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Editor's Preface

Walter Pohl and Ingrid Hartl

Engaging in comparative history is a process which involves challenging one's own research traditions, well established in decades of scholarly discussion, and at the same time facing those of other disciplines, equally deep-rooted. Our journal aims to promote forming interdisciplinary connections and we are very happy to present such contributions to a global perspective in this issue. *Medieval Worlds 8* follows a strong interest in recent submissions in dealing with transcultural and diplomatic contacts and with intellectual and literary exchanges.

In *World Literature is Trans-Imperial*, a new axis of comparison for ›trans-imperial‹ texts is explored. Literary concepts are viewed from a different comparative angle in *The Global Eminent Life*, where sixth-century biographical collections and their organisational contexts from different world regions are analysed. The contents and purpose of a list of Greek books at Pippin III's court are critically re-examined in *The Aristotle of Pippin III*. Biblical and transcultural elements in an almost forgotten text from the twelfth-century Iberian Peninsula are presented in *Biblical Elements and the ›Other‹ in the Chronicon regum Legionensium*. In the later sixth century, a number of exceptional diplomatic exchanges between Turkic and Byzantine rulers took place. Embassies between the Muslim and Byzantine courts are also quite well documented in the tenth century. Both cases provide unusual insights into long-range imperial power politics and cultural encounters in early medieval Eurasia (*The Geopolitics on the Silk Road, Diplomacy between Emperors and Caliphs in the Tenth Century*).

Medieval Worlds 8 thus focuses on connectivity, often between very distant macro-regions. A substantial number of project reports give a good overview of the variety of approaches to issues of cultural translation and knowledge transfer in current ERC grant projects. The coming issues will deal with the topics of the social impact of religious institutions and uses of the past in times of transition, and submissions are welcome.

Readers of this journal may already be aware that from 2019, there will be another journal with a name very similar to ours, the ›Journal of Medieval Worlds‹ edited by the University of California Press. The similarity of the name is, perhaps, unfortunate, but we hope that readers will not confuse the two journals. We gather from the Californian initiative that our concept has worked well, and wish the new journal success. At a time in which ›The Global Turn‹ (the title of the 2019 Annual Meeting of the Medieval Academy of America) is intensifying interest in a wide-open research field on global comparison and connectivity in the medieval period, there will be enough potential for two journals focusing on this fascinating topic. In any case, we will maintain our open-access and no-fee policy. The support of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, its Press and its Institute for Medieval Research make this possible. Download figures well into the four-digit numbers show that the journal meets an increasing demand by authors and readers, even though we do not have the means for publicity that major presses have.

Ingrid Hartl has now taken over as an executive editor of *Medieval Worlds* from Celine Wawruschka, to whom we owe thanks for having accompanied the journal through its initial phase.

World Literature is Trans-Imperial: A Medieval and a Modern Approach

Christian Høgel*

Various concepts guide discussions on global literature, not least ›transnational‹. The present text advocates, however, for the term *trans-imperial*, as offering a more correct definition of world literature, or global literature, both in pre-modern and modern times. Imperial spheres build up worlds of strong interconnections, and the languages they employ become privileged languages that may last beyond the time span of a given empire. These imperial spheres with their one central language therefore form the hardest borders for the dissemination of texts, now and then. By being trans-imperial, texts therefore constitute the true global literature. In medieval times trans-imperial texts would comprise especially fable stories, holy texts, philosophy and science, and mirrors of princes. These were the texts most often carried from one imperial sphere, or rather imperial language, to another, through translations. This article, consequently, offers definitions of what constitutes an imperial language. Central to identifying and safeguarding a language and making it perform as an imperial language was the establishment of a grammar and/or a set of canonized texts defining the language, the actual use of it by an empire in running its administration, and the performance of the empire's self-images through it. In many cases, secondary imperial languages – like Greek in the Roman world or Persian in the Caliphate – would hold a lower but still privileged place in the empire's life and communication. Many such secondary imperial languages could then subsequently rise to the status of imperial languages, as several vernacular languages later did from Latin. The text argues that these features, which are probably most clear-cut in a pre-modern context, also hold true in a modern context, and that what we normally refer to as successful national languages (English, French, Spanish, Russian, etc.) were, from early on, imperial rather than national languages, and that their literature, in being global, was trans-imperial.

Keywords: world literature, global literature, empires, nation states, transnational, trans-imperial

The global is everywhere, and in literary studies, as in so many other fields, efforts thrive to find common ground on how to define scopes that are global as well as those that are less than global. From this endeavour spring attempts to delineate the regional, the national or even the continental, and to view the global as the transregional or the transnational. Even the transcontinental comes up in ubiquitous terms such as Eurasia or Afro-Eurasia. We are attempting to readjust concepts that frame our cultural thinking in a world rapidly changing the parameters of geography. In this, literary studies have to some extent been guided by

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historical and political studies, but the field has also developed specific terms of its own such as cosmopolitan and panchoric.¹ The present text attempts to introduce yet other new term, in the hope that our manifold approaches may contribute to the on-going readjustment. We have come a long way, but we still have much to catch up with, not least in the endeavour to go beyond deeply embedded western/European frameworks and to find a basic vocabulary that will fit all – or at least most – ages and places. Therefore, but also in order to restructure our discussion of the European situation, the term *trans-imperial* will here be suggested as a quite universal and precise term for defining global or world literature. The term is almost universally applicable, since empires have been part of human society for a very long time and on all continents. That it is also quite precise, even for Europe, will hopefully become clear from the following exposition, which is in no way exhaustive or complete. The possible angles and exceptions in this area of study are simply too many to enable full coverage of the ground. Also, the implications could be vast, and the presentation given here only hopes to further our discussions of some central concepts when dealing with literary culture and global perspectives. Suggestions will be given, while keeping in mind the scope of the material and through the help of the studies by Thomsen, Pollock and Beecroft in particular,² but they will only be accompanied by a limited number of examples, taken from the field of competence of the present writer. It is my hope that this collected effort will constitute yet further steps towards the fulfilment of what Goethe, and others since him, have called world literature.³

History and politics: Transregional, transnational

For quite some time, literary approaches that owe their terminology to historical thinking have gained importance, especially when discussing global perspectives. And, in order to make the global manageable, concepts common to historical and political studies, like regional and transnational, have become commonplace, which, in turn, has contributed immensely to widening the scope in literary studies.⁴ Themes and texts that in earlier scholarship were entrenched within national borders, in terms of their importance in terms of identity, scope, impact, and dependence, have now, in many ways, been released from national interests and agendas, and their interconnectedness across borders is now beginning to get the attention it deserves.

As in historical and political studies (and studies programmes), regional approaches now seem obvious entities for literary enquiry. The Mediterranean is one such region that may be viewed as a literary entity, the Mediterranean allowing for a crosswise maze of inter-connections.⁵ Other areas, e.g. Mughal India, are opening up for such approaches.⁶ But the

1 Beecroft, *An Ecology of World Literature*. The terms panchoric and cosmopolitan are treated in chapters 2 and 3, respectively.

2 Thomsen, *Mapping World Literature*; Pollock, *The Language of the Gods*; Beecroft, *An Ecology of World Literature*.

3 Auerbach, 'Philology and ›Weltliteratur‹', 2-7; Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?*, 1-36, with ample discussion and reference to Goethe's deliberations on the subject.

4 See e.g. Iriye, *Global and Transnational History*, chapter 2 (19-35) on the role of historians has particular bearing on the topic discussed here.

5 See the introduction (3-22) and the section ›Philology in the Mediterranean‹ (25-116) in Akbari and Mallette, *Sea of Languages*.

6 Busch, *Poetry of Kings*, see the introduction.

regional also has its difficulties when dealing with literature(s), since the links between the languages within a region may be weaker than those that connect them to other areas where the same language is employed. Still, the gains are enormous.

The other most common break-down of the global along historical-political lines is into the transnational. The transnational has the advantage of combining a fundamentally political framework with a perspective on what goes beyond and is not bound by these borders, as literature – together with other cultural features – is apt to be.⁷ Here the ability to cross political borders gives the scholar a tool for assessing how global a text is. In this way, transnational studies have left a decisive imprint on literary studies. Despite these merits, the main problem with the transnational approach is that the former centrality of European literature (or its position to impose this centrality) remains the fundamental basis of the scholarly approaches. In order to present transnational literary studies as a global model, it is still mainly the national division lines of Europe that are adduced to define a nation and to support the case for why transnational studies should be promoted.⁸ The traditional European model of a seemingly close correspondence between linguistic and national borders, in many cases also the matrix for establishing humanistic academic fields, serves as a basis for the construction of a number of other (national) language fields all over the world. And even if this structure was never really true to life, in Europe or elsewhere, and has now, in Europe, been subjected to further demolition with the establishment of the EU, the originally European national model still lurks in the background of the *transnational*, stressing the importance of nations in defining the global. This is not to say that the importance of national agendas can be neglected. All literary production and exchange today depends heavily on national (or state) structures, not least in terms of orthography and through school curricula.

But defining the global as transnational is a way of upholding a national perspective that seems out of step with modern perspectives. Dante is transnational, because he has inspired writers such as Ben Okri and Orhan Pamuk; Tolstoy because his readers were not, and are not, only found in Russia but all over the world. But here we see the problem arising. If we take Salman Rushdie as an example, we would hardly insist that his being read in the UK or India proves his transnational, global character as a writer. It is because he has reached beyond this that he has become part of world literature. Had García Márquez or even Roberto Bolaño only been read in Latin America and Spain, they would hardly have earned these epithets. Thus, as is also stressed by many scholars, language plays a central role, and translation may in fact be used as a criterion for claiming global renown for an author. World literature is translated literature, one could claim. And this again puts a significant emphasis on the definition of language.

The contention of this text will be that these approaches, though opening up new perspectives, are still missing a central aspect of what has constituted – and still constitutes – the global. Literature is hard to contain within regions, since languages often reach beyond them. The concept of nations works best in a Western/European context. And the definition of language puts pressure on translation as the fundamental definition of global literature.

7 Thomsen, *Mapping World Literature*, 5-32; Domínguez, *Circulation in Premodern World Literature*, see esp. his use of William of Tyre as an example, 38-41.

8 Thomsen, *Mapping World Literature*, 106-119, dealing in particular with holocaust writers.

The language-sociology approach: translation and provinciality

Another way of looking at all this focuses on the place of production, and on the distinction between the central and the provincial. As stated by Damrosch and others, global literature (or world literature) may be seen as literature that has the power to reach beyond its original area of production.⁹ More specifically, he indicates as global the texts that are received in various translations, making the text »a locus of negotiation« between two (or more) cultures, eventually leading to a new mode of reading that engages us in a world beyond our own.¹⁰

Here we may respond that translations may contribute on many different levels to such negotiations. Translations between Danish and Norwegian, for example, very often only save the reader from the effort of adjusting to another spelling, whereas translations between Danish and Chinese cross what is to most speakers and readers of the two languages an insuperable barrier. In fact, the Danish-Norwegian example shows that some translations come to life primarily because of national borders, national book-markets, and national orthographies, (and hardly because of any real capacity problem), whereas the Danish-Chinese example indicates the kind of translation that Damrosch would be thinking of. Also, with this linguistic point of view, we are brought back to the issue of states and politically governed languages.

But literary exchange as being fundamental for any notion of world literature may also be perceived even more sociologically. Some texts naturally speak to the wider world, whereas others, whether by design or due to their inherent qualities, continue to be produced and received in smaller circles. Here one might think of oral literature as something that is by nature local or at least less movable in time and space than written texts, but, if this was ever the case, this is certainly no longer so in times with podcasts and YouTube. Still, texts that continue to be produced and received only within an enclosed area – of whatever size – thrive and will continue to do so, and sociological approaches to culture in general may here fruitfully be applied to literature. One may, for example, insist, as the sociologist Beck does, on the reciprocal need in the exchange between local and global in all types of customs, ways of thinking, political outlook, and personal identity.¹¹ This in many ways repeats the model of *la cour et la ville* in studies of early modern cultural exchange.¹² One may also attempt to define provincial literature – and also provincial culture in general – in its interplay with global or international literature, as done by Milan Kundera. He sees two types of provincialism: either that of big nations who may feel that they have enough in their own canons, or that of minor nations who simply cannot approach the big world out there, though they may acknowledge its merits.¹³ Others, such as the French literary scholar Casanova, will stress the basically national or somehow local merits of good literature, no matter how globally or internationally it is subsequently received.¹⁴ In the nomenclature of Alexander Beecroft, this may also be seen as the opposition between epichoric and panchoric literature.¹⁵

9 Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?*, best summed up in his conclusion 281-303.

10 Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?*, 283.

11 Beck, *Cosmopolitan Vision*, 81-83.

12 Auerbach, *Scenes from the Drama*, 133-182.

13 Kundera, *The Curtain*, 37-43.

14 Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, 91-100.

15 Beecroft, *Ecology of World Literature*, 33-36 and chapters 1 and 2.

But regardless of how we view it, language – and language status – remains a key issue, also in the present context. Whatever is not written today in one of, say, five major languages, especially English, necessarily has to be translated in order to reach an international, or transnational, audience. So writers in these five or so languages have an enormous advantage. Even what is locally produced in these languages has the potential of reaching a global audience without translation. There is also the issue of writers using a language different from their mother tongue, opting instead for another (and perhaps more widely used) national language, for example, or the language of their new residence/national identity.¹⁶ And finally, we also have to take all of the complicating matters into account when talking of mother tongues: dialects (e.g. of English on various continents), differences between the written and the spoken word, distinctive markers of identity (e.g. when distinguishing between two national versions of basically the same language), etc. And since writers are increasingly becoming conscious of all these features, in the modern world any type of literature may, it seems, be rightfully discussed and studied as part of transnational processes, translations being only one possible criterion.

What we need, therefore, is a model that will – preferably in a universally applicable way – combine the structures involved (especially the political and the linguistic) into a feasible model. The following will suggest one such model, not to supplant others, but to enrich our discussion.

Imperial languages

Given the restrictions, presented above, on our understanding of what may define global literature, new approaches are needed, and, as we saw above, models that combine a political/historical approach with a particular attention to language and translation seem to offer the most useful perspectives. However, it is crucial that we make sure to find the best blocks or entities that together form the global. Such combination is, in fact, at the core of the transnational approach but, as we saw, this has certain flaws. Few nations – if, in fact, any – reproduce the nice divisions into overlapping nations and languages which, for practical or political reasons, became the standard model for viewing some major Western countries (Germany, France, Italy, Spain etc.). The truth is that, after centuries of centralized schooling policies, not even these countries that often served as paradigms live up to the language-nation-country scheme. And the transnational model also has problems language-wise. All countries of Latin America bar a few share the same national language, with some nations having several official languages. At what point does Hispanophone literature produced in these countries become transnational? Furthermore we must acknowledge that transnational studies make most sense in areas where nations are well established, and though we may view the world as composed of United Nations, some nations are very young, whereas others have a much longer history. National languages were once perceived, and may in certain places still be perceived, as being the unique possession of that nation and country. But in most cases, things do not conform to this neat scheme. Finally, there were times when no nations existed, at least not nations that – as in our modern perceptions – had gone through the process of state building. All in all, (trans-)national perspectives will only work for studies into the last couple of centuries and only in a restricted way in any place.

16 See e.g. the discussion in Knoop, *Ambiguity of Authorship*, 14-15.

Let us now turn to the medieval world, and see if a non-modern approach can bring us any further. No nation states existed in the modern sense in this epoch, even though some scholars have, for example, attempted to see Byzantium as an early proto-nation state.¹⁷ In fact, talking of medieval national literatures only makes sense because later canonizing processes have transformed texts into the possessions of various languages strongly tied to specific nations and national curricula, forming categories such as ›medieval French literature.‘¹⁸ This in many ways misrepresents medieval reality. The forerunners of what later became national languages were, in the Middle Ages, in most cases spoken and written in more restricted areas and/or in other places than later, and the linguistic and political landscape was, in general, diverse and far from resembling the modern one. Medieval Europe was split into kingdoms, many of which have ceased to exist,¹⁹ and multi-lingual courts and administrations thrived, making the linguistic situation quite different from what it is now.²⁰ Also, high status languages such as Latin, Greek, and Arabic were found in many places alongside spoken and less standardized vernaculars. And even if some of these vernaculars rose to become the standard means of communication of states, the multifariousness of spoken languages in the given areas hardly allows for a national denomination.²¹

All these observations make it hard to speak of anything national, especially linguistically, in the Middle Ages and as a consequence, also of transnational literature. If we turn instead to what could be taken to be global or world literature in that age, we will soon end up focussing on the high-status languages: Latin in the West, Greek in Byzantium, and Arab in the Muslim world (due to the competences of the present writer, these areas will form the central basis of the argument, but parallel cases could be found in Persian, Sanskrit, Chinese, etc.). Languages such as these formed the more international modes of communication, reaching larger readerships than vernacular texts. At the same time, these high-status languages were often holy languages and/or imperial languages. Their position as a holy language they shared with many other languages, e.g. Hebrew, Church Slavonic, and Coptic, whereas their imperial status was either due to a political reality or founded in former ages of expansion and domination. In that sense, in much of medieval Europe Latin could be seen as an imperial language, not primarily because of any immediate reality, but primarily due to its importance dating back to ancient times, when it was the central and codified language of the Roman Empire. And this imperial quality of a language would often persist even beyond and outside imperial contexts, as Latin did in large tracts of Western Europe. Its status as the *imperial language* lived on for centuries after its codification, gradually less and less supported by a real functioning empire.²² In fact, this is a defining trait of what could be called imperial languages, that once their status is ensured through imperial policy, their life span may – unlike vernaculars – reach far beyond any political reality. Alternatively, it could continue its life as a *secondary imperial language* (former imperial languages now in use under new rulers with a new imperial language), as in the case of Persian in large parts of the Muslim world,

17 Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, 74-82.

18 Gaunt, *French Literature Abroad*, see esp. 25-26 and 58-59.

19 Davies, *Vanished Kingdoms*, 729-739.

20 Tyler, Introduction. *England and Multilingualism*, 1-14.

21 See the approach in Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy*, 36-65.

22 Ostler, *Empires of the Word* only uses the term ›imperial languages‹ for the colonial empires (see ch. 11, suggesting the concept on 380-381; and making it part of his concluding remarks 446-448).

for example, or as Greek did for centuries in the ancient Roman Empire.²³ And, as the examples of Greek and Persian show, secondary languages could later rise (again) to the status of imperial languages (in Byzantium and in the Mughal and Safavid Empires, respectively).

The medieval high-status languages are commonly spoken of as holy languages, but if we take a closer look at the imperial nature of these languages, an equally or even stronger core of dynamism may be seen, related to administrative and educational procedures and ideologies that were embedded in the languages and made them useful or even indispensable in establishing or upholding imperial claims and structures. This does not mean that other languages were barred from approaching (and perhaps in the end attaining) such a status. Castilian was introduced as the new educational language in Spain – to the detriment more of Arabic than of Latin –, Slavonic gained importance to the detriment of Greek, etc.²⁴ Furthermore, in some periods, rising imperial languages were able to attain a level of importance equal to that of the older and established languages. Persian, and later Turkish, rose to importance alongside Arabic in the Ottoman world, and it may at times be hard to indicate which was the strongest.²⁵ The same goes for European vernaculars when coming on a par, in pre-modern centuries, with Latin.

Consequently, religion is not the sole reason why we easily subdivide the medieval world into its Latin, Greek, and Arabic (or Arabo-Persian) parts; old durable or contemporary imperial structures are just as important if not more so. The division between medieval Latin and Greek is a good example, with a shared religion (despite dogmatic differences) but with a sharp division in terms of imperial claims. And grand notions of empire continued to play an important role in all educational and administrative procedures and ambitions. If we may be allowed a gross simplification, the three areas of Latin, Greek and Arabic primarily understood themselves as heirs and continuators of three different empires. At least, a very large segment of their educated elites did so. Through education these people could consider themselves members of a larger and centuries old community, imagined in much the same way that Benedict Anderson described in the case of modern nations.²⁶ This community sprang from a shared schooling and the subsequent shared use of an imperial language, and given the conditions of employment of clerks and others, high proficiency in these languages would be a channel for ambitions and professional pride. We may even say – as is clear, for example, from much history writing – that the class trained in these languages would see empire and its language as a field of attraction, as desirable. Also, due to the scarce resources of pre-modern societies, only larger states or empires could create a unified schooling system with an established orthography, standardized communication formulas, and bureaucratic procedures.²⁷

23 Lazard, *Rise of the New Persian Language*, esp. 595-598; see also several contributions in Mullen, *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, esp. the introduction 1-35.

24 Niehoff-Panagiotidis, *Übersetzung und Rezeption*, 137-218.

25 Woodhead, *Ottoman Languages*, 152.

26 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 83-112.

27 Crone, *Pre-Industrial Societies*, see especially her careful treatment of vocational training and education, 95-103.

This definition, then, stands in some opposition to that of ›cosmopolitan‹ languages and literatures, a term advocated for by Sheldon Pollock and central to the exposition by Alexander Beecroft.²⁸ In Beecroft's definition, cosmopolitan languages are the languages that often follow in the wake of empires and that commonly employ universalizing tropes. This definition seems, however, to reduce the importance of the empires that caused the spread of these languages and literatures and to leave out the way that imperial institutions and practices continued to be part of how these languages were perceived and practised, not least through the reading of canonized texts from past times of imperial glory.²⁹ Empires, whether functioning or remembered, had a strong impact on language and literature.

Imperial languages and imperial literature

So, insisting on the importance of empires and the imprint they leave on practitioners of literature during the life of the empire as well as, possibly, long afterwards, imperial language also becomes central to a definition of various types of literature. For the clearer employment of the term, we here offer a *tri-partite definition of an imperial language*. To be truly imperial, a language will (1) need to be identifiable through grammars and/or a canon of standard texts (to be used in schools); it will (2) have to be the language used in the administrative running of an empire; and it will (3) be the linguistic code that central persons and institutions of this empire will employ when giving imperial self-representations, i.e. representations of the empire of which they themselves form a part. To give examples, Greek became an imperial language from the third century BCE when its grammar and especially its canonized (mainly Attic) authors were singled out in Alexandria, when the Hellenistic empires began running their administration in (Atticizing Koine) Greek, and when court intellectuals, such as the scholar-poet Kallimachos (ca. 310-240 BCE) and members of his state-paid class of intellectuals, produced literature glorifying their rulers.³⁰ Similar processes can be pointed out for Latin and Arabic. Some imperial languages would, from an early point in their history, be based on grammars: Arabic, for example, already with the work of Miskawayh (932-1030 CE).³¹ Others would – like Latin – initially mainly be identifiable through canonized texts.³² The literary canons would serve as school texts, enabling all future partakers in the running of the empire to master the imperial language. The canonized set of standard texts could, of course, be supplemented along the way, and in all empires, we see persons close to power – whether political or intellectual – working hard on having their writings enter this sphere. Still, there was – and is – in all empires a remarkable veneration for early texts. This ensured the survival of Homer even if not conforming to the later linguistic standards; the same goes for the Latin comedies of Plautus and Terence, and is also witnessed in the focus in Arabic education systems on the pre-Islamic *jahiliyya*-poetry.³³

28 Pollock, *Language of the Gods*, 10-18 and 75-114.

29 Beecroft, *An Ecology*, 126.

30 Blum, *Kallimachos* still good on the state sponsoring behind the poets activities, see esp. 95-98.

31 Versteegh, *Arabic Language*, 60-84.

32 Black, *Humanism and Education*; on 173-274 the selection of Latin authors is discussed, displaying the clear preponderance of classical (ancient) authors.

33 Crone, *Pre-Industrial Societies*, 97-101.

A purely religious understanding of the enormous importance of high-status languages therefore makes little sense. The imperial background is, for example, evident in the translation of the Old Testament, or Hebrew Bible, into Greek, into what became known as the Septuagint. This was a translation from a holy language (Hebrew) into an imperial one, since Greek at this point carried no religious notions for a Jewish community. And if we may believe the letter of Aristeas, a Ptolemaic ruler even instigated the translation enterprise.³⁴ Likewise, the use and canonization of a Latin Bible can hardly be seen as disconnected to the imperial status of Latin, ensuring it a wide usage.³⁵ And the ensuing retention of Latin was guided by this, and supported through Biblical references, though it was commonly known that the text was a translation. Holiness was an argument, but imperial conditions were the driving force. This drive was known to literary professionals, the actual users of the common means of written (and to some degree oral) high-status communication. Among these, there was a very high degree of self-awareness, and they proudly saw themselves as *literati* (or holders of *paideia*, *adab* etc.), often even if belonging to religious institutions. Intellectual pride went into this, but also personal ambitions. The language had a learned world – and attractive administrative posts – to offer to those who flocked to its schools and in the end successfully performed its arts.

In this medieval world of learning and literature, borders mattered. In the context of medieval Western Afro-Eurasia, the three imperial languages, and their three »empires« were very differently composed, with the Latin as the probably less unified, but *literati* in all three areas could see themselves as belonging to an imperial reality. And this imagined perception of imperial wholes facilitated specific types of exchange. Within the three areas an extensive exchange of books, personnel, and educated brides (princesses, queens-to-be etc.) took place. In a medieval setting, these were probably the three most important social factors (apart from general schooling) in maintaining a continuous cultural updating within the literary strata of society. The same type of exchange also took place between empires, but only to a much lesser degree. Various reasons may be given – religious, linguistic, even geographic – but the low degree of exchange remains a fact. Cultural exchange across imperial borders – especially in terms of literature – ended up depending on very few but very influential persons and events, on individual translators, on chance gifts of books, on a few (converting) princesses etc. The importance of Emperor Theophilos sending a manuscript containing the writings of Dionysios the Areopagite to France in the year 827 can hardly be overrated.³⁶ The interests of Empress Theophanu (ca. 955-91) deeply influenced courtly tastes in Ottonian Germany, just as the writings of Petrus Alfonsi did when he arrived at the English court in 1116 at the latest.³⁷ But such cases are not nearly as numerous as those of people circulating within the imperial spheres.

34 Varillas, *La edición del libro sagrado*, 86-87.

35 On the history of the Latin Bible, see van Liere, 80-109.

36 Signes Codoñer, *Emperor Theophilos*, 326-329.

37 See the many contributions in Davids, *The Empress Theophano*, not least 169-264, and Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and His Medieval Readers*, 132-158.

Another way of demonstrating the importance of imperial borders is by pointing out that a large-scale literary exchange between empires primarily took place as a result of conquest, in newly conquered zones. The best-known large-scale medieval translations between Latin, Greek, and Arabic took place in Syria, Spain, Sicily, or Southern Italy, at periods just after these areas had changed hands. An elite educated in Greek (or at least Greek culture in Syriac) formed the background to the translations of Greek philosophy into Arabic in Syria/Mesopotamia in the eighth-tenth century CE.³⁸ Toledo became a hub of Arabic-Latin translators only after Alfonso VI had conquered it in 1085.³⁹ From the eleventh century CE Norman kings in Sicily sponsored a rich production of literature in three imperial languages, not least because Greek and Arabic had recently been the means of (self-)representation of Sicilian rulers and could not, without loss, instantly be replaced by a newly introduced Latin. And in the process of gradual shift, translations multiplied.⁴⁰ In this way, large-scale translations between imperial languages mostly took place in newly conquered zones, whereas translations within the empires – say between Latin and French – could lead a continuous life and in most cases independently of conquests.

The issue of imperial languages could also benefit our understanding of the rise of vernaculars. Many of these appeared as new literary languages, because they were promoted and employed by people and rulers who strove for (a separate) imperial status. Multi-lingual courts and multi-lingual literary circles here played decisive roles. Castilian rose to imperial proportions very much on the model of Arabic, as did Slavonic on the model of Greek.⁴¹ The fundamental importance of the imperial languages in forming the rise and unfolding of vernaculars as multi-functional written languages will be an important topic for future studies. There is a whole dynamic of imperial languages – to be based on the exchange of books, personnel, and princesses as well as on the conquests of learned centres and the rise of vernaculars to imperial status – when trying to account for the large-scale exchange of texts and narratives in the Middle Ages.

Global literature is trans-imperial

If this – admittedly cursory – large-scale image of languages in the medieval world may be allowed, we may pick up the various ideas from the discussions of modern global literature and see how and whether they may be applied to medieval literary exchange, and then again, collectively, to the modern situation. That translation constitutes the mark of global literature could well be claimed in the case of medieval literature. Multi-layered fable stories, as well as hagiographical tales and romances would, in that case, come quite high up on the list, being frequently translated but also re-contextualized within new language contexts in the Middle Ages.⁴² Also, more learned and philosophical literature as well as holy texts would be among the notable candidates for a medieval global literature. In fact, the most successful texts – those that travelled farthest – may easily be defined as trans-imperial texts, i.e. as texts that not only circulated in their imperially defined (linguistic) world, but transcended the hardest borders into areas of a different imperial language or languages. Such texts are,

38 Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, 11-27.

39 Rodríguez Porto, *Ruined Landscape*.

40 Mallette, *The Kingdom of Sicily*, 1-16.

41 See, however, the comments in Franklin, *Writing, Society and Culture*, 12-13.

42 See Cordoni, *Barlaam und Josaphat*, 5-57; Stoneman et al., *The Alexander Romance*, part 1.

for example, the Sanskrit texts that made it to the West (the story of Barlaam and Josafat, or the famous fable compound, the *Kalila wa-Dimna*, as its title was in Arabic, and more) or the writings of Greek philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle and Galen.⁴³ These and others – but not Dante, Psellos, or Ibn Battuta – form a true global literature of the Middle Ages, by being *trans-imperial*. The traditions of Greek philosophy, holy books, fable stories and/or compounds of embedded tales, and/or mirrors of princes (very often featuring Alexander the Great) were the texts that found successful translators, often in newly conquered areas (areas such as Syria and Mesopotamia, Sicily and Toledo). The people that could ensure these texts further circulation in the next empire – the translators – were few, yet their importance was immense, for real bookish intellectual exchange depended heavily on them and some of these translations became fundamental in their new settings.⁴⁴ Empires formed the major blocks of traditions of learning and common linguistic/aesthetic borders, and the translations produced by these people were the global exceptions to that rule. Some examples in the following paragraphs will attempt to further detail the usefulness and applicability of the term *trans-imperial*.

First, the term *trans-imperial* may serve to simply denote the wide – in fact, quite global – circulation of some texts, in the Middle Ages. When dealing with the breath-taking success of the Buddha story, as found in the version known in the west as Barlaam and Josaphat, we are at pains to put into simple words the process of this distribution. The Barlaam story was known in various versions and languages all the way from India to Iceland (with another Eastern route less covered and perhaps less evidenced), because subsequent translators made the text – or rather a version of it – available in new languages on the way.⁴⁵ Being originally a Buddhist text, it nevertheless shed its direct religious affiliation on the way, becoming a Manichaean, Islamic (rather than Muslim), and Christian text in various versions, and according to the wishes of the translator.⁴⁶ The enormity of time and space in this trajectory are breath-taking, bringing us from a quite eastern point of one continent (India) to the north-western extremity of the next (Norway and Iceland) and covering this ground only over a time span of more than half a millennium. A clear way of indicating the immense popularity of the Barlaam story would be to call it *trans-imperial*. In the process, the text crossed repeatedly from one imperial language – or sphere dominated by an imperial language – to the next. To call this process *transnational*, or *international*, would make little sense, and viewing the various versions only as representatives of their language is a reductive reference system that simply identifies text objects, but does not outline the process. In the big picture, the Barlaam text belongs to a tremendous *trans-imperial* success of Sanskrit texts (and those in other Indian languages) that reached empires from China to the Latin West, but whereas this literature lost its Buddhist orientation on the way to the west, it reached China (and Japan etc.) mainly as part of a Buddhist reorientation.⁴⁷

43 Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, provides an overview in the appendix, 193-196; Gaullier-Bougassas, *Trajectoires Européennes Du Secretum Secretorum*, 5-25.

44 See Høgel, *The Authority of Translators*.

45 Cordoni, *Barlaam und Josaphat*, 53-55; Genequand, *Aux sources*, 67-77; Smirnova, *L'Histoire de Barlaam et Josaphat*, 79-112; Alvar Ezquerro, *Barlaam y Josafat*, 115-128.

46 On all this, see Cordoni, *Barlaam und Josaphat*.

47 On the complexities of the actual routes, see Xinjiang, *Land Route or Sea Route?*, 1-3.

But calling the transmission of the Barlaam story trans-imperial would only indicate that the text travelled – in some version – from one imperial sphere to others. It does not elucidate whether there was any clear conception of what this implied in the Middle Ages. Even if medieval readers along the vast expanse travelled by the Barlaam story were told of the Indian origins of the narration (at least in the Greek version and as known to al-Nadim in tenth-century Baghdad), they would have little chance of verifying this, of gathering additional information – e.g. about the originally Buddhist thoughts expressed – and would have no idea of how big the readership was in other places.⁴⁸ In fact, though knowing the foreign origins of the story and knowing that literatures existed in other languages, they would have little possibility of approaching these. This was an instance of quite disconnected readership. Thus, if we want to apply the term trans-imperial to various ages and situations, we will have to take the variations into account. The nature of the trans-imperial, and the implications thereof, differ substantially from age to age. Medieval readers could only know of this to a very restricted degree, whereas modern readers have much better opportunities to identify the trans-imperial. And it is also today that we are discussing such matters.

If we take another example of a very successful trans-imperial cluster of texts, collectively designated as Greek philosophy (including its many scientific and technical writings), this would, from another starting point (the eastern Mediterranean), reach a comparable vast area, with subsequent translations making it available to medieval readers from Iceland to India.⁴⁹ And here, again, trans-imperial would work as a means of identifying and further substantiating the process, not least by explaining its success. It is hard to underestimate the importance of Aristotle and others, whose thoughts and pronouncements have guided intellectual discussions in so many imperial settings, but it is important to remember that in no place did this philosophical literature become the fundamental textbooks of the educational system. Medieval philosophical translations were not made to cover a wide-spread need, but were introduced to form a sort of superstructure to a schooling based on simpler texts of another, either religious or otherwise canonical status. This very phenomenon – its function as intellectual superstructure – could be seen as a central parameter in the way Greek philosophy in its various versions formed a trans-imperial commonality. In any case, trans-imperial seems, at least to the present author, to serve better as an indication of this shared praxis and thought world than most other denominations. And even whether working in parallel or chronologically disconnected, surprising similarities can be observed. See e.g. how various names and aspects of Greek medicine may be gathered from Tibetan sources, mirroring how Arabic medicine became known in the Latin tradition.⁵⁰

Turning to yet another example, trans-imperial may also be employed as a term when trying to explain other surprising common features. The success of the Alexander story in Latin, Greek, Persian and many other languages and corresponding places may surprise a modern reader apt to think of Alexander as a Greek/Hellenistic – and by extension, perhaps Roman – hero. But the glory of Alexander is found all around the area in which Greek philosophy – in various translations and extensions – thrived. Alexander's role as a pupil of Aristotle added a bit to his renown, but is obviously not the reason why he appears in the Qur'an or even

48 Dodge, *The Fihrist of Al-Nadim*, 2/717.

49 Mairs, *The Hellenistic Far East*, 73-75.

50 See Martin, *Historical Contact with Tibet*, 118-120.

why he has such a prominent role in the *Shahname*.⁵¹ Stories of Alexander clearly reached far beyond the times and places that surviving texts and images corroborate. His story went trans-imperial, and the spread of iconographic or emblematic pointers (in coins and much else) may be of core value here.

Among trans-imperial texts certain genres feature very persistently, not least the ones already mentioned. The Barlaam story includes an abundance of embedded stories, and embedded tales, not least fable tales, many originating in India, are strongly represented among trans-imperial texts.⁵² The embeddedness probably echoes the experience of many tales told orally, and certain texts were carried to new places multi-vocally accompanied by spoken parallels. Also, holy books, often helped along by missionaries or new converts, experienced trans-imperial success. Manichaean books were found from the Mediterranean to China, and the same goes for the Christian Bible, the Qur'an, and many other holy texts, accompanied by a whole set of liturgical and theological writings.⁵³ This type of trans-imperial text would often have stronger institutional ties back to the source contexts. Religious institutions would at least attempt to keep up contact with texts and praxis in trans-imperial contexts (thereby challenging imperial systems!). The story of Constantine-Cyril and Methodios, the apostles to the Slavs, shows how a combined attachment to two imperial spheres may lead to dilemmas.⁵⁴ The story of missionaries and new converts are replete with such ties and failed attempts. Not all holy texts that experienced trans-imperial translation can, however, be accounted for in this way. The early Greek translation of the Qur'an was probably the product of an enterprise in the Muslim area, to be used within a Greek context in a world that was only gradually adopting Arabic as the language of administration (and thereby as its new imperial language).⁵⁵ It was then produced as Greek was on the verge of being reduced to a secondary imperial language, soon practically to disappear in the Levant, where it had been the imperial language for more than a millennium.⁵⁶ The translation nevertheless experienced a – restricted – trans-imperial afterlife, being transferred to Constantinople sometime in the second half of the ninth century. And through further distribution, parts of this translation became even more trans-imperial, reaching Italy by the 16th century.⁵⁷

51 See Chism, *Facing the Land of Darkness*, 52-54.

52 See the careful discussion of multi-layered frames in Taylor, *Frames Eastern and Western*.

53 The literature is enormous. On the Nestorian stele, erected in the year 781 CE outside Xi'an, see e.g. Keesvak, *The Story of a Stele*.

54 See Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits*, ch. 1.

55 On this early translation of the Qur'an and its possible origin, see Høgel, *An Early Translation*.

56 Further on this, see Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State*, 229-238.

57 Høgel, *The Byzantine Panoplia tradition*.

Trans-imperial in a modern context

The medieval examples given above of trans-imperial texts and the use of trans-imperial as a concept may fruitfully serve in other descriptions of similar processes, and it will here be the contention that the concept of trans-imperial also works for the modern age. If we may again be allowed simplifications in order to approximate an image of larger structures, we can take the European case again.⁵⁸ Early modern Europe saw, in its central and eastern parts, the appearance of heirs to the Byzantine imperial throne,⁵⁹ and later a number of states based (mostly) in Eastern Europe formed empires that expanded east (Russia, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire). In the West, the rise of strong and more centralized kingdoms meant a relinquishing of the notion of any unified imperial structure, even if the German (Roman) Empire continued its existence in parts. Instead, most of these states (in fact just about all Atlantic nations) eventually acquired overseas empires. Areas of Europe in between these parts (mainly German-speaking, but also Italy) participated in the latter process but only to a very small degree (and with dire consequences for the later power balance in Europe). Despite these differences between East, West, and Central Europe, all these areas began at some point to view themselves as nations and as taking part in building nation states. In all areas, but particularly in the central and eastern parts, this meant a partial breakup of empires, but in the west, the new nations (often only constructed through the suppression of internal minority cultures and languages) were all, at the same time, the central part of an empire – the headquarters, so to speak, of political entities, parts of which were found overseas.⁶⁰

To give an example, Denmark may from the beginning of the nineteenth century have begun to see itself as a nation state, but the kingdom of Denmark reigned over possessions in the Atlantic, in the Caribbean, in Africa, and even in the Indian Ocean that were never included in this national thinking.⁶¹ This quite closely mirrored the situation in (other) Western European overseas, or colonial, empires that made sure to separate nation building from their imperial roles.⁶² The nation state was a specific and privileged part of an imperial structure that gained enormously in economic and social terms from the exploitation of its »empire« or – to put it more correctly – of the less privileged parts of the empire. The writings of famous Danish authors such as Søren Kierkegaard and H. C. Andersen, who are very often viewed as national authors, should therefore be read in this imperial setting. The writings of H. C. Andersen in particular may be interpreted quite differently when seen in this light, taking the many references to distant empires (China in *The Nightingale*, Persia in *The Shadow*, Istanbul in *En Digtets Bazar* etc.) as emulations, as efforts to rise to the same level as these, despite the fairy tale universe and the irony with which these distant worlds are treated in Andersen's narratives. Likewise, the popularity of the writings of Andersen and Kierkegaard in other parts of Europe (and elsewhere) should, in general, be seen as trans-imperial, travelling from a Danish empire to other empires, in Europe and elsewhere. The same, of course, goes for Balzac, Dickens and many other »national« European authors. Whatever literature crossed from one of these seemingly national areas into another, say from England into France, was really crossing imperial borders.

58 The following exposition owes much to Howe, *Empire* and to Martinez-Gros, *Brève histoire des empires*.

59 Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 1-15.

60 Berger and Miller, *Building Nations*, see the introduction.

61 Østergård, *Nation-Building and Nationalism*.

62 Bang and Kolodziejczyk, *Elephant of India*, the main point being made on 4-5.

If this x-ray snapshot of modern European states is accepted, whatever in Europe (until the world wars) has been called transnational was in fact trans-imperial. Today, since the founding of the EU, whatever is exchanged in Europe lies within one empire (or a loosely cohering imperial sphere) and is no longer trans-imperial.

Conclusion

The trans-imperial model offered here will, if accepted, allow for truly comparable analyses across the pre-modern/modern divide, and has the advantage of being just about universally applicable. The idea of imperial languages forming the model for rising vernaculars can be paralleled in a number of colonial settings. The fate of secondary imperial languages – rising to imperial status, disappearing, or remaining secondary – can help steer our discussions on the linguistic developments today. The fate of French, for example, can be seen as that of an imperial language which, since the world wars, has been reduced to a secondary imperial language, whereas the further rise of English can only be explained through the status of the US (facilitated by former British control over colonies etc.). The heavy inclusion of European – especially German – learning into American academia in the mid-twentieth century (and its gradual transformation into English) was directly dependent upon US military interventions in Europe, which, in the aftermath of the Second World War, may be seen as a newly conquered zone. These examples can be further extended to just about all ages of writing and all continents.

With the proposed definition of imperial languages and literatures, at least one clear difference arises between pre-modern and modern literature. In the world of today writers may be operating in the hope of reaching a global audience. No such instant success was possible for pre-modern literature. It took more than half a millennium for the Barlaam story – originally a tale of the Buddha – to cover the geographical distance from India to Norway, through numerous translations and with the complete loss of any notion of authorship.⁶³ The Indian origin of the story was, however, retained and the whole issue of what was discarded and what transmitted is of obvious interest. But, the time dimension in itself and the related possibility of authors and audiences having a notion of the processes involved, of the trajectories from which texts and stories arrived, or of the many accumulated voices added up in the tale when reaching them, all call for a deeper understanding of how global – or trans-imperial – literature was perceived in a pre-modern setting, so different from our modern perception. Stories of multiple narrators, of embedded tales in Chinese box systems, reflected not only the coming into being of these texts, but also a general perception of how stories travel.⁶⁴ But any clearer knowledge of belonging to a specific global literary exchange, or to a common appreciation of world literature, would not be possible in the old world.

This is obviously possible in the world of today, and a clear modern expression of a consciousness of belonging to an imperial linguistic universe through a (particularly successful) literary production may be seen in the many formulations by Derek Walcott on the interconnected world behind the very British education that he received. In interviews,

63 Cordoni, *Barlaam und Josaphat*, 6-8.

64 Taylor, *Frames Eastern and Western*.

he expressed how he experienced a richness in belonging to a world that included nations worldwide, such as New Zealand and Egypt.⁶⁵ This world of educated exchange (but also of much else) was the learned and literary sphere of the British Empire (or the Commonwealth), which, like other empires past and present, offered an attractive world of learned exchange and certain career prospects to those who were able to appropriate its modes of communication. There is a side to empire, and thus to imperial languages and imperial literature, that is desirable to intellectuals and authors. Yet, despite Derek Walcott's positive views of this, the European sea, or colonial, empires were in most cases, unlike former and other empires, very reluctant to allow people coming from outside its »headquarters« (the »national« cores in Europe) a real chance of rising to top posts. This lack of flexibility (or racism) has left a severe mark on our perception of empire, especially in Europe and in the US. And despite modern means of transportation (connecting most parts of the world with instant digital contact and personal transportation within a day or two) we are still operating conceptually very much in terms that were defined by the rise of sea empires (primarily the European colonial empires). In the future, these defining borders and concepts may give way to other structures and other ways of analysing literature; but for now, imperial spheres and trans-imperial literature as the fundamentally global should govern our ways of viewing world literature. And within this structure, imperial literary modes have in many cases been seen as enormously attractive, at least by the strata of society that were involved in its production and consumption, and even if we may not recognize the distinctly imperial features of this literature, we certainly enjoy recognizing the global features of trans-imperial world literature.

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65 Walcott, interviewed by Bill Moyers on www.youtube.com/watch?v=XrqKsGY9urM (last accessed on 30 August 2018).

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The Global Eminent Life: Sixth-Century Collected Biographies from Gregory of Tours to Huijiao of Jiaxiang Temple

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Sanctity and the holy have been useful concepts for scholars seeking to compare religious cultures. This paper seeks to extend the project of comparisons by investigating the organisational contexts that produced collected biographies about holy women and men. It focuses on case studies from Latin and Byzantine Christianity and Buddhist China in the sixth century CE to highlight useful similarities in the authors' conceptions of their work in the face of fluid traditions and contested religious environments. It also sketches some of the ways in which manuscript production and library organisation helped to generate the texts we have. Without consideration of these organisational factors, it is argued, the traditional project of comparing holy figures is on uncertain ground.

Keywords: collected biographies, hagiography, manuscripts, libraries, Gregory of Tours, Gregory the Great, John of Ephesus, Cyril of Scythopolis, Baochang, Huijiao, Mahāyāna Buddhism, Christianity.

What might comparative and global histories add to our understanding of biographical and hagiographical collections of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages? Such a question ought to come naturally to researchers dealing with biographical writings from the period. Peter Brown's seminal work on the holy man as a specific type of character with social functions came out of efforts to think comparatively and anthropologically about the imaginative spaces of different societies. When he came to reflect on the ways in which Latin and Greek Christianities gradually ›parted ways‹, he focused on examples of the holy, ›like an ultra-violet light which enables us to see differing structures in one and the same crystal.¹ It is an approach that has been highly influential. At the same time, however, comparisons of the holy have not always extended as thoroughly into comparisons of the literary and organisational processes that produced the sources for studies of the holy. It is increasingly desirable to establish stronger ground rules for doing so, in order to avoid comparing phenomena without fully understanding what produced them.

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1 Brown, *Eastern and Western Christendom*, 175. His classic studies of the holy man as a type are Brown, *Holy Man*, and Brown, *Exemplar*. For critical assessment, see the essays in Howard-Johnston and Hayward, *The Cult of Saints*.

A significant influence on such a project is the rise of the new global histories that have started to reshape studies of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. To read Johannes Preiser-Kapeller's recent *Jenseits von Rom und Karl dem Grossen* (2018) is to discover a world of networks and connections – many, of course, indirect – that force us to reconsider how developments in different parts of Afro-Eurasia affected matters elsewhere, sometimes at great distance.² Mobility was more important than often thought, and ideas and practices could hardly remain static in such an environment.³ At the same time, we do not have to rely solely on fully integrated systems to make comparison meaningful if we have the right terms for investigation.⁴ Chris Wickham, in his 2004 Reuter Lecture, argued that what we need are well considered grounds to ensure that we are not comparing and contrasting at random.⁵ In socio-economic studies, one might insist on similar population sizes or economic structures. In politics, one might study types of organisation. For my present purposes, for reassessing holiness, it is useful that the sixth century witnessed the production of ›collective biographies‹ in different Christian and Buddhist communities, produced in institutional settings with strong connections to both lay and religious audiences.

By ›collective biographies‹, I mean to invoke a relatively loose category of writing. It is one in which authors sought to explore their worlds – here, specifically religious worlds – by compiling life stories and anecdotes about a few or more different figures. The words used to describe these texts naturally vary, from *vita* and *historia* in the Latin tradition (with similar terms employed in Greek and Syriac) to 傳 (*zhuan*, ›biography‹) in China – all of which loosely evoke variable practices of telling and organising stories rather more than they denote fixed genres in the modern sense. Modern scholarship on Christianity and Buddhism often employs the term ›hagiography‹ to capture the nature of such texts, although such a term is anachronistic and reflects our efforts to articulate the discourses and practices of writing about holy people more than the authors in the past.⁶ If we accept that there are good grounds to compare these discourses and the practices involved in the ways that they intersect with religious, social, and political thought, however, we can begin to analyse literary thought worlds that allow us to highlight the ideals and structures involved in ways that illuminate telling similarities and differences.

The underlying ideas of ›holiness‹ will necessarily not always be absolute. An important problem with the use of the term ›hagiography‹ is that it carries the cultural baggage of specifically Christian institutions of sanctity which would later involve formal processes of canonisation.⁷ Early medieval holiness was rarely so formal – not that it always was in later centuries – with biographical commemoration in particular open to a wide spectrum of

2 On interconnectedness, see also Moore, *A Global Middle Ages?*

3 An important study here remains McCormick, *Origins*.

4 Instructive recent collections include Drews and Oesterle, *Transkulturelle Komparatistik* and Hovden, Lutter and Pohl, *Meanings of Community*.

5 Wickham, *Problems*, 13.

6 On the problem with Latin hagiography, see Lifshitz, *Beyond Positivism and Genre*, especially 98. On Byzantine hagiography, see Hinterberger, *Byzantine Hagiography*. Similar issues are involved for Buddhism in China, as much biographical tradition had its roots in Chinese literature as much as *avadāna* or other Buddhist texts: Kieschnick, *Buddhism*, especially 535, and more generally Twitchett, *Chinese Biographical Writing*.

7 See Vauchez, *La sainteté*.

impressive individuals, whether they attracted cultic devotion or not. Mahāyāna Buddhism had similar issues with ideals about Bodhisattva, the special individuals who had achieved enlightenment and who could inspire others.⁸ One could read the theory in Lotus sūtra but, when it came to lived example, people could walk the paths to different extents and still be worthy of being promoted as inspirational figures.⁹ Buddhism and Christianity both required that people argue the case for seeing people as holy. At a theological level, Christian saints and Buddhist Bodhisattvas could seem different while often fulfilling similar functions.¹⁰ At the level of a biography, it is particularly important that, Buddhist or Christian, lived examples were put forward to embody spiritual ideals within the world, sometimes regardless of imperfection. Study of the processes behind creating collected biographies will help us to analyse not just ideals of sanctity, but also how these ideals became historically grounded and effective.

The Ebb and Flow of Comparative Studies

Comparative work on saints and hagiography has a mixed recent history.¹¹ In the mid-1980s, there was something of a boom in efforts to acquire new insights into the sociologic importance of saints, and to see how saints compared across time and space. The Stephen Wilson-curated *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore, and History* (1985), for instance, brought together essays from Évelyn Patlagean on Byzantine saints and social history and Pat Geary on rituals, to Marc Gaborieau on Muslim saints in Nepal and northern India. This was followed three years later by *Sainthood: Its Manifestations in World Religions* (1988), edited by medievalist Richard Kieckhefer in collaboration with George D. Bond, a scholar who has long worked on Buddhism in Southeast Asia. This was a volume that, as the title suggests, provided sketches of how the figures of saints looked in different world religions, with a chapter on each – often sketching the theories of sanctity more than the lived practice. Saints looked, for a moment, to be something that would bring studies of different cultures closer together, even if the mechanics of writing and organising stories remained at best secondary. Everybody, it seems, read Peter Brown's work on holy men and cults as their starting point. But in the 1990s there seemed to be a turn away from this trend in scholarship on Latin Christendom, and comparative studies became less prominent.

One reason for the retreat from comparison is simply a shift in the scales of analysis. One could unfairly frame this as the age-old trend towards scholars knowing more and more about less and less. It was, however, more sophisticated than that. On the late antique and early medieval West, there was a necessary procession of deep case study histories, such as Máire Herbert's study of Insular Columban hagiographical tradition in 1988, or Thomas Head's account of hagiography in the diocese of Orléans in 1990.¹² These effectively marked a

8 On the variety of saints in Buddhism, see Ray, *Buddhist Saints in India*.

9 Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, 50-52.

10 Lopez Jr, Sanctification, 177-178 and 206-207; Augustine, *Buddhist Hagiography*, 5-6.

11 Palmer, *Early Medieval Hagiography*, 3-4, 75, and 80-83.

12 Herbert, *Iona, Kells and Derry*; Head, *Hagiography*. On the analytical shifts involved, see Smith, *Early Medieval Hagiography*, 70-72.

shift away from large-scale typologies towards microhistories and *Historismus*, usually with a marked increase in attention to issues of text and transmission. Text was and is political, depending on the context.¹³ Such moves were not intended as a reaction against the models from sociology and indeed many, such as Poulin's 1975 study of Carolingian Aquitaine, were intended to provide the case studies to inform comparative studies for future generations.¹⁴ For Poulin, at least, those comparative studies were quickly shaped by the project *Les sources hagiographiques narratives composées en Gaule avant l'an mil* (SHG), which also saw Martin Heinzelmann, François Dolbeau and, later, Monique Goulet pursuing greater depth of philological analysis across more case studies from throughout the Frankish kingdoms. The intellectual, social and political complexities involved in writing, rewriting, and circulating hagiographical texts were increasingly laid bare.¹⁵

At the same time, the influence of Brown was felt in Buddhist studies with some similar consequences. In 1994, Koichi Shinohara argued that, going forward, Brown's critique of popular religion and his emphasis on functionalism had much to offer scholars studying the sixth-century *Gaoseng Zhuan* 高僧傳 (*Biographies of Eminent Monks*) by Huijiao 慧皎 (497-554). In particular, he argued, it was time to challenge positivistic readings of the past to understand the logic and function of religious belief and practice. Nevertheless, he concluded: ›[we need to look] closely at medieval China itself, rather than on any comparison between Chinese and Western holy men as discrete and comparable categories‹, because function revealed itself in context rather than in comparative outline.¹⁶ John Kieschnick made a notable contribution here with the 1997 book *The Eminent Monk*, which used *Gaoseng Zhuan* along with the later expansions and revisions *Xu Gaoseng Zhuan* 續高僧傳 (*Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks*) by Daoxuan 道宣 from the mid-seventh century and *Song Gaoseng Zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (*Song Biographies of Eminent Monks*) of 988 by Zanning 贊寧 to explore asceticism, thaumaturgy and scholarship in the early medieval Buddhist monastic imagination. At the same time, however, Kieschnick received just criticism – which he accepted – for a tendency to collapse the distinctions between mentalities and realities, with stories simultaneously representing ideals and real practices.¹⁷ There were, of course, similar critiques made of Brown's oeuvre.¹⁸ It is entirely possible that stories could operate on two levels at the same time, as Jamie Kreiner has recently reinforced with her study of Merovingian hagiography as political discourse.¹⁹ The trick is always to find some kind of external point of reference and analysis to ensure that one is not simply imposing modern preconceptions about where the difference might lie.²⁰

13 See also here the comparative study of hagiographical discourse across Wood, *Missionary Life*.

14 Poulin, *L'idéal sainteté*, 24.

15 Dolbeau, Heinzelmann and Poulin, *Les sources hagiographiques*; Heinzelmann (ed.), *L'hagiographie*; Heinzelmann and Goulet (eds.), *La réécriture hagiographique*; Goulet, *Écriture et Réécriture*; Heinzelmann (ed.), *Livrets*.

16 Shinohara, *Biographies of Monks*, 497.

17 McRae, *The Eminent Monk*, 127.

18 Cameron, *Holy Man*, 34; Hayward, *Demystifying*, 126-128.

19 Kreiner, *The Social Life*, 140-142.

20 Palmer, *Early Medieval Hagiography*, 65-66.

Efforts at comparing Buddhist and Christian traditions have remained limited. The most sustained was by Samuel Lieu in 1984, which principally focused on accounts of the holy in Huijiao's writings and those of near-contemporary writers in Byzantine Christendom. It provides a teasing sketch of some potentially interesting similarities and differences. Huijiao's holy men were more likely to give in to human failings such as engaging in sexual activity, but were less likely than Byzantine saints to engage in battles with spirits and demons (because such battles were not really part of Mahāyāna Buddhism). Writers in the Byzantine world were less likely to celebrate bodily self-sacrifice resulting in death, even though one might expect more parity given the traditions about martyrdom in Christianity and self-immolation in Buddhism.²¹ Perhaps surprisingly, given the writings of some saints, few Christian hagiographers were celebratory of intellectual achievement – something that feels starkly exposed when placed alongside Huijiao's stories about monks writing and translating thousands of scrolls. Lieu argued these observations needed to be read in relation to some critical differences in writing and audience: Christian hagiography, whatever its variability, was more recognisably coherent as a body of works than Buddhist hagiography, and that might itself be connected to the fact that Buddhism did not have the kind of monopoly on religious and intellectual life that Christianity had in Byzantium (or Gaul for that matter), with both Confucianism and Daoism still influential.²²

As global history, comparative history, and transculturality come back onto the agenda, it is essential to have methodological clarity about how to deal with comparative observations – or, at least, clarity of purpose. Global histories driven by fashion alone, without strong questions, will not do. Lieu's study, valuably, was a means to highlight the different positions of Christianity and Buddhism within Byzantine and Chinese society.²³ Notably, it sidestepped the problem of having one-dimensional or static views of either society under scrutiny by paying close attention to the multiplicity of voices evident even within a single source.²⁴ When we are not seeking to explain the influence of one culture on the other, one can be freed to examine the ›functional equivalence‹ of the concepts and processes involved in the production of hagiography.²⁵ But if the turn to deep case studies taught the importance of the determining influence of historical context, we have to be careful not to confuse comparison and ahistorical abstraction, as Shinohara warned. There are practical limits, of course, as we cannot research every angle of every text in every language globally, even with increases in collaborative work. For my present purposes, I offer simply some exploratory first thoughts about similarities and differences across cultures in the way that collected biographies were produced and conceptualised at a mostly organisational level. To do this, I will move in turn from authorial intentions, to issues of intertextuality, to the more institutional contexts of copying and organising the texts involved.

21 On the longer history, see Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*.

22 Lieu, *The Holy Men*, 121–122. For the complex interactions between Buddhism and other religions and practices in China, see Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest*, especially 288–320 on the polemics and misrepresentations evident in the biographical and other sources.

23 Lieu, *The Holy Men*, 147.

24 On this problem, see Höfert, *Anmerkungen*, 25; Rothe, *Konzeptualisierungen*, 52.

25 Rothe, *Konzeptualisierungen*, 51.

The Sixth-Century Texts and their Intentions

The first point about the collective biographies we need to recognise is that they are each highly distinctive and even their authors' efforts to capture universal principles were shaped by their local situations. From the Latin West, we have two principal collected biographies that represent radically different literary-theological ventures: the seven books of miracles and one on the lives of the Fathers by Bishop Gregory of Tours (bishop 573-594) and the four books of the *Dialogues on the Italian Fathers* by Pope Gregory the Great (pope 590-604). These came out of markedly different situations. Gregory of Tours was from an old Gallo-Roman aristocratic family in the Auvergne and, after an education that included time studying with his uncle, Bishop Nicetius of Lyon (d. 573), he became bishop of Tours and highly politically active during civil war between Merovingian kings.²⁶ The cult of St Martin of Tours became important to his efforts to develop his position in his episcopal city and to educate his flock, peers, and kings.²⁷ Gregory the Great, on the other hand, was from a senatorial family in Rome and had been a papal envoy to the imperial court in Constantinople before becoming pope. His high-level, cross-cultural career drew him into debates about the efficacy of saints' cults across the Mediterranean.²⁸ The hagiographical projects of the two Gregoryses, by their very nature, were as much theological and polemical as they were efforts to describe the past. What constituted Christian belief and practice was rarely stable, unquestioned, or uniform – not least with the strength of Arian Christianity in Spain and Italy – making each effort to describe it an exercise in argument, not just description.²⁹ Both Gregoryses felt this acutely, surrounded by vestiges of old Christianity, new, post-Roman political realities, and the challenges posed by heresy, paganism, secular practice, and all the grey areas in between. What united them in spirit was a sense that writing about saints was a coherent and pointed thing to do.³⁰ In outline, much of this was familiar to eastern Christian writers. Cyril of Scythopolis (d. ca. 558) wrote in the deserts of Palestine to defend the monastic authority and practices of the network of institutions (κοινόβια and λαύραι) established by Euthymius and Sabas – but also in a history framed by opposition to Monophysitism and Origenism.³¹ John of Ephesus (d. ca. 588), on the other hand, wrote about the history of his own monastic network precisely to defend his communities' commitment to Monophysitism through personal meditations on asceticism – although, in his case, mostly while based in Constantinople and with imperial favour until the death of Emperor Justinian I (d. 565). Many of the subtle differences in style and representation in the work of Cyril and John can be explained by their different agendas in using biographical writings as polemics and meta-treatises.³²

26 See now the essays in Murray, *A Companion to Gregory of Tours*.

27 Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*.

28 Dal Santo, *Debating the Saints' Cult*, and Lake, *Hagiography*.

29 Brown, *Rise of Western Christendom*, 15 and *passim*.

30 Gregory of Tours, *Vita patrum*, ed. Krusch, 212-213; Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, pref., ed. De Vogüé, 2. 12-18.

31 Casiday, *Translation*, 3-7; compare Flusin, *Miracle et histoire*, 9.

32 On the differences between Cyril and John, see Harvey, *Asceticism*, 135-145.

One sees no less anxiety about religious change and history in Buddhism at this time. In eastern China in the sixth century, three notable collections of biographical stories were produced. Of these, *Mingseng Zhuan* 名僧傳 (*Biographies of Famous Monks*) by the monk Baochang 寶唱 has mostly been lost to us, despite it having been produced at the important Jiankang temple in Nanjing, the capital of the Liang emperor Wu 梁武帝 (d. 549). Emperor Wu was a significant and highly controversial promoter of Buddhism in southern China who even proclaimed himself a Bodhisattva,³³ and Baochang's work seems to pertain to Emperor Wu's project.³⁴ Certainly, the great Sengyou 僧祐 (d. 518) included biographies as part of his efforts to devise an authoritative Buddhist canon of texts at this time in his *Chu Sanzang Jiji* 出三藏記集 (*Collection of Records Concerning the Chinese Buddhist Canon*).³⁵ *Mingseng Zhuan* was quickly superseded by a second work, *Gaoseng Zhuan* by Huijiao, who was based further south at Jiexiang temple on Mt Kuaiji (modern Shaoxing).³⁶ Huijiao was a renowned teacher, contemplative, and collector of books. He seems to have taken exception to something about Baochang's work as he made a famous dig at the transience of fame compared to the modest timelessness of eminence in the ›postface‹ to the text:³⁷

Compilations of earlier times have spoken excessively of famous monks. But fame is the guest of reality. If men carry out hidden brilliance, then they are eminent but not famous; when men of little virtue happen to be in accord with their times, then they are famous but not eminent. Those who are famous but not eminent are, of course, not recorded here.

Huijiao's work was no small undertaking, comprising 257 biographies and a list of 259 further biographies for reference, all across fourteen scrolls or *juan* 卷, with biographies organised into ten thematic categories.³⁸ A third, shorter text, *Biqiuni Zhuan* 比丘尼傳 (*Traditions of the Nuns*), has survived. This is often attributed to Baochang, although the attribution is not attested until a catalogue compiled by Zhisheng 智昇 in 739, the *Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu* 開元釋教, and there are serious doubts about Zhisheng's accuracy on this point.³⁹ Nevertheless, it

33 Janousch, *The Emperor*; Janousch, *The Asoka of China*.

34 To complicate matters, one of the principal accounts of Wu's activities is the biography of Baochang in Daoxuan, *Xu Gaoseng Zhuan*, T.2060.50, 426-427, which itself is highly polemical: *Strange, Representations*, 83-89.

35 See Link, Shih Seng-Yu. On the formation of the Chinese canon, see Fang, *Defining the Chinese Buddhist Canon*, and the literature there cited.

36 Wright, *Biography and Hagiography*, especially 384-387 on Huijiao's motivation. In addition to Huijiao's own testimony, there is a brief biographical entry in Daoxuan, *Xu Gaoseng Zhuan* 6, T.2060.55, 471, but that mostly draws on Huijiao's words.

37 Huijiao, *Gaoseng Zhuan* 14, T.2059.55, 419a22-25: 自前代所撰多曰名僧。然名者本實之賓賓也。若實行潛光則高而不名。寡德適時。則名而不高。名而不高本非所紀。 Translation adapted from Wright, *Biography and Hagiography*, 407-408. See also Daoxuan's comment on the relationship between *Mingseng Zhuan* and *Gaoseng Zhuan*: Daoxuan, *Xu Gaoseng Zhuan* 6, T.2060.50, 471b23-26.

38 Huijiao, *Gaoseng Zhuan* 14, T.2059.55, 418c24-26. These are translators of scripture/sūtras 譯經 yijing, expounders of righteousness 義解 yijie, monks of miraculous spirit 神異 shenyi, practitioners of meditation 習禪 xichan, experts in the vinaya 明律 minglu, those who give up their bodies 遺身 yishen, chanters of scripture/sūtras 誦經 songjing, those bringing happiness and merit 興福 xingfu, masters of scripture/sūtras 經師 jingshi, and leaders of chanting 唱導 changdao.

39 De Rauw, Baochang, 215-218. Zhisheng, *Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu* 6, T.2154.55, 537c28.

does seem to have been composed in the region around Nanjing in the early sixth century, to judge by the geographical focus of most stories – again, often highlighting conflict between Buddhist and Daoist figures, or the ways that monastic practices clashed with standard social practices.⁴⁰

A natural place to start for establishing baselines for comparison between biographies is with their prefaces. It is in these that the authors might reveal something of the circumstances in which they came to write or appeal to the different traditions they used or to which they believed they were contributing. A central issue in all the texts is that of providing exemplars for behaviour. In *Biqiuni Zhuan*, the author raises the issues by reference to Yan Hui 顏回, the famous favourite disciple of Confucius (itself an interesting cultural reference in a Buddhist work): ›the person who looks to Yan will also be the companion of Yan‹.⁴¹ The stories of the nuns were therefore put forward as 則 – a character that could represent both ›models‹ and ›rules/norms‹ – so that readers could be inspired to find perfection. Cyril of Scythopolis set out his account of Euthymios no differently, in order to offer the stories ›as a common benefit, image and model [ὄφελος καὶ εἰκόνα καὶ τύπου] for those hereafter who wish to take thought for their salvation‹.⁴² Gregory of Tours, too, thought the singular life of the saints (*vita sanctorum*) ›encourages the minds of listeners to betterment‹ (*etiam auditorium animos incitat ad profectum*).⁴³ If holy people were exemplars, it was because their stories had been captured as narratives that showed principles in action.

Many authors feared that, without written narrative, good examples would be lost altogether. The author of *Biqiuni Zhuan* justified their task on the basis that no one had compiled such a record before despite the existence of some fragmentary records.⁴⁴ John of Ephesus placed the importance of setting stories down for posterity squarely alongside the importance of imitation.⁴⁵ For him this had an important polemical angle, given how closely the stories were entwined with his own political situation with regards to the defence of the Monophysite community. Similarly, Gregory the Great stressed the value of committing his stories to writing, particularly because he feared that the miracles of saints were being forgotten at a time when the cult of saints faced strong criticism and therefore they needed a staunch defence.⁴⁶ The fear of loss combined with the opportunity to build upon wider traditions. Gregory of Tours, like his namesake, claimed to tell stories that had been hidden until his time, and thus he was able to increase the bulk of edificatory literature when there was still so much non-Christian literature by which to get distracted.⁴⁷ So too, in Jiexiang,

40 E.g. the story of Daorong 道容, *Biqiuni Zhuan* 1, T.2063.50, 936b12-26, in which the nun is instrumental in leading the emperor away from Daoist practice, or Tanhui 曇暉, who threatens to set herself on fire to avoid marriage, *Biqiuni Zhuan* 4, T.2063.50, 945c24-a01.

41 *Biqiuni Zhuan* T.2063.50, 934b10: 希顏之士亦顏之儔; compare Tsai, *Lives of the Nuns*, 15 and 115 n. 1 for different approaches to the translation.

42 Cyril of Scythopolis, *Lives*, ed. Schwartz, 8; trans. Price, *Lives*, 4.

43 Gregory of Tours, *Vita patrum*, ed. Krusch, 212.

44 *Biqiuni Zhuan* 1, T.2063.50, 934b25-29.

45 John of Ephesus, *Lives*, preface, ed. Brooks, 1. 2. See also the opening comments of his account of the ›five blessed patriarchs‹, *Lives*, ed. Brooks, 2. 684.

46 Dal Santo, *Debating Saints' Cults*, especially 37-66.

47 Gregory of Tours, *Gloria Martyrum*, preface, ed. Krusch, 37-38.

Huijiao was anxious that people were overlooking a significant amount of Buddhist teachings by focusing on only a limited selection of stories and texts from China and so he hoped, by looking further afield, his work would give a fuller introduction to what people needed to know to achieve perfection.⁴⁸ None of these enterprises were to do with vague ideas about preserving the past for posterity: these were efforts to harness a fleeting past for education and instruction.

The underlying point should be clear and familiar: writers in all these religious environments turned to saints and other holy people because they offered stories around which instruction and polemic could be built in a compelling fashion. Any and each of them could have focused on writing treatises and sermons. What their audiences wanted and responded to, however, was lived example – indeed, a point made explicitly by Gregory the Great.⁴⁹ Collected biographies offered a way of maximising coverage of themes deemed relevant by the authors. This was particularly important, as we shall see in the next section, because they were rarely able to develop stories in uncontested fields.

Landscapes of Intertextuality

By providing gateways to more substantial traditions, the authors of our collected biographies pointed towards the importance of intertextual readings of their works. Theirs were not texts that were supposed to be read in isolation, but which were rather supposed to be read as part of a fuller syllabus of sacred texts, treatises, and histories. Indeed, some of the scriptural and spiritual allusions only made sense in such deeper contexts. This can be one of the key reasons why simply abstracting ideas about holiness from hagiographies can be distorting. Moreover, as we have just seen, the written components that we are obliged to focus on in studies now were only ever one part of discourse about people and belief that cut across the textual and the oral.

In such an environment, it is important to remember the effect on stories of the landscape that recorded them. The author of *Biqiuni Zhuan*, for instance, described their sources in the absence of a proper collected biography as the testimony of wise men, eulogies, and the steles 碑 often inscribed with commemorative stories. One stele in particular is cited for the nun Sengjing 僧敬, erected by her disciples in 481 on what is now known as Purple Mountain, east of Nanjing; and that was written by the prominent scholar and bureaucrat Shen Yue 沈約 (d. 513), ensuring it had authority.⁵⁰ Such steles were part of a lively landscape, as Huijiao's tale of the monk Huida 慧達 (also known by his secular name Liu Sahe 劉薩河) suggests.⁵¹ After a vision of Hell, Huida set out on a penitential pilgrimage to find the legendary *stupa* and statues (塔 and 像) erected by King Asóka (d. ca. 232 BCE) to promote Buddhism.⁵² The settings of the story mean that it unfolds in an environment in which stories are literally part

48 Huijiao, *Gaoseng Zhuan* 14, T.2059.50, 418.

49 Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, pref., ed. De Vogüé, 2. 16. See Leyser, *Temptation*, 290-291, for the suggestion that he made this distinction to draw attention away from the cult of martyrs.

50 *Biqiuni Zhuan* 3, T.2063.50, 942b13. See further Tsai, *Lives of the Nuns*, 109.

51 Huijiao, *Gaoseng Zhuan* 13, T.2059.50, 409b14-26.

52 On the legends about the relics of Asóka as part of a Buddhist apologetic to prove the ancient presence of Buddhism in China, see Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest*, 277-280, and Janousch, *The Asóka of China*, esp. 255-256 on questioning what it had to do with Liang Emperor Wu.

of the public religious landscape as inscriptions and images. Huida's discoveries became the sites of temples and, in turn, the temples became places that lay people could come to hear the stories and learn more about Buddhist teachings.⁵³ But this left plenty of scope for contesting stories. Daoxuan, in the seventh-century *Xu Gaoseng Zhuan*, acknowledged Huijiao's version of events briefly, but recounted instead the story by Yao Daoan 姚道安 he had found on a stele that focused on Huida's activities further north.⁵⁴

Such memorial environments were important in Christian traditions too. Religious spaces in Gregory the Great's Rome had had a hagiographic overlay at least since Pope Damasus used monumental *elogia* to celebrate the city's martyrial past, notably at the shrine of St Agnes.⁵⁵ Indeed, we have long recognised that there was an intimate connection between tombs, *laudatio funebris*, liturgical performance, and biographical composition across the Christian world.⁵⁶ Gregory of Tours' four books *De virtutibus s. Martini* are the most overt example, because they focus almost exclusively on relating miraculous events at the shrine of St Martin itself, creating a close bond between story and place – indeed, Gregory's story and Gregory's place. Certainly, Gregory expected many of his stories to be used in church settings, as he refers to using hagiographic texts in readings.⁵⁷ But the stories were also the products of both reading and conversation, as he sought to augment the stories he had read with the stories people told him as he or his sources travelled.⁵⁸ Where there were no written stories to appeal to, the pressures could be different. John of Ephesus stressed repeatedly that he was the principal source, the eyewitness, for many of the stories he told, because his testimony was the tangible factor that might give them authority.⁵⁹ In the story of Abraham and Maro, he does refer to written record and claims ›not to repeat in writing what I have only heard‹ about the miraculous as it was, by definition, hard to believe.⁶⁰

The second principal stream of textual competition came from existing compositions. Indeed, some aspects of their work only function properly in relation to texts they expect the audience to have engaged with in another time or place. Gregory of Tours, again, provides the most pronounced example of intertextuality. The first chapters of *De virtutibus s. Martini* outline the history of writing about St Martin by other writers to which he felt he was adding.⁶¹ Sometimes the complementary nature of the project is more implicit, such as in *Gloria martyrum*, when he tells a miracle story from the sepulchre of St Dionysius of Paris without any context, as if he expected the audience to know who Dionysius was and

53 Shinohara, *Two Sources*, 121-122.

54 Daoxuan, *Xu Gaoseng Zhuan* 25, T.2060.50, 645a29. Shinohara, *Two Sources*, 171; Wu, *Rethinking Liu Sahe*, 33-34.

55 Trout, *Damasus*, 517-518; Trout, *Re-Staging Roman History*.

56 Heinzlmann, *Neue Aspekt*; Palmer, *Early Medieval Hagiography*, 25 and 34-35.

57 Gregory of Tours, *De virtutibus s. Juliani*, ch. 16, ed. Krusch, 129; *De virtutibus s. Martini* 2. 29 and 2. 49, ed. Krusch, 170 and 176.

58 For an indicative list of Gregory's oral sources, see Kurth, *De l'autorité*, 143-145.

59 John of Ephesus, *Lives*, 1. 2-3 and 109; 2. 618; 3. 158. At one point John refers to a previous history of the persecution of the Amidenes (*Lives*, ii. 607).

60 John of Ephesus, *Lives*, 1. 71-72. He also declines to talk about Bar Nbyl because he lived before his time, in *Lives*, 1. 5-6.

61 Gregory of Tours, *De virtutibus s. Martini*, 1. 1-3, ed. Krusch, 136-139.

why he was important.⁶² In that case, he made further reference to Dionysius's importance as one of the founding seven bishops of Gaul in his *Libri decem historiarum* (which itself might show knowledge of the *Passio Dionysii* in circulation), so we cannot assume that he was being vague simply to promote St Martin in the face of distant rival cults.⁶³ For some authors, it does not seem that they had specific texts in mind in quite the same way. Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, for instance, do not, on the whole, directly build on specified written traditions about saints. Indeed, the opening gambit from his literary collocutor Peter is that he is vaguely aware of eminent men but cannot think of any recent stories of the miraculous in Italy, and that is the initial gap in Peter's knowledge Gregory attempts to address. His stories, particularly about St Benedict of Nursia, do reveal a strong familiarity with the habits of writing about saintly figures, just as one might expect from someone who lived in the hagiography-rich world of Rome.⁶⁴ What we might call hagiographies may have been endlessly flexible in terms of their literary form, but there was a sufficient repertoire of conventional aspects, from disciplined Christian living to challenging pagan authorities, that one could employ to make any character look recognisably holy.

Huijiao's *Gaoseng Zhuan*, partly by virtue of its great length, stands out in this context. In studies comparing his work to fragments of the *Mingseng Zhuan of Baochang* or to other extant works, scholars have repeatedly concluded that he was heavily dependent on his source material.⁶⁵ Indeed, it was integral to both projects that they should bring together available stories. Often, Huijiao simply altered emphasis in stories, if he did much at all – partly because it was more traditional to insert personal comments and judgements into Chinese historical writing.⁶⁶ But, as we know from studies of hagiographic *réécriture* in the Latin tradition or metaphrasis in the Greek, such moves are never neutral.⁶⁷ Huijiao's account of Tanchao 曇超, one of the meditation masters, transforms a story about a monk preaching to dragons to end a drought into a biography to give it a wider character – relevant, according to Shinohara, to explaining the spread of Buddhism in southern China through the movement of holy figures.⁶⁸ On a different note, his account of Kumārajīva, the important fifth-century translator, retained a scandal about the learned man recorded by Sengyou: that he was ordered by Emperor Yao Xing 姚興 to go and live with concubines (妓女) to pass on his seed – a scandal, according to Yang Lu's recent analysis, that tainted Kumārajīva's reputation and which therefore allowed Huijiao to explore the complexities of agency.⁶⁹ In a world of many competing stories, the most subtle of retellings can be highly revealing.

62 Gregory of Tours, *Gloria martyrum*, c. 71, ed. Krusch, 85-86; Palmer, *Martyrdom*, 165.

63 Gregory of Tours, *Libri decem historiarum*, 1. 30, ed. Krusch, 22; *Passio ss. Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii*, ed. Krusch, 101-105. The point stands for other saints mentioned in passing by Gregory that it would be odd for us to assume he thought he was the only source for information on the saints given the wealth of other Merovingian hagiographical material available: see Heinzelmänn, *L'hagiographie mérovingienne*.

64 Dufourcq, *Étude* 3, 286-296 (the *Dialogues* complementing martyrs' stories) and Boesch Gajano, *La proposta agiografica*, 660-661 (the *Dialogues* competing with martyrs' stories). Gregory could not escape martyrs' cults either way: Leyser, *Temptation*, 306-307. For wider context, see now Lapidge, *The Roman Martyrs*.

65 Wright, *Biography and Hagiography*, 410.

66 Wright, *Biography and Hagiography*, 388.

67 Goullet, *Écriture et Réécriture*; Resh, *Towards a Byzantine Definition*.

68 Huijiao, *Gaoseng Zhuan* 11, T.2059.50, 400a06-b02; Shinohara, *Biographies of Monks*, 492.

69 Huijiao, *Gaoseng Zhuan* 3, T.2059.50, 332c12; Lu, *Narrative and Historicity*, 27-31.

The Organisation of Knowledge

The question of intertextualities opens up issues about how people organised their stories at institutional levels. The organisation of knowledge is no neutral matter, as Michel Foucault and Rosamond McKitterick have stressed in their different ways.⁷⁰ At its most innocent, knowledge is power. But, as we know from recent experience all too keenly, control of knowledge and access to it can be as powerful if not more so. Stories about holy people did not just exist: they had to be copied, archived, and encountered. This was essential to the way that they operated in relation to each other.

Gregory the Great's famous exchange with Eulogius of Alexandria might highlight some sixth-century issues across Greek and Latin cultures. Eulogius had requested the deeds (*gesta*) of the saints in one volume, which he claimed Eusebius of Caesarea (d. 339) had collected. Gregory responded that he was not aware of this kind of compilation, at least not made by Eusebius. He checked both the archive (*archivium*) of his church as well as the libraries (*bibliothecae*) of Rome – an action that highlights both the polycentric nature of access to books in Rome and, in the case of the archive, the multipurpose use of some places where one might find them. Gregory could find, he admitted, ›a few copied together in a single volume‹ (*pauca quaedam in unius codicis volumine collecta*) – which, from Gregory's description, is what we might identify as a martyrological calendar rather than collected biographies per se.⁷¹ What this might suggest is that it was more common to find texts in small booklets or even scroll-format than in the large-scale legendaries familiar from later periods, particularly once we remember how short many of the stories were.⁷² Gregory of Tours, for instance, told a story about a cleric in Autun having access to a ›papyrus volume‹ (*volumen carteam*) of miracles which he placed over his eyes to have his sight miraculously restored.⁷³ Roman libraries often stored such bookrolls in niches in walls, with one recently discovered in Cologne possibly able to hold up to 20,000 volumes.⁷⁴ But nearly all such volumes are now lost to us. Aside from the problem of preserving papyrus in damp Northern Europe, the move to a more extensive use of codices and parchment significantly rationalised such collections as new albums of texts were compiled. In writing long-form collected biographies, the two Gregoriums were engaged in relatively unusual projects, but ones that fitted within growing trends in Christian book production.

Within a Chinese library, books in multiple scrolls was what was expected. What we have for them that we often lack for early Christian libraries are bibliographic guides to collections (*mulu*). Notable examples include Daoxuan's *Datang Neidian Lu* 大唐内典录 for the new monastery of Ximing 西明 in the seventh century, or, again, Zhisheng's *Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu*, which sought to define a canon of Buddhist texts. By including texts such as *Biqiuni Zhuan*, *Gaoseng Zhuan*, and *Xu Gaoseng Zhuan*, and even specifying how many scrolls they came in,

70 Foucault, *L'archéologie du savoir*; McKitterick, *Carolingians*, especially 210.

71 Gregory, *Epistolae*, 8. 27, ed. Norberg, 2. 549.

72 On this early manuscript history see Philippart, *Les légendiers* and the survey of extant booklets in Poulin, Libelli.

73 Gregory, *Vita patrum*, 8. 12, ed. Krusch, 251.

74 Schmitz, *Ausgrabungen*, 89-91 gives an initial sketch of the finds, although he has not yet published his estimate of 20,000 scrolls, reported by Flood, ›Spectacular‹. My thanks to Daniel Brown for bringing the formal report to my attention and obtaining a copy for me. For comparison, see Tucci, *Flavian Libraries*, 307-308. On storage in Roman libraries, see Houston, *Inside Roman Libraries*, 180-197.

these too became part of a canon of texts any good library should have.⁷⁵ These bibliographic guides could then, in turn, become guides to organising a library. Carefully piled-up bundles of scrolls from the famous Dunhuang library cave, for instance, were found with labels that corresponded to entries in *Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu*, presumably so that they could be navigated more easily.⁷⁶ No copies of collected biographies were found at Dunhuang, but it does seem that their collection overall was far from comprehensive.⁷⁷ Even if the Dunhuang cave is not representative of other libraries – particularly, say, those in more richly-endowed imperial centres – the *mulu* tradition suggests a more programmatic approach to finding a place for biographical collections than one sees in Byzantine or Latin circles. But then perhaps it had to be: the Buddhist canon ran to thousands of manuscripts in a way that no Christian library in the sixth century had to contend with.⁷⁸

Institutional settings can change texts, whether there is a programme or not. While Huijiao's *Gaoseng Zhuan* came to find a relatively stable 14-scroll format, recent discoveries of twelfth-century manuscripts in temples in Japan suggest other, earlier versions were available – one in ten scrolls, one of which included an earlier ›postface‹ than the standard version, in which Huijiao complained about his work circulating before he had found a definitive form for it.⁷⁹ Appeals to manuscript witnesses show that Daoxuan's work was not always quite as stable as the printed editions suggest either.⁸⁰ And so, perhaps, it always was before printed editions, when institutions and individuals were freer to tailor what they needed. While the oldest copy of John of Ephesus' work, from 688, is nearly complete, the second oldest extant copy was heavily edited and mixed with other material by its scribe, Simeon of Mar Solomon in Dulikh, in 875, for what he states was his own personal use.⁸¹ Cyril's work was often added to or excerpted in different ways.⁸² Gregory the Great's textual logic was mostly upheld in the surviving manuscript copies, but this did not stop some centres wanting copies of book 2 (the *Vita Benedicti*) only.⁸³ Gregory of Tours' hagiographical work survived in the full eight-

75 Daoxuan, *Datang Neidian Lu*, 2, 4, and 10, T.2149.55, 223b20, 263c21, and 331c07; *Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu*, T.2154.55, 481c13, and it has a separate entry alongside Daoxuan's *Xu Gaoseng Zhuan: Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu*, T.2154.55, 697c09-11. For context, see Chen, *The Revival*, 155-157 and Wang, *From Nālandā*, 217. Again, see Fang, *Defining the Chinese Buddhist Canon*.

76 Rong, *The Nature*, 251-252. Latin scrolls also had labels but without the overarching programme: Houston, *Inside Roman Libraries*, 183.

77 Rong, *The Nature*, 258-264 discusses the incomplete nature of the monastic holdings.

78 Wang, *From Nālandā*, 207, suggests that a single institute in seventh-century Chang'an 長安 had over 200,000 scrolls, making it ten times bigger than the Cologne library. Comparison with other libraries needs to take into account the volume of writing that a scroll or codex can convey – raw numbers about manuscripts can themselves be deceptive if fewer codices could contain more text than the scrolls.

79 Dingyuan, *Newly Discovered*, 141. Compare Huijiao, *Gaoseng Zhuan*, T.2059.50, 418a12.

80 Saitō, *Features*; Chen, *Manuscripts*.

81 The copy of 688 is London, British Library, Add. 14647, with the dating colophon on f. 171b. Wright, *Catalogue*, 3. 1094-1100 (no. 945); Brock and Van Rompay, *Catalogue*, 402-403; Hatch, *Syriac Manuscripts*, 95 with plate 44. Simeon's copy is London, British Library, Add. 14650 described in Wright, *Catalogue*, 3. 1103-1107.

82 Schwartz, *Kyriel*, 317-320.

83 Early examples include Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 341 (289), St Gallen, and Stiftsbibliothek MS 552, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg lat 528.

book version he outlined himself, in a few manuscripts from the ninth century onwards (notably Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 2204 and Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 199). There are, however, also plenty of examples within Krusch's conspectus, sometimes of scribes omitting books that appealed to them less, or else copying only information on particular saints.⁸⁴ When one is dealing with living traditions, one has to expect that the organisation of texts will evolve over time according to the needs of other people. Institutional memory is not always more stable than oral legend.

Conclusions and Reflections

When we come to compare medieval religious cultures, it is important to understand what it is that we are seeking to compare and why. Focus on holy people and holiness has been valuable for medievalists seeking to understand concepts and institutions that seem similar in outline but which function differently across time, space, and culture. Sometimes, through analysing these, new points of connection are revealed; sometimes, particularly when no direct connection is evident, it is possible to see how different circumstances and contexts suggest other ways that things might work. As a historian who has worked on early Latin Christian hagiographical or biographical traditions, I was initially drawn to compare some of my material with Buddhist biographical traditions because I wanted to find sources and scholarship that had developed with different ideas, assumptions, and habits – not out of restlessness or a search for the exotic, but because it made me look back at familiar things from a different perspective with a heightened critical perspective. There are other routes that one could take.⁸⁵ But research is about questions and explorations, not about being right and doing things one way only.

In the case of the sixth-century collected biographies, one might be struck by the similar types of holiness. We know that there were different ideals about saints and about Bodhisattvas – from the miraculous to the learned – and that these could still generate similar exemplars of outward behaviour. If we want to understand why, we might also be led to wonder how cultures so far removed from each other could produce books that lent themselves to such comparison. This organisational level of text is often taken for granted. In terms of intellectual environment, it is striking that these works emerge where there are stimulating intersections of the monastic and aristocratic, where there is simultaneously political and religious uncertainty. All of the collections were written in environments in which the stories they told were actively being negotiated and contested through shifting textual and oral traditions, with each author responding to their unique situation by attempting to capture a universal holiness in story form that defended their particular ideals. The central feature of the eminent life, globally, is that for all its points of universality, it was constantly being rewritten and redefined to make it more effective.

84 Krusch, MGH SRM 1. 2, 12-25. To give a further example: no version of *Gloria confessorum* contains chapters 105-107 so we do not know if Gregory wrote the chapters but they were lost or whether he never completed the work.

85 Taking inspiration from sociology, one could look instead to Barber, *The Anthropology of Texts*, which highlights different ways that written and oral texts can be studied in cultural contexts, not just as abstract literary fragments and folklore.

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The Aristotle of Pippin III. Greek Books Sent to the Frankish Court (ca. 758 AD)

Christian Gastgeber*

The article deals with a unique document from the early Carolingian period, a letter from Pope Paul I sent to King Pippin III. An appendix contains a list of books with some Greek works. In this paper the text is critically re-examined from the perspective of the Greek manuscript culture and the intention of this »cultural supplement« to the Frankish court. The text attracted great interest from researchers because the book list also includes works by Aristotle and Ps.Dionysius Areopagite. In recent academic discussions the list was interpreted on the basis of the edition in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, which claims to be the first real critical edition of the original text in the codex unicus, housed at the Austrian National Library. Some scholars became the victims of earlier editions, which present the text as it was amended in the manuscript itself by the late humanist scholar Sebastian Tegnagel (1563-1636). However, the MGH edition also edits the list as interpreted by the editor (thus presenting an unknown geometry by Dionysius Areopagite), not as the manuscript transmits the text. The grouping of the items in the list is fundamental for interpreting the purpose for which these books were delivered. Hence, this paper goes back to the roots and starts from the manuscript and its punctuation. From a linguistic approach, the Areopagite question appears in a new light, and an Areopagite manuscript, sent to the Franks in around 758 AD – about 70 years before the famous Greek manuscript was handed over by envoys from the Byzantine Emperor – , seems to be responsible for the mistake in the textual transmission. The paper also takes up the question of the quantity of books: in research to date the list was regarded as a small library, but the Greek books listed are rather a comprehensive codex. Finally, the character of the books as analysed here clearly links to a basic introduction to Greek and provokes the question of whether further witnesses of Greek knowledge in the early Carolingian period exist.

Keywords: King Pippin III, Pope Paul I, Greek language, Greek manuscripts, Codex Carolinus, Aristotle, Ps.Dionysius Areopagite, Schoolbooks, Greek letters

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Introduction

We are confronted with a particular case of cultural contact in the period of Pope Paul I (757-767): around 758¹ the Pope sent a few books to Pippin the Short, the first Frankish king of the Carolingian dynasty (751-768). The letter which reports this fact provides further information about the content and language: astonishingly, the Latin pope sent as many Greek books as he could find – I assume in Rome, from his or a local library² – except for a volume by Dionysius the Areopagite, books that can be classified as the fundamental texts for Greek language learning. More than 70 years before the famous, still extant Areopagite manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. grec 437)³ was sent by the Byzantine emperor Michael II in May 827⁴ to the emperor Louis the Pious (778-840), one (or more) work(s?) by this author had already been sent to the Frankish court. Hence, with the support of the pope, teaching Greek language (and literature) started some time before the »revival« of Greek in the so-called Carolingian Renaissance of Charlemagne and, remarkably, even the Areopagite manuscript was read and studied long before Hilduin of St. Denis worked on his translation, based on the manuscript recently sent by the Byzantine emperor. But that is not all: these books even included a work by Aristoteles, identification of which has provoked heated debates among modern scholars.

These are the crude facts which demand a deeper analysis of why and which Greek books were sent to the North at that time and how this should be interpreted against the cultural background of the respective language skills. Before I focus on the book list, some words on the letter itself and its transmission are necessary.

Transmission of Pope Paul's letter

Our text is included in a famous collection of papal letters, the Codex Carolinus, today housed in the Austrian National Library as codex 449, which has been exhaustively studied;⁵ I sum up the essential data as follows: the original codex, possibly the master copy of the Vienna manuscript, was written in 791 by order of Charlemagne and contained all letters from the popes to his grandfather Charles Martel, his father Pippin the Short and to Charlemagne himself.⁶ This Charlemagne codex is not preserved, but a later (direct?) copy from the end

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- 1 Date according to Kehr, *Chronologie*, 133-134, 156; the editor of the letter in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Wilhelm Gundlach, dated (before Kehr's analysis) the letter to the years 758-763.
 - 2 For the discussion about the stock of Greek manuscripts in Rome, see Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, 2, 830-832. The location of such a library (or libraries) remains unidentified. Since I interpret these books as basic schoolbooks, such a stock is not exclusively confined to a Greek (monastic) community in Rome, but may have been part of the papal library as well after the »Greek period« of popes (see Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome*) (admittedly, the sources are silent on the subject of the library stock of that time; see Devreese, *Fonds grec*, 2).
 - 3 Among the huge bibliography about this ms. and the translation of Hilduin, see the basic study by Théry, *Études Dionysiennes*, and recently Erismann, *Significance*.
 - 4 See Dölger, *et al.*, *Regesten* 1,1, Reg. 413 (the new identification in the revised second edition of the *Regesten* with the famous »Kaiserbrief« of St. Denis is not convincing, see below n. 64).
 - 5 See (with further bibliographic references) Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, 1, 83-90; Orth-Müller, *Philologische Studien*.
 - 6 This information is provided in the introduction to the collection; see *Codex epistolaris*, ed. Gundlach, 476 = ed. Hartmann and Orth-Müller, 32.

of the 9th c. is,⁷ commissioned and owned by Archbishop Willibert (of Cologne, 870-889).⁸ The codex aroused the interest of the Protestants so that some letters were published in the Magdeburg Centuries (appeared in Basel 1559-1574) of Flacius Illyricus;⁹ it is deemed probable that the transfer to the imperial library in Vienna goes back to Flacius' Viennese collaborator Caspar of Niedbruck and that the codex was incorporated into the imperial library in the middle of the 16th c.¹⁰ The next sure indication of the codex's presence in Vienna are the corrections by the second prefect of the imperial library, Sebastian Tegnagel, who emended the text in the codex itself (according to classical Latin standards); these purified variants were then adopted by some editors until Philipp Jaffé (and Wilhelm Gundlach) drew on the codex version and banned Tegnagel's emendations.¹¹ Among others who published parts or the entire corpus, the fifth prefect of the imperial library in Vienna, Petrus Lambeck, intended to include an edition of the letters in his *Syntagma rerum germanicarum*. No prints of this document collection exist, but the Austrian National Library preserves Lambeck's preparatory work in codex 9774.

To sum up: the text of this letter is transmitted in a copy from the end of the 9th c., whose archetype (as a codex) dates back to the end of the 8th c. Starting with Jaffé, the text editors followed the original version in the Vienna codex (and not the emendations of the late humanist scholar Sebastian Tegnagel). However, as regards the punctuation, the editors used the common modern separation of phrase and cola units. This is pivotal in analysing the book list because the editors differ significantly in grouping the items in the list. Some mistakes in the text suggest that this (or, if a manuscript existed between the original and the Vienna copy, already a preceding) scribe was responsible for some changes to the original version.

The text and its editions

I begin my considerations about the books sent to the North with the presentation of the book list as published in the two critical editions as well as with a diplomatic transcription from the manuscript and its punctuation. In addition, the text is presented with the corrections by Sebastian Tegnagel as well. In this part of the codex the scribe almost exclusively uses an interpunct or mid-dot of varying boldness according to the intensity of the break (the smallest dot is used to separate appositions or the parts of series of words); sometimes the interpunct is combined with a separate comma indicating a stronger break. The scribe of the codex never makes use of a comma alone. The commas which appear in the codex were added by the later corrector Tegnagel, who also transformed interpuncts into commas with a dot-like body.

7 See Bischoff, *Katalog 3: Padua-Zwickau*, 478-479, no. 7121; the codex is online at the homepage of the Austrian National Library. Retrieved on 27 August 2018: data.onb.ac.at/rep/1001A3E3; a facsimile with introduction and description was published in Unterkircher, *Codex epistolaris Carolinus*.

8 A note recording the owner is today glued on the inside of the front cover; see also *Codicis Carolini epistolae*, ed. Jaffé, 2.

9 A copy of the relevant letters is preserved in the second part of codex 27.9 Aug. 2° of the Herzog August Library in Wolfenbüttel; for a detailed description, see Nürnberger, *Bonifatiuslitteratur*, 18-29 (for the codex), 29-35 (for Niedbruck).

10 See Nürnberger, *Bonifatiuslitteratur*, 29-35.

11 See the harsh criticism in *Codicis Carolini epistolae*, ed. Jaffé, 3, 5; repeated in *Codex epistolaris*, ed. Gundlach, 469-470.

A remark is necessary concerning the punctuation of the manuscript: it is not the original punctuation as witnessed in contemporary charters,¹² but a modified one created during the process of copying the papal letters into the Charlemagne codex. The dots and commas do not reveal the original separation of the text cola, but how the scribe or scholar responsible for the (lost) archetype of the Codex Carolinus structured the text. Nevertheless, we gain insight into the reading of the text in the Codex Carolinus and a hundred years earlier under Charlemagne if the Vienna manuscript represents an identical copy, on which I base my analysis.

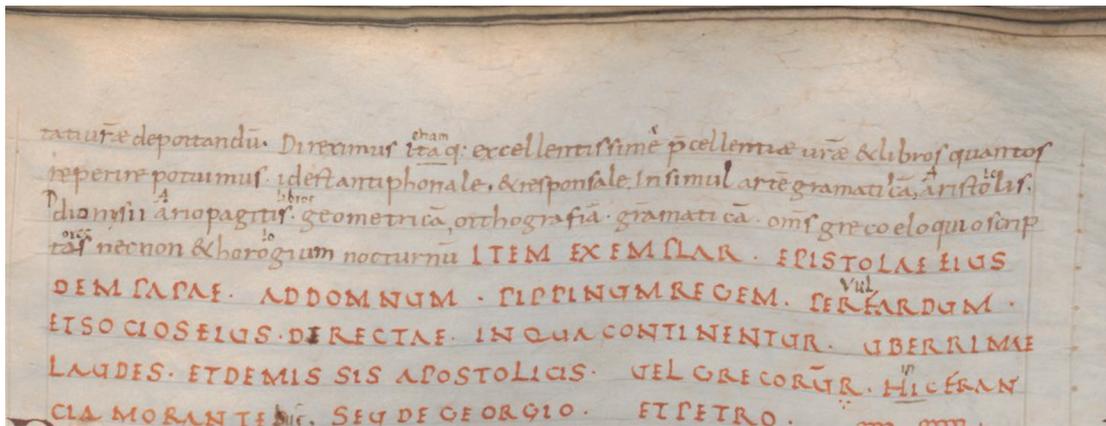


Figure 1: Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. 449, f. 36r (part of the embolum) with the corrections by the Viennese librarian Sebastian Tengnagel (c/o ÖNB, Vienna)

Critical edition of the Codex Carolinus by Ph. Jaffé¹³

Direximus itaque excellentissime praecellentiae vestrae et libros, quantos reperire potuimus: id est antiphonale et responsale, insimul artem gramaticam, Aristolis, Dionisii Ariopagitis, geometricam, orthografiam, grammaticam, omnes Greco eloquio scriptas, nec non et horologium² nocturnum.

2) horogium V (= Vindobonensis)

Critical edition of the Codex Carolinus by W. Gundlach¹⁴ (= recent edition by F. Hartmann and T. B. Orth-Müller¹⁵)

Direximus itaque excellentissime praecellentiae vestrae et libros, quantos reperire potuimus: id est antiphonale et responsale, insimul artem gramaticam Aristolis¹, Dionisii Ariopagitis geometricam, orthografiam, grammaticam, omnes Greco eloquio scriptas, nec non et horologium² nocturnum.

1) an Aristotelis? | 2) horogium V (= Vindobonensis)

12 The oldest preserved original document of the papal chancery dates from 788 (Pope Hadrian I; facsimile in Bruckner and Marichal, *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* XVI, 67-71, no. 630), the next one from 11 July 819 (Pope Paschalis I; facsimile in *Pontificum Romanorum Diplomata*, fig. 1); for the content of the documents cf. Jaffé, *et al.*, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* 2, Reg. 4536 (= JE 2462) and 5031 (= JE 2551).

13 *Codicis Carolini epistolae*, ed. Jaffé, 99-102 (ep. 24), 101-102 (embolum), 101-102 (list). Critically reviewed by Sickingel, Review, and Gundlach, *Über den Codex Carolinus* (announcing his new critical edition).

14 *Codex epistolaris*, ed. Gundlach, 527-529 (ep. 24), 529, ll. 9-2 (embolum), 529, ll. 19-22 (list), critically reviewed by Kehr, *Codex epistolaris*; reply to this review by Dümmler, Reply.

15 *Codex epistolaris Carolinus*. ed. Hartmann and Orth-Müller, 162-166 (no. 25 [24]), 164-166 (embolum), 166 (list).

Diplomatic edition (including punctuation of the manuscript¹⁶)

Direximus itaq(ue) excellentissime p(rae)cellentiae v(est)rae (et) libros quantos |² reperire potuimus · id est antiphonale · (?)¹⁷ et responsale Insimul artem gramati{.}¹⁸ca(m) aristolis · (?)¹⁹ |³ dionysii ariopagitis · geometrica(m) orthografia(m) · ḡramatica(m) · om(ne)s greco eloquio scrip|⁴tas necnon (et) horogium²⁰ nocturnu(m)

Corrections by Tegnagel

*Direximus **etiam** excellentissimae praecellentiae vestrae et libros quantos |² reperire potuimus · id est antiphonale, et responsale, Insimul artem gramati{.}cam, Aristotelis, |³ Dionysii Ariopagitis **libros** · geometricam, orthografiam · ḡramaticam · omnes greco eloquio scrip|⁴tores necnon et horologium nocturnum*

The critical editions, compared with the original text, already hint at the main problem in interpreting the book list: do the two authors Aristotle and Dionysius Areopagite in the genitive have to be combined with the preceding and following nouns respectively, or are they separate units in this list? Jaffé did not accept that a grammar by Aristotle and a geometry by Dionysius Areopagite – both texts that are not witnessed by any source – separated the authors from the surrounding nouns and made them into items in their own right. The next editor, Gundlach, who intended to amend Jaffé's edition, accepted neither the manuscript punctuation nor Jaffé's one; he separated the controversial items into Aristotle's grammar and Dionysius' geometry, and so did the recent editors and translators Hartmann and Orth-Müller.²¹ Tegnagel provided the first respective corrections in order to heal the passage: he separated Aristotle from the preceding grammar and added the related accusative libros (depending on *direximus*). With this addition, he solved the problem of unknown works by the two authors. However, it is the interpretation of a modern scholar who could not cope with the transmitted text and changed it until it appeared reasonable to him. Subsequent scholars preferred Tegnagel's emendation and thus eclipsed the question of unknown works by Aristotle and Dionysius Areopagite.²²

16 Vienna, Austrian National Library, cod. 449, ff. 35r-36r (embolum: ff. 35v-36r, list: 36r).

17 The dot after *antiphonale* is bolder than the other separators, and it seems to be shaped (or re-shaped) like a comma, which the original scribe does not use. It cannot be excluded that the original text may have had a small dot here and that Tegnagel wanted to stress the unit by making the dot a bit bolder and shaping it like a comma.

18 Between *i* and *c* the original scribe started in the upper part of the space between the lines with a small hook and led the pen to the middle of the interspace, where he stopped, slightly inclining to the left. In comparison to the letters of this scribe, this shape resembles the upper part of the letter *l* or—less probable—*b*. The scribe does not use any abbreviation identical to this shape. He also was not inclined to correct or cancel this half-letter. Maybe he intended to write *gramaticalem*

19 Again, this dot seems to be the result of Tegnagel's re-shaping like the dot after *antiphonale*.

20 The shape of this »m« differs slightly from the other ones by this scribe; it seems that the scribe carelessly started to shape the letter and tried to reshape it as the letter »m«, it is the only letter that he placed significantly over the ground line.

21 Orth-Müller already in the same translation of her printed thesis *Philologische Studien*, 256-257 (as Cod. Carol. 24).

22 The passage is discussed in detail by referring to all interpretations until 2007 in Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, 2, 827-839.

We are therefore confronted with a big mystery: if we accept the version of the manuscript, hitherto unknown works by Aristotle and Dionysius Areopagite found their way from Rome to the North, and, evidently, subsequently disappeared. As regards Aristotle, a modification of the name, i.e. the correction of a mistakenly read name or word in the master copy, is not convincing;²³ if the original text contained a Greek word like ΑΠΙCΤΟΛΙC written in the usual majuscule (Greek) letters, none of the possible similarly shaped variants (ΑΔΑΜΝ, EC, ΗΙΙΤ, ΟΘΦ) lead to any word that would be expected in this list of fundamental linguistic texts, as I interpret the passage.

I will approach the problem through a micro-analysis of the debated passage. The list seems to be divided into three parts: first two liturgical books, then, as a separate unit, the other ones; the »separator« is *insimul*. At the end of the second unit we get the information that all these books were written in Greek. However, this note refers to feminine nouns (*scriptas*), the only possible reference word must be *artes* which is used in the singular for the first item and included in the last feminine words (*geometricam, orthografiam, grammaticam*) as well.²⁴ Theoretically, the first unit of the liturgical books may (but, a priori, need not) be included in this *omnes* note, but modern theological studies back the separation of the two liturgical books into a separate unit, written in Latin.²⁵

The last of the three list parts, separated by the strong conjunction *necnon et*, is the noteworthy *horogium nocturnum* which was discussed in detail by Achim Thomas Hack in his monograph about the Codex Carolinus.²⁶ One would expect here, too, a book, a *nocturnale*, but in contemporary and earlier sources the word unambiguously refers to a kind of watch, usually operated by means of the sunlight²⁷. If this item represents a book list, we expect a liturgical *nocturnale* to be included in the first part of the list (*antiphonale, responsale*) and not as an appendix to the *artes*. Its position at the end of the list and its separation from the Greek unit suggest that this item, if really a book, was not written in Greek. Since it is not added to the theological-liturgical first part of the list and it is named by a term that is not pointed out as differing from the usual meaning »clock«, I am strongly inclined to regard it not as a book, but rather as a further (ordered?) »gift«, and to understand *nec non et* as a strong separator from the preceding *libri* units.

23 See the proposal by Pierre Riché, discussed in Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, 2, 828.

24 Interpreted in this way by Sansterre, *Moines grecs* 1, 182-183. He also divided the passage into three parts as presented in this article.

25 See the respective literature mentioned by Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, 2, 830.

26 Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, 2, 833-846, who prefers the interpretation of a book of hours at the end of this book list.

27 See, for example, the explanation in Isidore's *Etymologiae* XX 13, 5 (*horologia, quod ibi horas legamus, id est colligamus; est enim in solariis positum, ubi a clauo per lineas currit umbra, ut quamcumque diei horam ostendat*).

We thus get the following units, according to the manuscript:

I *antiphonale* · (?)
et responsale
II *artem gramati{.}ca(m) aristolis* · (?)
dionysii ariopagitis ·
*geometrica(m)*²⁸
orthografia(m) ·
ḡramatica(m) ·
om(ne)s greco eloquio scriptas
III *horogium nocturnu(m)*

It was primarily the Ariopagite text that aroused interest among scholars. In his study about the history of the works of Ps. Dionysius Areopagite, Gabriel Théry had to deal with this passage. He too accepted Tengenagel's corrections and advocated for the addition of a comma between *Ariopagitis* et *geometricam* in order to distinguish them as two separate items. He was not aware that the Vienna manuscript already separated the units in exactly that way. According to him, the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, »en partie ou dans sa totalité« is meant, but there is no evidence of any reception of (these) this work(s).²⁹ But if works by Ps. Dionysius Areopagite were really sent to Pippin at his request, was he then suddenly so disinterested in the subject that he put them away, leaving local scholars half a century later unable to find the works of the author they started to glorify? A Greek volume is something extraordinary and exclusive in a North European medieval library stock, wherever the codex was put. It is hard to believe that when people began to worship Dionysius such a unique manuscript fell into oblivion or was even already destroyed. Furthermore, it is astonishing that such a text was ordered and did not leave any marks in the contemporary Latin literature until the Byzantine Emperor's gift. It is, rather, the mention of Dionysius Areopagite in this text that must be examined critically, and I want to propose another solution to this problem without assuming that a Dionysius manuscript was ordered and disappeared.

To return to the manuscript, the scribe of this letter was obviously not familiar with the name Aristotle (*Aristolis* instead of *Aristotelis*), if this word was in fact written in the original letter, but he appears to have had no problems with the name Dionysius Areopagite besides the phonetic variant of *ario-* instead of *areo-* (which, however, is also witnessed in other authors starting with Cicero, *ad Atticum* 1, 16, 5; 5, 11, 6 etc.). It is also probable that the vowel *i* is due to an acoustic confusion with or assimilation to the preceding syllable *aris(tolis)*. The opposite seems to have happened with Aristotle: the scribe did not know this author's name and/or obviously was not able to clearly read or understand it in his master copy, but he did not have any alternative homonym name at his disposal which he could use to replace this word. Therefore, he copied what he could read. As regards Ariopagite, I will come back to the problem below and present another solution.

28 If the scribe consequently separated the text by mid-dots, we would expect punctuation here too; it remains speculative why he omitted the mid-dot, but definitely not to represent a unit.

29 Théry, *Études Dionysiennes*, 2-3.

The sequence of the items of the second part of the list and the content is an enigma with regard to the intention behind supplying these books. The list starts and ends with a grammar; in between an orthography is listed. Such books characterise the list as a stock of elementary handbooks for learning Greek. These works make sense if the purpose was the teaching/learning of Greek, fostered by King Pippin – a fact that is witnessed to only by this letter. However, two works absolutely do not match the character of a list of elementary introductions to the language: Dionysius Areopagite and the geometry. To elucidate the problem by a comparable example: if we want to learn Arabic and ask somebody who has access to Arabic books to send us elementary introductions, we will be puzzled by receiving, in addition to a grammar and an orthography, a handbook of mathematics and geometry as well as the works of Naguib Mahfouz, all written in Arabic.

I want to focus first on the geometry: a possible solution to explain its place in this series of elementary school books emerges if we simply separate the first syllable *geo* and get *metricam*, which is part of the grammar and trivium basics³⁰ as we can see, for example, in the respective schoolbook corpus of Beda Venerabilis (672/3-735), which also includes a handbook about orthography and metrics (*De orthographia, De arte metrica et de schematibus et tropis*).

This leaves us with the syllable *geo-* before *metricam*. Admittedly, this is a hard nut to crack. Our proposal starts from the script of the letter, i. e. the script of the Roman curia,³¹ and similarly shaped letters. In addition, we have to take into account what the introductory preface to the Codex Carolinus reports about the state of preservation of the copied texts: *ut universas epistolas ... , eo quod nimia vetustatae et per incuriam iam ex parte diruta atque deleta conspexerat* (sc. Charlemagne), *denuo memoralibus membranibus summo cum certamine renovare ac rescribere decrevit*.³² In other words, the original papal letters written on papyrus were badly preserved. Hence, if we consider that some letters and syllables could not be read well and look for letters that resemble each other in the Roman curia script,³³ *g* and *q* are noteworthy as they are shaped like the digit 3; *q* is, however, bigger than *g*. In such a shape the letters may have caused the misreading of an original syllable *que*, because *e* is often ligated to its surrounding letters, that may induce a scribe – nota bene from an original in a bad state of preservation – to mistakenly read the conjunction *que* as *geo* (possibly, the original had *atque*, the difference concerns only the grouping of the unit into either *Aristotelis Dionysii*que ... or *Dionysii atque metricam* ...).

30 See, e. g., the definition by Isidore in *Etymologiae* I 5, 4: *Diisiones autem grammaticae artis a quibusdam triginta dinumerantur, id est, partes orationis octo: uox articulata, littera, syllaba, pedes, accentus, positurae, notae, orthographia, analogia, etymologia, glossae, differentiae, barbarismi, soloecismi, uitia, metaplasmi, schemata, tropi, prosa, metra, fabulae, historiae.*

31 The oldest extant originals date from 788 and 828, see above n. 12.

32 *Codex epistolaris*, ed. Gundlach, 476, ll. 8-15 = ed. Hartmann and Orth-Müller, 32.

33 See the palaeographic analysis of the development of the script in Rabikauskas, *Römische Kuriale*.

As outlined in our example of learning Arabic, Dionysius Ariopagite too does not match this series of works, but only the topographic surname; the »first name« *Dionysii* makes good sense in this list if we interpret him as the famous Greek grammarian Dionysius Thrax (2nd c. BC) whose *technē grammatikē* became a standard schoolbook of Greek grammar (with a considerable manuscript tradition and several comments³⁴).

If I am right in my approach to the problematic words, the »inappropriate« *Ariopagitis* needs an explanation. In the list the name *Ariopagitis* is declined like a word in the third declension instead of the Latinised genitive ending *-gitae* (for Greek *-ίτης* nom., *-ίτου* gen.), the usual genitive ending (or *-gite*) in mediaeval Latin texts; the name is well known from the passage in the Acts of the Apostles (17, 34: *quidam vero viri adherentes ei crediderunt in quibus et Dionysius Ariopagita et mulier nomine Damaris et alii cum eis*). It is striking enough that in this list, where the case endings are correct, only the problematic *Ariopagitis* ends in a »wrong« case. We could interpret it as assonance to the previously mentioned *Aristolis*, but another solution seems to be more convincing: *Ariopagitis* may rather be the form of the Greek nominative Ἀρεοπαγίτης/*Areopagitis* (Ario- instead of Areo- as a linguistic variation) by spelling the Greek ending *-ης/ῆς/* as an iotacistic *-is*). However, I already pointed out that a nominative does not fit the list of accusative nouns, but it could have been taken into the text from an original marginal or supralinear note to *Dionysii* whom I identify as Dionysius Thrax. This Thracian Dionysius was surely unknown to the Franks, so that somebody noted in the margin or over the word his presumed identification with Dionysius Areopagite. As an additional note the case need not be adapted to the accusative endings in the text, it was sufficient to explain the name in the nominative case. However, if a reader/commenter added the toponymical attribute in the Greek nominative, this could only happen after the Franks had become familiar with the Greek name, in other words after his worship was fostered by Hilduin and the Franks got the Greek codex in the embassy of 827.³⁵ At that time, a scholarly reader / commenter may easily be misled and identify the recently glorified Dionysius with the Dionysius of the list. To sum up our solution of the Dionysius problem: the original papal letter did not contain *Ariopagitis*, but it was added in the Codex Carolinus by a later annotator after about 827 CE.

Two further items in the book list need explanations: Aristotle and the orthography. As just outlined, some researchers tried to solve the Aristotle problem (i.e. a grammar by Aristotle, not witnessed in any source) by separating the unit *artem gramaticam Aristolis* into an *ars grammatica* and one (or more) book(s) by Aristotle of whatever content and relating the genitive with the preceding introducing *libros* – after some items in the accusative. A quick look at items listed in medieval library catalogues³⁶ does not contribute to a solution in our case: either *liber*, *expositio* (or whatever kind of literature is meant) is added to the author's name (in the genitive) or the author alone is listed in a non-genitive case.

34 Papyrus witnesses since the 2nd c. AD, see the updated *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* (LDAB numbers 797, 798, 2412, 5969, 7989), co-ordinated by Willy Clarysse. Retrieved on 11 September 2018: www.trismegistos.org/ldab/index.php. On the author, see also Dickey, *Scholarship*, 77-80; for the manuscript tradition and reception (the turning point of the supremacy of Dionysius' work among Greek grammars is around the 9th century) see Ronconi, *Quelle grammair*.

35 See above, n. 4.

36 For a first overview, see Becker, *Catalogi*; Pope Paul's letter is included in this collection as no. 2 (p. 2).

In the critical edition above, it is suggested that the scribe was slightly hesitant in writing *gramaticam*: after *i* he seems to have started with a letter in the upper interlinear space. This may be interpreted as a scribal error corrected *in scribendo*, or he really read something else in the master copy and transformed the word into a common term. Adhering to the punctuation of the Vienna manuscript, I approach the question from the other side, i.e. the author and a work that can be linked to the attribute »gram(m)aticus« or »gram(m)aticalis«, possibly in a broader sense. Jean Irigoien was inclined to understand *artem gramaticam Aristolis* as a real work by Aristotle that is to be counted among basic schoolbooks, *ars rhetorica*.³⁷ But it is rather unlikely that a Latin student wanted to start learning Greek with an introduction to rhetoric, he had Latin ones which were adapted to his language. Furthermore, the interest of the Frankish king was undoubtedly not directed towards Greek literary production, a point I will come back to below when I will discuss the reason for Pippin's interest. A suggestion that combines basic schoolbooks and some linguistic content is Aristotle's *De interpretatione* or even the more philosophical *Categoriae* about correct ontological distinctions (but the work already existed in Latin through the translations of Pseudo-Augustinus and Boethius³⁸). *De interpretatione* fits the list of works insofar as the works treat the fundamentals of language, although the text itself challenges a medieval as well as a modern reader, despite its brevity. But Boethius' translation and its reception witness that this text actually attracted the interest of Western scholars³⁹. Admittedly, it is more than an introduction to the language, but it provides the means to correctly use the linguistic basics and it really belonged to the basics in Greek (higher) education, which is convincingly documented by nearly 90 manuscripts from the Byzantine period⁴⁰. Nevertheless, even the advocates of separating the *ars gramatica* from Aristotle must find a work or corpus that will match the needs of Frankish »students« of the Greek language. Our proposal tries to respect the *kommata* distribution in the Aristotle unit as transmitted in the codex.

A further argument to strengthen the proposed *one* list item of the author's name and his work is the order of the list itself. If the Pope did not arrange the list of Graeca randomly, he must have followed a system; it might be to start with works whose authors were worth mentioning and to continue with more or less anonymous works. If we separate the name Aristotle from the work *ars gramatica*, we face another problem: why did the Pope not combine the two grammars and instead both start and end his list with a grammar? In that order, the list gives a chaotic impression.

The *orthography* which is listed without a name may be identified with the most popular schoolbook of this content, Herodian's *De orthographia* (ca. 180-250 AD) or rather a compilation; subsequent grammarians abridged (or excerpted from) his work and created new handbooks, among them, for example, John Philoponus (6th c.) or John Charax (6th c.). However, only fragments of all these works exist.⁴¹

37 Irigoien, *Culture grecque*, 426.

38 For Boethius see Cameron, *Boethius*; Boethius' translation gradually replaced the Pseudo-Augustinus version after the 10th century, see the chapter »Boethius' Influence in the Middle Ages« in Marenbon, *Boethius*, 164-182, esp. 165.

39 On the reception (starting in the 9th century), see Marenbon, *Boethius*, 165.

40 A constantly updated overview of the Greek manuscripts is provided by the database Pinakes of the CNRS, Paris.

41 See the overview in Hunger, *Hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, 2, 18-22.

As far as I am aware, one question was never raised in the scholarly discussion: were the Greek *Libri* separate physical book units (codices) or did one codex (maybe two codices) comprise them all? The question is certainly justified if we consider that the short works by Dionysius Thrax, Aristotle's *De interpretatione*, and the metrical handbook will be rather a soft introduction than a detailed study⁴² because the latter would have created great problems as it is based on quotations from classical Greek literature a Frankish beginner could not understand.⁴³ Hence, these apparent basic schoolbooks are to be interpreted not as a collection of codices, but rather as a comprehensive introduction to the Greek language containing some texts of various content in one codex. In this regard we have to query the »large selection of Greek manuscripts« sent to Pippin III as scholars have interpreted the passage to date.⁴⁴

A codex of collected works consequently leads to a new interpretation of a much debated phrase in the letter: if the second part of the list, the »Greek« section, was indeed only one comprehensive Greek introductory codex (or two), »direximus ... libros, quantos reperire potuimus« appears in a new light: it cannot mean that the Pope sent as many codices as he could find, but »copies of as many books as we could find« and sent them [in one codex, or two]. Hence, it seems that these books were copied in Rome and that the master copies remained there – which is easier to believe than that the Pope emptied »his« or any other library in Rome.⁴⁵

But it is striking that just one of the most important books for beginners of a new language is missing: a glossary. Moreover, all these introductions are not basics for Latin speakers to learn Greek with a Latin introduction, but with a text in the target language. Automatically, the question arises of how such texts could be understood by beginners. If we come back to our example of learning Arabic, nobody could profit from an Arabic introduction to the language. If this delivery is to make any sense – and was requested by the King himself, as I will show in the next paragraph – the Greek books are not used to initiate learning Greek, but continue what existed already, on whatever level.

The book list in the context of the letter

The letter whose *embolum* ends with this book list (and a clock?) does not explain why these codices were sent to Pippin, i.e. if they were ordered or sent on somebody's initiative. Therefore scholars have argued for and against a request from the King, and the provenience of these Greek manuscripts which were at the Pope's disposal was also controversially discussed.⁴⁶ Since a clear indication is lacking, this discussion remains open; it is not the intention of this paper to find the final solution because we have to admit that, on the basis

42 A possible candidate might be the compiled schoolbook of the Alexandrian grammarian Hephaestion (2nd c. AD), his handbook *De metris*; for an overview of metrical handbooks, see Hunger, *Hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, 2, 50-54.

43 Cf. the characterisation of the anonymous »barbarian« translator of a chronological handbook by Richard Burgess below, to n. 77.

44 See a. o. recently Burgess, *Date*, 29; in note 72 he tries to heal the text of the debated passage as follows: *insimul artem gramaticam, Aristotolis (sic) <et> Dionisii Ariopagitis <opera>, geometricam, ...*

45 For the discussion on the place where the books were taken from, see Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, 2, 830-832.

46 See the overview in Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, 2, 830-832.

of our knowledge, absolute certainty cannot be attained, only a hypothetical approach. Nevertheless, the interpretations did not take into account the adverb that links the list to the preceding sentence: *itaque*. In the conspectus of the editions above it is highlighted that Sebastian Tengnagel tried to emend the adverb by replacing it with *etiam*. The recent German translation solved the problem by simply dismissing this adverb.⁴⁷

The immediately preceding chapter of the *embolum* deals with an earlier letter from King Pippin to the Pope, requesting the latter to grant the *titulus protectoris vestri, beati Christi martyris Chrysogoni cum omnibus sibi pertinentibus* (= the Church S. Crisogono in Rome, Trastevere) to the papal envoy, the presbyter Marinus⁴⁸ (*quatenus ... concedere deberemus*). The Pope was asked to send a respective *praeceptum* to the King, complied with his request and sent the *praeceptum* together with the envoy of this letter to the King. Consequently, Marinus must have received the *titulus* and the benefices of this sinecure.

In the same letter *itaque* is used twice and here its meaning is causal as well as consecutive: 1) due to the King's commitment to the church the Pope encourages him to stick to the request of his predecessor, Pope Stephen II (*peto itaque et deprecor te ...*⁴⁹). 2) At the end of the letter *itaque* introduces the *salutatio* after having praised the King's promise to St. Peter: *salutant itaque communem excellentiae vestrae christianitatem cuncti sacerdotes et clerus istius sacrosanctae catholicae et apostolicae Romanae ecclesiae ...*⁵⁰ The adverb *itaque* causally links the *salutatio* to the King's honourable sincerity as well. In other words, the drafter of the letter intentionally employed the adverb to express a consequence from a preceding sentence or chapter.

However, no matter which way you look at it, it is impossible to link the book list to the preceding chapter about the grant of the *titulus Chrysogoni* so that *itaque* would make any sense. Neither the *alia epistola* with Pippin's request nor the Pope's concession refer to the book list in any way so that a causal-consecutive consequence can be derived. But a look at the manuscript may provide a possible solution to this enigma: the sentence *direximus itaque* starts on a new page (f. 36r) after the words (of the first part of the *embolum*) ... *per arum* (sic; sc. *litterarum*) *latorem direximus eximien*^{36r}*tati* (sic) *vestrae deportandum* (sc. *praeceptum*).⁵¹ After *deportandum* a bold mid-dot is placed to stress the end of the sentence. We are surely right to assume that the scribe read his master copy in units he could memorise well; generally, such units will correspond to phrases or syntactical-logical cola (*membra*). Without any doubt, he started a new unit with *direximus itaque*, but meanwhile his writing position has slightly changed as he began to write on the right page (*recto*) of the open codex.

47 *Codex epistolaris Carolinus*, ed. Hartmann and Orth-Müller, 167, reproducing the translation of Orth-Müller, *Philologische Studien*, 256.

48 On him, see Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, 1, 479-481; 2, 1011-1012. The Pope's attitude towards him is oscillating during this time, starting positively and then changing as the cleric conspired with the Byzantine emperor's envoy against the Pope and Pippin; see furthermore the entry Marinus (interpreted as a Greek) in Lilie, *et al.*, *Prosopographie*, online-version #4803,1. Retrieved on 29 August 2018: www.degruyter.com/view/PMBZ/PMBZ15973.

49 *Codex epistolaris*, ed. Gundlach, 528, l. 32; *Codex epistolaris Carolinus*, ed. Hartmann and Orth-Müller, 164.

50 *Codex epistolaris*, ed. Gundlach, 529, ll. 3-4.

51 *Codex epistolaris*, ed. Gundlach, 529, ll. 17-19.

When he then turned back to his master copy he possibly failed to continue exactly at the end of the unit he had last read and slipped to the end of the following unit, which was marked by a bold dot as well (a homoioteleuton could have caused such an aberration as well). The result is that the Vindobonensis omits a sentence which logically connects the *titulus Chrysogoni* paragraph to the book list so that *itaque* makes sense in its usual meaning, i.e. expressing a causal consequence. The omitted sentence must have contained an additional request for books the King asked the Pope to send.

If we accept such an omission, it will help to interpret the text from three aspects:

1) the sequence of the sentences in the Vindobonensis is somehow awkward due to the immediate repetition of *direximus: direximus eximie{n}tati vestrae deportandum. Direximus itaque excellentissime praecllentiae vestrae ...;*

2) *itaque* would match the logical sequence of the text if a clarifying sentence introduces the book list with reference to the request from the King (in the same *alia epistola?*);

3) *libros, quantos reperire potuimus* needs an explanation, because from this phrase one gets the impression that the Pope sent all the books he could find (in his library?). The question automatically arises: a quantity of what? An introductory sentence might therefore have concretised the requested books; for the second »Greek« list unit we assume something like »basic Greek literature« or »elementary Greek books«. Raymond-Joseph Loenertz already advocated a »liste des ›desiderata‹ envoyée par Pépin« in his article about the start of the worship of Dionysius Areopagite by the Franks.⁵²

Another solution to heal the text – though in my opinion less convincing – is the emendation of the particle *itaque*. Looking for a resembling or similarly sounding word (at least in one syllable) that might have confused a scribe, we come upon *item*. Tengnagel's reading already went in this direction when he annotated *itaque* with his *etiam*. *Item* would link the *direximus* of this sentence to the preceding one, meaning »we also sent as many books ... to your excellency as well (as you getting the *praeceptum*)«. Besides the word order *direximus item*⁵³ and the arguments mentioned above, based on which I rather incline towards the omission of a clarifying sentence, two critical points remain: *item* and *et (libros)* are somehow redundant. With this emendation, we get rid of the causal consequence, but the list still follows the *praeceptum* without any obvious connection. The *praeceptum* is well explained, the list by no means.

52 Loenertz, *Légende*, 236 (repr.: 181); see also Hack, *Codex Carolinus*, 2, 832.

53 In this word order the object of comparison is the King, *excellentissimae praecllentiae vestrae*. But why should the fact of sending some gifts of books to the King be stressed in this way? To whom else should the Pope send the books with his envoy? *item* would rather make sense if another person was addressed before, but it is to the King that the *praeceptum* is handed over.

Greek books: palaeography, codicology, and the target user

To elucidate the problem of reading a Greek manuscript that was addressed above, we have to consider what it meant for a contemporary reader to use a Greek manuscript. In the 8th c. the texts were still written in majuscule letters;⁵⁴ of the different majuscule scripts used at that time the text was very probably written in the usual script for non-theological texts, in the so called maiuscola ogivale (inclinata or diritta)⁵⁵ – unless Rome at that time preferred another majuscule (since I assume that it was here the works were copied). The thinner and bolder parts of the similarly shaped letters easily cause confusion if somebody is not experienced in the language. Even more problematic is the text layout itself: Greek texts at that time were written in *scriptura continua* without spaces between the words, they were neither accentuated or marked with a spiritus nor distributed in reading units by punctuation. Reading was a process that needed educated and trained lectors. From the text itself, one does not get any support in how to group the words; adverbial particles help to provide a rough structure for the sentences to some degree, but nothing more. Furthermore, changes in the spelling of some consonants and vowels left their traces in orthographic variations. In other words: to read a Greek text from a manuscript and to understand it, meant already having basic knowledge and experience of the language.

This leads us back to the point I addressed above: the target audience of the works. We may sum up the data as follows: the user of the Greek books *had already been* introduced to the language, at least to the basics, and could read a text in *scriptura continua* without accents and punctuation; he obviously had a glossary or some kind of dictionary to understand the Greek words. Via the King, he asked for some basic Greek texts. Such a profile points to somebody who knew Greek at whatever level and had an audience of interested students. However, I have to underline – at least at the present stage of research – that we do not know how far back in the preceding period this interest reached. New results are to be expected from the recently intensified and amended research on bilingual palimpsests, in our case with a lower Greek script. The main sources have already been addressed by Walter Berschin in his study about Greek letters in the Latin Middle Ages.⁵⁶ With this *opus magistrale* the door was opened to more intensive research about the influence of Greek in the West. A very promising path was the study by Bernice M. Kaczynski on a group of Carolingian Latin manuscripts in St. Gall and their traces of Greek language.⁵⁷ An examination of all Merovingian and early Carolingian manuscripts with regard to Greek script traces – including *probationes pennae* on the endpaper or in the codex margins, Greek words used by Latin authors in their texts and how scribes copied them or particular texts like Greek alphabets, word lists etc. – will complete our image of the knowledge at that time, a task that has yet to be undertaken.

54 Whether the books were taken from an existing collection or copied anew for the King, in both cases the script was a majuscule.

55 On this script, see Orsini, *Maiuscola ogivale inclinata* (with further literature). See also on this script family Crisci, *Maiuscola ogivale diritta*.

56 Berschin, *Greek Letters*, 102-125 (Merovingian Gaul and the Carolingian Courts).

57 Kaczynski, *Greek*.

Why learn Greek in the Frankish kingdom?

If our argumentation is right, this list confronts us with the intention of the Frankish king to be supported by the Pope in teaching some Franks Greek or at least having some Franks at his disposal who could understand Greek. Was Greek in the Western region, and in the Frankish kingdom in particular, so important that a king needed some bilingual experts, as the King's request seems to suggest? Unfortunately, this and other texts from that time provide no information about the background of such a »cultural innovation«. However, with regard to the need for this language supplement at least two areas of interest can be put forward: diplomatic contact with the Byzantine emperor and Greek literature that was of any interest.⁵⁸

As regards the diplomatic aspect, with Pippin the Franks entered the official stage of the western rulers that were addressed by the Byzantine emperor. According to the *Regesten des Oströmischen Reiches*, a first delegation to Pippin is witnessed for 756⁵⁹ in connection with the Ravenna matter and the restitution of the city to the Byzantine emperor. The next delegation followed in 757,⁶⁰ then in 763⁶¹ and 765/66⁶². The envoys always handed over a letter from the Byzantine emperor, but at that time the imperial chancery had long changed the language of the official documents from Latin to Greek (the turning point is around the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th c.).⁶³ The Greek documents were not accompanied by a Latin translation (at the Byzantine court) – the chancery in Constantinople did not start issuing bilingual letters until the late 9th c. (after the first preserved original document for the West, the »imperial letter of St Denis«,⁶⁴ for the Latin West maybe even some time later). The addressee was responsible for the translation of the text. A northern ruler without any Greek infrastructure might have been supported by a bilingual Italian translator who joined the imperial embassy (for example by order of the pope). We are not informed as to whether the imperial delegation offered a translation service to the addressee or if the addressee preferred to draw on his own or at least western translators to avoid »manipulations«. It would make sense that the king of a new dynasty wanted to create his own (loyal) translator(s).

The second area which might have triggered some interest in the Greek language is the need to gain access to topics that are discussed in Greek and roused the interest of Frankish learned men. The best example is the Dionysius Areopagite translation about half a century later, a situational interest. In the Latin theological literature one is confronted with the need for some basic Greek knowledge, for example by reading the patristic authors Jerome or Augustine. Both make use of Greek terms in their commentaries on the Bible, which became the basics for medieval exegesis. A particular case is a chronological handbook I will

58 See also Schreiner, *Begegnung*; Schreiner, *Zur griechischen Schrift* (repr. in: Schreiner, *Orbis Romanus* 21-38).

59 Dölger, *et al.*, *Regesten* 1, 1, Reg. 318.

60 Dölger, *et al.*, *Regesten*, 1, 1, Reg. 320

61 Dölger, *et al.*, *Regesten*, 1, 1, Reg. 322

62 Dölger, *et al.*, *Regesten*, 1, 1, Reg. 325

63 See Gastgeber, *Lateinische »Übersetzungsabteilung«* 1, LX-LXXV.

64 Dölger, *et al.*, *Regesten*, 1, 1, Reg. 413, in the revised second edition the letter is dated to May 427 according to a recent discussion in McCormick, *La lettre diplomatique*. This cannot be accepted as the final date beyond any doubt. Unfortunately, the editors did not explain why they believe this dating rather than other proposals, a. o. in the 40s.

come back to in the next chapter. Against the background of theological debates, some Greek patristic authors focusing on topics being tackled anew in contemporary debates are further candidates for situational interest, if these texts became known to northern scholars and ever found their way north of the Alps. In hagiography the local worship of a saint, too, may have aroused interest in a Greek source if a translation was not already in circulation.

To illustrate the need for Greek basics in order to read patristic commentaries, I want to rely on two 8th c. manuscripts with commentaries by Jerome, both written in the monastery of St. Peter of Corbie and containing the *Liber quaestionum hebraicarum in Genesim*: Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 13347 and 13348⁶⁵. In explaining the meaning of the passages Jerome also quotes Greek versions and inserts Graeca in Greek script, knowledge of which he could expect from his audience – but not in later times.

Figures 2a and 2b: Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 13347, f. 4v (reproduction of the original script by the author)

(quod Aquila posuit ἀπὸ ἀρχῆθεν et nos ab exordio possumus dicere, Symmachus uero ἐκ πρώτης et Theodotion ἐν πρώτοις ... pro carbunculo et lapide prasino βδέλλιον et ὄνυχα alii transtulerunt [ed. Lagarde, 5, ll. 2-4, 11-12])

65 Ganz, *Corbie*, 131; see also Bischoff, *Katalog 3: Padua-Zwickau*, 204, no. 4890a (only ms. lat. 13347 is included).

ιuxta hιstorιcus heb̄ occupauerint τρωγλοδύτιη
 εὐδαίμων εὐδαίμων εὐδαίμων

ip̄s enim. Lxx̄ interpres quid̄ hic lxxv. animas per̄
 ITROΔHM X'IN cum ioseph & posteris suis aegyptum

Figures 3a and 3b: Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 13348, ff. 25r, 40v (reproduction of the original script by the author)

(iuxta hīstōricos [-cus ms.] hebraeorum occupauerint τρωγλοδύτιη et arabiam, quę nunc uocatur εὐδαίμων ... ipsi [ipse ms.] enim lxx interpretes, qui hic lxxv animas per πρόληψιν cum ioseph et posteris suis aegyptum ... [ed. Lagarde, 39, ll. 8-9; 63, l. 31-64, l. 1])

To pick out the Graeca⁶⁶, it is evident that the inserted words followed a tradition of scribal errors, resulting from a lack of knowledge; the copies are products of the same monastery that was to become the leading institution for transmitting Greek texts to the Franks.

Greek at the early Frankish court

We can find traces of approaches to or even very active practising of Greek even before the new wave of learning Greek became part of the so called Carolingian Renaissance.⁶⁷ Two translated texts were the focus of recent research: the *Aratus latinus* and the *Excerpta latina Barbari*.⁶⁸ The *Aratus latinus* was analysed in a monograph by Hubert Le Bourdellès⁶⁹ concluding that the text was translated in the monastery of Corbie »avant la réforme carolingienne«, but, based on linguistic idiosyncrasies, after the *Excerpta latina Barbari*.⁷⁰ Since the *Excerpta* had not been subjected to a thorough analysis when Le Bourdellès dedicated his study to *Aratus latinus*, he based his dating of the *Excerpta* on mere linguistic aspects (in comparison with literary products in the monastery of St. Peter in Corbie) and dated it to around 700.⁷¹ He proposed a date for the *Aratus latinus* under the abbot Grimon (ca. 723-748) before the so called Carolingian Renaissance, which he believed to have already

66 Paris. lat. 13347: ΑΠΟΑΡΧΗCEN instead of ΑΠΟ ΑΡΧΗΘΕΝ; ΕΚΙ ΤΡΤΟΗC instead of ΕΠΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΙC; ΕΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΙC correct!; the two words of the second sentence are right (but itacistic ONIXA instead of ONYXA) if one was able to read the letters in their particular shape; Paris. lat. 13348: ΤΡΟΓΟΔΙΤΙΝ instead of ΤΡΩΓΛΟΔΥΤΙΝ, ΕΥΔΑΙΜΩΝ instead of ΕΥΔΑΙΜΩΝ; ΙΤΡΟΔΗΜΧΙΝ instead of ΠΡΟΛΗΨΙΝ.

67 A (very) short overview about this time is provided in Boulhol, *Connaissance*, 30-34.

68 For a translation from Greek into Latin of the *Apocalypsis* of Ps. Methodius (a text originally written in Syriac ca. 690 AD) in the first third of the 8th c. in Southern France see Aerts and Kortekaas, *Apokalypse* 15-16, 19-35; according to the editors' linguistic analysis of the Latin version, the translator slavishly rendered the Greek into a typical Merovingian Latin.

69 Le Bourdellès, *Aratus latinus*.

70 See Le Bourdellès, *Aratus latinus*, 251-257 and 259-263, quotation on p. 259.

71 Le Bourdellès, *Aratus latinus*, 262.

started under Pippin the Short in the years 750/60. Le Bourdellès describes the quality of this translator as follows: »Il est hors de doute que le traducteur est un Occidental qui n'a pas reçu l'aide d'un Oriental. Il commet en effet des bévues qu'un homme originaire d'un pays hellénophone n'aurait pu commettre, si même nous le supposons de culture très réduite ... Les pièges de l'iotacism ont fait souvent trébucher le traducteur qui ... manipulait dangereusement les doublets orthographiques représentant le même phonème. Ces erreurs sont innombrables, et de tout ordre, mauvaise coupure entre les mots, mauvaise identification des mots, erreur sur le sens des mots, fautes d'interprétations sur les liens syntaxiques, etc. ... Dans ces conditions, on peut ajouter que les connaissances très imparfaites ne venaient pas du contact avec un Grec d'origine, car ce type de contact procure toujours une souplesse linguistique qui fait cruellement défaut à notre traducteur. Ces connaissances lui venaient donc de livres, grammaires et lexiques.«⁷²

The detailed research on the *Excerpta latina Barbari* by Richard Burgess⁷³ proposed a significantly later date for the *Excerpta*. This work is a word-by-word translation of an illuminated Greek chronological handbook supplemented by a geographical part (*diemerismos*) and *consularia*.⁷⁴ Burgess based his dating in the time of Abbot Maurdrannus (772-781) on palaeographic (»distinctive Maurdrannus script«⁷⁵) and provenience research on the codex unicus, Parisinus latinus 4884⁷⁶; again, the translation is located in the monastery of Corbie.⁷⁷ From his results it appears that the *Aratus latinus* as a »pre-Carolingian« and post-*Excerpta* translation must be dated around the last third of the 8th c. Hence, we come to a time of about 10-20 years after our letter. It is tempting to link one fact to the other, but we cannot be sure that Pippin really intended to strengthen a »Greek translation division« in Corbie. Nevertheless, Corbie was one of the few northern French monasteries which received the grant of immunity from Pippin (762) and Charlemagne (769);⁷⁸ under the famous abbot Maurdrannus, whose name is linked to its own type of script, Charlemagne's cousin Adalhard entered the monastery in about 772 and became abbot there in 781.⁷⁹

72 Le Bourdellès, *Aratus latinus*, 136.

73 Burgess, *Date*.

74 It consists of the following parts (Burgess, *Date*, 7-8): 1) an interpolated and truncated version of the *Liber generationis* supplemented by a *divisio terrae*, 2) regnal lists based mainly on Julius Africanus' chronography and 3) *consularia*.

75 See Ganz, *Corbie*, 43, 133-134.

76 For the manuscript, see also Ganz, *Corbie*, 133-134 (Maurdrannus Script); Bischoff, *Katalog 3: Padua-Zwickau*, 104, no. 4343a (s. IX!).

77 Burgess, *Date*, 20-33; as mediator of the Greek original from Italy to the North, George, former bishop of Ostia and finally bishop of Amiens 767-798 (also a protégé of Pippin), is taken into consideration (however, not as the translator due to the quality of the Latin and translation errors); according to Burgess George was a Greek (*Date*, 23 »it is possible that he was a Greek from southern Italy ..., Sicily or the East«, 30 »George, who, as a Greek ...«), but in this regard his argumentation is not convincing (23: »George is a Greek name and rare in the West at this date«).

78 See Ganz, *Corbie*, 21-22.

79 See Kasten, *Adalhard*; Depreux, *Prosopographie*, 76-79.

Burgess provides a very illustrative analysis of the translator of the *Excerpta* as follows (p. 26) »Our translator obviously had been taught Greek as well as Latin, but he was no expert: we can observe basic errors of understanding the vocabulary, unusual verb forms, and construction; rigid, sometimes word-for-word translation ..., and the amateur translator's reliance on a fairly basic Greek-Latin glossary. His Greek would have been geared in the first instance toward reading the New Testament, with the ultimate goal of perhaps being able to read eastern imperial correspondence ... and other sophisticated works like letters and treatises of the eastern fathers and Ps.-Dionysius⁸⁰, not Homer, Herodotus, or tragedy. ... a graduate research assistant struggling to translate Greek into Latin.«⁸¹ The *Excerpta* impressively illustrate the aforementioned selection of texts: a handbook for biblical studies, one of the chronological lists in which (the Alban kings in Italy originating from Aeneas) was manipulated in order to incorporate a Frankish king into the early Roman genealogy: *Francus Silvius*, fourth successor of Aeneas. This insertion stands in the tradition of also relating the Franks to a Trojan origin and illegitimate succession.⁸²

The panorama of an increasing interest in Greek as outlined above is furthermore witnessed by a bilingual manuscript of the Epistles of Paul (Paris, BnF, ms. gr. 107, 107A-B) from the second half of the 8th c., also written at the monastery of St. Peter in Corbie,⁸³ and a Greek »starter« in codex Weissenburgensis 86 of the Herzog August Library in Wolfenbüttel, written in the monastery of St. Martin in Tours (mid-eighth c.):⁸⁴ ff. 145r-145v comprise a Greek-Latin glossary entitled *Esidori Iunioris Palestinensis episcopi gram(m)aticae artis nom(in)ae graeca et Latina notata*, mainly based upon the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville. The *Graeca* are here written exclusively in Latin transcription and in the same (pre-Carolingian) script as the Latin explanation. At the end of the manuscript two different scribes made use of the free space on ff. 216r-217r to add three Greek liturgical texts (scribe 1: f. 216rv *Gloria, Magnificat*; scribe 2, a bit better trained: f. 217rv *Benedictus*). But this part cannot be precisely dated as these unpractised scribes used an ink differing from the preceding Latin text and their timeless majuscule script reveals no hints for dating.

To summarise, the interest in Greek at that time is not comparable to modern language learning, i.e. to communicate in the learned language (and to be able to read any kind of texts in this language). The Frankish Greek students were interested in a selection of Greek texts and they realised that Greek was somehow necessary to understand the tradition of their own patristic – and classical, as far as they began to read pagan Latin authors – literature with quotations of Greek words and phrases. That some medieval scholars capable of using Greek

80 This author is mentioned with regard to the letter from Pope Paul I to Pippin III; see n. 44.

81 Burgess, *Date*, 25-26.

82 Burgess, *Date*, 33-38; on this topic, see Kippel, *Darstellung*; Ewig, *Troiamythos*.

83 Online presentation at the Gallica homepage of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. Retrieved on 12 August 2018: gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84683111; not included in the list of Ganz, *Corbie*, but in Zechiel-Eckkes, *Bestandsaufnahme*. Retrieved on 12 August 2018 from the homepage of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica: www.mgh.de/datenbanken/leges/pseudoisidor/corbie/.

84 See Butzmann, *Weissenburger Handschriften*, 248-249; online presentation at the homepage of the Herzog August Library of Wolfenbüttel. Retrieved on 15 September 2018: diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=ms&id=86-weiss&hi=86.

wanted to excel with their exclusive competence and so provoked others to emulation, even an ostensive rather than real knowledge, is another aspect that naturally occurs in a society with gifted scholars. On the other hand, learning Greek was not promoted by the Byzantine emperor; Greek had no chance of becoming the lingua franca or of ousting Latin in the West.

As regards the importance of envoys as cultural brokers, this letter is a good example of how cultural export was executed, in this case by opening a path for the Franks to get acquainted with Greek and the respective literature. We must not be surprised that the Latin pope takes over this role of the Greco-Latin mediator. Rome looks back on a tradition of high Greek culture with a series of popes of Greek origin.⁸⁵ However, it must be stressed that it was not the Byzantine court, which supported Pippin or vice versa, that Pippin asked to supply basic texts of the Greek language; his commitment to Greek is completely directed towards Rome without involving Byzantium.

85 See Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome* (with detailed bibliography).

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Figures 3a and 3b: Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 13348, ff. 25r, 40v (reproduction of the original script by the author)

Biblical Elements and the ›Other‹ in the *Chronicon regum Legionensium*

Patrick S. Marschner*

This article claims to bring to mind an almost forgotten text from the twelfth century Iberian Peninsula, the *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, and to show the relevance of the investigation of its biblical and transcultural elements. Next to the famous *Historia Silense* or the *Chronica Adefonsi imperatoris*, this text seems quiet marginal. However, a new approach to this small chronicle may offer new insights. Its author, the famous Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo, occasionally depicted the cultural and religious ›Other‹ in the Iberian Peninsula – the Muslim foreign rulers. In doing so, he partly added biblical allusions to these depictions. No research into the biblical elements and the perception and depiction of the Muslims in this chronicle has been done so far. Hence, the decidedly biblical investigation of this work will offer new possibilities for interpreting a text which is believed to be already well known. A new facet of the *Chronicon regum Legionensium* will be revealed.

Keywords: Historical writing; transculturality; Iberian Peninsula; Bible exegesis; typology; Christian-Muslim relations; ethnic terminology; ethnic identification; Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo; King Bermudo II of León, King Alfonso VI of León

1. Introduction

Whereas the production of Christian-Iberian historiographical texts between the fall of the Visigothic kingdom and the early eleventh century is quite manageable, numerous chronicles and gesta emerged in the north of the Peninsula during the twelfth century. The most famous from this later period may be the so-called *Historia Silense*¹ and the *Chronica Adefonsi imperatoris*.² Although both of them are worth investigating concerning the biblical elements they offer in correlation with the depiction of the cultural and religious ›Other‹, in the following pages I would like to draw attention to a distinctly smaller, but not necessarily less

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- 1 *Historia Silense*, ed. Pérez de Urbel and González Ruiz-Zorilla, 113-209; among the huge number of studies on this chronicle, one could highlight the 2012 volume of the online journal *e-Spania*, ed. Martín, *Historia legionensis* (llamada silensis); Wreglesworth, Sallust, Solomon, 97-129; Barton, *Islam and the West*, 153-174. An overview on the studies on this chronicle is provided by Henriët, *Historia Silense*, 370-374.
- 2 *Chronica Adefonsi imperatoris*, ed. Maya Sánchez, 147-248; Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 148-161 offers a good overview; biblical elements in this chronicle were investigated by Pérez González, *Influencias clásicas y bíblicas*, 349-355; an overview on other studies on this text can be found in Barton, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, 611-615.

influential, historiographical work, the *Chronicon regum Legionensium*.³ Compared to other contemporary chronicles, it has hardly been considered in research to date.⁴ However, investigation of this chronicle expands our knowledge about Christian-Iberian historical writing in the twelfth century. Even though it is a very small text, the biblical elements and the ethnonyms and denominations it contains have to be taken into account if we want to explore modes of identification, perception and depiction in transcultural Iberian societies. It might be just a small piece of the puzzle, but it offers insights into the intellectual structures and imagination of twelfth-century Christian-Iberian chroniclers.

In particular, its author, Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo, who influenced many of the later twelfth-century chronicles in the northern Iberian Peninsula, reveals his ideas on kinship, salvation history and the foreign rulers on the peninsula in this chronicle. Although Pelayo's bad reputation as *el fabulador* occasionally dominates the discourse, he remains a very influential cleric in terms of both church politics and the Christian-Iberian historiographical tradition.⁵ No doubt, this also correlates with his role as a compiler and collector of historiographical works that resulted in the famous *Corpus Pelagianum*. Nevertheless, as yet, no one has investigated the biblical elements of Pelayo's chronicle.

2. The chronicle

The *Chronicon regum Legionensium* was most likely written between 1121 and 1132.⁶ The oldest surviving manuscript is part of the famous *Corpus Pelagianum* dated from the late twelfth century (Fig. 1).⁷ In each of the manuscripts from the *Corpus Pelagianum*, the *Chronicon regum Legionensium* follows the *Chronicle of Sampiro*⁸ and, thus, seems to be a continuation and partly an addition of this older chronicle. Consequently, it belongs, at least for the compiler, to the grand narrative of Iberian history from the Visigoths to the Umayyad invasion to the contemporary circumstances of twelfth-century Hispania. Since biblical subjects and universal-historical texts like the *Chronicle of Albelda*⁹ also appear in these manu-

3 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso; Concerning the influence of the *Chronicon regum Legionensium* on other texts from the 12th century, see Sánchez Alonso, *Crónica del Obispo*, 41-49; Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 73; Henriët, *Chronica Naierensis*, 779.

4 Huete Fudio, *La historiografía Latina medieval*, 31-32.

5 Casariego, *Crónicas de los Reinos*, 159-161; Linehan, *History and the Historians*, 78-79; Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 69-71; Alonso Álvarez, *El obispo*, 331-350; Alonso Álvarez, *La obra histórica*.

6 Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 73; a more precise, yet uncertain dating is offered by Sánchez Alonso, *Crónica del Obispo*, 9-10; Sánchez Alonso, *Historia de la historiografía*, 116; Pérez de Urbel, *Pelayo de Oviedo*, 393; Huete Fudio, *La historiografía Latina medieval*, 31.

7 Matr. BN 1513, fol. 64r-69v; another two versions of this chronicle are contained in BN 1358, fol. 49r-55r and BN 2805, fol. 65v-73r; Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 71; Alonso Álvarez, *La obra histórica*, 4; comprehensive manuscript studies were made by Sánchez Alonso, *Crónica del Obispo*, 17-33, and also by Pérez de Urbel, *Sampiro*, 165-196; Fernández Conde, *El Libro de los Testamentos*, 50-67; Casariego, *Crónicas de los Reinos*, 170-171; furthermore, Jerez, *Arte compilatoria pelagiana*, 66-87, especially 74-76 and 80, concerning the *Chronicon regum Legionensium* and the variations between those three manuscripts. See also Fernández Conde, *Estudios*, 155. On Pelayo generally, his bishopric and his role as collector and author of historiographical texts, see Fletcher, *Episcopate*, 72-74.

8 *Chronicle of Sampiro*, ed. Pérez de Urbel, 275-346.

9 *Chronica Albeldensis*, ed. Gil [Fernández], 435-484.

scripts, the integration of the *Chronicon regum Legionensium* in this text corpus also means inclusion in salvation history.¹⁰ Considering the identical phrasings, the eleventh-century *Chronicle of Sampiro* presumably had a strong influence on Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo and the writing of his chronicle.¹¹ Also, the *Chronicle of Alfonse III*¹² and the *Historia Silense* affected the constitution of the *Chronicon regum Legionensium*,¹³ whereas Pelayo's work itself coined later historiographical texts such as the *Chronica Adefonsi imperatoris* or the *Chronica Najerensis*.¹⁴ Parts of the *Chronicon regum Legionensium* reappear also in the *Chronica Najerensis*.¹⁵

In his chronicle, Bishop Pelayo describes the history of the kingdom of León from the late tenth to the early twelfth century alongside its rulers, beginning with Bermudo II and ending with the death of Alfonse VI.¹⁶ Due to the comparatively small scope of the chronicle, it is not surprising that there are only a few biblical elements and references to the cultural and religious ›Other‹. Yet, in the broader complex of twelfth-century Christian-Iberian historical writing, it helps explain some unclear phenomena such as the use of the ethnonym ›moabitik‹ or ›moabitari‹ for denominating the foreign rulers in al-Andalus – a form of identification that cannot be found in the Iberian Peninsula before the twelfth century. Hence, the length of Pelayo's chronicle and the small number of biblical and transcultural references in it should not mislead us in estimating the value of this text.

10 Jerez, *Arte compilatoria pelagiana*, 68, 70; Alonso Álvarez, *Ploraverunt lapides*, 128.

11 Sánchez Alonso, *Crónica del obispo*, 44; Pérez de Urbel, *Pelayo de Oviedo*, 397; Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 71.

12 *Chronica Adefonsi III*, ed. Gil [Fernández], 383-433.

13 Casariego, *Crónicas de los Reinos*, 168-169.

14 Sánchez Alonso, *Crónica del obispo*, 41-49; Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 73; Henriët, *Chronica Naierensis*, 779.

15 Henriët, *Mille formis Daemon*, 171, n. 47.

16 Sánchez Alonso, *Historia de la historiografía*, 116-117.

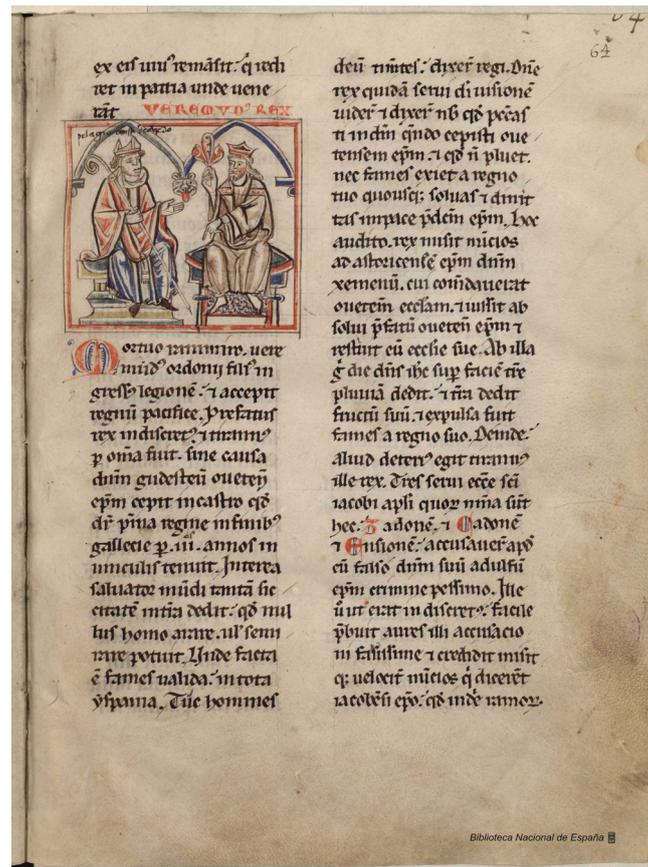


Fig. 1: The beginning of the *Chronicon regum Legionensium* in one manuscript of the famous *Corpus Pelagianum*. It shows bishop Pelayo sitting on the right of a king (perhaps Alfonso VI). 12th or 13th century. Matr. BN 1513, fol. 64r.

3. State of current research

The latest research on twelfth-century Christian-Iberian historiography mostly addresses the *Chronicon regum Legionensium* only sporadically.¹⁷ Even in the large volume by David Thomas and Alex Mallett on Christian-Muslim relations it does not appear, presumably precisely because the transcultural encounters play only a minor role in the chronicle.¹⁸ The bibliographic overview of Huete Fudio offers only a small number of works on this text, the latest of which date from the 1980s.¹⁹ One of them is the introduction to the Spanish translation by Casariego.²⁰ The latest general investigation of Pelayo's chronicle is the introduction to its English translation in Barton and Fletcher's book on twelfth-century texts on the ›Reconquista‹ from the year 2000.²¹ Older works such as Francisco Javier Fernández Conde's monograph on

17 Fernández Conde, *Espacio y tiempo*, 143-144; Alonso Álvarez, *El Corpus Pelagianum*, 532.

18 Thomas and Mallett (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations*, 69-786.

19 Huete Fudio, *La historiografía latina medieval*, 31-32.

20 Casariego, *Crónicas de los Reinos*, 159-171.

21 Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 65-74.

the *Liber Testamentorum*, which also contains passages on bishop Pelayo as ›historiador‹²², or the encyclopaedic description of the text by Sánchez Alonso are also quite minimalistic regarding this chronicle.²³ Sánchez Alonso was also the latest editor of the *Chronicon regum Legionensium* back in 1924. This edition also contains an investigation of the author, the manuscripts, historical impact and language of the chronicle.²⁴

Apparently, to date there has generally been no strong research interest in the *Chronicon regum Legionensium*. Accordingly, no one has yet investigated its biblical elements. Furthermore, none of the abovementioned studies thematised any biblical elements, nor did any of the editions or translations mark them. Thus, we do not know as much as we could about this text. An investigation of this chronicle focusing on the biblical elements will close this gap in our knowledge. In the following investigation, the biblical elements as well as the ethnonyms for depicting the cultural and religious ›Other‹ will be examined in the same order as they appear in the *Chronicon regum Legionensium*.

4. Biblical elements and the cultural and religious ›Other‹

The first passage of the *Chronicon regum Legionensium* referring to the Bible is the depiction of King Bermudo II, whom Pelayo describes as arbitrary and reckless.²⁵ Pelayo's reason for this judgement of Bermudo II was the gratuitous incarceration of Bishop Gudesteo of Oviedo, which was ordered by the king.²⁶ Yet, as we will see, there were many events that caused an especially negative depiction of Bermudo. The peak of them, for Pelayo, were the devastating casualties caused by the campaigns of Almanzor during the reign of Bermudo II.²⁷ This subject will be addressed in detail below. As Pelayo explains, the incarceration of Gudesteo was a sin, which provoked an extreme drought in the kingdom as God's punishment for Bermudo: »Interea Salvator mundi tantam siccitatem in terra dedit, quod nullus homo arare vel seminare potuit, unde facta est fames valida in tota Hispania.«²⁸ Subsequently, Pelayo continues, pious men went to the king, telling him that the drought was God's punishment for

22 Fernández Conde, *El Libro de los Testamentos*, 50-67.

23 Sánchez Alonso, *Historia de la historiografía*, 116-119.

24 Sánchez Alonso, *Crónica del obispo*, 9-56.

25 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 57: »Mortuo Ranimiro, Veremudus Ordonii filius ingressus est Legionem, et accepit regnum pacifice. Prefatus rex indiscretus et tirannus per omnia fuit.« Transl. by Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 74: »On the death of Ramiro [II], Vermudo [II] the son of Ordoño [III] entered León and acquired the kingdom peacefully. That king was foolish and a tyrant in everything he did.«

26 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 57-58: »Sine causa dominum Gudesteum Ovetensem Episcopum cepit in castro quod dicitur Prima Regine in finibus Gallecie per tres annos in vinculis tenuit.« Transl. by Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 74: »Without any reason, he imprisoned Bishop Godesteo of Oviedo in the castle which is called Peña Reina on the borders of Galicia, and for three years he kept him in chains.«

27 Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 72-73, 74, n. 2.

28 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 58. Transl. by Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 74: »During that time the Saviour of the world gave such a drought on earth, that no man could either plough or sow, which caused great famine in all of Spain.«

the king's decision to incarcerate Gudesteo.²⁹ They convinced Bermudo and thereupon, he ordered the release of Gudesteo. Immediately, God led it rain.³⁰

This episode's narrative structure followed the principle of sin, punishment, penance and mercy, which in this case coincided with a natural phenomenon. The same principle appears several times in the Old Testament. The term ›*siccitas*‹, which occurs in the text of the chronicle, also belongs to the terminology in the description of such a divine punishment in the book of Haggai: »respexistis ad amplius et ecce factum est minus et intulistis in domum et exsuflavi illud quam ob causam dicit Dominus exercituum quia domus mea deserta est et vos festinatis unusquisque in domum suam propter hoc super vos prohibiti sunt caeli ne darent rorem et terra prohibita est ne daret germen suum et vocavi siccitatem super terram et super montes et super triticum et super vinum et super oleum et quaecumque profert humus et super homines et super iumenta et super omnem laborem manuum.«³¹ If a biblical-typological representation underlies this depiction and if this Bible quote was the response for Pelayo, the politics of Bermudo would represent the decline of the ›house of God‹. However, besides the book of Haggai there are further Old Testament episodes which report a drought as divine punishment for ungodly behaviour. Such examples can be found in Deuteronomy,³²

29 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 58: »Tunc homines Deum timentes dixerunt Regi: Domine Rex, quidam servi Dei visionem viderunt, et dixerunt nobis quod peccasti in Deum, quando cepisti Ovetensem Episcopum, et quod non pluet nec fames exiet a regno tuo, quousque solvas et dimittas in pace predictum Episcopum.« Transl. by Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 74: »Then some God-fearing men said to the king: ›Lord King, some of God's servants have seen a vision, and have told us that you sinned before God when you imprisoned the bishop of Oviedo, and that it will not rain nor will famine leave your kingdom until you release the bishop and send him away in peace.‹«

30 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 58: »Ab illa igitur die Dominus Iesus super faciem terre pluvi- am dedit, et terra dedit fructum suum et expulsa fuit fames a regno suo.« Transl. by Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 75: »From that day, therefore, Lord Jesus gave rain over the face of the earth, the earth gave forth its fruit, and famine was expelled from his kingdom.«

31 Agg 1, 9-11. Transl. (every translation of a Bible quote in this article is taken from the King James Bible): »You have looked for more, and behold it became less, and you brought it home, and I blowed it away: why, saith the Lord of hosts? because my house is desolate, and you make haste every man to his own house. Therefore the heavens over you were stayed from giving dew, and the earth was hindered from yielding her fruits: And I called for a drought upon the land, and upon the mountains, and upon the corn, and upon the wine, and upon the oil, and upon all that the ground bringeth forth, and upon men, and upon beasts, and upon all the labour of the hands.«

32 Dt 28, 22: »percutiat te Dominus egestate febriliter et frigore ardore et aestu et aere corrupto ac robigine et persequatur donec pereas.« Transl.: »The Lord shall smite thee with a consumption, and with a fever, and with an inflammation, and with an extreme burning, and with the sword, and with blasting, and with mildew; and they shall pursue thee until thou perish.«

the third book of Kings,³³ the Psalms,³⁴ Jeremiah³⁵ and in Zephaniah.³⁶ All of these examples could equally be Pelayo's references. All of them explain a drought as the consequence of acting sinfully. Thus, the conflict between King Bermudo and the bishops is depicted through the structure of Old Testament morals.

Fernández Conde suggests the story of David and Uriah the Hittite from the second book of Samuel, particularly the threat formula of Nathan against David after Uriah's death, as background of this episode.³⁷ In this case, the chronicle would refer to the story of King David, ambushing Uriah, and Bermudo would be depicted as second David – specifically stressing his negative characteristics – whereas Gudesteo would appear as second Uriah and, therefore, as victim of the betrayer. Yet, the passages of the second book of Samuel, mentioned by Fernández Conde, do not contain consistent vocabulary.³⁸ Hence, this background is possible in terms of comparable tropes but it is without linguistic evidence. On the other hand, if we just have a look one verse further in the threat formula, at least one consistent term appears – *peccatum*, the sin.³⁹ Nevertheless, this term appears so often in the Bible, there is no certainty that it refers explicitly to this passage. Furthermore, in the second book of Samuel David speaks of sin, whereas in the *Chronicon regum Legionensium* the »God-fearing men«, not the king, use this term. Accordingly, the role allocation of such a connection would not work.

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- 33 3 Rg 8, 35: »si clausum fuerit caelum et non pluerit propter peccata eorum et orantes in loco isto paenitentiam egerint nomini tuo et a peccatis suis conversi fuerint propter afflictionem suam.« Transl.: »When heaven is shut up, and there is no rain, because they have sinned against thee; if they pray toward this place, and confess thy name, and turn from their sin, when thou afflictest them.«
- 34 Ps 67, 7: »Deus habitare facit solitarios in domo educit victos in fortitudine increduli autem habitaverunt in siccitatibus.« Transl.: »God setteth the solitary in families: he bringeth out those which are bound with chains: but the rebellious dwell in a dry land.«
- 35 Ier 14, 1-10: »quod factum est verbum Domini ad Hieremiam de sermonibus siccitatis luxit Iudaea et portae eius corruerunt et obscuratae sunt in terra et clamor Hierusalem ascendit maiores miserunt minores suos ad aquam venerunt ad hauriendum non invenerunt aquam reportaverunt vasa sua vacua confusi sunt et adflcti et operuerunt capita sua propter terrae vastitatem quia non venit pluvia in terra confusi sunt agricolae operuerunt capita sua [...] haec dicit Dominus populo huic qui dilexit movere pedes suos et non quievit et Domino non placuit nunc recordabitur iniquitatum eorum et visitabit peccata eorum.« Transl.: »The word of the Lord that came to Jeremiah concerning the dearth. Judah mourneth, and the gates thereof languish; they are black unto the ground; and the cry of Jerusalem is gone up. And their nobles have sent their little ones to the waters: they came to the pits, and found no water; they returned with their vessels empty; they were ashamed and confounded, and covered their heads [...] Thus saith the Lord unto this people, Thus have they loved to wander, they have not refrained their feet, therefore the Lord doth not accept them; he will now remember their iniquity, and visit their sins.«
- 36 So 2, 13: »et extendet manum suam super aquilonem et perdet Assur et ponet speciosam in solitudinem et in invivum et quasi desertum.« Transl.: »And he will stretch out his hand against the north, and destroy Assyria; and will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like a wilderness.«
- 37 Fernández Conde, *El Libro de los Testamentos*, 65.
- 38 2 Sm 12, 1-12.
- 39 2 Sm 12, 13: »et dixit David ad Nathan peccavi Domino dixitque Nathan ad David Dominus quoque transtulit peccatum tuum non morieris.« Transl.: »And David said unto Nathan, I have sinned against the Lord. And Nathan said unto David, The Lord also hath put away thy sin; thou shalt not die.«

Bermudo II had a dispute with another bishop. The chronicle reports that three servants of the church of St. Jacob in Santiago de Compostela accused their bishop Adolfo⁴⁰ of ›the worst crime‹ and Bermudo believed them.⁴¹ Subsequently, the king ordered that bulls be mustered and chose the wildest among them. Then he sent messengers to Bishop Adolfo, who summoned the bishop to come to the king. At the stipulated place, Bermudo intended to release the bull on Adolfo.⁴² When the messengers commanded Adolfo to go to the king, the bishop replied that he would first consult the ›King of kings‹ and go to Bermudo afterwards: »Pontifex vero, constituto die, Ovetum venit. Cui milites Regi dixerunt ut prius veniret ad Regem quam Ecclesiam intraret. Ipse vero, fultus in Domino, dixit: Ego ibo ad Regem Regum prius et Salvatorem nostrum, et postea veniam ad tirannum Regem vestrum«. ⁴³ So, Adolfo first wanted to go to Jesus, which means that he first wanted to read the mass in church. The terminology ›*rex regum*‹ is taken from the Bible and can be matched to the first letter to Timothy⁴⁴ or the book of Revelation.⁴⁵ In contrast to the biblical terminology in the quotation above, this Bible allusion has no typological meaning. Rather, it seems to be mere religious terminology. In addition, a possible reference to the book of Daniel, especially the interpretation of the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, when Daniel calls the Babylonian king ›*rex regem*‹⁴⁶, cannot be verified from the chronicle's narrative context.

The episode of Adolfo and the bull continues with the bishop going to the stipulated place to meet the king.⁴⁷ There, Bermudo commanded the release of the bull. However, the animal peacefully laid his horns into the hands of Bishop Adolfo and did him no harm. After that, the bull ran back into the forest, where it came from and killed numerous mockers on his way.

40 Actually, no contemporary bishop of Santiago de Compostela was named Adolfo. Comp. Sánchez Alonso, *Crónica del obispo*, 45-46.

41 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 58-59: »Deinde aliud deterius egit tyrannus ille Rex: tres serui Ecclesie Sancti Iacobi Apostoli, quorum nomina sunt hec Zadonem et Cadonem et Ensionem, accusauerunt apud eum falso dominum suum Adulfum Episcopum crimine pessimo. Ille uero, ut erat indiscretus, facile prebuit aures illi accusationi falsissime, et creditit [...].« Transl. by Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 75: »Then that tyrant king did a worse thing. Three servants of the church of St James the Apostle, whose names were Zadón, Cadón and Ensión, falsely accused their lord Bishop Adaulfo, of the very worst of crimes before him. And since Vermudo was foolish, he readily lent his ears to those very false accusations and believed them.«

42 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 59-60.

43 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 59. Transl. Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 75: »So the bishop came to Oviedo on the appointed day. The king's soldiers told him that he should go first to the king before he entered the church. But he, supported by God, said: ›First I shall go to the King of Kings and Our Saviour, and afterwards I shall come to your tyrant king.«

44 1 Tim 6, 15: »quem suis temporibus ostendet beatus et solus potens rex regum et Dominus dominantium.« Transl.: »Which in his times he shall shew, who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords.«

45 Apc 17, 14: »hii cum agno pugnabunt et agnus vincet illos quoniam Dominus dominorum est et rex regum et qui cum illo sunt vocati et electi et fideles.« Transl.: »These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings: and they that are with him are called, and chosen, and faithful; Apc 19, 16: »et habet in vestimento et in femore suo scriptum rex regum et Dominus dominantium.« Transl.: »And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, King of kings, and Lord of lords.«

46 Dn 2, 37: »tu rex regum es et Deus caeli regnum fortitudinem et imperium et gloriam dedit tibi.« Transl.: »Thou art a king of kings: and the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, and strength, and power, and glory.«

47 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 59-60.

Then Adolfo went to the church of Oviedo, threw the horns of the bull in front of the altar, excommunicated his three servants and cursed their descendants and King Bermudo.⁴⁸ This narration partly seems to refer to a specific Old Testament episode. Adolfo opposed a false order as Gideon did in the book of Judges on God's command. Gideon was told to destroy the altar of Baal with a bull and afterwards sacrifice the animal.⁴⁹ Both narrations contain a bull, which plays an essential role in overcoming false religious conditions. Likewise, there is one opposing figure in each episode. Yet Gideon is a salvation figure, whereas Adolfo, through his actions, appears as a prophet, who announced the misery coming over the kingdom and for which Bermudo was responsible.

The entire depiction of Bermudo II's policies against the bishops seems to be a prologue, leading in the narrative thread of the chronicle directly to the arrival of Almanzor and, thus, to the destruction of a large part of the kingdom of León. Before the coming of Almanzor, the result of Bermudo's sins, Pelayo inserts another episode, which does not refer to Bermudo himself but to his daughter Teresa and which also contains Bible allusions. In contrast to Bermudo, his daughter is depicted in a very positive manner. As we read in the chronicle, Teresa was given by her brother Alfonso V as wife to the ›pagan king of Toledo‹ – who was the Arab governor of the city – to preserve peace with him.⁵⁰ However, Teresa did not agree with these marriage politics. She told the governor of Toledo not to touch her, since he was

48 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 60: »Tunc Rex taurum dimitti precepit. Ille autem velociter cucurrit, et cornua in manu Episcopi dimisit, et reversus multos derisores interfecit, postea silvas, unde venerat, petiit. Episcopus itaque ad Ecclesiam reversus, cornua que in manibus tenebat ante altare nostri Salvatoris proiecit et Chadonem et Ansonem et Zadonem excommunicavit, et oravit et dixit quod de semine eorum usque in finem mundi quidam essent leprosi, et alii ceci, et alii claudi, et alii manci propter crimen falsum quod imposuerant ei. Et maledixit Regi, et dixit quod in semine eius surrexisset palam, cunctis viventibus, hoc scelus.« Transl. by Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 75: »Then the king ordered the bull to be set loose and it ran very swiftly and surrendered its horns into the hand of the bishop. Turning back, it killed many scoffers, and afterwards returned to the woods from where it had come. Then the bishop returned to the church, threw down the horns that he was holding in front of the altar of Our Saviour and excommunicated Cadón, Ensión and Zadón. And he prayed and said that of their seed right up until the end of the world some would be lepers and others blind, some lame and others crippled, because of the false crime they had laid upon him. And he cursed the king and said that this crime had openly arisen in his seed whilst all of them were living.«

49 Idc 6, 25-28: »nocte illa dixit Dominus ad eum tolle taurum patris tui et alterum taurum annorum septem destruesque aram Baal quae est patris tui et nemus quod circa aram est succide et aedificabis altare Domino Deo tuo in summitate petrae huius super quam sacrificium ante posuisti tollesque taurum secundum et offeres holocaustum super lignorum struem quae de nemore succideris adsumptis igitur Gedeon decem viris de servis suis fecit sicut praeceperat Dominus timens autem domum patris sui et homines illius civitatis per diem facere noluit sed omnia nocte conplevit cumque surrexissent viri oppidi eius mane viderunt destructam aram Baal lucumque succisum et taurum alterum inpositum super altare quod tunc aedificatum erat.« Transl.: »And it came to pass the same night, that the Lord said unto him, Take thy father's young bullock, even the second bullock of seven years old, and throw down the altar of Baal that thy father hath, and cut down the grove that is by it: And build an altar unto the Lord thy God upon the top of this rock, in the ordered place, and take the second bullock, and offer a burnt sacrifice with the wood of the grove which thou shalt cut down. Then Gideon took ten men of his servants, and did as the Lord had said unto him: and so it was, because he feared his father's household, and the men of the city, that he could not do it by day, that he did it by night. And when the men of the city arose early in the morning, behold, the altar of Baal was cast down, and the grove was cut down that was by it, and the second bullock was offered upon the altar that was built.«

50 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 63: »Ipsam vero Tarasiam post mortem patris sui dedit frater eius Adefonsus in coniugo, ipsa nolente, cuidam pagano regi toletano pro pace.« Transl. by Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 77: »After the death of her father, Teresa was given away in marriage by her brother Alfonso to a certain pagan king of Toledo for the sake of peace, although she was herself unwilling.«

a pagan. Otherwise, ›God’s angel‹ would kill him: »Ipsa autem, ut erat christiana, dixit pagano regi: Noli me tangere, quia paganus es; si vero me tetigeris Angelus Domini interfeciet te.«⁵¹ Yet, the governor was unfazed by Teresa’s words and mocked her and touched her anyway. Immediately, ›God’s angel‹ struck him down: »Tunc rex derisit eam, et concubuit cum ea semel, et statim, sicut predixerat, percussus est ab Angelo Domini.«⁵² Teresa was then released and returned to León.⁵³ Teresa’s threat against the governor contains a quotation from the New Testament. Furthermore, the story of Teresa and the governor structurally refers to three Old Testament episodes. The refusal of permission to touch her (*noli me tangere*) matches the words Jesus spoke to Mary Magdalene after his resurrection.⁵⁴ The death by ›God’s angel‹⁵⁵ (*angelus Domini percussit*), by contrast, corresponds with motifs from the fourth book of Kings⁵⁶ and Isaiah.⁵⁷ Placing Teresa in a typological correlation with Jesus due to the John quote is surely not appropriate, since there are no parallels in the storylines of the *Chronicon regum Legionensium* and the New Testament. By contrast, it seems likely that Pelayo wanted to depict Teresa as being under God’s protection. Both of the Old Testament episodes that relate to the quotation of ›God’s angel‹ refer to the victory against the Assyrian king Sennacherib. In both biblical books ›God’s angel‹ struck down his army of 150,000 men. Accordingly, the governor of Toledo could be the antitype⁵⁸ of Sennacherib, whereas Teresa represents the whole of the new chosen people, the Iberian Christians. Furthermore, the immediate death by touching of a pagan or an unauthorized person shows parallels to

51 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 63-64 Transl. by Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 77: »But as she was a Christian, she said to the pagan king: ›Do not touch me, for you are a pagan. If you do touch me the Angel of the Lord will slay you.«

52 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 64. Transl. by Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 77: »Then the king laughed at her and slept with her once, and just as she had predicted, he was immediately struck down by the Angel of the Lord.«

53 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 64.

54 Io 20, 17: »dicit ei Iesus noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad Patrem meum vade autem ad fratres meos et dic eis ascendo ad Patrem meum et Patrem vestrum et Deum vestrum.« Transl.: »Jesus saith unto her, touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my Father: but go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father; and to my God, and your God.«

55 Most likely the Old Testament origin of this ›angel of death‹ is to be found in Ex 12, the famous episode of God killing every first born Egyptian to put pressure on the pharaoh. Later biblical mentions of this trope seem to relate to this episode.

56 4 Rg 19, 35: »factum est igitur in nocte illa venit angelus Domini et percussit castra Assyriorum centum octoginta quinque milia cumque diluculo surrexisset vidit omnia corpora mortuorum et recedens abiit.« Transl.: »And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses.«

57 Is 37, 36: »egressus est autem angelus Domini et percussit in castris Assyriorum centum octoginta quinque milia et surrexerunt mane et ecce omnes cadavera mortuorum.« Transl.: »Then the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses.«

58 ›Antitype‹ here means that the governor’s death appears as fulfilment of the Old Testament prediction of the defeat of Sennacherib. They represent the typological idea of two phenomena having the same meaning in salvation history but appearing separated in time – one announcing, the other fulfilling. See Ohly, *Halbbiblische und außer-biblische Typologie*, 433.

the Arc of the Covenant.⁵⁹ Hence, Teresa plays a major role in the narration thread of the chronicle, because as a Christian in the control of a pagan she is under special protection from God and her story is therefore an important element that contributes to the depiction of the cultural and religious ›Other‹ in the Iberian Peninsula. Yet, one has to mention that she does not appear in any other text of post-conquest Christian-Iberian historical writing until the twelfth century.⁶⁰ Additionally, even if we can verify the biblical origin of Teresa's quotation, it is likely that it has been conveyed, or at least influenced, by a liturgical text, the *Liber Ordinum*.⁶¹

After Teresa's story, the chronicler reports on the campaigns of Almanzor, the ›hagarene king‹, and his son Abd al-Malik against the kingdom of León. Pelayo again denotes Bermudo II as the cause for the invasion of the hostile troops.⁶² The attack by Almanzor is obviously caused by the sins of the Leonese king. The moral causality that is transferred in the course of history is an usual mode of depicting negative events in post-conquest Christian-Iberian historical writing.⁶³ In the same way, the identification of the foreign rulers as descendants of the Biblical figure Hagar, the bondswoman of Abraham with whom he begat Ishmael⁶⁴, is clearly an Iberian tradition.⁶⁵ In that way, it was possible for Pelayo to explain the historical events in the kingdom he lived in and to identify the cultural and religious ›Other‹, who were devastating this kingdom. The answers of who and why were found in the authoritative texts in the Bible.

59 2 Sm 6, 6-7: »postquam autem venerunt ad aream Nachon extendit manum Oza ad arcam Dei et tenuit eam quoniam calcitrabant boves iratusque est indignatione Dominus contra Ozam et percussit eum super temeritate qui mortuus est ibi iuxta arcam Dei.« Transl.: »And when they came to Nachon's threshing floor, Uzzah put forth his hand to the ark of God, and took hold of it; for the oxen shook it. And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Uzzah; and God smote him there for his error; and there he died by the ark of God.«

60 During the twelfth century, this story reappears in the *Chronica Najerensis*. See Henriët, *Mille formis Daemon*, 171; *Chronica Najerensis*, ed. Estéves Sola, II, § 34, 141 and again § 40, 147-148.

61 Henriët, *Mille formis Daemon*, 171; Alonso Álvarez, *The cruces gemmatae*, 65; *Liber ordinum episcopal de Santo Domingo de Silos*, ed. Janini [Cuesta], III, § 22, 77: »Signum salutis pone domine in domibus istis ut non permittas introire angelum percutientem in domibus in quibus vos habitatis pono signum meum dicit dominus et protegam vos et non erit in vobis plaga.« Transl. by the author: »Lord, put the sign of welfare onto this house, so you may not let the angel of death pass through it; [as] the Lord said: put my sign on the house, in which you live and I will protect you and the plague will not get in«, which again is very similar to Ex 12, 13: »erit autem sanguis vobis in signum in aedibus in quibus eritis et videbo sanguinem ac transibo vos nec erit in vobis plaga disperdens quando percussero terram Aegypti.« Transl.: »And the blood shall be to you for a token upon the houses where ye are: and when I see the blood, I will pass over you, and the plague shall not be upon you to destroy you, when I smite the land of Egypt.« See above, n. 55.

62 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 65: »Igitur propter peccata memorati principis Veremudi et populi, Rex Agarene cui nomen erat Almanzor, una cum filio suo Adamelch, et cum christianis comitibus exiliatis, disposerunt venire, et destruere, et depopulari Legionense Regnum.« Transl. by Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 78: »On account of the sins of Prince Vermudo and the people, the king of the Hagarenes, whose name was Amanzor, together with his son Adamelch and some exiled Christian counts, prepared to come and destroy and lay waste the kingdom of León.«

63 Tischler and Marschner, *The Bible in Historical Perception*, 209-210; Marschner, *The Depiction of the Saracen Foreign Rule*.

64 Gn 16, 1-16.

65 Tischler and Marschner, *The Bible in Historical Perception*, 209-210. Earlier, on the Old Testament iconography in León, which also refers to the story of Abraham and his sons, see Williams, *Generaciones Abrahæ*, 7-11; among the almost uncountable literature on ethnonyms given to Arabs or north-African people, one could highlight Tolan, *A wild man*, 513-530.

The chronicle continues with a description of the campaigns of Almanzor,⁶⁶ which ended in the narration of God showing mercy for the Christians and striking all the ›Hagarenes‹ down.⁶⁷ Hence, in a historical course of events, the Christian people went through the moral phases of sin, punishment, penance and mercy. Bermudo suffered an individual punishment when he died from gout, which was, as Pelayo repeatedly commented, caused by his sins.⁶⁸

The next Bible allusions in the *Chronicon regum Legionensium* appear almost at the end of the text, during the description of King Alfonso VI's reign. Shortly before the death of the king, a strange phenomenon occurred in the church of St. Isidore in León: water ran out of the stones of the church's altar, not out of the joints in between the stones, at the sixth hour.⁶⁹ After the water had kept flowing for several days, the clerics of St. Isidore in León drank the water during a mass and kept the rest of it.⁷⁰ Bishop Pelayo, author of the chronicle and self-declared witness of this event, offers his own interpretation of the flowing water: it is an omen of the grief and misery that will befall Hispania after King Alfonso's death. This made the stones of the altar of St Isidore cry.⁷¹

66 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 65-68.

67 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 68: »Sed Rex celestis, solita pietate, memorans misericordie sue, ulcionem fecit de inimicis suis. Morte etenim quidam subitanea et gladio ipsa gens Agarenorum cepit assidue interire, et ad nichilum cotidie devenire.« Transl. by Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 79: »But the heavenly king, with His customary piety, remembering His mercy, wrought vengeance on His enemies: that very people of the Hagarenes began to fall away ceaselessly by sudden death and by the sword, and day by day to come closer to annihilation.«

68 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 68: »Prefatum etiam Veremudum Regem pro tantis sceleribus que gessit, percussit eum Dominus podagrica infirmitate, ita quod deinceps nullum vehiculum ascendere potuit, sed in humeris humilium hominum de loco ad locum gestabatur dum vixit; et in Berizo vitam finivit [...].« Transl. by Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 79: »The Lord struck down King Vermudo with gout because of all the sins that he had committed, so that he was unable from that time forward to climb into any carriage, but whilst he lived was carried from place to place on the shoulders of humble men. He ended his life in the Bierzo [...].«

69 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 84-85: »Cum iam tempus immineret mortis eius [...] fecit Deus in Legionensem urbem in ecclesia Sancti Isidori Episcopi magnum prodigium. In Nativitate Sancti Iohannis Babbiste, hora sexta, in lapides qui sunt ante altare Sancti Isidori, ubi tenet sacerdos pedes quando Missam celebrat, non per iunturas lapidum, sed per medias petras cepit manare aqua, videntibus cunctis civibus [...].« Transl. by Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 86: »When the time of his death was very near [...] God worked a great wonder in the church of Bishop Saint Isidore in the city of León. On the feast day of the nativity of Saint John the Baptist, at the sixth hour of the day, water began to flow through the stones which are in front of the altar of Saint Isidore, where the priest stands when he celebrates Mass; not through the cracks between the stones, but through the middle of the stones. This was seen by all the citizens [...].« Alonso Álvarez, *Ploraverunt lapides*, 127-141 investigates this episode of Alfonso's death in the *Chronicon regum Legionensium* concerning its historiographic and hagiographic traditions and impacts, yet does not mention any biblical correlation.

70 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 85.

71 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 85-86: »Hoc signum nichil aliud protendit nisi luctus et tribulationes que post mortem predicti Regis evenerunt Hispanie; ideo ploraverunt lapides et manaverunt aquam.« Transl. by Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 87: »This sign presaged none other than the sorrows and tribulations that befell Spain after the death of the aforesaid king; that is why the stones wept and the water flowed forth.« On the interpretation of this passage see Fernández Conde, *El Libro de los Testamentos*, 59, 61-62.

The trope of water flowing out of stones is known from the book of Exodus, when Moses hit a rock with his staff on behalf of God, so water ran out of the rock and the thirsting people of Israel could drink. In that way, their morale was strengthened.⁷² Subsequently, Joshua was able to defeat Amalech as long as Aaron and Hur sustained the Arms of Moses, who was thus strengthened by the support of his people.⁷³ Since Pelayo interpreted the phenomenon in the church of St. Isidore as an announcement of bad things to come, this story rather relates to Psalms. Psalm 77 contains a history of the people of Israel and thereby refers to the aforementioned episode from the book of Exodus, yet with a negative addition: even though God gave his people water in times of misery, they did not trust him and sinned against him. In this way, they attracted God's wrath.⁷⁴ If Pelayo claimed to depict this episode in a typological way, it remains unclear what the misery was that should have befallen the kingdom after Alfonso's death, yet the basic structure of this story correlates with the Old Testament: after water flows out of stones, bad things will happen.

The description of the water from the altar presumably contains another Bible allusion. It was said that the water started flowing in the sixth hour (*hora sexta*). This time designation could be a parallel to the New Testament. In the Gospel of John, Jesus encounters a Samaritan woman at the well of Jacob at the sixth hour.⁷⁵ During their encounter, Jesus reveals to her that he is the Messiah.⁷⁶ The combination of the tropes of time and water seems to increase the possibility of a New Testament reference. Finally, in the case of a New Testament correlation, the component of salvation history would enter the depiction. Bearing all this in mind, water flowing out of rocks at the sixth hour seems to express forthcoming misery but also salvation thereafter. The principle of hope, which is a permanent feature of the Bible, is also an important part of Pelayo's *Chronicon regum Legionensium*.

72 Ex 17, 6: »en ego stabo coram te ibi super petram Horeb percutiesque petram et exhibit ex ea aqua ut bibat populus fecit Moses ita coram senibus Israhel.« Transl.: »Behold, I will stand before thee there upon the rock in Horeb; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it, that the people may drink. And Moses did so in the sight of the elders of Israel.«

73 Ex 17, 8-13.

74 Ps 77, 16-22: »et eduxit rivus de petra et elicuit quasi flumina aquas et addiderunt ultra peccare ei ut provocarent Excelsum in invio et temptaverunt Deum in cordibus suis petentes cibum animae suae et loquentes contra Deum dicebant numquid poterit Deus ponere mensam in solitudine ecce percussit petram et fluxerunt aquae et torrentes inundaverunt numquid et panem poterit dare aut praeparare carnem populo suo ideo audivit Dominus et non distulit et ignis accensus est in Iacob et furor ascendit in Israhel quia non crediderunt Deo nec habuerunt fiduciam in salutari eius.« Transl.: »He brought streams also out of the rock, and caused waters to run down like rivers. And they sinned yet more against him by provoking the most High in the wilderness. And they tempted God in their heart by asking meat for their lust. Yea, they spake against God; they said, Can God furnish a table in the wilderness? Behold, he smote the rock, that the waters gushed out, and the streams overflowed; can he give bread also? can he provide flesh for his people? Therefore the Lord heard this, and was wroth: so a fire was kindled against Jacob, and anger also came up against Israel; Because they believed not in God, and trusted not in his salvation.«

75 Io 4, 6: »erat autem ibi fons Iacob Iesus ergo fatigatus ex itinere sedebat sic super fontem hora erat quasi sexta.« Transl.: »Now Jacob's well was there. Jesus therefore, being wearied with his journey, sat thus on the well: and it was about the sixth hour.«

76 Io 4, 1-26.

Furthermore, the extradition of Jesus by Pilatus to the Jews in the Gospel of John was in the sixth hour.⁷⁷ Finally, in the remaining Gospels the death of Jesus is connected with a darkness that fell in the sixth hour.⁷⁸ All of these biblical passages refer to the death of Jesus. The story about the flowing water in the *Chronicon regum Legionensium* belongs to the narration of King Alfonso VI's death. Hence, the sixth hour correlates in each case with the death of a king, even though two different types of kings. Definitely, Alfonso is no antitype of Christ in this text – this would be presumptuous. Yet, he is depicted as very close to Christ, as an exceedingly pious king. As such, his death is announced similarly to the death of the ›King of kings‹. This trope of the sixth hour, therefore, has no typological meaning. Rather its function is to depict Alfonso VI in the most positive manner, even though it is related to a negative event, i.e. the forthcoming misery of his kingdom. Through this depiction, and also through other describing elements in the *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, Alfonso VI is undoubtedly depicted as a just ruler. At this point, Pelayo's chronicle differs fundamentally from the *Historia Silense*, a work from the early twelfth century, in which Alfonso is very likely portrayed as the opposite.⁷⁹

After listing the descendants of Alfonso VI, Pelayo describes the death of the king. While moaning about the king's death, Pelayo reveals what the misery will be that shall befall the kingdom – the Saracens.⁸⁰ Their coming was announced by the water in the church of St. Isidore and precluded by the dying king. ›Shepherd, why have you deserted your sheep?‹ asked

77 Io 19, 14: »erat autem parasceve paschae hora quasi sexta et dicit Iudaeis ecce rex vester.« Transl.: »And it was the preparation of the passover, and about the sixth hour: and he saith unto the Jews, Behold your King.«

78 Mt 27, 45: »a sexta autem hora tenebrae factae sunt super universam terram usque ad horam nonam.« Transl.: »Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the ninth hour«; Mc 15, 33: »et facta hora sexta tenebrae factae sunt per totam terram usque in horam nonam.« Transl.: »And when the sixth hour was come, there was darkness over the whole land until the ninth hour«; Lc 23, 44: »erat autem fere hora sexta et tenebrae factae sunt in universa terra usque in nonam horam.« Transl.: »And it was about the sixth hour, and there was a darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour.«

79 Wreglesworth, Sallust, Solomon, 104. On the depiction of Alfonso VI see Fernández Conde, *El Libro de los Testamentos*, 39, 47.

80 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 87: »Ipse vero gloriosus Rex vixit LXXVIII annis, XL tribus et VI mensibus ex eis in regno. Obiit Kalendas Julii in Tholeto Era MCXLVII. Quinta feria illucescente, flentibus cunctis civibus et dicentibus: Cur pastor oves deseris? Nam commendatum tibi gregem et regnum inuadent enim eum Sarraceni et maliuoli homines.« Transl. by Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 88: »This glorious king lived for 79 years, and reigned for 43 years and six months. He died in Toledo on the first of July in the Era 1147 [= AD 1109], early on Thursday morning, whereupon all the citizens wept and shouted: ›O shepherd why have you deserted your sheep? Now the Saracens and evil men will fall upon the flock which has been entrusted to you and your kingdom.«

Pelayo.⁸¹ The trope of the ›flock without a shepherd‹ also appears in the book of Ezekiel.⁸² The book of Ezekiel tells the story of the chosen people losing and regaining their status before God following the causality of sin, punishment, penance and mercy. In the passage in Ezekiel, thematising the ›flock without a shepherd‹, the people of Israel are right in the phase of punishment and penance. Salvation is about to come. Equally, the Christian people in the *Chronicon regum Legionensium* have to face suffering before experiencing salvation.

In addition to the Ezekiel reference, the trope of the ›flock without a shepherd‹ also hints at the Gospel of John. There the confused flock is endangered by a wolf.⁸³ If Pelayo's choice of terminology refers to the New Testament, it is possible he tried to depict the Saracens as threatening wolves. In that way, the invaders would have been the fulfilment of a New Testament prediction. It is uncertain which biblical passage might be the basis for Pelayo's depiction. In the case of Ezekiel, the Saracens would be understood as an echo of Gog, God's scourge in this Old Testament book. In the case of the Gospel of John, the invaders were the fulfilment of a threatening creature and the Christian would be warned not to turn away from God and his law. In any case, the terminology is biblical and, as such, offers the key to interpreting distinctly the perception and depiction of the cultural and religious ›Other‹ from Pelayo's point of view.

5. *Ethnonyms and denominations of groups*

The aforementioned denomination of Toledo's governor as ›pagan king‹⁸⁴ certainly is a religious classification of his beliefs, yet this terminology never refers to a group in the text. It appears only in the singular and only refers to the person of the governor. There is no other appearance of the term *paganus*. We cannot be certain whether it identifies an entire group or explicitly classifies this one governor. In any case, it is a judging term, criticising the foreign religion.

81 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 87: »Cur pastor oves deseris?« Transl. by Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 88: »O shepherd why have you deserted your sheep?« Alonso Álvarez, *Ploraverunt lapides*, 136-137 also thematizes this quote, yet again does not correlate it to the Bible.

82 Ez 34, 5: »et dispersae sunt oves meae eo quod non esset pastor et factae sunt in devorationem omnium bestiarum agri et dispersae sunt.« Transl.: »And they were scattered, because there is no shepherd: and they became meat to all the beasts of the field, when they were scattered«; Ez 34, 8: »vivo ego dicit Dominus Deus quia pro eo quod facti sunt greges mei in rapinam et oves meae in devorationem omnium bestiarum agri eo quod non esset pastor neque enim quaesierunt pastores gregem meum sed pascebant pastores semet ipsos et greges meos non pascebant.« Transl.: »As I live, saith the Lord God, surely because my flock became a prey, and my flock became meat to every beast of the field, because there was no shepherd, neither did my shepherds search for my flock, but the shepherds fed themselves, and fed not my flock.« As Alonso Álvarez, *Ploraverunt lapides*, 137 realized, there are very similar expressions in the twelfth-century *Historia Compostellana*, ed. Falque Rey, 400. Yet, the editor of this gesta also marked them as taken from Ezekiel 13,5. Hence, even if we know about a textual tradition, we need to discuss the biblical origins of some tropes, paraphrases or quotations.

83 Io 10, 12: »Mercennarius et qui non est pastor cuius non sunt oves propriae videt lupum venientem et dimittit oves et fugit et lupus rapit et dispergit oves.« Transl.: »But he that is a hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth: and the wolf catcheth them, and scattereth the sheep.«

84 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 63-64.

Much clearer is the identification of the cultural and religious ›Other‹ as ›Hagarenes‹. Almanzor is named their king and they appeared as a punishment for the sins of Bermudo II.⁸⁵ This ethnonym is used four times in this chronicle and each time refers to Muslims attacking the kingdom of León.⁸⁶

Almanzor is also the key figure in identifying the ›Hagarenes‹ with the ›Saracens‹. As already shown, he is designated as ›hagarene king‹. Additionally, the form ›king of the Hagarenes‹ appears, too.⁸⁷ In the description of one of his attacks during Bermudo's reign, he is also called ›king of the Saracens‹.⁸⁸ Accordingly, ›Hagarenes‹ and ›Saracens‹ are represented as identical by Pelayo of Oviedo. The term ›Saracens‹ appears five times in the chronicle.⁸⁹

Furthermore, the chronicler offers a contemporary definition of the Almoravides, who, as he said, came from Africa to Hispania due to the numerous victories of King Alfonso VI.⁹⁰ Pelayo knows the origin of the Almoravides in Africa, which older chronicles like the *Historia Silense* also cite as the origins of the ›Moors‹. It is surprising that the clear distinction between ›Moors‹ and ›Saracens‹ that can be proven in Christian-Iberian chronicles from the seventh to the eleventh centuries disappears in the twelfth century Christian-Iberian historical writing. In the *Historia Silense* these two ethnonyms have the same meaning.⁹¹ The reason may be the appearance of the Almoravides, who were Africans like the ›Moors‹ and took over the reign in al-Andalus, which had been previously ruled by the ›Saracens‹. Nevertheless, the ethnonym ›Almoravides‹ appears only once in the *Chronicon regum Legionensium*.

85 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 65: »Igitur propter peccata memorati principis Ueremudi et populi, Rex Agarenes cui nomen erat Almanzor [...] disposuerunt uenire, et destruere, et depopulari Legionense Regnum.« Transl. by Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 78: »On account of the sins of Prince Vermudo and the people, the king of the Hagarenes, whose name was Amanzor [...] prepared to come and destroy and lay waste the kingdom of León.«

86 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 65, 68, 71, 73-74.

87 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 71: »Tunc prefatus Rex Adefonsus venit Legioni [...] et repopulavit Legionensem urbem, que fuerat depopulata a predicto Rege Agarenorum Almazor [sic] [...]«. Transl. by Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 80: »Then King Alfonso came to León [...] [and] resettled the city of León which had been laid waste by King Almanzor of the Hagarenes [...]«.«

88 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 66: »Predictus itaque Rex Sarracenorum, sicut disposuerat, venit cum exercitu magno et destruit Legionem, et Astoricam, et Coiancam, et circumadiacentes regiones devastavit.« Transl. by Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 78: »Then the aforesaid king of the Saracens came with a big army as he planned and destroyed León, Astorga and Valencia de Don Juan, and he devastated the surrounding area.«

89 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 66, 73, 80, 81, 87.

90 *Chronicon regum Legionensium*, ed. Sánchez Alonso, 82: »Post hec etiam prosperitatibus ad tantam elationem peruenit, ut extraneas gentes que Almorabites vocantur ex Africa in Spania per regem Abenabet misit, cum quibus prelia multa fecit et multa contumelia dum vixit accepit ab eis.« Transl. by Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 85: »After this, he reached such a pitch of elation because of such good fortune that at the instigation of King Abenabet some foreigners called Almoravids were summoned from Africa to Spain, with whom he fought many battles, and whilst he lived he suffered many attacks by them.«

91 Barton and Fletcher, *The world of el Cid*, 85, n. 73.

6. Conclusion

The analysis of the *Chronicon regum Legionensium* showed its relevance for the investigation of Biblical elements in historical writing in transcultural contexts. The biblical elements in it convey a moral principle that is transferred to the course of history. In this way, the self-identification as new chosen people is demonstrated, for instance through the episode of Teresa and the governor of Toledo, as well as through the drought that befell the kingdom of León. Godliness as a device to defeat one's enemies is another important motif in the text. Furthermore, the depiction of the cultural and religious ›Other‹ as divine punishment with biblical-genealogical origins is essential. Through these moral, exegetical and typological expressions, the *Chronicon regum Legionensium* fits perfectly in the tradition of post-conquest Christian-Iberian historical writing.⁹²

Concerning the ethnonyms and denominations in it, this chronicle offers much less information than other Christian-Iberian historiographical works, which is ultimately also caused by its scope. It synonymously uses the ethnic terms ›Hagarenes‹ and ›Saracens‹, which, again, fits in historiographical traditions in the Iberian Peninsula.

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92 Tischler and Marschner, *The Bible in Historical Perception*, 207-212.

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»The messenger is the place of a man's judgment«: Diplomacy between Emperors and Caliphs in the Tenth Century

Courtney Luckhardt*

Travel and communication in the early medieval period were fundamental parts of people's conceptions about temporal and spiritual power, which in turn demonstrated a ruler's legitimacy. Examining the role of messengers and diplomatic envoys between the first Umayyad caliph of al-Andalus, 'Abd al-Rahman III, and his fellow tenth-century rulers in Christian kingdoms, including the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos and the first Holy Roman emperor, Otto I, illuminates internal and external negotiations that defined the pluralistic Iberian society in the early Middle Ages. Formal religious and ethnic differences among Muslim rulers and non-Muslim messengers enhanced the articulation of political legitimacy by the caliph. Diplomatic correspondence with foreign rulers using the multiplicity of talents and ethno-religious identities of their subjects was part of the social order provided by the Andalusí rulers and produced by those they ruled, demonstrating the political authority of the Umayyad caliphate.

Keywords: diplomacy, messengers, al-Andalus, political authority, 'Abd al-Rahman III, Muslim-Christian relations

»The wise sages have said... the messenger is the place of a man's judgment, and his letter is the place of his intellect.«

So related Ibn al-Farra' in the *Rasul al-muluk*, a treatise on diplomacy commissioned by the caliph of al-Andalus in the second half of the tenth century.¹ Political and diplomatic connections between elite groups and proto-states happened at the personal and individual level in the early medieval period. At the same time, travel and communication were fundamental parts of people's conceptions about temporal and spiritual power. Messengers traversed the Mediterranean bearing letters and gifts between the rulers of many regions, each with their own habits, cultures, and faiths. The messenger was a political or religious elite himself, carefully chosen to bear the words of his patron despite the hardships of travel and the potential dangers of transgressing foreign customs. The envoy was not merely a delivery service; his performance, oral and physical, was a substitute for face-to-face interaction

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1 Ibn al-Farra', *Rasul al-muluk*, Ch. 7, trans. Vaiou, 69.

between the parties.² Cross-cultural connections occurred across political and geographical borders, with messengers traveling long distances to demonstrate the power and articulate the political legitimacy of their patrons.

Within the diverse society of al-Andalus, Muslim rulers utilized their Jewish and Christian subjects as messengers to non-Muslim kingdoms. The medieval messenger was chosen by his ruler for his ability to relate the words, ideas, and policies of his master to foreign rulers. Unlike most tenth-century Christian and Muslim polities, Muslim leaders in al-Andalus ruled an ethnically mixed population, which included Visigoths, Hispano-Romans, Berbers, Jews, Slavs, Arabs, and others. They might be *dhimma* (Christians or Jews), *'ajam* (Romance-speakers), *muwalladūn* (indigenous Muslim converts), or they or family members might have been included in multiple categories.³ The Muslim Andalusī caliphs did not choose non-Muslim messengers out of any commitment to *convivencia*, a concept which reflects the late twentieth-century ideal of multiculturalism rather than the lived experiences of medieval Andalusī.⁴ Indeed, much of what has been called Andalusī »toleration« was in fact the willingness of the Arab rulers to employ non-Muslims and non-Arabs in their court, which at times provoked a backlash among the elite Muslim intelligentsia.⁵ The Andalusī rulers also did not choose non-Muslim messengers out of a materialist conception of *realpolitik*, privileging security and power over confessional ties.⁶ Likewise, medieval rulers were not attempting to build a foundation for the modern state.⁷

In the case of diplomatic relations with foreign rulers, it was precisely the confessional divisions between Andalusī rulers and their Christian and Jewish courtiers and diplomats that made the latter able negotiators on behalf of their Muslim rulers. The choice of an effective messenger showed the judgement of a ruler in seeking out a man who would both represent the interests of the ruler and present them effectively to an opposing power. In the cause of choosing judiciously, the religious ties and religious divisions that played a significant role in the internal politics of the Andalusī caliphate were an important factor. In their multi-confessional realm, ethno-religious groups interacted and communicated on intimate levels while at the same time maintaining their cultural distinctions within formal frameworks of exclusion, a »paradox of plurality.«⁸ However, these internal religious divisions did not shape rulers' understanding of where their international interests lay, nor overtly determine who

2 Camargo, *Special Delivery* 173-189.

3 Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus*, 57-58.

4 The post-war era shaped *convivencia*, from Castro, *España en su Historia* to Menocal, *The Ornament of the World*. See also Szpiech, *The Convivencia wars*.

5 Collins, *Caliphs and Kings*, 174.

6 This has been the interpretation of the role of religion in the »realist« strand of International Relations (IR) theory, see Snyder, Introduction, 7-14. IR theory has neglected the role of religion in global affairs and none of the three major strands (realism, liberalism, constructivism) takes religion much into account.

7 Previous focus has been on the medieval origins of modern political systems using teleological approaches, see Strayer, *On the Medieval Origins* and Bain, *The medieval contribution*, 1-26. Others have argued that seeking to understand modernity through medieval analogy leads to profound misunderstandings of both, see Holsinger, *Neomedievalism* and Freedman and Spiegel, *Medievalisms Old and New*, 677-704.

8 Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom*, 522-535.

their external friends and enemies might be. In the diplomatic realm, religion's influence was not principally felt though its role in shaping individual identity, self-perception, or world-view.⁹ Andalusī Muslim rulers used non-Muslim messengers and courtiers to serve their own practical diplomatic ends with Christian states, with Andalusī Christian, Muslim, and Jewish individuals and collectives at times acting in a manner that appeared inconsistent with their religious ideals or identity.

To establish their legitimacy and authority, the Muslim rulers of al-Andalus needed standards for their diplomatic proxies. From this milieu, a treatise on Andalusī diplomacy, the *Rasul al-muluk*, was written by Ibn al-Farra'.¹⁰ The *Rasul al-muluk* is part of the Muslim tradition of *adab*, or advice, literature, also present throughout the Latin West as the *specula principum*, or »mirrors for princes«, genre.¹¹ In this case, Ibn al-Farra's advice on diplomacy was intended for Andalusī Muslim rulers, but it also functioned as a kind of »mirror for messengers«, with some passages addressed to messengers and diplomats themselves.¹² The ostensible goal of the treatise was to establish diplomatic standards compatible with Qur'anic ethics.

The treatise, along with well-known accounts of the Andalusī exchanges and embassies with non-Muslim states in the late tenth century, demonstrates the role of messengers in illuminating the political and religious relationships that shaped Andalusī society. This is best seen in practice by examining the cross-cultural diplomatic interactions of the Umayyad caliph of Cordoba, 'Abd al-Rahman III (r. 912-961).¹³ 'Abd al-Rahman consolidated power and adopted the title of caliph in 929 after he had taken over smaller kingdoms around Cordoba. The early tenth-century decline of the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad and the rise of the Fatimid dynasty in Ifriqiya provided a catalyst for the declaration of an Umayyad caliphate in Spain. By 950, 'Abd al-Rahman's caliphal state with its capital at Cordoba was stable and prosperous, promoting intellectual and cultural ties from Baghdad and Tunis to Constantinople and Metz. 'Abd al-Rahman maintained diplomatic relations with other Muslim elites, from Berber chieftains to Fatimid caliphs, using Muslim messengers. However, it is his embassies with Christian rulers that are some of the most famous accounts of early medieval diplomacy, including relations with the Christian rulers immediately to the north in Iberia and Provence, as well as the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (r. 945-959), and the first Holy Roman emperor, Otto I (r. 936-973). Examining these episodes and the messengers involved in light of the *Rasul al-muluk* will demonstrate the way that formal religious and ethnic differences among rulers and messengers enhanced the articulation of political legitimacy by the caliph.

9 Hunter, *God on Our Side*, 7.

10 Vaiou, *Diplomacy in the Early Islamic World*, 20-24.

11 Handy, *The Specula Principum*.

12 Vaiou, *Diplomacy in the Early Islamic World*, 24.

13 Fierro, *'Abd al-Rahman III*, 68-73.

The selection of appropriate messengers and diplomats was seen as a demonstration of Andalusí rulers' judgement and wisdom, justifying their claims to political authority in the Iberian Peninsula. Umayyad authority in the region was grounded in Arab patriarchal dynastic claims, even though they were descended matrilineally from non-Arabs.¹⁴ However, just as important as these dynastic claims was the justification of their rule through their success in governing the Iberian peninsula.¹⁵ This »performance legitimacy« – the ability to get things done – is part of relational political authority, defined as a social contract between a ruler, who provides a social order that is valuable to those they rule, and the ruled, who comply with the ruler's commands necessary to the production of that order.¹⁶ The idea that successful rule depended on the satisfaction of one's subjects was a truism in tenth-century al-Andalus; good policy included »winning the hearts of the common people by being fair to them.«¹⁷ Diplomatic exchanges with foreign rulers using the multiplicity of talents and ethno-religious identities of their subjects was part of the social order provided by the Andalusí rulers and produced by those they ruled, which legitimized the political authority of the new Umayyad caliphate in the Iberian Peninsula.

The Problem of Piracy in the Western Mediterranean

Cross-cultural connections between al-Andalus and the neighboring kingdoms in the western Mediterranean occurred across physical borders, but also across the imagined borders of religion and ethnicity. The most famous diplomat of tenth-century al-Andalus was undoubtedly Hasdai ibn Shaprut, a Jewish courtier at the caliph's court at Cordoba.¹⁸ Ibn Shaprut was a physician, administrator, and ambassador – a grand *wazir*. He traveled to the Christian regions of Leon and Catalonia on the caliph's behalf, communicated with the Jews of Narbonne in Francia, corresponded with Jewish converts, the Khazars, in Central Asia, and served as the caliph's chief negotiator with the Holy Roman emperor's messenger to Cordoba in the 950s. Hasdai ibn Shaprut was unique; as a key advisor for both caliphs 'Abd al-Rahman III and his successor, Caliph al-Hakam II, it was likely Ibn Shaprut who commissioned the *Rasul al-muluk* under the aegis of one of the two caliphs, based upon his experience as both messenger and courtier.¹⁹ Ibn Shaprut was a talented diplomat who used his Jewish identity in service of the Muslim Andalusí rulers, producing social order for himself and his confessional community, while at the same time legitimating the political authority of the Umayyad caliphate. In the pluralistic Andalusí society, Jewish messengers made convenient go-betweens for Muslim and Christian rulers, as they were excluded from religious cohesion with the majority group, but served the political needs of the caliphate, who in turn provided legal protection.

14 Ruggles, *Mothers of Hybrid Dynasty*, 69-70.

15 Safran, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate*, 119. Safran analyzes Umayyad strategies, especially the creation of monumental architecture (such as the Madinat al-Zahra) and sponsorship of historians.

16 Lake, *Relational Authority and Legitimacy in International Relations*, 331-332.

17 Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd Al-Farid*, Ch. 1. trans. Boullata, 17. Safran, *The Second Umayyad Caliphate*, 9-10.

18 Hasdai ibn Shaprut is known from a variety of Arabic, Judeo-Arabic, and Hebrew sources and has been the subject of extensive scholarship. See Golb, *The Caliph's Favorite*, and most recently, Decter, *Before Caliphs and Kings*, 4-6.

19 Vaiou, *Diplomacy in the Early Islamic World*, 24.

Hasdai ibn Shaprut first appears in the sources as part of the embassies between the caliph of Cordoba and his neighbors regarding piracy on the Mediterranean. Peace treaties between 'Abd al-Rahman III and Christian rulers of northern Iberia and southern Francia in the 940s indicated that some pirates were Andalusí. While the pirates along the Provençal and Catalan coasts were not under the direct control of the government in Cordoba, they were in contact with the caliph's messengers and were likely indirectly supported by the Andalusí navy based in Almería and the Balearic Islands.²⁰ The messengers represented the legitimate power of the caliphate. At the same time, the reason for the diplomatic mission was the actions of non-state actors loosely connected with the Andalusí government.

In the ninth century, groups of Andalusí Muslim pirates, including some based at Fraxinetum in the hills above modern St-Tropez, harassed Christian ships based in southern France and northern Italy.²¹ Additionally, Iberians in both Muslim and Christian territories increased their fortifications and naval fleets due to Viking incursions in the Mediterranean. The evidence from the surviving textual sources and material culture is problematic in both dating and context, as the new walls, towers, and docks that dotted the coastal landscape seem to have come from a period without textually documented Viking raiding in the late ninth century.²² These improved defenses might have been responsible for the limited attacks in the period, but there is no evidence that the fortifications were used to defend against Scandinavians, rather than pirates from the Balearics or the Maghreb, whom the written sources also mention. The increase in the Andalusí navy and their coastal fortifications, whether to protect against Viking or Maghrebi pirates, began in the ninth century, which allowed al-Andalus's maritime dominance in the western Mediterranean to continue through the tenth century.

The embassies between 'Abd al-Rahman and rulers in the western Mediterranean were not focused on common defense of Iberia and other Mediterranean ports from Scandinavian pirates, but rather on the actions of Andalusí Muslim pirates. It is unlikely that these non-state actors were even under the nominal control of al-Andalus given the lack of political hegemony by any state in the pre-modern western Mediterranean. However, pirates operating in the territories of non-centralized medieval governments, such as Francia, often engaged in time-intensive kidnappings for ransom. In contrast, those operating around more centralized states, such as al-Andalus, often seized ships and cargo and sold them for profit because there were markets necessary for operations there.²³ This is borne out in the 972 kidnapping of Abbot Maiolus of Cluny, who was one of many hundreds, perhaps even thousands, of Christians who were captured in Alpine passes by the Muslims of Fraxinetum.²⁴ In contrast, material culture tells a different story about the pirates of Fraxinetum's relationship

20 Al-Uhri, *Tarsi al-akbar*, 31 and Jorge Lirola Delgado, *El poder naval de Al-Andalus*.

21 Ballan, *Fraxinetum: An Islamic Frontier State*, 23-76.

22 Christys, *Vikings in the South*, 65-66.

23 Hastings, *Geographies of state failure*, 213. Though focused on modern examples and using terms anachronistic to the medieval period, Hastings' conclusion that pirates in 'failed states' (read: non-centralized medieval governments) engage in kidnappings for ransom, while those in weak states (read: more centralized states) with stronger infrastructure more often seize and sell goods.

24 Bruce, *Cluny and the Muslims of La Garde-Freinet*, 39.

with the Andalusí state. Four tenth-century Muslim shipwrecks have been excavated along the Provençal coastline since the 1960s.²⁵ The wreck at Batéguier, off the coast near Cannes, lies on a dangerous reef at a depth of approximately 200 feet. However, the reef does not seem to have been responsible for the wreck; the intact hull indicates that a naval battle or a fire was responsible. Likewise, the wreck at Agay (approximately 20 miles down the coast from Cannes) was likely also caused by a naval attack based on the presence of a contemporary second vessel lying at right angles to the west, as well as a fragment of hull lying isolated a few hundred meters from the main site.²⁶ All four sites contain assemblages of distinctive Andalusí pottery, as well as millstones and oil lamps. These ships were under attack, perhaps from pirates from Fraxinetum, though we cannot know for certain.

Christian elites of Septimania and Catalonia were concerned about protecting their merchant ships. The Andalusí Muslim chronicler Ibn Hayyan (987-1076) discussed embassies between al-Andalus and the Christian kingdoms of the north in volume five of his ten-volume work on Iberian history, *Kitab al-Muqtabis*.²⁷ Volume five breaks off in 941, and the following volume does not survive. In his account, a noble called Unjuh (unknown from other sources), had his domain in the territory of Arles at the mouth of the Rhône. He »sent a delegation to the city [of Barcelona] to observe for him, and he asked for a guarantee of safety for the various kinds of merchants of his land [traveling] to al-Andalus, and that was agreed upon.«²⁸ The protection agreement included safe passage for any Christian merchant from Unjuh's territory who recognized the caliph's authority regarding their ships' property and their own lives while sailing the western Mediterranean. The peace agreements and the guarantees for Christian merchants' safety were »conveyed to Nasir ibn Ahmad, the Muslim commander at Fraxinetum, and to the governors of the Eastern Islands [Balearics] and of all the coastal ports of the land of al-Andalus.«²⁹ The safe-passage agreements did not apply to all Christian ships, merely those who had paid appropriate obeisance to the caliph's authority. These cross-cultural connections occurred across borders, with the messengers and the agreements they negotiated demonstrating the power and legitimacy of their patrons.

In 940, 'Abd al-Rahman's Jewish counselor Hasdai ibn Shaprut negotiated a treaty between the caliphate and the Christian count of Barcelona. The issue of safety in western Mediterranean waters was integral to his negotiations with Barcelona and other Christian kingdoms. Ibn Shaprut's confessional division between both his Muslim patron and his Christian opponents in Barcelona allowed him to serve his ruler and appear to be less partisan in the negotiations. Ibn Hayyan described the embassy and peace treaty negotiated by Hasdai ibn Shaprut in 940 with Sunyer, count of Barcelona, who had fought Muslim border lords, taking Tarragona and Tortosa in 936 and 937. These victories provoked both a military and diplomatic response from Cordoba. Ibn Shaprut was sent to Barcelona in the early spring

25 Joncheray, *Four Saracen Shipwrecks*, 100-107 and Hermanns, *Vestigios altomedievales procedentes*, 251-260.

26 Joncheray, *Four Saracen Shipwrecks*, 103a.

27 Ibn Hayyan, *Al-Muqtabis V*, ed. Chalmeta *et al.*; trans. Viguera and Corriente; trans. Cobb.

28 Ibn Hayyan, *Al-Muqtabis V*, § 308, trans. Cobb, 85.

29 Ibn Hayyan, *Al-Muqtabis V*, § 308, trans. Cobb, 85.

of 940. He had the backing of the Muslim navy, who followed him that summer, leaving the Andalusí naval base at Almería on 11 May 940, arriving in Barcelona on 19 July 940 during Ibn Shaprut's embassy.³⁰ The threat of military action was clear and Count Sunyer capitulated, making peace with 'Abd al-Rahman under duress. As Ibn Hayyan stated »informed [the navy] about the peace with Sunyer, lord [of Barcelona] and he made them refrain from making war on him, and the navy departed from the port of Barcelona right away.«³¹ By 950, 'Abd al-Rahman had firm control of the frontier territories of Lleida and Tortosa again.³²

Having made his threats with the Andalusí navy at his back, Ibn Shaprut returned to Cordoba. He brought with him Gotmar, Sunyer of Barcelona's envoy, to finalize the treaty. In return for Sunyer's capitulation, the caliph ordered the navy to practice »abstinence from [Sunyer's] provinces and peaceful behavior towards the people of his land« for two years.³³ Such peace applied only to Barcelona, and only for two years. It did not prevent the Andalusí navy (or Muslim pirates) from continuing to raid in the area. 'Abd al-Rahman's created a treaty that worked against the interests of his co-religionist pirates, who had demonstrated a threat to wider trade relations with nearby regions. However, his confessional differences with his Christian neighbors made the negotiations delicate. Utilizing the talents and the outsider/insider status of his Jewish envoy, 'Abd al-Rahman and Hasdai ibn Shaprut together produced social order in the peninsula, which in turn legitimized the political authority of the Umayyad caliphate both within and outside its territory.

At least one Christian ruler in the western Mediterranean imitated the policy of the caliphs of Cordoba of legitimating their rule by using the formal religious and ethnic differences among rulers and messengers. Viscountess Richildis of Narbonne negotiated her own peace and trade agreement with 'Abd al-Rahman.³⁴ She sent gifts and her Jewish advisor, a man named Bernat, to the court at Cordoba. Narbonne, as part of the territory of Septimania, had been part of al-Andalus for forty years, between 719 and 759, and there was a vibrant Jewish community there.³⁵ Culturally connected to al-Andalus, though now with Christian elite political governance, Richildis utilized her Jewish subjects as messengers in diplomatic negotiations. 'Abd al-Rahman »entertained [Richildis'] messenger bountifully« though Ibn Hayyan does not state their exact agreement. Richildis and 'Abd al-Rahman, despite their own confessional differences, spoke the same language of diplomacy and used the religious and ethnic differences among the populations inside their territories, both with significant minority populations, each to their own advantage.

30 Ibn Hayyan, *Al-Muqtabis V*, trans. Cobb, 85. Ibn Hayyan gave the precise dates in the Muslim calendar: the last day of Rajab in A.H. 328, and the tenth day of Shawwal A.H. 328.

31 Ibn Hayyan, *Al-Muqtabis V*, trans. Cobb, 85.

32 It is tempting to see this episode as a precursor to the breakup of the caliphate and the establishment of the taifa kingdoms, but such teleology is unhelpful to understanding the real concerns of the early tenth century; Jarrett, *Rulers and Ruled*, 172.

33 Ibn Hayyan, *Al-Muqtabis V*, § 309, trans. Cobb, 86.

34 Richildis, wife of Viscount Odo of Narbonne, appears as a witness or presiding over a court of law in a number of documents between 924 and 977. She was also identified as the daughter and only child of Count Wilfrid II Borrell and Countess Garsendis of Barcelona in 936; her uncle was Count Sunyer of Barcelona; Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne*, Ch. 5, endnote 15, 384.

35 Bachrach, *Early Medieval Jewish Policy*, 18.

Relations between Andalusis and Ottonians

Messengers, no matter their confessional ties, traveled long distances in the early medieval period to demonstrate the power of their patrons, and this was particularly true when establishing the legitimacy of a new dynasty or title, as both the Andalusis were doing in the Iberian peninsula, and their northern neighbors, the Ottonians, were doing in eastern Francia. The initial impetus for the series of embassies initiated between East Francia and al-Andalus between 953 and 956 seems to have been the ongoing concern for piracy and trade in the western Mediterranean. The diplomatic relationship between the two rulers, Otto I and 'Abd al-Rahman III, occurred at a point at which Otto's power base was in transition, as he did not take the title of Holy Roman Emperor until 962, though 'Abd al-Rahman had long since taken the title of caliph in 929 and established himself as the ruling force in Iberia. Their relationship through their proxies is documented principally in two sources. The first is a hagiographical source, the *Life of John of Gorze*, about Otto's ambassador, whom he sent to Cordoba with gifts and a letter in 953. The *vita* was written circa 978, only four years after the death of its subject, by a fellow monk, Jean of St-Arnoul.³⁶ The final third of the *vita* describes John of Gorze's trip to Cordoba. 'Abd al-Rahman also sent an ambassador north to Otto's court both before and after the embassy of John of Gorze. The latter was undertaken by a Mozarabic Christian cleric named Recemund, whose time in East Francia is discussed by a different Ottonian diplomat, Liudprand of Cremona, who was sent to Constantinople in 968. Liudprand dedicated his historical narrative *Antapodosis* («Retribution») to Recemund and described the actions of the pirates at Fraxinetum.³⁷

Beyond the problem of piracy, the other reason given for the diplomatic convoy to the south was that 'Abd al-Rahman had sent his own ambassador to Otto's court previously, with a letter that contained various blasphemies against Christ.³⁸ That messenger had died at Otto's court, and Otto, wanting to continue the conversation, and also respond in kind with an offensive letter, sent his own messenger. Otto sent John of Gorze with gifts and a letter with words in it that were offensive to Islam. None of these letters survive; the general content is known through narrative sources. Benjamin Kedar has argued that these letters represent a minor misunderstanding of theological doctrine, the first letter perhaps containing some reference to Islamic tenets that medieval western Christians might find offensive.³⁹ Kedar bases his assumption that the letter was not in fact blasphemous on the fact that the caliph's initial letter was brought by a Mozarabic Christian bishop who died of unknown causes while at Otto's court. However, given their minority status in the caliphate, Mozarabic Christians would have had a different cultural standard for statements «offensive» to Christianity than those the Ottonian court would have had. A Christian bishop employed as an ambassador by the caliph would be used to exclusionary, and to an outsider's ear, offensive, statements of religious difference. The initial letter, which touched off two more subsequent embassies, need not have been either blasphemous or misunderstood, but was likely both.

36 Jean of St-Arnoul, *Vita Iohannis*, ed. Jacobsen.

37 Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis* I.1-4, 5-7, ed. Chiesa.

38 Jean of St-Arnoul, *Vita Iohannis*, Ch. 115.2, ed. Jacobsen, 418.

39 Kedar, *Religion in Catholic-Muslim Correspondence*, 407-421.

The messenger's role in causing misunderstanding, and indeed willful offense, to the recipients of his master's letter is addressed by *Rasul al-muluk*. Ibn al-Farra' discussed the situation of a messenger »carrying a harsh message to another ruler, ordered to deliver it exactly as they were told« to highlight how the messenger's desired qualities of loyalty and diplomatic talent are displayed.⁴⁰ The messenger had been tasked with sending an offensive and harsh message to a neighboring king, angering the foreign king and causing him to take out his anger on the bearer of the message by threatening punishment. The messenger replied that he would convey even offensive messages back to his patron, which the king questioned, saying that the messenger would be afraid to report back anything negative. The messenger responded, »It would be strange that I should come to you with his message and be safe from your anger, although I am hostile to you, and then should take your words to him and not trust his patience, although I am with him ...«⁴¹ This logic and loyalty diffused the king's anger, and the moral of the tale is the truly ancient chestnut that »the messenger is merely the bearer [of a message] and should not be blamed.« Part of the utility of messengers who shared the faith of the letters' recipients but not that of their own masters, as was the case for Mozarabic Christian messengers who served the caliph, was the possibility of diffusing volatile situations by the messenger and recipient sharing the ecumenical tie of a common religious faith, but not a political one in that they served different rulers.

The death of the caliph's ambassador while in East Francia, as well as a need to continue the conversation about the Muslim pirates off the Provençal coast, and a desire to reduce the caliph's impiety led Otto I to send his own ambassador, John of Gorze, to Cordoba. John was an ascetic monk of comparatively humble beginnings who traveled in Italy and Lotharingia to reform monasteries to his religious standards at the request of various local authorities. He and other Gorze monks had journeyed to Rome at the request of Pope Agapetus II in order to »restore discipline« to the monastery of St. Paul in 950. The Gorze Reform movement has been discussed in concert with Cluniac and broader Benedictine reform movements of the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁴² While the monks at Gorze observed the Benedictine rule and the strict enclosure of *stabilitas loci*, John of Gorze traveled on behalf of the monastery for a variety of reasons, practical, political, and scholarly.⁴³

Unlike Septimania or al-Andalus, the Ottonian rulers in eastern Francia did not have a significant population that was not part of the majority religion to involve in diplomatic relations, nor did they wish to. John of Gorze was co-opted by Otto I for diplomacy through his bishop, Adalbero of Metz, who was a patron to Gorze. John was known as a holy man; his power came from his exemplary life and behavior, not from his lineage. In the tenth century »era of reform«, the mutually beneficial relationship of holy men and powerful patrons made John not just a mascot for monastic reform and the holy Christian life, but a tool that Otto sought to use in his relationship with Caliph 'Abd al-Rahman III. His strictness in his Christ-

40 Ibn al-Farra', *Rasul al-muluk*, Ch. 9, trans. Vaiou, 72.

41 Ibn al-Farra', *Rasul al-muluk*, Ch. 9, trans. Vaiou, 72.

42 Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*.

43 MacDaniel, John of Gorze, 66-74.

ian behavior was seen as an asset for the embassy, as he was a Christian of a different stripe from both his less severe local brethren and from Mozarabic clerics. This is the very opposite tack to that taken by 'Abd al-Rahman, and advised by the *Rasul al-muluk*, who utilized his non-Muslim subjects to smooth diplomatic waters. In contrast, Otto sent his most rigorous cleric, one guaranteed to take a hard line in negotiations.

Additionally, Otto likely sent John of Gorze because he was an experienced long-distance traveler. Religious travel, like pilgrimage or monastic reform, and secular travel, such as that of merchants and diplomats, happened along the same routes, or even in the same people. A merchant could also be a pilgrim; an abbot could also be a diplomat. They all moved along the old Roman roads, on rivers, on the Mediterranean itself, often traveling in boats owned by others, sailed by professionals, buying and selling horses and donkeys, staying in tents, *hospitales*, and monasteries. The author described John's route, from which the Roman road that John and his entourage traveled on between Metz and Lyon can be inferred.⁴⁴ Having reached Lyon, the party embarked upon a ship down the Rhône and onwards to Barcelona. Upon their arrival in Barcelona, local messengers alerted the caliph that the ambassadors had arrived, and from there men were sent to guide the travelers south, through Tortosa and onwards to the court in Cordoba. Once in Cordoba, the Franks were given accommodations in a villa »fit for a king« only two miles distant from the palace in order to impress these potential allies with the wealth, luxury, and sophistication of the Umayyad court.⁴⁵

On Otto I's orders, John of Gorze arrived in the heart of Muslim Iberia in 953. The *vita* of John provides a detailed discussion of the embassy, in which the caliph used his non-Muslim subjects in diplomatic negotiations, including Hasdai ibn Shaprut, the caliph's Jewish *wazir*, and Johannes, a local Mozarabic Christian cleric. The Andalusis were all allies living together, facing the outside force that John represented: the Germanic king Otto I. Despite dogmatic similarities with the envoys for the Christians, these Andalusis individuals were acting collectively based upon these particular circumstances, and not according to an ideal of either unity or chauvinism, but because of the needs of the caliphate and kingdom. These needs included the practical issues of Mediterranean pirates, as well as the not-so-minor skirmish that had erupted over the precise wording of the religious ideas in the diplomatic missives themselves.

The caliph did not meet with John immediately – he sent a trusted advisor to debrief the ambassadors, trying to determine their motivations for the diplomatic mission. The counselor that 'Abd al-Rahman sent first was none other than the experienced ambassador Hasdai ibn Shaprut, whom John of Gorze called »a man of great wisdom and knowledge.« Knowing the local customs of both Iberia and Muslims were foreign to John and his entourage, the first thing Ibn Shaprut said to John of Gorze was about how he and his fellow travelers ought to behave in Cordoba.

44 Jean of St-Arnoul, *Vita Iohannis*, Ch. 117.5, ed. Jacobsen, 424.

45 Anderson, *The Islamic Villa*, 139.

These young men should restrain themselves from any possible idle speech or rude gestures; nothing would be so slight that it would not at once be reported to the caliph. If the opportunity for going out was extended to them, they should not practice any offensive humor with the women as there would be a very harsh punishment for them. They should by no means overstep the stipulated boundary, for they would be carefully watched, and if caught, strung up for almost nothing.⁴⁶

The Jewish counselor's admonishments to a Christian cleric-ambassador and his entourage reveal both the cultural divide regarding proper behavior (particularly with women) but also the not so subtle reminder that deviations from proper behavior carried with them severe punishments, even for foreigners. After the lecture on customs, Ibn Shaprut got down to business by asking John of Gorze his purpose in Cordoba and what messages the letter from the emperor contained. John was not shy about the letter's potential for offense. While he was a hardline Christian, John of Gorze was still a skillful negotiator for Otto I as he relayed the letter's disrespectful tone without yet delivering the letter.

After determining that the emperor's letter could not be presented to the caliph, Ibn Shaprut retreated, and a few months later the second of the caliph's non-Muslim subjects arrived to dissuade John from presenting the offensive letter. This time, it was a fellow Christian, a Mozarabic bishop named John. Bishop John made this case to John of Gorze:

Think »under what conditions we live. Through our sins [we are subject to] the authority [of Muslims]. We are forbidden from resisting this power by the word of the Apostle. The only comfort is that, in such a calamity, we are not forbidden from making use of our own laws. If they see diligent observers of Christianity, they protect and embrace them, just as they are pleased by their own association, while they despise the Jews completely.

At this time we advise that, because no harm is being done to religion, we yield to them in other areas and we obey their commands to the extent that they do not hinder our faith. Therefore, it would be much better for you to keep silent about these things now, and to suppress the letter altogether, rather than stir up a very disastrous scandal for you and for your people when it's not necessary to pursue it.«⁴⁷

With its bias against Jews and Muslims, this Ottonian rhetoric against non-Christians was designed to demonstrate local religious superiority, rather than describe the real conditions of al-Andalus. It is difficult to understand Andalusí diplomatic policy from this source, as it was written by Ottonians (not Andalusis) in a religious genre of literature (hagiography) that was not normally used to bridge the gap between peoples of differing faiths. However, by looking beyond the inflammatory rhetoric and religious chauvinism, the quotation from Bishop John, a Mozarabic bishop, was great advice for how to get along with the Muslim

46 Jean of St-Arnoul, *Vita Iohannis*, Ch. 121.5-6, ed. Jacobsen, 432.

47 Jean of St-Arnoul, *Vita Iohannis*, Ch. 122.3-6, ed. Jacobsen, 434-436. Due to damage on some of the upper corners, there are lacunae in the single manuscript, Paris BNF, Latin 13766, ff. 49v-96v. Material in brackets has been inferred from the manuscript context and the critical apparatus in Jacobsen's MGH edition.

48 The embassy occurred about a hundred years after the »martyrs of Cordoba« described by Eulogius in 859 were killed for purposefully blaspheming against Islam, forcing the authorities to kill them. Wolfe, *Christian Martyrs and Safran, Identity and Differentiation*, 573-598.

elites. As leaders of a minority religious group, local bishops would have often sought to prevent clashes, especially when the alternative (that is, silence) would harm no one.⁴⁸ As an outsider to al-Andalus and a rigorous monastic reformer, John of Gorze was incensed by this advice, calling Bishop John a coward and then insinuating that the local Christians were not true to the faith because they were circumcised and practiced the same dietary laws as the Muslims by abstaining from pork and other foods. The key difference though between these reactions lies in the power differentials between the parties. John of Gorze was a foreigner and a representative of a powerful ruler in the north. Silence in John's case would have placed him and Otto I in a weaker position. In contrast, the local bishop was a subject of the caliph, and his proposal for silence reveals his subordinate role in the local hierarchy. Mozarabic Christians had a role to play in diplomacy with fellow Christians outside of their political community, such as with the Ottonian envoys. In general, Andalusí ethno-religious groups had a vested interest in working with people with similar political goals, but outside of their respective faiths for practical economic, political, or social purposes.

At this point in the diplomatic exchange, instead of John of Gorze backing down by giving the gifts but not the letter (against the emperor's standing orders), or ruining the whole mission, John and the caliph's intermediaries determined another path, which involved more travel. John of Gorze stayed put as a »guest«, or perhaps hostage, of the caliph, and in 955 'Abd al-Rahman III sent a Mozarabic Christian messenger, Recemund, north to Emperor Otto I. Recemund carried a letter from John explaining the situation to Otto, requesting a new letter from his patron that did not contain the offensive passages. Recemund made careful inquiries with John about the customs of the Ottonian court, and traveled north in ten weeks, arriving at Metz in August 955.⁴⁹ He stayed at Metz and Gorze with John's bishop (and Ottonian courtier Adalbero) through the fall and winter, receiving his audience with Otto himself in the spring and returning with a new letter (this one without the offensive passages), as well as a new Ottonian messenger, a cleric from Verdun named Dudo.

Recemund made significant connections among the elite Christians he met at Otto's court, most notably with another diplomat, Luidprand of Cremona, Otto's ambassador to Constantinople on multiple occasions. Luidprand dedicated *Antapodosis* to Recemund, which he started writing two years after the latter's departure, around 958. Luidprand spent the first four chapters of that work on the dedication to his friend and a discussion of the Muslim pirates at Fraxinetum, which had been the ostensible subject of the whole embassy. According to Luidprand, the connection between the pirates along the Provençal coast and the Andalusis in Iberia was clear, as the Muslim pirates »secretly began to inspect the neighboring populations all around; they sent many messengers to Spain who extolled the place and promised that they considered the neighboring populations to be nothing.«⁵⁰ The neighboring populations were likely Christian, and Luidprand assumes they were when he laments the slaughter of Christians in the same chapter. However, this was not necessarily the case, and those Andalusis to whom the pirates sent messengers need not have been Muslim either to

49 Jean of St-Arnoul, *Vita Iohannis*, Ch. 129.1-3, ed. Jacobsen, 450-452.

50 Luidprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis* I.3, ed. Chiesa, 6-7.

see the benefit of raiding their northern neighbors. The relationship between fellow diplomats Luidprand and Recemund, both of whom were Christian, was maintained despite their cultural distinctions and the political agendas of their patrons through formal networks of exclusion, despite their common religious faith. Recemund left East Francia on Palm Sunday (30 March) 956, arriving back in Cordoba in mid-June. At that point, John of Gorze finally received his audience with the caliph, presenting the gifts and the new letter as if the old one had never existed. In reward for his successful handling of the embassy to Otto's court and diffusing the incident, Recemund was made bishop of Elvira, now modern-day Grenada. The social order provided by the Andalusí rulers and produced by those they ruled, such as Recemund, legitimized the political authority of the Umayyad caliphate while at the same time rewarding those who contributed, no matter what their ethnic or religious affiliations.

Andalusí and Byzantine Relations

The distance between the territories of the Byzantine Empire in the eastern Mediterranean and the Umayyad caliphate in the western Mediterranean was substantial, but both powers sought diplomatic relationships with one another to demonstrate their power and articulate the legitimacy of their rule in their respective spheres of influence. Compared to the Ottonian court, the Byzantine rulers were more familiar with dealing with non-Christians. In general, the Byzantine emperors were on good terms with the Umayyad caliphs of Cordoba during the tenth century, as the latter had stayed out of the naval conflicts between the Byzantines and the Fatimids in the eastern Mediterranean. The Umayyads even took the Byzantine side in some of the skirmishes over Sicily in the 960s.⁵¹ Given the cordial, though not warm, relations between the two powers at either end of the Mediterranean, the *Rasul al-muluk* was careful to suggest that in correspondence with the emperors of Byzantium, there was no need for unnecessary offense in the use of titles. Ibn al-Farra' gave historical examples, first when the tenth Umayyad caliph of Damascus (r. 724-743) corresponded with the Byzantine emperor, addressing the letter, »From Hisham b. 'Abd al-Malik, Commander of the Faithful, to the tyrant, the Byzantine emperor«, causing the emperor to toss out the letter without reading it and »dismember the countries of Islam.«⁵² Ibn al-Farra' clearly saw a connection between poor diplomatic manners and military losses. The Byzantines likewise had a policy of using the appropriate titles in diplomatic correspondence when engaged with Muslim counterparts, and the *Rasul al-muluk* says that the Byzantine emperor Basil I wrote the Abbasid caliph Al-Mu'tasim utilizing his proper title of Commander of the Faithful and calling him brother.⁵³ The use of superlative titles for the caliphs by the emperors was intended to convey respect and acknowledge their authority, as there are many examples throughout the tenth century of such behaviors in diplomatic letters.⁵⁴ Byzantine sources corroborate this,

51 Nu'mān al Maghribi, *Kitab al-majalis*, 154, 6-8, see Dölger and Müller, *Regesten*, 1.2, 663b. For Fatimid and Byzantine relations in Sicily, see Davis-Secord, *Where Three Worlds Met*, 118 and Sutherland, *The Mission to Constantinople in 968*, 57.

52 Ibn al-Farra', *Rasul al-muluk*, Ch. 20, trans. Vaiou, 94.

53 Ibn al-Farra', *Rasul al-muluk*, Ch. 18, trans. Vaiou, 88.

54 Vaiou, *Diplomacy in the Early Islamic World*, 207-209, note 442.

including the famous book of Byzantine imperial protocol, *De ceremoniis*, commissioned by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos. In the section on greetings that foreign ambassadors should both give and receive, *De ceremoniis* instructs imperial ambassadors to the caliph to greet him saying, »Hail, you who rejoice in peace, prudent in councils, both virtuous and very gentle, being in good health and of good cheer, bringing peace from all quarters, very highly distinguished and highly esteemed *amermoumnes* [commander of the faithful]! Peace to you on land and sea, glory and honor, joy and long life! Most peaceable and nobly-born *amermoumnes*, may your name be honored and your life long, dearest friend of our holy emperor, admirable and most illustrious *amermoumnes*!«⁵⁵ Despite the instructions to show respect and friendliness from both Byzantine and Andalusí diplomatic treatises, the *Rasul al-muluk* was written using historical examples of Muslim diplomacy, many from the period of the conquest of the Levant in the seventh and eighth centuries, with examples of Muslim superiority and Byzantine decline as standard topoi of diplomatic relations.

Between 945 and 949 there were at least two embassies from the Byzantines to Cordoba and likely two embassies of Andalusí to Constantinople.⁵⁶ The Andalusí caliph likely initiated contact, as the earliest source is the *De ceremoniis*, which speaks of the reception of Andalusí diplomats to Constantinople in 946. The messengers were received in the Great Hall of the Magnaura, a basilica used as a throne room. »Note that when the Spaniards came a reception was held [and] the pergola of Magnaura was not decorated with sendals [silks], but entirely with great *skaramangia* [ceremonial tunics], and the Phylax's [Palace Treasury's] enameled objects were also hung in it. The reception for the Spaniards was held on October 24 [946].«⁵⁷ Each account of an embassy, whether in Constantinople or Cordoba, included a discussion about how impressed the visiting diplomats were by the palaces and decorations of their hosts. Demonstrating power through wealth and hospitality was a key feature of early medieval political relationships.

The surviving evidence for the Byzantine embassies to Cordoba in Andalusí Arabic sources was not written contemporaneously. The source for these later historians' information on the late tenth century was Ibn Hayyan's eleventh century historical compilation, the *Muqtabis*. Since the surviving text of Ibn Hayyan's *Muqtabis V* breaks off in 941, the information on the embassies of the later 940s is delivered through the pens of four later compilers.⁵⁸

55 Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, *De Ceremoniis*, II.47, ed. Reiske, 683-684. An uneven English translation is available, Moffat and Tall, *Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos*.

56 Dating for these diplomatic exchanges is very uncertain. From the perspective of the Andalusí sources, see Codoñer, *Bizancio y al-Ándalus*, 212-223 and Cardoso, *Diplomacy and oriental influence*, 106. From the Byzantine perspective, including other embassies in the same period, see Kresten, »*Staatsempfänge*« *im Kaiserpalast*, Zuckerman, *Le voyage de Olga*, and Featherstone, *Olga's Visit to Constantinople*.

57 Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, *De Ceremoniis*, II.15, ed. Reiske, v. 2, 571. See Angelidi, *Designing Receptions*, 471.

58 Dölger and Müller, *Regesten*, 1.1.2, n. 651a, n. 657, and n. 659.

59 al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-tib*, VI.5, trans. Gayganos, v. 2, 140.

The most extensive extant source is by al-Maqqari, an Ottoman North African historian who wrote his *Nafh al-tib* in 1628, quoting extensively from the now-lost portions of Ibn Hayyan. Al-Maqqari acknowledged the problematic dating of the embassy explicitly, saying »Which of the ... dates is the right one, God only knows.«⁵⁹

Al-Maqqari gave the most expansive account of Byzantine embassy, quoting the lost Ibn Hayyan material at length. He described the decoration of the caliphal palace saying that the »ambassadors were struck with astonishment at the splendor and magnificence displayed before them.«⁶⁰ Accompanied by a military escort provided by the caliph, the Byzantine party paraded in strict order of precedence from their residence to the throne room of his palace. The Byzantine envoys were housed at the *munya*, or villa, of Nasr, which was located on the left bank of the Guadalquivir River within sight of the walled city center of Cordoba itself.⁶¹ At the palace, 'Abd al-Rahman received them, flanked by his son and heir, al-Hakam, his other sons, as well as his courtiers, also lined up according to their importance. Andalusī historian, Ibn 'Idhari (fl. 1312) made sure to mention that the ambassadors were bowled over by the magnificence of the caliphal palace.⁶² He also indicated that the Byzantine ambassadors were prepared to prostrate themselves before the caliph, but 'Abd al-Rahman gave a signal that they did not need to do so, and the imperial messengers delivered their letter.⁶³

According to al-Maqqari, Ibn Hayyan reported that Constantine VII sent his imperial messengers to Cordoba bearing gifts and a ceremonial letter to Cordoba with gold lettering (chrysography) on azure paper requesting an alliance with the caliph.⁶⁴ He described the missives, saying:

within the letter was an enclosure, the ground of which was also sky-blue, like the first-mentioned, but the characters were of silver; it was likewise written in Greek, and contained a list and description of the presents which the Lord of Constantinople sent to the Caliph. Upon the letter was a seal of gold. Of the weight of four *mithkals*, on one side of which was a likeness of the Messiah, and, on the other, those of the King Constantine and his son. The letter was enclosed in a bag of silver cloth, over which was a case of gold with a portrait of King Constantine admirably executed on stained glass. All this was enclosed in a case covered with a cloth of silk and gold tissue. On the first line of the '*Inwan* or introduction was written, ›Constantine and Romanus, believers in the Messiah, Kings of the Greeks', and in the next, ›To the great and exalted in dignity and power, as he most deserves, the noble on descent, 'Abd al-Rahman the Caliph, who rules over the Arabs of Andalus. May God prolong his life!'⁶⁵

The author was clearly impressed with the Byzantine letter on azure parchment with gold and silver lettering, with a seal made of the equivalent of 18.75 grams of gold. While the standard early medieval diplomatic topos is about how awestruck the visitors were by the hosts' magnificence, in this case, the Andalusis were unquestionably impressed by the By-

60 al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-tib*, VI.5, trans. Gayganos, v. 2, 138.

61 Anderson, *The Islamic Villa*, 20 and 139.

62 Ibn 'Idhari, *Kitab al-bayan*, trans. Fagnan, v. 2, 353.

63 Ibn 'Idhari, *Kitab al-bayan*, trans. Fagnan, v. 2, 353.

64 Ibn 'Idhari, *Kitab al-bayan*, trans. Fagnan, v. 2, 353.

65 al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-tib*, VI.5, trans. Gayganos, v. 2, 142.

zantine emperor's letter, regardless of the message it contained. The Byzantine emperor used chrysography, as well as dyed-purple parchment, exclusively on diplomatic letters in order to impress their foreign recipients, but not on any other kind of imperial privileges or other court documents in the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁶⁶ The Byzantine ambassadors were accompanied by Andalusí messengers upon their return to Constantinople according to al-Maqqari, saying that Hisham bin Hudhayl accompanied the Greeks, bearing a magnificent gift with instructions to conclude an alliance. Ibn Khaldun calls the same man Hisham bin Kulayb al-Hayliq, and he was likely the bishop of Cordoba.⁶⁷ Two years later, Hisham returned to Cordoba accompanied again by ambassadors from Constantine VII. Ibn 'Idhari discussed a final Byzantine embassy to Cordoba in 949 with a Mozarabic Christian ambassador.⁶⁸

Despite the regular use of non-Muslim messengers and the reception of both Latin and Greek Christian envoys at court, the religious divisions between the parties were still made clear during these missions. The audience of both the embassy itself and the historical narrative that related it needed reminding of the importance of being not only a subject of the caliph, but also Muslim. Several of the Andalusí histories related how Abd al-Rahman III instructed that a courtier give a welcome speech to the Byzantine envoys that proclaimed the superiority of Islam, the power of the caliphate, the mercy of God, and the humiliation of the enemies of Islam to foreign guests and courtiers alike.⁶⁹ Many scholar-courtiers failed to perform adequately, including a famous scholar from Baghdad, but a Berber scholar and judge named Mundhir ibn Sa'id al-Balluti performed a *khutba*, or sermon (largely lost), which included: »O Assembly of Muslims! You know here on this peninsula you are surrounded by all kinds of polytheists and all types of heretics who seek to sow dissension among and break your community apart.«⁷⁰ Arabic public sermons and panegyrics to rulers played an important role in the promotion of the caliphate's image. Fundamental to establishing this political legitimacy was the virtue of safeguarding Andalusí territory for the proper observance of Islam against outsiders, and these panegyrics often ended with hopes for the ruler's long life, as it would be through him that the best of all political circumstances were sustained.⁷¹ The sermon by al-Balluti was meant to demonstrate that the Andalusí were superior to foreigners, even fellow Muslims from the Abbasid caliphate, in oratory, know-

66 Kresten, *Chrysographie*, 178-179. The recipients of these imperial letters, such as the Ottonian emperors in the tenth century, both competed with and imitated Byzantine authority. The elaborate foreign policy correspondence from the eastern Roman empire was adopted for Germanic privilege certificates, without knowing that imperial privilege documents in Byzantium actually took a quite different form.

67 Codoñer, *Bizancio y al-Ándalus*, 213. He argues that the name of the Andalusí ambassador should be read as *Yatalik*, designating him as the highest Christian authority of al-Andalus, which was the bishop of Cordoba.

68 Ibn 'Idhari, *Kitab al-bayan*, trans. Fagnan, v. 2, 357.

69 al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-tib*, VI.5, trans. Gayganos, v. 2, 138.

70 Al-Nubahi, *Kitab al-marqaba*, trans. Marqués, 231-234. Ibn Hayyan discusses al-Balluti's role as a *qadi* in *Al-Muqtabis* V, § 329, trans. Viguera and Corriente, 367. See also, Fierro, Mundhir ibn Sa'id al-Balluti, 360-361 and Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus*, 35 and 72-73.

71 Decter, *Dominion Built of Praise*, 9-10.

ledge, and performance. It was also meant to indicate that the Umayyad caliphate was equal to the Byzantine Empire. While the use of non-Muslim messengers was one way to smooth the diplomatic waters and enhance the articulation of political legitimacy by Abd al-Rahman III, other methods, including outright statements of superiority over rivals, both Muslim and non-Muslim, were other tools in the Andalusi caliph's arsenal.

Exchanging Messengers, Exchanging Ideas

In concert with their political roles, the messengers of al-Andalus often served as a conduit through which ideas were transmitted both among themselves and between the scholars of Europe and the Mediterranean. During the initial trip of the Byzantine emperor's men to Cordoba, with the sky-blue letter discussed previously, the Byzantines brought gifts. One account of these gifts is preserved in the life of an Andalusi physician, Ibn Juljul (944-994) written by another physician, Ibn Abi Usayb'iyā, circa 1270 in Damascus.⁷² The biography quoted now-lost portions of Ibn Juljul's own work on pharmacology and an autobiographical colophon.⁷³ Ibn Juljul was trained by the ubiquitous Jewish physician and *wazir* Hasdai ibn Shaprut and was the court physician to Caliph Hisham II. The gifts that arrived in Cordoba with the azure letter were a Greek manuscript of Dioscorides' (fl. 50-70) famous pharmacological treatise, *De materia medica* and a Latin manuscript of Orosius' *Historiae adversos paganos*. The Byzantine emperor instructed that »Dioscorides' book cannot be utilized except with the help of a person who knows Greek well and is acquainted with the drugs concerned. If there is someone in your country equipped with the necessary knowledge, you will, O king, derive great profit from the book. As to Orosius' work, you probably have in your country, among the Roman population, some people who read Latin, and if you submit the book to them they will translate it for you into Arabic.«⁷⁴ According to Ibn Juljul, there was no person in al-Andalus whose Greek was good enough to translate the names of the unknown drugs. Following the Byzantine embassy, 'Abd al-Rahman's messenger, Hisham bin Hudhayl, the Mozarabic bishop of Cordoba, went to Constantinople with gifts to the emperor requesting a translator who spoke both Greek and Latin. On the subsequent embassy in 951, Constantine VII sent a Byzantine Christian named Nicholas the Monk to teach Greek in al-Andalus. In his capacity as a physician (rather than a diplomat) Jewish Hasdai ibn Shaprut learned Greek from Nicholas, who »became his favorite and close friend and explained to him those obscure names of drugs.« Muslim Ibn Juljul, as a part of the coterie of court physicians, learned from Nicholas as well. Nicholas died in Cordoba during the first year of Caliph al-Hakam II's rule in 961. Ibn Abi Usayb'iyā related that, »thanks to the efforts of those persons, it became possible, in Cordoba alone of the whole of al-Andalus, to identify those drugs in a way precluding all doubt, resulting from direct knowledge of the drugs themselves.«⁷⁵ The close friendships

72 Ibn Abi Usayb'iyā, *Tabaqat al-Atibba*, Ch. 13, trans. Kopf.

73 Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 139; Calvo, Ibn Juljul, 421.

74 Ibn Abi Usayb'iyā, *Tabaqat al-Atibba*, Ch. 13, trans. Kopf, 634-635.

75 Ibn Abi Usayb'iyā, *Tabaqat al-Atibba*, Ch. 13, trans. Kopf, 636.

between Christian, Jewish, and Muslim physicians, all working towards the common goal of understanding the obscure pharmacological references of Dioscorides, illustrate the way that individuals of different faiths and political affiliations worked together intimately because of these diplomatic relationships. While in the past this might have been termed *convivencia*, interactions between different ethno-religious groups were at times positive, negative, and neutral depending on the larger political and religious contexts.

Likewise, John of Gorze's travel to Cordoba and Recemund's travel to East Francia involved the exchange of knowledge, but it also demonstrates the limits of these kinds of cultural interactions. Despite the survival of the eleventh-century library catalog from Gorze Abbey, there do not appear to be any works contained there that scholars can say came definitively from Spain, despite the presumed access of John and his party to books and/or people with scientific knowledge not available in the Frankish world in the tenth century. This is in contrast to books surviving in the catalog from John's trip to Monte Cassino, such as Aristotle's *Categories* and Boethius' translation of the introduction to Porphyry's *Isagoge*.⁷⁶ It is certainly likely that scientific knowledge in the Holy Roman Empire was enhanced by this ambassadorial exchange; Recemund is most well-known for his work as a mathematical astronomer and the author of the *Calendar of Cordoba*, part of the *Books of Anwa'* genre, common in the Arab world, that provided agricultural, astronomical, and astrological calendrical information. The *Calendar of Cordoba* was presented to 'Abd al-Rahman III's caliphal successor, al-Hakam II in 961.⁷⁷ Recently, Ann Christys has suggested that the two surviving manuscripts of this source, one in Latin and one in Judeo-Arabic, represent different recensions, and even different authors, that have been conflated into one by modern scholars.⁷⁸ Attributed variously to Bishop Recemund, Bishop Rabi, or Bishop ibn Zaid, conflating them »is to underestimate the prominence of educated Christians in al-Andalus.«⁷⁹ Recemund spent a good deal of time at Gorze during his embassy in the north, and the hagiographer Jean of St-Arnoul called him »most orthodox« (*ad primae catholicus*) in his beliefs and learned in both Latin and Arabic.⁸⁰ John of Gorze's erudition included Easter *computus* and practical astronomy, important scientific fields in the early Middle Ages.⁸¹ However, there is no surviving evidence that either John and Recemund brought any astronomical or scientific texts from Cordoba to Gorze, or vice versa.

Diplomatic efforts and correspondence with foreign rulers using the multiplicity of talents and ethno-religious identities of their subjects were part of the social order provided by the Andalusí rulers and produced by those they ruled. If »the messenger is the place of a man's judgment, and his letter is the place of his intellect,« then in the view of Caliph 'Abd

76 Lindberg, *The Transmission of Greek and Arabic Learning*, 59.

77 Dozy, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, iv and McClusky, *Astronomies and Cultures*, 166-171.

78 Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 108-134.

79 Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 134.

80 Jean of St-Arnoul, *Vita Iohannis*, Ch. 128.2, ed. Jacobsen, 448.

81 *The Easter Controversy of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Warntjes and Ó Cróinín, ix. Jean of St-Arnoul, *Vita Iohannis*, Ch. 18 and 24, ed. Jacobsen, 196 and 210, discusses education using computus. Practical astronomy also included the observation of the sky to find the time of night for the lighting of lamps, in Jean of St-Arnoul, *Vita Iohannis*, Ch. 80, ed. Jacobsen, 330-334.

al-Rahman III, the messengers that he sent to Christian rulers and emperors in the mid-tenth century demonstrated his political and religious authority over the ethno-religious communities he ruled in al-Andalus. His wisdom in sending men who shared confessional or ethnic ties with his rivals, but owed their political loyalty to him as *al-kalifah al-nasir li-Din Allah* (the caliph, the defender of the religion of God) showed his temporal and spiritual power, which in turn demonstrated his legitimacy.

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The Geopolitics on the Silk Road: Resurveying the Relationship of the Western Türks with Byzantium through Their Diplomatic Communications

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The geopolitics pertaining to the Silk Road network in the period from the 6th to the 7th century (the final, albeit important, period of Late Antiquity) was intertwined with highly strategic dimensions.¹ The frequent arrival of hordes of nomadic peoples from inner Eurasia at the borders of the existing sedentary empires and their encounters and interactions formed the complicated political ecology of the period. These empires attempted to take advantage of the newly shaped situation arising after such great movements strategically, each in their own interest. How did they achieve their goals and what problems were they confronted with? In this paper, I will focus on the relations the Western Türks had with Byzantium and use it as an example in order to resurvey these complicated geopolitics. In the first part, attention will be given to the collection of Byzantine literature concerning the Western Türks. Then, on the basis of the sources, the four main exchanges of delegations between the Western Türks and Byzantium will be discussed, in which the important status of the 563 embassy – as it was the first Türk delegation sent to Byzantium – will be emphasized. The possible motives behind the dispatch of the delegations and the repercussions they had will be presented. Finally, through reviewing the diplomatic communication between the Western Türks and Byzantium, attention will be turned to the general picture of geopolitics along the Silk Road, claiming that the great empire of the West – similar to today's superpowers – by means of their resources (mainly diplomacy) manipulated the geopolitics on the Silk Road, especially the nomadic people pursuing their own survival and interests, who were only treated as pieces on a chessboard for keeping the balance with the rest of the superpowers.

Keywords: Western Türks; Byzantium; Geopolitics; Diplomacy; Nomads; Silk Road

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1 No wonder that until now Silk Road is the most popular public and research term of the 21st century on the Eurasian continent; not only it is an excellent example of global history, but also of China's »Belt and Road Initiative«. The recent relevant publications are as follows: Preiser-Kapeller, *Jenseits*; Frankopan, *Silk Road*; Hansen, *Silk Road*; Liu, *Silk Road*.

Since the 550s, following the collapse of the Rouran Empire (in Chinese characters 柔然, pronounced *róu rán*),² the Türks (in Chinese characters 突厥, pronounced *tūjué*), a nomadic people, came to prominence (552 AD) to the north of China, then further, after defeating the Hephthalite Empire (in Chinese characters 嚙哒, pronounced *yàndā*), fast becoming a highly influential military power in the middle section of the Silk Road network.³ In this period, the political universe comprised three strong empires (Byzantium, Sasanian Persia, and China) around which other minor nomadic peoples gravitated, forming a complex geopolitical network along the Silk Road. The Türks were a prominent player, having a key role in this network. The western part of the Türks, namely, the Western Türks, were much involved in the events related to the western part of this network for the next two centuries, especially as regards the balance of power between the Persian Sasanian Empire and Byzantium. After a short honeymoon with the Sasanians, which culminated in the joint war against the Hephthalites,⁴ the Persians broke their alliance with the Western Türks in fear of their increasing ability to compete for territory and in economic terms.⁵ Faced with that change, and following the suggestion of their subordinate Sogdian leaders, the Western Türks sought diplomatic contacts with Byzantium, which was the other superpower controlling the western terminus of the Silk Road and the main foe of the Sasanians. They, thus, formed a new military alliance against their common enemy, the Sasanians. However, due to geopolitical fluctuations along the Silk Road, this constellation was not always steady, hence, the relations between the Western Türks and Byzantium were neither smooth nor long (they broke down right after the Byzantine embassy of Valentinus in 575-576, when the Türks took over the Bosphorus in Crimea, although the bilateral relationship was probably resumed in 584,⁶ and later on in 620s). It is understood, through the examination of the relationship between the Western Türks and Byzantium, that, on the Silk Road, the superpowers' interest always determined the direction of the changes in geopolitics, and the nomadic peoples, being minor polities living short geopolitical cycles, were treated by the former only as pieces on a chessboard and never as close friends or steady allies, but as ephemeral partners with whom, occasionally, they had to be very cautious. On the other side, the nomadic peoples understood their role and weaknesses, but tried to survive in a volatile environment, maximizing the profits gained from the superpowers. The Silk Road sustained a political ecosystem that, visibly and invisibly, promoted interaction and communication among various agents in the areas of politics, culture, commerce and religion in late antique Eurasia.

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- 2 The Rouran Empire was a steppe Khaganate active to the north of China from the late 4th century until the middle of the 6th century, see Nikolay, *From Tribal Confederation*, 149-169; Grousset, *Empire of the Steppes*, 60-61.
 - 3 Kordosis, *Turks*; Golden, *Introduction*; Sinor, *First Türk Empire*; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*; Chavannes, *Documents*.
 - 4 In 560s, Sasanian Persia had an alliance with the Western Türks aiming at defeating the Hephthalite Empire, see Litvinsky, *Hephthalite Empire*, 147; Kurbanov, *Hephthalites*, 186-187.
 - 5 Erdemir, *Turko-Byzantine Relations*, 427-428; Frendo, *Turkish Factor*.
 - 6 Georgios Kardaras mentions that the historian John Ephesus recorded that when the Avars sacked the city of Anchialos, the Türks attacked on their rear, which forced them to buy off the disengagement of the Türks. Kardaras believes that this means Emperor Maurice resumed relations with the Türks, see his Kardaras, *Byzantium and the Avars*, 53; Tzimou, *Byzantine-Türk alliance*, 9. Michael the Syrian also recorded news about this Türk attack on the Avars, see Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, trans. Chabot, 363.

The relations between the Western Türks and Byzantium have been well studied by scholars from different fields,⁷ but there is always room for some new interpretations or re-interpretations or for addressing questions regarding the issue that may not have been addressed yet. This article intends to bring together the Byzantine sources related to the topic, with the aim of clarifying Turco-Byzantine relations as they are manifested through the official exchanges of diplomatic delegations and shedding new light on their nature and on the geopolitics along the Silk Road. With this in mind, the paper is separated into three parts: firstly, the Byzantine literature concerning the Western Türks; secondly, analysis of the four main diplomatic activities followed by a discussion on the nature of the Western Türk-Byzantium relations and, thirdly the basic principles of the geopolitics on the Silk Road.

Byzantine literature on the Western Türks

Information concerning the Western Türks is found in the following Byzantine sources: the *History* of Theophanes Byzantios,⁸ the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius Scholasticus,⁹ the *History* of Menander Protector,¹⁰ the *History* of John of Epiphania,¹¹ the *Ecclesiastical History* of John of Ephesus,¹² Maurice's *Strategikon*,¹³ the *History* of Theophylact Simocatta,¹⁴ the *Short History* of Nicephoros Patriarch of Constantinople,¹⁵ and the *Chronicle* of Theophanes Confessor.¹⁶ Despite the fact that the times of completion of each of these works and their subjects vary greatly, they preserve information of importance for analyzing the interactions between the Türks and Byzantium. Most of the works were written in the period from the late 6th century to the 7th century:¹⁷ the *histories* of Theophanes Byzantios, Evagrius Scholasticus, of Menander Protector and of John Epiphania were written towards the end of the 6th century. Maurice's *Strategikon* and the *History* of Theophylact Simocatta were completed in the first half of the 7th century. The *Short History* of Nicephoros Patriarch of Constantinople was written at the end of the 8th century and the *Chronicle* of Theophanes Confessor at the beginning of the 9th century, respectively, incorporating lost sources from the 7th century; they are regarded as the key primary sources for the 7th century.

7 There are plenty of studies on this topic; therefore, I only list the most specialized bibliography: Macartney, *Greek Sources*, 266-275; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*; Sinor, *Establishment and Dissolution*, 285-316; Sinor, *First Türk Empire*, 321-330; Erdemir, *Turko-Byzantine Relations*, 423-429; Kordosis, *Turks*; Whittow, *Byzantium's Eurasian Policy*, 271-286.

8 Photius, *Myriobiblon*, PG 103; Photius, *Library*, trans. Freese, 73-75.

9 Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Bidez and Parmentier; Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. Whitby

10 Menander Protector, *History*, ed. Blockley.

11 John of Epiphania, *Fragmenta*, ed. Müller, 272-276; John of Epiphania, *History*, trans. Kennedy.

12 John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. Smith.

13 Maurice, *Strategikon*, ed. Dennis and Gamillscheg; Maurice, *Maurice's Strategikon*, trans. Dennis.

14 Theophylact Simocatta, *Historiarum*, ed. Bekker; Theophylact Simocatta, *History*, trans. Whitby and Whitby

15 Nikephoros, *Short History*, ed. Mango.

16 Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, ed. Classen; Theophanes Confessor, *Chronicle*, trans. Mango and Scott.

17 For the introduction and analysis of these works, refer to: Treadgold, *Early Byzantine Historians*; Treadgold, *Medieval Byzantine Historians*; Karpozilos, *Byzantine Historians and Chronographers*, vol. 1, vol. 2.

These works belong to different literary forms and they present us with different facets of the Western Türks and their relations with Byzantium. The *History* of Menander Protector and the *History* of Theophylact Simocatta are works of history, so their focus is on the secular history and the details of events, especially as regards the subject at hand, the embassies between the Western Türks and Byzantium. Maurice's *Strategikon*, as a military treatise, concentrates on the military organization and training of the various nations surrounding Byzantium, hence, it provides us with descriptions on the military issues and, moreover, with the basic characteristics of the Western Türks. The *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius Scholasticus and the *Ecclesiastical History* of John of Ephesus are Church histories and only sporadically related to secular history. The *Chronicle* of Theophanes Confessor, although a secular work, records the events from a greater chronological distance, so these last works are not central to this study.

Analysis of the four embassies between the Western Türks and Byzantium

The interaction between the Western Türks and Byzantium in Byzantine literature revolves around the exchange of delegations. There are four delegations described in detail, two of which were dispatched by the Western Türks to Constantinople and another two that were sent from the Byzantines to the Türks. Previous studies regarding the embassies between the Western Türks and Byzantium mainly focus on the 568 AD embassy of the Western Türks headed by the Sogdian Maniakh, the 569 AD embassy of Byzantium, with Zemarchus at its head and the 575-576 AD Byzantine embassy headed by Valentinus, while the 563 AD embassy of the Western Türks has been neglected by the majority.¹⁸ In addition, the consequences of the three detailed embassies have not yet been exhausted. All of these can be further analyzed and supplemented with the fertile Byzantine sources.

The first delegation from the Western Türks to Byzantium must be dated to 563 AD.¹⁹ The majority of the published works which refer to the contacts between the Western Türks and Byzantium are inclined to set the first contact in 568, the year of the visit of Maniakh's delegation, attested in the *History* of Menander Protector.²⁰ However, according to the records of Theophanes Byzantios and Theophanes Confessor, the first embassy from the Western Türks was received in Constantinople in 563. Theophanes Byzantios mentions that »the Turks, formerly called Massagetae and Kirmikhiones, by the Persians, who lived to the east of Tanais (Don), at this time sent a delegation with gifts to the emperor Justin [Justinian?], beseeching him not to receive the Avars. Justin [Justinian?] accepted the gifts, received the ambassadors

18 Only few scholars noticed this embassy, the details of which will be discussed below.

19 Many scholars are baffled by the Purum embassy (Romans/Byzantium) mentioned in the Orhon Kül Tegin inscription (old Turkic), referring to a delegation sent for the funerary ceremonies related to the death of the first Türk Khagan Bumin (the English translation of the inscription is referred to in Ross, *Orkhon Inscriptions*). The delegation is unverified by any relevant Byzantine source, see Erdemir, *Turko-Byzantine Relations*, 425; Kordosis, *Turks*, 92. The Chinese scholar Zhang Xushan suggests that this Byzantine embassy was the delegation under Valentinus, see Zhang, *Studies on the Relations*, 255. Mark Whittow suggests that the Western Türks could be known to Byzantium when the Avars first arrived in Byzantium in 558, see Whittow, *Byzantium's Eurasian Policy*, 271-272.

20 Menander Protector, *History*, ed. Blockley, 111-117. There are still scholars who insist on the 568 embassy being the first Turkish embassy; for more on that, see Parker, *Origin of the Turks*, 439; Sinor, *First Türk Empire*, 328; Macartney, *Greek Sources*, 266-275; Kordosis, *Turks*, 88-94, etc.

kindly, and dismissed them.²¹ Theophanes Confessor provides another piece of interesting information: »In the same month [July, 563] envoys arrived (in Constantinople) from Askel, king of the Hermichiones, who dwell inland of the barbarian nation near the Ocean.«²² Here the Kirmikhiones should be understood as the Hermichiones. Combing the two pieces of information, we can deduce the following conclusion: Kirmikhiones=Hermichiones=Türks. However, scholars have not arrived at an agreement on this hypothesis. Chavannes proposes that the Kirmichiones were pseudo-Avars.²³ C. A. Macartney holds that the term »Türks« was a generic term used to describe the people who lived to the north-west of Persia, hence the Kirmikhiones who lived there were given this appellation, but were not the actual Türks.²⁴ Stefanos Kordosis has suggested that it is more likely that the embassy was Türk.²⁵ D. Sinor, the distinguished scholar on the history of the Türks, in one of his later works concludes the following: »The first Türk delegation known to us arrived in Constantinople in 563. According to Theophanes (Confessor) it had been dispatched by a certain Askel, king of the Kermikhions. As mentioned earlier, the Persians called the Türks by that name, a practice that may have its roots in the incorporation into the Türk empire of the 'red' Hephthalites. Be that as it may, Askel is the original form of the name of the first tribe of the confederation called by the Chinese Nushih-pi. This was the westmost tribe group of the Western Türk and the name Askel was applied indifferently to the tribe or to its ruler.«²⁶ In consideration of the above scholars' views, it is obvious that it is hard to determine the exact ethnological identity of the Kirmikhiones or Hermichiones, yet, one thing is sure: that the Kirmikhiones or Hermichiones were at least in a close relationship with the Western Türks, as the Türks were a relatively loose federation of tribes.²⁷ We can, therefore, accept the view of D. Sinor that the Kirmikhiones or Hermichiones were one of the tribal federations of the Western Türks, hence, it is reasonable to accept the conclusion that a Kirmikhiones embassy was sent by the Western Türks to Byzantium, and that it was labelled Türk, just as the the Sogdians, being subjects of the Western Türks, always served as Türk envoys to Persia and Byzantium.

Now arises the following question: do the two sources point to the same delegation? The answer is positive. Sinor, actually, has taken it for granted.²⁸ The key for this identification is the time of the embassy's arrival, and the main evidence is the issue of the Avars. Theophanes Byzantios records that Justin (Justinian?) accepted the Türk (Kirmikhiones) delegation kindly. This embassy requested the Byzantine emperor not to receive the Avars, and the request was granted by the emperor, since later, when the Avars arrived at the Roman borders and asked to live in Pannonia under peace bonds with the Byzantines, their request

21 Photius, *Myriobiblon*, PG 103, 137; Photius, *Library*, trans. Freese, 73.

22 Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, ed. Classen, 370-371; Theophanes Confessor, *Chronicle*, trans. Mango and Scott, 351.

23 Chavannes, *Documents*, 231.

24 Macartney, *Greek Sources*, 266-275.

25 Kordosis, *Turks*, 91. See also Kordosis, *Byzantine-Turkic relations*, 296-312, esp. 298, where it is related to the Byzantine Avar Policy.

26 Sinor, *First Türk Empire*, 328.

27 Golden, *Imperial Ideology*, 50-53; Golden, *Nomads*, 47.

28 Sinor, *First Türk Empire*, 328.

was rejected by the Byzantine emperor.²⁹ Here, the important event is that the Avars' request for lands in Pannonia was expressed after this embassy. The source mentions that the first Avar delegation to Byzantium was received in 558 – at that time, the Avars had just arrived in the Caucasus region, where the land of the Alans was – then, the same source mentions that after being treated well by Byzantium and fighting for the empire, the Avars came again requesting lands from the Byzantines, in order to settle. This time Emperor Justinian »was planning to settle the tribe on the land which was earlier inhabited by the Heruls, which is called Second Pannonia. If they had agreed, the emperor would have granted this. But the Avars were unwilling to live outside Scythia, since, I suppose, they were greatly attached to the place.«³⁰ So, the Avars' request for land appears in two sources and is the same story, though told differently. Accordingly, we can conclude that this Türk embassy must have taken place after 558, since the first Avar embassy was well received by the Byzantine Empire. In addition, Menander Protector mentions that after hearing of the flight of the Avars and the great loss suffered by them, the Khagan of the Western Türks, Silziboulos,³¹ took an oath that he would attack the Avars after his war with the Hephthalites, which was ongoing at that time, had finished.³² The war is supposed to have started after 555 and finished earlier than 565.³³ Hence, Silziboulos' oath was also given between 555 and 565, a period which includes the time the Türk (Kimikhiones) embassy came to negotiate with the Byzantine emperor Justinian on the issue of the Avars, after which the Avars' new request – following their first embassy in 558 – was rejected. Considering that the records of Theophanes Confessor place the Hermichione embassy's arrival in 563, it may be deduced that the embassies mentioned by the two Theophanes must be the same one. The whole background behind the 563 embassy can be outlined as follows: the Avars were subordinates (slaves) of the Western Türks. When the Western Türks were at war with the Hephthalites, in 558, after causing damage to the Western Türks,³⁴ the Avars ran away from the latter to the land of the Alans, who reported the event to Byzantium. After that, an Avar delegation was invited to Constantinople and was well received with gifts on the part of the Byzantine emperor. After hearing of the flight of the Avars, Silziboulos, the leader of the Western Türks, became angry.³⁵ Being himself busy with the war against the Hephthalites, he tasked his tribal »foederati«, the Kirmikhiones, to act as the Türks' ambassadors to Byzantium, and came to an agreement with the Byzantine

29 Photius, *Myriobiblon*, PG 103, 137; Photius, *Library*, trans. Freese, 73.

30 Menander Protector, *History*, ed. Blockley, 52-53.

31 In the Orkhon inscriptions, his name is mentioned as Isämi (Istemi), in Chinese texts as shidiänmi, see Ross, Orkhon Inscriptions, 864, Ouyang and Song, *New Book of Tang*, vol. 215b, second part. For the identification of Silziboulos with Istemi, see Kordosis, *Turks*, 96, footnote 5.

32 Menander Protector, *History*, ed. Blockley, 46-47.

33 Kordosis, *Turks*, 83-84, footnote 32.

34 Evagrius mentions that the Avars »had fled *en masse* from their neighbours the Türks after being ill-treated by them, and had come to the Bosphorus,« Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Bidez and Parmentier, 196; Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. Whitby, 255.

35 Menander Protector mentions that Silziboulos, the ruler of the Türks, having learnt of the Avars' retreat after an attack on the Türks, sent the following message to Byzantium: »The Avars are not birds, to escape Türk swords by flying through the air; they are not fish, to dive into the water and disappear in the depths of the sea; they wander over the surface of the earth. When I finish the war with the Hephthalites I shall attack the Avars, and they will not escape my forces,« Menander Protector, *History*, ed. Blockley, 46-47.

emperor that the Avars would not be received and that the Byzantine emperor should not reach an agreement with them. Accordingly when the Avars appeared again, requesting land for settlement, the Byzantine emperor Justinian rejected their request³⁶ and the relations between Byzantium and the Avars became hostile.³⁷ Actually, later on we will see that the first Türk embassy set up an advantageous foundation for the future mutual communication and alliance between the Western Türks and Byzantium.

The second Western Türks' delegation took place in 568. Like the first one, it was also not led by a Türk, but by their Sogdian subjects. According to the information preserved in Menander Protector, following the suggestions of the Sogdian leader, Maniakh, in 568, the Western Türk Khagan Sizaboulos (alternative spelling of Silziboulos) dispatched a delegation to Byzantium to sue for friendship,³⁸ led by Maniakh himself. The causes of this embassy have been discussed at length, with scholars quoting the words of Menander Protector: on the one hand, the Sasanians rejected in a harsh way the Western Türks' proposal to allow the Sogdians, who were subjects of the Türks, to sell without any hindrance raw silk within the Sasanian Persian territory;³⁹ on the other hand, the Sogdians suggested that the Western Türks »cultivate friendship with the Romans and send their raw silk for sale to them because they made more use of it than other people«. ⁴⁰ Here, we can see the Western Türks' strategy: always try to make an alliance with a superpower and get support. In light of the events mentioned previously, I believe that a resolution of the Avar issue was also the goal of this embassy. As mentioned above, Silziboulos had taken an oath to pursue the Avars, which was mirrored in the 563 Türk (Kirmichiones) embassy to Byzantium. It is clear that the issue of the Avars was an important concern for the Western Türks and that it had not been resolved. In the 568 embassy, the Avars were mentioned again.»The emperor asked, 'Tell me how large a multitude of Avars revolted from Turkish rule and whether any remain subject to you'. 'There are, O Emperor, some who still adhere to us. Those who fled number, I think, around twenty thousand'.«⁴¹ From this, we can see that the Avar issue was a sensitive matter, and it had been known to Byzantium since the first embassy (563), and surely it could not have been bypassed. The hatred of the Western Türks for the Avars and the Western Türks'

36 Theophanes Byzantios recorded the emperor's treatment of the Avars: »When the Avars subsequently approached Justin (Justinian?), requesting permission to inhabit Pannonia and desiring to conclude peace, he refused, owing to the agreement he had made with the Turks«, in Photius, *Myriobiblon*, PG 103, 137; Photius, *Library*, trans. Freese, 73.

37 Menander Protector mentions for the same event that since Justinian did not accept Avars' request for Pannonia, hostility broke out between them, see Menander Protector, *History*, ed. Blockley, 52-53.

38 Menander Protector, *History*, ed. Blockley, 111-117.

39 Menander Protector has mentioned that, before this embassy, the Western Türks had sent two embassies to the Sasanian Empire for the right to sell the silk freely and also to establish an alliance between them, but the Sasanians rejected and also humiliated them: the silk of the first embassy was burnt in front of the Sogdians, and the envoys of the second embassy were poisoned, see Menander Protector, *History*, ed. Blockley, 111-113.

40 Menander Protector, *History*, ed. Blockley, 114-115.

41 Menander Protector, *History*, ed. Blockley, 114-117.

tradition of continuously pursuing enemies⁴² were one of the issues raised in this meeting. On the basis of the talks during the first visit and of their common gains, naturally, the two sides successfully reached an agreement for an alliance. Hence, the framework of the second Western Türk delegation can be outlined like this: the Sogdians wanted to sell raw silk freely in the lands of Sasanian Persia and therefore they persuaded their new lord, the Western Türks, to negotiate with the Sasanians. In the meantime, after the war with the Hephthalites, the rising Western Türks wanted to extend their influence and achieve more gains in the Silk Road network; however, this goal of the Western Türks and the Sogdians met with harsh rejection from the Sasanians. Under these circumstances, the Sogdians requested the Western Türks to establish a relationship with the enemy of the Sasanians and also a major consumer of silk products, Byzantium. The Western Türks sent the 568 embassy to realize their purpose: preventing the Sasanians from trading silk directly with Byzantium; establishing the Western Türk-Byzantine alliance for dealing with the Sasanians, and solving the issue of the Avars. The result is that a Western Türk-Byzantine alliance was established, at a time when the Avars had a poor relationship with Byzantium.⁴³ The only dark spot in the talks was the moment when the Türks (Sogdians?) were disappointed as the Byzantine Emperor Justin II demonstrated to them that the Byzantines had mastered the skill of raising silkworms and of producing silk.⁴⁴

The 569 Byzantine embassy to the Türks came in response, sent to the Golden Mountain of the Western Türks. It may be considered the first formal embassy from Byzantium. This embassy was led by Zemarchus the Cilician, the *magister militum per orientem* (commander of the eastern field army), a rank which demonstrates that Byzantium paid special attention to the delegation and to the alliance with the Western Türks. This embassy was well recorded by Menander Protector, while information about it was also preserved in other sources: the *History* of Theophanes Byzantios and the *Ecclesiastical History* of John of Ephesus. Although the *History* of Theophanes Byzantios only mentioned this embassy briefly,⁴⁵ it can be used as circumstantial evidence; the *Ecclesiastical History* of John of Ephesus recounts the details of an important scene of Zemarchus' dinner with the Khagan of the Western Türks. For this event, Menander Protector records that, when Zemerchus arrived at the camp of the Western Türks, he was invited by Silziboulos (Istemi) to observe a raid against the Sasanians.

42 It is mentioned in the *Strategikon* of Maurice: »When they make their enemy take to flight, they put everything else aside, and are not content, as the Persians, the Romans, and other peoples, with pursuing them a causable distance and plundering their goods, but they do not let up at all until they have achieved the complete destruction of their enemies, and they employed every means to this end,« Maurice, *Strategikon*, ed. Dennis and Gamillscheg, 364; Maurice, *Strategikon*, trans. Dennis, 117.

43 Menander Protector, referring to Justin II, reports that the latter criticized the greed of the Avars and rejected their unreasonable demands: »I shall never need an alliance with you, nor shall you receive from us any other than what we wish to give, and that as a free gift for your service, not as you expect, a tax upon us,« see Menander Protector, *History*, ed. Blockley, 92-97. Corippus also mentions Justin II accepting this Avar embassy, but he gave the exact date as 565, Corippus, *In Laudem Iustini*, ed. Cameron, 100-101.

44 Theophanes Byzantios mentions that the Byzantine emperor Justin showed the Turk how the worms bred and how silk was made, and also mentioned that the Turks had possession of the market and harbors of the Seres, formerly held by the Persians. This probably happened during the 568 embassy, see Photius, *Myriobiblon*, PG 103, 137; Photius, *Library*, trans. Freese, 74.

45 Photius, *Myriobiblon*, PG 103, 137; Photius, *Library*, trans. Freese, 74.

When they camped in Talas, Sasanian envoys approached, and they dined together with the Khagan. During the dinner, the Byzantines were treated as honorable guests, but the Sasanians envoys were ill-treated. The Sasanian envoys were angry and argued with the Khagan.⁴⁶ Thus Menander Protector recorded the event without further detail, while John of Ephesus provided more details about it. When the Khagan of the Western Türks asked the Byzantine envoys if the claim by the Persian envoys that »the Roman emperor was their slave, and pays annual tribute« was right, Zemarchus refuted it by saying that the Roman emperor Traian conquered the Persian land, and that the Persians also worshipped Traian's statue in Persia.⁴⁷ The Persian could not deny the fact, therefore the Khagan rebuked the Persian envoys as liars. After this, the Persian envoys returned home and reported their treatment to their king. The Sasanian monarch believed that the Byzantines were responsible for the breaking up of his relations with the Western Türks, which increased his hostility toward Byzantium.⁴⁸ The meeting was recorded by Menander Protector and John of Ephesus, but the latter provides the vivid scene of the event, showing the tense situation and the attitudes held by the Western Türks, the Byzantines, and the Sasanians. We can surmise that this Byzantine embassy was an important one for Byzantium, being a response to the one sent by the Türks, and it was given much attention so as to strengthen Byzantium's alliance with the Western Türks in a period when Justin II was faced with both the hostile Avars and the Sasanians, whose annual payment he had cancelled.⁴⁹ For the Western Türks' part, they were at war with Persia. The Sasanian envoys wanted to prevent the Western Türk-Byzantine alliance, but they failed.

The return course followed by Zemarchus also deserves to be reviewed. Failing in destroying the alliance, the Sasanians intended to ambush the Byzantine delegation on their way back home. Previous studies did not expound the causes behind this, since the main narrator of the embassy, Menander Protector, never mentioned them. The event was recounted by Menander Protector as follows: In 571, Zemarchus and his men finished their mission and returned, and when passing by the land of the Alans, they were informed by the Alans⁵⁰ that the Sasanians intended to ambush them in Suania. Then the embassy made a detour home by the road called Dareine.⁵¹ The works of John of Epiphania, Theophylact Simocatta and Theophanes Confessor also record this embassy, and their information provides evidence for the causes of the ambush. Theophanes Confessor mentions that, »There was another reason which disturbed Chosroes. For at that time [571] the Huns, whom we are accustomed to call Turks, sent an embassy to Justin via the territory of the Alans.«⁵² Then John of Epiphania mentions that »the causes of their (Byzantium and Sasanians) strife with one another were as such: ...as the Turks had sent envoys to the Romans to which the emperor Justin had responded sending Zemarchus, a member of the Senate, back with them again, the Persians planned

46 Menander Protector, *History*, ed. Blockley, 121-123.

47 Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, trans. Chabot, 315.

48 John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. Smith, 426-427.

49 Whitby, *Successors of Justinian*, 87.

50 They were first informed by the Ugurs that the Sasanian would ambush them, but it did not happen, see Menander Protector, *History*, ed. Blockley, 124-125.

51 Menander Protector, *History*, ed. Blockley, 126-127.

52 Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, ed. Classen, 378; Theophanes Confessor, *Chronicle*, trans. Mango and Scott, 362.

to bribe the Alans through whose lands they were about to make their passage to become an obstruct Zemarchus and the Romans and Turks with him.«⁵³ Theophylact Simocatta reports similar information, but he used this as the cause of Sasanians' war with Byzantium.⁵⁴ These sources, therefore, provide us with the direct cause for Sasanians ambushing the 569 embassy. The reason was that the Western Türks' envoys went together with this Byzantine embassy to Byzantium, and the Sasanians wanted to stop it. Furthermore, Michael Whitby's comment reveals another potential cause, i.e.: »The Romans and Türks had probably already agreed to launch a concerted attack on Persia (fr. 20, 32), and the possibility of such joint action would have been enough to persuade the Persians to try to interfere with the embassy,«⁵⁵ Mark Whittow, meanwhile, directly suggests that this embassy reached an agreement for a joint attack on the Persians planned for 573.⁵⁶ Hence, combining all the sources together it is clear that Zemarchus's embassy led to the consolidation of the Western Türk-Byzantine alliance. After that, the Khagan sent another Türk embassy, following the one returning under Zemarchus, for further coordination against the Sasanians. The disappointing news from the Persian embassy made the Sasanian ruler angry, leading him to seek new ways to disrupt any further cooperation between the Western Türks and Byzantium. The Sasanians would soon move to pre-empt the attack, as can be inferred from their attack against the Himyarites in the south-west of the Arabian Peninsula, and from the revolt of the Armenians.⁵⁷

After the 569 Byzantine embassy, traces of other diplomatic exchanges are preserved in the sources. Among them, the most detailed and, also, crucial is the 575-576 Byzantine delegation under Valentinus. This embassy marks the end of the short »honeymoon« between the Western Türks and Byzantium. Valentinus had three goals: 1) to inform to the Western Türks that Tiberius had become Caesar; 2) to reinforce the alliance between the Western Türks and Byzantium; 3) to request an army from the Western Türks to participate in the war against the Sasanians.⁵⁸ Although based on good intentions, this embassy failed totally. The envoys were treated badly by the the Western Türks and the alliance was broken. First, the Western Türk leader Turxanthus⁵⁹ criticized the Byzantines as being treacherous and unreliable since they had: 1) signed treaties with the Türks' enemy the Avars; and 2) hidden knowledge of the road from the land of the Western Türks to Byzantium. Consequently, he forced the Byzantine envoys to cut their faces at the funeral ceremony of Silzibuolos (Istemi) in order to humiliate them in this way.⁶⁰ During this embassy, Turxanthus went even further and attacked Bosphorus, a Crimean city subordinated to Byzantium.⁶¹ It is, hence, clear that Valentinus'

53 John of Epiphania, *Fragmenta*, ed. Müller, 274; John of Epiphania, *History*, trans. Kennedy, part 1, 2.

54 Theophylact Simocatta, *Historiarum*, ed. Bekker, 132; Theophylact Simocatta, *History*, trans. Whitby and Whitby, 86.

55 Theophylact Simocatta, *History*, trans. Whitby and Whitby, 86; Whitby, *Successors of Justinian*, 92.

56 Whittow, *Byzantium's Eurasian Policy*, 272.

57 The Himyarites had been subject to the Axumites and were Roman allies, but then a Persian-supported pretender to the Himyarite throne was installed and thereafter a Persian governor imposed, quoted from Theophylact Simocatta, *History*, trans. Whitby and Whitby, 85, footnote 37.

58 Menander Protector, *History*, ed. Blockley, 172-173.

59 At the time, the new leader of the Western Türks was Tardu, son of Istemi. Turxanthus was only governor prince, ranking under him, and he was probably Tardu's younger brother, see Sinor, *Establishment and Dissolution*, 304.

60 Menander Protector, *History*, ed. Blockley, 176-177.

61 Menander Protector, *History*, ed. Blockley, 178-179.

embassy did not fulfil its mission, and the alliance of the Western Türks and Byzantium was broken. In view of their previous relations, it seems that the ostensible cause for the relation's collapse was Byzantium's ambiguous relationship with the Avars. However the essential cause must have been the fact that the Western Türks realized the Byzantine strategy. The Western Türks wanted to attack their »slaves«, the »runway« Avars,⁶² open trade routes to Byzantium, and also extend their territory westerward, with the help of Byzantium. Nevertheless, the reality was that Byzantium was still in touch with the Avars and even kept negotiations with the Sasanians open. The most important factor was that Byzantium did not fully trust the Western Türks. Hence, the Western Türks realized the role of »pawn« they had in the Byzantine »nomadic« policy, aiming at keeping the geopolitical balance on the Eurasian Steppes.

Reviewing the relationship of the Western Türk and Byzantium

In the preceding lines, the Western Türk-Byzantine diplomatic communication was surveyed with the help of the Byzantine sources. The lines which follow are devoted to a review of the relationship of the two medieval polities and of the geopolitics along the Silk Road.

The middle of the 6th century to 7th century was a crucial period. Great sedentary empires and nomads were active and interacting on the Silk Road, from the West to the East. The most important were the following: Avars, Byzantium, Western Türks, Sogdians, Persia, and also China. With the help of the Silk Road network they had relations and complicated interconnected interests in geopolitics, trade, cultural exchanges, religious ideas, etc.⁶³

As to Byzantium in this period, it fell into a difficult phase. After experiencing the vigorous »reconquest« movement of Justinian, with the death of the great emperor, the empire fell into decline and crisis. On the one hand, these were internal issues: though Justinian's programme of reconquest enjoyed temporary success, it also exhausted the empire's resources.⁶⁴ After Justinian's death, Byzantium was declining in economic, military and territorial terms. Simultaneously, the frequent occurrence of natural disasters and plagues led to the wane of the economy and a fall in the population, which resulted in military decline and a lack of troops at the borders. On the other hand, there were external issues: Byzantium faced serious challenges on its borders. The Italian territory was under threat from the Lombards; the northern border was being attacked by Avars and Slavs;⁶⁵ and in the East the old enemy, the Persians, were still at war with Byzantium.⁶⁶

The arrival of the Western Türk embassies to Byzantium in 560s brought new hope to Constantinople. First, the Western Türks were a strong military power holding an advantageous position on the Silk Road. Second, in 568, as a result of the Persian policy, they became the enemy of the Sasanians. Third, as a strong nomadic power, many minor nomads were subordinate to them, even the Avars who were active to the north of Byzantium. Pressure from the Western Türks on the latter would reduce Byzantium's problems with the Avars.

62 Nechaeva, »Runaway« Avars, 175-181.

63 The most recent works regarding the geopolitics on the Silk Road in this period are: Preiser-Kapeller, *Jenseits*; Pohl, *Avars*; Di Cosmo and Maas, *Empires and Exchanges*.

64 For the general condition of Justinian's time, please refer to: Parnell, *Justinian's Men*; Sarris, *Economics and Society*; Maas, *Cambridge Companion*; Cameron, *Justin and Justinian*, 63-85.

65 Pohl, *Avars*; Gandila, *Cultural Encounters*; Sarantis, *Justinian's Balkan Wars*.

66 Greatrex and Lieu, *Roman Eastern Frontier*.

Fourth, the Sogdians, who were now under the protection of the Western Türks, were the main intermediary for trade along the Silk Road and it would also benefit the Western Türks to help Byzantium to open up its trade and communication with the East, thereby avoiding the Sasanian monopoly.⁶⁷ Hence, Byzantium, which seemingly had a blurred understanding of grand strategy,⁶⁸ managed to form an alliance with the Western Türks, using the latter to keep its strategy running.

As regards the Western Türks, after becoming the strongest nomadic power in Central Asia in the middle of the 6th century, they were eager to extend their influence. The Sogdians, who were subject to the Türks, also wanted to open up trade routes through areas in the Western Türks' power. However, the Sasanians were afraid of the Western Türks' expansion, which could affect their gains in trade, so they twice harshly rejected the proposals made by the Türk embassies sent by the Western Türks. Finally, following the suggestion of the Sogdians, the Western Türks managed to get in touch with Byzantium, an enemy of Persia and, at the time, in need of external help. The special relationship was soon established.

It is clear that the geopolitics between the 560s and 580s were not steady. The »honeymoon« of the alliance between Byzantium and the Türks did not last very long. The Western Türks, not receiving the gains they had hoped for from Byzantium, broke their alliance with it during the embassy of Valentinus. Why did this happened so fast? The reasons can be found in both societies. First, Byzantium never fully trusted the Western Türks. For the Byzantines, like the other nomads, the Western Türks were »superstitious, treacherous, foul, faithless, possessed by an insatiate desire for riches. They scorn their oath, do not observe agreements, and are not satisfied by gifts. Even before they accept the gift, they are making plans for treachery and betrayal of their agreements. They are clever at estimating suitable opportunities to do this and taking prompt advantage of them. They prefer to prevail over their enemies not so much by force as by deceit, surprise attacks, and cutting off supplies.«⁶⁹ Hence, even while allying with the Türks, Byzantium always tried to be careful with them. Meanwhile, it continued its policy of relations with the Western Türks' enemy, the Avars. At the same time, by demonstrating to the Türks that the Byzantines knew how to produce silk, Byzantium aimed to stall the Sogdians' plans of extending silk trade in Byzantium.⁷⁰ Another, even more serious reason is that Byzantium was still involved in negotiations with the Sasanians.⁷¹

The Byzantine behavior led to the Western Türks becoming disappointed with Byzantium, as demonstrated by the words of the Western Türks' Khagan Turxanthus, yelled at Valentinus: »Are you not those very Romans who use ten tongues and lie with all of them?...As now there are ten fingers in my mouth, so you Romans have used many tongues. Sometimes you deceive me, sometimes my slaves, Uarkhonitai. In a word, having flattered and deluded all

67 For the history and role of the Sogdians on the Silk Road, see Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*; Naymark, *Sogdiana*.

68 »Grand Strategy« is a modern military term first introduced into Byzantine studies by Edward Luttwak in his *Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire*. His attitude is debated by Byzantinists, see Cameron, *Thinking with Byzantium*, 40-42.

69 Maurice, *Strategikon*, ed. Dennis and Gamillscheg, 360; Maurice, *Strategikon*, trans. Dennis, 116.

70 »When King Justin afterwards showed the Turks how the worms were bred and how silk was made, he greatly surprised them, since at that time they had possession of the markets and harbors of the Seres, formerly held by the Persians«, in Photius, *Myriobiblon*, PG 103, 137; Photius, *Library*, trans. Freese, 74.

71 The Byzantino-Persian relations in this period refers to Greatrex and Lieu, *Roman Eastern Frontier*.

the tribes with your various speeches and your treacherous designs, when harm descends upon their heads you abandon them and take all the benefits for yourselves. You envoys come to me dressed with lies, and he who has sent you deceives me equally.»⁷² The Western Türks felt that they were cheated by Byzantium and that they were used only to restrain the Sasanians and other nomadic powers. In consideration of the above issues, it is understandable why the Western Türks broke their alliance with Byzantium.

After Valentinus' embassy, relations between the Türks and Byzantium were abruptly cut off; however, this was not the end. According to the records of John of Ephesus and Michael the Syrian, the Western Türks attacked the rear of the Avars when the latter sacked the city of Anchialos in the Balkans in 584. Some scholars believe that this is because the Byzantine emperor Maurice resumed relations with the Western Türks.⁷³ In addition, according to the records of Theophylact Simocatta, in the 590s, the Western Türk Khagan designated envoys to send an official letter to the Byzantine emperor Maurice to show his victories, and it is hard to say what the Türks' real purpose was.⁷⁴ Furthermore, in 625-626, when the Byzantine emperor Heraclius fought against the Sasanians, a group of Western Türks allied with the Byzantines.⁷⁵ The new condition of the relationship was due to the fact that, at that time, Byzantium began an offensive against the Sasanians, while the Western Türks were also at war with the Sasanians.⁷⁶

Throughout the various stages that the Western Türk-Byzantine relations went through, one can find the basic characteristics of the geopolitics along the Silk Road during this period: on the one hand, the superpowers of the time aimed to keep their border in peace and achieve further gains (for example opening the pathway to the East) by adopting what could be called an Eurasian policy,⁷⁷ in which the nomadic people were to be used for strategic purposes.⁷⁸ At the same time, the balance of power among the nomads was also a crucial factor that needed to be regulated. On the other hand, the nomadic peoples tried to realize their own interests by playing the superpowers off against each other. If their interests could not be satisfied, they would move to another superpower, establishing ephemeral alliances. Overall, the Silk Road provided a field upon which different powers came to play, each pursuing their own interests, with geopolitics being intertwined and highly volatile.

72 Menander Protector, *History*, ed. Blockley, 173-175.

73 John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. Smith 260; Kardaras, *Byzantium and the Avars*, 53; Tzimou, *Byzantine-Türk alliance*, 9; Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, trans. Chabot, 363.

74 Theophylact Simocatta, *Historiarum*, ed. Bekker, 281-282; Theophylact Simocatta, *History*, trans. Whitby and Whitby, 188, 191.

75 Nikephoros, *Short History*, ed. Mango, 54-55; Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, ed. Classen, 485; Theophanes Confessor, *Chronicle*, trans. Mango and Scott, 446.

76 Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. Whitby, 307, footnote 59.

77 Mark Whittow believes that Byzantium pursued a Eurasian policy which could be observed through the relations of Western Türks and Byzantium, see Whittow, *Byzantium's Eurasian Policy*, 271-286.

78 Menander Protector comments on a Byzantine agreement with the Avars, «έμφρονέστατα, οἶμαι, ... ὡς ἡ νικῶντες οἱ Ἄβαροι ἢ καὶ ἡσσωμένοι ἐξ ἀμφοῖν πορίσωσι Ῥωμαίους τὸ συνοῖσον.» (This, in my view, ... was a very wise move, since whether the Avars prevailed or were defeated, both eventualities would be to the Romans' advantage), see Menander Protector, *History*, ed. Blockley, 50-51.

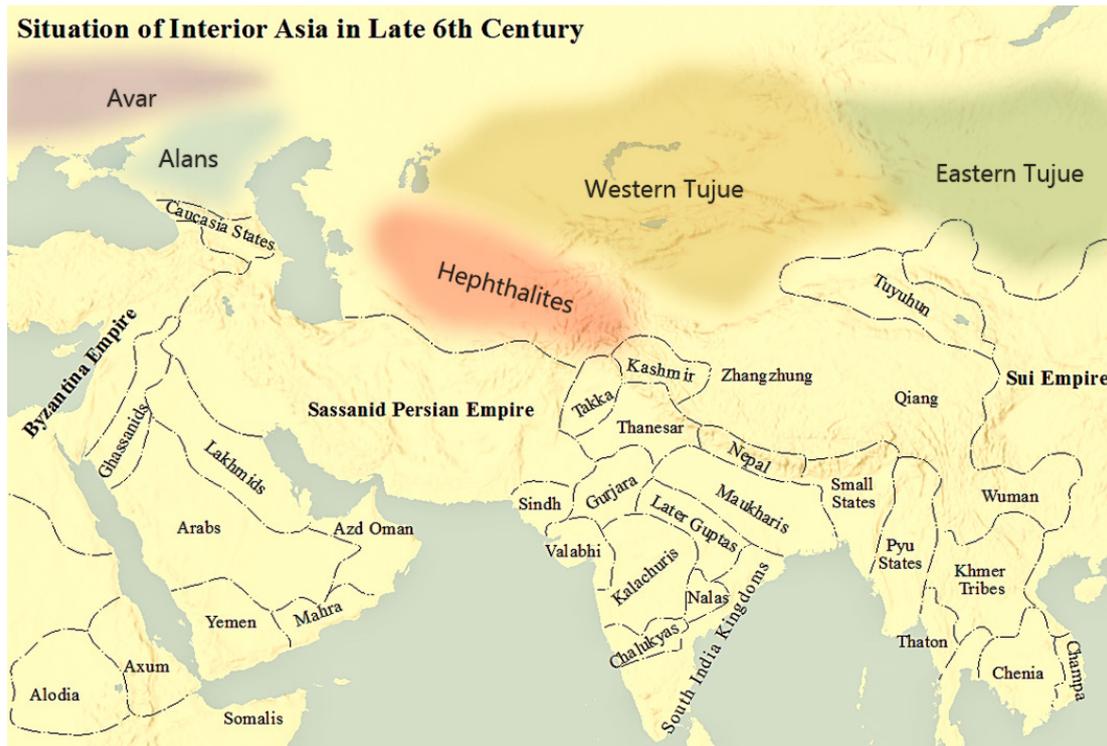


Figure 1: Interior Asia in the late 6th Century

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Figure 1: Situation of Interior Asia in late 6th Century. Retrieved on 10 November 2018: commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Interior_Asia_6th_century.png; SY [CC BY-SA 4.0 (creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/)], from Wikimedia Commons.

Dynamics in Buddhist Transfer in Eastern Central Asia 6th-14th Centuries: A Project Report

BuddhistRoad Team*

The ERC funded project *BuddhistRoad* aims to create a new framework to enable understanding of the complexities in the dynamics of cultural encounter and religious transfer in pre-modern Eastern Central Asia – the vast area extending from the Taklamakan Desert to North-east China. This region was the crossroads of ancient civilisations. Its uniqueness was determined by the complex dynamics of religious and cultural exchanges gravitating around an ancient communication artery known as the Silk Road. Buddhism was one major factor in this exchange; its transfer predetermined the transfer of adjacent aspects of culture, and, as such, the religious exchanges involved a variety of cultures and civilisations. These, in turn, were modified and shaped by their adoption of Buddhism. In many cases the spread of Buddhism overrode ethnic and linguistic boundaries in Eastern Central Asia creating a civilisational whole, which, despite its diversity, shared a set of common ideas originating from Buddhism. One specific aspect of this process in Eastern Central Asia was the rise of local forms of Buddhism. This project intends to investigate such Buddhist localisations and developments that took place between the 6th and the 14th centuries. At the core of the *BuddhistRoad* investigation are the areas of Khotan, Kucha, Turfan, Ganzhou, Dunhuang, as well as the territories of the Tangut and Khitan empires. The analysis will revolve around thematic clusters pertaining to doctrines, rituals and practices, the impact of non-Buddhist influences, patronage and legitimation strategies, sacred spaces and pilgrimages, and visual and material transfers.

Keywords: Buddhist transfer, Eastern Central Asia, Buddhism, cultural and religious exchange, Silk Road.

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1. Introduction

The project »Dynamics in Buddhist Networks in Eastern Central Asia, 6th to 14th Centuries« (*BuddhistRoad*), funded by the European Research Council (ERC, 2017-2022), is being undertaken at the Center for Religious Studies (CERES) of the Ruhr-Universität Bochum (RUB). *BuddhistRoad* aims to understand the role of Eastern Central Asia in global and religious history through the dynamics of the adoption and spread of Buddhism in this region. Central Asia is »centrak« to our understanding of global historical processes, despite the fact that its role in global history is still rather neglected. It is not only the missing link through which Eurasian or world history can be more fully understood, but it is also – as this project aims to establish – of major importance in religious history. This region was not simply a transition zone through which many of the world’s cultural and religious achievements spread, where pilgrim monks, goods and ideas travelled from one civilisation to the other (be it India, Persia, China or Tibet), but is a place where all those civilisations connected and interacted through an ancient, local political-economic-cultural system that is often referred to as the »Silk Road«.¹ The region of interest in the project is located at a geographical crossroads of ancient civilisations in the very heartland of the Eurasian continent, between the oasis of Khotan in the west and the Buddhist pilgrimage site Mount Wutai (in modern Shanxi Province, China) to the east (Fig. 1). Thus, it gravitates (if we move from west to east) around the areas of Khotan, the Uyghur Kingdoms (i.e. Turfan and Ganzhou), Dunhuang, the Tangut Kingdom (with Xingzhou and Kharakhoto) and the Khitan Empire (with the Buddhist pilgrimage site of Mount Wutai).

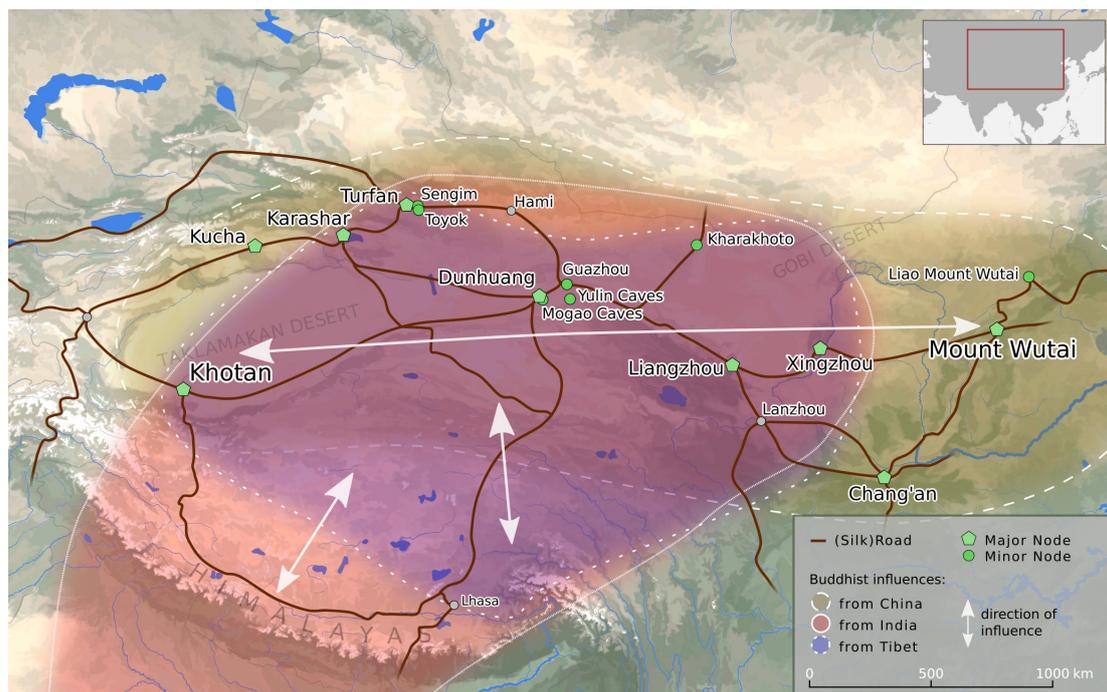


Fig. 1: Network of Buddhist nodes in Eastern Central Asia, by *BuddhistRoad* project

1 Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road*, 328.

Buddhism, which was most successfully transmitted for around 1500 years, both in and through this region, was the formative backbone of this vital region, where a multitude of ethnicities, languages, traditions, cults, and trends in material culture mingled together into a uniquely hybrid complex. This project proceeds from the hypothesis that the translocal spread of Buddhism developed into one of the driving forces in societal and cultural change of pan-Asian importance. In order to understand the Buddhist practices and beliefs, the religious dimension has to be extracted from the broader cultural patterns. One particular dimension of this translocal spread of Buddhism was the emergence of distinct local forms wherever the tradition became rooted.

The *BuddhistRoad* team proposes to examine the concepts of translocation and localisation, which represent complementary historical processes, and intends to trace its specific forms on the basis of the evidence that has been, and to a large extent is still to be recovered from the realms of material culture and textual and artistic heritage. Its aim is to investigate the interplay of external and internal dynamics in the unfolding of Buddhist localisations, and of the way in which translocal trends were processed at the local level and re-launched into the greater translocal system. Buddhism, which underwent often radical transformations under the influence of Central Asia's local cultures, thereby further influenced the mode of transmission to other cultural regions as well (e.g. Sinitic and Tibetan). In a nutshell: the project seeks to situate the many localisations that made up Eastern Central Asian Buddhism in the larger context of the spread of Buddhism in pre-modern Asia by looking at this region as an integrated whole rather than from the perspective of fragmented sub-disciplines. Thereby the project aims to create a new framework for enabling an understanding of (i) the dynamics of cultural encounter and (ii) Buddhist networks of transfer in the region during the pre-modern era. It is conceived of as a collaborative research project across disciplines (Archaeology, Art History, Buddhist Studies, History, Linguistics, Philology, Religious Studies, Ritual Studies) and Central Asian languages (Chinese, Khotanese, Old Uyghur, Tangut, Tibetan).

2. Conceptual Outline

In order to contextualise the Eastern Central Asian Buddhist localisations, the *BuddhistRoad* team choose to apply a network approach. This is helpful in order to move away from dated, territorial assumptions towards more relational, multiscale perspectives. The region in question was interconnected through a network of trade routes, along which a number of urbanised oases and Buddhist sacred sites emerged – under various dominions throughout the 6th to 14th centuries. In order to identify the primary points of importance in this system linking the oasis towns and sacred sites, there are locales, which carry added significance for a number of reasons. As is common to network approaches, broadly understood the term ›network‹ is being used in a broader metaphorical sense in order to understand how religious knowledge travels, finds local expression and at the same time remains interconnected among various locales. The project does *not* use the term in the sense of the social science method of network analysis. The locales are widely referred to as nodes, or points of relative import and significance (Fig 2).

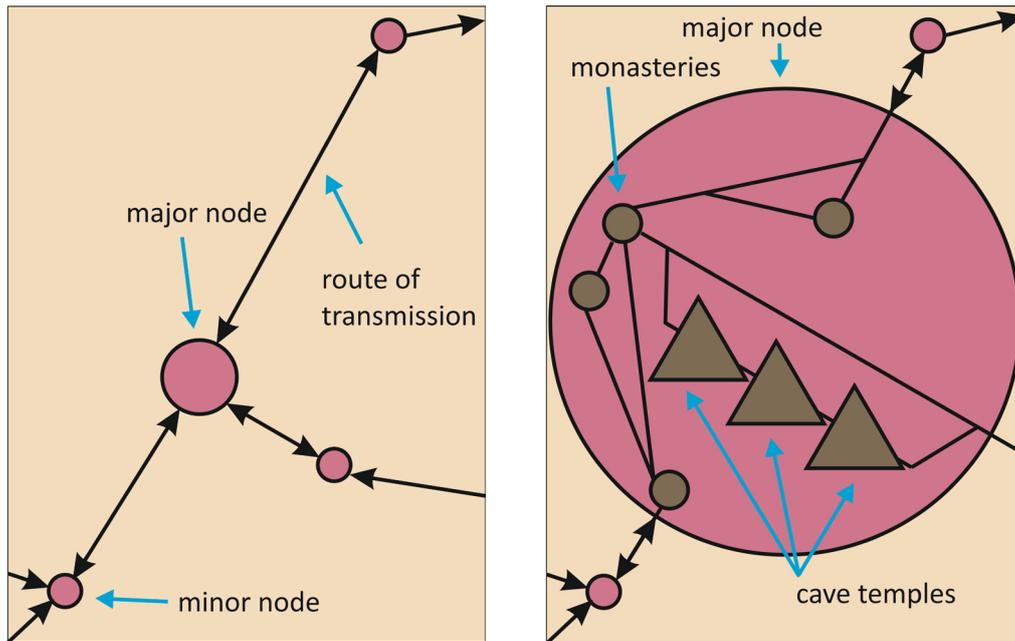


Fig. 2 a and b: Buddhist network with (a) model of transmission and (b) major node, by BuddhistRoad project

As such, ›major nodes‹ represent the generation of Buddhist impact on the surrounding area, where smaller centres, here described as ›minor nodes‹, develop. The trade routes further connected the region to the neighbouring civilisations (India, Tibet and China). A major node is thus a very dense point of significance within the network – e.g. with further temples or cave sites in the vicinity (Fig. 2b). It is usually a major cultural centre, a locale where knowledge and cultural techniques of any kind are produced and diffused. As such it creates, absorbs and conveys the spread of knowledge in a given region. A minor node is a cultural centre which primarily serves as a conductor for cultural (and religious) practices that, for the most part, have been produced elsewhere; at times the received practices are slightly added to or modified as well. A characteristic of both types of nodes is that they belong to a network often passing through or traversing several culture zones, as is indeed the case with the oasis towns along the Central Asian trade routes.

When seeking to identify and describe the processes of transmission that take place within a cultural network such as that presented here, there are various models which one may utilise to explain this phenomenon. The *BuddhistRoad* team intends to establish a model that will encompass several features simultaneously, including the production, transmission, dissemination, reproduction, recurrence and cultural displacement of Buddhist knowledge (Fig. 3). This theoretical model we refer to as a ›feedback loop‹, which may be conceived of as an interlocking series of rings, similar to those that appear when droplets fall on the surface of water, with the exception that ripples in water are partly random occurrences, whereas the feedback loops discussed here emanate purposively from the nodes, namely, from concrete geographical and cultural sites. A feedback loop applied to such a context means a movement or wave of influence(s) emanating from one node to another in a circular or recurring fashion (a loop), so that the influence from the original wave comes back to its origin but with something added (the feedback). This added information, which normally comes back in a slightly

distorted form compared to the original output, has its immediate origin in the second or receiving node, which, for its part, is the product of the interplay between the feedback loops of a whole string of interconnected nodes. As such, the feedback loop can be understood as a primary, engendering force behind a given oscillating process, i.e. a back-and-forth movement of data, material goods, ideas, practices, rituals etc.

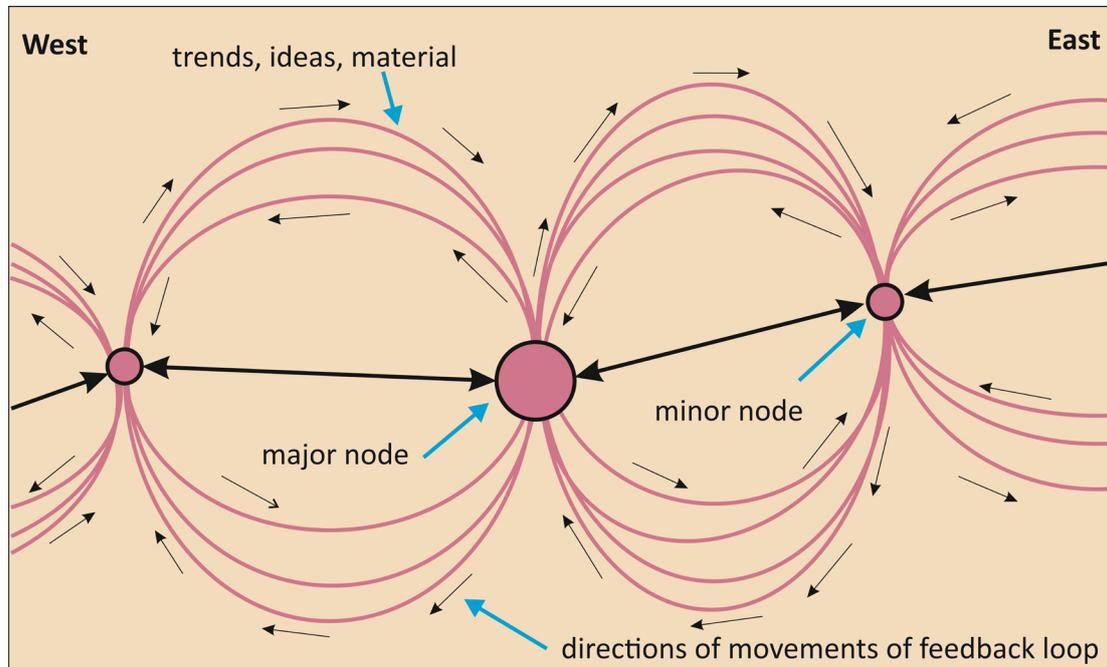


Fig. 3: Buddhist network with model of feedback loop, by BuddhistRoad project

However, when applying this network approach it is crucial to understand that several nodes within a given network may share a common material culture, a set of ideas or ritual technologies, yet these cannot serve as a direct indicator of foreign control or hegemony *per se*; individuals and groups are rather selective in what they choose to borrow from other groups. In terms of developing a deeper understanding of intercultural contacts, it is not the mere fact of borrowing in itself which is important, but the benefit it entails for the borrower's own cultural and religious system. How are such elements as new (foreign) knowledge used and what is their factual as well as their symbolic importance in the new social, political and religious context at a specific site? How is it reformulated, acted upon or displaced? Local appropriations thus occur as political circumstances which change and shape material culture, whereby ideas or ritual systems become entangled with local politics. In other words, it becomes »a process of local appropriation for local ends.«² Instead of interpreting this process as a simple ›diffusion‹ of cultural traits, a term which has little explanatory power, the research programme sketched here favours an approach of actually detecting patterns, processes and motivations.

2 Thomas, *Entangled Objects*, 184. For a systematic analysis of a new paradigm of interregional interaction see Stein, *From Passive Periphery to Active Agents*, 905f.

Thus, the research agenda of the *BuddhistRoad* project is to look at the correlation between shifting localities and shifting meanings: each specific locality forms its own version of Buddhism based on a mosaic of received elements and local developments, eventually evolving into an independent tradition claiming genuine Indian/Tibetan/Chinese origins.

How do we intend to operationalise this research programme? We envision demonstrating the nature of the Eastern Central Asian transformation process of Buddhism both from the perspectives of local cultures and from a translocal perspective (i.e. Buddhism as a superordinate unifying factor) *on the basis of studying primary sources through clusters of case studies*. Thematic clusters are chosen for two reasons: (i) they are induced by the materials; (ii) they are aligned according to the following systemic viewpoints: (1) ›doctrines‹ are studied to reflect the cognitive side of religion, which gives orientation, whereas (2) ›rituals and practices‹ are related to actions that will serve accomplishing objectives; (3) ›impacts of non-Buddhist influences‹ refer to the contact dimension with other religions whereas (4) ›patronage and legitimation strategies‹ deal with the contact between religion and politics; and, finally, (5) ›sacred spaces and pilgrimages,‹ and (6) ›visual and material transfers‹ are concerned with spatial and material aspects of religion.

Over the course of five years, the *BuddhistRoad* team will organise three conferences (and one summer school) through which to present our research results and discuss them with other scholars (and students) in an interdisciplinary forum. Each of the conferences will focus on two of the above-mentioned thematic clusters: the start-up conference, held in May 23-25, 2018 in Bochum on patronage/legitimation and sacred space/pilgrimage, the second conference to be held in Bochum on September 16-18, 2019 on rituals/practices and visual and material transfer, and a final conference in autumn 2021 on doctrines and non-Buddhist influences.

3. Religious Patronage and Sacred Space: The BuddhistRoad Start-up Conference, Held in May 23-25, 2018

The start-up conference held in May 2018 was entitled »Establishing of Buddhist Nodes in Eastern Central Asia 6th to 14th c.-Part I: Sacred Space, Pilgrimage, Patronage, Legitimation Strategies«,³ a well-received platform for interdisciplinary exchange, where Art Historians, Buddhologists, Sinologists, Tangutologists, Tibetologists, and Turkologists engaged – possibly for the first time – in fruitful discussion, overcoming the boundaries of their own sub-disciplines.

The *BuddhistRoad* team developed the conference topic on the working hypothesis that for a given religious tradition to flourish to the extent of leaving imprints in all societal fields in a specific geographical region, the establishment of strong patronage systems are of paramount importance. In conceptualizing the dynamics of religious patronage, the *BuddhistRoad* team established that it takes place between the three societal fields of politics, economics and religion. However, not all patronage activities that take place at the interface of these three fields necessarily entail religious results. We defined religious patronage as

3 The conference programme is provided here: static.ceres.rub.de/media/uploads/2018/04/24/201805-buddhistroad-start-up-conference-web_xYSWEI9.pdf.

the aspiration for good results, with the achievement of either purely religious results (in the sense of Buddhist merit, the attainment of salvation etc.) or of non-religious results (power, sovereignty, social cohesion of a multicultural society etc.). The latter may also enhance the divine legitimation of a local ruler and, as such, function as one aspect of a broader legitimation strategy. It is only through long-term institutional patronage, supported by occasional private donations, that a cultural region is gradually and thoroughly transformed into a religious-cultural entity – as is visible in the process of Buddhicisation of Eastern Central Asian lands with the establishment of Buddhist sacred sites and pilgrimage routes.

The *BuddhistRoad* team members engaged in discussing this conceptual framework on the basis of the following case studies:

Carmen Meinert explored the relationship between Tangut imperial patronage of Tibetan Tantric masters, teachings and art and the deliberate creation of a network of Tantric Buddhist sites at the height of the Tangut Empire (ca. 1038-1227) in the late 12th century. Using several items of visual evidence, she showed that the Tangut Emperor Renzong (r. 1139-1193) not only acted in his function as a ruler, perceived as a Buddhist ruler, but also with the personal agenda of a Buddhist initiate. He initiated the production of a new visual imagery in major nodes, which was then also reproduced in minor nodes.

Yukiyo Kasai talked about the legitimation strategy of the Uyghur rulers from the 7th to the 14th century. She illustrated how the religious shift from Manichaeism to Buddhism of the Uyghurs was reflected in the rulers' titles. Moreover, she discussed the relationship between rulers and religious communities. Although the rulers supported religious communities financially, they were not officially visible as donors. This did not change with the establishment of Mongol rule (early 13th c.), but when the Mongol rulers started to strongly promote Buddhism it also affected the Uyghur rulers, who started to show their personal beliefs more openly.

Erika Forte presented a study on pictorial evidence from Khotan to understand the way patronage was expressed ›in images.‹ This evidence, probably produced around the 7th/8th centuries, seems to point to a specific way of communicating patronage, notwithstanding the absence of explicit depictions of donors and of inscriptions.

Henrik H. Sørensen gave a presentation on how Esoteric Buddhist imagery appeared in donated paintings by elite members of Dunhuang's society in the 10th century including rulers and the nobility. This shows the intimate relationship between Buddhist practices and beliefs on the one hand, and political power and religion on the other. These votive paintings often feature copious donor inscriptions, in which the giver expresses his or her wishes and prayers on the religious level and, on a more worldly level, signals his or her place in society (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4: Avalokiteśvara with donors from the Dunhuang nobility, Dunhuang, 10th century, British Museum, OA 1919,0101,0.54.⁴

4. Expected Forthcoming Publications

Part of the *BuddhistRoad* project's expected outcome is to produce *BuddhistRoad Papers*, each of which highlights a specific case study or cluster of related cases. These papers are meant to constitute the backbone of the project and demonstrate the extent and direction of ongoing research. Most of the *BuddhistRoad Papers* already produced, or in the making, reflect presentations by the various members at conferences and workshops. Moreover, the *BuddhistRoad* team will co-author books, with team members co-authoring a chapter together and thereby covering the six thematic clusters mentioned above. The PI, Carmen Meinert, further aims to sum up the results of the five-year project in a monograph on the history of Central Asian Buddhism and will thereby contribute to the understanding of religious transfer processes in a multi-cultural and multi-religious pre-modern society.⁵

4 © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence.

5 All peer reviewed publications of the *BuddhistRoad* project including the *BuddhistRoad Papers* and books will be available open access on the project website: buddhistroad.ceres.rub.de/en/publications/. Moreover, the *BuddhistRoad Papers* will also be published on the website of the library of Ruhr-Universität Bochum: omp.ub.rub.de/index.php/BuddhistRoad/index.

Acknowledgements

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Mobility, Empire and Cross-Cultural Contacts in Mongol Eurasia (MONGOL)

Michal Biran*

This essay reviews the ERC-funded project *Mobility, Empire and Cross-Cultural Contacts in Mongol Eurasia* conducted at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1/2013-12/2017). The project has studied the impact of the Mongol Empire (1206-1368) on world history through the prism of mobility. It aimed to explain why, how, when, and to where people ideas and artifacts moved across Eurasia and what were the outcomes of these population movements. Guided by »the humanistic approach to world history«, namely combining a world history perspective with a close reading of multilingual primary sources, the project has created a sophisticated prosopographical database for studying these movements. The database records multilingual information about people who were active in Mongol Eurasia, currently indexing more than 13,500 persons. This unique resource enables the study of various groups of migrants (tribes, captives, experts, etc.); networks of economic and cultural transfer; and various imperial institutions (army, diplomacy, imperial sons-in-law), thereby illuminating the era's social and cultural history. Stressing the pivotal role of the nomadic Mongols in initiating population movements, it analyses how these movements created multiple cross-cultural contacts; triggered massive ethnic, religious and geopolitical transformations, and led to a closer integration of the old world. The enhanced connectivity created both a common imperial culture – material, political, administrative – across Eurasia, and relativism of knowledge and religions. These, in turn, left a considerable imperial legacy to later polities, and helped shape the transition from the medieval to the early modern world. Yielding more than 80 publications so far, while various books, volumes and dissertations are in the making; training and grooming a considerable portion of the next generation of Mongol Empire scholars; and contributing significantly to the globalization of Mongolian studies worldwide, the project's main legacy has been the study of the Mongol Empire on its own terms and within its full Eurasian context.

Keywords: Mongol Empire; Mobility; Migration; Cross-Cultural Contacts; Digital Humanities; World History; Networks; China and the Muslim World; Islamization; Nomadic Culture.

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Mobility, Empire and Cross-Cultural Contacts in Mongol Eurasia (MONGOL)

The Mongol Empire (1206-1368) created a unique moment in world history: in the 13th and 14th centuries Chinggis Khan and his heirs founded and ruled the largest contiguous empire ever – an empire that at its height extended from Korea to Hungary, and from Iraq, Tibet, and Burma to Siberia. Moreover, ruling over roughly two thirds of the Old World and profoundly impacting regions beyond its reach, the Mongol Empire and its policies created remarkable mobility throughout Eurasia, with people, ideas, and artifacts traversing vast geographical and cultural expanses. This high degree of mobility constituted the first step towards robust cross-cultural exchanges in fields as varied as science, art, trade and religion, to name just a few. It triggered massive ethnic, religious and geopolitical transformations, led to a closer integration of the Old World, contributed to the discovery of the New World, left a considerable imperial legacy to later polities, and helped shape the transition from the medieval to the early modern world.

The study of this fascinating period and its impact on world history through the prism of mobility has been the crux of the ERC-funded project described below.¹ Mobility – the ability of people, ideas, and artifacts to move or be moved across both space and society – has become a key concept in the study of contemporary history and the social sciences,² yet it has been a forceful catalyst for major transformations in pre-modern periods as well, and the Mongol Empire is an outstanding example of its impact. Mobility saturated all levels of Mongolian life and history, from the Mongols' pastoral-nomadic economic adaptation, through their unprecedented military success, and up to the shaping of their imperial institutions. As a demographically marginal group, without experience in administrating sedentary territories, the Mongols were able to create and rule their vast empire only by fully mobilizing the resources – both human and material – that they extracted from the regions under their control. The rise of the empire, its continued expansion, and the establishment of its administration therefore involved a huge mobilization of people – followed by goods, techniques, institutions, texts and ideas – throughout the empire and further afield. This gigantic array of movements resulted in far reaching transformations, both intended and otherwise. As mentioned above, they created countless opportunities for cross-cultural transfer and enhanced identity changes such as the robust expansion of Islam and the considerable overhaul of the steppe people's ethnic makeup. Furthermore, the movements triggered significant demographic changes, swayed the politics, economy and culture of neighboring states, and expedited the spread of the Black Death across Eurasia. It blended imperial concepts of various origins (the Steppe, China, Islam), creating a set of functioning imperial institutions that bequeathed a different institutional legacy to each of the various civilizations that the Mongols encountered.

1 Consolidator grant n° 312397 under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013).

2 On the »mobilities turn« in the social sciences see, e.g., Urry, *Sociology Beyond Societies*; Urry, *Mobilities*; Adey, *Mobility*; Cresswell, *Mobilities I: Catching Up*.

Unprecedented human mobility was apparent chiefly in the period in which the empire existed as a unified, ever-expanding entity ruled from Mongolia (1206-1260), but continued on a smaller – but still quite significant – scale when the empire was eventually dissolved into four khanates or *uluses*,³ each of them a regional empire headed by a Chinggisid branch. The state headed by the Great Khan or Qa'an (in Mongolian *Qa'an ulus*) was centered in China and also ruled in Mongolia, Korea and Tibet. It became known as the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) and enjoyed a nominal, though not uncontested, primacy over its counterparts. The Ilkhanate (1260-1335, in Mongolian *Ulus Hülegü*) was centered in modern Iran and Iraq, also ruling in Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, parts of Anatolia and the Caucasus. The Golden Horde (1260-1502, *Ulus Jochi*) was centered in the Volga region, ruling from the eastern border of Hungary to Siberia, as well as in the Russian principalities. The Chaghadaid Khanate (1260-1678, *Ulus Chaghadai*) held power in Central Asia, from eastern Xinjiang (China) to Uzbekistan, up to Tamerlane's rise to power in 1370, and continued to rule in eastern Central Asia up to the late 1600s.⁴ Despite the many, and often bloody, disputes between the four polities, they retained a strong sense of Chinggisid unity. In the mid-14th century, all four khanates became embroiled in political crises that led to the collapse of the Ilkhanate and Yuan China, and considerably weakened the two steppe khanates. The fall of the Qa'an state in 1368 is generally deemed to be the end of the »Mongol Moment« in world history.

The project has aimed to assay mobility patterns under Mongol rule and the substantial changes it wrought. It is guided by two main questions: First: Why, how, when and to where did people, ideas and artifacts move in Mongol Eurasia? And second: What were the outcomes of these huge population movements?

More specifically, the project has focused on three interrelated themes: modes of migrations, the cultural and economic transfer; and the creation of a new imperial elite and institutions. *Modes of migrations* suggests a typology of migrations, along the full continuum between the coerced and the voluntary, and studies migrant groups and diasporas of various ethnicities, origins, destinations, professions and situations.

The cultural and economic transfer has been examined through a series of studies devoted to different professional groups in the Mongol Empire, such as astronomers, musicians, military experts and merchants, and highlights the religious, scientific and commercial networks within and beyond the empire's frontiers on the local, regional and continental level. This part has sought to explore the social context of bearers of such highly-prized skills in the Mongol world, examining their background, training, career patterns, patronage, relations with the Mongols, connections with other professional and social groups in their local communities (city) and beyond (khanate), and ties with their counterparts in other polities.

The third theme, *Institutions and Elites*, highlighting social mobility, has traced the development of the key imperial institutions (notably the imperial sons-in-law, with reference e.g., to the ruler's guard, the postal system, the juridical institutions, the diplomatic corps) through their personnel, either through a comparative perspective across Eurasia, or in specific parts of the Empire, thereby reassessing Mongol administration.

3 *Ulus* in Mongolian originally meant the people subject to a certain lord, and later also became an equivalent of a nation and state (the meaning it still has in modern Mongolian today).

4 The Mongol names of the three *uluses* derive from the names of their founders, two sons and a grandson of Chinggis Khan.

Methodologically, the project has been grounded in »the humanistic approach to world history«,⁵ namely, it combines a world history perspective with rigorous philological tools and close acquaintance with multilingual sources and different historiographical traditions (notably Chinese, Muslim – both Arabic and Persian – and Old Slavonic [medieval Russian]), thereby transcending the boundaries between different area studies. Simultaneously, it has been informed by insights from the social and life sciences – migration theory, network analysis, comparative study of empires and movement ecology.⁶

The project has benefitted from – and contributed to – the great deal of scholarly attention that has been devoted to the Mongol Empire over the past few decades.⁷ Notably, it has been inspired by the seminal works of Thomas T. Allsen.⁸ Familiar with sources in Chinese, Persian and Russian and fully aware of other languages and genres, Allsen looks at the empire from a holistic perspective, putting the Mongols and their nomadic culture at the center of his inquiry and highlighting the cultural exchange that took place under their rule. He has convincingly demonstrated that the Mongol Empire was not merely a passive medium that, by virtue of its expansive size and the relative *Pax Mongolica*, provided a propitious setting for trade and cultural interaction. Instead, the Mongols were the principal agents that advanced, cultivated, and directed such contacts and served as a filter that determined which particular cultural elements would be disseminated across the steppe and beyond. Allsen has also highlighted the importance of mobilization of resources and population movements for the Mongol Empire's development. His work has been the point of departure for the present project.

Practically, the project has been firmly based on close readings of a wide assortment of primary sources in multifarious languages, genres and disciplines. The information was classified into a sophisticated prosopographical database, which the project has developed for studying the population movements. The database, one of the project's major achievements, aims at recording the surviving information about individuals who were active under Mongol rule in the 13th and 14th centuries. Currently we have indexed more than 13,500 persons and are still counting.

The unique multilingual fully-relational database (*JPP-SPRING*) was originally built over the infrastructure of the *Jerusalem Prosopographical Project (JPP)* initiated by Prof. Michael Lecker of the Hebrew University for studying early Islamic history. Throughout the project's years it has been updated, modified, and considerably extended according to the project's needs by our programmers, notably Alon Klein-Orbach and later Itay Zandbank. The resulting internet-based database is conducive to a highly-nuanced classification of people and reports, notably by its ability to assign keywords of various levels to each report and person.

5 Subrahmanyam, *Connected Histories*.

6 E.g., Nathan, *Movement Ecology*; Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*; Lucassen and Lucassen, *Migration, Migration History, History*; Lucassen, Lucassen and Manning, *Migration History*; Harzig *et al.*, *What is Migration History*; Hollifield and Brettell, *Migration Theory*.

7 See Biran, *State of the Field*; Morgan, *Mongol Historiography*; and, e.g., Pederson *et al.*, *Pluvials, Droughts and the Mongol Empire*; Aigle, *Mongol Empire*; McCausland, *Mongol Century*; De Nicola and Melville, *Mongols' Middle East*; Jackson, *Mongols and Islamic World*; Broadbridge, *Women and the Making of the Mongol Empire*; May, *Mongol Empire*; May and Jackson, *Mongol and Post-Mongol Asia*; Golden *et al.*, *Festschrift for Thomas T. Allsen*; Pfeiffer, *Tabriz*; Amitai and Biran, *Nomads as Agents of Cultural Change*.

8 Esp. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest*; Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*; Allsen, *Population Movements*.

It enables the researchers to index the connections among various people, places, tribes, periods and activities; to make complicated searches, and to reconstruct the networks that were active across the empire and beyond its frontiers. There is a certain possibility to visualize the search results on maps and SNA graphs, as well as to export the data to specific software packages (e.g. Gephi) that specialize in producing more sophisticated visualizations.

The key building blocks of the database have been the rich biographical literature of Yuan China, Ilkhanid Iran and Mamluk Egypt (in Chinese, Persian and Arabic), while the rest of this edifice is comprised of a panoply of genres, such as multilingual chronicles; geographical works, travelogues, and guides for pilgrims; local histories and gazetteers; hagiographies; genealogies, as well as religious, literary and scientific works. The literary sources have been supplemented by multilingual documents and tomb inscriptions, and while archaeological, numismatic and visual resources are not yet an integral part of our database, they have been widely used in the specific sub-projects.

Material was uploaded to the database in two ways: systematic uploading of works, and sub-project uploading. Systematic uploading was based on a list of texts which I defined, beginning with the biographical sections of *The official history of the Yuan dynasty*, and the parts dealing with Mongolian history in Rashid al-Din's *Compendium of Chronicles* (in Thackston's translation) and Juwayni's *History of World Conqueror* (in Boyle's translation), as well as *The Secret History of the Mongols* (in De Rachewiltz's translation). Relevant information has been culled out, translated into English, when necessary, and has become a report, which has been subsequently linked to relevant people, places, tribes, periods and keywords. Scholarly translations, indices, and searchable databases (e.g. the *Academia Sinica's 24 histories database* or *al-maktaba al-shamila*) were used whenever available. Whenever electronic text was available, the original text was pasted at the end of the translated or summarized report.

In addition to the systematic uploading, each team member can upload material specifically relevant for his/her own sub-project into his/her private drawer of the database. It is mostly at this stage that more specific sources, including scientific, religious and literary works, some of which are still in manuscript, were consulted.

Texts were chosen according to their relevance and their degree of readability, and while we started with translated texts, many sources have been translated for the first time in the database. Most importantly, we translated and indexed a significant portion of the biographies of the *Yuanshi*, the official history of the Yuan dynasty (in Chinese), including all the biographies of the non-Han people, most of which had never been translated before. Furthermore, we located and translated a considerable number of Arabic biographies related to the Mongols or Mongol-ruled territories. While some of the Arabic material originated in the Mongol realm (notably in Iraq but also in Central Asia), most of it was written under the Mamluk Sultanate, which governed Egypt and Syria (1250-1517) in tandem with the Mongols. This Arabic material is one of the largest untapped reservoirs of sources for the study of the Mongol Empire. It is especially relevant to the history of the Ilkhanate and the Golden Horde, but also pertinent for the study of the other Mongol polities.⁹

9 Amitai and Biran, Arabic Sources.

The database therefore not only enables each researcher to index his/her information but also to use materials outside his/her linguistic proficiency (e.g. someone working on Muslim merchants can use the database for obtaining information on Chinese and European merchants, thereby enabling him to make comparisons or broaden his/her perspective; someone working on Persian materials can enrich his/her research by using the database's Arabic materials, etc.). It is also extremely helpful for identifying persons encountered in text from the 13th-14th centuries, mainly in the Muslim world, as well as serving as a good starting point for studying nearly any aspect of Mongol Eurasia: my study on captives in Mongol Eurasia,¹⁰ for example, began by searching for the keyword »captive« and checking the 259 relevant reports the database then held. While many of them contained merely generic statements (e.g. many captives were taken during the battle), others revealed the personal stories of those who were taken captive, took captives or redeemed captives, thereby suggesting an outline for the article. Currently the database is available for project members only, though limited guest access is available upon request. When the project's dissertations and books, which are based on the database, are completed, namely in about two years' time, we hope to make it open access.

The main novelty of this project has been its *scale*: it looks at the Mongol Empire from a holistic perspective, in its full Eurasian context. This perspective enables it to compare developments on an unprecedented scale and to stress the role of the Mongols and their indigenous culture in shaping the late medieval world.

The project is also unique due to its direct access to sources in Persian, Chinese, Arabic and Old Slavonic and its full awareness and use of sources in other languages, as well as by its use of advanced computer technology. This combination has allowed the project to move between micro, meso and macro history, moving from one individual or one family through the specific treatment of a certain professional group, city, tribe, diaspora, institution and up to continent-wide developments.

Achievements:

Apart from the database described above, in terms of publications, by its formal ending (December 2017) the project had yielded more than 80 publications – published, in press and accepted – while quite a few additional products (books, volumes, dissertations, articles) are in different stages of preparation. These publications indeed reflect the full spectrum of micro, meso and macro history.

On the micro level, I would like to point out two biographical collections, one already published and the other in an advanced stage of preparation. The first, titled: *In the Service of the Khans: Elites in Transition in Mongol Eurasia*, a special section of *Asiatische Studien* 71/4 (December 2017), 1051-1245, includes eleven articles – an introduction and ten annotated biographies, each prepared by a project member. The Mongol Empire generated massive transformations in the composition and functioning of elites across Eurasia as the new rulers adapted to ruling an enormous empire with a considerable sedentary realm, while employing huge numbers of their subjects in the imperial armies, courts and administrations, often in places far away from the latter's original homes. The articles included in this volume portray

10 Biran, *Encounters among Enemies*.

a multifaceted picture of the empire's new and multi-ethnic elite – from princes through generals, administrators, and vassal kings, to scientists and artists; including Mongols, Koreans, Chinese and Muslims. Moreover, it highlights the criteria for social mobility, such as early surrender to Chinggis Khan; noble birth (i.e. being related to the families of Chinggis Khan, contemporary or pre-Mongol ruling houses, or the Prophet Muhammad); membership in the Mongol guard (*keshig*); and, especially, merits, such as excellence in warfare, administration, literacy in Mongolian script or astronomy, to name just a few. The articles also illuminate bigger issues such as acculturation (of both the Mongols and their subjects), Islamization, family relations, ethnicity, imperial administration, and scientific exchange, as well as historiographical questions. The volume's title refers to *In the Service of the Khan*, published by Igor de Rachewiltz *et al.*,¹¹ but while the original book dealt with some of the main actors of the Mongol imperial enterprise, our volume focuses on second or third-tier elites, most of them hitherto not widely discussed (if at all) in the research literature. These assembled annotated biographies not only add new primary sources – translated from Chinese, Persian and Arabic – to the study of the Mongol Empire, but also provide us with important insights into the social history of a period unique in its rapid transformations.

The second biographical collection, which I edited together with two former project members Dr. Jonathan Brack and Dr. Francesca Fiaschetti, and which has just been submitted to California University Press, is titled *Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia: Generals, Merchants, Intellectuals*. Addressed to both scholars and students but catering specifically for classroom needs, the volume illustrates life along the Silk Roads by focusing on the individual stories of members of three, sometimes overlapping, elite groups – military commanders, merchants, and intellectuals – both male and female – from across Eurasia. The individuals featured in the volume again came from diverse backgrounds and ethnic compositions. They include Mongols, Chinese, Muslims, Qipchaqs and Europeans. Their personal experiences elucidate aspects of Eurasian cross-cultural contacts and physical and social mobility, from the formative years of Chinggis Khan (r. 1206-27) until the empire's collapse during the second half of the 14th century. It evinces some of the types of migrations characteristic of Mongol Eurasia (e.g., temporary and permanent relocation; coerced, impelled and voluntary migration; individual and collective mobility; as well as refugees, labour and student migrations); illustrates the scale, diversity, and creativity of the cultural and economic exchange along the Mongol Silk Roads, and offers a compelling starting point for any discussion of the Mongol Empire's impact on China, the Muslim world, and the West.

Most of the project's publications can be classified as dealing with meso-history, namely located between the micro and the macro, while tackling issues relevant to the project's themes, such as migrations – of tribes,¹² ethnicities,¹³ merchants,¹⁴ astronomers,¹⁵ musicians,¹⁶ and captives¹⁷ in various contexts; imperial institutions, such as Mongol diplomacy,¹⁸

11 Rachewiltz *et al.*, *In the Service*

12 Landa, *Eurasian Migrations*; Landa, *From Mongolia to Khwarazm*; Landa, *Oirats in the Ilkhanate*.

13 Biran, *Mongols and Nomadic Identity*.

14 Gill, *Commerce in the Ilkhanid State*; Qiu, *Mission of Fakhr al-Dīn*; Qiu, *Background and Aftermath*.

15 Yang, *Like Stars in the Sky*; Yang, *Reading the Yuan Sky*; Yang, *Networks of Astronomers*.

16 Biran, *Music in the Conquest of Baghdad*.

17 Biran, *Encounters among Enemies*.

18 Fiaschetti, *Six Duties*, Fiaschetti, *Tradition, Innovation and Construction*; Fiaschetti, *Borders of Rebellion*; Fiaschetti, *Konzept des Auslandes*; Grinberg, *Foreign Policies of Janibeg*.

law,¹⁹ tax exemptions²⁰ and imperial sons-in-law;²¹ as well as migration of knowledge – both scientific and religious, with a special focus on astronomy²² on the one hand, and Islamization²³ on the other, but with reference also to »comparative religions«, namely presenting various religious traditions to different audiences – Mongols, Muslims or Chinese –²⁴ as well as to mutual perceptions of Islam and Muslims in China and of China in Iran.²⁵

My own work, apart from the items mentioned above and the macro-projects described below, has focused on several inter-related topics, namely Mongol and pre-Mongol Central Asia, in which emigration was a major phenomenon;²⁶ historiography;²⁷ and the cultural history of Ilkhanid Baghdad.²⁸ This last theme is also the subject of a future book, in which the city will serve as a microcosmos for analyzing the project's themes of migrations, cross-cultural contacts and imperial institutions. Baghdad's alleged destruction and revival will also be tackled, and its fate under Mongol rule will be compared to that of Hangzhou, the capital of Song China, under the Yuan government.

In the meso category, I would also like to highlight another soon-to-be published special issue, as well as several research projects (three PhD theses and two book volumes) prepared by project members.

Mobility and Transformation: Cultural Exchange in Mongol Eurasia, will appear in the *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* issue 62/2-3 (2019). The volume consists of an introduction and seven studies (by Michal Biran, Sheila Blair, Peter Jackson, Kim Hodong, David Robinson, Qiao Yang and Yokkaichi Yashuhiru), most of which were first presented at the project's first big conference in 2014 (A Joint Research Conference of the Institute for Advanced Studies and the Israel Science Foundation, titled *Mobility and Transformations: New Directions in the Study of the Mongol Empire*). Whether they encompass most of the continent in a comparative perspective (Kim, Blair, Jackson, Yang) or focus on its eastern (Robinson) or western (Biran, Yokkaichi) corners, they all share a holistic outlook of the empire, and highlight the impact of the Mongols' indigenous norms on the proto-global world of the 13th and 14th centuries.

19 Hodous, *Clash or Compromise*; Hodous, *Faith and the Law*.

20 Cho, *Negotiated Privilege*.

21 Landa, *From Mongolia to Khwarazm*; Landa, *Oirats in the Ilkhanate*; Landa, *Eurasian Migration*.

22 Isahaya, *Tārīkh-i Qitā*; Yang, *Like Stars in the Sky*; Isahaya and Yang, *Islamicate Astral Studies*.

23 Biran, *Islamization of Hülegü*; Landa, *New Light*; Shurany, *Islam in Northwest China*; Amir, *Sufis and Mamluks*.

24 Brack, *Mediating Sacred Kingship*; Brack, *Theologies of Auspicious Kingship*; Brack, *Mongol Mahdi*.

25 Isahaya, *Sino-Iranica*; Isahaya and Mitsuaki, *Persian Transcription*; Qiu, *The Mongol Empire in Sa'di's Poems*; Qiu, *Independent Ruler, Indefinable Role*; Qiu, *A Coup d'état*.

26 Biran, *Mental Maps*; Biran, *Mamluks and Mongol Central Asia*; Biran, *Scholarship and Science*; Biran, *Liao Dynasty's Relations with the Muslim World*; Biran, *Qarakhanid Eastern Trade*.

27 Amitai and Biran, *Arabic Sources*; Biran, *Non-Han Dynasties*.

28 Biran, *Music in the Conquest of Baghdad*; Biran, *Violence and non-Violent*; Biran, *The Fall and Rise*; Biran, *Baghdad under Ilkhanid Rule*; Biran, *Libraries, Books and Transmission of Knowledge*.

As for the dissertations that the project members are currently working on, all of them (namely the three presented here and the two in the macro section) began with prosopographic studies but developed into bigger questions. Vered Shurany tackles the Yuan army, trying to answer a simple but highly significant question: How did the Mongol army manage to unite China in the 1270s, a task that earlier nomads had never accomplished, and why, less than a century later, was this once formidable army unable to deal with Chinese rebellions and escaped back to Mongolia? Despite the obvious importance of the army to Yuan history, the issue has not been widely studied in either western or Chinese scholarship, partly due to the complex and piecemeal composition of this army. Shurany's project begins by analyzing the biographies of Yuan generals in the Yuan official history (and other sources) and then moves on to identify various components (e.g. princes, guards, navy) and institutions of the Yuan military machine, as well as their transformation throughout Yuan rule.

Matanya Gill's dissertation deals with Ilkhanid trade, highlighting the role of the *ortaqs* – merchants operating with the capital of a Mongol prince or courtier – in the complex commercial system that centered in Iran. Based on analysis of more than 250 biographies of merchants as well as the use of theories of pre-modern economic history, his work illuminates the global trade networks that the Mongols created, which covered the whole old world.

Or Amir's work belongs to the project's »Mamluk wing«,²⁹ which focuses on the study of the Mamluk Sultanate. Studying the relations between the Mamluks and their Sufi sheikhs, Amir analyses narrative, epigraphic and material sources, combining them with social sciences perspectives on holy men and cultural capital, to shed new light on social life in areas which hitherto received little attention in scholarship. He stresses the vast patronage Mamluk officers gave to Sufi shaykhs, which facilitated the further expansion and popularization of Sufism, and greatly affected the formation of vernacular Islam in the Mamluk peripheries such as Greater Syria.

As for the project's core post-doctoral fellows, Francesca Fiaschetti, who finished her PhD during the project³⁰ and is now turning it into an English book, explores aspects of Yuan diplomacy, military policy and ethnicity, with a special focus on the Yuan activity in south-east Asia. An important part of her work includes annotated translations of Chinese works, mainly the *Yuanshi* chapters on foreign countries (chapters 208-210), and the section on punitive expeditions in the *Jingshi dadian* (»Compendium for Ruling the World«), a 1330s mirror for princes (*Yuanwenlei* chapter 41). The research of Dr. Jonathan Brack, currently a Buber fellow in Jerusalem, examines cross-cultural contacts and exchanges across Asia and Iran, with a focus on the transmission of discourses on authority, sacral kingship and the afterlife during the period of Mongol rule and the early modern era. He is currently working on his first book manuscript titled *An Afterlife for the Khan: Chinggis Khan's Heaven and the Eurasian Cultures of Disputation*, which explores the lively inter-faith debates and intellectual inquiries at the Mongol courts in late medieval Iran within the broader narrative of inter-cultural

29 See e.g. Amir, *Religious Lives*; Amir, *Local Elite*; Mazor, *Rise and Fall*; Mazor, *Early Experience*; Mazor, *Topos of Predicting the Future*.

30 Fiaschetti, *Konzept des Auslandes*.

polemical encounters and exchanges across Mongol Eurasia. Through the rich polemical works of the Jewish convert to Islam and Persian vizier, physician and historian, Rashid al-Din (d. 1318), Brack examines how the inter-confessional encounters at the Mongol court, especially between representatives of the Sunnī and Shīī Muslim, Buddhist and Inner Asian religious traditions, led to experimenting with a new synthesis of sacral Muslim-Mongol kingship, extending his inquiry into the multi-confessional Mughal India (1526-1857).

Lastly, in the macro apart, I would like to introduce two other dissertations by project members, as well as my own forthcoming work. Ishayahu Landa's PhD project, submitted in early November 2018, deals with *Imperial Sons-in-Law (güregen) in Mongol Eurasia*, namely it tackles the highly selective and prestigious group of men who married into the Chinggisid family. They belonged to two groups: (a) military leaders who retained a certain segment of their tribal army and (b) vassal rulers (and in a few later cases also neighboring rulers). The tribal leaders were by far the more important group, and some lineages cemented multi-generational matrimonial alliances with the Golden Lineage from the days of Chinggis Khan up to the mid-late 14th century. Painstakingly following this unique group throughout the 13th and 14th centuries and in *all* the Mongol successor states, and based on sources in mainly Chinese, Persian, Arabic and Russian, Landa's work illuminates a unique segment of the Mongol elite, which in many cases eventually succeeded the Chinggisids. The study transforms our understanding of the organization of the Mongol army and highlights the uneasy balance between the commitment to Chinggis Khan's original policies and the practical needs of various rulers and *uluses* throughout the imperial span, as well as the shifts in nomadic identities under Mongol rules.

Yang Qiao's dissertation *Patronage, Politics and Astral Sciences in Mongol Eurasia* examines the interplay between the Mongol Empire and the astral sciences. The two questions leading the research are: How did the experts in astral sciences interact with each other and with the rulers in the Mongol Empire? How did the interaction shape the development of the astral sciences in the Mongol era? To answer them, she examines these interactions within the framework of the Mongol imperial mechanism of expert recruitment, the patronage networks, and bureaucratic, religious and educational institutions of the astral sciences, as well as critically reviewing the cross-cultural encounter of astral knowledge in a comparative approach, focusing primarily but not exclusively on Yuan China and Ilkhanid Iran. Shedding light on the interplay between empires and knowledge, and embedding the transmitted and received astral knowledge in its full social and cultural context, this work will significantly enhance our understanding of cross-cultural mechanisms in the different edges of Mongol Eurasia.

My own macro work includes, in addition to several general reviews of the empire's various aspects,³¹ one future book and two international enterprises. The book, under contract with Bloomsbury, titled *The Mongol Empire: Mobility and Transformation in the Pre-Modern World*, summarizes the project's insights. The core of the volumes analyzes specific aspects of mobility – of peoples (migrations), artifacts (economic globalization) and ideas (in the fields of science, art and cuisine; religions; collective identities; and political culture).

31 Biran, *Mongol Empire and Inter-Civilizational Exchange*; Biran, *State of the Field*, Biran, *Mongol Imperial Space*.

It highlights the multi-faceted character of cross-cultural contacts in Mongol Eurasia: not only were more elements involved in these contacts but often the interaction among them (e.g. between European and Chinese, Muslims and Chinese or even Christians and Jews) was mediated through Mongol concepts, thereby creating a multi-cultural negotiation. These cross-cultural contacts generated a quantum leap forward in knowledge – geographical, linguistic, commercial, scientific, artistic and otherwise – as well as greater Eurasian connectivity, caused first by the empire's expansion but continued and intensified by the extensive commercial, religious and scholarly networks that the Mongols promoted or facilitated. This connectivity, and the huge population movements that set the stage for it, resulted in two complementary phenomena. First, the creation of a common culture – material, political, administrative – across Eurasia, though with obvious regional variants, from which future empires later adopted various elements; and second, relativism of knowledge and religion, promoted by the Mongols' multi-cultural outlook, which favored the amalgamation of legitimization concepts, celestial insurance and second opinions. Such connectivity and relativism can result in various forms of exchange, including diffusion, syncretism, conversion, crosspollination, acculturation, competition, conflict, or none of the above. Yet they certainly broadened the intellectual horizons of the Mongols, their subjects and neighbors, and modified the existing modes of thinking across Eurasia. Moreover, such relativism and commonalities, combined with the long-distance commercial and financial exchanges including the growing role of maritime trade; the formation of new collectivities due to ethnic and religious changes; as well as the notion of universal empire headed by sacred kingship, were all instrumental in ushering in the transition from the medieval to the early modern world. Based on close readings in a wide variety of primary sources from both the East and the West, and a sophisticated synthesis of the burgeoning secondary literature on the Mongols, the volume offers a fresh, analytical perspective on this transformative period in world history.

Closely connected to the ERC project are two other »macro« enterprises, *The Cambridge History of the Mongol Empire* and *Comparative Study of Empires*. *The Cambridge History*, which I edit together with Kim Hodong of Seoul National University, again departs from the same rationale that guided the project, namely looking at the empire from a holistic perspective and in its full Eurasian context, as well as in its own terms, not only as a chapter in the history of China, Iran, Russia or Central Asia. This gigantic international enterprise includes two volumes, one thematic and the other devoted to sources. The first one includes the political history of the empire and its main successor states; thematic histories, which tackle issues such as institutions, the economy, religions, art, science, gender, ethnicity and the environment; regional histories of specific realms inside the empire (Mongolia, Rus, Siberia, the Caucasus); as well as external histories which discuss the empire's impact beyond its realm, on Europe, South Asia, Maritime Asia and the Arab Middle East. The second volume is devoted to sources for the study of the empire. The lion's share deals with literary sources, divided according to (17!) languages, while special chapters are dedicated to archaeological and visual sources. Both volumes have been prepared by an international team of scholars from Europe, North America and Asia, and certain chapters paired two (or more) authors to combine expertise in different edges of the empire. This challenging enterprise is due to be submitted to Cambridge University Press in early 2019.

The second macro project, funded by the Humboldt Foundation via my Anneliese Maier Research Award, deals with the comparative study of empires. Pursued together with Prof. Yuri Pines (HUJI), Prof. Dr. Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum (Freie Universität Berlin), and Prof. Dr. Jörg Rüpke (Erfurt University), experts on the Chinese, the Assyrian and the Roman empires

respectively, and dedicated to the memory of the eminent sociologist Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt (1923–2010), the project aims to offer a more systematic approach to empires than has been available to date. We have tried to single out common problems faced by imperial political structures worldwide and investigate how different empires in various parts of the world and in distinct periods of imperial formation tackled those problems. We cover intensively the five major civilization centers of the Old World (Near East, India, China, Inner Asia and Europe), the imperial formations in which developed through a certain degree of interaction and mutual fertilization. Whenever possible we add comparisons with imperial or quasi-imperial polities elsewhere (the Americas, Sub-Saharan Africa, and, of course, maritime empires), treating Eurasian empires roughly from the first millennium BCE to 1900 CE. The Mongol Empire, which brought together elements of various imperial traditions (Steppe, Chinese, Muslim) while its resulting complex imperial culture affected future empires across Eurasia – from Muscovy, the Ottomans, and Mamluks via the Safavids, Moghuls, and Uzbeks and up to Ming and Qing China – calls for such a *longue durée* comparative perspective that in itself highlights its diachronic uniqueness. The project is based on a series of topical workshops in which scholars working on different types of empires interact and explore a common set of questions. The first meeting, which took place in Erfurt on July 2015, was titled *All under Heaven? The Empire's Spatial Dimensions*. It analyzed both practical and ideological factors that prompted or limited the empires' expansion as well as the various forms of administration and representations of the imperial space. The second workshop, dealing with *Empires and Religions*, took place at the Freie Universität, Berlin on March 1–3, 2018, and discussed concrete examples for the ways in which empires and religions interact, how they inter-depend, and to what extent religions historically form an integral part of imperial enterprises. A volume based on the first meeting is currently under review at Cambridge University Press,³² and a few more are planned.

Apart from the database and the publications – completed and in progress – another important facet of the project has been the training of students. The project was implemented by an international team of emerging scholars. I established a young team, consisting at the beginning of the project of Israeli MA students together with international PhDs and post-docs. Although some of the students were very inexperienced at the beginning of our work, this allowed the core team to stay more or less throughout the duration of the project and work as a cohesive group that could learn together, share our experiences and provide feedback to one another. I placed a lot of emphasis on the linguistic skills – the team has been capable of working on sources in Arabic, Persian, Chinese, Russian, Mongolian, Latin, Japanese, Korean, Chaghatay Turkish and Tibetan in addition to the common European languages (French, German, Italian); and its members came not only from Israel, but also from China, Japan, Korea, the UK, the US, Germany and Italy.³³ While some of the international

32 Pines, Biran *et al.*, *Universality and Its Limits*.

33 The project's core members, whose dissertations were described above are Or Amir, Matanya Gill, Ishayah Landa, Vered Shurany, and Qiao Yang. In addition, the members also included Na'ama Arom, Jonathan Brack, Wonhee Cho, Soyoung Choi, Francesca Fiaschetti, John Giebfried, Ofir Haim; Florence Hodous, Rachel Hoffman, Kaiqi Hua, Geoff Humble, Yoichi Isahaya, Amir Mazor, Undinne Ott, Qiu Yihao, Wuhaanch (Wh Hanqi), Nicholas Welmsley, Yu Yusen, Daniel Zakrzewski.

students were rather challenging, others became key members of the project. Moreover, the international team enables us not only to work with multiple languages but also to combine a wide range of perspectives, skills, and sensitivities, and to study the Mongol Empire in a truly global way – as indeed it deserves to be studied.

The project conducted bi-weekly seminars in which members and guests presented their research, as well as various reading groups, led either by project members or the project's friends – and this is a good opportunity to thank Prof. Michael Lecker (Arabic sources); Prof. Yuri Pines (Chinese sources), as well as Daniel Zakrazevski (Persian sources), Dr. Wonhee Cho (*Yuandianzhang*), Dr. Yoichi Yisahaya (*Ta'rikh-i Wassaf*), Dr. Nick Walmsley (Chaghatay language) and Dr. Florence Houdos (Digital Humanities). The project enabled me to train and groom a group of talented students and post-docs, providing them with highly favorable conditions for pursuing their research including not only funding but also a supportive peer group, opportunities for presenting their research in local and international workshops and conferences, experience in organizing panels and workshops, and a chance to publish their own articles. I believe that quite a few of them will dominate the next generation of the scholars of the Mongol Empire.

Another major achievement of the project has been the globalization of the study of the Mongol Empire. The project convened two major international conferences, in June-July 2014 (*Mobility and Transformations in Mongol Eurasia*) and December 2017 (*Migrations in Mongol Eurasia*), as well as six smaller workshops, two together with the Humboldt Foundation (in addition to the comparative empires workshops described above): *New Perspectives in Inner Asian Archaeology: Between Nomad and Sedentary Cultures* (June 2013); *Science and Technology Transfer in Pre-Modern Asia*. (June 2014); *Diplomacy in the Age of Mongol Globalisation* (May 2016); *Towards a Digital Eurasia* (June 2016); *Animals in Mongol Eurasia* (February 2017) and *Networks, Regions and Institutions: Meso-Historical Analysis* (May 2017).³⁴ All these gatherings included scholars from both East and West, both established scholars and emerging ones. The 2014 conference, already mentioned, also included a summer school »New Directions in the Study of the Mongol Empire«, in which 10 leading scholars of the history of the Mongol Empire, all of them contributors to *The Cambridge History of the Mongol Empire* presented – in a session of 90-120 minutes each – the new and provocative aspects of his/her respective chapters, in front of their colleagues and a group of 25 carefully-chosen international students. Through these events – as well as through participation by the project's members in various other international gatherings – the project has created an international community of scholars of the Mongol Empire centered in Jerusalem. It fostered strong scholarly links between western (European, North American, Israeli) and eastern (from China, Korea, Japan and Mongolia) scholars of the Empire, encouraging East Asian researchers to present their scholarship in English. Simultaneously, members of the projects published not only in English but also in Chinese, Mongolian, Russian, Korean and Hebrew,³⁵ thereby significantly contributing to the creation of international dialogue in the study of the Empire. This community and dialogue has continued even beyond the project's

34 For details, abstracts and organizers see mongol.huji.ac.il. The proceedings of some of these workshops are also in process.

35 See bibliography.

formal ending: notably, the diplomacy workshop – a modest and focused event initiated by Francesca Fiaschetti and Marie Faveroux (Oxford), which enabled young scholars to introduce their research – encouraged its participants to convene follow-up workshops: I was the keynote speaker in the first such workshop, convened on May 2017 in Sofia, Bulgaria by Dr. Konstantin Golev, who participated in our diplomacy workshop, and devoted to Mongol Military history. Four project members and one former member also took part in this workshop that brought together mainly scholars from Eastern Europe. The May 2018 workshop on *The Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia* was organized in Seged, Hungary by Dr. Marton Ver, another participant of the diplomacy workshop and a frequent visitor to Jerusalem. There were fewer project members in Seged, due to the proximity of the workshop to the *Biennial Conference of Asian Studies in Israel* which took place in Jerusalem in the same month, also featuring quite a few Mongol panels manned by international guests.³⁶ However, another workshop is scheduled for spring 2019 in Vienna. These workshops are also one facet of the project's legacy.

In conclusion, the main impact of the project is that the study of the Mongol Empire now looks at the Mongols in their full Eurasian context and on their own terms, not only as a chapter in the annals of China, Iran, Russia or Inner Asia, but as a multi-faceted phenomenon in its own right – one that combined elements from various imperial traditions and made them its own – and which has had a broad and enduring impact on world history. In practical terms, this means that even scholars who work with only one corner (or language) of the empire now have to take into account the developments that took place in the other corners, while more students who are currently starting to explore the Mongols choose to study several languages (mainly Chinese and Persian) in order to pursue a holistic perspective.

Yielding publications that will be of interest to scholars dealing with multiple disciplines from regional studies (Chinese studies, Iranian studies; Middle Eastern studies; Inner Asian studies; European history and of course Mongolian studies) to world history, the study of migrations, cross-cultural contacts, comparative studies of empires, nomadism, conversion, transmission of knowledge; military history, the history of science, social history, cultural history, religious studies, as well as the digital humanities; training and grooming a considerable portion of the next generation of Mongol Empire scholars; and contributing significantly to the globalization of Mongolian studies worldwide, the project has left its mark on Mongolian studies and further afield. That said, however, despite its official ending on December 2017, the project is very much a work in progress. Its fully-fledged impact will become even clearer in the next few years when the several enterprises described above will be completed. Furthermore, the project's *database* will continue to yield fruits for years to come.

36 For details see asi18-huji.co.il/en.

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Greek into Arabic. Philosophical Concepts and Linguistic Bridges

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General aims

Hosted by the Università di Pisa as the Host Institution, with the Ruhr-Universität Bochum and the Istituto di Linguistica Computazionale of the Italian Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche as Associate Participants, »Greek into Arabic« was a five-year project funded by the European Research Council (*Greek into Arabic. Philosophical Concepts and Linguistic Bridges* ERC AG 249431).¹ The transmission of philosophical thought from Greek classical and post-classical Antiquity to the Arabic-speaking world was at its core. The translations² that allowed a cultivated Arabic elite to get acquainted with Greek philosophy and science between the 8th and the 10th cent. AD have been investigated from three interconnected viewpoints: (i) the in-depth analysis of a specific work emblematic of this transmission, (ii) the lexicographical issues involved in the process of inculturation of the Greek heritage, and (iii) the development of a specific tool in the field of computational linguistics. The synergy of philologists and historians of philosophy, lexicographers, and computational linguists was meant to reach a threefold goal: (i) the critical edition of the so-called *Theology of Aristotle*, (ii) the completion of the *Glossarium Graeco-Arabicum*, and (iii) the creation of a system for the alignment and analysis of Greek philosophical works and their Arabic medieval translations. While the first goal is still on its way to being achieved, the *Glossarium Graeco-Arabicum* has been completed, and the computational linguistics system has been created under the label *G2A*.

1. The so-called Theology of Aristotle

A pivotal text for medieval Arabic philosophical literature, the text entitled *Theology of Aristotle* in the manuscripts and alluded to under this heading by the Arab writers of the classical and post-classical age, is poorly edited: the two extant editions are based on few and random manuscripts. As the first step towards the critical edition, »Greek into Arabic« was engaged from the outset in searching for the manuscripts of this work in the libraries of various

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Duration: 2010-2015; for further information on the project and the team members please consult the project website: www.greekintoarabic.eu.

2 Endress, *Die wissenschaftliche Literatur*; D'Ancona, *Greek into Arabic*; D'Ancona, *Greek Sources in Arabic and Islamic Philosophy*.

non-European countries (Egypt, Syria, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Uzbekistan, and India). The missions conducted under the aegis of »Greek into Arabic« raised the number of the manuscripts from the two that were known to the editor of the *princeps* F. Dieterici³ and the eight known to the 20th-century editor 'A. Badawī⁴ to the 95 known at present. This number will, in all likelihood, increase after examination *in situ* of the libraries of Calcutta, Hyderabad, Patna and Rampur, something that proved not to be possible during the lifetime of the project, because visits to these libraries have been hampered by a lack of cooperation on the part of the local staff. In contrast, in the countries where our missions were welcomed, and chiefly in Iran, they were exceptionally fruitful: we discovered many manuscripts of the *Theology* that were previously unknown. This means that in all likelihood the real number of the manuscripts of the *Theology* exceeds 100.

A short account of what the *Theology of Aristotle* is and why it was so important is in order now. It goes without saying that the high number of manuscripts speaks for its importance, but also the fact that towering figures like Avicenna commented upon it, is telling. The influence of the *Theology of Aristotle* was pervasive in the works of most of the main *falāsifa*. The plural of *ḥaylasūf*, this loan word from φιλόσοφος hints at the fact that Arabic philosophy was (and was perceived as) rooted in the Greek works translated. The latter form the core of »Greek into Arabic« and the *Theology of Aristotle* is a case in point, as a blatant example of an inculturation that went as far as transforming Aristotle into the *ḥaylasūf* who, albeit unaware of any prophetic revelation, championed the main tenet of the Muslim faith: the divine Oneness (*tawḥīd*).

The *Theology* is obviously not by Aristotle, even though it circulated under his name: rather, it is a heavily adapted translation of parts of Plotinus' *Enneads*, created no later than in the '40s of the 9th cent., when the philosopher al-Kindī »corrected« for his pupil Aḥmad, the son of the caliph al-Mu'taṣim (r. 833-842), a text translated from Greek that allegedly contained the »Theology« by Aristotle. Instead, selected parts from *Enneads* IV (on the soul), V (on the intelligible world) and VI (in the One) were translated and adapted. Thus, the »Theology« was meant to expound »Aristotle's« doctrine of the causality of the unique First Cause, and the degrees of the hierarchy of principles beneath it: the Intellect, and the cosmic soul. As such, the *Theology* counts as the most important example of that cross-pollination of Aristotelianism and Neoplatonism that is in many respects the hallmark of Arabic-Islamic philosophy in its classical age. The Neoplatonic One and the Aristotelian Unmoved Mover were merged together and presented as the philosophical counterpart of the unique God of the revealed Qur'ān.⁵

Our main endeavour at the beginning of the project was to organize missions in search of the manuscripts. The first mission to Iran (Tehran and Mashhad) resulted in obtaining reproductions of twenty-seven manuscripts. The mission to Turkey (Istanbul and Ankara) enabled us to obtain reproductions of all the manuscripts of the *Theology* housed there. We also got reproductions of the two manuscripts housed in Damascus, and of all of the manuscripts housed in Cairo. We were also able to obtain reproductions of manuscripts from Najjaf (Iraq) and Tashkent (Uzbekistan). A second mission to Iran resulted in acquiring reproductions of nine manuscripts. Each of these missions revealed the existence of manuscripts that were

3 Dieterici, *Theologie des Aristoteles*.

4 Badawī, *Aflūṭīn 'inda l-'arab*.

5 D'Ancona, *The Theology Attributed to Aristotle*.

unknown to us before, thereby prompting us to organize new missions both to Tehran and to other places in the country (Mashhad, Qom, Isfahan, Shiraz, Kashan, and Yazd). A third mission to Iran yielded reproductions of twenty-three further manuscripts. Together with the manuscripts of the *Theology*, several other works of the Graeco-Arabic tradition of philosophy and science have been reproduced and at present form a digital archive that has already been put into the service of the scholars working in the field.

All 95 manuscripts of the *Theology* and related materials that have been acquired thanks to these missions have been examined in detail in order to reach a first assessment of their date, provenance, and circulation. Very few of them date from the 15th and 16th centuries, while the great majority dates from the 17th century, and some from the 18th century. Taking into account that most manuscripts are of Persian origin and still belong to collections of Iranian libraries, one must conclude that the main spread of the *Theology* was in Persia during the Safavid age. The prosopographical information, the historical study of the circumstances in which the Safavid and Qajar copies of the *Theology* were commissioned and accomplished, and, finally, the inventory of the other texts associated with the *Theology* in the manuscripts shed light on the influence of this work and, more generally, of Graeco-Arabic philosophy in Persia.⁶

This historical research was accompanied by the collation, and the very success of the missions resulted in a reiterative questioning of the provisional *stemma codicum* as the new entries were examined. Together with the high number of manuscripts, this accounts for the fact that the critical text is still in the process of being established. Notwithstanding this, some facts have been ascertained that can be summarized as follows: 1. The textual tradition of the *Theology* is unitary, i.e. all the extant manuscripts derive from one single archetype, now lost, that was in itself marred by a number of errors shared by all of them. 2. The textual tradition is bipartite: two main families have been detected, one of them formed by the great majority of the manuscripts, and the other formed by only five of them. The variant readings of both families are necessary for the establishment of the text. 3. All the Iranian manuscripts belong to the more numerous family. 4. Of the five manuscripts of the small family, two that are the most ancient testimonies of the entire textual tradition were in all likelihood copied at the court of Mehmed II (r. 1451-1481).

The critical edition is accompanied by a volume of *Prolegomena*, with essays on the transmission of the *Enneads* from Rome to Baghdad, on the Arabic translation, its milieu and technique, on the adaptations that transformed the Arabic Plotinus into the *Theology of Aristotle*, on the other texts issued from the Arabic version of the *Enneads*, on the reception of the *Theology* by al-Fārābī, the Ismaili authors, Avicenna, al-Suhrawardī and other post-Avicennian thinkers, as well as on the Latin version of the *Theology* during the Renaissance, and finally on its revival in Safavid Persia.

6 Di Branco, The ›Perfect King‹ and his Philosophers.

The Glossarium Graeco-Arabicum

Another path to the study of the translations from Greek into Arabic, and a very important one, is represented by lexicography. The *Greek and Arabic Lexicon* in the form of a reference dictionary of the Arabic translations of Greek philosophical and scientific source texts has been the starting point and material basis of research activities at the Ruhr-University of Bochum. Within the context of »Greek into Arabic« the process of transformation of the reference dictionary *Greek and Arabic Lexicon* into a new tool, the *Glossarium Graeco-Arabicum*, was successfully completed.

The *Glossarium Graeco-Arabicum* database has not only taken over where the printed publication left off, but is complementing the material presented here and enhancing accessibility to a wider range of lexical, grammatical and stylistic features of scientific language. In the first instance, the database was created for presenting the basic data compiled in our card files and additional material collected by the Bochum team. For this purpose, the full card file was digitized, and for each entry, searchable data were entered from the file cards, after having been checked and supplemented on the basis of the original source texts. The software platform was developed as an online MySQL database, and continues to be hosted by the TELOTA centre of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences, url: telota.bbaw.de/glossga. Since the start of »Greek into Arabic«, the principal development work has been the setting up of the database, programming the user interface and creating and enhancing sophisticated query, input and output facilities, accompanied by the data input.⁷ The database is meant to open up the full range of the terminology, and more generally, the grammar and style of scientific Arabic: registering the entire vocabulary of a total of 70 scientific and philosophical works dating from the 8th to the 10th centuries, a total of 95,500 records, thus documenting the language of scientific categorization and demonstrative discourse created by the translators and their Arabic readers. The authors of the 70 works mentioned above often used Arabic words in meanings different from those known from other branches of Arabic literature; they even coined their own derivatives and neologisms. In order to assess the precise meaning of each word, it is thus reasonable and methodologically sound to work on these texts by means of comparative lexicography. Our database is structured in the form of a bilingual reference dictionary and thus may also be used as a linguistic research tool for the investigation of the medieval translation movement from Greek into Arabic, as well as for the source analysis of the Arabic-Islamic sciences and philosophy building upon the translations. The task we set for ourselves was to make our materials, compiled in the earlier as well as in the more recent phase of our project, accessible in a searchable database. Further texts, edited recently and parsed in view of the Greek and Arabic correspondences, have been included. For many of the sources, the basic lexemes were supplemented by the relevant context and by comments regarding the translators' techniques and transposition.

All fields of the datasets are searchable through a database search engine. During the final period, our work has focused on the development of appropriate tools and techniques for visualization of the results of the search queries and on the creation of a user-friendly export function which provides the possibility to download or transfer via e-mail the results of any search query and the output of large subsets of data in the shape of lexical entries to be used for the continuation of the *Greek and Arabic Lexicon* as a printed work.⁸

7 Roeder, *Alpha* into *Alif*.

8 Endress *et al.*, *Griechische Wissenschaft in arabischer Sprache*.

The Research Infrastructure G2A

This part of »Greek into Arabic« was devoted to the creation of a system for the alignment and analysis of translations. The system *G2A*, url: g2a.ilc.cnr.it:8080/Teologia_Wapp/ViewByGreek.xhtml, is a research infrastructure designed to help scholars in the management of texts and translations. It has been created in line with the principles of the Research Infrastructures for Social Sciences and Humanities in order to meet the needs of a scholarly community interested in the transmission of philosophical and scientific texts from Greek into Arabic. As such, *G2A* pays special attention to the different structure of the sentences in both languages. Being aware of the mismatch that this difference in structure may generate, the ILC-CNR team has created a system that allows the Greek text and its Arabic version to be always aligned to each other, irrespective of the changes that may occur in the translated sentence. Another crucial point is that these changes have been carefully classified, taking into account the fact that some of the translations from Greek into Arabic are heavily adapted. This means that the differences between the original Greek sentence and its Arabic version are not limited to the different syntactical structure of the two languages, but can involve intentional changes. *G2A* has been designed to deal with a particularly difficult issue, because in the process of the creation of the *Theology of Aristotle* out of the Arabic version of the *Enneads* blocks of text were moved to a different place with respect to the original flow of the Greek. To deal with this difficulty, a module has been designed that is capable of aligning the Greek and Arabic texts even when the original flow of the text has been altered. Segmentation into semantically corresponding portions was the starting point for producing aligned sentences. The specialists in the field determined the exact boundaries of the Arabic contexts that provide, in literal or interpretive form, the corresponding contexts of the Arabic version. The interface has been designed in order to have the pericopes realigned, should the specialist consider it necessary. To this end, a specific module, »Pericope Boundaries Editor«, has been implemented: it allows the specialist to change the borders of the pericopes. Another important feature to which attention has been paid, is to allow the user to follow the original flow of the Greek text and see the corresponding Arabic translation or, vice versa, to follow the flow of the Arabic text and scroll the original Greek sentences. *G2A* also envisions the possibility of a synthetic evaluation of the translation of a given sentence by means of annotations. Having provided the specialists with a tool to organize their annotations according to keywords, in the phase of information retrieval *G2A* shows all the pericopes which present common traits. Thanks to a drop-down menu, the specialist classifies the Arabic rendering of the Greek term or sentence according to keywords like »literal rendering«, »amplification«, »omission«, »free rendering«, »misunderstanding«, which synthetically classify the annotation associated with the pericopes. On query, the system provides a synoptic vision of the set of the pericopes responding to the type of annotation requested. Thus, *G2A* offers not only all the usual search functions, but also a tool for evaluating the level of adaptation vs the literalism of a given translation.⁹

9 Bozzi, *G2A: A Web Application. Part I; Marchi, Part II. Towards a User Manual.*

»Greek into Arabic« has opened new vistas for research on the knowledge transfer between the ancient world and the Muslim and Christian Mediterranean area until the eve of the modern age, thus contributing to creating a general awareness of the common ground of intellectual discourse and rational argument endowed by the activities of generations of scholars that, irrespective of their language and religious allegiance, considered themselves as the heirs of Greek philosophy and science. What is of far-reaching and lasting consequence, and what even today provides a sense of unity among the civilisations emerging from two millennia of intellectual activity around the Mediterranean, is the rise of demonstrative science based on Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* as the model for correct reasoning and attainment of the truth. In this, and only in this, one could, in the view of the philosophers, find a safeguard of intellectual authority. Despite contemporary protestations of spiritual identity and intrinsic otherness, we would like to insist on this common ground and this common language, for which rich evidence is provided by the results of our project.

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Writing the History of Aristotelian Logic During the Long Ninth Century

Christophe Erismann*

Description of the Project

The project *Reassessing Ninth Century Philosophy. A Synchronic Approach to the Logical Traditions* (9 SALT),¹ funded for five years (2016-2020) by the European Research Council (ERC consolidator grant 648298) and hosted by the Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies of the University of Vienna, aims at a better understanding of the philosophical richness of ninth century thought using the unprecedented method of a synchronic approach. The hypothesis guiding this synchronic approach is that studying together in parallel the four main philosophical traditions of the century – i.e. Latin, Greek, Syriac and Arabic – will bring results that the traditional enquiries limited to one tradition alone can never reach. The ninth century, a time of cultural renewal in the Carolingian, Byzantine and Abbasid empires, possesses the remarkable characteristic that the same texts, namely the writings of Aristotelian logic (including also Porphyry's *Isagoge*), were read and commented upon in Latin, Greek, Syriac and Arabic alike.

The project studies, in a precise historical context, fundamental questions related to the human capacity to rationalise, analyse and describe sensible reality; to understand the ontological structure of the world; and to define the types of entities which exist. It provides a unique opportunity to compare different traditions and to highlight their common Aristotelian heritage, to stress the specificities of each tradition when tackling philosophical issues and to discover the doctrinal results triggered by their mutual interactions, be they constructive (scholarly exchanges) or polemic (religious controversies).

Logic is fundamental to philosophical enquiry, but it is also a powerful tool when used outside a strictly philosophical context. Logic is an extremely useful way to strengthen one's own position, by establishing conclusions through rational deductions and by proposing syllogistic reasoning, and also to undermine the position of an adversary in an intellectual or religious controversy, by showing that his opinion implies contradictions or absurd consequences. Studying occurrences of such uses of logical tools is, for the historian, a precious means to assess the place of rationality in public discourses.

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1 The principal investigator and project leader is Christophe Erismann. The following researchers have worked or are working for the project: Byron MacDougall, Adam McCollum, Philippe Vallat, Caterina Tarlazzi, Dirk Krausmüller and Benedetta Contin. Elvira Wakelnig and Jocelyn Groisard are associated researchers. The advisory board of the project is constituted by Claudia Rapp (Vienna), John Duffy (Harvard), John Marenbon (Cambridge), and Henri Hugonnard-Roche (Paris).

The history of logic in the ninth century consists mainly of the study of the reception and use of Aristotle's six logical writings (The *Categories*, *On interpretation*, the *Prior and Posterior Analytics*, the *Topics* and the *Sophistical Refutations*), also known collectively as the *Organon*, together with the introduction to the *Categories* (the *Isagoge*) written by the third-century philosopher, Porphyry. The first half of the project has been devoted to a careful reading and analysis of the logical texts written during the ninth century – here I use the term »logical texts« in the broad sense of »texts related to logic«; they may be exegetical works on Aristotelian treatises or any kind of discussion of their contents –, to a study of manuscripts containing either a part or the totality of the *Organon*, or commentaries on one of these texts by late ancient philosophers (such as Porphyry, Simplicius, Ammonius or Elias) copied during the long ninth century (including the study of glosses in the case of glossed manuscripts), and to an analysis of ninth-century texts using Aristotelian logic although their primary concern is not philosophical (this includes, for example, the numerous polemical theological treatises that use logical tools). This has led to reflections on what methods should be followed and on the nature of the object that is to be studied. In this short contribution, I would like to propose my (present) views about these two questions.

What constitutes the reception of an ancient text?

This project deals with an historical phenomenon, i.e. the reception of ancient and late ancient logical texts in various cultural milieus, during a precise time-frame: the long ninth century (a period which could respectively be characterized as early medieval in the West, as a part of the middle Byzantine period or as classical for the Arabic tradition). My guidelines and convictions are that we should adopt a far broader concept of reception in order to understand the real impact of a philosophical text on a given society than the one tacitly used in previous scholarship. The traditional approach in the history of philosophy to the reception of a text in a late ancient or medieval period is to list and study the commentaries written on that work; this is grounded in the assumption that commentaries are the main place of interactions with an ancient text. In the case of the ninth century, such a limited approach would give only a very partial view and lead to the conclusion that Aristotelian logic was of some interest but not central at the time, as we only have a very small number of exegetical works. To take an example: in the Byzantine tradition we can hardly mention more than a dozen *Amphilochia* on logic by Photius and a set of glosses by Arethas which are almost exclusively excerpts from late ancient commentaries by the Alexandrian Neoplatonists. A more inclusive approach gives a far richer and more correct representation. I claim that, to the study of commentaries, we should add three other categories which have to be considered. In order to offer a comprehensive representation of the reception of an ancient (Aristotle) or late ancient (Porphyry) logical text during the ninth century, four components have to be analysed:

First, it should include the study of the transmission of the logical texts themselves (in the case of Byzantium, the original Greek text; for the other traditions, its translation into Latin, Syriac or Arabic, the existence of which is indeed the first clear sign of interest in that text). The decision to have a work copied, given the expenses involved (including writing material and scribal labour), is itself not without significance; it is the proof of a positive assessment of the usefulness and importance of this given text. When a scribe, a scriptorium, a commissioner or a possessor can be identified, this information is very useful for obtaining a more precise depiction of the audience of logical texts: is the manuscript related to a monastic community, to a school or to a well-known scholar, for example Arethas of Caesarea and the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. Gr. 35 in Byzantium or Leidrad and the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pagès 1 in the Latin West?

In the same vein, it is interesting to study the other texts copied in the same codex (as long as the unity of the codex is proved paleographically and codicologically). Is the codex constituted by several Aristotelian treatises, the entire *Organon*, together with Porphyry's *Isagoge*? Or does it consist of a single logical text accompanied by a late ancient commentary? Or is the logical content mixed with theological writings? This last scenario indeed occurs more frequently in the case of logical compendia written for theologians. An interesting example of the phenomenon is a palimpsest manuscript in Athens, the Greek National Library 182 which contains in *scriptura inferior* (of the ninth century according to D. Harlfinger) John of Damascus's *Dialectica* together with commentaries on the *Isagoge* by Ammonius and on the *Categories* by Ammonius and Elias.² This gives information about the purpose of the study of logical texts: logic could be studied for itself in a philosophical approach³, as a toolbox for theology or religious controversies, or combined with rhetoric⁴ as a way to argue convincingly for one's own position.

The second component which should be incorporated into the inclusive approach to reception is the study of the textual vectors of the indirect transmission of the logical texts. This corresponds to a mode of reception which combines absorption and rewriting activity; it concerns abridged and simplified versions of the original treatise (compendia, handbooks), rewritten versions (paraphrases) or excerpts transmitted in lists of definitions of logical terms. These writings are part of the reception for at least two reasons: because they attest to a positive evaluation of the utility of the matter covered by the original text and because they often play a key role in the diffusion of the content of the logical writing in question. The *Dialectica* of John of Damascus constitutes the ultimate example of this literary genre. A proper analysis of the reception of Aristotle's *Categories* (the text) and categories (the doctrine) in ninth-century Constantinople should include not only a study of the reception of the text of the *Categories* itself, but also of the logical compendia (in the abridged version of the textual samples edited by Mossman Roueché⁵ or in the more extended version of the *Dialectica*) and of the late ancient commentators (Porphyry, Ammonius, Simplicius, Elias, etc.).

The third component to be studied is the set of testimonies for the use of the text. The most obvious manifestation of this are quotations which explicitly mention the name of the author, such as »Aristotle says that ...«, which are often quotes from memory (as such they are not necessarily citing the text exactly, but are a source of what was memorised); but often the use of logical text is anonymous and not openly endorsed (the origin of such a practice is related to the fact that Aristotle was a Pagan who defended doctrines antithetical to Christian views, and Porphyry a notorious anti-Christian writer). This does not mean that silent quoting or use of given concepts could not be traced back. In the case, for example, of the use by Byzantine iconophile theologians of the Aristotelian doctrines of the homonyms on the one hand

2 See Melissakis, παλίμψηστοι κώδικες.

3 In that case the codex will contain mainly Aristotelian texts and late ancient commentaries; good examples of codices containing only logical texts are manuscripts in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, L 093 sup. of the end of the ninth century, in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. Gr. 35 and in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana gr. Z. 201 of the mid-tenth century.

4 On the question of the link between logic and rhetoric, see MacDougall, John of Sardis' Commentary.

5 See, for example, Roueché, Byzantine Philosophical Texts.

and of the relatives (*ta pros ti*) on the other, it is possible to identify both silent quotes and the use of determinate concepts. An interesting case is, for example, Arethas, who chose to refer to Aristotle not by his name, but through his origin («the Stagirite»), which makes the source of the reference to the Aristotelian doctrine of homonyms clear to the informed reader (ἡ οὐ τῆ τοῦ Σταγειρίτου πρὸς ἐντροπήν αὐτῶν χρήσασθαι δεῖ λέξει ὁμωνύμως τῷ παραδείγματι καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κατονομάζεται ἴνδαλμα'; 78.10-11).

The fourth, and more traditional, component is the inventory and analysis of the commentaries written on the text. Exegetical activity, which often reflects a previous teaching activity, is the most visible part of the polymorphous phenomenon of the reception of an ancient text. This exegetical activity could take the form of marginal glosses, (lemmatic) commentaries or short treatises discussing the text. The function of glosses and of commentaries is not the same. Glosses are present as a possible help to the reader or an additional development, like a quote from a late ancient commentator, which one can read or not. A commentary, however, is read *in continuo*. The presence of diagrams and their functions also has to be analysed.

The third point listed leads me to my second remark.

What counts as a logical text?

One major result of the project so far, which has consequences for the way in which the history of Aristotelian logic during the ninth century has to be written, is a reassessment of the nature of texts which have to be considered in the history of logic. A standard approach to the logical tradition (which one finds in histories of logic if they take time to consider the early Middle Ages, the Byzantine tradition or the Syriac texts, which are often neglected) does study the commentaries, glosses and all forms of exegetical texts on Porphyry's *Isagoge* and Aristotle's *Organon*. Such an approach is unable to give a proper account of the actual study and knowledge of logic during the century. It has now become apparent that one fascinating and central object of study consists of texts not *on* logic, but texts *with* logic. We would call this nowadays «applied logic», by which I mean the use of the practical art of correct reasoning, of proving a position, of showing the absurd consequences of the adversary's opinion, of deductive and inductive reasoning and of using terms and concepts from Aristotelian logic, such as concepts from the *Categories*, to elaborate one's own views on a question.

These texts which apply logic are extremely rich mines of information. They are more personal than exegetical works, as they are directly connected to the intellectual debates of the time, since logic is used to defend a position. They are also more original, as it is not a matter of reproducing traditional opinions, but of creating new arguments. Being more personal and original, they show better what the logical culture of their author has been than a reproduction of a well-codified exegesis.

If some elements of applied logic have been previously identified (though generally without proper study), none realised the extent, the importance and the richness of this phenomenon. To take just one example in the Byzantine tradition: logic is present in all the major theological debates of the century (the use of logic in theology is not an innovation of the ninth century as such and was already present in late patristic Christological disputes, but ninth-century authors applied logic consistently and to debates which were previously not addressed in a logical way). It starts with the major intellectual, political and theological debate of the time: iconoclasm. The massive introduction of logical concepts in reasoning in iconophile writers is the turning point of the controversy. This new theological methodology – for we can really use such a bold term for this new form of rational theology (the only prec-

edent, but with several differences, would be the late patristic Christological disputes) – will be further developed by Photius in his *Mystagogy*⁶ and by Niketas of Byzantium, a polemicist active in the second half of the ninth century, in his treatises against Islam. The latter claims that he bases his refutation of Islam on common concepts and natural (i.e. logical and rational) arguments and that he does not defend Christianity using the Scriptures.

The importance of applied logic can be observed in all the four traditions studied by 9SALT. For the Latin tradition, it is present in texts like Ratramnus of Corbie's *De anima* but also in the *Libri Carolini*, in which logic is used by the Franks as a way to establish their literacy. For the Syriac tradition, examples are numerous, but a striking example is the correspondence between Leo of Harran and Eliya. Numerous polemical treatises in Arabic (notably by Theodore Abu Qurrah and Ammar al-Basri) attest to the same.

Accomplished work

The first three years of the ERC project 9SALT have been very intense, fruitful and productive. The greatest satisfaction is the confirmation of the philosophical richness and the variety of texts under scrutiny, i.e. Greek, Syriac, Latin and Arabic ninth-century logical texts or writings dealing with Aristotelian logic. After a long process of translation and a doctrinal analysis, it is clear that this material has a lot to offer both in itself⁷ and in a comparative reading, confirming the relevance of the synchronic approach.

The team has carefully considered manuscripts containing logical texts in the various traditions, copied during the ninth and early tenth centuries in the Carolingian Kingdom, in Byzantium and in the Syriac-speaking communities (the preserved Arabic manuscripts of logical texts are chronologically posterior). This is fundamental to understanding how logic was read, studied and transmitted. Only an inclusive approach summarizing the information in the way in which texts were transmitted gives us the opportunity to describe trends in the modalities of transmission (for example, whether the texts were copied by excerpts or in their entirety, alone or with other texts, whether the text is the original version or a paraphrase and, more specifically, whether the entire *Organon* was copied or only some texts and if so, whether the combination of texts is always the same). A reader faced with an entire copy of the *Organon* and one facing a summary of the *Categories* will not have the same impression of what logic is. It is significant to know the size of the manuscript, if it is a composite manuscript gathering logical texts with others writings, if there are glosses or diagrams in the margins. Forthcoming results of this enquiry include a careful study by Adam McCollum of the Syriac manuscript Vatican Sir. 158 (a remarkable collection of logical texts in Syriac), an exhaustive study of the early medieval Latin transmission of Porphyry's *Isagoge* by Caterina Tarlazzi, and a study of several Byzantine manuscripts including logical texts or texts using logic from the end of the ninth century. For Byzantium, this allows us to document the very interesting practice of excerpting arguments, which has, until now, never been studied.

6 As for Photius's use of logic in his *Mystagogy*, see Erismann, *Theological Dispute, Logical Arguments*.

7 See, for example, Erismann, *Photius and Theodore the Studite on the Humanity of Christ. A neglected Byzantine discussion on universals*; *ibid.* Meletius Monachus on individuality; *ibid.* *Ontologie et logique*; *ibid.* *Venerating Likeness*; *ibid.* *On the Significance of the Manuscript Parisinus graecus 437*.

An interesting case is constituted by a section of the *Antirrhethici* (i.e. Nicephorus's doctrinal answer to iconoclast ideology as theorized by Constantine V), in which Nicephorus gives ten arguments, in a syllogistic form, to show the superiority of the image of Christ over the representation of the Cross. These ten arguments were first integrated in a tenth-century manuscript – a remarkable codex containing treatises by Maximus the Confessor, Theodore of Raithu, John of Damascus and Theodore Abu Qurrah – the Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana Q 074 sup., folio 247v to 250v. The ten syllogisms were then to appear in at least six manuscripts, often entitled *On the Difference between the Image of Christ and the Cross*, between the eleventh and the twelfth century (Moscow, Sinod. Gr. 467 – Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana gr. III.017 – London Lambeth Palace Library, Sion L40.2 G06 – Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Allacci 38, and the Vaticanus Graecus 2198), followed by at least eight more recent copies. It seems likely that the reason for the success of Nicephorus's ten syllogisms about the image of Christ and the Cross is related to the method of which they are an illustration. They can be taken as teaching examples of a rational and logical defence of a theological position, and a masterful application of Aristotelian logic to the theological discourse.⁸

As planned, a significant part of the first years of the project has been devoted to the selection, translation and analysis of suitable texts. A point which applies to all the traditions studied may be mentioned first: translation is always the first step in philosophical analysis. Before being able to reconstruct and analyse arguments, a careful translation, which respects the specific characteristics of the conceptual vocabulary used, is needed. For this reason, considerable effort was devoted to creating a set of working translations of key texts. A selection of these translations will be published in an anthology of logical texts and will, without doubt, constitute an important and useful result of the project (the publication is foreseen in the series *Liverpool Translated Texts for Historians*). The book project is entitled *After Alexandria: Syriac, Byzantine and Arabic Christian Logical Treatises from the Sixth to the Ninth Century* and will offer an extensive selection of short logical treatises, handbooks or compendia – ranging from two to forty pages in length – and of self-contained sections of longer texts, which have often also been transmitted independently in the manuscript tradition, written between the sixth and the ninth century. These texts, written by Christian authors in Greek, Syriac and Arabic, offer an in-depth perspective on a phenomenon characteristic of the eastern Mediterranean world throughout this period: a sustained interest in the teaching and study of logic. The treatises vary in nature and include teaching materials, compendia covering one aspect of logic or offering a summary of several books of Aristotle's *Organon*, logical sections of theological texts, collections of definitions and short treatises focusing on one specific question.⁹ The chronology adopted for the choice of texts to be translated was

8 On this, see Erismann, Nicephorus I of Constantinople.

9 The volume will contain: Paul the Persian, *Logic* (Syriac) – Sergius of Reshaina, *On genus, species and individuality* (Syriac) – Heraclianus of Chalcedon, all the surviving fragments (= § 42-43 of the *Doctrina Patrum*, Greek) – Leontius of Byzantium, *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos* (Greek, first section) – Pamphilus, *Chapters* (Greek, nos. 1 and 2) – Theodore of Raithu, *Proparaskeue* (Greek, the second section) – Leontius of Jerusalem, *Contra Nestorianos* (Greek, selected excerpts) – Maximus the Confessor, *Letter XV, On common and proper, that is essence and hypostasis* (Greek) – »Maximus the Confessor«, *Opuscula theologica et polemica XIV and XXIII* (Greek) – Anastasius Apocrisiarius, *Epistula ad monachos Ascalonitas* (Greek, first part) – Anastasius Sinaiticus, *Hodegos* (Greek, section on definitions) – Jacob of Edessa, *Encheiridion* (Syriac) – Anonymous (ed. Roueché), *Logical compendia* (Greek) – John of Damascus, *Institutio elementaris* (Greek) – Pseudo-Athanasius, *Sermon on annunciation* (Greek, first part) – Theodore Abu Qurrah, *Distinction and clarification of the terms used by philosophers* (Greek), Photius, *Amphilochia 138 On Substance* (Greek) – Ibn Bahriz, *On the definitions of logic* (Arabic).

voluntarily wide, going back to the sixth century. The main argument for this choice is that if one wants to understand properly the specific characteristics of the ninth century, one needs to have a proper representation of the situation in the centuries before. The changes occurring during the ninth century will only become clear if one knows what the situation was like before.

As the results of research have to be diffused and are enriched by critical discussion, three international conferences¹⁰ have been organised in Vienna with the participation of distinguished scholars from various fields:

- »Theodore the Stoudite. Intellectual Context, Logic, and Theological Significance« (University of Vienna, 9-11 March 2016)
- »Understanding Individuality and Depicting Individuals in Ninth Century Byzantium« (University of Vienna, 1-3 March 2017)
- »Arguing Against. Logical Reasoning and Arguments in Religious Controversies (8th-10th Centuries)«, (University of Vienna, 28 February-2 March 2018).

Expected results

Numerous results are expected by the end of the project in 2020. They are of three kinds.

First, a new narrative of the history of logic during the ninth century. The traditional description includes only the analysis of the exegetical work done during the ninth century on Aristotelian logical texts. 9SALT takes into consideration a lot more material, by including in its study writings which are not primarily philosophical but in which logic is abundantly used. The consideration of this material allows a more detailed and precise picture, and a better evaluation of the role of logic, the level of scholarship and the logical culture of the main thinkers of the century. This aim will be fulfilled through research articles and a monograph by the principal investigator.

Secondly, the use of the unprecedented synchronic approach will facilitate a deeper understanding of the positions held at the time, a clear identification of the a priori postulates (proper to each tradition) of the philosophical debates, and a critical evaluation of the arguments used. This will be done through a comparison of the way in which philosophical problems are answered in the different traditions.

Third, the new attention devoted to texts that have never before been translated in English or any other modern language, in some cases including editions of the text in the original language. This will notably be accomplished by the previously mentioned anthology of logical texts in translation.¹¹

10 For the programme of these conferences and a list of the talks given by the principal investigator and the project members, see www.univie.ac.at/9salt/index.php?seite=events.

11 I would like to express my gratitude to Christian Gastgeber for his helpful comments on this report and to thank Ingrid Hartl for her remarks.

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The THESIS Project

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In 2012 the project THESIS (Theology, Education, Scholastic Institution and Scholars-network: dialogues between the University of Paris and the new Universities from Central and Eastern Europe during the Late Middle Ages) was awarded the ERC starting grant no. 313339 for the period 2012-2018,¹ having as the host institution the *Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes* of the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* in Paris.

For many centuries, the tradition of lecturing on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard was an essential part of mainstream intellectual life, forming the educational cornerstone of medieval faculties of theology, until this work was dethroned in the sixteenth century in favour of the *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas. Of the three postgraduate subjects at the medieval universities, law (canon and civil), medicine and theology, theology was unquestionably the queen. Upon completing their studies in the liberal arts and philosophy, the greatest intellects of the era – Aquinas, Bonaventure, Ockham and so forth – continued their training in theology, culminating in their lectures on the *Sentences*. These lectures both required and provided an opportunity to display all the knowledge and skills gained in their decades of schooling in logic, ethics, metaphysics and even natural philosophy. A medieval set of questions on the *Sentences* is thus the unique equivalent of our modern PhD thesis.

Although the tradition of questions on the *Sentences* was a global phenomenon in the history of ideas in the Middle Ages, little research has been carried out on late medieval *Sentences* questions. Yet the corpus of these texts reveals the significant doctrinal innovations of the time, giving us access to the long-term developments in and achievements of late scholastic thought. The systematic theology of the universities of this era forms a bridge between the better-known noetics of the period before the Black Death and later movements, such as Renaissance Humanism, the Reformation and the Scientific Revolution. Erasmus, Luther and Copernicus were, after all, products of the universities. A better understanding of the leading genre of theological discourse helps reveal the impact of theological reflection on the emergence of these new intellectual trends. The study of these texts is also crucial for a greater awareness that the main aim of the university as the medieval institution par excellence was to produce a system of knowledge based mainly on a doctrinal dialogue, attempting to harmonize philosophy and theology by incorporating into the theological discussion epistemological, ethical, logical and scientific notions from very eclectic sources in the Greek, Arabic, Hebrew and Latin traditions, such as Aristotle, the Bible, Augustine, Averroes and Avicenna.

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1 The project had an extension of 10 months due to the amount of new information discovered during the research.

At the end of the fourteenth century – in 1391, to be exact – Jean Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris, wrote a brief question entitled *Pro unione Ecclesiae* wherein he showed himself to be very confident concerning the place of the University of Paris within the European intellectual landscape. For this reason, he remarked that »In no other college are there doctors as famous as those who are in the University of Paris, especially in theology«.² Gerson was doubtless unaware that to the east of France, around the same time, Henry of Langenstein, a famous German theologian educated in Paris, expressed a contradictory opinion when he asked the following rhetorical question in a letter addressed to the duke of Bavaria: »Why is it that the universities of France are breaking up, that the sun of wisdom is eclipsed there? Learning withdraws to light another people. Are there not now four universities (Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg and Cologne) shining in concert with rays of glorious truth?«³ For various reasons, the dialogue between the University of Paris and the new universities of Central Europe has received very little attention so far: late medieval scholastic theology is still considered a decaying movement, to be overtaken by humanism, reform, and scientific revolution; the fragmentation of tertiary education with the founding of numerous new universities on the ›periphery‹ is still understood to entail little intellectual development of pan-European importance before the advent of printing; and the extreme complexity of distinguishing the innovative from the derivative in late medieval texts deters scholars from an investment of time and energy that might prove fruitless. Nevertheless, a complete study of the *Sentences* questions produced in Paris and in the new universities helps explain the continuities and the discontinuities in the tradition of the medieval universities and, pushing the frontiers of research, it contributes considerably to changing our perceptions about the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries as a decadent period.

The main objective of the THESIS project was a pioneering study of a corpus of over 500 manuscripts, all containing questions on the *Sentences* composed between the mid-fourteenth and mid-fifteenth centuries. On rare occasions, some of these works had drawn the attention of researchers, but the majority of them had never been studied. The size of the corpus and its philological, codicological, historical and philosophical ramifications make this an innovative project in the field, which gives access to a European cultural patrimony that is still unexplored, often found in libraries that are largely inaccessible to scholars from the West, notably in Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria.

This investigation aimed to offer new information concerning the intellectual atmosphere inside European universities in an attempt to respond to various historical questions:

How do the *Sentences* questions of this period lead to the formation of a European university identity?

Who are the masters of the time?

What is the importance of a set of questions on the *Sentences* (the modern PhD thesis) in the development of an individual's intellectual career in the late Middle Ages?

What are the relations and exchanges between the University of Paris and the new universities of Central Europe?

2 Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Glorieux, vol. VI, 14.

3 Thorndike, *University Records*, 254.

Which are the works on the *Sentences* acquired (by purchase and thus at the request of the readers) in the university libraries of this epoch and in this area of Europe?

What are the cultural exchanges between secular clerics, monks (Cistercians) and friars (Dominicans, Augustinians, Franciscans, Carmelites)?

How do the religious orders constitute an important factor in the formation of a network for the transfer of knowledge in the universities?

How can we explain the increasing presence of Cistercian and Augustinian authors (more than 40% of the production of commentaries from this period seemed to belong to Cistercian authors and 30% to Augustinians)?

In adopting the model of the University of Paris, how do the new universities of Central Europe innovate and clear the way for a new phase in the history of European universities?

The THESIS project tried to respond to these questions on the basis of a meticulous study of the manuscripts and of the context of their production and their reception.

None of these texts has been critically edited in its entirety, and even the fragments that have been printed are few. For this reason, this part of the history of late scholasticism has never constituted the focus of scientific attention or a field of research.

The vast majority of relevant manuscripts are dispersed in the libraries of Europe, many in Eastern Europe. Many of the libraries of Eastern Europe, for example those of Romania, have no catalogues for their holdings, and until today it has thus been impossible to determine their scholarly potential.

The study of the given material requires a deep knowledge of codicology, palaeography, philology, philosophy and history. The goals in the study of this corpus were numerous. Identifying in this corpus a network for the transmission of knowledge entailed simultaneously opening up a new field of research in medieval studies. An interdisciplinary and multinational team contributed to reconstituting the dialogue that existed in the Middle Ages between Paris and Central Europe, since this reconstruction of the old cultural dialogue revealed the continuities and discontinuities that characterized the transfer of knowledge. The THESIS project analysed the texts from multiple angles: production, circulation, reception and cultural impact, and with multiple readings in order to shed new light on late scholasticism.

As an initial step, the THESIS project's goal was to produce a complete guide to the commentaries composed not only at Paris but also in the new universities of Central Europe, Cologne, Heidelberg, Leipzig, Krakow, Prague and Vienna, during a prolific period, starting around 1350 and going until c. 1450 (the so-called ›late scholasticism‹). The commentaries of c. 120 authors form the corpus, and they are preserved in over 500 manuscripts. We examined and classified all the material. This work was a preliminary investigation based on a very thorough paleographical and codicological study of the manuscripts themselves.

The THESIS project took into consideration the transmission of these university products, which allowed us to reconstruct their reception and to understand how they affected the European cultural landscape. These texts were copied very frequently indeed, and one and the same text might be copied either for use in an institutional context, in a community outside the university milieu, for example in the houses of the religious orders, or as a tool for personal needs, in which case it was integrated into a private collection and, eventually, in a ›public‹ library (colleges, convents and so on). In terms of the surviving number of manuscript witnesses, the popularity of these writings is so great that their study allowed us to trace the dissemination of intellectual knowledge, particularly through the network of universities of this era.

These texts have several common elements: the same literary genre, which is an asset for us in understanding the continuities and discontinuities in this type of discourse; the same doctrinal issues, which allow us to discern better any doctrinal particularities in late medieval thought; an abundance of surviving codices, which indicates much about their circulation and reception, and consequently the influence of some of them, for instance, the influence of texts copied at Paris on the products of Vienna; and a decisive impact on the formation and consolidation of academic practice in the new context of the universities of Central Europe.

Following the preliminary stage of transcribing specific texts (selected copies of them) from our corpus, the next logical step was to examine them in order to determine the innovative elements in the surviving texts from the period in terms of both form and doctrine. This was accomplished through a comparative reading of the texts, which revealed their hidden face, once we had studied the implicit and explicit sources of the corpus. We focused on the Prologues of these commentaries, since they constitute mini-treatises containing the essence of a given author's thought.

One of the main achievements of the project was the real discoveries concerning the number of manuscripts of the THESIS corpus. During our search in different libraries from Europe, in catalogues and private collections we considerably increased the number of known manuscripts. We can report here three relevant and impressive cases studies: Mihai Maga found 49 new manuscripts in the case of the *Sentences* questions of Conrad of Soltau (www.conradusdesoltau.thesis-project.ro); the PI and Christopher Schabel found 80 new manuscripts in the case of Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl; the PI attributed 10 new manuscripts in the case of James of Eltville. We managed to publish the results very quickly in order to provide the scientific community with these new data (see the list of publications under ›Output‹ on the website of the project: www.thesis-project.ro).

In the case of most of the authors of questions on the *Sentences* composed in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, whether at Paris or in the new universities founded in Central Europe, we did not even possess an accurate and complete list of the manuscript witnesses. For this reason, this corpus required investigations of a textual, codicological and palaeographical nature that would allow us to determine new attributions in the course of our research, more in line with historical reality.

A large number of manuscripts of the Cistercian James of Eltville's⁴ questions (*Sentences* lectures in 1369) have come down to us under the name of Henry of Hesse, or Langenstein. How can this be explained? The personal connection between James of Eltville and Henry of Langenstein is at the root of a historical confusion, due to the latter's stay in Abbot James' Eberbach Abbey.⁵ The following series of manuscripts containing James of Eltville's questions were falsely attributed to Langenstein: Erfurt, Univ. (Bibl. Amploniana) CA 2° 118; Klosterneuburg, Chorherrenstifts 304; Leipzig, Univ. 593; Milano, Bibl. Ambr. A. 106; München, BSB, Clm 11591; München, Univ. 91; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Helmst 230; Wien, ÖNB 4371; Wertheim, Ev. Kirchenbibl. 608. In his classic repertory, Friedrich Stegmüller cited and attributed all of these codices to Henry of Langenstein.⁶ For this reason, in 1966 Justin

4 Brinzei, *Enquête*, 247-262.

5 Shank, *Logic, University, and Society*, 141.

6 Stegmüller, *Repertorium*, no. 329, 154-155.

Lang asserted that Henry of Langenstein was the author of a double reading of the *Sentences*, namely a *Lectura Parisiensis*, found in MS Alençon, BM 144, and Wien, ÖNB 4319, and a *Lectura Eberbacensis* corresponding to the manuscripts that Stegmüller attributed to Langenstein.⁷ Lang also transcribed, in the name of Langenstein, the *tabula* found in MS München, BSB, Clm 11591. The PI compared this transcription with the *tabula* conserved in Paris BNF lat. 15896, ff. 208v-211 and confirmed the hypothesis of Damasus Trapp, according to which the questions in the Munich codex, Clm 11591, belong to James of Eltville.⁸ The only manuscripts containing Langenstein's authentic commentary turn out to be Alençon, BM 144 (books I-IV),⁹ and Wien ÖNB 4319 (books II-IV), and it is even possible that this text belongs to Langenstein's Viennese period and that it is not in fact a *Lectura Parisiensis*.¹⁰ In a publication from 2014, the PI showed that the whole misunderstanding originates with a medieval librarian's misattribution of a manuscript from the German family of Eltville's *Sentences* questions to Henry of Langenstein. Since this manuscript became the model for others in the dissemination of the text, all the ›German‹ codices of Eltville's text were attributed to Langenstein. Having analysed and collated all the manuscripts, today we can correct this confusion and demonstrate that there is only one version of Eltville's text. An in-depth examination of the doctrine and an edition of the questions led to the discovery that this text played a crucial role in the transmission of knowledge from the University of Paris to the University of Vienna, since five academic generations of professors in Vienna based their teaching in part on Eltville's model. The third volume of the *Studia Sententiarum* collection is dedicated to this author and to his legacy in Vienna, as a result of our research during project THESIS.¹¹

In addition, another complete manuscript of James of Eltville's text has been brought to light: codex Paris, BNF, lat. 15896 (former holdings of the Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne), even if the manuscript's explicit attributes it to a Carmelite rather than a Cistercian: *Jacobo Scoto de Alta Villa Ordinis Fratrum Beate Marie de Carmelo* (f 220r.). The questions of James of Eltville's contemporary, John Regis, had been falsely assigned to Jean Gerson (1363-1429),¹² who in fact left no written questions on the *Sentences*. Some manuscripts of Henry Totting of Oyta had been attributed to Henry of Langenstein.¹³ Two academic years after the *Sentences* lectures of Eltville, another important bachelor of theology was active, the Augustinian Denis of Modena, yet his work was printed by Poncet le Preux in 1511 under the name *Dionysius Cisterciensis*.¹⁴ Denis of Modena's *Sentences* questions, which in fact copy many of those of the Cistercian Conrad of Ebrach, contain revealing information about the philosophical and theological methodology employed at Paris during his studies.

7 Lang, *Christologie*, 62-64.

8 Trapp, *Augustinian Theology*, 252.

9 Damerau, *Sentenzenkommentar*, 23.

10 Shank, *Logic, University, and Society*, 127-128.

11 See Brinzei and Schabel (eds.), *The Cistercian James of Eltville († 1393)*.

12 Combes, *Notes*, 381-385.

13 Stegmüller, *Repertorium*, no. 336, 158-159.

14 Zumkeller, *Manuscript der Sentenzenlesung*, 73.

Our project intended to uncover misunderstood or unknown texts and to establish their paternity, following the notion that the history of ideas is sterile without the history of texts. Aside from the ›archaeological‹ investigation that the THESIS project proposed for all the relevant manuscripts, the study of their reception and the information that their texts transmit for the authors was a significant means of discovering their intellectual profile. Among these scholars are some of the most prominent figures of the era: a pope (Peter of Candia), cardinals (Pierre d'Ailly, Egidius de Campis), founders of new universities (Henry of Langenstein, Henry Totting of Oyta), a royal confessor (Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl for Duke Albert V), but in addition to these we learned about other important masters and the roles they played in European intellectual history, once our investigation had revealed their authority on the basis of their texts.

The project was extremely successful, due to some surprising discoveries with a great impact on our field. Some of these have already been published, consisting of 3,000 pages of publications: articles and critical editions. To this we can add circa 5,000 pages of transcriptions of incunabula of *Sentences* questions from the fourteenth century. These transcriptions were published online on the project website.¹⁵ The most relevant publications from the project are the following volumes: Iohannes de Basilea OESA, *Lectura Super Quattuor Libros Sententiarum, Super Primum Librum*, vol. I, *Super Primum Librum*, vol. II, and *Super secundum librum*; Godescalculus de Nepomuk OCist, *Theology as a Scientific Disposition in the Prologue of the Sentences of Godescal de Nepomuk*; *Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl and the Sentences at Vienna in the Early XVth Century*.

This last volume actually inaugurated the book series *Studia Sententiarum* with Brepols, a collection that project THESIS launched in 2014, inspired by the topic of the project. In 2015 this first volume was awarded the FIP prize of the University of Babes-Bolyai in Cluj-Napoca (Romania). The volume brings together five studies (by M. Brinzei, W.J. Courtenay, A. Dinca, C. Schabel and U. Zahnd) and some editions of texts stemming from a conference held in Paris on 14 September 2013 at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes on the occasion of the acquisition by project THESIS of the fifteenth-century manuscript TM 536 containing the *Lectura Mellicencis* of Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl.¹⁶ The volume provides a pioneering investigation of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Vienna after the new institution produced its first students. Taking Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl as our guide to this nascent academic milieu, the five contributors illuminate the university system at Vienna, describe the evolution of doctrine, identify the network of professors that developed the specific curriculum and trace the reception of the academic writings outside the university. Traditionally the history of medieval universities is based primarily on statutes, cartularies or other documents relating to the organization of the university as an institution. The volume inspects the underside of the iceberg and penetrates the academic context of Vienna by reading and editing the texts issuing from the practice of teaching. The individual contributions shed new light on the main pedagogical protagonists, measure the impact of the transmission of ideas between the Universities of Paris and Vienna and provide access to the community of scholars to whom this material was addressed.

15 www.thesis-project.ro/en/corpus.html.

16 See the workshop programme on the website: www.thesis-project.ro under ›Events‹.

Besides the initial objectives, we can add several new unexpected achievements: The launching of the book series with Brepols, which will focus on publishing studies on the tradition of questions on the *Sentences* (all texts from the THESIS corpus). Five volumes are planned for the next two years, all resulting from the THESIS project. So far, two other volumes have already been published and have begun to have an impact on our field: William O. Duba, *The Forge of Doctrine. The Academic Year 1330-31 and the Rise of Scotism at the University of Paris* (see the review of Jacques Verger in *Francia-Recensio*, 2, 2018) and, as mentioned, *The Cistercian James of Eltville († 1393): Author at Paris and Authority at Vienna*, edited by Monica Brinzei and Chris Schabel.

We have created a project website where we intend published more material in the future. We plan to develop this website as a database, where transcriptions of manuscripts will be available in open access. At present the website already hosts c. 5,000 pages of Latin transcriptions. For each of the authors from our corpus, the website also contains a separate website linked to his name, where we update the general bibliography and also provide a list of manuscripts and sometimes transcriptions of his questions on the *Sentences*.

In order to better understand the composition of the texts under investigation, we needed to develop some electronic tools to assist in the analysis of the text, for example, a toolchain for generating schematic representations for the logical flow of questions. This application, designed by Mihai Maga, is the schematic representation toolchain that takes as input a list of elements describing the logical structure of a *quaestio* (arguments, responses, conclusions, corollaries, etc.). It generates a bi-dimensional chart based on a tree model that facilitates examination of the argumentation, the relations inside the text and also the comparison between different questions and different authors. The toolchain uses LaTeX and generates PDFs. The main advantages are the speed of generating the representation, automation in computing logical relations, easy modifications, and typographic quality. This helps the members of the team to map out the structure of a prologue to show the paths of data and to understand the process of its composition. This is an important step in the process of interpretation of the THESIS corpus.¹⁷

Project THESIS organized four summer schools entitled *Meetings for Reading Medieval Manuscripts* (Colibita, Romania 2013; Paris 2014; Paphos, Cyprus 2016; Protaras, Cyprus 2017) and an on-going weekly Skype international seminar in which we corrected transcriptions and critical editions as a team while debating codicological and paleographical aspects of manuscripts from project THESIS. The result of the summer schools is that today five students have chosen as topics for their PhD authors and themes connected to the THESIS corpus.

17 For an example please refer to: conradusdesoltau.thesis-project.ro/CdS-S4S-Prol-structure.pdf.

Project THESIS succeeded in attracting the interest of some talented young scholars in texts from the corpus. Thus the work of editing new texts made real progress in our knowledge about the intellectual production of the universities from the second half of the fourteenth century and first half of the fifteenth. Texts by these authors have been or will soon be published as articles or volumes as results of project THESIS: Pierre Ceffons (C. Schabel); Andrew of Novocastro (A. Irimescu); Facinus de Ast (A. Baumgarten); Gottschalk of Nepomuk (A. Baumgarten, C. Schabel); Conrad of Ebrach (M. Brinzei, D. Coman, C. Schabel); Conrad of Soltau (M. Maga); James of Eltville (A. Anisie, A. Baneu, A. Baumgarten, M. Brinzei, L. Cioca, D. Coman, I. Curut, A. Marinca, M. Pantea, C. Schabel); John Regis (M. Brinzei, C. Grellard, A. Marinca); Henry of Langenstein (M. Toste); Denis of Modena (M. Brinzei, L. Cioca, C. Schabel); Peter Gracilis (V. Marcolino, J. Slotemaker, J. Witt); John of Wasia (L. Cioca); Pierre d'Ailly (M. Brinzei, C. Schabel, J. Slotemaker) and John Brammart (A. Anisie).

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Origins of the Vernacular Mode: Medieval Theology, Politics and Religious Identities

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»Origins of the Vernacular Mode« (OVERMODE) was an ERC Project granted to Pavλίna Rychterová in the year 2010. It was carried out from April 2011 until March 2017 at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Medieval Research (Host institution) and at the Institute for Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (second beneficiary).¹ The project aimed at a comparative study and a European contextualization of late medieval vernacular religious literature in Eastern Central Europe. Its main goal was to re-formulate several key research approaches pursued in Central and especially Eastern Central European historiographies, philologies and literary studies. It advanced methodological reflection in order to explore the full range of research questions for which vernacular texts can be used as evidence. It made a large body of sources accessible to the international scholarly community and it re-wrote some of the key historical narratives of Eastern European historiography.

The focus of the project on the political dimension of vernacular religious literatures in Eastern Central Europe proved to be very fruitful, especially for research on the dynamic of the Hussite reformation in the first half of the 15th century, and for research about the character of this revolt as a supra-regional phenomenon. Several approaches were formulated anew – on the vernacular biblical translations, on the multilingual character of the society in medieval Bohemia, on the role of the language as a symbolical representation of power, on the dynamic of the Hussite revolution, on the character of the participation of the laics in it as well as in the other reform movements, on the vernacular character of the reform propaganda, and on the strategies of social and religious identification in Eastern Central Europe. Thanks to the project, the research tasks pursued at both institutions were embedded in a dense international scholarly network of research projects on late medieval religious education and on medieval translation. The project has succeeded in turning the overall focus of medieval research in the respective area to the vernacular as well as multilingual texts and their social and political dimensions. It was shown, among other things, that the vernacular texts from the sources for the history of Hussite revolution are much more important than previous research assumed. The history of ideas has to be re-written with a new focus on

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1 ERC StG No. 263672 Origins of the Vernacular Mode. Regional Identities and European Networks in Late Medieval Europe; for further information on the project and the team members please refer to the project website: overmode.oew.ac.at.

these texts, which are to be regarded not only as witnesses of the lay education but as crucial works shaping the basic revolutionary ideology. The social role of vernacular religious educative literature in general may be re-defined using the example of the dynamic of the Hussite revolt. To enhance the visibility of the Eastern Central European material written in the vernacular was one of the goals of the project and thanks to the international scholarly network in which the project team members are active, this goal was fulfilled in a most satisfying way.

The research team was formed with regard to the scholarly disciplines necessary for the successful handling of the material. All the project members brought their specific expertise. Beside the PI, specialized in history and Slavonic studies, a PhD student specializing in Bohemian studies and literary studies was employed at the host institution as well as a PhD student specializing in Latin philology and Bohemian studies and a PhD student specializing in German studies and Polish studies. At the second beneficiary two post-docs and two PhD students specialized in history, codicology, and in Latin philology were employed. Both post-doc positions were part-time employment. This solution was chosen because of the different roles of individual members of the team – whereas the PhD students had to concentrate on their PhD theses, both the post-docs helped to coordinate the project part hosted by the second beneficiary together with the PI and ensure internal as well as external cooperation.

OVERMODE represented a major advance in our understanding of the translating cultures of late medieval Central and Eastern Central Europe. The project was organized by means of subprojects positioned on three different methodological levels: 1) subprojects for which the goal was to launch the methodological debate on the individual source types as well as to make the sources from Eastern Central European areas available for Euro-American research; 2) subprojects focusing on material crucial for better understanding the role of the vernaculars in genres, social environments, and socio-political developments of interest; 3) subprojects concentrating on the methodology of comparative analysis of European late medieval religious literatures.

All the subprojects addressed texts neglected by research up to now and/or lacking basic textual analysis. They were chosen with the purpose of enhancing the methodological and theoretical debate as well as questioning the prevailing historical and literary historical master narratives and filling a gap in historical and philological research. In all cases, a thorough study of the transmitted material, its classification, description (in several cases also edition), and contextualization in a European literary and social framework was necessary. The methodologies used in the examination of the material were therefore very traditional at first – well-established historical and philological methods of examining medieval texts, from the auxiliary sciences (especially paleography and codicology), from source critique, and from historiographical comparative analysis. These methodologies were the most fruitful in the project and in combination with the innovative approach chosen and the previously unexplored material they have gained a new importance. The methods used in translation studies and identity studies were crucial for interpretation of the material. The collaboration with the VISCOM and SCIRE projects in particular presented a methodological challenge:²

2 SFB F42-G18 Visions of Community. Comparative Approaches to Ethnicity, Region and Empire in Christianity, Islam and Buddhism (400-1600 CE) (VISCOM), website: viscom.ac.at; ERC AdG No. 269591 Social Cohesion, Identity and Religion in Europe 400-1200 (SCIRE), website: www.univie.ac.at/scire.

The research into the textual representations of social identifications developed on the early medieval source material was discussed with a focus on late medieval textual material comprising Latin and Central European vernaculars in all variants (monolingual as well as multilingual texts, translations, adaptations, etc.). The project contributed to the fast developing research field of medieval bi- and multilingualism. In the subproject »Latin Translations of the Czech Sunday Postilla of Jan Hus« the methodologies of code-switching in modern languages were applied. The editorial subprojects (»Biblical Apocrypha in Vernacular Reception of the Bible in Late Medieval Central Europe« and »The Vade mecum in tribulatione of John of Rupescissa in Seven Vernaculars«), with apocryphal texts for which a high variability is significant and with relevant texts in numerous vernaculars respectively, presented complex challenges to the editorial approach and brought methodological innovations in several respects.

Project Parts

The first subproject »Pursuing a New Order: Central European Vernaculars between Theology and Politics (14th–15th c.)« focused on the social dimension of late medieval translations in Central and Eastern Central Europe. It concentrated on the translations from the area of theology, ecclesiology, and religious educative (pastoral) literature in the German, Czech, Polish, and Hungarian vernaculars, and on Hebrew texts extant in the given area. The socio-political setting and impact of these translations was discussed with the aim of going beyond any biased and/or implicit presuppositions based on the previous literary historical narratives, to break through the spell of the master narrative – be it a historical or a literary historical one, and to create new space for Europe-wide comparison. The purpose of the subproject was to contribute to the debate on translation in medieval Europe and, based on the primary material, to overcome the West-East biases in the field. The results of the project are two collective monographs published in the Series »The Medieval Translator« at Brepols publishers.

The volume *Pursuing a New Order I. Religious Education in Late Medieval Central and Eastern Central Europe* discusses textual material from the given area which was previously unknown and/or neglected. The goal of the volume is to provide the reader with a first philological analysis, as well as a literary historical and historical contextualization. To meet such a goal required a detailed focus on the linguistic features of individual texts, on their stylistic qualities in comparison with their models and individual copies, and on their literary as well as historical context. The central question was whether, why, and how distinctive new communicative, literary and political cultures developed after the vernacular languages had acquired increasingly higher levels of literacy and education. The intensification of ambitions to transcend the social boundaries of the language, from what might be called everyday communication to a medium of ›high‹ culture and discourses that had previously been exclusively defined by the use of Latin, was strongly connected with ambitions to socially ascend on the part of non-elite or lower elite groups. The process of vernacularization of religious communication in the late Middle Ages was by no means linear or simple. Ambitious social groups could only specify their demands and negotiate old and new definitions of their social position when they were able to control the media and communicative tools of these negotiations on a high intellectual level. But this also means that the control of the vernacular as a new medium not only became increasingly important for groups or individuals to establish new social positions; it also became essential for maintaining the old. We also see members of established elites, like their upwardly mobile neighbours, actively participating in the process of vernacularization, or even competing in their efforts to define it, to give the first stimuli

for the translation of texts, a set of texts, or themes in order to define vernacular modes and codes of communication. The individual case studies mainly address theological and pastoral texts which a) translate and interpret the higher levels of philosophical and theological knowledge into vernaculars and therefore open these levels of education to the non-elite, b) introduce new topics into the religious and/or political debate on the threshold between Latin and the vernaculars, c) re-formulate existing ideas concerning the social order in general in the vernaculars, and d) interpret controversial philosophical and theological topics in vernacular languages, and therefore have an impact on the new understandings of the role of power in society. In this volume, each of the polities and literary languages are represented by one study concerning hitherto neglected textual material: translations were made from Latin into German, Polish, Czech, and Hungarian; as well as Hebrew, although so far only indirect evidence points to that conclusion.

The volume *Pursuing a New Order II. Late Medieval Vernacularization and the Bohemian Reformation* concentrates on the Hussite reform movement which formed in the first two decades of the fifteenth century in Bohemia; it used one of the vernacular languages of the realm, Czech, as a vehicle for the dissemination of its reformist ideas, and for the creation of a strong and stable basis for the reform. The leaders of the reform used existing strategies of identification to strengthen the group of adherents to an idiosyncratic interpretation of Scripture. They pursued a universalist goal but relied on local supporters. They were determined to build a community of true believers, of the ›faithful‹ in the terminology of John Wyclif, whose ecclesiological ideas they adopted. They saw in vernacular preaching a crucial way of securing the success of the reform. The vernacular therefore became a very important strategy of identification, able to bind the usually disconnected religious, ethnic, and political (regional) identities together and generate a very potent aggregate of identifications. The understanding of the vernacular language as the only ›genuine‹ language of the true (Hussite) faith was present in the movement from its beginnings, but it was never supported by an elaborated doctrine and as such it never gained overwhelming authority, very likely because communication with ›the enemy‹ had to be maintained, and the primary goal of the movement, the reform of the universal Church, had to be maintained even when it was clear that reform would remain confined to Bohemia.

Although the internationalization of Czech Hussite studies from the 1960s onwards provided innovative theoretical as well methodological inputs, religious texts produced in Czech in this context remained largely marginalized, confined to Czech literary studies and philology, both lacking international scholarly networks and struggling, as they still do, to counter prevailing nationalistic and vulgar Marxist models. Consequently, scholarly treatment of the given material has never made any headway. Many of the Czech religious and theological texts do not have any personal ›history‹, quoted mainly to illustrate preconceived judgements about their role in the development of the Czech language, identity, and literary production. By contrast, this volume aims to provide materials for a future history of the Hussite vernacular theology and to contribute to the transformation of the scholarly narrative(s) about the Hussite movement by including works of vernacular religious education among the most important source material.

Subprojects designed in the OVERMODE project as PhD theses concentrated on Bohemia during the reign of Charles IV as the multilingual heart of the late medieval Roman Empire. The PhD thesis of J. Sichálek, *The Old Czech Apocryphal Story of Joseph (Son of Jacob)*, moved to a new level the methodology of research on biblical translation in Eastern Central Europe. It formulated a new and very important strand of the literary studies: late

medieval translations of Bible and biblical apocrypha in Eastern Central Europe represent an unknown material and as such enrich significantly the flourishing international studies on Bible translation. The PhD thesis was finished in 2017 and will be published in the Series »Prameny k náboženským dějinám českým [Sources on the history of religiosity in Bohemia], Filosofia-Press« in 2019. The comparative study by V. Žůrek, *The Comparative Use of Historical Motives in the Monarchic Legitimation between the Kingdoms of France and Bohemia at the End of the Middle Ages*, concentrated on the narratives about how the collective identity in power centres was shaped by its own past. The role of Latin as a meta-language in the multilingual kingdom of Bohemia was analysed as well as the role of language as a social identification on several levels of interaction. The PhD thesis was finished in 2015, defended at the University Paris I – Sorbonne. The PhD thesis of Soňa Černá, *The Letters of St Jerome by the Prague Chancellor and Notary John of Neumarkt. A Brief Transmission History and Catalogue*, concentrated on one of the most serious research gaps in the history of late medieval literature in Bohemia. The first comprehensive research on the manuscript transmission of the German written oeuvre of the prominent Bohemian author, the chancellor of the emperor Charles IV, John of Neumarkt was presented in the study, which will therefore serve as a point of departure for all subsequent research on the topic. The PhD thesis of J. Odstrčilík, *Analysis of Two Latin Translations of Hus's Czech Sunday Postil in the MSS Brno, Moravian Library, Mk 56 and Mk 91 and their Partial Edition*, represents a first formulation of a complete new research strand in Eastern Central European historiography and philology. J. Odstrčilík was able to develop an interdisciplinary research approach concerning the multilingual homiletic texts extant in great quantity and variety in the Central and Eastern Central European area and untouched by research until now. The study represents a major contribution to translation studies and studies on late medieval multilinguality, especially because it introduced the Slavic languages into the comparative research and therefore helps to differentiate the comparative approaches on the given material.

Several subprojects in OVERMODE aimed at comparative research in the European dimension. The linguistic and philological aspects played a dominant role in the collaborative subproject »The Vade mecum in tribulatione of John of Rupescissa in Seven Vernaculars« which concentrated on one of the most popular late medieval prophetic works, *Vade mecum in tribulatione*, written by the French Franciscan John of Rupescissa in the 1350s in Latin. The project focussed on the edition and comparative analysis of medieval vernacular translations and adaptations of the extant text. Sixteen individual translations into seven medieval vernaculars were identified, edited and cross-analysed, whereby various interdependencies were described by an international team of philologists who were working on the editions of individual texts. The joint editorial work, the first enterprise of this type in medieval studies will be published in 2018 by Vita & Pensiero, the publishing house of the University of Milan.

John of Rupescissa's *Vade mecum in tribulatione*, composed in 1356 in Avignon, was the most widely copied eschatological-prophetic text of the Middle Ages written by an author known by name. There are forty-three known copies of complete or abbreviated Latin versions. Documented evidence exists of several others. The work was translated into French, English, German, Czech, Italian, Catalan, Castilian, and probably Hebrew (not extant). Four different translations and/or versions of one translation are known in French, three in German, three in Czech, three in Castilian, two in Italian, and single ones respectively in English and Catalan. The number of languages into which the *Vade mecum in tribulatione* was translated is very high compared with even the most popular medieval religious educative bestsellers, such as the *Horologium sapientiae* of Heinrich Seuse or the *Meditationes vitae*

Christi. The first, very detailed translation was made into French just two years after Rupescissa finished his prophetic warning. The appeal of the text to potential readers of all strata of the society seems obvious at first sight: a harsh critique of the church hierarchy, religious orders as well as the secular lordship, and concrete information on the arrival of the Antichrist and of future plagues and catastrophes embedded in a set of religious admonitions were applicable in different times, different places and in different societies. The respective translations and their copies were reworked accordingly to fit into the concrete socio-political settings. On the other hand, it would be misleading to reduce the motivations of the translators and scribes to the longing to interpret some concrete situations. Several translations and copies analysed in the subproject were very probably written down as a mere curiosity and/or as literary texts suitable for personal religious education but not as a means of interpreting the present political (ecclesiological) situation. The reception of Rupescissa's prophetic compendium in medieval Europe shows very clearly how differently texts were read and interpreted, even works with a seemingly very urgent message. The edition of all the extant translations of *Vade mecum in tribulatione* provides an excellent basis for new approaches concerning late medieval religiosity.

The subproject ›Historiographies in Central and Eastern Central Europe (13th–16th ct.)‹ was launched in collaboration with the special research programme VISCOM (Visions of Community) as a part of the international collaborative project *Historiographies of Identity. Social Functions of Historical Writing from Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages*. It concentrated on the chronicles and historical narratives produced and reproduced by distinct social groups in the given area and on the analysis of the respective identity constructions discussed in individual sources. The respective collaborative monograph will be published by Brepols publishers as the sixth volume of the series ›Historiography and Identity‹. It deals with histories written in a time which brought about a profound differentiation of medieval societies in the given regions – among others, a differentiation of the nobility, the rise of urban societies, the formation of new social strata and distinct groups (for example universities), and an increasing mobility and permeability of social elites. These and many other changes presented a serious challenge both to individuals and to social groups. Consequently, the demand for reassuring identifications grew more pressing the more social strata achieved their share of economic and political power. Narrative offers of identification produced and reproduced by historiography did not necessarily grow more complex than in the previous periods, but were surely more differentiated – often tailored specifically for distinct social groups, in competition with other groups and their narratives, and often using the language of a particular target group: the vernaculars instead of the universal language of elite education, Latin.

Of particular interest is the interplay between the languages in the book in the area under scrutiny, that is, apart from Latin, mainly German and Czech, but also Polish and Hungarian. In this interplay orality and literacy interacted with mutual effects on each other. Late medieval source material suggests complex relations not only between Latin and vernaculars, but also between oral and written language. Both were used in heterogeneous ways in Latin and in the vernaculars, in learned and popular discourses. The volume explores whether and in what way new social demands and new languages influenced historiographical narratives, their form and contents, their impact and their reception. It addresses the questions of which strategies of identification individual works developed to balance many alternative modes of identification; which older narratives were appropriated and adapted in new societal contexts, thus developing into new models for the construction of communities and remaining

politically successful; which of them in turn lost their direct impact and thus became »petrified« elements of specific, e.g. learned, discourses, and which new narratives were developed.

During the six years of research great attention was paid to inter- and cross-disciplinary cooperation. The project was carried out at two participating institutions, the Institute for Medieval Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (host institution) and at the Centre for Medieval Studies, Institute for Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic. OVERMODE cooperated closely with the Project »Cultural Codes and their Transformation in the time of Hussite Reformation« (Project GAČR P405/12/G148). From among several cooperative activities, the series of sessions presented at the IMC Leeds 2015 on the methodologies of Lollard and Hussite studies has to be pointed out. Very fruitful cooperation was established with the Institute for German studies at the University of Vienna. Prof Stephan Müller acted as a supervisor for the PhD thesis of S. Černá (SP *John of Neumarkt*); the collaborative Volume *Origin Stories. The Rise of Vernacular Literacy in a Comparative Perspective* (submitted for publication in 2017) is a result of this cooperation too. Specialists in individual European as well as non-European philologies, Asian studies, Byzantine studies, sinology etc. contributed to this volume. The second cooperation partner of the project was the special research programme of the Austrian Research Fund (FWF) VISCOM – »Visions of Community: Comparative Approaches to Ethnicity, Region and Empire in Christianity, Islam and Buddhism (400–1600 CE)« – located at the University of Vienna and at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Apart from participation by the VISCOM team in OVERMODE events and vice versa, the members of the VISCOM project took part in the activities of the COST-Action IS 1301 (see below) co-organized by the PI. The PI's efforts to launch cross-disciplinary collaboration peaked in the successful application for the COST Programme in the year 2013 (project duration: 9/2013-9/2017). The project »New Communities of Interpretation Contexts, Strategies and Processes of Religious Transformation in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe« was developed by three ERC-grantees cooperating on their related ERC-projects (besides OVERMODE, 209394 HOLY AND LAY and 263274 OPVS).³ At the COST Action IS 1301, more than 250 researchers from 22 European and non-European countries took part; the scholarly exchange was organized in three working groups and carried out in the form of regular meetings, summer schools devoted to chosen topics to the benefit of the Master- and PhD-students, and by means of short scientific missions awarded on a competitive basis and supporting young researchers. »The Medieval Translator« Network represents the last type of large-scale cooperation in OVERMODE. The network was established in the middle of the 1980s by Roger Ellis (University of Cardiff). The series of »Cardiff Conferences on the Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages« can be regarded as pioneering work in the area of European cooperation on medieval translation (the results of the activity of the network are published in the Brepols series »The Medieval Translator«). With OVERMODE joining the network, its focus moved from English and French literature to Central and Eastern Central Europe – the 11th »The Medieval

3 ERC StG No. 209394 Holy and Lay: Holy Writ & Lay Readers. A Social History of Vernacular Bible Translations in the Late Middle Ages, website: www.rug.nl/research/icog/research/researchgroups/holyandlay; ERC StG No. 263274 Oeuvres Pieuses Vernaculaires à Succès (OPVS), website: www.opvs.fr.

Translator« Conference was organized in March 2017 by the OVERMODE and COST action IS 1301 projects in Vienna and focused on the readers of medieval translations. The resulting proceedings will be published in the Brepols series »The Medieval Translator« in 2019.

Through its interdisciplinary and innovative approach, OVERMODE has laid a valuable foundation for further collaboration in a research field which the project has helped to define for the future.

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