

FROM ARABYE TO ENGELOND

Edited by
A. E. Christa Canitz
and
Gernot R. Wieland



University of Ottawa Press

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FROM ARABYE TO ENGELOND

MEDIEVAL STUDIES
IN HONOUR OF
MAHMOUD MANZALAOU
ON HIS 75TH BIRTHDAY

Edited by
A. E. Christa Canitz
and
Gernot R. Wieland

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ABBREVIATIONS

CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i>
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
EETS	Early English Text Society
ELH	<i>English Literary History</i>
ESC	<i>English Studies in Canada</i>
GRLMA	<i>Grundriß der romanischen Literatur des Mittelalters</i> . Gen. eds. Hans Robert Jauss and Erich Köhler. Heidelberg: Winter, 1979.
GRM	<i>Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift</i>
HE	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> . Bede's <i>Ecclesiastical History of the English People</i> . Ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors. Oxford: Clarendon, 1969.
MED	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i>
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus . . . Series Latina</i>
RES	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
ZDA	<i>Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur</i>

A. E. Christa Canitz
Gernot R. Wieland

INTRODUCTION

As both person and scholar, Mahmoud A. Manzalaoui embodies the dialogue between cultures, languages, and traditions that is fundamental to the reality and the ideal of a multicultural civilization. The present collection of essays by colleagues, former students, and academic friends is a tribute to and reflection of the scholarly dimension of his multiculturalism.

Born in London, England, Mahmoud Manzalaoui was educated in Alexandria and in Cairo, at Victoria College, a British public school. He read English literature at the University of Cairo and took his first degree there in 1944, before matriculating at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he—inverting the usual sequence—graduated B.Litt. in 1947, B.A. in 1948, and D.Phil. in 1954. This period at Oxford also saw the gradual maturation of his work on the connections between Arabic and English literature as his primary field of scholarly enquiry. While his B.Litt. thesis, supervised by C. S. Lewis, was concerned with English translations of Arabic literature of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and their influences on nineteenth-century English literature, his D.Phil. dissertation, which he wrote under J. A. W. Bennett's guidance, laid the foundations for his life's work on the pseudo-Aristotelian advice treatise *Secretum Secretorum*. This thesis presented his first findings on the impact of the *Secretum* on English literature and thought.

After almost twenty years' teaching at the University of Alexandria, Professor Manzalaoui followed his two former Oxford mentors, C. S. Lewis and J. A. W. Bennett, to Cambridge. He has remained associated with Cambridge ever since, first as a Visiting Fellow at Clare Hall while also teaching for King's College, and later as an Associate of Clare Hall.

In 1969, he changed countries once again, coming to Canada to accept an appointment at the University of British Columbia, where he taught until

his retirement in 1989. During this time, he published numerous articles and reviews, especially on Arabic influences on, and the representation of Arabic culture in, English literature, medieval, Renaissance, and modern. However, the breadth of his publications is best illustrated by his books: his two-volume edition of *Arabic Writing Today* (a collection of translations, including his own, of short fiction and drama), and his monumental EETS edition of the *Secretum Secretorum: Nine English Versions* (presenting nine medieval and early modern versions as parallel texts). Ever since its publication in 1977, the latter work has served as a major resource for medievalists with a wide variety of research interests, from the 'advice to princes' tradition to the application of physiognomical lore in the portraits of Chaucer's pilgrims.

Apart from pursuing his own research, Professor Manzalaoui has always been most generous in sharing his wide-ranging knowledge. There can be few who are more erudite and truly learned and at the same time more self-effacing in letting others benefit from a lifetime of study. For almost three decades, *Medium Ævum* and other journals relied on his expertise for reviews of works concerned with the connection between Arabic and Western European cultures. English departments and Comparative Literature programmes both in Canada and in England similarly depended on him as external examiner of theses in this area. Students of Chaucer everywhere know his paper on "Chaucer and Science" (in Derek Brewer's volume *Chaucer and His Background*, 1974). And students and colleagues in his own department have profited immeasurably from his immense learning, both before and after his retirement. After a conversation with Mahmoud, whether at length over dinner or briefly in the departmental hallways, one comes away with the sense that one has learned something, yet he wears his erudition gracefully. It is a rare experience (and delight!) to have read a book before he has.

Having lived in Egypt, England, and Canada and being fluently trilingual in Arabic, English, and French as well as being thoroughly familiar with the literatures written in these languages, Mahmoud Manzalaoui is a cosmopolitan, transnational scholar, a person genuinely without borders. His edition of the *Secretum*, a work that exists in numerous versions and languages, is an emblem of this cosmopolitanism. Leaving Egypt in the late 1960's was an act of self-imposed exile. More than most of us, he has experienced the makings of modern history: members of his family who had once held imperial Russian titles were sold into slavery, only to rise again to exalted positions in the Egyptian court and aristocracy before becoming

connected by marriage to the Manzalaouis, an ancient Egyptian family of landowners with connections to the Sufi mystic order; he himself witnessed the arbitrary imprisonment of friends and students by the dictatorial regime in Egypt during the period of the Six-Day War; and he experienced first-hand the effects of a country's colonization. Yet while others might have perceived living in North America as exile from Arabic and European culture and felt bitter about this experience, Mahmoud Manzalaoui represents the human capacity to assimilate and adopt the best that diverse cultures have to offer, spiritually, culturally, and intellectually. The academic world provided him with the opportunity to cross boundaries of language, culture, ethnicity, and nationality in pursuit of an ideal—the notion of a human universality based on learning, which transcends such boundaries. For others, scholarship might be an add-on; for him, it is at the centre of being, with learning being taken for granted as a good in itself.

But lofty ideals are not all there is to life. Daily experience also has more mundane challenges which are not subject to scholarship—including xerox machines, lawnmowers, and police cars. Before his retirement, Mahmoud could strike terror in the secretaries in the UBC English department, simply by approaching the photocopier, where his knack for pushing the wrong buttons was believed to lead to the complete malfunction and irremediable shut-down of the machinery. Lawnmowers present other problems; when Mahmoud lost a fingertip because he had forgotten to turn off the mower before inspecting the running blades, there ensued a pronounced incongruity between the gesture of his continuously raised (though bandaged) middle finger and Mahmoud's normally much more gentlemanly manner. But the gentleman again triumphed when it came to questions of etiquette in the treatment of a policewoman—is she to be treated as a lady or as a police officer? Mahmoud must be the only person in North America who can get away with opening the driver's door of a police cruiser in order to let the lady take her seat behind the wheel so that she might help him recover his stolen property.

Mahmoud Manzalaoui is loved by his friends and colleagues for his combination of sophistication and unworldliness, and respected for his scholarship, erudition, and fair-mindedness. On the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday, we all present this volume to him in token of our deep affection and profound respect for him as a scholar, colleague, former supervisor and teacher, and friend.

A festschrift, by necessity, reflects the interests of the person being honoured as well as those of the persons wishing to honour him. When all these various interests are brought together between the covers of one book, there will be a great diversity, even though all the papers deal with one aspect or another of the Middle Ages. Within this broad category, some general patterns quickly emerge: Hanna Kassis, Derek Carr, and Chris Turner write on what might be called "Matters Middle Eastern"; Christa Canitz, Murray Evans, Kieran Kealy, Derek Brewer, Laurel Brinton, Beryl Rowland, and Douglas Wurtele write on "Matters Middle English"; and the remaining contributors, Paul Burns, Elisabeth Brewer, Anne Klinck, Patricia Merivale, John Mills, and Gernot Wieland, write on other medieval and medievalist matters ranging "from Arabye to Engelond." In their wide range of topics and diversity of critical approaches, the papers collected in this volume represent an interdisciplinary slice of academe and reflect a major fact about academic commentary today. There is no grand synthesis, no "master narrative." Instead, we encounter a composite picture, held together by the intricate relationships among the parts.

Hanna Kassis' "Images of Europe and Europeans in Some Medieval Arabic Sources" and Derek Carr's "Arabic and Hebrew *auctoritates* in the Works of Enrique de Villena" clearly belong together in that they examine the extent of the knowledge Arabs had of Europeans, and Europeans (or at least Enrique de Villena) had of Arabs. Chris Turner's "The First Patriarchate of Gennadios II Scholarios as Reflected in a Pastoral Letter" also deals to a large extent with the relations of Europeans to Islam, specifically with Gennadios II Scholarios' attempts to find a *modus vivendi* with Sultan Mehmed II, the new ruler of Constantinople after the fall of the city in 1453. Traces of "Matters Middle Eastern" also appear in other essays. Derek Brewer's "The Compulsions of Honour" refers to the "honour systems [which] are clearly evident . . . in Islam, where they are going strong today," and attempts in part to illuminate the honour system apparent in Middle English literature, specifically in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, in Chaucer and in Malory, by means of anthropological studies done on honour systems in Arabic countries. Beryl Rowland's "'Ad restringendum coytum': How to Cool Lust," another of the "Matters Middle English" essays, mentions the Arab physician Avicenna, whose *Canon of Medicine* strongly influenced European medical writers. Rowland's and Carr's papers thus complement each other in showing Avicenna's influence on European medical writers in general and on Enrique de Villena in particular. Anne Klinck's "The Oldest Folk Poetry? Medieval Woman's Song as 'Popular'

Lyric" also touches on "Matters Middle Eastern" in her discussion of the Mozarabic *kharjas*, which form the conclusions to more elaborate poems in Arabic or Hebrew. Read singly, Hanna Kassis's, Chris Turner's, and Derek Carr's papers provide illuminating glances at Arab-European relations; read in conjunction with Derek Brewer's, Beryl Rowland's, and Anne Klinck's papers, they become part of a larger picture hinting at the much more pervasive interaction between the European and Arabic cultures.

Several of the essays focus on "Matters Anglo-Saxon," yet also make connections with the Middle English period. Paul Burns' "The Writings of Hilary of Poitiers in Medieval Britain from c. 700 to c. 1330" explores literary echoes of Hilary's works in the Anglo-Saxon period, and catalogues the manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon and Middle English periods which contain works of Hilary. Likewise, Laurel Brinton, in her essay "'Whilom, as olde stories tellen us': The Discourse Marker *whilom* in Middle English," moves from the Old to the Middle English period in her examination of this word's semantic and morphological history. Derek Brewer's essay draws on the Cynewulf and Cyneheard episode of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (entry for the year 757), and traces the concept of honour gleaned from this episode into the Middle English period. Anne Klinck's essay also contains matters Anglo-Saxon, examining the notoriously enigmatic Old English poem "Wulf and Eadwacer" as part of her larger discussion of *Frauenlieder*, and considering it different from the heroic poetry of the time, in being more lyrical. Thematic links appear also between certain passages in Chris Turner's essay and Gernot Wieland's "*Ge mid wige ge mid wisdom*: Alfred's Double-Edged Sword": when Gennadios wondered why Christian Byzantium had been conquered by the "infidels," he could only answer that the conquest must have been a punishment by God for the sins of the Christians. Similarly, in Wieland's paper Alfred the Great comes to the conclusion that the pagan Vikings were sent as punishment to the Christian Anglo-Saxons because they had neglected their search for wisdom. "Matters Anglo-Saxon" are thus interwoven with both "Matters Middle English" and "Matters Middle Eastern" and present illuminating linkages with essays in the other groups.

Among the papers discussing Middle English language and literature, three share a concern in elucidating Chaucer's literary methods. Kieran Kealy's "Voices of the Tabard: The Last Tales of the *Canterbury Tales*," Christa Canitz's "Courtly Hagiomythography and Chaucer's Tripartite Genre Critique in the *Legend of Good Women*," and Douglas Wurtele's "Another Look at an Old 'Science': Chaucer's Pilgrims and Physiognomy"

all deal directly and only with Chaucer. Wurtele attempts to determine the extent to which Chaucer was influenced by physiognomical handbooks and draws specifically on Mahmoud Manzalaoui's own edition of the *Secretum Secretorum*; Kealy explores the way in which the last of the *Canterbury Tales* prepare for Chaucer's Retraction; and Canitz examines Chaucer's use and subversion of the genres epic, romance, and hagiography. By also including Malory and the poet of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, D. Brewer's paper expands the focus from Chaucer to Middle English literature generally. Murray Evans' "Coleridge's Sublime and Langland's Subject in the Pardon Scene of *Piers Plowman*," in turn, shifts the focus to Langland. Brinton, concerned with Middle English language, draws among others on the works of Chaucer and Gower for her examples of *whilom*. Beryl Rowland's "'Ad restringendum coytum': How to Cool Lust" focusses on a Latin text in a Middle English manuscript in order to examine an important aspect of medieval English culture, specifically some of the means to curb forbidden sexuality. John Mills' essay, "The Pageant of the Sins," concentrates on Error and the Seven Deadly Sins of Spenser's *Fairie Queene*; at the same time it exhibits an interest in medieval preoccupations, best seen in the sections discussing the representation of these same sins in Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*. With seven of the sixteen papers firmly anchored in the Middle English period, and an eighth closely related to it, the essays dealing with Middle English language and literature form the nucleus of this collection, and this is as it should be since their interests overlap most closely with those of the festschrift's honoree.

Two other essays form a sub-group dealing with the continuing appeal the Middle Ages have to later periods, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries respectively. Elisabeth Brewer's "John Ruskin's Medievalism" examines Ruskin's reflections on the Middle Ages, and Patricia Merivale's "*Sub Rosa*: Umberto Eco and the Medievalist Mystery Story" ponders the long shadow Eco's *The Name of the Rose* casts on medievalist mystery writers such as Ellis Peters, Peter Tremayne, and Sharan Newman, and even on the non-medievalist writer Philip Kerr. The phenomenon of "medievalism" cannot be discounted by any medievalist. The fictional efforts of an Ellis Peters or an Umberto Eco resemble the scholarly efforts of a Ruskin, a Tolkien, or a Manzalaoui. Whether through fiction or through scholarly criticism they—in Wordsworth's words—"throw . . . a certain colouring of imagination" over the Middle Ages and in their various ways pursue the common goal of making the medieval past come alive. Essays examining "medievalism" are an essential component of the study of the Middle Ages.

INTRODUCTION

In their interconnectedness these essays form a web as intricate as any created by an Anglo-Saxon interlace. Collectively, they examine the Middle Ages from about the year 700 to its end, explore the ways in which the medieval period has been represented in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and cover a geographical area ranging “from Arabye to Engeland.” Our hope is that in their rich variety these essays echo, and add to, the interests of Mahmoud Manzalaoui, and are a suitable tribute to an esteemed colleague, a valued teacher, and a generous friend.

Christa Canitz, Fredericton, New Brunswick
Gernot Wieland, Vancouver, British Columbia
March 1999

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*IMAGES OF EUROPE AND EUROPEANS
IN SOME MEDIEVAL
ARABIC SOURCES*

“Europa,” or the fair *‘Orphah* (“the girl with a full mane”) as she was known in some early Semitic languages, was the daughter of the Phoenician king of Tyre (modern Lebanon), who was abducted by Zeus and for whom she bore three sons. Her brother Cadmus was sent by her father to fetch her; but instead of bringing her back, he settled in Thebes, where he taught the Greeks the alphabet of his people, the Phoenicians. *‘Orphah*’s name, adapted to “Europa” as it was unpronounceable to the Greeks, came to be applied first to the Greek mainland and subsequently to the land mass behind it.

Unlike their Greek predecessors and mentors (particularly the second-century [Christian era] Egyptian-born astronomer / geographer Ptolemy, whose writings gained wide currency in Arabic sources), Arabic¹ geographers initially paid little attention to “Europe” (as a continent) and the “Europeans” as such. They tended to focus more attention on regions within the vast Islamic world itself (stretching from Central Asia to the Atlantic Ocean), as well as on parts of Asia and Africa that were outside the “house of Islam.” “Europe,” by contrast, attracted them less. This may have been due to the fact that there was little in Europe to interest the Muslims and, consequently, Arabic writers. This was certainly different with Byzantium, India, or China, which fascinated them and captured their creative imagination.

Arabic writers had some acquaintance with “Europe”; the toponym appears in the adaptation of Ptolemy’s *Geography* by al-Khwārizmī (d. 847),² and is mentioned in passing in some other early Arabic geographical works. For example, Ibn Khurdādhbīh (d. 911?) refers to Europe in his geographical work as *arūfā*, and defines it as follows: “The inhabited world has been divided into four parts. One of these is Europe [*arūfā*], which comprises Spain, the habitation of the Slavs, the Romans, and

the Franks, as well as Tangier and beyond, as far as the boundary of Egypt" (Ibn Khurdādhbīh 155 [Arabic], 116 [French]).

He may have been followed by the late tenth-century anonymous Persian author of *Hudūd al-‘ālam* ("The Regions of the World"), who calls it *urūfā* and defines it as follows: "The third part has on its east the Straits of Constantinople; on its south, the sea of *rūm* [the Mediterranean]; on its west, the Western Ocean; and on its north, the limit of the cultivated land of the north. This part is called *urūfā*, and forms one-quarter of all the cultivated lands of the world" (*Hudūd al-‘ālam* 83).

One of the earliest and most detailed references to "Europe" in Arabic writings is to be found in the translation of Paulus Orosius' *Historiae adversum paganos*, which was carried out in Muslim Spain in the course of the tenth century.³

Succeeding writers in Arabic copied and elaborated on Orosius' terse account, which is confined to the definition of boundaries and the description of various regions of Europe and some of its cities. They tended to echo the same type of information about Europe, albeit with some variations, calling it by diverse names and defining its boundaries differently. For example, the tenth-century geographer al-Iṣṭakhṛī called it "the land of the *rūm*" (the "Romans," see below) and defined its boundaries as follows: "The boundaries of the land of the *rūm* ["Romans"] extend from the [Atlantic] ocean to Constantinople, and encompass Galicia, the land of the Franks (*ifranjah*), Rome (*rūmiyah*) and Athens, and reach as far as the land of the Slavs" (al-Iṣṭakhṛī 8). He set the southern limits of the continent at Cyprus and Sicily, both of which at the time were under Muslim rule, saying that Sicily was "adjacent to *ifranjah*,"⁴ and describing the inhabitants of Cyprus as being of the "people of *rūm*" (meaning "Greeks") (al-Iṣṭakhṛī 70-71).

As their knowledge of Greek geography was enriched by that of pre-Islamic Persia, Arabic writers (a number of whom were of Persian descent) increasingly shifted their emphasis to the different peoples of Europe, and to the lands and cities they inhabited, rather than simply focusing on land masses. This was more in harmony with their latent inclination to emphasize relationships and affiliations of kinship. In other words, as geographers they became more inclined towards human rather than physical geography. But, regardless of which methodological approach was employed, information about Europe and the Europeans in early medieval Arabic sources remained scanty and perfunctory.

This reluctant interest in European lands and peoples was gradually stirred, however, as Latin Christendom and the world of Islam locked in

battle. Whether this was at the Battle of Poitiers (in 732), the unsuccessful invasion of Muslim Spain by Charlemagne (in 778), the occupation of the southern coast of France by pirates from Muslim Spain (890-973), the sudden appearance of Vikings on the banks of the Guadalquivir in Muslim Spain (ninth century), the proto-crusade against Barbastro (1064), the fall of Toledo into the hands of Alfonso VI (1085) and its rapid conversion by the Cluniacs into a city with a Christian character, or the Crusades (as of 1096), these and similar events awakened the world of Islam to the reality of Europe and the Europeans. And while it was descriptive of the various peoples and regions of Europe, such information as was assembled, whether drawn from earlier sources, from travel reports—their own or others’—or from a close observation of the conduct of Crusaders and their families, was also indicative of the attitudes the Muslims maintained towards the different peoples of Europe. As Europe was inextricably associated with Christianity, any description of the Europeans inevitably mirrored the image of the Christians of Europe that was held by the Muslims. Such an image was invariably delineated by the prevailing state of relations between the two religious polities.

We should emphasize here that the encounter with Europe was not Islam’s first meeting with Christianity and the Christians. From the onset of Islamic history, two Christian communities had played a significant role in the development of Arabic society. The first of these communities were the *naṣārā*, the Christians as they appeared in the Qur’ān and in the experience of Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam. Together with the Jews, the Muslims were enjoined to protect them (*ahl al-dhimmah*, “People of the trust”) as they were the earlier recipients of Divine revelation (*ahl al-kitāb*, “People of the Book”). Subsequently, the term referred as well to the indigenous Christian population living under Muslim rule and protection. But in spite of this, description of them as a group in Arabic sources is scanty. This may be due to the fact that they were left to manage their religious and civic affairs on their own. One does encounter the occasional reference to individuals among them in biographical dictionaries relating their particular achievements in any of the various areas of learning or service. For example, the biographical dictionaries of Ibn Juljul, and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah are replete with references to Arabic Christians who excelled in medicine.

The positive attitude towards the indigenous Christians, the *naṣārā*, was not relegated to a nostalgic prophetic past. It is noteworthy that at the peak of Crusader domination in the Near East, the Andalusian / North African traveller, Ibn Jubayr (who journeyed to the Near East between 1182 and

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