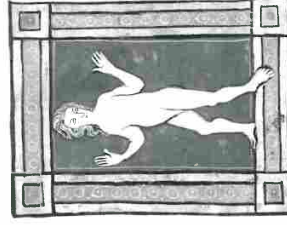


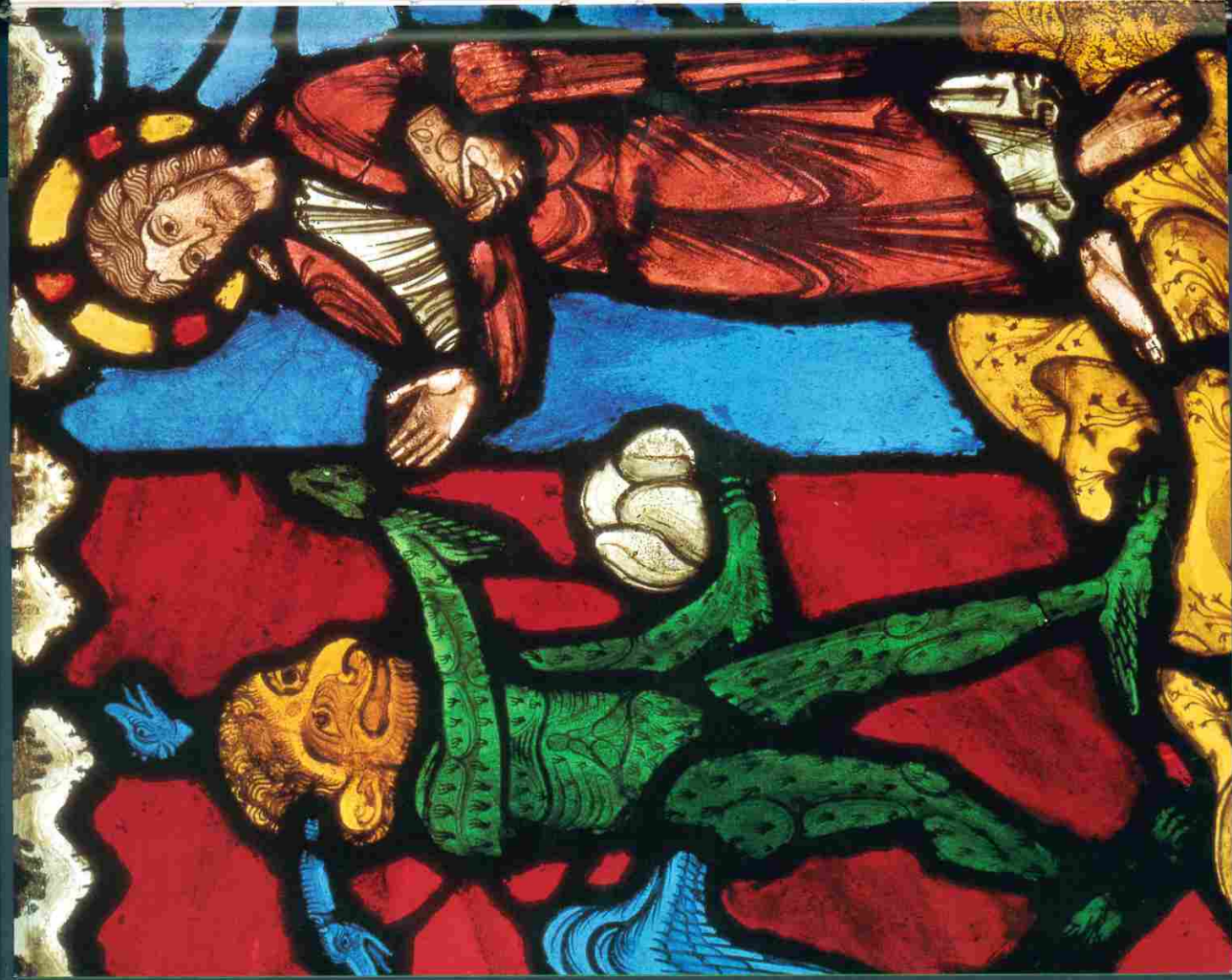
Saracens, Demons, & Jews

Making
Monsters
in
Medieval Art



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Preface

Because of the most noble matter
 which ever was or will be,
 it is my pleasure to limn and uncover
 a subject that serves as an example
 after the nature of men living today. . . .
 In foreign nations they are not a bit
 like they are here. You know truly that
 the Oriental is quite otherwise than we are.

—Clerk of Enghien, *La manière et les fautes des monstres des hommes*

IN HIS 1290 VERSE TREATISE on “monstrous men,” Clerk of Enghien succinctly articulated what had been a fundamental object of Western fascination for a very long time: people in the East are utterly different from those in the West. The present book explores the transformation of this sentiment from fascination to rejection and hatred, from Others as marvels to Others as enemies.

Probably writing for an aristocratic readership, Clerk goes on to describe systematically these strange Eastern men, known collectively as the Monstrous Races, who range in type from the warmongering Amazons to the backward-walking Antipodes; from the one-legged Scipods to the Men with Six Hands.¹ In the footsteps of the ancient Greeks, Clerk consistently forges a relationship between external, physical form and moral character. Thus, men with heads on their chests are greedy, bearded women are prideful (and thus have begun to resemble men), and other men have the heads of dogs owing to their proclivity for adultery and sexual crimes.² Clerk’s comments on the Onocentaure—half man, half ass—reveal his more general perception of these marvelous Eastern peoples:

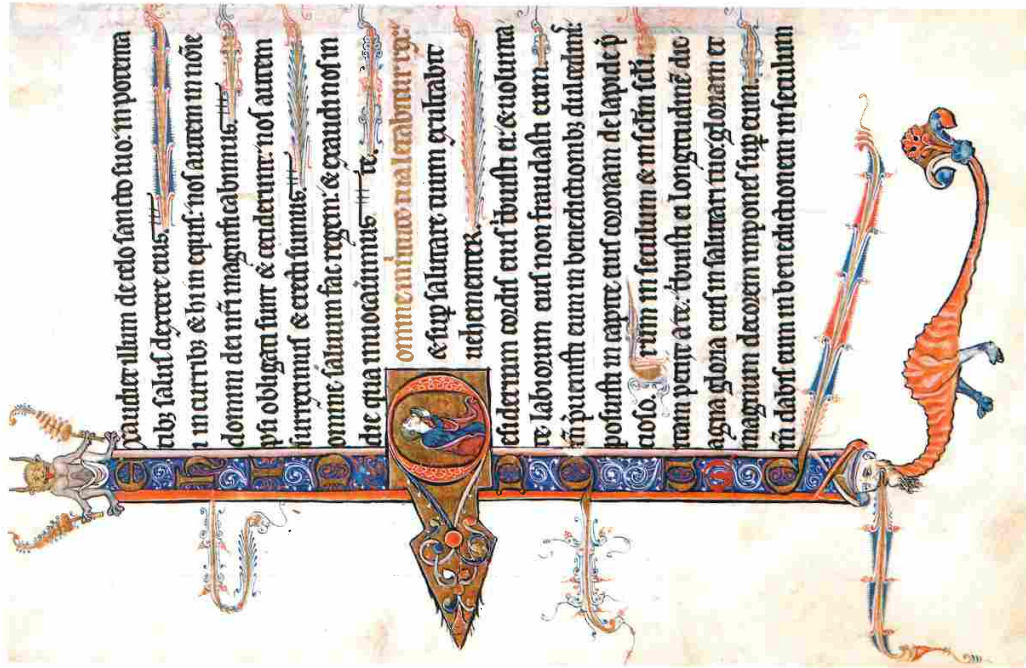


Plate 1

enemies who were pictured and described on equally imaginary terms.

Medieval pictorial and literary data relevant to pejorative representations of non-Christians are vast, forcing me to impose serious limits on this study. I hope to have done so in such a way as to provide a representative sample of negative imagery produced over quite a broad chronological period. My temporal focus is the era of the crusades because this is the period that saw the greatest acceleration in the production of negative imagery owing to escalating conflicts between Christians and non-Christians both at home and abroad. In addition, some discussion of imagery produced on either side of this period has been necessary in order to show the roots and aftermath of the negative pictorial tradition that was so well developed during the crusading period proper. I therefore discuss works of art and literature produced from the early eleventh through the early sixteenth century, with the heaviest concentration on the twelfth through fourteenth centuries.

Another necessary limitation is the selection of the particular enemy groups to be discussed: this book is by no means a full explication of the "Other" in the Middle Ages in all of its manifold constituencies. Indeed, I have deliberately used this term sparingly because the groups with which I deal form only a subset of those normally sheltered under this vast conceptual umbrella. In particular, the Others described in this book are first and foremost non-Christians, and were all at some stage considered enemies of the Faith. By contrast, medieval lepers, prostitutes, and homosexuals were Others in the sense of social outsiders or minorities, but they were not by primary definition opponents of the Church. Still another reason to exclude certain groups is owing to the problematic nature of the imagery. For example, images of both lepers and prostitutes are quite rare during the period under discussion unless one overlays these identifications onto other subjects, such as the flagellated Christ with multiple wounds (as leprous) or the Magdalene (as a prostitute). Similarly, it is normally impossible to identify an image of a heretic without an inscription or accompanying text; there does not seem to be a distinct pictorial code for heretics. Unequivocal images of homosexuals are even more difficult to verify, if indeed any actually exist outside the parameters of marginal parody or scenes of hell. I therefore leave the art historical analysis of these and still other Others—to others.⁴

Because negative theological characterizations and artistic representations of Jews are so crucial to any study of pejorative imagery in the medieval West, I have also imposed a geographical limitation of northern Europe, primarily because this is where there were the greatest Jewish-Christian tensions, especially during the heart of the period under consideration. In Spain and Italy, the situation was rather different, as Jews settled there much earlier and subsequently fared somewhat better. This is probably why fewer negative images have survived from these areas compared to the plethora from the north. Within northern Europe, I concentrate primarily on English and French artistic and literary works executed in conjunction with expulsion activities that took place during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and I also attempt to analyze the extent to

True it is . . .
 What others witness and say
 that in the eastern parts are men
 horrible, vile, villainous, and bad,
 who do not dwell in towns
 but in deserts and mountains.
 They have very strange faces
 and are men above the waist
 but animals in many strange ways below.
 Cruel, bad, stinking, and fierce,
 they come from adultery.⁵

Men of the East, then, are both products and perpetrators of sin. Like many authors before him, Clerk is redrawing still more boldly the conceptual line between Us and Them. We are attractive, They are ugly. We are civilized, They are wild. We are moral, They are sinful. Later medieval theologians added still another distinction, which was to become key: We are blessed, They are damned. Consequently, medieval Christians broadened the spectrum of Them to include not just the monstrous men of the East, but any living non-Christian, local or distant. The East, for the time being, remained a symbolic locus of trouble, but later on—especially in the Holy Land—it became an actual one.

This brings us to a question especially important to this study: What is a monster? During the Middle Ages, is there really any conceptual distinction to be drawn between, say, an Onocentaur and a Muslim, given that both were perceived by the Christian majority as "cruel, bad, stinking, and fierce?" Even a cursory view of medieval Christian literature and exegesis on the "problem" of non-Christians reveals that "monstrosity" was the primary conceptual catch-all for any rival religious sect or ethnic group, whether from within (heretics) or without (Jews, Muslims). For medieval Christians, then, monstrosity was a metaphor for unacceptability, both cultural and religious.

My art historical concern with the relationship between monstrous external form and moral character, as articulated by Clerk and many others, stems from the recognition that ugliness is a necessarily visual phenomenon. It follows, therefore, that the most effective means by which ideas about ugliness can be transmitted is through pictorial works of art. During the Middle Ages, rendering ugliness posed formidable challenges for artists, who had to find visual ways to express largely abstract ideas about moral degeneracy, perversity, godlessness, demonic allegiance, and a whole host of other characteristics regularly attributed to the various enemies of Christendom. From a modern perspective, these enemies were both real and imaginary, although it is my contention that these two realms were actually merged in Christian portrayals of non-Christians. Thus, I argue that representations of Monstrous Races and demons were crucial to the development, both literary and artistic, of portraits of Ethiopians, Jews, Muslims, and Mongols, the living

which changing crusader interests were promoted by pictorial works of art. I discuss selected German works to a much lesser extent, but I have included a few emblematic examples in order to represent more completely the artistic range and high level of visual virulence achieved during this long period.

That so much medieval effort was put into the production of anti-Jewish texts and images is not really surprising given that anti-Judaism is part of the infrastructure of Christianity. That is, the New Testament itself articulates basic anti-Jewish attitudes in conjunction with numerous statements expressing a fierce intolerance of those who do not follow Christ.¹ In a way, the avalanche of Christian polemic produced subsequently, throughout the entire medieval period and well beyond—in the form of biblical exegesis, theological tracts, drama, epic, sermons, *exempla*, poetry, papal legislation, and pictorial works of art—may be viewed as the perhaps inevitable extension of basic attitudes set forth in the very handbook of Christianity.

It is obvious by now that this is a book concerned with negative imagery, which means that the reader seeking a balance of positive and pejorative images of the various enemies of the Church is not going to find it here. I only wish to indicate at the onset that I am fully aware that not all medieval theologians, monarchs, and Christian citizens at large hated and abused black Africans, Jews, Muslims, and Mongols; that there were some theological tracts written in defense of Jews and protective papal legislation mandated on their behalf; that some works of medieval literature characterize Muslims positively; and that there are many extant pictorial works of art that portray members of nearly all these groups in positive or at least neutral ways. But it is also true that the balance of surviving contemporary theological, literary, legislative, and visual evidence weighs in heavily on the negative side, and that fact alone, I believe, justifies a concentration on the pejorative material.

Although I have not systematically discussed the more positive imagery, I do draw attention to particular positive *attitudes* toward a given group when these have been articulated on a reasonably large scale, in order to convey something of the overall complexity of medieval Christian perceptions of non-Christians. That is, in addition to the numerous negative ideas discussed at length, the notion of the “blameless Ethiopian”; the belief that Jews were vital witnesses to the True Faith and that their conversion was necessary to bring about the Second Coming of Christ; crusader admiration for the military skill of Muslim warriors and the clemency of at least one of their leaders; and the short-lived Christian belief that the “Tartars” under the leadership of Prester John would assist in the annihilation of the Muslims; were all important aspects of medieval attitudes toward non-Christian Others. Therefore, although the imagery I discuss conveys overwhelmingly negative messages, I try to consider how more positive attitudes may have informed the broader pattern of pictorial representation, if not certain iconographical details. Most importantly, the collective force of the imagery examined in this study expresses an ambivalence unsupported by any single text and bears witness to Christian

attitudes that shifted over time according to changing contemporary, even local, interests and circumstances.

So exactly who would have seen these pejorative works of art? In fact, many of them were accessible not only to private, educated patrons but also to a broad social spectrum, including in some cases the very objects of denigration, who would have had regular occasion to view monumental sculpture, stained glass, and other forms of public art. It is therefore safe to assume that the negative messages about enemies of Christendom conveyed in medieval works of art were received by nearly everyone. Such negative views of non-Christians were by no means confined to works of visual art but were disseminated in other forms, such as public sermons and plays, which did not require literacy on the part of their listeners and viewers. This is why I have tried to emphasize parallels in various realms—visual, literary, dramatic, theological, political, and legal—to make apparent something of the scope and scale of what can only be characterized as an ongoing, Church-sponsored propaganda campaign designed to denigrate and discredit both non-Christians and their respective religions.

I therefore discuss selected examples from a variety of media in order to reveal the artistic variety of pejorative imagery; manuscript painting, misericords, stone sculpture, glass-painting, tapestry, metalwork, enamel, and ivory are all represented. Although the basic negative themes relevant to a particular non-Christian group were rendered across all media, I have nevertheless placed special emphasis on manuscript painting, for two reasons. First, the variety and richness of pejorative imagery contained in this particular medium is immense, and it has survived intact to a much greater extent than monumental works of art, such as stained glass and murals, that by now have been damaged by the ravages of time and the environment or else have been deliberately destroyed. In particular, manuscript painting provides the best guide to the use of color in the Middle Ages, color being a very important vehicle for the expression of negative ideas. Second, the textual component of illuminated manuscripts often provides clues as to the contextual meaning(s) of accompanying imagery through the forging of relationships between words and pictures. Text-image analysis is in fact a major method employed in this study, as I have tried to show how the range and type of images that may be evaluated as pejorative actually expand beyond the visually obvious once textual considerations are taken into account. That is, I am interested throughout in the concept of superficially benign imagery that nevertheless carries negative meaning, not necessarily owing to the nature of the image or accompanying text *per se*, but rather to the ideas that are generated through particular text-image combinations. In this type of analysis, I consider texts and images sign systems of equal importance in a semiotic method that has in some cases facilitated new readings of already familiar imagery.

It is true that some of the imagery analyzed in this study has been discussed before. I have deliberately included some well-known monuments, such as the Luttrell Psalter, the Cloisters Cross, and the Vézelay tympanum, because they are important to



ABOVE, TOP. Plate 4. Richard the Lionheart versus Saladin. Luttrell Psalter, Diocese of Lincoln, c. 1325-35. British Library, London, Add. MS 42130, fol. 83 (detail)

ABOVE, BOTTOM. Plate 5. French versus Saracens. William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*. Paris, 1137. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS fr. 22495, fol. 154v (detail)

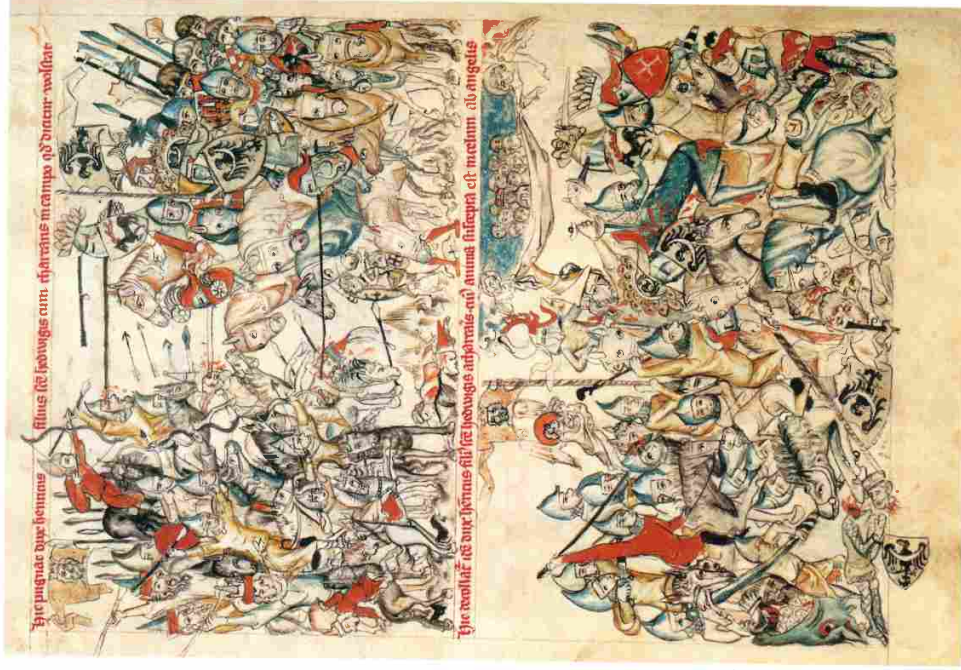


Plate 6. Battle of Leignitz; decapitation of Henry II and his soul carried to heaven. Hedwig Codex. Schlesien, 1353. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, MS Ludwig XI/7, fol. 11v

the themes that concern me and also because I believe I have contributed something new to—or in some cases, refuted—existing analysis. Alongside the familiar, I have also assembled imagery that to my knowledge has not yet been published or analyzed, or that was not previously recognized or interpreted in light of medieval Christian views of enemy groups. On the whole, I have sought a balance between the famous and the relatively unknown, attempting to establish some meaningful relationships between monuments previously considered unique by connecting them thematically or iconographically to lesser known artistic efforts.

The subject of monuments previously discussed leads me to acknowledge my considerable intellectual debts to other scholars, without whose work the present study would have had considerably less solid foundations, if indeed it had ever gotten off the ground. Ruth Mellinkoff must be credited with literally exposing the scale and characteristics of pejorative medieval images, especially of Jews, in a body of published work impressive in both its quantity and quality, much of which is cited in the present study. Her 1993 book, *Outcasts*, is a masterful assembly and analysis of many of the pictorial signs that figure into my own analysis, and it is not an exaggeration to say that Mellinkoff's is the book that has provided and will continue to provide the foundations for all subsequent studies of pejorative medieval imagery, including this one. I am also heavily indebted to the work of Michael Camille, especially his analysis of Gothic idols, but also his work on the functions and meanings of marginal art. Other seminal studies produced by Robert Bartlett (on medieval ethnography), Jean Devisse and Michel Mollat (on images of black Africans), John Block Friedman (on Monstrous Races), Andrew Gow (on the Red Jews), Suzanne Lewis (on English Apocalypses and Matthew Paris), Sara Lipton (on anti-Jewish imagery in the *Bibles moralisées*), and Miri Rubin (on host desecration) have all proved invaluable by providing important historical and art historical insights that have helped clarify my own thinking about pejorative attitudes and pictorial imagery. Further acknowledgment of the specific contributions of these scholars, along with many others, is made throughout the book in both the main text and the notes.

In light of this important earlier work, the principal contributions of the present study, as I see them, are: (1) the demonstration that general pictorial principles formerly and incompletely observed in medieval portraits of individual enemy groups are applied very consistently to many different ones, both real and imaginary; (2) the elucidation of the Classical origins and individual visual elements of the medieval pictorial code that was regularly employed in these pejorative portraits; and (3) the comparative analysis of negative ideas expressed in pictorial works of art and in other areas of cultural production, mainly theology, literature, and drama.

Throughout the book, I have taken a thematic rather than chronological approach. In each chapter, source material drawn from several centuries is integrated according to its relevance to that chapter's main theme. This approach has several advan-

tages. One, it allows me to take a diachronic view that exposes variations on selected negative themes as well as whether or not changes in Christian attitudes and "targets" evident in other realms of cultural production are paralleled pictorially at different historical moments. At the same time, a thematic approach highlights artistic, theological, and political preoccupations that remain consistent over the centuries, and which therefore must be considered of paramount importance in the assessment of the medieval Christian view of non-Christian enemies. From an organizational standpoint, a thematic approach permits a systematic and concentrated focus on each of the different types of enemies in turn, making it easier to discuss the nature of their perceived and respective "offenses" against Christendom and how these are given varying artistic expression over time.

I have also tried to arrange the material in a way that highlights the influence that descriptions and images of one group had upon another. In chapter 1, I begin in the realm of the utterly imaginary, with the earlier traditions of Monstrous Races, and in chapter 2, demons, and then show how aspects of both traditions are combined in portraits of black Africans. From here, I move on to a discussion of medieval Jews in chapter 3, which is in many ways the heart of the study, as this was the group most despised by Christians for the longest period and whose portraits therefore exhibit the full arsenal of expressive weaponry. The theme of the crusades forms the organizational scheme for chapter 4, where I begin with a discussion of Jews in this context and proceed to medieval Christian images of Muslims ("Saracens") and Mongols ("Tartars"). Chapter 5 is organized around the theme of "eschatological conspiracies," and under this rubric, emphasizes what all these disparate groups had in common according to medieval Christian expectations *vis-à-vis* the End of Days. My conclusions in chapter 6 fall into two categories. First, I summarize my main findings in relation to the pictorial code of rejection identified and discussed in the previous chapters. I then return to the problem of medieval monstrosity by examining a small but representative group of images that seemingly contradict the principles of this pictorial code, thereby necessitating a revised and expanded definition of the medieval monster.

An important theoretical concern that I treat most fully in chapter 1 but that remains a leitmotif is the medieval debt to Classical Greek scientific and pseudoscientific theories that explain the "natural causes" for external physical form and its moral implications, as well as attitudes toward barbarians, both of which I argue provided the ideological foundations for the development of pejorative medieval imagery. At this point, I will not go further except to say that the concept of ugliness as a visual phenomenon is what justifies a concentration on the implications of physiognomical form and its relationship to moral behavior. These were principles that were well-established long before the period under discussion, in Classical Greek writings that were further developed and, most importantly, "Christianized" during the later Middle Ages. Allegiance to these principles led Clerk of Engleien, as quoted above, literally to "read" physical deformities



Plate 7. Blemmyai and Ethiopians en route to Antichrist; Ethiopian, Saracen, and Jew adore Antichrist. Antichrist, Bavaria, c. 1440–50. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, MS germ. f.733, fol. 4

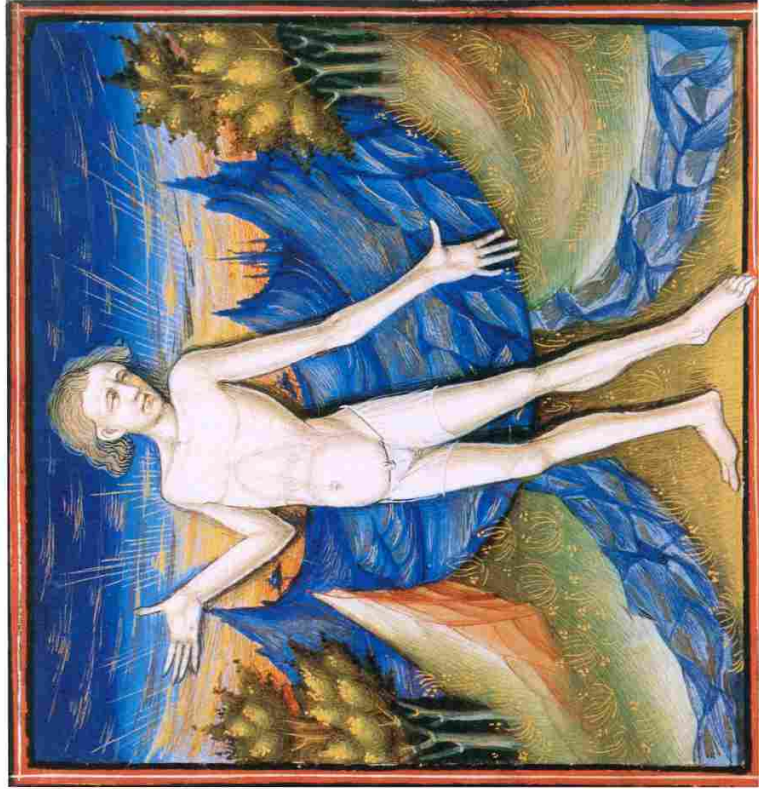


Plate 8. Three temptations of Christ. Huntingfield Psalter. St. Albans(?), c. 1215. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS M. 43, fol. 20v

as so many signs of sin. In fact, to judge people by their looks was a regular practice beginning in the Classical period, if not earlier; it continued through the Middle Ages, and it continues to the present day. One needs think only of the conventional tendency to portray the “bad guys” in the movies as physically repellent, or of negative social attitudes toward the disabled or disfigured, in order to see that people continue to make assumptions about inner character based on outward physical appearance.

In his groundbreaking study, *Orientalism*, Edward Said commented briefly on the medieval tradition that informed eighteenth- and nineteenth-century colonialist perceptions of the East and of Arabs in particular.⁶ I would be gratified to think that the present book may be, in a general way, an art historical corroboration and extension of one of Said’s basic arguments, that non-Westerners—whom I redefine here as non-Christians—have been willfully and systematically misrepresented in the West for the unquestionable benefit of the image-makers. That physical and cultural difference is to be hated and feared is an attitude that remains ingrained in modern societies, often with devastating and tragic consequences, just as it had in the Middle Ages. In the present study, I seek to explore and to analyze Western medieval artistic formulations of this attitude in the perhaps naive hope that it may one day disappear, and that being “otherwise” eventually might come to be more respected than despised.

Plates



OPPOSITE. Plate 9. Health Man, Bartholomew the Englishman, *Livre des propriétés des choses*. Western France, second quarter of the 15th century. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS fr. 135, p. 113 (detail)

4 Saracens, Tartars, & Other Crusader Fantasies

This land of Jerusalem has been in many different peoples' hands—Jews, Canaanites, Assyrians, men of Persia, Medians, Macedonians, Greeks, Romans, Christians, Saracens, Barbarians, Türks, Tartars, and many other nations. For Christ desires not that it should long remain in the hands of traitors or sinners, Christian or otherwise. And now unbelievers have held that land seven score years and more—but by the grace of God they shall not keep it for long.
—*The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*

Pagans are wrong and Christians are right.
—*The Song of Roland*



THIS LAST PITHY SENTIMENT is voiced twice in *The Song of Roland*, the renowned medieval epic tale of the triumph of Christian forces over the formidable military might—but hopelessly “erroneous” religious beliefs—of the Spanish Muslims.¹ The principle that “pagans are wrong and Christians are right” consistently underpinned medieval Christian interactions with non-Christians, who were referred to collectively throughout the Middle Ages as “pagans.”² This was a principle that operated in both real and imaginary spheres. Indeed, the author of *Herzog Ernst* justifies on Christian grounds his fictive hero’s slaughters of even the (pagan) Monstrous Races!³ As in *The Song of Roland*, it is made very clear in this tale that in conflicts with heathens, the heathens deserve defeat and death at the hands of righteous Christians.

Unfortunately, the “truth” of this conviction also justified Christian action against “pagans” that was by no means confined to rhetoric or epic tales. During the crusades, the invasion, slaughter, and pillage of the non-Christian inhabitants of the Holy Land and elsewhere were justified by the Christian claim that this was Holy War.⁴ Accordingly, non-Christians must be destroyed and the sacred territories they illegally occupy rightfully reclaimed for Christ and Christendom, as soberly put forth in the opening quote to this chapter, taken from *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*.⁵ Well before the Mandeville author’s time, the Christian war against their non-Christian enemies was no longer merely



exegetical or theoretical, although theory and exegesis provided a powerful ideological arsenal that worked in tandem with the military one. This, I believe, is largely why the period of increased interest in the Monstrous Races, pejorative renderings of Jews, and the application of the pictorial code of rejection to other non-Christian political enemies corresponds with that of the crusades, which acted as a powerful stimulus for these ideas. The age of the crusades saw papal mandates to accelerate missionary efforts both at home and abroad, resulting in mendicant travel to the East and providing still another reason for crusaders to confront the "pagans": to deliver a message from Christ.⁶

Muslims, referred to pejoratively as "Saracens," were the principal enemies of the crusaders because they occupied the Holy Land that was the object of Christian recovery. However, Mongols and other Central Asian groups known collectively and pejoratively as "Tatars" constituted an even more frightening enemy once they invaded Eastern Europe in the mid-thirteenth century. And, the Jews continued to be the most despised local enemy, their persecution now justified as part of the larger Church objective to rid the world of the non-Christian menace. Robert Chazan has observed that "the outlawing of Judaism emerged as a side-effect of the Church-sponsored war against Islam."⁷ This chapter will examine literary and pictorial responses to each of these enemy groups in order to determine what they reveal about crusader goals and how they helped to justify the theoretically un-Christian activity of murder.

I have already noted the growing importance during the thirteenth century of conversion activity mandated by the papacy and carried out largely by the mendicant orders. It is important to recognize, however, that conversion targets included not just the Jews but, in theory, all non-Christians, presumed to flourish both in the midst of Christian society as well as in the most distant places at the edges of the known world. The most important artistic testimonies to this idea are the world maps, originally conceived as illustrations of Christ's mission to the apostles.⁸ This is why on the Spanish Beatus maps, so-called because they are included in tenth- through thirteenth-century copies of the commentary on the Apocalypse composed by Beatus of Liébana (d. 798), pains were taken to illustrate not only the populated land masses known to exist, but also those less certain. In particular, some of these maps depict the theoretical "fourth continent," commonly known as the Antipodes, whose existence gave rise to great controversy owing to the theological problems it posed for strict interpreters of Scriptures.⁹ The idea was to count for the Church all humanity who might be out there, and if necessary, to err on the side of optimism. In other words, an important purpose of the world maps, from the Beatus maps to the later medieval Hereford Map, was to visualize the extent of the Christian mission. This was a mission inherited by the contemporary Church from the apostles who received their orders from Christ himself, who said: "But you shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you, and you shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and Samaria, and even to the uttermost part of the earth" (Acts 1:8).

The most celebrated testimony to the Church's contemporary mission is the famous tympanum at the abbey church of La Madeleine in Vézelay (figs. 12, 13, 14). In the first chapter, I noted the inclusion of Monstrous Races among the inhabitants of the known world, dispersed along the architectural peripheries in the lintel and the archivolts, the metaphorical, architectural equivalent of a location along the periphery of the known world (fig. 4). In this context, the presence of Monstrous Races not only argues in favor of their humanity and concomitant potential for salvation, as noted earlier, but, given the time the tympanum was carved (c. 1125) and the fact that the Cluniac abbey of Vézelay was positioned on one of the pilgrimage roads where crusaders bound for Jerusalem gathered, it carried additional and important meaning. Bernard of Clairvaux preached the Second Crusade here in 1146, and Richard the Lionheart and Philip Augustus departed for the Mediterranean coast from Vézelay in 1190 to participate in the Third Crusade. This means that the tympanum would have been viewed by many whose minds were turned toward the Holy Land, whether for spoils, violence, spreading the Word of God, or some combination of these. Therefore, there is good reason to believe that, gazing at the images of the Monstrous Races, crusaders may have interpreted these as the contemporary Muslims they would encounter in the East.¹⁰

This idea is really not as far-fetched as it might initially appear. In fact, the Saracens of the *chansons de geste* include a wide variety of monstrous types, whose appearance and behavior correspond quite closely to those of the Monstrous Races.¹¹ Some carry rustic arms, such as a club or a hammer. Others live the life of a savage, going around naked or living in a cave. Several are Giants, some are Anthropophagi, one has a boat's head, and another has two mouths, two noses, and four arms. In *Fierabras*, the Saracens named Agolafre has eyes behind his head and ears so large he uses them to shield himself from bad weather, much like the Panotii (fig. 14).¹² In *Les Narbonnais*, the enlarged ears of the Saracens also function in battle as shields.¹³

The Cynocephali, or Dogheads, were especially closely related to descriptions of monstrous Saracens (fig. 13). This is because in both the East and the West, Christian sources often referred to the Muslims as "a race of dogs."¹⁴ Various Christian writers, such as Eulogius of Cordoba (c. 810–859), linked the Prophet himself with dogs because to Muslims, dogs are considered impure.¹⁵ Much later, William of Rubruck (1210–c. 1270) in his *Journey* records a conversation that took place between a monk and some Saracens at the instigation of a Mongol: "Arabicca [a grandson of Genghis Khan], aware of the strife which exists between Christians and Saracens, asked the monk if he knew these Saracens. He replied, 'I know that they are dogs. Why do you have them in your company?' 'Why,' said they to him, 'do you insult us when we have not insulted you?' The monk replied to them: 'I speak the truth; you and your Mahomet are vile dogs.'¹⁶ A similar attitude is expressed by Marco Polo in his *Travels*. He tells the story of a Christian king of Abyssinia who exacted revenge upon the Sultan of Aden for his forcible circumcision of an Abyssinian bishop by ravaging his land and killing many Saracens. "Nothing

marvelous in this," opines Marco, "for it is unworthy that Saracen dogs should rule over Christians."⁷⁷

Saracens are actually transformed into dogs in epic and romance literature. In *The Song of Roland*, the Saracens of Argouille yelp like dogs.⁷⁸ In the Middle English romance, *King Alisaunder*, the Saracen army of Darius includes dog-men who "could not speak or shout, but like hounds bared their teeth and barked,"⁷⁹ and the Saracen enemies in the Middle English version of *Richard Coeur de Lion* are described as "heathen hounds."⁸⁰ What more effective way to give this popular, pejorative idea high-profile visual form than by substituting Cynocephali for Muslims on the tympanum that marks the entrance to an important crusading rallying point (fig. 12)? Such a substitution may also be observed on the Romanesque church facades of Aquitaine, which are rich in crusader associations. For example, an archivolt with voussiors decorated entirely with images of dogs over the central portal of Saint-Pierre at Parthenay-le-Vieux is aligned to another over the north portal carved with repeated images of Saracen temptresses.⁸¹

In fact, by the time the Vézelay tympanum was carved, relationships between Dogheads and other Christian enemies were well established in other contexts. For example, Jews were derisively referred to as "dogs" by medieval churchmen, and in works of art, Jews were sometimes even given canine countenances, as in the image of Christ surrounded by dog-headed Jews in the ninth-century Khiludov Psalter.⁸² The accompanying inscription reads: "the Hebrews, the ones called dogs."⁸³ James Marrow has shown that this type of image expresses through physiological form the merging of the Jews with a figural statement in Psalm 21, in which the psalmist, confronted by his enemies, imagines himself "encompassed by many dogs" (Ps. 21:17).⁸⁴ This is in fact the textual context for the Khiludov Psalter image.⁸⁵ But such images do more than forge a visual connection to the Scriptures; they also merge the idea of the Jews with that of the monstrous. That is, by substituting Cynocephali for Jews in scenes of Christ's Passion, the artists effectively portrayed the Jews as Monstrous Race, with the full implications of such a label. Could the Vézelay Dogheads therefore represent Jews as well as Muslims (fig. 13)? This would be very economical, especially given that destruction of the Jews was viewed by some crusaders as an incidental task undertaken on the way to confrontation with the Eastern infidel. Perhaps the different Monstrous Races (Cynocephali, Scirtae, Pygmies, Panotii) on the Vézelay tympanum functioned as multivalent signs of the variety of monstrous non-Christians encountered along the pilgrimage/missionary/crusader roads.

If the tympanum at Vézelay may be said to visualize the "before" of the crusader mission, then the one at Beaulieu visualizes the "after." That is, while the Vézelay tympanum depicts the christological event providing the justification for the crusades, the eschatological ramifications of their successful completion are depicted on the twelfth-century tympanum of the abbey church in Beaulieu. This image of the Last Judgment contains a prominent reference to the conversion of both Jews and Muslims, thus situ-



Fig. 74. Jews and Saracens. Detail of tympanum, c. 1130. Abbey Church of Beaulieu

ating it simultaneously within eschatological and crusader thought-worlds. Beneath Christ's feet are small, male, gesturing figures of three Jews and a Muslim, each identifiable by his headgear: the Jews wear different versions of the Jew hat, and the Muslim wears the characteristic headband, or *tortil*, and all four figures are bearded (fig. 74). I am not convinced by the earlier argument that this image represents Jews asserting their status as God's chosen people, nor do I accept the suggestion that owing to their clothing, the figures must represent Jews who are alive on Judgment Day.⁸⁶ This interpretation does not account for the presence of the Muslim and does not provide a plausible explanation for the clothing, either, because without costumes, it would be impossible to identify the figures as Jewish or Muslim. I suggest that the actual process of Jewish and Muslim conversion to Christianity and subsequent salvation is dramatically signified by their prominent positioning on Christ's right, the side of the elect. Like the Abingdon Apocalypse image discussed in the last chapter (fig. 38), the Beaulieu tympanum depicts the fulfillment of the prophecy of Saint Paul (Rom. 11:25–26) referred to by Bernard of Clairvaux in a letter written "To the English People" as a reaction to the violence of the Second Crusade. Bernard warned, "the Jews are not to be persecuted, killed or even put to flight" because "we are told by the Apostle that *when the time is ripe all Israel shall be saved*."⁸⁷ The principal difference between the Beaulieu and Abingdon visual messages is that they focus on different chronological moments: the Beaulieu tympanum depicts the benefits of conversion at the Last Judgment while the Abingdon image describes the blissful end result in the Heavenly Jerusalem. The presence of the Muslim among the Beaulieu elect gives the Last Judgment scenario a contemporary interpretation, and reassures viewers that the Christian conflict in the Holy Land will reap spiritual rewards for all. It is on the one hand an image of a conventional Christian concept, but on the other, it is a visual testimony to the all-embracing power of the Christian mission and a bold prediction of ultimate Christian victory over both Jews and Muslims, both in this world and the next. That the sculpted images at both Vézelay and Beaulieu carried encoded messages for crusaders is not without parallel. For example, the sculptural program on the Royal Portal of Notre-Dame at Chartres employs the subject of the Massacre of the Innocents as a vehicle for reinforcing crusader beliefs about the perfidy of the Jews, the depravity of the Muslims, and the crusaders' own status as Holy Warriors.⁸⁸

Both Jews and Muslims were united in the crusaders' consciousness as the most pernicious of God's enemies, and so the elimination of both groups was an important means to the larger end of creating an entirely Christian world. One of the more interesting

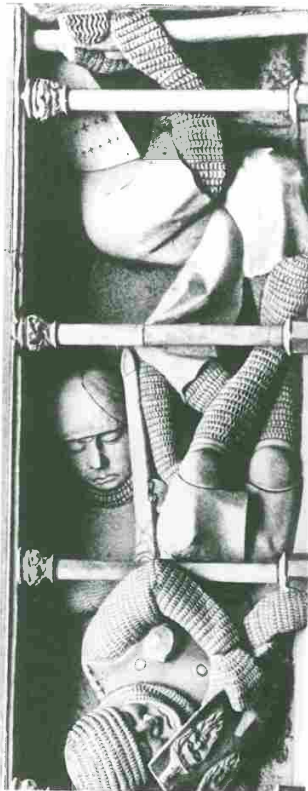


Fig. 75. Guardians of the Holy Sepulcher. Detail of tympanum, c. 1320–30, Strasbourg Cathedral

expressions of this goal comes from Peter the Venerable, who in his 1146 letter to Louis VII provided a more nuanced justification for the hatred of both groups and suggested a way to work one against the other:

If the Saracens are to be detested . . . how much more are the Jews to be execrated and hated who, utterly insensible to Christ and the Christian faith, reject, blaspheme, and ridicule that virgin birth and all the sacraments of human redemption? Nor do I say this to incite them not to be killed, but to be preserved in a life worse than death, like Cain the fratricide, for greater ignominy . . . I . . . exhort that they be punished in a way suitable to their wickedness. And what more fitting way to punish those impious people than . . . that those who have been enriched by fraud be deprived of what they have wretchedly . . . stolen? Let their lives be spared and their money taken away, so that the audacity of the infidel Saracens may be conquered by the right hands of the Christians, aided by the memory of the blaspheming Jews. . . . All this, debonaire king, I have written from love of Christ and of yourself and the Christian army.³⁹

Whatever else it might reveal, Peter's plea for sparing the lives of the Jews reiterates the generally accepted Church view that Jews were to be protected from crusader violence, as expressed by Bernard of Clairvaux. However, such pleas were not always heeded by the crusaders themselves. The First and Second Crusades were both marked by appalling massacres of Jews carried out by frenzied knights en route to much larger-scale violence in the Holy Land.⁴⁰ However,

The crusaders' attack on the Jews was more than an accidental outgrowth of the attack on the Muslims. It was, like the latter, integral to that idealized quest for a pure Christian society. . . . The impulses that drove Christians to attack the Muslims also drove them to attack Jews. If Muslims were polluting the distant Holy Land, Jews were polluting Christian territories at home. If Muslims were fighting Christ's army of warriors, Jews stood opposed to Christ's mystical family, the Church. If Muslims in the East symbolized mythical unknowns, the Jews did so all the more in the West, because of the latter's unique "sacred history." As Christians failed to distinguish the real Holy Land from the mythical one depicted on maps, so, it seems, they also failed to distinguish their real enemies, the Muslims, from their imaginary ones, the Jews. Were not the Jews, moreover, deserving of punishment for murdering Christ? At the time of the crusades, this was being said ever more frequently.⁴¹

A depiction of the guardians of the Holy Sepulcher on the central tympanum of Strasbourg Cathedral, sculpted about 1320–30, provides an indirect but succinct expression of the crusaders' attitude toward the Jews (fig. 75). One of three knights garbed in contemporary Christian armor lies with his head cradled in his shield. The shield bears an image of a bearded Jew's head wearing a prominent, inverted funnel cap. The small Jew's head literally crushed beneath the weight of the knight is symbolic of the tiny Western European Jewish population crushed by the power of Christendom. It is significant that this tympanum image is but a small part of a larger anti-Jewish pictorial program at Strasbourg Cathedral. Depicted on this same tympanum are other Jewish figures, many of whom wear inverted funnel caps and play negative roles in scenes of Christ's Passion. One of these is the figure of Hetroit, who according to legend was the Jewish woman who forged the three nails used for Christ's crucifixion because her husband, the forger, refused to do so. The famous thirteenth-century sculptures of Synagoga and Ecclesia and a column figure of Antichrist are positioned on the south portal. Still elsewhere may be found a deeply degrading *Judeusattu* capital.⁴²

References to the anti-Jewish aspect of crusader goals may even be found in the seemingly unrelated context of the medieval bestiaries. For example, the Cambridge Bestiary includes an image of the elephant which is in many ways quite conventional (fig. 76). The elephant is shown in his battle guise, a function described in the text that was very popular in thirteenth-century medieval bestiary illustration and later medieval art in various other media.⁴³ In the Cambridge image, the elephant supports a *houdbak* on his back in which four warriors ride, wielding different contemporary weapons. Standing in the right margin is a figure who represents the driver, or *manhou*, who is attempting to pull the elephant forward by means of reins pulled through the animal's nostrils.

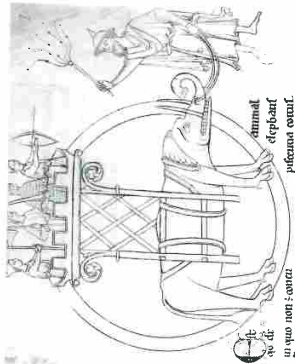


Fig. 76. Elephant. Cambridge Bestiary, North Midlands(?), c. 1200–1210. University Library, Cambridge, MS II.4.26, fol. 7 (detail)

Upon closer inspection, however, the elephant image includes some interesting and unusual features. All four of the warriors have their weapons aimed not at an approaching enemy army, as depicted in other bestiary battle elephant images,³⁴ but rather at the manhout, who is much larger in scale. The manhout is also dressed differently, has a long beard, and wears the inverted funnel type of *pileum cornutum*. Most tellingly, he wields not a contemporary animal whip, but a scourge. The elephant, meanwhile, grimaces in pain and fear in anticipation of the blow he is about to receive.

These unusual pictorial features of the Cambridge Bestiary elephant image are explainable through reference to the accompanying text, which characterizes the elephant as a figure of Christ.³⁵ Immediately, then, it is apparent that the manhout is rendered as a Jew about to scourge and humiliate the elephant, just as the Jews were said to have scourged and humiliated Christ. The warriors in the howdah may be read as crusaders, their aggressive efforts directed at the Jew, just as the real crusaders sought to wipe out the Jews along with all other non-Christian enemies of Christ. This interpretation of the scene is further strengthened by the fact that other thirteenth-century bestiary elephant images convert this subject to a contemporary military one, including in at least one case an explicit reference to the Knights Templar.³⁶

A different type of graphic, physical expression of anti-Jewish hostility inspired by crusader activity found its way into apocalyptic imagery, in a continuation of the trend observable at Beaulieu and in the Abingdon Apocalypse of situating the Christian-Jewish conflict within an eschatological framework. Returning to the Abingdon Apocalypse, a commentary image of a king and bishop about to slaughter a hump-backed Jew with a sword in order to bar his entrance to heaven would seem to advocate tactics at odds with Peter the Venerable's plea, and in fact sought to recast as fulfillment of prophecy the actual, violent events of the time (fig. 39). Or perhaps the image promoted such activities, period. Images interpreted in the last chapter as references to forced conversion might just as well have been read as more general expressions of anti-Jewish hatred, references to—or perhaps triumphal advertisements of—the actual annihilation of contemporary Jews at the hands of the crusaders (figs. 68, 69, 70).

Crusader interests provide still another dimension to the extraordinary image of the Third Horseman in the thirteenth-century copy of Alexander's commentary on the Apocalypse (fig. 56). I noted in the last chapter that the image and text ostensibly concern Emperor Titus's sale of thirty Jews for a silver denarius following his conquest of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. The conquest, described in detail by the Jewish historian and gen-

eral Josephus (c. 37–c. 100) in his *Jewish Wars*, was commonly interpreted by medieval Christians as God's judgment against all Jews and a justification for their perpetual servitude.³⁷ The episode was subsequently given a crusading gloss in a crusade-encyclical originally attributed to Pope Sergius IV (1009–1012) but more likely composed during the twelfth century, probably at the abbey of Moissac.³⁸ In this encyclical, Titus's and Vespasian's destruction of Jerusalem to avenge the Savior is interpreted as a forecast of the crusaders' victory in this same city.³⁹ Hence, this complex image of the Third Horseman carries a message relevant to crusaders that Holy War is a justified and appropriate defense of the Christian truth confirmed long ago in the earlier conquest of Jerusalem. However, as Rachel Dressler has noted, because Jerusalem was no longer a Jewish city, by this time Christian wrath experienced a marked shift from the Jews to the Muslims.⁴⁰

Saracens

Just as the medieval Christian image of Jews bore little resemblance to actual Jews, so the medieval Christian view of Muslims bore little resemblance to actual Muslims. Just as we might speak of an "imaginary Jew," so we can refer with equal confidence to an "imaginary Muslim." The term "Saracen" (*saraceni*, *Sarrasini*, *Sarazini*), while sometimes applied to other non-Christian or "pagan" groups, was used very consistently in literary, legal, and theological contexts to refer to followers of Islam.⁴¹ While Muslims did not carry the special stigma associated with the Jews as Christ's supposed murderers, Islam was nevertheless considered a dangerous heresy and its adherents seriously depraved. It is significant that Islam was widely classified as a heresy and Muhammad as an arch-heretic, because this implicitly acknowledges that there are close correspondences between Islam and Christianity.⁴² Accordingly, Dante in his *Inferno* positioned Muhammad in hell with his face split open as punishment for being a "sower of scandal and schism."⁴³ Jacques de Vitry (c. 1170–1240), the French prelate and historian of the Fifth Crusade, was less kind: "Like another Antichrist and the first-born son of Satan, transfigured like Satan into an angel of light, Muhammad, upheld by God's great anger and special displeasure, with the cooperation of the enemy of the human race, perverted . . . more people than any other heretic before his time."⁴⁴ Moreover, Muhammad's heresy was related to other heresies: according to the Cluniacs, Arius, Muhammad, and Antichrist formed a continuum of denial of God in progressively more offensive form.⁴⁵ Worst of all, Islam carried the "taint" of Judaism, as Muhammad was believed to have received much of his knowledge of Scriptures from Jewish prophets.⁴⁶ According to Peter the Venerable, it was the Muslims' duty to accept the Jewish prophets because the Holy Ghost inspired them and because Arabs and Jews shared the same inheritance: descent from Ishmael and Isaac, the practice of circumcision inherited from their father Abraham, a common race, an "almost common" language, style, and "famous things of literature."⁴⁷

As followers of the wrong religion, Muslims were automatic enemies of Christendom.



Fig. 77. Jews worshipping an idol. Hereford Map (detail). Lincoln, 1290s. Hereford Cathedral

and like the Jews, were believed to worship idols. The Cluniac *summula* asserted that Muhammad “lived a barbarian among barbarians and an idolater among idolaters.”⁴⁸ In their own image, medieval Christians even invented for Islam an idolatrous Trinity, consisting of Muhammad, the god Apollo, and the enigmatic god Tervagant.⁴⁹ The Saracen predilection for venerating graven images—which in reality was a practice forbidden in Islam as it was in Judaism—is implied on the Hereford Map in an intriguing image located just west of the Red Sea (fig. 77). Here, bearded but hatless Jews (inscribed *Judei*), including one with a prominent hooked nose, are depicted worshipping a bestial idol that is defeating a string of coins. Besides functioning as a double reference to Jewish idolatry and usury, the idol is labeled *Mahum*, one of the medieval words for the Prophet. At first puzzling, the idol’s name makes sense in light of the fact that medieval epic poets often identified the Prophet with an idol which could be carried around, as well as to the “mahumeries” or “sinagogues” where his idol could be permanently worshiped.⁵⁰ In fact, Fulcher of Chartres (c. 1059–c. 1127), in his chronicle of the First Crusade, asserted that the idol of Muhammad was positioned by the Saracens inside the Temple of the Lord.⁵¹ I suggest that by blending both Jewish and Saracen references, the little scene on the Hereford Map refers simultaneously to both Jewish and Muslim idolatry. Disguised as a biblical reference to the Old Testament worship of the Golden Calf by the Israelites, the inscriptions provide a more contemporary condemnation on a map whose production corresponded with both the expulsion of the Jews from England and intense Christian-Muslim conflict resulting in the Muslim reoccupation of Palestine and Syria.⁵²

Saracen idolatry, like Jewish idolatry, was an ongoing Christian preoccupation. Numerous references to the idolatry of the Saracens are included in the *chansons de geste*, the major imaginative arena for the creation of the medieval Saracen. In *The Song of Roland*, during a protracted battle against the Christians, “The Emir calls upon Apollo, Tervagant and also Muhammad: ‘My lord gods, I have served you very long, I shall make all your graven images pure gold.’”⁵³

The fictional romance vision of Saracen idolatry was extremely influential and was paralleled in imagery found not only in illustrated epic but also in chronicle accounts of the crusades.⁵⁴ For example, a vision of idolatrous Saracens is featured in the opening

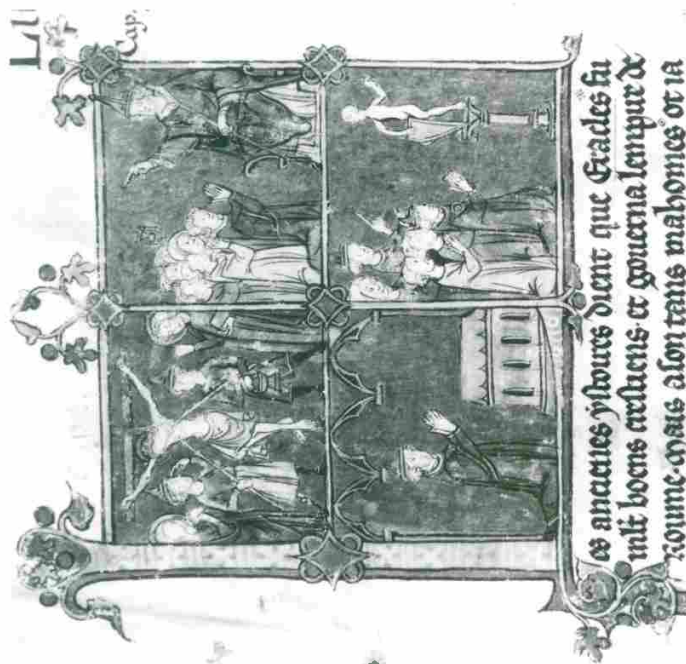


Fig. 78. Pope Urban preaches the First Crusade against idolaters in the Holy Land. William of Tyre, *Estoire d'Eracles*. Paris, c. 1295–1300. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, MS W. 137, fol. 1 (detail)

miniature of a late-thirteenth-century Parisian compilation which includes the *Estoire d'Eracles*, a popular crusader chronicle (fig. 78).⁵⁵ In the top register is an image of Pope Urban II preaching the First Crusade to a crowd in Clermont, an event that actually took place in 1095. In the lower register, a Christian praying before the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem is juxtaposed with a group of Saracens praying and gesticulating before an idol mounted on a pedestal. Located directly below the image of the preaching pope, the vision of idolatrous Saracens provides the instantly graspable justification for waging the First Crusade: to reclaim the Holy Land for Christ and to rid it of this idolatrous pestilence. The pope gestures and gazes over the heads of the kneeling crowd toward the suffering Christ depicted to his right, making clear in whose name and by whose authority the crusade is waged. Finally, in the lower register, the idolatry of the

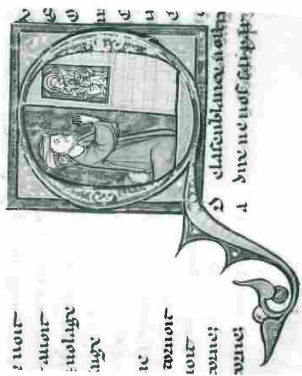


Fig. 79. Saracen kneeling before an image of the Virgin. Gauthier de Coinet, *Miracles de Notre Dame*. Paris, early 1280s. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS fr. 1533, fol. 100v (detail)

Saracens is contrasted with the devotion of a single faithful Christian who eschews graven images for Christ himself.

Indirect references to Saracen idolatry may be found in imagery ostensibly dedicated to some other subject, in a technique that we have already observed in certain images of medieval Jews. Most notable among these are images of the Flight into Egypt, which often show an idol or two falling off a pedestal upon the arrival of the Holy Family into Egypt.⁶⁵ Michael Camille has hypothesized that such imagery, conventional illustrations of an episode in the life of Christ described in the apocryphal text of Pseudo-Matthew,⁶⁷ would have resonated with thirteenth-century viewers also as a sign of Saracen idolatry owing to the fact that the crusades of the first half of this century were directed against the Ayyuidd sultans of Egypt.⁶⁸

To medieval Christians, that Saracens were idolaters put them in the same ideological category as the Jews or, for that matter, all non-Christians: if the object of worship was not the Christian God, it was by necessity idolatrous. After all, Augustine had proclaimed that everything is idolatry that is done without faith in Christ.⁶⁹ Still, a late-thirteenth-century image of a converted Muslim, bearded and turbaned, kneeling in right profile before an image of the Virgin, is compositionally indistinguishable from images of Muslim or Jewish idol-worshipping (fig. 79; figs. 77, 78).⁶⁶ Visually, this suggests that it was not the act of worshipping an image that was problematic for Church authorities but rather the identity of the image worshiped, long-standing and elaborate theological arguments to the contrary notwithstanding. In other words, this image of a Virgin-worshipping Saracen raises the thorny issue of how to distinguish between an idol and an icon, a problem never satisfactorily resolved by the Church.⁶¹ And given their supposed idol-worshipping tendencies, the image perhaps also suggests that like converted Jews, converted Muslims are to be regarded with suspicion. It should not be overlooked, however, that the image accompanies a text that describes miracles of the Virgin, and the text and image pertaining to the conversion of the Saracen were likely included as an impressive illustration of her great power.⁶¹ Nevertheless, positioning the Muslim in the familiar pose of idol-worship reinforces the Saracen's image as idolater and probably also expresses a certain uneasiness concerning the function of images in a *Christian* context.

Christians believed that Saracen idolatry, like Jewish idolatry, went hand-in-hand with allegiance to the Devil. The *chansons de gestes* routinely mention the blackness of Saracen skin,⁶⁵ which we have already seen carried powerful demonic associations in texts

and images of black Ethiopians. While the claim has been made that the dark skin of both Ethiopians and Saracens is related to historical reality, it is equally clear that it is a symbolic convention observable in numerous other contexts that seek to contrast the (dark) sinful from the (white) virtuous.⁶⁴ This is why, for example, in the English romance *King of Tars*, the Sowdan of Damas loses his ferociousness along with his color in the baptismal font, where he turns from black to white.⁶⁵ In its description of the Turks, the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* (Itinerary of the Pilgrims), a chronicle of the Third Crusade probably written by an English crusader, emphasizes blackness along with the other standard pejorative characteristics of physical deformity and idolatry:

Among [the Christians'] opponents was a fiendish race, forceful and relentless, deformed by nature and unlike other living beings, black in color, of enormous stature and inhuman savageness. Instead of helmets they wore red coverings on their heads, brandishing in their hands clubs bristling with iron teeth, whose shattering blows neither helmets nor mailshirts could resist. As a standard they carried a carved effigy of Muhammad. There was such an enormous crowd of this violent race as they rushed on the trench that no sooner had some been knocked to the ground than others followed.⁶⁶

In this passage, blackness, "fiendishness," physical deformity, and demonic weaponry emphasize the almost genetic connection between the Turks and the Devil, a comparison drawn in many contemporary sources that seek to denigrate Muslims. While Jews are repeatedly characterized as demonic and as followers of the Devil, Muslims and even Muhammad himself are identified as actual demons. For example, Eulogius of Cordoba refers to Muhammad as an "angel of Satan" (*angelum Satanæ*) and "precursor of Antichrist" (*precivium Antichristi*).⁶⁷ According to Fulcher of Chartres, Pope Urban II in his exhortation to join the First Crusade warned of the disgrace that would befall Christians "if a race so despicable, degenerate, and enslaved by demons should thus overcome a people endowed with faith in Almighty God and resplendent in the name of Christ."⁶⁸ In the same vein, the anonymous chronicler of the First Crusade labeled the mosque outside Antioch a "devil's chapel" (*diabolicum atrium*).⁶⁹ William of Tyre described Muhammad as the "first-born of Saran" who "seduced" the Orient with his "pestilent" doctrine.⁷⁰ In the *chansons de geste*, Saracens are characterized alternately as people of the Devil, enemies of God, people of Satan, sons of Satan, sons of devils, and diabolical beings.⁷¹

Christian crusaders apparently embraced the notion of the demonic Saracen as readily as they did the idea of the demonic Jew. An interesting image in a copy of the *Grandes chroniques de France* executed for Charles V in the 1370s depicts Saracens disguised as dark demons attempting to frighten the horses of Charlemagne's knights, thus



Fig. 80. Saracens frightening the French knights' horses. *Grandes Chroniques de France*, Paris, 1370s. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS fr. 2813, fol. 119 (detail)

giving visual form to the conviction held by crusaders that their opponents were agents of the Devil (fig. 80).⁷³ The dark-skinned Saracen demons, with disproportionately large heads; grotesque physiognomy featuring enlarged eyes, noses, and mouths; and long, pointed horns, are shown beating their drums as they stare and bare their pointed teeth menacingly in the direction of the mounted Charlemagne and his Christian knights. Although the image illustrates an historical episode that occurred during the ninth century, it would have had more immediate resonance given the time, place, and context of its execution, details of the image itself, and ideological patterns related to the crusades.

It is well known that Charlemagne was a prototype for contemporary crusaders as a great French Christian king and conqueror of "pagan" Muslim forces in Spain. He was also a model for French kingship.⁷⁴ This is why the story of Charlemagne was incorporated into cycles of illustration devoted to the glorification of crusading activity, such as the now lost twelfth-century stained-glass crusading window at Saint-Denis.⁷⁵ The contemporary significance of these battle scenes is emphasized by the rendering of contemporary arms and armor, and in the case of the Saint-Denis window, the armor is sufficiently detailed to differentiate the French from the Muslim forces.⁷⁶ In the *Grandes chroniques* image, Charlemagne's army is also "updated" by the anachronistic use of the French royal arms of the fleurs-de-lis on the emperor's shield and tunic.⁷⁶

During the fourteenth century, in a manuscript devoted to legitimizing and celebrating French royal power, the *Grandes chroniques* image emphasizes the role of the French kings in ridding Christendom of the pagan infidel, which is in keeping with the political ideology of Louis IX, under whose patronage the text was originally commissioned. It is also notable that the chronicle was composed at the royal abbey of Saint-Denis over a period of one hundred years, and thus its content was shaped by the political interests of the French monarchy, including Edward III, who in 1340 called for a crusade to free the Holy Land.⁷⁷ The willingness to go on crusade as an illustration of kingly behavior is an emphasis in fr. 2813 in response to the interests of its owner, Charles V. Charles was also the first French king to promote actively the cult of Charlemagne.⁷⁸ It must be added, however, that there is little evidence that Charles V was ever seriously interested in a crusade;⁷⁹ rather, crusading is promoted in his manuscript as one of sev-

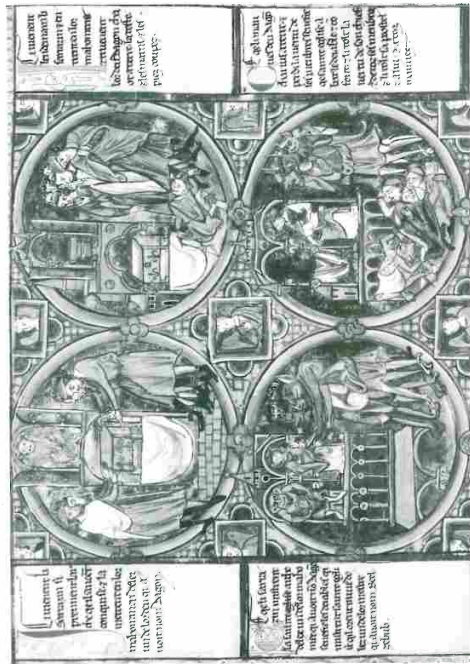


Fig. 81. Theft of the Ark of the Covenant. *Bible moralisée*, Paris, 1220s. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, MS 5554, fol. 36 (detail)

eral important kingly virtues, with emphasis on the victories accomplished by the great French monarchs of the past. Hence the image of Charlemagne's forces represented ideas considerably more current and related either directly or indirectly to the crusades.

The relationship between Saracens and all things demonic was conveyed in the Vienna Bible through an ingenious act of substitution that connects Saracens to both idolatry and the Devil. An interesting series of texts and images is devoted to the story described in 1 Kings 4–5 of the battle between the Israelites and Philistines that resulted in the theft of the Ark of the Covenant (fig. 81). However, a series of paired roundels that illustrates the Old Testament events substitutes Saracens for Philistines as the opponents of Israel, and by contemporary extension, Holy Church. In order to adhere to the biblical account (1 Kings 5:1–2), the upper left roundel on the second folio of images devoted to this story should depict the Philistines setting up the Ark in the temple of Dagon next to the idol. But the accompanying text (with my emphases) reads: "Here the *Saracens* (*Sarruzin*) come and take the ark that they had conquered and put it in their *mosque* (*mabonner*) beside one of their gods named Dagon."⁸⁰ Accordingly, the lower roundel's moralization reads: "That the Saracens placed the holy ark beside one of their idols named Dagon signifies the devils who put the Holy Church, which they have stolen, beside one of their masters named Beelzebub."⁸¹ In the pendant image, the artist transforms the Saracens into actual grimacing, misshapen demons, shown placing upon a

Innocent III and carried out largely by French nobility against the Albigensian or Cathar heretics in southern France for some twenty years during the first quarter of the thirteenth century.⁸⁶

The lower roundel that accompanies the moralization reinforces its contemporary relevance. On the left, two tonsured clerics holding books communicate the extent of the Albigensian heresy before a group of Christian "princes." Dressed in chain mail covered by a bright red tunic, the large, frontal figure on the right is clearly the royal military leader, calling for action with a dramatic gesture of his right hand, while firmly clasping his prominent sword in his left. Such an image also reminds the viewer that the crusades were a joint religious/secular effort, sanctioned by the Church but carried out by secular knights, some of them royal.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTIONS

In most of the imagery discussed so far, grotesque physiognomy is not necessarily an identifying feature of the Saracens, just as pejorative images of Jews do not necessarily involve the distortion of facial features or other physical deformities. But often, in negative images of Saracens as well as of Jews, this is indeed the case. Again, the descriptions in the *chansons de geste* are instrumental in promoting the notion of physically striking Saracens. Most are dark-skinned, some are ugly, and nearly all possess extraordinary size and strength.⁸⁷

Symbolizing both sinful and demonic characteristics, dark skin is an identifying attribute of Saracens to such an extent that a claim has been put forward for what amounts to a Saracen/Ethiopian "hybrid," especially among crusaders, who distinguished between white and black Muslims (figs. 84, 86 [plate 4, 88, 91]).⁸⁸ However, context and other identifying attributes, such as headgear and weaponry, make most Saracen identifications quite straightforward and clearly distinguishable from Ethiopian portraits. If the implications of the argument for a Saracen/Ethiopian hybrid are carried to their extreme, given the general prevalence of dark skin and disorted features in pejorative representations, there must also be many Jew/Ethiopian and Tartar/Ethiopian hybrids (figs. 39, 41 [plate 10, 43, 106, 110]). So unless we are to consider all of these portraits as representations of persons who are "part Ethiopian," which would be unjustifiable on contextual grounds, then this concept must be abandoned. I suggest that what representations of Saracen/Ethiopian "hybrids" actually reveal is the extent to which a common pejorative visual vocabulary is applied across different enemy types: this is why demons, Jews, Ethiopians, Saracens, and other negative figures are all at various times portrayed with dark skin as well as with a number of other physiognomical features which are the ongoing concern of this study.

It should also be noted that Saracens in the *chansons* are sometimes described as extraordinarily *handsome*, and some are blond rather than dark.⁸⁹ The reasons for the dual descriptions of Saracens in these literary contexts will be discussed presently. For

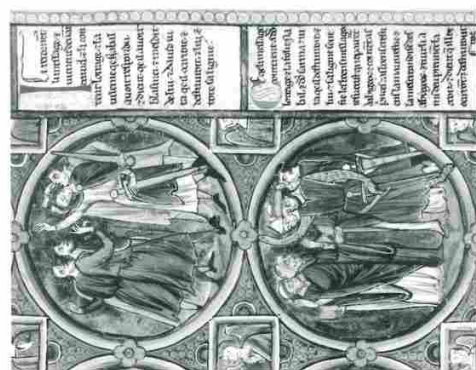


Fig. 82. Call for action against Nabal; call for a crusade against the Albigensians. *Bible moralisée*, Paris, 1220s. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, MS 2554, fol. 40v (detail)

twin altar an image of the small but majestic Ecclesia beside a dark, demonic idol. Furthermore, the Saracen-devils bear the skin colors of infamy: red, yellow, and black. In the text, the Church (the "New Israel") is opposed by her archenemies, identified as contemporary followers of Islam (the "New Philistines").

The next pair of images continues the substitution of Saracens for Philistines, combined with the accusation of idolatry. The upper right roundel depicts several figures staring at a fallen idol representing the Philistines regarding their fallen idol of Dagon (1 Kings 5:3–4). However, the accompanying French text reads (again with my emphases): "Here the Saracens come the next day and enter their mosque and find their god Dagon fallen to the ground, the head and hands and feet broken off."⁹⁰ The pendant image in the roundel directly below shows the same group of devils depicted in the previous moralization image (roundel to its immediate left), this time standing before the altar and regarding their demonic idol which is lying on the ground among several dead human figures. Meanwhile, Ecclesia, still seated on the altar and holding her chalice, also regards the fallen. The accompanying text explains: "That the wicked god Dagon fell to the ground and lost the power of his members signifies that Holy Church knocks down the Devil and confounds and seizes the power of his head and all his members and takes his power from him and all his evil ones."⁹¹ Here we may read "Muslims" for the "evil ones" who follow the Devil. The message, directed as it was in this case to a royal French patron, would have likely been interpreted as justification for contemporary involvement in crusades waged against Muslims in Spain and in Egypt.⁹²

A more direct promotion of crusading activity in the Vienna Bible may be observed in a subsequent image and moralization concerning the conflict between King David and Nabal (1 Kings 2:512–13; fig. 82). The messengers who reported to the king on Nabal's wickedness and David's subsequent decision to take up arms against Nabal are compared in the moralization to "the good messengers of Jesus Christ who return from the Albigensians and recount to the princes and to good Christians the evil and miscreance of the Albigensians and all the friends of God take the cross and say that they will kill and destroy them all."⁹³ At the time this manuscript was produced, this message had particular resonance given the currency of the crusade initially sanctioned by



Fig. 83. Martyrdom of Saint Valerie. Chasse of Saint Valerie (principal face). Limoges, c. 1175–85. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

now, our purpose is to observe how Saracens are shown in pictorial works of art, and by what means they may be visually identified. Like representations of the Jews, such depictions vary, but some are more blatantly pejorative than others. Just as in images of Jews, the key visual factors in determining pejorative value are physiognomical features and/or costume or other attributes that contrast with those of other more “virtuous” figures.

The special importance of headgear in Saracen imagery is apparent in a late-twelfth-century chasse (box for a sacred relic) from Limoges, which is decorated on its principal side with the story of the martyrdom of Saint Valerie (fig. 83).⁹⁸ Besides Saint Valerie herself, who is centrally positioned, the most prominent figure in this scene is the Saracen executioner, shown wearing an elaborate turban and holding a very large sword. He is depicted twice: first grasping Saint Valerie by the wrist, and again decapitating her. The Hand of God emerges from a cloud in a gesture of blessing that also functions as an admonishment, nearly making contact with the hand of the Saracen. Cynthia Hahn has observed that the headgear of the executioner in this scene is a new iconographical addition meant to represent what at the time were the new enemies of Christendom: the Saracens.⁹⁹ I endorse this interpretation, and would go even further to suggest that the juxtaposition of a male Saracen with a female saint may have had resonance for viewers in light of Christian fears of Muslim “contamination” referred to in the last chapter, as articulated in Church councils and codified in canon law.¹⁰⁰ In this case, the specific fear expressed visually appears to be Muslim “violation” of Christian women. On a more basic level, the image also provides a visual opposition by juxtaposing God’s favored (Saint Valerie = Christians) with God’s hated (executioner = Saracens).

Another example of Saracens executing a saint, thus literally fulfilling their role as a threat to Christendom, may be found in *Madame Marie’s Book of Images* (fig. 84). We have already examined one image from this book, that of the Jewish sponge-bearer (fig.

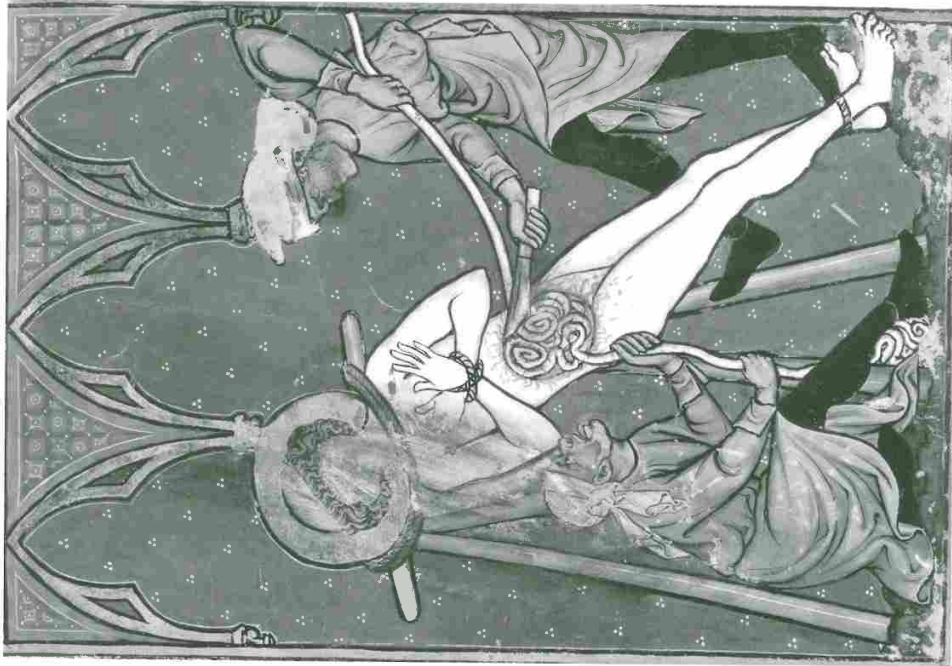


Fig. 84. Martyrdom of Saint Vincent. *Madame Marie’s Book of Images*. Hainaut, c. 1300. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS nouv. acq. 10251, fol. 78

44/plate 13). In its many depictions of saints' martyrdoms, torturers are portrayed as Jews, Ethiopians, and in one case, Saracens. Like the *Osceol* psalter patron, it would appear that Madame Marie was interested in the broader ethnic spectrum of Christian enemies.⁸⁵ The unusual scene of the martyrdom of Saint Vincent features Saracen executioners, shown disemboweling the saint with a knife as well as their bare hands.⁸⁴ Because the image is unfortunately abraded, it is more difficult to read the attributes of the executioner on the right, but the one crouching on the left, pulling a length of intestine into a heap on the ground, exhibits a combination of features often assigned to the Muslim infidel.⁸⁵ Dark-skinned and turned in profile to emphasize his bulbous nose, he wears the identifying turban and looks upward toward Saint Vincent's gurs while sticking out his tongue, a common medieval gesture of mockery with vulgar sexual overtones, and a feature we have already observed in images of demons.⁸⁶ Both he and his fellow executioner wear bright red tunics, the same color of infamy sometimes worn by Jews. The headgear of the executioner on the right has been abraded, but the remaining outlined form does suggest a turban. This image, featuring Saracen executioners, represents the continued trend observed a century earlier in the Valerie Chasse (fig. 83) to substitute the latest enemy of Christendom in pejorative contexts, or in this case, to include them among the traditional ethnic roster.

In spite of the obvious anachronism, Muslim figures sometimes appear in crucifixion imagery. A late-fifteenth-century stained-glass panel from Cologne depicting Christ carrying the cross contains an interesting assortment of evildoers (fig. 85/plate 12).⁸⁷ In the background, figures wearing Jew hats bear banners embellished with the fictive heraldic emblems of the dragon, the all-purpose medieval symbol of evil, and the scorpion, a specialized symbol of "Jewish perfidy."⁸⁸ In the far left foreground, positioned in left profile to emphasize his grotesque physiognomy, stands a prominent, bearded Saracen wearing the *mirjal* and holding a curved scimitar. Although it is an utter anachronism, as on the Valerie Chasse, the inclusion of the Saracen along with the Jews serves to "update" the iconography of the scene by identifying Christ's tormentors with both old and (relatively) new Christian enemies. It also draws attention to the common status of both Jews and Muslims as historical enemies of Christ. Certain evidence, both literary and visual, suggests that both Jews and Muslims were perceived by some Christians as members of a much larger class of heretics,⁸⁹ which allows their presence at the crucifixion to be read on an allegorical level as the danger posed by heresy to the contemporary Church.

I discussed in the first chapter the relationship between Classical climatic theory and its implications for both physical form and moral character. Located in one of the climatically disadvantageous zones, dark-skinned Arabs in particular would be expected to receive a pejorative prognosis. And so they do. For example, in William of Malmesbury's account of Pope Urban II's call to crusade at the Council of Clermont (1095), climatic conditions are cited as an explanation for supposed Muslim cowardice in the face of battle. According to William, Pope Urban II described Muslims as:



Fig. 85. Christ carrying the cross. Stained-glass panel. Cologne, late 15th century. Glasgow Museums: The Burrell Collection

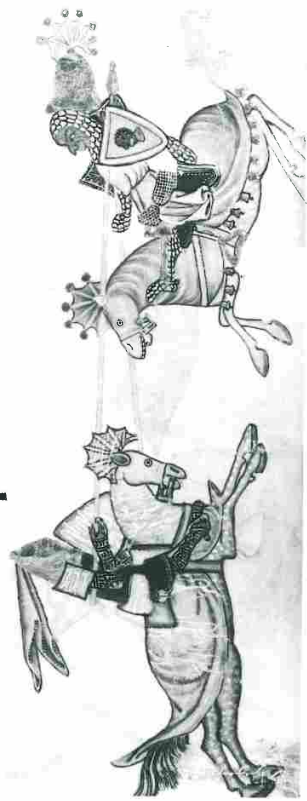


Fig. 86. Richard the Lionheart versus Saladin. Luttrell Psalter. Diocese of Lincoln, c. 1335–35. British Library, London, Add. MS 42130, fol. 82 (detail)

the least valiant of men and, having no confidence in hand-to-hand combat, love fighting on the run. No Turk ever dares do battle at close quarters, and when driven from his ground he “draws his bow-string from afar” and “trusts his missile to the wandering winds”; his bolts having drunk their fill of liquid poison, it is venom and not valour that brings death to the man they strike. If he achieves anything, therefore, I would ascribe it to fortune and not fortitude, seeing that his weapons of war are flight and poison. It is in fact well known that every nation born in Eastern clime is dried up by the great heat of the sun; they may have more good sense, but they have less blood in their veins, and that is why they flee from battle at close quarters: they know that they have no blood to spare.¹⁰⁰

This statement is simply a customized version of the often-repeated principle of the effects of the sun on Southerners, which we noted in the first chapter: the intense heat dissipates the vital forces, leading to cowardice. Only now the “Southerners” are located further East. We have seen that this same climatic assessment was also made of Ethiopians, which suggests that climatic theory was used to condemn any non-Christian living Elsewhere. Interestingly, climatic theory was also marshalled in Muslim cultures to malign certain outside constituencies. For example, in the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldūn wrote a pejorative description of the Sūdān based on their location outside the temperate zone.¹⁰¹

According to Gerald of Wales, the grave effects of climate upon character were especially observable among Muslims and other heretics who worked with the Devil to exploit its effects in order to accomplish their accursed aims. In his *On the Instruction of*

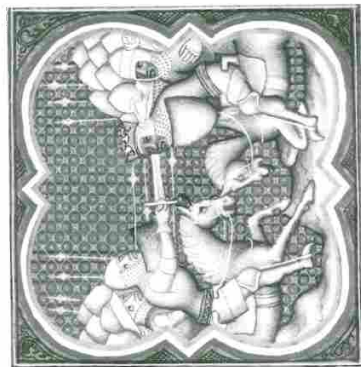
Princes, in a series of discussions about the enemies of the Church, Gerald accuses Muhammed of diabolical cunning for introducing polygamy to the Arabs, knowing that they were especially prone to lust owing to the heat of the region in which they lived. Gerald goes on to finger the Cathars in the use of a similar diabolical technique, by which they sowed the seeds of avarice—in the form of withholding offerings from the Church—among residents of the frigid zones where the cold constricts and makes men greedy.¹⁰²

Dark skin was attributable to the effects of the sun, but as we have already noted, it carries primarily negative symbolic value in images of virtually all of the Church's enemies, from Ethiopians to Jews to Muslims. The image of Saladin fighting Richard I from the margins of the Luttrell Psalter (introduced in chapter 1) is an excellent example of a dark-skinned Saracen rendered pejoratively with distorted physiognomical features (fig. 86/plate 4). Not only that, but even Saladin's horse, whose prominent buck teeth give the beast a look of incompetence (if not downright goofiness), contrasts unfavorably with Richard's sleek, noble steed. Although there is no evidence that Saladin and Richard ever met—much less engaged in single combat—the Middle English *Richard Coeur de Lion* seems to have informed this and other contemporary images of the Richard-Saladin duel.¹⁰³

In the romance, Richard and Saladin agree to a duel, which Richard tries to rig by assigning Saladin a colt likely to go out of control in an attempt to suckle the mare ridden by Richard. This might explain the differentiation in the rendering of the horses in the Luttrell image, in which the naive expression and playful gait of Saladin's horse may be read as signs of youth. When Saladin arrives on the field of battle, “hys crouper heeng al ful off belles,” another detail observable in the Luttrell image, which shows twelve golden bells hanging from Saladin's horse's trapper.¹⁰⁴ The duel ends in Richard's favor, as Saladin flees into the woods, after which a full-scale battle between Christians and Saracens eventually results in a resounding Christian victory.¹⁰⁵

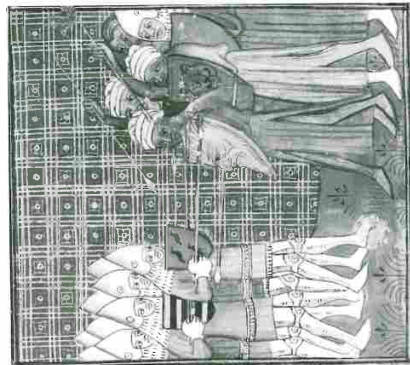
As already noted, the dark blue skin and physiognomical distortion of Saladin in this image correspond with that of the Ethiopian blazon on his shield, visually uniting the two constituencies as social and religious outsiders. Still, given the frequent claim made in the *chansons de geste* that Saracens carried into battle banners emblazoned with images of Apollo or Muhammed,¹⁰⁶ it is perhaps better to interpret this particular “Ethiopian” bust as a portrait of Muhammed himself. It is notable that the grimacing expression of the figure implies a certain fierceness appropriate in this context for Muhammed as well as for the image of the demonic Ethiopian (compare to figs. 17, 29).

Saracens are also rendered as dark-skinned in Roland imagery. For example, in another miniature from Charles V's *Grandes chroniques de France*, Roland and his forces charge toward the dark-skinned Saracen King Marsile and his troops in an image of the battle of Roncevaux (fig. 87).¹⁰⁷ In this *grisaille* image, the dark blue faces of King Marsile and one of his knights contrast against their white and pale gray armor, as well as with the pale cream faces of Roland and his knight. Symmetry for both sides in the image suggests a fair or at least equal fight. Both Christians and Saracens wear the same contemporary



ABOVE. Fig. 87. Battle of Roncevaux. *Grandes Chroniques de France*, Paris, 1370s. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS fr. 2813, fol. 121 (detail)

BELOW. Fig. 88. Battle of Roncevaux. *Grandes Chroniques de France*, Paris, late 14th century. Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels, MS 2, fol. 118 (detail)



armor and carry lances, and the warriors are all about the same size with roughly equal numbers on both sides. (The one inaccuracy in the rendering of the contemporary armor is the absence of the helmet *basinet*, but these were necessarily omitted to make visible the faces of the combatants). However, that Roland is literally on the "side of the right" is suggested by his right profile position and that of his knights. In addition, his powerful sword, Durendal, has definitely given him the winning edge, as King Marsile's decapitated horse sinks to the ground before Roland's steed as a forecast of the battle's final outcome.

An image of this same battle from another fourteenth-century copy of the *Grandes Chroniques* differentiates sharply between the Christian and Saracen forces (fig. 88).¹⁰⁸ In this image, Roland faces King Marsile's forces on foot. The white-faced Christians wear armor and carry lances and conventional triangular shields emblazoned with heralds, while most of the dark-skinned Saracens wear long robes, turbans, and approach in stocking feet, and carry spears and larger shields. The lead Saracen defends himself with a Classical face-shield associated with Monstrous Races and other exotics; note its large hooked nose and beard. In this image, the immediate visual signs that distinguish the Saracens from the Christians are skin color and headgear, the same two signs that often distinguish Jews from Christians.

A comparison may be made between the mostly fanciful Roland imagery in the *Grandes Chroniques* and miniatures that illustrate Christian-Saracen battles in crusader chronicles.¹⁰⁹ In the latter, the differences between the Muslim and Christian forces are even more emphatic and take the form of carefully differentiated heraldry, arms, armor, and headgear. An image of a battle between the French and the Saracens included in a 1337 Parisian manuscript containing the *Roman de Godefroi* and William of Tyre's *History of the Outremer* is instructive (fig. 89 [plate 5]). Against a gold ground, the right-facing French wearing contemporary great helmets and

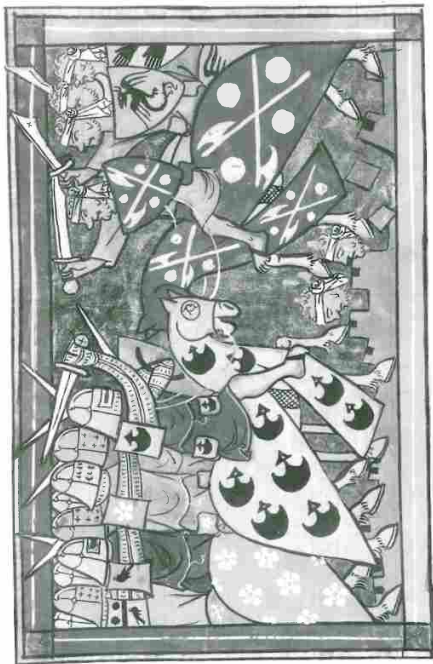


Fig. 89. French versus Saracens. William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*. Paris, 1337. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS fr. 22495, fol. 154v (detail)

wielding swords bear fictive heraldic symbols of flowers and double ax-heads on their shoulder *ailettes* and on their horses.¹¹⁰ Meanwhile, the dark-skinned, bulbous-nosed, left-facing Saracens wear only short tunics and wield an exoticized version of the curved scimitar, a contemporary Muslim weapon. They are bearded and wear the characteristic *torril*, and their fictive heraldry of crossed axes and black dragons displayed on their shields and horses convey something of their savagery. While their attire is not an accurate representation of the armor worn in battle, it is true that Muslims sometimes fought barefooted.¹¹¹ The two disembodied heads, with closed eyes but still wearing their white *torril*, lie in the foreground between the feet of the horses, symbols of Saracen defeat.

This image may be compared with a closely related one from the same manuscript (fig. 90). Here, we see a similar iconographical arrangement of French and Saracen forces, with similar identifying attributes, including contemporary arms and armor. However, it is especially interesting that in this image, the Christian knights are shown wearing black pilgrim scrips, perhaps a reference to the perceived close relationship between crusading and pilgrimage.¹¹² The Saracen heraldry is also more interesting, in that it features black Ethiopian heads and wild boars. To Christian eyes, these are consummate examples of human and animal savagery, which may be read as figures of the Devil and in the case of the wild boars, perhaps also as a specific reference to Muhammad's untimely death at the hooves of pigs, to be discussed below.¹¹³ Finally, it is also significant that in this image, disembodied Christian rather than Saracen heads lie bleeding in the foreground between the horses' hooves. Such an image, created as it was for a Christian readership, does not necessarily



Fig. 90. French versus Saracens. *Roman de Godefroi de Bouillon*. Paris, 1337. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS fr. 22495, fol. 19 (detail)

suggest that the Christians will be defeated, but rather emphasizes the Saracens as a dangerous and formidable enemy over whom Christian victory will be all the more glorious.

This last idea is a popular one in both Roland and crusader imagery, in which artists have taken care to render the Saracens as exceptionally militarily skilled in order to emphasize the achievement of the Christian knights. This is probably also why the Saracens in the *chansons de geste* are consistently described as mighty foes, worthy of admiration in every way except for the one that counts the most: of the Saracen king, Balgiant, it was exclaimed, "God! what a knight he would make, were he only a Christian!"¹¹⁴

BARBARIY AND MONSTROSITY

Moving into manuscript margins, Saracens are still identifiable by their dark skin and headgear, usually the *tortil* or turban. As noted in chapter two, the dark-skinned figure in the margins of the Luttrell Psalter standing above the "foreigner" and the Ethiopian is identified in the accompanying psalm text as a man from Tyre (fig. 33). Bearded, barefoot, and wearing a long robe tied with a sash, this figure surely would have called to mind the relatively recent abandonment of Tyre to the Muslims after 167 years of Christian occupation, a disaster that inspired plans for a new crusade to recover the Holy Land at the time the psalter was made (1330s).¹¹⁵ Michael Camille has noted that the "Saracen menace" was of particular concern to Geoffrey Luttrell, the owner of the psalter whose arms are carried on a banner by another figure in the lower margin of this same folio. Geoffrey's own son, Robert, was a Hospitaller, and various other members of his family had either



Fig. 91. Wild Folk storming a Saracen castle. Tapestry (detail). Straasbourg(?), c. 1400. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

taken up the cross or were planning to do so.¹¹⁶ On this particular folio of the Luttrell Psalter, crusading interests are expressed by the convenient opportunity provided by the accompanying Psalms text, allowing the Saracen to be juxtaposed on this folio with a "foreigner" and a naked, hairy, Ethiopian Wild Man, aliens three if not downright barbarians.

A more emphatic juxtaposition of Saracens and Wild Folk on an early-fifteenth-century tapestry, probably produced in Straasbourg, goes even further toward asserting Muslim barbarity by transferring Muslims into the realm of the entirely imaginary, thereby providing a visual parallel to the *chansons de geste* (fig. 91).¹¹⁷ Probably made for the family of Zorn von Plobsheim in the Rhineland,¹¹⁸ the tapestry depicts giant Wild Folk storming the castle of comparatively small Saracens. Both male and female Saracens are depicted, all dark-skinned. The males wear the *tortil* as they draw their bows against the pale, blond, burly Wild Folk, who raise only large clubs. Will sheer size triumph over superior weaponry and fortifications? This scene, which is followed by representations of conflict between the Wild Folk and several fantastic beasts, has been interpreted as the struggle against vice, in which the Saracens personify evil.¹¹⁹ Indeed, the prominence and unmistakable identity of the Saracens suggests that they are a main subject of the scene. Whatever else they might represent allegorically, they are clearly presented as one wild, barbaric type engaged in combat with another. Both Wild Folk and Saracens were familiar from medieval romance, albeit in separate traditions, so it is entirely possible that the tapestry was executed in an allegorical rather than a political spirit. Still, it is perhaps not mere coincidence that this image of warring, savage Saracens was woven at a time (about



Fig. 95. Alexander's army versus the one-eyed Blemmyai. *Romania of Alexander*. Paris or Rouen, c. 1425. British Library, London, MS Royal 20.B.xx, fol. 80 (detail)

of the Cyclopes war described in this popular medieval version of the Classical epic (fig. 94).¹⁷⁷ In a dramatic battle scene, the knights in Alexander's army wear fifteenth-century armor embellished by a few fanciful Classical features and wield contemporary swords; their heraldic blazon of the triple crown, visible on the banner and tunic of one of the knights, is fictive. They clash with a group of Cyclopes Giants who, with their beards, *torques*, and barefooted battle style, are rendered as Saracens. The gigantic Saracen Cyclopes bear various formidable contemporary swords and staff weapons, but one in the frontline wields an exoticized version of the curved Eastern scimitar. By means of costume and attributes, then, the scene is entirely anachronistic and has been translated from a fourth-century B.C. Macedonian conflict with the mythical giant Cyclopes into a contemporary French battle against giant one-eyed Saracens. It is perhaps significant that on the facing page, the artist has illustrated another of Alexander's military opponents, a particularly ferocious group of naked, gigantic, club-bearing, one-eyed Blemmyai (fig. 95). In their broader illustrative context, then, the Saracens appear as just another monstrous and savage foe, physically extraordinary, but ultimately conquerable by superior military might. Given the medieval theological view of Alexander as alternately a prideful figure of unbridled power, the Devil, and a precursor of Antichrist,¹⁷⁸ the rather pessimistic belief conveyed by such imagery is that such monstrous enemies may be defeated only by the Devil himself. However, besides forging interesting visual and symbolic relationships among the Devil, Monstrous Races, and Saracens, the image of the French in combat against giant one-eyed Saracens may also be interpreted as a reference to French involvement in the crusades, which at this time was directed largely against the Türks in Constantinople.¹⁷⁹

The Hereford Map provides additional evidence that both Jews and Saracens were closely related to Monstrous Races. Among the various Monstrous Races positioned along

the Nile Delta is a Himantopodes wearing a *pileam cornutum* of the emphatic inverted funnel variety (fig. 96). Moreover, the twin-sexed Hermaphrodite above him wears a turban, the common attribute of the Saracen, creating a juxtaposition that may be viewed as the monstrous equivalent of the sculptured figures of the Jews and Muslim on the Beaulieu tympanum (fig. 74). Given the heavily Christian orientation of the Hereford Map, it is perhaps worth considering that these figures constitute a deliberate conflation of living and imaginary groups, in which ideas about Monstrous Races, barbarians, Jews, and Muslims intersect.

The tiny images bear closer inspection. First, the Jewish Himantopodes as well as his Saracen Hermaphrodite cohort are both naked, the familiar pictorial sign of both monstrosity and barbarity. In addition, they are both bearded, a typical iconographical feature of both Jews and Saracens. The Himantopodes is known for having long feet like leather thongs,¹⁸⁴ but in medieval art, this Race was often confused with the Arabiatraie, known for going about on all fours like a beast. This is in fact the posture exhibited by the Hereford figure.¹⁸⁵ Still, the accompanying inscription pertains to the Himantopodes, indicating that this Race has bowed leg joints, creeps rather than strides, and slides rather than steps.¹⁸⁶

A figure going about on all fours also recalls the Old Testament figure of King Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon and persecutor of the Jews (Dan. 1–5). Owing to his great pride, Nebuchadnezzar lost his reason and was condemned by God to go about on all fours and to eat grass like an ox (Dan. 4:26–30). More generally, going on all fours was interpreted by medieval theologians as one of God's ways of marking animals as inferior to humans: the heads of humans point upward toward heaven while the downward-cast heads and stooped postures of four-legged beasts signify their inability to rise above earthly concerns.¹⁸⁷ According to the *Gesta romanorum*, those who go about on all fours like cattle are figures of all those who honor neither God nor the saints and, like irrational cattle, wander around in sin.¹⁸⁸ Combining these various interpretive strains, the naked, bearded, funnel-hatted, stooped figure on the Hereford Map may be read not only as a Himantopodes but also as a sign of Jewish irrationality and rejection by God.

What of the Himantopodes' neighbor? The major characteristic of the Hermaphrodite, known from Greek mythology, is this Race's dual sex, as proclaimed in the

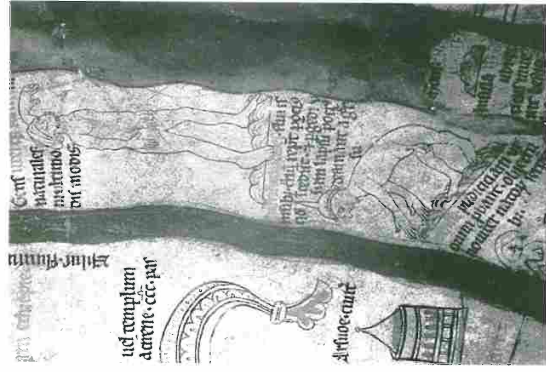


Fig. 96. Hermaphrodite; Himantopodes, Hereford Map (detail). Lincoln, 1290s. Hereford Cathedral

Hereford inscription.¹⁵⁹ Indeed, this figure proudly displays both male and female genitalia. As we have seen, deviant sexuality, like nudity, was a primary characteristic of the medieval barbarian. Given the popular Christian accusation of Muslim sexual perversity,¹⁶⁰ it is not so surprising that the dual-sexed Hermaphrodite wears a beard and the turban, the instantly recognizable pictorial attributes of Saracens (figs. 74, 79, 92). One of many examples of this accusation is that made by the Augustinian canon William of Newburgh, who reinforced the popular Christian view of Muslims as sexually deviant in the chapter of his twelfth-century *History* dedicated to the “pestiferous sect” of Islam, in which he asserts that “the Saracens are most filthy in the torrent of their lusts.”¹⁶¹

VIRTUOUS SARACENS?

It is interesting that there is sometimes a disjunction between the literary and chronicle descriptions of Saracens and their representations in works of art. That is, numerous artists portrayed Saracens as more or less ordinary Western knights, usually with armor or heralds to distinguish them from the Christian forces.¹⁶² We have seen that neutral or positive representations of Jews often correspond with Old Testament as opposed to New Testament/contemporary figures; but obviously no such distinction is relevant to the Muslim case. The presence or absence of firsthand observation of Muslims seems to be another irrelevant factor, because as we know, direct observers of both Jews and Muslims deliberately produced or patronized fanciful representations. Why, then, did medieval artists and patrons miss so many opportunities to denigrate Muslims?

I believe this may be explained through reference to two different currents of medieval thought about Muslims. The literary and imaginative current was developed in the *chansons de geste*, which were just as likely to describe the Saracen opponents as admirable foes embodying many noble and chivalric qualities as they were to characterize them as demonic and depraved. As already noted, the idea here seems to be that Christian victory would be all the more glorious if the vanquished were both dangerous and worthy. From an artistic perspective, worthiness had to be translated into some conventionally recognizable form. That is, in order to make visible the concept of a “fair fight,” in many images, Christian and Muslim knights were rendered in roughly equal numbers and were assigned equivalently effective arms and armor. In this type of image, in order to highlight the scale of Christian victory, the visual focus is placed on the ferocity of the battle itself rather than on the physiognomy of the participants, which in any case is often obscured by armor, especially helmets.

A second current of thought about Muslims seems likely to have come about in response to direct contact with Muslims in the Holy Land, especially with certain individuals who clearly impressed medieval Christian knights and rulers by their skill and conduct in war. One of these individuals was the sultan, Saladin, ruler of Egypt and Syria at the time of the Third Crusade, and much admired in the West.¹⁶³ Praised in Christian chronicle sources for his clemency following the capture of Jerusalem, he was described

alternately as “the finest knight,” “noble,” and “generous” by the French troubadour Ambroise, in his poem about the Third Crusade composed shortly after the event in the late twelfth or very early thirteenth century.¹⁶⁴ In his *Divine Comedy*, although he landed Muhammed in hell, Dante positioned Saladin in Limbo alongside other virtuous non-Christians, such as Socrates and Plato.¹⁶⁵ Such favorable descriptions may have served to dilute the contempt with which Muslims were viewed, at least among those who had firsthand contact, and they may have informed the more benign or even heroic images of Saracens depicted in various artistic contexts, such as luxury manuscripts executed for aristocratic and royal patrons. In fact, it has been argued that views of Muslims put forward in the first crusader reports were quite negative owing to the influence of the *chansons de geste* but that accounts of the Second and Third Crusades, following direct contact, were much less so.¹⁶⁶ However, the case of the Jews clearly shows that pejorative portrayals do not occur in inverse relationship to direct contact.

It is also true that some portraits of Saladin reveal that he was far from revered by all Christians. By frustrating Richard the Lionheart’s efforts to regain Jerusalem, he did, after all, thwart Christian efforts to reclaim the Holy Land during the Third Crusade.¹⁶⁷ Thus William of Newburgh, among others, was inspired to write a scathing assessment of Saladin as an evil-minded trickster bent on humiliating and tormenting Christians.¹⁶⁸ Discussion of some especially pejorative portraits of Saladin will be reserved for the next chapter. For now, the image of Richard the Lionheart dueling with Saladin in the margins of the Luttrell Psalter will continue to serve as the consummate example of a fully pejorative portrait (fig. 86/plate 4). In this image, as already noted, Saladin embodies several key pictorial signs of evil: dark coloring, grotesque physiognomy, profile-left positioning, and the “Ethiopian” herald of Muhammed on his shield which connects him to the demonic world at large. It is probable that Geoffrey Luttrell’s family legacy of crusading inspired the inclusion in his personal psalter of a negative portrait of Saladin among other images that allude to the crusades, such as the portrait of the man from Tyre (fig. 33).

THE PROPHET

Muhammed’s monstrous life, more monstrous sect, and most monstrous end is manifestly found in his deeds. He, inspired by the evil spirit, founded an abominable sect, one suitable for fleshly indulgences, not disagreeable to the pleasures of the flesh; and therefore these carnal men, allured by his sect, and humiliated by the errors of various precepts, have died and continue to die miserably; the people call them with the usual appellation Saracens or pagans.¹⁶⁹ Thus Alan of Lille (d. 1203) begins the fourth book of his polemical work, *Against the Pagans*. In this passage, he manages to succinctly convey the popular Christian view of Islam as an “erroneous” sect led by a perverted fanatic.

It is puzzling that Western medieval images of Muhammed produced during the period of the crusades are not more abundant, given that a considerable volume of lurid biographical description produced in the form of several extant “lives” of Muhammed

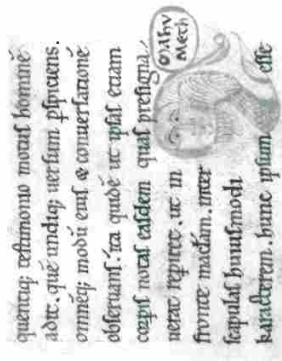


Fig. 97. Monstrous Muhammad, *De generatione Machometi*. Cluny, 12th century. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, MS Arsenal 1162, fol. 11 (detail)

getting of Muhammad), composed at Cluny during the twelfth century, visualizes Muhammad as an intrusive, limbless, bearded monster, a composite human/fish (fig. 97). There is no doubt as to the figure's identity, inscribed "Mahmuth" with the name circled for added emphasis. While admittedly a minor artistic effort, the image nevertheless reveals the tendency to relegate Muhammad to the realm of the imaginary, and certainly to see him as a fully negative figure, a point of view reinforced by the text this image accompanies.¹⁴³

Our second text-and-image combination, from Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*, characterizes the Prophet as the consummate violator of Christian moral principles (fig. 98).¹⁴⁴ A bearded Muhammad, labeled "Machometus," stands frontally between two columns of text, his torso extending into the upper margin with arms outstretched holding two inscribed banners. While the figure itself does not exhibit the usual pictorial signs of evil that we have observed in other contexts, the accompanying text explicates some of the "facts" of Muhammad's *vita* as concocted by Matthew and by earlier writers, which together form a perverse version of a saint's life. That is, in opposition to the humility, holy miracles, and good death of the saints, Matthew, informed by Christian sources on the life of Muhammad, describes the Prophet's low birth, false miracles, sexual licentiousness, and shameful death.¹⁴⁵

In addition, Matthew has positioned Muhammad atop a bright vermilion pig, labeled "svs," the instrument of his death, according to an outrageous lie perpetuated and further embellished by Matthew himself. According to Matthew, following poisoning and a drunken binge, the Prophet fell vomiting onto a dungheap, whereupon he was smothered to death by an ugly sow and her litter.¹⁴⁶ (An earlier version of the story has him fall onto the dungheap during an epileptic seizure and then torn apart by the pigs.¹⁴⁷) Norman Daniel has observed that this story had an important polemical purpose: since a good death is the mark of a saint, Muhammad had to have an appropriately horrible one in

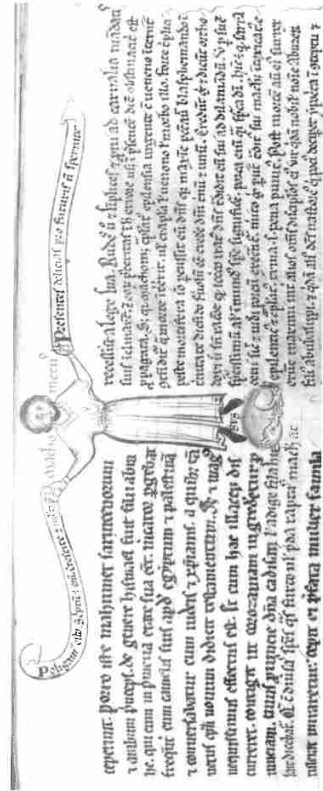


Fig. 98. Muhammad, Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*. St. Albans, c. 1240–53 and later. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 26, p. 87 (detail)

order to make apparent his unholiness.¹⁴⁸ It is also true that wine is forbidden to Muslims and that pigs, like dogs and snakes, are considered impure, which means that the image also functions as a general mockery of Islamic beliefs.

As a further insult to Muhammad himself, in Matthew's image, the Prophet's banners proclaim his endorsement of a life of luxury, including polygamy, which serves to separate him as far as possible from the chastity of the saints and recalls the popular clerical polemic against Islam as the *via lata*, or religiously endorsed life of self-indulgence.¹⁴⁹ Such a way of life was seen as diametrically opposed to the life of Christ. For example, in the ninth century, Paolo Alvaro asserted that while Christ recommends chastity, glorifies virginity, and sanctions marriage; Muhammad, as a precursor of Antichrist, authorizes divorce, concubinage, polygamy, and impurity, and imposes no limits on debauchery.¹⁵⁰

Our third portrait of Muhammad is perhaps the most interesting of all, as it highlights the medieval inclination to conflate different enemies of Christendom into a single monstrous personage (fig. 99). In another thirteenth-century universal chronicle, the artist has inserted a portrait of Muhammad at the point of death.¹⁵¹ As in Matthew's similar portrait of the death of Saladin in the *Chronica majora*,¹⁵² the death of Muhammad in the compendium is signified by a grotesque, black, winged demon flying from his mouth representing the escape of his corrupt and evil soul. What is most interesting



Fig. 99. Death of Muhammad. Peter of Poitiers, *Compendium historie in genealogia Christi* and Universal Chronicle. St. Albans (?), c. 1245–54. Eton College Library, Windsor, MS 96, fol. 16v (detail)

culture. But this is not surprising; once again, greater familiarity did not impose any particular limits on wild stories and negative stereotypes.

Once the Mongol armies under Batu Khan (d. 1256) stormed Eastern Europe in 1236, and especially with the invasion of Poland in 1241, Christians feared that the Tartars were determined to work their way West in order to destroy all of Christendom.¹⁵¹ Worse still, some believed, the Jews were assisting them: Matthew Paris records that German Jews were said to be smuggling arms concealed in wine casks across the Polish frontier to the Tartars.¹⁵² Reports of Tartar savagery and military victories heightened fears expressed in images whose subjects ranged from battle scenes to Tartar atrocities. A group portrait of Tartars that accompanies Matthew Paris's chronicle entry for the year 1243 illustrates a letter written by Ivo of Narbonne which gives a vivid, exaggerated, and embellished account of Tartar ravages, including a detailed physical description (fig. 100):

The Tartar chiefs, with the houndish cannibals their followers, fed upon the flesh of their carcasses, as if they had been bread, and left nothing but bones for the vultures. . . . The old and ugly women were given to their dogs-headed cannibals—Anthrophophagi, as they are called—to be their daily food; but those who were beautiful were saved alive, to be stifled and overwhelmed by the number of their ravishers, in spite of all their cries and lamentations. Virgins were raped until they died of exhaustion; when their breasts were cut off to be kept as dainties for their chiefs, and their bodies furnished a jovial banquet to the savages. . . . [The Tartars] have hard and robust breasts, lean and pale faces, stiff high shoulders, and short, distorted noses; their chins are sharp and prominent, the upper jaw low and deep, the teeth long and few; their eyebrows stretch from the hair-line to the nose, their eyes are shifty and black, their countenances long and grim, their extremities bony and nervous, their legs thick but short below the knee. In stature they are equal to us, for what they lose below the knee is made up for in the greater length of their upper parts.¹⁵³

However, as a reminder that medieval Christians did not corner the market on pejorative descriptions, it is worth noting that the Muslims, also enemies of the Tartars, supplied negative descriptions of Tartar physiognomy that rival those of the Christians. For example, Amir Kuhzru, a Persian poet of the thirteenth century, wrote this especially lurid physical description of several hundred Mongol prisoners taken by the Muslims:

Their eyes were so narrow and piercing that they might have bored a hole in a brazen vessel, and their stench was more horrible than



Fig. 100. Tartar cannibals. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*. St. Albans, c. 1240–53 and later. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 16, fol. 167 (detail)

about this portrait, however, is the physiognomy of this figure: long, bulbous nose, beard, and grotesque grimace. Most tellingly, Muhammed also wears the *pileum cornutum*, drawn in such a way as to simultaneously resemble the Saracen *tortil*. This is obviously a case in which headgear is a sign of evil rather than of a particular ethnic group, but it is intriguing to consider whether the artist deliberately manipulated the form of the hat in order to associate Muhammed with the very worst sort of “unbeliever,” the Jew. Given the common accusation that Muhammed received aspects of his prophecy from the Jews, such an artistic maneuver would have also contributed to contemporary perceptions of Muslims and Jews as co-conspirators against Christendom.

Tartars

The most terrifying enemies of the Christian crusaders were not the Muslims or Jews, but the “Tartars,” the name given to the combined forces of Central Asian peoples, especially Mongols, who overran much of Asia and Eastern Europe during the thirteenth century. Mongol aggression was directed at Christians and Muslims alike. Their consistent strategy of summary slaughter inspired their name, Tartars (*tartari*, *tataari*), a reference to *Tartarus*, the infernal regions.¹⁵⁴ Hence, their very name forges the familiar demonic association that is a consistent feature of the non-Christian infidel. In fact, in Western literature from the thirteenth century onward, the terms “Tartar” and “Mongol” are virtually interchangeable.¹⁵⁵ Being such a distant Other in the exotic East, the Tartars and their environs left wide scope for the imagination, which was never squelched, even after travelers such as Marco Polo provided largely empirically based reports on Mongol

According to John, Tartar men are sexually immoral because they keep multiple wives.¹⁶⁵ He also accuses them of idolatry, communing with the Devil (via sorcery), and ignoring God's commandments, especially where robbery and fornication are concerned. Like all barbarians, Tartars are ugly, deformed, filthy, mannerless drunkards who eat a strange diet and wear strange dress. Interestingly, like Ethiopians, they are expert archers.¹⁶⁶ Although the connection is not made explicitly in John's text, given prevailing medieval beliefs, it is likely that climate helped determine Tartar physical and behavioral strangeness. John describes the Tartar lands as "large . . . and . . . more wretched than I can possibly say," noting that the weather is "astonishingly irregular," ranging from blazing heat to extreme cold and featuring hail, fatal lightning, heavy snowfalls, and hurricanes.¹⁶⁵

John's detailed portrait of Tartars was very influential because it was subsequently incorporated by Vincent of Beauvais into his widely read encyclopedic compendium, the *Speculum historiale* (Mirror of History).¹⁶⁶ Other sources, such as Simon of Saint-Quentin's *History of the Tartars* (c. 1248), focus even more heavily on the alleged physiological ugliness and appalling social habits of the Tartars in ways that by now will sound quite familiar. Simon took part in a Dominican mission to the Holy Land, during which he made a number of detailed observations about Tartar lands and customs.¹⁶⁶ Tartars, he says, are smallish and very ugly, with large, slanted eyes, wide faces, and wide and flat noses. They have no beards but have hair on their upper lips. Their clothing is very odd. Their women are extremely ugly.¹⁶⁶ Their speech is rapid, guttural, and horrible; when they sing, they bellow like bulls or howl like wolves. Tartars live in tents rather than in villages or cities. Because they are pastoralists, they have no bread; instead, they are filthy and eat extremely vile things. Oversexed sodomites who practice divination and idolatry, they regularly commit all manner of atrocities. Most interesting in light of accusations commonly made of Jews, Simon also asserts that Tartars are usurers, said to be the natural result of their cupidity and avarice.¹⁶⁶ From John's and Simon's accounts, then, it appears that with minor variations, Mongols belong to the same physiological and behavioral camp as Jews and Muslims, and therefore occupied a competitive ideological and iconographical niche.

Christians feared that once the Tartars took control of Eastern Europe, they would commence systematic decimation of the West. This fear was expressed artistically in images of Tartar-Christian battles that emphasize the appalling scale of Tartar brutality. Unlike some of the Saracen-Christian battle scenes discussed earlier in this chapter, in the Tartar images I have observed, there is a more marked visual distinction between the warriors of the opposite forces, achieved primarily by differentiating physiognomy, garb, and weaponry. Matthew Paris provides such distinctive portrayals in the *Chronica majora*. In one image, a single Tartar soldier trampling over the bodies of two victims accompanies a text that warns of the inevitable Mongol invasion of Western Christendom (fig. 101).¹⁶⁷ The Tartar, riding in profile, wears semirealistic Eastern fishscale armor; but also an exotic helmet with prominent nasal that is entirely imaginary.¹⁶⁸ The helmet is left completely

their color. Their heads were set on their bodies as if they had no necks, and their cheeks resembled leather bottles full of wrinkles and knots. Their noses extended from cheekbone to cheekbone. Their nostrils resembled rotting graves, and from them the hair descended as far as the lips. Their moustaches were of extravagant length, but the beards about their chins were very scanty. Their chests, in color half-black, half-white, were covered with lice which looked like sesame growing on a bad soil. Their bodies, indeed, were covered with these insects, and their skins were as rough-grained as shagreen leather, fit only to be converted into shoes.¹⁶⁶

The cannibalistic Tartar savages in the image accompanying Matthew's description in the *Chronica majora* are also rendered as suitably hideous, an external sign of their corrupt, inner character (fig. 100). Two of them are bearded with prominent, hooked noses, reminiscent of stereotypical Jewish physiognomy. One even wears a pointed hat, although it does not really resemble any of the popular artistic versions of medieval Jewish hats. All three are positioned in profile and bear ugly grimaces. The clean-shaven Tartar on the far left has just decapitated a victim with an ax, a barbaric type of weapon, although his more sophisticated composite bow hangs on a tree branch above. Meanwhile, his two companions munch human legs and barbecue a body on a spit. Two of the Tartars wear exotic, fishscale hauberks; the hungry one also wears an Eastern helmet with a nasal and is barefooted. The third Tartar is wearing what appears to be Tartar civilian dress and sandals (without soles). He sits upon human remains—two heads and two arms—touchingly huddled together in such a way as to suggest terror even in dismemberment. To clear up any remaining ambiguity, between the figures is an inscription that reads: "abominable Tartars eating human flesh."¹⁶⁷

To the far right of the scene, a Tartar horse feeds on leaves, seemingly oblivious to the naked female victim bound to the tree by ropes and by her own hair.¹⁶⁸ This naked female, besides a response to the accompanying description of assault, is also a reference to the fact that Tartars are sexually out of control, which, like cannibalism, is a favorite characteristic of the barbarian, as we have seen especially in the case of the Saracens. Apropos sexual practices, it was also widely reported that the Tartars practiced polygamy and ignored Western European prohibitions of consanguinity. John of Plano Carpini (d. 1252), a Franciscan dispatched to the court of the Great Khan Güyük in 1245 by Pope Innocent IV to gather information about the Mongols—and the only one of the papal envoys to reach Mongolia—reported that "each man has as many wives as he can keep, one a hundred, another fifty, another ten—one more, another less. It is the general custom for them to marry any of their relations, with the exception of their mother, daughter and sister by the same mother. . . . All other women they take as wives without any distinction and they buy them at a very high price from their parents."¹⁶⁹



Fig. 101. Tartar warrior, Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, St. Albans, c. 1240–53 and later. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 16, fol. 145 (detail)

open on his right side in order to make visible the Tartar's menacing expression as he wields the lance. Matthew's accompanying inscription indicates that this one murderous Tartar is emblematic of a much larger and more general problem, "the terrible destruction wrought by the Tartars."⁶⁹

The "terrible destruction" is represented on a much larger scale in images of historical Tartar-Christian battles, whose purpose was to chronicle actual conflicts and to emphasize the savagery of the Mongols. The Battle of Leignitz (in present-day Poland) in 1241 was one such savage battle, which reportedly culminated in the ghoulish Tartar assembly of nine large sacks filled with the ears of slain Christian knights.⁷⁰ The conflict as represented in the mid-fourteenth-century Hedwig Codex is a good example of a battle image that combines accurate elements of Mongol armor and weaponry with dramatic emphasis on the scale and intensity of the slaughter in a decidedly polemical presentation (fig. 102/plate 6).⁷¹ In the upper register, the Mongols are massed together on the left, wielding their main weapons, the composite bow, as well as staff weapons. Some are wearing tall, pointed helmets and mesh aventails resembling those actually worn by contemporary Mongols. Knights in the opposing Christian army led by Henry II, duke of Lower Silesia, wear contemporary Western bascinets and great helmets, and wield lances and a variety of other staff weapons.

In the lower register, the scene is decidedly more chaotic, representing the bloody, hand-to-hand combat that resulted in the death of Duke Henry. Just left of center, one of the Tartars carries a banner emblazoned with the head of a king. By analogy with the Saracen battle scenes in which standards reportedly bear the image of Muhammed, this blazon probably represents the reigning khan, Batu. Duke Henry is identifiable by his shield, which bears the ducal image of the black eagle.

The main subject of this second scene, as indicated by the caption above it, is Duke Henry's death by decapitation and the assumption of his soul into heaven.⁷² Just

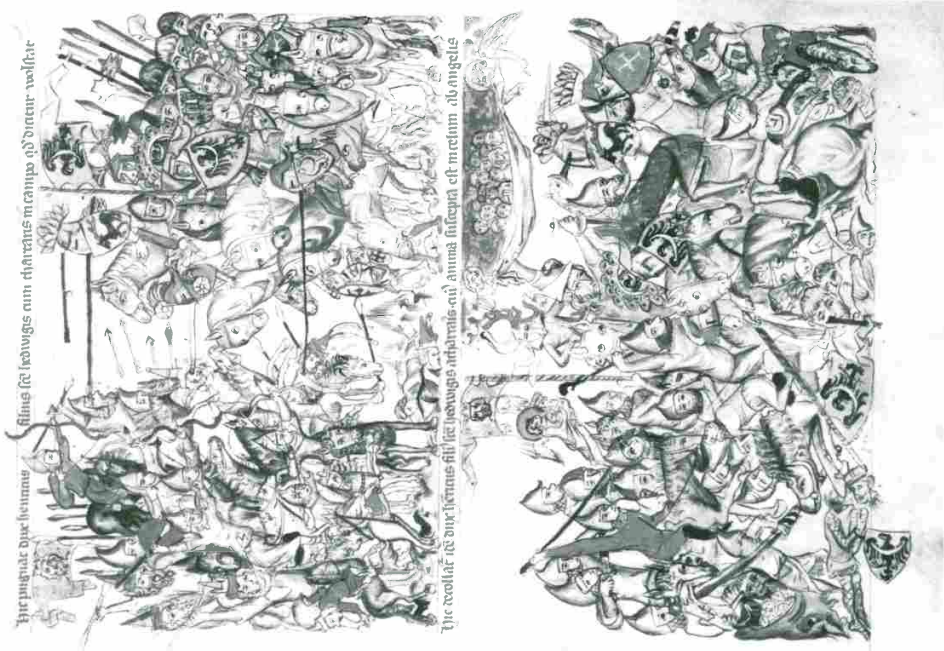


Fig. 102. Battle of Leignitz; decapitation of Henry II and his soul carried to heaven. Hedwig Codex. Schlesien, 1353. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, MS Ludwig XI/7, fol. 11v

right of center, Henry is shown slumped over his horse as he is gored through the back by a large, bearded Tartar wearing an exotic pointed hat. If one follows the gaze of Henry's horse along the banner that cuts diagonally left and downward, Henry is observable again, his disembodied and bleeding head lying beside his lifeless body. To the right of his head lies the fallen ducal banner, and his shield, also emblazoned with the ducal arms, was dropped entirely outside the pictorial space into the margin below. Meanwhile, just to the left of the Tartar standard-bearer, an angel is transporting Henry's soul upward toward heaven, which is represented as a cloth borne by two angels. The souls nestled there are presumably those of the good Christian knights who have also perished in this battle. By contrast, in the lower left corner of the scene, just beneath the long, curved saber of the murderous Tartar who decapitated Henry, is a small, dark demon hugging tightly a clutch of wicked Tartar souls destined to number among the damned.

Pope Gregory IX's attempt in 1241 to raise a crusade against the Mongols met with little success.¹⁷¹ Nevertheless, John of Plano Carpini was so appalled by the apparently unstoppable military aggression of the Tartars, and was so convinced that they were planning to overrun all of Christendom, that he too called for military action. "Therefore, if Christians wish to save themselves, their country and Christendom, then ought kings, princes, barons and rulers of countries to assemble together and by common consent send men to fight against the Tartars before they begin to spread over the land, for once they begin to be scattered throughout a country it is impossible for anyone to give any effective help to another, for troops of Tartars search out the inhabitants everywhere and slaughter them."¹⁷² John further pleaded that the Tartar army was not only formidable; it was demonic. "Our leaders ought also to arrange that our army is guarded day and night, so that the Tartars do not make a sudden and unexpected attack upon them for, like the devils, they devise many ways of doing harm."¹⁷³ So it was expected of the former inhabitants of *Tartarus*.

Unconnected with John's text, and executed well after the Tartar panic had subsided, is an especially terrifying image of the prophesied Tartar invasion of the West, included in the luxurious *Livre des merveilles* (Book of Marvels) presented in 1413 by John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, to Jean, Duke of Berry (fig. 103).¹⁷⁶ Featuring frighteningly anonymous warriors, with faces obscured by their helmets, and gigantic in relation to the trees and the mountains through which they pass, this ominous image vividly conveys the awesome extent of the Tartar threat. That they are shown collectively bursting onto the scene also suggests a connection to eschatological beliefs, which we will examine more closely in the next chapter.

Tartars were not only dangerous; they were monstrous. In fact, the iconography of the *Chronica majora* image of the Tartar cannibals corresponds very closely to that of the monstrous Anthrophophagi located in Scythia on the Hereford Map (figs. 100, 104). Like Matthew's Tartars, the Hereford Anthrophophagi are hunched over an open grill, devouring the remains of a corpse. One wears a long, pointed cap and the other a twin-peaked

concomente de la pie d'iceluy anoy. Et ce ressembloit aux arabes, creier qui deus a
me et qui bien four leurs grs. appareillier la mort yracelle sapunt creier q
pour beay est culacu nomme entrans.



ANOVE. Fig. 103. Invasion of the Tartars. *Livre des merveilles*, Paris, by 1413. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS fr. 2810, fol. 280 (detail)

BELOW. Fig. 104. Anthrophophagi. Hereford Map (detail). Lincoln, 1290s. Hereford Cathedral



hat that looks vaguely like an elongated bishop's miter. Both monsters brandish swords while ingesting a human leg and arm, respectively. In both Matthew's image and the Hereford Map detail, headgear is a double signifier of evil and Eastern exoticism. Inscriptions fulfill a similar function. The inscription for another monstrous group, the Essedones, positioned in proximity to the Hereford Anthropophagi, emphasizes one of the key characteristics assigned to the Tartars, namely cannibalism. According to this inscription, the Essedones hold a "funeral banquet" following the death of their parents, believing it is better to consume the flesh themselves rather than allow it to be devoured by worms.¹⁷⁷ Interestingly, Tartar cannibalism under these same circumstances is reported by both John of Plano Carpini and Simon of Saint-Quentin.¹⁷⁸ This suggests that well-known stories of other monstrous groups may have actually provided a model for Christian descriptions of the Tartars. Or if such a specific connection cannot be fully substantiated, at the very least it is true that the Tartars were regularly described as monstrous—Matthew refers to the Tartars several times as "a monstrous tribe of inhuman men"—and were said to behave in ways familiar from the Monstrous Races tradition.¹⁷⁹

That the Christian view of Tartars should be modelled on the Monstrous Races tradition is perhaps not so far-fetched considering the Mongols' radical degree of Otherness. That is, unlike Jews and Muslims, the Mongols were a distant enemy with a totally distinct religion that was not perceived as a heresy or intellectual threat to Christianity.¹⁸⁰ In this respect, Mongols were conceptually closer to demons and Monstrous Races than they were to Jews or Muslims. While Jews and Muslims were tangible, visible enemies, to most ordinary Christians, Mongols were largely abstract ones. This may explain why some Christian missionaries to the East spotted card-carrying Monstrous Races—Sciopodes, Dogheads, Apple-Stuffer/Straw-Drinker hybrids, Wild Folk, Pygmies, and members of a speechless, kneeless Race—roaming the lands of the Tartars.¹⁸¹ However, we also know that when William of Rubruck entered Mongolia in the 1250s, he found no evidence of Monstrous Races in Tartar lands. Not only that, but the Tartars' lack of knowledge of such Races planted in William a seed of doubt concerning this most venerable of traditions. He wrote: "I made enquiries about the monsters or human monstrosities of which Isidore and Solinus speak. [The Tartars] told me they had never seen such things, which makes me wonder very much if there is any truth in the story."¹⁸² Do William's Tartars represent the voice of reason? Probably not, since William in the next breath allows to go unchallenged a story told to him by a Tartar about cave-dwelling, hairy men, one cubit in height: Pygmies.¹⁸³

MARVELOUS TARTARS

Owing in part to their geographical location, Tartars were also incorporated into literature devoted to the description of monsters and marvels in the exotic East. What is interesting about this process is that in many cases, it was the images rather than the texts that were the vehicles by which the connection was made between the Tartars and the more

familiar Eastern monsters. Equally interesting is the emergence in this literature of a dual view of Tartars: by turns bloodthirsty, demonic tyrants and model pious citizens.

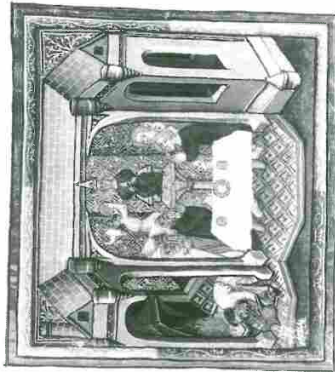
The two major accounts of the Tartars that concern us here characterize the Mongols in similar ways but for different reasons. Marco Polo's *Travels* is written in an ethnographical vein, based as it is on the Genoese author's actual experiences during the years 1271–95 of travel and service at the court of Khubilai Khan (d. 1294).¹⁸⁴ *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, by contrast, is an entirely fictitious account skillfully compiled about 1356 by an anonymous English author from a number of identifiable sources, ranging from the *Marvels of the East*, to Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*, to the bestiaries.¹⁸⁵ Having worked for seventeen years as a minor Mongolian civil servant, Marco, in his account of the Mongols, attempts to rationalize their behavior, while the Mandeville author manipulates Mongol customs and habits, often in positive ways, in order to create a nearly utopian society that serves as a foil to what he viewed as the corrupt world of Christendom.¹⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the positive characterization of Mongols in both cases should not be exaggerated: both authors are clearly shocked and sometimes appalled by certain aspects of this utterly alien culture. As William of Rubruck had declared on entering the lands of the Tartars, "it really seemed to me that I was entering some other world."¹⁸⁷ Still, in both Marco's and the Mandeville author's accounts, a certain amount of sympathy is allotted the Tartars owing to the undeniably impressive splendor of the Mongol court as well as to the belief that the Tartars were seen to be operating from a position of pagan naïveté rather than calculated evil. More than sympathetic, the Mandeville author's account ventures into downright admiration, as one of the functions of his tale is to criticize European Christians who compare unfavorably with the social and religious integrity of his fictionalized Tartars. In other words, the same group that represents the terrors of hell on earth in chronicle accounts and much pictorial imagery also functioned in certain literary contexts as a positive prototype for medieval Christian society.

Marco Polo provides a compelling view of Tartars in his detailed descriptions of Tartar housing and costume, marriage and burial customs, religious beliefs, military organization, and especially life in the court of the Great Khan. What is especially noteworthy about the illustrated versions of his account, all of which were rendered well after Marco's return to the West in 1295, is the regular contrast between text and image.¹⁸⁸ John Larner has observed that although Marco never mentions Monstrous Races, artists illustrated them anyway because by now they were de rigueur in travel books produced for the aristocracy (fig. 5).¹⁸⁹ In other words, the concern with fulfilling reader expectations outweighed that of fidelity to the text: if it was a story about the exotic East, the reader wanted to see Monstrous Races. This maneuver is part of a larger and necessary "translation" of aspects of a new and relatively unfamiliar part of the world into terms that the wealthy and noble patrons of these manuscripts would understand. That is, artists communicated the splendor of Mongolian courtly culture with imagery already familiar to Western readers from chronicle, romance, and other pictorial contexts.



ABOVE, Fig. 105. The Great Khan's dinner party. Marco Polo, *Livres du Grand Caem*. England, c. 1400. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bodley 264, pt. III, fol. 239 (detail)

BELOW, Fig. 106. Tartars worshipping an idol. Marco Polo, *Livres du Grand Caem*. England, c. 1400. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bodley 264, pt. III, fol. 232 (detail)



This technique is observable in the most celebrated illuminated copy of the *Travels*, Bodley 264, executed by the English artist Johannes about 1400.¹⁹⁵ For example, in order to convey the full extent of the wealth and splendor of the Great Khan's court, the artist has represented it not according to its actual appearance, which would have seemed hopelessly alien to a Western European audience, but rather according to a vocabulary of forms that already existed in the artist's pictorial repertoire. That is, the images in this and other manuscript copies of the *Travels* bear a strong resemblance to those found in contemporary romance and chronicle manuscripts, probably because the same artists were involved in their execution.¹⁹⁶ Accordingly, in Bodley 264, the setting for the Great Khan's dinner party resembles the court of a Western king, with tall Gothic chairs, a magnificent golden font, and outside, courtly musicians performing atop crenellated towers (fig. 105).

Similarly, idol-worship is depicted using what was by now a conventional iconographical formula employed in images of Jews, Saracens, and other non-Christians. In Bodley 264, the Tartars themselves are rendered in the manner expected for barbarian, non-Christian types in a most interesting image of idol-worship that features dark-skinned, bearded figures wearing tall, white conical caps, kneeling in profile before a large idol positioned atop a golden pedestal (fig. 106).¹⁹⁷ To the right, another group of blond, clean-shaven worshippers also pay homage to the idol. Are these Nestorian Christians, whose beliefs departed somewhat from Rome, and with whom the nonconverted Tartars were known to fraternize?¹⁹⁸ Positioned in front of the idol is a low altar covered with a white cloth holding golden liturgical vessels. Significantly, the whole scene is taking place inside a chapel rendered not in contemporary Mongolian but rather in Late Gothic style. Marco in the accompanying text does not indicate what Mongolian places of worship looked like, although at one point he notes that "the idolaters have many churches and monasteries according to their usage" (my emphasis).¹⁹⁴

A subsequent image in Bodley 264 shows eight Mongolian kings presenting golden offerings to a large golden idol of a demon holding a Classical face-shield.¹⁹⁹ The

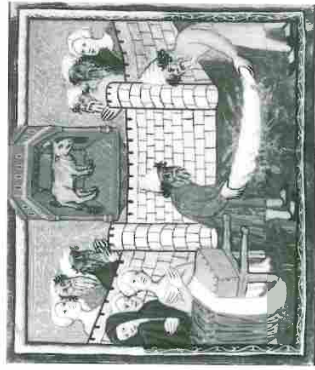


Fig. 107. Tartars burning a corpse; worshipping an idol. Marco Polo, *Livres du Grand Caem*. England, c. 1400. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bodley 264, pt. III, fol. 252v (detail)

kings are all dark-skinned and bearded, but they wear golden, Western crowns to make clear to the viewer that they are indeed kings. A still subsequent image illustrates the Tartar practice of cremating their dead, often mentioned by Marco, and shows the burning of a shrouded corpse outside the city, where burial reportedly took place.¹⁹⁶ The image also perpetuates the theme of idolatry in an even more familiar manner (fig. 107). A prominent golden ox standing atop a large red altar is centrally positioned within the walls of the city, flanked by mostly dark, bearded, and turbaned worshippers.¹⁹⁷ This image, besides recalling images of Jews worshipping the Golden Calf, also bears resemblance to those of turbaned Saracens worshipping idols—or images of the Virgin (figs. 70, 79).

Although deprived visually of an introduction to a new culture, viewers would have immediately grasped the significance of these idolatry scenes as a demonstration of the evils of yet another non-Christian enemy. Therefore, primarily through imagery, Marco Polo's narrative was effectively transformed from a largely empirical account of his experiences in the Mongolian kingdom into another contribution to the literature of the exotic East, whose images have as their primary purpose the expression of traditional ideas about the East, barbarians, and non-Christian vice and excess. Interestingly, Martin Gosman has explained medieval doubts concerning the veracity of Marco Polo's account as a reaction to the author's failure to properly denigrate this alien, barbaric culture according to the terms expected by its leisured readership.¹⁹⁸ It appears that at least some artists tried to compensate for this shortcoming by making sure that the imagery contained a suitable number of the familiar fantastic creatures and pejoratively rendered Tartars, whether or not Marco Polo actually described them negatively, or at all.

By contrast, the far more popular and completely nonempirical account of the exotic East written by the Mandeville author does include full-blown descriptions of many of the familiar marvels, including a healthy roster of Monstrous Races. For example, drawing on the *Marvels of the East* and other well-known sources, the description of the Isle of Dundeia (Andaman Islands) mentions Cyclopes, Blemmyai, Straw-Drinkers, Amycyræ, Panotii, Troglodytes, Hermaphrodites, eight-toed knee-walkers, Sciopodes, and Apple-Sniffers among its inhabitants.¹⁹⁹ The conflation of ideas about Monstrous Races, the habits of the Tartars, and crusading objectives gave rise to some very interesting textual illustrations. For example, the Mandeville author describes a dog-headed race inhabiting Natumeran (Nicobar Islands). They are large folk who go about naked



Fig. 108. Dogheads worshipping an idol. *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, East Anglia, c. 1430. British Library, London, MS Harley 3954, fol. 40v (detail)

except for their loincloths. Nevertheless, they are intelligent and very pious. They carry long spears and large shields, are good warriors, and habitually eat their captives.²⁰⁰ But Cynocephali also had a pious side. In a fifteenth-century East Anglian manuscript illustration of the Mandeville text, Dogheads wearing only loincloths worship the idol of an ox, to which they are described as extremely devoted (fig. 108).²⁰¹ Aside from the partial nudity mandated by the text, the image is clearly modeled on conventional representations of Jews or Saracens worshipping idols, and in this respect is similar to the image of Tartar idol veneration discussed above (fig. 106).

The Mandeville author explains that the Cynocephali revere the ox above all other idols, and the artist has translated this idea into the familiar iconography of figures worshipping the Golden Calf.

Thus, in its simultaneous references to barbarians, Jews, Monstrous Races, Tartars, and idolatry, the image supports the crusader conviction that the Tartars were ripe for conversion to Christianity. This was a belief fostered by reports that the Great Khan Güyük had been baptized, and that his mother was the daughter of Prester John, the mythical Christian leader to be discussed presently.²⁰² In truth, the Great Khans were not Christians, but they were tolerant of Christians, and many of their leaders had Nestorian Christian wives or mothers. The Great Khan Khubilai, for example, had a Christian mother and encouraged Western Christians (such as Marco Polo) to serve in his court, and Latin missionaries were allowed to work freely in Mongol territories. In view of all these factors, it is easier to understand why Pope Innocent IV attempted his ill-fated missions to the Mongols.²⁰³

Hostilities between Christians and Mongols are also expressed in images that represent armed conflict with Dogheads. In a subsequent illustration in this same Mandeville manuscript, mounted, nude Dogheads protecting themselves with large decorated shields run long lances through what appear to be Christian knights riding away from battle (fig. 109). That is, the text only indicates that these Cynocephali carry long spears and “go boldly against their enemies,” without actually specifying who their enemies might be, so the artist has interpreted the enemy as conventional Christian warriors.²⁰⁴ The Mandeville author’s location of Dogheads in “Tartary” recalls the general tendency to equate the uncivilized peoples of the East with dogs. It also brings to mind the unsympathetic retort by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, in response to a Muslim messenger’s plea in 1238 for military assistance against the fury of the Tartars: “Let us leave these dogs to devour one another, that they may all be consumed, and perish; and we, when we proceed against the



Fig. 109. Attack of the Dogheads; siege of a castle. *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, East Anglia, c. 1430. British Library, London, MS Harley 3954, fol. 41

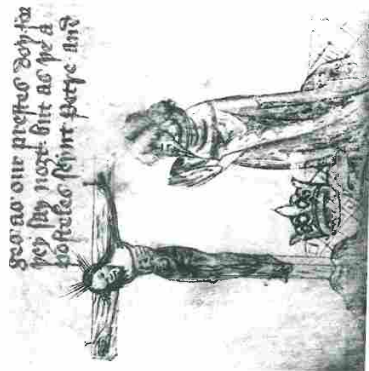


Fig. 110. Prester John in prayer. *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*. England, c. 1470–20. British Library, London, MS Royal 17.C.XXXVIII, fol. 59r (detail)

enemies of Christ who remain, will slay them, and cleanse the face of the earth, so that all the world will be subject to the one Catholic Church, and there will be one shepherd and one fold.²⁰⁵

In the lower register on this same folio, the Cynocephali, armed with spears and swords, are following their crowned king to his castle. The accompanying text refers to the piety of this king, who wears around his neck a necklace of three hundred "orient pearls," like a rosary, on which he says three hundred prayers each day to his god before he eats.²⁰⁶ He also wears an enormous ruby, which in this image he displays in his left hand; this precious gem is said to be much covered by the Great Khan. Especially given the relative sophistication of their weapons—Monstrous Races more commonly wield clubs or sticks (figs. 5, 94)—both images on this folio suggest the military might of the Tartars, albeit in allegorical form. In this they may be compared iconographically to the battle images featuring Saracens (figs. 87, 88). This small group of images reveals how pictorial features of monstrosity and aggression can be varied and manipulated as context demands but may commonly result in a consistent set of visual characteristics applicable to both imaginary and living enemies of Christendom.

PRESTER JOHN

It would be negligent to leave the subject of the imaginary Tartars without some mention of Prester John, the mythical priest-king who ruled over a widespread, utopian Christian kingdom purportedly comprising the "Three Indias" and including Tartar lands. Information about Prester John and his kingdom was first introduced to the West by Otto of Freising in 1145²⁰⁷ and was widespread by the late twelfth century owing to the dissemination of a letter supposedly written about 1165 by Prester John himself to the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Comnenus.²⁰⁸ Prester John's kingdom was not only peaceful and Christian, it was filled with untold riches and fabulous flora and fauna, all precisely detailed both in the *Letter* and in subsequent reports of this marvelous Eastern domain. Marvels already familiar to readers of the literature of the exotic East included not only Monstrous Races but also griffins, dragons, the phoenix, ants the size of dogs, and precious gems. Less familiar were Prester John's sea of gravel and his magic mirror.

Most importantly, Prester John was a Christian. His great piety is conveyed in a portrait of the priest-king in prayer positioned in the lower margin of a folio in another fifteenth-century English copy of the *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (fig. 110).²⁰⁹ Out of

humility, Prester John has removed his crown and placed it at the feet of the crucified Savior, but his large size in relation to Christ conveys something of his importance. His long beard and traditional Mongolian fur hat identify him with the Tartars, whose lands formed part of the vast extent of his imaginary realm.

The image may also refer to Christian hopes for this great leader during the events of the Last Days, as the motif of the ruler laying his crown at the foot of the cross corresponds with the eschatological prophecy that, after a successful reign of peace and prosperity, the Last World Emperor will travel to Jerusalem to lay down his crown and robes on Golgotha, thus entrusting the world to God.²¹⁰ Might Prester John have been identified with the Last World Emperor? I know of no such textual references, but perhaps popular belief in the Last World Emperor informed the iconography of this image. Indirect support for this hypothesis is the medieval precedent for identifying specific rulers with the Last World Emperor, most notably Charlemagne, believed by many to have never died but to be in hiding until the time is ripe for his return at the End of Time.²¹¹

In any case, it the intense Christian piety effectively conveyed in this image that supposedly enabled Prester John to rule successfully a diverse population of subjects, including not only Christians but also Amazons, Pygmies, and the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. Prester John was therefore capable of marshaling a formidable army at any moment, and his strong Christian convictions gave him that extra edge in battle over his non-Christian enemies. Indeed, the *Letter* states that there are seventy-two kings subject to him and when he goes to war, 10,000 knights and 100,000 foot soldiers march behind jeweled crosses.²¹²

Best of all, this Christian Prester John was strategically located in the East. Before the nature of the Tartar conflict was fully grasped, Christians identified Prester John with Chenghis Khan, and the possibility of a military alliance between Prester John's army and the Western crusaders against their common enemy, the Saracens, provided a surge of hope to Christendom. Under orders from Innocent III to prepare the Latin East for the arrival of the Fifth Crusade, such hope was expressed by Jacques de Vitry, who wrote in 1217: "I believe that there are more Christians than Muslims living in Islamic countries. The Christians of the Orient, as far away as the land of Prester John, have many kings, who, when they hear that the crusade has arrived, will come to its aid and wage war on the Saracens."²¹³ Of course, this hope was quickly dashed once it became known that Ghenghis Khan and his Tartar army could not be equated to a Messiah-like warrior priest and Christian knights, but rather were dangerous enemies of both Christians and Muslims. A less than ideal relationship was also confirmed by the negative Mongol response to the papal missions in which William of Rubruck and John of Plano Carpini had participated: the Great Khan Güyük flatly rejected Innocent IV's pleas to stop the killing (especially of Christians), to accept Christianity, and to perform appropriate penance. He suggested instead that the pope come personally and make his submission; if not, the pope would be considered an enemy.²¹⁴

As for Prester John, the real problem was that nobody in the West ever actually met with him, even though reports of his activities were widely available. Curiously, both William of Rubruck and Marco Polo also chronicle the manner of Prester John's defeat and demise by the forces of Chenghis Khan, a battle which Marco asserts took place in 1200.²¹⁶ According to Marco, once Chenghis Khan was refused marriage to Prester John's daughter, he became enraged and waged war against the priest-king and his army of Christian knights. The battle is illustrated in Bodley 264 (fig. 111). In this scene, the drama of conflict is vigorously expressed through the chaotic composition, in which, much as in the lower register of the Hedwig Codex folio (fig. 102/plate 6), it is necessary to observe carefully individual figures because the two opposing forces are not easily identifiable by their relative positioning. On a figure-by-figure basis, however, the distinction between Tartars and Christians is clear. The Tartars are identifiable by their dark skin which sharply contrasts with their exotic white, pointed helmets, and rather ineffectual cloth outer garments that are not indicative of contemporary Mongol battle garb, but are appropriate in a representation of an entirely fictive battle. The same inauthenticity may be observed of arms, in that the Tartars wield longbows, scimitars (Near Eastern weapons), and Western swords. The Christian knights, by contrast, wear contemporary helmets and body armor, and wield lances and conventional Western swords. Pictorial details of a headless Christian knight, a bleeding Christian body run through with a sword, and in the right foreground, a Tartar finishing off a Christian knight with a dagger through the mouth all add to the horror of the scene and emphasize Tartar military might. Indeed, Marco characterized this as "the greatest battle that was ever seen," even though neither Marco nor anyone else ever saw it.²¹⁶

Not everyone, however, believed that Prester John was actually killed by the Mongols. By as late as the fourteenth century, many Christians assumed that he was still alive and well in the steppes of Central Asia, and the search for Prester John continued well into the sixteenth century.²¹⁷ But even among those who accepted his death, belief in Prester John's kingdom continued to flourish, under the assumption that its leadership remained intact under his descendants. Most notable among these was a leader, King David, believed to be Prester John's own son.²¹⁸

That his kingdom was located in the exotic East provided the perfect excuse for Prester John's elusiveness; that he lived among dragons and griffins may have been a literary way of expressing doubt that he would ever be found. On the theory that this figure was based on some actual Mongolian Christian leader, some scholars have devoted considerable energy to providing Prester John with a concrete identity.²¹⁹ But whether or not he can be positively identified with a specific historical personality, Prester John functioned for four centuries as an important symbol of hope for the crusaders, reassuring them that they were not alone in their struggles against Islamic enemies, that there were other strong Christian rulers who would help them. Once Christian hegemony had spread even to the New World, interest in Prester John ceased because his assistance was no longer required.²²⁰



Fig. 111. Battle of Chenghis Khan and Prince John. Marco Polo, *Liaves, da Grant Camm*. England, c. 1400. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bodley 264, pt. III, fol. 23v (detail)

I shall return to Prester John in the last chapter in order to examine the implications of the late medieval transference of his kingdom to Ethiopia, which necessitated his physiognomical transformation from a white European Christian (fig. 110) to a black Ethiopian (fig. 132). But first, we shall look in the next chapter to the End of Time, a time when Jews, Saracens, and Tartars were expected to unleash their collective fury on all of Christendom. The exact point at which this would occur was unknown, but many medieval Christians were convinced that events of the Last Days were already unfolding before them.

Notes

ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
CCCC	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
CCGM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, Turnhout, 1966–.
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, Turnhout, 1953–.
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CVMA	Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevum
EETS	Early English Text Society
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 15 vols. 1877–1919; repr. 1961.
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna
PG	<i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus, serie Graeca</i> . Ed. J.-P. Migne, 162 vols. Paris, 1877–66.
PL	<i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus, serie Latina</i> , Ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. Paris, 1844–64.
RS	Rolls Series

I have followed the Douay-Rheims translation of the Vulgate for all Scriptural quotations. In transcribing excerpts from manuscripts and maps, I have expanded abbreviations and added capitalization and punctuation, but I have not normalized spellings or corrected grammar. English translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

PREFACE

1. See Clerk of Enghein, *La Manière et les fatiures des monnes des hommes*, ed. Alfons Hilka, *Eine altfranzösische monastierende Bearbeitung des Liber de Monstruosis Hominibus Orientis* aus Thomas von Cantimpré, *De Naturis Rerum*, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-Historische Klasse 7 (Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1933); and John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), 19–21.

2. Clerk of Enghein, *La Manière et les fatiures*, lines 821–50 (headless men); lines 929–56 (bearded women); and lines 483–520 (Dogheads) (ed. Hilka, 44–45; 47–48, 36–37). On the moralizations pertaining to the headless men and the Dogheads, see chapter 1.

3. "Vois est... / Si com autres tésnoigne et dit, / Qui ce parties en Orient / A une maniere de gent / Orde et vilaine, male, avile, / Qui ne demeure pas a vile, / Mais es destiers et es montaignes, / S'ont lor fges, ures si estraignes / C'ome desure le chainn sont, / Et desous rains de bieses ont / De diverses plusieurs manieres, / Crieus, maies, puans et fiores, / Qui d'avoutire sont venu" (Clerk of Enghein, *La Manière et les fatiures*, lines 33–43; ed. Hilka, 24; trans. Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, 129).

4. For example, Carole Rawcliffe is currently preparing a study of medieval lepers which makes use of art historical evidence.

5. On the passages in question, see Jonathan Kahl, *The Mystery of Christianity*, trans. N. D. Smith (Middlesex: Penguin, 1971), 51–62.

6. Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978; repr. London: Penguin, 1995), 58–63.

CHAPTER I: MAKING MEN KNOWN BY SIGHT: CLASSICAL THEORIES, MONSTROUS RACES, & SIN

1. D. A. Callus, "Introduction of Aristotelian Learning to Oxford," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 29 (1943): 229–81; Richard Walzer, "Arabic Transmission of Greek Thought to Medieval Europe," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 39 (1945–46): 160–83; William H. Stahl, *Roman Science* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1962), 437–49; David C. Lindberg, "The Transmission of Greek and Arabic Learning to the West," in *Science in the Middle Ages*, ed. David C. Lindberg (Chicago: University of Chi-

cago Press, 1978), 52–90; Marie-Thérèse d'Averny, "Translations and Translators," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 421–62; L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 3d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 110–21.

2. See Clarence J. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), 244–87.

3. This relationship was well articulated in the twelfth century in a poem written by Bernard Silvester (fl. 1136); see Winthrop Weichert, trans., *The Cosmographia of Bernardus Silvester* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973). See also George Perreer Conger, *Theories of Macrocosm and Microcosm in the History of Philosophy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1922); Fritz Saxl, "Macrocosm and Microcosm in Mediaeval Pictures," in *Lectures* (London: Warburg Institute, 1957), vol. 1, 38–110; and C. Clark, "The Zodiac Man in Medieval Astrology," *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 3 (1982): 14–21 and n. 37.

4. Marian J. Tooley, "Bodin and the Medieval Theory of Climate," *Speculum* 28 (1953): 68. On the characteristics of the inhabitants of the various climatic zones, see Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 2.2, ed. and trans. F. E. Robbins, Loeb Classical Library (1940; repr. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994), 120–27.

5. Pliny, *Natural History* 2.68.171–72, ed. and trans. H. Rackham, *Pliny, Natural History*, vol. 1, Loeb Classical Library (1938; repr. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979); Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* 2.5–6, trans. William Harris Stahl (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), 200–208.

6. On the zone maps, see Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Imaginative Landscape of Christopher Columbus* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 3–41.

7. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum naturale* 6.4, in *Speculum quadruplex: sive Speculum maius* (1624; facs. reprint, Graz: Akademische Druck-Verlagsanstalt, 1964), vol. 1, Albert the Great, *De natura loci* 1.6, ed. Paul Hossfeld, *Alberti Magni Opera omnia* (Aachen: Monasterii Westfalorum, 1980), vol. 5, pt. 2; and Roger Bacon, *Mathematicae* 4.3, ed. John Henry Bridges, *Opus maius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), vol. 1.

8. Tooley, "Bodin," 68.

- equate Jews to dogs, see James Marrow, "Circum-
dederunt me canes milii: Christ's Tormentors in
Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and
Early Renaissance," *Art Bulletin* 59, no. 2 (1977): 174.
23. "ΕΒΡΑΙΟΙ ΟΙ ΑΕΤΟΜΟΝΟΙ ΚΥΝΕC"
(Khludov Palter, fol. 19v). Transcribed N. P.
Kondakov, *Miniatures grecques rubriques peintes IX veke
is sobornija A. J. Khludov v Moskve* (Moscow, 1878),
182; cited and trans. Corrigan, *Visual Palaeography*, 49
170, n. 32.
24. Marrow, "Circumdederunt me canes," 169.
25. Corrigan, *Visual Palaeography*, 49.
26. Henry Kraus, *The Living Theatre of Medieval
Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967), 139–44.
27. *The Letters of St. Bernard*, trans. Bruno Scott
James (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), letter no. 391, 462–63.
See also the letter addressed to Henry, archbishop of
Mainz, in which Bernard deplors the violence insti-
gated against the Jews in the Rhineland by the cru-
sader Raoul (trans. James, *Letters*, letter no. 393, 463–
66).
28. Rachel Dressler, "Deus Hoc Vult: Ideology,
Identity and Sculptural Rhetoric at the Time of the
Crusades," *Medieval Encounters* 1 (1995): 188–218.
29. "Si de testandi sunt saraceni . . . quantum
exerandi et odio habendi sunt Iudei, qui nichil pro-
sua de Christo uel fide Christiana sentientes, ipsum
uigineum partum, cunctaque redemptionis humane
sacramenta abutuntur, blasphemant, subornant? Nec
ad hoc ita dico, ut regalem uel Christianum gladium,
in necam nefandorum illorum exactionem . . . Non
enim Deus prois occidi, non omnino extingui, sed
ad maius tormentum et maiorem ignominiam, ut frat-
ricidam Cain uita morte dereferre seruari. . . Non
inquam ut occidantur admonem, sed ut congruentior
ad puniendos illos impius modus, quam ille quo et
dampnatur iniquitas et adiuuatur caritas? Quid iustius
quam ut his quae fraudulenter lucrati sunt, destruan-
tur, quae nequiter furati sunt, ut furibus et quod peius
est, iucisque audacibus et impunitis, auferantur? . . .
Reseruetur eis uita, auferatur pecunia, ut per dexteras
Christianorum, aditus pecuniae blasphemantium
Iudeorum, expugnetur infidelium audacia Saracen-
orum. Haec tibi benigne rex scripsi amore Christi,
uique acque excretus Christiani (Peter the Venera-
ble, letter no. 30; ed. Constable, vol. 1, 328–30; trans.
Gavin Langmuir, in Mellinkoff, "Cain and the Jews,"
18).
30. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short
History* (London: Athlone Press, 1987), 16–17; Robert
Chazan, "The Impact of the Crusades upon Medieval
European Jewry," in *The Solomon Golden Lectures*
IV, ed. Nathaniel Stampfer (Chicago: Sperlus College
- souperit orez" (*Fleishbus*, lines 4748–52). See A.
Kroeber and G. Servais, eds., *Fleishbus: Chanson de
geste* (Paris: A. Franck, 1866), 143.
13. "Terres meunes et les oeilles granz; / La nuit
s'an cueurent, com oes les soprant, / Et en bataille s'an
queurent ansement. / Ne crientent haecle ne espee
tranchant; / Ja plus ne quierent arme ne grenment"
(*Les Nephemais* 117, lines 3809–12). See Hermann
Suchier, ed., *Les Nephemais* (Paris: Firmin Didot,
1898), vol. 1, 144.
14. Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, 67–69; David
Gordon White, *Might of the Dog-Man* (Chicago: Uni-
versity of Chicago Press, 1991), 61–62.
15. According to Eulogius, among others,
Muhammed announced that after his death he would
rise on the third day with the aid of the angel Gabriel,
and he instructed his followers to keep watch over his
body. When the guards left it unattended, the dogs ate
it. See Eulogius of Cordoba, *Liber apologeticus mar-
tyrum* (PL 117:860B–C).
16. William of Rubruck, *Itinerary*, trans. by a nun
of Stanbrook Abbey in Christopher Dawson, ed., *The
Mongol Mission* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1955), 186.
17. Marco Polo, *Travels*, chap. 193 (trans.
Latham, 306–7). On anti-Muslim aspects of Marco's
account, see John Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery
of the World* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University
Press, 1999), 103–4.
18. *Song of Roland*, line 3327 (ed. Brault, vol. 2,
216).
19. "His men ne coulpen speke ne grede, / Bor als
houedes grece and helien" (*Kyng Alisaunder*, lines
1934–36). See G. V. Smithers, ed., EETS, vol. 1, o.s.
227 (1932), 109.
20. "And manye off be beþene houedes / Wip
here teep growe; þe groundes, / By þe blood wpon þe
gras / Men myre see where Richard was" (*Richard Coer
de Lion*, lines 215–18). See Karl Brunner, ed., *Der
mittelenglische Versroman über Richard Löwenherz*
(Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1913), 340–41.
21. On the identification of the Saracen women,
see Linda Selde, *Songs of Glory: The Romanesque
Facades of Aquitaine* (Chicago: University of Chicago
Press, 1983), 62–66. The south portal on the façade of
Notre-Dame-le-Grand in Poitiers also features an
archivolte entirely decorated with carved dogs.
22. Moscow State Historical Museum, Cod. 129,
fol. 19v. On this image, see Kathleen Corrigan, *Visual
Palaeography in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Palates* (New
York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 48–49; and
Debra Hassig, "Iconography of Rejection: Jews and
Other Monstrous Races," in Hourihane, *Image and
Belief*, 34–35 and fig. 12. On contemporary sources that
- more fully developed in Langmuir, "Medieval Anti-
Semitism" and Robin, *Gentile Tales*, esp. pp. 7–39,
96–99.
239. Hood, *Aquinas and the Jews*, 12.
- CHAPTER 4: SARACENS, TARTARS, &
OTHER CRUSADER FANTASIES
1. See *Song of Roland*, lines 1013 and 1212 (ed.
Brault, *Song of Roland*, vol. 2, 64, 77).
2. Paul Bancourt, *Les Maîtres dans les char-
sons de geste du cycle du roi*, 2 vols. (Aix-en-Provence:
Publications Diffusion, 1982), vol. 1, 342.
3. See Thomas and Dusserre, *Legend of Duke
Erna*, 101, 120.
4. On the concept of Holy War, see Carl
Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea of the Crusade* (Princeton:
Princeton University Press, 1977), 201–28; and H.E.J.
Cowdrey, "The Genesis of the Crusades: The Springs
of Western Ideas of Holy War," in *The Holy War*, ed.
Thomas Patrick Murphy (Columbus: Ohio State
University Press, 1976), 9–32.
5. See *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* II, ed. P.
Hamelius, *Mandeville's Travels*, vol. 1, EETS 153 (1919),
49; trans. Moseley, 77.
6. On the complexities of this goal, see Ben-
jamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European
Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton: Princeton
University Press, 1984), 159–203.
7. Robert Chazan, "1007–1012: Initial Crisis for
Northern European Jewry," *Proceedings of the American
Academy for Jewish Research* 38–39 (1970–71): 111.
8. John Williams, "Isidore, Orosius, and the
Betrus Map," *Imago Mundi* 49 (1997): 18, 27.
9. Valerie I. J. Flint, "Monsters and the Anti-
podes in the Early Middle Ages and Enlightenment,"
Vivarium 15 (1984): 65–80; Williams, "Isidore, Orosius,"
17–23, 27–28.
10. John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races
in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, Mass.:
Harvard University Press, 1981), 77–79; Jeffrey Jerome
Cohen, *Of Giants: Sex, Monsters, and the Middle Ages*
(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999),
132–34.
11. For the specific locations in the *chanson* of
the different Saracen types, see Bancourt, *Les Masal-
mans*, vol. 1, 74–76. See also C. Meredith Jones, "The
Conventional Saracen of the Songs of Geste," *Specu-
lum* 17 (1942): 204–5.
12. "Oeilles ou velues et les grenons melés; / Et
deuant et derriere estoit ensi formés. / Si avoit .II.
oreilles, onques ne furent tels; / Cascune tenoit bien
demi sestier de blé; / Sor sa teste lesorne quant les
222. "Vetus homo est vetus vita, et novum homo
nova vita: Vetus vita ex Adam trahitur, nova vita in
Christo formatur" (Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*
97: 371–53). See also Cassiodorus, *Expositio in
Psalterium* 97 (PL 70:688B).
223. "Carnate Domino. Quare? Quid enim fecit
Quare enim novum meretur canticum. Quis mira-
bilis fecit. Signa fecit in Iudaeis; paraliticos sanavit;
leprosos purgavit; mortuos suscitavit" (Pseudo-
Jerome, *Breviarium in Psalmos* 97; PL 26:1186).
224. Berengaudus, *Expositio* 4 (PL 17:888D–
890B).
225. BL, Add. MS 50000, fol. 169v, 207, 225v.
226. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts* (II), 138.
227. Still another important aspect of the prob-
lem of conversion was apostasy, or the return of con-
verted Jews to Judaism. See especially Logan E.
Donald, "Thirteen London Jews and Conversion to
Christianity: Problems of Apostasy in the 1280s,"
Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research 45 (1972):
214–29; Jeremy Cohen, "The Mentality of the
Medieval Jewish Apostate: Peter Alfonsi, Hermann of
Cologne, and Pablo Christiani," in Todd M. Endell-
man, ed., *Jewish Apostasy in the Modern World* (New
York: Holmes and Meier, 1987), 20–47; Stacey, "Con-
version of Jews," 263–83; and most recently, Kenneth
R. Stow, "Conversion, Apostasy, and Apprehen-
siveness: Emicho of Flonheim and the Fear of Jews in
the Twelfth Century," *Speculum* 76 (2001): 911–33.
The relationship between apostasy and medieval art is
a problem that to my knowledge has not yet been
investigated.
228. Moore, *Formation of a Prosecuting Society*,
150.
229. Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, vol. 1,
27–29.
230. On the Christian view of Jewish idolatry
and its expression in medieval art, see Camille, *Gothic
Ibid*, 165–75.
231. See Jordan, *French Monarchy*, 179–318.
232. White, *Book of Beasts*, 30–32.
233. Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries*, 152.
234. Examples of hyena iconography featuring a
male corpse are reproduced in Hassig, *Medieval
Bestiaries*, figs. 148–53, 155, and 157.
235. Camille, *Gothic Ibid*, 184–85. On the *Bibles
moralisées* treatment of this theme, see Lipson, "Root
of All Evil," 310–14 and *Images of Inhumanity*, 41–42.
236. As at Saint-Dié in Lorraine. See Lillich,
Rainbow Like an Emerald, 78, 86.
237. Scarfe, *Suffolk*, 92.
238. This thesis was put forward by Roth in
"The Medieval Conception of the Jew" and has been

of Judaica Press, 1983), 135–39; Kenneth R. Stow, *Alienated Minority: The Jews of Medieval Latin Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 102–7. On the Jewish response to the crusader pogroms, see Shlomo Eidelberg, ed. and trans., *The Jews and the Crusades: The Hebrew Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), 1977.

31. Stow, *Alienated Minority*, 106–7.

32. The Passion scenes featuring Jews are located in the same register (third) of the tympanum and represent, from left to right: the crowning with thorns, Christ carrying the cross, Hedroit, and the guardians at the tomb. On the Strasbourg sculpture, see Michel Zehnacher, *La Cathédrale de Strasbourg* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1993), 192–93.

33. On images of the elephant in the bestiaries, including the Cambridge Bestiary image, see Debra Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 129–44.

34. See, for example, Bodley 764, fol. 12; and BL, MS Royal 12.EXIII (Rochester Bestiary), fol. 11v; both reproduced in Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries*, figs. 133 and 143.

35. For the Cambridge Bestiary elephant text, see White, *Book of Beasts*, 24–28.

36. On other crusader references in the bestiary battle elephant images, see Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries*, 135–44.

37. Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, Books 3–7. See William Whiston, trans., *The Works of Josephus* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1987), 639–772. On medieval interpretations of this text, see Heinz Schreckenberg, “Josephus in Early Christian Texts,” 51–85; and “Josephus in Early Christian Literature and Medieval Christian Art,” 109–48, both in *Jewish Hagiography and Iconography in Early and Medieval Christianity*, ed. Heinz Schreckenberg and Peter Schubert (Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1992).

38. Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea*, 115–16; Dressler, “Deus Hoc Vult,” 205. On the question of authorship, see also A. Gieysztor, “The Genesis of the Crusades: The Encyclical of Sergius IV (1009–1012),” *Medievalia et Humanistica* 5 (1948): 3–23 and 6 (1950): 3–34.

39. “Spero, credo et certissime teneo, qui per uirtutum Domini nostri Iesu Christi nostram erit uictoriam stur fuir in diebus Tri et Vespasian, qui Da Hili morte undeauctur” (ed. Gieysztor, “Genesis of the Crusades,” 1950, 33–34). See also Erdmann, *Origin of the Idea*, 115; and Scidel, *Song of Glory*, 73.

40. Dressler, “Deus Vult Hoc,” 207.

41. For interpretations of the term “Saracen,” see William Wisar Combror, “The Character Types in the Old French Chansons de Geste,” *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 21, 2 (n.s. 14, no. 2) (1906): 408; and “The Literary Role of the Saracens in the French Epic,” *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 55 (1940): 619; Jones, “Conventional Saracens,” 204; R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), 17, n. 11; Beatrice White, “Saracens and Crusades: From Fact to Allegory,” in *Medieval Literature and Civilization: Studies in Memory of G. N. Garmonsway*, ed. D. A. Pearsall and R. A. Waldron (London: Athlone Press, 1969), 171; Norman Daniel, *Heresy and Saracens: An Interpretation of the Chansons de Geste* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984), 8–9, 264, 275; and Diane Speed, “The Saracens of King Horn,” *Speculum* 65 (1990): 571–72, following Norman Daniel, “I shall use the term ‘Saracen’ when referring to the fictive group invented by medieval Christians.

42. On Islam as a Christian heresy, see James Krutzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 141–49.

43. “See how Mahomet is deformed and torn! / In front of me and weeping, All walks, / his face cleft from his chin up to the crown. / The souls that you see passing in this dieth / were all sowers of scandal and schism in life, / and so in death you see them torn asunder” (Dante, *Inferno*, canto XXVIII, lines 31–36; trans. Mark Musa, *The Divine Comedy*, vol. 1, *Inferno* [New York: Penguin, 1971], 326).

44. Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Hierosolimitana Abbreuiata* 1:4; in *Gesta Dei per Francos . . . a Jacobo Bonerio* (Hanover, 1611); cited and trans. Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1958), 185.

45. Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 184–85.

46. *Ibid.*, 86, 188–90, 274.

47. Peter the Venerable, *Adversus Iacem saracenos* 2.27 (PL 189:716D–717A). On the descent of the Saracens from Ishmael, see Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 16–17.

48. Quoted in Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 103–4.

49. On the three Saracen gods, see J. Crossland, *The Old French Epic* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1951), 141–43. My thanks to Matt Strickland for this reference.

50. Comifort, “The Literary Role,” 639. On the idol of Muhammed, see Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 142–51.

51. Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* 2:69. See Frances Rita Ryan, trans., *A History of the*

Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095–1127 (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), 118.

52. See Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 203–7.

53. “Li antrialz reclamer Apolin / E Tervagan e Mahumet atresi: / ‘Mi, damecluz, jo vos ai mult servit. / Tutes zes ymagenes feut el’or fin.” (*Song of Roland* 553, lines 3490–94 ed. Brault, vol. 2, 212–13). See also *Song of Roland* 1, lines 5–9; and 68, lines 853–54 (ed. Brault, vol. 2, 3–5; 54–55).

54. On this imagery, see Camille, *Gothic Idol*, 129–42.

55. On this manuscript and the texts, see Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d’Aves*, 1275–1291 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 149–51, 208, and pls. 273–80; and Lilian M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 1, *France, 875–1420* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 123–27. On this image, see Camille, *Gothic Idol*, 137.

56. Camille, *Gothic Idol*, 1–7.

57. The infancy gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew was probably written and compiled in the eighth or ninth century. According to this account, when Mary and the infant Christ entered the temple in the Egyptian city of Sothisen, all 365 idols worshipped in that city were thrown to the ground, convulsed, with their faces shattered. “Thus they revealed openly that they were nothings.” See Pseudo-Matthew, *The Book about the Origin of the Blessed Mary and the Childhood of the Savior*, trans. David R. Cartledge and David L. Dungan in *The Other Bible*, ed. Willis Barnstone (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1984), 395.

58. Camille, *Gothic Idol*, 135.

59. John of Würzburg, *Description of the Holy Land*, trans. Aubrey Stewart, “Description of the Holy Land by John of Würzburg,” *Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society*, no. 14 (1890): 18.

60. On this manuscript, see Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, 120–23 and pls. 200–202.

61. The problem of identity in determining the difference between an icon and an idol is addressed in the *Libri Carolini* (PL 98:121D–1220B). For a fuller discussion of this issue, see Camille, *Gothic Idol*, 220–41. On the political implications of image-worship, see Stephen Geers, “The Libri Carolini and the Image Controversy,” *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 18 (1973): 7–34.

62. For the relevant text, see “De l’ymage Nostra Dame,” in Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de Notre Dame par Gautier de Coinci*, 4 vols., ed. V. F. König (Geneva: Droz, 1955–70), vol. 3, 23–33.

63. Speed, “Saracens of King Horn,” 80–82.

64. See Bancourt, *Les Mosaïques*, vol. 1, 56–58.

65. Speed, “Saracens of King Horn,” 386.

66. *Itinerarium Pergrinarum* 135, trans. Helen J. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Pergrinarum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 90. On the proposed authorship of this chronicle, see pp. 6–9.

67. Eulogius of Cordoba, *Memorialis sanctorum* 1.6 (PL 115:744C).

68. Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia* 3 (trans. Ryan, 66). The most graphic and sensational description of supposed Muslim atrocities intended to whip up crusading fervor may be found in Robert the Monk’s account of Urban’s speech. For the text, see August C. Krey, ed. and trans., *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eye-Witnesses and Preachers* (Cloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1938), 30–33.

69. *Gesta Francorum* 7, ed. and trans. Rosalind Hill, *The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 44.

70. “Mahomet primogenitui Sathane, qui se prophetaem a Domino missum mentendo Orientalium regiones et maxime Arabiam seduxerat, ita inveterat doctrina pestilens et disseminatus langor in universas occupavit provincias, ut eius successorum non iam exhortationibus vel predicatione, sed gladius et violentia in summum errorem populos descendere compellerent invitos” (William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* 1.13–9; ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Wilhelmus Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, CCCM 65 [1986], 105). See also E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, trans., *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), vol. 1, 60.

71. Bancourt, *Les Mosaïques*, vol. 1, 349–52; vol. 2, 1004.

72. On this manuscript, see Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1242–1422* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 95–133, 244–48.

73. On Charlemagne as the prototypical model for crusaders, see Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Michael W. Cothren, “The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis: Praetorium Eaim Recordatio Futurorum Est Exhibito,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986): 13–15. *Le pèlerinage de Charlemagne* is an anonymous medieval French poem of uncertain date that describes Charlemagne’s journey to the East and his acquisition of relics. See Glyn S. Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne* (New York: Garland, 1988). My thanks to Gary Dickson for this reference.

74. The reconstruction of this window from late-eighteenth-century drawings is fully addressed in

Brown and Cothran, "Twelfth-Century Crusading Window." On the two surviving panels, see also Jane Hayward and Walter Cahn, *Raidance and Reflection: Medieval Art from the Raymond Pictorial Collection* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982), 90–94.

75. In particular, the Saracens are wearing contemporary lamellar armor. See David C. Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era, 1090–1350*, 2 vols. (New York: Kraus, 1988), vol. 1, 304; vol. 2, 790–91 (drawings of the St.-Denis figures). My thanks to Matt Strickland for this observation.

76. The fleur-de-lis was not used as a heraldic device until the twelfth century. See Stephen Friar, ed., *A New Dictionary of Heraldry* (London: Alphabooks, 1987), 132.

77. On crusader ideology in the *Grandes chroniques*, see Hedeman, *Royal Image*, 1–3, 63–67.

78. *Ibid.*, 97, 98.

79. Christopher Tyrman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1285* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 288–94. For an analysis of the famous miniature that depicts a dramatic reenactment at table of Godfrey of Bouillon's conquest of Jerusalem (fol. 473v), see Hedeman, *Royal Image*, 130–32 and fig. 91. See also Edward Fairfax, trans., *Godfrey of Bouillon, or the Recovery of Jerusalem*, 2 vols. (Whitford: S. Kirby, 1817).

80. "Ici uient li Sarrazin si prement l'arche que il auent conquise et la mettent en lor mahommeti delez un de lor dieu q' auoit nom Dagon" (ONB 2554, fol. 36; trans. Guest, *Bible Moralisée*, 108).

81. "Cs li Sarrazin mistrent la sainte arche delez un de lor Mahomet qui avoit nom Dagon. senefie les diables q' mistrent Sainte Eglise q' lor entraine delez un de lor metre q' auoit nom Beebebut" (*ibid.*).

82. "Ici uient lendemain li Sarrazin et entrenten lor mahometis et truesent lor dieu Dagon chout a terre, la teste et les mains et les piez coupe" (*ibid.*).

83. "Ce q' li maues deu Dagon chauts a terre et perdi la vertu de ses membres senefie qe Sainte Eglise abt le deable et confort et li tolt la vertu de son chief et deoz ses membres et li tolt sa pooste et aluz et atoz maues" (*ibid.*).

84. See Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 439–41.

85. "Ce q' li message conterent a David lorrage et la folle Nabal et David sarra et tira qe il destruit et lui et sa lignie senefie les boens messages Iesu Crist q' reparent dabigois et content as princes et as boens crestiens la mauuesie et la mescreeidie des abigois et lient li ami deu prenent la croiz et dient qe illes occi- ront et destruint toz" (ONB 2554, fol. 40v; trans. Guest, *Bible Moralisée*, 116).

86. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 133–39. On the Albigensian Crusade, see Malcolm Barber, *The Cathars in Languedoc* (Hallow: Longman, 2000).

87. Jones, "The Conventional Saracen," 204–6; Bancourt, *Les Musulmans*, vol. 1, 64–66.

88. On this type, see Jean Devisse, *The Image of the Black in Western Art* (New York: W. Morrow, 1972), vol. 2, pt. 1, 75–76, 88, 117–18.

89. Blond Saracens have been interpreted as aristocratic types who formed a class of Muslim society. See Bancourt, *Les Musulmans*, vol. 1, 36–58.

90. For description, bibliography, and color reproduction, see John Philip O'Neill, ed., *Enamels of Limoges, 1100–1350* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 116–18.

91. Cynthia Hahn, "Interpictoriality in the Limoges Chasses of Stephen, Martial, and Valerie," in Hourihane, *Image and Belief*, 114.

92. The Council of Nablus (1120) prescribed harsh penalties against Latin Christian men in the Holy Land who had sexual relations with Muslim women, and Gratian's *Decretum* (1140) forbade Christians to receive service in Muslim households and prescribed excommunication for living in them. See Michael Lebel, "Unthinking the Monster: Twelfth-Century Responses to Saracen Alchemy," in *Monter Theory: Reading Culture*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 280–81. As noted in chapter 3 above, the distinguishing dress mandated by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 was designed for the explicit purpose of preventing Christians from having sexual contact with either Jews or Muslims.

93. On the torture imagery in this manuscript and its devotional function, see Alison Stones, "Nipples, Entrails, Severed Heads, and Skin: Devotional Images for Madame Marie," in Hourihane, *Image and Belief*, 47–70.

94. On this image, see Alison Stones, *Le livre d'Images de Madame Marie* (Paris: Cerf, 1997), 82–83; and "Nipples, Entrails," 59–62.

95. See, for example, the late-thirteenth-century wall painting in the Tour Ferrand, Pernes, which depicts mounted combat between William of Orange and the Saracen Giant, Ysoor (reproduced in Devisse, *Image of the Black*, vol. 2, pt. 1, fig. 94); the image of the Battle of Roncevaux in a fifteenth-century copy of the *Grandes chroniques de France* (Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Genève, MS 783; fol. 117; reproduced in Rita Lejeune and Jacques Stennon, *La Légende de Roland dans l'art du Moyen Âge* [Brussels: Arcade, 1966], vol. 2, pt. 60); and an image of the same battle in another fifteenth-century copy of the *Grandes chroniques*

housed in the British Library (BL Add. MS 12609, fol. 124v; reproduced in Lejeune and Stennon, *La Légende de Roland*, vol. 1, pl. 50).

96. On this gesture, see Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Later Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), vol. 1, 70, 132, 198–99.

97. Windows with iconography virtually identical to that of the Burrell panel were installed in Great Bookham Church, Surrey, and in Cologne Cathedral. See Herbert Rode, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien des Kölner Domes*, CVMA (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1974), 160.

98. On the scorpion symbol, see Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, vol. 1, 46.

99. Elizabeth Caron Pasan, "Zim baerzicos quam Iudaos: Shifting Symbols in the Glazing of Troyes Cathedral," *Word & Image* 10, no. 1 (1994): 70–71.

100. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum anglorum* 4.347–8; R.A.B. Myrns, ed. and trans., *William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 600–603. See also D. C. Munro, "The Western Anitide toward Islam during the Period of the Crusades," *Speculum* 6 (1931): 334. On Pope Urban's messages, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: Athlone Press, 1986), 13–30.

101. Ibn Khaldun, *Muqaddima* 1.3. See Joseph M. Coq, trans., *Revelé des sources arabes concernant l'Afrique occidentale du VIII^e au XVII^e siècle [Bild ad Sidra]* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975), 357–59.

102. Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructionis*, dist. 1, ed. George F. Warner, *Grailas Cambrensis Opera*, vol. 8 (London: HMSO, 1891), 70. See also Robert Bartlett, *Grail of Wales, 1146–1223* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 204.

103. *Richard Coeur de Lion*, lines 5481–5482 (ed. Brunner, 358–75). On the romance and its influence on works of art, see Roger Sherman Loomis, "Richard Coeur de Lion and the *Die Soldaten* in Medieval Art," *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 30 (1923): 509–28; John Gillingham, *Richard Coeur de Lion: Kingship, Chivalry and War in the Twelfth Century* (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), 183–84; and Matthew Strickland, "Provoking or Avoiding Battle? Challenge, Duel, and Single Combat in Warfare of the High Middle Ages," in *Arms, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France: Proceedings of the 1095 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Matthew Strickland (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1998), 340–43.

104. *Richard Coeur de Lion*, line 5744 (ed. Brunner, 371).

105. *Ibid.*, lines 5843–73 (ed. Brunner, 375–76).

106. Bancourt, *Les Musulmans*, vol. 2, 914–15.

107. This image is reproduced in color in Lejeune and Stennon, *La Légende de Roland*, vol. 1, plate 41B; for discussion, see p. 288.

108. On this manuscript, see Hedeman, *Royal Image*, 198–99.

109. For extensive discussion of Roland imagery in the *Grandes chroniques*, see Lejeune and Stennon, *La Légende de Roland*, vol. 1, 276–109.

110. *Alders* are ornamental shoulder pieces worn by European knights between 1275 and 1350. See Claude Blair, *European Armour circa 1066 to circa 1700* (London: Batsford, 1958), 45–46.

111. For a comparison between fictive Saracen battle garb and arms described in the *chansons de geste* and archaeological remains of contemporary Muslim arms and armor, see Bancourt, *Les Musulmans*, vol. 2, 910–61.

112. On the relationship between pilgrimage and crusading, see Gary Dickson, "The Crowd at the Feet of Pope Boniface VIII: Pilgrimages, Crusade, and the First Roman Jubilee (1300)," *Journal of Medieval History* 25, no. 4 (1999): 279–307.

113. On "savage" heralds, see Jean Devisse and Michel Mollat, *The Image of the Black in Western Art* (New York: W. Morrow, 1979), vol. 2, pt. 2, 7–6. See also Lejeune and Stennon, *La Légende de Roland*, vol. 1, pls. 29 and 34. Wild boars are dangerous critters; see the thirteenth-century bestiary acknowledgement of this fact in Barber, *Bestiary*, 86; in which the boar is compared to the Devil as well as to the emperors Vespasian and Titus.

114. "Daus' quel baron, s'olst chrestientel" (*Song of Roland*, line 3164; ed. and trans. Braul, vol. 2, 192–93). The same observation is made of other Saracens in *Roland*; see, for example, line 899 (*ibid.*, 58).

115. After the fall of Acre, Tyre was abandoned without combat in 1291 and razed by the Muslims. See James Brundage, *Crusades: A Documentary Survey* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1962), 268–72. On crusading fervor following the fall of Acre, see Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 209–10.

116. Michael Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (London: Reaktion, 1998), 277–78. See also Tyrman, *England and the Crusades*, 288–94.

117. On this tapestry, see Gertrude Townsend, "A South German Tapestry," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 56 (1958): 5–17; Devisse and Mollat, *Image of the Black*, vol. 2, pt. 2, 14–17; and Timothy

- Husband, *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), 77–81.
118. Townsend, "South German Tapestry," 6–7.
119. Husband, *Wild Man*, 78–79.
120. On these conflicts, see Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 232–33.
121. On this manuscript, see Penelope Lively et al., *The Mythical Quest: In Search of Adventure, Romance, and Enlightenment* (London: British Library, 1996), 94–95. On the medieval reception of the Alexander legends, see George Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, ed. D. J. A. Ross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 77–274.
122. George Cary, "Alexander the Great in Medieval Theology," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 19 (1954): 98–114; and *The Medieval Alexander*, 77–142.
123. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 232–33.
124. Pliny, *Natural History* 5.8.46 (trans. Rackham, vol. 2, 252–53).
125. Compare the Hereford Himantopodes to the Getty Bestiary Arbatibatae, positioned next to a very differently rendered Himantopodes (Getty Bestiary, fol. 117; reproduced in Friedman, *Monstrous Races*, 11).
126. "Himantopodes fluitis nisibus erutum repunt potius quad[am] incedunt et perigendi usum lepua potius destinant [quam] a gressu [ingressu]" (Hereford Map, south side of Nile River; ed. Naomi Kline). The source of the Hereford inscription is Solinus, *Collectanea* 31.6, ed. Mommsen, 137. Lines 14–17; trans. Golding, chap. 43 ("The crocodile"). On Himantopodes, see Salome Zajadacz-Hastentrath, "Fabelwesen," in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte* 6 (1973): 782.
127. Basil the Great, *Hexameron* 2, Homilia 9 (PG 29492A, trans. Sprunger, "Wild Folk," 150); Augustine, *City of God* 2.2.24 (trans. Dods, 503). This interpretation is traceable to Plato. See C. A. Parrides, "Renaissance Ideas on Man's Upright Form," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 19 (1958): 256–68.
128. "Item aliqui sunt, qui ut pecora ambulat, et signant illos, qui nec Deum nec sanctos ejus honorant, sed ut pecora et iumenta irracionalia de peccato in peccatum ambulat, contra quos dicit Psalmista: Nolite fieri sicut equus et mulus etc." (*Genia romanorum* 175; ed. Oesterley, 575).
129. "Gens uterque sexus innaturalis multimodis modis" (Hereford Map, south side of Nile River, ed. Naomi Kline).
130. On the Christian view of Muslim sexual practices, see Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 135–61; and Josep Hernandez i Delgado, "Le 'De Sera Machometi'

- du Cod. 46 d'Osmā, oeuvre de Raymond Martin (Ramón Martí)," in *Islam et chrétiens du Midi (VIIe–XIVe s.)*, ed. Édouard Privat (Toulouse: Centre d'Études Historiques de Fanjeaux, 1983), 353–54. On Saucan sexual violence, a stock feature of crusade literature, see Uebel, "Unthinking the Monster," 288, n. 55.
131. William of Newburgh, *History* 514 (trans. Stevenson, 642).
132. For pictorial examples, see Lejeune and Stenon, *La Légende de Roland* and Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*.
133. See Malcolm Cameron Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson, *Saladin: The Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
134. Amboise, *Essai de la guerre sainte*, trans. Metron Jerome Hubert, *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart by Amboise* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940).
135. Dante, *Inferno*, canto IV, line 129 (trans. Musa, *Divine Comedy*, vol. 1, 101).
136. Matthew Bennett, "First Crusader's Images of Muslims: The Influence of Vernacular Poetry?" *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 22, no. 2 (1986): 101–22.
137. On Saladin's siege of Jerusalem, see Peter Edbury, ed., *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), esp. 55–64.
138. William of Newburgh, *History* 514 (trans. Stevenson, 643–44).
139. "Cuius Machometi monstruosa vita, monstruosa secta, monstruosissimus finis in gestis eius manifeste reperitur; qui, maligno spiritu inspiratus, sectam abominabilem inuenit, carnalibus voluptatibus consonam, a carnalium voluptatibus non dissotiam; et ideo multi carnales, eius secta illecti, et per errorum uita precipitia delicti, miserabiliter perierunt et pereunt; quos communi uocabulo vulgus Saracenos vel paganos nuncupat" (Alan of Lille, *Liber quartus contra paganos*, *Opus paganos qui dicunt Christianos* contra paganos, *Opus paganos qui dicunt Christianos* contra paganos, ed. M.-Th. d'Alverny, "conception fautive de flata Dei," ed. M.-Th. d'Alverny, "Alain de Lille et l'Islam: Le 'Contra Paganos,'" in Privat, *Islam et chrétiens*, 331–32; trans. Uebel, "Unthinking the Monster," 274).
140. For editions, see Guy Cambier, ed., *Embrico de Mahomet, La Vie de Mahomet* (Brussels: Laotomus Revue d'Études Latines, 1962) and Yvan G. Lepage, *Le Roman de Mahomet d'Alexandre du Pont* (1558) (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1977); this last volume also contains an edition of the twelfth-century *Ora de Machomete* by Gautier de Compiègne.
141. The text to *De generatione Machometi* is

- included in Theodore Bibliander, *Machometis Saucanorum principis, eiusque successorum uita, doctrina ac ipse Acanon . . . Hanc omnia . . . redacta sunt opera et iudicio Theodori Bibliandri* (Bâle, 1550); cited in Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 400.
142. On this image, see Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 100–103.
143. These sources include the twelfth-century *Life of Mahomet* by Embrico of Mainz (ed. Cambier). An interesting discussion of Islam which focuses on its doctrinal "errors" was compiled in the thirteenth century by the Dominican William of Tipoli. See Peter Engels, trans., *Wilhelm von Tipoli: Notitia de Machometo, De statu Saracenorum* (Würzburg: Echter, 1992).
144. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, entry for A.D. 632 (ed. Luard, vol. 1, 271).
145. Hildebert of Mans (attr.), *De Mahomete* (PL 171:1363). This treatise dates to about 1041. A similar version of Muhammad's death is recounted by Gerald of Wales (*De principis instructions*, dist. 7, ed. Warner, 68) and in several of the *chansons de geste*. See Bancourt, *Les Musulmans*, vol. 2, 369–72. See also Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 125–30.
146. Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 106–7.
147. The left banner reads: "Poligamo esto. Scriptum est enim, crescite et multiplicamini"; and the right banner reads: "Presentes delicias pro futuris non spernite" (CCCC, MS 26, p. 87). On the *via lata*, see Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 177–80.
148. Paolo Alvaro, *Indiculus Luminosus*. See Enrique Flores, ed., *España sagrada: teatro geográfico-histórico de la iglesia de España* (Madrid: J. Rodríguez and Saracens, 180).
149. On the Universa Chronicle manuscript, see Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I) 1190–1250* (London: Harvey Miller, 1982), 140–41. On this image, see Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 272.
150. CCCC, MS 16, fol. 9v. See Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 101.
151. So it was asserted in Matthew Paris's report on the Tatars for the year 1240. See Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 4, 76; trans. J. A. Giles, *Matthew Paris's English History*, 3 vols. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852), vol. 1, 312. In his entry for the following year, Matthew quotes King Louis IX remarking to his mother, "And if these people, whom we call Tatars, should come upon us, either we will thrust them back into the regions of Irtarus, whence they emanated, or else they shall send all of us to

- heaven" (ed. Luard, vol. 4, 111; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 341). On the origins and significance of the name "Tatar," see also L. N. Gumilev, *Searches for an Imaginary Kingdom: The Legend of the Kingdom of Prester John*, trans. R.E.F. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 93–95; I will use the term "Tatars" only when referring to the imaginary medieval stereotype.
152. J. J. Saunders, "Matthew Paris and the Mongols," in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 124, n. 16.
153. On the Mongol invasions of 1241–42, see J. J. Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), 84–89. On the Western reaction, see Gian Andri Bezola, *Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht (1220–1270): ein Beitrag zur Frage der Völkervergengungen* (Bonn: Francke, 1974), 66–109; and Jean Richard, "The Mongols and the Franks," *Journal of Asian History* 3 (1969): 45–46.
154. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora* (ed. Luard, vol. 4, 131–33; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 357–58). See also H. Breslau, "Juden und Mongolen 1241," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* 1 (1887): 99–102.
155. "Quoniam cadaveribus principes cum suis cenofatis alisque loofobis, quos prae vescentes, nihil praeter ossa vulturbus reliquebant. . . . Mulieres autem vetulas et deformes antropofagi, qui vulgo reputantur, in eam quasi pro diario dabant; nec formosis vescebantur, sed eis damantes et ejulantes in multitudine cotium suffocabant. Virgines quoque usque ad examinationem opprimebant, et tandem abscisis eorum papillis, quas magistratibus pro delictis reservabant, ipsi virgines corporibus laevis epulabantur. . . . Habent autem pectora dura et robusta, facies mraera et pallidas, scapulas rigidas et erectas, nasos ditortos et breves, menta prominentia et acta, superiorem mandibulum humilem et profundam, dentes longos et raros, palpebras a cimbis usque ad nasum protensas, oculos inconsistentes et nigros, aspectus obliquos et torvos, extremitates ossosas et nervosas, crura quoque grossa, sed tibus breviores, statura tamen nobis aequales; quod enim in tibus deficit, in superiori corpore compensatur" (Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard, vol. 4, 273, 275; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 469–70, 471).
156. Quoted in Stephen R. Turnbull, *The Mongols* (London: Osprey, 1980), 13–14.
157. "Nephandi Tartari vel Tartari humanis carnibus vescentes" (CCCC, MS 16, fol. 160).
158. The rubric beside the horse describes equine

- tree-creating: "Equi Tartarum qui sunt rapacissimi cum desunt uberiora pabula frondibus et foliis necnon et coribibus arborum sunt contenti" (CCCC, MS 16, fol. 166).
159. John of Plano Carpini, *History of the Mongols*, trans. by a nun of Stanbrook Abbey in Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, 7. On other alleged sexual practices of the Mongols and Christian reactions to them, see Scott D. Western, "Medieval Western European Views of Sexuality Reflected in the Narratives of Travelers to the Orient," in *Homo Carnalis: The Carnal Aspects of Medieval Life*, ed. Helen Rodhite Lemay (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1990), 141–56.
160. The following summary of Mongol characteristics is based on John of Plano Carpini, *History of the Mongols* (ed. Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, 9–18).
161. On Ethiopian archery skill, see chapter 2 above.
162. John of Plano Carpini, *History of the Mongols* (ed. Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, 5–6).
163. See Gregory G. Guzman, "The Encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais and His Mongol Extracts from John of Plano Carpini and Simon of Saint-Quentin," *Speculum* 49 (1974): 287–307.
164. On the papal missions to the Mongols, see Gregory G. Guzman, "Simon of Saint-Quentin and the Dominican Mission to the Mongol Baiju: A Reappraisal," *Speculum* 46 (1971): 232–49; and Jean Richard, "Les Missions chez les Mongols aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles," in *Histoire universelle des missions catholiques*, vol. 1, *Les Missions des origines au XVI^e siècle*, ed. S. Delacroix (Paris: Librairie Grand, 1956), 173–93.
165. On the significance of Simon's report, see Gregory G. Guzman, "Simon of Saint-Quentin as Historian of the Mongols and Seljuk Turks," *Middle Ages et Humanistica*, n.s. 3 (1972): 155–79. The following description of the Tartars is based on Simon of Saint-Quentin, *Historia Tartarorum*, ed. Jean Richard, *Simon de Saint-Quentin: Histoire des Tartares* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1965), 31–42.
166. Simon devotes an entire chapter to Tartar women, which begins, "Tartaree autem mulieres turpissime sunt." (*Historia Tartarorum*, ed. Richard, 48–50).
167. See Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 284–85.
168. On contemporary Mongol arms and armor, see David C. Nicolle, *Hungary and the Fall of Eastern Europe, 1090–1568*, Osprey Men-at-Arms Series 195 (London: Osprey, 1988) and *Arm and Armour*, vol. 1, 18–24 and vol. 2, figs. xi, 51–72.
169. "Formidabile exterminium Tartarorum" (CCCC 16, fol. 44).
170. Saunders, "Matthew Paris," 123; and *History of the Mongol Conquests*, 85. A similar story of Tartars bagging the ears of the slain and sending them back to the Khan as evidence of victory is also reported by Simon of Saint-Quentin in the massacre of Derbend (at the foot of the Caucasus) in 1239 (*Historia Tartarorum* 30:77; ed. Richard, 38–39).
171. On the Hedwig Codes, see Anton von Euw and Joachim M. Piorzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig* (Cologne: Das Museum, 1977), vol. 3, 74–81. See also W. Braunfels, ed., *Der Hedwig-Code von 1533: Sammlung Ludwig*, 2 vols., trans. Peter Moraw (Berlin: Gebt. Mann, 1972) (facsimile and commentary). On the Tartar campaigns in Poland, including the battle of Legnica, see Peter Jackson, "The Crusade against the Mongols (1241)," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 41, no. 1 (1991): 3; and Gustav Strakosch-Grassmann, *Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa in den Jahren 1241 und 1242* (Innsbruck: Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1893), 37–49.
172. The caption reads: "Hic decollatur item dux Henricus filii Sanctae Hedwigis, a Tartaris, eius anima suscepta est in celum ab angelis" (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig XIV/7, fol. 11v).
173. Jackson, "Crusade Against the Mongols," 5–18.
174. John of Plano Carpini, *History of the Mongols* (ed. Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, 45–46).
175. *Ibid.*, 48.
176. The image accompanies Ricold de Monte Croix's *Travels* dated before 1309. On this manuscript, which includes illustrated versions of several medieval travel accounts, see Henri Omont, ed., *Livre des merveilles . . . Reproduction des 265 miniatures du manuscrit français 2810 de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 2 vols. (Paris: Catala Frères, 1908); Rudolph Wittkower, "Marco Polo and the Pictorial Tradition of the Marco de Polo and the Allegory and Migration of Symbols" (Boulder: Westview Press, 1977); and Vicki Porzec, "The West Looks at the East in the Late Middle Ages: The *Livre des Merveilles du Monde*" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1977).
177. "Esedones Sille hic habitant, quorum mos est pariter um funera cantibus prosequi et congregate amicum ceribus corpora ipsa dentibus lanare ac pedulum mixtis caribus dapes facere, pulchritas a se quam acriter hec absumi credentes et omni mundo persecutionem illatam" (Hereford Map, upper left quadrant [Scythia]; ed. Naomi Kline). In the past, this inscription has been associated with the Anthro-
- thèque de l' Arsenal, MS 5119 (66h c.) with 197 miniatures.
189. Larner, *Marco Polo*, 82, 110.
190. Marco Polo, *Li livres du Grant Caan* (Oxford, Bodleian Library; MS Bodley 264, pt. III). Bodley 264 also contains a fourteenth-century Flemish copy of the *Roman de Alexander*, to which the Marco Polo section was added later. On this manuscript, see Kathleen Scott, *Letter Gothic Manuscripts, 1390–1490* (London: Harvey Miller, 1996), vol. 2, 69–79; and M. Philippe Métaard, "L'illustration du 'Devisement du Monde' de Marco Polo," *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1985): 85–88.
191. For an extended discussion of this process in relation to the images in the Duke of Berry's *Livre des Merveilles* (BN, MS fr. 2810), see Wittkower, "Marco Polo," 76–86.
192. On the representation of idolatry in this image, see also Camille, *Gothic Idol*, 153.
193. On Nestorian-Mongol relations, see Richard, "L'Extrême-Orient," 230; J. J. Saunders, *A History of Medieval Islam* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 176–79.
194. Marco Polo, *Travels* 2 (trans. Latham, 91).
195. Bodley 264, pt. III, fol. 265v.
196. On Tartar cremation and burial, see Marco Polo, *Travels* 3 (trans. Latham, 129) and 4 (*ibid.*, 224).
197. On ox worship among the inhabitants of India, see Marco Polo, *Travels* 7 (trans. Latham, 276, 279).
198. Martin Gorman, "Marco Polo's Voyages: The Conflict between Confirmation and Observation," in *Travel Fact and Fiction*, ed. Zweeder von Martels (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 76–84.
199. *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* 22 (trans. Moseley, 137).
200. *Ibid.*, 21 (trans. Moseley, 134).
201. *Ibid.* On this manuscript, see Scott, *Letter Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, 207–11.
202. Larner, *Marco Polo*, 22. This report was considered of doubtful veracity by Matthew Paris and was indeed untrue (Saunders, "Matthew Paris," 129–30).
203. Guzman, "Simon of Saint-Quentin," 233.
204. *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* 21 (trans. Moseley, 134).
205. "Sinamus canes hos illos devorare ad invicem, ut consumpti parent. Nos cum ad Christi inimicos, qui residui remanebant, venimus, trucidabimus, et mundabimus terras superficie; ut universibus, et mundibus uni catholice ecclesie subdatur, et fiat unus pastor et unum ovile" (Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*; ed. Luard, vol. 3, 489; trans. Giles, vol. 1, 133).
206. "Formidabile exterminium Tartarorum" (CCCC 16, fol. 44).
207. Saunders, "Matthew Paris," 123; and *History of the Mongol Conquests*, 85. A similar story of Tartars bagging the ears of the slain and sending them back to the Khan as evidence of victory is also reported by Simon of Saint-Quentin in the massacre of Derbend (at the foot of the Caucasus) in 1239 (*Historia Tartarorum* 30:77; ed. Richard, 38–39).
208. "Genus hominum monstruosum et inhumanum" (Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*; ed. Luard, vol. 3, 488–89).
209. On Mongol religion, see Cumilev, *Searches for an Imaginary Kingdom*, 201–82.
210. See John of Plano Carpini, *History of the Mongols* (ed. Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, 20, 23, 30–31); and Brother Benedict the Pole, *Narrative* (trans. by a nun of Stanbrook Abbey in Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, 80–81). Brother Benedict was John of Plano Carpini's travel companion. The most extensive description of monstrous races in the hands of the Tartars may be found in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*.
211. William of Rubruck, *Journey* (ed. Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, 170).
212. *Ibid.*, 171.
213. On what is known of Marco and his family, see Larner, *Marco Polo*, 31–45.
214. On the sources, see Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing 400–1600* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988), 148–49; and M. C. Seymour, *Sir John Mandeville* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), 9–10.
215. For the latest analysis of Marco's account, see Larner, *Marco Polo*, 68–83. On the functions of Mandeville's *Travels*, see the excellent studies by Ian Higgins: *Writing East: The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997) and "Imagining Christendom from Jerusalem to Paradise: Asia in Mandeville's *Travels*," in *Discovering New Worlds: Essays on Medieval Exploration and Imagination*, ed. Scott D. Western (New York: Garland, 1991), 103–4.
216. "Tertia die inventimus Tartaros, inter quos cum intravi, visum fuit mihi recte quod ingrederer quoddam alium seculum" (William of Rubruck, *Itinerarium*; ed. A. van der Wyngaert in *Sinica Franciscana* [Florence: Quacchi, 1929], vol. 1, 171; trans. by a nun in Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, 93).
217. There are four fully illustrated manuscript copies of Marco Polo's *Travels* extant: BL, MS Royal 19.D.1 (mid-14th c.) with 19 miniatures; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264, pt. III (c. 1400) with 38 miniatures (figs. 5, 105, 106, 107); BN, MS fr. 2810 (c. 1410) with 84 miniatures; and Paris, Biblio-

14. On renderings of a Jewish Antichrist, see Suzanne Lewis, "Tricatus adversus Judaeos in the Galbenian Apocalypse," *Art Bulletin* 68 (1986): 554–56.
15. "Christus Deus non est" (Lisbon, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, MS LA. 139, fol. 36v). Reproduced and discussed in Lewis, "Tricatus adversus Judaeos," 556–57. For the accompanying text, see Berengaudus, *Expositio* 4 (PL 17:884A–B).
16. See D. Verhelst, ed., *Ado Derensis, De Ordo et Tempore Antichristi* (Turnholt: Brepols, 1976), 20–30. For an English translation, see Wright, *Play of Antichrist*, 101–10. See also Richard K. Emmerson, "Antichrist as Anti-Saint: The Significance of Abbot Ado's *Libellus de Antichristo*," *American Benedictine Review* 30 (1979): 175–90.
17. *Ludus de Antichristo*, lines 413–14 (trans. Wright, 98).
18. There is some ambiguity, however, about how to translate this stage direction, which reads: "tunc tollit ei velum." It has also been translated, "then they strip off Antichrist's mask," but Wright (*Antichrist*, 95 and 293, n. 42) more convincingly interprets it as referring to the removal of Synagoga's veil owing to the strong pictorial tradition.
19. See chapter 3 above.
20. On this manuscript, see F. Sad, "A Spiritual Encyclopedia of the Later Middle Ages," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 82–194 and Frances Carey, ed., *The Apocalypse and the Shape of Things to Come* (London: British Museum, 1999), 90–91.
21. On this image, see Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 153.
22. Robert I. Moore, *The Formation of a Preaching Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 45–65; Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1993), 14–17.
23. My thanks to Gary Dickson for alerting me to the pilgrimage references in this image.
24. On the Oxford Bible, see Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), 49–57. On this image, see Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 133, 141.
25. "Poenas quod ei dedit: Deus ut sanctos deusceret significat quod Deus exponit corpora sanctorum demonibus in hoc mundo crucianda, ut dicitur Job terra dira est in manibus impij, et hoc totum facit propter alias liberandas" (Harley 1537, fol. 116v).
26. "Hoc significat quod Antichristus finget se mortuum et dicit se resurgere tertia die, et propter hoc
- Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, ed. John Victor Tohan [New York: Garland, 1996], 145.
3. On the distinction between apocalypticism and eschatology, see Richard K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art and Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982), 13–14.
4. "Nou se pe sope whedres it be swa, / þat fer carmes come of k, / þe fer asynes come of a, / fer Iacobines of I, / Of m four þe fer menous. / þus grounded cam þe four orours, / þat fillen þe world ful of erous / & of yocisry: / Alle wykednes þat men can tell / regnes ham among; / þer shal no saule hawe rowne in hell, / of fers þer is such þrong" ("The Orders of Cain," lines 109–120; ed. Rossell Hope Robbins, *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1959], 160–61).
5. Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 64. The name "Antichrist" was a late addition to eschatology and appears only in the Epistles of John (1 John 2:18, 22; 4:3; 2 John 7). The name is a Greek construction combining *anti*, meaning "opposite" or "against," and *christos*, meaning "the anointed" (Wright, *Play of Antichrist*, 19). The adversary is referred to elsewhere in Scriptures as the "son of perdition" (2 Thess. 2:3).
6. In hoc autem Judaei nequitiam acquirunt Antichristi, quod Jesum negare audent fuisse Christum" (Agobard of Lyons, *De Iudaeis superstitionibus*, PL 10:493C; trans. Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 64).
7. Andrew Gow, "The Jewish Antichrist in Medieval and Early Modern Germany," *Medieval Encounters* 2 (1996): 259.
8. "Quique captus audire," stanza 2, quoted in Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 83; trans. Gow. "The Jewish Antichrist," 236, n. 28. Important sources for these beliefs include the Latin *Tiburine Sibyl*, the seventeenth-century *Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius*, and Abbot Ado's letter on the Antichrist, composed around 950 (Wright, *Play of Antichrist*, 101–20). On these and other sources, see Gow, "The Jewish Antichrist," esp. 219–22.
9. Emile Roy, ed., *Le Jour de Jugement: Mystère Français sur le Grand Schisme* (1902; repr. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1976).
10. *Jour de Jugement*, lines 274–45 (ed. Roy, 219–22).
11. Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 80–81.
12. *Ibid.*, 82 and 268, n. 27.
13. London, Eton College MS 177, fol. 39. On other anti-Jewish imagery in this manuscript, see Avril Henry, *The Eton Roundels: Eton College, MS 177* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1990), 42–43.
- 73–74. Wright, *Play of Antichrist*, 21–22; and Andrew Colin Gow, *The Red Jews: Antisemitism in an Apocalyptic Age, 1200–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 25, n. 8.
211. Cohn, *Pursuit of the Millennium*, 72–73.
212. "Quando procedimus ad bella contra inimicos nostros, XIII cruce magnas et piaecebas, facere ex auro et lapidibus pretiosis, in singulis plauris loco velleorum ante faciem nostram portari facimus, et unamquamque ipsarum secum X milia militum et C milia peditum armatorum" (Letter 47; ed. Zarncke, "Brief des Psters Johannes," 916).
213. "Credo autem quod Christiani habitames inter Saraecenos plures sunt numero quam Saraeceni. Multi autem reges Christiani habitames in partibus Orientis usque in terram presbyteri Iohannis, audientes adventum crucisignatorum, ut eis veniant in auxilium movent guerram cum Saraecenis" (Jacques de Viter, letter 2, lines 396–401; ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Les Lettres de Jacques de Vitry (1160/70), éveque de Saint-Jean d'Acre* [Leiden: Brill, 1960], 95; trans. Bernard Hamilton, "Continental Drift: Prester John's Progress through the Indies," in Beckingham and Hamilton, *Prester John*, 242).
214. For the text of the two bulls of Pope Innocent IV and the Great Khan Güyük's withering reply, see Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, 73–76; 85–86. For a lucid summary of the papal missions and their results, see Lerner, *Mongols*, 171–8.
215. Marco Polo, *Travels* 2 (trans. Latham, 94–96).
216. *Ibid.* (trans. Latham, 96).
217. Richard, "LExtreme-Orient," 239–40; Hamilton, "Continental Drift," 256.
218. On this tradition, see Jean Richard, "The *Relatio de David* as a Source for Mongol History and the Legend of Prester John," in Beckingham and Hamilton, *Prester John*, 139–58.
219. On this problem, see David Morgan, "Prester John and the Mongols," in Beckingham and Hamilton, *Prester John*, 189–70.
220. Hamilton, "Continental Drift," 256–57.
- CHAPTER 5: ESCHATOLOGICAL CONSPIRACIES
1. Michael Uebel, "Unthinking the Monster: Twelfth-Century Responses to Saacens Altery," in *Monster Theory: Reading Culture*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 268.
2. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 85, fols. 121r–v (cited and trans. in David Burr, "Antichrist and Islam in Medieval Franciscan Exegesis," in
206. "For he hath abowyn hys nelke on acorde .cc. perlys grev 7 onyents, in maner of patir norris. And he seyth ecc. ptegrys to hys god iche aday or he ere" (Harley 3954, fol. 41; ed. Katie Lowe), See *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* 21 (trans. Moseley 135).
207. Otto von Freising (c. 1114/15–1158), *Historia de duobus civitatibus* 7.33; ed. A. Hofmeister, *MGH Scriptores* (SS) *sermone Germaniarum in unum scholarem* (1912), 365–67. The relevant passage has been translated into English by Charles F. Beckingham, "The Achievements of Prester John," in *Prester John, the Mongols, and the Ten Lost Tribes*, ed. Charles F. Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), 2.
208. On the letter and for the standard text editions, see Friedrich Zarncke, "Der Brief des Psters Johannes an den byzantinischen Kaiser Emanuel," *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 7 (1879): 873–934; repr. in Beckingham and Hamilton, *Prester John*, 40–102. More recent editions of the letter include Martin Gosman, ed., *La Lettre du Pêtre Jean: les versions en ancien français et en occitan* (Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis, 1982) and Gioia Zaganelli, ed. and trans., *La Lettera del Pêtre Gianni* (Parma: Pratiche Editrice, 1990). In my opinion, the best summary and most convincing analysis of the complex and confusing Prester John tradition is Bernard Hamilton, "Prester John and the Three Kings of Cologne," in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R.H.C. Davis*, ed. Henry Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London: The Hambledon Press, 1985), 177–91; repr. in Beckingham and Hamilton, *Prester John*, 171–82. Hamilton analyzes the letter as imperial propaganda designed to promote as ideal a society in which the Church hierarchy is subordinate to the secular ruler, in line with Frederick Barbarossa's imperial aspirations (pp. 186, 190).
209. On this manuscript, see Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, 206–7; 210. The *Mandeville Travels*, most extensively in chapter 30 (trans. Moseley, 167–72).
210. The idea of the Last World Emperor was first introduced in the Sybilline prophecy known as the *Tiburine Sibyl* and was widely disseminated in the seventh-century commentary attributed to the Pseudo-Methodius. Translated into Latin during the eighth century in Paris, the latter has been characterized as the most popular and influential apocalyptic text, ranking only after the biblical books of Daniel and Revelation. See Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 31.