Fear and Loathing in the North

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Jews and Muslims in Medieval Scandinavia and the Baltic Region

Edited by
Cordelia Heß and Jonathan Adams

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We would like to thank the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities for sponsoring the conference in Stockholm and for providing the venue. Staff at the Academy, especially Helene Carson and Staffan Eriand Isa, provided unstinting support and assistance throughout the conference, while the president of the Academy, Gunnel Engwall, kindly hosted the dinner. The Knut and Alice Wallenberg Foundation generously provided funding to cover additional expenses. The Centre for Medieval Studies (Stockholm University) and the Department of Scandinavian Languages (Uppsala University) co-organized this event, and special thanks go to our colleagues there. We would also like to express our gratitude to the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities as well as the Knut and Alice Wallenberg Foundation for their generous funding of this publication.

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Copenhagen and Berlin, December 2014

While we were working on the final corrections for this volume, a young man attacked a discussion meeting at a cultural centre and a bat-mitzvah party at the main synagogue in Copenhagen, killing two people and injuring several more. That fear and loathing continue to influence relations between different religions and community groups in our home countries and elsewhere is abhorrent. We are dedicating this book to the memory of the victims of antisemitism, interreligious hatred and intolerance, and to their families and friends.

דְּוִכְתְּתוּ חַרְבוֹתָם לְאִתִּים

וַחֲנִיתוֹתֵיהֶם לְמַזְמֵרוֹת לֹא יִשָּׂא גוֹי אֶל גּוֹי חֶרֶב

וְלֹא יִלְמְדוּ עוֹד מִלְחָמָה:

ישעה ב׳

Stockholm, February 2015

Contributors

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Sarit Cofman-Simhon is senior theatre lecturer at the School of Performing Arts, Kibbutzim College of Education and Arts, Tel-Aviv, Israel. She is also academic advisor for the Theatre Department of Emunah College of Arts, Jerusalem. Her major publications include "Performing Jewish Prayer on Stage: From Rituality to Theatricality and Back" (2014), "African Tongues on the Israeli Stage: A Reversed Diaspora" (2013), and "From Alexandria to Berlin: The Hellenistic Play *Exagoge* Joins the Jewish Canon" (2012). Her research interests include theatre in diverse Jewish communities. She is currently working on a book on artists of Ethiopian origin in Israel.

Richard Cole is a PhD student in the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures at Harvard University, USA. He has taught Old Norse at Aarhus University and University College London, and been a Fulbright Visiting Scholar at Harvard. He has published articles on the treatment of Jews and Judaism in Old Norse literature in the journals *Scandinavian Studies*, *Medieval Encounters*, and *Postmedieval*. Richard is broadly interested in the literature of medieval Scandinavia, and is currently working on several projects which all intersect with questions concerning the containment and manipulation of desire.

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Yvonne Friedman is professor of medieval history at Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan, Israel, and the Chair of the Board of Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem. Her early research dealt with Christian-Jewish polemics – *Peter the Venerable's adversus judeorum inveteratam duritiem* (1985) – and comparative studies in Christian and Jewish mores – e.g., "Community Responsibility toward its Members: The Case of Ransom of Captives" (*A Holy People: Jewish and Christian Perspectives*, eds. J. Schwartz and M. Poorthuis, 2006). Her book *Encounter between Enemies: Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (2002) was the beginning of her current research on peace processes between Christians and Muslims in the Latin East to be published as a book named *Interludes of Peace in the Latin East: Perceptions and Practices*. Another project in work is *Guide my Sheep: Catholic Guides of Holy Land Pilgrims – Historical and Ethnographic Aspects* funded by Israel Scientific Foundation, and the reception of medieval antisemitic images in medieval Norway.

Cordelia Heß is docent and senior lecturer in the Department of Historical Studies, University of Gothenburg, Sweden, and a research fellow for the Royal

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between the Latin East and Europe (2012), and the articles "The Battle of La Forbie (1244) and its Aftermath – Re-examination of the Military Orders Involvement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the mid-Thirteenth Century" (*Ordines Militares* 2012), and "Hermann von Salza und sein Beitrag zur Friedensstiftung im lateinischen Osten" (*Sprache, Macht, Frieden*, eds. J. Burkhardt, K. P. Jankrift, and W. E. J. Weber, 2014). His research interests include devotion of the Military Orders and their organization after the fall of Acre and the loss of the Latin Kingdom in 1291. He is currently working on editing a special issue of *Revista Internacional d'Humanitats* on the occasion of the seven-hundred-year anniversary of the dissolution of the Templar Order (1314–2014).

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A Note on Spelling, Technical Terms, and Referencing

For the sake of consistency and coherency, we have endeavoured to standardize spellings, place-names, personal names, and referencing across the volume. However, one particular problem with editing a book of this nature is that there are many different spellings of names. Not only does the timespan covered by this volume mean that linguistic changes altered the sound and consequently the spelling of many names, but the choice of spelling can sometimes be affected by national scholarly traditions and politics, too.

As far as geographical locations are concerned, we have chosen to use the appropriate historical place-name to avoid anachronism, but we include the modern native version in brackets the first time the name is used in the article. Thus, in the context of the Teutonic Order, we write for example, Danzig (Gdańsk), Thorn (Toruń), Bittau (Bytów), and Elbing (Elbląg), but Gdańsk, Toruń, Bytów, and Elbląg to refer to the modern towns. In those cases where there is a widely recognized anglicized form found in academic publications, we have used it. For example: Prussia (not *Preußen* or *Prusy*), Copenhagen (not *København*), and Warsaw (not *Warszawa*).

Personal names are similarly given in anglicized forms if such exist. For example: Casimir IV Jagiellon (not *Kazimierz IV Jagiellończyk* or *Kazimieras IV Jogailaitis*), Vytautas the Great (not *Vytautas Didysis*), and Peter the Venerable (not *Petrus Venerabilis*). In all other cases, we use what seems to use to be the most sensible, standardized form of the native name. For example: Hákon Hákonsson (not *Hákon Hákonarson* or *Håkon Håkonsson*), and Sven Estridsson (not *Sweyn Estridsson*, *Sveinn Ástríðarson*, or *Svend Estridsen*).

Hebrew and Arabic names and terms have been transcribed as accurately and consistently as possible. For example, Muḥammad (not *Mohammed*), al-Ġazāl (not *al-Ghazal*), and ʼEliyahu (not *Eliyahu*). Transcriptions from Russian and Ukrainian have also been done as transparently as possible.

German terms used to describe various phenomena and people in Prussia have been translated into English as far as possible – Grand Master (*Hochmeister*), confederation (*Bund*), and servants (*Knechte*) – or supplied with an explanation – *Hackelwerk* (a quasi-*suburbium*) and *Kämmerer* (bailiffs).

The term used in the volume to denote the phenomenon of modern biological-racial Jew-hatred is antisemitism, while anti-Judaism is used to refer to opposition to Jewish beliefs and practices. However, there is, of course, a degree of overlap between the two phenomena. The editors have chosen not to use the hyphenated anti-Semitism, considering it a non-term (it is not directed against

"Semitism" – there is no such race or people), and prefer therefore to use the unhyphenated version. However, the contributor Richard Cole considers "Semitism" to be a phenomenon of real substance in the minds of antisemites, and therefore prefers to use the hyphenated version in his article.

References are provided throughout the volume in footnotes using the author-date system to locate the work in the associated bibliography. Please note that Icelanders are listed under their first name. For example, Heimir Pálsson is listed under "H" for Heimir, not "P" for his patronymic Pálsson. Note also that all Web addresses were correct at time of going to press.

Introduction

Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß

1 Encounters and Fantasies: Muslims, Jews and Christians in the North

1.1 Northern borderlands

We know a lot about Jewish life in the Middle Ages, and we also know a great deal about anti-Jewish hostility during the same period. The complex relations between Christians and Muslims from the First Crusade on have also been thoroughly investigated. Indeed, the past twenty years or so have seen a wealth of studies published on interreligious contacts; dialogue and violence; Otherness and hybridity; antisemitism and Islamophobia; the Self and the Other in Medieval Europe; integration and disintegration of cultures, and medieval conceptions of race and ethnicity.[1] In most of these studies, Scandinavia and the Baltic Rim (that is, the Baltic countries, northern Poland, and the German lands bordering the Baltic Sea) have been missing. There are several reasons for this lack of research. First of all, the traditional definition of this area as a periphery – culturally, geographically, and historically – results in a lack of interest in it from the "centre". Secondly, the historiography of the Scandinavian countries tends to describe the medieval, the early modern, and often even the modern societies of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway as culturally and religiously homogenous. And finally, probably the most obvious reason: There are essentially no sources that confirm the actual presence of real Muslims and Jews in medieval Scandinavia and the Baltic Region.

Nevertheless, we have managed to collect an entire book about Muslims and Jews in the medieval North, and more besides. Rather than being studies that apply the theoretical frameworks and concepts developed in other, richer areas to the scarce sources from the North, most of the articles collected here are first-time presentations of source materials, new readings of well-known sources, and other attempts to make visible phenomena that until now have remained unseen. And suddenly, the Muslims and Jews of the North emerge as an absent presence – something that is there, but not visible, either constructed or silenced, and always shifting between being entirely neglected and being blown up to imagined and fantastical proportions[2] – inspired by Christian

1 Reuter 2006; Borgolte et al. 2011; Conklin Akbari 2012; Becker and Mohr 2012; all with further references.

2 On the concept of absent presence, see Law 2004.

teaching and tradition, by occasional encounters with travellers and traders, and by fear and loathing.

Anti-Muslim and anti-Jewish hatred in the North functions differently from areas where there were actual day-to-day contacts, be they peaceful or violent. It also functions differently than in places like England, where Jews had once been present but were expelled only then to live on in the Christian imagination. At the same time, the homogeneity of Northern populations in terms of ethnic and religious identity is a modern supposition: There were cultural and economic contacts with the pagan Sámi in the North, there were contending attempts for Christianization from the East and the West, and there were strong competing local identities based on custom, practice, and dialects even after the formal unification of the Nordic and Baltic peoples under the Christian faith – not to speak of persisting political differences between the Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian Empires, and between Prussia and Livonia.[3] However, examples of contact with non-Christians, real or imaginary, have to be carefully extracted, partly from written sources and partly from archaeological ones. They have not left persistent traces in the collective memory of the modern nation states in Scandinavia, whereas in the Baltic Rim countries the situation is quite the reverse. Here, the struggle between the Slavic and German populations and states, which was still ongoing until quite recently, has led both to the destruction of many archives and to the obscuring of other religious and ethnic groups and their potential influence.

The absent presence of Muslims and Jews in the sources has two principal causes. First of all, there were no stable communities that could write and trade their own memory. And secondly, the few non-Christians actually present in the North and Baltic left for the most part very few traces in the sources that might help to identify their actual presence. Nevertheless, these traces do exist, and once discovered, they can be critically examined for their representation of actual people. What happened to the Muslim prisoners of war who are documented as inhabitants of Prussia for a short period in the first half of the fifteenth century? Did they convert, die, or secretly maintain their belief and culture for several generations? We do not know. If Jews were held responsible for spreading the Plague in medieval Prussia, or pejoratively depicted in Icelandic manuscripts, does this mean that Jews were actually present in these areas? Almost certainly not. The Muslims and Jews from the Scandinavian and Baltic sources are products of the imagination, an imagination created from ignorance, maybe curiosity, fragments of knowledge from homecoming travellers,

3 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (2006) has similarly shown the complexity of identities in twelfth-century Britain.

pilgrims, and warriors, and most important of all, the massive Christian textual tradition, which was adapted to Northern needs. Most of the texts speaking of Muslims and Jews – except for the ones documenting actual settlement and residency, as in Prussia – are translations of well-known material from the continent: courtly romances, lives of saints, sermons, biblical references in historiographical texts, even material culture such as altarpieces, sculptures, and wall-paintings. The differentiations necessary when examining continental phenomena apply even more so here – what did a continental *Judenbild* tradition mean for Northern people's willingness to exclude, mock, or kill those depicted? Mitchell M. Merback's call not to read medieval images of Others "inside the prison of Otherness furnished with the propaganda imagery it sets out to study" is valid even in an area where the social realities did not contain any or very few actual encounters.[4]

According to postcolonial theory, this adaptation of a textual and cultural tradition in a peripheral area always leads to a hybridization of knowledge, of cultural forms and signs, and other phenomena of cultural adaptation, alienation, and appropriation.[5] The medieval Baltic is an area where cultural formations were mixed and adopted, not only as far as the representation of Muslims and Jews is concerned, but also regarding different elements of the Christian tradition. This makes it extremely difficult – even more than in other, more central, European regions – to deduce a common local mentality behind the representation of Muslims and Jews in the sources, and to decide whether certain images of Muslims and Jews were the result of campaigns by the learned elite or rather of long-term changes in the relations between majority society and minorities.[6] Was the lavish continental courtly culture depicted in *Floris and Blancheflour* not just as foreign to the Scandinavian reader as the religion and lifestyle of the "Babylonians" in the romance? When the concept of Crusading was transferred to the Baltic, the term for the enemy in Outremer, the "Saracen", was also transferred to the pagans, the "Saracens of the North" – but what did this term mean to people who had never been to Outremer?

Considering all these questions, we are not exactly in a position to explain phenomena. We are rather detecting, gathering, and discussing evidence. The conference *Fear and Loathing in the North* aimed to draw together scholars from a range of disciplines – such as theology (both popular and authoritative), social history, literary studies, art history, Islamic and Jewish studies, and

4 Merback 2006, 11.

5 See an overview of the concepts of hybridity relevant for medieval studies in Burkhardt et al. 2011.

6 See Chazan 1997, 94.

the history of Islamophobia and antisemitism – to present their research interests and findings concerning the perception of or encounters with Muslims and Jews in medieval Scandinavia and the Baltic Region. The geographical areas for discussion were defined as those where the predominant language was Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Icelandic, and the German dialects characteristic for the Teutonic Order's lands along the Baltic coast. The period for discussion, the Middle Ages, was set – rather loosely – as the centuries between the collapse of the Western Roman Empire and the beginning of the sixteenth century. There was a degree of elasticity here as the Jewish and Islamic Middle Ages do not of course map directly onto the datings for Western Christian Europe.

Scandinavia and the lands to the south of the Baltic Sea are usually dealt with separately in historiography despite the obvious mutual influence through religious culture, trade, and military activity. For example, the effects of Western Christianity, the Hanseatic League, and the Northern Crusades could be felt in the lands to both the north and the south of the Baltic Sea. Yet the areas remain distinct with regard to Muslims and Jews, not least as far as actual settlement is concerned. Although there are no recorded communities of Muslims or Jews in medieval Scandinavia, both groups of non-Christians inhabited some of the areas along the southern coast of the Baltic Sea at various times. This difference in actual presence could possibly have affected the groups' representation in literature and art, their treatment in legal regulations, and the creation of myths and stereotypes.

All of these aspects specific for the area in focus – periodization, geography, and populations – have received increased attention by scholars within the field of postcolonial medieval studies. The complex relation between the Self and the Other becomes particularly visible if considered from the perspective of borderlands. Text production about Muslims and Jews in the North points to the interconnection between spatial and temporal distance, while it also contains all the aspects of merging, mirroring, and delimitating the Other that we know from other areas and periods.[7] The hierarchization between centre and periphery, which has been identified as the basis for Eurocentric models of interpretation, is disturbed in the Christian periphery, and opens for differentiations of the phenomena of alterity, between seeing the Other as monstrous and potentially disturbing the boundaries of the social order and a simple curiosity for the strange.[8]

7 Saurma-Jeltsch 2012, 9.

8 An attempt to see alterity as a central positive and differentiated concept of analysis is found in Rehberg 2012.

While vital in the medieval Baltic, the Crusades as the most privileged model for cultural encounters between Christians and Muslims play only a minor role in Scandinavia, and thus evidence from this area can add to the attempts by Sharon Kinoshita and others to describe the encounters between these two groups in other terms than proto-colonialism.[9] For Prussia and Livonia, on the other hand, the notion of alterity shaped by both medieval and modern forms of colonialism can be questioned by adding knowledge to the hybrid and heterogeneous practices of religion and identity. In Scandinavia and the Baltic Region, modern national borders have for a long time obscured the perspective on medieval borders and borderlands. The examination of the representations of Muslims and Jews here can serve, as Lisa Lampert has proposed for medieval literature in general, as a tool for decentring Christianity as the single normative frame of medieval Europe.[10]

1.2 Medieval Scandinavia and the Islamic World

There were no resident Muslims in Scandinavia until towards the end of the nineteenth century when a few hundred Tatars arrived in Finland.[11] Thus, with the exception of occasional envoys or travellers from the Islamic world to the North, the Muslims whom Scandinavians met were abroad. Vikings encountered the Islamic world in Iberia to the west, the Maghreb to the south, and the Abbasid Caliphate to the east. Later, pilgrims to the Holy Land and crusaders would have had first-hand experience of Muslims, Islam, and Arab and Ottoman culture and society. Studies on the portrayal of Islam and Muslims in medieval Scandinavian art and texts are few and far between.

The main sources at hand for studying contacts between the Viking and Islamic worlds are written records (runestones and Arabic texts), Arabic coins, and archaeological objects. As far as runic evidence is concerned, it is particularly the interpretation of placenames that has caused the most debate. Although some placenames are straightforward to interpret, such as **iursala**, Je-

9 Kinoshita 2006. Similarly we avoid using phrases like "orientalism" and "proto-orientalism" (Said 1978) as they better suit the heyday of European dominance and colonialism in the nineteenth and late twentieth centuries rather than the more fluid situation in the Middle Ages (characterized by cultural exchange) and at the time of the Ottoman Empire (characterized by European weakness).

10 Lampert 2010, 10–13.

11 On the Tatars of Finland, see Leitzinger 1999; Leitzinger 2006; Martikainen 2009.

rusalem, which appears on three runestones, others are more problematic.[12] There are seven extant runestones that, while alluding to travels to the east, make explicit mention of **sirklant**, that is *Særkland*.[13] In spite of its obvious similarity to "Saracen land", there is no scholarly consensus where this place is.[14] Although first used to refer to the south-easternmost destination of the Vikings, the (Muslim) area south of the Caspian Sea,[15] later in the Viking Age *Særkland* came to refer to all Muslim lands beyond Russia. In Old Norse sagas and poems it even included North Africa and southern Spain, although it was generally used as the name of a fictional romanticized place rather than a factual location.[16] The name may derive from the city of Sarkel in the land of the Khazars,[17] or from the Norse word *særker*, "shirt, sark", and thus ultimately from Latin *sericum*, "silk", referring either to the silk-producing lands or the clothes worn by the inhabitants.[18] Another problematic placename is **karusm** found on the Vs 1 runestone. Some argue that it is an error for **karþum**, Garðaríki, the regions ruled by the Kievan Rus',[19] while others interpret it as Khwarezm, the river delta of the Amu River at the Aral Sea in western Central Asia and a region that had been Muslim since about the eighth century.[20] The very existence of these runestones thus provides clear evidence for an awareness of and economic interest in the East, while placenames such as **iursala** and **karusm** demonstrate just how far into Muslim lands some Scandinavians travelled before 1200. But runic inscriptions can be tricky evidence to interpret, and it is difficult to see whether it will ever be possible to know for sure how to read these names.

More information about contacts between Scandinavians and the Islamic world is found in Arabic written sources whose authors, such as Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥakam al-Bakrī (al-Ġazāl), Ibrāhīm Yaʿqūb aṭ-Ṭarṭūši, Aḥmad ibn Faḍlān, and al-Masʿūdī, provide a snap-shot of Scandinavian society, although as with

12 Unlike many of the other voyages mentioned in runic inscriptions, the three runic inscriptions that refer to Jerusalem (G 216, U 136, and U 605†) seem not refer to trading or military expeditions but rather to pilgrimage. See *Samnordisk rundatabas* for transcriptions and translations of these runic inscriptions.

13 *Samnordisk rundatabas*: G 216, Sö 131, Sö 179, Sö 279, Sö 281, U 439, and U 785.

14 Whaley 2005, 494 n. 2; Jesch 2005, 124–136.

15 Brate and Wessén 1924–1936, 155.

16 Ruprecht 1958, 55; Cleasby and Vigfússon 1874, *s.v.* "Serkland".

17 Jarring 1983.

18 Shephard 1982–1985, 235.

19 Jesch 2001, 96 n. 26.

20 Pritsak 1981, 443–445; Gustavson 2002; Meijer 2007, 86. It is noteworthy that **karusm** is the same as **qarus-m*, the reconstructed Middle Turkic form of Khwarezm.

many travel descriptions it can be difficult to discern between the real and the fantastical, and the everyday and the extraordinary. In spite of the pioneering work on sources by Georg Jacob and Harris Birkeland, as well as studies by the likes of Elisabeth Piltz, James E. Montgomery, and Stig Wikander, there still remains a great deal of work to be undertaken on Arabic sources on the Vikings, and not least work on later Persian versions.[21] An obvious way forward would be greater collaboration between scholars of Arabic, Persian, and Scandinavian literature and language.

A substantial number of archaeological finds also testify to contacts with the Islamic world. For example, around 85,000 Arabic or Kufic coins have been found in Sweden, about 5,000 in Denmark, and just fewer than 2,000 in Finland.[22] Interestingly, some of these coins have pagan images of Þórr's hammer (*Mjǫlnir*) or Christian crosses scratched onto them, which suggest that Scandinavians wanted to disassociate themselves from the other faith, Islam.[23] Other objects from the Islamic world reaching Scandinavia include balances and weights, textiles, and beads. All these objects testify to a lively trade – either directly or indirectly – with the East, while the defacing or "rendering harmless" of objects by inscribing pagan or Christian symbols onto them hints at a perceived need to draw and affirm the boundaries between their own religion and Islam. Intriguing though this may be, we can but speculate to what extent Vikings felt threatened by the religion of Muslims while at the same time coveting their wares and precious metals. In his account of the Volga Bulgars, Ibn Faḍlān writes that he saw 5,000 people called *al-baringār* who had converted to Islam and built a wooden mosque.[24] *Al-baringār* has been interpreted as *væringjar*, Varangians, the name given by Greeks and East Slavs to Vikings.[25] Might some of these same Vikings have subsequently brought their new faith back to Scandinavia with them?

Given the late arrival of the Latin alphabet to Scandinavia (the very earliest written documents date from c. 1200) and its geographical distance from the Islamic world, the paucity of written sources from Scandinavia is hardly surprising. As written culture developed over the next few centuries, not least

21 Jacob 1927; Birkeland 1954; Piltz 1998; Montgomery 2000; Montgomery 2008; Wikander 1978.

22 Mikkelsen 1998; Jensen and Kromann 1998; Talvio 1998.

23 Mikkelsen 1998, 48–50; Mikkelsen 2008, 546. However, scratching such symbols onto these coins may also have just been a way of transforming them into talismans with no deliberate intention to elide the Islamic religion as such.

24 Wikander 1978, 21, 57–58; Piltz 1998, 36.

25 Lewicki 1972, 12 (quoting Károly Czegléd [pers. comm.]); Wikander 1978, 21. See also Duczko 1998.

through the cultivation of a vernacular literature, texts portraying Muslims begin to appear. These include sermons;[26] romances, such as the Old Danish *Floris and Blancheflour* and *The Chronicle of King Magnus*; miracle stories, such as the Old Swedish legendary; Old Icelandic sagas, such as *Nítíða saga* and *Yngvars saga víðførla*; travel descriptions and pilgrim guides, such as that in Copenhagen, AM 792, 4°, and reports of Ottoman military expansion, such as the Old Danish *Siege of Rhodes* from 1508. However, in these texts – unlike the albeit somewhat unforthcoming runestones of the Viking Age – Særkland, Khwarezm, and other sites of adventure, gold and pilgrimage are replaced by a constructed, largely pejorative image of Islam, Muslims and Muḥammad imported from the European mainland. Despite including many details about Muslim beliefs and customs, these documents do not reflect actual contact between the North and the Islamic world but rather the absorption of European anti-Muslim polemics into Scandinavian literary culture.

There has been little research on Christian ideas about Muslims in medieval vernacular Scandinavian literature. In fact, such accounts usually form little more than brief prolegomena to more detailed examinations of later literature; for example in Bent Holm's study of the Turk in early modern Danish drama or Martin Schwarz Lausten's study of Muslims in post-Reformation texts from Denmark.[27] Studies on Scandinavian Latin literature and the image of Muslims and Islam tend to fall within the context of crusading and therefore to concentrate on violent encounters.[28] There is thus much work to be done, beginning not least with the identifying and cataloguing of relevant sources and the images contained therein. It is generally assumed that ideas about non-Christians in medieval Scandinavian literature, which at least as far as mainland Scandinavia is concerned was largely translated from other European languages, were unoriginal, yet there has in fact never been a study to see how the image of the Islamic world might have been developed during the transmission of texts to Scandinavia. One need only think of the conclusion of *Floris and Blancheflour* to see that this could be a promising area of study. In the French versions of the tale, the emir consults his advisors and forgives the two young lovers when they are discovered in bed together. In the Danish version, the couple are put on trial and the matter resolved through a violent duel between Floris and a Saracen knight. What do these sorts of examples tell us about how Scandinavian literary culture used an "Oriental" background to define itself and its values?

26 On the whole, Muslims only appear in crusading sermons. See Jensen 2007, 104–132.
27 Holm 2010, and Lausten 2010.
28 See, for example, Skovgaard-Petersen 2001; Simonsen 2004, and Jensen 2007.

Similarly, medieval art depicting Muslims, such as the Norwegian painted altar frontals featuring Saracen soldiers (Nedstryn Church, Norway, c. 1300–1325)[29] and a Saracen's head (unknown provenance, Norway, c. 1300),[30] have largely escaped scholars' attention. Post-Reformation art, such as the recently discovered wall-paintings in Skibinge Church, Denmark, depicting St. James the Greater being (anachronistically) martyred by Moors, has received more attention.[31] The sixteenth- or seventeenth-century painting in Gothem Church, Visby, has also become well known, not least as its renovation coincided with the *Jyllands-Posten* Muḥammad cartoon controversy. Alongside the figures of the pope ("Papa") and St. Christopher ("Christophoros"), a moustachioed figure in a turban is identified by the accompanying name "Mahomet", but there is some disagreement whether it depicts the Prophet Muḥammad or the sultan Mehmed IV (1642–1693).[32] Furthermore on the subject of art, there is a need for research on the extent to which Islamic art – in architecture, textiles, weapons, and harness decorations and ornaments – influenced Scandinavian styles.

1.3 Medieval Scandinavia and the Jews

Although Jews were not resident in the medieval lands north of the Baltic Sea, Scandinavians would have had the opportunity to meet Jews elsewhere in Europe.[33] For example, there were Jews living in Normandy at the time the Danish Vikings settled there; Vikings who travelled eastwards to Russia and Byzantium would have traded with Jews in Khazaria; participants in the pilgrimages or Crusades south to mainland Europe or to the Holy Land would also have encountered Jews, and students studying at European universities would possibly have seen or interacted with Jews in those cities. Individual Jews may have come to Scandinavia before the seventeenth century as merchants or traders, but if they did, they have not left behind any archaeological remains or written evidence whatsoever.[34] The absence of a Jewish community does not

29 Hohler, Morgan, and Wichstrøm 2003, I, 112–113; II, 121, and III, 43.
30 Hohler, Morgan, and Wichstrøm 2003, I, 96, and III, 7.
31 Schnohr 2012.
32 Sjögren 2005–2006.
33 Jews were first permitted to settle in Denmark from 1622 and in Sweden from 1718.
34 The first registered Jew in Denmark whom we know of is Jochim Jøde in 1592 in Helsingør (see Christensen 1987). There may, however, have been Jews living in Denmark some years before this date who arrived under false Christian names (see Katz 1988, 96; cf. Adams 2014, 92–93). The earliest recorded Jew in Sweden is King Gustav Vasa's doctor: A letter dated 9

mean that Jews are absent from medieval artistic and literary works; indeed, they appear in many artistic, literary, and theological works, albeit as fantastical, fabricated beings, and were as such very much alive and present in the Scandinavian collective mentality. Descriptions of and stories about Jews abound in the extant literature, especially from within the religious sphere, and they give the impression that ideas about Jews, and what they were believed to represent, had saturated the public's consciousness.

The rather modest amount of research on Jews and medieval Scandinavia has tended to be characterized by subject specialists working in isolation.[35] As far as Sweden is concerned, Hugo Valentin's pioneering work *Judarnas historia i Sverige* (1924) gives short shrift to the Middle Ages,[36] and with the exception of a highly readable student dissertation on Jews in Swedish medieval wall-paintings and a couple of articles that mention Jews in St. Birgitta's *Revelations*,[37] nothing of note has appeared since. This is quite remarkable as there are a great many sources in Sweden, both in art and in literature. The country has the dubious honour of possessing Scandinavia's only examples of the *Judensau*, three in all,[38] as well as many other images of Jews in church art.[39] With the exception of some venerable figures from the Old Testament, the Jews in these paintings are all presented pejoratively: typically in profile, with grotesque facial features, beards, dark or red skin, and wearing "Jew hats". Many Swedish vernacular texts, such as the *Old Swedish Legendary*, the *Revelations* of St. Birgitta, sermons, and devotional texts, include descriptions of Jews. These still need to be investigated from the viewpoint of Jewish-Christian relations, and as some of them are translations from foreign works – for example, the legendary is a reworking of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* – there is the possibility of comparative studies that will demonstrate whether or how the image of the Jew transforms during its transmission from continental Europe to the North.

Relations between Christians and (imagined) Jews in Denmark have been most thoroughly investigated by Martin Schwarz Lausten and Jonathan Adams.

October 1557 (Västerås) describes a conflict between "desse våre medicos, doktor Kop och den juden [these doctors of ours, doctor Kop and that Jew]", Valentin 1924, 8.

35 This has resulted in some unfortunate errors in the interpretation of the sources. See, for example, criticisms in Adams 2013a, 23 n. 41, and 283.

36 Valentin 1924, 1–9.

37 Muck af Rosenschöld 2007; Raudvere 2000; Raudvere 2003.

38 The *Judensäue* are located in Härkeberga (wall-painting, 1480s); Husby-Sjutolft (wall-painting, 1480s), and Uppsala cathedral (carved stone cornice, fourteenth century).

39 An online database of medieval Swedish church art is available at < http://medeltidbild.historiska.se >.

Lausten's work is rooted in church history and is largely theological in its approach looking at how patristic and authoritative writing shaped the works of writers in Latin and Danish.[40] Adams provides an investigation of (anti-)Jewish motifs and stereotypes in Danish vernacular literature up to and including the publication in 1516 of Poul Ræff's Danish translation of Johannes Pfefferkorn's *De Judaica Confessione*, as well as a study of Jews in Passion tales and in sermons.[41] His findings show that the images of biblical Jews from late medieval mainland European texts were deeply embedded in the prevailing culture of Denmark, whereas popular myths concerning well poisoning, host desecration, ritual murder, and the like, are entirely lacking. However, this may just be a consequence of the small size of the Old Danish text corpus. The portrayal of Jews in Danish wall-paintings has been investigated extensively by Ulla Haastrup,[42] although her conclusions – not least that Jews must have been resident in Denmark – have been disputed.[43] The area would benefit from an interdisciplinary approach integrating art history, medieval literature, and theology to investigate the interplay between church art and popular religious texts, particularly sermons, in order to understand what images were propagated by the Church and how they came to be embedded in medieval Scandinavian culture.

There remains much work to be done on Norway and Iceland. Despite the publication of fine editions of key texts, such as *Jóns saga Hólabyskups ens helga* and *Gyðinga saga*, little has been written on the portrayal of Jews in West Norse art and literature.[44] Painted figures appear dressed in typical Jewish attire in several Norwegian churches, for example in Bø, Hamre, and Nes, and Jews can be seen crucifying Jesus in Hauge Church, while the miracle of the Jewish boy in the oven appears on two altarpieces, viz. in Årdal and Vanylven.[45] An article by Bjarne Berulfsen argued that antisemitism was a "litterær importvare [literary imported item]" from mainland Europe.[46] This claim, which seems to be based on the view that anti-Jewish ideas and the cultures that produced them were static and unchanging, rests on the supposition that

40 Lausten 1992. This is the first volume in his monumental series documenting the relationship between the Jews and the Church in Denmark.

41 Adams 2010; Adams 2012a; Adams 2012b; Adams 2013a; Adams 2013b; Adams 2014.

42 Haastrup 1999; Haastrup 2003.

43 Thing 2000, 34; Adams 2014, 92.

44 *Jóns saga* contains a miracle concerning the Jews' torturing a statue of Christ (see Foote 2003, 26–27, 93–94, and 129–130). *Gyðinga saga* is a retelling of the Book of Maccabees (see Wolf 1995). In contrast to the Middle Ages, the post-Reformation period has been studied more thoroughly (see, for example, Vilhjálmsson 2004).

45 For references, see the indexes in Hohler, Morgan, and Wichstrøm 2003.

46 Berulfsen 1958.

the representation of the Jews in Old Norwegian and Icelandic literature is entirely religious in character and the same as in other European texts.[47] However, there has never been a survey of Jewish stereotypes and antisemitic images in West Norse literature that might uncover significant differences in the frequency or use of certain motifs between Norway, Iceland, and the rest of Europe. Nor do we know anything about pre-conversion ideas concerning Jews whom Norwegians or Icelanders might have encountered on their travels. If pagan Swedish Vikings felt the need to deface Islamic writing and symbols on coins by scratching on Þórr's hammers, why would Norwegians not have felt a similar distaste towards the religion of the Jews whom they met around the Mediterranean?

1.4 Imagined Muslims and Jews in the Baltic

Scholarship on non-Christians in the medieval Baltic Rim is inevitably shaped by research on the Teutonic Order and its colonization of the region. And in this research, the relations between Christian knights, Christian settlers, and indigenous pagan Prussians entirely dominate the picture, while relations between the Teutonic knights and members of the other monotheistic religions are mainly dealt with in the context of the Order's earlier presence in the Holy Land. None of the three large military orders originally seemed to have a particularly negative relation to the Jewish communities in the Holy Land or the other areas where the orders built up dominions, such as Rhodes and Cyprus.[48] Since the Teutonic Order was the youngest among the knight orders, its role in the production of anti-Muslim crusading propaganda and literature is somewhat neglected compared to that of the Templars and the Hospitallers.

Regarding the process of the settlement of eastern Prussia, dominated by German-speaking colonizers, questions of ethnicity have been much discussed, but questions of religion have been limited to the contrast between Christian colonizers and indigenous pagans.[49] The topics of inter-religious contact or

47 Berulfsen 1958, 126. Berulfsen somewhat marginalizes the issue of Jews in West Norse literature in his 1963 encyclopaedic article. For a different view, see Cole 2014.

48 Sarnowsky 2001 briefly describes the expulsion of the Jews from Rhodes in the early sixteenth century, while the Order of St. John had the *Judenregal* (a ruler's right to tax Jews in return for protecting them) on the island.

49 On pagan religion in Prussia as reported in the sources of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Brauer 2011.

religious diversity in the Baltic seem entirely overshadowed by the Teutonic Order's fight against the indigenous pagan peoples: Prussians, Samogitians, and Lithuanians.[50] Muslims do play a certain role in the imagination of the Christian knights and consequently in scholarly research, but in this context, it is not potential encounters with real Muslims and Jews in the Northeast that are the focus of historical and literary scholarship, but rather the transference of the concept of the enemy from the Muslims in the Holy Land to the pagan Prussians and Lithuanians in the Baltic lands.[51] It is assumed that the Order somehow developed a collective memory of the encounters with Muslims in the Mediterranean and that these encounters from the twelfth and early thirteenth century became a matrix for meeting the enemies of the fourteenth century – at least in the world of chronicles and epics.

Since the literary production of the Order itself – that is, texts that can clearly be assigned either to Prussia and/or to a member of the Teutonic Order as author and/or sponsor – is very limited, the Baltic crusades as described in European chivalric epics and travel literature have provided insights into the perception of pagan Lithuanians as the religious Other.[52] Regarding the Teutonic Order's own production, the translation of Old Testament texts dominates, and here, much work remains to be done regarding the particularities of translation. The fact that the Teutonic Order adopted the "new Maccabees" as their label and used and disseminated a German translation of the Books of Maccabees[53] has been mentioned frequently in the context of the military and corporative ideal that this ideology transports.[54] In the chronicles of Peter of Dusburg (died c. 1326) and its translation by Nicolaus of Jeroschin (died c. 1341), the Maccabees as well as the three young men in the fiery furnace from the Book of Daniel are, as has been pointed out by scholars of literary history, presented as virtuous models of fighting and suffering.[55] But the significance of choosing explicitly Jewish role models and emphasizing the translation of

50 On pagan beliefs and the process of Christianization in the Baltic, see the contributions by Vladas Žulkus on Lithuania, Guntis Zemītis and Andris Caune on Latvia, and Enn Tarvel on Estonia and Livonia in Müller-Wille 1998. See also Valk 2003; Valk 2008; Šne 2008; Kala 2009; Wüst 2012. Ivar Leimus is one of the few scholars whose research on inter-religious contact deals with the pre-Teutonic period. He has studied Islamic coins in pagan Estonia and the effects of trade with the East; see Leimus 2007a; Leimus 2007b.

51 Urban 1998; Fischer 2007.

52 Murray 2010.

53 Helm 1904.

54 Feistner, Vollman-Profe, and Neecke 2007. However, it should be noted that Maccabees was also used before the Teutonic Order; see Undusk 2011.

55 Fischer 1991; Fischer 2005; Lähnemann 2012.

Old Testament books – in addition to Maccabees, both Judith[56] and Esther[57] were also translated at the behest of the Order – has not been investigated yet.[58] The representation of Muslims and Jews in church paintings, architecture, and manuscript illustrations has likewise been neglected.[59]

1.5 Real Muslims and Jews in Prussia

As far as medieval Prussia is concerned, the assumption that the Teutonic Order maintained an active anti-Jewish policy has become a commonplace and has ultimately led to a lack of research on Jews in this area before the seventeenth century. The sources for this anti-Jewish policy are, however, more than doubtful. In one thread of the tradition of Prussian chronicles, it is claimed that High Master Siegfried of Feuchtwangen gave the Prussian lands a codex of laws (*Landordnung*) in 1309, as soon as he had moved the main seat of the Order to Marienburg (Malbork). The first *willkor*, or article, of this *Landordnung* is said to forbid the residence of "Jews, magicians, sorcerers, and *waideler*" in the Prussian lands, the *waideler* being Prussian pagan priests. The earliest chronicle containing this information is Simon Grunau's *Preussische Chronik* from 1525, which is otherwise generally viewed as highly unreliable by scholars of history.[60] The earliest *Landordnungen* by High Masters for the Prussian lands stem from the beginning of the fifteenth century and do not contain any anti-Jewish regulations. Despite the obvious reasons to doubt the existence of this anti-Jewish policy on the part of the Teutonic Order, the fact remains that there are but few traces of real Jews in Prussia; this probably explains why German Jewish scholars of the emerging *Wissenschaft des Judentums*,[61] Christian and National Socialist German scholars[62] as well as Polish scholars[63] all started

56 Palgen 1969.
57 Caliebe 1985.
58 An exception is Auffarth 1994, but without special emphasis on the Teutonic Order and Prussia.
59 A notable exception in this context is the volume by Hanna Zaremska on Jews in medieval Poland that contains several examples of depictions of Jews in altar paintings from fifteenth-century Toruń. See Zaremska 2011.
60 Zonenberg 2009, with references to the older studies arguing in this direction.
61 Jolowicz 1867, 2–3; Hollack 1910; Stern 1925, 6. Also Echt 1972, 12–13. Echt was a teacher in Gdańsk until he was forced to flee to the UK in 1939.
62 Baczko 1789, 315; Forstreuter 1937; Aschkewitz 1967, 1.
63 Zaremska 2011; Nowak 1991; Broda 2011; Wołosz 2002.

their published investigations of Jewish communities in early modern Prussia by repeating the statement that the Teutonic Order had proposed and implemented a ban on Jewish settlement.

Nevertheless, there are traces of Jewish life in the area from the beginning of the fourteenth century on. No stable Jewish communities seem to have existed in the Prussian heartlands; however, letters of safe conduct for Jews, formulae for Jewish converts, records of bishops' financial support for these converts as well as recurring calls in Prussian towns during the fifteenth century for restrictions on Jewish trading exemplify that Jews were by no means only imagined figures in medieval Prussia.[64] Numerous medieval placenames containing the element *Juden-* have until now only been investigated by *völkische* scholars who judged them not to be evidence of actual Jews living there.[65] The quite uncertain field of personal names has enjoyed great attention by scholars interested in the "German character" of the region but they have never mentioned and discussed the frequent evidence of *iode*, "Jew", as a surname.[66]

The expansion and decline of the Order's territory would also justify a more thorough investigation of its presumed anti-Jewish policy: In Neumark (Nova Marchia), acquired by the Order in 1402, Jews had had the right of residency since the thirteenth century and were not expelled by the Order;[67] in the territories under the control of the Prussian bishops, the Order's rules for settlement and residency did not apply at all,[68] and as far as Livonia is concerned the legal situation for Jews is ignored in scholarship just as much as for the Prussian heartlands.[69] In nearby Poland, the Jews' legal situation was exceptionally good due to the *Privilegium Casimirianum* of 1334, and most of the studies assuming a ban issued by the Teutonic Order mention that the legal situation of Jews in Prussia might have changed for the better after 1466, when larger parts of Prussia came under the control of the Polish crown. The shifting authorities in the town of Danzig (Gdańsk) also provided shifting policies on

64 The index of the archives of the Teutonic Order's incoming correspondence (Ordensbriefarchiv, OBA) already contains twenty-four entries under the lemma "Juden". See Hubatsch and Joachim 1948.

65 Strunk 1931.

66 See for example *Clemens Iode* in Ordensfoliant 2a. Kubon and Sarnowsky 2012. On interpreting "Jew" in medieval Scandinavian personal names, see Adams 2014, 92–93.

67 Heise 1932.

68 Radzimiński 1997.

69 Most recently in Jähnig 2011, where Jews are not mentioned at all. For Tallinn, see Kreem 2002, who also does not mention Jews. Buchholtz (1899, 1) finds the first evidence of Jews in Riga in 1560.

Jewish settlement and residency.[70] However, a systematic review of this still remains a desideratum.

As far as the areas to the east and south of the Teutonic Order's Prussian heartlands are concerned, sources and research on religious diversity are generally better, but the main focus here is on contact between Catholic and Orthodox Christians in places such as Novgorod, Pskov, and Reval (Tallinn), mainly because of the cultural contacts brought about by the Hanseatic League.[71] West of Prussia, the territories of Brandenburg and Mecklenburg were the sites of shifting relations between Christians and Jews, resulting in numerous Jewish communities but also violent pogroms and expulsions.[72] Medieval Lithuania as a place of interreligious and intercultural exchange and coexistence has attracted scholarly interest in the past decades, finally overcoming research structured according to the boundaries of modern national states.[73] At the end of the Middle Ages, Tatars settled mostly in the eastern part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and, like the Jews who lived there, enjoyed considerable privileges.[74] Fifteenth-century sources from Prussia mention Tatar prisoners of war, and in the sixteenth century, during the Livonian War, Tatars who served in the Russian army even settled Livonia.[75] Evidence of Jews in the Hanseatic towns on the Baltic coast, such as Lübeck, Stettin (Szczecin), and Rostock, during the Middle Ages is just as sparse as for Prussia and has been equally neglected in systematic studies of Jewish life.

1.6 This volume

The articles in this volume are grouped into four sections. In "Contact", the first section, cultural and economic exchange between Christians and members of other religions in Scandinavia and the Baltic are investigated. Bjørn Bandlien (Buskerud and Vestfold University College) discusses whether images of the heathens in northern Scandinavia changed during the Middle Ages, and if such developments were influenced by perceptions of Saracens from elsewhere

70 For the sixteenth century, see Bogucka 1992.
71 See the contributions in Keene, Nagy, and Szende 2009, especially Anti Selart on Livonia, and Olga Kozubska-Andrusiv on Lviv.
72 Backhaus 1988; Heß 2013, 304–309.
73 See the introduction in Rohdewald, Frick, and Wiederkehr 2007, with further references.
74 Racius 2002; Konopacki 2010.
75 See the contribution by Kwiatkowski in this volume; on Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, see the contributions in Larsson 2009; Martin 2002.

in Europe. Trading relations between medieval Christian Scandinavians and Sámi are compared to see if they were legitimized in the same way as they were between Muslims and Christians in the Mediterranean. Christian Etheridge (University of Southern Denmark) considers the influence of Islamic scientific works on medieval Iceland. Latin translations of such works had arrived in Iceland possibly as early as the late eleventh century and were being used at least until the fourteenth century. These scientific works both supplemented and augmented earlier Icelandic treatises. The transmission of these ideas shows that Scandinavian and Islamic interaction, albeit indirect, in the medieval period is an example of non-hostile relations. Kay Jankrift (Technische Universität München) writes about the reports of Ibrāhim ibn Yaʿqūb (mid-tenth century), a Jewish convert, who was fascinated by the whale hunting practised by the Norsemen, and the Arab ambassador al-Ġazāl who visited a Viking court in Denmark c. 845. Stefan Schröder (University of Helsinki) accounts for the unusual travel route of the Dutchman Jost van Giselen to the Holy Land and Northern Africa. Van Giselen's encounters with the Other are described and compared with those in other travel writings, for example *Sir John Mandeville's Book of Marvels and Travels*.

The second section "Settlement" deals with evidence of actual Muslims and Jews along the Baltic Rim. Cordelia Heß (University of Gothenburg) presents an interpretation of the chronicles and letters dealing with Jews as scapegoats for spreading the Black Death in Prussia around 1350. Despite the existing connection between Jews and contagion in these local sources, there is no evidence of pogroms or trials against Jews or Jewish converts in Prussia. Michalina Duda (Nicolaus Copernicus University) discusses the surprising presence of three doctors of potentially Jewish origin (Meyen, Jacob, and Tham von Hochberg) in Prussia for short periods during the fifteenth century. They are known from the archives of the incoming and outgoing correspondence of the High Master, including letters of request for Jewish experts in medicine and letters of safe conduct for their travels in Prussia. Krzysztof Kwiatkowski (Nicolaus Copernicus University) presents evidence of Muslim prisoners of war who lived in Prussia in the fifteenth century and were kept by the Teutonic Order especially for their skills as horse keepers and breeders. Initially they seem to have formed small communities, but after only two to three generations the sources turn quiet, which Kwiatkowski interprets as a result of processes of assimilation and acculturation, maybe also conversion. Veronika Klimova (Adam Mickiewicz University) discusses the Karaite settlement in the Lithuanian town Troki from the thirteenth century on, pointing out the relatively large amount of religious freedom and social integration this Jewish group enjoyed. This status granted them an important position in Lithuanian society as

well as acting as a positive model for later Jewish communities in their struggles for privileges.

The third and fourth sections deal with images and stereotypes of the Other. Beginning the section "Scandinavia", Yvonne Friedman (Bar-Ilan University) identifies Peter the Venerable as the paradigm of medieval Christian anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim theological thought and the anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim rhetoric employed in Scandinavia and the Baltic region in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. Peter's greater tolerance for Islam as compared to his inveterate hatred of Judaism diverged from crusader anti-Muslim political propaganda. Although in Scandinavia and the Baltic region we find the same demonization of the Jews in Christian sermons as in Peter's work, Muslims suffered a harsher rhetoric that was adopted from crusader propaganda and used as a metaphor in the fight against the local heathens, who were referred to as Saracens. This stands in stark contrast to the pragmatic approach that encountered and engaged the Other in the Latin Kingdom. Jonathan Adams (Uppsala University) investigates descriptions of Muslims, Islam, and Muḥammad in Old Danish and Old Swedish literature. He shows how Muslims are used in these texts both as foils to prove the truth of Christianity and as mirrors to reflect the Christian readers' moral failings. Muḥammad is depicted as both an idol and a pseudo-prophet, a treatment that fits clearly within the Western European traditions of describing and denigrating Islam. Descriptions of events in the life of Muḥammad are shown to be part of an attempt to render Islam harmless and insignificant to Scandinavian readers and audiences. Richard Cole (Harvard University) investigates the depiction of Jews in Old Norse literature to sketch out some Norse positions on what we would now think of as notions of "race" or "ethnicity". Presenting the most typical ethnic and racial identifiers, for example skin colour, hooked noses, and grotesque features, he found that they resemble modern antisemitic stereotypes very closely.

In the final section on images and stereotypes, "Baltic Region", Sarit Cofman-Simhon (Kibbutzim College of Education and Art) writes about anti-Jewish sentiment in the *Ludus Prophetarum* (Prophets' Play) that was staged for pagans in Riga in 1204 as a means of persuading them to convert to Christianity. She argues that its anti-Jewish images and staged violence, while being used as a missionary tool, blurred the medieval dichotomy between 'good' (some Old Testament figures) and 'bad' (New Testament) Jews. Elina Räsänen (University of Helsinki) discusses the visual representations of Muslims and Jews in the Kalanti altarpiece (c. 1420), which contains paintings from the Meister Francke tradition and sculptures of Hamburg or Lübeck origin. She found familiar strategies of depicting the Jews in the Marian picture cycle as ugly and inferior, while the pagans present at the torture of St. Barbara were

depicted dressed in imagined Oriental outfits. Shlomo Lotan (Bar-Ilan University) describes the evidence of non-Christians in the early historiographical works of the Teutonic Order, namely, the chronicle by Peter of Dusburg, and connects this evidence to the Teutonic Knights' experiences of the Holy Land and its loss. A striking aspect was the adaptation of the term "Saracens" for the pagan inhabitants of the land conquered in the Baltic, as well as the ascription of deeds and characteristics to them known from Crusading propaganda in the Holy Land. Jurgita Šiaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė (Vilnius University) writes about the development of anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim hatred in Early Modern Lithuania. Despite the fact that Lithuania was itself Christianized relatively late and that Jewish settlements are not known before the seventeenth century, anti-Jewish stereotypes were widely spread among the upper echelons of society as early as the mid-sixteenth century. While these reflected the adaptation of a universal stereotype in form and content, the resentment against the Tatars was more complicated, since it included both Tatars as a hostile out-group attacking the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and those Tatars living legally, even if in separation, within the country. Madis Maasing (University of Tartu) also describes the adaptation of a well-proven stereotype, that of the Turks, to an entirely different group, viz. the Russians, who had become a major threat to Livonia. The Teutonic Order went to war with the Grand Duchy of Muscovy at the beginning of the sixteenth century, an event that was followed in Livonia by the intense writing of polemical works that identified the "schismatic Russians" with the infidel Turks.

This collection thus gives readers a unique perspective on relations between Christians, Muslims, and Jews in medieval Scandinavia and along the Baltic Region during the Middle Ages. The inclusion of the articles by Maasing and Šiaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė recognizes the extended boundaries of what constitutes "medieval" in Islamic and Jewish history and demonstrates how constructed terms such as "the Middle Ages" can be limiting particularly when dealing with groups outside of Western *Christianitas*. The articles also cover a vast geographical area from Iceland in the west (Cole, Etheridge) to Muscovy in the east (Maasing), from Sápmi in the north (Bandlien) to the Arabian Peninsula in the south (Schröder). What is remarkable perhaps is how in some ways the view of the Muslims and Jews was broadly the same among Christians in these areas, due no doubt to the unifying influence of the Church as, for example, mediated through papal bulls, sermons, and art. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that this view of Muslims and Jews was malleable and provided an array of images that could be put to a variety of different uses and that could elicit a variety of responses, from coexistence to conflict.

The reader will notice that the volume does not include contributions on places such as the Hanseatic towns, Novgorod, and Mecklenburg. However, we

hope that this book will act as an impetus for new research and that scholars will soon begin investigating attitudes towards Muslims and Jews in these areas. The study of Jewish-Christian-Muslim relations in medieval northernmost Europe is a relatively new area of research. It draws upon many disciplines and builds upon and nuances the findings from more thoroughly investigated areas such as England, Spain, and Germany. The results, we hope, provide a fresh and original description of the pre-modern religious and non-religious background to society in today's Scandinavia and Baltic lands with respect to tolerance, persecution, and intercultural encounters. Furthermore, we hope that they highlight the mutual influences between centre and periphery in the Middle Ages.

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I. Contact

Bjørn Bandlien

2 Trading with Muslims and the Sámi in Medieval Norway

In the Middle Ages, it felt to Norwegians like they were surrounded by heathens. Although they were geographically far removed from the Holy Land, many Norwegians encountered Muslims during pilgrimages and when participating in Crusades.[1] Moreover, they maintained close contact with the northern heathen 'Finns' or 'Lapps', today usually identified as the Sámi.[2] In fact, the Norwegian Archbishops of Nidaros went so far as to declare themselves and their patron saint, Olaf, to be the bulwark against the threat from the North, the homeland of demonic forces that threatened to overrun Christendom.[3]

From a modern perspective, there are many obvious differences between the Sámi at the northern fringe of Europe and the Mediterranean Muslims in the Middle Ages. For example, the Mamluks in Egypt had a complex political structure, significant military resources, and were involved in large-scale international trade, while the Sámi were hunters who lived in a society without cities and certainly had no military structure that would pose a serious threat to any kingdom.

Nonetheless, the Sámi were included in Western pro-Crusade discourse alongside the Muslims. King Hákon Hákonsson of Norway (1217–1263) had taken the Cross in 1237, but in 1241, he sent a petition to Pope Gregory IX, asking to be absolved from his vow to participate in a Crusade to the Holy Land. He listed a number of difficulties, including a lack of necessary economic resources. He promised, instead, to make war on his kingdom's heathen neighbours. Pope Gregory IX responded by granting the king a part in the Crusading indul-

1 The standard work remains Riant 1865.

2 In this article, I will use medieval terms, such as *Finnar* or *Saracens*, when discussing images of groups designated as such in medieval sources, and modern terms, such as Sámi, Arabs and Muslims when referring to historical groups and individuals. The relationship between medieval and modern terms is of course more complicated. For instance, it is not certain that the Old Norse term *Finnar* covered the modern 'Sámi' or if the distinction between *Bjarmar* and *Finnar* was very clear to medieval Norwegians. Furthermore, *Finnar* sometimes appears even as synonymous with 'trolls'. It is difficult to ascertain the indigenous terminology used in the Middle Ages by those we today would call 'Sámi'; see the discussion in Hansen and Olsen 2014, 35–38. Saracens could be a term for many types of heathens: for instance in Middle English romances it even included heathens from Scandinavia.

3 For a discussion of this theme, see Skånland 1956.

gence and sending a letter extending papal protection to the king, his family, and his property.[4]

A similar excuse was offered in response to the call for a Crusade at the Council of Vienne in 1311–1312. When papal collectors arrived in Norway to claim Crusading tithes, the head of the royal council and de facto ruler of Norway in the 1320s, Erling Vidkunsson, claimed to be planning his own Crusade against Norway's heathen neighbours. In 1323, he received a letter from Pope John XXII granting the Norwegians who died fighting the *pagani dicti Finnar* (heathens called Finnar) the same privileges as those who died fighting for the liberation of the Holy Land.[5] In 1326, John XXII also granted the young King Magnus Eriksson's guardians a portion of the Crusading tithes to finance the war against the heathen Karelians and the heretical Russians.[6]

This suggests that Norwegian rulers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries viewed their relations with the heathens at their borders as part of the same struggle for Christendom as that against the Saracens in the Middle East, against the Moors in Spain, and against the heathens in the Baltic region. Norway's heathen neighbours were located at the kingdom's northern border. Along with the Sámi, other groups with interests in northern Scandinavia were identified as heathens, among them the Bjarmar and the Karelians, as well as the Russians (the latter were sometimes referred to as heathens and sometimes as heretics).

Stereotyping both the Sámi and Muslims as equivalent Others is in line with the general development of a 'persecuting society' in the High Middle Ages. In his influential study of medieval European persecuting society, Robert I. Moore argued that the images used to identify marginal groups, such as Jews, lepers, and heretics, as well as the way in which they were persecuted, were very similar. The development of a new bureaucracy and a new rhetoric of authority, morality, and normalcy contributed to this.[7] Norwegians and other European Christians shared a common image of Muslims, and by the early fourteenth century at the latest, heretics were targeted for persecution.[8] In medieval Norway, the negative stereotypes of the Muslims led to the construction

4 DN I, 1849, 24; see also Jackson 2009, 23. Gregory IX had in 1237 promised full absolution and papal protection to those who participated in a campaign against heathens who attacked the recently converted Tavastians in southern Finland, DS 298/SDHK 514.

5 DN VI, 1864, 106.

6 DN VI, 1864, 113.

7 Moore 2007.

8 On the persecution of heretics and the scattered references to inquisitors in Norway, see Bandlien and Knutsen 2008.

of the Saracens, or *Serkir* in Old Norse, with their well-established polytheistic faith, idol worship, and cruelty.[9] Historian Sirpa Aalto has argued that the negative, or even monstrous, qualities assigned to heathen enemies can be traced to patterns found in the Old Norse kings' sagas. The heretical and heathen groups who were assigned traits similar to other 'non-Christians' included, among others, the Karelians, Bjarmar, Wends, *blámenn* (conventionally translated as 'black men'), and Sámi in the north. For example, in the Icelandic sagas, the Sámi were often portrayed, in a corresponding way, as skilled in magic or demonic sorcery and as heathen idol worshippers.[10] This suggests that the traits assigned where influenced by images of the Other that the Norwegians shared with other Europeans.[11]

However, as was the case for other Europeans, Norwegians had relations with the Sámi and Muslims that were more complex than allowed for in the depictions of the Saracens and *Finnar* in sagas, *chansons de geste*, chronicles, and romances.[12] Although the Sámi and Muslims were depicted as enemies of Christianity, sagas and chronicles testify that Norwegians continued to trade with them. While representations of these groups as monstrous Others would contribute to a Christian identity and community, trading relations and peaceful contact would seem to endanger such simple oppositions. However, as Emile Durkheim pointed out a century ago, trade may provide little more than a fragile peace: "Interests never unite men but for a few moments, contracts are mere truces in a continuing antagonism. Nothing is less constant than interest. Today it unites me to you; tomorrow, it will make me your enemy".[13] In the case of medieval Iberia, the view is that face-to-face trade relations lent stability to the Muslim-Christian *convivencia*.[14] David Nirenberg, in his study on the relations between Christians and Jews, Muslims, and lepers in France and in the Crown of Aragón, counters the view held by Robert I. Moore, Norman Cohn, and others, arguing that the role and objective of stereotypes of the Other "are closely dependent on social context and conflict, and therefore differ greatly from time to time and place to place".[15] According to Nirenberg, persecution of and violence against minorities was short-lived and was generally determined by the way in which the perpetrators took hold of and manipu-

9 Sverrir Jakobsson 2012.
10 Mundal 1996; Hermann Pálsson 1997.
11 Aalto 2010.
12 Sverrir Jakobsson 2012; Bandlien, forthcoming.
13 Durkheim 1964, 203–204.
14 Meyerson 2003.
15 Nirenberg 1996, 124.

lated the discourse about the Other. Furthermore, episodes of aggression against minorities were not always socially disruptive: They often played an integrative and stabilizing role, clarifying ethnic, religious, and social boundaries and making different group identities more tangible.

In this paper, I will examine the interrelationship of trading, religious missions, and Crusading based mainly on Scandinavian sagas and chronicles. In these narratives, trading relations with heathens are most often recorded because of their noteworthiness to an élite audience of clerics, monks and nobles, many of them connected to the Norwegian royal court. Given the lack of archival sources until the Late Middle Ages in Norway, such narratives are especially valuable since they show that boundaries between the Christian and heathen communities could be challenged and upheld during "the few moments" of trade.

2.1 Trading and Crusading

At the Second Council of Lyon in 1274, Pope Gregory X excommunicated and anathematized those "false and impious Christians who [...] transport weapons and iron and wood [to the Saracens] for building galleys and other sailing vessels with which they [the Saracens] attack Christians [...] or in anything else whatsoever lend them aid or counsel to the detriment of Christians, particularly those of the Holy Land".[16] Jon Raude, Archbishop of Nidaros in Norway, attended the Council in Lyon, and in 1280 he included the same embargo in a provincial statute, under threat of excommunication.[17]

Attempts at an effective commercial boycott of the Muslims had begun in the twelfth century. The Third Lateran Council, under Pope Alexander III, provided the first clear formulation of the principle. As had been the case at the Second Council of Lyon, the export of weapons, slaves, and shipbuilding materials to Muslims was considered a particularly serious offense. Occasionally, there were more extensive embargos: The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 forbade Christians to send ships to countries inhabited by the Saracens for a period of four years, because they should remain available to those who wished to act in service of the Holy Land, and so that the "Saracens may be denied the

16 Bird, Peters, and Powell 2013, 470.

17 Keyser et al. 1849, 237: "I ellifta fellr á þa fullkomit bann sem Saracenis flytia til handa vápn eða skip eða iarn, eða geraz skipstiornar menn þeirra, eða veita þeim nockurs kyns fullting til agángs ok ufriðar heilögu Jorsala landi ok kristnu folki."

benefits that they usually reap from such commercial intercourse".[18] After the fall of Acre in 1291, Pope Nicholas IV tried to extend the embargo on arms, horses, iron, wood, and foodstuffs, to include "any other form of merchandise" – in essence, a complete embargo.[19]

The attempts at regulating commerce with Muslims reflects the flourishing trade conducted by merchants from cities like Venice, Genoa, Marseille, and Pisa across religious borders in the Mediterranean, including the export of war materials to Egypt, Tunis, and Syria.[20] Although Norwegians did not play a significant role in the trade in war materials, it is nonetheless notable that Lodin Lepp served as Norwegian King Magnus Hákonsson's envoy to Egypt in the 1270s, during Baibars' reign.[21] Although the Icelandic source does not mention the purpose of the journey, it does say that it made Lodin famous. We know from other sources that he had also been sent by the Norwegian king to al-Mustansir in Tunis in 1262. It is possible that Lodin Lepp and other Norwegians met ambassadors from al-Mustansir already during a stay in Valladolid in 1258.[22] Lodin was well received by al-Mustansir in 1262 and stayed in Tunis over the winter. Sturla Þórðarson, nephew of Snorri Sturluson, who probably knew Lodin Lepp personally, mentions that the Norwegians brought many gifts with them, including gerfalcons "and other things that were difficult to find there". These were not, however, merely gifts: They would also have been meant to send a message, given that gerfalcons were a very valuable commodity in the Maghreb, Egypt, and Syria. The contemporary Muslim author Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī wrote that these falcons were so highly valued that even dead specimens sold for a very high price.[23] Such a gift might, therefore, have been given to Baibars, the Mamluk sultan of Egypt, to encourage trade and increase prices.

A more extensive report about Norwegian trade with Muslims is found in *Orkneyinga saga*, probably composed in several stages around 1200. It provides a lengthy description of the Norwegian magnate Erling Kyrpinga-Ormsson

18 Menache 2012, 243.
19 Menache 2012, 245–246.
20 Jacoby 2001.
21 *Árna saga biskups*, ch. 57.
22 According to *Hákonar saga* (ch. 294, 391), they met envoys in Valladolid, "both Christian and heathens".
23 Birkeland 1954, 99–100. Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī was born in Granada in 1213 and probably died in Tunis in 1286. He arrived at Tunis in 1254 or 1255, following many years travelling and an extended stay in Egypt. Although we cannot be certain, he may very well have been in Tunis in 1262–1263. On the history of Tunis in this period, with references to the Valladolid meeting and the Norwegian envoy, see Brunschvig 1940, 39–70 and Messier 1986.

leading a Crusading fleet to the Holy Land in the early 1150s, in the company of Earl Ragnvald of Orkney. According to *Orkneyinga saga*, upon entering the Mediterranean, the Crusaders caught sight of a dromund, a ship so large that they initially thought it was an island. As the ship approached, the Crusaders could not help but wonder whether the crew of the dromund were friends or enemies. At this point it is clearly stated: "If those [on the dromund] are heathens, then the Almighty God will show us mercy and give us victory". The saga then explains that: "On the dromund were Saraceni, who we call Maúmet's heretics". However, the author goes on to distinguish among these Saracens. Black-skinned warriors receive special mention: "There were many *blámenn* there, and they fought most fiercely". This would imply that others on board were Saracens, but not *blámenn*, and that they fought less fiercely.

However, the Crusaders also noticed a man whom they thought appeared different: "A man on the dromund was both larger and more striking than the others. The Norwegians assumed he was the chieftain". The Crusaders cleared the ship, sparing only this singularly striking man. Then, they headed for the mainland and "went to a town of the *Serkir* and made peace with them for seven days. They traded with them and sold silver and other things to them". The Crusaders also wanted to sell their captive, but "no one wanted to buy the large man". Finally, they let him go.[24]

A few days later he returned to the town with a great force and informed the terrified Crusaders "that he was a chieftain from Serkland and had sailed with the ship and a crew from this town". Although he had the power to determine the Crusaders fate, the chieftain chose to let them sail on to the Holy Land: "You will now be allowed to leave in peace since you did not kill me and showed me the honour you were able to, considering the circumstances".

This episode gives a complex image of an encounter with the Saracens. First, the saga explains the term *Saraceni* to the readers, calling them "Maúmets villumenn [the heretics of Maúmet]". The nature of the heresy is not specified, but the contemporary *Speech Against the Bishops*, written in Norway in the late 1190s, adds more detail. The basic premise of this treatise is that the king should control both the kingdom and the Church, since clerics tended to fall into lechery, pride, greed, lust, and sexual immorality. The list of heretical clerics mentions a certain Nicholas Advena. He is said to be a disciple of Christ, who later became the bishop of Serkland. He then became known by another name, Maúmet. His heretical teaching had spread to such an extent that half

24 *Orkneyinga saga*, ch. 88, my translation. *Orkneyinga saga* was probably written in several stages around 1200, but is preserved only in manuscripts from the fourteenth century.

the world now believed in him and said that he was God.[25] This image of the Saracens as heretics has been connected to the development of a Christian intellectual culture that responded to the challenge posed by Muslim theology.[26] However, most of the Saracens were said to be *blámenn*, a stock image from the Old Norse sagas. They are frequently depicted as the fiercest of warriors, often skilled in magic, and with connections to monstrous beings.[27]

The saga presents the people of Serkland in more neutral terms. No problems are mentioned in relation to the trade in silver and other items with the local merchants. Only when the striking Saracen returns with an army is the religious conflict between the Crusaders and the heathens presented as a potential problem. However, the Saracen proves to be a noble and chivalrous heathen and lets the crusaders leave the city in peace.

This differentiation of Saracens is similar to that found in other European sources. It is well known that trade and commerce followed closely in the wake of Crusades, and that the Genoese in particular used military force to increase their influence in Muslim North Africa.[28] In the case of the Norwegian and Orcadian expedition in the 1150s, the cities of Bougie (now Béjaïa in the eastern part of modern Algeria) and Tunis were the most likely sites of trade. Genoese merchants had set up in these cities by the mid-twelfth century, although they had rivals among the Christians, particularly the Pisans.[29]

Letters between the Genoese and the local traders suggest close bonds, even during times of internal strife among Christians or between local governors and merchants.[30] The noble character of the striking heathen chieftain in *Orkneyinga saga* may have functioned to legitimize trade in Muslim countries. The townspeople, who bought silver and other items from the Crusaders, are also depicted in a similar pronouncedly neutral fashion, simply as the inhabitants of the land of the Saracens, or Serkland. The Norwegian *Speculum regale*, or *Konungs skuggsiá*, written at the royal court in the late 1250s, claims that Norwegian merchants often faced danger, both at sea and in heathen lands.[31] In order to be well received, they were strongly advised to respect local customs wherever they were, including in the land of the Saracens.

The major distinction among the Saracens is the portrayal of the *blámenn* as fierce warriors. They are also depicted as monstrous and demonic in other

25 *En tale mot biskopene* 1931, 19.
26 Tolan 2002: 167–168; Bandlien, forthcoming.
27 Aalto 2010; Sverrir Jakobsson 2012.
28 Cheyette 2001, 88–96.
29 Schaube 1906, 275–316.
30 Lopez and Raymond 1955, 384–387.
31 *Konungs skuggsiá* 1983, 4.

late twelfth-century sources. Clearly, they were not a group with which it was considered easy to establish peaceful trading relations. The category of Saracens was distinguished as an ethnic Other rather than a religious Other. *Orkneyinga saga* clearly illustrates how different images of and various perspectives about Muslims could co-exist in a single work.

In 1347, King Magnus Eriksson of Norway and Sweden managed to get papal permission to trade with "Soldan of Babilonia".[32] King Magnus openly stated that this was necessary to improve the kingdom's economy. To gain permission to trade with the Mamluks in Cairo, the claim was made that it would serve to finance Crusading activities in the East. King Magnus wanted to export falcons, a long and profitable Scandinavian practice.[33] The falcon trade subsequently received papal exemption from the embargo, and in 1348 Pope Clement VI directed his envoy Peter of Ghent to grant absolution to Scandinavian merchants guilty of illegal trade with Saracens and infidels, if they would use the profits for the war against heathens.[34] King Magnus assumed that the trading policy of the papacy was considered questionable and was possibly viewed with disapproval. Indeed, two Swedes had in 1345 arrived at an agreement with the merchant Pere de Mediavilla in Barcelona, one of the richest and influential men in the Kingdom of Aragón, to gain passage on his ship to Alexandria. Pere de Mediavilla himself also acted as the King of Aragón's envoy, becoming a very unpopular figure among the French when the claim was made that he had told the Mamluk sultan that the French king was planning to attack Egypt.[35]

While the *blámenn* were portrayed as monstrous berserkers or demonic idolaters, there seems to have been a parallel interest in narratives that depicted Babylonia more favourably. The cross-cultural contacts in the Mediterranean also influenced the learned and aristocratic worldview in the North, and the Norse aristocrats' aspiration to courtliness may have made admiration for the rich culture they encountered in places like Tunis and Egypt more appealing than simply seeing it as monstrous.[36]

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32 DN VII, 1869, 198 and 202. King Magnus also received papal permission to travel to the Holy Land with hundred men, but with strict orders not to bring anything that could be useful to the Christians' enemies; DN VI, 1864, 204.

33 Hofmann 1957–1958.

34 DN VII, 1869, 215; DS 4384/SDHK 5697.

35 The document is published, with an extensive discussion of the context, in Fritz and Odelman 1992; see also Madurell y Marimón 1966, 486–489, who mentions Petrus of Media Villa bringing twenty-eight falcons to Alexandria, with only five reaching their destination alive.

36 On this theme in relation to Old French literature, see Kinoshita 2006.

2.2 Trading with the Sámi

From the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, Norwegians were involved in the Crusades against the Muslims. At the same time, the heathen Sámi, or *Finnar* as they were usually called in Old Norse, were a close neighbour to the Norwegians. Since the Viking Age, chieftains and petty kings in the South had traded with and taxed the Sámi. After the Christianization of Norway, the northern Finnmark region was associated with heathendom, and its inhabitants with sorcery. Beginning in the thirteenth century, a growing number of Norwegians settled in Finnmark, but control over the area was challenged by the Russian princes of Novgorod, who were also interested in northern Scandinavia. In response to this, the Norwegian rulers built churches in the region, and in the early fourteenth century erected a fortress in Vardø.[37]

In the middle of the twelfth century, an anonymous chronicler connected to the Archbishopric of Nidaros described the Finns. Above all, he emphasized their religious practices, claiming that "a person will scarcely believe their unendurable impiety and the extent to which they practice heathen devilry in their magic arts".[38] At the same time, he stated as a matter of fact that Norwegians habitually traded with the heathen Finns. He offers an anecdote: "Once, when Christians who had come to trade had sat down at table with some Finns, their hostess fell forward all of a sudden and expired".[39] This is followed by an account of how two magicians attempted to restore her to life by using a *gandr*, the "demonic spirit" of a sorcerer who was able to travel long distances, in the shape of a whale, for instance. One of these two sorcerers died while performing the chanting incantations, falling to the ground "negro ut ethiops [black as a negro]". This expression would have been familiar to the learned audience of the text. The meaning of the blackness of the Ethiopian had been discussed since Antiquity. In early Christianity, the distinction of whiteness and darkness was often interpreted in relation to sin. Demons would often be described as Ethiopians with curly hair.[40] At the same time, Church Fathers, such as Augustine, declared that Ethiopians traced their origin to the same human forms as other people. As rational and mortal beings, they were part of humanity and potential Christians; by converting, they, just like other people, were made white in the light of the Lord.[41]

37 Hansen and Olsen 2014, 155–160.
38 *Historia Norwegie* 2003, 61.
39 *Historia Norwegie* 2003, 63.
40 Goldenberg 2009.
41 Snowden 1983, 104–105; Courtès 2010, 200–201.

In some Old Norse sagas, however, there is an ambivalent attitude about the possibility of converting the Sámi. Oddr Snorrason, a Benedictine monk from the Icelandic monastery of Þingeyrar, writing in the late twelfth century, described how the missionary King Olaf Tryggvason received sound advice from a wise Finn who could see into the future. Although helpful to the king, the Finn said that "ek hefi annars konar náttúru [I have a different nature]" and was unable to adopt Christianity or its customs, "Því at ekki má ek snúast til annarra hluta eða annarrar náttúru en nú em ek [because I cannot convert to other practices or to another form of existence]".[42] Later in the saga, King Olaf fails to convert a chieftain from Hálogaland in northern Norway, because he was born as the result of some *Finnar* using magic to insert an unclean spirit into a woman's womb. This chieftain was, in fact, that very spirit and could not be baptized for the reason that "ek hefi ekki mannz eðli [I have not the nature of a man]".[43] In this case, the Sámi seem, by their nature, to be immersed in witchcraft, while the Norwegian or Icelandic performers of magic, both before and after their conversion to Christianity, would most often be depicted as having learned magic or specific charms, often from the Finns.[44] In any case, in the episode of the two magicians in the *Historia Norwegie*, trade between Norwegians and the Sámi is not seen as a problem in and of itself. It is only the practices of the two heathen magicians that are considered demonic and dangerous.

Along with trade, the Sámi are depicted as fishing alongside the Christians. The author relates one such episode in his work: "When the Finns, together with the Christians, had gone about catching by hook a flock of fish such as these heathens had seen in Christian dwellings, they drew almost full traps out of the deeps with their wand, and so loaded the boats to capacity".[45] Here, the Sámi are more or less doing the same thing as the Norwegians. The historical context for this episode is the increased and lucrative trade in fish exported to the south. Both the Sámi and the Norwegians who were settled further north wanted a piece of this trade, and in this instance the author clearly portrays the Sámi as imitating the Norwegian practice. It is the religious context of the fishing, with the Sámi successfully using sorcery, which denotes the difference between the two groups.

In the fishing episode in *Historia Norwegie*, the Finns used the wand and were more successful than the Norwegians. Another writer from the late twelfth

42 Oddr Snorrason 2003, 66.
43 Oddr Snorrason 2003, 96.
44 Mitchell 2003.
45 *Historia Norwegie* 2003, 63.

century emphasized that Christians should under no circumstances adopt this kind of sorcery. When compiling a collection of Saint Olaf's miracles, Archbishop Eystein Erlendsson of Nidaros (1167–1188) told the story of a remarkable Norwegian catch in northern pagan lands: "For lying in a narrow inlet in the middle of the pagan wastes, three or four weeks distant from Christian lands, and disappointed of their expected catch [...] they humbly besought with plea and with prayer the mercy of God and the intervention of the martyr."[46] Their success attracted the attention of the Sámi (or Lapps as they are called here): "The pagan Lapps who had also gathered there to fish, hearing the vow of the faithful, asked to be admitted as fellows to this plan, but in such a way that their gods should be no less honoured with the fruits of their vow than the blessed Olaf with the offerings of the faithful. But since there is no concord between Christ and Belial, the wretches in their error were spurned".[47] Archbishop Eystein then described how the Norwegians sent fish to the cathedral in Nidaros to express their gratitude for Saint Olaf's intervention.

This was clearly seen as a remarkable and important miracle, and Archbishop Eystein claimed to have verified it himself. When travelling to the fringe of heathen lands, he had questioned truthful men about what had happened, and they all told him the same story. Whereas the fishing episode in *Historia Norwegie* presents the Sámi sorcery as particularly effective in procuring a good catch, Archbishop Eystein depicts the worship of the saint as more fruitful. It seems like the Archbishop was concerned about the extremely close relationship between the Norwegians and the Sámi – not the fishing as such, but the fear that it would lead to a mixed worship of saints and heathen gods. Archbishop Eystein emphasized that Christians would receive more help from Saint Olaf, and that the saint's intervention was the result of the unwillingness of the Norwegians to take part in the Lapps' worship. It is not explicitly stated in the account of the miracle, but in the light of the parallel episode in the *Historia Norwegie*, we could presume that Archbishop Eystein believed that the heathens' sorcery actually was an effective way to catch fish. This made Christian fishermen in the northern pagan lands of central importance in establishing Christianity's distinction from the heathendom and the works of the Devil. Fishing became a battle between "Christ and Belial", and even if the Christians and heathens fished side by side, the way they worshipped served to introduce Christianity to the heathens and to mount a defence against the trappings of the Devil in these heathen realms. If all the Christian fishermen were to worship Saint Olaf in the same way, they would not only be economically success-

46 Phelpstead and Kunin 2001, 70.
47 Phelpstead and Kunin 2001, 70–71.

ful, they would also help to Christianize these realms. It was a vision of Crusading while fishing.

These sources suggest that while they perceived the Sámi as a religious Other, the Norwegians also viewed them as a people with a king they could negotiate with. In 1313, Martin, the "king of the Finns", is said to have visited the Norwegian king, Hákon V (1299–1319).[48] That same year, King Hákon issued a legal amendment concerning the northern part of the kingdom,[49] offering the Finns privileges if they converted to Christianity. For thirty years after their conversion, they would pay only one third of any fines imposed by royal officials. Hákon V also admonished both his own officials and the Archbishop of Nidaros' officials to treat the Finns justly and not to exploit them economically. It seems that Martin was some sort of Sámi chieftain – perhaps a Christian (as his name would suggest) – who was negotiating on behalf of his people.[50]

Few sources show active attempts to convert the Sámi during the fourteenth century. One episode in the late 1350s or the 1360s indicates that the mission to the Sámi continued to follow in the wake of trade. A certain priest from Hálogaland travelled with merchants by ship to Finnmark. They entered a suitable harbour and were met by numerous Sámi, who had come to trade with them. One day, the priest was saying Mass in a tent, since there were no chapels or churches in the area. The Finns joined the Christians at Holy Mass. Among them was a man who stood by the door of the tent. This man was greatly skilled in witchcraft. He was revered by all of the Finns as their leader, both because of his sorcery and because he could foretell the future. However, when the *hostia* was raised, the sorcerer fled from the tent. He was later found lying on the ground. He explained to the Norwegians' interpreter that the consecrated host had appeared to him to be a brightly illuminated child covered in blood. The Finn had fainted in terror. This miracle was reported by the priest to Archbishop Olaf of Nidaros, who ordered that it be announced from the choir of the cathedral for all to hear, and that the announcement be accompanied by chiming bells and the chanting of the hymn *Te deum*.[51]

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48 *Islandske annaler* 1888, 393: "Þetta sumar kom Marteinn Finna kongr til Hakonar kongs." His visit to King Hákon V is also mentioned by Hans Lilienskiold, the provincial governor of Finnmark in the late seventeenth century, see Bratrein 2001. In both the kings' sagas and the legendary sagas, we find many references to kings in Finnmark, often mentioned along with their attractive daughters, see Hermann Pálsson 1997, 131–157.

49 Keyser et al. 1849, 106–107.

50 Mundal 2006.

51 This story was first written in Latin at Nidaros, but only the Icelandic translation by the priest Einarr Hafliðason (1307–1393) remains extant, see Kålund 1908, 57–59.

The narrator expresses doubt about the sorcerer's conversion to Christianity. He attended the Mass with the other Finns, but is referred to as a heathen, while the others are portrayed as believing in his sorcery more than in Christ. In any event, the conversion of the Finns was obviously not the point of this story or the reason it was announced with such veneration in Nidaros. The main message was that the power of Holy Mass was greater than the skills of the northern pagan sorcerers. Norwegian traders who travelled to these areas could expect God's support, and if they performed Christian rituals, the pagans would recognize God's power.

This episode also indicates that Norwegian merchants and priests met people in the North who did not have the negative attitude towards Christianity that Crusaders had grown to expect of the Saracens in the Mediterranean. On the contrary, the Sámi were depicted as attending Mass, even though they considered a sorcerer their leader. It is likely that many of the Sámi had become catechumens, possibly by proclaiming the Symbol of Faith, renouncing the Devil, and being blessed with the sign of the cross (*prima signatio*).[52] There are, however, many indications that the Sámi incorporated elements of Christianity and Christian symbolism into their own religion in an adapted form, rather than choosing between Christianity and their traditional beliefs.[53] This kind of hybrid religion is also reflected in the buildings known as multi-room houses. Archaeological excavations have shown that these sites on the coast of modern Finnmark can be connected to Norwegians, the Sámi, and the Karelians. Of a turf, stone, and wood construction, such houses might have served several functions in a multi-ethnic environment.[54] For example, they might have allowed for communication and facilitated peaceful trade between people from different cultures.[55]

In the economic and political relations in north Scandinavia, the religious or ethnic differences of the Norwegians and the Sámi seem to have given rise to very little conflict or violence. Most conflict and violence was over taxes and control of trade, and occurred between Norwegians and Karelians, who were acting on behalf of Novgorod.[56] The accounts of religious conflict provided by the Church of Nidaros focused on trade and fishing, rather than on a military

52 On the various rituals of *prima signatio*, see Uspenskij 2009; see also Mundal 2006 on the Sámi who traded with Christians having performed 'primsigning' or 'first-signing'.

53 Hansen and Olsen 2014, 313–315.

54 Olsen, Henriksen, and Urbańczyk 2011.

55 Aalto (2010, 173–179) emphasizes the establishment of *kaupfriðr* (trading peace), to allow for trading between Christians and heathens.

56 Hansen and Olsen 2014, 141–227.

Crusade led by the Norwegian king. The accounts in question present the activities of the two peoples as so intermingled that distinctions were barely visible. This made it necessary to introduce the issue of religious worship to denote a meaningful difference between them. The conflict between Norwegians and the Sámi had to be transformed into a relationship between Christendom and heathens. In this relationship, Christian ideology would be presented as hegemonic, but the narratives provide a view of numerous instances of peaceful interaction between the two groups, and even cases of Norwegians being tempted to use Sámi "sorcery". This was why the Archbishop of Nidaros felt it was necessary to announce the miracle of the sorcerer who was struck with terror at the sight of the consecrated host during Mass.

2.3 Concluding remarks

In the early sixteenth century, the Portuguese humanist Damião de Góis wrote a treatise on the Lapps, entitled the *Deploratio Lappiannae gentis*. Damião's source for the treatise was the last Catholic archbishop of Sweden, Johannes Magnus (1488–1544). Johannes Magnus had told Damião that he wished to convert the Lapps to Catholicism, but as the Swedish king had converted to Lutheranism this was impossible. He feared that King Gustav Vasa of Sweden would exploit the Lapps economically, rather than convert them. Damião himself bemoaned the fact that the Lapps had not yet been Christianized, blaming this on the greed of kings and merchants who preferred that they remain heathens, so they could be more heavily taxed.[57]

In the period of the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries, however, there would have been no perceived contradiction between Christian preaching, colonization and trade or between missionaries and merchants. It is true that King Hákon V's 1313 legal amendment concerning the Sámi included economic privileges for those Sámi who converted. These trading privileges were seen as promoting Christendom in the North. In 1358, King Erik Magnusson of Sweden confirmed the existing trading privileges in the northern realms, in part because they encouraged the growth of Christianity (*christna troes föröckning*).[58] From the Archbishopric of Nidaros' perspective, the central issue was not the converting of individual heathens in the North, but rather building churches and performing Mass for the Norwegian traders and settlers in the region. The miracle stories reflect the close interaction of Norwegians and the

57 Earle 2006, 358.
58 DS 5959/SDHK 7420.

Sámi, and were meant to ensure Christians that they received no less support from Saint Olaf than the heathens did from their sorcerers. Given that they fished side by side and ate together, it was essential to remind the Norwegian merchants and settlers that the heathens threatened their salvation.

Although, in Finnmark, the Norwegians were not fighting to defend or recover a Holy Land from a group that refused to acknowledge Christianity, it nonetheless seems that they drew upon lessons learned from trade between Christians and Muslims in the Mediterranean. For merchants from a city like Genoa, combining Crusading and trade would have been the norm. In a similar vein, the Scandinavian Crusaders of the early 1150s would fight fierce battles with the *blámenn* one day and trade with *Serkir/Saracens* the next day. The first group played the role of monstrous and demonic forces in the narratives, while the merchants and rulers were presented in stories highlighting exotic luxury and chivalrous values. Depending on context, the Saracens might even be depicted as chivalrous warriors worthy of the Christians' respect. In what may be called aristocratic discourse, the parameters were not those of religious Otherness, but of the shared values of some Christian and heathen warriors.

While in the case of the Muslims, the violence against the heathen *blámenn* served as a reminder of the distinction between Us and the Other, in Finnmark, the Sámi often accepted baptism and attended Mass, making the lines blurry for Norwegian traders and priests. The dominant discourse about the *Finnar* in the sagas addresses their attachment to sorcery, to controlling the weather, and to shapeshifting. Clerical authors in Nidaros invoked such images to transform the peaceful encounters between Norwegians and the Sámi into a religious battle between Christianity and heathendom. In relation to trade, these images were used to highlight the differences between the groups. However, traders also had access to more positive images and narratives that legitimized relations with both Muslims and the Sámi.

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Christian Etheridge

3 The Evidence for Islamic Scientific Works in Medieval Iceland

3.1 Introduction

The genesis of this article lies in a recent visit to the Romanesque cathedral of Lund. While in the cathedral, I walked over to the medieval astronomical clock to await the moving figures and music that accompany the striking of the hour. During my wait, I noticed four carved figures that had been placed in each of the corners of the top part of the clock. The figures were wearing exotic clothing and one even wore a turban, immediately bringing to mind the image of an Arabic astronomer. This challenged my previous assumption that Muslims had generally been portrayed in a negative light in medieval Scandinavia. Indeed, it actually seemed to suggest that there was a sense of pride in having these figures here occupying a prominent place within the walls of one of medieval Scandinavia's most important ecclesiastical buildings. This encounter tied in with research that I had been undertaking on the influence and dissemination of Arabic scientific works in Scandinavia, particularly in Iceland. What follows is an analysis of the manuscript evidence for the impact and distribution of scientific works originating from the Islamic world during the Middle Ages, with particular attention on the cultural currency of the image of the Islamic scientist in medieval Iceland. The article begins with the Lund astronomical clock, and then heads to Iceland to analyse the scientific works there, as well as making connections with contemporary works in other regions of Scandinavia.

3.2 Lund Astronomical Clock

The first Lund cathedral, dedicated to the martyr St. Lawrence, traces its beginnings to the reign of the Danish King Sven II Estridsson (1047–1074). In 1104, Lund was made the archbishopric of all Scandinavia, and the present cathedral was built shortly afterwards. Although the Scandinavian archbishopric was split up by the Papal Legate Nicholas Breakspear (later Pope Adrian IV 1154–1159) in 1152, Lund retained its position as one of the most important ecclesiastical centres in medieval Scandinavia. The astronomical clock was constructed

Fig. 1: The astronomical clock, Lund Cathedral, Sweden. (Photograph: Jonathan Adams)

c. 1422,[1] but after the Middle Ages it gradually fell into disuse and by the nineteenth century had ended up in a storeroom, where it was found and rebuilt again in 1923 by the cathedral architect Theodore Wåhlin and the clockmaker Bertram Larsen. Only the top half of the clock is original, and this is where the four exotically attired figures are located.[2]

Each of the figures holds a paper scroll on which the original writing has been obliterated by the passage of time. The two upper figures wear crowns of a typical medieval type. The lower right-hand figure also has a crown, but of oriental type, whereas the other figure wears a turban which seems to denote

1 Schukowski 2008, 126.
2 Andrén 1998, 126.

a Muslim.[3] Wåhlin, in his work on the reconstruction of the clock, interpreted the two upper figures as representing great astronomers from Antiquity, such as Hipparchus, Ptolemy, Aristotle, or maybe even King Alfonso X (1221–1284). Wåhlin also hypothesized that the lower right-hand figure was the Chinese astronomer Tcheou-Kong, who lived c. 1100 BCE, and that the other figure with the turban was either the Persian astrologer Albumasar (Abū Maʿshar al-Balkhī, 787–886) or the Arabic astronomer Ali-Ben Isa (Alī ibn ʿĪsā al-Asṭurlābī, ninth century).[4] Anders Andrén, in his work on medieval Lund, also noted that the two upper figures appeared to be Europeans and possibly represented Aristotle and Ptolemy. Andrén concluded that there was no documented evidence to help to determine the identity of the four figures.[5] There is, however, firm comparative evidence that gives a much clearer picture as to the identity of the four astronomers and the possible maker of the clock.

In 1394, the German clockmaker Nikolaus Lilienfeld made an astronomical clock in the Church of St. Nikolai in Stralsund, Pomerania. His signature can still be seen there. This astronomical clock has four figures, one in each corner, that closely resemble those in Lund. They retain their names and are named top left Ptolemy, top right Alfonso, bottom left Hali, and bottom right Albumasar. Nikolaus is also believed to be responsible for the construction, in 1390, of the astronomical clock at Bad Doberan Minster in Mecklenburg.[6] This astronomical clock also has four figures which closely resemble those in Lund and Stralsund, and again have the same four names. It is highly likely, as Manfred Schukowski has conjectured that it was Nikolaus Lilienfeld who constructed the astronomical clock in Lund.[7] The similarities in design, as well as the geographical (there are fewer than two hundred kilometres between the clocks) and chronological proximity of the Stralsund and Bad Doberan clocks would indeed make Nikolaus the most likely candidate for clockmaker of Lund.[8] If this is the case, then the attributions of the four astronomers would be the

3 Turbans became quite fashionable in late medieval Europe; for example, the illustration from a fourteenth-century manuscript that shows Henry of Germany wearing a turban while delivering a lecture to university students in Bologna. *Liber ethicorum des Henricus de Alemannia;* Kupferstichkabinett SMPK, Berlin/Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Min. 1233.

4 Wåhlin 1923, 121.

5 Andrén 1998, 126–127.

6 Hamel 2008.

7 See Schukowski 2008.

8 Kragh 2005, 52–53 has the creator of the clock as an astronomer called Petrus de Vadstena. This is an error resulting from a confusion of Petrus Astronomus (d. 1513), a monk from Vadstena monastery who built an astronomical clock in Uppsala Cathedral in 1506, with Petrus Olavi (1307–1390), who wrote the *Vita beatae Birgittae* at Vadstena monastery.

same in Lund as the other clocks in Stralsund and Bad Doberan, and it is at the identities of these figures that we must next look.

Claudius Ptolemy (second century CE) was an Alexandrian astronomer who wrote widely on astronomy, geography, and astrology. His most important work was the *Almagest*, a detailed star catalogue and astronomical work that was lost to the Latin West sometime in the sixth century. It was translated and commented on extensively in the Islamic world in the ninth century and became known as the *al-Majisṭī*, or great work, later Latinized to *Almagest*. The court of Alfonso X, king of Castile, produced several works of astronomy and astrology, of which the most important was the *Tabulae alphonsinae*, or Alfonsine tables. Haly Abenragel (Abū l-Hasan ʿAlī ibn Abī l-Rijāl, died after 1037) was a court astrologer for the Zirid dynasty based in Kairouan.[9] His influential work *Kitāb al-bāriʿ fī akhām an-nujūm* (Book on the Judgement of the Stars) was translated into Latin at the court of Alfonso X in 1254. Albumasar was an influential astrologer and astronomer in the Abbasid court in Baghdad. His works on the philosophical reasoning behind astrology influenced Adelard of Bath, Albertus Magnus, and Roger Bacon amongst others in the West.

The figures on the Lund astronomical clock suggest an admiration for astronomers on the part of the clockmaker or his patron.[10] It also implies a receptive audience that would likewise appreciate these figures and recognize in them a sense of wisdom and knowledge. The fact that two Islamic astronomers are also represented there is proof that in early fifteenth-century Scandinavia Islamic scholars were so admired that they could be represented on the walls of one of its greatest cathedrals. This is, of course, party to the classic dichotomy of Christian thinking towards Islam and Muslims in the Middle Ages. On the one hand, Islam was seen as heresy and Muslims as either being in error or evil. Peter the Venerable (1092–1156), in his influential *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum* (The Book against the Sect or Heresy of the Saracens), denoted that Islam was either a *secta* (body of belief independent of Christianity) or *haeresis* (heresy). To quote Jeffrey Cohen in his *On Saracen Enjoyment*:

> He [Peter the Venerable] knew that all Saracens shared its errors (hence the unnuanced collective plural *Saracenorum*), and tautologically that sharing rendered them Saracens. Cultural specificities were lost as the inhabitants of Iberia and the East were unified beneath the sign *Saracen*, a racialized figure of ultimate difference who condensed everything inimical to the fragile Christian selfsame.[11]

9 There are other candidates for the identity of Hali, see Mogensen 2008, 98.
10 For further on the identities of the four figures, see Mogensen 2008, 95–99.
11 Cohen 2001, 115.

Works such as those of Peter the Venerable were complemented by negative manuscript images of Muslims, the most famous of these being the unhorsing of Saladin in the Luttrell Psalter (British Library, Add. MS 42130 fol. 82) dating from 1325–1340.[12] In this scene Saladin has his helmet knocked off by a jousting Richard the Lionheart and is exposed to have the face of a grotesque blue demon underneath. These negative images and works stood in contrast to the knowledge that Islamic science and philosophy were far in advance of that in the Latin West, which eventually gave way to a more positive view of Muslim scholars. For example Hugh of Santalla, the twelfth-century Spanish translator, explained to his fellow Latin Christian scholars that Islamic astronomers were to be looked up to, because "It befits us to imitate the Arabs especially, for they as it were are our teachers and precursors in this art".[13] The Cordovan philosopher Averroes (Abū l-Walīd Muḥammad bin ʾAḥmad bin Rušd, 1126–1198) was known by the title of 'The Commentator' in the Latin West, because his commentaries on Aristotle were the most important and influential Aristotelian critiques during the Middle Ages. To investigate further this positive image of the Islamic scholar in an Icelandic context, it is fundamental to first study the impact of Islamic scientific works on medieval Icelandic scholarship.

3.3 Icelandic scientific knowledge in the twelfth century

From the very beginning of Iceland's Christian era, knowledge of *computus* (the science of calculating Easter and other moveable feasts) was needed. *Computus* had developed from the complex task of dating Easter, requiring as it did an accurate knowledge of both the solar and lunar cycles and the ability to calculate dates from them using elementary calendrical algorithms. In the early eighth century, the Venerable Bede (672–735), following previous Irish computistical works, wrote three treatises which mastered the art of the *computus* and remained in vogue until the twelfth century, when translated Arabic works on astronomy and mathematics allowed for greater accuracy in calculation.[14] The very earliest surviving Icelandic manuscript (Reykjavík, Árni Mag-

12 See fig. 2 in the article by Yvonne Friedman in this volume.

13 Lyons 2009, 157.

14 These works are *De natura rerum* (On the Nature of Things), c. 703; *De temporibus* (On Times), 703, and *De temporum ratione* (On the Reckoning of Time), 725. The translated works of Bede himself, with extensive commentary by Faith Wallis and Calvin Kendall (1999 and 2010), are the best introduction to the science of the *computus*.

nússon Collection, AM 732 a VII, 4° from 1121–1139) is, in fact, a calendar used to calculate Easter. It is, of course, ironic that Islamic science allowed for a more accurate calculation of the most important Christian festival.

Another early survival from the twelfth century is the first Icelandic chronological treatise *Rím I*, or *Rímbegla*, believed to have been written by the astronomer Bjarni Bergþórsson inn Tǫlvísi. The oldest version, dating from the end of the twelfth century, is found within the manuscript Reykjavík, Árni Magnússon Collection, GkS 1812 IV, 4°. It is unknown where it was written, but the diverse range of works used in its construction would suggest a monastic environment. Natanael Beckman researched many of the sources of *Rím I*, and they are detailed in his notes on the treatise.[15] Several authors are mentioned by name in the text of *Rím I*, and I will deal with these first. For the anonymous remainder, Beckman has made comparisons between the Old Norse text of *Rím I* and those in various Latin astronomical and computistical treatises. Any scholar working with medieval Icelandic astronomy is in debt to the immense task of comparative work that Beckman made between the Old Icelandic and Latin sources. Of course, it is possible that Beckman may have made some errors with these sources. Beckman wrote almost one hundred years ago, and knowledge of medieval astronomy has advanced since then. There are, for example, many edited manuscripts that would have been unavailable to him in the early twentieth century. This note of caution aside, and until a full and systematic editing and evaluation of the Icelandic astronomical material appears, Beckman's work is still the most thorough examination available, and it will be used in this assessment of the source material.

The astronomer that is most frequently quoted by name in *Rím I* is the early twelfth-century Icelander Stjǫrnu-Oddi Helgason. His *Oddatal* (Oddi's Reckoning) is a series of measurements of the sun's altitude at noon and its bearing at sunset and sunrise throughout the year. Oddi measures the height of the sun using the sun's own size in scale.[16] There is a supernatural *þáttr* recorded about him called *Stjǫrnu-Odda draumur*, written sometime between 1391 and 1395, some two centuries after he wrote *Oddatal*.[17] Other Icelandic astronomers that are directly quoted are the aforementioned Bjarni Bergþórsson inn Tǫlvísi and the tenth-century calendar reformer Þorsteinn Surtr, both of whom we know very little about.

It is because of this dependence on Icelandic sources that the *Rím I* treatise can be seen as semi-independent from foreign astronomical practices. The only

15 Beckman and Kålund 1916, 464.
16 For more details, see Þorsteinn Vilhjálmsson 1991.
17 O'Connor 2012.

foreign astronomer that is directly quoted is Bede from his *De natura rerum*. However, there are many indirect quotes and sources of calculations within the treatise which Beckman has painstakingly re-assembled. The majority of these belong to the twelfth-century Christian theologian Honorius Augustodunensis (1080–1154) and his works *De imago mundi*, and *Liber* XII *questionum*. There is also extensive use of the encyclopaedic *Etymologies* of the seventh-century Bishop Isidore of Seville (560–636). The final two authors are the Roman scholar of mythology, Gaius Julius Hyginus (64 BCE–17 CE) and his *Poeticon astronomicon* and the Carolingian archbishop Hrabanus Maurus (780–856) and his *De computo*. Honorius Augustodunesis was a well-known writer in medieval Iceland, and a translation of his work *Elucidarius* from Latin into Old Norse was undertaken in the late twelfth century. The use of his works in *Rím I* would suggest a familiarity with standard reference works that were popular during the Middle Ages. Hrabanus Maurus wrote *De computo* primarily as a traditional *computus* text, but it also included new material from the Carolingian texts available at the time. Among these were discussions of the Greek astronomical poet Aratus (315/310 BCE – 240 CE) and his important work, the *Phaenomena*. This aspect of *De computo* ties in with the work of Hyginus and his *Poeticon astronomicon*. The latter was popular in the Middle Ages and, along with the *Phaenomena* of Aratus, provided the Greek mythological background to the figures depicted in illustrations of the stellar constellations. Of all the sources that were used in the compilation of *Rím I*, by far the most important was Bede's *De natura rerum*, which is referred to more frequently than all the other foreign sources combined. Given the evidence detailed above, it seems reasonable to assume that the writer of *Rím I* was working with a standard set of encyclopaedic manuals which focused mainly on *computus*, along with some basic astronomy and a little detail about the constellations. For our purposes, the real relevance of *Rím I* is the lack of any source material that derived from Arabic sources. Yet, it is in the same manuscript GkS 1812 IV, 4° that we find the earliest attestation of Arabic astronomical terms anywhere in Scandinavia.

3.4 The Glossary of GkS 1812 IV, 4°

Situated towards the end of GkS 1812 IV, 4° is a glossary of mostly Latin terms with Old Icelandic translations. Originally part of a glossary together with the manuscript Reykjavík, Árni Magnússon Collection, AM 249 l fol., it dates from the end of the twelfth century and is a copy of one or more earlier manuscripts.

Medieval glossaries in the West Norse-speaking area are rare, and what makes this glossary rarer still is a collection of Arabic words written in the Latin alphabet and glossed into Old Icelandic. This is the earliest occurrence of Arabic words in a Scandinavian source. The words are star names, listed in a part of the glossary devoted to astronomical terms. There has been surprisingly little scholarly work on possible sources of this extraordinary appearance of Arabic terminology at such an early period in Iceland. Natanael Beckman and Kristian Kålund conducted the most complete study of these astronomical terms to date in their work *Alfræði Íslenzk II: Rímtol*, to which I shall return later.[18] Fabrizio Raschellà, in a series of informed articles, has carried out the most complete work in recent years on the Latin words in the glossary, but has deferred to Beckman and Kålund on the Arabic terms.[19]

3.5 The Provenance of the Glossary

Fols. 24^{r} and 34^{v} from GkS 1812 IV, 4° originally formed a single glossary, along with fol. 4$^{r–v}$ from the manuscript AM 249 l fol. These folios are written in the same hand and are copies from one, or possibly more, earlier manuscripts. In total, there are about 260 Latin words, which appear with their Old Icelandic translations in the two manuscripts. In AM 249 l fol., they are inserted in the blank spaces and side margins of a computistical table, while in GkS 1812 IV, 4° they appear on the first and the last page of the manuscript's oldest section encompassing the computistical treatise, *Rím I*. This is contemporary with the earliest Icelandic text of the same length. The Icelandic *Hómilíubók* (Homily Book) is also from the end of the twelfth century and also includes Icelandic glosses of Latin words, in this case in a section devoted to the Creation.[20] The contents of the glossary are mainly agricultural in substance, aside from those in GkS 1812 IV, 4°, which are astronomical in character.

Raschellà believes that the glosses were likely made by some student or a scholar for personal use and could reflect vocabulary learning.[21] The Arabic glosses are to be found on fol. 34^{v} in GkS 1812 IV, 4°, written on eleven lines in three columns. They are recorded in the lower half of the folio, followed by a series of agricultural glosses. I have placed the Arabic star names with their

18 Beckman and Kålund 1916, 72–75.
19 Raschellà 2007.
20 Raschellà 2011, 337–340.
21 Raschellà 1993, 230.

Old Icelandic equivalents where noted.[22] The manuscript folio is unfortunately badly worn (Beckman and Kålund's textual reconstructions are shown in brackets).

Column	Old Icelandic Name	Column	Arabic Name
5[b]	Dag<stiarna>	6[b]	Aramec
5[c]	Suþrstiarna	6[c]	Wega
7[a]	Kyndelb<ere>	8[a]	Alakol
9[a]	(Missing)	10[a]	Al<ca>ph

3.6 Aramec – *Alpha Boötis*

The first of the Arabic star names is Aramec, which Beckman and Kålund point out is a Latinized version of the Arabic *ar-rāmiḥ*, itself a contraction of *as-simāk ar-rāmiḥ* (the uplifted one of the lancer). This is the Arabic word for the star Arcturus, found in the constellation of Boötes and the second brightest star in northern skies.[23] The ancient Greek name of Arcturus, the Bear Watcher or Guardian, refers to its relation to the nearby constellation of Ursa Major, the Great Bear. Arcturus is itself glossed as the Old Icelandic *dag* (*stiarna*), or day-star, possibly because of its brightness. Beckman and Kålund noted that the second half of the Old Icelandic gloss is very faint, but can be retrieved because Arcturus is still named *dagstjarna* in Norwegian (and was also known as *dag-stiærna* in Old Swedish).

3.7 Wega – *Alpha Lyrae*

Beckman and Kålund conclude that Wega comes from the Arabic *wāqiʿ*, meaning "falling" or "landing", stemming from the phrase *an-nasr al-wāqiʿ* (the landing vulture). This star, known to us in modern English as Vega, is in the constellation of Lyra (the lyre), which was originally seen as a vulture or eagle by the ancient Arabs.[24] It is one of the brightest stars in the sky, and from

22 For references on the star names below, see Beckman and Kålund 1916, 72–75.
23 Kunitzsch and Smart 2006, 19.
24 Kunitzsch and Smart 2006, 43–44.

Iceland it is seen on the south horizon, hence the Old Icelandic glossed name of *Suþrstiarna*, or southern star.

3.8 Alakol – *Beta Persei*

Beckman and Kålund have this as a version of the star known as Algol, which is found in the constellation Perseus. They note that the old name for Algol was the Medusa's Head, which the ancient Greek hero Perseus carried in his hand, and that Medusa translated into Arabic would be Algol, or the Devil. Paul Kunitzsch says that Algol is from an abbreviation of the Arabic *raʾs al-ghūl* (the demon's head) and derives from Ptolemy's description in the *Almagest* of a Gorgon's head.[25] Algol is a binary star, which appears to fluctuate in brightness, although Beckman claims that this characteristic feature was unknown in medieval times. The Old Icelandic gloss *Kyndilbere* (candle bearer) is, according to Beckman and Kålund, probably a translation made in connection with the Latin Lucifer, or light bearer. This is a term which is often used to represent the planet Venus in its capacity as the morning star. They also say that a similar confusion seems to have occurred with *dagstjarna*, which in this context may mean morning star. *Kyndelbere* is also linked as a gloss to Sirius by the term *idem* above it. Beckman and Kålund continue by positing that *Kyndelbere* could be an appropriate name for Sirius, which is the brightest star in the sky and appears just before the feast of Candlemass (2 February).

It appears that Beckman and Kålund have become very confused about the star names here, as they manage to mix up Algol, Venus, Arcturus (*dagstjarna*), and Sirius. The proposition that *Kyndelbere* represents Candlemass and the rising of Sirius is peculiar, as Sirius rises in July. This theory does not work with Algol, which is always visible in the northern skies of Iceland, nor does it work with Arcturus, which rises in the autumn. Venus, as a planet, can rise and set on any day of the year. The etymology of *Kyndelbere* would most likely to be connected with the flickering light of a candle, representing the fluctuating brightness of Algol. It is also not conclusively proven that medieval astronomers were unaware of the changing brightness of Algol.[26] This would be a more reasonable explanation than the rather confused one offered by Beckman and Kålund, and would indicate a high degree of sophisticated knowledge on the part of Icelandic astronomers.

25 Kunitzsch and Smart 2006, 49.
26 For arguments on medieval knowledge of the changeability of Algol, see Wilk 1996.

3.9 Al<ca>ph – *Beta Cassiopeiae*

Beckman and Kålund comment that this Arabic word is the name for the star called *Beta Cassiopeiae* or *al-Kaf* (the palm of the hand). Kunitzsch notes that the ancient Arabic name for this star was *al-kaf al-khadīb* (the stained hand).[27] This is more correctly a collective term used for the five brightest stars of the constellation Cassiopeia. These five stars form an asterism that is very visible in the Northern Sky, taking the shape of the letter W, or as the ancient Arabs saw it, a hand stained with henna. The Old Icelandic glossed name for *al-Kaf* is unfortunately now missing from this part of the glossary.

3.10 The sources of the Arabic terms according to Beckman and Kålund

Beckman and Kålund note that the knowledge of Arabic terminology is of the greatest interest for dating the manuscript. Beckman looked for sources by tracing the oldest form of one of the stars mentioned, in this case Vega. He saw this term as stemming from the *Alfonsine Tables*, the series of star tables commissioned by Alfonso X of Castile and dating from 1256.[28] Beckman realized this would be impossible, as he dates the manuscript folio to 1192, and instead provides an alternative explanation. He refers instead to a passage from Amable Jourdain in his *Recherches sur les Anciennes Traductions Latines d'Aristote*.[29] The passage mentions a Latin translation of the Persian astronomer, al-Farghani (Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Kathīr al-Farghānī, ninth century) which he traces to Spain in 1135. This is the work of John of Seville, the translator of al-Farghani, and his *Liber in scientia astrorum* (Book on the Science of the Stars).[30] Beckman then goes on to claim that it is not surprising that this work was present in twelfth-century Iceland. He identifies Abbot Nikulás Bergsson of the Benedictine monastery of Munkaþverá as the source of this knowledge, on the basis of Nikulás' visit to Palestine between the years 1149 and 1154.[31] His guide, *Leiðarvísir ok borgarskipan* (A Guide and

27 Kunitzsch 2006, 26.
28 For more details on the version and transmission of the Alfonsine tables, see Chabás and Goldstein 2003.
29 Jourdain 1843, 115–116.
30 For more on John of Seville, see Thorndike 1959.
31 Beckman and Kålund 1916, xxxvii.

List of Cities) details the pilgrimage route from Iceland via Rome to Jerusalem. The rationale for Beckman is that Abbot Nikulás mentions a method to calculate the location of the pole star in his guide, and therefore he must have had an interest in astronomy.[32] Beckman then claims that the Latin al-Farghani manuscript could have ended up in the Holy Land, where it was picked up by the abbot. This is an interesting theory, but it does not stand up to scrutiny, as Beckman was unaware of earlier and more likely possible sources of Arabic star names. Instead of the work of John of Seville, I believe that a treatise on the astrolabe is the source of the glossary of GkS 1812 IV, 4°.

3.11 The Astrolabe

The astrolabe is a device that is able to project what the observer sees in the sky onto a flat disc through a process known as stereographic projection. A typical astrolabe is made of a series of rotatable brass or copper graduated discs held together by a single pin. The back disc is called the *Mater* and is marked on both sides. Sitting on top of the *Mater* is a series of plates or climates, with different plates being used for different latitudes. On top of the plates is the rete with pointers indicating different stars. There is a pointer called the *Alidade* at the back of the *Mater* and a pointer called the *Horse* at the front of the rete. With the *Alidade*, the altitude of the Sun or a star could be measured to within an accuracy of about one degree. An astrolabe could be used to locate and predict positions of the Sun, Moon, planets, and stars, determine time, survey and triangulate, and cast a horoscope. To exploit the astrolabe to the full, it was necessary to have a comprehensive set of astronomical tables on the movement of the sun, moon and planets, among which a table of the position of the sun for each day of the year was the most important. The earliest surviving Arabic texts on the astrolabe date from the work of al-Khwarizmi (Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwārizmī, c. 800–847) in the ninth century, with the oldest extant Arabic astrolabe dating from 927 to 928.

Knowledge of the astrolabe was brought to the Latin West in two main stages: The first was the completion of the *Sententie astrolabii* (Meaning of the Astrolabe) treatise and its related texts in Spain in the late tenth century, and the second was the translation of major works on the subject in Toledo from the mid-twelfth century onwards. The *Sententie astrolabii* was a Latin treatise

32 Hill 1983, 180–181.

on the astrolabe, probably written by Lupitus of Barcelona and inspired by Cordovan treatises. There were related texts, such as *De utilitatibus astrolabii* (On the Usefulness of the Astrolabe) attributed to Gerbert of Aurillac (c. 945–1003), who travelled to Catalonia. Gerbert later taught astronomy and made armillary and celestial spheres to explain the workings of the heavens, and he used mathematics to aid in astronomical measurements.[33] Gerbert later became Pope Sylvester II (999–1003), and he was associated with legends of magical abilities due to his astronomical knowledge.

Lotharingia (Lorraine) became the focal point of mathematical and astronomical studies in the Latin West during the eleventh century, and many of its scholars were connected with Gerbert and his teaching. The next most important centre for this learning was the Benedictine abbey of Reichenau, by Lake Constance, which reached its cultural peak under the *magister* Berno of Prüm (c. 975–1048) and his pupils. Berno took many books with him from Lotharingia, and under his influence Reichenau became a centre of mathematics, astronomy, and music. Hermann Contractus (1013–1054) became famous as an astronomer and chronologer, writing his treatise on the astrolabe, *De mensura astrolabii* (On the Measure of the Astrolabe).[34] *De mensura astrolabii* was accompanied by a table of twenty-seven stars to be placed on the rete of the astrolabe.[35] The stars are mentioned by their Arabic names in transliteration: A Latin translation is added to several of the Arabic names.[36] His pupil Berthold (d. 1088) continued his work at Reichenau. The third most important centre for these studies was Cologne under Wulfhelm (1015–1091) and the Irish chronologer Marianus Scotus (1028–1082/3).[37] A new series of translations of astrolabe treatises appeared in the twelfth century, such as those by Plato of Tivoli (fl. 1134–1145) and John of Seville (fl. 1135–1153). Various original Latin works also appeared, such as those by Adelard of Bath (c. 1142–1146), Robert of Chester (1147) and Raymond of Marseille (before 1141).[38]

In 1966, Kunitzsch produced his study of the different types of astrolabe treatises dating from the tenth to the fourteenth century.[39] *Sententie astrolabii* was assigned Type I, *De utilitatibus astrolabii* was Type II, and *De mensura astrolabii* was Type III. Analysis of the combination of star names in the Ice-

33 Southern 1952, 170.
34 Welborn 1931, 193.
35 Kunitzsch 1966.
36 Kunitzsch 2004, xx 243–245.
37 Butzer 1982, 9.
38 Hugonnard-Roche 1996, 288.
39 Kunitzsch 1966.

landic glossary point to it being a version of one of the earliest treatises, that of *De mensura astrolabii* from the first half of the eleventh century.[40] Latitudes for astrolabe plates or climates have been found that extended to far extremes: There are several that approximate the Arctic Circle between 66° N and 66.30° N. These plates show that similar plates could have been created for use in an Icelandic context. Below is a translation of the inscription found on one of these plates.

> This is the side for latitude 66.25° N, which is the end of the seventh climate [sic] and the northern limit of the inhabited part of the earth. What lies beyond is desolate and unknown. I have engraved these markings in order to ponder the power of Almighty God and [no less] because of the need of the person viewing [these markings] of a modest knowledge of astronomy, so I engraved the 24 equal hours which is the maximum length of daylight at that latitude.[41]

The *De mensura astrolabii* treatise dates from the first half of the eleventh century and is a legacy of the first wave of translation of Arabic texts into Latin. It was made obsolete in the middle of the twelfth century by newer, more advanced astrolabe texts arriving from the major translation centres of Toledo, Sicily, and Antioch. It is possible, therefore, to date the arrival in Iceland of *De mensura astrolabii* sometime between c. 1050 and 1150. The Icelandic scholar, Sæmund Sigfússon (1056–1133) would seem to be the most likely candidate to have brought it there. This deduction follows upon the work of Peter Foote in his article "Aachen, Lund, Hólar", where he ties down the wanderings of Sæmund to the geographical area of Lotharingia that was so vital in the early transmission of Arabic astronomical and mathematical treatises.[42] It also relies on the connection drawn by Halldór Hermannsson in his *Sæmund Sigfússon and the Oddaverjar*, where he notes the parallels between the legends of magic and astrology of Sæmund and Gerbert of Aurillac.[43]

Sæmund Sigfússon was born into the powerful Oddaverjar family at its family seat at Oddi in south Iceland. He was known as *inn fróði* (the learned or wise), and the historian Ari Þorgilsson (1067–1148) submitted his *Íslendingabók* to Sæmund for criticism. His reputation for wisdom was so long-lived that the collection of Eddic poems known as the *Poetic Edda* was known as *Sæ-*

40 Kunitzsch 2004, xx 249. I have to thank Charles Burnett of the Warburg Institute for confirming this analysis (pers. comm.).

41 Plate no. 3622 made in Córdoba 1054/1055 and now residing in the Jagiellonian University Museum, Kraków quoted here according to Maier 1999, 119–134. See King 1999.

42 Foote 1984.

43 Halldór Hermansson 1932.

mund's Edda right up to the early twentieth century. Foote points out that Sæmund need not to have strayed too far from the paths followed by previous Icelandic ecclesiastics such as Bishop Ísleifr or Bishop Gizurr. Indeed he was related to them, and like his predecessors, was very much part of the Icelandic establishment. These men were connected via Westphalia and Denmark (including Lund) to the monasteries and the cathedrals of the Rhineland and down to Reichenau.

There is a small piece of possible and tantalizing evidence of these travels on fol. 165 of the manuscript Karlsruhe MS. Aug. 163 *Priscianus maior* (tenth to twelfth centuries). There are two inscriptions, one in Latin referring to the contents, and one in runes indicating the price paid for it. This inscription seems likely to have been made by a Scandinavian buyer keeping track of his expenses. For one reason or another, he must have been unable to take it home and it finally found its place in the Reichenau library.[44] There are also references to pilgrims in the *Necrologium Augiense* from Reichenau, dating from around 1100. There are around 40,000 names in there, of which thirty-nine are from Iceland under the title *Hislant terra*.[45] After this early evidence of Arabic works, at the end of the thirteenth century, more translations of Arabic treatises appeared in Iceland.

3.12 *Algorismus*

One of the most important mathematical treatises in medieval Iceland was *Algorismus*. Written in Old Norse and using Hindu-Arabic numerals, it explains various forms of mathematical calculations. *Algorismus* first appears in *Hauksbók*, a manuscript compiled by the Icelandic Lawspeaker and Knight of the Gulaþing Haukr Erlendsson (1265–1334). *Hauksbók* is made up of three manuscripts, AM 371, 4° (Reykjavík), AM 544, 4°, and AM 675, 4° (both Copenhagen), and was assembled somewhere around 1302 to 1310.[46] The other scribes writing in the manuscript are mainly Norwegian, but some are Icelanders.[47] There is an earlier appearance of Hindu-Arabic numerals in the manuscript found on

44 Derolez 1968.
45 *Diplomatarium Islandicum* 1876, 170–172.
46 AM 371, 4° is held at Reykjavík, Árni Magnússon Collection; the other two manuscripts are held in Copenhagen, Arnamagnæan Collection. The authoritative edition is by Finnur Jónsson 1892–1896.
47 Bekken 1985, 2.

fol. 35^{v}, in a section that deals with the calendar, whereas *Algorismus* appears on fols. 89^{v}–93^{r} of AM 544, 4° and by a scribe that is known as Haukr Erlendsson's 'First Icelandic secretary'.[48] The *Algorismus* treatise is also found extant in three other manuscripts, GkS 1812 II, 4° (Reykjavík), AM 685 d, 4°, and AM 736 III, 4° (both Copenhagen).

Algorismus has its origins in Latin translations of al-Khwarizmi's *Kitāb al-jam ʿwa itafrīq bi hisab al-Hind* (The Book of Addition and Subtraction according to the Hindu Calculation). The earliest evidence of Western Arabic numerals in Latin sources is from the Catalonian *Codex Vigilanus* from 976. The Codex includes Isidore's *Etymologies* and includes a description of the nine numerals of the Indians. They are written down in the Arabic format, that is to say, right to left, and specifically using Western Arabic forms. This was repeated in another Catalan manuscript from 992 that includes Isidore, the *Codex Emilianus*.[49] Al-Khwarizmi's work was translated into Latin in the first half of the twelfth century, with the title *De numero indorum*.[50] Al-Khwarizmi's name became Latinized to *algorizmi* (hence the modern word, algorithm). AM 544, 4° was not the first Old Norse version of *Algorismus*, as the calligraphy of the Hindu-Arabic numerals suggest an earlier model from before 1270.[51] *Algorismus* also includes a chapter on the four elements that is based on Plato's *Timaeus* (except in AM 736 III, 4°, where there is a diagram instead on fol. 2^{r}).[52] Plato is also quoted in the *Third Grammatical Treatise* (1.9) from c. 1250, in a discussion on categorizing sound, where Óláfr Þórðarson refers to *caelestis harmonia*, or heavenly types of sound.[53] It is currently obscure whether this knowledge of Plato in medieval Iceland derives from a version of the *Timaeus* that was translated from an Arabic copy or from the late Roman Commentary on the *Timaeus* by Calcidius that circulated from c. 400 CE onwards.[54]

There were three main important Latin algorithmic works in the Middle Ages, *Liber Abaci* (1202) by Leonardo Fibonacci of Pisa, *Carmen de Algorismo* (1200–1203) by Alexander de Villa Dei, and *Algorismus Vulgaris* (c. 1230) by Sacrobosco. By about 1500, Fibonacci's works superseded the other two, but until 1300, they were still considered the authoritative sources.[55] The bulk of

48 Bekken 1985, 6.
49 Kunitzsch 2004, xxix.
50 Bekken, Thorvaldsen and Nielsen 2010, 2. For more details on *De numero indorum*, see Folkerts 2001.
51 Kristin Bjarnadóttir 2006, 47–51.
52 Bekken 1986; Kristin Bjarnadóttir 2006, 47.
53 Wills 2001, 76–77.
54 Somfai 2002.
55 Bekken, Thorvaldsen and Nielsen 2010, 3.

the treatise *Algorismus* appears to be an Old Norse prose translation of the Latin poem *Carmen de Algorismo*. The *Carmen de Algorismo* itself is an extraction of al-Khwarizmi's work.[56]

In medieval Europe, merchants were quick to use Hindu-Arabic numerals, and very soon this number system formed part of the curriculum of medieval business schools. These schools taught accountancy, law, documentation, and calculation, which did not lead to a bachelor of arts, but were designed for more practical purposes. They existed in Oxford from the beginning of the thirteenth century and taught the clerks who wrote letters and documents and kept records, as well as apprentices in trades and crafts that entailed letter writing, record keeping, and financial accounting.[57] This type of business school later became most pronounced in Florence. The Italian banker Giovanni Villani (1280–1348) stated in c. 1338 that between 1000 and 2000 children were learning the abacus and algorism in six Florentine schools.[58] Both the Norwegian connections of Haukr Erlendsson, and the fact that the *Algorismus* of GkS 1812 II, 4° was written in Old Norwegian rather than Old Icelandic, point to a strong likelihood that the treatise was copied and compiled from *Carmen de Algorismo* in Bergen. In the fourteenth century, Bergen was the greatest trading centre in Scandinavia and the usefulness of *Algorismus* for the merchant community is self-evident.

3.13 *Rím II*

The treatise *Rím II* is believed to have been written around 1275 to 1300 and to have been heavily influenced by the works of the English astronomer Johannes de Sacrobosco (thirteenth century).[59] Its most complete manuscript is Reykjavík, Árni Magnússon Collection, AM 624, 4°, which dates from c. 1500. There are incomplete parts that are to be found in the following manuscripts: Reykjavík, Árni Magnússon Collection, AM 415, 4° (1310), Copenhagen; Arnamagnæan Collection, AM 732 b, 4° (1300–1325); Copenhagen, Arnamagnæan Collection, AM 736 I, 4° (1300–1325); Reykjavík, Árni Magnússon Collection, AM 727 I, 4° (1594); Oslo, Norsk Riksarkiv NRA 59 (1300–1400), and Reykjavík, Árni Magnússon Collection, GkS 1812 II, 4° (1300–1400). In addition to the astro-

56 Kristín Bjarnadóttir and Bjarni Vilhjálmur Halldórsson 2010, 2.
57 Orme 2006, 68–71.
58 Grant 2010, 95–96.
59 The dates of Sacrobosco's life are unsure, see Pedersen 1985.

nomical and computistical details in *Rím II*, there are also references to Euclid's *Elements*.[60] Within the treatise, there are spring tidal calculations which point to the tides of the coast of south and southwest Iceland. The only educational seat in this area is the Augustinian monastery of Viðey, which points to it as the most likely centre of composition. The treatise also includes attempts to explain Hindu-Arabic numerals.[61] There is also a closing quote in the work which comes from the poet Johannes de Havilla (c. 1150–1200).[62] It is a passage from his work *Architrenius*, which is an allegory about his journey to the island of Thule, a mysterious place beyond Britain, usually associated with Iceland, which may explain the popularity of this poem for Icelanders. The poem also describes aspects of philosophy and the makeup of earth. The Latin passage that the writer of *Rím II* has used describes the spherical nature of the Earth.[63]

There is a lot of astronomical material included in *Rím II* that is indebted to the Arabic translation period. The works of Sacrobosco are also the product of these translations. Sacrobosco is the biggest influence on *Rím II*, and the treatise includes the work of the Danish astronomer Petrus de Dacia, who was one of his major commentators. Al-Farghani's *Elements of Astronomy* is referred to and one "Alkinean" is named, most likely the Arabic astronomer and mathematician al-Kindi (Abu Yūsuf Yaʿqūb ibn ʾIsḥāq aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kindī, 801–873). Finally, Ptolemy is quoted, but the author of *Rím II* calls him *Tolumeus konungr Egiptzi*, and so follows the classic medieval misunderstanding of his origins and confuses him with being a member of the Ptolemaic dynasty of Egypt. There is further evidence of knowledge of Ptolemy's *Almagest* in GkS 1812 I, 4°, from the fourteenth century. On fol. 11^{r} there is a diagram showing the geocentric orbits, epicycles, and deferent of Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn.[64] *Rím II* also describes the measurement of geographical zones or climates with the help of an Arabic instrument called a *quadrans vetus* (old quadrant or sine quadrant).

> Stiarna su, er gengur ifuir hofði manz med festingar himni, er kollod cenit, oc ma marka i quadrant, huersso margar gradur eru i milli natsolar hringhs ok cenit ifuir hofdi manz, huar sem hann er, ok huerssu margar gradur eru þadan nordur til leiðar stiornnu, þvi at cenit ifuir hofdi manz er sua margar gradur a himnni til nordrs fra iafndegris hring sem grada sv, er þradr snertr vm miðian dag um iafndegri fra svnnanverdvm quadrant.

60 Kristín Bjarnadóttir 2006, 41.
61 Kristín Bjarnadóttir 2006, 41.
62 Beckman and Kålund 1916, 103.
63 Beckman and Kålund 1916, 103 n. 4.
64 For more on this manuscript, see Etheridge 2013.

> [That star which goes over one's head with the firmament is called *cenit* (the zenith), and one can observe in the quadrant how many degrees there are between the orbit of the midnight sun and *cenit* when it is over one's head, where it is, and how many degrees it is from the north to the pole star, because *cenit*, when it is over one's head, is as many degrees to the north in the sky from the circle of the equinox as that degree which the thread touches in the middle of the day on the equinox from the southern quadrant.][65]

The *quadrans vetus* is divided on its arc side into ninety equal parts or degrees. At the apex, where the two graduated straight sides of the grid pattern meet in a right angle, there is a pin hole with a cord in it and a small weight on the free end, with a small bead that slides along the cord called a *khait*. The instrument could be used to measure celestial angles, to tell time, find directions, or determine positions of any celestial object at any time. It was first described in the *Almagest* and later was mentioned by al-Khwarizmi in c. 840. The phrase *þráðr snertr* (the thread touches) refers to the cord used to measure the angles. The contemporary *Liber daticus Roskildenis* from Roskilde Cathedral also refers to this instrument in a passage from 1274: "Perfecta est autem hec tabula per astrolabium et Gardagas sinuum Roskildis anno Dominice incarnationis Millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto [Now these astronomical tables are completed by means of the astrolabe and sine quadrant]".[66] In this passage, *gardagas* is a Latinized form of *kardaga*, or cord, and *sinuum* is sine, *astrolabium* is the astrolabe and *tabula* are astronomical tables. The most famous scholar from this cathedral school was Petrus de Dacia, canon of Roskilde, who travelled in the 1290s to Bologna and Paris where he wrote *Expositio super Algorismo* (Explanation concerning the Algorism), a commentary on Sacrobosco's *Algorismus*. He also wrote the *Kalendarium*, which corrected the lunar calendar of Robert Grosseteste, and the *Tractatus eclipsorii* (Treatise on Eclipses) on astronomical instruments and eclipses.[67]

3.14 Master Pérús

There is one figure in medieval Icelandic literature that explicitly represents an Islamic *magister*. His name is Master Pérús. He appears in the romance called *Klári Saga*, written between 1320 and 1339 by Jón Halldórsson (d. 1339), the thirteenth Bishop of Skálholt. Jón Halldórsson grew up in the Dominican

65 Rím II, 110, lines 16–25.
66 *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Aevi* 1772, 268.
67 Pedersen 1967.

monastery in Bergen, but his mother was Icelandic, and his father might have been as well. He studied at the Dominican run universities in Paris and Bologna and became familiar with a rich *exempla* tradition. The promotion and dissemination thereof, were of particular interest to the Dominican order. Anecdotes of Jón's time in Paris have him reading a page of his master's book while the master relieves himself. The book is endowed with great power and the reading of the page causes a great storm. The master hurriedly returns and has to quickly read another page of the book to end the storm.[68] This story has hundreds of variants known across medieval Europe and resembles the story of Sæmund. Jón lived in the Dominican monastery in Bergen for approximately two decades after his return from his studies in Paris and Bologna, before becoming Bishop of Skálholt (1322–1339). *Jóns Þáttr biskups Halldórssonar* is the only medieval work devoted to him.[69]

The *Klári Saga* is found in its oldest example, together with a series of exempla, in the manuscript Copenhagen, Arnamagnæan Collection, AM 657 b, 4° (1350–1399).[70] The opening lines of *Klári Saga* state that Bishop Jón found the story in France written in Latin verse. In the saga, Tiburcius, the emperor of Saxland (Germany), wants a tutor for his son Klárus, who had already mastered the seven liberal arts and was considered the most learned scholar in Europe. He learns of a far superior *meistari* (*magister* or master) in Arabia, named Pérús, and engages him to be the boy's tutor.[71] The saga revolves around the desire of Prince Klárus to win the heart of the Princess Serena, and Pérús creates fabulous automatons to captivate the Princess Serena. In fact it is Pérús who drives the entire adventure,[72] overshadowing his pupil Prince Klárus, who is portrayed as a clumsy fool in comparison. As Marteinn H. Sigurðsson points out, Pérús does not stay in the background of the story, but assumes the feats one would rather expect the normal hero of the tale to perform.[73]

68 Marteinn H. Sigurðsson 1996, 36.

69 Marteinn H. Sigurðsson 1996, 13; Gering 1884, 84–94; *Jóns Þáttr* exists in Copenhagen Arnamagnæan Collection, AM 764, 4° *Reynistaðarbók* (1300–1399) and Reykjavík AM 624, 4° (1490–1510).

70 The *Klári Saga* is also found in Stockholm Perg. 4°, no. 6 (c. 1400) and Reykjavík, Árni Magnússon Collection, AM 589 d, 4°, 1450–1499.

71 The origin of the name is obscure, but it may be a variant of Porus, a king of India, who was one of the main opponents of Alexander the Great; see Hughes 2008.

72 Marteinn H. Sigurðsson 1996, 38.

73 Marteinn H. Sigurðsson 1996, 11.

The *Klári Saga* states that there are many *ævintýr* (adventures) told that involve Master Pérús and that three stories about him survive.[74] The collection is named *Af meistara Pero ok hans leikum* (Of Master Pérús and his Tricks), and this is also the name of the first *ævintýr*. The second *ævintýr* is named *Af meistara Pero ok Prinz* (Of Master Pérús and Prinz), and the third is named *Af meistara Pero ok hertugo* (Of Master Pérús and the Duke).

In *Af meistara Pero ok hans leikum*, Pérús acts as a councillor in the court of two dukes, the brothers Vilhjálmr and Eiríkr. Pérús is very taken with their sister Ingibjǫrg and asks for her hand in marriage, but they do not want to give her to him as he had no title or wealth. The *ævintýr* says that Pérús was, however, the most learned of men and that the brothers were not said to be very wise. Pérús creates an apparition of himself that drinks and talks with the brothers, while he is off making love with Ingibjǫrg in her chamber. His affair is eventually discovered and he is taken to be executed. However, Pérús breaks free of his bonds, pulls out a blue thread that turns into a rope, and climbs up it into the clouds, never to be seen again.[75]

In *Af meistara Pero ok Prinz*, Pérús is forced to give up his fine horse by a nobleman named Prinz, who believes Pérús is not noble enough for such a fine steed. Pérús creates an illusion and tricks Prinz into believing that he is riding the horse when in fact he is riding a bundle of brushwood. When Prinz realizes what has happened, he takes Pérús away to be executed. After lecturing Prinz on his greed, Pérús breaks free and takes out a piece of chalk. He draws a picture of a ship set for sail and after a mighty noise he sails away.[76]

In *Af meistara Pero ok hertugo*, Pérús arrives at a port in which a duke lies at anchor with his fleet. The duke makes his living honestly fighting pirates. As Pérús arrives, the duke's servants are preparing a dinner of chicken. Pérús asks whether the duke would like to be king, and offers to arrange it in exchange for an annual payment of ten marks of gold. The duke agrees. Then, the king of a neighbouring town dies, and his son is just thirteen. The assembly is about to declare the young son the new king when Pérús appears. He says that the son is too young to defend the kingdom, and that there is a fleet of warships approaching the town. Pérús recommends the duke to be the new king and he is subsequently elected by the assembly, marries the old king's widow, and Pérús receives his first ten marks. The next year, Pérús arrives at

74 Collected in *Íslendzk æventýri*, no. 81: "Af meistara Pero ok hans leikum" (Gering 1884, 217–231); also found in Konráð Gíslason (1860, 419–427); the *ævintýr* also exist in the manuscripts Reykjavík, Árni Magnússon Collection, AM 343 a, 4° (1450–1475) and AM 586, 4° (1450–1499).
75 Marteinn H. Sigurðsson 1996, 128–129.
76 Marteinn H. Sigurðsson 1996, 128.

the assembly and demands his ten marks, and the courtiers are astonished by his impertinence. The following year, Pérús arrives again and the courtier's protest. The king pays him, but asks Pérús to not come again. In the third year, Pérús arrives once more, and this time the courtiers are in uproar. The king is also angry and threatens Pérús with arrest and possible execution. Pérús then lectures the king on when he was a duke and an honest man, but now he has become greedy and unjust. At this point Pérús says that the duke's dinner is ready, and at that moment the duke is back on his ship with his chicken being served to him. The election, marriage, and three years as king were all an illusion that Pérús has used to test the duke.[77]

The figure of Pérús has much in common with the court magicians who are a feature of the medieval German romances.[78] The exempla have connections with Jewish narratives, the Spanish tale of Don Juan Manuel, and the Swiss Edelstein collection.[79] Master Pérús is also similar to the characters in goliardic literature on the continent.[80] He is also consistently wiser than the noblemen he deals with and a master of illusion and magic. As Marteinn H. Sigurðsson sums up: "Master Pérús is strategically opposed to noblemen whose asininity, ambition, greed and brute force is ridiculed by the Arabian expert of illusion visiting their courts".[81]

3.15 Conclusion

Islamic scientific knowledge translated from Arabic came to Iceland at a surprisingly early date. The GkS 1812 IV, 4° glossary attests that the very first appearance of Arabic words in a Scandinavian context occurred around the end of the twelfth century. What I have endeavoured to show is that they arrived in Iceland even earlier – at the end of the eleventh century. The GkS 1812 IV, 4° glossary was aiming to show Old Icelandic versions of Arabic star names, which would have been a practical way of teaching people how to use the astrolabe. In the second half of the thirteenth century, a new wave of treatises influenced by Arabic works was created in Iceland. *Algorismus* and *Rím II* use Hindu-Arabic numerals and exhibit a familiarity with the works of Ptolemy and

77 Krappe 1947, 217.
78 For more on this, see Hughes 2008, 153–155.
79 Krappe 1947, 221–222.
80 Marteinn H. Sigurðsson 1996, 130.
81 Marteinn H. Sigurðsson 1996, 128.

Euclid that were only available after the second translation period in the mid-twelfth century. For the first time in Icelandic history, *Rím II* also references Islamic scholars directly, namely al-Kindi, and by allusion al-Farghani. Furthermore, *Rím II* deploys original Arabic words such as "zenith" and describes the use of the *quadrans vetus*. It is very possible that the author of *Rím II* was in some way connected to the cathedral school of Roskilde and the astronomical works that came out of there. The description of the astrolabe and *quadrans vetus* indicates that such instruments existed and were used in Iceland from the eleventh century onwards. Finally, in the fourteenth century, we have the literary figure of Master Pérús, a representation of an Arabian *magister* who has many positive qualities, particularly a superior knowledge and understanding of science. With this representation of Master Pérús, we return full circle to the positive image of Islamic astronomers that adorns the Lund cathedral astronomical clock.

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Oslo: Norwegian National Archive: NRA 59
Reykjavík: Árni Magnússon Collection: AM 249 l fol.; AM 343 a, 4°; AM 371, 4°; AM 415, 4°; AM 586, 4°; AM 589 d, 4°; AM 624, 4°; AM 727 I, 4°; AM 732 a VII, 4°; GkS 1812, 4°
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Kay Peter Jankrift

4 Fire-Worshipping Magicians of the North: Muslim Perceptions of Scandinavia and the Norsemen

"I was told that when their chieftains die, the least they do is to cremate him. I was very keen to verify this, when I learned of the death of one of their great men", reports Aḥmad Ibn Faḍlān in his travelogue about his encounter with Scandinavians during his mission to the king of the Volga Bulgars in 922.[1] The event he witnessed made a deep impression on the Arab messenger.[2] He described the ritual ceremonies preceding the cremation in some detail. Ibn Faḍlān found the enormous consumption of alcohol particularly striking. He claimed: "They are addicted to alcohol, which they drink night and day. Sometimes one of them dies with the cup still in his hand."[3] He reports that even the slave girl who volunteered to accompany her deceased master on his last journey drank copiously during the days preceding the cremation. Moreover, she had intercourse with a number of men, all of whom released her with the words: "Tell your master that I have done this purely out of love for you!"[4] The girl was not the only gift the chieftain received. A whole ship was prepared to carry the deceased to his gods. Food and drink, weapons, and a couch with cushions of Byzantine silk, where the body could be laid out, were delivered to the ship. Ibn Faḍlān continued:[5]

> On the day when he and his slave-girl were to be burned I arrived at the river where his ship was. To my surprise I discovered that it had been beached and that four planks of birch and other types of wood had been placed in such a way to resemble scaffolding. Then the ship was hauled and placed on top of this wood. They advanced, going to and fro around the boat uttering words which I did not understand. [...] Then the deceased's next of kin approached and took hold of a piece of wood and set fire to it. He walked backwards with the back of his neck to the ship, his face to the people, with the lighted piece of wood in one hand and the other hand on his anus, being completely naked. Then the people came forward with sticks and firewood. Each one carried a stick the end of which he set fire to and threw it on top of the wood. The wood caught fire, and then the ship. [...]. A dreadful wind arose and the flames leapt higher and blazed fiercely.

1 Montgomery 2000, 12–13.
2 Frähn 1976; Frye 2005; Canard 1988; Togan 1966; Hasenfratz 2007, 13–25; Montgomery 2010.
3 Montgomery 2000, 14.
4 Montgomery 2000, 17.
5 Montgomery 2000, 15–21.

Without a doubt, this lengthy account, of which extracts were incorporated into Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī's (c. 1179–1229) famous early thirteenth-century geographic dictionary *Muʿǧam al-buldān*,[6] contributed to the image of Nordic people in the medieval Islamic world. Drawing upon Arabic sources, my goal is to analyse this image, to elucidate its background, and to present the different perceptions of the North, both factual and fictional.

When comparing the texts, it becomes obvious that Muslim scholars had difficulty settling upon a single, uniform name for the Norsemen. Nordics are referred to as *ar-rūs* – as is the case in Ibn Faḍlān's report – or *as-ṣaqāliba*, but primarily as *al-maǧūs* (magicians).[7] In his article "Ibn Faḍlān and the Russiyah", James Montgomery, professor of Classical Arabic at the University of Cambridge, stressed that "among scholars interested in the Vikings, as indeed among scholars generally, it is widely assumed that the *Rūs* were Scandinavians of eastern Swedish origin".[8] This is not the place to discuss whether the general term *Rūs* encompassed Slavic people. The Arabs, in any case, did not distinguish between two distinct ethnic groups. While the word *as-ṣaqāliba* hints at pagans in a more or less general way, the term *al-maǧūs* is closely linked to magic and fire worship. Muslim authors employed this designation first of all for the Zoroastrians, a religious community whose adherents primarily lived – and still live – in central Asia, Persia above all.[9] Fire plays a central role in their belief system.[10] The early Zoroastrians prayed around fireplaces called *atashkada* (eternal flame). Consequently, they were tagged as *fire worshippers*. Just as the Inuit of the Polar region distinguish between different kinds of snow, Zoroastrians distinguish between different kinds of fire. Given that the soil in Persia and northern Afghanistan contains large gas reserves, historians believe that the *eternal flame* was fuelled by a natural gas source.[11] These *magicians*, however, were separated from the Norsemen by thousands of kilometres and had very little if anything in common with them. So, why call the Scandinavians *al-maǧūs*?

Given the fact that most encounters between Muslims and the Nordic people took place close to the shore of large rivers like the Volga, a name such as *sea people* would seem much more obvious. Yet, Muslim chroniclers, geogra-

6 Wüstenfeld 1965 [1866–1870].
7 Melvinger 1955, 80–81.
8 Montgomery 2000, 2–3.
9 Stausberg 2002–2004; Boyce 2007; Boyce 1996 [1975], Boyce 1996 [1982]; Boyce and Grenet 1991; Dhalla 1994.
10 Wikander 1946; Giara 2002.
11 Kraus 1972, 31 and 331.

phers, and travellers associated the Norsemen with fire rather than water. Although the Arabs certainly knew nothing, or at best a very little, about Nordic religious ideas, they did note the special role that fire played in rituals. Before the Christianization of their realms, this cultic use of fire distinguished the pagan Norsemen from Christians and Jews.[12] As a way to define people who appeared under different conditions in different places – as traders in the Middle East, as plundering pirates along the shores of the Iberian Peninsula, as settlers somewhere in the North – religious practices made more sense than ethnic or geographic origin. Muslim geographers – more on this later – had but a vague idea about Northern Europe and the Nordic homelands.

According to Ibrāhim ibn Yaʿqūb al-Isrāʾīlī, probably a Jewish convert, who in the 960s travelled as the ambassador of Cordovan Caliph al-Ḥakam II's (961–976) to the court of Emperor Otto I (912–973), and who visited parts of Eastern Europe and Italy, Ireland was the Norsemen's only stable place of residence.[13] As the Arab spellings of Ireland and Iceland are very similar, Georg Jacob presumed that the traveller from the Iberian Peninsula was in fact referring to the latter.[14] Given that only fragments of Ibn Yaʿqūb's travelogue are reproduced in the works of later authors, such as Abū ʿUbaid al-Bakrī (1014–1094) and the Persian scholar Abū Yahyā Zakariyāʾ ibn Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (c. 1203–1283), it seems likely that Jacob is right.[15] On the other hand, the famous Egyptian geographer and historian Abuʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusain al-Masʿūdī (c. 895–957), who died in Fustat just a few years before Ibn Yaʿqūb set out for the Imperial court, confused the Norsemen with the Slavic tribes, wondering how it was possible for them to reach the Iberian Peninsula by ship.[16]

Even if the travellers and geographers had different ideas about the Norsemen, their customs, and their daily lives, they all agreed that these mysterious *magicians* once lived exclusively in the cold parts of the world. Al-Bakrī was convinced that people from such regions needed the cold to survive and were risking their lives if they travelled to the Langobard realm in Italy.[17] He argued that they only felt healthy if their humours congealed. If this frozen mixture of blood, phlegm, black and yellow bile – which according to contemporary medical conceptions was responsible for human health and disease[18] – melted or

12 Polomé 1992.
13 Miquel 1975, 348; Lewis 2000, 144–145; Jacob 1927, 26.
14 Jacob 1927, 26 n. 2.
15 Wüstenfeld 1994 [1876–1877].
16 Miquel 1975, 347; Shboul 1979.
17 Jacob 1927, 16.
18 Jankrift 2012, 7–9.

even started to boil in the heat of southern countries, Northern people immediately died. During the cold months of the winter, al-Bakrī continued, the earth in their countries would become as hard as stone.[19] Water froze in the wells. When the people sneezed, ice that looked like glass came out of their noses and stuck to their beards until they were able to warm themselves at an open fire. The fire, however, did not just serve to warm the houses and bring some light to the dark Nordic nights. As Arab authors saw it, the specific environment and living conditions also favoured a cultic use of fire, which appeared to them to be shared by all Norsemen, whatever their geographic origin.[20] The Spanish diplomat and poet Yahyā ibn Ḥakam al-Bakrī (c. 790), better known as al-Ġazāl, who may have visited Jutland before the middle of the ninth century, clearly stated that the term *al-mağus* was employed for the Norsemen because they worshipped fire.[21] Seven decades later, Ibn Faḍlān also drew attention to the special religious significance of fire for the Nordic people he encountered.

Ibn Faḍlān's eyewitness account of a Viking burial ceremony remains unique, something that has inspired a vivid discussion among historians and scholars in related disciplines about the degree to which he augmented fact with fiction.[22] There are, however, other written sources and archaeological findings that support the general picture transmitted by the oriental traveller. *Laxdæla Saga*, for example, which was composed in Iceland around 1250, but refers to incidents that occurred between the late ninth and the early eleventh centuries, tells us about the burial of the matriarchal figure, Unnr the Deep-Minded.[23] After a ritual meal, her corpse was brought to a small hill that had been specifically prepared for the burial, placed in a boat, and covered with earth. Indeed, archaeologists have discovered such ship burials in different parts of Scandinavia and the British Isles.[24]

The best-known examples are certainly the findings in Gokstad and Oseberg in Norway,[25] and in Sutton Hoo in East Anglia.[26] The Oseberg ship contained the skeletal remains of two women.[27] While it is presumed that the older of the two had been a person of high rank, the younger woman was probably

19 Jacob 1927, 17.
20 Piltz 1988.
21 Jacob 1927, 38.
22 Montgomery 2000, 1–3.
23 Beck 1978, 283; Beck 1997; Bensberg 2000.
24 Beck 1978; Capelle 2004.
25 Christensen, Ingstad, and Myrhe 1992; Sjøvold 1974.
26 Carver 2005; Kendall and Wells 1992.
27 Holck 2006; Berglund 2007.

one of her slaves, who had been sacrificed to accompany her deceased mistress to the other world. A recent DNA analysis of the servant's bones indicates that her ancestors originally lived in the Black Sea region, presumably in Persia. This archaeological record supports Ibn Faḍlān's report of a slave girl being buried with the deceased chieftain.

A different sort of Nordic inhumation is depicted at the beginning of the Old English poem *Beowulf*.[28] In this epic narrative, the dead hero Scyld Scefing was placed in a funeral boat and rendered to the sea.

Archaeological evidence proves that it was much more common – particularly if the deceased did not belong to the upper class – to burn the corpse, and then bury the ashes in a grave marked by a stone in the form of a ship. Hundreds of such graves, dating from 800 to 1000, have been discovered at Lindholm Høje, Denmark's largest Viking-era cemetery.[29] For a Muslim eyewitness, cremation would automatically have been associated with paganism. Jews and Christians did not burn their dead. The *ar-rūs*, as Ibn Faḍlān called them, acted just like the *as-ṣaqāliba* (heathens). In contrast to Ibn Yaʿqūb and al-Ġazāl, neither of whom ever encountered a real *magician*, the traveller from Baghdad certainly knew Zoroastrians. Many of them lived in the region.

The *al-maǧūs* brought the corpses of their deceased to so-called *towers of silence* and exposed them to the vultures.[30] While this practice is still common in India today, over the centuries Zoroastrians have also started to bury or cremate their deceased. The Muslims of medieval Spain only knew about the mysterious *magicians* through Arabic writings from the Middle East. These descriptions of the special significance of fire for the *maǧūs* shaped their idea of the Norsemen, resulting in *al-maǧūs* becoming a *nom générique* for Vikings in the Iberian Peninsula.[31]

Although the Arabic reports about encounters with the Norseman include a certain amount of authentic information – for example Ibn Yaʿqūb's narrative about whale hunting in Ireland (Iceland) and Ibn Faḍlān's description of their clothing, their weapons, and their appearance[32] – there can be no doubt that all of the authors intended to show their readers the barbaric counterpart to their own society – a society civilized by the laws of Islam. In doing so, they employed the same motifs. For example, both Ibn Faḍlān and al-Ġazāl tried their very best to depict Viking society as promiscuous[33] – the latter claimed

28 Newton 1993, 48.
29 Marseen 1992.
30 Boyce 2007.
31 Lévi-Provençal 1999, 204.
32 Jacob 1927, 26; Montgomery 2000, 7.
33 Jacob 1927, 39.

that the Viking queen became very fond of him, and even met with him alone in her private chamber. Nordic women are depicted as the antithesis of chaste and pious Muslim ladies. Ibn Faḍlān established the barbarity of the *maǧūs* by calling them "Allāh's filthiest creatures".[34] Ibn Yaʿqūb claimed that he had never heard people sing more horribly than the Norsemen of Schleswig, whose voices sounded to him like the barking of dogs.[35] Nonetheless, a certain mystery surrounded the wild barbarians: They remained phantoms shrouded in the cold fog of a vague North.

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34 Montgomery 2000, 7.

35 Jacob 1927, 29.

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Stefan Schröder

5 The Encounter with Islam between Doctrinal Image and Life Writing: Ambrosius Zeebout's Report of Joos van Ghistele's Travels to the East 1481–1485

> [I]nt jaer ons Heeren zes hondert ende viere, als Bonefacius de vierde paus was inde heleghe kercke van Roome, ende Focas domineerde ende rengneerde over tkeyserijc, ende Cosdrue bezadt dat keyserijc van Perssen ende vele provincien daer onttrent, de welke zeere groote oorloghe voerende was jeghens de heleghe kerstin Keercke, so wart in Arabien gheboren de valsche bedriegher Machomet den xiiij^en^ dach van aprille int jaer zes hondert ende zesse.

> [In the year of the Lord 604, when Boniface IV was pope of the Holy Roman Church, and Phocas reigned the empire (of Eastern Rome), and Khosrau II ruled the Persian empire with many provinces thereabouts which led great wars against the Holy Christian Church, the false traitor Muḥammad was born in Arabia on 24 April in the year 606.][1]

With this somewhat internally contradictory (and historically inaccurate) pronouncement, Ambrosius Zeebout begins his description of the 'birth, life, and faults' of the Prophet Muḥammad that forms part of his book on Joos van Ghistele's Eastern travels.[2] Zeebout's account is flawed from the outset, insofar as it provides two contradictory dates for Muḥammad's birth in a single sentence – probably a slip of the pen or the result of sloppy compilation from different sources. The year 606 and the information regarding the clerical and worldly leaders of the day can be traced back to a pilgrimage report written by Bernhard von Breidenbach (c. 1434/1440–1497).[3] This text – printed for the first time in 1486 – was Zeebout's major source on Muḥammad and Islam, but in the case of this specific passage he ignored the broader context. Breidenbach

1 Zeebout 1998, 9. I am very grateful to Evelien Timpener M.A. (Hannover) for her help with some passages of Zeebout's text.

2 The actual year of Muḥammad's birth is unknown, but is estimated to be c. 570. In most cases, no year of birth was mentioned in accounts of his lineage and the circumstances of his birth.

3 Breidenbach 2010, 290–291. According to Bernhard von Breidenbach, however, Muḥammad was born on 23 April. In what follows, I will use the German edition of Breidenbach's report, which was published with only a few minor changes a few months after the first printed edition of the Latin version. For the publication history, see Timm 2006.

characterized these years as a very unstable period, during which Christians suffered greatly. In particular, Constantinople was presented as the target of constant attack by infidels. The date of Muḥammad's birth was not chosen at random. The turbulence of the time was interpreted as a sign of an even greater evil to come.

Even if Zeebout did not completely adhere to Breidenbach's assessment, he did adopt Breidenbach's tone for his own narrative of Muḥammad's life and the Islamic faith. He made it clear to his readers from the outset that Muḥammad was the false prophet of a religion rife with error. But why exactly did he choose to include information about Islam in a report that was primarily devoted to the Flemish knight Joos van Ghistele and his remarkable travels in the East? What exactly does the text say about Islam and Muslims? And what do Zeebout's dogmatic depictions of Islam have to do with Ghistele's travels?

This article explores the narratives about Islam and the Muslims and the options available as well as limitations faced in presenting information about transcultural contacts to the audience at home. Zeebout's text and the sources he used, as well as contemporary travel reports, will be compared and analysed to determine the nature of the (North) European image of the Muslim Other and the different functions it served. In this context, Otherness is understood as an attribution that is used to mark what is seen different, unfamiliar or exotic.[4] Factors of difference are, for example, the spatial distance, the ethnos, the faith, and cultural customs. Yet in most cases it is a combination of them all that is changeable and outlined every time anew. Cognitively and culturally solidified as stereotypes, they give orientation in the world and affect the patterns of perception of a person.[5] Since the Other and the Self are interrelated concepts, defining the Other influenced how the narrator saw, or wanted to see, himself and his culture. Given that Ambrosius Zeebout did not travel with Joos van Ghistele, but was commissioned to write his account, this article will also address Zeebout's narrative strategy for incorporating knowledge from written sources with information he may have received directly from Ghistele.

4 On medieval studies dealing with the concept of the Self and the Other, see the recent overview of Classen 2013. On the connection between this concept and travel reports, see with further references Münkler 2000; Reichert 2001; Schröder 2009; Meyer 2012.

5 A stereotype as such has either a negative or a positive connotation. For a definition and an explanation of the difference to prejudices, see, for example, Roth 1999.

5.1 Joos van Ghistele's travels and Zeebout's *Tvoyage*

The travels of Joos van Ghistele (1446–1516) to the East are remarkable for their unusual routes and for his motive for undertaking them. When the nobleman, who held several high-level political positions in Ghent, and who had important connections to the court in Burgundy, decided to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he probably did not think it would be four years before he saw his hometown again.[6] Unlike the 'all-inclusive' trip to Jerusalem offered annually by Venetian patricians – an easy but pricy way to reach the Holy Sites[7] – the travels of Joos van Ghistele and his chaplain Jan van Quisthout[8] have more the quality of a Grand Tour. Besides the Holy Land, they visited Egypt, the Sinai Peninsula, Syria, some of the Aegean islands, and Sicily, as well as Tunis and Carthage in North Africa. Their most significant trips were those to the city of Aden on the Red Sea and to the city of Tabriz near the Caspian Sea. In both cases, they were prevented from traveling further East – once by local Muslim authorities and once by rumours of an outbreak of pestilence.[9]

According to Ambrosius Zeebout, the decision to go further East had been made very early on in the journey. During a stop in Cologne to visit the Shrine of the Three Kings, they heard that travellers from the Low Countries who were carrying jewels that had touched the bodies or tombs of the Kings were very welcome in the lands of Prester John. Ghistele decided to travel beyond Jerusalem to visit the tomb of the Apostle Thomas in India.[10]

The tale of a mighty Christian king and descendant of the three Magi, who ruled over numerous kingdoms and lived in incredible luxury somewhere in India near Paradise, had been very popular in Europe since the twelfth cen-

6 On the life of Joos van Ghistele, see with further references Villerius 2008–2009; Villerius 2009; Strijbosch 2010.

7 This trip from Venice to Jaffa and back lasted approximately six months and would have included a guided tour to the Holy Sites in Jerusalem, in Bethlehem, and along the Jordan River.

8 His other companions – his nephew Joris van Ghistele, Jan van Vaernewijck, and Joris Palinc – returned to Europe after visiting the Holy Land.

9 For a complete itinerary of their travels, see Zeebout 1998, 8–10 (maps); Paravicini 2000, 137–138.

10 Zeebout 1998, 48–49. As Bejczy (1994, 87) has pointed out, this section is probably a misreading of the Middle Dutch version of the *Historia trium regum* of John of Hildesheim, who mentions that "Indian pilgrims liked to purchase jewels that had been brought into contact with the Three Kings in Cologne, and that pilgrims and merchants 'from that country' take advantage of this."

tury.[11] It was a story connected to the hope of defeating the Muslims. The weaker the position of the Christians in the Near East, the stronger the belief in a great power prepared to help overthrow Islam and re-conquer the Holy Land.[12] The vision of a Christian realm in the East persisted in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as can be seen, for example, in another of Zeebout's main sources, the widely read report on John Mandeville's 1357–1371 trip around the world.[13] Zeebout's explanation of the length of Ghistele's voyage is that he hoped to visit the lands of Prester John (and perhaps establish diplomatic contact). This placed him in the tradition of other famous travellers to Eastern Asia.[14] Moreover, the hardships of a journey to the grave of St. Thomas would demonstrate his piety and bravery and increase his prestige at home. In this way, more temporal motives for the journey – curiosity, the quest for adventure, or even the complex political situation in the Low Countries – were tastefully masked.[15]

Ambrosius Zeebout was not part of the party that accompanied Ghistele on his journey. It seems that he only became his confessor upon his return and was commissioned to write the report.[16] One of the text's main objectives was to portray Ghistele as a pious pilgrim and a courageous explorer, as well as a keen observer and learned scholar.[17] There is little doubt that Zeebout discussed a draft with Ghistele and would not have written anything unfavour-

11 In referring to the miracles and marvels of the East, Prester John's fictitious letter (*Epistola presbiteri Johannis*) provided a fantastic and exotic world completely apart from everyday life at home. Moreover, it described an ideal society characterized by great devoutness and justice, in which there was no conflict, no poverty, and no disease. Thus, it provided a mirror image of conditions at home. Cf. Bejczy 2001.

12 During the second half of the thirteenth century, before they converted to Islam rather than Christianity, the Mongol Il-Khans were seen as potential allies. Cf. Jackson 2005.

13 Mandeville 2011, 160–165 and 177.

14 Apart from Mandeville, Zeebout might have examined the well-known report of Odoric of Pordenone or the popular Middle Dutch version of the (fictitious) 1389 journey report of Johannes de Witte de Hese, which provides a detailed description of Prester John's kingdom. On Marco Polo as a potential source, see Zeebout 1998, XXVI.

15 Joos van Ghistele's extensive travels should perhaps be seen in the context of the increasing conflicts at the Burgundian Court following the death of Charles the Bold in 1477. With the marriage of Charles' heiress Mary to Maximilian of Austria, the court was increasingly dominated by the Habsburg dynasty. This led to conflicts with the elite in Ghent. Ghistele might have decided to spend some time abroad to avoid endangering the good connections he had with all parties. This intriguing idea was first raised in Villerius 2009, 28–29.

16 Nothing is known about Zeebout or about Jan van Quisthout, who served as confessor during the pilgrimage.

17 Commissioning a writer was not uncommon, particularly among high noblemen. Cf. Nolte 1997, 70–72.

able. A work of this sort formed part of a nobleman's official self-presentation and served not only to ensure he would be remembered, but was also read (aloud) at home or in the court. It might even serve as the source for a public re-enactment.[18] Since Zeebout did not mention Joos van Ghistele by name in his foreword or when beginning to describe his travels in Book II,[19] the original text was probably not written for a wider audience. A title was only added when the text was printed for the first time in 1530. Since that time, the account of the journey has been known as *Tvoyage van Mher Joos van Ghistele*.[20] The wealth of details suggests that Ghistele might also have provided some written notes.[21] Overall, the text is an elegant blend of some of the events of the journey with information from numerous written sources.[22] One major source, besides the aforementioned reports of Bernhard von Breidenbach and Mandeville, was the *Itinerarium* of Anselme (1424–1483) and Jean (1444–1512) Adorno, who began their pilgrimage in 1470 in Bruges and may have known Ghistele personally.[23]

According to Zeebout's foreword, the text should also be seen as a geographical reference book and a practical manual for future pilgrims. Zeebout divided his work into eight parts and systematically organized the material to make sure that the reader could easily locate countries, towns, and sites and artefacts of interest.[24] Furthermore, Zeebout stated that he included descriptions of sites visited by other travellers, but not visited by Ghistele himself.[25] This clarifies differences, for instance, with the account of the Franciscan Friar

18 Cf. Nolte 1998.

19 Zeebout 1998, 1–2 and 48.

20 The oldest of the three preserved manuscripts of Zeebout's text, dated around 1500, lacks a title. The two other manuscripts from later in the sixteenth century mention the *reisverhaal van Joos van Ghistele* and the *pelgrimsreis, 1481–1485, van Joos van Ghistele*, which may be additions made by the scribes. See Zeebout 1998, XLVIII–LII; Paravicini 2000, 132–135; Strijbosch 2010, 37.

21 Or they might have been provided by Jan van Quisthout. Contrary to the conclusion arrived at in Villerius (2008–2009 and 2009), clearly distinguishing between the passages written by Ghistele and those written by Zeebout is a challenge, since even some of the more vivid passages ascribed to Ghistele seem to draw upon other pilgrimage reports. See also Strijbosch 2010.

22 See the detailed record in Zeebout 1998, XVIII–XL.

23 Adorno 1978. The father Anselme had close connections to the Burgundian court and had served as a mayor in Bruges. However after the death of Charles the Bold in 1477, Anselme was charged with misappropriation of funds and fled to Scotland, where he was murdered in 1483. Cf. Paravicini 2000, 108. The descriptions of Tunis and other places in North Africa in particular closely parallel Zeebout's text. Cf. Zeebout 1998, XXIV.

24 Zeebout 1998, 1–2.

25 Zeebout 1998, 1.

Paul Walther von Guglingen (born c. 1422), who met Ghistele during their stay in Jerusalem, but did not mention a later chance meeting in Alexandria described by Zeebout.[26] Zeebout created a fuller picture of what there was to see abroad and what a traveller needed to know about the regions in question. As a result, it seems futile to attempt to ascertain whether or not Ghistele really travelled to all the places mentioned.[27] Like the enigmatic 'armchair traveller' John Mandeville, Zeebout compiled details from several sources to create a fascinating narrative that provided geographical and cultural information – and at the same time entertained the audience.[28] In this, his report has parallels to that of Arnold von Harff (1471–1505), a nobleman in service of Duke William IV of Jülich-Berg who claimed to have visited all of the major Christian pilgrimage sites, including the tomb of St. Thomas in India, in the years 1496 to 1498.[29]

The *Tvoyage* is thus in no way an eyewitness account that provides a reasonably 'transparent' depiction of the journey in general or the encounter with the Other in particular. Rather it is – as is the medieval travel report in general – a complex combination of personal memories, oral information, and 'authoritative' knowledge from other written sources. As a piece of life writing (*Selbstzeugnis*),[30] it presents an important period in Joos van Ghistele's life, with the goal of fulfilling the expectations of both the overseer (Ghistele) and the intended reader. Moreover, Zeebout's text is formed by dogmatic viewpoints and literary conventions that serve to shape patterns of perception, memory, interpretation, and description in advance. It is influenced by and at the same time defines prevailing social norms, cultural practices, and romantic imagery. Rather than being a collection of daily observations, it creates a coherent narrative about the journey as a whole.

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26 Paul Walther von Guglingen 1892, 149. According to Guglingen, Ghistele was accompanied by one other "peregrine de Flandria", who was a cleric (probably Jan van Quisthout). For differences in their descriptions of Jerusalem, as well as a negative appraisal of Ghistele's reliability, see Paul Walther von Guglingen 1892, 164. The encounter in Alexandria (Zeebout 1998, 217) is not mentioned by Paul Walther von Guglingen, nor by Bernhard von Breidenbach or Felix Fabri. Zeebout may have gotten this information, as well as the names, from Bernhard von Breidenbach's report (2010, 540–543).

27 That he was at least abroad for several years can be verified using local sources. See Strijbosch 2010, 36.

28 Mandeville 2011.

29 Arnold von Harff 1860. He claimed to have taken the same route to Aden as Ghistele for his journey further East.

30 On this concept, as well as the relationship between writer and reader, see Schmolinsky 2012 and Dürr 2007.

As a result, Zeebout's work should be understood as a medium for presenting a specific world-view, one that outlines the boundaries between the Self and the Other. It provides an overview of what should be seen as familiar, as unknown, or as bizarre, as well as what should be understood as right or wrong. This also applies to Zeebout's description of Muslims and the Islamic religion.

5.2 Images of Muḥammad and the Islamic religion in Zeebout's *Tvoyage*

The practice of including descriptions of non-Christians – Jews and Muslims (as well as of other Christian denominations) – in travel reports developed in the Late Middle Ages.[31] One objective was to describe the difficulties posed by encounters with other religions on such a journey. There was, however, also a general interest in learning more about the beliefs, demeanour, and habits of people living overseas – especially the Muslims who dominated much of the Near East, and in the case of the Turks reached the edges of the European continent. Information about the origin of Islam and about individual aspects of the Muslim faith and daily customs could be found in scholarly tractates on the life of Muḥammad or the Qurʾān.[32] Integrating this information into personal pilgrimage reports made the substance of these works available to a wider audience. These reports became, in fact, a major source of information about Islam for Latin Christianity, particularly from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries.

Zeebout dealt with the Muslims in Book I. As well as advice for future pilgrims to the Holy Land, he provided an ethnographic handbook of all the nations and confessions that existed in the Near East. This would have offered future voyagers with reliable information about cultural differences, so that they could adjust their behaviour accordingly. For the reader who stayed at home, it was a compact overview of the political and social situation in the Near East. This made the subsequent description of Ghistele's travels in Books II to VIII easier to understand. It also allowed Zeebout to concentrate on the

31 On Muslims and Islam in pilgrimage reports, see with further references Reichert 2000; Schröder 2009, 236–291.

32 There is a significant body of research into the development of Christian-Muslim relations and the (polemical) images of Islam in Christian works; see with further references Daniel 1960; Tolan 2002a; Di Cesare 2012.

voyage itself, without interrupting the narrative with lengthy sidebars or risking repetition.

The depiction of the Muslims is much more detailed than Zeebout's brief paragraphs on other faiths and ethnicities.[33] It begins with some pseudo-biographical information about Muḥammad – how he started his religion and determined the rules found in the Qurʾān – and ends with Muḥammad's death and Islam's expansion under his successors. Zeebout portrayed the Prophet as an imposter who gained his wealth and power by seducing the wealthy merchant Khadīja, later to be his first wife.[34] Hungry to increase his power, he gathered around him a gang of thieves and murderers, increasing his wealth and dominating both countries and trade routes. Yet, his great success only came when he made his doctrine public in the city of Yathrib – later Medina – by building a mosque and claiming his epileptic seizures resulted from his encounters with the Archangel Gabriel. Combining genuine and worthy sections of the Old and New Testaments with great fallacies and unbelievable lies, Muḥammad and his partner Sergius, a disgraced monk and apostate, began to proselytize for the new faith.[35]

Thus, for Zeebout, Islam was a crude mixture of Christian and Jewish components with some elements of old Arabian paganism. In one passage, he says that while the Muslims might venerate Christ as a holy and virtuous man and regard him as an important prophet, by denying that he is the Son of God and claiming that not he but someone else had been crucified, they expose their lack of faith.[36] For him, Islam was a debased version of the true Christian religion, focusing on earthly delights instead of divine enlightenment. Zeebout characterized Muḥammad as a trickster who used fake miracles (for example, a trained dove and bull – well known stories in the anti-Muslim polemic) to persuade people of his legitimacy.[37] Zeebout referred to the injuries the Prophet suffered in combat to show that Muḥammad did not have magical powers and did not enjoy divine protection.[38]

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33 Zeebout 1998, 9–31.

34 Zeebout (1998, 9) mistakenly claimed that Khadīja had previously been *Corrosanij's* wife. In fact, Khadīja is said to have lived in the province of Chorozaniam.

35 Drawing upon Bernhard von Breidenbach (2010, 302–303), Zeebout (1998, 12) further explained how Sergius initially used his influence to convert Muḥammad to the Nestorian faith, as well as how the Jews of Yathrib – fearing the loss of their position – sent two learned men (*Andias* and *Tabalahr*) in the hope of influencing Muḥammad.

36 Zeebout 1998, 20.

37 See the article by Jonathan Adams in this volume for more on these stories.

38 Zeebout 1998, 12–13. This is a reference to the Battle of ʾUḥud in the year 625, in which Muḥammad was seriously wounded. Cf. Ibn Ishaq 1968, 370–390. Such information was trans-

Mentioning, for example, the alleged adultery of Muḥammad's favourite wife ʿĀʾishah with one of his followers, Zeebout depicted Muḥammad also as a man with an insatiable sexual appetite. Muḥammad used his power as prophet to affirm ʿĀʾishah's integrity and avoid having to end the relationship.[39] The story served to verify for Christian readers the extent of Muḥammad's desire of women, which undermined his claim to be a prophet – a person who was expected to have a high degree of moral integrity and lead an ascetic lifestyle. In addition, Zeebout told his readers that opposition to Muḥammad and doubts about his doctrine were ruthlessly suppressed, occasionally by murdering adversaries. Furthermore, it was forbidden for Muḥammad's followers to study the seven arts, because otherwise any learned man would readily see the errors of the Muslim faith.[40]

By cataloguing acts of violence and repression, Zeebout demonstrated that Muḥammad created his religion to fulfil his personal desires and that he was a false prophet whose lifestyle was the antithesis of that of Christ and the Christian saints. The final proof came with Muḥammad's death. When he was not resurrected after three days as he had proclaimed would be the case, his followers had to quickly bury the body because of the horrible stench.[41]

The main source for Zeebout's portrayal was the report of Bernhard von Breidenbach. The dean of Mainz Cathedral had published his lavishly illustrated pilgrimage report in 1486 in both Latin and German. Breidenbach called for an end to the disputes among the Christian leaders so that a new Crusade could be mounted. To this end, the image he presents of Islam and Muslims is truly terrifying.[42] Absolutely every aspect of Muḥammad's life, even the alleged meaning of his name, was used to affirm the perfidy of this heretical sect. Zeebout did not reproduce these passages verbatim: He handpicked some of

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mitted through the *Risālat al-Kindī*, originally written in Arabic and translated into Latin in the twelfth century. Cf. Daniel 1960, 91–96; Tolan 2002a, 60–64.

39 Zeebout 1998, 13. According to Ibn Ishaq (1968, 494–499), the rumours following this incident did indeed pose a serious threat to Muḥammad's authority. Zeebout here drew upon Bernhard von Breidenbach (2010, 296–297).

40 Zeebout 1998, 11 and 14. The last example is not based on Breidenbach's report. It calls to mind the assertion on the part of some Christian authors that wise Muslim scholars such as Avicenna and Averroes must have recognized that Islam was flawed and irrational, but did not say so publicly for fear of being punished. Studying logic and natural science leads to heresy, or so it would seem. Cf. Tolan 2002b.

41 Zeebout 1998, 25; Breidenbach 2010, 308–309.

42 As is the case in Zeebout's report, it is part of a section on different religions and nations. The author of this chapter was not Bernhard von Breidenbach, but the Dominican Martin Rath, who used *inter alia* Vincent of Beauvais, Petrus Alfonsi, and Paul of Burgos as authorities. It is Fabri (1843–1849, I, 347 and 353) who claims this section was written by Rath.

Breidenbach's arguments against Islam, but for the most part avoided his intensely polemical style. While the self-indulgence ascribed to the Prophet and to Muslims played an important role in Christian anti-Muslim writings, Zeebout chose to focus less on accounts of Muḥammad's promiscuity and uncleanness than on other reports.[43] He did make use of some degrading language, for example, calling Muḥammad a "valssche vrucht [false rascal]" and asserting that Islam was a "verm[al]edide wet [cursed doctrine]", but an overall demonization of Islam is absent from his text.[44]

Zeebout's images might be less polemical, but they nevertheless played the same role of dismissing the Other. From a theological point of view, the antagonism between the Self and the Other only allows for a binary opposition between righteous Catholic Christians and the heretical Muslims, Jews, and other Christian denominations. Understanding the Latin Church to be the one true faith left no room for compromise. To admit that the Other had any kind of legitimacy would actually mean questioning one's own point of view. More to the point, the goal was to strengthen the Christian Self, to make it clear that Christianity was the one true religion and that Christians alone were the true defenders of God's message.

In sum, Zeebout presented the normal distorted and negative image of Muḥammad and Islam that had been elaborated by Christian authors over almost nine centuries of Christian-Muslim relations: Islam was not only an irrational, violent, and immoral religion, but a Christian heresy founded by Muḥammad, whose sinful life was characterized by his rampant and base debauchery. Moreover, Muḥammad deceived his followers about the true basis of his religion with (magic) tricks. What's more, the exaggerated worship of Muḥammad among Muslims proved that Islam was a polytheistic and idolatrous religion.[45]

5.3 The Muslim as the religious and cultural Other

Christians in the Middle Ages in general and Christian travellers in particular had no access to an impartial perspective on the Muslims and their faith. However, a pilgrimage to the most holy Christian sites had nothing to do with ques-

43 On self-indulgence, see Daniel 1960, 135–161.
44 Zeebout 1998, 9 and 11.
45 Cf. Reichert 2000, 7–8; Reichert 2005, 18.

tioning or correcting images of the Other. What was written about personal encounters with Muslim religious customs served, for the most part, to verify existing stereotypes. This is apparent in the numerous reports that address the Islamic prohibition of alcohol, the Ramadan fast, or the Muslim Ḥajj to Mecca, including those of Bernhard von Breidenbach and Felix Fabri (1437/1438–1502). The reports either asserted that the commandments were not obeyed or defined Islamic customs as a deformed inversion of Christian customs. The reports suggested that wine, which was forbidden by Muḥammad, was commonly consumed in secret in the Muslim world. Ramadan was not a period of abstinence like the Christian Lent, but a time of nightly bacchanal festivities. Finally, the rituals during the Ḥajj were seen as a continuation of ancient pagan traditions, with Muḥammad rather than God being worshipped. The alleged hedonism underlying the Muslim prohibition of alcohol is one of the established truisms repeated in Zeebout's report. He claimed that secretly Muslims were enthusiastic consumers of wine. When discussing Ramadan, with its nightly dancing, springing about, screaming, and yelling, Zeebout admonished Christians to remember that God did not condone the Muslim idea (of feasting).[46] This makes it clear that the religious Other was not, in fact, accepted. The nature of the Other was clarified for the reader by comparing Muslim and Christian religious doctrines and customs. The strict application of Christian standards meant there could be no debate about the Other as a distinct entity with a distinct social system and its own values and customs.

Excluding the Other was of course not restricted to religious issues. It also occurred when addressing physiological or racial differences and when describing social customs.[47] While Zeebout did not focus on any Muslim physical otherness, he made it clear that some of their cultural practices were contrary to those found in Christendom, and therefore had to be rejected. For example, he judged various Islamic laws and punishments that were based on the principle of 'an eye for an eye' to be inhumane.[48] It was likely that Christ's criticisms in the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5. 38–39) led him to contrast Christian ideals, such as the grace of charity, even towards enemies, with ruthless legalism. He had a particularly negative view of Saracen men, describing the manner of urinating in a sitting position like women as disgraceful.[49] However,

46 Zeebout 1998, 19 and 26. On images (and fantasies) of Muslim's hedonism, luxury, and physical pleasure, see Cohen 2001.

47 Concerning physical or racial otherness in medieval sources, see Bartlett 2001; Akbari 2009.

48 Zeebout 1998, 23–24.

49 Zeebout 1998, 22. He probably used the more detailed but neutral report of Adorno (1978, 72–73).

other pilgrims frequently made even more polemical use of this sort of rhetorical inversion when describing, for example, the 'hermaphroditic' clothing worn by Muslim men, the 'animal' sound of the Arabic language, or the disgusting way in which Muslims ate.[50] The pilgrimage report of Francesco Suriano (1450–1529), who was the abbot of the Franciscan monastery in Jerusalem for several years, concluded that the Muslims would even walk backwards just to distinguish themselves from Christians.[51] In spite of the insight he gained in his extensive dealings with Muslims and the Mamluk authorities, he created a foreign reality with inverted norms and customs.

Sometimes, Zeebout's descriptions are not accompanied by judgmental commentary. For example, he rarely called Muslims heathens, infidels, or dogs, as was the case in other pilgrimage reports.[52] Furthermore, he described the various Muslim prayer positions in a neutral tone.[53] The same is true of his notes on the Muslim custom of circumcision,[54] his depiction of what was thought to be the Muslim belief about the afterlife,[55] or his narrative on the Mamluks, the rulers of Egypt and Palestine in the fifteenth century. As was the case in other reports, they are called "verloochende kerstenen [renegades]", referring to the fact that they were converts to Islam. Zeebout's description of their political and social system is not specifically disparaging.[56] The ruling Sultan Qaitbay, with his gracious treatment of visitors, seems to be a reason-

50 Fabri 1843–1849, I, 202; Casola 2001, 185–186.

51 Suriano 1900, 199–200.

52 See, for example, Casola 2001, 171. Surprisingly, Zeebout did not use the term *Saracen*, which is frequently used as a synonym for all Muslims, as well as for the Arab population in general. In outlining the different Muslim groups or nations, he either used the term denoting one group (for example, Turks, Mamluks, Arabs/Bedouins) or – possibly because of the structure of the sentence ("The Muslims are not allowed to ...") – he used no label at all. Zeebout borrowed the term "musseleminnos [Mussulmen]", which he uses at one point (Zeebout 1998, 27), from Adorno (1978, 68–69).

53 Zeebout 1998, 18.

54 Zeebout 1998, 20. His source, Bernhard von Breidenbach, in contrast, saw in the commandment additional evidence that Muslims were thoughtlessly following some meaningless rules derived from the Jews. Cf. Breidenbach 2010, 348–349.

55 Zeebout 1998, 24. In contrast, Bernhard von Breidenbach (2010, 318–319 and 360–374) disapproved of the description of the heavenly Cockaigne, seeing it as an expression of Muslims' carnal nature and as utter nonsense. Other travel reports are less critical and dismissive (Smith 1995). There is, however, a multifaceted polemic and nuanced argument against the pseudo-Islamic paradise in Christian sources (Roling 2005). Drawing upon an additional source allowed Zeebout to provide more details about the heavenly pleasures than Breidenbach had.

56 Zeebout 1998, 177–186. For an opposing opinion, see Villerius 2008–2009, 79–80, who interprets Zeebout's description as criticism of a very corrupt and chaotic political system.

able and even generous king, rather than a tyrant who poses a major threat to Christians.[57] Having Ghistele treated as a person of high rank during his audience with the Sultan was, of course, an effective way of increasing his prestige in the eyes of the readers of *Tvoyage*. The impression one gets is that all of the parties involved had a shared understanding of appropriate courtly manners.

Occasionally, Zeebout's text provides greater and more accurate information about Islam than do other travel reports. For example, he included a meticulous transcription and translation of the first part of the Islamic call for prayer which states that there is only one true God and that Muḥammad is his rightful messenger.[58] Thus, Zeebout did not repeat the popular but disparaging story that the muezzin is calling for people to have sexual intercourse to populate the world. For example, the Milanese cleric Pietro Casola (c. 1427–1507) wrote that an interpreter confirmed for him that it was a call for sexual intercourse. The excessive sexuality in the Muslim world was already by this time a commonly accepted stereotype in Western culture. In the case of Casola, it was presented as confirmed by personal experience on the ground and verified by an expert in the language.[59] Zeebout's transcription of the Arabic text shows, to the contrary, that Arabic is not some barbarous or animal idiom, but rather a language with clear grammatical rules.[60] He also specified that Mus-

57 Zeebout 1998, 28 and 175–177. The great abundance of all things desirable at the Sultan's court also reflects the literary images of the alien Saracen ruler living in the lap of luxury.
58 Zeebout 1998, 18:

> "Alla lehil lehil, alla allacobar machometo, recheeul, alla, allocabar bijs mille faudurreulle", dats in onser spraken ghenough te zegghene: God God wilt openbaren, dat maer een warachtich God en es ende dat Machomet een warachtich bode es, van Gode in dese weerelt ghesonden ende elc pijne hem te biddene

> ["Alla lehil lehil, alla allacobar machometo, recheeul, alla, allocabar bijs mille faudurreulle", that is in our language sufficiently said: The Good Lord will reveal that He is nonetheless the true God and that Muḥammad is his rightful messenger, sent by God to this world and everyone should work hard to worship him.]

In this case, the source of the information is unclear. Breidenbach (2010, 348–349) does not provide a transcription.
59 Casola 2001, 186. He was not certain that the interpreter's translation was accurate, but noted that Muslims did indeed have many wives, so their numbers could be expected to increase. For additional examples, see Reichert 2000, 13; Reichert 2001, 154. In a different context, however, Zeebout (1998, 20) did say that the many pleasures promised by Islam had as their goal populating the world.
60 Unlike Adorno and Breidenbach, Zeebout did not include an Arabic alphabet, but did explain that Arabs write from right to the left. Zeebout 1998, 22. On foreign languages in pilgrimage reports, see Bosselmann-Cyran 1994.

lims are only obliged to make a pilgrimage to Mecca once in their lifetime, and not every year, as Bernhard von Breidenbach had claimed.[61]

In Zeebout's text, the Other was thus not always excluded and devalued. Framing the concept in terms of 'familiar' versus 'unfamiliar' creates a more open understanding of 'Otherness'. In this sense, Zeebout's work has things in common with the Adorno or Arnold von Harff pilgrimage accounts.[62] Differences between the Self and the Other are noted, but without comment. How any particular episode is to be judged is left to the reader. One reason for this was that the allegorical and symbolic meaning underlying Muslim doctrine was poorly understood, so that the authors were restricted to a more or less straightforward description.[63] There were also other inevitable limitations, given the circumstances under which cultural contact took place: language problems; the brevity of visits to the Holy Land (in most cases Christian pilgrims travelled as part of groups led by Franciscans and had little opportunity for direct cultural contact); warnings against debating issues of doctrine with Muslims; and a mutual unwillingness to engage in a deeper exchange.

In some cases, there are even positive connotations to the way Muslim customs are depicted. When this occurred, it was often to provide an example of correct morality when criticizing conditions at home. The Muslim's ritual washing before praying and the cleanliness of their mosques were interpreted as signs of purity and (at least 'external') piety.[64] Two of the most detailed examples are found in Mandeville's description of his audience with the Mamluk Sultan and Fabri's comparison of the conditions at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and at the Dome of the Rock. According to Mandeville, the Muslim ruler condemned the wickedness and political selfishness of Christians.[65] In this dialogue, the Sultan is presented in a way highly reminiscent of the rhetorical figure of the noble heathen.[66] For Fabri, the cleanliness at the Dome of the Rock and the filth and chaos at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is an allegory for the current state of both religions: While the seducer Muḥammad is held in

61 Breidenbach 2010, 316–317.

62 Konrad Grünemberg, Bertrandon de la Brocquiere, and Riccoldo da Monte Croce also come to mind.

63 Smith 1995, 234.

64 Cf. Fabri 1843–1849, II, 113 (cleanliness of Basars); III, 111 (cleanliness of religious slaughter); I, 291 (cleanliness of mosques); I, 223 (piety).

65 Mandeville 2011, 86–87. Cf. Michelet 2006, 293–298.

66 In the case of Christian-Muslim relations, the major depiction of a historical person as a noble heathen is probably that of Saladin, even when he is also portrayed as the Antichrist. Cf. Tolan 1997; Jäckel 2010.

high regard, Jesus Christ is forgotten and his commandments are despised.[67] These stories were meant to hold up a mirror to Christian society. The reader should feel ashamed and be motivated to seek improvement or even reform.

This is not the approach that Zeebout took. He notes that Muslims were obliged to wash before praying or confessing, as well as their frequent use of bath houses and the great reverence in which they held mosques, but he did not express admiration or pass a positive judgment.[68] Nonetheless, such examples do show that a greater openness existed in pilgrimage accounts than was the case in dogmatic works on Islam and the Muslims. A positive appraisal, however, does not necessarily translate into acceptance or respect for the Other. It might even be argued that projecting Christian ideals onto a foreign culture is in no way an encounter with the Other. It negates the existence of the Other as a subject and contributes more to the discourse within the narrator's own society.[69]

5.4 Joos van Ghistele's encounter with the Muslims and Zeebout's narrative

Occasionally, however, pilgrimage reports give small hints of transcultural contact that went beyond religious and cultural differences. Despite the plethora of conflicts and the mutual hostility, described as dirty "guerrilla warfare",[70] Felix Fabri also depicted friendly relations with Muslims. He was full of praise for his Muslim donkey-driver and a dragoman who accompanied the Christian pilgrims from Jerusalem to Egypt.[71] Arnold von Harff came close to the figure of a cultural broker in dressing like a Mamluk, drinking wine with Mamluks, and using his medical skills to treat Muslims.[72] Bernhard von Breidenbach, in his pilgrimage instructions written for a German count, even recommends that wine be purchased from a certain honourable Jew.[73]

Such episodes refer to daily interactions. They indicate a perception of the Other beyond the paradigm of religious and cultural antagonism. The Other

67 Fabri 1843–1849, I, 229–230. Cf. Schröder 2009, 258.
68 Zeebout 1998, 17–18.
69 Cf. Michelet 2006, 296–297.
70 Reichert 2000, 12.
71 Fabri 1843–1849, I, 208 and III, 32. Cf. Schröder 2009, 272–275.
72 Arnold von Harff 1860, 85, 97–98, 101.
73 Breidenbach 1880, 142.

was not in every case functionalized to define one's own identity or to project the ideals of one's own culture. Not every description was adapted to literary conventions, with the fantasies and expectations of the Self superimposed on the Other. However, when the Christian pilgrim (or narrator) could not make sense of or was threatened by what he had experienced, when he lacked a distinct vocabulary for appropriately expressing what had happened in the encounter, the result could be a faulty reading of the situation and a flawed understanding of the Other.[74] Nonetheless, these incidents played a defined role in the narrative. It was expected that a pilgrimage report, even with all its conventions, would do more than provide examples of sound morality and instruct the reader in correct behaviour. The reader was also interested in the exotic Other. The reader expected some thrilling details and some excitement, or in the words of Fabri, "something childish and something to laugh at".[75] His strategy of humanizing the Other and presenting cross-cultural contacts in a very emotional way gave his report more character and made it more reliable overall.

On a more general level, these episodes reflect the fact that cultural borders were not entirely fixed and inalterable. They were also permeable crossing zones.[76] The episodes show that neither in modern nor in medieval times were cultures and civilizations static entities: They were, in contrast, constantly changing in ways that made space for shared cultural spaces and hybrid phenomena.[77] Recent research accentuates that especially the medieval Mediterranean and its adjacent regions were a space of cultural diversity that shows not only continuous and dynamic processes of integration and disintegration, but of multiple transcultural contacts and complex social, economic and cultural interdependences.[78] Simplifications and ideological doctrines might be necessary to understand, organize, and categorize the numerous and complex experiences of distinction. Yet firm, normative boundaries between cultures do not reflect the complex reality.

Since Ghistele's extraordinary journey would not have been possible without the help of local people and the authorities, one would anticipate Zeebout

74 Michelet 2006, 301. On the difficulties of describing Otherness, see Esch 1991.
75 Fabri 1843–1849, I, 4.
76 On cultural borders, see the classic article by Osterhammel 1995.
77 Borgolte 2009, 268; Gotter 2000, 395. On the methodological problems of transcultural history, see Höfert 2008.
78 See, for instance, the articles in the anthologies of Borgolte and Schneidmüller 2010; Borgolte et al. 2011; Mersch and Ritzerfeld 2009. For a recent overview on the Mediterranean see Jaspert 2009.

providing the reader with similar episodes. But whatever Ghistele may have experienced during his extensive travelling through the Mediterranean, not much about direct encounters with Muslims made its way into Zeebout's report. Most of his statements about Islam can be traced back to Breidenbach and Adorno or to other historical writings. When the practical instructions about encounters with Muslims provided at the beginning of Zeebout's work are examined, very few appear to be based on what Ghistele experienced: He witnessed a quarrel between Venetian merchants and Muslims in which one Muslim was seriously hurt, followed by difficult and costly negotiations to resolve matters. Zeebout reduced the incident to a general guideline specifying that one should not hit a Muslim in a way that causes him to fall down or bleed, because it could lead to a legal case that results in great expense and heavy burdens.[79]

The warning to be cautious when dealing with Muslims plays a role in another of Zeebout's anecdotes. He makes his point with a story about a Mamluk named Nassardijn, who apparently acted as guide for pilgrims in Cairo. This convert, said to have been born in Venice, claimed he wanted to return to Europe and to the Christian faith. He asked for the support and advice of a Venetian merchant in Cairo. The merchant provided him commendatory letters and referred him to another Venetian merchant. However, the second merchant doubted Nassardijn's sincerity and rejected his request. Forced to stay in Egypt, he blackmailed the first Venetian merchant. He threatened to publicize the commendatory letter and to claim that the merchant had tried to lure him away.[80] Zeebout did not use any disdainful language and did not link Nassardijn's behaviour to the Muslim faith. Still, the Other was not depicted favourably, but as an example of why caution and wariness were necessary.[81]

In the description of the travels of Joos van Ghistele, concrete interaction with Muslims is largely neglected. It seems that when nothing unusual happened and an encounter with the Other did not interrupt the trip, Zeebout did not consider it worth reporting. Inversely, one could argue that this indicated that the cultural encounter was not generally hostile. The Mamluk authorities

79 Zeebout 1998, XXIV, 7 and 399. It was common for the guardian of the Franciscan monastery to instruct pilgrims arriving in the Holy Land not to drink wine in public, not to enter a mosque, and not to walk in a Muslim cemetery (Fabri 1843–1849, I, 212–217). Zeebout might have gotten this information from the published reports of Breidenbach (2010, 118–119) and Hans Tucher (2002, 372–375 and 492–493).

80 Zeebout 1998, 6–7.

81 Later in his instructions, Zeebout provides the sweeping advice not to trust anyone of a lower rank or anyone born on the other side of the Mediterranean, the Greeks in particular; Zeebout 1998, 8.

were, in fact, very pragmatic.[82] However, remaining silent about some typical or even amicable encounters amounted to not questioning the traditional Latin-Christian images of Islam. On the other hand, Zeebout rarely drew upon personal incidents recounted by Ghistele to affirm stereotypical images of the Other and the Self.[83]

In the end, one example might indicate that what Ghistele experienced did change Zeebout's perception of Islam to some degree. In contrast to most Christian authors, Zeebout did not recount the miracle of Muḥammad's tomb in Mecca. According to a very popular legend, Muḥammad was buried in an iron coffin that appeared to miraculously float in the air, but was held in place by hidden magnetic stones.[84] As Latin-Christian authors saw it, Muḥammad's successors had constructed this marvellous tomb to prove to their followers that the prophet was indeed a messenger of God. Zeebout was critical of this legend. He wrote that Ghistele's companions asked their guide Nassardijn as a person of local expertise to verify the story. The Mamluk – this time said to have been born in Danzig, Prussia, and to be working in Cairo as a gunsmith – answered that he did not know. He had only heard that it may have floated in the air in days gone by. He also reported that the tomb, or at least parts of the building, had been recently destroyed by a heavy thunderstorm.[85] When addressing this empirical data seemingly provided by the pilgrims, Zeebout stressed the superstitious quality of the tale. In this context, Nassardijn is depicted as a trustworthy authority, a mediator who could give valuable insight into Muslim culture. As he comes from Europe and shares a common language, he is seen as less alien and remote, even though he has abandoned the Chris-

82 Reichert 2000, 17. Besides the possibility of economic gain, there seemed to be no self-evident reason to permit European Christians to travel through Palestine and Egypt. For background on economic relations between the Mamluks and European merchants, see with further references Christ 2012.

83 One example – not related to representations of Muslims but of Jews – is the miraculous displacement of a mountain in Cairo following a religious dispute on the true faith between Christians and Jews (Zeebout 1998, 188–189). On this episode, which was only reported by Fabri in his *Evagatorium* and in his spiritual guide for nuns, but in a significantly different form, see Schröder 2009, 177–178.

84 The first Latin sources for this tale date from the eleventh century. Cf. Reichert 2005; Reichert 2007.

85 Zeebout 1998, 26 and 263. Parts of the complex built around Muḥammad's tomb in Medina were indeed damaged by lightning and fire in 1481 (Reichert 2005, 24–25). Apart from Zeebout, only Breidenbach, Guglingen, and Fabri mentioned this incident in their reports. Fabri, for example, interpreted this as divine punishment and was very pleased that Muḥammad's body was extinguished from earth. Fabri disparaged the Muslims' religious authorities for continuously cheating the Saracens and even increasing idolatry. Fabri 1843–1849, I, 192.

tian faith.[86] In this case, Nassardijn's testimony allowed Zeebout to adopt a more distant attitude about the tale of the floating coffin. Moreover, such details and inquiries lend his overall travel report a more serious quality, increasing its credibility.

If, however, Ghistele and his travel companions had actually questioned the Mamluk, it is safe to assume that Nassardijn would have told them that Muḥammad was in fact buried in Medina and not in Mecca. Few European sources reflected any knowledge of this fact,[87] which would have led to a far-reaching shift in the traditional Christian image of Islam that Zeebout was not able or willing to address. It would have undermined the analogy between Christian pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Muslim pilgrimages to Mecca. In this analogy, the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, central to Christian religious identity, had found its evil counterpart in Mecca, where the Muslims venerated their false prophet. It stood as a symbol of the two competing monotheistic religions, both of which claimed to be the one true faith. The destruction of Muḥammad's tomb in this anecdote provided further proof of the falseness of Islam.[88]

Conclusion

There is always a productive element to the encounter with the Other. Even when it is perceived and described as a conflict, or even a culture clash, it necessarily leads to a discussion about and engagement with the other side.[89] Zeebout's report offers an ambivalent view of the encounter with Muslims, running the gamut of fact and fiction, of fear and loathing, and of exotic attraction. Recounting and reinterpreting the authoritative images of Islam served to confirm already existing stereotypes about Muslims. It also affirmed the traveller's, the author's, and the reader's sense of belonging to the one true religion. Exposing the 'errors' of Islam and Muḥammad's 'malicious life' strengthened Christian identity. When dealing with Joos van Ghistele's travels, Zeebout was able to present these images in a more instructive way, thereby transmitting theological doctrine to a wide-ranging audience. Ghistele also gained in stature from this depiction. The reader recognized the huge burdens he had to shoul-

86 To the Mamluks and dragomans as contact persons for the pilgrims, see Bosselmann-Cyran 1997.
87 Cf. Rotter 2009.
88 Reichert 2005, 25.
89 Cf. Schmieder 2005, 4.

der and the immense endurance required to successfully manage an encounter with the Other.

The account of Ghistele's travels did not call into question Latin Church ideology, with its rigid conception of the theological enemy. It was possible to include some episodes that offer a different perception of Muslims, but any narrator had to ensure that he as the author or the traveller did not get too close to the foreign culture. Even Arnold von Harff felt obliged to make it clear that he was never really attracted by all of the Muslim temptations he described, and that he never questioned his Christianity. To travel through these lands, particularly without the shelter provided by a larger group of pilgrims, was sometimes a balancing act between self-assertion and self-estrangement, where, in particular situations, it might become necessary to surrender attributes of one's identity temporarily.

Zeebout's report lacks such moments. There are no examples of the doctrinal image of Islam being challenged by any thought-provoking experiences Ghistele would have had during his travels. Furthermore, Ghistele's memories of his travels and Zeebout's account are inseparably entangled.[90] Some remnants of Ghistele's perception of the Other seem to have made an impression on Zeebout and guided the narrative. Occasionally, they display the constructed character of the Other and the Self. However, we have to take into account that Ghistele himself was also part of Latin-Christian culture and shared its cultural memory and its ideas about how to deal with the Other. He met and judged Muslims based on these preconceptions. It is possible that when he was preparing for his journey, he read some of the texts that Zeebout used for his *Tvoyage*. The perception of Islam and Muslims that guided Ghistele when he travelled in the Near East was thus shaped by his pre-existent mental map, his experiences structured and organized according to categories from his own culture. Encountering the Other outside of this construct might have been already impossible for him and this was probably even more the case for Zeebout, who composed the account of Ghistele's travels while sitting at his desk. In separating the description of Islam and the Muslims from the narrative of the journey, Zeebout was able to omit incidents that would have called the boundaries between religions or cultures into question. Drawing upon the narrative style of Jean and Anselme Adorno and abandoning Bernhard von Breidenbach's polemics allowed Zeebout to assume a neutral tone.

In sum, Zeebout usually maintained an 'ideology of silence'.[91] Muslims were seen uniquely in the light of Christian salvation history. Furthermore, he

90 See also Strijbosch 2010, 43–45.
91 Halperin 1984.

did not discuss whether or not it would be possible to convince the Muslims of the falsity of their beliefs and convert them to Christianity. In this sense, it was useful to present Ghistele's travels as a failed quest for the lands of Prester John. Thus, the hope of a powerful emperor living somewhere in the East who could assist Western Christianity in its struggle with the Muslim enemy could be kept alive.

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II. Settlement

Cordelia Heß

6 Jews and the Black Death in Fourteenth-Century Prussia: A Search for Traces

> "For the Eastern European Jewry [*Ostjudentum*, from Poland and Lithuania] Prussia was, thanks to the policy of the Teutonic Order, not a gateway, but a bulwark restricting their influx."[1]

There is plenty of reason to doubt this assessment by Kurt Forstreuter, who was a historian and archivist in Königsberg (Kaliningrad) until 1943, and who was actively involved in stealing Jewish archives in the German-occupied territories in the East.[2] But despite the political bias in his research regarding Jews and the contested rhetoric of "bulwarks",[3] he highlights the one true problem: Why did Jews not settle in medieval Prussia and Livonia in the same way as they did in the surrounding areas, in Poland and Lithuania?

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, Jews had settled and were paying taxes in numerous places surrounding the Teutonic Order's territory – in Grodno, Vilnius and Troki, as well as in Łomża, Bydgoszcz and Płock.[4] But in the case of Prussia and Livonia, we lack information about similar settlements and communities. It is not only in the antisemitic and *völkisch* German scholarship before and after the Second World War that one finds the presumption that this absence is the result of an active anti-Jewish policy on the part of the Teutonic Order. For example, nineteenth-century Jewish authors also believed medieval Prussia to be a place hostile to Jews.[5] However, a closer look at the sources allows for a different interpretation. No anti-Jewish regulations were issued on behalf of the large Prussian towns before the middle of the fifteenth century, in connection with the Thirteen Years War, at which point they were issued by the Polish king at the request of the towns. The one possible anti-Jewish regulation issued by the Teutonic Order has not been preserved in a contemporary diplomatic form, but is only known from a contradictory tradition of chronicles composed about 150 years later – this phenomenon needs to be discussed in detail in another context.[6] However, given the lack of evidence

1 Forstreuter 1937, 48.
2 On this part of Forstreuter's biography, see Heß 2014.
3 Examples in Burleigh 1984, 38–39.
4 Zaremska 2011, map 2.
5 Jolowicz 1867, 2–3.
6 See also the introduction to this volume.

of a ban on Jewish settlement, the few sources regarding Jews in Prussia during the fourteenth century need to be reinvestigated.

Even those scholars who believe medieval Prussia to be entirely free of Jewish life – such as Forstreuter – have acknowledged evidence of Jews being named in Prussian sources in connection with the Black Death, which hit the region in 1350 and found its expression in contemporary historiography as well as in pragmatic sources such as town books. The fact that Jews are mentioned in this context allows for two differing assumptions: Either there were Jewish communities in Prussia around 1350, which fell victim to pogroms just like the Jewish communities all around Europe, or there were no Jewish communities, and in this case the transfer of the scapegoating of Jews for the pandemic is a peculiar case of absent presence. Before deciding upon one of these options, the sources need to be presented and discussed in detail. The time period for this event is especially interesting in the context since the presumed ban on Jewish settlement in Prussia is dated to the year 1309 – several decades before Prussian Jews were made responsible for the Black Death. This discrepancy has been noted by previous research but never been discussed in detail as part of a general assessment of potential traces of Jewish life in the region.[7] The following article will discuss the remaining sources mentioning Jews in connection with the Black Death in Prussia around the year 1350 and examine closely the information they contain: Were there anti-Jewish pogroms in Prussia, and if yes, were they directed against local Jewish residents or against travellers? Did the information come from eye-witnesses, from other texts, or from hearsay? Can we assume that there were Jews in Prussia, just because they were blamed for the spreading of the pandemic?

The Black Death, and in particular, the pogroms and expulsions of Jews in the wake of the pandemic, were central events underlying major changes in the demographic structure of Jewish communities in Europe.[8] The imagined connection of Jews to contagion in general, or more explicitly accusations of well-poisoning against Jews, was developed in southern Europe (France and the Iberian Peninsula) by the beginning of the fourteenth century, so by the time the plague reached the German lands and Poland, the scapegoating was well established in many places.[9] The authorities moved quickly to gain control of what started as popular riots against the Jewish communities, staging trials

7 Forstreuter for example discusses some of the sources mentioning Prussian Jews and the Plague and simply concludes that they must have existed, and the pogroms as well. The contradiction to his assumption of an anti-Jewish ban remains unsolved.

8 Cohn 2002; Cluse 2002.

9 Ginzburg 1991; Stearns 2011, 54–65.

against individuals, and forcing them to confess to conspiracies. Even in Northern Europe, in places less densely populated, and with fewer and smaller Jewish communities, pogroms triggered by the plague followed a common pattern: first tumultuous attacks, and then, after the summer of 1348, official trials.[10]

The source situation in Prussia is relatively good for the fourteenth century, even though quite specific and dominated by sources produced in connection with the landlords, the Teutonic Order and the bishops. Several chronicles in Latin and German cover the time period of interest here; the diplomatic tradition in the episcopates Warmia and Culm is relatively good for these years – the *Codex diplomaticus Warmiensis* for example contains about 40 diploma for the years 1349–1350. The situation is somewhat less sufficient for the Prussian towns, in which the production of pragmatic and administrative texts only gained momentum in the last decades of the fourteenth century. Finally, Prussian events are mentioned in the historiographic production and political communication of the Hanseatic towns as well as the Polish realm.

Current research has questioned the nature and comprehensiveness of the diseases affecting Europe in the mid-fourteenth century.[11] Regarding Prussia, the chronicles report major *pestilentiae* at least three times in this century, around 1320, around 1349, and in the 1380s – whether one or several of these actually report about outbreaks of the bubonic plague is of secondary importance in this context. Jews are mentioned only in connection with the disease during the years around 1349, with the narrative of a Jewish conspiracy against the Christians being repeated in several sources. But in fact, the Black Death takes a backseat in the chronicles to the descriptions of battles in the ongoing conflict with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, especially in the lands of the Samogitians. Consequently, the chronicles – which for the most part are not contemporary, having been written at least a hundred years after the events – are contradictory regarding the evidence, chronology, and geographical range of the plague. Much of the historiographic tradition from sixteenth-century Danzig (Gdańsk) and Königsberg (Kaliningrad), which is partially based on the chronicle by Wigand of Marburg and partially on later sources, such as *Simon Grunaus Preussische Chronik*, makes no mention of the plague in the years 1348–1353. They focus instead on the wars and battles with the Lithuanians and on the warm winter of 1352, which made it impossible to cross the rivers; the Jubilee Year in Rome and the numerous pilgrimages it gave rise to are also

10 Müller 2002, 257.
11 Jankrift 2008.

described, sometimes along with the 1384 *pestilentia*.[12] The *Chronicon Livoniae* simply notes "Anno 1351 fuit maxima mortalitas [In the year of 1351, there was a great mortality]".[13] More detailed accounts can be found in the chronicle by Lübeck Franciscan Detmar (died c. 1395), which describes a large number of Prussian events during the years 1105–1395; and this is also one of the few accounts that mentions Jews in connection with the disease. It is worth mentioning that no similar connections were made in the Prussian chronicles regarding earlier or later epidemics. The chronicle by Jan Długosz, from nearby Poland, for example, mentions the Black Death in 1349, along with anti-Jewish violence in Poland and Alemania, but does not mention any Prussian towns among the locations of either the plague or the pogroms.[14]

Considering the broad historiographic tradition telling about the Black Death, the few cases in which chroniclers mention Jews must be seen as exceptional, especially since most of them were not produced in Prussia itself. The most comprehensive account stems from Lübeck chronicler Detmar. His accounts of scapegoating are insofar interesting as they also mention the plague in Prussia and anti-Jewish pogroms, but make no explicit connection. For the entire German Baltic coast area, very few pogroms from this period are reported,[15] but still, Detmar blames the Jews for the pandemic.

6.1 The *Detmar Chronicle*

In 1385, two Lübeck city council members commissioned a chronicle, since the urban historiography had largely been laid waste since the Black Death. They chose a representative of the institution which was least hit by the pandemic – the Lübeck Franciscans in the St. Catherine monastery had profited so greatly from the foundations they had received during the plague years that they were able to extend their church considerably in the years following the epidemic. The *lesemester* Detmar spent the following ten years with the compilation and composition of a town and world chronicle, stretching from 1101 until his life-

12 See, for example, *Cronica des landes Bruthenia, ietzund Preusserlant. Geschrieben durch Casparum Bittander* (1609) in Uppsala, University Library, H 153 fol., fol. 111^{r}; also *Simon Grunaus Preussische Chronik*, I (1876), 609.

13 *Hermanni de Warthberge Chronicon Livoniae*, 77.

14 *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales*, fol. 112^{r}.

15 An exception is Königsberg in Neumark (Nova Marchia), where a pogrom took place in 1351. Cluse 2002, 240.

time. The Black Death is described in several paragraphs in one version of Detmar's chronicle, the one used by the Lübeck city council.[16] He mentions 1346 as the year of the first outbreak of the pandemic, describing the spread of the disease from the Holy Land, where it had killed thousands of heathens, "which was not much to moan about, since they are the enemies of God", thereafter spreading to Christian lands, such as Hungary, Italy and France, followed by England and Flanders, then, Sweden, Norway, Sealand (that is, Denmark), spreading from there to Prussia, especially Königsberg and Elbing (Elbląg). After providing this account of the contested regions, Detmar writes:

> Des tech men den ghedoften joden, de sik vor cristene lude helden unde beden vor Got ghuder lude almosen, dat de mit vorghifnisse, de se den luden gheven, das volk to deme dode brochten. Dat wart van en gheseen unde worden anghetastet unde worden ghebrand; do bekande se in erme dode, dat is war were, dat se it hadden ghedan, unde dat ir vele were, de in der selven sake in der cristenheit ghinghen, unde segheden, dat de riken joden in den groten steden dat bedacht hedden der cristenheit to vorderfnisse, wente se sint der martere unses heren ghevanghen lude hebben wesen, unde wolden nue koninghe unde heren worden sin over al den cristendom.[17]
>
> [The baptized Jews, who pretend to be Christian people and beg for God's and good people's alms, were held responsible for killing the population with poison which they gave the people. They were seen doing this and were attacked and burned; and in their death they confessed that this was true, that they had done it, and that they were many who were walking among the Christians in the same matter, and they said that the rich Jews in the towns had thought this out in order to destroy Christianity, because they have been prisoners ever since the torture of our Lord and now they want to become kings and lords over all of Christianity.]

A second occurrence of the Black Death in 1348 is mentioned in the *Detmar Chronicle*, and here an astronomer's explanation of the disease as the result of a particular constellation of planets in 1345 is recounted, even though Detmar himself does not believe the stars to be responsible for anything, being nothing more than signs of things to come. He does not directly blame the Jews for the plague, but:

> Nu hadden ok de joden grote mestere in der sulven kunst astronomia, de langhe vorgheseen hadden de tid des stervendes. Do ghewunnen de joden arghe danken, unde wurden des to rade, dat se mit vorghifnisse hemeliker sake unde mit arghen dinghen tolegheden unde hulpen desseme vorbenomenden tokomenden stervende, uppe dat se dar nicht ane vordracht worden unde wolden sik vryen van der eghenschap, dar se inne syn. Nu wolde

16 The version from Stadtbibliothek Lübeck is believed to be the copy in use at the Lübeck city council.

17 *Detmar-Chronik*, 505.

> Ghod, dat dit to wetende wart den mechtighen heren in den landen unde den guden steden, de worden des to rade, dat se de undat wreken wolden an den joden unde sloghen se in manghen landen unde in menigher stat to dode.[18]

> [The Jews also had great masters in the very art of astronomy, who a long time ago had already foreseen the time of the dying. Thus, the Jews had evil thoughts, and decided that they wanted to help this aforementioned dying which was to come by means of secret planning and the addition of bad things, so that they could not be held responsible for this and would free themselves from the state of being owned that they are in. But God wanted this to become known to the powerful lords in the lands and the good towns, who decided to punish the Jews for the misdeeds and killed them in many countries and in many towns.]

To sum up, the *Detmar Chronicle* placed some emphasis on a disease that was supposedly the Black Death, which occurred between 1346 and 1350. Detmar has an informed view of the geographical origin and spread of the pandemic and discusses different explanations, for example, mankind's sinful state, stellar constellations, and the Jews. On two occasions, Detmar explicitly identifies Jews to be punished in connection with the disease. He first mentions baptized Jews, who were said to have poisoned people, subsequently confessing under torture to propagating and spreading the disease. Their explanation was that they had been captives ever since they killed Jesus Christ, but were determined to become the kings of the world again. Two Prussian towns are explicitly mentioned in connection with disease, but the location of the trials of the converts is never identified.

In the second case, the disease "in the German lands" is linked to a conspiracy of Jewish astronomers to take advantage of the disease and exacerbate the dying. In both cases, evidence of the Jews' guilt came from their own accounts during trials and under torture. Furthermore, in both cases, the control and "ownership" of the Jews by Christians is the reason offered for their hatred of Christians.

Detmar's descriptions of the alleged Jewish conspiracies related to the Black Death are not particularly detailed. For example, the common accusation of poisoning wells and water is not mentioned, no details are provided about the form and preparation of the poison, and so on, and no location of the trials and confessions is offered. This makes it unlikely that Detmar possessed actual copies of trial documents, from which he was directly quoting, as was the case in the south of France, where summaries of trials were copied and sent to other towns, becoming models for chroniclers' accounts of the events.[19] Consequent-

18 *Detmar-Chronik*, 514.
19 Ginzburg 1991, 68.

ly, this source provides no useful information about anti-Jewish pogroms – and thereby the existence of Jews – in the northern German lands and Prussia. Nonetheless, the Black Death plays a prominent role in the chronicle, which otherwise has a very strong local focus on the Hanseatic towns along the Baltic Sea coast. Although there were no major Jewish communities in most of these locations, in the Detmar chronicle, the connection between Jews and the disease is very marked. Both the poisoning theory and the astronomical explanation are connected to a Jewish conspiracy. A possible explanation for this, considering the lack of Jewish communities in most of the locations Detmar mentions, would be spontaneous pogroms against Jews who were in the towns as travellers or guests – or against Jewish converts, as previously mentioned. Later sources do provide evidence that Jewish converts lived in some of the Prussian towns.

6.2 The *Chronicon Olivense*

A similar connection between the Black Death in Prussia and Jews is made in a chronicle originating in Prussia itself, the *Chronicon Olivense* or *Older Chronicle of Oliva*, written in 1351 by a Cistercian monk at the Oliva monastery close to Gdańsk. While the chronicle relies primarily on older sources, such as Peter of Dusburg, the account of the Prussian plague is original and has no parallel tradition.[20]

The *Chronicon Olivense* – putting even more emphasis on the account of the disease than Detmar had – dates the plague to 1351 and mentions its origin in India, with an apocalyptic course of events: bad air, horrible sounds, and fire and mist descending from the sky, infecting and killing the people. The chronicle claims that physicians in Italy distinguished three different kinds of disease. It also provides a detailed description of the measures taken against the plague in Avignon and Marseille, as well as the processions of the flagel-

20 The Chronicle of Oliva was edited twice, first in *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum* (SRP) I, 1861, 653 ff., and then, after several new manuscripts were found, in SRP V, 1874, 594 ff. One of the major differences between these two editions is the lengthy paragraph about the Black Death, which was only found in what is probably the oldest remaining manuscript, dating to the fifteenth century, and held by a library in Lviv. Max Perlbach, whose investigation of the chronicle remains the most comprehensive study of the text, had worked with a much younger manuscript version, and thus did not comment on this episode – which, not least of all, changed the dating of the chronicle from 1348 to 1351. Hirsch 1874; Perlbach 1871; Perlbach 1872.

lants. The chronicle seems to draw information from different clerical sources, probably itinerant members of the Cistercian Order, who had themselves experienced the disease in the south, or letters circulating in the Cistercian monasteries. However, even in the more learned and detailed account found in the *Chronicon Olivense*, the blame placed on the Jews and the punishment meted out was central to the description of the disease in Prussia and Pomerania, although it nowhere explicitly mentions Jews being killed there.

> Predicta ergo pestilencia [...] iam fere in tota Pruzia et Pomerania innumerabiles viros ac mulieres consumpsit et hodierna die consumere non cessat. Et quod est miserabilius istis epydimijs et pestilencijs immiscuit se odium Iudeorum [...] per nuncios suos Iudeos occultos et per malos Christianos, quos ad hoc faciendum peccunia corruperunt per totam Germaniam et Poloniam, ut inficerent fontes et flumina, de quibus Christiani deberent coquere cibos suos [...] et propter hoc omnes Iudei in tota Germania et Alemania et fere in tota Polonia sunt deleti, alij gladijs occisi, alij in igne cremanti, et alij in aquis suffocati, et multi mali Christiani [...] postquam receperant a Iudeis peccunias, Iudei per quedam dyabolica verba, que ipsis in aures susurrauerunt, adeo ipsos dementauerunt et in odium Christianorum accenderunt, quod si potuisssent uno actu totam Christianitatem libenter deleuissent.[21]

> [The aforementioned plague ... has already killed innumerable men and women in Prussia and Pomerania and has until today not stopped killing. And what is even worse is that these epidemics and plagues have been sent here by the Jews' hatred ... by their messengers, the secret Jews and the bad Christians, who have received money throughout Germany and Poland for doing this, so as to infect wells and rivers, from which the Christians had to prepare their food ... and because of this all Jews in all Germania and Alemania and also in all of Poland are annihilated, many killed by the sword, others burned in fire, and others drowned in water, and many bad Christians ... after they had received money from Jews, the Jews had deluded them with certain devilish words which they whispered in their ears, so that they were inflamed with hatred of the Christians so that they would gladly destroy all Christianity in one act.]

Here as well, Prussia is specifically mentioned as a place hit hard by the plague, and again, the Jews are immediately blamed, along with "bad Christians." The account of the disease's spread is more detailed than in the *Detmar Chronicle*, with also the anti-Jewish pogroms described in great detail – no trials are mentioned, however. The description seems to be a synopsis of various accounts the author has heard or read, and from which he draws the information most important to him. Again, the "secret" Jews, that is, those who only superficially accepted baptism, are held responsible along with those who remained Jewish. The Jews are identified as entirely separate from the Christian

21 *Chronicon Olivense*, 621–622.

communities – they poison the water the Christians have to use – and special emphasis is put on the different ways they were killed, suggesting both spontaneous pogroms and death penalties issued at trials.

The fact that the author of the *Chronicon Olivense* lived during the pandemic and was an inhabitant of Prussia gives this account a certain authority regarding the lack of evidence of pogroms in Prussia, which he mentions as hard hit by the plague, but not as a site of anti-Jewish violence.

6.3 Letters from Lübeck and Visby

The third relevant source regarding anti-Jewish violence in Prussia in the 1350s is a letter from the Lübeck town council to Duke Otto of Lüneburg.[22] There is no actual date on the letter itself, but it has been placed within the context of the Black Death in the Baltic Sea region and dated to 1350. The council members from Lübeck tell the Duke about the trial of a certain Keyenort, who was burned at the stake in Lübeck, and about a woman who prepared poison from snakes she kept in her house. No Jews are mentioned in connection with the woman, but Keyenort confessed to receiving three *solidi* from the Jews to poison people from Prussia to Lübeck on their behalf – no mention is made of the location of the trial. The men from Lübeck write that also council members from Rostock and other Hanseatic cities had reported Jews confessing to poisonings in their cities and in "the Slavic countries." The same letter also quotes yet another letter from the council of Visby, describing the trial of a certain Tidericus, who was burned after having confessed to receiving money and poison from a Jew named Aaron, son of Solomon, in Hannover, and having used it to poison numerous wells and fountains in a number of towns in Hannover county. While he was gambling with his blood money in Lübeck, Tidericus was approached by another Jew, named Moyses, who gave him more money. As a result, he travelled to Prussia, specifically Frauenburg (Frombork), and killed forty people, and a further forty in Memel (Klaipėda), Hasenpoth (Aizpute), Goldingen (Kuldīga), Pilten (Piltene), and Windau (Ventspils), before travelling on to Curland.[23] The council members add a few short lines of particular interest regarding Prussia:

22 UB Lübeck III, 105.

23 Cod. dipl. Warm. III, 1874, no. 633, 634 quotes the letter incorrectly, mixing together the trials in Lübeck and Visby. The full text of the letter is printed in UB Lübeck III, 104, no. 110 A. Ibid. no. 110 B, 105–106, contains a different letter that also mentions the Visby trial. This

> Eciam consules Thurunenses scripserunt nobis de pluribus Judeis baptizatis in civitate eorum deprehensis, et omnes recognovissent, quod huiusmodi operacio intoxicacionis totaliter a Judeis ortum habet processum.[24]
>
> [The council members of Thorn (Toruń) also wrote to us about many baptized Jews who were caught in their town, and they all remembered that the trial had its origin in this mode of total intoxication by the Jews.]

This otherwise mysterious sentence at least proves the existence of baptized Jews in Thorn and their persecution, although in a very vague way – were the council members recalling a concrete trial against the baptized Jews of Thorn or another trial? When did it take place?

The letter from Visby has also been preserved, and it tells a somewhat different story from the Lübeck letter.[25] Two people who made poison were burned at the stake. They had confessed to poisoning numerous people in different Swedish towns and of plans to poison all of Gotland. They claimed to belong to a secret society of Jews and bad Christians intent upon poisoning all of Christianity. Just before being burnt at the stake, one of them said: "Nescio plura vobis dicere, sed tota Christianitas est per Judæos et pessimos nos intoxicata [I do not know more things to tell you, but all of Christianity is poisoned by the Jews and by the worst of us]". Both of the letters from Lübeck and Visby to the Duke end with the demand that the Jews be deprived of privileges and protection in order to ensure that they are found and punished for their evil deeds.

All of these letters are undated, but have been connected to the Black Death that occurred around 1350 in the source editions and in subsequent scholarly research. The method of killing, in particular, that is well-poisoning, is reminiscent of the accusations in the wake of the Black Death, even though the number of victims seems relatively small considering the number of fatalities during the pandemic. The letters may also refer to events that occurred either before or after the Black Death, since they are full of hearsay and references to other people having told other stories or written other letters – however, the connection of Jews to bad Christians, who are misled into killing by the former, a high number of casualties due to poisoned wells, and the vast geographical range of the casualties due to the work of a travelling killer, are all familiar elements from the anti-Jewish accusations connected to the Black

letter resembles more closely the actual letter preserved from Visby, which was sent by the council of Rostock to the Duke of Mecklenburg.

24 UB Lübeck III, 105.

25 SDHK no. 5883, DS no. 4665; UB Lübeck III, 105; UB Mecklenburg X, no. 7083.

Death. Lübeck and Visby present similar accounts of Jewish settlement in Prussian and most of the Hanseatic towns – there is no sign of stable communities, but there is also no evidence of major conflicts or anti-Jewish regulations. Of course, it is very likely that Jews were present in the town as travellers, guests, and temporary residents. Three letters that were circulating in the Hanseatic towns on the Baltic coast around the same time reported trials against and death penalties for Jews or people who confessed to have been paid by Jews, and these letters asserted that these persons had travelled around Prussia. This can be treated as relatively solid evidence that Jews were held responsible for the diseases in these areas as well. It is, however, remarkable that none of the trials was the result of the casualties in the town where the trial was held – the accused in Lübeck were punished for casualties in Prussia, and the accused in Visby for casualties elsewhere in Sweden and Prussia. The reference to baptized Jews put on trial in Thorn is vague. The Lübeck, Rostock and Visby council members seem to have had a clearer idea regarding the towns affected by the pandemic than about the whereabouts of the people condemned for spreading it – there is no mention in any of the letters of where the Jews came from, what their professions were, or where they lived.

6.4 The Braunsberg *liber civitatis*

A fourth account of somewhat mysterious origin adds to the impression that Jews were thought to be responsible for the Black Death in Prussia, but in this account, the suspicion is not said to have led to any sweeping persecution. It is undated and preserved in the oldest *liber civitatis* of Braunsberg (Braniewo).

> Rumboldi memoria et malicia. Anno domini M.ccc.xl. nono a festo pasce vsque ad festum galli fuit in terra pruscie Rvmboldus Judeus qui dixit se esse baptizatum. Qui per intoxicaciones veneni et per incantaciones diuersas multos interfecit et precipue in Elbingo vbi a festo Bartholomei vsque ad nativitatem christi plus quam nouem Milia hominum veneno quasi morte subitanea interierunt. Item in eodem anno in Konigisberg multitudo hominum interiit non computata. Item in marienburg similiter. Item in hollandia. In heiligenbil. In vrowinborg. In Molhusin. Item in terra Sambye multi prutheni veneno perierunt. Eodem anno multi tam noxii quam inoxii propter venenum cremati sunt vndique terrarum.[26]
>
> [About the memory and the bad deeds of Rumboldus. In the year of the Lord 1349 from Easter until St. Gallus, the Jew, Rumboldus, who claimed to be baptized, was in the land

26 Cod. dipl. Warm. II, 1864, 152.

> of Prussia. He killed many with poisoned drinks and different incantations, especially in Elbing, where more than nine thousand people died almost immediately of poisoning between St. Bartholomew's and Christ's Birth. Also in the same year in Königsberg a mass of people died, they were not counted. The same in Marienburg (Malbork). The same in Preußisch Holland (Pasłęk), in Heiligenbeil (Mamonovo), Frauenburg (Frombork), Mühlhausen (Młynary). Also in the land of Sambia many Prussians died of poisoning. In the same year many were burned in all countries because of the poisoning, guilty as well as innocent.]

This is the most comprehensive account of the spread of a disease in Prussia: It names more towns than any of the others, and includes Sambia, as well as providing precise dates, one for Rumboldus' sojourn in Prussia, and one for the fatalities in Königsberg. The dates partially overlap – Rumboldus is said to have travelled around Prussia between 12 April and 16 October, while people in Elbing are said to have died suddenly between 24 August and 25 December. This suggests that the effects of Rumboldus' poison and incantations remained effective even after he had left – or after he was killed. The report mentions people having been held responsible for the dying, but does not make explicit whether or not Rumboldus himself was punished by death at the stake. The report itself is preserved in the *liber civitatis* of Braunsberg, but Braunsberg is not among the many towns mentioned as having been hit by the poisoning.

Both the *Detmar Chronicle* and the anonymous report from the Braunsberg *liber civitatis* explicitly mention Königsberg and Elbing as suffering high levels of fatality; while the *Chronicon Olivense* names Prussia and Pomerania. Detmar dates the beginning of the disease in Prussia as 1346, the anonymous report as 1349, and the chronicle of Oliva claims it started in the Mediterranean in 1347, reaching Prussia in 1350, and continuing into 1351 when this part of the chronicle was written. The two chronicles are written shortly after the events themselves. This is also true for the letters from Visby and Lübeck, which were probably written in either the 1340s or the 1350s, but cannot be precisely dated.

6.5 Jews in Prussia?

Blaming Jewish converts is a recurrent feature in the reports. In the Detmar chronicle, they are said to be pretending to be Christians and living off their alms. Those accused of the poisonings are themselves obviously poor beggars and vagrants, and thereby, even without the Jewish ascription, belong to a marginalized group – a pattern similar to persecution in France, which started with paupers as victims, and subsequently Jews.[27] The chronicle of Oliva

27 Ginzburg 1991, 65.

names *Iudaeos occultos* (secret Jews), and in the case of Rumboldus, a traveller, or vagrant, is accused of the poisonings. In both cases, the accused are ascribed the status of Jews, although they claim to be Christian or are even living as converts, receiving alms as a result of their status – in the case of Prussia, there are several reports about the High Master himself, as well as the bishops of Sambia, providing converts and their families with monetary aid in order to prevent them from returning to the Jewish faith.[28] The name Rumboldus points to the traveller being from either the Low Countries or England, where saints with this name were venerated.[29] In the letters from Lübeck and Visby, on the other hand, "bad Christians" are blamed, and they claim to have been paid and misled by Jews to perform the deeds. In almost all of the sources, the terms "sorcery" and "witchcraft" are used: incantations, whispering words in someone's ear, secret things. Rumboldus is presented as a lone killer, while the other sources suggest a far-reaching Jewish conspiracy. Reasons for the crimes are, in the cases of the bad Christians, money and being bewitched, and in the case of the Jews and converts, hatred of Christians and the wish to enslave them under Jewish rule as revenge for their own present enslavement under Christian rule.

Samuel Cohn has pointed out the social circumstances of anti-Jewish violence during the plague years, most of which was staged by local authorities rather than being spontaneous outbreaks of hatred by the lower classes or peasants.[30] In the Prussian sources, we learn little about the perpetrators – in Visby and Rostock, the urban authorities held the trials, but the accused were Christian foreigners, while in the chronicles, it is not possible to distinguish who killed the Jews. It seems to be obvious, though, that the accused were not well-off merchants, money-lenders, or physicians, but poor people living or travelling in the rural areas: The *Detmar Chronicle* refers to their confessions, in which they identify "the rich Jews in the towns" as the minds behind the conspiracy. Both the Jews and the Christians accused in the Prussian and Hanseatic sources were, as such, poor people and vagrants, and it is likely that this fact was actually the primary incentive for blaming them – the identification with the Jewish religion is very vague in most cases, suggesting that they were probably primarily perceived as social outsiders, not religious outsiders, and were persecuted during the Black Death for that reason, as is known from southern Europe.[31]

28 Cod. dipl. Warm. II (1864), 316–317; *Marienburger Tresslerbuch*, 501, 552.

29 Rumoldi (Rombaldi) ep. Dublinensis, venerated in the dioceses of Utrecht, Lüttich, and Exeter; Rumwoldi, venerated in England. Grotefend 1898.

30 Cohn 2007.

31 Cohn 2007, 9.

Despite all of these sources being chronologically close to the events and considered to be of high historiographic reliability, they do not provide a consistent picture of the spread of the Black Death, particularly as only two of them were directly produced in Prussia, while the others derive from other Hanseatic towns. It is likely that the bubonic plague that hit large parts of Europe also reached Prussia by ship, and possibly also over land from Poland, sometime between 1347 and 1351. It is, however, not possible to connect all the sources mentioned clearly to this specific disease and its spread. There are other sources that also mention a *pestilentia* in these years, but they are all of much later origin, and, in any case, the information they contain about diseases in the years around 1386 and 1427 is much clearer than about the mortalities around 1350. The chronicle by Jan Długosz, from nearby Poland, for example, mentions the Black Death in 1349, along with anti-Jewish violence in Poland and Alemania, but does not mention any Prussian towns among the locations of either the plague or the pogroms.[32] Since earlier scholars and editors of source collections felt more comfortable attributing different reports about diseases from the fourteenth century to the Black Death that occurred around 1350 than we are today, when we consider the state of the research, it is no longer possible to decide whether or not all these sources are addressing the same event. What is obvious, however, is that a number of fourteenth-century sources from Prussia and the Hanseatic towns in the Baltic coastal area connected epidemic diseases to Jews or Jewish converts to Christianity, even if these towns themselves were not party to any anti-Jewish pogroms. It is also obvious that they do not directly report anti-Jewish violence in Prussia during this period, although the Jews were blamed.

There are a number of ways to interpret this. The first one would see the emergence of Jews as scapegoats in Prussia and the Baltic as a sign of this area being a part of a general Christian-European cultural framework, in which anti-Judaism was a formative element. The connection of Jews to sorcery, diseases, poisoning, and conspiracies is well established in the case of southern Europe and the German lands, both before and after the first wave of the bubonic plague, and to the Prussian chroniclers it probably did not seem to be far-fetched to blame non-existing Jews for the fourteenth-century diseases – thus the focus on travellers and vagrants.

However, there is an alternative interpretation that does not presume that there were no Jews in Prussia, as blaming Jews for spreading diseases remains a sign of a shared European framework of anti-Jewish resentment. The focus on travellers and vagrants would suggest that there was no anti-Jewish violence

32 *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales*, fol. 112^{r}.

in the Prussian towns themselves, and that the persons blamed were generally victims or scapegoats because of their status as foreigners, not because they were non-Christian. Overall, the historiographic accounts that mention diseases in the fourteenth century without mentioning Jews by far outnumber the ones presented here that make the connection. During this period, the Teutonic Order and its chroniclers were preoccupied with the consolidation of their territory and the persistent conflicts with the neighbouring Lithuanians – and later, the Poles. After the initial task of Christianizing the Old Prussians was completed, expanding into Lithuanian territory became the primary goal of the Teutonic Order's warfare – and converting Lithuanians the primary objective of its propaganda. Although the Order and the literate Prussian elite – Cistercian monks from Oliva, German town scribes in Braunsberg – certainly shared a common Christian ideology that easily blamed Jews, but they themselves did not see any Jews burnt at the stake, and as the Teutonic Order itself was much more preoccupied with anti-Lithuanian warfare and anti-pagan propaganda, these chroniclers also did not put any particular emphasis on Jews being responsible for diseases. Prussia in the fourteenth century was probably not a good place to be a Jew – but there were much worse places, and there were definitely no good places to be a pagan, if we are to believe the propaganda. "Nur wenn es Streit gab, kam etwas in die Akten [only if there was a conflict, was a record written]" writes Kurt Forstreuter in a later version of his article about the Jews in Prussia.[33] Here again, his conclusions are not the obvious ones – maybe the fact that there are very few conflicts reported between Jews and Christians in Prussia does not mean that there had never been any Jews in the country. Maybe the fact that we lack information about interreligious conflicts and anti-Jewish pogroms in Prussia before the fifteenth century simply means that there were no conflicts between the inhabitants who adhered to different monotheistic beliefs.

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Michalina Duda

7 Jewish Physicians in the Teutonic Order's Prussian State in the Late Middle Ages

7.1 Introduction

There are no records of a Jewish population residing in the State of the Teutonic Order, which existed in medieval Prussia after the thirteenth century. The only exception is Neumark (Nova Marchia), a region that was purchased from King Sigismund of Luxembourg in 1402. This was the result of the Teutonic Order's policy; due to its ongoing Crusades (e.g., the Northern Crusades) Teutonic Knights could not permit followers of other religions to live within their territory.[1] One aspect of the attitude towards Jews on the part of the Order's superiors is reflected with perfect clarity in a letter of 18 May 1442 sent by the commander of Thorn (Toruń), Johann von Beenhausen, to Grand Master Konrad von Erlichshausen. The commander was reporting on talks with the Poles during the convention in Thorn and Nowa Nieszawa.[2] During the meeting, the Poles demanded that Jews who were in the Kingdom of Poland at that time be permitted to run their businesses within the State of the Teutonic Order, with no greater limit being placed upon their activities than was the case for other residents of Poland, as had been formally stipulated by provisions of the 1435 Peace of Brześć Kujawski.[3] The commander, however, was unwilling to agree to that without discussing it with the Grand Master and suggested that he would have an answer for the Poles within three weeks.[4] It would appear that Konrad von Erlichshausen's response was negative. Nothing in known later

1 This contribution comprises a revised and updated English version of an article previously published as "Żydowscy lekarze w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w późnym średniowieczu" in *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów* (2011). – The author would like to thank the journal *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów* for providing permission to use this English version here.
For an overall discussion of this issue, see Nowak 1991, 136–137.

2 It was one of three court arbitration conventions that were to take place on 13 May 1442 in Strasburg (Brodnica), Thorn, and Driesen (Drezdenko). The dates of these conventions and the representatives of both parties were determined at a joint Polish and Teutonic meeting in January 1442. Up to this point, the scholarly literature has incorrectly reported that none of these court sessions took place; see also Szweda 2009, 275–276.

3 See also Weise 1970, 208. It should be noted that this refers to a document held only by the Poles and Lithuanians.

4 GStA PK, OBA 8130.

sources indicates that Jews from Poland were permitted to conduct business in Prussia. Thus, we can safely assume that Jews had restricted access to the Teutonic Order's territory.[5] The situation did not change substantially when the Thirteen Years' War ended in 1466.[6] Nonetheless, it is important to keep in mind that while Jews were not allowed to settle in the State of the Teutonic Order, they were in contact with the locals. The information preserved in fifteenth-century Teutonic sources makes an interesting contribution to our understanding of Jewish physicians in Teutonic Prussia. This will be the focus of what follows.

7.2 Jews as physicians

Jews made a great contribution to the development of medieval medicine, not least by translating and transmitting Greek and Arabic medical texts into Hebrew. These translations were used by Jewish medical practitioners and enabled them to become famous for their knowledge. However, the special esteem enjoyed by Jewish doctors was a result of their activity as practitioners. A relatively large number of Jewish physicians were involved in the treatment of patients.[7] Joseph Shatzmiller has pointed out that although Jews constituted just one percent of medieval society, in certain places and times Jewish physicians accounted for half or more of the medical practitioners.[8] They gained knowledge and experience through frequent contact with patients. Furthermore, travelling between communities and corresponding with rabbis and other physicians were important ways in which they increased their knowledge.[9]

In the Middle Ages, Jewish physicians primarily practised in Jewish communities: This can be seen quite clearly in the cases of the Iberian Peninsula, Italy, and southern France.[10] They needed *licentia practicandi* to practise their profession, and only qualified physicians received a licence.[11] In 1140, King

5 Recent research presents a different perspective on this matter. See also the introduction and Cordelia Heß's article in this volume.
6 See also Nowak 1998, 13.
7 Efron 2001, 15–16.
8 Shatzmiller 1994, 1.
9 Efron 2001, 17.
10 Siraisi 1990, 29. For more on Jewish physicians in the Middle Ages, see, among others, Roth 1953, 834–843; Shatzmiller 1994, 1–139; Jankrift 2004, 139–154.
11 Shatzmiller 1994, 14.

Roger II of Sicily issued the first regulation requiring physicians to pass an obligatory examination. He hoped this would ensure decent medical care for those under his rule. Analogous legislation appeared in other countries over the course of the subsequent centuries: the *Liber Augustalis* enacted by Emperor Frederick II; regulations created by Count Charles of Anjou; provisions established in Florence and in the Kingdom of Valencia.[12] Although these regulations did not generally mention Jews, the fact that there were numerous licensed Jewish physicians practising in Spain, Italy, and France indicates that they adhered to the law.[13]

It is assumed that physicians practising in the Middle Ages had received an education. Where did Jews study? A great number of Jews received their education within the family, with young Jewish men studying with their fathers and their fathers-in-law. This is confirmed by the Jewish physician dynasties that existed, as well as by the contents of marriage agreements. There were, however, also Jews, particularly those who aspired to be surgeons, who paid to study with private teachers. There are sources that suggest there were cases where several families employed one teacher to instruct a group of their children. In this context, it is worth noting that recent research indicates that there were some Jews connected to the medieval European universities. Jews were found on the faculty of the famed school of medicine in Montpellier and at Italian universities, including those in Pavia, Bologna, Padua, and Siena.[14]

Beginning in the thirteenth century, secular and ecclesiastical authorities increasingly banned Jews from treating Christian patients. The prohibition was announced at the synod of Trèves (1227). Subsequently, in 1254, the two synods of Albi ruled that Christians who turned to Jewish physicians for medical treatment would be excommunicated. These regulations were the result of a fear that Jews would block Christians' access to the last rites. Additional hostile bans were put in place in the fourteenth century during the proceedings of the councils of Valladolid (1322), Salamanca (1335), and Avignon (1337).

This was also the point at which secular legislators were at their most restrictive. In 1310, Frederick III of Sicily established punishments for both physicians and patients. On the basis of this regulation, Jews would be imprisoned for at least one year, and Christians for three months. While in prison both Jews and Christians would be restricted to a diet of bread and water; moreover, Jews would see any remuneration and salaries they had received confiscated and donated to the poor. The sense of the edict promulgated by Count Charles

12 Shatzmiller 1994, 14–15; Jankrift 2003, 45–47.
13 See also Shatzmiller 1994, 16–22.
14 See also Shatzmiller 1994, 22–35.

II of Provence in 1306 is much the same. Nonetheless, Jewish physicians did treat Christian patients. In fact, during the Avignon Papacy, the pope availed himself of Jewish physicians.[15] Dozens of Jewish physicians had remarkable careers – at the court of Aragón, for example.[16] Due to a lack of properly qualified people, Jews not infrequently acted as city physicians. Very often commoners also used the medical treatments offered by Jewish physicians. Not being members of a guild, Jews provided a wide range of services. Furthermore, they gave medical assistance at competitive prices and probably filled prescriptions cheaper than Christian pharmacists. In addition, patients were convinced that the unfavourable legal situation of Jewish physicians forced them to perform their duties more carefully than their Christian counterparts.[17]

7.3 Jewish physicians in the State of the Teutonic Order

Jewish physicians were also present in the State of the Teutonic Order in fifteenth-century Prussia. Sources from former Teutonic Order Grand Masters' archives currently gathered in Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin-Dahlem allow us to point to two Jewish physicians temporarily present in the Teutonic Knights' State in Prussia. The first, named Meyen, passed through Prussia in 1446 and visited the territory again in 1448 and 1449. The second, Jacob, was in contact with the Teutonic Knights as a diplomat of Polish official Mikołaj Szarlejski. Tham von Hochberg, personal physician of Grand Master Martin Truchsess, will also be discussed below. Tham probably did not have Jewish roots, but his opponents intended to destroy his reputation by accusing him of being a Jewish convert.

7.3.1 Meyen

The first Jewish physician present in Prussia can be found in a historical source dating to 12 December 1446. On that date, in Bittau (Bytów), Grand Master Konrad von Erlichshausen provided safe conduct for a Poznań-based Jewish physician named Meyen. This document allowed the physician to safely enter

15 See also Siraisi 1990, 29–30; Shatzmiller 1994, 90–93.
16 See also Shatzmiller 1994, 56–77.
17 Efron 2001, 36–37.

the State of the Teutonic Order and remain there for a specified period, after which he was free to leave unhindered – however with one stipulation: He could not work as a physician.[18] The fact that the Teutonic Order's superior explicitly forbad Meyen to provide any medical advice during his stay in the State of the Teutonic Order might be the result of mistrust or of prejudice against Jews and their practices. In any case, the short period of safe conduct, dating from its issuance until 14 February of the following year – i.e., slightly more than two months – seems to corroborate the claim that this document probably only entitled the Jew to pass through the Teutonic Order's territory and made a longer stay impossible. That safe conduct was issued at the castle in Bittau, located near the border, suggests the possibility that Meyen was making his way to or from the Duchy of Pomerania – later sources support this conjecture.

In all probability, it is the same Jewish physician who appears in other sources. Despite a certain inconsistency with the name (Meyne,[19] Meyen,[20] Meiger,[21] Meygen,[22] Maher[23]) and his place of residence, it seems reasonable to presume that this is the physician named Meiger from Nowa Nieszawa in Cuiavia (Kujawy), who was first mentioned in historical sources in 1448.[24] At that point, Nowa Nieszawa had only been part of the Kingdom of Poland for a brief time – since the 1422 Treaty of Melno. Previously, it had been a part of the State of the Teutonic Order. When a trade centre competing with nearby Thorn had developed in Nowa Nieszawa under the rule of the Polish king, Polish Jews had settled there. The fact that Meiger lived in Poznań in 1446, and relocated to Nowa Nieszawa in 1448 would seem to corroborate the claim that the Jews in Nowa Nieszawa had originally come from Greater Poland.[25]

As previously mentioned, historical references to Meyen are also found in sources dated 1448–1449. The entry book of the Grand Master's chancery indi-

18 GStA PK, OF 16, 299.

19 GStA PK, OF 16, 299.

20 GStA PK, OF 17, 179–180. It should be noted that in the document register providing the content of the 1449 safe conduct, there was an additional abbreviated form of this name, "Mey" (Hubatsch and Joachim 1948, no. 9829). It is difficult to determine why the editors used it.

21 GStA PK, OBA 9561.

22 GStA PK, OF 17, 809.

23 GStA PK, OBA 9842.

24 For additional information about this individual, see Jóźwiak 2002, 44–47; Broda 2011, 436–440; Jóźwiak and Trupinda 2011, 265–266.

25 For additional information about the relations between the Jews of Nowa Nieszawa and the Jews of Poznań, see Jóźwiak 2002, 42–44.

cates that safe conduct was granted on 27 January 1449 by the Teutonic Order's superior in Elbing (Elbląg) and was valid until 1 June 1449. It guaranteed – on behalf of the authorities, officials, and subjects – complete legal immunity and safe round-trip passage on a specifically determined route between Thorn and Marienburg (Malbork). This document applied to the Jewish physician 'Meyen' and his travelling companion, also a Jew.[26] Two weeks previously (14 January 1449), Grand Master Konrad von Erlichshausen had requested that the castellan of Kruszwica, Jan Kretkowski, who was also the starost of Cuiavia, send Meygen, a Jew and physician based in Nowa Nieszawa, to Prussia, at the fervent request of the Prussian knight Hans von Baysen,[27] who wished to engage his professional medical services. The Order's superior promised to issue safe conduct for the physician and his companion, who was also a Jew, so that they could proceed safely to Marienburg. He also forbad them to stay in any other large towns within the State of the Teutonic Order.[28] The letter clearly referred to an educated Jewish physician from Nowa Nieszawa. The dates of both of these documents, as well as a similar travel route and the similar names, prove that the physician in question was Meyen. There is, however, room for doubt as to his place of residence, since in 1449 Konrad von Erlichshausen requested the help of a physician from Nowa Nieszawa, while the bearer of the safe conduct issued in 1446, Meyen, was a resident of Poznań. We can safely assume, in any case, that Meyen had moved from Poznań to Nowa Nieszawa after 1446. He probably moved before 17 June 1448, since that was the date of the letter sent by the Teutonic Order's official in Bittau to the Grand Master, mentioning the "magister Meiger der Yeden, der zcu Diebaw wonnt [Master Meiger the Jew who resides in Dybowo (this is the name that was used in some sources for Nowa Nieszawa)]", located across the border from Thorn.[29] Moreover, Meiger must certainly have been educated, as the letter referred to him as 'Master'. Despite the fact that his name was spelled differently, there is no doubt that the letter refers to the same person.

The 1448 letter, written by a Teutonic official from Bittau, seems to indicate that on this occasion the physician Meyen and a knight from Pomerania, Ludwik Massow, were sent to Marienburg by Jarosław, the Duchy of Słupsk's bailiff. The Teutonic official expressed the hope that they would be of service to the Grand Master, but did not specify the nature of the service in question.[30]

26 GStA PK, OF 17, 179–180.

27 Hans von Baysen was a knight from the Osterode (Ostróda) region who suffered from rheumatism and related ailments. See Biskup 1992, 70–72.

28 GStA PK, OF 17, 809.

29 GStA PK, OBA 9561.

30 GStA PK, OBA 9561.

However, it seems likely that he required a medical consultation. Previous research connects the presence of Master Meyen in the Duchy of Słupsk with medical services: He subsequently travelled to the capital of the State of the Teutonic Order. Sławomir Jóźwiak assumed that the Jew from Nowa Nieszawa was treating Eric I of Pomerania, the dethroned king of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, who was nearly 70 at the time.[31] However, it is not clear that Eric I of Pomerania was living in the Duchy of Słupsk in 1448, as he had been residing in Gotland since 1438. According to Antoni Czacharowski, following the death of Bogusław IX in 1446, Eric moved to Darłowo.[32] Recent literature, however, tells us that Eric I may not have left Gotland until as late as 1449.[33] The presence of Meyen within the area of the Duchy of Pomerania in 1448, which is confirmed by historical sources, seems to corroborate an earlier assumption that in 1446 he was practising medicine in that territory.

The historical sources do not allow us to specify the length of Master Meyen's stay in Marienburg in 1448. In early 1449, there is mention of the physician being present in Nowa Nieszawa. Three sources from that period include information about Master Meyen. The earliest is the aforementioned 14 January 1449 letter, sent by Konrad von Erlichshausen to starost Jan Kretkowski, asking the latter to send the physician.[34] Another reference to the physician can be found in the copy of the 27 January 1449 safe conduct issued for Meyen, which was preserved in the entry book kept by the Grand Master's chancery.[35] The last and most extensive reference to the nature of Meyen's journey to Prussia is found in starost Jan Kretkowski's 11 February 1449 reply to Konrad von Erlichshausen. Kretkowski accepted the request of the Teutonic Order's superior and agreed to send Master Meyen to the Grand Master.[36] While travelling to Marienburg – as we read in the letter – Meyen was to stop in Thorn to begin treating Hans von Baysen. Therefore, Kretkowski – as his letter to the Grand Master made explicit – informed the local commander that if the knight from Prussia came to Thorn, he would need to provide him with appropriate accommodation for Meyen to begin the patient's treatment. However, Hans von Baysen did

31 Jóźwiak 2002, 45–46.
32 Czacharowski 1981, 100.
33 Rymar 2005, 332.
34 GStA PK, OF 17, 809.
35 GStA PK, OF 17, 179–180.
36 GStA PK, OBA 9842. In this source, the name of the Jewish physician appears in another form: Maher. Nonetheless, the date the letter was issued (a month later than the letter of the Grand Master), and the information it contained make it perfectly clear that it was a reply to Konrad von Erlichshausen's request, and thus referred to the same Jewish physician. See also GStA PK, OF 17, 809.

not come to Thorn,[37] so Kretkowski sent Meyen directly to the capital of the State of the Teutonic Order. He was accompanied by the burgher and nobleman Mikołaj Scharar, a member of the starost's household.[38] Although – as earlier letters of the Grand Master seem to imply – the safe conduct was issued for two Jews, neither the starost's letter nor scholarly findings regarding Mikołaj Scharar suggest that Meyen's companion was a Jew. In the further section of his letter, the starost of Cuiavia asked the Grand Master to guarantee safety and immunity for the Jewish physician on his return trip. He also wished Konrad von Erlichshausen good health and blessings.[39]

In previous scholarship, this information has led to the erroneous assumption that the aim of Meyen's stay in Marienburg was to treat the Order's superior.[40] In fact, this supposition cannot be confirmed. It should be emphasized that in his letter the Grand Master was asking for medical consultation for Hans von Baysen.[41] Although Kretkowski's wishes of good health might create the impression that Master Meyen was to treat the Order's superior in Marienburg,[42] there is no evidence to corroborate this assumption. Kretkowski's good wishes might simply be a slightly unconventional conclusion to a letter. We have to consider the alternate assumption that Meyen went to Marienburg to treat Hans von Baysen, not the Grand Master. Keep in mind that it was the Prussian knight who encouraged Konrad von Erlichshausen to request that the starost of Cuiavia send the Jewish physician. Moreover, in the 14 January 1449 letter, the Grand Master made no mention of a short stay on the part of the physician in Thorn, nor he did not permit the physician to stop in any of the Teutonic Order's towns. He simply indicated that his safe conduct would secure Meyen's safe trip to Marienburg.[43] Thorn was mentioned in the second letter, written nearly two weeks later (27 January 1449) as an alternate destina-

37 Jóźwiak (2002, 46) presumed that the fact that Hans von Baysen was not in Thorn was likely the result of his poor health.

38 Most probably this refers to Niclos (Mikołaj) Scharar, a burgher from Rypin, who was native of Thorn. In the sources, he has been identified with a secret informer from the Teutonic Order, who was active in the Kingdom of Poland in 1442–1453, and who was using pseudonyms, such as N. S. and N. S. Arman. The relations between Scharar and the starost of Cuiavia confirm this assumption in this source. Therefore, we know that N. S. Arman was a member of Jan Kretkowski's son Andrzej's retinue in November 1452 and was one of King Władysław Jagiełło's widow's attendents, Zofia Holszańska. See also Jóźwiak 2005, 47–52; Broda 2011, 439.

39 GStA PK, OBA 9842.

40 Jóźwiak 2002, 45.

41 GStA PK, OF 17, 809.

42 Jóźwiak (2002, 46) ascribed a very similar purpose to Meyen's visit at the Grand Master's court in Marienburg in 1448.

43 GStA PK, OF 17, 809.

tion. The letter specified that Meyen and his companion were to go to Thorn, and then on to the capital of the State of the Teutonic Order.[44] This information is supplemented by Kretkowski's letter informing the Grand Master that as Hans von Baysen had not come to Thorn, he would send the Jewish physician to the Grand Master's court.[45] Therefore, we can assume that the ailing knight was waiting for Meyen in Marienburg or intended to go there. There are, however, no historical sources to corroborate this conjecture.

Regardless of who it was that Meyen was to treat in Marienburg, the effort undertaken to facilitate his trip to Marienburg reflects a high degree of respect for his medical skills. It appears that Meyen's reputation led to numerous well-paid trips abroad to practise medicine. These trips might have been behind the physician's decision to relocate from Poznań to Nowa Nieszawa, which was situated across from Thorn. His move to this border town certainly facilitated his trips within the Teutonic Order's territory, and also shortened the distance to both Marienburg and the Duchy of Pomerania. He might also have been encouraged to move by other factors, such as the opportunity to live in an economically thriving, though still developing, town, which would have been attractive to a resourceful person, or a desire to join other members of the Jewish population who had left Poznań shortly before and settled in Nowa Nieszawa.[46]

7.3.2 Jacob

Another Jewish physician active in medieval Prussia was a man named Jacob. References found in historical sources leave no doubts about his profession and indicate his Jewish background. In letters, he was referred to as "Jacobus Judeus medicus [the Jew Jacob the doctor]".[47] Yet, his stays in the State of the Teutonic Order were not connected with medical services, or at least there is no evidence that this was the case. This physician acted as an intermediary in secret negotiations between Mikołaj Szarlejski, the starost of Bydgoszcz, as well as the voivode of Brześć-Cuiavia, and Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen. In the face of an imminent internal conflict with the Prussian Confed-

44 GStA PK, OF 17, 179–180.
45 GStA PK, OBA 9842.
46 For more on the development of Nowa Nieszawa in the first half of the fifteenth century, the settlement of the Jewish population in this town, and its origin, see Jóźwiak 2002, 40–44; Jóźwiak 2004, 42.
47 GStA PK, OBA 12688, 12708.

eration, the Teutonic Order hoped to win favour with the Polish official who had authority over the border area. The role performed by the starost's physician is explained in two letters of authorization prepared by Szarlejski. The first was issued on 6 January 1454 in Bydgoszcz.[48] With the document in hand, the physician made a short trip to the capital of the Teutonic Order's Prussian State. Following this first trip, Jacob probably went to Włocławek, where Marian Biskup assumes the starost of Bydgoszcz was staying. The latter was probably on his way to meet King Casimir IV Jagiellon. Szarlejski listened to Jacob's report and received recommendations from the Order's superior (unfortunately, we do not know what they were). Most probably, the voivode accepted them.[49] On 11 January 1454, the voivode issued another letter of authorization for the physician, once again sending him to Marienburg.[50] Before the end of the negotiations conducted by Jacob in the capital of the State of the Teutonic Order, it was agreed that Szarlejski would stay at the Teutonic castle in Althaus (Starogród), near Culm (Chełmno). Moreover, Ludwig von Erlichshausen used the Jewish physician to deliver the starost a letter with a draft of the agreement enclosed. In accordance with that draft, in the event of confederates in Prussia taking up arms against the Teutonic Order, the voivode would side with the Teutonic Order. Moreover, Szarlejski was to prevent the recruiting of mercenaries from the Kingdom of Poland and to impede regular troops from other areas from marching through the territory of Cuiavia. He was also obliged to send armed knights to the aid of the Teutonic Order within four weeks of a request to that effect. Furthermore, if necessary, the starost was to place the stronghold in Bydgoszcz at the Grand Master's disposal. For his part, Ludwig von Erlichshausen, if he deemed it reasonable, promised to make the castle in Althaus available to the Polish official. The Order's superior also demanded that, if need be, Szarlejski would seek to influence the king and the Polish nobility in matters related to the State of the Teutonic Order.[51]

On the basis of the 22 January 1454 letter from the Althaus commander to the Schwetz (Świecie) commander, we can ascertain that Jacob was in Althaus at that time,[52] possibly to continue negotiations with the Teutonic Order on Szarlejski's behalf. However, there are no surviving sources that allow us to reconstruct the course of these negotiations – perceived in the scholarly litera-

48 GStA PK, OBA 12688.
49 Biskup 1959, 216–218.
50 GStA PK, OBA 12708; Biskup 1959, 216–217.
51 GStA PK, OBA 12724; Biskup 1959, 217–218.
52 GStA PK, OBA 12740; Biskup 1959, 218.

ture as having been held solely for the sake of appearance[53] – or to determine whether or not the Jewish physician was involved in them.

To sum up, the existing sources provide information about actions undertaken by the Jewish physician as an intermediary in secret talks. While we cannot exclude the possibility that Jacob also provided medical advice while carrying out his diplomatic mission in Prussia, there are no available sources that provide evidence of him doing so.

7.3.3 Tham von Hochberg

When discussing Jewish physicians in the State of the Teutonic Order, it is worth mentioning Doctor Tham von Hochberg. We cannot be certain of his Jewish origin. Moreover, in previous research doubts were mistakenly raised as to whether he was a physician at all.[54] However, source material confirms that Hochberg took the position of personal physician to Grand Master Martin Truchsess in 1485.[55] In the same year, acting as the Grand Master's doctor, Hochberg accompanied Martin Truchsess to the convention in Thorn.[56] Later, for unknown reasons, he ceased his cooperation with the Grand Master's court. Afterwards, in March 1487, Doctor Tham von Hochberg sent a long letter to Grand Master Martin Truchsess offering his services. From this letter, we can infer that Hochberg, then residing in Thorn, knew that the Order's superior did not have a *doctor*[57] and sought to win favour, sending four or five letters. He made it clear, however, that he was not sure whether or not the Grand Master had received the earlier letters, as he only replied to the last one. Even that one had been addressed to Nuremberg and did not directly reach the recipient, who was in Thorn at that time. It is likely that the problems with communication were no accident: Hochberg – as an analysis of the letter indicates – did

53 Marian Biskup (1959, 218–219) presumed that these negotiations were meant to conceal Mikołaj Szarlejski's true intentions. This supposition seems even more credible in view of the fact that as early as on 25 March 1454 the starost of Bydgoszcz, while serving at the Prussian Confederation, issued a declaration letter (GStA PK, OBA 12894).

54 Probst 1969, 172.

55 GStA PK, OF 281, 91.

56 GStA PK, OF 18a, 152.

57 The source refers to the fact that the Grand Master might not have had a 'doctor' at this point (GStA PK, OBA 17311). The term 'doctor' here does not necessarily refer to a physician, but could simply mean an educated person with a university degree. However, according to the other source (GStA PK, OF 281, 91), there is no doubt, that here the term should be understood to mean a person with a medical education.

not have a very good reputation with the Grand Master's court in Königsberg (Kaliningrad).

Hochberg vehemently protested the rumours that were circulating about him. He insisted that suspicions that he was born out of wedlock or was a baptized Jew, as well as other slanderous claims being made about him, were only meant to damage his reputation. As a result, he asked for an opportunity to address the accusations and slander, and thereby refute his accusers. In the event that his services were rejected, Hochberg asked to be allowed to send a servant to deliver his response. He also asked for safe conduct to Königsberg (probably to address the accusations). Hochberg also informed that he was going to remain in Gdańsk, Poland, from where he would travel to the capital of the State of the Teutonic Order.[58]

Christian Probst has concluded that Hochberg was not employed at the Grand Master's court, because he is never again mentioned in the available sources. The safe conduct that the physician requested from the Order's superior also warrants consideration. The difficulties posed by the handwriting of the preserved letter are significant obstacles to reading and translating this document, which creates uncertainty as to the accuracy of the interpretation of some of its sections. It seems, however, that this safe conduct was meant to enable Hochberg to travel safely to Königsberg. It is, however, unclear why he was attempting to obtain safe conduct. He claimed he was not a Jew, although rumour had it that he was a baptized Jew. It is, however, well established that a convert could freely travel in the State of the Teutonic Order without this document to guarantee his safety. Most probably, he felt unsafe because the rumours about him were common knowledge. He likely applied for the safe conduct, not because it was indispensable, but because it would guarantee him a safe journey.

7.4 Conclusion

The appearance of the aforementioned persons within the Teutonic Order's territory in the fifteenth century would seem to confirm that the Teutonic Knights were willing to accept the temporary presence of Jewish physicians in Prussia. Meyen's previously discussed visits to the State of the Teutonic Order in 1448 and 1449 were probably related to the provision of medical services and reflect a recognition of his professional skills, even if, in 1449, he was obliged to travel

58 GStA PK, OBA 17311.

along a pre-determined route that did not include the larger towns. We should also keep in mind the fact that in 1446, when he was passing through the State of the Teutonic Order on his way to the Duchy of Pomerania, the Order's supreme authorities categorically denied him the right to practise medicine. The attitude towards the physician Jacob would undoubtedly have been different, because he was playing a diplomatic role as the Polish starost's representative when he visited medieval Prussia in 1454, and as a result, the Teutonic knights were obliged to show him the respect due his position. The last physician mentioned above, Tham von Hochberg, had a distinct relationship with the Order's supreme authorities. He was initially the Grand Master's physician, but seems to have lost his post and become the object of the Teutonic Order's disapproval. He claimed that there was a hostile clique in Königsberg that, among other things, accused him of being a baptized Jew, preventing him from regaining a position at the Grand Master's court.

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OBA = Ordensbriefarchiv, 8130, 9561, 9842, 12688, 12708, 12724, 12740, 12894, 17311.
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Krzysztof Kwiatkowski

8 The Muslim People of Desht-i Qipchaq in Fifteenth-Century Prussia

8.1 Prolegomenon

Late medieval Prussia, stretching across the southern Baltic coast from a small river called the Leba in the west beyond the estuary of the Memel (Nemunas) in the east,[1] was a heterogeneous country, both governmentally and culturally dominated by the Teutonic Order.[2] The military order arrived in the area in c. 1230, and over the subsequent fifty years gained control of the Baltic communities between the lower Vistula and Pregel (Pregoła),[3] laying the foundation for its dominion (*Herrschaft*) over the area, which, as the fourteenth century progressed, increasingly took on the form of territorial dominion (*Landesherrschaft*).[4] At the same time, the Order established a specific socio-political system based both on a growing network of settlements and on the social interactions between various communities and individuals.[5] Beginning with Reinhard Wenskus' study from 1975,[6] it has become increasingly clear that this socio-political system was not of a 'colonial nature', with one foreign ethnic group establishing predominance, as Karol Górski had previously claimed,[7] but was made up of a multi-ethnic network with relatively complex and dynamic relations. Subsequent detailed studies addressing different aspects have shed additional light on this reality.[8] In 2008, Jürgen Sarnowsky published a comparative depiction of the functioning of multi-ethnic societies in the fifteenth century in Prussia and on Rhodes. In the case of the Greek island, religious diversity also played a role in how multi-ethnicity was understood.[9]

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1 Regarding the development of this term cf. Maschke 1970, 158–165.

2 Militzer 2005, 63–77, 95–111, 143–152; Sarnowsky 2007, 35–51, 72–76, 81–86, 89–98.

3 Ewald 1872–1886; Zajączkowski 1935, 5–30; Labuda 2000, 162–185, 202–210; Boockmann 1994, 93–113.

4 Wenskus 1986a; generally also: Militzer 2005, 72–77, 107–111; Sarnowsky, 2007, 42–47.

5 I recently addressed this aspect of the Teutonic Order's rule in the first section of my dissertation, see Kwiatkowski 2013.

6 Wenskus 1986b (originally published 1975).

7 Górski 1938, 55–56; Górski 1946, 13; Górski 1977, 9; the Italian edition of the study, Górski 1971, 15; and Górski 1976, 13–31; Górski 1986, 22–23, 29, 69–70, 77; Łowmiański 1989, 125–126.

8 Czaja 1995b, 9–34; Czaja 1995a, 111–123; Czaja 2000, 57–76; Czaja 1999, 111–177; Souhr 2009, 7–37; Kubon 2012, 98–118; Kwiatkowski 2009a, 170–176, 184–186; Kwiatkowski 2009b, 25–28.

9 Sarnowsky 2006/2008, 175–187.

In the earlier Prussian studies addressed by Sarnowsky, three main ethnic groups inhabiting and colonizing late medieval Prussia were juxtaposed: a German-speaking population that came primarily from the Lower, the Middle, and the Rhine region of the *Reich*;[10] Slavic people, primarily Pomeranian, Mazovian, and Polish;[11] and indigenous Baltic people.[12] In the 1940s, Henryk Łowmiański provided an estimate of the size of each of these groups in the early fifteenth century – a Germanic population of 190,000 (200,000), a Slavic population of 130,000 (140,000), and a Baltic population of approximately 140,000.[13] Among the Baltic tribes, both native Old Prussians and Jatvingians, as well as Samogitians who came from the east, and Lithuanians,[14] there were some who maintained local, tribal pagan cult practices. It has, however, proven impossible to provide an accurate estimate of their numbers.

Does this brief outline of the threefold ethnic division and twofold religious division accurately depict the reality of late medieval Prussian settlement, ethnicity, and religion? It can undoubtedly be seen as an accurate reflection of the significance of those particular ethnic groups and religious divisions in the Prussian region, but it nonetheless lacks precision. In addition to the dominant German minority,[15] extant sources confirm the presence in fifteenth-century Prussia of people from other ethnic groups and religious traditions. Besides Catholic Englishmen,[16] partially Christianized Baltic Kurs/Curonians,[17] and Or-

10 Zajączkowski 1935, 34–35, 38; Penners 1942 (among others pp. 46–96, 138–157); Jasiński 1999, 95–110; Boockmann 1994, 118, 125, 132; Wenta 1987 (for a concrete example); Biskup 2000, 316–318; Długokęcki 2008a, 200–204.

11 See for example Zajączkowski 1935, 39, 43, 44–50 (includes references to older literature); Penners 1942, 162–166; Wenskus 1986b, 367–370; Biskup 2000, 320–322; Schumacher 1977, 72; Małłek 2003, 438–440; Długokęcki 2008a, 210–211, 217.

12 Zajączkowski 1935, 39, 43, 49 (includes references to older literature); Łowmiański 1989, 156–158; Penners 1942, 166–168; Wenskus 1986b, 355–364; Wenskus 1986c, 245–298); Biskup 2000, 322–324; Długokęcki 2008a, 205–205, 208, 211–212.

13 Łowmiański 1989, 160; Powierski 1981, 138–139; Biskup 2000, 367–368; Boockmann 1994, 111; Sarnowsky 2007, 41–42. Data provided by Boockmann 1995, 138; Sarnowsky 2006/2008, 176, claims there were about 140,000 Prussians, 103,000 German-speaking people, and 27,000 Polish-speaking inhabitants c. 1400 in the area of the old ethnic Prussia and Chełmno Land – the authors made a mistake, which unfortunately leads to misunderstandings. It should be noted that all of the estimates were based on fragmentary settlement studies (for particular areas), with the results transposed to other areas, or were based on very general estimates of the overall population density across the country.

14 Mortensen 1927, 177–195; Mortensen 1933, 134–137; Zajączkowski 1935, 51–52; Wenskus 1986b, 372–374; Schumacher 1977, 72; Długokęcki 2008b, 382–383; Małłek 2003, 440; Jähnig 1999, 75–94; Vercamer 2010, 286–287.

15 Sarnowsky 2006/2008, 177.

16 Penners 1942, 51, 53, 65, 68, 73, 78, 83; Jenks 1985, 105–120.

17 Mortensen and Mortensen 1938, 144–146, 147–149, 173–175; Długokęcki 2008b, 382–383.

thodox Ruthenians,[18] there is evidence of the presence of Islamic Tatars. The Teutonic Order in Prussia, and its territorial dominion ([*Landes*]*Herrschaft*) of Prussia, is usually, and largely accurately, associated with a 'holy war' against pagans on the far edges of the then Western Christian ecumene.[19] In this context, the Muslims mentioned in the title referred to in relation to Prussia might in some cases be the marauding Mongolian army, which by the second half of the thirteenth century may have occasionally reached the southern edges of Prussia.[20] Alternatively, it might refer to Cuman (Qipchaq)[21] and Tatar allies of the grand dukes of Lithuania and Polish kings during the wars waged against the Order in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries (1330, 1410, 1414, 1422, 1519–1521).[22] Indeed, the Mongolian Muslims, who occasionally appeared alongside Jagiellonian troops in Prussia, served a significant propaganda purpose in the Order's efforts to present itself as 'the shield of Christianity'.[23] They allowed the Order to present its actions in an even more virtuous light. Not only did it stand against the Baltic pagans, the superficially converted Lithuanian Christians, the Russian schismatics, and their traitorous Polish Catholic supporters, but it also stood against the infidels – the followers of Allah – who rushed to their aid.[24]

18 Mortensen and Mortensen 1937, 192; Mortensen and Mortensen 1938, 110–111 and nn. 465, 470–471; Schumacher 1977, 72; Długokęcki 2008b, 381; Vercamer 2010, 286.

19 Weise 1963–1964, 426–456, 401–410; Boockmann 1975, 50–129; Kwiatkowski 2013, 96–97.

20 FTAP, 62; ChTP, 469; Töppen 1861, 148, n. 2; Maercker 1899–1900, 134; Krakowski 1956, 205, 210–212, 215–219; Wyrozumski 1982, 83, 84; Sarnowsky 1994, 257 and n. 26; Czarciński 1994, 35; Tyszkiewicz 1989, 103, 105–107, Tyszkiewicz 2008e, 32–33; Żmudzki 2000, 448, 454–457.

21 On the Muslim religion of the Cumans in the fourteenth century, see Vásáry 2005; Golden 2003; Horváth 1989.

22 Regarding the 1330 campaign, see FTAP, 58; Detmar, 58; regarding the fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century wars, see Biskup 1993, 50, 58, 59, 60, 67, 74, 75, 78, 86, 91, 103, 105, 127, 274–275, 280, 281, 293, 295, 297; Tyszkiewicz 1988, 86–87; Tyszkiewicz 1989, 158, 159, 183, 187–188, 190–200; Tyszkiewicz 1991, 62, 107–115; Tyszkiewicz 2008a, 142–148; Tyszkiewicz 2008b, 71–87; Tyszkiewicz 2008c, 114, 118–122.

23 Boockmann 1975, 86–89, 90–101; Hoffmann 1965, 69; Sarnowsky 1998, 114; Souhr 2012.

24 From the early 1390s, but particularly following the defeat of the Crusader army in the Battle of Nicopolis (25 September 1396), the Prussian Branch of the Order was increasingly interested in acquiring land in Serbia and Transylvania (in particular, in Burzenland), to improve the Order's access to the 'Turkish frontline', responding to Poland's and Lithuania's allegations, see Joachim 1911, 3; Sarnowsky 1994, 260; Sarnowsky 1998, 114–115. In the years 1429–1432, the Order was militarily active in the area of Banat, see Joachim 1911, 10–19; Forstreuter 1936, 259–260; Hoffmann 1965, 74; Boockmann, 1975, 70–71; Sarnowsky 1994, 261; Thumser 2000, 142–143.

The above-mentioned passing military presence of Muslims in late medieval Prussia represents only one aspect of a wider phenomenon, which also has facets unrelated to war and confrontation. The written source material, of which a significant amount from the late fourteenth century through the first three decades of the fifteenth century has been preserved, confirms the presence of people of a Muslim origin in Prussia for reasons unrelated to war. Information, although scarce, can be found in a Prussian chronicle written by a Pomesanian judicial vicar during the first quarter of the fifteenth century.[25] The second type of source material that includes data relevant to this analysis are the records of Teutonic Order provenance related to the management of their dominion and to communication between officials, the latter including letters[26] and various administrative books[27] from the early fifteenth century.

This essay is concerned with the insufficiently examined long-term presence of a population of Muslim origin in the Prussian Land. Such issues as the reasons for and circumstances of the Muslim population's appearance, their numbers, the forms and durability of their settlements, the role they played in the political and social system of the dominion, and finally acculturation and its determinants, have all become key points of interest. An attempt will be made to place this phenomenon in the context of the multi-ethnic and bi-cultural structure of Prussian society in the Late Middle Ages.

8.2 The circumstances of arrival and the sites of settlement

Both the Pomesanian judicial vicar's chronicle of and the records of the so-called *Marienburger Tresslerbuch*[28] attest to the presence of people known as *Tatern* and *Tataren* in Prussia. The first records date back to 1402. In the chronicle describing the Lithuanian and Samogitian attack on Ragnit (Neman), which

25 Posilge, 79–388. The origin of this written record is controversial; previously it was assigned to the canon, Johann von Posilge, but another hypothesis claims the work for Johann von Redden; more recently, it has been suggested that the author of this work is a certain Peter, who held the office of the chapter official, see Wenta 1990, 16–29; Wenta 2000, 237–239; Päsler 2003, 284–290; Mentzel-Reuters 2013, 93–96.

26 GStA PK, Altfindmittel, Fotokopie; Regesta I; Kloosterhuis 2006, 97; Sarnowsky 2001, 174–175; Boockmann 1998, 108.

27 See Kloosterhuis 2006, 97–99; Sarnowsky 2001, 177–183 (a source of older literature).

28 Joachim 1896, iv–vi; Klein 1904; Klein 1905; Müller 2001; Kloosterhuis 2006, 112; E. 31. Marienburger Treßlerbuch.

took place shortly before 25 December 1402, there is mention of the burning of a brickyard and a *Hackelwerk*,[29] i.e., a quasi-*suburbium*, near the castle. During the attack 'certain Tatars', who had presumably been stationed in the *Hackelwerk* by the commander of Ragnit, were taken captive.[30] The question arises: Where did these 'Tatars' come from and what ethnicity does the term actually represent? Analysis of the onomastic material in the Pomesanian judicial vicar's chronicle indicates that we are indeed dealing with people of Tatar origin. The ethnonym 'Tatars' was not used in this chronicle to describe various eastern peoples in general, as was quite common in the Latin cultural milieu of the 1230s through the 1260s, and continued to be prevalent in various Latin circles in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[31] At the turn of the fourteenth to the fifteenth century, this term was used by the Pomesanian author in relation to various Tatar-Turkish communities[32] living in the Pontic-Caspian steppe

29 Regarding the etymology and meaning of the term, see Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch III, 589a Zurkalowski 1906, 21 and n. 2; in reference to *Hackelwerk* in Ragnit, see Weber 1878, 541; Clasen-Sandt 1931, 200; Mortensen and Mortensen 1938, 109–110.

30 Posilge, 263:

> Item korczlich vor wynachten qwomen die Littowin und Samaythin vor Rangnith das hus und vorbrantin die czygelschune und das hachelwerk, und trebin weg gefangen etliche *Tatern*, die der kompthur do gesatzt hatte, und ouch die ochsin
>
> [Item shortly before Christmas Lithuanians and Samogitians appeared in Ragnit, in front of the castle, and burned the brick barn and the *Hackelwerk*, and abducted some *Tatars* previously settled there by the commander, as well as the oxen]

See also Weber 1878, 541; Mortensen and Mortensen 1938, 110. Regarding the Lithuanian-Samogitian attack on Ragnit, see Clasen-Sandt 1931, 206.

31 Bezzola 1974, 31, 41, 43–53, 57–65, 82–89, 100–109, 201–209; Connell 1973; Klopprogge 1993, 153–180, 214–216, 222–234; Schmieder 1994, 22–23, 66–72, 122–128, 201–247, 323–326; Grabski 1994, 34–53; Strzelczyk 2004a, 101–103, 108; Strzelczyk 2003, 230–231; Strzelczyk 1993, 60; Jackson 2005, 59, 136–147; Fried 1986, 318–320; von den Brincken 1975, 117–138; Tyszkiewicz 1989, 82. Regarding a much smaller number of genuine records about Mongols/Tatars and the problems they faced gaining acceptance among the elites of the period, see Jackson 2005, 329–357; Klopprogge 1993, 222–223, 243–247; Schmieder 1994, 55–66; Fried 1986, 321–332; Strzelczyk 2004b, 241; Strzelczyk 2004a, 107–109 (these works include additional literature of the subject).

32 Posilge, 114–115 (the Battle of Kulikovo, 8 September 1380); 283 (Tatars supporting Grand Duke of Moscow Vasily I Dmitriyevich in 1406); 291 (Tatars supporting Grand Duke of Moscow Vasily I Dmitriyevich in 1407); 307 (Tatars supporting Grand Duke of Lithuania Alexander Vytautas in 1409); 314 (Tatars in Alexander Vytautas' army in 1410); 317 (Tatars at the Battle of Grunwald, 15 July 1410); 320 (Tatars in the grand duke's army near Marienburg in 1410); 340 (Tatars with Vlachs in Alexander Vytautas' army in 1414); 345 (Tatars in Prussia in 1414); 348 (Tatars encamped in Mazovia in 1414); 364 and 366 (internal Tatar struggles in 1416); 369 (Polish King Władysław II's negotiations with the Tatars in 1416/1417); 382 (Tatars in Alexander Vytautas' army in 1419).

(Desht-i Qipchaq) between the northern shores of the Black Sea in the west and the region of the Aral Sea in the east.[33] The communities formed in this vast area as part of the new cultural system created by the Mongolian elite (including members of the Tatar and Mongol tribes) during the second half of the thirteenth century through the fourteenth century were quite ethnically diverse. The origins of these communities included the Turkish Cumans/Qipchaqs (Kipchaks), the Mongolian Tatars, the Caucasian Alans, and the Nogais, who were of both Mongolian and Turkish extraction.[34] In the fourteenth century, the communities were linked by three cultural factors: 1) elements of the elite Mongolian culture that arrived with the Mongolian clans in the mid-thirteenth century; 2) the Qipchaq Turkish language, and 3) the spread of Islam beginning in the mid-thirteenth century.[35] As a result of their cultural continuity, by the turn of the fourteenth to the fifteenth century the nomads of Desht-i Qipchaq were uniformly referred to as 'Tatars', with their language also resulting in them being called 'Qipchaqs'.[36]

The political, economic, and cultural centre of the communities that existed as part of the Mongolian Golden Horde's political system at the time – a system rife with internal conflict[37] – was located between the lower Don River and the lower Volga River (with New Sarai/Sarai Berke [Kolobovka] as its primary seat), on the areas named 'Qipchaq'.[38] So it may be called the 'Desht-i Qipchaq Cultural Circle', i.e., cultural milieu of the steppes of Qipchaq.[39] In this light, Jürgen Sarnowsky's identification of the source-related *Tataren* with the Sinti and Romani ethnic groups appears to be incorrect.[40] The Romani people in particular did not begin to arrive in Central Europe from southern parts of this continent until the late fourteenth century and early fifteenth century.[41]

33 Egorov 1985, 27–47; Weiers 1989, 86; Weiers 1986, 347; Grekov and Yakubovskiy 1953, 59–62, 64–66.

34 Williams 2001 10–14; Vásáry 2005, 71–72; Grekov and Yakubovskiy 1953, 240–241.

35 Kramarowsky 2002, 12, 14, 15–17; Grekov and Yakubovskiy 1953, 134–145 (the first work includes extensive literature on the subject).

36 Menges 1995, 60; Csáki 2006, 8–9; Tyszkiewicz 2008e, 43–44.

37 Grekov and Yakubovskiy 1953, 213–295; Grekov 1975, 207–217; Weiers 1986, 363–369; Kramarowsky 2002, 16–18; Jackson 2005, 216–219; Tyszkiewicz 1989, 113, 116.

38 Grekov and Yakubovskiy 1953, 20, 66, 71, 120–128, 141–145; Weiers 1986, 348; Kramarowsky 2002, 18.

39 Kramarowsky 2002, 17–18, 36–37.

40 Sarnowsky 2006/2008, 180–181 (no evidence is provided to support the thesis).

41 Fraser 2001, 53–55; 56–57, 94–95; Mróz 2001, 19, 25–33, 42–43, 68; Simoniukštyė 2002, 91.

Sarnowsky only took into consideration the *Tatern* working on the Teutonic Order's farms in the early fifteenth century, not those from the Ragnit Castle. However, this particular identification of the ethnonym under discussion does not provide an explanation of how or why these alleged Romani people appeared in the Teutonic Order's courts and on its farms rendering service to the corporation. How did the Teutonic Brothers force the nomadic Romani people to adopt a sedentary lifestyle on convent farms as agricultural labourers and shepherds?

If we consider the way in which the *Tatern* most likely came to be in the vicinity of the Ragnit Castle, then the thesis that they were actual Tatars (in the broad sense of the word: Tatar-Turkish) appears more plausible. The descent of a group of people from one of the eastern steppe ethnic groups into Prussia at the turn of fourteenth to the fifteenth century could only have occurred in one of two ways. They were either prisoners taken in Lithuania during one of the Teutonic Order's expeditions against the Lithuanians, or they were prisoners directly abducted from the Eurasian steppe region.[42]

The latter option must be considered, given the participation of Teutonic Order contingents as auxiliaries in Lithuanian Grand Duke Alexander Vytautas' expeditions in 1398 and 1399 against Temür Qutlugh, Khan of the Golden Horde.[43] While the second expedition ended in military defeat at the Battle of the Vorskla River on 12 August 1399, making it unlikely that Tatar prisoners were taken during that expedition,[44] the 1398 expedition was successful and resulted in the construction of St. John's Castle (Johannisburg, *Sente Johannesburg*) at the mouth of the Dnieper River by the grand duke's army.[45] It is probable that a small contingent of Tatar prisoners were brought back from this expedition.

42 Nikžentaitis 1997, 520; Nikžentaitis 1999, 200.

43 Posilge, 222, 229–231; FTAP, 229–230; Summarium, 226; Sarnowsky 1994, 258; Boockmann 1975, 74–75. In 1398, the Teutonic Order's military unit of sixty armoured men was commanded by the grand master's official (*Kompan*) Eberhard von Wallenfels. It is possible that some prisoners of war were taken by Marquard von Salzbach during the third Qipchaq expedition during the summer of 1399. Prussian records indicate that part of the grand duke's army, including the Teutonic contingent, survived the Battle of the Vorksla River. Regarding the Lithuanian expedition to the Black Sea, see Rowell 2008, 67–83; Rowell 2007, 185–194; Ivinskis 1978, 315–317; Jackson 2005, 218–219; Heinl 1925, 166–167, 175–178.

44 Regarding the Battle of the Vorksla River, see Prochaska 2008 78–80; Kolankowski 1930, 70–72; Heinl 1925, 176–178; Pfitzner 1930, 149; Jackson 2005, 218–219; Tyszkiewicz 1989 124; Grekov 1985, 230–232; Prawdin 2009, 471–473; Ivinskis 1978, 316–318; Kiaupienė 2009, 356; Rowell 2008, 67–83.

45 Posilge, 222; Tyszkiewicz 2008e, 44–45; Ivinskis 1978, 315.

The first alternative – Tatar prisoners abducted from Lithuania – would mean that the *Tatern* had been brought to the Ragnit Castle in 1402, because that was the only year in which the Teutonic Order was involved in military action in Lithuania during the period between 1397 and 1402.[46] However, one should not exclude earlier explanations of this settlement related to the Teutonic Order's expedition to Lithuania in 1394.[47] During the expedition in summer of 1402, which arrived in the area of Aukštaitija close to Vilnius,[48] the Teutonic Order's troops could only have captured Tatar people who had either been brought to Lithuania during Grand Duke Alexander Vytautas' Black Sea expeditions in 1397 and 1398 or who had emigrated during an earlier period.[49] Regardless of when the Tatars actually arrived, we are dealing with a population originating in the Eurasian steppe region.

The literature connects the resettlement of the population from the Black Sea area to Aukštaitija by the grand duke to the question of the Karaites/Karaims – the Qipchaq Jewish population.[50] However, in the light of current research, it does not seem likely that the term *Tatern* in the Prussian sources would encompass those practising Rabbinic or Karaite Judaism.

Regardless of exactly when and how a group of Tatars appeared in the Ragnit *Hackelwerk*, it is beyond doubt that they had established a presence there by the end of 1402. The presence of a group of Tatars in the vicinity of

46 Paravicini 1995, Tab. 48, no. 38, p. 18; Tab. 49, nos. 282, 283, 283, p. 40; Ivinskis 1978, 330.
47 Paravicini 1995, Tab. 49, no. 259, p. 34; Prochaska 2008, 83–84; Kolankowski 1930, 62–63.
48 Posilge, 258–259 and n. 46.
49 Tyszkiewicz 1989, 117; Tyszkiewicz 2008e, 44; Šiaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė 2002b, 73–74; Sobczak 1984, 19–22. The emigration of Tatar Murzas and Beks, of either Mongolian or Qipchaq origin, began when internal struggle broke out in the Golden Horde following the death of the Khan Berdibek in 1358; it became more intense after 1395, when the Khan Tokhtamysh was defeated at a battle with Tamerlane and his leaders, forcing him to turn to Lithuania for support in 1396, see Tyszkiewicz 1989, 123; Sobczak 1984, 19. It was not only the warriors from the Horde who looked to Lithuania for aid, but the inhabitants of the towns situated along the Volga and the Don Rivers that had been destroyed by Tamerlane's army, see Grekov and Yakubovskiy 1953, 288–294; Tyszkiewicz 1989, 123; Jackson 2005, 216, 240; Quirini-Popławska 2002, 139. In 1362, approximately forty Mongolian warriors were taken prisoners of war at the Battle of Blue Waters and transferred to the Voke River in Lithuania, see Tyszkiewicz 2008e, 46–47.
50 Tyszkiewicz 2012, 20–23; Tyszkiewicz 1989, 148–150, 154–155, 159–160; Šiaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė 2002a, 83; Baliulis, Mikulionis, and Miškinis 1991, 21, 45–47; and particularly Gąsiorowski 2008, 165–168, 170–176 (including extensive literature of the subject matter).

the Ragnit Castle was confirmed in Teutonic Order administrative documents from 1408[51] and 1411.[52]

At the same time, this Ragnitan group was not the only Tatar population living in Prussia in the early fifteenth century. Tatars were also present beginning in 1402 on some farms in Lower (*Niederland*) and Upper Prussia (*Oberland*). The *Marienburger Tresslerbuch* records concerned farms in the following areas: Neuhof (Nowy Dwór Elbląski) in the *Kammeramt* (administrative region) of Fischau, between 1403 and 1408;[53] Biester/Beister (no longer in existence) in the *Kammeramt* of Natangia, between 1402 and 1409;[54] Schaaken (Nekrasovo) in the *Vogtei* (administrative unit) of Samland (Sambia), between 1402 and 1408;[55] in (Preußisch) Eylau (Bagrationovsk) in the *Kammeramt* of (Preußisch) Eylau, in 1409;[56] and Memel (Klaipėda).[57]

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51 MTB 487.39–40 (Mai 1408): "Item ½ m. den Tatern zu Ragnith [Item 0.5 mark for Tatars in Ragnit]".

52 GStA PK, Findmittel, Fb. 28, fol. 49r; Heinrich-Mortensen 1927, 36, which confirms the presence of at least 12 Tatars in 1411, who had suffered losses during the military actions of 1409–1411.

53 MTB 245.22 (April 1403): "Item 2 scot den Tatthern zum Nuwenhove gegeben [Item 2 scots given to Tatars in Neuhof]"; MTB 481.40–41 (May 1408): "Item 2 scot den Tatern zum Nuwenhofe [*as above*]"; MTB 513.9–10 (30. 11. 1408): "Zum irsten 2 scot den Tatern im Nuwenhofe [First, 2 scots to Tatars in Neuhof]".

54 MTB 180.24–25 (August 1402): "und 4 scot den Tattern zum Byster [and 4 scots given to Tatars in Biester]"; MTB 236.30 (October 1403; Sarnowsky 2006/2008, 181, n. 27): "Item 4 schilling den Tathern zum Byster [Item 4 shillings given Tatars in Biester]"; MTB 252.36 (June 1403): "Item 1 scot den Tatern zum Bister gegeben [Item 1 scot given to Tatars in Biester]"; MTB 487.2 (May 1408): "Item 6 schilling den Tatern zu Bystern. [...] Item 7 schilling den selben Tatern, als [sie] unsern homeyster mit pyczen ereten [Item 6 shillings to Tatars in Biester ... Item 7 shillings to the same Tatars when (they) honoured our grand master with quirts]"; MTB 543.10–12 (May 1409), together with Lithuanian slaves; Sarnowsky 2006/2008, 181, n. 27: "Item 5 scot den Thatern und Littauwen. [...] Item 4 scot den Tatern, als sy unsern homeyster und groskompthur mit pytczen ereten [Item 5 scots to Tatars and Lithuanians ... Item 4 scots to the Tatars, when they honoured our grand master and grand commander with quirts]"; see Guttzeit 1977, 158–159; and Boockmann 1983, 555–579, 564 and n. 37; Boockmann 1991, 220. Regarding landed estates in the Commandery of Balga, see Boockmann 1983, 571; Guttzeit 1977, 156–161, 169–176.

55 MTB 181.11 (August 1402, a Tatar woman): "Item 1 firdung der Tatterkynne zu Schoken [Item 1 farden to a Tatar woman in Schaaken]"; MTB 487.32–33 (May 1408, unidentified Tatars): "Item 10 scot den Tatern zu Schoken [Item 10 scots to Tatars in Schaaken]"; MTB 490.5–6 (June 1408, unidentified Tatar servant): "Item 1 m 4 scot eyme Tatern von Schoken gegeben zu Tapiaw vor syn lon [Item 1 mark 4 scots to a Tatar from Schaaken, given as a wage in Tapiau]". Mortensen and Mortensen 1938, 110, n. 466.

56 MTB 550.18–19 (July 1409): "Item 4 scot eyme Tatern mit syme wybe und 3 kindern [Item 4 scots given to a Tatar accompanied by his wife and three children]".

57 MTB 487.33–34 (Mai 1408): "Item 1 firdung den tatern zur Memel vor 3 sebe [Item 1 farden given to Tatars in Memel for three nets]".

The *Marienburger Tresslerbuch* records are not the only administrative source of information about Tatars in Prussia. There is also a note preserved from the turn of the fourteenth to the fifteenth century regarding thirty-four captured Tatars, whom bailiffs (in German *Kämmerer* – local tax officials) were to distribute to courtyards in the *Kammeramt* of Waldau and the *Kammeramt* of Kremitten, in the Commandery of Königsberg.[58] Based on geographic information, it seems likely that these were Tatars captured by the forces of the Commandery of Königsberg, indicating that contingents from this area were involved in one of the aforementioned Lithuanian military expeditions. Of all the expeditions against Lithuania between 1397 and 1404, the great expedition in the summer of 1402 seems most likely,[59] along with a smaller one in January 1403.[60] During the first – as mentioned – the troops of the Teutonic Order arrived at the (New) Trakai, one of the grand duke's residences,[61] around which 1397 and/or 1398 groups of captive Tatar warriors and Karaite/Karaim merchants had been placed.[62] The second expedition arrived in the area of Hrodna (Grodno), where the captured Tatars had lived too.[63] There are notes found in the 1409 *Marienburger Tresslerbuch* addressing the same issue. They concern the courtyard of the *Kämmerer* of Eylau, and indicate quite clearly that at least some of the captured Tatars were brought to Prussia, along with their wives and children.[64]

Taking into account the records preserved in the letters from 1408–1413, it is also possible that Tatar warriors were captured and brought to Prussia during smaller military actions carried out against Lithuanian military outposts in the Prussian-Lithuanian-Samogitian transition zone by individual Teutonic

58 GStA PK, OF 1a, fol. 292^{v}: "Dese gefangen furen dy kemerer Waldaw ~~Caymen~~ und Cremyten xxxiiij tatern [These prisoners were brought by *Kämmerer*: Waldau, ~~Kaymen,~~ and Kremitten: 34 Tatars]".

59 For these expeditions see references in n. 46.

60 Posilge, 264–265; Paravicini 1995, Tab. 49, no. 285, p. 40; Tab. 50, no. 36a, p. 44.

61 Baliulis, Mikulionis, and Miškinis 1991, 12–34; Petrauskas 2009, 379.

62 Tyszkiewicz 1989, 154–155, 157, 158, 159–161; Tyszkiewicz 2008e, 45; Tyszkiewicz 2012, 20–23; Baliulis, Mikulionis, and Miškinis 1991, 37.

63 Tyszkiewicz 1989, 161; Tyszkiewicz 2008e, 45.

64 MTB 550.18–19 (in the spring of 1409, an unidentified Tatar with a wife and three children); Boockmann 1983, 564 and n. 37.

Order houses, given that these were manned by Tatars.[65] This also might have been the case at the Prussian-Mazovian border.[66]

8.3 The geographical distribution of the settlement sites

In analysing the presence of Tatars in Prussia, the breadth of the geographical area they were spread across becomes clear. The seven sites verified by the

65 GStA PK, OBA 1025 (25 December [1408]), the record concerning the Tatars sent to Samogitia by Grand Duke Alexander Vytautas in order to gather information about conditions in the country:

> das is im lande czu Samaithen richtig und wol steet, sunder das lant ist vol Rewszen, *Tathern* und Littawen und czien das lant dy twer und dy lenghe durch, und leghen obir den lewthen, alzo das sy clagen, das sy nicht mogen eynen hufen hews vor yn behalden
>
> [that in the country of Samogitia everything is going well, but the whole country is crowded with Ruthenians, *Tatars*, and Lithuanians, who traverse the length and breadth of the country and stay with the people, so that they complain that they cannot hide even a haycock from them]

OBA 1772 (July–August 1412), a record concerning the manning of two castles erected by the Grand Duke Alexander Vytautas in Veliuona by Lithuanians, Poles, Ruthenians, and Tatars:

> herczog Witowt czwey starke husze uff Welune gemacht hat und volbrocht, und hat die bemannet mit iiij^{C} gewopenten mancherhande sprache als Littauwsch, Polnisch, Rusin und *Tatarisch* und manigvil
>
> [Grand Duke Vytautas established two strong castles in Veliuona and completed them well, and allocated there 400 armed men of different languages: Lithuanian, Polish, Ruthenian, *Tatar*, and many (others)].

66 GStA PK, OBA 1163 [13] October [1413], information about Tatars with 200 horses encamped near Kluczbork, who were attacked by the commander of Osterode's troops:

> sprengeten am freitage frue in dy Mosaw vor Crutzburg, und dy selbege nacht do logen dy *Tatarn* in der stadt mit ij^{C} pferden und worden dez morgens frue gewarnet und sy randten ous, und vor randten uns den thamme alzo, daz wir uns lange mit inschossen und wir konden weder obendig dez thammes noch neder ubir komen, alzo daz wir ein erbarn knechte ouf deme thamme vorloren und faste der unsern gewondet syn, und der *Tatern* ouch vile gesthossen worden, wend ire hawffe yo longer ye grosse begende tzu werden
>
> [(the commander of Osterode's people) appeared on Friday morning in Mazovia at Kluczbork, the same night *Tatars* with 200 horses camped in the town and were warned early in the morning and they leaped out of the town and met us on the dyke, so that for

historical sources – Neuhof, Biester, (Preußisch) Eylau, Kremitten (no longer in existence), Waldau (Nizove), Schaaken, and Ragnit – spanned about 120 km, in four commanderies: Elbing (Elbląg), Balga, Königsberg (Kaliningrad), and Ragnit. Given that the *Marienburger Tresslerbuch* records only included information about places visited by great masters as they travelled the country, the possibility that Tatar prisoners were placed at additional sites after 1398 or 1402 cannot be excluded. Also the previously discussed note from 1402 or 1403 includes other sites assigned to specific groups of prisoners: Kaymen (Zarechye), Schaaken, Rudau (Melnikovo), and Wargen (Kotelnikovo) – all of which are the seats of *Kämmerer* in the *Vogtei* of Samland.[67] As has been mentioned, records in the *Marienburger Tresslerbuch* attest to the presence of Tatars in Schaaken in 1402 and 1408.[68] The list includes a total of forty additional people. It is impossible, however, in these cases, to determine whether Tatars or prisoners of a different ethnic origin are being discussed.

8.4 Numbers

Apart from the previously mentioned notes from 1402 or 1403 and 1411, there are no quantitative estimates regarding Tatar settlement in Prussia. The note regarding the thirty-four Tatars sent back to two *Kämmerer* courtyards[69] suggests that these prisoners were settled in groups of a dozen or so. As a result, it is reasonable to presume there were about one hundred people coming from the Desht-i Qipchaq cultural milieu at the eight verifiable sites. It is difficult to determine whether the thirty-four people mentioned encompass all of the prisoners, or perhaps only the adults, or even only the men. If the latter were the case, given that we know entire families[70] were taken captive, the Tatar population on Teutonic Order farms would have been considerably higher than suggested. Adding the forty persons mentioned in relation to four other *Käm-*

a long time we remained under their fire, and we were unable to pass either below or above the dyke, so that we lost one noble squire on the dyke, and many of us were wounded, and many *Tatars* were killed, as their horde grew over time].

67 GStA PK, OF 1a, fol. 292ᵛ: "Dese gefangen furen dy kemerer: Waldaw ~~Caymen~~ und Cremyten xxxiiij tatern, Caymen sunderlich x gefangen. Schaken x. Rudaw vij, item ij. Wargen viij, item iij [These prisoners were brought by the *Kämmerer*: Waldau, ~~Kaymen,~~ and Kremitten: 34 Tatars, moreover Kaymen 10 prisoners, Schaaken 10, Rudau 7, item 2. Wargen 8, item 3]".

68 For the sources, see n. 55.

69 For the sources see n. 56.

70 For the sources, see n. 61.

merer courtyards in Samland would, of course, make the number even larger. As well, the number of Tatars in the vicinity of the Ragnit Castle might well have been greater than a dozen, given that twelve Tatars were recorded as injured in military actions around 1411.[71] The total number of Tatars inhabiting the Prussian Land at the sites verified in the historical sources from the first decade of the fifteenth century ranged from fifty to 250 males and females. In the absence of further specific source material or archaeological data, an educated guess is the best that can be hoped for.

8.5 Forms of settlement and their durability

Both the Tatars settled on farms and those placed in Ragnit *Hackelwerk* were prisoners. Evidence for this is provided by the previously mentioned chronicle of a Pomesanian judicial vicar and by the presence of these people on the Order's working farms themselves. For people from Lithuania and from Desht-i Qipchaq could not be found there as other than prisoners. It is difficult to believe that small groups of people of a foreign cultural background would voluntarily render unpaid service or even work for hire for the Teutonic Order's corporation.[72]

Given that no accounting records for all of Prussia after 1409 have been preserved, it is impossible for historians to trace Tatar settlement in Prussia beyond that point. One random note attached to a letter written by the commander of Ragnit on 15 June 1427 suggests the possibility of Tatars being sent from Lithuania to Prussia, but it does not confirm it.[73] The available information indicates that Grand Duke Alexander Vytautas sent a few Tatars to the grand master, presumably as serfs. This note provides no information about the degree of stability of Tatar settlement near the Ragnit Castle from the beginning of the second decade to the end of the third decade of the fifteenth cen-

71 The sources, see n. 51.

72 Regarding the slave population, see my recent remarks, Kwiatkowski 2013, 425–430.

73 GStA PK, OBA 4776, fol. 2r:

> Ouch der herr homeister hot uns gebeten umbe sechs *Thatteregen*, die wir im ouch itczunt nicht fůglich kunden senden, sunder is das wir im die *Thatter* senden, so wellen wir denne euwer ouch nicht vorgessen

> [In addition, the lord grand master requested (from Grand Duke Alexander Vytautas) 6 *Tatar women*, whom we could not send him earlier, and should we send him the *Tatars*, we will not forget about sending some of them to you (the Ragnitan commander) as well].

tury. It is impossible to determine whether or not this is also the case for the previously mentioned farms, with the possible exception of Schaaken, for which source records exist.

Two ambiguous grant documents were issued in Schaaken on 18 October and 13 December 1497 by grand commander Wilhelm Graf von Isenburg. These letters verify the existence of the 'Tatter's Farm' (*Tatters Hof*), covering an area of seven hides (*Hufen*) in the *Kammeramt* of Schaaken, which was given to Niclas and Peter von Sassen, along with other estates in the *Kammeramt*.[74] Nearby were the estates of an unknown *Jacob Tatter*, who was probably a relative of another Jokub Thatar, a landowner in Samland in the *Kammeramt* of Schaaken in 1436,[75] and of Hans Tatter, a landowner in the *Kammeramt* mentioned in the 1448 acts,[76] who himself may well have been related to a cathedral canon in Dorpat, Johann Tatter (*de Tataren, Tarteren, Tataren*), mentioned in sources from the 1420s and 1430s.[77] Is this a case of descendants of a Tatar family, who possibly settled with their fellows in Schaaken or nearby in 1402 or 1403? In the case of the family from Samland, it is not clear, whereas in the case of the Dorpat canon, it is out of question, as preserved sources from the end of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century confirm close relations of other members of the Tatter family with Westphalia, the Rhineland, and Lübeck.[78] The proper name itself, bearing as it does the fea-

74 GStA PK, Perg.-Urk., Schiebl. XXXIV, no. 112 (a landed estate in *Sproden* [Sprittlauken, Gorohov] of 7 hides and 4 additional hides is included here in a description provided by Jacob Tatter; this estate is also located in the *Kammeramt* of Schaaken); Perg.-Urk., Schiebl. 95, no. 62. The editors of the 'Pergamenturkunden' group's register suggest it was connected with Catharinenhoff (no longer in existence) near Grünhayn (Krasnaya Gorka) in *Kammeramt* of Tapiau, see Regesta II, no. 3752, p. 416; the issue requires further examination.

75 GStA PK, OBA 7266, fols. 1r–6r, here fol. 1r (= edition: Mülverstedt 1885, 262 = Vercamer 2010, Anhang. Quellen, no. 7, pp. 416–417, here 416).

76 GStA PK, OBA 9473, fols. 1r–6r, here fol. 5v (= edition: ASP III 17, pp. 42–44, here 43 = Vercamer 2010, Anhang. Quellen, no. 8, pp. 417–417, here 417; 19–20 Februar 1448); OBA 9564, Bl. 2 (= edition: ASP III 34, 20 June 1448); Mülverstedt 1855, 179 (note from p. 178).

77 GStA PK, OBA 5467 (= edition: LECUB 1/VIII 317 = BGP IV/1 164); OBA 5490 (= edition: LECUB 1/VIII 331 = BGP IV/1 176); OBA 5509 (= edition: LECUB 1/VIII 340 = BGP IV/1 182); OBA 5514 (= edition: LECUB 1/VIII 362 = BGP IV/1 193); OBA 5578 (= edition: LECUB 1/VIII 404 = BGP IV/1 203); LECUB 1/VIII 392 (= BGP IV/1 204); OBA 5654 (= edition: LECUB 1/VIII 465 = BGP IV/1 240); OBA 5733 (= edition: LECUB 1/VIII 493); OBA 5890 (= edition: BGP IV/1 320); OBA 6808 (= edition: BGP IV/2 611); OBA 6831 (= edition: BGP IV/2 615). About the canon, see Arbusow 1901, 120–121; Arbusow 1911–1913, 210–211; cf. RG 4/2, 2432–2434; RG 5/1, no. 5818. I would like to thank my colleague Radosław Krajniak (MA) for introducing the source publication to me.

78 Arbusow 1911–1913, 210 (Lodovicus Tatter); RG 2/1, 1046 (Sifridus Tacher [Thater]); RG 4, 3742 and RG 5, 9318 (Wilhemus Volperti de Tataren). The source confirms the purchase of wool

tures of an ethnonym, is nonetheless suggestive. If the Tatters of Samland were actual descendants of the Tatars, which cannot be excluded, this would suggest a process of acculturation and assimilation. This is an issue that requires further detailed prosopographic research, as well as additional investigation of settlement records.

Sources from the first decade of fifteenth century concerning the courtyard in Schaaken, and the work of one of the Tatars there, indicate that, at least in some cases, it was possible for prisoners with families to see their captivity transformed over time into ongoing service to the Teutonic Order as servants (*Knechte*).[79] The routine of their lifestyle encouraged adaptation to local conditions and acculturation, reducing the likelihood that they would attempt to escape from the Prussian Land. This acculturation may well have proceeded quite rapidly. It can also be assumed that the change in the living situation of Tatar prisoners was also encouraged by religious realities, as Christianization was undoubtedly an important factor in their integration into the Prussian cultural community.

The continuing presence and actual acculturation of the Tatar population in Prussia in the first half of the fifteenth century is confirmed by the record of resolutions presented at the convention of Prussian towns (*Tagfahrt*) in Elbing on 15 January 1441. One of the questions discussed at the convention was the issue of admitting people who were not of noble origin (*uneddele lewthe*), including Tatars and Samogitians, into the newly founded Prussian Confederation (*Preußischer Bund*). The record provides evidence that in some instances this had, in fact, already occurred before convention took place. The decision taken at the convention changed that practice and expelled some members from the Prussian Confederation.[80] The admission of Tatars to the Prussian

in England by a merchant named Werner Tatere from Lübeck, see HUB III, 406 (Nachtrag zu n. 735 im Bd. I); the source confirms that a Johannes Tatere was a town councillor in Lübeck in 1289, see LübUB II, no. 1090, p. 1032; LübUB I, 536 (8 July 1289); and a town councillor in 1290, see LübUB I 550 (16 May 1290); LübUB II 552 (25 June 1290); and a town councillor in 1292, see LübUB II 595 (15 August 1292); and a town councillor in 1295, see LübUB I 634 (20 June 1295); and a town councillor from 1289 to 1296, see LübUB I 656; sources from 1292 confirm that a merchant named Konrad Tatere travelled from Novgorod and Pskov; he was probably from Lübeck, see LECUB 1/VI 2770, Sp. 61 (= HUB II 187; and HUB III, 424 [Nachtrag zu n. 187 im Bd. II]). Sources from 1427 confirm the existence of a merchant Hans van der Tateren in Hamburg, see HUB VI 672 (2 May 1427).

79 Regarding *Knechte*, see Kwiatkowski 2013, 406–416.

80 ASP II 190, pp. 295–299, here 298 (according to the Gdańsk manuscript):

> Item alse denn die hersschafft vorgab, das wir uneddele lewthe alse kretczmer und derglichen in unser eynunge genomen hetten, und nach nemen, ist also gelassen, das men keynen uneddelen man, noch *Thattern* noch Samayten, kretczmer, gebawer adir schul-

Confederation clearly indicates that at least some of them had been Christianized, because only Christians were admitted for the Confederation, and an oath (undoubtedly taken as a personal act before God and on the Holy Scripture) constituted an essential element for the entire Confederation (*confederatio*).[81]

czen, derleye lewthe in unser eynunge und vorschribung nemen will noch sall, sunder dy itczunt in unser eynunge gekomen synt, dy sullen dorinne bleiben, awsgenome schulczen, kretczmer, gebuwer unde sulche personen, alse itczundt czuvor berurt ist.

[Item as the authorities indicated that we have accepted and still accept in our union some ignoble people, such as innkeepers and those equal to them, it was established that no ignoble person, neither *Tatars* nor Samogitians, nor innkeepers, nor peasants nor village mayors shall be accepted in our union, however those who had already been incorporated into our union should remain in it, excluding village mayors, innkeepers, peasants, and those earlier stated.]

81 Janosz-Biskupowa and Biskup 1958, 125–137, *Koncept I*, § 7, pp. 129–130; *Koncept II*, § 7, pp. 134–135; ASP II 108, pp. 171–176, here 175–176; ASP II 107, pp. 167–170, here 169:

Wir burgermeister und ratmanne der stat N. bekennen und czugen offembar [...], das wir [...] mit eyntrechtigem gutten willen unser allir scheppen, burger, inwoner und ganczen gemeyne *geloben und vorheyszen* sulche eynung und vorschreibung, als dy strengen festen erbern und ersamen hern, ritter, knechte und stete diss landes uff dem tage Judica czu Marienwerder underenander geeynet, geslossen, vorschreben und bezegelt haben, in allen puncten und artikeln, alse dieselbe vorschreibung innehelt vor uns, unser scheppen, burger, inwoner und gancze gemeyne, dy nw und ouch czukumfftig sint, stete, feste und unvorsert in gutten rechtfertigem globen, bey truwen und eren czu halden, dobey czu bleiben, der czu gebruchen und noch gancz unser macht gnug czu thuende sunder eyngerley argelist in allen czukomenden czeiten

[We mayor and councillors of the town N. openly *proclaim and certify* (...), that we (...) with the unanimous good will of all our jurymen, citizens, inhabitants, and the entire community plight and promise, as to the union and regulation, which the brave, stable, venerable and honest lords, knights, squires, and towns of this country concluded among themselves, wrote down and sealed on the day of Judica in Marienwerder (Kwidzyn), in all points and articles that this regulation includes, in our name and the name of our jurymen, citizens, residents, and the entire community, those who are now and those who will be in the future, to constantly, firmly and inviolably in good, justified credence, faithfully and reverently to observe, abide by, and apply with all our might without any deceit in all future times]

See Janosz-Biskupowa and Biskup 1958, 126; moreover Biskup 1959, 40–41; Biskup 1975, 218 (using Marxist methodology, the scholar advances a hypothesis about the class nature of the Confederation; however, he contradicts himself, stating that the Confederation was a body that represented the country's population [Biskup 1975, 219]. Nevertheless, the record quoted here suggests that the Prussian Confederation was neither of a class or an ethnic nature: Originally, it was diversified, which to some extent reflects the political-social character of the heterogeneous system in the Prussian Land).

8.6 The possible role played by Tatars in the Prussian political and social system

The above-mentioned sources do not provide the information necessary to determine what role Tatar prisoners played in Prussia. It should be assumed, however, that they were initially an unpaid workforce on the Teutonic Order's farms in Neuhof, Biester, (Preußisch) Eylau, Schaaken, Memel, Waldau, and Ragnit, where there were stud-farms or stockyards, although the earliest sources confirm that some of these only date from between the second and the fourth decades of the fifteenth century.[82] Therefore, one must agree with Hartmut Boockmann, who points to the importance of Tatar prisoners in horse breeding.[83] Their skill in breeding eastern horses, especially the Baltic sweiks (*Sweiken*) so important for the Teutonic Order's military,[84] is beyond debate.[85] It is difficult to establish exactly what role the Tatars in Waldau's stockyard and in Kremitten played, as there is no reliable information about the Teutonic Order's economic activity in these areas.[86] It is possible that the Ragnit *Hackel-*

82 Neuhof (not confirmed until 1440): GÄB 99.37, 100.14 (8 May 1440); Biester: GÄB 151.25 (29 September 1383); 151.35–35, 152.1 (26 May 1387); 152.13 (12 March 1392); 157.8, 158.25–36, 161.20 (11 November 1412); 171.8–20 (4 July 1441); (Preußisch) Eylau: GÄB 151.33–34, 152.3 (26 May 1387); 152.10 (12 March 1393); 156.29–37 (11 November 1412); Schaaken: GÄB 15.38 (9 January 1414); 17.24 (1415); 19.36–37 (10 January 1422); 23. 9–13 (15 March 1422); 25.3–7 (18 November 1422); 27.34 (25 October 1424); Memel (stockyard [*Viehhof*] probably near the castle, perhaps later part of the town Althof), see Sembritzki 1918, 8 (only provides information about the functioning of the stockyard in 1402); Zurkalowski 1906, 19; Semrau 1929, 93, 95: GÄB 299.25 (13 July 1376); 300.11 (13 July 1377); 300.29 (1 January 1379); 301.8 (1389); 306.11 (2 January 1415); 306.21–22 (2 September 1416); MTB 137.3 ([24] July 1402; Sembritzki 1918, 8); Waldau: GÄB 27.28–29 (25 October 1424); 30.35–37 (11 July 1431); 33.21–23 (6 April 1434); 36.1–3 (17 October 1436); 41.39–40 (3 March 1438); 44.5–7 (1 March 1440); Ragnit: GÄB 258.11 (1379); 259.7 (4 December 1379); 261.4–5 (19 November 1392); 262.24 (1 May 1396); 264.34–35 (14 May 1402); 267.4–5 (1 September 1407); 278.2–4 (20 January 1419); 282.5–6 (4 October 1425); 286.3–4 (19 November 1432); Verwaltung 1968.

83 Boockmann 1983, 564, n. 37; 568, n. 57. The practice of installing Qipchaq prisoners of war and free warriors on landed estates, as well as those situated near castles, was not a practice exclusive to the Lithuanian grand duke's entourage; it was also the practice of Duke of Warsaw and Czersk Janusz I the Elder, see Tyszkiewicz 2001, 197; Tyszkiewicz 2008d, 57 (this includes the most important of older literature that primarily addresses the Tatar settlement in Lithuania).

84 Ekdahl 1991, 32; Ekdahl 1998, 123–124, 126–127; regarding *Sweiken*, see Chęć 2005, 360–361; Rünger 1925, 219, 225–227, 230–233; Töppen 1867, 686–687, 697–699; Bujack 1863, 313 (the last two do not recognize the military importance of indigenous horses).

85 Kwiatkowski 2013, 430.

86 Verwaltung 1968.

werk was a Tatar military settlement, given that the settlements around commandery castles primarily fulfilled military functions.[87] Furthermore, being a professional fighter does not in any way rule out horse breeding. On the contrary, one activity could, in this case, go hand in hand with the other.

8.7 The question of acculturation

The absence of any evidence of Tatar settlement in the areas under consideration during the second half of the fifteenth century (apart from the name of one of the courtyards in the *Kammeramt* of Schaaken at the end of the fifteenth century) might indicate a certain degree of successful acculturation. Virtually all of the factors that determined the existence of Tatar groups in Prussia would have favoured such a process: their small number, their dispersion over a large geographical area, separation from families and relatives, limited personal freedom, the lack of opportunity to participate in their native culture or practise their religion.[88] Apart from that, in some rare cases, living in small biological families separated from a wider native community and left free to adopt a lifestyle suitable to their new conditions could have meant that people quickly adapted to the existent cultural patterns in their new place of residence.[89] The acculturation of Tatars in late medieval Prussia was most likely a rapid and thorough process. This thesis is reinforced by the lack of any residual traces of Tatar culture in the local oral traditions or folk culture of the areas in which they settled in the former Prussia in the early fifteenth century.

8.8 Conclusion

To summarize, the following points are particularly important:

1. Tatar Muslims were not only present in Prussia for short periods of time as warriors supporting the armies of the Polish kings and the Lithuanian

87 Kwiatkowski 2013, 437–441, 444–445.

88 Regarding the social phenomenon of acculturation and of its complete form, assimilation, see Esser 2010, 9–10; Peuckert and Scher 2010, 203–204.

89 For an analysis of the cultural assimilation of the Tatar population in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, see Zakrzewski 1989, 75–96; Borawski and Sienkiewicz 1989, 87–113; Borawski 1991a, 163–190; Borawski 1991b, 48–49. The latter researcher considers the geographical dispersion of families, clans, and groups to be the main reason for the acculturation of Tatars in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In the Prussian Land, the situation may well have been similar.

grand dukes during expeditions in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries. There was also a Tatar presence unrelated to war and confrontation.

2. Administrative and narrative sources from the Teutonic Order confirm the presence of Tatars from the steppes of the Black Sea and the Volga River (Desht-i Qipchaq) in Prussia at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The records undoubtedly concern Tatars, and not Romani or Sinti, as was suggested in earlier research.
3. Tatars were prisoners of war captured either in the steppes of the Black Sea by the Teutonic Order's contingent supporting Grand Duke Alexander Vytautas' army in 1398 or in Aukštaitija (possibly in the area of Trakai) during a Teutonic Order expedition to Lithuania (most likely in 1403).
4. It is possible that Tatars were taken as prisoners of war during other military actions carried out by the Teutonic Order's army in Lithuania and Samogitia at the turn of the fourteenth to the fifteenth century.
5. Tatars taken prisoner of war between 1398 and 1403 were, for the most part, settled on the Teutonic Order's farms and stud-farms in Memel, Ragnit, Neuhof, Biester, Schaaken, (Preußisch) Eylau, as well as in the *Kammeramt* of Waldau and the *Kammeramt* of Kremitten. It is also possible that some Tatar groups were settled in Kaymen, Rudau, and Wargen.
6. In the case of Ragnit, Tatar settlement might have been determined by military factors, while at other sites prisoners of war were exploited as workers on farms and stud-farms.
7. The number of individual Tatar groups inhabiting the Prussian Land at the beginning of the fifteenth century cannot be established with certainty: It would have encompassed fifty to 250 males and females.
8. It is possible that both individual warriors and entire Tatar families were deported to Prussia.
9. The sources generally only confirm the presence of a Tatar population in the Prussian Land during the first decade of the fifteenth century. It is only in the case of Ragnit that the sources also address the second decade of the fifteenth century. There are also general source records that confirm the presence of Tatars at the beginning of the fifth decade of the fifteenth century (1441). There are, however, no sources that confirm their presence in subsequent decades.
10. The 1441 record demonstrates the extensive acculturation of Tatars and their integration into the Christian community in the Prussian Land. This is further confirmed by other sources from both the fifth and the tenth decades of the fifteenth century.
11. The main factor in the acculturation of the Tatars from Desht-i Qipchaq was their limited numbers and their dispersion over a large geographical

area. Given that there are no later residual traces of Tatar settlements in Prussia, fifteenth-century acculturation must have amounted to complete assimilation.

12. The relatively small number of Tatars inhabiting the Prussian Land at the beginning of the fifteenth century constituted a new factor in the multi-ethnic nature of settlement in Prussia – a country which, at that time, had all the features of a borderland area. It appears that the multi-ethnic nature of Prussia in the Late Middle Ages was much more complex than has been reflected in the literature addressing the issue up until this point.
13. It is important to stress that given their rapid social, religious, and linguistic acculturation, the Tatars from Desht-i Qipchaq cannot be regarded as a factor contributing to the alleged multi-cultural nature of the Prussian Land. Although Prussia in the Late Middle Ages remained a multi-ethnic country, the period from the thirteenth century to the early sixteenth century initially evinced the features of a bi-cultural (Latin Christian and Baltic pagan) socio-political structure, slowly evolving over time in the direction of cultural unification.

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Detmar = *Abschnitte aus der Chronik Detmars von Lübeck*. Ed. Ernst Strehlke. SRP III. 57–237.

FTAP = *Franciscani Torunensis Annales Prussici (941–1410)*. Ed. Ernst. Strehlke. SRP III. 57–388.

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9 Karaite Settlement in Medieval Lithuania

Karaites settled in medieval Lithuania – particularly in Trakai (Troki), where they established a community and began a chronicle of Karaites in the Baltic Region of Eastern Europe. The history of Karaites has already been analysed by many Jewish, Polish, Lithuanian, Russian, American, and other scholars who focused on finding historical truth by establishing some facts.[1] This article examines how the history of this settlement has been passed down through written documents and oral tradition. It serves as an important reminder of the process of Karaite identity formation and draws attention to the Hebrew heritage. It addresses records from the fifteenth to the early twentieth centuries and delineates the way in which interpretations of this history have shifted over time, both among the Karaites themselves and in the work of historians who have worked with this subject. As there are some discrepancies in both the source materials and the publications – the result of inaccurate dates, locations, events, and perspectives – I have examined both Karaite and Jewish works, including those of independent researchers. A short Hebrew text regarding the settlement of Karaites in Lithuania from Mordecai Sultansky's *Zecher Tzadiqim* (זכר צדיקים) deserves particular attention.[2] He was the first to attempt a general history of Karaites from their origin until his own time. I have also analysed the Karaite deeds published by Jacob Mann[3] – found in the Firkowicz collection – which are in fact the only medieval sources that provide a window into the daily life of the Karaite community in Lithuania. Finally, this article also considers relations between two religious groups, Karaites and Rabbanites.

The earliest known Karaite sources date back to the late fifteenth century. Although they describe the medieval life of Karaites in Trakai,[4] they are not

1 See, for example, Bałaban 1927; Bershadsky 1883; Gąsiorowski 2008; Kizilov 2003: 29–45; Sinani 1890; Szyszman 1933–1934: 29–36; Witkowski 2013: 211–214.

2 Mordecai ben Joseph Sultansky (1772–1862) was one of the earliest Karaite historians in Eastern Europe. He was born in Lutsk, Volhynia, where he officiated as *ḥacham* until he had a conflict with his disciple Abraham Firkowicz in 1821. He then moved to Chufut-Kale and subsequently to Yevpatoriya, both in Crimea, and later to Kherson in Ukraine. He also wrote a Hebrew grammar – *Petaḥ Tiqvah* (פתח תקווה), Yevpatoriya, 1857 – and a philosophical work – *Sefer Metiv Da'at* (ספר מטיב דעת), Yevpatoriya, 1858; see Schur 1995, 268.

3 Mann 1935. The second volume includes many Karaite documents from the Near East, Turkey, the Crimea, and Lithuania and Poland.

4 Mann claims that in the Middle Ages only Karaites had the privilege of living in Trakai. According to a letter from Joseph ben Mordecai of Trakai to Elijah Bashyatzi (1484 or 1485),

related to the arrival of Karaites in Lithuania. Correspondence prior to the expulsion in 1495 confirms that the Trakai Karaite community remained in contact with the Karaite centre in Constantinople. This popular form of exchange and consultation about religious questions is primarily associated with the leading Karaite figure Elijah Bashyatzi.[5] He was the ideological force for Karaite rapprochement with Rabbanism[6] and the most important codifier of Karaite Law. His book *'Aderet 'Eliyahu*, meaning the "Mantle of Elijah", which in fact was finished by his son-in-law Caleb Afendopolo, is the most important Karaite halachic work.[7] Bashyatzi provided his expert advice regarding adopting certain rabbinic innovations. One of these letters concerns permitting Sabbath candles, which were already being used in Adrianople and Constantinople in the fifteenth century. This issue caused divisions among Karaites, as not all believers were ready to accept the change, particularly because it was a Rabbanite innovation. In a 1485 letter to Trakai, Bashyatzi expressed his support for the new custom, but Joseph ben Mordecai firmly opposed the Rabbanite adaptation of heating the stoves on cold winter Sabbaths. Nonetheless, it was only a matter of time before this practice was adopted, the freezing Lithuanian winters proving persuasive.[8]

In 1483, the Trakai elders wrote to the Constantinople centre for spiritual guidance. They presented a self-deprecating picture of the spiritual state of affairs among the sectaries in Lithuania:[9]

> בארץ רוסייא... פרוצים ונפוצים על ההרים. בלי רועה אחרי העדרים. מלהביט ולהבין בתורת ה' נעדרים. ורודפים אחרי ההצלחות המדומות ואומרים. כי הם העיקרים.
>
> [In the land of Ruthenia (...) scattered and dispersed over the mountains without a shepherd looking after the flocks, refraining from understanding God's Torah, but pursuing imaginary successes (viz. those of mundane life) and regarding them as essential.]

Rabbanites were residing in Trakai temporarily: "והראנו לרבנים המתאכסנים פה בטרוקי יעקב סוכי ועוזר הרופא מכרקוב וליתר הרבנים שהיו פה [we indicated the Rabbanites who are here in Troki as transients (were) Jacob Suchy, an assistant to a physician from Cracow, and others]", Mann 1935, 559.

5 Mann 1935, 698.

6 In contrast to Rabbanism, the mainstream of Judaism, Karaism does not recognize the Oral Law or the Talmud (Schur 1995, 222, 240).

7 It was published for the first time in Constantinople in 1531 as *Sefer ha-Mitzvot ha-Niqra' 'Aderet 'Eliyahu* (ספר המצוות הנקרא אדרת אליהו).

8 Mann 1935, 684.

9 The translation of this and following quotes from the correspondence between the Trakai and Constantinople communities presented here is by Mann. My changes and additions appear in italics.

The writers express their worries and feelings while calling people evil and sinners, even children of whoredom (יַלְדֵי זְנוּנִים – Hosea 1. 2). The early leadership had died, and the Karaite community in Trakai lacked decent successors who were able to take responsibility for providing the necessary services:

> ומעיזים פניהם כנגד התורה והיו כגוים כמשפחות האדמה. ועושים ביד רמה. איש כל הישר בעיניו[10] ולמוכיח בשער יקושון[11]
>
> [(People) are arrogant toward the Torah, and *they are like the nations of the earth families. They* act high-handedly. Everyone does *whatever seems right in his own eyes, and lays a snare for he who reproves inside the gate*.]

It was probably the custom to begin letters in such a way, as later, to the contrary, the elders boast about their situation:

> והאמת שאדוננו המלך כרול[12] ושריו ממקו"י[13] לא הכבידו עלינו במס ולא בשום עלה מן העלות ואין לנו שום מונע ומוחה בקיום דתינו ויש לנו בית דין ודיין ושופט במשפטי ודיני בית ישראל
>
> [*The truth is that* our lord the king and his officers *smite through the loins of his adversaries and enemies, that they rise not again*, and have not imposed upon us heavy taxes or other exactions, and nobody prevents us *and keeps us* from *practising* our religion. We have a Bet-Din with a Dayyan and Shofet to *enforce the laws and judgments of Israel*.]

In this letter the Trakai elders asked for a scholar from Constantinople to come to teach them "Torah and wisdom [תורה וחכמה]". They also wrote that they had heard about the Code of Law by Tobias ben Moses (from the eleventh century) and requested a copy. The letter indicates a full awareness of a truly poor spiritual condition. It alludes to some of the educational problems among the Karaite population, and it evidences a deep desire on the part of the Trakai elders to create a better future for the Karaites and to preserve their religion.[14]

In 1484, Elijah Bashyatzi wrote a reply, which was co-signed by other Karaite scholars. He expressed both his respect for the Trakai elders for their attention to Karaite spiritual life and his admiration for their intellectual eagerness to achieve a higher level of knowledge, skill, and competence, so as to counter arrogance in the face of Torah Law and to unite "wisdom [science] with reli-

10 Cf. Judges 21. 25: אִישׁ הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינָיו יַעֲשֶׂה.
11 Cf. Isaiah 29. 21: וְלַמּוֹכִיחַ בַּשַּׁעַר יְקֹשׁוּן.
12 Polish *król* (king).
13 = מְחַץ מָתְנַיִם קָמָיו וּמְשַׂנְאָיו מִן-יְקוּמוּן (cf. Deuteronomy 33. 11). See Mann 1935, 1142.
14 Mann 1935, 698–699, 1139–1143.

gion". He says that the goal is to establish the religion of God for the entire world and its creatures to see. He stresses the perfection of the Torah:

> ואם אין שלימות ראשון אין שלמות אחרון כי האחד דרך והגעה. אל השני בישועה. ולכן שמתם מגמתכם
>
> [*If there is no first perfection*, then there is no final perfection. *There is only one way and one approach. There is no other way to salvation, and that's why you make that your goal.*]

Unfortunately, there was no Constantinople Karaite scholar able to leave his family and go to Trakai, so Bashyatzi suggested that some young people from Trakai visit Constantinople to study "the words of Torah and the words of wisdom [דברי תורה ודברי חכמה]", and on their return share their knowledge and experience with their countrymen and "teach the Torah of Israel [וירביצו תורה בישראל]". He promised to provide a quality education, as well as accommodation and other necessities. Although the plague was widespread in Constantinople at the time, Bashyatzi assured the Trakai elders that he would protect the students, taking refuge with them in one of the villages. As for the sectaries who were reluctant to keep religious customs, Bashyatzi recommended issuing a warning. If that did not help, then they should be judged "by our Torah [כפי דין תורנו]". As a last resort, they were to be excommunicated from the community, with their property placed under *ḥerem*. Bashyatzi had to postpone sending Tobias' *Sefer Mitzvot* (ספר מצוות) and the commentary on the whole Bible (פירוש עשרים וארבעה של חכמינו), which there had been no mention of in previous correspondence, as the *sofer* needed to make a copy had yet to be located, and Bashyatzi did not want to wait any longer to send his reply.[15]

The origin of the first Lithuanian Karaite settlements can be traced using a later written tradition. A 1668 letter of complaint from the Lithuanian Karaites to the Rabbanites in Brest-Litovsk, found in the Firkowicz collection, reads: "for four hundred years, and even longer, our ancestors strived to expand their borders in Troki [שמארבע מאות שנה ויותר טרחו קדמונינו להרחיב גבולם בטרוקי]".[16] This would suggest that the Karaites first settled in Lithuania in the thirteenth century. On the contrary, according to another document, an historical memorandum discovered by Firkowicz in an old manuscript, Karaites from Solkhat arrived in Trakai in 1399:[17]

> בשנה השנית לביאת אבותינו פה טרוקי מארץ מדי מעיר סולכת הוליד אדוננו כמ"ר שמואל סגן המשכיל חברו של אדוני אבי כמ"ר שמחה מורזא בהנהגת העדה יצ"ו את אהובנו כמ"ר

15 Mann 1935, 699–700, 1143–1148.
16 Mann 1935, 557. The transcription of the Polish name for Trakai.
17 Mann 1935, 556–58, 1178–1179.

משה בשנת הק״ס ויגדל משה הלוך וגדל עד כי היה שר קפיטן בחצר אדוננו המלך כזימיר יגילון יר״ה משנת הרי״ו. והוא הרים תפארת ישראל כי בקש מאת המלך י״ל ויאשר את כתב החירות הנתן לאבותינו מאת הדוכוס ויטולד החסיד נ״ע.

[In the second year after the arrival of our ancestors here in Troki from the land of Media[18] from Solkhat[19] our rabbi Samuel, who had a position (in the community), a friend of our rabbi Simcha Murza, one of the community leaders, may his Rock keep him and grant him life, begot our beloved rabbi Moses, in 1400. Moses became famous, so he was appointed as the minister, the captain in the court of our Lord, King Casimir Jagiellon, may his glory be exalted, in the year 1456. He (Moses) raised the glory of Israel, because he asked the King and he (the king) confirmed the charter of privileges,[20] which was given to our forefathers by the aforementioned merciful Duke Witold[21].]

In the book, *Zecher Tzadiqim*, by the nineteenth-century Karaite writer and *ḥacham* Mordecai Sultansky,[22] the introduction to the history of the Trakai Karaites reads:[23]

אופן וזמן העתקת הקראים מקירים לארץ פולין.
מ.
ויהי בשנת תתקע״ח לאלף החמישי שהיא שנת אלף רי״ח לנוצרים הדוכס הגדול של מדינת ליטא הנקרא בשם ויטולד יאגיללו בן המלכה בונא בהחלצו למלחמה נגד הטרטרים שבמלכות קירים ובנצחו אותם נפל לקירים ולקח שלל רב ושביה גדולה מהטרטרים ובצאתו משם לקח ונהג גם מן הקראים אשר בסולכט הנקראת קירים ישן תפ״ג בעלי בתים הנקרא בלשונם פאמיליע והביא אותם לארצו לליטא ויסד מהם ש״ל בעלי בתים בעיר טרוק ארבע פרסאות מעיר ווילנע בנתנו להם קרקעות וכתבי חרייות גדולות ואת השאר היינו קנ״ג בעלי בתים הושיכם ויסדם בעיר פונעואז בהגינו וכהדריגו גם אותם באותם החריות ...
שנתן לטרוקיים ...

18 The land of Media corresponds to Crimea (Mann 1935, 1178).

19 Solkhat is a Turkish form of the Italian name Solcati. The present name of the town is Staryi Krym (in Ukrainian, Старий Крим).

20 The Rabbanites acknowledged that the Karaites were granted legal residence permits in Trakai even before they themselves received permits in Vilnius. In 1664, the Vilnius *qahal* applied to the leaders of the Lithuanian *va'ad* for the right to re-establish the Karaite settlement in Trakai, which had been destroyed during the 1655 Muscovite and Cossack invasion. It is written in the request that the Karaites "long ago received the right to reside in Trakai. Several tens of their families had lived there. Their cemetery was the burial ground for many of (our) members, before our own was established. They also have charters in Trakai that we have borrowed several times. We were compelled to borrow them from there (Trakai)". See Mann 1935, 559–560.

21 The transcription of a Polish form of the name Vytautas.

22 Sultansky 1920, 107–110.

23 In the English translation, I have preserved the Polish names and the names as presented in the original Hebrew text.

מא.
ובשנת חמשת אלפים ושש שנים ליצירת עלמא, שהיא שנת אלף רמ״ו למספר הנוצרים אותו הדוכס ויטולד הנזכר כשהאחיד וחבר דוכסייא של ליטא עם מלכות פולין הנקראת בלשונם פולין קורונא פולשקה ועלה לשבת על כסא מלכות פולין בתנאי שקיבל על עצמו ועמו דת הנוצרים (ומקודם היו עובדי האש) ובאופן זה קבלוהו אנשי פולין להיותו עליהם למלך והסבו והחליפו את שמו וקראו [לו] ולאדיסלאב יעגיללע, המלך הזה בהלחצו בשנה הנזכרת שנית למלחמה על חיל הטרטרים אשר יצאו מקירים ופשטו בארץ פולין לשחתה כפי מנהגם תמיד ובנצחו אותם בארץ מולטאניע על יד האגמים השחורים הנקראים בלשון פולין צרנע בלוטא הפיל מהם הללים פ״ד אלף ביום אחד שהוא יום ט״ו לחדשם הנקרא וורזאסין (בלשון רוסייא סנטיאבר) נפלו גם אז לקירים ושללו שלל גדול ובשוב המלך ההוא לדרכו לקח מן הקראים אשר בסולכט עוד ש״פ בעלי בתים [ויושיב ק״פ מהם] במדינת גאליציע בעיר העליץ על נהר נסטר בלשון קדר טורלא, והנשארים מהם מאתים בעלי בתים ישבם ויסדם במדינת וואלין בעיר הנקראת קראסנא גורא (הר יפה) על ההר מעבר לנהר סטיר נגד מבצר לוצקא בנתנו להם שדות וקרקעות סביב העיר בצירקיל למיל אחד וחצי (וכן נתן לאותם הקראים שיסדם בעיר העליץ) ובנתנו להם רשות וחפשיות לכל משא ומתן ולנסוע ולשוטט בדרכים בלי שום נתינת מס ובהגינו ובהדריגו את כלם בכתבי חריות חזקות וקימות לעולם אשר קראם הוא בעצמו זילזני ליסטי (ר״ל כתבי ברזל היינו חזקות כברזל) וגזר להם לשמור ולגנוז את כתבי החריות ההן בערכאות הנקראות בלשונם ערכיריאום שבמדינת לודאמעריא בעיר הגדולה הנקראת בלשון פולין לבוב ובלשון אשכנז לעמבערג תחת נומר ט״ו כדי שלא יקרה להם הפסד, ואצל הקראים נשארו נוסחאות מהם אשר העתיקום בשנת אלף רס״ז לנוצרים ביום ח׳ גרודזין (דיכאביר) ...

[(40) And it happened in 4978, in 1218 of the Christian era, the Grand Duke of the Duchy of Lithuania, called Witold Jagiełło, the son of Queen Bona, went to war against the Crimean Tatars in the Crimean Empire of the Khan. He defeated them, invaded Crimea and took much booty and a great number of prisoners among the Tatars. When leaving Crimea, he took and carried away the (people) among the Karaites from Solkhat, called Old Crimea – 483 Karaite homeowners; families[24] in their language – and brought them to Lithuania. He settled 330 of them in the town of Troki, situated 4 *parasangas*[25] from the city of Wilno,[26] provided them with land and gave them charters of great privileges. The remaining 153 families he settled in the town (called) Poniewież,[27] while protecting and giving them the same great privileges (...) as were bestowed upon the people of Troki (...)

(41) In the year 5006 from the creation of the world, which corresponds to 1246 by Christian reckoning, the same Duke Witold, who has been mentioned, united and joined the Duchy of Lithuania with the Kingdom of Poland, which is called Korona Polska[28] in their Polish language. He came to the throne of the kingdom of Poland under the condition that he and his nation would accept the Christian religion (previously they were fire worshipers). In this case, the Polish people took him to be king over them, they transformed

24 The transcription of Ashkenazi.
25 An ancient Persian unit of distance, usually estimated at 5.6 km. Four parasangas is approx. 22.4 km.
26 The transcription of the Polish rendition of Vilnius.
27 The transcription of the Polish rendition of Panevėžys.
28 The transcription of the Polish rendition of Crown of Poland.

and changed his name, and they called him Władysław Jagiełło. In the aforementioned year, this king went to war for the second time against the Tatar army, which came from Crimea and attacked the Polish land, destroying everything, as is their habit. After defeating them in the country of Moltwania,[29] next to the Black Lakes, called Czarne Błota[30] in Polish, with 84,000 of them falling on the first day, which was the fifteenth day of the month called *wrzesień*[31] (*сентябрь*[32] in Russian), they attacked again and captured a huge bounty. On his way home, the king also took 380 Karaite families from Solkhat with him (and settled 180 of them) in the land of Galicia, in the town of Halicz,[33] near the Nester River,[34] which was called Turla in the Qedar (i.e., Turkic) language.[35] The rest of them – 200 families – were settled in the land of Wołyń,[36] in a town called Krasna Góra (Beautiful Mountain) on the hillside across the Styr River from the Łuck[37] fortress. He gave them about one and a half miles of fields and land ringing the town (in like manner he gave it to the same Karaites who were settled in the town of Halicz), and he gave them rights and freedoms in all commercial matters and duty-free use of the roads. He arranged and approved everything in an authoritative and eternal charter of privileges, which he himself called *żelazne listy*[38] (I want to say that the privileges were just as strong as iron), and, in order to avoid any damage to them, he ordered them to protect and preserve these privileges in the stores, called *archivum* in their language, which were in the land of Lodomeria, in a big town called Lwów[39] in the Polish language and Lemberg in the Ashkenazi language (i.e. Yiddish) at number 15. Some versions were left among the Karaites, who copied it in the year 1267 by the Christian reckoning, on the eighth of *grudzień*[40] (*декабрь*[41]).]

The *Zecher Tzadiqim* was published by Samuel Poznański and included his commentaries on historical truth. Poznański stressed the fact that the above story had earlier been told to Rabbi Moshe Tenenboim (משה טענענבוים) by the Karaite *ḥacham* from Halych, Josef Leonovich (יוסף ליאונוביץ). Leonovich copied it verbatim from a letter sent by his father Abraham Leonovich (אברהם ליאונוביץ), who himself had copied it in the Lviv archives. This version was later published in *Hanesher* (הנשר) 15 on 2 Nisan 5624 (1863) and in Sinani Isaac's *Istoriya vozniknoveniya i razvitiya karaimizma* (*История возникнове-*

29 Bałaban suggests that this should read Moldavia (Bałaban 1927, 11).
30 The transcription of the Polish rendition of Black Muds.
31 The transcription of the Polish word for September.
32 The transcription of the Russian word for September.
33 The transcription of the Polish rendition of Halych.
34 Bałaban suggests that it should read Dniester (Bałaban 1927, 11).
35 The language of the nomads.
36 The transcription of the Polish rendition of Volhynia.
37 The transcription of the Polish rendition of Lutsk.
38 The transcription of the Polish term for the iron letters.
39 The transcription of the Polish rendition of Lviv.
40 The transcription of the Polish word for December.
41 The transcription of the Russian word for December.

ния и развития караимизма). Nonetheless, it does not conform to historical reality: The Grand Duke Vytautas was the ruler in 1392–1430, and Queen Bona's son was Sigismund II Augustus, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, the last of the Jagiellonians, who lived in 1520–1572. Queen Bona's son is not mentioned in *Hanesher*,[42] and, reasonably enough, Sinani changed the year from 1218 to 1418.[43]

In 1912, Józef Smoliński wrote a response to Poznański's commentaries – "Jeszcze w sprawie Karaimów (Odpowiedź p. Poznańskiemu) [More on the Karaite Question (A Reply to Mr. Poznanski)]". In it, he stressed that the Karaites had arrived in Lithuania in the fourteenth century:[44]

> Znany przywilej Witolda W-go Ks. Lit., ustanawiający stosunek żydów do chrześcijan, wyd., w Łucku w 1388 roku, a ośmiu dniami wcześniej zastosowany tamże do utworzonego dekanatu karaimów w Trokach, rozszerzający i objaśniający dawniejsze nadania, o których wspomina, nie może odnosić się do żydów rabinistów, gdyż jak przyznaje p. Poznański, w pierwszych przywilejach nie odróżniano karaimów od rabinistów; w tym wypadku jednak nie można twierdzić, aby nazwano ich, jak pisze p. P., 'wszystkich pospo-

42 The published text "לקורות בעלי מקרא [Le-Qorot Ba'aley Miqra']" (no author) is as follows (*Hanesher* 15 [1864]: 60):

> בשנת אלף רי"ח למספר הנוצרים, הדוכוס הגדול של דוכסיות ליטא וויטולד (Witold) בהחלצו למלחמה על הקדרים על מלכות קרים שלל גדול ושביה גדולה לקח והביא עמו למדינת ליטא ואמר להם להוסד ולהבנות במקום הנקרא טרוק (Trock) וקרא שם המקום בשם עיר חדשה בנתנו להם חיריות גדולות והושיב במקום ההוא מהם שלש מאות ושלושים בעלי בתים (Familie) והשאר הושיבם בפוניוויז קנ"ג בעלי בתים בהגינו ובהגדירו אותם באותם החריות בעצמם, ר"ל של בעלי עיר חדשה הנ"ל.

[In 1218, by the Christian reckoning, the Grand Duke of the Duchy of Lithuania, Witold, went to war against the Tatars, the Khan of Crimea. He took much booty and a great number of prisoners and brought them with him to the state of Lithuania. He told them to settle and establish a residence in a place called Troki. He called the place a new town. He gave them far-reaching privileges. He settled 330 of their families there, and the remaining 153 families were settled in Poniewież, where they were also protected and received the same far-reaching privileges as the families of the new town mentioned above.]

43 Sinani 1890, 279–281. Sinani rewrote the fragment from Sultansky with the following changes:

Въ 1418 году Витгольдъ Ягелло, великій князь литовскій ополчился [...] Въ 1426 году, тотъ же великій князь литовскій, Витгольдъ Ягелло, присоединилъ Литовское княжество [...] случилось 15-го Сентября 1426-го года

[In 1418, the Grand Duke of Duchy of Lithuania, Witold Jagiełło, went to war against (...) In 1426, the same Duke Witold Jagiełło united (...) It happened on the fifteenth of September 1426.]

44 Smoliński 1912, 353.

lem' judei trocenses, gdyż jak to najwyraźniej widzimy z późniejszych nadań i chociażby z przytoczonego w art. moim przywileju Władysława IV, wyd. karaimom w Warszawie w 1646 r., żydzi rabiniści nie tylko nie mieli w Trokach żadnych zgoła przywilejów osadniczych, ale nawet nie mieli prawa tam zamieszkiwać. Król Władysław IV potwierdza to tylko, powołując się na dawne nadania: jak czytamy 'żydzi rabinowie czasy niedawnemi w mieście naszem trockiem mieszkania sobie wynająwszy, w onych rezydując – wolności żydom karaimskim od ś. p. przodków Naszych y Nas samych nadanych nullo iure zażywają ...' Nie będzie więc „błędnem" twierdzenie, że przywileje dawane „żydom trockim" stosują się do karaimów, i żydzi rabiniści nie mogą ich sobie przypisywać, gdyż pod żadnym względem nie byli uprzywilejowanymi mieszkańcami Trok.

[The privilege promulgated by Vytautas, the Grand Duke of Lithuania is recognized, and, it established the relationship of Jews to Christians, given in Lutsk in 1388, although eight days earlier, it had been used to set up the Karaite deanery in Trakai, expanding and clarifying older grant rights, which, as he mentions, cannot refer to Rabbanite Jews, because, as Mr. Poznański admits, no distinction between Karaites and Rabbanite Jews existed in the original privileges: In this case, however, it cannot be said that they were called, as Mr. P. writes, "all together" *judei trocenses*, because as we can see clearly from rights later granted, even if only the privilege of Władysław IV given to the Karaites in Warsaw in 1646, which is cited in my article, Rabbanite Jews not only did not have settlement privileges in Trakai, they did not even have the right to reside there. In confirming this, King Władysław IV simply relied on past grant rights. As we can read: "Recently in our town of Trakai, the Rabbanite Jews who were renting housing or residing there made use of the freedoms of our late ancestors among the Karaite Jews, which were given to us as *nullo iure* ..." That's why it is not so "wrong" to say that these privileges were granted to "Trakai Jews", to the Karaites, in fact, and Rabbanite Jews could not claim them, because they were in no way privileged inhabitants of Trakai.]

In 1927, Majer Bałaban published the Polish translation of Mordecai Sultansky's aforementioned history of Karaite settlement in Trakai in *Studja Historyczne*.[45] He points out that three charters of privilege were granted to the Trakai Jews – in 1441 by Casimir IV Jagiellon, in 1492 by Alexander, and in 1507 by Sigismund I. Although the Karaites are not specifically mentioned as the recipients of the charters, it is to them that they were granted.[46] Grand Duke Casimir Jagiellon resisted the Catholic opposition to the Jews under his rule, allowing them to have their own law courts and to trade in agricultural and dairy products. In 1441, he passed the Magdeburg Law,[47] which granted the Karaite community

45 Bałaban 1927, 11.

46 Bałaban 1927, 57.

47 According to Bershadsky, the main reason for such generosity and kindness on the part of the Grand Duke was the poverty of the Trakai Jews and some damages (*damna*). In order to help them cope with the extremely difficult situation they found themselves in, he granted them the same privileges as the Christian sections of Vilnius, Kaunas, and Trakai (Bershadsky 1883, 241–242).

of Trakai equal status with the Gentile municipalities of Trakai. The Trakai Jews (Karaites) were no longer under any jurisdiction except that of a *shofet* (in later Polish documents, *wójt*[48] [mayor]) who was responsible for resolving any litigation among them.[49] The *shofet* was elected for a two- or three-year term by the representatives of an irregular assembly, but the election had to be confirmed by the governor (in Polish, *wojewoda*), who received a fee or 'present' for his confirmation. The *shofet* was responsible to the Grand Duke of Lithuania for his actions. A peasant *kmieć*, or nobleman, caught red handed committing a crime in the Jewish territory could only be subjected to the Jewish court system with the knowledge and agreement of *wojewoda*. The Trakai Jews were obliged to pay an annual rent, but were free of all impositions. To meet the needs of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, under the Magdeburg Law, they, like other cities, were obliged to make extraordinary contributions. They received half of the revenue of a weighing house and of a *woskobojnia* (a wax producer). When visiting Trakai in December 1492, Grand Duke Alexander exempted the Trakai Jews (Karaites) from all tolls – toll roads, toll bridges, and royal, private, clerical, and lay tolls – allowing them to travel freely and transport goods throughout the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, as was already the case for the townspeople of Vilnius and Trakai.[50]

According to Bałaban, the privileges gained by the Karaite community allowed them to create not just a *qahal*, but an entirely separate town. This resulted in Trakai being divided into two parts with a so-called border being the 'Swan Bridge' (*lebiednyj most*) alongside a small river. In 1485, there was a conflict between Catholic and Orthodox burgesses and the Karaites about the *srebszczyzna*[51] tax. In response, Casimir Jagiellon asserted that the town had already long been divided into two parts, and that this division had changed nothing about the taxes and tributes to be paid. He promised to find a solution to the problem when he next visited, but that visit never occurred. In 1517, the Karaites once again appealed to Sigismund I about the same issue. On 24 April 1517, the king commanded the Trakai *wojewoda* to call for the town *wójt* Miko-

48 According to Bałaban, the first written mention of the institution of *wójt* dates to the early sixteenth century, following the return from expulsion and the reconfirmation of the former privileges of 1441. On 25 November 1508, the Trakai *wojewoda* Mikołaj Mikołajewicz told his deputy Fjedor Czaplicz that the king had given his permission to the Trakai Karaites to have a *wójt*, and Abraham had been chosen and confirmed for this position. The next *wójt* was Mordecai (1517). See Bałaban 1927, 65.

49 Bershadsky 1883, 241–242.

50 Bałaban 1927, 58.

51 The land tax imposed upon the inhabitants of Lithuania and Ruthenia in the Middle Ages: It derived its name from the fact that it had to be paid in silver.

łaj, so that he could be instructed to maintain a strict divide between the Christian and Jewish (Karaite) sections of Trakai. The Karaites were represented by their *wójt*, Mordecai.[52]

In 1936, Abraham Szyszman, writing in the Karaite journal *Myśl Karaimska* (Karaite Thought), dated the first Karaite settlement in Trakai to the late fourteenth century. In 1397, Algirdas, the Grand Duke Vytautas' commander, defeated three Tatar rulers who united against him. The first was the ruler of the Crimean region (main town, Solkhat), the second, the ruler of the Kyrk Jer region (main town, Kyrk Jer, viz. Chufut-Kale), and the third, the ruler of the Mangup region (main town, Mangup Kale). Algirdas invaded the Crimean Peninsula, getting as far as Solkhat, the main Tatar centre in Crimea. In late 1397, having regained control of Tokhtamysh (in Tatar, *Tuqtamış*), Grand Duke Vytautas removed many Tatars, as well as 383 Karaite families, from the Solkhat area. According to Szyszman, Grand Duke Vytautas turned over some of his Tatar captives to King Jogaila, who forcibly baptized half of them. The other captives were settled on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and were not obliged to change their religion. The Karaite territory ran from Swan Bridge to the Tatar Wall, with the Lithuanian tribal population being resettled elsewhere. As Szyszman has noted, the strategic location of the Karaite settlement in Trakai and later privileges indicate that Karaites were accepted to the knighthood of the Grand Duchy as a significant social group with land rights. He further noted that it was only in 1579 that the Karaites were exempted from the obligation to watch the castle and cultivate land in Old Trakai. [53]

It is worth noting that Szyszman describes the Charter of Vytautas as the first charter of privileges. It is "probably lost forever, but the next charter was preserved. It confirmed that the Karaites were given residence in the territory of the former capital Trakai, they were not restricted to the religious beliefs, and they were fully trusted in the Grand Duchy".[54]

In 1935, in his book *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature,* Jacob Mann addresses the expulsion of Karaites in the late fifteenth century. Grand Duke of Lithuania Alexander, Casimir's fourth son, reconfirmed and expanded the Karaite charter of Trakai in December 1492, but then in 1495, he expelled all Lithuanian Jews, including the Karaites of Trakai and Volhynia, with everything confiscated being given to the throne, the church, or the Jews' neighbours.[55] It

52 Bałaban 1927, 59.

53 Szyszman 1935–1936, 48.

54 Szyszman 1935–1936, 49.

55 Bershadsky mentions some Lithuanian Metrica documents that relate to the expulsion of Jews from Lithuania. A document from 8 June 1495 indicates that Alexander the Great gave a

was only following the death of John Albert[56] that the Lithuanian Jews were permitted to return to Lithuania. Like his father, Alexander became king of Lithuania and Poland. In 1503, Alexander annulled his own expulsion decree. There is no evidence that Jews returned as a result, but this probably stabilized the situation, and in 1507, Sigismund I reconfirmed the Karaite charter of Trakai, extending some rights in the process.[57]

In conclusion, the medieval settlement of Karaites in Trakai before the expulsion could be characterized by the maintenance of stability. In the extant documents we do not find any complaints about heavy fiscal burdens. Meanwhile, the first sources draw attention to the issue of the Hebrew legacy and great piety of Karaites. The fact that they were written in Hebrew only raises the status of this language within the Karaite community. It proves that Hebrew was not only cultivated for religious reasons in solemn and dignified worship, but that it was the language of daily correspondence. Therefore, the elders were required to be fluent in Hebrew in order to keep contacts with the Karaite co-believers of Constantinople. The Karaite piety reflected in the letters to and from Elijah Bashyatzi refers to Karaite consultation towards some Rabbanite adaptations.

The following centuries brought some changes in Karaite life, and subsequently had a great impact on the attitude of authorities towards Karaites, as well as on relations between Rabbanites and Karaites. The strained relations could be indirectly echoed in the history of the first Karaite settlement in Lithuania passed down orally from generation to generation, as even until the twentieth century Karaites boasted having received Vytautas' charter of privilege in 1388, which in fact has been discredited in recent times. However, this history has become so ingrained in past thinking of all Karaites honouring the famous dukes that it overshadows the true facts of the arrival of Karaites who have become almost forever linked with something they never did. As there was no way of verifying its accuracy, details and meanings changed over time, consequently prevented prejudice and hatred from spreading, protected against religious intolerance and persecution, and helped them to avoid paying certain discriminatory taxes and tolls – in contrast to these difficulties experienced specifically by Rabbanite Jews. The more privileges Karaites obtained from local authorities, the wider the gap that formed in relations between these two

farm in Trakai that had belonged to a Jew named Shlomo, with its livestock, corn, and other property, to his furrier Sova. See Bershadsky 1883, 253.

56 John I Albert (1459–1501; r. 1492–1501) was Casimir's third son. After his death, his brother Alexander was elected king of Poland.

57 Mann 1935, 563.

groups, and consequently they drifted apart. The history proves that it was an individual and general duty of self-preservation to defend not only the property they possessed, but even their own lives. Karaites identified with this version of history so strongly that not only did they convince the monarchs, but they personally believed it to be the unquestionable truth for many centuries. As a final point, it is fair to say that the authors discussed here did not consider all of the available documents on the origin of the Karaites in Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the fifteenth century, and as a result, their opinions should be viewed with scepticism.

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III. Images and Stereotypes: Scandinavia

Yvonne Friedman

10 Christian Hatred of the Other: Theological Rhetoric vs. Political Reality

Any depiction of medieval antisemitism confronts the question of where to draw the line between verbal theological polemic and incitement to physical violence against the adversary. Irrational hatred could and did lead to the violence that fostered the portrayal of Western Christianity as a 'persecuting society'.[1] This also raises the question of the extent to which theological animosity was linked to real Others – contemporary Jews and Muslims. It can be difficult to precisely identify the distinction between theological adversary and religious-political enemy when examining the Crusades, Christian society's military or violent action against unbelievers within and without Western Europe.[2]

This paper considers this distinction and the metaphorical portrayal of the enemy in three contexts. It first undertakes a comparative consideration of Peter the Venerable's anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim thought, viewing him as a touchstone of medieval Christian thought and rhetoric regarding the Other. Then, using medieval Scandinavia and the Baltic as a test case, it considers the question of whether anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim rhetoric and violence required the presence of the Other. It concludes with a comparison of the attitude toward the Other in the Latin East, where the adversary was an actual presence, and in Europe, where the adversary often assumed virtual form.

10.1 Peter the Venerable on Jews and Muslims

Peter's virulent anti-Jewish attitude is well represented in his polemical treatise, *Against the Inveterate Obduracy of the Jews*. The publication of the critical edition of Peter's *Adversus Judaeos* in 1985 seems to have sparked renewed scholarly interest in this figure.[3] Various scholars have portrayed Peter as a landmark figure in Christian anti-Jewish polemic. Thus, Gavin Langmuir views Peter as defining antisemitism,[4] and Anna Abulafia,[5] Denise Bouthillier and

1 Moore 2007.
2 On the connection between anti-Jewish polemic and promoting the Crusades, see Abulafia 1998, 45–70.
3 PV, *Adversus Iud*. 1985.
4 Langmuir 1990, 197–208.
5 Abulafia 1995.

Jean-Pierre Torrell[6] underscore his demonization of his adversary. More recently Jeremy Cohen[7] and Dominique Iogna-Prat[8] put forth the view that Peter the Venerable exemplified Christendom's association of its anti-Jewish polemic with its anti-Muslim struggle. Peter, the grand abbot of Cluny (1122–1156), was rightly lauded by his secretary and biographer as a champion fighting for the Christian faith "with the swords of Divine words [...] in order to humble the Satanic pride and arrogance which rise up against the greatness of God".[9] His polemical works include the treatise against the Petrobrusian heresy, his book against the Jews, and his anti-Islamic *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, based on a compilation he commissioned of *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum* – a summary of anti-Islamic texts. His works demonstrate that he was indeed a fighter for the faith, a leader of the medieval Christian polemic against 'the religions of the book'.

Peter's anti-Jewish polemic starts out in a conventional mould based on centuries of *adversus judaeos* literature, but then takes an innovative approach. If the first chapters of his book revolve around the correct interpretation of scriptural verses, chapter five sees Peter launching a new type of attack; a full-fledged assault on the Talmud, a century before the fateful disputation of Paris that led to its burning in 1244.[10]

In the first four chapters of his work, Peter draws upon scriptural authority and uses rational refutation in an intense effort to convince himself and his virtual adversary that the Christian exegesis of the topical Christological biblical verses provides their sole true meaning. His endeavour to prove that Christ was the Son of God as foretold by the prophets, that He was truly the deity, that His kingdom was eternal and Heavenly, and that the Messiah had already come, constituted well-trodden paths. The Christian exegesis of these biblical prooftexts had been rehearsed for centuries, dramatized in the *Ordo prophetarum* – the theatrical performance of the prophets foretelling Jesus – and sculpted in Romanesque churches, depicting the prophets with their scrolls containing prophesies about Christ.[11] The stubborn Jews who refused to be persuaded by these verses were what Jeremy Cohen has termed hermeneutical Jews.[12] Ex-

6 Bouthillier and Torrell 1984.
7 Cohen 1999, 245–270.
8 Iogna-Prat 1998 (English edn., 2002).
9 PV, *Contra Sarracenos*, 228.
10 Friedman 1999. Cf. Cohen 1999, 262–265, who does not emphasize the connection between the twelfth-to-thirteenth century concept of the Talmud and its anti-Christian passages.
11 Friedman 1984.
12 Cohen 1999, 2–4.

Fig. 2: Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, MS 381, fol. 131r, initial U (originally Anchin XII); the illuminator is probably Siger (1156–1166). Published by permission, copyright CNRS, IHRT.
Peter the Venerable instructing a Jew. Although Peter is seated, he looms taller than the standing Jew whose dark countenance is in contrast to Peter's bright face. The posture of the Jew's twisted body, as if defending himself with his right hand, while raising a finger of his left hand, shows him as inferior, but not giving way to the truth being preached to him. His disproportionately large head bestows a sinister appearance on the Jew.

cept for one instance, where Peter claims to know the contemporary Jewish interpretation,[13] this part of his polemic has very little to do with the actual Other. The adversary is in fact a virtual construct, not a real person. (See fig. 2.)

Peter's argument in the long appendix to the fourth chapter is grounded in the triumphal spread of Christianity and past and contemporary miracles. The appendix also takes up the question of the binding power of the Mosaic Law and its commandments, which had been transformed in Christianity from the outer shell, the *cortex*, the word that kills, to the inner meaning, the *medulla*, the spirit that quickens. Here, we find a more heated tone, as these were topics debated in actual Christian-Jewish dialogue.[14] In his fifth and final chapter, Peter moves to post-biblical texts, as if Jewish stubbornness was grounded in a secret alternative to the New Testament, namely, the Talmud. For Peter, it was the Talmud that prevented the Jews from seeing the light. All that was necessary was to prove that Talmudic texts – mainly the haggadic, legendary

13 PV, *Adversus Iud.*, IV, 68–69, lines 29–34.
14 For example, see Limor 1991, 35–51.

passages – were ridiculous, blasphemous, and false. Unlike the earlier chapters, this part of the dispute seems to be directed not at a virtual, historical Jew, but rather at Peter's contemporaries. It was based on the assumption that the level of Jewish belief in the Talmud was equivalent to a belief in a holy scripture, and that they understood its stories literally, which shows scant knowledge of contemporary Jewish thought. Peter then went further, offering two new arguments. First he asks three times whether the obstinate Jew who refuses to be convinced by his polemic and convert to Christianity can be seen as a human being or should rather be counted a beast.[15] Second, he intimates that if the irrational Jew believes in an alternative tradition, then perhaps the Jews' function as book bearers, bringing testimony to the Christian truth, has outlived its purpose, and it is no longer necessary to protect them. Both the threefold dehumanization that frames Jews as beasts and the implicit questioning of whether or not they deserve protection were to have dire consequences for later generations.[16]

Peter's angry outburst against the Talmudic text – "I would condemn it and its perpetrators to the flames" – was probably not meant to be taken literally.[17] However, those inflammatory words may have sown a fateful seed that culminated in the burning of the Talmud and other books in Paris a century later. It is in this chapter that Peter's anti-Judaism explodes into a harsh diatribe. Almost as if shouting, Peter writes, "who would contain our hands from your blood if not for the explicit verse *ne occidas eos* [kill them not]?"[18] The Augustinian exegesis understands this verse as a scriptural proscription against Christians killing Jews, who have to be dispersed like Cain the fratricide and humiliated.[19] In use for ages, in Peter's mouth the tone of this argument straddles the border between polemic and violence.

It is perhaps Peter's diatribe against the inhuman Jew in the context of the crucifixion that enabled Christians to cross the line from hatred of Jews to violence. In chapter three of his book, Peter abandons the intellectual tone and embarks on a tirade against the inhuman Jew: "Were you not dogs, when like dogs you thirsted for blood and so very rabidly almost licked it up saying 'His blood be upon us and upon our children'?"[20] This emotive, angry reaction to the story of the Passion penetrated other countries and persisted for centuries.

15 PV, *Adversus Iud.*, v, 125, lines 15–26.
16 Cf. Cohen, 1999, 261–264.
17 PV, *Adversus Iud.*, v, 166, lines 1444–1446.
18 PV, *Adversus Iud.*, v, 141, lines 603–615.
19 Augustine 1891, 339, 341; Unterseher 2009.
20 PV, *Adversus Iud.*, III, 57, lines 536–552.

Stemming from the literary figure of the Jew in the New Testament, it was an emotional-religious hatred that required no real contemporary Jews, but could easily spill over into violence against real people.[21] The threefold *nescio utrum homo sit* – I do not know if the Jew is human, I doubt that he who has a heart of stone could be called human, leaves little ambiguity as to the answer.[22]

Curiously, when Peter wrote his anti-Islam treatise, he offered the claim that Muslims ought to learn from the tolerant attitude of Christian polemicists: They need only follow the example of the Christians who argue with Jews. Hearing the Jews blaspheme, the Christians do not go into a fury, but listen patiently and make scholarly, wise replies.[23]

Just as Peter made efforts to learn about post-biblical Jewish literature – although he misunderstood it – he went to great lengths to learn about Islam. During his visit to Spain in 1142, he commissioned a translation of the Qurʾān and a corpus of Christian weapons against it: Robert of Ketton's *Fables of the Saracens*; the *Liber generationis* (the legends of the prophets' lives); the *Doctrina Muhammed* (the story of four Jews asking Muḥammad a hundred questions), and the *Apologia* or *Risālah* of al-Kindī (a ninth-century dialogue between a Christian and a Muslim).

His own book against Islam differs greatly in tone from the *Adversus Judaeos*. The well-known prologue is inviting: "I do address you, not as our men often do with arms, but with words, not with violence but with reason, not with hate but love".[24] Peter expands upon this motif: "I love you, loving you I write you". In this case as well the protagonist is virtual: "I address verbally those whom I have never seen and perhaps never shall".[25] The book is also meant for internal consumption, to strengthen the faith of the Christians

21 Resnick 2012, 40, even claims that Peter's book became something of a favourite among early-twentieth-century German antisemites.

22 PV, *Adversus Iud.*, III, 57–58, lines 562–570.

23 PV, *Contra Sarracenos*, 50, 96–98:

> Imitamini saltem in hoc nostros, qui, cum frequentem cum Iudaeis, quorum inter ipsos plurima multitudo subiecta moratur, sermonem conserant, et multa ac paene universa fidei Christianae contraria ab ipsis audient, non in furiam commoventur nec velut contra blasphemos in eorum necem insurgunt, sed audiunt patienter, respondent sapienter

> [Imitate at least in this us (i.e., the Christians) who frequently engage in conversation with the Jews, of whom a great multitude stay subject among them, and although they hear from them many and nearly all things contrary to the Christian faith, they are not moved to fury nor aroused to the blasphemers' slaughter, but rather listen patiently and answer wisely].

24 PV, *Contra Sarracenos*, 24, 62.

25 PV, *Contra Sarracenos*, 24, 62.

threatened by Islam's successes and to provide them with arguments for a possible confrontation. The humane, loving salutation is meant to open the door to dialogue in the name of humanity and asks them to listen, even if they do not agree.[26] Nevertheless, during his refutation of Islam, Peter utters harsh words against Muḥammad, declaring him a false prophet. Peter identifies the essence of prophecy as proclaiming through divine inspiration unknown things, be they past, present, or future, and finds the Qurʾān to contain no prophecy. There is also the lack of miracles like those Peter used so proudly both in his book *De Miraculis* and against the Jews. But ultimately, if he failed to convince the adversary, his reaction was to demonize Muḥammad and his sectaries as a sum total of heresies, both Christian and Jewish. The explanation for Muslim success was the coming of the Antichrist. Cluny was God's citadel besieged by demons, and polemical works were the defensive ammunition.

Peter's greater tolerance for Islam as compared to his inveterate hatred of Judaism was evident not only in his theoretical, polemical works, but also in his concrete advice on how to act. In a very famous letter written to Crusading King Louis VII, Peter makes a clear distinction between the two enemies of Christendom:

> Why should we pursue the enemies of the Christian faith in far and distant lands while vile blasphemers far worse than any Saracens, namely the Jews, who are not far from us, but who live in our midst, blaspheme, abuse and trample on Christ and the Christian Sacraments so freely and insolently with impunity.[27]

Again straddling the thin line between incitement and persecution, Peter reminds the king of the scriptural command *ne occidas eos*,[28] according to which the Jews are not to be killed, suggesting instead that they be taxed to finance the Crusade, alleviating the Church's financial burden: "Let their lives be saved and their money taken away so that the blasphemous Jews' money would help the Christian to fight the Saracens".[29] The letter finds the current anti-Muslim feelings to be theologically justified, and uses the same criteria to direct hatred toward the Jews:

> If one ought to hate the Saracens, even though they believe like us that Christ was born of a virgin and agree with us on many other things, because they still deny that he was

26 PV, *Contra Sarracenos*, 28, 66.
27 PV, *Letters*, letter 130, I, 327–330 (328).
28 Psalms 58. 12 (Hebrew Bible Psalms 59. 12).
29 PV, *Letters*, 328–329.

> God and son of God [...] How much more should one hate and execrate the Jews, who understanding of Christ and the Christian faith, reject, blaspheme and deride him.[30]

Clearly the Jews had a special place in Peter's heart. His stated rationale for having the Jews finance the Crusade mixes their theological divergence with socioeconomic factors: The Jews are social parasites who trade in stolen goods.

> The thief hands over the vessels of Christ's body and blood to those who killed him, who heaped contumely and injury upon him when he was amongst the living [...] They do not cease from wounding him with their blasphemous words as much as they dare [...] Verily Christ feels the Jewish abuse of the vessels, themselves insensitive, sacred to him [...] I have often heard from veracious men that those infamous ones use these celestial vessels [...] in a way of which it would be horrible to think of and detestable to speak of.[31]

The language of this accusation, which derives from rumours about the profanation of holy vessels, resembles that used some years later in the blood libel accusations of Jewish desecration of the Host, as if again crucifying Jesus.[32]

10.2 The Northern countries: Hatred of the virtual Other

Peter had to distinguish between the virtual Jew based on the biblical and historical Jew, the so-called hermeneutical Jew, and the actual Jews who lived in France in his day, whom he targeted viciously in his letter to Louis VII. As there were no Jews living in Scandinavia or late medieval England, the only Jew that existed there was the theoretical, virtual Jew.[33] In such a situation, where both Jews and Muslims could only be virtual enemies, we might perhaps expect a more tolerant attitude, but this was not the case.

The burning of heretics and others perceived as endangering Christianity was neither Peter's invention nor a unique idea. But the burning of the nine traitors in Visby in 1350 could not have happened without a solid background of loathing and fear laid down for centuries by mainstream Christian intellectuals, such as Peter the Venerable. Underlying the burning at Visby was the belief in an international plot against Christians and Christianity.[34] Although there

30 PV, *Letters*, 328–329; Friedman 1978.
31 PV, *Letters*, 329.
32 Rubin 1999, 1–48.
33 See, however, Haastrup 2003.
34 In the first instance of ritual murder accusations, in Norwich 1144, Thomas of Monmouth circulated a story about an annual meeting of Jews in Rouen that decided where to kill a

were no Jews in Gotland at the time, the irrational fear of the Black Death gave birth to the libel of Jews poisoning the water and plotting to destroy the entire Christian population. With no actual Jews to persecute in Sweden at that time, Christian enemies had to do and could be scapegoated as the messengers of the Jews. In this case, the culprit Dideric (Tidericus) was burned as an accomplice in the plot of two mysterious Jews, Moses and Aron. Nine other Christians were accused of spreading the Black Death by poisoning the wells – two of them clerics.[35] Thus, no actual Jews were needed to breed antisemitism in the Swedish Gotland: The medieval Christian heritage was sufficient. Taking into account the strong German influence there, this Northern antisemitism seems to have been part of the imported Christian heritage.[36] The agency of the medieval Scandinavians lay in their use of the images to solve a current social problem and to transfer hatred to another adversary. It should be noted, for example, that, at the same time, the Sámi, living in north and east Norway, were still mostly polytheistic pagans; yet they were left alone until the seventeenth century and not persecuted on religious grounds.[37] However, the old Danish texts that are blatantly anti-Jewish are centred mostly on the devotional ritual of identifying with the suffering Christ, a trend that has its roots in emotional, mystical texts such as those by Pseudo-Bonaventura and St. Birgitta.[38] The detailed descriptions of the tortures inflicted on Jesus by the Jews go much farther than the polemical outburst noted above and were powerful lessons in contempt.[39]

David Nirenberg has even claimed that 'Jewishness' became a feature attached not only to the Jews. He asks, "Why is it that the fear of Judaizing reached a new peak in Western Europe at precisely the moment when Jews had virtually disappeared from it"?[40] He shows that the accusation of 'Judaiz-

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Christian child. Thomas of Monmouth 1896, 93. Peter the Venerable mentions a contemporary Jewish leader in Rouen, who, although a head of Jewry, did not qualify in his opinion as a Jewish king. PV, *Adversus Iud.*, IV, 70, lines 77–79.

35 See the article by Cordelia Heß in this volume. The source is a letter from Lübeck to Count Otto of Lüneburg telling the story that Tidericus had met the Jews in Germany (*Codex diplomaticus Lubecensis* 1871, no. 110, 105–106). The verdict was handed down on 1 June 1350, and Dideric was burned a month later for planning to poison all Christendom. Both the accusation and the means of execution at the stake were exceptional in Scandinavia and were probably imported from Germany.

36 Berulfsen 1958, 123–144; Gregg 1997, 171.

37 Solbakk 2007.

38 Adams 2013a, 18–36.

39 Adams 2013a and 2013b; Cohen 2007, 85–135.

40 Nirenberg 2013, 218.

ing' gained new social and political power precisely when the Jews disappeared, because once 'Jewishness' was rendered invisible, it became more ominous and threatening. In her books on a Flemish moneylender, Myriam Greilsammer attests to the repercussions of this phenomenon of 'virtual Jewishness' for non-Jews. In a society with no Jews, the metaphors and diabolical characteristics could be transferred to a Christian adversary.[41] Anthony Bale demonstrated the same phenomenon in England after the expulsion. "Reinforced by religious polemic, 'universal' currency, and ancient pedigree, anti-Semitic stories were implicitly 'true', even as their distinctive power rested in their fantastical, fleeting, and unofficial elements".[42]

In Scandinavian literature, the virtual Jews were strongly connected to the Passion stories. As was the case earlier in Europe, the liturgy of Easter and Christmas were replete with anti-Jewish insinuations. *Mary's Lamentations at the Cross* – the West Norse parallel to the *planctus sive lamentaci Mariae* and the *Stabat Mater* – depicts an emotive scene. The refrain: "Why did the most horrible Jews crucify you?" could not have failed to raise emotions.[43] The stations of agony and the depicting of the sadistic, mocking Jews illustrated and amplified the accusation that the Jews "heaped contumely and injury upon him when he was amongst the living".[44]

Richard Cole's "The Fantasy of Violence against Jews in Medieval Scandinavia"[45] demonstrates the hatred toward virtual Jews, and the ease with which – as was the case at Visby – the line between emotion and violence could be crossed. However, where Peter and his legacy of anti-Jewish outbursts may have indirectly influenced the newly Christianized societies in the North, they did not seem to inherit his preference for Muslims over Jews. In the case of Muslims, or Saracens, their animosity found a different outlet.

10.3 The attitude toward the Other in the Latin East and Europe

Peter's attitude toward Islam did not alter the attitude of the members of Crusader society who fought against the Muslims in the Near East. For them, their

41 Greilsammer 2009; Greilsammer 2012.
42 Bale 2006, 6–7. See also Bale 2008, 23–44.
43 "Avve mik, avve mik, son minn sæle, krossfestu þik hinir grimmu iudar?" *Mariu Saga* 1871, 1010.
44 PV, *Letters*, 329; Adams 2013a, 14–24.
45 Cole 2013.

Fig. 3: Luttrell Psalter, British Library, Add. MS 42130, fol. 82, margin. Copyright The British Library Board.
A miniature of two caparisoned knights jousting; generally believed to be Richard the Lionheart and Saladin. Note Saladin's dark blue countenance, long crooked nose, and the black face on his shield as his heraldic sign.

main enemy was the Muslim, not as a virtual concept, but as a military adversary who was engaged on the battlefield. Muslims were described as pagans in Crusader chronicles, even by later authors, who knew very well that the Muslims were in fact not pagans. Thus, when the Teutonic Knights moved from the Holy Land to the Baltic in the late thirteenth century, they brought with them the metaphor of themselves as Maccabees opposing the pagans,[46] with whom they equated the Muslims in the Holy Land.[47] Intriguingly, we find a different metaphorical usage in the North: Although their enemies in the North were actual pagans, the Teutonic chronicles refer to them as Saracens. Thus in Scandinavia and in the Baltic, Muslims were *blamen* – black or dark men – a reference to their depiction with a diabolic, dark countenance in European poetry and illustrations.[48] (See fig. 3.) By importing this concept of the Other, their pagan neighbours became Saracens and it was therefore possible to transfer the anti-Muslim Holy Land Crusader propaganda to the North.

We must, however, recall that the focus of the early Crusades and of the Crusaders' mission was the Holy Land, and even though interreligious war

46 Fischer 2005, 59–71; Ehlers 2001, 22.
47 Murray 2010, 413–429.
48 For example, see the illustration in the *Luttrell Psalter* that depicts Saladin with dark blue skin and a crooked nose; Strickland 2003, 167. For *blamen* as dark, not necessarily blue, see Magerøy 2007.

raged there throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the demonic, pagan, and threatening image of the Saracen did not take root in the Holy Land. Although the chroniclers of the First Crusade almost consistently identified Muslims as enemy pagans, later descriptions called them Turks or Saracens (differentiating between Seljuks in the North and Fatimids in the South).[49] Nor did the European anti-Jewish image become prominent in the Latin East.

Certainly, both Jews and Saracens were butchered in the frenzy of the conquest of Jerusalem in July 1099.[50] Although the atrocities against the inhabitants of Jerusalem may be seen as 'common practice' in the case of a lengthy siege and the storming of a city,[51] the extent of the carnage, as well as the proud descriptions of the blood flowing in the streets, seem to have provided an outlet for the anti-Muslim propaganda of the First Crusade. But, as preserved in the thirteenth-century assizes, Crusader law did not seem to assign Jews or Muslims a different status from that of other conquered populations, including the Oriental Christians.[52] Literary sources from both sides show that whereas the Muslims were perceived as a military enemy, in everyday life both Jews and Muslims were viewed as human beings and not as diabolical demons.[53] Thus the political-social reality made it possible to build a coexistence that alternated between war and peace, without transferring irrational European hatred to that arena. In the North, the image of the enemy as a Saracen

49 See Ambroise, a western poet, who called the Muslim enemy "Turcs", "Sarazins" indiscriminately, but sometimes called them "paens gent [pagans]". For example, see Ambroise 2003, lines 7232–7353.

50 Kedar 2004, 15–75. According to Jewish sources from the Cairo Genizah, at least some Jews managed to escape death and were ransomed by their coreligionists in Egypt. Goitein 1952, 129–147. Only one western source, the poet Gilo of Toucy, mentions the Crusaders of 1099 particularly targeting the Jews. All the other chroniclers seem indifferent to the Jews, at this point. Prawer 1988, 26–33.

51 France 1994, 355–356.

52 *Assises de la cour de Bourgeois* 1843, no. 241, 171–172 where "un Jude, ou un Sarasin, ou un Samaritan, ou un Nestorin, ou un Grifon, ou un Jacopin ou un Ermin" are treated the same way in court, and they all have to take an oath on their specific holy books. In cap. 24 of the Cyprian *Abrégé du livre des Assises de la cour de bourgeois* 1843, 254–255, Jews and Saracens are listed among those not allowed to buy a plot of land called *borgezie* without any differentiation. *Livres des assises* 1839, no. 236, details the viscount's obligations in the court of the market: "He is moreover obliged by law to dispense justice in the prescribed manner to Muslims as much as to the Syrian, to the Syrian as much as to the Jew and to the Jew as much as to the Samaritan and to all manner of persons as much as to the Christians, for this is what is lawful and right according to the assizes".

53 Thus the assizes see them as human like the Franks: "Car encores scient il Suriens et Grifons ou Judes ou Samaritans ou Nestourin ou Sarasins, si sont il auci homes les Francs." *Livres des assises* 1839, no. 236; Kedar 1990, 135–174.

took root, and the irrational hatred of the Jews, even without any real Jews to hate, remained part of the Christian heritage.

Peter's highbrow treatises probably never reached the Northern countries. On the other hand, his famous letter to King Louis, with its practical repercussions, may have had a wider sphere of influence. In any case, anti-Jewish feelings became the norm in contemporary Christian culture. As for Peter's attitude toward Islam, it was exceptional in Europe, where the more aggressive Crusader propaganda carried greater weight. In the Latin East, where the Muslim was a military enemy, the irrational, mythic hatred and loathing of the religious adversary was less current. It might not have made much difference to the victims killed in war, but there were many instances of grudging respect between the enemies and little demonization.[54] Curiously, in Western Europe, the Muslims were labelled pagans, and in the Northern countries, the pagan enemy was labelled Saracen. Surprisingly, the greatest hatred of the Other is manifested during this period, when the Other is virtual and not actually present.

I conclude on a personal note. In 1967, before antisemitism in the North was influenced by Middle Eastern politics, my brother was stranded in a cabin (*hytte*) in Jotunheimen, during a snowstorm. Among the people with whom he shared his room was another hiker, who upon hearing that my brother came from Israel, stared at him and explained: "Jeg har aldri sett en jøde før [I've never seen a Jew before]". This was not a symptom of hatred, but rather curiosity regarding an alien, unknown Other; apparently he expected him to have a distinctive look based on stories he knew.[55] It is when the medieval heritage of fear and loathing of the Other, based originally on religious myths and traditions, takes root that such feelings become dangerous. Thus, polemics that seem purely intellectual in nature could, nonetheless, be very explosive and breed anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim feelings even – or especially – when there was no Other in the vicinity to hate.

54 For example Ambroise 2003: he called Saif e Din (Saphadin), a wise Saracen (line 7390) and claimed that Saladin sent a message to King Richard, "saying that by his faith and by the God whom he supported, that he so honoured his valour, his great-heartedness and his skill [Qu'il preiset tant sa grant pröesce, Son grant cuer e sa vistesce] (lines 11786–11787), that if his land were taken in any way during his lifetime, then from among all the princes he had seen, Richard would be the prince whom he would be most willing to have taken it from him by force and conquer it" (lines 11772–11795).

55 Resnick 2012, 13–34.

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Jonathan Adams

11 The Life of the Prophet Muḥammad in East Norse

> Beware of false prophets which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits [...] a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. (Matthew 7. 15–17)

There are several texts in East Norse – Old Swedish (*fornsvenska*, c. 1225–1526) and Old Danish (*gammeldansk*, c. 1100–1515) – that mention or describe Muslims and their religion.[1] Yet, studies on the portrayal of Islam and Muslims in medieval East Norse texts are very scarce, and usually form little more than brief prolegomena to more detailed examinations of later literature.[2] This article begins by looking at the portrayal and (mis)use of Muslims in East Norse literature before focusing on three texts that describe the life of Muḥammad (*The Old Swedish Legendary*, *Consolation of the Soul*, and *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*) in order to uncover the ideas about the Prophet that were circulating in vernacular texts in Denmark and Sweden during the Middle Ages. The investigation concentrates on depictions of Muḥammad as a pseudo-prophet, but also touches on representations of Muḥammad as one of several idols worshipped by the polytheistic Saracens. The reasons behind including stories about Muslims and Muḥammad in religious and non-religious Christian writ-

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2 See, for example, Holm 2010 and Lausten 2010.

ings are discussed, and editions of the three East Norse lives of Muḥammad, together with translations into English, can be found in the appendix at the end of this article.

11.1 Muslims and Islam in East Norse

As described in the introduction to this volume, there is a rather abrupt change in how Muslims and the Islamic world are referred to in East Norse sources after the end of the Viking Age. Presumably, this also represents a shift in the perception of and relations between the Muslim and Scandinavian peoples at the time. With the introduction of manuscript culture to Scandinavia came a pejorative image of Muslims and the Islamic world that had been developed on the European mainland, from where it was imported.[3] Unlike the earlier runic inscriptions, these texts do not reflect actual contact between the North and the Islamic world, but rather the incorporation of anti-Muslim polemics and the standard stereotypes of Western Christendom into East Norse literary culture. The portrayal of Muslims in East Norse literature is thus largely negative.

The most common East Norse term to refer for a Muslim is *saracen* (Saracen)[4] or simply *hethning* (pagan). Occasionally, tribal names from the Bible are used, such as *hagarenus* (Hagarene; Genesis 16. 1–12), *ismaelite* (Ishmaelite; Genesis 16. 11), *moabite* (Moabite; Genesis 19. 37), and *amonite* (Ammonite; Genesis 19. 38). In the Old Danish *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (hereafter *Mandeville*) from 1459, we also find *araber* (Arab) and *bedoines* (Bedouin) to refer

3 On the making of this pejorative image, see Daniel 2009; Rotter 1986; Hoeppner 1999; Tolan 2002; Akbari 2009. On the European accounts of the life of Muḥammad, see Tolan 2010 and Di Cesare 2012.

4 The term is also used to refer to pre-Islamic pagan groups in the East. For example, the *Old Swedish Legendary* (c. 1420) tells us that in 301 CE (over two and a half centuries before Muḥammad was born), the king of Armenia "eẏ at enast lot han m*edh* s*ancto* gregorio alt armenie folk koma til gudz tro. Vtan æmuæl manga af saracenis ok af androm landzskapom [not only had all the Armenians come to God's faith through St. Gregory, but even many Saracens and people of other lands]", Lund, University Library, Mh 20 ("Bergmannius"), fol. 27r (Bonaventure 1859–1860, 308). Saracen was understood as meaning "son of Sarah" (Genesis 17. 15–18) and believed by some Christian writers to be a term the Saracens themselves used to lay claim to a noble heritage from Abraham and Sarah rather than descent from Sarah's handmaid Hagar; see Tolan 2002, 127–128. In fact, the word comes into Latin and subsequently the European vernaculars from Arabic, شرقي (*sharqiy*, eastern) via Greek Σαρακηνός (*Sarakēnós*, Saracen).

to Muslims living outside of towns. In romances, such as *The Chronicle of Charlemagne* (from 1480; hereafter *Charlemagne*), we find the term *blaman* (black man), and only in later works, particularly from the beginning of the sixteenth century, do we encounter *mahomet* (Mohammedan) and *tyrke* (Turk). Unlike in some other European languages,[5] East Norse *tyrke* does not refer to Muslims in general, but is restricted to Ottoman Muslims.

The term *blaman* is particularly interesting, as it refers to ethnic difference (skin colour)[6] and carries connotations of evil. The association with evil comes from the term's frequent use in descriptions of devils in East Norse. So, for example, in a Danish sermon by Christiern Pedersen (c. 1480–1554), we read of a lavishly dressed woman who entered a church and:

> Bag paa hendiss kiortel som hwn slæbede efter sig sade mange vtalige diøffle smaa som røtther oc sorte som blaamend de loge oc skogrede oc klappede deriss hender til hobe oc den ene spranck offuer den anden som fiske gøre i en wod.
>
> [On the back of her robe, which she dragged behind her, sat many innumerable devils, small as rats and black as "black men"; they laughed and cackled and clapped their hands together and the one leapt over the other like fish do in a net.][7]

The sense of the demonic would have been transferred to anyone defined using the word *blaman* through a "common pejorative visual vocabulary": The association between darkness and evil is a common European tradition.[8] In *Charlemagne*, the hordes of warriors, who fight against the fair Christians, are *blamen*.[9] Adjectives found in connection with Muslims include *hethen* (pagan),

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5 On Italian, see Soykut 2001, 8.

6 On Saracens as racial Others, see Cohen 2001 and Heng 2007.

7 Pedersen 1850–1856, I, 304. There are similar occurrences in Old Danish to be found in the *Mariager Legendary* (Copenhagen, Royal Library, GkS 1586, 4°) and Henry Suso's *Book of Wisdom* (Copenhagen, AM 783, 4°). Similarly, the Devil is often described as a *blaman* (*aethiops* in Latin versions) by St. Birgitta in her *Revelations*. In Book I, Revelation 99, we read, for example, how when the Devil disguises himself as a nun, "Swartaste blaman syntis j eno klostre mællan nynnona [the blackest 'black man' appeared in a convent among the nuns]", Birgitta Birgersdotter 1857–1884, III, 216. Other occurrences of *blamen* in *Revelations*: Birgitta Birgersdotter 1857–1884, II, 11–12, 92–95, 100–101, and III, 71.

8 Strickland 2003, 173. On the physical appearance of Muslims in Western medieval art and literature, see Strickland 2003, 165–192 and Saurma-Jeltsch 2010.

9 For example, "Syden kam en hedh*e*n hetth lange liiff m*et* lm blom*e*n the stridde ma*n*nelege pa the cristene roland sade till oliu*er* th*ett*e falk word*er* wor dødh [Then a pagan (i.e. Muslim) called Langelif arrived with 50,000 'black men'. They fought against the Christians. Roland said, 'These people will be the death of us!']", Hjorth 1960, 308. This text exists in both Danish and Swedish in several manuscripts and early prints. Unless otherwise stated, I am quoting from Hjorth's edition of the Danish Børglum manuscript (Stockholm, Royal Library, Vu 82) from 1480.

utro (unbelieving), *ond* (evil), and *usal* (wretched). They are often referred to as *hunde* (dogs)[10] whose main occupation is to *strithe* (fight, do battle) sometimes using *bamber* (drums) or banners bearing the image of an idol to scare their enemies' horses.[11] As can be seen, these words relate to and focus on evilness, violence, idolatry, and animal-like behaviour.

The main signifier of Otherness in the East Norse texts is illustrated in religious terms: Muslims are evil and devilish. This inner monstrosity is expressed through overtly visual, symbolic signifiers: their black skin, their giant stature (see below), and their dog-like noises and behaviour. In this, East Norse literature fits clearly within the western European tradition.

It should, however, be noted that in some romances, Muslims can be beautiful and fair (for example, Flores – who eventually embraces Christianity – in *Flores and Blanzeflor*).[12] In *Mandeville*, the sultan of Cairo is described in largely neutral or positive terms and appears as a hospitable and intelligent character,[13] and Saracens are praised for looking after the religious sites in the Holy Land (although later accused of only doing so for the sake of money).[14] A nod

10 On Muslims being compared to dogs, see Friedman 1981, 67; Strickland 2003, 204–206.

11 As in the famous episode in *Charlemagne*: 1480 version: "Sydh*e*n droge ij hedne k. moth keyseræ*n* [...] ok begynthæ ath strydæ Saraceni hadæ bambor Aff th*e*m wort ke*yserens* hæstæ sky ok wylæ icke søgæ, wdh*e*n løbæ till bagæ [Then two pagan kings advanced towards the emperor (...) and began to fight. The Saracens had drums. The horses were startled by them, and would not attack but ran back instead]"; 1534 version: "Siden droge tho hedninge konger mod Keyseren [...] oc begynte at stride, Saracenerne hagde ith banner, der stod en Affgud paa, och der fore bleffue keyserens heste sky, och wilde icke søgæ men løbe til bage [Then two pagan kings advanced towards the emperor (...) and began to fight. The Saracens had a banner on which was (depicted) an idol and the emperor's horses were startled by it and they would not attack but ran back instead]", Hjorth 1960, 90–91.

12 Old Danish version in Brandt 1869, I, 285–356; Old Swedish version in Olson 1921. For a discussion of the (highly conventionalized) description of Babylon's beauty and wonders in *Flores and Blanzeflor*, see Kinoshita 2006, 92–103.

13 On neutral and other images of Saracens and the Sultan of Egypt, see Tolan 2009.

14 For example, "Ter liggæ te helly pat*r*iarche Abraham, Ysaac *oc* Iacob oc Sara oc R*e*becca, oc t*et* er næthen hoos eth bierghæ, oc stor en skøn kyrkæ ok er bigd til værn so*m* eet slot. Saraceni kallæ te ten graf Kariarchaba, ok gø*m*mæ te te*n* sted ga*n*tzæ vell oc hede*r*ligæ for te helly p*at*riarche skil [There lie the holy patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and Sarah and Rebecca, and it is below a mountain, and a beautiful church stands there and is constructed like a castle. The Saracens call the grave *Kariarchaba (i.e. the Sanctuary of Abraham), and they look after the place quite well and respectfully for the sake of the patriarchs]", Lorenzen 1882, 36; but later Muslims are accused of faking the Easter miracle of the Holy Fire in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre for monetary gain: "Ma*n*gæ c*ri*stnæ me*n*niskæ tro, at t*et* er sent, aff tø*rres* ret enfollicheth; ter æræ mangæ, som her om tuylæ oc menæ, at te Sa*ra*ceni, som th*e*n helly graf giømæ, giøræ tet, forty at te muæ fa tes fle*ræ* pe*nnin*gæ oc skat af pelæg*ri*mæ [Many Christians out of sheer ignorance believe (the miracle of the Holy Fire) to be true; there

of recognition to Arabic science and medicine can be discerned, for example, in the preface to Henrik Harpestræng's Old Danish *Lapidarium* (c. 1300).[15] These 'non-black' descriptions of Muslims and Islam represent the beauty, scientific learning, and wealth of the East, while the 'black' descriptions highlight its strangeness, moral inferiority, and horror. Negative descriptions of Muslims do preponderate, but the existence of neutral and positive descriptions, albeit rather few, reflects the split view of the Islamic world.[16] Indeed, it is important to remember that representations of Muslims – even in a small corpus such as that of the extant East Norse texts – did not convey a single, unchanging meaning, but demonstrated a great variation of images that could mean different, sometimes contradictory, things in different contexts. Writers were usually not interested in attempting to reflect "real" Muslims at all but were instead invoking fictions, polemical creations, that fulfilled specific roles scripted for these characters in order to meet the needs and expectations of the Christian authors, their texts, and their audiences.

11.2 Implicit comparison: Muslims as foils

In the miracle stories of *The Old Swedish Legendary* (hereafter *Legendary*), Muslims appear as foils to demonstrate the truth of a particular Christian doctrine. So, for example, the drowning Saracen, who "promised that he would visit the

are many who have their doubts about it and think that the Saracens who are guardians of the Holy Sepulchre do it so that they can get more money and taxes from the pilgrims]", Lorenzen 1882, 41. Entrance fees paid to Saracen guardians are also mentioned in *The Guide for Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (1475–1500): "then tiidh thet komer tha til aften, ogh templet, som then helliæ graf ær i, lades vp a Saracenis, tha skal hwer p*er*egrim giuæ fem ducata til ingang, vde*n* vm ther ær nogher gra brodh*er* ny kome*n*, han skal giuæ iij/ ducatæ [When evening falls, and the temple, in which is the Holy Tomb, is opened by the Saracens, then every pilgrim must pay an entrance fee of five ducats, unless he is a newly arrived Franciscan, in which case he must pay three ducats]", Copenhagen, AM 792, 4°, fol. 192rb (Lorenzen 1882, 217).

15 "Byriær formal af en book thær hetær stenbok gørth af en kunugh af arabia til nero keysær Evax konugh af arabieland skref til nero keyser hwilkkæ ærlikæ stenæ æræ. oc af therræ dugh hwær særlæst. oc af therræ lyt oc therræ nafn. oc horæ the mughæ hittæs oc hware [Here begins the preface to a book called *Lapidarium* composed by a king in Arabia for Emperor Nero. Evax, king of Arabia, wrote to the emperor Nero (saying) which stones are precious and of each one's special power and their colour and their names, and how and where they can be found]", Copenhagen, Royal Library, NkS 66, 8°, fols. 114^{v} and 116^{r} (Harpestræng 1908–1920, 174).

16 See Akbari 2009, 160.

shrine of St. Mark and become a Christian before he died",[17] is saved from certain death in order to illustrate the openness of Christianity to all those who embrace it, its miraculous salvatory power both physically and spiritually, and the effectiveness of invoking the saints to intervene in worldly affairs. It tells us nothing about the appearance or personal qualities of the Saracen, beyond his subsequent breaking of the oath: After arriving safely in Alexandria, he fails to undertake the promised pilgrimage to Venice until St. Mark appears to him "a second time, terrifying, and reproached him with threats";[18] only then does he visit the saint's shrine. The Muslim – just as many Christian sinners do in other miracle stories – is acting solely to demonstrate the saving grace of Christianity and the sincerity with which one should request and accept it. Similarly, in the legend of St. Clare from the same work,[19] the holy woman is able to thwart the Saracens' violent attack on her convent by raising up the host in the face of the invaders who fall from their ladders as if dazzled and take flight: "[T]he boldness of these savage dogs was quashed immediately".[20] Again we are told nothing of the beliefs of these Saracens, who merely act as foils in a Christian tale designed to demonstrate – and counter any doubts about – the power of the Eucharist.[21] Besides their ungodliness, the Saracens' religious beliefs remain obscure. However, their aggressive, military prowess is very clear: They are cruel, bloodthirsty, marauding soldiers, intent upon gaining entry to the nunnery. Rapists, robbers, and vandals they may be, but serious religious contenders they are not. Their physical strength is no match for the supernatural, divine powers of the host. In this type of text, Muslims are nothing more than poorly defined non-Christians who can serve to demonstrate the truth of Christianity. Their few named characteristics – typically deceit and violence – serve only to contrast with "Christian qualities". Opponents of Christianity perhaps, but Muslims – even when invoking Muḥammad (or their other idols) – remain subject to its divine truth and power, and, as in the

17 "iættadhe som han gat · s*ancto* marcho witia hans skrin · Ok wardha cristin æn han wndan kome", Uppsala, University Library, C 528, fol. 53r (Stephens 1847–1874, I, 253).

18 "andru sinne rædheliker ok awitadhe han m*edh* hozlu*m*", Uppsala, University Library, C 528, fol. 53r (Stephens, 1847–1874, I, 253–254).

19 In Stockholm, Royal Library, A 110, and edited as "Heliga Claras legend" in Klemming 1877–1878, 338–339.

20 "ginstan vardh nidh*i*r slaghin thera gry*m*ma hunda*n*na dirfue", Klemming 1877–1878, 339.

21 On the use of religious Other to demonstrate the truth of Christian doctrine, see Rubin 1999. That there was a need to convince the laity about the doctrine of transsubstantiation and the efficacy of the Eucharist in medieval Scandinavia can be seen from the case of the Swedish peasant Botolf, who was tried and executed in 1311 for denying the existence of the body of Christ in the Eucharist; see Ferm 1990.

St. Mark miracle, can be converted by means of a little supernatural persuasion, or failing that, as in the St. Clare legend, they can be repelled by the power of Christ.

Muslims as foils is a trope that appears in literature from across Europe, for example in Iberian texts such as Ramon Llull's *Blanquerna* (c. 1283) and some of the sermons of Vincent Ferrer (1350–1419). Ryan Szpiech has shown how the image of the 'hermeneutical Muslim'[22] was used as unwitting testimony to Christian truth in anti-Jewish writing.[23] He makes the point that Muslims fulfil "no larger figural cycle of revelation and prophecy in Christian soteriological history" and that they play a "rhetorical role in Christian polemic only by adding another voice in harmony with Christian belief".[24] Muslims' belief in Mary and Jesus (as opposed to the Jews' disbelief) is testimony to the truth of Christianity. To this we might add that the use of Muslims as foils in the examples cited above also demonstrates their use as unwitting witnesses to the truth of Church doctrine.

11.3 Explicit comparison: mirrors and boundaries

The account of Sir John and the sultan of Cairo in *Mandeville* provides a fascinating and, in an East Norse context, truly remarkable example of Muslims being given a voice.[25] During their many discussions, the sultan fires a number of criticisms at the Christian clergy and laity. He accuses priests of living bad lives ("ond*er* lefneth") and not performing their duties in church. They dress worldly, drink to excess ("drikcæ thøm drukcnæ"), break the rules of chastity, and are poor advisers to their rulers. Moreover, the laity do not keep the holy days: Instead of going to church, they conduct business ("køpsla"), go to the inn ("æræ j k*ru*end"), and eat and drink to excess ("ædæ oc drikchæ til ofu*er*-flødichedh"). Furthermore, they gossip ("tale [...] illæ"), fight, and live more filthily than dumb beasts ("vskelligæ dyur"), and they practise usury ("the ogræ"), steal, rob, cheat, and break oaths.

22 An adaptation of the well-known concept of the 'hermeneutical Jew' (Dahan 1990, 585; Cohen 1999, 3 n. 3).
23 Szpiech 2013.
24 Szpiech 2013, 176.
25 Lorenzen 1882, 72–76.

Sir John is amazed, and his response is not to be filled with indignation or rage, but rather to ask the sultan how he could possibly know so much about the true state of the Christian affairs.[26] The sultan explains that he sends his councillors to Europe in the guise of traders transporting precious stones, ointments ("balsamo"), silk, and spices ("yrtir"), and these spies keep him up to date with developments in the Christian lands.

What is remarkable here is the claim that Muslims are not just capable of moral behaviour, they are more moral and pious than Christians, and furthermore Muslims can accurately and legitimately comment on matters of Church discipline and Christian morality. This stands in stark contrast to the usual portrayal of Muslims as heathen, marauding invaders. Furthermore, the Islamic world is shown to be curious and knowledgeable about Christian Europe: The same could hardly be said about Christian knowledge of the Islamic world. Of course, the episode is meant as a prick of conscience for *Mandeville*'s readers to nudge them towards a life of greater piety and as a form of mild anticlerical invective to admonish undisciplined, lazy, and immoral members of the clergy. The sultan's comments are not intended to make the reader consider the benefits of Islam – perish the thought! – but rather to reflect upon their own lack of piety and the failings of the clergy. Christianity is not under attack, but the practices and the sincerity of some of its followers are. The sultan is holding up a mirror for Christians to see themselves and their sins.

Another discussion between a Christian and a Muslim can be found in *Charlemagne*. In it, we read that just before Charlemagne launches his assault on Córdoba, Roland is sent to fight the Saracen giant Ferakude.[27] After some ferocious martial combat, they stop to rest and then fall into a discussion about religion. Ferakude declares he is a monotheist and therefore does not believe in the Holy Trinity, because the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit must surely be three separate gods.[28] Roland explains the Trinity by comparing it to the

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26 "Ter iek Ioh*ann*es tessæ ordh m*eth* ma*n*ghæ fler*æ* aff ha*n*nu*m* hørth hadhæ, tha stodh iech oc vestæ ey megit at suar*æ* mod se*n*nen. Jech vndrædæ oppa, at iech saa da*n*næ ord aff een vantro Saracener høræ skuldæ; toch sadhæ iek saa til ha*n*nu*m*: 'H*er*ræ, m*eth* edh*er* orloff, huorlu*n*d ku*n*dæ j nu vidæ th*ett*æ saa fullæligæ, som j nu sagt hafuæ?' [When I, John, had heard these and many more words, I stood and just did not know how to respond to the truth. I was amazed that I should hear such words from an infidel Saracen; however, I said to him: 'Lord, with your permission, how can you know so fully about what you have now said?']", Lorenzen 1882, 74.

27 Saracen monstrosity in the form of giants occurs frequently in medieval European romance literature. The slaying of such monsters by Christian knights was doubtlessly meant to both entertain and reassure readers.

28 "ieg tror pa th*e*n hy*mm*el ok iord hau*er* skapth hade han hwerken søn ell*er* fadh*er* som han war aff engen afflath tha afflæth han ok engen aff segh thy ær ha*n* en gudh ok icke

single sound of a harp made up of three separate elements: the frame, the string, and the hand. So too is the almond made up of a shell, a nut, and a kernel, and a man is made up of a torso, limbs, and a soul. Roland's pedagogical explanation causes the scales to fall from Ferakude's eyes, and the giant declares, "I now truly believe that God is one and three!"[29]

The discussion continues in the style of *Elucidarius*, with Ferakude cast in the role of *discipulus*, asking questions about the Incarnation, the Virgin Birth, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension, all of which are answered in turn by Roland in the role of *magister*. Gradually, it becomes more and more apparent that the differences between Ferakude and Roland's worldviews are not so great – indeed, the boundary between Muslim and Christian becomes so blurred that Ferakude considers much of Christian doctrine to be compatible with Islam, and he seems to see no reason why either of them should not adopt the religion of the other.[30] Just as the boundary between the two religions begins to appear dangerously pervious, it is suddenly and dramatically redrawn through an act of violence; what Jeffrey Jerome Cohen has called a "ritual of disidentification":[31] Roland takes Ferakude's sword and thrusts it through the giant's navel, killing him. As he lies dying, Ferakude commends his soul to his god, Muḥammad: "Ferakude shouted in the throes of death and said, 'Mament!

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trefoldh*er* [...] om ieg kaller g*u*d fader Ok gud søn ok gud ok th*e*n helghæ andh th*et* ær jo iij gude! [I believe in the one who has created heaven and earth. He had neither son nor father. As he was produced from no-one, so he produced no-one from himself. Therefore, he is one God and not three (...) If I call God father, and God son, and God the holy spirit as well, then that is of course three gods!]", Hjorth 1960, 146. Refutations of the Trinity in the Qurʾān are verses 4. 171 ("and do not say 'Three'!"), 5. 73, and 5. 116. On polemics surrounding the Trinity, see Tolan 2002, 34, 36–37, 153–154; Akbari 2009, 211, 214, 241, and especially on *tathlīth al-waḥdāniyya* (trinitizing the oneness of God), see Burman 2012 (with references).

29 "iegh tror nw wel ath gud ær en ok træ*n*næ", Hjorth 1960, 148.

30 "ferækude sade nw will ieg sloss m*et* tegh m*et* so danth forordh ath winder tw tha skall ieg t*r*o pa tin gud winn*er* ieg tha skaltu t*r*o po my*n* gud! [Ferakude said, 'Now I will fight you on the proviso that if you win, I'll believe in your god, and if I win, you'll believe in my god!']", Hjorth 1960, 150. In *Mandeville*, it is said that Muslims are easily converted to Christianity, because their beliefs are already so similar in many ways; see Lorenzen 1882, 65–66. By comparison, the Florentine Dominican polemicist Riccoldo of Monte di Croce (c. 1243–1320) argues that Saracens are easily converted because they differ so much from Christians; see Szpiech 2013, 154. It is interesting to note that modern scholars have argued the opposite, viz. that Muslims were not easily converted to Christianity. Those who converted by choice tended to be slaves or house-servants, especially women, who were constantly in a Christian environment without the support of a Muslim community. See, for example, Ferrar i Marrol 1987.

31 Cohen 2001, 122.

God! Take my soul! I'm dying now!'"[32] Thus, Ferakude, who one minute appears almost Christian, shows his true pagan colours at the moment of death. Roland's assertion of self through an act of violence – intended as an exemplary model for confronting Islam? – re-establishes the natural order and the boundary between the true believers and the infidels, between salvation and damnation.[33]

11.4 Muḥammad as idol

It should be noted that Muḥammad is not just portrayed as a heresiarch in East Norse, but sometimes as one of several idols or demons/gods worshipped by polytheistic Muslims. Just as in the European *chansons de geste*, this is the case in *Charlemagne*, where we read:

> Jamwnd kallede till seg eth sende bwd ok sade ryd till my*n* fadh*er* ok seg ha*n*nu*m* ath wij haffuæ fong*et* stoor skadhæ ok myst iiij aff wor*e* gwdhe mamenth ok teroganth Jwpiter ok appwlim th*e*m hau*er* k. Fang*et*.
>
> [Jamund called a messenger and said: "Ride to my father and tell him that we have been greatly harmed and lost four of our gods: Mament and Terogant, Jupiter and Appulin. The emperor has captured them".][34]

In *Charlemagne*, Muḥammad is often invoked before a battle, which subsequently (consequently?) ends in defeat, or his name is used to swear an oath,

32 "færækude ropede i døden ok sade mament gud tak my*n* siell nw dør jeg", Hjorth 1960, 152. That Ferakude sees Muḥammad and God as the same person, is shown by the use of the second person singular imperative *tak*, "take".

33 Akbari (2009, 166) makes the point that romances characterize two types of Saracen bodies: those that are assimilable (such as Flores), and those that are not (such as black-skinned giants). Thus, as soon as "our giant Ferakude [wor kæmpæ færækude]" is introduced in the story in such unassimilable physical terms, we know that he will never become a Christian.

34 Hjorth 1960, 92. Muḥammad is also called a god (or an idol) in Hjorth 1960, 86, 204, 256, 262. As far as the idols are concerned: Terogant (or Termagant) was the Muslims' chief deity according to medieval writers; Jupiter was a Roman god, and Appulin was either the Roman/Greek god Apollo or possibly the demon Abbadon featured in the Old Testament and in Revelation 9. 11. On these idols, see Flori 1992, 246 (with references in n. 7) and Kinoshita 2006, 15–45. Usually, Christian writers transposed the Trinity onto Islam in the form of Muḥammad, Terogant, and Appulin, while Jupiter was listed as one of several lesser gods; on this structuring of the gods in the *chansons de geste*, see Jones 1942, 206–208.

which is then often broken.[35] Depicting Muḥammad as an idol casts the Saracens as polytheists, but otherwise fulfils no real theological function and is little more than a literary motif.[36] Indeed, the portrayal of Saracens as idolaters may not have been due to ignorance on the part of the Christian authors, but rather an intentional fiction either intended to entertain and amuse or motivated by malice.[37] Even when he is presented as trying to pass himself off as a prophet, Muḥammad is typically described as being worshipped as a god – rather than just exalted as a prophet – by his followers.[38]

11.5 Muḥammad as prophet

The great prophet of Islam, Muḥammad, was the most obvious line of attack for Christian writers, and he became a familiar figure to their readers during the Middle Ages. Characterized as a "false prophet",[39] he was charged with having created a Christian heresy. This is why Dante's *Inferno* (c. 1308–1321) place's "Maometto" in the ninth *bolgia* of the eighth circle among the "Sowers of Discord", the schismatics. Like many medieval Christian writers, Dante views Muḥammad as the creator of a heretical offshoot of Christianity. Negative descriptions of a deviant Muḥammad were an important part of the textual arsenal used to discredit Islam. Alarmed by the spread of Islam and the challenge he posed to the Christian view of the Prophets, the Messiah, and salva-

35 Examples of invocation: Hjorth 1960, 66, 90, 202, 228, 234, 238, 240, 246; swearing an oath: Hjorth 1960, 56, 106, 186.

36 Di Cesare 2012, 10.

37 Daniel 1984, 121.

38 As it was known in (some) learned Christian circles that Muslims did not consider Muḥammad to be a god, this may also be intended as nothing more than an amusing literary motif. Cf. Guibert of Nogent (c. 1055–1124): "Sed omissis jocularibus quae pro sequacium derisione dicuntur, hoc est insinuandum: quod non eum Deum, ut aliqui aestimant, opiniantur; sed hominem justum eumdemque patronum, per quem leges divinae tradantur [But, putting aside jokes, which are only told to deride the followers (of Muḥammad), this is a hint: that they do not consider him a god as some people think, but as a just man and their patron through whom their divine laws were given]", quoted in Flori 1992, 254 n. 43.

39 First coined as ψευδοπροφήτης, "false prophet", by John of Damascus (c. 645/676–749) in his *Concerning Heresies* (Περί αἱρέσεων / De haeresibus); see *Patrologia Graeca*, 94, 763–764. For an English translation, see John of Damascus 1958, 153. Although *Concerning Heresies* did not exert much influence on Western Christian views of Islam generally, it did include a number of conventions regarding Muḥammad (false prophet) and worship (idolatry) that also pervaded later medieval Christian writings about Islam.

tion history, writers depicted Muḥammad as the antithesis of Christian truth and often cast him in the role of the Antichrist, viewing him through an apocalyptic lens tinted by the Book of Revelation. His life was described in terms that aimed to invalidate his prophetic status by focusing on his lowly birth and improper marriages, as well as revealing his methods of deception by accusing him of being a liar and an epileptic. His followers were often portrayed as violent, carnal, and morally corrupt, and as a physical and spiritual threat to all Christendom. However, in texts about the life of Muḥammad (rather than in those that just mention Saracens or Turks), his followers appear almost as victims of the pseudo-prophet's trickery. They have been lured to damnation by his false promises and absurd laws and thus serve as warnings about the ease with which people who are not strong in their faith can be seduced into evil.

Negative writings about Muḥammad drew on a number of sources, including the polemical works of John of Damascus (c. 675/76–749), Petrus Alfonsi (1062–1140), James of Vitry (d. 1240), Matthew Paris (c. 1200–1259), Riccoldo of Monte di Croce (c. 1243–1320), and Ramon Llull (c. 1232–1315).[40] The Qurʾān was translated into Latin by Robert of Ketton in 1143, under the supervision of Peter the Venerable (1092–1156): This *Lex Sarracenorum* was subsequently mined for material that could be used to refute Islam. The East Norse treatment of Muḥammad, which is only preserved in works translated from other European languages, does not, however, involve complicated theological discussions of the challenge he posed to the Christian worldview. It basically comprises a character assassination by means of ridicule and defamation, where the emphasis is on exposing his lies (he did not receive revelations from God), and on containing Muḥammad within the history of Christianity (Islam is merely a perversion of Christianity, not an authentic religion, and will ultimately be vanquished by Christianity).

11.6 The East Norse sources

Legends are the biographies of saints that were read aloud in church on the relevant saint's day and in monasteries during meals. In all, there are approximately eight thousand legends listed in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, comprising stories of martyrdom (known as *passiones*) and lives of saints

40 Michelina di Cesare (2012) discusses and presents the Latin works that deal with Muḥammad as a pseudo-prophet.

(known as *vitae*). *The Old Swedish Legendary* (known as *Fornsvenska legendariet* in Swedish) consists of a chronologically ordered collection of legends about the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, Jesus and the Apostles, the saints, and ecclesiastical and secular events that shaped the history of the Church from its beginnings to the thirteenth century.[41] Much of the content is based on Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (1263–1273).[42] Valter Jansson makes the case that the author of the Swedish text was a Dominican, and that the text was composed at one of the monasteries in Götaland, most probably Skänninge or Skara, between 1276 and 1312.[43] Although there are a few details about Sweden and Denmark, the author's principal interest lies elsewhere, viz. on the great and important men and women of the Church. *Legendary* is known today from a number of manuscripts and fragments which suggests the texts were widespread.[44] The *Legendary* manuscript used here is Uppsala, University Library, C 528, edited and published by George Stephens in 1847–1874.[45]

Consolation of the Soul (hereafter *Consolation*) is a popular compilation of (im)moral tales that focuses on the Ten Commandments. Stories about historical figures and heroes act as exempla in this didactic text. In Danish, there are just two extant fragments (Uppsala, University Library, C 529, and Stockholm, Royal Library, A 109), the remains (about one third) of what was once a single impressive parchment manuscript dating from c. 1425. These fragments are very similar to the Swedish version of the text (in Stockholm, Royal Library, A 108, the "Ängsö Codex"), the version used in this article. The Swedish text was translated at the beginning of the fifteenth century from the Middle Low German *Seelentrost*, but incorporates various Latin and Swedish sources. The relationship between all the manuscripts has been investigated by Johannes Brøndum-Nielsen (1934) and Ivar Thorén (1942), and the Swedish version was edited and published by Gustaf Edvard Klemming (1871–1873; used for quotations here).

41 Published in Stephens 1847–1858.

42 On Muḥammad in the *Legenda aurea* (or the *Golden Legend*), see Mula 2003 and Palma 2008.

43 Jansson 1934, 4–10.

44 Many of the tales also appear as exempla in sermon manuscripts.

45 In addition to C 528, the most complete manuscripts are Stockholm, Royal Library, A 34 (known as *Codex Bureanus*), and Stockholm, National Archives, E 8900 (formerly Skokloster 3, 4° and known as *Codex Passionarius*). Other manuscripts that include *Legendary* texts in Old Swedish: Linköping, Huvudbiblioteket, Stiftsbiblioteket, B 70 a, B 70 b; Linköping, Saml. 1.a; Linköping, T 153 a; Lund Mh 20; Rome, Vat. Reg. lat. 525; Stockholm, A 3, A 9, A 10, A 49, A 54, A 58, A 110, A 124, D 3, D 4; Uppsala, C 9, C 831. On the relationship between the manuscripts, see Jansson 1934, 46–88.

Mandeville is an entirely fictitious mid-fourteenth-century description of a journey to the East undertaken by the English knight Sir John Mandeville. It was a medieval 'bestseller' and survives today in over 250 manuscripts and 130 print editions in at least ten languages.[46] The Latin versions of *Mandeville* are shorter than many of the vernacular versions (those in German, English, and French, for example). In all, five independent Latin versions have been recorded, but only the principal one, known as the Latin vulgate, has been printed. The print edition of this vulgate text appeared in 1484 in Strasbourg. This common abridged version served as the basis for the Danish translation, which dates from 1434 or 1444, and is extant in four manuscripts of a later date (one of which is, however, only fragmentary).[47] Marius Lorenzen published an edition of the Danish version in 1882, which is used here for quotations.

11.7 Episodes from the life of Muḥammad

Episodes from the life of Muḥammad that underscored his human qualities were of particular interest to Christian writers, as they served as arguments against his prophethood. That the Prophet's human qualities are essential to Islamic doctrine only goes to demonstrate the hermeneutical nature of Christian argumentation in which they are presented as failings.[48] Only Christian standards are applied to Muḥammad and Islam; they are not considered on their own distinct terms.

11.8 Early life

The Prophet's name, Muḥammad, "the praised one", appears in several forms in the texts: "maghumet" (*Legendary*), "maghument" (*Consolation*), and "makomet" or "machomet" (*Mandeville*). Indeed, in *Mandeville*, we read, "Whatev-

46 See Braude 1996, 136.
47 The extant manuscripts are: Stockholm, Royal Library, M 307 (previously K 31; dated 1459); Stockholm, Royal Library, M 306 (1584); Odense, Karen Brahe Library, E III 6 (late sixteenth century), and Copenhagen, Royal Library, GkS 3559, 8° (1575). The datings are taken from Toldberg 1966, cols 309–311. For an overview of the four extant Danish manuscripts and their relationship to one another and the Latin archetype, see Seymour and Waldron 1963; Bradley 1969; Bradley 1976; Bradley 1993; Bradley 1999.
48 Reeves 2000, 81.

er he is called, Makon or also Makomet or Mahon or Makometus, they are all the same thing".[49] *Legendary* makes no mention of his homeland, whereas *Consolation* locates him in the land of the pagans – "Bethsermien", presumably a corruption of Bēth Aramāyē (in present-day northern Iraq)[50] – and in *Mandeville* we read that he was born of the tribe of Ishmael in 600 in Arabia. Although *Consolation* makes no mention of his religion, it does locate his home in the land of the pagans. *Legendary* states that he was a Christian, while *Mandeville* makes the point that he was a pagan who first encountered Christianity during his journeys to Egypt. These latter two texts set the scene for a conception of Islam as a heretical and perverted product or misunderstanding of Christianity.

We can read about Muḥammad's early working life in two of the texts. *Legendary* describes him as a merchant who transported precious stones from India to Egypt. *Mandeville* is rather more detailed and paints a pejorative picture of an uneducated man who first looked after donkeys, and then carried sacks for merchants who were travelling to Egypt, eventually becoming wealthy from this portering.

11.9 Marriage

In all three texts, Muḥammad marries a wealthy woman: in *Legendary* an unnamed queen in Egypt; in *Consolation* an unnamed rich noblewoman; in *Mandeville* Cadigeran (Khadīja), the widow of a prince in Corrodana (presumably either an error for Chorozania [Chorazin], one of the cities cursed by Jesus [Matthew 11. 21]),[51] or for Corocania, the dominion of the Quraysh tribe in Mecca).[52] The suggestion is that Muḥammad's power and success can be attributed not to his own merits but to the wealth he acquired through marrying Khadīja. In terms of social rank, the union is a mismatch: Muḥammad can only bring good looks and intelligence (*Mandeville* only), as well as claims to holiness, to the marriage, whereas Khadīja, as a prince's widow, brings vast wealth and political influence. That Khadīja is described as a widow in *Mandeville* may mean

49 "Huot heller mand kaller ha*nnu*m Makon eller oc Makomet eller Mahon eller Makomet*us*, th*et* er thøm th*er* all ens", Lorenzen 1882, 67.

50 This location is often mentioned in connection with the Baḥīrā legend.

51 Roggema 1999, 185 n. 119.

52 Palma 2008, 22.

that she is somewhat older than Muḥammad, which could thus also to be understood as criticism of a mismatch in age.[53]

11.10 Epilepsy

All three texts describe Muḥammad as an epileptic and follow the tradition started by Theophanes the Confessor (c. 760–817), who wrote that Muḥammad invented his visitations by angels to explain and cover up his epileptic fits.[54] Muḥammad claimed that he collapsed because he was unable to stand the light emanating from the visiting angel. In *Legendary*, Muḥammad says to his wife that he is visited by the Archangel Michael, whereas in the two other texts, it is Gabriel whom he claims causes the fits.[55] In *Consolation*, his epilepsy is described as a punishment from God for pretending to be a holy man for material gain: He invents his angelic cover story to reassure Khadīja by means of deception. In *Mandeville*, Muḥammad's explanation for his epilepsy – also invented to allay his wife's concerns – only brings him greater praise and admiration. Indeed, *Mandeville* highlights how popular and beloved Muḥammad was among his countrymen: "He was a skilled and handsome man and extremely clever in his words and deeds, and he was chosen and loved by the people".[56]

11.11 Followers and laws

Muḥammad's success in gaining followers is attributed in *Legendary* to his promises of paradise in the world-to-come, "where everyone would make mer-

53 However, taking European noble marriage practices in the Middle Ages into consideration, this may not have struck a medieval audience as so peculiar.

54 *Chronographia* 334 in Theophanes the Confessor 1997, 464. The *Chronographia* was translated into Latin by Anastasius Bibliothecarius ("the Librarian") in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (871–874). In the Middle Ages, epilepsy was usually attributed to demonic possession, lunacy, or punishment from God – hardly qualities behoving of a world leader, let alone a divine prophet. On the history of epilepsy, see Temkim 1945.

55 The *Legenda aurea* has the Archangel Gabriel, as of course does the Qurʾān (2. 97).

56 "Han wor een fultagæ mand och skøn och ofuer madæ clog vdy hans ord oc g*er*nin*gg*he*r*, oc vor han fræ*m* drawen oc ælsker aff falkith", Lorenzen 1882, 68.

ry with food and drink and truly beautiful women",[57] and which can only be accessed through him (cf. John 14. 6).[58] This sensual paradise is held up for mockery and stands in stark contrast to Christian ideas about a spiritual afterlife. In *Mandeville*, we read:

> J muæ oc vidæ, at the Saracen*er* ok hetni*n*gæ oc allæ and*ræ*, som ikcæ æræ C*ri*stnæ eller Iød*h*er, te thro, ath ikcæ er and*et* he*m*mæ*ri*gæ, ter som godæ oc helgæ me*n*niskæ j blifuæ skullæ efth*er* t*ett*æ neruæ*ren*d*es* liff, som vy her vdh y lefuæ, vdh*en* th*et* P*ar*adiis, som paa iorden er, th*er* som voræ forældræ Adam oc Eua foræ th*er*ris vlidelssæ voræ vdh scutnnæ ov vth kastæ. Tee siæ och, ath th*er* ryndh*er* honikh, melk oc vin, oc at the faa th*er* costæligæ hus foræ thøm bigdæ m*eth* gul oc sølf oc kostæligæ stenæ oc allæ ho*n*næ legemligæ løst oc glæde til euig tyd, effter thi som h*er* huer fortiænt hafuer. Tessæ forsc*re*fnæ faræ thi ver blindæ, effth*er* ty at tee hafuæ ikcæ tee helly trefollichets thro, oc tro ikcæ po*n*næ Ih*esu*m *Christu*m, gutz enigæ søn. Jte*m* C*ri*stnæ oc alle som døptæ æræ, oc Iøder, the troo oppa tet he*m*melskæ P*ar*adiis, oc at allæ me*n*niskæ eftter tørr*e*s godge*rn*ingh*er* skulæ th*er* hafuæ løn meth gudh oc nydæ oc see guts clar*æ* enlydhæ oc n*eru*æ*rel*ssæ met vbeg*ri*fuælich ewinnælig glædæ til euig tiidh.
>
> [You should also know that the Saracens and heathens and all those, who are not Christians or Jews, believe that there is no other Heaven (where good and holy people will be after this current life which we are living here) than that Paradise that is on Earth and from which our parents, Adam and Eve, were removed and cast out because of their sin. They also say that honey, milk and wine flow there, and that they will have exquisite houses built for them of gold and silver and precious stones, and (there will be) all sorts of sensual pleasure and joy for all eternity, according to what each person has earned in this life. These aforementioned people are unfortunately lost, as they do not believe in the Holy Trinity, and do not believe in Jesus Christ, the only son of God. Christians and all those who have been baptized, and Jews, believe in the celestial Paradise, and that all people according to their good deeds shall receive their reward there with God and enjoy seeing God's bright face and presence with incomprehensible eternal joy for all eternity.][59]

The Christian lens through which Islam is viewed can also be discerned in *Consolation*, where we read that Muḥammad was seen as a God by the people (cf. Jesus). In *Legendary*, we read that Muslims view Jesus as a prophet, presumably in order to attract as many converts from Christianity as possible.

57 "th*er* alla skemtan hafua · m*edh* math ok dryk ok wænasta q*ui*nde", C 528, fol. 132r (Stephens 1847–1874, II, 726). A paradise of delights – eating, drinking, and sex – is first mentioned by Theophanes among the "many other things full of profligacy and stupidity" promised by Muḥammad, see Tolan 2010, 227.

58 "han jætte allom th*em* hanu*m* trodo [he promised all those who believed in him]", C 528, fol. 132r (Stephens 1847–1874, II, 726).

59 Lorenzen 1882, 63. In this passage the author of *Mandeville* also shows an (unsurprising) lack of precise knowledge about Jewish eschatology and the afterlife.

Mandeville also tells us that Muḥammad gained followers "because of the expensive gifts that he distributed, and precious promises and advantages that he promised and announced".[60]

The same text tells us that Muḥammad revealed his "accursed book" and made it law in 621. *Legendary* describes it as nothing but an amalgam of his own beliefs, rules and customs, Jewish laws, and Christian rites. All three texts focus on elements of Islam that would have shocked the sensibilities of their Christian readers: polygamy (*Legendary* and *Consolation*),[61] punishments for adultery (stoning and whipping; *Consolation*),[62] and prohibition against alcohol (*Mandeville*) – a heady brew of moral laxity, sensual pleasures, brutality, and irrational attitudes about wine, the blood of Christ. On alcohol, *Mandeville* also accuses Muslims of hypocrisy, claiming that many of them disregard the prohibition and drink a sweet sugar-based alcoholic concoction in private. *Consolation* describes fasting during Ramaḍān with scarcely hidden ridicule: They gorge themselves during the night and fast during the day. Thus, Islamic nighttime feasting is implicitly compared to Christian fasting during Lent. The same work also mentions *wuḍūʾ*, ritual cleansing in preparation for formal prayers (Qurʾān 56. 79). The author might be attempting to show that whereas Christians can cleanse their souls through confession, contrition, penitence, and prayer, Muslims – bound to the physical world – can at best only wash the filth from their bodies before they pray in vain. It is, however, noteworthy that *Consolation*, does concede that some of Muḥammad's articles of law were good, even if some were good for nothing ("somlik waro goodh oc somlik dughdho alzenkte"). Presumably, even a little misinterpreted Christianity in the guise of Islam is better than paganism.

11.12 Christian companions

In Islamic legend, a monk called Baḥīrā recognizes Muḥammad's special status and foretells his destiny. In Christian traditions, beginning in Byzantium, the

60 "for kostæligæ gafuer / som han udh gaff / oc kostælich iæth oc fardeel / som han udh iætthæ oc fran sek sadæ", Lorenzen 1882, 69.

61 However, after his (monogamous) marriage to Khadīja, Muḥammad's further unions are not mentioned.

62 The punishment for adultery in the Old Testament was also death (Deuteronomy 22. 22; Leviticus 20. 10), so stoning may not have been entirely shocking to the Christian audience who would at least have been familiar with it from Scripture. Cf., however, the teaching in John 8. 7.

monk Baḥīrā (later referred to as the heretic Sergius or Nicholaus) is given a much more sinister and central role in the formation of Muḥammad, whom he uses to corrupt the Arabs and prevent them from obtaining salvation through the Church.[63] Thus, Islam becomes a Christian heresy instigated by a disgruntled and vengeful monk. In *Consolation*, a large part of the story of Muḥammad is given over to the role of the apostate Sergius and his success. Following Peter the Venerable's story of Sergius, a monk expelled from the Church who fled to Arabia, this man convinces Muḥammad to seek power and gives him the tricks to do so.

In *Mandeville*, two unnamed Christian hermits are mentioned. The first lives in the desert between Arabia and Egypt and was visited by the young Muḥammad on his trips. This hermit is a pale shadow of the Christian Baḥīrā/Sergius figure, and we learn little about him other than that Muḥammad "in particular [...] learnt from a hermit who lived in a desert [...], where he often spent the night".[64] Nonetheless, it is made clear that this Christian played a part in Muḥammad's religious education. The second hermit is also a desert dweller, whom Muḥammad visits in the years after becoming king of Arabia. We learn little about him, other than that he is unpopular among the king's councillors who kill him whilst he and Muḥammad are asleep after an evening of drinking. The men blame their liege for killing the hermit while he was drunk, which results in Muḥammad decreeing a prohibition against alcohol.[65] The episode is meant to demonstrate that Islamic law is not inspired by God's will, but by Muḥammad's whims, and that by insisting upon such nonsense, Muḥammad damns his own soul: "This curse affects his own head, because it is written that wine cheers both God and man".[66]

11.13 Tricks

In addition to the texts' inclusion of the story of Muḥammad using his epileptic fits to trick people into believing he was a prophet, *Consolation* includes – at length – the story of how, thanks to help from Sergius, he was able to train

63 Roggema 1999; Szilágyi 2008; Daniel 2009, 105.

64 "sinderligæ nam han aff eet ærmæthæ / som bodhæ vdhy een øtken [...] / th*e*r som han offtæ natitess", Lorenzen 1882, 68.

65 Lorenzen 1882, 69–71. The injunction is in Qurʾān 5. 91.

66 "huylke*n* forba*n*nelssæ skal gongæ ofuer ha*n*s eyg*it* hofueth / effth*e*r ty ath th*et* stondh*e*r sc*r*efueth / at win glædh*e*r bodæ gud och me*n*niskæ", Lorenzen 1882, 71. Cf. Judges 9. 13.

animals to give the illusion that he was a holy man: a dove that would land on his shoulder to look for grain in his ear (giving the illusion of the Holy Spirit speaking the word of God into his ear)[67] and an ox that would lay its head down in his lap to eat food from his hands (giving the illusion of a wild animal bowing down before God – a kind of inverted tale of the Golden Calf; Exodus 32. 1–6).[68] Muḥammad's circus tricks contrast with the miracles performed by Jesus in the New Testament and only demonstrate the pseudo-prophet's false claims to divinity.

Traditionally Muslims have always downplayed or denied that Muḥammad worked miracles precisely to emphasize his humanity. In these East Norse texts, Muḥammad is seen entirely through a Christian lens and consequently as he declared himself a prophet he must have performed miracles (as this is what prophets did in the Judaeo-Christian tradition), but as he is not a real prophet (in the eyes of the Christian writers), his miracles must have been nothing more than tricks. These passages about Muḥammad's trickery are excellent examples of Christian hermeneutical argumentation and the creation of straw-men in polemics against Islam.

11.14 Death

In *Consolation*, we read that Muḥammad received an ignominious death: He was poisoned. Muḥammad's murder and very human death is meant to contrast with Christ's crucifixion and the supernatural end to his earthly life. His body was placed in an iron casket that was housed in a purpose-built temple ("mønst*ir*"), and magnetic stones in the vaulted ceiling of the temple caused the casket to be suspended in mid-air: "Then all the people said that it was due to his sanctity and still believed in him".[69] The story of Muḥammad's floating coffin is first recorded in Gautier of Compiègne's *Otia de Machometi*,[70] which also includes stories about the false miracles of the dove and the bull, and was probably the ultimate source of the colourful legendary material about

67 For biblical accounts of the Holy Spirit appearing in the form of a dove, see Mark 1. 10–11; Luke 3. 22; John 1. 32 (cf. also Genesis 8. 8–12).

68 On the evolution of these stories from hearsay to Gautier of Compiègne's *Otia de Machometi* (c. 1137–1150), see Di Cesare 2012, 6; cf. Mula 2003, 179–180.

69 "Tha saghdhe alt folkith at th*et* war hans hælagheth oc trodho stadhlika oppa han", Klemming 1871–1873, 139.

70 On the floating coffin, see Reichert 2007.

Muḥammad in *Consolation*. *Mandeville* does not provide a cause of death, but has him anointed and placed in a coffin that is kept in the town in Arabia where he had his first followers (Corrodana). In 900, the text tells us, the "vile maggot's body"[71] was moved to a more worthy city, called "Merk". The name "Merk" is similar to Mecca and indeed most medieval writers thought that Mecca was the site of Muḥammad's tomb.[72] The Ḥajj to Mecca was thought to be a pilgrimage to his grave, just as Christian pilgrimage to Jersualem centred on the Holy Sepulchre. Indeed, *Mandeville* goes on to say that his tomb is visited by many people. However, in the *Legenda aurea*, Muḥammad's resting place is said to be in "Merch vel Iachrib [Merch or Yathrib (pre-Islamic name for Medina)]". If "Merch" and "Iachrib" are to be understood as the same place, then perhaps *Mandeville*'s "Merk" should be understood as a name for Medina.

11.15 Conclusion

The treatment of Muslims and Muḥammad fits clearly within Western European traditions of describing and denigrating Islam. The texts aim to expose the truth about Muḥammad and Islam – but they all do so in slightly different ways. *Mandeville* follows a historiographical approach. Muḥammad's year of birth, the year of the revelation of the Qurʾān, and the year of the translation of his body to Medina are provided (albeit inaccurately). Geographical locations (Egypt, Arabia, "corrodana") and the name of his wife ("cadigeran") are provided. The style is factual, portraying a heresiarch whose success is put down to marrying into money and power, his good looks, and his intelligence. *Consolation* takes a quite different approach, with Muḥammad painted as a colourful scoundrel who uses numerous tricks to fool people into believing in his prophethood. Only one place is mentioned ("bethsermien") and one person ("Sergius"). Apart from that, the tale provides no details of his life story beyond his false miracles. The much shorter *Legendary* text – surprisingly – follows the East Norse historiographical tradition, and includes little legendary material (only epilepsy). Although dates and names are largely absent, the text describes Muḥammad's early life, marriage, and popularity, and presents elements of Islamic doctrine without mentioning the false miracles. The many legendary elements found in the *Legenda aurea*, which is in fact more similar to the text of the *Consolation*, are missing from the Old Swedish *Legendary*.

71 "teth fulæ ass / hans lege*m*mæ", Lorenzen 1882, 71.
72 Rotter 2009.

In East Norse texts, Muslims are employed as foils to demonstrate the truth of Christian teaching or as mirrors to make Christian readers reassess their own (lack of) piety and morality. The treatment of Muḥammad is, however, not that of being a Muslim foil. The texts aim to neutralize Muḥammad and turn him into an anti-hagiographical, heresiological figure by denigrating his background and intentions, as well as the Qurʾān which he is seen as having composed. His religion is passed off as a mixture of his own ideas, (heretical) Christianity, and elements of Judaism, a seductive blend forged to deceive Christians (and Jews?) and gain Muḥammad as many followers as possible. He is presented as a fraudster, driven by lust for power and wealth, who employs magic tricks, distributes gifts, and makes attractive promises in order to gain and keep his followers from among simple, gullible people. Thus, these texts simultaneously denigrate Islam and explain its success in gaining adherents.

Whereas finding a historiographical account of Muḥammad in the *Mandeville* account of the Middle East, with its datings and use of toponyms and personal names, is hardly surprising, the inclusion of Muḥammad in edifying literature, such as *Consolation* and *Legendary*, may seem unexpected. Yet, by placing Muḥammad within the framework of Christian history and Christian theology, he is contained: He becomes merely one of many heretics in the long history of the Church and he – and his followers – are powerless when confronted with its teachings and sacraments. The anti-hagiographical life of Muḥammad is an inverted parody of the life of Christ: Muḥammad's motives are the opposite of the *vita Christi* ideals of poverty, chastity, and humility, and his theatrical miracles, which are nothing but staged attempts to acquire Old Testament-style prophetic status, pale in comparison to the New Testament stories of Jesus' miraculous deeds. Within the magnificent and eternal framework of Christianity, Muḥammad, his concocted religion, and his followers are shown to be of no importance whatsoever.

Given the amount of East Norse literature that is translated from other European vernacular and Latin materials, it is not surprising that Scandinavian examples of Arabs, Muslims, Muḥammad, and Islam also depend on these earlier accounts and show little innovation or independent development. Just like the other European materials, they reflect a fascination with the East that spans cautious enquiry to outright fear and is viewed entirely through western European Christian values. The most noticeable difference between East Norse and other accounts is one of quantity: It would seem that although textual Muslims could act as a didactic tool for writers, they were not particularly popular in the North. For example, they appear but rarely in Christiern Pedersen's sermon collections from the beginning of the sixteenth century (despite being written at the height of the Ottoman Empire). It may be that vernacular litera-

ture was not felt to provide an appropriate platform for discussing the theological problems posed by Islam. Moreover, there was a long tradition of authoritative refutation of that other enemy of Christendom: the Jew. There existed a wealth of material answering the Jewish case, the challenges of Judaism had long been defeated, and the multifaceted but thoroughly negative image of the Jew, especially the New Testament Jew, was so embedded and widely understood that it could be used as an effective literary tool in various popular contexts, even in regions like Denmark and Sweden without a resident Jewish population.[73] Although the extant material shows that Danes and Swedes were familiar with literary portrayals of Muslims and Muḥammad, for some reason (lack of contact; disinterest; paralysis in the face of Islamic expansion?), Islam and its Prophet were not actively employed by vernacular authors who instead preferred anti-Christian tropes that were more developed or closer to home.

Appendix: texts

1. *Old Swedish Legendary*
Source: Uppsala, University Library, C 528 (Codex Bildstenianus), fol. 132r (1400–1450); *Original text:* Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea* [*The Golden Legend*, 1263–1273] = Iacopo da Varazze 1999, 1261–1266; *Editions:* Stephens 1847–1874, II, 725–726.

¶ Vm th*e*n thima war maghumet fulaste falsare som drogh fra *christ*o m*edh* willo dyghran del aff væruldi*n*ne ¶ Han war først en cristin køpma*n* ok idhnadhe føra dyra stena fra indie land til egyptu*m* oc gilde th*e*r ena drotni*n*gh m*edh* listu*m* han war brutfællinge*r* ok fik drotni*n*gin th*e*r aff dighran stygh widh ma*n*nin ¶ Han løgh sik wara gudz p*r*oph*et*am oc at michael · archængil bar hanu*m* opta gudhlekan budskap · ok sik falla vidh hans enlitis lius ok ey for soth skuldh ¶ Sidhan vaxte han mærar*e* en før allom landu*m* · han jætte allom th*e*m hanu*m* trodo paradys / ok th*e*r alla skemtan hafua · m*edh* math ok dryk ok wænasta q*ui*nde ok th*e*r for trode hano*m* alt osinnoght folk ¶ Han dictadhe th*e*m ok scref sina thro ræt ok sidi en del epte judha laghum ok en del æpt*er* c*ri*stna ma*n*na sidhu*m* · ¶ Som dictade han aff nyio · at hwariom ma*n*ne lofuat ware hafua swa manga husfrur som han matte fødha ¶ Han sagdhe gudhz ænghil hafua · sænt sik the laghin so*m* ha*n* skreff / allæ the hans lagh halda

73 On this see Lausten 1992 and Adams 2012; Adams 2013a; Adams 2013b; Adams 2014.

heta saraceni tho lofuar han j sino*m* laghu*m* varn h*er*ra ih*esu*m *christu*m · ok sigh*er* at enghin faar himerike vtan han thror ha*n*s læst ok p*ro*phetum

[At that time, Maghumet was a truly abominable fraudster who on purpose was leading a large part of the world away from Christianity. At first, he was a Christian merchant and made a living by transporting precious stones from India to Egypt, and there married a queen by means of trickery. He was an epileptic, and the queen was greatly repulsed by the man because of this. He lied, saying that he was God's prophet and that the Archangel Michael often carried divine messages to him and that he collapsed because of the light from (Michael's) face, and not due to illness. Then, he grew even more famous in all countries. To all those who believed in him, he promised paradise, where everyone would make merry with food and drink and truly beautiful women, and for this reason all foolish people believed him. He fabricated and wrote down his beliefs, rules, and customs, partly copying Jewish laws and partly copying the customs of Christians. Some things he invented anew; that to every man is allowed as many wives as he is able to feed. He said that God's angel had sent him the laws that he was writing. All those who keep his laws are called Saracens. In his laws he praises Jesus Christ and says that no one enters heaven unless they believe his writings and prophecies.]

2. *Consolation of the Soul*
Source: Stockholm, Royal Library, A 108, pp. 84–86; *Original text:* Middle Low German *Seelentrost*; *Editions:* Klemming 1871–1873, 136–139.

Letters rubricated in red are in bold.

¶ **W**i finno*m* oc sc*ri*fwit aff eno*m* som maghument het*ir* / Jak thror at han foor aff sino*m* guddom ey mykyt bæt*ir* **Aff maghument**

Th*et* war een høghf*er*dhogh*ir* mu*nkir* heth sergius / Han stodh æpt*ir* storu*m* oc w*er*dhogheth oc h*er*radømø j pawans gardh j room oc th*et* kunde ho*no*m ekke ske / **H**an fik th*er* aff ena mistrøst oc fiol j wanhop ffortidde sin || c*ri*stindom oc flydhe in j hedhindomi*n* ok kom til bethsermenien / **H**a*n* selladhe sik til een vngan man heth maghume*n*t / talande til hans oc saghdhe swa / wilt thu mino radhe følghia Jak wil thik ofw*ir* alt th*et*ta land til een stora*n* h*er*ra gøra / **O**c folkit skal bidhia til thik / oc halda thik for th*er*a gudh / **H**an swaradhe th*et* g*er*na wilia gøra / **T**ha tok mu*n*ken ena vnga duwo oc inne leste hona j enom camera / **O**c loth engin gaa in til he*n*na vtan manghume*n*t eensame*n* / **t**ha han skulde hona mata tok han kornit oc stak j sith øra oc satte duuona oppa sina skuldro / **O**c swa tok hon sin math vth aff ha*n*s øra / **V**m sidhe wardh

hon swa th*er* til wan / at æ nar han kom ffløgh hon oppa hans skuldro oc stak sit næb j hans øra oc søktø æpt*ir* sinne fødho **T**hen sami maghume*n*t hafdhe ok een vngan oxa innelesta*n* til hwilkin engi*n* ingig vtan ha*n* ensami*n* / **H**an gaff ho*no*m fodh*ir* / oc hafdhe vxan th*er* til want at ha*n* bøghdhe sik for ho*no*m oppa sin knæ oc ath sith fodh*ir* aff hans skøth **T**h*er* æpt*ir* loth then for*nemp*de mu*n*ken alt folkit sama*n* koma oc taladhe til them oc saghdhe **J**ak wil idh*ir* wisselika bewisa hwem j skulin tilbidhia oc for idha*n* gudh halda / **T**hen j seen then hælgha anda ofw*ir* koma j duwo liknilse oc sæthia sik oppa hans skuldro / then ær gudz son / Han skulin j hedhra for idha*n* gudh oc h*er*ra / **T**ha han hafdhe thetta sakt / gig han hemelika borth oc loth dufwona vthflygha / **H**o*n* fløgh alla wegna kring om folkit **O**c wardh vm sidhe warse hwar maghume*n*t stodh / Hon fløgh oppa hans axl ell*ir* skuldro **O**c stak sit neb j hans øra som hon war wan søkiande æpt*ir* sinne fødho **T**ha saghdhe mu*n*ken **S**een j th*et* wel / then helghe ande hwiskar j hans øra hwat han skal idh*ir* læra / th*er* æpt*ir* loth han vxan vthløpa **O**c aff thy han hafdhe længe inne standit wardh han swa grymb*ir* oc øør at engin thordhe hono*m* nalkas ell*ir* gripa / **V**m sidhe gig maghume*n*t mot ho*no*m / **O**c gensta*n* fiol vxsen a knæ oc laghdhe sin mula j hans skøøt / **O**c søkte sit fodh*ir* som han war wan / **T**h*er* æpt*ir* hult alt folkit maghume*n*t for een gudh Oc ha*n* gaff folkeno ena handa lagh huru the skuldo lifwa / **N**aar the fastadho / skuldo the enkte æta then daghin En vm nattena matto the æta swa opta the wildo / **N**aar the wildo bidhia skuldo the førra twa th*er*a || lykama / **T**h*et* matte oc een ma*n* hafwa fyra laghgipta hust*ru*r til lika / the matto **o**k taka sina magha oppa th*et* maghskapit blifwi thes fastare Hwilkin man g*ri*pin wordhe m*et* annars hust*ru* / them skulde ma*n* badhin stenka / wordhe een ma*n* g*ri*pin m*et* løsø q*wi*nno / han skulde hafwa xviij slagh aff ene gisl **O**c mang annor stykke som han gaf them at halda somlik waro goodh oc somlik dughdho alzenkte **J** them tymano*m* war th*er* een riik landis fru / hon throdhe alt wara wist oc sant oc tok sik han til bonda **S**wa kom han j stora rikedoma oc mykyt godz / **T**h*er* æpt*ir* sænde gudh ho*no*m een warnaghla oc gaff ho*no*m ena plagho at ha*n* skulde sik bethænkia oc bætra / **T**h*et* war at han fiol j bruth threm sinno*m* hwar dagh **T**h*er* aff drøfdhis f*ru*n storlika oc mykyt sørghdhe / **H**a*n* badh hona ekke sørghia oc saghdhe at th*et* war aff thy / th*et* sancte gabriel plæghadhe tala m*et* ho*no*m / oc han gat the clarheth aff ho*no*m gig ekke lidhit / **L**angt th*er* æpt*ir* wardh ho*no*m forgifwit / Han loth gøra eeth skriin af iærn j hwilk*it* the skuldo han læggia tha han ware dødh*ir* / **O**c loth byggia eet mønst*ir* / Oc loth hwælfwa th*et* m*et* sæghil steen / **T**ha han war dødh*ir* oc burin in j mønstrit j the iærnskrineno / **T**ha vpdrogho stenane som waro j hwalfweno iærnskrinit til siin oc bleff th*er* hængia*n*de **T**ha saghdhe alt folkith at th*et* war hans hælagheth oc trodho stadhlika oppa han **S**wa thro saraceni æn j dagh oppa ho*no*m oc halda ha*n*s lagh **S**wa daradhe ha*n* folkit oc swek sik ila sielfwa*n*

[We also find described someone called Maghument. I think that he did not fare much better with his divinity. About Maghument.

There was a haughty monk called Sergius. He sought greatness and dignity and dominion in the pope's court in Rome, and nothing came to him. This made him despondent, and he fell into despair: He forsook his Christianity and took flight to the pagan lands and came to Bēth Aramāyē(?). He joined a young man called Maghument, speaking to him he said thus: "Do you want to follow my counsel? I will make you a great lord of all this country, and the people will worship you and consider you their god". He replied that he wished to. Then the monk took a young dove and locked it in a room and did not allow anyone to go in there except Maghument alone. When he (Maghument) was to feed it, he took the grain and stuck it in his ear and placed the dove upon his shoulder, and then it took its food out of his ear. In the end, it was so used to doing this, that whenever he arrived, it flew up onto his shoulder and stuck its beak in his ear and looked for its food. The same Maghument also had a young ox locked indoors, which no one went in to except he alone. He gave it fodder and the ox became so used to this that it would kneel before him and eat its fodder from his lap. Then, the aforementioned monk had all the people assemble and spoke to them and said: "I want to prove to you for sure whom you should worship and consider your god. The man whom you see the Holy Spirit descend upon in the form of a dove and whoever's shoulder it sits on, he is the Son of God. You shall praise him as your god and lord!" When he had said this, he went secretly away and released the dove. It flew all around the people and finally became aware of where Maghument was standing. It flew upon his shoulder and stuck its beak into his ear as it was in the habit of doing to look for its feed. Then the monk said: "You see it clearly! The Holy Spirit is whispering into his ear what he should teach you!" Then, he released the ox, and as it had been standing a long time indoors, it became so wild and crazed, so that no one dared approach it or take hold of it. In the end, Maghument went towards it and the ox fell to its knees straightaway and placed its muzzle in his lap and looked for its fodder, as it was in the habit of doing. After this, all the people considered Maghument to be a god. And he gave the people a kind of law by which they should live. When they fasted, they should eat nothing during the daytime, but during the night they could eat as often as they wished. When they were to pray, they should wash their bodies beforehand. It was also allowed for a man to have four legal wives. They could also take their partner to make family relationships stronger. If any man was caught with another's wife, they should both be stoned. If a man was caught with an unmarried woman, he should be given eighteen lashes with a whip. And he gave them many other articles of law to obey: Some of them were good, and some of them

were good for absolutely nothing. All that time, there was a rich noble lady. She believed it all to be certain and true and took him (Maghument) as her husband. Thus he acquired great wealth and many possessions. After this, God sent him a warning and gave him a punishment so that he would consider his actions and better his ways. This was that he collapsed three times every day. His wife was greatly perturbed by this and was very distressed. He ask her not to be sad and said that it was because St. Gabriel used to talk to him and he could not endure the radiance that emanated from him. Long afterwards he was poisoned.[74] He had a reliquary of iron made in which they should place him when he was dead. And he had a temple built and had magnets placed into the vaulted ceiling. When he was dead and carried into the temple in the iron reliquary, the magnetic stones that were in the vaulted ceiling drew the iron reliquary upwards towards them, and it remained suspended there. Then, all the people said that it was due to his sanctity and still believed in him. So the Saracens still believe in him today and keep his laws. Thus, he fooled the people and greatly deceived himself.]

3. *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*
Source: Stockholm, Royal Library, M 307 (previously K 31), pp. 50–55; *Foreign parallels: Itinerarius domini Johannis de mandeville militis* (Strassburg, 1483); *Iohannis de monte*; *villa Itinerarius in partes Iherosoliminitanas. Et in vlteriores transmarinas* (Cologne, c. 1500); *Editions:* Lorenzen 1882, 67–72.

The manuscript contains several lacunae and sections of corrupt text. Words that I have supplied are in triangular brackets. Text from the later manuscript, Stockholm, Royal Library, M 306 (dated 1584), is in square brackets. Letters rubricated in red are in bold.

Her effter maa mandh fongæ ath høræ aff machomets lefneth Capitulu*m* xxij. etc. etc.

Iech iettæ foræ j boghen at siæ || nogit aff makomets lefnẏt so*m* tee s<*ar*>acene*r* settæ tørr*i*s **h**øxtæ troo oppa som iech hafuer fu*n*dit besc*re*fuit och jech hafuer hørt j th*e*rriss landh huot heller han **k**aller ha*n*nu*m* makon eller oc makomet eller mahon eller makomet*us* th*et* er thøm th*e*r all ens the menæ th*e*r ath ha*n* er fødh aff ysmaels folk eller **a**ff hans slekth som vor abrahams søn huylkin han hadæ meth agor hans husfrues tiænestæ q*wy*nnæ oc th*e*r aff kaless end **s**o*m*mæ s*ar*acene*r* ẏsmaelite oc so*m*mæ aga*re*ni oc so*m*mæ moabite ok so*m*mæ

74 The participle "forgifwit" could also mean "forgiven" (i.e. by Khadīja). The Middle Low German "Dar na ouer langk wart eme vorgeuen" is similarly ambiguous.

amonite aff thoo lots sønn*er* moab *oc* amon som fødd*ess* | aff too hans eynæ døtt*er* p*er* incestu*m* **J**tem vor tennæ forsc*re*fnæ makomet fødder vor h*er*ræss ardh sex hu*n*drædæ vdy arabia han vor **f**ørst een fatik mand oc giømdæ asnæ oc th*er* nest fuldæ han en køpmand ind **v**dy egipten och bor th*er*r*iss* sekcæ om sin halss foræ løn skild oc th*e*n tid vor **e**giptus c*ri*sten thy nam ha*n* oppa thee reẏser han tiidh ford nogit aff ten helly throo oc **s**inderligæ nam han aff eet ærmæthæ som bodhæ vdhẏ een øtken som ther j melløm **w**or th*er* som han offtæ natitess och aff sada*n*næ reyser och andher biær*in*gh **w**ordæ han møgith riigh saa at falkith beg<i>nnædhæ || til oc hollæ aff ha*n*nu*m* sa lenggæ til han wor tagen til een styer*æ* øu*er* eet land som hedher cor*r*odana som ligger vdy arabie koni*n*ghæ ryghæ **S**aa lenghæ til th*er* dødæ end h*er*ræ j teth sa*m*mæ landh so*m* han styr*e*re wor [oc machomet fich hanns huszfrue som hed cadigeran / oc siden bleff hand oc for hindis Skyld / megit megre ophøyet. hand vor][75] een fultagæ mand och skøn och ofuermadæ clog vdy hans ord oc g*er*n*in*gghre oc vor han fræ*m*drawen **o**c æs ælsker aff falkith Jtem hadæ han th*e*n fallendæ sooth oc th*et* **v**estæ engin Ten tid hans husfruæ teth fornam taa wor hu*n* høfuæligæ bedrøfueth at hu*n* hadæ **f**ongh*et* sadan mand huylket han forsua*r*ædæ oc sueg husfruen m*eth* een falsk orsagæ **o**c sadæ ath guts helly engild ga|b*ri*el vor sender til ha*n*nu*m* at syæ ha*n*nu*m* nogit aff guts he*m*mæligæ **v**elliæ oc at ha*n* offtæ plæyædæ saa ath giøræ thy ku*n*dæ han ikcæ lydæ hans clarhedh oc **n**eru*are*lssæ vdh*e*n ha*n*nu*m* burdhæ at fallæ til iordh*e*n oc th*e*n tid tessæ ord vor*æ* obenba*r*ædæ thaa kom [hand] **v**dy eet stort loff sa aat <tha> koni*n*gin aff arabia bleff dødh nogith ter effter tha wor han for hans falskæ skalkæ par och hans falskæ helliheth so*m* aff **h**a*n*nu*m* sad*ess* oc for kostæligæ gafuer som **h**an udh gaff oc kostælich iæth oc fardeel som **h**an udh iætthæ oc fran sek sadæ kesth*er* til koni*n*gh || ofuer alt arabie koni*n*gs rẏghæ **T**en sinnu*m* han vor stadfes*ter* vdy hans rygæ och høxstæ maiestaath som vor ard effth*er* gudz byrdh sex hu<n>dret oc eet oc tyuæ **o**c hu*n*dretæ oc pa*n*næ t*et* tolftæ dawæ die iouis som er om een torsdagh tha obenba*r*ædæ han **o**c lod vykynnæ th*e*n forba*n*nædæ bogh **o**c logh full aff vantro **o**c villelsæ som ha*n* dict*et* hadhæ oc bødh allæ **s**inæ vnderdanæ **a**th the he*n*næ saa hollæ skullæ all hans tidh udh **H**uẏlken bog saa mangæ wtalẏghæ ardh intil th*e*nnæ dagh aff sa møgit wtallicth folk til th*er*r*iss* egh*e*n forderuelsæ nu hold*ess* for troo ok low effte*r* | hans død **T**et ma stor soruæ oc vselhed wær*æ* **a**t sa megit folk skal blifuæ forsø*m*mit foræ end mantz villelssæ skildh **J**te*m* vor eet ann*et* ermetæ vdẏ hans rigæ arabia th*e*n tidh han vor koni*n*g **j** øtken huilk*et* ermetæ han offtæ plæyædæ ath søghæ **o**c hadæ m*eth* sek noger aff hans rodh och tiænæræ

75 Missing in M 307.

oc th*et* fortrøth thøm offtæ at han tid far*æ* villæ saa offtæ thy hadæ tee **j** velliæ ath tee villæ slaa tet ermetæ j hell **T**eth skedæ sa een nath at koni*n*gin vor hoos ermet*et* **o**c tee drukchæ thøm bodæ druknæ aff win sa ath tee sofnædæ bodæ til sa*m*me*n*. Ten tid hans tiænær*æ* fornu*m*mæ at tee vor*æ* bodæ druknæ **o**c lowæ til sa*m*me*n* **o**c sofuæ || ta vdh drowæ thee he*m*mæligæ koni*n*gins suerd som han hoos sin sidæ hadæ oc stu*n*gæ ærmed*et* iheel **T**er koni<n>gin oppuoknædhæ oc sa ma*n*nen liggæ dødh hoos sek ta vor han megit galend oc vred*er* **o**c skyldædæ sinæ tiænæræ ter for*æ* oc sadæ at the teth giort hadæ **o**c villæ th*er* for*æ* hafuæ død*et* thøm allæ sa*m*men **T**er han meth thøm for*æ* kom for*æ* visæ me*n*d **o**c for*æ* r*e*tthæ taa sadhæ the allæ ath koni*n*gin hadæ teth selu*er* giorth j sin drukce*n* skaph [thij huer mand det icke viste oc till itt tegenn sagde de at hanns suerd vor ennd blodigt i Skedenn / oc at hannd icke afftiurde blodit / før end hand ind stack suerdet /][76] **o**c han | fan suerd*et* sa blodict **o**c tertil han hørdæ sa ma*n*ghæ vitnæ omod sek ta søruædæ han meg*it* saræ **o**ch gik m*eth* stor bluelssæ bort **o**c forlofuædæ ath drikcæ vin nogh*er* tidh j sinæ daghæ oc forbød vdy sin logh noger mand at drikchæ win **o**c forbannædæ tøm allæ tøm som vin plæyædæ at drikcæ eller **a**t seliæ huẏlke*n* forba*n*nelssæ skal gongæ ofuer ha*n*s eyg*it* hofueth effth*er* ty ath th*et* stondh*er* sc*r*efueth at win glædh*er* bodæ gud och me*n*niskæ **o**c for*æ* te*n*næ sag skild taa drikcæ saracen*er* ikcæ win **H**uot som the ikcææ || giør*æ* obenbar*æ* t*eth* giør*æ* tee tok een deel aff tøm he*m*mæligæ teth som **t**ee hafuæ for*æ* for*æ* drik tet ~~søs~~ er søth oc løstict at drikcæ oc tet <f>øth*er* vel oc t*eth* er giort **a**ff kallamell som sukch*er* pleyer at vordæ aff **J**te*m* nor for*nefn*de makomet vor dødh*er* taa vord han kostæligæ smurder m*et* **y**rth*er* oc lauth udẏ een kistæ kostæligæ giort met guldh oc **s**ølff vdy een stad arabian ter som te begindæ ath hollæ ha*n*nu*m* **f**or*æ* eend hellig mand oc for*æ* gutz vessæ sendæ budh til tøm **o**c effter gutz byrdh nẏhu<n>dr*et* ard vor [det] fulæ ass hans lege*m*mæ tæden ført **o**c til | een v*er*digær*æ* stad so*m* kald*ess* merk ter so*m* ha*n* nu hetris **o**c søg*ess* aff megit falk som suẏgnæ ær*æ* aff diæfuælind oc hollæ **h**a*n*num for*æ* enn hellich mandh.

[Below you can hear about Machomet's life. Chapter 24.

I promised earlier in the book to tell something about the life of Makomet, in whom the Saracens place their greatest faith, whom I have found described and have heard about in their land. Whether he is called Makon or also Makomet or Mahon or Makometus, they are all the same thing. There they believe that he was born of the tribe or family of Ishmael, who was Abraham's son, whom he begat on Hagar, his wife's servant-woman, and therefore some Saracens are called Ishmaelites and some Hagarenes, and some Moabites and some

76 The corrupt text in M 307 reads: "suerd*et* huylkeyt konu*n*ggin sa fan blodicth huilket the sadæ ath teth skulæ var*æ* eeth tegin at hans suerd tet vor blodicth"

Ammonites after the two sons of Lot, Moab and Ammon, who were born from incest by two of his daughters.

Also this aforementioned Makomet was born in AD 600 in Arabia. At first, he was a poor man and looked after donkeys, and then he accompanied a merchant to Egypt and carried their sacks around his neck for payment. And at that time, Egypt was Christian, so on these journeys, which he undertook often, he learnt something of the holy faith, and, in particular, he learnt from a hermit who lived in a desert, which lay between (Arabia and Egypt), where he often spent the night. And he became very rich from such journeys and other means of support, so that people began to value him so much that he was appointed ruler of a country that is called Corrodana, which is located in the Kingdom of Arabia, until a prince died in the very same country where he was ruler, and Makomet married his wife, who was called Cadigeran, and thanks to her, he became much more exalted. He was a skilled and handsome man and extremely clever in his words and deeds, and he was chosen and loved by the people.

Also he had epilepsy, and no one knew this. When his wife noticed this, she became exceedingly sad that she had married such a man. He defended this and tricked his wife with a false reason and said that God's holy angel, Gabriel, had been sent to him to tell him something of God's secret will, and that he often used to do this. He could not tolerate his radiance and presence, so he began collapsing to the ground. And when these words were made public, he received even greater praise, so that when the king of Arabia died some time later, he was – because of his wicked cunning and his false holiness which was told about him, and because of the expensive gifts that he distributed, and precious promises and advantages that he promised and announced – elected king of all the kingdom of Arabia. When he was installed in his kingdom and highest majesty, which was 621 years and a hundred days after the birth of God on the twelfth day, *die Jovis*, that is a Thursday, he made public and acknowledged the accursed book and law, full of superstition and error, which he had composed, and commanded all his subjects to obey this book until he died which, for so many innumerable years since his death until this very day, has been obeyed as faith and law by so many innumerable people, leading to their own destruction. It is a great sorrow and misery that so many people should be squandered because of one man's error.

Also there was another hermit in the desert in his kingdom of Arabia, when he was king. He often used to visit this hermit and took with him some of his council and servants, and they regretted often that he wanted to go there so frequently. So, they decided that they would kill the hermit. It happened one night that the king was with the hermit, and they drank themselves into a

drunken stupor with wine, so that they both fell asleep together. When his servants sensed that they were both drunk and lay together and slept, they secretly drew the king's sword, which he had at his side, and stabbed the hermit to death. When the king woke up and saw the man lying dead beside him, he became very furious and angry and blamed his servants for it and said that they had done it, and for this he wanted to have them all put to death. When he came before wise men and a court of law, they all said that the king himself had done it in his drunkenness, although he did not know it, and as evidence they said that his sword was still bloody in its sheath, and that he had not dried the blood off before he replaced the sword, and he found the sword so bloodied. And when he heard so many witnesses against him, he went away greatly ashamed and swore never to drink wine again during his life and forbad anyone by law from drinking wine and cursed all those who used to drink or sell (wine). This curse affects his own head because it is written (Judges 9. 13) that wine cheers both God and man. And for this reason, Saracens do not drink wine. What they do not do publicly, some of them do however in private. What they drink is sweet and delightful to drink, and it is nutritious and made from caramel, which sugar is usually made from.

Also when the aforementioned Makomet had died, he was anointed with herbs and placed into a coffin, expensively crafted with gold and silver, in an Arabian town, where they first began to consider him to be a holy man and God's certain messenger to them. And in AD 900, the vile maggot's body was transferred from there to a more worthy site, which is called Mecca/Medina(?), where he is now honoured and visited by many people who have been deceived by the devil and consider him to be a holy man.]

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Richard Cole

12 *Kyn* / *Fólk* / *Þjóð* / *Ætt*: Proto-Racial Thinking and its Application to Jews in Old Norse Literature

> It was at this time [after the fifteenth century] that Jews, without any outside interference, began to think "that the difference between Jewry and the nations was fundamentally not one of creed and faith, but one of inner nature" and that the ancient dichotomy between Jews and Gentiles was "more likely to be racial in origin than a matter of doctrinal dissension". This shift in evaluating the alien character of the Jewish people, which *became common among non-Jews only much later in the Age of Enlightenment*, is clearly the condition sine qua non for the birth of antisemitism.
>
> (Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*)[1]

First published in 1951, in Arendt's own words, "against a backdrop of both reckless optimism and reckless despair",[2] *The Origins of Totalitarianism* was an avowed response to the horrors of the twentieth century. It was a book which intended to expose the innate flaws in modern thought, particularly the intellectual currents which led to, or were fuelled by, anti-Semitism. But for a work which was so open about its focus on modernity, it often resonates with a debate of key importance to our understanding of pre-modern thinking. Arendt, the modernist writing about twentieth-century totalitarianism, is frequently in agreement with scholars, such as Miri Rubin, Jeremy Cohen, or Amos Funkenstein, medievalists writing about twelfth- to fourteenth-century Jew-hatred. What these four voices have in common is that, in their view, consideration of the 'inner nature' of the Jew did not occur until after the Middle Ages. Rather, the medieval mind apprehended Jewish difference in purely religious terms. In the view of these scholars, until the Enlightenment – the sparks from which Arendt's subject of modernity would ultimately emerge – there was no thought in which notions of race or genetics took precedence over religion. Ergo, one cannot speak of medieval anti-Semitism: During this period, there was only anti-Judaism.[3] Medieval thinkers may have criticized the Jews, medie-

1 Arendt 1973, xi–xii.

2 Arendt 1973, vii.

3 Consider Rubin's criticism of Gavin Langmuir: "All too often, narratives of abuse, particularly those about Christians and Jews, are taken as eternal, unchanging." Rubin 2004, 1. Rubin eschews the word "anti-Semitism" in her œuvre. Cohen speaks of "the harsher, demonic anti-Judaism that I and other historians have deemed characteristic of the later Middle Ages" and

val doers sometimes took up arms against them, but neither felt any enmity towards a 'Jewish people'. In the line of thought neatly surmised by Arendt, the medieval Jew was despised for his beliefs, not his birth.[4]

Other scholars have had no such qualms about deploying the concept of anti-Semitism alongside anti-Judaism, or if they eschewed the word 'anti-Semitism' itself, considering factors beyond the religious. After all, when medieval sources depict Jews as hook-nosed, physically weak or effeminate, instinctively untrustworthy, or intellectually deficient, can we really expect the lay audiences who received such images to discern nuanced theological criticism of the Jewish faith? Consider, for example, the Jew of Tewkesbury from the *Polychronicon* (compiled c. 1327–1342). In this episode *quidam Judæus per diem Sabbati cecidit in latrinam, nec permisit se extrahi ob reverentiam sui Sabbati*[5] – "a certain Jew fell into a latrine on the day of the Sabbath [Saturday], but did not allow himself to be taken out on account of reverence for his Sabbath". As Anthony Bale has pointed out, this little *exemplum* "is grounded in the Old Testament stipulations concerning the observance of the Sabbath" and "responds to Jewish polemic and Talmudic material [... It] reverses Jewish invective and possibly stems from Christian anxieties about controversial, heretical Talmudic material".[6] Bale's treatment is rigorous and convincing, and arguably situates the narrative in its anti-Jewish context. But there is also a much more immediate discourse at play; the scornful, inane image of a Jew wallowing in shit, a crude alignment of Jews with excrement – I use this vulgarism to highlight the vernacular quality of this reading. At this basic, surface level reception of the Jew of Tewkesbury, it is hard to avoid the feeling that we are in the realm of anti-Semitism.

Historians of Christian-Jewish relations who have been willing to accept the suggestion that the medieval mind could sometimes be as fixated on notions of heritage as it was on religious status include Bale, Salo Baron Cohen, and Joshua Trachtenberg.[7] It should be stressed that to maintain such a position is not to deny the religious dimension of hostile sentiment towards Jews, i.e., anti-Judaism. Rather, it is to admit that a national, ethnic, or racial element

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also avoids 'anti-Semitism' elsewhere". Cohen 1999, 14–15. On Funkenstein, see Engel 1999, 111–129.

4 For a good account of the debate over anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism, see Chazan 1997, 126–129.

5 Higden 1882, 246.

6 Bale 2010, 30–31.

7 Baron Cohen 1976, 14–15; Trachtenberg 1961 largely avoids using the word 'anti-Semitic' in a medieval context, but is transparent on his association between the anti-Semitism of his own time, 1943, and the Middle Ages (Trachtenberg 1961, 1–44).

Fig. 4: Mosse-Mokke in the *Rolls of the Issues of the Exchequers*, Hilary Term 1233 (17 Henry III), National Archives E. 401/1565. (Photograph: National Archives)

sometimes also exerted its influence. In short, it is to accept that the medieval mind was capable of comprehending 'faith and creed *and* inner nature'. Speaking in a medieval English context, Bale provides a lucid delineation of these two distinct tendencies:

> To argue against the usury practised by the Jews of Norwich on the grounds of Judaism as opposed to Christianity might be called 'anti-Judaism'. To represent Moshe [משה] as Mosse-Mokke in [a] fictive, grotesquely physical register, in which an imagined 'Jewish' body is the cynosure for a range of vices, is antisemitic. [See fig. 4.] 'Antisemitic' will be my preferred term throughout: There are few 'real' Jews in the narratives I consider, only deprecatory non-Jewish ideas about Jews.[8]

I will make only two observations regarding this ongoing debate over terminology: 1. while a subject as emotive as Jew-hatred obviously requires the commentator to exercise a special degree of precision, this question of religious or racial intent becomes meaningless once we consider *reception*. It is bold enough to claim we know the meanings texts would have had in the minds of their original authors. But how can we possibly claim certain knowledge of the way their audiences understood them – particularly in the case of material that was read aloud to large groups, as so much medieval Christian literature was? As previously suggested, a sermon on the Crucifixion may have been written as a subtle work of allegory, inspired by a rich tradition of Christian thinkers going all the way back to the Church Fathers. Doubtless, some of the faithful would have recognized that. But to the minds of some uneducated laymen, it

8 Bale 2010, 3.

may well have sounded like little more than an authoritative explication of the unique cruelty of the Jews. 2. the entire debate is to some degree an accident of language. Scholars writing in German can simply refer to an all-encompassing *Judenhass*. Similarly, the limited work on anti-Jewish sentiment in Old Norse literature by Bjarne Berulfsen used the Norwegian *jødefientlighet*.[9]

My purpose here is not to evaluate the appropriateness of the word anti-Judaism vs. anti-Semitism, but I will engage with the basic issue underpinning that discussion. The question at hand is this: Was there a tendency in medieval Norway and Iceland to perceive the Jews as a race, as well as a religion? To do this, I will examine certain pieces of Old Norse literature, particularly texts intended for mass consumption, such as Marian legends and homilies – *miracula* were used in Old Norse preaching since the *Old Icelandic Homily Book*.[10] We will also consider some moments in visual culture, specifically church art and manuscript illustrations. Other than the aforementioned article by Berulfsen in 1958, which he followed with an encyclopaedia entry in 1963, the subject matter of Jews in Old Norse literature has gone largely uncommented upon by critics.[11] It is worth noting, however, that this brief treatment was extremely sceptical of there being any racial element in Old Norse treatments of the Jewish topos. Berulfsen asserted that "den første påviselige jødefiendtlighet altså utelukkende er av religiøs karakter [the first visible antagonism towards Jews is exclusively religious in character]". [12]

While research on Jews in Old Norse may be rather shallow, the last twenty years has yielded some interesting scholarship on medieval notions of race more generally. A 2001 special issue of the *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* dedicated to the topic is particularly worthy of note. There, Robert Bartlett elucidated a conception of medieval race rooted in a study of contemporary terminology. Thus, he identified the Latin words *gens* and *natio* as terms which often implied descent groups, while *populus* did not. Examining the medieval reception of Hippocrates, Aristotle, and Pliny, together with original medieval authors, such as Albertus Magnus and Bartholomeus Anglicus (both fl. 1240s), Bartlett observed a strong tradition of geographic determinism and in-

9 Berulfsen 1958, 123–144.

10 Consider the inclusion of several 'bite-sized' miracula (one featuring a Jew) in *Homiliu-bók*, 205–207; one Marian miracle also contains the rubric that it was used in preaching by Bishop Páll Jónsson (fl. 1195–1211) – "Þessa iartegnn var Pall byskup vannr at segia, þar sem hann var stadr Maariv messv hina fyrri [Bishop Páll had the habit of telling this miracle, when he was presiding over the lesser Marian mass]". See "Af presti einvm i Danmork." *MaS*, 153.

11 Berulfsen 1963, 77.

12 Berulfsen 1958, 126.

terest in skin colour in medieval racial thought. But more than race being a matter of breeding, he also saw a focus on cultural delineation: Language and law were just as important as inheritable features, such as skin tone, when the medieval mind was organizing the world into races. Here, he cited examples by William of Malmesbury, John Fordun, and Emperor Charles IV, among others.[13]

Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, whose publication in the same volume as Bartlett was later revised in his *Medieval Identity Machines*, stresses the primacy of the body as a site of difference in medieval race theory, rather at the expense of Bartlett's additional consideration of incorporeal alterity. Drawing on diverse sources, including the *chansons de geste*, the *Etymologiae*, the *Cursor Mundi*, and medieval receptions of the Galenic corpus, he presents a pre-modern conception of race as being an affiliation of bodies. In Cohen's view, when a group all display the same bodily trait, we are witnessing a partition of peoples not religions. True, dark skinned images of Saracens and 'Ethiopians' imply symbolic criticism of their Islamic beliefs, as hook-nosed Jews do for Judaism, but the implication of the body in these polemic efforts has shifted the discourse.[14] To apply Cohen's approach to the example provided by Bale earlier, it hardly seems that in the medieval mind, if Mosse-Mokke would only relinquish his beliefs, then his nose would straighten itself, he would be welcomed into Christendom, and all would be well with the world. In Cohen's formulation, race is the somatic manifestation of difference. The body introduces a way of thinking about Otherness that is no longer entirely spiritual: People look different because they were somehow born different.[15]

In the same 2001 volume, William Chester Jordan pointed out the expediency of reducing racial thinking to its essence. Whether we call it 'racial', 'national', or 'ethnic', we are describing the same phenomenon: The explanation of a person's characteristics by recourse to the values projected on to the collective(s) to which they belong. Jordan suggests that "[w]e should not substitute ethnic identity for race [...] They mean the same thing in [this] formulation, but it would [...] be a kind of cowardice to hide behind six syllables when we could speak the language of truth with one."[16] In a sense, what Bartlett, Jordan, and Cohen suggest is fundamentally in agreement with Arendt's defini-

13 Bartlett 2001, 39–56.

14 Cohen 2003, 190–221.

15 For the purposes of this essay, "Otherness" is simply the potentiated recognition of alterity. It could be understood by any number of theoretical frameworks and retain the same meaning. A reader seeking orientation on the specific notion of Aristotelian-Deleuzean Otherness which informs the present author may turn to Deleuze 2004, 38–43.

16 Jordan 2001, 168.

tion of racial thought, even if it is at odds with her chronology: Race is the business of using outer signs – language, skin colour, law – to reveal 'inner nature'. This will be the definition of 'race' and 'racial' employed in this paper.

Written sources from Iceland and Norway almost entirely avoid descriptions of Jewish physicality of the kind which Cohen and others would find racial. There are two rather marginal exceptions: A skaldic verse describes Jarl Sigvaldi, who betrayed Óláfr Tryggvason at the Battle of Svolder. as having a *niðrbjúgt nef* (crooked [lit. down turned] nose). This has been interpreted by Theodore Andersson as an allusion to the archetypal traitor, Judas, and would suggest that the 'hook-nosed Jew' motif had popular currency either at the time the verse was composed (1000) or the saga was written (c. 1190).[17] The only other attestation of the phrase *niðrbjúgt nef* occurs in the Eddic poem *Rígsþula*, which tells of how the pagan god, Rígr, slept with three women and so fathered the three classes of man: *þræll* (slave), *jarl* (earl), and *konungr* (king). Attendant to the theme of racial thought, we might note that in this poem, each class is described as an *ætt*, a term implying a lineage or descent group.[18] This resonates with Bartlett's connection of feudalism with racism, where he describes the Middle Ages as "a world in which blood and descent were seen as fundamental. A noble was *generosus* or *gentle* or *gentil* – 'well born.' A serf was *nativus* – 'born unfree'".[19] In stanza 10 of *Rígsþula*, Þír, the mother of the *ætt* of slaves, is introduced as so:

Þar kom at garði gengilbeina;	She came towards the farm, bow-legged;
aurr var á iliom, armr sólbrunninn,	muddy footed, with sunburnt arms,
niðrbiúgt er nef, nefndiz Þír.[20]	The nose was crooked, she was named Þír.

There are some interesting echoes of both racial and religious invective here. Aside from the hooked nose, Þír is depicted as dark-skinned, as Jews frequently were in both visual and textual culture.[21] She is also unclean, a prejudice levelled against Jews in various tropes: the *foetor judaicus* (Jewish stench), the contagious well-poisoner, the *Judensau* (pig-suckler), etc.[22] More striking than

17 Andersson 2003, 22.

18 According to Cleasby and Vigfússon (1874, 760): "what is inborn, native, one's own, lat. proprium; one's family, extraction, kindred, pedigree".

19 Bartlett 2001, 44.

20 *Poetic Edda*, 281–282.

21 Resnick 2012, 301–304; Strickland 2003, 110–111.

22 On poisoning and the *foetor judaicus* see especially Trachtenberg 1961, 47–50, 97–108; all these motifs are integrated into a discussion of the antiquity of anti-Semitism, germane to the earlier discussion on terminology, by Rancour-Laferriere 2011, 218.

both these resonances, however, is the fact that she is a servant. From Augustine describing the Jews as book-carrying servants for Christian students, to Emperor Frederick II's designation of Jews as *servi camere nostre* (servants of our chamber), to the possessive servitude exhibited in the Anglo-Norman *Judei Nostri*, the doctrine of the 'Jew in Christian Service' permeated medieval thinking about Jews.[23] Þír might be compelling evidence of a widespread apprehension of Jews in both physical and racial terms, but the dating of *Rigsþula* is unresolved. As Thomas D. Hill notes, it "might be much older than the MS in which it was preserved [1270s], and a product of the pre-Christian period, or it might be the work of eleventh or twelfth century Icelandic of Norwegian poets of a somewhat antiquarian disposition".[24] The younger dating would support the theory that the poet is drawing from popular thinking about Jews, the elder would rule it out: Why would a pagan Scandinavian be anti-Jewish, let alone anti-Semitic? At any rate, neither of these two instances of a *niðrbjúgt nef* is applied directly to Jews. Their allusive nature hints at a widespread racial apprehension of Jews – note, following Bale, the 'grotesquely physical register' – but they are not definitive proof thereof.

When Old Norse authors discussed Jews explicitly, they tended to engineer difference through descriptions of their behaviour rather than their bodies *per se*. Consider one of the Norse versions of the *Erubescat* miracle. In this tale, widely known in many medieval literatures, Jews plot to abduct and murder a cleric who torments them by singing a hymn which decries their rejection of Christ. A Jew dresses as a monk in order to kidnap the cleric, and the captive is accordingly executed. The conspirators almost get away with it, until a miraculous intervention by the Virgin Mary reveals their crime. The Christians respond as so:

> kallar konvngrinn saman mikinn lyð oc stefnir fiølment þing, þviat hann var þar i borginni þann tima, er þvillikir lvtir gerðuz. Er a þvi þingi þetta mal vpp borit af kirkivnnar halfv ok konvngsins, hversu gyðingar hafa prettvissliga gabbat savðaher guðs. Þar eptir dǫmir konvungrinn með beztu manna raði, at fyrir þa grein at gyðingrinn hafði klerkinn gripit vt af kirkivnni vndir siðlǫtis bunaðe, skulo allir gyðingar taka þa pinv, ef þeir uilia eigi snvaz til rettrar trvar, at þeir skulo engi klǫði bera nema gvl, ok þo vánd ok felitil at øllvm kosti, at þeir se avðkendir með sinni otrv ok fraskilianligir guðligri hiørð, sem iafnan meinmǫla hinn krossfesta Jesum ok hans dyrðliga moðvr blezaða mey Mariam drotningv
>
> [the king calls together a great crowd and arranges a large assembly, because he happened to be in town at the time when these things happened. At this assembly the matter

23 Rowe 2004, 167; Krummel 2011, 28–36; Sapir Abulafia 2011.

24 Hill 1993, 535. As Hill notes, a mid-thirteenth-century dating has also been proposed: Von See 1957, 1–12.

> was raised on behalf of the Church and the king, how the Jews had cunningly mocked God's flock. Thereafter the king, with counsel of the greatest men, deems that as the Jew had seized the cleric from the Church by wearing the clothing of the righteous all Jews should have the punishment, that if they will not be turned to the correct faith, they will wear no clothes but yellow, and indeed poor and miserable ones in every way, so that they might be recognized for their faithlessness and their separation from the godly herd, as they always abuse Jesus the Crucified and His glorious mother, the Blessed Virgin, Queen Mary][25]

Clearly, this episode is couched primarily in religious terms. What the Jews have done is a product of *ótrú* (faithlessness). Moreover, the Jews do not exhibit any corporeal difference from the Christians: The Jew can successfully disguise himself as a monk because there is otherwise no outwardly visible difference between himself and a Christian. On these grounds, the message would rightly be described as anti-Jewish, rather than anti-Semitic. But it also contains the very faint beginnings of a deliberation on 'the inner nature' of the Jew. The text leaves some important questions unanswered. If to be a Jew is simply to believe erroneous things, why do the Jews not convert when they witness the Marian miracle?[26] What must be wrong with them, to make them so irrational and stubborn? And if Judaism is only a religion, how does it make its adherents so *préttviss* (cunning)? Elsewhere, Old Norse literature tends to depict personal qualities, particularly moral and intellectual ones, as innate rather than learned. As Paul Bibire remarks succinctly: "Personality traits were [...] believed to be inherited; genealogical narrative was therefore a guide to how subsequent descendent would behave in specific narrative situations".[27] I see no reason for this one miracle to be an exception to this tradition. Its audience would have heard through homilies that the Jews were recalcitrant and crazed back in the time of Christ; thus, through the principle of genetic inheritance the contemporary Jews would be the same.[28] It was their lineage, not their religion, that made them so. In the king's own words, the yellow clothes he enjoins upon the Jews are a way to recognize the fact they are *fráskili* (separated, isolated, astray; as defined by Cleasby and Vigfússon).[29] I do not deny the religious connotations of the word, but what the king also seems to be motioning towards is 'difference, Otherness'. Doubtless, the yellow clothes signify reli-

25 "Af klerk ok gyðingvm." *MaS*, 206–207.
26 Cf. the discussion on 'being a Jew' provided by Krummel 2011, 23–26.
27 Bibire 2003, 236.
28 I am thinking here in particular of the Christmas Day homily, the homily on the Passion, and two untitled homilies on St. Stephen: *Homiliu-bók*, 45–49, 66–70, 175–180.
29 Cleasby and Vigfússon 1874, 171.

gious alterity, but they can also be understood as an outer articulation of an unchangeable 'inner nature'. Indeed, a similarly ambiguous mixture of racial and religious thinking stood behind the decision by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 which led to Jews being forced to wear coloured badges in many European polities:

> In some provinces a difference in dress distinguishes the Jews or Saracens from the Christians, but in certain others such a confusion has grown up that they cannot be distinguished by any difference. Thus it happens at times that through error Christians have relations with the women of Jews or Saracens, and Jews and Saracens with Christian women. Therefore, that they may not, under pretext of error of this sort, excuse themselves in the future for the excesses of such prohibited intercourse, we decree that such Jews and Saracens of both sexes in every Christian province and at all times shall be marked off in the eyes of the public from other peoples through the character of their dress.[30]

Again, the tone is ostensibly religious. Here, Jews are not perceived to have any substantial physical differences from Christians that would otherwise reveal their identity. But the clerics behind this edict do not even consider the possibility that 'relations' between Jews and Christians might lead to conversion. They appear to be more concerned that some sort of contamination might occur. Even if Jews do not exhibit external difference, what is it in their inner nature that must be kept away? When premarital intercourse is already a sin, why is it considered so much worse to sleep with a Jew that the issue requires its own legislation? When legislators begin to concern themselves over the intermingling of Christian and Jewish bodies, their thinking may yet be described as anti-Jewish, but the drift towards a somatic discourse betokens at least the beginnings of something racial.[31] In this way, the author of the Old Norse *Erubescat* miracle may have misunderstood the historical origins of the 'yellow badge', but his work is a product of the same psychology.

This way of thinking is developed further elsewhere in the Norse *miracula*. In the *Toledo Miracle*, the voice of the Virgin Mary is heard from the heavens, warning the Toledans that the local Jews are planning to re-enact the crucifixion *með mikilli slægð ok illzku* (with great cunning and evil). The archbishop summons a crowd, and they begin a search for where the Jews might be intending to carry out their secret rite. The episode is resolved as so:

> Ok fóru þeir fyrst til halla þeira, er byskup gyðinga átti, ok rannsökuðu þar. Ok þá er erkibyskup kom í þinghús þeira, þá fannz þar líkneskia gör af vaxi í líking lifanda mannz.

30 Marcus 1999, 154.

31 See also Heng 2000, 137; Kruger 1997, 167–168.

> Hon var börð ok hrækt, ok þar vóru menn margir af fólki gyðinga ok féllu á kné fyrir líkneskiuna, sumir gáfu henni kinnhesta. Þar stóð ok kross hiá, ok höfðu gyðingar þar ætlat at negla líkneski þetta þar á krossinn til spotz ok svívirðingar við dróttin várn Jesum Krist ok alla þá er á hann trúðu. En er kristnir menn sá þetta, þá brutu þeir þetta líkneski, en drápu alla gyðinga, þá er þar vóru við staddir.[32]
>
> [First they went to the hall which the rabbi (*byskup gyðinga*) owned and searched there. And when the archbishop came to their synagogue (*þinghús*) there was found a statue made of wax, in the likeness of a living man. It was battered and spit-drenched, and there were many people of the Jewish race (*fólk*) falling on their knees before the statue, some slapped it on the cheek. Also, there stood a cross nearby, and the Jews had intended to nail that statue to the cross for the mockery and insult of Our Lord Jesus Christ and all who believed in Him. And when the Christians saw this, then they destroyed that statue and killed all the Jews who were present.]

While the narrative voice has not introduced the theme of a visibly different Jewish body, when we consider the motivations of the Jewish antagonists a little more closely the author's proto-racial message becomes apparent. What are the Jews really doing in this scene? Superficially, their performance is a straightforward ridicule of Christianity. There is a rich tradition of mockery by sculpting an insulting effigy in Old Norse literature, and although the *Toledo miracle* is a translation, I find it hard to believe that Icelanders hearing it were not at least occasionally reminded of the valences of parodic statues in their own culture. This tradition is known as *tréníð* (wooden insult) – *níð* refers to a particular kind of humiliating denigration, often but not universally understood to have sexual implications. Its chief quality is that it "seek[s] to degrade a person in the opinion of others by referring to him or representing him as a despicable person" and "always conveys contempt".[33] Indeed, the mockery and irreverence of *níð* would have made a perfect analogue with the stereotype of the sceptic, bilious Jewish assailant. That such a connection was plausible to the minds of medieval Icelanders is confirmed by the Old Norse saga of St. Peter (*Pétrs saga Postula*) where the word *gyðingr* (Jew) is at one point replaced with *guðníðingr* (lit. one who commits *níð* against God).[34]

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32 "Af líkneski várs herra." in *MaS*, 110–111.

33 Meulengracht Sørensen 1983, 28–29. For interesting comment on *tréníð*, see Finlay 2001, 21–44.

34 Berulfsen 1958, 126–127 (also 1963, 77) argued that this was deliberate folk etymology: "En slik folkeetymologi er ofte en utmerket indikator på hva man egentlig legger i ordet [Such a folk etymology is often an outstanding indicator of what one really invested in the word]." The context here is Peter's explanation of Simon Magus' circumcision: "Til þess tok Simon skurðarskirn, at hann mætti framarr bleckia andir ebreska manna, ef mann syndi sik vera [*gyðing/guðniðing/Juda*] ok leti sem hann kendi guðs lǫ̨gmal [This is why Simon was circumcised, he could further mislead the souls of the Jews if he showed himself to be a (Jew/mocker

Even when the Jews have very nearly succeeded in their conspiracy, there is still a logical flaw at its core. The whole point of *níð* is that it must have an audience who are thereby shamed and wounded. But this strange performance was never actually intended for Christian eyes. Indeed, were it not for the intervention of the Virgin Mary, it would have remained known only to the Jews who participated. This is the very same conundrum we saw at work in the *Erubescat* miracle; the inscrutable, irrationality of the Jews. But it is intensified here by the apparent frenzy that apparently consumes them. It is not merely a question of stubbornness, but actual derangement akin to the Jewish *dementia* posited by Bede.[35] There is no sense here that the Jews are guilty of misunderstanding the scriptures. Rather, they are incapable of understanding anything at all. The author has taken a step towards separating 'Jews' from 'Judaism': The antagonists of this episode can hardly be said to belong to a structured religion. There is no one officiating over this frenzied display, nor any sense of congregation, an opposing scripture, or non-Christian ritual. Noticeably, the rabbi's house is empty. The Jews of Toledo present the image of having a leader and being a religious community in their own right, but this is only a pretence. They attack Christianity instinctively, irrationally, and ineffectively, quite without the need for the organizational hierarchies characteristic of Christianity, Their incapability to think or reflect also means that apostasy is impossible. In contrast to the *Erubescat* legend, the Jews are not even offered the chance to be *snúazk til réttrar trúar* (turned to the correct faith). Whatever it is in Jewishness that makes the Toledan Jews hostile and crazed, it cannot be undone by conversion. Thus, the only response available to the Christians is to kill them all. The author's concerns over the indelibility of inner nature rather than the mutability of religion are also exposed in his choice of language. He speaks of a *gyðinga fólk* (lit. 'people of the Jews', but translated in accordance with Jordan's earlier call for simplicity as 'Jewish race'). The author does not speak of a *gyðinga trú* (Jewish faith). He does not conceive of Judaism as an erroneous religion to be proselytized away so much as he thinks of Jews as a strange people to be wiped out.

This application of the word *fólk* to the Jews in an interesting development, and it warrants further comment on terminology. *Fólk* is a rather semantically narrow term, quite possibly equivalent to Bartlett's previously cited identifica-

of God/Jew) and pretended that he accepted God's commandments]," *Petrs Saga Postola*, 99–101. This might hint at perceived etymology on the part of the scribe, but could equally be a scribal error, or indeed an accidental expression of subconscious anti-Jewish sentiment.

35 Scheil 2004, 38–49.

tion of *populus*, defined in the *Icelandic-English Dictionary* as 'folk, people'.[36] Its use in the *Toledo Miracle* may hail a phenomenological shift from thinking solely about Judaism to a further consideration over 'the Jews', but it is not a racial descriptor *per se*. Cleasby and Vigfússon maintained that "the Germ[an] sense of *people, nation* [Dan(ish) *folket*] is strange to Icel[andic]".[37] Their generalization is not entirely correct. An Old Norwegian homily on the massacre of the innocents exerts considerable effort in delineating the *gyðinga fólk* from the *gyðinga kyn, kyn Palestinorum* and *kyn Jacobs*.[38] It seems hard to believe that the homilist is not conceiving of the term as an ethnic identifier there. Several Old Norse texts also use variations of the term *Isræls fólk* to refer the Jews, including *The Old Norwegian Homily Book, Stjórn*, and *Konungs Skuggsjá*. *Thómas saga Erkibyskups* refers to the French as *Frankaríkis fólk*. Snorri Sturluson frequently uses *fólk* to describe the diverse races of gods, elves, and giants who populate his *Prose Edda*.[39] But if *fólk* only very occasionally conveyed a sense of ethnic delineation, there is one example from Old Norse literature where the Jews are referred to with a collective noun that did have explicitly racial connotations. The word *kyn* conveys the idea of genetic extraction, but also of type or species. Thus Cleasby and Vigfússon suggest the Latin translation *genus*, or modern English "kin, kindred [...] a kind, sort, species".[40] There are several moments in Old Norse literature where people are described in terms of their *kyn*. In *Eyrbyggja saga*, a trader by the name of Nagli is "skozkr at kyni [Irish by descent]",[41] which Sverrir Jakobsson has proposed as a marker to explain his discomposure and cowardice in battle.[42] Similarly, Ívarr Ingimundarson in *Morkinskinna* is said to be "íslenzkr at ætt ok stórættaðr at kyni, vitr maðr ok skáld gott [Icelandic by descent and noble in extraction, a wise man and fine poet]."[43] Is Ívarr poetically gifted and Icelandic, or poetically gifted *because* he is Icelandic? After all, Theodoricus Monachus and Saxo Grammaticus both praise the Icelanders' reputation as poets, and the majority of known *skálds* were Icelanders.[44] Demonstrating considerably less subtlety,

36 Cleasby and Vigfússon 1874, 164.
37 Cleasby and Vigfússon 1874, 164.
38 *GNH*, 94–97.
39 For these examples and more, see *ONP, s.v.* "folk".
40 Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874, 366.
41 Eyrbyggja saga, 33.
42 Sverrir Jakobsson 2007, 153.
43 Morkinskinna, 102.
44 Theodoricus Monachus states that "I have been able to learn by assiduous inquiry from the people among whom in particular the remembrance of these matters is believed to thrive – namely those whom we call Icelanders, who preserve them as much celebrated themes in their ancient poems." Theodoricus Monachus 1998, 1. Saxo does not refer to poetry explicitly, but

Bergr Sokkason makes very clear his concept of *kyn* as an ethnic appellation and as a foreshadowing of character. In his *Nikolaus Saga Erkibyskups,* he tells the story of a troubled merchant who approaches a Jewish moneylender: "sækir hann heim gyding nockurn storliga rikan at gulli ok silfri, sem þess hattar kyni er veniuligt, bidiandi, at hann seli honum sva mikit gull at lani [he seeks the home of a certain Jew, very wealthy in gold and silver, as those of this kind of race usually are, asking that he might loan him much gold]". [45] Predictably, Bergr's stereotype does not proceed to behave with much integrity in the following transaction. Just as Nagli's Irish *kyn* made him cowardly, Ívarr's *kyn* made him poetic, and the Jewish moneylender's *kyn* makes him wealthy and dishonest. Bergr's moneylender will ultimately convert to Christianity, but in my view the triumph of God's love over 'bad blood' does not erase the implication of inherited, innate negative qualities. Just as Bergr chose to end on a theme of divine redemption, he also chose to begin with the notion of *kyn*. He might have spoken of *þess háttar trú* (this kind of faith), *þess háttar starf* (this kind of profession), *þess háttar stétt* (this kind of rank), etc. He did not.

As seen, textual depictions of Jews from Iceland and Norway may well approach Jewishness as something irremovable, inheritable, and therefore racial, but they do not use the body to articulate this essentialism. Visual culture, on the other hand, is a different matter. As we have seen in the case of Mosse-Mokke cited by Bale, other medieval European cultures frequently used pictures of Jews to communicate anti-Semitic notions of Jewish difference. Students of Old Danish and Old Swedish have a rich array of sources to choose from in this regard, as Denmark and Sweden are richly endowed with surviving examples of church art. Old Norse specialists have a dramatically narrower range with which to engage: There are some impressive manuscript illustrations from Iceland, but virtually no church art survives there, and for depictions of Jews the Norwegian material is only marginally superior.[46] But in the Icelandic case, we have one surviving collection of illustrations known as the *Teiknibók* (AM 673a, 4°), which is widely reckoned to have served as a model

his Icelandic sources for mythology can hardly have been prose: "The diligence of the men of Iceland must not be shrouded in silence; since the barrenness of their native soil offers no means of self-indulgence, they pursue a steady routine of temperance and devote all their time to improving our knowledge of others' deeds, compensating for poverty by their intelligence. They regard it a real pleasure to discover and commemorate the achievements of every nation". Saxo Grammaticus 1996, 5.

45 Bergr Sokkason 1877, 134.

46 On Norway, see Dæhlin 1966, 291–299; Fuglesang 1996. On Iceland, see Jakob Benediktsson 1981, 299.

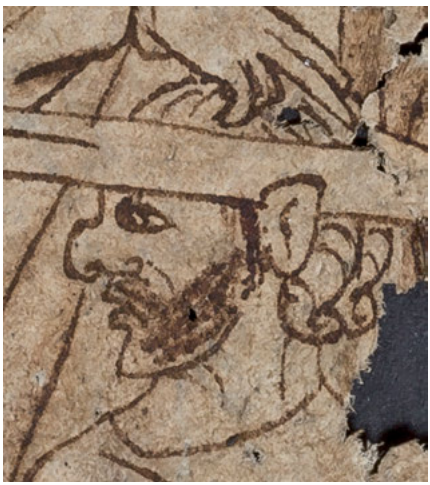

Fig. 5: Malchus struck by St. Peter, *Teiknibók*, fol. 9^{r}. (Photograph: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar)

for manuscript illustration and church art throughout the Middle Ages.[47] Naturally, we cannot be certain how closely Icelandic church-painters copied these models, but it is probable that the images contained in the *Teiknibók* were not completely unique, and it seems safe to assume they are broadly representative of the medieval Icelandic visual culture which we have now largely lost.

The *Teiknibók* features several images of Jews, many of which exhibit classic racist tropes – I do not mean to put the Middle Ages on trial by using the word 'racist'; rather, I intend only to highlight the fact that the artist in question apparently rehearses the notion that Jews look a certain way, and he clearly does not intend his depictions as compliments.[48] Three artists are thought to have worked on the manuscript, but all the depictions of Jews here are by the same hand, dated between 1330 and 1360.[49] In addition to the usual hooked noses (see fig. 5 and fig. 6), there are also some slightly subtler strategies of somatic difference at play. The Jews are generally much less physically imposing than Christ and his apostles. One image (fig. 7) features a particularly dainty, elfin Jew, who would scarcely reach Jesus' armpit were he to stand:

47 Jakob Benediktsson 1981, 300.

48 There are three Jewish figures in a crucifixion scene on fol. 6^{v}, two Jewish figures crowning Jesus with the crown of thorns on fol. 6^{r}, two Jews or one Jew and a Roman soldier in the judgement of Pilate on fol. 9^{v}, Malchus and Judas on fol. 9^{r}, one Jew being shown out from the washing of Christ's body on fol. 13^{v}, possibly one Jew in a deposition scene on fol. 13^{r}, Jacob wearing a *pilleus cornutus* on fol. 14^{r}, Jewish doctor attending a deathbed scene on fol. 17^{v}.

49 Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir 2013, 102.

Fig. 6: Bald, hook-nosed Jew helps apply the crown of thorns. *Teiknibók*, fol. 6r. (Photograph: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar)

Like the equally petite Malchus, he can also only muster a wispy stubble in contrast to Christ's full beard. This concept of the Jew as somehow lacking vitality, or indeed masculinity, is wholly lacking in textual sources, but appears on multiple occasions in the *Teiknibók*. In fig. 6, the Jew seems curiously physically degenerate, with sickly, downturned eyes and complete hair loss from the beard upwards. In the case of these two examples, recent work by Carl Phelpstead on the proclivity for Old Norse literature to align baldness and poor beard growth with effeminacy or emasculation ought to be borne in mind.[50] It is not impossible that here we can observe literary and visual expression in concert. In fig. 8, although the folio is damaged, we can see that the Jew nailing Christ's left hand to the cross has long, feminine eyelashes. The assertion of Jewish

50 Phelpstead 2013, 1–19.

Fig. 7: Detail from Crucifixion, *Teiknibók*, fol. 6ᵛ. (Photograph: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar)

queerness was commonly rehearsed in medieval culture, e.g., the idea that Jewish men menstruate, that circumcision was sexually damaging, that Jews forcibly circumcise or murder Christian children because they despise their virginity, etc.[51] As Steven Kruger has pointed out, the racial and religious implications of this motif were not clearly disambiguated:

> The idea of Jewish and queer bodily degeneracy and danger is linked also to a claim about ideas, a belief that homosexuals and Jews were not just physically but *intellectually* perverted, and in particular unable to read and interpret texts properly. Jews of course, were thought wilfully to misunderstand the truth of Christ's life, and of Scripture both 'Old' and 'New'; just as they possess debased bodies, their readings debase texts by focusing only on the material, never the spiritual.[52]

Nonetheless, Kruger describes this medieval Christian avatar for Jewishness as the "the religiously *and racially* queer Jew" who appears in "anti-Semitic texts".[53] The strategy is ambidextrous: The weak, feminized Jews of the *Teiknibók* can be read metaphorically. In that capacity, they serve as symbols of a

51 Kruger 1992, 303 ; Bale 2010, 131–132; Resnick 2012, 50–52; Trachtenberg 1963, 50, 149–150.
52 Kruger 1993, 34–35. Interestingly, Kruger integrates his general analysis of queerness with Old Norse sources, namely the accusation of *ergi* in *Gísla saga Súrssonar*.
53 Kruger 1993, 33, 35 (my *emphasis*).

Fig. 8: Jew with effeminate eyelashes from Crucifixion, *Teiknibók*, fol. 6ᵛ. (Photograph: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar)

Fig. 9: Dark-skinned Jew? The manuscript is defective and the colouring is most likely accidental rather than original artistic intent. Nonetheless, the face is noticeably darker than the liripipe it surrounds. *Teiknibók*, fol. 6ᵛ. (Photograph: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar)

religion that lacks vitality, that is fading away, that is utterly perverse. But like any metaphor, they can also be read literally – in this case, as a comment on the moral degeneracy and physical alterity inherent to the Jewish people, or to use a term we saw earlier, the *gyðinga fólk*. A lay audience of uneducated Icelanders, observing copies of these illustrations daubed on church walls while they listened to their preacher tell the *Erubescat* or *Toledo* miracle, may well have understood things in such literal rather than symbolic terms.

Lay misunderstanding of Jews exhibited through visual culture can also be found in another, rather more unlikely, place. The *Codex Upsaliensis* (DG 11, 4°) is an Icelandic manuscript written in the early 1300s. It is most famous for containing a unique recension of Snorri Sturluson's *Prose Edda*, but it also preserves several other shorter works: *The Second Grammatical Treatise*, *Skáldatal*, *Lǫgsǫgumannatal*, and, most importantly for our purposes, *Ættartala Sturlunga* (The Reckoning of the Heritage [*ætt*] of the Sturlungs). This text is a short genealogy of the Sturlung clan, which held power over much of western Iceland during the thirteenth century, and to which many prominent Icelanders belonged, not least Sturla Þórðarson (d. 1284) and Snorri himself. It is generically related to the regnal lists of the Norwegian royals, where the male line begins with Adam, proceeds to the Greeks/Trojans, then the Anglo-Saxons, and continues right up to the incumbent monarch.[54] However, it is unusual amongst such genealogies for the number of errors it contains. Details which would have been common knowledge to anybody with even slight insight into the Bible are quite confused. The son of Adam, for example, is listed not as Seth but 'Sech'. Similarly, Enoch becomes 'Enon'. Likewise, details from Classical literature which are elsewhere well understood by Old Norse authors, are

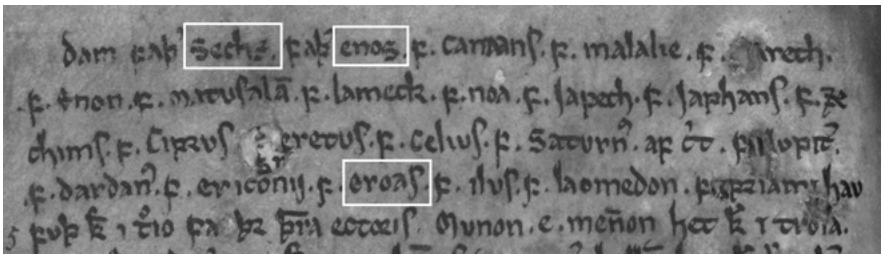

Fig. 10: "Sechz" (cf. Lameck), "Enos", "Eroas". *Codex Upsaliensis*, fol. 25ᵛ. (Photograph: Uppsala universitetsbibliotek)

54 For a full presentation of the Old Norse regnal tradition with accompanying translations, see Bruce 2002, 92–96, 111–113, 114–119, 121–122, 141–150; see also Faulkes 1977, 177–190.

corrupted in the *Ættartala*, e.g., Tros becomes 'Eroas' (see fig. 10). These may well be simple scribal errors, but if so we can at least be certain that the hand responsible was very much a layman – nobody with a modicum of clerical training could have made such mistakes. Here, we should also note that there is no reason why the scribe should not also have been the author, having adapted his own *tala* from the material provided in the genealogy of Óðinn given in the prologue to *Snorra Edda*.[55] This ignorance of biblical history on the part of the hand should be borne in mind when we consider the illustrations which immediately precede the *Ættartala* on fol. 25^{r}.

The popular explanation for the three figures on fol. 25^{r} has been that they are dancers.[56] Olof Thorell described fig. 11 as a "man i halvfigur med hakskägg, hållande en stav med krycka [man in profile with a goatee, holding a staff with a crutch]". [57] There are several reasons to describe it more properly as a caricature of a Jew. Most obviously, there is the *niðrbjúgt nef* that we have seen previously. Thorell acknowledges the goatee, but neglects to add that this style of beard was a staple of anti-Semitic imagery during the Middle Ages.[58] The theme of physical deterioration, manifested in the figure's wearied wrinkles, recalls our earlier example from the *Teiknibók* (fig. 6). The man's headgear is not readily discernible: Is the hair covering the ears a crude parody of the *peyot*, is he wearing a *kippah*, or is he sporting a head of tight curls? All three possibilities would resonate with medieval depictions of Jews – and indeed contemporaneous notions of race, particularly if we consider the *peyot* or *kippah* in light of Bartlett and Jordan's definition of medieval race as including law and customs.[59]

A logical question to pose at this point is: Why should there be a Jew in the *Codex Upsaliensis*? A flippant response might be: Why should a troupe of dancers be there either? However, while I am ready to accept the hypothesis that the scribe of the *Ættartala* drew a Jew simply because he could, we might also be able to relate the image to the text in question, and in doing so illuminate some of the ways that he perceived the concept of *ætt*. As previously alluded to, the *Ættartala* cleanly shifts from Biblical names, to Greek names, to

55 Einar Ól. Sveinsson 1940, 64.

56 Thorell 1977, xviii. This interpretation is followed by Heimir Pálsson 2012, xcv–xcvi.

57 Thorell 1977, xviii.

58 On the importance of the *Ziegenbart* and the association with goats more generally, see Trachtenberg 1963, 44–48.

59 With particular application to Jews, see Jordan 2001, 166–167. On the racial implications of curly hair in the Middle Ages, see Strickland 2003, 38, 85; on curly hair and Jews, see Trachtenberg 1963, 26. It is also argued that this illustration was informed by anti-Semitic visual language in Cole (forthcoming).

Old English names – or approximations thereof, e.g., Scef becomes Sesef, Godwulf becomes Guðólf, Hereræd becomes Hereðei, etc. – before finally arriving at Old Norse names, which in turn can be divided into the royal Norwegian Ynglingar line and the Icelandic Sturlung clan. It is possible that the *Ættartala* scribe conceived of the first, biblical portion as being Jews. Anyone with basic knowledge of the Bible would know that they were not. The line goes from Noah to Japheth, and then onwards to the Greeks, following the assertion first popularized by St. Isidore of Seville that Europeans were descended from Japheth.[60] The *Ættartala* diverges several generations prior to the first Jewish patriarch. But as previously seen, our scribe's understanding of Bible history was very much confused. It may be the case that the Jew on fol. 25ʳ is a graphic representation of how he believed people such as Lamech and Noah would have looked. It is worth noting that he appears to be measuring between two points on the item that Thorell described as a crutch. Is he, perhaps, indicating the portion of the *tal* or *tala* to which he belongs?[61] The two female figures in fig. 12 and fig. 13 appear to be making similar measuring gestures, explicating their own demarcations of the Sturlung pedigree. Are they perhaps depictions from another part of the *Ættartala*, possibly the only two-named female Sturlungar (Vigdís Svertingsdóttir and Helga Sturludóttir)? Alternatively, one of the women may be the only named female Yngling (Ólöf Vémundardóttir). The figure with a sword in fig. 12 might be any number of the warriors in the *Ættartala*, from Hector to Sighvatr Sturluson.

If the illustrations surrounding the *Ættartala* are indeed inspired by the scribe's understanding of the text, then fig. 11 is a striking visualization of a 'Jewish'[62] *ætt*, just as we earlier encountered the *ætt* of slaves in *Rigsþula* or the *ætt* of Icelanders in *Morkinskinna*. Moreover, it stresses the ethnic/genetic component of 'Jewishness'. The Sturlung line does not become Christian until the Scandinavian branch (and then quite late on; this line even includes Óðinn himself), so it cannot be religious status that undoes the hooked nose and wizened appearance. In the mind of the scribe, the fact that the contemporary Sturlungar did not 'look Jewish' must have been attributed to an idea that 'Jewishness' was something that was inherited and could therefore be bred out-

60 St. Isidore of Seville 2006, 193.

61 The title *Ættartala Sturlunga* is a modern descriptor, although both *ættartala* and *ættartal* are medieval words used to describe this kind of genealogy or pedigree. The noun *tala* refers to a tally or number, while *tal* connotes a list more specifically. See Cleasby and Vigfússon 1874, 624–625, 760.

62 I use scare quotes here throughout this section because, as seen, the people described were obviously not Jews.

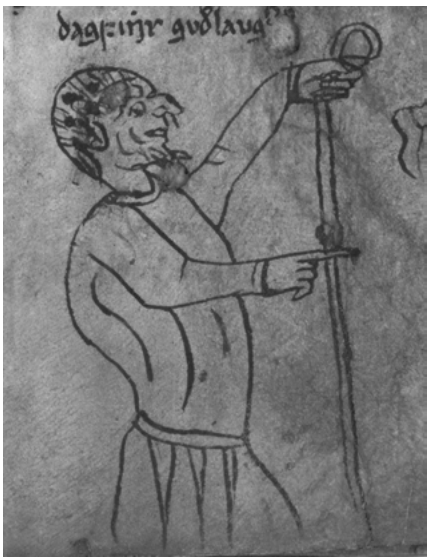

Fig. 11: "Jew" with tally? *Codex Upsaliensis*, fol. 25r. (Photograph: Uppsala universitetsbibliotek)

over the generations. His identification of Noah *et al.* as Jews might well have been idiosyncratic in medieval Iceland, but as we have seen such notions of hereditary characteristics were not. In any case, even if fig. 11 is quite unrelated to the adjacent text, the image's rehearsal of the anti-Semitic tropes previously outlined constitutes a further example of medieval Icelanders expressing hostile sentiments about the inner nature of the Jews via the site of the body.

I will conclude with one more example of what I believe to be a racialized image of the Jewish body from the Old Norse-speaking world. Ål Stave Church was constructed during the twelfth century in what is now Ål Kommune, south east Norway. During the early 1300s a lavishly painted chancel ceiling was added, depicting 23 scenes from the Bible. Although the church was demolished in 1880, these paintings were recovered and survive to date. Imagining being packed into the church, staring up at the vibrantly coloured images while the priest read material from the *Old Norwegian Homily Book* or the *miracula*, one can understand how powerful the lay experience of Old Norse religious literature must have been. Returning to earlier observations made on the reception of the *Teiknibók*, we might even speak of 'the multimedia Jew'. An illiterate Old Norse-speaking layman could look from panel to panel on the chancel ceiling of Ål stave church, following visual depictions of Jewish cruelty during the Passion at the same time as the preacher narrated them (we might even make an educated guess at what such a sermon might have been like,

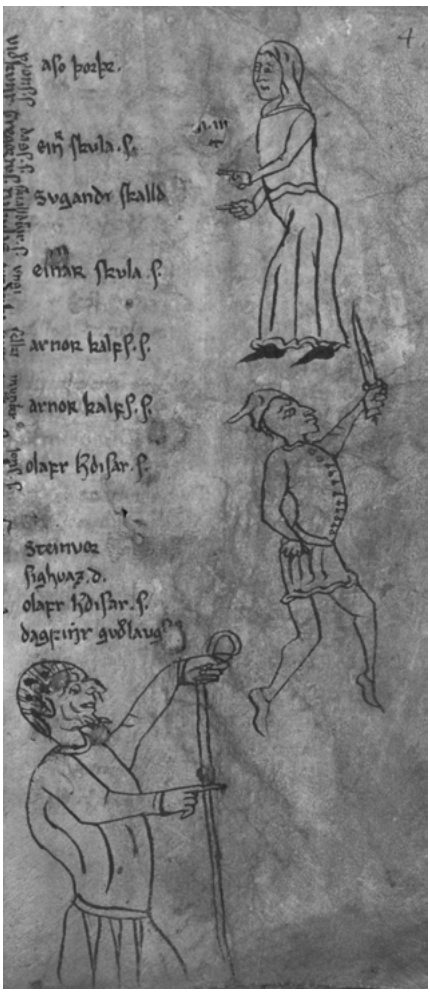

Fig. 12: Illustrations on *Codex Upsaliensis*, fol. 25r. (Photograph: Uppsala universitetsbibliotek)

e.g., *Dominica palmarum sermo* from *The Old Norwegian Homily Book*).[63] What the written/spoken word did not say of the Jewish body, church art could show.

Some of the imagery from Ål is conversant with what we have previously seen from the *Teiknibók*. The Icelandic fig. 5 and the Norwegian fig. 15 both depict Malchus as hook-nosed and diminutive. As suggested in fig. 9 from the *Teiknibók*, the Ål Jews have visibly darker skin. In fig. 14 and fig. 16, Jesus and his disciples exhibit a ruddy, fleshy tone. Judas and the Jews are of a browner

63 For the original text, see *GNH*, 111–116.

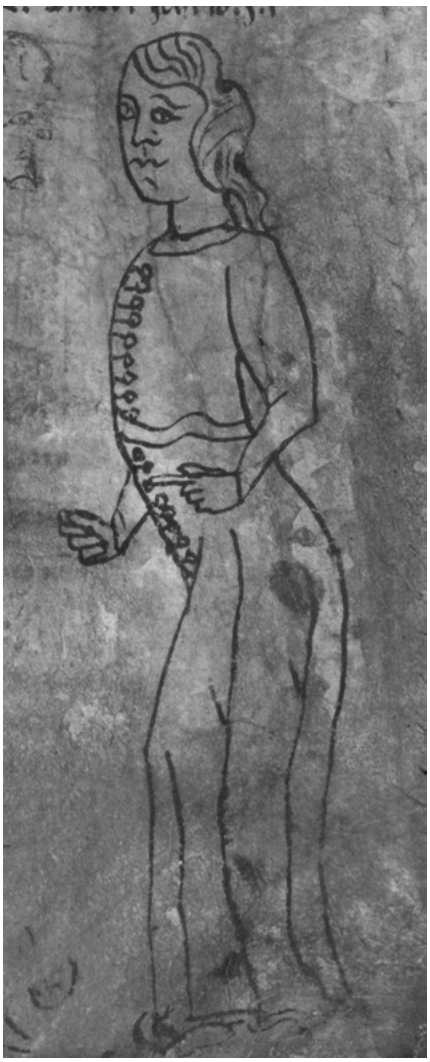

Fig. 13: Female figure on *Codex Upsaliensis*, fol. 25r. (Photograph: Uppsala universitetsbibliotek)

hue, which somehow simultaneously conveys the image of being more pallid and sickly, while also not being quite as 'white'.[64] Again, the visual and literary cultures of West Norse-speaking Scandinavia coalesce on this topic: dark complexions in general were often distrusted by Old Norse authors, being seen as ugly or suggestive of loutishness, impudence, or malevolence. It is a common

64 On medieval notions of 'whiteness', see Cohen 2003, 197–198; Akbari 2000, 19–34.

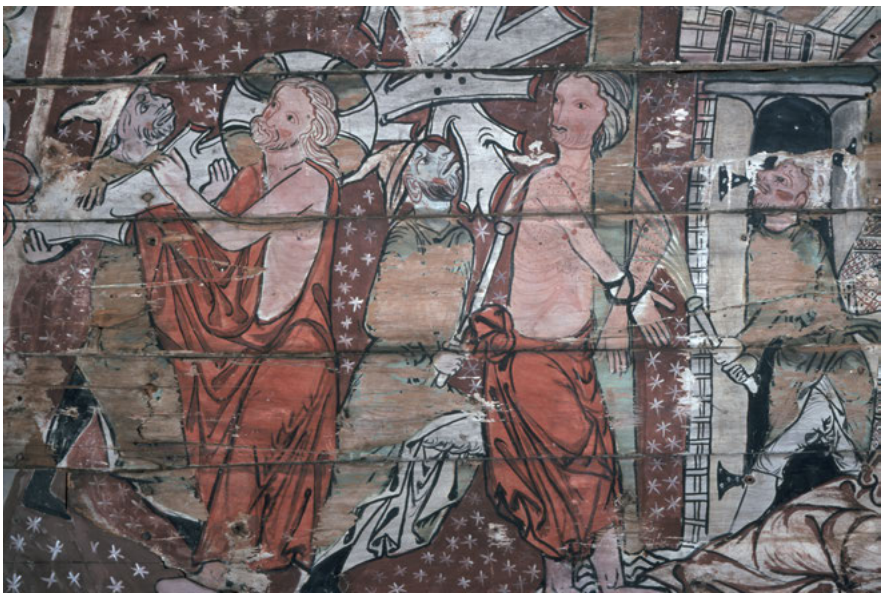

Fig. 14: Jews from Passion scene (detail), Ål Stave Church. Note skin tone in relation to Jesus. (Photograph: Eirik Irgens Johnsen)

trope in the *Íslendingasögur*, that of two brothers, the one with a darker complexion will be a troublemaker, e.g., Grímr and Þórólfr Kveld-Úlfsson, then Egill and Þórólfr Skalla-Grímsson in *Egils saga*.[65] The sociologist Christen T. Jonassen went as far as to claim that this eulogizing of fair features at the expense of the dark was part of "a rather complete racist theory which was integrated with [...] mythology and [the Scandinavian] total value system, and

65 On the Kveld-Úlfssynir: "Var Þórólfr manna vænstr ok gørviligastr; hann var líkr móðurfrændum sínum, gleðimaðr mikill, ǫrr ok ákafamaðr mikill í ǫllu ok inn mesti kappsmaðr; var hann vinsæll af ǫllum mǫnnum. Grímr var svartr maðr ok ljótr, líkr feðr sínum, bæði yfirlits ok at skaplyndi [Þórólfr was the most beautiful and accomplished of men. He took after his mother's side, a very cheerful man, generous and enthusiastic about everything, and the greatest champion. He was popular with everyone. Grímr was a black and ugly man, like his father both in appearance and disposition]." On the Skalla-Grimssynir: "Þórólfr var gleðimaðr mikill [...] varð hann brátt vinsæll af alþýðu [...] (Egill) myndi verða mjǫk ljótr ok líkr feðr sínum, svartr á hár [...] hann var brátt málugr ok orðvíss; heldr var hann illr viðreignar, er hann var í leikum með ǫðrum ungmennum [Þórólfr was a cheerful man (...) he soon became popular with the common people (... Egill) would turn out very ugly like his father, black of hair, he was often talkative and witty. He was rather hard to get on with, when he was playing with other youths]", *Egils saga*, 5, 80.

Fig. 15: Malchus detail, Ål Stave Church. (Photograph: Eirik Irgens Johnsen)

Fig. 16: Detail from Last Supper, Ål Stave Church. Note skin colour of Judas (L) in relation to the other disciples. (Photograph: Eirik Irgens Johnsen)

which in most respects paralleled the myths of modern racist dogma".[66] It is particularly relevant for our purposes to stress that in Old Norse literature dark skin was considered to be a heritable trait, derived from ones *ætt*. In *Bragða-Mágus saga*, for example, King Karl interrogates the titular hero, who has presented himself at his court in the guise of a man who is half Ethiopian (*blámaðr*) and half Scandinavian:

> "Hvar lannda ertu fęðingr?" segir keisara. Hann mællti: "Ek em barnfęddr a Blálanndi. Enn blamaðr var faðir minn, enn moðir min var ęttuð norðan yfir haf; ok því em ek blár

66 Jonassen 1951, 157. Although not written by a medievalist, this neglected article presents some novel arguments and deserves further attention; see also Jochens 1997, 313–314.

> ǫðrum megin, at mer bregðr þui til feðr mins; ok marga megi þer þar seá aBlalanndi sva vorðna, sem ek em, ok micklu endimligri, ok sva aSithia hinni Micklu"[67]
>
> ["Of which country are you a native?" says the emperor. He said: "I was born in Bláland. My father was a *blámaðr*, but my mother was descended (*ættuð*) from the north over the sea, and thus I am black on one side, which I get from my father, and you can see many in Bláland who look like me, and much more hideous besides, and also in Greater Scythia."]

For a Norse-speaking congregation, who had never seen actual Jewish people and so had no reason to suspect that the iconographic traditions used to depict them might not be intended literally, it seems unlikely that the skin tone of the Jews would have been interpreted as a religious metaphor, but rather as a biological reality. The same can probably be said for the facial features of the Jews in fig. 14, which are distorted to the point of looking scarcely human. Their noses are so hooked that they merge back into the face like a snout, their ears are oversized and flapping, their mouths are twisted into snarls. The rather canine impression conveyed by their grimaces may well have been intentional on the part of the artist. The 'Jewish dog' was common in anti-Jewish or anti-Semitic invective in the Middle Ages, and Jews are described as dogs twice in the Norse *miracula*.[68] In one legend, it is said of a Jew who steals a statue of the Virgin Mary that "eptir gløpzkvfvlla hvndz gerð helldr enn mannz hvarf hann allr i brott, sva at hann fannz alldri siðan [in the manner of a malice-filled dog rather than a man, he completely disappeared so that he was never found again]".[69] In an Old Norse account of the host desecration trial that took place in Güstrow in 1330, the Jews allegedly responsible are described as "hinu vondu hundar [those evil dogs]".[70] By accident or design, this is an example of the verbal and visual languages of anti-Semitism overlapping.

If the Ål congregation sometimes heard sermons or miracle tales which were focussed on a purely religious conception of Jews, the images which surrounded them nonetheless articulated an overwhelmingly racial paradigm. The trope of dark skin and implications of a bestial nature do little to communicate the impression of Judaism as a rival belief system, and much to enforce the suggestion of the instinctively, corporeally Othered Jew. Such a propensity to complement engagement with Judaism as a religion with striking criticism of the Jews as a people is the common theme in all the textual and visual encounters we have discussed. Obviously, Old Norse-speaking culture reached its apex

67 *Magus saga jarls*, 34–35.
68 Stow 2006.
69 "Einn gyþingr for svivirðvliga með likneski varrar frv." *MaS*, 255–256.
70 "Af vndarligum atburd i þyveska landi." *MaS*, 1058–1059.

long before the rise of the Enlightenment ideals which Arendt and the medievalists who, by accident or design, follow her intellectual footsteps consider to be necessary for the apprehension of race. Nonetheless, many of the requisite concepts for racial thought had long been attendant to the medieval Scandinavian experience. As we have seen, Old Norse literature exhibits an awareness of hereditary traits, concerns over skin colour, dehumanizing invective, and sophisticated terminology for describing kinship and descent groups. In the examples presented here, *kyn, fólk, þjóð*, and *ætt* are really 'race' by any other name.[71]

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71 I would like to thank the editors of this volume and Oren Falk for their many insightful comments. Naturally, any shortcomings are my own.

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IV. Images and Stereotypes: Baltic Region

Sarit Cofman-Simhon

13 Missionary Theatre on the Baltic Frontier: Negotiating the Imagined Jew in the Riga *Ludus Prophetarum*

> To describe the event implies that the event has been written. How can an event be written? What can it mean to say 'Writing the event'? [...] The [reporter's] informative word was so closely involved with the event, with the very opacity of its present, as to become its immediate and consubstantial meaning, its way of acceding to an instantaneous intelligibility. (Barthes 1989, 149)

> If the identity of, for example, a historical document is delimited by a historian, the process of knowledge production is the process of, first, selecting a document that is as yet undefined, at least as far as the historian is concerned; second, locating it within a series; and third, forming this document's 'present intelligibility.' To use a metaphor, a historical document is spoken to, and forced to respond by speaking, a language that is not its own but that belongs to the voice that framed its reality as well as present reality. (Kobialka 1999, 19)

A passage from the thirteenth-century *Chronicon Livoniae*, written by the priest Heinrich von Lettland (Henry of Latvia), has repeatedly been addressed by historians of drama. The *Livonian Chronicle of Henry* is a document in Latin describing historic events in Livonia (present-day Latvia and Estonia) from 1180 to 1227. The document "offers one of the most vivid examples of the crusading ideology in practice in the early thirteenth century".[1] However, the original manuscript of the chronicle has not survived. There are sixteen different copies, dating from fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries, in which Heinrich reports on the early stages of the Christianization of the Eastern Baltic peoples.

Among other episodes, Heinrich describes a *Ludus Prophetarum* (Prophets' Play), which was staged for pagans in Riga in 1204, as a means of persuading them to convert to Christianity. According to Heinrich, it was a *ludus magnus*, that is, a large-scale event, rendering biblical figures, such as King David, Gideon, and King Herod, with their armies.

The most intriguing detail about the description of the Riga *Ludus Prophetarum* is the response of the spectators (namely, the pagans). They fled. In

1 Tamm, Kaljundi, and Jensen 2011, xvii.

Heinrich's words, "the armed troops of Gideon fought with the Philistines; the pagans, afraid to be killed, began to flee but they were called back again carefully".[2] Apparently, the spectators perceived the biblical Gideon and his troops as a physical threat, in addition to potentially being colonizers of their souls. Such unexpected theatrical interaction suggests that, on the one hand, the staged combat was wildly realistic, and on the other hand, Gideon, the judge chosen by God to free the people of Israel and to condemn their worship of idols, starred in Riga as a brutal missionary. Thus, the biblical figures of ancient Israelite leaders acquired a negative image in the eyes of medieval Livonians.

Relying on medieval theatre traditions and on intertextuality between anti-Jewish sermons and proselytizing practices of the Middle Ages, I would like to explore how this Christianizing event constructed imagined Jews as a threat, when in fact the spectators had few prospects of encountering the alterity of flesh-and-blood Jews.[3] Because Heinrich's description of the event is the sole extant testimony to this missionary attempt, it is impossible to discern the details with any certainty or to ascertain if there was any diversity in the way the event was understood. Heinrich was very much involved with the event. Moreover, the impact of those who rewrote his text is unknown. I therefore have to undertake a speculative, contemporary reading of Heinrich's writing, "determined by specific agendas, beliefs, and interests."[4]

I will argue that although most scholars do not address the anti-Jewish sentiment of the Riga *Ludus Prophetarum*, its power to produce anti-Jewish images reached beyond the medieval dichotomy between 'good' Jews (the Old Testament figures, who were not necessarily perceived as 'Jews' at all) and 'bad' Jews (the New Testament figures who rejected Jesus, and whose descendants lived in Europe). It does not necessarily follow that pan-European structures of thought and feeling are evident here, yet it does mean that staged violence utilized as a missionary tool blurred the boundaries of a possible dual perception of Jews. No imagined Jew benefited from positive imagery. I wish to shed light on this mostly disregarded aspect of the Riga *Ludus Prophetarum*, although, as Nils Holger Petersen put it, "any discussion of the (Riga) *ludus magnus* must inevitably end in speculation".[5]

2 Meyer Evitt 1992, 3.

3 Individual reports of Jews in what is now Livonia are as early as the fourteenth century. The first Jewish settlement was established in Piltene in 1571.

4 Kobialka 1999, 25.

5 Petersen 2011, 244.

13.1 Missionary theatre

Heinrich's description is compelling:

> In that same winter [of the year 1204] a very elaborate prophet play, which the Romans call a comedy, was presented in the middle of Riga, in order that that body of people might learn the rudiments of the Christian faith through ocular assurance. The matter of which play and comedy was most carefully explained by an interpreter, as much for the neophytes as for the pagans who were present. Then, however, the armed troops of Gideon fought with the Philistines; the pagans, afraid to be killed, began to flee, but they were called back again carefully. So, therefore, in a brief time the church was completely still, reposed in peace. This play was, however, like a preamble, a prelude and presage of future evils. For in that same play there were battles, namely of David, Gideon, and Herod. There was doctrine of both the Old and the New Testament, and undoubtedly through the many battles that followed that body of people was converted, and through the doctrine of the Old and New Testament they were instructed as to true peacemaking and how they may come to eternal life.[6]

We may reasonably assume that the event took place indoors, since "for a brief time the church was completely still." However, it might well have occurred outside: We do not know whether there were any church buildings in Riga at the time, and the word 'church' may refer to the congregation itself. Heinrich explains that the text delivered had to be simultaneously translated, so it is probable that the clergymen involved as actors (such was the habit) spoke Latin, even though we cannot exclude the possibility of vernacular German. It was not only a large-scale performance, but also a long and comprehensive one, spanning David through Herod (based on the hypothesis that the plot was a linear one). Finally, as Heinrich explains, "through the many battles that followed that body of people was converted". It seems that for Heinrich the reason for the heathens' willingness to convert was the staged battles, from which they had initially attempted to flee.

Performing arts – music, dance, singing, and drama – all had a place in the religious life of the worshipping community at the turn of the twelfth century and "it was of importance to the ecclesiastical authorities that they were soundly based. Either separately, or in combination, these performing arts served to make the liturgy more convincing and understandable".[7] If that was true of ordinary liturgy, it was even more pronounced regarding proselytizing practices, which raised numerous challenges and required the use of performing arts. For one, in the Early Middle Ages, church services were conducted in

6 Meyer Evitt 1992, 3.
7 Bolton 1999, 89.

Latin, rendering them quite unintelligible to the masses of the people. Sermons, on the other hand, could be in a vernacular, while reading the Bible was effectively out of question for the largely illiterate masses. If they were to become familiar with Bible stories, it would have to be through portrayals of events in the life of Christ and his saints. Faced with the problem of explaining a new religion to a largely illiterate population, churches began staging dramatized versions of particular biblical events on specific days of the year.

Liturgical drama, that is, live representations of biblical stories, could have constituted a powerful rhetorical tool in the Christianization process. These dramatizations might have been included in order to vivify annual celebrations. Symbolic objects and actions – vestments, altars, censers, and pantomime performed by priests – recalled the events that Christian ritual celebrates. These were extensive sets of visual signs that could be used to communicate with the audience. Traditionally, liturgical drama has been traced to the *Quem-Quaeritis* (Whom Do You Seek) Easter trope, dating from around 925. Monasteries at Fleury and Limoges in France are often suggested as likely places of origin. Liturgical drama was sung responsively by two groups of clergy or choirboys and did not involve actors impersonating characters. However, in the late tenth century, Æthelwold of Winchester composed the *Regularis Concordia* (Monastic Agreement), which includes a playlet complete with directions for performance. We also have evidence that in the twelfth century, in France, England, and Germany, dramatic compositions were presented that dealt with such subjects as the life of St. Nicholas, the martyrdom of St. Catherine, the resurrection of Lazarus, the parable of the virgins, and a *ludus prophetarum*, which included Moses and Samuel, as well as King David and King Herod. The characters were mostly major biblical figures, the title *prophetarum* thus referring not to prophets in particular, but to leaders of the Hebrews and the Israelites, from Antiquity up to Herod, the Edomite king of Judea, who converted to and practiced Judaism.

Judging by surviving texts, representing large-scale battles does not appear to have been common in early Latin plays or ceremonies. The need for more aggressive forms of missionary theatre was identified later, a move which stemmed from the resistance to Christianization in the lands on the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea. Livonia was considered a frontier, and forced conversion was the mission of Heinrich and other priests, who "quite a few times also joined in the combat".[8]

I will briefly address the question of the poor stage-combat technique most likely displayed in that *ludus*. From a contemporary point of view, the presenta-

8 Tamm, Kaljundi, and Jensen 2011, xx.

tion of violence in a theatrical environment is based on the principles of reality, with specific techniques that make the action safe for the performers, while the audience perceives the violent acts as real. A fight director generally needs a background in aspects of martial arts, the overriding concern being for the safety of the actors and the audience. Seemingly, this was not the case in Riga. While the leading parts were probably acted by clergy, it is possible the actor-warriors were local men recruited for the missionary theatre, who might have received some sort of payment. It is reasonable to assume that they had no training for stage combat. It is possible that during the staged battles, they hit each other, and some of them might have been wounded, and fell into the audience, making the fighting physically dangerous for everyone present.

The use of staged battles in liturgical drama should be looked at more attentively, since it also entails the need to probe the spectators' response from an aesthetic point of view, and its significance as a conversion practice. Riga's inhabitants were probably not very versed in this type of entertainment and, consequently, they displayed their rejection of the 'willing suspension of disbelief'. Obviously, they were not in the position to willingly suspend their belief that they were in real danger, since the intention was probably precisely that – to scare them. Use of violence in missionary theatre was deliberate and cunning, with the intention of producing fear. The Church employed violence as a pedagogical principle: "[B]rutal instructional activities help the didactic dramatist to inscribe on the collective memory of his audiences a message of his own about Christian discipline".[9] The battles operated as an indication of what would happen to those who would not apostate.

Moreover, by mediating violence through missionary performances, the Church alluded to its power to discipline, thereby presenting itself as a system capable of controlling violence and imposing rules for peaceful conduct. There is indeed a paradoxical lapse in this logic: The proselytizing Crusaders in Livonia (and elsewhere) depicted their colonialist enterprise as a liberating act, relocating violence by virtue of Christianity's dominance. Staged battles were extremely suited to achieving the missionaries' twofold goal – as Enders puts it: "When the theater exploited mnemotechnics, it too engaged in conservation, construction, and reconstruction as its bodies mediated – as all memories did – among past, present and future".[10] In other words, staged violence both operated as mnemotechnics for inculcating Christianity and promised a bright future of discipline under Church governance. Petersen makes clear the intention of and justification for the staged battles in Riga:

9 Enders 1999, 150.
10 Enders 1999, 150.

> The *ludus magnus* may have been anything from a large-scale enactment of biblical wars and fighting, combined with an exhortation to remind pagans of the urgency of their conversion, to a more traditional Latin sung play of a more or less liturgically informed kind, such as the *ordo prophetarum*, pointing to the coming of Christ and representing the battle for the souls of the heathen. Whatever the case, it seems that, for his description, Henry [Heinrich] chose to justify the violent conversion of the pagans in the Baltic by using Old Testament models.[11]

In other words, beyond poor combat staging technique, it could very well have been that the spectators took the metaphoric battle literally: In some dramatic events directed by the Church, the antagonists were, as Regula Meyer Evitt puts it, "implicitly presented as part of the audience itself. They were silent 'naysayers'".[12] Re-enactment of Old Testament battle scenes was part of Pope Innocent III's repertory during his papacy in the early thirteenth century: "He knew what was going on in Livonia [...] and approved most of it".[13] If so, I would argue that Heinrich was perfectly right: It was the staged battles that ultimately persuaded the Riga spectators to convert to Christianity.

Staged battles indeed functioned as a metaphor for the struggle between the Christian faith and paganism, with the latter always defeated. We can substantiate the audience's perception that they were targets for the actor-warriors by looking at other similar events. Performing battles as a proselytizing method for imposing Christianity was a practice also seen in other parts of the world, such as in Mexico:

> Take the mock battles of the Moors and Christians, for example, staged there in the sixteenth century. The tradition, as the name implies, came from Spain, a transplanting of the theme of the 'reconquista' of Spain after the expulsion of Moors and Jews in 1492. In Mexico, these battles ended predictably with the defeat of the Indians-as-Moors and a mass baptism.[14]

13.2 The Baltic frontier

Christianity had come to Livonia with the Swedes in the ninth century and the Danes in the eleventh. Alan V. Murray's anthology *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150–1500* (2001) describes how German traders began to

11 Petersen 2011, 242.
12 Meyer Evitt 1992, 108.
13 Bolton 1999, 103.
14 Taylor 2003, 30.

arrive during the second half of the twelfth century to trade along the ancient Daugava-Dnieper route to Byzantium. The indigenous Livonians, who had been paying tribute to the East Slavic Principality of Polotsk, at first considered the Low Germans (Saxons) to be useful allies. They were often under attack by their southern neighbours, the Semgallians. The Livonians were of various ethnicities:

> The ethnic groups encountered by the Christians in the northern Baltic lands were Estonians, Livs and Kurs [Curonians], who spoke Finno-Ugric languages, and Lettgallians, Semgallians and Selonians, who spoke Baltic languages.[15]

By the twelfth century, the peoples inhabiting the lands now known as Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania formed a pagan wedge between increasingly powerful rival Christian states – the Orthodox Church to their east and the Catholic Church to their west. This difference in creeds was one of the reasons they had not yet been effectively converted.

Meinhard of Segeberg, an Augustinian monk, arrived in Livonia in 1184, with the mission of converting the pagan Livonians. "The conquerors originated from Germany and Scandinavia and spoke Germanic languages, which were totally different to those of the natives".[16] Heinrich portrays Meinhard's endeavour as a 'peaceful mission' culminating in the establishment of "a suffrage of the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen"[17] in Üxküll (the historic German name of Ikšķile, a town in present-day mainland Latvia), with Meinhard as its first bishop (1186–1196). When peaceful means of conversion failed to produce results, the impatient Meinhard plotted to convert the Livonians forcibly, but was thwarted. He died in 1196, having failed to achieve his mission. Heinrich then records the next bishop of Üxküll, Bertold (1096–1098), abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Loccum in Hanover, who led the first Crusade to Livonia: He describes his martyrdom – while riding ahead of his troops in battle, Bertold was surrounded and killed, and his forces defeated.

These accounts constitute only a prologue to the description of the establishment of the Riga bishopric: "Henry's chronicle is designed as the founding narrative of the new bishopric, Riga, aiming at establishing its legitimacy and identity".[18] Following Bertold's defeat, Pope Innocent III issued a bull declaring a Crusade against the Livonians. It was Albrecht von Buxthoeven, a canon from Bremen, who in early spring 1200 embarked with a Baltic fleet of twenty-

15 Kala 2001, 4.
16 Kala 2001, 4.
17 Tamm, Kaljundi, and Jensen 2011, xvii.
18 Tamm, Kaljundi, and Jensen 2011, xvii.

three vessels and 500 armed Crusaders. He had the support of the Hohenstaufen German King, Philip of Swabia, and the blessing of Pope Innocent III. Together with merchants from the Baltic Sea island of Gotland, Albrecht founded Riga in 1201, at the site where a small community of Hanseatic traders from Lübeck maintained a tentative trading encampment. Albrecht established Riga as the seat of his bishopric, and his uncle Hartwig, archbishop of Bremen and Hamburg, named him bishop of Livonia, provided that he could conquer and hold it and convince the pagan inhabitants to convert to Christianity. In 1202, Albrecht created a military order, the Livonian Brothers of the Sword, to aid in the conversion of the pagans to Christianity and, more importantly, to protect German trade and secure German control over commerce. Known as Albert of Riga or Albert of Livonia, he headed the armed forces that forcibly converted the eastern Baltic region to the Catholic faith during the papacy of Innocent III, at the same time as the Fourth Crusade was sacking Constantinople. Heinrich, whose writings portray these years in Livonia, was not only a priest, but also a Saxon missionary and historian. Heinrich's *Chronicle* is written from a clerical point-of-view, and makes it clear that there was a mix of theological, political, and economic motivations at the heart of the proselytizing project in Livonia. His narrative ends in 1227, "after which the whole Estonian territory was subjugated under the Church of Riga, the Order of the Sword Brethren and the Danish king".[19]

Based on their historical experience, the spectators at the Riga missionary theatre in 1204 rightly felt targeted, and it seems that they had every reason to fear Gideon and his army. It is not only Heinrich's chronicle that portrays a tradition of brutal treatment of the natives in Livonia – Richard Fletcher describes it as well, in contemporary terms:

> Violence marked the relation between natives and incomers at all times. Henry [Heinrich] calmly reports the routinely burning of crops and houses, the slaughter and the maiming, the torture of prisoners, the enslavement of women and children. [...] It was traditional: the Livonians and their neighbours had been carrying on like this since time out of mind. The coming of the Christians introduced novel features to the scene, such as a superior military technology.[20]

Heinrich's *Chronicle* attests to the strategy of the Baltic missionaries, who "after soldiers seized control of a region, moved in to baptize the conquered population".[21] Thus, in the Riga play, the native spectators, burdened with their his-

19 Tamm, Kaljundi, and Jensen 2011, xvii.
20 Fletcher 1999, 495.
21 Brundage 2011, 12.

torical experience, possibly perceived the leaders of the biblical Israelites as equivalent to ancient predecessors of the Livonian population's slaughterers, with one difference: Gideon and King David fought in the name of Pope Innocent III.

13.3 Negotiating the imagined Jew

Meaning-production through performative acts has to observe the social, spatial, structural, and physical conditions of the act, whether they are intentional or unintentional. As opposed to images generated by written texts, performed images trigger collective responses and engrave visual memory ("ocular assurance", as Heinrich would have it). Due to the absence of a written dramatic text, our knowledge of the Riga event remains vague and frustratingly incomplete. Still, I would like to advance the idea that the 'prophets' constituted only one form of constructing 'Jews' in Riga's missionary theatre, and that there was also another type of 'Jew' performed and constructed in the *Ludus Prophetarum*, one not mentioned in Heinrich's *Chronicle*.

The play was rather comprehensive: "[I]t must at least have begun with the Fall of Man and have expanded to the Resurrection".[22] If the spectacle spanned up to Herod and Jesus, it also portrayed Jews who rejected Jesus, Jews who brought about his crucifixion: They were the forefathers of medieval European Jewry. The clergymen-actors had come from German territories, and they were probably familiar with anti-Jewish Christian traditions that had become especially pronounced during the Crusades. The confluence of Crusading and the Christianization of the last resistant European corners gave rise to anti-Jewish sentiment in liturgical drama, which made intertextual use of material from early medieval texts and sermons, such as the exegetical *Adversus Judaeos* (Against the Jews). Whereas the 'prophets' were the pride of the missionary theatre, contemporary living Jews (such as those living in Germany), and their forefathers, were rendered as evil.

Regula Meyer Evitt argues that the Riga play was related to the liturgical *Ordo Prophetarum* (A Procession of Prophets), a dramatization of the Christmas season liturgical sermon *Contra Iudaeos, Paganos et Arianos* by the bishop of Carthage, Quodvultdeus, written in the fifth century in an Augustinian vein, and frequently presented in churches: "The liturgical *Ordo Prophetarum* [Prophets' Play]'s connection with the *Adversus Judaeos* tradition is indisputa-

22 Woolf 1980, 57.

ble".[23] Meyer Evitt demonstrates that the sermon intended to contrast the Jewish beliefs with the veracity of the Christian faith. She further explains that whereas the earliest *Ordines Prophetarum* focused "on a typological, biblical Judaism, prepared to testify to the truth of Christianity",[24] the twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw a shift in the Church's theatrical representation of Jews:

> [The *Ordines Prophetarum*] dramatize the increasing awareness among Christian exegetes of the implication of the contemporary Jewish exegesis. In their plays they respond directly to the interpretative cruxes that result from competing twelfth- and thirteenth-century Christian and Jewish readings of the Hebrew prophets, especially Isaiah. These dramatists' stereotyped representation of Jews reflects both greater awareness of and intensified anxiety about the influence of post-biblical Jewish communities in European Christendom.[25]

The original *Ordines Prophetarum* did not include staged battles, but, heavily influenced by the *Adversus Judaeos* tradition as they were, they contributed to the negative image of Jews. The era of the Crusades and the efforts to Christianize the last European pagans launched a tradition that would persist for centuries – that of dichotomous theatrical representations that polarized Old Testament Jews as good, and New Testament Jews as evil, both in *Ordines Prophetarum* and in the Passion Plays performed during the Late Middle Ages and thereafter. If in earlier liturgical drama, biblical figures were not directly related to contemporary Jews and they were not evil, the awareness of this possible connection began to cast a long shadow on the dramatic representation of Jewish characters. Meyer Evitt identifies the point at which this shift occurred:

> The earliest liturgical Ordines Prophetarum, like the Adversos Judaeos literature, from which they in part derive, are traditionally aimed at Christian audiences and intended to reaffirm the spiritual convictions of the faithful, not to convert pagans or Jews. During the thirteenth century, however, a growing impetus towards conversion of both Jews and pagans begins to color the anti-Judaic polemic of northern Europe.[26]

If so, it was during the thirteenth century that the dichotomy between 'good' Jews and 'bad' Jews became predominant: the Jews portrayed as good guys (*in bono*) were the prophets and other leaders of the biblical Israelites, while the bad guys (*in malo*) were those who did not accept Jesus. Meyer Evitt explains that the early *Ordo* was

23 Meyer Evitt 1992, 50.
24 Meyer Evitt 1992, iv.
25 Meyer Evitt 1992, iv.
26 Meyer Evitt 1992, iii.

> a very narrowly delimited context: one which dramatically focuses on an Augustinian in bono understanding of Judaism as prophetic prefiguration of the veracity of Christian faith and only peremptorily alludes to contemporary Jews as waiting in eschatological limbo, emblematic of the Christian unfaithful who will be arraigned at the end of time.[27]

Unfortunately, we do not have details about the second part of the Riga event (assuming that it was chronologically structured). Both Rosemary Woolf and Meyer Evitt argue that the Riga *ludus* sweep probably included scenes with Jews *in malo* when representing Jesus and the Jews who rejected him. If this was the case, how were the *in malo* Jewish characters negotiated? In the early twelfth-century *Ordines Prophetarum*, *in malo* Jews were represented by allegorical characters such as *Judeus* and *Archisynagogus* (the ruler of synagogue). The Riga *Ludus Prophetarum* model was imported from the German territories. It is a plausible hypothesis that in the process of transferring the model from the heart of Germany to its outskirts, the core of the plot was preserved. Still, it is possible that this was not the case, and we do not know how (or if) those evil Jews were present at all in the Riga *ludus*. If they were present, they would have been depicted with medieval imagery based on the encounter with German Jews. Consider, for example, the *Ordo Prophetarum* from the Benedictine Abbey near Augsburg, dating to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century[28] – *Benediktbeuern Ludus de Nativitate* (a Christmas play). Max Harris provides the description of Archisynagogus:

> The play begins with a procession of prophets foretelling the birth of Christ [...] Archisynagogus and his Jews respond to the prophecies "with an excessive clamor." Then, "shoving forward his comrade, agitating his head and his entire body and striking the ground with his foot, and imitating with his scepter the mannerism of a Jew in all ways," Archisynagogus mocks the prophecies, taking particular exception to those that promise a virgin birth. Less sensitive than we now claim to be, the role provides an opportunity for a clerical actor with a vicious talent for ethnic caricature.[29]

This caricature was very much necessary in the Christian cosmic drama: The 'Jew' as antagonist constituted not only a theological, but also a dramaturgical choice. Woolf views the introduction of the Archisynagogus figure as a dramatic element that provides tension where there was basically only illustration and a storytelling approach to biblical narrative:

> This ingenious introduction of conflict was no doubt suggested to the author [of the Benediktbeuern Christmas Play] by the debate form that flourished in the twelfth century, but

27 Meyer Evitt 1992, 108.
28 The manuscript itself dates from 1230.
29 Harris 2011, 47.

> it is precisely this skilful borrowing from other and often secular forms to give life to the undramatic that is the hallmark of successful religious plays throughout the Middle Ages.[30]

This practical development added a dynamic and attractive dimension to the performances. Staged conflict between the characters (beyond the overt battles) was the core of missionary theatre – in fact, that was its seductive power. In a didactic manner, undoubtedly believing in the heathens' naivety, the missionary theatre had to very clearly and unequivocally transmit its message, establishing who is right and who is wrong, what is crime and what is punishment. Staged conflicts and staged battles stabilized the contours of truth, faith, and discipline.

Moreover, as I mentioned earlier, the *in malo* Jews were sometimes perceived as equivalent to the pagans who constituted the audience: They also did not believe in Jesus. Such was the case in the Limoges *Ordo Prophetarum* of the late eleventh century:

> In fact, the only literally 'present' [explicitly dramatized] Jews in this [Limoges] dramatic celebration are those who can be conceived as in bono: the prophets [...] the Jews conceived of in malo here are implicitly presented as part of the audience itself. They are silent "naysayers," anti-prophets, and represent danger from within, not unlike that presented by Christian heretics.[31]

Therefore, the Riga spectators were perfectly entitled to both dislike Archisynagogus and to identify with him, and at the same time to fear King David's and Gideon's armies. The Jews portrayed *in bono* frightened the pagans, while those portrayed *in malo* paved the way for a not very sympathetic future encounter with real Jews, the scions of the *in malo* theatrical Jews.

To conclude, it is hard to tell how much of the biblical narrative the spectators in Riga actually understood. But they surely grasped that Gideon (a Jew *in bono*) was a sort of army commander and assumed that he wanted to assault them, the spectators. It makes sense that this was their perception of *in bono* imagined Israelites – violent agents of the Pope. As for the imagined Jews *in malo* (if there were any), they obviously did not get favourable public relations either.

Given all of the above, I find Heinrich's words in his chronicle rather ironic: "[T]hrough the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments the pagans were instructed as to true peacemaking".

30 Woolf 1980, 41.
31 Meyer Evitt 1992, 108.

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Elina Räsänen

14 Advocating, Converting, and Torturing: Images of Jews (and Muslimized Pagans) in the Kalanti Altarpiece

The painter known in modern scholarship as Meister Francke worked in the town of Hamburg in the early decades of the fifteenth century. Very little is known about the man and his craftsmanship, as only four works of art can be attributed to him or his workshop, and there are few, if any, documentary sources that can be connected to this master.[1] The most famous surviving work of art attributed to him is what is known in German research as the *Thomas-Retabel*, now in the Hamburger Kunsthalle. This altarpiece, which has not survived as a whole, consists of painted panels depicting the Life of Christ and Passion imagery, as well as the legend of Thomas Becket.[2]

The Kalanti altarpiece (*Barbara-Retabel*) is another of Meister Francke's major works. It was added to his *œuvre* in the 1910s, because it bears a clear stylistic similarity with the *Thomas-Retabel*.[3] The Kalanti or Nykyrko (in Swedish) altarpiece is a pentaptych consisting of a corpus and two pairs of folding doors or wings: The sculpted central portion depicts the Marian themes of the Dormition and the Assumption, framed by four images on the doors: on the left, two scenes – Nativity and Circumcision; on the right, two miracles – the miracle that prevents an attempt by Jews to disrupt Mary's funeral and the

1 Because Meister Francke is considered as part of the canon of Northern European late medieval art, the very few remaining artworks attributed to him have been the subject of several art-historical contributions during the past one hundred years, the classic study being Martens 1929. See also the articles in the exhibition catalogue *Meister Francke und die Kunst um 1400*, 1969. For more recent contributions, see Camille 1998; Camille 2002; Grötecke 2007, 454–456. The papers presented at the *Meister Francke and the Arts in the Baltic Sea Region in the Fifteenth Century* conference (Helsinki, September 2013), co-organized by the author of this essay, offered several new scholarly ideas about and interpretations of Meister Francke and his work. The essay at hand does not discuss the historical accuracy of the construct known as 'Meister Francke', but instead uses the name for practical purposes.

2 Documentary information regarding its commission by the *Englandfahrer* dates the altarpiece to 1424–1436. Today, it is exhibited as nine separate panels; one of the panels being a corner piece of the once larger Crucifixion scene. On the *Thomas-Retabel*, see Martens 1929, especially 21–39; Leppien 1992; Sitt 2008.

3 The first to attribute the panels to the 'Meister Francke circle' was the Finnish art historian Karl Konrad Meinander (1908, 157–177), and to the painter himself, Adolph Goldschmidt, some years later (1915).

Fig. 17: The Kalanti altarpiece, c. 1420, second view with the Marian images. Dormition and Coronation in the centre; left wing: the Nativity and the Circumcision; right wing: the Jews attacking the funeral of the Virgin and the legend of Theophilus. By the kind permission of the National Museum of Finland.

legend of Mary's intercession on behalf of Theophilus (fig. 17). The outer sides of the inner shutters, that is, the reverse sides of the above mentioned motifs on the doors, and the inner sides of the outer shutters, in turn, portray the martyrdom legend of St. Barbara, one of the four *virgines capitales* and an immensely popular virgin saint of the Late Middle Ages.

This altarpiece, which has been part of the collection of the National Museum of Finland, in Helsinki, since 1903, has received regular, albeit sporadic, scholarly attention over the past hundred years.[4] This essay will approach the altarpiece from a hitherto unexplored angle – it will focus on the representations of Jews, discernable in multifarious ways, and asks how this imagery, both directly displayed as well as indicated by the visualized stories, evokes

4 These include Pylkkänen 1966; Stewen 1995; Liepe 2003; Mills 2005, 106–144; Räsänen 2006; Räsänen and Valkeapää 2014.

discourses about Jews and Jewishness in the Christian narrative.[5] It will suggest more nuanced iconographical interpretations inbuilt in the altarpiece, as the elements concerning (imagined) Jewishness, incorporated into the Marianic themes, are being illuminated. That Marianic piety was replete of anti-Jewish aspects, and indeed, that her cult played a significant role in the exclusion of Jews from Christian society in the Middle Ages underlies my approach.[6] The essay also takes interest in the winged altarpiece as an object, clarifying the memorizing functions which its folding structure invites. I will begin by examining the Marian imagery and proposing that the altarpiece's motifs form a closely interlaced nexus of meaning that is intimately bound to the concept of virginity. I will then discuss the St. Barbara cycle, and its social and ethnic undercurrents, and will argue that one of her torturers has a 'Jewish' characterization. The essay will close with a historiographic glance at the art historians who have previously studied the altarpiece, and who experienced a new version of the anti-Jewish reaction, an undertone that the altarpiece too echoes, in their own lives.

The representation of Jews on the Kalanti altarpiece has only been noted in connection with the sculpted relief that depicts the assault by the Jews – the miracle at the Virgin's funeral – and solely on a purely descriptive level. In his 1908 dissertation, K. K. Meinander, who was the first to properly study the altarpiece, identified the motif and provided a brief summary of the legend.[7] This portion of the altarpiece has subsequently rarely been mentioned due to the focus of the previous studies on the painted panels, treating the sculpted sections of the altarpiece as less appealing and inferior in their craftsmanship. Moreover, the scant interest that has existed towards the sculptures has concentrated on their relationship to Meister Francke's workshop.[8] For example, in her massive two-volume monograph (1929) on Meister Francke, Bella

5 It is worth mentioning that the theme of Jewishness has shortly come up in connection with Meister Francke's *Thomas-Retabel*, because of the 'Jewish hat' detail of the Flagellation panel; see Martens 1929, 162–164. This issue requires an investigation of its own and will not be discussed in this essay. In general, the scholarship on the representation of Jews in medieval art is extensive; the more recent ones include Strickland 2003; Merback 2008; Hourihane 2009.

6 Shoemaker 1999, including the thorough bibliography.

7 Meinander 1908, 158.

8 Today it is generally agreed that the artist known as 'Meister Francke' was not a sculptor. Goldschmidt (1915) felt that the sculpted parts had been made in Francke's workshop under his guidance and according to his sketches; Habicht (1915) strongly supported the idea of Meister Francke himself as a sculptor, which Martens (1929, 42) later rejected. See also Nordman 1965, 323–326. The unsophisticated way in which the sculpted parts have been repainted during the modern era contributes to them being dismissed.

Martens only briefly mentions the motif of the Virgin's funeral and the actions of the Jews.[9] In subsequent decades, knowledge of the motif seems to have declined, or otherwise been overshadowed, with it being named simply as an image from the Virgin's funeral and not as a specific example of Jews as protagonists whose actions are the issue at hand.[10]

Before addressing the actual topic of this essay, a few more words need to be said about the altarpiece. In spite of its relative fame, even the actual structural relationship between the sections of the altarpiece has at times been obscured – for the most part, this is due to misunderstandings caused by the removal of the sculpted parts from the painted panels in the 1920s – and even today it continues to be exhibited in this dismantled state.[11] The dating of the altarpiece remains slightly unresolved, but for the purposes of this essay, a dating of c. 1420–1430 will suffice.[12] It has not been established how or exactly when the altarpiece arrived at the Church of Kalanti, a stone structure from c. the 1440s in southwest Finland, which in medieval times formed the heartlands of the eastern part of the Swedish Realm – the discussion concerning the provenance of the altarpiece is, however, more than can be tackled here. The overall style of Meister Francke's paintings manifests what is generally known as international gothic or courtly style, with a notable Netherlandish influence.[13] While the paintings accord with the style of Conrad von Soest, for example, as well as that of several unidentified masters of the early 1400s, the sculptures reflect the relatively usual craftsmanship typical of the Lübeck region.

This article places the art of Meister Francke and the anonymous sculptor(s) within the overall context of Western Christian Catholicism in Northern Europe, and not just that of a particular church or city. Yet, concentrating on

9 Martens 1929, 43.

10 For example, see the 1969 catalogue (n. 1), 50. In her generally exhaustive study of Marian miracles in Finnish medieval wall-paintings, Helena Edgren (1993, 11) names one miracle, the story of Theophilus, portrayed on the Kalanti altarpiece and thus dismisses the miracle at Mary's funeral.

11 Since the 1920s, the painted panels have been separated from the rest of the artwork. For the history of the conservation of the altarpiece, see Waismaa-Pietarila 1994; Reijonen 2011. Each panel measures approx. 91 × 54 cm, and the width of the entire altarpiece with the doors opened was 260 cm. On the importance of the material knowledge behind the interpretations of this altarpiece, see Lahti and Räsänen 2008.

12 The St. Barbara panels have previously (Martens 1929, especially 129) been dated to as early as the 1410s, partly on the basis of stylistic analysis. Meinander (1908, 177) dated the altarpiece to 1425–1450, and Brigitte Corley (1996, 156) has suggested a dating of 1420.

13 See, for example, Martens 1929, *passim*; Panofsky 1953, 70–71, 123–126; Corley 1996, 152–156; Stewen 1995.

the specific altarpiece and its interpretation, the article will mainly focus on the area where the altarpiece was materially present. Most likely there were no Jewish settlements in that area at the time, which, of course, does not mean that people had not had passing contact with Jewish merchants, doctors, etc. in their hometowns or when travelling. Nevertheless, the existence of Jewish communities in the area is not a central issue in the approach taken here, because Jewishness was abundantly represented in both the visual domain of art as well as in the tales they visualized.

14.1 Attacking Mary – Questioning Virginity

The second opening of the altarpiece is typologically similar to many of the written legends of the saints: First, the events of the holy person's life on earth are narrated, followed by a presentation of the person's death, and finally, a listing of the *post mortem* miracles ends the account. In this case, the protagonist is the Virgin, so the compilation shows events that are crucial to Christianity. Succeeded by the two occasions in her life, namely the Nativity and the Circumcision, the altarpiece's centre scene presents the mourning apostles gathered around Mary's deathbed as well as the Coronation above, her splendid welcome in heaven: Surrounded by angels, Christ crowns his mother. The liminal state between life and the new life in heaven is followed by the two miracles on the right doors. At the moment of Virgin's death, young John, holding Mary's hand, has leant over to close her eyes. A second apostle is lighting a new long candle from the stub of a previous one, while a third is blowing smoke from the censor. It can be deduced from the customary curly hair and short beard that the figure on the right with a somewhat extravagant brooch on his chest is St. Peter. St. Paul, bald with a longish beard, stands opposite Peter holding a book. In the foreground, one apostle is removing a splinter from the sole of his foot and St. James the Great wearily leans his head on his hand, pilgrim's hat flipped to the neck.

The scene of Mary's passing from the world belongs to a large body of events illustrating the post-Crucifixion period in her life. Based on the dating of the earliest text fragments, it appears that interest in this epoch began to increase in the early fifth century.[14] During the subsequent centuries, the stories were included in such widespread 'bestsellers' as *De gloria Martyrum* by Gregory of Tours (d. 594), Gautier de Coincy's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (c. 1220)

14 See, for example, Shoemaker 2002, 25–37.

or *Speculum historiale* (1253) by Vincent of Beauvais, which were translated into many vernaculars and, in turn, inspired numerous later writers. After-life miracles, in which Mary intervenes from heaven in the most imaginative ways on the behalf of mankind, were extremely popular during the Late Middle Ages, providing sumptuous material for the visual and performing arts. Many of the miracle tales had Jews as protagonists; generally doubting and attacking Christian beliefs, but sometimes converting under Mary's sway.

The Marian section of the Kalanti altarpiece has altogether six scenes or images which can be deployed to different constellations, thereby multiplying their interpretative potential. To start with, the corpus, described above, and the miracles on the right door should be seen as a unit – the two miracles dealing with imaginary Jews are not 'independent' motifs, but ought to be understood as an integral part of the Assumption. The stories testifying to Mary's miracles – including those not directly linked to her funeral – followed the Assumption in miracle collections, homilies, and other scriptures, and were, in fact, read on that feast day.[15] For example, the extremely widely read *Legenda aurea* (Golden Legend) by Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1230–1298) includes a list of six miracles under the rubric of the Assumption. Among these six miracles is the popular story of the Jewish Boy who took communion, for which his furious father threw him in the oven, with the Virgin interceding to save him.[16] Even the very early Dormition or *transitus* traditions provide examples of miracles; the Jews attacking the Virgin, suffering divine retribution, and converting.[17] Stephen J. Shoemaker has argued that the strong connection of the Dormition texts with anti-Judaism is rooted in the actual Late Antiquity disputes between Jews and Christians over the question of Mary's virginity, with certain rabbinic texts questioning her moral status.[18] Hundreds of years after these debates, the image of the Jews hating and fearing Mary was very much alive in both literary and visual narratives.

The upper miracle image shows how the Jews caused a rampage at the Virgin's funeral, when they tried to overturn the coffin carried by the singing apostles. There are numerous versions of the tale, all of them similar at their core. *Legenda aurea* presents three slightly different versions of the event. In the first, the hands of the offender, the 'prince of priests' (often named as Jephonius), are withered, and in the second, arms are ripped away at the elbows.

15 Mâle 2000 [1899], 262.
16 Jacobus de Voragine 1993, 119–120; Rubin 1999 explores various versions of this tale in detail.
17 Shoemaker 1999, 2002.
18 Shoemaker 1999, especially 777.

According to the first story, "the populace was excited by such dulcet sound and melody, and came rushing out of the city to see what was going on [...] The chief priest, seeing what was happening, was astounded and filled with rage, and said: 'Look at the tabernacle of the man who disturbed us and our people so much! Look at that glory that is now paid to the woman'". After attempting to throw the body to the ground, "his hands were withered and stuck to the bier, so that he was hanging by his hands; and he moaned and cried in great pain". He cried out for St. Peter to help him, and then, following the advice of Peter to kiss the bier and testify to his belief in Jesus Christ and the eternal virginity of Mary, he was instantly cured.[19] The second version goes a bit further, both in regards to the physical punishment and the act of repentance: In this version, Peter orders the 'culprit' to kiss the eternal Virgin's body. In the third version, one of the offender's hands falls off like a dried branch, but when he puts his other hand on Mary's body, he is cured and his hand is restored.[20]

The episode at the funeral is depicted on the altarpiece not faithfully following any of the above versions, but as follows: A great number of apostles are carrying the coffin, with some of them behind it so that only the tops of their heads can be seen. A beardless apostle, John the Evangelist, leads the procession. After John comes Peter, who balances the bier on his left hand and is looking directly out at the viewers, with his right hand raised, as if to indicate that he is talking. Two bare-armed robust men are hanging onto the side of the coffin. Adolph Goldschmidt, a prominent medievalist who took an interest in the altarpiece in the 1910s, aptly remarked how the tumultuous activity of the armed men is effectively contrasted with the calmness and serenity of the apostles.[21]

John, at the front, originally held a palm branch in his hand – only the stem between his fingers still remains. This now lost detail has significant agency regarding the role of Jews in the story. In various text versions, Mary received a palm branch taken from the Tree of Life from the angel who announced her coming death, and then handed it to John, warning him of the Jews' plans for her funeral.[22] After the attack and the cure of Jephonius, Peter orders the convert to take the palm branch from John and use it to cure and convert the blinded Jews. The palm branch was a sign of virginity, correspond-

19 Jacobus de Voragine 1993, 81.
20 Jacobus de Voragine 1993, 91–95.
21 Goldschmidt 1915, 18.
22 On the 'Palm of the Tree of Life' tradition, see Shoemaker 2002, 32–46. See also Hirn 1912, 418; Shoemaker 1999, 798.

ing with the lily of the Annunciation. Its central reference to virginity becomes apparent as the story unfolds. We quote here from Yrjö Hirn's early but still extremely useful study, *The Sacred Shrine*:

> When Mary was about to be carried to her grave, a noble strife arose amongst the foremost disciples as to their precedence in the procession. John wished Peter, whom God had chosen as shepherd of His sheep, to walk before the bier with the angel's palm-branch in his hand; but Peter thought that this place was due to John, who had become Jesus' disciple while his body was still virginal. "It is most proper", he said, "that a virgin should bear the Virgin's palm"; and it was Peter's will that prevailed.[23]

Hence, it was crucial to underline the virginity which the Jews denied and even ridiculed, and indeed with the very palm branch of virginity their blindness was swiped away.

Anthony Bale makes a remark worth noting about the way in which the Assumption and the interruption on the funeral are intertwined – the latter being an inversion of the former: "The Jews want to drag the body to the ground and burn its physical essence, whereas the Assumption shows the ascending spirit and soul of the Virgin".[24] This is underscored in the Kalanti altarpiece in a very visual way, because the Funeral is depicted at the same horizontal level as is the Coronation. Therefore, although the Dormition and the Coronation are customarily placed above each other in the same pictorial space (the corpus) on the altarpiece, and are thus today understood as parts of one 'picture', medieval viewers saw a connection between the Coronation and the scene next to it on the door, the attack at the funeral, too. Moreover, they also perceived a certain resonance with the Nativity scene on the left side, where Mary adorns her Son (the sculpted Infant Jesus has been lost). An image of the Birth of Christ was simultaneously a statement about the source of Mary's divinity, her virginity. There could be no Coronation without it, nor any reason for the fury of the Jews who feared the miraculous power of Mary's body. These three upper images of the altarpiece, the Nativity, the Coronation, and the Funeral are, then, tightly interconnected by the crucial theme of virginity.

In the funeral scene, the clothing of the men attacking the bier is not typically 'Jewish': They are portrayed as soldiers, with short uniforms and armour-like vestments. One of them has a large sword on his hip. The types of garments they are wearing are elucidated by the written sources – according to

23 Hirn 1912, 425.
24 Bale 2010, 95.

the *Legenda aurea*: "the chief priest sent a crowd armed with swords and clubs".[25] The men's hands are not severed; instead they seem to be stuck to the bier. The same motif in the stained glass window of St. Peter Mancroft in Norwich, England (built c. 1450), portrays the two offenders in armour, too; one hanging from the bier with his visor raised, the other having fallen down.[26] In many of the wall-paintings visualizing the incident in churches in Sweden, the attackers are not soldiers, but a crowd of clumsy jesters with very distinguishable caricatured Jewish facial features and profiles. Also in contrast to the Kalanti altarpiece, the hands being severed from the bodies of the attackers seem to have been a prominent detail. This is the case, for example, in the many churches painted by Hessen-born Albertus Pictor (c. 1444–c. 1507) and his workshop, such as those in Almunge, Täby, Vänge, and Dingtuna, all executed in the final decades of the fifteenth century.[27] (See fig. 18.)

There are multiple layers of meaning to the fact that it is hands that are the focus of the miracle. As Anthony Bale has aptly put it, "In a world in which gesture, in particular manual gestures and formal public gestures, were preeminent modes of communication, the Jew's stuck or amputated hand was a potent symbol indeed".[28] The relationship between the hand and doubt recalls a number of themes, including the hand of the midwife Salome, who dared to question Mary's virginity – so here, again, the funeral image alludes to the image mirroring it from the other shutter, the Nativity. Furthermore, the way the Jew touches the bier and the body of Mary is a counter-image to the tactile aspect of the veneration of relics so central to devotional life in the Late Middle Ages. The viewers would identify the coffin with the reliquaries carried in pro-

25 Jacobus de Voragine 1993, 91.

26 The soldier still hanging onto the bier is dressed in a fine surcoat, while the man on the ground is wearing simple armour; given the particular way in which the first – who is also the one who, in the other window, converts – is portrayed, David King (2006, clxxxvi–clxxxvii, n. 401) suggests that he should be understood to be the 'prince of priests'. The first man bears the arms of the Duke of Suffolk, obviously an enemy of Robert Toppes, the man who commissioned the window. This window offers a reading where Jewishness is minimized in favour of contemporary politics, but nonetheless is portrayed with negative connotations. The image appears on the church's eastern window; see King 2006, clxxxi–clxxxvii, 73–75. For other examples of the motif in England, see Bale 2010, 96, n. 23.

27 On Albertus Pictor, see Melin 2009; Karlsson 2009, 255–259. I am not aware of many sculpted versions of this miracle, but a rare example that shows the distinct influence of Albertus Pictor is carved onto the altarpiece of Kila Church (Västmanland, Sweden).

28 Bale 2010, 115.

Fig. 18: *The Virgin's Funeral*. Wall-painting in the Täby church, Sweden, by Albertus Pictor, 1480s. (Photograph: Jonathan Adams)

cessions, and, because these precious objects were supposed to be touched devoutly, the image presents the Jews as the opposite of good and appropriate.[29]

14.2 Circumcision and the Jewish advocate

Christ's Circumcision, below the Nativity on the left door, is a motif that itself underscores the Jewishness of both Christ and Mary. The event is mentioned as a matter of fact in Luke 2. 21: "And at the end of eight days, when he was circumcised, he was called Jesus, the name given by the angel before he was conceived in the womb". Theologically, however, the essential point was the analogy with the Crucifixion: Christ shed his blood for the first time, not because he had to, but because he was willing to.[30] As is convincingly shown by Leo Steinberg, the connection between these two events was recognized in the visual arts by, for example, painting the blood from the crucified Christ's

29 See Bale 2010, 95.
30 Réau 1955–1959, II, 2, 257–258.

wound streaming into his genital area.[31] The naked Christ Child was simultaneously always a suffering man, the Saviour, but also the Flesh, the host; in numerous stories people either see, or should not see the baby boy when receiving communion. This is what Sixten Ringbom has called 'polar thinking'; certain depictions embodied allusions to others.[32] Crucifixion prefigured the Passion, but likewise it was interconnected with Mary's Purification, because the Virgin, spotless and thus without need for such action, agreed to be purified nonetheless.

On the Kalanti altarpiece, the high priest is holding the knife and standing on the right of the altar, opposite a man holding a baby still with both hands. The Christ Child is not in agony, but is resting peacefully on white linen. The party also includes the Virgin and Joseph, with two maidens in the background. Although sometimes Joseph is depicted as inferior to the Virgin and then comes across as a representative of the Old Law, in this case he stands on the similar level as his wife and the maidens. His Jewishness, then, is just as concealed as is that of the Virgin. The master of the workshop or those who ordered the work had the choice of rendering the Circumcision likening a Christian baptism with the high priest resembling a bishop with a mitre, or adhering to what was known about Jewish customs; a fairly rare example of the latter is found on wall-paintings in Denmark which show Christ Child sitting on the high priest's lap.[33] The high priest in the Kalanti altarpiece is not portrayed as a Christian bishop or as a priest, but neither does his attire directly suggest Jewishness – instead, he has a vaguely exotic look. His hood-like cap and his beard, combed into two swirling halves, both tipped with metal bulbs, are worth noting. It is appropriate to ask if there was a certain unwillingness to portray 'good' Jews, because rather than taking the approach of depicting the high priest as a Christian style bishop, an obscure and alien figure was presented.

During the fifteenth century controversial factors inscribed into the Circumcision motif seem to have become more pronounced: The faces of the priests wearing the gowns with the pseudo-Hebrew inscriptions became more unpleasant, and the whole atmosphere became more awkward, as is the case with the famous Master of the Tucher Altarpiece (c. 1450) in the Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen. Perhaps they began more and more to incorporate

31 Steinberg 1996, 57–61, 168–171.

32 Ringbom 1965, especially 84.

33 See Haastrup 2003, 350–353. On the paradoxical custom of portraying the Jewish high priests or officials with a mitre, see Mellinkoff 1987; Mellinkoff 1993, I, 82–89; Strickland 2011, 8.

Fig. 19: *The Legend of Theophilus*. Detail of the right wing of the Kalanti altarpiece, c. 1420. Photograph: author. Published by the kind permission of the National Museum of Finland.

the two regularly visualized and interconnected themes, both related to major accusations directed at the Jews. First, we have the desecration of the host, with men using large knives to chop up a communion wafer lying on a table. The other is the blood libel, an image of the ritual murder of a young Christian boy by the Jews.[34] Illustrations of these two motifs often carry similar elements and compositional features as does the Circumcision.

The legend of Theophilus is placed below the portion featuring the Virgin's funeral (fig. 19). To date, studies concerning the altarpiece have not been overly interested in the details of this story, and thus have neglected mentioning the existence of the Jewish character in it. This is nonetheless understandable as he is not pictured. Theophilus was a wealthy secular clerk working for the bishop of Cilicia in the sixth-century kingdom of Armenia. Embittered about losing his possessions, he seeks the assistance of a well-known Jewish sorcerer, and with the sorcerer's help, he enters into a legal contract with the devil. In the contract, he denies Christ and His Mother in order to regain his position and wealth, but he later regrets his actions. He begs for Mary's mercy, and she retrieves the contract from the devil, returning it to Theophilus, who, in front of the congregation, burns it, takes communion, and, three days later, dies peacefully. The story, a very early and famous example of Mary's intercessory

34 For examples of these motifs, see e.g. Schreckenberg 1996; Rubin 1999.

powers, was probably translated from Greek to Latin in the ninth century by Paulus Diaconus, who worked in Naples. It subsequently spread widely; so much so, that it has been coined as one of the most important texts to inspire devotion to Mary in Anglo-Saxon England – with a major pan-European impact thereafter. In short, it is one of the best-known of the Marian miracles.[35]

The Kalanti altarpiece has the crowned Mary sitting on her heavenly throne, holding the naked Infant Jesus on her lap. Her body is wrapped in an ostentatious robe, which is fastened with a decorative brooch on the chest, and her long hair is combed behind her ears. She wears a crown, of which only two finials still survive. Theophilus is genuflecting at her side, in a way that should be understood as in front of her, looking upward. As he calls out for her help, his palms are together in a gesture of prayer, skilfully making his posture a compositionally effective diagonal mirror image for Mary in the Nativity scene. The devil, pictured as half human-half animal, is standing behind her and passes her the contract with his right hand – the left hand of the sculpted figure is missing. The Virgin is regal with an air of passivity, and this differs greatly from some representations of the legend, in which she is furious, and even punches the devil in the eye.[36]

The presence of the Christ Child within the Theophilus scene underscores the unity of mother and son, one element of the hierogamic relation between Mary and Jesus – an analogous version of which the beholder could also see in the Coronation presenting them as heavenly lovers and spouses. More than this aspect, however, the Kalanti altarpiece stresses Mary's motherhood, but a specific virginal motherhood that the Nativity brought forth: It should be borne in mind that the Nativity scene showed a third image of a naked Baby Jesus, the now lost infant (the hole for the wooden peg that held it in place is visible)

35 See Rubin 1999, 8. For various versions of the tale, see Petsch 1908; Plenzat 1926; Lazar 1972; Boyarin 2010, 42–103. On the appearance of the legend in *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, and particularly on the visual image of the Jewish magician, see Patton 2008. There are numerous visualizations of the Theophilus legend throughout Europe, the oldest one apparently being the carvings on the now dismantled tympanum relief from the Souillac Cathedral in France, dated c. 1100. For this and other examples, see Mâle 2000 [1899], 260–262. For a survey of imagery, see also Edgren 1993, 164–175.

36 This is the case, for instance, in the manuscript illumination (fol. 40^{v}) in the de Brailes Hours, dated c. 1240, in which the event has the quality of a battle between the devil and the Virgin, who grabs the contract from the ugly looking devil, portrayed, in this case, as a fattish hairy creature grinding his teeth. MS Additional 49999, British Library, London. Accessible online via the British Library's digitized manuscript collection: < http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_49999 >.

whom Mary adores.[37] Moreover, the believer could see the naked body of the Christ Child simultaneously as the host, and this association was further emphasized by the existence of the Circumcision on the other side, where, as was indicated earlier, the Christ Child is on the altar. In the Theophilus image, Christ is on his mother's lap, which is, of course, also symbolically an altar.

Adrienne Williams Boyarin has argued that the Theophilus legend shows how, in England in particular, Mary was closely associated with Jewish apostasy, as well as with legal issues, and, above all, had supratextual powers. According to Boyarin, Marian miracles suggest a special connection to Jews – whether for retribution or for conversion – and therefore, Mary's role as *mediatrix* and *legislatrix* also included mediating between Jews and Christians, and portrayed "Mary as legal advocate with special connection to the documentary text and legal literalism associated with her Jewish identity".[38] The Kalanti altarpiece also emphasizes the importance of the book and the written word in the form of a legal contract, in a visual way. The contract is a fairly large object placed prominently at the very centre of the pictorial space. The text – or rather the visible letters – is secondary, and the content of the original layer is unknown.

The courteous figure of the devil, to my mind, reflects the later versions of the tale in which Satan fully acknowledges Mary's power; the Middle Low German versions follow this plot line and in these the devil (Lucifer or Satan) declares her as *Vrowe* or *Herrin* (Lady) and them as her *knechte* (servants).[39] Even so, I would propose the figure of the devil has another, simultaneous, meaning: It incorporates both the devil and the *Hebræus*. As said, the devil 'acts' as an attorney, standing behind his 'client' Theophilus and politely, with a slight bow, hands the contract to Mary. Second, although his face is typical for Satan, it is also the face of an 'evil Jew', with a large crooked nose. The strategy of alluding to the Jew in the character of the devil could be juxtaposed to Heinz Schreckenberg's observation concerning the visual amalgamation of, in this time, the Jew and Theophilus: In a Parisian manuscript illumination Theophilus wears a Phrygian hat, a common signifier of Jews particularly in French-speaking regions.[40]

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37 The appearance of this lost little figure can be reconstructed using the sandstone reliefs that have survived in Schledehausen and Bersenbrück, which are either copies of the altarpiece or share a common source; see the catalogue *Meister Francke* 1969, Tafel 39.

38 Boyarin 2010, 7–9.

39 See Plenzat 1926, 167; Lazar 1972, 44.

40 Schreckenberg 1996, 266. The manuscript in question is the so-called Ingeborg-Psalter MS 9, fol. 35^{v}, c. 1195; Musée Condé, Chantilly. The Phrygian hat was a more complex signifier – Ruth Mellinkoff (1993, I, 89–91) concludes that it primarily conveyed foreignness, strangeness, and the magi, all of the qualities in fact fitting the Jew in the Theophilus legend.

14.3 *Imitatio*: St. Barbara tormented by the Jews

When the first doors of the altarpiece were opened, the visual narrative of St. Barbara was revealed in eight scenes, in two horizontal rows (fig. 20). Proceeding from left to right, it starts, in the upper row, with the dispute between the converted Barbara and her pagan father Dioscurus, and then continues to her escape and imprisonment. In the lower row, Judge Marcian's interrogation is followed by torture of the virgin martyr ending with her beheading. As is essential with martyrdom stories, the cycle includes images of violence and torment.

The Otherness of those who torture St. Barbara has not gone unnoticed in the previous studies, but the connection to Jews in particular has not been put forward. Ruth Mellinkoff, in her pioneering study of 'outcasts' in later medieval art, presented the panel showing the cutting of St. Barbara's breast as an example of villainous characters portrayed as indecent: The flagellator's unbuttoned tunic exposes his belly, and "though it suggests the violence of his deed, it also condemns the exposure as indecent", she writes.[41] Madeline H. Caviness, too, has commented on the torturers, stressing their 'ethnic' Otherness, as well as noting the ethnicity of both the father and Judge Marcian: "Although the jailers are designated by dress and physical traits as ethnically other, as if to help a West European Christian audience keep its moral footing by asserting difference, the narrative has to involve her own father and secular ruler as her accusers and they also threaten her with their scimitars".[42] She, then, focuses on the beholders' identification processes, rather than discussing the deliberate ethnic qualities of the figures. The general 'strangeness', or Otherness, of both Saracens and Jews is inscribed in the St. Barbara cycle in multiple ways, and, intriguingly, it is written into the very name 'Barbara'. Julia Kristeva, in her study on foreignness, has provided the etymology referring to 'barbarians': The Greek word βάρβαρος (*bárbaros*) includes the "inarticulate or incomprehensible mumblings", bar-bar, so the Greeks began to use the word to denote people from the Near East, and eventually, all foreigners.[43]

What I am suggesting here is that one of the torturers is distinctly and purposefully portrayed as a Jew. He is delineated with the typical caricatured Jewish features – a crooked nose and thick lips. The figure appears in three panels; most notably in the fifth scene, showing the interrogation, where he pushes his face very close to that of Barbara (fig. 21). This, of course, puts visual

41 Mellinkoff 1993, I, 204; II, x.26.

42 Caviness 2001, 115. See also Mills 2005, 106–144.

43 Kristeva 1991, 51. For a stimulating analysis of Kristeva's treatment of St. Barbara, see O'Grady 2003. For discussions of Muslim Otherness in the Middle Ages, see Frakes 2011.

Fig. 20: Meister Francke, *The Life and Martyrdom of Saint Barbara*. Panel paintings of the Kalanti altarpiece, c. 1420. Panels that today are separate from one another once formed

the first view of the altarpiece. Photograph: Soile Tirilä. By the kind permission of the National Museum of Finland.

Fig. 21: Meister Francke, detail of the fifth scene depicting the interrogation of Saint Barbara. Saint Barbara cycle in the Kalanti altarpiece, c. 1420. Photograph: author. By the kind permission of the National Museum of Finland.

emphasis on the differences between these two faces: hers a beautiful God-loving Christian; his that of an ugly, lustful Jew. In two other panels, this character is the one who attacks Barbara's breast, both cutting it and burning it with a torch, actions that serve to denote his evil sexuality even more explicitly than is the case in the interrogation scene.

In the devotional domain, the appearance of the Jew(s) in the martyrdom cycles was meant to underscore the *imitatio Christi* of the martyrs: Their passion was meant to reflect the Passion of Christ. That Meister Francke employed this analogy is made perfectly apparent when the St. Barbara panels are juxtaposed with those of the Thomas Becket altarpiece in the Hamburger Kunsthalle. These include the Flagellation of Christ, with Christ presented in a position and a state of near-nakedness that much resembles Francke's portrayal of St. Barbara. In addition, Pilate and Caiaphas watching the whipping of Christ constitute a pair with Judge Marcian and Dioscurus, who watch over the molesting of Barbara. Moreover, the overall composition of the interrogation scene restates the message of the innumerable images of the Betrayal and Arrest of Christ, and thus *imitatio* technology causes the Jewish character in the interrogation to evoke the image of Judas Iscariot, the archetypal Jew, who, in the Garden of Gethsemane, pushes his face into Christ's and kisses him.

The topic of imitation weaves the threads that bind together the panel paintings and the sculpted sections of the Kalanti altarpiece. The correlation of Mary's life with her Son's was obviously the preeminent *imitatio*, and thus,

the harassment by the Jews at Mary's funeral was a counterpart to the actions of the Jews at the Passion of Christ. Mary's virginity underscores that of St. Barbara, who following her death was also taken to Heaven as the Bride of Christ; Barbara is, then, imitating both Christ and the Virgin Mary. Madeline H. Caviness has pointed out the resonance between the two cuttings, the mastectomy in the painted cycle and the Circumcision in the sculptures, although they did not, evidently, appear side by side, as she erroneously claims, but on the both sides of a single panel.[44] Nonetheless, she has a valid point, since the very idea of the winged altarpiece is based on the beholder's awareness of all of the object's images – of those visible and of the then hidden images on the obverse. In this case, the image of the Jew holding a sharp knife in the act of Circumcision effectively concealed the other Jew on the reverse, who was ready to plunge the blade into an innocent martyr's flesh.

The visual hagiography of St. Barbara takes place in an Oriental setting, in some imaginary, far-off land. Barbara's father Dioscurus and Judge Marcian are meant to be perceived as pagans, and they are presented in a way that conjures up the imaginary Muslim, or Saracen, who, of course, was the prototypical heretic. Their attire combines contemporary clothing with exotic details and foreign-looking accessories, such as Dioscurus' scimitar which is prominently displayed in the images. These 'exotic' traits should, however, be analysed with caution. For example, in the third scene, which shows Barbara betrayed by a shepherd and Dioscurus pursuing her on horseback, the horse is wearing a crescent moon pendant on its forehead, something which the modern reader might readily associate with the East. Crescent moon appears, of course, as a sign of Jewishness in the medieval and early modern representations, but then as a crescent-horn plate – the tips of the crescent upwards, not down as in the panel – on the mitre of the high priest.[45] A recent investigation suggests that the crescent moon pendant on a horse, while referring to the contemporary material culture, was used as visual rhetoric meant to make the Christian narrative relevant and accessible to everyone. According to Visa Immonen, "it draws on the pendant's association with hunting and with high social rank to create a certain image of a layperson".[46]

The relationship between Saracens and Jews was complex; on the one hand, they were both considered enemies of Christianity and in the Marian miracles, for example, they might convert in the face an image of Mary coming

44 Caviness 2001, 116; Mills 2005, 127. For a critical discussion, see Lahti and Räsänen 2008, 252–258.
45 See Mellinkoff 1987.
46 Immonen 2013, 187.

to life.[47] On the other, if the issue of heresy is excluded, Christianity had no obvious conflict with the Saracens, as it had with the Jews, as Jesus was not a Saracen, nor did Saracens kill him. At any rate, they were not seen as completely separate, and as Michael Camille has formulated, they were "inextricably linked together in the consciousness of Christians".[48] Sometimes they got 'mixed', such as when in the so-called N-Town play the enraged Jews swear by their God 'Mahound' (Muḥammad) as they approach the Virgin's funeral procession, or when the French versions of the legend of Theophilus describe the magician as a Muslim or name him Salatin.[49] The story of Joseph, who was sold for thirty pieces of silver to the Ishmaelite merchants, offered another kind of version of amalgamation because it was perceived as a corresponding antecedent for Judas' betrayal of Christ and the thirty pieces of silver he received.[50] Looking closely at the clothing of the Saracen figures Dioscurus and his men, the decorative pseudo-Arabic letters on their hems and necklines resemble pseudo-Hebrew writing, similar to that which can be detected at the neckline of the Caiaphas figure in the Thomas Becket altarpiece. This tailored detail, often used to mark Jewish officials and distinguish them from the Christian figures, aims to merge the pagan enemies of St. Barbara with the Jews.

As has been suggested by earlier research, the St. Barbara panels demonstrate social status by portraying poor people as unpleasant and ugly, while the equally evil but wealthy are portrayed with neutral, or even aristocratic, features and luxurious clothing – the fabric patterns are from then existent Italian silks. Besides the torturers, the above-mentioned shepherds in the betrayal scene represent the 'lower class'. According to Erwin Panofsky, they are 'genre' figures and "not only 'small' in the sociological sense [...] but also conspicuously poor and picturesque".[51] Their appearance is not determined by moral standing, because the loyal shepherd's physiognomy is portrayed as just as rough as that of the traitorous shepherd: Social status far outweighed personal morality. The same applies to ethnicity and, indeed, the late medieval practice of portraying high-ranking people as more pleasing to the eye sometimes makes it difficult to distinguish between the so-called good and bad Jews of a higher rank – for example, distinguishing Joseph of Arimathea from the high priest Caiaphas.[52]

47 On the imagery of the Saracen conversion, see Camille 1989; Ringbom 1969, 160–161.

48 Camille 1989, 164.

49 See Lazar 1972, 39; Bale 2010, 105. Not only Jews, but all kinds of non-Christian peoples were occasionally confused with or simply called Saracens; see Boyd 2011.

50 See Mâle 2000 [1899], 156.

51 Panofsky 1953, 71.

52 Usually, important and wealthy Christian men can be differentiated from the Jewish officials and high priests; see Mellinkoff 1993, I, 41.

14.4 Conclusion

Late medieval Christian devotional art could not avoid representing Jews. Moreover, one would be justified in claiming that these representations were found even when they lacked a biblical or 'historical' basis, for example, in the images created of the legends of martyrs. Even if the Jewishness of Christ, the Virgin, the apostles, and the other protagonists of the Christian narrative was acknowledged in an opaque or tortuous manner, there were several other characters whose presence was crucial within the holy events, whose Jewishness could not be questioned, but whose portrayal was more open for variations, such as the 'good' high priest. Any representations of the Virgin's life, for example, required a high priest who received her at the Temple, did the betrothal service, and later circumcised Christ. On the other hand, the scenes of Christ's torture often included mean, indecent, and ugly figures, with caricatured features meant to identify them as Jews, but also the high priest, now turned evil. In the Middle Ages, Jews were portrayed as either good or bad,[53] and the Kalanti altarpiece adheres to this general rule with a strong emphasis on the latter; even the high priest and his assistant performing the Circumcision do not have a dignified look.

What, then, did these images convey without directly showing? What did they connect with? In the case of medieval imagery, it is necessary to consider what sorts of narratives were incorporated in the images, and which stories they linked together. In this regard, the violent miracle stories told at the feast of the Dormition might have meant that the image of Mary's (temporary) death, comforting and peaceful in and of itself, could well have triggered associations that were rife with allusions to anger and sheer horror. The image of the Assumption of the Virgin on the Kalanti altarpiece did not even need the associations on a purely imaginative level, as Mary's sovereignty and the 'evilness' of the Jews were clearly exposed in the miracle scenes on its right side.

The Kalanti altarpiece makes broad reference to imaginary Jews and indicates the central role these characters played both in Christian narratives and in the pictorial world so essential to the devotional life. Meister Francke was consciously presenting the figures of Jews in his painting – even when the actual events would not have included Jews. Of the many options available, those who determined the motifs for the carved Marian images decided to include these miracles, which clearly emphasized the wickedness of Jews. As a

53 See the numerous examples in Schreckenberg 1996, and of 'bad Jews' in particular in Mellinkoff 1993, II. See also Haastrup 2003.

consequence, these motifs created possible new ways of reading the other scenes as well, stressing Mary's eternal virginity and, for instance, evoking the negative, or even horrendous, connotations inherent in the image of the Circumcision. As I have shown, Mary's eternal virginity is inscribed in every sculpted scene of the altarpiece, whether directly, or through 'polar thinking' or by taking advantage of the entire visual complexity of the work, that is, the power of the images to evoke new meanings of the ones with which they are compositionally connected. Indeed, the emphasis on virginity – as well as on the *imitatio* – bound together the painted and the sculpted parts of the altarpiece.

People knew the stories so it was not crucial to display everything. Just as neither the healing nor the conversion of the Jews is shown in the funeral scene, no one needed to see in order to know how, following her beheading at the hands of her father, the angels carried St. Barbara's soul to Heaven, where she resides wearing her virginal crown and holding her attribute, the tower. Similarly, it was not necessary to show the wicked magician beside Theophilus to know that he belongs to the scene or, if the audience was a aware of the fifteenth-century, Middle Low German version (known as *Theophilus T*) not only was there one Jew, but many to whom Theophilus tries to sell himself: Musin, Isaak, Bonenfant, and Samuel, of which the latter then escorts Theophilus to the devil.[54] Certain details, such as the gestures and positions of the two apostles who face the viewers in the funeral scene, all but invite the beholders to continue and imagine the story in their minds, with a happy ending. The plots and conclusions were rooted in the beholder's consciousness and memory. Moreover, although this essay has discussed the visual and the textual, it is essential to be alert of the performances that powerfully reinforced the messages mediated in the works of art. As a vivid example of this, the devil's face in the Theophilus scene much resembles the masks of the devilish characters in the various mystery plays.[55] Versions of the Theophilus play survive in many languages including Middle Low German and equally popular were stagings of the Dormition or of the Virgin's funeral.[56] In actual fact, it has been suggested that the growing audiences and the need for didactic, comic and grotesque elements on stage expanded the roles of Jews in the tales.[57] Put bluntly, much of what was perpetuated in immobile art was also part of town life in the Late Middle Ages.

54 Petsch 1908, 74–103; Plenzat 1926, 182–183.
55 See the images in Mellinkoff 1993, II, viii.25 and viii.26.
56 Petsch 1908; Plenzat 1926; Bale 2010, 102–111.
57 Lazar 1972, 49.

14.5 Epilogue

The threads connecting Meister Francke and his art to the sentiments toward and persecution of the Jewish people continued into the twentieth century. Adolph Goldschmidt (1863–1944), the scholar who attributed the St. Barbara panels to Meister Francke, was a distinguished Berlin-based professor of art history. He was one of many 'assimilated' Jews who had strong patriotic feelings for Germany, and he resisted emigrating until the final moment: He left for Basle only after he was no longer granted access to the university library.[58] The Meister Francke scholar Bella Martens (1891–1959) had Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968) as her *Doktorvater* (doctoral supervisor).[59] Panofsky, also a German-born Jew, but a generation younger than his teacher Goldschmidt, became one of the best-known art historians of the twentieth century. He moved to Hamburg in 1921 to teach, and three years later he was nominated as a professor *ordinarius*. In 1933, he was forced to leave his professorship, and very soon thereafter fled with his family to the United States.[60]

In 1950 Panofsky received a letter from his former student and friend William S. Heckscher (1904–1999), who was also a refugee, but had now visited post-war Hamburg and its Kunsthalle. He wrote, "The only moving thing was of course to see Meister Francke and Bertram and a few of the other things again".[61] Panofsky probably would have shared his friend's feelings, since not only had he overseen Bella Martens' research, he unquestionably also had a personal interest in Meister Francke. In addition to the previously-quoted book on Early Netherlandish painting, he took Meister Francke up in what is perhaps his most influential essay, "Die Perspektive als 'symbolische Form'", as well as in his study on the *Imago Pietatis*, the motif of the Man of Sorrows (both 1927).[62] Moreover, it is fascinating to consider his attention to Meister Francke increasing once he had personally examined the St. Barbara panels when they were in the Hamburger Kunsthalle for conservation, and during the subsequent exhibition in the 1920s.[63] We need not speculate about whether or not he then saw the altarpiece, because in a letter from 1967 he mentions that he

58 On Goldschmidt, see the *Dictionary of Art Historians*; on Goldschmidt's scholarly legacy, see Brush 1996.

59 In the preface to her book, Martens (1929, 2) thanks her "teacher and friend" Erwin Panofsky, who had spared no effort in supporting her work.

60 On Panofsky's life, see Heckscher 1995.

61 Heckscher to Panofsky 30 June 1950. Published in Wuttke 2006, no. 1383.

62 Panofsky 1991 [1927], 59; Panofsky 1927.

63 See footnote 11.

still remembers this "beautiful altarpiece".[64] The Kunsthalle was a significant location in many ways: Panofsky's art-history seminars were held at the edifice; Bella Martens worked there as an assistant to Gustav Pauli, the director until 1933, and a close friend to Panofsky.[65] In the same year, Bella Martens also lost her post and she was relocated to the department of prints and drawings (*Kupferstichkabinett*).[66]

Although Panofsky, as far as we know, was not religiously observant, with the rise of the Nazis, simply being a Jew would play a major role in his fate. His exile, and the reasons for it, continued to have an impact throughout his life, something that many of those who have analysed his work believe greatly affected his theoretical thinking.[67] It is no exaggeration to say that the collapse of classical German academic culture had immense consequences for art-history scholarship overall. To simplify: Subjective interpretations tied to Hegelian ideals and drawn from the general *Weltanschauung* were no longer accepted after the war and would ultimately be replaced by Anglo-American analytic and scientific positivism. This development was primarily advanced by E. H. Gombrich (1909–2001), yet another refugee and a major art historian during the twentieth century.[68] Although the degree to which Panofsky's views changed is open to debate, French art historian Georges Didi-Huberman's treatment of him places Panofsky firmly within the sphere of harsh rationality.[69] Didi-Huberman makes metonymical use of a mystical Jewish tale to frame his analysis: Rabbi Azriel saves a young girl possessed by a *dybbuk* by exorcizing it and, to Didi-Huberman, the exorcist rabbi is like Panofsky.[70] He is an art historian who

64 For Panofsky's letter to Prof. Päiviö Oksala (11 April 1967), see Wuttke 2011, no. 3403. The letter was connected to an invitation to deliver a lecture that the University of Helsinki had extended to Panofsky. Although he travelled to Europe, Panofsky had to decline the invitation.

65 Wendland 1994. For a historical overview of art history education in Hamburg, see Dilly 1994. Gustav Pauli, although not a Jew, lost his job because he supported the artists whose work was labelled 'degenerate' by the Nazis.

66 Martens' letter to Panofsky 20 April 1953; published in Wuttke 2006, no. 1599. She considered trying to have the order compensated and asked Panofsky to send a statement. In his response, Panofsky mentions the unquestioned quality of Martens' monograph on Francke and the unanimous appreciation it holds among the experts – but even this would not help her in the legal issues; Wuttke 2006, no. 1600.

67 Elsner and Lorenz 2012. I will be examining this thesis in my forthcoming article "Panopticon of Art History: Some Notes on Iconology, Interpretation and Fears" (2015).

68 Gombrich came from a Jewish family that had converted to Lutheranism; on Gombrich, see the *Dictionary of Art Historians*. On the rejection of Hegel and its connection to the Second World War, see Gaiger 2011.

69 Didi-Huberman 2005, xv–xxvi.

70 Didi-Huberman 2005, xxiv. Didi-Huberman, himself of Jewish origin, makes a point of claiming that Panofsky must have known the tale – this is, however, somewhat meaningless

could not 'understand' images, but could only 'explain' them authoritatively and, "satisfied with his well-constructed answers", he exorcized power and efficacy from images.[71] Panofsky's caution in the face of what images can evoke in people is, in Didi-Huberman's analysis, reduced to a fear of images.[72]

Early art history seems to have been fairly indifferent to the part played by images in the persecution of Jews in the Middle Ages. The dismissal of the function of the images lies in part with the historical developments and traditions of the discipline of art history; interpreting works of art by contextualizing them within the society in which they were created was by and large introduced following the war, and, in actual fact, was very much indebted to Erwin Panofsky's iconological 'method'.[73] Thus, the early scholars did not necessarily recognize that the ugly Jewish face painted on an altarpiece in early fifteenth-century Hamburg was not only an artistic feature summoning earlier influences and models, but a formative agent in the era in which it was painted.

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speculation, as it is rather implausible that Panofsky would have identified himself with the exorcist rabbi.

71 Didi-Huberman 2005, xxvi.

72 For a positive appraisal of Panofsky's 'warnings', see Dilly 1988.

73 Panofsky 1939.

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Shlomo Lotan

15 The Teutonic Knights and their Attitude about Muslims: Saracens in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and in the Baltic Region

15.1 Introduction

Research into the Teutonic Order has traditionally concentrated on its military activities in the Baltic region – in Prussia and Livonia – where its Knights waged a ruthless war against heathen tribes in an effort to strengthen Christianity in northern Europe. However, it is important to remember that the Teutonic Order began its military activities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, in the late twelfth century, battling Muslims. The extensive nature of these campaigns would gradually cripple the Latin Kingdom, contributing to its collapse in 1291.

The way the Teutonic Knights spoke of their enemies in the Baltic region indicates how they were affected by the constant fighting with Muslims in the Latin East. They described their enemies in the Baltic region as "Saracens" – Muslims – a term that referred both to the Muslims as such and to their military capabilities.

This article will address different characteristics of the Teutonic Order in the Latin East and in the Baltic lands, as well as the way in which the Teutonic brethren viewed their enemies in the Baltic region. It will focus on how the campaigns in the Latin East influenced the way in which the Teutonic warriors referred to the heathen tribes in the Baltic region as Saracens, at a great remove from the Muslim military action in the Mediterranean Basin.

This article will emphasize the unique use of the term "Saracens" and the way it has affected the activities of the Teutonic Order upon moving its fighting from the Latin East to the Baltic region. This term, Saracens, became increasingly common when relating to the Teutonic enemies in the Baltic region as the enemies of Christianity, like the Muslim struggling against the Crusaders in the eastern Mediterranean basin.

During the twelfth century, the Crusaders were competing with the local Muslim population in the Latin East. This population had survived the first period of fighting and had maintained a presence within the Kingdom's territories since 1099. The Crusaders' toleration of the Muslim population, along with the economic, agricultural, and trade relations they developed with Muslims,

came to an end when Muslim resistance increased in the eastern parts of the Mediterranean Basin – Egypt and Syria – during the second half of the twelfth century.[1] With the rise of Saladin and the development of a more powerful Muslim army, the Crusaders came under consistent attack for a decade, beginning in 1177 in Montgisard near Rama (Ramla) and ending with the great defeat at the Battle of Hattin in July 1187.[2] This battle marked the final stage of the first kingdom: Following this defeat the Crusader cities quickly fell into Muslim hands.[3] Only with the Third Crusade of 1191, followed by the alliance of European warriors under King Richard I (Lionheart), was the Latin Kingdom recovered, creating a new Crusader entity in the coastal region, at a remove from Jerusalem, which remained under Muslim rule, with the exception of brief periods during the mid-thirteenth century.[4]

In 1197, in the wake of a Crusade known as the "German Crusade", led by German warriors who had arrived from Southern Italy, there was a renewed effort to re-conquer the Latin Kingdom. These warriors had fought in the Siege of Toron (Tibnin), contributing to the occupation of the coastal cities of Sidon and Beirut.[5] The warriors who had remained in the Kingdom established the Teutonic Military Order in 1198.[6] This new military order joined the Hospitallers and the Templars, well-known military organizations that had been fighting the Muslims since the twelfth century.[7] Did this unstable political and military situation influence the Teutonic Order's subsequent history and tradition? This question and related assumptions form the basis of this article. I will present the history of the Teutonic Order in the Latin East in the light of its struggle with the Muslims. I will also attempt to explain how these campaigns contributed to the Order's later military approach to its Teutonic enemies in Northern Europe, specifically the Prussians and Livonians. What did the Teutonic warriors adopt and absorb in the Latin East that allowed them to increase their standing in their future endeavours in other areas of Europe where they ruled and fought? These will be compared and explained in the next part of this article.

1 Runciman 1952, 403–435; Tyerman 2006, 336–341.
2 *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr*, 253–324.
3 *Chronique d'Ernoul*, 167–171; Herde 1966, 1–50.
4 Prawer 1975, 69–99; Richard 1979, 185–199.
5 *L'Estoire de Eracles*, 227–228; Humphreys 1977, 106–110.
6 Favreau 1974, 64–66.
7 Riley-Smith 1967, 32–59; Barber 1994, 6–37.

15.2 Struggling against the Saracens in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem

Beginning with the Fifth Crusade to Egypt in 1218–1221, the Teutonic Order participated in all the major campaigns against Muslims in the Latin Kingdom's territory and the surrounding area, alongside the other military orders and the Crusader nobility.[8] The fighting in the Nile Delta in Egypt ended in defeat. Thirty Teutonic Knights were killed on the battlefield at the Battle of Damietta.[9] Despite the defeat in Egypt, the Teutonic Knights won the recognition and admiration of the German nobility who participated in the Siege of Damietta. For their contribution to the battle in Egypt, they received grants and property in northern Europe, in France, and in the northern Holy Roman Empire.[10] They also received assistance that allowed them to purchase land in western Galilee – in Mi'ilya and the surrounding area.[11]

The Sixth Crusade of 1228–1229, led by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, brought changes to the Crusader movement's basic approach. Emperor Frederick II managed to regain many parts of the Holy Land through political negotiation, rather than by resorting to military force or directly confronting the Muslim troops.[12] The Emperor's achievements, including the Crusaders gaining control of Jerusalem (albeit without the Temple Mount), as well as of many areas in Galilee, including Nazareth, Toron, and Hunin, led Church authorities to excommunicate him, bringing about a shift in the regional balance of power.[13] The Teutonic Knights were among the few who supported Frederick II, accompanying him on his journey to Jerusalem. They also participated in the ceremony at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to crown him king of Jerusalem.[14] Pope Gregory IX attacked the Teutonic Order, attempting to remove them from positions of power and to deprive them of status. The Knights survived this crisis, both on the basis of the resistance mounted by the Order's magister, Hermann von Salza, and the prominent role the Order had played in the defence of the Latin Kingdom. Hermann von Salza wrote a letter to Pope Gregory IX, in which he described both the Crusade's achievements, including

8 Powell 1986, 160–161; Militzer 1999a, 33–36.
9 *Gesta obsidionis Damiatae*, 490; Huygens 1960, 120–122, 128–129.
10 Van Eickels 1998, 77–78; Krämer 2004, 246–247.
11 Mayer 1980, 210–213; Morton 2009, 53, 154.
12 Powell 1995, 263–264; Mastnak 2002, 148–152; Friedman 2011, 229–232, 238–239.
13 Huillard-Bréholles 1963, 92; Powell 1999, 19–26.
14 *Coronatio Hierosolimitana 1229*, no. 121; Hechelhammer 2004, 296–306.

the construction of the Montfort Castle in Galilee, and the role the Order played in protecting the Frankish Kingdom.[15] In response, in 1230, the Pope appealed to all Christians to consolidate the Teutonic resistance and contribute to the maintenance of the castle in the Galilee as a boundary between Christianity and the infidels, and thus as a stronghold in the defence of Christianity from the attacks of the Saracens. The Pope also praised the Teutonic Knights as the period's "new Maccabees", who were chasing the Saracens from Holy Land.[16]

Saracens was the Crusaders' favoured term for their Muslim enemies. It was based on the word for the Middle Eastern wind (*sharqī* in Arabic) that swept across the eastern lands, bringing with it the nomadic Arab tribes from the Arabian desert that settled near the shores of Mediterranean, in the region of the Byzantine Empire.[17] This unique term was a nod to the power Muslims wielded, but, above all, it was a term of resentment used by the Crusaders in the Latin East and in Europe to define all of their enemies, whether Muslims or pagan tribes, or even Christians who opposed the Pope and his emissaries.[18]

The unstable military situation in the Latin Kingdom, where battles were constantly being waged with the Muslims, lasted another decade. In 1244, following a series of conquests and ongoing efforts to strengthen the Latin Kingdom, a period of military decline set in, marked by the loss of territory. The Egyptians, who felt threatened by the Crusaders, who had allied with Muslim forces from Damascus and northern Syria, sought the support of the Khwarizmian tribes, who came from Central Asia to storm the Mediterranean region.[19] The rival forces collided in the fields of the village Hirbiya (in French, La Forbie) in the area between Ascalon and Gaza, in the southern part of the Latin Kingdom.[20]

The Battle of La Forbie, which took place on 17 October 1244, resulted in the collapse of the Crusader army. The Egyptians attacked the Syrian Muslim forces dispersed throughout the area, leaving the Crusaders on their own against Egyptian forces and their allies. The Crusaders put up stiff resistance against the superior Muslim forces, but were finally defeated.[21] According to Crusader sources, 325 Hospitallers were killed, leaving only twenty-six survivors, 312 Templars died, with a mere thirty-three surviving, and 397 (of some

15 Kluger 1987, 78–82.
16 *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, no. 72 (1230), 56–57.
17 Savvides 1997, 90–94.
18 Housley 2008, 210–223; Forey 1989, 4–5, 12–15.
19 Cahen 1962, 670–674; Humphreys 1977, 273–275.
20 Lotan 2012b, 57–58.
21 *L'Estoire de Eracles* 1859, 427–432.

400) Teutonic warriors were killed.[22] Many fighters tried to escape the battle, heading north toward Ascalon. Among them was the patriarch of Jerusalem, Robert of Nantes, who described being wounded and escaping the battlefield, which had been the scene of a defeat and a terrible slaughter.[23]

The terrible result of the battle and its aftermath underscores the superiority of the Muslim warriors in the Latin East. The Muslims had a different military strategy than the Crusaders, one better suited to the environment, the climate, and the terrain of the Latin East. They used light archers and moved quickly from site to site, whereas the Crusaders used heavy armour and bulky equipment. One medieval source described the Muslims' use of bows and arrows as "rain from Hell".[24]

It is well known that the Crusader forces, including the military orders, studied the Muslim way of fighting and included groups of foreign soldiers among their troops, including Turcopoles, who were Christian Turks, and who also served in the Byzantine army. These were trained soldiers familiar with the realities of battle in the Frankish East, and with Muslim military methods and equipment. Their experience proved useful to the Crusaders in military confrontations with the Saracens.[25] The Turcopoles are mentioned in Crusader sources for the significant service they rendered, helping the Teutonic Knights to organize their forces during battles. The Teutonic grand master's entourage included several Turcopoles, indicating the regard the Teutonic Knights, including their leadership, had for the Turcopoles and their military experience in fighting the Muslims in the Latin East.[26] The Crusaders appear to have relied primarily on Christian forces, avoiding, where possible, alliances with Muslim troops. The experience of fighting alongside Muslim forces from Syria was a rare one, and was never repeated following the defeat at the Battle of La Forbie, in 1244.

In 1260, the Mongols invaded Syria, threatening the Latin Kingdom in the process. The Kingdom's leaders assembled in Acre to discuss a Muslim appeal to join forces in an attack on the Mongols. The Crusader leaders wanted to support the Muslims, but the Teutonic grand master, Anno von Sangerhausen, insisted on avoiding military involvement, instead advocating maintaining the existent Crusader positions. He based his argument on a long-standing experience of the Saracens not keeping their promises to the Christians. The Crusad-

22 Rothelin 1859, 564.
23 *Letter to the Prelates of France and England*, 342.
24 Rothelin 1859, 544.
25 Harari 1997, 76–79.
26 Sterns 1969, 291–294.

ers feared that the Muslims would invade the Kingdom, and turn against the Christians when the battle against the Mongols ended. The Teutonic grand master's opinion prevailed, eventually contributing to the Kingdom's survival following the defeat of the Mongols in Ayn Jalut and the Mamluk victory of 1260.[27]

It is important to point out that rather than attacking them, the Crusaders and the military orders developed a relationship with the Muslims in the Galilean villages and along the Mediterranean coast. The Teutonic Knights who had acquired lands and villages in the northern part of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem needed the local population, which was mostly Muslim, for agricultural produce and to acquire necessary goods. They also needed local support in their negotiations and communication with the local population.[28] The Teutonic brethren used Arabic interpreters, some of them Muslim and others Eastern Christians (Syrians), who were familiar with the local culture of the Latin East. Some charters from that period make mention of the use of local interpreters at the Teutonic headquarters when purchasing land or signing contracts with the local Crusader nobility and other sections of the local population.[29]

The Crusaders enjoyed very little peace and stability from of the Battle of La Forbie in 1244 until the collapse of the Latin Kingdom in 1291. The Muslims had grown stronger, and the Crusaders were unable to repeat their twelfth-century success. The Mamluks, led by Baybars, managed to upset the military balance in the region, conquering most of the Crusader fortifications in the 1260s – Nazareth, Arsor, Caesarea, Safed, Jaffa, Antioch, and finally, in 1271, the strongholds of the Hospitallers in Crac des Chevaliers and the Teutonic Order's Montfort Castle. The Frankish Kingdom remained a small entity, located close to the Muslim territories. The Kingdom survived only because peace agreements (*hūdna* in Arabic) were signed with the Muslims and Christians in Europe and in the Mediterranean Basin provided aid.[30]

In the end, this was not enough to ensure the Kingdom's survival. The Latin Kingdom's major city fell at the Battle of Acre, in May 1291. The Mamluk attack on Acre was a response to the Christians' treatment of a group of Muslims visiting the city. A group of Italian merchants attacked the foreign Muslims on the streets of Acre and killed them. This was in violation of the agreements signed with the Mamluks and was considered a serious provocation by the

27 Rothelin 1859, 637; Shirley 1999, 118–119; Jackson 1980, 502–503.
28 Riley–Smith 1972, 9–19; Attiya 1999, 206–209.
29 Röhricht 1893, no. 1399 (1274); no. 1435 (1280).
30 Marshall 1992, 25–26, 32; Thorau 1995, 69–88; Holt 1995, 69–88.

Muslim world. The Crusaders sought peace with the Mamluks, but were rebuffed.[31]

The fall of Acre is described in several medieval sources. One of them mentions the Teutonic resistance to the Muslim invaders and reactions to the brutal battle. This German medieval source identifies Konrad von Feuchtwangen as the Teutonic leader of Acre at the time. It is presumed that he led the retreat of the Teutonic Order from the city and its departure to Europe. Faced with a deteriorating city, the Teutonic leader chose this course, rather than allow his men to be killed for no reason. When the Teutonic Knights voiced their opposition, Konrad von Feuchtwangen promised to avenge the fall of Acre and the deaths of its Christians by killing as many infidels as possible in Prussia. He referred to them as Saracens.[32]

Udo Arnold rejects this version of events, presenting a number of contemporary medieval Frankish sources that mention Konrad's activities in that region.[33] In addition, the fact that archaeological evidence indicates that the Teutonic compound in the north-eastern part of Acre was completely destroyed by fire, making it likely that most of the Teutonic brethren, including their leader, were killed in the 1291 battle with the Muslims, supports Arnold's perspective.[34]

It is well established that Konrad von Feuchtwangen understood the military situation of Muslims and Crusaders in the Latin East. In 1261, he served as the military order's treasurer in the Latin East, after which he was appointed Teutonic commander of the region.[35] After serving in these positions, he joined the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, where he gained insight into the violent struggle in the Baltic region. Konrad von Feuchtwangen was a strong advocate of Teutonic settlement and resistance in Prussia, and, for the most part, objected to the persistent fighting in the Latin East. At the end of 1292, Konrad von Feuchtwangen was elected grand master of the Teutonic Order, a position he used to continue his efforts to shift the military order's focus from the Mediterranean Basin to the Baltic region of Prussia and in Livonia.[36]

31 *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, no. 244 (480), 199.
32 *Ottokars österreichische Reimchronik*, lines 51795–51823.
33 Arnold 1990, 22–40.
34 Pringle 2009, 134; Lotan 2012a, 33.
35 *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, no. 121 (1261) 113, no. 126 (1273) 117; Wojtecki 1971, 45–48; Nieß 1998, 41–45.
36 Militzer 1999b, 77–78; Housley 1992, 326.

15.3 Struggling against the heathen enemies – the Saracens in the Baltic region

While it strengthened its position in the Holy Land during the thirteenth century, the Teutonic Order was at a crossroads in northern Europe. In 1230, the Teutonic Knights invaded Prussia's Baltic region, north of Poland. This was in response to an appeal from Poland's leader, Konrad I of Mazovia.[37] The Teutonic Order also received the approval of Emperor Fredrick II, who supported their mission in Prussia and, in 1226, gave them a charter known as the Golden Bull of Rimini.[38] With a new battleground in Prussia, the Teutonic Order was poised to launch a new chapter in its history.

While it was only one of several military factions in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, in Prussia the Teutonic Order was the primary faction engaging the heathen tribes opposing its advance into their lands. The Teutonic Knights fought a ruthless war against their infidel enemies, with fighting lasting until 1283, when the Teutonic Order completed its conquest of Prussia and established the Teutonic *Ordensstaat*.[39]

The Teutonic Order and the German rulers used a term acquired during the wars against the Muslims in the Latin East – Saracens – to define the heathen tribes fighting the Teutonic Order in Prussia and the German population in Livonia. The term expressed the revulsion the Christian warriors felt for their opponents. In 1211, the Roman Emperor Otto IV called the pagan warriors fighting the Christians in Livonia Saracens, describing them as enemies of Christianity. This same leader heaped praise on the members of the military order in Livonia known as the Brothers of the Sword, claiming that they were fighting a ruthless war against the Saracens from the north.[40]

The description of the ruthless warfare in the Baltic region is primarily based on medieval Teutonic chronicles. One of the most important contemporary medieval sources is the *Chronicon terrae Prussiae*, written in 1326 by a priest who was a member of the Order – Peter von Dusburg.[41] The heathen tribes in Prussia were known for their brutal behaviour, pillaging, and destruction of the Teutonic positions.[42] Peter von Dusburg describes the heathen tribes

37 Johnson 1975, 569–571, 576–577; Labuda 1980, 299–316; Boockmann 1981, 70–93.
38 Hubatsch 1954, 46–53; Arnold 1976, 46.
39 Russel 1975, 5–22; Housley 1986, 266–280.
40 Seward 1972, 94; Mažeika 1994, 64.
41 Petrus de Dusburg 1965 [1861].
42 Peter von Dusburg, *Chronik des Preussenlandes*, 88; Favreau-Lilie 2000, 151–154; Matuzova 2001, 254–255; Mažeika 2009, 124–134

with great distaste, depicting them as devoid of morality.[43] They were also accused of being under Satan's command, fighting against the Christians on his behalf.[44] Peter von Dusburg also described their pagan manners and their sacrificing of human victims, as well as their custom of mistreating the wounded and incinerating prisoners of war. The Teutonic Knights seem to have mimicked the heathen tribes' brutal behaviour. They murdered infidel warriors captured in battle, exiled women and children, and looted villages following battles.[45]

Another chronicle from the first half of the thirteenth century describes the Christianization of Livonia (roughly in the area of modern Latvia and Estonia) by a priest – Heinrich von Lettland (Henry of Livonia).[46] The chronicler describes the cruel way in which infidels fought the Christian population when it settled in Livonia. He writes about Christians who went outside the fort at Üxküll to cultivate their land and were attacked by a group of heathen warriors. Several Christians were killed on the spot, and others suffered a cruel death through sacrifice.[47]

Another Christian source from the end of the thirteenth century, the *Livländische Reimchronik*, also describes the pagan tribes' cruelty.[48] It mentions how the heathens tortured and sacrificed German prisoners to their gods before burning the bodies.[49] The Germans' cruelty during battle was thus considered a response to the heathen warriors' behaviour on the battlefields of Prussia and Livonia.[50]

Not only does the chronicle of Peter von Dusburg portray the cruelty of the fighting between the enemies in the Baltic region, it provides evidence of an unusual use of the term Saracens. The chronicler describes a Teutonic warrior named Hermann, called "Sarracenus", who was a member of the Teutonic Order defending the fortress of Königsberg (Kaliningrad).[51] Why was he called Hermann Sarracenus? Did it symbolize his courage on the battlefield? Did he serve in the Latin Kingdom before moving to Prussia? The Teutonic chronicle does not answer these questions, but it is unlikely that this warrior was a Mus-

43 Peter von Dusburg, *Chronik des Preussenlandes*, 104.
44 Peter von Dusburg, *Chronik des Preussenlandes*, 344.
45 Peter von Dusburg, *Chronik des Preussenlandes*, 86; Urban 1981, 59.
46 Heinrich von Lettland, *Chronicon Livoniae*.
47 Bradbury 1961, 52.
48 Meyer 1876.
49 *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, no. 759, 12; no. 1416, 21; no. 1665, 24.
50 *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, no. 1519, 22; no. 1799, 25–26; no. 2363, 33–34; no. 3351, 46; Ghosh 2012, 94–98.
51 Peter von Dusburg, *Chronik des Preussenlandes*, 206.

lim who joined the Teutonic Order and continued his military service in Prussia. There is no evidence of that ever happening.

There are other references to Muslims in the chronicle of Peter von Dusburg, and to the fighting against the Saracens in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. He describes the heroic Teutonic battle against the Muslims in Acre in 1291, where many of the Teutonic warriors were killed. After the defeat in Acre and the loss of the Holy Land, Peter von Dusburg wrote a lament (*Klage* in German) about the fall of the Holy Land to the Muslims and the hard feelings it aroused.[52] He also described in exaggerated terms a military campaign in 1300 on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. The Crusaders, encouraged by the Mongols, attempted to re-conquer the Holy Land and recover their positions in the Latin Kingdom, but failed. He suggested that the fighting began in Armenia and continued along the coast of the Mediterranean up to Gaza. He also wrote that the Christians chased the Muslims south to the Egyptian border, killing 200,000 Muslim warriors.[53]

After moving its headquarters from the Latin Kingdom to Venice, and then, in 1309, to Marienburg in Prussia, the Teutonic Order's military focus was on the Baltic region. The anger and the desire for revenge meant the continuing destruction of the infidel tribes and the exile of survivors to Lithuania, far away from Prussia.[54]

The infidel population continued to live in Lithuania until 1386. Therefore, it became a favourite destination for the Teutonic Knights and the other European knights and nobles (mostly from France and England) that went on expeditions to demonstrate their knightly virtues. These journeys to the Baltic region were known by a unique term – *Reisen*. In these campaigns, the Christians continued to call their enemies Saracens, and Lithuania was called the land of the Saracens.[55]

The war against the Lithuanians continued even after the majority of the population had converted to Christianity. The last battle fought in the fields of Tannenberg (Grunwald) in 1410 determined the Teutonic Order's fate in Prussia. The military order fought united Polish and Lithuanians forces, which had the support of numerous mercenaries and East European soldiers. The battle ended with the death of Teutonic Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen and the military retreat of the remaining Teutonic warriors to their strongholds in Prus-

52 Peter von Dusburg, *Chronik des Preussenlandes*, 516.
53 Peter von Dusburg, *Chronik des Preussenlandes*, 520. See Schein 1979, 810–811.
54 Carsten 1956, 5–88; Burleigh 1984, 1–9.
55 Paravicini, 1, 1989, 118–130; Urban 1994, 520–526; Murray 2010, 416–420; Housley 1986, 272.

sia.[56] According to the Teutonic Order, they were delivered this harsh defeat by Saracens from Lithuania and elsewhere in Eastern Europe.[57]

Surprisingly, this term was still in use more than one hundred years after the Teutonic Order was driven from the East and had retreated from the Baltic region. The intensity with which the Muslims fought and the influence they had on events, even in the post-Crusade era, left its mark. The Teutonic Order subsequently used a term it had originally applied to Muslim warriors – Saracens – during its military campaigns in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Baltic region. The term Saracens, originally used for the warriors of the East, became the term used to identify all enemies of Christianity and Christian hegemony in the Baltic region, whether Prussians, Lithuanians, or even Christians who opposed the Teutonic Order and its rule in the fifteenth century.

There is evidence in several medieval sources from the Baltic region supporting the hypothesis that the Teutonic Order transposed the term Saracens from the Latin East to the Baltic region. There were only descriptive chronicles or charters written by Teutonic brethren, mostly priests, serving in the Military Order or parts of the Teutonic headquarters' associates. The people in the heathen tribes were illiterate, therefore they did not leave recorded descriptions, and if they did these were lost and had never been exposed. The only evidence we have regarding the Baltic military activities and the clash between the two major forces derives from the Teutonic Knights' chronicles written by clergy members of the Military Orders, but this information is prejudiced and one-directional.

The term Saracens had brought attention to the Other by way of differentiation and alienation. Dealing with Otherness prompted in the Teutonic brethren a sense of uniqueness and difference from the banished heathen tribes. The Teutonic descriptions allow us to estimate that the Teutonic warriors and clergy felt a sense of disgust and hesitation towards the pagans surrounding them in the Baltics. These lead to descriptions and harsh stereotypes against these ruthless enemies. With this term, the Teutonic Order pronounced its revulsion of its pagan enemies and their cruel resistance in battle.

These issues transferred from the Latin East were not reinforced in the extremely long campaign in the Baltic region. In this sense, adopted images and designations were used as another way of describing the enemies of the Christian faith, without unwillingness to connect them and to build the path towards acceptance of the Other, the cruel rivals of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia. This term was applied to any powerful, unwavering, and un-

56 Militzer 2005, 143–146; Boockmann 1966, 84–88.

57 *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denys*, 453; *Enguerran de Monstrelet*, 455.

compromising enemy, as well as to the heathen tribes that opposed Christianity and Church authorities.

The memory of their resolute enemies from the Latin East remained tangible for the Teutonic Order, and it influenced their military and political activities in the Baltic region. This was yet another way that the Crusade movement left its mark on European warriors in their struggle against their enemies in the outlying regions of medieval Europe.

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Jurgita Šiaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė

16 The Image of the *Infidelis* in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: A Comparison of the Trends in the Creation of Anti-Jewish and Anti-Muslim Stereotypes

In the context of socio-cultural development in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (hereafter referred to as the GDL), *infidel*, or non-Christian, was more than simply a definition that determined the reciprocal relations between different communities in society – it was also a legal term. The Second Statute of Lithuania, introduced in 1566, was meant to define the legal and social status of non-Christian communities – Jews and Tatars – by determining their relation to the Christian community and applying religious exceptionality. The Ruthenian concept of *besurmianin* (non-believer),[1] signifying an infidel, was the legal reflection of the prevalence of Christianity within the GDL. The non-Christian nature of the Jewish and Tatar communities was one of the factors that accounted for their similar legal and social status,[2] as well as for the similar assessments of these communities and the common stereotypes.

Drawing upon research[3] and historical source material relevant to the topic, I will highlight the trends at play in the creation and formulation of the image of Jews, Tatars, and, to some degree, Karaites,[4] all of whom were regarded as infidels. I will also show how these tendencies shaped both the development of Christian society and the history of non-Christian communities in the GDL. Knowing, as we do, the process by which these images tended to spread – local adaptation, accompanied by subsequent changes in their content, and in the way in which they were understood and expressed – we can uncover the most common trends exhibited in the case of anti-Jewish stereotypes. I will

1 Ruthenian for "non-believer"; cf. Latin *infidelis*. During the seventeenth century, the 'non-believing Jew' (Polish *niewierny Żyd*) took root in the GDL's official chancellery documents.

2 For more about this, see Šiaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė 2009, 116–127, Šiaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė 2010, 68–85.

3 Kalik 2003a, 58–77; Kalik 2003b, 229–237; Šiaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė 2009.

4 In the present paper, the Karaites are distinguished from the Rabbinical Jews (Rabbanites) as one of the communities in the GDL that used the image of Rabbinical Jews when presenting itself to society. Another unique feature of the GDL was the somewhat distinct legal situations of Karaites and Rabbinical Jews. See also the article on Karaite Jews by Veronika Klimova in this volume.

also pose a related question: How, why, and under what circumstances were the negative Jewish stereotypes adapted to create the image of Muslim Tatars in the GDL? These issues are particularly important in identifying the trends of social relations, whether the dominant Christian society unimaginatively falls back upon the universal European image of the Jew, developing an image of the Muslim that is not qualitatively different from that of the Jew, or acts creatively, using the existing possibilities to construct the social formulation of non-Christians at a legal level, and subsequently indiscriminately applies the same stereotypes to all non-Christians.

This article is based on various sources from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries: publications, hagiography, anti-Jewish literature, and the sole anti-Muslim publication to appear in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: *Alfurkan Tatarski prawdziwy na czterdzieśći częśći rozdzielony* ("The True Tatar Alfurkan, Divided into Forty Parts"; hereafter *Alfurkan Tatarski*).[5] Anti-Tatar literature offers a promising source that has not been addressed in research on the image of the Jew. True, attention should be drawn to the fact that the Jewish segment there is collateral (rather than primary, as in anti-Jewish works), supplementing or consolidating the image by means of contrast or analogy. However, texts of this nature represent perfectly the complex attitude of a predominantly Christian society to its confessionally-mixed non-Christian sectors, allowing us to distinguish the Jewish stereotypes applied in assessing the Tatars. It is obvious that the scholarly literature addressing the Tatars in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth uses anti-Tatar literature to analyse society's view of the Tatars, but the question of the origin of these anti-Tatar stereotypes goes unaddressed here.

The evolution of society's self-consciousness, mind-set, and values plays an important role in the formulation, and even more so the development, of the image of the Jew. Social development, above all Christianization, the characteristics or behaviours attributed to Jews, and the perceived social position of Jews are interrelated.

16.1 The formulation of anti-Jewish stereotypes in the GDL

It is a distinct feature of the GDL's socio-cultural development that it was late in accepting the Roman Catholic branch of Christianity as the state religion (1387),

5 *Alfurkan Tatarski*, written by Piotr Czyżewski, was first published in Wilno (Vilnius) in 1617. I have used this first edition in this article. For a modern scholarly edition of the text, see Czyżewski 2013.

and that it did so at a time when the majority of the population, and even a good portion of the ruling elite, were Eastern Orthodox (and from the late sixteenth century, Unitarians). When Martin Luther proclaimed his famous *Theses* in 1517, Catholicism had been dominant in Western Europe for eight or nine hundred years, while only 266 years had passed since the unsuccessful conversion of King Mindowg (Mindaugas in Lithuanian) in 1251 – he later forsook Christianity. The GDL had only officially become Christian in 1387, and the bishopric of Medininki (Medininkai in Lithuanian) in Samogitia had only been established in 1417.[6] The romantic presentation of medieval GDL as a pagan state does not reflect historical reality. Predatory Crusades and dynastic politics had resulted in the incorporation of Eastern Slavic lands. From the outset, the GDL was a multi-confessional state, with dynastic and political power in the hands of a pagan minority that was, its paganism aside, strongly influenced by Orthodoxy; administrators of conquered lands often received an Orthodox baptism, and grand dukes were known to marry Orthodox women.[7] Paradoxically, however, the state, which was home to many Christians, remained officially pagan, in spite of several attempts to introduce the practice of baptism before it gained official backing.[8] Non-Christian communities had been established in the GDL during the period of pagan ascendency, but their legal status only began to be regulated following the Catholic baptism of state officials.

In the case of Jewish migration within Europe, the GDL, at the eastern limit of the areas settled, was favourably perceived. Pagan GDL was often seen as a safe alternative to the complicated situation facing Jews in medieval Catholic European states. Although it is common to date Jewish settlement in the GDL to the privilege granted by Witold (Vytautas in Lithuanian) the Great to the community of Brest in 1388 – the first written mention of Jewish settlement – the fact is that by the early fourteenth century, the GDL had already 'conquered' Jewish communities: The Rus lands, conquered or integrated into the GDL by dynastic ties, were inhabited by numerous Jewish communities. Typically, the common legends about Jewish settlements[9] focus on Jews invited to settle in the GDL by the grand dukes.[10] The second wave of migration in the

6 These trends were identified by Zenonas Ivinskis (1987, 395–396).

7 Ališauskas et al. 2006, 33.

8 The sequence of the attempts to introduce baptism into the GDL is as follows: 1317, 1322–1324, 1349, 1351, 1358, and 1373 (according to Ališauskas et al. 2006, 34). When assessing the trends at play in the GDL's social development in the context of Lithuanian historiography, relations between Catholicism and paganism are discussed, rather than the relation between paganism and Orthodoxy.

9 For more on the legends of Jewish settlement, see Weinryb 1962, 445–502.

10 The idealization of Witold the Great was enduring in the narratives of non-Christian communities, persisting into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

sixteenth century – from Western Europe through Poland – would, however, prove to be important.

Muslim Tatar settlement in the GDL can also be dated to the fourteenth century: There were hired Tatar warriors in the troops commanded by Grand Duke Gediminas (Gedimin). Not only is the legend about the several hundred Golden Horde Tatar families that Grand Duke Witold brought into Lithuania (1397) accepted by the Lithuanian Tatar community even today, but it was also accepted by the Polish chronicler Jan Długosz (1415–1480), writing about eighty years after the events in question. It is likely that there were a variety of circumstances that led different groups of Tatars to settle in the GDL: the relations between the GDL and the Golden Horde; taking Tatars as prisoners of war; [11] and Tatar participation in the GDL's military.

The slower, or later, Christianization process and social and cultural development in comparison to other Eastern European states, and a particularly radical and dynamic Reformation and Counter-Reformation, inevitably influenced the formulation of the image of the Jew and created the conditions for adapting the universal pan-European anti-Jewish stereotypes and myths, while interpreting them in a new way.

The existing scholarship has failed to address several important factors that contributed to the formulation of the image of the Jew in the GDL.

First, the gradual Christianization of different layers of society (particularly relevant with regard to the Catholic section of society) should be mentioned – conscious Christianization was accompanied by the gradual assimilation of stereotypes and of a perception of Jews based on a Christian theological interpretation. The importance of religion in shaping both consciousness and mindsets is not pointed out sufficiently in the historiography, although it plays a significant role throughout the course of society's development.

Second, the adoption and spread of the image of the Jew in the GDL took place very rapidly, with the forms of anti-Judaism that had appeared in the states of Western Europe gradually manifesting in the GDL. Prior to the mid-sixteenth century, Jews had been recognized as economic competitors, giving shape to their negative image and providing the impetus for the spread of the

11 Stanisław Kryczyński, an author of Tatar descent, has criticized Polish historiography on this issue. His observations are based on the point at which the monograph was composed – a time when the Tatar national movement was active in Poland and Lithuania, and Tatars were seeking to strengthen their identity. For more on the Tatar version of the events, see Kričinskis 1993, 15–38. For more on the settlement of Tatars in the GDL, see Sobczak 1984, 13–34; Tyszkiewicz 1989, 144–169. See also the article by Krzysztof Kwiatkowski in this volume.

myth of blood libel (admittedly, however, there is only limited evidence of manifestations of the myth of host desecration). At the same time, the non-Christianity of Jews became a focal point, and they began to be accused of endangering Christians and of deicide, establishing a basis for the alleged necessity of their social segregation.[12]

Third, variations on the image of the Jew became more widespread and took root during the brief but dynamic period of the Reformation, which lasted only a few decades, and were consolidated during the Counter-Reformation (when Catholicism became a value and the category of *non-Catholic* took form). The rapid social assimilation of anti-Judaism often resulted in a rather superficial understanding of some of the universal anti-Jewish stereotypes, as well as a simplistic grasp of the ideas that underpinned these stereotypes. This was the basis for the peculiarities and local variations of the image of the Jew found in the GDL.

Fourth, the GDL was not particularly creative in its development and implementation of its adapted image of the Jews. The image of the Jew that gained a foothold during the sixteenth century remained static until the end of the eighteenth century. Rather than creatively expanding upon it, the same image was consistently evoked, in sermons or in printed material. Given the late spread of anti-Judaism in the GDL, in comparison to Central and East European states, there was probably little room for the modification of the existent image of the Jew, which generally focused on two components that directly affected daily life – economic competition and the theological interpretation of certain Biblical passages – and the related collective assessments of the Jews.

16.2 Trends in the adaptation of anti-Judaism in the GDL

Anti-Judaism appeared in the GDL during the first half of the sixteenth century, with unfavourable views about Jews being recorded among society's elite, and the first, still schematic, elements of the image of the Jew beginning to appear. The publicist and public figure Michalon Lituanus provides a particularly extreme example:

12 For more on the trends at play in the development of Jewish images in the GDL, see Šiaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė 2009, 190–285.

> Quam in regionem confluxit ex aliis prouinciis omnium pessima gens Iudaica, iam per Omnia Podoliae, Voliniae & alia fertiliora oppida aucta, perfida, callida, calumniatrix, quae nostras merces, monetas, Syngrapha, Sigilla adulterat, in omnibus emporiis victum Christianis praeripit, nullam artem praeter imposturas & calumnias exercet: ex progenie Chaldaeorum natio pessima, vt tradunt sacrae literae, adultera, peccatrix, infidelis, nequam, peruersa.[13]
>
> [The most abhorrent of all nations – Jews – flooded this country (the GDL) from Podolia and Volhynia and all the other fertile towns, insidious, crafty, deceitful, forging goods, money, signatures, bills of exchange, and seals, depriving Christians of the means of living in all markets, not knowing better than to deceive and slander, the worst nation descended from the Chaldeans as the Holy Scriptures teach, debauched, sinful, unbelieving, despicable, perverse.]

In this image, collective characteristics and behaviours attributed to Jews were related to economic competition, an aspect that remained dominant in burghers' statements about Jews. Referring to the sources in different genres and to existing research allows us to distinguish the following image of the Jew, one which was to all intents and purposes formulated during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, and which was occasionally accompanied by blood libel accusations. The characteristics and features attributed to Jews in the GDL remained largely unchanged from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries:[14]

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13 Quoted in Lietuvis 1966, 25 (facsimile). It is a curious situation that illustrates the tradition of source publication during the Soviet era. In the Lithuanian translation of this essential source, this quotation is missing – it was not translated because of its anti-Jewish content. However, at the end of the same book, the facsimiles of the original text in Latin were published, including this quotation in Latin. When the Russian translation was published several decades later, this anti-Jewish excerpt was included. For more on the translation into Russian, see Litvin 1994, 88.

14 During the eighteenth century, the dean of the Troszkuny parish, Kiprian Lukowski (1996, 161, 170–171) argued:

> Niera niejokios biauresnios Diewuy yr Żmoniems wiezliwiems Giminies, kaypo Żidiszka, ira isztremtays yr pakumpeys po Swieta. Jra nuog Diewa pamesty dieł sawa netikeima, yr dieł nekałtay per jus iszlieta Krauia Sunaus Diewa, kuri jeme unt sawęs y runt Sunu Sunus [...] Diewas istate, idunt ta Gimine nemieła butu paniekinimi pas cieła Swieta [...] ta Gimine piktadaringa, Giminie perwersta sawa sukimays, apgawimays dayleys pramanimays, bukleys iszradimais priwiłtomis patogibiomis, prigautais spasabays.
>
> [There is no other tribe more repellent to God and honourable men than the Jews, expelled and scattered to the four corners of the earth. They have been rejected by God because of their infidelity and for spilling the innocent blood of the Son of God, which they brought upon the sons of their sons (...) It is a tribe that does evil deeds, a tribe living off swindling, deceit, trickery, foul inventions, and dishonest ways.]

sly, forgers, slanderers, swindlers, and vilifiers of the Christian religion who distracted Christians from their faith (a baseless fear of what occurred when Christians were hired to work in Jewish households and a genuine fear of the spread of non-Christian religions in the GDL),[15] wealthy impoverishers of Christians, [16] eternal enemies, infidels, and non-believers, whose actions were explained by their hardened enmity to the Christian blood, unfaithful and debauched, rejected by God and humanity, subject to slavery, despicable, and abhorrent. In this case, the information about the non-Christianity and non-Catholicism of Jews, which was provided in religious primers and reinforced in sermons,[17] is central. When analysing the cases of blood libel and its social interpretation, we can presume that the people of the GDL profoundly feared the physical extermination of Christians. For example, during the eighteenth century, Kiprian Lukowski, the priest in the small town of Traszkuny (Troškūnai in Lithuanian) said the following in a sermon to his parishioners (it is very important to keep in mind the fact that sermons were not only a way to create anti-Jewish stereotypes, but also allowed for a theological interpretation of Judaism, creating the opportunity to periodically remind parishioners about the danger posed by Jews):

> Żidas Pagonuy ney gieray, ney piktay darity ne turia, bet apie tay wisokiu rupestiu storoties turia, idunt Krikscioni numarintu yr isz Swieta isznaykintu, o kada to padarity ne gale, idunt ij woktu, apgautu, gaysintu yr naikintu.

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15 The fear of the spread of non-Christian religions was apparent in the GDL from the sixteenth century onward. The sources periodically bear witness to the fear of possible activities, especially on the part of Jews, meant to encourage Christians to convert to Judaism (in this case, this fear needs to be distinguished from the interest in Judaism that was particularly characteristic of the Reformation). While this phenomenon still needs to be investigated, one of the possible bases for such a fear may have been the existence of a Judaizing movement within Orthodoxy. A fear of this kind is expressed in the Second (1566) and Third (1588) Lithuanian Statutes (the main compendiums of legal documents), where you find the prohibition: "If you have [people] or their children in pawn, you have no right to persuade them to convert to the Jewish or Muslim faith or to be circumcised." Statute 1855, chapter XII, art. 5. For engaging in such activities, one could be burnt at the stake. Another unique reality of the GDL's relationship with non-Christians was that distinctions between Judaism and Islam were not recognized in the sixteenth century.

16 The stereotype of Jewish wealth manifests itself in the image of Jews impoverishing Christians. It often surfaces during attacks against Jews.

17 In this article, numerous quotations come from the Kiprian Lukowski's volume of sermons. However, for a better understanding of relations to Jews, it is important to refer to the volume of Lithuanian sermons by Kazimieras Klimavičius, *Pawinasties Krikscioniszkas* (Christian Obligations) from 1767. One of the most interesting elements of these sermons is the representation of Jews and confessors of Judaism as non-pagans. See Klimavičius 1767, 60.

> [The Jew does not have to do either good or evil to the pagan, but he must make an effort to put the Christian to death, and when he is unable to do so, he must at least rob him, cheat him, and cause him loss.][18]

The negative depictions of Jews in the historical sources can be grouped into several general stereotypes: an enemy and impoverisher of Christians; a vilifier of the Christian religion, and one who is rejected by God and humanity. These stereotypes underpin the aforementioned fear that Jews would consciously harm Christian society. This was a very pronounced fear that functioned in a particular way through the blood libel.[19] This myth, which arose periodically as evidence of the alleged danger posed by Jews, posited extremely inhumane actions on the part of Jews, such as mocking and brutally murdering Christians, desecrating their bodies, and even using their blood. A fear that Jews would consciously harm Christian society was key to the image of the Jew, its different aspects becoming clear, as the all-pervasive harm done by Jews was uncovered.

The established stereotype of Jews as impoverishers of Christians was developed in the urban environment, gradually becoming something akin to the standard description of the economic relations between Jews and burghers.[20] When comparing themselves with Jews, burghers, and sometimes noblemen, described themselves as living in poverty.[21] The behaviour attributed to Jews and their imagined goal of succeeding in business at the expense of Christians soon acquired a new derivative aspect, with people coming to believe that Jewish businesses lacked transparency *per suas machinationes* (through their own mechanisms).[22] The stereotype of Jews as impoverishers of Christians became an important part of the imagined damage Jews caused to society. The imagined prosperity of Jews was an accepted fact for both noblemen and townsmen, and it played a role in all spheres of daily life and affected reciprocal relations. The stereotype of wealthy Jews often motivated the nobles in *sejmiks* (local congress of noblemen) to demand an increase in the Jewish poll tax,[23] the im-

18 Lukauskas 1996, 162.

19 For more about this myth in the GDL, see Šiaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė 2008, 201–209. Several examples of this accusation in the GDL are analysed in Węgrzynek 1995; Guldon and Wijaczka 1995. Several cases have been described factographically in nineteenth-century historiography. For more specific case analysis, see Kleyman 1924, 217–232.

20 *Akty* 1901, no. 292; *Archeograficheskiy*, no. 50; *Archiv*, no. 34.

21 For example, a complaint made by residents of Vilnius in 1633 about Jews settling in and spreading throughout the city; *Archeograficheskiy*, no. 50.

22 An instruction from 1735 to the noblemen of the Vilnius Voivodeship; *Akty* 1886, no. 181.

23 The research into the *sejmik* instructions and the requirements for Jews carried out by Adam Kaźmierczyk indicates that Jewish poll tax, the amount collected, the accounting, and its use were primarily of interest to nobles in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Kaźmierczyk's

position of special tolls, restrictions on the capacity of Jews to develop their economic activities in the towns, and so on.

In the polemics of both the Reformers and Counter-Reformers, Jews (and often Tatars) were chosen as a symbol of evil, and presented as second-rate, as social outcasts.[24] The arguments in favour of tolerance towards Jews that appeared in Catholic Counter-Reformation polemics in the GDL (remaining important until the end of the eighteenth century) are to a large extent similar to the attitude found in other European societies,[25] and did nothing to alter the basic perspective that shaped society's worldview – "one lord, one religion, one baptism, one God" (Petr Skarga)[26] – or how these relations were understood in a multi-confessional society: "Why do we hate them [non-Christians] and persecute them? Simply because we are not related by a common religion and hold different religious views."[27]

Of the two common European anti-Jewish myths, viz. the profanation of *Sancta Hostia* and the blood libel, the former was practically unknown in the GDL. The only signs of it were among certain clergy, Catholic, Orthodox, and Unitarian alike. On the other hand, all social strata were aware of the blood libel. This myth, which was known in the GDL by the mid-sixteenth century, was undoubtedly assimilated in a pre-existent form, but then underwent a good deal of local modification, in part, presumably, as a result of a failure to understand the essence of the myth. Early in the seventeenth century, alleged victims of blood libel included both adult Christians and children, both boys and girls, making it seem doubtful that the reliving of Christ's suffering inherent in the myth had been conceptually grasped. The sacralization of the children among the Jews' alleged victims, which had its origins in West Europe, took root in the GDL in the quite modest form of burying the remains in churches.[28] I found no evidence of the sacralization of adult victims. Taking these circumstances into account, it seems safe to assume that the burden of Christ's suffering fell exclusively on children, an adaptation of the classical plot of the

research established that 57 % of instructions related to Jews in the GDL addressed the Jewish poll tax. Kaźmierczyk 1994, 28–29.

24 Rotundas 2000, 148, 169.

25 Jews were tolerated as witnesses to Christ's suffering who would inevitably be converted to Christianity.

26 Skarga 1972, 59.

27 Rotundas 1996, 292. Augustinas Rotundas (1520–1582) was mayor of Vilnius and a doctor of law, who had studied at the universities of Padua and Ferrara.

28 For more on the unique modifications to myth in the GDL, see Šiaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė 2008, 201–209.

myth, while adults were the victims of the alleged harm Jews did to society and of their thirst for Christian blood.

Arguments about the actions attributed to Jews and explanations of their behaviour remained undeveloped in the GDL, and speculation about the use of blood in Jewish rites did not evolve any further. In fact, up until the second half of the eighteenth century there was no specific knowledge about what Jews were allegedly using Christian blood for, only abstract ideas about the need for Christian blood in Jewish rites. On the other hand, an extremely detailed description of the alleged killing recounted in the myth was constantly developing and expanding. What was exceptional about the changes the blood libel accusation underwent in the GDL was that this myth, which usually targeted Rabbinic Jews, was also applied not only to the Karaites, but – paradoxically – also to the Muslim Tatars (more on this later). Thus, to understand these myths more clearly, a broader European context is necessary.

The state's official position of tolerance, protection of Jewish religious life, and prevention of violence – beginning with the extensive privileges granted by Witold the Great to the Jewish community in Brest (1388) – is key when analysing the development of anti-Judaism in the GDL. Furthermore, on the basis of the pope's bulls, there was a clear prohibition on accusing Jews of "using human blood".[29] Nonetheless, it is important to distinguish the constant official denunciation of anti-Jewish myths from the reality of daily life, where they intersected with official provisions. The divide between the official position and daily practice was characteristic of both the state and the Church, particularly in the cities, where relations were heavily influenced by economic strife. Local modifications were another important and characteristic factor in the development of images, as was the application of the myths in contexts other than that for which they were created. I will discuss the local modifications to the image of the Jew that occurred while adapting the anti-Jewish myths, without going into detail about each of the pan-European stereotypes that took roots in the GDL.

16.3 The image of Jews and the creation of anti-Tatar stereotypes: The case of Piotr Czyżewski's *Alfurkan Tatarski*

The image of the Tatar community in the GDL, beginning in the late fourteenth century, or perhaps even earlier, has not been the subject of much research.

29 Gudavichius and Lazutka 1993, 44–55.

One of the reasons that the image of the Tatar has not been the subject of recent research (as is also the case for studies of anti-Judaism) is the established idea that the multi-confessional GDL was an exceptionally tolerant state.[30] A negative assessment of Tatars as Muslims and the pursuant harm they were allegedly doing to society has been noted. Jan Długosz describes the Tatars as "idolatrous" infidel Muslims in his chronicle, that outlines the narrative of the Tatar arrival in Lithuania and describes the presentation of some Tatars as a gift to the King of Poland Jagiełło. However, the image of the "idolatrous" infidel Muslims is fragmentary in the extreme and only encompasses existent stereotypes and assessments in a limited way. In order to understand the image of the Tatars – the only Muslims in the GDL – one should bear in mind a number of political and socio-cultural circumstances in the history of Lithuania, as well as the specific features of the Tatar community. The trends found in the formulation of the image of the Jew, which were outlined earlier, particularly those pertaining to aspects of social development, are also relevant to the formulation of the image of the Tatar.

First of all, for quite a long time, the Tatars of the Golden Horde khanates were among the GDL's political rivals. Traditionally, they had been the 'Tatar enemies', and relations with them had been marked by military conflict. I will mention only a couple of these conflicts, which were important in the context of Europe's relations with the Golden Horde[31] – the march of the Grand Duke Olgierd (Algirdas in Lithuanian) to Blue Waters (1362) is recognized as the deepest penetration of European military forces into the lands of the Golden Horde, and the unsuccessful Battle of Worksla, led by Witold the Great (1399), was the first Crusade[32] against the Muslim Tatars. Therefore, in the GDL's assessment of the Muslim Tatars, there were two distinct elements: 'Tatar enemies' and 'local Tatars'. The Vilnius defensive wall symbolized this situation. It was built in the early sixteenth century to defend the city from the attacks of hostile Tatar hordes. One of nine gates of this wall was called the Tatar Gate after the autochthonous Tatars, who lived nearby in part of the suburb Lukiśki (Lukiškės in Lithuanian, now part of the city of Vilnius), which was known by

30 For more on the image of the Tatar and its trends in the GDL, see Tyszkiewicz 1989, 288–297; Borawski 1981, 51–66.

31 For more on the political relationship between the GDL and the Golden Horde, see Batūra 1975.

32 In scholarship, this battle is usually described as a Crusade, but the most recent research to discuss this issue raises the question of whether or not the GDL was an active participant in the Crusade following the 1387 baptism, or if the GDL's rulers simply adopted Christian ideology and rhetoric to achieve their goals. For more on this topic, see Rowell 2007, 181–205,

local inhabitants as Tataria. Interestingly enough, the image of 'Tatar enemies' did not have any impact on the assessment of 'local Tatars'. On the contrary, as can be seen in Michalon Lituanus' treatise *De moribus Tartarorum, Lituanorum et Moschorum* (*On the Customs of Tatars, Lithuanians, and Muscovites*), which was published in Basle in 1655, even the hostile Tatars of Perekop were to some degree assessed as a model of endurance, indulgence, support, charity, abstention from alcohol, and of effective domination of women.[33]

Second, the Tatar community in the GDL was socially heterogeneous. Some of the Tatars served in the rulers' military in exchange for land, thereby playing a socially necessary role, and as a result were seen in a positive light.[34] Tatars who served in the military far outnumbered those who lived in cities and suburbs, farming, raising cattle, or practising crafts. In the Statutes of Lithuania, the latter were attributed the status of the lowest social stratum of the members of an unfree family. Because they served in the military, Tatars were seen as playing a far more socially useful role than, for example, the Jews, who paid a monetary equivalent of military service – the poll tax (Polish *pogłówne*) – to the state treasury. The heterogeneity of the Tatar community and the different activities and interests of its members must be taken into account to avoid the risk of reconstructing an image of the Tatar that does not correspond to historical reality. There was only one way in which the attitude of Christians about Tatars could be regarded as unanimous; the assessment of Islam as a false, erroneous religion created by the Prophet underpinned Christian claims to dominance.[35]

Third, a very significant trend in the formulation of the image of the Tatars was the groundwork laid by the early adaptation of anti-Jewish social images. (In my opinion, the adaptation or regeneration of the image of the Jew in the formulation of anti-Tatar and anti-Islamic stereotypes in the GDL should be the subject of research in its own right.) My assertion is that the image of the Jew was a significant, potentially key, factor in shaping the attitude towards Tatars in the GDL. I base this supposition in no small part on an exceptional source – the anti-Tatar pamphlet *Alfurkan Tatarski*.[36] It was published in Vilnius in the early seventeenth century, and we know of at least three editions – 1617, 1640, and 1643. The author of this popular pamphlet signed his work with the pseudonym Piotr Czyżewski. This document is unique for the GDL (and, indeed,

33 Lietuvis 1966.

34 For research on the social status of the Tatars in the GDL, see Sobczak 1984.

35 On this assessment of Islam, see also the articles by Jonathan Adams and Stefan Schröder in this volume.

36 A facsimile is available online at the Jagiellonian Digital Library: < jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra >.

also for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth). The way in which the author characterizes the Tatars allows us not only to see the wide range of anti-Tatar stereotypes, but also to identify cases of anti-Jewish stereotypes being applied to Tatars. The thoroughness of this source raises a question: Which of these stereotypes and interpretations actually played an important social role at that time, and which are the result of the author's misconceptions and intolerance?

As is the case in many anti-Jewish works, in *Alfurkan Tatarski*, two broad and problematic areas are discussed as one – assessments of religion, or rather of religious rites, as perceived by an outside observer, and the criticism of Tatar lifestyle and social functions, as part of exposing the threat Tatars posed to Christians. Much about the approach taken was undoubtedly borrowed from anti-Jewish works. This fact, as well as Czyżewski's writing style and the structure of the work (each section is introduced with a statement that is then followed by its proof), which is both evocative and instructive "not only for reading, but also for memorizing",[37] and which remains appealing to the reader even when it is insulting, presents an associative interpretation that suggests the author of *Alfurkan* was entirely familiar with the various "anti-literatures" of his time (anti-Jewish, anti-Christian, anti-Catholic, anti-Reformation). Like almost every inhabitant of the GDL at that time, he had a profoundly negative view of Jews and embraced countless anti-Jewish social myths and stereotypes.[38] The fact that these assessments were so deeply ingrained in the mindset and worldview of his day encouraged Czyżewski to compare the Tatars to the Jews. This comparison provided the author with both a powerful and evocative means of grounding his statements in a way that would easily resonate in the GDL and an associative approach to formulating the image of the Tatars. The Tatar and the Jew, who, according to the author, were both similar and different in numerous ways, upon comparison are found to be the "great and principal enemies not only of the Christian faith, but also of all Christian nations and their prosperity".[39]

The scope of this article does not permit me to describe the image of the Tatars presented in *Alfurkan Tatarski* in greater detail, so I will focus primarily on the adoption of anti-Jewish projections in passages addressing the Tatars. The most striking case is the attribution of the ritual murder of Christians to the Tatars, removing one component of this myth – the alleged use of Christian

37 "nie tylko do czytania, ale też y do upamiętania"; *Alfurkan Tatarski,* p. 1.

38 For more on the development of anti-Jewish stereotypes and the sources representing them, see Šiaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė 2009, 190–302.

39 "są wielkimi y głownymi nieprzyiaćiolmi nie tylko wierze Chrześćiańskiey ále y wszy[s]tkiemu narodowi y maietnośćiam Chrześćiańskim"; *Alfurkan Tatarski,* 70.

blood in religious rites. However, the supposed goal of exterminating Christians commonly attributed to the Jews in the GDL (as in other medieval European societies) was, in this case, also attributed to Tatars. A related example would be the discussion about the inherent stench of Tatars and Jews – in analogous West European commentary, the stench of Jews was related to the devil, while Czyżewski felt that it was the stench of goat sweat and excrement that he smelled in his interactions with Tatars. In the pamphlet, he asked, "Why do Tatars stink of goat sweat and excrement, just as the Jews stink?"[40] The models for Christian society's relationship to the Jews – e.g., their expulsion from the state to promote Christianization and various legal and social restrictions – are presented in *Alfurkan Tatarski* as effective, and it is recommended that they be applied to relations with the Tatars as well. Interestingly enough, Czyżewski did not only draw his anti-Jewish examples from the GDL (in fact, it seems he rarely did), but from West European states as well. As can be seen from the way the author presented these relations, suggesting anti-Tatar restrictions, he was attempting to reproduce the restrictions applied to the Jews. For example, as one of ten means potentially encouraging the conversion of Tatars to Christianity, Czyżewski suggested that Tatars should be obliged to attend Sunday services at Catholic churches[41] (an adaptation of the occasional requirement for Jews to attend Catholic services as was the case in several West European countries), and that the ban on Jews having Christians subjects should also be strictly applied to the Tatars: "We must ensure that Tatars not only cannot have Christian servants but also not serfs and slaves [...] it would be right for Tatars to serve Tatars but not Christians [to serve Tatars]."[42]

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40 "Czemu Tatarowie kobylem potem, koźim parkiem tak iako y Zydźi śmierdzą, abo woniaią?" *Alfurkan Tatarski*, 68.

41 The order existing in Italy was presented as an example (*Alfurkan Tatarski*, 33):

> Jest w Rzymie, a bezmała y po wszystkiey Włoskiey Ziemi ta vstáwa, iż Zydowe powinni pod wino na każdy Sabbat w każdym mieśćie, do naznaczonego kośćioła Katolickego schodzić się, y tam kazania słuchać [...] Też vstawę wnieść do tego Państwa, y Tatarom toż przykázáć, co Zydom we Włoszech.
>
> [There is in Rome and almost in all Italy, the law that on every Shabbat after wine Jews in all places must go to the specified Catholic church and listen to the sermon there (...) The law that is (established) in Italy for Jews (should be) established in this country for Tatars.]

42 "włożmy się wto, aby Tatarowie, nie tylko czeladźi Chrześćiańskich, ale też y poddanych, y niewolnikow [...] nie chowali [...] dobrzeby áby Tátárzyn Tátárzynowi służył, nie Chrześćianin"; *Alfurkan tatarksi*, 47.

Given these examples, it would appear the GDL lacked the creativity necessary to formulate independent images and instead drew upon existing anti-Jewish resources. Alternately, it is possible that the problem was not of great interest, given that there are few extant sources with which to reconstruct the image of the Tatar in the GDL. Furthermore, the stereotypes presented in these sources are underdeveloped and often schematically repetitive.

In concluding, allow me to digress briefly and draw the reader's attention to the image of the Karaites. A different strategy was used to formulate the image of this Jewish community. As early as the Reformation, Karaites were perceived as an exceptional group of 'righteous' Jews who did not observe the Talmud, and who proved to be of greater interest to foreigners than to the GDL or the Kingdom of Poland. In response to late eighteenth-century plans to reform the position of the Jews in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Karaites began to differentiate themselves from Rabbinic Jews (the identity of the Karaites in Lithuania and part of East Europe would later be reshaped).[43] The image of the Rabbinic Jews became the reference point for the emerging image of the Karaites, who had been identified as Jews up to this point. The image of the Rabbinic Jew was not adapted to the Karaites, as was the case with the Tatars. Instead, the Karaites juxtaposed themselves with the Rabbinic Jews. By comparing themselves with Rabbinic Jews, who had a negative image, the Karaites were able to present themselves as more socially attractive and less crafty – they were even perceived as being more fluent in Polish. This strategy for formulating an image led to the Karaites being perceived very positively in writings from the first half of the nineteenth century, which was an exception to the generally negative view of non-Christians.

A separate, but no less interesting potential topic that has not received adequate research attention is the image of other non-Christians held within these communities themselves – e.g., the Tatars' image of Jews – as well as how these stereotypes were adapted and the role they played in Tatar communities. This aspect of social relations was invisible to the dominant Christian community, although Christian views certainly influenced the form these relations took.

It seems to me that the trends identified and the observations included in this article might indicate the need for a more refined elaboration of the idea that within society's communicative space the image of the Jew, who was situated at the bottom of the social hierarchy, became a kind of associative means of communication that facilitated an understanding that was acceptable not

43 For more on the creation of Karaite myths and their relation to the Tatars, see Troskovaitė 2012.

only to different social layers of Christian society, but also to non-Christians in the GDL. The overly negative image of the Jew made it easy to appear more attractive, better, and more useful to society and to one's fellow believers. On the other hand, the image of the Jew, or its individual aspects, in any case, were far more deeply embedded as social knowledge than was the image of the less numerous and less economically active Tatars. Theological interpretations also undoubtedly served to further strain relations. It was probably not by chance that the Karaites initially sought to establish their distinction from the Rabbinic Jews by claiming that when Christ was crucified, they were no longer present in Jerusalem.

16.4 Summary

The factors that most influenced the formulation of anti-Jewish stereotypes were the late (in terms of European history) official Christianization of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1387) and the rapid cultural and social changes that occurred thereafter. The initial emergence of anti-Jewish stereotypes among society's elite can be dated to the early sixteenth century. By the mid-sixteenth century, different forms of anti-Judaism (stereotypes, blood libel, and attacks) had penetrated all social strata. Among the burghers and in the Second Lithuanian Statute (1566), a *besurmianin* non-Christian group was legally distinguished. Muslim Tatars were incorporated into this group alongside Jews, including Karaites. In the GDL in the Middle Ages, Tatars were alternately associated with hostile acts against the state and with local Tatars, some of whom served in the GDL's military. Oddly, the image of the Tatar as an enemy did not play a role in how local Tatars were evaluated. The image of these local Tatars was created very simply by adapting the ubiquitous anti-Jewish stereotypes and myths. As a result, a comparative study of Christian attitudes about different non-Christian groups in the GDL opens the way to a discussion not only about the spread of stereotypes, and their variations, adaptations, and local modifications, but also about the adjustments made to anti-Jewish stereotypes when assessing the Tatar community. In the context of European history, the spread of anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim stereotypes in the GDL should be seen as one of the youngest examples of the pan-European stereotypes that had already spread through Christian society for several centuries.

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Madis Maasing

17 Infidel Turks and Schismatic Russians in Late Medieval Livonia

17.1 Introduction

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, political rhetoric in Livonia was shaped by the threat posed by an alien power: Following a significant deterioration in the relations between the Catholic Livonian territories and their mighty Eastern Orthodox neighbour – the Grand Duchy of Moscow – war broke out, lasting from 1501 to 1503, with renewed armed conflict remaining an imminent threat until 1509. During this period of confrontation, and afterwards, the Livonians (i.e., the political elite of Livonia) fulminated in their political writings about the gruesome, schismatic, and even infidel Russians, who posed a threat not only to Livonia, but to Western Christendom in general. In the Holy Roman Empire and at the Roman Curia, these allegations were quite favourably received. Arguably, the Livonians' greatest success took the form of a papal provision for two financially profitable anti-Russian indulgence campaigns (1503–1510). For various political reasons, the motif of a permanent and general 'Russian threat' had ongoing currency in Livonia up until the Livonian War (1558–1583). Even after the collapse of the Livonian territories, the Russian threat motif continued to be quite effectively used by other adversaries of Moscow – e.g., Poland-Lithuania and Sweden.

I will focus here first and foremost on what was behind the initial success of the Russian threat motif in Livonia, but I will also address why it persisted for as long as it did. A large part of its success was the fact that it drew upon a similar phenomenon – the 'Turkish threat',[1] which played a significant role in the political rhetoric of Early Modern Europe, especially in south-eastern

1 This research was supported by the Estonian Research Council's PUT 107 programme, "Medieval Livonia: European Periphery and its Centres (Twelfth–Sixteenth Centuries)", and by the European Social Fund's Doctoral Studies and Internationalization Programme DoRa, which is carried out by Foundation Archimedes. The author wishes to express his deepest gratitude to the anonymous referee, Jonathan Adams, Vladimir Aleksić, Alexander Baranov, Cordelia Heß, Linda Kaljundi, Liisa Liivamets, Mihkel Mäesalu, Pärtel Piirimäe, Anti Selart, Remigius Stachowiak, and Matthias Thumser.

The expression *Türkengefahr* is extensively used in German historiography; Höfert 2003, 50–54. The English term 'Turkish threat' will be used here (instead of 'peril' or 'menace'), as it seems to correspond most accurately to the German usage.

Europe and Germany. We will examine the substantial similarities between the rhetoric surrounding the Turkish threat and the way the Russian threat motif is formulated in Livonian political sources (i.e., in correspondence and in polemical writings) at the end of the fifteenth century and thereafter. To this end, the roots, the initial appearance, and the development of both motifs will be explored. Rhetorical constructs shared by both motifs are of particular importance here, e.g., the 'bulwark of Christendom' (*Antemurale Christianitatis*). The motivations and intentions for using these adversarial rhetorical narratives is also significant: Was the threat posed by the enemy the central issue, or were there also other important and more complex motivations? The question of whether the depictions of Turks and Russians are factual or not, is not the main concern of this paper.

Additionally, the motifs of menacing Turks (or Russians) seem to fit under one key concept of current social sciences – The Other, or Otherness[2] – and one could also pose a question: How did the construction of the Turkish (and Russian) Other affect the development of the Christian European (and Livonian) Self?

There is extensive literature addressing the Turkish threat motif: We will address only a cross-section of it here.[3] Most literature exploring the Russian threat motif focuses on the period following the beginning of the Livonian War.[4] However, an important document for our consideration is the Livonian propaganda piece *Eynne schonne hysthorie van vunderlyken gescheffthen der heren tho lyfflanth myth den Rüssen vnde tartaren* (hereafter, *Schonne hysthorie*), a document that has piqued some interest among researchers.[5] Anti Se-

2 Here, the Other, as well as the concept pair of Us and Them, is used generally in same manner as in anthropology or ethnography, as standing for alien culture (cf. a similar approach in Höfert 2003). The Oriental Other as Edward Said sees it – a speechless, passive, and submissive construction in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European descriptions (Said 2003) – could not be attributed to the Late Medieval and Early Modern view of Turks (or Russians), as here the Other was seen as active, menacing and sometimes even superior to Christian Europe, although this construct could be seen as the 'pre-colonial' progenitor to 'Saidian Other'. See Höfert 2003, 318–320; Çırakman 2002, 7–34, 210–217; Vitkus 1999.

3 Schwoebel 1967; Bohnstedt 1968; Schultze 1978; Erkens 1997; Gutmüller and Kühlmann 2000; Höfert 2003; Kaufmann 2008; Housley 2012a.

4 Kappeler 1972; Angermann 1972; Tarkiainen 1986; Filjuškin 2008; Filjuškin 2012; Tuchtenhagen 2012.

5 *Schonne hysthorie* 1861. This edition also includes extensive commentaries from its editor (Schirren 1861). For an analysis and context, see Arbusow 1909; Benninghoven 1963; Thumser 2011; Kreem 2013. The title of *Schonne hysthorie* has been translated into English as: "A nice story about the wonderful business of the lords of Livonia with the Russians and Tatars". Kreem 2013, 239.

lart's works will be the main source used to address Russian-Livonian relations and the development of the Russian threat motif.[6] The primary sources used here are generally clearly polemical, and supporting a certain agenda, such as political speeches, political correspondence, and pamphlets. In comparing elements of the Turkish and Russian threat motifs, sources published in three-part volume 19 of the *Deutsche Reichstagsakten. Ältere Reihe* will be used. This will allow us to examine the primary and persistent topoi about the Turks that dominated European rhetoric for centuries.[7] The *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*[8] will be the primary source for examining Livonian rhetoric, but the *Akten und Rezesse der livländischen Ständetage*[9] and the regestae *Herzog Albrecht von Preussen und Livland*[10] will also be consulted.

17.2 The Turkish threat motif

A fear of the hostile and powerful Other had haunted inhabitants of Europe since Antiquity. There had been many invasions by peoples (mostly from the East) who were perceived as a threat to all of Europe. During Early and High Medieval times, the idea of the unity of (Western) Christendom (*Christianitas*) developed,[11] and the groups outside of it were seen as alien and potentially menacing. This included not only suppressed inner minorities (such as Jews or heretics in Europe[12]), and smaller alien groups on the border of Christendom (like 'pagans' of Northern Europe[13]), but also a strong and unknown force to be feared. Some of them could be even regarded as harbingers of the Apocalypse – e.g., Magyars.[14] Before the Turks, the Mongols were one of the most widely feared invaders. They were often called 'Tatars' or 'Tartars', and were

6 Selart 1998; Selart 2001; Selart 2003; Selart 2004; Selart 2007; Selart 2009a; Selart 2009b; Selart 2012a; Selart 2012b.
7 Weigel and Grüneisen 1969; Helmrath and Annas 2013; Annas 2013.
8 From first series (*Abteilung*): vols. 5 (Bunge 1974 [1867]), 7 (Hildebrand 1974a [1881]), 8 (Hildebrand 1974b [1884]), 9 (Hildebrand 1981 [1889]), 10 (Hildebrand and Schwartz 1981 [1896]), 11 (Schwartz 1981 [1905]) and 12 (Hildebrand, Schwartz, and Bulmerincq 1981 [1910]), and from second series vols. 1 (Arbusow 1981a [1900]) and 2 (Arbusow 1981b [1905]).
9 Arbusow 1910, vol. 3.
10 Hartmann 1999, vol. 2; Hartmann 2002, vol. 3; Hartmann 2005, vol. 4; Hartmann 2006, vol. 5.
11 Hay 1968, 16–36.
12 Moore 2006.
13 Kaljundi 2008.
14 Leyser 1992, 41–42.

connected to Hell, *Tártaros* in Greek. The 'Mongol-Tatar fear' remained active until at least the fifteenth century, particularly in Eastern Europe, albeit the apocalyptic expectations were largely supplanted by more earthly fears.[15]

The greatest degree of antagonism towards a non-Christian Other during the medieval period was, however, reserved for the Muslim. Negative depictions of Islam became more common as the Crusades proceeded: During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Muslims (usually called Saracens) were often perceived as Christianity's natural enemy, and depicted as extremely atrocious and brutal, quite similarly as the Turks were later described.[16] It is important, however, to note that the term Saracen was also used to denote all infidels,[17] with the Tatar playing a similar role in Eastern Europe – Eastern European Tatars were Muslims by the fourteenth century.[18]

The Turkish threat motif began to spread during the fourteenth century, with the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans soon posing an existential threat to Byzantium, Serbia, and other south-eastern Orthodox powers.[19] Attempts by the Byzantines to raise support in the West led to the failure of the church union proposed by the Council of Florence in 1439, which only served to increase enmity between Western and Eastern Christians, without helping Byzantium in any obvious way.[20] The Turkish question first emerged in Hungary during the reign of King Sigismund (king of Hungary 1387–1437; king of the Romans, or of Germany, from 1410 or 1411; king of Bohemia from 1419 or 1434; emperor of the Holy Roman Empire beginning in 1433). Hungary's search for support did not prove particularly successful: Besides the disastrous Crusades of Nicopolis in 1396 and Varna in 1444, there was no joint action of Catholic rulers against the Ottomans before the fall of Constantinople, as the Turks were not seen as an overall threat to Europe.[21]

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15 On the 'Mongol threat', see Schmieder 1994; Ruotsala 2001; Feistner 2003.

16 On the Christian European perception of Islam: Cardini 2001; Daniel 1966; Blanks and Frassetto 1999; Kaufmann 2008; Höfert 2003, 180–184. On the depiction of Saracens, see Uebel 1996.

17 In thirteenth-century Livonia, local pagans were sometimes described as Saracens (Selart 2001, 151), and to the end of the fifteenth century, the Teutonic Order referred all its Eastern European enemies as Saracens in its letters to France; Polejowski 2011. See also the article by Shlomo Lotan in this volume.

18 For example, the Roma people were called *Tartaren* in fifteenth-century Germany. Regener 2011.

19 On the Turkish threat in Byzantium and Serbia, see Radić 2000, 201–240 and accompanying references; Šuica 2006.

20 On fifteenth- and sixteenth-century plans for church union, see Halecki 1968.

21 Mertens 1991, 57–71.

However, the conquest of the last remnant of the Eastern Empire in 1453 caused widespread shock in Western Christendom: In 1453, the pope called for a general anti-Turkish Crusade, and the emperor began to make the preparations. In 1454 and 1455, three meetings of the imperial Estates (*Tagungen*) were held, with the Turkish question the subject of extensive discussion.[22] It was during these years that the general rhetorical elements of the Turkish threat motif emerged. This was in part due to activities of Greek emigrants who were prepared to accept church union under papal supremacy, among them, Cardinals Isidor of Kiev and Basilios Bessarion.[23] However, the actions of Western humanists – particularly Imperial Counsellor Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II, 1458–1464)[24] – and charismatic preachers, such as the Franciscan friar Giovanni da Capestrano (John of Capistrano) also played an important role. The topoi they created were popularized in a regular flow of literature addressing the Turks.[25]

What were the most important topics related to the Turkish threat? First of all, the fall of Constantinople and atrocities committed by the Turks were widely lamented. There was a repetitive pattern to how Turkish cruelty was presented: unprovoked massacres of men; the rape of holy virgins (nuns) on altars; the desecration of churches and other holy places – frequently accompanied by tales of entire cities being eradicated. All of this was intended as a serious warning: The Turks could be expected to do the same in other Christian cities.[26] Another popular assertion was that the Turks were God's way of punishing all Christians – both Orthodox and Latin – for their sins. The obvious conclusion

22 On the Diets of Regensburg (1454), Frankfurt (1454), and Wiener Neustadt (1455), see Weigel and Grüneisen 1969; Helmrath and Annas 2013, and Annas 2013 respectively.

23 Schwoebel 1967, 149–162. On Isidor, see Selart 2009b.

24 For Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II), see Bisaha 2002; Bisaha 2004b; Helmrath 2000; Housley 2012b.

25 Meuthen 1983; Höfert 2003, 56–62; Schwoebel 1967, 1–56; Mertens 1997; Kaufmann 2008, especially 61–65.

26 The first influential texts about the fall of Constantinople were likely those written in July 1453 by Cardinal Isidor of Kiev, who survived the siege and described Turkish atrocities in quite some detail; Weigel and Grüneisen 1969, 325–338, especially 329–331. Piccolomini's speech *Constantinopolitana Clades* delivered in October 1454 (Helmrath and Annas 2013, 463–565) was particularly influential. He presented the atrocities as follows (Helmrath and Annas 2013, 509): "tum filii ante ora parentum occisi, tum viri nobiles velut hostie mactati, tum sacerdotes laniati, tum monachi excarnificati, tum sacre virgines incestate, tum matres ac nurus ludibrio habite [Then sons were killed before their parents' eyes, then noble men were slaughtered like sacrificial animals, then priests were mutilated, then monks were butchered, then holy virgins were raped, then mothers and daughters-in-law were violently dishonoured]".

was that if Christians failed to repent and reform both society and the Church, then the Turks could not be defeated.[27]

Sultan Mehmed II (1451–1481) was depicted as an all-powerful and extremely dangerous enemy, eschatologically as a "second Muḥammad", who would complete the evil deeds of the first one, the *Son of Satan*, and (the precursor of) the *Antichrist*.[28] On a secular level, he was seen as an evil and militant tyrant capable of carrying out any one of a number of atrocities, and who, in his madness and hubris, hoped to surpass the deeds of Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar.[29] Almost instantly, the Turk became the 'common and natu-

27 Schwoebel 1967, 202–234; Höfert 2003, 197–227, 293–297; Thumser 1997.

28 For example, see the 1453 Bull of the Crusade (Weigel and Grüneisen 1969, 60):

> ecclesie Christi hostis acerrimus crudelissimus persecutor Mahomet, filius sathane, filius perditionis, filius mortis, animas simul et corpora cum patre suo diabolo cupiens devorare, Christianum sanguinem sitiens, [...] Novissime autem nostris temporibus secundus Mahomet insurrexit impietatis illius imitator effundendi sanguinis Christiani
>
> [The most bitter enemy of the Church of Christ, the most cruel persecutor Muḥammad, son of Satan, son of perdition, son of death, wanting to devour both souls and bodies with his father the devil (...) But recently in our own times a second Muḥammad has arisen, imitator of his wickedness in wanting to pour out Christian blood]

Cf. an imperial letter from January 1454: "communis hostis, filius sathane, secundus Maumethus, Christiano mucrone confossus cum Juliano tandem apostata [A common enemy, a son of Satan, a second Muḥammad, pierced by a Christian sword at last with Julian the Apostate]" (Weigel and Grüneisen 1969, 98).

29 For example, see Piccolomini's *Constantinopolitana Clades* (Helmrath and Annas 2013, 510, 554–555):

> Machometus ipse terribili facie, tetris oculis, terribili voce, crudelibus verbis, nephandis nutibus homicida mandat, [...] ad cedem poscit, manus in sanguine Christianorum lavat, omnia fedat, omnia polluit [...] una ei voluptas est: arma tractare. honorat milites, equos amat, naves currus machinas bellicas formosis mulieribus prefert. et quamvis est natura barbarus abhorretque litteras, gesta tamen maiorum cupide audit ac Julium Cesarem et Alexandrum Magnum omnibus anteponit, quorum illustria facta superare posse confidit atque contendit. nec se minus aptum ad subigendum orbem dicit quam illi fuerunt, cum sua sint longe maiora principia, quam illorum referantur. et quoniam falso propetho suo Maumetho, ex quo nomen habet, Constantinopolim subiectit, non dubitat, quin et Romam submittere possit, barbara temeritate et Asiana superbia plenus
>
> [Muḥammad himself, with his hideous face, loathsome eyes, hideous voice, cruel words and wicked commands orders murder, (...) demands surrender, washes his hands in the blood of Christians, defiles everything, pollutes everything (...) He (i.e. Mehmed II) has one desire: to bear arms. He honours soldiers, he loves horses, he prefers warships to beautiful women. And although he is by nature a barbarian and abhors literature, yet he eagerly listens to the deeds of the ancients, valuing above all Julius Caesar and Alexander

ral enemy of all of Christendom', an enemy who hoped to subjugate all Christians and destroy the true faith.[30] In this connection, 'Turk' soon replaced 'Saracen' as the common denominator for Muslims.[31] As the Turks became the epitome for all Muslims, they were sometimes cast as 'heretics', with Islam at times being interpreted as deformed Christianity, thus raising the hope that Turks could be persuaded to 'return' to Christianity.[32] This was to some degree reinforced by the idea that the Turks descended from the Trojans, as did the Romans and numerous European nations.[33] This also served to justify the fall of Constantinople as the revenge of the Trojans upon the Greeks.[34] However, the dominant depiction of the Turks was of ferocious barbarians who descended from the Scythians, had vile table manners, and hated and hoped to destroy all forms of humanity and expressions of culture.[35] Furthermore, the Turks were also said to be in alliance with other infidels and barbarians, such as the Tatars and the Saracens.[36]

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the Great, whose illustrious deeds he strives and believes himself able to outdo. He says that he is no less fit than they were to subjugate the earth, since his armies are greater by far than the ones they brought. And since his false prophet, Muḥammad, from whom he takes his name, conquered Constantinople, he does not doubt that he can also conquer Rome, full of barbarian recklessness and Asian pride.]

30 This idea was first expressed by Cardinal Isidor: "volens totaliter nomen Christi delere de terra [wanting to wipe the name of Christ completely from the earth]" (Weigel and Grüneisen 1969, 328); and further developed in first papal anti-Turkish bull of the Crusade, in September 1453: "et de toto orbe terrarum de nomen delere Christianum [to wipe the Christian name from the whole of the earth]" (Weigel and Grüneisen 1969, 60).

31 Höfert 2003, 179–180; Housley 2008, 131–137; Kaufmann 2008, 15–30.

32 Kaufmann 2008, 18–30; Meuthen 1983, 32–35; Kissling 1964.

33 Harper 2008.

34 Schwoebel 1967, 148–149, 204–205.

35 This idea was again most influentially presented by Piccolomini (Helmrath and Annas 2013, 515–518):

> Neque enim, ut plerique arbitrantur, Asiani sunt ab origine Thurci, quos vocant Theucros, ex quibus est Romanorum origo, quibus littere non essent odio: Scytharum genus est ex media barbaria profectum, quod ultra Euxinum Pyrrichiosque montes [...] carnes adhuc equorum vesontium vulturumque comedit, libidini serviti, crudelitati succumbit, litteras odit, humanitatis studia persequitur.

> [For the Asians (i.e. from Asia Minor) do not, as many believe, descend from the Turks, as they call the Trojans, from whom the Romans descend, to whom literature is not hateful. The Scythian race originates in the midst of barbarian lands, across the Black Sea and the Pyrrhicos mountains; (these people) eat the meat of horses, bison, and vultures; slaves to their desires, they succumb with cruelty; they hate letters (i.e. all civilized things), they attack the study of humanism.]

36 Weigel and Grüneisen 1969, 42–43, 231, 260–261; Helmrath and Annas 2013, 524; Annas 2013, 55, 62–63, 452.

Thus, the Turks became enemies of both Christendom and civilization, an antithesis to the emerging positive idea of a 'Christian Europe'. This idea was in fact largely created by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini to emphasize the serious threat posed by the Turks (and other infidels) who had conquered all of the Christian lands, with the exception of the 'fatherland and home' – Europe, the last corner of the world where the true faith was still practised, but which was now in grave danger.[37] This concept was, however, problematic. Not only did the lack of political unity and cooperation on the part of key Catholic rulers create difficulties, but the question of Christian Europe's borders further complicated matters: Whether the Orthodox could be considered 'Christian brothers' and be included in the anti-Turkish wars or should be disregarded as 'foul schismatics' posed a recurrent problem throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[38] The question of who should be counted as Us and who as Them could, of course, also be applied to non-Christian groups within Christian Europe.[39]

The Turkish question also played a significant role in how the Crusades were understood: After 1453, they were generally seen as defensive wars against the Turks.[40] For some time, personal participation in a general Crusade

37 Helmrath and Annas 2013, 495–496:

> Neque [...] multis ante seculis maiorem ignomiam passa est quam modo Christiana societas. retroactis namque temporibus in Asia atque in Affrica, hoc est in alienis terris, vulnerati fuimus, nunc vero in Europa, id est in patria, in domo propria, in sede nostra percussi cesique sumus. et licet dicat aliquis ante plurimos annos ex Asia Turchos in Greciam transivisse, Tartaros citra Thanaim in Europa consedisse, Sarracenos Herculeo mari traiecto Hispaniae portionem occupasse, numquam tamen aut urbem aut locum amisimus in Europa, qui Constantinopoli possit equari

> [No (...) greater disgrace has afflicted Christian society over many centuries than (what is happening) now. For in the past we were wounded in Asia and in Africa, that is in foreign lands, but now we are being killed and persecuted in Europe, that is in the fatherland, in our own house, in our home. And although some may say that many years ago the Turks crossed from Asia into Greece, the Tatars settled this side of Thanais (i.e. Don) in Europe, the Saracens crossed the straits of Hercules and occupied part of Spain, but never have we lost a city or region in Europe that could be equal to Constantinople]

On the Turks and the concept of European unity, see Bisaha 2004a; Hay 1968, 83–87; Kaufmann 2008, 56–60; Mertens 1997.

38 Halecki 1968; Hösch 1967.

39 Sometimes the Jews were depicted as defenders of Europe and victims of the Turks (Schwoebel 1967, 130; Höfert 2003, 70–71, 76), while the Roma people ('Gypsies', or *Zigeuner* in German) in Germany were occasionally accused of being spies for the Turks. Regener 2011.

40 On the changes in Crusading, see Housley 1992; Housley 2012a. For a justification of the Turkish wars, see Piccolomini's speeches: Helmrath and Annas 2013, 504–545; Annas 2013, 496–508.

was seen as the best way for a good Christian to repent for his sins and serve Christendom, something that was reinforced by the example of cardinals personally commanding navies in the 1440s and the 1450s, by Giovanni da Capestrano leading an army during the 1456 Belgrade Crusade, and by Pope Pius II's plans to lead general Crusade in 1464. Later on, good Christians would be able to purchase letters of indulgence to save their souls, thereby financially supporting a Crusade.[41] With this development, the ideal of the general Crusade was abandoned in practice, with the papacy increasingly leaning on smaller anti-Turkish leagues and throwing its support behind countries that shared a border with the Ottomans.[42] This served to encourage the idea of the bulwark of Christendom (*Antemurale Christianitatis*) that emerged during the High Middle Ages.

Rhetoric about one's special role as the protector of all of Christendom was often advanced to gain political benefit (e.g., to control church structures, increase income, and justify alliances with non-Catholics), while actually fighting the infidels rarely played a significant role.[43] The tendency to use *Antemurale* rhetoric to justify various political actions continued after the advent of the Turkish threat, even in cases where this threat was seen as grave – e.g., Hungary.[44] One could argue that there was at least one exception – the Order of St. John. During the fifteenth century, it repeatedly defended Rhodes, most famously repelling the Ottomans in 1480. This victory, which was celebrated all over Europe, was seen as miraculous and as a true sign of God's favour, with the Order also claiming that the Virgin Mary had directly interceded on its behalf. The Order actively used its reputation as the true shield of Christendom to gain political and financial support, but in reality preferred peaceful relations with the Ottomans.[45] Even after it was forced out of Rhodes in 1522, the Order continued in its role as the defender of Christendom: Its other defensive victory against the Turks at Malta in 1565 was praised as highly as that in Rhodes in 1480.[46]

41 On fifteenth-century indulgences, see Paulus 1923; Housley 2006; Housley 2012a, 174–210.
42 Housley 2012a, 40–50.
43 On its usage from thirteenth to fourteenth centuries in Hungary, Poland, and Iberia, see Berend 2008; on Poland, see also Knoll 1974; Weintraub 1980; Morawiec 2001.
44 On its usage in Hungary and other Balkan countries, see Housley 2012a, 41–49; Berend 2008, 33–35; Housley 2008, 15–17, 128–130.
45 For Order's role and self-perception, see Sarnowsky 2011a; Sarnowsky 2011b; Sarnowsky 2011c, 2–12; Sarnowsky 2011d. For defence of Rhodes, see Schwoebel 1967, 123–131; Housley 1992, 227–228.
46 Housley 1992, 231–233.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, evidencing a willingness to fight the Turks became almost mandatory for Christian rulers. However, as was the case with *Antemurale* rhetoric, this primarily served to fulfil other political goals.[47] At the same time, it became increasingly common to compare one's Christian adversaries with the Turks, or even to call them Turks: The Swiss called Charles the Bold of Burgundy the 'Turk of the West',[48] and the king of Denmark called Karl Knutsson of Sweden the 'Turk of the North'.[49] It also became popular to accuse opponents of cooperating with this 'arch-enemy'.[50] Such attacks could seriously damage the accused's reputation, as proved to be the case for the sixteenth-century kings of France, who did, in fact, militarily cooperate to some degree with the Ottomans against the Habsburgs.[51]

After the conquest of Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–1566) in Hungary, the Turks became a serious problem for the German lands, with the imperial House of Habsburg beginning a war with the Ottomans over Hungary that would last for almost two centuries. Even during the fifteenth century, the Turkish threat had been one of the main reasons for holding general meetings of the Estates, something that had reinforced efforts to centralize the Empire.[52] However, collecting taxes to fight the Turks proved to be difficult, as they only posed a direct military threat to the Habsburgs. This obliged emperors to continuously bargain about the financial contributions the Estates would provide to fight the Turks and the conditions that would accompany such contributions. This played a role in gaining the princes of the Empire significant political and religious freedom, helping to advance the Protestant Reformation.[53] Nonetheless, even after the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, a certain degree of solidarity and cooperation remained between Protestants and Catholics inside the

47 For examples from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Housley 1992, 145–148, 291–321, 449; Housley 2012a, 13–16, 50–61, 211–216; Höfert 2003, 104–115; Mertens 1991, 80–89.
48 Sieber-Lehmann 1997.
49 Jensen 2007, 85.
50 The first 'victim' of this accusation was Venice that was accused of the cooperation with the Turks as early as in the 1410s (Herre 1906, 118), but the Venetians were seen as possible cooperators with the Turks also by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II) in the 1450s and 1460s, and also in the beginning of the sixteenth century (Schwoebel 1967, 77–81, 162). Later, France became the primary target. Housley 2008, 131–159; Kaufmann 2008, 42–55; Housley 2012a, 47–49; Höfert 2003, 94–99.
51 Höfert 2003, 99–104.
52 Helmrath 2004. On ideas and actions for reforming the Empire (known in German as *Reichsreform*), see Angermeier 1984.
53 Fischer-Galati 1959; Kaufmann 2008, 44–55, 68–75.

Empire in the face of the Turkish threat.[54] This was true for all of Christian Europe: Although the Protestants denied the possibility of Holy Wars in the name of the Church and the pope, they generally regarded fighting the Turks as justifiable defensive war that would benefit all of Christendom, which was still seen as essentially united in spite of all confessional differences.[55]

17.3 Origins and development of the Russian threat motif

Just as the Turkish threat motif had deep roots, the 'Russian question' had a long history in the Eastern Baltic: Grand Prince Yaroslav I of Kiev (1016–1018 and 1019–1054) had temporarily conquered south-eastern Estonia in 1030, which later allowed Tsar Ivan IV (1533–1584) to claim Livonia as his hereditary land.[56] At the beginning of the thirteenth century, some of the inhabitants of modern Latvia were tributaries of the Prince of Polotsk, and there were even two Orthodox princes, in Kokenhusen (Koknese) and Gerzika (Jersika). However, as a result of Western Christian missions and conquests, both Orthodox principalities and most of the tributary obligations were gone by the second decade of the thirteenth century.[57] Nonetheless, Orthodox Russians remained a factor to be reckoned with for the Catholic Livonians. The principalities of Polotsk, Pskov, and Novgorod were rivals, and there was significant strife among the Western conquerors, as well as examples of cooperation between Russians and Catholics.[58] Subsequently, conflicts between the Livonians and the Russians would become more common than cooperation,[59] with the Russians sometimes even being referred to as schismatics. In spite of this, there was little actual religious confrontation: The papal curia did not have serious

54 Schultze 1978, especially 297–301, 360–363. Only after so-called Long Turkish War (*Langer Türkenkrieg*, 1593–1606), when the military threat posed by the Turks had significantly diminished, did the religious conflict inside Germany escalate, leading to the Thirty Years' War. Schultze 1978, 364–370.

55 On the general attitude of Protestants, see Housley 1992, 454–456; Housley 2008, 85–89, 97. On Scandinavia, see Jensen 2007, 344–346.

56 Selart 2012b.

57 Selart 2001, 154–155. On the conquest and formation of Medieval Livonia, see Tamm, Kaljundi, and Jensen 2011 and accompanying references.

58 Selart 2001, 154–161; Selart 2007, 123–167; Mäesalu 2011.

59 Selart 1998.

plans to force a church union,[60] and no thirteenth-century pope promoted 'Catholic aggression' against the Orthodox.[61] Yet, there were Crusades that received papal authorization, as well as Livonian and Swedish Crusade-like campaigns against the territory of Novgorod. The latter were, however, rhetorically directed against 'pagans': Karelians, Votians, and Ingrians.[62]

The Livonians' primary 'external' enemy, particularly in the case of the Teutonic Order in Livonia – the Livonian Order (the major military power in Livonia)[63] – was, both in reality and rhetorically, the pagan Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which served to legitimize the Order as an organization whose purpose was to fight pagans and the enemies of Christendom.[64] Some rhetorically anti-pagan campaigns were also directed against the Orthodox principality of Pskov, as it sometimes cooperated with Lithuania,[65] and many western Russian principalities, including Kiev, were directly ruled by Lithuania during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Additionally, by the mid-thirteenth century, most Russian principalities were tributaries of the Golden Horde, and some Russians even participated in Golden Horde campaigns. As a result, the Russians could be depicted either as 'supporters' or as 'subjects' of the infidels. This marked the advent of dual concept pairs – e.g., 'infidel Tatars and schismatic Russians'; 'infidel Lithuanians and schismatic Russians' – playing a role in Central and Eastern European political rhetoric, including in Livonia.[66]

While these anti-Russian and anti-Lithuanian epithets might be used against the Russians or the Lithuanians themselves, they were more frequently used to stigmatize fellow Catholics in Livonia. For the most part, these 'internal' clashes were connected to the rivalry between the Livonian Order and the Archbishop of Riga, and the Order's attempts to subjugate all Livonian

60 Some attempt was made to convince certain Russian princes to convert to Catholicism, but they proved to be in vain (Selart 2001, 165–170; Selart 2007, 208–225).

61 Although events preceding the Battle on the Ice in 1242 are often depicted in Russian historiography as 'Catholic', 'German', or 'Western aggression', the Livonians were only supporting the former Prince of Pskov in his attempt to reclaim his throne (Selart 2007, 123–167; Selart 2001, 159–170).

62 These people were not completely Christianized or subjugated to the Novgorodians until the fifteenth century, which could be regarded as an independent goal of the Crusades (Selart 2001, 162–164; Selart 2007, 138–167, 226–230; Lindkvist 2001, 125–126; Lind 2001, 146–149).

63 On the history of the Teutonic Order, see Boockmann 1994; on the Livonian Order, see Jähnig 2011b.

64 On the *Preussenreisen* (Crusade-like military campaigns) in which many Western European nobles and even members of royalty participated, see Paravicini 1989–1995; Ehlers 2001.

65 Pskov was allied with the Lithuanians after Lithuanian prince Daumantas (Dovmont) came to power in 1266. Selart 2007, 231–233.

66 Selart 2007, 275–282, 302, 305–307; Selart 2009a, 67.

bishoprics. These conflicts lasted until Livonia's decline.[67] Often, the Order accused its Catholic adversaries at the papal curia and in the Empire of treacherous collaboration with the 'heathen Lithuanians' or of cooperating with the 'schismatic Russians'. The Order's enemies responded in kind. However, the militarily powerful Order was far more likely to make such accusations, as its enemies were more reliant on the support of their neighbours.[68] The schismatic Russian motif continued to be used in the fifteenth century, by which time the Russians had become Livonia's primary rhetorical enemy, as Lithuania had been increasingly Christianized beginning in 1386 and, as a result, had gradually come to be accepted as a Catholic country.[69] With this development, the Order began to use the alleged ongoing threat posed by the Russians to legitimize its existence and its policies, and to prove the necessity of maintaining 'Livonian unity' (i.e., the Order's domination).[70]

At the same time as the Russians were becoming Livonia's rhetorical arch-enemy, the future rhetorical arch-enemy of all of Christendom also began to appear in Livonian sources: Turkish raids in Hungary were first mentioned in the correspondence of the Livonian branch of the Order in 1419.[71] At that time, King Sigismund of Germany and Hungary was seeking the support of the Teutonic Order against the Turks.[72] During this same period, Poland and Lithuania were accusing the Order of harassing the newly Christianized Lithuanians, and proposed relocating the main branch of the Order in Prussia to Podolia, as a bulwark "against the Turks, Tatars, and other infidels".[73] To gain legitimacy and to win Sigismund's support, the Order sent a small contingent to Transylvania in 1429 to fight the Turks. Although this undertaking had ended by 1434, it allowed the Order to claim that it was prepared to fight the infidel menace wherever necessary.[74] In reality, however, the Order did not participate in any of the wars against the Turks for a long time thereafter. As a result, there is no mention of the Turks in Livonian sources for quite some time.

67 For an overview of relations between the Order and the bishops, see Jähnig 2002; Jähnig 2011a; Jähnig 2011b, 76–98.

68 Selart 2001, 170–173; Selart 2007, 282–287, 303; Selart 2009a.

69 On this shift, see Selart 2009a, 56–57, 67 and accompanying references.

70 Selart 2009a, 60–61.

71 Bunge 1974 [1867], cols. 447–448 (no. 2291). Turkish raids were repeatedly mentioned in the 1420s: Hildebrand 1974a [1881], 26 (no. 42), 403 (no. 583), 526 (no. 736), 526–527 (no. 737); Hildebrand 1974b [1884], 61 (no. 95).

72 On King Sigismund and Teutonic Order, see Nowak 1990.

73 On the plans to relocate the Order, see Sarnowsky 2011e, 259–260; Thumser 2000, 141–44.

74 Sarnowsky 2011e, 260–261.

Soon thereafter, a war broke out between the Principality of Novgorod and the Livonian Order (1443–1448). The spark for this war was a failed attempt by Gerhard, the count of Mark, to make pilgrimage to the Holy Land through Russia in 1437.[75] The war offered the Order a good opportunity to depict the Russians of Novgorod as stubborn heretics who obstructed pilgrimages. As the archbishop of Novgorod had been the first to publicly reject the church union established at the Council of Florence (1439), the war was also presented as an attempt to force Novgorod into the Catholic Church.[76] However, the Order also had a practical use for this rhetoric: justifying financing the war with money collected in Livonia as part of the pan-European indulgence campaign organized to support the reintegration of the Eastern Church, as well as to protect Constantinople from the Turks.[77] Since both the pope and the anti-papal Council of Basle laid claim to the money, the Order was able to keep it in Livonia and Prussia and use it for the war.[78] Official permission to do so was not gained until some years later: In 1448, the Order and Pope Nicholas V (1447–1455) agreed that the Order could use two thirds of the money collected for the effort to "reunite the Greeks and the Russians to the Church" (i.e., for war expenses), with the remaining third being used to allow the pope to provide support to Hungary against the Turks.[79] The Order had a great deal of difficulty producing the papal third, since almost all of the money had already been spent during the war, and the Livonians paid only a fraction of the money they owed to the pope.[80]

Beginning with the war against Novgorod, the Turks were connected to the schismatic Russians in Livonian and Prussian political rhetoric, whereas the other important enemy, the Tatars serving in Lithuanian and Muscovite armies, had begun to appear on the list of Livonia's enemies early in the century[81] and were sometimes depicted as allies of the Turks. In 1444, contemporary with the

75 On the count's connections to the Order and the causes for war, see Selart 2012b. On the war, see Dircks 1988.

76 On rhetoric, see Selart 2009a, 62–63. The Archbishop of Novgorod rejected the church union so quickly because he had a personal conflict with the pro-Union Metropolitan Isidor of Kiev (Selart 2009b, 5–11, 16–17).

77 In Livonia and Prussia, the campaign was announced in 1437, and the collection of the money went well. See Hildebrand 1981 [1889], 81–83 (no. 130); Arbusow 1909, 6.

78 Arbusow 1909, 6–8; Selart 2009b, 17–19.

79 Hildebrand and Schwartz 1981 [1896], 335 (no. 479); Arbusow 1909, 9.

80 Arbusow 1909, 9–10. The pope's envoys also sought money from Livonia later on, but were likely unsuccessful. See Schwartz 1981 [1905], 674–676 (no. 867); Hildebrand, Schwartz, and Bulmerincq 1981 [1910], 253–258 (no. 461), 335–336 (no. 609).

81 Selart 2009a, 63–64.

anti-Turkish Crusade of Varna, the pope exhorted Grand Duke Kazimieras of Lithuania (1440–1492, also the king of Poland, under the name Kazimierz IV, beginning in 1447) to support the Order in the future struggle against the Russians. Allegedly, Tatars, Turks, and other barbarians had joined the Russians to form a 100,000-man army that had transited the Grand Duke's territory to invade Livonia, reputedly killing and mutilating numerous people, burning churches and monasteries, and committing many other atrocities.[82] A 1454 papal letter to the king of Poland, most likely written in response to the Order's pledge to end an alliance between the king and the Order's rebellious subjects (the Prussian League), addresses the conquest of Constantinople a year earlier: The pope demanded that the king of Poland join the fight against Christendom's common enemy – the Turks – and not fight the Order.[83] In 1455, the pope went as far as excommunicating the Order's enemies for allegedly hindering the anti-Turkish Crusade.[84] However, rhetorical support from curia and also from the emperor[85] did not help the Order to defeat the Polish king, and in 1466, it had to agree to the disadvantageous Peace of Thorn (Toruń): It lost West Prussia, the *Hochmeister* (Grand Master) of the Order was forced to take

82 Hildebrand and Schwartz 1981 [1896], 62 (no. 94):

> junctis Ruthenis et de populo Magne Nugardie necnon Tartaris, Turchis et barbaris centum milium numero, per terrum et loca tui dominii transitum captantes et nullam ibidem, quominus in fideles sevirent, a tuis subditis resistentiam invenientes [...] indulgentes omnium more crudelium pluribus ex dictis habitatoribus et incolis manus ac pedes amputarunt, oculos eruerunt, mulieribus et virginibus mamillas inciderunt, multos interemerunt, ecclesias, monasteria necnon alia pia loca combusserunt ac patriam predictam igni ferroque subjecerunt et alia nephanda plurima, que in divina majestatis offensam ipsarumque religionis et fidei depressionem cedere noscantur, committere nullatenus formidarunt

> [The Ruthenians, joined together with the people from Novgorod the Great plus the Tatars, Turks, and barbarians numbered one hundred thousand. They passed through the land and the towns under your (i.e. Kazimieras') rule, taking captives and finding no resistance from your subjects in that place, though they savaged the faithless, (...) indulging in all manner of cruelty again many of these inhabitants. They cut off the hands and feet of peasants, they plucked out eyes, they cut off the breasts of mothers and virgins, they destroyed many churches, burned down monasteries and other holy places and subjected this land to fire and the sword. They were not in any way afraid to commit many terrible acts which they knew led to an offence against divine majesty and the humbling of their own faith and religion]

83 Schwartz 1981 [1905], 308–309 (no. 361). The curia also claimed that if the conflict between Poland and the Order could be brought to an end, then Poland would be in a position to contribute 200,000 men to the anti-Turkish Crusade. Schwoebel 1967, 41.

84 Schwartz 1981 [1905], 398 (no. 497); Housley 1992, 366.

85 Weigel and Grüneisen 1969, 416–507, especially 418, 453–455, 491–492.

an oath of allegiance to the Polish king, and the Order was obliged to participate in the Polish campaigns, particularly those against the infidels.[86]

After 1485, in response to the king of Poland's demand that the Order respect the terms of the Peace of Thorn and send forces to fight the infidel Turks in Moldova, the Teutonic Order in Prussia once again became gradually involved in the Turkish wars.[87] Up to that point, the Order had been resisting the terms of the treaty, but it was impossible for it to reject the demand to participate in the campaign against the infidels, without seriously damaging its reputation.[88] Thus, the Order agreed, but the expedition was postponed, and the Order never ended up participating.[89] In the 1490s, the new Polish king, Jan I Olbracht (John I Albert, 1492–1501) demanded that the Order join another anti-Turkish campaign,[90] so in 1497 forces of the Teutonic Order took part of an expedition to Moldova. Militarily, it was a disaster: the *Hochmeister* died on the way, and the Polish forces were defeated by Stephen III of Moldova (1457–1504) without ever engaging the Turks. In the subsequent years, Tatars and Turks ravaged Polish-Lithuanian territories.[91] Nonetheless, the Teutonic Order was able to make effective propaganda use of this expedition, presenting itself as a diligent protector of Christendom, both against infidel Turks (Prussian branch) and schismatic Russians (Livonian branch).[92] Livonia was also involved into these anti-Turkish projects. The Order in Prussia tried to absolve itself from participation in the Turkish campaigns, using the Russian threat in Livonia as an excuse.[93] In the closing years of the fifteenth century, the Order in Prussia asked for financial support from Livonia to cover the cost of the

86 On the war and the peace treaty, see Boockmann 1994, 207–210.

87 On the context, see Thumser 2000, 144; Housley 1992, 83, 370.

88 On relations between the king of Poland and the Order, see Boockmann 1994, 197–220; Biskup 1990, 108–122.

89 Thumser 2000, 146–148.

90 Boockmann 1994, 209.

91 Thumser 2000, 164–167. On Poland and the anti-Turkish wars, see Nowakowska 2004.

92 Thumser 2000.

93 In 1497, the *Hochmeister* sent letters to the German king, Maximilian I, saying that the Order was ready to join the king of Poland in fighting the infidel Turks and to fight the schismatic Russians in Livonia, but to do so it would require support. Arbusow 1981a [1900], 321–322 (no. 443), and 390–391 (no. 535); Thumser 2000, 161–162. In 1498, the regent of Prussia, Wilhelm von Isenburg, wrote to the princes of the Empire (*Reichsfürsten*), and to the Livonian Master, saying that the Order was prepared to repel the two grave dangers to Christendom, the advance of the Turks and the imminent Russian attack on Livonia, but could not do so without sufficient support. Thumser 2000, 168–170; Arbusow 1981a [1900], 454–455 (no. 624), and 455–457 (no. 625); see also Thumser 2000, 146, 152–157.

Moldova campaign,[94] but this was probably unsuccessful. By that point, the Russian threat had become more than just a useful rhetorical construct in Livonia.

17.4 Russians as Turks: the Rise of Moscow and its conflict with Livonia

During the reign of Ivan III (1462–1505), the Grand Duchy of Moscow grew significantly more powerful, with the Grand Duke subjugating most of the Russian principalities. Beginning in the 1480s, there was serious confrontation between Moscow and Lithuania, into which Poland was also gradually drawn.[95] The Polish-Lithuanian version of the 'general Russian threat motif' – that was at least for a time being accepted by the western powers, including the pope – dates probably from the Polish-Lithuanian victory at the Battle of Orša in 1514. Polish documents and Polish envoys to Western countries both stressed that schismatic Moscow posed a threat equal to that of the Turks.[96] The Polish-Lithuanian lands were periodically plundered by the Crimean Tatars beginning in the 1470s, and at the end of the fifteenth century, by the Ottoman forces as well, reinforcing the image of Poland-Lithuania as the *Antemurale Christianitatis* – as the protector of Christendom against the infidel Turks and schismatic Russians.[97]

Moscow's expansion affected all of Russia's Western neighbours. In Scandinavia, the schismatic Russians motif was used quite actively against Christian enemies: King Christian I of Denmark (1448–1481) – he was subsequently also the king of Norway (1450–1481) and of Sweden (1457–1464) – made use of both Russian and Turkish threat motifs.[98] Beginning in the 1480s, Swedish political writings clearly expressed a fear of Moscow,[99] and the Russo-Swedish

94 Arbusow 1981a [1900], 456 (no. 625).

95 The most serious blow to Lithuania was the war of 1500–1503, in which it lost about one third of its territory. On Lithuanian-Muscovite relations, see Kiaupa, Kiaupienė, and Kuncevičius 2000, 216, 221–222.

96 Kiaupa, Kiaupienė, and Kuncevičius 2000, 225–227; Kappeler 1972, 23–24; Halecki 1968, 129. Polish efforts were fruitful even before the 'propaganda war' after the battle of Orša, as Poland received a bull of the Crusade against the Russians in 1505. Paulus 1923, 222.

97 On changes of Poland's depiction as *Antemurale* in the sixteenth century, see Osterrieder 2005; Weintraub 1980.

98 Jensen 2007, 72–73, 82–85, 88.

99 Jensen 2007, 135–143.

war (1495–1497) was fought as a Crusade.[100] Unlike previous Swedish Crusades, this one did not target heathens, but "aggressive (*unmilde*) and schismatic Russians," who were referred to as "enemies to the name of Christ" in the 1496 papal Bull of the Crusade.[101] As Ivan III was also cooperating with the king of Denmark, who hoped to subjugate Sweden, which was led by the regent Sten Sture the Elder (1470–1497 and 1501–1503), it was possible that the Crusade might also have targeted the Danes as 'traitors of the Christendom'.[102] However, in 1497, the 'Danish threat' became more pressing for Sture, and he attempted to broker a hasty peace with Moscow, leading to him (and not the king of Denmark) being accused of collaborating with the schismatics and being deposed.[103]

Beginning in the 1470s, Livonia, like Sweden, was affected by Moscow's rise when the latter subjugated Novgorod, Pskov having become its satellite even earlier.[104] As the shift was not abrupt (Novgorod was subjugated gradually from 1471 to 1478), nor was the emergence of concern about the mighty Eastern foe. The policies of two Masters of the Livonian Order do, however, serve to illustrate the nature of this concern. First, Johann Wolthus von Herse (1470–1471) attempted to centralize the Order's structures and proposed an alliance with Novgorod to oppose Moscow's increasing power, but he was deposed before his plans could be realized.[105] The next Master, Bernd von der Borch (1471–1483), focussed primarily on the dispute with the archbishop of Riga, attempting to subjugate the archbishopric permanently.[106] When it appeared that he had succeeded in doing so, Borch went to war against Pskov (1480–1481). That proved to be a mistake: The Livonian army was unable to conquer Pskov, and Pskovian and Muscovite forces, which incorporated some Tatars, ravaged Livonia. Although this war against Pskov has been seen in literature as a response to the annexation of Novgorod by Moscow in 1478,[107] it rather seems that Borch chose to justify his annexation of the archbishopric of Riga

100 Lindkvist 2005.

101 Lindkvist 2001, 126–128; Jensen 2007, 143–148.

102 On the context, see Jensen 2007, 142–146; Lindkvist 2001, 126–127.

103 Sture also tried to defend his position with weapons, with his actions being described as 'worse than Russians'; Jensen 2007, 147–148. Relations between Russia and Sweden were rather neutral, until a new war broke out (1554–1557); on later Swedish depictions of the Russians, see Tengström 1997; Tuchtenhagen 2012.

104 Selart 2003, 178–179.

105 Stavenhagen 1900; Cosack 1915; Sach 2002, 100–103.

106 On Borch's policies, see Neitmann 1991; Thumser 2005; Baranov 2013.

107 Older literature suggests that Borch was in an anti-Muscovite alliance with Sweden, Poland-Lithuania, and the Golden Horde. Sach 2002, 103–104 and accompanying references.

and the Order's domination of and imposed unity in Livonia with a war against 'threatening schismatics'.[108] He also claimed that Livonia was threatened with non-Christian and non-German conquest[109] The Livonian propaganda seems to have had some effect in the Empire: In 1486, the prince electors (*Kurfürsten*) fulminated about the Turkish atrocities overshadowing even the deeds of the infidels in Livonia (probably a reference to the Pskov War of 1480–1481).[110]

After the Pskov War, relations between Livonia and Russia remained more or less neutral until 1491, when Ivan III did not extend the ten-year truce, and the following year the Russians started to build Ivangorod Castle immediately across the border from the Order's Narva Castle.[111] Although the truce was renewed in 1493, relations worsened after 1494, when Ivan III ordered the closing of the Hanseatic League's *Kontor* (trading centre) in Novgorod and had Hanseatic merchants, including many Livonians, imprisoned for years, the official pretext being that an innocent Russian merchant was (or several merchants were) burned alive in Reval (Tallinn). The Livonians, for their part, claimed that there had, in fact, been two Russians executed in Reval; one for trafficking in counterfeit money and the other for bestiality with a horse.[112] The actual reason for Ivan III's hostile behaviour remains unclear. It is unlikely that he planned to conquer Livonia or to seize complete control of Hanseatic trade in Novgorod, as is commonly believed in earlier literature.[113] His enmity might have been related to his relations with the Holy Roman Empire. In particular, his relations with King Maximilian I (1486/1493–1519, he was named emperor-elect in 1508) worsened in 1492, and then even more so in 1494, when his alliance with King Maximilian against the Jagiellonian dynasty (which ruled Poland, Lithuania, Bohemia, and Hungary, at that time) faltered.[114] The Grand Duke took offence at the German king's actions, and, as such, Ivan III's aggressive treatment of the Livonians, particularly closing the Hanseatic *Kontor*, might be seen as revenge against the 'Germans'.[115]

108 Selart 2009a, 68. Borch's problems were not limited to losing the war, however, as he also failed in his struggle with the archbishop and the town of Riga, leaving him with no choice but to resign in 1483. On the final years of Borch's reign, see Cosack 1914.

109 Ropp 1892, 595 (no. 380).

110 "darzu das überziehen, so vor wenig vershienen jaren in Lyfland durch die unglaubigen ist beschehen [and also exceed that, which was committed by the infidels in Livonia only some years ago]" (Angermeier and Seyboth 1989, 188).

111 On the Muscovite-Livonian conflict in the 1490s and 1500s, see Vegesack 1913; Kentmann 1929; Lenz 1928; Wimmer 1985; Selart 2003; Bessudnova 2009.

112 Selart 2003, 183–196, 206–210.

113 Kentmann 1929; Lenz 1928; Vegesack 1913.

114 Wimmer 1988; Bessudnova 2009.

115 On Livonian, Imperial, and Russian relations, see Wimmer 1988.

The Livonians were probably not aware of Ivan's true ambitions, and it is quite possible that they feared a Muscovite attack, particularly after war broke out between Moscow and Sweden. The Swedes requested support from the *Hochmeister* and from the Livonian Master, but they both declined.[116] The latter expressed regret that, at the time, it was impossible to aid the Swedes in their battle "against infidel Russians, Tatars, and Turks".[117] Following the war and a meeting of Livonians and Russians at Livonia's eastern border in 1498 – which failed to resolve the existing disputes – it is likely that Livonian Master Wolter von Plettenberg (1494–1535) considered conflict inevitable, as he began to prepare for an offensive war. To this end, the Livonians actively sought external support, but to little avail.[118] They even followed the Swedes' example and asked the pope to declare a Crusade against the Russians, but he declined to do so: He was already in the process of planning a general anti-Turkish Crusade – that Crusade was launched in 1500[119] – and hoped that Ivan III could be persuaded to join the anti-Turkish front.[120] In 1501, a new indulgence campaign for an anti-Turkish Crusade started that was to include Prussia and Livonia.[121]

In spite of the rather unfavourable circumstances, the Livonian Order nonetheless decided to go to war against Moscow in 1501, as an ally of Lithuania.[122] This war consisted mostly of raids: Eastern Livonia was devastated by the Russian forces, while the Livonians ravaged Pskovian territory and lands east of the Narva River.[123] The greatest battle of the conflict was the Battle of Smolino, in the autumn of 1502, where the Livonians scored a military success, holding the battlefield and forcing the Russian troops to retreat. The battle was not, however, decisive, and in the spring of 1503, the war ended in a stalemate,

116 The *Hochmeister* excused himself from the upcoming campaign against the Turks, claiming that he was already committed to supporting the Livonians against the Russians. See Arbusow 1981a [1900], 288–289 (no. 405).

117 Arbusow 1981a [1900], 458–460 (no. 629). In the same document, the possibility of a grand alliance between Poland, Sweden, Prussia, Livonia, and the Hanseatic towns against the "ungloubigen Rewssen, Tattern und Türken [the unbelieving Russians, Tatars, and Turks]" was broached, on the condition that the Polish king's brother, Sigismund (later Polish King and Lithuanian Grand Duke Sigismund I the Old) would be crowned the king of Sweden.

118 Lenz 1928, 23, 70–79; Wimmer 1985, 84–86.

119 The pope had invited the Order to participate in this Crusade in 1494: "zcu rettunge cristlichen gloubens und widderstandt den grawsamen Türcken [for the rescue of the Christian faith and the resistance against the cruel Turks]" (Arbusow 1981a [1900], 43 [no. 50]).

120 Arbusow 1981b [1905], 127–128 (no. 193).

121 Arbusow 1981b [1905], 74 (no. 114), and 170–171 (no. 248).

122 On the alliance and especially its problems, see Lenz 1928, 27–35, 37, 41–44.

123 On the course of war, see Lenz 1928, 31–46.

with the Livonians not faring particularly well. It even seemed quite possible that that armed conflict would resume after the six-year truce, which would clearly be a bad turn of events for the Livonians.[124]

At the beginning of the war, the Livonians failed to gain support from the West and were unable to use any of the money collected for campaigns against Turks in the Empire, as the staunchly anti-Turkish indulgence commissioner (*Ablasskomissar*) Raimundus Peraudi (Raymond Pérault)[125] was unswayed by attempts to depict the Russians as 'as bad as Turks'.[126] It was not until February 1503 that the pope finally provided the Livonians with a Bull of the Crusade against "heretic and schismatic Russians, and infidel Tatars and their adherents".[127] It envisaged the preaching of Crusade indulgences in Livonia, Prussia, and northern Germany.[128] The pope was to receive one third of the money collected to finance a future anti-Turkish war, while the Livonians were to retain two thirds to fund their anti-Russian defence. The first campaign (1503–1506) was a financial success,[129] so it was extended for another three years (1507–1510), which probably proved even more profitable.[130] It is worth mentioning that the contents of the two Livonian bulls of the Crusade were almost identical to the contemporary Turkish bulls. Only the adversary was different: Instead

124 Lenz 1928, 46–55; Kentmann 1929, 111–120.

125 About Peraudi and his innovations in the field of indulgence theory and practice, see Paulus 1900; Housley 2012a, 53–56, 125–127, 171–175, 181–215.

126 Arbusow 1981b [1905], 227–228 (no. 329); Housley 2012a, 208. The German Master also expressed his regret that due to upcoming anti-Turkish Crusade, the money collected in the Order's lands could not be used for anti-Russian activities. Arbusow 1981b [1905], 255–256 (no. 358).

127 "contra Ruthenos hereticos et scismaticos ac Tartaros infideles eis" (Arbusow 1981b [1905], 660 [no. 841]). On the bull, see Arbusow 1909, 26–29; Ehlers 2007, 388–92. For an overview of two Livonian indulgence campaigns during the period between 1503 and 1510, see Arbusow 1909, 27–75; Ehlers 2007, 385–402.

128 The campaign was conducted in Hanseatic towns, in the archbishoprics of Riga, Magdeburg, and Hamburg-Bremen, and in bishoprics of Cammin and Reval. Collecting the money from the bishopric of Meißen posed a serious problem, because the bishopric wanted the archbishopric of Magdeburg to recognize its right to be exempted. In Prussia, the *Hochmeister's* opposition to the fundraising made it virtually impossible to collect money. Arbusow 1909, 27–39.

129 The first Livonian campaign raised over 30,000 guldens, of which about 10,000 went to the pope. Arbusow 1909, 39–43.

130 Arbusow 1909, 43–68; Ehlers 2007, 392–402. The second campaign was carried out in the archbishoprics of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier, and in the bishopric of Meißen. It likely raised more than 18,000 guldens. Arbusow 1909, 68–75.

of 'infidel Turks', there were "heretic and schismatic Russians and the most wicked Tatars".[131]

Besides sermons and short written pleas that compared Russians with the infidels and requested support for Livonia,[132] there were also at least three longer anti-Russian documents used during this campaign. The earliest of them was a Latin tract, *Elucidarius errorum ritus Ruthenici*, written in 1500 by the Polish theologian Johannes (Jan) Sacranus (1443–1527). It depicted Russians as staunch heretics and rejected any religious compromise with them.[133] The second one, *Errores atrocissimorum Ruthenorum*, was also written in Latin, and was published around 1507. It derived most of its contents from *Elucidarius*, but simplified the issues and was more blunt in targeting the Russians.[134] Then, in 1508, what was probably the most influential anti-Russian text of its time, the Low German *Schonne hysthorie*, appeared.[135] It drew almost verbatim from *Errores* when addressing religious matters,[136] but its cover illustration also connected it to *Elucidarius*.[137] *Schonne hysthorie* begins with a description

131 "contra hereticos et scismaticos Ruthenos ac perfidissimos Tataros [against heretical and schismatic Russians and treacherous Tatars]" (Arbusow 1981b [1905], 666 [no. 842]); also see Housley 2006, 287–289.

132 A 1505 letter from *Ablasskomissar* Eberhard Schelle to Lübeck provides an example of this. Arbusow 1981b [1905], 608–611 (no. 784).

133 It was printed at least twice in the 1500s; in Krakow (Johannes Sacranus 1507) and Cologne. On its context and its impact, see Wünsch 2008.

134 The author of *Errores* (1507) might have been Christian Bomhower (d. 1518), the *Ablasskomissar* of the Livonian campaign, and the Master of Livonia's secretary, who later became bishop of Dorpat (Tartu). Johannes Sacranus and *Elucidarius* are named at the beginning of the book, but the State Library of Bavaria lists it under his name (Johannes Sacranus 1507b; Johannes Sacranus 1508). On Bomhower, see Schirren 1861, 194–99, 213–15; Arbusow 1909, 50–52, 92–109; Benninghoven 1963, 12; Ehlers 2007, 396, 399; Thumser 2011, 134–138. It is possible that Bomhower had met Peraudi's subcommissioner (*Unterkomissar*) Johann von Paltz, and was influenced by his work, the *Supplementum Celifodinae*, because the Tallinn City Archives held a copy (Arbusow 1909, 51–52). On Paltz, see Housley 2012a, 183–185.

135 Even more commonly than is the case with *Errores*, Bomhower is considered a candidate for the author of the *Schonne hysthorie*. Even if this work was not printed, it spread in manuscript form, having its primary influence among laymen, given that Latin tracts chiefly targeted clerics. Ehlers 2007, 396; Thumser 2011, 142–143; Kreem 2013, 239–240.

136 *Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 124–132; see also Benninghoven 1963, 17–21.

137 For a comparison of *Errores* and *Schonne hysthorie*, see Arbusow 1909, 92–109. The cover illustration of all three works is virtually identical: In the centre, there is the pope making a blessing gesture with the cardinals behind him on his right; on his left, there are Russians, who are depicted turning away from him; and especially on the *Elucidarius* illustration the Russians are looking like Turks (Johannes Sacranus 1507a, front cover); the *Errores* and *Schonne hysthorie* illustrations include a knight from the Teutonic Order kneeling in front of the pope (perhaps the Master of Livonia) receiving the blessings of the head of the Catholic

of the Russian lands and their Tatar neighbours, before describing the religious, cultural, and military behaviour of the Russians. For the most part, it is a compiled chronicle, offering an overview of events between 1491 and 1506.

How exactly did this document depict the Russians? First and foremost, it focuses on the Russian threat to all of Christendom: Cruel Russians and their vicious ruler, the tyrannical Grand Duke of Moscow – who, like Mehmed II, is driven by hubris[138] – hoped not only to conquer the allegedly unified, harmonious, and truly Christian Livonia,[139] but to eventually subjugate the entire Christian world.[140] It is also made clear that the Russians were certainly not true Christians: They did not acknowledge the pope as the head of the Church, and they had rejected the church union proposed by the Council of Florence.[141] In fact, the religious behaviour of these heretics and schismatics was just as bad as that of the Jews and the heathens.[142] Furthermore, the Russians were interfering with pilgrimages to the Holy Land (the example of Count Gerhard of Mark is mentioned in this connection),[143] which in and of itself provided a righteous cause for a Holy War and for adding the Russian problem to the traditional Crusading goals.[144] Russians are presented as complete barbarians, the aforementioned case of bestiality with a horse serving as an example. The claim is made that other Russians in Reval did not regard bestiality as a sin and acknowledged that it was a very common practice in Russia.[145] It was also said that the Russians killed and incarcerated innocent people – including Catholic priests and the Hanseatic merchants in Novgorod – and cruelly ravaged the border areas of Livonia.[146] As to the war: The Russians were depicted as particularly evil and un-Christian. The desolation in Livonia during the win-

Church. Illustrations of *Errores* and *Schonne hysthorie* have been published in Ehlers 2007, between pages 414 and 415, fig. 10 (hand-made illustration from *Schonne hysthorie*), fig. 11 (printed illustration from *Errores*); for the illustrations from *Elucidarius* and *Errores*, see front covers of Johannes Sacranus 1507a and Johannes Sacranus 1507b, respectively.

138 Ivan III is repeatedly described as a wilful tyrant in *Schonne hysthorie* (e.g., *Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 121, 139, 141); see also Thumser 2011, 141, 147–148.

139 *Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 116–118, 141; see also Thumser 2011, 140.

140 *Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 119–121.

141 The claim (clearly false) was made that the Russians killed clerics who supported the church union, Metropolitan Isidor of Kiev included. *Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 123.

142 "van apenbaren yoden oder heyden bedragen werden noch denne de kettere vnde affgesnedene [be deceived by obvious Jews or pagans, or by heretics and circumcised ones]" (*Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 121).

143 *Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 134; Benninghoven 1963, 22; Selart 2012a, 262.

144 Cf. Benninghoven 1963, 22.

145 *Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 118, 139–140.

146 *Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 137–144; see also Benninghoven 1963, 25–27.

ter of 1501–1502 is described at length: Allegedly, 80,000 Russians and Tatars ravaged eastern Livonia, reputedly killing or abducting 40,000 people.[147] In addition, it is emphasized that churches were destroyed, that the sacraments were mocked, that anointed oil was stolen, and that women, maidens, and children were the victims of violence.[148] The description of Russian cruelties is clearly very similar to the description of Turkish atrocities committed in Constantinople.[149] Furthermore, *Schonne hysthorie* makes fulsome use of the fact that Ivan III had cooperated with the Crimean Tatars, who were vassals of the Ottomans: Not only were they Russians schismatics, they were in an unholy alliance with the Tatars.[150] This not only made them one with the heathens, but with the 'Turkish sect' as well.[151] They were even accused of having made a pact with the Tatars and the Turks against true Christendom.[152] On the other hand, Lithuanian (allies of the Livonians) cooperation with the Volga Tatars against Moscow is reported in a completely neutral tone.[153]

The climax of *Schonne hysthorie* is the description of the Battle of Smolino, which took place on 13 September 1502. Although the writing could generally be described as down to earth, not in any way stressing supernatural factors,[154] there is certainly divine and biblical content in the way the battle itself is addressed. The victory is described as a divine miracle delivered by God and the Virgin Mary,[155] and the Livonian Master Wolter von Plettenberg is compared to Judah Maccabee (Judas Maccabeus), a much-revered sacred warrior in Crusade literature, especially for the Teutonic Order[156] – and Maccabee also served as an

147 *Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 147–51; see also Benninghoven 1963, 29–30.
148 *Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 148–149.
149 Cf. Thumser 2011, 149–150.
150 *Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 123–124, 132–133.
151 "eyn-dels ganß heyden vnde eyn-dels van der tuurcken secten [partly complete pagans and partly from the sect of the Turks]" (*Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 133).
152 "ock so ys ydt yn der warheyth dat de russen tartaren vnde turcken vorborgene wethenheyth vnder sych hebben tegen vnse rechte chrystenheyt [likewise it is true that the Russians, Tatars and Turks have secret knowledge amongst themselves against our rightful Christianity]" (*Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 134). See also Benninghoven 1963, 22.
153 *Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 143.
154 Kreem 2013.
155 "eyn schynbarlyck myrakel vth dem hemmel vnn den sege dem allemechtygen gade van der gebenedygeden moder vnn yunckfrowen maryen [a beautiful miracle from the heavens and victory for the almighty God from the blessed mother and virgin Mary]" (*Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 153–154). It also says elsewhere that Livonia is protected by the God and the Virgin Mary; *Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 144.
156 "myt yuda machabeo vnn anderen segeafftygen strydt.fforsten [with Judas Maccabeus and other victorious lords of the battle]" (*Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 152). On the Maccabees and the Teutonic Order, see Fischer 2001; Fischer 2005; Lähnemann 2012.

example in campaigns against the Turks.[157] There is also a description of the miracle of the soldier who did not die until he had confessed his sins and received all of the sacraments.[158] The Crusade-like aura of this battle is to some degree reinforced by the participation of nearly septuagenarian Archbishop Michael of Riga (1484–1509) – cf. the aforementioned examples of Italian clerics during the mid-fifteenth century.[159] The day after the battle (14 September, Feast of the Cross) became a day to commemorate the victory in Livonia.[160] The battle would come to be revered as the last great Livonian victory; e.g., the chronicle of the Revalian Pastor Balthasar Russow, which drew up *Schonne hysthorie*.[161]

Schonne hysthorie presents Livonia as internally united and harmonious, and a vital bulwark or shield for all of Christendom against the Russian and Tatar threat, characterized as as great a threat to Christendom as the Turks and other infidels.[162] Livonia, and the Livonian Order in particular, whose bravery is explicitly eulogized at great length,[163] is clearly seen as a worthy opponent of all of the evil enemies of genuine Christendom. Nonetheless, it requires the support of other Christians.[164]

17.5 The Russian threat during the first half of the sixteenth century

In 1509, agreement was reached on a fourteen-year truce between Livonia and Moscow, stabilizing relations between the two parties (in 1521, the truce was extended for an additional ten years, and in 1531, for another twenty years).[165]

157 See Piccolomini's speeches: Helmrath and Annas 2013, 506; Annas 2013, 497.
158 *Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 154–155; Kreem 2013, 242–243.
159 According to *Schonne hysthorie*, the archbishop might even have been killed had he not been saved by the Land Marshal of the Order's troops. *Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 153.
160 *Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 154.
161 Russow 1584, 23b.
162 "russen vnde tartaren yo so grothe beffarynge vnde anx-weldych besorch tho-gemethen warth als geynygen andren turken heydenen edder vngelouygen vnn dar-vmme lyfflanth // vormure edder vor-schylth ys der gemeynen chrysthenheyth yegen de gemelthen vyande [a danger and fearful anxiety was allocated to the Russians and Tatars, equally to the one for the other Turks, pagans or infidels, and for this reason Livonia is // a bulwark or pre-shield for common Christianity against the united enemies]" (*Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 134–135); Benninghoven 1963, 22; Thumser 2011, 144–145, 148–150.
163 *Schonne hysthorie* 1861, 175–180.
164 Cf. Thumser 2011, 143–144, 148–151.
165 On the truces and Russian-Livonian relations, see Tiberg 1995, 163–186, 243–250; Maasing 2010.

Russia did not, however, disappear as an issue. In 1517, *Hochmeister* Albrecht von Brandenburg (1511–1525) formed an alliance with Grand Duke Vasili III of Moscow (1505–1533), who provided financial support during the Order's war with Poland (1519–1521).[166] The Livonian Order opposed this alliance: Master Plettenberg said he could only accept it if Moscow accepted church union and participated in an anti-Turkish Crusade.[167] In the end, the Livonian Order nonetheless financially supported the *Hochmeister*, and even provided some troops.[168] After the war, the *Hochmeister* did not have sufficient resources for any further conflict, and in 1525, Prussia was secularized, at which point Albrecht became the first duke of Prussia (1525–1568) and a proponent of the Reformation.[169] This brought his relationship with Moscow to an end.[170]

The secularization of Prussia was a heavy blow to Livonia: The Teutonic Order lost its leadership,[171] and Livonia lost a potential ally. In addition to this, the Reformation had reached Livonia and was having a major influence on politics there.[172] It was at this point that the papal curia began to seriously consider the question of church union with the Russians. This was actively supported by a staunch adversary of the Reformation, Archbishop of Riga Johann Blankenfeld (1524–1527, he also served the Church as the bishop of Reval [1514–1524], and of Dorpat [Tartu] [1518–1527]). Blankenfeld met with the Russians on the border of his bishopric of Dorpat, and it is possible that, in addition to the question of the church union, he discussed and even possibly proposed an alliance against both supporters of the Reformation and its rival, the Order. Blankenfeld was accused of treacherous cooperation with the Russians – a traditional allegation against the bishop of Dorpat – and was imprisoned in 1525, before his plans (which remain unclear) could come to fruition.[173]

Although church union was not realized, some Western rulers continued to hope that Russia would be religiously integrated to the Catholic Church and, as a result, become an ally against the Turks, something that would also bene-

166 On the relations between Moscow and the Order in Prussia, see Sach 2002.
167 Sach 2002, 254.
168 On the political reasons, see Kreem 2004, 28–38.
169 On the secularization of Prussia and the Reformation, see Hubatsch 1960, 139–183; Tode 2005.
170 Sach 2002, 420–423.
171 On the reaction of the German branch of the Order and its survival, see Herrmann 1974.
172 On the Livonian Reformation, see Arbusow 1921; Heyde 2005; Kuhles 2007; Asche, Buchholtz, and Schindling 2009–2012.
173 The bishop of Dorpat had been accused of treacherous cooperation with the schismatics as early as the fourteenth century (Selart 2007, 302–303; Selart 2009a, 57–58); on Blankenfeld and Russia, see Selart 2011.

fit the Russians. In the late 1540s, in an appearance before the emperor, Hans Schlitte, an agent of Ivan IV, justified his attempts to bring craftsmen and military experts to Russia with the idea of a possible church union and an anti-Turkish alliance. His efforts were thwarted by the Livonians, who stressed the grave threat posed by Russia.[174] Even during the Livonian War, the Russians had recourse to the same rhetoric on at least two occasions: From the 1570s, they used it in an attempt to form an alliance against Poland with Emperor Maximilian II (1564–1576),[175] and in the 1580s, Ivan IV raised it when trying to make peace with Polish King Stephen Báthory (1576–1586).[176] In 1686, the Russians finally joined the anti-Turkish Holy League. As a result, they began to be guardedly seen as 'one of Us' by the other European states.[177]

From the 1520s to the 1540s, the Livonians primarily used anti-Russian rhetoric to influence the Empire. Over time, the connection between Livonia and the Empire became increasingly important. From the 1520s, Livonian rulers were also imperial princes.[178] The increasingly close connection between the two provided the Livonians with both legal benefits and the hope of security, but it also had its downside: The estates of the Empire demanded financial support from Livonia, particularly for campaigns against the Turks. To deflect these demands, the Livonians used *Antemurale* rhetoric that focused on the Russian threat.[179] Meanwhile, the Protestant Margrave Wilhelm of Branden-

174 Diestelkamp 2000.
175 Völkl 1992.
176 Filjuškin 2008, 243–257.
177 Piirimäe 2007, 79.
178 In 1521, all bishops were made imperial princes, and in 1526 or 1527, the Livonian Master followed this example. On the relations between Livonia and the Empire, see Hellmann 1989; Wimmer 1988; Arbusow 1944; Leesment 1929.
179 Arbusow 1910, 742 (no. 291, § 7):

> derwiele die Romische key. mat., unser allengnedigsten her, die contribution, stuer und hulpe widder den erffyand christlickes nhamens und gelovens, den Turcken, uth den landen tho Lifflande mehrmals erfurderth und bogerth [...] in dussen entlegenen und vorlaten enden den christenheith, des hilligen Romischen rikes und Duitzscher nation geseten, derwegen ehnen szulcks uthorichten ane mercklicken eren vorderff, schaden und undergangk vhast unmoglich etc.

> [at the same time the Roman emperor, our most gracious lord, has claimed and asked several times for the contribution, tax and help against the hereditary enemy of the Christian name and faith, the Turk, from the lands of Livonia (...) located in these remote and abandoned ends of Christianity, the Holy Roman Empire and the German nation, because of this it is almost impossible to do this without considerable ruin, damage and downfall of these, etc.]

Cf. Arbusow 1910, 753 (no. 298, § 7), and 779 (no. 302, § 14).

burg-Ansbach – the brother of Duke Albrecht of Prussia and the archbishop of Riga (1539–1563)[180] – used both the Turkish threat and the Russian threat to renounce his consecration as a Catholic cleric.[181] Somewhat surprisingly, the Russian threat motif was not explicitly used when Duke Albrecht of Prussia requested Livonia's support against the Turks in the late 1530s and early 1540s.[182] On that occasion, the Livonians did not directly decline: They put off giving a concrete answer until the duke gave up.[183]

The Turkish problem continued to arise from time to time in connection with Livonia. In 1544, there was a rumour that the emperor was going to cede Livonia to Poland as a protectorate, because Livonia was using the Russian threat motif to avoid paying *Türkengeld* to the Empire.[184] In 1555, King Gustav I of Sweden (1521/1523–1560) admonished the Livonians for making an unfavourable peace with Moscow, and complained that the tsar would now be able to seize land as easily as the Turkish sultan.[185] As tensions rose between the archbishop and other Livonians in 1556, King Sigismund II of Poland (1548–1572) exhorted the Order and its allies not to start a war with the archbishop, but to stand against the 'real enemies' – the Turkish sultan and the tsar.[186] The conflict, known as Coadjutor's Feud,[187] occurred in any case, and the archbishop was imprisoned. In response, the elector of Brandenburg, Joachim II (1535–1571), who was a close relative of both Duke Albrecht of Prussia and Wilhelm of Brandenburg-Ansbach, declared the Order's actions to be a source of disunity and confusion in the Empire and a hindrance to war against the *Erbfeind* (hereditary enemy), i.e., the Ottomans.[188]

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180 On Archbishop Wilhelm, see Lange 2014. For overview of Wilhelm's religious stance (including interesting hypothesis that Margrave became decidedly Protestant only in the 1540s) and activities, see Müller 2014.

181 Wilhelm claimed that he could not be consecrated, because Livonia was constantly threatened by the invasion of schismatic Russians; see Hartmann 2002, 175–176 (no. 1208/3). However, in 1545, his envoys claimed at the *Reichstag* that the archbishop could not be consecrated, because of the Turkish threat; see Hartmann 2005, 49 (no. 1558/1).

182 On the significance of the Turkish question for Duke Albrecht, see Diehlmann 1998.

183 For correspondence about this issue, see Hartmann 1999, 409–410 (no. 993), 429–430 (no. 1016), and 450 (no. 1037); Hartmann 2002, 97–98 (no. 1147), 106 (no. 1160), and 110–111 (no. 1164).

184 Hartmann 2002, 212 (no. 1233/1).

185 Hartmann 2005, 216 (no. 1744). On Swedish interests in Livonia in the 1550s, see Lenz 1971.

186 Hartmann 2005, 281–283 (no. 1817).

187 Rasmussen 1973, 28–89; Tiberg 1984, 61–67, 85–95; Gundermann 1966; Hartmann 2004.

188 Hartmann 2005, 390 (no. 1930). As Duke Johann Albrecht of Mecklenburg, an ally of Duke Albrecht of Prussia and Wilhelm of Riga, was organizing an anti-Livonian military campaign

Beginning in the early 1550s, the Livonians sought aid from the West against Russian pressure, but what support there was remained purely rhetorical. It was only after the war broke out in 1558 that some effort was made within the Empire to help Livonia, but it proved to be too little, too late.[189] As mentioned previously, the Russian threat motif survived the collapse of Livonia. In Balthasar Russow's chronicle, the Russians were called a scourge from God for the sins of the Livonians (as well as violent barbarians and arch-enemies) – probably a novelty introduced into Livonian rhetoric only after the war had begun.[190] On the other hand, Wolter von Plettenberg's anti-Russian activities in 1502 were praised, this being a point when the Livonians still reputedly benefited from God's grace.[191] Furthermore, disputes between Protestants and Catholics about who was to blame for this scourge began during the Livonian War – naturally, the Catholics blamed the Protestants and vice versa.[192] There had been no serious disputes between the Catholic and Protestant camps in Livonia prior to this. The rhetoric of other adversaries of Russia – e.g., Poland-Lithuania and Sweden – compared the Russians to the Turks and 'other barbarians', with the Russians regarded as descendants of the Scythians,[193] and Tsar Ivan IV depicted as an Asiatic despot and tyrant no different from the Turkish sultan.[194] Only late in the seventeenth century did the depiction of the Russians became more ambivalent: Russia became increasingly 'European' during the reign of Peter I (1682–1725), who wanted to Europeanize all aspects of Russian society.[195] The Turkish threat motif and the accompanying political rhetoric also began to disappear.[196] In contrast to Russia, however,

within the Empire – see Hartmann 2005, 333 (no. 1880) – it was likely deemed necessary that Margrave Joachim's letter justify it.

189 Reimann 1876.

190 The idea that the war was response to the Livonians' sins was expressed on the *Landtag*, in March 1558. Hartmann 2006, 108–109 (no. 2182), 119 (no. 2188), 120–121 (no. 2189), 128–129 (no. 2196).

191 Russow 1584, Ia–Vb, 22b–24a, 28a–35a.

192 The Catholic side was the first to engage in these polemics in the chronicle of Tilmann Bredenbach (1564), while the most important work from the Lutheran side was Russow's chronicle. It is noteworthy to mention that also Russians saw their war against Livonia as religiously motivated. Selart 2014.

193 Piirimäe 2007, 77.

194 See the literature cited in footnote 4, especially Kappeler 1972.

195 Peter I also began to make use the rhetoric of just war; Piirimäe 2007, 79–86. For a general overview of changes in image of Russia during the eighteenth century, see Hay 1968, 124–127.

196 This occurred between the second siege of Vienna in 1683 and the 1730s. Bohnstedt 1968, 40; Yapp 1992, 142–145.

the Ottoman Empire remained alien, was seen as descending from a despotic power, and was ultimately perceived as 'the sick man of Europe'.[197]

17.6 Conclusions

The Turkish and Russian threats proved to be both influential and enduring European political motifs, with an influence on rhetoric, if not on overall political thinking, that lasted several centuries. Fear constituted the most obvious basis for these threat motifs in their various forms: In the case of the Turks, not only was there a fear of military conquest, but also of the imminent end of the world, or at least severe divine punishment, perhaps even the demise of Christianity, civilization, and European society. Certainly this motif was rooted in a clearly established tradition for depicting the Other, which included dangerous barbarians who were the enemy of all of Christendom, Islam as the antithesis of Christianity, and the rhetorical *Antemurale Christianitatis* construct. As has been seen, the Turkish threat motif was often used to achieve a separate political goal, and was applied to Christian enemies in particular. Besides the language of propaganda, this motif also influenced numerous other phenomena, such as the concept of Crusading, internal relations within the Holy Roman Empire, thoughts about religious and social reforms within Christianity overall, and (as the alien Other) the notion of (Christian) European unity (Self).

Similar to the Turkish threat motif, the Russian threat motif owed its prominence largely to a rapidly emerging and threatening Other, the Grand Duchy of Moscow. This motif also had deep roots: The phraseology of 'dangerous schismatics' had already been used in much the same way during the thirteenth century. As was the case with anti-Turkish rhetoric, anti-Russian rhetoric was often used by Catholics against each other, or to rebuff an obligation (particularly in sixteenth-century Livonia), e.g., participating in the Turkish wars. At its inception in the middle of the fifteenth century, the Turkish threat motif soon became intertwined with the Russian threat motif. In political correspondence, the Turks and Russians held parallel positions as Christendom's worst enemies. The Russians could be at least partially linked to the Turks via the Tatars, who were already well-known 'infidels' in Eastern Europe by the thirteenth century. The Tatars were initially depicted as the Russians' overlords, but later the two groups were treated as brothers-in-arms. Thankfully,

197 Çırakman 2002; Yapp 1992, 142–148.

for propagandists (such as the author of *Schonne hysthorie*), by the end of the fifteenth century, the Crimean Tatars had become vassals of the Ottomans, creating an immediate link between the Tatars and the 'arch-enemy'. It is interesting to note that the both fear motifs drew upon the *Antemurale Christianitatis*. The *Schonne hysthorie* shares much with the example of the Hospitallers at Rhodes, as one could also draw some parallels between depictions of Hospitallers' famous 1480 victory and the Battle of Smolino in 1502. Furthermore, the descriptions of the Grand Duke of Moscow as a tyrant, of his alliances with other enemies of Christendom, and of Russian atrocities are very similar to the topoi used in Turkish-related literature. And similarly to the notion of united (Christian) Europe, Livonia is also depicted as a harmoniously united bearer of positive (truly Christian) values. What the Russian threat motif appears to lack, however, at least up until the beginning of the Livonian War, is an eschatological dimension: There is no suggestion that the Russians will bring about either the end of the World or divine retribution.

There is one clear pattern in the both the Turkish and Russian threat motifs: In times of direct military conflicts, they were directly used against the rhetorical arch-enemy, while in periods of peace, they generally served a different purpose. During conflicts, the adversarial image of the 'infidels' or 'schismatics' was, of course, reinforced, shaping the way in which the depictions would subsequently be used. At the end of the fifteenth century, after the conflicts between Moscow and its Western neighbours had begun, a more consistent depiction of the Russians as 'as bad as Turks' took form. As a result, during the sixteenth century, the Livonians were able to equate the Russian threat unequivocally with the Turkish threat, a notion that remained a constant even after the beginning of the Livonian War and the fall of Livonia by Poland-Lithuania and Sweden. Both motifs also shared a concept of unity, albeit functioning at different levels: The unity of the Christendom that was promoted as necessary for acting against the 'infidel Turks' was often manipulated by European rulers for personal gain, and the unity of Livonia against the 'schismatic Russians' was primarily advanced by the Livonian Order to justify its attempts to dominate Livonia.

At least at first glance, it does not appear that the Turkish threat was ever a significant concern for the Livonians. The Prussian Teutonic Order, on the other hand, did participate in anti-Turkish campaigns. Perhaps the idea of a Russian threat was so strong in Livonia that it left no room for another similar motif. It also seems that both Lutherans and Catholics perceived Livonia (at least rhetorically) as threatened by Russia. Furthermore, unlike the clash between Catholics and Protestants in the Empire, where both of the competing religious parties accused the other of being 'as bad as Turks', in Livonia, there

is no evidence of the competing confessional groups referring to each other as 'as evil as the Russians'. Livonian rhetoric underwent a significant change following the onset of the Livonian war, with the Russians increasingly seen as a scourge from God (as was the case with the Turks after the fall of Constantinople), setting in motion a polemical debate between Protestants and Catholics about where the guilt lay. Of equal interest, once the war began, the Russian tsar was referred to as the hereditary enemy (*Erbfeind*), a concept also applied to the Turkish sultan.

In conclusion, I will briefly address the two questions I posed at the beginning. First of all, I think that an examination of the rhetorical Russian threat motif shows us that its success was the result of both a tradition of depicting the Russians as dangerous schismatics and the genuine threat they appeared to pose, which led to increasingly aggressive rhetoric by the turn of the sixteenth century. Second, the persistence of both the Turkish and Russian threat motifs was influenced by the fact that they could serve a variety of political purposes, similar to the function of the concept of *Antemurale Christianitatis*.[198]

It is important to keep in mind, however, that the Russians could never be unequivocally equated with the Turks, because, in spite of everything, they were still seen as Christians (albeit schismatics and heretics), and the popes held the hope that the Russians would convert to Catholicism. This meant that the Russians were alternately perceived as 'Christian brothers' and 'enemies of Christendom'. By the fifteenth century, the Russians had begun to advance their political interests with a combined strategy of nurturing hopes for church union and forming alliances with the Turks. In the eighteenth century, the Turks and the Russians began to receive distinctly different rhetorical treatment: The Ottoman Empire was perceived as a decadent and despotic power, while Russia, in spite of its despotism, was seen as semi-European. The distinction is illustrated by the way the Turkish threat motif was used during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878: A book was published in Estonia (then part of the Russian Empire) describing Turkish cruelty during the 1453 conquest of Constantinople and expressing the hope that Christians (in this case, Orthodox Russians) would soon regain control of the city.[199]

198 For the latter, see Berend 2008, 40.
199 *Türklastest* 1877.

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