Muslim Perception(s) of "Latin Christianity": Methodological Reflections and a Reevaluation

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RESÜMEE

Grob gesprochen neigt die bisherige Forschung dazu, die Wahrnehmung der lateinischen Christenheit durch die arabisch-islamische Welt des 7. bis 15. Jahrhunderts auf eine desinteressierte und arrogante Haltung zu reduzieren. Im ersten Teil des Artikels verdeutlicht ein Variantenvergleich auf der Basis methodischer Überlegungen zur Quellengrundlage und zur Rekonstruktion von Wahrnehmungsmustern auf makrohistorischer Ebene, dass eine stärkere Nuancierung erforderlich ist. Im Rahmen einer exemplarischen Beweisführung widmet sich der zweite Teil der Frage, wie und auf welcher terminologischen Grundlage die „lateinische Christenheit" in den Schriften arabisch-islamischer Gelehrter kategorisiert wird. Diese enthalten zwar keinen Begriff, der eindeutig eine „lateinisch-christliche" Religionsgemeinschaft oder kulturelle Sphäre definiert. Dennoch wird deutlich, dass das Konzept eines facettenreichen christlich geprägten europäischen Kulturraums in diesen Schriften über die Jahrhunderte hinweg langsam an Kontur gewinnt.

Taking up this volume's stated theme of examining the "labeling of self and other in historical contacts between religious groups," the following article proposes to provide some thoughts on perceptions of Latin Christianity in the "medieval"[1] Arab-Islamic world of the seventh to fifteenth centuries. In this context, the analysis of labels is regarded as a tool which can contribute to understanding the phenomenon of intercultural perception. Consequently, the first part of the article is dedicated to methodological reflections on the reconstruction of perception and the role labels play therein, while the sec-

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1   On the applicability of the term "medieval" or "Middle Ages" to the Islamic world, see T. Khalidi, Reflections on Periodisation in Arabic Historiography, in: The Medieval History Journal 1.1 (1998), pp. 107–24.

ond part concentrates on the terminology used by Arab-Islamic scholars to circumscribe Latin Christianity.

"Latin Christianity" can only be regarded with certain reservations as referring to a "religious group": with respect to the late antique Mediterranean, the term connotes a specific form of Christianity represented by the exponents of patristic literature in Latin.[2] Concerning medieval Europe, it serves to label a specific form of Christianity centered, to a certain extent, on the pope in Rome.[3] In a medieval context, "Latin Christianity" – used interchangeably with terms such as "the Latin West"[4] – is also understood as a cluster of medieval European societies with common characteristics, including a specific form of Christianity. Rather than defining a community of people(s) adhering to a certain cult and belief system, it is treated as a "cultural sphere" or "civilization" in contrast to neighboring civilizations in time and space such as "Rome," "Byzantium," and "Islam".[5] Thus, "Latin Christianity" is a scholarly construct: although we do find late antique and medieval texts which contain Christian forms of self-identification in Latin also referring to the Roman heritage, sources produced within the Latin-Christian orbit do not use a Latin equivalent of the term.[6]

The traditional way of beginning an article on Muslim perceptions of Latin Christianity would be to state that the medieval Islamic legal distinction between "the abode of Islam" (dār al-islām) and "the abode of war" (dār al-ḥarb)[7] must be regarded as the core of medieval Muslim perceptions of the non-Muslim world, including medieval Europe.[8] Having

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2   See A. Roberts / J. Donaldson / A. Cleveland Coxe (eds), Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian (Ante-Nicene Fathers 3), Peabody 1885 (reprint 1995); H. von Campenhausen, The Fathers of the Latin Church, Stanford 1969, p. 179; P. Gemeinhardt, Das lateinische Christentum und die antike pagane Bildung, Tübingen 2007. Compare the biographies of Irenaeus of Lyon, Tertullian, Cyprian of Carthage, Ambrose of Milan, Jerome, Augustine of Hippo, and so on.

3   H. Milman, History of Latin Christianity Including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicolas V, 9 vols, London 1867; J. Heron, The Evolution of Latin Christianity, London 1919.

4   In German, the term "christliches Abendland" is often employed in older literature as well as in political debates, e.g., H. Loebel, Europa: Vermächtnis und Verpflichtung, Frankfurt a. M. 1957, p. 22. The terms "lateinische Christenheit," "lateinischer Westen" or "Lateineuropa" generally have a more neutral connotation, see J. Fried, Die Formierung Europas 840–1046, Munich 2007, p. 5. French scholars often use the term "Occident" or "monde latin," see J. Tolan / P. Josserand, Les relations des pays d'Islam avec le monde latin: du milieu du Xᵉ siècle au milieu du XIIIᵉ siècle, Rosny-sous-Bois 2000.

5   Scholars working on the history of Europe oppose medieval European civilization to Roman Antiquity and the beginnings of the Renaissance, e.g., J. Le Goff, The Birth of Europe, Malden 2007, pp. 4–5; P. den Boer / P. Bugge / O. Waever / K. Wilson / W. J. van der Dussen, The History of the Idea of Europe, London 1995, pp. 12–13, pp. 19–20; R. Dainotto, Europe (in Theory), Durham 2007, p. 24. Medievalists tend to oppose "Latin Christianity" to "Islam" and "Byzantium," see: O. Mazal, Byzanz, Islam, Abendland, Vienna 1995; E. Pitz, Die griechisch-römische Ökumene und die drei Kulturen des Mittelalters: Geschichte des mediterranen Weltteils zwischen Atlantik und Indischem Ozean, Berlin 2001.

6   D. König, Arabic-Islamic Historiographers on the Emergence of Latin-Christian Europe, in: W. Pohl / C. Gantner (eds), Visions of Community: Ethnicity, Religion and Power in the Early Medieval West, Byzantium and the Islamic World, Aldershot 2010 (forthcoming).

7   On both concepts see A. Abel, Dār al-Islām, in: Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2ⁿᵈ ed., vol. 2, Leiden 1965, p. 127; A. Abel, Dār al-Ḥarb, in: Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2ⁿᵈ ed., vol. 2, Leiden 1965, p. 126.

8   B. Lewis, The Muslim Discovery of Europe, New York 1982 (reprint 2001), p. 171: "For the Muslim, religion was the core of identity, of his own and therefore of other men's. The civilized world consisted of the House of Islam, in which a Muslim government ruled, Muslim law prevailed, and non-Muslim communities might enjoy the toler-

thus defined an attitude of hostility and superiority as the prevalent view held by Muslims towards societies following another religion, one could bolster this assessment by citing scholars from all over the world, who – in spite of some nuances – claim in endless repetition that, from a "Muslim" perspective, medieval Europe constituted a barbarian hinterland in which comparatively primitive peoples adhered to a belief that had been superseded by Islam.[9] These studies are often based exclusively on a selection of Arab-Islamic works of geography and historiography and do not consider the contributions of archaeology[10] nor the bulk of textual corpora produced within eight centuries – not only in Arabic, but also in Latin, Greek, Syriac, Armenian, and European vernaculars.[11] Generalization and a very selective approach to the sources thus allow the equation of

ance of the Muslim state and community provided they accepted the conditions. The basic distinction between themselves and the outside world was the acceptance or rejection of the message of Islam." Translations of the book tend to emphasize the religious divide by expanding the original title. In German: Die Welt der Ungläubigen: Wie der Islam Europa entdeckte, Frankfurt a. M. 1983; in Italian: Europa barbara e infedele: i musulmani alla scoperta dell'Europa, Milan 1983.

9   Unfortunately, the rather important nuances cannot be treated here. In general, however, the studies in question tend to emphasize the existence of stereotypes rather than the abundance and diversity of information to be found on medieval Western Europe in Arab-Islamic sources: B. Lewis, The Muslim Discovery of Europe, in: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 20.1 (1957), pp. 409–16; B. Lewis, Muslim Discovery of Europe (1982) (as in note 8), pp. 6–9, pp. 80–81, pp. 91–92, p. 105, pp. 297–302; 'A. al-'Aẓma, al-'Arab wa 'l-barābira. al-muslimūn wa 'l-ḥaḍārāt al-uḫrā (Arabs and Barbarians. The Muslims vis-à-vis Other Civilizations), London 1991; A. al-Azmeh, Barbarians in Arab Eyes, in: Past and Present 134.1/3 (1992), pp. 3–18, p. 7; A. al-Azmeh, Mortal Enemies, Invisible Neighbours: Northerners in Andalusi Eyes, in: S.K. Jayyusi, M. Marín (eds), The Legacy of Muslim Spain, vol. 1, Leiden 1992, pp. 266–70; T. Khalidi, Islamic Views of the West in the Middle Ages, in: Studies in Interreligious Dialogue 5 (1995), pp. 31–42; A. Thabit, Arab Views of Northern Europeans in Medieval History and Geography, in: D. Blanks (ed.), Images of the Other: Europe and the Muslim World Before 1700, Cairo Papers in Social Science 19 (1996), pp. 73–81; M. J. Viguera Molíns, La percepción de Europa desde el ámbito araboislámico, in: A. Vaca Lorenzo (ed.), Europa, proyecciones y percepciones históricas, Salamanca 1997, pp. 49–70; J. Waardenburg, L'Europe dans le miroir de l'Islam, in: Asiatische Studien / Études asiatiques 53.1 (1999), pp. 103–28; J. Tolan / P. Josserand, Les relations des pays d'Islam avec le monde latin (as in note 4), pp. 192–93; J. Waardenburg, Muslims and Others: Relations in Context, Berlin–New York 2003, pp. 152–53; D. Pipes, In the Path of God: Islam and Political Power, New Brunswick 2003, pp. 76–82; B. Turner, Überlappende Gewalt-träume: Christlich-islamische Gewaltwahrnehmung zwischen Polemik und Alltagsrationalität, in: M. Braun / C. Herberichs (eds), Gewalt im Mittelalter, Munich 2005, pp. 227–28. A.K. Bennison, The Peoples of the North in the Eyes of the Muslims of Umayyad al-Andalus (711–1031), in: Journal of Global History 2.2 (2007), pp. 157–74. The recent study on mutual perception in a crusader context was not accessible to me: A. Leclercq, Portraits croisés: l'image des Francs et des Musulmans dans les textes relatifs à la première croisade (chroniques latines et arabes, chansons de geste françaises des XIIᵉ et XIIIᵉ siècles), Paris 2010.

10   See, for example, P. Sénac, Quelques remarques sur l'historiographie récente de la frontière dans l'Espagne médiévale (VIIIᵉ–XIIIᵉ siècles), in: FranceMed (R. Abdellatif / Y. Benhima / D. König / E. Ruchaud), Construire la Méditerranée, penser les transferts culturels. Approches historiographiques et perspectives de recherche, Munich (forthcoming).

11   Since we lack Arab-Islamic sources for certain periods and places, e.g., the first two centuries of Islam or the raiding activities in Italy and Southern France, outside perspectives can help to reconstruct Muslim perceptions. The tenth-century historiographer Rodulfus Glaber, for example, informs us about how Latin Christians felt they were perceived by Muslims. In his chronicle he relates how "Saracen" raiders abducted Maiolus, abbot of Cluny, with the explicit aim of receiving a high ransom. During the abbot's captivity, one of the captors purposely trod on Maiolus's Bible with his foot. On account of Maiolus's protest, the transgressor was severely reprimanded by his fellow raiders, who criticized him for not showing the respect due to the prophets. This provides Glaber with the opportunity to comment on how the "Saracens" regarded the prophets of the Jewish and Christian tradition. See: Rodulfus Glaber, Historiarum libri quinque, ed. and trans. by J. France, in: Rodulfus Glaber Opera, ed. J. France / N. Bulst / P. Reynolds, Oxford 2002, p. 20.

the attribute "Muslim" with an unchanging, stereotyped perception of Latin Christianity and a decisively bipolar worldview. Such an approach adds fuel to a public debate about the relationship between "Islam" and "the West" which is not devoid of unquestioned assumptions of an ideological nature.[12] A macrohistorical approach to the sources – legitimate as such and inherent to the work of most historians – is not open to critique. The problem lies rather in the fact that most writings on the subject lack methodological reflection on how to deal with the phenomenon of perception on such a large scale.

1. Reconstructing Perception: Methodological Considerations

In contrast to natural scientists, philosophers, psychologists, and art historians,[13] most historians analyze the phenomenon of perception on the basis of texts. Texts provide insight into perceptions on different levels:

1.1. Perception and its Documentation in Texts

On a first level, texts document the perceptions formulated by the author(s) of a specific corpus at the time of writing. The author can be defined as the "subject of perception" while the text contains elements that can be labeled as "objects of perception." A common method of distilling perceptions is to analyze the terminology employed by the author to identify certain objects of perception, such as individuals, groups, or institutions (e.g., "the pope," "infidels," "Franks") in a given text. If the geographer Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) explains that "the pope is the leader of the Franks"[14] or the geographer Abū 'l-Fidāʾ (d. 732/1331) writes that "the Galicians […] do not wash their clothes,"[15] they make use of specific labels (pope or Galicians) which are linked to a definition. Yāqūt defines the term "pope" explicitly whereas Abū 'l-Fidāʾ defines "Galicians" by attributing a certain behavior and character to them. Yāqūt's definition is of a rather "factual" nature, while the description rendered by Abū 'l-Fidāʾ carries a judgment. In both cases, however, the combination of label and description provides insight into perceptions which – even if they are based on written or oral statements by others – seem to have been regarded as valid and thus shared by the authors of the respective text.

On a second level, the author of the text claims to reproduce the perception of others. In this case, the "subject of perception" in the text is distinct from the author. For example,

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12   S. Bakr/B. Ezbidi/H. Kassab-Hassan/F. Karcic/M. Zaidi/D. J. Hassan, Der Westen und die islamische Welt: Eine muslimische Position, ed. Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (ifa) Stuttgart, Stuttgart 2004, p. 16, pp. 23–43, pp. 65–72, pp. 79–83.

13   Cf. B. Russell, The Analysis of Mind [1921], London/New York 1996, pp. 101–12; M. Merleau-Ponty, Phenomenology of Perception [1945], London/New York 2003; H. Belting, Florenz und Bagdad: Eine westöstliche Geschichte des Blicks, Munich 2008.

14   Yāqūt, muʿǧam al-buldān (Encyclopaedia of Countries), ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1867 (Teheran 1965), Art. Bāšǧird, vol. 1, pp. 469–70: "wa 'l-bābā raʾīs al-Afranǧ."

15   Abū 'l-Fidāʾ, al-muḫtaṣar fī aḫbār al-bašar (An Abridgment of the History of Mankind), ed. Ḥ. Muʾnis/M. Zainuhum ʿAzzab/Y.S. Ḥusain, 4 vols, Cairo 1998–99, vol. 1, p. 120: "lā yaġsalūna ṯiyābahum."

al-Qazwīnī (d. 682 / 1283) purports to have received information about the city of Rome from travelers who had set out from Baghdad and whose description of the city he reproduces.[16] Although it is often difficult to prove the veracity of the respective account, the documentation of external perceptions suggests that the author believed them to be of relevance to the public he addressed.

On a third level, the author provides information on the interaction of persons or groups without referring to the perceptions involved. This is the case, for example, when Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469 / 1076) relates that 'Abd Allāh, the son of the amīr 'Abd ar-Raḥmān proceeded to flee until he reached Charles (Qārluh), the Frankish king." We can infer from the text that the situation obviously entailed an encounter and mutual appraisal of two persons in a certain phase of Umayyad–Carolingian relations at the end of the eighth century. However, Ibn Ḥayyān's description does not specify how the persons involved perceived each other, but rather leaves us with a vague notion of how a Muslim seeking political asylum at the court of a Christian ruler may have regarded his host.[17] One could argue that this kind of imprecise evidence should be disregarded. However, in order to reconstruct bygone realities and to avoid eclipsing great parts of the past, it is not sufficient to restrict analysis to labels and explicit statements which grant direct access to the perceptions of authors and those cited by them. Implicit evidence contains relevant information on objects of perception as well as on the relationship between subjects and objects of perception. In many cases, it represents the only key to the perception of those whose vision of the world has not been immortalized in writing.

Approached in this way, source material concerning Muslim perceptions of Latin Christianity gains considerable depth: in his "risāla fī taḥrīm al-ǧubn ar-rūmī," a treatise on the interdiction of "Christian" cheese, the Malikī jurist aṭ-Ṭurṭūšī (d. 520/1126)[18] informs a group of Muslim questioners in Alexandria that it is not advisable to eat cheese imported to Alexandria in ships by the "Rūm", whom he may have regarded as merchants from the Latin-Christian sphere in this context.[19] In the text, the jurist draws a clear dividing line between non-Muslim impurity and the demands of orthodox Islam, stressing that the cheese in question may have been produced or transported in an impure environment

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16 al-Qazwīnī, āṯār al-bilād (The Monuments of Countries), ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, p. 399.

17 Ibn Ḥayyān, as-sufr aṯ-ṯānī min kitāb al-muqtabis (The Second Volume of the Book of Citations), ed. M. Makkī, ar-Riyāḍ 2003, p. 97 (fol. 90 alif): "wa maḍā 'Abd Allāh bin al-amīr 'Abd ar-Raḥmān 'alā waǧhihi fāran, ḥattā intahā ilā Qārluh malik al-Faranǧ."; Ibn Ḥayyān, Crónica de los emires Alḥakam I y 'Abdarraḥmān II (Al-muqtabis II-1), trans. and annotated by M. Alī Makkī / F. Corriente, Zaragoza 2001, p. 20 (90r). The information provided is also corroborated by contemporary Latin-Christian sources, e.g., Annales Fuldenses, a. 797, ed. G. H. Pertz / F. Kurze (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 7), Hanover 1891, p. 13; Annales Mettenses priores, a. 797, ed. B. de Simson (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 10), Hanover, Leipzig 1905, p. 82; on the context see: P. Sénac, Les Carolingiens et al-Andalus (VIIIe–IXe siècles), Paris 2002, pp. 60–62.

18 A. Ben Abdesselem, al-Ṭurṭūs̲h̲ī, in: Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., vol. 10, Leiden 2000, p. 739.

19 The editor of aṭ-Ṭurṭūšī (d. 520/1126), risāla fī taḥrīm al-ǧubn ar-rūmī (Treatise on the Interdiction of "Christian" Cheese), ed. 'A. at-Turkī, Fās 1997, p. 128, footnote 1, points to the fact that references to places in the text concern only Sicily and al-Andalus. Later geographers such as Ibn Sa'īd al-Maġribī (d. 685/1286), kitāb al-ǧuġrāfiyya (The Book of Geography), ed. I. al-'Arabī, Beirut 1970, p. 170, as well as Abū 'l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331), taqwīm al-buldān (The Calendar of Countries), ed. J. Reinaud / W. MacGuckin de Slane, Paris 1848, p. 195, mention, however, that cheese and honey were exported to Alexandria from Cyprus, ruled by the Lusignan family since 1192.

soiled by pork fat or alcohol.[20] On the first level, the document allows us to understand the perception of its author. Although the text seems to indicate that aṭ-Ṭurṭūšī held a superior attitude towards representatives of Christianity, we must consider that he is not necessarily hostile to the merchants as such. He does not argue for a general boycott of their merchandise as others have done,[21] but merely insists on the necessity of respecting Muslim norms of purity. On the second level, the document grants access to the perceptions of others: aṭ-Ṭurṭūšī reproduces the opinions of others, stating that he had taken considerable pains to gather the information necessary to form his opinion by asking several people involved about how the cheese in question was produced and transported.[22] On the third level, the text implies that additional perspectives were relevant: it attests to the fact that this cheese had thus far been sold in Alexandria, thereby suggesting that a certain number of Muslims had not regarded buying, perhaps not even selling the product, as problematic.[23] Here the text encourages speculation: the traders who asked the opinion of the Malikī jurist may have had qualms about the commodity's ritual purity, as aṭ-Ṭurṭūšī claims.[24] It is equally imaginable, however, that they wished to clamp down on a rival product or ruin a rival trader by mobilizing religious arguments. Thus, the document proves that the import of Christian cheese was regarded differently by the various groups concerned. However, because of the implicit character of the textual evidence, it is not possible to define the exact nature of every perception relevant in this context.

1.2. Reconstructing Patterns of Perception on a Macrohistorical Scale

Having dealt with both the possibilities of and constraints on gaining access to perceptions via texts, it is now necessary to consider how to reconstruct patterns of perception on a macro-historical scale. By compiling, arranging, and summarizing appropriate statements, it is possible to define certain patterns of perception characteristic of certain individuals, groups, institutions, and other larger social organisms. However, the larger and the more persistent the social organism to which a certain pattern of perception is

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20 aṭ-Ṭurṭūšī, risāla fī taḥrīm al-ǧubn ar-rūmī (as in note 19), p. 125 et passim. I would like to thank my colleague Yassir Benhima for having drawn my attention to this text. For further reading on the question of impurity, see: M. Cook, Magian Cheese: An Archaic Problem in Islamic Law, in: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 47.3 (1984), pp. 449–67.

21 See, for example: V. Lagarduère, Histoire et société en occident musulman au Moyen Age: Analyse du Miʿyār d'al-Wanšarīsī, Madrid 1995, p. 194, fatwa no. 370.

22 aṭ-Ṭurṭūšī, risāla fī taḥrīm al-ǧubn ar-rūmī (as in note 19), pp. 128–30.

23 It may be noted in this context that – according to ecclesiastical documents damning the export of strategic material to Muslim societies – the latter never seem to have had any qualms about importing and using weapons and other military equipment imported from Christian Europe, see Concilium Lateranense IV (1215), § 71, in: J. Wohlmuth (ed.), Konzilien des Mittelalters: Vom ersten Laterankonzil (1123) bis zum fünften Laterankonzil (1512–1517), Paderborn 2000, pp. 270, 272–79; Raymond de Penyafort, Summae, vol. 3, Responsiones ad dubitalia, § 1–5, ed. X. de Ochoa / A. Diez, Rome 1976–78, pp. 1024–26; Guillelmus Adae, De modo Sarracenos extirpandi, in: Recueil d'Histoire des Croisades, Documents arméniens, vol. 2, p. 523.

24 aṭ-Ṭurṭūšī, risāla fī taḥrīm al-ǧubn ar-rūmī (as in note 19), p. 125.

attributed, the more interpretative capabilities are needed. Selection and categorization can produce unacceptable distortions if they are applied without prior reflection.

This becomes apparent if one reconsiders the "traditional view" that Muslims of the seventh to the fifteenth centuries generally adopted a superior and hostile attitude towards Latin Christianity and its representatives. It is fairly easy to find material corroborating this assumption: one could cite passages from al-Masʿūdī (d. 345 / 956), according to which the Franks (al-Ifranǧa) and other peoples of the north (ahl ar-rubaʿ aš-šamālī) "are large, their natures gross, their manners harsh, their understanding dull, and their tongues heavy. […] Their religious beliefs lack solidity, and this is because of the nature of coldness and the lack of warmth. The farther they are to the north the more stupid, gross, and brutish they are."[25] The works of al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) and Abū 'l-Fidāʾ comment on the primitive character of the Galicians (al-Ǧalāliqa), a perfidious people who never wash,[26] while the cosmography of al-Qazwīnī lends itself to illustrating how Muslims looked down on the barbarity of judicial procedures in the innermost "Christian regions" (bāṭin ar-Rūm).[27] The Andalusian historiographer Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469 / 1076) describes how victorious Muslims near Barcelona in 197 / 812–13 called to prayer from above a pile of "infidel heads" (ruʾūs al-kufra) collected after a battle with Carolingian forces, defined as "Franks" (al-Firanǧa) and "enemies of God" (aʿdāʾ Allāh).[28] Latin sources seem to confirm the general picture: Albert of Aachen (d. after 1158), for example, tells us that the "Saracens" urinated on crosses in full view of the Crusaders during the siege of Jerusalem.[29] Thus, selecting passages which characterize "an Other" in a negative way allows us to reconstruct a particular pattern of perception.

But it is self-evident that it is not legitimate to impose a single pattern of perception on all representatives of Islamic civilization at all times and in all places. The Arab-Islamic and the Latin-Christian worlds were not as homogeneous and static as the categories we use might seem to suggest. Speaking in macrohistorical terms, the nature of the "subject of perception" changed considerably between the seventh and the fifteenth centuries: new groups were constantly being integrated into the vast and diverse world of Islam, whose military, political, economic, religious, and social features displayed a certain degree of continuity but were at the same time subject to perpetual modification and change. Accordingly, prevalent perception patterns necessarily evolved all the time. In turn, the "object of perception," i.e., "Latin Christianity," can in no way be described as a monolithic, unchanging, and static entity prone to produce uniform impressions in the minds of outsiders.

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25   al-Masʿūdī, kitāb at-tanbīh wa 'l-išrāf (The Book of Instruction and Supervision), ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1893, pp. 23–24, trans. Lewis, Muslim Discovery of Europe (as in note 8), p. 139.

26   al-Bakrī, kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik (The Book of Highways and Kingdoms), § 1530, ed. A. P. van Leeuwen / A. Ferre, Carthage 1992, p. 913; Abū 'l-Fidāʾ, al-muḫtaṣar fī aḫbār al-bašar (as in note 15), vol. 1, p. 120.

27   al-Qazwīnī, āṯār al-bilād (as in note 16), pp. 410–11.

28   Ibn Ḥayyān, as-sufr aṯ-ṯānī min kitāb al-muqtabis (as in note 17), p. 136 (fol. 102 alif); Ibn Ḥayyān, Crónica de los emires (as in note 17), pp. 51–52 (fol. 102r).

29   Albert of Aachen, Historia Ierosolimitana – History of the Journey to Jerusalem, book 6.8, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington, Oxford 2007, pp. 414–15.

The legitimacy of propagating the notion of a single "Muslim" perception is even more questionable if one acknowledges the existence of "third spaces" and "hybrid phenomena" in the contact zones of both cultural spheres.[30] Describing his visit to Sicily, the tenth-century geographer Ibn Ḥawqal criticizes a group of Muslims called "al-Mušaʿmidūn" for having found a religious compromise with their Christian wives (naṣrāniyya). Their sons grew up as rather slack Muslims while their daughters remained attached to the Christian faith.[31] Ibn Ḥawqal's critical attitude could be regarded as representative of the stance taken by Muslim orthodoxy towards such creative forms of Christian–Islamic cohabitation. One should bear in mind, however, that polemics and juridical measures against hybrid phenomena do not prove merely that boundaries existed, but also that they were transgressed regularly. The group "al-Mušaʿmidūn" obviously perceived things differently, but did not put down their vision in writing and are only known to posterity because they were criticized. Along with others – e.g., Muslim women who married Christian men,[32] Muslim children and adults who opted for Christianity,[33] and Muslims who helped the Crusaders (al-Faranǧ) to vanquish their coreligionaries[34] – they represent a "product" of Christian–Muslim relations whose perception necessarily failed to conform to the normative order proposed by religious orthodoxy on both sides.

It is necessary to acknowledge that several centuries of contact in an area reaching from the Iberian Peninsula to the Middle East inevitably produced a diversity of relations between a multitude of subjects and objects of perception.[35] The character of relations was not only dependent on the ever-changing geopolitical situation but also on the specific context. Different contexts can only be categorized or distinguished from each other with difficulty, and the large array of differing constellations makes an exhaustive enumeration impossible. It should be considered, however, that military, political, economic, intellectual, religious, personal, emotional, and other forms of relations were maintained by actors fulfilling various roles: soldiers, diplomats, merchants, scholars, believers, siblings,

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30 On this see, for example, D. Fairchild Ruggles, Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty, in: Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 34.1 (2004), pp. 65–94; S. Epstein, Purity Lost: Transgressing Boundaries in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1000–1400, Baltimore 2006; M. Mersch / U. Ritzerfeld (eds), Lateinisch-griechisch-arabische Begegnungen: Kulturelle Diversität im Mittelmeerraum des Spätmittelalters, Berlin 2009.

31 Ibn Ḥawqal, kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ (The Book on the Configuration of the Earth), ed. J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1938, p. 129.

32 In Muslim al-Andalus of the Ninth Century: Eulogius, Memoriale Sanctorum, book 8.12, ed. I. Gil (Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum 2), Madrid 1973, p. 412; in a Crusader context: Fulcherus Carnotensis, Historia Hierosolymitana 3.37, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg 1913, p. 748.

33 In Muslim al-Andalus of the Ninth Century: Eulogius, Memoriale Sanctorum, book 7.2 (as in note 32), p. 406; ibid., book 8.3, p. 409; ibid., book 8.12, p. 412; ibid, book 10.1, p. 416; ibid, book 10.3, pp. 416–17; in a Crusader context: Raimundus de Aguilers, Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem, § 170b, ed. J. Hugh / L. Hill, Paris 1969, p. 55; Albert of Aachen, Historia Ierosolimitana, book 5.3 (as in note 29), p. 342; Ibn Ǧubayr, riḥlat Ibn Ǧubayr (The Voyage of Ibn Ǧubayr), Beirut, probably 1964, p. 281.

34 Ibn al-Aṯīr, al-kāmil fī 't-tārīḫ (The Complete History), ed. C. Tornberg, Beirut 1965–67, 12 vols, AH 505, vol. 10, p. 489; The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir, trans. D.S. Richards, Aldershot 2006, vol. 1, p. 158.

35 Every manual on the topic will confront the reader with the diverse character of relations between different actors (individuals, groups, institutions, etc.) regarded as representative of both cultural spheres, see, for example: Tolan / Josserand, Les relations des pays d'Islam avec le monde latin (as in note 4).

and lovers, to name only a few, personify a different range of "functional" behavior. It is impossible to determine such behavior, which is necessarily dependent upon individual constellations. Furthermore, it is evident that defining a context according to corresponding roles does not automatically determine a specified set of perceptions, as if applying a mathematical formula. However, generating such an – admittedly artificial – typology forces us to consider a broader range of possible perceptions than the simple and selective analysis of a textual corpus containing explicit statements on, or a specific terminology characteristic of, "the Other."

1.3. Comparing Variants of Perception

With this in mind, it is possible to approach the sources from a different point of view. A method used to master the intricacies of early medieval Latin hagiography,[36] i.e., the comparison of variants, serves to elaborate similarities, differences, and even contradictions in order to gain insight into a wide range of different possible perceptions.

The juxtaposition of three examples taken from Latin and Arabic sources produced in Muslim al-Andalus between the eighth and the tenth centuries may illustrate how different "subjects of perception" – i.e., a Muslim governor, a marriage-minded Muslim woman, and Muslims involved in the trade of slaves – perceived, from differing perspectives, a specific "object of perception," in this case Christians under Islamic rule. The continuatio hispana, a Latin-Christian chronicle written around 754, roughly one generation after the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, points to the fact that there was a fiscal dimension to perception. It describes the measures taken by the Muslim governor al-Ḥurr (who ruled 715–19) to establish a working fiscal system in the newly conquered territories, as well as his initiative to restore property to Christian subjects with the aim of raising government revenues in land and property taxes.[37] Sketching the biography of a Muslim woman who ran away from her family to marry a Christian man and to raise Christian children, the ninth-century priest Eulogius of Córdoba implies that Christianity could hold a certain attraction for some Muslims.[38] A manual for solicitors written in Córdoba by the tenth-century scholar Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār treats representatives of Latin Christianity as "merchandise" whose functional characteristics and value are of primary importance: the manual contains a standard sale contract for a female slave (mamlūka) of Galician (ǧalīqiyya), Frankish (ifranǧiyya), and other origin, followed by a juridical commentary. Among other things, the contract provides for the name of the slave, a comparatively exact physical description, as well as the price paid. The commen-

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36 F. Prinz, Aspekte frühmittelalterlicher Hagiographie, in: F. Prinz, Mönchtum, Kultur und Gesellschaft. Beiträge zum Mittelalter, Munich 1989, p. 183; F. Lotter, Methodisches zur Gewinnung historischer Erkenntnisse aus hagiographischen Quellen, in: Historische Zeitschrift 229.2 (1979), pp. 339–40.

37 Continuatio hispana, § 80–81, ed. Th. Mommsen (MGH Auctores Antiquissimi 11), Berlin 1891, p. 356. For an interpretation of this passage see K.B. Wolf, Conquerors and Chroniclers, Cambridge 1988, p. 137, footnote 119; R. Collins, The Arab Conquest of Spain 710–797, Oxford 1989, p. 46.

38 Eulogius, Memoriale Sanctorum, book 8.12 (as in note 32), p. 412.

tary not only implies that prices differed for slaves of different ethnic origin, but also treats problematic questions: e.g., what happens in cases where the seller has lied about the slave's ethnicity, or what is to be done if the woman is pregnant, thus causing the owner trouble and expense.[39] It follows that Muslims from al-Andalus perceived Latin Christians differently in accordance with their respective "functional" roles and the general context of encounter.

But if passages are selected in which the "functional roles" are comparable, perceptions vary according to context. The juxtaposition of three different Latin-Christian narratives provides insight into the range of perceptions applicable to a specific "subject of perception" – i.e., Muslim authorities – in contact with a specific "object of perception" – i.e., Latin-Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land: Traveling in greater Syria between 724 and 726, the Anglo-Saxon monk Willibald was first arrested on the grounds of being a spy, then acknowledged as being a harmless pilgrim, eventually equipped with travel documents, and subjected to rigorous customs control before leaving the region via the port of Tyre.[40] Traveling in the late ninth century from Rome via Bari and Egypt to the Holy Land, the monk Bernard became the victim of administrative oppression and was forced to pay for travel documents several times.[41] The Annales Altahenses and Lambert of Hersfeld (d. before 1085) report how a large group of pilgrims fell prey to brigands on their way to Jerusalem in 1065, but were saved and escorted to ar-Ramla by troops sent by the responsible Muslim authorities.[42]

Finally, a comparison of different passages describing a specific, in this case, military context, opens up another range of perceptions concerning Latin Christians regarded with a view to their strategic utility, the booty they provided, their strategic and technical skills, as well as their fighting spirit. Relating how the Muslim invaders of the Iberian Peninsula captured a group of vinedressers (karrāmīn), slaughtered and cooked one of them, pretended to eat his flesh, and then sent the other vinedressers back home, the ninth-century Egyptian historiographer Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 257 / 871) illustrates how Latin Christians were used as tools serving the strategic aim of demoralizing the military opponent.[43] Dwelling extensively on the topic of looting, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam also insinuates

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39   Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, kitāb al-waṯāʾiq wa ʾs-saǧǧalāt (The Book of Documents and Archives) – formulario notarial hispano-árabe, ed. P. Chalmeta / F. Corriente, Madrid 1983, pp. 33–36. It has been argued during the discussion of this paper that a "Frankish" female slave's adherence to Christianity must be regarded as a pre-condition for her status as a slave. However, Islamic law, multifarious and inconsistent, did not automatically regard Christians as potential slaves, and even contains legislation that exempts the "people of the book" such as Christians and Jews from slavery. As always, reality was much more complex, so that even Muslims were occasionally enslaved by their coreligionists. See: W.G. Clarence-Smith, Islam and the Abolition of Slavery, Oxford and New York 2006, pp. 36–48, under the title "A Fragile Sunni Consensus". For further reading, see J.C. Miller, Muslim Slavery and Slaving: A Bibliography, in: Slavery and Abolition 13 (1992), pp. 249–71.

40   Hugeburc, Vita Willibaldi, § 4, ed. O. Holder-Egger (MGH Scriptores in folio 15), Hanover 1887, pp. 94–95, pp. 100–101.

41   Bernardus Itinerarium, § 2, ed. J.-P. Migne (Patrologia Latina 121), col. 569; ibid, § 5–7, col. 570–71.

42   Annales Altahenses maiores, a. 1065, ed. E. von Oefele (MGH SS rer. Germ. in us. schol. 4), Hanover 1891, pp. 68–70; Lampertus Hersfeldensis, Annales, a. 1065, ed. O. Holder-Egger (MGH SS rer Germ. in us. schol. 38), Hanover 1894, pp. 94–98.

43   Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, futūḥ miṣr wa aḫbārihā (The History of the Conquest of Egypt), ed. C. Torrey, Cairo 1999, p. 206.

that Latin Christians were regarded from an economic perspective as a population that provided booty.[44] In certain passages, the historiographers Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076) and Ibn al-Aṯīr (d. 630/1233) focus on the military techniques and strategies employed by the enemy. Ibn Ḥayyān describes how "Christian forces" (ǧalāʾib an-naṣrāniyya) in Northeastern Spain protected themselves from Muslim attack in 200/816 by making use of the terrain, i.e., a steep river gorge and several small inlets, which they secured with beams and trenches,[45] while Ibn al-Aṯīr describes how the Crusaders (al-Faranǧ) constructed a solid wooden tower with a protective covering against fire and stones during the siege of Sidon in 504/1110.[46] The historiographer Abū Šāma (d. 665/1268), in turn, cites a letter in which Saladin heartily criticizes Muslim inertia, opposing the Muslims' apathy to the religious zeal of the Franks (al-Faranǧ), which made the latter sacrifice their property and lives for their religion (millatihim).[47] Finally, Ibn Ḥaldūn (d. 808/1406) explains that some rulers of the Maghreb tended to employ European Christian mercenaries (ṭāʾifat al-Ifranǧ fī ǧundihim) in their internal wars because of the latter's ability to fight in closed formation.[48]

Thus, confronting and comparing the testimonies of several texts concerning specific "subjects" and "objects" of perception permits us to identify the various differing contexts and context-dependent relationships that necessarily produced many different variants of perception.

Even if only a single subject of perception is concerned, we cannot automatically conclude that one specific perception is dominant. Although we seem able to confirm the existence of individuals whose perception of a specific phenomenon remained consistent over the course of time,[49] it is necessary to acknowledge that human perception is rather flexible and prone to change. This is easily forgotten, considering that perceptions are "locked into position" when formulated and documented, thus conveying the impression that they are static. The impression that a categorical and stereotypical way of thinking was prevalent is reinforced by the fact that, in the context treated here, the majority of extant texts were written – on *both* sides – by (religiously trained) scholars,

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44 Ibid., p. 209: He describes how the population of Sardinia prepared for an attack in 110/728, hiding their valuables by burying their gold- and silverware in the waters of a local port and by building an additional roof on one of their churches, storing their money in between both roofs.

45 Ibn Ḥayyān, as-sufr aṯ-ṯānī min kitāb al-muqtabis (as in note 17), p. 139 (fol. 103 alif); Ibn Ḥayyān, Crónica de los emires (as in note 17), pp. 54–55 (103r).

46 Ibn al-Aṯīr, al-kāmil (as in note 34), AH 504, vol. 10, pp. 479–80.

47 Abū Šāma, kitāb ar-rawḍatayn fī aḫbār ad-dawlatayn (The Book of the Two Gardens on the History of the Two States), ed. and trans. B. de Meynard, in: Recueil d'histoire des Croisades, hist. or. 4, Paris 1898, pp. 429–30.

48 Ibn Ḥaldūn, tārīḫ (History), ed. S. Zakkār / Ḥ. Šaḥāda, 8 vols, Beirut 2000–2001, vol. 1, pp. 338–39; see: S. Barton, Traitors to the Faith? Christian Mercenaries in al-Andalus and the Maghreb, c. 1100–1300, in: R. Collins / A. Goodman (eds), Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict and Coexistence, Basingstoke, New York 2002, pp. 23–62.

49 See: A Muslim Theologian's Response to Christianity: Ibn Taymiyya's Al-Jawab al-Sahih, ed. and trans. T.F. Michel, Ann Arbor 2009, pp. 73–74: "Viewed in retrospect from the standpoint of Al-Jawab al-Sahih, Ibn Taymiyya's attitude towards Christianity developed very little during his lifetime. The course of his life was not like Al-Ghazali's, with dramatic shifts of position and direction. He demonstrates, rather, a consistent theological synthesis, which he applied in all situations from early in his life as teacher in the Hanbali madrasa in Damascus until his final years when he was imprisoned in the citadel of the same city."

who thought and wrote conceptually, often stressing the existence of an "Other" in legal, social, economic, political, ethnic, dogmatic, or other terminology. But even in such texts, perceptions change in accordance with the reception and intellectual processing of available information by the respective author in a specific context. In some cases, the available source material obviously influenced the way in which a specific phenomenon was perceived and depicted. As mentioned above, the polymath al-Masʿūdī defines the Franks (al-Ifranǧa) as northern barbarians who have not, due to the climate they live in, developed the intellectual facilities characteristic of civilized peoples.[50] This passage in his historiographical work kitāb at-tanbīh wa 'l-išrāf (The Book of Admonition and Revision) is clearly based on theories formulated much earlier in ancient Greek ethnography and geography.[51] In his ethno-geographical work "murūǧ aḏ-ḏahab wa maʿādin al-ǧawhar" (Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems), in turn, al-Masʿūdī depicts a comparatively favorable image of the Franks as a powerful and well-organized people.[52] This description is, as he himself explains, based on a Frankish chronicle which became accessible to him in the Egyptian town of al-Fusṭāṭ in 337/947 and probably conveyed a more positive image of the Franks.[53]

We can also observe that the context and topic of writing affected the way an author depicted a specific phenomenon: written in the pre-Crusade era, the work of al-Masʿūdī contains no invective against the Franks at all and thus differs considerably from later works written during the period of Latin-Christian expansionism in the Middle East, such as the travel account of Ibn Ǧubayr (d. 614 / 1217). As somebody deeply disturbed by the loss of Muslim territory to Latin-Christian expansionism, Ibn Ǧubayr curses the Franks (al-Ifranǧ) more than once.[54] Nonetheless, the lovely bride which he saw on the occasion of a Frankish wedding (ʿars ifranǧī) in Tyre,[55] the Genoese captain (raʾīsuhu wa mudabbiruhu ar-rūmī al-ǧanawī) who expertly steered the ship used by the traveler,[56] as well as King William of Sicily (malik Ṣiqilliya Ġulyām), who saved Christian and Muslim passengers from shipwreck and even surrounded himself with Muslims at court, escape his invective.[57] Juxtaposing the statements of a single subject of perception thus

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50   al-Masʿūdī, kitāb at-tanbīh (as in note 25), pp. 23–24.
51   According to Ibn Ḫaldūn, tārīḫ (as in note 48), vol. 1, p. 109, in his chapter on "The influence of climate upon human character," al-Masʿūdī referred back to Galenus. In his murūǧ aḏ-ḏahab (§ 191, § 1319–1328), al-Masʿūdī mentions several Greek scholars of geography, e.g., Ptolemy. For the Greek origin of the theory see K. E. Müller, Perspektiven der Historischen Anthropologie, in: J. Rüsen (ed.), Westliches Geschichtsdenken: Eine interkulturelle Debatte, Göttingen 1999, p. 57.
52   al-Masʿūdī, murūǧ aḏ-ḏahab wa maʿādin al-ǧawhar (Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems), § 910, ed. B. de Meynard, P. de Courteille, and C. Pellat, Beirut 1966–79, Paris 1962–97, p. 145 (Arab. ed.), p. 343 (French trans.): "wa aḥsanahum niẓāman wa inqiyādan li-mulūkihim wa akṯarahum ṭāʿatan."
53   al-Masʿūdī, murūǧ aḏ-ḏahab , § 914 (as in note 52), p. 147 (Arab. ed.), p. 344 (French trans.). For further reading on al-Masʿūdī's description of the non-Islamic world see: A. Shboul, al-Masʿūdī and his World: A Muslim Humanist and his Interest in Non-Muslims, London 1979.
54   E.g., his description of Frankish Acre: Ibn Ǧubayr, riḥla (as in note 33), pp. 276–77.
55   Ibid., pp. 278–79, p. 282.
56   Ibid., p. 285.
57   Ibid., p. 295, pp. 297–98.

points to the fact that it is also necessary to differentiate concerning the perceptions and opinions formulated by a single person.

It should have become obvious that limiting Muslim perceptions of Latin Christianity to a single perception pattern is reductionist. It cannot be taken for granted that every Muslim living in the period between the seventh and the fifteenth centuries from the Iberian Peninsula to Central Asia generally held a condescending view of Latin Christianity, or held such a view at every point of his or her life. It is equally difficult to organize perception patterns into a hierarchy, claiming that religious and cultural arrogance always dominated and thus downgraded the importance of other perception patterns. While it seems perfectly possible that such a hostile and superior attitude influenced and even dominated perception and behavior in certain contexts, it seems undeniable that other concerns and attitudes were of greater importance under other circumstances. Radically put, a fixed pattern of Muslim perceptions of Latin Christianity did not exist. Rather, different contexts produced different relationships, which, in turn, gave rise to different perceptions. What we can reconstruct are ranges of perception that apply to specific "subjects of perception" as regards their – by no means consistent – views on a well-defined "object of perception" in a given moment or period, place, and context.

Approaching "Muslim perceptions" of "Latin Christianity" from this angle produces different results and opens up additional perspectives, as will be demonstrated in the following section. Focusing on the evolution of terminology used to circumscribe "Latin Christianity," it will deal with the question how Muslim scholars writing in Arabic between the seventh and the fifteenth centuries perceived and conceptualized this religious and cultural sphere in the north and northwest of the Islamic world.

2. A Concept of "Latin Christianity" in Medieval Arab-Islamic Scholarship?

2.1. The Lack of an Appropriate Terminology

When referring to Christians, early Islam, as represented by the Qur'ān, already used a differentiated terminology[58] that was then enriched in the ensuing generations of interpretation.[59] In the Qur'ān, Christians are occasionally defined toponymically as "Nazareans" (an-naṣārā).[60] When the common adherence to revealed scripture and the existence of a shared spiritual past is emphasized, they are regarded as "people of the book" (ahl al-kitāb), together with the Jews.[61] When dogmatic differences are highlighted or con-

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58   For further reading see Ǧ. Qazzī, naṣārā al-Qurʾān wa masīḥīyūhu (The Christians and the Messiah as Depicted in the Qurʾān), Diyār ʿAql 2002; Ǧ. Qazzī, masīḥ al-Qurʾān wa masīḥ al-muslimīn (The Qurʾānic and the Muslim Messiah), Diyār ʿAql 2006; I. Arsel, Juden und Christen im Koran, Norderstedt 2006; M. Bazargan, Und Jesus ist sein Prophet: Der Koran und die Christen, Munich 2006.

59   T. Khalidi, The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature, Cambridge MA 2001.

60   Qurʾān 9:29; also see: J. M. Fiey, Naṣārā, in: Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., vol. 7, Leiden 1993, p. 970.

61   Qurʾān 2:105; 2:109; 3:64–65; 3:69–75; 3:98–99; 3:110–113; 3:199; 4:123; 4:153; 4:159; 4:171; 5:15; 5:19; 5:59; 5:65–68; 5:77; 29:46; 33:26; 57:29; 59:2; 59:11; 98:1–6.

demned, Christians are included among the "unbelievers" (al-kuffār)[62] and are identified as the ones who have "said that God has begotten a son"[63] or who have "taken their scholars of scripture, the monks and the Messiah, the son of Mary, as their lords."[64] However, the Qur'ān fails to distinguish between different forms of Christianity. Being a seventh-century text whose essence was formulated in a historical context that predates the Arab-Islamic expansion[65] and thus the earliest regular contacts of Muslims with Christians from the northwestern hemisphere, the text is not concerned with a specific form of "Latin Christianity."

It is evident from contemporary Latin and later Arabic sources that representatives of "Arab-Islamic" civilization were directly brought in touch with various phenomena of "Latin Christianity" during the Muslim expansion into the periphery of the western Mediterranean in the seventh and eighth centuries.[66] In view of the fact that the earliest Arab-Islamic accounts of the expansion date from the ninth century, reconstructing contemporary Muslim perceptions of Latin Christianity raises methodological difficulties. It should be considered, however, that – as concerns Western Europe – the geographical horizon of these accounts is restricted to Mediterranean islands, the Iberian Peninsula, and the "lands of the Franks." This stands in stark contrast to the information provided by geographical works of the late ninth and early tenth centuries, which include other regions further afield such as the British Isles[67] and proffer more details, e.g., on the city of Rome.[68] Thus, it seems as if the early historiography on the expansion is based on impressions collected earlier and reproduces the limited but expanding worldview of a bygone period.

The early accounts tend to use ethnic and toponymic terms to define the inhabitants of those western regions that had been subject to raids, conquest, or had simply entered the geographical horizon of the expanding forces. In many cases, the fact is acknowledged that these inhabitants adhered to the Christian faith. The Andalusian scholar Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 238 / 853), for example, refers to a dispute between the last king of the Visigoths (al-Qūṭiyūn), Roderic (Luḏrīq), and the Christian populace, the bishops, and deacons of his

62   Qur'ān 2:109.
63   Qur'ān 2:116: "wa qālū ittaḫaḏa 'llāhu waladan (…)".
64   Qur'ān 9:30: "ittaḫaḏū aḥbārahum wa ruhbānahum arbāban min dūni 'llāh wa 'l-masīḥ ibn Maryam (…)".
65   This claim has been questioned by scholars such as J. Wansbrough and P. Crone. For a refutation see F. Donner, Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing, Princeton 1998, pp. 22–63.
66   D. König, The Christianisation of Latin Europe as Seen by Arab-Islamic Historiographers, in: Medieval History Journal 12.2 (2009), p. 435 including footnote 9.
67   Ibn Ḫurradāḏbih (late ninth cent.), kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik (The Book of Highways and Kingdoms), ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden 1889, p. 231; Ibn Rustah (d. after 913), kitāb aʿlāq an-nafīsa (The Book of Precious Valuables), ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden 1892, p. 130; al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), murūǧ aḏ-ḏahab, § 188 (as in note 52), p. 99 (Arab. ed.), p. 75 (French ed.).
68   Ibn Ḫurradāḏbih (late ninth cent.), kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik (as in note 67), pp. 113–15; Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamaḏānī (d. after 290/902), muḫtaṣar kitāb al-buldān (Abridgement of the Book of Countries), ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden 1885 (reprint 1967), p. 149–51; Ibn Rustah (d. after 913), kitāb aʿlāq an-nafīsa (as in note 67), p. 128–30; al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), murūǧ aḏ-ḏahab, § 128 (as in note 52), p. 74 (Arab. ed.), p. 55 (French trans.); ibid., § 722, p. 35 (Arab. ed.), p. 271 (French trans.).

realm (an-naṣrāniyya wa ʾš-šamāmisa wa ʾl-asāqifa).[69] The Egyptian historiographer Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871) describes how Muslim raiders uncovered the hidden treasures of Sardinia's populace (ahl as-Sardāniyya) in a church.[70] Possibly referring to Christian artwork, the Iraqi scholar al-Balāḏurī (d. 279/892) mentions that Muslim raiders found "idols of gold and silver studded with pearls" in Sicily (Siqilliya), which were sent to India in order to receive a higher price for them.[71] The so-called pact of Tudmīr, a rare example of a written agreement between Muslim conquerors and a subjected Christian population in the Western hemisphere, documented in many later sources, guarantees the inviolability of churches and grants a community on the Iberian Peninsula the right to freely exercise their religion (dīnihim).[72] The examples imply that the expanding Muslims did not regard the Christians they encountered in Western Europe as representatives of a specific faction of Christianity which encompassed the entire Western hemisphere and was distinct from Oriental forms. In fact, the extant texts on the topic suggest rather that Muslim scholars of the seventh and early eighth centuries still lacked the necessary knowledge and conceptual tools that appear in later writings.

An early form of categorization, the Arabic term for Europe (Awrūfa) can be found in Arab-Islamic geographical texts of the ninth century which go back to Greek geography. In later centuries, the category "Europe" was not used anymore. Instead, European toponyms and ethnonyms were positioned within the northwestern quadrant of the inhabited world or classified according to their position within one of seven climate zones.[73] A combined religious and geographical definition as in the term "Latin Christendom" does not seem to have existed.

Muslim refutations of Christianity, which were produced in large numbers over the centuries,[74] never define Latin Christianity as an entity in its own right. This is valid even for those scholars who can be considered the theologians nearest to the Latin-Christian orbit. In his treatise entitled "Detailed Critical Examination of Religions, Heresies, and Sects," Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), who was directly involved in polemic discourse with Christians from Córdoba, has recourse to the "classical" categories known from other theologians from the Eastern parts of the Islamic world.[75] Besides mentioning defunct

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69   Ibn Ḥabīb, kitāb at-tārīḫ (Book of History), ed. J. Aguadé, Madrid 1991, p. 140.

70   Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, futūḥ miṣr wa aḫbārihā (as in note 43), p. 209.

71   al-Balāḏurī, kitāb futūḥ al-buldān (The Book on the Conquest of Countries), § 275, ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden 1866 (reprint Frankfurt 1992), p. 235.

72   See the version of the pact in a work of the thirteenth or fourteenth century: al-Ḥimyarī, kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿṭār fī ḫabar al-aqṭār (The Book of Fragrant Gardens Concerning Information on Regions), ed. I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1975, pp. 131–32. On the document see L. Molina, Tudmīr, in: Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., vol. 10, Leiden 2000, p. 584.

73   See König, Arabic-Islamic Historiographers (as in note 6).

74   For an extensive but incomplete list of Muslim theological writings on Christianity, see M. Accad, The Gospels in the Muslim Discourse of the Ninth to the Fourteenth Centuries: An Exegetical Inventorial Table (Part 1), in: Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations 14.1 (2003), pp. 68–69. Even more extensive, but also including material which is irrelevant in this context: M. Steinschneider, Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache, Leipzig 1877 (reprint Hildesheim 1966).

75   Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq, ar-radd ʿalā ʾt-taṯlīṯ (Response to the Trinity), § 11–13, in: D. Thomas, Anti-Christian Polemic in Early Islam, Cambridge, 2002, p. 60, pp. 70–73; aš-Šahrastānī, Le livre des religions et sectes (kitāb al-milal wa ʾn-niḥal), trans. D. Gimaret/G. Monnot, 2 vols, UNESCO 1986, vol. 1, p. 627.

historical forms of Christianity, he divides the Christians of his time into the groups Melchites (al-malkāniyya), Nestorians (an-nasṭūriyya), and Jacobites (al-yaʿqūbiyya).[76] An anonymous Imam from Córdoba (early thirteenth century) does not care to categorize different forms of Christianity in his book on the corruption of Christianity and the merits of Islam but rather attacks various fundamental Christian concepts in response to the anti-Islamic Christian apologetic literature written in the Iberian Peninsula of his age.[77] Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728 / 1328), who seems to have been in direct contact with the Crusader kingdom of Cyprus,[78] also concentrates on the early dogmatic formation of Christianity as well as fundamental Christian concepts in his treatise "The Right Answer to Those Who Manipulated the Messiah's Message," and thus refrains from defining a specific form of Christianity practiced by the Crusaders.[79]

Historiographical, geographical, and ethnographical texts written in various regions from the late ninth century onwards repeatedly define various peoples of Europe as Christians, suggesting that Muslims were increasingly aware of the fact that the European continent had been christianized.[80] If they care to do so at all, their authors employ the classification used by the theologians mentioned above. They define eminent personalities, institutions, or peoples from the orbit of Latin Christianity such as the Frankish king Clovis (Qulūdūwīh) and his wife Chrodechild (Ġuruṭild), the Frankish king Charles the Bald (Qarluš b. Luḏwīq), the pope (al-bābā), the Franks (al-Ifranǧ), or the inhabitants of Northern Spain (al-Ǧalāliqa) as Melchites, along with certain groups of Oriental Christians in Byzantium and the Middle East.[81] Thus, a specific form of Christianity does

76   Ibn Ḥazm, al-faṣl fī ʾl-milal wa ʾl-ahwāʾ wa ʾn-niḥal (Detailed Critical Examination of Religions, Heresies and Sects), ed. M. I. Naṣr / ʿA. ʿUmaira, 5 vols, Beirut 1985, vol. 1, pp. 109–11; ibid., vol. 2, pp. 2–77. On Ibn Ḥazm's involvement in Christian-Muslim discourse see: A. Ljamai, Ibn Ḥazm et la polémique islamo-chrétienne dans l'histoire de l'islam, Leiden, Boston 2003; for further reading: M. Asín Palacios, Abenházam de Córdoba y su Historia crítica de las ideas religiosas, 5 vols, Madrid 1928–32; S.-M. Behloul, Ibn Ḥazms Evangelienkritik: Eine methodische Untersuchung, Leiden 2002.

77   al-Qurṭubī, kitāb al-iʿlām bi-mā fī dīn an-naṣāra min al-fasād wa ʾl-auhām wa iẓhār maḥāsin dīn al-islām (The Book of Instruction Concerning the Corruption and Errors in the Belief of the Christians as well as the Demonstration of Islamic Religion's Superiority), ed. A. Ḥiǧāzī as-Saqqā, Cairo 1980, p. 43; On the author and his involvement in contemporary polemics between Christians and Muslims see T.E. Burman, Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, c. 1050–1200, Leiden 1994, p. 71 (including footnote 118), 77, pp. 80–84.

78   A Muslim Theologian's Response (as in note 49), pp. 71–78.

79   Compare the insubstantial comments on the pope in Ibn Taymiyya, al-ǧawāb aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-masīḥ (The Correct Answer to Those Who Manipulated the Messiah's Message), ed. ʿA. bin Ḥassan bin Nāṣir/ʿA. al-ʿAskar/Ḥ. al-Ḥamdān, Riyāḍ 1999, vol. 2, p. 343; ibid., vol. 3, p. 500; ibid., vol. 6, p. 423. Also see ibid., vol. 4, p. 77, with the traditional distinction between Melchites, Nestorians, and Jacobites. On the work's general argument see: A Muslim Theologian's Response (as in note 49), p. 99–135.

80   See D. König, Christianisation of Latin Europe (as in note 66), pp. 453–65, on the Christianity and Christianization of Visigoths, Galicians, Basks, Franks, the inhabitants of the British Isles and Ireland, the Normans, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Germans, Lombards, Venetians, Genoese, and the inhabitants of Rome, as described in Arab-Islamic sources.

81   al-Masʿūdī, murūǧ aḏ-ḏahab, § 917–19 (as in note 52), p. 150 (Arab.), p. 346 (French transl.); al-Masʿūdī, kitāb at-tanbīh (as in note 25), p. 147; Ibn Ḥayyān, al-muqtabis min abnāʾ ahl al-Andalus (Citations by the Progeny of the People of al-Andalus), ed. M. Makkī, Beirūt 1973, pp. 130–31; al-Bakrī, kitāb al-masālik wa ʾl-mamālik (as in note 26), § 567–68, pp. 340–41; al-ʿUmarī, kitāb masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār (The Book on the Routes of Vision in the Realms of Great Cities), in Celestino Schiaparelli, 'Notizie d'Italia estratte dall'opera Sihâb ad-dîn al-Umarî, intitolata masâlik al absâr fî mamâlik al amsâr', Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei 285, s. 4, vol. 4, sem.

not seem to have been regarded as a defining feature that clearly distinguished medieval Europe from other Christian places and groups classified as Melchite.

2.2. A Notion of Cultural Unity? The Franks, the Pope, the Emperor

The emergence, rise, and specific character of "Latin Christianity" seems to have been acknowledged in terms which are not essentially religious. From the tenth century onwards, one comes across certain works of a historiographic, ethnographic, and geographic nature which imply that the northwestern hemisphere was increasingly regarded as a separate entity: al-Iṣṭaḫrī (tenth century) and Ibn Ḥawqal (d. after 378/988) included the Franks (al-Ifranǧa) and the Galicians (al-Ǧalāliqa) in their description of Byzantine territory (balad ar-Rūm), claiming that all three peoples formed a united realm (wa 'l-mamlaka wāḥid) and practiced the same religion, even though they differed in language.[82]

Writing in the same period, al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956) informs us that this unity had broken up during his lifetime. According to al-Masʿūdī, the city of Rome had been ruled by Constantinople long before the rise of Islam. Although the governor of Rome did not have the right to wear a crown or to hold the title of king (malik), he felt strong enough around the year 340/951–52 to usurp the insignia of power reserved for the emperor in Constantinople. The troops sent out to put down the rebellion by the ruling Byzantine emperor, Constantine, were vanquished, forcing the latter to plead for peace. al-Masʿūdī continues to report that all other Frankish peoples (sāʾir al-aǧnās al-ifranǧiyya) – the Galicians (al-Ǧalāliqa), the people of Jáca (al-Ǧāsaqas), the Basques (al-Waškans), most of the Slavs (aṣ-Ṣaqāliba), the Bulgars (al-Burǧar) – and other peoples adhered to Christianity (an-naṣrāniyya) and recognized the authority of Rome's ruler (ṣāḥib Rūmiyya). Rome, he claims, had always been the capital of the Frankish realm (dār mamlakat al-ifranǧiyya), from ancient times up to the present.[83] This anecdote about the "secession" of the Western hemisphere from Byzantium was reproduced with slight variations by the Andalusian scholar Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070), who exchanged the ethno-

2 (1888), pp. 306-07; Ibn Ḫaldūn, tārīḫ (as in note 48), vol. 1, p. 292; al-Qalqašandī, kitāb ṣubḥ al-aʿšā (The Book of the Daybreak for the Disoriented), ed. M.ʿA. Ibrāhīm, 8 vols, Cairo 1915, vol. 8, p. 42. Also see Ibn Taymiyya, al-ǧawāb aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ (as in note 79), vol. 4, p. 77, who defines the Melchites as the largest and most prevalent form of Christianity in all territories under Christian rule ("wa maḏhab ʿāmmatan ahli kulli mamlakat an-naṣārā"). On the Arab-Islamic equation of "Byzantine" and "Melchite" see N. el-Cheikh/C.E. Bosworth, Rūm, in: Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2ⁿᵈ ed., vol. 8, Leiden 1995, p. 601. On the Oriental-Christian self-definition in connection with the epithet "Melkite" see: S.H. Griffith, The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam, Princeton 2008, pp. 137–139. A sketch of the Melchites' history in the Middle East has been written by H. Kennedy, The Melkite Church from the Islamic Conquest to the Crusades: Continuity and Adaptation in the Byzantine Legacy, in: H. Kennedy, The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, Aldershot 2006, pp. 325–43.

82   Thus, both authors seem to reflect the shared Roman heritage of Byzantium and the Western successors of the Roman Empire: al-Iṣṭaḫrī, kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik, ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden 1927, p. 9; Ibn Ḥawqal, kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ (as in note 31), p. 14; see A. Miquel, La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11ᵉ siècle, 3 vols, Paris 2001, vol. 1, p. 269.

83   al-Masʿūdī, kitāb at-tanbīh (as in note 25), pp. 181–82: "Rome is and has always been the capital of the great Frankish kingdom" ("wa Rūmiyya dār mamlakat al-ifranǧiyya al-ʿuẓmā qadīman wa ḥadīṯan").

nym "Franks" with the term "Latins" (al-Laṭīniyīn).[84] Roughly one and a half centuries later, in a work clearly aware of European expansionism as manifest in the Norman conquest of Sicily, the "Reconquista," and the Crusades,[85] the Syrian historiographer Ibn al-Aṯīr (d. 630/1233) repeated the story of secession and again used the ethnonym Franks (al-Ifranǧ), explaining that the latter rose to such power after the secession that they were able to conquer the Levant at the end of the eleventh century and even take over Constantinople in 601/1204,[86] an explanation repeated later by Ibn Ḫaldūn (d. 808 / 1406).[87]

In spite of the large variety of European ethnonyms documented in contemporary Arab-Islamic sources,[88] historiographers reporting on the Crusades tend to use the ethnonym Frank as a generic term applying to a broad range of peoples from the northwestern hemisphere.[89] However, it should be emphasized that there is neither a terminological consensus nor a systematic equation of "Franks" with "Latin Christians" or "Europeans" in the many volumes that constitute the corpus of Arab-Islamic sources on the Crusade period.[90] That "the Franks" were regarded as Christians who followed the authority of

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84   Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, kitāb ṭabaqāt al-umam (Book on the Classification of Nations), ed. Ḥ. Būʿalwān, Beirut 1985, pp. 98–99.

85   See the passage in which Ibn al-Aṯīr links the conquest of Toledo 1085 with the Norman conquest of Sicily and the beginnings of the Crusades: Ibn al-Aṯīr, al-kāmil (as in note 34), AH 491, vol. 10, p. 272; ibid., AH 505, vol. 10, p. 490.

86   Ibn al-Aṯīr, al-kāmil (as in note 34), vol. 1, pp. 338–39.

87   Ibn Ḫaldūn, tārīḫ (as in note 48), vol. 5, p. 209.

88   See, for example, Abū 'l-Fidāʾ, al-muḫtaṣar fī aḫbār al-bašar (as in note 15), vol. 1, pp. 119–20.

89   In the works of Usāma ibn Munqiḏ (d. 584/1188) and Ibn al-Aṯīr (d. 630/1233), for example, the term Franks is used to describe the Crusaders regardless of their origin, even though other ethnic terms are employed as well: Usāma bin Munqiḏ, kitāb al-iʿtibār (The Book of Contemplation), § 8, ed. P. Hitti, Princeton 1930, p. 132; Ibn al-Aṯīr, al-kāmil (as in note 34), AH 497, vol. 10, p. 372. The earliest sources on the Franks, dating from the end of the ninth century, hardly mention more than the fact that they constitute the northeastern enemy to the Muslims of al-Andalus or that they live in the northern regions: Ibn Ḫurradaḏbih, kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik (as in note 67), p. 90, p. 155; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, futūḥ miṣr wa aḫbārihā (as in note 43), pp. 216–17; al-Balāḏurī, kitāb futūḥ al-buldān, § 270 (as in note 71), p. 231; al-Yaʿqūbī, tārīḫ al-Yaʿqūbī (The History of al-Yaʿqūbī), ed. ʿA. al-Muhannā, 2 vols, Beirut 1993, vol. 1, p. 199. Later sources of the pre-Crusade period mostly refer to Merovingians, Carolingians and early Capetingians: al-Masʿūdī, murūǧ aḏ-ḏahab, § 914–16 (as in note 52), pp. 147–48 (Arab.), pp. 344–45 (French transl.); Ibn Ḥayyān, al-muqtabis min abnāʾ ahl al-Andalus (as in note 81), pp. 130–31; al-Bakrī, kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik (as in note 26), § 567, p. 340. However, the term Franks already seems to acquire the character of a generic term in the tenth century: al-Masʿūdī, kitāb at-tanbīh (as in note 25), p. 182. On the terminological development also see: F. Clément, Nommer l'autre: qui sont les Ifranj des sources arabes du Moyen-Âge?, in I. Reck and E. Weber (eds), recherches 02. De mots en maux: parcours hispano-arabe, Strasbourg 2009, pp. 89–105. The fact that the Crusaders – in spite of their different origin – were regarded as "Franks" by the Muslims is also confirmed by Raimundus de Aguilers, Historia Francorum, § 168b (as in note 33), p. 52: "inter hostes autem omnes Francigene dicebantur"; see: T. Haas, Kreuzzugschroniken und die Überwindung der Fremdheit im eigenen Heer, in: M. Borgolte / A. Seitz / J. Schiel / B. Schneidmüller (eds), Mittelalter im Labor: Die Mediävistik testet Wege zu einer transkulturellen Europawissenschaft, Berlin 2008, pp. 86–95.

90   In a chapter on "The peoples who entered the Christian religion," the historiographer and geographer Abū 'l-Fidāʾ, al-muḫtaṣar fī aḫbār al-bašar (as in note 15), vol. 1, pp. 119–20, for example, distinguishes between 'Germans' (al-Almān), Burgundians (al-Burǧān), Genoese (al-Ǧanawiyya), Venetians (al-Banādiqa), Hungarians (al-Bašqird) and Franks (Ifranǧ) – the latter including the inhabitants of France (Faransa), Sicily (Ṣiqilliya), Cyprus (Qubruṣ), Crete (Iqrīṭiš) and other Mediterranean islands as well as the conquerors of Muslim al-Andalus. In the middle of the chapter, he defines the Rome as "the residence of their caliph who is called the pope," without explaining exactly whose caliph the pope actually is. See Yāqūt, muʿǧam al-buldān (as in note 14), "Rūmiya," vol. 2, p. 867,

the pope in Rome is clearly expressed in a letter written by Saladin around 586/1191–92 and documented by the historiographer Abū Šāma (d. 665/1268). Saladin contrasts "Frankish" unity and religious zeal with the Muslims' factionism and lack of religious enthusiasm, claiming furthermore that the pope in Rome (al-bābā allāḏī bi-Rūmiyya) had threatened the Franks with excommunication if they refused to contribute to the deliverance of Jerusalem. If this "damned one" (al-malʿūn) set forth, no one would dare to stay behind: Every Christian, defined here as "everyone who claims that God has a family and children" (kullu man yaqūlu anna ʾllāha ahlan wa walad) would accompany him.[91]

The pope, described as the late antique patriarch of Rome (baṭraḫ Rūmīya)[92] and local authority[93] in ninth- and tenth-century sources, is clearly acknowledged as an internal Christian authority from at least the eleventh century onwards.[94] However, he is not necessarily regarded as the leader of a specific Christian faction. If this is the case, he is defined as "patriarch of the Melchites" (baṭriyak al-Malikiyya) and "the one who manages the affairs of the Melchite Christians in the city of Rome" (al-qāʾim bi umūr dīn an-naṣārā al-malikāniyya bi madīnat Rūmiyya), e.g., by al-Qalqašandī (d. 821/1418).[95] In the passages of the latter's manual for secretaries that are dedicated to the correct way of addressing the pope in official letters, al-Qalqašandī lists several papal titles in Arabic. These titles – "Mighty One of the Christian religious group" (ʿaẓīm al-milla al-masīḥiyya), "paragon of the community of Jesus" (qudwat aṭ-ṭāʾifa al-ʿīsawiyya), "refuge of patriarchs, bishops, priests, and monks" (milāḏ al-baṭārika wa ʾl-asāqifa wa ʾr-ruhbān), "follower of the gospel" (tālī al-inǧīl), "the one who informs his community about what is forbidden and what is permitted" (muʿarrif ṭāʾifatihi bi ʾt-taḥrīm wa ʾt-taḥlīl) – depict the pope as being an authority among Christians in general and not only as the spiritual leader of a certain Christian faction.[96] The terms milla and ṭāʾifa, which both denote groups (of a religious and confessional nature, among others) forming part of a larger whole, are never linked to a specific "Latin-Christian" attribute. Equally, al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349) asserts that Rome, residence of the "greatest idolator / tyrant / rebel" (ṭāġūtihim al-akbar) and the largest agglomeration of "worshippers of the crucifix" (ʿubbād aṣ-ṣalīb), can claim the allegiance of every Christian.[97]

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who claims that Rome, the residence of the pope, is in the hands of the "Franks" and ruled by the "king of the Germans" (malik al-Almān).

91 Abū Šāma, kitāb ar-rawḍatayn (as in note 47), p. 480: "wa qāla man lā yatawaǧǧahu ilā al-Quds mustaḫliṣan fa-huwwa ʿindī muḥarram (…) wa iḏā nahaḍa hāḏā al-malʿūn fa-lā yaqʿudu ʿanhu aḥadun, wa yaṣilu maʿhu bi-ahlihi wa waladihi kullu man yaqūlu anna ʾllāha ahlan wa walad (…)". Also compare another letter by Saladin on p. 429 which also emphasizes the Franks' religious zeal.

92 E.g., al-Yaʿqūbī (d. after 292/905), tārīḫ al-Yaʿqūbī (as in note 89), vol. 1, p. 198.

93 Ibn Rustah (d. after 913), kitāb aʿlāq an-nafīsa (as in note 67), p. 128: "madīnat Rūmiyya wa hiyya madīna yudabbir amrahā malik yuqāl al-bāb".

94 On descriptions of the pope in Arab-Islamic sources see D. König, Zur Ausstrahlung des Papsttums in die mittelalterliche arabisch-islamische Welt: Eine Evaluation der arabisch-islamischen Berichterstattung zum Bischof von Rom, in: Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken 90 (2010) (forthcoming).

95 al-Qalqašandī, kitāb ṣubḥ al-aʿšā (as in note 81), vol. 8, p. 42; ibid. vol. 5, p. 472.

96 al-Qalqašandī, kitāb ṣubḥ al-aʿšā (as in note 81), vol. 5, p. 472; ibid., vol. 8, p. 42. For an alternative translation see Lewis, Muslim Discovery of Europe (as in note 8), pp. 178–79.

97 al-ʿUmarī, kitāb masālik al-abṣār (as in note 81), p. 306: "wa bilād Rūma wa hiyya mamālik ʿubbād aṣ-ṣalīb (…)

It is tempting to declare the form of address used in a letter written by the Almohad caliph Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Murtaḍāʾ to Pope Innocentius IV in 648/1250 as an acknowledgement of Latin Christianity on the part of the Muslim ruler. He refers to the pope as "the one obeyed by the Christian rulers and most revered by the dignitaries of the Roman nation / people" (muṭāʿ mulūk an-naṣrāniyya wa muʿaẓẓam ʿuẓamāʾ al-umma ar-rūmiyya).[98] But since in Arabic the adjective rūmiyya can be applied equally to the Romans, the Byzantines, and the city of Rome,[99] one cannot be sure if al-Murtaḍāʾ really distinguished between Latin and other forms of Christianity. Unfortunately, we do not have recourse to other letters to the popes in Arabic. The titles used in Latin translations of letters sent by Muslim rulers to the pope during the thirteenth century tend to depict the pope as the leader of all Christians, using titles such as "Pope of all Christians in the world" (papa omnium per orbem terrarum Christianorum).[100]

Occasionally, however, the pope is depicted as holding a special position of power among the "Franks." Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) calls him "leader of the Franks" (raʾīs al-Afranǧ)[101] and Ibn al-Aṯīr "ruler of the Franks in Rome" (malik al-Faranǧ bi Rūmiya).[102] According to al-Qazwīnī, all Franks obey the pope.[103] Abū ʾl-Fidāʾ and Ibn Wāṣil (d. 697/1298) refer to him as "caliph of the Franks" (ḫalīfat al-Faranǧ),[104] the latter claiming that, "in

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wa fī madīnat Rūma maqarr ṭāġūtihim al-akbar wa maǧmaʿ ʿadīdihim al-akṯar yaḫḍaʿ lahā kullu ṣāḥib ṣalīb wa ṣalbūt" (Italian translation on p. 312).

98   For the Arabic original text and an alternative (French) translation see E. Tisserant / G. Wiet, Une lettre de l'Almohade Murtaḍâ au pape Innocent IV, in: Hespéris 6.1 (1926), pp. 30 and 34: "souverain incontesté des rois de la chrétienté, respecté des princes de la nation romaine."

99   See N. El Cheikh / C.E. Bosworth, Rūm (as in note 81), p. 601; R. Traini, Rūmiya, in: Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., vol. 8, Leiden 1996, p. 612.

100 K.-E. Lupprian, Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels, Città del Vaticano 1981: a) May 1234, Konya, ʿAlāʾ ad-Dīn Kaiqūbāḏ to Gregory IX: "Sanctissime et angelis equalis (…) archiepiscope magne Rome et magne papa omnium per orbem terrarum Christianorum" (ibid., p. 133); b) June 1245, Cairo, aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Naǧm ad-Dīn Ayyūb to Innocentius IV: "Presentie pape nobilis, magni, spiritualis, affectuosi, sancti, tertii decimi apostolorum, universalis loquele Christianorum, manutenentis adoratores crucis, iudicis populi Christiani, ductoris filiorum baptismatis, summi pontificis Christianorum" (ibid., p. 151); c) December 1245, Homs, al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm in the name of aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Naǧm ad-Dīn Ayyūb to Innocentius IV: "Sancto, illustri, puro, excellenti, temporalium contemptori, dei cultori, venerabili, sublimi, scienti, magno, capiti secte Christiane et duci filiorum baptismatis, sedenti super sedem Symonis, ornatum habenti intellectum sanctis theologicis, pape Rome" (ibid., p. 159); d) December 1245, Homs, al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm in the name of aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Naǧm ad-Dīn Ayyūb to Innocentius IV: "sancti, gloriosioris, magni inaccessibilis contemptoris mundi, colentis deum et ei gratias agentis, principis legis Christiane, prepositi filiorum baptismi, sedentis super cathedram Symonis Petri, pape Rome" (ibid., p. 166); e) August 1246, Salṭ, Faḫr ad-Dīn in the name of aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Naǧm ad-Dīn Ayyūb to Innocentius IV: "Sedis altissime domino, excelso, reverendo, sancto, spirituali, beato, qui est fiducia sacerdotum et religiosorum, pape excellentissimo […] scriptura largissime sedis et altissime domini regnantis, spiritualis, beatissimi, iusti, sancti, abstinentis, venerabilis et honorabilis, regis patrum sanctorum, sustinentis filios obedientie, refugii gentis Christiane, victorie legis Christi, auxilii prelatorum et clericorum" (ibid., pp. 173–74).

101 Yāqūt, muʿǧam al-buldān (as in note 14), Art. Bāšġird, vol. 1, pp. 469–70.

102 Ibn al-Aṯīr, al-kāmil (as in note 34), AH 623, vol. 12, p. 465.

103 al-Qazwīnī, āṯār al-bilād (as in note 16), p. 397.

104 Ibn Wāṣil, mufarriǧ al-kurūb fī aḫbār banī Ayyūb (The Dispeller of Sorrows on the History of the Ayyubid Dynasty), ed. H.M. Rabīʿ / S.ʿA. ʿĀšūr, 4 vols, Cairo 1972, AH 626, vol. 4, p. 248; Abū ʾl-Fidāʾ (d. 732/1331), al-muḫtaṣar fī aḫbār al-bašar (as in note 15), vol. 1, pp. 119–20.

their legal system" (fī šarīʿatihim), all affairs are administered by the pope.[105] This kind of terminology is also employed in two letters addressed to the pope by Muslim rulers which only survive in Latin translation. Here the pope is defined as "the one who rules the necks of the Franks" (dominanti cervicibus Francorum) and as "glory of the multitude of Franks" (gloria multitudinis Francorum).[106]

While Arab-Islamic scholars increasingly applied the ethnonym Frank to persons and groups of different European origin and linked the pope with the "Franks," they also introduced a new term into their writings from the thirteenth century onwards.[107] Beginning with Ibn Saʿīd al-Maġribī (d. 685/1286), several authors use and explain the term "emperor" (al-inbarāḏūr, al-inbarāṭūr), defined – always in a European context – not only as ruler of "Germany" (al-Lamāniya),[108] "ruler of princes" (malik al-umarāʾ),[109] potentate at the head of forty rulers (arbaʿīn malikan wa sulṭānuhā),[110] and "ruler of rulers" (malik al-mulūk),[111] but also as "ruler of the Franks" (malik al-Faranǧ).[112] It is Ibn Ḫaldūn who combines the three elements of the Franks, the pope, and the emperor, explaining that the pope urges the Franks to submit to one ruler called "emperor" whose function it is to calm factionalism (al-ʿaṣabiyya) among them.[113] Looked at from this point of view, it seems justified that Franz Rosenthal, in his translation of Ibn Ḫaldūn's Muqaddima, chose to render the word Franks (Ifranǧa) as "European Christians," or, alternatively, "Latin Christians."

Conclusion

The present article on Muslim perceptions of Latin Christianity between the seventh and the fifteenth centuries demonstrated that Muslim perceptions cannot be reduced to a single pattern of perception characterized by a "Muslim" attitude of superiority and

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105 Ibn Wāṣil, mufarriǧ al-kurūb (as in note 104), AH 626, vol. 4, p. 249.

106 Lupprian, Beziehungen (as in note 100): a) November 1245, Baalbek, aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl to Innocentius IV: "Presentie excelse, sancte, dominative, apostolice, venerabili, honorabili, dominanti cervicibus Francorum, ductori capistrorum legis Christiane, vivificatori secte Christianitatis" (ibid., p. 155); b) August 1246, Salṭ, an-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Dāwūd to Innocentius IV: "domini pape, reverendi, magni, religiosi, credentis, temperantis, animosi, virtuosi, honorabilis, Innocentii, qui est honor orthodoxorum et patriarcharum, continens loquelam Christianorum, gloria multitudinis Francorum, corona gentis crucis, maior predecessorum sedentium in cathedra apostolica Rome" (ibid., p. 171).

107 See H. Gottschalk, al-anbaratūr / Imperator, in: Der Islam 33 (1958), pp. 31–36.

108 Ibn Saʿīd al-Maġribī, kitāb al-ǧuġrāfiyya (as in note 19), p. 193; Abū ʾl-Fidāʾ, taqwīm al-buldān (as in note 19), p. 202.

109 Abū ʾl-Fidāʾ, al-muḫtaṣar fī aḫbār al-bašar (as in note 15), AH 624, vol. 3, p. 175.

110 Ibn Saʿīd, kitāb al-ǧuġrāfiyya (as in note 19), p. 193; Abū ʾl-Fidāʾ, taqwīm al-buldān (as in note 19), p. 202.

111 Ibid.

112 Abū ʾl-Fidāʾ, al-muḫtaṣar fī aḫbār al-bašar (as in note 15), AH 624, vol. 3, p. 171. Ibn Wāṣil, mufarriǧ al-kurūb (as in note 104), AH 626, vol. 4, p. 250, depicts the emperor as the elected primus inter pares among Frankish kings (mulūk al-Faranǧ).

113 Ibn Ḫaldūn, tārīḫ (as in note 48), vol. 1, p. 292. See the differing translations: Ibn Khaldoun, Les prolégomènes d'Ibn Khaldoun, trans. W. MacGuckin de Slane, Paris 1863, p. 47–77; Ibn Khaldûn, al-Muqaddimah VI.18, trans. F. Rosenthal, 3 vols, New York 1958, vol. 1, p. 481; Ibn Khaldoun, Discours sur l'histoire universelle (Al-Muqaddima), trans. V. Monteil, 3 vols, Arles 1997, vol. 1, p. 467.

hostility towards the Christians of Europe. Hence, the first section elaborated on the possibilities of reconstructing different vantage points held by various "Muslim subjects of perception" regarding a large number of "Latin-Christian objects of perception." On the one hand, this was done by presenting different examples of the large variety of terms used to designate Latin Christians. As could be observed, the terminology ranges from single words including personal names, functional titles, "socionyms," ethnonyms, and terms of religious invective to elaborate descriptions and definitions. This terminological variety proves the existence as such of varying patterns of perception. On the other hand, juxtaposing several passages concerning the same or comparable objects of perception served to prove that various aspects of Latin Christianity were approached from many different angles. Differing terminology conveying various shades of judgment was employed for one and the same "object of perception." The pope, to cite just one more demonstrative example, could thus be classified as "the damned one" (al-malʿūn)[114] by one source and as "caliph of the Franks" (ḫalīfat al-Faranǧ)[115] or "friend of kings and sultans" (ṣadīq al-mulūk wa ʾs-salāṭīn)[116] by another. The first section therefore argued that the eventful and complex history of relations between the Arab-Islamic and the Latin-Christian world can only have produced a multitude of varying patterns of perception.

The second part of the article set out to illustrate this hypothesis by tracing the conceptual terminology used by Arab-Islamic scholars to refer to the religious and cultural sphere of Latin Christianity as a whole. The expansion during the seventh and eighth centuries had confronted Muslims with various Christian peoples in the West. However, Arab-Islamic scholars still seem to have lacked the intellectual tools to conceptualize the "Latin West." Until about the tenth century, certain historiographers seem to have regarded the common Roman heritage uniting Byzantium and the West as more important than the separation of both spheres. This is not so surprising if one considers that a cultural sphere characterized by a "Latin" form of Christianity only slowly emerged between the seventh and the eleventh centuries as a result of several important processes, inter alia, the spread of Christianity beyond the northern and eastern frontiers of the former Roman Empire from the late seventh century onwards,[117] the Roman bishops' dissociation from Byzantium from the eighth century onwards,[118] and the church reform of the High Middle Ages with its aim of ecclesiastical unification and standardization on a "European" scale.[119] Thus, the character as well as the boundaries of Latin-Christian

114　Abū Šāma, kitāb ar-rawḍatayn (as in note 47), p. 480.

115　Ibn Wāṣil, mufarriǧ al-kurūb (as in note 104), AH 626, vol. 4, p. 248; Abū ʾl-Fidāʾ, al-muḫtaṣar fī aḫbār al-bašar (as in note 15), vol. 1, pp. 119–20.

116　al-Qalqašandī, kitāb ṣubḥ al-ʿašāʾ (as in note 81), vol. 8, pp. 42–43.

117　D. König, Bekehrungsmotive. Untersuchungen zum Christianisierungsprozess im römischen Westreich und seinen romanisch-germanischen Nachfolgern, Husum 2008, p. 19.

118　F. Hartmann, Hadrian I. (772–795). Frühmittelalterliches Adelspapsttum und die Lösung Roms vom byzantinischen Kaiser, Stuttgart 2006, pp. 15–96. For further reading see: H. Chadwick, East and West: The Making of a Rift in the Church – From Apostolic Times until the Council of Florence, Oxford 2003.

119　See, e.g., H. Fuhrmann, Quod catholicus non habeatur, qui non concordat Romanae ecclesiae. Randnotizen zum Dictatus pape, in: K.-U. Jäschke / R. Wenskus (eds), Festschrift Helmut Beumann, Sigmaringen 1977, pp. 263–87;

Europe shifted continuously in this period.[120] In addition, different forms of Christianity, especially those on the Iberian Peninsula and in the zones bordering the Byzantine sphere of influence, made it difficult for Arab-Islamic scholars to form an image of a European continent united through religion and distinct from other Christian regions because of a specific and standardized form of the Christian faith.[121]

Nonetheless, Merovingian and especially Carolingian rule had already created a polity that encompassed great parts of the European heartland. Reaching beyond the early medieval "Francia," it included parts of the Spanish Levant, the Apennine Peninsula as well as vast territories east of the Rhine. The Carolingians not only contributed to the northern orientation of the Holy See in the Early Middle Ages,[122] they also cultivated diplomatic and commercial contacts with Muslim al-Andalus, North Africa, and the Middle East,[123] successfully projecting an image of themselves as the most important political players of the northern hemisphere in the Muslim world. Medieval Arab-Islamic scholars seem to have acknowledged this situation to a certain degree, consequently imposing the ethnonym "Franks" on other European Christians, even more so as soon as the notion of a "united Christian Europe" was reinforced by European expansionism in the Iberian Peninsula, the Mediterranean islands, North Africa, and the Middle East from the eleventh century onwards. As a result, the ethnonym "Franks" became a generic term for several Christian peoples of Europe who were closely associated with the pope in Rome and, occasionally, with an institution known as the "emperor." In varying constellations, written references to these institutions served to circumscribe a larger religious, cultural, and political sphere that can to a certain degree be regarded as being approxi-

O. Hageneder, Die Häresie des Ungehorsams und das Entstehen des hierokratischen Papsttums, in: Römische Historische Mitteilungen 20 (1978), pp. 29–47.

120 Sicily, for example, belonged to the Byzantine zone of influence up to the ninth century, was under Islamic rule up to the eleventh century, and was integrated into the orbit of Latin Christianity with the Norman conquest in the second half of the eleventh century, see A. Metcalfe, The Muslims of Medieval Italy, Edinburgh 2009, pp. 10–16, pp. 93–108.

121 On cultural "transit zones" see M. Borgolte / J. Schiel, Mediävistik der Zwischenräume – eine Einführung, in: M. Borgolte et al. (eds), Mittelalter im Labor (as in note 89), pp. 16 –17; M. Mersch, Kulturelle Diversität im Mittelmeerraum des Spätmittelalters, in: M. Mersch / U. Ritzerfeld (eds), Lateinisch-griechisch-arabische Begegnungen (as in note 30), pp. 8–12.

122 R. Schieffer, Die Karolinger, Stuttgart 2006, pp. 63–64.

123 Diplomatic exchanges occurred from the eighth century onwards, see M. Borgolte, Der Gesandtenaustausch der Karolinger mit den Abbasiden und mit den Patriarchen von Jerusalem, Munich 1976; M.M. aš-Šaiḫ, dawlat al-Faranǧa wa 'alāqātihā bi 'l-Umawiyyīn fī 'l-Andalus: ḥattā awāḫir al-qarn al-ʿāšir al-mīlādī (138–366 AH/755–976 AD) (The Frankish State and its Relations with the Umayyads in al-Andalus: To the End of the Tenth Century AD), Alexandria 1981; H. Walther, Der gescheiterte Dialog. Das Ottonische Reich und der Islam, in: A. Zimmermann and I. Craemer-Ruegenberg (eds), Orientalische Kultur und europäisches Mittelalter, Berlin 1985, pp. 20–44; P. Sénac, Contribution à l'étude des relations diplomatiques entre l'Espagne musulmane et l'Europe au Xe siècle: le règne de ʿAbd Ar-Rahmân III (912–961), in: Studia Islamica 61 (1985), pp. 45–55; P. Sénac, Les Carolingiens et le califat abbaside (VIIIe–IXe siècles), in: Studia Islamica 95 (2002), pp. 37–56; ʿA. al-Ḥaǧǧī, ʿalāqāt ad-diblūmāsiyya al-andalusiyya maʿ Ūrubbā al-ġarbiyya ḫilāl al-muddat al-ummawiyya (138–366 AH/755–976 AD) (The Diplomatic Relations of al-Andalus with Western Europe in the Umayyad Period), Abū Ẓabbī 2004; M. McCormick, Pippin III, the Embassy of Caliph al-Mansur, and the Mediterranean World, in: M. Becher and J. Jarnut (eds), Der Dynastiewechsel von 751, Münster 2004, pp. 221–41; A. Mohr, Das Wissen über die Anderen: Zur Darstellung fremder Völker in den fränkischen Quellen der Karolingerzeit, Münster 2005, pp. 251–59, etc.

mately equivalent to our contemporary notion of "Latin Christianity," or, perhaps even better, "Latin Christendom."

Arab-Islamic scholars may well have understood that ethnic, political, institutional, cultural, and even religious ties existed between the various peoples of Europe. But even if there are exceptions to the rule (the occasional scholar specifically describes Latin-Christian cult phenomena in detail),[124] they do not seem to have regarded "Latin Christianity" as a religious entity to be distinguished from the rest of the Christian world. Betimes, differences between "Eastern" and "Western" Christians seem to have been acknowledged: An Ayyubid letter written to the pope in 1245 deals with, among other questions, Roman efforts to incorporate Eastern churches into the folds of the Latin *ecclesia*.[125] The Egyptian historiographer al-Maqrīzī reports on dogma-related negotiations between Rome and Constantinople during the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1439.[126] In general, however, Arab-Islamic scholars seem to have attached more importance to the political and ethnic divide between Western and Eastern Christianity than to its religious dimension – for several reasons, as follows.

"Latin Christianity" was not as conspicuous and interesting as Christianity itself. Muslim theologians did not really need to refute a specific form of the Christian faith if fundamental aspects of this religion – the gospels, the dogma of the Trinity, the cult of saints, etc. – were regarded as sufficiently assailable. The fact that they regularly treat the early ecumenical councils extensively in their writings while ignoring later developments suggests that the intricacies of internal Christian debates mainly interested Muslim theologians if they were of relevance to understanding the emergence of basic Christian dogma. Not even the pope was always recognized as a "Frankish" alias "European" authority by historiographers. This probably has to do with the papacy's range of activity. During Late Antiquity, the patriarch of Rome had been part of a Roman Empire centered on the Mediterranean. During the Crusades, the pope sought to unite Christians under Rome's spiritual sovereignty, thus promoting the Holy See's influence in Europe, the entire Mediterranean, the Latin East, and among Oriental Christians.[127] The inconsistent terminology in Arab-Islamic sources as regards the pope's "sphere of responsibility" attests to the

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124　See König, Christianisation of Latin Europe (as in note 66), p. 442 (veneration of Peter and Paul in Rome), pp. 442–43 (cult of Saint Jacob in Santiago de Compostela), p. 464, n. 126 (religious customs in Rome).

125　In a letter written to Innocentius IV in December 1245 in Homs, the Ayyubid governor al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm assures the safety of the pope's Christian "personnel" in the realm of aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Naǧm ad-Dīn Ayyūb and states that he will not interfere in agreements between the personnel and the Greeks. Only a Latin version of the letter is extant, in which al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm writes: "Et nos non negamus concordiam, que facta est inter ipsos et Grecos, et non prohibemus de hoc neque irritabimus," see Lupprian, Beziehungen (as in note 100), pp. 166–67.

126　al-Maqrīzī, as-sulūk li maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk (A Guide to Understanding Sovereign Polities), ed. S.ʿA. ʿĀšūr, Kairo 1973, AH 843, vol. IV.3, pp. 1179–80, writes that the Council of Ferrara-Florence was convoked because the duke of Milan had proposed to the pope in Rome that the priests, monks, and important people from among the Byzantines and Franks meet to reach an agreement on dogmatic issues concerning their religion ("maḥall yaǧtamaʿa fī-hi al-qasīsūn wa ʾr-ruhbān wa ʿayān ar-Rūm wa ʾl-Faranǧ, li-yattafiqū ǧamīʿan ʿalā amr dīnī yaʿqudūhu […]").

127　K.E. Setton, The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571), 4 vols, Philadelphia 1976–1984; A. Hettinger, Die Beziehungen des Papsttums zu Afrika, Cologne, Weimar, Vienna 1993.

fact that Muslim scholars were not in agreement on how to classify an institution whose activities had never been confined to the European continent.

In view of the complex history connecting the European continent with the Mediterranean sphere in late antique and medieval times, Arab-Islamic scholars were not capable of developing a precise terminology, either to define a cultural sphere or "civilization" in and beyond the north and northwest of the Mediterranean, or to define a religious group linked to this sphere and subject to the pope in Rome. Although Arab-Islamic scholars had a notion of "Latin Christianity," this notion seems to have been as vague and imprecise as their "Latin-Christian" contemporaries' sense of cohesion.[128]

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128   On this sense of cohesion see T. Haas, Kreuzzugschroniken (as in note 89), pp. 86–95.