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Representations of Muslim virtue in Christian ecclesiastical sources: c.1000-c.1350

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The past half-century has been marked by a rising interest in the way that medieval Christian authors viewed their Islamic neighbours. The great scholarly pioneers, whose work sparked research on this topic into flame, were naturally Norman Daniel and Richard Southern and even today their monolithic studies still represent vital points-of-reference.[1] Another stimulus has been Edward Said's famous attempt in his *Orientalism* to describe an overall trajectory for Christendom's/Europe's *longue-durée* stance towards the Orient (and the Islamic world). Although he focused on the modern-era, passing only briefly over earlier periods, many historians have engaged with his model, considering the applicability of his framework to the Middle Ages.[2]

Since the publication of these works in the 1960s and 70s, debate in this field has evolved beyond the broad characterisation of Europe's stance vis-à-vis the Muslim world to embrace a wide range of sub-issues and questions. These include the role played by medieval authors in the long-term development of European attitudes towards both the Muslim world and the 'east' in general.[3] Should we characterise medieval authors simply as continuators carrying forwards tropes and stereotypes, originally devised by classical and patristic authors for peoples such as the Arabs and the Scythians, and then applying them to the Muslims of the Middle Ages? or as innovators, creating their own paradigms and frames of reference based both on their thought worlds and lived experience? Another major debate revolves upon the identification of the separate discourses that manifest themselves in the medieval sources. Most historians would

accept that two main lines of thought emerge from the contemporary texts (variously described).   Norman Daniel labelled these as the 'official view' (the clerical perspective and that of Christendom's intellectuals) and the 'unofficial view' (propounded in the *chansons* and other similar works so beloved by the knightly elites).[4]   The fulcrum of debate here is the question of whether these discourses should be characterised as discreet conversations with little inter-play between them, or closely intertwined viewpoints, each drawing heavily upon the other.[5]

Another important question concerns medieval authors' ability to appreciate Muslim virtue. Recent studies have dedicated a great deal of space to the study of Medieval Christian denunciations of Muslim 'vices', whether real or imagined, but fewer scholars have set out to explore more positive representations. The explanation for this must, in part, be because –in all fairness- the majority of medieval texts do indeed assume a hostile stance towards the Islamic world. Still, it also seems likely that the basic interpretive tools employed by historians to understand medieval texts may lead them towards such negative conclusions.   Models of alterity in particular (in which historians operate on the belief that the in-group defines its identity against that of the out-group: i.e. medieval Christians defined their own identity against outsiders whether Muslims/pagans/Jews etc.) tend to steer authors to see negative representations as the fundamental driver in forming identity. This is because it is methodologically assumed that the 'other' must be the opposing point of reference –almost always negative- to the 'self'.

The purpose of this article, by contrast, is to build upon the existing studies which have engaged with more positive representations of Muslims, exploring those contexts in which medieval authors identified/acknowledged/fictionally-represented Muslim virtue. As will be shown, such positive representations appear in various forms and were employed to serve a range of narrative functions. Within this investigation, the point will be made that the models of alterity employed by contemporary authors could be multidirectional; so that whilst Muslim 'vice' was at times used as a device to underline Christian 'virtue', there were also moments when the reverse was true; when Muslims were held up as exemplars, exposing Christian failings.[6]

The findings from this study will also be used as the source of reflection on some of the other abovementioned debates in this field, especially the interplay between 'official' and 'unofficial' discourses concerning the Islamic world.

The source-base for this study will –in large part- be made up of texts produced by clerics situated within Christendom's heartlands, living away from the frontier (some may never have met a Muslim). Their works are important because within their accounts of warfare, trade and diplomacy with the 'Saracens' it is possible to gain some idea of what they thought Muslims 'should be like' according to their own views and preconceptions (the mainstream clerical discourse). Other texts will also be consulted, which were written by those with more direct experience of interacting with their non-Christian neighbours, but the focus in these cases will be on the way that they situated Muslim virtue within their broader theological interpretation of Islam/non-Christian religions.   The objective here is to see how notions of Muslim virtue fitted *theoretically* within the broader clerical discourses.

To date, there has been some productive work on positive representations of Muslims. Many historians have identified moments when crusaders, or the authors of knightly *chansons*, expressed admiration for their Islamic enemies' valour and prowess in combat.[7] Norman Daniel discussed such representations, focusing on the *chansons*, with reference to the medieval Christian knightly conviction that Islamic elites adhered to a similar warrior code of conduct to their own.   He believes that the common conviction among Christian warriors that their opponents shared their values created a platform for cross-cultural appreciation. For him these chivalric representations were fictions; an outworking of Christian authors' fantasies projected onto imagined Muslims. Even so, other scholars have shown that frontiersmen could similarly be struck by Muslim 'chivalric' conduct on real battlefields (particularly during, or in the aftermath of, the Third Crusade).[8] Saladin, here, is naturally the prime example of a Muslim warrior elevated to heroic status and presented as a role model of chivalric behaviour.[9]

Such chivalric representations of Islamic warriors clearly made a deep impression and could play a formative role in moulding knightly

pre-conceptions about Muslims.   This can be seen in Jean of
Joinville's (d.1317) account of the Seventh Crusade's Nile campaign.
Retelling the army's shambolic surrender in 1250, he included a
number of reports about the behaviour of his Muslim captors. Some
behaved admirably and he recalled the care shown by an elderly
'Saracen' to Lord Ralph of Venault. Others did not.   Shortly after his
imprisonment, Joinville reports that those captured crusaders who
were suffering from sickness were all summarily executed and their
bodies thrown into the Nile. Seeing this, Joinville remonstrated with
the Muslim commander, observing that Saladin would never have
acted in this way. His complaint however merely provoked the curt
reply that sick prisoners have no value. This is a thought-provoking
incident.[10]   It suggests that Joinville joined the crusade expecting
Muslim warriors to adhere to the chivalric code that had long been
attributed to Saladin in *chansons*. So far from predicting Muslim vice,
he had anticipated virtue – and been disappointed.

Joinville's account provides a case-study for the influence of
personal experience in the representation of Islam. In his case, such
direct interactions clearly dented his preconception that Saladin's
mode of behaviour was commonplace across the Muslim military
cadres, but other travellers report rather different reactions. A case in
point was the Dominican missionary Richard of Montecroce (d.1320),
who travelled widely across the Near East between 1288 and *c*.1300.
As his writings demonstrate he was deeply influenced by his
experiences, being struck both by piety and the good works of the
Muslims he encountered and repelled by many of their beliefs.
Moreover, having witnessed the ruins and scattered plunder of the
kingdom of Jerusalem, he was profoundly challenged to explain how
God could have permitted such a defeat. Cumulatively these factors
reveal a mixed –if powerful- reaction to his personal experiences of
the Muslims in the east. Thus, as Rita George-Tvrtković points out in
her recent study on Richard, 'such interreligious conversations can
often produce as much discomfort and destabilization as they do trust
and understanding.'[11]   Other historians have likewise identified
moments when direct experience either remoulded or revised-
upwards a traveller's preconceptions of the Muslim world.[12] These
include the Franciscan Friar Simon Semeonis who visited Egypt and

the Holy Land in the 1323-1324 and who was clearly struck by the virtues of the Muslims he met during his sojourn in the east, although he retained a deep hostility towards the Islamic religion.[13]

Changing ground from the military and experiential to the intellectual, several historians have underlined the profound respect shown by medieval scholars towards several Islamic scholars. The most famous of these are Avicenna and Averroes and their impact upon Western thought is well articulated. Recently, Akbari has ably unpicked some of the theological challenges medieval European writers encountered when integrating these non-Christian authors' theses into their own works; showing how they 'sought to make use of the riches of Islamic learning, while simultaneously avoiding the taint of Islamic doctrine'.[14]

Reviewing the sample of works discussed above, positive representations of Muslims have been studied along multiple vectors: intellectual, chivalric and inter-personal. Some attention has been given to positive representations of Muslims in chronicles written by churchmen or in clerical/papal letter collections, but far more could be said and these sources will be the subject of this article.

To begin let us consider two tales told by eleventh-century authors whose works sit comfortably within the mainstream Christian discourse. The first of these is found in a letter written by the great intellectual and monastic reformer Peter Damian, shortly before his death in 1072. The document in question offers moral advice to a friend named Moricus. Specifically, Peter sought to steer Moricus away from the practice of swearing oaths and also he counselled him to be more attentive in practicing charity. He illuminated both points through exemplary tales. Regarding charity, he recalled a story that Richard, prior of the monastery of St Bartholomew in Camporeggiano, once told him. It concerned the adventures of eight pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem. At one stage in their journey these travellers suddenly found that they had run out of food and they began to suffer acutely from hunger. At this point they were joined on the road by a group of three well-provisioned 'Hagarenes' (*Agareni*). Apparently, two of these Muslims showed no interest in the pilgrims' distress and ate their bread without sharing a crumb. The third, however, cut his loaf of bread into nine parts which he shared with the

travellers. Later the two groups of travellers were attacked by a lion who killed the two 'Hagarenes', who had refused to share their food, whilst sparing the third. The pilgrims then continued their journey.[15] This tale is fascinating for the underlying assumptions it communicates. Perhaps the most pertinent of these is the fact that Peter was prepared to use a Muslim as a moral role-model for his moral message. Indeed, the conduct of the 'third' Muslim compares favourably with that of the biblical 'Good Samaritan'. Peter gives no explanation or justification for his use of a non-Christian exemplar; a point which suggests that neither he nor his source considered such a representation to be problematic. One of the most noteworthy qualities of this tale is that the behaviour of the 'Third' Muslim stands in stark contrast to his two fellows, who display no charity whatsoever and are consequently killed in judgement by a lion. In this case then Peter attributes two different behaviours to his anecdotal unbelievers: the majority are callous, one is compassionate. This point is alone suggestive, but it significance comes into greater focus when compared against another story.

This tale, quasi-hagiographic in tone, is told by the Cluniac monk Ralph Glaber (d.*c*.1046) and concerns the journey made by Abbot Mayol of Cluny back to his monastery after a visit to Italy. Whilst crossing the Alps, Mayol was captured by 'Saracen' (*Sarraceni*) raiders and held to ransom. Ralph portrayed these attackers *en-bloc* in hostile terms, labelling them as followers of 'Belial'. He was, however, prepared to make exceptions.[16] During his captivity, Mayol is said to have refused to eat the food offered to him by his 'Saracen' captors because it was unfamiliar to him. Still, he did not starve. One of his guards could see that he was a saintly man and kindly prepared some bread for him, which he ate gladly. In a later incident, one of his Muslim captors accidentally stepped on Mayol's Bible. This act horrified both Mayol and the 'less ferocious' of his captors, who took vengeance by cutting off the perpetrator's foot.[17] Following this event, Mayol is said to have been treated more reverently by his guards. Reflecting upon this tale it is clear that it bears many of the same hallmarks as Peter Damian's parable. Both may perhaps have some kernel of lived experience in their roots, but they had evidently been redacted for an exemplary purpose. Each describes the conduct of

Muslims who had acquired some degree of control over groups of Christian travellers. In both scenarios, the Muslims in question behave in two different ways. One group, comprising the majority, acts with either callous indifference or even marked hostility towards the Christian protagonists. The other smaller group shows more compassion and, in the second story, manifests a marked degree of reverence for Abbot Mayol and the Bible.[18] These protagonists are naturally viewed far more favourably by the author. One conclusion to be drawn immediately from these stories is that these authors did not anticipate that Muslims would act in a uniform manner; they were not perceived then to be homogeneously evil (as is sometimes claimed); rather it was anticipated that there would be variations of behaviour between individuals.

Another source to manifest just such an expectation is the First Crusade chronicle the *Gesta Francorum*. This author participated in the First Crusade and so his account will have been informed by his personal experience as well as his imagination. Still this chronicle contains a similar pattern of representations. Readers are supplied with an array of Muslim characters, who again display different behavioural tendencies. On one hand, there is Karbugha (*Curbaram*), ruler of Mosul (d.1102), who led a large Turkish army to Antioch in 1098 with the hope of defeating the armies of the First Crusade. He was subsequently defeated at the battle of Antioch on 28 June 1098. In the *Gesta,* he is given as the crusaders' arch-enemy, guilty of all kinds of vices and evil behaviours. At one point he is shown writing to the Turkish sultan and Caliph revelling in every kind of debauchery and sinful lust.[19] On the other there is the emir Ahmed ibn Marwan (named in the *Gesta* only as an emir *ammiralius*), who was appointed to guard Antioch's citadel. He is presented very differently, being described as 'truthful, gentle and peaceful.'[20] Again, there is no monochrome image of Muslims pervading the source. The logic undergirding the distinctions between these two individuals comes into focus when their differing fates are considered. Karbuqa's doom is to flee in ignominious defeat having dared to defy the Christian army; Ahmed, however, having witnessed and been inspired by the crusader victory outside the walls of Antioch is said to have recognised the truth of the Christian message and converted.

Reviewing these three tales told by eleventh century writers, patterns begin to emerge. There was clearly an expectation that when confronted by virtuous Christians, Muslims will behave in different ways. In Peter's tale, the hostile Muslims show vice and are destroyed; the more virtuous Muslim shows charity, survives, and is praised. In Ralph's tale, the Muslims who act compassionately and recognise Mayol's sanctity receive praise while those who scorn him are portrayed more negatively; one is killed. In the *Gesta* the cruel and hostile Karbuqa is defeated; the virtuous Muslim converts. The underlying expectation in all these instances is the same: when Muslims encounter Christians then they will act in one of two ways. The virtuous few will instinctively move to aid the Christians or even convert to Christianity; the vice-prone majority will be defeated and destroyed.[21]   Essentially, the latter two of these stories separates Muslims into those who are drawn towards Christianity/Christians and those who turn away from it. In all cases, it is contingent to the discourse that *some* Muslims will manifest virtue.

Theologically for these authors, the conviction that unbelievers have the potential to manifest positive personal behaviour (even before their conversion) is evidently unproblematic. This should come as no surprise. Highly influential authors such as Isidore of Seville had long advanced notions of Natural Law; a conviction that all human beings have an instinctive God-given sense of intrinsic morality.[22] These ideas remained both theologically valid and fully in circulation throughout this period and, to take an example from the end of this period, Thomas Aquinas observed:

> Mortal sin takes away sanctifying grace, all the same it does not totally destroy the good in human nature. Now since infidelity is a mortal sin, infidels are indeed lacking in grace, yet some good of nature remains in them. Clearly they cannot do the good works which are of grace, that is meritorious works. Nevertheless, they can to some extent do the good works of which the good in human nature is capable.[23]

This theological paradigm manifests itself in many places within the chronicles throughout the Middle Ages. Guibert of Nogent, for example, described the virtues of a pre-Christian king of Briton, noting that his good qualities originated from his intrinsic natural good nature.[24] Likewise, the ninth century author Radulf of Fulda (copied later by Adam of Bremen, d. *c.* 1081) described how the pre-Christian Saxons had excellent laws and customs arising from 'natural law' (*lex naturae*).[25] Thus, the notion that unbelievers could possess good qualities was fully in conformity with conventional theology.

Nevertheless, such explanations can only go part way to explaining the spiritual logic underpinning the above accounts. In all three of the above sources, the virtuous Muslims are always in a minority; standing in stark contrast to a sinful majority. This imbalance can perhaps be explained by the widely referenced contemporary view that all non-Christian religion was spiritual error or heresy that could easily be manipulated by demonic forces. It was anticipated that the majority of those living within a non-Christian culture would be morally degraded by their devotional adherence, whilst only a minority would be able to maintain their positive qualities. Consider for example, William of Malmesbury's description of the emir of Tripoli. He portrayed this ruler as a 'Turk by nation, but generous by the internal spirit of natural clemency'.[26] Even within this brief description it is clear that William was able to acknowledge this emir's virtue, but that he also saw this as standing in juxtaposition to the basic disposition of his non-Christian people group.

Changing ground slightly, for contemporaries, tales such as Ralph Glaber's account of Abbot Mayol's captivity communicate an implicit imperative to their readers that Christians need to ensure that they fully live-out the Christian message whilst in the company of non-Christians. The idea being that, should they behave correctly, they must necessarily act as a lodestone for the more upright among their 'Saracen' neighbours. This is a conviction which appears on several occasions in ecclesiastical sources, including papal correspondence. In May 1076, for example, Gregory VII wrote to the African Christians of Bougie, predominantly to confirm their election of a new archbishop, but also to counsel them in their behaviour towards their Muslim neighbours. He commanded them to excel in charitably

behaviour, good works and reverence for Christ so that 'the Saracens who are round about you may see the sincerity of your faith together with the purity of mutual divine charity and brotherly love among you.'[27]   He had made the same point three years earlier when he instructed the Archbishop of Carthage to shine like a 'veritable lamp' amidst a 'crooked and perverse people'.[28]

A similar view was advanced in a rather different way much later by the famous Catalan philosopher Ramon Lull in his fictional epic *Blanquerna* (*c*.1283). At one point in this work the eponymous hero Blanquerna, having been elevated to the papal throne, received a letter from the sultan of Babylon.   In this communication, the sultan marvelled at the Church's use of violence to conquer and hold the Holy Land, observing how little this behaviour imitated that of Jesus and the Apostles. Immediately afterwards, Ramon went on to explain how two Muslims were prepared to risk martyrdom in order to slay an unnamed Christian king. A papal jester then expressed his wonder that unbelievers should demonstrate a level of commitment to their faith that is scarcely found among Christians. Having heard these reports, Pope Blanquerna then took immediate steps to ensure that Christianity would in future be correctly presented to all unbelievers.[29] This is a fascinating tale and naturally it is redolent of the world Lull inhabited. It speaks of: the rise of the mendicant orders, the growing sense within ecclesiastical circles that a change of policy is needed in their approach to the non-Christian world, and the growing unease at the situation in the Latin East. Even so, we can still see the same paradigm at work that was referenced by Gregory VII. Again, Ramon advances a strong injunction that Christians *should* live in such a way that they radiate the teachings and life of Jesus Christ, particularly when they are confronted by unbelievers. What makes these stories so interesting is that, in both the above excerpts from *Blanquerna*, it is the 'Saracen' characters who show their Christian neighbours the true meaning of Christian conduct, either through the example of their own behaviour or through criticism directed at the Church.

Another rather unusual trope which seems to reflect the belief that Christian piety/virtue will necessarily attract Muslim emulation – albeit in a rather unusual form- is the tendency to identify widespread grief amongst Muslim peoples upon hearing news of a Christian hero's

death. Episodes of this nature appear occasionally in sources for this period and Albert of Aachen reports that Godfrey of Bouillon, first Latin ruler of Jerusalem, was mourned by 'many gentiles: Saracens, Arabs and Turks.'[30] According to Fulcher of Chartres, King Baldwin I of Jerusalem's death was also met with tears from those 'Saracens' who saw his funerary procession as it passed down the Mount of Olives into the valley of Jehoshaphat. Specifically, they are said to have been moved by the piety of those present.[31] Geoffrey Malaterra likewise described a moment on Sicily when the grief of mourning Christians led those Muslims present to weep. In this case he was describing the death of Jordan, son of Count Roger of Sicily, who had fallen ill with fever and died in Syracuse in 1092.[32] Another example can be found in Ademar of Chabannes chronicle where he describes how Charlemagne's death was met with tears 'even from the Saracens of many nations'.[33] Exactly what should be concluded from this trope is unclear. Certainly, in some of the above cases these may be reports founded upon observed events. Even so, what is significant is the meaning attached to them. To some extent the inclusion of Muslim mourners serves simply to magnify the impact of the sense of loss. The idea he seemingly wished to convey was that the grief felt at the emperor's death was so astonishingly great that *even* the pagans were not unmoved. Certainly, such references cannot be guaranteed to indicate any sense of Christian/Muslims co-operation or unification through a common sense of loss. Geoffrey of Malaterra may have described Muslims mourning the count's son but he also reminds his readers at this specific point that they are 'hostile to our people.'[34] This is certainly not an attempt at building bridges. Nevertheless, there is another dimension to these reports as well. They all indicate the attraction and magnetism, both of the fallen ruler and/or the piety of his mourners, to non-Christians. In this way they mirror the underlying conviction that Christian virtue will necessarily elicit a sympathetic response from non-Christians.

A further manifestation of the abovementioned trope whereby Muslims teach Christians about the true meaning of Christianity can be found in Robert the Monk's First Crusade narrative in his retelling of the crusaders' conquest of Antioch. The fall of this great city is very much the centrepiece of the chronicle and, at the heart of these

events, is the classic moment when an insider – variously described by different authors as an Armenian or a Turk - permitted the crusade commander, Bohemond of Taranto, with a small force of troops to break into the city, clearing a path for the main army. In Robert's rather fanciful account of this episode, Bohemond's 'contact' within the city was a Turkish emir named Pirrus with whom Bohemond was accustomed to discuss theological questions.[35]   Like many of the examples given above, Pirrus is portrayed as a non-Christian man of strong moral character, acting out of 'good will' (*ex bona voluntate*), whose instinctive sincerity and rationality led him to correctly identify the crusade's spiritual significance.[36] Specifically, Robert described a conversation in which Pirrus explained to Bohemond how he had seen an army arrayed in white assisting the crusaders in battle. Bohemond then realised that Pirrus had received a vision from God and he explained to the emir that he had seen the army of Christian martyrs led by SS George, Demetrius and Maurice. Impressed by this report, Pirrus then agreed to connive in allowing the army to enter the city.[37]   This tale is remarkable on a number of levels. Firstly, it describes the same phenomenon outlined above: a pious and virtuous Muslim whose good nature instinctively/spiritually draws him towards Christianity, described by a Christian author who was not present at the events under discussion.   On a second level, this story is noteworthy because of the enormous popularity of Robert's chronicle. Indeed, Bull and Kempf suggest that his was the most popular of the contemporary crusade narratives.[38] In this way, the author's readiness to attribute moral behaviour to a non-believer cannot be dismissed as liminal; it must be taken seriously as an unproblematic feature within the mainstream discourse. Thirdly, having related his account –almost certainly imagined- of Pirrus' growing Christian spirituality, he goes on to eulogise Pirrus as a paragon of faithfulness. At the start of his sixth book he writes:

> Take note, all you faithful, of how Pirrus kept faith; bear it in mind so that if ever you promise on oath for your faith you keep your promises with no excuses. No thought of the deaths of his brothers, no power of grief and no prompting of sorrow could suffice to shake his promise ... now here

faith came out of a man outside the faith, and true brotherly love out of a stranger.[39]

Here then Pirrus is not merely acknowledged as possessing positive characteristics, but he is actually being held up as a non-Christian exemplar of Christian behaviour (although, admittedly, the implication is that Pirrus converted during this episode). In this sense, Robert's portrayal of Pirrus compares favourably to Peter Damien's 'Third' Muslim. Through such examples it is clear that clerical authors saw no objection to attributing substantial moral virtues to imagined non-Christian characters even in an account of the First Crusade.

The above example offered by Robert the Monk provides virtually unconditional praise for a Muslim hero, holding him before his fallible Christian readers/listeners as a role-model worthy of emulation. This powerful emotive statement – the comparison of the virtuous unbeliever against the unworthy Christian – would doubtlessly have produced a strong reaction. One might well imagine the Christian audience squirming at the thought that they – the faithful - were being outmatched by their non-Christian counterparts.[40] Still where Robert used Pirrus to inspire his audience, other authors employed similar comparisons to condemn and denounce. To take one example, in 1084 Pope Gregory VII wrote to all the Christian faithful decrying their immoral behaviour. He cited specifically their refusal to receive instruction and their depredations against the Church. He embellished his point through a number of means, repeatedly citing scripture and using emotive language, but most significantly he compared the 'faithful's' behaviour against that of non-Christians. He observed that even though 'Jews, Saracens and pagans' cannot achieve salvation through adherence to their laws, they still observe and uphold them; unlike their Christian counterparts.[41] This example has a rather more negative tone than Robert's description of Pirrus, but its underlying message is the same: that some Christians would do well to note that their behaviour compares unfavourably even to that of their non-Christian neighbours.

This device can also be found in the curious account of Sir John Mandeville's (d.1372) supposed 'travels' around Eurasia. This work, written after the fall of the Crusader States by an author who longed

for their restitution, employs a comparable paradigm in his account of a speech supposedly given by the sultan of Babylon. According to his own report, he was once in the sultan's employ and even fought for him against the Bedouin. During this time apparently the sultan once took him aside and offered him a lengthy critique of Christendom. In this oration the sultan touched upon the sinfulness of priests and the widespread vices of Western Europe society. He also reflected – a little like Ramon Lull in *Blanquerna* - on how little Christian behaviour resembled that of Jesus.[42] The chances of this speech having any basis in reality are slight. Mandeville's tales are well known to have been based largely on hearsay and legend. Rather he is using a similar moralising device to that deployed by Gregory VII, which, however, unlike Gregory, he helpfully unpacks for his reader, writing:

> They [Muslims] who should be converted by our good example to the faith of Jesus Christ were being drawn away by our evil manner of living. So it's no wonder they call us wicked.[43]

This passage encapsulates many of the points raised thus far. It is an example of a Christian-authored statement addressed to a Christian audience which uses a virtuous outsider to lambast the faithful for their failings. Moreover, the use of a Muslim commentator in this context only adds force to the conviction that vices among the faithful will necessarily alienate those non-Christians who might otherwise have been attracted to the Christian faith.

These are not isolated instances. Further examples can be found in both Early-Medieval sources and even – operating in reverse - in Muslim descriptions of Christian behaviour. Charlemagne's famous counsellor, Alcuin of York, used a similar device in his letter to Ethelhard, archbishop of Canterbury, following the Viking raid on Lindisfarne in 793. He observed that this territory had formerly been won by their forefathers whilst they still adhered to paganism; a point that would make the future loss of this now-Christian land all the more humiliating. Again, he stressed the shame involved in a non-Christian succeeding where a Christian had failed.[44] Muslim authors sometimes use the same device in their descriptions of Christians. Consider, for

example, this passage from the Persian *sea of Precious Virtues*, which is essentially a book of guidance and instruction for princes:

> O Prince! wise kings should treat the *'ulamā* in the same manner as the kings of Rum and the Franks treat their priests: they seat monks in their presence with honor, and do whatever the monks command.   They give life and wealth for love of them, and never disobey their commands. Praise be to God! For *they* dwell in vanity and falsehood, and Muslims in right and truth; then why should our kings not be stronger in protecting the rights of Muslims than they are in maintaining vanity and wrongdoing?[45]

In this case, the virtues of the unbelieving Christian 'other' are being used to shame the vices of the Muslim faithful. What we are witnessing here seems to be a device straight out of basic human nature: the tendency – common to both the political stage and the school playground - to shame one's fellows by saying that they have fallen below the standards of another person typically deemed inferior.[46] Admittedly the use of such a device ultimately attributes a degree of subordination to the 'other' because it is founded on the notion that the faithful *should* be superior in moral character. Even so, it firmly acknowledges the 'other's' basic capacity to display virtue.[47]

Another theme touched upon in Alcuin of York's abovementioned letter, but also manifested elsewhere is the recognition that there was a time when the faithful had themselves been non-Christians. This idea is often alluded to in the histories of this period and the tenth-century chronicler Richer of Saint-Rémi opened his *Historia* describing the origins of the Gaulish peoples and reminding his readers that they too had once been *pagani*.[48] Within the sphere of Christian-Islamic relations, this same idea is referenced in *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*; an account of the conquest of Lisbon on 21 October 1147 by the forces of the Second Crusade en-route to the Holy Land.[49] The author drew upon this theme in his euphoric conclusion to his narrative where he reflected on how this considerable Christian victory had compelled many local Muslims to accept Christianity. He celebrated with his readers (following Isaiah)

that the 'bridle of error' had been removed, opening the way for their conversion. He then went on to remind his audience that there had once been a time when 'we' (the Franks/English) had also been in this condition of error; a point which he feels should cause all the more rejoicing that they no longer suffer in this condition.[50] This passage leaves the reader in no doubt about the author's conviction that the 'Saracen religion' is evil, but it also underscores the salvability of the Muslim people and the importance of their transition from 'error' to the true faith. In addition, it emphasises their shared humanity in that it reminds readers that they too were once a time when both peoples were alienated from God.[51] In these ways, Muslims were not deemed to be irredeemably separated from their Christian kin; their failure to acknowledge the Christian truth rendered them spiritually lost (as the Franks acknowledged they too had once been), but not beyond salvation. It was presumably with such thoughts in mind that Pope Innocent IV's biographer Nicholas da Calvi, a century later, referred to non-Christians as 'lost nations'.[52]

A character who represents the apotheosis of many of these trends is Saladin; the heroic Muslim sultan, who has arguably received more praise from Western European writers than any other Islamic character in history. Here is not the place to unpack a full study on the evolution of his rich legend.[53]   Still, we see many of the trends discussed thus far manifested in representations of his deeds, by clerical as well as chivalric figures. An example can be found in one of the moral tales (*exempla*) assembled by James of Vitry, bishop of Acre and later cardinal of Tusculanum (d.1240).   In this story, James described the last days of Saladin (d. 1193). He informed his readers that when Saladin realised that he was close to death, he ordered a small piece of cloth to be carried around his lands to demonstrate that there was nothing else that he could take with him after death.[54] The moral message is clear: it does not matter how rich you are, you cannot take your wealth with you into the hereafter. Whether Saladin ever did anything of the kind is beside the point. What matters is that James was using a Muslim to relay a deeply important distinctively-spiritual message to his Christian audience. Likewise, as Jubb has demonstrated, later *chansons de geste* and vernacular narratives *depict* Saladin contemplating conversion to Christianity but then deciding

against it because of the many abuses he perceived in Western Europe.[55] Again, as we have seen above, this is another manifestation of the well-worn story in which the prospective Muslim convert is first attracted by Christianity –the religion- but then repelled by the behaviour of Christians –the believers. Saladin serves therefore as a moralising vehicle for the Christian author to criticise his co-religionists for their moral faults by challenging them to contemplate how their behaviour will impact upon the attractiveness of Christianity to others. To take a much earlier example, Peter the Chanter, the highly influential Paris master (d.1197), in a chapter of his *Verbum Abbreviatum* concerned with fasting, included a bitter aside in which he depicted Saladin expressing his disgust at Christian practices. Peter observed: 'the moderation of Muslims [*Mahometici*] today exceeds the moderation of Christians'.[56] Again, Saladin is his chosen Muslim exemplar who lays bare Christian laxity.

Reviewing the points raised above it is clear that the concept of Muslim/non-Christian virtue was fully accepted and integrated within standard Catholic thinking. It was in no way liminal or disruptive to the recommended frame of reference; rather it was integral to Christendom's self-referential discourses. As shown through the above examples, positive qualities were frequently attributed to imagined Muslims within the texts produced by leading churchmen or the papacy; called upon frequently when the Church advanced exemplars, struck comparisons or issued rebukes to their own flocks. This does not diminish the many instances where Muslims - in so many types of sources - were described with the utmost hostility. The point is rather that it was not *anticipated* that Muslims would act in a uniformly negative manner. It was expected rather that there would be diversity of behaviour within their ranks.[57] According to the paradigms outlined above most unbelievers were thought to have been so tainted by their religious affiliation that they would act with cruelty and immorality, whilst a minority would have resisted this temptation and continued to be inspired by natural law. This pattern manifests itself in many of the above sources, but it also appears in the *chansons* where jongleurs frequently depict 'Saracen' armies in which depraved demonic 'Saracens' march into battle side-by-side with virtuous Muslim knights about whom the author wistfully muses 'were he a

Christian, he would be a great baron!'[58]   Indeed, the parities identified
above between the representations of Muslims in 'popular' (*chansons*,
and chivalric) and 'realistic' (theological and clerical) texts supply
further proof for the growing consensus that these discourses were
closely intertwined.

It might also be added that such contemporary authors, even
those writing around the time of the First Crusade, could recognise far
more than simply military competence in their non-Christian
foes/neighbours (as is sometimes claimed). The above examples
depict Muslims being advanced as exemplars of loyalty, compassion,
brotherly-love and generosity.   Moreover, even descriptions of an
enemy's prowess could be far more complimentary than might appear
to a modern eye. In a late-eleventh/twelfth century context, notions of
prowess embraced far more than simply the blunt matter of combat
effectiveness. When the author of the *Gesta Francorum* stated that
no-one except a Turk or a Frank was naturally born to become a
knight (*miles*) he was doing far more than acknowledging their ability
to ride well and handle weapons.[59] The concept of knightly identity
may only have been embryonic at this stage, but even so it still
embraced far wider notions of idealised masculinity and valorous
conduct. Moreover, the willingness to elevate Turkish prowess to a
'Frankish level' -particularly given the Franks' contemporary
conviction that theirs was a chosen people ordained by God[60]-
underlines how striking such an acknowledgement could be,
particularly because in this same passage the author also claimed a
common racial ancestry for these two peoples.[61]

Of course, in most of the above instances, such imagined
Muslims exist as 'types' performing pre-ordained roles within
ecclesiastical thought-worlds.   Their role in most of the above
narratives is to act-out their authors' convictions about the spiritual
status and composition of non-Christian societies. It has not been the
purpose of this article to discuss more than a handful of instances
where chroniclers attributed good qualities to those Muslims who they
- or their sources - had met in person; one might loosely describe
these as attempts at 'factual' representation. Even so it is worth
considering how a *theoretical* acceptance that Muslims could exhibit
virtue would have enabled authors to express themselves reasonably

freely when describing *actual* Muslims.   The author of *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, for example, found considerable space within his chronicle to reflect *theoretically* and *theologically* upon the 'Saracens' and their religion.   Discussing the fall of the city, he described how the count of Aerschot seized the Alcayde's (Muslim governor's) horse so roughly that she miscarried her foal.   This incident provoked the Alcayde to speak out vehemently against this cruel act; a judgement of which the author seems to have thoroughly approved.   The level of detail supplied in this tale and its sheer unexpectedness within the narrative suggests that this is an event which actually took place.[62] Thus we can see that that the author's theoretical discussion upon Muslims imposed no restraint on his ability to recognise or report their good deeds.

None of the above should imply that we are witnessing the origins of religious relativism.   Nor is it particularly helpful to splice discussion on these sources with modern-day notions of tolerance or intolerance. Depictions of Islam – the religion - are uniformly hostile throughout the medieval period and stand in stark contrast to the many positive representations of Muslim individuals, some of which have been discussed above. This differentiation however simply namechecks the fact that attitudes towards Muslim <u>believers</u> and non-Christian <u>beliefs</u> were very different.[63] As we have seen, Muslims were characterised as the loved creations of God, who were vulnerable as non-believers to demonic suggestion, but remained entirely redeemable should they embrace the Christian message.   Islam, the religion, however was deemed to be the *error* which had led them astray and which contaminated their behaviour and that of their people; thus, it was deemed demonic or evil. This notion manifests in many places and can be seen in many of the examples given above. It also appears in Caffaro of Genoa's *Annals*, within an account of the Genoese conquest of Caesarea (1101).   In his retelling of the siege, Caffaro included a set-piece conversation between besieger and besieged. In this exchange the Muslims berated the Christians for acting in a warlike manner, pointing out that their warlike belligerence stands at variance to Jesus' teaching.   They also highlighted their shared humanity observing that they –like the Christians- were made in God's image. The Christians then responded by stressing their legitimate

claim to the land and their determination to fight anyone under the authority of a law which seeks to injure the Christian faith.[64] This fascinating dialogue deals primarily with the legitimacy of Christian holy warfare, indeed it may well have been created precisely to head-off any concerns on this issue among the *Annals* Christian readership. Certainly, as has been pointed out by this source's recent translators, it is 'dubious' whether this conversation is founded in observed fact.[65] Nevertheless, within this debate several key theological points are addressed. The Muslims status as humans, born in the image of God, is affirmed clearly. Their adherence however to another hostile religion is held up as the dividing line which renders them both an enemy and a viable target. Thus, the distinction between believer and belief is upheld.

Overall, on a purely spiritual level, Christian authors in this period clearly felt themselves to be confronted by a series of heresies and non-Christian religions which they believed *by definition* to be evil. Islam -whether authors considered it to be a heresy or a form of idolatrous paganism- was one of these religions. To this extent, medieval contemporaries saw themselves in a good vs. evil conflict. Nevertheless, the situation of Muslim believers was far more ambiguous in their eyes. Authors were compelled to rationalise: (1) their conviction that unbelievers were vulnerable to demonic suggestion through their religious adherence (2) the knowledge that they were still God's creations and capable of natural virtue (3) the hope that they would convert (in which case they would be *theoretically* wholly united with the faithful). From a clerical standpoint this placed Muslim believers in a very different category to that of their religious beliefs. Some –it was anticipated- would have fallen so far that they would be irredeemable; other more virtuous individuals however would require only slight encouragement to convert. Overall this paradigm is a great deal more complex than straightforward binary opposition and certainly Western Christians did not have to wait until the Early Modern Period to be able to acknowledge that 'not everything that comes from the other, from another "outside the faith", is necessarily bad.'[66]

Notes

1   Richard Southern is best known for his: R. Southern, *Western views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1962).   Norman Daniel authored several works on this subject.   The most influential are his: *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 2009) and *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe* (London, 1975).

2   Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003).

3   As scholars such as Tolan have pointed out, the term 'Muslim' does not appear in the European lexicon until the early-modern period.   This point necessarily challenges us to consider our terminology.   The standard medieval term used to define Muslims was 'Saracens', although even here problems occur.   Various non-Islamic groups were described at times as 'Saracen' and there seems to have been limited understanding that the 'Saracen religion' was especially distinct from other non-Christian religions.   Moreover, the term 'Saracens' carries all sorts of polemical overtones which I would not wish to convey by using it in my own analysis.   Thus this work shall retain the terms 'Muslims' and 'Islam', whilst recognising these difficulties.   The name 'Saracens' will also be used at times, albeit in inverted commas (which are included to indicate that I am seeking to recreate medieval thought worlds through my use of this name, rather than explicating my own).   J. Tolan, G. Veinstein and H. Laurens, *Europe and the Islamic World: A History* (Princeton, 2013), 3.

4   N. Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens: an interpretation of the chansons de geste* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984), 1-2.

5   See for example: S. Akbari, *Idols in the East: European representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 201-203 and *passim*; John V. Tolan, 'Afterword', *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse*, ed. J. Frakes (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 171-177.

6   For discussion see: Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 221.

7   A sample: M. Bennett, 'First crusaders' images of Muslims: the influence of vernacular poetry', *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 22 (1986), 115.   See also: *Languages of love and hate: conflict, communication, and identity in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. S. Lambert and H. Nicholson, International Medieval Research XV (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), S. Edgington, '"Pagans" and "others" in the *Chanson de Jérusalem*', *Languages of love and hate: conflict, communication, and identity in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. S. Lambert and H.

Nicholson, *International Medieval Research* XV (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 39-40; Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews*, 188.

8   See: Helen Nicholson, 'The hero meets his match. Cultural encounters in narratives of wars against Muslims', *Cultural Encounters during the Crusades*, ed. K. Jensen, K. Salonen and H. Vogt (Odense, 2013), 108 and *passim*; Bernard Hamilton, 'Knowing the enemy: western understanding of Islam at the time of the Crusades', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 7.3 (1997), 385-386; M. Jubb, 'The Crusaders' Perceptions of their Opponents', *Palgrave advances in the* Crusades, ed. H. Nicholson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 234; M. Jubb, 'Enemies in the Holy War, but brothers in chivalry: the Crusaders' view of their Saracen opponents', *Aspects de l'épopee romane: mentalities, ideologies, intertextualities*, ed. H. van Dijk and W. Noomen (Groningen, 1995), 251-259. Jubb draws heavily upon the conclusions of Bancourt, see: Paul Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste du Cycle du Roi*, 2 vols. (Aix-en-Provence: Univeristé de Provence, 1982). See also : Schwinges, *Kreuzzugsideologie und Toleranz*, 144-145.

9   The pioneering study on this subject is: Margaret Jubb, *The Legend of Saladin in Western Literature and Historiography*, Studies in Comparative Literature XXXIV (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2000). See also her article-length publications mentioned above.

10 Jean of Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. J. Monfrin (Paris, 2010), p. 162.

11 Rita George-Tvrtković, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq: Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam*, Medieval Voyaging I (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), x-xi (for a thought provoking discussion on the role played by personal experience in the evaluation of other religions see chapters 5 and 6).

12 See for example Albrecht Classen's remarks about the pilgrim/diplomat Bertrandon de la Broquière: Classen, 'Encounters between East and West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age', *East meets west in the Middle Ages and early modern times: transcultural experiences in the pre-modern world*, ed. A. Classen, Fundamentals of medieval and early modern culture XIV (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 51. See also: J. Moran-Cruz, 'Popular attitudes towards Islam in Medieval Europe', *Western views of Islam in medieval and early modern Europe*, ed. D. Blanks and M. Frassetto (Basingstoke, 1999), 67; D. G. König, 'Medieval Western European perceptions of the Islamic world: From 'active othering' to the 'voices in between'', *Christian-Muslim Relations A Bibliographical History: Volume 4 (1200-1350)*, ed. D. Thomas and A. Mallett, History

of Christian Muslim Relations XVII (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 28; Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 220; Hamilton, 'Knowing the enemy', 379, 387.

13 M. Krasnodebska - D'Aughton, 'Inflamed with Seraphic Ardor: Franciscan Learning and Spirituality in the Fourteenth Century Irish Pilgrimage Account', *Franciscan Studies*, 70 (2012), 296. In a similar vein, Ailes, in a study on representations of Muslims in *chansons*, suggests that those works produced near to the 'Mediterranean basin' and therefore presumably within close proximity to the Muslim world tend to be more tolerant of the right of non-Christians to adhere to another faith. M. Ailes, 'Tolerated otherness: the 'unconverted' Saracen in the *chansons de geste*', *Languages of love and hate: conflict, communication, and identity in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. S. Lambert and H. Nicholson, International Medieval Research XV (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 18.

14 Akbari, *Idols in the East*, 272.

15 Peter Damian, 'Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani', *MGH: Die Briefe der Deutschen Kaiserzeit, band IV*, ed. K. Reindel, vol. 4 (München, 1993), 250-254.

16 Ralph Glaber, *Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum Libri Quinque (Rodulfus Glaber: The Five Books of Histories)*, ed. and trans. J. France (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 20-22.

17 Translation taken from: Ralph Glaber, *Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum Libri Quinque*, p. 21.

18 Incidentally, this is probably based on factual observation because the Bible is commonly treated with reverence in Muslim culture.

19 *Gesta Francorum, The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, ed. R. Hill, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1962), 51-52.

20 *Gesta Francorum*, 51-52.

21 For discussion on a similar theme in the chansons de geste see: A. Leclercq, *Portraits croisés: L'image des Francs et des Musulmans dans les textes sur la Première Croisade*, Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge XCVI (Paris, 2014), 472-488. See also: Albrecht Classen, 'The Self, the Other, and Everything in between: Xenological Phenomenology of the Middle Ages', *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages*, ed. A. Classen (New York, 2002), xxx; Jubb, 'The crusaders' perceptions of their opponents', 235.

22 Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies*, trans. S. Barney, W. Lewis, J. Beach and O. Berghof (Cambridge, 2010), 117. See also: Schwinges, *Kreuzzugsideologie und Toleranz*, 148.

23 Translation taken from: St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, trans. T. Gilby, vol. 32 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 49.

24 Guibert of Nogent, 'De Vita Sua', *PL*, ed. J. Migne, vol. 156 (1853), 893.

25 Rudulf of Fulda, 'Translatio S. Alexandri', *MGHS*, ed. G. Pertz, vol. 2 (Hanover, 1829), 675; Adam of Bremen, 'Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum', *MGH: SRG*, vol. 2, ed. B. Schmeidler (Hanover, 1917), 8.

26 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, ed. R. Mynors, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1998), 666. Schwinges notes a similar phenomenon in discussion on Helmold of Bosau's *Chronica Slavorum*: Schwinges, *Kreuzzugsideologie und Toleranz*, 149.

27 'Das Register Gregors VII', *MGH: Epistolae Selectae*, ed. E. Caspar, vol. 2 pt 1 (Berlin, 1920), 286. Translation taken from: Gregory VII, *The Register of Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085*, ed. and trans. H. Cowdrey (Oxford, 2002), 203-204.

28 'Das Register Gregors VII', vol. 2 pt 1, 39. Translations taken from: *The Register of Pope Gregory VII*, 28. See also: H. Cowdrey, 'New Dimensions of Reform: War as a Path to Salvation', *Jerusalem the Golden: The Origins and Impact of the First Crusade*, ed. S. Edgington and L. García-Guijarro, Outremer: Studies in the Crusades and the Latin East III (Turnhout, 2014), 11-24.

29 Ramon Lull, *Blanquerna*, trans. E. A. Peers, ed. R. Irwin (London: Dedalus, 1988), 322-331.

30 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. S. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), 516.

31 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), 613.

32 Geoffrey of Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardi Ducis fratris* eius, ed. E. Pontierei, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores V part1 (Bologna, 1927), 98. For an interesting discussion upon the involvement of Jews and Muslims in the funerary processions of Aragonese rulers see: Brian Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c.1050-1614* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 411. See also: Hans Eberhard Mayer, 'Latins, Muslims and Greeks in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', *History*, 63 (1978), 180.

33 Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon: Ademari Cabannensis: Opera Omnia Pars 1*, ed. P. Bourgain, Corpus Christianorum CXXIX (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 111.

34 Geoffrey of Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii Calabriae*, 98.

35 For a detailed discussion of the both the sources and historiography for this whole incident see: Kristin Skottki, 'Of 'Pious Traitors', and Dangerous Encounters. Historiographical notions of Inter-culturality in

the Principality of Antioch', *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies*, 1 (2014), 75-116.

36 See: S. Throop, 'Combat and Conversion: Inter-faith Dialogue in Twelfth-Century Crusading Narratives', *Medieval Encounters*, 13 (2007), 316.

37 *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*, ed. D. Kempf and M. G. Bull (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013), 51-56.

38 *Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*, ix-x.

39 *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*, 56. Translation taken from: *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade: Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. C. Sweetenham, Crusade Texts in Translation XI (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 147.

40 In a similar vein, Rita George-Tvrtković has quite rightly observed that in such instances the author's purpose was not to praise Muslim virtue, but to criticise Christian vice. George-Tvrtković, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, 44.

41 *The Epistolae Vagantes of Pope Gregory VII*, ed. and trans. by H. Cowdrey (Oxford, 1972), 128-134. For a latter manifestation of this same approach (using non-Christian virtue to lay bare Christian fault) see Coluccio Salutati's letter concerning the rising Ottoman threat, written in 1397. M. Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA, 2008), 74.

42 For similar discussion on this passage see: Daniel, *Islam and the west*, 223.

43 *The Defective version of Mandeville's travels*, ed. M. Seymour, Early English Text Society (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 61. Translation taken from: Sir John Mandeville, *The book of marvels and travels*, trans. A. Bale (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 66.

44 Alcuin of York, 'Epistolae', *MGH: Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, ed. E. Duemmler, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1895), 47. See also: Boniface of Mainz, 'S. Bonifatii et Lulli Epistolae', *MGH: Epistolae Selectae*, ed. M. Tangl, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1916), 146-155.

45 Translation taken from: *The Sea of Precious Virtues (Baḥr al-Favāʾid): A Medieval Islamic Mirror for Princes*, tr. J.S.Meisami (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991), 215. In a similar vein Richard of Montecroce spoke very warmly about Muslim piety and pious practices in his account of his travels in the east and used them to criticise the laxity of his co-religionists. See: George-Tvrtković, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, 43-72.

46 For example of a similar trope used negatively in *chansons* and descriptions of warfare between Christians in Western Christendom see: R. Kaeuper, *Holy warriors: the religious ideology of Chivalry* (Philadelphia, 2009), 104-115.

47 Tolan makes a similar point in discussion upon Martin Luther's descriptions of Turkish virtue. Again these descriptions of Turkish piety were used to criticise the faithful. Reflecting on Luther's works he challenges the idea that this constitutes a form of 'relative tolerance', making the point instead that the works were written to condemn Christians, not praise Turks. Quite so, this was very evidently the purpose of many allusions of this kind, but this doesn't remove the basic point that Christians *could* identify virtue whilst remaining within a Christian religious discourse: John V. Tolan, 'Looking East before 1453: The Saracen in the Medieval European Imagination', *Cultural Encounters between East and West*, ed. Matthew Birchwood and Matthew Dimmock (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2005), 14.

48 Richer of Saint-Rémi, *Histories*, ed. Justin Lake, vol. 1, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library X (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 12.

49 For discussion on the author and the campaign see: J. Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 136-167.

50 Translation taken from: *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi: The Conquest of Lisbon*, ed. Charles Wendell David, foreword by Jonathan Phillips, Records of Western Civilization (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 180-182 (see also 156-158).

51 For further discussion on medieval depictions of the shared humanity linking Christians and Muslims see: Classen, 'The Self, the Other, and Everything in between', xxvi. For explicit statements in the *chansons de geste* making the same point see: Tinsley, 'Mapping the Muslims: Images of Islam in Middle High German Literature of the Thirteenth Century', *Contextualizing the Muslim Other in Medieval Christian Discourse*', ed. J. Frakes (New York, 2011), 81-82.

52 Nikolaos G. Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece: A Study of Byzantine-Western Relations and Attitudes, 1204-1282*, Medieval Church Studies XXII (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 170.

53 See: Jubb, *The legend of Saladin*.

54 *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. Thomas Frederick Crane (London: David Nutt, 1890), 54-55.

55 Jubb, 'The Crusaders' Perceptions of their Opponents', 239; John V. Tolan, 'Mirror of Chivalry: Saladin in the Medieval European Imagination', *Sons of Ishmael: Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages* (Gainesville, 2008)*,* 97-98; Helen Nicholson, 'The hero meets his match', 114, 116; Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 225. See also: Ailes, 'Tolerated otherness', 13-14.

56 Peter the Chanter, 'Verbum Abbreviatum', *PL*, vol. 205, col. 328.

57 For similar conclusions drawn from epic verse see: D. Tinsley, 'Mapping the Muslims',, 94.

58 *The Song of Roland*, trans. J. Duggan and A. Rejhon (Turnhout, 2012), 60. Kangas notes that a rejection of the Islamic religion did not necessarily translate into a rejection of Muslim warriors, at least in the *chansons de geste*. She does however claim that the chroniclers took a rather harder tone. S. Kangas, 'First in prowess and faith. The great encounter in twelfth century crusader narratives', *Cultural encounters during the Crusades*, ed. K. Jensen, K. Salonen and H. Vogt (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013), 121-122.

59 *Gesta Francorum*, 20. See also: Conor Kostick, 'Courage and Cowardice on the First Crusade, 1096-1099', *War in History*, 20 (1) (2013), 47-48.

60 M. Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: the Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford, 2011).

61 Exactly what should be make of the *Gesta*'s suggestion that the two peoples were related has been widely debated. See: Sir Steven Runciman, 'Teucri and Turci', *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies: In Honor of Aziz Suryal Atiya*, ed. S. Hanna (Leiden, 1972), 344-348; A. Murray, 'William of Tyre and the Origin of the Turks: Observations on Possible Sources of the *Gesta orientalium principum*', Dei Gesta per Francos: Etudes sur les croisades dédiés à Jean Richard: Crusade Studies in Honour of Jean Richard**, ed. M. Balard, B. Kedar and J. Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 217-229; M. Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA, 2008), 22-64.

62 *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 176.

63 Tolan notes this distinction although he does not seek to explain the theological reasoning underpinning it: J. Tolan, 'Veneratio Sarracenorum: Shared Devotion among Muslims and Christians, According to Burchard of Strasburg, Envoy from Frederic Barbarossa to Saladin (c.1175)', *Sons of Ishmael: Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages* (Gainesville, 2008)*,* 101.

64 Caffaro, *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, ed. L. Belgrano, Fonti per Storia D'Italia XI (Rome, 1890), 9-10..

65 M. Hall and J. Phillips, 'Introduction', *Caffaro, Genoa and the Twelfth Century Crusades*, Crusade Texts in Translation XXVI (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), 8. The fact that the 'Saracens' are said to have addressed their remarks to 'doctors of the Christian law' only underscores this notion.

66 Gilles Veinstein making the opposite point with this quoted passage in: 'The Great Turk and Europe', *Europe and the Islamic World: A* History (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 235.