

XIV.—THE *PALLIUM* OF SAINT CUTHBERT.¹

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[Read on 25th March, 1925.]

In the relic of the gorgeous *pallium*, in which the monks wrapped the body of Saint Cuthbert in 1104,² there is inwoven a curious inscription which appears to be an Arabic sentence or exclamation,³ marking its origin to be not merely the East, but the Muslim world. As it does not appear to have been brought by a Crusader,⁴ it seems

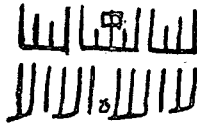
¹ The title of this paper is based upon the descriptions of Symeon of Durham (R.S., i, 225) . . . *pallium quod caeteris pretiosius in ecclesia poterat inveniri*, and of Reginald of Durham (c. 42). The term here is used of any flowing robe, and is in no way limited exclusively to the ecclesiastical vestment, even at this date.

² "Secundus vero de incompara i pallii purpurā preciosus."

Reginaldi Mon. Dun. Libellus, cap. 42 (ap. J. Raine, *Saint Cuthbert*, 1827), App. p. 5; cf. the account of Symeon of Durham (Rolls. Ser.), i, 225: ". . . ad ea quibus ante fuerat involutum ex abundantia pallium quod caeteris pretiosum in ecclesia poterat inveniri et subtilissimam superaddiderunt sidonem"; cf. the account from the Bollandists, anno 1104, quoted and translated by Raine, op. cit., p. 80.

Raine identified the relics as the garment referred to by Reginald (op. cit., p. 197), and reproduced the design of one of the fragments (Pl. iv).

³ I reproduce the pattern with the Arabic transcription immediately underneath. The pattern is worked in the Kufic alphabet.



"There is no God (*Allāh*) save the One."

It was first noticed by Professor A. Guillaume and my attention was drawn to it by Professor A. Hamilton Thompson.

For similar formations of letters, v. Ernst Kühnel, *Islamische Klein-kunst* (Berlin, 1925), pp. 27-8, 190. Two of the illustrations are from work of the ninth and tenth centuries.

⁴ I have been unable to trace any evidence of such a visit, nor has it been suggested as a solution to the problem.

to be worth while to investigate the possible channels by means of which the garment could have arrived at Durham for use in the year 1104.

It is the object of this paper to explore one—to the writer the most probable, if not the only—channel by which it could have reached the shrine of the Saint. The solution offered is tentative. Its main validity rests on the fact that it does no violence to the meagre evidence available; while its interest arises from its bearing on a revised theory of the relations between Christendom and the Muslim World. It is impossible to claim absolute proof, but a strong *prima facie* case, it is submitted, is established.

The subject falls into three main parts, first, the garment itself, its date, and its significance; secondly, the diplomatic situation which rendered possible its transit to the West, including a survey of the relations between the early 'Abbāsid Caliphate and the Carolingian dynasty; thirdly, the passage of the garment from East to West, and the significance of the transaction.

First, then, the garment itself. The material appears to be a kind of silk brocade, heavily interwoven with gold thread. The material is still produced in Damascus, Bāghdād, and the region of 'Irāq.⁵ The ornamentation is of the kind usually found on the back of the more expensive type of *qaftān* or *qabā'*—flowing robes, with loose sleeves,

⁵ The material is called **مَقْصَبٌ**, translated by MacNaghten

(*The Thousand and one Nights*, i, 536) "stuffs interwoven with gold"; similarly Lane (*Arabian Nights*, ii, 443). For a fuller discussion v. R. P. A. Dozy, *Dict. dét. des noms des Vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845), p. 331, n. 9. One of the most celebrated centres of

the industry is the Armenian town Ma'din (معدن), hence the adjective Ma'dinī (معدنِي) (Dozy, *op. cit.*, p. 83, n. 2); cf. *ibid.*, p. 355 n., a quotation from Nuwairi's *History of Egypt* (fol. 30 vo.).

نَجَّلَعَ عَلَى الْمَشَارِ إِلَيْهِ مِنْهُمْ أَطْلَسَ مَعْدِنِيَا بِطَرَزِ زُرْكَشِ

"He gave the above-mentioned (their chief) a *khil'at* of a piece of Ma'dinī satin with brocade edges."

not unlike the *kimono*.⁶ Both are definitely outer garments, ornamented for display, and readily taken off (*khala'a*), consequently the type of garment suitable for a robe of honour (*khil'at*). Now the *qabā'* was the ordinary garment of investiture of *amīrs* and other high officers under the 'Abbāsids.⁷ Further, the colour is purple. Now, Procopius of Cæsaræa, writing in the sixth century, just before the Muslim conquest of Persia, states that the wearing of purple was a right confined to the Emperor of Rome and the King of Persia.⁸ Moreover, it is an established fact that the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs took over the ritual and prerogatives of their Sāsānian predecessors, and it would be difficult to avoid the deduction that the wearing of purple was one of the prerogatives retained.⁹ Another of the rites taken over was, at least according to the Egyptian historian Maqrīzī, the practice of investiture by means of the *khil'at* or robe of honour. Rightly or wrongly, Maqrīzī dates the practice from the early years of Hārūnu'l-Rashīd.¹⁰ These facts alone indicate Bāghdād as the probable home of the man who sent the garment to the West.

But, on closer examination, there are not only traces of Sāsānian art in the relics—as the grape pattern, which bears

⁶ Garments of this kind have three main names, each with its colloquial variants, the *qaftān*, the *qabā'*, and the *farajīyyat*. For descriptions and uses v. Dozy, op. cit., pp. 162 ff., 327 ff., 352 ff., and E. W. Lane, *The Manners and Customs of Modern Egyptians*, cap. i.

⁷ On the use of robes of honour as means of investiture v. Dozy, op. cit., pp. 11 ff., also two articles by the writer, *Two instances of Khil'at in the Bible* (*J. Theol. S.*, xxiii, pp. 197-9); and (for the theory) *Compte rendu du Ve Congr. Int des Sciences Historiques, Bruxelles, 1923*, p. 44.

⁸ *Procop. De Aed.* III, i, 18-23. I am indebted to Professor J. B. Bury for this reference. Cf. Judges viii, 26; Esther viii, 15; *Herodotus*, iii, 22; *Xen. Cyrop.* I, iii, 2.

⁹ E. G. Browne, *A Litevay History of Persia*, i, 203 ff.; E. H. Palmer, *Haroun al Raschid*, pp. 35 ff. Dozy (op. cit.), p. 20, quotes a passage from the *Arabian Nights*, "He put on the garment of anger, that is a red (? purple) garment."

¹⁰ Dozy, op. cit., p. 14, n. 4. وَأَوَّلَ مَنْ عَلَّمْتُهُ خُلِعَ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ

أهل الدول جعفر بن يحيى البرمكي "And among the men of the state, the first on whom a *khil'at* was conferred, I am told, was Ja'far, the son of Yahya the Barmakid."

a marked resemblance to the ornamentation of the palace at Mashīta, the typical duck, and the grouping of animals and birds in pairs—but there are also marks of definitely royal symbolism.¹¹ The fish in the pattern are emblems of sovereignty and appear in countries whose ruling houses derived their authority originally from Persia. Traces are found in modern times, both in the Mughal Empire in India and especially in its most Persianized province, Oudh, where the order of the Fish was regarded as the distinctive mark of a ruling Prince.¹² The orders were three in number, the fish, the peacock's feather, and the *nālkī* (palanquin). Colonel Sleeman, writing in 1844, has preserved an interesting tradition of the origin of this order.¹³ There appears to be no trace of Sleeman's story in contemporary sources, but the tradition, which was current in Hindustān in the earlier half of the nineteenth century, may quite easily have its origin in the facts it reveals. It emanated from either

¹¹ For the "grape" pattern at Mashīta v. G. Rawlinson, *The Seventh Oriental Monarchy*, p. 597 and plate. On the general characteristics of and relations between Sāsānian and Muslim Art, v. Sir T. W. Arnold, *Survivals of Sasanian and Manichæan Art in Persian Painting*, pp. 11 ff.; Saladin and Migeon, *Manuel d'Art musulman*, i, 32-3, and A. Gayet, *L'Art Persan*, p. 126.

¹² Sir William Foster has very kindly supplied me with the following instance mentioned by Sir Thomas Roe. The incident occurred upon Jahangir's leaving Ajmir in November, 1616. "At the stayres foote . . . one brought a mighty carp; another a dish of white stuff like starch into which hee putt his finger and touched the fish and so rubd it on his forehead, a ceremony used presaging good fortune." *The Embassy of Sir. T. Roe*, ed. Sir W. Foster (Hakluyt Society), ii, 321. Certain definite royal rights over fisheries had been abolished by Akbar (Anquetil Duperron, *Législation Orientale*, pp. 289-90).

¹³ Sir W. H. Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, ed. V. A. Smith (1915), pp. 135 ff., and notes.

"These insignia could be used only by the prince who inherited the sovereignty of the one on whom they had been originally conferred. The order of the Fish, or Mahi Marātib, was first instituted by Khusrū Parviz, king of Persia, and grandson of the celebrated Naushirwan the Just. Having been deposed by his general, Bahrām, Khusrū fled for protection to the Greek emperor, Maurice, whose daughter, Shirin, he married, and he was sent back to Persia, with an army under the command of Narses, who placed him on the throne of his ancestors in the year A.D. 591. He ascertained from his astrologer, Araz Khushasp, that when he ascended the throne the moon was in the constellation of the Fish, and he gave orders to have two balls made of polished steel, which were to be called Kaukabas (planets), and mounted on long poles. These two planets with a large fish made of gold, upon a third pole in the centre, were ordered to be carried in all royal processions immediately after the king, and before the prime minister . . . He only who inherits the sovereignty can wear the order . . ."

Delhi or Lucknow, and it is significant that Mughal political tradition and sovereignty were of Persian origin, the model of their political institutions was the state of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs, while theirs in turn was based on the Sāsānian State.¹⁴ The tradition, therefore, may quite easily supplement the story of Procopius, and date from his time.

But the most striking point of contact between the story and the relic under consideration is that it explains the arrangement of the six fishes in the design. They are arranged in three pairs. The top pair have their heads pointing outwards and upwards at an angle of about thirty degrees. The bottom pair are horizontal with their heads also pointing outwards. The middle pair face inwards, their heads raised at an angle of about twenty degrees from the horizontal. By tracing lines from the head of the top left-hand fish to the head of the bottom left-hand fish by way of their tails and similarly the right; also by tracing a line from tail to tail of the middle pair, by way of their heads, it will be seen that the conventional sign for the constellation *Pisces* emerges (♊).

By combining these facts—the restricted use of purple, the traditional origin of the order of the Fish (both connected with sovereignty and its transmission), the Sāsānian style of design and the nature of the fabric—all dating from the sixth century A.D.; together with the Muslim inscription, the origin of the garment is associated with a Muslim capital where Sāsānian influence was paramount, and from the eighth century onwards—to 1104—Bāghdād alone satisfies these conditions. This deduction is confirmed by the water in the pattern, which indicates flowing water with ducks (in pairs) swimming on it, so a river is represented, presumably the Tigris. Consequently there seems to be little doubt that the robe emanated from the court of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs at Bāghdād.

Now, the robe of honour (*khil'at*) as a means of conveying authority and sovereignty is a very ancient Eastern institu-

¹⁴ *v. supra*, p. 201, n. 9, also J. N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration* (1st ed.), p. 8, also the writer's "A New Interpretation of Akbar's 'Infallibility' Decree of 1579", *JRAS.*, 1924, pp. 591-608.

tion, and the earliest recorded traces of the practice have been found in the regions of the old Assyrian monarchies, grouped round the region of 'Irāq. The custom was that the King or Caliph "took off" (*khala'a*) his outer garment, or perhaps a necklace, and it passed on (*khalafa*) to the nominee for the office or the object of his favour. The direction was always from suzerain to vassal, for by the gift of the *khil'at*, the vassal was, so to speak, incorporated in the person of his sovereign; he was incorporated into the body of the king, and became a *membrum corporis regis* to perform a specific function of kingship.¹⁵ According to Maqrīzī, Hārūnu'l-Rashīd introduced the custom into the Muslim world when he invested Yahya's son Ja'far. Here he is probably wrong, but the passage is of value in showing the extent to which Persianization (or Medism) was associated with that reign.¹⁶ From earlier considerations, it will be seen that the garment was probably associated with a gift of sovereignty, and the prevailing custom of the 'Abbāsids to wear black and to bestow black robes of honour is not a final objection to the use of purple garments for such purposes. It is known that purple was worn at times by them, and that purple was an appropriate colour for an *amīr's khil'at*.¹⁷ If that be the case, it is necessary to find an occasion for such an act of delegation and for the passage of the garments from Bāghdād to the West, prior to 1104. It is suggested that such an occasion arose out of the relations existing between the 'Abbāsids and the descendants of Karl Martel.

The rise of the 'Abbāsids was contemporary with the rise of the Karlings. The year A.D. 751 saw Pepin the Short supplant the last Merovingian and the overthrow of the 'Umayyad dynasty in Damascus. The two grandsons

¹⁵ *v. supra*, p. 201, n. 7.

¹⁶ Hārūnu'l-Rashīd reigned from A.D. 786-807. For the quotation *v. supra*, p. 201, n. 10.

¹⁷ Dozy, relying on a passage from Ibn Battūta, states that an 'Abbāsīd *khil'at* was always black (*op. cit.*, p. 16). But this evidence is late, and though by the fourteenth century in Egypt it may have been true, it was

not necessarily true for this date. *v. op. cit.*, s.v. قبا.

of the Caliph Hishām escaped the slaughter of their house one, Yahyā, to be murdered in Egypt, the other, ‘Abdu’l-Raḥmān, to escape to Spain, where he arrived in 755. There he set up an ‘Umayyad state in protest to the ‘Abbāsīd usurpers, who had moved their capital from Damascus to Bāghdād.¹⁸ ‘Abbāsīd officials had apparently arrived before him, for in 752 Sulaimān had acknowledged Pepin as overlord of Gironde and Barcelona, consequently ‘Abdu’l-Raḥmān allied himself with Waifar, Duke of Aquitaine, who was in rebellion against Pepin.¹⁹

In 759 the Franks besieged Narbonne, which they captured and thereby brought their frontiers into direct contact with the Muslim state of Spain.²⁰ With the removal of their capital to Bāghdād, the ‘Abbāsīds inherited Persia’s feud with Byzantium, and in 764 Pope Paul I sought Pepin’s help against the Emperor, and the idea of using the Perso-Byzantine feud seems to have occurred either to the Pope or to Pepin, for in 766, about April 6th, Pepin dispatched a mission to the Caliph Al-Manṣūr (A.D. 754–75), to point out that each had common enemies in the Emperor and in ‘Abdu’l-Raḥmān, who had just defeated the ‘Abbāsīds at Toledo (764).²¹ The mission took nearly three years to go and return with a Muslim ambassador and landed in Marseilles with many and splendid gifts in 768.²² This exchange of compliments marks the beginning of a friendship which lasted down to the death of Hārūnu’l-Rashīd (786–809).

¹⁸ Dozy, *Spanish Islam* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 160–1.

¹⁹ *Ann. Mett.*, 752. *Chron. Moiss.*, 752 (SS. i, 294, 311); F. Dahn, *Urgesch.* iii, 789, 863–4, 918.

²⁰ *Chron. Moiss.*, 759; Dahn, *op. cit.*, iii, 919.

²¹ *Monumenta Carolīna*, ed. P. Jaffé (cit. Jaffé), pp. 128–9; Dahn, *op. cit.*, iii, 929–30, 939; Abel, *Karl d. Grösse*, p. 228, n. 1; A. Müller, *Islam*, i, 485; Dozy, *Sp. Islam*, pp. 197–8.

²² Dahn, iii, 939–40; *Fredeg. Cont.*, c. 134.

“ His itaque gestis, nuntiatum est regi, quod myssos suos, quos dudum ad Amormuni regi Saracīnorum misserat, post tres annos ad Marsiliam reversus fuisset; legationem praedictus Amormuni rex Sarracīnorum ad praefato rege cum multis muneribus secum adduxerat. Quod cum compertum regi fuisset, myssos suos adeum direxit qui eum venerabiliter recipere et usque ad Mettis civitatis ad hyemandum ducerent . . . Praefatus rex Pippinus ad Waiofarium capiendum insidias parat. Inde ad regina sua ad Sellus veniens legationem Sarracīnorum quod ad Mettis

The next mission, of which any record remains, visited Karl in 777, and came from the 'Abbāsīd party in Spain to ask Karl's help against 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān of Cordova, so in 778 Karl invaded Spain as the ally of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph.²³ It was not until the life of his son Ludwig was written that anything of a crusading motive was discovered.²⁴ Certainly the Basques were not deceived, for it was on the occasion of Karl's return that occurred the episode of Roncesvalles.²⁵ Meanwhile, the Eastern Empire was making great efforts to obtain the support of Karl, and in 781 the hand of Rotrud, Karl's daughter, was asked for Constantine VI, but neither bride nor help was forthcoming, so in August, 781, an embassy was sent to Chrysopolis to treat for peace with Hārūnu'l-Rashīd, and Constantine was forced to pay tribute to the Muslim victor. Owing to rebellions in the Muslim State, particularly the rising of Hārūn, the Eastern Empire had peace for a few

ad hyemandum miserat, ad Sellus castro se venire praecepit et ipsi Saraceni munera quod Amormuni transmiserat ibidem presentant. Iterum rex ipsos Sarracinos, qui ad eum missifuerant, munera dedit et usque ad Marsilia cum multo honore adducere praecepit. Sarraceni vero navale evictione per mare redunt ad propria."

Amormuni = Amīru'l-mu'minīn = Leader of the Faithful. It is the Caliph's chief title and function.

²³ *Ann. Lauriss.*, *Ann. Fuld.* 777. *Ann. Petav.* 778. The ambassadors were Sulaimān ibn Jakthan al 'Arabi al Karbi, *walī* of Barcelona and Gerona (*Ann. Petav.*), *not* of Saragossa (*Ann. Fuld.*), and Abū Ṭāhir of Huesca, Einhard states that they handed over their cities to Karl. Fauriels shows that under Karl, Pepin's alliance lasted on (*Annahme*, iii, 323), v. Dahn, *op. cit.*, iii, 981, Lembke, *Spanien*, i, 345, n. 1. Abel, *op. cit.*, 229 f., 234, n., cf. *Poeta Saxo*, i, 353-8 (Jaffé, p. 554). For the motive v. *Ann. Einh.* 778, "Tunc ex persuasione praedicti Sarraceni spem capiendarum quarundam in Hispania civitatum haud frustra concipiens, congregato exercitu profectus est." Cf. *Poeta Saxo*, i, 362-5 (Jaffé, p. 555). And he received the blessing of Pope Hadrian I (Jaffé, p. 201). On the Caliph Al Mansur's opinion of Spain v. Dozy, *op. cit.*, 207-8. As late as 813 the Caliph wrote to Gregory, Patrician of Sicily, "De Spanis autem non spondimus quia non sunt sub dicione regni nostri." Jaffé, p. 326.

²⁴ *V. Hludovici Pii*, c. 2, "laboranti ecclesiae sub Sarracenorum acerbissimo iugo" (Pertz, *SS.* ii, 608); cf. *Ann. Mettis.* 778, "motus precibus et querelis Christianorum" (Pertz, *SS.* i, 158). The date of the *Vita Hludovici Pii* is later than A.D. 840, that of the *Annales Mettenses*, the end of the tenth century (W. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen* (ed. 6), i, 203, 209-10).

²⁵ *Ann. Einh.* 778, *Einh. Vita Caroli Magni*, c. 9, cf. *Poeta Saxo*, i, 377-00 (Jaffé, pp. 555-6).

years.²⁶ In 786 Hārūn succeeded his brother, Al Ḥadī, as Caliph, and eleven years later occurred the events which led to the most important of Karl's negotiations with that monarch.

'Abdu'l-Rahmān had died, and was succeeded by his son Hisham, whose first precaution was to exile his brother 'Abdu'llah, who betook himself to Karl's court at Aachen where he did homage and surrendered Barcelona. He enlisted the support of Karl, who found in his cause the opportunity of establishing the Spanish Mark.²⁷ In addition, there was present an ambassador from Constantinople announcing the overthrow of Constantine VI, and Irene's assumption of supreme power.²⁸ It was the combination of these two events that led Karl to send his mission to Hārūn, for it is almost certain that the possibility of peace, which was concluded in 798, would leak out,²⁹ and Irene evidently felt she needed to strengthen her position.³⁰

The mission left that year (797) for Hārūnu'l-Rashīd's court, to return in 801.³¹ The objects of the mission seem to have been threefold: (1) the regularization of Karl's position in Muslim Spain as *de facto* leader of the 'Abbāsīd cause; (2) an alliance against Constantinople, perhaps in preparation of the assumption of Empire; (3) provision for access to the Holy Places to Christian Pilgrims.

(1) The value of *de jure* sanction to his position as overlord of the Spanish Mark is not likely to have escaped Karl; moreover, the possibility of including the Frankish conqueror among the vassals of the Caliphate is not likely to have

²⁶ v. F. Dölger, *Corpus d. Griech. Urk. des Mittelalters und der Neuren Zeit*. (Berlin, 1924), Nos. 339, 340. Cf. Jaffé, p. 231. Hadrianus I Carolo Regi . . . "et sicut audivimus atque fama fertur, thius regis Persarum, princepsset dux exercitui nefandissimi ipsorum existebat. Qui, dum reversus fuisset cum iniqua victoria, elatus in superbia mentitus est proprio nepoto suo; et ab ejusdem exercito factus est rex Persarum. Et infra Perse tumultuantes pugnare ad invicem pro nepote et thio dicuntur." Cf. Weil, *Chalifen Gesch.*, ii, 97-8.

²⁷ *Ann. Lauriss.*, anno 797. *Poeta Saxo*, iii, 322 ff., 340 ff. (Jaffé, pp. 584-5); Dahn, op. cit., iii, 1058 ff.; Lembke, op. cit., i, 356, 365.

²⁸ Dölger, op. cit., No. 350.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Nos. 351-2.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Nos. 353-4.

³¹ Dahn, op. cit., iii, 1059; *Ann. Einh.* 801. *Vita Car. Mag.*, c. 16. *Mon. S. Gall.* ii, 8-9.

escaped Hārūn. The later stability of the Frankish power in this region, as compared with the earlier attempts, is evidence that some recognition took place.³²

(2) Karl knew that Irene's position was insecure; he may, too, have felt some qualms on the subject of a woman on Cæsar's throne. In 802, owing to the triumph of Byzantine opinion, Irene was overthrown and war broke out between the Empire and the Caliphate.³³

(3) The protection of the Christian pilgrims was provided for by the appointment of Karl as *walī* or *hākīm* (governor) of Jerusalem. This fact, hinted by Einhard in the *Vita Caroli Magni*, is confirmed by the Poeta Saxo in the following lines :—

Ascribique locum sanctum Hierosolimorum
Concessit propriae Caroli semper dicioni.³⁴

All these requests were granted by Hārūn, whose grant of the governorship of Jerusalem automatically included Karl among the *amīrs* of the 'Abbāsīd state, and robes of honour were sent for his investiture together with an elephant—a gift which placed Karl among the chief of the nobles, or in other words, the "king's friends".³⁵ The effect of the action is seen in the missions of Alfonso of Galicia and Asturias (798), of Ḥasan, *Walī* of Huescas, and of the Patriarch of Jerusalem (799), and the surrender of the keys of the Holy Sepulchre (800). Karl had obtained a definite standing (*martaba*) in the Muslim World, and this

³² Cf. Mon. Alcuiniana, ed. Wattenbach und Duemmler, p. 167: "Etiam et eiusdem Christianissimi regis, etc." Hārūn appears to have recognized Karl as King of the Franks (Dahn, iii, 1088 f.). Such a sanction is quite in keeping with Karl's imperial aspirations, and has its parallel in the projected marriage with the Empress Irene (Dölger, No. 358).

³³ Dölger, No. 360.

³⁴ *Poeta Saxo*, iv, 90-1 (Jaffé, p. 596). *Einhardi, V. Caroli Magni*, c. 16 (ed. Halphen), p. 48, n. 2. Professor Halphen's analysis of the passage overlooks one thing—the impression produced in Einhard's mind that Karl received definite rights over Jerusalem from Hārūn. This fact is confirmed not only by the account of the *Poeta Saxo*, but also by the fact that Hārūn sent Karl robes of honour. Even if the analysis is correct, it is by no means impossible that the keys of the Holy Sepulchre were sent to Karl in 800 on account of his appointment as *walī* of Jerusalem—in fact, it seems the most feasible explanation.

³⁵ *Ann. Einh.* 801-2; *Poeta Saxo*, iv, 79-91; Dahn, op. cit., 1088 ff.

was confirmed in 807 by a second mission, celebrated by the Poeta Saxo in the following lines:—

Persarum princeps illi devinctus amore
 Precipuo fuerat, nomen habens Aaron ;
 Gratia cui Caroli prae cunctis regibus atque
 Illo principibus tempore cara fuit.³⁶

Now the terms *amicitia* and *amor* are significant. Both in early Teutonic and in Eastern civilizations, friendship does not exist between equals, but it is always a bond of allegiance between protector and protected, between suzerain and vassal.³⁷

Further, it would appear that the vassaldom of a "friend" is distinct from other forms of vassaldom in that the "friend" has received his charge—and therefore his investiture—direct from the King himself. When, therefore, Hārūn adopted Karl the Great as his "friend", it was an act of conquest and a proclamation of suzerainty. Consequently, the garments sent by Hārūn were from the royal wardrobe and person, for the honour of a *khil'at* is derived from the person of its donor and not from the richness of its texture.

The Anonymous Monk of Saint Gall, supplies the corroboration of this contention. Karl was much impressed by the gift of robes and sent to Hārūn in return "*pallia Fresonica, alba, cana, vermiculata vel saphirina, quae in illis partibus rara et multum cara comperit*", but Hārūn refused to touch them and ordered their distribution among his followers. He would not accept a robe of honour from his vassal Karl.³⁸ It is suggested that the relic of the *pallium* of Saint Cuthbert is a relic of one of those robes of honour, received by Karl in A.D. 801 or 807. The nature of the robe would tend to place it beyond the pale of

³⁶ *Poeta Saxo*, v, 307–10 (Jaffé, p. 615). *Ann. Lauriss.* 806–7. Mon. Sang., ii, 8, 9 (Jaffé, pp. 676–9).

³⁷ *Poeta Saxo*, iv, 84 ; v, 307. Cf. *A.S. Wine*, as well as the various words in Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian, also in New Testament Greek (e.g. John xv, 15) ; for other instances *v.* the writer's art. cit., *JRAS.*, 1924, pp. 597, n. 1 ; 600, n. 4.

³⁸ Mon. Sangall, ii, 9 (Jaffé, 677–8).

merchandise, as has been shown already. There remains then the problem of its arrival at the shrine of the Saint.

The clue seems to lie in the peculiar relation that existed between the house of Æthelwulf and the fortunes of the Saint's body. It was not without significance that William of Malmesbury associated the Saint's protection with the rise of the House of Wessex. Nor are the traditions of his appearance to Alfred in Athelney, of Alfred's pious donations and bequests, of the dedication to the Saint in Wells cathedral without a meaning. It would seem to be through this channel that the *pallium* passed from the house of Karl the Great to the shrine of the Saint. There is the possibility of another channel, but that will be noticed later. One point is certain, from the account of Symeon of Durham, it seems clear that the robe was not associated with the benefactions of William of Carileph, but that it belonged to the older treasures of the monks of Durham.³⁹

There are two points of contact, the first direct, the second through the medium of the dukes of France.

The first possible link seems to lie in the marriage of Æthelwulf to Judith, the daughter of Karl the Bald, in 856.⁴⁰ Prudentius of Troyes states that in that year, after the marriage had been duly celebrated, and royal garments and gifts exchanged, Æthelwulf returned to Britain with Judith,⁴¹ so this may mark the passage of the garment across the Channel. For from the references of poets and historians, and from the action of Karl himself in returning the compliment, it is clear that the *vestes* sent by Hārūn were regarded as the treasured possessions of the Karling house. They would pass to Ludwig and then to his favourite son Karl the Bald with the allotment of the Western Kingdom. When the royal marriage of Judith arrived, one or more of the robes would be suitable gifts for her royal husband.

³⁹ *Sym. Dun.* (Rolls Series), i, 255.

⁴⁰ *Ann. Bertin* (ed. G. Waitz), pp. 47, 49, 56-7. *Asser, Life of King Alfred* (ed. W. H. Stevenson), pp. 11, 17, 68, 70. *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (ed. Earle and Plummer), i, 66-7; ii, 80-1.

⁴¹ *Ann. Bertin*, p. 47: "regiis apparatibus utrimque atque muneribus." "Apparatibus" is constantly used in mediaeval Latin for clothing and apparel.

The treasures of the house of Æthelwulf ultimately came to Alfred, whose piety and generosity to Saint Cuthbert have at least strong traditional authority. It is, on the whole, doubtful if he sent the robe in question, and the gift would seem to belong to a later date. In 875 occurred the devastating invasions of the Danes in Lindisfarne and on the mainland, which resulted in the flight of the monks with the body of the Saint. Their wanderings during the next eight years were not conducive to the accumulation of treasures, although they were the objects of considerable generosity and received among other things gifts of clothing and *vestimenta* of all sorts. Alfred had established his superiority over the Danes in 878, and before the end of his reign, he had succeeded in imposing some form of hegemony over Northumbria. In 882 or 883 the monks settled at Chester le Street, where they obtained "the land between the Wear and the Tine for a perpetual possession" from Guthred. The gift, it is said, was confirmed by Alfred, who added other immunities and privileges, but of personal gifts there seems to be no trace among his donations. Further, it would seem probable that had the robe been given by Alfred, as such it would have been treasured, remembered, and ultimately acknowledged by historians like Reginald of Durham.⁴²

Alfred died in 900 or 901, and his son Edward carried out his father's instructions for the welfare of the Church. Edward died in 924, but even in his reign the gifts appear to have been confined to real property and immunities. The first notice of gifts of a personal nature are those of Æthelstan in 934. Now, in 926, Æthelstan received an embassy from Hugh the Great, duke of France, asking the hand of his sister Æthelda in marriage. They brought with them many gifts enumerated by William of Malmesbury,⁴³ and including in their number numerous treasures stated to be from the treasury of Karl the Great. Four

⁴² For the list of donations to the shrine *v. Raine*, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff., 208, n. 1.

⁴³ *Willelmi Malmesburiensis Monachi, De Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series), pp. 150-1.

of them were definitely associated with the Holy Land, and among the gifts not specially named as curios may well have been the robes by which Karl was associated with the governorship of Jerusalem and the Holy Places. This constitutes the second possible channel, for the dukes of France had control of the Karling treasury as *de facto* governors of West Francia.⁴⁴ It is significant, too, that in 934, when Æthelstan visited the shrine of Saint Cuthbert, seven *pallia* are included in his gift.⁴⁵

Whether these *pallia* belong to the family treasures, according to the first solution, or to the gifts of Hugh, according to the second, does not materially affect the issue. But the probability seems to lie with the second channel, with its associations with Karl the Great's eastern activities, and consequently there seems to be a fair possibility that among these was the *pallium quod caeteris pretiosum in ecclesia poterat inveniri*, in which the Saint was ultimately interred in 1104. Edmund's gifts are specified as two golden bracelets. Ædred's gifts were described as "worthy of a king", and therefore may well have included royal garments. Then followed the empire of Cnut, in which there seem to have been few donations, and the gift of such garments as the *pallium* may well be doubted. The next striking gift was in 1072, when William the Conqueror placed "gold and a *pallium preciosum* on the tomb of Cuthbert".⁴⁶

William may well have obtained the garment directly or indirectly from the same source as Hugh, though Sicily may have been the medium. But as in the case of Alfred, it seems probable that the association with its donor might have remained and been handed down by the historian.

There seems to be, therefore, at least a strong probability that the *pallium* in question was one of the garments sent by Hārūnu'l-Rashīd, and transmitted through the Karlings of Gaul, either directly or indirectly to the royal house of

⁴⁴ Cf. J. A. Robinson, *The Times of Saint Dunstan*, pp. 79-80.

⁴⁵ Raine, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁴⁶ *Liber Ruber ap. Historiae Dunelmensis*, ed. J. Raine (Surtees Society, 1834), p. ccccxxiv. "Rex Willelmus . . . offert aurum et pallium preciosum super sepultura Cuthberti."

Wessex, and so to the shrine of Saint Cuthbert. Identification is impossible, but the strongly marked association of the gifts of duke Hugh with the eastern activities of Karl is as near an approach to identification as can be expected in mediaeval history. As to its origin and use as a *khil'at* conferring sovereignty there seems to be very little room for doubt.⁴⁷

If the theory put forward here be correct, then, while it may be a matter for regret that the Saint's body lay for seven and a quarter centuries, incorporated in the body politic of the Muslim Caliphate, still, it is no small gain to have discovered a relic of a transaction in which the partners were Karl the Great and Hārūnu'l-Rashīd—a transaction which laid the foundations for Frederick II's diplomacy in the winter of 1228-9—even though it reduced the Holy Roman Empire to a province of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate and Karl the Great to a vassal of Hārūnu'l-Rashīd.

⁴⁷ For other means of distribution, v. F. Keller, *Der Einfall der Sarazenen in die Schweiz* (*Mith. d. Antiq. Gesellsch. Zurich*, 1856). None of the routes indicated, however, come in contact with the Anglo-Saxons in the same way as does the course marked out by the thesis of this paper. I have, in conclusion, to acknowledge the kindness of my friend, Sir T. W. Arnold, who not only looked over the preliminary draft of this paper, but also, in reading over the proofs, has prevented some mistakes finding their way into print.