habere curabat." Ibid., IX, 215.

⁶⁰"Et sidus dei vestri Remphan. . . significat autem Luciferum, cujus cultui Sarracenorum gens ob hororem Veneris erat mancipata." Ibid., XII, 36.

⁶¹PL, XCI, 242-43. Descent from Agar supposedly committed the Muslims to accept Jewish holy books, according to Peter the Venerable, cited in Daniel, p. 79. Perhaps one is to see in the Christian use of the term Agarene a desire to consider Muslims not only children of a slave woman but also as those without the Gospel.

⁶²Southern, Western Views, pp. 16-18. See also J. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Franks and the English in the Ninth Century: some Common Historical Interests," History, XXV (1950), 202 ff.

⁶³Rabanus, PL, CVII, 514; Angelomus, PL, CXV, 179. Rabanus, like Bede, greatly influenced other biblical commentators. See Ogle, 323.

And let no one object to me that the Gospel of Christ has not yet reached to the Saracens, who occupied many earthly kingdoms by God's permission and were dominant almost everywhere over the Christians; it reached some and they received news of God, but evilly seduced by certain false apostles . . . perverted the law they learned both from the Old and the New Testaments, wishing to feel no duty either to us or to the Jews, although under the cult of one God. While they desire to subjugate the universe under their dominion, they do not ask that one serve this or that God, but only that he should serve them. From those who, by chance, because of the just judgment of God embraced the spirit of error (so many think) antichrist is raised up. By their assent and lordship many things will come to pass, how many and how much are plainly read in John's apocalypse. This thing I shall say about it, so that the prudent reader may know what mystery of iniquity is already working: whoever perseveres to the end shall be saved.⁶⁴

A more significant evidence of Frankish concern about the Muslims is the translation into Latin, apparently during Charlemagne's reign, of the Byzantine apocalyptic work known as the Pseudo-Methodius.⁶⁵

Though it purports to be a writing of the early Christian saint Methodius, it was in reality composed in the Byzantine Empire around 670.

* The author combines Biblical prophecy and facts regarding the Muslim

⁶⁴"Et ne quis mihi objiciat Sarracenos, qui multa regna terrarum nutu Dei suis occuparunt armis, et dominantur pene ubique in Christianos, quasi ad eos Evangelium Christi necdum pervenerit; pervenit quidem et receperunt Dei notitiam, sed male seducti a quibusdam pseudoapostolis . . . tam ex Veteri Testamento, quam ex Novo condiderunt legem, ac si sub unius Dei cultu, nec tamen nobiscum, nec cum Judaeis quidpiam sentire volentes, omnia perverterunt. Qui dum cupiunt universa suo dominio subjugari nec quaerunt quem quisque Deum colat, sed ut eis tantummodo serviatur. A quibus forte, quia justo Dei judicio susceperunt spiritum erroris (ut multi putant) suscipiendus est antichristus. Quorum assensu atque dominio tanta poterit peragere, qualia et quanta in Apocalypsi Joannis manifeste leguntur. Haec idcirco dixerim, ut sciat prudens lector quia mysterium jam operatur iniquitatis, sed necdum est finis: Qui autem perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit." PL, CXX, 804.

⁶⁵Ernst Sackur, Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen: Pseudo-Methodius, Adso und die Tiburtinische Sibylle (Halle a.S., 1898) has edited and discussed the work.

conquest, and prophesies an end to the Muslim domination. Apparently it was translated by a Greek or Syrian monk for brothers in a Frankish cloister where he stayed. Many copies were made of it: Sackur notes four from the eight century, two from the tenth, and one from the eleventh, and d'Evelyn gives an early eleventh-century English version.⁶⁶ Let us look at the attitudes toward Muslims which it expresses.

At the outset the author describes how Samsishab, a descendant of Noah, after conquering the lands from the Euphrates to the Indus

went into the Saba Desert and annihilated the camps of the sons of Ismael, the son of Agar, the Egyptian maid of Sara the wife of Abraham. And all were driven out and fled from the solitude of Yathrib and entered into inhabited lands and fought with the kingdoms of the peoples and depopulated and captured and dominated those who were in the Promised Land, and satisfied themselves upon them and their camps. They were like locusts and went about with nude bodies and ate camel's flesh and drank animal blood mixed with milk. And when therefore the sons of Ismael both obtained the whole land and desolated the cities and gave their regions into all sorts of insolence, then they built themselves ships and by using these they flew like birds over the seas. They moved therefore into the western regions into great Rome and Illyrica and Gigitia and Thessalonica and great Sardinia, which is across from Rome, and dominated these lands for sixty years and did there whatever they wished. But after eight and one-half ages of their power through which they obtained the rule of all people their heart was raised up when they saw they had obtained and dominated all kingdoms. Furthermore at that time four princes of the army who were sons of Umee were ruling them. Their names were, respectively, Oreb, Zeb, Zebe, Salmana. They fought with the Israelites and as God redeemed his people from the Egyptians through Moses, in the same way he worked at that time with his mercy and redeemed them from the foe through Gideon. And they were freed from servitude to the sons of Ismael. Moreover Gideon fell upon their camps and drove them out of the inhabited land into the solitude of Yathrib from which they had come forth, and those who were left made peace treaties with the children of Israel and nine tribes went out into the outer desert.

They are also of the future, for they will go out again and make the earth destitute and obtain a ring of land and a

⁶⁶ Charlotte d'Evelyn, "The Revelations of Methodius," PILA, XXXIII pt. 2 (new series XXVI, pt. 2), (1918), 135-203.

boundary by entering into peace with the land of Egypt as far as Ethiopia and from the Euphrates to India and from the Tigris to the entrance of Nod of the kingdom of Ioniti son of Noah and from the north to Rome and Illyrica, and Gigitia and Thessalonica and Albania and to the Black Sea. And he will place a double yoke upon the necks of all people, and there will be no people or king under heaven who can drive them out until the seven ages of time and after these things are accomplished, they will be subdued by the heavenly and Roman kingdom. And then this kingdom, that is the Roman one, will be highly glorified above all kingdoms of the peoples and never can be destroyed by any of them until eternity. They have moreover unbeatable weapons by which all adversaries will be overcome.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ ". . . exiit in desertum Saba et concidit castra filiorum Ismahel, filii Agar, Aegyptiae ancille Sarrae uxoris Abrahae. Et expulsi sunt omnes et fugerunt de solitudine Ethtribum et introierunt in terra inhabitabilem et pugnaverunt cum regnis gentium et depopulati sunt et captivaverunt et dominati sunt regna gentium, qui erant in terra promissionis, et expleta est ex eis et de castra illorum. Erant autem quasi locustae et incedebant nudo corpore et edebant carnes camillorum compositae in utribus et bibebant sanguinem iumentorum et lacte mixto. Cumque igitur obtenuissent filii Ismahel et universam terram et desolassent urbes et regiones eorum donassent in omnibus insolis, tunc illoque tempore construxerunt sibi navigia et in modum volucrum his utentibus advolabant super aquas maris. Ascenderunt igitur in regionibus Occidentis usque ad magnam Romam et Illirico et Gigitum et Tesalonica et Sardiniae maris, quae est trans illa Romam, et dominati sunt terrae in annis LX et fecerunt in ea quaecumque voluerunt. Post vero ebdomadas octo et mimediam eorum potentatus, per quod obtinuerunt universarum gentium regnum, superexaltatum est cor eorum, dum se viderent obtenuisse et dominasse omnia regna. In tempore autem illo facti sunt eis tyranni principes militiae quatuor, qui fuerunt filii Umee, quae ab eis sic vocabatur, quorum nomina sunt haec: Oreb et Zeb et Zebe et Salmana. Hi pugnaverunt cum Israhelitae et, quemadmodum fecit Deus redemptionem de manu Aegipciorum per Moisen famulum suum, eodem vero modo etiam tunc illo tempore operatus est cum eis misericordiam et redimit eos ex eis per Gedeon. Et liberatus est de servitute filiorum Ismahel. Hic enim Gedeon concidit castra eorum et persequens eiecit eos de terra inhabitabilem in solitudine Ethtribum, de qua et prodiebant, et qui relictis sunt dederunt foedera pacis filiis Israhel et exierunt in desertum exteriorem novem tribus. Futuri sunt autem, ut exeant aliud semel et destitutam faciant terram et obtinere orbem terrae et regionis in introitu pacis a terra Aegypti usque Ethiopiae et ab Euphraten usque Indias et a Tigrin usque ad introitum Nod regni Ioniti filii Noe et ab aquilone usque Romam et Illirico et Gigitum et Thessalonicam et Olbaniae et usque ad mare qui Ponto mittit. Et

The Muslim success is again attributed to Christian sinfulness.

Then in the newest or seventh millenium, the kingdom of the Persians will be eradicated. And in that seventh millenium the seed of Ismael will begin to leave the Yathrib Desert and when they go out will gather together in great Gabahot, and there will be fulfilled what [God] spoke through Ezekiel the prophet: "Son of Man," he said, "Call the beasts of the field and birds of the heavens and exhort them saying: Assemble and come to that great sacrificial feast I am preparing for you, shall eat the flesh of brave men and drink the blood of the great."

[Ezekiel 38. 17-20.] In Gabaoth that day therefore they, of the seed of Ismael who is called the wild ass, will fall by the edge of the sword, they who are sent in my wrath and fierce anger upon all the earth, upon men and animals and beasts of the forests and upon all trees and plants and upon all minds and in all kinds of grain and their castigation will come without mercy and they will loose among those on earth the four ✓ plagues, that is destruction and perdition, also corruption and desolation. For as God said to Israel through Moses: "Not because the Lord God loved you did he introduce you into the promised land, that you might possess it, but on account of the sins of the inhabitants of it." Thus it is again with the sons of Ismael, not because he prizes them does the Lord God give them this power so that they obtain the land of Christians but on account of sins and iniquities which are committed by the latter. Similar things have not been done, neither will be in all generations, for truly men were put upon by adulterous women and unrestrained prostitutes, and likewise women adorned themselves standing openly in the streets and all the gates of the city and exchanged the natural use for that which is against nature, as the blessed and most sacred apostle said; for at the same time both the women and the men did these things. And thus there went in to the same woman a father and his son and brother and all who were known to be joined by any blood relation, they were however ignorant of their prostitutions for as the most wise Paul had exclaimed before the fulness of time: "For this reason," he said, "God gave them up to dishonorable passions. Their women exchanged natural relations for unnatural, and the men likewise gave up natural relations with women and were consumed with passion for one another, men committing shameless acts with men and receiving in their own persons the due penalty for their error." [Romans 1. 26-27.]

erit iugum eorum duplex super cervices omnium gentium, et non erit gens aut regnum sub caelo, qui possent eos expugnare usque ad numerum temporum ebdomadarum VII, et post haec devincuntur a regno caelistic et Romanorum etiam, subiciuntur ei. Etenim hoc regnum magnificabitur, id est Romanorum, super omnia regna gentium et nequaquam delebitur a nullo eorum in aeternum. Habent enim arma inexpugnabilem, per quem omnes deiciuntur adversarii eius." Cited from Sackur, pp. 66-69.

On account of this therefore God gave them into the hands of the barbarians by whom they fell into all impurity and fetid pollution and their women were contaminated by polluted barbarians and the sons of Ismael cast lots for their sons and daughters and turned the land of Persia into corruption and perdition and bound its inhabitants into captivity and death.⁶⁸

⁶⁸"In novissimum enim miliarium seu septimo tunc agentem in ipso eradicabitur regnum Persarum. Et (in) ipso septimo miliario incipient exire semen Ismahel de deserto Ethribum, et cum exierint, congregabuntur unanimes in magnam Cabahot, et illic complebitur quod dictum est per Ezechielem prophetam: Fili hominis, inquit, voca bestias agri et volatilia caeli et exhortare illa dicens: 'Congregamini et venite eo quod sacrificium magnum immolo vobis, manducate carnes fortium et bibite sanguinem excelsorum.' In hac itaque Cabaoth cadent in ore gladii a semine Ismahelis qui appellatus est onager, eo quod in ira et furore mittuntur super faciem totius terrae, super homines quoque et iumenta et bestias silve, et super omnem saltum et plantariam et super omnem memorem et in omnem speciem fructiferam, et erit adventus eorum castigatio sine misericordia et praeibunt eis super terra quattuor iste plage, id est interitus et perditio, corruptio quoque et desolatio. Dicit enim Deus ad Israhel per Moysen: Non quia diligit vos dominus Deus, introducit vos in terra promissionis, ut hereditemini eam, sed propter peccata inhabitantium in eam. Sic etenim filios Ismahel, non quod eos diligit, dominus Deus dabit eis potentiam hanc, ut obtineant terram christianorum, sed propter peccatum et iniquitatem, quae ab eis committitur. Similia eis non sunt facta, sed neque fiunt in omnibus generationibus, namque igitur induentur viri adulterinis muliercolis et meretricum indumenta, et quemadmodum muliercolas semetipsas exornabant stantes in plateis et in foribus civitatum palam omnibus et inmutaverunt naturalem usum in eum qui est contra natura, sicuti beatus quoque et sacratissimus apostolus inquit, similiter et mulieres haec quod et virtiagentes. Convenerunt itaque uni muliere pater simul et filius illius et frater et universi qui cognatione adiunti videntur. Ignorabantur enim a meretricibus, propter quod sapientissimus Paulus ante temporum seriem fortassis exclamans ait: Propter hoc enim, inquit, tradidit illos Deus in passiones ignominiosae, nam faeminae eorum commutaverunt naturalem usum in eum usum qui est extra naturam, similiter vero et masculi eorum demittentes naturalem usum feminae exarserunt in desideriis suis in invicem masculi in masculos turpitudinem operantes, et retributionem mercedis erroris sui in semetipsos recipientes. Propter hoc igitur tradentur a Deo in manus barbarorum, a quibus cadent in omnem immundiciam et fetorem pollutionis, et contaminantur mulieres eorum a pollutis barbaris et mittunt sortes filii Ismahel super filios et filias eorum et traditur terra Persarum in corruptionem et perditionem, et habitatores eius in captivitatem et occisionem adducentur." Sackur, pp. 80-82.

Elsewhere Ismael, the wild ass, is considered "the man of sin, the son of perdition," (II Thessalonians 2.8) and the Muslim devastation of the countryside is detailed. The Christians are encouraged to remember in all these tribulations Christ's words:

Blessed are you when men revile you and persecute you and utter all kinds of evil against you falsely on my account. Rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven, for so men persecuted the prophets who were before you. [Matthew 5.11-12] But he who endures to the end will be saved [Mark 13.13] and remain after the tribulation done by the sons of Ismael.⁶⁹

The translation of the Pseudo-Methodius seems to indicate the realization of a need for anti-Muslim polemic in the West, but it likewise indicates that the West could not produce such works from its own resources, even though we occasionally feel, notably in Paschasius Radbertus, that a writer really knows something of the Muslim faith. The extent of Pseudo-Methodius' circulation is somewhat questionable, however, since Liudprand thinks it necessary to recount at some length similar prophecies he encountered at Constantinople. Of course his boundless pride in his knowledge and his use of every opportunity to display it must be considered, but even so we may suspect he was ignorant of Pseudo-Methodius.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 82-89.

⁷⁰

Liudprandi Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana, MGH, SS., III, 355-56. In discussing the matter he notes that The Vision of Daniel tells whether or not fortune will smile on the Saracens, and that the work of Hippolytus should be understood to mean that the Franks will exterminate the Byzantines rather than the Byzantines driving out the Muslims.

† Clearly Carolingian Europe was not seriously concerned about the Muslims, certainly it was no more concerned about them than about Normans, Slavs, and Magyars. On the whole, Carolingian Europe was content with what Southern terms the "ignorance of confined space:" an almost total lack of knowledge about Islam as a religion coupled with an attempt to explain its political successes by reference to the Bible.⁷¹ But how long could such a position continue to suffice?

⁷¹ Southern, pp. 14-15.

CHAPTER VI

THE HEARTLAND: FROM CAROLINGIANS TO CRUSADES

The onslaughts of powerful foes and the degeneration of the Carolingian rulers brought a division of the former Carolingian Empire into eastern and western parts. While the western portion, out of which France was to come, remained quiescent and thoroughly feudalized, the eastern portion, under the Saxon and Salian rulers, became the strong and significant Holy Roman Empire. Since the Holy Roman Emperors were interested in extending their control over Italy, they came into contact and conflict with the papacy, as is well known. That Italian interest also brought them into contact with the Muslims, who since the end of the ninth century had infested the Alpine passes and much of Provence, and made sporadic and devastating raids into the surrounding areas.

The origins of that Muslim beachhead in Europe are extremely obscure, but it seems that in 888 or 889 a band of Spanish Muslims was blown ashore in the Gulf of Grimaud and established a settlement and fortress named Fraxinet from the Fraxini or ash trees in the area. Calling their co-religionists to them, the Muslims began attacking nearby villages, mediating the quarrels of local lords, and establishing their control over much of Provence, Piedmont and the Alps.

Our knowledge of the Muslim establishment at Fraxinet is drawn largely from the writings of that colorful tenth century bishop, Liudprand of Cremona, so we will let him tell the story.

But by the mysterious, and since it cannot be otherwise, by the just judgement of God, a band of some twenty Saracens, who had sailed from Spain in a small boat, was forced by contrary winds unwillingly to land here [Fraxinet]. These pirates, disembarking under cover of night, entered the manor house unobserved and murdered—O grievous tale!—the Christian inhabitants. They then took the place as their own, and made Moor's Mount which adjoins the manor a stronghold against attacks from their neighbours. . . . They started stealthy raids on all the neighbouring country, and sent messengers back to Spain to bring over more of their comrades. . . .

Meanwhile the people of Provence close by, swayed by envy and mutual jealousy, began to cut one another's throats, plunder each other's substance, and do every sort of conceivable mischief. But inasmuch as one faction by itself was not able to satisfy upon the other the demands of jealous indignation, they called in the help of the aforesaid Saracens, men who were as perfidious as they were cunning, and in company with them proceeded to crush their neighbours. Indeed, not satisfied with murder, they turned the whole fertile land into a desert. But let us see what good their envy did them. Envy, as a certain author says, is always just, and of it he writes:

"Envy its own just retribution brings

And stabs its harbourer with poisoned stings."

In trying to deceive, Envy is itself deceit's victim; in endeavouring to quench others, its own fire is put out. Do you ask what happened? The Saracens, who in themselves were of insignificant strength, after crushing one faction with the help of the other, increased their own numbers by continual reinforcements from Spain, and soon were attacking everywhere those whom at first they seemed to defend.

In the fury of their onslaughts they exterminated the whole people and left no survivors, so that all the neighbourhood began to tremble. As the prophet says: "One man chased a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight." How was that? "Because their God sold them and the Lord shut them up." . . .

The Saracens also, who, as I have said, were living at Fraxinetum, after ruining Provence, extended their savage raids to the northern districts of Italy close by, and finally, after sacking several cities, came to Acqui, a town about forty miles from Pavia, which gets its name from the wonderful square baths that have been built there. The whole country accordingly was in a panic, and no one waited for the Saracens to approach unless he had a perfectly sure refuge. . . .

Their chief, the Saracen Sagittus, was one of the worst and most impious of men. But by the grace of God when the battle took place . . . the wretch, was killed with all his followers.¹

¹ Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, tr. F.W. Wright, *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona* (New York, 1930), Liber I, c. 3, 4; Liber II, c. 43; Liber IV, c. 4.

The raids became so onerous that King Hugh of Provence took steps to oust the Muslims.

. . . The mountain districts that encircle Italy and separate it from the west and north were being cruelly devastated by the Saracens of Fraxinetum; King Hugh accordingly on the advice of his counsellors despatched messengers to Constantinople asking the emperor Romanos to send him some of his Greek fireships, which the Greeks in their own language call chelandia. His idea was himself to march by land and root out the stronghold of Fraxinetum, while the Greeks blockaded the sea side with their fleet, burning the Saracens' ships and completely preventing any reinforcements or supplies of food reaching them from Spain.

King Hugh having now collected his army sent a fleet across the Gulf of Lyons to Fraxinetum and proceeded thither himself by land. As soon as the Greeks arrived they destroyed all the Saracens' ships with their fire. Moreover the king forced his way into Fraxinetum and compelled the Saracens to retreat to Moors Mountain, where he would have been able to capture them by investment if the circumstance I am about to relate had not prevented him.

King Hugh was very much afraid that Berengar would collect a force in France and Swabia, and come down upon him and rob him of his throne. So, following bad advice, he sent the Greeks back to their own country and himself concluded a treaty with the Saracens, arranging for them to stay in the mountains that separate Swabia and Italy, and prevent Berengar from passing if he happened to lead an army that way. How many Christian pilgrims on their way to the thresholds of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul were slain by these heathen under this convention. He alone knows who has their names written in the Book of Life.² How unjustly, King Hugh, do you attempt to defend your throne!

Clearly Liudprand viewed the Muslims as enemies to be rooted out at all costs, not only because of the ferocity of their raids but also, it would seem, because of their utter difference from the Christians. However, he could also view them as God's instruments.

Liudprand had good reason to lament; it seems that the Muslims in the Alps reached the height of their power after Hugh abandoned the

²Ibid., Liber V, caps. 9, 16, 17.

campaign in 942.³ Otto I became preoccupied with the idea of removing the Alpine Muslims, and in 953 requested Adalbero, Bishop of Metz, to send a priest to Spain as Otto's representative. Adalbero chose John of Gorze, who came from Lorraine, a center for slave trade, especially in eunuchs, with Spain. Apparently John, on Otto's behalf, sought to get 'Abd ar-Rahmān to use his authority to evacuate Fraxinet. But the caliph, as a reprisal for Otto's maltreatment of an earlier envoy, imprisoned John and would have killed him except for the respect which the Muslims had for Otto. Reccamond, Bishop of Elvira, was sent by 'Abd ar-Rahmān to Otto and obtained more favorably worded letters, but the caliph refused the request and John returned home. His life, written by John, Abbot of St. Arnulf of Metz, conveys much hostility toward Muslims. For example, in describing the caliph, John says:

. . . that sacrilegious and profane king, since he was a Saracen and was utterly alien from the true faith, although he earnestly desired friendship with Christian princes, vomited forth all sorts of blasphemy regarding Christ. . . .⁴

Diplomacy having failed, Otto resolved to exterminate the Muslims by force, but despite his promises and the continued agitation of the monks of Novalesse (which had been destroyed by the Alpine Muslims), Italian affairs diverted him from that goal.

³J.F. Tyler, The Alpine Passes: The Middle Ages (962-1250) (Oxford, 1930), p. 54.

⁴" . . . idem rex sacrilegus et profanus, utpote Sarracenus, et a vera fide prorsus esset alienus, quique quamvis amicitiam expeteret principis christiani, in litteris tamen quas miserat blasphema nonnulla in Christum evomuerat. . . ." Vita Iohannis Gorziensis, MGH, SS., IV, 370. Also see René Poupardin, Le Royaume de Bourgogne 888-1038 (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études; Sciences philologiques et historiques, CLXIII) (Paris, 1907), p. 95.

Indeed it began to seem unlikely that the Muslims would ever be ousted from their stronghold. There was certainly a need for their removal, for as Lewis states:

. . . the Christian coastline from Barcelona to the Tiber was dead and all but deserted. Whatever trade and naval power had existed in these regions at the time of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious had by this time almost disappeared. Barcelona, Narbonne, Marseilles, Genoa, and even Pisa remained sparsely inhabited centers hardly able to protect themselves from the periodic raids of Muslims from Spain or from their advance base at Fraxinet.

Moreover the Fraxinet Muslims

. . . controlled the passes between France and Italy from Mont Cenis to the Mediterranean, making travel by these routes to the Po valley difficult if not impossible.⁵

✓ But a fortuitous circumstance soon led to the ouster of those Muslims. Maiolus, abbot of Cluny, had been in Italy conducting monastic reform and, after an interview with Otto and Adelaide, was returning to Cluny when he and his party were captured by the Muslims in 972. The Muslims knew they had a rare prize; they demanded and ✓ received 1000 livres of silver for his ransom. They also gained, however, the wrath of all Europe, for Maiolus was too important a person for his capture to pass unnoticed. He had particularly close ties with the powerful count of Provence, William, who took the lead in organizing a movement which resulted in the massacre of most of the Muslims and the forced baptism of the remainder in 973 or shortly thereafter. Thus the Muslim menace was ended.⁶

⁵Lewis, pp. 177, 147.

✓ ⁶On these and other matters related to the Muslims at Fraxinet see Poupardin, Bourgoigne, and his Le Royaume de Provence sous les Carolingiens (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études; Sciences philologiques et historiques, t. CXXXI) (Paris, 1901).

Maiolus' capture and subsequent release made him even more noted, and biographical material concerning him is plentiful and frequently conveys some attitudes regarding Muslims. Ralph Glaber, a Cluniac monk himself, noted that Maiolus stated in his letter to Cluny seeking money for his ransom that: "The torments of Belial surround me, the pangs of death encompass me." And of that captivity Ralph wrote;

But while the holy man was held captive by the Muslims his merit was such that he could not hide it. For when at the breakfast hour they placed before him the food which they ate, meat and coarse bread, and said "Eat." But he answered, "If I am hungry, the Lord is food for me. So of these things I shall not eat because they will not be of use to me." Separating himself, one of them, led by piety and reverencing the man of God, reached forth his arm and immediately washing a plate brought upon it, in the sight of the venerable Maiolus, a quantity of the finest bread. And very quickly washing it, he brought it reverently to him. Maiolus took it and before eating the meal gave thanks to God, offering a prayer as was his habit. Also another of the Saracens while cutting wood unhesitatingly placed his foot upon the man of God's book, even his Bible, which he was always accustomed to carry with him. And while the holy man sighed staring [at him], others of them who were less fierce perceived the situation and cried out against him saying that one ought not thus reduce the prophets to nothing, so that he would remove his foot. Since the Saracens read the prophets of the Hebrews and even more the Christians, saying moreover that they are now fulfilled in their own time as they name Muhammad, whom they proclaim to be a prophet of the universe foretold by the Lord Christ. But to prove their error fully they have their own genealogy which is indeed similar to that of the Gospel according to Matthew, which tells the genealogy from Abraham to Jesus, with the succession descending through Isaac. Upon his seed blessing and the promise of the universe is clearly foretold. Theirs says Ismael begat Nabaoth, and then descending fictitiously from that error is indeed greatly foreign to the truth and likewise far from holy catholic authority. Meanwhile, so that the sanctity of the blessed Maiolus might be made clear, that same day, by the judgment of God, others angrily attacked him who had stood upon the book and cut off the offending foot. Indeed now several of them undertook to remain his messengers and guardians. Still there at last came from the brothers that return expedition which

gave to these Saracens the previously stipulated ransom, and the father, with all those who had been captured with him, returned to their homeland.⁷

And in Syrus' life of Maiolus, we read:

Further, therefore, the blessed Maiolus, the greatest of warriors, seizing the shield of faith, with the lance of the Word of God pierced through the enemies of Christ, approving the cult of the

⁷"Sed vir sanctus dum interim a Sarracenis captus teneretur, cuius meriti esset, latere non potuit. Nam cum ei hora prandii obtulissent cibos quibus vescebantur, carnes videlicet panemque admodum asperum, et dicerent: Comede, respondit: Ego enim se esuriero, Domini est me pascere. Ex his tamen non comedam, quia non mihi olim in usu fuerunt. Cernens vero unus illorum viri Dei reverentiam, pietate ductus, exuens brachia, simulque abluens et clipeum, super quem etiam in conspectu venerabilis Maioli satis mundissime panem confecit. Quem etiam citissime decoquens, ei reverentissime detulit. Ipse quoque suscipiens illum, atque ex more oratione praemissa ex eodem reficiens, Deo gratias egit. Alius quoque Sarracenorum eorundem cultro deplanans ligniastulam, posuit incunctanter pedem super viri Dei codicem, bibliothecam videlicet, quam ex more secum semper ferre consueverat. Dumque vir sanctus intuens ingemisset, aliqui minus feroces ex ipsis perspicientes, suum increpuerunt comparem, dicentes non debere magnos prophetas sic pro nihilo duci, ut illorum dicta pedi substerneret. Siquidem Sarraceni Hebreorum, quin potius christianorum prophetas legunt; dicentes etiam completum iam esse in quodam suorum, quem illi Mahomed nuncupant, quicquid de universorum domino Christo sacri vates praedixerunt. Sed ad errorem illorum comprobandum etiam ipsorum genealogiam penes se habent, ad similitudinem videlicet euangelii Mathei, qui scilicet ab Abraham narrat genealogiae catalogum usque ad Ihesum, per Isaac successionem descendens. In cuius videlicet semine universorum promissa atque praedicta est benedictio. Illorum, inquit, Hismahel genuit Nabaiot, ac deinceps usque in erroneum illorum descendens figmentum, quod scilicet tantum est a veritate alienum, quantum a sacra et catholica auctoritate extraneum. Praeterea, ut beati Maioli sanctitas claresceret, is qui eius volumen pede calcaverat, eodem die pro quavis occasione, revera iudicio Dei, ceteri furiose irruentes in eum, eundem ei truncaverunt pedem. Plures vero iam ex ipsis erga eum ceperunt mitiores ac reverentiores existere. Tandem vero quidam de fratribus illuc expeditius remeantes, data eisdem Sarracenis praesignata pecunia, patrem cum viris tantum qui cum eo capti fuerant in patriam reduxerunt." Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum Libris V, MGH, SS., VII, 54. See also Robert Latouche, Le Film de l'Histoire médiévale en France (843-1328), (Paris, 1959), p. 85.

Christian religion and by certain and most evident reasons he attempted to show that he whom they worshiped was God, not to free himself from punishment nor to be of service to them in any other way. Upon hearing that, the boasting of the barbarians was inflamed with furious madness, and chaining the feet of the saints they shut them in a horrid prison cave with sharp rocks. And then those whom the man of God had persuaded to the Christian cult by discussion, after joining themselves to the professing of Christianity from the barbarian rite, attested that by the swearing of an oath, and while the soldiers among them were resting at night the man of God began to praise the king of kings, and many voices were heard singing with him.

Doubtless the reader was expected to contrast such missionary effort with the treatment accorded the saint. Syrus' hostile attitude is also present in his narration of the capture.

. . . Suddenly an army of the perfidious Saracens attacked them. Immediately they were confused by the attack and milling about in vain and giving up all hope of improvement they sought to flee. But all in vain; the mad whirlwind of the impious ones pursued them speedily and enchained all whom they caught. And one of that impious horde threw a javelin from a high rock at the man of God's servant, so that the latter was killed. The man of God in trying to block the javelin received a wound, which he did not realize until later.⁸

⁸ "Protinus ergo beatus Maiolus, belligerator optimus, scutum fidei arripiens, cuspidē verbi Dei perfodiebat inimicos Christi, christianae religionis cultum approbans, et eum quem Deum colebant nec se a supplicio liberare nec illos in aliquo posse adiuvere, certis et evidentissimis aggressus est rationibus demonstrare. Quo audito, barbarorum iactantia furore inflammata vesano, sanctos pedes compede constringentes ferreo, absciso rupis sub antro horrendo claudunt erastulo. . . . Eorum namque, quos ad Christi cultum viri Dei persuasit disputatio, postquam christianae professioni a ritu se contulerunt barbarico, sicut iureiurando protestabatur assertio, dum quiescerent immites nocturno tempore milites, et vir Dei debitas Regi regum redderet laudes, multorum secum canentium saepius audiebant voces." MGH, SS., IV, 653.

⁹ ". . . subito eos invasit perfidae gentis Sarracenorum exercitus. Subita itaque incursione turbati, et conantes plurima frustra, omnique spe meliori deposita, fugae consulunt. Sed nequicquam. Vesana enim impiorum turba calle citato hos persequens, omnes quos comprehendere potuit in vinculis coniecit. Cumque unus ex illa impiorum turba ab alta rupe unum ex viri Dei famulis telo appeteret; ut famulus eriperetur, vir Dei venienti iaculo caritativam manum opposuit; in qua, quamdiu postea vixit, inflictī vulneris cicatrix apparuit." Ibid., 652.

Poupardin rejects yet another life of Maiolus, the one by Romulus, on the grounds that it confuses events of the eighth century with those of the tenth and must therefore be much later, probably of the late eleventh or early twelfth century. That very lack of clarity shows that events involving Muslims were not carefully remembered.¹⁰

The written records of the tenth and eleventh centuries show an increasing hostility to the Muslims. Some of the brief annals note Muhammad's descent from Ishmael, and one calls him "Muhammad, whom the Saracens adore."¹¹ "The perfidious Saracen people" are distinguished from Jews by Aimon.¹² Ekkehard remarks that Justinian the younger, "polluted by heresy persecuted catholics, and made peace with the Saracens."¹³ A cartulary for the Monastery of St. Victor in 1005 saw the Muslims as God's scourge;

. . . as omnipotent God chooses to lash the Christian people through calling apart the pagans, barbarian people invaded the kingdom of Provence and spread out round about, gained strength violently, wasted the most strongly fortified places and the remaining inhabitants, and destroyed churches and monasteries.¹⁴

¹⁰ Poupardin, Provence, pp. 246-47.

¹¹ ". . . quem Sarraceni adorant." Annales Admuntenses, Auctarium Garstense, Annales Sancti Rudberti Salisburgenses, MGH, SS., IX, 571, 563, 767.

¹² "Sarraceni, gens perfida. . .," Aimoni Monachi Floriacensis, De Gestis Francorum, RHF, III, 129.

¹³ ". . . heresi pollutus catholicos persequitur, et cum Sarracenis pacem fecit." Ekkehardi Chronicon Wirzburgense, MGH, SS., VI, 25.

¹⁴ ". . . et omnipotens Deus flagellare vellet populum christianum per seviciam paganorum, gens barbarica in regno Provincie irruens, circumquaque diffusa, vehementer invaluit, ac munitissima queque loca optinens et inhabitans cuncta vastavit, ecclesias ac monasteria plurima destruxit. . . ." Cartulaire de Saint-Victor de Marseille (Collection des Documents Inédits sur l'histoire de France: Collection des Cartulaires, t. VIII) (Paris, 1857), I, 19.

✓ However Muslims were not the only opponents viewed with such hostility. Pignot cites Odo of Cluny on the Norman burning of St. Martin of Tours as saying:

It was the sins of men that brought the lash of God upon the Holy Places; it was not that God had abandoned them.¹⁵

And in the Life of St. Leo there was much harsher treatment of Normans:

He also said among other things; with that solicitude by which I strive to watch over all churches, I have seen the undisciplined and alien Norman people cruelly and with unheard of madness rise up in pagan impiety against the church of God, make truces here and there with Christians and afflict them with some new and more horrible torments until the spirit is wearied, neither do they show any respect or human feeling toward infants or the elderly or fragile women, nor do they make any distinction between the sacred and the profane, they spoil sacred basilicas and burn and destroy all alike; very often I have confuted this perversity, I have reminded, I have beseeched, I have preached, I have persisted in season and out of season,¹⁶ I have announced the wrath of God and the deliverance of man.

16- Otto III's ill-fated campaign in Calabria in 982 provoked much comment. Most writers preferred to pass over the matter quickly, but it was noted that Otto "for the defense of God's holy church fought against the Saracens in Apulia a battle to be remembered through all

¹⁵"Ce sont les péchés des hommes qui attirent les fléaux sur les lieux saints; ce n'est point la vertu de Dieu qui les abandonne." J.-Henri Pignot, Histoire de l'Ordre de Cluny depuis la Fondation de l'Abbaye jusqu'à la Mort de Pierre-le-Venerable (909-1157), (Paris and Autun, 1868), I, 83.

¹⁶"Ait enim inter alia: 'Illa sollicitudine, qua omnibus Ecclesiis debeo invigilare, videns indisciplinatum et alienam gentem Normannorum crudeli et inaudita rabie et plusquam pagana impietate adversus Ecclesiam Dei insurgere, passim Christianos trucidare, et nonnullos novis horribilibusque tormentis usque ad defectionem animae affligere, nec infanti aut seni seu femineae fragilitati aliquo humanitatis respectu parcere, nec inter sanctum et profanum aliquam distantiam habere, sanctorum basilicas spoliare, incendere et ad solum usque diruere, saepissime perversitatem ejus redargui; commonui, obsecravi, praedicavi; opportune importuneque institui; terrorem divinae et vindictae denuntiavi.'" Vita S. Leonis auctore Wiberto, PL, **EXLIII**, 499.

ages. . . ."¹⁷ Although that was probably what Otto wanted people to believe, the St. Gall annalist was probably nearer the truth when he said Otto went to Italy because he was "not content with his father's boundaries." A later view says:

The aforementioned emperor Otto made war in Calabria between himself and the Saracens, in which an innumerable multitude of Christians met death. . . . There was revealed to the blessed Odelric a divine vision. It was granted to him to see the just judgment of God in the form of Jesus Christ on his sublime throne overlooking the whole heavenly order. An examination of the scales of justice was prepared, and the question aired how victory should fall to a people believing on Christ. The sins and iniquities of the Christians grow so great that they shall be judged by subjecting them to the Saracen sword. Upon seeing the vision the holy priest told it to the army. Therefore they devoted themselves unceasingly to prayers and fasting, placing their hope of salvation in a pure confession. Meanwhile a multitude of the people, famished by want and hunger, left the army and entered into conflict with the Saracens, preferring to die by the sword rather than by hunger. Divine piety, regarding the salvation of souls, allowed those to be removed from the present age whom he foreordained to be given the glory of eternal rest. This dolorous event disquieted the people, unknown to the royal forces. Again the holy Odelric was seized by a vision and broke through to distinguish for the first time our Redeemer and Judge upon his throne, with his glorious mother Mary and all the heavenly host falling down before him begging that he not allow himself to bear the offenses by the triumph of the punishing Gentiles.¹⁸

¹⁷"pro defensione sanctae Dei Ecclesiae contra Sarracenos in Apulia praelium totius saeculis memorandum commisit. . . ." De Fundatione S. Arnulphi Metensis, PL, CXXXVIII, 193.

¹⁸"Prefato Ottone imperante, famosum bellum factum est in Calabria inter ipsum et Sarracenos, in quo innumerabilis multitudo christianorum obeundo vicit. . . . Revelata est beato siquidem de Baioaria Odelrico presuli talis divinitus visio. Vicebatur sibi videre iustum Deum iudicem in scemate Iesu Christi sublimi solio residere omnemque coeli ordinem circumstare. Examinatio staterae parata est, quaestio ventilata, cui cederet victoria, ethnico an Christi professo. Iniquitas et peccatum christianorum exoreverat eo usque, quod iudicarentur subici gladio Sarracenorum. Sanctus evigilans sacerdos visionem manifestat toto exercitui. Orationibus igitur et ieiuniis si mul instant, spem suae salutis in pura confessione ponentes. Interea multitudo vulgi fame et inopia profligati, subtrahentes exercitui sese, cum Sarracenis

Since that view probably dates from the early twelfth century, it is more indicative of crusade attitudes. There are, however, earlier reports of divine interventions in battles.

Then he began to tremble and be terrified and to despair for his own salvation since he supposed the Saracens to be upon him. But God's favoring mercy directed against the enemy's home base two precincts of senior angels, declaring to the face of that clement one: "Do you not know that Constantius and Severinus are the custodians of this island and through our battle are uprooting the Saracen force? Now fear no more, for they shall not come here." And he would direct his thoughts daily that he might hear such a delectable sound again, but hearing a tumult of men he thought it to be the Saracen army, but it was a group proceeding from the church of the blessed Constantius and saying among themselves: "You Saracens get away from here." And no one doubts that through the protection of St. Constantius the isle of Capri is freed from various pestilences.¹⁹

Rulers mention Muslims only infrequently in their correspondence, and usually only in a matter-of-fact way. However when Otto III wrote to Archbishop Walapert of Mailand he noted that "the bishopric of Albi

disponunt conflagrare, malentes gladio quam fame perire. Pietas itaque divina semper consulens animarum saluti, permisit eos inpresentiarum interimi, quibus previdit dari gloriam aeternae requiei. Hac lacrimabili caede peracta vulgi, milicia ignorante regali, denuo beatus presul Odelricus invisum rapitur, et rursum sicut primitus cernit in throne Redemptorem nostrum et iudicem, cui gloriosa eius genitrix Maria cum omni coelestium ordine supplicabat, ne confitentium sibi offensas pateretur plecti triumpho gentili." Gesta Episcoporum Mettensium, MGH, SS., X, 542.

¹⁹"Tunc tremebunda et territa coepit de propria salute desperare, eo quod Sarracenos sibi imminere estimaret. Sed Dei favente clementia duos precinctos seniores angelicos ad hostium domus intendit, illi clementi vultu talia proferentes: 'Scias non esse Constantium et Severinum huius insulae custodes et per nostrum certamen hinc funditus electum Sarracenorum agmen. Et ne iam amplius timeas, quia huc venire non possunt.' . . . Cumque diutius intenderet, ut tam delectabilem sonum audiret, et estimaret Sarracenorum esse exercitum, audivit tumultum hominum ab ecclesia sancti Constantii procedentium et inter se simul dicentium: 'Abierunt hinc Sarraceni.' Unde nemo dubitet, quia per sancti Constantii protectionem sepe Caprea insula a variis pestilentiis liberata est." Sermo de Transito Sancti Constantii, MGH, SS., XXX, 1021.

was depopulated, sadly enough, by Saracens, which was the deserved punishment of the sins of the Christians."²⁰ And in Adalbero's poem of praise to Robert, King of France, we read that

The Saracen people, too often invading the Frankish kingdom with hand and sword, were disciplined; he occupied and gnawed at whoever nourished himself on Gaul.²¹

Eleventh century notices show a still more strident tone. Ditmar of Merseburg, speaking of the Muslim attack on Luni, said ". . . so they vigorously attacked the very presumptuous enemies of Christ, and * killed them by God's help."²² Ademar sought to blame both Jews and Muslims for the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher in 1009.

The Western Jews sent letters to the East accusing the Christians of ordering a Western army to be sent against the Eastern Saracens. Then Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, whom they call Al-Mu'min, quickly stirring the Saracens into anger, brought a great affliction upon the Christians, making a law that any Christians under his power who were unwilling to become Muslims either should have their goods confiscated or be killed. Thus it was done, so that innumerable Christians lost their means for no reason, but no one was deemed worthy of dying for Christ except the patriarch of Jerusalem who was killed by various punishments and two German youths in Egypt were beheaded, and became illustrious by many miracles. Now the church of the saints was subverted, and by reason of our sins the basilica of the Holy Sepulcher was razed. The monument stone which could not be broken into small pieces they threw into a huge fire but as if it were adamant it remained immobile and solid. The Bethlehem church where Christ was born, which they trusted to destroy, appeared to them in such a brilliant

²⁰" . . . Albiensis ibidem episcopatus mencio facta est, qui pro dolor Christianorum peccatis promerentibus a Saracenis adeo est depopulatus. . . ." MGH, DD., II, 2, 879.

²¹"Sara nimis gens cenorum de more petulca
Regnum Franconum manibus ferroque subactum
Occupat, et rodit quidquid sibi Gallia nutrit."
Adalberonis Carmen ad Rotbertum Regem Francorum, RHF, X, 67.

²²" . . . ut inimicos Christi, talia praesumentes, viriliter secum irrumperent, et adjuvante Domino occiderent." Chronicon Ditmari Episcopi Mersburgensis, RHF, X, 134.

light that the whole multitude fell dead and the church remained intact. Also 10,000 armed Saracens went to destroy the monastery of Mt. Sinai, but from afar off they saw the whole mountain burning and aflame up to the cells of iron, and here all together gathered and remained. When they reported what had happened to the king of Babylon, he himself, led to penitence for the pains which the Saracen people who had gone forth against the Christians had suffered, and giving a command, he ordered the rebuilding of the glorious basilica of the sepulcher. Still the rebuilt basilica was not so ample as the earlier one, nor so beautiful nor so large as that which Helen, the mother of the royal Constantine, built. Soon afterward all the land of the Saracens burned with famine for three years, and many died of hunger so that the streets and deserts were filled with cadavers, and men had to eat wild beasts and birds. The wasted land was attacked by the sword, for the Arab people spread out upon the lands, and those who remained from hunger died by the sword. The King of Babylon was captured, who had raised himself up against God, and his vitals were drawn out of his living body and he was killed. His belly was filled with stones and sewn together, and the corpse, with lead tied to its neck, was thrown into the sea.²³

²³ Nam Iudei occidentales epistolas miserunt in Orientem, accusantes christianos, mandantes exercitus Occidentalium super Sarracenos orientales commotos esse. Tunc Nabuchodonosor Babiloniae, quem vocant Admiratum, concitatus suasu Sarracenorum in iram, magnam afflictionem super christianos exercuit, data lege, ut quicumque christiani de sua potestate nollent fieri Sarraceni, aut confiscarentur aut interficerentur. Unde factum est, ut innumerabiles christianorum facultates suas pro nichilo ducerent; sed morte nemo dignus pro Christo fuit nisi patriarcha Hierosolimorum, qui variis suppliciis occisus est, et duo adolescentes germani in Egypto, qui decollati sunt, et multis clarescunt miraculis. Nam ecclesiae sanctorum subversae sunt, et peccatis nostris promerentibus, basilica sepulchri Domini usque ad solum diruta. Lapidem monumenti cum nullatenus possent comminuere, ignem copiosum superadiciunt, sed quae adamans immobilis mansit et solidus. Bethleemiticam ecclesiam, ubi Christus natus est, cum niterentur destruere, apparuit eis lux fulgurans subito, et omnis eorum multitudo corruens exspiravit, et ecclesia intacta remansit. Ad monasterium quoque montis Sinai decem milia Sarracenorum armatorum venientes destruendum, longe quatuor milibus conspiciunt totum montem ardere et flammam usque in cellum ferri, et cuncta ibi posita cum hominibus manere illesa. Quod cum renunciassent regi Babilonio, penitencia ductus tam ipse quam populus Sarracenus valde doluerunt de his, quae contra christianos egissent, et data praeceptione, iussit reaedificari basilicam sepulchri gloriosi. Tamen redincepta basilica, non fuit amplius similis priori nec pulchritudine nec magnitudine, quam Helena mater Constantini regali sumptu perfecerat. Mox e vestigio super omnem terram Sarracenorum fames

Undoubtedly that outcome was, in Ademar's view, merely the just judgment of God upon those who tampered with the Holy Places. Elsewhere Ademar construes battles as being between Saracens and Christians; obviously he considered the two religious foes.

Marianus Scottus also recounted a tale of Muslim cruelty.

Some Arabs, having gathered together to obtain money, fell upon many westerners who, unable to resist them, fled into an empty castle, called by us Carvasala, which they defended with rocks and clubs against the javelins of the Arabs, who sought both their money and their life. Then one good soldier, whom nothing could prohibit from going to the Lord's sepulcher, went out stark naked. The Arabs, capturing him, stretched him out like one on a cross, and transfixing his hands and feet into the earth, cut the skin on his stomach into two parts, withdrawing the viscera all the way to the throat, and throwing it upon his body examined it. Then, dividing him limb from limb, their leader threw the first stone upon him and others followed suit. Then to all of us looking on from the castle they said: So we shall do to you if you refuse to give all your money to us. When moreover they promised to give us all their money unless they conquered the Christians, they sent an Arab duke with sixteen swordsmen. When he saw the glorious bishops with many soldiers and the dorsalia, the hanging pallia, and the other vestments, he put a cord around the neck of the bishop of Banberg (for such is the pagan custom of leading things), whose body was almost as great and beautiful as that of our lord, and said: you and yours are now all mine. To which the bishop replied through an interpreter: What can you do to me? And he said; I shall suck that fine blood from your throat, and I shall hang you like a dog before the castle. Then the bishop, holding his head, struck the leader to the ground with a single blow, and all the others were quickly tied. Upon hearing that, those who were outside broke in upon the castle. But these tied ones upon the walls were subjected by their own swords against their javelins, they called sons and friends those who prohibited

incanduit per tres annos, et innumerabilis eorum multitudo fame mortua est, ita ut plateae et deserta cadaveribus replerentur, et fierent homines cibum et sepulture feris et avibus. Secuta est eos gladii vastitas. Nam gentes Arabiae super Terram eorum diffusae sunt, et qui remanserant fame, gladiis interierunt. Captus est ab eis rex Babilonius, qui se contra Deum erexerat in superbiam, et vivus, ventre secto, visceribus extractis, mortuus est. Venter eius lapidibus oppletus, consutus est, et cadaver, ligato plumbo ad collum, in mare demersum est." Ademari Historiarum, MGH, SS., IV, 137.

others. Then there was war among the robbers, with many of them taking money, many fathers and their friends. Two days after Easter, the duke of Ramula, seeking those Arabs who had fled from him, came with many hands, and accepting five hundred gold bezants and the captive duke of the Arabs, the longtime enemy of the Saracen king, he led the Christians to Jerusalem and to the ship.²⁴

It is clear from these last accounts that there was now, in the mid-eleventh century and thereafter, an increasing hatred of the Muslims as religious and not merely political opponents.

²⁴"Arabitae vero fama pecuniae congregati, multos que predictorum in parasceue occidentes, cum non sustinuerunt, in quoddam castellum vacuum Carvasalim nomine nostri fugerunt; quod claudentes, lapidibus et fustibus deffenderunt se contra iacula Arabitarum querentium cunctam pecuniam eorum vel vitam pariter et pecuniam. Tunc unus bonus miles nullo modo prohibitus a sepulchro Domini, nudus foris exivit. Arabitae vero eum statim extendentes in modum crucis sopinum, manibus ipsi et pedibus transfixis in terram clavibus supertectum ventris intra duo latera, et cooperta viscerum ab imo ventris usque guttur super faciem eius proiecientes, scrutaverunt, qualiter humana viscera habentur; deinde eum membratim dividentes, dux ipsorum primum lapidem super eum et unusquisque post illum proiecit. Tunc nostris omnibus de castello intuentibus, dixerunt: Vos ita eritis, si totam pecuniam nobis non traderitis. Cum autem nostri promiserunt dare totam suam pecuniam nisi victum usque ad christianos, ducem Arabitarum cum viris 16 totidemque gladiis intromiserunt. Qui cum vidisset episcopos gloriosos cum multis militibus, et dorsalia, pallia pendentia et cetera, sicut consuetudinis est paganorum reos tenere, extendit corrigiam circa collum Bambergensis episcopi, quasi domini nostrorum magnitudine et pulchritudine corporis eius, et ait: Tu et ista tua omnia mea erunt. Episcopus vero per interpretem ait: Quid mihi facies? Et ille dixit: Istum pulchrum sanguinem gutturis tui sugam, et suspendam te sicut unum canem ante castellum. Tunc episcopus, prehensio capite eius, uno colapho percutiens ducem in terram; omnes alii ligati sunt. Qui vero faras erant audientes ista, irruerunt supra castellum. Sed isti ligati supra murum sub gladiis suis contra iacula suorum suppositi, rogaverunt filios et amicos suos, qui ceteros prohibuerunt. Inde bellum inter latrones actum est, cum multi eorum elegerunt pecuniam, multi patres et amicos suos. Feria vero 2. post pascha rogantes eum elii qui evaserunt, venit dux de Ramula cum multa manu, et fugans Arabitas, accepti quingentos bisantios aureos (Id est denarios magnos), captivumque ducem Arabitarum, inimicum multo tempore regis Sarracenorum; et duxit christianos Hierusalem, et inde ad navem." Mariani Scotti Chronicon, MGH, SS., V, 559.

Saints' lives offer little that is significant. The Vita S. Theofredi calls the Muslims "barbarous and most ferocious Ismaelites."²⁵
 The eleventh century Vita S. Willelmi states that:

. . . he fought battles with the overseas barbarians and Agarenes in the neighborhood, and thus by his sword with divine aid he saved the people of God. . . .²⁶

And in a martyrology from St. Gall we find evidence of missionary activity and knowledge of the Spanish martyrs' movement.

VII Id. Febr.

And afterward he, at the request of Mauvia queen of the Saracens, was made bishop of that people; he cared for the catholic faith keeping it unspotted, and he converted the greater part of the people to whom he was sent as bishop to the Christian faith, and thus died virtuous in perfect peace.

V Kal. Jul.

That day in Spain in the city of Cordoba marks the birth of Zoellus and nineteen other saints.²⁷

Thus by the eve of the crusades, it is clear that attitudes in the heartland were becoming more hostile, although not more knowledgeable, regarding the Muslims. And that increased hostility has a decidedly religious tinge—the stories emphasize the atrocious Muslim treatment of holy places or holy men. Already we see some examples

²⁵" . . . barbaram gentem Ismaelitarum et ferocissima Ismaelitarum." RHF, III, 652.

²⁶" . . . cum barbaris transmarinis et Agarenis vicinis commiserit praelia; quomodo in gladio suo cum auxilio divino populum Dei salvavit" RHF, V, 471.

²⁷"Quique postea, petente Mauvia Saracenorum regina, episcopus illius gentis factus, fidei catholicae custodivit intemerata consortia, et gentem cui datus fuerat episcopus ex grandi parte ad fidem Christi convertit; sicque in pace perfectus in virtutibus quievit."

"Eodem die in Hispania, Corduba civitate, nativitas sanctorum Zoelli et aliorum novemdecim." B. Notkeri Balbuli S. Galli Monachi Martyrologium, PL, CXXXI, 1014, 1110.

of that anti-Muslim propaganda that was to become so much more extensive during the crusades.

Furthermore we see the idea that Muslim victories were God's way of punishing Christian sins spreading throughout the heartland after 900. But we also sense that pseudo-Methodius' argument has permeated the heartland, and that the time for that reversal of Muslim fortunes by the king of the Romans is rapidly approaching. Both greater religious hostility toward Muslims and a sense that the "fullness of time" had come were important elements in Urban II's appeal of 1095.

The steady increase in anti-Muslim sentiment that our evidence shows must be weighed against a much larger amount of material which conveys no overt hostility but is strictly reportorial narrative which portrays the Muslims solely as political enemies. But we note that the increase roughly parallels the increasing influence of the Cluniac reform, and we know that the crusades were spearheaded by Cluniac-influenced popes. Let us see if there was a connection.

CHAPTER VII

THE PAPACY

The disintegration of the Roman Empire and the subsequent collapse of imperial administration in the West thrust the papacy into a commanding position in the temporal as well as the spiritual sphere. Gregory I, the Great (590-604), raised the papacy to new heights of prestige through his writings, his sponsoring of missionary activity, and his able administration. Upon those foundations papal authority was established. Since the papacy even at this early date sought to be an international institution, and since the popes spoke for the church in many matters, it is necessary to investigate papal attitudes regarding the Muslims. Other useful evidence regarding the official attitudes of the church, such as the records of church councils, will also be examined.

For the seventh century there are few notices. Martin I (649-53) led an expedition against the Muslims in Sicily. He sought to minimize his contacts with Muslims and maximize his charity toward Christians under Muslim rule; apparently extensive contact with the Muslims was considered undesirable.

I neither sent letters to the Saracens nor said what book they ought to believe, or sent any money except exactly that pertaining to the servants of God for alms, and we offered little to the Saracens in that moderate sending to those men.²

¹Mansi, X, 788; Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Historia de Vitis Romanorum Pontificum* (hereafter cited as *HVRP*), *PL*, CXXVIII, 741-42.

²"Ego aliquando ad Saracenos nec literas misi, nec quem dicunt totum qualiter credere debeant, aut pecunias unquam transmissi, exceptis dumtaxat quibusdam illuc venientibus servis Dei causa eleemosynae, quibus & modicum quid praebuimus minime ad Saracenos transmissum." Mansi, X, 842.

The Lateran Council of 649 proclaimed that it was "on account of the rising up of our sins that we were entangled in the Saracen incursion."³ And the Third Constantinopolitan Council in 681 also took that position, saying that the Christians were

. . . greatly pressed down by the arrogance of the Saracens who, on account of our sins, unexpectedly broke in and cruelly and by a fierce spirit were destroying everything by their impious and nefarious audacity.⁴

During the pontificate of John V (685-86) Anastasius notes that the Emperor Justinian "by the help of God made peace with the unspeakable Saracens for ten years on land and sea."⁵ In discussing Gregory II (715-31) he again terms them unspeakable and impious people, and notes that the Emperor Anastasius "directed with God a fleet of ships prepared in the territories of Alexandria against the destructive Agarenes."⁶ The popes themselves, however, said nothing about the Muslims for nearly a century.

During the Carolingian period, notices became more frequent. Boniface, the great missionary to the Germans, was concerned about

³" . . . emersam ex nostris peccatis incursionem Sarracenorum praepedior." Mansi, X, 895.

⁴" . . . maxime autem Saracenorum supercilium deprimat, qui propter peccata nostra inopinato in nos insurrexerunt, crudelique & agresti spiritu omnia depredantur, impiaque ac nefaria audacia." Mansi, XI, 852.

⁵"Domino auxiliante pacem constituit cum nec dicenda gente Saracenorum decennio terra marique." HVRP, PL, CXXVIII, 875-78. Other chroniclers of the period repeat that observation, but without the epithet "unspeakable."

⁶" . . . classem navium praeparatam in partibus Alexandriae direxit contra a Deo destructos Agarenos. . . ." HVRP, PL, CXXVIII, 975-80.

the "rebellions and temptations and threats of the Saracens."⁷

And he utilized the Muslim conquest of Spain in his efforts to convince King Ethelbald of Mercia of the need to embrace Christianity.

Thus he touched by other nations the peoples of Spain and Provence and Burgundy, who thus departing from God were fornicators, and so the omnipotent judge permitted the doing of such great crimes and avenging punishments through the ignorance of the law of God and through the Saracens.⁸

But here, too, he conveyed the idea that the conquest was accomplished because of the sins of Christians.

✓ Pope Zacharias (741-52) sought to prohibit the slave trade between Venice and the Muslims, arguing that Christians should not serve pagans and even ransoming some of the captives.

At this time many Venetian negotiators had come into the city of Rome selling goods for nine days, and were seen to buy a multitude of slaves, men and women too, who were then sold to the pagan people in Africa. Knowing that, the most holy father prohibited them from doing it, judging it unjust that Christians washed by baptism should serve pagan peoples.⁹

⁷"... rebelliones et temptationes et minae Sarracenorum. . . ." MGH, Ep., III, 278.

⁸"Sicut aliis gentibus Hispaniae et Provinciae et Burgundonium populis contigit; quae sic a Deo recedentes fornicatae sunt, donec iudex omnipotens talium criminum ultrices poenas per ignorantiam legis Dei et per Sarracenos venire et saevire permisit." MGH, Ep., III, 343. That letter passed by Benedictus Levita into the Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals and became embodied in Gratian's Decretum; thus the idea of Muslim conquest being just punishment for Christian sins became further embedded in the West. Fred E. Engreen, "Pope John the Eighth and the Arabs," Speculum, XX (1945), 320.

⁹"Porro eodem tempore contigit plures Veneticorum hanc Romanam advenisse in urbem negotiatores, et mercimonii nundinas propagantes, multitudinem mancipiorum, virilis scilicet et femini generis emere visi sunt, quos et in Africam ad paganam gentem mitebantur deducere. Quo cognito isdem sanctissimus Pater fieri prohibuit, hoc iudicam quod justum non esset ut Christi abluti baptismo paganis gentibus deservirent." HVRP, PL, CXXVIII, 1057-58.

Those prohibitions had little effect, for Adrian I (772-95) found it necessary to protest vehemently against charges that he was abetting slave trade with the Muslims.¹⁰ Adrian also comforted Charlemagne in the face of a Muslim attack.

. . . contrary to God himself the Agarene people desired to enter your territories to fight with you. We indeed, dearest son and great king, ask our Lord God for mercy incessantly for you with all our priests and religious monks and every cleric of our whole people so that he may subject this unspeakable Agarene people to you and lay them under your feet and prevent them from prevailing against you, because as the people of Pharaoh were drowned in the Red Sea because they would not believe God so in this our Lord God through the intercession of the blessed apostle Peter gives them into your hand.¹¹

And he sought to prevent Muslim erosion of Christianity in Spain after Egila, the papal legate for that land, found

. . . that many so-called Catholics are carrying on a common life with Jews and unbaptized pagans, both in foods and drink and in diverse errors nothing polluted disquiets them, and that which is prohibited, that no one should be sold into a yoke with unbelievers, they do with their daughters and bless them; thus the population becomes Gentile and priests are ordained without examination.¹²

¹⁰ PL, XCVIII, 318; MGH, Ep., III, 585.

¹¹ "Destinavit nobis per vestros apices a Deo constituta regalis potentia, quia, Deo sibi contrario, Agarenorum gens cupiunt ad debellandum vestris introire finibus. . . . Nos vero, dulcissime fili et magne rex, incessanter pro vobis cum omnibus nostris sacerdotibus atque religiosis monachis et cunctum clerum vel universum populum nostrum domini Deo nostri deprecamus clementiam, ut ipsam necdicendam Agarenorum gentem vobis subiciat et vestri eam substernat pedibus et minime prevalere adversus vos valeant; quia, sicut populus Pharonis demersus est in Mari Rubro, eo quod non crediderint Deo, ita et in hac vice dominus Deus noster per intercessionem beati Petri apostoli in vestris eos tradat manibus." MGH, Ep., III, 588; PL, XCVIII, 308.

¹² ". . . quod multi dicentes Catholicos se, communem vitam gerentes cum Judaeis & non baptizatis paganis, tam in escis quamque in potu, seu & diversis erroribus nihil pollui se inquiunt: & illud, quod inhibitum est, ut nulli liceat jugum ducere cum infidelibus, ipsi enim filias suas cum alio benedicant, & sic populo Gentili tradentur, & quod sine examinatione praefati Presbyteri ut praesint ordinantur." ES, V, 535.

Leo III (795-816) took an even more forceful stand. A capitulary given at Worms in 803 stressed that the Muslim attacks were God's punishment for the sins of Christians.

And as the Lord permitted such harsh punishments to come and to remain upon the perpetrators of such crimes through the¹³ Saracens and other peoples, their deeds are cleared by all laws.

Leo's letter to Charles regarding the Muslim attack on Lampedusa bristles with epithets and emphasizes the role of divine aid.

By God who gives wisdom it is not unknown to you that the abominable Agarene people counseled together to come to the territory of Sicily during the present year. Now, however, so we hear, they have joined together to go into the Greek islands. On account of that, indeed, the Emperor Michael sent a patricius and a spatharios with a stole so that they should fight with the help of Christ against them. And when this patricius reached Sicily he directed his missi through Benevento to Anthimus the duke of Naples so that he and all his duchy might be willing and eager to offer naval aid. But the duke disdained the proffered opportunity to go to the Greeks' aid, although Gaeta and Amalfi did so. But later, so we hear, the abominable Moors invaded with thirty ships the island of Lampedusa, which constitutes a part of Sicily, and plundered it. And when by the admonition of the Greeks seven ships went searching so they could learn the truth, the Moors, hated by God, captured and killed them; and while the Greeks awaited those whom they had sent and they failed to return, they went out in force and fell upon and by God's pity killed all those iniquitous Moors, so that none survived. . . .¹⁴

¹³"Et qualiter Dominus talium criminum patratoribus ultrices poenas per Sarracenos & alios populos venire & servire permisit, cunctis earum gesta legentibus liquet." Mansi, XVIIIB, 413.

¹⁴"Vestrae siquidem a Deo datae sapientiae incognitum non est quod illa nefandissima Agarenorum gens partibus Siciliae anno praesente venire consiliaverat. Nunc autem, sicut audivimus, in quibus tam Graecorum insulis conjunxerunt. Pro quibus vero misit Michael imperator patricium et spadarios cum stolo, ut contra eos Christo adjuvante dimicare debuissent. Cumque ipse patricius in Siciliam conjunxisset, direxit missos suos per Beneventum ad Anthimum Neapolitanum ducem, ut cum toto ipso Neapolitano ducatu qui illi obedire voluissent navale auxilium ei praebere studuissent. Qui vero dux occasiones proponens in adiutorio ejus ire contempsit. Cajetani

He also reported to Charles a pact made between the Sicilians and the Muslims, stressing the untrustworthiness of the latter.

He said to the Saracen missi: why do you wish to make peace with us, when for eighty-five years you have had a pact with us which you have not observed? Yea, and Constantine the patricius who preceded me made a pact with you for ten years, until the eighth indiction in the future, but you did not keep that pact firmly. Now then why we should make a pact with you is unclear to us. To these things those Saracen missi responded saying: Our caliph, who until now has reigned over us, is dead, and his successor is a mere child, and he who was made a servant is now free, and he who was free is made a lord, and all think it of no importance to have a king, but lo, now, after all those things which his father had subjected to him he wishes the firm stability which this pact will provide. We cannot pledge the Spanish with us because they are not under the power of our king, but we wish to overcome them in due time, so we would permit both you and us to fight against them at sea, and if alone we are not so strong we will drive them to the boundaries of Christendom—we on our side and you on yours. After these things they indeed came together and confirmed in writing among themselves a ten-year pact. . . .¹⁵

tamen et Amalphitani aliquanta congregantes navigia in auxilio ejus abierunt. Postmodum vero, ut audivimus, ingressi sunt ipsi nefandissimi Mauri, tredecim scilicet navigia, in insulam quae dicitur Lampadusa, partibus Siciliae constituta, et praedavere eam. Cumque de praedicto Graecorum stolo septem navigia itidem explorando perrexissent, ut sc. veritatem cognoscere potuissent, comprehendentes eos Deo odibiles Mauri, occiderunt illos ad explorandum, et minime essent reversi, abierunt generaliter super eos, et, Christo miserante, totos illos iniquos Mauros occiderunt, ita ut nec unum ex eis vivum reliquerint. . . . PL, XCVIII, 540-42.

¹⁵"Dicebat enim ad praedictos missos Saracenorum: Quale nobiscum pactum facere vultis, cum ecce jam anni sunt octuaginta quinque quod pactum nobiscum fecistis et firmum non fuit? Imo et Constantinus patricius, qui ante me praefuit, in decem annos vobiscum pactum faciamus, nobis incognitum est. Ad haec respondebant ipsi Saracenorum missi, dicentes: Pater istius Amiralmumin, qui nunc apud nos regnare videtur, defunctus est, et iste relictus est parvulus, et qui fuit servus factus est liber, et qui liber fuit effectus est dominus; et nullum se regem habere putabant; sed ecce nunc postquam omnia quae pater suus habuit sibi subjecit, vult firma stabilitate hoc quod paramus pactum servare: de Spanis vobiscum non spondemus, quia non sunt sub ditione regni nostri: sed in quantum valemus eos superare, sicut vos ita et nos contra illos in mare dimicare permittimus: et si soli nos non valemus, nos a parte nostra et vos a vestra Christianorum finibus eos abjiciemus. Post haec vero convenit illis, et confirmavere in scripto inter se pactum in annos decem. . . ." PL, XCVIII, 544-48.

His fears were well-founded; news of a Muslim attack followed almost immediately. The distinction between African and Spanish Muslims is clearly stated, however, as is the papal attitude toward both.

The Paris synod of 824 learned the relationship of iconoclasm to Islam and the role of the caliph Yazid in that movement.

That tyrant of the Agarene people, whose name was Sulaiman, by whose death 'Umar succeeded to the reign and to him succeeded Yazid, a very weak and unstable man. At about this time there was in Beria an evildoer and diviner named Serantapicus, a preceptor of Hebrew iniquities and an enemy of the church of God, who so that he might discover the weakness of Yazid became Protosymbolus to him and began to divine and preach to him. Having made himself acceptable, not long thereafter he began to say: I wish to show forth goodness to you, so if you will heed me you will gain thirty years of added life and continuance in your rule, if you will heed my teachings. Indeed that weak tyrant, obscured in mind and desiring long life said: whatever you want me to do I am ready to complete, and if it comes to pass that I receive that which is promised, I will reward you with great honors. The diviner and evildoer then said to him: At once command the writing of a general letter saying that all images and pictures in all Christian churches be removed; either on the walls or the holy vessels or the coverings of the altar, and not only these things but those which adorn the city streets. On hearing that the perfidious tyrant instructed all prefectures in all places to abolish images of the church and other likenesses in all places and so to undecorate the churches of God. From this time therefore the corrupters of images began to be found. But that tyrant died in another year and images were restored to their previous state with honor etc.¹⁶

¹⁶ "Tyrannus quidam fuit Seleman nomine, Agarene genere, quo defuncto successit Huimarum in regno, cui iterum successit Ezidus vir valde levis & insipiens. Hujus enim temporibus erat quidam in Beriade maleficus ac divinus Serantapicus nomine, praeceptor iniquorum Hebraeorum & inimicus Dei Ecclesiae, qui ut comperit levitantem Ezidi Protosymboli accessit ad eum, coepitque illi quaedam divinare ac praedicere. Illi autem ex hoc acceptabilis factus, ac non multo postea dicere coepit: Benignitati tuae exponere volo, unde me si audias, addatur tibi longitudo vitae & perseveres in hoc Principatu annos triginta, si quidem impleveris sermones meos. Illo vero insipiens tyrannus obscuratus mente desiderii longae vitae; Quicquid mihi, inquit, praeceperis, paratus ad perficiendum existo. Et si consecutus fuero quod pollicitus es, maximos tibi honores retribuam. Maleficus vero & divinus ait ad

Perhaps because of the manifest weakness of the Frankish rulers, the papacy increased its anti-Muslim writing in the last half of the ninth century. Anastasius reports how the pope was "intervening with his holy prayers concerning those Saracens who still committed such nefarious crimes," and termed them elsewhere "sons of Satan."¹⁷ And again he mentions one who "accomplished so much and so great evil by unlucky labor that no Saracen had ever imagined or chosen to turn his hand to it."¹⁸ Moreover Anastasius' condensation of Theophanes' Chronographia and his translation of it into Latin made that document available for papal consultation. Since he differs in no essentials from Theophanes' account, the reader is referred to the remarks on Theophanes in chapter II. Leo IV (847-55) in a letter to the Frankish army, promised that if one died in the defense of Christendom he would gain salvation and the heavenly kingdom.¹⁹ Nicholas I (858-67) advised

eum: Jube mox generalem scribere epistolam, quatenus omnis imaginaria pictura deleatur in omnibus Christianorum ecclesiis; sive in parietibus sive in vasis sacris & in vestibus altarium, & non solum haec, sed quae in civitatum plateis sunt adornatae. Quod audiens perfidus ille Tyrannus praecepit omni praefecturae incunctis locis Ecclesiarum imagines & ceteras similitudines abolere & ita exornavit ecclesias Dei. Ab hinc enim coeperunt corruptores imaginum inveniri. Sed ipse Tyrannus anno altero mortuus est, & imagines in pristinum statum restitutae cum honore & c." Mansi, XIV, 460. The story is basically accurate. See also René Aigrain (with Louis Bréhier), Grégoire le Grand, les États barbares et la conquête arabe 590-757, (Paris, 1947), 446.

¹⁷"... suisque sanctis intervenientibus precibus de Saracenis illis, qui tam nefarium scelus commiserunt..." "Satanæ filii..." HVRP, PL, CXXVIII, 1305-06, 1317-18.

¹⁸"... tantaque ac talia infaustae operationis mala peregit qualia nec Saracena in ea pefficere manus praesumpsit vel arbitrata est." Ibid., 1347-48.

¹⁹PL, CXV, 655-57.

the Bulgars to burn books received from the Muslims.²⁰ Adrian II

(867-72) asked visiting monks to pray for victory over the Muslims:

When he rose up from eating he made his heart open to all saying: I ask you and earnestly beseech you fathers, brothers, and children, that in your prayers to the Lord for the holy catholic church you pray for our most Christian son Louis, the emperor and Augustus, that omnipotent God will make the Saracen nation subject to him that we may have perpetual peace.²¹

And in his letters of praise to Louis the German and Charles the Bald he terms the Muslims "sons of Belial, enemies of Christ, and pagan men."

He further mentions that Louis "converting some from their superstition, continually taught the ways of Christian faith and true religion."²²

In another letter to Charles the Bald he speaks of "fighting the Lord's wars, overcoming the Saracen multitude."²³ Clearly the hostility was increasing against the Muslims within the papal ranks.

The comments of all the preceding popes become insignificant alongside the impassioned utterances of John VIII (872-82). He was militantly anti-Muslim (to the extent of commanding successful military and naval expeditions against them) but was frustrated by the activities

²⁰ MGH, Ep., VI, 599.

²¹ "Dum surrexisset ab epulis in faciem suam coram omnibus pro-cidit, dicens: Rogo vos et suppliciter obsecro, patres, fratres, et filii, ut fundatis Domino pro sancta catholica Ecclesia sua preces, oretis pro Christianissimo filio nostro Ludovico imperatore Augusto, ut ei Deus omnipotens ad nostram perpetuam pacem Sarracenorum faciat subditam nationem." HVRP, PL, CXXVIII, 1383-84.

²² ". . . filios Belial, Christi inimicos, paganorum vires. . . ." ". . . nonnullos etiam ab eorum superstitione convertens, Christi fidei et verae religionis itinera sectari perdocuit." PL, CXXII, 1263-65, 1291.

²³ ". . . bella Domini praeliando, Sarracenorum multitudinem superanti. . . ." Ibid., 1298.

of the south Italian trading cities who preferred peace and profit by trade with the Muslims to holy war against them.²⁴ However he was interested in breeding speedy Arab horses, whose battle advantages the Muslims had shown, and thanked the king of Galicia for sending some to him.²⁵ Lapôtre terms him the most imperialistic of popes.²⁶ John hoped to extend the temporal influence of the papacy by exploiting the discord of the little Italian states and using the military force he could obtain from the two emperors; but despite his ceaseless activity he failed to realize his goals.²⁷ Engreen argues that the pope's seeming imperialism was an attempt to create a united Italy, which in John's view was the only way to resist the Muslims effectively.²⁸

John's correspondence was extensive and his references to Muslims numerous, thus only a sample of his comments will be given here.²⁹ He berated and excommunicated those who refused to yield to his will.³⁰

²⁴"Confronted with the attitude of defending Christendom or co-operating with the Saracens in return for trading rights, Naples, Amalfi, Salerno, and Gaeta chose the latter course." Daniel C. Dennett Jr., "Pirenne and Muhammad," Speculum, XXIII (1948), 173-75.

²⁵Arthur Lapôtre, L'Europe et le Saint-Siège à l'époque carolingienne, le Pape Jean VIII (Paris, 1895), p. 35. PL, CXXVI, 64.

²⁶Ibid., p. 232.

²⁷Amari, Storia, I, 577.

²⁸Engreen, 325.

²⁹It is ironic to note that one of the strongly anti-Muslim pope's bulls is written upon a papyrus which bears an invocation to Allah as a type of watermark. Robert S. Lopez, "Mohammed and Charlemagne: A Revision," Speculum, XVIII (1943), 27.

³⁰Philip Jaffe, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum (Berlin, 1878), p. 377, no. 2959.

Frequently he terms Muslims "enemies of the Christian name, impious Saracens, and hateful Saracens."³¹ And he laments

How can I say or how can pen tell how greatly and how much we have suffered through the impious Saracens when if all the trees of the forests were turned into tongues they would not suffice to tell the tale? . . . But they are returning, so we hear, and though the pagans rejoice they have left us only unspeakable tribulation. And so, oh how sad!, the enemies of Christ's cross congratulate one another while a great meeting of the faithful is consumed by sadness. The blood of Christians yet flows, those devoted to God are massacred continually, and he who escapes fire or sword is a prize, taken captive and remaining such forever. In cities, camps, and wasted towns the inhabitants perish and bishops are dispersed.³²

✓ He appeals to the prince of Salerno to turn from the Muslims.

Meanwhile, however, stand fast in the faith doing all things bravely, and comfort your heart not in the Sultan, who is congruently called Satan, but hope in the Lord, so that you may lead all from consorting with pagans into peace and the concord of unity in our Lord Jesus Christ. . . .³³

And he contrasts the Lord's sheep with the sons of fornication.

³¹"hostes Christiani nominis, nefandos Saracenos, et odibilibus Saracenis." PL, CXXVI, 676, 684, 711.

³²"Quanta et qualia per impiam gentem patiamur Saracenorum, quid dicam quia scribere quilibet stylus non sufficit, cum omnia ligna silvarum, si vertantur in linguas, enarrare non valeant? . . . Reversi, quippe sunt, ut audivimus, et solis paganis gaudium, nobis autem non nisi tribulationem inenarrabilem reliquerunt. Et ecce, proh dolor! inimicis crucis Christi gratulantibus, solus fidelium coetus magna moestitudine consumitur. Christianorum sanguis effunditur, devotus Deo populus continua strage vastatur. Nam qui evadit ignem vel gladium, praeda efficitur, captivas trahitur, et exsul perpetuus constituitur. En civitates, castra, et villae destitutae habitatoribus perierunt, et episcopi had illacque dispersi." PL, CXXVI, 696.

³³"Interim autem state in fide, viriliter omnes agite, et confortetur cor vestrum (Psal. xxvi), non Insultam [in Sultam], qui Satan congruentius dicitur, sed sperantes in Domino: ita ut omnes a paganorum consortio subducatis, et vos ad pacem in invicem et concordiam unitatis in Christo Jesu Domino nostro. . . ." PL, CXXVI, 708-09.

So moreover some of the Lord's sheep are killed, others die from hunger and others are led into captivity by the Agarenes, who are sons of fornication and by those who are Christians only in name.³⁴

One cannot, however, properly speak of a crusade when discussing the work of John VIII. There was no emphasis on difference of belief; the Muslims and Christians "are, above all, political enemies, with whom there is war, treaty, or peace according to the prevailing conditions."³⁵

Engreen further notes that John almost always links Saracens with wicked Christians, so that "one is tempted to assume that the pagans are mentioned only in order to strengthen the case against the wicked Christians, namely the pope's extremely dangerous political foes. . . ."³⁶

To avoid damaging the image of the papacy in the eyes of the Byzantines, John worded his letters to them much more optimistically than he did the ones to Western leaders. John's efforts were unsuccessful, but he established an attitude which continued.³⁷

For nearly two centuries after John's assassination the papacy was at its nadir; it became the plaything of powerful Roman families.

The Muslim threat lessened, and so did papal concern about it. Stephen V (885-91) told Sigebert, bishop of Corsica: "If you judge it obnoxious

³⁴"Ecce enim Dominicarum ovium ab Agarenis, qui sunt filii fornicationis, necnon et ab his qui solo sunt nomine Christiani, aliae gladio trucidantur, aliae fame pereunt, aliae vero in praedam et captivitatem ducuntur." PL, CXXVI, 716.

³⁵Engreen, 320-21; Carl Erdmann, Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens (Stuttgart, 1935), p. 23, n. 66.

³⁶Engreen, 319.

³⁷Ibid., 324, 327, 329.

that men who are taken by the Saracens should be killed, you do well."³⁸

Benedict IV (900-03) in an encyclical regarding the Muslim capture of the bishop of Jerusalem and others, makes an appeal for aid.

We wish to call to the attention of the saintly and religious Christians that recently Malagenus, the venerable bishop of the Church of Jerusalem, with some of the faithful people was taken from his church by Saracens, and moreover his men were killed by the abominable Saracen people, because they wished the Christians to celebrate their faith less. Then the most reverend bishop Malagenus, compared to God by some fearful Christians, was taken by the Saracens, and thirty other Christians taken with him were retained in custody by the Saracens. So we command that for love of omnipotent God, according to the virtue God may give you, you give aid to these unfortunates, and that you quietly bid for those who by oppression are made slaves, that you may save them from city to city through your help and aid, that no man may take them or dare to do any evil to them, but for God's love and reverence for the blessed apostolic princes Peter and Paul they who come to your boundaries you will deal with kindly, and transmit these tidings from city to city and prepare hospitality for them. We believe moreover that all who will to do good in these matters will be rewarded by that God who created all, who will show mercy unto them.³⁹

³⁸"Qui te quasi obnoxium judicas, eo quod a Saracenis captus homines interfecisse videris, bene facis." PL, CXXIX, 806.

³⁹"Sanctitate seu omnium Christianorum religiositatibus notum esse volumus, quia iste praesens Malagenus venerabilis episcopus Hierosolymitanae Ecclesiae, una cum suis fidelibus a Saracenorum gentibus a sua Ecclesia depraedatus est, et etiam quidam de suis hominibus ab ipsa nefandissima gente Saracenorum occisi sunt, pro eo quod fidem illorum minime celebrare voluerunt. Hic itaque Malagenus reverentissimus episcopus cum ab ipsis Saracenis depraedatus est, a quibusdam Christianis Deum timentibus comparatus est, et alii triginta Christiani, qui cum eo depraedati sunt, ab eisdem Saracenis in custodia retinentur. Unde mandamus ut pro Dei omnipotentis amore, in quantum virtutis Dominus vobis donaverit, adjutorium illis faciatis, et liceat illis quiete absque cujuscunque oppresione slavos pergere, et de civitate in civitatem per vestrum auxilium et adjutorium salvi existant, ut nullus homo eos depraedare, aut aliquod malum facere audeat: sed, pro amore Dei et reverentia beatorum principum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ad cujus limina isti pervenerunt, benigne eos suscipiatis, et de civitate in civitatem salvos eos transmittite, et hospitium eis praeparate. Credimus enim quia omnia, quidquid in eis bonorum feceritis, ab ipso creatore omnium Deo vobis retribuetur, et mercedem exinde habebitis." PL, CXXXI, 44.

Sergius III (904-11) also calls them "most impious Saracen people."⁴⁰
 John X (914-28) led the combined Western-Byzantine force which ousted the Muslims from Garigliano in 916. That marked an important transition from temporal to spiritual (papal) leadership of the war against the Muslims; the emperors having failed to accomplish the task of defending Christendom against the Muslims, leadership in that task was assumed by the papacy.⁴¹

Sylvester II (999-1003) was desirous of news regarding the Africans even before becoming pope. And in 999 he appealed for aid for the Christians of Jerusalem.

But while the Prophet said: His sepulchre will be glorious, the Devil holds it inglorious to restore the holy places overthrown by the pagans. Advance therefore, Christian soldier, be a standard bearer and a fighter, and what you are unable⁴² to do by force of arms, I shall further by counsel and aid.

Sylvester's appeal created such excitement, especially in the East, which began to fear a full-scale Christian assault, that Hakim was led to destroy the Holy Sepulchre in 1010. That in turn is supposed to have prompted Sergius IV (1009-12) to compose an encyclical proposing a crusade in the same year. Although it failed in its intended purpose, the appeal suggests eleventh century thought.

We make known to all Christians what proceeded by messengers to the Holy See from the Eastern lands: the Holy Sepulcher of our

⁴⁰"... nefandissima Sarracenorum gente." PL, CXXXI, 441.

⁴¹Augustin Fliche, La réforme grégorienne et la reconquête chrétienne, 1057-1123 (Paris, 1946), p. 51.

⁴²"Sed cum Propheta dixerit: Erit sepulchrum ejus gloriosum, Paganis loca sancta subvertantibus, tentat Diabolus reddere inglorium. Enitere ergo, miles Christi, esto signifer et compugnator, et quod armis nequis, consilii et opum auxilio subveni." RHF, X, 426.

Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ was razed to its foundations by the hands of impious pagans. Because of this destruction the city of Rome is in turmoil and placed in great lamentation. And because of that all are lamenting and in a great circle the populace trembles sighing. I have banished sleep from my eyes, and I give my heart no rest, because never did we read either in the Prophets or Psalmists or Doctors that the sepulcher of the Redeemer would be destroyed, but rather that it would remain until the end. But in the prophet it is manifest: "And his glorious sepulcher will be eternal."

Knowing therefore the Christian intent, I, if it please God, desire to go myself from the seacoast with all the Romans and Italians and Tuscans and whatever other Christians will come so that I may kill the Saracens, by God's aid, with all hostile feeling, and I further wish to restore the Redeemer's Holy Sepulcher. Now you, son, who fear the sea or the furor of battle, here is what is divinely promised. "Whoever will lose his present life for Christ shall not perish but find eternal life." And moreover this fight is not for a poor kingdom but for the eternal God. Certainly it is for us to begin this, but it is for God to win. We are pilgrims through this world, so we fight against the enemies of God so that we may rejoice with him in heaven. Rightly it seems in any case we entreat your counsel and inspired aid. And moreover, by divine clemency for us and all Italy alike, even Venetia and the city of Genoa with their merchants and the aid of all the people are willing in this year to build a thousand ships with which we are to go to the land of Syria so that we may vindicate the Redeemer and his tomb. Already may the high and stern judge . . . penetrate your mind and recall the day of judgment where, if you do well, you will be with Christ in all gladness. Come O Sons, defend your God and attain the eternal kingdom. I hope, I believe, and confidently maintain that through the virtue of our Lord Jesus Christ, victory will be ours.⁴³

⁴³"Cognitum omnibus christiani[s] facimus quod anuntius processit ad sedem apostolicam ex Orientis partibus: sanctum redemptoris Domini nostri Jesu-Christi sepulchrum destructum est ab impiis paganorum manibus da vertice usque ad fundamentum. Pro cujus destructionem universa aecclesiam vel urbe Roma turbata est et in [im]mensa lamentatione posita est. Unde a modo totus in lamentationibus existat orbis et in magnis populus contremescat suspiriis. Somnum ab oculis meis auferam, et cor meum merori socium ponam; quia numquam legimus neque per Prophetam, neque per Psalmista, neque per Doctorem sepulchrum Redemptoris destructum fuisset, sed usque in finem permansisset. Sed per Prophetam manifestatur: 'Et erit sepulchrum ejus gloriosum usque in sempiternum.'

Sciad igitur Christiana intentio quia ego, si Domino placuerit, per memetipso cupio pergere ex marino litore et omnes Romanos seo Italie cum Tuscie vel qualicumque Christianus nobiscum volunt pergere, ut gente Agarena, Domino auxiliante, cum omnes ostiliter desidero interficere et

Apparently the pope hoped to appeal to the masses by the promise of forgiveness of sins, but it seems to be an unripe stage of the development of crusade thought. Doubtless the Italian city states, which were prominent in the agitation underlying the encyclical, envisaged the capture of Muslim sea bases before making the journey to the Holy Land; the pope however seems to have had revenge and spiritual considerations rather than tactical realities foremost in his thought. But the project, if it was actually advanced, failed to materialize.⁴⁴

sanctum Redemptoris sepulchrum volo restaurare incolomes. Non vos, filii, marinus terreat tumor aut bellicosus expavescat furor; nam divinitus promissum est: 'Qui presentem pro Christo perdiderit vitam, que jam non deficiet inveniet futuram.' Est enim hæc pugnam non de paupere regno, sed Domino sempiterno. Nostrum quippe est inchoarem, adhuc autem Domini est vindicare. Istum etenim seculum transiture sumus. Ita pugnemus contra inimicos Dei, ut cum ipso gaudere valeamus in coelum. Recte videtur utique fieri suscipiamus vestri consilii et adjutorium inspirantem. Et enim, divina clementia, non omnes cunctique Italie pariter seu Venetie et cives Genuae cum vestra mercede et adjutorio de omni populo, in isto anno, mille volumus instruere navibus, cum quibus eamus in Syrie partibus, ut vindicemus Redemptorem et ejus tumultum. Jamjamque judice strenui alta . . . penetrate vestrorum oculi, recogitate diem judicii, ubi, cum Christo s[ic] be[ne] agitis, gaudia cuncta possidebitis. Venite, Filii, defendite Deum et re[gnum] acquirite aeternum. Spero, credo et dertissime teneo qui, per virtutem Domini nostri Jesu-Christi, nostra erit victoriam . . ."

Jules Lair, "Encyclique de Sergius IV, relative a un projet de croisade," Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, IV ser., t. III, (1857), 246-53; text reproduced from 250-51.

⁴⁴Erdmann, pp. 102-03. See also his "Die Aufrufe Gerberts und Sergius IV für das Heilige Land," Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, XXIII (1931-32), 1-21. The authenticity of the document has been thoroughly examined and seriously questioned by Alexander Gieysztor, "The Genesis of the Crusades: The Encyclical of Sergius IV (1009-1012)," Medievalia et Humanistica, V (1948), 3-23, VI (1950), 3-34. He argues that it is a later forgery, from a time shortly before the crusades, and proves his position beyond reasonable doubt.

Benedict VIII (1012-24), although his writings do not present anti-Muslim attitudes, was a warlike pope, and in the wake of the Muslim attack on Luni called together the leaders and defenders of the church to defend against and destroy the raiders.⁴⁵ Nicholas II (1058-61) termed them "enemies of God, Agarene adversaries, and warriors. . . ."⁴⁶ Alexander II (1061-73) reminded Spanish bishops

The cause of the Jews and Saracens is quite different. Against those moreover, who persecute Christians and drive them from the cities and their own seas, it is proper to fight. . . .⁴⁷

The accession of Gregory VII (1073-85) to the papacy ushers in the crusading era, properly speaking, and marks the termination of the period with which we are concerned. Since Erdmann discusses Gregory's contributions to the crusading idea at great length, we need only mention some of the more salient points in the pope's approach. He lamented of the true Christian faith that "its ancient colors are changed, and it has become the laughingstock not only of the Devil, but of Jews, Saracens and pagans."⁴⁸ And he complained that

The law and the religion of Christ have almost everywhere so completely gone to ruin that Saracens or whatever pagans you please are holding more firmly to their usages than those who have received the Christian name. . . .⁴⁹

⁴⁵Erdmann, pp. 101-102.

⁴⁶"inimicorum Dei Agarenorum adversarium et debellatorem. . . ." PL, CXLIII, 1337

⁴⁷"Dispar nimirum est Judaeorum et Sarracenorum causa. In illos enim, qui Christianos persequuntur et ex urbibus et propriis sedibus pellunt juste pugnatur. . . ." PL, CXLVI, 1386-87.

⁴⁸PL, CXLVIII, 709, tr. Ephraim Emerton, The Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII: Selected Letters from the Registrum (New York, 1932), p. 194.

⁴⁹PL, CXLVIII, 369, tr. Emerton, p. 45.

He had reasons for his dismay; for example some distressed persons in Carthage brought their archbishop to trial before the Muslims, where he was convicted and sentenced to whipping.⁵⁰ But Gregory could be very charming, as in suggesting coexistence to the King of Mauretania.

Your Highness sent to us within a year a request that we would ordain the priest Servandus as bishop according to the Christian order. This we have taken pains to do, as your request seemed proper and of good promise. You also sent gifts to us, released some Christian captives out of regard for St. Peter, chief of the Apostles, and affection for us, and promised to release others. This good action was inspired in your heart by God, the creator of all things, without whom we can neither do nor think any good thing. He who lighteth every man that cometh into the world enlightened your mind in this purpose. For Almighty God, who desires that all men shall be saved and that none shall perish, approves nothing more highly in us than this; that a man love his fellow man next to his God and do nothing to him which he would not that others should do to himself.

This affection we and you owe to each other in a more peculiar way than to people of other races because we worship and confess the same God though in diverse forms and daily praise and adore him as the creator and ruler of this world. For in the words of the Apostle, "He is our peace who hath made both one."

This grace granted to you by God is admired and praised by many of the Roman nobility who have learned from us of your benevolence and high qualities. Two of these, Alberic and Cencius, intimate friends of ours brought up with us from early youth at the Roman court, earnestly desiring to enjoy your friendship and to serve your interests here, are sending their messengers to you to let you know how highly they regard your prudence and high character and how greatly they desire and are able to be of service to you.

In recommending these messengers to Your Highness, we beg you to show them, out of regard for us and in return for the loyalty of the men aforesaid, the same respect which we desire always to show toward you and all who belong to you. For God knows our true regard for you to his glory and how truly we desire your prosperity and honor, both in this life and in the life to come, and how earnestly we pray both with our lips and with our heart that God himself, after the long journey of this life, may lead you into the bosom of the most holy patriarch Abraham.⁵¹

⁵⁰PL, CXLVIII, 306, tr. Emerton, p. 17.

⁵¹PL, CXLVIII, 450, tr. Emerton, pp. 94-95.

✓ He also sponsored some missionary work: a Cluniac monk named Anastasius, who knew Arabic, argued that the Muslim use of cruelty and proselytizing showed it inferior to Christianity and proposed to some Muslim teachers a trial by fire which the latter declined, fearing they might lose and be forced to receive baptism. Finally Anastasius lost courage and returned to Cluny.⁵²

But Gregory was especially interested in promoting a crusade.

✓ He praised the Normans for their reconquest of Sicily:

The church of Palermo which you recognize by the authority of God to be foremost, while noble and famous fell into the power and treachery of the Saracens on account of sins, and now is returned to the Christian faith by the present labor of our glorious son Duke Robert. . . .⁵³

And he wrote to the Count of Burgundy in 1074 that:

We are hoping also that another advantage may come from this, namely, that when the Normans are pacified we may cross over to Constantinople in aid of the Christians who, oppressed by frequent attacks of the Saracens, are urging us eagerly to reach out our hands to them in succor.⁵⁴

He painted the plight of Constantinople in bold colors:

. . . the pagan people have bravely gathered strength against the Christians and by miserable cruelty have wasted everything up to the city walls of Constantinople, and occupied the land by tyrannical violence, killing many thousands of Christians like cattle.⁵⁵

⁵²PL, CXLIX, 423, ff., esp. 429.

⁵³"Panormitanam Ecclesiam cui tu, Domino auctore, praeesse dignoceris, quae quondam nobilis et famosa, postmodum peccatis exigentibus in Sarracenorum potestatem perfidiamque redacta, nunc revera ad Christianam fidem labore vel instantia filii nostri gloriosi ducis Roberti. . . ." PL, CXLVIII, 703.

⁵⁴PL, CXLVIII, 326, tr. Emerton, p. 23.

⁵⁵". . . gentem paganorum contra Christianum fortiter invaluisse imperium, et miseranda crudelitate jam fere usque ad muros Constantinopolitanae civitatis omnia devastasse et tyrannica violentia occupasse, et multa millia Christianorum quasi pecudes occidisse." PL, CXLVIII, 329.

Moreover he urged Christians on to the fray:

So on behalf of St. Peter we direct the giving of aid to our brothers who live across the sea in the empire of Constantinople, whom the devil himself attempted to turn away from the catholic faith and through his agents unceasingly to kill them cruelly like cattle. But because he hates good desires, he attempts, if he can to impede us that they may not be freed by the largess of divine grace that we may not be crowned [as martyrs] by giving our souls for our brothers. Then on the behalf of the blessed Peter we ask, we admonish and invite that in this way their carrier may say they come to us at the appointed time whoever wills to defend the Christian faith, and to fight for the heavenly king, that with them we may prepare the way (God willing) which the heavenly nobility are willing to cross overseas to defend, and that the sons of God are not afraid to show themselves. Then dear brothers, fight most bravely for that praise and glory which you should desire above all, who were once willing to fight bravely for those things which cannot but pass away nor be possessed without sorrow. For this slight momentary labor will enable you to acquire eternal reward. . . .⁵⁶

But the crusade idea failed, so far as Gregory was concerned. However it did succeed in Spain, and Gregory sought to encourage the reconquest there. Thus he noted that Spain

. . . separated from the Roman ritual, through the invasion first of the Goths and then of the Saracens, not only was religion brought low, but also her secular power was ruined.⁵⁷

⁵⁶"Ad vos jam pervenisse credimus quae sit nostra voluntas, et quid ex parte Sancti Petri diserimus (direximus) de adiutorio faciendo fratribus nostris, qui ultra mare in Constantinopolitano imperio habitant, quos diabolus per se ipsum a fide catholica conatur avertere, et per membra sua non cessat quotidie pecudes enecare crudeliter. Sed quia invidet bonis desideriis, tentat, si potest, nos impedire ne illi gratia divina largiente liberentur, et nos dando animas nostras pro fratribus nostris coronemur. Proinde ex parte beate Petri rogamus, monemus et invitamus ut eo modo, quem portitor horum dixerit, ad nos quidam vestrum veniant, qui Christianum fidem vultis defendere, et coelesti regi militare, ut cum eis viam (favente Deo) praeparemus omnibus qui coelestem nobilitatem defendendo per nos ultra mare volunt transire et quod Dei sunt filii, non timent ostendere. Itaque, fratres charissimi, estote ad pugnandum fortissimi pro laude illa et gloria, quae omne desiderium superant, qui hactenus fortes fuistis pugnare pro rebus quas non potestis detinere, nec sine dolore possidere. Nam per momentaneum (II Cor., IV) laborem aeternam potestis acquirere mercedem. . . ." PL, CXLVIII, 390.

⁵⁷PL, CXLVIII, 340, tr. Emerton, p. 29.

And he emphasized, on the basis of the Donation of Constantine and other documents, the papal authority over all Spain. So he remarks:

After that kingdom had been invaded by pagan Saracens and the tribute formerly paid to St. Peter had so long been withheld from us on account of their lack of faith and their tyranny, the very memory of the facts and of our proprietorship began to slip away.⁵⁸

Thanks to the work of Cluniac monks and French knights, ties with the Spanish Christians were established and Christian cooperation under papal leadership achieved success in the reconquest and eventually in the crusade.⁵⁹

Thus we see that from a very early date the papacy was concerned with the Muslim menace, and sought to make clear the spiritual implications of the Muslim conquest for Western Christians. With the breakdown of the empire under the Carolingians the popes moved into the vacant position of leadership in the West, and, capitalizing upon the ideas of the Cluniac reform, agitated for military action against the foe. By the end of the eleventh century, as we know, that military action was a successful reality.

⁵⁸PL, CXLVIII, 486, tr. Emerton, p. 124.

⁵⁹Erdmann, p. 60 ff.; Pignot, II, 110; Émile Amann in Auguste Dumas, L'Église au pouvoir des laïques, 887-1057 (Paris, 1948), p. 427; Boissonade, passim.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing evidence, it is clear that there was not a Western attitude toward Islam in the early Middle Ages. Rather there were several attitudes, which we may categorize and characterize thus:

1. indifference a lack of any concern, probably the attitude of the masses, who were uninformed.
2. coexistence a concern for maintaining peaceful relations in order to gain temporal benefits, practiced by merchants and ambitious individuals.
3. political hostility opposition to the Muslims as one hostile foe among many, the attitude of royal annals.
4. military hostility opposition to the Muslims as ravagers of the writer's area.
5. academic hostility opposition to the Muslims based upon authorities, including biblical and pre-Islamic ones.
6. religious hostility opposition to Muslims as persons known to be different from Christians in religion.

Obviously these are not exclusive positions; they shade into one another and one individual may express several of them. Equally obviously, they preclude any facile generalizations about the attitude of Western European Christians toward the Muslims. Furthermore they changed, developed, modified, and shifted in the four and one-half centuries between the hijra and the pontificate of Gregory VII. Although at first indifference (ignorance?) dominated (622-710), it gave way to political hostility (710-1000) which in turn was superseded by religious hostility (1000-1216) as the dominant attitude of the particular period. Of course it may be that a head count would show indifference-ignorance to be dominant at all times, but numbers alone do not guarantee dominance.

There is, however, a significant omission from the list of attitudes, one which becomes more striking when considered in conjunction with other developments in pre-crusade Europe. It is common knowledge that missionary activity was a primary concern of the medieval church: the exploits of Augustine in England, Boniface and Willibald and Irish monks in Western Europe, and Cyril and Methodius among the Slavs are well known. But we find little evidence in the East, and even less in the West, for the existence of Christian missionary activity among the Muslims. Admittedly Christian missionary efforts among Muslims have never been very successful; nevertheless such a lack at the very time when the Christian missionary emphasis was so strong is hard to understand. One may hypothesize, of course, that rulers like Charlemagne established monasteries in the deserted areas of the Spanish marches to serve as bases for missionary activity among Muslims as similar establishments had served for such activity among the Germanic peoples, but evidence is lacking to support that view.¹ If there was a widespread emphasis upon missions to Muslims during the period, it definitely occupied a subordinate position, as it did during the crusade era.² What attempts there were—the stilted discussions of the Byzantines, the rash passion of the Spanish martyrs, the flounderings of the missionary Anastasius—seem painfully inept and thoroughly unsuccessful.

¹On Carolingian missionary practices see Richard E. Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary and the Pagan," Speculum, XXVII (1953), 705-40.

²Daniel, p. 123.

Also striking is the almost total lack of information regarding Muslims and the equally total lack of any systematic treatises dealing with them. We must concur with Daniel that "at the beginning of the twelfth century Islam began to be treated seriously in works written in the West."³ Several extensive tracts on Jews date from the pre-

crusade period, but except for the isolated writings of the Spanish martyrs' movement, there is nothing of the sort regarding Muslims.

It is therefore not surprising that even the name of Muhammad is rarely mentioned in the literature, and that nothing is known about Muslim beliefs and practices, except for the few comments in Anastasius'

Historia Ecclesiae ex Theophanes, which apparently did not circulate widely. The Pseudo-Methodius, although predicting the end of Muslim world sway, told little about Muslims.

That silence has prompted and permitted all sorts of observations.

Pirenne argued that a fierce religious hostility was engendered in Western Europe where "the antagonism of two faiths face to face kept them in a state of war with each other."⁴ Davis affirmed that

. . . every age has some sentiments which lie so deep that they are rarely put into words. Hatred for the Saracens, compassion for the Christian subjects of the fallen Visigoths were among the sentiments of this kind which influenced the age of Charles.

. . . But common usage demanded that the Saracens. . . should not be mentioned without an epithet of abhorrence.⁵

Dennett poses the rhetorical question "would Charlemagne have permitted

³ Ibid., p. 7.

⁴ Henri Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe (New York, 1937), p. 3.

⁵ H.W. Carless Davis, Charlemagne (Charles the Great): The Hero of Two Nations (New York and London, 1899), p. 109 n.

a mosque in Marseilles?"⁶ Reinaud sees religious hostility in the accounts regarding the destruction of churches and monasteries:

But we must also remember that what little gleanings we get of the events of this period of the history of France is the work of monks and clergymen, so that it is not surprising that churches and convents are made to play such a large part in the narratives which have come down to us.⁷

His translator, however, commenting on the stories of the destruction of monasteries, avers that

The similarity, even in detail of such episodes leads one to the obvious conclusion⁸ that they were all manufactured to discredit the Muslims.

Amann argues that Charlemagne sought to conduct a crusade in Spain for religious motives, but was unable to do so.⁹ Hodgkin maintains

The question of the rival faiths, though of course it must have been present to Charles's mind, does not seem to have been the determining motive to this Spanish expedition as it was to the Saxon war. There is no foundation for the suggestion of some later chroniclers that he was moved to this enterprise by pity for the groans of the Spanish Christians under Saracen oppression.¹⁰

* Prutz argues that there was no hostility at the outset, and that

If one seeks to explain this with the argument of the national enthusiasm of the Spanish and the passionate hate against Islam which filled Christianity since the crusades, one errs by painting the relationships of the two religions and their adherents during the century before the crusades in the same dark colors.

* | Before the crusades international relations between Muslims and Christians had a different character than they did later.

⁶ Daniel C. Dennett Jr., "Pirenne and Muhammad," Speculum, XXIII (1948), 168.

⁷ Reinaud, p. 41.

⁸ Sherwānī in Reinaud, p. 85.

⁹ Amann, L'époque carolingienne, p. 184.

¹⁰ Thomas Hodgkin, Charles the Great (London, 1921), pp. 144-45.

✓ There existed between Christian and Muslim rulers and states a very friendly trade such as could develop only on a basis of reciprocally acknowledged equality.

✓ All these contacts did not permit a hostile opposition between Muslims and Christians to arise before the crusades. Until then the adherents of both religions lived alongside one another in friendly trade for centuries through manifold relations which they developed in the spheres of trade and maritime transport.

✓ So there existed from the beginning of the eleventh century completely friendly relationships between the southern French and the Spanish Arabs. Thus it is especially characteristic that the technical superiority of the Arabs over the higher strata of southern French society was quite apparent.

✓ As the spiritual life and the collected literature during the first half of the Middle Ages was dependent on the church and almost exclusively carried through religious men, so knowledge of Islam and its history could only be mediated through church authorities. From such, of course, an unbiased appreciation of Muhammad's teaching was naturally not to be expected.¹¹

¹¹ "Mag man das auch zu entschuldigen versuchen mit dem Hinweis auf die nationale Begeisterung der Spanier und den leidenschaftlichen Hass gegen den Islam, der sieht den Kreuzzügen die abendländische Christenheit erfüllte: man thut doch Unrecht, das Verhältniss der beiden Religionen und ihrer Bekenner während der Jahrhunderte vor den Kreuzzügen in denselben dunklen Farben zu malen.

Vor den Kreuzzügen haben auch die internationalen Beziehungen zwischen Mohammedanern und Christen einen anderen Charakter gehabt als späterhin. Es bestand zwischen christlichen und mohammedanischen Herrschern und Staaten ein mannigfacher freundschaftlicher Verkehr, wie er sich nur auf Grund gegenseitig anerkannter Gleichberechtigung entwickeln konnte.

Alle diese Berührungen haben einen feindlichen Gegensatz zwischen Mohammedanern und Christen vor den Kreuzzügen nicht aufkommen lassen. Zudem wurden die Bekenner der beiden Religionen Jahrhunderte lang einander genähert und zu friedlichem Verkehr gewöhnt durch die vielfachen Beziehungen, die sich im Gebiete des Handels und der Seefahrt zwischen ihnen entwickelten.

Zudem bestanden ja seit dem Anfange des elften Jahrhunderts zwischen den Südfranzosen und den Arabern Spaniens ganz freundschaftliche Beziehungen. Dabei tritt als ein besonders charakteristischer Zug hervor, dass die technische Ueberlegenheit der Araber von den oberen Gesellschaftsklassen Südfrankreichs unverhohlen anerkannt wurde.

Wie das geistige Leben und die gesammte Litteratur während der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters abhängig waren von der Kirche und fast ausschliesslich durch Geistliche getragen wurden, so konnte auch die Kenntniss des Islam und seiner Geschichte damals nur durch kirchliche Autoritäten vermittelt werden. Von diesen aber war eine unbefangene Würdigung der Lehre Mohammeds natürlich nicht zu erwarten." Prutz, pp. 37, 44-45, 47, 73.

Latouche claims that ". . . Charlemagne maintained an attitude of cautious reserve towards the Moslem world and . . . his example was followed throughout the whole of the ninth century," and that there existed between the Franks and Muslims an "iron curtain" which replaced the one formerly existing between the Greco-Roman world and the barbarians, thus "the laws of war alone governed their relations with each other."¹² G.E. von Grunebaum avers:

Nevertheless, the relative self-containedness and self-sufficiency of the three major units remain the outstanding characteristics of medieval history. . . . There is always something utopian about the Western projects to win back the territories occupied by Islam. Lack of information and the technical inadequacy of the age strengthened the natural isolation of the blocs. The spiritual leaders of each bloc were very sure of the vitality and value of their civilization. They were mildly interested in, perhaps even appreciative or envious of, the neighbor's achievement; but there was no wish to change with him, to imitate him, or to remodel essentials on the basis of his superior performance.¹³

And R.W. Southern holds:

The existence of Islam was the most far-reaching problem in medieval Christendom. It was a problem at every level of experience. As a practical problem it called for action and for discrimination between the competing possibilities of Crusade, conversion, coexistence, and commercial interchange. As a theological problem it called persistently for some answer to the mystery of its existence: what was its providential role in history—was it a symptom of the world's last days or a stage in the Christian development; a heresy, a schism, or a new religion; a work of man or devil; an obscene parody of Christianity, or a system of thought that deserved to be treated with respect? It was difficult to decide among these possibilities. But before deciding it was necessary to know the facts, and these were not easy to know. So there arose an historical problem that could not be solved, could scarcely be approached, without linguistic and literary knowledge difficult to acquire, and made more

✓ ¹²Robert Latouche, The Birth of Western Economy (New York, 1961), pp. 169, 305-06.

¹³von Grunebaum, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

✓ difficult by secrecy, prejudice,¹⁴ and the strong desire not to know for fear of contamination.

Many other variant views could be listed, but the preceding are sufficiently representative. It is clear from our evidence, however, that coexistence was widely practiced, especially in the contact areas between Christians and Muslims; Engreen suggests calling the relationship "border Christianity."¹⁵ Although coexistence was displeasing in theory to popes and emperors, it flourished and both popes and emper- ✓
ors occasionally practiced it. The reasons for that coexistence policy are several. The maintenance of peace was probably seen as a good in itself, and certainly as a boon to business. It may manifest a medieval desire for the unity of all mankind.¹⁶ Prospective immediate advantages may have outweighed longer-term considerations.

But there is perhaps another factor which can be isolated. Although it is well known that the quality of the papacy between Gregory I and Gregory VII was generally low (although there are a few exceptions) and that much time and energy was spent in church reform; it is readily assumed that Christians knew their faith and opposed it to Islam. The facts, however, are that in the lands the Muslims conquered, conversion to Islam occurred easily and Christianity all but disappeared, despite the fact that discrimination against Christians was slight, [?]if present. Furthermore the Roman Empire had been conquered by Germanic tribes who only slowly came to accept Christianity,

¹⁴Southern, op. cit., p. 3.

¹⁵Engreen, 321-22.

¹⁶Daniel, p. 192.

and then had to be again converted from Arianism to orthodoxy. It seems, then, highly probable that the Western European Christian knew his faith poorly, if at all, and that such was the case even among highly placed churchmen—as the Felician controversy demonstrated. Consequently few medieval Christians had a well-developed understanding of Christianity, a Christian "frame of reference" from which to view Islam. Moreover the same thing can be argued about the Muslims with whom the Christians came in contact; the Berbers in particular evidenced Christian and animistic as well as Islamic practices. Hence the ignorant Christian encountering a quasi-Muslim opponent would be very likely to see little if any religious difference. The development of Muslim theology in Damascus, where it had close contact with Eastern Christianity in its more and less orthodox forms, and the reliance of the West upon Byzantine thinking and polemic for information, suggest that the Western Christians and the Muslims were equally ignorant regarding their own faiths, and heavily dependent on the Eastern Christians, although in different ways. Little wonder, then, that the opponents heaped insults upon one another; they were capable of little else.

Men on both sides, therefore, were capable of being led. And on both sides there arose leaders—Charlemagne and Otto the Great in Western Europe, 'Abd ar-Rahmān and Harūn ar-Rashid in the Muslim world. But the great leaders were few, and by failing to develop an ideology to sustain their emphases, their leadership died with them. Inasmuch as the Pseudo-Turpin and later medieval thought saw Charlemagne as the deliverer promised by Pseudo-Methodius, one is tempted to say

that Charles himself sought to utilize the Pseudo-Methodius in establishing such an ideology to sustain his leadership. His emphasis upon Augustine's City of God may also have been an attempt to create an ideology. But he failed. The Muslims with the dismemberment of the caliphate and internecine struggles destroyed their ideology. Hence the field was open for a consistent, ideologically strong leadership. Into that breach the papacy, supported by the Cluniac reform, stepped.

In temporal affairs it was the papacy that succeeded, where two centuries of secular rulers had failed, in ousting the Muslims from south Italy. The feverish and frustrated efforts of John VIII were turned into success by John X at Garigliano. And it was certainly no accident that the capture of the abbot of Cluny was the event which led to the expulsion of the Fraxinet Muslims who had survived for some eighty years. Benedict VIII at Luni, Nicholas II's alliance with Robert Guiscard for Sicilian reconquest, the role of Alexander II and Gregory VII in Spanish affairs are other examples. In all those places secular rulers had tried to oust the Muslims but had failed; Muslim expulsion awaited the guiding hand of Cluny and the papacy.¹⁷

In the realm of ideology the story is the same. Although the idea of an opponent being a divine punishment for sin is certainly not a papal invention, the explanation of Muslim success by that idea is certainly found frequently. And it was not by accident that

¹⁷Prosper Boissonade, "Les premiers croisades francaises en Espagne," Bulletin Hispanique, XXXVI (1934), 28, makes that point.

that explanation entered the Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals and later Gratian's Decretum, whence later popes could draw it. The widespread use of it we have noted may have resulted from a papal position, or the popes may have chosen to make such a satisfactory explanation their own. In either case, the concept certainly furthered papal leadership. It also gave the pope a powerful weepson to use upon practitioners of coexistence, as John VIII demonstrated. One who opposed the pope in any way, especially one who treated with or was friendly to the Muslims, could be considered (often with justification; e.g. Eudo, Siconulf, Euphemius, Visigoths) as the sinner whose activity provoked divine retribution through the agency of the Muslims. And popular opinion would support the pope. The punishment-for-sin explanation proved so satisfactory that it was used to account for the failures of the crusades.¹⁸ And it provided that desideratum of every ideological movement—the opponent against whom every energy must be directed.¹⁹

Loren C. Mackinney argues that the eleventh century peace movement was utilized by the papacy as a precursor to the crusades. He points out that the church, as the greatest, and unarmed, medieval property owner had to foster a peace policy to defend its holdings. ✓

¹⁸Palmer A. Throop, "Criticism of Papal Crusade Policy in Old French and Provençal," Speculum, XIII (1938), 379.

¹⁹Vera Micheles Dean, The Nature of the Non-Western World (New York, 1953), passim.

Thus, security for Church and populace became a righteous cause, backed by public opinion. From both spiritual and material standpoints, it was imperative that the clergy take the lead in the Peace of God, or any other popular movement that tended to make an unpoliced world of rampant feudalism safer for the property and persons of non-combatants.²⁰

That emphasis helped to develop a unanimity of spirit, and also represented an effort at internationalism, which may have been the result of Cluniac influence. The peace movement was especially strong in southern France, whence knights rallied to the papal call for the crusade in Spain. And Mackinney observes

✓ The plan of directing the warlike forces of Christendom against the Infidel instead of vainly trying to inhibit them, was in itself a masterpiece of strategy. . . .²¹

Thus the unanimity of spirit which the peace movement engendered was directed by the popes into warfare against the Muslims. Fita has observed that there was a similar peace movement in Spain prior to the great successes of the reconquest; and we have already noted the papacy's interest in Spanish affairs in the eleventh century.²² Peace among Christians, and war against the infidel were two more points in the papal ideology.

It should be clear that the papacy did not create that ideology from nothing. Punishment-for-sin, Pseudo-Methodius, Jerome and succeeding commentaries were all related to the Scriptures, and such

✓ ²⁰ Loren C. Mackinney, "The People and Public Opinion in the Eleventh Century Peace Movement," Speculum, V (1930), 182.

²¹ Ibid., 194-205, esp. 201; Erdmann, pp. 57-58.

²² Fidel Fita, "Cortes y Usajes de Barcelona en 1064: Textos Inéditos," Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, XVII (1890), 389, 392, 405.

a source for the promise of the triumph of good (Christianity) over evil (Islam) was emphasized. Thanks to Anastasius and the various church councils, as well as the contacts between pope and patriarch, Byzantine thinking was available, whether it was that of John of Damascus, Theophanes, or others. Furthermore the popes could utilize the work of that dominant Western Father, Augustine of Hippo.

Augustine's work, however, presented some difficulties. Although he recognized the principle of a war against the heathen, it was only permissible as a prelude to their conversion, and war for the purpose of conversion never had much appeal, as preaching and war were incompatible. Consequently many churchmen could not support the choice of "baptism or death;" they favored peace except when the heathen were aggressors.²³ The Germans, however, thought war was honorable, and they proved to be a decisive influence on future thinking.

Warfare against the Muslims, however, was hampered by the struggles among Christians; not only in the West but between West and East. The Muslim conquests had forced both East and West to look to Europe for further expansion, and there they came into contact and conflict.²⁴ That was still the case in the eleventh century; we continue to regard 1054 as the date the division between Eastern and Western Christendom was finalized, and it seems clear that the

²³Erdmann, pp. 4-17. Much of the subsequent discussion is based upon, or at least influenced by, Erdmann.

²⁴Jules Gay, "Notes sur la Crise du Monde du Monde Chrétien après les conquêtes Arabes," Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Ecole française de Rome, XLV (1928), 1-7.

papacy allied with the Normans in south Italy to oust the Byzantines from that territory, and only later urged them against the Muslims.²⁵

Moreover, again along the lines suggested in the City of God, it had seemed to many that the emperor, rather than the pope, was responsible for the defense of Christendom against its foes. Thus Charlemagne fought in Spain and elsewhere, Otto I and II sought to oust Muslims from various parts of Europe, and John VIII called on the emperor for aid. But imperial failures caused the popes to step into the roles of leadership, and John X, Benedict VIII, and especially Gregory VII did that.²⁶ Their doing so helped to make the crusade possible by alleviating the misgivings that had previously been felt concerning war against the infidel; defense of the Holy Land or aid to other Christians were causes which eradicated the fears of waging an offensive war, and papal rather than secular leadership gave the war a holy aura.²⁷

Yet another strain of thought which could be utilized by the papacy was euhemerism.²⁸ We have noted that the medieval Christians made little distinction among their various foes—all alike were indiscriminately termed pagans—and may wonder why the Muslims were

²⁵Erdmann, pp. 99-100.

²⁶Augustin Fliche, "Les origines de l'action de la Papauté en vue de la croisade," Révue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, XXXIV (1938), 765-75.

²⁷Erdmann, p. 106.

²⁸John Daniel Cooke, "Euhemerism: A Mediaeval Interpretation of Classical Paganism," Speculum, II (1927), 396-410; Paul Alphandéry, "L'Euhémérisme et les débuts de l'histoire des religions au moyen âge," Révue de l'histoire des religions, CIX (1934), 5-27.

not recognized as members of a very definite and highly developed religion. Euhemerism provides a clue. Cooke notes that the people of the Middle Ages regarded the pagan gods as being or having been real beings with real power.

Probably the most generally accepted interpretation was to regard them as only mortal men who had, through the respect of their descendants, become falsely worshipped as gods.²⁹

That is euhemerism, the idea that the gods were merely deified mortals. It would also serve as a definition of the early Christian understanding of Islam. The early Fathers, Cooke reports, attacked the pagan deities on three main fronts: idolatry (the people set up the likeness of an absent ruler and began to worship it), the sinfulness of the gods, and the non-deification of those gods (pagans claimed the gods became real deities, the Fathers demurred). What could have been easier than to utilize those same attacks in dealing with what seemed to be another pagan faith—Islam? Cooke affirms that the euhemeristic approach extends from Isidore of Seville to the twelfth century, and further avers that Isidore influenced John of Damascus. Although he does not specifically mention Islam being viewed from a euhemeristic standpoint, it is certainly a possibility. And Alphandéry states: "The gods of the enemies of Israel were considered, like the gods of the Saracens, as semi-anthropomorphic beings."³⁰ Here was a plausible means of viewing Islam.

²⁹ Cooke, 396.

³⁰ "Les dieux des ennemis d'Israël sont considérés comme des dieux de Sarrazins, à demi anthropomorphisés." Alphandéry, 9.

Out of these diverse elements strong popes, particularly Gregory VII, welded an ideology which undergirded their firm leadership of the church and gave them leadership of society. To be sure, they were abetted by a military revival in the Italian cities, the Muslim outrages against famous shrines (St. James of Compostela and the Holy Sepulcher), and the gaining of greater wealth for Western Europe through successful attacks and piracy, but they rode the crest of and contributed to a religious renewal which was the most important element in the stiffer attitude toward Islam which led to the crusade.

The results of that development of attitude are significant, and are yet with us. The crusades and their distorted view of Islam dominated Western European attitudes toward the Muslim world for several centuries, as Daniel has ably shown. Missionary activity was subordinated, not to become significant again until the sixteenth century. Perhaps most importantly, Western Christendom chose ideological opposition rather than tolerant coexistence or peaceful absorption as a means of dealing with the new, the strange, and the challenging. Although coexistence-moderation was tried, no strong ideology was developed to sustain it and it was superseded by a superiority-hostility approach, as were the various other competing attitudes. Leadership of church reform and victory in the investiture struggle have long been recognized as elements in the papacy's rise to power; its ideological success in the matter of attitudes toward Muslims should be similarly appreciated. Doing so will enable one to evaluate not only the papacy, but also Western society, more accurately.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

Since source materials have been analyzed in the text, it is unnecessary to review them here. It is similarly superfluous to discuss the many general works regarding the history of the pre-crusade period; they are analyzed in such places as Louis J. Paetow, Guide to the Study of Medieval History (New York, 1931) or the American Historical Association, Guide to Historical Literature (New York, 1961). The secondary works, both books and articles, which were useful in preparing the study, are presented here in connection with the chapter to which they relate.

Chapter I

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La réforme gregorienne et la reconquête chrétienne, 1057-1123 (Paris, 1946) (volumes V-VIII, respectively, in the series Histoire de l'Eglise, eds. Augustin Fliche et Victor Martin).

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der Araber mit den Karolingern bis zum Tode Ludwigs II (Heidelberg, 1906) covers the period the title indicates, but does not discuss attitudes. Joseph T. Reinaud, Invasions des Sarrazins en France et de France en Savoie, en Piemont et en Suisse (Paris, 1836) has serious flaws which are only slightly alleviated in the English translation by Hārūn Khān Sherwānī, Muslim Colonies in France, Northern Italy, and Switzerland (Lahore, 1955) who tries to mitigate Reinaud's defamatory image of the Muslims. Most satisfactory is Archibald R. Lewis, Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean A.D. 500-1100 (Princeton, 1951).

For attitudes Hans Prutz, Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge (Berlin, 1883) is a superb example of nineteenth century German historical scholarship. Carl Erdmann, Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens (Stuttgart, 1935) includes much information regarding Western attitudes while emphasizing the papacy's role in developing the crusading idea. Norman Daniel, Islam and the West: the Making of an Image (Edinburgh, 1960) is brilliant, but deals with the pre-crusade era only briefly. The same is true of R.W. Southern, Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), a collection of lectures with unfortunately no bibliography.

Chapter II

Byzantine history is ably traced in A.A. Vasiliev, History of the Byzantine Empire, 2nd ed. (Madison, 1952). Regarding Byzantine attitudes toward Islam, see Carl Guterboch, Der Islam im Lichte der byzantinischen Polemik (Berlin, 1912), an insightful and well-annotated study; Paul Khoury, "Jean Damascène et l'Islam," Proche-Orient chrétien,

VII (1957), 44-63; VIII(1958), 313-39, a thorough examination; Gerhard Klinge, "Die Beziehungen zwischen christlicher und islamischer Theologie im Anfang des Mittelalters," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, LVI (1937), 43-58, which also supplies early Islamic views of Christianity; and Henri Grevoire und Roger Goosens, "Byzantinisches Epos und arabischer Ritterroman," Zeitschrift des deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, LXXXVIII (1934), 213-32, an argument for the influence of Muslim hero stories upon Byzantine epic literature.

Chapter III

L.M. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1900-15), although old, is an excellent account of early medieval Italy. For the trouble spots of Sicily and South Italy the old classics by Michele Amari, Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia, 3 vols., 2nd ed., (Catania, 1933), and Jules Gay, L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile I jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867-1071), (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. XC), (Paris, 1904), are still unsurpassed. Further information can be gleaned from Giuseppe Pochettino, I Langobardi nell'Italia meridionale (Napoli, 1930), and Luigi Abbatanuovo, "I Saraceni in Puglia," Japigia, II (1931), 318-39.

Chapter IV

Spain has prompted extensive historical research. For general history Reinhart P.A. Dozy, Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne, 3 vols., 3^e ed. by E. Lévi-Provençal (Paris, 1934), though overly favorable to the Muslims, is still valuable; the English translation of an earlier

edition by Francis G. Stokes, Spanish Islam (New York, 1913), must be used with caution and omits references useful to the scholar.

Dozy's Histoire should be supplemented with his Recherches sur l'Histoire et la Litterature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen Âge, 2 vols., 3^e ed., (Leyde, 1881), which contains a wealth of detailed information upon which conclusions in the Histoire are based. See also Évariste Lévi-Provençal, Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, 3 vols., (Cairo, 1944), and the same writer's L'Espagne Musulmane au X^e siècle (Paris, 1932), for a more recent and more judicious view incorporating research since Dozy's time. A valuable guide to the documents of Spanish history is Rafael Pallaster y Castell, Las fuentes narrativas de la historia de España durante la edad media (417-1474) (Palma de Mallorca, 1908). The standard work on Spanish church history is Pius Bonifacius Gams, Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien, 3 vols. (Regensburg, 1874); vol. II, pt. II, relates to the pre-crusade period. Regarding the French in Spain consult Prosper Boissonnade, "Cluny, la papauté et la première grande croisade internationale contre les Sarrasins d'Espagne: Barbastro (1064-65)," Revue des questions historiques, LX (3. ser. XXI) (1932), 257-301; the same author's "Les premiers croisades francaises en Espagne. Normands, Gascons, Aquitains et Bourguignons (1018-32)," Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux, Bulletin Hispanique, XXXVI (1934), 5-28; and Marcelin Defourneaux, Les français en Espagne au XI^e et XII^e siècles (Paris, 1949). Spanish writers speak for themselves in the collection of writings by Claudio Sanchez-Albornoz, la España Musulmana según los autores islamitas y cristianos medievales, 2 vols.

2nd ed., (Buenos Aires, 1960). On Paul Albar see Allen Cabaniss, "Paulus Albarus of Muslim Cordova," Church History, XXII (1953), 99-112, and Carleton M. Sage, Paul Albar of Cordoba: Studies on his Life and Writings (Washington, 1943).

Chapter V

Literature on Charlemagne and the Carolingian Era is extensive. For source criticism see Gabriel Monod, Études critiques sur les sources de l'histoire carolingienne (Bibliothèque de l'École pratique des hautes études. Section des sciences philologiques et historiques. t. CXIX), (Paris, 1898); and Louis Halphen, Études critiques sur l'histoire de Charlemagne (Paris, 1921). Among the many lives of Charlemagne the best are: Joseph Calmette, Charlemagne: sa vie et son oeuvre (Paris, 1945); A. Kleinclausz, Charlemagne (Paris, 1934); and Louis Halphen, Charlemagne et l'Empire carolingien (Paris, 1947). For later medieval views of Charlemagne see Prosper Boissonade, Du nouveau sur la chanson de Roland (Paris, 1925); and Josef Rüngeler, Das Bild Karls des Grossen in der Zeitgenössischen Annalistik und in der Gedichts-und Briefliteratur (Gutersloh i. Westf., 1937).

Chapter VI

Much information regarding the activities of Muslims is given in Rene Poupardin, Le royaume de Provence sous les carolingiens (855-933?) (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, t. CXXXI), (Paris, 1901); and his Le royaume de Bourgogne, 888-1038 (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, t. CLXIII), (Paris, 1907). Also valuable is Leonce Auzias, L'Aquitaine carolingienne (778-987), (Toulouse,

Paris, 1937). Muslim invasions have been examined by M. Rey, Les Invasions sarrasines en Provence (Marseille, 1878); and Bruno Luppi, I Saraceni in Provenza (Bordighera, 1952). The recovery of the coastal areas is related in Imbart de la Tour, "Les colonies agricoles et l'occupation des terres désertes a l'époque carolingienne," in Mélanges Paul Fabre (Paris, 1902), pp. 146-71; and François-Louis Ganshof, "Note sur les Ports de Provence du VIII^e au X^e siècles," Revue Historique, CLXXXIII (1938), 28-37; Andre Dupont, "Considerations sur la Colonisation et la vie rurale dans le Roussillon et la Marche d'Espagne au IX^e siècle," Annales du Midi, LXVII (1955), 223-45, is also useful. On the Muslims in the Alps, see E. Oehlmann, "Die Alpenpässe im Mittelalter," Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte, III (1878), 165-289; and L. Patrucco, "I Saraceni in Piemonte et nelle Alpi Orientale," Biblioteca della Società Storica Subalpina, XXXII (1908), 273-85.

Chapter VII

For general history of the papacy in the pre-crusade era see Francis X. Seppelt, Papstgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, 5th ed., (München, 1949); and Louis Duchesne, Les premiers temps de l'État pontifical (Paris, 1898), tr. Arnold H. Matthew, The Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes, A.D. 754-1073 (London, 1908). The time of John VIII has been thoroughly examined by Arthur Lapôtre, L'Europe et le Saint-Siège a l'époque carolingienne: le pape Jean VIII (Paris, 1895); see for another important figure of the period the same author's De Anastasio bibliothecario sedis apostolicae

(Paris, 1885). Fred E. Engreen, "Pope John the Eighth and the Arabs," Speculum, XX (1945), 318-30, deals specifically with the pope's attitudes toward the Arabs; the book of which it was to be a chapter seems never to have appeared. Papal involvement in the battle of Garigliano is illumined by Otto Vehse, "Das Eündnis gegen die Sarazenen vom Jahre 915," Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, XIX (1927), 181-201; and P. Fedele, "La Battaglia del Garigliano dell'anno 915 ed i monumenti che la ricordano," Archivio della R. Societa Romana di Storia Patria, XXII (1899), 181-211. On the significance of pilgrimages see R. Rohricht, Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande, 2nd ed. (Innsbruck, 1900). J.-Henri Pignot, Histoire de l'ordre de Cluny depuis la Fondation de l'Abbaye jusqu'à la Mort de Pierre-le-Venerable (909-1157), 3 vols. (Paris and Autun, 1868), traces Cluniac history through the lives of the successive abbots; Ernst Sackur, Die Cluniacenser in ihrer kirchlichen und allgemeingeschichtlichen Wirksamkeit bis zur Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts, 2 vols. (Halle, 1892-94), is more analytical and more valuable. On papal ties with Spain in the late eleventh century see J. Ramackers, "Analekten zur Geschichte des Reformpapsttums und der Cluniazenser," Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, XXIII (1931-32), 22-52. The role of the papacy in preparing for the crusades is examined by Augustin Fliche, "Les origines de l'action de la Papauté en vue de la Croisade," Révue d'histoire ecclésiastique, XXXIV (1938), 765-75.

Chapter VIII

John Daniel Cooke, "Euhemerism: A Mediaeval Interpretation of Classical Paganism," Speculum, II (1927), 396-410, explores the topic thoroughly; see also Paul Alphandéry, "L'Euhemerisme et les débuts de l'histoire des religions au moyen âge," Révue de l'histoire des religions, CIX (1934), 5-27. On Methodius see first Ernst Sackur, Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen: Pseudomethodius, Adso und die Tiburtinische Sibylle (Halle a.S., 1898); then Charlotte d'Evelyn, "The Revelations of Methodius," PTA, XXXIII, 2 (new series XXVI, 2) (1918), 135-203; and Marbury B. Ogle, "Petrus Comestor, Methodius and the Saracens," Speculum, XXI (1946), 318-24. See also several of the works listed under chapter I.

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