

JUST WAR, HOLY WAR, JIHAD



HIEU 163 / 263, SPRING 2012

Professor: Paul Stephenson, Department of History

Introduction

This course offers an extended exploration of one theme: religious aspects of warfare. We shall together examine such notions as the Roman 'theology of victory', Christian 'Just War' and Muslim *jihad*, among other aspects of thought and practice in the late Roman empire and its successor states in the near east, notably the Byzantine empire. While the chronological parameters of the course appear broad, our focus will remain acute. Similarly, while our key sources may appear disparate and wide-ranging, our investigations will illuminate common themes and ideas.

In the first instance we shall focus on late Roman and early Byzantine attitudes to war and religion, measuring the impact of the Christianization of the Roman world. We shall begin by exploring attitudes to war and religious violence in the Bible, carefully reading books from both the Old Testament and the New Testament that were interpreted and reinterpreted through the centuries under consideration, paying particular attention to the book of *Revelation*. We shall then compare the thoughts and attitudes of certain Patristic writers with those of 'pagan' contemporaries, remembering that both groups were citizens and subjects of the same Roman emperors. This is the essential background to the later material, as Byzantine authors refer continually to Biblical and Patristic writings.

We shall identify two strands for fuller consideration throughout the first five sessions: Christian attitudes to violence, army service and war; and Roman attitudes to religion generally, and to Christianity in particular. An excellent place to study these attitudes is within the Roman army in the third and fourth centuries, for here one might expect to find the clearest distinction between 'pagan' and Christian attitudes to warfare. We shall dwell on the ritual and religious life of the army camps. This is also the essential background to understanding the conversion of Constantine, general and emperor. We shall see how Christian ideas were embraced by the early Byzantine state within its highly elaborate 'theology of victory', and explore how Christian ideas developed within radically changing contexts in eastern and western parts of Roman lands. Our attention will remain fixed most extensively on eastern lands, where Christians who called themselves Romans throughout our period fought first Zoroastrian Persians, and later Muslim Arabs. But we shall also have opportunities to consider western attitudes to warfare, notably the ideas of St. Augustine of Hippo.

In the second part of the course, we shall focus on the rise of Islam and Christian interactions with the new power to the east. We shall trace the developments in Christian and Muslim thought on aspects of warfare to the middle of the tenth century C.E. Certain motifs, for example the cross, and ideas, notably martyrdom, will appear frequently throughout the course, and we shall explore how they change, or stay the same, in different contexts. Throughout the course we shall study texts translated from the original Latin, Greek and Arabic, alongside pertinent images, which are far more than mere illustrations, and often more illuminating than texts. We shall prepare a 'gobbet' (definition below) for discussion at each session.

Reading

Not every work listed on this syllabus and handbook will be in the library. This is a universal problem. Consequently, a very large amount of the weekly reading will be supplied in electronic form in a Dropbox. For copyright reasons, not everything can be supplied in this manner, but there will always be enough to read for each session, if not always everything you might wish to read.

It is not expected that you will read everything listed each week, but it is required that you devote a good amount of time and attention to the course, and therefore complete as much of the reading as you are able, and certainly enough to contribute each week to discussions. Moreover, you may be asked in any session to deliver an answer to a "gobbet" question (see below).

Assignments and Deadlines

NB: Graduates enrolled in the seminar as HIEU 263 will be examined differently, and should consult the professor.

There are three major components by which undergraduates enrolled in the seminar as HIEU 163 will be assessed:

A. Midterm Paper (40%): You will write **one take-home paper of 3000 words (plus critical apparatus, i.e., notes, bibliography)**. The deadline for this essay is in the start of the seminar in **Week 8**, i.e. Thursday, May 24, at 1pm.

B. Gobbets (40%) are, for the uninitiated, short excerpts from set texts or images that are presented to you for comment. These will be assessed by an in-class examination in week 10, in which you will write on a selection of excerpted passages or images relating to the whole course. You will be asked to write a commentary on four "gobbets", at least one textual and one visual, and two others that may be any combination of visual and textual. You will have a choice in the exam.

In preparation, as you work through the primary sources (written and visual), you will be asked to prepare gobbet commentaries to present in each seminar. A list from which you may select is appended below, and you will be asked to alternate between commentaries on textual and visual material.

Your commentary on the gobbets will be integral to seminar discussions. Your commentary should take 15-20 minutes to formulate, in exam conditions, but will take longer at first. You will be expected to identify the passage or image excerpted, reconstruct its broader context, and reveal its significance through exegesis (literally 'drawing out', thus 'interpretation'). Textual gobbets will all be selected from the list of primary sources (A), and a list of examples to be covered in seminars is appended below. Gobbet images are listed after each seminar, and will have been made available on you in Dropbox, along with the electronic readings. Pertinent secondary literature is listed in the bibliographies under each weekly heading.

C. Attendance and full participation (10%). This includes attendance at all seminars unless a good reason is provided in advance, and presentation of an answer to at least one "gobbet" question.

SEMINARS

There are 10 timetabled seminars in total, each lasting 2.5 hours. However, one seminar will be a reading week. The first part of each session will, as a rule, be devoted to general discussion of particular readings; the second part of each session will, as a rule, be devoted to close readings and exegesis of 'gobbets'.

Week 1 (April 5). Old and New Testament Attitudes to Warfare

Our focus is on contrasting attitudes to war in the Bible, familiarizing ourselves with key passages that feature in many of the later key sources; also our first thoughts on defining 'holy war'.

Readings: Old Testament: Exodus, 13.1-15.27 (Crossing of the Red Sea); Deuteronomy; Book of Joshua; 1 Samuel: 13 to 2 Samuel: 24 (The David Story, which concludes at 1 Kings: 1-2); Micah: 1-7 (Prophecy of Micah), Psalms 91 [90 in the Septuagint], 137 [136]; 2 Maccabees.

New Testament: Gospel of Matthew, 5.1-7.29 (Sermon on the Mount). [PDF of the KJV Bible provided; check the Dropbox for readings.]

Week 2 (April 12). Christian Attitudes to Warfare before Constantine

We shall explore how Christian writers conceived of violence and warfare in the centuries before Constantine's conversion; how they understood aspects of Scripture that appeared to countenance religious violence, or showed God's sanction for war; how Christian martyrs conceived of themselves and their struggle; and subsequently how they viewed Christian participation in warfare.

Readings: *Revelation*, KJV; Tertullian, *De Corona*, ed. P. Schaff, Ante-Nicene Fathers 3, pp. 127-43; Tertullian, *De idololatria*, ed. P. Schaff, Ante-Nicene Fathers 3, pp. 79-107; Origen, *Homilies on Joshua*, 8 and 12: Origen, *Homilies on Joshua*, tr. Barbara J. Bruce, ed. Cynthia White, The Fathers of the Church 105 (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2002)

Finish reading Cadoux, *The Early Christian Attitude to War*; A. von Harnack, *Militia Christi. The Christian Religion and the Military in the First Three Centuries*, trans. D. McInnes Gracie (Philadelphia, 1981)

A. Yarbro Collins, 'The political perspective of the Revelation to John', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 96 (1977): 241-56; R. Bauckham, 'The Book of Revelation as a

Christian war scroll', *Neotestamentica* 22 (1988): 17-40; reworked as 'The Apocalypse as a Christian war scroll', in his *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 210-37 (ch. 8); R. Bauckham, 'The list of the tribes in *Revelation 7* again', *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 42 (1991): 99-115.

G. Bowersock, *Martyrdom and Rome* (Cambridge, 1995); D. Boyarin, *Dying for God. Martyrdom and the making of Christianity and Judaism* (Stanford, 1999), will allow an expansion of our views of martyrdom, and prove essential in weeks to come.

J. Helgeland, 'Christians and the Roman Army, AD 173-337', *Church History* 43/ii (1974): 149-63; J. Kreider, 'Military service in the Church Orders', *Journal of Religious Ethics* 31 (2003): 415-42; P. Brennan, 'Military images in Hagiography', in G. Clarke et al., eds., *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity* (Rushcutters Bay, NSW, 1990), pp. 323-45; G. G. Stroumsa, 'Tertullian on idolatry and the limits of tolerance', in G. Stanton and G. Stroumsa, eds., *Tolerance and Intolerance in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 173-84.

Images: Christ-Helios; images of the martyrs?

Week 3 (April 19). The Late Roman Theology of Victory and the *Triumphus*

We shall explore the highly-developed Roman system of thought and ritual that underpinned warfare and celebrated victory; become familiar with panegyric orations, and the contexts in which they were employed, notably the triumph.

Readings: *Panegyrici Latini*: VIII (V), Panegyric of Constantius; XII (IX), Panegyric of Constantine Augustus: C. E. V. Nixon & Barbara T. Rodgers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors. The Panegyrici Latini* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & Oxford, 1994), pp. 104-44, 288-333.

On the panegyrics, obviously read C. E. V. Nixon & Barbara T. Rodgers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors. The Panegyrici Latini* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & Oxford, 1994), pp. 1-37, general introduction; S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, 1981; reprinted 1990), esp. pp. 17-61. This is an ACLS eBook. Also: D. Eichholz, 'Constantius Chlorus' invasion of Britain', *Journal of Roman Studies* 43 (1953): 41-6.

We introduce one of the course's key themes, the theology of victory: J. R. Fears, 'The theology of victory at Rome: approaches and problems', in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt [= ANRW]*, Band II, 17.2 (Berlin & New York: De Gruyter, 1981), 736-826; S. Dillon and K. Welch, eds., *Representations of War in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, 2006), esp. Welch's introduction, T. Hölscher, 'The transformation of victory into power: from event to structure', pp. 27-48, and W. V. Harris, 'Readings in the narrative literature of Roman courage', pp. 300-20; R. Storch, 'The absolutist theology of victory', *Classica et Medievalia* 29 (1968): 197-206.

On triumphs see M. Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge, MA, 2007); S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, 1981; reprinted 1990); M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge & Paris, 1986; reprinted 1990); I. Östenberg, *Staging the World: Spoils, Captives, and Representations in the Roman Triumphal Procession* (Oxford, 2009).

On developments in art and architecture: R. Ross Holloway, *Constantine and Rome* (New Haven, 2004); J. Elsner, 'From the culture of *spolia* to the cult of relics: the Arch of Constantine and the genesis of Late Antique forms', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 68 (2000): 149-84; E. Marlowe, 'Framing the sun: the Arch of Constantine and the Roman cityscape', *Art Bulletin* 88 (2006): 223-42; P. Peirce, 'The Arch of Constantine. Propaganda and Ideology in Late Roman Art', *Art History* 12 (1989): 387-418; R. Rees, 'Images and Image: A re-examination of Tetrarchic Iconography', *Greece and Rome* 40 (1993): 181-200.

Images: Porphyry Tetrarchs, Arras Medallion, Arch of Galerius, Arch of Constantine

Week 4 (April 26). Constantine the Great

We shall explore how: Constantine was converted, and the nature of that conversion; how his faith served his needs as a general; how iconography and rhetoric developed as a consequence of the conversion.

Readings: Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, trans. Averil Cameron & S. G. Hall (Oxford, 1999), esp. pp. 1-120 and commentary; Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, ed. & trans. J. L. Creed (Oxford, 1994), pp. 53-79 and commentary.

Generally on Constantine (the list is vast), you might now wish to start with P. Stephenson, *Constantine. Unconquered Emperor, Christian Victor* (London, 2009), which was reprinted in the USA with a different subtitle: *Constantine. Roman Emperor, Christian Victor* (New York, 2010); N. Lenski, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine* (Cambridge, 2005); E. Hartley et al, eds., *Constantine the Great. York's Roman Emperor* (York, 2006), esp. Averil Cameron, 'Constantine and Christianity', pp. 96-103; C. M. Odahl, *Constantine and the Christian empire* (London and New York, 2004).

On the vision and Constantine's beliefs and their expression: P. Weiss, 'The vision of Constantine', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 16 (2003): 237-59, a revised translation of a German article published in 1993; A. Alföldi, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome*, trans. H. Mattingly (Oxford, 1948); J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 277-91; P. Bruun, 'The victorious signs of Constantine: a reappraisal', *Numismatic Chronicle* 157 (1997): 41-59.

For Eusebius you may not need to consult much more than the commentary by Cameron and Hall, but do follow up some leads. On Lactantius, see E. DePalma Digeser, *The Making of a Christian Empire. Lactantius and Rome* (Ithaca, NY, 2000);

A. Soby Christensen, *Lactantius the Historian* (Copenhagen, 1980), which proposes that, contrary to the standard view, Lactantius did not compose his work in the west, having fled Nicomedia, but rather used a Latin historiographical source, the notorious lost *Kaisergeschichte*.

Constantinian ritual: M. Shepherd, 'Liturgical expressions of the Constantinian triumph', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967): 57-78; J. Straub, 'Constantine as *koinos episkopos*. Tradition and innovation in the representation of the first Christian emperor's majesty', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967): 37-55; S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, 1981; reprinted 1990), esp. pp. 17-61;

Art: T. Mathews, *The clash of Gods. A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*, 2nd edn. (Princeton, 1999), esp. pp. 54-91; A. N. Zadoks-Josephus-Jitta, 'Imperial messages in agate, II', *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 41 (1966): 91-104; M. Henig, 'Art in the Age of Constantine,' in E. Hartley et al, eds., *Constantine the Great. York's Roman Emperor* (York, 2006), pp. 65-76, 138-9.

Images: The Great Cameo, Constantine's coins, Red Sea sarcophagi

Red Sea Sarcophagus



Week 5 (May 3). Imperial Victory in the Theodosian Age; East and West diverge

We shall explore how, in the age when Christianity became the formal religion of empire: the Roman army responded to the disaster of Adrianople; Church fathers developed ideas on killing in war; ceremonial once reserved for imperial victory was adapted for the reception of religious relics; the cult of the True Cross and how the Cross emerged as the supreme symbol of Christian victory.

Readings: Basil of Caesarea, *Three letters to Amphilochius, Bishop of Ikonion*, in P. Schaff, ed., *Post-Nicene Fathers* 7, pp. 446-54, 466-72, 496-502 (pp. CLXXXVIII, CXCIX, CCXVII); Basil of Caesarea, *Homily on the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste*, in J. Leemans, W. Mayer and P. Allen, *Let us Die that we may Live* (London, 2003), pp. 67-77; Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, trans. H. Chadwick (Oxford, 1998); Augustine of Hippo, *The Writings against the Manichaeans, and against the*

Donatists, Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers s.1, vol. 4, ed. P. Schaff, Bk XXII, cc. 65-79, pp. 362-79; Augustine of Hippo, *City of God*, bk 1; bk 19.7-14: St Augustine, *Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*, trans. H. Bettenson (Harmondsworth, 1972), pp. 3-47, 861-74; Orosius, *The seven books of history against the Pagans*, tr. R. Deferrari (Washington, DC, 1964), pp. 342-52.

On Basil of Caesarea, to establish the broader context for his reflections on warfare, see Philip Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea* (Berkeley & LA, 1995). Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the rhetoric of empire. The development of Christian discourse* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford, 1991). For some spiritual warriors: D. Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, MA, 2006).

R. A. Markus, 'Saint Augustine's views on the "Just War"', in W. Sheils, ed., *The Church and War* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 1-13; D. Lenihan 'The Just War theory in the work of Saint Augustine', *Augustinian Studies* 19 (1988): 37-70; R. S. Hartigan, 'St. Augustine on war and killing: the problem of the innocent', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 27 (1966): 195-204; J. Langan, 'The elements of St. Augustine's Just War theory', *Journal of Religious Ethics* 12 (1984), 19-38; G. Clark, 'Desires of the Hangman: Augustine on legitimized violence', in H. A. Drake, ed., *Violence in Late Antiquity. Perceptions and Practices* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 137-46; H. Chadwick, *Augustine: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2001), esp. 'The Formation of Augustine's Mind', pp. 1-31.

On the long-cross *solidi* and Trier Ivory, a fascinating discussion can be traced through several articles: K. Holum, 'Pulcheria's Crusade A.D. 421-22 and the ideology of imperial victory', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 18 (1977): 153-72; K. Holum & G. Vikan, 'The Trier ivory, *adventus* ceremonial, and the relics of St. Stephen', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979): 113-33; reprinted in G. Vikan, *Sacred Images and Sacred Power in Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2003); S. Spain, 'The translation of relics icon, Trier', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 31 (1977): 279-304, 26 plates; J. Wortley, 'The Trier ivory reconsidered', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 21 (1980): 381-94.

More on the Cross: J. Durand and B. Flusin, eds., *Byzance et les reliques du Christ* (Paris, 2004), esp. H. Klein, 'Constantine, Helena, and the cult of the True Cross in Constantinople', pp. 31-59; C. Walter, "IC XC NI KA. The apotropaic function of the victorious cross," *REB* 55 (1997), 193-220; J. Moorhead, J., 'Iconoclasm, the cross and the imperial image', *Byzantion* 55 (1985), 165-79.

The Probus Diptych: Alan Cameron, 'The Probus Diptych and Christian apologetic', in *From Rome to Constantinople. Studies in Honor of Averil Cameron*, eds. H. Amirav and B. ter Haar Romeny (Leuven, 2007), pp. 191-201.

Images: Probus Diptych, Long-cross *solidi*, Trier Ivory, Christ Militant (Ravenna)



6. Justinian, Maurice, Heraclius: Fighting the Persians

We shall explore the development of religious services for the army and how they inspired the armies of Justinian, Maurice and Heraclius. We shall also read the prescriptions in Maurice's *Strategikon*. Did the spilling of tears prevent the spilling of blood? We shall then explore the final battles of antiquity, between Romans and Persians, and determine whether one can discern the first articulation of Christian 'Holy War' in the art and literature of the early seventh century. There is too much for any one person to cover this week, so choose an emperor and period on which to focus. We'll decide who will do which in class.

Readings: Corippus, *Iohannis*, trans. George W. Shea, bk VIII (PDF of pp. 190-207 provided, but please try to read more); Maurice, *Strategikon*, trans. G. Dennis (Philadelphia, 1984), bks 7 (VII), 8 (VIII) and 11 (XI), pp. 64-92, 113-26; *The History of Theophylact Simocatta*, trans. M. Whitby and M. Whitby (Oxford, 1986), bks II and III (see PDF).

The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor, Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284-813, translated by Cyril Mango and Roger Scott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 424-75 (from A.M. 6100; over coming weeks you will read to the end, at A.M. 6305). Be sure to read the intro. to sources and the notes carefully. **This book is in the reserves for HIEU 104B.** See also an excerpt:

<http://www.deremilitari.org/resources/sources/theophanes.htm>

Theodore the Syncellus, 'Homily on the siege of Constantinople in AD 626,' *The Early Church Fathers – Additional Texts*. Trans. Roger Pearse (2007)

http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/theodore_syncellus_01_homily.htm

Chronicon Paschale, the *Easter Chronicle*, preserves a despatch that Heraclius sent back from the front to be read out in Hagia Sophia on 15 May 628. Find it in *Chronicon Paschale 284-628*, tr. M. Whitby and Mary Whitby (Liverpool, 1990).

Commentary on Corippus: Averil Cameron, "Corippus' *Iohannis*: Epic of Byzantine Africa," *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 4 (1984), 167-80, reprinted in her *Changing Cultures in Early Byzantium* (Aldershot, 1996); and now at greater length if you read German: T. Gärtner, *Untersuchungen zur Gestaltung und zum historischen Stoff der Iohannis Coripps*, *Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte* 90 (Berlin, 2008). Relevant comments are to be found in Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War*; and McCormick, *Eternal Victory*.

On Maurice's *Strategikon*, read the introduction and commentary carefully, as with Theophylact Simocatta. The latter is expanded upon at length in M. Whitby, *The Emperor Maurice and his Historian* (Oxford, 1988). You must also read J. D. Frendo, 'The Armenian and Byzantine foundations of the concept of jihad', *Byzantine Studies* 13 (1986), 241-50.

Political and military background, archaeology and literature: W. Kaegi, *Heraclius. Emperor of Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2003); N. Baynes, 'The first campaign of Heraclius against the Persians', *English Historical Review* 19 (1904): 694-702; C. Foss, 'The Persians in Asia Minor and the end of Antiquity', *English Historical Review* 90 (1975): 721-47; J. Howard-Johnston, 'The official history of Heraclius' Persian campaigns', in E. Dąbrowa, ed., *The Roman and Byzantine Army in the East* (Cracow, 1994), 57-87; Mary Whitby, 'A new image for a new age: George of Pisidia on the emperor Heraclius', in *ibid.*, 197-225; also her 'George of Pisidia's presentation of the reign of Heraclius and his campaigns: variety and development', pp. 157-73, in the following collection:

Art and ideology: S. Spain Alexander, 'Heraclius, Byzantine imperial ideology, and the David plates', *Speculum* 52 (1977): 217-37; Ruth E. Leader, 'The David Plates revisited: transforming the secular in early Byzantium', *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000): 407-2; B. Pentcheva, 'The supernatural protector of Constantinople: the Virgin and her icons in the tradition of the Avar siege', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 26 (2002): 2-41; B. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power. The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, PA, 2006).

For fun: Metropolitan Museum of Art activity book on 'The David Plates'.
Download from:

<http://www.metmuseum.org/explore/publications/david.htm>



Week 7 is a reading week. You must complete your midterm paper.

Midterm questions: Please ensure that you choose on the questions and use it as the title of your essay. Do not simply make up another title to reflect what you wrote, as you will find that you did not answer the question!

1. "Early Christians were engaged in a cosmic struggle with the Roman state. As the Roman world was Christianized, the terms of the battle changed." Discuss with reference to the period A.D. 200-650.

2. How far did the tenets of Christianity preclude the enlistment of Christians in the Roman army? How far did matters change with the Christianization of the imperial office? Discuss with reference to the period c. A.D. 200- c. 650.

3. Was the symbolism and celebration of Roman victory inappropriate in Christian contexts? What functions did the Cross play? Discuss with reference to the period c. A.D. 200- c. 650.



RIGHT: Probus Diptych (detail: see gobbet below)

8. Purity and Martyrdom, I: Islam and *jihad*.

Continuing into the later eighth and ninth centuries, we find there is now some contemporary Islamic literature to read. We shall explore from the Muslim perspective the development of 'striving [on the path of God]' (*jihad*), and the importance of purity, merit (*fadh*l) intent (*niyya*), divine reward (*ajr*) and becoming a martyr (*shahid*). Was the idea of 'Holy War' unique to Islam at this time? When and how did the notion of *jihad* develop?

Readings: The first extant book devoted to *jihad* is not, at the time of writing (4 May 2009) available in translation. It may be when you read this, so do search for it online: Ibn al-Mubarak, *Kitab al-jihad*. For now be sure to read the excerpts and commentary at Bonner 1996, pp. 122-5; Sizgorich 2008, pp. 180-90.

Sahih Muslim, *Ahadith*, books 19 (Jihad and Expedition) and 20 (Government): <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/muslim/> Read selectively, if you wish, but note 20.4681 (the gobbet).

Al-Muwatta' of Imam Malik ibn Anas (London, 1989; paperback: Singapore, 2005), tr. A. Abdurrahman Bewley, pp. 173-84 (= Ch.21, Jihad), or you may wish to consult Bewley's online translation: <http://bewley.virtualave.net/muwcont.html>

There is also this version of the same translation (although the translators' names are rendered somewhat differently: look under 'jihad'): <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/muwatta/>

There are now a good number of general books by scholars that include very useful chapters on early ideas. You might start with D. Cook, *Understanding Jihad* (California, 2005). The first chapter is available in the Dropbox, although the footnotes did not translate in the e-version):

J. Kelsay, *Arguing the Just War in Islam* (Cambridge, MA, 2007). See also, for example, Reuven Firestone, *Jihad. The Origin of Holy War in Islam* (Oxford, 1999); W. M. Watt, 'Islamic conceptions of the Holy War', in: T. P. Murphy, ed., *The Holy War* (Columbus, OH, 1976), pp. 141-56; R. P. Mottahedeh & R. al-Sayyid, 'The idea of *jihad* in Islam before the Crusades' in: A. E. Laiou & R. P. Mottahedeh, eds., *The Crusades from the perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim world* (Washington, DC, 2001), pp. 23-9 [download from www.doaks.org]. Although the library does not have it, nonetheless you may find the following useful: M. Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History. Doctrines and Practice* (Princeton, 2006);

More broadly, and on martyrdom: T. Sizgorich, *Violence and Belief in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia, 2009); D. Cook, *Martyrdom in Islam* (Cambridge, 2007).

Specialist studies, showing developments: M. Bonner, 'Some Observations Concerning the Early Development of Jihad on the Arab-Byzantine Frontier', *Studia*

Islamica 75 (1992): 5-31; M. Bonner, 'The Naming of the Frontier: `Awasim, Thughur, and the Arab Geographers', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 57.1 (1994): 17-24; M. Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War: Studies in the Jihad and the Arab-Byzantine Frontier* (New Haven, Connecticut: The American Oriental Society, 1996).

Overviews of middle Byzantine warfare and dealings with Islam: J. Haldon, 'The Byzantine World', in K. Raaflaub and N. Rosenstein, eds., *War and Society in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds* (Washington, DC, 1999), pp. 241-70; Nadia Maria El-Cheikh, *Byzantium viewed by the Arabs* (Cambridge, MA, 2004); H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates: the Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh century*, 2nd edn (London, 2004).

9. Purity and Martyrdom, II: Christianity

We shall explore how the Byzantine empire (deprived of the lands conquered by Islam, including Syria and Palestine) adopted what might be called a 'theology of defeat'; how attention had turned to the soldier and his purity; whether and to what extent penitential discipline was introduced into army life; how neomartyrs were made in lands now under Muslim rule (Syria, Palestine)

Readings: *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor, Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284-813*, translated by Cyril Mango and Roger Scott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 600-88 (from A.M. 6255 to A.M. 6305)

Two tales of 811: 'The Beneficial Tale of Nicholas the Monk, former soldier', trans. P. Stephenson and B. Shilling; and 'The Chronicle of 811', trans. P. Stephenson. Both can be viewed at: <http://www.paulstephenson.info/trans.htm>

Commentary on 811 texts: J. Wortley, 'Legends of the Byzantine disaster of 811', *Byzantion* 50 (1980), 533-62; P. Stephenson, "'About the Emperor Nikephoros and how he leaves his bones in Bulgaria". A context for the controversial Chronicle of 811', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 60 (2006): 87-109. For the Byzantine political background, see W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival* (Stanford, 1984; now an ACLS eBook). We must also consider provincial art, notably in the rock-cut churches of Cappadocia, to discover attitudes. Try to read C. Jolivet-Lévy, "Les cavaliers de Karbala," *Zograf* 33 (2009): 19-31, and return in detail to Walter, *Warrior Saints*.

Arabic lives of Christian neomartyrs: S. Griffith, 'The Arabic account of 'Abd al-Masīḥ an-Nağrānī al-Ghassānī', *Le muséeon* 98 (1985): 331-74; I. Dick, 'La passion arabe de S. Antoine Ruwaḥ, néo-martyr de Damas (d. 26 déc. 799)', *Le muséeon* 74 (1961): 109-33, offers an edition of the Arabic text and French translation, but see Griffith for commentary in English. Also see R. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others saw it* (Princeton, 1997), 336-86. Compare with C. Virgilio Franklin, *The Latin Dossier of Anastasius the Persian. Hagiographic translations and transformations* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2004).

10. *Nikopoia*: Victory-bringing icons and relics

We shall explore how Byzantium returned to the offensive in the east; how this new war led to an intensification of religious thought and ritual devoted to the needs and duties of the army; how icons and relics were incorporated into Christian warfare.

Readings: [Leo the Deacon](#); *The History of Leo the Deacon. Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century*, eds. & trans. A.-M. Talbot and D. Sullivan (Washington, DC, 2005); Byzantine Military texts (including [harangues and prayers](#)), from E. McGeer, *Sowing the dragon's teeth. Byzantine warfare in the tenth century* (Washington, DC, 1995); and E. McGeer, 'Two military orations of Constantine VII', in J. Nesbitt, ed., *Byzantine authors: literary activities and preoccupations: texts and translations dedicated to the memory of Nicolas Oikonomides*, (Leiden, 2003), 111-35.

T. Kolbaba, 'Fighting for Christianity: Holy War in the Byzantine Empire', *Byzantion* 68 (1998): 194-221; N. Oikonomides, 'The concept of "Holy War" and two tenth-century Byzantine ivories', in: *Peace and war in Byzantium. Essays in honor of George T. Dennis, S. J.*, eds. T. S. Miller & J. Nesbitt (Washington, DC, 1995), pp. 62-86; G. Dennis, 'Defenders of the Christian people. Holy War in Byzantium,' in A. E. Laiou & R. P. Mottahedeh, eds., *The Crusades from the perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim world* (Washington, DC, 2001), pp. 31-9 (download from www.doaks.org). Read or re-read the second part of: P. Stephenson, "'About the emperor Nikephoros and how he leaves his bones in Bulgaria.'" A context for the controversial *Chronicle of 811*', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 60 (2006): 87-109; P. Stephenson, 'Imperial Christianity and Sacred Warfare in Byzantium', in *Belief and Bloodshed. Religion and Violence across Time and Tradition*, ed. J. Wellman (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield 2007), pp. 83-95.

On relics and icons: I. Kalavrezou, 'Helping hands for the empire: imperial ceremonies and the cult of relics at the Byzantine court', in: H. Maguire, ed., *Byzantine Court Culture* (Cambridge, MA, 1997), pp. 53-79 [**this is on reserve for HIEU104B**]; J. Wortley, 'The Marian relics at Constantinople', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 45 (2005): 171-87; J. Wortley, 'Relics and the Great Church', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 99 (2006): 631-47; Averil Cameron, 'The Mandylion and Byzantine iconoclasm', in: *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, eds H. Kessler & G. Wolf (Bologna, 1998), pp. 33-54; E. Patlagean, 'L'entrée de la Sainte Face d'Édesse à Constantinople en 944', in A. Vauchez, ed., *La religion civique à l'époque médiévale et moderne* (Paris, 1995), pp. 21-35.

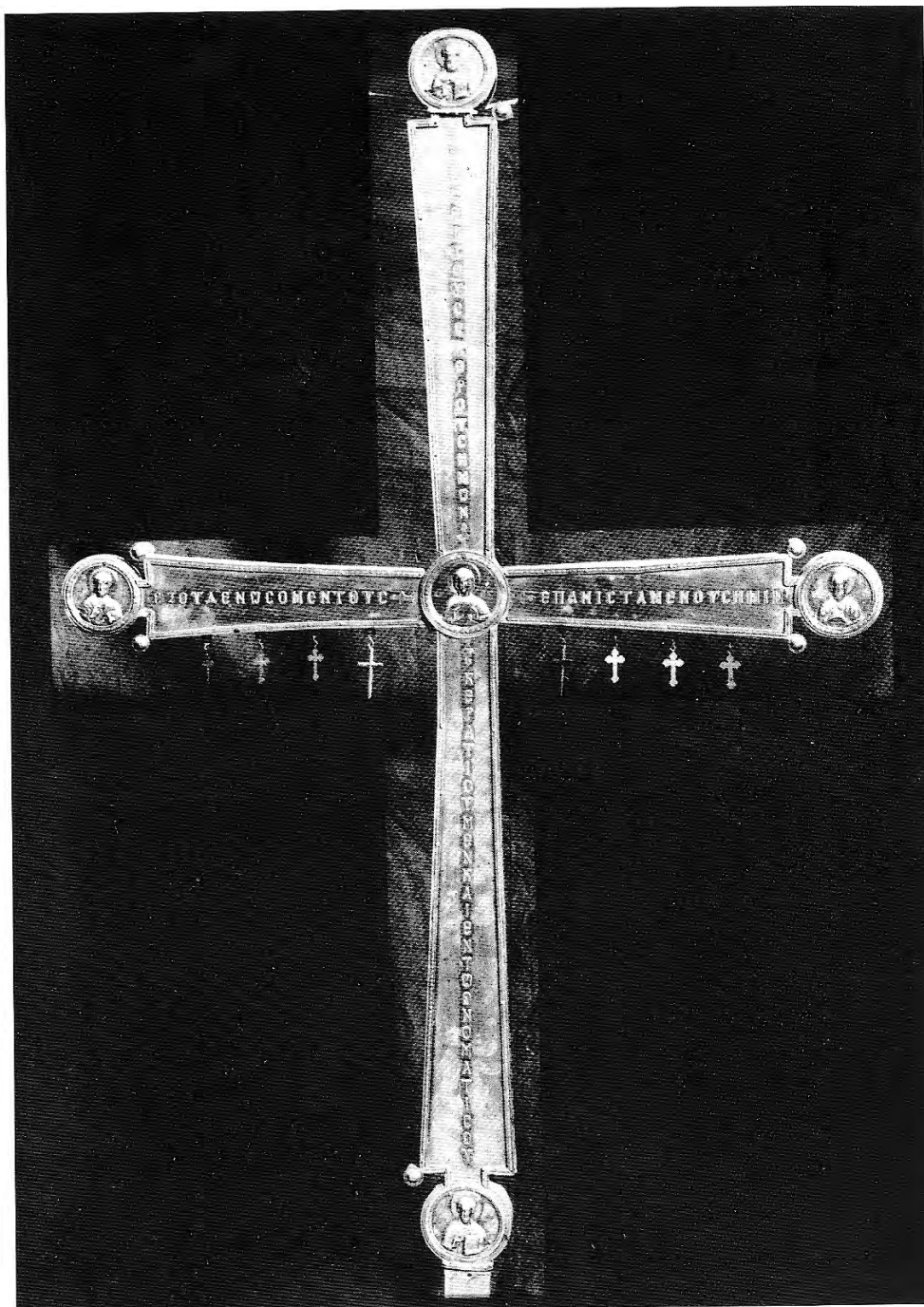
Imperial art of the period is fascinating and informative (but only dip into these books: I have not placed them on reserve): K. Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll: a work of the Macedonian Renaissance* (Princeton, 1948); M. Shapiro, 'The place of the Joshua Roll in Byzantine history', *Gazette des beaux-arts* 35 (1949): 161-76; J. Lowden, *The Octateuchs. A study in Byzantine manuscript illumination* (University Park, PA, 1992); C. Connor, 'New perspectives on Byzantine ivories', *Gesta* 30 (1991): 100-11; H. Maguire, 'The art of comparing in Byzantium', *Art Bulletin* 70 (1988): 88-103; E. Robertson, 'The Rome Casket', in G. Robertson and G. Henderson, eds., *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice* (Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 11-15; A. Cutler and N.

Oikonomides, 'An imperial Byzantine casket and its fate at a humanist's hands', *Art Bulletin* 70 (1988): 77-87.

P. Stephenson, *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-slayer* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 49-65;
P. Stephenson, 'Images of the Bulgar-slayer: three art historical notes', *Byzantine & Modern Greek Studies* 25 (2001): 44-66, may also be useful.

Images: Joshua Roll, Joshua Plaques (Met.), Byzantine ivory reliquary of Cortona (Tuscany); Troyes Casket, David (Rome) Casket; Bamberger Gunthertuch; Psalter Portrait of Basil II, Silver processional cross, Great Lavra, Athos (below).

Silver processional cross, Great Lavra, Athos (below)



GOBBETS

For each seminar you must prepare at least one gobbet, and as a general rule you should alternate between commentary on texts and images when this is possible. Do not, however, ignore an image (or text) that particularly interests you simply because you considered an image (or text) for the previous seminar.

Consult the Dropbox for the images, which are reproduced below simply for reference. Do not attempt to write a commentary based on the reproductions in this syllabus, as the quality may not be great enough (especially a printed version).

1.A.-D. For the first seminar select your own gobbet passages from one of the following books of the Bible: Exodus; Joshua; Matthew; Revelation. You must explain why you have chosen the excerpt, and why you believe it is pertinent to the subject of study. Be led by the gobbets below when determining length and content. Do you have enough to say? Do you have too much to say?

2.A. Tertullian, *De Corona*

It came to pass the other day, the bounty of the most illustrious emperors was being paid off at the camp. The soldiers were coming up wearing their laurel crowns. A certain man there, more the soldier of God, more firm of purpose, than the rest of his brethren who had presumed that they could *serve two masters*, stood conspicuous, his single head untrammelled, his crown hanging idle in his hand, the Christian being already, by this very ordering of himself, proclaimed. Every man began to point at him; the distant to mock, the near to gnash their teeth upon him. The murmur reacheth the ears of the Tribune, and the person had now quitted his place. Immediately the Tribune saith, 'Why so different from the rest in thy dress?' He answered that he might not act with the rest. Being asked his reasons, he answered, 'I am a Christian.'

2.B. Origen

Thus, if in this manner we understand what is written, perhaps the reading will seem worthy of the pen of the Holy Spirit. For what does it profit me if I know that on twofold wood the king of Ai was hanged? But if I know there is a double power of the cross, that both Christ is suspended on it in the flesh and the Devil is conquered on it with his army, my soul will be edified from the understanding of the mystery. And in order that we may extend still higher the grandeur of the mystery, perhaps a greater thing is that *the knowledge of good and evil* is understood to be in this wood, on which both the good Christ and the evil Devil were suspended.

2.C. Image: Christ-Helios (Vatican Crypt)



3.A. Panegyric of Constantius

But invincible Caesar, on this occasion graced by your divinity I must relate without delay those exploits carried out under the leadership and auspices of your divinity, the spectacle of which we are also enjoying, all the more so because, although they are of general benefit to the state, we must applaud especially achievements which are closer to us. Thus you straightaway made Gaul yours, Caesar, simply by coming here. Indeed, the swiftness with which you anticipated all reports of your accession and arrival caught the forces of that band of pirates who were then so obstinate in their unhappy error, trapped within the walls of Gesoriacum, and denied access to the Ocean which washes the gates of the city to those who had relied for so long upon the sea.

3.B. Panegyric of Constantine Augustus

For although our emperor accepts the submission of friendly kings and the very fact of his being feared and cultivated by the noblest kings counts the same as praise for victory, yet he is glad that the fame of his valour is increased as often as it is challenged. What is lovelier than this triumphal celebration in which he employs the slaughter of enemies for the pleasure of us all, and enlarges the procession of the games out of the survivors of the massacre of the barbarians? He threw so great a multitude of captives to the beasts that the ungrateful and faithless men experienced no less suffering from the sport made of them than from death itself.

4.A. Image: Porphyry Tetrarchs



4.B. Image: Arch of Constantine



4.C. Lactantius, *On the Deaths of the Persecutors*

The anniversary was at hand of the day on which Maxentius had taken imperial power, 27 October, and his *quinquennalia* were coming to an end. Constantine was advised in a dream to mark the heavenly sign of God on the shields of his soldiers and

then engage in battle. He did as he was commanded and by means of a slanted letter X with the top of its head bent around he marked Christ on their shields. Armed with this sign, the army took up its weapons.

4.D. *Eusebius, Life of Constantine*

About the time of the midday sun, when the day was just turning, [Constantine] said he saw with his own eyes, up in the sky and resting over the sun, a cross-shaped trophy formed from light and a text attached to it which said, 'By this conquer'. Amazement at this spectacle seized him and the whole company of soldiers that was then accompanying him on a campaign he was conducting somewhere, and witnessed the miracle. He was, he said, wondering to himself what the manifestation might mean; then, while he meditated, and thought long and hard, night overtook him. Thereupon, as he slept, the Christ of God appeared to him with the sign which had appeared in the sky, and urged him to make a copy of the sign which had appeared in the sky, and to use this as protection against the attacks of the enemy.

5.A

Probus Diptych of Honorius (right, and a detail above)

5. B. Basil of Caesarea, *Homily on the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste*

For there was no longer this fellow or that fellow, but all were proclaimed as Christians. Who then was the one who prevailed on that occasion? For he was clever and flexible, now fawning with flattering remarks, now turning aside with insults. First he tricked them with flattering remarks, trying to break the intensity of their piety. 'Don't betray your youth. Don't exchange an untimely death for this sweet life. For it is absurd for those who have gained the prize for valour in war to die the death of criminals.' He promised money in addition to this. He gave this: honours from the emperor, and the distribution of offices, and tried to outwit them by countless devices.



5.C. Augustine of Hippo

What is the evil in war? Is it the death of some who will soon die in any case, that others may live in peaceful subjection? This is mere cowardly dislike, not any religious feeling. The real evils in war are love of violence, revengeful cruelty, fierce and implacable enmity, wild resistance, and the lust of power, and such like; and it is generally to punish these things, when force is required to inflict the punishment, that, in obedience to God or some lawful authority, good men undertake wars, when they

find themselves in such a position as regards the conduct of human affairs, that right conduct requires them to act, or to make others act in this way. Otherwise John, when the soldiers who came to be baptized asked, 'What shall we do?', would have replied, Throw away your arms; give up the service; never strike, or wound, or disable any one.

5.D. Image: Christ Militant (Ravenna, below)



6. A. Corippus

Then the Christian people came out in the prescribed order, the Roman soldiers and the great-souled captain along with their ensigns. In a place in the centre of the camp where among the foremost the general John placed his tents with the canvas spread out, a priest had set up and draped a large altar and in the manner of their

fathers had surrounded it on all sides with holy tapestries. The acolytes had formed a choir and with humble voice sang sweet hymns as they wept ... 'Forgive us our sins and the sins of our fathers, we beseech You, Christ', they moaned and with palms extended looked up to heaven and asked for the comfort of the Lord. John himself, in front, with knees and body bent, was moved by piety and uttered prayers for the people.

6. B. Maurice, *Strategikon*

The battle-cry, "Nobiscum", which it is customary to shout when beginning the charge is in our opinion extremely dangerous and harmful ... Instead of the shout, prayers should be said in camp on the actual day of battle before anyone goes out the gate. All, led by priests, the general and other officers, should recite the "Kyrie eleison" (Lord have mercy) for some time in unison. Then, in hopes of success each meros should shout the "Nobiscum Deus" (God is with us) three times as it marches out of camp.

6.C. Theophanes

Sain was pleased at this and, together with Sarbaros, eagerly pressed on against Herakleios. The emperor gathered his troops and gave them courage by assuaging them with these words of exhortation: 'Be not disturbed, O brethren, by the multitude (of the enemy). For when God wills it, one man will rout a thousand. So let us sacrifice ourselves to God for the salvation of our brothers. May we win the crown of martyrdom so that we maybe praised in the future and receive our recompense from God.' Having with these and many other words encouraged the army, he arranged the battle order with joyful countenance. The two sides faced each other across a short distance from morning until evening, but did not engage. When evening had fallen, the emperor continued his march; and again the barbarians pressed on behind him.

6.D. Image: David Plate (above, p. 9)

7. Reading week.

8. A. *Qur'ān*

Fight in the path of God

Those who are fighting you;

But do not exceed the bounds.

God does not approve the transgressors

8. B. Ibn al-Mubarak, *Kitab al-jihad*

The killed are three men: a faithful man striving with his person and his property on the path of God until he meets the enemy, fighting until he is killed. This shahid is the most favoured in the tent of Allah, under his throne. The prophets are not preferred to him except with regard to the status of prophethood ... And a hypocritical man strives with his person and his property on the path of God until he is killed. This one is in Hell, for the sword does not scrape away hypocrisy.

9. A. Chronicle of 811

On that same day the Emperor Nikephoros was killed during the first assault, and nobody is able to relate the manner of his death. Injured also was his son Staurakios, who suffered a mortal wound to the spinal vertebrae from which he died after having ruled the Romans for two months. Many of the surviving Romans, after the battle ended, were forced by the impious Bulgars, who had then not yet been baptized, to renounce Christ and embrace the error of the Scythian pagans. Those who were preserved by the power of Christ endured every outrage and by various torments earned the martyr's crown.

9. B. Nicholas the Monk, former soldier

And he looking around sees all the earth appearing to him full of dead bodies, and in the middle of it all a patch of green meadow the size of a single bed. And he says to him, 'Lord, all the earth is full of Romans slain mercilessly except one patch.' Then the fearful apparition said to the soldier, 'And what do you think it is?' He replied: 'I am an ignorant man, Lord, and I don't know.' And the fearful one said to him again: 'The bare patch, which you see having a length of one bed, is yours and in it you were bound to have been slaughtered with your fellow soldiers and to be put down in it and to fill in the gap: when last night you shook off sensibly from you the three-braided snake who wrestled you thrice into shameful intercourse and intended to kill, know that you freed yourself from this slaughter and have gained exemption from the "bed" of the meadow and have saved your soul along with your body.'

10.A. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Military Oration or Harangue

Therefore, have no fear, my men, have no fear, fill your souls with zeal and show the enemies who rely on the aid of Beliar or Mohammed what those who put their faith in Christ can accomplish. Be the avengers and champions not only of Christians, but of Christ himself, whom they wickedly deny ... And so let us put all our hope in him, and instead of our whole panoply let us arm ourselves with His cross, equipped with which you lately made the fierce soldiers of the Hamdanid the victims of your swords.

10.B. Leo the Deacon, History

And when he had reclaimed the entire island ... he took the booty and captives and sailed to Constantinople. And he was received with great honour by the emperor Romanos and celebrated a triumph in the Hippodrome, with the whole populace

assembled amazed at the amount and beauty of the booty. For great amounts of silver and gold were seen, both barbarian coins of refined gold and cloth of gold thread, and purple carpets and manifold treasures executed with the utmost craftsmanship, gleaming with gold and stones. There were whole suits of armor, and helmets and swords, and breastplates studded with gold, spears and shields and back-stretched bows too many to count (being present there one might have said the whole wealth of the barbarian land was gathered there in the theatre), so that it resembled some sort of abundant river. With these things also were the barbarians who had been captured, assembled in a countless throng.

10.C. Silver processional cross, Great Lavra, Athos (above, p. 14)